A Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Master of Arts

by

Susan Hung Gin Au, B. A.

The Ohio State University

1975

Approved by

Adviser

Division of the History of Art
For confidential use only

Not for circulation, distribution, or publication

All rights in this work are the property of

Susan H. G. Au
TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Illustrations, iv.

Introduction, 1.

I. Stravinsky’s Conception and Creation of the Ballet, 11.

II. Significant Productions of Apollon Musagète, 37.

III. The Iconography of Apollon Musagète, 108.

IV. Apollon Musagète and the Twentieth Century, 157.

Selected Bibliography, 163.

Appendix: Published Photographs and Designs of Apollon Musagète, 1928-1951, 166.

Illustrations.
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS


8. A Muse, Apollon Musagète, Ballets Russes, 1928. (Lipnitski) Captioned as Felia Doubrovska (Calliope), but the gesture is that of Polyhymnia. A. Levinson, La Danse d'aujourd'hui, Paris, 1929, 89.


far left).


24. Four poses, Apollon Musagète, American Ballet Caravan, 1941.
   (Schulmann) Dance Index, IV, February-March 1945, 25 (middle right and left, blow right and left).


   (Constantine) Dance, XVII, November 1943, 5 (top left).

30. Igor Youskevitch as Apollo, APOLLON MUSAGÈTE, Ballet Theatre, 1946-47 season or later, (Fred Fehl) R. Lawrence, The Victor Book of Ballets and Ballet Music, New York, 1950, 36.


32. Pas d'action. Apollo, Ballet Theatre, 1946. (Roger Wood)


Since the time of the ancient Greeks, the god Apollo has symbolized a number of man's highest ideals and aspirations. As the god of science, philosophy, poetry, and medicine, he presided over a realm of light and knowledge. So pervasive has been his association with rationality, truth, and intellect that twentieth-century scientists, certainly no adherents to the pagan faith, deemed it no incongruity to give his name to a major program in space exploration.

But the god was a patron of the arts as well as the sciences, and his love of harmony manifested itself through music as well as through the sterner disciplines of mathematics and astronomy. It was Apollo as musician and dancer, in conjunction with the Muses, who represent the fine arts, who Igor Stravinsky chose to celebrate in a score for ballet composed in 1928. Titled Apollon Musagète, the French version of the Greek epithet Apollo Musagetes, or Apollo, Leader of the Muses, the ballet was given two separate stage productions in the first year of its existence. Since then it has received a number of new treatments, principally involving changes in its scene and costume design. It survives today in the repertories of several major ballet companies.

This paper was motivated by the question, "What is a twentieth-century Apollo?" It will probe into the reasons behind Stravinsky's choice of this theme, and the interpretations of the artists who shaped the ballet's material form. The ultimate results — the twentieth-century vision or evocation of Apollo, a deity of the classical world — will be examined both as an outgrowth of tradition and an attempt to reshape that tradition.
As much as possible, the ballet *Apollon Musagète* will be discussed as a unified entity, a synthesis of music, dance, and the visual arts. All of these elements play an active part in the depiction of the theme. The theme itself will be iconographically analysed according to a method with which an art historian might describe a painting, but expanded here to include the temporal dimension. Unlike a painting, which usually depicts a fixed moment in time and space, a ballet exists sequentially in time and space, and the number of images which may be examined is correspondingly multiplied.

Furthermore, *Apollon Musagète* has a production history which spans the years 1928 to the present day, 1975, although it was not performed in every year of this period. During this time it has been altered choreographically and musically, but the most salient changes have been visual, i.e., in the ballet's set and costume designs. In effect, the ballet consists of two fairly constant elements, Stravinsky's scenario and music, and a number of variable elements, among which are choreography, scene and costume design, and the interpretations of individual performers. These variables enable the historian to establish a sequence of concrete images illustrating the changes in conception and taste of the makers of *the ballet* and, by extension, of the audiences for whom the ballet was intended.

First, a "pre-iconographical description" will be made, focusing primarily on forms and the style that governs their depiction in any given instance. In ballet, this analysis must cover not only visual forms such as sets, costumes, and static poses, but the scenario, musical score, and movement through time as well as space.

The second level of discussion, which Panofsky terms "iconographical analysis in the narrower sense," involves the association of forms with themes, concepts, stories, and allegories.

Panofsky's third level of analysis, "iconographical interpretation or iconographical synthesis," searches for meaning in the forms and symbols that have been described and identified. An attempt must be made to place the art object back into the cultural milieu from which it sprang, and to view it through the eyes of its contemporaries as well as with the hindsight of historical knowledge.

Because Stravinsky's scenario and score were created before the rest of the ballet, this paper will begin by examining the composer's verbal statements of its conception, composition, and intentions, as described in his various autobiographical and analytical publications. For musical analyses of the ballet, the reader is referred to the bibliographies in Stravinsky in the Theatre, edited by Minna Lederman (New York, 1949), and Stravinsky: A New Appraisal of His Work, edited by Paul Henry Lang (New York, 1963).

A selected number of productions, covering the years 1928 to 1957, will then be discussed in chronological order. Each will be described as much as possible in the words of its makers and contemporary critics, and Visual records such as designs and photographs will be examined and
analysed. In order to minimize repetition, elements that remain constant from one production to another will be discussed in less detail than the changes introduced. This will constitute the "pre-iconographical description."

The "iconographical analysis in the narrow sense" will trace the protagonists and episodes in the ballet (e.g., Apollo and the Muses, the birth of Apollo) to their origins in ancient Greek mythology and art, then survey a selection of their subsequent manifestations until the par 1928. As befits a thesis in the history of art, this paper will concentrate on visual representations of the various themes and episodes.

Since most productions of Apollon Musagète adhere to Stravinsky's scenario, which contains little specific detail, this level of analysis will place less emphasis on the differences between the productions. However, the iconographical associations of specific costumes, settings, and properties will be noted and discussed where appropriate.

The third level of analysis will return to the idea of change within the work of art and in reactions to the work. Apollon Musagète will be evaluated here as part of a movement which may be labelled "twentieth-century classicism," and its form and content will be related to more general characteristics of this movement.

In almost any attempt to study a ballet of the past, the great impediment of the dance historian becomes immediately apparent: since ballet is an ephemeral art, no performance of the past can be reproduced and experienced as a totality. Even the most painstaking revivals of famous ballets of the past have been doomed to failure in this sense, for a number of reasons.
One of these reasons is the unreliability of memory, which is still the chief means of preserving and transmitting choreography. Although the film technique and various systems of dance notation, such as Labanotation and Benesh notation, have become increasingly more efficient and widespread as methods of recording dance, these methods are often disdained by dancers and choreographers. Among them is George Balanchine, who choreographed most of the productions of Apollon Musagète. He has stated in an interview that he never uses choreographic notation to record his ballets, explaining, "I don't want my ballets preserved as museum pieces for people to go and laugh at what used to be Absolutely not."1 (However, the Dance Collection of the New York Public Library does possess a movement score of Balanchine's Apollo, recorded in Benesh notation by the choreologist Jurg Lanzrein at the New York City Ballet, 1973.2)

The exact reproduction of ballets of the past is further hindered by the fact that dance technique and training have altered over the years, and qualities such as energy, effort, and flow may vary although steps and movements remain the same. Furthermore, the ineffable influences of temperament and personality are impossible to re-create. Even a renowned dancer such as Margot Fonteyn can only perform Fonteyn's interpretation of Swan Lake; even if all the facts and figures were available for a "revival," she would never be able to duplicate the performance of Pierina Legnani, who created the role of the Swan Queen in the Petipa-Ivanov production of 1895. In this study of Apollon Musagète, there was no way to view the performances of 1928, 1937, or 1943. In more recent years, a few films have been made, but are
ultimately less satisfying than live performances, and in many cases are not available for general viewing. In this respect the art historian has a slight edge over the dance historian, for although paintings and sculptures can and do alter over the years, chances are that more of the original remains of these objects than of a ballet, which to a great extent is re-created each time it is performed.

Of course, the dance historian may have at his disposal the material substance of a ballet of the past: its scenery and costumes, or their designs. However, even these have all too brief an existence. Until Serge Diaghilev organized the Ballets Russes, scenic designers were usually specialists who enjoyed little esteem in the artistic world, and their creations were treated accordingly. It was Diaghilev who popularized the practice of employing easel painters as scenic designers, first his Russian colleagues, such as Léon Bakst and Alexandre Benois, then painters of the School of Paris, such as Pablo Picasso, Henri Matisse, and Georges Braque.

However, even Picasso's theatrical works were not preserved as carefully as his easel painting, as was discovered in 1973 when the City Center Joffrey Ballet of New York City attempted to revive the 1917 ballet Parade. Practically nothing of Picasso's original sets and costumes had survived, and these had to be resuscitated through sketches and photographs. In many cases colors had to be reproduced from memory. Costuming presented a further problem: even when photographs and sketches of the costumes were available, no one could recall how they looked from the back.
Other Visual records of a ballet are photographs, sketches, and paintings of the dancers in action. These can be of great value in recapturing poses, gestures, facial expressions, and even movement qualities, as well as providing documentation of the sets and costumes as they actually appeared onstage. Sometimes a sensitive photographer or artist can enhance the movement quality and expressiveness of a dancer, as Arnold Genthe did for Isadora Duncan and Valentine Gross for Vaslav Nijinsky. Although no performance sketches nor paintings of Apollon Musagète could be located, a large number of photographs of various points in the ballet do exist, scattered among various publications. One of the aims of this paper has been to collect as many of these as possible, in order to compare one production alongside another.

Verbal reports also aid in recapturing the ambience of a ballet. These include advance notices, programmes, reviews, interviews, memoirs, biographies, autobiographies, and histories and analyses of the period. Listed below are some of the books and articles that have proved most helpful, directly or indirectly, to the writing of this paper.

Since the iconographical method is still relatively rare in dance history, there were few guidelines to follow in this field. Dance historians who have utilized the method include Edwin Binney 3rd, whose Les Ballets de Théophile Gautier (Paris, 1965) is a study of the Romantic era; Thomas Munro, who treats a 1912 Ballets Russes production in "The Afternoon of a Faun" and the Interrelation of the Arts," The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, X, 1951, 95f.; and Lincoln
Kirstein, whose *Movement and Metaphor* (New York, 1970) surveys fifty ballets in terms of their historical precedents and cultural milieu.

Straw, the originator of the ballet, has written a number of books of reminiscences, opinions, and artistic theories. Of these, the most extensive information on *Apollon Musagète* may be found in Igor Stravinsky, *An Autobiography* (Norton edition, New York, 1962) and *Dialogues and a Diary* (London, 1968), the latter written in collaboration with Robert Craft. Among other authors' books on Stravinsky, Eric Walter White's *Stravinsky: The Composer and His Works* (Berkeley, 1966) has proved one of the most helpful, since it contains not only a detailed analysis of *Apollon Musagète*, but the composer's biography, a list of his works, an excellent bibliography, and a trove of correspondence. More specialized information on Stravinsky's ballets, operas, and theatre pieces may be found in *Stravinsky in the Theatre* (New York, 1949), edited by Minna Lederman. Among the essays in this book is Balanchine's "The Dance Element in the Music," which offers a look at Stravinsky's music from a choreographer's point of view.

Since the Ballets Russes version of *Apollon Musagète*, first performed in 1928, is generally considered the single most important production of the ballet, much of this paper will be devoted to its description and analysis. As one of the best-known and most influential ballet companies in all history, the Ballets Russes has inspired a vast amount of commentary since its Parisian debut of 1909. Useful Firsthand accounts of the ballet company in general and *Apollon Musagète* in particular may be derived from two books by Diaghilev's close associates: *The Diaghilev Ballet 1909-1929* (Penguin edition,

Serge Lifar, the creator of the role of Apollo in the Ballets Russos production, has unfortunately left no substantial description of the ballet's creation among his copious autobiographical and historical writings. However, his biography Serge Diaghilev: His Life. His Work. His Legend (New York, 1940) offers useful if occasionally biased information.


To date there has been no single source of information on all of the productions of Apollon Musagète, and the data in this paper has been culled from a wide assortment of books, reviews, memoirs, articles,
and the like.

Neither is there any book-length study of the iconography of the Apollo Musagetes theme in the visual arts. Again, the information in this paper has been compiled from a variety of sources.

Notes:


I. Stravinsky's Conception and Creation of the Ballet

A ballet may come into being in a number of ways. A well-known approach is that of Marius Petipa, chief ballet-master of the Imperial Theatre in St. Petersburg during the late nineteenth century, who commissioned "music by the yard" from Peter Tchaikovsky, indicating through written memoranda the mood, meter, and number of bars desired for each section of the score. A more integrated relationship between composer, choreographer, and stage designer was employed during the early pars of the Ballets Russes. The Firebird and Petrouchka were thrashed out bit by bit by a working "committee" consisting of Stravinsky, the choreographer Michel Fokine, the designers Bakst and Benois, and Diaghilev. So close was their interaction that in later years the participants themselves had trouble recalling who had contributed a given idea.

Apollo Musagète, on the contrary, was a ballet that began solely with the composer. There are two different accounts of the ballet's genesis, one by Stravinsky and the other by Serge Lifar, premier danseur of the Ballets Russes during the late 'twenties and creator of the role of Apollo. Both agree that the idea for the ballet originated with Stravinsky, but have different opinions about the motivation for that idea.

Stravinsky wrote in his autobiography, which was published first in 1936:

About this time I was asked by the Congressional Library in Washington to compose a ballet for a festival of
contemporary music which was to include the production of several works specially written for the occasion. The generous American patron; Mrs. Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, had undertaken to defray the expense of these artistic productions. I had a free hand as to the subject and was limited only as to length, which was not to exceed half an hour....This proposal suited me admirably, for, as I was more or less free just then it enabled me to carry out an idea which had long tempted me, to compose a ballet founded on moments or episodes in Greek mythology plastic—interpreted by dancing of the so-called classical school.¹

According to Lifar, however, the ballet was first intended for the Ballets Russes, and in particular for Lifar. He quotes Diaghilev as informing him, after the 1927 premiere of the ballet La Chatte:

"Let me congratulate you, Seriozha. Stravinsky has been saying the most astonishing things about you. He's so pleased with you that he's going to compose a ballet especially for you, even though he's working overtime on a commission for America!²"

Lifar goes on to quote a letter written to him by Diaghilev, which he dates to September 30, 1927:

"After lunch he played me the first half of the new ballet. It is, of course, an amazing work, extraordinarily calm, and with a greater clarity than anything he has so far done; a filigree counterpoint round transparent, clear-cut themes, all in the major key; somehow music not of this world, but from somewhere above. It seems strange that, though the tempo of all this part is slow, yet at the same time it is perfectly adapted to dancing. There is a short, fast movement in your first variation - there are to be two for you, and the opening is danced to an unaccompanied violin solo. Very remarkable! On the whole, one feels it is part Glinka and part sixteenth-century Italian, though without any intentional Russianizing. He played it over to me three times running - so that I have the clearest idea of it now. The Adagio Pas d'Action has a broad theme very germane to us today; it runs concurrently in four different tempos, and yet, generally speaking, the harmony is most satisfactory. I embraced him and he said: "It's for you to produce it properly for me. I want Lifar to have all sorts of flourishes..."

When the train was already moving out, he shouted to me: "Find a good title!" But all the same, there is really no subject. And very soon this "good" title was found: Apollon Musagète.³"
The description of the music is certainly that of Adolphe Musard. In a footnote to Diaghilev's letter Lifar tries to discredit Stravinsky's account, observing somewhat acidly, "The discrepancy between Diaghilev's contemporary and absolutely trustworthy account & Stravinsky's memoirs, which were not written till some years later, reveals how fragile is human memory and how little it is to be relied on."4

The solution of this problem would be much aided if the exact date of the Coolidge commission were known. Stravinsky's autobiography is somewhat vague, designating it only by the phrase "about this time," following a discussion of his activities in June 1927.5 Frederick Jacobi, the reviewer for Modern Music, sets the date slightly earlier, in the spring of 1927.6 However, Hollister Noble, the reviewer for Musical America, states that the commission was awarded in September 1927.7 If the last date were correct, the commission would have been received after Stravinsky started work on the ballet, which he claims he did in July.8

However, a number of points suggest that the September date is inaccurate. First of all, Lifar's quotation of Diaghilev's words after La Chatte includes the clause "even though he's working overtime on a commission for America!" The premiere of La Chatte, following which the words were supposedly spoken, took place on April 30, 1927. If Lifar's quotation is correct — and he is certainly harming his own argument if it is — the Jacobi date seems to be more accurate than Stravinsky's own. Lifar also dates Diaghilev's letter, describing the half-finished ballet, to September 1927. This seems to corroborate
Stravinsky's statement that the work was begun in July.

Forty years after the ballet's premiere, Stravinsky revealed in Dialogues and a Diary, "Diaghilev was very annoyed when he learned that I had composed a ballet for someone else, and although he acquired it gratis after the Washington premiere, he never forgave my (as he thought it) disloyalty."9 This statement is more ambiguous than it seems at first glance, for it is unclear whether Diaghilev knew from the first that Apollon was intended for the Library of Congress or if he believed, as Lifar claims, that it was meant for the Ballets Russes. It is even possible to suspect the composer of duplicity: did he first offer Apollon to the Ballets Russes, then change his mind and bestow it upon the Library of Congress instead?

But there is an argument in favor of Stravinsky's version of the story, and this is contained in the scenario and music themselves: their conformity to the specifications of the Coolidge commission. Its terms required that the score be limited to a half-hour's duration: that the ballet involve no more than five or six dancers and a number of instruments appropriate to a small auditorium. Stravinsky himself inquired the exact dimensions of the stage and orchestra pit.10 He was given a free hand as to the subject of the ballet, and the decision to limit the instrumentation to a string ensemble was also his. It is true that the scenario called for seven rather than six dancers (Apollo, the three Muses, Leto, and two attendants), but this is a minor point of difference,

Still, Lifar's claim cannot be dismissed out of hand. It is entirely possible that Stravinsky began work with the intention of
giving the finished ballet to the Ballets Russes, and that he altered it to conform to the Coolidge commission while the work was still in progress. His description of the ballet as "an idea that had long tempted me" suggests that he may have been thinking of it long before either the Coolidge commission or the impulse to create a ballet for Lifar. Certainly his long association with the Ballets Russes makes the ballet company a more predictable recipient than the Library of Congress. It is also possible that there were at one time two ballets on Stravinsky's agenda, one for America and one for Lifar, and that the two became merged. But it is indisputable that the ballet in its final form was intended for America, and it certainly received its first production there.

In Dialogues and a Diary the composer quotes a conversation (possibly apocryphal) between himself and Diaghilev, which suggests that he accepted the commission purely for the sake of money. His tongue-in-cheek tone becomes evident with the revelation that the commission earned him only one thousand dollars. The prestige of being asked to contribute to the festival was probably a far greater incentive. Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge was well-known as a patroness of music. A member of the wealthy Sprague family of Chicago, she sponsored in 1918 the first public festival of chamber music in America, on her estate in Massachusetts. Until 1924 this was the site of the Berkshire festivals, which was then moved to Washington, D.C., where her patronage helped build the chamber music hall adjoining the Library of Congress. At the time of Stravinsky's commission, the chamber music festival was administered by the Coolidge Foundation.
rather than Mrs. Coolidge herself, and **Apollon** was commissioned by the Foundation.\(^\text{12}\) It was Stravinsky's first American commission.\(^\text{13}\)

As noted above, he began work in July 1927, and became so absorbed that he postponed most of his concert plans for that autumn. The composition was completed in the beginning of 1928, and since only the final orchestration remained, he resumed his tours and concerts.\(^\text{14}\)

The score is divided into two parts. The first, which is designated as the prologue, is entitled "Apollo's Birth." It begins with an introduction (**Largo**) leading to a musical theme sometimes denoted as the "Olympian" theme. This is followed by a dance (**Allegro**) for the two goddesses in attendance upon Leto, Apollo's mother. Then Apollo himself appears and is led to Olympus by the two goddesses as the "Olympian" theme is repeated.

The second part of the score, "Apollo and the Muses," opens with a variation for Apollo, written as a cadenza for unaccompanied solo violin. This was mentioned in Diaghilev's letter to Lifar, as was the pas d'action (**Adagio**) which follows. The music for this dance, which is performed by the three Muses and Apollo, consists of a main theme played in canon, which appears simultaneously in augmentation and diminution.

The Muses then dance separately, each demonstrating to Apollo her own particular art. Of these dances the first, the variation of Calliope, has attracted the most attention from music critics, since its rhythmic structure was inspired by a verse form, the alexandrine. The source of this inspiration will be further discussed below. Polyhymnia's variation is marked **Allegro**, Terpsichore's **Allegretto**.
Apollo's second variation (Lento) then precedes a pas de deux (Adagio) for Apollo and Terpsichore. A lively cod (Vivo) for Apollo and the three Muses follows. The ballet is brought to an end by a solemn apotheosis (Largo) which reiterates the "Olympian" theme of the prologue as Apollo leads the Muses to Parnassus. 15

Several years after the composition of the score, Stravinsky verbalized his ideas on the ballet in his autobiography:

I chose as the theme Apollo Musagetes — that is Apollo as the master of the Muses, inspiring each of them with her own art. I reduced their number to three, selecting from among them Calliope, Polyhymnia, and Terpsichore as being the most characteristic representatives of choreographic art. Calliope, receiving the stylus and tablets from Apollo, personifies poetry and its rhythm; Polyhymnia, finger on lips, represents mime. As Cassiodorus tells us: "Those speaking fingers, that eloquent silence, those narratives in gesture, are said to have been invented by the Muse Polyhymnia, wishing to prove that man could express his will without recourse to words." Finally, Terpsichore, combining in herself both the rhythm of poetry and the eloquence of gesture, reveals dancing to the world, and thus among the Muses takes the place of honor besides the Musagetes.

After a series of allegorical dances, which were to be treated in the traditional classical style of ballet (Pas d'action, Pas de deux, Variations, Codé), Apollo, in an apotheosis, leads the Muses, with Terpsichore at their head, to Parnassus, where they were to live ever afterwards. I prefaced the allegory with a prologue representing the birth of Apollo. According to the legend, "Leto was with child, and, feeling the moment of birth at hand, threw her arms about a palm tree and knelt on the tender green turf, and the earth smiled beneath her, and the child sprang forth to the light...Goddesses washed him with limpid water, gave him for swaddling clothes...a veil of fine tissué, and bound it with a golden girdle." 16

The images evoked here are largely derived from classical antiquity, and reflect the composer's early schooling, which included studies in Greek and Latin. 17 The first quotation is from Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus (ca. A.D. 490 – ca. 585), a Roman historian, politician, and monk. A collector of manuscripts, he encouraged the copying of
pagan as well as Christian authors, and thus helped preserve the works of the ancients.\(^8\) The second quotation derives from the *Homerico hymn To Delian Apollo*, which will be dealt with thoroughly in the iconographical section of this paper (see chapter III).

However, the ballet is more complex in its sources and associations than either the synopsis of its action or the description of its themes would lead one to believe. The "traditional classical style of ballet" which Stravinsky mentions above certainly does not derive from ancient Greece, and neither does the division of the score into pas d'action, pas de deux, variations, and coda.

Before defining these terms, it may be helpful to survey a few representative definitions of the phrase “classical ballet,”

According to *The Dance Encyclopedia*,

> the term classic as applied to ballet is arbitrary. It denotes a style in dance rather than a period. The term academic would be more accurate but has never gained general acceptance. In a broad sense a classic ballet is a ballet based on the classic tradition developed through the centuries of the existence of the ballet...\(^9\)

This "classic tradition" is given more specific definition by

*A Dictionary of Ballet:*

> Classical Ballet (the ballet d'ēcole), ballet in which the movement is based on the traditional technique evolved from the French Court ballet of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the Italian schools of the nineteenth century, and the Imperial Academy of Dancing, St. Petersburg and Moscow, and brought to ultimate perfection by such great teachers as Carlo Blasis, C.P. Johansson, N. Legat and Enrico Cecchetti, and in which dramatic or emotional content is subordinate to form or line - as displayed in the choreography of Petipa and Ivanov.\(^20\)

Both sources also define classic or classical ballet in terms of a certain dance technique, whose typical elements are the turnout and five positions of the feet, steps of elevation (Leaps and jumps), beats
Other definitions of "classical ballet" include not only steps and movements, but the way in which these steps and movements are delivered. In the essay "What Ballet is All About," first published in 1959, Lincoln Kirstein wrote:

It is easier to speak of classic style or even of "classicism" than of Classic Ballet. A classic style may be recognized sooner than it can be defined. It is by no means, like classical sculpture or plaster-casts, frigid, chast, pure, serene or hard. It can also be warm, bright, soft and sharp, even gay. A true classic dancer is one whose instrument includes the mastery of traditional academic lessons to the degree that a pianist of mettle imposes his own ideas on a keyboard or a fine voice plays with coloratura. In addition to mechanical mastery, the classic dancer embodies a controlled energy towards a perfect delivery of the dance vocabulary, so concentrated, balanced and directed that new dimensions in the realization of steps and combinations of movement are manifest. Presupposing the instrument, an educated body, the distilled energy of the dancer's temperament colors his or her quality as pure pigment stains clear water. Control, concentration and balance in the self, both physical and psychic (control of the ego), combine into that final element which serves both as definition of personality and signature of an epoch.21

In an article on "Classicism and George Balanchine" (1953), Edwin Denby set down a series of reflections on the classical ballet, spurred by an interview with Balanchine.

Classic dancing centers movement in a way professionally called "placement"; it centers it for the advantage of assurance in spring, balance, and visibility. The dancer learns to move with a natural continuity in impetus, and a natural expression of his full physical strength in the thighs — thighs and waist, where the greatest strength to move outward into space naturally lies.

The final consistency that classical style gives to a performance comes from its discipline of behavior. Handsome behavior on stage gives to an entertainment a radiance that Broadway dancing knows little of,

What Balanchine tries for as classic acting is not an emphatic emotional stress placed on a particular gesture for expression's sake. He tries instead to have expression present
as a color throughout a dance or role, sometimes growing a
trifle stronger, sometimes less. It is as if a gesture were
made in its simplest form by the whole body as it dances,

Classic ballet is a definite kind of entertainment,
based on an ideal conception of expression professionally
called "style." It does not try to be the same sort of fun
as some other kind of entertainment. It tries to be as
wonderful as possible in its own beautiful and voluntarily
limited way; just as does any other art. What correct style
exists for, what it hopes for, is a singular, unforeseen, an
out-of-this-world beauty of expression. 22

Implicitly or explicitly, both Kirstein and Denby stress formal
perfection, discipline, purity, balance, and control. Emotional
expression, though present, is subordinate to these qualities. However,
it should be noted that the terms "classical ballet" and "Romantic
ballet" cannot be used as antonyms as the terms "classic" and "romantic"
are often used in the visual arts. As Kirstein points out,

Romantic ballet is a period designation referring usually to
works in a climate established under the influence of the poets
Heine, Gautier and E.T.A. Hoffman in the middle of the last
century. It is loosely used to signify ballets in which dramatic
pantomime or character-dancing predominated over the school-
exercise academic vocabulary. Romantic Ballet today is a cate-
gory which does not, like the developed classic dance, renew
itself. 23

Returning to the terms pas d'action, pas de deux, and so on, it
may be noted that these terms were often used in the nineteenth-century
classical ballet, an important branch of which was the Imperial Russian
Ballet, led by the choreographers Marius Petipa and Lev Ivanov. Many
of their ballets, such as The Sleeping Beauty and The Nutcracker,
utilized the musical and choreographic structure of the Grand Pas de
Deux, which consisted of the following divisions: the entrée of the
ballerina and the danseur, the adagio, which they danced together,
a variation or solo dance for the danseur, a variation for the ballerina,
and the coda, in which both joined to conclude the pas de deux. In contrast to the Grand Pas de Deux, which may be compared to an operatic aria in the sense that it usually stops the action in order to focus on dance for the sake of dancing, the pas d'action, like the operatic recitative, is usually intended to express a theme or further the plot.

The second part of Apollon Musagète opens with a pas d'action, in which the Muses greet and dance with Apollo. At the end of this dance, he presents each with a symbol of her art, which leads into the three variations for the Muses. The male variation, which usually precedes the female, here follows the women's dances for a thematic reason: Apollo is "setting an example to the Muses and reminding us that he himself has acquired the skill he demands of them." The gavotte section of the traditional structure is also transposed, here to the second-to-last place; Terpsichore is chosen for the honor of this pas de deux with Apollo because of the perfection of her dancing. All four dancers join in the concluding coda.

Stravinsky had had firsthand experience with one of the most famous classical ballets when Diaghilev asked him to arrange and orchestrate Tchaikovsky's score for The Sleeping Beauty, a ballet first presented, with choreography by Petipa, in St. Petersburg in 1890. Revived by the Ballets Russes in 1921 in London, the ballet retained much of the original choreography. In his autobiography, Stravinsky professed himself much impressed:

It was a real joy to me to take part in this creation, not only for love of Tchaikovsky but also because of my profound
admiration for classical ballet, which in its very essence, by the beauty of its ordonnance and the aristocratic austerity of its forms, somewhat corresponds with my conception of art. For here, in classical dancing, I see the triumph of studied conception over vagueness, of the rule over the arbitrary, of order over the haphazard. I am thus brought face to face with the eternal conflict in art between the Apollonian and the Dionysian principles. The latter assumes ecstasy to be the final goal—that is to say, the losing of oneself—whereas art demands above all the full consciousness of the artist. There can, therefore, be no doubt as to my choice between these two. And if I appreciate so highly the value of classical ballet, it is not simply a matter of taste on my part, but because I saw exactly in it the perfect expression of the Apollonian principle.\(^\text{25}\)

Almost as if to carry a step further The Sleeping Beauty's quality of "aristocratic austerity," Apollon Musagète was scored entirely for strings. Stravinsky's reduction of the orchestra was of course required in part by the terms of the commission. However, the decision may also have had an impetus from the visual arts. Stravinsky is said to have been "fortified" in his choice of string ensemble by "the recollection that one day [André] Derain had mentioned to him the difficulty a painter found in depicting rocks, since their resemblance to each other and lack of individuality made impossible any effect of contrast."\(^\text{26}\) According to André Schaeffner's book Stravinsky, published in 1931, "Stravinsky songeait à une œuvre où manquait également tout contraste, où aucune intrigue ne vint du conflit même des instruments, d'où n'émanèrent nul attrait particulier bien que le ton dût y rester égal à celui d'œuvres plus dramatiques."\(^\text{27}\)

Stravinsky himself does not recount this anecdote in any of his memoirs, and his autobiography describes the reasons for his limitation of orchestral color in somewhat different terms:

When, in my admiration for the beauty of line in classical dancing, I dreamed of a ballet of this kind, I had specially in my thoughts what is known as the "white ballet," in which to my
the very essence of this art reveals itself in all its purity.28

The key phrase here is "white ballet" or ballet blanc, which is usually defined as "a ballet performed in white tutus, such as Les Sylphides, Swan Lake (Acts II and IV), Giselle (Act II), etc."29 Stravinsky's conception of Apollon Musagète agrees with this description in a visual sense for, as he writes in his autobiography,

I had pictured it to myself as danced in short white ballet skirts in a severely conventionalized theatrical landscape devoid of all fantastic embellishment such as would have been out of keeping with my primary conception.30

However, there is a thematic and expressional difference between the ballets cited above and Apollon Musagète, although all are based on the classical dance technique. Les Sylphides, Swan Lake, and Giselle all have themes influenced by the Romantic period of the nineteenth century, when one of the most popular themes for ballet dealt with "mortal man's quest for the unattainable, personified by a fairy spirit such as a sylphide, wilis or peri."31 Mystery, moonlight, and fantasy were characteristic of this type of ballet. In La Sylphide (1832), the progenitor of the type, the ballerina Marie Taglioni popularized the long, white, bell-shaped ballet skirt which was to give the "white ballet" its name.

La Sylphide inspired in turn Les Sylphides, which was choreographed in 1909 by Fokine for the first Ballets Russes season in Paris. Diaghilev commissioned Stravinsky to orchestrate two pieces by Chopin for this ballet; the composer states that this was the start of his close relationship with Diaghilev and "a date of importance for the whole future of my musical career."32
Despite this experience with the "white ballet," Stravinsky's *Apollon Musagète* differs from the traditional mould in its characters, theme, and mod. Unlike the ballets listed above, it derives its dramatis personae from the mythological world rather than the literary or folkloric. Since everyone in *Apollon* is an immortal, there is no concern with the dichotomy between the mortal and supernatural worlds. Neither is there a sense of emotional conflict on the order of *Giselle* or *Swan Lake*. Even the twentieth-century *Les Sylphides* exudes an aura of enigma, melancholy, and undefined yearning which is lacking in *Apollon Musagète*. Thus the term "white ballet" is in some ways misleading when applied to *Apollon*.

However, the adjective "white" is not inapt when applied to the musical score. Stravinsky states in his autobiography,

> I found that the absence of many-colored effects and of all superfluities produced a wonderful freshness. This inspired me to write music of an analogous character. It seemed to me that diatonic composition was the most appropriate for this purpose, and the austerity of its style determined what my instrumental ensemble must be. I at once set aside the ordinary orchestra because of its heterogeneity, with its groups of string, wood, brass, and percussion instruments. I also discarded ensembles of wood and brass, the effects of which have really been too much exploited of late, and I chose strings.

Looking ahead, Balanchine was to describe the score of *Apollon* as "white music, in places...white-on-white."

Perhaps the most detailed explication of the formal, expressional, and stylistic intentions of *Apollon Musagète* occurs not in the composer's autobiography, but in *Dialogues and a Diary*. This book was, however, published forty years after the composition of the score, and the ideas and opinions contained in it may not necessarily be an accurate reflection of Stravinsky's thoughts in 1928, or may have been colored
by the experiences of the intervening pars.

Using the simplified title Apollo, first adopted for the ballet in 1943, Stravinsky states:

In Apollo I tried to discover a melodism free of folk-lore. The choice of another Classical subject was natural after Cadmus Rex, but Apollo and the Muses suggested to me not so much a plot as a signature, or what I have already called a manner. The Muses do not instruct Apollo - as a god he is already a master beyond instruction - but show him their arts for his approval.\textsuperscript{35}

His next declaration seems to merge the theme and form of the ballet:

The real subject of Apollo, however, is versification, which implies something arbitrary and artificial to most people, though to me art is arbitrary and must be artificial. The basic rhythmic patterns are iambic, and the individual dances may be thought of as variations of the reversible dotted-rhythm iamb idea... I cannot say whether the idea of the Alexandrines, that supremely arbitrary set of prosodic rules, was pre-compositional or not - who can say where composition begins? - but the rhythm of the cello solo (at No. 41 in the Calliope variation) with the pizzicato accompaniment is a Russian Alexandrine suggested to me by a couplet from Pushkin, and it was one of my first musical ideas. The remainder of the Calliope variation is a musical exposition of the Boileau text that I took as my motto. But even the violin cadenza is related to the versification idea. I thought of it as the initial solo speech, the first essay in verse of Apollo the god.\textsuperscript{36}

Although Stravinsky does not specify the couplet from Pushkin, the verse from Boileau is quoted in Dialogues and a Diary. It is taken from L'Art poétique (1674) by the French writer Nicolas Boileau. The section of the work in which the couplet appears, "Chant I," is essentially a manual of precepts for the aspiring classical poet. Stravinsky selected the lines

Que toujours dans vos vers, le sens coupant les mots
Suspense l’hemistiché, en marque le repos.\textsuperscript{37}
This couplet falls under a passage of verse devoted to the qualities of style; more specifically, harmony of verse. "Chant I" also recommends variety, dignity, simplicity, and clarity; it advocates "naturalness," get considers rhyme an essential part of versification. The appeal of this advice to an artist in search of discipline is obvious.

L'Art poétique contains other links with Apollon Musagète. Although it never presents the theme of Apollo and the Muses as the ballet does, its allusions to Apollo, the Muses, and Parnassus are profuse throughout the text. It also eulogizes Louis XIV, whom, as we shall see, Stravinsky also evokes in reference to the ballet.

The seventeenth-century context of Boileau's poem is revealed as a significant factor in Stravinsky's choice with the statement

Apollo is a tribute to the French seventeenth century. I thought that Frenchmen might have taken the hint for this, if not from my musical Alexandrines, at least from the decors: the chariot, the three horses, and the sun disc (the Coda) were the emblem of le roi soleil.

Although a footnote makes it clear that Stravinsky was referring to André Bauchant's decor in the 1928 Ballets Russes production, it is obvious that he did not visualize Apollon Musagète as an archaeological reconstruction of ancient Greece. However, the connection with the classical baroque style of Louis XIV is probably easier to grasp through this verbal explication rather than the music or scenario alone, alexandrines notwithstanding. Thematically there is an implied association of Phoebus Apollo and the Sun King (cf. chapter III), but this is not made explicit in either the scenario or the score, whose neoclassical style raises yet more questions of sources and associations.
There is a range of opinion concerning the origin, definition, and development of the "classical" or "neoclassical" strain in Stravinsky's music. Arthur Berger believes that Stravinsky's ballets "show from the start a classical leaning in their control, economy, clarification of instrumental and harmonic texture, and in their rhythmic definiteness." He also postulates that Stravinsky's experiences with the ballet fostered this classical leaning, "for Stravinsky seems always to have understood that the effort needed to perceive action, decor and music simultaneously can be greatly lightened by reducing density in the sound." Therefore Apollon Musagète was not an innovation but a "crystallization" of a tendency inherent in Stravinsky's work.

Classicism for Berger thus consists of a set of principles governing formal structure, rather than specific "classical" forms themselves. "The quotation or paraphrase of old music remains as incidental to the basic treatment as the folk music in earlier works." In relation to the dance, Berger says, "The classical conventions of ballet are not identical with those of music, but their general principles are the same. Emphasis is on line and the organic inter-relation of parts."

Other critics have defined Stravinsky's neoclassicism in terms of concrete forms. Roman Vlad and Eric Salzman concur in denoting Pulcinella (1920) as Stravinsky's first neoclassical work, and in believing that the use of actual musical forms from the past is one of the important characteristics of the style. Pulcinella was composed when Diaghilev asked Stravinsky to build a coherent cow position from fragments of unfinished music by the eighteenth-
century Neapolitan composer Giovanni Battista Pergolesi. In doing so he was intrigued by eighteenth-century technical devices such as counterpoint and dotted rhythms, which he began to apply in later compositions, such as the comic opera Mavra (1922), the Octet for Wind Instruments (1923), and the opera-oratorio Oedipus Rex (1926–27). Dotted rhythms occur in the opening of Apollon Musagete where, the composer states, they are intended to be a conscious stylistic reference to the eighteenth century.

The pas d'action and Apollo's second variation have evoked reminiscences of Bach; Eric Walter White specifically points out the influence of Bach's cello suites in the latter. Terpsichore's variation has recalled Beethoven. As if to complicate the issue, critics have also noted resemblances to the seventeenth-century composer Lully and the nineteenth-century Delibes and Tchaikovsky.

The general belief that neoclassicism consisted of no more than the imitation of historical technical devices and idioms disturbed Stravinsky, and led to the publication of his "Avertissement" in December 1927, in which he argued that the style was based on a broader vision.

The use of such devices is insufficient to constitute the real neo-classicism, for classicism itself was characterised, not in the least by its technical processes which, then as now, were themselves subject to modification from period to period, but rather by its constructive values.

The mere "thing"—for instance, in music, a theme or rhythm—is in itself not the sort of material that would satisfy an artist for the creation of a work. It is obvious that the constituents of such material must come into a reciprocal relation, which, in music, as in all art, is called form. The great works of art were all imbued with this attribute, a quality of interrelation of the building material. And this interrelation was the one stable element, all that lay apart from it being unintelligibly
individual - that is to say, in music, an ultra-musical element.

Classical music - true classical music - claimed musical form as its basic substance; and this substance, as I have shown, could never be ultra-musical.\textsuperscript{52}

This Stravinsky, like Berger, defines neoclassicism mainly in terms of structural principles and the emphasis on the formal realization of these principles. He refuses to limit the neoclassical style to the conscious use of recognizable quotations from the past.

In general, the neoclassical movement in twentieth-century music can be summarized as a reaction against the excesses of nineteenth-century Romantic music. This reaction was not limited to Stravinsky, though he was one of its leaders. The movement advocated the return to the eighteenth-century preoccupation with form and technique, and in order to emphasize these elements it called for the reduction of orchestral color, the minimization of emotional expression and programmatic content, simplification, condensation, \& the elimination of inessentials.\textsuperscript{53}

Hand-in-hand with Stravinsky's concentration on formal values went a rational, deliberate, and craftsman-like approach toward the task. As mentioned above, upon receiving the Library of Congress commission, he inquired the exact dimensions of the stage and orchestra pit. An anecdote quoted as evidence of his level-headedness relates that when asked if he had been thinking of Greece while composing \textit{Apollon Musagète}, Stravinsky replied, "No, I was thinking about strings."\textsuperscript{54}

Stravinsky himself elaborated on this approach and attitude in the Charles Eliot Norton lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1939-1940, later published as the book \textit{Poetics of Music}. 
...imagination is not only the mother of caprice, but the servant and handmaiden of the creative will as well.

The creator's function is to sift the elements he receives from her, for human activity must impose limits upon itself. The more art is controlled, limited, worked over, the more it is free.

My freedom will be so much the greater and the more meaningful the more narrowly I limit my field of action and the more I surround myself with obstacles. Whatever diminishes constraint diminishes strength. The more constraints one imposes, the more one frees oneself of the chains that shackle the spirit.

What is important for the lucid ordering of the work - for its crystallization - is that all the Dionysian elements which set the imagination of the artist in motion and make the life-sap rise must be properly subjugated before they intoxicate us, and must finally be made to submit to the law: Apollo demands it.55

Again and again the composer reiterates the idea of control - not the constrictive type of control that leads to frustration and neurosis, but control in a positive sense, encouraging moderation, deliberation, and the exercise of reason. Stravinsky understood that control paradoxically leads to choice, whereas indiscipline often falls victim to its own momentum. The excesses of indiscipline seldom confer clear vision upon the artist, and his output thus tends to be erratic. The disciplined artist, on the other hand, has the advantage of being able to evaluate his work both during and after the working process.

Stravinsky scrupulously separates the ephemeral quality of inspiration from the working process. Whereas inspiration and imagination dominate the working process of the undisciplined artist, the disciplined artist attempts to control these qualities as he gives them material form. Yet the strength of the idea is not
necessarily weakened; it should be enhanced by the very care given to its realization. As Stravinsky states,

Invention presupposes imagination but should not be confused with it. For the act of invention implies the necessity of a lucky find and of achieving full realization of this find. What we imagine does not necessarily take on a concrete form and may remain in a state of virtuality, whereas invention is not conceivable apart from actual working-out.56

It was probably no accident that Stravinsky invoked the name of Apollo in connection with this approach, for this "most Greek of all gods"57 has long been associated with the qualities of mason, control, and moderation identified, to the point of a cliché, with the intellectual climate of classical Greece. It seems more than appropriate that the composer's essay into neoclassical style should utilize not only a classical Greek theme, but the god that exemplifies the spirit of classical Greece.

However, before Apollo was composed, Stravinsky had already tried his hand at applying the neoclassical style to a Greek theme. This was the opera-oratorio Oedipus Rex, first performed in concert version by the Ballets Russes in 1927, then staged as an opera in Vienna in 1928. Adapted from Sophocles' play, it employed a Latin translation interspersed with French narration by a man in modern evening dress (the idea of its librettist, Jean Cocteau). According to White, Stravinsky had very definite ideas about its staging, which called for a minimum of action. The singers were to be almost immobile on stage, wearing built-up costumes and masks recalling those of the ancient Greek theatre. Oedipus' blinding at the end was to be symbolized by a simple change of mask.58
Apollon Musagète was a step further towards simplification and reduction of means. Because it was a ballet, Stravinsky was able to dispense with words. He discarded the narrative form of the tragedy and the emotional tension associated with it in favor of a loosely related sequence of dances during which little occurs either dramatic— or emotionally. His visualization of "short white ballet skirts in a severely conventionalized theatrical landscape" suggests that he originally conceived of a starkly simple decoration for the ballet.

Taking into consideration all of Stravinsky's statements on Apollon Musagète, including those that may have been influenced by their chronological distance from the event, one is struck by the many different definitions of "classicism" that he implied or intended in this ballet. The god Apollo and the theme of his birth and association with the Muses are derived from ancient Greece—or, as it is loosely termed, the "classical world." The alexandrine which is given musical form in Calliope's variation stems from the "classical baroque" style of seventeenth-century France, which Stravinsky also evokes in his allusions to the Sun King. The neoclassical style of the music is generally considered to be inspired by the spirit of eighteenth-century "classical" music. By employing the term "white ballet" and the choreographic division of the pas d'action, pas de deux, and so on, Stravinsky pays tribute to the "classical" ballet. Finally, the composer invokes the timeless and universal "classical" values of formal perfection, discipline, clarity, precision, rationality, and control. Thus, as far as he was able, Stravinsky infused Apollon
with a spirit of classicism that drew upon many ages, arts, and places.

Notes:


2. S. Lifar, Sergei Diaghilev: His Life, His Work, His Legend, New York, 1940, 322.

3. Ibid., 322-323.

4. Ibid., 323 n. 6.

5. Autobiography, 133.


9. I. Stravinsky and R. Craft, Dialogues and a Diary, London, 1968, 32. (Hereafter abbreviated as Dialogues.)


11. Dialogues, 32.


17. White, Stravinsky, 4.

33. Ibid., 135.
36. Ibid., 33.
37. Ibid., 33 n. 1.
39. Dialogues, 34.

41. Ibid.
42. Ibid., 273.
43. Ibid., 260.
44. Ibid.


46. Autobiography, 80-81.


50. Oleggini, Connaissance, 193.


56. Ibid., 54-55.

58. White, Stravinsky, 290-291.
II. Significant Productions of *Apollon Musagète*

Both the scenario and the score of *Apollon Musagète* had been the products of a single mind. However, if the ballet were to exist in the theatre rather than the concert hall, it had to be given visual and kinaesthetic form. Being neither a scenic designer nor a choreographer, Stravinsky could not do this alone. Other artists had to be called upon to fulfill these functions, and the process of artistic collaboration began.

As noted in the preceding chapter, the process of making a ballet may follow several different paths. One such procedure, which may be likened to the *alla prima* method of painting, involves the parallel efforts of all of the ballet's makers: scenarist, composer, choreographer, and designer. Work on all aspects of the ballet advances more or less simultaneously, and the ballet reaches fruition as a whole.

*Apollon Musagète* required a different process. Since its scenario and score were completed before either the choreographer or the designer began his work, the task of these two artists was interpretive as well as creative. The guidelines of their work were already set, and could not be modified as easily as the ideas of collaborators working *in the alla prima* method. Yet, to paraphrase Stravinsky's words, there was tremendous freedom within this constraint. As we have seen, Stravinsky's own conception of the ballet combined a number of different manifestations of the classical ideal. Also, the very nature of music makes it the most abstract of the arts, a quality which the non-specificity of the ballet's scenario reinforced rather than
counteracted. Furthermore, neither Stravinsky’s autobiography nor 
Dialogues and a Diary had been published, and although the composer 
may have offered to his collaborators suggestions similar to those 
formulated in the books, his autobiography implies that this type of 
interaction was minimal.¹

Apollon received two very different productions, one on either 
side of the Atlantic, in the first part of its existence, 1928. There 
is no evidence that the creators of the second ever saw the first, and 
except for the link of Stravinsky’s scenario and music, the two may be 
viewed as independent creations.

A. Apollon Musagète, 27 April 1928, Library of Congress, 
Washington, D.C. Choreography: Adolph Bolm. Sets and 
costumes: Nicolas Remisoff. Cast: Adolph Bolm (Apollo), 
Ruth Page (Terpsichore), Elise Reiman (Calliope), Berenice 

The first performance of Apollon Musagète took place at a 
festival of contemporary chamber music presented under the auspices 
of the Chamber Music Society. This was the occasion for which the 
Coolidge Foundation had commissioned Stravinsky, although he never 
saw the resulting ballet.²

Adolph Bolm, a former dancer with the Ballets Russes, staged 
three other ballets for the festival: Alt-Wien, to Beethoven’s Elf 
Wiener Tänze, Arlecchinata, to excerpts from Jean-Joseph Cassanea 
de Mondonville’s opera-ballet Carnaval du Parnasse, and Pavane pour 
une Infante Défunte, to Ravel’s well-known piece.³ Apollon Musagète 
was the only score composed specifically for ballet and for the 
occasion, as well as the only score among the four ballets to receive 
its premiere performance at the festival.
Verna Arvey states that Stravinsky was in fact a second choice, and that Bolm had originally approached Béla Bartók, who was unable to provide a score in time. Bartók had made his first concert tour of the United States from December 1927 to February 1928, but his letters of that period do not mention either ballet, Bolm, or a possible commission. Also, in 1928 his ballet output was more limited and less renowned than Stravinsky's, although he had composed what he called a "choreographic poem," The Wooden Prince, in 1916, and a pantomime, The Miraculous Mandarin, in 1919. However, the latter had enjoyed great success in Prague in 1927, and Bolm may have heard of this production.

Apollon was the first of Stravinsky's works to have its world premiere in the United States. Due to the composer's prestige, the reviews tended to focus on the musical rather than the choreographic or decorative aspects of the ballet.

However, at least two reviewers described the ballet at some length in visual terms. Writing in Modern Music, Frederick Jacobi emphasized the ballet's allusions to seventeenth-century France:

In Apollo Musagète, Stravinsky has evidently desired to revive the spirit of the classic French ballet, the ballet which, with modifications, had supreme sway in Europe from the days of Lulli and Rameau until the advent of Isadora Duncan. Here we have the familiar mythological characters, reminding us that the Florentines who originated the opera and the ballet as we know them had in their minds the resuscitation of the true Grecian drama. We have Apollo, Leader of the Muses, doubly resplendent because of the fact that he is both Greek and French, that his cuirass is that of the Grecian god, his perruque that of the Roi Soleil. We have the three Muses, Calliope, Polyhymnia, and Terpsichore, suggesting, in their arm-bands and their golden fillets, Mount Parnassus, in their pale bodices and their drooping tulle skirts, the Académie Royale. We have a ballet divided into two scenes (a ballet d'action, it was called), each scene composed of a series of separate numbers: Variations, Pas de Deux,
**Pas d'Action**, ensemble numbers for all the dancers and the whole closing with the customary Apotheosis. It is the ballet whose lineage may be found in antiquity but whose ancestral home is Versailles.9

Jacobi's analysis contains a few anachronisms, for the white tulle ballet skirt was mm characteristic of the nineteenth century than the seventeenth, and the ballet d'action is usually considered to have originated in the eighteenth century with the ballets of Jean Georges Noverre.10 Also, the ballet d'action usually has a tragic plot that provides a vehicle for dramatic expression as well as technical display. As we have seen, Stravinsky underplayed this element in Apollon.

A slight change was made in the scenario of the ballet:

The composer indicated his desire that the first scene represent the birth of Apollo; that Apollo be born on the stage, springing full-grown from the womb of his mother. It was thought, however, not advisable to stage it in just this way in Washington. Instead, two goddesses (in tulle) appear before the curtain and by their gestures symbolize the importance of the glorious moment. The curtain then rises on a scene suggestive of Piranesi, a ruined temple to the right, a pile of massive rocks mounting towards the left, Apollo in dance celebrates his coming into life.11

The rest of the ballet apparently followed Stravinsky's scenario, ending with Apollo "rising higher and higher on the group of rocks to the left while the orchestra brings the ballet softly to an end..."12

Jacobi employs an intriguing simile in comparing Stravinsky's Apollon and Oedipus Rex: "It is to Oedipus as a Tanagra figure is to the Niobe group."13 He explains that Apollon is "a lighter, a more informal, a more intimate manifestation of the same phase of the composer's development."14 The analogy can be carried beyond the stylistic to the thematic and expressional aspects of the work, for both Apollon and the Tanagra figurines are seemingly concerned with
pure dance, dance for the sake of dancing, quite in contrast to the
narrative and tragic qualities associated with the names of Oedipus and
Niobe.

An anonymous reviewer for The New York Times of May 6, 1928,
provides a rather more graphic description of the action onstage:

Before the curtains a priest bears a huge glowing urn to
the front of the platform. Three maidens in ballet skirts per-
form a brief symbolic worship before it and withdraw. Thus is
Apollo born, in a manner less literal than the original scenario
demanded. The curtains then open, and before us is a scene
which suggests nothing so much as an "elegant engraving" after
Veronese. On our loft; is a huge pile of rocks and on our right
a group of Corinthian columns in ruins. Between the two stands
Apollo, clad in gold sandals, pink tights, and a gold tunic
decorated with sed festoons. Upon his long golden curls he
wears a helmet from whose crest burst many fulsome plumes. In
his hand is his lyre...

To Apollo come Calliope, Polymnia, and Terpsichore, wearing
the ballet costume of Taglioni, with a border of gold about
their skirts, and fillets in their hair to show that they are
Greek. To each of them he gives a particular mission. Calliope
is presented with a tablet and pencil and is made the patroness
of epic poetry; Polymnia receives the mystic veil and is charged
with the care of sacred hymns; Terpsichore is given the Apol-
lonian lyre itself and is made priestess of choral song and
dance. This great business performed, the Leader of the Muses
climbs up the slope of the rocks and is transfigured by a
strong light. His three followers do obeisance to him and the
curtains close.15

Although all of this sounds very solemn, this was far from being
the case:

The 'Apollo Musagetus' [sic] directs itself to the intellect.
It is dry and unemotional in quality, but - at least in the hands
of Mr. Bolm - it is far from dull. Those who claim to understand
Stravinsky aver that it is music conceived in all soberness; but
Mr. Bolm has treated it with no solemnity. Under his direction
it comes forth as a gentle and subtle burlesque, witty and
sparkling to the observing eye.16

Regarding the decor, the Times reviewer reports:

The sets and costumes by Nicolas Remisoff were conceived
in exactly the same spirit as the choreography, and were of
genuine service in fixing the mood of the production. The scene of the action is not specified on the program, but the first glimpse of the setting makes it evident that it never took place anywhere but in the mind of the early nineteenth century as it looked out upon classical culture.17

Despite their difference of opinion in fixing the century whose style best summarized the ballet, both Jacobi and the Times reviewer reveal that the Bolm-Remisoff interpretation followed Stravinsky's stated intentions in at least two ways: the white tulle ballet skirts of the Muses and the allusion, here quite explicit, to the Rol Soleil. Of course, Stravinsky did not publish these intentions until some time after the fact, and it is possible that his ideas were influenced by this production, although he claims to know nothing of it.

The ballet as a whole, like the scenario and the score, was apparently not a stylistic unity. It is unfortunate that Stravinsky has abstained from giving his opinion of this production. That there was some degree of communication between Washington and the composer is suggested by an interview with the conductor, Hans Kindler, in The New York Times of April 8, 1928. After remarking that Stravinsky had changed his style from Bach and Handel to that of Bellini, Kindler said,

He has written us, however, that the melodies for his Apollonic ballet will not be of the stuff of moonbeams and flowers, but of zinc. His scoring, however, is less metallic than of yore, since he has exchanged the wind instruments of his earlier predilection for the warmer and more emotional string.18

Unfortunately, it is unclear whether the latter statement is the opinion of Kindler or Stravinsky. The characterization of the strings as "warm" and "emotional" is provocative, since the music of Apollo is often described as "dry" and "cold," and emotionality was certainly not Stravinsky's principal aim in this score.
Only three published photographs of this production could be located. All depict Balm in the role of Apollo, wearing the costume described in the reviews: the plumed helmet, Louis XIV periwig with shoulder-length curls, metallic tunic decked with festoons, barette and ribboned ballet shoes, and leggings. He also carries a small lyre, of toylike proportions. (fig. 1)

None of the photographs includes the stage setting, so it is impossible to judge whether Jacobi's comparison to Piranesi or the Times reviewer's to Veronese were the more apt. In either case, one may deduce a fairly literal, recognizable, and traditional evocation of ancient Greek landscape and architecture. Visually, Apollon Musagète had not yet reached the twentieth century; it remained in this production heavily indebted to traditional images and metaphors.

B. Apollon Musagète, 12 June 1928, Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt, Paris. Les Ballets Russes de Diaghilev. Choreography: George Balanchine. Sets: André Bauchant, adapted by Prince A. Schervashidze. Costumes: André Bauchant, adapted by Serge Diaghilev, replaced in 1929 by costumes by Gabrielle Chanel. Cast: Serge Lifar (Apollo), Alice Nikitina, later alternating with Alexandra Danilova (Terpsichore), Felia Doubrovskia (Caliope), Lubov Tchernicheva (Polyhymnia). The names of the dancers performing the roles of Leto and the attendant goddesses in Paris could not be located, but in London they were named as Sophie Orlova (Leto) and Dora Vadimova and Henrietta Maikersa (Two Goddesses). Conductor: Igor Stravinsky.


The music historian David Ewen has pointed out that Apollon was both a "first" and a "last." Just as it was the first Stravinsky composition to be premiered in the United States, it was the last of his works to be produced by Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, if one dis-
counts the 1929 revival of *Le Renard*, a ballet first presented in 1922.

Bath Sergei Lifar and Sorgo Grigoriev, the company's regisseur, have attested to the unusually high degree of interest that Diaghilev took in this ballet, produced the year before his death. Much of the preparatory work was carried out in Monte Carlo, where the company had established since 1922 a permanent base of operations. The premiere performance was, however, given in *Paris*, and Monte Carlo did not see the ballet until the following year.

Stravinsky, who conducted the orchestra at the Paris and London premieres, wrote in his autobiography:

As a stage performance I got more satisfaction from this than from *Les Noces*, which was the latest thing that Diaghileff had had from me. Georges Balanchine, as ballet master, had arranged the dances exactly as I had wished — that is to say, in accordance with the classical school. As for the dancers, they were beyond all praise. The graceful Ninette with her purity of line alternating with the enchanting Danilova in the role of Terpsichore; Tchernichova and Doubrovksa, those custodians of the best classical traditions; finally, Sergei Lifar, then still quite young, conscientious, natural, spontaneous, and full of serious enthusiasm for his art — all these formed an unforgettable company. But my satisfaction was less complete in the matter of costume and décor, in which I did not see eye to eye with Diaghileff. As I have already said, I had pictured it to myself as danced in short white ballet skirts in a severely conventionalized theatrical landscape devoid of all fantastic embellishment such as would have been out of keeping with my primary conception. But Diaghileff, afraid of the extreme simplicity of my idea, and always on the lookout for something new, wished to enhance the spectacular side, and entrusted scenery and costumes to a provincial painter, little known to the Paris public — André Bauchant, who, in his remote village, indulged in a genre of painting somewhat in the style of the *doyen* Rousseau. What he produced was interesting, but, as I had expected, it in no way suited my ideas.

When and how Diaghileff first became interested in Bauchant's work is a moot point. The role of intermediary between impresario and painter has been variously assigned to André Lhote, Jean Lurçat,
and Jeanne Bucher, the art dealer with whom, according to Bauchant's biographer Maximilien Gauthier, Diaghilev and Lifar visited Bauchant at his home in Blutière in November 1927.27

Bauchant, though a recluse, was by no means as obscure as Stravinsky makes him sound. Discovered by Le Corbusier and Ozenfant, he had exhibited his paintings regularly in Paris since 1921, and had been named a sociétaire of the Salon d'Automne.28 Diaghilev, who had never lost his passionate interest in art, may have discovered Bauchant's work on his own at any of a number of exhibitions and collections in Paris.

Lifar's collection of costume and set designs, now at the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, Connecticut, includes Bauchant's painting Perseus and Andromeda (1926), which was purportedly intended for an unrealized ballet to music by Mähul, an idea jotted down by Diaghilev in his notebooks of 1922-1923.29 If the association of the painting with the ballet is valid, Diaghilev may have had Bauchant in mind as a prospective designer at least since 1926, two years before Apollo Musagète. Possibly, however, the painting was conceived and executed independently, and attached to the projected ballet only later. Unfortunately, information on Bauchant is sketchy, and no mention is made of his connection with Diaghilev other than his work for Apollo.

The Diaghilev commission appears to have been one of the high points of Bauchant's artistic career. According to Gauthier, the painter went to work in Monte Carlo, at the invitation of Diaghilev, from April 12 to May 9, 1928.

Il est fêté au Casino, on le présente à des princesses, on s'accorde, dans les salons et les coulisses, à le déclarer "délirieux."30
Diaghilev's secretary, Boris Kochno, tells quite another story:

We never did meet Bauchant; he lived in the country and never came to town. And although he had accepted Diaghilev's commission, he never delivered any sketches. Diaghilev then decided to use for the sets the landscapes from two of Bauchant's canvases, which Prince Schervashidze adapted for the stage.31

The truth of the matter probably lies somewhere between these two accounts, both of which are somewhat biased. Gauthier's for the obvious reason, Kochno's because he was at the time supervising the ballet Ode, which Diaghilev neglected in favor of Apollon.32 Nicholas Nabokov, the composer of Ode, recalled meeting Bauchant with Diaghilev in the rehearsal hall in Monte Carlo in April 1928; he also remembered Diaghilev's annoyance with Bauchant because the painter had been working on a still life instead of the Apollon designs.33 The latter statement bears out part of Kochno's assertion, and indeed the four paintings usually published as Bauchant's designs for Apollon bear little resemblance to the actual sets and costumes.

Bauchant's painting Champs-Élysées (1927) is generally accepted as the design for the backdrop of the prologue of the ballet, "Apollo's Birth." Its date reveals that it was not executed during the painter's visit to Monte Carlo. This accords with Kochno's statement that the Apollon sets were adapted from pre-existing paintings.

The painting depicts an enormous vase of flowers, which dwarfs the human figures that flank it on either side. Behind it, a stream winds away into a distant landscape. (fig. 2) The juxtaposition of an oversized vase and dwarfed figures in a landscape occurs in at least two other Bauchant paintings, Les Dahlias (1927),34 and Les Promeneurs du Dimanche (1928).35
Unfortunately, no photographs of the first scene of the ballet could be located. This scene is very dimly lit in current productions, and this may have been the case in 1928, making photography difficult. Luckily, verbal accounts help describe the scene. Stravinsky, in Dialogues and a Diary, refers to the "curtain with bouquet à la Odilon Redon."

A contemporary observer in Paris, André Levinson, describes "le site idyllique, tableau de chevalet aggrandi, au milieu duquel s'espansait un grand bouquet." Apparently there was no attempt to translate the two-dimensional surface of Bauchant's canvas into the three-dimensional space of the stage; the whole of the painting appears to have been used as a backdrop.

WA Propert, who saw the ballet in London, writes of "Bauchant, whose name was associated with the setting, and whose giant bouquet was hung above the cave of Apollo's nativity." This concisely establishes three points at once: it was recognized that the sets were not echt-Bauchant; the bouquet of Champs-Elysées played a conspicuous part in the stage adaptation of the painting; a new element had been added, a cave which is not present in the Champs-Elysées. The cave is mentioned by Levinson, Cyril Beaumont, who also saw the London premiere, and the Russian writer Vladimir Kameneff, who recalls that

The birth of Apollo was a subtle artistic rendering of a Freudian symbolism. Apollo's mother, Latona, was sitting on a rock. As she gave a sigh, Apollo's forward movement was perceptible inside the cave underneath. With her third sigh he came out of the cave.

An American music journal, apparently reporting on the Paris production at second hand, captioned a reproduction of the Champs-
Elveses with the statement: "The huge vase in this opening scene was designed to fall apart and become a grotto for the succeeding action of the ballet." Such an effect, which certainly would have been noteworthy, is not mentioned in any other account of the ballet, and it is possible that someone's leg was being pulled.

Neither the human figures nor the landscape in the painting are mentioned as elements in the stage design, and may have been deleted. Such alterations were not new to the Ballets Russes. Vladimir Polunin, one of the company's scene-painters, told Beaumont that Diaghilev sometimes "edited" the set designs, for instance, by altering colors. According to Waldemar George, few of the painters employed by Diaghilev after 1917 had had practical experience with the theatre, and most of them contented themselves with doing a sketch or model after which anonymous specialists executed the actual sets and costumes. George also notes that Prince Schervashidze served as 'un interprète scrupuleux et fidèle.'

The mention of Schervashidze brings us full circle to Kochno's statement about Apollon. Propert too mentions the fact that the scenery had been "skillfully adapted." Schervashidze, whom Grigoriev praises as "a remarkable scenic artist," received explicit credit for the sets at the 1929 Monte Carlo premiere. It seems quite clear that the stage settings for Apollon were not pure Bauchant, and his paintings should not be mistaken for point-for-point renderings of the actual appearance of the stage.

The issue is complicated in the second scene of the ballet, for no fewer than three paintings have been published as its design.
of these are very similar, the principal different being format, since one is executed on a vertical canvas and the other on a horizontal, which more closely approximates the usual shape of a backdrop.

The vertical version, entitled \textit{Apollon Apparaissant aux Bergers} (fig. 3) \textit{is} dated 1925 by Gauthier, while the horizontal \textit{is} signed and dated 1928, (fig. 4) It is likely that the second version was a deliberate adaptation of the first, perhaps executed at Diaghilev's request.

Both paintings depict Apollo flying through the air in a quadriga, or four-horse chariot, while human figures in a wooded landscape gaze up at him in wonder. In both paintings a winged female figure, bearing a lyre and surrounded by putti, hovers in the sky before him. In the 1925 version, the putti bear a medallion which they turn towards Apollo as if displaying it to him; in the 1928 version they carry a garland, and there are additional female figures, bare-breasted and wingless, floating behind the winged female. Below this group, both paintings portray four other wingless women, flying as if to greet Apollo. The foremost carries a pair of scales and proffers a wreath; the other three carry small objects that resemble lanterns or, more prosaic—, handbags.

\textit{Most of these figures and symbols were eliminated in the third painting, \textit{Le Char d'Apollon} of 1928.} (fig. 5) Landscape is almost nonexistent here, an unusual departure for Bauchant, who insisted on placing landscapes even behind his flower pieces (cf. Champs-Elysées). A few rocky shapes, like mountaintops, protrude from the lower edge of the canvas, but they form little more than a fringe for the vast blue sky. An empty quadriga, garland-bearing putti, and eight flying
females, bearing the lyre, wreath, and lanterns/handbags, are all that remain of the original composition.

However, this painting too was pared down. The one photograph of the production that provides a full view of the stage reveals a very austere setting. The proportions of the rocks and the quadriga have been enlarged, and the putti and flying females completely discarded. The adaptation has, however, attempted to retain a flavor of Bauchant's style by faithfully copying the quadriga (note the disposition of the horses' heads and legs, which remains constant in all three paintings), and the characteristic wrinkled texture of Bauchant's rocks. (fig. 6)

The three paintings form a logical sequence that moves progressively towards the stark simplicity of the actual stage set. It is unfortunate that no one has recorded the working relationship of Bauchant and Diaghilev, or even Bauchant's reaction to the adaptations of his paintings, for the final realizations are certainly several removes from the original conceptions.

George Amberg has published, in *Art in Modern Ballet*, a fifth painting which he identifies as a design for *Apollo*. The painting is, however, signed and dated 1939, and this date and its location in the Albright-Knox Gallery in Buffalo indicate that it is actually Bauchant's *Souvenir d'Apollon Musagète*, listed in The New York Public Library's catalogue *Stravinsky and the Theatre*. However, the title is misleading, for the painting gives little sense of the ballet. On an island surrounded by the sea stands a youthful male figure in a dark-colored tunic, flanked by six bare-breasted women. Two other women seem to be rising from the earth at the right of the
painting. No attributes are present to identify any of the figures, but while the male may conceivably represent Apollo in the ballet, the number and costume of the females bear no relation to the ballet. Indeed, the figures are essentially static, and nothing in the painting suggests that Bauchant derived his Inspiration from the ballet in particular or any form of dance in general.

Robert Craft, Stravinsky's close associate, has recorded that the composer originally wanted Giorgio de Chirico to design the ballet, while Lincoln Kirstein, Balanchine's associate, states that de Chirico was Diaghilev's choice. There were several possible points of contact between Stravinsky, Diaghilev, and de Chirico, since the Ballets Russes performed in Paris during the years de Chirico lived there, 1913-1915 and 1925-1929. They may have had mutual acquaintances among the artists who worked for Diaghilev. By 1928 de Chirico had already designed two ballets, La Jarre (1925) for the Ballets Suédois in Paris, and Le Mort de Niobe (1926), performed in Rome. He did design a ballet for Diaghilev in 1929, Le Bal.

The costumes for Apollo, like the sets, were not specially designed by Bauchant. According to Kochno, Bauchant confessed himself incapable of designing the costumes, so Diaghilev copied Apollo's tunic from a figure in an unspecified mythological painting by Bauchant. Since much of Bauchant's oeuvre remains unpublished, this painting could not be identified. Apollo apparently wore two costumes in the ballet. Levinson describes his emergence from the cave of his nativity, wrapped in swaddling clothes "pareil au Lazare des icones byzantines." Then, reports Beaumont, he "was met by two goddesses who invested him with a white tunic and golden girdle."
When the scene changed, Apollo reappeared in a tunic described by Kameneff as "red...with a splash of fuchsia over it," the costume which he wears in all of the photographs located of this production. This hue, visualized against the turquoise-blue sky of the setting, recalls a favorite color combination of Bauchant's, and may have been another conscious attempt to imitate his style.

According to Alexandra Danilova, who alternated with Nikitina in the role of Terpsichore, there were no less than four sets of costumes for the Muses. None, apparently, were designed by Bauchant. Kochno reports that Diaghilev "dressed" (the word is ambiguous; he may have designed the costumes himself or had someone else do so) the Muses in muslin tutus, which were later replaced by costumes designed by Gabrielle Chanel.

The photographs reveal two basic types of costume. One is completely white or light-colored, with a skirt reaching to the knee. The women's heads are covered by light-colored, close-fitting caps, completely concealing their hair. (fig. 8) The second type has a darker-colored bodice, a white or light-colored skirt reaching to the knee, and a sash which in the more distinct photographs appears to be made of the "striped men's cravats from Charvet" with which Chanel bound the Muses' waists. Kirstein states that these were contemporary tennis dresses, although none of the other observers comments on this, possibly due to a male indifference to feminine fashions. Terpsichore wears a tutu shorter than those of her sister Muses, which was probably a deliberate means of distinguishing her. The headdresses appear to be darker in color, though ornamented in white or light colors. (figs. 6, 9-12, 14)
Arnold Haskell has published an unusual photograph which he identifies as the ballerina Lubov Tchernicheva in *Apollon*. Tchernicheva, who created the role of Polyhymnia for the Ballets Russes, wears a soft, flowing costume, a more literal evocation of Greek draperies than the balletic tutus worn by the Muses in the other photographs. Possibly this costume was one of the discarded versions of the 1928 costume, but it is also likely that this is a studio portrait of the dancer, mistaken for a picture of the ballet.

None of the verbal accounts describe the costumes of Leto or the attendant goddesses, but these are visible in a photograph of the finale of the ballet. Leto, presumably the figure who flings up her arms in despair at Apollo's departure for Parnassus, is dressed in a long, dark-colored, vaguely Grecian-looking gown, while her attendants wear similar dark draperies and cross-gartered shoes. The practice of reserving the balletic tutu for the principal ballerina, while lesser personages wear costumes more suggestive of authentic local color, dates back to the Romantic era, although Fokine had attempted to reform this custom.

Only one stage property appears in the photographs: the lute carried by Apollo. In this production it had an unusually small sound box with a flat back, and in one photograph might almost be mistaken for a hand-mirror. It is also visible resting on the rocks at downstage left in the photograph of the apotheosis scene. Levinson, the only contemporary critic who comments on the substitution of this instrument for the lyre more frequently associated with Apollo (see chapter III), found fault with its incongruity in relation to the
music: "On n’a donné au Citharède qu’un théorbe pour en jouer. Mais ses doigts pincent dans les airs les cordes d’une grande lyre invisible."66

In a discussion of the music, the London critic W. J. Turner commented on the ballet’s revival of a classical theme:

...in a work entitled "Apollo, Leader of the Muses," we must expect to find the real Apollo and the true Muses. Apollo symbolises a great conception of the human race and it is a sad commentary on the present age that when one of its most genuine artists re-presents this conception, he does so in a form which, although real, is very much diminished. But even this is a proof of Stravinsky’s genuineness. An inferior artist would have given us a sham-romantic Apollo fitted with all the dead, romantic litter of the past and he would have trusted to the effect of these associations with the past to deceive most of us into believing that he had re-created Apollo. Stravinsky, on the contrary, does really create something. It is not the Apollo of past creation: it is less than that Apollo, but it is, nevertheless, new and real.67

The choreographic interpretation of the ballet followed closely upon that of the music. Unlike Nijinsky, who had attempted sixteen years earlier to re-create the effect of Greek friezes and vase-paintings in The Afternoon of a Faun, Balanchine broke with the customary conception (or misconception) of ancient Greek dance. Forty years after the creation of Apollon Musagète, he still found it necessary to reiterate that the ballet was not a traditional representation of the god:

Apollo is not the kind of ballet most people expect to see when they know its name. When the ballet was first performed, a French critic said that this was not Apollo at all, that the choreographer had cultivated the deliberately odd, that Apollo would never have done this, or this, or this, etc., when the critic was asked how he knew what Apollo would have done, he had no answer. He was thinking of some familiar statue of Apollo, the Apollo Belvedere perhaps, and imagined that a ballet about the god would personify sculptural representations. But Apollon Musagète is not Apollo Belvedere; he is the wild, half-human youth who acquires nobility through art.68
In 1947 Balanchine first published, in an issue of Dance Index devoted to Stravinsky, an essay on his working relationship with Stravinsky. The statements in this essay, "The Dance Element in Stravinsky's Music," have been repeated by him in many subsequent publications and interviews, and the reiteration of these ideas emphasizes the significance of Stravinsky's influence in the formulation of Balanchine's neoclassical style of choreography.

Stravinsky's effect on my own work has always been in the direction of control, of simplification and quietness.

Apollon I look back on as the turning point of my life. In its discipline and restraint, in its sustained oneness of tone and feeling the score was a revelation. It seemed to tell me that I could dare not to use everything, that I, too, could eliminate. In Apollon, and in all the music that follows, it is impossible to imagine substituting for any single fragment the fragment of any other Stravinsky score. Each piece is unique in itself, nothing is replaceable.

I examined my own work in the light of this lesson, I began to see how I could clarify, by limiting, by reducing what seemed to be multiple possibilities to one that is inevitable.

It was in studying Apollon that I came first to understand how gestures, like tones in music and shades in painting, have certain family relations. As groups they impose their own laws. The more conscious an artist is, the more he comes to understand these laws, and to respond to them. Since this work, I have developed my choreography inside the framework such relations suggest.

Like Stravinsky, Balanchine saw the ballet in terms of a color analogy;

Stravinsky's music, through the force of its invention, leaves strong after-images. I myself think of Apollon as white music, in places white-on-white...For me the whiteness is something positive (it has in itself an essence) and at the same time abstract. Such a quality exerts great power over me when I am creating a dance; it is the music's final communication and fixes the pitch that determines my own invention.
For his part, Stravinsky expressed himself thoroughly pleased with Balanchine's work, writing in his autobiography:

Georges Balanchine, as ballet master, had arranged the dances exactly as I had wished — that is to say, in accordance with the classical school. From that point of view it was a complete success, and it was the first attempt to revive academic dancing in a work actually designed for the purpose. Balanchine... had designed for the choreography of Apollo groups, movements, and lines of great dignity and plastic elegance as inspired by the beauty of classical farms. As a thorough musician — he had studied at the St. Petersburg Conservatoire — he had no difficulty in grasping the smallest details of my music, and his beautiful choreography clearly expressed my meaning.71

Contemporary opinions of the choreography varied. Reviewers saw in it both classical and innovative elements. The anonymous critic of The Illustrated London News noted that "the slow movements and curious posturings of this ballet represent the modern style, and some very beautiful and unusual affects are achieved." Beaumont observed that Balanchine "set aside his modernist experiments and planned a ballet which, while based on academic technique, had a certain novelty in its choreographic conception." Two critics, Turner and Henry Prunières, found it somewhat monotonous, the latter remarking that "One has the impression of attending a school of classical dancing where the artists are studying."75

Levinson, a staunch advocate of classical ballet, recognized in the choreography the attempt to work within the classical school, but felt that the choreographer was not yet experienced enough to succeed. He noticed the influence of the "adage acrobatique," especially in the pas de deux of Apollo and Terpsichore. Propert, on the other hand, seemed to realize along with Balanchine the lesson that the choreographer had learned from the musicians:
The determination to be classical at all costs which had so effectively taken the edge off Stravinsky's genius had done wonders for Balanchin. It was just the sort of discipline he needed. Neither the score nor the subject offered him any opportunity for experiments. He was forced to explore the classical field, and here he was rewarded by discovering a series of poses and groupings that was the more surprising for its air of naturalness; the poses were but arrested movement and the groupings seemed but chance meetings; nothing of this hard-won artistry seemed premeditated. One couldn't believe that anything so difficult could have looked so supremely effortless.77

Gordon Craig criticized the ballet for "the unwillingness or inability of the arranger to make his ballet in one piece. It was broken up into ten or twenty or thirty sections. Nature in this respect does better than he." However, despite this shortcoming he professed himself so impressed that he left without seeing the other ballets on the programme, in order not to forget "the loveliness of 'Apollo'"; he further stated, "I sometimes wonder why it is that the spectators are not given two ballets and then asked to say which of the two they would like repeated. I would have called for 'Apollo.'"78

Since it is unfortunately true that most musicians are highly critical of choreographic interpretations of "great music," the following evaluation by Eric Walter White can be taken as high praise indeed:

Although the music of Apollo seems to be almost entirely objective, there is no doubt that Balanchin's choreography adds considerable point to the score. To take a single instance: the pauses that occur in Terpsichore's variation seem willful and meaningless in the concert hall; whereas in the theatre it is absolutely in character that the dancer should hold her poses for a moment and that the flow of music should be arrested at the same time. In the original production, the dancing was disfigured by certain extravagances, such as the tableau at the end of the Prologue when the four legs of the two recumbent goddesses formed a pedestal on which Apollo balanced himself prone with his arms and legs swimming in the air; but these blemishes were later
removed, and the choreography was then seen in all its originality and beauty. *Apollo Musagete* is one of the very few modern ballets of which it can be said that its music and choreography are completely classical both in conception and in execution.9

A partial visual record of the ballet has been preserved in a number of photographs published in various articles and books, To the best of this writer's knowledge, this has been the first attempt to bring together a large number of these. One of the photographs is clearly a portrait of the dancers rather than a scene from the ballet, since it includes both of the dancers who alternated in the role of Terpsichore. (fig. 10) Several others, especially the photographs of Lifar alone, seem to be studio portraits or poses struck for the photographer rather than actual poses from the ballet.

All of the group photographs depict the second scene of the ballet, in which the Muses appear. As noted above, the dim lighting of the first scene may have discouraged photography; possibly too the torso movements performed by Leto in simulation of labor may not have been considered aesthetic. Except in the photograph of the apotheosis, neither Leto nor her attendants appear,

Several of the photographs depict key poses, which were retained in the choreography of subsequent productions of the ballet and indeed have become hallmarks of *Apollo*. These include:

1) The Muses in arabesque on three sides of Apollo, who kneels in the middle with his lute. This occurs in the beginning of the second scene *pas d'action*, after their entry and greeting bow to Apollo.80 In the photograph Apollo holds the lute in a rather low position before his face. (fig. 9)

2) Two moments from the *pas-de-deux* of Apollo and Terpsichore:
the "swimming lesson" in which Terpsichore reclines on the back of the kneeling Apollo, here, with her legs extended in a straight line, and the subsequent position, when Apollo stands up with Terpsichore curved against his back. (figs. 11, 12)

3) **Coda** - the three Muses, in a row, extend their arms towards Apollo, who pierces his head on their upturned palms. This is sometimes called the "sleeping" pose. (fig. 13)

4) **Coda** - Apollo, standing, supports the three Muses who pose in arabesque one behind the other, as if to form a many-legged creature. (fig. 14, lower right)

5) The apotheosis, Apollo, standing on the uppermost point of the rock that projects from the background of the stage, raises his arm in greeting to the *quadriga* that descends from the sky. Behind him the three Muses stand in single file, here with their arms outstretched and both hands placed on the shoulders of the Muse in front. Terpsichore, in the lead (identified by her short skirt), stretches both arms towards Apollo. (fig. 6)

These poses recur, with variations, in photographs of later productions choreographed by Balanchine (see following discussion). The variations - for example, changes in the height of leg extensions, alterations of arm gestures, modifications in body carriage - reflect the development of technical proficiency and aesthetic taste. Some changes, however, were deliberately made by the choreographer, a standard practice of Balanchine, who freely tailors his choreography
to the individual dancer, Others. no doubt result from lapses of memory, since, as noted in the introduction, Balanchine does not believe in notating his ballets and in fact does not see the necessity of preserving his choreography as a step-for-step copy of the original.

A fuller and more detailed verbal description of the choreography may be found in Balanchine's books of ballet synopses. However, since the first book was not published until 1954, its description of Apollo is probably closest to the 1951 revival of the ballet, and will be discussed further below.

Among the contemporary commentators on the ballet, Propert has left a vivid word-picture of several of the poses:

against the bent arms of the kneeling Apollo leant the three muses in receding line, linked together so closely that one could see but one body; and from this gauze-clad body shot the diverging lines of many curved arms and legs. The description may suggest an octopus, but the reality was nearer some undreamt-of flower. At another moment Apollo drove his muses before him, he on the north and they straining east, west, and south, and again one saw the intricate flower-like pattern of the arms stretching upwards from the outward-curving bodies. One saw Nikitina, like a long silver fish, poised on Lifar's crouching back, or Tchernicheva and Doubrovska, one on either side of the erect young god, with their bodies so subtly curved that they looked like the oval setting of a Cellini jewel. One knew then that four dancers are the perfect number for a ballet, and that no one of them must be greater than the others.

Although it is impossible to resurrect the ballet as it was performed in 1928, certain deductions may be proposed on the basis of the photographs and verbal descriptions. The strongly sculpturesque quality of the poses is evident from the photographs; there is a clear attempt to form pictures pleasing to the eye, with an emphasis on the qualities of balance and stability. The flow of movement that governed the transitions between poses is more difficult to deduce
from still photographs.

Lincoln Kirstein, who first saw the ballet at Covent Garden in 1929, believes that the choreography was influenced by the technical limitations of Lifar:

*Lifar had the air of a postadolescent, self-indulgent boy of grace and energy, but he was by no means a fully equipped classical technician. Balanchine arranged steps for him which accommodated and capitalized on his limitations, accentuated his brusqueness, set off his strength to such a degree that in his triumph, pattern and structure were eclipsed by personality and idiosyncrasy. Hence an eccentricity in many parts of the female variations, which were organized and designed to be consistent with the unique masculine role, at first appeared as particularly disturbing.82*

The brusqueness and eccentricity which Kirstein speaks of are less evident in the photographs, which convey a sense of calm and dignity, at least to the eyes of the present day. The general mood is one of detachment rather than passion, of self-absorption rather than conscious display. In the photographs there is little sense of a direct address to the audience; even when facing front, the dancers avert their eyes as if to maintain the distinction between the viewer's world and the secondary world being created onstage.

While this type of mood is associated with the precepts of classicism in a broad sense, it is true that this was not necessarily characteristic of the more degenerate forms of the so-called classical ballet. Fokine had rebelled against the exploitation of the classical technique for the sake of exhibitionistic display, and in many of his ballets he had discarded the academic ballet technique in order to increase dramatic expressiveness. With Apollon Balanchine reinstated the classical technique and style, but used it as a basis for choreographic invention rather than a means of either display or dramatic
expression. The "classical" traits of restraint and reduction are implicit in such an action.

In summary, although the 1928 Ballets Russes Apollon was not the definitive version of the ballet, it broke new ground and laid the basis for subsequent productions. Since the Ballets Russes was a more prestigious ballet company, it attracted more critical attention than the Washington production had; it also gave more performances in more locations. This helped increase public awareness of the new classical ideal that Stravinsky and Balanchine had begun to formulate. Both artists applied this new approach to other works: Apollon was by no means a dead-end or a culminating statement of their aims. However, the fact that they returned to it again and again, as will be discussed below, suggests that it represented to them a touchstone which they sought both to emulate and improve.

Nine years elapsed between the first two productions of Apollon and its next important revival. The Bolm-Remisoff production appears to have been limited to a single performance. The Balanchine-Bauchant production, on the other hand, continued through the last two seasons of the Ballets Russes. However, with Diaghilev's death in 1929 the company was disbanded and its dancers and choreographers scattered.

Although Apollon shared the acclaim and reverence that nostalgia eventually awarded to all the ballets of the Diaghilev canon, it may well have faded into oblivion along with the majority of the experimental ballets presented during the postwar period of the Ballets Russes. Indeed, of the ten ballets choreographed by Balanchine during
this period, only *Apollon* and *The Prodigal Son* (1929) have survived to this day.

Dance is a perishable commodity; the fact is unfortunate but true. Although Kirstein wrote of the 1937 revival of *Apollon* that Stravinsky and Balanchine "wished to present it in the choreography of its Paris presentation," he was probably fully cognizant of the difficulties of reconstructing any ballet, especially after a hiatus of so many pars. No matter how good the choreographer's memory, some degree of change was inevitable, if only because the ballet was being performed by dancers with different physiques and temperaments.

It is noteworthy that the two collaborators specifically desired to revive only the choreography of the ballet, *rather* than the ballet as a whole. In terms of material substance, *sets* and *costumes* are the most durable components of a ballet, although they *too are* not proof against the ravages of time. Probably, if the collaborators had so desired, they *could have* unearthed the designs if not the actual *sets* and *costumes* used by the *Ballets Russes*, and by dint of exhuming these artifacts and delving into the memories of contemporary participants and observers (much more numerous and fresher than they are today), a *reasonable facsimile* of the *Ballets Russes Apollon* might have been created, in the spirit of the *carefully researched revivals* of *Petrouchka* and *Parade* which have been presented in recent pars.

But just as the *Apollon* of 1928 had broken with the traditional expectations of the "Greek" ballet, the *Apollons* of subsequent *pars* were to break with their predecessors and namesakes. The declaration of independence embodied by Stravinsky's score was still in *effect*, in the sense that none of the collaborators felt the need for a com-
pletely "authentic" revival. Perhaps the artistic world had not yet assumed its current nostalgic frame of mind; perhaps, in a slightly more optimistic age, it still had faith in the concept of progress. At any rate, the following productions of *Apollon Musagète* did not merely dust off the old bones of the Ballets Russes, but attempted to give the ballet a farm meaningful to the present age.

The following discussion will focus primarily on the productions choreographed by Balanchine simply for the reason that more information is available on these productions, making a fuller picture possible.


*Apollon Musagète* returned to the nation of its world premiere on the occasion of another special event in the musical world. It was revived for a two-day Stravinsky Festival presented by the American Ballet on April 27 and 28, 1937, at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York City. Stravinsky, then living in Paris, appeared as guest conductor.

The program consisted of three ballets choreographed by Balanchine to music by Stravinsky. The Card Party (*Jeu de Cartes*) had been commissioned especially for the festival, where it received its world premiere. The third ballet, *Le Baiser de la Fée*, had been first performed by Ida Rubinstein's company in 1928 in Paris, Kibl choreography by Bronislava Nijinska.
The American Ballet, which performed these works, was exactly what its name implies. It was the first fruit of a concerted effort by Kirstein, its co-founder and director, to establish ballet as a viable art form in the United States. For this purpose he had invited Balanchine to America, where the two opened the School of American Ballet in January 1934. The American Ballet company made its debut in December 1934.

An article written by Kirstein in 1937 reveals that The Card Party was the first ballet projected for the Stravinsky Festival, and that Apollon and Baiser were chosen to complement it. Thematically the three are quite dissimilar, since The Card Party takes as its pretext a poker game (it is subtitled A Ballet in Three Deals), while Apollon is based on classical mythology and Baiser on a fairy tale by Hans Christian Andersen, treated as a musical tribute to Tchaikovsky.

Kirstein's many publications contain numerous references to Apollon, from the Ballets Russes production onwards. However, according to Anatole Chuyë he was reluctant to revive it in 1937, though not out of any particular dislike for it.

Kirstein was against the Balanchine-Stravinsky performances from the very first. He felt that Stravinsky was universally recognized as a great dance-musician, that he had received his due from all Europe, and that he would never lack a chance to produce his own ballets. He also thought that all three ballets chosen were, each in a different way, retardative.

If this was indeed the case, Kirstein gave no sign of his personal opinion when he wrote "Homage to Stravinsky" for Arts and Decoration of May 1937. He published with this article Stewart Chaney's designs for the second scene setting and the costumes of the Muses. (figs. 15-16) In the text, Kirstein wrote of these designs:
Stewart Chaney, one of the most brilliant of the younger American stage designers, has paid remarkable homage to the music and dancing, in his costumes and decor. He has been inspired by Nicholas Poussin to create a magnificent landscape against a stormy sky, a wild place near a temple which has been so richly decorated that surplus pieces of its decoration are tumbled about, resting on great satin folds of a canopy of green, white, and blue which make both sky and architectural frame.

Kirstein reiterated this allusion to Poussin in 1973, when he stated that Chaney's decor was based on the backgrounds of Echo and Narcissus and The Arcadian Shepherds: (though he does not specify which version of the latter is meant). The colors of the draperies are said to derive from inspiration of the Poet. The latter point cannot be evaluated here, since Chaney's designs have not been published in color; it is difficult to draw exact parallels between Chaney's designs and the paintings named by Kirstein. Possibly Kirstein intended a spiritual affinity rather than one of specific motifs or iconographical content.

Theatre Arts Monthly also published designs for Apollon in 1937: the costume for Apollo and a set design. (figs. 17-18) Judging from photographs of the production, this was the set actually executed, rather than that published by Kirstein. Two shots of the apotheosis show the large rock with its grotto-like cavity and the somewhat sparse tree overhanging it almost exactly as in the drawing. (figs. 19-20)

Grace Robert, a contemporary observer, described the set somewhat less enthusiastically than Kirstein:

This production of Apollon Musagète rejoiced in a decor and costumes by Stewart Chaney that were several degrees removed from Stravinsky's notions of what they should be. The Muses were clad in conventional Greek tunics. The setting, a
naturalistic landscape, was cluttered with an assortment of objects: broken columns, urns, a colossal head, capitals, and a rock for the apotheosis, the whole overhung with a great set of draperies, complete with fringes and tassels.89

However, Kirstein, writing in 1973, asserted that Stravinsky expressed himself pleased with the set, and quoted the composer's comment, "Ça fait riche; très Poussinesque."90

The grotto beneath the rock suggests that only one setting was used for both scenes of the ballet. Such a set would have been economical both in terms of time and money, and nothing in the scenario precludes it.

Though Chaney's set design appears to have been executed quite faithfully, the costumes were much altered in form. In Chaney's sketch, Apollo wears a tunic with short sleeves, a cloak, sandals, and a laurel wreath; in the photographs Lew Christensen, who performed the title role, wears a short kilt and a dark cloak that partially covers his bare torso. Kirstein described this costume as "a light, supple, gilt armor of soft kid, with a short crimson silk mantle"; he further adds that Christensen's hair was tightly curled, varnished, and powdered with gold dust.91 He does not appear to be wearing a laurel wreath in any of the photographs. (figs. 19-22)

Chaney's sketches of the three Muses depict them in long, flowing Grecian draperies rather than the bell-shaped tutus of the Ballets Russes version. Polyhymnia, identifiable by the mask she carries, is sketched with a bare breast. The costumes are white or light-cobred, with dark cloaks, sashes, and shoes. (fig. 16)

These costumes also underwent a substantial transformation. Photographs show the Muses in very brief tunics, cut above the thigh.
The soft fabric and draped bodices lend a Grecian flavor. The color scheme of light dresses with dark accents has been retained in the narrow sash passing over the shoulder of the tunic, secured by the girdle. In addition, the Muses wear hair ornaments that do not appear in Chaney's sketches. (figs. 21-23)

Leto and her attendants appear in a photograph of the apotheosis, but the figures are too indistinct to allow a costume description, (fig. 19)

Although this was the second American production of *Apollo*, it was the first performed in New York City. Elise Reiman, who had created the role of Calliope in Bolm's production, now danced as Terpsichore in Balanchine's version.

The ballet as a whole met with a varied reception. Albertina Vitak, in a review for *The American Dancer*, described Balanchine's choreography as "bizarre" and deplored the fact that his flights of fancy "occasionally go completely over the border, resulting in sheer nonsense." However, she admitted, "I found his originality stimulating, although the audience obviously did not," and continued,

The very effective setting with its pastoral quality accented the austere movements of the dancers, costumed in simple tunics patterned after the Greeks. In accordance with the music, the action was often slow with long pauses in pseudo frieze-like poses which seemed to bring music and action into a closer relationship,

The tricky solos of Apollo were danced with ease by Lew Christiansen, who looked the very part, though he was not quite convincing dramatically. Of the Muses, Daphne Vane, as Calliope, possessed the cold, glamorous unreality suited to this type of ballet... Miss Howard's solo was very fast, with all the big leaps and strong movement she does with such force. Particularly brilliant was her repetition of one figure which sounds almost impossible — a double pirouette stopping perfectly still in arabesque. Miss Reiman was best in the pas de deux with Mr. Chris-
tensed, composed almost entirely of arabesques in every conceivable position, with a delightful pause as she sits on his knees, her back to the audience.

But on the debit side were the feet wriggles of Apollo (not intended to be rond de jambe en l'air as I imagine some might think) and the unwrapping of Apollo from some yards of silver cloth—what looked like a swimming lesson in the pas de deux (Miss Reiman on Apollo’s back, doing the breast stroke). 92

Grace Robert noted that:

Choreographically, Apollo Musagète had its brilliant as well as bewildering moments. The birth of the god was achieved in the following manner: the nymph Leto is seen on the rock; suddenly the figure of Apollo appears, bound with hieratic swathings, like a mummy; two nymphs propel him forward; they hold appendages of the confining band, while Apollo frees himself with a pirouette. From then on, his principal task was to pilot the Muses through a pas de quatre, which exploited every acrobatic predicament and convolution that the ingenuity of the choreographer could devise. 93

The last statement recalls Levinson’s allusion to the “adage acrobatique” and confirms Vitak’s statement that in 1937 Apollo still remained an oddity in the eyes of the ballet-going public. That it still retained laughable aspects for some is apparent in Robert’s quotation of another review:

At least one of the critics was amused by the portentous solemnity of the action, remarking in his review: "There was something to tempt the risibles...in the sight of one of the Muses sitting down momentarily on the recumbent Apollo’s knee, her back to the audience, and then flitting away as if some important bit of allegory has been visualized. 94

John Martin, who was at the time a somewhat uncompromising partisan of the modern dance, gave Apollo a scathing review in The New York Times:

Apollo was first produced in Balanchine’s version for the Diaghileff Company in 1928, and it bears the strong impress of that period of artiness and affectation...Just as Stravinsky has turned the rhythmic complexities of the music in the direction of pseudo-Bellini melodiousness, so Balanchine has assumed a surface of studied simplicity, but underneath there is none of the essential nobility of the classic style. 95
On the other hand, Elliot Carter praised the ballet as "Balanchine's masterpiece." His review is especially enlightening because he conjures up a vivid image of the movement quality not only of this production, but of the 1928 Ballets Russes production as well.

Though in part a reprise of his former choreography for Diaghileff, it was less static and had greatly gained in feeling since its Parisian performance. The jerks from one statuesque pose to another were no longer in evidence and in their place was a very beautiful plasticity having both nobility and repose.

No one has worked out flow in dancing as well as Balanchine. In Apollo, there was a constant line of movement which bound all the steps together and never ceased until the curtain fell. There was something magical and stirring about this drawing of invisible lines in the air... Balanchine's greatest successes have been in this lyric and poetic vein...

Kirstein also evoked the movement qualities of the Muses' dances in "Homage to Stravinsky."

Each variation characterizes the nature of the goddess. The strong buoyant line of lyric verse, the eloquent gestures of the dramatic artist, the fluent rhythms of the dancer are the music's accompaniment and equal... George Balanchine's superb choreography recalls the school of Petipa, but as it is invigorated by contemporary developments in movement.

He described Balanchine's characterization of Apollo as "neither a frigid echo of Greece, nor a flash back to the court of Versailles. He is the god of swimming and dancing, an athlete and an artist, the brusque and vigorous portrayal of a divine boy."

However, in his polemic "Blast at Ballet" (1937), Kirstein described the character in somewhat different terms:

Lev Christensen in the role of Apollo achieved a human nobility and technical mastery which he had promised in Orpheus. His distinguished interpretation of this difficult part was more golden baroque, more the Apollo Belvedere than Serge Lifar's dark, electric, archaic animalism of nine years before. But at last here was an American dancer with his own individual classical attitude, using his six feet of height with a suave and monumental elegance which was wholly athletic, frank, musical and
joyful, and wholly unlike the smaller-scaled grace of the Russian prototype.99

Kirstein’s allusion to the Apollo Belvedere, though an apt description of Christensen’s physical appearance, is somewhat difficult to reconcile with Balanchine’s statements on the ballet. A long familiarity with the history of art predisposes Kirstein to describe the ballet in terms of famous sculptures of the past:

Apollo, commencing as an awkward athlete, gradually emerges as if from a blunt four-square block, just as the early Greek stone Kouros over three centuries grew into the released humane prototype of Periclean and post-classical naturalism.

By no accident, Balanchine used quotations both from Hellenistic sculpture (Apollo Belvedere, the Self-Scrapping Victor of Lysippus) and from the beginnings of the Baroque (Michelangelo’s God Touching Adam into Life).100

Balanchine, on the other hand, has attempted to deny this sort of association:

When the ballet was first performed, a French critic said that this was not Apollo at all. He was thinking of some familiar statue of Apollo, the Apollo Belvedere perhaps, and imagined that a ballet about the god would personify sculptural representations, But Apollon Musagète is not Apollo Belvedere; he is the wild, half-human youth who acquires nobility through art.101

However, Kirstein’s imagery refers to specific poses or sequences of movement within the ballet, i.e., forms whereas Balanchine’s statements apply to them and content as well. This suggests a paradox: an iconoclastic ballet which nevertheless draws upon icons, or forms with certain established connotations. Such a treatment is not unusual—an obvious example of its application is parody—but was Apollon intended to be a parody? The reviews quoted above show that some spectators found it laughable at times, but did not see it in parodic intents, although Vitak for one recognized that the liberties
taken were essentially based on the classical technique.

When the ballet was repeated in the following par. 1938, it evoked the first of several sensitive and perceptive reviews by Edwin Denby. His words allow the reader not only to visualize the physical configuration of the movements, but to capture something of their evocative and expressional significance as well.

Did you see the way Balanchine shows you how strangely tall a dancer is? She enters crouching and doesn't, rise till she is well past the terrifically high wings; then she stands up erect, and just standing still and tall becomes a wonderful thing. Did you see how touching it can be to hold a ballerina's extended foot? The three Muses kneel on one knee and each stretches her other foot up, till Apollo comes and gathers the three of them in his supporting hand. Did you notice how he teaches them, turning, holding them by moments to bring each as far as the furthest possible and most surprising beauty; and it isn't for his sake or hers, to show off or be attractive, but only for the sake of that extreme human possibility of balance, with a faith in it as impersonal and touching as a mathematician's faith in an extreme of human reasoning.

Or did you notice how at the end of a dance Balanchine will - instead of underlining it with a pose directly derived from it - introduce a strange yet simple surprise (an unexpected entrance, a resolution of the grouping into two plain rows) with the result that instead of saying, "See what I did," it seems as though the dancers said, "There are many more wonders, too."

The effect of the whole is like that of a play, a kind of play that exists in terms of dancing... The subject matter is the same as that of the music, which as you know is, "the reality of art at every moment." 102

Visual records of this production are rather few in comparison with the 1928 Ballets Russes version. A number of studies show Christensen striking attitudes on a set of blocklike stairs which do not appear in Chaney's set designs; these appear to be studio portraits. Two photographs of the apotheosis have been published; note the different camera angle and arm gesture of Apollo in each. (figs. 19, 20)
The pose that opens the pas de deux of Apollo and Terpsichore (fig. 21) has been identified as a direct quotation of Michelangelo's Creation of Adam on the Sistine ceiling. Terpsichore enters from offstage, her head turned away from Apollo, and places the tip of her index finger on his. While the gestural analogy is undeniable, the symbolic significance is not quite the same. The Muses were not the creators of Apollo, nor, according to Stravinsky's conception, his instructors in the arts. Neither do they inspire him in the sense of "the poet and his muse"; on the contrary, Stravinsky holds that he inspires them.

The famous pose of the Muses and Apollo in arabesque, one behind the other to form a many-legged creature, reveals certain alterations in position. (fig. 22) Whereas, in the Ballets Russes version, Lifar's torso faces front, his head turned to the profile view (fig. 14, lower right), Christensen's head and torso both move towards the profile position. His right arm gesture has also been altered. The positions of the Muses have also changed; the Muse in front is more nearly upright than her Ballets Russes counterpart, although she too does not support her own weight. The Muse furthest upstage now twists around Apollo and cranes up at his face, so that the pose as photographed shows a triangle of three heads, echoing the right triangle whose apex is Apollo's head and whose bases are his left foot and the left foot, touching the floor, of the foremost Muse. This helps stabilize the strong diagonal sweeping from Apollo's upraised left arm to the left foot of the foremost Muse. The pose as a whole is more stable and balanced than that of the Ballets Russes.
In summation, as far as sets and costumes go, the 1937 production appears to have drawn upon a more conventional and consistent "Greek" tradition than either of its predecessors. But its choreography still seemed odd and innovative to most of its audience; however "classical" its garb, Apollon had not yet been accepted as a "classic."


In 1941 the American Ballet, which had been defunct as a performing organization since 1938, merged with Ballet Caravan (another company formed by Kirstein) to form the company variously known as American Ballet Caravan or sometimes simply as the American Ballet. The impetus for the merger came from official sources: Nelson A. Rockefeller, then head of the United States Office for Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics (an agency under the jurisdiction of the State Department) had commissioned Kirstein to organize a ballet company for a good-will tour to Latin America. Kirstein became director-general of the company, Balanchine director of choreography. The tour opened on June 26, 1941, in the Teatro Municipal in Rio de Janeiro.

Apollon was one of a number of ballets presented on this tour. The rest of the repertory ranged from abstract works such as Balanchine's *Ballet Imperial* and *Concerto Barocco* to narrative ballets with "all-American" themes, such as Eugene Loring's *Billy the Kid* and Lew Christensen's *Filling Station."

In a travel diary of the tour written for *The American Dancer*,...
Kirstein reported that Apollo had enjoyed an "unforeseen success." In regard to the decor, he wrote:

In Brazil we reset this ballet, as much as possible according to Stravinsky's wishes. He had, in his autobiography, expressed himself displeased with the original decor by Bauchant. We employed a young Brazilian stage decorator, Santa Rosa, who also made the superb chariot for us with four horses to carry Apollo off to heaven, but these were so heavy that after carting them all over South America we had to abandon them at the foot of the Andes due to their excess weight. 110

No sketch or photograph of the Santa Rosa set could be located, making it impossible to evaluate whether it followed Stravinsky's specifications as closely as Kirstein claims.

A series of six photographs of the dancers in action on this tour was published in Dance Index of 1945. The caption identifies the dancers as Marie-Jeanne, Marjorie Moore, Olga Suarez, and Lew Christensen. 111 (fig. 24)

Besides a vague indication of rocks in the background, obscured by the darkness of the photograph, there is no intimation of the stage setting. The costumes of the Muses appear to be the same as in the 1937 production, but Apollo now wears a metallic-looking tunic that bares one shoulder, a cloak, cross-garters, and a laurel wreath. Kirstein's travel diary mentions gilt leggings,* but it is unclear whether this refers to the cross-garters or to an additional article of clothing not shown in the photographs.

The "swimming lesson" from the Apollo-Terpsichore pas de deux reappears in these photographs, as does the subsequent pose with Terpsichore leaning against Apollo's back. The pose of the three Muses in arabesque, joining hands with each other and Apollo and straining outward, also recurs. The arabesques now extend much
higher than in the Ballets Russes version (fig. 14, lower left), a change which may have been influenced by the more revealing costumes as well as by the changes in taste and technical capability.

The photographs also capture a moment not previously illustrated in earlier productions, although it reappears in photographs of later ones. This occurs during the pas d'action: "the muses form a close line in front of Apollo. This line moves backward as one, the young god and goddesses shuffling awkwardly on their heels." This line moves backward as one, the young god and goddesses shuffling awkwardly on their heels.

Did this movement exist in earlier productions? If so, had it previously been considered too awkward and unballeratic to be photographed? Who made that decision: the photographer, press agent, or makers of the ballet? Obviously there is no facile answer to these questions, but it is possible that the poses considered worthy of being photographed and publicized may provide an indication of changing attitudes and tastes.


In June 1942 Pavel Tchelitchew designed the sets and costumes for two ballets by Balanchine to be produced in Buenos Aires: Apollon and Concerto, the latter to music by Mozart. This was by no means the artist's first experience with stage design; he had already decorated seven ballets, the first of which, Ode, had been produced by the Ballets Russes in 1928, simultaneously with Apollon. Five of the ballets had been choreographed by Balanchine: L'Errante (1933), Marius (1936), Orpheus (1936), Balustrade (1941), and The Cave of Sleep, commissioned
by Kirstein and Balanchine in 1941, but never realized. 114

Two sketches for this production of Apollon are now in the Department of Theatre Design in the Museum of Modern Art, New York City, the gift of Lincoln Kirstein. 115 Both are apparently the same set, for according to Donald Windham, writing in Dance Index of 1944:

A single set, serves for two scenes in Apollon Musagete, transformed in this case purely by a change in illumination. Here we see the face of the earth still and stone-like until an inner light reveals all the richnesses of nature which were in Cave of Sleep. The still earth, a mountain top of pure marble, comes to life and Apollo leaps full grown from his mother's womb. 116

At the end of the ballet, when the god departs for Parnassus,

Softly, through a change in lighting from front to back, the stage becomes a world rich with vegetation and full of human faces. The Golden Age is over and the stage again pales into a lifeless dragonfly wing, dark with the iridescence of fear. 117

The first of the two sketches (fig. 25) reveals a rocky, barren landscape striated by ribbons of light that form a webbing which conceals the human faces, dominated by a radiant upturned face in center stage, that are revealed in the apotheosis. (fig. 26) Both the webbing and the double images of human faces recall Tchelitchew's Hide and Seek (1940-42), which he worked on simultaneously with the Apollon sets. 118

The apotheosis incorporates the airborne quadriga that also appeared in the Bauchant and Santa Rosa sets. Tchelitchew enriched this image by transforming each horse into a Pegasus. The total effect is visionary and poetic, and it is unfortunate that no photograph of its onstage realization could be found.

Windham also reproduces in Dance Index a page from Tchelitchew's sketchbook, with the costumes of the Muses freely sketched in the lower left corner. The names Polyhymnia, Terpsichore, and "Calliope" are
also discernible at the left of the page. These sketches show dresses with draped bodices and helmet-like headdresses. (fig. 27)

The costumes executed for the stage are fairly similar, though the helmets were eliminated. Each Muse has a different pattern on her dress: "the deaf-and-dumb sign for Polyhymnia, the Greek alphabet for Calliope, and music staffs and bars for Terpsichore." 119 (fig. 28)

Apollo is dressed in a tunic that bares one shoulder, a wig, and cross-gartered shoes. Windham notes that he also had a golden clods, lyre, and scroll. 120 (fig. 28)

The identification of the ballet company or of the individual dancers who performed in this production remains something of a mystery. The New York Public Library's catalogue Stravinsky and the Dance states that the American Ballet performed, 121 but this company had been disbanded in October 1941, after its South American tour. No other source attributes this production to that company. Possibly it was danced by members of the Ballet of the Teatro Colón, which performed in the other ballet by Balanchine presented at this time, Concerto. 122 Possibly, too, the ballet was danced by guest artists brought in by Balanchine.

The one photograph of the production that could be located depicts the shuffling movement from the pas d'action. (fig. 28) The dancers were not identified in the caption accompanying the photograph,
Rosella Hightower (Calliope), Nora Kaye (Polyhymnia), June Morris (Leto), Miriam Golden and Shirley Eckl (Two Nymphs).

With this revival, Balanchine's ballet assumed the simplified title Apollo, which is preferred today. This production remained in the repertory of Ballet Theatre, the present-day American Ballet Theatre, through the seasons 1942-1943 and 1945-1950. Various changes in cast took place during these years, the most notable being the assumption of the role of Apollo by Igor Youskevitch during the 1946-47 season, and that of Terpsichore by Alicia Alonso in 1945-46 and Maria Tallchief in 1948-49. The ballet was presented in London at the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, in 1946 and performed during a European tour in 1950.

Contemporary observers suggest that the ballet had become more acceptable to the public and critics, through sheer familiarity if nothing else. Edwin Denby, who had championed the ballet from the first, wrote:

The ballet itself I reviewed in this column five years ago, explaining and defending the choreography; now it turns out to be perfectly clear anyway. Everybody dies at the little jokes, everybody appreciates the intimacy of tone and the wide openness of line.

This reference to humor recalls the reviews of Bolm's version of the ballet, and suggests that, for the first time since 1928, light-heartedness was seen as an appropriate quality of this ballet. In approaching the mythological theme in this mood, rather than with awe and reverence, the choreography no longer seemed bizarre, unsuitable, or undignified, but whimsical and playful. Glenway Westcott's opinion that the ballet should be called Apollo's Games with the Muses suggests this quality, although Kirstein in a more scholarly manner interpreted
the phrase to signify the more solemn type of athletics represented on
Roman coins and cameos.129

Writing in 1947, Kirstein pointed out the transformation that the
ballet had undergone in the eyes of its beholders with the passage of
time:

Apollon has now lost for us the effects which offended,
irritated or merely amused an earlier public. We forget that
much of the "modernism" of adagio movement in our classic dance
derives directly from Apollon; that many ways of lifting women,
of turning close to the floor, of subtle syncopation in the use
of pointes, of a single male dancer supporting three women, were
unknown before Apollon. These innovations horrified many people
at first, but they were so logical an extension of the pure line
of Saint-Léon, Petipa and Ivanov that they were almost immediately
absorbed into the tradition of their craft.130

However, some observers still found the choreography difficult to
stomach. In discussing the 1946 Covent Garden performance, Audrey
Williamson drew an unfavorable comparison between Apollon and the
abstract ballet Symphonic Variations, by the English choreographer
Frederick Ashton. After praising Ashton's "fluid musical design," she
states,

Balanchine's transition from position to position is often
strained, and one wonders if it was of this work that Stravinsky
was thinking when he wrote, in his "Chronicle of My Life," of the
choreographer's tendency to disrupt the musical and choreographic
line by cutting up the rhythmic episodes into fragments.131

On the other hand, the ballet inspired Edwin Denby to write, on
October 23 and 28, 1945, two essays of extraordinary power and vividness
both as descriptions and interpretations of the work. The first, "The
Power of Poetry," is a more straightforward review, but the second,
"Balanchine's Apollo," is timeless in nature; its descriptive tour de
force transcends any single performance of Apollo and gives the impres-
sion that it could, or should, apply to every performance of this ballet.
To quote a few excerpts:

Three young Muses appear and the four of them dance together. They dance charmingly and a little stiffly, reminding you of the inexpressive seriousness and shy, naive fancy of children. But as they end, the boy gives the three girls each a magic gift, a scroll of verse to one, a theater mask to the second, a lyre to the third. And holding these emblems of poetry, each seems to be inspired beyond her years. The first girl dances flowingly with an airy and lyric delight; the second bounds with dramatic speed, with sudden reversals of direction as if in mid-leap; just at the end one hand that has seemed all through to be holding a mask before her face seems to sweep the mask away, and she is herself again and frightened. The third muse, Terpsichore, invents the most adventurously brilliant dance of all, boldly cutting her motions in diamond-clear stops breaking the cumulative drive. She combines suspense with calm. And as she ends, Apollo gen—touche her bright head. But, the dance over, she ducks like a child and runs off.

"And now all three Muses dance together in darting harmony and dance inspired by poetry's power, swinging from Apollo like birds, curving from his body like a cluster of flowers, driven by him like an ardent charioteer; and ending, when immortal Zeus has called through the air, in three grand accents of immolation."132

Unlike most commentators, who accepted the ballet on face value as a mythological narrative or a more-or-less abstract work, focussing on dance for the sake of dancing, Denby read into Apollo a deeper meaning and significance. He interpreted it as a metaphor of the development of the poetic mind, as it travels from the more literal realm represented by the "pantomimic opening"133 (i.e., Apollo's birth and first clumsy steps), to an increasing sense of abstraction, which distills and transcends the phenomenological world.

In this sense Apollo conveys an image of increasing discipline, of increasing clarity of definition. It grows more and more civilized. But the rhythmic vitality of the dance, the abundance of vigor increases simultaneously, so that you feel as if the heightening of discipline led to a heightening of power, to a freer, bolder range of imagination. Since the piece is about the gods of poetry, and how they learned their art, it seems, too, to be describing concretely the development of the creative imagination.134
Discipline and freedom—the linkage of the two is a direct echo of Stravinsky's ideas. This approach to artistic creation is essentially classical rather than romantic; it recalls the painstaking preparatory studies of a Poussin, the striving for balance and harmony of a Cézanne. To the classicist, art is not produced in a flash of inspiration or a Dionysiac frenzy. It results as much from the craftsman-like understanding and application of one's materials as from the sudden illuminating insight. Balanchine expressed the same viewpoint more lightheartedly when he quipped, "My Muse must come to me on 'union' time." 

Although the thematic content of the ballet may have progressed from the particular to the universal, the costume designs remained firmly rooted in a more-or-less literal evocation of classical Greece. In the photographs, Apollo retains his gold tunic, girdle, and dark-colored sash, plus his traditional attribute, the laurel wreath. (figs. 29, 30) The Muses display more up-to-date chic: the unusual cut of the bodices of their brief white tunics suggest the world of haute couture more than that of the Parthenon. On their heads they wear what Minna Lederman calls "Versailles headdresses." 

elaborate sort of gold wig. (figs. 31-33)

One photograph includes a column of more-or-less antique appearance, but it cannot be verified as part of the setting, for which neither sketches nor photographs could be located. (fig. 31)

Apollo's lute has increased in size, and now looks more like an actual instrument rather than a toy. (fig. 32)

Two photographs repeat poses seen in earlier productions: the
pose from the beginning of the pas d'action, with the Muses in arabesque facing the kneeling Apollo (fig. 32), and the "many-legged creature" pose from the coda. (fig. 33) In both of these poses the arabesques of the Muses extend much higher than before. (cf. figs. 14, lower right, and 22) The first pose increases the space between the dancers by having the Muses link hands with each other rather than resting their elbows on Apollo's shoulders, as in 1928. Apollo now holds his lute high overhead. Both of these changes increase the sense of outward expansion and upward aspiration. They also increase the effect of strength and athleticism, which contrasts with the softer, more relaxed quality of the 1928 version. The simplified costumes, with their brief skirts, also add to the sense of modern streamlining and efficiency.


In 1947 Balanchine was invited to stage four of his well-known works for the Paris Opéra Ballet: Apollon, Serenade, Le Baiser de la Fée, and Le Palais de Cristal (Symphony in C).

Only an visual image of this production of Apollon could be found: the set design by André Delfau. (fig. 34) The landscape depicted is rocky and barren, with a two-storey grotto dominating the center of the stage. If this structure were faithfully reproduced onstage, it is difficult to tell how it was used. M'd Apollo climb all the way to the top, in order to stand on the highest point of the rock for the apotheosis? Or did he merely ascend to the second storey, to pose framed against the rock? Since the reviews that could be located were dis-
appointingly silent on this point, these questions must remain unanswered here.

Delfau's design employs a nervous, flickering texture that fractures light and forms. The effect is rather busy, and one cannot help wondering if this quality were retained in the set, and if so, how it worked during the ballet.

No costume designs or photographs could be located, but Leandre Vaillat mentions that Apollo wore a gold tunic.\(^{138}\)

Vaillat has published an interesting critique of the ballet, which in his eyes exemplifies the neoclassical style both in its strengths and weaknesses:

Toutes Pes recherches dites "néo-classiques" sont contenues dans cet ouvrage: épures dépouillées de vains ornements, lignes tendues à l'extrême, déplacement audacieux du centre de gravité, pathétique requis par l'expression du corps autant que du visage, manière ingénieuse de nouer et de dénouer les mains ou les bras, de joindre les figures en une figure unique à plusieurs bras, à plusieurs têtes, qui semble échappé de quelque ciel hindou...

Peut-être le néo-classicisme, qui par là se différencie du classicisme académique, fait-il appel à une véhémence rythmée des pas et du geste, qui n'est pas toujours compatible avec leur accomplissement parfait? C'est pourquoi il rencontre tant de faveur auprès d'artistes jeunes et impatient de l'applaudissement sans être obligés de se soumettre à une discipline trop rigoureuse à leur gré. Une sensation d'inachevé dans le fini de l'exécution, que rachetent à bon compte les prestiges liés de la musique, du décor et des costumes, en résulte parfois.\(^{139}\)

Vaillat thus ascribes the experimentalism of the choreography to a lack of finish and discipline. As noted above, this quality had also been attributed to the technical deficiencies of Lifar in 1928. However, by 1947 it certainly must have been intended by the choreographer. Working with different dancers through the years, he had had ample opportunity to alter both steps and movement qualities. Vaillat's
argument is akin to that of the nineteenth-century French academy, in its debate over sketch versus finished painting. Just as in the case of painting, a new definition of "finish" had to be evolved.

Another intriguing point in Vaillat's critique is his characterization of Apollo:

Ce n'est pas seulement l'athlète à l'arc infaillible, le gagnant des jeux Olympiques montré par la statuaire grecque, mais une jeune homme fin, nerveux, sensible, réceptif, avec un je ne sais quoi de naturellement noble, qui laisse pressentir la grandeur: ainsi Louis XIV adolescent. 140

This reference to the Sun King recalls that of Stravinsky, but applies the analogy to a different aspect of the ballet; instead of its decoration, its theme. Like Denby, Vaillat has discerned the idea of growth and development, although Denby applies this to the more abstract concept of the creative mind, while Vaillat describes the personality of an individual. In both interpretations, the fact that the protagonist is the god Apollo is no longer germane to the issue. The theme from classical mythology has become merely a pretext for a more profound underlying meaning.


The setting was Limited to some rocks and an insubstantial looking, poorly executed hill in the background. Put to effective use in the opening and closing tableaux, when the stage was darkened, it otherwise lent a tawdry air to the proceedings in front of it.141

This description of the set for Apollo, from a review in Musical America, reveals that the ballet's physical surroundings had come a
long way since the Piranesi-like design of its first production, the set had become so insignificant that no designer was listed on the programme. Instead, as with many other contemporary ballets and theatrical works, Lighting took its place. Balanchine's own synopsis of the ballet, published in 1954, incorporates light as an integral means of dramatic expression:

The scene is Delos, an island in the Aegean Sea. It is night; stars twinkle in a dark blue sky. Back in the distance, in a shaft of light, Leto gives birth to the child whom the all-powerful Zeus has sired. She sits high on a barren rock and holds up her arms to the light...Apollo is born. Leto disappears, and in the shaft of light at the base of the high rock stands the infant god, wrapped tightly in swaddling clothes...

There is a blackout...When the lights come on again, the scene is brilliant, as if a flash of lightning had been sustained and permanently illuminated the world."  142

Light, non-specific and universal in nature, now provided the principal stage-dressing for a ballet in which the costumes of the Muses had been simplified to plain white tunics, of the type worn as practice clothes. Other ballets produced by the New York City Ballet in the same year also discarded elaborate costumes and scenery in favor of this severe garb; both Concerto Barocco and The Four Temperaments were revived in "what has almost become a uniform for the dancers of the New York City Ballet - simple black tunics for the girls and black tights and white shirts for the boys - against a blue cyclorama."  143

Apollo himself remained an anachronism in his gold tunic, cross-garters, and laurel wreath. Balanchine mentions the "short gold tunic" and crown of "golden vine leaves" in his synopsis, 144 but it is not clear whether this costume was his idea.
A sampling of reviews seems to indicate that the critics, who may or may not be representative of the audience as a whole, had begun to shift their focus from the narrative elements of the ballet (which are minimal) and the movements per se (whose "grotesque" and "bizarre" aspects had been softened by time and familiarity) to the subtler nuances of mood and the deeper underlying significance of the ballet as a whole.

Playfulness and humor had become more acceptable as characteristics of the youthful god. This humor was no longer provoked solely by the oddity of the movements, nor was it merely derisive, but it was seen to be an intentional part of the total expressive effect. As P.W., Manchester pointed out in a review for Dance News:

The formal, almost icy classicism of Apollo is relieved by flashes of a boy's humor, as when Polyhymnia, Muse of the sacred lyric, suddenly becomes aware that she may be making too much noise and covers her mouth with her hand: and again where Apollo, in youthful sport, drives the Muses round the stage as though already he anticipates the moment when he will, for the first time, step into his chariot and drive the sun across the heavens.

Then the playfulness ceases. Apollo hears the summons of Zeus. Until then he has been a boy. Now it is time to put away childish things and accept the responsibilities of a man and a god. With an awed solemnity he leads the Muses in the ascent of Olympus and stands ready for what is to come.145

Manchester also points out the alterations made in the choreography since 1928, which in part account for its evolution from the grotesque to the playful. Apollo had mellowed, and so had some of its critics. John Martin, though disdaining to acknowledge the ballet as "a first class work in its own right," stated in his New York Times review:

In the present revival there is happily nothing left of the one-time self-conscious iconoclasm; even when Apollo swings his arm in furious circles from the shoulder, or when he and the three muses do pas de bourrée on the heels, nobody is trying to be
shocking. **It is much lighter in mood than it used to be, much simpler and more straightforward in style, and even its occasional touches of banter are genial rather than impudent. It may even be that Balanchine has changed details of the choreography here and there, for it all looks less deliberately difficult.**

Similarly, the reviewer for *Musical America* observed:

The ballet's intrinsic value is still considerable, and if it seems on the whole a rather pallid work today, it is almost free from gaucheries of experimentation or sophistication gone stale. In its simple picture of Apollo's birth and his relationship with three of the nine Muses...a mood of classical serenity is delicately maintained throughout the work, only mildly disturbed by Polyhymnia's lively variation or the jazz-like syncopations of the pas de quatre during the coda. The movement has many fine, characteristic Balanchine touches, such as the intertwining arms and figures, and is often freshly inventive from Apollo's second variation on...Frequent tableaux or poses keep the ballet somewhat static – legitimately so, considering its nature and style – but the transitional movement is occasionally awkward or seemingly illogical, and there are some grotesqueries that are no longer as witty as they may have seemed in the beginning.

Doris Hering, the reviewer for *Dance Magazine*, characterized *Apollo* as "a curiously impersonal work," yet also reiterated the emphasis on the moods conveyed in the ballet:

...Terpsichore (Maria Tallchief) returns to join the god (Andre Eglevsky) in a pas de deux that is no longer playful but literally takes wing as at the end he bends down and allows her to lie on his back with her arms outstretched in birdlike flight. Her companions (Tanaquil LeClereq and Diana Adams) return, and the quartet forsakes its former athletic play for a mood of sweet and absorbed solemnity.

Incidentally, it is amusing to note that the "swimming lesson" pose has evolved from water to air!

Hering, like Denby, saw the ballet as a metaphor of awakening artistic consciousness:

As Kith all genuine works of art, *Apollo* may be understood on two levels. There is its literal self – the sunny image of a god growing up. And there is its symbolic self – the picture of an artist maturing,
In style, Apollo has the same duality. On one hand it is a model of classic order and discipline. On the other it is a clever combination of athleticism and willful distortion. It is as though the choreographer were trying to see how far he could deviate from the classic structure and still be able to snap back to it. Thus, when a ballerina is turned in deep plié by her partner, one knows that she will not continue on this tangent but will return to some more conventional frame.

In 1954 Arthur H. Franks published a more lengthy analysis of Balanchine's relationship to the classical ballet:

Nijinsky, Nijinska and Massine, the choreographers who had preceded Balanchine in the Diaghilev company, had diluted and even at times rejected the classical technique. In doing so they undoubtedly enriched the scope of ballet both as to its thematic material and its expressive power. On the other hand an art must die unless its fundamental laws are from time to time restated in a new way. This re-statement came at the psychological moment from Balanchine in Apollo...in which he made a new claim for the danse d'école phrased in twentieth-century idiom. In this ballet he revived classical dance in all its purity, yet with a difference that identifies it from the Petipa enchainments as clearly as a modern automobile stands out against an Old Crock. The difference is difficult to explain only because we are concerned in Apollo with a flow of steps, many of which are almost identical in shape and pattern, for this was before Balanchine began his wholesale modification of classical pas. But whereas Petipa built up his dances, joining appropriate figures together, skillfully allowing ample contrast, Balanchine concerned himself...with the impetus of the dance itself, allowing the figures more or less to dictate themselves by necessity out of the momentum of the dancers in response to his own reaction to the music. In addition to this, Balanchine provides an occasional surprise in his choreography by changing the impetus of the dance and starting off a flow of images in a different direction. Like Petipa he invents new figures in keeping with the classical vocabulary; also like him he interpolates such figures partly for the purpose of providing the dance with a new impulse, and partly to suggest some particular character or quality to further a slender plot.

...In this work Balanchine had to employ a certain amount of mime, but obviously sought to dispense with it as soon as his slender literary theme had been made as clear as necessary for the development of his true theme - the dynamic growth of dancing into a series of climaxes fully satisfying in their own right.

Among the photographs of this production, at least one recalls the 1928 Ballets Russes version: the opening of the pas d'action, with
the Muses in arabesque around Apollo. As in 1943, the arabesques are very high, but the lute that Apollo raises overhead has again dwindled in scale. (fig. 35; cf. figs. 9, 32)

Another photograph repeats a pose from the 1943 production, in which Eglevsky also danced the title role. Apollo holds his lute in his outstretched left hand, with its sound box resting against his left hip; his right arm is held en haut (overhead), his right leg extended croisé devant (crossing the left leg in front). (fig. 36; cf. figs. 29, 30) The profile position of the head, contrasting with the three-quarter or full-front view of the chest, may be a deliberate quotation of Greek friezes and vase-painting. Nancy Reynolds has pointed out that this position also occurs in Terpsichore's variation.151

Also included among the 1951 photographs are moments in the ballet described verbally but not photographed in previous productions. In the coda, Apollo lifts two Muses at once (fig. 37), recalling Denby's phrase "curving from his body like a cluster of flowers."152 Denby had also described, in 1938, the sequence in which the Muses kneel on the floor and stretch their feet up towards Apollo; Balanchine explains that "Apollo blesses them with a noble gesture."153 (fig. 38)

In 1954 Balanchine published, with Francis Mason, his first anthology of ballet synopses, Complete Stories of the Great Ballets. The synopsis of Apollo doubtlessly corresponds most closely to the 1951 revival. Its reference to Apollo's crown of golden vine leaves and gold tunic was not deleted when the book was republished in a revised and enlarged version in 1968, although the costume had been altered in 1957.
The descriptions of the movement and music are quite detailed, though not consistently clear to one who has not seen the ballet. Of greater value to the historian is the knowledge that this synopsis was written with Balanchine's approval, if not in his own words. One detail in which the synopsis does not concur with Stravinsky's account of the ballet is the designation of Apollo's future destination as Olympus, whereas Stravinsky says it is Parnassus. However, this point is not crucial to the action of the ballet, and either destination would be appropriate (see chapter III).

The excerpt quoted below describes the pas de deux of Apollo and Terpsichore:

As his dance ends, Apollo sits on the ground in a graceful, godlike pose. Terpsichore appears before him and touches his outstretched hand. The young goddess steps over his arm and bends low in extended arabesque beside him. Now the girl rises and sits on Apollo's knees. He holds his arm up to her, she takes it, and both rise to dance a muted pas de deux. The melody is softly lyrical, but at the same time strong; it depicts in sound an awakening of Olympian power and strength, beauty and grace.

Apollo supports Terpsichore in extended arabesque, lifts her daringly high so that her body curves back over his shoulder, holds her as she extends her legs and sinks on the ground to rise on point in graceful extensions. She pirouettes swiftly and sharply in his arm then entwines herself around Apollo. The music brightens, they separate, dancing playfully, then meet again. Both kneel, Apollo puts his head in Terpsichore's open hands. Now, at the end, she falls across Apollo's back as the god bends down to give the Muse a short swimming lesson for her beautiful dancing. Her arms push the air aside as if they were moving in the water. When Apollo rises, Terpsichore's body is curved against him.

Apollo was at this time considered by Kirstein, Stravinsky, and Balanchine as the first ballet of a trilogy based on classico-mythological themes. Orpheus, the second of the trilogy, had been created in 1948, but in 1951 the third ballet, Agon (1956) was yet to come.

With this production, Apollo at last surrendered his gold tunic, cross-garters, and laurel wreath, and donned instead the black and white practice costume of the twentieth-century male dancer. According to Bent Schönberg, writing in Dance and Dancers, Balmchine himself designed these costumes. Schönberg describes the set as "very simple - a blue background, some steps and a platform." He concluded, "It must be said that this recent version is generally believed to be the purest that Balanchine has yet made. There is not one superfluous movement." 158

Unlike later productions of Apollo outside the United States, which have been staged by Balanchine's assistants, the Danish production was staged by Balanchine himself during the New York City Ballet's visit to Copenhagen in 1956. 159 It is said to be the last foreign production of one of his ballets that Balanchine supervised from beginning to end. 160

Included among the photographs of this production are the pose from the coda in which the Muses, seated on the floor, raise their feet toward Apollo's hand, 161 and the sequence in which he drives the Muses like a chariot across the stage (this appears to be the movement called the troika by Stravinsky 163 and Kirstein 164). The well-known "many-legged creature" pose also reappears. 165 The Muse immediately behind Apollo is seen full-face rather than in profile, an alteration unique to this production, or at least to this photograph.
Since Balanchine supervised this revival, one assumes that any changes were made with his approval, if not initiated by him. Balanchine is indeed well known for his belief that a ballet is not sacrosanct, but a living, growing entity. According to Erik Aschen-green, the dancer Peter Martins first learned the role of Apollo from Renning Kronstam, who learned it from Balanchine for this production. When Martins joined the New York City Ballet, he was taught a noticeably different version of the choreography.  

After a few years' lapse, the New York City Ballet revived Apollo for the young dancer Jacques d'Amboise, who has since become one of the principal exponents of the role.

In this production, the New York City Ballet adopted the Royal Danish Ballet's drastically simplified sets and costumes. The once naturalistic mountaintop which Apollo ascended for the apotheosis was now replaced by a simple staircase elevated on poles. Apollo wore a dancer's practice costume, black and white; in some of the photographs he wears a shirt that BH. Haggin has described as "two large handkerchiefs knotted together." Haggin disliked the simplified costumes, which he considered inappropriate to the theme of the god and the Muses.

Quite the opposite point of view, though here in regard to the choreography, was taken by Doris Bering in her criticism of the solos of Calliope and Polyhymnia: "They have a gestural literalness that
we have always found somewhat unrelated to the lofty simplicity of
the rest." Expanding on her 1951 review, Hering saw in the ballet
"the artistic affirmation of a young choreographer and a poetic
synthesis of the search for manhood." She praised the casting of
d'Amboise in the title role, "for, like Apollo, he is on his way
to achieving full power as an artist, but he is still appealing in
his young manhood."169

In a later review, Hering summed up her interpretation of the
ballet's style and expression: "Apollo is one of the great challenges
of ballet, requiring not histrionics but a state of awareness. Its
language is succinct, like the symbol-language of poetry."170

Photographs taken in 1957 and the years that follow repeat many
of the poses from previous productions. A number of these may be
compared with their 1928 Ballets Russes prototypes. For instance,
in the opening of the pas d'action, Apollo now turns the back rather
than the front of the lute towards the audience, and he gazes up at
it rather than straight ahead. (fig. 39; cf. figs. 9, 32, 35) In
the "swimming lesson," Terpsichore bends her knees rather than ex-
tending her legs straight outward. (fig. 40; cf. figs. 11, 24 lower
left).

In the "many-legged creature" pose, Apollo extends his right
arm in front of him, which gives a sense of occult balance to the
spoke-like configuration formed by the Muses' arabesques. (fig. 41;
 cf. figs. 14, lower right, 22, 33) The arm gestures of the Muses
have been altered in the apotheosis. (fig. 44; cf. fig. 6) David
Vaughan has noted, in regard to the last alteration, that revivals
of ballets usually tend to conventionalize unusual movements, giving them more of the classical ballet style which is the "least common denominator" among performers and thus easiest to teach and transmit. ¹⁷¹

In general, the impression given by photographs of the 1928 version is softer and more lyrical, while the 1957 production gives a feeling of clean-edged clarity, crystalline brilliance, athleticism, and precision, (figs. 41-46) These qualities are doubtlessly engendered as much by the costumes and decor as by the poses: on one hand, gauzy tutus that recall (however faintly) the misty phantoms of Les Sylphides and Giselle, the background a never-neverland of fantastic rocks and airborne chariots; on the other, brief, revealing practice costumes, recalling the classroom, whose colors are limited to severe black and white, set against a nameless, timeless space.

At a dance history seminar given at UCLA in 1971, John Martin drew a distinction between dancers of "place" and dancers of "space." To the dancer of "place," the specific locale of the dance is of primary concern; his example was Ruth St. Denis, who attempted to give a strong sense of local color through the authentic costumes and evocative music and choreography of her Hindu, Egyptian, Japanese, and Amerindian dances. On the contrary, the "space" dancer desires to invoke the universal rather than the particular, Xsadora Duncan exemplified this type, in the sense that her dances were more frequently concerned with emotions common to all mankind rather than the depiction of picturesque scenes. Simple blue curtains often formed the setting for her dances, and although she displayed a predilection towards Greek draperies, she did not think it necessary
to dress in a dirndl to dance The Blue Danube.

By 1957 Apollo too had become a dance of "space." The mythological framework, though certainly an enrichment of the theme, was no longer materially manifested in sets and costumes. The ideas of youth, growth, and developing awareness which it expressed were common to the human condition, experiences unbounded by temporal or geographical barriers. In its evolution from the individual and the particular to the general and the universal, from elaboration and specificity to simplification and reduction, Apollo parallels the development of twentieth-century artists such as Constantin Brancusi and Piet Mondrian.

Simplicity frequently opens the door to a greater richness of interpretation; the lack of concreteness serves to eliminate restrictions on imaginative thought. An example of this is the analysis by the German critic Horst Koegler, who saw Apollo as an allegory of the history of ballet:

sich der aufsteig Apolls und der Musen zum Parnass. Mit dem Ende des Balletts Apollon musagète haben wir das Ende einer ballettgeschichtlichen Entwicklung erreicht.\textsuperscript{172}

Thus Koegler, like Denby, traces within the ballet the progression from the literal to the abstract, conveyed through the gradual abandonment of mimetic dance for the purer forms of the danse d'école. Koegler takes Denby's analogy one step further by applying it to the historical development of an art rather than the individual growth of an artist,

In the visual sense, at least Balanchine's Apollo reached its "definitive" form in 1957. Despite minor changes in the costume, Apollo has never returned to his gold tunic and laurel wreath, nor the Muses to their white gauze tutus. Neither has the chariot reappeared as part of the physical setting.

The ballet is performed by a number of companies besides Balanchine's own, the New York City Ballet; these others include American Ballet Theatre, the Royal Ballet of England, Het Nationale Ballet of Holland, the Norske Ballet, and the Vienna State Opera Ballet.\textsuperscript{173}

The majority of productions are staged by Balanchine's choreographic assistants, while Balanchine "frequently arrives at dress rehearsal time to supervise the final details of a production."\textsuperscript{174} According to John Taras, an assistant, Balanchine requires a certain amount of discrimination in the staging of Apollo: "Mr. Balanchine has not allowed Apollo to be done unless the conditions are right. For one thing, he feels that it must be taught by a man. For another,
the casting is extremely difficult."175

A sampling of photographs from various recent productions has been reproduced here. (Fig. 47-49) Again, the latitude permitted in the choreography is obvious.

A photograph of a Cuban production of the ballet shows Apollo with a long-armed, rather stylized lyre instead of the lute usually used in this ballet. In iconographical tradition, Apollo's attribute is more frequently the lyre than the lute (see chapter III). The attendant goddesses here are dressed in long robes and veils rather than the brief tunics of the New York City Ballet production.176 (Fig. 47)

Of course, choreographers other than Balanchine have also created their own interpretations of the ballet. Discussion of those has been omitted not due to qualitative judgments, but because of the paucity of information on these productions. Also, despite the fact that he was not the first to choreograph Apollo, Balanchine's name is firmly attached to it and his version remains the standard interpretation of the ballet.

______________________________

Notes:

2. Ibid.


8. Ibid., 391.


12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., 14.

14. Ibid.


16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.


28. Ibid., 31.
30. Gauthier, Bauchant, 32.
35. Reproduced in Gauthier, Bauchant, pl. 20.
36. Dialogues, 34 n. 9.
37. A. Levinson, La Danse d’aujourd’hui, Paris, 1929, 89.
39. A similar point is made by André Schaeffner, who reproduces Bauchant’s Champs-Élysées and Apollon Apparaissant aux Bergers (1928) with the caption, "Tableau de Bauchant auquel fut emprunté la décoration du ballet." Schaeffner, Stravinsky, pls. LII, LIII.
40. Levinson, Danse, 87.
42. V. Kamenoff, Russian Ballet Through Russian Eyes, London, 1936, 33.
43. Modern Music, VI, 1928, 24.
47. Grigoriev, The Diaghilev Ballet, 217.

49. In addition, two preliminary sketches, both depicting "celestial scenes," are preserved in the Dance Collection of the New York Public Library. The New York Public Library, Dictionary Catalog of the Dance Collection, 1, 187.


55. Kochno, Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes, 266.

56. Levinson, Danse, 87.


60. A. Twyden, Alexandra Danilova, London, 1945, 70.

61. Kochno, Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes, 266.


65. She wears the same costume in a different photograph by the same photographer, V. Dimitriev, in a souvenir programme for the 1929 season of the Ballets Russes at the Theatre Sarah Bernhardt, Paris. No ballet is identified here.
66. Levinson, Danse, 88. A theorbo is a form of the lute.


70. Ibid., 253-254.

71. Autobiography, 143.


76. Levinson, Danse, 88.


80. Balanchine's New Complete Stories of the Great Ballets was used as a reference for all the poses.


82. Kirstein, The New York City Ballet, 47.


84. This was not the first revival of Apollon to take place after 1929. Balanchine also staged it for the Royal Danish Ballet in Copenhagen in 1931, but the information available on this production was insufficient for a satisfactory discussion here.

85. Kirstein, Working with Stravinsky, Dance Index, 281.
103


90. Kirstein, The New York City Ballet, 47.

91. Ibid., 48.


94. Ibid.


98. Ibid.


103. Kirstein, The New York City Ballet, 48. Nancy Reynolds, a former dancer with the New York City Ballet and the author of a forthcoming book on that company, also ascertained, from Balanchine that "this was indeed a conscious reference. Information received at the Second History of Dance Seminar, The University of Chicago, 23 June - 1 August 1975.

104. Dialogues, 33.


117. Ibid.

118. Soby, Tchelitchew, 32.


120. Ibid.


124. Ibid., 53, 49, 59.

125. Ibid., 46.


130. Ibid., 206-207.


133. Ibid., 116.

134. Ibid.

135. Taper, Balanchine, 14.


137. Balanchine, Complete Stories, 21; P. Michaut, Le Ballet contemporain, 1922-1950, Paris, 1950, 356; L. Vaillat, La Danse a l'Opéra de Paris, Paris, 1951, 43. Chujoy, The Dance Encyclopedia, 58, and Wilson, A Dictionary of Ballet, 19. List the cast as Alexandre Kaloujny (Apollo) and Denise Bourgeois (Calliope?) but due to the unreliability of those sources the other cast list has been used here.

138. Vaillat, La Danse a l'Opéra, 44.

139. Ibid., 44-45.

140. Ibid., 45.


142. Balanchine, Complete Stories, 16-17; Balanchine, New Complete Stories, 18-19.


144. Balanchine, Complete Stories, 17; Balanchine, New Complete Stories, 19.


149. Ibid., 38, 40.
151. Information received at the Second History of Dance Seminar.
154. Ibid.
163. Dialogues, 33.
166. Information received at the Second History of Dance Seminar.


171. Information received at the Second History of Dance Seminar.


175. Quoted by Burke, "New York City Ballet's Roving Masters," 41.

III. The Iconography of *Apollon Musagète*

*Apollon Musagète* was in no sense parthenogenic. Rather than springing full-grown from a single creator's forehead, it required the work of many hands before it was realized onstage. Nor did this stage realization remain static; as demonstrated in the previous chapter, the ballet changed and evolved through the years. Furthermore, despite its innovations *in style*, it derived many of its symbols from the antique world, although these symbols were couched in modern rather than archaistic terms. Historical precedents can be found for most of the events, objects, personages, and ideas in the ballet. The situation is analogous to Manet's transformation of Raphael's antique river gods in *Le Déjeuner sur l'Herbe*, although in the case of the painting only one artist and one art object were involved, whereas the analysis of *Apollon Musagète* must take into account a number of artists, both creative and interpretive, and several different manifestations of the work.

In general, this iconographical analysis will not attempt to link specific symbols to the experience or thought processes of any particular artist who worked on the ballet. Instead, the discussion will emphasize the identification of traditional themes and images operative in the ballet, and the comparison of these to earlier treatments of the same themes and images. Three important points should be kept in mind: 1) the staging of a ballet is generally a communal effort, and the ultimate result combines the contributions of many artists;
2) since the production of a ballet is a complicated and costly enterprise, some of its elements may be determined by practical needs, expedience, or even chance, rather than artistic intentions; 3) Diaghilev and his entourage of aides, choreographers, dancers, musicians, designers, et al, were widely travelled, frequently very well educated, and well known for their interest in the arts both of the past and the present; thus, the range of sources of inspiration should not be underestimated.

For the sake of convenience, the discussion has been divided into three sections, each combining a number of related themes: the birth of Apollo, Apollo Musagetes, and the chariot of Apollo.

A  The Birth of Apollo

As noted in chapter I, Stravinsky's autobiography quotes an excerpt from the Homeric hymn To Delian Apollo, which apparently inspired or at least explicated the first part of the ballet, "The Birth of Apollo." Before embarking on a closer analysis of this hymn, it may be helpful to examine some of the details and elaborations surrounding the story of Apollo's birth, as collected and compiled by various classical scholars.

According to Hesiod's Theogony (c. 700 B.C.), Apollo's mother Leto (Latona to the Romans) was a Titaness, the daughter of Coeus and Phoebe, who also had a daughter named Asteria.¹ She and Zeus coupled in the shape of quails,² whereupon the jealous Hera, the wife of Zeus, sent the serpent Python to pursue Leto throughout the world. Not content with inflicting this punishment, Hera added others: in some
versions of the story, she decreed that Leto should not be delivered in any place where the sun shone, while in others she forbade all lands to shelter her unfortunate rival, and set Ares and Iris to see that they did not. Furthermore, she forbade Eileithyia, the goddess of childbirth, to ease Leto's labor.

Hera's decree was not the only deterrent to offering Leto refuge; many places denied her because of her gigantic size, and the terrible nature of the god's to be born. The island of Delos, fearful at first, finally agreed to grant her sanctuary after she swore an oath that her son Apollo would found his temple there. In another version of the tale, Zeus ordered Boreas, the south wind, to carry Leto to Poseidon, who in turn took her to the island of Ortygia, which floated unanchored on the surface of the ocean and thus did not count as land. A further elaboration has it that Poseidon made a wave curl over the island to hide it from the sun. After the birth of the twins Apollo and Artemis (the latter the Roman Diana), Poseidon fastened the island to the sea bed with a pillar, and its name was changed to Delos.

Ortygia, which literally means "quail island," has a story of its own. It is identified with Asteria, the sister of Leto. Fleeing the amorous pursuit of Zeus (or, alternatively, Poseidon), she was transformed into a quail, & leapt or was thrown into the sea, where she became an island. Sisterly loyalty prompted her to defy Hera's interdict, and she was forgiven because of this.

Sometimes Ortygia and Delos are identified as two different places. Artemis was born on Ortygia, and immediately helped her mother across the narrow straits to Delos, where Apollo was born.
Delos is an actual geographical location, a small island in the center of the Cyclades group in the Aegean Sea. It is believed to have been a cult center since the second millennium, if not earlier, and the worship of Apollo and Artemis is said to have begun there during the period of the Dorian invasions (c. 1100-1000 B.C.). Excavations have uncovered several temples dedicated to Apollo, and it may have been the site of the first temple to the god. The base and torso of a colossal image of the god, erected during the archaic period (probably during the second quarter of the sixth century B.C.), by the citizens of Naxos, remain in situ. Temples to Artemis and Leto have also been found.

Since the number seven was sacred to Apollo, he is said to have been a seven-month's child, born on the seventh of the month, when his festivals were usually held. The swans of Maeonia, circled seven times around the island of Delos, singing to Leto as she lay in labor (cf., Callimachus, The Hymn to Delos). After nine days and nine nights of labor, Apollo was born between an olive tree and a date palm growing on the north side of Mount Cynthius. Since Leto had leaned her back against this mountain while in labor, Apollo and Artemis are called not only Delius and Delia, after the island, but Cynthius and Cynthia.

The infant god was fed by the Titaness Themis (one of the oracles of Delphi) on nectar and ambrosia. On the fourth day he burst his swaddling clothes, claimed the bow and the lyre as his attributes, and went to Parnassus to fight the serpent Python, his mother's enemy, which he eventually killed in Delphi.
This is essentially the story told by the Homeric hymn To Dorian Apollo, which has been dated as early as the eighth century B.C. The author of the hymn is not today considered to be Homer, as the generic term implies. Although the ancients attributed the so-called Homeric hymns to him, it is now believed that the principal part of this collection of poems was composed somewhat later in the seventh century B.C. by poets now unknown.

The following excerpt from the hymn describes the events most closely congruent to the action of the ballet. (Translation by Thelma Sargent.)

When Hesibilitya, lady of comfort in painful travail,
Set foot on Delos, Leto's time came and she strained to give birth,
She flung both her arms round the palm tree, her knees bearing down
Against the soft grass. Earth smiled beneath her, and into the light
Leapt Apollo, and loud cries of joy burst from all the assembled immortals.

Then the goddesses bathed you, O Phoebus, purifying
You with fresh water and making you holy, and wrapped you in swaddling clothes made of fine white cloth newly woven,
And around you tied a swaddling band fashioned of gold.
But his mother did not give suck to gold-bladed Apollo; Themis measured out nectar and lovely ambrosia
And with her immortal hands fed him, and Leto exulted
Because she had borne a mighty son and a bowman.
But when you had eaten the food of immortals, O Phoebus,
Gold bands had no strength to confine you nor bonds to restrain
As you struggled, panting within them, but all the strands parted,
And straightaway Phoebus Apollo spoke among the immortals:
"Dear to me may the lyre be, and the curved bow,
And I will proclaim to mankind the infallible will of Zeus." 19

Stravinsky quotes in his autobiography a briefer excerpt, in prose:
Leto was with child, and, feeling the moment of birth at hand, threw her arms about a palm tree and knelt on the tender green turf, and the earth smiled beneath her, and the child sprang forth to the light....Goddesses washed him with limpid water, gave him for swaddling clothes a white veil of fine tissue, and bound it with a golden girdle.20

The scenario of the ballet follows the hymn in a number of points: the labor of Leto, the presence of the goddesses who attend her, the exclusion of Artemis, and the wearing and subsequent discarding of swaddling clothes. The score contains a chord that heralds Apollo's birth, and the dance of the attendant goddesses.21 Levinson also discerned in the music the sounds of "une grande lyre invisible."22 However, there is no mention in the hymn of the somewhat Freudian grotto or cave which appeared in at least three productions of the ballet (1928 Ballets Russes, 1937, 1947).

Theatrical requirements, conventions, and expectations, both conscious and unconscious, played an important role in the selection of the images, actions, and personages to be represented onstage. The substitution of a cam or grotto, or in some cases a blackout23 for the actual scene of childbirth is an obvious example. The ballet also dispensed with the bathing and feeding of the infant god, although these actions could have been easily pantomimed. The specifications of the Coolidge commission made it necessary to eliminate the crowd of "assembled immortals," and in fact the ballet's use of seven characters (Apollo, three Muses, Leto, and two attendants) oversteps the commission's terms by one. The commission's limitation on the duration of the ballet was fortunately aided by Apollo's precocity in the hymn.
To Delian Apollo is not the only example of ancient literature that describes the birth of Apollo. Callimachus of Cyrene (c. 305 - c. 240 B.C.), one of the most famous and popular Hellenistic poets, parallels the Homeric hymn in his fourth hymn On Delos.²⁴ The fragment of an anonymous hymn to Apollo was discovered engraved on a marble slab from the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi, dating to the end of the second century B.C.²⁵ Doubtlessly other examples can also be found in the body of ancient Greek and Roman literature.

The depiction of Apollo's birth in the visual arts is far more sporadic. For the most part, the actual scene of parturition has been avoided, though Karl Schefold tentatively identifies such a scene on a relief-amphora from Thebes, dating from the seventh century B.C. ²⁶ (fig. 50) The scene represents a crowned frontal figure with upraised arms, its body reduced to a flat, patterned rectangle, flanked by two smaller-scale figures and two lion-like animals. The sex of the figures is difficult to determine, since the bodies are much schematized, and long hair was worn by both males and females in archaic Greece (cf., the kouroi and korai figures). There is no sign of a child.

Leto is more commonly represented with both of her children, Apollo and Artemis. The latter, of course, does not appear in the ballet. The three have been tentatively identified on two Attic black-figure vase-paintings in the British Museum.²⁷ In both Leto is conventionally colored white, but both infants are colored black, which normally denotes the male. Although this might invalidate the identification, it is also possible that the de-female color differentiation was not rigorously applied in representations of children.
However, in ancient art Apollo and Artemis appear more frequently as adults, even with their mother. In a group of three bronzes from Dreros in Crete, dating from the late eighth or the seventh century B.C., an outsize Apollo is flanked by Leto and Artemis. The three also appear on Attic vase-paintings; Sir John Beazley's monumental index Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters lists twenty-two representations identified as this group, plus an additional seven which depict the trio with other mythological personages.

The birth of the god and goddess was treated in the sixteenth century by Giulio Romano, whose The Birth of Apollo and Diana (1538-39) now hangs in Hampton Court. Despite its title, the actual moment of childbirth has been avoided, and the painting depicts only the weary Leto and the attendants who minister to her and the newborn twins. The two appear as slightly older infants in a Florentine tapestry (1579) designed by Alessandro Allori, in Nicolas Poussin's tapestry Latona with her Children, Apollo and Diana (c. 1636), executed by the Barberini atelier, in the Fountain of Latona at Versailles (c. 1670), sculpted by the brothers Gaspard and Balthasar Marsy, and in the sculpture Latona and her Children, Apollo and Diana (1874) by the American artist William Henry Rinehart.

None of the works listed above bears any meaningful resemblance to the ballet. Even if the presence of Artemis is mentally cancelled out, the fact remains that in general the tone of these works is tranquil, maternal, and domestic, while the ballet stresses wonder and marvel: the superhuman agony of Leto's labor, the universal rejoicing at Apollo's birth, and the divine precocity of the god.
Visually, the landscapes and costumes which set the scene in the works above do not recall any of the known designs for the ballet. While it is entirely possible that these works were seen by the makers of the ballet, and contributed to the idea, it seems unlikely that any of them provided a strong inspiration for the first part of the ballet.

B. Apollo Musagates

The theme of Apollo Musagates unites a number of the god’s roles and functions: Leader of the choir of Muses, patron deity of music, musician and dancer in his own right, and central figure in representations of Parnassus, the symbolic home of the fine arts.

According to Kathi Meyer-Baer, Apollo was not identified with music in Greek mythology until the sixth century B.C., prior to which a Muse or the Muses served as patrons of the art. However, Apollo appears as a musician, along with the Muses, in the first book of Homer’s Iliad, which is believed to date before 700 B.C. The scene is a banquet on Olympus, and the god and goddesses provide an exalted form of dinner music. (Translation by Ennis Rees.)

Thus all day long till the sun went down they feasted,
Nor was there any lack of delight in the banquet
Before them, nor in the gorgeous lyre that Apollo
Played, nor yet in the dulcet Muses, who
Entertained them all with sweet antiphonal song.

The Homeric hymns also link Apollo with music and the Muses. In the hymn To Pythian Apollo, dating approximately from the seventh century B.C., Apollo again entertains the gods. (Translation by Thelma Sargent.)
And he goes on his way, the son of glorious Leto,
To rocky Pytho, playing on the strings of the hollow lyre,
And wearing immortal garments fragrant with incense, and his lyre
Under the golden plectrum gives forth a beautiful sound.
There, quick as thought, he goes from earth to Olympus,
To the palace of Zeus and to the assembly of gods,
And straightway music and singing beguile the immortals.
All the Muses together, voice answering heavenly voice,
Hymn the undying gifts of the gods and the sufferings of men...
The lovely-haired Graces and imperturbable Hours,
Harmonia and Hebe and the daughter of Zeus, Aphrodite,
Dance all together, their hands clasping the wrists of the others...

And Phoebus Apollo, stroking the strings of his lyre,
Steps high and nimbly among them, and around him radiance shines
From the gleam of his flashing feet and his fine-woven chiton, 38

In a subsequent section of the same hymn, Apollo leads in song and dance a shipload of Cretans whom he has appointed to be his followers.

They set out with the son of Zeus, lord Apollo, who led them,
Holding a lyre in his hands and playing beautiful music
And stepping high and nimbly before them, and the Cretans, stamping
The earth in the dance, followed after. To Pytho they went,
Hymning the paean, like the chanters of Crete,
And those in whose hearts the heavenly Muse has instilled honeyed song,
Unwearied, on foot they ascended the ridge and soon reached Parnassus and the lovely spot where they were destined to dwell,
Honored by men without number, and Apollo, leading them.
Shared them his most holy innermost shrine and the rich temple, 39

Thus, as early as the seventh century B.C., the god has already manifested himself as musician and dancer, with one of his holy places established on Parnassus.
In the Homeric hymn To Hermes, Apollo states in the first person, as it were, his relationship to the Muses and the arts of music and dancing. (Translation by Thelma Sargent.)

I, though attendant upon the Olympian Muses, Who took careful thought for the dance and the bright strains on' song, The swelling chant and the sweet shrilling of pipes... 40

And the Homeric hymn To the Muses and Apollo credits the existence of singers and lyre-players to the god and the Muses, as Hesiod also does in his Theogony. 41 In the words of the hymn (translated by Hugh G. Evelyn-White),

I will begin with the Muses and Apollo and Zeus. For it is through the Muses and Apollo that there are singers upon the earth and players upon the lyre; but kings are from Zeus. Happy is he whom the Muses love: sweet flows speech from his lips. 42

Hesiod's Theogony is considered one of the prime sources of information on the Muses, as befits a work which is said to be inspired by them. It begins with an invocation to the Muses, which describes Mount Helicon, one of their homes, and the two springs sacred to them, Permessus and the Horse's Spring on Olmeius, where they "make their fair, lovely dances... move with vigorous feet." 43 Their father is said to be none other than Zeus, who lay with their mother Mnemosyne (Memory) for nine nights. Hesiod is generally credited with establishing the canonical number of nine Muses, and with giving them names: Calliope (fair voice), Clio (renown), Euterpe (gladness), Terpsichore (joy in the dance), Erato (lovely), Melpomene (singing), Polyhymnia or Polymnia (many songs), Thalia (abundance, good cheer), and Urania (heavenly). 44 Although Hesiod singles out Calliope as the leader of the nine, he does not clearly differentiate them; indeed
their various functions were not established until late Roman times.45

Stravinsky's telescoping of the nine Muses into three was by no means unprecedented, for the number nine does not appear to have been rigorously applied in ancient times. Classical scholars believe that there were originally three Muses46; Pausanias gives their names as Molete (Practice, or, alternatively, Meditation), Mneme (Memory), and Aoede (Song), corresponding to the three principal parts of the art of the rhapsodes, the professional reciters of poetry.47 Plutarch lists a different set of names, said to be used in Delphi; these are Nete (Bottom), Mese (Middle), and Hypate (Top), derived from the strings of the early lyre.48 Both sets of names, and the concept of three Muses instead of nine, were revived in the sixteenth-century writings of Pontus de Tyard.49

The depiction of Apollo with three women may also be traced to his association with the three Graces, or Charites, with whom he often appears in literature (cf. the Homeric hymn To Pythian Apollo, above) and the visual arts. Some examples of the latter will be mentioned in the discussion of the theme of Apollo and the Muses, for both groups of women may be represented together. The colossal cult image of Apollo at Delos, dating from the sixth century BC, was said to have held the Charites on his hand.50 In the Chapel of the Liberal Arts of the Tempio Malatestiano at Rimini (mid-fifteenth century), Apollo carries a cittern whose head is decorated with the naked figures of the three Graces.51 (fig. 51) The image of Apollo with the Graces in his hand was published in Vincenzo Cartari's mythological manual Le imagini collassposizione degli dei degli...
Of course, this should not imply that the three Muses were confused with the three Graces in the ballet. The Graces were the purveyors of the more generalized qualities of charm, grace, and beauty; although they were fond of poetry, singing, and dance, they do not appear to have been connected with the arts as intimately and specifically as the Muses. Moreover, the names and attributes of the three principal women in the ballet are clearly drawn from the traditions describing the Muses.

A number of attributes are consistently ascribed to the Muses: flute, lyre, masks of tragedy and comedy, scroll, and tablets. However, with the exception of the sphere, which is invariably assigned to Urania, the Muse of astronomy, the other attributes are often interchangeable among the various Muses. These became more specific at approximately the same time as the functions of the Muses, but neither became rigidly codified.

Of the three Muses in the ballet, Calliope represents epic or heroic poetry, Polyhymnia or Polymania hymns or sacred songs (i.e., songs to or in honor of gods and heroes), or alternatively, mime, and Terpsichore lyric poetry and the dance. Calliope's attributes are the stylus and tablets, or the scroll. Polyhymnia frequently does not have an object as attribute, but is represented in an attitude of meditation, often enveloped in a veil or cloak; sometimes she rests her chin on her hand or places her finger to her lips. The latter gesture, signifying expressive silence, may have led the Romans to denote her the goddess of pantomime. The lyre is Terpsichore's
most frequent attribute, although she is sometimes represented with cymbals. 57

Stravinsky's conception of the Muses, as described in his autobiography, is quite faithful to tradition:

Calliope, receiving the stylus and tablets from Apollo, personifies poetry and its rhythm; Polyhymnia, finger on lips, represents mime. Terpsichore, combining in herself both the rhythm of poetry and the eloquence of gesture, reveals dancing to the world, and thus among the Muses takes the place of honor beside the Musesantes. 58

Terpsichore thus seems to usurp Calliope's position at the head of the Muses, but her pre-eminent status is not unique to the ballet. A bas-relief of Apollo, Minerva, and the Muses in the Museo Pio-Clementino in the Vatican places beside Apollo a figure holding a lyre similar to his, Ennio Quirino Visconti identified this figure as Terpsichore, commenting, "cette Déesse accompagne avec raison Apollon, puisqu'elle a inventé ses mains, et qu'elle l'aide dans ses chants." 59

According to Balanchine's synopsis of the ballet, Polyhymnia not only employs the gesture of finger on lips (fig. 8), but is also given a mask by Apollo in the pas d'action. 60 Terpsichore dances with the lyre. In the synopsis Calliope is given tablets, but a photograph from a recent New York City Ballet performance shows her with a scroll. 61

This set of attributes - scroll, lyre, finger to lips - is found on a group of wall-paintings from Herculaneum, now in the Louvre. 62 Since each Muse stands on a pedestal inscribed with her name, these paintings are sometimes used as the basis of identifying the individual Muses in other works, but it should be remembered that the assignment of attributes was by no means rigid.
One of the earliest representations of Apollo and the Muses in the visual arts appears on the so-called Chest of Cypselus (c. 570 B.C.). Dedicated by the tyrant Cypselus in the Heraion at Olympia, this polychrome chest of cedar, gilt, and ivory includes among its five friezes of mythological themes the bearded figure of Apollo, carrying a lyre and plectrum and surrounded by nine female figures.64

These figures are represented in static positions which, according to Phyllis Lehmann, are typical of visual images of the Muses in ancient times, although literature often portrays them as singing or dancing. She states that no extant ancient monument shows them dancing,65 and indeed, no such example could be located for this study.

The theme of Apollo and the Muses occurs in ancient sculpture, wall-painting, and vase-painting. Female figures accompanying Apollo in Attic vase-paintings are often identified as Muses, although the lack of attributes sometimes makes this difficult to confirm. The Muses also appear in representations of Apollo's music contest with Marsyas, as on the Mantinea statue base (c. 350-330 B.C.), attributed to Praxiteles.66 The god and the Muses also form part of the Apotheosis of Homer bas-relief (c. 200 B.C.) by Archelaos of Priene.67 The theme was popular on sarcophagi of the late Roman Empire, and often included the figure of Minerva.68

During the middle ages the Muses tended to be replaced by their Christian counterparts, the Liberal Arts. However, they began to appear again during the fifteenth century, due to their revival by Italian humanists such as Dante.69 An example may be found in the Codex Regniensis 1290 (c. 1420), which contains the texts of two
treatises on mythology and iconography, the Liber Vermineum deorum and the Libellus de Imaginibus deorum. The sepia drawing depicts Apollo with sun-like rays emanating from his head, bearing a lute-like instrument, and seated between the twin summits of Parnassus. On his left the nine Muses dance in a circle around a laurel tree.

A fresco whose iconography is said to have been derived from this drawing is the Triumph of Apollo (1467-70), painted by Francesco Cossa in the Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara. Apollo is again crowned with rays of the sun and again carries a musical instrument (whose shape is indistinct in reproductions); he is accompanied by the nine Muses, this time in static positions, carrying musical instruments.

Lehmann reproduces a leaf from a "mid-fifteenth-century English picture-book," the Ms. Rawlinson, which depicts a labelled figure of Apollo in contemporary dress, with a harp. Again, nine female figures, supposedly Muses, accompany him.

A manuscript from Urbino describes and depicts a wedding cake made for a festival in Pesaro in 1475. An elderly, bearded Apollo in contemporary dress, playing a viol, stands with six women atop a mountain labelled as Helicon, one of the traditional homes of the Muses. Three larger women, labelled "Astronomia," "Rhetorica," and "Grammatica," carry the cake. Meyer-Baer identifies these nine female figures as the Muses. She also points out that while in Greek mythology Helicon was a location distinct from Parnassus, during the medieval period it came to be considered one of the summits of Parnassus, and in later times the two were equivalent.
The theme of Apollo and the Muses was sometimes interwoven with elaborate philosophical schemes, such as that illustrated by an engraving for the *Practica musica* by Gafurio (Milan, 1496). Cosmic theory and musical theory are united in this diagram, which places Apollo, who carries a viol- or guitar-like instrument, at the summit of the heavens, from which he presides over the nine Muses, eight of whom are linked with planets, musical modes, and tones. The ninth Muse, Thalia (not to be confused with the Thalia of the Graces who appears with her sisters to the left of Apollo) is assigned to the planet Earth and placed at the bottom of the page.\(^76\)

An early representation of Apollo and the Muses in easel painting is Andrea Mantegna’s *Parnassus* (1497). They do not, however, occupy the highest position in the painting, which is taken by Mars and Venus, Mercury and the winged horse Pegasus are also present. The Muses are depicted dancing to the accompaniment of Apollo’s lyre, an activity which seems to be more the exception than the rule in paintings entitled *Parnassus*.

Parnassus is, of course, an actual mountain in Greece, rising 8,061 feet in height. Located north of Delphi, another of Apollo’s holy places, it was in ancient times sacred to Dionysus as well as Apollo. Parnassus has two chief peaks, Tithorea and Lycorea,\(^77\) which sometimes appear in visual representations (cf. the *Codex Regiensi* 1290 drawing, above).

Mantegna also included Apollo and the Muses in the *Tarocchi*, a series of engravings said to have been devised as a pastime for a church council of Pope Pius II in Mantua in 1459-1460. Again, Apollo
appears in the double role of ruler of the planets and leader of the Muses, who again revert to static positions.

Perhaps the best-known depiction of Parnassus is Raphael's fresco in the Stanza della Segnatura of the Vatican (1500-11). Represented as a divinely-inspired musician with eyes upturned to heaven, Apollo plays the lira da braccio in the midst of the Muses and various poets. The anachronistic use of this instrument, which was developed during the Renaissance rather than in antiquity, is often explained as Raphael's desire to merge past and present, which is also indicated by his juxtaposition of poets of different periods (e.g., Homer, Vergil, Dante, and some of Raphael's contemporaries). Also, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the lira da braccio was believed to be of ancient origin. The question of Apollo's various musical instruments will be further discussed below.

Raphael's Muses do not dance, and their identification, through attributes, has sparked some degree of scholarly debate. A lyre-like instrument and a mask, used respectively by Terpsichore and Polyhymnia in the ballet, are in evidence in the group of Muses to the right of Apollo.

Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving after an early study of the Parnassus depicts the god with the ancient lyre rather than the lira da braccio. A lyre of similar shape is carried by one of the Muses, though not the same as in the completed fresco.

The Apollo and the Muses in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence, attributed to Giulio Romano, is a rare example of a dancing Apollo. The Muses are depicted in movement more frequently than the god, who
usually serves as accompanist. Although the Muses carry no attributes here, their names are inscribed at the base of the painting. Calliope is placed furthest left, Torpsichore directly opposite Apollo, and Polyhymnia to Terpsichore's right.83

A.P. do Mirimonde has published an article on the "Concerts des Muses" theme in the north, as treated from 1550 to 1650 by painters such as Frans Floris and Bartholomew Spranger.84 Although the presence of Apollo appears to have been optional, many painters chose to include him. As an art historian interested in music, Mirimonde focusses on works depicting the god and the Muses as musicians rather than dancers. Their instruments are as often modern as antique; as in Raphael's Parnassus, Apollo often substitutes the lira da braccio or some other bowed stringed instrument for the ancient lyre, which was plucked.

Apollo plays the lute on the title page of the Chansons reduits of Pierre Phalèse (1547). Flanking him, the nine Muses are again occupied with musical instruments.85

The god and goddesses figured in a number of sixteenth-century theatrical productions. A drawing by Hans Holbein depicts a design for a pageant honoring Anne Boleyn's coronation entry into London (1533). A coffered arch supports a fountain around which the nine Muses, in contemporary dress, play musical instruments such as the lute, drum, and triangle. One of the Muses carries a scroll. Seated in the middle is Apollo, harp in hand, under a baldachin surmounted by an eagle.86 This figure has also been identified as Henry VIII,87 though the resemblance is not striking.
The divine musicians of Olympus performed a similar function on earth in the procession celebrating the entry of Charles IX of France into Lyon (1564). They repeated this service at a festival given in 1573 in honor of the Polish ambassadors' mission to Paris, upon the election of Henri of Anjou, son of Catherine de Medici, to the throne of Poland. This festival stimulated at least two commemorative works of art, which include the figures of musicians garbed as Apollo and the Muses and seated upon a rock representing Parnassus: one is a drawing by Antoine Caron, the other a Flemish tapestry, executed circa 1585.

In 1581 the Ballet comique de la reine, one of the earliest court ballets, was presented in the Louvre for the marriage of the Duc de Joyeuse and Marguerite de Valmont. It was much influenced by the academic thought of the time, particularly that of the group called the Pleiade, which desired to revive ancient music, dance, and theatre. A member of this group, J. Dorat, wrote a long poem on the event, which includes a description of a picture on an arcade constructed for the festivities.

Apollon conduisant des Muses le concert
Marchant devant les Dieux de bau Ioisuse sort,
Et aux deesses monstre et mille et mille voltes...

Frances A. Yates, in her study of sixteenth-century French academies, interprets this verse to signify that Apollo "teaches the goddesses ancient dancing," just as he does in Stravinsky's ballet. She further suggests that "bau Ioisuse" refers not only to the Duc de Joyeuse, but to the dancing master Balthazar Beaujoyster, who is usually credited with creating a large part of the spectacle.
The popularity of Apollo, particularly in his solar manifestation, is well-known as a hallmark of the reign of Louis XIV. This theme will be further discussed in the third section of this chapter. The seventeenth-century emphasis on this aspect of the god did not completely overshadow his association with the Muses. Nicolas Poussin treated this theme twice, in the painting *Apollo and the Muses on Parnassus* (pre-1630), and the design for one of the Barberini tapestries (c. 1636).

The theme also appeared in several decorative paintings, an art form highly esteemed in France. A prototype of this may be seen in the series of paintings of Apollo and the Muses by Baglione, sent by the Duke of Mantua to France as a gift to Marie de Medici. Sir Anthony Blunt states that they were hung in the Cabinet des Muses of the Louvre, where they were "much appreciated by the Queen and the whole court." Simon Vouet painted a fresco of *Parnassus* for the grotto of Wideville, as did Eustache Lesueur for a ceiling in the Louvre; the latter survives today only in a drawing. Lesueur also painted five panels of the Muses for the Cabinet des Muses in the Hôtel Lambert in Paris (1647-49), which also included a scene of Phaeton requesting of Apollo the chariot of the sun. In 1663 Charles Le Brun was commissioned by Louis XIV to redecorate the Galerie d'Apollon in the Louvre. He executed several drawings of various Muses, and some of his designs were sculpted for the Galerie by Francois Girardon, the brothers Marsy, and Thomas Regnaudin during the years 1664-1671.

Girardon and Regnaudin also created the sculpture *Apollon servi par les nymphes* (1666-75) for the grotto of Thétis at Versailles. Although
at first glance the female figures may appear to be Muses, they number only six and carry none of the musical or theatrical attributes which generally identify the Muses. They were not labelled as Muses in any of the sources consulted for this study.\textsuperscript{102}

The seventeenth-century \textit{ballet du cow} continued to include Apollo and the Muses among the \textit{dramatis personae}. \textit{Il Rapimento di Cefalo}, presented in 1600 at the wedding of Marie de Medici and Henry IV of France, opened with a mountain scene depicting Pegasus, Apollo, and the Muses.\textsuperscript{103} When Louis XIII of France visited the Jesuit Collège de la Flèche in 1614, he was greeted by a eulogy sung by Apollo and the Muses from a mountain.\textsuperscript{104} In \textit{Le Ballet de la Prospérité des Armes de la France} (1641), the Graces joined Apollo, the Muses, and other Greek deities in paying homage to "Hercule Gaulois," who symbolically represented Louis XIII.\textsuperscript{105} Apollo was enthroned in the midst of the nine Muses in the thirtieth and final entree of the \textit{Ballet des Fêtes de Bacchus} (1651).\textsuperscript{106} He was accompanied by only three Muses, Clio, Euterpe, and Erato, in the \textit{Ballet de la Nuit} (1653).\textsuperscript{107} The latter ballet marks the first appearance of Louis XIV, then fourteen years old, as the god of the sun.\textsuperscript{108}

Louis again assumed the guise of Apollo in \textit{Les Noces de Féline et de Thétis}, presented the following year, \textit{The first} entree of the ballet revealed the god surrounded by the nine Muses on Mount Parnassus. He caused it to descend to earth, where they all danced together.\textsuperscript{109}

Other seventeenth-century ballets and theatrical works in which Apollo and the Muses appeared are the \textit{Ballet des Saisons} (1661),\textsuperscript{110} the play \textit{Les Amours du Soleil}, whose prologue depicted the twin peaks
of Mount Helicon, with Pegasus on one and Apollo and the Muses on the other, and La Fontaine's comedy Clymène.\textsuperscript{112}

The them appears less frequently in the eighteenth century, although neoclassical artists such as Asmus Jacob Carstens sometimes treated it.\textsuperscript{113} The Parnassus (1761) of Anton Raphael Mengs, on the ceiling of the Villa Albani in Rome, was a deliberate imitation of Greek sculpture (the figure of Apollo being modeled on the Apollo Belvedere) and the frescoes from Herculaneum.\textsuperscript{114} Simon-Louis Boizot created an Apollon Musagète (c. 1786) now in the Musée National de Céramique at Sèvres. In this sculpture, the god, with his lyre, is accompanied by the Muse Urania with her sphere and compass, and two youthful figures.\textsuperscript{115}

In 1734 Handel's opera Terpsichore was presented at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, London. The role of Terpsichore, "President of the Dancing," provided a vehicle for the ballerina Marie Sallé. The opera, which evidently included much dancing, portrayed Apollo on an Inspection tour of the new Academy (which also included Erato, "President of the Musick," and other Muses). However, the god spends most of his time dancing with Terpsichore and declaring his love for her.\textsuperscript{116} The god's participation in dancing and preference for Terpsichore foreshadow the action in Stravinsky's ballet,

Jean Jacques Rousseau wrote a ballet, Les Muses Galantes, which was presented in 1745, 1747, and 1761. It reiterates a number of familiar elements: Apollo, the Muses, the Graces, and Mount Parnassus.\textsuperscript{117}

At least two other ballets treated this them during the eighteenth-century. The Viennese choreographer Franz Hilferding created Le Retour d'Apollon sur le Parnasse in St. Petersburg circa 1762.\textsuperscript{118} In London,
the Frenchman Jean-Georgts Noverre, whose ideas on the reform of ballet are immortalized in his *Letters on the Dance*, choreographed a divertissement: *Apollon et les Muses* (1782), for the first appearance in England of his pupil Charles Le Picq. The generally plotless nature of the divertissement form, a series of dances with little or no narrative relationship, also looks forward to the 1928 *Apollon Musagète*.

In the nineteenth century Apollo and the Muses seem to have lost favor in the Visual arts, though Andrea Appiani, an official painter to Napoleon, used the subject for a fresco in the Villa Reale, Milan (1811).

Although Apollo does not appear in the fresco *Le Bois Sacré* Cher aux Arts et aux Muses (commissioned 1883) in the Palais des Arts, Lyon, this work by Puvis de Chavannes includes flying Muses which recall the flying female figures in Bauchant's *Apollon Apparaissant aux Bergers*. Other examples of this motif will be discussed in the third section of this chapter.

In the world of dance, the Italian choreographer Salvatore Vigano set the second act of the ballet *Prometheus*, to music by Beethoven, on Mount Parnassus. Apollo took a minor role in this ballet, which included the Muses, Graces, Bacchus, Orpheus, Amphion, and other mythological beings connected with music and dance. Among its offerings was a bucolic dance performed by Pan and Terpsichore. In St. Petersburg, a grand divertissement called *Apollo and the Muses* was presented by the French choreographer Charles Didelot in 1817.

The theme does not appear to have regained favor in the twentieth century, although the sculptor Emile-Antoine Bourdelle employed it for
the frieze on the facade of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées in Paris. The work was completed in 1913, the year when the Ballets Russes presented the first performance of Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du Printemps* in the theatre, at which the composer was present. However, the sculptor stated that Isadora Duncan inspired the figures of the Muses, and indeed the poses are free and abandoned, with little of the structured quality of classical ballet. Apollo is represented seated on a rock with a lyre in his lap, deep in meditation. The quality of the sculptured forms is choppy and agitated, almost rough-hewn.

Iconographically, *Apollon Musagète* is closely linked to the past. Perhaps its most notable departure from standard practice is the substitution of the lute for Apollo's more usual lyre. Although this may have arisen from simple expedience (e.g., the need to differentiate the attribute of Apollo from that of Terpsichore, who is here given the lyre), there are a number of other possible explanations.

There are examples of Apollo with a lute in the visual arts, although these are rare. The fifteenth-century drawing from the *Codex Reginensis* and the mid-sixteenth-century title page of the *Chansons reduits* have already been cited above. These examples, however, seem to be relatively obscure. More accessible is the relief from the Chapel of the Liberal Arts in the Tempio Malatestiano, Rimini. This mid-fifteenth-century work is generally credited to Agostino di Duccio, although John Pope-Hennessy attributes it to Matteo de' Pasti. The god carries a lute-like instrument which Emanuel Winternitz identifies as a quattrocento cittern or *cetra* (fig. 51).
However, the instrument most commonly substituted for the lyre is the bowed lira da braccio. Raphael's Parnassus is perhaps the most famous example of this, though not the First. Winternitz, a music historian who has made an extensive study of musical instruments in the visual arts, points out an earlier representation of this instrument in the hands of Apollo in a woodcut from Ovidio metamorphoseos volgare (Venice, 1497 and 1501). The lira da braccio, he states, developed during the Italian Renaissance in connection with the attempted revival of ancient music. A widespread belief held that it was invented by Sappho, and it was often called the lira or lira antica due to its purported similarities with the ancient lyre.

Besides the lyre and its more elaborate form the kithara (variant spelling cithara), Apollo is also represented with the harp (whose strings are of graduated length, as opposed to the equal lengths of the lyre and kithara), the viol, and guitar-like instruments (cf. the engraving for Practica musica, above).

In ancient art, the lyre or kithara in the hands of a youthful male generally denotes Apollo. The lyre, sometimes called the phorminx, has a tortoise-shell or wooden sound box, with slender, curved arms, and strings numbering from three to seven. Like the kithara, it has strings of equal length and is played with a plectrum. Considered the instrument of schoolboys and amateurs, it is frequently played in a seated position, resting against the player's left hip.

The kithara, on the other hand, was a much larger instrument, with a substantial wooden sound box and large hollow arms. Used by the professional singers or kitharodai, it was played in a standing position,
resting against the player's body or supported by a band attached to the player's left wrist. Seven strings were canonical during the classical period. The kitharodai, who usually performed on a platform, were identified by a special costume consisting of a long robe, sometimes elaborated by a belt and sleeves. The so-called Apollo Musagetus statue in the Vatican wears this costume and carries a kithara.

Two examples of Attic vase-paintings in which the god, identified by inscriptions, carries the kithara are a black-figure vase-painting by Exekias (c. 530 B.C.), and an early red-figure amphora in the British Museum. A nude male figure holding a kithara, from the House of the Vettii in Pompeii (c. A.D. 65-70), has also been identified as Apollo.

Mythological tradition divides the credit for the invention of the lyre between Hermes, Apollo, and occasionally Orpheus. Callimachus gives the credit to Apollo in On Delos, while the Homeric hymn To Hermes tells how the infant Hermes invented the lyre, stole Apollo's cattle, then won back Apollo's good will by presenting him Kith the instrument. Michael Grant states that Apollo invented the lute or cithara (apparently using the terms as synonyms), then received the lyre from Hermes.

This statement reflects a problem in definition that surrounds the word cithara or kithara. In an essay entitled "The Survival of the Kithara and the Evolution of the English Cittern: A Study in Morphology," Winteritz has attempted to trace the reasons for the confusion of the antique kithara, a plucked instrument without a fingerboard, with the cittern (also spelled cither, cithern, cetra, etc.) an instru-
ment with a fingerboard, resembling the lute though with a flat instead of rounded back. Winternitz has found actual instruments that borrow the shape of the ancient kithara, adding it to a fingerboard instrument. Possibly one of the creators of the Ballets Russes Apollo believed, like Grant, that the lute end the cithara were one and the same, and accordingly gave the instrument to Apollo in the ballet. The 1928 production used an instrument with a flat back (cf., figs. 10, 14 upper right, and other photographs of Lifar listed in this appendix), though a round-backed instrument is used in some productions, (cf. fig. 39) Stravinsky's writings do not take up the question of lute versus lyre at all, and one can only assume that he accepted if not initiated the substitution.

For the record, there was a lute-like instrument in ancient times. This was the pandore, said to be of Egyptian or Assyrian origin, which had two or three strings. It appears in Greek art only during the Hellenistic period, but grew more popular during Roman times and was depicted on many sarcophagi. No representations of Apollo with this instrument could be located for this study.

Lute, lyre, kithara, harp, lira da braccio, and cittern are all stringed instruments, a class of instruments regarded by the Greeks and Romans as symbolic of virtue. The antithesis of this class were the wind instruments, such as the flute played by Marsyas in his ill-fated competition with Apollo. According to Winternitz, these associations were carried into the Renaissance, when Apollo's lira da braccio became a symbol of the "noble 'mathematical' music as opposed to the guttural and lascivious music of the various reed instruments played by his
opponents," Stravinsky's decision to limit his orchestra to strings thus has historical and symbolic overtones as well as stylistic and practical functions.

C. The Chariot of Apollo

The ballet Apollo as it is performed today employs no actual chariot, although the Muses and Apollo form, in dance, a chariot-like figure or troika during the concluding coda. (fig. 46) Stravinsky does not mention a chariot in his autobiography, although he refers to the apotheosis scene during which the chariot descended in the 1928 Ballets Russes production.143 In the 1968 Dialogues and a Diary, he denotes the chariot, three horses, and the sun disc as the emblems of the Roi Soleil, adding in a footnote, "This chariot was attractively designed by Bauchant," which makes clear that he had the Ballets Russes production in mind.144 It is therefore uncertain whether he, Bauchant, or someone else within the Ballets Russes initiated the idea of the chariot. His reference to the three horses may allude to the troika formed by Apollo as the driver and the three Muses as horses, since Bauchant's designs utilize the quadriga, or four-horse chariot.

The actual chariot does not appear to have been used in Bolm's version of the ballet. According to The New York Times, in the end of the ballet Apollo "climbs up the slope of the rocks and is transfigured by a strong light."145 No chariot is mentioned among the reviews of the 1937 revival, but it was apparently reinstated for the 1941 tour of South America, for Kirstein records that the Brazilian designer Santa Rosa "made the superb chariot for us with four horses
to carry Apollo off to heaven. The 1942 decor by Tchelitchew literally gave wings to the horses, possibly with the deliberate intent of evoking the image of Pegasus. (fig. 26)

Subsequent productions make no mention of the chariot, and its abandonment accords with the increasing simplification of the scenic design.

The symbol of the chariot in the ballet is thus associated with the concept of Apollo as sun god (which became transmuted in the seventeenth century to the image of the RoI 8•leil), with the mythological figure of Pegasus, and with the idea of apotheosis.

In early Greek literary tradition, Apollo and the sun god Helios were two distinct personages. Felix Buffière points out that Homer clearly distinguishes the two in Book XXIII of the Iliad, when Apollo protects the body of Hector from the heat of the sun, and in Book VIII of the Odyssey, in the love story of Ares and Aphrodite. The Homeric hymn To Helios states that Helios is the son of Hyperion and Euryphaëssa, although his mother is sometimes identified as Theia, as in Hesiod's Theogon. 149

Aeschylus equated Apollo with the sun in his play Seven Against Thebes, as did Euripides in his play Phaeton; this belief was echoed in the thought of the Pythagoreans and the Stoics. Apollo and Helios appear to have become one by the fifth century B.C., and this theory prevailed in Hellenistic and Roman times. Varied reasons have been set forth for this transmogrification: Apollo's epithet Phoebus, signifying brilliance, which eventually became identified with the sun; the connection of gold with Apollo (cf.
Callimachus, Hymn to Apollo, which reads in part, "Golden are both the garment, and the clasp of Apollo, his lyre, his Lyctian bow, and his quiver; golden, too, his sandals; for Apollo is rich in gold, and has also many possessions." 154) Several of the productions of Apollo Musagetes dressed the god in gold; in 1937, even his body hair was gilded, so that he shone in the light. 155

On a more abstract level, Apollo was associated with the sun because he knew everything. 156 The Pythagoreans equated the sun leading the choir of the planets with Apollo leading the dances of the Muses on Olympus. 157

L. de Ronchard has postulated a connection between Apollo and the Hindu solar gods Surya and Rudra of the Vedas (c. 1500-1200 B.C.). He equates the serpent Python with the Hindu serpent Ahi, while Daphne corresponds to the Sanskrit Arana, the dawn, who is loved and pursued by the sun, and dies in his embrace. The Charites (Graces) are etymologically related to the Harits, the mares harnessed to the sun chariot. 158

In the visual arts, Apollo is said to be the bearded figure riding a chariot on an amphora from the Aegean island of Melos (seventh century B.C.). Carrying a seven-stringed kithara, he is accompanied by two females alternatively described as Muses or Hyperborean dens. Four winged horses draw the chariot, before which stands a figure identified as Artemis, with bow, quiver, arrow, and deer. 159

Apollo and Leto are depicted in a chariot on an Attic red-figure vase dating circa 500 B.C. The chariot is again drawn by
four horses, this time without wings. 160

Neither of these chariots is represented as airborne. According to Philip Mayerson, the motif of Apollo riding the sun chariot through the heavens was rare in Greek art. 161 Roger Hinks has published an Attic red-figure vase (c. 440 B.C.) depicting a male figure crowned by sun rays, riding through the air in a chariot drawn by four winged horses, but Hinks identifies this figure as Helios rather than Apollo. 162 (fig. 53) This seems correct since the figure has none of the other attributes of Apollo, such as the laurel wreath, kithara, or bow and arrow, and the vase dates from the period when the two deities were only beginning to be merged.

A manuscript dated circa 1000 depicts Apollo in a chariot, surrounded by other gods, some of whom also ride chariots. Apollo, identified by inscription, is crowned by sun rays, and carries in his hands a bow and the three Graces, represented "as a kind of bouquet out of which emerge three female busts." 163 There are apparently three horses drawing his vehicle, sharing seven legs among them. 164

Previous mention has been made of the fifteenth-century Triumph of Apollo by Francesco Cossa. The god is represented as a solar deity, but again, the chariot is not unique to him, since the fresco is part of a series depicting the twelve major Olympian gods, each mounted upon a chariot. 165

Although lacking a chariot, the chimney-piece in the Italian hall of the Residenz in Landshut, Germany (1542) appears to reinforce the identification of Apollo with the sun god. The top central panel, labelled "Sol," depicts a young man in a crown, cloak, and
kilt-like garment, carrying what appears to be a harp in his left hand and a bow, quiver, and other objects in his right. A serpent trans-fixed with an arrow lies behind him. He stands on a creature with three griffin-like heads and a serpentine tail, upon puffy cloud-like forms. To the right of the panel is a bird in flight and a tree encircled by nine nude female figures whose attitude suggests dancing. If these elements have been correctly identified, "Sol" may represent Apollo with "lyre" and bow, the serpent Python, and the nine Muses. 166

The motif of Apollo in the sun chariot was given theatrical application in 1566, in the mascarada La Genealogia degli Dei de' gentili', presented in Florence upon the marriage of Francesco de' Medici and Joanna of Austria. A drawing of a pageant car designed by Giorgio Vasari depicts "Apollo mounted on the chariot of the Sun, bearded and wearing a cuirass, a basket on his head and a flower in his hand, preceded by two eagles, three women, a serpent, etc. This figure...is not in any sense the god of Olympus, but the Assyrian Apollo described by Macrobius in the Saturnalia."167

In the sixteenth century, Giulio Romano decorated the Sala del Sole of the Palazzo del Te in Mantua with a fresco of the chariots of the sun and the moon (1527-35). The sun has been identified as Apollo, but the figure is seen di sotto in su, with no attributes visible except the whip in his right hand.168

Guido Reni painted Aurora Leading Forth the Chariot of Apollo (1613) on the ceiling of the Casino dell'Aurora, Palazzo Rospigliosi, Rome. Borne on a cloud, the chariot is surrounded by dancing females identified as the Horae, or Hours. A putto and the flying figure of
Aurora precede it.\footnote{169} These elements are also strongly reminiscent of the Bauchant paintings associated with Apollon Musagète.

A fresco of Apollo's chariot was painted on the ceiling of the Palazzo Patrizi in Rome (1615) by Domenichino. Again, the god's quadriga is supported by clouds, while flying females and putti appear from the four directions.\footnote{170}

Poussin used the motif of Apollo driving his chariot through the skyborne circle of the zodiac in at least three paintings: Diana and Endymion (c. 1631-33),\footnote{171} The Kingdom of Flora (1631),\footnote{172} and A Dance to the Music of Time (1639-40).\footnote{173} The last-named work again incorporates flying female figures. Sir Anthony Blunt believes that Poussin conceived Apollo "as the source of life in nature, not as the symbol of beauty and truth"; hence the god becomes a sort of fertility deity, and his role of divine musician and dancer is underplayed.

Poussin also painted Phaeton Begging the Chariot of Apollo (1633-35), whose subject derives from Ovid's Metamorphoses.\footnote{175} In the painting, a crown of laurel and the lyre identify the sun god as Apollo.

In the seventeenth-century theatre, Apollo appeared in a chariot "flamboiant et doré" in Le Ballet de Madame (1615).\footnote{176} He was represented as the god of light in Le Ballet d'Apollon (1621), in which he was played by the Duc de Luynes, the favorite of Louis XIII.\footnote{177} However, one month later the Grand Ballet de la Reine representant Le Soleil was performed. Its preface stated that Apollo (de Luynes) was a false sun, maintained solely by the Sun, who symbolized Louis XIII.\footnote{178} Thus court politics revived the ancient distinction between Apollo and the sun god.
Borne aloft in his quadriga, Apollo appeared with an equally air-
borne Molpomone (Muse of tragedy) in the prologue of Pierre Corneille's
tragedy Andromède, presented in 1650 in the Salle du Petit Bourbon.179

The decor of this scene also included a grotto recalling the cave of
Apollo's nativity in the 1928 Ballets Russes and 1937 productions of
Apollon Musagète. (fig. 54) The coincidence is intriguing, but it
seems doubtful that any significant connection can be established.

Louis XIV, the Roi Soleil, made his debut as the sun god and/or
Apollo several years before ascending the throne. Several sketches
depict his costumes for these roles: as Apollo, carrying a lyre and
crowned with sun rays, in Le Ballet du Roi (1651).180 as the Sun King
in Le Ballet de la Nuit (1653),181 and as Apollo, crowned with plumes,
in Les Noces de Pélée et de Thétis (1654).182 (fig. 55) These cos-
tumes may be compared with that of Adolph Bolm in the 1928 Library
of Congress Apollon Musagète (fig. 1); the spirit is similar, if not the
letter.

Although Louis XIV made his last stage appearance (again, as
Apollo) in Les Amants Magnifiques (1670) of Molière,183 the images
of Apollo and the sun continued to surround him. Charles Le Brun
designed a scene of Apollo in this chariot for the ceiling of the
Galerie d'Apollon in the Louvre, although this was not realized.184
Apollonian themes in the sculpture of Versailles have already been
mentioned in the preceding sections of this chapter; Apollo in his
chariot is also represented, in the sculpture by Jean-Baptiste Tuby,
executed after designs by Le Brun, in the Bassin d’Apollon (1670–71).185

According to Pierre Francastel, this sculpture symbolizes the
rising sun, while the setting sun is depicted in the *Apollon servi par les nymphes*, which is accompanied by the *Chevaux du Soleil*, sculpted by the brothers Marsy.186

The role of Apollo was also assumed by Louis XV, whose bust by Lambert-Sigisbert Adam (pre-1741) is ornamented by a laurel wreath and a brooch with the sun's face.187 François Boucher represented Apollo with his lyre and the horses of the sun chariot in two panels, *The Rising and Setting of the Sun* (1753), which probably originated as cartoons for Gobelin tapestries.188

In the nineteenth century, Eugène Delacroix was commissioned to complete the *Galerie d'Apollon* in the Louvre. Like his predecessor Le Brun, he chose for his theme Apollo in his chariot, this time aiming an arrow at the serpent Python. The martial connotation is very far from the peaceful one of *Apollon Musagète*, but Delacroix's painting may have served to reinforce the image of Apollo in an airborne chariot.

Odilon Redon treated the theme of Apollo's chariot numerous times during the years 1905-10.189 Thus, as in the case of the Apollo Musagète theme, neither Bauchant nor the makers of the ballet can claim to be the first to revive it in the twentieth century.

In addition to the pictorial antecedents that link the winged horse to the chariot of Apollo, the winged horse Pegasus is also associated with the Muses through a Hellenistic legend. The spring Hippocrene, the inspiration of poets, is said to have been struck out of the rock by his hoof; this spring is located slightly below the summit of Helicon, one of the homes of the Muses.190 Pegasus
is therefore included in many paintings and theatrical works that include the Muses (see above).

In the 1928 Ballets Russes production of Apollon Musagète, Apollo's chariot descended during the finale of the ballet, which Stravinsky called the "apotheosis." The word is in some ways a misnomer, since in ancient times, particularly in Rome, it signified the raising of a mortal, usually a ruler, to godhood. Apollo, born as an immortal and a full-fledged god, technically does not need to be apotheosized.

In a looser sense the word "apotheosis" may signify an "ascension to glory," and this may be the meaning Stravinsky had in mind, denoting Apollo's attainment of manhood and his assumption of his rightful place among the other Olympians.

The use of the word also recalls the baroque theatre, which Dialogues and a Diary evokes in reference to the ballet. The apotheosis was one of the innovations of the baroque period; it allowed the baroque theatre to exercise its penchant for spectacular effects, created by devices such as the gloire, vol, and ciel, all of which provided means of transporting gods through the air.

Scenes of apotheosis as a physical transportation to heaven have also appeared in the visual arts; for example, the Hadrianic relief of Antoninus Pius and Faustina, in which the couple are borne to heaven by a winged genius. Closer in date and motif to Apollon Musagète is the Apotheosis of Napoleon (commissioned 1853) of Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, in which the emperor stands in a chariot drawn by four white horses, led by the flying figure of Victory,
while Fame holds a wreath over his head,' Although the painting was destroyed by fire in 1871, it was known through oil and watercolor sketches in the Louvre and the Museum of the City of Paris.196

None of the Bauchant paintings associated with the ballet bears the title "apotheosis," and it seems unlikely that the use of the word was suggested by the paintings, since the two versions of Apollon Apparaissant aux Bergers focus on the god's manifestation to mortals rather than his relation to the other immortals.

Another possible source of Stravinsky's adoption of the word is the similar use of the term in the late nineteenth-century Imperial Russian ballets of Marius Petipa and Lev Ivanov. Sometimes it is used in the strict sense, as in Petipa's La Fille du Pharaon (1862), in which the heroine is received by Osiris and Isis.197 However, in the finale of Petipa's Raymonda (1898), the "apotheosis" is "a brilliant tourney,"198 while in Ivanov's Casse Noisette (The Nutcracker) (1892) it denotes "a bee-hive guarded by flying bees."199

The term has also been applied to the ultimate union of the lovers, either on earth or in the hereafter, in ballets such as La Bayadère (1877), Swan Lake (Petipa–Ivanov version, 1895), and The Sleeping Beauty (1890). The original meaning of the word was therefore lost or obscured, and Stravinsky may have believed it to be nothing more than the conventional ending to the "traditional classical" type of ballet that he wanted to re-create in Apollon Musagète.
Notes:


3. Ibid.


8. Grant, Gods and Mortals, 263; Graves, Greek Myths, 55.

9. K. Pfeiff, Apollon; Die Wandlung seines Bildes in der Griechischen Kunst, Frankfurt am Main, 1943, 43.


14. Graves, Greek Myths, 55-56.

15. Grant, Gods and Mortals, 263.


since Cynthæus was active at the end of the sixth century B.C. Homerus, *The Homeric Hymns*, trans. Boer, 182.


21. white, Stravinsky, 303.


39. Ibid., 28.

40. Ibid., 42.


42. Ibid., 451.

43. Ibid., 79.

44. Grant, Gods and Mortals, 284.


46. Grant, Gods and Mortals, 284; Graves, Greek Myths, 53.


50. Berve, Greek Temples, 60.


52. Winternitz, Musical Instruments, 45 n. 4; reproduced in Seznec, Survival, pl. 98.


59. E.Q. Visconti, Musée Pie-Clémentin, Milan, 1820, IV, 110, pl. XIV.
69. R. van Marle, Iconographie de l'art profane au moyen-âge et à la Renaissance, La Haye, 1932, 11, 276.

70. Seznec, Survival, 170-171, pl. 68.

71. Lehmann, "Sources," 95. The three-headed dragon- or griffin-like figure also appears beneath the feet of "Sol" in the chimney-piece from the Landshut Residenz (see following discussion).


75. Ibid., 94.


79. Seznec, Survival, 137-140.


81. Winternitz, Musical Instruments, 87.


85. Reproduced in Meyer-Baer, "Musical Iconography," fig. 5.


87. Kirstein, Movement and Metaphor, 260, pl. 131.

88. Strong, Splendor, 133.


92. Ibid., 271.


105. Ibid., 186-188.


107. Ibid., 68-69.


129. Ibid., 97, 221.


141. Ibid., 1437.


144. *Dialogues*, 34, 34 n. 9.
150. Buffière, Mythes, 188-190.
156. Mayerson, Classical Mythology, 146. This characteristic is shared by Helios. Hammond, The Oxford Classical Dictionary, 494.
161. Mayerson, Classical Mythology, 146.
163. Seznec, survival, 163.
164. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Monac. lat. 14271, fol. 11 v. (32- of Auxerre). The page reference is given as
fol. 11 r. in the list of illustrations on page xiv. Seznec, Survival, xiv, 167, 167 n. 46, pl. 67.

165. Ibid., 74.

166. A Warburg, "Kirchliche und Höfische Kunst in Landshut" (1909), in Gesammelte Schriften, Leipzig, 1932, II, 457, pl. 105; Seznec, Survival, fig. 79.

167. Florence, Uffizi. Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius, a Roman grammarian and philosopher, lived during the late fourth and early fifth centuries B.C. His Saturnalia has been described as "an academic symposium" encompassing philological, historical, antiquarian, and scientific subjects. Seznec, Survival, 282, 363, pl. 103; Hammond, The Oxford Classical Dictionary, 635.


170. Reproduced in A. Neppi, Gli Affreschi del Domenichino a Roma, Rome, 1958, 49, pl. XI.


179. Christout, Ballet de cour, 54-55, 258; reproduced in Deierkauf-Holsboer, Histoire de la mise en scène, pl. XVII.

181. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Ibid., 261, pl. 133.

182. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut. Ibid., 261, pl. 139; also reproduced in Christout, Ballet de cour, pl. 33.

183. Kirstein, Movement and Metaphor, 86.


185. Lami, Dictionnaire, 474.

186. P. Francastel, La Sculpture de Versailles, Paris, 1930, 49, fig. 1.


194. Christout, Ballet de cour, 172.


198. Ibid., 451.

199. Ibid., 517.
IV. Apollon Musagète and the Twentieth Century

The Ballets Russes in the 'twenties was dominated by a spirit of experimentalism. This spirit, which found its rallying cry in Diaghilev's famous exhortation to Jean Cocteau, "Astonish me," penetrated even the hallowed groves of ancient Greek mythology and literature. In the years from 1920 to 1929, no fewer than four ballets were based, however distantly, on antique subject-matter: Zéphire et Flore (1925), La Chatte (1927), Mercure (1927), and Apollon Musagète (1928). The use of the ancient Greek world as a thematic source, even in the midst of experimentation, suggests that the artists of the Ballets Russes still found its personalities and legends viable, stimulating, and fertile.

However, none of the ballets were particularly concerned with presenting an archaeologically exact picture of ancient Greece; certainly none of the four emulated the deliberate archaïsms of two earlier "Greek" ballets presented by the Ballets Russes, Nijinsky's The Afternoon of a Faun (1912) and Fokine's Daphnis and Chloe (1912). Zéphire, with scenery and costumes by Georges Braque, was originally planned as an eighteenth-century mythological ballet as presented by a Russian serf ballet troupe. Also, as Grigoriev points out, the subject-matter already had an antecedent among the late eighteenth-century ballets of Charles Diderot.¹ La Chatte began with a fable by Aesop, which was costumed and decorated in the Constructivist manner by the brothers Naum Gabo and Anton Pevsner. Mercure, first
presented in 1924 at the Soirées de Paris of Comte Etienne de Beaumont, was an irreverent romp, largely inspired by the wit of Pablo Picasso, its designer. Among its episodes was a scene in which Mercury stole the pearls of the three Graces, who were impersonated by three men in false breasts immersed in a "bathtub."\(^2\) To a greater or lesser extent all of these ballets and, as we have seen, *Apollon Musagète*, were considered iconoclastic because they did not conform to the traditional and expected conception of ancient Greek gods and heroes.

Paradoxically, the 'twenties also saw a reawakening of interest in what was deemed the "classical" style. This trend touched a number of arts and artists: in literature, André Gide, Paul Valéry, Guillaume Apollinaire, Jean Cocteau, and Raymond Radiguet; in music, Erik Satie, Francis Poulenc, and Stravinsky; in the visual arts, Georges Braque, André Derain, Juan Gris, Henri Matisse, the Purists, and Picasso.\(^4\) Douglas Cooper has attributed this general movement towards order and regularization to "the reaction against the brutality and destruction of the war, as well as against the violence and anarchy of Dada."\(^5\) The rise of this movement may also be seen as the reaction of one artistic vein, the so-called classical, with its emphasis on form, against the so-called romantic, with its emphasis on expressional content, in a progression that continues cyclically through the history of art. The artists themselves may have seen the phenomenon first as a purely individual response to individual artistic needs. Both Stravinsky and Balanchine arrived at their respective "neoclassical" styles after a period that was comparatively "romantic"; in Stravinsky's case, in an emphasis upon
emotional expression and a predilection towards the "color" of instrumental timbres rather than melodic "line"; in Balanchine's, a lack of restraint in his use of choreographic forms.

The new classicism or neoclassicism of the twentieth century was not to be a pastiche of ancient Greece, nor of any other stylistic period usually described as "classical." As formulated by Stravinsky in music and Picasso in painting, neoclassicism derived its name from its use of structural principles associated with the word "classicism": economy of means, simplicity, clarity, order. A certain mood of detachment and aloof tranquility is often evident in the works of these artists, although this may be leavened by the humor for which both artists are famed. Balanchine's choreography for Apollon Musagète also contains many humorous moments; possibly it may be said, at least in regard to these three artists, that neoclassicism is a style that knows how to laugh at itself; the frigidity and pomposity of some previous "classical" styles has been left behind.

The evolution of Apollon Musagète's visual design through the years illustrates a slow, sometimes painful groping towards the neoclassical ideal. From Bolm's rather literal simultaneous evocation of ancient Greece and classical baroque France, the ballet was then subjected to the iconoclastic and experimental tastes of the Ballets Russes, resulting in a solution that was almost unanimously voted unsatisfactory. A return to historical classicism was attempted in the "Poussinesque" production of 1937. In 1942 Tchelitchew appears to have allowed himself freer rein with the Greek material, although recognizable quotations from the antique are still evident.
ballet was slow to surrender the trappings of tradition; Apollo did not discard his golden tunic and laurel wreath until 1957, nearly thirty years after the premiere of the ballet.

The ballet is usually performed today in the generalized practice costume of the twentieth-century ballet dancer, on a stage that is almost bare. Although neither costume nor setting is specific to the ancient Greek theme of the ballet or the neoclassical style of choreography, few protests have been registered against this use of generalization. The qualities of reduction, simplicity, and generality which govern the ballet's present-day decoration are also shared by movements and artists which have also been labelled "classical" by modern critics: Cubism, Le Corbusier, Mondrian.

That Apollo Musagete can today be called "classical" is probably due in part to its survival over the years, forty-seven being a venerable age for a ballet, but the definition of "classicism" has indubitably changed too. Otto J. Brendel has offered some thoughts on the modern conception of classicism in an essay entitled "The Classical Style in Modern Art" (1962):

We now treat it as an open proposition, the conditions of which may be fulfilled by an unspecified number of actual instances. It is still apt to suggest references to past art, but not necessarily to Greek and Roman only. The line of continuity, of a classical style, leads well beyond the Italian Renaissance into more recent periods and even the present. Thus the term has lost something of its categorical precision which it had once possessed in academic classicism. Yet in other respects its selective function has been strengthened, imparting to it the qualitative precision of a critical concept which is well known by experience, if not by theory. Classical, in this sense, is a certain way of doing things or of presenting them. It can be actualized in unfamiliar forms and recognized in unexpected circumstances, by the analogy of other phenomena previously found "classical."
Such a definition immeasurably widens the range of works which may be called "classical." Yet the looseness of the definition simultaneously hinders its own articulation; Brendel seems to imply that the quality of being "classical" is easier to recognize in a general sense than to analyze in every particular. Does this mean that the adjective "classical" is subject to the whim of the person bestowing it? Such license does not seem to be Brendel's intent, yet the definition of "classicism" remains a problem, not only in its twentieth-century application but in its general statement, while certain qualities are generally considered to be "classical," how is one to judge the degree to which a work or artist must possess these qualities in order to earn the title "classical?" How new must a work be in order to become "neoclassical" rather than simply "classical?" Should the "classical" qualities of a work be judged against its contemporaries (which might, in some periods, expand the range of "classicism" even more), or should an unvarying, timeless standard be used?

Apollon Musagète can offer but limited help in answering these questions. Although its long survival offers a record of changes both in its creators and the public's conceptions of classicism, it cannot claim to represent all of the arts and ideas of the twentieth century. Although iconographical antecedents can be found for most of the themes and motifs in the ballet, there is no evidence that its creators were making a concerted effort to revive classicism by using them as, for instance, Jacques-Louis David and the neoclassical school did
in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Yet *Apollon Musagète* is of value both as an example of a so-called neoclassical work and as an illustration of the type of classicism Brendel has discussed, the "open proposition." Although its music would never be mistaken for Bach nor its choreography for Petipa, its many ties with other "classical" styles and periods in history help place it in perspective not only as a new development, but as a continuation of the "classical" tradition.

Notes:


2. Perhaps because this ballet was not created under the auspices of the Ballets Russes, both Kochno and Grigoriev, staunch adherents of Diaghilev, give it short shrift in their books. A more detailed account is available in Douglas Cooper's *Picasso Theatre*, New York, 1967-1968.


5. Ibid., 63.


SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY


Lifar, Serge, Serge Diaghilev: His Life, His Work, His Legend, New York, 1940.


-----------, *Stravinsky; The Composer and His Works,* Berkeley, 1966.


APPENDIX

PUBLISHED PHOTOGRAPHS AND DESIGNS OF APOLLON MUSAGÊTE, 1928-1951

This should by no means be considered a definitive list of sources for published photographs and designs.

A separate number has been assigned to each different design or photograph. Some have been published in more than one source.

Apollon Musagête, Coolidge Chamber Music Festival, 1928

Adolph Bolm as Apollo

1. Theatre Arts, XII, 1928, 545.


Apollon Musagète, Ballets Russes, 1928

Works by André Bauchant


Serge Lifar as Apollo.

9. **10., 11.** Three photographs. (Hyperingen-Huone) *Theatre Arts*, XXXII, November 1947, 36, (below),

12. **S. Lifar, Serge Diaghilev,** New York, 1940, facing page 332, *This pose seems to be the same as no. 11 above (right), though reversed in direction.*


15. (Lipnitzki) Levinson, *Danse,* 71 (right).


Apollo and a Muse


21. Pas de deux. Danilova as Terpsichora. (Sasha; Niki Ekstrom) Taper, Balanchine, 103; Kochno, *Diaghilev,* 266.

Apollo and Two Muses

the Dance, 28, pl. 1; L'Art Vivant, V, September 15, 1929, 724 (middle left).

23. (Lipnitzki) L'Art Vivant, V, September 15, 1929, 724 (middle right).

24. (Lipnitzki) Schaeffner, Stravinsky, pl. LVI; Lederman, Stravinsky, 157 (above right).

Apollo and Three Muses


26. Coda. (The Illustrated London News; The Times, London) Propert, The Russian Ballet, pl. XXXIII (below left); The Illustrated London News, CLXIII, July 7, 1928, 13 (below, second from right); Theatre Arts, November 1947, 36 (middle left); Dance Index, II, 1943, 111 (middle); About the House, II, Christmas 1966, 16.


29. (The Times, London) Propert, The Russian Ballet, pl. XXXIII (above right); Theatre Arts, XXXII, November 1947, 36 (above right).

Apollo and Four Muses

30. This is not a scene from the ballet, A.L. Haskell, Diaghileff, New York, 1935, facing page 305.

Apotheosis Scene


The Muses

32. A Muse. Captioned as Doubrovska (Calliope) but the gestura is that of Polyhymnia. (Lipnitzki) Levinson, Dance, 69.
33. Two Muses, Tchernicheva and Doubrovska, Levinson, Danse, pl. X.

Apollo Muses, The American Ballet, 1937

Works by Stewart Chaney

34. Design for second scene. (Columbia Concerts Corp.) L. Kirstein, "Homage to Stravinsky," Arts and Decoration, XLVI, May 1937, 14 (above).


Levi Christensen as Apollo

40. L. Kirstein, "The American Ballet in Argentina," The American Dancer, XIV, October 1941, 13 (below). This is not a scene from the ballet.

41. (Richard Tucker) Taper, Balanchine, 106 (far left).

Apollo and a Muse

42. "Creation of Adam" pose, pas de deux, Dance index, VI, 1947, 252 (left).

Apollo and Three Muses


Three Muses

45. *Dance Index*, VI, 1947, 252 (right).

Apotheosis Scene


47. Martin, *The Dance*, 72 (left),

*Apollon Musarète*, *American Ballet Caravan, 1941*

Apollo and a Muse

48. *Pas de deux*. (Schulmann) *Dance Index*, IV, February-March 1945, 25 (above right), ...


50. *Pas de deux*. (Schulmann) *Dance Index*, IV, February-March 1945, 25 (below right).

Apollo and Three Muses

51. (Schulmann) *Dance Index*, IV, February-March 1945, 25 (above left).

52. *Coda*. (Schulmann) *Dance Index*, IV, February-March 1945, 25 (middle left).

53. *Pas d'action*. (Schulmann) *Dance Index*, IV, February-March 1945, 25 (middle right),


*Apollon Musarète, 1942*

Works by Pavel Tchelitchew


Page from a sketchbook, costumes of the Muses at lower left, Dance Index, III, January–February 1944, 2.

Apollo and the Muses

Pas d'action. Cance Index, I, July 1942, 102 (below).

Apollo, Ballet: Theatre, 1943

André Eglevsky as Apollo

Dance, XVII, November 1943, 5 (above left).

Igor Youskevitch as Apollo (1946–47 season or later)

(Fred Fehl) Lawrence, The Victor Book of Ballets, 36.

Apollo and a Muse

Pas de deux. Alonso as Terpsichore (1945–46 season or later), Dance Perspectives, VI, 1960, pl. 14.

Apollo and Three Muses


"Many-legged creature" pose. Youskevitch as Apollo. (Fred Fehl) Theatre Arts, XXXI, May 1947, 33 (below).

Apollon Musagète. Paris Opéra Ballet, 1947

Works by André Delfau


Apollo, Leader of the Muses. The New York City Ballet, 1951

André Eglevsky as Apollo

Apollo and a Muse

66. (Fred Fehl) Taper, Balanchine, 107 (top).

Apollo and Two Muses

67. Coda. (Fred Fehl) Haggin, Ballet Chronicle, 135 (below).

Apollo and Three Muses


69. Pas d’action. (Fred Fehl) Haggin, Ballet Chronicle, 135 (above).

70. Cod., (Fred Fehl) Chujoy, The New York City Ballet, following page 48 (below).
ILLUSTRATIONS
END OF THESIS