

Satie and the French Musical Canon: A Reception Study

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Abstract

Satie was the first French composer to completely reject the musical tradition of Romanticism in all its forms: technically, aesthetically and ideologically. The methods through which Satie attacked tradition were highly unorthodox and often presented in an aphoristic and humorous fashion, an approach that caused his pivotal role in the emergence of the early French avant-garde to be neglected. The primary research question that informs this thesis asks what were the mechanisms by which Satie was consistently excluded from the canon during his public career (1911-1925)? Within a primary framework of canon theory, this reception study challenges the dominance of the canon on discourses surrounding Satie during his lifetime and lays the foundations for a reassessment of his role as an avatar of French modernism.

This study addresses the canon in explicit terms and challenges canonic influence over methodology, terminology and ideology in musical discourse. In doing so many traditional beliefs and images concerning Satie are re-examined, for example: that analyses of his music are a futile pursuit as the musical ideas were considered more important than the music itself. The historicity of various images of Satie that collectively formed his public identity in the press are examined and, where necessary, re-evaluated. Through an analysis of a wide range of primary sources, including concert programmes and critical reviews, this research addresses the themes that predominate in Satie's reception and impacted significantly on his reputation: professionalism, humour, gender, nationalism, class politics and religion. Particular attention is given to the role of humour and various methods are suggested for directly dealing with the comic in Satie's music. The canonic implications of programming practices and Satie's involvement in inter-art events are also explored. Through a direct confrontation of the canon, an alternative historiographic model for this period of French musical history is proposed.

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Abbreviations

BnF Mus	Music Department of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
IMEC	Institut Mémoires de l'Édition Contemporaine, l'Abbaye d'Ardenne, Caen
SIM	Société internationale de musique
SMI	Société musicale indépendante
SN	Société nationale de musique
SIMC	Société internationale de musique contemporaine

Unless otherwise stated, all translations from French are the author's own. The English translation is given in the main text with the original in a footnote.

Introduction

He is unknown. Many critics were long ago antagonised by his witty titles and eccentricity; and they negated his music without knowing it. In an obituary, one of ‘those gentlemen’ described the gentle ‘Gymnopédies’ as humorous pieces. Others claimed that Satie, ignorant of the fundamentals of music, had as a shrewd Norman exploited the rich possibilities of humour to mask his technical inadequacies. We must not forget that Satie was certainly the most insulted of musicians during the whole of his long artistic existence. He was obliged to develop great courage in the face of this systematic malevolence and the sneers directed at him. His evident talent was despised, his sincerity questioned, his intentions misinterpreted; he was constantly criticised for his ignorance, his dilettantism.¹ (Pierre-Daniel Templier, *Erik Satie*, 1932)

Satie occupies a unique place in discourses on French musical modernism. As a musical humourist and a composer of ‘amateur’ status it is unusual that critics devoted so much attention to him during his years in the public spotlight.² He was never considered an official composer, his works were not legitimized by the arbiters of the canon and his reputation ensured that his name would never appear on the ‘most rich Honours List of Music,’ as Satie sarcastically described the canon.³ This thesis aims to firstly acknowledge and secondly, confront the ‘elephant in the room’ that has dominated discourses on Satie and engagement with his music without ever being directly addressed in scholarship: the concept of the musical canon. As an officially excluded composer, Satie’s outsider status remained largely unchallenged over the past century with the exception of a few ‘subversive’ voices. The majority of scholars who have engaged with Satie subscribed to the view that he was a second-class composer and that the importance of his musical ideas surpassed the quality of his music.⁴ Within a framework of canon theory this study explores the process by which Satie’s exclusion from the

¹ Pierre-Daniel Templier, *Erik Satie* (Paris: Editions Rieder, 1932); trans. Elena and David French (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press 1969), 114-15.

² Georges Auric pointed to the ‘amateur’ status of Satie in his 1913 article ‘Erik Satie: Musicien Humoriste’, *Revue française de musique*, 4-10 December 1913, 138-142, 140 (See page 55). Whilst not explicitly labelled an amateur, many critics implied Satie’s amateur status through the use of adjectives such as ‘incomplète’ (incomplete/ clumsy), ‘inhabile’ (inept), ‘gauche’ (clumsy) and ‘insuffisant’ (insufficient/inadequate) in discussions of his compositional abilities. These terms arise in quotations from the contemporary music press throughout this thesis; see chapter 2 in particular. Satie makes explicit reference to the label ‘amateur’ in an ironic way in the article ‘L’Origine d’Instruction’, *Les Feuilles Libres*, No. 27 (June-July 1922); see Wilkins (ed.), *The Writings of Erik Satie*, 93-95.

³ [Erik Satie, ‘Claude Debussy’, *Vanity Fair*, 1923] Wilkins (ed.), *The Writings of Erik Satie*, 106.

⁴ This trend changed significantly with the advent of Robert Orledge’s *Satie the Composer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). See the literature review for an in-depth discussion of Satie’s reception in musicological writings.

musical canon was achieved over the course of his public career (1911-1925) and the role of various cultural arbiters in reaching this outcome. Many of the public images, attitudes and opinions of Satie presented by critics in this period that profoundly affected his reputation, have been repeatedly reproduced in discourses surrounding Satie in the years since. The influence of this body of reception on posthumous discourses and, in particular, the heritage of a Satie-specific vocabulary remains unexplored. Many of the debates of the period, lines of enquiry that ceased with Satie's death and subsequent exile from the main body of discourses in French modernism will be examined.⁵ Some of these debates certainly warrant revisiting, especially as they were ignited as a direct result of Satie's daring and iconoclastic music and its challenge to the hegemony of the canon. Over the course of four primary chapters, three practices linked to canon formation that profoundly impacted upon the creation of Satie's public reputation are examined in depth: music criticism, concert programming and interart activities. The practice of music criticism is inextricably linked to the latter two practices and this relationship is the focus of chapter three. The remaining three chapters explore the themes of professionalism; the role of humour in art music; and the use of cultural metaphors and imagery in the maintenance and formation of the French musical canon.

Jim Samson highlights two central concerns in conducting a reception study: '1) How can we theorise context?; and 2) How can we understand music as text?'⁶ This study concentrates on the former question, exploring the relationship of Satie's musical activity with its immediate social world within a theoretical context of canon studies. This research lays the foundations for future studies relating to the second question: conducting cultural and musical analyses of works informed by their reception.⁷ Through a framework of canon theory we are permitted a unique insight into the canon struggles of the period due to Satie's clearly oppositional and deliberately confrontational stance towards hegemonic canonic discourses. The research question guides the primary methodology and the selection of secondary methodologies throughout the discussion: what were the mechanisms by which

⁵ For example, debates concerning cubism and Dada in music.

⁶ Jim Samson, 'Chopin reception: theory, history, analysis' in Jon Rink and Jim Samson (eds.), *Chopin Studies 2* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 2.

⁷ Unfortunately, due to the large number of primary sources utilised within this study, the second question cannot be adequately addressed within the current constraints, though I do provide one example in chapter five.

Satie was excluded from the French musical canon? This study also demands that one asks why Satie achieved such notoriety in his lifetime, why were his works published, promoted, performed, recorded and even broadcast by certain agents who were traditionally engaged in upholding the canon? Engagement with these questions means confronting the wider cultural history of this period and the various discourses wherein the social order of the canon was constructed, controlled and maintained at this time.

In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault relates that all forms of knowledge and truth 'are merely the triumphant version of events that has succeeded in emerging from the perpetual struggle of ideas and ideologies that characterises our way of interacting.'⁸ From the mid-19th century up until the emergence of the post-classical era in the latter half of the 20th century, the concept of the canon has dominated the discourses surrounding high-art music and the selection of repertory. In the 1990s canon theorists called for a questioning of the canon or at the very least, as Robert P. Morgan stated it certainly required 'demystification'.⁹ Through critical questioning and analyses, musicologists continue to confront the considerable influence of this concept upon what, why and how we study various musical subjects. In the field of French musical historiography Jann Pasler points out that the dominance of the 'trinity' of Fauré, Debussy and Ravel 'is a concept that addressed the needs and desires of their friends and admirers rather than accurately represented the hierarchies of musical taste or achievement at the time.'¹⁰ This reality necessitates in-depth study of the primary sources of reception of the period and an exploration of the canon struggles revealed in them. The posthumous musicological discourses that surround Satie are a product of a particularly biased version of musical history and it is a certainty that Satie's reception has been disadvantaged by his non-canonic status. He was considered a highly controversial

⁸ Lisa Downing, *The Cambridge Introduction to Michel Foucault* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 13. Foucault outlines how there is a hierarchical structure of historical discourses: not all accounts of history are equal or therefore subject to similar levels of circulation. See the chapter 'The Original and the Regular' in *Archaeology of Knowledge*, A. M. Sheridan Smith (transl.) (London & New York: Routledge, 2011), 157-165.

⁹ Robert P. Morgan, 'Rethinking Musical Culture: Canonic Reformulations in a Post-Tonal Age' in Katherine Bergeron and Philip V. Bohlman (eds.), *Disciplining Music: Musicology and its Canons* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 61.

¹⁰ Jann Pasler, *Writing Through Music: Essays On Music, Culture and Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 14.

composer in his lifetime and therefore, a reception study conducted within a framework of canon theory not only breaks new ground in Satie studies, but constitutes a revealing case-study into the workings of the musical canon in early 20th-century France. The reasons for Satie's relegation to the position of official outsider and the process by which this exclusion occurred have never been directly addressed. A prominent feature of canons is that once established, they seem 'natural', and this is perhaps the primary reason why no reception study of this kind has been conducted to date: his exclusion appeared to be beyond question. Kerman advocates that historical criticism should 'seek to explain and exemplify those evanescent reputations' of composers not within the canon.¹¹ Many musicologists concerned with this period of French history are now actively engaged in addressing this bias and in writing its hidden history, particularly through their work on the lesser known composers such as Milhaud, Koechlin and Satie, in addition to female composers, such as Nadia and Lili Boulanger and Germaine Tailleferre.¹²

0.1 Literature Review

This overview of the primary literature constitutes a history of Satie's reception in academia framed within the context of canon studies. It traces how Satie's treatment in musicological discourses reflects various shifts in ideological perspectives and in the methods employed by musicologists since his death in 1925. This approach acknowledges the legacy of Satie's reception during his lifetime and highlights the canonic arguments that have dogged Satie scholarship in the 20th century. It brings a consciousness to readers of the influence of the idealist concept of the canon and opens the way for a reassessment of Satie in the 21st century. Patterns emerge in the course of Satie's posthumous reception, particularly in regard to the reproduction of Satie's reputation and the prevalence of certain themes, opinions and ideologies. Many of these works perpetuate early 20th-

¹¹ Joseph Kerman, 'A Few Canonic Variations' in *Write all These Down: Essays on Music* (London: University of California Press, 1994), 43.

¹² For example, see Caroline Potter, *Nadia and Lili Boulanger* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Jeanice Brooks, *The Musical World of Nadia Boulanger: Performing Past and Future Between the Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); and Barbara L. Kelly, *Tradition and Style in the works of Darius Milhaud 1912-1939* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

century ideologies of the canon and blend them problematically with those of their own eras.¹³

The primary texts on Satie are thus grouped according to the subject position of the author in relation to the musical canon: apologist, dismissive, defensive, outsider and interart scholarship. In critiquing literature, like music of the past, one must remain conscious of the fact that these cultural documents are products of their time, place and discipline. Geography significantly impacted upon the reception of Satie, who enjoyed considerable respect in America throughout the 20th century on account of his promotion by composers such as Virgil Thomson, John Cage and later the minimalist composers. This reception contrasts starkly with that in his native France and in Europe in general. Most of the texts in this review are authored by musicologists; however, where this is not the case, the differences in approach, style, and implicit value judgements are marked. These differences highlight the radically divergent opinions held of Satie by those outside the musicological sphere and provide an illuminating contrast.

Contemporary scholarship is expected to meet the required rigorous standards of academia as reinforced by publishers and institutions of education. However a number of significant studies on Satie pre-date such demands and were produced with little or no regard to the now standard conventions of referencing and bibliography. There are many instances of this practice in the biographies of Templier and Myers, in Shattuck's *The Banquet Years* and in a considerable amount of French literature.¹⁴ On account of the controversy surrounding Satie and the vitriolic nature of many of the criticisms directed at him, individuals quoted were often kept anonymous in order to protect them from continued association

¹³ A prominent consequence of this practice is evident in disclaimers presented in the prefaces to many of these studies, in which Satie's second-class status is acknowledged and the study is justified on the grounds of historical interest, as Satie was closely associated with many canonic figures (e.g. Ravel, Debussy, Stravinsky). Robert Orledge finally breaks the cycle of Satie the joker in *Satie the Composer*, where he sets out to prove that Satie was a 'serious' composer through an in-depth study of Satie's compositional processes through engagement with the extant sketches, notebooks and manuscripts.

¹⁴ For example, in the musicological work of Paul Collaer and Paul Landormy and the 1952 special edition of *La Revue musicale* devoted entirely to Satie (*Erik Satie: Son temps et ses amis*: June 1952). See also: Templier, *Erik Satie*; Rollo Meyers, *Erik Satie* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1948); and Roger Shattuck, *The Banquet Years* (New York: Vintage, [1958] 1968).

with his name.¹⁵ These secondary sources remain valuable historical documents, yet the non-academic presentation of their content and their inherent belief in Satie's place outside the canon most often resulted in an emphasis upon anecdotes rather than music criticism.

0.1.1 Apologist Scholarship

Biography served as the primary form of musicological discourse in Satie scholarship prior to Orledge's groundbreaking *Satie the Composer* (1990). To date five English-language biographies have been published, all of which share the same title, *Erik Satie*: Pierre-Daniel Templier (1932, transl. 1969), Rollo Myers (1948), James Harding (1978), Alan Gillmor (1988) and Mary E. Davis (2007).¹⁶ None of these musicologists challenge the dominant ideologies of the canon in their work, indeed they do not seem altogether conscious of the criteria they were in fact applying to their studies. The reasons for Satie's 'second-rate' status and his exclusion from the canon are never questioned. In fact, quite the opposite occurred.

The first three biographies fall into the category of apologist scholarship, as each of these authors feels obliged to provide a justification for their non-canonic subject choice. Their apologies implicitly acknowledge the canonic criteria that Satie has failed to meet and their justifications largely rest upon Satie's status as a 'precursor' and the fact that many of his 'great' contemporaries respected him highly.

Templier, Satie's first posthumous biographer, agrees with the consensus that Satie's music is indeed second-rate: 'Today his name no longer appears on concert programs; and although we consider this to be an excellent thing, its consequence is that we cannot "judge" him. One should differentiate between judging and appreciating [...].'¹⁷ Templier makes it quite clear that his book is about appreciation only, it is not about valuation; this has already been done. He clarifies

¹⁵ There are many instances of this practice, especially in the biographies of Myers (1948) and Templier (1932).

¹⁶ Other significant publications that also contain a great deal of biographical information include Steven Moore Whiting's *Satie the Bohemian: From Cabaret to Concert Hall* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999) and numerous works by Ornella Volta, particularly *Erik Satie: Correspondance presque complète* (Paris: Editions d'IMEC, 2000).

¹⁷ Templier, *Erik Satie*, 113.

that any references he makes to beauty are ‘in a completely personal sense’.¹⁸ Satie’s second biographer, Rollo Myers, adopts a cautious tone, aware of the distain in which many hold the composer: ‘Satie [...], a name, moreover, which if mentioned at all, is usually pronounced with either a sneer or an air of amused condescension [...]. The neglect and oblivion by which his music has been shrouded are, I venture to suggest, unjustified.’¹⁹ Myers presents the excuse that the ‘testimony of infinitely greater composers, men such as Ravel, remains as something which although inexplicable to a foreign observer cannot be ignored.’²⁰ He also mentions the importance of Satie’s role as a precursor to the harmonic language of Debussy and Ravel. Similarly, Harding evokes the image of Satie the amateur in the opening pages of his biography where he describes him as a ‘minor composer.’²¹

The proximity of Templier’s work to Satie’s lifetime unfortunately hindered the biography in certain ways. At the time of his death Satie had many enemies and with the exception of a few individuals he had managed to successfully terminate most of the friendships he ever had. At times Templier alludes to particular conversations, articles or letters exchanged between Satie and others without revealing the identity of the other subject or the location of the source in question. With the exception of a slightly more extended discussion of the music, Myers biography represents a virtual translation of Templier’s. Myers cites many of the same quotes and anecdotes and does not critique any of Templier’s work: he simply regurgitates the contents of this book. Myers admits that he relied significantly on Templier’s biography ‘which I had to consult frequently for dates and general documentation.’²² The choices of adjectives that refer to Satie (for example, the term ‘intransigence’) are often lifted directly from Templier’s writings. Nevertheless, Myers does not shy away from valuing Satie, whom he often refers to as a ‘genius’. Myers’ biography generated significant interest in Satie in the English-speaking world, particularly in the United Kingdom and America, where

¹⁸ Templier, *Erik Satie*, 113.

¹⁹ Myers, *Erik Satie*, 11. This is the first English language biography of Satie.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.

²¹ James Harding, *Erik Satie* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1975), xi.

²² Myers, *Erik Satie*, 8.

John Cage was just beginning his studies of Satie. Harding's biography in turn relies heavily on these two works and he similarly adopts their apologetic approach.

In attempting to introduce the reader to Satie's life and works, all three fall far from a standard sufficient for the elucidation of his music and serve rather to confuse the reader by inadvertently dismissing much of his music through their inability to discuss it. These biographies portray Satie's personality in a very particular manner and the authors stress his child-like nature. Templier repeatedly compares Satie's behaviour and outlook to that of a child: 'All his life, Satie remained a naïve child.'²³ Templier described Satie's piano works *Enfantines* as music that is not 'about children, or for children, but of a child.'²⁴ This common emphasis on his eccentric and sometimes more extreme traits did little to promote the 'case' of Satie.²⁵ The biographers all struggle to explain Satie's motivations for using humour though they implicitly agree with Templier's opinion that it functioned as a form of intellectual suicide.²⁶ Satie's use of humour confounded critics in his lifetime and throughout the 20th century. Humour did not sit well amongst the works of the 'serious' composers and certainly would not have assisted in maintaining a canon that considered itself elitist and prestigious.

With the exception of Mary E. Davis in 2007, all the biographers state that Satie's *ideas* were arguably more important than the music he wrote. The primary reason for the inability of scholars to argue against Satie's second-rate status lies in the fact that they actually believed in it; Satie never wrote any works that adhered to the criteria necessary to attain the label of 'great' or 'masterpiece'. He never wrote a symphony, a string quartet, an opera or even a straightforward sonata.²⁷ Subsequent Satie biographers followed Templier and Myers' example and

²³ Templier, *Erik Satie*, 61.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 85.

²⁵ The term 'the case of Satie' is often cited in literature concerning him. Derived from the title of the 1924 article 'Le Cas Satie', this phrase is used to illustrate Satie's 'otherness' and to highlight the difficulty scholars face in dealing with this subject, particularly the inability to adequately categorize him in terms of musical movements and to analyse his music. Boris de Schloezer, 'Le Cas Satie', *La Revue musicale*, No. 5, 1924, 173-76.

²⁶ 'Through humour, a form of intellectual suicide, he was able to hide his misery and his sad destiny.' Templier, *Erik Satie*, 93.

²⁷ See chapter five for a discussion of Satie's parodies of sonata form.

remained fixated on discussions of Satie the man, rather than on Satie the composer.

0.1.2 *Dismissive Scholarship*

In many influential academic texts Satie was considered an aesthete of lowbrow music, a joker, a non-intellectual, an idiosyncratic iconoclast whose technical deficiencies meant he could not achieve harmonic complexity or development: he did not merit serious musicological attention. As Joseph Kerman notes in his work *Musicology*, musicologists have traditionally concerned themselves only with ‘first-class’ music.²⁸ This prerequisite excluded Satie’s musical output from consideration and Satie scholars avoided analysis with the disclaimer that his music was resistant to techniques of musical analysis. Problems of analysis were largely due to the limitations of 20th-century musicological tools, though no scholars appeared to recognise this obstacle. Therefore, anecdotes concerning the creation of Satie’s works largely substituted for critical and analytical engagement with his compositions. For most of the 20th century, Satie’s name appeared mainly in passing (if at all) in general texts on musical modernism and his reputation as an avatar of the early French avant-garde was mainly propagated in writings concerning modernist art and literature. In musicological sources the reception was somewhat colder. In *French Music From the Death of Berlioz to the Death of Fauré* (1951), Martin Cooper treats Satie with complete contempt, lamenting the fact he feels obliged to acknowledge his place in French music:

An admiration for Satie is an article of faith among the sophisticated, whether they know his music or not; and this is simply because Satie is the quintessence, the *reductio ad absurdum*... a historical necessity; but a negative rather than a positive force. It is abundantly clear what his music is not, less easy to state its positive qualities; but in any case it is necessary to have a Gallicized palate to appreciate his particular flavour.²⁹

The influence of the apologist biographies is clear in Cooper’s assessment of Satie. The following passage illustrates how the inability of scholars to discuss Satie’s

²⁸ Kerman, *Musicology*, 45.

²⁹ Martin Cooper, *French Music: From the death of Berlioz to the death of Fauré* (London: Oxford University Press, [1951, 1961] 1969), 5.

music affected his reception. Cooper quotes a lengthy excerpt from Myers' biography:

Each of these pieces [*Heures Séculaires et Instantanées* (1913)], is built on a perfectly clear and well-defined thematic material, of no great musical interest, perhaps, but none the less by no means formless and not nearly so eccentric as the text that accompanies them. In fact, just as in so many surrealist pictures (and also in writings and paintings of lunatics) however bizarre the subject may be in itself, the treatment is often quite straightforward and uncompromisingly matter-of-fact, so here the music is quite lacking in the hallucinatory quality of the composer's literary inspiration (inspired nonsense) and incapable by itself of suggesting any images whatever.³⁰

Cooper then retorts: 'Is not this a statement that Satie's material is straightforward and uninteresting, that it has some form but little correspondence with the captions, and that these are comparable with the writings of a lunatic?'³¹ Satie's outsider status within anthologies on the subject of French music remained constant until the publication of *French Music Since Berlioz* in 2006 which contained a chapter dedicated to Satie and les Six.³²

Satie still resides on the periphery of discourses on modernism, though his appearance is becoming increasingly frequent in 21st-century studies where he is presented in a more favourable light. In *The Composer as Intellectual* (2005), Jane Fulcher highlights Satie's anti-establishment contribution to musical life in her study on music and politics in France.³³ In *Writing through Music* (2009), Jann Pasler focuses on the influence of Satie on the way in which Jean Cocteau constructed his public identity. She argues that Satie's humorous expression was an invaluable self-promotional tool that Cocteau adopted without hesitation.³⁴

³⁰ Cooper, *French Music*, 182.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 182.

³² Robert Orledge, 'Satie and Les Six' in Richard Langham Smith and Caroline Potter (eds.), *French Music Since Berlioz* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 223-48.

³³ Jane Fulcher, *The Composer As Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France 1914-1940*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [2005] 2007). Fulcher discusses Satie in less detail in *French Cultural Politics and Music from the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

³⁴ Jann Pasler, *Writing Through Music: Essays On Music, Culture and Politics*. See the chapter 5, 'New Music as Confrontation: The Musical Sources of Cocteau's Identity', 140-161.

0.1.3 *Defensive Scholarship*

In the final decades of the 20th century, the challenge to the hegemony of the canon in academia has permitted musicologists to engage in serious study of Satie, though most still concur that he is a secondary composer when compared with contemporaries such as Stravinsky or Debussy. Musicologists have unwittingly reintroduced Satie into canonic discourses without any recognition of the historical significance of this development or acknowledgement of the possible influences of the canon on their methodologies or ideological approaches. Satie scholarship has witnessed a veritable renaissance over the past thirty years with the publication of a number of in-depth studies and the collection, cataloguing and publication of many important primary sources.³⁵

The defence of Satie in musicology was initiated through the work of three prominent Satie scholars: Robert Orledge, Alan Gillmor and Steven Moore Whiting. Each of these scholars tackle a specific criterion of canon formation in regard to Satie's reputation and music, that: Satie is perhaps not a second-rate composer, he is a 'serious' composer and that his music should be considered art music in spite of its references to popular sources and aesthetics. Gillmor's 1988 biography contains the first explicit mention of the canon and Satie's exclusion from it. In the preface he states: 'By the prevailing canons of classical aesthetic theory Satie emerges quite unequivocally as a seriously flawed composer, one of second, or even third rank, but one whose effect on the development of contemporary musical thought has been nonetheless profound.'³⁶ Gillmor fails to question the canonical criteria used to judge Satie and in a sense, he dismisses him in this introductory section. He attempts to argue that Satie is not a second-rate composer however his efforts fails as Gillmor, like many others, is unsure of how to engage with the music. Gillmor admits that 'despite its deceptive simplicity [Satie's] music [...] requires its own analytical framework, one that recognizes the fragile juxtaposition of multiple layers of aesthetic meaning.'³⁷ Nevertheless, the descriptive analyses he provides generally lack depth and Gillmor presents the old

³⁵ See section '0.1.4 Outsider Scholarship' for further information.

³⁶ Alan M. Gillmor, *Erik Satie* (London: Macmillan Press, 1988), x.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, xiv.

disclaimer that ‘Satie’s work eludes musical analysis.’³⁸ The evident impact of hegemonic ideologies of canon tainted this well-intentioned work from the outset.

Satie the Composer is a breakthrough work in that it places music, rather than biography, at the forefront of discussion. The thesis of Orledge’s book is that Satie was a ‘serious’ composer and he sets out to prove this through a detailed study of his compositional processes as revealed in the extant musical manuscripts.

However, in the preface the author expresses reservations about the value of the music under discussion. Orledge states:

I make no apologies for incorporating detailed case histories of emergent compositions en route, for that is where my main interest lies. And if I have indulged in this rather than in-depth analysis of music per se, it is because the latter can prove counter-productive in Satie’s case. The ideas behind the work can, in some instances, be more significant than the music they generated.³⁹

This important work was followed by another significant publication by Steven Moore Whiting in 1999.⁴⁰ *Satie the Bohemian* traces Satie’s musical journey from the cabaret to the concert hall. This research into Satie’s use of annotations and the extra-musical influences in his music is invaluable, although the musical discussion rarely extends beyond descriptive analysis. Gillmor’s call for new analytical frameworks would not be answered for another generation.

0.1.4 Outsider Scholarship

In the United States, Roger Shattuck and John Cage have played a pivotal role in promoting academic interest in Satie. They both present Satie as an avatar of musical modernism and situate him at the epicentre of the early French avant-garde. These authors were both outsiders to the traditions of musicology and their work demonstrates a freedom from many of the ideological constraints and inherited baggage evident in the musicological sources. Shattuck was a professor of French literature and Cage was an avant-garde composer whose writings leaned more

³⁸ Ibid., xiv.

³⁹ Orledge, *Satie the Composer*, xiii-xiv.

⁴⁰ Whiting, *Satie the Bohemian*. In *Art and the Everyday: Popular Entertainment and the Circle of Erik Satie* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), Nancy Perloff devotes a substantial chapter to the discussion of Satie and the Cabaret. She also traces Satie’s journey from the world of the popular into that of high-art, although her discussion is not as in-depth as Whiting’s work.

towards philosophy than musicology. Cage, like Satie in his time, was considered the *enfant terrible* of his generation of composers. According to Kerman, Cage's challenges to musical traditions were influential in initiating a radical shift in musicological discourses in the mid to late-20th century. In his early writings of the 1940s and 50s Cage demonstrated a deep affinity and respect for Satie's music. He wrote extensively on his unique use of rhythm as a structural device and was the first scholar to highlight the significance of Satie's departure from the tradition of basing musical structure solely on a harmonic framework. Cage's appreciation of Satie is summarised in the oft-quoted statement: 'It is not a question of Satie's relevance. He's indispensable.'⁴¹ In 'Satie Controversy', Cage argues that Satie was 'Art's most serious servant' and disputes the widely held belief that his importance lay in his influence over more notable composers.⁴² Cage's radical interpretations served to breakdown and gradually discredit many of the criticisms directed at Satie and himself and in doing so, suggested that the criteria that maintained the canon and the topics of study in musicology were outdated and perhaps even incorrect. Academic interest in Cage has led many musicologists, and particularly composers, to study Satie.

Shattuck presented Satie as one of the four primary representatives of French modernism in his seminal 1958 work *The Banquet Years*. Shattuck's work explores four themes in modernist art that he felt Satie, Jarry, Apollinaire and Rousseau shared: the man-child, humour, the eruption of dream into waking experience and the ambiguity of meaning and structure.⁴³ Shattuck's work would later influence the Satie biographer Alan Gillmor and lay the foundations for 21st-century interart scholarship.

Since the 1970s, the independent scholar Ornella Volta has been dedicated to collecting and publishing primary sources pertaining to Satie from all over Europe and beyond.⁴⁴ These endeavours have resulted in the publication of twelve books

⁴¹ John Cage, *Silence* (London: Marion Boyars, 1987), 82.

⁴² John Cage, 'Satie Controversy' in *John Cage*, Richard Kostelanetz (ed.) (New York: Praeger, 1970), 89, quoted in Shlomowitz, Matthew, 'Cage's Place in the Reception of Satie' in *The Erik Satie Homepage*, <<http://www.satie-archives.com/web/article8.html>>, accessed on 22/01/12.

⁴³ Shattuck, *The Banquet Years*, 32-6.

⁴⁴ In 1981 she founded the Archives de la fondation Erik Satie at Satie's old Montmartre address, 6 rue Cortot. This archive is now housed in IMEC, L'Abbaye d'Ardenne in Normandy.

on Satie in the French language.⁴⁵ The most seminal works to date are the collected writings of Satie, *Ecrits* (1977, 1981), and *Correspondance presque complète* published in 2000.⁴⁶ Two of Volta's books have been partly translated into English, *A Mammal's Notebook* (1996) and *Satie Seen Through His Letters* (1989), which was endorsed by John Cage. In the section 'By Way of an Introduction' Volta publishes a letter she received from Cage, which includes a copy of his mesostic *Erik Satie*. The publication of *Ecrits* facilitated the 1980 work *The Writings of Erik Satie* by the musicologist Nigel Wilkins. In his preface, Wilkins explicitly states the justification for his scholarly work: 'It is true that it is far more because of his *ideas* and his *influence*, rather than by the creation of masterworks, that Satie deserves to be counted among the major artistic innovators of our time.'⁴⁷ Wilkins highlights Satie's role as a precursor to Debussy, Ravel, Les Six, the Ecole d'Arcueil, Roland-Manuel and John Cage. He concludes that this 'respected friend and collaborator' of 'giants' such as Stravinsky, Cocteau, Diaghilev, Picasso and Braque is 'not to be passed over lightly'.⁴⁸ Robert Orledge has also contributed significantly to the task of cataloguing Satie's output. *Satie the Composer* contains extensive information on Satie's manuscripts, their locations, the chronology of Satie's compositions, extant sketches, completed drafts and publisher proofs, in addition to the dates and locations of all known Satie premieres.⁴⁹ In recent years Niclas Fogwall has assumed responsibility for the maintenance of the *Erik Satie Online Audio and Video Archive*, an extremely valuable resource for Satie scholarship.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ These include: *Satie/Cocteau: les malentendus d'une entente* (Paris: Le Castor Astral, 1993); *Satie sur scène* (Honfleur: Musée Eugène Boudin, 2000); *Erik Satie Honfleurais* (Honfleur: Editions de la Lieutenance, 1998); *La Banlieue d'Erik Satie* (Arcueil: Macadam & Cie, 1999); and *Satie et la danse* (Paris: Editions Plume, 1992).

⁴⁶ A revised and extended edition of *Ecrits* is currently in preparation.

⁴⁷ Nigel Wilkins, *The Writings of Erik Satie* (London: Eulenburg, 1980), 13.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁴⁹ See also, Robert Orledge, *Satie Remembered* (London: Faber & Faber, 1995). This is the first English language collection of recollections of Satie by his contemporaries. In chapter three I also list the dates, locations and performers of the premiere performances of Satie's work during his public career post-1911.

⁵⁰ Niclas Fogwall, 'Erik Satie Homepage: The Satie Audio Archive', <<http://www.satie-archives.com/web/satie.html>>. Fogwall is also the author of the 'Erik Satie Newsletter', which is sent occasionally to the mailing list of the Erik Satie Homepage.

0.1.5 *Interart Scholarship*

In the 21st century, the question of Satie's value persists in musicological discourse, even though the influence of the canon has diminished significantly. This is a direct result of various cultural shifts, the most significant of which was the progression into the 'post-classical era.'⁵¹ In academia, this era is characterised by the rising popularity of ethnomusicology, studies in popular music and the advent of critical and cultural theories in musicology. Cultural changes forced the ideologies of the canon to emerge from a position of hegemony into mainstream consciousness. Satie's biographies to date remain largely untouched by developments of the last thirty years, although significant changes have occurred in the past decade or so in the ways in which Satie's music is discussed and interpreted.

Since 2000, Satie's interart collaborations and compositions have attracted the attention of interdisciplinary work strongly influenced by critical and cultural theory. The most significant studies in interart scholarship are authored by two professors of literature: Daniel Albright (Harvard University) and Peter Dayan (Edinburgh University).⁵² *Untwisting the Serpent: Modernism in Music, Literature, and the Other Arts* is a groundbreaking study on interart practices in modernism.⁵³ In this work Albright explores the consonances and dissonances between the various artistic media in modernist collaborations and in doing so, creates a new method of analysing artistic collaborations. In a chapter on Cubism he provides an in-depth analysis of the aesthetic similarities in the artistic contributions of Satie, Picasso and Cocteau in *Parade*. In the 2011 publication *Art as Music, Music as Poetry, Poetry as Art*, Dayan examines how an 'intermedial aesthetic' informed the artistic output of a significant number of Parisian artists, writers and composers

⁵¹ Robert Fink coined this phrase in his groundbreaking article 'Elvis Everywhere: Musicology and Popular Music Studies at the Twilight of the Canon', *American Music*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Summer 1998), 135-179.

⁵² Peter Dayan is more specifically a Professor of Word and Music Studies, and according to his department website, the only professor that currently holds this title.

⁵³ Daniel Albright, *Untwisting the Serpent: Modernism in Music, Literature and Other Arts* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

from 1885 to 1945.⁵⁴ Dayan has also written a number of insightful articles in recent years that apply critical and cultural theories to the study of Satie.⁵⁵

Satie is positioned as an exemplar of interart compositional practices in both of these books and his music benefits significantly from new interpretive approaches that are framed in a discussion of intermedial aesthetics. The title of a forthcoming collection of essays on Satie, *Satie: Music, Art & Literature*, may indicate that interart scholarship is a trend in Satie studies that can perhaps yield fruitful results in the interpretation of his music and go some way towards restoring Satie to a central position in the discourses of French modernism.⁵⁶ Satie's numerous aesthetic approaches to composition still remain largely unexplored.

0.2 Introduction to the Reception Study Context

In many respects Satie would be considered a modern-day Personal Relations nightmare; he was directly responsible for creating a significant amount of the critical confusion that surrounded him and he deliberately provoked many of those individuals who would contribute to the creation of his public reputation in the press. Satie constantly attempted to reinvent his music and his public image, and this behaviour disorientated many critics. In the 2007 biography *Erik Satie*, Mary E. Davis convincingly argues that Satie was well aware of how to draw attention to himself:

Satie perceived the link between public image and professional recognition, and throughout his career manipulated his look to conform to his artistic aims. [...] In short, it is clear that Satie self-consciously projected variable identities through his appearance as well as his art, creating a mutually reinforcing relationship between personality and vocation. [...] In an age when the celebrity culture we now take for granted was but an emerging phenomenon, Satie clearly understood the value of cutting a unique – and easily recognizable – figure.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Peter Dayan, *Art as Music, Music as Poetry, Poetry as Art: From Whistler to Stravinsky and Beyond* (Surrey: Aldershot, 2011).

⁵⁵ Dayan's articles on Satie are: 'Medial Self-Reference between Words and Music in Erik Satie's Piano Pieces' in Walter Bernhart and Werner Wolf (eds.), *Self-Reference in Literature and Music* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010), 51-64; 'Truth in Art, and Erik Satie's Judgement', *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, Vol. 6 (July 2009), 91-107; and 'Erik Satie's Poetry', *Modern Language Review*, Vol. 103 no. 2 (April 2008), 409-423.

⁵⁶ Caroline Potter (ed.), *Satie: Music, Art & Literature* (Farnham: Ashgate, forthcoming 2013).

⁵⁷ Mary E. Davis, *Erik Satie* (London: Reaktion, 2007), 12.

Satie's concern about critical opinion stems back to the 1890s when he subscribed to the *Argus de la Presse*, receiving newspaper cuttings of various articles in which his name appeared.⁵⁸ His relationship with music critics also had a strong bearing upon how he was presented in the press and ultimately, upon his reputation. Satie had quite interactive relations with critics who wrote about him, often sending letters of gratitude for good reviews and in the early years of his public career, a few critics even had works dedicated to them. Satie was highly sensitive towards what was written about him, as he proved many times. To cite a few instances: he was arrested by the police after physically attacking the critic Henri Gauthier-Villars (pseudonym Willy) during a performance of a Beethoven symphony at the *Cirque d'Été* in April 1904; he was sentenced to eight days in prison and a fine of 1,000 francs in July 1917 after Jean Poueigh sued him for slander following the receipt of vicious postcards from the composer who was offended by Poueigh's reviews of *Parade*; Satie gave a scathing lecture on music critics at a public concert on 5 February 1918 which was later published in *Action* in 1921. In this talk, ironically titled 'In Praise of Critics', Satie states: 'The Artist is really a dreamer; the critic, on the other hand, has a sense of reality, especially his own. An artist can be imitated, the critic is inimitable and priceless.'⁵⁹ Satie's disdain for the practice of music criticism is not surprising in light of the content of many reviews which extended beyond musical matters to questions concerning his virility, his Frenchness and even his sanity. Satie's notebooks are laden with comments about critics, most of whom he considered ignorant 'parasites.'⁶⁰ He felt that critics were blinded by tradition and overlooked a great deal of modern music as they were too ignorant to understand it. Satie particularly disliked Emile Vuillermoz, Louis Laloy and Jean Marnold and singled them out for ridicule in his writings.

⁵⁸ IMEC SAT: 36.1, 'Articles de presse sur Satie 1895-1910'. This particular folio contains clippings sent to Satie from *Le Courrier de la Presse* and the *Argus de la Presse* between 1895 and 1901.

⁵⁹ Wilkins (ed.), *The Writings of Erik Satie*, 85.

⁶⁰ The term 'parasite' was frequently used by modernist composers to describe critics whom they felt profited unjustly from their art.

0.2.1 *The French Press*

In the decade prior to the outbreak of World War I, the profession of music criticism was subject to increased attack from composers and powerful institutional figures due to the perceived ‘unprofessional’ practices of many critics. In the general press in particular (though the musical press were frequently guilty too), critical coverage of concerts in Paris was rarely substantive, with little or no in-depth discussion or musical analysis. Reviewers mostly reported on concerts in large well-established venues to the detriment of smaller concerts that more commonly programmed contemporary music. As the repertoire of these large concerts mainly comprised works of the canon, little musical discussion was deemed necessary as the pieces were already well known, thus critics focused their attention instead on appraising the performers. The arrival of musical modernism presented many problems for the ‘unprofessional’ critics who possessed neither the requisite skills, nor the adequate time required to provide informed and measured reviews. An inability to appraise those new works that lay outside traditional frames of reference caused many to lazily dismiss music they did not understand. Articles were often published anonymously, or under pseudonyms and this resulted in a lack of transparency and accountability. Anonymity permitted many critics to unrestrainedly and often quite uncritically praise, disparage or even vilify an individual composer or composition with little consequence. Music critic began to attack music critic and the debate concerning the role and status of their profession was played out in the music press in the early decades of the 20th century. Remy-Bicqué’s article ‘The Trial of the Critic’ in *L’Echo musical* (June 1913) provides an insight into the divisions amongst critics in contemporary French society.⁶¹ In it he admonishes a large group of ‘insincere’ and ‘parasite’ reviewers, often motivated solely by financial gain. He singles out the critics of the large daily newspapers ‘whose incompetence has become quasi-proverbial.’ Remy-Bicqué claims that articles prepared three months in advance, or even reviews written by the composer themselves, appear the day after performances ‘and the farce is played!’⁶² He admits that he had participated in these practices.

⁶¹ Remy-Bicqué, ‘Le Procès de la Critique’, *L’Echo musical*, 15 June 1913, 4-5.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 5. ‘Au lendemain de la répétition générale les journaux publient des articles prêts depuis trois mois et revus par l’auteur lui-même, et la farce est jouée!’

The revival of music of the past and the advent of musical modernism required educated critics capable of explaining this music to readers. From 1910 onwards, musical analyses formed an important part of the programme listings of the *Guide du Concert* and other journals followed suit. The purely subjective, un-academic approach became increasingly discredited and was frowned upon by the professional critics who were often composers or musicologists, the first of their generation in France. The term ‘musicographe’ was gradually replaced by ‘musicologue’ in the years leading up to World War I as the discipline began to establish itself in French institutions of education. In this period a distinction was drawn between writers who were considered critics and those considered music journalists. The former were responsible for ‘critique musicale’ which mostly appeared in the specialist music press while the latter engaged in ‘chronique musicale’. ‘Chronique musicale’ typically contained superficial commentaries rather than in-depth criticism; however in the case of Satie, with few exceptions, his music was rarely discussed in any depth across the spectrum of publication types.⁶³

Professional critics were better able to articulate the concerns of the canon: they were trained in canonic institutions and their cultural and academic capital was consequently invested in maintaining the musical canon. They were also responsible for judging whether or not a musical work was legitimate. Bourdieu explains the impact of institutions on the ability of arbiters to determine whether an art object is recognised as a work of art that is perceived aesthetically:

[...] the apprehension and appreciation of the work also depend on the beholder’s intention, which itself is a function of the conventional norms governing the relation to the work of art in a certain historical and social situation and also of the beholder’s capacity to conform to those norms, i.e., his artistic training.⁶⁴

⁶³ For a discussion of the French press at this time see Chapter 7, ‘*Pelléas* and Power: Forces behind the Reception of Debussy’s Opera’ in Jann Pasler, *Writing Through Music: Essays on Music, Culture, and Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 181-212. See also Déirdre Catriona Donnellon, ‘Debussy, Satie and the Parisian Critical Press (1890-1925)’, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Liverpool (January 2000), 4. Donnellon writes that ‘in the professional musical press *Le Ménestrel* (f. 1834) and *Le Guide musical* (1855) had the largest circulation figures. *Le monde musical* (1889), *Le Journal musical* (1894) and *Le Courrier musical* (1898) had the next widest circulations.’

⁶⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction*, transl. Richard Nice (London & New York: Routledge Classics, [1984] 2010), 22.

Modernism challenged these norms, and the more avant-garde composers tended to support Satie to varying degrees in their writings. Composers who wrote about Satie included Jean Huré, Paul Martineau, Julien Tiersot, Jean Poueigh, Maurice Ravel, Georges Auric, Charles Koechlin and Roland-Manuel.

Kerman reminds us that in the discipline of musicology, journalistic criticism has historically been viewed as inferior to academic musical criticism.⁶⁵ This value judgement perhaps explains in part why studies on Satie have primarily relied on the sources written by authors and critics with an enduring author-function and why many of the critical articles by lesser known figures or in publications with a lower cultural capital have been largely overlooked. In Satie's reception a few select reviews became paradigmatic in establishing the critical reference point for ensuing journalistic reviews and academic research. Therefore, this study will also include articles and reviews by lesser known critics that have not yet been subject to critical engagement in seeking a more comprehensive picture of Satie's reception during his lifetime. As a supplement to the musical press sources, personal memoirs, correspondence and concert programme notes of the period are also consulted in establishing the contextual backdrop for Satie's reception.

0.2.2 *The French Canon*

The concept of canon is dynamic and contingent upon various geographical, temporal, historical and socio-political factors. Therefore, the meaning of canon must be defined in accordance with this context. William Weber describes the early 20th century as the 'golden age of classical music', the period when the concept of the canon was at its most powerful, yet it was also when it witnessed the first significant challenge to its authority.⁶⁶ Modernism ignited a power struggle within canonic discourses: fraught attempts to uphold traditional values while promoting progress in French music were at the forefront of critical debates at this time.

⁶⁵ Joseph Kerman, *Musicology* (London: Fontana Press, 1985), 16.

⁶⁶ William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 303.

The French idea of canon in the 19th century was strongly influenced by the Austro-Germanic paradigm. However, the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 proved a catalyst for a protracted and in-depth public questioning of this foreign influence on French art music. Previously unchallenged criteria of the canon came under critical scrutiny as composers and historians sought to preserve and promote a uniquely French musical heritage. This work facilitated the reintroduction of old French masters such as Rameau and Couperin into musical discourses where they were lauded as representatives of specifically French canonic values. French classical masters were programmed with increasing frequency in the concert venues of Paris from the late 19th century onwards while composers, such as Berlioz, who were perceived as Germanic fell out of favour. The pre-Romantic stylistic conventions of clarity and lightness and a return to ‘classical’ musical forms were promoted as typically French, a move that led to a dramatic rise in the popularity of chamber music and critical support for neo-classicism in the post-war period. Most music historians conveniently overlooked the evident similarities of form and style between French and Viennese Classicism. Despite this atmosphere of heightened nationalism, French composers and the critics who reviewed their work retained many of the Austro-Germanic criteria in the assessment of what constituted a ‘masterwork’ and in legitimizing professional composers. Many music critics, even those in the progressive journals such as *La Revue musicale S.I.M.*, continued to believe in the superiority of the Austro-Germanic tradition. In a 1914 article ‘La Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes’, Alfred Mortier applies an Austro-Germanic paradigm in his assessment of contemporary French composers. In the binary opposition applied, French composers are undoubtedly the lesser valued group:

And if, going into detail, I compare, name against name, musicians of similar tendencies or dispositions, past with present, I believe that Debussy is not the equal of Schumann, that Fauré is not of the same value as Mozart, that Rimsky-Korsakow does not possess the genius of Chopin, that d’Indy or Florent Schmitt do not equal Bach, Liszt and César Franck.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Alfred Mortier, ‘La Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes’, *Revue musicale S.I.M.*, 1 January 1914, 34-35. ‘Et, si, passant au détail, je rapproche, nom contre nom, des musiciens de tendances ou de nature à peu près corrélatives, passé contre présent, je crois que Debussy n’est pas l’égal de Schumann, que Fauré ne vaut pas Mozart, que Rimsky-Korsakow n’a pas le génie de Chopin, que d’Indy ou Florent Schmitt n’également pas Bach, Liszt et César Franck.’ Translation note: In this period the term ‘musicien’ was often used in place of the term ‘compositeur’. There is a very clear distinction between musician and composer in English, but the reader should be aware of their interchangeability in French.

The sources of formal reception in the music and general press constitute the primary public domain in which the musical canon is debated and maintained. This is the site where the valuation of a pre-canonic work occurs and consequently, critical reviews often betray the usually ‘unwritten’ rules or criteria a legitimate musical work is expected to meet. With the discipline of musicology still in its infancy, music critics wielded significant power and were the most influential agents of canon formation and maintenance. Resultantly, the role of critics as agents of ‘officialdom’ in creating Satie’s reputation in this period is the primary focus of this reception study.

In addition to transmitting critical opinion, the press also informs us of the fundamentals of when, where, by whom and in what context Satie’s music was performed in articles, reviews and advertisements. Information concerning the frequency and nature of programming is essential to an analysis of a composer’s reception. This information, which has not been collated previously, is presented in Appendix 2, in conjunction with information sourced from the collection of concert programmes housed in the Erik Satie Archives (IMEC, l’Abbaye d’Ardenne, Caen), the *Guide du Concert* and other miscellaneous sources.⁶⁸ In addition to 130 concert programmes that feature performances of Satie’s work in Paris from 1911 to 1925, a separate bibliography specific to these programmes is also provided.⁶⁹ The issue of programming in the critical reception of Satie’s music merits in-depth study and hopefully the groundwork completed here will facilitate further research in this area.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Donnellon provides a list of ‘Principal performances of Satie’s music in Paris during the Composers Lifetime’; however the parameters for the selection of this list are unclear as it was not created within any outlined critical framework. It contains quite a number of errors and omissions, including Satie’s first private high-society private concert in the atelier of Mme Valentine de Saint-Point (11 June 1912), the first instance of ‘interart’ programming of Satie’s works. Aside from the Satie work(s) performed, no programming information is provided other than the title of the work(s) performed and the performer. ‘Debussy, Satie and the Critical Parisian Musical Press’, 306-315.

⁶⁹ New sources are constantly coming to light on account of regular updates to the *Gallica* database (gallica.bnf.fr), which provides online remote access to millions of historical documents housed in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. This resource facilitated the discovery of many previously overlooked articles on Satie.

⁷⁰ As an aid to further study the 130 concert programmes are listed in their entirety in Appendix 2.

0.3 Chapter Layout

Chapter one introduces the primary methodology of canon theory and outlines the various ways in which this theory informs the analysis and interpretation of primary data in this reception study. Secondary methodologies that augment canon theory are introduced in the chapters in which they are specifically relevant to the theme under discussion. The major theoretical musicological works in canon theory are outlined, in addition to studies from other disciplines that have influenced the methodological framework of this research. Pierre Bourdieu's classic of sociology, *Distinction* (1979), in particular, contributes to the theoretical approach of this study in a profound way. Bourdieu's concepts of the pure and naive gaze, the pure and the popular aesthetic, along with his research into class politics and taste in French society are drawn upon consistently throughout the thesis. The theoretical parameters of terms such as canon and discourse are also defined in this chapter.

Chapter two concentrates on the concept of professionalism and the ways in which it impacted upon Satie's reputation, particularly in the formation of the images of Satie the amateur, precursor and master. Citron aptly describes professionalism as 'an advanced stage in acculturation.'⁷¹ In order for a composer to gain recognition as a professional or official composer they must firstly, write music that meets the criteria of legitimate music and secondly, meet certain requirements demanded of an official composer. This chapter explores the ways in which Satie failed to meet these criteria and the consequences of his perceived shortcomings over the course of his public career.

Chapter three addresses the role of concert programming and interart practices in Satie's reception. These two cultural practices reveal how agents of the canon, such as concert promoters, performers and patrons, participated in furthering Satie's career and the challenges their activities presented to the norms of the canon. In part one of this chapter, the analysis of pre-war, wartime and post-war programming trends is based upon a selection of 130 concert programmes that feature a performance of Satie's music. (These programmes are reproduced in

⁷¹ Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000, 1st ed. 1993), 85.

Appendix 2.) In part two, the concept of Satie the interart composer is introduced and the related images of Satie the primitive, cubist, futurist and dadaist are examined.

Chapter four revisits many of the criteria outlined in chapter two in order to trace the ways in which Satie was disciplined for his non-conformism through the themes of gender, class, religion and nationalism. These four themes also constitute socio-political discourses that reflect the wider cultural context of the period and the operations of cultural domination they supported. Music critics frequently adopted their methods of domination, borrowing the language, metaphors and imagery of these tributary discourses in the formation and maintenance of the French musical canon. The analysis of these four themes in Satie's reception provides a new perspective on how canonic criteria were selected and reinforced at this time.

Of the many criteria involved in canon formation, Satie's penchant for humour was arguably the most confrontational element of his musical language. In chapter five the impact of humour on Satie's reception is explored through a wider discussion of the relationship between humour and the canon. This discussion draws upon the philosophical writings of Satie's contemporary Henri Bergson in establishing a context for the reception of humour. Part II of this chapter is concerned with how scholars can overcome this barrier of humour, a legacy of the canon in Satie's time that continues to affect how we approach his music today. A selection of new methodological approaches derived from literary theory and philosophy are explored in directly engaging with humour in Satie's humorous works. Satie contributed in an exceptional way to modernist discourses as a counter-hegemonic commentator on contemporary ideas of canon. This reception study facilitates a fundamental reassessment of Satie's contribution to French musical modernism.

Chapter 1. A Canon Theory Methodology

1.1 Defining the Canon

The term canon is not strictly defined in musicological discourses and therefore requires clarification within this research context. The canon is most commonly explained as the concept of what constitutes ‘great’ music and consequently determines which individuals deserve the accolade of ‘master’ composer within the field of art music. This definition is, however, inadequate as it fails to acknowledge many of the ideologies that inform it. The term stems from the ancient Greek word *kanōn*, which means ‘(straight) rod’ or ‘rule’.¹ The meaning of canon as ‘a criterion, standard of judging’ emerged in English in 1601.² Canons were ‘rules’ first adopted by the Apostles at the Council of Jerusalem in the first century A.D., which later included papal decretal letters (responses to questions) and papal bulls (formal proclamations). For many centuries religious canons were scattered in various codices until it was decided at Vatican Council I (1864-1870), that canon law required systematization due to the difficulty faced in consulting the various canons. Pope Pius IX called for a systematized code of canon law though this council was suspended due to the Franco-Prussian war.³ Canon law was systemised in the early 20th century, in same period when the discipline of musicology was undergoing an intensified institutionalization process.⁴ The term ‘canonized’ means

¹ ‘Canon 2.’ in Robert K. Barnhart (ed.), *The Chambers Dictionary of Etymology* (Edinburgh & New York: Chambers, 1988), 140.

² *Ibid.*, 140.

³ Constant Van de Wiel, *History of Canon Law* (Louvain: Peeters Press, 1991), 166.

⁴ Under Pope Pius X (1903-1914), more than 10,000 canons were reduced into a single volume of clear rules in this period titled the ‘First Code of Canon Law.’ This work was finished by Pentecost 1917. Benedict XV promulgated *Codex Iuris Canonici* which entered into force on 19 May 1918. Libero Gerosa, *Canon Law* (New York & London: Continuum, 2002), 52. The first faculty of Canon Law was established at the Gregorian University in Rome in 1876. Donnellan relates that the first musical doctorate was awarded to Jules Combarieu in 1894. Other prominent early graduates included Romain Rolland in 1895, Louis Laloy in 1904 and Jules Ecorcheville in 1906. These men were part of the first generation of professional critics in France. Donnellan, ‘Debussy, Satie and the Parisian Music Press (1890-1925)’, 4. For information on the early years of musicology in Paris see Christian Goubault, *La Critique musicale dans la presse française de 1870 à 1914* (Genève: Editions Slatkine, 1984), 157-166. See also Fulcher’s extended account of the institutionalization of musicology and musical practices in France in this period throughout her book *The Composer as Intellectual*.

to officially declare someone a saint, a person of great significance who is beyond reproach. In a musical context the meaning is symbolically similar, a canonized musical master was awarded a god-like status in modernist discourses.

Bourdieu highlights the long-held connections between art music and spirituality: legitimate music ‘should have a sacred character that includes formal refinement. Music is not simply what it wants to be. It has an essence, dictated by a transcendent power and preserved by an equally transcendent tradition.’⁵ Canonized music was therefore primarily performed in ‘sacred’ places, most notably the concert hall. The association between high-art music and spirituality has existed since antiquity with the theory of the music of the spheres, however, it was planted firmly in the ideology of the canon by the Romantic critics and philosophers. Kerman describes how instrumental music in the 19th century was thought to

penetrate into what Hoffmann called ‘the spirit realm’, the sphere of the highest human signification. Music became the paradigmatic art for the Romantics because it was the freest, the least tied down to earthly manifestations such as representation in painting and denotation in literature. When Pater said that all art aspires towards the condition of music, he meant the condition of symphonies, not the condition of hymns or waltzes or cantatas.⁶

Bergeron suggests that the etymology of the term canon implies ‘a sort of measuring stick, a physical model that both embodies a standard of measure and makes possible its reproduction. The musical canon is, in this sense, an ideal of order made material, physical, visible.’⁷ These ideas of distinction and measuring value are clear in the various definitions of canon. Citron states that canon[s] ‘are *ad hoc* conceptualizations of paradigmatic repertoires.’⁸ Don Michael Randel goes one step further and describes two types of canons: the Canon (the Repertory) and the musicological canon, or ‘the canon of acceptable dissertation topics’, which ‘is for the most part a subset of this larger canon.’⁹ Kerman defines the canon slightly differently, highlighting the fact that the canon is written into history: ‘We speak of the repertory, or repertoires, not of the canon. A canon is an idea; a repertory is a

⁵ Robert P. Morgan, ‘Rethinking Musical Culture: Canonic Reformulations in a Post-Tonal Age’ in *Disciplining Music*, 44-5.

⁶ Kerman, *Musicology*, 65.

⁷ Katherine Bergeron, ‘Prologue: Disciplining Music’ in *Disciplining Music*, 2.

⁸ Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 9.

⁹ Don Michael Randel, ‘The Canons in the Musicological Toolbox’ in *Disciplining Music*, 11.

program of action.’¹⁰ In a similar assessment, Carl Dahlhaus describes the musical canon as ‘essentially normative, not historical, and that the writing of music history, far from establishing canon, served to legitimate canonic authority.’¹¹

Katherine Bergeron’s definition of canon resonates most closely with the idea of canon explored in this study: ‘... [the] canon is a locus of discipline, a collection of discrete values produced out of a system that orders, segments, divides.’¹² This particular definition is helpful in formulating a methodology to address the research question: what were the mechanisms by which Satie was excluded from the French musical canon? Bergeron foregrounds the role of values in canon formation and highlights the importance of the act of disciplining in the maintenance of a hegemonic position. These focal points inform the analysis of the sources of reception throughout the thesis. The values to which Bergeron refers inform the unwritten rules that uphold the canon and propagate the elite and normative status of great music. Rules are enforced by particular agents who hold positions of knowledge and power in the institutions which support the canon. In order to understand this concept and all it embodied in Satie’s lifetime, one must identify the criteria of canon formation and the public processes through which these criteria are assessed. It is clear in the sources of reception that concerns of canon extend much further beyond matters of structure, the size and complexity of a work and general expectations of formal refinement to include the composer’s public and private activities, behaviour and even personality.

Philip Bohlman outlines three stages of canon formation: valuation; a shift of temporal attention from the present to the future (the stage at which works are rendered ‘timeless’); and the third and final stage in which ‘the canon itself is replicated’ through dissemination.¹³ While this is a simplified outline, it is a useful aid in understanding the general process of canon formation. During Satie’s lifetime only a minority group of critics progressed to the second stage in pushing an image of Satie as a ‘master’ to younger composers. However, this claim for

¹⁰ Kerman, ‘A Few Canonic Variations’ in *Write all These Down: Essays on Music*, 33.

¹¹ Dahlhaus (*Foundations of Music History*, 1983) quoted in Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste*, 33.

¹² Bergeron, ‘Prologue: Disciplining Music’, 2.

¹³ Philip Bohlman, ‘Epilogue: Music and Its Canons’ in *Disciplining Music*, 204.

recognition had little impact on the dominant collective that halted the process within the first stage with an outright dismissal of the value of Satie's works and his claim to official status.¹⁴ The debate stagnated at the first stage during his lifetime, although it has been reopened in recent years.

1.2 Identifying the Criteria of the Musical Canon

Bohlman highlights a characteristic of the canon that guides this investigation into the meaning of this normative concept in Satie's lifetime: 'Canon was determined not so much by what it was as by what it was not [...] it was not forms of expression that resisted authority or insisted that music could empower politics.'¹⁵ In early 20th-century France, the canon was maintained by hegemonic ideologies and, therefore, references to it are implicit rather than explicit in the language of criticism. The criteria of what constitutes a 'masterwork' in the art world are similarly undefined, they are only discernible in the discourses surrounding the art work:

Everything suggests that, even among specialists, the criteria of pertinence which define the stylistic properties of 'typical works' generally remain implicit and that the aesthetic taxonomies implicitly mobilized to distinguish, classify and order works of art never have the rigour which aesthetic theories sometimes try to lend them.¹⁶

Throughout his public career Satie was treated as a musical other, a deviant and problematic composer situated firmly in opposition to contemporary norms of canon. In an analysis of the sources of music criticism, the tensions between hegemonic (legitimate) discourses and the counter-discourses of Satie are rendered visible. Focusing attention on the problems presented by Satie's music that elicited defensive attacks from critics facilitates two things: 1) it constitutes the point of departure for grounding the enquiry within the wider politics of that present; and 2) it focuses on the ways in which ideas of canon are constructed and highlights the relations through which constructions are produced and contested. From this

¹⁴ This view of canon formation is synchronic as it 'represents a dynamic process that builds on social and aesthetic belief systems of the past: not merely from when a piece originated but rather from the time before its composition to its preservation afterward, through the present.' Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 193.

¹⁵ Bohlman, 'Epilogue', 198.

¹⁶ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 44-45.

vantage point, we are in a position to identify many of the criteria of canon formation at this time and better understand the process by which the fate of his pre-canonic works was decided. In a sense, we reconstruct that canon in order to deconstruct it and gain a clearer picture of how the canon operated within this specific field of cultural production. Analysing how the problems Satie presented are dealt with reveals the ways in which he was disciplined by cultural arbiters for his non-conformism.

1.3 Disciplining Music

Bohlman argues that ‘canon and discipline are... ineluctably bound, even though they are not the same... the canon is the performative, discipline is the performance.’¹⁷ Disciplining can be performed in many ways, from a refusal to publish certain works, finance concerts and provide patronage to particular individuals, to the expulsion of pupils who do not uphold standards within institutions. Perhaps the harshest form of discipline for a composer is to be ignored completely. Composers who deviate from the official course are disciplined or punished for their acts by the arbiters of canon formation in various ways. The disciplining of Satie’s musical activity began in his youth at the Conservatoire. Whilst engaged in the illegitimate cultural activities of the cabaret the wider press duly ignored him and in the early years of his public career in *le monde musical*, critics remained mostly silent until the premiere of *Parade* in 1917. *Parade* ignited a particularly violent battle of words and ideologies in the musical press, which was characterised by very little musical discussion and betrayed a particular obsession with Satie’s personality and behaviour. Reviews where some aspect of Satie the individual is not discussed are extremely limited in number and it is evident that Satie’s behaviour impacted profoundly upon the creation of his reputation. Foucault’s research into punishment and discipline reveals that they are more than simply means of repression: ‘they fulfil a complex social function, a political

¹⁷ Bohlman, ‘Epilogue’, 201-202.

strategy that functions in tandem with other political strategies of power and knowledge.’¹⁸

Bergeron aptly describes the process of canon formation as ‘a solemn spectacle of disciplining music.’¹⁹ Through an analysis of the sources of Satie’s reception the ways in which Satie challenged the canon and the consequent acts of disciplining he was subjected to are revealed. In this process the mechanisms by which Satie was excluded from the French musical canon are uncovered. Weber’s concepts of *canonic practices* and *canonic implications* play a pivotal role in the interpretive process.²⁰ Canonic practices are the mechanisms by which the rules of canon are enforced or contested, and canonic implications are the consequences of these practices. It is in the relationship between these two that the struggles of canonic expansion are encountered.

In the field of canon theory Pierre Bourdieu’s work on the concept of canon is invaluable to this study in furthering our understanding of the operations of the canon, particularly in French society. He describes the canon as a cultural game of negotiation in which artists and aesthetes battle for ‘the monopoly of artistic legitimacy.’²¹ Bourdieu warns that these struggles are ‘less innocent than they seem.’ In *Distinction*, he outlines how the canonization, or in his words, the legitimization of culture, occurs within a specific field of cultural production. The concept of the field is a metaphor for the social space within which the game of culture is played and according to Bourdieu, ‘individuals do not move about in social space in a random way because they are subject to the forces which structure this space.’²² Each field is governed by a particular social logic and possesses its own discursive formation. In this reception study *le monde musical* is the field of cultural production in question. Weber describes the origins of this field:

Although the ultimate hegemony in the modern era resides in the state, particular communities within societies have also possessed a political structure with a hegemonic authority. An identifiable community – or “art world,” as sociologists put it – developed in each theatre, art, and music in the early eighteenth century in which practices of rhetoric and negotiation

¹⁸ Downing, *The Cambridge Introduction to Michel Foucault*, 77.

¹⁹ Bergeron, ‘Prologue: Disciplining Music’, 1.

²⁰ Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste*, 33.

²¹ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 49.

²² *Ibid.*, 104.

evolved, guiding the communities. The terms *musical world* in Britain, *Musikleben* in Germany, and *monde musical* in France – all of which made their way into the titles of periodicals – expose such social structures.²³

The arbiters of canon formation that operate within this field generally belong to a single habitus, a group that possesses a set of unifying principles that inform social logic.²⁴

1.4 The Arbiters of Canon Formation

Numerous agents participate in canon formation and many of them occupy quite defined subject-positions within this particular cultural field, based upon their levels of educational, economic or cultural capital. Consequently, not all arbiters wield the same level of influence. In this habitus there is a strong correlation between the level of education and social position. The agents of ‘officialdom’ are those who are personally invested in the maintenance of the canon, and this group typically comprises individuals with high levels of cultural and educational capital. Agents include composers, educators, publishers, performers, patrons and critics, to name but a few. Of these, music critics were the most powerful group of agents in this period. Canonization is the institutionalization of a work of art and cultural arbiters possess the power to control musical knowledge through their participation in institutions: government bodies, concert organisations, educational institutions and even the family.²⁵ In reward, arbiters benefit from their investment in the canon through the acquisition of further capital. These gains are threatened by the arrival of a composer who challenges the ‘legitimated culture’ they uphold, therefore, it is in their interests to protect it.

Cultural, economic and educational (academic) capital, are three concepts important in understanding how canons are perpetuated. Academic capital is accrued through education and it facilitates a hierarchy within the educational

²³ Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste*, 38.

²⁴ According to Bourdieu taste is a habitus ‘because each taste feels itself to be natural [...] which amounts to rejecting others as unnatural and therefore vicious.’ *Distinction*, 49.

²⁵ Weber views institutionalization as one form of canonic status. This viewpoint is somewhat restrictive and in this thesis Bourdieu’s more overarching opinion of institutionalization is employed. Weber, *ibid.*, 34.

system that ‘ennobles’ or ‘stigmatizes’ individuals or groups. Cultural capital refers to the knowledge and skills that individuals acquire in their family environment through informal training in various cultural disciplines. This includes musical education in the home (e.g. piano lessons) and family concert-going experiences. Musical, artistic or literary tastes and competencies are often fostered in the environment of the home. This form of capital is then reinforced and developed in the educational system through ‘the “elective affinity” between the values of middle-class households and those of the school and university.’²⁶ Bourdieu argued that cultural capital should be considered as important as economic capital because it can be converted into economic capital and vice versa.

Bourdieu explains that even though the haute-bourgeoisie, a class that modelled themselves on the pre-revolution aristocracy, are generally regarded as the dominant class within French society, it was actually members of the bourgeois class that were primarily engaged in the process of legitimising musical works in this period. Kerman also argues that ‘it is middle-class values’ that critics and musicologists ‘project and seek to protect’ and that ‘Western art music since the nineteenth century has been the province of the middle class.’²⁷ The agents of canon formation do not constitute a fixed or strictly defined group; however, it is clear in the publications surveyed that the majority of music critics were primarily bourgeois in origin. From the time of World War I onwards Satie was often accused in the press of pandering to the ‘snobs’ and his music was frequently labelled ‘anti-bourgeois.’ The canonic implications of Satie’s association with the haute-bourgeoisie, particularly through patronage and the provision of performance platforms, are evident in the accounts of contemporary critics.

The general public participate in canon formation to an extent by attending concerts, buying sheet music, consuming and reproducing what they learn in the critical press. Nevertheless, audiences have limited agency in terms of what they consume. The arbiters of canon formation largely control what cultural products are made available to them. Bourdieu explains that the logic that determines the canon is socially divisive because it ‘marks, produces and organizes a distinction between

²⁶ Tony Bennett, ‘Introduction to the Routledge Classics Edition’ in Bourdieu, *Distinction*, xx.

²⁷ Kerman, *Musicology*, 36.

those whose tastes are regarded as ‘noble’ because they have been organized and legitimated by the education system, and those whose tastes, lacking such markers of nobility, are accorded a more lowly status.’²⁸ In *Distinction* Bourdieu explains that the aesthete distinguishes himself/herself from the crowd by refusing ‘any sort of involvement, any “vulgar” surrender to easy seduction or collective enthusiasm.’²⁹ Music critics were expected to be aesthetes in their public role as arbiters of musical culture and this elevated status permitted them to criticise audiences when they felt that concert hall etiquette was being challenged. The frequent disparity between the critics’ and audiences’ reception of Satie’s music finds a parallel with Bourdieu’s concept of the pure and naive gaze. Bourdieu describes the ‘unique capacity of the pure gaze, a quasi-creative power which sets the aesthete apart from the common herd,’ those who possess the naïve gaze.³⁰ Bourdieu clarifies that there is no neutral, impartial or pure description of either of these opposing visions, although they do constitute two antagonistic castes of public.³¹ Popular opinion was not always approved of or accepted by the critics in Satie’s case and audiences were frequently criticised for their reaction to his music, particularly the humoristic works. Satie’s music often elicited laughter in the concert hall, a reaction that disconcerted critics and clashed with the bourgeois principle of disinterestedness required of the pure gaze.

1.5 Music Criticism as Discourse

Discourses are the way in which the power and knowledge linked to institutions and socio-political situations are expressed, debated, reinforced or enacted. The critical reviews consulted throughout this study constitute elements of a much wider discourse network and are treated as such. In the essay ‘What is an author?’ Foucault argues that in a text it is not necessarily an individual speaking, but rather

²⁸ Bennett, ‘Introduction’, xix-xx.

²⁹ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 27. Bourdieu’s description of the principle of disinterestedness derives from Kant’s work on aesthetic theory in the 19th century.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 23.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 23.

various discourses flowing through the writer.³² Foucault denies the agency of individuals and instead observes the operations of discourse independent of the author. In this study, the ‘historical unconscious’ that underlies the discourse of music criticism in the early 20th century is explored through various themes that function as tributary discourses in Satie’s reception. Foucault’s concept of the ‘historical unconscious’ refers to the ‘orderly “unconscious” structures underlying the production of knowledge in a particular time and place. It is the “epistemological field” which forms the conditions of possibility for knowledge in a given time and place.’³³ As with the concept of canon, the historical unconscious is culturally and historically specific, but its reach extends beyond musical discourses:

our ability to conceptualise the world is radically limited by the pre-existing field of ‘the thinkable’ at any historical moment. [...] Our ability to think in a certain way – to reason, to question, to analyse – is not essential to us as intelligent beings, but contingent on our location in time and space.³⁴

The canon could be described as a historical unconscious of music, informed by its wider socio-historical context. Pasler posits that the purpose of discourse is not necessarily ‘to reduce the people or the music one discusses, whether to the writer’s personal agenda or to general principles such as style’, but instead, ‘to flesh out the contingencies and rich complexity of the particular moments in which music was written, performed and heard.’³⁵ Pasler acknowledges that this approach to discourse ‘would entail acknowledging the collective as well as personal experiences music evokes and embodies.’³⁶ The analysis of the presence of discourses from outside the musical domain reveals a great deal about the wider socio-political discourses in French society at this time.

Canonic musical discourse constitutes a field in itself, yet it certainly does not exist in a social or cultural vacuum: a number of highly influential tributary discourses concerned with social themes such as gender, sexuality, class, religion and

³² Foucault, ‘What is an Author?’ in Donald F. Bouchard (ed.), *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays & Interviews by Michel Foucault* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1977), 113-138.

³³ Clare O’Farrell, *Michel Foucault*, <http://www.michel-foucault.com/concepts/index.html>. Accessed on 22/10/11.

³⁴ Downing, *Introduction to Michel Foucault*, 39.

³⁵ Pasler, *Writing Through Music*, 7.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

nationalism, in addition to the canonic discourses of related fields such as literature, art, philosophy and pedagogy, informed and profoundly influenced musical discourses. All of these discourses constitute various elements of the historical unconscious and were appropriated by music critics for specific ideological purposes in Satie's reception. In this study, critical texts are analysed for utterances or statements appropriated from non-musical discursive formations in which one can identify the historical unconscious of the period at work in canonic discourses. In doing so, the discourses habitually used to judge and evaluate Satie from a privileged position become the object of study.

1.6 Themes in Canonic Discourse

It is impossible to identify patterns in a cultural history without doing some injustice to detail. In analysing Satie's reception over a fifteen-year period, it is necessary to speak of general trends in canon formation. Certain areas of thematic concern focus the reading and discussion of the reception sources. A number of themes related to canon formation that arise consistently in discussions of Satie are classified into groups of primary and secondary themes. The overarching primary themes of professionalism and humour dominate discourses on Satie and are more Satie-specific in concern than the secondary themes. The themes of nationalism, religion, class and gender pervade musical discourses of the period in general and also function as tributary socio-political discourses that influence canon formation. These primary and secondary themes are intrinsically linked to the process of valuation and played an important role in the creation of Satie's public reputation. The methodological approach to analysing these themes is also informed by cultural histories of the period, that include Weber's *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste*, William Fortescue's *The Third Republic in France 1870-1940*, Jane Fulcher's *The Composer as Intellectual* and Jann Pasler's collection of essays on French music, *Writing Through Music*.³⁷ Interpretations of the role of gender in canonic musical discourses are informed by Bourdieu's *Masculine Domination*,

³⁷ Pasler, *Writing Through Music*; Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste*; William Fortescue, *The Third Republic in France: 1870-1940: Conflicts and Continuities* (London & New York: Routledge, 2000); and Jane Fulcher, *The Composer As Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France 1914-1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Izenberg's *Modernism and Masculinity* and recent studies on gender in music criticism, particularly Jeffrey Kahlberg's monograph *Chopin at the Boundaries*.³⁸ Secondary theories that further inform the methodology of canon theory are introduced in the specific chapters in which they are applied.

Debates concerning professionalism were of primary concern in the canonic discourses that surrounded Satie, a feature certainly related to the foundation of the discipline of musicology in this period.³⁹ His illegitimate autodidacticism (i.e. non-sanctioned by an institution) and expulsion from the Conservatoire were not viewed favourably by the arbiters. His return to education at the Schola Cantorum at the age of thirty-nine reinforced the consensus that Satie did not possess the technical requirements of a professional composer and critics generally refused to treat him as one. As Citron notes: 'To be a professional composer is to be taken seriously in one's own time and possibly in the future. It involves reputation, authority and the circulation of a name within culture. How and why it circulates has a lot to do with the preservation and the formation of canons.'⁴⁰ The concept of professionalism informed many of the images of Satie constructed by critics in the music press, most notably, those of Satie the amateur and Satie the precursor. The sub-themes of originality and genius are also addressed under the umbrella theme of professionalism in this discussion.

Satie's penchant for humorous expression in his compositions, writings and conversations was detrimental to his identity as a serious composer and his claim to professional status. Alongside its impact on Satie's reputation, humour has presented a significant barrier to engagement with Satie's music. In the final chapter of the thesis, methodological approaches drawn from disciplines outside musicology are explored in order to illustrate some ways in which this longstanding

³⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*, transl. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Polity, 2001); Gerald N. Izenberg, *Modernism & Masculinity: Mann, Wedekind, Kandinsky through World War I* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2000); and Jeffrey Kahlberg, *Chopin at the Boundaries: Sex, History, and Musical Genre* (Cambridge, MA, London: Harvard University Press, 1996).

³⁹ For further reading and extended discussions on the increased emphasis of professionalism in the music world in this period, refer to Christian Goubault, *La Critique musicale dans la presse française de 1870 à 1914* (Genève: Editions Slatkine, 1984) and Jane Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual and French Cultural Politics and Music*.

⁴⁰ Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 80.

obstacle can be overcome. In addition to canon theory, this approach is informed by humour theories from the field of literary studies and the philosophical writings of Henri Bergson and Alenka Zupančič. These methodologies are outlined in depth in chapter five. In discussions of humour one cannot escape the long-held binarism of humorous/ serious and its canonic implications. Throughout the 20th century humour has generally been perceived as a medium or form of illegitimate culture. No studies on Satie have yet explored the role and function of humour as an expressive mechanism of confrontation, and equally, as a mechanism of discipline. Comprehension of the ideological motivations that lay behind Satie's explicit use of humour in music is vital in understanding his intellectual participation in modernist discourses. The origins of the ubiquitous label 'humoristic' ('humoristique') are revealed and the images of Satie the humourist, *fantaisiste* and *fumiste* are also explored in this chapter.

The presence and influence of the secondary themes of nationalism, religion, class and gender are discernible in statements or utterances specific to these socio-political discourses. Bourdieu notes that it is in 'the metaphors of poets,' or 'in everyday comparisons so familiar and self-evident that they pass unnoticed,' that we see various forms of domination at work.⁴¹ The domination principles expounded within these discourses have significant canonic implications, many of which are specific to the French context: the principle of Catholicism in religious discourse; the andocentric principle in gender discourse; bourgeois values and sensibilities in class discourse; and an anti-Germanic principle dominates nationalist discourses. Bourdieu argues that 'the established order, with its relations of domination, its rights and prerogatives, privileges and injustices, ultimately perpetuates itself so easily, apart from a few historical accidents [...].'⁴² The canon is replicated in a similar fashion: a specific form of cultural domination is supported by more general societal forms of domination. Whilst the methods of domination change gradually over time, the value system is continually replicated with few alterations. A process of indirect valuation of Satie's musical activity occurs (i.e. implicit value judgements are expressed through non-musical language), dependent upon whether these feeder discourses are appropriated in a positive or negative

⁴¹ Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*, 54.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 1-2.

fashion. The act of disciplining is frequently performed through the medium of metaphorical or symbolic language and this is where we often witness the performance of the canon and the assertion of canonic authority.

Satie was subject to the 'symbolic violence' of these four principles of domination. According to Bourdieu symbolic violence is 'a gentle violence, imperceptible and invisible even to its victims, exerted for the most part through the purely symbolic channels of communication and cognition (more precisely, misrecognition), recognition, or even feeling.'⁴³ In analysing the metaphors and symbolism surrounding Satie, the ways in which these various principles were used to discipline him are revealed. Metaphor and imagery were often used against Satie with the purpose of sullyng his reputation. Some of the strategies of domination evident in the musical press include the effeminization of Satie and attacks on his virility, comparisons between Satie and the devil, and accusations that his music was anti-French.

The primary and secondary themes played a significant role in the process of Satie's identity formation and the role of critics as agents of 'officialdom' in creating his reputation during this period is a primary concern throughout the thesis. As Pasler notes, 'reputation can be made by anyone with a stake in preserving, enhancing, or demeaning a certain image of a composer or work.'⁴⁴ Certain powerful images of Satie that are directly linked to canon formation dominate critical accounts of the period and collectively create Satie's reputation. The various images of Satie presented in the French press contributed to his reputation as a composer. Images such as Satie the precursor, amateur, humourist, cubist and dadaist affected his claim to legitimacy. In the course of this study each of the primary images of Satie presented in the press are examined and the repercussions of these images explored. Individual and institutional agendas are often at work in his reception and consequently, Satie's reputation is not a stable construction and warrants examination in a study of his reception. A composer's reputation and subsequent author-function are determined in the discourses of canon formation. In musicological discourses Satie's author-function has signified a very deviant other,

⁴³ Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*, 1-2.

⁴⁴ Pasler, *Writing Through Music*, 14.

a status reinforced by the images of him that originate in his lifetime and have been passed down in posthumous discourses.

1.7 Issues of Terminology

This reception study facilitates an appraisal of many of the philological and narrative tools commonly employed in studies of Satie and an engagement with the heritage of a Satie-specific vocabulary. Certain descriptors and terminology are repeated time and again in various texts on Satie without an awareness of the historicity of these terms. Satie scholarship has inherited a vocabulary from the sources of reception in his lifetime, the contemporary meanings of which do not consistently coincide with the original author's intended meaning. The failure to question the historicity, accuracy or ideological component of labels such as amateur, humourist, cubist, futurist and *fantaisiste* has impacted upon Satie's posthumous reputation and studies of his music. For instance, in his lifetime and in the years since, certain works by Satie were construed as funny when they were not humorous in intent.⁴⁵ Common binarisms such as amateur/ professional, serious/ humourist composer, popular / high-art, etc., were particularly damaging to Satie's professional reputation in his time and continue to be so. In his essay 'The Canons in the Musicological Toolbox' Randel argues for the abolition of many of the traditional philological tools employed by musicologists that embody clearly antiquated value judgements, by-products of older canonic discourses. He singles out the persistent use of binary oppositions and evolutionary language as harmful practices in musicology:

Our study is thus framed in terms that undermine the means by which we claim to arrive at our results, the objective, dispassionate study of 'the evidence'. We *systematically* undervalue certain periods, composers, and works and privilege others because of the very nature of the conceptual and narrative tools that we apply.⁴⁶

Satie's interart music and his participation in interart events have caused significant problems of categorisation for musicologists. Satie was associated with numerous artistic movements that have not been subsumed into the categories of modernist

⁴⁵ See the discussion of humour in chapter five.

⁴⁶ Randel, 'The Canons in the Musicological Toolbox', 20.

musical movements (e.g. Dada and cubism). Resultantly, until very recently scholars have avoided in-depth discussion or analysis of aesthetic crossover in his works. In addressing these issues of aesthetic taxonomy, this study examines the impact of the cultural practices of concert programming and interart activities upon Satie's formal reception. In doing so, the debates concerning Satie's musical participation in cubism, primitivism, futurism and Dada are revisited and the contemporary meanings of these terms as they were applied to Satie's music are explored. This discussion is informed by related writings from the fields of art history and literature that include Shattuck's *The Banquet Years*, Michel Sanouillet's *Dada in Paris* and Antliff and Leighton's *Cubism and Culture*.⁴⁷ The philological tools employed in discourses on Satie both in his lifetime and since demand critical examination, and greater rigour is required when selecting the terminology with which we discuss or frame our subject.

1.8 Conclusion

Kerman notes the questions that he feels are rarely answered in canon studies: 'How are canons determined, *why* and on *what* authority?'⁴⁸ This study aims to provide answers to these three questions in relation to the French musical canon of Satie's time. This research is not motivated by a desire to propose an alternative canon, but rather an alternative 'historiographic model', as Citron describes it.⁴⁹ In the process of exposing the mechanisms by which Satie was excluded from this elitist domain, a hidden history of this period is revealed in which a much more nuanced and multi-dimensional account is presented than previously. This case study on Satie represents only one story of many that remain to be told; however, Satie's uniquely oppositional stance towards the hegemony of the canon in this period affords us a perspective on the time that none of his contemporaries can offer.

⁴⁷ Michel Sanouillet, transl., Sharmila Ganguly, *Dada in Paris* (London: MIT Press, 2009) and Mark Antliff and Patricia Leighton, *Cubism and Culture* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2001).

⁴⁸ Kerman, 'A Few Canonic Variations', 49.

⁴⁹ Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 1.

Chapter 2. Satie and the Canon: Professionalism and Identity Formation

2.1 Professionalism and Officialdom

The concept of professionalism plays an important role in assessing whether or not the status of ‘official’ composer, the first step towards achieving canonicity, is awarded. This concept had a significant impact upon Satie’s reputation as a composer and his claim to legitimacy. The term ‘official’ was regularly used in the music press in this period, in addition to the phrase ‘musicien arrivé’, which distinguished composers who had recently achieved official (professional) status: neither of these labels were bestowed upon Satie in reviews of his music.¹

Professional composers in Satie’s time in France were required to participate in musical culture in two ways: firstly, to produce legitimate musical works that were circulated in *le monde musical* through performances and publication; and secondly, to participate in legitimate musical institutions and forums. The fulfilment of public duties ensured the maintenance and promotion of the musical canon. In return a composer was bestowed with a degree of authority within the musical world. This chapter charts the development of Satie’s reputation in the musical press over the course of his public career from 1911 to 1925, and examines the ways in which the concept of professionalism impacted upon this process. The debates and contexts specifically concerning the constructs of Satie the amateur, precursor, master are explored in this discussion.

In order to enter ‘officialdom’, an aspiring composer first needed to acquire the recognised academic capital. This was achieved through his/her education under a

¹ In a review of a 1914 concert that included Satie’s *Aperçus désagréables*, Chalupt distinguishes Ravel and Stravinsky from the other composers on the programme as the ‘musiciens arrivés’: ‘MM. Strawinski [*sic.*] et Ravel sont des musiciens arrivés; ils nous ont ce soir-là apporté ce que nous attendions d’eux.’ René Chalupt, ‘Société musical indépendante’, *L’Occident: Architecture, Sculpture, Peintre, Musique, Poésie*, No. 139, June 1914, 241-243. In an article written the year following Satie’s death, Cocteau relates that unlike his friend Debussy, Satie had never been welcomed into officialdom. Jean Cocteau, ‘Pour la tombe d’Erik Satie’, *Comoedia*, 17 June 1926, 2. Marius Sidobre relates in his 1925 obituary that Satie was a composer ‘who jostled with the traditions of officialdom without a second thought.’ ‘La Mort d’un Musicien’, *L’Humanité*, 11 July 1925, 4. ‘Il bousculait sans ménagements les traditions des officiels.’

musical master or in a legitimate institution. Academic qualifications are often considered formal guarantees of an individual's competence and are essential criteria for a professional composer. A legitimate education meant that a composer possessed a sound craft and had the documents to prove that this rite of passage had been successfully fulfilled. The educational system creates hierarchies within musical culture: it ennobles individuals who conform through titled positions, degrees and prizes and stigmatizes those who do not. Furthermore, this system also 'makes possible a symbolic mastery of the practical principles of taste.'² Professional composers were expected to participate in such institutions, accepting and partaking in the normalised attitudes and beliefs they upheld and thereby perpetuating them.

The Schola Cantorum and the Conservatoire were considered the most prestigious educational settings in Paris in this period. Whilst Satie studied in both of them, he was forced to leave the Conservatoire in 1882 due to poor grades and following a brief return there a few years later, he dropped out in 1886.³ Some critics blame Satie's failed early studies on his inability to conform or submit to musical authorities and these arguments persisted throughout his career. In a 1925 obituary Maurice Imbert writes: 'the discipline, even relaxed as it may have been, of Faubourg Poissonnière [the Conservatoire] weighing down his spirit, Satie resolved within a year to no longer breathe in its atmosphere and to entrust his destiny to his own emerging, autodidact genre.'⁴ Non-sanctioned music education or autodidacticism was perceived as illegitimate in Satie's case.⁵

Critics overlooked or downplayed Satie's studies at the Schola Cantorum (1905-1908) and his post-Schola works were frequently classified as those of an

² Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 60. Members of the Académie des Beaux-Arts presided over the awarding of the most prestigious prizes in music at this time.

³ In 1881 Emile Descombes writes on Satie's report card for the annual examination: 'Laziest student in the Conservatoire.' In 1886 Georges Mathias comments on his report card: 'Worthless. Three months just to learn the piece. Cannot sight-read properly.' See Alan Gillmor, *Erik Satie*, xix-xx.

⁴ Maurice Imbert, 'Erik Satie', *Le Courrier musical*, No. 27, July-August 1925, 423. 'La discipline, même légère, du Faubourg Poissonnière pesant à son esprit, M. Satie résolut au bout d'une année de n'en plus respirer l'atmosphère et de confier ses destinées à son jeune genre autodidacte.'

⁵ Albert Bertelin's directly addresses critical concerns regarding Satie's insufficient formal musical education in an article in *Le Courrier musical* in 1912. Bertelin's comments are representative of the opinions of many of Satie's critics in this period. See the following section, 'Satie's Challenge to the Criteria of the Canon', for a discussion of this subject.

autodidact, independent rebel.⁶ The fact that Satie continued private lessons in orchestration with its director, Vincent d'Indy, from 1908 to 1912 is never mentioned in the music press and we are only aware of this fact through surviving letters. Correspondence with d'Indy reveals that Satie was still studying orchestration privately with him until November 1912 when he wrote a letter addressed to his 'Très Cher Maître' to resign studies with him due to public engagements.⁷ Satie found a kindred spirit in d'Indy who believed that all teachers should try 'to form not virtuosi infatuated with their talents, but artists conscious of their mission of complete devotion to the work of art and that they have the honour of performing.'⁸ D'Indy and Satie's mutual respect was also possibly based upon their shared attitude towards the expectations placed on composers in their society. Pasler recalls a comment made by d'Indy in 1897: 'I'm becoming an official musician... and it's disgusting.'⁹ In the early years of Satie's public career critical attention centred on the debate as to whether or not Satie merited promotion from the status of an amateur to that of an official composer.

Professionalism is a concept related to activity and cultural production in the visible public sphere. Citron argues that being a professional composer 'involves reputation, authority and the circulation of a name within culture. How and why it circulates have a lot to do with preservation and the formation of canons.'¹⁰ Publications, performances and a commitment to *le monde musical* through cultural work all increase the potential for canonicity. Consequently, a professional composer has public duties to attend to, which typically include publication, public performances, participation in music education and the promotion of art music, for instance through committees or as music critics. Engagement with 'legitimate'

⁶ Satie rarely mentions his education in his journalistic output or in any of his surviving correspondence with critics. In his 1913 biography for his publisher Demets, he makes no reference to his musical education. [Erik Satie, 'Erik Satie', *Agence Musicale E. Demets (Bulletin des Editions Musicales)*, December 1913, 42] Volta (ed.), *Ecrits*, 142-43. It is only in the 1920s that Satie reflects in his writings upon his time in the Conservatoire, referring to it as 'a sort of local penitentiary.' [Erik Satie, 'Claude Debussy', *Vanity Fair*, 1923] Wilkins (ed.), *The Writings of Erik Satie*, 108.

⁷ Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 178.

⁸ Vincent d'Indy, 'La Schola cantorum', quoted in Pasler, *Writing Through Music*, 125. These convictions led d'Indy to establish the Schola Cantorum. Initially founded as a countercultural institution, it was quickly legitimized by the arbiters of canon formation when d'Indy was offered a teaching position at the Conservatoire. Satie only publicly acknowledged that d'Indy was his master in the 1920s.

⁹ Pasler, *Writing Through Music*, 116.

¹⁰ Citron, *Gender and the Canon*, 80.

institutions was also expected and many official composers taught in institutions and gave pre-concert lectures. The assumption of a pedagogical role meant that composers could pass on their unique craft, a necessary step for a composer who wished to achieve the status of a master. Music criticism was also an important outlet through which composers could participate in contemporary musical debates and promote their own works. Most composers of this time were keen to explain why their music was original, but also to stress how it simultaneously fitted into the great tradition of music. The criteria of canon formation demand that a legitimate work reflect a common aesthetic or formal similarity with a canonic model and be interpreted by critics as possessing a moral or transcendent value. Critics frequently promoted the canonic potential of a work through favourable comparison with a past master or school of composition.

Professional composers were eligible to be considered for the status of ‘master’ composer, but this title was only awarded to those who gained recognition as the father of a new musical school representative of a particular musical style, aesthetic or genre. It was essential that a master composer demonstrate originality and influence in his musical output, which must include large-scale compositions, often in standard genres such as the symphony or the sonata (or modern equivalents). A master composer was also expected to have composed a number of works that were widely deemed masterworks. Ideally, he would have disciples in whose works his influence could be felt, thus promoting the evolutionary tradition of art music.

2.2 Satie’s Challenge to the Criteria of the Canon

Satie was constantly pushing boundaries through his music which challenged not only the criteria of canonic works but the very definition of music itself. Kerman explains that the ideology of the canon ‘seems to have reached its fullest articulation as a reaction to the advent of modernism, at the very time when the ideology itself came under question.’¹¹ The arrival of musical modernism presented a serious challenge to critics raised in the Romantic tradition. Those critics who

¹¹ Kerman, ‘A Few Canonic Variations’, 39-40

chose not to ignore Satie were most often quite eager to specify why Satie's music was problematic.

In an article on contemporary music in late 1912, Albert Bertelin discusses the differences between Debussy and Satie's musical styles and backgrounds and in doing so, divulges many of the criteria of canon formation in operation in France at this time through his focus on the problems Satie presents.¹² In this article the distinction between official and non-official composers is expressed explicitly. Bertelin praises Satie's 'considerable influence' on Debussy, although it is clear throughout this discussion that it is Debussy who is the professional composer. Despite Satie's evident originality, Bertelin implies that he can only be considered an amateur composer on account of his educational background, although he warrants consideration as 'the father of impressionism.' The emphasis on education at this time was linked to more than simply concerns of *métier* ('craft'). Bertelin concludes that a composer must learn not only a 'solid craft' from his master, but 'the dignity of a life devoted entirely to the practice of art.'¹³ In Bertelin's assessment Satie has acquired neither the desired *métier* nor the correct spiritual attitude required of a professional composer.

Bertelin explains that in valuing an artist's work, one must consider two types of qualities that are 'indispensable to the production of a masterwork': those that are acquired or learned, and those that are innate.¹⁴ Natural qualities such as originality and personality cannot be taught, yet they also cannot be fully realised without learning a proper *métier*: mastery of the techniques and processes of the language of music, in addition to concern for the perfection of musical form. Bertelin criticises Satie for ignoring the forms, such as symphonies and sonatas, 'which produce masterworks' and he questions the simplicity of his music and preference for small-scale genres: 'why try to impoverish instead of enriching, why reduce it

¹² Albert Bertelin, 'L'Evolution de la musique contemporaine (III)', *Le Courrier musical*, 15 October 1912, 529-37, 532. See Appendix 1 for the complete text of this article.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 537. 'Certes, il faut qu'un jeune compositeur apprenne d'un Maître [...] la dignité d'une vie toute entière consacrée à la pratique d'un art, ne peut être que d'un excellent exemple pour le jeune disciple [...].'

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 533.

down at all costs to the most limited number of subjects possible?’¹⁵ Bertelin praises Satie’s innovations, such as dispensing with barlines, but criticises his lack of profound and serious study which has perhaps hindered the production ‘of very interesting works.’ This ‘true precursor’ opened the way for Debussy who adopted Satie’s innovations and perfected them in his own compositions. Bertelin voices the opinion of many critics in his conclusion that Satie’s imitators surpassed him. In strengthening his argument he cites the Austro-Germanic example of Wagner, a master composer who is superior to his imitators on account of the value of his personal ideas.¹⁶

Satie never wrote virtuosic works even though technical virtuosity as a demonstration of a composer’s *métier* was expected. Virtuosity was the most visible evidence of the quality and quantity of labour invested in a composition, and Satie’s penchant for brevity and simplicity led critics to conclude that he was incapable of writing in larger, more respected forms. In addition to concerns of education, Satie’s status as a composer of art music was also rendered dubious on account of his cabaret background and more significantly, the extensive use of popular music borrowings in his music. Bourdieu argues that in the pure aesthetic a work of art must be considered autonomous, detached and disinterested. In stark contrast the popular aesthetic promoted the continuity between art and the everyday. The principle of disinterestedness separates ‘classical’ from ‘popular’ music in moral terms. Kant propounded that art works which arouse collective enthusiasm and gratify audiences border on barbarism. Legitimized music appeals to reason rather than to the senses and it is expected to fulfil a particular moral role in society, primarily the spiritual betterment of man.¹⁷ The distinction between popular and high aesthetics was clearly defined in this period:

A rigid dichotomy thus emerged between classical and contemporary works such as has not occurred in the fine arts. [...] Canons came relatively late to music, awkwardly close to the time when aspects of mass culture transformed the arts in contrasting ways, bringing an unusually severe alienation of composers from the general public. The growing distance

¹⁵ Bertelin, ‘L’Evolution de la musique contemporaine (III)’, 534-5. ‘[...] pourquoi chercher à l’appauvrir au lieu de l’enrichir, pourquoi vouloir à tout prix le réduire à un nombre de sujet des plus limités?’

¹⁶ Ibid., 533.

¹⁷ This canonic ideal is discussed in further detail in section 4.3 on Religion.

between the classical music world and *cafés-concerts* and music halls limited composers' options for writing for different publics.¹⁸

Satie is one of the few composers of his time who traversed both of these worlds and his popular background had a definite impact upon critical opinion of him. Cocteau, the members of 'Les Six', Stravinsky and Debussy were involved in breaking down the highbrow/ lowbrow divide in this period and Satie was the primary exponent of this aesthetic challenge to legitimate music. His extensive use of borrowings from popular music, the text within his piano scores and the unusual titles of his works were criticized as many felt the music was submissive to the textual or literary element.¹⁹

The detachment of art music from the everyday was a bourgeois expectation of art that Satie continually failed to meet. Bourdieu explains that in French society 'music represents the most radical and most absolute form of the negation of the world, and especially the social world, which the bourgeois ethos tends to demand of all forms of art.'²⁰ Therefore in engaging aesthetically with a work, it must be considered in terms of form rather than function. This Modernist preoccupation with form gained strength in the early 20th century with the increased importance of music analysis. When Satie's work could not be subjected to analysis it was considered formless and the value of his art was questioned. The debate as to whether or not Satie's music was high art remained a source of dispute throughout the late 20th century.

In the popular aesthetic, the reception of music is directly associated with the body and this is one of the prominent reasons why laughter in the concert hall was considered so outrageous by critics: it was vulgar enjoyment. Music that engaged the body and elicited unbecoming emotional or physical responses was often considered morally dubious. On account of the enthusiastic and boisterous audience responses to his music, Satie's work was often perceived in terms of its function to

¹⁸ Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste*, 308.

¹⁹ For instance, Gabrielle Buffet describes the form of Satie's humoristic works as one which is defined by 'a literary motif to which the music is rigorously subjugated.' Gabrielle Buffet, 'Musique d'aujourd'hui', *Soirées de Paris*, III, 22, 15 March 1914, 181-83. The reception of the textual elements of Satie's music is discussed in further detail in the section 'Satie the Interart Composer' in chapter 3.

²⁰ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 10-11.

entertain or to amuse rather than to educate or to promote moral betterment. Ironically, while the critics demanded detachment, they expected that an art work would promote certain moral values and serve an educational function.²¹ Satie's art is described as profane or morally suspect on many occasions. His use of parody and irony was often interpreted as disrespectful to the tradition of art music, and Satie's humorous expression created a barrier between himself and critics. Most critics felt they could not engage seriously with a composer who expressed himself in such a manner.²² Throughout his career, critics across a variety of publications described works by Satie, that were both humorous and non-humorous in intent, as 'jokes.'²³ Satie himself was described as a 'joker.'²⁴ Critics were unanimous in the opinion that Satie's music neither demonstrated nor possessed the requisite 'formal refinement' which Bourdieu describes as being 'part of the paraphernalia which always announces the sacred character, separate and separating, of high culture.'²⁵

It can be deduced from the problems identified by the critics in Satie's music that a legitimate work was expected to meet many of the following criteria: it should be serious, demonstrate bourgeois values, a moral or spiritual component, virtuosic *métier*, a connection with and respect for the tradition of art music, detachment from the everyday, formal refinement; and participate in the evolution of art music.²⁶ Satie's music contravened the criteria of the time to such an extent that many critics did not consider it legitimate art: the application of the accolade masterwork to Satie's music was unthinkable in the eyes of most. Satie's idiosyncratic style and rejection of various traditional musical conventions meant that many critics were unable to interpret this music as it did not correspond to the contemporary codes of legitimized art. Satie's non-conformist behaviour had an

²¹ Izenberg, *Modernism and Masculinity*, 12-13. Izenberg argues that artists in the early modernist period had to somehow prove and argue for the social utility of their work in order to preserve and promote the masculine status of their profession.

²² Satie's 'seriousness' is explored in depth in part I of chapter 5.

²³ See for example: Maurice Boucher, 'Salles Diverses', *Le Monde musical*, March 1922, 113; Jean d'Udine, 'Couleurs, Mouvements et Sons: Les Ballets Russes, en 1917', *Le Courrier musical*, June 1917, 237-241; Anon., 'La Quinzaine', *Revue musicale S.I.M.: Supplément de Quinzaine*, 15 April 1914, 58-59; and Jean Poueigh, 'Châtelet: Les Ballets Russes – Parade – Soleil de Nuit – Las Meninas', *La Rampe*, 31 May 1917, 4.

²⁴ See Edmond Epardaude, 'Chronique: A Propos de Cubes', *La Presse*, 23 May 1917, 1-2.

²⁵ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 26.

²⁶ Satie's challenges to the criteria of his time are addressed in this chapter, and also in more depth in chapter four.

immediate impact upon his reputation as a composer and his status as an illegitimate autodidact predisposed critics to suspect his music.

2.3 Satie's Early Promotion

1911 was an important year for the forty-four year old Satie who, with the public support of Ravel and Debussy, entered the 'official' and public sphere of *le monde musical*. While not automatically welcomed as an 'official' composer, Satie was now privy to some of the benefits his new status and recognition afforded: performance of his works by professional performers in the concert halls of Paris and the publication of his piano works by two music publishing houses and in contemporary music journals.²⁷ Importantly, this was also the year in which the music press began to review performances and publications of his works.²⁸ This early publicity was a great boost for Satie in terms of both material and moral support. It was the first time in his career that his originality and pioneering role in the development of modern French music was widely acknowledged, albeit in a qualified manner. Critical focus rested primarily upon the documentary interest of certain works rather than on the value of the music itself. The small group of articles that appeared from 1911 to 1913 were the primary platform for Satie's launch into *le monde musical* and were pivotal in constructing Satie's early reputation.

In his work on Chopin's reputation, Jim Samson warns that in assessing the portrayal of a composer by music critics we need 'to look behind the scenes, to examine contexts and motivations. [...] there were clear sub-texts underlying the promotion of some composers at the expense of others in the French press. There

²⁷ The first *Sarabande*, the first *Danse Gothique* and extracts from *Trois Morceaux en forme de poire* were published in *Revue musicale S.I.M.*, 15 March 1911. The second *Sarabande* appeared in a supplement to *Musica (Album Musica)*, No. 1, April 1911, 89-90. In November of 1911 Rouart, Lerolle & Cie published *Trois morceaux en forme de poire* (4 mains) and the *Trois Sarabandes*. The *Ogives*, *Gymnopédies* and the *Gnossiennes* had been published in Satie's youth though they had remained in relative obscurity and no premiere dates prior to 1911 have been documented.

²⁸ Many of these articles are widely quoted throughout Satie literature, nevertheless, they are rarely subjected to critical reading to gauge the biases and agendas they promote. A very small number of articles concerning Satie were published in the decades prior to 1911, however, they are excluded here as they fall outside the parameters under discussion.

are in short no neutral readings.²⁹ Evidence remains of only two concerts that feature Satie's music in 1911, both of which appear to have been politically motivated: an SMI concert organised by Maurice Ravel at the Salle Gaveau (16 January 1911) and a Cercle Musical concert organised by Claude Debussy, also at the Salle Gaveau (25 March 1911).³⁰ At the first concert, Ravel performed a selection of Satie's early piano works in order to introduce Satie as a 'precursor' to the harmonic language of Debussy's impressionism. In addition to performing three of his early works, Ravel used his influence as a committee member with the Société Musicale Indépendante, which he co-founded in 1909, to promote a very specific image of Satie in the press surrounding this event. Ravel's intention was never to promote Satie as an official composer worthy of canonic status, but rather as a naive, primitive amateur who invented the harmonic language of impressionism through intuitive experiments. Ravel's aim was to claim Satie as a precursor to himself and his followers, the Jeunes Ravêlites, and in doing so, he wished to diminish Debussy's prestige for his own benefit. It is widely believed that Debussy decided to conduct his orchestrations of Satie's first and third *Gymnopédies* two months later in response to Ravel's attack on his originality and his bid to 'own' Satie.

Ravel's efforts to promote the specific images of Satie the amateur and precursor were supported in the early years by the critics Jules Ecorcheville, Emile Vuillermoz and to a lesser extent, by Michel-Dimitri Calvocoressi. Satie's seemingly 'neutral' position, not being the student of any musical *maître*, allowed him to be easily appropriated for the propaganda purposes of the Jeunes Ravêlites in the pages of *La Revue musicale S.I.M.* and *Le Guide du Concert*. In a retrospective article on the SMI written in 1923, Georges Auric claims that many people habitually confused the SMI and the journal *La Revue musicale S.I.M.*. He explains that this misconception was not surprising as 'both revue and society were subject to the same impulses' and that the smooth-talking Vuillermoz was the real driving force behind both of these bodies:

²⁹ Jim Samson, 'Chopin reception', 4. Many scholars have noted the dubious circumstances surrounding Satie's 'discovery' in 1911 and the exploitative motivations behind his promotion. See Orledge, *Satie the Composer* (1990), 250-51; Gillmor, *Erik Satie* (1988), 144-45; and Volta, *Correspondance* (2000), 1056-60.

³⁰ Perhaps more performances took place, however if they did, they were not reported in the music press and no other records have yet come to light.

A cunning mind guided their efforts. Let's name him without further ado: Emile Vuillermoz. This "musicien mort jeune", in whom the man of intellect always survives, received his collaborators in a little modern office. One experienced him as one who hid behind metaphors, [always] decked out with the right words.³¹

Despite his unofficial status Satie was well known to Ravel and Debussy and to their critic friends for more than a decade prior to his 1911 launch. Satie's regular cabaret appearances and the performance of Debussy's orchestrations of the *Gymnopédies* at the Société Nationale in 1897 meant that he had become quite a familiar figure in young Parisian music circles. Ravel first became acquainted with Satie at the age of seventeen at the Café de la Nouvelle Athènes (c. 1893) and a year prior to Satie's public launch, Ravel claimed to be the author of the 'fourth Gymnopédie' in his work *Entretiens de la Belle et la Bête* from *Ma Mère l'Oye*. Vuillermoz was also familiar with Satie during this time and had mentioned him in passing in an article in *le Mercure musical* in 1905.³² Nevertheless, none of these official figures chose to promote their musical colleague until 1911, more than twenty years after the composition of the *Sarabandes* and the *Gymnopédies*, the works that launched his public career.

The formation of Satie's public image through the music press began in the days preceding the SMI concert with the publication of the concert programme notes in the *Guide du Concert*.³³ The manner in which Satie's music was promoted distinguished him from his contemporaries in a negative manner and the programme notes were used to construct a very specific, non-conformist image of Satie. In this concert programme that included five other composers, the anonymous writer briefly outlines the other composers' educational and professional backgrounds and works to be performed. In some cases, he provides an analytical overview of musical themes and structure. Critics often relied heavily on such concert notes and tended to quote from them extensively in reviews of new music. These brief introductions served as aids to understanding and inadvertently

³¹ Georges Auric, 'La Jeune Musique française', *La Revue Hebdomadaire*, August 1923, 44-60, 53-54. 'Un esprit malin conduisait leurs efforts. Nommons-le sans plus tarder: M. Emile Vuillermoz. Ce « musicien mort jeune », auquel survie toujours l'homme d'esprit, recevait ses collaborateurs dans un petit bureau modern-style. On le sentait blindé de métaphores, caparaçonné de bons mots.'

³² In 1905 he writes: 'Chopin a écrit avant Debussy des successions de tierces majeures, et, certes, des enchaînements de neuvièmes existaient non seulement chez Chabrier, mis encore dans Erik Satie, que M. Huré oublié dans son énumération.' Emile Vuillermoz, 'Une tasse du thé', *Le Mercure musical*, November 1905, 505-510, 509.

³³ Anon., 'Salle Gaveau', *Le Guide du Concert*, 14 January 1911, 156-7.

encouraged musical discussion and analysis. In Satie's introduction no commentary is given on the three pieces: *Deuxième Sarabande*, *Le Fils des Étoiles* and *Troisième Gymnopédie*. Instead, the reader is presented with a short biography that establishes the image of Satie the precursor.

In the history of contemporary art Erik Satie occupies a truly exceptional place. An outsider of his time, this isolated man had up to then written some short pages which attested to a precursor redolent with genius. These works, unfortunately not very numerous, surprised by means of a prescience of modernist vocabulary and by the quasi-prophetic character of certain harmonic discoveries.³⁴

The importance of Satie's early works is reiterated and Satie's influence on Debussy is emphasised:

Claude Debussy paid a surprising homage to the subtle researcher in orchestrating his *Gymnopédies* at the Société Nationale, and Maurice Ravel, in performing the second *Sarabande* today, that carries the startling date of 1887, proves the esteem in which the most 'advanced' composers hold this creator that already spoke the audacious musical 'slang' of tomorrow a quarter of a century ago!³⁵

In this selective biography Satie is instantly cast as an amateur, a composer who never developed his original groundbreaking ideas and who, following a period of 'artistic inaction', returned to study at the Schola. Satie's career in the Parisian cabarets is not mentioned. It is noteworthy that Satie's popular background is overlooked in the press until the post-war years when Satie's early illegitimate musical career is used as ammunition against him.

In response to the Ravel concert, most of the mainstream press and journals passed little comment on Satie's arrival and those that acknowledged his role as the precursor to impressionism were generally unimpressed by his music. Critical attention was limited almost exclusively to critics affiliated with the SMI and members of the Jeunes Ravêlites. In February 1911 a short concert review appears

³⁴ Anon., 'Salle Gaveau', *Le Guide du Concert*, 14 January 1911, 156-7. 'Erik Satie occupe dans l'histoire de l'art contemporain une place véritablement exceptionnelle. En marge de son époque, cet isolé a écrit jadis quelques courts pages qui sont d'un génial précurseur. Ces œuvres, malheureusement peu nombreuses, surprennent par une prescience du vocabulaire moderniste et par le caractère quasi-prophétique de certaines trouvailles harmoniques.

³⁵ Ibid., 156-7. 'M. Claude Debussy rendit un hommage éclatant au subtil chercheur en orchestrant de ses *Gymnopédies* qui furent jouées à la Société Nationale, et M. Maurice Ravel, en exécutant aujourd'hui la 2^e *Sarabande* qui porte la date stupéfiante de 1887 prouve en quelle estime les compositeurs les plus 'avancés' tiennent ce créateur qui parlait, voici déjà un quart de siècle, l'audacieux 'argot' musical de demain!'

in *Musica* in which a large portion of the *Guide du Concert* notes is repeated verbatim without any reference to the original text.³⁶ In another short review article the same month in *Comoedia illustré* Calvocoressi's comments on Satie paraphrase the information released by the SMI:

Satie is the most significant and most direct of the precursors of Debussy, of Ravel, of all the little group of our boldest composers... for he who knows not only the *Gymnopédies* and the *Sarabandes* (the latter date from 1887), but also the *Gnossiennes* of 1889 and the *Neuvaine* of 1892, the story of the origin of today's impressionism becomes clear as brightest day.³⁷

Satie thanks Calvocoressi 'flat on my stomach' for his 'très bien' article in a letter the following month and enquires about an article he is writing for the *Musica*.³⁸ In April Calvocoressi's first lengthy article on Satie (composed of original text this time) appears in this journal.³⁹ Following an opening paragraph expounding the achievements of Debussy, he introduces Satie in the now standard image of a precursor. Calvocoressi complains that not enough attention has been paid to 'the modest, yet curious and significant style of Erik Satie' and his role in the 'ultra-modern' musical revolution. He describes Satie as a very influential artist of innate talent whose amateur works are the product of illegitimate autodidacticism:

An impeccable sensitivity of the ear and a very fine and original feeling reveals itself in the music of Satie. The artist that never thinks to organise his discoveries can only be discovered in each instant, detail by detail in his ingenious and rare turns; through this he collaborates in this new evolution of the art of sounds that has affected almost the whole of France, the consequences of which have made much ink flow.⁴⁰

Calvocoressi explains that Satie has been largely overlooked on account of his unprofessional behaviour: 'Really, it was quite excusable to not take this man too

³⁶ Michel-Dimitri Calvocoressi, 'Société musicale indépendante', *Musica*, February 1911, 33-4.

³⁷ Michel-Dimitri Calvocoressi, 'Aux concerts', *Comoedia illustré*, 15 February 1911, 305. 'M. Satie est le plus significatif et le plus direct des précurseurs de M. Debussy, de M. Ravel, de toute la petite pléiade... de nos compositeurs les plus hardis... pour qui connaît non seulement le [*sic.*] *Gymnopédies* et les *Sarabandes* (ces dernières de 1887) mais encore les *Gnossiennes* de 1889 et la *Neuvaine* de 1892, l'histoire des origines de l'impressionnisme actuel s'éclaire du jour le plus nouveau.' La *Neuvaine* is a reference to the nine *Danse gothiques* which Satie actually composed in March 1893.

³⁸ Letter dated 11 March 1911 in Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 147.

³⁹ Michel-Dimitri Calvocoressi, 'M. Erik Satie', *Musica*, No. 103, April 1911, 65-66.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 65-66. 'Une irréprochable délicatesse d'oreille, un sentiment très fin et original se révèlent dans la musique de M. Satie. L'artiste, qui ne songe jamais à organiser ses trouvailles, ne fait à chaque instant que découvrir, détail par détail des tours ingénieux et rares; il collabore par là à cette évolution nouvelle de l'art des sons qui s'est effectuée presque entière en France et dont les conséquences ont fait couler tant de flots d'encre.'

seriously when he did not take any aspect of his artistic duties seriously.’⁴¹ As a cabaret performer, arranger and composer, Satie’s art music was not being performed in respected venues, the concert halls and theatres of Paris, nor were his works yet published by a reputable publishing house. Calvocoressi also neglects to mention Satie’s cabaret work relating instead that ‘for a long time he ceased composing.’ However, he does introduce the image of Satie the *fantaisiste*, a term typically used to describe a humourist in the music halls and cabaret milieu.⁴²

In the March issue of *La Revue musicale S.I.M.*, the editor Jules Ecorcheville writes a lengthy article on Satie that eulogises his achievements as a precursor while simultaneously disparaging his compositional abilities: ‘The *Sarabande...* dates from September 1887, Debussy’s [work] is fifteen years younger, and perhaps fifteen times more mature, but only the date matters here.’⁴³ Ecorcheville also promotes the image of Satie as an amateur and emphasises that he is self-taught: ‘It is indeed a certain sensuality of the ear that has always guided the innovative harmonist, even at the expense of his constructive and logical reason.’⁴⁴ Satie’s disregard for members of officialdom is also highlighted. The author recounts a falling out between Satie and the Académie nationale caused by his failure to secure a performance of *Uspud* at the Paris Opéra. Ecorcheville’s lack of respect for Satie is tangible throughout this article: he uses the term *maître* in a humorous sense and he jokingly refers to Satie as an ‘insignificant entity.’

Initially flattered by the critical attention and Ravel’s role in promoting his music, Satie re-dedicated his second *Sarabande* to him as a thank you for his efforts. Calvocoressi and Vuillermoz were also rewarded with the dedication of the works ‘Danse cuirassée (Période grecque) and ‘La Défaite des Cimbres (Cauchemar)’ in *Vieux sequins et vieilles cuirasses* respectively. In a letter to his brother Conrad, Satie prematurely exclaims ‘the advanced musical press supports me completely.’⁴⁵

⁴¹ Calvocoressi, ‘M. Erik Satie’, 65. ‘Vraiment, on fut assez excusable de ne pas prendre trop au sérieux cet homme qui prenait si peu au sérieux tout un aspect de ses fonctions artistiques.’

⁴² This image of Satie is discussed in more depth in chapter five.

⁴³ Jules Ecorcheville, ‘Erik Satie’, *Revue musicale S.I.M.*, 15 March 1911, 31. ‘La *Sarabande...* est de septembre 1887; celle de Debussy a 15 ans de moins, et peut-être quinze fois plus de maturité, mais la date seule importe ici.’

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 31. ‘Et c’est bien une certaine sensualité de l’oreille qui a toujours et ainsi guidé l’harmoniste novateur, aux dépens même de sa raison constructive et logique.’

⁴⁵ Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 146. ‘La presse musicale avancée est entièrement pour moi.’

In reality, many critics were immediately suspicious of the SMI's motivations for promoting Satie and recognised the thinly veiled attacks on Debussy. In *L'Echo de Paris* Adolphe Boschot writes: 'Truly, seeing Ravel at the piano – Ravel who was often criticised for being too like Debussy – I (clearly mistakenly) asked myself if this sudden resurrection of Erik Satie was not so as to annoy Debussy in some way.'⁴⁶ Moreover, many critics, displeased that Debussy's prestige was being challenged by an increasingly high-profile amateur, eventually broke their silence in order to counterattack. In a 1914 article Paul Ladmirault writes: 'Erik Satie must be the first to laugh at this role one wishes to attribute to him [...].'⁴⁷ Ladmirault uses a play on words (the word 'talon' has the same pronunciation as 'talent' in French) to infer that Satie's role as precursor is an embellished truth and that Satie is being used by those around him. Ladmirault describes the actions of a group of Satie supporters, motivated solely by a desire to diminish Debussy's status:

What shall one say after that *Croquis d'un gros bonhomme en bois* by Satie? considering that one guards against considering this amiable humourist as the precursor of debussysme, based on the faith of a number of kind mystifiers trying in their own way "to pick at the heels [talent] of the great figure of Achille."⁴⁸

Debussy supporters were also quick to downplay, if not completely dismiss Satie's claim to be the 'father of impressionism.' Henri Gauthier-Villars had previously remarked that Debussy's decision to orchestrate Satie's *Gymnopédies* 1&3 was simply a tribute to his technically deficient friend: 'To ensure that the music of this mystic imbecile is performable, it is not enough to have it orchestrated by a talented composer – someone else must also undertake the task of writing the melody.'⁴⁹ Auric relates a similar opinion held by Louis Laloy in 1913 that the *Gymnopédies*

⁴⁶ Adolphe Boschot, 'La Musique – La S.M.I.', *L'Echo de Paris*, 23 January 1911, 4. 'Vraiment, voyant M. Ravel au piano, - M. Ravel, à qui l'on a souvent reproché d'être trop semblable à Debussy, - je me demandais (à tort évidemment) si cette soudain résurrection de M. Erik Satie n'était pas un peu pour ennuyer M. Debussy.'

⁴⁷ Paul Ladmirault, 'Les Sociétés', *Revue musicale S.I.M.: Supplément de Quinzaine*, 15 April 1914, 8. 'M. Erik Satie doit être le premier à rire de ce rôle qu'on veut lui attribuer [...].'

⁴⁸ Ibid., 8. 'Que dire après cela des *Croquis d'un gros bonhomme en bois* de M. Erik Satie? bien que l'on veuille considérer cet agréable humoriste comme le précurseur du debussysme, sur la foi de quelques aimables mystificateurs essayant à leur manière « de piquer au talon la grande figure d'Achille ».'

⁴⁹ [L'Ouvreuse du Cirque d'Été, 'Lettre de l'Ouvreuse', *L'Echo de Paris*, 23 February 1897] Donnellon, 'Debussy, Satie and the French Music Press', 113.

were only ‘sketches thrown nonchalantly onto manuscript paper and that Debussy developed them for the orchestra.’⁵⁰

Satie too soon became suspicious of Ravel’s motivations and quickly rebelled against the image of him promoted by the SMI. He publically distanced himself from the impressionist compositions of his youth, especially those celebrated by Ravel, and announced that his new compositions would be more scholastic in style. Satie evidently wished to challenge the dominant image in circulation of the amateur impressionist composer. In March 1911, Robert Brussel, the music critic for *Le Figaro*, reports that Satie has embarked upon a new journey in composition: ‘We are assured that this precursor, that certain individuals affirm to be brilliant, applies himself currently to the most severe discipline of counterpoint. It will be curious to know the fruit that will be born of this freedom and servitude.’⁵¹ In the final lines of his article on Satie in *Musica*, Calvocoressi also informs his readers that Satie has cut ties with his musical past: ‘Now he undertakes to further his studies in the area of technique. He recently told me how much counterpoint interests him and the new part he hopes it will play in his work.’⁵² In promoting his new aesthetic approach, Satie decided he also needed a new public image, a new critical talking point. Satie’s true break with his past expressive forms came in 1912 with the arrival of Satie the humourist. Nevertheless, critics persisted in reproducing the SMI script and Satie’s self-promotional campaign only presented them with an additional reason to exclude him from the serious domain of officialdom.

In 1912 the discovery of another ‘musicien ignoré’, the fifty-two year old music copyist Ernest Fanelli (1860-1917), presented a significant threat to the SMI’s promotion of Satie the precursor. Fanelli was now being promoted as the precursor

⁵⁰ Georges Auric, ‘Erik Satie: Musicien Humoriste’, *Revue française de musique*, 4-10 December 1913, 138-142, 139. ‘Ces *Gymnopédies* n’étaient point seulement, comme le pense M. Louis Laloy “des esquisses jetées négligemment sur le papier rayé et que M. Debussy développa pour l’orchestre.”’

⁵¹ Robert Brussel, ‘Les Concerts’, *Le Figaro*, 9 March 1911, 5. ‘On nous assure que ce précurseur, que certains affirement être génial, se plie actuellement à la discipline du plus sévère contrepoint. Il sera curieux de connaître le fruit qui naîtra de cette liberté et de cette servitude.’

⁵² Michel-Dimitri Calvocoressi, ‘M. Erik Satie’, *Musica*, No. 103, April 1911, 65-66, 66. ‘Maintenant, il a entrepris de pousser ses études dans le sens de la technique. Il me disait récemment combien le contrepoint l’intéressait, et quel parti nouveau il espérait en tirer.’

of Debussy upon the discovery of his work *Les Tableaux Symphoniques* which was believed to predate Satie's earliest experiments in the harmonic language of impressionism by four years. Ravel, conscious that Fanelli would distract critics from Satie, swiftly came to his defence in the music press.⁵³ Ravel quotes many of the compliments bestowed on the critics' favourite newcomer: 'an unrecognised genius', 'a French Wagner', whose compositions are 'incomparable and sublime.' Ravel claims that such high praise is motivated solely by financial interests and that it has already been established that the credit for Debussy's harmonic system is due entirely to Erik Satie. Ravel argues that it is more accurate to categorise Fanelli along with the Russian school of composers. In support of Ravel's campaign various critics for the *Revue musicale S.I.M.* also stressed Satie's influence on the impressionist school. One critic extends the precursor paradigm to composers other than Debussy and Ravel and exaggerates the importance of the *Gymnopédies* in order to reinforce this image of Satie:

Let us note on the other hand an influence which seems to us to be preponderant, [...] that of Satie. [...] see the second *Mirages* by Louiz de Freitas Branco, and the *Nénuphars Crépusculaires* by Inghelbrecht. Are we not very much close to the *Gymnopédies* that caused such an outcry of scandal two or three years ago?⁵⁴

Fanelli failed to take advantage of his discovery in 1912 in the absence of any contemporary works: he had ceased composition in 1894. Fanelli's temporary challenge to Satie's precursor status was soon forgotten by the press.⁵⁵

In the *Guide du Concert* programme notes for an SMI concert at the Salle Gaveau on 17 June 1912 Satie's lack of musical education is reiterated and by extension, his amateur status: 'The laurels of the Conservatoire did not tempt him and [anyway] he did not wait for them at all to proceed with frantic production.'⁵⁶ No

⁵³ Maurice Ravel, 'Les "Tableaux Symphoniques" de M. Fanelli', *Revue musicale S.I.M.*, 15 April 1912, 55-6.

⁵⁴ V. P., 'L'Édition musicale', *Revue musicale S.I.M.*, No. 12, December 1912, 67. 'Notons par ailleurs une influence qui nous paraît prépondérante, elle aussi, celle de M. Satie. [...] voyez le No. 2 des *Mirages* de Luiz de Freitas Branco; et les *Nénuphars Crépusculaires* d'Inghelbrecht. Ne sommes-nous pas tout à fait proches de ces *Gymnopédies*, qui faisaient encore crier au scandale il y a deux ou trois ans?'

⁵⁵ Paul Dupin (1865-1945) was another autodidact composer who surfaced at this time, although he never truly challenged Satie's status.

⁵⁶ Anon., 'Salle Gaveau', *Guide du Concert*, 1 June 1912, 541-543, 542. 'Les lauriers conservatoires ne le tentèrent pas et ils ne les attendit point pour se laisser aller à une production effrénée.'

musical analysis is provided and the anonymous author instead uses this opportunity to promote the images of Satie the precursor and deviant: ‘[...] it is less about his fits of ironic craziness (didn’t he solicit the votes of the Insitut?) than his innovative sense for dissonant sonorities, harmonic discoveries, rhythmic inequalities, etc... repudiated a quarter of a century ago and sought-after today.’⁵⁷ A selective list of Satie’s compositions is provided that omits recent works that deviate from his early impressionist style. In these notes we also find an early reference to the image of Satie the humourist, a composer who is ‘a bit mystical and a bit of a hoaxer.’⁵⁸

In spite of Satie’s more frequent mentions in the press, he continued to be ignored by many influential critics whilst being excluded in other ways. Official composers were often discussed in works on contemporary French music and in various anthologies by music historians. In 1912 Satie is not mentioned in the annual *L’Année musicale* by Jean Chantavoine.⁵⁹ He is also excluded from René Lenormand’s book *Étude sur l’harmonie moderne* of the same year. In a letter addressed to Lenormand, published in *Le Monde musical*, Ravel notes this omission:

I would like to point out a very important lacuna in my opinion in a work on the evolution of contemporary French music: you have omitted to cite the author who holds perhaps the biggest place in this evolution, Erik Satie. Almost all the composers that you cite, including yours truly, have known this brilliant and incomplete precursor for a long time.⁶⁰

Ravel’s comments in this period typically reinforce Satie’s historical importance, yet his persistence in describing him as *incomplet* (‘incomplete’, ‘unrealised’, ‘unfulfilled’, ‘unfinished’) eventually began to irritate Satie, who was now certain

⁵⁷ Anon., ‘Salle Gaveau’, *Guide du Concert*, 1 June 1912, 542. ‘[...] c’est moins ses accès de loufoquerie ironique (ne sollicita-t-il pas les suffrages de l’Institut?) que son sens novateur des sonorités dissonantes, des trouvailles harmoniques, des irrégularités rythmiques, etc... répudiées il y a un quart de siècle et recherchées aujourd’hui.’

⁵⁸ Ibid., 542. ‘[...] ce compositeur un tantinet mystique et un tantinet mystificateur.’

⁵⁹ Jean Chantavoine, *L’Année musicale* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1912).

⁶⁰ Maurice Ravel, ‘Lettre à M. René Lenormand’, *Le Monde musical*, 15 December 1912, 358. ‘Je me permettrai de vous signaler une lacune très importante selon moi dans un ouvrage sur l’évolution de la musique française actuelle: vous avez omis de citer l’auteur qui, dans cette évolution tient peut-être la plus grande place: Erik Satie. Presque tous les compositeurs que vous citez, y compris votre serviteur, connaissent de longue date ce précurseur génial et incomplet.’ Satie however is included in the following publications of this nature during his lifetime: Georges Jean-Aubry, *La Musique française aujourd’hui* (Paris: Bertin, 1916), 198-207; Julien Tiersot, *Un demi-siècle de musique française entre les deux guerres: 1870-1917* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1918), 236; and Octave Séré, *Musiciens français d’aujourd’hui*, 8th ed. (Paris: Mercure de France, 1921), 138-9.

of the duplicitous motivations of the SMI members. Satie frequented the SMI meetings throughout 1912 and his participation often caused friction. In a letter to Roland-Manuel on 3 July Satie refers disparagingly to Ecorcheville and Vuillermoz: ‘They know nothing at all, those assholes. Ecorcheville, guided by Vuillermoz, does not want to know anything about what you told him [...]’.⁶¹ Satie responded to the SMI’s agenda in 1912 with a counter-promotional campaign conducted primarily through his journalistic writings in which he presented himself as a musical humourist and *fantaisiste*. This move coincided with a dramatic change in Satie’s aesthetic approach to composition and this stylistic period posthumously became known as his ‘humoristic’ phase.

It was Satie’s early parodic humoristic works that led many critics to conclude that Satie’s studies at the Schola had not been serious in intent. Compositions such as *En Habit de Cheval (In Horse’s Clothing)* and *Véritables préludes flasques (pour un chien) (Genuine flabby preludes (for a dog))* appeared to directly mock the musical conventions taught at this institution. The ridiculing ethos of these works is clear in the titles and additional subtitles such as ‘Paper Fugue’ and ‘Severe Reprimand.’ In *Véritables préludes flasques (pour un chien)*, nonsensical Latinized playing directions alluding to academia (e.g. ‘Caeremoniosus’ and ‘Paedagogus’) are found alongside a metaphorical annotation that alludes to drinking too much (‘Epotus’). As both dogs and horses are servants to their masters, it is possible that Satie appropriated these animals to symbolise his independence from any particular school or master. In an article for his local newspaper *L’Avenir d’Arcueil-Cachan* in 1913, Satie uses the metaphor of the dog to symbolize those obedient, compliant composers who adhere to the instructions of their (musical) masters and the institutions in which they teach. Satie humorously explains that music critics are members of ‘the society of encouragement that occupies themselves with the improvement of the canine race.’⁶² Satie singles out the music critic Robert Catteau as a *chien de métier* (‘a dog of skill’), implying that critics also have masters to

⁶¹ Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 170. ‘Ils ne savent rien de rien, ces culs-là. Ecorcheville guidé par Vuillermoz, ne veut rien savoir pour ce que vous lui avez dit [...]’

⁶² [Erik Satie, ‘La Clebtomanie’, *L’Avenir d’Arcueil-Cachan*, IX^e année, 15 December 1913, 21-22] Ornella Volta (ed.), *Ecrits*, 2nd edition (Paris: Editions Champ-Libre, 1981), no. 147, 140. ‘La société d’encouragement qui s’occupe de l’amélioration de la race canine déploie à ce moment tout son prosélytisme.’

whom they must answer.⁶³ Satie writes that with the help of ‘proselytizing’ critics ‘a few mutts’ successfully pass very quickly ‘from the kennels to the stage.’⁶⁴ This is Satie’s clearest statement on his opinion of the SMI promotional campaign.

The more frequent presence of Satie’s work on concert programmes throughout 1912 brought Satie to the attention of young composers such as Georges Auric and Alexis Roland-Manuel who were independent of the SMI. Intrigued by his idiosyncratic and bold new aesthetic direction, some of these young composers were responsible for a number of significant early articles on Satie, in which he is presented as more than simply a precursor to impressionism. In April 1913 a profile by Roland-Manuel appears in *L’Echo musical*, in which the young composer argues for the recognition of Satie as an official composer.⁶⁵ The primary emphasis of the article is placed on the image of Satie the *fantaisiste*, yet most of the arguments presented mirror those of Ravel’s supporters.⁶⁶ Roland-Manuel concludes the article with a repetition of Ravel’s sound bite that Satie is a ‘brilliant and incomplete precursor.’⁶⁷

In December 1913 another significant article appeared in the *Revue française de musique*, written by the fourteen year old musical prodigy, Georges Auric. Auric declares that Satie’s genius ‘is of a quality most rare’, yet as he informs readers ‘the wider public still ignore him.’⁶⁸ Auric’s article addresses Satie’s influence (precursor status), his education and his use of humour. He admits that prior to his studies at the Schola, Satie was an ‘unskilled’ composer; however, he challenges the contemporary viewpoint that Satie remains a musical amateur and criticises the

⁶³ Robert Catteau (1880-1956) was a journalist, publicist and the director of the weekly publication *l’Horizon*. He served as deputy mayor of Brussels and as a member of the Belgian parliament. See ‘Catteau, Robert’ in *Dictionnaire Historique de la Laïcité en Belgique* (Brussels: Editions Luc Pire, 2005), 49.

⁶⁴ Satie, ‘La Cleptomane’, 140. ‘C’est ainsi qu’au cours d’une « matinée-conférence », notre sympathique confrère Robert Catteau fit passer du chenil à la scène quelques cabots dont le succès personnel fut très vif.’

⁶⁵ Alexis Roland-Manuel, ‘Silhouettes d’Artistes: Erik Satie’, *L’Echo musical (revue mensuelle illustrée)*, 5 April 1913, 1-3.

⁶⁶ See chapter five for a discussion of the usage of this term in Satie’s reception. Satie would also describe himself as a *fantaisiste* in a biography written for his publisher Demets that same year.

⁶⁷ Roland-Manuel, ‘Silhouettes d’Artistes: Erik Satie’, 2-3. “‘Ce précurseur genial et incomplète”, telle est la définition que donnait naguère d’Erik Satie le plus infatigable de ses défenseurs: Maurice Ravel. Le mérite de Satie est tout entier dans cette phrase [...]’

⁶⁸ Auric, ‘Erik Satie: Musicien Humoriste’, 138. ‘Le grand public l’ignore encore.’

disdain shown towards him by some critics who take pleasure in criticizing his ‘late care for school’.⁶⁹

For such fanatics, it seemed important that Satie remain an amateur (in this case he would always have been “the most brilliant and most imperfect of amateurs”), or that he learn composition with one of the many small masters of whom Satie had been the unavowed role model to begin with.⁷⁰

In contrast with earlier appraisals Auric argues that Satie is not technically deficient, but rather he is simply too original to adhere to traditional scholastic forms:

The suite *En Habit de Cheval* has already prepared us for this surprising evolution. These warm-up scholastic exercises, practiced under the direction of a master of counterpoint, have done nothing to tone down the impulsive genius of Satie, or to restrain his mocking fantasy. Maybe, on the contrary, if the humourist composer had studied with one of the ‘verticalist’ masters at that time he would have offered us a cyclical symphony, a very classic sonata or a string quartet of a Beethovenian order for our wondrous amusement.⁷¹

Auric disputes the argument that Satie’s music is inferior to that of Debussy’s:

Actually, the second *Sarabande* of Satie made such an impression on the future composer of *Pelléas et Mélisande* that in his suite *Pour le piano*, he rendered quite a precise paraphrase of it, that makes it impossible to those who know both compositions to play Satie’s piece without thinking of that of Debussy, and the slow dance of Debussy without evoking imperiously the memory of that of Satie’s.⁷²

Young composers, attracted by Satie’s anti-establishment persona, formed a devoted coterie who treated him as a master figure. The conductor Vladimir Golschmann recounts that those surrounding Satie in the early years of his public

⁶⁹ Auric, ‘Erik Satie: Musicien Humoriste’, 140. ‘[...] on se plaît à lui reprocher aujourd’hui son tardif souci d’école.’

⁷⁰ Ibid., 140. ‘A tels fanatiques il semblait important que M. Satie restât un amateur (en ce cas il aurait été toujours “le plus génial et le plus imparfait des amateurs”) ou qu’il apprît la composition avec l’un des multiples petits maîtres dont il avait été d’abord le modèle inavoué.’

⁷¹ Ibid., 140-41. ‘La suite *En habit de cheval* nous avait déjà préparés à cette évolution un peu surprenante. Les exercices scolastiques d’assouplissement, pratiqués sous la conduite d’un maître du contrepoint, n’ont donc *en rien* atténué le génie primesautier de M. Satie, ni bridé sa fantaisie railleuse. Peut-être, au contraire, si l’humoriste compositeur avait travaillé avec l’un des maîtres “verticalistes” de l’heure actuelle, aurait-il offert à notre amusement émerveillé une symphonie cyclique, une sonate très classique et un quatuor à cordes d’ordonnance beethovenienne.’

⁷² Ibid., 139-40. ‘En effet, la deuxième *Sarabande* de M. E. Satie impressionna à un tel point le futur commentateur de *Pelléas et Mélisande* qu’il en donna dans sa suite *Pour le piano* une paraphrase assez précise pour qu’il soit impossible, à qui connaît les deux compositions, de jouer le texte de M. Satie sans songer à celui de M. Debussy et la danse lente de M. Debussy sans que s’évoque impérieusement le souvenir de celle de M. Satie.’

career called him ‘notre bon Maître’ (‘our goodly master’).⁷³ Roland-Manuel, the author of the first published Satie biography, presented Satie with a copy inscribed: ‘A Mon Bon Maître Erik Satie, Ce très modeste et très imparfait témoignage de mon admiration avec tout l’affectueux dévouement du fidèle Roland-Manuel, 13 Août 1916.’⁷⁴ Even though Roland-Manuel held Satie in high esteem, the text of his 1916 biography also strongly parallels the script of Ravel and his SMI colleagues. He describes the *Sarabandes* as ‘the unpredictable fruits a product of a disorganised education’, which ‘mark a date in the evolution of our music due to their harmonic technique without precedent.’⁷⁵ Roland-Manuel concludes the biography with another ‘Ravêlite’ statement: ‘a musician was born unto us, a bit gauche, clumsy also and filled with wonder at his naive work.’⁷⁶

Satie capitalised upon the writings of these early critics in his self-promotional campaign. In a 1913 biography for his publisher Demets, Satie states the name of every critic who has written favourably about him, even though the praise was qualified in every case. He also employs the terms ‘master’, ‘precursor’ and ‘apostle’ to exaggerate his own status and create a more positive, official image himself:

We should not forget that the master is considered, by a large number of ‘young’ musicians, as the precursor and apostle of the musical revolution now in progress: Maurice Ravel, E. Vuillermoz, Robert Brussel, M. D. Calvocoressi, J. Ecorcheville, Roland Manuel, etc., present him as such, and what they say is based on facts beyond all challenge.⁷⁷

In June 1914, René Chalupt joined the small group of Satie’s critic supporters through a series of articles in *L’Occident*. In spite of Satie’s frosty critical

⁷³ Vladimir Golschmann, ‘Golschmann Remembers Erik Satie’, *High Fidelity/Musical America*, XXII (August, 1972), MA 11-12; 32, 12.

⁷⁴ Alexis Roland-Manuel, *Erik Satie: Causerie faite à la Société Lyre et Palette le 18 Avril 1916 (Avec une Bibliographie)* (Paris: H. Roberge, 1916). The copy that Roland-Manuel gave to Satie is located in BnF Mus: 8°Vm Pièce 463.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 3. ‘Je voudrais que l’on comprît bien que ces *Sarabandes* marquent une date dans l’évolution de notre musique: voici trois courtes pièces d’une technique harmonique sans précédent [...]’

⁷⁶ Roland-Manuel, *Erik Satie*, 3. ‘Un musicien nous était né, un peu gauche, maladroit même et comme émerveillé de ses trouvailles ingénues.’

⁷⁷ [Erik Satie, ‘Erik Satie’, *Agence Musicale E. Demets (Bulletin des Editions Musicales)*, December 1913, 42] Volta (ed.), *Ecrits*, 142-43. ‘N’oubliez pas que le maître est considéré, par un grand nombre de “jeunes”, comme étant le précurseur et l’apôtre de la révolution musicale actuelle: Messrs Maurice Ravel, E. Vuillermoz, Robert Brussel, M. D. Calvocoressi, J. Ecorcheville, Roland Manuel, etc., le présentèrent comme tel, et leur affirmation est basée sur des faits d’une exactitude autorisée.’

reception, Chalupt notes that the concert-going public at this time were very fond of Satie's 'humoristic works': 'The public celebrated them as great successes; Satie is about to become one of their most favoured composers.'⁷⁸ Satie's popularity was also attested by the publication of fourteen of his works by E. Demets and Rouart & Lerolle in the first three years of his career (See Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 List of publications of Satie's works from 1911-1914⁷⁹

Date	Publisher	Work
Nov 1911	Rouart-Lerolle	<i>Trois morceaux en forme de poire</i> (duet)
Nov 1911	Rouart-Lerolle	<i>Trois Sarabandes</i>
Mar 1912	Rouart-Lerolle	<i>En Habit de cheval</i> (duet)
Nov 1912	Rouart-Lerolle	<i>Trois Gymnopédies</i>
Dec 1912	E. Demets	<i>Véritables préludes flasques (pour un chien)</i>
Jan 1913	Rouart-Lerolle	<i>Pièces froides</i>
Jan 1913	Rouart-Lerolle	<i>Prélude de la porte héroïque du ciel</i>
Jan 1913	Rouart-Lerolle	<i>Trois Gnossiennes</i>
May 1913	E. Demets	<i>Aperçus désagréables</i> (duet)
May 1913	E. Demets	<i>Descriptions automatiques</i>
Sept 1913	E. Demets	<i>Embryons desséchés</i>
Nov 1913	E. Demets	<i>Croquis et agaceries d'un gros bonhomme en bois</i>
Nov 1913	E. Demets	<i>Chapitres tournés en tous sens</i>
Nov 1913	E. Demets	<i>Vieux séquins et vieilles cuirasses</i>

Critics strongly disagreed with popular opinion and continued to lambast Satie's work as inferior to that of official composers. There are many examples of this in the specialist music press. Laurent Ceillier dismisses the *Croquis et Agaceries* with a statement that Satie is an untalented amateur: 'Not revolutionary in the least, these pieces which would lay claim to grandiloquence or esprit are very "boarding school" in nature [...] too lame to be funny. Erik Satie is infinitely too far removed from the talent of Ravel to be able to attempt to compete with his verve.'⁸⁰ Jean Poueigh warns readers to be 'careful not to exaggerate their importance: let's not attribute to them a pioneering role that they rarely fulfil. [...] audacity does not have to be interpreted as discovery and the word 'essays' never signified a masterwork

⁷⁸ Réne Chalupt, 'Société musical indépendante', *L'Occident: Architecture, Sculpture, Peintre, Musique, Poésie*, No. 139, June 1914, 241-243, 241-42. 'Le public leur fit un grand succès; M. Satie est en train de devenir un de ses compositeurs favoris.'

⁷⁹ Most first editions of these works are accessible in the library of the Paris Conservatoire. A smaller selection is available in BnF Mus.

⁸⁰ Laurent Ceillier, 'Salle Erard', *Le Monde musical*, 30 April 1914, 137. 'Pas révolutionnaire pour cinq centimes, ces pièces qui prétendraient à l'emphase ou à l'esprit, sont très "pensionnat" [...] trop faibles pour être humoristiques. M. Erik Satie est infiniment trop loin du talent de Ravel pour pouvoir essayer de concurrencer la verve de celui-ci.'

except for in the solitary case of Montaigne.⁸¹ Poueigh concedes that small genres can be as accomplished as symphonies, but nevertheless he implies that in Satie's case the musical content is lacking. The language he employs is strikingly similar to that used by Bertelin in his 1912 article on Satie and Debussy.

The third concert of the SMI contains numerous first performances. Attractive certainly for the most part, yet how many trivialities, unthinkable. I know well that mass has nothing to do with it. Without doubt a Lied often contains more music than a symphony. But this only happens when the symphony has been lacking and the Lied has been a success. In all other cases one could not deny that you need infinitively more breath, strength, renewed invention, in a word both natural and acquired faculties, to realise an extensive work.⁸²

Tensions between Satie and the SMI reached a climax in 1914 following the publication of 'The Commandments of the Conservatoire's Catechism' in the *Revue musicale S.I.M.* in a style which aped Satie's humorous writings.⁸³ In this list of nine 'rules', various aspects of Debussy's compositional processes and style were mocked. Although signed 'Erit Satis,' Satie was not the author of this piece and he was furious that a pseudonym very similar to his name had been used. Upon asking the editor to publish a notice to clarify that he was not the anonymous writer in the following issue and Ecorcheville's failure to do so, Satie officially cut ties with the group. Many of the SMI affiliated critics initially responsible for Satie's promotion would become detractors in the post-war years.

The agenda of the SMI had been responsible for pushing Satie into the limelight and consequently had left him with a particular legacy that impacted upon his public reputation. It is clear in these early sources of reception that Satie failed to

⁸¹ Michel Montaigne (1533-1592) was a Renaissance writer credited with creating the genre of the literary essay. His *Essais* are a series of 107 literary essays first published in 1580. Poueigh's use of the word *essais* here could also be translated literally as 'attempts' or 'trials.' Jean Poueigh, 'Le Mois', *Revue musicale S.I.M.*, 1 February 1914, 55-57, 56. 'Gardons-nous d'en exagérer l'importance; n'attribuons pas à chacun d'eux un rôle novateur qu'ils remplissent rarement. Accueillons-les avec sympathie comme des tentatives intéressantes, des audaces parfois heureuses, des essais plus ou moins bien venus. Mais n'oublions pas que les tentatives n'aboutissent pas toujours, que par audaces il ne faut pas entendre trouvailles et que le mot essais n'a jamais signifié chef-d'œuvre – sauf pour le seul Montaigne.'

⁸² *Ibid.*, 56. 'Le troisième concert de la S.M.I. comprenait maintes premières auditions. Attrayant certes pour la plupart, mais combien menues, impondérables. Je sais bien que le poids ne fait rien à la chose. Sans doute un lied renferme souvent plus de musique qu'une symphonie. Mais cela, c'est quand la symphonie a été manquée et que le lied est réussi. Dans tous autres cas, on ne saurait contester qu'il faut infiniment plus de souffle, de puissance, d'invention renouvelée, en un mot de facultés naturelles et acquises, pour venir à bout d'un ouvrage de longue haleine.'

⁸³ Anon., 'Les Commandements du catéchisme du Conservatoire', *Revue musicale S.I.M.*: *Supplément du Quinzaine*, 15 February 1914, 19.

achieve recognition as a legitimate composer and that he would never achieve this status while critics continued to promote him as an amateur. Satie consistently refused to comply with many of the requirements of an official composer even though such a strategy may have benefitted his career: all examples of his journalism in this period are humorous and no evidence has been uncovered that indicates Satie helped critics in any way to understand his music. Nevertheless, in spite of widespread critical dismissal, Satie's popularity grew exponentially in the concert halls of Paris and he refused to be silenced. His ability to make audiences laugh made him popular; he entertained people in a way no one else did on the high-art scene and on account of his appeal he would face further disciplinary measures.

2.4 Late Critical Reception

Satie remained a relatively obscure composer until the premiere of *Parade* in 1917, the event which garnered him fame not only in musical circles but also amongst the general public. In the post-war period Satie's career gained momentum and performances of his music became more frequent to the dismay of many critics. Jean Cocteau vigorously promoted him as the leader of *l'esprit nouveau*, a status that was reinforced by Henri Collet's appointment of Satie as the figurehead of 'Les Six' in 1920. Collet argues at this time that the 'Satie question' no longer exists as 'the quarrels ceased a long time ago and conscious artists now recognise in Satie a master.'⁸⁴ Satie's rapid rise to fame with a work that demonstrated yet another completely new aesthetic direction shocked those familiar with his earlier work. Auric recalls how an Erik Satie concert held at the Salle Huyghens immediately following *Parade* came as 'a surprise to many' in the music world who were only acquainted with his pre-debussyste works.⁸⁵ The SMI's promotional campaign had pigeon-holed Satie and led many to believe he would be incapable of writing a work such as *Parade*. A new generation of critics began to write favourably about

⁸⁴ [Henri Collet, 'Un livre de Rimski et un livre de Cocteau. Les cinq Russes, les six Français et Erik Satie', *Comoedia*, 16 January 1920] Reproduced in Jean Roy, *Le Groupe des Six* (Paris: Seuil, 1994), 192-198. '[...] il n'y a plus de « question Satie »... les querelles ont depuis longtemps cessé, et les artistes conscients reconnaissent en Satie un maître.'

⁸⁵ Auric, 'La Jeune Musique française', 57.

Satie and his new status as leader of the post-war avant-garde angered those who still considered him an amateur. Reviews often descended into vitriolic attacks on his music and in particular, on his character. In spite of efforts to reconfigure his public image as a serious composer and the fulfilment of many of the expected duties of a professional composer, the majority of critics refused to take Satie seriously. Collet's arguments in 1920 certainly did not represent the critical consensus.

Following World War I, Paris was a hive of international activity, with many composers becoming actively engaged in promoting French music abroad. Satie's music was being performed quite frequently in America, England, Holland, Italy, Belgium, Austria and Germany to the consternation of many who felt Satie was not a suitable representative of the high-art music scene in France.⁸⁶ Despite his status, Satie participated in an 'official' capacity in various high-profile committees in the post-war years. In 1918 Léo Poldès reveals to readers that Satie is an active committee member of a new group headed by Paul Gavault, the director of the Théâtre de l'Odéon. Poldès's low opinion of Satie and his questionable suitability to participate in any artistic committee is evident throughout the article: 'Among the names of members of the committee, we would draw your attention to that of Erik Satie. Assuredly he is an artist. He is even a great artist. He has invented an artistic music that uses the fanfares of North African and Central Chinese populations.'⁸⁷ Poldès criticises his work *Parade* and then quotes the text of the slanderous postcard Satie sent to 'our colleague Jean Poueigh.' He presents a sarcastic summary of the court case that ensued, in which the 'philistine magistrates who despise artists' sentenced him to prison.

⁸⁶ In 1921, Satie received a commission to compose a work for the Harvard Glee Club, the university's choral society, though this work was never realised. See Maurice Léna, 'Etats-Unis', *Le Ménestrel*, 25 March, 135. Many of Satie's performances abroad are mentioned in *Le Ménestrel* in its regular section 'Le Mouvement musical à l'Etranger.' A number of programmes for concerts outside France in which Satie's music appear can also be found in IMEC, particularly the programmes of the Pro Arte performance collective based in Brussels. See SAT: 26.8, 'Les Concerts Pro Arte, X^e anniversaire, Bruxelles 1921-1931.'

⁸⁷ Léo Poldès, 'Tous les 7 Jours', *La Grimace: Satirique, Politique, Coloniale, Littéraire, Théâtrale*, 11-31 December 1918, 2. 'Parmi les noms des membres de ce Comité, nous relevons celui de M. Erik Satie. C'est un artiste, assurément. C'est même un grand artiste. Il a inventé une musique artistique à l'usage des fanfares des populations de l'Afrique du Nord et du Centre de la Chine.'

Satie participated in the committee of the French branch of the Société internationale de musique contemporaine (SIMC) throughout the early 1920s. As was the case in the pre-war SMI committee meetings, Satie did not shy away from confronting members of officialdom on a regular basis in his committee work. At a meeting of the SIMC in 1923, Satie spoke in defence of Milhaud when Vuillermoz attacked him. In a letter to Milhaud who was absent, he explained, ‘Vuillermoz created a Milhaud incident at the International Committee.’⁸⁸ Satie wrote again to Milhaud in late February expressing his disgust with his fellow committee members: ‘The famous “Comité International” is not what you thought. It is nothing more than a meeting of “assholes”.’⁸⁹ Around this time Satie contacted the Belgian critic and musicologist Paul Collaer urging him to attack Vuillermoz, ‘Pruneton’ [Henry Prunières] and his journal, *La Revue musicale*, in his journalistic writings.⁹⁰ Satie resigned without explanation from this institution in a letter to Daniel Lazarus on 7 March 1923.⁹¹ Despite Satie’s deep mistrust of the committee his participation was beneficial to his career: *Socrate* featured on the French programme of the SIMC festivals held in 1924 and 1925 in Salzburg and Prague respectively.⁹² Maurice Léna reports in 1924 that Satie is a member of the Franco-American Musical Society, which also counts Honegger, Koechlin, Roland-Manuel, Milhaud, d’Indy, Roussel and Schmitt as members.⁹³

2.5 Critical Reception post-Parade

In the first six years of his career, critics and many of Satie’s followers anticipated the completion of a large-scale work which would prove or disprove his importance in French music. Critics were shaken out of their apathy towards Satie by the

⁸⁸ Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 521. ‘Vuillermoz a créé – au Comité International – un incident Milhaud.’ Letter dated 24 February 1923.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 524-5. ‘Le fameux “Comité International” n’est pas ce que vous avez cru. Ce n’est qu’une réunion de “cons”, sans plus.’

⁹⁰ Ibid., 526.

⁹¹ Ibid., 527.

⁹² At the Salzburg festival Satie, Milhaud and Poulenc were the chosen representatives of France. Prunières strongly disapproves of the selection of French composers that year in *Le Figaro*. Henry Prunières, ‘Le festival musical de Salzbourg’, *Le Figaro*, 15 August 1924, 3.

⁹³ Maurice Léna, ‘États-Unis’, *Le Ménestrel*, 25 January 1924, 39. ‘[...] qui rend de grands services à la musique en général et notamment à la musique française, comte parmi ses membres Honegger, Koechlin, Roland-Manuel, Milhaud, Satie, d’Indy, Roussel, Schmitt...’

premiere of *Parade* and their hand was forced in many cases due to the marketing skills of Jean Cocteau, Satie's most vocal post-war advocate, who was presenting him as the new alternative to Debussy and Stravinsky. Cocteau devoted large parts of his manifesto *Le Coq et l'Arlequin* to promoting the music of Satie and this pamphlet elevated Satie to the position of head of *l'esprit nouveau*. Cocteau's marketing strategies ensured that Satie's name remained at the forefront in discussions of this movement. In 'Notes Concerning Music', Cocteau exclaims that 'Satie teaches the greatest audacity of our time: to be simple.'⁹⁴ He argues that the return to simplicity 'is the only possible opposition in an époque of extreme refinement.'⁹⁵ He extols Satie's virtues through comparisons with musical masters of the recent past: '*Pelléas* is still music to be listened to with one's head in one's hands. All music which has to be listened to with one's head in one's hands is suspect.'⁹⁶ Jann Pasler argues that it was Satie's humour that drew Cocteau to this composer:

Listening to Satie play his *Pieces in the Form of a Pear* for piano four hands with Ricardo Viñes in 1915, Cocteau began to understand the value of humour in Satie's music, not only as a tool with which to contradict people's expectations but also as a form of social power. Works such as *Airs to Make People Flee* (1897) helped Satie get people's attention.⁹⁷

Many of the young composers who now surrounded Satie in this period also lent their voices of support. Amédée Ozenfant believes that Satie's noisy friends were responsible for the theatrical 'scandal' at the premiere of *Parade* in 1917:

There was a lot of whistling; some took pleasure in writing that it turned into a riot; the truth is that some supporters tried to make this light fantasy of Cocteau, Satie, Picasso and Diaghilev spark off a good historic scandal... the most deafening whistles issued from a *claque* of friends and acquaintances.⁹⁸

Two days after the premiere Henri Quittard of *Le Figaro* became the first critic to propose that *Parade* could come to be considered a masterwork, however this claim was only supported by his observation of the audience's reaction:

⁹⁴ Jean Cocteau, *Le Coq et l'Arlequin: Notes autour de la musique, 1918* (Paris: Stock, [1918, 1979] 2009), 61. 'Satie enseigne la plus grande audace à notre époque: être simple.'

⁹⁵ Ibid., 68. 'C'est, du reste, la seule opposition possible à une époque de raffinement extrême.'

⁹⁶ Cocteau, *Le Coq et l'Arlequin*, 79. '*Pelléas*, c'est encore de la musique à écouter la figure dans les mains. Toute musique à écouter dans les mains est suspecte.'

⁹⁷ Jann Pasler, *Writing Through Music*, 154.

⁹⁸ [Amédée Ozenfant, *Mémoires 1886-1962* (Paris: Seghers, 1968), 129-30] Quoted in Donnellon, 'Debussy, Satie and the Parisian Musical Press', 126.

To tell the truth a certain number of audience members seemed to have been a lot less amused by it than he was. These difficult people received *Parade* in bad humour. However others – the followers – showed without rest an indefatigable enthusiasm. It is amongst these contradictory signs that I place the stormy moment of birth of this masterwork.⁹⁹

This account did not reflect the wider critical reception of Satie's work which was largely dismissive. In *Le Strapontin* an anonymous critic invokes the Austro-Germanic paradigm to question the right of such a work to reside in the pantheon of masterworks: 'Well then, do *Parsifal* and *Tristan* still exist alongside this masterpiece by Picasso and Eric Satie???'¹⁰⁰ In his assessment of *Parade*, Jean d'Udine, a former writer for the *Revue musicale S.I.M.*, is highly critical of a work in which he interprets codes that are characteristic of the popular aesthetic: humour and the vulgar. He states that the music is worthless and vulgar and unlike some of Satie's earlier works, it completely lacks in originality:

But nothing, nothing, nothing; there is truly nothing in this bad sonorous joke. The only passages, slightly amusing by virtue of their vulgarity and sickly sweet symphony, are not only imitated; but textually copied from the musical buffooneries (very amusing they were, because they were put in their place and did not aspire to be art), that a pseudo-negro American troupe, Alexander's Rag Time Band, offered us in Alhambra [music hall] in February 1914. Well what do you expect! I know my authors.¹⁰¹

The critical preoccupation with Satie's aesthetic of simplicity only surfaces as a dominant critical concern following the publication of Cocteau's pamphlet and the public premiere of *Socrate*. A small minority of critics praised this audacious aesthetic approach, however, the consensus was that it represented a form of musical impoverishment. In a 1923 review of *Socrate*, Prunières complains about the simplicity of the music: 'one cannot but be surprised in the first place by the appearance of a work of simple lines, containing clumsy offerings from this craft

⁹⁹ Henri Quittard, 'Courrier des Théâtres', *Le Figaro*, 20 May 1917, 3. 'A la vérité, un certain nombre de spectateurs ont paru s'en amuser beaucoup moins que lui. Ces gens difficiles accueillirent *Parade* avec mauvaise humeur. Cependant que d'autres – les adeptes, - manifestaient sans se lasser un enthousiasme infatigable. C'est à ces signes contradictoire que se marque la naissance orageuse du chef-d'œuvre.'

¹⁰⁰ Puck, 'Critique musicale', *Le Strapontin*, 14 June 1917, 14. 'En effet est-ce que Parsifal et Tristan existent encore à côté de ce chef-d'œuvre de Picasso et d'Eric Satie???'

¹⁰¹ Jean d'Udine, 'Couleurs, Mouvements et Sons: Les Ballets Russes, en 1917', *Le Courrier musical*, June 1917, 237-241, 239. 'Mais rien, rien, rien; il n'y a rien vraiment dans cette mauvaise plaisanterie sonore. Les seuls passages un peu amusants de la grossière et douceâtre symphonie, sont non point imités de; mais copiés textuellement sur les bouffonneries musicales (très amusantes celles-là, parce qu'elles étaient à leur place et ne visaient point à l'art), qu'un troupe américaine pseudo-nègre, l'Alexander's Rag Time Band, nous offrit, à l'Alhambra, en février 1914. Que voulez-vous! je connais mes auteurs.'

which are nonetheless deliberate.¹⁰² Prunières concludes that while Satie has great musical ideas, this aesthetic direction has no future: ‘In the history of music, this evolution appears to me to be fatal and one has to consider the example of painting.’¹⁰³

In his final decade Satie was frequently accused of corrupting younger composers, setting a bad example and causing them to deviate too far from norms and traditions. He is presented as a dangerous influence rather than a spiritual master. In spite of mostly negative critical reviews, Cocteau in particular stubbornly continues to push the image of Satie as a ‘master.’ In a public lecture at the Collège de France in 1919, Cocteau states: ‘I cite my masters Erik Satie and Picasso. I owe them more than any writer.’¹⁰⁴ Satie’s association with ‘Les Six’ and his promotion by Cocteau were initially quite successful and helped establish him on the international music scene. However, while perhaps well intentioned, Cocteau’s writings were beginning to detrimentally affect the public reputations of composers associated with Satie. The affiliation of ‘Les Six’ with Satie meant that these composers were subject to similar treatment by the professional critics. Milhaud notes that the image of *fumiste* was instantly projected onto them in the press and he blames Cocteau’s interference for their initial reception: ‘It was said that [...] we were a bunch of frenzied upstarts, that we were *fumistes*, musicians without conscience and ignorant of their craft. It was said too that we were the six pupils of Erik Satie, that we were following a defined, limited aesthetic, laid out by Jean Cocteau.’¹⁰⁵ Cocteau’s promotional campaign was entirely self-guided and was affecting critical reviews to such an extent that Satie and members of Les Six felt that public action had to be taken. In 1923 Auric publicly denies that Satie had been the master of ‘Les Six’:

¹⁰² Henry Prunières, ‘Socrate d’Erik Satie’, *La Revue musicale*, No. 4, February 1923, 65-6, 66. ‘[...] on ne peut pas manquer d’être d’abord surpris par l’apparition d’une œuvre aux lignes simples, avec des maladresses de métier d’ailleurs volontaires.’

¹⁰³ Ibid., 65-6, 66. ‘En histoires de la musique, cette évolution me semble fatale et l’exemple de la peinture doit être médité.’

¹⁰⁴ Jean Cocteau, ‘Les Jeunes au Collège de France’, *La Revue Hebdomadaire*, 19 May 1919, 278-298, 284. ‘Je cite mes maîtres. Erik Satie et Picasso. Je leur dois plus qu’à n’importe quel écrivain.’

¹⁰⁵ Paul Landormy, ‘Darius Milhaud’, *Le Ménestrel*, 14 August 1925, 345-347, 345. ‘On a raconté que [...] nous étions des fumistes, des musiciens sans conscience et ignorants de leur métier. On a dit, d’autre part, que nous étions six élèves d’Erik Satie, que nous suivions une esthétique définie, limitée, tracée par Jean Cocteau.’ See chapter five for a discussion of the term *fumiste*.

It is thus understood that Satie did not present himself for a single instant as the “head of a new school”. And even if we did find ourselves around him, it was out of admiration for everything truly novel that he revealed to us, it was not due to blind adoration or calculation. It was not a matter of *faire du Satie* and I do not even think that we consciously did very much of this. The age of “à la manière de” is finished.¹⁰⁶

Auric launches an attack on the very narrow generalisation critics favoured in categorising composers in this period. He adopts the language of biological classification to criticise the restrictive focus on only two musical species in *le monde musical* at this time: a Debussy or a d’Indy. The Darwinian system of classification is utilized as a fitting metaphor for musical schools.

Tradition and evolution are without doubt two of those magic words that possess the privilege of giving rise to the craziest contradictions in the world. Only schools of grandees attach themselves to these words! With regard to tradition which one shall we choose, that of d’Indy or that of Claude Debussy? And if it is the turn of a Strawinsky [*sic.*] or a Satie to enter this inevitable circle, next to whom shall we place them?¹⁰⁷

Auric’s negative views on evolutionary canonic rhetoric are clear throughout the article. He discusses masters as though they are museum exhibits and argues that more attention should be paid to living composers: ‘It is that we conjure up a quite naïve image of our masters. Let them be shown to us, no longer as if they were immortals like stuffed specimens, but show them still living, still solid, through precise and skilful analysis of the works that they produce.’¹⁰⁸

Despite the continued support of Auric and Milhaud in the 1920s, the public break-up of ‘Les Six’ undermined the credentials of *l’esprit nouveau*. Some critics accused Satie of being an imposter who had pretended he was an influential figure and mentor to young composers. Any prestige Satie had acquired through his image as a master or head of a school was lost and so too was his historic claim to be

¹⁰⁶ Auric, ‘La Jeune Musique française’, 47. ‘Il est donc bien entendu que Satie ne s’est pas présenté un seul instant comme le « chef d’une école nouvelle ». De même si nous nous sommes retrouvés auprès de lui, c’était par admiration pour tout ce qu’il nous révélait de vraiment neuf non par aveuglement ou calcul. Il ne s’agissait pas de *faire du Satie* et je ne pense point que, même inconsciemment, nous en ayons beaucoup fait. Le temps des « à la manière de » est fini.’

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 46. ‘Tradition et évolution sont sans doute deux de ces mots magiques qui ont le privilège de faire naître les plus folles contradictions du monde. Que d’écoles grandies autour de ces mots ! De la «tradition» de M. d’Indy ou de celle de Claude Debussy, laquelle choisir? Et si un Strawinsky, un Satie doivent entrer à leur tour dans l’inévitable ronde, à côté de qui les mettre?’

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 46. ‘C’est que nous nous faisons une idée bien naïve de nos maîtres. Qu’on nous montre enfin ceux-ci, non plus ainsi que des immortels empaillés, mais vivants, toujours, et solides, encore, par une analyse précise et savante des œuvres qu’ils ordonnent.’ *Empailler* means to be stuffed with straw and is perhaps utilised here to allude to stuffed museum exhibits.

considered as a principal figure in the post-war evolution of French music. At the inaugural concert of l'Ecole d'Arcueil at the Collège de France on 14 June 1923 Satie clarifies in his pre-concert talk: 'My role as 'mascot' is that of a sort of noble father, nothing more.'¹⁰⁹ In his final years in the public eye critics outside the Satie circle continued to report on a composer who is original, but whose compositions consistently fail to impress and are widely considered sub-standard. The amateur precursor was still regarded as an unofficial composer.

2.6 Satie's Anti-Canonic Rhetoric

As an outsider, Satie was acutely aware of the workings of officialdom and how his non-conformity was being used against him. In the early 1920s Satie directly challenges the various images of him presented in the press, and frequently adopts the language of the critics in an ironic manner to attack the system in place and to ridicule the logic supporting it. Satie often targeted the Conservatoire and challenged the normative expectation that official composers were required to attend musical institutions:

People in general seem convinced that only the Official Establishment in the rue de Madrid can inseminate musical knowledge. Good for them; but I still ask myself – with hands clasped – why we musicians are obliged to receive a State education when painters and writers are free to study as and where they want.¹¹⁰

In 1923 Satie famously described the Paris Conservatoire as 'a sort of local penitentiary with nothing attractive on the outside – nor on the inside, come to that.'¹¹¹ In a rebuttal of the criticisms concerning his educational deficit, Satie argues in various articles that the teachings of the Conservatoire and the prizes that such institutions bestow impact negatively upon composers. In an article on Debussy for *Vanity Fair* in 1923 Satie ridicules the Prix de Rome, 'this most academic crown – *certificate of original and first-class authenticity*':

¹⁰⁹ [Erik Satie, 'Quelques Jeunes Musiciens'] Volta (ed.), *Ecrits*, No. 59, 97-8. 'Mon rôle de « fétiche » est une sorte de rôle de père noble, sans plus...'

¹¹⁰ [Erik Satie, 'L'Origine d'Instruction', *Les Feuilles Libres*, No. 27 (June-July 1922)] Wilkins (ed.), *The Writings of Erik Satie*, 93-95, 95.

¹¹¹ [Erik Satie, 'Claude Debussy', *Vanity Fair*, 1923] Wilkins (ed.), *The Writings of Erik Satie*, 108.

For many people – most honourable people, of course – the Prix de Rome for Music enjoys a prestige which is not accorded to the same diplomas awarded to other categories of artist. In Painting, this title not only lost all vestige of importance long ago, but has become rather a sign of disparagement, not at all to be recommended, nor envied. I have seen people killing themselves with laughter when faced with a Prix de Rome in Sculpture, to the winner's great surprise. Why? It is because the judges who award these prizes are, for the most part, invested with such inadequacy that their judgements have the effect of notices of conviction, convictions as degrading as they are deserved. I admit that Debussy found no glory in this ridiculous title. *L'Enfant prodigue* was the work he submitted in order to win the prize. But isn't it strange to see such a high-minded man – who found fault with the teaching of Franck and my dear Master d'Indy – putting his confidence in State education? In an education basically so crude? In an education which leads to the most odious vulgarity.¹¹²

Satie implies that Debussy won this prize because he conformed to the demands of the system. Satie was proud of his influence on Debussy and even in his final years he liked to remind people of this. In the same article, Satie reminds readers of his early influence on Debussy and stresses the fact that he was an unofficial, illegitimate autodidact in this period.

Satie's amateur status precluded him from consideration as a 'musicien arrivé', a term bestowed upon new 'official' composers. In 'The Origin of Instruction' he addresses the image of the amateur composer and criticises institutional involvement in composers' lives.

How does one recognize an amateur? ... It's quite simple: by the fact that he has not won the *Prix de Rome* – the top, first *Prix de Rome* of course (*second prizes from the same town just don't exist – which is hardly surprising, between ourselves.*) [...] Being a *Prix de Rome* means a great deal. As an indication, it could not be bettered.¹¹³

Satie ironically points out other prominent amateurs such as Franck, d'Indy, Lalo, Chabrier and Chausson who 'were not laureates of the Institute.'¹¹⁴ Satie explains that if the term amateur means freedom from state and musical institutions, then he proudly calls himself one: 'I have always said that there is no such thing as Artistic Truth – no single Truth, I mean. The one imposed by Ministers, a Senate, a Chamber and an Institute revolts me and outrages me – even though basically I feel indifferent about it. With one voice, I cry: Long live Amateurs!'¹¹⁵ Satie's countercultural campaign was conducted through small independent artistic journals and did not appear in the specialist music press. His articles were rarely

¹¹² Satie, 'Claude Debussy', 108.

¹¹³ Satie, 'L'Origine d'Instruction', 93.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 94.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 95.

written in a serious tone and consequently, they were not taken very seriously. Satie's contribution had little impact upon the wider critical discourses that surrounded him.¹¹⁶

2.7 Conclusion of the Professionalism Debate

At each stage in his career Satie attracted a band of young followers who treated him as a master figure in spite of the wider critical consensus. To Satie's detriment, this devoted group of supporters changed almost as frequently as his aesthetic approaches to composition. His constant need for renewal meant that those who identified with his music in a particular period soon felt disenfranchised by his new departure. Satie's final work, *Relâche*, was a significant turning point for the fifty-six year old composer as the critical vitriol inspired by this Dada experiment led many young composers not only to cease their support of him, but also to publicly disown and disparage him. The previously pro-Satie critic, Georges Jean-Aubry relates the drastic shift in support for Satie following the premiere. *Relâche* drove supporters away and led them to agree with the critical voices that had dominated Satie's reception:

while listening to *Relâche*... they were, in fact, listening to nothing. It is possible to instil silence with imaginary harmonies or ingenious melodies but one cannot make poor music sound rich or constant clumsiness appear simply naive... The bubble burst... This master was nothing more than a shadow. Erik Satie is a shadow, which has lost its substance, a fate that we had long foreseen.¹¹⁷

Even the most progressive of supporters questioned Satie's artistic motivations and critics who previously criticised his music felt that in *Relâche*, Satie had gone beyond the boundaries of what constituted art:

The thing that can be finicky when engaging in such enterprises, always seeking the novel and the sensational, is to reinvent their outward appearance without overstepping the boundaries of what can still be regarded a work of art. In offering us *Relâche*, the Ballets suédois have crossed this special Rubicon and in doing so descend into a transcendental and mucilaginous senility. We ask ourselves what could the craniums of the authors of this dreary *fumisterie* possibly harbour.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ See chapter five for an in-depth discussion of how Satie used humour as part of his anti-canonic rhetoric.

¹¹⁷ Georges Jean-Aubry, 'The End of a Legend', *The Chesterian*, 1924-5, 191-2.

¹¹⁸ Jean Marnold, 'Musique', *Mercure de France*, 1 January 1925, 219. 'Le délicat, pour des entreprises de ce genre, toujours en quête de nouveau et de sensationnel, est de renouveler leur

Within weeks of the premiere, Satie's health declined rapidly and he was forced to cease all work. On this occasion he was unable to engage with his detractors and defend his new aesthetic direction. The obituaries of 1925 solidified the already evident consensus and Satie is treated as an amateur composer who deserves to be remembered solely for his influence on Debussy's harmonic language.

The images and opinions first presented by Ravel and the Jeune Ravêlites return to the forefront of critical discussion. Prunières highlights 'the real range of his influence – limited – but indisputable.'¹¹⁹ Maurice Imbert concludes that 'when you consider it, it is necessary to render him fair homage: his influence on Debussy is undeniable,' although he has not 'acquired perpetual rights to our gratitude.'¹²⁰ The critic for *L'Echo de Paris* concurs that 'his influence on the young school of French music was profound,' although he feels that 'after twenty years of modest labour he has assured himself an important place.'¹²¹ In a few isolated instances, critics maintain that *Socrate* or *Parade* might one day be considered masterworks, yet the hopes of these critics faded as Satie was quickly forgotten in canonic discourses, with the exception of a few voices such as Georges Auric, Robert Caby and Paul Collaer. In the French press in general, Satie was remembered as a rebel without a cause.

This overview of the role of professionalism in the development of Satie's reputation only presents a limited view of the history of Satie's reception. Interart and concert programming practices reveal a disparity between the reality portrayed by the critics and those involved in creating, organising and patronizing the arts. The following chapter reconstructs the role of these activities in Satie's reception.

affiche sans dépasser les bornes de ce qu'on peut encore dénommer une œuvre d'art. En nous offrant *Relâche*, les *Ballets suédois* ont franchi ce Rubicon spécial pour sombrer dans un gâtisme transcendantal et mucilagineux. On se demande ce que peut bien abriter la boîte crânienne des auteurs de cette morne fumisterie.'

¹¹⁹ G. L. Garnier, 'Italy', *Le Ménestrel*, 23 October 1925, 432. 'Dans la même revue, Henry Prunières défend la mémoire d'Erik Satie et met heureusement au point les légendes qui faussent la réelle portée de son influence – limitée – mais indiscutable.'

¹²⁰ Maurice Imbert, 'Erik Satie', *Le Courrier musical*, No. 27, July-August 1925, 423. 'Cependant il faut, lui rendre un juste hommage, considérable si l'on veut bien y réfléchir: son influence sur Debussy est indéniable. N'eût-il fait dans sa vie qu'être son oriental qu'il aurait hautement mérité de la Musique et acquis des droits imprescriptibles à notre reconnaissance.'

¹²¹ Anon., 'Erik Satie est mort', *L'Echo de Paris*, 3 July 1925, 3. 'Son influence sur la jeune école musicale française a été profonde. Après vingt années de travail modeste il s'était assuré une place considérable.'

These practices permit us an insight into further ways in which the canon was being challenged by modernist composers and their supporters. Many agents supported Satie in various ways in breaking down the traditions and ideologies the critics sought to uphold at this time.

Chapter 3. Concert Programming and Interart Practices

3.0 Introduction

Satie's music appeared on concert programmes with increasing frequency over the course of his public career and was often performed by prominent artists and concert societies. Joseph Kerman reminds us that 'repertoires are determined by performers, canons by critics'; a reality that perturbed many critics.¹ The selection of concert programmes outlined in Appendix 2 is the largest such collection ever brought together and forms a body of evidence large enough to identify programming trends during Satie's public career. Concert programming is a cultural practice that provides the music historian with a deeper insight into how Satie was presented to the musical world: these programmes allow for the reconstruction of some of the conditions under which his music was received and interpreted. They also provide contextual information pivotal to understanding Satie's reputation and public status: who performed his works, the venue chosen and the ways in which Satie's music was programmed all had a bearing on critical reviews. Critical interpretation was strongly influenced by the musical meaning created at the point of initial reception, the performance. Research to date has mainly focused on a limited number of well-documented premiere concerts and the topic of programming remains largely unexplored.

Programming practices had canonic implications that must be acknowledged. The choice of venue was directly related to concerns of class and gender: Satie's music was performed across a spectrum of venue types that were considered working-class, bourgeois, haute-bourgeois and aristocratic. Certain private venues were construed as feminine domains whilst others, such as the concert hall, were considered external masculine venues.² In the early 20th century a new type of interart concert programming was becoming increasingly popular amongst avant-garde circles. This programme type was initially made popular in the salon setting

¹ Kerman quoted in Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 17, fn 2.

² The implications of these practices are discussed further in chapter four under the themes of nationalism, gender, religion and class.

and became a more public practice during Satie's lifetime. In this chapter the ways in which Satie's interart practices and participation in interart programmes profoundly influenced his reception and possibly resulted in the images of Satie the futurist, primitive, cubist and Dadaist are explored. The historicity of these artistic labels is addressed in the latter half of this discussion. Analysis of concert programming and interart practices provides important contextual information that informs the discussion of critical writings on Satie in relation to the themes of nationalism, gender, class and religion.

3.1 Concert Programming Practices

In the 130 programmes collected, three primary categories of programming types emerge: programmes comprised exclusively of contemporary music (*musique moderne*); mixed programmes of contemporary and old music (*musique moderne* and *ancienne*); and interart programmes which featured more than one art form. In Satie's case these art forms included ballet, contemporary dance, poetry, plays, painting, sculpture, circus acts or avant-garde film. In this period the term *modern* referred to all living composers and included many 19th-century composers such as Chopin, Schumann, Brahms, Grieg and their French contemporaries. *Musique ancienne* typically included the work of Gluck, Lully, Cavalli, Rameau, Handel, Schütz, Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Glinka and Rossini. According to Pasler, by 1900 'la *musique ancienne* was literally in fashion.'³ In early 20th-century France many programmers made a conscious effort to place *musique ancienne* and *moderne* on programmes together although this trend was challenged by the programming practices of smaller concert societies from 1909 onwards. In the programmes surveyed, fifty-seven concerts comprised modern music only, seventeen contained a mixed programme of *musique moderne* and *ancienne*, whilst thirty-three concerts were interart programmes. The low number of mixed music programming is important in regard to Satie's reception as it illustrates that he was not being placed alongside canonic masters on programmes. This trend did not necessarily mean, however, that Satie was being purposefully excluded: concert

³ Pasler, *Writing Through Music*, 135-6.

programming was undergoing a radical shift in this period due to the many challenges modernism presented to musical traditions.

In an article on current trends in concert programming in March 1911, Robert Brussel comments that concerts that specialised in the performance of smaller-scale works and chamber music were multiplying at a significant rate. He highlights the role of the Société Musicale Indépendante, the Société Nationale, the Schola Cantorum and the Société Bach as proponents of a new style of diverse programming that contrasted sharply with the concerts ‘officiels.’⁴ New concert programming trends demanded new venues and the diversity of venues where Satie’s music was performed reflects many of the changes occurring in concert life at this time, particularly the growing popularity of interart concerts. The question of where and how Satie’s music was performed impacted upon his status within *le monde musical* as certain venues were conferred with more prestige than others, according to the traditions they represented and the audience they attracted. The choice of venue greatly influenced the value judgements of the cultural arbiters and this may have been a significant factor in why critics consistently reported on concerts in certain venues and overlooked many of the events in alternative settings.

Many critics believed that the concert hall and certain prestigious theatres were not fitting venues for Satie’s music. Albert Flament describes his feelings about a performance of Satie’s music in the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées in December 1924:

The last time that I saw Satie was at the [Théâtre de] Champs-Élysées, it was the evening of 31 December, at one of these failed galas to which his naive friends stubbornly insist on dragging you to. A singer, Norwegian to say the least, placed herself next to the piano. Satie sat down at the keyboard. But the piece in the shape of a pear or another fruit did not seem suitable in such a vast setting of this stage and hall. The northern singer appeared to render little ice-cubes instantaneously melted. The hall, which was only half full, did not thaw out at all. All of the [musical] numbers “flopped” one after the other, like wet firework rockets. The dancer Börlin tripped and stretched himself out flat in the middle of his *entrechats*... I saw

⁴ Robert Brussel, ‘Les Concerts’, *Le Figaro*, 9 March 1911, 5. Brussel points out that while the SMI and the SN are often promoted as opposed organisations, in reality the composers programmed by the two societies often overlapped.

Satie's forced smile again, in which friends and polite people tried hard to believe there was success...⁵

Over the course of Satie's public career nearly half of the concerts featuring this unofficial composer took place in a concert hall setting. Fifty-six concert programmes were held in concert halls, thirty-six in theatres of various sizes and locations, ten in art galleries, eight in educational institutions, six in artist ateliers or studios, five in salon settings, four in the hall of an artist's union in Montparnasse (Salle de la Ville l'Evêque) and three in luxury Parisian hotels. In this period Satie's music also featured on at least one occasion in concert programmes staged in a bookshop, a fashion house, a music hall, a working-class ballroom on rue Saint-Martin and at the Paris Opéra. The following table outlines the names and types of venues where Satie's music was performed, the performance dates and the total number of performances in each venue.

Table 3.1 Venues where Satie's music was performed

Name	Venue Type	Performance Dates	Total
Salle Gaveau	Concert Hall	16/01/11, 25/03/11, 17/06/12, 11/05/19, 11/06/19, 21/05/20, 01/06/21, 17/02/22, 30/10/22, 20/06/23, 06/02/24, 23/03/25	12
Salle Pleyel	Concert Hall	05/04/13, 05/12/13, 28/03/14, 18/03/20, 29/12/20, 10/05/21, 15/05/22, 02/06/23, 12/06/23	9
Salle des Agriculteurs	Concert Hall	17/05/13, 21/04/17, 06/06/19, 22/11/19, 06/12/19, 24/01/21, 30/04/21, 15/12/21, 12/01/22, 28/03/22,	16

⁵ Albert Flament, 'Tableaux de Paris: Erik Satie', *La Revue de Paris*, 15 August 1925, 917-920, 919. 'La dernière fois que je vis Satie aux Champs-Élysées, c'était le soir du 31 décembre, à l'un de ces galas manqués auxquels des amis naïfs s'obstinent à vous entraîner. Une cantatrice, pour le moins norvégienne, vint s'installer auprès du piano. Satie s'assit au clavier. Mais les morceaux en forme de poire ou d'autre fruit, ne semblaient pas adaptés au cadre si vaste de cette scène et de cette salle. La chanteuse septentrionale paraissait rendre de petits glaçons, instantanément fondus. La salle qui n'était qu'à moitié remplie ne se dégelait point. Tous les numéros "rataient" l'un après l'autre, comme les fusées d'un feu d'artifice mouillé. Le danseur Borlin lui-même fit un faux pas et s'étendit tout à plat au milieu de ses entrechats... Je revois le sourire contraint de Satie auquel des amis ou des gens polis s'efforçaient de faire croire à un succès...' [*Entrechat* is a ballet term.] A listing for this concert can be found in 'Ce Soir', *Le Gaulois*, 31 December 1924, 4. It is unclear from this information which individual is the 'Norwegian' singer: 'à 9 h., représentation unique de *Cinésketch*, revue de M. Francis Picabia, musique de M. Erik Satie, interprétée par Mmes Marguerite Carré, Yvonne George, Sarah Rafale, Piernette Madd, Cariathys, Jasmine; MM. Marcel Levesque, Marcel Bain, Duchamp et Jean Borlin.'

		07/12/23, 11/12/23, 21/12/23, 09/01/24, 17/03/24, 17/04/25	
Salle du Conservatoire/Salle de l'Ancien Conservatoire	Concert Hall	14/02/20, 17/03/22	2
Salle Erard	Concert Hall	05/06/13, 14/01/14, 21/04/14, 09/06/14, 07/06/20, 27/04/21, 10/04/22	7
Salle de concert de l'O.S.T., 63 Ave. Des Champs-Élysées	Concert Hall	16/06/17	1
Salle Fursy	Concert Hall	19/02/21	1
Salle de la Chambre de Commerce de Roanne	Concert Hall	19/11/21	1
Salle Bullier	Concert Hall	30/06/22	1
Salle Padeloup	Concert Hall	23/05/22	1
Paris Opéra (Garnier)	Opera House	08/11/23	1
Théâtre Edouard-VIII	Theatre	22/02/17	1
Théâtre Impérial	Theatre	11/11/12 - 31/11/12	(3 weeks)
Théâtre du Châtelet	Theatre	18/05/17, 21/05/17, 23/05/17, 17/12/21	4
Théâtre des Champs-Élysées	Theatre	21/12/20, 05/12/22, 18/12/22, 04/01/23, 20/11/23, 22/06/24, 27/06/24, 04/12/24, 21/12/24, 26/12/24, 27/12/24, 30/12/24	12
Salle Léon Poirier [Comédie des Champs-Élysées]	Theatre	18/12/13, 21/12/13, 21/02/20, 23/02/20, 25/02/20, 28/02/20	6
Galerie Montaigne – possibly the Comédie des Champs-Élysées	Theatre/Studio ⁶	22/01/21, 01/03/21	2
Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier	Theatre	11/12/17, 05/02/18, 14/12/18, 22/04/22	4
Théâtre Mogador	Theatre	09/03/22, 11/03/22, 16/03/22	3
Théâtre Caumartin	Theatre	20/02/18, 09/03/22	2
Théâtre Montmartre [Théâtre de l'Atelier]	Theatre	11/12/24, 13/12/24, 18/12/24, 20/12/24, 21/03/25	5
Théâtre du Colisée	Theatre	14/06/21, 21/06/21	2

⁶ This venue was actually the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées studio, renamed thus by the Dadaists Tzara and Picabia for their 1921 Dada season. See Sanouillet, *Dada in Paris*, 202. This studio is possibly the Comédie des Champs-Élysées.

Théâtre Cigale	Theatre	15/06/24	1
Théâtre Michel	Theatre	20/05/21, 24/05/21, 25/05/21, 26/05/21, 06/07/23	5
Baraque à la Chimère, 143 Blvd St. Germain	(Temporary)Theatre	12/05/23, 16/06/23	2
Théâtre de la Gaîté Lyrique	Theatre	19/05/21, 21/05/21, 16/06/23, 20/06/23	4
Concerts Rouge	Unknown	03/10/20, 18/11/20	2
Palais des Fêtes, rue Saint-Martin	Small, working-class ballroom	23/01/20	1
Ecole Lucien Flagny, 26 rue de la Tour	Educational institution	02/04/16	1
Ecole de Musique Jeanne Alvin [Salle de l'Etoile], 17 rue Chateaubriand	Educational institution	18/12/19, 17/02/21	2
Collège de France	Educational institution	10/05/23, 14/06/23	2
La Sorbonne, 46 rue Saint-Jacques	Educational institution	25/02/25	1
Lyceum	Educational institution	26/04/20	1
Schola Cantorum	Educational institution	13/04/23	1
Salon des Indépendants	Art Gallery	29/02/20, 29/01/21, 27/02/21	3
Galerie Barbazanges, 109 rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré	Art Gallery	11/03/17, 24/06/19, 08/03/20	3
Galerie la Boétie	Art Gallery	19/12/20	1
Galerie de l'Effort moderne	Art Gallery	19/02/19	
Chez Paul Guillaume, 108 rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré	Art Gallery	13/11/17	1
La Maison des Amis des Livres	Book Shop	21/03/19	2
Hôtel Majestic, 19 Avenue Kléber ⁷	Hotel	10/02/25	1
Hôtel Continental, rue Rouget-le- l'Isle ⁸	Hotel	31/03/22, 27/10/22	2
Hôtel de la Chambre Syndicale de la Curiosité et des Beaux-Arts [Salle	Artist's Union	17/01/22, 24/01/22, 31/01/22, 22/02/22, 23/11/23	5

⁷ This is the venue where the British delegates of the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 stayed during talks. See Harold G. Nicolson, *Peacemaking 1919* (Safety Harbor, FL: Simon Publications, 1933), 43-4 and 155.

⁸ In a diary entry from 20 August 1896, Henry S. Olcott provides the following description of this venue: 'The Hotel Continental where this meeting was held is one of the most expensive in Paris, the charges for rooms are enormous; it is chiefly patronized by Americans and Englishmen. The Crusaders must have paid a pretty figure for their meeting-hall.' Henry S. Olcott, *Old Diary Leaves Part 6 (1896-1898)* (Madras: Vasanta Press, 1935), 70.

de l'Ville l'Evêque], 18 rue de la Ville l'Evêque			
l'Olympia, 27 Blvd des Capucines	Music Hall	11/07/24	1
99 rue Courcelles	Unknown venue	07/12/17	1
49 Blvd du Montparnasse [Possibly l'Académie Vitti]	Artist atelier/studio	30/04/23	1
Maison Watteau, 6 rue Jules Chaplain	Artist atelier/studio	01/03/24	1
Salle Huyghens, 6 rue Huyghens	Artist atelier/studio	18/04/16, 19/11/16, 17/05/17, 06/06/17	4
L'Atelier de Valentine de Saint-Point	Private Salon	11/06/12	1
Chez Polignac	Private Salon	16/02/19	1
Chez le Comte Etienne de Beaumont	Private Salon	02/04/19, 30/05/23	2
Chez M & Mme Fernand Dreyfus (Roland-Manuel's parents)	Private Residence	Late January 1914	n/a
Chez M & Mme Albert Zagaïlles, 15 Place de la Madeleine	Private Residence	19/01/14	1
Chez Mme Bongard, 5 rue Penthievre	Private Residence/ maison de couture	30/05/16	1
Chez Vogel	Private Residence	14/12/19	1

The programmes also indicate which works were most popular at various points in Satie's career. *Parade* was the most performed work in his lifetime: from 1917 onwards it appears twenty times in concert programmes, thirteen of which were the orchestral version. *Socrate* also enjoyed considerable popularity and appears on thirteen programmes, as does *La Belle Excentrique*. The orchestrated versions of the *Gymnopédies* Nos. 1 & 3 and *Prélude de la porte héroïque du Ciel* were only performed once in the period in question. *Les Pantins dansent* was performed twice in 1913. From early 1920 *Trois petites pièces montées* was performed regularly in orchestral form in concert halls; however its popularity faded in mid-1922 and it did not appear again after this date. Of Satie's songs, all three songs or parts of *Trois Mélodies* (1916) were performed on fifteen occasions and *Quatre petites mélodies* enjoyed moderate success with seven performances in total. In the case of

Satie's piano works, the *Gymnopédies* remained popular throughout his career, particularly *Gymnopédie No. 1*, which Viñes was very fond of performing in the post-war years. The *Sarabandes* were also performed regularly, with a distinct preference for No. 2 on the part of the performers. The popularity of the *Gymnopédies* and the *Sarabandes* is reflected in the critical interest in the historical importance of these works in the genealogy of musical impressionism. Satie's duets were also quite popular: *Morceaux en forme de poire* appears on thirteen programmes and *Choses vues à droite et à gauche (sans lunettes)* is programmed nine times. The arrival of World War I profoundly affected cultural life in Paris and abruptly halted performances of Satie's 'humoristic' works which had been garnering considerable public interest prior to the closure of the concert halls. Satie was still not particularly well known at this stage of his career, yet René Chalupt reported in 1914 that Satie was on his way to becoming one of the Parisian audience's favourite composer.⁹ Aside from a few performances in private salons during the war, the humoristic works largely disappeared from concert programmes until the 1920s, primarily through the efforts of the pianists Jane Mortier, Jean Wiéner and Marcelle Meyer, who were devoted advocates of Satie's work.

3.2 1911-1914: Pre-war Programming Trends

In the pre-war period Satie's music was primarily programmed by the SMI, the SN and by Valentine de Saint-Point. Following Ravel's promotional campaign in 1911 and 1912, the pianists Ricardo Viñes and Jane Mortier became the primary interpreters of Satie's music in Parisian concert halls in 1913 and 1914. Viñes gave the premiere performances of *Véritables préludes flasques (pour un chien)* (5 April 1913), *Descriptions automatiques* (5 June 1913), *Chapitres tournés en tous sens* (14 January 1914) and *Croquis et agaceries d'un gros bonhomme en bois* (28 March 1914). Mortier performed the premiere of *Embryons desséchés* on 5 December 1913. Mortier remained an advocate of Satie's music throughout the 1920s; between December 1920 and February 1925 she performed *Sonatine bureaucratique* on eight occasions in concerts of contemporary music.

⁹ René Chalupt, 'Société musical indépendante', *L'Occident: Architecture, Sculpture, Peintre, Musique, Poésie*, No. 139, June 1914, 241-42, 242. 'M. Satie est en train de devenir un de ses compositeurs favoris.'

Public performances of a composer's music were an important official duty and many critics were uncomfortable with Satie being programmed alongside official composers. Critics were even more upset when he appeared on programmes with canonic masters. Ricardo Viñes' first public performance of Satie's music was the premiere of *Véritables préludes flasques* in an SN concert at the Salle Pleyel on 5 April 1913. René Chalupt notes the immediate success of the work which was rewarded with an encore.¹⁰ Despite audience approval Viñes was criticised for programming Satie's music in between that of official composers Ravel and Turina:

The varied and very musical programme of this recital would have lost some of its attraction if the amusing titles invented by Erik Satie had not been featured, but was it necessary in one part to print the words in large characters where the assembly or the excess would have passed unnoticed otherwise and to play these indifferent jokes someplace else other than between Ravel and Turina?¹¹

In a solo piano recital on 21 April 1914, Viñes played Satie's *Croquis et agaceries d'un gros bonhomme en bois* alongside works by composers such as Liszt, Bach, Chopin, Chabrier and Ravel. In *Le Monde musical*, Laurent Ceillier admonishes Viñes for his defence of Satie's music:

A good and precious comrade, Ricardo Viñes has devoted (alas, this is often the word!) himself for a long time now to the arduous task of performing and interpreting young composers. None other than him can better serve them. But why is it necessary that the indulgence of Vinès-Roda becomes the accomplice to certain, sometimes futurist, pieces – most often very “pompous” – such as those he inserts too often into his programmes?¹²

Such criticisms continued in the post-war years and critics frequently complained that Satie continued to appear on Viñes' programmes. In a short review of Viñes' performance as part of the Concerts Golschmann on 22 November 1919 Albert Doyen writes: ‘In the first concert, Ricardo Viñes triumphed in interpreting the

¹⁰ René Chalupt, ‘Société Nationale de Musique’, *La Phalange*, No. 82, 20 April 1913, 383. ‘[...] enfin, des *Véritables préludes flasques (pour un chien)*, de M. Erik Satie, qui méritèrent les honneurs du *bis*.’

¹¹ Anon., ‘La Quinzaine’, *Revue musicale S.I.M.: Supplément de Quinzaine*, 15 April 1914, 58-59, 59. ‘Le programme varié et très musical de ce récital aurait perdu quelque attrait si les titres amusants inventés par Erik Satie n’y avaient figuré, mais était-il nécessaire d’une part d’imprimer en gros caractères des mots dont l’assemblage ou la surcharge ne sauraient passer inaperçus et d’autre part de jouer ces indifférentes plaisanteries entre du Ravel et du Turina?’

¹² Laurent Ceillier, ‘Salle Erard’, *Le Monde musical*, 30 April 1914, 137. ‘Bon et précieux camarade, M. Ricardo Vinès [*sic*] depuis longtemps, se dévoue (c’est hélas, souvent le mot!) à la tâche ardue d’exécuter et d’interpréter les jeunes. Nul plus que lui ne peut mieux les servir. Mais pourquoi faut-il que la complaisance de M. Vinès-Roda se fasse complice de certaines pièces, quelque fois futuristes – le plus souvent très “pompières” – comme il en insère trop souvent dans ses programmes?’

works of Saler, Couperin, Chopin, Liszt. The modern school was represented by Chabrier, Debussy, Ravel, de Falla. We set aside a stupid *Tyrolienne turque* by Eric Satie.¹³ In the post-war years Viñes significantly reduced the frequency of his performances of Satie's music and tended to programme the less controversial *Gymnopédies* in place of the 'humoristic' works he initially championed.

Satie's first interart concert occurred in the atelier of Mme Valentine de Saint-Point in June 1912. Valentine de Saint-Point (1875-1953) was a writer, dancer and choreographer who was active in Parisian futurist movement in this period. Saint-Point was Satie's first high-society advocate and was responsible for introducing him to many avant-garde artists, writers and young composers. In the pre-war years Saint-Point frequently hosted 'Soirées apolloniennes' that were attended by many artists, composers and writers such as Roland-Manuel, Satie, Marinetti, Ricciotto Canudo, Léon Bakst and Albert Gleizes.¹⁴ In his first appearance on the programme of a high-society soirée, Satie's music is programmed alongside the modernist composers de Falla, Ravel, Debussy, Gretchaninof, Stravinsky (première of *Deux Poésies*), Schmitt, Campbell-Tipton and Roland-Manuel, the programme also features contemporary dance, poetry recitals and an art exhibition. Poetry read by famous actors of the time included works by Baudelaire, Edgar Allan Poe, Henrik Ibsen and Tassos Loukidès. Saint-Point published a *Manifeste de la Femme futuriste* in 1912 and the following year she invented a new form of futurist art called *Métachorie*. *Métachorie* was a futurist genre of 'art plastique' that combined drama, music and dance, and Saint-Point used music by avant-garde composers in her futurist work. Saint-Point and those that surrounded her at this time, including the sculptor Auguste Rodin, believed that she had achieved her artistic aims with the music of Satie. However, Stravinsky's *Sacre* was recognised as the first fully realised work in this genre, in which the music itself should 'embody the idea of the dance.'¹⁵ At an interart concert on 18 December 1913 Saint-Point recited poetry and

¹³ Albert Doyen, 'Concerts divers: Concerts Golschmann', *Le Ménestrel*, 28 November 1919, 61. 'Au premier concert, M. Ricardo Vines a triomphé en interprétant des œuvres de Saler, Couperin, Chopin, Liszt. L'école moderne était représentée par Chabrier, Debussy, Ravel, M. De Falla. Nous mettrons à part une stupide *Tyrolienne turque* de M. Eric Satie.'

¹⁴ During the war she continued her salons attracting names such as Ozenfant, Varèse and Léon-Paul Fargue. Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 162, 864 and 1173.

¹⁵ Tamara Levitz, 'The Chosen One's Voice' in Andrew Dell'Antonio (ed.), *Beyond Structural Listening: Postmodern Modes of Hearing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 70-108, 82-83.

performed a ‘metachoric’ dance to Satie’s *Les Pantins dansent*. The concert also featured works by Debussy, Ravel, Schmitt, Roland-Manuel and Droeghman.

In the sixteen pre-war programmes, thirteen of these concerts were public events and three were held in private. Eleven concerts had programmes of *musique moderne*, two of *musique ancienne* and *moderne* and three were interart. In this period Satie’s music was most frequently performed in concert-hall settings (twelve performances) and the remainder occurred in two salons, a theatre and a private residence. Table 3.2 summarises Satie’s concert activity in this period from Ravel’s public launch in January 1911 to the arrival of World War I.

Table 3.2 Pre-war Programmes

Date	Programme Type	Concert type, venue	Premiere
16/01/11	Musique moderne	Public, concert hall	<i>Sarabande no. 2 & Gymnopédie no.3</i>
25/03/11	Musique moderne	Public, concert hall	
11/06/12	Musique moderne, poetry & dance	Private, salon	<i>Trois morceaux</i> [?] ¹⁶
17/06/12	Musique moderne	Public, concert hall	<i>Prélude de la porte héroïque du Ciel</i>
11 - 31/11/12	Musique moderne, theatre, vaudeville	Public, theatre	
05/04/13	Musique moderne, solo piano concert	Public, concert hall	<i>Véritables Préludes Flasques (pour un chien)</i>
17/05/13	Musique moderne, solo piano concert	Public, concert hall	
05/06/13	Musique moderne	Public, concert hall	<i>Descriptions automatiques</i>
05/12/13	Musique moderne, solo piano concert	Public, concert hall	<i>Embryons desséchés</i>
18/12/13 21/12/13	Musique moderne, poetry, public talk (V. De Saint-Point)	Public, theatre	<i>Les Pantins dansent</i>
14/01/14	Musique moderne	Public, concert hall	<i>Chapitres tournés en tous sens</i>
19/01/14	Musique moderne	Private, salon	<i>Aperçus désagréables</i> (pf duet) [?], <i>En Habit du Cheval</i> (pf duet) [?]
?/01/14	Musique moderne	Private, home	<i>Le Piège de Méduse</i> (pf)
28/03/14	Musique moderne, solo piano concert	Public, concert hall	<i>Croquis & agaceries d’un gros homme en bois</i>

¹⁶ Question marks are used in reference to works of which the premiere dates are currently unknown and these programmes may be the first documented instance of a public performance.

21/04/14	Musique ancienne & moderne, solo piano concert	Public, concert hall	
09/06/14	Musique ancienne & moderne, solo piano concert	Public, concert hall	

3.3 1914-1918: Wartime Programming Trends

Satie's career had been gaining momentum throughout the pre-war period; however, it was abruptly halted in June 1914 and in the following twenty-one months no known performances of Satie's music took place. The outbreak of World War I severely disrupted concert life in Paris and was the catalyst for many changes in how Parisians were presented with new music. In 1914 concert halls and theatres closed their doors and publishing houses mostly ceased operations. Due to the lack of critical reviews of Satie's music in the war years, concert programmes provide a valuable insight into Satie's musical activities at this time. War also upset the activities of concert societies and from 1914 to 1918 Satie's music was now promoted in a significant way by two groups: the Société Lyre et Palette and the Ballets Russes. Alternatives to the concert hall and theatre were sought by those who wished to support artists impoverished due to their change in circumstances. In the sixteen concert programmes of this period Satie's music appeared four times in artist ateliers, four times in the theatre, twice in art galleries and only three times in the concert hall. Performances also took place in a *maison de couture* (fashion house) and in a small music school. Private concerts assumed a new level of importance at this time with the closure of so many public venues. Eight of the sixteen programmes took place in public and six of them were private events. The accessibility of two events is unclear in the absence of any promotional material. Programming practices were also altered by political events: only two of the programmes contain a mixture of *musique ancienne* and *moderne*. Seven of the programmes are interart and an equal number are made up exclusively of *musique moderne*.

In 1916 Satie's music returned to concert programmes, primarily through the advocacy of a group of artists associated with the Société Lyre et Palette, which organised concerts in the atelier studio of the Swiss artist Emile Lejeune at 6 rue Huyghens in Montparnasse. During the war Satie's participation in interart concerts

increased in frequency through his involvement in events at the Salle Huyghens. It was in this venue that the premiere performances of *Parade* (piano duet version) and *Trois valse distinguées du précieux dégoûté* were played. Private salons became increasingly important to Satie on account of the support they provided for contemporary music and it was in these venues that he met many of his future artistic collaborators and patrons. Darius Milhaud notes in his memoirs that ‘all that was elegant in Parisian society, as well as the artists and devotees of the new music, rubbed shoulders there [the Salle Huyghens].’¹⁷

Salons and private residences were typically exclusive, invite-only events. From 1914 onwards Satie frequently attended the soirées of the ‘Lundis de *Montjoie!*’ and the ‘dimanches de la rue d’Athènes’ in the home of Cipa and Ida Godebski, where many of the most notable composers, artists and writers in Paris would gather.¹⁸ Invites to the most exclusive salons, such as those of the Princesse de Polignac and the Comte Etienne de Beaumont began to arrive around the time of *Parade*. Programme design was often an important aspect of these events and they no longer took the form of a simple typed list. In this period Satie’s name appears in programmes designed by Bakst, Picasso, Derain and Braque. Artists increasingly participated in designing concert programmes, in addition to the covers of publications of contemporary sheet music.¹⁹ In a concert organised by Pierre Bertin at the gallery of Paul Guillaume on 13 November 1917, André Derain’s cover design of a woman’s face painted in black closely resembles Picasso’s African masks and Satie’s self-portraits.²⁰ Seventy-five individually numbered copies of this limited-edition programme were produced.²¹ Interart concerts were well-

¹⁷ Darius Milhaud, *Notes Without Music* (London: Calder and Boyars, 1952), 81.

¹⁸ The ‘Lundis de *Montjoie!*’ were salon events organised by Valentine de Saint-Point and her partner Riciotto Canudo. There is no mention of this magazine on the pre-war concert programmes organised by Saint-Point that contained performances of Satie’s music. Nancy Locke relates that ‘Saint-Point was achieving more prominence in 1912 on account of the number of literary *soirées* she organized; some were known as ‘*Soirées Apolloniennes* and were held at her own atelier; others boasted the participation of Marinetti.’ See Nancy Locke, ‘Valentine de Saint-Point and the Fascist Construction of Women’ in Matthew Affron and Mark Antliff (eds.), *Fascist Visions: Art and Ideology in France and Italy* (Princeton University Press, 1997), 73-100, 84.

¹⁹ Many of the concert programmes consulted in compiling the following tables are collectible artworks today and consequently, many of them are privately owned and not easily accessible.

²⁰ Some of Satie’s self-portraits are reproduced in Ornella Volta (ed.), *A Mammal’s Notebook*, transl. Antony Melville (London: Atlas Press, 1996), 9-12; and in Wilkins (ed.), *The Writings of Erik Satie*, 66 and 80.

²¹ Copy number 23 of this programme is located in IMEC, SAT: 25.16, ‘Première séance de poésie et de musique.’

attended by avant-garde artists, poets and high society patrons of the arts. In reflection of interart trends across the arts in this period, in many of these concerts an equal emphasis was placed on poetry, art and music. In some cases music was secondary to other art forms. Interart concerts tended to be staged in intimate settings, such as art galleries, salons or other alternative concert venues.

Most of the wartime concerts served as fundraisers for the casualties of war or for artists, composers and writers in financial distress due to contemporary events. The Société Lyre et Palette's 'Festival Erik Satie et Maurice Ravel' at the Salle Huyghens was organised to raise money for struggling artists. The blue, red and white-coloured concert programme for this event reflected the patriotic sentiments of the time and the collage design incorporated musical and nationalist imagery: a piece of manuscript paper, a violin and a treble clef staff are juxtaposed alongside images of a cock (the symbol of France), a baguette, a wine glass and a French flag.²² The most high profile interart event of this period was the premiere of *Parade*, a work that catapulted its principal collaborators into the limelight and attracted a considerable amount of critical attention in a period when reviews were few and far between. *Parade* was also performed as part of a charity event 'au bénéfice d'œuvres de guerre'; however the presence of sirens and gunshots in Satie's musical score instantly offended many listeners.²³

Various high-profile artists continued to perform Satie's music in spite of his non-official status, yet some complications arose on account of this. Henri Fabert, a singer at the Paris Opéra refused to perform Satie's *Trois poèmes d'amour* at the Salle Huyghens on 18 April 1916 as he felt it was not fitting for a singer of his stature to perform in a disused artist's atelier.²⁴ Instead Fabert agreed to perform the premiere of this work at a concert in the music school of Lucien Flagny on 2 April that year. The first half of the programme comprised examination performances of solo piano music and the second half of the concert was devoted to the music of

²² This concert took place on 18 April 1916. Programme in IMEC, SAT: 25.11, 'Lyre et Palette: Festival Erik Satie et Maurice Ravel.'

²³ P. R., 'Ça et la', *Le Gaulois*, 19 May 1917, 2. See chapter four for a discussion of nationalism and *Parade*.

²⁴ Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 1090.

Satie. It is notable that Fabert considered a legitimized institution a more suitable performance venue, despite the amateur level of the student performers.

Table 3.3 Wartime Programmes

Date	Programme Type	Concert type, venue	Premiere
02/04/16	Musique ancienne & moderne, talk (Roland-Manuel)	Semi-private, Examination concert, school of music	<i>Choses vues à droite et à gauche, Trois poèmes d'amour</i>
18/04/16	Musique moderne, 'Festival Erik Satie et Maurice Ravel', talk (Roland-Manuel)	Private, artist atelier	None ²⁵
30/05/16	Musique moderne, 'Concert Granados-Satie', painting	Private, maison de couture	<i>Trois mélodies</i> (all three), <i>Avant dernières pensées</i>
19/11/16	Musique moderne by Satie only. 'Un instant musical d'Erik Satie', painting & sculpture.	Private, artist atelier	<i>Parade</i> (pf duet), <i>Trois Valses distinguées du précieux dégoûté</i>
22/02/17	Musique ancienne & moderne	Public, theatre	
11/03/17	Musique moderne	Unknown, art gallery	<i>Heures séculaires et instantanées</i>
21/04/17	Musique moderne	Public, concert hall	None ²⁶
17/05/17	Musique moderne	Private, artist atelier	
18/05/17 21/05/17 23/05/17	Musique moderne, ballet	Public, concert hall	<i>Parade</i> (orch.)
06/06/17	Musique moderne	Private, artist atelier	
16/06/17	Musique moderne by Satie only, talk (Apollinaire), music & poetry	Public, concert hall	
13/11/17	Musique moderne, poetry, talk (Apollinaire)	Private, art gallery	
07/12/17	Musique moderne, poetry	Public, unknown venue	
11/12/17	Musique moderne	Public, theatre	<i>Vieux sequins et vieilles cuirasses</i>
05/02/18	Musique moderne, talk (Satie)	Public, theatre	
20/02/18	Musique moderne, poetry, theatre	Public, theatre	

²⁵ It is stated on the concert programme that the premieres of *Daphénéo*, *Le Chapelier* and *Choses vues à droite et à gauche* occurred at this concert; however they occurred at a concert the previous week in L'Ecole Lucien Flagny. This intentional 'error' was perhaps committed in order to raise the prestige of the private salon event.

²⁶ This programme also inaccurately claims that these are the premiere performances of *Daphénéo* and *Le Statue de Bronze*. More accurately, they are the public premiere.

3.4 1918-1925: Post-war Programming Trends

Following World War I Paris entered a period of peace and prosperity in which the arts thrived. Concert halls, music halls, the circus and the cinema were enjoying enormous popularity. Modernism had become mainstream and the breakdown between high and low art became more common in aesthetic practices across the arts. American ragtime and the Argentinean tango were in vogue and Jean Cocteau became a prominent figure through his advocacy of *l'esprit nouveau*, particularly the music of Satie and Les Six. It is clear in the reports from abroad in many of the music journals that Satie had achieved international fame and his work was regularly performed in venues across Europe and the United States.²⁷ Interart collaborations became increasingly popular as artists, writers and composers often came together to organise performance events and co-create new artworks. The Romantic belief that music was the highest and purest of the art forms was consistently challenged by avant-garde modernist practices in this period.

In the ninety-eight post-war programmes, fifty-seven of these are programmes of *musique moderne* only, seventeen are mixed programmes of *musique ancienne* and *musique moderne* and twenty-three are interart events.²⁸ Eighty-four of the programmes were public events, thirteen were private concerts and the status of one concert is unknown. Concerts of *musique moderne* were often preceded by a talk which provided an introduction to the new works and outlined certain aesthetic or ideological aims. Twenty-three of the 130 Parisian concerts surveyed included a concert talk. Of these, eight were presented by Satie, four by Cocteau, three by Georges Auric, two by Roland-Manuel, two by Guillaume Apollinaire, and one by Valentine Saint-Point, André Salmon and Thomas Salignac respectively.²⁹ Satie primarily took part in this practice in the post-war years, though he chose not to speak specifically about his own music on any of these occasions. Satie's talks, like his writings, were most often humorous and entertaining and provided critics with talking points concerning his personality and disrespectful attitude which distracted

²⁷ References to performances of Satie's music abroad are frequently made in *Le Ménestrel* in the post-war years in the section dedicated to 'Le Mouvement musical à l'Etranger.' Editions of *Le Ménestrel* from this period are available to consult online at <gallica.bnf.fr>.

²⁸ The nature of one programme is currently unknown.

²⁹ One speaker remains unidentified.

from discussion of his music. The eight known talks Satie gave were: ‘L’Eloge des critiques’ (5 February 1918), ‘La musique et les animaux’ (18 December 1919), ‘Les enfants musiciens’ (17 February 1921), a ‘préambule’ on the history of music (17 January 1922), ‘Présentation de quatre jeunes musiciens: Henri Cliquet-Pleyel, Roger Désormière, Maxime Jacob, Henri Sauguet’ (14 and 16 June 1923), ‘Quelque mots sur l’Ecole d’Arcueil’ (1 March 1924 and 5 April 1924) and ‘Causerie de M. Erik Satie’ (25 February 1925).³⁰ Cocteau and Roland-Manuel spoke specifically about the life and work of Satie, while Auric’s talks dealt with the topic of modern French music and discussed the work of Debussy, Ravel, Satie, Chabrier and ‘Les Six’. Saint-Point introduced her new futurist genre ‘Métachorie’ at an interart performance on 21 December 1913 and Apollinaire’s two talks in 1917 focused on introducing the public to the new movement of *l’esprit nouveau*. Satie did not use this platform to promote his own music and the talks presented by his friends and colleagues did little to benefit Satie’s public standing in *le monde musical*.

In the post-war period the programmes illustrate a glaring disparity between the opinion of critics and performers: whilst many critics still argued that Satie had no place in the concert hall, certain performers felt it appropriate to programme Satie with the works of the masters. From 1917 to 1924 Satie’s music appears in concert halls and theatres alongside masterworks such as Schubert’s *Unfinished Symphony*, Beethoven’s fifth and seventh symphonies and overtures to *Léonore* and *Coriolan*, Haydn’s *Symphony No. 6* and Mozart’s *Piano Concerto* in D minor. In 1918 Jean Marnold criticises the pianist Marcelle Meyer for including Satie in her programme.

It is thus she chose Mozart’s *Concerto in D minor* to be unanimously applauded at Chevillard’s, and from the old masters to the most advanced of the young [composers], she only plays interesting music – or almost, for one must notice the presence of Satie’s name in

³⁰ Of these eight talks five were presented in public and three in private settings. The text of these talks is reproduced in Volta (ed.), *Ecrits*: ‘La Musique et les Animaux’, No. 53, 73-77; ‘L’Eloge des Critiques’, No. 54, 74-80; ‘Les Enfants Musiciens’, No. 56, 81-87; ‘Conférence sur Les Six’, No. 57, 87-91, ‘Préambule’, No. 58, 91-95, ‘Conférence’, No. 58A, 95-97, ‘(Quelques Jeunes Musiciens)’, No. 59, 97-98, ‘L’Esprit musical’, No. 60, 99-101. Volta writes that ‘La Musique et les Animaux’ was first read by Satie at the Ecole Lucien Flagny on 2 November 1916, an early draft of this talk can be found in one of Satie’s sketchbooks for *Parade* from this year. There is some confusion here concerning dates as the Flagny concert occurred on 2 April 1916 and there is no mention on this programme of such a concert talk.

her repertoire. But it is an exception; and then Satie is such a nice and charming man! His only fault is to imagine himself to be producing music.³¹

Many of the concert organisers that programmed Satie in the post-war period were relatively new to the Parisian music scene. In a 1923 article Charles Koechlin writes that the most prominent avant-garde concerts of the post-war years were organised by Vladimir Golschmann, Jean Wiéner and Henry Prunières (editor of *La Revue musicale*), all of whom programmed Satie's music.³² Vladimir Golschmann was the musical director and conductor of the Concerts Golschmann, an orchestra he founded in 1919 with Satie's assistance.³³ Golschmann conducted the premiere performances of *Trois petites pièces montées* (21 February 1920) and *La Belle Excentrique* (14 June 1921). In the 1920s Henry Prunières regularly organised concerts of music that appeared in *La Revue musicale* and Satie was programmed in one of these concerts on 22 April 1922. Prunières' promotion of Satie was short-lived as he had fallen out with the composer by 1923.³⁴ Satie's works were also programmed in events organised by the artistic magazines *Montjoie!*, *Le Cœur à barbe*, *Littérature*, and *Action*.

Jean Wiéner was a champion of modern music and was perceived as the most controversial of the three organisers. Wiéner was a devoted Satie supporter and performer in the 1920s in spite of the protestations of many music critics. Koechlin notes that in the post-war years in Paris, programming the music of Satie, Les Six and Schönberg was considered highly polemical. Many of the young composers, a grouping that included the middle-aged Satie, were considered 'childish

³¹ Jean Marnold, 'Musique', *Mercure de France*, April 1918, 509-515, 512. 'C'est ainsi qu'elle élit le *Concerto en ré mineur* de Mozart pour être unanimement applaudie chez M. Chevillard et, des vieux maîtres aux plus avancés des jeunes, elle ne joue que de la musique intéressante – ou presque, car il faut bien constater la présence du nom de M. Satie dans son répertoire. Mais c'est une exception; et puis M. Satie est un si brave et charmant homme! Il n'a que le défaut de se figurer faire la musique.' This may have been a private concert as no further public records of it have been located.

³² Charles Koechlin, 'Les jeunes et l'évolution musicale', *Europe*, 15 August 1923, 332-342, 332.

³³ Satie introduced him to his private student, a scientist called Albert Verley, who was so impressed with Golschmann's musical abilities as a sight-reader and arranger that he gave him the 25,000 francs with which he set up his group. Golschmann later became the principal conductor of the Saint Louis Symphony from 1931 to 1958. Vladimir Golschmann, 'Golschmann Remembers Erik Satie', *High Fidelity/Musical America*, XXII (August, 1972), MA 11-12; 32.

³⁴ Consequently, a special edition of *La Revue musicale* devoted to Satie in March 1924 was prepared without Satie's participation. In the previous issue a negative review of Satie's reworking of *Le Médecin malgré lui* by Boris de Schloezer had appeared.

iconoclasts, burners of museums.³⁵ Koechlin relates ‘the lively debates’ that surround Wiéner’s programming practices which ‘seemed strange [...] due to the diverse elements that one finds united there.’³⁶ Wiéner was fond of mixing *musique sérieuse* with *musique légère*, popular styles such as American blues, Johann Strauss waltzes and dance tunes, such as Satie’s *La Belle excentrique*. Koechlin describes the public’s divided reactions to Wiéner’s programmes, noting that applause would often be mixed with outraged protest against such ‘vulgar’ music. Wiéner performed the premiere of Satie’s *Nocturne No. 4* (4 January 1923) and he dedicated the programme of the third ‘Concert Wiéner’ (1923-24 season) to the music of Satie (21 December 1923).

In the post-war period, Satie was not always compliant with concert organisers and he was easily offended by them, no matter how honourable their intentions. In a concert planned for 3 May 1919 Pierre Bertin organised a performance of Satie’s *Socrate* without his permission, only seeking that of the Princesse de Polignac. When Satie heard about this he demanded that *Socrate* be performed by four sopranos, a request that he knew Bertin could not meet and consequently, the performance had to be cancelled. Satie then agreed to a performance of the work by Bertin on 24 June 1919, a concert in which he was also due to perform. Satie decided not to participate on the day of the performance and Germaine Meyer had to step in to perform *Morceaux en forme de poire* with her sister.³⁷ In 1920 a performance of *Parade* at the Paris Opéra on 30 May was cancelled on the day of the performance due to the publication of a letter signed by Cocteau and Satie that appeared in *Comoedia* in which they state: ‘The Opéra is too vast a setting for a work decoratively and orchestrally devoid of pomp. [...] We inform the friends of *Parade* that this Sunday in matinee, they will see an incomplete spectacle, staged without our control and with our disapproval.’³⁸ In 1921 Vladimir Golschmann

³⁵ Koechlin, ‘Les jeunes et l’évolution musicale’, 333. ‘En revanche, il ne deviendront point, par représailles, de ces puérils iconoclastes, brûleurs de musées.’

³⁶ Ibid., 334. ‘On a critiqué son choix; et ce choix peut sembler étrange, en effet, à cause des éléments divers qu’on y trouve réunis.’

³⁷ Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 979.

³⁸ Ibid., 408. Letter dated 30 May 1920. ‘L’Opéra est un cadre trop vaste pour une œuvre décorativement et orchestralement dépourvue de pompe. [...] Nous prévenons les amis de *Parade* qu’ils verront, ce dimanche, en matinée, un spectacle incomplet, monté sans notre contrôle, et avec notre désapprobation.’ Satie’s work appeared once during his lifetime at the Paris Opéra. See concert programme dated 8 November 1923.

pulled out of conducting the public premiere of *Le Piège de Méduse* at the last minute due to a ‘tiff’ with Satie.³⁹

The type of venues in which Satie’s music is performed diversifies further in this period: Table 3.4 illustrates the types of venues in question and the frequency with which Satie’s music was performed in these locations.

Table 3.4 Concert venues in the post-war years

Venue Type	Frequency
Concert hall	41
Theatre	29
Art Gallery	8
Educational institution	7
Artist’s union	4
Salon	3
Hotel	3
Artist studio/atelier	2
Music hall	1
Paris Opéra	1
Bookshop	1
Ballroom	1

Satie’s more frequent associations with the Parisian haute bourgeoisie meant that his music was often performed in prestigious and often sumptuous venues. In 1920 and 1921 Satie’s music appeared three times on concert programmes at the Salon des Indépendants, which had recently moved into the opulent surroundings of the Grand Palais. In March and again in October 1922 Satie’s music was performed in the exclusive setting of the Hôtel Continental situated close to Place de la Concorde, one of the most expensive hotels in Paris at the time. In a bid to exploit this very wealthy haute bourgeois demographic, certain enterprising individuals became involved in the publication of avant-garde music. In 1923, *Sports et divertissements* was published by the fashion editor Lucien Vogel. Similarly *Le Piège de Méduse*, with illustrations by Georges Braque, was published by D. H. Kahnweiler (Editions de la galerie Simon), the art dealer who represented many of

³⁹ Milhaud, *Notes Without Music*, 103-4. While Golschmann’s name is on the programme, Darius Milhaud had to step in at the last minute for the performance.

the famous cubist artists including Picasso. These scores became valuable collector items and consequently did not appear in a general print until the late decades of the twentieth century.

Of the ninety-eight post-war programmes, twenty-three were interart and many of these events mark important dates in the history of the artistic movements of cubism and Dada. Members of high society often employed avant-garde artists in order to organise exclusive cultural events. A publicity piece for Comte Etienne de Beaumont's avant-garde *Soirées de Paris* which appears in *Le Petit Parisien* in May 1924 is a case in point.⁴⁰ The anonymous author describes an event that will demonstrate 'the new spirit and the youngest face' of Parisian choreography, painting, poetry, dramaturgy and acting, all developed in the 'goût de risque.' The author asks 'Do you want names? Well here they are: Darius Milhaud, Erik Satie, Roger Desormières, Henri Sauguet for the music; José-Marie Sert, Pablo Picasso, Georges Braque, André Derain, Marie Laurencin, Jean-Victor Hugo, Valentine Hugo for décors and costumes; Ida Rubinstein, Léonide Massine, Marcel Herrand for direction and choreography.' The author concludes that it would not be excessive to think that Comte Etienne de Beaumont's 'perfect realisation' of art will make this event an important date in the history of theatre.

At the première of *Mercure* on 15 June 1924, Breton and members of the recently formed surrealist group began a demonstration at which cries of 'Down with Satie!' and 'Long live Picasso!' were answered by those of Milhaud, Pierre de Massot and other defenders of Satie calling 'Long live Satie!' The following day Satie writes to Rolf de Maré: 'the false Dadas have come to plot against me. Yes.'⁴¹ As with the premiere of *Parade* in 1917, Satie's most controversial post-war concerts were high-society charity events. The premiere of *Mercure*, organised as part of Comte Etienne de Beaumont's *Soirée de Paris* events at the Théâtre de la Cigale, was a charity event for widows of war and Russian refugees.⁴² Cocteau's first *Spectacle-Concert* at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées on 21 February 1920 (the premiere of

⁴⁰ Anon., 'Pour les Olympiques: "Les Soirées de Paris" à la Cigale', *Le Petit Parisien*, 17 May 1924, 6. *Le Petit Parisien* was a mass market Republican paper with a circulation of around a million copies per day at this time. See Jann Pasler, *Writing Through Music*, 186.

⁴¹ Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 618.

⁴² Programme in IMEC, SAT: 25.55, 'Soirée de Paris.' 'Au bénéfice de l'Œuvre d'Assistance aux Veuves de la Guerre et du Comité de Secours aux Réfugiés Russes.'

Trois petites pièces montées) was in aid of the work of ‘Mme la marquise Noailles, pour les hôpitaux militaires “section des mutilés” des régions libérées.’⁴³

Table 3.5 Post-war Programmes

Date	Programme type	Concert type, venue	Premiere
14/12/18	Musique ancienne & moderne	Public, theatre	<i>Sonatine Bureaucratique</i> [?]
16/02/19	Musique moderne	Private, salon	<i>Socrate</i> (pf)
19/02/19	Musique moderne, poetry	Public, art gallery	
21/03/19	Musique moderne, literature, talk (Cocteau)	Private, bookshop	
02/04/19	Musique moderne	Private, salon	
11/05/19	Musique moderne[?]	Public, concert hall	
06/06/19	Musique moderne	Public, concert hall	
11/06/19	Musique ancienne & moderne	Public, concert hall	
24/06/19	Musique moderne, painting, theatre, dance	Public, art gallery	
22/11/19	Musique ancienne & moderne	Public, concert hall	
06/12/19	Musique ancienne & moderne	Public, concert hall	
14/12/19	Musique moderne	Private, residence	<i>Sports et divertissements</i>
18/12/19	Musique ancienne & moderne, talk (Satie)	Public, educational institution	<i>Peccadilles importunes, Menus propos enfantins</i>
23/01/20	Musique moderne, poetry, painting & sculpture, talk (Salomon), Dada concert, Tzara present	Public, small working-class ballroom	
14/02/20	Musique moderne	Public, concert hall	<i>Socrate</i> (pf)
21/02/20 23/02/20 25/02/20 28/02/20	Musique moderne, circus, theatre	Private [on the first two dates, then public], theatre	<i>Trois petites pièces montées</i> (orch.)
29/02/20	Musique modern by Satie only, talk (Fels), talk (Cocteau), poetry, dance	Public, art gallery	
08/03/20	Musique moderne, theatre	Public, art gallery	<i>Musique d'ameublement</i>
18/03/20	Musique moderne, solo piano concert	Public, concert hall	<i>Nocturne no. 1</i>
26/04/20	Musique moderne	Private, educational institution	
21/05/20	Musique moderne	Public, concert hall	
07/06/20	Musique moderne (Satie only)	Public, concert hall	<i>Nocturnes (1-3), Socrate</i> (orch.)
03/10/20	Musique moderne	Public, concert hall	
18/11/20	Musique moderne	Public, concert hall	
19/12/20	Musique moderne (Satie only)	Public, art gallery	<i>Trois petites pièces montées</i> (pf), 4 <i>Petites mélodies (Danseuse, Chanson & Adieu)</i>
21/12/20	Musique moderne	Public, theatre	

⁴³ Anon., ‘Théâtre’, *Journal des débats*, 18 February 1920, 3.

29/12/20	Musique moderne, solo piano concert	Public, concert hall	
22/01/21	Musique moderne	Public, theatre	
24/01/21	Musique moderne	Public, concert hall	<i>Que me font ces vallons, ces palais</i>
29/01/21	Musique moderne	Public, art gallery	
17/02/21	Musique moderne, talk (Satie)	Public, educational institution	
19/02/21	Musique ancienne & moderne	Public, concert hall	
27/02/21	Musique moderne, dance	Public, art gallery	
01/03/21	Musique moderne, solo piano concert	Public, theatre	
27/04/21	Musique ancienne & moderne, solo piano concert	Public, concert hall	
30/04/21	Musique ancienne & moderne	Public, concert hall	
10/05/21	Musique moderne, solo piano concert	Public, concert hall	
19/05/21 21/05/21	Musique moderne, ballet	Public, theatre	
20/05/21 24/05/21 25/05/21 26/05/21	Musique moderne, theatre	Public, theatre	<i>Le Piège de Méduse</i> (orch.)
01/06/21	Musique moderne, solo piano concert	Public, concert hall	
14/06/21 21/06/21	Musique moderne, dance	Public, theatre	<i>La Belle excentrique</i> (orch.)
19/11/21	Musique ancienne & moderne, solo piano concert	Public, concert hall	
15/12/21	Musique moderne	Public, concert hall	
17/12/21	Musique ancienne & moderne	Public, theatre	
12/01/22	Musique moderne	Public, concert hall	
17/01/22	Musique ancienne & moderne, talk (Satie)	Public, artist's union hotel	<i>Menuet</i>
24/01/22	Musique moderne, talk (Auric)	Public, artist's union hotel	
31/01/22	Musique moderne, talk (Cocteau)	Public, artist's union hotel	<i>Sports & divertissements</i>
17/02/22	Musique ancienne & moderne, talk (Salignac)	Public, concert hall	
22/02/22	Musique moderne, talk (Cocteau)	Public, artist's union hotel	
09/03/22	Musique moderne	Public, theatre	
09/03/22 11/03/22 16/03/22	Musique moderne, dance	Public, theatre	
17/03/22	Musique ancienne & moderne	Public, concert hall	
28/03/22	Musique moderne	Public, concert hall	
31/03/22	Musique moderne	Public, hotel	
10/04/22	Musique moderne, solo piano concert	Public, concert hall	
22/04/22	Musique moderne	Public, theatre	
15/05/22	Musique moderne, solo piano concert	Public, concert hall	
23/05/22	Musique moderne, dance	Public, concert hall	
30/06/22	Musique moderne, dance, painting & design, costume ball	Unknown, concert hall	
27/10/22	Musique moderne	Public, hotel	

30/10/22	Musique ancienne & moderne	Public, concert hall	
05/12/22	Musique moderne, solo piano concert	Public, theatre	
18/12/22	Musique moderne, solo piano concert	Public, theatre	
04/01/23	Musique moderne, Satie-Poulenc concert	Public, theatre	<i>Nocturne No. 4</i>
13/04/23	Musique moderne, concert of past students, talk	Public, educational institution	
30/04/23	Musique moderne	Public, art studio/atelier	
10/05/23	Musique moderne, talk (Auric)	Private, educational institution	
12/05/23	Musique moderne, talk (Auric)	Public, Theatre	
30/05/23	Musique ancienne & moderne, masked ball	Private, salon	<i>Ludions, La Statue retrouvée</i>
02/06/23	Musique moderne	Public, concert hall	
12/06/23	Musique ancienne & moderne, solo piano concert	Public, concert hall	
14/06/23	Musique moderne, talk (Robert Aron), talk (Satie)	Private, educational institution	
16/06/23	Musique moderne, talk (Aron), talk (Satie)	Public, (temporary) theatre	
16/06/23 20/06/23	Musique moderne, ballet	Public, theatre	
20/06/23	Musique moderne	Public, concert hall	
06/07/23	Musique moderne, Dada soirée, Dada speech, poetry, theatre, avant-garde film	Public, theatre	
08/11/23	Musique moderne	Public, opera house	
20/11/23	Musique moderne	Public, theatre	
23/11/23	Musique moderne, poetry	Private, art gallery	
07/12/23	Musique modern, solo piano concert	Public, concert hall	
11/12/23	Musique moderne	Public, concert hall	
21/12/23	Musique moderne (by Satie only)	Public, concert hall	
09/01/24	Musique moderne	Public, concert hall	
06/02/24	Musique moderne	Public, concert hall	
01/03/24	Musique moderne, talk (Maurice Raynal), talk (Satie)	Private, art studio/atelier	<i>Nocturne no. 5, Préludes flasques (pour un chien)</i>
17/03/24	Musique moderne, solo piano concert	Public, concert hall	
15/06/24	Musique moderne, ballet, painting	Public, theatre	<i>Mercuré</i>
22/06/24	Musique moderne, ballet	Public, theatre	
27/06/24	Musique moderne, ballet	Public, theatre	
11/07/24	Musique moderne, 'bal olympique', art & design	Private, music hall	
11/12/24 13/12/24 18/12/24 20/12/24	Musique moderne, dance	Public, theatre	
04/12/24 21/12/24 26/12/24 27/12/24 30/12/24	Musique moderne, ballet, Dada	Public, theatre	<i>Cinéma & Relâche</i>

10/02/25	Musique ancienne & moderne	Public, hotel	
25/02/25	Musique moderne, talk (Satie)	Private, educational insitution	
21/03/25	Musique moderne, talk (Milhaud)	Public, theatre	
23/03/25	Musique moderne	Public, concert hall	
17/04/25	Musique ancienne & moderne	Public, concert hall	

3.5 Interart Practices

Satie's compositional career spanned a period of musical evolution and revolution and many critics struggled to find the appropriate language to describe the works of the avant-garde or to engage in serious debate with these challengers of long-held and respected musical traditions. Early 20th-century modernism is characterised by a significant amount of cross-pollination within the arts and a rise in intertextual and interart forms. References to external subjects in musical works are increasingly common and represent a fundamental shift from a Romantic art that emulates nature to a modernist art which often imitates art. Consequently, artistic and literary models were often appropriated by critics to assist in the categorisation of new music. In the early years of modernism critics struggled to categorise Satie's music, which was most often simply referred to as 'modern' in the absence of another suitable term. In 1923 the composer-critic Carol-Bérard claims that 'Erik Satie changes "his style" simply to vex the labellers.'⁴⁴ Carol-Bérard lists the various aesthetic periods through which Satie's music has already progressed, listing the titles of works rather than attempting to categorise or conduct a discussion of aesthetics: 'Humour is one facet, but there are other facets and it is the age of the *Gymnopédies*, of the *Gnosiennes*, or that of the incidental music for the tragedies of Sâr Péladan or indeed the age of *furniture music*, then of *Parade*, a surrealist ballet.'⁴⁵ This inability to classify Satie greatly disadvantaged him in the post-war years as critics turned to artistic terminology in order to label his music which resisted traditional musical categorization. Critics often did this without any clear understanding of the meaning of these artistic terms. The selection of labels

⁴⁴ Carol-Bérard, 'Socrate, M. Erik Satie et les placeurs d'étiquettes', *Une Semaine à Paris*, 26 January 1923, 9-10, 10. 'Erik Satie changerait "sa manière" simplement pour le plaisir de dépiter les placeurs d'étiquettes.'

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 10. 'L'humour est une facette, mais il y a les autre facettes et c'est l'époque des *Gymnopédies*, des *Gnossiennes*, ou celle des musiques de scène pour les tragédies du Sâr Péladan ou bien l'époque de la musique d'ameublement, puis de *Parade*, ballet surréaliste.'

often appears to have been decided on the basis of who Satie was keeping company with or collaborating with on a particular work. The aesthetic reasoning behind the selection of labels is rarely provided and when it is furnished, it frequently lacks depth or insight. This practice caused considerable confusion about Satie's artistic aims and set a precedent that permits musical categorisations and/or descriptions that are wholly unsuited and often inappropriate to the works under discussion.

In the sources of reception, the terms adjectives *impressionist*, *primitivist*, *futurist*, *cubist* and *Dada* often precede the descriptor composer or musician in admonishing Satie for his most recent aesthetic choices, even if the works in question clearly did not merit such description.⁴⁶ In aesthetic and moral terms, the latter three movements were considered particularly subversive in the contemporary climate of heightened nationalism.⁴⁷ These artistic movements were either spearheaded by foreigners or imported from abroad and therefore, in musical discourses it was often inferred from these adjectives that Satie's music was anti-French, morally corrupt and undesirable. In a letter to Cocteau in August 1917, Satie relates the comments of an official at the Ministry of the interior who claims that his wartime ballet has offended soldiers at the front: '*Parade* and the Ballets Russes are Krauts and poorly regarded at the front, where their boisterous outbursts have had an extremely bad effect.'⁴⁸ The derogatory nature of these terms in critical discourses was also indicative of another trend in categorization practices that had started in the pre-war period. The art historian Christopher Green elaborates upon the historicity of such terms and the function of '-isms' in the reception of art in this period:

Since Alfred Barr's *Cubism and Abstract Art* of 1936, the -ism suffix has denoted significance with scope: -ism, it has been accepted, changed things on the scale of global histories. In Paris before 1914 it was a suffix used by critics to convey suspicion tinged with scorn, or quite simply scorn. The parodic invention of -isms was a journalistic sport by 1912. The poet-critic Guillaume Apollinaire figures in what may or may not be an actual interview published by the popular magazine *Fantaisie* that year, where he holds forth on a cavalcade of -isms culminating in the 'transcendent

⁴⁶ The term *fauvist* was also applied to Satie; however, it is omitted from this discussion as it only appeared once in the sources analysed.

⁴⁷ See chapter four for a discussion of the influence of nationalism on Satie's reception.

⁴⁸ Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 297. '*Parade* & les Ballets Russes sont boches & mal vus du front, où leurs manifestations tapageuses ont produit le plus mauvais effet.' See the 'Nationalism' section in chapter four for a more in-depth discussion of nationalism, morality and artistic movements in France during the war years.

school of excentroconcentroconcepticorationaloorphism.’ Artists knowingly used group exhibiting tactics and the collective banner of the –ism as publicity strategies at a time when the psychology of advertising was fast developing [...]. Not only did the –ism undermine individual artistic identity, it could also suggest an insatiable appetite for fame at the expense of serious commitment.⁴⁹

The ‘-ism’ served a similar function in music criticism although the aforementioned artistic adjectives were occasionally applied to Satie by critics with favourable intent. Nevertheless, cubism, futurism and Dada were generally considered subversive artistic movements and were not well-received. In Satie’s reception the subject of cubism and futurism in music received a certain amount of critical attention between 1917 and 1922 as a direct result of Satie’s involvement in *Parade*.⁵⁰ Critical engagement with Satie’s only Dada work, *Relâche* (1924), elicited the most vitriolic body of criticism encountered during his public career and destroyed Satie’s reputation as a composer. Critical discussion of Dada and cubism in the music press halted with Satie’s death and this was perhaps due in large part to the fact that he was the primary Parisian musical representative of these movements and his exclusion from officialdom had already been affirmed.

3.6 Satie the Interart Composer

Satie’s music diverged from the traditional path of programmatic music to incorporate forms of musical, visual and literary narrative signifiers, which are intertextual and interart in nature. The definitions of the terms intertextual and interart overlap somewhat in that they both infer a cross-over of texts that impact upon artistic meaning. However, the term intertextual is traditionally bound to language and is therefore limited in scope in dealing with Satie’s music. Anthony McGowan defines intertextuality as a concept that

derived from the poststructuralist claim that signifiers refer always and only to other signifiers; that language can be transformed, translated, transferred, but never transcended.

⁴⁹ Christopher Green, *Art in France 1900-1940* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 19.

⁵⁰ Satie’s humoristic works were sometimes accused of being futurist in the pre-war years and his early impressionist works were also labelled cubist due to their appearances in programmes at the soirées of Valentine de Saint-Point.

Words gain their meaning not by referring to some object present to the mind of the language user but from the never-ending play of signification.⁵¹

The concept of interart is arguably more comprehensive in understanding Satie's artistic process in that this theoretical approach is specifically concerned with the cross-pollination of all forms of artistic language, not just verbal or literary ones.⁵² Satie's interart works frequently make reference to, or are based directly upon, aesthetic or formal features of non-musical artistic languages. For example, the structure of *Entr'acte* is based completely on the edits of René Clair's eponymous film; and the 'humoristic' works are closely related to the collage aesthetic of the cubists.⁵³ Satie's penchant for interart practice perhaps explains why he focused intently on theatre collaborations in the post-war years rather than pursuing a purely instrumental route and by composing works such as a symphony or a string quartet.⁵⁴ Satie's participation in interart concerts was a natural progression for this interart composer. His later compositions, particularly those that date from 1912 onwards, are prominent examples of interart trends in this period which the music critics were trying to suppress. Music critics were inclined to view cross-pollination in the arts as a form of pollution of the supreme form of art – music. Canonic discourses at this time continued to adhere to the Romantic notion that music was the highest and purest art form, the art to which all other arts aspired.

Satie's overtly interart 'humoristic' compositions of 1912-1915 particularly bemused critics as the accompanying texts, which ran parallel to the piano music,

⁵¹ McGowan relates that Julia Kristeva's *Semiotike* (1969) is an important work on intertextuality as in this book she is the first scholar to state that 'every text takes shape as a mosaic of citations, every text is the absorption and transformation of other texts.' Anthony McGowan, 'Intertextuality' in Stuart Sim (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Postmodernism* (New York & Abingdon: Routledge, 2005, 2nd ed.), 244.

⁵² Peter Dayan relates that in the English-speaking academic world the movement known as 'new aestheticism' bears witness to the growing sense of the intermedial unity of art.' Peter Dayan, *Art as Music, Music as Poetry, Poetry as Art, From Whistler to Stravinsky and Beyond* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 7. This groundbreaking work on the interart aesthetic in 20th century music, poetry and music illustrates the possibilities for uncovering new meanings in the work of many modernist artists, particularly Satie, Whistler, Apollinaire, Braque, Ponge and Stravinsky, through an interart methodological framework.

⁵³ See chapter five for an introduction to cubist aesthetics in Satie's humoristic works.

⁵⁴ Caby recalls Satie's regret at not having written a quartet: 'In 1925, on his death bed, Erik Satie told me that he did not regret anything of what he wrote as a composer. Taking full measure of himself... he also told me: "I have done everything I had to do," then he added: "The only thing I regret is not having written my Quatuor. It was there, completely finished", and he indicated his head, "I had only to write it."' Caby completed a version of this work in November 1977. Robert Caby, Foreword to 'Quatuor Intime et Secret d'Erik Satie' in IMEC: SAT 24.11.

above, below and in between the staves, were not considered satisfactorily programmatic. Rather than consider the aesthetic reasoning or artistic motivations behind these works, few critics cared to penetrate beyond the extramusical referents.⁵⁵ The musical content was widely dismissed with the justification that the text was obviously more important to this composer than the music. The composer-critic Paul Martineau complains that in the *Véritables préludes flasques (pour un chien)* the music itself is of no significance: ‘Theses preludes are very humoristic, but nevertheless, the title and the sub-titles constitute the more happy findings.’⁵⁶ In a similar manner, Gabrielle Buffet laments that ‘the ideal architecture of the old forms, sonatas, symphonies, etc., etc., is replaced by a literary motive to which the music is rigorously subjugated and which is the very framework of this oeuvre [...]’.⁵⁷ As many of these works were also overtly humorous in expression, critics felt that they were being mocked and that this was not music that deserved to be taken seriously. The practice of musical borrowing in the humoristic works was also considered problematic, particularly due to its references to the real world and to ‘lesser’ art forms of the popular domain. In this respect, Satie was not the only composer to borrow extensively: Debussy frequently borrowed from popular sources: Debussy and Satie even borrowed from the same sources at times. D’Indy’s *Symphonie sur un chant montagnard français* (1886) is based entirely upon popular chansons. Unlike this official composer, however, Satie used popular sources in his piano miniatures whilst d’Indy incorporated them into symphonic forms.

It is clear throughout Satie’s career that he drew inspiration from many varied artistic sources and this is perhaps why critics and musicologists have encountered many difficulties in addressing issues of aesthetics and ideology in his music. In the sources of reception the struggle to pinpoint Satie’s influences, or more accurately, how to best categorise Satie is evident. Difficulties of categorisation were a prominent source of frustration for critics, many of whom avoided engagement

⁵⁵ See chapter five for an in-depth discussion of the ‘humoristic’ works.

⁵⁶ Paul Martineau, ‘Review’, *Le Monde musical*, 30 May 1913, 167. ‘Ils sont très humoristiques ces Préludes, mais cependant le titre et les sous-titres en constituent encore la plus heureuse trouvaille.’

⁵⁷ Gabrielle Buffet, ‘Musique d’aujourd’hui’, *Soirées de Paris*, III, 22, 15 March 1914, 181-83, 181-82. ‘[...] l’architecture idéale des formes anciennes, sonates, symphonies, etc., etc., est remplacée par un motif littéraire auquel la musique s’assujettit rigoureusement et qui est la carcasse même de l’œuvre [...]’

with the extra-musical elements that so obviously informed much of his work. Music critics in his lifetime compared Satie to many non-musical figures, and in particular to literary ones: Paul Scarron, Arthur Rimbaud, François Rabelais, Alphonse Allais, Jean de Tinan and Alfred Jarry to name a few. Of the large number of artistic influences cited in Satie's case, only close attention has been paid to the musical ones: Chabrier and cabaret music.⁵⁸ The following section outlines some of the ways in which Satie's interart activities and compositions influenced the labels and descriptors frequently employed by critics in his reception. The term impressionism has been omitted as this artistic movement was widely recognised as a musical movement during Satie's lifetime and consequently, it is discussed in depth in many sources on French musical modernism.

3.7 Primitivism

In 1919 Henri Mangin writes: 'the work of Erik Satie exhales a certain sweetness, primitivism, something of the picturesque, exploiting thus a source of very ancient sensations, the expressions of which are altered without much ado.'⁵⁹ In art criticism, the term primitivism has many possible interpretations at this time. In spite of the '-ism' suffix, the term does not actually denote a particular modernist school of painting or sculpture in France. A work could be described as primitive for a number of reasons that included subject matter and aesthetic approach. Art could be labelled this way if the subject concerned pre-historic or non-Western people or culture: for example, Paul Gauguin's Tahitian works and Henri Rousseau's jungle paintings. In music, Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring* was labelled primitive as the subject concerned an ancient pagan rite. The term was often applied to painters who worked in a naive or primitive manner and in such cases it was a synonym for uneducated or self-taught. The terms primitive and naive are frequently used by the French press to describe Satie's music, particularly that of

⁵⁸ Whiting's *Satie the Bohemian* is the most in-depth study on the influence of the cabaret on Satie's compositional career. Robert Orledge discusses Chabrier's influence on Satie in *Satie the Composer*, 34-6 as does Gillmor in *Erik Satie*, 18-25. In contrast, Whiting considers Chabrier as more of a kindred spirit than an influence on Satie: *Satie the Bohemian*, 66.

⁵⁹ Henri Mangin, 'L'Esthétisme nouveau', *Le Peuple*, 23 December 1919, page number not given [in IMEC, SAT: 39]. '[...] l'œuvre d'Erik Satie exhale une certaine suavité, du primitivisme, du pittoresque, exploitant ainsi un fonds de sensations très anciennes, dont elles se content d'altérer l'expression.'

his autodidact period. Critics diverged in the application of the term primitive to Satie: some used it in a negative sense while some Satie supporters considered this label a positive descriptor.

In many respects Satie's discovery mirrors that of his primitive contemporary Henri Rousseau. Rousseau was a customs-man (*douanier*) by day and an artist by night and this is how he gained the nickname Le Douanier Rousseau. Rousseau was a self-taught artist, a recipient of no accolades and a painter whose aesthetics mirrored those of Satie's in music in some respects.⁶⁰ Cocteau in particular was fond of comparing the two artists and analogies between them can be found in the sources of reception. In an obituary of Erik Satie in *La Revue musicale* Cocteau poetically describes the meeting of the two primitive artists in heaven: 'The day after his death, the Douanier Rousseau enters the Louvre; as if to celebrate their meeting in the sky.'⁶¹ Auric also perceived an aesthetic similarity between the two. In a public talk on Satie in 1923, Auric adopts the imagery of a Rolls Royce and a horse-cart to contrast complex with simple music and through an allusion to Rousseau's painting of a horse-cart, he implies that Satie's simple, primitive style is of no less value:

After so much excess and beauty of millionaires, the simplicity of a music where human sadness expressed itself without a false note, without lies, was well received by the skilful crowd. Their Rolls Royce winking at Juniet's horse-cart, which had been nicely painted by the kind Henri Rousseau.⁶²

The year following Satie's death, Cocteau took part in a memorial concert to raise funds for a tomb for Satie's grave. In a promotional article for the concert in *Comoedia* Cocteau describes the primitive atelier of Brancusi and how comfortable Satie was in those environs.

By attending the festival you will help Brancusi to ornate his tomb. Brancusi's atelier resembles a prehistoric landscape: tree trunks, blocks of stone, an oven where the *maître de*

⁶⁰ Shattuck discusses the similarities between these two artists throughout *The Banquet Years*.

⁶¹ Jean Cocteau, 'Hommages à Erik Satie', *La Revue musicale*, 1 August, 1925, 97-99, 97. 'Le lendemain de sa mort, le douanier Rousseau entre au Louvre; on dirait pour fêter leur rencontre au ciel.'

⁶² Auric, 'Le Rôle du prophète'. Parts of this talk are published in Auric, 'La Jeune Musique française', 44-60, 58. 'Après tant de surcharges et de beauté millionnaires, la simplicité d'une musique où la tristesse humaine s'exprimait sans fausses notes, sans mensonge, déplut aux habiles. Leurs Rolls-Royce clignait de l'œil au-devant de la carriole de M. Juniet, si bien peinte par le bon Henri Rousseau.'

maison, a primitive man, grills meat at the end of a poker. In the four corners, a brontosaurus has left eggs and sparkling statues attract Americans as if they were magpies. Satie was happy in the midst of this decor. It is only right that something on his tomb should call to mind those bygone days when, laughing and joking, he showed us our path.⁶³

Satie's music was sometimes compared to Brancusi's sculptures on account of their common penchant for the aesthetic of simplicity. Volta explains that in the art of both men 'the procedure of simplification was taken to a point where not only the accessories, but the essential' was rejected.⁶⁴ Whilst Brancusi's sculptures became museum pieces, Satie's music was refused entry into the 'imaginary museum of musical works.'⁶⁵

3.8 *Parade*: Cubist? Futurist? Esprit nouveau?

The confusion surrounding contemporary definitions of artistic movements is abundantly clear in the reception of *Parade*. Many critics instantly labelled *Parade* a *de facto* cubist work on account of Picasso's involvement, yet many others considered it a futurist work on account of the existence of the noise elements in the musical score, such as the siren, typewriter and gunshots. The source of this confusion can perhaps be traced to Diaghilev's promotion of the Ballets Russes during this season. In an article in the *Journal des débats* on 16 March 1917, Diaghilev's artistic vision for the season is outlined as a combination of futurist and cubist aims:

[...] *Parade*, is the work of the combined efforts of Erik Satie, Jean Cocteau, Picasso. Constantly in search of the novel, this time round Diaghilef has settled on showing some cubist and futurist decors. "Without doubt, he said to a reporter from *l'Opinion*, these constitute two diametrically opposed tendencies. For the futurists painting is nothing more

⁶³ Jean Cocteau, 'Pour la tombe d'Erik Satie', *Comoedia*, 17 May 1926, 2. 'En prenant des places au festival, vous aiderez Brancusi à orner sa tombe. L'atelier de Brancusi ressemble à un paysage de préhistoire: des troncs d'arbre, des blocs de pierre, un four où le maître de maison, homme primitif, grille les viandes au bout d'un point de fer. Aux quatre coins, le Brontosaurus a déposé des œufs, et des statues miroitantes attirent les belles Américaines comme des oiseaux. Satie se plaisait dans ce décor. Il est juste que quelque chose rappelle sur sa tombe les journées détruites où, riant et plaisantant, il nous montrait notre route.' Volta similarly describes Brancusi's atelier as a 'prehistoric cavern.' Ornella Volta, *L'Ymagier d'Erik Satie* (Paris: Editions Francis van de Velde, 1979), 67.

⁶⁴ Volta, *L'Ymagier d'Erik Satie*, 67. 'Souvent la musique de Satie a été comparée à la sculpture de Brancusi: on s'est parfois demandé, toutefois, si, dans les deux cas, le processus de simplification n'a pas été porté à un point où non seulement l'accessoire, mais l'essentiel a été rejeté.'

⁶⁵ This is Lydia Goehr's description of the musical canon and the title of her famous work on the philosophy of music. *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay on the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, [1992] 2007).

than a dynamic art which has to express movement, whereas for the cubists it is a static art, trying to establish the equilibrium of forms. I find in the former the impetus of the Romantics; on the contrary, in the latter I see certain analogies with the Parnassians. There is good to be found in both schools, within them one finds above all powerful and curious talents.”⁶⁶

In contrast with this description, Apollinaire’s programme notes for *Parade*, which were published a week prior to the premiere, promoted the work as the first representative piece of the new French movement *l’esprit nouveau*. Apollinaire explains that *Parade* is open to many interpretations and he stresses the interart nature of the work:

Definitions of *Parade* flourish all over like branches of lilac in this late spring... It is a scenic poem that the musical pioneer Erik Satie has transformed into surprisingly expressive music, so clear and so simple that the wonderfully lucid spirit of France herself can be perceived. The cubist painter Picasso and the most audacious of choreographers, Léonide Massine, have realised in consummating for the first time this alliance of painting and dance, of the plastic and the mimic that is the evident sign of the advent of a more complete art.⁶⁷

Apollinaire considered *l’esprit nouveau* a new art form and for a time Satie was content to associate himself with another blossoming avant-garde movement.

With regard to this new alliance, - for up to now, the décors and costumes on one hand, the choreography on the other hand, have only been connected by an artificial bond - in *Parade* a sort of surrealism has emerged wherein I see the point of departure of a series of manifestations of this New Spirit which, having found an opportunity to show itself today, will not fail in seducing the elite and promises to change from top to bottom the arts and their moorings in universal joy because accepted taste wishes them to be at least on par with scientific and industrial progress.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Anon., ‘Echos’, *Journal des débats*, 16 March 1917, 2. ‘[...] *la Parade*, sera l’œuvre commune de MM. Erik Satie, Jean Cocteau, Picasso. Toujours à la recherche du nouveau, M. de Diaghilef a résolu de montrer cette fois des décors cubistes et futuristes. « Sans doute, disait-il à un rédacteur de l’*Opinion*, ce sont là deux tendances diamétralement opposées. Pour les futuristes, la peinture n’est qu’un art dynamique qui doit exprimer le mouvement, tandis que pour les cubistes elle est un art statique, cherchant à établir l’équilibre des formes. Je retrouve dans les premiers l’élan des romantiques; je vois au contraire dans les seconds certaines analogies avec les Parnassiens. Il y a du bon dans les deux écoles, on y rencontre surtout des talents puissants et curieux.’”

⁶⁷ Guillaume Apollinaire, ‘*Parade et L’Esprit Nouveau*’, *L’Excelsior*, 11 May 1917, 5. [Programme notes for *Parade*] ‘Les définitions de *Parade* fleurissent de toutes parts comme les branches de lilas en ce printemps tardif... C’est un poème scénique que le musicien novateur Erik Satie a transposé en une musique étonnamment expressive, si nette et si simple que l’on y reconnaîtra l’esprit merveilleusement lucide de la France même. Le peintre cubiste Picasso et le plus audacieux des chorégraphes, Léonide Massine, l’ont réalisé en consommant pour la première fois cette alliance de la peinture et de la danse, de la plastique et de la mimique qui est le signe évident de l’avènement d’un art plus complet.’

⁶⁸ Apollinaire, ‘*Parade et L’Esprit Nouveau*’, 5. ‘De cette alliance nouvelle, car jusqu’ici les décors et les costumes d’une part, la chorégraphie d’autre part, n’avaient entre eux qu’un lien factice, il est résulté, dans *Parade*, une sorte de surréalisme où je vois le point de départ d’une série de manifestations de cet *Esprit Nouveau* qui, trouvant aujourd’hui d’occasion de se montrer, ne manquera pas de séduire l’élite et se promet de modifier de fond en comble les arts et leurs mœurs dans l’allégresse universelle car le bon sens veut qu’ils soient au moins à la hauteur des progrès scientifiques et industriels.’

Few critics sympathised with Apollinaire's enthusiasm and Satie's role in *l'esprit nouveau* only became a talking point thanks to the efforts of Cocteau.⁶⁹ *Parade* was interpreted by many critics as mere noise, rather than music. An anonymous critic in *La Grimace* describes how this ballet disturbed his day: 'And the torturous sound of a tin money box, comparable only to the crazy shrieking orchestra of Erik Satie has poisoned the calm and the tranquillity of this sunny day.'⁷⁰ Such comments led to conclusions that Satie too, like the futurists, was simply a *bruiteur*, a noise maker. In 1919 Julien Tiersot writes of *Parade*: 'Here futurism does not necessarily always constitute the future! On the other hand, there are moments when one cannot listen without impatience to it proclaim the principles of a decadent art [...].'⁷¹ The same year Gaston Picard claims that Satie is a 'disciple of Socrates, he is also a follower of Marinetti.'⁷² It comes as little surprise that Satie was described by many music critics as a member of this group: in a futurist tract Marinetti himself credited Satie as 'one of the creators of modernity, a futurist without knowing it.'⁷³

Unlike the critics, Satie typically refrained from labelling his music or associating it with any particular movement. There is only one documented instance where Satie explicitly aligns the aesthetic intention of a specific work with an artistic group. In a letter to Henry Prunières (3 April 1918), Satie describes his latest work *Socrate* as follows: 'It is a return to a classic simplicity with a modern sensibility. I owe this return – to the good practices – of my 'cubist' friends.'⁷⁴ Cubism fascinated Satie and he was well informed on the art and poetry of this movement. The painter and

⁶⁹ Apollinaire died in November 1918, a few months prior to the release of Cocteau's *Le Coq et l'Arlequin*.

⁷⁰ Grimm, 'Tous les sept Jours', *La Grimace*, 17 June 1917, 2. 'Et le supplice du bruit de la tirelire, comparable seulement à l'orchestre encrecellé [*sic*] du loufoque cubiste Erik Satie a empoisonné le calme et la tranquillité de cette journée ensoleillée.'

⁷¹ Julien Tiersot, 'Souvenirs de Cinq Années (1914-1919)', *Le Ménestrel*, 12 December 1919, 84-5. 'Là le futurisme n'est pas toujours l'avenir! D'ailleurs, il y a des moments où l'on n'entend pas sans impatience proclamer les principes d'un art décadent [...].'

⁷² Gaston Picard, 'Une Enquête Sociale', *La Renaissance: Politique, littéraire, économique*, 30 August 1919, 8. 'Disciple de Socrate, il est aussi un adepte de M. Marinetti.' Satie was acquainted with Marinetti through his involvement in the soirées of the futurist dancer Valentine de Saint-Point.

⁷³ Marinetti is quoted in Sylvia Kahan, *Music's Modern Muse: A Life of Winaretta Singer, Princesse de Polignac* (Rochester NY: Rochester University Press, [2003] 2009), 244.

⁷⁴ Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 325. 'C'est un retour vers la simplicité classique avec sensibilité moderne. Je dois ce retour – aux bons usages – à mes amis "cubistes".' Ironically contemporary critics labelled it futurist or *l'esprit nouveau*, while posthumously this work is widely considered a notable example of early French neo-classicism.

former mistress of Picasso, Fernande Olivier stated that ‘the only person I ever heard discuss cubism clearly and simply was Erik Satie.’⁷⁵ Satie was friendly with many figures in the cubist movement and he collaborated with Picasso and Braque on artistic projects. Satie also began projects with Derain and Apollinaire, yet neither of these came to fruition. Satie’s music was performed at artistic soirées in venues where cubist works were exhibited on quite a few occasions. During the Great War, Satie spent a considerable amount of time with cubist artists and writers in the salons and cafés of Paris and his exchanges with them impacted significantly on his music in this period.

In the days following the premiere of *Parade* Jean Poueigh published a substantial article titled ‘Cubism and Music’ under his pseudonym Octave Séré. Composed in the ostentatious writing style of the decadents, this piece betrays many of the misunderstandings and confusion surrounding ‘these two neighbouring art forms, painting and music.’⁷⁶ Following a direct attack on the futurist and simultaneist composer-critic Carol-Bérard, Poueigh launches a tirade of abuse at Satie’s interart works, his visual concern for the musical score, his penchant for enharmonics, the use of borrowing and humorous expression. He concludes that it is unclear whether or not Satie should be classified as a futurist, cubist, *fumiste* or *puffiste*.⁷⁷ The reader is left in little doubt that none of these labels can be construed as flattering. This excerpt perhaps explains why Satie was perhaps motivated to write a series of insulting postcards addressed to Poueigh:

Erik Satie, he also pursues the extra-musical effect. In the past however, when the Rose-Croix was in full-bloom, he was able to discover maladroit or even captivating aggregations, which were only required not to stammer anymore in order to be able to transform themselves into a work of art. Being a native of Honfleur, just like the other, his ambition today is to become the Alphonse Allais of the music world. He tries with great effort to achieve this by placing an extra line of writing on top of the usual five lines. These little tales or reflections, commenting on les *Préludes flasques* and other *Embryons desséchés*, are not always funny. And if one removes the text nothing funny remains. Unless you consider witty or clever the use of citations plucked from famous books, or the complete and absolute suppression of indications of metre, bars and time signature in the way that it was practiced, but not for the same reason, in the Middle Ages, or even, real notation [written] in enharmonics – la for soh double-sharp, for example. Basically, this

⁷⁵ Volta, *L’Ymagier d’Erik Satie*, 65. ‘L’unique personne que j’ai entendue raisonner clairement et simplement du cubisme ce fut Erik Satie.’

⁷⁶ Octave Séré, ‘Le Cubisme et la Musique’, *La Rampe: Revue Hebdomadaire des spectacles*, 24 May 1917, 1.

⁷⁷ *Puffiste* was a term used to describe a charlatan, an individual accused of false advertisement through trickery and jokes.

absence of humour has to be intentional and has to stem from the superior irony of Erik Satie. I will not finish with and will not complain about the poet “of the music that precedes all things”, not knowing where the futurists and the cubists stop and the *fumistes* and *puffistes* start.⁷⁸

Whether interpreted as a cubist or futurist work, most critics expressed the concern that with *Parade*, Satie was leading French music in a dangerous aesthetic direction. In 1921 Paul Bertrand warns that Satie’s foray into musical cubism has stunted musical progress in France. Bertrand outlines his concern in genealogical terms: he argues that Debussy prepared the way for Stravinsky as Monet prepared the way for Picasso, but the natural evolution of music has been disrupted by the insistence of Les Six in exalting ‘the maliciously enforced insignificance of Erik Satie.’⁷⁹ Bertrand fears that French music has been surpassed by the ‘impotent ... contingent of noise-makers’ from Italy.⁸⁰

3.9 Dada

In March 1921 an unusual, sarcastic advert, designed solely it seems to mock the music of Stravinsky, Satie and Dada, appears on the front page of *Le Figaro*: ‘Modern music. A new “palace” has just opened in an eccentric district. No concessions have been made. And it announces dryly: Orchestra of 20 soloists. Hence Stravinsky, Erik Satie and the Dadaists are outdone and this cacophonous

⁷⁸ Séré, ‘Le Cubisme et la Musique’, 1. ‘M. Erik Satie, lui aussi, poursuit l’effet extra-musical. Jadis, pourtant, quand fleurissait la Rose-Croix, il sut découvrir des agrégations maladroites, sinon captivantes, auxquelles ne manquait pour se muer en œuvre d’art que de n’être plus des balbutiements. Etant natif d’Honfleur comme l’autre, il ambitionne aujourd’hui de devenir l’Alphonse Allais de la musique. Il s’efforce d’y parvenir en mettant au-dessus des cinq lignes ordinaires une ligne supplémentaire d’écriture. Ces petites histoires ou réflexions commentant les *Préludes flasques* et autres *Embryons desséchés*, ne sont pas toujours drôles. Et si l’on enlève le texte, il ne reste plus rien d’hilare. A moins que vous ne considériez spirituel et fin l’usage de citations cueillies dans les œuvres célèbres, ou la suppression totale et absolue des indications de mesure, barres et chiffres, ainsi que cela se pratiquait, mais pas pour la même raison, au Moyen Age, ou encore, la notation réelle employée avec l’enharmorique — la et sol double-dièze, par exemple. Au fond, cette absence d’humour doit être voulue et provenir de l’ironie supérieure de M. Erik Satie. Je ne concluerai [*sic.*] donc pas et ne réclamerai point avec le poète « de la musique avant toute chose », ne sachant pas où les futuristes et les cubistes s’arrêtent, et où commencent les fumistes et les puffistes.’

⁷⁹ Paul Bertrand, ‘Musique pure et Musique dramatique’, *Le Ménestrel*, 17 June 1921, 249-251, 250. ‘[...] les musiciens du groupe des “Six”, qui exaltent, comme une signe de raillonnement symbolique, l’insignifiance facétieuse de M. Erick Satie.’

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 250.

music will please our aesthetes.’⁸¹ From 1919 onwards Satie is often referred to as a Dadaist, even though he did not write any specifically Dada music until 1924. Satie’s association with the Dada movement in Paris primarily involved his participation in events and contributions to publications. The Dadaists were very active in the organisation of interart events, for instance, the ‘Satie-Cendrars’ concerts that took place in La Galerie de l’Effort modern and in Théâtre de l’Odéon in 1919.⁸²

The ‘matinées de *Littérature*’, organised by André Breton, Eluard, Soupault and Tzara, were organised with the aim of presenting modern painting and poetry, in addition to music by Satie and ‘Les Six.’⁸³ Only one of these matinée events actually took place on 23 February 1920 in the Palais des Fêtes, rue Saint Martin, as internal divisions within the Dada movement were making collaborative events increasingly difficult. Michel Sanouillet explains that the organisers of this event purposely chose this working-class venue ‘to demonstrate their contempt for the amphitheatres on the Left Bank and for the “posh neighbourhoods” traditionally devoted to poetry recitals.’⁸⁴ The poet André Salmon described this location as ‘far away from those milieus stinking of art and literature.’⁸⁵ Tristan Tzara, the founder of the Dada movement, attended this event, his first Dadaist outing following his arrival in Paris. Sanouillet believes that Satie rarely participated in Dada performances as ironically, many members of the Dada group were suspicious of a composer they suspected to be ‘official’ and who dealt with individuals generally disliked by the Dadaists, such as Jean Cocteau.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, Satie frequently contributed to Dada publications and collaborated with prominent figures of the movements, including Francis Picabia, Marcel Duchamp and Man Ray.

⁸¹ Le Masque de Fer, ‘Les Echoes, *Le Figaro*, 19 March 1921, 1. ‘Musique moderne. Un nouveau « palace » vient de s’ouvrir dans un quartier excentrique. Il n’a reculé devant aucun sacrifice. Et il annonce froidement : Orchestre de 20 solistes. Du coup, Stravinsky, Erik Satie et les Dadaïstes sont dépassés, et cette musique cacophonique fera plaisir à nos esthètes.’

⁸² Sanouillet, *Dada in Paris*, 75. A programme for the latter concert in the Odéon has not yet come to light.

⁸³ *Littérature* was a Dada journal founded by André Breton (Dadaist and later the founder of surrealism), which first appeared in March 1919. Sanouillet states that the first ‘matinée de *Littérature*’ ‘constitutes the archetype of most of Dada’s Parisian events.’ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, fn 48, 544.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 102.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 129.

Satie's pre-war concerts had seriously challenged concert etiquette with the arrival of laughter and revelry in the concert hall. In keeping with his non-conformist reputation, many of the post-war concerts in which Satie's music was programmed were quite boisterous events, some of which descended into violent affairs that required police intervention.⁸⁷ Such altercations reinforced his image as an anti-establishment figure. Satie was part of a culture where macho outbursts were quite common events as artists often defended the honour of their new art through physical fights. In the 1890s Satie challenged the director of the Opéra to a duel for this very reason. These physically violent outbreaks at concerts were reflective of the power struggles in the arts occurring at the time where so many '-isms' were competing for recognition simultaneously. Pasler explains that

unlike today, artistic *scandals* occurred relatively often in Paris at the turn of the twentieth century. [...] Any new art work automatically received some hostility. Building support and understanding for a work – that is, creating a public – was a process that took time and strategy.⁸⁸

3.10 Conclusion

Satie's eagerness to constantly change aesthetic approaches to composition and his consequent inability to remain loyal to any one artistic group for any significant length of time meant that his support network never had a chance to grow steadily. Instead, Satie gained a new group of allies and supporters as he alienated a previous group. In one of his first articles for the Dada magazine *Le Cœur à barbe* Satie immediately severs ties with his recent past: 'Something terrible has happened: ... My subscription to *L'Esprit Nouveau* has just expired, ... yesterday... Yes... I'm 'all of a dither' about it.'⁸⁹ Satie refused to play the culture game in a manner that would have benefitted his career and the consequences of this are clear in the various ways in which he was consistently disciplined. Supporters who later became detractors were often Satie's most vocal and vitriolic critics. Very few

⁸⁷ For instance, at the Dada event, 'Soirée du Cœur à barbe' on 6 July 1923, the poet Paul Eluard jumped on stage during a performance and hit Tristan Tzara and then the writer René Crevel in the face. Sanouillet, *Dada in Paris*, 279.

⁸⁸ Pasler, *Writing Through Music*, 184-5.

⁸⁹ [Erik Satie, *Le Cœur à barbe*, 1 April 1922] Wilkins (ed.), *The Writings of Erik Satie*, 106-7. This journal was run by many of the leading figures of Dada in Paris including Paul Eluard, Ribemont-Dessaignes and Philippe Soupault.

concert organisers continued their support for long periods, often as a direct result of Satie's difficult personality. The practices of concert programming and interart activities outlined in this chapter contributed to Satie's reputation and reinforced his non-official status. They also illustrate how he consistently self-sabotaged his career. Satie's behaviour had implications that were discernible in the critical discourses. In the following chapter, the ways in which Satie was disciplined for his difficult behaviour and his illegitimate musical compositions, are explored through the themes of gender, class, nationalism and religion.

Chapter 4. Four Tributary Discourses in Canon Formation: Gender, Class Politics, Religion, Nationalism

4.0 Introduction

Many of the criteria of canon formation in Satie's time were intrinsically linked to contemporary socio-political discourses concerning a variety of matters such as gender, class, religion and nationalism. Societal discourses such as these collectively make up the 'historical unconscious', or the episteme of Satie's era. Official composers were invested in preserving and promoting the ideologies of the canon and were therefore, expected to demonstrate sympathy with the dominant ideological principles that informed it. Thus, a composer's behaviour and music in early 20th-century France was expected to be patriotic, to adhere to a particular moral and spiritual value code and to conform to bourgeois sensibilities. Furthermore, the composer himself should also embody the contemporary ideals of masculinity.

Music critics consistently appropriate language, imagery and metaphors that originate in these four tributary discourses in order to discipline Satie. Citron relates that 'reception not only gives expression to cultural metaphors, but also provides for their control. The power of the pen can shape mightily how these metaphors are disseminated, understood, reinforced, or modified.'¹ These tributary discourses are also used to highlight the criteria of officialdom that Satie failed to meet. In this chapter the issue of how the 'historical unconscious' informs music criticism in Satie's reception is addressed. Here the focus shifts from the othered subject (Satie) onto the wider socio-historical context in which the canon operated, an approach that facilitates many diverse interpretations of the history of this period.

¹ Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 167-68.

4.1 Gender and Masculine Domination

Teresa de Lauretis describes gender as both a socio-cultural construct and a semiotic apparatus, ‘a system of representation which assigns meaning [...] to individuals within a society.’² The construct of gender is closely linked to the construction of a composer’s reputation. In the following discussion of gender in Satie’s reception a wide selection of sources on Satie are examined to ascertain how this tributary discourse of gender was used to discipline his behaviour and music and explore how it was linked to the creation of his reputation. In order to trace the role of gender in canon formation in modernist discourses it is necessary to understand the contemporary constructions of masculinity and femininity in this period.

In the early 20th century the andocentric principle was the ideology of masculine domination that governed discourses on gender. Bourdieu argues that the andocentric principle has never lost its hegemonic power, but the language and mechanisms of symbolic violence through which masculine domination is maintained and controlled have changed.³ These changes tend to coincide with societal shifts that have caused a redefinition of masculinity in various historical periods. Similarly, Izenberg argues that while the dominant idea of masculinity has altered over time, this change has never been a drastic one, but rather a modification of previous ideals.⁴ In the medieval period hegemonic masculinity was personified by the medieval knight, particularly the Christian warrior knight who upheld the ideals of chivalry, courage, honour, military skill and loyalty to God and to his lord.⁵ This ideal developed over the proceeding centuries to gradually incorporate bourgeois virtues which achieved dominance over the concept of masculinity by the 19th century. In this period sharper divisions were drawn between feminine and masculine spheres due to a number of societal and cultural changes which precipitated a more urgent desire to preserve male autonomy. In this period the feminine became associated with passivity and

² Teresa de Lauretis, ‘The Technology of Gender’ in *Technologies of Gender* (Bloomington, 1987), 5, quoted in Kallberg, *Chopin at the Boundaries*, 30.

³ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

⁴ Izenberg, *Modernism & Masculinity*, 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

emotionalism, in opposition to the masculine traits of rationality and creativity. Aesthetic culture was highly valued and its production and maintenance was considered an ennobling pursuit. But in the late decades of the 19th century, however, contemporary attitudes towards masculinity and femininity underwent a radical shift.

Izenberg argues that the period from 1885 to 1920, the early years of modernism, was characterized by a ‘crisis of masculinity.’⁶ This crisis was precipitated by a number of events that deeply influenced ideas of nationalism, religion, politics and class in France. France suffered a humiliating defeat to Germany in the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71) and their neighbours Germany and Italy had undergone unification in 1871, a development which posed a threat to French sovereignty. The rise of mass politics on the right and the left had destabilized the power of the wealthy upper classes. In the midst of these changes, women now had improved access to education, were working in the public sphere and were participating in politics.⁷ These changes further threatened a masculinity which typically defined itself in opposition to femininity. Women’s only meaningful activity in French society prior to this point had been to reproduce and rear children: if women were to attain equality with men, then the only remaining difference between men and women would be their reproductive function. The concept of ‘feminine lack’ which was developed at this time could be viewed as a manifestation of an increasingly insecure masculinity seeking to defend its primacy. As Izenberg demonstrates throughout his work on modernism and masculinity/as we will see in this discussion of gender and Satie, this trope of the feminine lack appears in various metaphors and imagery in critical texts of this time. In a study of Satie’s occasional patron Valentine de Saint-Point, Nancy Locke highlights an article written by Jacques Reboul, in the magazine *Montjoie!* (March 1913) in which Reboul criticises the norms of emphasising the feminine lack at this time/treatment of women at this time:

He deplores modern manners toward women, especially toward those who seek employment; he invokes a traditional set of manners which had been part of the French diplomatic heritage for centuries. He writes: “In literature and in art, where pretentiousness abounds today more

⁶ Izenberg, *Modernism & Masculinity*, 2.

⁷ See the chapter on ‘Women and the Family’ in William Fortescue, *The Third Republic in France 1870-1940: Conflicts and Continuities* (London & New York: Routledge, 2000), 80-105.

than anywhere else, it has also become fashionable to insinuate that when a woman does not keep to housework, she's a "creature". [...] Think of it! A woman who creates a body of work, a woman who appears publically... Those sorts flaunt themselves, my good woman! ... And Morality? How many times have we not heard these spiteful relections, even when in regards to a poetess, dignified above all by her character and belonging to the best blood of France."⁸

Masculinity had traditionally been defined by military prowess, political power and material productivity. Creative pursuits had to be argued as genuine manly labour in an increasingly materialist culture. Artists could not claim the validity of material usefulness, a trait of masculine jobs in this period. Males involved in aesthetic pursuits became engaged in the struggle to be viewed as an artist whose work embodied masculinity. Izenberg observes that the masculinity of aesthetic work was under threat:

within the art world male artists were in a precarious position as the artist's very enterprise allied him with the "feminine" values because the realms of the emotional and the aesthetic were delegated, or relegated, to the feminine sphere within the bourgeois division of labor.⁹

Artists could not claim the validity of material usefulness, a trait of masculine jobs in this period and creative pursuits had to be promoted by the arbiters of culture as genuine manly labour in an increasingly materialist culture. The debate surrounding masculinity and its relationship with modernism was implicit in the art, literature and music of this period, and quite often explicit in the criticism that surrounded the arts. Many modernist art works betray this anxiety and portray the feminine as a dangerous Other. Picasso's *Les Femmes d'Alger* is a prominent example of the female portrayed as the source of a deadly sexual disease and of dangerous otherness.¹⁰

By the end of the 19th century the artist was alienated from 'bourgeois utilitarianism' and 'economic individualism.'¹¹ This shift coincided with the expectation that the professional composer should be an intellectual: creative pursuits without intellectual intent were considered feminine. Composers and critics discussed music in terms that justified its contribution to society: the moral

⁸ Locke, 'Valentine de Saint-Point and the Fascist Construction of Women' in Affron and Antliff (eds.), *Fascist Visions*, 86.

⁹ Izenberg, *Modernism & Masculinity*, 12.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 221.

betterment of man, the espousal of nationalistic concerns and the maintenance of bourgeois values. The early years of musical modernism also coincided with increased levels of institutionalization, a masculine practice necessary for controlling the aesthetic and ideological direction of art music.¹²

Izenberg argues that from 1885 to 1920, ‘a social and psychological crisis of masculinity helped shape both the thematic concerns and the formal innovations of the early modernist revolution in the arts.’¹³ Through a study of the life and works of Kandinsky, Wedekind and Mann, Izenberg illustrates how this crisis informed modernist artworks. This crisis also manifested itself in artistic criticism and masculine domination was enacted in the general and artistic press through many forms of ‘symbolic violence.’¹⁴ In *Masculine Domination*, Bourdieu notes that ‘the particularity of the dominant is that they are in a position to ensure that their particular way of being is recognized as universal. The definition of excellence is in any case charged with masculine implications that have the particularity of not appearing as such.’¹⁵ In discourses of canon formation the conscious or unconscious masculinizing of works is a common task undertaken by music critics. Kallberg notes that, unlike their counterparts in the early to mid-19th century, late 19th-century male critics ‘obsessively disparaged music that they associated with femininity and effeminacy.’¹⁶ In the canonic discourses surrounding Satie many methods of domination are utilized, most of which are identifiable when one asks the following questions of the primary sources of reception: Is the imagery gendered? Is it active or passive? The following techniques are the most recurrent acts of symbolic violence identified in Satie’s case:

- attempts to infantilize him: the description of Satie as child-like
- attacks on his virility/ accusations of impotence in his art
- accusations of effeminacy in his works and behaviour

¹² The Conservatoire is a prime example of an institution within which the andocentric principle was exercised in maintaining the musical canon. Many commentators focused on Satie’s failed studies at this state institution and his consequent autodidactic approach to composition, which was considered sensate rather than intellectual, feminine rather than masculine.

¹³ Izenberg, *Modernism & Masculinity*, 2.

¹⁴ Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*, 1-2.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 62.

¹⁶ Kallberg, *Chopin at the Boundaries*, 42.

- presentation of the image of Satie as mother
- the association of Satie's humour with his mother
- claims that Satie's music belonged in the feminine sphere

4.1.1 *Satie the Child-Man*

In his lifetime and in the years since, Satie is often described as 'child-like.' Bourdieu explains that 'among the games that are constitutive of social existence, those that are called serious are reserved for men, whereas women are confined to children and childish things.'¹⁷ The trope of the child-man pervades discourses on modernist art and is frequently used by music critics in their attempts to infantilize Satie. This particular image of Satie was frequently evoked during his public musical career and has since gained further currency in Roger Shattuck's seminal work *The Banquet Years*. In this influential book on the history of the origins of the French avant-garde, Shattuck focuses on four artist subjects (Satie, Apollinaire, Jarry and Rousseau), all of whom he believes embody four distinctly modernist traits: 'the child-like and absurd, dream and ambiguity.'¹⁸ Shattuck reiterates the connection between humour and the child-man that was first proposed by critics during Satie's lifetime; however his appropriation of this image is not driven by the same ideological motivations and his respect for Satie's artistic accomplishments is clear throughout his work.

Otherworldly imagery associated with the man-child, particularly symbols in vogue in literature at the time, was appropriated by critics in discussions of an artist's masculinity, most often with the purpose of attacking their manhood. In *La Musique française moderne* André Coeuroy defends Satie's masculinity as an artist and reassures readers that he does not carry the 'baton' of the fairies: 'Erik Satie is a humorist and many would prefer that he was only that. There is a poet in him, but a secret one without doubt, so they have some excuse for confusing the baton of the

¹⁷ Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*, 75. Bourdieu notes that all of the games that are socially assigned to men, war is the form 'par excellence.'

¹⁸ Shattuck, *The Banquet Years*, 41.

fairies with the club of the Harlequin.’¹⁹ Jeffrey Kallberg explains that the image of the fairy at this time connoted a small stature and high-pitched voice, implying a naïve, child-like image. Kallberg notes that the image of the elf carries similar child-like connotations and is often used to infantilize artists. Roland-Manuel’s image of Satie as a ‘mocking elf’ in his article of 1913 is seemingly harmless in intent, though it would have contributed to the feminization of discourses surrounding Satie and propagated the image of Satie as child-like.²⁰ In a posthumous account of Satie, Robert Brussel writes in *Le Figaro* that Satie ‘took possession of [glory] [...] smiling his familiar sardonic smile, in the manner of a child that mounts a hobby-horse, without believing in it, but dreaming however that it is an authentic mount.’²¹ Such descriptions of Satie were frequently evoked by critics throughout his public career.

In *La Nouvelle Revue* in 1913, Maurice Touchard recalls how Fanelli and Satie ‘were honoured as precursors or indeed godfathers to Debussy;’ however, he downplays their historical significance by attacking their masculinity in patronising terms, recalling imagery from Virgil’s *Aeneid* to compare these precursor composers to children breastfeeding: ‘This quite risqué gloss had been met with polite credence; it was fitting to allow the previously unknown artist relish in peace the milk of human affection so sparingly measured out to mortals.’²² In a scathing review of *Parade* in *Le Courrier musical*, Jean d’Udine infantilizes Satie in order to criticize the quality of his music. He alludes to Freud’s work on developmental child psychology, specifically his theory of the anal phase of infantile sexuality.²³

¹⁹ André Coeuroy, *La musique française moderne* (Paris: Delgrave, 1922), 150. ‘Erik Satie est un humoriste, et beaucoup voudraient qu’il ne fût que cela. Il y a en lui un poète, mais si secret, sans doute, qu’ils ont quelque excuse à confondre la baguette des fées avec la batte d’Arlequin.’

²⁰ Roland-Manuel, ‘Silhouettes d’Artistes: Erik Satie’, 1.

²¹ Robert Brussel, ‘Pour la Tombe du Solitaire d’Arcueil: Un monument à Erik Satie’, *Le Figaro*, 16 May 1926, 2. ‘Il en prit possession, [...] avec ce sourire narquois qui lui était familier, à la manière un peu d’un enfant qui enfourche un cheval mécanique, sans y croire, mais en rêvant cependant à d’authentiques chevauchées.’

²² Maurice Touchard, ‘Les Concerts’, *La Nouvelle revue*, May-June 1913, 217. ‘Cette glose assez aventureuse avait rencontré une créance polie; il était séant de laisser l’artiste méconnu savourer en paix le lait de la tendresse humaine si parcimonieusement mesuré aux mortels.’

²³ In the anal phase of infantile sexuality, which Freud believed occurs between the ages of eighteen months and two years, children become obsessed with their faeces and derive pleasure from playing with it. This stage of child development is resolved through proper toilet training and it is thought to permanently affect the individual’s natural inclinations towards possession and attitudes towards authority.

[...] all of that is infinitely more stupid than naive, more irritating than funny, more senile and outdated than audacious and pioneering. Stercoral* jokes, faecal amusement! My only surprise was that this stupid fellow (village clown) who wouldn't even entertain a normal child, would not leave his crud on the stage while he was there. Let us be on our guard! He will dump it in our souls...²⁴

In contrast with these negative reviews, not all critics considered associations with childishness and youth as necessarily negative. Many critics described Satie as a 'young' composer, a testament to the freshness of his musical ideas which were constantly opening up new pathways that young composers were attracted to following. In 1925 the artist Fernand Léger implies that Satie's youthfulness translates into the process of constant renewal and innovation in his art:

[...] a music that is no longer music, that is completely new music; an imponderable thing, distinct, undefined, very defined, we don't know any more. It did not come from the orchestra, it is below the orchestra, it is on the plateau, in the hall, under the hall, in the legs of the dancers, in the electric lamps, behind the projectors, it is that music of the youngest French composer.²⁵

4.1.2 *Attacks on Virility*

Virility confers honour and to challenge the virility of other men is an act of symbolic violence, an attempt to dominate and discipline an individual through an attack on their masculinity. Consequently in the discourses of music criticism attestations of sexual potency were important symbols of manliness and they confirmed the masculine nature of a composer's works. The practice of attacking a composer's virility was particularly common in the musical discourses of Satie's time and this was directly linked to the wider societal discourse on male virility. In France there was a serious concern about the declining birth rate and consequently virility was a subject of national import. In a diary entry dated February 1911 Degas' friend Daniel Halévy writes:

²⁴ Jean d'Udine, 'Couleurs, Mouvements et Sons: Les Ballets Russes, en 1917', *Le Courrier musical*, June 1917, 237-241, 239. '[...] tout cela est infiniment plus bête que naïf, plus ennuyeux que drôle, plus sénile et désuet qu'audacieux et rénovateur. Plaisanterie stercoraire, amusement fécal! Mon seul étonnement fut que le stupide (solipède) qui n'amuserait même pas un enfant normal, ne lâchât pas son crottin sur la scène, pendant qu'il y était. Prenons-y garde! Il l'a déposé dans nos âmes...]' *The adjective stercoral means of faecal origin.

²⁵ Fernand Léger, 'Vive "Relâche"', *Bulletin de l'Effort moderne*, No. 13, March 1925, 5-6, 6. '[...] une musique qui n'est plus de la musique, qui est toute la nouvelle musique; quelque chose d'impondérable, de net, pas situé, très situé, très situé, on ne sait plus. Ça ne vient pas de l'orchestre, c'est au-dessus de l'orchestre, c'est sur le plateau, dans la salle, sous la salle, dans les jambes des danseuses, dans les lampes électriques, derrière les projecteurs; c'est la musique du plus jeune musicien français.'

I do not wish to deny the moral and social disorder which is ours. The nation has survived through the vitality of its people, the warmth of their characters, the abundance of individual talents. It is menaced today, not by disorder, which is always with us, but by the diminution of its physiological vitality, its impoverishment in men.²⁶

The challenges to Satie's virility and manliness by critics were both explicit and implicit in critical writings about him.

Discourses on gender and sexuality were preoccupied with the idea that the urban lifestyle had weakened French men. The advent of mass production, consumerism and luxury in the cities had led to a decline in the physical fitness of the male population. The Franco-Prussian war, and later World War I, brought the ideals of the warrior figure and bourgeois honour (which was still defended through duels) to the forefront of the cultural imagination.²⁷ Against this backdrop composers struggled to prove their masculinity through creative work.

During this 'crisis of masculinity' artists had to fight for masculine recognition and canonic acceptance in the shadow of 'virile' great composers such as Beethoven. In the process of canon formation, music critics often showed their approval by applauding the virile imagination or art of a particular composer while stressing the impotence of those of whom they disapproved. In a letter to his wife while he was serving in the French army during World War I, Satie's former counterpoint teacher writes about an opera-ballet he had started before the breakout of war:

I don't see in my work any trace of morbid or deliquescent influences. On the contrary, I feel its general tone is rather virile and strong and that it will be capable of surviving the test of a two- or three-year delay (and what years!) before it is offered to the public.²⁸

At a time when *Gestalt* theories and Bergson's new concept of *durée* were challenging the traditional ideas of unity in an artwork, the criteria that informed the discourses of canon formation remained very much rooted in a definitively

²⁶ Daniel Halévy, *Degas parle* (Paris: Editions des Fallois, 1995), 184, quoted in Nichols, *The Harlequin Years*, 28.

²⁷ Contamine de Latour recalled that Satie challenged Eugène Bertrand, the director of the Paris Opéra, to a duel as he had not replied to Satie's request by letter (on 20 December 1892) to stage the ballet *Uspud*. Alan Gillmor, *Erik Satie*, 97.

²⁸ Robert Bernard, *Albert Roussel* (Paris, 1948), quoted in Roger Nichols, *The Harlequin Years* 31.

masculine Darwinian view of organicism and evolution.²⁹ In canonic discourses virility is also associated with the creation of a new generation of composers through aesthetic influence and the imparting of knowledge through teaching and writing about music. These professional duties are essential canonic behaviours. In order to become a master composer, his peers had to bestow upon him the status of ‘father’ of a school or movement. The status and image of a ‘master’ is a distinctly masculine one and inextricably linked to the concept of virility.

During his public career young composers such as Auric and Roland-Manuel argue in favour of Satie’s virility. In his 1916 talk at the Salle Huyghens, Roland-Manuel describes Satie’s humoristic works as the ‘new fruits of a fecund humour ... that extended beyond the narrow frontiers of little musical circles.’³⁰ In 1921 Auric speaks publicly about the confluence of the arts at this time in a lecture on Satie titled ‘The Role of the Prophet.’ Auric states that ‘on the tracks of charming, seductive impressionism comes a great desire for frankness and virility’ in literature, painting and music.³¹ In the course of this research only one critical source concerning Satie was uncovered that argued for a revolutionary, rather than evolutionary law in the development of art music. Henri Mangin argues that ‘since society sheds its ancient garb and even aspires to recreate itself in a painful moulting of its profound anatomy, art MUST follow this revolutionary law in the same way. It is the postulate of the *TABULA RASA* and of the absolute beginning.’³²

In Satie’s reception, critical remarks regularly associated his musical output with impotence, particularly around the time of the public premiere of *Socrate*. In a

²⁹ See Kerman, *Musicology*, 75, for a discussion of organicism and *Gestalt* psychology; and Pasler, *Writing Through Music*, 13-14 for a discussion of *durée*.

³⁰ Roland-Manuel, *Erik Satie*, 5. ‘Un dessin favorable encouragea ces fruits nouveaux d’un fécond humour que l’édition répandit très rapidement et dont le succès, cette fois, a dépassé les frontières étroites des petits cercles musicaux.’

³¹ Georges Auric, ‘Le Rôle du prophète’, IMEC: SAT 40.2. ‘Peinture, littérature, musique. Au délicieux, au séduisant impressionnisme succède un grand désir de franchise et de virilité. Picasso, Braque, Derain, Apollinaire, Max Jacob – voici les annonceurs d’une époque qui doit nous donner confiance. Et si ce n’est peut-être pas encore tout à fait le soleil et tout à fait la force, voilà se lever, en tout cas, une aurore rassurante.’

³² Mangin, ‘L’Esthétisme nouveau’. ‘[...] puisque la société dépouille son ancien vêtement et aspire même à se recréer en une mue douloureuse de son anatomie profonde, l’art DOIT suivre parallèlement cette loi révolutionnaire. C’est le postulat de la TABLE RASE et du commencement absolu!’

review of the Festival Erik Satie in 1920 one critic writes: ‘thus impotence makes its appearance: they are waltz airs or romances to be sung on street corners; above all it is the naked, blatant and crude poverty of *Socrate*, more emphasised still by the orchestra than by the piano.’³³ The following year Paul Bertrand expresses his concern about the unhealthy relationship between Satie and Les Six and comments that unlike the futurists who are successful noise-makers, it is ‘impotence which cynically replaces notes with noise in the case of this group.’³⁴ In Satie’s case, impotence was sometimes associated with his choice for humorous expression in music, a rhetorical style that was clearly unwelcome choice in the eyes of some critics:

Irony is, in truth, the vitality of impotence. It is also, if one wishes, the triumph of pride over death, in the sense that the individual, refusing to perish, denies death as well as life, exalting himself in negation. For Irony *is* negation. [...] It is a negative and contemptuous attitude on the part of the individual toward life; a pose, be it brutal – as when it takes the form of sarcasm – be it elegant – when in the shape of delicate irony pure and simple – yet always, speaking in strictly human terms, unnatural and artificial.³⁵

4.1.3 *Satie and the Feminine*

Bourdieu explains that many cultures possess so-called rites of separation which aim

to emancipate the boy from his mother and to ensure his gradual masculinisation by encouraging and preparing him to confront the external world. [...] the whole series of sexual rites of institution oriented towards virilisation and, more generally, in all the differentiated and differentiating practices of ordinary existence (manly sports and games, hunting, etc.), encourages the break with the maternal world, from which girls are exempted [...].³⁶

Critics frequently align Satie with his mother, implying that he somehow still resides in a quasi-symbiosis with her and therefore, has failed to complete the process of masculinisation. Satie’s mother was a foreigner of Scottish origin, a fact that is often mentioned in biographies of Satie, particularly in relation to his deviant sense of humour, which many claimed he inherited from her. Roland-Manuel notes

³³ R. S., ‘Festival Erik Satie’, *Le Ménestrel*, 18 June 1920, 255. ‘Alors l’impuissance apparaît: ce sont des airs de valse ou de romances à chanter au coin des rues; c’est surtout l’indigence nue, évidente, crue, du *Socrate*, plus soulignée encore par l’orchestre que par le piano.’

³⁴ Bertrand, ‘Musique pure et Musique dramatique’, 250. ‘[...] dernier mot de l’impuissance qui, cyniquement, remplace les sons par le bruit.’

³⁵ Rudhyar D. Chenneviere, Frederick H. Martens (transl.), ‘Erik Satie and the Music of Irony’, *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 5, No. 4. (October 1919), 469-478, 473.

³⁶ Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*, 25.

in his 1916 biography that Satie's maternal Scottish origins probably endowed his humour with an unusual spirit.³⁷ In a less favourable reference to these origins in 1924, Roland-Manuel blames this curious mix of Scottish and Norman humour for Satie's 'incoercible appetite for hypocritical buffoonery' and his involvement with Dada, a movement that he feels 'waylaid' Satie.³⁸

The image of a composer as a 'father' is normalised canon-speak. For instance, few would question the description of Beethoven as the 'Father of Romanticism.' Situating Satie in the lineage of modernist music, contemporary critics most frequently refer to him as a precursor to Debussy, a pre-debussyste or pre-impressionist composer. Satie's harmonic innovations in impressionism are often acknowledged, though the accolade 'father of impressionism' is only awarded to Debussy. Albert Bertelin's suggestion that Satie should be considered the 'father of impressionism' was not heeded by other critics.³⁹ Despite this strong endorsement of Satie's prominent place in the evolution of contemporary French musical language, his status is reduced significantly by the decision of some critics to present him as a mother figure and this choice of image was certainly not arbitrary.

In the post-war period, Satie was frequently labelled a 'chef d'école' due to his association with Les Six; however critics devoted considerable energy to dismissing this role following the dissolution of the group. This was Satie's second potential claim to 'fatherhood' to be denied by critics. In the article 'Modernist Music and the Group of Six' in *Vanity Fair* in August 1923, Paul Morand devotes a section to Satie's involvement with the group of young composers under the subheading 'Satie the Sire of the Six.' In this brief discussion he portrays Satie as a spiritual fatherly figure, an appropriately masculine artist and teacher:

Erik Satie is the spiritual father of the whole group. Each one has seen him in the afternoon, has listened to his discoursing at the hour of the *apéritif*, when, joining comment and anecdote to his lessons in music, he brings back his young disciples into the paths of pure classicism by a detour analogous to that which leads the most ultra-advanced painters, from a disgust of impressionism, back to Ingres and the science of drawing. "In music, the line is the melody",

³⁷ Roland-Manuel, *Erik Satie*, 2.

³⁸ Alexis Roland-Manuel, 'Adieu à Satie', *Revue Pleyel*, No. 15, 15 December 1924, 21-2, 22. 'Dada guettait Satie. Dada seul pouvait fournir de nouveaux aliments à son incoercible appétit de bouffonnerie hypocrite [...].'

³⁹ Whilst the term 'precursor' quickly gained common currency, the term 'father of impressionism' did not appear again in the sources of reception in Satie's lifetime.

he teaches; a melody stripped and light, full of that simplicity which is the most exquisite refinement.⁴⁰

Few critics shared Morand's viewpoint and instead most criticized Satie's bad influence on the young school of composers. In the weeks following his death, Maurice Imbert launched a severe attack on Satie in *Le Courrier musical*, promoting the image of Satie as a mother-hen figure to younger composers: 'Later on he became the uncrowned head of the "Six" of recent memory and finally releasing his chicks, [now] grown up as a result of their success, he adopted a new brood hardly out of the egg who took the name the School of Arcueil [...].'⁴¹ In 1923 Roland-Manuel, a former 'disciple' of Satie, criticises the members of the newly-formed Ecole d'Arcueil for following Satie rather than rebelling against him. In this rare example of a former student and follower of Satie referring to him as a musical father figure, Roland-Manuel argues that in order to develop into a man/composer it was necessary for him to commit parricide. He articulates that the 'most obvious marks of an imperious vocation' in composition are the 'murder and especially parricide' of musical fathers. In the domain of aesthetics the spirit of individualism is vital and he warns that 'a gregarious spirit is the most solicitous [type] that can manifest itself in art.'⁴² Roland-Manuel denied his former musical father completely in an article that appeared the following year in the *Revue Pleyel* entitled 'Adieu à Satie.'⁴³ Over the course of Satie's career his potential musical sons, those that owed him the most, all denied any patriarchal claim he had to them.

Bourdieu states that 'the sexualized cosmology [...] is rooted in a sexualized topology of the socialized body, of its movements and displacements which are immediately charged with social meaning.'⁴⁴ The socially constructed division between the sexes in this period was largely construed as natural or self-evident and ignored the vocal opposition presented by the feminist movement in France at this

⁴⁰ Paul Morand, 'Modernist Music and the Group of Six', *Vanity Fair*, August 1923, 51.

⁴¹ Maurice Imbert, 'Erik Satie', *Le Courrier musical*, No. 27, July-August 1925, 423. 'Plus tard il devint la tête non comptante des 'Six' de récente mémoire et dernièrement lâchant ses poussins grandis par le succès, il adopta une nouvelle couvée à peine au sortir de l'œuf qui prit le nom d'Ecole d'Arcueil [...].'

⁴² Alexis Roland-Manuel, 'Le Quinzaine musicale', *L'Echo de Paris*, 29 October 1923, page number unknown [in IMEC, SAT:39]. '[...] l'esprit grégaire est le plus inquiétant qui se puisse manifester en art [...].'

⁴³ See Appendix I for the full text of this article.

⁴⁴ Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*, 7.

time. Women's lack of status and power was reinforced by the French legal system which bestowed all legal power concerning the home and the family to the father or husband of the household. The act of effeminization was a common technique employed by critics to demonstrate contempt or disapproval of an individual or their work. Satie himself was partial to occasionally participating in this act.⁴⁵

In the early 20th century stereotypical feminine behaviour was linked to passivity, submissiveness and shyness, all attributes applied to Satie by critics. In 1920 one critic describes Satie's social awkwardness around female admirers of his music: 'Women approached him, congratulating him. He sometimes appeared angry, sometimes embarrassed and downplayed all compliments.'⁴⁶ In August 1925 Albert Flament describes Satie's final public appearance, emphasising what he considered feminine behaviour on the part of the composer: 'Twice this winter, he had appeared on the vast stage of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées with his bald pate, his short beard, his short-sightedness, his awkward timid air, his appearance of a punctual, intimidated bureaucrat, which adds to the irony.'⁴⁷ Flament continues, 'the unhappy composer hardly seemed destined for such displays [of exhibitionism]. He was ill at ease there, he had the air of an automaton. [...] Destiny had remained indifferent to this timid man [...].'⁴⁸

Masculine depictions of Satie are almost non-existent in the sources of reception, and the presentation of Satie as a military crusader in an obituary in *Le Monde musical* is arguably an anomaly:

⁴⁵ For instance, in *Le Cœur à barbe* Satie attacks Ravel in this fashion: 'Ravel isn't a "pundit", ... of course not... It's just that he looks like one – but only from a distance... a great distance. He's a "dandy" rather – a little dawdling dandy... Yes... and so elegant! ... So "chic"! Let us be fair – for once.' [Erik Satie, *Le Cœur à barbe*, No. 1, April 1922] Wilkins (ed.), *The Writings of Erik Satie*, 70.

⁴⁶ Arlequin, 'La mort de Socrate', *La Place de grève*, March 1920, 41-42, 42. 'Les dames l'approchaient, le félicitaient. Il semblait tantôt fâché, tantôt ennuyé, et déroutait à plaisir tous les compliments.'

⁴⁷ Albert Flament, 'La Quinzaine: Tableaux de Paris: Erik Satie', *La Revue de Paris*, 15 August 1925, 917-920, 917. 'Deux fois cet hiver, il avait paru sur la vaste scène du Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, avec son front chauve, sa courte barbe, sa myopie, son air gêné, craintif, son apparence de bureaucrate ponctuel et intimidé, qui fait en aparté de l'ironie.'

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 918. 'Le malheureux compositeur ne semblait guère destiné à de telles exhibitions. Il y était mal à l'aise, il y prenait un air d'automate. [...] La destinée était demeurée indifférente devant ce timide [...].'

The author of the *Gnossiennes* was the unknown scout of a troupe victorious today. The musical campaign that triumphs in these times had hardly begun when Satie had already attacked. For him alone, for pleasure, for love of new colour and unexpected gestures, he launched the missiles of his grand minor and psalmodic chords, arranged on the scale of his ninths and he surrendered himself to the ingenuity of his atonal temperament.⁴⁹

The stereotypes of masculine and feminine behaviours extended to the division of labour in society. The rhetoric of masculine domination exploits this sexual division as a logical metaphor to legitimate the relationship of domination. This division of male and female labour was reinforced by the conception of certain spaces as masculine or feminine domains. In contrast with the public, external male domain, the female sphere was typically associated with domestic labour, ‘the tasks that are private and hidden, even invisible or shameful, such as the care of children or the animals.’⁵⁰ Women were largely excluded from participation in official business or political life and from physically demanding or dangerous work such as military service. Gendered divisions were also applied to musical life where female performers or composers rarely appeared in the programmes of the large concert halls, and they were quite often the victims of sexism in the music press. In a public talk in 1917 Apollinaire stated that the destiny of men who innovate and create is much greater than the destiny of women:

As long as aeroplanes were not populating the skies, the tale of Icarus was only a supposed truth. Today, it is no longer a tale. And our inventors have accustomed us to greater technical wonders than those that consist of delegating to men that feminine function of producing children.⁵¹

In a review of a concert, organised by Mme Simone de Ferrer on 11 December 1923 at which Satie’s music was performed, that manages to be both sexist and patronizing, Humbert dismisses the event as a domestic, private and feminine affair, the sole purpose of which is to entertain young children:

⁴⁹ Anon., ‘Erik Satie’, *Le Monde musical*, July 1925, 250. ‘L’auteur des *Gnossiennes* fut l’éclaireur inaperçu d’une troupe aujourd’hui victorieuse. La campagne musicale qui triomphe en ces temps-ci se préparait à peine quand Erik Satie donnait déjà l’assaut. Pour lui seul, par plaisir, par amour de la couleur nouvelle et du geste imprévu, il lançait les fusées de ses grands accords, mineurs et psalmodiques, disposait l’échelle de ses neuvièmes, et se livrait aux ingéniosités de son tempérament atonal.’

⁵⁰ Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*, 30.

⁵¹ [Conférence prononcée au Vieux-Colombier le 26 Novembre 1917, ‘L’Esprit nouveau et les poètes’, written by Guillaume Apollinaire, read by Pierre Bertin.] Guillaume Apollinaire, ‘Critique littéraire’, *Mercure de France*, December 1918, 900-910, 906. ‘Tant que les avions ne peuplaient pas le ciel, la fable d’Icare n’était qu’une vérité supposée. Aujourd’hui ce n’est plus une fable. Et nos inventeurs nous ont accoutumés à des prodiges plus grands que celui qui consisterait à déléguer aux hommes la fonction qu’ont les femmes de faire des enfants.’

Programme of young authors performed by young artists in the presence of a young, very enthusiastic audience... Here and there, [sat] some women of a respectable age, who, certainly will not have understood much of what was going on and who appear to have come today [solely] to entertain their grandchildren.⁵²

In the early 20th century, official composers were almost exclusively male and the concert hall was still very much the most valued domain of the male performer and composer. In the late 19th century Chopin's music was often disparaged through its categorization as a 'salon style' (a coded reference to 'women's music').⁵³ In accounts of musical performances the gendered opposition between the public concert hall and the private salon established during the 19th century was widely upheld by critics. In a review of *Parade* in 1917, d'Udine complains that the dancers are 'bad amateurs for salon comedy.'⁵⁴ In a damning review of *Socrate* Jean Marnold attacks the work by establishing a parallel between the tone of the work and the chatter of women in the feminized space of the drawing room or salon:

This 'symphonic drama', as he calls it, is composed of a succession of phrases of two and four bars relentlessly trotted out, droning on implacably with insipid and flagrant reminiscences of *Boris* and *Pelléas*, under a text by Victor Cousin which is recited in the tone of a drawing-room conversation. To call it impotent would be to make too much of such an utter nothing.⁵⁵

The few salon events discussed in the press were rarely reviewed positively. In the period when Satie was still being promoted by the SMI, Vuillermoz writes unfavourably of Valentine Saint-Point's *Métachorie*. Vuillermoz stresses the 'dangerous' nature of Saint-Point's efforts to create a new artistic and intellectually motivated movement with the music of modern composers:

⁵² L. Humbert, 'Mme Simone de Ferrer', *Le Monde musical*, December 1923. 'Programme de jeunes auteurs interprétés par de jeunes artistes en présence d'un jeune public très enthousiaste... De ci, de là quelques dames d'âge respectable qui, certes, n'y auront pas compris grand chose et qui semblent être venues s'amuser aujourd'hui leurs petits-enfants.'

⁵³ Chopin's music was later masculinised through more virtuosic interpretations by Arthur Rubenstein in the concert halls and this was reinforced through analyses by Schenker and Hugo Leichtentritt which negated Chopin's gendered past and legitimized the genre of the nocturne.

⁵⁴ Jean d'Udine, 'Couleurs, Mouvements et Sons: Les Ballets Russes, en 1917', *Le Courrier musical*, June 1917, 237-241, 239. 'Ce chinois et ces acrobates qui ne savent rien faire, mauvais amateurs pour comédie de salon.'

⁵⁵ Jean Marnold, 'Musique', *Le Mercure de France*, 1 May 1920, 786. 'Ce "drame symphonique", ainsi qu'il l'intitule, est confectionné d'un chapelet d'incises de deux ou de quatre mesure implacablement ressassées, égrenant sans relâche des réminiscences affadies et flagrantes de *Boris* et *Pelléas* sous un texte de Victor Cousin récité sur le ton d'une conversation salonneuse. Impuissance serait trop dire pour un néant de cette totalité.'

It is within the realm of our great classics that *Métachorie* could locate intellectualism, voluntary symmetry, systematic geometry: by seeking these things in Debussy, Satie, Ravel or Manuel it [métachorie] has created a dangerous anachronism. Above and beyond this, it has caused serious damage to a group of artists who consider the very thing that it presents as progress to be a regression. Our music has found it difficult enough to recover from its “cerebral” congestion: it is not auspicious to be exposed to a relapse! Let [our music] guard itself against frequenting the dangerous atelier of Mme de Saint-Point!⁵⁶

From 1912 to 1925 Satie’s music was frequently performed in the salons of the wealthy Parisian elite, in art galleries and at aristocratic and haute bourgeoisie functions. These private events were held in venues perceived to be in opposition to the masculine domain of the concert hall. In a review of a concert in which Satie’s music was performed in the salon of Valentine de Saint-Point, the reviewer provides more detail on the décor than on the music:

This was an elegant evening of art and beauty that Mme Valentine [de] Saint-Point gave in the setting of her gothic atelier covered with old sacred ornaments, the gold illuminated by burning candles on high floor lamps. There one heard the most talked-about music, alternately Florent Schmitt and Maurice Ravel played their works and, like great *enfants terribles*, performed these harmonic ironies of Erik Satie, the *Morceaux en forme de poire* for four hands.⁵⁷

Whilst Satie’s music was performed in both private and public settings his popularity amongst the aristocratic and haute bourgeoisie classes was perceived negatively by critics and he achieved a level of popularity in the private musical world that was unattainable in the masculine external *monde musical* of Paris. Accounts of these concerts exist mainly in memoirs, private correspondence and in the gossip rags of the time such as *Femina*.

⁵⁶ Emile Vuillermoz, ‘Le Mois’, *Revue musicale S.I.M.*, 1 February 1914, 54. ‘C’est dans nos grands classiques de la Métachorie pouvait trouver de l’intellectualisation, de la symétrie volontaire, de la géométrie systématique: en les cherchant dans Debussy, Satie, Ravel ou Manuel elle a commis un dangereux anachronisme. Elle a de plus, injurié gravement un groupe d’artistes qui considèrent comme une régression ce qu’elle présente comme un progrès! Notre musique a eu bien assez de peine à guérie de sa congestion “cérébrale”: ce n’est pas le moment de l’exposer à une rechute! Qu’elle se garde donc de fréquenter l’atelier dangereux de Mme de Saint-Point!’

⁵⁷ Françoise, ‘Une Soirée d’Art’, *Femina*, 15 July 1912, 422. ‘Ce fut une soirée précieuse d’art et de beauté que celle que donna Mme Valentine Saint-Point dans le cadre de son atelier gothique tapissé de vieux ornements sacré dont l’or se ravivait à la leur de cierges brûlant sur de hauts lampadaires. On y entendit les musiques les plus fameuses, tour à tour MM. Florent Schmitt et Maurice Ravel jouèrent de leurs œuvres et, en grands enfants terribles, exécutèrent à quatre mains ces ironies harmoniques d’Erik Satie les « morceaux en forme de poire ».’ *Femina* was a monthly periodical aimed at a female bourgeois audience.

4.1.4 Genre, Aesthetics and Gender

There are evident parallels between the gendered discourses and methods of domination found in Chopin's reception in the early to mid-19th century and those in Satie's reception. These parallels reveal a great deal about societal constructions and debates surrounding masculinity and femininity in French society in these periods, and how the tributary discourse of gender contributed to the process of canon formation. Kallberg notes that in the case of Chopin, 'the want of manliness, moral and intellectual, [marked] the one great limitation of Chopin's province.'⁵⁸ Satie's reputation also suffered as a direct result of a perceived lack in masculinity. In the 19th and early 20th century, a definite aesthetic hierarchy is observable in the gendered language of music criticism and associations with women or effeminacy denoted a lesser valued aesthetic competence. Jean Cocteau argued in *Le Coq et l'Arlequin* that Satie's greatest audacity was his choice of an aesthetic of simplicity in music. This was indeed audacious at a time when complexity, intellectualism and significant length were highly valued, masculine traits in music.

Gender plays an important role in the formation of an evaluative stance and, in keeping with the andocentric principle, small forms were devalued because they were perceived as 'feminine.' In the criteria of canon formation larger, more complex genres were certainly privileged over smaller ones: simplicity and brevity were considered feminine attributes as they were characteristic of the type of pieces that largely constituted the domestic repertoire of amateur female piano players. Official composers were expected to write a corpus of great works: this implied complex, long works that included the genres of symphony, string quartet and opera, none of which Satie composed.

Chopin and Satie were both severely criticised on account of the brevity of their works, their preference for composing in small genres and their eschewal of large-scale instrumental works. In a review of Chopin's piano music in 1835, August Kahler lists a variety of criticisms that Satie would later be subjected to: the continual use of small forms, the need for literary content due to the weakness of the musical content, the influence of lowbrow popular dance genres, the use of

⁵⁸ Kallberg, *Chopin at the Boundaries*, 82.

literary titles to mask the lack of musical content and the feminine behaviour of coquetry.

It is characteristic that enthusiasm for the great, the far-reaching, the deep must make way for a multitude of small designs, accomplished forms for the graceful, charming, coquettish [*gefällsüchtigen*]. The lowest and most popular music genre, dance music even, must have recourse to the most expensive finery in order to corrupt the meaning. Dramatic music is with the greatest of pleasure composed of nothing but small forms (Romances, Couplets, Lieder, etc.). The catalogues swarm with Sketches, Eclogues, Impromptus, Bagatelles, Rhapsodies, Etudes, etc. One wants as much variety as is possible, however nothing but the small. Because however the newer art works are too weak to represent themselves, a content is therefore *pressed upon* them, and thus arise instrumental pieces with *literary titles* [*Überschriften*].⁵⁹

Whilst the majority of Satie's critics expressed concerns similar to those presented by Kahler, some of his supporters claimed that these particular stylistic and aesthetic features were insufficient reasons for dismissal. Paul Collaer praises Satie's short works and signals certain elements of note in his music that Kahler would have considered of negative value. In a discussion of *Parade* he writes:

It is minutely composed, solidly made. Some slow-moving spirits judged the introduction of a rag-time improper in this work. The good master of Arcueil was authorized here in the same way as Chopin and Schubert, composing charming waltzes at a time when the waltz was a new dance. Besides, the rag-time is [composed] of a rhythmic richness to which a composer must be sensitive and in which his fantasy can play a large part.⁶⁰

Satie's refusal to bow to expected conventions were possibly motivated by his faith in the revolutionary nature of his musical innovations. He did not apologise for the simplicity or brevity of his works but rather insisted on stressing these features in his programme notes in which he consistently failed to promote either the language or imagery of masculinity. In a concert note for *Prélude de la Porte héroïque du ciel*, Satie effeminizes his own work through the use of descriptive adjectives such as 'little' and 'sweet.'⁶¹ He describes the character of the preludes as 'chaste' in form and he adopts the symbolic colour of the religious virgin – white – to describe the harmonies. In this example he uses the word 'little' as a semi-structural device, recalling the poetic technique of anaphora.

⁵⁹ August Kahlert, 'Die Genrebilder in der modernen Musik', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 12 June 1835, 189-191, quoted in Kallberg, *Chopin at the Boundaries*, 40.

⁶⁰ Paul Collaer, 'Musique', *La Flamme*, 25 December 1919 - 1 January 1920, 3. 'Elle est minutieusement composée, solidement faite. Des esprits tardigrades ont jugé inconvenante l'introduction, dans cette œuvre, d'un rag-time. Le bon maître d'Arcueil-y était autorisé au même titre que Chopin et Schubert composant de charmantes valse à une époque où la valse était une danse nouvelle. D'ailleurs, le rag-time est d'une richesse rythmique à laquelle un musicien doit être sensible et dont sa fantaisie peut tirer un grand parti.'

⁶¹ [Erik Satie] Anon., 'Salle Gaveau', *Guide du Concert*, 1 June 1912, 542-43.

This is the simple story of a little prelude, a little ivoryed prelude like a resonating carpet; a little prelude full of mystical sweetness, a little prelude full of ecstatic joy, a little prelude full of intimate goodness. The form is naive and chaste; the harmonies are meditative and white, following such respectable and touching conventions, established indeed by Our August Predecessors, the Venerated Masters of the Supreme Antiphonal, Unique, Impeccable, Triumphant, Anonymous, Fascinator and Phenomenal.⁶²

In recognition of the new direction in which Satie was leading music through this aesthetic of simplicity, many commentators praised the brevity and the uniqueness of his little works. In a 1921 article for *Intentions*, Milhaud praises *Le Piège de Méduse*: 'I attach an extreme importance to these little dances, so rich, so living, [performed by] a really new, sharp orchestra. They stem from an imagination and perfection of prodigious proportions.'⁶³ He describes Satie's *Ludions* as 'little masterworks of grace and tenderness.'⁶⁴ He concludes that the twenty-one short pieces, *Sports et divertissements*, are 'one of the most characteristic piano works of the French school. They are short pieces of a ceaseless variety where everything is essential.'⁶⁵ In 1919 W. Wright Roberts states that Satie's 'economical art' seems likely to endure.⁶⁶ Jean Georges-Aubry writes in a similarly flattering fashion, presenting Satie as a masculine master of his realm:

The attractive side of Satie's work is that, when one studies it at near-hand it reveals a perfect knowledge of musical resource... if his kingdom is a tiny one... at least he reigns there as sovereign, and exhibits there a nature of finesse, of raillery, and of clear-sightedness... Behind his apparent lack of respect for music, lurks a sincere love of it, such as one sometimes fails to find in the depths of the soul of certain master builders of works of large dimensions, for whom music is nothing more than scientific boredom.⁶⁷

In a cautiously positive review of Satie's short humoristic works Maurice Boucher lightly reprimands other critics for not acknowledging the significance of Satie's aesthetic advancements in music. Boucher argues that, even though they were

⁶² [Erik Satie] Anon., 'Salle Gaveau', *Guide du Concert*, 1 June 1912, 542. 'Telle est l'histoire simple d'un petit prélude, petit prélude ivoryé comme un tapis résonnant; petit prélude tout de douceur mystique, petit prélude tout de joie extatique, petit prélude tout de bonté intime. La forme en est naïve et chaste; les harmonies en sont recueillies et blanches, suivant les convenances si respectables et si touchantes qu'établirent justement Nos Augustes Prédécesseurs, les Maîtres Vénérés de l'Antiphonaire Suprême, Unique, Impeccable, Triomphant, Anonyme, Fascinateur et Phénoménal.'

⁶³ Darius Milhaud, 'Chronique musicale', *Intentions*, 20 December 1923, 17-18, 17. 'J'attache une importance extrême à ces petites danses, si riches, si vivantes, d'un orchestre tellement neuf, mordant. Elles sont d'une fantaisie et d'une perfection de proportions prodigieuses.'

⁶⁴ Ibid., 17-18. '[...] ces petits chefs-d'œuvre de grâce et de tendresse.'

⁶⁵ Ibid., 17. '[...] une des œuvres de piano les plus caractéristiques de l'école française. Ce sont de brèves pièces où tout est essentiel, d'une variété sans répétition.'

⁶⁶ W. Wright Roberts, 'The Problem of Satie', *Music & Letters*, Vol. 4, October 1923, 313-320, 320.

⁶⁷ Georges Jean-Aubry, 'Erik Satie', *Music Student*, December 1916, 136.

authored by a mad man, these works were pioneering and proposed an alternative to the Romantic conventions of musical form:

Something else, besides mischievousness was necessary to mount an insurgence against length, against reasoned and compulsory developments, against sad majesty. I am not even speaking about innovations in writing, assuredly more important and more fecund than the short fantasies of a sick head. To predict that some of them would be new, open paths to other landscapes than those at present, and destined to be walked upon by a new generation still in its infancy, is to actually talk of a precursor. Without ulterior motive, we must give credit to those who – by means of unshackled originality – knew how to free themselves from conventional forms and replace them with others, fragile as they were.⁶⁸

Despite the small coterie of supporters lauding Satie's brave aesthetic approach, many more influential critics wrote disparagingly of his miniature style and cited the brevity of his works as proof of creative deficiency: 'Little things, little works, little impressions, his inspiration goes no further. Is it that it will not or cannot?'⁶⁹ Albert Flament describes Satie as 'a prisoner to these little works of short breaths' which behave in a feminine fashion. He continues, 'there is a lot of charm and grace in these compressed tablets of melody'; however, 'they leave us quite unsatisfied [...] it is like coquetry.'⁷⁰ In a review of a performance of *Sports et divertissements* in January 1922, Maurice Boucher ridicules the short length of these pieces which he implies Satie wrote intentionally to provoke critics who had previously complained that his works were too short and lacked development:

These twenty-one little pieces are pretty, but they are tiny, arrangements of *pattes de mouches** and *cheveux coupés en quatre*.⁷¹ Calling ten bars *Water-chute* or *Quatre coins* cannot be considered to be composing. I know well that this is a completely intentional reaction to the habit of execrating false developments.⁷²

⁶⁸ Maurice Boucher, 'Concert J. Wiéner – Erik Satie', *Le Monde musical*, January 1924, 30. 'Il fallait autre chose que de l'espièglerie pour s'insurger alors contre la longueur, contre les développements raisonnés et obligatoires, contre la majesté triste. Je ne parle même pas d'innovations d'écriture assurément plus importantes et plus fécondes que les courtes fantaisies d'une mauvaise tête. Pressentir quels seraient les chemins nouveaux ouverts sur d'autres paysages que ceux du présent et destinés à porter les pas d'une génération, entière alors au berceau, c'est être à proprement parler un précurseur. Il faut rendre justice, sans arrière-pensée, à ceux qui – par originalité foncière – ont su se libérer des formes convenues et en mettre d'autres à la place, si frêles fussent-elles.'

⁶⁹ Lucien Solvay, 'Belgique', *Le Ménestrel*, 2 February 1923, 58. 'Petites choses, petits morceaux, petites impressions, son inspiration ne va plus loin. Serait-ce qu'elle ne veut pas ou qu'elle ne peut?'

⁷⁰ Albert Flament, 'La Quinzaine: Tableaux de Paris: Erik Satie', *La Revue de Paris*, 15 August 1925, 917-920, 919. 'Erik Satie demeurait prisonnier de ces petites œuvres de courte haleine [...]. Il y a beaucoup de charme et de grâce même dans ces comprimés de mélodie. Elles nous laissent assez peu satisfaits, mais c'est comme une coquetterie.'

⁷¹ *Pattes de mouches* is a metaphor for minuscule, illegible writing which literally translates as 'the legs of a fly'. *Cheveux coupés en quatre* is an idiom with the implied meaning that something is impossible to achieve; just as dividing a single hair into four parts is impossible.

⁷² Maurice Boucher, 'Salles Diverses', *Le Monde musical*, March 1922, 113. 'Ces vingt-et-une piécettes sont jolies, mais c'est de l'art minuscule, des arrangements de pattes de mouches et de

The disciplining of Satie through masculine domination was a highly successful technique utilised by music critics in excluding Satie from consideration as an official and serious composer and in dismissing any potential claims he had to consideration as a father or master figure.

4.2 Class Politics

In *Distinction*, Bourdieu illustrates the correlation between musical taste and class distinctions in French society. He notes that ‘art and cultural consumption are predisposed, consciously and deliberately or not, to fulfil a social function of legitimating social differences.’⁷³ The tributary discourse of class politics in the reception of Satie’s music reveals much about existing tensions between the classes during his lifetime and about its role in canon formation. In the reception of Satie’s music references to class politics are pervasive and this preoccupation was highly influential in discussions concerning Satie’s claim to legitimacy. This theme is linked to the criterion that legitimate music should adhere to bourgeois values. Citron relates that ‘in general, the values encoded in the canon affirm a particular cultural group or groups and are not necessarily meaningful for other groups. Thus by virtue of its particularity a canon is not universal.’⁷⁴ In the Paris of Satie’s time *le monde musical* was by no means a unified sphere in terms of class, but-rather it was inhabited by members of all classes. Pasler notes that the ‘lower classes’ had access to art music through public concerts ‘in part because of the political ideals of the French Republic.’⁷⁵ Satie participated in musical events that spanned the various class strata, yet, the primary sources of reception typically focus on bourgeois events held in bourgeois settings to the detriment of events aimed at other class groupings which were generally considered of lesser cultural value by the arbiters of the musical canon.

cheveux coupés en quatre. Appeler dix mesures *water-chute* ou les *Quatre coins*, ce n’est pas faire œuvre de compositeur. Je sais bien que cela est parfaitement volontaire et en réaction contre l’habitude honnie des faux développements.’

⁷³ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, xxx.

⁷⁴ Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon*, 21.

⁷⁵ Pasler, *Writing Through Music*, 21.

According to Bourdieu taste is a habitus, and therefore, it is a normative construct: he explains that this is why ‘aesthetic intolerance can be terribly violent’.⁷⁶ In ideological terms the aristocracy felt that Satie posed no threat, yet the petit bourgeois and the bourgeois – the primary class of cultural arbiters – felt that Satie disrespected their values. In the preface to the Routledge English-language edition of *Distinction*, Tony Bennett explains the particularity of the class known as the haute bourgeoisie in French society, a group who must be also considered in discussions of class and taste in this culture:

[The] particularity of the French tradition, namely the persistence, through different epochs and political regimes, of the aristocratic model of ‘court society’, personified by a Parisian *haute bourgeoisie* which, combining in all forms of prestige and all the titles of economic and cultural nobility, has no counterpart elsewhere, at least for the arrogance of its cultural judgements.⁷⁷

Satie’s patronage by the haute bourgeoisie at a time when he was being attacked by the bourgeois arbiters of culture can be explained to some extent by the fact that these two groups expected and embraced very different ideologies concerning high-art. The bourgeois expected art to live up to ideals of spirituality, morality and greatness. Due to his indulgence of the haute-bourgeoisie, some critics considered Satie’s music of dubious moral value. Many composers of this period were supported by patrons and were similarly involved in high society events, yet they were not subjected to the same harsh treatment. Major figures in music history such as Schönberg, Carter and Babbitt have engendered resistance, yet these composers were not excluded from the officialdom as they all represented and perpetuated bourgeois values. Satie’s loudly proclaimed left-wing personal politics allowed the critics to ridicule the irony of his situation.

Satie became a member of the Arcueil branch of the SFIO (Section Française de l’Internationale Ouvrière, also known as the French Socialist Political Party) the day after the assassination of one of its most prominent figures, Jean Jaurès, on 31 July 1914. After the congress of Tours in December 1920, the SFIO split and the majority of members voted for the foundation of the French Communist Party

⁷⁶ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 49.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, xiii.

(*Section française de l'Internationale communiste* (SFIC)) in January 1921.⁷⁸ Satie immediately became a member. The Third International socialist congress demanded that the way be cleared 'for the proletarian revolution, and that you genuinely struggle against bourgeois reformist ideas.'⁷⁹ Volta notes that Satie 'certainly was the first intellectual to carry the card of the French Communist Party.'⁸⁰

From 1898 until his death in 1925 Satie lived in the working-class suburb of Arcueil-Cachan in a 'poor factory-worker's dwelling.'⁸¹ Here Satie participated in local politics and was well liked in his community where he volunteered to take local children on outings. Satie was awarded the *palme académique* for his charitable work in 1909. From 1911 onwards Satie spent a lot of his time amongst the haute bourgeoisie and aristocratic circles in Paris, yet none of these friends and acquaintances were aware that in reality he lived the life of a pauper. It was only upon his death in 1925 that his friends realised the poverty in which he had lived. Despite Satie's open affiliations with the political left his music was often branded elitist and he was accused of purposely shocking the bourgeois (*épater le bourgeois*) and pandering to the taste of the 'snobs.' His involvement with members of high-society also led to accusations that Satie was a puppet or servant of the haute bourgeoisie.

4.2.1 Satie and the Haute Bourgeoisie

Bourdieu describes patrons as purchasers of luxury goods, cultural commodities that distinguish this group as they are largely unattainable by the lower classes: distinction is inscribed in the purchase of luxury cultural goods. Luxury is 'the manifestation of distance from necessity' and it lies in opposition to 'the brutish necessity [of the lower classes] which forces itself on the vulgar.'⁸² Through patronage Bourdieu implies that the artist is 'appropriated' or 'possessed' by the

⁷⁸ The more moderate Socialist minority remained in the SFIO and the SCIF retained control of *L'Humanité*.

⁷⁹ Fortescue, *The Third Republic in France 1870-1940*, 159.

⁸⁰ Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 433.

⁸¹ Marius Sidobre, 'La Mort d'un Musicien', *L'Humanité*, 11 July 1925, 4.

⁸² Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 252.

dominant class who occupy ‘a relatively autonomous space.’⁸³ In matters of canon formation and maintenance the aristocracy considered themselves above concerns of the canon. This outlook freed them to function as patrons to Satie at a time in his career when much of the music press were damning or ostracising him. Satie’s associations with the aristocracy and the haute bourgeoisie during his public career impacted significantly on how his music was perceived. The singer Jane Bathori relates in her memoirs how Satie first met the Princesse de Polignac in 1917 and was commissioned to write *Socrate*:

The Princesse de Polignac, at whose home I played music from time to time back then in 1917, told me one day of her great desire to know Erik Satie, whose works she had heard and whom she had never been able to meet. I told her that nothing was easier than that. I recommended she invite Satie to come and play a little music some evening in Versailles. The meeting was a great success and the princess asked Satie to write a work for her, allowing her the freedom of choosing the subject, the form and the size.⁸⁴

Bourdieu outlines two particular properties of aristocracies: 1) they are essentialist, and secondly, they refuse to see themselves defined: ‘regarding existence as an emanation of essence, they set no intrinsic value on the deeds and misdeeds enrolled in the records and registries of bureaucratic memory. [...] their one inspiration is the perpetuating and celebrating of the essence by virtue of which they are accomplished’ and in this context ‘escaping petty rules and regulations, is, by nature, freedom.’⁸⁵ Bourgeois critics often interpreted upper-class concerts as morally dubious as they were the product of aristocratic idleness and luxury.⁸⁶

The performance of Satie’s music at salon events became more commonplace during the war years, most notably through his participation in the concerts at the Salle Huyghens in Montparnasse. Accusations of snobbery began in earnest in the aftermath of *Parade* in spite of statements to the contrary by those associated with

⁸³ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 257.

⁸⁴ Jane Bathori, ‘Le *Socrate* d’Erik Satie’, *Journal musical français: Musica-Disques*, No. 191, April 1970, 14-15, 15. ‘La princesse de Polignac, chez qui je faisais de la musique de temps en temps à cette époque de 1917, me dit un jour son grand désir de connaître Erik Satie, dont elle entendait les œuvres et qu’elle n’avait jamais pu rencontrer. Je lui dit que rien n’était plus facile. Je lui conseillai d’inviter Satie à venir faire un peu de musique un soir à Versailles. La réunion fut très réussie et la princesse demanda à Satie d’écrire pour elle une œuvre, lui laissant la liberté d’en choisir le sujet, la forme, l’importance.’

⁸⁵ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 16.

⁸⁶ Paradoxically certain salons of this period in Paris were held in very high esteem, particularly those of the Princesse de Polignac and the Countesse Greffuhle, and were attended by critics and composers.

him at this time. In a public talk in 1917 for instance, Apollinaire clearly states that ‘the *esprit nouveau* is before all else an enemy of aestheticism, of formulas and of all snobbism.’⁸⁷ In a damning review of *Parade* published shortly after the premiere, Octave Séré [pseudonym for Jean Poueigh] accused the work of ‘worrying snobbism’ (‘inquiétant snobisme’).⁸⁸ Poueigh also addresses the concept of taste and snobbery in the case of *Parade* under his real name and reports that the work only inspires indifference: ‘Subsequently, the ineptitude and the poverty of invention of the spectacle that was thus created forbids people of taste to be passionately against it, much less for it: it summons forth neither an applause nor a snuffle.’⁸⁹ In 1919 Julien Tiersot criticises the aesthetics of recent works, such as *Parade*, which he considers to adhere to ‘pre-war fashions, their fake jewellery, their snobbery, their bluster.’⁹⁰

Contrary to these charges of snobbery the conductor Vladimir Golschmann recalls the reception of *Parade* quite differently and claims that the work offended the high-society snobs at that time:

In many ways the reception *was* sensational: Cocteau’s imagination, Picasso’s marvellous costumes, Satie’s music, and the staging of Massine made *Parade* a historical event. The majority of the public was wild with enthusiasm; but the snobs who felt that being immaculately dressed gave them the right to decide what was good were in general scandalized. Still, all in all, *Parade* was a triumph.⁹¹

In a review of a wartime concert at the Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier, Michel Orban levels similar criticisms against a matinee programme of avant-garde music ‘where the audience tasted with little discernment some rants intended for certain snobs in times of peace.’⁹² The arrival of peace, however, did not alter the general critical

⁸⁷ Apollinaire, ‘Critique littéraire’, 909-10. ‘L’*esprit nouveau* est avant tout ennemi de l’esthétisme, des formules et de tout snobisme.’

⁸⁸ Séré, ‘Le Cubisme et la Musique’, 1.

⁸⁹ Jean Poueigh, ‘Châtelet: Les Ballets Russes – Parade – Soleil de Nuit – Las Meninas’, *La Rampe*, 31 May 1917, 4. ‘Ensuite l’ineptie et la pauvreté d’invention du spectacle ainsi réalisé interdit aux gens de goût de se passionner là contre et moins encore en sa faveur: il n’appelle ni l’applaudissement ni le coup de sifflet.’

⁹⁰ Julien Tiersot, ‘Souvenirs de Cinq Années (1914-1919)’, *Le Ménestrel*, 12 December 1919, 84-5. ‘N’en doutons pas: c’était celle d’hier, avec ses modes d’avant-guerre, son faux clinquant, son snobisme, son bluff.’

⁹¹ Vladimir Golschmann, ‘Golschmann Remembers Erik Satie’, *High Fidelity/Musical America*, XXII (August, 1972), MA 11-12; 32, 12.

⁹² Marcel Orban, ‘Au Vieux-Colombier’, *Le Courrier musical*, 1 January 1918, 17. ‘[...] où les auditeurs goûtèrent avec peu de discernement des élucubrations destinées à certains snobs du temps de paix.’ See programme dated 11 December 1917 in Appendix 2.

consensus that Satie's music pandered to the snobs. Auric believed that *Parade* and *Socrate* were the works which were largely responsible for provoking critical insults directed at Satie and his audience:

Since the *Nocturnes* for piano that followed *Parade* and *Socrate*, few days have passed without Erik Satie being insulted in these papers* where we believe music is written about, and which one has to desist from reading if one does not wish to become victim to a most lamentable attack of melancholy. But he has an audience that follows him and if there is a form of snobbery associated with coming and applauding Satie, one has to remember that it is the very same [snobbery] that draws the mob to every powerful manifestation of a new spirit, which on other occasions rendered Wagner and Debussy impressive.⁹³

In October 1919 Satie contributed an article titled 'Notes on Modern Music' to the French Socialist newspaper *L'Humanité*. Perhaps motivated by a desire to counter the accusations of *snobisme* that were so frequently levelled against him, here Satie clearly states his belief in socialism and his desire to introduce 'young musicians' deserving of public attention' to the readers of *L'Humanité* in the hope that his efforts would 'encourage the development of musical culture in our great socialist family, a delightful family that I love wholeheartedly.'⁹⁴ Satie uses this opportunity to attack the personal politics of Saint-Saëns and Debussy: the latter is described as a 'revolutionary in Art' who was 'very bourgeois in everyday life.' This article represents one of the few public statements where Satie discusses his political beliefs and his views on the intrinsic connection between art and politics:

In Art as in Politics: Jaurès was attacked in the same way as Manet, Berlioz, Wagner, Picasso, Verlaine and so many others. That is always 'starting up' again and it is always the same people who resist Progress in all its shapes and forms: the upholders of the 'status quo', the good folk who 'know what they like.' In this newspaper I wish to speak up for some of my musical comrades who belong to 'advanced' circles. It seemed proper and useful to do it here, in a setting for which I have much sympathy and where I feel at home. Isn't it natural for an 'advanced' artist to be 'advanced' in Politics? Isn't yes the answer? Well my friends, that is rare – very rare I would say if I dared, and more rare than you could possibly imagine.⁹⁵

⁹³ Georges Auric, 'Le Rôle du prophète', IMEC: SAT 40.2. 'Depuis les *Nocturnes* pour le piano qui suivirent *Parade* et *Socrate*, peu de jours se sont passés sans qu'on insulte Erik Satie dans ces feuilles où l'on croit écrire sur la musique et dont il faut renoncer à continuer la lecture si l'on ne veut être saisi par la plus lamentable mélancolie. Mais tout un public le suit, et, s'il y a un snobisme à venir écouter et applaudir Satie, doit-on rappeler que c'est le même, celui qui attire toute foule vers chaque manifestation puissante d'un esprit nouveau, qui permit autrefois d'imposer Wagner et Debussy.' *Auric's choice of the word 'ces feuilles' possibly slightly demeans, through its tone, the status of the publications in question.

⁹⁴ [Erik Satie, 'Notes sur la Musique moderne', *L'Humanité*, 11 October 1919] Wilkins (ed.), *The Writings of Erik Satie*, 82.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 82.

This article was expected to be the first in a series of regular columns by Satie for *L'Humanité*; however this project failed to materialise. Critics were quick to respond to Satie's piece. It is clear in these responses that his public association with socialism was interpreted as a deluded attempt to fashion an image for himself as a revolutionary composer:

Erik Satie is sorry. This progressive composer had accepted the musical chronicle of *L'Humanité* in the hope of finding among the revolutionary spirits an echo of his modern melodies. But events occur every day that prove that his music remains the most aristocratic of music and how nothing is more routine than the proletarian revolutionary!⁹⁶

In the same month a critic complains in a review of *Socrate* in *Le Ménestrel* that he does 'not know why Satie passes for a revolutionary.'⁹⁷ Some critics acknowledged Satie's revolutionary spirit, but conceded that he had failed in his efforts to achieve a musical revolution. Maurice Boucher implies that his efforts were only appreciated by the people on the street, i.e. the working class.

It is commendable to oppose with conviction a prevailing system; it is permitted to prepare a case against it or to deliberately exaggerate the faults and the qualities to which one aspires. E. Satie waged a spiritual war against false grandeur, against snivelling or doctrinal sentimentalism, against musical scholasticism that does not successfully refresh the use and abuse of popular song; but it is sad to sense that, along the way, bit by bit he is abandoning his best gifts, even his imagination and his satiric invention, to end up carrying only a tiny morsel of stale music about with him that he wraps up in an affected manner in loudly coloured scraps of [popular song-sheets*].⁹⁸

In this period of clearly delineated class distinction Satie was an unusually adept social chameleon. Despite his best efforts to promote himself as a socialist, Satie's presence in high-society circles made it difficult for critics to readily accept this

⁹⁶ Harlequin, 'La Lyre d'Apollon', *La Place de Grève*, February 1920, 24. 'M. Erik Satie est désolé. Ce musicien avancé avait accepté la chronique musicale de *L'Humanité* dans l'espoir de trouver parmi les esprits révolutionnaires un écho à ses modernes mélodies. Mais les événements viennent chaque jour lui prouver que sa musique reste la plus aristocratique des musiques et que nul n'est plus routinier que le prolétariat révolutionnaire!'

⁹⁷ R. S., 'Concert Divers: Société nationale de musique', *Le Ménestrel*, 20 February 1920, 81. 'Je ne sais pourquoi M. Satie passe pour un révolutionnaire.'

⁹⁸ Maurice Boucher, 'Concert J. Wiéner – Erik Satie', *Le Monde musical*, January 1924, 30. 'Il est louable de prendre avec conviction le contre-pied d'un système en vigueur; il est permis d'en dessiner une charge ou d'exagérer volontairement les défauts et les qualités auxquels on aspire. M. E. Satie a fait une guerre spirituelle à la fausse grandeur, au sentimentalisme pleurnichard ou doctrinaire, à la scolastique musicale que ne parviennent pas à rafraîchir l'usage et l'abus du chant populaire; mais il est triste de sentir que, chemin faisant, il abandonne peu à peu ses meilleurs dons, jusqu'à sa fantaisie et son invention satirique, pour ne plus emporter avec lui qu'un tout petit morceau de musique rassie qu'il enveloppe avec affectation dans des bouts de papier aux couleurs agressives.' * *Des bout de papiers*: were small song-sheets handed out by chansonniers to people on the street to encourage the public to join in and to contribute money to the performer.

image. Pierre Bertin's recollection of a meeting between Satie and the Queen of Romania at the home of the Comte Etienne de Beaumont in 1919 certainly does not correspond to Satie's self-portrayal as a proletarian socialist in *L'Humanité*. Bertin describes Satie as an overly-neat bureaucrat, timid in manners, who socialises in the world of the haute bourgeoisie and aristocracy with ease:

For those concerned with outward appearance, Satie was always very correctly dressed, one would say like a good teacher*: a black overcoat with an upturned collar, an umbrella, a bowler hat. He had a dignified, almost ceremonious air. One day, at the home of the Comte de Beaumont, during a ceremony given in honour of the queen of Romania, he was presented to the queen after the performance of some of his works. [...] He bowed like a chamberlain, kissed the hand of the queen, he leaned in closer to hear her [better] and to answer her with a great deal of ceremony. It lasted a long time, then he crossed the drawing-room again, exuding politeness, completely serious. "What did you say to her?" I asked him quietly. And without laughing, he said into my ear: "she told me that I had a beautiful old man's head." I burst out laughing.⁹⁹

Bertin's account presents Satie as a bourgeois type who deferred to the upper echelons of society yet was comfortable in their environment. At the time when Satie was a regular presence in high-society circles, anecdotes concerning his behaviour at such gatherings were published in certain gossip magazines of the time. In some cases Satie is presented in an image similar to that of a court jester who provides frivolous entertainment to the upper classes:

Recently, he had been asked to dine at the home of a maîtresse de maison ['lady of the house'], whose unwelcome invitation he was unable to decline. He was naturally the clown of the party and was asked to perform his latest work. Satie complies with the utmost grace. I will play "Le pêcheur à la ligne" ["The Angler"] for you he said. It is an experiment, successful enough I believe, in imitative harmony. And he gently strikes a note. The fisherman has just wet his line, he explains. A long silence... Second note. - The float moved. Silence again, an interminable silence, then, tremolo: A gudgeon has nearly taken the bait... At the end, the composer sweeps a finger rapidly across the whole keyboard. The fisherman has just reeled in his line: The gudgeon has been caught! ... And the snobs of the audience erupt into applause.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Erik Satie par Pierre Bertin, 'Promenades dans mes souvenirs' from the Satie Archives, IMEC: SAT 40.6. Valentine Hugo dates this meeting as occurring sometime in 1919 though she is unsure of the date as she lost her diary for that year. Valentine Hugo, 'Extraits de mes agendas' in the Satie Archives, IMEC: SAT: 40.32. 'Pour ce qui est du Physique, Satie était toujours très correctement vêtu: un pardessus noir au col relevé, un parapluie, et un chapeau melon, on eût dit d'un bon professeur. Il avait un air digne, presque cérémonieux. Un jour, chez le comte de Beaumont, lors d'une cérémonie donnée en l'honneur de la reine de Roumanie, on le présenta à la reine après l'audition de quelques unes de ses œuvres. [...] Il s'inclina comme un chambellan baisa la main de la reine, se pencha pour l'écouter, et lui répondit avec force cérémonie. Cela dura longtemps, puis il retraversa le salon, tout confit en politesse, tout grave. "Que vous a-t-elle dit?" lui demandai-je tout bas. Et sans rire, il me dit à l'oreille: "elle m'a dit que j'avais une belle tête de vieillard." Je pouffai de rire.' *Teachers in France are bureaucrats, members of the petit bourgeois.

¹⁰⁰ Anon., 'Tout le monde lit ça', *Les Spectacles*, 17 July 1925, 9. 'Récemment, il avait été prié à dîner chez une maîtresse de maison dont il n'avait pu décliner l'importune invitation. Il était naturellement le 'cloue' de la soirée et on lui demanda de bien vouloir faire entendre sa dernière

There is a distinct trend in the sources of reception of critics that directly links Satie's humorous expression to anti-bourgeois sentiment. Auric describes how a performance of the *Véritables préludes flasques* in 1913 offended 'a certain bourgeois spirit' and was responsible for the creation of Satie's 'strange reputation' amongst members of this group.¹⁰¹ In an obituary in *Les Annales politiques et littéraires*, Sergines reiterates that this 'taste for the eccentric, this virtuosity in the comic, created prejudice against him in the eyes of the bourgeois.'¹⁰² He laments the fact that humour is rejected in bourgeois musical discourses while it is embraced in other art forms: 'But didn't his compatriot Alphonse Allais, also born in Honfleur, become marvellously successful by the same means? Is humour in music less accessible to the crowds than humour in prose? Mysterious...'¹⁰³

4.2.2 *Épater le bourgeois*

While some critics claimed that Satie was pandering to the snobs or conversely, that Satie was misunderstood by them, another group of critics proposed that Satie was motivated by his need to *épater le bourgeois*. The phrase *épater le bourgeois*, which means to shock the middle-class values of the bourgeois, was first coined in the late 19th century in relation to the poetry of the Decadents, particularly Rimbaud and Baudelaire. One critic notes in a discussion of *Relâche* that Satie suppressed his talents and his claim to 'glory' as a composer by sacrificing his works to the desire to shock the bourgeois of his day.¹⁰⁴ In an obituary in the very Royalist *Le Gaulois*, Louis Schneider writes

œuvre. Satie s'exécute de la meilleure grâce du monde. Je vais vous jouer « Le pêcheur à la ligne », dit-il. C'est un essai, assez réussi, je crois, l'harmonie imitative. Et il frappe doucement une note. Le pêcheur vient de mouiller son fil, explique-t-il. Long silence... Deuxième note. - Le Bouchon a bougé. Silence encore, silence interminable, puis, trémolo: Un goujon a failli mordre à l'hameçon... A la fin, le compositeur balaye rapidement d'un doigt tout le clavier. Le pêcheur vient de retirer sa ligne: le goujon est pris ! ... Et les snobs de l'assistance de faire crépiter les applaudissements...'

¹⁰¹ Auric, 'La Jeune Musique française', 54-55.

¹⁰² Sergines, 'Les titres d'Erik Satie', *Les Annales politiques et littéraires: revue populaire*, 12 July 1925, 29. 'Ce goût de l'excentrique, cette virtuosité dans la cocasserie, lui portèrent préjudice aux yeux des bourgeois.'

¹⁰³ Ibid., 29. 'Mais Alphonse Allais, son compatriote, né comme lui à Honfleur, n'a-t-il pas merveilleusement réussi en usant des mêmes moyens? L'humour dans la musique est-il moins accessible aux foules que l'humour dans la prose? Mystère...'

¹⁰⁴ Georges Pioch, 'La Musique', *L'Avenir*, No. 1169, 25 May 1924, 5. 'Je crains pour sa gloire, qu'il n'ait trop bien réprimé, par ses sacrifices amusés à l'« épate-bourgeois », le don qui, certainement était en lui [...].'

[Satie's] intention to shock the bourgeois found expression much more in the originality of the titles that he devised than in the novelty of the works he wrote: *Morceaux en forme de poire*, *Embryons desséchés*, *Préludes flasques*, *Valses distinguées du précieux dégoûté*, *Tyrolienne turque*, *Affolements granitiques*, such were the gestures by which he sought to attract attention to himself. Here music fraternises with farce.¹⁰⁵

In his lifetime, most critics pinpoint Satie's use of humour as the primary challenge to bourgeois sensibilities. In more recent times Struck-Scholen argues that this desire motivated Satie's choice of instrumentation in *Le Piège de Méduse*: 'The pure shock effect of certain 'low' instruments such as percussion was used particularly in France to horrify the culture-saturated middle class ('épater le bourgeois').'¹⁰⁶ Pasler argues that Satie's aesthetic of simplicity perhaps represented an even more audacious challenge to bourgeois values than humour: 'the ultimate form of contradiction Cocteau found in Satie's music – his 'opposition in a period of extreme refinement,' his rejection of bourgeois values – was the aesthetic of simplicity, which Cocteau calls 'the greatest audacity of our time [...].'¹⁰⁷

4.2.3 Working-Class Associations

Whilst Satie's popularity diminished in bourgeois circles, working-class factions also continued to demonstrate their public support for him, particularly in the Socialist newspaper *L'Humanité*, founded by Jaurès in 1904. Satie's uncanny ability to move quite effortlessly between diverse class circles exerted an obvious effect upon his reception. Following the formation of the Communist Party in 1921, *L'Humanité* assumed the role as the 'Organe central du Parti Communiste (F.F.I.C)' of France. Marius Sidobre's obituary of Satie in *L'Humanité* provides the most in-depth discussion of his personal politics published during this period and portrays Satie in the image he had sought to create in his 1919 article for the paper:

¹⁰⁵ Louis Schneider, 'Mort d'Erik Satie', *Le Gaulois*, 4 July 1925, 5. 'Son dessein d'« épater le bourgeois » se traduit beaucoup plus dans l'originalité des titres qu'il imagina que dans la nouveauté des œuvres qu'il écrivit: *Morceaux en forme de poire*, *Embryons desséchés*, *Préludes flasques*, *Valses distinguées du précieux dégoûté*, *Tyrolienne turque*, *Affolements granitiques*, telles furent les enseignes par lesquelles il chercha à attirer l'attention sur lui. La musique y fraternisait avec la farce.'

¹⁰⁶ Michael Struck-Scholen, 'Zwischen Moebelmusik und Zwoelftonkonzert: Die Posaune im Kammerensemble am Beginn der Neuen Musik (1913-1934)', *Melos: Vierteljahresschrift für zeitgenössische Musik* (Schott, 1986), 8-10, 9-10.

¹⁰⁷ Pasler, *Writing Through Music*, 153-4.

Satie the socialist and revolutionary in art who ‘jostled with the traditions of officialdom without a second thought.’¹⁰⁸ Sidobre mentions that ‘our comrade Satie’ was a member of the party until 1924, ‘but in his heart he had remained with the Party of the proletarian class’ in his final year. He reassures the reader that ‘the comrades of Arcueil who had spoken with him a short time before his illness can verify that.’¹⁰⁹ Sidobre laments the passing of a committed party member:

Despite the relations with the haute bourgeoisie that his musical works had allowed him to develop, he had retained extremely simple tastes and the posh people who had followed his fatal decline would possibly have been surprised when passing in front of the old shack nicknamed “the four chimneys” in rue Cauchy in Arcueil, if they had been told that the one who had amused them during his existence was now living in this poor factory workers dwelling.¹¹⁰

Sidobre portrays Satie as an anarchist who liked to fight the system and he cites Satie’s prison sentence in 1917 as an example of this. He criticises the recent articles [obituaries] on Satie for being ‘more or less convoluted.’ He writes that ‘through his work, through his thought, Eric Satie was removed from the commonplace and the official.’¹¹¹ Sidobre also expresses regret that Satie was buried in a luxurious hearse when his comrades ‘knew that his whole life, intellectually and materially, had been a protest against current society that oppresses the minds and bodies of men.’¹¹² Satie’s local socialist newspaper, the *Journal d’Arcueil* also mentioned the non-bourgeois lifestyle of ‘our good Satie of the Patronage’: ‘Devoid of all mercantile spirit, Satie showed a total indifference towards money, only living for his art, like a real bohemian, of whom he was without doubt, the final representative.’¹¹³ The journalist in this case was Léon-

¹⁰⁸ Marius Sidobre, ‘La Mort d’un Musicien’, *L’Humanité*, 11 July 1925, 4. ‘Il bousculait sans ménagements les traditions des officiels.’

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 4. ‘Mais de cœur il était resté avec le Parti de classe du prolétariat; les camarades d’Arcueil qui se sont entretenus avec lui très peu de temps avant sa maladie peuvent en certifier.’

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 4. ‘Malgré les relations que ses œuvres musicales lui avaient fait avoir dans la haute bourgeoisie, il avait gardé; des goûts extrêmement simples et les gens huppés qui ont suivi sa dépouille mortelle aurait peut-être été surpris quand ils sont passés rue Cauchy, à Arcueil, devant la vieille masure surnommée « les 4 cheminées » si on leur avait dit que dans cet immeuble de familles d’ouvriers pauvres habitait ce lui qui les avait divertis durant son existence.’

¹¹¹ Ibid., 4. ‘Pourtant par son œuvre, par sa pensée, Eric Satie était éloigné des poncifs et des officiels.’

¹¹² Ibid., 4. ‘Les quelques camarades communistes [...] savions bien que toute sa vie, intellectuellement et matériellement, avait été une protestation contre la société actuelle qui opprime les cerveaux et les corps des hommes.’

¹¹³ Léon-Louis Veyssièrre, ‘Nécrologie’, *Journal d’Arcueil*, July 1925, 1. ‘Débarrassé de tout esprit mercantile, Satie montrait une indifférence totale pour l’argent, ne vivant que pour son art, comme un vrai bohème dont il était sans doute, le dernier représentant.’

Louis Veyssière, Satie's former neighbour on rue Cauchy and a fellow member of the Arcueil branch of the Socialist party.¹¹⁴

The musical press largely ignored Satie's working-class associations and rarely referenced his socialist and communist political affiliations. The fact that Satie appeared anti-bourgeois and had gained acceptance in these two different class groupings within society was reason enough for them to overlook him and cast him aside in canonic discourses. Satie's position outside the habitus of the bourgeois class was quite clear-cut as his music, behaviour and even his home address defied many of the principles that united this group. In many ways Satie was treated like a traitor to his class.

4.3 Religion

The appearance of a new Genius on their Earth always starts off endless fuss and to-do; constant drivel is sprouted about him. It's enough to make one put one's head in one's hands! ... Straightway, this unfortunate 'arrival' looks like Antichrist, you feel, or the Avenging Angel, or a frantic Madman, and he hardly dares leave his house for a moment. In a word, he is shown in no uncertain terms that he is not welcome, and that he should remain silent. Yes.¹¹⁵ (Erik Satie, 'Claude Debussy', *Vanity Fair*, 1923)

On 9 December 1905 a law was passed declaring the official separation of Church and State in France. Nevertheless, Catholic ideologies continued to exert a dominant influence on French society and culture in the proceeding decades. In the sources of Satie's reception, religious symbolism and language pervades canonic discourses and the aesthetic theory that informs them is strongly linked to concerns of morality and spirituality. The distinction between profane and sacred art and the morality of a composer are common themes. Certain religious tropes also appear frequently: the image of the master composer and his disciples or apostles and musical glory as a metaphor for eternal life. In this context it is not surprising that music in France at this time was often linked to *états d'âme* ('states of the soul').

The concert hall is treated by many critics as a space where sacred battles or crusades occur, particularly since the arrival of modernism. Pasler notes that a group of composers and critics who attended the first thirty performances of

¹¹⁴ Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 1150.

¹¹⁵ [Erik Satie, 'Claude Debussy', *Vanity Fair*, 1923] Wilkins (ed.), *The Writings of Erik Satie*, 106-110, 106-7.

Pelléas called themselves ‘a sacred batallion’ and the opera itself was considered an *oeuvre de combat*.¹¹⁶ In 1924 Maurice Boucher would describe Satie’s career as ‘a spiritual war.’¹¹⁷ This view of music as a spiritual art is also reflected in concert etiquette of the time which demanded reverend silence on the part of the audience. In an article on the premiere of *Trois petites pièces montées* in March 1920, the reviewer complains that he has nothing to say about Satie’s work as ‘a boisterous and talkative public prevented me from hearing this music properly... I would like to listen to it again in a silent hall.’¹¹⁸ Satie’s introduction of laughter, elements of the circus and the music-hall to the concert-hall was viewed as an affront to sacred canonic traditions.

Bourdieu argues that of all the arts music is arguably the most highly considered and most involved in affirming class. The connection between music and spirituality is one of the primary reasons for its elevated status. Bourdieu believes that the traditional notion of the ineffability of music has bestowed it with a sacred character that represents the bourgeois principle of disinterestedness.

As the countless variations on the soul of music and the music of the soul bear witness, music is bound up with ‘interiority’ (‘inner music’) of the ‘deepest’ sort and *all* concerts are sacred. For a bourgeois world, which conceives its relationship to the populace in terms of the relationship of the soul to the body, ‘insensitivity to music’ doubtless represents a particularly unavowable form of materialist coarseness. But this is not all. Music is the ‘pure’ art par excellence. It has *nothing to say*. [...] Music represents the most radical and most absolute form of the negation of the world, and especially the social world, which the bourgeois ethos tends to demand of all forms of art.¹¹⁹

Many of the romantic philosophers such as Kant and Schopenhauer considered music representative of the ideal condition to which all art aspires. This viewpoint persisted in the early 20th century, modernists subscribed to the belief that music was the most spiritual of the arts and musical discourses reflected this spiritual construct of music. Bourgeois music critics were particularly preoccupied with the moral character of music and expected it to educate the listener, and to somehow better them.

¹¹⁶ Pasler, *Writing Through Music*, 211.

¹¹⁷ Maurice Boucher, ‘Concert J. Wiéner – Erik Satie’, *Le Monde musical*, January 1924, 30.

¹¹⁸ G. S., ‘La Semaine musicale: Théâtre des Champs Elysées’, *Le Ménestrel*, 13 March 1920, 107. ‘[...] un public bruyant et bavard m’empêcha de bien entendre cette musique... je voudrais la réentendre dans une salle silencieuse.’

¹¹⁹ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 10-11.

4.3.1 *Religious Symbolism and Language*

Most critics frequently employ religious metaphors, imagery and language to argue the non-official status of Satie's music. Conversely, some of Satie's supporters appropriate the same tools to promote him. In his 1913 article in *L'Echo musical*, Roland-Manuel presents Satie as a mythological religious crusader analogous to the medieval character of Saint George slaying the dragon (a metaphor for the devil). He writes that while at the Conservatoire Satie slew 'the scholastic dragon that was guarding the door: the *Gymnopédies* and the precious *Sarabandes* were the first fruits of the conquest [...].'¹²⁰ Roland-Manuel presents Satie as a quasi-mythological figure, recounting his 'mystical period' with the Sâr Péladan and the Rosicrucians. This parallel with Saint George presents Satie as a righteous musical crusader, who fought for a good cause in his youth. In his 1916 biography Roland-Manuel concludes the eight-page document with an allusion to the Catholic trinity recited when making the sign of the cross. In this reference 'fantasy' is substituted for the Catholic trinity of God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit:

If you want to fully enjoy a strange art that makes itself subtle and wants to be ungainly, it is necessary that you abandon yourself in all confidence to the unexpected projections of this *enfant terrible* [...]. I beg you in the name of the muse of Erik Satie [Father], of divine Fantaisie [Son], of this charming craziness [Holy Spirit] whose realm is unlimited, that only panders to its pleasure and that knows no other laws apart from the laws of taste.¹²¹

Roland-Manuel personifies fantasy as though it were a religious leader who 'only confides her mysteries to her initiates' and he suspects Erik Satie to be 'the most tender of her friends'.¹²² Antoine Banès, a critic with *Le Figaro*, recounts a recent 'sermon' on Satie by Cocteau and admits to being a recent convert to the teachings of Satie whom he portrays as a priest-like figure:

Jean Cocteau read an artificial and charming talk on his friend Erik Satie. He covered him with flowers. It was fatal. I swear to you in all sincerity that I do not criticize him. Today like

¹²⁰ Roland-Manuel, 'Silhouettes d'Artistes: Erik Satie', 1. 'Il terrassa le dragon de la scholastique qui veillait à la porte: les *Gymnopédies* et les précieuses *Sarabandes* furent les premiers fruits de la conquête [...].'

¹²¹ Roland-Manuel, *Erik Satie*, 8. 'Si vous voulez jouir pleinement d'un art étrange qui se fait subtil et qui se veut dégingandé, il est nécessaire que vous vous abandonniez en toute confiance aux ressauts imprévus de cet enfant terrible [...]. Je vous en prie au nom de la muse d'Erik Satie, de la divine Fantaisie, de cette folle charmante dont le domaine est sans limites, qui n'obéit qu'à son plaisir et qui ne connaît d'autres lois que les lois du goût.'

¹²² Ibid., 8. 'Elle n'en confie les mystères qu'à ses familiers, et je soupçonne Erik Satie d'être le plus tendre de ses amis...'

the Saint Christophe of d'Indy and Rouché, I prostrate myself, converted. I make amends. The Gospel according to Erik Satie is finally revealed to my rebellious soul. Difficult to understand at first, it needs to be explained. Until now its author – who permits me to confess to him – had hardly walked the path of the righteous to achieve his goal. More than all the previous sermons, the recital the day before yesterday will serve to enshrine the renown of this apostle.¹²³

In a glowing tribute to Satie in 1917 Georges Auric discusses the significance of his early work in overtly religious terms. Satie is promoted as a composer who has managed to create a new music that rivals the religion of Wagner and he must be followed:

At the time of the Symbolists, very gentle poets who dressed themselves in fog, the first fanatics of Richard Wagner existed. This master of Thunder appeared to sing the definitive melodies to them: they fought for the conquest of *Lohengrin*, bowed down low like the leaves of enchanting sonnets in honour of *Parsifal* and took the first train to Bayreuth where Barrès greeted 'a new ethic' with gravity. But today, yesterday already, [...] the Gospel of 1890 was and still remains of the least concern to our modern musicians. I know well that one wants to only represent them [modern musicians] as the worshippers of everything small, of the evanescent, of nothing. [...] I believe, along with Roland Manuel, that Satie must be followed [...].¹²⁴

Nevertheless, only a small group of supporters considered him a 'spiritual' musical leader and the consensus amongst critics during his lifetime was that Satie's music did not belong in the sacred domain of the canon. In a review of Rollo Myers' book *Modern Music: Its Aims and Tendencies* (1923), W. Wright Roberts argues that Satie has 'a slender stature for a prophet' and he concludes that we should be grateful to Myers 'for his championing of this much maligned composer.'¹²⁵ It is

¹²³ Antoine Banès, 'Les Concerts: Festival Erik Satie', *Le Figaro*, 9 June 1920, 4. 'M. Jean Cocteau a lu une conférence affectueuse et charmante sur son ami M. Erik Satie. Il l'a couvert de fleurs. C'était fatal. J'avoue en toute sincérité que je ne l'en blâme pas. Aujourd'hui comme le Saint Christophe de MM. D'Indy et Rouché, je me prosterne, converti. Je fais amende honorable. L'Évangile, selon Erik Satie, s'est enfin révélé à mon âme rebelle. Difficile à comprendre de prime abord, il a besoin d'être expliqué. Jusqu'ici son auteur – qu'il me permette de le lui confesser – n'avait guère pris la bonne voie pour atteindre son but. Plus que toutes les prédications antérieures, le récital d'avant-hier consacra la renommée de l'apôtre.'

¹²⁴ Georges Auric, 'Bibliographie: Musique', *Le Courrier musical*, March 1917, 129-130. 'Jadis les symbolistes, poètes très doux qui s'habillaient de brouillard, furent les premiers fanatiques de Richard Wagner. Ce maître du Tonnerre leur parut chanter les définitives mélodies: ils se battirent pour la conquête de *Lohengrin*, recourbèrent comme des lames des sonnets enchanteurs en l'honneur de *Parsifal* et prirent le premier train pour Bayreuth où M. Barrès salua avec gravité 'une Ethique nouvelle'. Mais aujourd'hui, hier déjà, [...] l'Évangile de 1890, était et reste bien l'un des moindres soucis de nos modernes musiciens. Je sais bien que l'on veut justement représenter ceux-ci comme des adorateurs du tout petit, de l'évanescence, du rien. [...] je crois, avec Roland Manuel, qu'il faut suivre Satie [...].'

¹²⁵ W. Wright Roberts, 'Review of Myers: *Modern Music*' in *Music & Letters*, Vol. 5, No. 1, January 1924; 94, 96, 96.

perhaps more accurate to argue that Satie was maligned by a very specific group, the arbiters of canon formation.

4.3.2 *The Master and the Disciple*

As outlined in the discussion of gender, the image of the ‘father’ was very important in canonic discourses. In keeping with this patriarchal vision of the musical canon, the imagery of the prophet and disciple, of a church and its followers, frequently appears in music criticism. In his 1912 article on Satie and Debussy, Albert Bertelin employs religious associations in common usage at the time to describe the relationship between master composers and their students:

Certainly, a young composer must learn from a master in whose works he admires everything that he can teach him: the dignity of a life entirely devoted to the practice of an art, can only be an excellent example for the young disciple; but that he is not obliged to blindly accept every word of his master... When he has acquired a solid craft through study, the time has come to emancipate himself [...].¹²⁶

The master/discipline trope represented more than simply the traditional student/teacher relationship and inferred that the master was expected to transmit moral values, in addition to knowledge of the musical traditions required of an aspiring professional composer. In spite of his protestations that there was no school of Satie, this religious trope was frequently employed by supporters and Satie himself participated in the practice. In a short promotional biography for his publisher Demets in 1913 Satie refers to himself in these terms even though he was not an official teacher: ‘We should not forget that the master is considered, by a large number of ‘young’ musicians, as the precursor and apostle of the current musical revolution.’¹²⁷ As previously outlined, many of the young composers who surrounded Satie from 1912 onwards referred to him as their master in a period when critics were still hesitant to even write about him. In sources of music

¹²⁶ Bertelin, ‘L’Evolution de la musique contemporaine (III)’, 537. ‘Certes, il faut qu’un jeune compositeur apprenne d’un Maître dont il admire les œuvres tout ce qui peut s’enseigner: la dignité d’une vie tout entière consacrée à la pratique d’un art, ne peut être que d’un excellent exemple pour le jeune disciple; mais celui-ci n’est pas obligé d’admettre les yeux fermés chaque parole de son Maître... Lorsqu’il a acquis un solide métier par l’étude, il doit s’émanciper à son tour [...].’

¹²⁷ [Erik Satie, ‘Erik Satie’, *Agence Musicale E. Demets (Bulletin des Editions Musicales)*, December 1913, 42.] Volta (ed.), *Ecrits*, 142-43. ‘N’oublions pas que le maître est considéré, par un grand nombre de « jeunes », comme étant le précurseur et l’apôtre de la révolution musicale actuelle [...].’

criticism the disciple image was sometimes substituted for the term neophyte, a word that refers to recent religious converts, usually to Christianity. In an article on the changes in French music in the years following World War I, Georges Migot refers to Satie and ‘his neophytes.’¹²⁸ The master-apostle relationship was analogous to that of the school and student at this time. In an article on ‘young French music’ Auric discusses the Schola Cantorum as though it were a place of worship and preaching, and he criticises the ‘intellectual irrationality preached on the benches’ there. ‘At the Schola Cantorum, Vincent d’Indy taught his religion, the dualism of which permits [one] to adore alternately either Wagner or Franck.’¹²⁹

Critics were quick to categorise the members of ‘Les Six’ and later the members of the Ecole d’Arcueil as Satie’s disciples or apostles. Members of ‘Les Six’ in particular were eager to refute this image. In a talk presented at the Galerie Georges in Brussels in 1921 Georges Auric states that the members of ‘Les Six’ were close to him, yet ‘not as blind disciples or unthinking imitators.’¹³⁰ In place of the master image, Vuillermoz describes Satie as a patron saint to ‘Les Six’, a group who he accuses of committing blasphemies against the canon and behaving immorally whilst under Satie’s spiritual influence:

They proclaimed loud blasphemies against the masters of the preceding generation. They affected a profound disdain for a certain Debussy and a certain Ravel, at the same time claiming as patron saints the most unexpected people, such as Ambroise Thomas (!) and Erik Satie. Then with the co-operation of several cubist painters, a few poets of a small coterie, and some amateurs, they gave a series of concerts and performances definitely staged for charlatanism and scandal.¹³¹

In an article that had appeared two years previously, Satie had promoted the image of Vuillermoz as a member of the Spanish Inquisition to imply that ‘Les Six’ were being unfairly persecuted for their spiritual beliefs: ‘The works of the Six (apart

¹²⁸ Georges Migot, ‘Les Tendances de la mélodie française actuelle’, *La France active*, 31 January 1929, 160-177, 162.

¹²⁹ Auric, ‘La Jeune Musique française’, 51. ‘A la Schola Cantorum, Vincent d’Indy enseignait sa religion, dont le dualisme permet d’adorer tour à tour soit Wagner, soit Franck.’

¹³⁰ Auric, ‘Le Rôle du prophète’, IMEC: SAT 40.2. ‘[...] si nous nous sommes retrouvé auprès lui c’est par admiration pour tout ce qu’il nous révélait de neuf et nous faisait entrevoir de possible – et non, comme des disciples aveuglés et des pasticheurs inconscients.’

¹³¹ Emile Vuillermoz, ‘The Legend of the Six’, *The League of Composers Review*, Vol. I, February 1924, 15-19, 18.

from those by Honegger) shall be burned alive by the executioner Vuillermoz – a fearful man; ... to be blacklisted.’¹³²

In a complete reversal of his 1916 eulogy of Satie, Roland-Manuel accuses his former mentor of musical heresy in *Relâche* and expresses his hope that this work signals the end of composers converting to the cult of Satie. ‘A loaded heresy illustrates his decline here. Let us thank it for proclaiming its bankruptcy, for committing suicide so well and for dying without beauty, and in doing so, without doubt, discouraging his recent new converts from martyrdom.’¹³³

In his writings Satie expresses his disdain for composers who follow past masters and frequently attacked critics who supported such composers. In his writings he distinguished clearly between those composers he considered to be ‘pundits’ and those who were ‘poets.’ In Satie’s opinion poets were true innovators and creators, pundits were slaves to the past masters: ‘Being “out-of-date” is clearly a noble trait and a claim to glory.’¹³⁴ The journey from a pre-canon composer to a canon one could not be completed solely through the gathering of followers and converts: a composer needed to ‘enter into glory’, a perceived state of immortality deemed necessary for canon acceptance. At the time of his death in 1925 Satie was certainly not considered a composer who had achieved glory, but for a brief period of his career he had been regarded by some in these terms.

4.3.3 Profane Art: Satie the False Prophet

Few critics dared to use the term sacred or spiritual in connection with Satie’s music and those that did constituted a minority of staunch supporters. Rollo Myers explains that Satie’s audacity in using humour within ‘the sacred medium of music’ was the primary reason for his outright dismissal.¹³⁵ During his lifetime Satie’s

132 [Erik Satie, ‘Les Six’, *Les Feuilles Libres*, No. 25 (Feb 1922)] Wilkins (ed.), *The Writings of Erik Satie*, 91-92.

133 Roland-Manuel, ‘Adieu à Satie’, 21. ‘Une hérésie achalandée illustre ici sa déchéance. Remercions-la de proclamer sa propre faillite, de se suicider aussi bien et de mourir sans beauté, afin sans doute de décourager du martyre ses derniers prosélytes.’

134 [Erik Satie, ‘Out-of-Date’, *Les Feuilles Libres*, 1923] Wilkins (ed.), *The Writings of Erik Satie*, 97.

135 Myers, *Erik Satie*, 11.

penchant for humour in music was often associated with the profane. Maurice Boucher argues that while he has no issue with the short length of many of Satie's works, the presence of humour negates any claim they may hold to being considered as artworks: 'these jokes, these very things, that stop [being funny] the very moment they begin to become art, seem to me to be the effect of a new dogmatism [...]'.¹³⁶ In the Catholic periodical *Revue Apologétique*, André Charlier warns that 'it is in the profane art of Erik Satie and of the young musicians like Auric and Poulenc that one should look for the most frivolous tendencies.'¹³⁷ Just as popular culture was frequently associated with the 'vulgar' in discourses concerning class, in religious discourse the popular was associated with the profane. At the point at which Charlier switches from a discussion of music he considers valuable to the more popular music of Satie and the young school, he abruptly alters the register of his language from a formal written style to colloquial speech in order to reflect his opinion that the latter style is the music of the mob: it has no claim to glory. Satie's choice to mix the high with the low brow, popular with high art, was considered a 'sacrilegious' unity of tastes. In a chapter devoted to Erik Satie in *La Musique française moderne*, André Coeuroy refers to the profane cult of Satie which inspired Cocteau to write 'a little prayer book' titled *Le Coq et l'Arlequin* which 'satisfies, albeit in a strongly biased way, curiosity in the Profane: *The cult of Satie is difficult, because one of the charms of Satie is the very fact that he does not make much of deification.*'¹³⁸

It is perhaps unsurprising that allusions to Satie as a devil figure should arise in the case of a composer associated with the profane. One reviewer describes the devil-like behaviour and appearance of Satie he witnessed at a performance of his recent work *Socrate*:

¹³⁶ Maurice Boucher, 'Salles Diverses', *Le Monde musical*, March 1922, 113. '[...] ces plaisanteries qui s'arrêtent dès qu'elles commencent à devenir de l'art, me font, elles aussi, l'effet d'un nouveau dogmatisme [...].'

¹³⁷ André Charlier, 'Les tendances actuelles de l'art religieux', *Revue Apologétique*, 1 October 1926, 93-94, 94. 'C'est dans l'art profane, chez Erik Satie et chez de jeunes musiciens comme Auric et Poulenc, qu'il faut chercher les tendances plus heureuses.'

¹³⁸ Coeuroy, *La musique française moderne*, 151. 'Aussi ne manquent-ils point de rehausser l'esquisse par quelques traits empruntés au petit bréviaire de M. Cocteau, *le Coq et l'Arlequin*, qui satisfait, quoique de façon fort partielle, la curiosité du profane: *Le culte de Satie est difficile, parce qu'un des charmes de Satie, c'est justement le peu de prise qu'il offre à la déification.*'

He rose up from behind the piano before commencing *la Mort de Socrate*, as a devil pops out from his box. But this devil was hairless; his face was not powdered; his necktie was not a flag. A greying beard, a pince-nez, looking like a man you would meet on the street. It was almost a deception.¹³⁹

Composers who were considered canonic were treated as romanticised, god-like figures, and the term consecrated was often used to describe their status. The description consecrated was often a substitute for the terms legitimized or official. The artist Fernand Léger notes that Satie's final work, *Relâche*, was surely an affront to all of these consecrated figures: 'An amusing tableau, *fantaisiste*, burlesque, to the devil with the scenario and all literature. *Relâche*, it is many kicks in many behinds be they consecrated or not.'¹⁴⁰ In 'Adieu à Satie', Roland-Manuel concludes the article with imagery that presents Satie as a false prophet who has committed grievous sins. He dismisses him in harsh religious language: 'Hurry away to hell, together with the love of wrong spelling and the cult of false taste, this pseudo-classicism which is nothing other than a lack of grace, and this abominable romanticism which is misjudged as sincerity.'¹⁴¹ In stark contrast with Satie's detractors, in an obituary in *La Revue belge*, Paul Collaer writes 'we miss the presence of this great moral personality, this judge, this arbitrator, this example of courage and integrity.'¹⁴² The voices of the few remaining supporters at the time of Satie's death were drowned out by the majority who considered Satie an unwelcome, insignificant and morally suspect composer. In the religious discourses surrounding Satie's reception, his position outside the musical canon had been firmly established. This false prophet of a profane art had been abandoned by his disciples and his cult was no more.

¹³⁹ Arlequin, 'La mort de Socrate', *La Place de grève*, March 1920, 41-42, 41. 'Il s'était levé derrière le piano, avant de commencer *la Mort de Socrate*, comme un diable sort de sa boîte. Mais ce diable n'avait pas de mèche; sa figure n'était point poudrée; sa cravate n'était pas un drapeau. Une barbiche grisonnante, un lorgnon, l'air d'un monsieur comme tout le monde. Ce fut presque une déception.' The phrase 'comme un diable sort de sa boîte' is also a reference to a jack in the box (*un diable en boîte* or *diable à ressort* in French).

¹⁴⁰ Fernand Léger, 'Vive "Relâche"', *Bulletin de l'Effort moderne*, No. 13, March 1925, 5-6, 5. 'Un écran amusant, fantaisiste, burlesque, au diable le scénario et toute la littérature. *Relâche*, c'est beaucoup de coups de pied dans beaucoup de derrières consacrés ou non.'

¹⁴¹ Roland-Manuel, 'Adieu à Satie', 22. 'Puissiez-vous entrainer dans l'abîme, avec l'amour de la faute d'orthographe et le culte de la faute de goût, ce prétendu classicisme qui n'est qu'absence de grâce et cet abominable romantisme qui méconnaît jusqu'à la sincérité.'

¹⁴² Paul Collaer, 'Erik Satie', *La Revue belge*, Vol. 1, No. 4, August 1925, 4. 'Mais la présence de cette grande personnalité morale, de ce juge, de cet arbitre, de cet exemple de courage et de probité nous manque.'

4.3.4 Musical Glory

Shortly after his public launch by Ravel in 1911, Jules Ecorcheville published the first substantial article on Satie that appears in the French music press and throughout this piece he relies heavily upon religious imagery. Ecorcheville discusses Satie's claim to musical glory in a style that recalls the biblical images of a prophet wandering alone in the wilderness and of Adam tasting the forbidden fruit. In Satie's case, he argues, the forbidden fruit of the 1880s was no longer poisonous by the 1910s and Satie's musical prophecies had come true:

He roams, nomad of tonality, poacher of rhythms, attentive to a thousand voices of the imperceptible, curious about everything and nothing. And behold, he finds himself playing with the forbidden objects that the Conservatoire taught him to render innocuous, but with which he fools about with the greatest imprudence. The public sniggers and moves on. Glory is to be found elsewhere. But the spirit of music in which Nietzsche had faith, keeps watch over and remembers. A revolution in the harmonic state in France operates slowly. Twenty-five years pass and suddenly one realises that Erik Satie was a pioneer without knowing it. Such is life.¹⁴³

In a similar manner, although in a mocking tone, Louis Schneider also describes Satie's journey through the musical wilderness. Schneider refers to Satie as a 'god' in his obituary for the Royalist newspaper *Le Gaulois* and hints at a religious fervour that inspired Satie's desire to travel an independent route in music:

The head of a school must establish in principle disrespect for consecrated formulas; the composer entered into an open war against tonal music; Debussy and Maurice Ravel claimed later to have found their way in the tracks traced by Erik Satie. Meanwhile, the god continued his career with a particular pious love to liberate himself from all that he had learned and he had seen learned.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Jules Ecorcheville, 'Erik Satie', *Revue musicale S.I.M.*, 15 March 1911, 29-32, 32. 'Il erre, nomade de la tonalité, braconnier des rythmes, attentif aux mille voix de l'imperceptible, curieux de tout et de rien. Et voilà qu'il se surprend à jouer avec les objets défendus, que le Conservatoire lui apprit à rendre inoffensifs mais qu'il triture avec la plus grande imprudence. Le public ricane et passe. La gloire est ailleurs. Mais l'esprit de la musique en qui Nietzsche avait foi, veille et se souvient. Une révolution dans l'état harmonique de la France s'opère doucement. Vingt cinq ans se passent et tout à coup on s'aperçoit qu'Erik Satie a été novateur sans le savoir. Telle est la vie.' * The verb 'veiller' has many religious connotations related to watching and protecting: it refers to keeping vigil or holding a wake for a deceased person. This verb is also used to describe the actions of a guardian angel.

¹⁴⁴ Louis Schneider, 'Mort d'Erik Satie', *Le Gaulois*, 4 July 1925, 5. 'Un chef d'école doit établir en principe l'irrespect des formules consacrées; le compositeur entra en guerre ouverte contre la musique tonale; Debussy et Maurice Ravel prétendirent plus tard avoir trouvé leur voie dans le sillon tracé par Erik Satie. En attendant, le dieu poursuivait sa carrière avec une dilection particulière pour se libérer de tout ce qu'il avait appris et vu apprendre.'

In 1916 Roland-Manuel claimed that Satie was ‘unconcerned by glory.’¹⁴⁵ He revelled in his deviant status and refused to pander to the expectations of the bourgeois critics for whom he showed obvious contempt. Jean Marnold laments in 1918 that ‘the example of Satie shows however that one can devote oneself [to music] with a candid and disinterested heart, – for glory. The human soul is full of mysteries.’¹⁴⁶ Satie occasionally engaged in discussions concerning musical glory but only in an ironic manner. One critic refutes Satie’s statement that several members of the Ecole d’Arcueil have “‘entered, with no hope of return, the realms of Glory”’: Such is most certainly not the case for those who comprise [...] the Ecole d’Arcueil.’¹⁴⁷ Auguste Mangeot did not recognise the insincerity and intended sarcasm in Satie’s comment. Nevertheless, most critics acknowledged Satie’s disinterest in the form of musical glory in which they were invested in perpetuating.

Many critics viewed Satie’s penchant for humour as a barrier to attaining musical glory. Georges Migot criticises the young school’s propensity to ‘exclusively express themselves in jokes’ and argues the Romantic notion that art music can only achieve immortality if it expresses transcendental and eternal meaning:

Music must achieve a more general, more eternal, meaning let us say. Because, let us never forget, the works of art of our époque will be the sole witnesses in the witness dock of future centuries to testify that, not only did we know how to be ironic and funny, but also and above all that we knew how to love, to cry and to live, to glorify, and to sing sublime life; all this, in order to affirm the little speck of eternity present in our hearts.¹⁴⁸

After six years of minimal attention in the musical and general press, *Parade* (1917) provoked a level of critical interest not previously witnessed and for a time, a devoted group of followers pushed the idea that he had entered musical glory. Georges Chenneviere notes that Satie achieved a semblance of glory following the war, yet he clarifies that it was not a universal glory: ‘despised for too long, since

¹⁴⁵ Roland-Manuel, *Erik Satie*, 7.

¹⁴⁶ Jean Marnold, ‘Revue de la Quinzaine: Musique’, *Mercure de France*, 1 April 1918, 509-515, 514. ‘L’exemple de M. Satie montre pourtant qu’on peut s’y adonner d’un cœur candide et désintéressé, - pour la gloire. L’âme humaine est remplie de mystères.’

¹⁴⁷ Auguste Mangeot, ‘Théâtre des Champs-Élysées’, *Le Monde musical*, November 1923, 358-59, 358. ‘Tel n’est pas le cas assurément de ceux qui composent [...] l’Ecole d’Arcueil.’

¹⁴⁸ Georges Migot, ‘Les Tendances de la mélodie française actuelle’, *La France active*, 31 January 1929, 160-177, 162. ‘La musique doit atteindre un sens plus général, plus éternel, dirons-nous. Car, ne l’oublions jamais, les œuvres d’art de notre époque seront les seuls témoins, à la barre des siècles futurs, pour attester que, non seulement nous savions être ironiques et cocasses, mais encore et surtout que nous savions aimer, pleurer et vivre, magnifier, et chanter la vie sublimisée; cela, afin d’affirmer la parcelle d’éternité déposée en nos cœurs.’

the war he has gained a sort of glory, both noisy and discrete at the same time, a type of glory to which snobbery does not appear to be a stranger.’¹⁴⁹ Robert Brussel, comments that Satie’s ‘glory’ was only a passing fad: ‘Satie was placed within a particular glorified space. It was a glory on lease, temporary, to be cancelled at the will of the leaser and [it was a glory] in which no one believed, not even [Satie] himself.’¹⁵⁰ In another article Brussel explains that Satie has no claim to immortality, as ‘nothing about him would lead one to expect that one day he would embody the figure of a master.’¹⁵¹

Even Satie’s staunchest supporters conceded upon his passing that he had not entered into glory. André Coeuroy consoles his readers in an obituary: ‘whatever the reception that was reserved for his work, he will at least be left with the glory of having been, on more than one occasion, a precursor and a leader.’¹⁵² Cocteau admits that Satie did not achieve ‘an official glory’ like that of Debussy and as a result memorials have not been erected in his name. In Satie’s defence he argues ‘the friendship of youth erects a charming monument’ to him, a monument more valuable than one made of stone.¹⁵³ In the years since Satie’s death, his legacy has been preserved primarily by composers; his work did not survive through the standard ‘official’ channels. He was not treated like an immortal in musicological studies and his music was kept out of the sacred space of the concert hall throughout most of the 20th century. In spite of ‘official’ sanctions Satie’s music and musical ideas have endured in the 21st century and they frequently cross over into popular consciousness.

¹⁴⁹ Georges Chenneviere, ‘La Musique: Quelques notes sur Erik Satie’, *L’Humanité*, 13 March 1924, 2. ‘Trop longtemps dédaigné, il a conquis depuis la guerre une sorte de gloire à la fois tapageuse et discrète, à laquelle le snobisme ne me semble pas étranger.’

¹⁵⁰ Robert Brussel, ‘Pour la Tombe du Solitaire d’Arcueil: Un monument à Erik Satie’, *Le Figaro*, 16 May 1926, 2. ‘[...] Satie fut installé dans une gloire dont l’espèce est particulière, une gloire à bail, temporaire, résiliable à la volonté du bailleur et à laquelle personne ne crut, ni lui-même.’

¹⁵¹ Robert Brussel, ‘Mort de Erik Satie’, *Le Figaro*, 3 July 1925, 1. ‘Rien ne faisait prévoir en lui qu’il incarnerait un jour le personnage d’un maître.’

¹⁵² André Coeuroy, ‘Satie’, *Larousse mensuel*, No. 225, November 1925, 962-963, 963. ‘Quel que soit le sort réservé à son œuvre, il lui restera la gloire d’avoir été, à plus d’une reprise, un précurseur et un animateur.’

¹⁵³ Jean Cocteau, ‘Pour la tombe d’Erik Satie’, *Comoedia*, 17 June 1926, 2. ‘Même une gloire officielle, comme la gloire de Claude Debussy, en conserve la marque, et l’empêche de se pétrifier. Chaque fois qu’un nuage passe, que l’air froisse les feuilles d’un arbre, Debussy compte une statue et un discours de plus: l’amitié de la jeunesse élève à Erik Satie un monument charmant.’

4.4 Nationalism

Nationalism was a prominent concern in French society in the early 20th century in the wake of defeat in the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71), the German seizure of Alsace and the outbreak of World War I (1914-18). In the rocky transitional period from Romanticism to modernism, music critics and composers were faced with a situation that demanded they break away from Austro-Germanic musical dominance and redefine the concept of the musical canon for French music. In the musical world, the late 19th-century obsession with nationalism was ignited by the arrival of Wagner's music in the 1880s. Performances of *Lohengrin* in Paris sparked violent riots at the Eden-Théâtre on 3 May 1887 and in front of the Opéra throughout September 1891.¹⁵⁴ Whilst Wagner was initially considered the most threatening musical enemy by many, the premiere of *Pelléas et Mélisande* prompted fierce debate about the nature and direction of French music. From 1903 onwards, critics reported on the struggle between two aesthetically opposed *chappelles* or groups that claimed to represent the direction of 'French music': the debussystes (supporters of Debussy and impressionism) and the more conservative Scholistes (composers associated with the Schola Cantorum). In reality, these groupings were generalisations that failed to account for the true diversity of styles and approaches to composition in this period. During World War I, purported and real divisions were set aside by composers and a *union sacré* came into effect. President Poincaré first declared a 'sacred union' in a presidential message to the chamber of deputies on 4 August 1914 asking that all Frenchmen stand united against the common enemy whatever their individual politics. Unity was a fundamental concern in this period of heightened nationalism and many composers and musicologists felt obliged to demonstrate their patriotism through their works and musical activities. Auric recounts the sense of patriotic urgency felt by many composers at this time.

One must indeed admit that even though I loathe a certain interpretation of this word, the need for a national Art was felt more or less everywhere. After impressionism, certainly French, yet decadent when compared with the sheer power of Strauss [and] the burning Slavic flame of Stravinsky, we all wished for more clarity, for sincerity, for bright vigour.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ Pasler, *Writing Through Music*, 205.

¹⁵⁵ Georges Auric, 'Le Rôle du prophète.' 'Il faut bien l'avouer, quoique je répugne à une certaine interprétation de ce mot, on sentait un peu partout, le besoin d'un Art *national*. Après

In 1916 the Ligue Nationale pour la Défense de la Musique Française was founded by Théodore Dubois with the primary aim of safeguarding the “patrimoine artistique national” [“national artistic heritage”] and to foster its development and diffusion, without respect to any particular ‘school.’ Its central purpose was to develop all the possible and necessary means to oust the enemy culturally, and prevent the return of any “infiltrations funestes” [“grievous infiltrations”].¹⁵⁶ Jean Poueigh acted as secretary of the league and high-profile members included the directors of the Opéra-Comique, the Odéon, the Trianon-Lyrique, Maison Pleyel and members of the Institut de France, including Widor, Paladilhe and Fauré.¹⁵⁷ The league organised concerts and non-members were excluded from the programmes. Its activities were reported in the propagandistic journal *La musique pendant la guerre*, founded in 1915. With a few exceptions, all specialist music journals ceased publication during the war years and music coverage became extremely sporadic. In this period most young critics were engaged in the war effort and an older, more conservative group of critics fulfilled this role. This change in writer demographics impacted significantly on the reception of Satie’s war-time compositions, especially as many of Satie’s critic supporters were no longer around.

Satie’s refusal to join the League was harmful to his reputation (particularly, his moral standing), especially as so many prominent and powerful figures of officialdom were involved in the group.¹⁵⁸ Jane Fulcher notes that during the war ‘scholarship in music, just as in other fields, was to be harnessed to the service of the national myth, or to the ‘projection’ of the French community as a cultural entity throughout the ages.’¹⁵⁹ There was an increased sense of urgency to create an organisation dedicated specifically to uncovering the musical heritage of France, and on 17 March 1917 the Société Française de Musicologie was founded. Lionel de la Laurencie became its first president. In response to German propaganda in

l’impressionnisme, français certes, mais décadent après la dure puissance de Strauss, la brûlante flamme slave de Strawinsky, nous souhaitons tous plus de netteté, de franchise, de claire vigueur.’

¹⁵⁶ Fulcher, *The Composer As Intellectual*, 31.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 31.

¹⁵⁸ For example: Alfred Cortot, Charles Tenroc, the anti-Satie critic Jean Poueigh, and presidents of honour included Saint-Saëns, Theodore Dubois, Gustave Charpentier, Vincent d’Indy and directors of the Opéra-Comique, the Odéon, the Trianon Lyrique, Maison Pleyel and Members of the Institut de France.

¹⁵⁹ Fulcher, *The Composer As Intellectual*, 40.

this period a group of seven French intellectuals, that included the composer Charles Koechlin, was sent to the USA to counter claims that the French race was ‘in physical and intellectual decline.’¹⁶⁰ In the early months of the Great War, few envisaged that the fighting would continue as long as it did or result in such devastation. By 1917 morale amongst the French troops had reached an all-time low due to the huge casualties suffered and a chronic shortage of food and other commodities. In May and June mutinies began to break out amongst various divisions on the Western Front and record numbers deserted the army. (On 3 May an entire division refused orders to go into battle.) These events are of particular significance in understanding the reception of Satie’s war-time *scandale de théâtre*, *Parade*, which premiered on 18 May 1917 and was instantly labelled *Boches* (‘Kraut’) by many critics.

4.4.1 *Parade and Nationalism*

The scandal of *Parade!* Where a thousand intentions were discovered: *Parade* became a “cubist ballet”, *Parade* was folly and in the illustrious papers was treated like a farce, just as the *Rite of Spring* “massacred” spring.¹⁶¹

The premiere of *Parade* at the Théâtre du Châtelet occurred as part of a programme of four ballet works performed by the Ballets Russes that also included Stravinsky’s *Petrushka*, Chopin’s *Les Sylphides* (orch. Stravinsky) and *Soleil de Nuit* by Rimsky-Korsakov. This gala concert, a fundraiser for ‘the Refugees of Ardennes, the Soldiers at the Front and Russian and Polish prisoners of war’, was organised ‘under the patronage of a committee presided over by the Comtesse de Chabrillan, assisted by the chronicler Albert Flament.’¹⁶² The critical reaction to *Parade* was overwhelmingly negative and it was widely considered an immoral work and an affront to patriotism.

¹⁶⁰ Nichols, *The Harlequin Years*, 25.

¹⁶¹ Auric, ‘La Jeune Musique française’, 58. ‘Le scandale de *Parade* ! On y découvrit mille intentions : *Parade* devint un « ballet cubiste », *Parade* fut une folie et, pour les journaux illustrés, devint une farce, tout comme le *Sacre du printemps* « massacrait » le printemps.’

¹⁶² Guillot de Saix, ‘Les Ballets Russes’, *La Rampe: Revue Hebdomadaire des Spectacles*, 3 May 1917, 9. ‘C’est au cours d’une matinée en faveur de quatre œuvres de guerre: les Réfugiés des Ardennes, le Soldat du Front, les Polonais et les Prisonniers russes que sera donné le premier spectacle. [...] Ce gala sera donné sous le patronage d’un comité présidé par la comtesse de Chabrillan, secondée par le distingué chroniqueur Albert Flament.’

Jean d'Udine severely reprimanded the authors of *Parade* and launched an attack on the morality of such a work in a time of war:

However we do not let ourselves grieve either! That would please the [practical] jokers too much who dreamt up such lame stupidity. Let us just weep. I do not even dare to remind those who feign to amuse themselves before this sinister folly that men and children, our brothers and our sons, are still dying every day for sweet France. To approach the image of such heroism however with the virtue of these pretentious goings-on is to risk despoiling it, desecrating it. Let us weep!¹⁶³

In an article concerning French music during the war years, Julien Tiersot reiterates the view that the work was insensitive and out of touch with nationalist concerns:

I do not believe that *Parade*, the score of which Erik Satie wrote, was ever something agreeable to either hear or see; but this vulgar melange of emptiness, of nothingness, punctuated by grimaces, appeared to be particularly painful at a time in history when one had other things to think about. These false ironists had chosen their time very badly. One paid them the honour of being impatient with them; there were shouts and arguments in the stalls and in the gallery.¹⁶⁴

In a review in *La Presse*, Edmond Epardaud similarly claims that the creators of *Parade* are out of touch with reality and deluded if they think the work has achieved any form of critical success: 'Let us not forget however that we are in the presence of exceptional natures that neither do, think, feel nor see anything like others. Their upside-down conception of the world [...] can very well dispose them to consider the event of receiving cooked apples as a triumph.'¹⁶⁵ Epardaud draws upon discourses of religion, gender and nationalism to attack the work and to query Satie's French citizenship:

¹⁶³ Jean d'Udine, 'Couleurs, Mouvements et Sons: Les Ballets Russes, en 1917', *Le Courrier musical*, June 1917, 237-241, 239. 'Pourtant ne nous fâchons pas non plus ! Cela ferait trop de plaisir aux farceurs qui élucubrèrent une si plate niaiserie. Pleurons seulement. Je n'ose même pas rappeler à ceux qui firent mine de s'esbaudir devant cette sinistre sottise ; que des hommes et des enfants, nos frères et nos fils, meurent encore chaque jour pour la douce France. Rapprocher seulement l'image de tant d'héroïsme et de vertu de ces facéties prétentieuses, c'est risquer de la salir, de la profaner. Pleurons !'

¹⁶⁴ Julien Tiersot, 'Souvenirs de Cinq Années (1914-1919)', *Le Ménestrel*, 12 December 1919, 84-5. 'Je ne crois pas que la *Parade* dont M. Erik Satie a écrit la partition eût été en aucun temps chose agréable à voir ou à entendre; mais ce mélange de vulgaire, de vide, de rien, ponctué de grimaces, parut être particulièrement pénible à une époque où il y avait d'autres chose à quoi penser. Ces faux ironistes avaient vraiment mal pris leur temps. On leur fit l'honneur de s'impatienter contre eux; il y eut des cris et des disputes au parterre et au poulailier.'

¹⁶⁵ Edmond Epardaud, 'Chronique: A Propos de Cubes', *La Presse*, 23 May 1917, 1-2, 2. 'N'oublions pas cependant que nous sommes en présence de natures exceptionnelles qui ne font, ne pensent, ne sentent, ne voient rien comme les autres. Leur conception du monde à l'envers [...] peut très bien aussi les incliner à considérer comme un triomphe le fait de recevoir des pommes cuites.'

Parade himself, or herself (the sex of these hybrid child cubical beings of Picasso is difficult to determine) is a Russian ballet, the librettist of which is the Frenchman Cocteau and the composer Erik Satie. The latter will forgive me for not being very accurately informed about his nationality. I would like to assume he is a compatriot of Rameau, Berlioz and Bizet, but one will admit that Erik, with or without Satie, is a very peculiar saint. Besides, it matters little that Satie Erik should be French, neutral or ally. He is the author of the *Gymnopédies* and of *Parade* and that is enough to please us. [...] The joker Picasso together with the joker Satie [...] had thus promised to delight Parisians and the *Parade* that they staged had been the object of their most maternal care – or paternal [care], that always depends on the sex.¹⁶⁶

In the programme notes published in advance of the premiere, Apollinaire prepares readers for the arrival of a completely new form of art work. *Parade* was promoted as one of the first exemplary works of a new and exclusively French movement called *l'Esprit Nouveau* or the New Spirit: 'Definitions of *Parade* flourish all over like branches of lilac in this late spring. It's a scenic poem that the musical pioneer Erik Satie transformed into surprising, expressive music, so clear and so simple that the wonderfully lucid spirit of France herself can be perceived.'¹⁶⁷ In a public talk on 26 November 1917, Guillaume Apollinaire again stresses the inherently French nationalist sentiment and the anti-Austro-Germanic aesthetics and ideology that he feels this movement embodies:

The *esprit nouveau* that will dominate the whole world did not emerge anywhere in poetry as it did in France. The powerful intellectual discipline that the French imposed on themselves for all time permits them, and not only them but also those spiritually akin, to have a conception of life, of art and the humanities which, without being the simple observation of antiquity, can no longer be a counterpoint to beautiful romantic decor.¹⁶⁸

In an article on *Parade* in the Belgian periodical *La Flamme*, Paul Collaer praises the score in which he considers 'the ordinance of ideas' as 'very clear and logical,

¹⁶⁶ Epardaud, 'Chronique: A Propos de Cubes', 1-2. '*Parade* lui-même, ou elle-même (le sexe de ces êtres hybrides enfants cubiques de Picasso est assez difficile à déterminer) est un ballet russe dont le librettiste est le Français Cocteau et le musicien Erik Satie. Ce dernier me pardonnera de ne pas être très exactement renseigné sur sa nationalité. Je voudrais bien le supposer compatriote de Rameau, de Berlioz, et de Bizet, mais on avouera qu'Erik, avec ou sans Satie, est un saint bien particulier. Il importe d'ailleurs assez peu que Satie Erik soit Français, neutre ou allié. Il est l'auteur des *Gymnopédies* et de *Parade* et cela suffit à notre bonheur. Le farceur Picasso en compagnie du farceur Satie [...] s'étaient donc promis de réjouir les Parisiens et la *Parade* qu'ils avaient montée avait été l'objet de leurs soins les plus maternels – ou paternels, cela dépend toujours du sexe.'

¹⁶⁷ Apollinaire, '*Parade* et L'Esprit Nouveau', 5. 'Les définitions de *Parade* fleurissent de toutes partes comme les branches de lilas en ce printemps tardif... C'est un poème scénique que le musicien novateur Erik Satie a transposé en une musique étonnement expressive, si nette et si simple que l'on y reconnaîtra l'esprit merveilleusement lucide de la France même.'

¹⁶⁸ Apollinaire, 'Critique littéraire', 900. 'L'esprit nouveau qui dominera le monde entier ne s'est fait jour dans la poésie nulle part comme en France. La forte discipline intellectuelle que se sont imposée de tout temps les Français leur permet, à eux et à ceux qui leur appartiennent spirituellement, d'avoir une conception de la vie, des arts et des lettres qui, sans être la simple constatation de l'antiquité, ne soit pas non plus un pendant du beau décor romantique.'

very French.’¹⁶⁹ Collaer declares his support for Cocteau’s writings on Satie in *Le Coq et l’Arlequin*:

I told you that Jean Cocteau came to announce the good news. The beautiful things that we have heard prove yet again the power and vitality of French genius. The good news is that war did not destroy this spirit of audacity, this fighting spirit and this spirit of honesty that is dear to us. The mystery that is fulfilled is the disengagement from impressionism, the return to a classical spirit. Thank you, my French friends, for the beautiful Christmas present that you have given to some Belgian musicians.¹⁷⁰

In France meanwhile, many critics were quick to admonish Cocteau’s claim to glory on behalf of Satie. Henri Mangin argues that Satie’s compositions do not even deserve to be considered music:

Monsieur Jean Cocteau said: “I do not like music that has to be listened to with your head in your hands.” I replied to him, “I do not like music which is not, in the first place, actually music; and amongst the musics, the one that transforms humanity, exalts, deepens, inflames and shakes the soul, will always overcome the one that contents itself with some spiritualised, or purely imitative, or inanely gracious effects.”¹⁷¹

Jean Poueigh ridicules Apollinaire’s claims in the programme notes that this manifestation of *l’esprit nouveau* is a ‘sign of the future of a more complete art’. Poueigh dismisses the programme note and the work through sarcasm: ‘Without this explanation [...] most of us would have only seen insignificant clowning in this anticipated revelation. Even after having meditated the meaning, it is impossible for me to take such theories seriously.’¹⁷² In response to Poueigh’s comments Satie sent the critic a series of insulting postcards that prompted him to sue Satie for slander. In the secretary of the Ligue Nationale pour la Défense de la Musique Française, Satie

¹⁶⁹ Paul Collaer, ‘Musique’, *La Flamme*, 25 December 1919-1 January 1920, 3. ‘L’ordonnance des idées est très claire et logique, très française.’

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 3. ‘Je vous disais que Jean Cocteau est venu nous annoncer la bonne nouvelle. Les belles choses que nous avons entendues nous prouvent une fois de plus la puissance et la vitalité du génie français. La bonne nouvelle, c’est que la guerre n’a pas détruit cet esprit d’audace, de lutte et d’honnêteté qui nous est cher. Le mystère qui s’accomplit, c’est le dégagement de l’impressionisme, le retour à l’esprit classique. Merci, mes amis de France, pour le beau présent de Noël que vous avez apporté à quelques musiciens belges.’ Collaer was a prominent Belgian musicologist and correspondent of Satie’s, responsible for promoting and staging a number of concerts of Satie’s music in Belgium in the 1920s.

¹⁷¹ Mangin, ‘L’Esthétisme nouveau’. ‘M. Jean Cocteau disait: “Je n’aime pas la musique qui s’écoute la figure dans les mains.” Je lui répondrai: “Je n’aime pas la musique qui ne commence pas par être avant tout de la musique; et parmi les musiques celle qui transfigure l’humanité, exalte, approfondit, flamboie et retourne l’âme, l’emportera toujours sur celle qui se contentera de quelques effets spiritualisés, ou purement imitatifs, ou naïvement gracieux.”’

¹⁷² Jean Poueigh, ‘Châtelet: Les Ballets Russes – Parade – Soleil de Nuit – Las Meninas’, *La Rampe*, 31 May 1917, 4. ‘Sans cet exposé [...] la plupart d’entre nous n’auraient vu dans la révélation attendue que d’insignifiantes pitreries. Même après en avoir médité le sens, il m’est impossible de prendre au sérieux de telles théories.’

had chosen a powerful and well-connected adversary and it is clear in the sources concerning the trial that Satie's public reputation had suffered as a result of his involvement with the 'anti-French' work. In a letter to Jean Cocteau dated 16 August 1917 Satie reports the 'bad news' he has just heard regarding official support for him during his public trial:

Ill tidings: Maurice Bernard [an official at the Ministry of the Interior] not there. His correspondence secretary replied. "How wrong it is of Princesse de Polignac to concern herself with those Krauts. *Parade* and the Ballets Russes are Krauts and poorly regarded at the front, where their boisterous outbursts have had an extremely bad effect."¹⁷³

The perceived foreignness of *Parade* was one of the many reasons why critics condemned the work. During the war years in France the movements of futurism, cubism and Dada were considered particularly subversive in both aesthetic and moral terms, as these artistic movements were either spearheaded by foreigners or imported from abroad. When used as descriptors of his music these adjectives inferred his music was morally corrupt, anti-French, and undesired. In his review of *Parade* Epardaude employs the term 'cubically' in an exaggerated fashion to ridicule the aesthetic premise of the work:

We have thus been strongly cubically invited to the cubical representation of the cubical *Parade* by the cubical Picasso, Cocteau and Satie. I forgot the dancers, them also essentially cubical. The evening was not without charm and the audience overcome by the *esprit nouveau* protested cubically against the big and bitter pill in the form of a parallelepiped that they were forced to swallow.¹⁷⁴

Epardaude describes Cubism as a violent movement that the public responded to with disgust:

When one is able to cut the body of a woman into little pieces recalling the most complicated figures of geometry in space, or to enamel a piece of music with wailing gasps or the cry of unknown animals, nothing impedes the welcome of boos as the highest mark of public admiration.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 297. 'Mauvaises nouvelles: Maurice Bernard pas là. Son secrétaire à écrire a répondu: - "Combien la Princesse de Polignac a tort de s'occuper de ces Boches. *Parade* & les Ballets Russes sont boches & mal vus du front, où leurs manifestations tapageuses ont produit le plus mauvais effet."

¹⁷⁴ Epardaude, 'Chronique: A Propos de Cubes', 1-2. 'Nous avons donc été conviés fort cubiquement à la représentation cubique de la cubique *Parade* des cubiques Picasso, Cocteau et Satie. J'oubliais les danseurs, essentiellement cubiques, eux aussi. La soirée ne fut pas sans charme et les spectateurs gagnés par l'esprit nouveau protestèrent cubiquement contre la grosse et amère pilule en forme de parallélépipède qu'on voulait leur faire avaler.'

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 2. 'Quand on est capable de couper un corps de femme en petits morceaux rappelant les figures les plus compliquées de la géométrie dans l'espace ou d'émailler un morceau de musique de

Despite the initial critical backlash the situation was not entirely bleak for Satie in this period. Auric records the esteem in which many of Satie's composer contemporaries held him: 'I will add to this general revelation a word Stravinsky said to me, after a performance of *Parade*: "There are three French composers, Bizet, Chabrier, Satie."' ¹⁷⁶ In the years following *Parade* many critics made a concerted effort to ridicule Stravinsky's comment to Auric and to diminish any prestige Satie had gained in *le monde musical*. In the introduction to a concert in 1921 Henry Malherbe quoted Stravinsky's statement and was attacked for doing so in the press shortly afterwards:

It was Bizet's turn, delicately and justifiably praised by Henry Malherbe. Let us detach from his commentary the citation of a parallel established by Stravinsky between Bizet, Chabrier and Erick Satie. Did the incoherent decomposer [Stravinsky] claim by means of this comparison to have enhanced Satie or to have demeaned the authors of *Carmen* and *Briséis*? ¹⁷⁷

Malherbe responded to this comment two months later in the same publication, assuring the conservative bourgeois readership that he considers Stravinsky's opinion a joke:

Stravinsky, the violent, critical and distrustful composer of *Sacre du Printemps*, paid an unusual homage to the author of *Carmen* in the name of advanced music. Regarding French music, he was not afraid to assert: "There is Bizet, Chabrier, Satie." This unusual opinion which can only be interpreted as a joke, sufficiently shows us however the amount of respect that our young musicians, who are so disrespectful of their predecessors, have for the author of *l'Arlésienne*. ¹⁷⁸

A minority of critics acknowledged and accepted Stravinsky's comparison and in the 1920s Satie and Stravinsky's influence on modern music was occasionally

soupirs vagissants ou de cris d'animaux inconnus, rien n'empêche d'accueillir les sifflets comme la plus haute marque de l'admiration publique.'

¹⁷⁶ Auric, 'La Jeune Musique française', 58. 'J'ajouterai à cette révélation générale un mot de Stravinsky me disant, après une exécution de *Parade* : «Voilà trois musiciens français Bizet, Chabrier, Satie. »'

¹⁷⁷ René Brancour, 'Concerts-Pasdeloup', *Le Ménestrel*, 18 February 1921, 69. 'Ce fut le tour de Bizet, délicatement et justement loué par M. Henry Malherbe. Détachons de son commentaire la citation d'un parallèle établi par M. Stravinsky entre Bizet, Chabrier et M. Erick Satie... L'incohérent décompositteur a-t-il prétendu, par cette comparaison, rehausser M. Satie ou abaisser les auteurs de *Carmen* et de *Briséis*?'

¹⁷⁸ Henry Malherbe, 'Georges Bizet', *Le Ménestrel*, 29 April 1921, 181-183, 183. 'M. Stravinsky, le compositeur violent, acide et méprisant du *Sacre du Printemps*, a, au nom de la musique avancée, rendu un hommage particulier à l'auteur de *Carmen*. Considérant la musique française, il n'a pas craint d'affirmer: "Il y a Bizet, Chabrier, Satie." Cette opinion originale, et qui n'a qu'une valeur de boutade, nous indique cependant suffisamment dans quel respect nos jeunes musiciens, si dédaigneux de leurs prédécesseurs, tiennent l'auteur de *l'Arlésienne*.'

cited. In 1923 Antoine Banès compares the two favourably in a comment that stresses Satie's Frenchness: 'Erik Satie appears to me to be like a musical Alphonse Allais in whose veins might flow a paler, blue, white and red form of Stravinsky's blood.'¹⁷⁹

Despite support for *Parade* in the years following its premiere, the unfavourable reception had repercussions for the work. In 1923 Milhaud expresses regret that *Parade* has been excluded from most prestigious concerts of French music:

It is really ridiculous that a work like *Parade* upon which the complete young French school rests, and which responds to our most profound desires, is not played in our Sunday concerts and that the material and orchestral score are not printed anymore, which prevents great foreign conductors from including it on their programmes [...].¹⁸⁰

The Ballets Russes revived *Parade* again in two performances in the following year at the Théâtre de Champs-Élysées. On 22 June 1924 it appeared on a programme with works by members of 'Les Six': *Les Fâcheux* (Molière/Auric), *Les Biches* (Poulenc) and *Le Train Bleu* (Cocteau/Milhaud) and on the 27 June it was performed alongside works by Milhaud, Cimarosa and Monteclair. Shortly after Satie's death, Albert Flament, who had been present at the premiere of *Parade*, wrote that this work 'marked for Erik Satie this sort of Parisian consecration which far from always being the sign of mastery, which is never a surety of duration, but which circulates a name and sometimes assures the fortune or the beginnings of a long dreamed of well-being.'¹⁸¹ *Parade* never became part of the standard repertoire of French ballet music in the 20th century and until recent decades, scholarly interest focused primarily on Picasso's involvement in the collaboration.

¹⁷⁹ Antoine Banès, 'Les Concerts: Festival Erik Satie', *Le Figaro*, 9 June 1923, 4. 'M. Erik Satie me semble un Alphonse Allais musical dans les veines de qui coulerait – plus limpide et très bleu-blanc-rouge - le sang d'un Igor Strawinsky.'

¹⁸⁰ Darius Milhaud, 'Chronique musicale', *Intentions*, 20 December 1923, 17-18, 17. 'Il est vraiment ridicule qu'une œuvre comme *Parade*, sur laquelle s'appuie toute la jeune école française, et qui répond à nos désirs les plus profonds, ne soit pas jouée dans nos concerts dominicaux et que le matériel et la partition d'orchestre ne soient pas encore gravées, ce qui empêche les grands chefs d'orchestre de l'étranger de l'inscrire à leur programmes [...].'*Parade* was performed twice in its orchestral version and once in piano duet version during 1923.

¹⁸¹ Albert Flament, 'La Quinzaine: Tableaux de Paris: Erik Satie', *La Revue de Paris*, 15 August 1925, 917-920, 918. '*Parade* [...] marqua pour Erik Satie cette sorte de consécration parisienne qui est loin d'être toujours le signe de la maîtrise et qui n'est jamais un gage de durée, mais qui propage un nom et assure quelquefois la fortune ou l'ébauche d'un bien-être longtemps rêvé.'

4.4.2 Satie and the French School

Throughout his public career, a small, but noisy group of supporters repeatedly argued that Satie should be considered the head of the French modern school of music and should be awarded a place in the French musical canon. Even critics who were suspicious of Satie's music, such as W. Wright Roberts, acknowledged that Satie was 'consciously helping to define the principles of the modern French school.'¹⁸² In 1913 Roland-Manuel concludes that Satie was the first French musical modernist:

Precursor to Debussy and Ravel, he also knew how to be the precursor of Erik Satie and this is no mean feat: "*Flora appeared in terra nostra*", these blossoms that one finally agreed to find not only magnificent, but heavy with promise; he was the first to pluck them from the new tree. French music must never forget him.¹⁸³

Satie is most frequently praised for renouncing the musical heritage of Romanticism and challenging the Austro-Germanic dominance in French music both ideologically and aesthetically. Roland-Manuel promotes the image of Satie as an influential anti-Romantic figure in the new French school in his biography. In an article in *Le Courier musical* Auric notes that Roland-Manuel's biography may have offended some serious people and he comes to his friend's defence. Auric reminds readers of Roland-Manuel's nationalistic credentials as a decorated officer of the French army. Auric also defends Satie, recalling his patriotic musical work in countering the dominance of Wagner in France. He argues that impressionism dismantled painting to such a point that the even the more excessive cubists became necessary for the reconstruction of the devastated art. Auric outlines the importance of the creation of a French musical canon and names some of the works that have already been awarded their just place: the symphonies of Albert Roussel, the chamber music of Ravel (and *Daphnis et Chloé*) and 'the vast compositions' of Florent Schmitt. Alongside these 'grand constructors' Auric believes the music of

¹⁸² W. Wright Roberts, 'The Problem of Satie', *Music & Letters*, Vol. 4, October 1923, 313-320, 316.

¹⁸³ Roland-Manuel, 'Silhouettes d'Artistes: Erik Satie', 3. 'Précurseur de Debussy et de Ravel, il sut être aussi le précurseur d'Erik Satie, et ce n'est pas un mince mérite: "*Flores apparurent in terra nostra*", ces fleurs que l'on s'accorde enfin à trouver non seulement magnifiques mais lourdes de promesses, il fut le premier à les cueillir à l'arbre neuf. La musique française se doit ne jamais l'oublier.'

‘le bon maître’ and the ‘Prince of Fantasy’, Erik Satie, should also be admitted, as underneath his humorous spirit lie two ‘very big virtues’: timidity and sensitivity.¹⁸⁴

Members of the aristocracy also wrote in favour of Satie’s music occasionally. In a review of ‘Le Spectacle-Concert des Champs-Élysées’ (this concert was the setting for the premiere of *Trois petites pièces montées*) in *Le Gaulois*, Comtesse Etienne de Beaumont praises Satie’s role as the head of a ‘distinctive school’ of composition that has succeeded in breaking away from the Austro-German influence of the 19th century and returned to classical ideals in music. This is a rare example of a member of the aristocracy engaging in canonic discourses:

With Erik Satie, the master for whom they all feel such great admiration, they have departed from the dominant influence that reigned during all of the 19th century and which came to us, since Beethoven, from the German musicians of genius of this period. They have revived the French and Italian traditions of the 17th and 18th century, the melodic chain, clear and simple. They no longer feel the need for these enormous orchestras, for these large choirs, for all this brilliant stage machinery required for the performance of Wagner’s *Ring*.¹⁸⁵

The ‘dominant’ class did not intimidate bourgeois critics in this period and they demonstrated no hesitation in dismissing the viewpoints of the aristocracy when they felt the canon was under threat. In a revue of Satie’s work *Mercure* (a work commissioned by the Comte Etienne de Beaumont) Paul Bertrand complains:

Comte de Beaumont continues to present to the public a group of performances that attempt to reveal ‘the new soul and the younger face of our France.’ This, unfortunately, is not always apparent and the public at la Cigale receive certain productions through these jibes, the strangeness of which disconcerts them.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ Auric, ‘Bibliographie: Musique’, 130.

¹⁸⁵ Anon., ‘Le Spectacle-Concert des Champs Élysées’: SAT 40.24. Published in Comtesse Etienne de Beaumont, ‘Le Spectacle-Concert des Champs-Élysées’, *Le Gaulois*, 22 February 1920, 1. ‘Avec Eric Satie, le maître pour lequel ils éprouvent tous une si grande admiration, ils ont quitté l’influence dominante qui a régné pendant tout le 19^{ème} siècle et qui nous venait, depuis Beethoven, des musiciens allemands de génie de cette époque. Ils ont renoué les traditions françaises et italiennes du 17^{ème} et du 18^{ème} siècle, la chaîne mélodique, claire et simple. Ils ne sentent plus le besoin de ces orchestres géants, de ces nombreux chœurs, de toute cette machinerie géniale qu’exige la représentation d’une *Ring* de Wagner.’

¹⁸⁶ Paul Bertrand, ‘Soirées de Paris (Théâtre de la Cigale), Nouveau spectacle’, *Le Ménestrel*, 27 June 1924, 287. ‘M. le Comte Etienne de Beaumont continue de présenter au public une suite de spectacles qui tendent à révéler ‘la nouvelle âme et le plus jeune visage de notre France’. Celle-ci, malheureusement, ne s’y reconnaît pas toujours, et le public de la Cigale accueille par des quolibets certaines productions dont l’étrangeté le déconcerte.’

In a review of a Pro Arte concert of contemporary French music in Brussels, Solvay ridicules the importance attached to Satie's name by a certain group of composers and he implies that even Satie would find this high opinion of him amusing:

He however has admirers judging by these words that illustrated the programme: "Satie's personality is extremely important. When in 1885, at the height of Romanticism, this composer prepared a French music that constituted a return to the classical conception. Satie dominates, along with Stravinsky, Debussy and Fauré, current musical life in France." This is flattering for Fauré, isn't it?! But we are of the opinion that Satie, should he read this, would be well amused – even more than we would be!¹⁸⁷

In the weeks and months following Satie's death in 1925 the general critical opinion concerning his place in the French musical school remained divided, and within a few short years Satie's name had largely disappeared from canonic discourses. The primary reasons for Satie's dismissal, and a theme that has permeated all of the chapters thus far, is humour. Satie's humorous expression contravened the criterion of seriousness and it offended bourgeois values and expectations of art. Humour was also viewed as anti-patriotic and was considered a blasphemous expressive form in a sacred domain. Satie's use of humour had significant canonic implications.

¹⁸⁷ Lucien Solvay, 'Belgique', *Le Ménestrel*, 2 February 1923, 58. 'Il a pourtant des admirateurs, à en juger par ces paroles, qui illustraient le programme: "La personnalité de Satie est d'une extrême importance. Dès 1885, en plein romantisme, ce compositeur prépara la musique française au retour à la conception classique. Satie domine, avec Stravinsky, Debussy et Fauré, la vie musicale actuelle en France." Voilà qui flattera M. Fauré! Mais nous est avis que M. Satie, s'il lit cela, doit bien s'amuser, - plus encore que nous!'

Chapter 5. Satie and the Meaning of the Comic¹

5.0 Introduction

Humour is an exemplary practice because it is a universal human activity that invites us to become philosophical spectators upon our lives. It is practically enacted theory. I think this is why Wittgenstein once said that he could imagine a book of philosophy that would be written entirely in the form of jokes.²

The Prince of Humorists, that's Erik Satie.³

In early modernist France, Erik Satie was the leading exponent of humour in high-art music and consequently, he was regarded as one of the most controversial composers of his time. Satie's idiosyncratic style of musical humour reached its zenith in a series of 'humoristic' piano suites composed between 1912 and 1915, where humour is generally considered the defining feature.⁴ The persistent use of humour in his writings and compositions of this period certainly distinguished Satie from his peers and gained him notoriety during his short public career; however, the consequences of this humoristic approach resulted in a reluctance or refusal on the part of most music critics to take Satie's aesthetic and ideological contributions to musical discourses seriously (see Chapter 2 on the French press). Satie's reception was strongly influenced by the humanist-Romantic perception of the comic that dominated French society at this time: in music in particular, humour was viewed as a subversive form of expression and intellectual resistance. Even the most supportive critics related their concern that humour functioned as a significant barrier to engagement with Satie's music. In 1913 Roland-Manuel wrote that 'these astounding fantasies definitively create an insurmountable partition between the public and him [...].'⁵ The barrier to engagement with Satie's music was inextricably linked to the concept of the musical canon and its ideological

¹ A revised version of this chapter will be published in Potter (ed.), *Erik Satie: Music, Art & Literature*.

² Simon Critchley, *On Humour* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 18.

³ René Chalupt, 'Le Piège de Méduse, Comédie Lyrique par M. Erik Satie', *L'Occident: Architecture, Sculpture, Peintre, Musique, Poésie*, No. 139, June 1914, 245-6, 246. 'Le Prince des Humoristes c'est M. Erik Satie.'

⁴ The humorous *Sonatine bureaucratique* (1917) is often included in this category on account of the aesthetic similarities it shares with these earlier works.

⁵ Roland-Manuel, 'Silhouettes d'Artistes: Erik Satie', 2. 'Ces ahurissantes fantaisies créent définitivement entre le public et lui l'infranchissable cloison [...].'

opposition to humour. The purpose of this chapter is twofold: firstly, to comprehend the nature of this barrier and secondly, through an understanding of how humour operates, to address the need for new methodologies in overcoming the barrier it presents. Part I addresses the ideologically opposed relationship between humour and the canon in contemporary discourses. In his ‘humoristic’ period, Satie participated in an exceptional way in musical debates as a counter-hegemonic commentator on contemporary ideas of canon. In setting the context for the reception of Satie’s humour and in establishing the primary ideological concerns his humoristic works presented, this discussion is primarily informed by Henri Bergson’s essays on laughter. Part II is concerned with how we can overcome this barrier, a legacy of the canon in Satie’s time that continues to affect how we approach humour in his music today. In this section a variety of methodological approaches specific to the study of parody and irony are introduced and explored through direct engagement with Satie’s music. Satie’s pivotal role as an avatar of musical modernism will never be adequately acknowledged or valued unless the issue of humour in Satie’s music, and the truly revolutionary role it played in his contribution to those discourses, is understood.

Since 1911, critics have been engaged in identifying the possible sources and influences of Satie’s humour: however, this approach has been limited in its ability to reveal much of the meaning of the comic to us. The origins of Satie’s humour are not a primary concern in this study, rather the focus is placed on *how* it is created and perhaps more importantly, *why* he chose this expressive medium: the guiding question is what critical function did humour serve in his writings and compositions and how did this affect his reception? Satie utilised many types of humour in his works including irony, satire and parody. Yet regardless of the type of humour employed, they all shared a common critical function in the expression of his personal ideologies and his use of humour was ultimately subversive in intent. Comprehension of the ideological motivations that lay behind Satie’s explicit use of humour in music is vital in understanding his intellectual participation in Modernist discourses. Therefore, this study of the comic also considers the affective (the ethos of humour) and formal (structural techniques, humour as structure) dimensions of Satie’s music. Humour can function on structural, aesthetic and ideological levels, and these elements often overlap in creating comic meaning. The following

discussion introduces theories that allow us to analyse these three roles of humour in music and suggest ways in which we can begin to broach the barrier that humour - a very complex and culturally-specific construct - presents in studies of Satie.

Scholarly engagement with humour has been hindered by an uncertainty surrounding possible methodological approaches and the lack of a music-specific vocabulary for dealing with this subject. Categorizations of humorous styles and techniques in music remain largely undefined except in reference to the study of specific discourses or individual composers. The vague and often inadequate terminology that surrounds Satie's humour requires clarification. Many of the terms we associate with Satie such as 'humoristic' and 'fantaisiste' were first attributed to him in the French musical press in direct response to the humoristic works and the historicity of these terms must be addressed. Terminology we perhaps take for granted such as parody and irony are frequently confused or badly defined in discussions of music. This study focuses specifically on two forms of humour frequently associated with Satie that are commonly defined in terms of negative intent: irony which judges and parody which mocks. These definitions imply that humour only operates in a negative or destructive manner, when this is certainly not the case. The issues surrounding terminology must be negotiated when establishing a context for the analysis of the humoristic works.

Humour serves a range of functions in society from the maintenance of the status quo to its deconstruction. However, it is not a universal language and its comprehension is context dependent: its range of meanings is socially, historically and culturally specific. In the words of Bergson:

To understand laughter, we must put it back into its natural environment, which is society, and above all we must determine the utility of its function, which is a social one. [...] Laughter must answer to certain requirements of life in common. It must have a social signification.⁶

All interpretations of humour are dependent upon an awareness of context and in the case of Satie we have to reconstruct this context on account of our historical,

⁶ Cited in Critchley, *On Humour*, 4.

cultural and social distance from our subject. In this respect, a discussion of humour is fitting within the context of a reception study.

5.1 Part I: Humour and Context

5.1.1 *Humour and the Canon*

In the humoristic period, and periodically throughout the rest of his life, Satie participated in the discourses of canon formation in a directly confrontational manner and employed humour as a rhetorical expressive device. Satie repeatedly challenged and ridiculed the ideologies of the canon in his compositions and music journalism. Zupančič observes that comedy ‘materializes and gives a body to what can otherwise appear as an unspeakable, infinite Mystery of the other scene.’⁷ The materialism of humour means it possesses a particular ability to challenge or even attack symbolic structures such as the canon. Humour can transform an abstract normative (such as the canon) into a concrete, visible subject, and remove it from its comfortable hegemonic position: humour can ‘radicalize’ the norm. As is often the case with hegemonic ideologies, they are rarely noted by the general public: it is those who cannot identify with or fit into the normative that are most motivated to participate in counter-hegemonic forms of discourse. Satie’s ideological and aesthetic attacks on the musical canon were designed to destabilise its power, a highly subversive act. The maintenance of the musical canon requires cultural reinforcement and music criticism is the primary site where the heated debate on Satie’s canonicity occurred. Through an analysis of the sources of music reception, the tensions between hegemonic (‘legitimate’) discourses and counter-discourses of Satie are rendered visible. Humour emerged as the most pervasive problem identified by the critics: it exerted a profound impact upon the formation of Satie’s public reputation and subsequently, his author-function. The following discussion examines the reasons why humour was considered so polemical at this time, and seeks to understand why so many of the problems encountered by early critics in addressing Satie’s humour still persist today. In order to contextualise the academic

⁷ Alenka Zupančič, *The Odd One In: On Comedy* (London: MIT Press, 2008), 210.

debates concerning humour in this period, this discussion draws upon the writings of Satie's contemporary, the philosopher Bergson.

5.1.2 Bergson and The Contemporary Context

Not everyone can penetrate the subtle and sardonic art of Erik Satie. Anyway, humour is a very peculiar art that has never been judged quite impartially.⁸

Humour has been a concern of many influential philosophers from ancient to modern times. Aristotle's second book of *Poetics* (now unfortunately lost) dealt with the subject of laughter. In the *Phenomenology of Spirit*, Hegel discusses the importance of comic spirit in the section on 'Religion in the Form of Art.' In the early 20th century in France Henri Bergson was regarded as an extremely influential philosophical thinker, so much so that Etienne Gilson has described the first third of the 20th century as the 'age of Bergson.'⁹ In order to contextualise the wider contemporary debate surrounding humour in music in Satie's time, the following discussion draws upon Bergson's series of three critical essays on the meaning of the comic.¹⁰ In these works he contemplates the social, moral and ideological roles and functions of humour in society and in doing so provides the reception theorist with an invaluable insight into the *a priori* attitudes towards humour. Many of the societal and artistic debates that arise in 'Laughter' are reflected in the reception of Satie's humour.

In the foreword to 'Laughter' Bergson states that the aim of his study is to 'contribute to a better understanding of the real nature of art and the general relation between art and life.'¹¹ He argues that laughter functions as a 'sort of social

⁸ Auric, 'Erik Satie: Musicien Humoriste', 138-142, 141. 'Tout le monde ne pénètre pas l'art subtil et narquois de M. Erik Satie. Du reste, l'humour est un art très particulier que l'on n'a jamais jugé assez impartialement.'

⁹ Etienne Gilson, in R. C. Grogin, *The Bergsonian Controversy in France 1900-1914* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1988), 207. Bergson's bi-weekly public lectures at the Collège de France in Paris attracted a cult following and the 400-seat lecture room could not accommodate the masses who turned up to hear him speak.

¹⁰ These essays entitled 'Le Rire' ('Laughter') reached a wide audience through their initial publication in *La Revue de Paris* in January, February and March 1900.

¹¹ Henri Bergson, transl. Cloudesely Bereton and Fred Rothwell, *Laughter: An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic* (Maryland: Arc Manor, 2008), 64.

gesture,’ therefore humour plays an important critical role as it can indicate ‘a slight revolt on the surface of social life.’¹² Bergson describes how humour can summon ‘up to the surface [...] passions that produce a general upheaval.’¹³ Critics overlooked the critical function humour served in Satie’s music, particularly the challenge it presented to the contemporary ideals of canon. Bergson observes that the comic can serve a dual function in society: it can be used to attack the status quo or to discipline (to humiliate or silence) the dissenter. He notes how humour can unveil the ‘inconsistencies of society; it exaggerates the shams and shibboleths of the social law’, it lays ‘bare a secret portion of ourselves.’¹⁴ The corrective role of laughter is fulfilled by the ‘professional comic’, or in Satie’s case, the professional critic. His humorous attacks on the norm were responded to in kind by music critics, who often used irony and sarcasm as rhetorical strategies to target and publicly admonish Satie.

In the third essay, ‘The Comic in Character’, Bergson betrays his ideological sympathy with the elitist Romantic notions of high art through his use of the comic/serious binary opposition. He discusses high art in spiritual and moral terms and outlines why the comic is a lesser form of expression that can never be considered ‘great’:

So we were probably right in saying that comedy lies midway between art and life. It is not disinterested as genuine art is. By organising laughter, comedy accepts social life as a natural environment, it even obeys an impulse of social life. And in this respect *it turns its back upon art*, which is a breaking away from society and a return to pure nature.¹⁵

Satie’s humoristic works depended upon the existence of the everyday within his art, particularly through musical borrowings, and he made few attempts to conceal these elements. In his 1916 biography, Roland-Manuel appropriates Bergson’s definition of the comic formula of laughter in the defence of the popular features of Satie’s humoristic music: ‘This rupture of equilibrium, this *mechanical encrusted on the living* – as Henri Bergson excellently said – these grimaces, these disarticulations precisely constitute the everyday practices of the circus, that must

¹² Bergson, *Laughter*, 94.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 76.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 76.

¹⁵ Emphasis added. *Ibid.*, 81.

be considered as superior aesthetic entertainment.’¹⁶ Bergson would certainly not have approved of Roland-Manuel’s assessment of Satie’s ‘superior’ music.

The materiality of humour contests many Modernist expectations and assumptions of high art inherited from 19th-century Romanticism: the artwork should be unique, original and elevated above the realm of the everyday. Humour, by its nature, is only achievable through the inclusion of an everyday element within the comic formula, a point of reference discernible to the audience or listener. Bergson emphasises the relationship between the comic and the everyday, noting that ‘comedy depicts characters we have already come across and shall meet with again. It takes note of similarities. It aims at placing types before our eyes. It even creates new types if necessary. In this respect it forms a contrast to all the arts.’¹⁷ In Bergson’s view this is why the comic can never belong in the domain of high art, an opinion shared by most music critics in early 20th-century France. In a talk given in Brussels in April 1921, Auric stresses the anti-Romantic nature of Satie’s humour: ‘Let’s not be surprised if [the majority] placed Satie straight away, and for too long, in the domain of humour - a very small domain evidently for the hearts that only beat when listening to *Fervaal* or *l’Etranger*.’¹⁸ The term ‘small’ in this context is synonymous with ‘insignificant.’

Humour is achieved through a variety of means and any discussion of it in Satie’s music is inseparable from matters of aesthetics. Humour constituted only a part of the aesthetic experience of Satie’s compositions, and numerous other stylistic and ideological elements reinforced the critical messages of his works. All of Satie’s ‘humoristic’ works are explicitly intertextual and rely heavily upon knowledge of contemporary artistic and cultural concerns for interpretation.¹⁹ In 1912 he

¹⁶ Roland-Manuel, *Erik Satie*, 6. ‘Cette rupture d’équilibre, ce *Mécanique plaqué sur du vivant* – comme l’a dit excellemment Henri Bergson – ces grimaces, ces désarticulations constituent justement les procédés ordinaires du Cirque, qu’il faut considérer comme le divertissement esthétique supérieur.’

¹⁷ Bergson, *Laughter*, 72.

¹⁸ Auric, ‘Le Rôle du prophète’. A typed copy of this talk can be found in the Satie Archives, IMEC, l’Abbaye d’Ardenne: SAT 40.2, ‘Galerie Georges, Brussels 12 avril 1921’. ‘Ne nous étonnons pas si elle situa aussitôt, et pour trop longtemps, Satie dans le domaine de l’humour – un tout petit domaine évidemment pour des coeurs qui ne battent qu’en écoutant *Fervaal* ou *l’Etranger*.’

¹⁹ Alan Gillmor has completed significant work in uncovering the historical and literary references in many of these works. Orledge and Whiting’s studies on the identification of musical borrowing are also invaluable to further study of the ‘humoristic’ works. Whiting’s account of the influence of

embarked upon a radical new path in composition that would formulate a unique modernist conception of music, an experience profoundly influenced by the sonic and visual environment of the modernist Parisian cultural milieu. In his ‘humoristic’ phase, Satie’s iconoclastic approach to composition exhibited strong parallels with developments in cubism, which was concurrently embroiled in an artistic cultural war inflamed by the recent incorporation of collage into high-art works. In Cubism, the collage aesthetic proved to be one of the most influential and controversial innovations in modernist art.²⁰ In ideological terms, this aesthetic challenged many hegemonic assumptions of compositional practices in high art. Collage proved highly polemic as it represented a ‘rejection of the traditional and stable material of which painting had been made since the Renaissance... in favour of the literal incorporation of ordinary, lowly, impermanent, and often industrially mass-produced materials accessible to anyone.’²¹

Humour opposes the pure aesthetic which canonic or legitimate art of this period was expected to demonstrate. Bergson notes that the comic lies in opposition to formal refinement: ‘It partakes rather of the unsprightly [*sic*] than of the unsightly, of *rigidness* rather than of *ugliness*.’²² The feature of rigidity is particularly noticeable in the humoristic works which are characterised by their mechanical repetition and insistent rhythms. The comic also denies the spiritual experience of high art as it invokes a response of laughter, rather than respectful silence. The audience’s popular reaction to Satie’s humoristic works presented a direct challenge to concert etiquette and the sacred space of the concert hall was desecrated through laughter in the eyes of many critics. Bourdieu repeats Bergson’s sentiments later in the 20th century, and clarifies that laughter is not the domain of aesthetes, but rather it resides in the realm of the popular aesthetic.²³

cabaret practices and references during this period is also a very helpful starting point. See Gillmor, *Erik Satie*; Orledge, *Satie the Composer*; and Whiting, *Satie the Bohemian*.

²⁰ Collage first appeared in Cubism in August 1911 and was common practice amongst the Cubist artists (mainly Picasso, Braque and Gris) by 1912. For a detailed discussion of the ‘collage aesthetic’ see ‘Chapter 5: Pasted Papers and Revolution’ in Antliff and Leighton, *Cubism and Culture*, 159-196.

²¹ Antliff and Leighton, *Cubism and Culture*, 160. Collage first appeared in Cubism in August 1911 and was common practice amongst the Cubists by 1912.

²² Bergson, *Laughter*, 21.

²³ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 26.

Bergson explains that society is suspicious of comic individuals because of their non-conformist character: ‘separatist tendencies, that incline to swerve from the common centre round which society gravitates: in short, because it is the sign of an eccentricity.’²⁴ This distrust is directly related to the intrinsic connection between laughter and the body. Bergson considers comic types ‘models of impertinence with regard to society’ to which ‘society retorts by laughter, an even greater impertinence.’²⁵ He notes the process involved in the reception of comedy: ‘The comic character is often one with whom, to begin with, our mind, or rather our *body*, sympathises [...] we treat him first as a playmate.’²⁶ The role of the body exerts a significant impact upon the reception of humour that must be acknowledged. Bergson reminds us that we are the only animals who laugh. Laughter is a distinctly human activity, a physical reflex which often occurs without conscious intent. When we respond with laughter, we experience ‘a movement of relaxation.’²⁷ In spite of an initial impulse ‘to join in the game’, upon reflection of the reasons why we laugh we often find ourselves uncomfortable or compromised. Bergson explains that when we experience the comic the body takes ‘precedence of the soul’ and we’re subject to a ‘momentary anaesthesia of the heart.’²⁸ The listener/critic then feels the need to correct the comic for inciting this temporary loss of control, particularly if the audience, or particular audience members, are the target of the humour.

If a comic gesture is made, society responds with a gesture that reveals its attitude towards the comic, yet it refrains from direct intervention if an immediate threat is not perceived. Satie’s humouristic works were interpreted as a direct threat on account of their popularity and he was reprimanded for his actions.²⁹ Bergson expresses his belief in the necessity of societal ‘rules’ and declares that members of society have a moral responsibility to supervise and control the comic individual:

Were man to give way to the impulse of his natural feelings, were there neither social nor moral law, these outbursts of violent feeling would be the ordinary rule in life. But utility

²⁴ Bergson, *Laughter*, 17.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 91.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 91-2.

²⁷ Emphasis added. *Ibid.*, 91-2.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 11 and 31.

²⁹ Satie’s involvement with the Dada movement was also perceived as a serious threat. Consequently, the most vitriolic attacks on Satie during his career were directed at *Relâche*.

demands that these outbursts should be foreseen and averted. Man must live in society, and consequently submit to rules.³⁰

This statement on the relationship between the comic and society strongly parallels the normative drive in musical circles at that time to discipline and control composers such as Satie who challenged the ‘rules’ of canon. Bergson uses the word ‘evil’ three times as a synonym for the comic character in the conclusion of ‘Laughter’ and the final lines of the essays in a sense condemn the comic individual:

Laughter... indicates a slight revolt on the surface of social life. It instantly adopts the changing forms of the disturbance. It, also, is froth with a saline base. Like froth it sparkles. It is gaiety itself. But the philosopher who gathers a handful to taste may find that the substance is scanty, and the after-taste bitter.³¹

In the course of the three essays, however, Bergson does not entirely dismiss humour as a subversive form of expression. He alludes to an important difference between intellectual humour – which he calls ‘the Witty (*spirituel*)’ - and a ‘lower’, more ‘childish’ or stupid form of humour he generally refers to as ‘the Comic.’³² Within musical discourses on humour, a dichotomy is often proposed between intellectually astute humour and that associated with childishness and stupidity. Satie was frequently admonished in response to the latter interpretation, where the critic frequently attacks the serious intent and the intellect of the humorous individual, in addition to their level of maturity. In 1916 Roland-Manuel outlined these two types of humour in a public lecture on Satie. Roland-Manuel distinguishes between two types of humour: ‘It is of particular importance to separate with care the comic that wholly consists of intelligence and the gaiety that wholly consists of emotion.’³³ Gaiety engages sympathy and empathy, ‘everyone smiles at his neighbour and there where the individual had not yielded, the indolent group let themselves go.’³⁴ This type does not ‘put our taste’ to the test. In contrast the comic attacks our ‘dispassionate intelligence’ and ‘breaks the social bond by

³⁰ Bergson, *Laughter*, 76.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 94.

³² *Ibid.*, 53.

³³ Roland-Manuel, *Erik Satie*, 6. ‘Il importe particulièrement de séparer avec soin le comique qui est tout intelligence, et la gaieté qui est tout sentiment.’

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 6. ‘Chacun sourit à son voisin et là où l’individu n’aurait pas cédé, l’indolente collectivité s’abandonne.’

delineating profoundly personal responses.³⁵ It is cynical and challenges our illusions of society. In 1922, André Coeuroy devotes a chapter of his book, *La musique française moderne*, to Satie in which he argues that his brand of humour should be regarded as intellectual in nature: ‘there is Scarron in Satie.’³⁶

Bergson defines wit as ‘the comic in a highly volatile state’, yet it is clear that this form of humour is valued over the comic itself due to its association with the humorist’s *esprit*.³⁷ Zupančič notes how this affinity between spirit and comedy (an affinity lauded by Hegel) is evident in many European languages, and particularly in French:

language recognizes that comedy, precisely in its materialism, is a matter of spirit; this is evident in numerous terms that link the comic mode with the spirit – in the broad sense of mental capacity. Let me mention just a few: wit in English, *geistvoll* or *geistreich* in German, as well as *witzig* and *Witz*, which have the common root with the English *wit*; French is especially eloquent in this regard – *avoir de l’esprit, être spirituel, faire de l’esprit, mot d’esprit*, or just simply *esprit*.³⁸

Bergson’s distinction between ‘spiritual’ wit and the comic are echoed in the critical reaction to Satie’s humour. For example, in this review of a Marcelle Meyer performance of *Sonatine bureaucratique*: ‘So, we had the works of Erik Satie of which I personally only barely appreciated the spiritual *Sonatine bureaucratique*, where I found the sardonic humour of a lecturer.’³⁹ The term spirit often arises in this context, yet critics are often undecided whether or not Satie is partaking in ‘serious’ or comic humour. Despite evidence of a certain amount of tolerance towards Satie the humorist in his early years, by the time of his death, the reputation of a childish joker had become the most prominent image of Satie portrayed in the press. In a 1924 article Bertrand outlines his concerns that this childish humorist of an ‘abstruse spirit’ is an unhealthy influence on young composers:

³⁵ Roland-Manuel, *Erik Satie*, 6. ‘Le comique [...] brise le lien social en déterminant des réactions profondément personnelles.’

³⁶ Coeuroy, *La musique française moderne*, 142-151, 149. Paul Scarron (1610-1660) was a French writer who contributed significantly to three particular genres of literature: the burlesque epic, the drama and the novel.

³⁷ Bergson, *Laughter*, 55.

³⁸ Zupančič, *The Odd One In*, 38.

³⁹ P. de Lapommerage, ‘Concert Marcelle Meyer (Mardi 17 janvier)’, *Le Ménestrel*, 27 January 1922, 39. ‘Enfin nous eûmes les œuvres de M. Erik Satie dont pour ma part je n’ai guère apprécié que la spirituelle *Sonatine bureaucratique*, où j’ai retrouvé l’esprit narquois du conférencier.’

To be honest, another, less happy influence, more powerful again, effects our young musicians: it is that of Erik Satie, in whom mingles a real intuition with a [window] display of abstruse spirit, an affectation of youthful thought that closely borders on childishness: tendencies to excessively exasperate, amongst the followers, their already quick sense of irony, as if music was not, at the same time, something that most often deserves to be taken seriously.⁴⁰

This distinction between these two forms of humour is important, as it explains why Ravel's reputation as a musical humorist did not exclude him from the French musical canon, yet led to Satie's rejection.

5.1.3 *Satie's Self-promotion*

Throughout his career, Satie's reputation as a humorist was largely constructed by the composer himself and the 'humoristic' phase coincided with the beginning of his irony-laden career in music journalism.⁴¹ Satie intensively promoted his anti-establishment and humorist reputation from 1912-14, through the publication of a series of 'fragments' under the heading *Mémoires d'un Amnésique* and in the programme notes for the humoristic works that appear in the *Guide du Concert*. Satie's journalistic endeavours differed considerably from the serious style of music criticism in vogue at that time. Inspired by nationalist concerns, music criticism was the prominent medium within which debates concerning the nature of French music were contested and resolved. Satie utilised his journalistic writings to engage in this debate, but the veil of irony in which his opinions were expressed meant his contributions were not taken seriously. In these forays into music journalism, the targets of Satie's humour are clear: here Satie employs humour as a tool for critiquing the criteria of the canon, and more specifically, those criteria that he is failing to meet. In an atmosphere of intense and serious debate Satie's use of humour in journalism and in music was the ultimate anarchist statement that would result in his dismissal from artistic and intellectual discourses on music.

⁴⁰ Paul Bertrand, 'Saison Olympique', *Le Ménestrel*, 27 June 1924, 289. 'A vrai dire, une autre influence, moins heureuse, agit encore puissamment sur nos jeunes musiciens: c'est celle de M. Erik Satie, chez lequel se mêle à une intuition réelle un étalage d'esprit abscons, une affectation de jeunesse de pensée qui confine aisément à la puérité: tendances propres à exaspérer à l'excès, chez ses adeptes, leur sens déjà vif de l'ironie, comme si la musique n'était pas tout de même une chose qui mérite le plus souvent d'être prise au sérieux.'

⁴¹ In his youth, Satie had used humour to first introduce himself on the cabaret scene. In 1889 he introduced himself as 'the sphinx-man, the wooden-headed composer.' This humoristic advert appeared in *Le Chat Noir*, VIII, 369, 9 Feb 1889; see Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 788.

This period of Satie's public career coincided with a transitional period in the French music press that witnessed a gradual shift from a hermeneutic to a more formalist style of criticism.⁴² The advent of musical modernism necessitated programme notes, the aim of which was to facilitate understanding and inadvertently encourage musical discussion and analysis. Satie's writings, however, served to confuse rather than provide clarification to those readers who wished to understand his idiosyncratic music. The *Guide* notes in particular left readers in no doubt of Satie's subversive status as he consistently insulted the critics and audiences in advance of premières (if his words are taken literally). For instance, in May 1913, Satie provided the following explanatory prelude for the première of *Descriptions automatiques*:

I wrote *Descriptions Automatiques* on the occasion of my birthday. This work follows *Véritables Préludes Flasques*. It is quite evident that the Squashed, the Insignificant and the Bloated will enjoy them. Let them swallow their beards! Let them dance on their own stomachs!⁴³

Satie's first programme note in the *Guide* concerned the *Prélude du Fils des Etoiles*.⁴⁴ Satie stresses the non-Romantic features of this early work and mocks the religious symbolism that surrounds discussions of canon in this period emphasising his work's brevity, 'chaste' form, and 'meditative harmonies'. This particular programme note concludes with the voice of another author who comments: 'Let us add that Erik Satie holds the *palmes académiques*. It's a pity!'⁴⁵ This statement highlights the inconvenient truth that Satie did hold one official accolade, albeit a non-musical one, that tarnished his otherwise impeccable image as a deviant outsider in the French musical scene.

⁴² For a more detailed account of the changes occurring in music criticism and impact of Modernism on approaches to musical discourses in this period and the changes occurring in music criticism see Déirdre Donnellon, 'Debussy, Satie and the Parisian Critical Press (1890-1925)', 23.

⁴³ [Erik Satie] Anon., 'Salle Erard, *Guide du Concert*, 31 May 1913, 509. 'J'écrivis les 'Descriptions Automatiques', à l'occasion de ma fête. Cette œuvre fait suite aux 'Véritables Préludes Flasques'. Il est de toute évidence que les Aplatis, les Insignifiants, et les Boursoufflés n'y prendront aucun plaisir. Qu'ils avalent leurs barbes! Qu'ils se dansent sur le ventre!' The idiom 'Qu'ils avalent leurs barbes' translates as 'Let them eat their hats' in English.

⁴⁴ [Erik Satie], Anon., 'Salle Gaveau', *Guide du Concert*, 1 June 1912, 541-543.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 543. 'Ajoutons que M. Erik Satie porte les palmes académiques. C'est dommage!' This honour was bestowed on Satie by the local council of Arcueil-Cachan, the suburb of Paris where Satie lived from 1898 until his death, for his charitable services in the local community.

On 5 April 1913, Satie used the *Guide du Concert* to advertise a new departure in composition, ‘a series’ of pieces that would come to be known as his ‘humoristic’ works.⁴⁶ In this introduction Satie does not elaborate on the aesthetic innovations they represent, but focuses instead on their anti-Romantic features of brevity and simplicity:

The *Véritables Préludes Flasques (pour un chien)* open a series of pianistic works: *Descriptions Automatiques*, *Embryons Desséchés*, *Chapitres tournés en tous sens* and *Vieux Sequins et Vieilles Cuirasses*. [‘They were composed for a dog... They are dedicated to that animal. They are three piano pieces, short and without pretention.’⁴⁷] In them I devote myself to the sweet joys of fantasy. Those who shall not understand are requested by me to observe the most respectful silence and to show an attitude of complete submission and inferiority. It is this that is their veritable role.⁴⁸

In the *Guide* notes for the première of *Embryons desséchés* (*Guide du Concert*, 29 November 1913, 126) there is no explanatory note from Satie. However an unpublished introduction to these works is located on the inside cover of the notebook in which he sketched this work (BN9590).

The ‘Desiccated Embryos’ graciously follow the ‘Genuine Flaccid Preludes’ and ‘Automatic Descriptions’. This work is absolutely incomprehensible, even to me. Its singular profundity still astonishes me. I wrote it despite myself, impelled by Destiny. Did I perhaps intend to be humorous? That would come as no surprise to me; indeed, it would be just like me to do so. However, I shall show no indulgence towards those who turn up their noses at it. Let them be forewarned.⁴⁹

A few days prior to the première of *Chapitres tournés en tous sens*, the concert programme appeared in the *Guide du Concert* and included once again a note from Satie:

Let’s defend ourselves from deflowering it [this music]: The ‘Chapters turned every which way’ were built into a rictus⁵⁰ of Clouded-Joy. They are a sort of meek and figurative detachment from the *Véritables Préludes Flasques*, *Descriptions Automatiques* and *Embryons*

⁴⁶ Satie’s humorous concert notes appear in the *Guide du Concert* on the following dates: 29 March 1913 (*Véritables préludes flasques*); 31 May 1913 (*Descriptions automatiques*); and 10 January 1914 (*Chapitres tournés en tous sens*). Notes on *Embryons desséchés* were never published but appear on the cover of the notebook in which this work was sketched (BN9590).

⁴⁷ This additional line is found in manuscript notes collected by Pierre-Daniel Templier and reproduced in Volta (ed.), *A Mammal’s Notebook*, 190.

⁴⁸ [Erik Satie] Anon., ‘Salle Pleyel’, *Guide du Concert*, 29 March 1913, 375-76. ‘Les *Véritables Préludes Flasques* ouvrent une série d’œuvres pianistiques: “Les *Descriptions Automatiques*”, “Les *Embryons Desséchés*”, “Les *Chapitres tournés en tous sens*” et “Les *Vieux Sequins*”. Je m’y livre aux joies douces de la fantaisie. Ceux qui ne comprendront pas sont priés par moi, d’observer le plus respectueux silence et de faire montre d’une attitude toute de soumission, toute d’infériorité. C’est là leur véritable rôle.’

⁴⁹ Translated in Whiting, *Satie the Bohemian*, 368.

⁵⁰ Rictus is a medical term that describes a fixed grin associated with tetanus.

Desséchés. I ask that they be listened to in sips, unhurriedly. Let Modesty settle upon the mouldy shoulders of the Withdrawn and the Entombed! Let them not embellish themselves with my friendship! It is finery that is not meant for them.⁵¹

This concert evoked the first public criticisms of Satie by Jean Poueigh (he had previously criticised Satie in his 1912 book under the pseudonym Octave Séré).⁵²

5.1.4 *Satie-specific Terminology*

The term humoristic was first applied to Satie by the composer-critic Paul Martineau in a review of a performance of *Véritables préludes flasques (pour un chien)*.⁵³ ('These preludes are very humoristic, but however, the title and subtitles in them constitute the most pleasant of discoveries.') In this period this term was not imbued with any aesthetic significance: Martineau simply uses it as a substitute adjective for humorous or funny. In December of the same year Auric mentions how much the public love the 'humoristic music' of Satie.⁵⁴ Satie appropriates the term in only one context of which we are currently aware, a biography for his music publisher Demets in December 1913 where he states that 'the precious composer' explains here 'his humoristic works.'⁵⁵

It must be noted that a disparity is evident between the works considered 'humoristic' in Satie scholarship in general and those described as 'humoristic' by Satie himself. In the *Guide* notes and in his biography for Demets, Satie lists six 'humoristic' works that he considers part of this series: *Véritables préludes flasques (pour un chien)*, *Embryons desséchés*, *Descriptions automatiques*, *Croquis et agaceries d'un gross bonhomme en bois*, and he states that the '*Chapitres tournés en tous sens* and the *Vieux Sequins et Vieilles Cuirasses* will follow, and will

⁵¹ [Erik Satie] Anon., 'Salle Erard', *Guide du Concert*, 10 January 1914, 204. 'Gardons-nous de la déflorer: Les 'Chapitres tournés en tous sens' ont été taillés dans un rictus de Trouble-Joie. Ils sont une sorte de bonasse et figuratif détachement des 'Véritables Préludes Flasques', des 'Descriptions Automatiques' et des 'Embryons Desséchés'. Je demande qu'ils soient écoutés par gorgées, sans précipitation. Que la Modestie se pose sur les épaules moisis des Repliés et des Enfouis! Qu'ils ne s'embellissent pas de mon amitié! C'est une parure qui n'est pas pour eux.' This note was not included in the actual programme distributed at the Salle Erard on the night of the concert.

⁵² Jean Poueigh, 'Le Mois', *Revue musicale S.I.M.*, 1 February 1914, 55-57.

⁵³ Paul Martineau, 'Review', *Le Monde musical*, 30 May 1913, 167. 'Ils sont très humoristiques ces Préludes, mais cependant le titre et les sous-titres en constituent encore la plus heureuse trouvaille.'

⁵⁴ Auric, 'Erik Satie: Musicien Humoriste', 142.

⁵⁵ [Erik Satie, *Bulletin des Editions Musicales* (Agence Musicale E. Demets), December 1913, 42] Volta (ed.), *Ecrits*, 142-43.

complete this curious series, so graciously original.’⁵⁶ Satie never repeats the term ‘humoristic’ in another context, though he persistently emphasises the term *fantaisie* to describe his works of this period in general, perhaps indicating other contemporary works that are similar in conception to his ‘humoristic’ series. For instance, on the manuscript for *Le Piège de Méduse*, Satie writes ‘this is a play of pure fantasy’; and in the foreword to *Sports et divertissements* he states ‘it is a work of fantasy. It should not be seen as anything else.’⁵⁷ Whiting explains that the term *fantaisiste* ‘was a catch-all designation for a wide variety of cabaret and music-hall humorists’ and prior to Satie this term had never been applied to the domain of concert music.⁵⁸ Speaking in the third person, Satie identifies himself as a *fantaisiste* in 1913: ‘He classifies himself among the “*fantaisistes*”, who are “good decent people” according to him.’⁵⁹ From 1911 onwards critics frequently use this term in descriptions of Satie. An early article by Calvocoressi describes Satie in this manner: ‘a grand *fantaisiste*, who, [...] has an exacerbated sense of deadpan humour.’⁶⁰ Auric names Satie the ‘Prince of Fantasy’ in an article of 1917.⁶¹ In his biography Roland-Manuel similarly emphasises this image of Satie as a *fantaisiste* in his personality and in his art:

The personality of Erik Satie is like a mocking elf, it conceals itself and escapes you even when you believe you have grasped it: it escapes you because at its truest core is the nature of deception: the creation of fantasies. [...] A *fantaisiste*, that is what Erik Satie is in his art, in his life and in his writings; a number of his productions, the sense of which escapes one at first glance, acquire their full value when one knows them as having issued from the most insane Muse that ever was, and here is the reason why serious censors and austere critics did not know how to do justice to this music that flourished in the shadows [...].⁶²

⁵⁶ Volta (ed.), *Ecrits*, 142. ‘Les *Chapitres tournés en tous sens*, et les *Vieux Sequins et Vieilles Cuirasses* vont suivre, vont compléter cette curieuse série, si gracieusement originale.’

⁵⁷ *Fantaisie* can be translated as ‘fantasy’ or ‘imagination’. In this context, the meaning fantasy is the more appropriate translation.

⁵⁸ Whiting, *Satie the Bohemian*, 397.

⁵⁹ Erik Satie, *Bulletin des Editions Musicales*, 142. ‘[M. Erik Satie] Passe pour le plus étrange musicien de notre temps. Il se classifie lui-même parmi les “*fantaisistes*” qui sont, selon lui, “de bonnes gens bien convenables”.’

⁶⁰ Michel Dimitri Calvocoressi, ‘M. Erik Satie’, *Musica*, No. 103, April 1911, 65-6, 65. ‘C’est un grand *fantaisiste*, qui, chaque fois que je rappelle à dessein, il a le sens exacerbé de l’humour à froid.’

⁶¹ Auric, ‘Bibliographie: Musique’, 130.

⁶² Roland-Manuel, ‘Silhouettes d’Artistes: Erik Satie’, 1. ‘La personnalité d’Erik Satie est comme un farfadet moqueur, elle se dérobe et vous échappe alors même que vous croyez le saisir: elle vous échappe parce que son plus réel fondement est de nature à décevoir: la fantaisie. [...] *Fantaisiste*, Erik Satie l’est dans son art, dans sa vie et dans sa littérature; nombre de ses productions, dont le sens échappe à première vue, prennent toute leur valeur quand on les sait issues de la Muse la plus folle qui fut jamais, et voici la raison pour laquelle les censeurs graves et les critiques austères ne sauraient rendre justice à cette musique qui fleurit dans l’ombre [...].’

Prior to the launch of his public high-art career by Ravel in January 1911, Satie spent nearly twenty years working as an arranger and accompanist in many of Paris' famous cabarets. In the pre-war years, music critics initially overlook his time in the cabaret, yet they frequently invoke language associated with this milieu in both a positive and negative manner to describe Satie's new humorous approach to composition. Whilst the descriptors *fantaisiste* and *humoristic* were also employed by Satie in the self-promotion of his new musical style, the term *fumiste* was exclusively used by critics. In the first major critical article on Satie in the music press, Jules Ecorcheville relates that Satie was an ironist and *fumiste* in his youth.⁶³ The term *fumiste* has many connotations, although it is typically employed as a derogatory term to describe an individual who is frivolous, lazy, a joker, or a liar. Cabaret humour is often described as *fumiste*, a term that has evident subversive and lowbrow connotations. *Fumisme* is often associated with Alfred Jarry, one of the many writers cited as a possible comic influence upon Satie. In a study of Jarry, Jill Fell purports that the function of the *fumistes* 'was to counteract the pomposity and hypocrisy which they perceived as characterizing so much of society' and they did so through 'a sceptical-humorous approach' to their subjects.⁶⁴

The transgressive connotations of the terms *humoristic*, *fantaisiste* and *fumiste* influenced later critical arguments surrounding the premiere of *Parade*. In the aftermath of Satie's self-promotion as a humorist, many critics were unsure of how to deal with Satie: should he be taken seriously or should he be dismissed as a joker? Paul Collaer's insistence that *Parade* is 'not a case of fumisterie' contrasts with Poueigh's view that in this work it is unclear 'where the futurists and cubists stop and the *fumistes* and *puffistes* start.'⁶⁵ Collaer voices the fear that 'maybe one

⁶³ Jules Ecorcheville, 'Erik Satie', *Revue musicale S.I.M.*, 15 March 1911, 29-32, 29.

⁶⁴ Jill Fell, *Alfred Jarry: An Imagination in Revolt* (Cranberry, N.J.: Rosemont, 2005), 54.

⁶⁵ Paul Collaer, 'Musique', *La Flamme*, 25 December 1919 – 1 January 1920, 3. 'Je ne comprends pas qu'on ait parlé de 'fumisterie' à propos de la *Parade* d'Erik Satie. [...] Peut-être sourira-t-on, si je parle du 'sérieux' de cette musique.' Séré, 'Le Cubisme et la Musique', 1. 'Je ne conclurais donc pas et ne réclamerai point avec le poète « de la musique avant toute chose », ne sachant pas où les futuristes et les cubistes s'arrêtent, et où commencent les fumistes et les puffistes.' *Puffiste* was a term used to describe a charlatan, an individual accused of false advertisement through trickery and jokes.

will laugh, if I speak seriously of this music.’⁶⁶ In an article that followed a week later, Poueigh relates that the piece is a joke that is not funny: ‘[...] no audacity exploded among the *gaucheries* and the so-called humour resides in the submissiveness [of the music] to agree with the banality of the choreographic and pictorial theme.’⁶⁷ Guillot de Saix labelled *Parade* a ‘humoristic score.’⁶⁸ Jean d’Udine launched the most scathing attack on Satie’s work:

But do not laugh, there is nothing really to laugh about. [...] this feeble music, this orchestration in chromo, these harmonies of a contorted rose, all of that is infinitely more stupid than naïve, more irritating than funny, [...] I like some pages of this composer [...]. But nothing, nothing, nothing, there is truly nothing in this bad sonorous joke.⁶⁹

Following the critical backlash of *Parade* Satie’s journalistic crusade against the critics intensified in his writings. In a talk entitled ‘A Eulogy of Critics’ (1918) Satie employs irony to attack the profession:

Yes... They are not only the creators of the Art of Criticism, that Master of all the Arts, they are the leading thinkers of the world, the free thinkers of the social scene, I venture to say... In fact, it was a critic who posed for Rodin’s “Thinker”... I learned this information from a critic, a fortnight ago, or three weeks at the most... & it gave me pleasure, great pleasure.⁷⁰

In other public lectures and writings Satie directed his criticisms at individual critics who had written unfavourable about his music: ‘Is it true that Marnold is going to give up being a critic? ... How annoying it would be... Think of losing all those seeds of wisdom! ... He ‘Wasn’t Half’ a comedian, the dear chap...’⁷¹ By 1924 the list of critics Satie despised had increased significantly: ‘Critics, ... of course, ... know everything, ... & possess every good quality. ... Look at Messieurs

⁶⁶ Collaer, ‘Musique’, *La Flamme*, 3. ‘Je ne comprends pas qu’on ait parlé de ‘fumisterie’ à propos de la *Parade* d’Erik Satie. [...] Peut-être sourira-t-on, si je parle du ‘sérieux’ de cette musique.’

⁶⁷ Jean Poueigh, ‘Châtelet: Les Ballets Russes – Parade – Soleil de Nuit – Las Meninas’, *La Rampe*, 31 May 1917, 4. ‘[...] nulle audace n’éclate parmi les gaucheries et dont le prétendu humour réside dans sa docilité à s’accorder avec la platitude du thème chorégraphique et pictural.’

⁶⁸ Guillot de Saix, ‘Les Ballet Russes’, *La Rampe*, 3 May 1917, 9: ‘une partition humoristique d’Erik Satie.’

⁶⁹ Jean d’Udine, ‘Couleurs, Mouvements et Sons: Les Ballets Russes, en 1917’, *Le Courrier musical*, June 1917, 237-241. ‘Mais ne rions pas, il n’y a vraiment pas de quoi rire. [...] cette musique veule, cette orchestration en chromo, ces harmonies d’un rose sulpicien, tout cela est infiniment plus bête que naïf, plus ennuyeux que drôle, [...] j’aime certaines pages de ce compositeur [...]. Mais rien, rien, rien; il n’y a rien vraiment dans cette mauvaise plaisanterie sonore.’

⁷⁰ Erik Satie, ‘A Eulogy of Critics’, lecture given in the Théâtre du Vieux Colombier, 5 February 1918 and was published in *Action*, 1921. Translation in Ornella Volta (ed.), *A Mammal’s Notebook*, 125.

⁷¹ [Erik Satie, *Esprit Nouveau*, 1921] Wilkins (ed.), *The Writings of Erik Satie*, 68.

Vuillermoz, ... Laloy, Schloe(t)zer: ... yes, ... they know everything!⁷² In February 1924, Satie writes: 'I have many enemies, faithful enemies, of course.'⁷³

The incorporation of humorous elements in Satie's music dates back to his early career as a pianist and songwriter in Montmartre in the late 1880s.⁷⁴ In Satie's lifetime, the association of the comic with the everyday connoted a distinctly lowbrow art form and Satie's associations with this musical milieu also contributed to his non-professional status. Jean Marnold is particularly incensed at the overt quotation of the military song *la Casquette du Père Bugeaud* in *Vieux Sequins et Vieilles Cuirasses*. Marnold invokes Satie's associations with the Chat Noir cabaret in order to dismiss the work: 'Rodolphe Satie probably dedicated this masterwork to the memory of Erik Salis who without doubt, in his grave, was dumbfounded by this unexpected homage.'⁷⁵

Bourdieu highlights the clear divisions in French society between popular and canonized or 'legitimized' culture:

If circus and melodrama are more 'popular' than entertainments like dancing or theatre, this is not merely because, being less formalized (compare, for example, acrobatics with dancing) and less euphemized, they offer more direct, more immediate satisfactions. [...] they satisfy the taste for and sense of revelry, the plain speaking and hearty laughter which liberate by setting the social world head over heels, overturning conventions and proprieties. This popular reaction is the very opposite of the detachment of the aesthete [...].⁷⁶

In discussions of taste and laughter in the early 20th century, laughter was considered an unacceptable form of expression in the high-art scene. In 1911 the composer-critic Jean Huré wrote an article reporting his recent experiences during an evening at a café-concert in Paris, where he regretted that laughter in the concert

⁷² [Erik Satie, 'Musical Spirit'] Volta (ed.), *A Mammal's Notebook*, 138. This was Satie's last public lecture and was presented in Brussels on 15 March 1924 and in Antwerp on 21 March 1924.

⁷³ [Erik Satie, 'Hidden Corners of my Life', *Les Feuilles libres*, January-February 1914] Volta (ed.), *A Mammal's Notebook*, 107.

⁷⁴ The three *Gnossiennes* of 1890 contain the first instance of Satie's unusual playing directions with instructions such as 'sur la langue' ('on the tip of the tongue'), 'postulez en vous-même' ('seek within yourself') and 'sans orgueil' ('without pride'). These cryptic and humorous annotations developed into an integral artistic feature of his 'humoristic' piano works (1912-1915). Satie continued this practice in his piano compositions until the *Nocturnes* of 1919.

⁷⁵ Jean Marnold, 'Musique', 3rd Festival Montjoie!, *Mercur de France*, 16 April 1918, 509-515, 513-14. 'Probablement M. Rodolphe Satie dédia-t-il ce chef-d'œuvre à la mémoire d'Erik Salis qui, dans sa tombe, à cet hommage inespéré, en resta comme deux rondes de flan, sans doute aucun.' Rodolphe Salis was the director of Le Chat Noir cabaret, where Satie was employed for a period.

⁷⁶ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 26.

hall was unthinkable.⁷⁷ In a discussion of humour he outlines the stereotyped differences between *la mauvaise musique* and *la bonne musique* and laments that the critics of ‘officialdom’ ‘have never had the curiosity to examine, to consider, the reasons why bad music is loved, by those we call the vulgar: the “vulgar” composed indistinctly of factory workers, of the bourgeois, of the people of the world.’⁷⁸ Two years following this article, Satie would bring laughter to the high-art concert hall. The humoristic works baffled critics, yet were adored by contemporary audiences. At many of the premières, they were given an encore on account of the audience reactions to them: ‘[...] finally, the *Véritables préludes flasques (pour un chien)*, by M. Erik Satie, that merited the honour of an encore.’⁷⁹ In 1913 and 1914 various critics noted the favourable reception of the humoristic works in concert-halls:

On the other hand, the friendly public, not those envious colleagues of prejudiced sectarians, but the audience of sincere amateurs always shows the greatest enthusiasm for the humoristic music of Erik Satie. The *Préludes flasques*, played at the Société Nationale by Ricardo Viñes, were encored, at the Société indépendante they were received less favourably, and finally, at the Salle Pleyel, Mme Jeanne Mortier found herself obliged to perform the d’Edriophthalma of the Embryons desséchés twice to the joyous admiration of an enthusiastic hall.⁸⁰

Afterwards, Roda received unanimous applause for the *Croquis et Agaceries d’un gros bonhomme en bois* [...].⁸¹

The well-known airs ‘Ne parle pas, Rose je t’en supplie’, ‘C’est un rien, un souffle, un rien’ and ‘Nous n’irons plus au bois’ serve as the themes for the three short humoristic pieces titled *Celle qui parle trop*, *Le porteur de grosses pierres* and *Regrets des enfermés (Jonas et Latude)*. The public celebrated them as great successes; Satie is about to become one of their most favoured composers.⁸²

⁷⁷ Jean Huré, ‘L’Art au Café-Concert’, *Revue musicale S.I.M.*, October 1911, 63-4.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 63. ‘Or, nous n’avons jamais la curiosité d’examiner, de peser, les raisons qui font aimer la mauvaise musique par ceux que nous appelons ‘le vulgaire’: le ‘vulgaire’ composé, indistinctement, d’ouvriers, de bourgeois, de gens du monde.’

⁷⁹ René Chalupt, ‘Société Nationale de Musique’ in *La Phalange*, 20 April 1913, No. 82, 383. ‘[...] enfin, des *Véritables préludes flasques (pour un chien)*, de M. Erik Satie, qui méritèrent les honneurs du *bis*.’

⁸⁰ Auric, ‘Erik Satie: Musicien Humoriste’, 142. ‘D’ailleurs le public, non pas celui des confrères envieux des sectaires partiaux, mais le public des amateurs sincères marque toujours le plus grand enthousiasme pour la *musique* humoristique de M. Satie. Les *Préludes flasques*, joués à la Société Nationale par M. Ricardo Viñes, ont été bissés, à la Société indépendante, accueillies avec moins de faveur, et, tout dernièrement Mme Jeanne Mortier s’est vue obligée, salle Pleyel, d’offrir deux fois de suite l’*Embryons desséché* [*sic.*] d’Edriophthalma à l’admiration joyeuse d’une salle enthousiasmée.’

⁸¹ René Chalupt, ‘Société Nationale de musique’, *L’Occident: Architecture, Sculpture, Peintre, Musique, Poésie*, No. 139, June 1914, 241. ‘M. Vines y Roda recueillit ensuite d’unanimes applaudissements avec les *Croquis et Agaceries d’un gros bonhomme en bois* [...].’

⁸² René Chalupt, ‘Société musical indépendante’, *L’Occident: Architecture, Sculpture, Peintre, Musique, Poésie*, No. 139, June 1914, 241-42. ‘Les airs connus “Ne parle pas, Rose je t’en supplie”, “C’est un rien, un souffle, un rien” et “Nous n’irons plus au bois” servent de thèmes à trois courtes

This popular reaction may have been a factor in why star virtuoso pianists of the day chose to incorporate these works into their repertoire, yet it impacted detrimentally upon Satie's critical reception. In 1913 Auric noted that Satie's humorist self-promotion severely damaged his reputation: 'Satie finds himself condemned. [...] It is in good spirit to punish the smooth-talk of this clown.'⁸³ In response to the warm public reaction of *Embryons desséchés* Poueigh expressed sadness:

no, nothing of those unleashed an enthusiasm comparable to that inspired by Erik Satie's *Embryons desséchés*. [...] And the enthralled, enchanted, subjugated audience, having vainly begged the author did not content itself to be silent until it received an encore: this was the success of the evening – and I find that rather sad...⁸⁴

Satie's reputation as a comic composer was further promoted in the first six 'fragments' of *Mémoires d'un Amnésique (Memoires of an Amnesiac)*.⁸⁵ While these articles are certainly not Satie's real-life memoirs, they do reflect his opinions on various issues pertinent to canon formation and the expectations of a professional composer. Satie used this platform to respond to and dismiss criticisms directed at him in the music press by mocking the criteria and methods with which critics assessed art music. The choice of Satie's targets correlates strongly with his biographical experiences: humour was the medium through which he publically voiced his opposition to musical institutions, particularly those with which he was once affiliated. Satie felt that institutions were responsible for stifling musical creativity and he disagreed with the increasing institutionalization of music through academic honours and their promotion of historical genres and conventions.

pièces humoristiques intitulées *Celle qui parle trop*, *Le porteur de grosses pierres* et les *Regrets des enfermés (Jonas et Latude)*. Le public leur fit un grand succès; M. Satie est en train de devenir un de ses compositeurs favoris.'

⁸³ Auric, 'Erik Satie: Musicien Humoriste', 141. 'M. Satie s'entend condamner. [...] il est de bon ton de châtier ce « boniment de clown ».'

⁸⁴ Anon., 'Salle Pleyel: Mlle Jane Mortier', *Le Monde musical*, 15 December 1913, 342. '[...] non, rien de tout cela ne déchaîna un enthousiasme comparable à celui que suscitèrent les *Embryons desséchés* d'Erik Satie. [...] Et le public ravi, enchanté, subjugué, après avoir vainement réclamé l'auteur ne se résigna au silence qu'après avoir obtenu le bis: ce fut le succès de la soirée – et je trouve cela plutôt triste...'

⁸⁵ Six fragments of the *Mémoires* appeared in the *Revue musicale S.I.M* between 1912 and 1914: 'What I Am' (15 April 1912, 69), 'Perfect Entourage' (July-August 1912, 83) and 'My Three Candidatures' (November 1912, 70), 'Theatrical Things' (15 January 1913, 69), 'The Musician's Day' (15 February 1913, 69) and 'Intelligence and Musicality Among Animals' (1 February 1914, 69).

Inversely, Satie's involvement with the Schola was often treated as a perverse joke by music critics.

In response to his categorization as a musical amateur in the music press, and consequent rejection as a composer with 'official' status, Satie wrote 'What I am.' In this fragment, Satie sarcastically explains that he is not a composer, but a 'phonometer' (a person who measures the intensity of sound). Volta believes that this statement was a direct response to Octave Séré's description of Satie as a 'clumsy, but subtle technician, author of new, sometimes exquisite, often bizarre, sonorities.'⁸⁶ Prior to the publication of this article, Satie uses the same bizarre terminology in letters to Ricardo Viñes and Roland-Manuel.⁸⁷ In 'Perfect Entourage' humour is critically employed to mock the religious-like veneration of 'canonized' works and composers, recalling the religious roots of the term canon. In music criticism at this time religious imagery and terminology appear consistently. Satie lists the 'glorious works of art' that surround him in life: 'a magnificent fake Rembrandt, a canvas of unquestioned beauty [...] the delightful "Portrait attributed to an unknown artist"', 'my copy of Teniers'.⁸⁸ Satie then claims that all these 'masterly works' are overshadowed by 'a fake Beethoven manuscript, a sublime apocryphal symphony by the master – bought by me, religiously, ten years ago.' In 'My Three Candidatures' Satie expresses his disregard for institutions and the individuals who run them: 'Though I am not very conservative, I had the impression that the Precious Members of the Académie des Beaux-Arts were treating my person with a degree of pig-headedness and wilfulness that bordered on calculated obstinacy.'⁸⁹ This fragment must have been a

⁸⁶ Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 1035. 'Erik Satie, technicien maladroit mais subtil, auteur de sonorités neuves, parfois exquises, souvent bizarres.'

⁸⁷ Ibid., 167. In a letter to Ricardo Viñes on 30 March 1912 Satie writes: 'Don't believe that my works are of music. That's not my style: I do the best of phonometry that I can. Nothing else. Am I anything other than an acoustic technician without great knowledge?' ['Ne croyez pas que mon oeuvre soit de la musique. Ce n'est pas mon genre: je fais, le mieux que je peux, de la phonométrie. Point autre chose. Suis-je autre chose qu'un ouvrier acousticien sans grand savoir?'] On 1 April of 1912 Satie recalls a recent meeting of the Société Musicale Indépendante he attended in a letter to Roland-Manuel: 'I asked Vuillermoz to introduce me as a phonometer and not as a musician. What I write is phonometry, not music. It is better.' [J'ai prié Vuillermoz de me présenter comme phonomètre et non comme musicien. Je n'écris pas de la musique, mais de la phonométrie. C'est mieux.']

⁸⁸ Translation in Volta (ed.), *A Mammal's Notebook*, 101-2.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 102.

significant anti-establishment statement for Satie as he felt the need to inform the public of his unhappy relations with the Académie.

In 'Intelligence and Musicality Among Animals' Satie ironically criticizes the restrictive nature of legitimized musical education in language previously used against him. In doing so he also highlights the generic and unimaginative writing style of many critics who ascribe a few adjectives to a work or a performer rather than engage in direct discussion of the musical elements. He apes the style of a music critic to present the ironic dilemma faced by the nightingale, perhaps a metaphor for Satie himself, evoking opinions previously directed at his musical talent and lack of formal education:

The intelligence of animals is beyond denial. But what does man do to improve the mental state of these submissive fellow-citizens? He gives them a mediocre, interrupted, incomplete education, which a child would not choose for itself; and the dear little person would be quite right. [...] As for the nightingale, which is endlessly referred to, its musical knowledge is enough to make the most ignorant listener shrug his shoulders. Not only is its voice not trained, but it knows nothing about keys, or pitch, or mode, or rhythm. It may well be gifted. Quite possibly; in fact, quite certainly. But one can say firmly that its artistic development is not on a par with its natural gifts, and that the voice it is so proud of, is only a very inferior instrument which in itself is useless.⁹⁰

Vladimir Jankélévitch first coined the term 'ironic conformism' to describe the way in which Satie ironically appropriates the language or style of a discourse in order to subvert it.⁹¹ This comic technique, however, could more accurately be described as a parody operating in an ironic mode, a genre commonly used in political and philosophical debates. For example, Nietzsche condemns Christianity by appropriating the language and imagery of a Christian sermon to parodic effect: 'I call Christianity the one great curse, the one enormous and innermost perversion, the one great instinct of revenge for which no means are too venomous, too underhand and too petty – I call it the one immortal blemish of mankind.'⁹² Foucault would later copy Nietzsche's style and this led Deleuze to remark that his

⁹⁰ Volta (ed.), *A Mammal's Notebook*, 105.

⁹¹ Vladimir Jankélévitch, [Chapter II in] *L'Ironie* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1957), 67-80. Jankélévitch's concept of ironic conformism is discussed in further detail by Henri Béhar in an essay on Dada and Surrealist theatre and by Hélène Politis in an essay on Satie's writings: Henri Béhar, 'Erik Satie ou le conformisme ironique', *Etude sur le Théâtre Dada et Surréaliste: Les Essais*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1967), 101-105; and Hélène Politis, 'Sermons Humoristiques', *Ecrits pour Vladimir Jankélévitch* (Paris: Flammarion, 1978), 82-105.

⁹² Quoted in Downing, *The Cambridge Introduction to Michel Foucault*, 14.

work was capable of provoking ‘unexpected laughter.’⁹³ Rather than interpret these fragments as an attack on the ideologies of ‘officialdom,’ Satie was simply viewed as a funny and entertaining eccentric, and certainly not an individual to be taken seriously.

5.2 Part II: Overcoming the Barriers

A misunderstanding exists between the public and him of which I was a victim myself. He is considered a false original. One does not want to admit that he is a humorist, a pioneer, nor ever imagine that before him, no composer had the audacity – or was not capable – of writing scientifically *bouffe* music. The moment one deigns to make the effort to adopt this idea and to *seriously* listen to his *seriously*-written art-nouveau*, one will quickly recognise the enormous intrinsic value of his compositions.⁹⁴

5.2.1 Comic Techniques

Humour dates surprisingly quickly and is a very culturally specific form of expression: the phrase ‘you had to be there’ rings particularly true in the case of many of Satie’s ‘humoristic’ works which require the recognition of historically and culturally specific references or codes for the realisation of humorous intent. In fact, very little of the musical humour in Satie’s instrumental music is instantly interpreted as such, especially by the non-French listener. Interpreting humour is reliant upon the existence of a shared ‘discursive community,’ or communities, between the producer and the receiver of the humour.⁹⁵ The most accessible and overt examples of humour within Satie’s works for a 21st-century listener are those where Satie plays with conventions or works of the historical musical canon. In

⁹³ Downing, *The Cambridge Introduction to Michel Foucault*, 14.

⁹⁴ Antoine Banès, ‘Les Concerts: Festival Erik Satie’, *Le Figaro*, 9 June 1923, 4. ‘Il existe entre le public et lui un malentendu dont je fus victime moi-même. On le considère comme un faux original. On ne veut pas admettre que c’est un humoriste, un novateur, ni songer que jamais, avant lui, aucun compositeur n’eût l’audace – ou ne fut capable – d’écrire une musique scientifiquement bouffe. Dès que l’on daignera se donner la peine d’adopter cette idée et d’écouter *sérieusement* son art nouveau *sérieusement* écrit, on constatera vite l’énorme valeur intrinsèque de ses compositions.’ *The term *art nouveau* is a play on words in this context.

⁹⁵ Linda Hutcheon, *Irony’s Edge: The Theory and Politics of Irony* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 91. Hutcheon explains that in the definition of discursive communities, or the similar idea of a socio-rhetorical discourse community, ‘we all belong to many overlapping (and sometimes even conflicting) communities or collectives. This overlapping is the condition that makes irony possible, even though the sharing will inevitably always be partial, incomplete, fragmentary; nevertheless, something does manage to get shared – enough, that is, to make irony happen.’ 92-3.

such pieces, Satie manipulates instantly recognizable contextual musical codes for comic purpose: the extremely exaggerated codas that conclude the first and third movements of *Embryons desséchés*, the surprising arrival of the siren in the early minutes of *Parade*, the ‘inane’ conversation between the clarinet in B-flat and the bassoon followed by comically brief and clumsy tuba solo in ‘Jeux de Gargantua’ in *Trois petites pièces montées*.⁹⁶ The humour in these examples is evident to listeners who are familiar with the history of ‘legitimized’ musical culture and its conventions, in other words, those who share this particular discursive community with Satie.

In the introduction to *Comedy in Music: A Bibliographical Resource Guide* (2001) Arias outlines twenty ‘principal techniques of comic music’ utilised to achieve comic effect.⁹⁷ The range of comic techniques available to composers certainly exceeds this number (repetition and exaggeration are two notable omissions) and many of the techniques mentioned overlap significantly; however, it does provide a helpful checklist for initial musical investigation. Outlined in the following list are six general categories into which comic techniques in music could be considered, incorporating those in Arias’s list and others from non-musicological studies in humour. Many of these techniques appear in Satie’s music, yet they are also fundamental rhetorical components of non-humorous musical works: context is paramount in the recognition and interpretation of musical humour.

1) Explicit reference to the comic: setting music to a comic text; alluding to a well-known comic character; performing the work in an overtly comic manner.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Satie inserts the playing direction *niaisement* (inanely) at the start of this brief section. Similarly in *Le Piège de Méduse*, Satie incorporates the trombone into the score for comic effect. According to Michael Struck-Scholen ‘Satie certainly did not use instruments like trombone or percussion for any good instrumental reason but either out of a simple desire to shock people by combining instruments which were not socially acceptable or else just because they happened to be available at music parties so that he could employ them for his surrealistic brainwaves, as for example, with the ‘musical wallpaper’ (*musique d’ameublement*).’ Michael Struck-Schloen, ‘Zwischen Moebelmusik und Zwoelftonkonzert: Die Posaune im Kammerensemble am Beginn der Neuen Musik (1913-1934)’, *Melos: Vierteljahresschrift für zeitgenössische Musik* (Schott, 1986), 8-10, 9-10.

⁹⁷ Enrique Alberto Arias, *Comedy in Music: A Historical Bibliographical Resource Guide* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001), 3-5. The most significant academic work on humour in music has mostly appeared since 2000 and it is primarily concerned with Romantic Irony. No directly relevant musical studies were found that could be related to the study of Satie.

⁹⁸ Satie explicitly refers to comic characters in the titles of three of his pieces: Lewis Carroll’s Mad Hatter in *Le chapelier* (1916) and François Rabelais’ comic giants Pantagruel and Gargantua in the first and third movements of *Trois petites pièces montées*.

- 2) The employment of comic sub-genres, such as satire or parody, and the use of comic modes such as irony.
- 3) Musical surprise: the juxtaposition of incongruous syntactical elements; exaggeration; repetition; unusual effects of texture, dynamics, rhythms and melodic design; unexpected or distant modulations, sudden switches from diatonic to non-diatonic tonalities, the harmonization of diatonic melodies with a non-diatonic accompaniment; the use of chance.
- 4) Comic labelling: the use of comic titles; comic genre designations (e.g. *opera buffa*, *opéra comique*, *scherzo* (which means 'joke')).
- 5) Alterations/additions to the musical score: visually curious notation; the use of *soggetto cavato* ('the substitution of solmization syllables for letters' in notation⁹⁹); the addition of texts to instrumental works; tempo instructions that indicate mood and style in addition to pace.
- 6) The existence of the double:¹⁰⁰ the use of programmatic musical description; reference or allusion to a particular style, genre, structure or convention; quotations of extant musical material; inversion;¹⁰¹ the reproduction of sonorous or visual effects in a precise or allegorical fashion.¹⁰²

In *La musique française moderne* (1922), André Coeuroy outlines seven ways in which humour is created in music and provides examples of these forms in canonic musical works. His seven examples coincide with techniques found in Satie's music: situational humour, altering traditional forms such as the canon and the fugue, fake harmonic clumsiness, musical surprises, disproportion in sung music between the text and musical material, timbre and rhythm as a source of humour

⁹⁹ Arias, *Comedy in Music*, 5.

¹⁰⁰ Zupančič refers to this technique, a structural comic device, as 'the theme of the double'. She notes that 'it is [often] the very condition of comedy that these doubles do not meet directly, and that they do not know about each other's existence.' *Odd One In*, 89. Bergson describes the same technique as 'reciprocal inference of series': 'a situation is invariably comic when it belongs simultaneously to two altogether independent series of events and is capable of being interpreted in two entirely different meanings at the same time.' *Laughter*, 49-50.

¹⁰¹ 'Inversion' is a technique described by Bergson that describes a situation where the roles of characters in a situation are reversed in order to create a comic scene. In music this may happen when the traditional sequences of a composition are inverted. For example, a coda occurs at the start of a piece. The British intellectual Arthur Kestler wrote on the topic of the double in the 1930s. He describes how comedy occurs when two different planes of thinking come into contact, the joke is the invisible connection between them made visible.

¹⁰² For example, in movement I of *Embryons Desséchés*, the sound of laughter and purring are depicted aurally in the music which coincides with the text 'Vous me châtouillez' and 'Petit ronron moqueur'. See the analysis of parody in *Embryons Desséchés* later in this chapter.

and involuntary humour ('the fruits of an ingenious ignorance').¹⁰³ In this chapter, entitled 'Erik Satie', Coeuroy argues that humour has a place in high-art music and as many of these composers are respectable members of officialdom, we should perhaps consider Satie in a similar manner.

Repetition is a prominent feature of many of Satie's works, a compositional technique he privileged over development. Repetition is also an ubiquitous technique in comedy, indeed it is arguable that comedy is not possible without repetition as it must place something we know 'before our eyes.' Zupančič relates that repetition is comic because 'it keeps insisting.'¹⁰⁴ Bergson describes how comedy is created through the 'mechanical inelasticity' or 'rigidity of momentum' of repetition.¹⁰⁵ Bergson cites the toy, Jack-in-the-Box, as an example of comic repetition, which coincidentally is also the title of a suite of three pieces for piano written by Satie in 1899: repetition is a prominent feature in the three movements (prélude – entr'acte - final) of this work. Nietzsche and Deleuze have studied the phenomenon of repetition and both share the belief that repetition is impossible - it is in fact the difference itself that is repeated. In his critical reception, Satie's use of repetition is generally viewed negatively, a sign of his alleged inability to develop material. This view contrasts strongly with Deleuzian ontology, where repetition is considered positive: 'The motor of repetition is not some kind of negativity (we do not repeat because we fail) but the affirmation of difference itself.'¹⁰⁶ In music Satie often accentuates this difference in the accompanying text (which is almost never repeated), through humour. Repetition is a comic technique with an ideological edge: it counters Romantic expectations of development in his musical language. In dealing with techniques that can be employed in humorous and non-humorous music, the analyst must question the ontology of the technique in addition to its structural function. This approach permits further interpretation on a pragmatic level where the humour is perceived and the intentionality of the humorist is recognised.

¹⁰³ Coeuroy, *La musique française moderne*, 144-45.

¹⁰⁴ Zupančič, *Odd One In*, 153-54.

¹⁰⁵ Bergson, *Laughter*, 12-13.

¹⁰⁶ Zupančič, *Odd One In*, 173.

5.2.2 Comic Structure

In 1913 Auric described the way in which Satie's comic titles led many to assume the humoristic works lacked structure: 'Many of those who scorn the spiritual little masterworks with zany titles warmly applaud the most boring of sonatas. In one case they praise a traditional form, by virtue of the title, whereas in the other case a grotesque title conceals a very logical plan from their ears.'¹⁰⁷ Satie uses various structural forms or approaches throughout the humoristic works, though one particular approach often attracts the attention of analysts, the juxtaposition of seemingly incongruous musical units. In structuralist terminology, this feature has been described as 'motivic assemblage' or synthesis where 'disparate elements' are combined 'to make a whole.'¹⁰⁸ In a discussion of 'Sur un casque', Whiting states: 'Satie seems to have resorted to his earlier technique of stringing together unrelated snippets without any 'logical' pattern of recurrence (save the return of the initial motif at the end).'¹⁰⁹ Analysis of the structure of humour, rather than musical structure, permits us to engage with a very particular form of musical unity based upon the temporal and sequential way in which jokes and comedy are structured.

Zupančič distinguishes between jokes and comedy according to how they work structurally and temporally. Jokes are not structurally characterised through 'a temporal unfolding', rather in the instant at which the *point de capiton* appears.¹¹⁰ The *point de capiton* (or 'quilting moment') is the point at which 'a duality or split in what might have previously seemed to be a homogeneous narrative [appears], and produces a short circuit between the two series.' Comedy by contrast operates in a completely different way. Here comedy is constructed through a series of comic sequences in which she observes an unusual feature of unity that resonates strongly with Satie's synthetic style: continuity is established through discontinuity. As Zupančič notes:

¹⁰⁷ Auric, 'Erik Satie: Musicien Humoriste', 141. 'Beaucoup de ceux qui méprisent les spirituels petits chefs-d'oeuvres aux titres cocasses applaudissent chaleureusement la plus ennuyeuse des sonates. Ici ils louent, grâce au titre, une forme traditionnelle, tandis que là un titre grotesque dissimule à leurs oreilles un plan très logique.'

¹⁰⁸ See Orledge's discussion of motivic construction in *Satie the Composer*, 164-7; and Whiting, *Satie the Bohemian*, 367.

¹⁰⁹ Whiting, *Satie the Bohemian*, 367.

¹¹⁰ Zupančič, *Odd One In*, 146.

A comic sequence [...] does not leave the surprising, erratic object-sense to die away in the air; rather, it picks it up as a new starting point, a new cue to build with. In this respect, comedy is a paradoxical continuity that builds, constructs (almost exclusively) with discontinuity; discontinuity (the erratic object-sense) is the very stuff of comic continuity. Comedy has a marvelous way of starting on one track and continuing on the other, as if this were completely natural.¹¹¹

Therefore, a series of consecutive jokes without an inner connection does not qualify as comedy. On a meta-structural level, the analysis of comic sequences in Satie's music may facilitate new interpretations of musical structure and unity, especially when the musical, textual and visual aspects of the humoristic scores are treated as an integrated part of the comic experience. In order to identify the presence of comic sequences this 'inner connection' must be revealed, a criterion that can only be satisfied through the identification of interlinked 'Master-Signifiers' within the comic sequence.¹¹² Zupančič believes that once the Master-Signifiers¹¹³ have been identified, then the 'usually antagonistic' play between them will elucidate the comic structure, or the processes of humour within the work.¹¹⁴ An analysis of the aforementioned comic techniques could assist in identifying the Master-Signifiers that mark the points of continuity through discontinuity within Satie's work. These Master-Signifiers can also function as 'markers of irony' that alert the interpreter to the expectation or presence of irony.¹¹⁵

5.2.3 Humour and Aesthetics

Comic techniques are often involved in the creation of musical structure and in addition to this, some aspects of humour have aesthetic properties. An in-depth study of aesthetics is long overdue in the case of the humoristic works and this study must be linked to the role of humour as part of the aesthetic experience. In a discussion of the structure and functioning of irony in music Zemach and Balter note that 'irony is an aesthetic property, that is, a feature of objects that is

¹¹¹ Zupančič, *Odd One In*, 137.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 177.

¹¹³ Zupančič lists the following examples of Master-Signifiers: 'combinations, redoublings, symmetrical and asymmetrical repetitions, irresistibly returning obstruction,' *Ibid.*, 177.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 177.

¹¹⁵ See Wayne Booth's list of 'markers of irony' outlined in the 'Irony' section later in the chapter.

necessarily relevant to their aesthetic evaluation.’¹¹⁶ Similarly in the case of parody, the connection to aesthetics must be considered. The ideological status of parody is paradoxical: it presupposes authority and transgresses through the establishment of repetition and difference. As a consciousness raising device it prevents acceptance of the narrow, doctrinaire, dogmatic views of any particular ideological group. There is a strong case to argue that Satie’s new aesthetic approach during his ‘humoristic’ period was profoundly influenced by contemporary developments in artistic and literary cubism and that this facilitated a unique articulation of humour in his music.

The collage aesthetic permitted the incorporation of lowbrow elements into the art work and this use of ubiquitous and mass-produced ‘found objects’ challenged many elitist assumptions of authenticity and originality. It questioned the prestige of art: great artworks existed on a plane elevated from the everyday. The collage aesthetic also challenged the notion of *métier* (craft) in the work of art through the use of glue as an adhesive for the constituent artistic elements. The use of glue, rather than traditional painting materials, allowed for the juxtaposition of traditionally incongruous elements in the artwork, as found material was combined with newly-composed material.¹¹⁷

During this period Satie made extensive use of annotations and text in his compositions. Substantial poems, or running commentaries, accompany the musical notation throughout the ‘humoristic’ works. In these scores the accompanying text is generally located in the space between the two staves of the piano music, an area traditionally reserved for dynamic markings and the occasional playing directive. The location of the accompanying text blurs the distinction between what constitutes playing directions and accompanying poetry as conventional performance directions are very rarely used. The addition of text into the artwork is

¹¹⁶ Eddy Zemach and Tamara Balter, ‘The Structure of Irony and How it Functions in Music’ in Kathleen Stock (ed.), *Philosophers on Music: Experience, Meaning, and Work* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 178-206, 178.

¹¹⁷ In their collage work the Cubists often incorporated musical themes and objects into their art. For example, Picasso’s collage painting of November 1912 entitled *Guitar, Sheet Music and Glass* contains fragments of a popular songsheet glued onto the canvas.

also a notable feature of Cubist art and poetry at this time.¹¹⁸ The titles of Satie's works also assumed a renewed sense of importance from this point onwards in pushing his ideological agenda, and the critics reacted unfavourably to this aesthetic choice: 'So, Erik Satie with his pieces for four hands, *En Habit de Cheval*, will scandalise the reactionary minds that still persist in looking for some relation between the title of a collection and its content.'¹¹⁹ Certain composer-critics defended Satie's new departure. In defence of Satie's annotations Auric notes that the respected French master Couperin used them too:

A humorist! Satie was thus this because of, without doubt, the titles that he gave his piano pieces, because of annotations he added in the margin despite the music. One could certainly on this occasion make reference to the funny hats with which Couperin dressed up the characters in his *Folies Françaises*. One could just as well make reference to most of the masters who preceded or followed Couperin and were not afraid of similar and also extra-musical ironies.¹²⁰

At this juncture in art history when the Cubists were formulating their revolutionary 'collage aesthetic' Satie was experimenting with a practically identical aesthetic approach in his 'humoristic' music. The extensive use of borrowings from popular sources by Satie and his artistic counterparts challenged the artistic expectation of 'genius' and the role of the 'master's hand' in the musical work. In Satie's challenge to the canonical criteria of 'genius', the use of popular sources in his art would later lead critics to question and criticise his compositional skill and technical abilities: 'So the impotence appears: these are the airs of waltzes or romances to be sung on street corners.'¹²¹ Buffet's comments on borrowing in Satie's music were mirrored by many of her contemporaries:

Let us take note through this analysis of the very restrained role of the musical element. The author does not even go to the trouble of looking for a personal theme, the popularity of the

¹¹⁸ From 1911 onwards, the use of symbols, letters and words were common in Cubist artworks. In Cubist collage large passages of text from everyday sources, such as newspapers, were used in Picasso's works, e.g. *Guitar* (1913).

¹¹⁹ V. P., 'Le Mois', *Revue musicale S.I.M.*, 15 May 1912, 69. 'Enfin M. Erik Satie avec ses Pièces à quatre mains, *En Habit de Cheval*, scandalisera les esprits arriérés qui s'obstinent encore à chercher quelque rapport entre le titre d'un recueil et son contenu.'

¹²⁰ Auric, 'Le Rôle du prophète.' 'Un humoriste! Satie fut donc cela à cause, sans doute, des titres qu'il donnait à ses pièces de piano à cause des annotations qu'il y ajoutait, en marge cependant de sa musique. On pourrait certes, citer en cette occasion les cocasses chapeaux dont un Couperin affublait les personnages de ses *Folies Françaises*. On pourrait citer tout aussi bien la plupart des maîtres qui précédèrent ou suivirent Couperin et ne craignirent pas de pareilles et d'aussi extra-musicales ironies.'

¹²¹ R. S., 'Festival Erik Satie', *Le Ménestrel*, 18 June 1920, 255. 'Alors l'impuissance apparaît: ce sont des airs de valses ou de romances à chanter au coin des rues.'

air of Rose suffices in symbolising to all the persona of his little drama. Its musical quality is no longer of any interest, and that is the very thing that interests us in this work (even though we consider it as more of a joke than a serious attempt). It is only a matter of understanding being established between the work and the audience through the intermediary of a second-rate musical symbol.¹²²

Many of Satie's detractors, and indeed even some of his admirers, believed that musical borrowing was another technique Satie employed to compensate for his inability to compose quickly. This assumption devalues the composition and raises concerns about the originality and cultural authority of the 'humoristic' works: few composers of the canon relied to this extent on 'borrowed' music in their compositions. The Cubist painters faced similar criticisms in the reception of their collage work at this time. Borrowed material was presented in a completely new musical context within the collage aesthetic and assumed new cultural meanings.

The Cubists' use of glue in collage permitted unusual juxtapositions of seemingly independent artistic materials. In Satie's 'humoristic' works the organising force which held together traditional musical masterworks (motivic and harmonic development) was replaced by the abrupt juxtaposition of stylistically incongruent musical passages. These abrupt changes of material were often emphasised through a sudden shift in register, texture and dynamic marking, sonically perceptible as an abrupt musical change. Satie was highly criticised for his non-developmental approach to harmony and the abandonment of traditional organicism in his works. In a 1917 article on Cubism and music Jean Poueigh notes the correlation between the aesthetic features of Satie's music and that of the Cubists and Futurists: 'A purely sensorial art no longer allowing form, breaking up the line and where all emotion would be banished, was beginning to be born. The time for unleashing the futurists and cubists had come.'¹²³ In 1921 Paul Bertrand reiterates this connection with art in a similarly negative summation:

¹²² Gabrielle Buffet, 'Musique d'aujourd'hui', *Soirées de Paris*, III, 15 March 1914, 181-3, 182. 'L'on se rendra compte, par cette analyse, du rôle très restreint de l'élément musical. L'auteur n'a pas même pris le mal de chercher un thème personnel, la popularité de l'air de Rose suffisant à symboliser pour tous, le personnage de son petit drame. La qualité musicale n'y a plus aucun intérêt, et c'est juste ce qui nous intéresse dans cette œuvre (malgré que nous la considérons plus comme une plaisanterie, que comme une tentative sérieuse). Il s'agit seulement qu'une compréhension s'établisse entre l'œuvre et le public par l'intermédiaire d'un symbole musical quelconque.'

¹²³ Séré, 'Le Cubisme et la Musique', 1. 'Un art purement sensoriel n'admettant plus la forme, brisant le trait, et d'où se verrait bannie toute émotion, tendait à naître. Le moment était venu du déchaînement des futuristes et cubistes.' See also Paul Bertrand, 'Musique pure et Musique dramatique', *Le Ménestrel*, 17 June 1921, 249-251.

For this reason, music follows an evolution parallel to that of Painting where the reign of shimmering luminosity emanating from imprecise forms finally provoked the emergence of “cubism” that was based on geometric lines stylised in the most startling fashion. Just like Claude Monet gave rise to Picasso, the impressionism of Claude Debussy prepared [the way] for the polytonic utterances of Stravinsky in the same way, right through to the big commotion created by the group of ‘Six’, who glorified, as a sign of symbolic rallying, the maliciously facetious insignificance of Erik Satie.¹²⁴

Satie’s one-time friend, Henry Prunières defended Satie’s approach of simplicity in form and use of harmony: ‘Progress does not always consist of an increasing complication of technique.’¹²⁵ Orledge notes that ‘the question of Satie’s capacity for development’ is ‘a crucial one as far as his reputation is concerned, for to most Western critics a cellular composer whose cells do not generate momentum, or rigorously develop in any way, is deemed a failure.’¹²⁶ The seemingly anti-teleological nature of Satie’s music inhibited musicological engagement with his work for much of the 20th century.

In his desire to create truly French music and in direct protest against Austro-Germanic harmonic conventions, Satie eschewed all forms of harmonic and motivic development and the traditional musical forms and genres that were dependent upon these conventions for their articulation. In instances where Satie alludes to a historical musical form such as a sonatina or chorale, his intent is subversive and the constituent harmonic and melodic language that ensues represents a parody of the original forms. Bitonality is a common practice throughout Satie’s ‘humoristic’ works, though it rarely persists throughout an entire work. Bitonal passages are usually juxtaposed alongside passages of a single tonality and this harmonic incongruity often contributes to the expression of humour. In Satie’s music, bitonality functions as a comic technique in two ways: firstly, as musical surprise; and secondly, as a form of inversion of diatonicism. In the humoristic works bitonal passages occur in the middle of tonal works, usually with a jarring effect upon the

¹²⁴ Paul Bertrand, ‘Musique pure et Musique dramatique’, *Le Ménestrel*, 17 June 1921, 249-251, 250. ‘La musique suivit en cela une évolution parallèle à celle de la Peinture, où le règne du frémissement lumineux aux formes imprécises provoqua finalement l’éclosion du “cubisme”, qui revenait aux lignes géométriques, stylisées de la façon la plus stupéfiante. De même que Claude Monet appelait Picasso, l’impressionnisme de Claude Debussy préparait les outrances polytoniques de Stravinsky dernière manière, continuées à grand tapage par les musiciens du groups des “Six”, qui exaltent, comme un signe de ralliement symbolique, l’insignifiance facétieuse de M. Erick Satie.’

¹²⁵ Henry Prunières, ‘Socrate d’Erik Satie’, *La Revue musicale*, 4 (February 1923), 65-6, 66. ‘Le progrès ne consiste pas toujours dans une complication croissante de la technique.’

¹²⁶ Orledge, *Satie the Composer*, 161.

listener. Satie's modernist musical language consciously denied the type of emotional responses and feelings evoked through the expression of catharsis, pathos and the sublime found in Romantic music.

In addition to the obvious juxtaposition of incongruent musical units, the collage aesthetic is also demonstrated in the juxtaposition of textual and visual art elements with the music. Satie invested considerable attention in the visual appearance of his scores and the accompanying texts, which from 1912 played a central part in the formulation of the collage aesthetic of his 'humoristic' works. In many of these works, an understanding of much of the humorous content is often dependent upon the textual elements of the score. In this period Satie continued his experimentation with the musical score as a visual art object, a practice that reached maturation in the *Sports et divertissements* (1914).¹²⁷ These visual and literary components, inaccessible to a listener without access to a score, significantly impacted upon the reception of Satie's works of this period as their critical function was not expressed in performance. Discussions of Satie's music disassociated from these other elements severely limit the analytical search for new meanings and interpretations. The fusing of three media in his 'humoristic' scores created an artistic medium in which Satie the composer, artist and writer could find expression. Inaccurate and unfaithful posthumous publications compounded extant difficulties in the analysis and interpretation of Satie's work and successive editors have too often overlooked the intertextual nature of the constituent parts. Many of these aesthetic and rhetorical elements found in the 'humorous' works already existed in embryonic form throughout Satie's *oeuvre*; however, they only found full expression in the collage aesthetic of the 'humoristic' works. Whether a direct influence of the Cubists or not, the parallels between the collage aesthetic and Satie's 'humoristic' aesthetic are undeniable.

The collage aesthetic that would govern Satie's approach to composition throughout the 'humoristic' period granted Satie the artistic freedom to completely

¹²⁷ Satie's first experiment in this regard dates back to the four *Ogives* of 1886. In these works Satie dispenses with barlines for the first time in order to give the reader an uninterrupted view of the notation, which is arranged to resemble the ogives (arches) of a Gothic church. The visual presentation of the score connects the title to the melodic content of the work, which is based upon a fragment of medieval plainsong. Around this time Satie's friend Apollinaire achieved a similar synthesis of art, poetry and music in his 'calligrammes' (visual Cubist poems).

break with musical traditions in a creative environment that, by its nature, was hostile to the conventions of the past. The appropriation of everyday sources into his art at this time dissolved the distinctions between art and life, between highbrow and lowbrow music, the serious and the humorous, and for such protestations he was severely reprimanded.

5.2.4 Irony

Since irony is strictly an intellectual individualist factor, any such thing as the “music of irony” must, to be consistent, be considered nonsense. [...] Erik Satie’s pieces have an individual and an intellectual value; they have no really musical value.¹²⁸

I admit for my part that behind his mocking words I sense a profound philosophy... By virtue of this applied irony that he uses with abandon he has found, I think, an excellent defensive weapon.¹²⁹

The interpretation of irony or parody within music cannot occur solely through engagement with music on a structural level. Hutcheon explains that ‘it is very difficult to separate pragmatic strategies from formal structures when talking of irony or parody: the one entails the other.’¹³⁰ For instance, parody cannot be defined on the basis of the existence of musical borrowing, quotation or allusion: a parodic intent must be recognised. Similarly ironic intent must be detected prior to interpreting ironic meaning: the standard semantic definition of antiphrasis (the opposite of what is said) is insufficient in describing how irony operates, it excludes the politico-ideological dimension of the medium and provides little assistance to an analyst of music seeking methodologies for engaging with irony. As a comic mode, irony can be used in conjunction with many variants of humour – for example, satire and parody. Satie displayed a particular penchant for infusing irony into his musical parodies.

¹²⁸ Rudhyar D. Chenneviere, Frederick H. Martens (transl.), ‘Erik Satie and the Music of Irony’, *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 5, No. 4. (October 1919), 469-478, 476.

¹²⁹ Michel-Dimitri Calvocoressi, ‘La Comédie musicale – Aux Concerts’, *Comoedia illustré*, 20 April 1913, 668. ‘J’avoue pour ma part que sous les mots narquois, je sens un philosophie profonde... Il a ... je pense, trouvé, par la vertu de cette ironie appliquée qu’il prodigue, une excellent arme défensive.’

¹³⁰ Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Parody: The Teachings of Twentieth-Century Art Forms* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985, 2000), 34.

Irony is the term most frequently associated with Satie's humour, yet it is typically referenced without qualification. All occurrences of irony are structured in such a way as to judge a norm through mocking or contradicting reality with the presentation of an aberration of that reality. The receiver recognises irony through an initial reaction to what was just said (for example, shocked confusion), and is alerted to the realisation that he/she must interpret the ironic meaning. Purely structural definitions ignore irony's affective function, what is commonly referred to as irony's bite or edge. It is in this edge that we recognize the political and ideological workings of irony. It also explains why Satie was attracted to ironic humour in his writings and music: it 'is irony's edge that appears to be what gives certain forms of humour [...] its status as a "survival skill, a tool for acknowledging complexity, a means of exposing or subverting oppressive hegemonic ideologies, and an art for affirming life in the face of objective troubles."'”¹³¹

The interpretation of humour is highly individualistic and its reception is dependent upon how it resonates with an individual's personal politics. Therefore, irony has the ability to elicit a range of interpretations and emotional responses. An ironic statement can elicit both positive and negative interpretations: while one critic may recognise irony as playful or humorous, another interprets the same example as irresponsible or trivializing. The existence of irony's edge in Satie's music explains the various and diverse ways in which critics reacted to his humour. In *Irony's Edge*, Hutcheon presents the results of an in-depth study on 'irony's edge' in the extant literature on irony. She identifies nine general affective functions of irony according to their 'affective discharge' (the strength of emotional responses they provoke) and lists the most common negative and positive interpretations (presented as evaluative adjectives) elicited by these functions.

¹³¹ Linda Hutcheon, *Irony's Edge: The Theory and Politics of Irony* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 26. Here Hutcheon is quoting M. M. J. Fischer, 'Ethnicity and the post-modern arts of memory' in J. Clifford and G. E. Marcus (eds.), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986) 226.

Table 5.1 The Functions of Irony¹³²

AFFECTIVE FUNCTION	POSITIVE INTERPRETATIONS	NEGATIVE INTERPRETATIONS
AGGREGATIVE (Maximal affective charge)	Inclusionary, “amiable communities”	Exclusionary, elitist ‘in-groups’
ASSAILING	Corrective, Satiric	Destructive, aggressive
OPPOSITIONAL	Transgressive, Subversive	Insulting, offensive
PROVISIONAL	Non-dogmatic, Demystifying	Evasive, hypocritical, duplicitous
SELF-PROTECTIVE	Self-depreciating, Ingratiating	Arrogant, defensive
DISTANCING	Offering a new perspective	Indifferent, non-committal
LUDIC	Humorous, playful, teasing	Irresponsible, trivializing, reductive
COMPLICATING	Complex, rich, ambiguous (+)	Misleading, imprecise, ambiguous (-)
REINFORCING (Minimal affective charge)	Emphatic, precise	Decorative, subsidiary

In reality, however, these distinctions are only applicable if the ironic intent is interpreted as such by the receiver. In Satie’s reception it is clear that the affective function intended by him is often unclear and consequently his ironic statements elicit a range of emotive responses. For example, the following are a selection of responses to Satie’s ironic humour in the humoristic works:

[COMPLICATING: Ambiguous (-)/ Misleading] The irony is hidden behind so much seriousness, the joke is so lame, the capricious wandering off on tangents so unexpected that an ordinary audience would be disorientated and would only see smoke and mirrors.¹³³

[OPPOSITIONAL; Transgressive/ Subversive] One of the most original turns of mind, bizarreness either intended or affected, a profound distrust of the philistine, a biting irony, these are the traits that characterise this musician, one of the most curious natures that ever existed.¹³⁴

[ASSAILING: Aggressive/ Destructive] He hypocritically uses the stylistic devices of this sentimental wholesome gaiety, then having evoked a tenderness that becomes charming, the instant we are well and truly seduced he wrings its neck.¹³⁵

[AGGREGATIVE: Exclusionary/ Elitist] Satie, an extreme individualist, writes for a few detached individuals, not for humanity at large, to him an object of derision. Only the pianist –

¹³² This version of Hutcheon’s table is slightly altered for the purpose of clarity. For the original see Table 2.1 in *Irony’s Edge*, 47.

¹³³ René Chalupt, ‘Le Piège de Méduse, Comédie Lyrique par M. Erik Satie’, *L’Occident: Architecture, Sculpture, Peintre, Musique, Poésie*, No. 139, June 1914, 345-46, 246. ‘L’ironie se dissimule sous tant de sérieux, la blague est si froide, les détours capricieux si inattendus, qu’un public ordinaire serait déconcerté et n’y verrait que du feu.’

¹³⁴ Albert Bertelin, ‘L’Evolution de la musique contemporaine (III)’, *Le Courrier musical*, 15 October 1912, 529-37, 532. ‘Une tournure d’esprit des plus originales, une bizarrerie voulue ou affectée, un mépris profond pour le *philistin*, une ironie mordante, tels sont les traits qui caractérisent ce musicien, une des nature les plus curieuses qui se soient jamais manifestées.’

¹³⁵ Roland-Manuel, *Erik Satie*, 7. ‘Il emploie hypocritement les artifices de cette gâité sentimentale de bon aloi, puis, ayant évoqué une tendresse qui va devenir charmante, il lui tord le cou dans l’instant qu’elle nous séduit pour de bon.’

or the cultured musician – is able to appreciate his irony to the full; since they only are able to read and hear at the same time.¹³⁶

Indeed, many critics recognise the humorous intent but clearly state that they do not find this form of humour either funny or appropriate:

These little stories or reflections commenting on the *Préludes flasques* and other *Embryons desséchés*, are not always funny. And if the text is removed, nothing hilarious remains anymore [...]. Fundamentally, this absence of humour has to be intentional and has to stem from the superior irony of Erik Satie.¹³⁷

Wayne Booth outlines five markers of irony that can be directly applied to analyses of humour in Satie's music:

(1) straightforward hints or warnings presented in the authorial voice (titles, epigraphs, direct statements); (2) violations of shared knowledge (deliberate errors of fact, judgment); (3) contradictions within the work ("internal cancellations"); (4) clashes of style; (5) conflicts of belief (between our own and that which we might suspect the author of holding).¹³⁸

Irony has many types that are not defined in relation to Satie's use of this mode. Many of its types are primarily defined on a structural level, for example general, dramatic, verbal and situational irony. An awareness of how these various types are defined, in conjunction with the list of 'markers' and comic techniques, enables the analyst to identify and interpret them in Satie's music. Verbal, situational and dramatic irony are the three most prevalent types of irony found in Satie's music and/ or writings.

Verbal irony operates through written or spoken language and it is considered extremely rare in music as this type relies primarily upon words to indicate the presence of a secondary ironic meaning that contradicts the directly stated reality.¹³⁹ In most instances of irony in Satie's music, text in conjunction with music highlights or reinforces the ironic intent. In his humoristic scores the

¹³⁶ Rudhyar D. Chenneviere, Frederick H. Martens (transl.), 'Erik Satie and the Music of Irony', *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 5, No. 4. (October 1919), 469-478, 474.

¹³⁷ Séré, 'Le Cubisme et la Musique', 1. 'Ces petites histoires ou réflexions commentant les *Préludes flasques* et autres *Embryons desséchés*, ne sont pas toujours drôles. Et si l'on enlève le texte, il ne reste plus rien d'hilare. [...] Au fond, cette absence d'humour doit être voulue et provenir de l'ironie supérieure de M. Erik Satie.'

¹³⁸ Wayne Booth, *A Rhetoric of Irony* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 53-76, quoted in Linda Hutcheon, *Irony's Edge*, 151.

¹³⁹ For an introductory discussion of types of irony in music see Zemach and Balter, 'The Structure of Irony and How it Functions in Music', 178-206. This discussion focuses on defining irony in structural terms.

presence of various layers of text may perhaps facilitate this type. Verbal irony is very common in Satie's writings, particularly in his responses to criticisms of his music or non-professional behaviour:

I don't like jokes, nor anything resembling them. What is a joke supposed to prove? The great Histories of the World tells very few good ones. [...] Proof: It thus appears, on the delightful summits of Reason, that Joking is only an inferior Art which should not be taught, which can never aspire to glory whatever one's aim.¹⁴⁰

The cabaret, which is in no need of acquiring a bad reputation, has played – and still plays – a quite important role in artistic and Literary life. Alas! We have quite a few intellectuals just now who do not mind being seen in cafés – at the least – or indeed sitting in full view (often on the terrace), forgetting all the caution a respectable man owes to himself – and even in some ways to other people. Are not this sad aperitif exhibitionism, these public bacchanalia, these intemperate horrors an affront to Morality?¹⁴¹

Situational irony is often interpreted when a listener projects norms onto music that leads them to read the real situation as an ironic, deformed version of itself. Many characteristics of music facilitate situational irony and Satie takes full advantage of this type in the humoristic works. Satie frequently lulls the listener into considering certain musical elements stable and then uses irony to undermine musical norms and, consequently, listener expectations. The judgement that accompanies irony is usually easy to discern when Satie marries irony and parody. In 'd'Holothuria' and 'de Podophthalma' in *Embryons desséchés*, Satie subjects a revered musical form to the comic technique of exaggeration in order to create situational irony. An ironic musical surprise concludes the two movements: exaggerated bombast codas that are completely unnecessary and contrast sharply with the overall mood, rhythm and style of the pieces. These codas severely disrupt the overall flow of the music. The text 'Grandiose' and 'De votre mieux' in 'd'Holothurie', and 'Cadence obligée (de l'Auteur)' in 'de Podophthalma' marks the presence of irony for performers at the beginning of the codas. The audience must rely solely on aural markers of irony, which in these two pieces are easily discernable due to the familiarity of concert-goers with the convention of the cadential coda. As Satie's ironic expression can often only be interpreted in the interplay between music and text, there are many examples in the humoristic works where the irony is hidden from the listener, and therefore cannot be interpreted without access to the musical score.

¹⁴⁰ Wilkins (ed.), *The Writings of Erik Satie*, 78. Original published in *L'œil de veau* (May-June 1912) and reprinted in Volta (ed.), *Ecrits*, 17-18.

¹⁴¹ [Erik Satie, *Catalogue*, 5 October 1922] Volta (ed.), *A Mammal's Notebook*, 114.

In the humoristic works Satie's ironic treatment of sonata form, chorale and fugue structures, cadences and codas perform a distinctly ideological function. Satie constantly felt compelled to assert his independence from schools and masters in his music and his writings. In appropriating and subverting easily recognizable structures Satie sometimes makes the convention seem absurd, though this was not necessarily his aim. Nevertheless, critics interpreted the practice itself as absurd: the product of a joker, not an intellectual composer. In the post-war years artists of the Dada movement – a group which Satie associated with in his final years - similarly adopted humour as part of the aesthetic experience and were dismissed in a similar manner by critics. Hans Richter defends the role of humour in his art of this time: 'We took our laughter seriously; laughter was the only guarantee of the seriousness with which, on our voyage of self-discovery, we practiced anti-art. But laughter was only the *expression* of our new discoveries, not their essence and not their purpose...' ¹⁴²

Dramatic irony occurs when the protagonist does not comprehend the situation in which they find themselves, while the audience does. In 'Obstacles venimeux', the first movement of *Heures séculaires et instantanées* (1914) the protagonist (the music) projects a reality completely at odds with the reality projected in the text. The music's cheerful mood is oblivious to the desolate and surreal reality projected in the text:

This vast part of the world is inhabited by one single man: a negro. He is so bored he could die of laughing. [...] To help him think the negro holds his cerebellum in his right hand with the fingers apart. From afar, he looks like a distinguished physiologist. Four anonymous serpents enthrall him, hanging suspended from the coat tails of his uniform which is distorted with a combination of grief and loneliness [...]. ¹⁴³

¹⁴² Hans Richter, *Dada: ArtAndAnti-Art* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2004, trans. David Britt), 64-5. Richter was an artist, film-maker and prominent member of the early Dada movement.

¹⁴³ Volta (ed.), *A Mammal's Notebook*, 41.

Fig. 1 *Heures séculaires et instantanées*, ‘Obstacles venimeux’: opening

Noirâtre

Piano

Cette vaste partie du monde n'est habitée que par un seul homme : un nègre.

Il s'ennuie à mourir de rire.

The playing direction ‘Noirâtre’ (‘blackish’) appears on the score in the place usually reserved for tempo indications, setting the mood for the accompanying text. In contrast the music proceeds in a light-hearted, almost frivolous fashion. The opening left-hand melody is strictly diatonic, based upon the first five notes of the B-flat major scale. The dissonant accompanying chords add playful colour to the melody rather than create a ‘black’ mood upon their sounding on the rhythmic off-beats. Satie invokes a distinctly humorous cabaret feel throughout this movement that lies in stark contrast to the text and creates a fine example of dramatic irony.

Heures séculaires illustrates a salient fact concerning irony: it is not always humorous. The 19th century construct of Romantic irony, for instance, is not considered a comic mode: consequently, it has become a common theme in musical discourses on Romanticism without causing any ideological anxiety.¹⁴⁴ Irony is a comic mode, but it is also a rhetorical strategy that can operate outside comedy. Therefore, we must ensure that we consider the pragmatic ethos of irony in the analysis of ironic meaning. Satie’s enduring reputation as a humorist composer

¹⁴⁴ Brown describes romantic irony as follows: ‘Romantic irony was less a mode of humour than an acknowledgement of a gap between means and ends. [...] it was a point of dramatic rupture between the material and the spiritual realms.’ Julie A. Brown, *Bartok and the Grotesque: Studies in Modernity, the Body and Contradiction in Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 10.

means we may sometimes presuppose the existence of humour when in fact there is none.

5.2.5 Parody

In musicological discourses the term parody is traditionally associated with two distinct forms of musical practice, yet neither of them is applicable in Satie's case: the Renaissance practice of imitation (the term *parodic technique* is commonly associated with the mass in this period) and the use of musical borrowings, quotations or allusions in 18th- and 19th-century opera parodies.¹⁴⁵ Prior to the 19th century, parody was widely considered a valid compositional technique, but in a Romantic milieu that valued originality, the transcendental and the sublime, parody was devalued and was no longer considered welcome in high-art music. Definitions of parody in music dictionaries tend to stress the technique of one composer parodying the work of another and emphasise the ridiculing intent of post-Renaissance musical parody. This trend describes the treatment of parody in Satie's humoristic works. Parodic musical examples that fall outside the confines of this narrow focus are largely ignored and musical parody in the 20th century is only mentioned in passing, in spite of its prevalence in musical modernism and post-modernism. Many attempts at defining parody in music are deficient as they do not account for the cultural and historical specificity of musical parody. In modernism, parody served a very particular function in the conscious ideological and aesthetic movement away from Romanticism.

Parody is generally perceived as negative for a number of ideological and moral reasons. Bergson describes how parody operates according to the transposition rule: 'A comic effect is always obtainable by transposing the nature of expression of an

¹⁴⁵ See Michael Kennedy and Joyce Bourne (eds.), *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music 4th Edition* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 545; Michael Tilmouth and Richard Sherr. "Parody (i)." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. 20 Nov. 2011 <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20937>>; and Elisabeth Cook and Stanley Sadie. "Parody." *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*. Ed. Stanley Sadie. *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. 20 Nov. 2011 <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O007203>>.

idea into another key.’¹⁴⁶ A similar definition is also proposed by Koestler: ‘Parody is the most aggressive form of impersonation, designed not only to deflate hollow pretence but also to destroy illusion in all its forms... the parodist’s favourite points of attack are all situated on the line of intersection between two planes: the Exalted and the Trivial.’¹⁴⁷ Bergson highlights the changes in ‘physical dimension’ and ‘moral value’ that occur in transposition and although he notes that ‘degradation is only one form of transposition’, in his evaluation of parody the transposition from ‘the solemn to the familiar’ is viewed as a move that devalues art.¹⁴⁸ In Satie’s case the use of parody did indeed influence moral and aesthetic judgements of the humoristic works.

Satie displayed a particular preference for parody in the articulation of his new ideological and aesthetic direction in the humoristic works. Whiting notes that Satie’s sketches ‘prove that, for Satie [...] parodistic quotation was the inspiration, not the decoration, of his humoristic work.’¹⁴⁹ These works allowed him to directly challenge traditional Romantic notions of genius, transcendence and originality through borrowing and through the non-discrete incorporation of elements of the everyday into his music. In his parodic borrowing of high-art sources, Satie highlights the historical, cultural and social distance between his music and that of the Romantics. Satie’s use of parody also challenged the traditional canonic idea of lineage, an evolutionary concept that dominates discourses on music history: parody is used to express a rupture with that past rather than a continuation. In place of accepting tradition, tradition itself becomes contextual, the subject of a cultural critique. Satie’s musical parody often serves to historicise: he places music within the history of music. Satie appropriated humour as a tool to assist him in reflecting upon the constitution of his art. In an article on irony in Satie’s humoristic works Rudhyar Chenneviere notes that the humoristic pieces pose many questions that extend beyond the individual works themselves and this clearly bothers the author:

¹⁴⁶ Bergson, *Laughter*, 61.

¹⁴⁷ Arthur Koestler, *The Act of Creation* (London: Arcana, 1964), 69.

¹⁴⁸ Bergson, *Laughter*, 61.

¹⁴⁹ Whiting, *Satie the Bohemian* 390.

More and more the “literary” program – strange, to say the least [...] One might be inclined to think that the composer had meant to write a musical recitation. Not at all: in one of his last compositions Satie even specifies that his prose should not be read while it is played. Are these annotations, then, merely intended to enlighten the intelligence of the pianist? Should this music, perhaps, be read, not heard. Is it meant to appeal to the individual alone, and not, as in the case of all music, to the many? Does it address itself to a single mentality, and not to the sum total of intelligence? Does this music represent no more than a strictly individual pose, a clown’s grimace before life’s eternal verities? May this music in short be called music? Has ridicule any right to the name? These numerous interrogation marks which Satie’s compositions call forth lead us far beyond the mere personality of their author. **The question takes on a wider scope and touches on the values of music itself.**¹⁵⁰

Simon Denith notes that in ‘culture wars’, ‘parody can be employed as one of the weapons in the struggle of the social and political direction’ of the arts. Parody can ‘become the vehicle for the critique of a whole aesthetic, and the substitution of another in its place...’¹⁵¹ Satie used parody to this end in many of his humoristic works, though his aesthetic contribution to musical modernism in this period was largely overlooked or dismissed by critics on account of its humorous frame. Satie’s use of parody was interpreted as anti-academic, and therefore anti-professional. Only a handful of contemporary commentators noted that Satie had indeed created a new genre of piano music with these works and only one of these recognised it as an interart genre, however none of them took his innovations seriously. Following the premiere of *Chapitres tournés en tous sens* Gabrielle Buffet writes about Satie’s ‘new genre’ in an article entitled ‘Music Today’ in the *Soirées de Paris*.¹⁵² Buffet describes the recent ‘ultra-modernes’ works that she considers

no longer essays in pure music, but of semi-dramatic, semi-musical forms, that is to say that the ideal architecture of the old forms, sonatas, symphonies, etc., etc., is replaced by a literary motive to which the music is rigorously subjugated and which is the foundation itself of the work.¹⁵³

In a similar manner to irony, recognising and understanding parody is dependent upon particular linguistic, rhetorical and ideological competencies. Parody is a ‘doubled-voice discourse’ where we encounter both a precursor voice and the

¹⁵⁰ Emphasis added. Rudhyar D. Chenneviere, Frederick H. Martens (transl.), ‘Erik Satie and the Music of Irony’, *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 5, No. 4. (October 1919), 469-478, 472-73.

¹⁵¹ Denith, *Parody*, 34.

¹⁵² Gabrielle Buffet, ‘Musique d’aujourd’hui’, *Soirées de Paris*, III, 15 March 1914, 181-3.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 181-82. ‘Les œuvres ultra-modernes nous en sont une preuve. Plus d’essais de musique pure, mais des formes mi-dramatiques, mi-musicales, c’est-à-dire que l’architecture idéale des formes anciennes, sonates, symphonies, etc., etc., est remplacée par un motif littéraire auquel la musique s’assujettit rigoureusement et qui est la carcasse même de l’œuvre [...]’

parodic author's attitude towards the precursor text or the discourse within which that text was created.¹⁵⁴ Parody cannot operate without borrowing, a significant feature of the humoristic works up to 1914. Borrowing is not always parodic: it can only be considered parody when 'the textual doubling of parody (unlike pastiche, allusion, quotation, and so on) functions to mark difference': parody is 'transformative in its relation to other texts.'¹⁵⁵ Interpreting parody depends upon recognition of the referent text and the analyst's historical distance can act as a barrier in this process. In this respect, the analysis of parody requires in-depth historical investigation in order to identify the instances of borrowing. Substantial musicological work has identified many instances of musical borrowings, allusions and references in the humoristic piano works, a significant advantage for scholars interested in the interpretation of Satie's humour.

Parody is a form of imitation characterised by ironic inversion and critical difference from the original parodied text. The presence of irony is responsible for the range of ethos of which parody is capable: parody does not operate solely in a ridiculing mode. Satie's intentionality can only be reconstructed if we can first, identify the targets of Satie's parody and secondly, establish the nature and direction (the ethos) of this parody. Identifying the target of parody is crucially important in understanding the nature of the ideological attack it poses.

Denith classifies two primary types of parody: specific and general. In specific parody, the target is a 'specific precursor text', whereas general parody aims 'at a whole body of texts or kind of discourse.'¹⁵⁶ Examples of both types abound in the humoristic suites and there are many instances where the two occur in one piece. Satie also composed composite parodies where he borrowed from sources that were initially based on other referent texts. This form of textual layering presents added layers of interpretive complexity. Composite parodies have been identified in *Vieux sequins et vieilles cuirasses* (1913) and *Le chapelier* (1916).¹⁵⁷ In many cases of borrowing in the humoristic period, the precursor texts are already highly

¹⁵⁴ Denith coins the terms 'hypertext' to designate the parodic work and 'hypotext' to indicate the referent or precursor text, however, theorists generally employ the terms 'precursor' or 'referent text' and 'parodic text/ work'.

¹⁵⁵ Hutcheon, *A Theory of Parody*, 38.

¹⁵⁶ Denith, *Parody*, 7.

¹⁵⁷ See Whiting, *Satie the Bohemian*, 390; Orledge, *Satie the Composer*, 21.

programmatic and intertextual, particularly as so many of them derive from song and opera sources. Satie was not averse to subjecting his own work to parodic treatment. *Trois morceaux en forme de poire* (1903) is an interesting example of ironic parody in a serious mode from Satie's early career, and more specifically, it is an example of self-parody. This work marked the conclusion of an early aesthetic approach to composition, which Orledge describes as a period when Satie was searching for 'a new direction': 'In his uncertainty Satie resorts to self-borrowing (*Trois morceaux en forme de poire*). Although he described this last work as a "prestigious turning-point in the History of My life" (on the Paris Opera MS, Rés. 218, 30), it was rather a summary of his achievements to date, and its lead was not followed up.'¹⁵⁸ Hutcheon explains that 'self-parody [...] is not just an artist's way of disowning earlier mannerisms by externalizations [...]. It is a way of creating a form out of the questioning of the very act of aesthetic production.'¹⁵⁹ Whiting describes *Trois morceaux* as 'a kind of stylistic résumé': the self-borrowing in this work dated back to 1890.¹⁶⁰ Shortly after this abrupt conclusion to a style he had been pursuing for thirteen years, Satie returned to music education at the Schola Cantorum at the age of thirty-nine in his search for a new aesthetic direction.

Denith distinguishes two ways in which the referent text is appropriated within the parodic text: parody with 'glancing parodic allusions' is signified through the borrowing of a phrase or fragment; whereas 'fully-developed formal parody' incorporates the entire borrowed text. Satie makes extensive use of the first type throughout the humoristic works. *Sonatine bureaucratique* is the only instance of formal parody identified so far in Satie's work. Denith notes that the '*raison d'être*' of formal parody 'is its relation to its precursor text or parodied mode.'¹⁶¹ Through an analysis of Satie's compositional processes as revealed in his extant notebooks, Orledge reveals that Clementi's Sonatina in C (Op. 36 No. 1) acts as a 'pre-established formal plan.'¹⁶² Satie then reworks Clementi's piece with the aim of destroying many of the elements that situate it historically: the use of Alberti bass, regular periodization, diatonicism (Satie incorporates instances of bitonality) and

¹⁵⁸ Orledge, *Satie the Composer*, 3.

¹⁵⁹ Hutcheon, *A Theory of Parody*, 10.

¹⁶⁰ Whiting, *Satie the Bohemian*, 268.

¹⁶¹ Denith, *Parody*, 7.

¹⁶² Orledge, *Satie the Composer*, 27-8.

traditional development which Satie avoids through musical repetition in order to make the piece comply with his non-developmental approach to composition. Whiting notes that ‘Clementi and Satie seem continually to interrupt each other – usually with a shift in register or change in dynamic or both.’¹⁶³ Satie uses various forms of musical surprise in order to subvert Classical principles through situational irony in this piece.

The musical canon is frequently singled out as a target for parodic treatment. Satie attacks Romantic, Baroque and Classical discourses on music through the subversion of respected forms and conventions specific to high-art music of these periods, including periodization and the harmonic treatment of cadences and codas. Bergson notes that codified forms, conventions or rituals (ceremonies) can all act as comic templates: ‘any form or formula is a ready-made frame into which the comic element may be fitted.’¹⁶⁴ Through the parody of such traditional practices Satie also attacks the system of music education that teaches these conventions and consequently, upholds their value or cultural authority. Music was arguably the most institutionalised art in Paris in the modernist period and Satie felt that musical progress was being stunted by the ‘officialdom’ that surrounded it. This may have inspired Satie to seek compositional inspiration in artistic and literary sources he considered free from such control.

Why, he asks, must music alone of the arts be saddled with so much academic officialdom, when both painting and literature can dispense with it? ‘The painters’, the writers, ‘with Manet, Cézanne, Picasso, Derain, Braque and others’ broke away from these bad traditions and, risking everything, saved painting and artistic thinking generally from complete and absolute stultification. There is no ‘Prix de Rome’ for literature, either; a writer does not have to have a University degree; even if he couldn’t read, no one would think of blaming him. He would just be an illiterate writer, that’s all. But for musicians it’s different. They have a weakness for whatever is ridiculous.¹⁶⁵

Satie frequently borrowed from the work of masters of the canon in his parodies. This attack was not personal, rather it was directed at the more general discourses and practices in which they participated [dead or alive]. Satie stated that there are very few true ‘poets’ in the history of music, the remainder of composers are the

¹⁶³ Whiting, *Satie the Bohemian*, 487.

¹⁶⁴ Bergson, *Laughter*, 28.

¹⁶⁵ Myers, *Erik Satie*, 116.

followers of ‘schools’, ‘pundits’ who imitate the poets.¹⁶⁶ In many cases of borrowing from canonic sources, particularly in his quotations from piano works, Satie generally holds the composer of the precursor text in question in high esteem.¹⁶⁷

5.2.6 Parody in *Embryons Desséchés*

Embryons desséchés (*Desiccated Embryos*), composed in 1913, is considered the most overtly humorous work of the humoristic period. It comprises three movements entitled ‘d’Holothuria’, ‘d’Edriophthalma’ and ‘de Podophthalma’ which all contain borrowed musical sources that derive from various highbrow and lowbrow sources.¹⁶⁸ In all three movements the parody is directed against Romantic high-art sources. *Embryons desséchés* is definitively anti-Romantic in expression, a parodic reprise of the past, devoid of all nostalgia. The unusual juxtaposition of the popular, the newly-composed and the historical produces a humorous effect on account of the audible incongruity of this arrangement. This incongruity is further enhanced by the accompanying text throughout. In this work Satie utilises parody to mock various Romantic stylistic conventions such as the extended tonic-dominant coda of a Beethoven symphony, the pathos of a Chopin Funeral March and the conventions of sonata form. Satie’s intention in *Embryons desséchés* was not to attack either of these two composers, but what they represented in his time: their author-function and the canon of musicological discourses that sustained them. Indeed, by its very nature, parody requires a deep understanding, and arguably in many cases an appreciation, for the source text. Parody can be interpreted here not as criticism of the original art but of the blind devotion to it and its imitators. Satie considered Romantic musical conventions and values outdated and he was critical of many contemporaries who continued to adhere to a Romantic perception of art. Parody was the perfect vehicle for the expression of Satie’s anti-

¹⁶⁶ Wilkins (ed.), *The Writings of Erik Satie*, 84.

¹⁶⁷ Donnellon, *Debussy, Satie and the Parisian Critical Press (1890-1925)*, 233. Donnellon provides a helpful list of Satie’s public statements on the value of contemporary and past composers, 232-34.

¹⁶⁸ For a full list of the musical sources quoted in Satie’s piano works see Robert Orledge, *Satie the Composer*, 200-203. The Satie biographer Gillmor believes Satie’s choice of such unusual titles ‘suggests either a random encounter with an encyclopaedia or a careful reading of Jules Verne, who indulged in such esoteric terminology in his detailed description of marine life in *Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Sea* (1870)’. Gillmor, *Erik Satie*, 160.

establishment rhetoric: ‘it attacks the official world, mocks the pretensions of authoritative discourse, and undermines the seriousness with which subordinates should approach the justification of their betters.’¹⁶⁹ In his musical parody of two Romantic masters, Satie highlights the historical, cultural and social distance between his music and that of the Romantics. Fulcher suggests that the title of this work makes direct reference to the masterworks of the canon: ‘For Satie the classics, conceived as such, are themselves “desiccated embryos” – now a foreign idiom, and ridiculous in a modern creative context, although solemnly invoked as canonic models at the Schola.’¹⁷⁰

In ‘d’Holothuria’ Satie utilises sonata form as the organising principle for the constituent music and text. Throughout his compositional career Satie refused to compose in any of the standardised musical genres and in this rare example, his intent was solely parodic. Many harmonic, melodic and textual features in this movement mock the conventions of sonata form, and this subversion is reinforced through the juxtaposition of the lowbrow and the highbrow, the sublime and the everyday. Satie did not solely rely on borrowing to incorporate aspects of the everyday into his scores. In a highly subversive humorous statement Satie makes explicit reference to laughter and smiling in this movement. In two separate instances, Satie uses the music to depict humorous moments from everyday life: the sound of a child’s squeal of laughter and a purring sound, indicative of a smile of contentment. In these two examples Satie achieves a sonic depiction of the text, a feature he would develop further in *Sports et divertissements* (1914) where he visually depicts actions described in the text through the construction of his calligraphic musical notation. The section denoted by the text ‘you are tickling me’ coincides with two, two-note chords played rapidly in succession. The sonic effect is also akin to musical onomatopoeia, and distinctly mimics the falling pitch squeal sound released by a young child, or perhaps adult, who has just been shocked by a tickle. The text and the music combined evoke a real sense of the everyday, and provide an appropriately humorous introduction to the proceeding parodic coda.

¹⁶⁹ Denith, *Parody*, 20.

¹⁷⁰ Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music*, 203.



Fig. 2 ‘Vous me chatouillez’

The text ‘little purr’ and similarly ‘mocking little purr’ occurs in tandem with a two note repeated trill that lasts four full beats that, when played quickly, sonically resemble the sound of a purr.

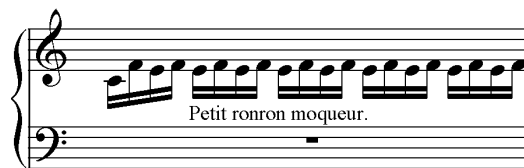


Fig. 3 ‘Petit ronron moqueur’

In these two examples the music inspired the addition of the text, and this is often the case in the ‘humoristic’ works. In *Satie the Composer* Orledge notes that the ‘amusing directions in the, at first regularly barred, *Embryons desséchés*, incidentally, were added after the music was complete.’¹⁷¹ The late addition of text suggests that it may have been selected to reinforce or highlight points of meaning in the music.

In Satie’s compositional process he considered the score as a visual entity, not just a sonic one. In his musical manifestation of the collage aesthetic Satie felt the presence of barlines would infringe upon the visual presentation of his artwork. Barlines would certainly have also visually interfered with the flow of the accompanying text and detracted from the intricate calligraphy of the musical notation which took Satie painstaking hours to produce.

The collage aesthetic, while lacking in traditional constructions of form, does not imply a lack of structure. Text, rather than regular rhythmic phrasing – which

¹⁷¹ Orledge, *Satie the Composer*, 33.

barlines traditionally helped to articulate – was the means by which Satie often delineated the significant structural points in *Embryons desséchés*. In ‘d’Holothuria’ the text reflects the structural outline of four musical sections A, B, C and D which correspond to the sections of a sonata: exposition, development, recapitulation and coda (see below). The outline more accurately reflects the musical structure A, B, A, C as the first and third sections are almost exact musical copies; however the new accompanying text denotes a new section.¹⁷² The accompanying text, which appeared in the first edition of *Embryons desséchés* in 1913, reads as follows:

[A]

Out in the morning. It is raining.

The sun is in the clouds.

(Rather cold. Good.)

Little purr.

What a pretty rock!

[B]

It is nice to be alive.

Like a nightingale with a toothache.

[C]

Back home in the evening. It is raining.

The sun is not there anymore.

As long as it never comes back.

Mocking little purr.

(Rather cold, good)

It was a really good rock.

Nice and sticky.

Don’t make me laugh, bit of foam: you are tickling me.

[D]

I haven’t any tobacco. Lucky I don’t smoke.

(Grandiose

To your best.)¹⁷³

¹⁷² All melodic material is repeated faithfully. Slight alterations to notes in the left-hand accompaniment are evident in the second repetition; however they do not impact upon the original harmonisations presented in the exposition. The music accompanied by the text ‘Don’t make me laugh, bit of foam, you are tickling me’ functions as a transition to the coda section.

¹⁷³ Volta (ed.), *A Mammal’s Notebook*, 18. The letters in bold within square brackets represent structural markings by this author. The additional text in brackets is omitted from the first published edition (Demets, 1913) and later included in the Peters Edition ‘Urtext’ version of this work. Eberhardt Klemm (ed.), *Erik Satie: Klavierwerke Band II*, (Peters Edition, Nr.9620b).

The text of 'd'Holothuria' appears to consist of three 'voices' that consistently interrupt each other and distort the flow and sense of the text. In addition to the bizarre subject of the text, the incongruity of these voices adds to the overall experience of humour. In a similar stylistic manner Satie employs musical surprises in the piece through abrupt key changes, sudden changes in dynamics, leaps in register and unexpected pauses. The first voice to enter functions as a narrator and depicts the scene. For example, 'Morning outing, it rains. The sun is behind the clouds.' The second voice originates from within this scene and it vocalises the thoughts and feelings of a creature or person, perhaps the Holothuria. This voice states opinions and feelings throughout the poem beginning with 'Rather cool. Good.' The third voice within the text appears to represent the author's voice (Satie) in four statements that directly address the performer and provide directions for interpretation: 'Little purr', 'Like a nightingale with a toothache', 'mocking little purr', 'Grandiose' and 'To your best.' Satie's obscure metaphorical playing directions challenge the performer to contemplate how the piece will best be performed and promotes diverse interpretations of the work.¹⁷⁴ In isolation, the poem behaves in a non-teleological and unpredictable manner; however, in the overall structure of the work the text and music are intrinsically linked and should not be considered independently. The congruence between the text and the musical structure is emphasised in the thematic and temporal allusions at structural points in the exposition and recapitulation. 'Out in the morning' and 'Back in the evening' coincide with the initial statement and restatement of the primary theme (P1). The secondary theme (P2) is presented in tandem with the text 'What a pretty rock!' in A and 'It was a pretty rock' in C.

Sonata form is traditionally defined by harmonic relationships within the piece, particularly relationships between the tonic and dominant keys, or the tonic and mediant keys. Satie defies traditional sonata structure in his treatment of harmony throughout the movement. The structure of d'Holothuria is an obvious ternary form with the addition of a coda; however the only traditional aspect of sonata from it

¹⁷⁴ In performances of his works, Satie's success in this respect is evident in the extreme diversity of recorded interpretations of his piano and orchestral works currently in circulation. Satie promoted individuality in all aspects of composition, writing and performance. The presence of alternative voices and the use of these separate entities to disrupt the flow of the text is a feature also evident in the contemporary 'conversation poems' of Guillaume Apollinaire.

appropriated was its shape, not content. In place of traditional harmonic preparation of the musical material, with periods of gradual harmonic transposition or cadence points, Satie uses pause signs or rests in the notation to demarcate sections. The comic presentation of the audible and unconventional shifts between the four sections is reinforced with leaps of one to two octaves in the melodic register. In the exposition, P1 and P2 are both presented in the tonic key of C major and undergo no form of harmonic or motivic development and neither do their counterparts in the recapitulation. The intermediary development section centres primarily on the key of D major and bears little melodic or harmonic relation to the music of the exposition. The section opens abruptly in D major and following the occasional transposition of the material up and back down a semitone, the second half of the development concludes with a broken descending dominant seventh chord of D. Following a brief musical pause on this chord the music launches suddenly back into the C major recapitulation. The coda section ends in the unlikely key of G major and defies the traditional harmonic resolution characteristic of sonata form. Satie's extensive use of exact repetition and consistent non-developmental harmonic approach never actually creates any tension that requires resolution. In another musical addition uncharacteristic of sonata form, completely new thematic material is introduced in the coda with the text 'I don't have any tobacco.' Humour is created here by inversion as the popular tune borrowed in this instance is 'J'ai du bon tabac.'

Satie's parodic intent is undeniable in the final part of the coda section where he isolates the Romantic convention of an extended closing cadence and subjects it to the humorous device of exaggeration in a final statement of mockery. Following a brief V-I cadence that coincides with the text 'Luckily I don't smoke', Satie composes a wildly exaggerated final cadential progression, which contrasts starkly with the dynamic, rhythmic, textural and harmonic context of the music that precedes it. In a more specific allusion to the prolonged cadential passages in the codas of Beethoven's symphonies, Satie presents this historical convention in such a manner that it appears absurd. In *Laughter* Bergson elaborates upon three 'comic methods' common in Satie's music: exaggeration, imitation and repetition. He notes that exaggeration is the favourite technique of the caricaturist, however, 'for exaggeration to be comic, it must not appear as an aim, but rather as a means that

the artist is using in order to make manifest to our eyes the distortions which he sees in embryo.¹⁷⁵ Bergson notes that imitation is comic in that many gestures are never considered funny until they are imitated (repeated) by someone else.

The tonic chord is subjected to eighteen repetitions and the only variation provided is the occasional leap in register of two octaves on various repetitions. The obsessive repetition of the tonic chord in the absence of a contrasting dominant chord produces a ludicrous and humorous effect. The humour is compounded by the inserted text in this passage that directs: ‘Grandiose’ and ‘De votre mieux’ (‘To your best’). The comic effect is also achieved through the deployment of staggered rhythms, as the length of rests between tonic chord repetitions gradually increases in value from half-beats to three beats in duration. These rhythms deceive the listener into assuming the piece has just ended before further repetitions of the tonic chord resume. The rhythm of the cadential sequence occurs as follows:



Fig. 4 Rhythm for the closing cadence of ‘d’Holothuria’

Orledge writes that Satie’s parodic intent in this movement is further emphasised in another ‘incidental’ artistic feature of the original score: ‘At the end of the proofs (BN Rés, Vma 161), incidentally, Satie drew a malicious, disapproving six-legged spider, which suggests that he knew exactly what he was doing beneath the innocuous and entertaining surface of this early neo-classical experiment.’¹⁷⁶ While the image is unclear on the original manuscript, it is clear on the final page of the piano score in the first edition published by Demets in 1913 that this image is actually a crab, in keeping with the crustacean theme of the movement titles. This is just one example of how we perhaps find humour in Satie’s works where there is none.

¹⁷⁵ Bergson, *Laughter*, 20.

¹⁷⁶ Orledge, *Satie The Composer*, 162.

The rhetorical power of this final gesture must have inspired Satie to expand upon this parodic formulation in the third, and final, movement. In the closing section of 'de Podophthalma', this time in the tonic key of F major, the cadential passage is introduced with the text 'Cadence obligée (de l'Auteur).' In this movement the cadence begins with a rapidly descending arpeggio of F major over a four-octave range. Following a brief pause the tonic chord is repeated three times in root position and then stated in all of its inversions over a span of two octaves. The unnecessary and incessant repetition of the same harmony is lent yet more comical weight with a further three repetitions of the tonic chord back in its original position. At this point in the music, the tonic chord has been subjected to thirteen repetitions with no harmonic variation. Satie then interjects five quaver beats into the score, upon which the dominant seventh chord alternates with the tonic. The coda concludes with a further eleven repetitions of the tonic chord, creating a total number of twenty-seven repetitions of the F major chord in the cadential passage. The overall effect of such unceasing repetition proves a simple, yet effective expression of musical parody.

The humoristic works are extremely intertextual and in many of them it is possible to either overlook a parodic reference or misidentify the type of parody in operation. For instance, the borrowing of a fragment from Chopin's Sonata in B-flat minor (Op. 35) in the second movement of *Embryons desséchés* is frequently identified as a parody of the original work, but it is more likely that this borrowing is an example of general parody. It could be argued that Satie's intent was not to ridicule Chopin's work: in fact, Satie was an admirer of the composer, referring to him as 'a poet', the 'definitive piano composer.'¹⁷⁷ Satie's misattribution of the borrowing as 'Citation de la célèbre mazurka de SCHUBERT' could perhaps indicate that the target is more likely Romanticism itself: neither the identity of the author nor the genre in question appear important. Satie may have chosen to parody this particular Chopin work on account of its explicit emotional sentiment since it is an outstanding example of musical pathos and the Romantic concept of

¹⁷⁷ Donnellon, 'Debussy, Satie and the Parisian Critical Press', 232.

Empfindungen.¹⁷⁸ In an essay on ‘Canonic Reformulations in a Post-Tonal Age’, Robert Morgan explains the ideological function of borrowing from high-art sources in post-tonal music:

When quotation first emerged as a central compositional practice during the 1960s, the preferred source was tonal music of the common-practice period. Traditional materials are thus treated according to the willed methods of post-tonal practice; the language of tonality is appropriated to represent its own dissolution...¹⁷⁹

In this context the quotation of material from high-art sources parallels Satie’s ideological motivations in ‘d’Edrophthalma’, where Satie promoted the dissolution of sentiment in high-art music. In ‘d’Edriophthalma’ Satie employs a number of overtly humorous and parodic gestures to evoke a sense of bathos - the antithesis of pathos - a quality rarely found in high-art music on account of its associations with insincere sentiment and triviality of style. Bergson notes that parody is often achieved through the transposition of the solemn into the familiar. In this context parody is viewed as a ‘species of degradation’, a symbolic demotion of the original text where parody affects ‘the physical dimension of the original text and its moral value.’¹⁸⁰ Satie’s sole intention was not the irreverent humorous treatment of a masterwork: rather it was to create cultural distance and propose a new modern sensibility devoid of Romantic sentimentalism. The lack of sentimentality of humour made it a perfect anti-Romantic gesture.

‘D’Edriophthalma’ is also structured in ternary form (ABC) with the outer A and C sections exactly imitating each other in musical content and eschewing development. Yet again, differences that exist in the accompanying text denote new structural sections. Following a brief introductory text that describes the physical characteristics and living habits of this crustacean, the following text runs in tandem with the music:

[A]

They are all together.

¹⁷⁸ *Empfindungen* is a concept initially proposed by Kant in the 19th century to describe the ability of music to overwhelm the listener through an emotional reaction to the music: it is the human response to an encounter with the sublime.

¹⁷⁹ Robert P. Morgan, ‘Rethinking Musical Culture: Canonic Reformulations in a Post-Tonal Age’ in *Disciplining Music*, 55.

¹⁸⁰ Bergson, *Laughter*, 61.

Oh how sad!

A responsible father starts to speak.

They all start weeping.

[B]

(Quotation of Schubert's celebrated mazurka)

Poor creatures!

[C]

How well he spoke.

Big groan.¹⁸¹

In the A section Satie alludes to the funeral march theme through a dotted rhythmic figure that accompanies the text 'Oh how sad!' The music throughout this movement is appropriately solemn, and this mood is encouraged by the playing directive 'sombre' located over the opening notes. The parodic intent is soon made apparent through the accompanying text. In section B the 'serious' sentiments of Chopin's piece are instantly trivialised through Satie's facetious and purposely incorrect introduction to the musical quotation: 'quotation of Schubert's celebrated mazurka.' The text between the staves at this point states 'they all start weeping.' In addition to the fact that Schubert never wrote a mazurka, this statement coincides with the entrance of the theme of Chopin's trio melody from the same concerto, rather than the funeral march alluded to in the opening line. Satie further ridicules the pathos of the original through the substitution of a banal Alberti-bass style for Chopin's sweeping arpeggios, the transposition of the melody from its original, and more Romantic, D-flat major key into the simplified key of C major and finally, through radical dynamic changes throughout that progress from *p* or *pp* to *ff*.

In a similar parallel in the art world Duchamp would shock the critics six years later with his composition *L.H.O.O.Q.* (1919). In this postcard-sized reproduction of the *Mona Lisa*, Duchamp used a pencil to add a moustache and little beard to the female subject. Underneath the portrait he wrote the letters *L.H.O.O.Q.*, which when read quickly in French produce the phonetic equivalent of the statement 'elle a chaud au cul' ('she has a hot derriere'). This piece was interpreted by many as a

¹⁸¹ Volta (ed.), *A Mammal's Notebook*, 18. The letters in bold within square brackets represent structural markings by this author. The text 'citation de la célèbre Mazurka de Schubert' is placed above the treble clef staff. All other text is positioned between the treble and bass staves on the piano score.

disrespectful and anti-art statement, though Duchamp's intention was not to mock the art of da Vinci. Duchamp's motivations in art mirrored those of Satie's in music: 'He was not concerned to destroy art or to make it ridiculous. Instead, he wanted to pose new, previously unasked questions about art. For him, the possibilities of traditional painting had been exhausted.'¹⁸² Duchamp ignited a debate in the art-world that challenged the fundamental concepts and expectations of the artwork, the equivalent of which would not surface in music until the mid-20th century with arrival of John Cage and his musical revolution which was inspired to a large extent by Satie. Cage was the most vocal advocate of Satie in America, a composer he immortalised in his book *Silence*.¹⁸³

It is evident in this brief introduction to parody and irony in Satie's music that the ideological critiques and the targets of humour stated explicitly in Satie's writings coincide with those found in his music. The incorporation of structural and pragmatic approaches have enormous potential for exploring the ways in which these works contributed to Modernist discourses on aesthetics and ideology in music. The invaluable historical investigative work primarily conducted by Volta, Whiting, Gillmor and Orledge facilitate a new departure point for scholars today.

5.3 Conclusion

I wish my adversaries knew me better than they do... Sometimes they pass me off as a madman. They may be mistaken.¹⁸⁴ (Erik Satie)

The status of humour as a subversive, disruptive and non-serious form of artistic expression persisted throughout much of the 20th century; however this influence has diminished considerably in recent years, a trend evidenced by the growing field of humour studies in various disciplines in the Humanities. In spite of this ideological shift, the critical role of humour as a form of cultural expression has been largely overlooked by musicologists. Due to its association with the trivial it was not considered a subject worthy of musicological attention, and by default, this viewpoint also applied to the largely humorous music of Satie. Occasional

¹⁸² Dietmar Elger, *Dadaism* (Köln: Taschen, 2006), 82.

¹⁸³ John Cage, *Silence* (London: Marion Boyars, 1987).

¹⁸⁴ Nigel Wilkins, *The Writings of Erik Satie*, 99.

examples of humour exist in the work of many canonic composers; however, unlike Satie, these composers rarely posed a significant challenge to the *status quo* of their time. Satie's direct confrontation with the 'great' tradition of high-art music and his refusal to conform to contemporary expectations of a 'serious' modernist composer damaged his reputation considerably. In overcoming the legacy of the canon in Satie studies, scholars are obliged to look beyond the discipline of musicology in order to find suitable methodologies and terminologies with which to analyse humour. Formalist approaches only consider 'the music itself', and the limitations of this analytical approach meant that much of the critical meaning inherent in Satie's work was lost from discourses surrounding him during the 20th century. Instead Satie was portrayed simply as a joker, a composer who 'wrote little of real importance.'¹⁸⁵

This chapter demonstrates the pivotal role that humour played in Satie's literary and musical forms of expression, and clarifies the importance of analysing humour as part of the overall aesthetic experience. It also highlights the ways in which the intertextual nature of Satie's music, particularly the strong parallels with cubist aesthetics, and his iconoclastic musical language precludes traditional formalist approaches to the analysis of his music. Satie's affiliations with artistic rather than musical movements would also prove detrimental to his posthumous reception. In musicological discourses cubism and many other contemporary artistic movements were not assimilated into the categorisations of modernist musical movements.¹⁸⁶ This omission of categorisation further alienated Satie from historical musical discourses on modernism and prohibited any discussion of his music that drew upon aesthetic influences from outside the traditional musical domain.¹⁸⁷

Satie's associations with the cubist movement at this time further compounded the Satie 'problem'. The 1917 première of the cubist ballet *Parade* led to accusations that Satie was a 'boche' composer.¹⁸⁸ In *Le Ménestrel* Julien Tiersot implies that his

¹⁸⁵ Anon., 'Obituary: Erik Satie' in *The Musical Times*, 66/990 (1 August 1925), 749.

¹⁸⁶ In addition to Cubism, Satie's music has also been linked to the movements of Surrealism, Dada and Primitivism.

¹⁸⁷ The first and only example of an in-depth musicological study on Satie that examines the demonstration of cubist aesthetics in Satie's music surfaces in Daniel Albright's discussion of *Parade* in *Untwisting the Serpent*.

¹⁸⁸ *Boche* was a derogatory term for German; the equivalent in English at this time was 'Kraut'.

humour in *Parade* is anti-French, a frivolous form of expression in such serious times:

this vulgar melange of emptiness, of nothingness, punctuated by grimaces, appeared to be particularly painful at a time in history where there were other things to think about. [...] The protestations of *Parade* should have fought, with their combative humour, battles on other fronts: at least it would have served a better cause.¹⁸⁹

Satie's high-profile public presence in the post-war years provoked a critical backlash that was at times quite extreme and vicious on account of the targets of Satie's attacks and the humorous mode employed in stating his case. In the 1920s tolerance for Satie's humour decreased significantly. Pierre Leroi wrote of the June Festival:

In *Les Chapitres tournés à tous sens* Erik Satie has realised, according to Mr. Cocteau, *humour without grimaces, grimaces without humour*. Would it not, on the contrary, have been better for him to say, in *Nocturnes* or *Socrate*, the joke is over, no more fooling around.¹⁹⁰

By 1924, Satie was considered a laughing stock by many. In 'Adieu à Satie' Roland-Manuel, Satie's long-time advocate, withdraws his support and blames his penchant for humour and associations with the Dada movement for his downfall: '

The first performance of the "instantaneist ballet" by Picabia and Satie marks an important date, I say this without irony, in the annals of French music. Such a work, that touches the foundations of aesthetic misery, encapsulates an incomparable lesson. A heresy with a large following illustrates here its core message. Let us thank it for filing for its own bankruptcy, and also for committing suicide, and for dying devoid of beauty, doubtless so as to deter its recent converts from martyrdom [...]. Dada alone was capable of providing new food for his uncontrollable appetite for hypocritical buffoonery, [food] for his spirit of esoteric farce, in which the cunning of Normandy blends so strangely with Scottish humour.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ Julien Tiersot, 'Souvenirs de Cinq Années (1914-1919)', *Le Ménestrel*, 12 December 1919, 84-5. 'ce mélange de vulgaire, de vide, de rien, ponctué de grimaces, parut être particulièrement pénible à une époque où il y avait d'autres choses à quoi penser. [...] Les manifestants de la *Parade* auraient mieux fait aussi d'utiliser leur humeur combative sur d'autres fronts: du moins elle aurait servi pour une meilleure cause.'

¹⁹⁰ Pierre Leroi, 'Les Concerts – Festival Erik Satie', *Le Courrier musical*, August-September 1920, 233. 'Dans *les Chapitres tournés à tous sens*, Erik Satie a réalisé, selon M. Cocteau, *l'humour sans grimaces, les grimaces sans humour*, eût-il mieux fait de dire; au contraire, avec les *Nocturnes* ou *Socrate*, finie la blague, plus de plaisanteries.'

¹⁹¹ Roland-Manuel, 'Adieu à Satie', 21-22. 'La première représentation du "ballet instantanéiste" de MM. Picabia et Satie, marque une date importante, je le dis sans ironie, dans les annales de la musique française. Une telle œuvre, qui touche le fond de la misère esthétique, porte avec soi un incomparable enseignement. Une hérésie achalandée illustre ici sa déchéance. Remercions-la de proclamer sa propre faillite, de se suicider aussi bien et de mourir sans beauté, afin sans doute de décourager du martyre ses derniers prosélytes. [...] Dada seul pouvait fournir de nouveaux aliments à son incoercible appétit de bouffonnerie hypocrite, à cet esprit de farce ésotérique, où la cautele normande se mêle si curieusement à l'humour écossais.'

In 1923 the music critic W. Wright Roberts commented: ‘Truly the man [Satie] is a problem. Solution will come, but the time is not yet.’¹⁹² The ideologically laden discourses of canon formation in the French music press in Satie’s lifetime prepared the conditions for the posthumous reception of his work in musicology. At the time of his death in 1925, critics had succeeded in removing nearly all cultural authority from Satie the composer. Only a handful of fellow artistic non-conformists remained committed to the defence of Satie’s name and its associations.

Satie admired many of the masters of Western art music, but his ironic and parodic treatment of the ‘great’ high-art tradition of music led many to perceive this was not the case. At a time when Schoenberg was writing himself into the great tradition, Satie was writing himself out of it. Rather than situate his music and aesthetics within this tradition, a criterion for entry to the musical canon, Satie opposed the normative discourses of the period. His refusal to engage with or show respect for the arbiters of culture in his time condemned his work and any chance that it would be taken seriously. Satie’s protestations were decidedly premature in an environment where the comic was considered a second-class expressive form.

¹⁹² W. Wright Roberts, ‘The Problem of Satie’ in *Music and Letters*, 4/4 (October, 1923), 313-320, 320.

6. Conclusion

Over the course of the four main chapters, the process by which Satie was written out of the French musical canon was analysed from four different perspectives, all of which were informed by canon theory and the socio-historical context of the period. Chapter two focused on the music-specific criteria that Satie challenged and introduced the concept of the professional composer. The impact of professionalism on the creation of the images of Satie as a precursor, amateur and master was highlighted in the context of the technical, aesthetic and ideological criteria his music failed to meet. Satie's music not only challenged the criteria of his time, it opposed them outright, and he was consequently labelled as a second-rate amateur. He achieved public fame on account of Ravel's vendetta against his friend Debussy and once in the limelight, he relied on his talents as a humorist to hold the public's attention and to attract new followers. Satie performed many of the duties of a professional composer, yet his eschewal of large, complex and serious works ensured he would never be admitted into officialdom. The traditional view that music progresses in an evolutionary rather than a revolutionary way has meant that Satie continues to be compared to his canonic contemporaries, even though it is clear that his aesthetic and ideological approaches to composition are fundamentally different: it is unfair and misleading to compare them according to the same criteria. The author-function created in Satie's day has simply been accepted in proceeding discourses and it demands reappraisal, as does the value of his music. The criteria that inform musical tastes have changed significantly over the last century and Satie's music no longer offends the arbiters of taste as it once did. This is witnessed by his reappearance in large concert halls across Europe in recent years where his music has been performed to sold-out venues.¹

Chapter three focuses on the glaring disparity between the actions of the critics and those involved in concert organisation. Whilst critics were engaged in disciplining Satie for not meeting the criteria required of a professional composer, a wide

¹ For instance, programmes devoted exclusively to the music of Satie took place at the Salle Gaveau in Paris (2010), at the Deutsche Oper am Schiller Theatre, Berlin (2011) and at the National Concert Hall in Dublin (2012).

variety of performers, concert organisers and publishers were engaged in promoting his artistic activity. Certain performers held Satie in high regard and felt it appropriate to programme his music alongside that of the canonic masters and his official contemporaries. Furthermore, during his lifetime Satie's music appeared most frequently in the sacred space of the concert hall. The concert programmes collated demonstrate that rather than being a peripheral figure, Satie was in fact at the centre of the avant-garde of the period. His music appeared on several programmes of specific historical interest, for instance Tristan Tzara's first appearance at a Dada event in Paris (23 January 1920), the French premiere of Schönberg's *Pierrot Lunaire* (15 December 1921), the premiere of two landmark avant-garde films: Hans Richter's *Rhythme 21* and Man Ray's *Return to Reason* (6 July 1923). Additionally, certain performances of Satie's music were historical firsts: the first synchronised film score (*Cinéma*, 4 December 1924), the first instance of prepared piano (January 1914) and the debut of 'furniture music' or Muzak (8 March 1920). Satie's interart activities resulted in the creation of a range of new images of him: Satie the cubist, primitive, futurist and dadaist. In the case of cubism and dadaism, Satie is perhaps the only French musical representative and this solitary position hampered critics' attempts to categorise him in terms of a particular school or movement. Satie's conscious choice to cross artistic divides was viewed negatively by critics who still adhered to the Romantic notion that music was the purest of all the art forms. A number of Satie's works are associated with traditionally non-musical movements and his isolation permitted critics to easily dismiss this music. Satie performed at avant-garde soirées, contributed to various artistic journals and participated in Dada symposia. He was one of the instrumental figures responsible for the dissolution of the Dada movement in Paris and Bréton's subsequent creation of surrealism. Satie's role in interart events in Paris in this period merits further examination in order to better comprehend his role as an avatar of French musical modernism.

Chapter four illustrates how certain criteria of canon formation are linked to wider socio-historical discourses. In focusing on four themes, nationalism, class, gender and religion, that permeate discussions on Satie, methods of domination directly linked to these concerns are traced through the associated language, imagery and metaphors typically employed by critics in disciplining Satie. These attacks

generally extended beyond musical and aesthetic concerns to attack Satie ideologically. His behaviour, personality and morality were all heavily criticised through the appropriation of language from these tributary discourses. This discussion demonstrates how the wider historical unconscious of the period informed the debate concerning Satie's canonicity and reinforced the consensus that he should be excluded from the French musical canon.

Chapter five explores some of the ways in which music can be understood as text, specifically in relation to humour. The interpretation of humour is usually heavily context dependant and, therefore, requires an understanding of the social environment in which it was created. In this respect, a reception study provides an ideal basis for an investigation into the role of humour in Satie's music, and how it facilitated his unique contribution to modernist discourses. Part I examines the historical relationship between humour and the canon. The impact of Satie's decision to promote himself as a humorist composer had long-lasting canonic implications and created a barrier that has persisted to the present day. In Part II various ways in which this barrier can be overcome are explored, primarily through engagement with theories of humour that originate in the fields of philosophy and literary theory. This discussion stresses the need to carefully consider the terminology surrounding humour, and defines many of the general and Satie-specific terms that regularly surface in discourses surrounding him. Through a specific focus on the operations of irony and parody in Satie's writings and music, new ways of engaging with the structure of his humorous works are considered. This represents a radical departure from the traditional concept of organicism in understanding musical unity. The chapter is intended as a foundation for future studies into humour in music and the methodologies explored in Satie's case can be applied to the study of any composer. Humour theory is a very young field and the possibilities for its application in musicology are significant as so many examples of humour exist in the history of music, yet publications on this topic are rare. Humour in Satie's work has presented such an enduring and indissoluble obstacle to critics that it was necessary to look to other disciplines for ways in which to address this fundamental problem.

Satie's historical significance does not rest solely on his musical innovations, it also lies in his challenge to contemporary ideologies of canon through his writings, compositions and activities as a composer. The critical function of his music was ignored, dismissed or overlooked in his lifetime and has never been adequately addressed. Satie's music was not packaged in an appealing form and he did not market it in a language that people could identify with, or in many cases, feel that they could take seriously. The manner in which Satie has traditionally been received in musicological discourses is directly influenced by his early reception: his author-function and the imagery, ideologies and aesthetic criteria that influenced it have been repeatedly reproduced in discourses in the years since his death. The historicity of the terms that surround Satie must be acknowledged and the images that have endured since his lifetime should be reconsidered. Satie fashioned an identity based on opposition and for doing so, he was excluded from serious consideration as an avatar of modernism for most of the 20th century. In the past twelve years however, a gradual, but significant shift has occurred in the reception of Satie in academia. The advent of critical and cultural theories in musicology has inspired a reassessment of the musical canon and created a place for Satie within its discourses. A 21st-century reader is subject to an altered historical unconscious and consequently, does not judge Satie's music in the same manner as a critic in his lifetime.

This work highlights some of the fundamental gaps in Satie studies that need to be addressed, primarily in the areas of aesthetics, terminology and humour. These three factors presented and continue to present a significant challenge for musicologists and are primarily responsible for the lack of in-depth analyses of much of Satie's music. The reception of Satie's 'humoristic' works in particular has been affected by these issues and musicologists have overlooked the fact that they represent a completely new genre of modernist piano music. These works have been disadvantaged because they represent an interart genre that is specific only to Satie's musical output. An in-depth study of his interart activities could reveal new insights into the aesthetic impetus of these works and would facilitate a deeper understanding of their reception.² The brief consideration of the collage aesthetic in

² Dayan's recent theoretical work on interart aesthetics certainly warrants further study also.

this study has highlighted a number of aesthetic features in the humoristic works that could certainly be explored in much more depth. *Relâche* also presents itself as an obvious example of a work that would benefit from a study grounded in the context of Dada aesthetics.

As musicologists we need to question our methodologies and the terminology we adopt, acknowledge the historicity of the language and the methods we apply and be diligent in not perpetuating outmoded techniques and approaches that exclude certain composers from consideration. We also need to expand our horizons methodologically and the sources we consult in creating the context for historically-informed research. For instance, concert programmes reveal a great deal about the impact of musical modernism on programming practices, particularly in terms of interart collaborations and further investigation of these sources is required. The ways in which concerts were promoted and advertised also impacted upon critical reviews and should be considered in reception histories. The evident interart or intermedial aesthetic that informs Satie's compositional process demands that music scholars look outside the immediate field of musicology in order to find tools that enable engagement with Satie's music. Non-conformist composers should not simply be dismissed, but rather, when faced with the limitations of their tools, musicologists may well find solutions to methodological problems in neighbouring academic fields, as we have seen in the case of humour.

The particular canon theory methodology utilised in this research is applicable to any non-canonic composer from the Romantic period onwards. In the case of canonic composers, the opposing question can be asked in a similarly productive manner: what were the mechanisms by which a composer was approbated? In this reception study a new or alternative canon is not posited, instead an alternative historiography is formulated. A redefined French modernist canon would only serve to reinforce the traditional evolutionary view of music and propagate the notion of a single authentic culture. A linear paradigm serves to exclude or marginalise as easily as it includes, and that is not the intention of this work. Many histories occur simultaneously and they should all be valued equally, without privileging one over another. Through this exploration of Satie's reception, a previously hidden history of this period has emerged, one which acknowledges

Satie's significant contribution to French musical modernism and views his difference in a positive light. This work feeds into a body of recent scholarship on this period of music history being conducted by scholars such as Jann Pasler, Caroline Potter, Jeanice Brooks and Barbara Kelly.³ These scholars are significant on account of the sheer variety of primary sources they use and the importance they place on them in constructing the cultural context of their historiographical work. In a similar fashion, this reception study is based almost exclusively upon a wide range of well known and previously unconsidered primary sources in order to facilitate as accurate and detailed a reconstruction as possible of Satie's reception.

This reception study is by no means conclusive. Only a limited number of elements that constitute the historical unconscious are addressed in these pages, and there is a great deal of scope for further enquiry through the study of additional sources and the exploration of alternative methodological approaches. For example, comparative studies between Satie and one or more of his canonic contemporaries would serve to deepen our understanding of the operations of the musical canon in this period. In directly addressing the relationship between Satie and the musical canon during his lifetime, the traditional disclaimer that his music is resistant to analysis is no longer valid. The most challenging obstacle to in-depth engagement with Satie and his music has always been the proverbial 'elephant in the room': the musical canon. This study has rendered the barrier visible and has laid the foundations for a fundamental reevaluation of Satie's participation in French musical discourses.

³ See for example: Potter, *Nadia and Lili Boulanger*; Pasler, *Writing Through Music*; Brooks, *The Musical World of Nadia Boulanger*; and Kelly, *Tradition and Style in the works of Darius Milhaud 1912-1939*.

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IMEC: SAT 25.24: 'Mercredi 2 avril 1919'

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IMEC: SAT 25.27: 'Première matinée de littérature'

IMEC: SAT 25.28: 'Salle de la Société des concerts: 429^{me} concert'

IMEC: SAT 25.32: 'Festival Erik Satie avec le Concours de Mme Maria Freund, M. Ricardo Vines, Mlle Germaine Tailleferre, cond. F. Delgrange, M. Freund' [Handwritten copy in Satie's hand]

IMEC: SAT 25.33: 'Festival Erik Satie avec le Concours de Mme Maria Freund, M. Ricardo Vines, Mlle Germaine Tailleferre, cond. F. Delgrange, M. Freund'

IMEC: SAT 25.36: 'MUSICA' – Société française de concerts, MONTPELLIER ET C^{ie}, 31 rue Tronchet, Paris. Récital Ricardo Viñes'

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 IMEC: SAT 25.60: 'Mlle Ricotti dans ses interprétations musicales mimées et Mademoiselle Caryathis dans ses interprétations de danses sur la musique des Six donneront leur concerts avec le concours de M. Jacques Février'
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Satie and the French Musical Canon: A Reception Study

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Two Volumes

Volume II

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Abstract

Satie was the first French composer to completely reject the musical tradition of Romanticism in all its forms: technically, aesthetically and ideologically. The methods through which Satie attacked tradition were highly unorthodox and often presented in an aphoristic and humorous fashion, an approach that caused his pivotal role in the emergence of the early French avant-garde to be neglected. The primary research question that informs this thesis asks what were the mechanisms by which Satie was consistently excluded from the canon during his public career (1911-1925)? Within a primary framework of canon theory, this reception study challenges the dominance of the canon on discourses surrounding Satie during his lifetime and lays the foundations for a reassessment of his role as an avatar of French modernism.

This study addresses the canon in explicit terms and challenges canonic influence over methodology, terminology and ideology in musical discourse. In doing so many traditional beliefs and images concerning Satie are re-examined, for example: that analyses of his music are a futile pursuit as the musical ideas were considered more important than the music itself. The historicity of various images of Satie that collectively formed his public identity in the press are examined and, where necessary, re-evaluated. Through an analysis of a wide range of primary sources, including concert programmes and critical reviews, this research addresses the themes that predominate in Satie's reception and impacted significantly on his reputation: professionalism, humour, gender, nationalism, class politics and religion. Particular attention is given to the role of humour and various methods are suggested for directly dealing with the comic in Satie's music. The canonic implications of programming practices and Satie's involvement in inter-art events are also explored. Through a direct confrontation of the canon, an alternative historiographic model for this period of French musical history is proposed.

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Volume II – Appendices

Appendix 1: Press Articles

List of Articles in this Appendix in chronological order:

[Erik Satie, 'Erik Satie', *Agence musicale E. Demets (Bulletin des Editions Musicales)*, December 1913, 42] Ornella Volta (ed.), *Ecrits* (Paris: Champ Libre, [1977] rev. ed. 1981), No. 150, 142-3

[Erik Satie, 'Le Clebtomanie', *L'Avenir d'Arcueil-Cachan*, 15 December 1913, 21-22] Ornella Volta (ed.), *Ecrits* (Paris: Champ Libre, [1977] rev. ed. 1981), No. 147, 140

Anon., 'Salle Gaveau', *Le Guide du Concert*, 14 January 1911, 156-7 (Excerpt)

Anon., 'Salle Gaveau', *Le Guide du Concert*, 14 January 1911, 156-7 (Excerpt)

Michel-Dimitri Calvocoressi, 'Société musicale indépendante', *Musica*, February 1911, 33-34

Jules Ecorcheville, 'Erik Satie', *Revue musicale S.I.M.*, 15 March, 1911, 29-32

M. D. Calvocoressi, 'M. Erik Satie', *Musica*, No. 103, April 1911, 65-6

Excerpt from Anon., 'Salle Gaveau', *Guide du Concert*, 1 June 1912, 542-43

Excerpt from Albert Bertelin, 'L'Evolution de la musique contemporaine (III)', *Le Courrier musical*, 15 October 1912, 529-37

Alexis Roland-Manuel, 5 April 1913, 'Silhouettes d'Artistes: Erik Satie', *L'Echo musical (revue mensuelle illustrée)*, 1-3

George Auric, 'Erik Satie: Musicien Humoriste', *Revue française de musique*, 4-10 December 1913, 138-42

Alexis Roland-Manuel, *Erik Satie: Causerie faite à la Société Lyre et Palette le 18 Avril 1916* (Paris : H. Roberge, 1916)

Guillaume Apollinaire, 'Parade et L'Esprit Nouveau', *L'Excelsior*, 11 May 1917, 5

Octave Séré, 'Le Cubisme et la Musique', *La Rampe: Revue Hebdomadaire des spectacles*, 24 May 1917, 1

Jean Poueigh, 'Châtelet – Soleil de Nuit – Las Meninas', *La Rampe: Revue Hebdomadaire des Spectacles*, 31 May 1917, 4 (Excerpt)

Jean d'Udine, 'Couleurs, Mouvements et Sons', *Le Courrier musical*, June 1917, 237-41 (Excerpt)

Georges Auric, 'La Jeune Musique française', *La Revue Hebdomadaire*, August 1923, 44-60, 57

Alexis Roland-Manuel, 'Adieu à Satie', *Revue Pleyel*, 15 December 1924, 21-2

Marius Sidobre, 'La Mort d'un Musicien', *L'Humanité*, 11 July 1925, 4

[Erik Satie, 'Erik Satie', *Agence musicale E. Demets (Bulletin des Editions Musicales)*, December 1913, 42] Ornella Volta (ed.), *Ecrits* (Paris: Champ Libre, [1977] rev. ed. 1981), No. 150, 142-3

M. Erik Satie, né à Honfleur (Calvados) le 17 mai 1866. Passe pour le plus étrange musicien de notre temps. Il se classifie lui-même parmi les « fantaisistes » qui sont, selon lui, « de bonnes gens bien convenables ». Souvent, il dit à ses amis :

- « Myope de naissance, je suis presbyte de cœur. Fuyez
« l'orgueil : de tous nos maux, celui-ci est le plus constipant.
« Que le malheureux dont la vue ne me voit pas, se noircisse la
« langue et se crève les oreilles. »

Tels sont les propos ordinaires de M. Erik Satie. N'oublions pas que le maître est considéré, par un grand nombre de « jeunes », comme étant le précurseur et l'apôtre de la révolution musicale actuelle: MM. Maurice Ravel, E. Vuillermoz, Robert Brussel, M.D. Calvocoressi, J. Ecorcheville, Roland Manuel, etc., le présentèrent comme tel, et leur affirmation est basée sur des faits d'une exactitude autorisée.

Après avoir traité les genres les plus hautains, le précieux compositeur expose ici des ouvrages humoristiques. Voici ce qu'il dit de son humour :

- « Mon humour rappelle celui de Cromwell. Je dois aussi beaucoup à Christophe Colomb ; car l'esprit américain m'a parfois frappé l'épaule, et j'en ai senti, avec joie, la morsure ironiquement glacée. »

Nous citerons : les *Véritables Préludes Flasques (pour un chien)* que le grand pianiste Ricardo Viñes interpréta supérieurement (Société Nationale, 5 avril 1913, salle Pleyel) ; les *Descriptions automatiques* dont le succès fut considérable (S.M.I.

5 juin 1913, au Conservatoire) et que le même Ricardo Viñes joua avec un esprit secret, irrésistible de cocasserie.

Sur ces morceaux, le maître s'exprime ainsi :

« *J'écrivis les Descriptions automatiques à l'occasion de ma fête. Cette œuvre fait suite aux Véritables Préludes Flasques.*

« *Il est de toute évidence que les Aplatis, les Insignifiants et*

« *les Boursouflés n'y prendront aucun plaisir. Qu'ils avalent leurs*

« *barbes! Qu'ils se dansent sur le ventre!* »

A ces productions s'ajoutent : les amusants *Embryons Desséchés*; les joyeux *Croquis et Agaceries d'un Gros bonhomme en bois*.

Les *Chapitres tournés en tous sens*, et les *Vieux Sequins et Vieilles Cuirasses* vont suivre, vont compléter cette curieuse série, si gracieusement originale.

Les beaux et limpides *Aperçus désagréables* (piano 4 mains : Pastorale, Choral et Fugue) sont du style le plus élevé et font comprendre pourquoi le subtil compositeur a le droit de dire :

- « Avant d'écrire une œuvre, j'en fais plusieurs fois le tour, en compagnie de moi-même. »

[Erik Satie, 'Le Clebtomanie', *L'Avenir d'Arcueil-Cachan*, 15 December 1913, 21-22] Ornella Volta (ed.), *Ecrits* (Paris: Champ Libre, [1977] rev. ed. 1981), No. 147, 140

Lorsque notre collaborateur Erik Satie publia ses *Véritables Préludes flasques pour un chien*, les musiciens sourirent du désintéressement de cette dédicace et s'amuserent de la sollicitude inattendue de l'auteur d'*Uspud* pour l'éducation artistique du meilleur ami de l'homme. Les musiciens avaient tort de sourire; le dessiccateur d'embryons manifestait en l'occurrence un flair particulièrement subtil et un sens très aigu de l'actualité. La société d'encouragement qui s'occupe de l'amélioration de la race canine déploie à ce moment tout son prosélytisme. C'est ainsi qu'au cours d'une « matinée-conférence », notre sympathique confrère Robert

Catteau fit passer du chenil à la scène quelques cabots dont le succès personnel fut très vif. Mais pourquoi notre ami, qui est précisément critique musical – chien de métier ! – n’a-t-il pas terminé par un concert approprié cette intéressante manifestation? Le répertoire de circonstance était facile à découvrir et ne laissait aux organisateurs que l’embarras du choix. Avec *Sultan-polka*, les lamentations de *Diane*, l’ouverture du *Pyrame*, les duos d’amour de *Zemire et Azor*, les chants populaires de l’île de *Terre-Neuve*, l’air de *Mirette* : « Heureux petit Berger » et la *Rapsodie Epagneule* de Ravel, n’avait-on pas tous les éléments d’un programme résolument cynique?

L’Homme à la Contrebasse

Excerpt from Anon., ‘Salle Gaveau’, *Le Guide du Concert*, 14 January 1911, 156-7

Erik Satie occupe dans l’histoire de l’art contemporain une place véritablement exceptionnelle. En marge de son époque, cet isolé a écrit jadis quelques courtes pages qui sont d’un génial précurseur. Ces œuvres, malheureusement peu nombreuses, surprennent par une prescience du vocabulaire moderniste et par le caractère quasi-prophétique de certaines trouvailles harmoniques. Ce troublant inventeur de néologismes semble d’ailleurs, s’être assez étrangement désintéressé de ses découvertes et n’a pas persévéré dans ses explorations. Après une longue période d’inaction artistique, il vient d’entreprendre le plus imprévu des noviciats en s’imposant avec une rigoureuse sévérité la scolastique discipline du contrepoint, sous la direction de M. Roussel.

Les premiers ouvrages d’Erik Satie ont exercé une influence considérable sur la plupart des compositeurs actuels. Quelques-unes de ces œuvres ont été exécutées en public mais leur avance sur l’époque les fit passer pour ainsi dire inaperçues. Cependant quelques rares artistes les avaient remarquées. M. Claude Debussy rendit un hommage éclatant au subtil chercheur en orchestrant deux de ses *Gymnopédies* qui furent jouées à la Société Nationale, et M. Maurice Ravel, en exécutant aujourd’hui la 2^e *Sarabande* qui porte la date stupéfiante de 1887 prouve

en quelle estime les compositeurs les plus “avancés” tiennent ce créateur qui parlait, voici déjà un quart de siècle, l’audacieux “argot” musical de demain !

**Michel-Dimitri Calvocoressi, ‘Société musicale indépendante’, *Musica*,
February 1911, 33-4**

Voici le sixième concert de la *Société musicale indépendante*. Cette toute jeune phalange occupe d’ores et déjà une place forte importante parmi les organisations similaires.

Donnés coup sur coup, la saison dernière, cinq concerts retentissants ont acquis à la *Société musicale indépendante*, un droit de cité indiscutable. Le plus dur effort est donc fait aujourd’hui. Il ne reste plus à la *Société musicale indépendante* qu’à vivre et tout porte à croire qu’elle vivra.

Au récent programme exécuté à la salle Gaveau, nous devons relever principalement les noms de MM. Jean Huré, Louis Vierne, Claude Debussy, E. Grassi, et de M^{lle} Germaine Corbin, dont d’intéressantes ... compositions furent tour à tour interprétées par M^{mes} Andrée Gellée, Sorgia, et MM. Paul Viardot, Dupré, Mimart, Krieger, Dorival, G. Blanquart, Leclerq, Cahuzac, Capdevielle et Hermains ; de plus, et surtout – car elles furent les véritables nouveautés de la soirée – la *Sonatine* pour piano de Paul Martineau, et les pièces également pour piano de M. Erik Satie.

M. Paul Martineau est un tout jeune compositeur. La *Sonatine*, joliment musicale, inspirée de thèmes bretons, n’est point d’une structure rigoureuse. Elle prouve néanmoins que son auteur doit être compté parmi les mieux doués de sa génération.

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Jules Ecorcheville, 'Erik Satie', *Revue musicale S.I.M.*, 15 March, 1911, 29-32

Erik Satie!... Singuliers vocables! Pour quelques mélomanes qui les ont entendu prononcer jadis, ils évoquent l'idée certaine d'imprécises mystifications, localisées on ne sait où, entre, Montmartre et la Rose-Croix, entre Willy et Péladan. Pour les autres, ils ne représentent rien du tout. N'a-t-on pas mis en doute l'existence même de cette entité falote, disparue d'ailleurs depuis quelques temps de la circulation musicale?

Hé bien, ayons le courage de le proclamer, Il permane, Il se prénomme Erik. Il est compositeur comme vous et moi, et ses œuvres s'exposent au public bénévole, grâce à l'intervention de Claude Debussy et de Maurice Ravel en personne.

Oui, Erik Satie existe bel et bien, depuis le 17 mai 1866, jour mémorable, ou la prévoyance d'une mère, d'origine écossaise (pourquoi pas ?) le fit naître à Honfleur, sa patrie. On ajoute que le Conservatoire de musique, sous la triple figure de Lavignac-Taudou-Mathias, l'accueillit en 1879, et guida ses premiers pas vers

les Muses. “*Comme vous devriez vous consacrer au piano*”, lui avouaient ses professeurs d’harmonie ! “*Comme vous semblez fait pour la composition*” répétait sans cesse le hongrois Mathias, élève de Chopin ! Erik Satie s’en remit au hasard, le plus grand de tous les maîtres. Il se joua à lui même des *Ogives* (1886) et des *Sarabandes* (1887) de son cru, conciliant ainsi toutes les prédictions, celles de la Science et celles de la Virtuosité. Et il fit bien.

Les *Gymnopédies* suivirent (1888), puis les *Gnossiennes* (1890), et les musiques de scène pour le *Fils des Étoiles*, wagnérie kaldéenne du Sâr Péladan (1891). Erik Satie voguait en pleine Rose-Croix ! L’influence ancestrale et l’astucieux attrait du rare, le tenaient captif des mystères de l’ogive et de la cantilène grégorienne, qu’il allait méditer en de longues stations à Notre-Dame. Les *Sonneries de la Rose-Croix* (1892), l’*Hymne au drapeau* destiné au *Prince de Byzance* de Péladan, le *Prélude pour la Porte Héroïque du Ciel* de Jules Bois (1894), la *Messe des Pauvres* (1895), et les *Danses gothiques, neuvaines pour le plus grand calme et la forte tranquillité de mon âme, mise sous l’invocation de Saint Benoit* (1893), furent pour Erik Satie comme autant d’initiations musicales à un état d’esprit aujourd’hui lointain.

Faut-il insister sur *Uspud*, ballet chrétien à un personnage (1892) écrit pour affirmer quelques convictions harmoniques, d’ailleurs dépourvues de toute bienséance, et qui faillit brouiller le Maître avec notre Académie Nationale ! Faut-il rappeler que ni Bertrand – *régante* – ni le Ministre, son supérieur, n’ayant daignés répondre au génie méconnu, celui-ci envoya ses témoins à l’imprudent Directeur de l’Opéra, et fut aussitôt convoqué.... pour se voir éconduit dans toutes les formes de la politesse.

Glissons sur ce premier appel de la loufoquerie au sein d’une âme idéaliste, et sur le second aussi, plus inquiétant encore, puisqu’il engagea Erik Satie (à la mort de Guiraud) à solliciter les suffrages de l’Institut. Que ne donnerait-on pas pour avoir assisté aux visites académiques de ce candidat fantaisiste ? Seul paraît-il, Gustave Moreau se montra touché par les déclarations de son futur collègue.

Or, en ce temps là, s’accusait chez Erik le goût des ironies proéminentes, et la perversité des singularités verbales – la seule sans doute que se puisse permettre un Rose Croix. Connaissez-vous les *Pièces Froides* (1897) avec leur *Air à faire fuir* et

leur *Danse de travers* ? Ignorez vous les *Morceaux en forme de poire* (1903) et leur maniérisme terminologique ? Sans méchanceté pourtant, sans roserie ces simples boutades ont contribué à tenir Erik Satie à distance de ce qu'on nommait alors le *Grand Collectif Ignore*, le public que met en fuite le seul mot de poire. Et, ni le *Choral et fugue* de 1908 ni les œuvres récentes n'ont pu pas à se mesurer. Erik Satie n'a jamais demandé à se faire jouer, Erik Satie répugne à se voir imprimé.

Aujourd'hui le goût de la fantaisie, peut-être plus encore que le rigoureux devoir, pousse Erik du côté de la rue Saint Jacques, vers le contrepoint et l'austère enseignement de la Schola, tel un ver rongeur qui s'introduit dans la fugue, sous les auspices de Roussel et de Vincent d'Indy. Cette dernière incarnation, que nous réserve-t-elle encore ?

Hé quoi dira-t-on ? Voilà bien des mots pour un inconnu. Le père Ubu n'en aurait certainement pas perdu la moitié pour résumer son opinion lapidaire !

Ainsi parle l'envie.

Mais la compétence distingue – sans grand effort de lucidité – au delà des contingences fumeuses, quelques flammes de vie impérissable. Le cas Satie n'est point négligeable. Il pose, sous une forme spécieuse, le problème des origines du style moderne à la fin du XIX^e siècle musical. N'est-ce rien ? La *Sarabande* qu'on lira plus loin est de septembre 1887 ; celle de Debussy a 15 ans de moins, et peut-être quinze fois plus de maturité, mais la date seule importe ici. Le *Fils des Étoiles* et les *Danses gothiques* précèdent *Pelléas* et la *Damoiselle Elue* d'une façon significative, et qu'on chercherait vainement ailleurs.

Jouez ces quelques pages, qui sonnent encore en 1911, et savourez l'imprévu dont elles conservent encore tout le charme. Leur coloris particulier est fait de taches harmoniques subtilement accolées, de sonorités juxtaposées sans souci des cadences admises et des résolutions imposées. Ne dirait-on pas un Monteverde moderne (ô blasphème !) qui essaie sur sa palette des couleurs indécises ? En ce tournant du XIX^e siècle, comme à la fin du XVI^e, le renouveau est venu de l'*irrésolution*. L'artiste a pris plaisir à ces dissonances fugitives, ou l'école ne voulait voir que des frôlements licencieux. En isolant pour les manier à son aise ces

objets de sa prédilection, il a donné la personnalité musicale et la vie à des êtres sonores retenus dans les limbes de la musique. Et c'est bien une certaine sensualité de l'oreille qui a toujours et ainsi guidé l'harmoniste novateur, aux dépens même de sa raison constructive et logique. C'est le même souci de l'effet sensoriel qui complique à l'excès l'orchestre d'*Orfeo* et qui pousse un élève de Lavignac aux limites de la mystification auriculaire. Erik Satie est un type achevé de cette école buissonnière, dont la musique a toujours tiré profit et lumière. Il erre, nomade de la tonalité, braconnier des rythmes, attentif aux mille voix de l'imperceptible, curieux de tout et de rien. Et voilà qu'il se surprend à jouer avec les objets défendus, que le Conservatoire lui apprend à rendre inoffensifs mais qu'il triture avec la plus grande imprudence. Le public ricane et passe. La gloire est ailleurs. Mais l'esprit de la musique en qui Nietzsche avait foi, veille et se souvient. Une révolution dans l'état harmonique de la France s'opère doucement. Vingt cinq ans se passent et tout à coup on s'aperçoit qu'Erik Satie a été novateur sans le savoir. Telle est la vie.

L'auteur des Gnessiennes fut l'éclaireur inaperçu d'une troupe aujourd'hui victorieuse. La campagne musicale qui triomphe en ces temps-ci, se préparait à peine quand Erik Satie donnait déjà l'assaut. Pour lui seul, par plaisir, par amour de la couleur nouvelle et du geste imprévu, il lançait les fusées de ses grands accords, mineurs et psalmodiques, disposait l'échelle de ses neuvièmes, et se livrait aux ingéniosités de son tempérament *atonal*. C'est la singularité outrancière et paradoxale qui a empêché le succès direct de ces efforts, mais c'est bien elle aussi qui eut le mérite de la découverte. Si l'absurde de 1886 est devenu la réalité de 1910, si les trouvailles d'un simple ont renouvelé le langage des habiles, l'histoire de la musique doit le savoir, comme le savent quelques initiés.

Le mérite de ce méconnu fut donc son audace. Sa baguette ingénue s'est inclinée la première vers la source fraîche, que d'autres ont depuis fait jaillir abondamment. La musique lui mit dans la main ce bon grain, ou cette ivraie – peu importe – qui leva quelques années plus tard en étonnantes moissons. N'est-ce pas une curieuse chose que ce Prérav(a)elite?

M. D. Calvocoressi, 'M. Erik Satie', *Musica*, No. 103, April 1911, 65-6

Lorsque à la fin du siècle passé ou au début du présent siècle, les grandes œuvres de M. Claude Debussy vinrent provoquer, en même temps que d'intuitifs enthousiasmes, une surprise générale et quelques indignations bien senties, beaucoup de commentateurs déclarèrent, avec la meilleure foi du monde, que l'apparition de toute cette musique-là était un phénomène insolite, en marge pour ainsi dire de l'évolution normale de l'art, et ne trouvèrent point où rattacher le jeune maître qui venait de se révéler si brusquement.

Depuis, on est revenu sur cette étrange façon de voir ; on s'est rendu compte que le style de M. Debussy venait à son heure, que, comme tout autre style, il avait ses racines profondes et lointaines : vérité qu'on aurait pu tout au moins pressentir, puisque l'histoire entière de l'art est là pour montrer que les créateurs les plus révolutionnaires obéissent à la grande loi de la descendance, et que, en musique aussi bien qu'en physique ou en chimie, rien ne naît de rien.

On a examiné dans l'œuvre de divers maîtres français ou russes, comme Chabrier ou Moussorgsky, tout ce qui était symptomatique de l'évolution ultra-moderne. Mais on a prêté moins d'attention à la figure infiniment plus modeste sans doute, mais curieuse et, à sa manière significative, de M. Erik Satie, que *Musica* présente aujourd'hui à ses lecteurs.

Je crois bien que M. Satie le premier est un peu responsable de l'obscurité où il resté. C'est un grand fantaisiste, qui, chaque fois qu'il interloque par quelque boutade, doit ressentir une infinie jouissance. Il naquit à Honfleur, comme Alphonse Allais ; et de son inoubliable compatriote, que je rappelle à dessein, il a le sens exacerbé de l'humour à froid. Cent anecdotes illustreraient son goût pour la cocasserie ; mais il paraît – c'est lui qui l'affirmait, en maintenant d'ailleurs sont pour la moitié purement légendaires.

Mais les dénominations de ses œuvres parues ou à paraître, certaines indications de nuances aussi, sont suffisamment révélatrices ; par exemple, le recueil (inédit) pour piano *Pièces froides*, comprenant, après les *Airs à faire fuir*, les *Danses de Travers* ;

et les ballets annoncés un beau jour comme « en préparation », *Onotrotance*, *Irnebizolle*, *Corcleru*.

Vraiment, on fut assez excusable de ne pas prendre trop au sérieux cet homme qui prenait si peu au sérieux tout un aspect de ses fonctions artistiques. Et l'incuriosité de M. Satie, son dédain de la technique et des formes ont bien pu faire le reste. Mais n'importe : dans sa musique, M. Satie inaugure une veine attrayante et neuve ; sous les scories, dans le même tas de matériaux offerts un peu pêle-mêle, l'étincelle est là, on ne peut la méconnaître, et il ne faut pas regarder bien longtemps pour la voir scintiller.

Une irréprochable délicatesse d'oreille, un sentiment très fin et original se révèlent dans la musique de M. Satie. L'artiste, qui ne songe jamais à organiser ses trouvailles, ne fait à chaque instant que découvrir, détail par détail, des tours ingénieux et rares ; il collabore par là à cette évolution nouvelle de l'art des sons qui s'est effectuée presque entière en France et dont les conséquences ont fait couler tant de flots d'encre.

Mais ce rôle effacé lui a suffi. Il ne poussa pas plus loin ses recherches et, après avoir produit un certain nombre de pages (dont *Musica* publie aujourd'hui une des plus significatives), il cessa pour longtemps de composer.

Maintenant, il a entrepris de pousser ses études dans le sens de la technique. Il me disait récemment combien le contrepoint l'intéressait, et quel parti nouveau il espérait en tirer.

Voici, à titre documentaire, une liste complète de ses compositions : des mélodies, trois sarabandes (1887-1890), la musique pour *le Fils des Etoiles* (1891), pour *Uspud* (1892), la *Neuvaine* (1892), les *Gnossiennes* (1889), les *Danses Gothiques*, les *Pièces froides* (1897), les *Gymnopédies*, les *Sonneries de la Rose+Croix*, et des morceaux pour piano à quatre mains (1903), dont un *Choral et Fugue*. Ces pièces sont en partie inédites, mais seront pour la plupart publiées bientôt.

Excerpt from Anon., 'Salle Gaveau', *Guide du Concert*, 1 Juin 1912, 542-543

3. *Prélude de la Porte héroïque du ciel*..... ERIK SATIE

Dans S. I. M. (15 mars 1911), notre distingué confrère, M. J. Ecorcheville a écrit un article fort bien documenté sur M. Erik Satie, ce compositeur un tantinet mystique et un tantinet mystificateur. Il naquit le 17 mai 1866 à Honfleur et étudia au Conservatoire de Paris sous la direction de MM. Lavignac, Taudou et Mathias. Les lauriers conservatoriaux ne le tentèrent pas et il ne les attendit point pour se laisser aller à une production effrénée.

Citons : les *Ogives* (1886), les *Gymnopédies* (1888), le *Fils des Etoiles* (1891), les *Sonneries de la Rose Croix* (1892) l'*Hymne au Drapeau*, la *Messe des Pauvres* (1895), les *Danses gothiques* (1893), *Uspud*, ballet chrétien (1892), *Pièces froides* (1897), *Morceaux en forme de poire* (1903), *Choral et Fugue* (1908), etc...

Voici au sujet de *Prélude de la Porte Héroïque du Ciel* (1894), orchestré par Roland Manuel, la note que nous communique le compositeur lui-même :

« J'ai écrit ce prélude, en 1894, pour l'œuvre de M. Jules Bois. M. Roland Manuel m'a demandé en 1911, l'autorisation d'orchestrer ce coin de ma vie. Telle est l'histoire simple d'un petit prélude, petit prélude ivoiré comme un tapis résonnant ; petit prélude tout de joie extatique, petit prélude tout de bonté intime. La forme en est naïve et chaste ; les harmonies en sont recueillies et blanches, suivant les convenances si respectables et si touchantes qu'établirent justement Nos Augustes Prédécesseurs, les Maîtres Vénérés de l'Antiphonaire Suprême, Unique, Impeccable, Triomphant, Anonyme, Fascinateur et Phénoménal. »

Mais ce qu'il est utile de faire remarquer au sujet de ce compositeur, c'est moins ses accès de loufoquerie ironique (ne sollicita-t-il pas les suffrages de l'Institut ?) que sens novateur des sonorités dissonantes, des trouvailles harmoniques, des irrégularités rythmiques, etc... répudiées il y a un quart de siècle et recherchées aujourd'hui.

Ajoutons que M. Eric Satie porte les palmes académiques. C'est dommage !

Excerpt from Albert Bertelin, 'L'Evolution de la musique contemporaine (III)', *Le Courrier musical*, 15 October 1912, 529-37

Citons encore en passant la musique javanaise dont s'éprit forment M. Debussy et arrivons à un musicien qui eut sur lui une influence considérable : Erik Satie.

Une tournure d'esprit des plus originales, une bizarrerie voulue ou affectée, un mépris profond pour le *philistin*, une ironie mordante, tels sont les traits qui caractérisent ce musicien, une des nature les plus curieuses qui se soient jamais manifestées. C'est lui, en somme, qui mériterait d'être considéré comme le père de l'impressionnisme ; il a été en effet le premier à se servir des procédés qui caractérisent le genre, il fut l'un des premiers adeptes de la suppression des barres de mesures. S'il avait fait des études musicales plus sérieuses et plus approfondies, il aurait pu produire des œuvres très intéressantes, à en juger par le peu qu'il a publié. Ce véritable précurseur ouvrit en somme la voie dans laquelle s'engagea M. Debussy.

Les compositions d'Erik Satie contenaient en germe tous les éléments dont devait se servir en les développant et les perfectionnant l'auteur de *Pelléas*.

Alexis Roland-Manuel, 5 April 1913, 'Silhouettes d'Artistes: Erik Satie', *L'Echo musical (revue mensuelle illustrée)*, 1-3

La personnalité d'Erik Satie est comme un farfadet moqueur, elle se dérobe et vous échappe alors même que vous croyez le saisir: elle vous échappe parce que son plus réel fondement est de nature à décevoir: la fantaisie.

Fantaisiste, Erik Satie l'est dans son art, dans sa vie et dans sa littérature ; nombre de ses productions, dont le sens échappe à première vue, prennent toute leur valeur quand on les sait issues de la Muse la plus folle qui fut jamais, et voici la raison pour laquelle les censeurs graves et les critiques austères ne sauraient rendre justice à cette musique qui fleurit dans l'ombre, belle d'être ignorée et qu'il faut de même considérer comme l'œuvre du plus étonnant et du plus déconcertant des novateurs que notre musique ait connu.

Tout jeune, cédant plutôt à la volonté paternelle qu'à l'impérieuse vocation, il quittait Honfleur sa patrie et Alphonse Allais pour s'en aller désespérer les professeurs du Conservatoire de Paris par son manque d'enthousiasme pour les arcanes de la basse chiffrée et son étrange amour pour les harmonies illicites. *Le Roi malgré lui*, de Chabrier, lui indiqua le chemin merveilleux de pays des neuvièmes. Il terrassa le dragon de la scholastique qui veillait à la porte : les *Gymnopédies* et les précieuses *Sarabandes* furent les premiers fruits de la conquête, mais bien rares les privilégiés qui les purent goûter dès 1888. Claude Debussy fut l'un de ceux-là, sa *Sarabande* et sa charmante orchestration des *Gymnopédies* témoignent d'une élégante déférence au triomphateur ignoré ; trop ignoré en effet, et mettant une singulière mauvaise grâce à se faire connaître, plaçant entre le public et lui l'infranchissable barrière de ses fantaisies. Et ce fut la période mystique : sous la fière impulsion de Joséphin Péladan, un groupe d'artistes opposait un essai de discipline idéaliste, au flot du naturalisme : ce fut la Rose-Croix. Erik Satie devint le musicien de la pieuse assemblée. C'est de cette époque que date le *Fils des Etoiles*, musique de scène pour la *Wagnérie chaldéenne du Sâr*.

L'indication de « thème décoratif » en tête des préludes est significative : une esthétique du drame lyrique s'y révèle, où la musique, loin de commenter symphoniquement chaque phase de l'action crée une atmosphère, un décor qui ne grimace pas en même temps que les personnages ; point n'est besoin d'insister sur le caractère prophétique de cette « wagnérie » qui s'affirmait aussi peu wagnériste que possible, aussi bien Péladan et Satie ne furent-ils pas longs à s'apercevoir du malentendu qui les séparait.

Puis vinrent le *Prélude de la Porte Héroïque du Ciel*, « petit prélude tout de douceur mystique » inanalysable et cependant très cohérent ; et les *Gnossiennes*, et *Uspud*, ballet chrétien à un personnage, présenté à l'Opéra (ce qui donna lieu aux aventures les plus cocasses), puis les *Pièces Froides* avec les *Airs à faire fuir* et les *Danses de travers*, d'une délicieuse écriture pianistique, et fort émouvantes en dépit de leur titre extravagant. Entre temps il se présente à l'Institut et jette les bases d'une nouvelle association mystique : « L'Église Métropolitaine d'Art de Jésus conducteur » qui n'alla pas sans épouvanter quelque peu le monde religieux. Ces ahurissantes fantaisies créent définitivement entre le public et lui l'infranchissable

cloison que les *Morceaux en forme de poire* (fruit symbolique !) rendit encore plus étanche. C'est alors que voulant sans doute se donner le droit de mépriser l'écriture et la forme en connaissance de cause, il alla demander au petit temple de la rue Saint-Jacques des enseignements tutelaires et revêtit cilice contrapuntique à une âge où il est assez rare que l'on consente à faire son noviciat. Après avoir été la honte du Conservatoire, il fut l'honneur de la Schola Cantorum. L'élève de MM. Vincent d'Indy et Auguste Sérieyx témoigna de son assiduité aux cours de ses maîtres en écrivant les *Aperçus désagréables* et *En habit de cheval*, chorales et fugues pour le piano à quatre mains. Ces œuvres, encore que fort curieuse ne comptent pas semble-t-il parmi les plus séduisantes de leur auteur : les *Aperçus désagréables* dont le seul titre est un programme réalisant une adhésion peut-être intempestive à cette « école du laid » qui s'oppose volontairement, mais peut-être sans bonnes raisons esthétique à « l'école du joli » tant incriminée, ce nonobstant ses charmes.

Les *Véritables Prélude flasques* (E. Demets, éditeur) nous rendent heureusement le Satie fantasque, déconcertant et séduisant tout à la fois.

Ajoutons qu'il met la dernière main à une œuvre étonnante au plus haut point: *Le Piège de Méduse*, comédie lyrique en I acte.

« Ce précurseur génial et incomplet », telle est la définition que donnait naguère d'Erik Satie le plus infatigable de ses défenseurs : Maurice Ravel. Le mérite de Satie est tout entier dans cette phrase : à l'époque où les meilleurs d'entre nos musiciens s'exténuaient en stériles imitations de Wagner, Satie eut l'audace ingénue et féconde de frayer de nouveaux sentiers à notre musique. Peut-être était-il mal préparé pour la lutte ; les gaucheries abondent dans ses premières œuvres, mais ces gaucheries ne sont jamais malgracieuses ; sa musique a la saveur singulière de ces fruits sauvages, inconnus, qu'une habile culture n'a pas encore perfectionnés. Précurseur de Debussy et de Ravel, il sut être aussi le précurseur d'Erik Satie, et ce n'est pas un mince mérite : « *Flores apparurent in terra nostra* », ces fleurs que l'on s'accorde enfin à trouver non seulement magnifiques mais lourdes de promesses, il fut le premier à les cueillir à l'arbre neuf. La musique française se doit de ne jamais l'oublier.

Georges Auric, 'Erik Satie: Musicien Humoriste', *Revue française de musique*, 4-10 December 1913, 138-142

Il y a bien peu de génies ignorés. Chaque année, à vrai dire, un musicien trop sensible croit en avoir découvert un. Il l'embrasse en sanglotant ; par la Presse il fait proclamer sa découverte, puis sanglote encore en dirigeant sa musique et manifeste sa confiance en l'inconnu d'hier en restant impassible devant les huées de la foule incompréhensive. Que ne ferait-il pas ? Il a enfin *son* génie, *son* grand inconnu, celui qui " bien avant Claude Debussy *faisait* du Debussy ". Ce génie s'appelle parfois Paul Dupin. Il écrit alors des fugues et des sonates qui ne sont ni des sonates, ni des fugues. Se nomme-t-il Fanelli ? – Il compose des symphonies à programme, ce qui est plus redoutable encore. De ces génies ignorés, de ces extraordinaires précurseurs que périodiquement on nous présente la gloire est éphémère : aussitôt qu'un éditeur accueille leurs œuvres, nos moins sévères critiques se font un plaisir de démolir à petits coups leurs statuettes laborieusement modelées mais informes.

Le génie de M. Erik Satie est d'une qualité bien plus rare. Le grand public l'ignore encore. Son nom fut naguère répandu dans le monde musical par quelques jeunes compositeurs à qui l'on avait reproché bien innocemment de démarquer un peu trop la musique alors toute nouvelle de M. Debussy. Pour se défendre, ils se réclamèrent de M. Satie en opposant ainsi au nom vénéré du musicien des *Chansons de Bilitis* celui du futur auteur des *Préludes flasques* dont ils se disaient les disciples.

L'on ne connaissait de ce musicien au nom étrange que quelques pièces pour le piano entendues, par exemple, au cours d'une réunion tenue en l'éphémère " Salon de la Rose Croix ". Ces œuvrettes servaient de préludes à des actes de M. Joséphin Péladan alors Sâr, Mage et Grand – Maître de l'ordre qu'il avait si facilement restaure. La parfaite indifférence du public de 1891 en face de la musique du jeune compositeur inconnu ne sera sans doute pas considérée dans les temps à venir comme le clair témoignage d'une intelligence particulièrement pénétrante et d'un esprit très subtil. M. Willy, qui, il y a 20 ans, ne promenait pas encore en Belgique sa calvitie et ses redoutables jeux de mots, traduisit, je crois, parfaitement l'état d'âme de tous en déclarant alors sans ambages " que cette musique de marchand de

robinets ne lui causait qu'une médiocre *satisfaction* ". Il est vrai que le réclame énervante de l'esthète barbu, insupportable et admirable qui présidait à ses auditions mystiques était bien faite pour indisposer contre l'auteur très hardi de cette musique (proclamée " nerveuse " par le programme) la foule de badauds qui, entre en souper au Café Riche et une représentation aux Bouffes, venait étaler son prétentieux snobisme dans le petit cénacle de M. Péladan.

Mais M. Erik Satie avait déjà écrit les *Trois Sarabandes* pour le piano et les *Gymnopédies* qui sont les plus célèbres de ses premières œuvres. Ces *Gymnopédies* n'étaient point seulement, comme le pense M. Louis Laloy " des esquisses jetées négligemment sur le papier rayé et que M. Debussy développa pour l'orchestre " : ces pièces pianistiques ont, en effet, une forme, plus au moins harmonieuse peut-être, mais parfaitement définie, et M. Debussy en les transcrivant pour l'orchestre, ne fit que payer le tribut dû légitimement à un précurseur inhabile. En effet, la deuxième *Sarabande* de M. E. Satie impressionna à un tel point le futur commentateur de *Pelléas et Mélisande* qu'il en donna dans sa suite *Pour le piano* une paraphrase assez précise pour qu'il soit impossible, à qui connaît les deux compositions, de jouer le texte de M. Satie sans songer à celui de M. Debussy et la danse lente de M. Debussy sans que s'évoque impérieusement le souvenir de celle de M. Satie.

Mais ce dernier écrivait sa musique d'une façon tout instinctive : il n'avait que peu étudié l'harmonie, et le perpétuel plaquage de ses premières œuvres est d'une monotonie telle que, malgré la richesse des accords et la savoureuse hardiesse des enchaînements, il est difficile, au bout de trois pages, de résister à l'envie de fermer le cahier.

M. Satie se rendit compte de son insuffisance technique: il demanda à M. Albert Roussel, dont le talent remarquable et le goût sûr étaient la meilleure des garanties, de vouloir bien lui enseigner le contrepoint. Dans certains milieux musicaux où l'on a décrété qu'il ne sied pas de mélanger l'écriture " verticale " avec l'écriture " horizontale " et de varier les effets un peu uniformes de l'une grâce aux souples divertissements de l'autre, on se plaît à lui reprocher aujourd'hui son tardif souci d'école. A tels fanatiques il semblait important que M. Satie restât un amateur (en

ce cas il aurait été toujours ” le plus génial et le plus imparfait des amateurs ”) ou qu’il apprît la composition avec l’un des multiples petits maîtres dont il avait été d’abord le modèle inavoué. M. Satie devenant élève du Maître qui avait commencé par se mettre à sa remorque : voilà qui aurait constitué un phénomène curieux ; heureusement ce prodige ne s’est pas réalisé.

Les *Véritables préludes flasques*, les *Aperçus désagréables*, les *Descriptions automatiques* et les *Embryons desséchés*, qui viennent de paraître chez l’éditeur Demets, furent conçus et réalisés à la sorte de très sévères études patiemment poursuivies. La suite *En habit de cheval* nous avait déjà préparés à cette évolution un peu surprenante. Les exercices scolastiques d’assouplissement, pratiqués sous la conduite d’un maître du contrepoint, n’ont donc *en rien* atténué le génie primesautier de M. Satie, ni bridé sa fantaisie railleuse. Peut-être, au contraire, si l’humoriste compositeur avait travaillé avec l’un des maîtres “ verticalistes ” de l’heure actuelle, aurait-il offert à notre amusement émerveillé une symphonie cyclique, une sonate très classique et un quatuor à cordes d’ordonnance beethovenienne.

Tout le monde ne pénètre pas l’art subtil et narquois de M. Erik Satie. Du reste, l’humour est un art très particulier que l’on n’a jamais jugé assez impartialement. Beaucoup de ceux qui méprisent les spirituels petits chefs-d’œuvre aux titres cocasses applaudissent chaleureusement la plus ennuyeuse des sonates. Ici ils louent, grâce au titre, une forme traditionnelle, tandis que là un titre grotesque dissimule à leurs oreilles un plan très logique. M. Louis Laloy a justement fait observer à propos des *Préludes flasques* dédiés ironiquement à un chien : “ Ces trois préludes n’ont rien d’incohérent, ni de discordant, ni de flasque, à proprement parler ; et s’il est vrai qu’un chien les ait suggérés, ce ne sont pas des oreilles velues qui en apprécieront jamais les broderies régulières, ni les modulations ménagées. D’autre part, le public n’admet l’humour que chez certains compositeurs. Lorsque Hans Sachs jongle avec les calembours il est de bon goût d’approuver d’un sourire la fantaisie wagnérienne. Mais, pour s’être livré à des deux analogues, M. Satie s’entend condamner. Ainsi, sur des arpèges délicieusement spirituels, note-t-il ces mots : “ Ne me faites pas rire, brin de mousse, vous me chatouillez!... ” il est de bon ton de châtier ce “ boniment de clown.” Et pourtant, si l’on y songe bien, faire

deviner, à propos de bateaux, une chansonnette célèbre que la plus simple des associations d'idées impose aussitôt à l'esprit, ou rappeler, au sujet de poissons batailleurs, qui glissent rapidement entre les eaux, un air d'opérette. " Ah ! ne courez donc pas comme ça... " que de subtiles harmonies enveloppent de la façon la moins prévue, tout cela n'est pas moins musical que d'évoquer, à propos de Mélisande, la thème essentiel d'une partition étrangère, de citer en hommage à S. Pickwick le *God save the Queen*, et d'insinuer la souple ligne sonore d'un thème de Weber en manière de " souvenir. "

D'ailleurs le public, non pas celui des confrères envieux, des sectaires partiaux, mais le public des amateurs sincères marque toujours le plus grand enthousiasme pour la *musique* humoristique de M. Satie. Les *Préludes flasques*, joués à la Société Nationale par M. Ricardo Viñes, ont été bissés ; les *Descriptions automatiques* n'ont pas été, à la Société indépendante accueillies avec moins de faveur, et, tout dernièrement Mme Jeanne Mortier s'est vue obligée, salle Pleyel, d'offrir deux fois de suite l'*Embryon desséché* d'Edriophthalma à l'admiration joyeuse d'une salle enthousiasmée. En province la plaisante musique de M. Erik Satie est peu connue mais le même accueil lui est réservé: il me souvient d'avoir récemment, avec le concours de M. Jean Moulenq, révélé dans une ville du Midi toute l'œuvre pianistique de l'ex-compositeur de la Rose-Croix : un vif succès salua cette tentative assurément audacieuse.

En somme, après avoir, antérieurement à M. Claude Debussy, noté d'admirables enchaînements sonores, M. Erik Satie se voue à l'humour musical qui compte déjà un maître fort expert, en la personne de M. Maurice Ravel. Il fut d'abord l'Annonciateur de la tempête debussyste qui, sans avoir " sapé jusqu'aux bases les plus profondes du classicisme ", a orienté vers une voie toute nouvelle la musique et les musiciens. Il se contente maintenant, pour son plaisir et le nôtre, de lancer de petits bateaux sur le ruisseau vif qui court entre les joncs et les lianes, polissant les cailloux, et murmurant, sous le soleil enfin levé, les chansons les plus douces et les plus discrètes.

Alexis Roland-Manuel, *Erik Satie: Causerie faite à la Société Lyre et Palette le 18 Avril 1916* (Paris : H. Roberge, 1916)

Mesdames, Mesdemoiselles, Messieurs,

Parmi les artistes qui arrivent présentement à la notoriété, il n'en est pas de plus curieux, de plus déconcertant, de plus génial quelquefois – je n'hésite pas devant le mot – que ce fantaisiste dont il me faut vous entretenir.

Bizarre, timide, au point qu'on ne saurait dire, ce musicien, auquel la jeune Ecole française doit tant, demeura de longues années si peu répandu dans la société, que l'énigme de sa personnalité déconcerta les plus obstinés chercheurs et reste encore impénétré pour beaucoup.

Non qu'il fut ignoré: tous ceux qui s'intéressent à notre musique, avaient pour le moins retenu la sonorité du nom mystérieux d'Erik Satie, évoquant dans un désordre bien inexplicable les silhouettes diverses d'Alphonse Allais, de Joséphin Péladan, de Willy, et de confuses légendes touchant la *Rose-Croix*, le *Chat-Noir*, *L'Auberge du Clou* et l'Institut de France lui-même; mais il était aussi mal connu qu'il est possible.

Je me souviens qu'en 1909, un commis du plus important marchand de musique parisien me jura qu'il n'existait de Satie que quelques valse et deux cake-walk. A quelque temps de là, je rencontrai, chez des amis, une vieille dame qui m'assura qu'Erik Satie dirigeait, avenue Trudaine, un petit établissement de bains. Il ne me paraît donc pas inutile de rappeler brièvement qu'Alfred Eric Leslie-Satie, dit Erik Satie est né à Honfleur, le 17 mai 1866. Ses origines maternelles écossaises, n'ont probablement pas été sans influencer sa sensibilité, ni sans doter son humour d'un esprit particulier.

D'autre part, comme nous le dit excellemment M. Jean Aubry, qui se plut récemment à crayonner un bon profil perdu du musicien: "On respire à Honfleur, en même temps que la brise inconstante de l'estuaire et la beauté d'un des plus émouvants paysages du monde, un goût de fantaisie multiforme et particulière."

N'oublions pas que l'honfleurais Alphonse Allais fut le compagnon de jeux et l'ami d'enfance d'Erik Satie, et il est vraiment indiscutable qu'à cette petite ville baroque, s'attache je ne sais quel caractère de bouffonnerie narquoise qui se mêle de façon curieuse à la cautèle normande.

Le premier maître de Satie, pour la musique, fut un élève de Niedermeyer, l'organiste Vinot qui, sans doute à son insu, lui donna cet initial amour du plain-chant, cette dilection pour les modes grégoriens qui, tout naturellement, devaient l'inciter, par la suite, à libérer sa musique et notre musique de la fâcheuse tyrannie d'un dualis-lisme [*sic*] majeur-mineur.

Il a quitté à 12 ans, Honfleur pour Paris. Nous le voyons successivement travailler avec Guilmant, entrer au Conservatoire chez Descombes et chez Lavignac; il n'y fait qu'une courte apparition. Nous le retrouvons un peu plus tard à la classe d'harmonie de Taudou, où il n'est guère plus assidu; le revoici, en 85, déjà curieux et déconcertant au cours de piano du vieux Mathias qui l'encourage à composer. Cette sollicitude fait éclore la même année une *Valse-Ballet*, qui parut dans la *Musique des Familles* et quelques mélodies. Puis, soudainement, fruits imprévisibles d'un enseignement désordonné, surgissent en 1887, trois *Sarabandes* pour le piano.

Je voudrais que l'on comprît bien que ces *Sarabandes* marquent une date dans l'évolution de notre musique: voici trios courtes pièces d'une technique harmonique sans précédent, issue d'une esthétique toute nouvelle, instaurant une atmosphère particulière, une magie sonore absolument originale. Claude Debussy l'a bien compris, qui composa, quatorze ans plus tard, une *Sarabande* où l'hommage se devine dans les effets charmants d'une influence cherchée, d'une filiation volontairement consentie.

Un musicien nous était né, un peu gauche, maladroit même et comme émerveillé de ses trouvailles ingénues.

Les *Gymnopédies* de 1888 qu'inspira la *Salammbô* de Flaubert, témoignent d'une recherche différente avec leur ligne mélodique pure et fluide, émouvante sans

pathétique, sans artifices de développement, qui se détache sur un fond harmonique très simple, expressif et neuf.

Puis, viennent les *Gnossiennes*. Satie se lie avec Péladan et devient le musicien de cette *Rose-Croix*, dont l'idéalisme gothique le transporte. Il écrit une musique de scène pour le *Fils des Etoiles* "Wagnérie Kaldéenne" du Sâr. Il enlumine cette wagnérie d'une symphonie aussi peu wagnérienne que possible, présageant toute l'esthétique contemporaine du drame musical et créant comme un décor sonore immobile. Il réagissait par ainsi contre la symphonie de Wagner qui, perpétuellement, grimace avec l'action.

A cette prophétie de *Pelléas et Mélisande* succédèrent maintes tentatives mystiques toujours aussi neuves dans leur esprit que dans leur forme. Les *Sonneries de la Rose-Croix* sont de cette époque, et les *Danses gothiques*, et le *Prélude à la Porte Héroïque du Ciel*, et la *Messe des Pauvres*, et *Uspud*, ballet chrétien à un personnage, dont l'Opéra ne voulut point; j'en passe.

Tout d'un coup, sans raison bien nette, comme ces rivières qui se perdent très mystérieusement, l'artiste décrié par les gens sérieux, que sa candidature au fauteuil de Guiraud et ses pamphlets apocalyptiques avaient rendu plus célèbre que ses croisades aux rives enchantées du pays des neuvièmes, disparut complètement et, pendant plus de dix années fut considéré comme perdu pour la musique. On l'oublia. On ne le reconnut pas dans ce vieux novice qui prétendit, à la Schola Cantorum, s'imposer le dur cilice du contrepoint que l'intelligente sollicitude d'Albert Roussel lui fit paraître léger et, docile à tels conseils et tels exemples, édifier des chorales sans complaisance et des fugues amères.

Puis, tout soudain, les trompettes de la renommée s'essayèrent, bien faiblement d'abord, à sonner pour lui; son œuvre, épanouie dans l'ombre et belle de son mystère, si secrète qu'elle demeurât encore pour beaucoup, devint plus accessible, grâce surtout, il importe de le dire, à l'initiative de l'un des meilleurs maîtres de notre jeune école: Maurice Ravel, qui tint à honneur de révéler lui-même au grand public, le 16 janvier 1911, trois œuvres anciennes du musicien de la *Rose-Croix*, parmi lesquelles la seconde *Sarabande*, que vous entendrez tout à l'heure, brille

d'un éclat singulier. Ce fut un étonnement. C'est de ce concert de la Société Musicale Indépendante que date l'espèce de vogue d'Erik Satie, et qui eut deux avantages: le premier fut de faire exhumer, éditer et répandre ces œuvres écrites de 1886 à 1897 où la plupart de nos néologismes musicaux sont couramment employés avec cette ingénuité charmante; le second fut d'encourager le compositeur à travailler de nouveau pour la musique qui lui rendait, si tardivement, sa naïve tendresse des premiers jours.

Ainsi, après désintéressé, avec un inexplicable dédain, de ses conquêtes magnifiques – car toujours il avait abandonné ses trouvailles aussitôt qu'ébauchées – et rompant un long silence, Satie, dédaigneux comme jadis des sentiers battus, nous revenait – de quel voyage, de quelles courses vagabondes au pays de la capricieuse fantaisie? – chargé cette fois de bijoux cocasses, narquois singuliers, neuf, irrésistibles. Un dessin favorable encouragea ces fruits nouveaux d'un fécond humour que l'édition répandit très rapidement et dont le succès, cette fois, a dépassé les frontières étroites des petits cercles musicaux. Le bon magicien Ricardo Vinès, naguère le premier interprète des Debussy et des Ravel, voulut être aussi le premier interprète d'un Erik Satie ressuscité et mit, avec un infatigable dévouement, son talent magnifique au service des *Véritables Préludes Flasques (Pour un chien)*, des *Descriptions Automatiques*, des *Chapitres tournés en tous sens*, des *Croquis et agaceries d'un gros bonhomme en bois...* Ne souriez pas; il se cache plus de musique vraie sous ces titres bouffons, que vous n'en trouveriez dans maint grave cahier lourd d'ennui, d'un ennui si respectable évidemment, mais je me refuse à penser que la respectabilité soit une excuse suffisante à la laideur.

“Il est de toute évidence, nous dit l'auteur lui-même, à propos de ces albums truculents, *que les Aplatis, les Insignifiants et les Boursouflés n'y prendront aucun plaisir. Qu'ils avalent leurs barbes. Qu'ils se dansent sur le ventre...*”

En cinq années toute une bibliographie est née qui traite de Satie. Son œuvre est devenue familière aux musicologues de France, d'Angleterre et d'Amérique. Si ce n'est pas la gloire, c'est le succès qui, bien timidement encore, vient couronner les efforts d'un petit maître, dont il serait malséant d'oublier le passé pour le moins

étonnant, et auquel il serait tout à fait injuste de refuser une place importante dans le mouvement musical d'aujourd'hui.

Notre Ecole, diverse en dépit de son unité esthétique, si pleine de promesses et, malgré son jeune âge, si lourde déjà de réalisations, si purement française aussi dans son esprit léger et tout ensemble profond, répugne au pathétisme romantique et se plaît à cultiver avec mystère la fleur délicate d'une pudique tendresse.

Ces émois qui se nient, cette peur de l'emphase, caractéristique de ces générations, filles ingrates du Romantisme, favorisent logiquement l'éclosion d'une ironie qui est comme la revanche de l'intelligence sur un sentimentalisme désordonné. Ainsi naquit l'ironie tendre d'un Jules Laforgue, d'un Jean de Tinan, du Ravel de *Ma Mère l'Oye* et des *Valses nobles et sentimentales*: l'ironie glacée, l'ironie précise et sans pitié du Jules Renard et du Ravel des *Histoires Naturelles*, l'ironie narquoise et bonhomme d'Erik Satie.

Il importe particulièrement de séparer avec soin le comique qui est toute intelligence, et la gaîté qui est tout sentiment. La gaîté spéculé sur notre fond affectif. Elle fait appel pour cela à ce grand instinct de sympathie qui nous rend solidaires les uns des autres et tout aussi puissamment dans une salle de concert que dans une réunion politique. Chacun sourit à son voisin et là où l'individu n'aurait pas cédé, l'indolente collectivité s'abandonne. Ces effusions ne laissent pas que de favoriser le succès considérable de ces opérettes qui mirent naguère notre goût à si cruelle épreuve, lors de l'accueil enthousiaste qui fut réservé à l'affreuse veuve que vous savez et à ses concitoyennes.

Les comique, bien au contraire, s'en prend à notre intelligence froide, à notre lucidité dans ce qu'elle a de géométrique; il a pour essence une rupture d'équilibre et brise le lien social en déterminant des réactions profondément personnelles. Il ne nous donne pas cette illusion béate que nous devenons meilleurs et ses cabrioles imprévues nous plongent sèchement dans les régions les plus glacées de notre conscience claire.

Cette rupture d'équilibre, ce *Mécanisme plaqué sur du vivant* – comme l'a dit excellemment Henri Bergson – ces grimaces, ces désarticulations constituent

justement les procédés ordinaires du Cirque, qu'il faut considérer comme le divertissement esthétique supérieur.

Ce qu'on appelle humour n'est que la transposition de ces procédés comiques dans le domaine de la pensée et je dois dire que je n'éprouve aucune gêne à évoquer l'art des clowns à l'occasion de la musique de Satie.

L'auteur des *Descriptions automatiques* cache une fantaisie de clown sous les dehors d'une aménité cauteleuse à laquelle nous nous laisserons toujours prendre, pour notre plaisir. Il emploie hypocritement les artifices de cette gaîté sentimentale de bon aloi, puis, ayant évoqué une tendresse qui va devenir charmante, il lui tord le cou dans l'instant qu'elle nous séduit pour de bon.

A l'exemple de Ravel, il peut se réclamer du comique traditionnel de l'Opéra Bouffe qui reprit ses lettres de noblesse à la première de *l'Heure espagnole* et qui s'ébroue ici avec la fantaisie la plus désinvolte.

Fantaisiste, Satie le fut toujours passionnément, en toutes circonstances, et c'est sans doute ce qui lui vaut dans les milieux musicaux d'aujourd'hui sa situation très exceptionnelle. Insoucieux de la gloire et combien timide, il faut le redire, se plaisant à ridiculiser son émoi dans le moment qu'on le pourrait surprendre, il s'ingénie à nous mettre en garde contre lui-même et crée entre la grimace savoureuse de son œuvre et la pompeuse gravité des pédants ou la malsaine curiosité des imbéciles, une barrière infranchissable par l'artifice de ses titres, avertissements et indications où l'esprit de farce le plus énorme le dispute à l'humour volontiers bon garçon. Cette position est extrêmement forte, on ne cherche pas à vous tromper: Que si vous avez le courage de braver votre marchand de musique en lui réclamant les *Morceaux en forme de Poire*, les *Danses de Travers* ou les *Valses distinguées du Précieux dégoûté*, il est clair que vous ne comptez guère y trouver l'écho troublant de passions funestes où les confidences d'un cœur qui s'afflige. Mais il était malheureusement inéluctable qu'on fit trop souvent une réputation de déséquilibré ou de mauvais plaisant à un artiste très fin et toujours plus avisé qu'il ne le veut paraître: *avant d'écrire une œuvre, dit-il quelque part, j'en fais plusieurs fois le tour, en compagnie de moi-même.*

Si vous voulez jouir pleinement d'un art étrange qui se fait subtil et qui se veut dégingandé, il est nécessaire que vous vous abandonniez en toute confiance aux ressauts imprévus de cet enfant terrible qui me donne tant de mal à vous le présenter en liberté. Je vous en prie au nom de la muse d'Erik Satie, de la divine Fantaisie, de cette folle charmante dont le domaine est sans limites, qui n'obéit qu'à son plaisir et qui ne connaît d'autres lois que les lois du goût. Elle n'en confie les mystères qu'à ses familiers, et je soupçonne Erik Satie d'être le plus tendre de ses amis...

Guillaume Apollinaire, 'Parade et L'Esprit Nouveau', *L'Excelsior*, 11 May 1917, 5

Les définitions de *Parade* fleurissent de toutes parts comme les branches de lilas en ce printemps tardif...

C'est un poème scénique que le musicien novateur Erik Satie a transposé en une musique étonnamment expressive, si nette et si simple que l'on y reconnaîtra l'esprit merveilleusement lucide de la France même.

Le peintre cubiste Picasso et le plus audacieux des chorégraphes, Léonide Massine, l'ont réalisé en consommant pour la première fois, cette alliance de la peinture et de la danse, de la plastique et de la mimique qui est le signe évident de l'avènement d'un art plus complet.

Qu'on ne crie pas au paradoxe ! Les Anciens, dans la vie desquels la musique tenait une si grande place, ont absolument ignoré l'harmonie qui est presque toute la musique moderne.

De cette alliance nouvelle, car jusqu'ici les décors et les costumes d'une part, la chorégraphie d'autre part, n'avaient entre eux qu'un lien factice, il est résulté, dans *Parade*, une sorte de sur-réalisme où je vois le point de départ d'une série de manifestations de cet Esprit Nouveau qui, trouvant aujourd'hui l'occasion de se montrer, ne manquera pas de séduire l'élite et se promet de modifier de fond en

comble les arts et les mœurs dans l'allégresse universelle car le bon sens veut qu'ils soient au moins à la hauteur des progrès scientifiques et industriels.

Rompant avec la tradition chère à ceux que, naguère en Russie, on appelait bizarrement les *balletomanes*, Massine s'est gardé de tomber dans la pantomime. Il a réalisé cette chose entièrement nouvelle, merveilleusement séduisante, d'une vérité si lyrique, si humaine, si joyeuse qu'elle serait bien capable d'illuminer, s'il en valait la peine, l'effroyable soleil noir de la *Melancholia* de Dürer et que Jean Cocteau appelle un ballet réaliste. Les décors et les costumes cubistes de Picasso témoignent du réalisme de son art.

Ce réalisme, ou ce cubisme, comme on voudra, est ce qui a le plus profondément agité les Arts durant les dix dernières années.

Les décors et les costumes de *Parade* montrent clairement sa préoccupation de tirer d'un objet tout ce qu'il peut donner d'émotion esthétique. Bien souvent on a cherché à ramener la peinture à ses stricts éléments. Il n'y a guère que de la peinture chez la plupart des Hollandais, chez Chardin, chez les impressionnistes.

Picasso va bien plus loin qu'eux tous. On le verra dans *Parade*, avec un étonnement qui deviendra vite de l'admiration. Il s'agit avant tout de traduire la réalité. Toutefois le motif n'est plus reproduit mais seulement représenté et plutôt que représenté, il voudrait être suggéré par une sorte d'analyse-synthèse embrassant tous ses éléments visibles et quelque chose de plus, si possible, une schématisation intégrale qui chercherait à concilier les contradictions en renonçant parfois délibérément à rendre l'aspect immédiat de l'objet. Massine s'est plié d'une façon surprenante à la discipline picassienne. Il s'est identifié avec elle et l'art s'est enrichi d'inventions adorables comme le pas réaliste du cheval de *Parade* dont un danseur forme les pieds de devant et un autre danseur les pieds de derrière.

Les constructions fantastiques qui figurent ces personnages gigantesques et inattendus : les Managers, loin d'être un obstacle à la fantaisie de Massine lui ont donné, si on peut dire, plus de désinvolture.

En somme, *Parade* renversera les idées de pas mal de spectateurs. Ils seront surpris certes, mais de la plus agréable façon et, charmés, ils apprendront à connaître toute la grâce des mouvements modernes dont ils ne s'étaient jamais doutés.

Un magnifique Chinois de music-hall donnera l'essor à leur libre fantaisie, et tournant la manivelle d'une auto imaginaire, la Jeune Fille Américaine exprimera la magie de leur vie quotidienne, dont l'acrobate en maillot blanc et bleu célèbre les rites muets avec une agilité exquise et surprenante.

Octave Séré, 'Le Cubisme et la Musique', *La Rampe: Revue Hebdomadaire des spectacles*, 24 May 1917, 1

Les ondes que provoque dans la poésie la ligne enchantée des pêcheurs de rimes, transmettent leur force impulsive à ces deux arts voisins, la peinture et la musique. Lente parfois à se manifester, l'ampleur des fluctuations y apparaît inéluctable. Et c'est la littérature qui demeure le foyer du rayonnement sonore et pectorale.

Le symbolisme datait déjà, qu'à peine nos compositeurs s'essayaient-ils à procéder de lui. Si la grâce verlainienne imprégna de son amère et douce senteur l'inspiration faurénne, l'hermétique splendeur verbale de Stéphane Mallarmé conduisit pareillement M. Claude Debussy à cristalliser au chaton de l'agrégat harmonique tout un nouvel enchaînement de sensations précieuses. Après quoi, au long de la portée aussi bien que sur la toile, l'imprécis frisselis de l'impressionisme se traduisit par un pointillisme de notes ou de coups de pinceau, multiforme poudroisement des menues touches juxtaposées. La jouissance visuelle et la volupté auditive, obéissant à la recherche parallèle du mot, découlèrent alors du coloris et de l'accord rares, exclusivement aimés pour eux-mêmes. Un art purement sensoriel n'admettant plus la forme, brisant le trait, et d'où se verrait bannie toute émotion, tendait à naître. Le moment était venu du déchaînement des futuristes et cubistes.

La plus retentissante de leurs tentatives remonte à l'année qui précéda la guerre. Arguant du fallacieux prétexte que, dans le siècle de la mécanique, le bruit règne en despote sur l'usine et la ville, MM. Russolo et Pratella, peintre et musicien futuristes, organisèrent avec quelques autres adeptes des théories marionnettistes, un concert de Bruiteurs. Le 11 août 1913, à Milan, quatre, réseaux de bruits — se décomposant en bourdonneurs, éclateurs, tonneurs, siffleurs, bruisseurs, glouglouteurs, fracasseurs, stridenteurs, renacleurs, hululeurs - saluèrent le *Réveil de la Capitale*, furent exacts au *Rendez-vous d'autos et d'aéroplanes*, apprirent aux auditeurs comment *On dîne à la terrasse du Casino* et livrèrent une *Escarmouche dans l'Oasis*. Les bruitistes ne prévoyaient; certes pas qu'à leurs inoffensives facéties allait répondre le tonnerre ininterrompu des artilleries.

Question fort spécieuse, et néanmoins bien facile à résoudre, que celle du son-bruit opposé au son-pur ! L'essai des futuristes n'est révolutionnaire qu'en apparence. Loin de réaliser un progrès, il marque un recul vers la barbarie primitive, alors que le son vivait à l'état sauvage. Le fait de construire de bizarres appareils pour moudre des bruits que le halètement des machines produit en un vacarme centuplé, ne saurait constituer le point de départ d'une évolution caractéristique. J'y verrai plutôt la négation même de notre art. Le rôle du musicien, envisagé sous un certain angle, réside précisément dans la faculté de discipliner le bruit et de le transposer, suivant sa nature à soi, en un verbe spécial qui se dénomme la musique.

N'allez pas croire surtout que l'empirisme et une longue accoutumance aient fixé à ce langage des sons une limite arbitraire impossible à franchir désormais, et qu'il faille chercher hors d'elle les sensations neuves que jusqu'à ce jour elle dispensa à ses fidèles.

Inscrivant dans le temps le jet de son architecture, une symphonie — j'entends ce mot au sens littéral — ne se présente point à l'oreille comme un monument que le regard embrasse tout entier. L'ordonnance des plans se dévoile à mesure que, sur l'assise rythmique, s'arc-boutent les accords et se déroulent les volutes mélodiques. Rien de rigide ici, mais une armature idéalement souple, une

subtilité mobile et flexible à l'extrême, permettant de modifier les facteurs en jeu, et de varier à l'infini l'équilibre des valeurs. A la condition, toutefois, que l'on ne fasse pas table rase de la tradition, et que l'inouï, l'exceptionnel, y gardent figure de moyens ne servant nullement d'appâts, en tant que fin, à l'inquiétant snobisme.

Quand, au caprice de la plume, M. Gabriel Fauré jongle avec les néologismes et que M. Claude Debussy ne résout pas l'appogiature ou distribue ses accords parfaits à des timbres ingénieusement accouplés, tous deux enrichissent la syntaxe harmonique et orchestrale. Au contraire, lorsque M. Strawinski érige à la hauteur d'un dogme l'emploi simultané et continu des tons différents et l'insolite rumeur instrumentale, ses procédés deviennent haïssables, autant que la plus poncive des formules. N'avons-nous pas vu un de ses disciples, M. Alfredo Casella, duquel la lyre caméléonesque vibre au gré de la mode, échafauder un édifice où se superposaient à peu près tous les degrés de la gamme chromatique ?

Notre musique, il est vrai, est de pure essence simultanéiste. Elle a même singulièrement précédé dans cette voie les actuels cénacles littéraires à la tête desquels M. Sébastien Voirol marche en apôtre. Notes, thèmes, contre-points, sont depuis longtemps habitués à s'exprimer ensemble. Le simultanéisme des tonalités n'est donc point pour nous surprendre, encore qu'il se borne actuellement à nous offrir de simples discordances que leur répétition systématique a tôt fait d'éteindre et d'uniformiser.

Simultanéisme encore, la synthèse des sons et des couleurs préconisée par MM. Carol-Bérard et Valère Bernard. Une musique dégagée des vieilles lois du rythme et de l'harmonie s'associerait à des projections lumineuses ne revêtant elle-même aucune forme déterminée ou figurée. Jets de lumière diversement colorés et sonorités savamment gradués concourraient — au dire des chercheurs — à des combinaisons insoupçonnées. Ce que vous soupçonnez peut-être, et qui est en tous cas une certitude, c'est que chaque fois que M. Carol-Bérard s'est mêlé d'écrire de la musique proprement dite, il n'y a fait montre d'aucune originalité et a poussé l'admiration envers M. Debussy jusqu'à lui emprunter la monnaie de sa manière courante.

M. Erik Satie, lui aussi, poursuit l'effet extra-musical. Jadis, pourtant, quand fleurissait la Rose-Croix, il sut découvrir des agrégations maladroites, sinon captivantes, auxquelles ne manquait pour se muer en œuvre d'art que de n'être plus des balbutiements. Etant natif d'Honfleur comme l'autre, il ambitionne aujourd'hui de devenir l'Alphonse Allais de la musique. Il s'efforce d'y parvenir en mettant au-dessus des cinq lignes ordinaires une ligne supplémentaire d'écriture. Ces petites histoires ou réflexions commentant les *Préludes flasques* et autres *Embryons desséchés*, ne sont pas toujours drôles. Et si l'on enlève le texte, il ne reste plus rien d'hilare. A moins que vous ne considériez spirituel et fin l'usage de citations cueillies dans les œuvres célèbres, ou la suppression totale et absolue des indications de mesure, barres et chiffres, ainsi que cela se pratiquait, mais pas pour la même raison, au Moyen Age, ou encore, la notation réelle employée avec l'enharmorique — la et sol double-dièze, par exemple. Au fond, cette absence d'humour doit être voulue et provenir de l'ironie supérieure de M. Erik Satie.

Je ne conclurai donc pas et ne réclamerai point avec le poète « de la musique avant toute chose », ne sachant pas où les futuristes et les cubistes s'arrêtent, et où commencent les fumistes et les puffistes.

Excerpt from Jean Poueigh, 'Châtelet – Soleil de Nuit – Las Meninas', *La Rampe : Revue Hebdomadaire des Spectacles*, 31 May 1917, 4

Quant à la partition de M. Erik Satie, elle compte pour si peu que j'allais presque omettre de vous signaler la banalité en laquelle se complaît cette musique. L'oreille ne perçoit son anodin tapage que comme une succession de sonorités sans personnalité ni talent, où nulle audace n'éclate parmi les gaucheries et dont le prétendu humour réside dans sa docilité à s'accorder avec la platitude du thème chorégraphique et pictural.

Quelle différence entre elle et l'étincelant burlesque de *Pétrouchka* ! Quel abîme la sépare de la rêverie romantique des *Sylphides* à la Chopin, des danses de *Soleil de Nuit*, vigoureusement rythmées par Rimsky-Korsakow, et de la mélancolie ardente et grave qui monte de la pavane de M. Gabriel Fauré vers les royales frondaisons,

tandis que *Las Meninas* aux monstrueux paniers d'une Espagne de Velasquez reçoivent la déclaration d'amour dans le parc...

Excerpt from Jean d'Udine, 'Couleurs, Mouvements et Sons', *Le Courrier musical*, June 1917, 237-41

Et puis il y a *Parade*, de MM. Eric Satie, pour la musique – si j'ose m'exprimer ainsi – Massine, pour la chorégraphie – si l'on peut dire – Pablo Picasso, pour la décoration – c'est une façon de parler – et Jean Cocteau, pour le thème. Il n'y a personne pour la version ; c'est dommage. Un traducteur serait le bienvenu. Le maboul tel qu'on le danse... Mais ne rions pas, il n'y a vraiment pas de quoi rire. Ce chinois et ces acrobates qui ne savent rien faire, mauvais amateurs pour comédie de salon ; cette fillette américaine, pauvre petite ordure échappée de la poubelle d'un restaurant de nuit ; ces deux ineptes caricatures de managers, portant avec eux leur paysage sur la planche qui leur sert de dos et ce cheval à tête de vieille ; cette musique veule, cette orchestration en chromo, ces harmonies d'un rose suplicien, tout cela est infiniment plus bête que naïf, plus ennuyeux que drôle, plus sénile et désuet qu'audacieux et rénovateur. Plaisanterie stercoraire, amusement fécal ! Mon seul étonnement fut que le stupide solipède, qui n'amuserait même pas un enfant normal, ne lâchât pas son crottin sur la scène, pendant qu'il y était. Prenons-y garde ! il l'a déposé dans nos âmes...

Pourtant ne nous fâchons pas non plus ! Cela ferait trop de plaisir aux farceurs qui élucubrèrent une si plate niaiserie. Pleurons seulement. Je n'ose même pas rappeler à ceux qui firent mine de s'esbaudir devant cette sinistre sottise, que des hommes et des enfants, nos frères et nos fils, meurent encore chaque jour pour la douce France. Rapprocher seulement l'image de tant d'héroïsme et de vertu de ces facéties prétentieuses, c'est risquer de la salir, de la profaner. Pleurons !

Pleurons et prions ! que se soit sur l'Acropole ou à Notre-Dame, il n'importe ! Cela nous rafraichira le cœur. Les grandes figures idéales, que l'antiquité et le moyen âge inventèrent, pour masquer un peu aux hommes les inévitables laideurs de la vie, se pencheront sur nous et nous consoleront de ces abominations pires, voulues,

systematiques. Et nous verrons aussi couler des larmes des yeux verts d'Athéna, ou des yeux bleus de Marie de Nazareth ; car c'est blesser la raison, c'est insulter à la pudeur que de se représenter Apollon tortu et Venus eczémateuse !...

J'aurais du moins voulu trouver quelque agrément à la musique de M. Satie ; j'aime certaines pages de ce compositeur, ses belles *Gymnopédies*, par exemple ; et certainement il fut le précurseur d'une forme d'art que je fais, depuis le commencement de la guerre, de loyaux efforts pour aimer. Mais rien, rien, rien ; il n'y a rien vraiment dans cette mauvaise plaisanterie sonore. Les seuls passages un peu amusants de la grossière et douceâtre symphonie, sont non point limites de, mais copies textuellement sur les bouffonneries musicales (très amusantes celles-là, parce qu'elles étaient à leur place et ne visaient point à l'art) qu'une troupe américaine pseudo-nègre, l'Alexander's Rag Time Band, nous offrit, à l'Alhambra, en février 1914. Que voulez-vous ! je connais mes auteurs. La petite fille obscène de *Parade* a été prise là, elle aussi, et n'est que la déformation indiscreète d'une « girl », qui chantait en se dandinant avec une équivoque innocence : « I want to be ! i want to be ! »

Georges Auric, 'La Jeune Musique française', *La Revue Hebdomadaire*, August 1923, 44-60, 57 [Conférence prononcée au Collège de France, le jeudi 10 mai et répétée au Théâtre de la *Chimère* le samedi 12 mai]

Connaissez-vous les belles pages où Marcel Schwob, développant un imaginaire dialogue sur l'art, place, dans la bouche de Botticelli, cette anecdote :

« Te souviens-tu, l'Oiseau (il s'agit de Paolo Ucello), te souviens-tu de ta dernière peinture, qui devait être un chef-d'œuvre et que tu avais entourée d'un enclos de planches ? Un jour, Donatello te rencontra et te demanda :

« L'Oiseau, quelle est donc cette œuvre que tu enfermes « si soigneusement ? » Et tu lui répondis « Tu la verras un jour. » Et lorsque tu l'eus terminée, il se trouva que Donatello achetait des fruits au Vieux-Marché au moment où tu la découvrais ; et il considéra ton tableau et te dit : « Paolo, tu découvres ton œuvre à l'instant- « même où tu devrais la cacher aux yeux de tous ! Et Donatello ne se trompait nullement, l'Oiseau, car il n'y avait dans ta peinture que des lignes. Tu n'en fis point d'autres après celle-là. J'aimerais mieux pour ma part avoir dessiné le sourire d'une fille. »

Si je n'étais aussi fortement attaché à la musique dont je vais vous parler, j'aurais en ce moment assez peur. Élargissons la fable de Schwob. Disons-nous que toutes ces formules, tous ces systèmes, ces commentaires dont s'entoure trop souvent l'œuvre d'art, ne sont aussi que barricades. Écartons une à une les planches de l'enclos. Démasquons l'œuvre. Allons-nous trouver, cette fois encore, les lignes mesurées, les chaperons à plis, « carrés ou coniques, ronds ou cubiques », où l'Ucello de Schwob plaçait la seule réalité. Je voudrais qu'après notre conversation d'aujourd'hui vous gardiez au contraire le seul souvenir de ce sourire tour à tour ironique et tendre avec lequel je souhaiterais voir s'avancer notre art.

Ce ne sont pas des formules pour pénétrer dans une certaine musique que je puis vous donner. Je n'inscrirai pas au tableau noir les grandes lignes d'une démonstration que je crois inutile de tenter. En feuilletant l'autre jour un livre, j'ai trouvé une petite phrase qui me permettra de vous avouer sans plus de précautions mon dessein. Elle est de Winckelman.

« La beauté parfaite, dit-il, est comme l'eau pure : elle N'a aucune saveur. »

Pour moi, rien n'est plus faux. Toutes les beautés qui me touchent ont une saveur. Dès qu'il y a artifice », dès que la contrainte secrète qui fait naître l'œuvre en active la croissance, se met à jouer, voici s'enfler et grandir parallèlement l'irrésistible courant intérieur qui pousse, chez les musiciens, les sons jusqu'à leur développement, à leur fixation sensible. Émotions et sentiments se précipitent et fleurissent, pour se grouper, s'étager, univers harmonieux.

La plus « pure » musique du monde n'a donc rien de commun avec une eau pure. Mozart a sa saveur, qui est aussi forte que celle de Strawinsky. Dès que l'esprit et le cœur échafaudent leur profond château de cartes, il y a « saveur ». Et c'est l'odeur même de ce jeune bouquet que compose, liée un peu pêle-mêle, toute la plus fraîche musique qui m'entoure. Après, vous ferez votre choix, vous fixerez votre goût. Je ne veux rien vous apprendre. Mais voici quelques fleurs nouvelles. Sentirez-vous les rapports certains qui les rattachent au parterre infini déroulé par notre art ?

Tradition et évolution sont sans doute deux de ces mots magiques qui ont le privilège de faire naître les plus folles contradictions du monde. Que d'écoles grandies autour de ces mots ! De la « tradition de M. d'Indy ou de celle de Claude

Debussy, laquelle choisir? Et si un Strawinsky, un Satie doivent entrer à leur tour dans l'inévitable ronde, à côté de qui les mettre?...

C'est que nous nous faisons une idée bien naïve de nos maîtres. Qu'on nous montre enfin ceux-ci, non plus ainsi que des immortels empaillés, mais vivants, toujours, et solides, encore, par une analyse précise et savante des œuvres qu'ils ordonnent.

Sachons donc ce qu'est au juste notre tradition musicale, pourquoi elle persiste et comment son prolongement peut sainement s'accomplir. Présenter l'art d'aujourd'hui comme les vaines recherches de Lilliputiens tourmentés par la gloire des perce-oreilles n'est plus qu'une mauvaise plaisanterie. N'oublions pas que le grand Debussy en fut la première victime. Mais cela empêcha-t-il la merveilleuse intervention de l'enchanteur de *Pelléas* d'opérer son effet nécessaire? Le génie d'un Debussy restitue dans leur pleine lumière telles pages de Rameau. Et Scarlatti, Couperin, comme nous les aimons mieux, comme nous les sentons plus près de nous, lorsque nous fermons les cahiers de Beethoven pour rejouer tel «Prélude» !

Voici ouverte une claire et bienfaisante voie, une exquise et forte tradition retrouvée. Mais qui cherche à la pénétrer et à la poursuivre? Bien des esprits se sont exclus de la jouissance parfaite d'une musique raisonnable et humaine. Puisse la plus grande lumière projetée sur celle-ci, éclairer suffisamment tout ce qu'en elle nous défendons et aimons. Donatello, Verrochio, certains artistes de la Renaissance italienne, moulèrent quelquefois, pour donner à leurs œuvres plus de vérité, des figures de morts. Les jeunes musiciens dont je veux vous parler répugnent à façonner leurs compositions sur les dépouilles de Wagner ou de Debussy. Ils sauront cependant prolonger le réel et libre effort qu'ils nous apportent.

Cet effort, comprenez bien qu'il ne tend pas un seul instant à affecter l'allure prétentieuse d'une école. Ne serait-ce pas, d'ailleurs, sa condamnation immédiate? Mais semblable précision n'est pas inutile. Je la crois même nécessaire. Elle permet de comprendre les différences profondes qui séparent quelques-uns d'entre nous. Laissez-moi aussi vous citer à ce propos quelques lignes d'un bref article d'Erik Satie, publié en 1920, et qui ont conservé toute leur importance :

« Je n'attaque jamais Debussy, disait-il. Les debussystes seuls m'incommodent. *Il n'y a pas d'école Satie*. Le satisme ne saurait exister. On m'y trouverait hostile.

« En art, il n'y a pas d'esclavage. Je me suis toujours efforcé de dérouter les suiveurs, par la forme et par le fond, à chaque nouvelle œuvre. C'est le seul moyen, pour un artiste, d'éviter de devenir chef d'école, c'est-à-dire pion... »

Il est donc bien entendu que Satie ne s'est pas présenté un seul instant comme le « chef » d'une école nouvelle. De même si nous nous sommes retrouvés auprès de lui, c'était par admiration pour tout ce qu'il nous révélait de vraiment neuf - non par aveuglement ou calcul.

Il ne s'agissait pas de *faire du Satie* et je ne pense point que, même inconsciemment, nous en ayons beaucoup fait. Le temps des « à la manière de » est fini. S'il est normal de subir des influences, il y a, on en conviendra, façon de les assimiler. C'est ainsi que, chez Francis Poulenc, par exemple, il ne semble pas qu'on retrouve les procédés de Satie alors que l'on voit dans la production post-debussyste cent exemples de pastiches flagrants de telles pages de *Pelléas* ou des pièces pour piano. Et cependant, je pense que c'est beaucoup à Satie que Poulenc doit d'avoir pu aussi vite dégager sa personnalité.

On ne dira jamais assez de mal des « écoles ». La systématisation, le procédé, avec tout ce que ces mots peuvent comporter de plus odieux, ce ne sont certes ni Wagner, ni Franck qui les recherchèrent. Mais rendez-vous compte de ce que furent exactement le « wagnérisme » ou le « franckisme » ! A travers l'ennui glacial de trop de sonates ou par-derrrière les thèmes des opéras tétralogique, on sent vite s'épanouir les plus révoltants absolus la « pensée » wagnérienne, amalgame confus d'une déprimante philosophie et d'un mysticisme d'homme des cavernes, – le « franckisme », épanouissement stérile, exaspération à froid qui transforme la candeur de Franck elle-même une apothéose de la pauvreté, de l'impuissance et de la platitude. Et pourtant nul n'a besoin de nous rappeler tout ce qu'il y eut, chez Franck ou Wagner, de génie, de noblesse et de grandeur authentiques.

Leurs disciples seuls nous les rendirent odieux. En art, il ne peut y avoir d'Armée du Salut, parce que toute « vérité » n'y est que relative. Vouloir fixer une règle, une discipline, et s'imaginer qu'avec elles commencera un absolu, c'est pure folie. Il y a dans tout artiste un acrobate auquel nous demandons de réussir le tour qu'il se propose de faire. Réservez nos sifflets pour celui qui manquera son tour. S'il ne retombe pas sur ses jambes, qu'il ne cherche pas à nous étourdir en nous parlant de son « génie ».

La fin du dix-neuvième siècle, le commencement du vingtième, ont vu le triomphe de l'hermétisme symboliste, du romantisme wagnérien, puis la dissociation impressionniste, les mille brisures, les mille facettes lumineuses, les mille papillotements du post-impressionisme.

De grands noms (les « phares » de Baudelaire) dominent tout cela Wagner d'abord, Mallarmé, Verlaine, Renoir... C'est là toute une époque, et une époque capitale pour nous, puisque, quoi que nous en pensions, c'est d'elle que nous tenons nos dégoûts ou nos admirations. De cette troublante fin de siècle, j'ai tracé, dans une brève « note » de la N. R. F., un petit tableau que je vous demande la permission de vous lire, car je vois peu de chose, ce soir, à y ajouter.

« ... Le dix-neuvième siècle finissant, écrivais-je, après tant de feux d'artifices, Rossetti, Maeterlinck (celui de la *Princesse Maleine* et des articles de Mirbeau), les premiers tableaux impressionnistes, Sisley clignant de l'œil devant la Seine, Pissaro, habile et fin, Monet dressant des fleurs comme des œufs à la neige qu'on aurait empoisonnés, cette grande fatigue sensuelle, éparse, papillotante, « *la chair est triste, hélas...* » ... il fallait à tout cela un musicien. Erik Satie, alors très jeune et peu pressé de « produire se réserva. On imagine ce qu'aurait pu être la partition qu'il rêva alors un moment pour la *Princesse Maleine*. Mais seul Claude Debussy devait gagner cette partie décisive. »

Le *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune*, les *Nocturnes*, les *Chansons de Bilitis*, *Pelléas* : voici ce qui sauva vraiment la musique française, et qui, hier encore oublions un instant faillit la perdre. De telles œuvres firent vraiment revivre notre art. Beethoven, Wagner, sonates, grands opéras, il fut enfin permis de se délivrer de ces disciplines fatales. Sans doute un poncif nouveau était né, mais qui permettrait en tout cas à une musique de France de grandir en liberté, quitte à se transformer un jour de la façon la plus imprévue. Pour tout cela, nous admirerons toujours Debussy et d'autant mieux que nous nous sentirons plus éloignés du charmant mystère de son œuvre...

On irrite beaucoup de bons musiciens en affirmant que Claude Debussy participa à l'expansion impressionniste et en constatant que le plus important mouvement que nous puissions en ce moment signaler en France se caractérise, sans aucun doute, par une violente réaction contre cet impressionnisme et le brillant chatolement par

quoi se couronne la musique de Ravel. Il ne peut y avoir de musique «impressionniste », affirment ces personnes pour qui une œuvre comme la Mer de Debussy représente une véritable symphonie moderne, d'une fermeté et d'une franchise de couleurs absolues. Eh bien, il ne faut pas craindre de maintenir notre affirmation. Certes, on ne peut jamais songer à pousser trop loin une comparaison suivie entre deux arts et il pourrait devenir puéril de rapprocher d'une certaine façon les « nuages » qui courent au long de tel « Nocturne » du musicien Debussy avec ceux dont le peintre Monet entoure telle « cathédrale », hélas pas encore « engloutie ». Les sons ne sont pas des couleurs, on ne se sert pas d'un orchestre comme d'une palette et il ne suffit pas d'appeler un morceau «Bruyères» pour nous autoriser à dire que «ces bruyères ne sont pas « ressemblantes ».

Mais ce n'était pas cela que nous entendions en parlant d'«impressionnisme musical. Qu'un accord ne soit pas rouge ou vert, peu nous importe. Le seul fait de présenter une page de musique sous les titres que choisissait Debussy est déjà une suffisante indication. Il y a là un état d'esprit qu'on ne nous fera jamais prendre pour le contraire de ce qu'il est. Et ce n'est pas tout. La musique même de pareils morceaux, toute sa beauté nous empêche-t-elle de l'admirer sans aucune réflexion? Ces accords voluptueux, ces arpèges retombants, ces mélodies chuchotées, ces élans mêmes et ces effusions où demeure toujours quelque chose qui dépasse le charme immédiat de toute musique, qu'est-ce que tout cela, au fond? La personnalité de Debussy, sans doute mais aussi la manifestation incontestable d'une époque où le génie le mieux placé se reflète tout naturellement dans le miroir féérique que lui tendent ses frères.

Ce miroir, Debussy le promène à son tour devant les paysages et les âmes. Ce faisant, il use d'ailleurs de procédés à peu près neufs appliqués à l'interprétation de sentiments qu'il faut bien avouer dissociés à un degré jusqu'alors inconnu.

En présence de la pénétration wagnérienne, de l'hypertrophie du style symphonique, Debussy a dressé une œuvre par bien des côtés miraculeuse et diverse.

Il demeurera un maître digne de la plus grande admiration. Mais, de son exemple même, il ne faut retenir que l'opposition qu'il nous présente toujours à l'exotisme romantique, à la déraison intellectuelle prêchée sur les bancs de la Schola Cantorum.

Quel était l'état exact de notre musique dans les années 1913-1914, si importantes par ce qu'elles apportaient d'inquiétude, d'hésitations, de recherches? Je voudrais que vous vous représentiez notre incertitude d'alors et les buts que nous croyions atteindre.

A la Schola Cantorum, Vincent d'Indy enseignait sa religion, dont le dualisme permet d'adorer tour à tour soit Wagner, soit Franck. Là, nul espoir pour toute sensibilité réelle, qui est aussitôt étouffée dans les vieux moules fatigués de la sonate ou de la symphonie cyclique.

Un seul refuge paraissait exister pour tout musicien un peu hardi. C'était la S. M. I. (Société musicale indépendante), présidée par Gabriel Fauré, dirigée par un comité où Maurice Ravel et Charles Koechlin voisinaient avec Florent Schmitt et Roger Ducasse.

Aux concerts de la S. M. I. régnaient le *debussys* et le *ravelisme* intégral. Des messieurs corrects y posaient en liberté les petites sœurs laides à faire peur qu'ils donnaient à Bilitis. Doucement, gentiment et sans paraître effrayer personne, ils conduisaient leur art vers une ultime cabriole dans l'infinimental.

L'exemple, l'autorité déjà très grande de Maurice Ravel fascinaient également tous ces disciples-nés, en quête, justement, d'un exemple, d'une autorité.

« Ce Basque subtil lance bien sa pelote, n disais-je, à propos de Ravel, voici un peu plus d'un an, elle atteint vite son but, et si nous avouons que ce n'est pas le nôtre, il nous serait doux de ne pas être accusé aussitôt des plus noirs desseins. »

Où donc « arriverions-nous », en effet, suivant une voie où il est impossible *d'aller plus loin?*...

Après l'admirable écriture des pièces pianistiques de Debussy, on peut s'émerveiller de la virtuosité sans défaillances du triptyque de Gaspard de la Nuit. C'est là le modèle, le type même d'un style il serait fou de vouloir le dépasser.

L'esprit moderne n'est sans doute pas ce que Mme de Sévigné appelait « la chose du monde la plus étonnante, la plus surprenante, la plus merveilleuse, la plus miraculeuse, la plus inouïe, la plus incroyable, la plus imprévue, la plus rare. »

Il y a beaucoup de « rareté » d' « imprévu » dans l'écriture, dans la technique de Ravel. Mais il nous paraît que lui-même demeure désormais quelque, peu hésitant sur la route qu'il va suivre. Ses dernières compositions semblent très significatives de cette hésitation.

Sans doute, y a-t-il toujours une concision, une rectitude tout à fait opposée au pur tournoiement impressionniste qui suffit souvent à nous captiver et à nous retenir chez Debussy. Mais tous les artifices employés n'empêchent pas une dispersion, un papillotement scintillant dans la matière même de l'œuvre (par exemple dans le récent poème symphonique *la Valse*), qui la rattachent encore, par exemple, aux tableaux d'un Vuillard, ou aux notations d'un Jules Renard.

Si nous nous reportons à cette époque confuse dont je vous parlais tout à l'heure, nous trouverons, en face de la S.M.I. l'antique Société National, jadis fondée par Camille Saint-Saëns, gardée alors par un sévère comité et qui réunissait régulièrement un public d'austères mélomanes. Guy Ropartz, ici, représentait à peu près ce qu'à la S. M. I. représente encore M. Louis Aubert.

Ce fut là, cependant, et non à la S. M. I., comme on aurait pu le croire, que Ricardo Vinés réussit à jouer pour la première fois, en 1913, les *Véritables préludes flasques* d'Erik Satie.

Scandale, naturellement ! Mais aussi, d'un autre côté, succès tel que Vines dut biffer ces Préludes et qu'aussitôt une certaine critique commença de décerner à Satie cette belle collection d'insultes que l'on ne peut s'empêcher de lui envier un peu.

C'est à peu près à ce moment que je vis Satie. Les *Préludes flasques* m'étant tombés sous les yeux m'enchantèrent et me donnèrent un grand désir de connaître leur auteur. Je réunis toute sa musique, publiée, la jouant, l'étudiant. J'écrivis à Satie qui ne me répondit pas. Mais quelques jours après, je le rencontrai dans un endroit qu'il me plaît beaucoup d'imaginer, aujourd'hui.

C'était, cet endroit, les bureaux de la S. M. I. La S. M. I., c'était, n'est-ce pas, la « Société musicale indépendante » ; tandis que la S. I. M. était, elle, le « bulletin de la Société internationale de musique », publication dirigée par M. Ecorcheville. Mais ce qui embrouillait un peu plus tout cela, c'était que revue et société subissaient alors les mêmes impulsions. Un esprit malin conduisait leurs efforts. Nommons-le sans plus tarder : M. Emile Vuillermoz. Ce « musicien mort jeune », auquel survit toujours l'homme d'esprit, recevait ses collaborateurs dans un petit bureau modern-style. On le sentait blindé de métaphores, caparaçonné de bons mots. De temps en temps, un gnome entrouvrait une porte, jetait sur les visiteurs un regard prudent puis s'évanouissait, tel un lézard. Vous imaginez, je le souhaite,

d'après cette trop brève description, la singularité du lieu où je fis donc, un beau jour, la connaissance de Satie. Nous nous trouvâmes dans ce fameux bureau de M. Vuillermoz, et c'est également là que je vis pour la première fois Roland-Manuel dont vous avez entendu cet hiver, au Trianon-Lyrique, l'opéra-bouffe d'*Isabelle et Pantalon* qu'il a écrit en collaboration avec Max Jacob.

Comment ne pas sourire à de semblables souvenirs? Ce n'est pas de sitôt que je me retrouverai dans le bureau de M. Vuillermoz! Il figure désormais au premier rang des plus déçues victimes de ce petit bouleversement dont je vous entretiens ce soir. Je le remercie avec plaisir, publiquement, de m'avoir permis de connaître à temps Satie. Maintenant, il n'y a plus guère que lui qui s'obstine à ne pas l'écouter sans plaisanter spirituellement. Les mauvaises humeurs de 1913 s'atténuent peu à peu. Et la critique résolue à conserver son esprit d'avant-guerre devra se résigner à ne plus être suivie par aucun lecteur averti. Ce n'est pas auprès de celui-ci que risqueront d'avoir quelque succès des erreurs dictées par le plus obstiné parti pris, telles qu'on pouvait récemment en trouver dans un article de M. Vuillermoz. Celui-ci nommant, ou plutôt prétendant nommer les quatre plus grands musiciens européens actuellement vivants, oubliait tout simplement Strawinsky et, citant le charmant Hans Krasa, ne pensait pas à Prokofieff!

Mais en 1913, au moment des *Préludes flasques*, la situation n'était certes pas la même, dans le monde musical. A un certain esprit bourgeois, quelle indépendance pouvait résister? Pour une majorité avide de généralisation, l'important était de fixer, sur toute œuvre nouvelle, la plus facile étiquette. Ne nous étonnons pas, si elle situa aussitôt, et pour longtemps, Satie dans le domaine de l'« humour »...

Un « humoriste »!... Satie fut donc cela à cause sans doute des titres qu'il donnait à ses pièces de piano, à cause des citations bouffonnes qu'on rencontre dans quelques-unes de ses pièces, à cause des annotations qu'il inscrivait, ironiquement, dans les marges de sa musique!

Les *Préludes flasques* à la Nationale, les *Descriptions automatiques* à la S.M.I. établirent donc cette sorte de renommée étrange qui accompagna longtemps Satie dans certains milieux mal avertis.

Me voilà contraint, ici, d'essayer de vous décrire le formidable coup de foudre qui éclata sur Paris à ce moment, un an après une représentation au Théâtre des Champs-Élysées.

Le Sacre du Printemps, ballet d'Igor Strawinsky, dont la création aux ballets russes s'était déroulée sous les sifflets et les hurlements, fut exécuté au printemps 1914, à l'un des concerts d'orchestre alors organisés et dirigés, au Casino de Paris, par Pierre Monteux.

Pour des gens hypnotisés par la fascination debussyste, c'était la bombe qui déracine les vieux arbres et fait s'écrouler définitivement les édifices désaffectés.

Un orchestre tout entier, traversé par les secousses profondes du génie et, cette fois, du plus sensible et du plus déchirant génie : voilà ce qui fit se dresser sur leurs chaises pour clamer leur admiration, les jeunes gens de 1914, émus aux larmes, le cœur battant, jeunes gens dont j'étais et qui n'oublieront pas de sitôt un tel saisissement.

Une demi-heure après, la rue de Clichy était toujours pleine d'une foule fiévreuse et nous avons salué le départ de Stravinsky dans une automobile par de tels cris d'admiration que les promeneurs paisibles du dimanche s'arrêtaient pour épier un pareil tumulte sans y rien comprendre.

Deux mois après, la guerre éclatait. Nos aînés partaient ; une atmosphère tragique s'appesantissait sur nous.

Les concerts et l'édition musicale interrompus, c'est alors que tout jeune artiste s'interrogeant au milieu de l'épouvantable désarroi de la conscience universelle, dut établir le tableau, le bilan de ses admirations, de ses désirs et essayer de fixer ses aspirations, ses dégoûts.

En 1915, Milhaud sortait du Conservatoire. Je l'y avais aperçu souvent au coin d'un couloir, tout rond et souriant, au milieu d'une de ces jeunes bandes ingénues qui fleurissaient alors les classes de M. Widor et de M. Gédalge.

Au cours de contrepoint, j'avais choisi ma place sagement, j'enregistrais des formules et me taisais. Milhaud, lui, portait des manuscrits, les jouait à sa façon, qui est brutale et puissante, inaugurant féroce un véritable règne de la terreur et s'imposant avec aplomb à des admirateurs de Théodore Dubois. Le « maître », ahuri, se taisait, ne trouvant plus la force de désapprouver. Une fois sortis de la salle de cours, mes camarades s'interrogeaient, stupéfaits. Ils ne reconnaissaient pas là dedans leur musique coutumière. Qu'il leur soit pardonné !

Un jour, nous remontâmes ensemble vers Montmartre. J'appris alors que Milhaud avait mis en musique *Connaissance de l'Est, la Porte étroite, la Brebis égarée*... Il

m'avoua ses préférences. A cette époque, placer Ernest Bloch ou Magnard au-dessus des maîtres que tout nous poussait à admirer semblait paradoxal. Je dois cependant révélation, dès ce jour, de Charles Koechlin, musicien trop modeste et qu'on ne commence à mettre à sa juste place qu'aujourd'hui.

Bientôt, j'entendis des œuvres nouvelles de Milhaud. Car, déjà, il avait ce don que je ne veux pas tarder à dire, cette ahurissante fécondité qui fait que, lorsqu'il n'écrit pas, il songe à ce que, tout à l'heure, il écrira. C'est notre seul auteur capable de méditer un quatuor, préparant un cocktail, tournant, à la foire de Vaugirard, sur l'une de ces grosses automobiles en bois peint d'où l'on découvrait à ce moment, à travers un vertige et un mal de tête fous, un ravissant jeu de massacre.

Au printemps 1916, Milhaud écrivait ses *Poèmes juifs*, sa *Sonate* pour piano. La partition était déjà achevée de ces *Choéphores*, que je considère toujours comme une des plus importantes œuvres de Milhaud.

Après les *Choéphores*, Milhaud partit pour le Brésil, secrétaire de Paul Claudel. C'est alors que Germaine Tailleferre, Arthur Honegger, Louis Durey et moi réunîmes nos essais pour les présenter publiquement, tout en cherchant, chacun de notre côté, cette expression nouvelle dont nous sentions le besoin.

Le souvenir s'éloignait de ce Sacre du Printemps qui nous avait, en 1914, si fort déchiré le cœur.

Dans un atelier de la rive gauche, transformé en salle de concert et en salle d'exposition par les jeunes artistes de Montparnasse, eut lieu à ce moment un festival d'œuvres d'Erik Satie.

Pour beaucoup, quelle surprise !

Nous savions que ce contemporain de Debussy n'avait pas été sans lui révéler jadis l'enchantement alors tout nouveau de certains enchaînements harmoniques.

Nous connaissions les exquis *Morceaux* en forme de poire. Nous savions et respections le passage de Satie à la « Schola », travaillant le contrepoint, écrivant des fugues et des chorals.

Enfin, nous avions le souvenir précis de Viñes revenant sur la scène de la salle Erard, saluer un public déjà ravi par ce qu'il appelait « l'humour » de Satie.

Mais ce fut à ce festival seulement que bien des gens sentirent, sous son travestissement parfois comique, la grandeur réelle de l'exemple et de l'œuvre de Satie.

J'ajouterai à cette révélation générale un mot de Stravinsky me disant, après une exécution de *Parade* : «Voilà trois musiciens français Bizet, Chabrier, Satie. »

Parade est un ballet commandé à Satie par Serge de Diaghilew, après le très grand succès de ce festival et de ceux qui le suivirent. Ouvrez la partition de *Parade* : vous y retrouverez, après déjà quatre ans, cette nostalgie émouvante des trombones et des tambours sur les boulevards parisiens, la pauvre mélancolie des faubourgs, des visages blêmes sous les lumières de la foire. Chinois, petite fille américaine, jongleurs présentés devant la baraque par de grands managers féroces, font la parade du spectacle.

Voici trois numéros qui ne « transposent » pas le music-hall, mais l'élargissent et l'agrandissent. La riche kermesse slave tire ailleurs son feu d'artifice fleuri de plumes de perroquets. Un orgue de Barbarie accompagne ce ballet, et Satie le transforme en machine à rêves.

Après tant de surcharges et de beautés millionnaires, la simplicité d'une musique où la tristesse humaine s'exprimait sans fausses notes, sans mensonge, déplut aux habiles. Le scandale de *Parade* ! On y découvrit mille intentions *Parade* devint un « ballet cubiste », *Parade* fut une folie et, pour les journaux illustrés, devint une farce, tout comme le *Sacre du printemps* « massacrait » le printemps.

Paisiblement, s'arrêtant parfois des semaines pour reprendre un beau jour son travail, Satie entreprit une œuvre dont je n'hésite pas à dire qu'elle approche de bien près les plus nobles pages de *Boris*.

Trois fragments des *Dialogues* de Platon, choisis dans la traduction scolaire de Victor Cousin, composent les trois récits de *Socrate* (Éloge de Socrate, Promenade, au bord de l'Illyssus, Mort de Socrate). Un petit orchestre sobre et clair soutient les voix.

La tendresse, le pathétique d'une déclamation qui n'est que rythme et harmonie en dégagent vraiment cette musique qui « coule d'un esprit dans l'autre ». Elle nous conduit sur un plan inconnu, sans confusion ni complications. Un rouage nouveau déclenche chaque partie, un mouvement spécial l'anime d'une vie particulière et la conduit dans un balancement sûr et continu : Socrate va mourir, alors seulement l'accent pèse, pour ainsi dire insiste, devient plus humain.

Peu après la création de *Parade*, Darius Milhaud revint du Brésil. Francis Poulenc s'étant joint à nous, l'action de notre groupe commença à se préciser singulièrement.

Un livre de Jean Cocteau *Le Coq et l'Arlequin*, contribua beaucoup à éclairer notre situation et notre position. Vous connaissez certainement ce « tract » qui a soulevé, comme toutes les choses vivantes, des malentendus et des confusions qui ne commencent se dissiper qu'en ce moment. Mais ce bref volume ouvre plus d'aperçus sur un art qui nous atteint profondément que tant d'articles techniques et vides. Il demeurera toujours, je crois, un document indispensable sur toute une période fertile de notre musique.

Des spectacles collectifs se succédèrent le premier spectacle organisé par Cocteau où furent représentées la farce du *Bœuf sur le toit* de Milhaud, les *Cocardes* de Poulenc, mon fox-trot : *Adieu, New-York*, puis la musique pour les *Mariés de la Tour Eiffel*, montés aux Ballets suédois avec un décor d'Irène Lagut, des costumes et des masques de Jean Hugo.

L'indifférence était dissipée mais, naturellement, pas la haine ni l'ignorance. Celles-ci ne manqueront pas d'accabler à leur tour les musiciens qui nous suivront. Déjà, d'ailleurs, elles se sont exercées. La *Mavra* de Stravinsky, composée dans un esprit tout différent du *Sacre*, les a déchaînées comme automatiquement. Félicitons Stravinsky !

Car il est bien entendu que nous n'avons jamais prétendu représenter dans la prodigieuse évolution qui transforme, en ces années décisives, notre musique, un point final. Tout change en ce temps et nous; d'ailleurs, les premiers. Mais si tout change dans le sens qu'il me semble permis d'espérer, peut-être n'aurons-nous pas été étrangers à la poussée, à la montée lente mais certaine que je prévois.

J'aime souvent rappeler les beaux vers du dernier poème par quoi s'achève le recueil des *Calligrammes* de Guillaume Apollinaire :

Soyez indulgents lorsque vous nous comparez

A ceux qui furent la perfection de l'ordre,

Nom qui quêtions partout l'Aventure...

Mais pour la musique française, libérée des contraintes artificielles qui menacèrent, hier, de la paralyser, je crois bien que voila se dessiner, si elle sait poursuivre sans défaillir le chemin engagé, la plus belle aventure.

Alexis Roland-Manuel, 'Adieu à Satie', *Revue Pleyel*, 15 December 1924, 21-22

La première représentation du “ ballet instantanéiste ” de MM. Picabia et Satie, marque une date importante, je le dis sans ironie, dans les annales de la musique française. Une telle œuvre, qui touche le fond de la misère esthétique, porte avec soi un incomparable enseignement. Une hérésie achalandée illustre ici sa déchéance. Remercions-la de proclamer sa propre faillite, de se suicider aussi bien et de mourir sans beauté, afin sans doute de décourager du martyr ses derniers prosélytes.

La vague religion musicale que nous aurons vu naître et mourir ne portait pas de nom avant de s'inféoder à l' “ instantanéisme ” de M. Picabia. Son dogme fondamental fut le dogme de la non-résistance au mal, transporté sur le plan esthétique. Son dessein le plus clair, la poursuite de l'originalité, avec la collaboration du hasard. Culte de la liberté, mépris de toutes les élégances du métier, mais non d'une certaine raideur scolastique ; recherche enfin d'une simplicité saugrenue. A la faveur d'un malentendu, ce singulier romantisme connut d'abord le succès dans les milieux les moins faits pour le goûter.

Environ 1916, le petit nombre de musiciens qui connaissaient Satie et qui l'aimaient sincèrement, ne songeaient point à saluer en lui le prophète ni le grand prêtre d'une religion nouvelle. Ils l'honoraient d'abord comme un étonnant précurseur, et goûtaient de surcroît la fantaisie narquoise des *Descriptions automatiques*, des *Croquis et Agaceries* et de ces adorables idylles : *Jeux et Divertissements* où le bon maître d'Arcueil a mis sans doute le meilleur de lui-même. Mais les peintres veillaient. Las des suavités de l'impressionnisme, curieux d'une discipline, d'un art plus rude et plus nu, naturellement incapables de déceler les maladresses de la musique de Satie et l'insuffisance de sa technique, ils crurent volontaire ce qui n'était que fortuit. Quand *Parade* leur fut présentée par les ballets russes, ils virent en Satie le Picasso de la musique et ne se gênèrent point pour le dire. Je n'oublierai jamais la rencontre que je fis à cette époque d'un peintre justement fameux entre les cubistes. Comme je louais devant lui l'expédiente modestie de la partition de *Parade* : “ Ne trouvez-vous pas, me dit-il, qu'une telle musique balaie utilement le papillotement impressionniste de *Pétrouchka* ? ” Il ne

plaisantait point. Il haussait de bonne foi la symphonie bonasse, ingénue et pétaradante de Satie au niveau des prestigieuses constructions de Picasso, et il envoyait connement le musicien du *Sacre*, rejoindre les vieilles lunes. A son exemple, cent peintres nouveaux sortirent de la caserne cubiste pour fraterniser avec Erik Satie, musicien “ classique ”, vainqueur de l’hydre impressionniste, vainqueur de Debussy, de Ravel et de Stravinsky.

Après les peintres, les musiciens. Ces derniers témoignèrent un peu moins d’aveuglement, mais parfois autant d’inconséquence. Ils abusèrent de cette conjonction *et* dont Nietzsche a si bien montré la dangereuse complaisance. Ils prônèrent concurremment Satie et Stravinsky. Ils élevèrent sur le même pavois le maître des jeux sans rigueur et le maître de la rigueur obstinée. Antagonisme dangereux : comme il est moins difficile d’imiter Satie que d’imiter Stravinsky, la balance pencha toujours du côté du plus faible. Stravinsky lui-même nous l’a montré dans *Mavra*, de la façon la plus imprévue. Mais le malentendu ne pouvait s’éterniser, et *Relâche* le dissipe. Esclave de son triomphe, le rédempteur Satie, à l’ombre du bel étendard où Jean Cocteau peignit tendrement une rose, devait se ressouvenir d’une autre rose – et d’une autre croix. Comment la passion du gothique montmartrois aurait-elle pu s’éteindre, aussi bien, chez le compositeur des *Gnossiennes*, chez le camarade d’Alphonse Allais, chez le “ parcier ” de l’*Eglise métropolitaine d’art de Jésus conducteur* ?

On comprend à merveille que Satie ne se soit pas senti plus à l’aise dans la compagnie des doctrinaires cubistes qu’au sein du conseil d’administration de la ligue anti-moderne, entre Jean Cocteau, l’ami des anges, et Stravinsky, le maître des machines. Dada guettait Satie. Dada seul pouvait fournir de nouveaux aliments à son incoercible appétit de bouffonnerie hypocrite, à cet esprit de farce ésotérique, où la cautèle normande se mêle si curieusement à l’humour écossais.

Mais le musicien de *Relâche* est au musicien des *Airs à faire fuir* ce que M. Picabia est à Jarry. A la réserve de l’entr’acte cinématographique, où la fantaisie M. René Clair fait merveille, parce qu’elle est ordonnée, *Relâche* est la chose du monde la plus ennuyeuse et la plus sottement affligeante, parce qu’elle sollicite l’affreuse collaboration du hasard. “ Picabia, écrit fort justement Eugène Marsan, a la même

philosophie que Voltaire, Il croit que l'Univers est fou ". Or Picabia lui-même se targue en propres termes d'avoir créé *Relâche* un peu comme Dieu créa la vie :

*Eh quoi, le monde tourne, et mon bol, et ce livre
Que je tiens dans ma main. O ciel tu es donc ivre ?*

Ivresse sans verve, morne folie. La musique de *Relâche* est encore plus pauvre que tout le reste. Les voici vraiment, hélas ! les " airs à faire fuir ", refrains pâteux où flotte le remugle du café-concert de 1890. Pour mieux crier : Vive la vie, Francis Picabia s'entoure de cercueils, de corbillards, de couronnes funéraires qui sont comestibles et dont ses comparses se repaissent : affreux symbole. Mais il ne parvient pas à tirer parti de l'antithèse, à exalter la vie au contact de la mort. Il demeure empêtré dans l'appareil funèbre et Satie avec lui, qui a perdu pour toujours " la forme et l'essence divine " de ses amours décomposés.

Adieu *Relâche*. Adieu Satie. Puissiez-vous entraîner dans l'abîme, avec l'amour de la faute d'orthographe et le culte de la faute de goût, ce prétendu classicisme qui n'est qu'absence de grâce et cet abominable romantisme qui méconnaît jusqu'à la sincérité.

Marius Sidobre, 'La Mort d'un Musicien', *L'Humanité*, 11 July 1925, 4

La semaine dernière est mort à Paris Eric Satie, compositeur de musique. Les grands journaux d'information ont fait sur ce musicien des articles plus ou moins alambiqués. Pourtant par son œuvre, par sa pensée, Eric Satie était éloigné des poncifs et des officiels. Une particularité qui étonnera peut-être les plumitifs qui, à l'occasion de sa mort l'ont encensé, c'est que Eric Satie a appartenu au Parti Communiste jusqu'en 1924 et s'il n'a pas continué c'est qu'absorbé par son rat musical, la transformation du Parti l'empêchait d'en suivre la vie active. Mais de cour il était resté avec le Parti de classe du prolétariat; les camarades d'Arcueil qui se sont entretenus avec lui très peu de temps avant sa maladie peuvent en certifier. Eric Satie avait donné son adhésion au Parti Socialiste il y a une quinzaine d'années à la section d'Arcueil-Cachan.

Pendant la guerre 1914-1918, il fut ardemment pacifiste, ce qui lui valut des démêlés avec la justice. En 1917, à l'occasion d'un incident banal avec un critique d'art musical, il fut traduit en correctionnelle et condamné à 15 jours de prison sans sursis. Les mêmes journaux qui ces jours derniers l'ont couvert de fleurs le gratifièrent à cette époque de brocards, aussi imbéciles qu'odieux. Son talent musical n'avait pas l'heur de plaire aux sens bien pensants. Il bousculait sans ménagements les traditions des officiels.

Notre camarade Eric Satie, de par sa bonhomie charmante jouissait auprès des humbles qui le connaissaient d'une profonde estime. Malgré les relations que ses œuvres musicales lui avaient fait avoir dans la haute bourgeoisie, il avait gardé; des goûts extrêmement simples et les gens huppés qui ont suivi sa dépouille mortelle aurait peut-être été surpris quand ils sont passés rue Cauchy, à Arcueil, devant la vieille masure surnommée « les 4 cheminées » si on leur avait dit que dans cet immeuble de familles d'ouvriers pauvres habitait ce lui qui les avait divertis durant son existence.

Eric Satie a eu lundi 6 juillet à Arcueil des funérailles que certes il n'eut pas désirées de son vivant, le goupillon est venu asperger sa bière. Les quelques camarades communistes qui avons appris sa mort et qui avons suivi le luxueux corbillard dont on l'avait gratifié, savions bien que toute sa vie, intellectuellement et matériellement, avait été une protestation contre la société actuelle qui opprime les cerveaux et les corps des homme.

Appendix 2: Concert programmes 1911-1925

Note: Concerts are presented in chronological order and where possible I list the concert society/organiser, concert title, venue and the individuals who performed Satie's music as part of that programme. In cases where the programme could not be located, programmes are reconstructed from concert advertisements, press reviews, personal memoirs and correspondence concerning the event. Many of Satie's premieres took place in private gatherings and therefore did not necessarily form part of a concert programme; however I include this information here for its historical interest.

Pre-war concerts

1911

16 January 1911, SMI, Salle Gaveau, Maurice Ravel (pf)¹

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Jean Huré	<i>Sonatine</i> (1906): Allegro vivace – Andantino amiable – Allegretto con gracia	Paul Viardot and Mlle Andrée Gellée	Huré was a committee member of the SMI and music critic.
Louis Vierne	<i>Cantabile et Scherzo de la I^{le} Symphonie</i> (1903) 2 mvts performed.	Louis Vierne	Vierne was the organist of Notre-Dame.
Paul Martineau	<i>Sonatine</i> (1909): Modere – Assez vif – Très lent. Pf solo.	Mlle Andrée Gellée	Composer and music critic
Claude Debussy	<i>Première Rhapsodie</i> (pf + cl)	MM. Mimart et Krieger	
Eugène Grassi	<i>Trois Mélodies</i> :) La mort de Pra-Naraï, L'espiègle, La prière de Nang-Sisuda	Mme Sorga	Grassi was a composer from Siam, studied with d'Indy in Paris. Text of the <i>Mélodies</i> by M. D. Calvocoressi
Erik Satie	<i>Dieuxième Sarabande</i> <i>Les Fils des Etoiles...</i> (Prélude du 1 ^{er} acte) <i>Troisième Gymnopédie</i>	Maurice Ravel	Premiere of <i>Sarabande</i> (no. 2) and <i>Gymnopédie</i> (no. 3) Satie's 'official' career launched in this concert and his status as 'precursor' in <i>Guide</i> notes.
Germaine Corbin	<i>Sextuor</i> : Moderé – Lent – Andante (Lent)	M. Dorvial	This work is analysed in <i>Le Guide du Concert</i> , 8 Oct 1910, 6.

¹ Anon., 'Salle Gaveau', *Guide du Concert*, 14 January 1911, 156-157.

25 March 1911, Cercle Musical, Salle Gaveau, Claude Debussy (cond.)²

Orchestra conducted by Debussy 'sous la direction de l'Auteur'. Programme was exclusively works by Debussy: *Fêtes galantes* (Verlaine), 2^e recueil piano et chant (Debussy), Miss Maggie – Teyte et l'Auteur. *Children's Corner* (M. A. Caplet).
 Note: Satie's *Gymnopédies* 1 & 3 (orch. Debussy) were played in this concert. Camille Chevillard (Concerts Lamoureux) refused to play the *Gymnopédies* in their orchestral version the previous December (1910).³

1912

11 June 1912, private concert, 'Soirée du XI-VI-MCMXII', atelier of Mme Valentine de Saint-Point, Schmitt & Ravel (pf duet)⁴

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
de Falla	<i>Pièces espagnoles</i>		
Ravel	<i>Shéhérazade</i>		
Debussy	<i>Green</i>		
Gretchaninof	<i>Berecuse</i>		
Satie	<i>Morceaux en forme de poire</i>	Florent Schmitt & Ravel	
Stravinsky	<i>Deux Poésies</i>	M. Nicolas ANDREIEF de l'Opéra Impérial de Saint-Petersbourg, accompagné par M. Mladene IOVANOVIITCH.	Premiere
Schmitt	<i>O, triste, était mon âme</i>		text by Paul Verlaine
Cambell-Tipton	<i>Suite pastorale</i>	Cambell-Tipton and Nicolai Skoloff.	for piano and vln
Roland-Manuel	<i>La Révolte de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam</i>	Elisabeth played by Mlle Andrée Mielly. Félix played by M. Abelin. Musique de scène de M. Roland Manuel	
Tassos Loukidès	<i>Mélodies Grecques anciennes</i>		
Charles Baudelaire	<i>L'étranger, Enivrez-vous</i>	Mlle Natacha Trouhanowa	
Romauld Joubé	<i>Poèmes</i>		du Théâtre National de l'Odéon
Debussy	<i>Danse sacrée, Danse profane</i>		
Alphonse de Lamartine	<i>Le désespoir</i>	Mme Marie Derboven du Théâtre Royal de Bruxelles	
Edgar Poe	<i>Eldorado</i>		
Henrick Ibsen	<i>Chanson du Poète</i>		
Tassos Loukidès	<i>Mélodies Grecques anciennes</i>		

17 June 1912, 'SMI: 2ème Concert de gala sous le patronage de la Société Française des Amis de la Musique', Salle Gaveau, Desiré É. Inghelbrecht (cond.)⁵

² Anon., 'Cercle musical', *Guide du Concert*, 25 March 1911, 305. Only a brief list is provided, not a comprehensive one.

³ Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 150.

⁴ Concert programme in IMEC: SAT 25.6, 'Soirée du XI-VI-MCMXII'.

⁵ Anon., 'Salle Gaveau', *Guide du Concert*, 1 June 1912, 541-543. Further descriptions of the works programmed can be found here.

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Charles Koechlin	<i>Les Vendanges</i> , symphonic poem, op. 30, no. 1 (1906) Allegro –Andante - Allegro	Cond. D. É. Inghelbrecht	Premiere Programmatic work: the first allegro is described as evoking a poem by Th. de Banville.
J. Pillios	<i>L'anémone et la rose</i>	Kypris: Mme Mary Mayrand; La Récitante: Mme Dena Munroé, et un chœur de voix de femmes	Premiere Programmatic work: This work is an extract of 'Derniers Poèmes' by Leconte de Lisle
Erik Satie	<i>Prélude de la porte héroïque du ciel</i> (orch. Roland-Manuel)	Cond. By D. É. Inghelbrecht	Premiere Note from Satie in the <i>Guide du Concert</i> . ⁶
Jean Huré	<i>La Cathédrale</i>	Mlle Vallin et les Choeurs sous la direction de l'Auteur	Premiere
Claude Debussy	<i>Le Martyre de Saint-Sébastien</i> I. La Cour des lys II. La Chambre magique III. Le Concile des faux deux IV. Le Laurier blessé V. Le Paradis	Mlle E. Vallin (Vox coelestis – la Vierge Erigone), Mmes Bugg-Bourgeois, Grivelli, Coursin, Bregeot, Gorla, Bechard (les femmes de Byblos). Orchestre et chœurs (250 exécutants) – sous la direction de M. D. E. Inghelbrecht.	Exécution intégrale This work constituted the 'deuxième partie' of this concert.

11-31 Nov 1912, *Coco Chéri! (Le Pousse L'Amour)*, Théâtre Impérial⁷

COMPOSER/ AUTHOR	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
MM. Jules Thinet et Fabri (writers)	<i>M. Colletterte veuf</i>		comédie-bouffe en un acte, described by one critic as 'un désopilant type de cabot de caf'conc'. ⁸
MM. Maurice de	<i>Coco chéri!! Le Pousse</i>	See footnote ⁹	

⁶ Ibid., 543 'J'ai écrit ce prélude, en 1894, pour l'œuvre de M. Jules Bois. M. Roland Manuel m'a demandé en 1911, l'autorisation d'orchestrer ce coin de ma vie. Telle est l'histoire simple d'un petit prélude, petit prélude ivroirié comme un tapis résonnant; petit prélude tout de douceur mystique, petit prélude tout de joie extatique, petit prélude tout de bonté intime. La forme en est naïve et chaste; les harmonies en sont recueillies et blanches, suivant les convenances si respectables et si touchantes qu'établirent justement Nos Augustes Prédécesseurs, les Maîtres Vénérés de l'Antiphonaire Suprême, Unique, Impeccable, Triomphant, Anonyme, Fascinateur et Phénoménal.'

⁷ The programme for this concert is described in Serge Bassot, 'Courrier des Théâtres', *Le Figaro*, 11 November 1912, 7; Serge Basset, 'Courrier des Théâtres', *Le Figaro*, 13 November 1912, 6; Serge Basset, 'Courrier Les Théâtres', *Le Figaro*, 27 November 1912, 5; Edmond Stoullig, 'La Semaine Théâtrale', *Le Monde artiste*, 7 December 1912, 774-775. This work was programmed for performance throughout the month of November in the Théâtre-Impérial. Initially billed as *Coco Chéri!*, by late November it was advertised under the new name *Le Pousse L'Amour*. *Coco Chéri!* was also performed as part of a different programme on 28 February 1913 at the Théâtre Beaux Arts, Monte Carlo and was reviewed in R. Leys, 'A Monte-Carlo: Théâtre du Palais des Beaux-Arts', *Le Figaro*, 1 April 1913, 5.

⁸ Edmond Stoullig, *Le Monde artiste*, 'La Semaine Théâtrale, 7 December 1912, 774-775.

⁹ Cast of *Coco chéri!* (Serge Basset, *Le Figaro*, 'Courrier des Théâtres', 13 November 1912, 6): Aimé chéri: MM. Pierre Bressol, Lord John d'Euf: Moriss, Un pâtissier: Poggi, Yvette de Nanan: Mlle Lucie Jonsset, Elisabeth: Pierrette Monfray. Cast of *Le Pousse de l'Amour* ('Courrier Les Théâtres', *Le Figaro*, 27 November 1912, 5): Miette: Mlles Lucy Jousset, Elisabeth: Pierrette

Féraudy et Jean Kolb (writers), musique de M. Erik Satie.	<i>L'Amour</i>		
M. Jean-José Frappa	<i>Comme on fait son lit...</i>		vaudeville en trois actes

1913

5 April 1913, Société Nationale, Salle Pleyel, solo piano concert, Ricardo Viñes (pf)¹⁰

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Jean Cras	<i>Recueillement</i> <i>Au fil de l'eau</i>	Ricardo Viñes	
Debussy	<i>Les Fées sont d'exquises danseuses,</i> <i>La Terrasse des audiences au clair de lune</i> <i>Feu d'artifice</i>	Ricardo Viñes	
Erik Satie	<i>Véritables préludes flasques (pour un chien)</i>	Ricardo Viñes	Premiere – was given an encore. Note from Satie in the <i>Guide du Concert</i> ¹¹

17 May 1913, Salle des Agriculteurs, solo piano concert, Jane Mortier (pf)¹²

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Casella	<i>Bercuse triste</i>	Jane Mortier	
Turina	<i>Sevilla</i>	Jane Mortier	
Fl. Schmitt	<i>Lied tendre, Valse nostalgique</i>	Jane Mortier	
A. Roussel	<i>Sonatine</i>	Jane Mortier	
G. Grovlez	<i>Improvisations sur Londres</i>	Jane Mortier	
Maurice Ravel	<i>Oiseaux tristes</i> <i>Valses nobles et sentimentales n° 1</i>	Jane Mortier	According to Martineau, Ravel's <i>Valse</i> was not performed. ¹³
Erik Satie	<i>Véritables préludes flasques (pour un chien)</i>	Jane Mortier	
Debussy	<i>Le Général Lavine (two preludes)</i> ¹⁴	Jane Mortier	
Manuel de Falla	<i>Andaluza</i>	Jane Mortier	

Monfray, Aimé Chéri: MM. Pierre Bressol, Lord John d'Euf: Le dessinateur Morris, Le Mitron: Maurice Poggi.

¹⁰ Anon., 'Salle Pleyel', *Guide du Concert*, 29 March 1913, 375-76. Programme information is found in a review of this concert: René Chalupt, 'Société Nationale de Musique', *La Phalange*, 20 April 1913, No. 82, 383.

¹¹ Anon., 'Salle Pleyel', *Guide du Concert*, 29 March 1913, 375-76: 'Les "Véritables Préludes Flasques" ouvrent une série d'œuvres pianistiques: "Les Descriptions Automatiques", "Les Embryons Desséchés", "Les Chapitres tournés en tous sens" et "Les Vieux Sequins". Je m'y livre aux joies douces de la fantaisie. Ceux qui ne comprendront pas sont priés par moi, d'observer le plus respectueux silence et de faire montre d'une attitude toute de soumission, toute d'infériorité. C'est là leur véritable rôle.'

¹² Anon., 'Salle des Agriculteurs', *Guide du Concert*, 10 May 1913, 469-470.

¹³ Paul Martineau, 'Review', *Le Monde musical*, 30 May 1913, 167. 'Nous avons beaucoup regretté que ne fût pas joué la *Valse* de Ravel, annoncée au programme, œuvre très caractéristique de la manière de ce compositeur [...].'

¹⁴ Anon., 'Salle des Agriculteurs', *Guide du Concert*, 10 May 1913, 469-470, mentions that two Debussy preludes performed; however, only one is mentioned in Martineau article.

5 June 1913, SMI, Salle Erard, Ricardo Viñes (pf)¹⁵

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
P. Hillemacher	<i>Thème varié pour piano</i>	Mlle Bompard	
Max d'Ollone	<i>Méodies</i>		
Erik Satie	<i>Descriptions Automatiques</i>	Ricardo Viñes	Premiere Note from Satie in the <i>Guide du Concert</i> ¹⁶
Ravel	<i>Méodies</i>		
Stravinsky	<i>Méodies</i>		
Etienne Royer	<i>Quatuor à cordes</i>	Le Quatuor Vileqski Bellanger, De Renaucourt, Maréchal	Premiere

5 December 1913, Salle Pleyel, 22 rue de Rochechouart, solo piano concert, Jane Mortier (pf)¹⁷

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Liszt	<i>Fantaisie et Fugue sur le thème B.A.C.H.</i>	Jane Mortier	
Florent Schmitt	<i>Sur un vieux petit cimetière</i>	Jane Mortier	
Erik Satie	<i>Embryons desséchés</i>	Jane Mortier	Premiere ¹⁸
Joaquin Turina	<i>Tango</i>	Jane Mortier	
Gabriel Grovlez	<i>Soir de dimanche sur les bords de la Tamise (redemandé)</i>	Jane Mortier	
Albert Roussel	<i>Prélude</i>	Jane Mortier	
Maurice Ravel	<i>Une Barque sur l'Océan</i>	Jane Mortier	
Paul Dukas	<i>Sonate (redemandé)</i>	Jane Mortier	
Debussy	<i>Derniers Préludes: Canope, Général Lavine, Feuilles mortes, Puerta del vino, Ondine</i>	Jane Mortier	

18 & 21 (and possibly on the 20 also) December 1913, 'Métachorie' organised by Valentine de Saint-Point, Concerts Colonne, Salle Léon-Poirier (future Comédie des Champs-Élysées), Théâtre des Champs Élysées, Maurice Droeghmans (cond.) (limited programme available)¹⁹

'Demain, à quatre heures précises, aura lieu au théâtre Léon-Poirier (Comédie des Champs-Élysées) la matinée de gala de Mme Valentine de Saint-Point, avec sa *Métachorie* (danse Idéistes, d'après ses poèmes). Une conférence explicative de la poétesse sera lue par M. Georges Saillard, du théâtre Antoine. Les poèmes seront récités par M. de Max. L'orchestre des musiciens des Concerts Colonne, dirigé par M. Maurice Droeghmans, exécutera les musiques en grande

¹⁵ Anon., 'Salle Erard', *Guide du Concert*, 31 May 1913, 509.

¹⁶ Ibid., 509. Note from Satie in the *Guide du Concert*: 'J'écrivis les 'Descriptions Automatiques', à l'occasion de ma fête. Cette œuvre fait suite aux 'Véritables Préludes Flasques'. Il est de toute évidence quels Aplatis, les Insignifiants, et les Boursoüflés n'y prendront aucun plaisir. Qu'ils aient leurs barbes! Qu'ils se dansent sur le ventre!'

¹⁷ Anon., 'Salle Pleyel', *Guide du Concert*, 29 November 1913, 126.

¹⁸ Note from Satie in the *Guide du Concert*, 29 November 1913, 126.

¹⁹ Programme in Anon., 'Théâtres', *Journal des débats*, 20 December 1913, 3. This event is also mentioned in Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 1173: 'Satie a participé à la seule manifestation publique de Valentine de Saint-Point – la *Métachorie*, crée au Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, salle Léon-Poirier, le 18 et 20 décembre 1913, puis reprise à New York, en 1917 – en composant, sur un de ses poèmes, la pièce d'orchestre *Les Pantins dansent* qu'elle devait ensuite chorégraphier et danser.' Volta, (ed.), *Correspondance*, 180. According to the *Journal des débats* this concert only occurred on 21 December.

partie inédites de Claude Debussy, Erik Satie, Maurice Ravel, Florent Schmitt, Maurice Droeghmans et R. Manuel.²⁰ Première of *Les Pantins dansent*.

1914

14 January 1914, SMI, Salle Erard, Ricardo Viñes (pf)²¹

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Henri Cliquet	<i>Quatuor en quatre parties</i>	Casella, Chailley, Jurgensen, Griset	Première ²² For pf, vln, alto, vc.
Maurice Delage	<i>Quatre Poèmes Hindous</i> : 1. Madras. 2. Lahore. 3. Bénarès. 4. Jeypour.	Mlle Rose Féart, MM. Spathy, Merkel, Bigot, Audisio, Jeoffroy, Pascal, Speyer, Dauwe, Baton, Mlle Ellie sous la direction de M. Désiré Inghelbrecht	Première For voice, harp, 2 fl., 1 ob., 2 cl., string quartet.
Erik Satie	<i>Chapitres tournés en tous sens</i>	Ricardo Viñes	Première Note from Satie in the <i>Guide du Concert</i> . ²³
G. Knos	<i>Scherzare, Scherzare</i>	Ricardo Viñes	Première (pf)
Igor Strawinsky	<i>Trois Poèmes de la Lyrique Japonaise</i> : 1. Akahito 2. Mazatsumi 3. Tsarauki	Mlle Nikitina Au piano Mr P. Lucas	Première chant, piano, 2 flûtes, 2 clarinettes et quatuor à cordes
Florent Schmitt	<i>Une maine du petit Elfe Ferme-l'oeil ou le Songe de Hjalmar</i> a) La Noce des Souris b) La Cigogne lasse c) Le Cheval de Ferme-l'oeil d) Le Mariage de la Poupée Berthe e) La Parapluie Chinois	Mlles Denise Haas et Alice Durand	Première piano à 4 mains
Ravel	<i>Trois poèmes de Mallarmé</i> a) Soupir b) Placet futile c) Surgi de la Croupe et du Bond	Mme Bathori-Engel	Première For chant, pf, 2 fls, 2 cls and string quartet

19 January 1914, private concert, Chez M & Mme Albert Zaganilles, 15 place de la Madeleine, Auric (pf), Auric & Moulenq (pf duet)²⁴

²⁰ Anon., 'Théâtres', *Journal des débats*, 20 December 1913, 3.

²¹ Anon., 'Salle Erard', *Guide du Concert*, 10 January 1914, 203-204 and in an original concert programme located in the Satie Archives, IMEC: SAT 25.7.

²² In the concert programme (IMEC), there is no mention that this work is a première: this is stated in the *Guide du Concert*.

²³ Note from Satie in the *Guide du Concert*, 10 January 1914, 204: 'Gardons-nous de la déflorer: Les 'Chapitres tournés en tous sens' ont été taillés dans un rictus de Trouble-Joie. Ils sont une sorte de bonasse et figuratif détachement des 'Véritables Préludes flasques', des 'Descriptions automatiques' et des 'Embryons desséchés'. Je demande qu'ils soient écoutés par gorgées, sans précipitation. Que la Modestie se pose sur les épaules moisisées des Repliés et des Enfouis! Qu'ils ne s'embellissent pas de mon amitié! C'est une parure qui n'est pas pour eux.'

²⁴ Programme in IMEC: SAT 25.8, 'Programme du Lundi 19 Janvier 1914'. The following text appears at end of programme: 'Par déférence pour les artistes, on demande un silence rigoureux.' This instruction recalls Satie's Rose+Croix days.

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Erik Satie	a. <i>3e Sarabande</i> b. <i>2e Gymnopédie</i> c. <i>Le Fils des Etoiles</i> d. <i>3e Sonnerie de la Rose Croix</i>	Georges Auric	
Mussorgsky	<i>Sans Soleil</i>	Mme Paule de Lestang, accompagnée par Mlle Juilette Binecher	
Erik Satie	a. <i>Prélude de la port héroïque du Ciel</i> b. <i>Pièces froides</i>	Georges Auric	
Erik Satie	<i>Morceaux en forme de poires (à 4 mains)</i>	Georges Auric & Jean Moulenq	
Ernest Chausson	<i>Poème</i>	Mlle Léonie Lapié	violin et orchestre
Erik Satie	a. <i>Aperçus désagréables</i> b. <i>En habit de cheval (4 mains)</i>	Georges Auric & Jean Moulenq	
Mussorgsky	<i>Enfantines</i> a. <i>Oh! Raconte,</i> <i>Nianouchka</i> b. <i>Fidonc, l'Espiegle!</i> c. <i>Le Hantheon</i> d. <i>La poupée s'endort</i> e. <i>La prière du soir</i> f. <i>Sur le Dada</i> g. <i>Mimi brigand</i>	Mme Paul de Lestang accompagnée par Mlle Juliette Binecher	
Erik Satie	a. <i>Descriptions automatiques</i> b. <i>Embryons desséchés</i> c. <i>Chapîtres tournés en tous sens</i>	Georges Auric	
Georges Auric	<i>A la manière de Erik Satie</i> ²⁵ <i>Esquisses et aperçus instantanés:</i> a. <i>D'une Espagnole</i> b. <i>D'une danse infernale</i> c. <i>D'une voiture de déménagement</i>	Georges Auric	

Unspecified date, private concert, January 1914, Chez M. et Mme Fernand Dreyfus (parents of Roland-Manuel), Satie (pf)²⁶

<p>Premiere of <i>Le Piège de Méduse</i> Participants: Baron Méduse - Roland Manuel Frisette, la Fille du Baron - Susanne Roux (Roland Manuel's fiancée) Dancing Monkey - Jean Dreyfus (the son of Fernand Dreyfus) On 'prepared' piano - Satie Others who assisted: Georges Auric and Maurice Delage (musicians), Roger de La Fresnaye (painter), René Chalupt (poet) and Valentine Gross (designer)</p>

28 March 1914, Société Nationale, Salle Pleyel, solo piano concert, Ricardo Viñes (pf)²⁷

²⁵ Unfortunately this work no longer survives.

²⁶ Volta (ed), *Correspondance*, 194, 1080 and René Chalupt, 'Le Piège de Méduse, Comédie Lyrique par M. Erik Satie', *L'Occident: Architecture, Sculpture, Peintre, Musique, Poésie*, No. 139, June 1914, 245-6.

²⁷ Anon., 'Salle Pleyel', *Guide du Concert*, 21 March 1914, 365.

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
J. Huré	<i>Quintette</i>		
	<i>Méodies</i>		
A. Decaux	<i>Clair de Lune</i>	Ricardo Viñes	
Erik Satie	<i>Croquis et agaceries d'un gros bonhomme en bois</i>	Ricardo Viñes	Premiere
Georges Auric	<i>Poèmes Chinois</i>		Premiere
Witkowski	<i>Sonate piano et violon</i>		

21 April 1914, Salle Erard, solo piano concert, Ricardo Viñes (pf)²⁸

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Bach-Tausig Couperin Rameau	<i>Toccata et Fugue en ré mineur</i> <i>Arlequine</i> <i>Les Tourbillons</i>	Ricardo Viñes	
Chopin Liszt Fauré Debussy Chabrier	<i>Barcarolle</i> <i>Les jeux d'eau à la Ville d'Este</i> <i>Nocturne en la b</i> <i>Ce qu'a vu le vent d'Oeust</i> <i>Bourrée Fantasque</i>	Ricardo Viñes	
Schmitt Szanto Déodat de Séverac Ravel Erik Satie	<i>Cloître</i> <i>Guêpes</i> <i>Les Muletiers devant le Christ de Llivia</i> <i>Alborada del gracioso</i> <i>Croquis et Agaceries</i>	Ricardo Viñes	
Turina Granados de Falla I. Albeniz	<i>Soir d'été sur la terrasse</i> <i>Danza espanola</i> <i>Montanesa</i> <i>Tirana</i>	Ricardo Viñes	

9 June 1914, Salle Erard, solo piano concert, Henri Gilles (pf)²⁹

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Chaconne Couperin Rameau J.S. Bach Schubert Weber Chopin Granados Grieg Scriabin Brahms Ravel Debussy Cyril Scott Erik Satie Chabrier	<i>La Favorite</i> ? <i>Les Sauvages et Musette et Tambourin</i> <i>Sarabande et Passepied en mi mineur</i> <i>Gavotte en ré mineur</i> <i>Menuet, op. 78</i> <i>Invitation à la Valse</i> <i>Mazurka en si mineur, op. 33</i> <i>Polonaise, op. 53</i> <i>Le Fandango de Candit</i> <i>Danse Norvégienne, la majeur</i> <i>Danse languide</i> <i>Danses Hongroises, fa majeur et fa dièze mineur (#) mineur</i> <i>Pavane (pour un Infante défunte)</i> <i>Galliwog's Cake Walk</i> <i>Danse nègre</i> <i>Danse maigre, à la manière de ces Messieurs</i> <i>Bourrée Fantasque</i>	Henri Gilles	'Programme consacré à la musique de danse'

²⁸ Anon., 'Salle Erard', *Guide du Concert*, 18 April 1914, 405.

²⁹ Anon., 'Salle Erard', *Guide du Concert*, 30 May 1914, 500.

Wartime concerts (August 1914-November 1918)

1915

No evidence of performances this year – also no press articles on Satie.

1916

2 April 1916, ‘Quatorzième examen mensuel de quelques élèves du professeur Lucien de Flagny’, École Lucien Flagny, 26 rue de la Tour, Ricardo Viñes (pf), Maurice Chailley (vln), Henri Fabert (singer)³⁰

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Part 1: 1. Sagel 2. Schumann 3. Lucien de Flagny 4. A. Thomas 5. Kulhau 6. Lucien de Flagny 7. Delacroze 8. Tchaikowski 9. Lucien de Flagny 10. Chopin 11. Massenet 12. Scarlatti 13. Mozart 14. Mozart 15. Borodine 16. Chopin 17. Debussy	<i>La Pervenche</i> <i>Marche</i> <i>Allons cueillir des fleurs</i> <i>Entr'acte de Mignon</i> <i>Variations</i> <i>Un gros chagrin</i> <i>A. Kirikirikaire</i> <i>B. Le beau bébé</i> <i>Fleurs de neige</i> <i>Une joyeuse histoire</i> <i>Nocturne en fa majeur (op.15, no.2)</i> <i>Menuet</i> <i>Sonate</i> <i>Menuet</i> <i>Sonate en la</i> <i>Sérénade</i> <i>Nocturne (op.48, no.1)</i> <i>Préludes: Des pas dans la neige; Danseuses de Delphes</i>	Students of the school	Dimanche 2 Avril 1916: A 16 heures précises: 14ème examen mensuel. Sous la présidence de Monsieur Ricardo Vines
Part 2: Roland-Manuel Erik Satie	‘Un Musicien fantaisiste’ Erik Satie, causerie <i>2eme Sarabande pour piano (1887)</i> <i>Morceaux en forme de poire (1903)</i> <i>A. Manière en commencement</i> <i>B. I</i> <i>C. En plus</i> <i>D. II</i> <i>Choses vues à droite et</i>	Roland Manuel Ricardo Viñes Viñes & Satie Maurice Chailley (vln) & Viñes (pf)	Talk piano à 4 mains Premiere

³⁰ Programme in IMEC: SAT 25.9, ‘Quatorzième examen mensuel de quelques élèves du professeur Lucien de Flagny’.

Anton Dvorak	<i>à gauche (sans lunette)</i> (1914) A. <i>Coral hypocrite</i> B. <i>Fugue à tâtons</i> C. <i>Fantaisie musculaire.</i> <i>Trois poèmes d'amour</i> <i>Chapitres tournés en tous sens</i> <i>Croquis et agaceries d'un gros bonhomme en bois</i> <i>Chansons Bohémiennes,</i> <i>Humoresque, Vêtu simplement, le tzigane,</i> <i>Quand ma mère m'apprenait, Au haut du mont Tatra.</i>	M. Henri-Fabert de l'Opéra & Satie Ricardo Viñes Ricardo Viñes	Premiere
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18 April 1916, private concert, 'Festival Erik Satie et Maurice Ravel', Société Lyre et Palette, Salle Huyghens, 6 rue Huyghens, XIV^e (Carrefour Raspail et Montparnasse), Ricardo Viñes (pf), Viñes & Satie (pf duet), Maurice Chailley (vln), Jane Bathori (singer)³¹

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Roland-Manuel	Causerie de M. Roland-Manuel	Roland-Manuel	Published in August 1916 at his own expense ³²
Erik Satie Erik Satie Satie & René Chalupt Satie & M. Godebski Erik Satie	I. a) <i>First Gymnopédie</i> b) <i>2nd Sarabande</i> c) <i>Prélude pour le Fils des Etoiles</i> II. <i>Morceaux en forme de Poire</i> <i>Manière de commencement – III – II</i> III. <i>3 Poèmes d'Amour</i> <i>Le Chapelier</i> <i>Daphénéo</i> IV. <i>Choses vues à droite et à gauche sans lunettes</i> V. <i>Chapitres tournés en tous sens</i> <i>Descriptions Automatiques</i>	Ricardo Viñes Viñes & Satie Mme Jane Bathori Mme Jane Bathori Marcel Chailley et Viñes Ricardo Viñes	Premiere Premiere

³¹ Programme in IMEC: SAT 25.11, 'Lyre et Palette: Festival Erik Satie et Maurice Ravel'.

³² This talk would become the first published biography of Satie: Roland-Manuel, *Erik Satie: Causerie faite à la Société Lyre et Palette le 18 Avril 1916 (Avec une Bibliographie)*. A copy of the biography that Roland-Manuel gave to Satie resides in the Departement de la musique, BnF: 8°Vm Pièce 463. This talk was a repeat of the 2 April concert talk.

Maurice Ravel	I. <i>Ondine, Oiseaux tristes, Jeux d'eau</i>	Ricardo Viñes	Piano works
	II. <i>Sainte, Deux épigrammes de Marot: d'Anne qui me jecta de la neige/ d'Anne jouant de l'Espinette</i>	Ricardo Viñes & Jane Bathori	Songs
	III. <i>Pavane pour une infante défunte</i>	Chailley & Viñes	Piano & Violin
	IV. <i>Histoires Naturelles: Le Paon – Le Grillon – Le Cygne – Le Martin-Pêcheur – La Pintade.</i>	Bathori	
	V. <i>Alborada del Gracioso</i>	Ricardo Viñes	

30 May 1916, private concert, ‘Concert Granados-Saite’, private concert, Chez Mme Bongard, 5 rue de Penthièvre, Ricardo Viñes (pf), Bathori (singer) (limited programme available)

‘À ce concert, présenté par René Chalupt et dont le programme avait été illustré par des gravures originales de Picasso et de Matisse, notre compositeur a donné, en première audition, *Avant dernières pensées*, pour piano, et la mélodie *La Statue de bronze*, sur un poème de Léon-Paul Fargue, chantée par Jane Bathori.’³³

‘[...] madame Cocteau souffrait toutes les peines du monde, en entendant ses amis raconter que la réception chez madame Bongard avait “dépassé la mesure du burlesque... La musique d’Erik Satie a déchaîné le fou rire à tel point qu’on en pleurait!”³⁴

‘Une matinée “*Granados-Satie*” est encore organisée dans la maison de couture Jove de madame Bongard, sœur de Paul Poiret – maison dont l’éminence grise est le peintre puriste et directeur de *L’Élan*, Amédée Ozenfant (30 mai). Picasso et Matisse ont illustré le programme de cette matinée au cours de laquelle la grande cantatrice Jane Bathori, toujours à l’affût de la meilleure musique contemporaine et que Satie n’a rencontrée personnellement que le 2 avril, chante les trois mélodies – *La Statue de bronze*, *Daphnéo*, *Le Chapelier* – qu’il a composées spécialement pour elle.’

19 November 1916, private concert, ‘Première Exposition’ including ‘Un Instant musical d’Erik Satie’, Société Lyre et Palette, Salle Huyghens, Viñes (pf), Satie (pf), Pierre Fol (vln), Bathori (singer), Juliette Méerovitch (pf) (limited programme available)³⁵

*Avant-dernières pensées, Chapitres tournés en tous sens, Choses vues à droite et à gauche, Trois Mélodies, Trois Morceaux en forme de poire, Parade piano duet (Première), Valses distinguées du précieux dégouté (Première)*³⁶ This event featured paintings by Picasso, Ortiz de Zarate, Kisling, and for the first time, of Livournais Modigliani. Also for the first time, Paul Guillaume’s

³³ Volta, (ed.), *Correspondance*, 698.

³⁴ Jean Cocteau, *Lettres à sa mère: 1898-1918* (Paris: Gallimard, 1989), 260-61, 453.

³⁵ Volta states that in the catalogue for this exhibition, Blaise Cendrars dedicates a poem to Satie entitled *Le music kiss me* (or *MusicKissme*). Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 713.

³⁶ Donnellon, ‘Debussy, Satie and the Parisian Critical Press’, 308. Source not cited.

collection of African sculptures were shown not for their ethnological interest, rather for their artistic qualities. Pierre Fol and Viñes played *Choses vues à droite et à gauche*.³⁷ Satie played the premiere of *Parade* with Viñes or Méerovitch.³⁸

1917

22 February 1917, Théâtre Edouard-VIII, Ricardo Viñes (pf)³⁹

Mme Jane Montjovet, de l'Opéra, chantera: *le Papillon* (Campra); *Ariette* (Caccini); *Air gai* (dix-septième siècle); *le Colibri* (Chausson); *Lamento* (H. Duparc); *Noël des enfants qui n'ont pas de maison* (C. Debussy); *Jeux d'eau* (Maurice Ravel); *Première gymnopédie* (Erik Satie); *El fandango del Claudil* (Granados); Mlle Yvonne Curti; Sonate pour piano et violon (César Franck) The first *Gymnopédie* was advertised to be performed by Ricardo Viñes.⁴⁰

11 March 1917, Galerie Barbazanges, 109 rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré, Ricardo Viñes (pf)⁴¹ Premiere of *Heures séculaires et instantanées*, with a talk by René Chalupt

21 April 1917, SMI, Salle des Agriculteurs, Satie (pf), Bathori (singer)⁴²

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Debussy	<i>Sonate</i> : I. Pastorale, II. Menuet, III. Final	Mlle Dalliès, MM. Manouvrier et Jarecki	flute, alto and harp
Roland Manuel	<i>Le Harem du Vice-Roi</i>	Mme Roland Manuel et M. Ricardo Vines	Premiere : poème syphonique d'après Gérard de Nerval, transcription à 2 pianos
Fred Barlow Erik Satie	I. Ici, accablé et malade. II. Favorite abandonnée. III. Comme la fleur de pêcher. <i>Daphénéo (M. God)</i> <i>La Statue de bronze (Léon-Paul Fargue)</i>	Bathori & Barlow Bathori & Satie	Premiere: (transcrits en français d'après la traduction anglaise de Giles par H. P. Roché) Premiere
Gabriel Grovlez	<i>Trois pièces pour piano</i>	Mlle Juilette Méerovitch	Premiere

³⁷ Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 225 and 1092.

³⁸ Volta states that Satie performed *Parade* with Viñes on this date: *Correspondance*, 872. Source not cited. Orledge claims that Satie performed this premiere with Méerovitch: *Satie the Composer*, 314. Source not cited.

³⁹ Concert advertisement in 'Courrier musical', *Le Figaro*, 16 February 1917, 4.

⁴⁰ Announcement in 'Courrier musical', *Le Figaro*, 20 February 1917, 4.

⁴¹ Orledge, *Satie the Composer*, 306, source not cited; Donnellon, 'Debussy, Satie and the Parisian Critical Press', 125, 308, source not cited; Volta states that this concert occurred on 11 May 1917, *Correspondance*, 717, source not cited.

⁴² Programme in IMEC: SAT 25.13, 'Société musicale indépendante: Trois concerts'.

	I. Evocation II. Barcarolle III. Scherzo		
Fauré	<i>Le Jardin Clos (fragments):</i> I. Exaucement II. La Messagère III. Dans la nymphée IV. Inscription sur le sable.	Mlle Croiza	
Schmitt	<i>Deux Rapsodies</i>	Louis Aubert et Gabriel Grovlez	2 pianos

17 May 1917, private concert, ‘Séance de musique moderne’, Salle Huyghens, Pierre Lucas (pf) & Mme Jourdan-Morhange (vln) (limited programme available)⁴³

‘Hélène Jourdan-Morhange jouera en duo avec le pianiste Pierre Lucas, *Choses vues à droite & à gauche (sans lunettes)*, à la salle Huyghens, au cours d’un programme comprenant par ailleurs des œuvres d’Albeniz, Enesco, Fauré, Debussy, Grovlez, Nicolaïev et Florent Schmitt, mais non pas l’*Embarquement pour Cythère*, que Satie avait finalement abandonné en chemin, trop occupé, sans doute, par la préparation de son ballet.’⁴⁴

‘[...] A la séance de musique moderne qu’ils donnèrent le 17 mai, M^{me} Jourdan-Morhange fut l’interprète excellente, au jeu sur et souple, expressif sans emphase et puissant sans lourdeur, d’une *Sonate* agréablement russe de Nicolaïev et des *Choses vues à droite et à gauche* de M. Erik Satie — le seul musicien moderne dont n’a pu rire M. d’Udine. On connaît le précieux et fin talent de M. Pierre Lucas qui, dans des œuvres de MM. Schmitt, Grovlez, Enesco, Fauré, Debussy, Albeniz, s’affirma, lui aussi, l’un des plus précieux défenseurs de cet « esprit nouveau » qui chaque jour se manifeste pour la grande colère de quelques esprits nés anciens...’ (Georges Auric)

18, 21 & 23 May 1917, Théâtre du Châtelet, Ballets Russes, Ernest Ansermet (cond.)⁴⁵

- Programme 18 May 1917
Chopin (orch. Stravinsky) - *Les Sylphides*
Rimsky-Korsakov - *Soleil de Nuit*
Igor Stravinsky – *Petroushka*
Erik Satie – *Parade* (première)

- Programme 21 & 23 May 1917
Igor Stravinsky – *Petroushka*
Domenico Scarlatti (arr. Vincenzo Tommasini) - *La Femmes de Bonne Humeur*
Rimsky-Korsakov - *Soleil de Nuit*
Erik Satie - *Parade*

⁴³ Georges Auric, ‘M. Pierre Lucas et Mme Jourdan-Morhange, *Le Courrier musical*, June-August 1917, 291.

⁴⁴ Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 922. Source not cited.

⁴⁵ Guillot de Saix, ‘Les Ballet Russes’, *La Rampe: Revue Hebdomadaire des Spectacles*, 3 May 1917, 9, and listed in ‘Courrier les théâtres’, *Le Figaro*, 8 May 1917, 4. Programme notes for *Parade* by Guillaume Apollinaire: ‘*Parade et L’Esprit Nouveau*’, published in *L’Excelsior*, 11 May 1917, 5. Programme in IMEC: SAT 26.68, ‘*Parade*’.

6 June 1917, private concert, ‘Concert en hommage à Satie’, Salle Huyghens, 6 rue Huyghens, Méerovitch & Satie (pf duet)⁴⁶

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Georges Auric	<i>Pièce en trio</i>	Mme Joudan-Morhange, M. Félix Delgrange & Auric	
Louis Durey	<i>Carillons</i>	Mlle Méerovitch & Auric	
Erik Satie	<i>Parade</i>	Mlle Méerovitch & Satie	
Arthur Honegger	<i>Trois poèmes</i> (Guillaume Apollinaire) - Saltimbanques - Adieu - Les Cloches	Mme R. Armandie, Mlle Vaurabourg	

16 June 1917, Salle de concert de l’O.-S.-T., 63, avenue des Champs-Élysées, Satie (pf) (limited programme available)⁴⁷

‘Conférence de Guillaume Apollinaire, suivie de récitations de quelques poèmes et d’auditions musicales parmi lesquelles les œuvres d’Erick Satie, interprétés par le maître lui-même. 5h salle de concert de l’O.-S.-T., 63, avenue des Champs-Élysées.’

13 November 1917, private concert, ‘Première séance de poésie et de musique’, Chez Paul Guillaume [in his gallery], 108 Faubourg Saint-Honoré, Marcelle Meyer (pf), Meyer & Satie (pf duet)⁴⁸

PREMIERE SEANCE DE POESIE ET DE MUSIQUE			
COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Guillaume Apollinaire	Choses et autres	Guillaume Apollinaire	Talk (causerie)
Debussy	<i>Masques</i>	Marcelle Meyer	Music
André Biguet	<i>Six poèmes paludéens</i>	Read by Pierre Bertin	Poetry
Blaise Cendrars	<i>Profond aujourd’hui</i>	Read by Mme Henriette Sauret	Poetry
Erik Satie	<i>Les Trois valse distinguées du précieux dégouté</i>	Marcelle Meyer	Music
Ghéon Valéry Larbaud	<i>Marche Don de Soi-Même</i>	Read by Mme Lara	Poetry
Auric	<i>Trois Interludes</i> a) Les Poufs b) le Tilbury c) le Gloxinia	Pierre Bertin (singer)	Music (sur les poèmes de René Chalupt)
Guillaume Apollinaire	<i>Poèmes</i>	Read by Mme Lara	Poetry
Erik Satie	<i>Parade</i>	Meyer & Satie	Music

⁴⁶ Programme in IMEC: SAT 25.15, ‘Erik Satie, Georges Auric, Louis Durey, Arthur Honegger’.

⁴⁷ Anon., ‘Réunions, Cours et Conférences’, *Le Figaro*, 16 June 1917, 3.

⁴⁸ Programme in IMEC: SAT 25.16, ‘Première séance de poésie et de musique.’

7 December 1917, 'Festival Montjoie à 3 heures', 99 rue de Courcelles, Meyer (pf) (limited programme available)⁴⁹

Un Festival Montjoie aura lieu aujourd'hui vendredi, à 3 heures, 99, rue de Courcelles. En l'honneur des collaborateurs de la vaillante *Gazette d'art* que dirigeait M. Canudo, en ce moment à Paris venant des armées, les "Amis de Montjoie" entendront Mmes Cahuzac, S. Méthivier et M. Romuald Joubé dans des œuvres poétiques de MM. Canudo, Blaise Cendrars et Fernand Divoire.

Mmes Marcelle Meyer et Lucienne Coutura, de l'Opéra-Comique, et MM. Georges et Pierre Bertin exécuteront des œuvres musicales de MM. Erik Satie, Maurice Ravel, Igor Stravinsky, Louis Durey et Georges Auric.

M. Fernand Divoire dira quelques mots sur l'effort artistique d'avant-guerre du "Grenier de Montjoie."

11 December 1917, 'Musique d'"Avant-garde"', Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier, Meyer (pf) (limited programme available)⁵⁰

'matinée consacrée à la Musique d'"Avant-garde", avec premières auditions de Louis Durey, Jean Cocteau et G. Auric, R. De Fontenay, F. Poulenc, Tailleferre. Au programme œuvres de J. Huré, Roger Ducasse, I. Stravinsky et Erik Satie. Interprètes: Mmes Jourdan-Morhange, Méerovitch, Marcelle Meyer; MM. Delgrange et Manouvrier. Chant: Jane Bathori et Julius-Feiner.⁵¹

According to Donnellon Meyer performs *Vieux sequins et vieilles cuirasses*.⁵²

1918

5 February 1918, 'L'Eloge des critiques: Causerie par Erik Satie avec auditions', Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier (limited programme available)⁵³

Mardi 5 fév à 3 heures *L'Eloge des critiques: Causerie par Erik Satie avec auditions*.⁵⁴

This was the first concert of 'Les Nouveaux Jeunes' (*Le Courrier musical*, 5 February 1918).⁵⁵

20 February 1918, 'Troisième Festival Montjoie!: l'âme antique dans la sensibilité moderne', Théâtre Caumartin, 17 rue de Caumartin, Ricardo Viñes (pf)⁵⁶

1. partie consacrée à l'audition de

a) un *poème* de andré picquet, de l'armée d'orient
par mme lara

b) *le dieu pan*, de paul fort, par m. pierre bertin

c) *fragments de sappho*, transcrits par MARIO MEUNIER et l'*ode à la solitude*, de MARIO MEUNIER

par mme germaine dermoz

⁴⁹ Anon., 'Courrier des Théâtres', *Le Figaro*, 7 December 1917, 3. *Montjoie!* was a periodical founded by Riciotto Canudo that described itself as 'organe de l'impérialisme artistique français'.

⁵⁰ Concert advertised in Anon., 'Courrier des Théâtres', *Le Figaro*, 9 December 1917, 3 and Anon., 'Courrier des Théâtres', *Le Figaro*, 11 December 1917, 3.

⁵¹ Anon., 'Courrier des Théâtres', *Le Figaro*, 9 December 1917, 3.

⁵² Donnellon, 'Debussy, Satie and the Parisian Critical Press', 308. Source not cited.

⁵³ Programme in IMEC: SAT 25.17, 'Programme 3 au 12 février'.

⁵⁴ This talk was later published in the August 1921 edition of *Action*, 8-11.

⁵⁵ Volta (ed.), *Ecrits*, 269.

⁵⁶ Programme in IMEC: SAT 25.18, 'Troisième festival MONTJOIE! Pour honorer le poète helléniste Mario Meunier prisonnier de guerre le mercredi 20 fév 1918, 17 rue de caumartin'. [Note all lower case text in the original programme.]

<p>d) <i>fragments du banquet de platon</i>, transcrits par MARIO MEUNIER par m. pierre bertin</p> <p>e) deux "atmosphères", <i>promenade sentimentale devant l'olympie et nocture en vieille grèce</i>, de canudo, de l'armée d'orient par m. de max.</p>
<p>II. partie consacrée à l'audition des chœurs des suppliantes d'antigone, transcrits par MARIO MEUNIER par les choreutes: mlles allevy, dubois, fargue, la querée et sevé, réglées et dirigées par mme lara.</p>
<p>III. partie consacrée à l'audition de</p> <p>a) <i>gymnopédies – sarabande – gnossiennes</i>, de erik satie par m. ricardo vinès.</p> <p>b) <i>chansons de bilitis</i>, de claude debussy par mme marie france de montaut et mlle germaine tailleferre.</p> <p>c) <i>épigraphes antiques</i>, de claude debussy par mme marcelle b. bertin et m. ricardo vinès</p> <p>d) <i>daphnis et chloé</i> (2e suite), de maurice ravel par mmes juliette meerovitch et yvonne lefebure.</p> <p>e) <i>chanson greques</i>, de maurice ravel par mme marie france de montaut et m. maurice ravel</p> <p>f) <i>fragment de pénélope</i>, de gabriel fauré et <i>épigrammes</i> de koeklin [sic.] par mme marie france de montaut.</p> <p>g) <i>prélude de salomé</i>, de florent schmitt par mlle meerovitch et m. florent schmitt</p> <p>h) <i>trio (dit dionysien)</i>, de maurice ravel par mmes jourdan-morhange, juliette meerovitch et m. félix delgrange.</p>

Post-war Concerts

14 December 1918, Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier, Marcelle Meyer (pf)⁵⁷

<p>Concert de musique des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles et de musique moderne française donné par Mme Marcelle Meyer avec le concours de M. Pierre Bertin.</p>	
1.	<p>a) <i>Caprice sur le départ d'un ami</i>....Bach b) <i>Rigaudon et Musette</i>...Rameau c) <i>La Villageoise</i>..... ----- Mme Marcelle Meyer</p>
2.	<p>a) <i>La Volta</i>.....W. Byrd b) <i>Les Tourbillons</i>.... Dandrieu c) <i>Les Vieux Seigneurs</i>..... Couperin d) <i>Les Jeunes Seigneurs</i>..... ----- (ci-devant les petits maîtres) e) <i>Les Tambourins</i>..... ----- <i>Arlequine</i> Mme Marcelle Meyer</p>
3.	<p>a) <i>Air</i>.....G. –B.Bononcini b) <i>Canzonetta</i>..... Scarlatti c) <i>Berceuse</i>..... Mozart M. Pierre Bertin</p>
4.	<p>a) <i>Sonate</i>.....Scarlatti b) <i>Pastorale</i>..... ----- c) <i>Capriccio</i>..... ----- Mme Marcelle Meyer</p>
5.	<p>a) <i>Feuillet d'Album</i>.....Chabrier b) <i>Ballabile</i>..... ----- c) <i>Idylle</i>.....Satie</p>

⁵⁷ Programme in IMEC: SAT 25.21, 'Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier: Marcelle Meyer'.

d) <i>Sonatine bureaucratique</i> ... Satie [possibly the premiere] Mme Marcelle Meyer	
6.	a) <i>Ballade des gros Dindons</i>Chabrier b) <i>Villanelle des petits Canards</i> ----- c) <i>Le Réveil de la Mariée</i>Ravel d) <i>Quel galant!</i>----- e) <i>Tout gai!</i>----- M. Pierre Bertin
7.	a) <i>Six Valses nobles et sentimentales</i> ...Ravel b) <i>Noctuelles</i> ----- c) <i>Alborada del Gracioso</i> ----- Mme Marcelle Meyer
Prix des places Loges.....la place 12fr. 1er série.....11fr. Fauteuils 2e ----.....6fr. 3e ----.....3fr. 4e ----.....2fr. (Taxes et driots compris) On trouve des places chez: Druand, éditeur, 4, place de la Madeleine. Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier, 21, rue du Vieux-Colombier.	

1919

16 February 1919, private concert, Chez Princesse de Polignac, Avenue Henri-Martin, Bathori (singer) & Satie (pf) (limited programme information)⁵⁸

Stravinsky – <i>Renard</i> Armande de Polignac – <i>La Recherche de la Vérité</i> (premiere) Satie – <i>Socrate</i> (Premiere, pf version)
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19 February 1919, ‘Matinée Erik Satie-Blaise Cendrars’(‘audition poétique et musical’) Galerie de l’Effort moderne (dir. Léonce Rosenberg), Juliette Méerovitch (pf) (limited programme information)⁵⁹

‘Juliette Méerowich y a joué des œuvres pour piano de notre compositeur, tandis que des poèmes de Cendrars ont été lus par Pierre Bertin et “Mademoiselle Raymone” (future épouse du poète).’

⁵⁸ Kahan proposes this date for the premiere performance of *Socrate*. See Sylvia Kahan, *Music’s Modern Muse* (Rochester NY.: Rochester University Press, [2003] 2009), 212. Although no concert programme for this performance can be found, Kahan reconstructed this programme from the Princess’s extant correspondence and personal records.

⁵⁹ Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 713 and 715. According to Volta two ‘après-midi Erik-Blaise’ were organised in 1919 at the galerie de L’Effort moderne and at the Théâtre de l’Odéon. The former event was directed by Léonce Rosenberg, where their respective works of poetry and music alternated. These Erik-Blaise events were immortalised in the conversation poems of Pierre-Albert Birot. See Volta’s sources: Blaise Cendrars, ‘Publicité-Poésie’, *Aujourd’hui* (Paris: Grassat, 1931), 207-211; Blaise Cendrars *La Banlieue de Paris*, (Paris: Pierre Seghers, 1949). See also Sanouillet, *Dada in Paris*, 75.

21 March 1919, private event, ‘Séances de littérature et de musique’, La Maison des amis des livres’ (bookshop), 7 rue de l’Odéon, Satie (pf), Suzanne Balguerie (singer)⁶⁰

‘Maison des amis des livres, 7 rue de l’Odéon: Séances de littérature et de musique, vendredi 21 mars [1919] en matinée à 3 heures, en soirée à 9 heures: *Lecture de ‘Socrate’ de Erik Satie*’ par Mme Suzanne Balguerie et l’auteur. Préface par Jean Cocteau.
 ‘Après avoir entendu une “lecture” de ce drame symphonique à la Maison des Amis des Livres, devant un parterre comprenant, entre autres, Fargue, Gide, Valéry et James Joyce, Stravinsky s’écrie, admiratif: “Il y a Bizet, Chabrier et Satie!”⁶¹

2 April 1919, private concert, Chez Beaumont, André Salmon & Satie (pf duet)⁶²

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Debussy	<i>Sonate</i>	Marcelle Mayer, Jourdain Morhange	
Ravel	<i>Halborada del Gracioso</i> ⁶³	Marcelle Mayer	
Paul Claudel	a) <i>Cantique du peuple divisé</i> , b) <i>Aux morts des Armées de la république</i>	Mme Eve Francis	
Eric Satie	<i>Trois morceaux en forme de poire</i> A. Manière de commencement B. I. Morceau II. – III. –	André Salomon & Satie	

11 May 1919, Salle Gaveau, Félix Delgrange (cond.) (Limited programme information)⁶⁴

Parade (orch. version), with a newly composed ending.

6 June 1919, Salle des Agriculteurs (limited programme information)⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Photocopy of ad (original in Bibliothèque Jacques Doucet, Paris) in IMEC: SAT 25.23. ‘Maison des amis des livres: Lecture de ‘Socrate’ de Erik Satie’. According to Donnellon, *Trois Morceaux en forme de poire* and the premiere of *Socrate* (Part I, arranged) were performed at this concert. Donnellon, ‘Debussy, Satie and the Parisian Critical Press’, 308.

⁶¹ Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 350.

⁶² Programme in IMEC: SAT 25.24, ‘Mercredi 2 avril 1919’.

⁶³ This piece is probably *Alborada del Gracioso*.

⁶⁴ See Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 350, 359-367. Evidence of this concert can be found in many letters Satie wrote to friends during April and May 1917. This was a new version of *Parade* which was brought back at the request of Diaghilev who wished that for the theatre version, there would be a new finale, more in keeping with the choreography of Massine. Satie composed two new pieces for the score that were also played in the Salle Gaveau under the direction of Félix Delgrange on 11 May and in London on 14 November of 1919.

⁶⁵ Concert announcement in Anon., ‘Courrier musical’, *Le Figaro*, 4 June 1919, 3.

Concert announcement: 'Le 6 juin, à 8h. $\frac{3}{4}$, Salle des Agriculteurs, concert donné par Mme Hardy-Verneuil, Thérèse de Laulerie et MM. André Pascal et Fernand Dangreaux. Œuvres de Debussy, Falla, Moussorgski, Ravel, Roussel, Erik-Satie, Vuillermoz.'

11 June 1919, 'Pour la Musique', Salle Gaveau, Félix Delgrange (cond.)⁶⁶

A la Salle Gaveau, à 3 heures, 8e concert de "Pour la Musique" (avec orchestre) et le concours de Mme Gabrielle Gills et de M. Alfred Cortot:
 Ouverture de *Léonore* (Beethoven); *Symphonie inachevée* (Schubert); *Oedipe à Colone* (Sacchini), *Le Papillon* (Campra, orch. Bertelin): Mme Gabrielle Gills; *Concerto* (Schumann): M. Alfred Cortot; *La Procession* (Franck): Mme Gabrielle Gills; *Ballade* (Fauré): M. Alfred Cortot; *La Mer* (Debussy); *Parade* (Erik Satie).
 L'orchestre de 80 exécutants, de l'Opéra et des grands concerts symphoniques, sera dirigé par Félix Delgrange.

24 June 1919, 'Deux concerts et un Matinée littéraire - Théâtre nouveau et musique nouvelle', Galerie Barbazanges, 109 rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré, Marcelle Meyer (pf), Jane Bathori (singer)⁶⁷

'Théâtre nouveau et musique nouvelle. Mardi 24 juin, à 9h. $\frac{1}{2}$ du soir, aura lieu une grande représentation d'œuvres modernes, organisée par Pierre Bertin. Musiques de Stravinsky, Erik Satie, Auric, Durey, Tailleferre, interprétées par Mmes Jane Bathori, Marcelle Meyer, M. Koubitsky, etc. Une comédie de Max Jacob, des danses et l'exposition des peintures de Gout-Charona et Carionow. Retenir ses places 109, Faubourg Saint-Honoré.' (*Le Figaro*)
 'Mardi 24 juin, à neuf heures et demie du soir, aura lieu, 109 Faubourg Saint-Honoré, une grande représentation d'œuvres modernes, organisée par M. Pierre Bertin, musiques de Stravinsky, Erik Satie, Auric, Tailleferre, Durey, interprétées par Mmes Jeanne Bathori, Marcelle Meyer, M. Koubitzky, etc. Une comédie de Max Jacob, des danses et l'exposition des peintures de Gontcharova et Larionow. Retenir ses places, 109, faubourg Saint-Honoré.' (*Journal des débats*)

22 November 1919, Salle des Agriculteurs, Ricardo Viñes (pf)⁶⁸

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Beethoven	<i>Overture of Coriolan</i>	Concert Golschmann, dir. Vladimir Golschmann	
Haydn	<i>Symphony No. 6</i>	Concert Golschmann, dir. Vladimir Golschmann	
Milhaud	<i>Le Printemps, Pastorale</i>	Concert Golschmann, dir. Vladimir Golschmann	
Rimsky Korsakov	<i>Concerto</i>	Ricardo Viñes & orch.	
Roussel	<i>Le Festin de l'Araignée</i>	Concert Golschmann, dir. Vladimir Golschmann	
Soler	<i>Sonata</i>	Ricardo Viñes	Piano set

⁶⁶ Anon., 'Courrier musical', *Le Figaro*, 11 June 1919, 5. Review of this concert by Henri Lutz in 'Pour la musique', *Le Courrier musical*, June 1919, 169.

⁶⁷ Advertised in Anon., 'Courrier des Théâtres', *Le Figaro*, 19 June 1919, 3, and in Anon., 'Théâtres', *Journal des débats*, 22 June 1919, 4. Review of this concert containing further information in Henri Lutz, 'Pour la Musique', *Le Courrier musical*, June 1919, 169.

⁶⁸ Anon., 'Salle des Agriculteurs', *Guide du Concert*, November 1919, 60.

Couperin Chopin	<i>Les vieux Seigneurs</i> <i>Scherzo en ut sharp mineur</i>		
Liszt	<i>Les jeux d'eau à la Villa d'Este</i>		
Debussy	<i>Poissons d'or</i>		
Ravel	<i>Oiseaux tristes</i>		
Satie	<i>Tyrolienne turque</i>		
De Falla	<i>Andaluza</i>		
Chabrier	<i>Scherzo</i>		
Dvorak	<i>Danse slave</i>	Concert Golschmann, dir. Vladimir Golschmann	

6 December 1919, 'Concerts Golschmann', Salle des Agriculteurs, Meyer (pf)⁶⁹

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Beethoven	7 th Symphony	Concerts Golschmann	
Mozart	<i>Piano concerto ré mineur</i>	Marcelle Meyer	
Roussel	<i>Le Marchand de Sable qui passe</i>	Concerts Golschmann	Premiere
Rameau	<i>Rigaudon</i> <i>Musette</i>	Marcelle Meyer	
Couperin	<i>Arlequine</i> <i>Les Tambourins</i>	Marcelle Meyer	
Scarlatti	<i>Sonata</i> <i>Pastorale</i> <i>Capriccio</i>	Marcelle Meyer	
Debussy	<i>Bruyères</i>	Marcelle Meyer	
Satie	<i>Trois Valses distinguées</i>	Marcelle Meyer	
Ravel	<i>La Vallée des Cloches</i>	Marcelle Meyer	
Chabrier	<i>Idylle</i> <i>Bourrée fantasque</i>	Marcelle Meyer	
Ravel	<i>Ma Mère l'Oye</i>	Concerts Golschmann	

14 December 1919, private concert, Chez Mme Vogel, Satie (pf)

Sports et divertissements (premiere)⁷⁰

18 December 1919, 'Pour les Jeunes', Ecole de musique Jeanne Alvin [Salle de l'Étoile], 17 rue Chateaubriand, Bertin (singer), Meyer (pf)⁷¹

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Boccherini	Sonate Violoncelle et Piano: <i>Allegro-Largo-Allegro</i>	M. Juliette Alvin & Mme Jeanne Alvin	
Beethoven	Rondo (<i>sur un sou perdu</i>)	Mme Jeanne Alvin	
Lalo	a) <i>Chants russes</i>	Mlle Juliette Alvin	

⁶⁹ Anon., 'Salle des Agriculteurs', *Guide du Concert*, 6 December 1919, 76.

⁷⁰ See Orledge, *Satie the Composer*, 305.

⁷¹ Programme in IMEC: SAT 25.26, 'Salle de l'Étoile: 'Pour les jeunes' une heure de musique'.

	b) <i>Papillon</i>		
Causerie sur la Musique et les Animaux par Erik SATIE Performed by Mme Meyer-Bertin et Mr Pierre Bertin de l'Odéon			
Satie	a) <i>Daphénéo</i> (Godebska) b) <i>La Statue de Bronze</i> (L. P. Fargue) c) <i>Le Chapelier</i> (R. Chalupt)	M. Pierre Bertin	
Satie	<i>Peccadilles importunes</i> 1. Etre jaloux de son camarade qui a une grosse tête. 2. Lui manger sa tartine. 3. Profiter de ce qu'il a des cros aux pieds pour lui prendre son cerceau.	Mme Meyer-Bertin	
Satie	<i>Menus propos enfantins</i> 1. Chant guerrier du Roi des Haricots 2. Ce que dit la petite Princesse des Tulipes 3. Valse du chocolat aux amandes.	Mme Meyer-Bertin	
Auric	<i>Trois Interludes</i> (R. Chalupt) a) Le pouf b) le gloxinia c) le tilbury	M. Pierre Bertin	
Satie	<i>Heures séculaires et instantanées</i> 1. Obstacles venimeux 2. Crépuscule matinal (de midi) 3. Affolements granitiques	Mme Meyer-Bertin	

1920

23 January 1920, 'Première matinée de Littérature', Palais des Fêtes, rue Saint-Martin, Meyer (pf?), Satie (pf?)⁷²

I André Salmon parlera de LA CRISE DU CHANGE
II POEMES DE MM. Max Jacob, André Salmon, Pierre Reverdy, Blaise Cendrars, Mauric Raynal, <i>lus par</i> MM. Pierre Bertin, Marcel Herrand, Jean Cocteau et Pierre Drieu la Rochelle.
III

⁷² Programme in IMEC: SAT 25.27, 'Première matinée de littérature'. For an in-depth account of this event see Sanouillet, *Dada in Paris*, 102-105.

PRÉSENTATION D'OEUVRES DE Juan Gris, G. Ribemont-Dessaignes, Georges de Cirico, Fernand Léger, Francis Picabia (<i>peinture</i>), Jacques Lipchitz (<i>sculpture</i>).
IV POEMES DE MM. Francis Picabia, Louis Aragon, Tristan Tzara, André Breton, Jean Cocteau <i>lus par</i> MM. Pierre Bertin, Marcel Herrand. T. Fraenkel, Louis Aragon, Tristan Tzara, André Breton et Pierre Drieu la Rochelle.
V MUSIQUE. – OEUVRES DE MM. Erik Satie, Georges Auric, Darius Milhaud, Francis Poulenc, Henri Cliquet. <i>Au piano</i> Mme Marcelle Meyer et les auteurs.
VI POEMES DE MM. G. Ribemont-Dessaignes, Philippe Soupault, Pierre Drieu la Rochelle, Paul Eluard, Raymond Radiguet, Paul Dermée, Pierre-Albert Birot, <i>lus par</i> Breton, Jean Cocteau, Pierre Drieu la Rochelle et T. Fraenkel.
AVANT LE CINÉMA Et puis ce soir on s'en ira Au cinéma Les Artistes que sont-ce donc Ce ne sont plus ceux qui cultivent les Beaux-Arts Ce ne sont pas ceux qui s'occupent de l'Art Art poétique ou bien musique Les Artistes ce sont les acteurs et les actrices Si nous étions des Artistes Nous ne dirions pas le cinéma Nous dirions le ciné Mais si nous étions de vieux professeurs de province Nous ne dirions ni ciné ni cinéma Mais cinématographe Aussi mon Dieu faut-il avoir du goût GUILLAUME APOLLINAIRE

14 February 1920, 'Société Nationale de Musique, 429me Concert', Salle de la Société des Concerts,⁷³ Salle de l'Ancien Conservatoire (Salle du Conservatoire), Bathori (singer), Balguerie (singer), Salomon (pf)⁷⁴

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
George MIGOT	Guinette (3 Fresques) a) <i>Un peu lent-Allègre</i> Les plaines immenses des moissons mûres – Les gestes des moissonneurs. Au- dessus monte, tombe et s'élève le trille de l'alouette. b) <i>Rude.</i> Dans un esprit de	Mlle Nadia BOULANGER et le QUATUOR PASCAL (MM. A. PASCAL, DE ST-MALO, R. SIOHAN, M ^{lle} RADISSE)	Première Quatuor à cordes et piano

⁷³ Volta states that the room was actually the Salle du Conservatoire: Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 391.

⁷⁴ Programme in IMEC: SAT 25.28, 'Salle de la Société des concerts: 429me concert' and in Anon., *Guide du Concert*, 14 February 1920.

	danse rustique. Avec notations d'atmosphère champêtre c) <i>Modéré</i> Au soir l'air de la plaine vibre encore des rythmes de la Nature entière. Que lui envoie le Mur immense de l'horizon.		
G. PILLOIS	Trois Poèmes (ALBERT SAMAIN) a) Vierges au Crépuscule. b) Myrtil et Palémone. c) La Tourterelle d'Amygone	M ^{me} Jane ENGEL-BATHORI, M. FLEURY, le QUATUOR PASCAL	Première. Pour Chant, Flûte et Quatuor à Cordes
Victor VREULS	En Ardenne a) Par les routes et les vents – Halte au Moulin de Sart. – En route (retour) b) La Fagne en hiver c) Sur le tard d) A point d'aube e) Danse wallonne	M ^{lle} Marthe Dron	Première. Suite pour piano (2)
J. GUY-ROPARTZ	Trio (en La mineur) a) Modérément animé. – b) Vif. - c) Lent – Animé	M ^{lle} Y. ASTRUC, M. Maurice MARÉCHAL, M ^{me} Lucie CAFFARET	pour Violon, Violoncelle et Piano (3) 1 ^{er} au. à la Soc. N ^{le}
Erik SATIE	Socrate a) Portrait de Socrate (<i>Alcibiade</i>) – Le Banquet b) Les bords de l'Illyssus (<i>Socrate et Phèdre</i>) – Phèdre c) Mort de Socrate (<i>Phédon</i>) – Phédon	M ^{mes} Jane ENGEL-BATHORI, Suzanne BALGUERIE et André SALOMON	Première (pf version) Drame symphonique en trois parties, avec voix (4)
(1) Chez Mathot, (2) Editions de l'Art Belge, (3) chez Durand et C ^{ie} , (4) aux Editions de la Sirène.			

21, 23 (private concerts), 25 & 28 (public concerts) February 1920, 'La première séance du Spectacle-Concert', Comédie des Champs-Élysées, under the direction of Jean Cocteau, Vladimir Golschmann (cond.)⁷⁵

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMERS	DETAILS
Francis Poulenc Georges Auric	<i>Overture</i> <i>Fox-Trot</i>	V. Golschmann (cond.) MM. Footit et Jakly.	Première Première

⁷⁵ Advertised in Anon., 'Théâtre', *Journal des débats*, 18 February 1920, 3, and Anon., 'Spectacles & Concerts', *Le Figaro*, February 18 1920. The private premiere took place on 21 February, the public premiere occurred the following day on 22 February.

Francis Poulenc (Cocteau)	<i>Cocardes</i>	Costumes et décors de Raoul Dufy Koubitzky avec accompagnement de petit orchestre	Premiere
Erik Satie	<i>Trois Petites Pièces</i> <i>Montées</i> <i>Le Bœuf sur le toit</i>	V. Golschmann (cond.)	Premiere
Darius Milhaud		V. Golschmann (cond.)	Premiere. 'Farce imaginée et réglée par Jean Cocteau, costumée par Fauconnet et décorée par Raoul Dufy
Les Fratellini et la troupe des clowns			

**29 February 1920, 'Action', L'Ecole de danse de Mme Marie-Louise Sondaz,
Salon des Indépendants, Pierre Bertin (singer)⁷⁶**

“Action” donnera dimanche une première matinée au Salon des indépendants. Au programme: Causerie de M. Florent Fels sur “les Classiques de l’esprit-nouveau”, avec lecture de poèmes de Baudelaire, Alfred Jarry, Rimbaud, Guillaume Apollinaire, Mallarmé. Causerie de M. Jean Cocteau sur “Eric Satie”, suivie d’une audition d’œuvres d’Eric Satie: 1, *Gymnopédie*; 2, 3 valse distinguées du précieux dégoûté; 3, Croquis et agaceries d’un gros bonhomme en bois: I Tyrolienne truque, II, Danse maigre, III, Española; 4, *La Statue de bronze*, sur un poème de L. P. Fargue; *Daphénéo*, chanté par P. Bertin; 5, Morceaux en forme de poire (à 4 mains); 6, Parade. L’Ecole de danse de Mme Marie-Louise Sondaz. La prochaine matinée “Action” montera les “Vorticistes, imagistes et expressionnistes.”

**8 March 1920, Galerie Barbazanges, 109 rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré,
Darius Milhaud (pf) (limited programme information)⁷⁷**

Music by les Six performed by Marcelle Meyer
Play by Max Jacob - *Ruffian toujours, truand jamais* (‘Always a ruffian, never a hoodlum’).
[presented by Pierre Bertin] [*Un Figurant au Théâtre de Nantes*]
Erik Satie: *Musique d’ameublement* for trombone, clarinet, piano... (premiere) was performed as the *entr’acte* of Jacob’s play.
Stravinsky – *Berceuses du Chat* [Meyer (pf) & Bertin (singer), acc. 3 clarinets]
As part of the event Pierre Bertin organised an exhibition of children’s drawings titled “les Belles Promesses”.

**18 March 1920, 'Anthologie moderne: Oeuvres de piano', Salle Pleyel, Jane
Mortier (pf)⁷⁸**

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
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⁷⁶ Concert announcement in ‘Courriers des Théâtres’, *Le Figaro*, 25 February 1920, 3.

⁷⁷ Darius Milhaud, *Notes Without Music* (London: Calder and Boyars, 1952), 105-6; Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 318, 699-700. Milhaud recounts that in this performance the version for trombone, clarinet and piano was played. Orledge states that Milhaud and Satie performed the work as a piano duet. See Orledge, *Satie the Composer*, 320.

⁷⁸ Anon., ‘Salle Pleyel’, *Guide du Concert*, 14 March 1920, 191.

L. Vuillemin	<i>Carillons dans la baie: Rhythmes, Chants, Carillons</i>	Jane Mortier	
Satie	<i>Nocturne n°1</i>	Jane Mortier	Premiere
R. Manuel	<i>Idylles: Fontaine, Clarisse</i>	Jane Mortier	
Ropartz	<i>Dans l'ombre de la montagne</i>	Jane Mortier	
Debussy	<i>Soirée dans Grenade</i>	Jane Mortier	
Ravel	<i>Une barque sur l'Océan</i>	Jane Mortier	
Roussel	<i>Bourrée n°3</i>	Jane Mortier	
Scott	<i>Lotus Land</i>	Jane Mortier	
Granados	<i>Danses espagnoles, Villanesca</i>	Jane Mortier	
Turina	<i>Contes d'Espagne: Miramar. Valencia</i>	Jane Mortier	
de Falla	<i>Andaluza</i>	Jane Mortier	

**26 April 1920, Private concert ('Séance réservée aux membres du Lyceum'),
'Musique Moderne', Lyceum, Jeanne Messayer (pf)⁷⁹**

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Debussy de Falla Ravel Cyril Scott	<i>Reflets dans l'eau Cubana Menuet sur le nom d'Haydn Lotus Land</i>	M. Lucien de Flagny	
Lucien de Flagny	<i>Trois vieilles chansons harmonisées</i>	Mme. Marthe Feuillée	'harmonisées par Lucien de Flagny'
Satie	<i>Sonatine bureaucratique</i>	Mme Jeanne Messayer	
Pietro Toschi Lucien de Flagny V. Davico A. De Polignac	<i>Armonie e sentimenti ridestatimi da fieri primaverili Cunégonde ou le tango couleur du temps Guitares et Chansons Bercuse</i>	l'Auteur	inédit
L. de Flagny	<i>Deux humoresques: le parc des rêves. La rue silencieuse, La petite ville</i>	M. de Flagny	
A. de Polignac	<i>Cloches</i>	l'Auteur et M. de Flagny	4 mains

21 May 1920, Salle Gaveau, 45, rue la Boétie, Marcelle Meyer (pf)⁸⁰

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Debussy	<i>Ariettes oubliées Chevaux de bois</i>	M. E. Engel & Meyer	Chant et piano
Debussy	<i>Gradus ad Parnassum,</i>	Meyer	

⁷⁹ Anon., 'Lyceum', *Guide du Concert*, 24 April 1920, 229.

⁸⁰ Anon., 'Salle Gaveau', *Guide du Concert*, 15 May 1920, 251.

	<i>Hommage à Rameau, Reflets dans l'eau, Masques</i>		
Fauré Roussel	<i>Au Cimetière, Prison, Soir Adieu</i>	Engel & Meyer	Chant et piano
Roussel Poulenc Satie Auric	<i>Danse au bord de l'eau Les trois mouvements perpétuels Sonatine Bureaucratique Fox-trot</i>	Meyer	
Chabrier	<i>Chanson pour Jeanne, Vilanelle des petits canards, Pastorale des cochons roses, Ballade des gros dindons</i>	Engel & Meyer	Chant et piano
Ravel Chabrier	<i>Oiseaux tristes, Jeux d'eau Feuillets d'album, Bourrée fantasque</i>	Meyer	
Bruneau	<i>Pieds nus, L'heureux vagabond, Les mauvaises fenêtres</i>	Engel & Meyer	Chant et piano

7 June 1920, 'Festival Erik Satie', Salle Erard, 14 rue du Mail, Tailleferre & Satie (pf duet), Félix Delgrange (cond.), Marya Freund (singer), Viñes (pf)⁸¹

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
M. Jean Cocteau	Conférence sur Erik Satie	M. Jean Cocteau	
Erik Satie	'Parade' (1917) (*)	Mlle Germaine Tailleferre & l'Auteur	pour piano 4 mains
Erik Satie	<i>Trois Petites pièces montées</i> (1920) (**) a) De l'Enfance de Pantagruel (Rêverie) b) Marche de Cocagne (Démarche) c) Jeux de Gargantua (Coin de Polka)	L'Orchestre, cond. Félix Delgrange	pour orchestre
Erik Satie	<i>1ère Gymnopédie</i> (1888) (*) <i>2ème Sarabande</i> (1887) (*) <i>2ème Gnossienne</i> (1890) (*) <i>Trois Nocturnes</i> (1919) (*)	M. Ricardo Viñes	Premiere

⁸¹ Programme written in Satie's hand in IMEC: SAT 25.32. Printed programme in IMEC: SAT 25.33: 'Festival Erik Satie avec le Concours de Mme Maria Freund, M. Ricardo Vines, Mlle Germaine Tailleferre., cond. F. Delgrange, M. Freund.' Concert also advertised in various sources including Anon., 'Salle Erard', *Guide du Concert*, 5 June 1920, 272; 'Concert Erik Satie', *Le Ménestrel*, 30 April 1920, 174; and in 'Audition des oeuvres d'Erik Satie', *Le Ménestrel*, 7 June 1920, 235.

	<i>Chapitres tournés en tous sens</i> (1913) ^(***) a) celle qui parle trop b) le porteur de grosses pierres c) le regret des enfermés		
Erik Satie	<i>Socrate</i>	M ^{me} Maria Freund & l'orchestre sous la direction de M. Félix Delgrange	Premiere of orch. version drame symphonique pour 4 soprani
(*) chez Rouart-Lerolle (**) aux Editions de la Sirène (***) Chez Demets			

3 October 1920, Concerts Rouge, Henri Gil-Marcheux (pf)⁸²

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Berlioz Ravel d'Indy	<i>Carnaval romain</i> <i>Pavane</i> <i>Symphonie Chant montagnard</i>	M. Gil-Marcheux.	
Rabaud	<i>Procession nocturne</i>	Concerts Rouge orch. cond. Henri Môrin	
Debussy	<i>Après-midi d'un faune</i>	Concerts Rouge orch. cond. Henri Môrin	
Jean Cras Debussy Satie S. Saëns	<i>Paysage</i> <i>Ce qu'a vu le vent d'oeust</i> <i>Tyrolienne</i> <i>Etude</i>	M. Gil-Marcheux.	
Dukas	<i>Apprenti sorcier</i>	Concerts Rouge orch. cond. Henri Môrin	

18 November 1920, Concerts Rouge, under the direction of Manuel Infante, Mme Matha (pf)⁸³

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Debussy	<i>Children's Corner</i>		
Dukas	<i>Ariane et Barbe-Bleue</i> (prélude du 3 ^e acte)		
Ravel	<i>Schéhérazade</i>		
Ravel	<i>Mélodies pour chant et orchestra</i>		
Satie	<i>Gymnopédies</i>	Mme Matha	
Schmitt	<i>Après l'été</i> <i>Reflets</i>		
Ravel	<i>Ma mère l'Oye</i>		
Debussy	<i>Jet d'eau</i>		
Roussel	<i>Bachelier de Salmanque</i>		
Poueigh	<i>Dentellière de rêve</i>		
Hue	<i>Champ de bataille</i>		

⁸² Anon., 'Concerts Rouge', *Guide du Concert*, 1 October 1920, 11.

⁸³ Anon., 'Concerts Rouge', *Guide du Concert*, 12 November 1920, 94.

19 December 1920, ‘Concert Erik Satie’, Société Française, Galerie la Boétie, Satie & Salomon (pf duet), Salomon (pf), Bathori (singer)⁸⁴

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Erik Satie	<i>Morceaux en forme de poire</i>	l’Auteur et M. A. Salomon	
Erik Satie	<i>Sarabande Sonatine bureaucratique</i>	M. A. Salomon	
Erik Satie	<i>Mélodies: Dapheneo, Statue de bronze, Le Chapelier</i>	M ^{me} J. Bathori	
Erik Satie	<i>Trois pièces montées: De l’enfance de Pantagruel, Marche de Cocagne, Jeux de Gargantua</i>	l’Auteur et M. Salomon	Premiere of four hand version.
Erik Satie	<i>Mélodies: extraite de ‘La Revue Musicale’, Danseuse, Chanson, Adieu</i>	M ^{me} J. Bathori	Premiere
Erik Satie	<i>2^e Gymnopédie Avant-dernières pensées 2^e Nocturne Croquis et agaceries d’un gros bonhomme: Tyrolienne turque, Danse maigre, Españña</i>	M. Salomon	

21 December 1920, Théâtre de Champs-Élysées, Ballets Russes, Vladimir Golschmann (cond.) (limited programme information)⁸⁵

Chopin (orch. Stravinsky) – <i>Les Sylphides</i> Manuel de Falla – <i>Le Tricorne</i> Satie - <i>Parade</i>

29 December 1920, ‘Une anthologie moderne du piano’, Salle Pleyel, 22, rue Rochechouart, Jane Mortier (pf)⁸⁶

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Rohozinski	<i>Sonate</i> (first movement)	Jane Mortier	Premiere
Jean Poueigh	<i>Pointes sèches</i> (N° 2)	Jane Mortier	
Gabriel Grovlez	<i>Fancies</i> (Nos. 1 & 2)	Jane Mortier	
Maurice Ravel	<i>Miroirs</i> (no 3)	Jane Mortier	
Albert Roussel	<i>Sonatine</i> , op. 16	Jane Mortier	
Milhaud	<i>Suite</i> no. 3	Jane Mortier	

⁸⁴ Anon., ‘Galerie la Boétie’, *Guide du Concert*, 17 December 1920, 175-6.

⁸⁵ Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 391 and Auguste Mangeot, ‘Théâtre des Champs-Élysées’, *Le Monde musical*, December 1920, 354.

⁸⁶ Anon., ‘Salle Pleyel’, *Guide du Concert*, 24 December 1920, 186 and Anon., ‘Courrier musical’, *Le Figaro*, 28 December 1920, 4.

Tailleferre	<i>Gigue</i>	Jane Mortier	Premiere
Auric	<i>Trois Pastorales</i>	Jane Mortier	
Satie	'De podophtalma' <i>Sonatine bureaucratique Trois pièces montées: De l'enfance de Pantagruel (Rêverie), Marche de Cocagne (Démarche), Jeux de Gargantua (Coin de Polka)</i>	Jane Mortier Satie & Mme Jane Mortier	à 4 mains

1921

22 January 1921, Galerie Montaigne [Théâtre des Champs-Élysées studio], 13 Avenue Montaigne, Marcelle Meyer (pf), Pierre Bertin (singer) (limited programme information)⁸⁷

A la Galerie Montaigne, à 4h., concert donné avec le concours de Mme Marcelle Meyer, de M. Pierre Bertin et du quatuor Pascal. Œuvres de Chabrier, Debussy, Erik Satie, Darius Milhaud, Francis Poulenc, Georges Auric, Arthur Honegger et Louis Durey.

24 January 1921, SMI, 'Concert à la mémoire de Debussy', Salle des Agriculteurs, Mme Greslé (singer) & Ernest Lévy (pf)⁸⁸

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Debussy	<i>Quatuor à cordes</i>	Quatuor Pascal	
Gabriel Grovlez	<i>Promenoir des deux amants</i>	Mme Greslé et M. Grovlez	
Koechlin	<i>La paix du soir au cimetière</i>	Piano improv.	suite pour piano
Léo Sachs	<i>Elégie</i>	Quatuor à cordes	
Gabriel Grovlez	<i>Sarabande</i>	Mme Fourgeaud-Grovlez	
Jean Huré	<i>Barcarolle</i>	Jean Huré	
Erik Satie	<i>Quatre petites mélodies (no. 1)⁸⁹</i>	Mme Greslé & E. Lévy	
Paul Dukas Albert Roussel F. Malipiero E. Goosens B. Bartok	<i>Le Tombeau de Debussy⁹⁰ La Plainte, au loin, du faune L'Accueil des Muses Hommage Molot moderato con espressione</i>		Premiere – 'dix compositions inédites écrites à l'intention et dédiées à la mémoire de Debussy'

⁸⁷ Anon., 'La Musique', *Le Gaulois*, 22 January 1921, 5. According to Michel Sanouillet, the Dadaists Picabia and Tzara renamed this venue for a Dada Salon in as part of the 1921 'Dada season.' See Sanouillet, *Dada in Paris*, 202.

⁸⁸ Anon., 'Salle des Agriculteurs', *Guide du Concert*, 21 January 1921, 236.

⁸⁹ This work is the only on the programme not mentioned in Laurent Ceillier's review of this concert. See next footnote.

⁹⁰ Laurent Ceillier, 'Le Tombeau de Debussy', *Le Monde musical*, January 1921, 20.

Florent Schmitt	<i>Sostenuto rubato</i>		
Maurice Ravel	<i>El Pan, au fond des blés lunaires,</i>	Jourdan-Morhange (vln) & Maurice Marécha (vc)	
Manuel de Falla	<i>s'accouda</i>	Mme Henri Casadesus (gtr)	
Erik Satie	<i>Duo</i>	Greslé (chant) & Lévy (pf)	12-bar long piece
	<i>Homenaja</i>		
	<i>Que me font ces vallons, ces palais</i>		
<p><i>Le Tombeau de Debussy</i>: unpublished works dedicated to the memory of Debussy by Dukas, Bartok, Schmitt, Roussel, de Falla, and Satie. These works were published as a supplement to the <i>Revue musicale</i> in the 1 Dec 1920 issue. La plupart de ces pièces furent interprétées avec talent par M. Ernest Lévy. (Que me font ces vallons, ces palais – performed by Mme Greslé). ‘A titre de curiosité notons qu’à cette pieuse manifestation participèrent cinq Français: MM. Paul Dukas, Maurice Ravel, Albert Roussel, Erick Satie, Florent Schmitt; un Anglais, M. Goossens; un Espagnol, M. Manuel de Falla; un Italien, M. Malipiero; un Hongrois, M. Bela Bartock; et un Russe, M. Stravinski.’⁹¹</p>			

29 January 1921, ‘Séance de musique moderne’, Salon des Indépendants au Grand Palais, Pierre Fol (vln), Mme Poujade (pf) (limited programme information)⁹²

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Sylvio	?		
Lazzari	<i>Sonate</i>		piano et violon
J. De la Presle	<i>Le Jardin mouillé</i>		
Roussel	<i>Impromptu</i>		
Tournier	<i>Féerie</i>		
Erick Satie	<i>Chose vues à droite et à gauche sans lunettes:</i> Choral hypocrite, Fugue à tâtons, Fantaisie musculaire	M. Pierre Fol & Mme Poujade	
Claude Debussy	<i>Sonata</i>		flûte, alto et harpe
E. Flament	<i>Sonata</i>		
There may be more works... none of the adverts contain more detail.			

17 February 1921, ‘Pour les Jeunes’, Ecole de musique Jeanne Alvin [Salle de l’Étoile], 17 rue Chateaubriand, Pierre Bertin (singer) & Marcelle Meyer (pf)⁹³

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Leclair	<i>Pièces pour violon et</i>	M. & Mme Alvin	

⁹¹ Concert review of SMI concert dedicated to the memory of Debussy, *Le Ménestrel*, 4 February 1921, 46-7.

⁹² Advertised in Anon., ‘Salon des Indépendants’, *Guide du Concert*, 28 January 1921, 255 and ‘Programmes des concerts’, *Le Ménestrel*, 28 January 1921, 40. In the *Guide*, the principal performers are listed as M. Pierre Fol and Mme Poujade.

⁹³ Anon., ‘Salle de l’Étoile’, *Guide du Concert*, 11 February 1921, 284. An original of this programme can be found in the archives of Claude Lerolle (Paris).

	<i>piano</i>		
Wieniawski Brahms Erik Satie	<i>Tarentelle</i> <i>Danse</i> <i>'Les enfants musiciens'</i>	M. A. Alvin Talk by Satie	
Erik Satie Auric Stravinsky	<i>Poèmes d'amour,</i> <i>Daphénéo</i> <i>Statue de bronze</i> <i>Le gloxinia</i> <i>Chansons</i>	M. Pierre Bertin	
Erik Satie Poulenc Auric	<i>Sonatine</i> <i>bureaucratique</i> <i>Croquis et agaceries</i> <i>d'un gros bonhomme</i> <i>Valse</i> <i>Prélude</i>	Marcelle Meyer	

19 February 1921, Salle Fursy, 27 Blvd des Italiens, Pierre Fol (vln) & M. Briclot (pf)⁹⁴

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Handel	<i>Sonate ré majeur</i>		
Beethoven	<i>Romance en sol</i>		
Schumann	<i>Trois Romances en la</i>		
François de Breteuil	<i>Rêverie</i>		
Erik Satie	<i>Choses vues à droites</i> <i>et à gauche:</i> <i>Fugue à tâtons</i>	Pierre Fol (vln) & M. Briclot (pf)	
Debussy	<i>La fille aux cheveux</i> <i>de lin</i> <i>Minstrels</i>		
Mozart	<i>Rondo en sol</i>		
Pugnani	<i>Largo espressivo</i>		
M. Briclot	<i>Praeludium et Allegro</i>		

27 February 1921, 'Musique et Danse', Salon des Indépendants (limited programme information)⁹⁵

'Musique et Danse': <i>Pièces pour piano</i> by G. Brun, Quintette by Schmitt, <i>Le Quatuor Français</i> , the first <i>Gymnopédie</i> by Satie, Schmitt's <i>Les Enchantements de la Mer</i> (de la Tragédie de <i>Salomé</i>)

1 March 1921, Galerie Montaigne [Théâtre des Champs-Élysées studio], 13 Avenue Montaigne, Jane Mortier (pf)⁹⁶

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Liszt	<i>Années de pèlerinage</i> <i>Eglogue</i> <i>Sposalizio</i>	Jane Mortier	

⁹⁴ Anon., 'Salle Fursy', *Guide du Concert*, 11 February 1921, 287.

⁹⁵ Anon., 'Salon des Indépendants', *Guide du Concert*, 25 February 1921, 320.

⁹⁶ Anon., 'Galerie Montaigne', *Guide du Concert*, 25 February 1921, 315.

	<i>Canzonetta</i>		
Roussel:	<i>Prélude, no 1</i> ⁹⁷	Jane Mortier	
Ravel	<i>Sonatine</i>	Jane Mortier	
Grovez	<i>Sérénade (no. 1 Fancies)</i>	Jane Mortier	
Auric	<i>Prélude</i>	Jane Mortier	
Durey	<i>Romance sans paroles</i>	Jane Mortier	
Honegger	<i>Sarabande</i>	Jane Mortier	
Milhaud	<i>Mazurka</i>	Jane Mortier	
Poulenc	<i>Valse</i>	Jane Mortier	
Tailleferre	<i>Pastorale</i>	Jane Mortier	
Satie	<i>Sonatine bureaucratique</i>	Jane Mortier	

27 April 1921, Salle Erard, 13 rue de Mail, Ricardo Viñes (pf)⁹⁸

Solo piano concert by Ricardo Viñes
<p>Antonio de Cabezón: <i>Variations sur le Chant du Chevalier</i> De Chambonnières: <i>La Loureuse</i> François Couperin: <i>l'Arlequine</i> Weber: <i>Momento capriccioso</i> Schumann: <i>Au Soir</i> Chopin: <i>Polonaise, f-sharp mineur</i> Chabrier: <i>Mélancolie</i> Fauré: <i>Bacarolle, la mineur</i> Schmitt: <i>Cloître</i> Roussel: <i>Danse au bord de l'eau</i> E. Satie: <i>2eme Sarabande</i> Poulenc: <i>Suite</i> Debussy: <i>Pagodes</i> Ravel: <i>Alborada del Gracioso</i> Borodine: <i>Nocturne</i> Akimenko: <i>Nuages dansants</i> Mussorgsky: <i>Il vecchio castello; Promenade et Ballet de poussins dans leurs coques</i> Albeniz: <i>Evocation</i> Antonio: <i>Trois Préludes basques</i> Turina: <i>Rondes d'Enfants</i> de Falla: <i>Danse du Meunier</i></p>

30 April 1921, Société Olenine d'Alheim, Salle des Agriculteurs, 8 rue d'Athènes, Marya Freund (singer) & Satie (pf)⁹⁹

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Milhaud	<i>Cinq Poèmes juifs:</i> Chant de nourrice, Chant d'amour, chant de résignation, chant de forgeron, lamentation	Sung by Marie Olénine d'Alheim, Milhaud on piano	
Satie	<i>Socrate</i>	Marya Freund & Satie	Arranged for piano.

⁹⁷ Full title of this work currently unknown.

⁹⁸ Anon., 'Salle Erard', *Guide du Concert*, 22 April 1921, 429.

⁹⁹ Anon., 'Salle des Agriculteurs', *Guide du Concert*, 22 April 1921, 432. This listing is repeated in Anon., 'Salle des Agriculteurs', *Guide du Concert*, 29 April 1921, 440, with additional explanatory text for *Socrate*.

Beethoven	Sonate la min.	Dorothy Swainson & Joseph Press	(p. et. v ^{lle})
Beethoven	Six chant religieux	Marie Olénine & Dorothy Swainson	

Programme notes from the *Guide du Concert*:
‘Socrate.... Erik Satie. Drame symphonique en trois parties avec voix sur des dialogues de Platon, traduits par Victor Cousin.
a) Portrait de Socrate (Alcibiade). Le Banquet. B) Les bords de l’Ilissus (Socrate et Phèdre) Phèdre. c) Mort de Socrate (Phédon).
Marya Freund. Au Piano: Erik Satie
L’œuvre est dédiée à la mémoire du prince Edmond de Polignac (*éditions de la Sirène*).
1. Le Lavant et délicieux portrait de Socrate que Platon a mis dans la bouche d’Alcibiade repose ici sur un rythme à 2/4 assez lent. Cette déclamation ultra simple conduit le mouvement d’accompagnement et le domine, mouvement lui-même par conséquent syllabique et tranquille. Le dessin du préambule, qui se retrouve noté en conclusion, est plutôt qu’un thème – une version du décor et du fond psychologique, confondus dans le verbe évocateur.
2. Les bords de l’Ilyssus sont dans une lumière moins grise, tout baignés de clartés bleues et rosées. Un mol balancement de 6/8, quelques placides mouvements de quintes entourent le dialogue champêtre et philosophique où, en deux mots, Socrate dit leur fait aux savants, à propos de la jolie fable de Borée et de la jeune Orithie. De frères et frais accords – qui se gardent un peu d’être acides – sont placés sous l’évocation simple et douce du paysage reposant, harmonieux et sensuel.
3. Mort de Socrate (*Phédon*). L’émotion si haute et pure qui se dégage du texte de Phédon a encore peut-être un ragoût plus puissant à travers la traduction docte et sèche, comme légèrement glacée, du bon Victor Cousin. Cette émotion, le compositeur paraît avoir voulu la laisser intacte dans la symphonie, qui suit docilement la déclamation chantée. De ce texte tout nu d’une Passion à nulle autre égalable – sauf à celle peut-être de Notre frère le Poilu, le poème de guerre de Marc Leclercq – un calme grandiose se dégage, tout fait de simplicité formidable et de justesse de touche.
La musique? A ce qu’il semble, le compositeur s’est efforcé ni d’augmenter ni d’amoinrir l’intensité d’émotion. Quelques pesantes successions d’accords parfaits annoncent ou soulignent la présentation du poison et les approches de la bienheureuse mort, tandis que, parfois aérien, chante un second sujet: la clarté sereine de l’esprit de Socrate, esprit quasi divin puisque les qualités humaines s’y trouvent concrétisées à un degré de perfection inégalable.
Dans une court préface, M. René Chalupt écrit que le musicien s’est borné à une sobre stylisation, laissant à ceux qui y excellent ‘le flamboyant, l’exquis ou le cheveu-en-quatre’. Il note aussi le ‘subtil et savant équilibre de la partition gravée sur ces feuillets; c’est un peu comme si M. Ingres, à la demande de Victor Cousin, eût illustré ces passages des *Dialogues de Platon*.’

10 May 1921, Salle Pleyel, Léo Pol Morin (pf)¹⁰⁰

Solo concert by Léo Pol Morin (piano)
Debussy: <i>Hommage à Rameau</i> Ravel: <i>Sonatine</i> Roland Manuel: <i>Idylles (Fontaine and Clarisse)</i> Roussel: <i>Sonatine</i> Satie: <i>Véritables préludes flasques</i> Rudolphe Mathieu: <i>Trois Préludes</i> Honegger: <i>Hommage à Ravel</i> Durey: <i>Deux Préludes</i> , op. 26 Poulenc: <i>Suite</i> Schoenberg: <i>Six petites pièces pour piano</i> Berg: <i>Sonate</i> , op. 1 Korngold: <i>Le brave petite tailleur</i>
The following text accompanies Satie’s listing: M. Satie nous a adressé la notice ci-dessous qu’il ne faut point déflorer: ‘Les Véritables Préludes flasques ouvrent une série d’œuvres pianistiques: ‘Les Descriptions automatiques’, ‘Les

¹⁰⁰ Anon., ‘Salle Pleyel’, *Guide du Concert*, 6 May 1921, 458-9.

Embryons desséchés’, ‘Les Chapitres tournés en tous sens’ et ‘Les Vieux Sequins’. Je m’y livre aux joies douces de la fantaisie. Ceux qui ne comprendront pas sont priés, par moi, d’observer le plus respectueux silence et de faire montre d’une attitude toute de soumission, toute d’infériorité. C’est là leur véritable rôle.’

19&21 May 1921, Théâtre de la Gaîté Lyrique, 3-5 rue Papin, Ballet Russes (limited programme information)¹⁰¹

Reprisal of *Parade*

20 May 1921 (premiere), 24-26 and possibly additional dates during late May 1921, ‘Spectacle de Théâtre Bouffe’, Théâtre Michel, Darius Milhaud (cond.)¹⁰²

Writer	Play	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Max Jacob	<i>La Femme Fatale</i>	Cond. Darius Milhaud	Drame lyrique en un acte
M. Erik Satie, avec musique de danse du même Monsieur	<i>Le Piège de Méduse</i>	Cond. Darius Milhaud	Comédie lyrique en un acte
Milhaud	<i>Caramel Mou</i>	Dansé par M. Johnnie Grattoy	Shimmy pour jazz-band
Raymond Raidguet avec musique de M. Georges Auric	<i>Les Pélicans</i>	Cond. Darius Milhaud	Pièce en 2 actes
MM. Jean Cocteau et Raymond Radiguet avec musique de M. Francis Poulenc	<i>Le Gendarme incompris</i>	Cond. Darius Milhaud	Critique bouffe en un acte
Performers: Pierre Bertin, Asselin, André Berley, Kerly, Blancard, Perdoux Vincke, Mmes Malber, Devillers, Martal. Mise en scène de M. Pierre Bertin. L’orchestre sera dirigé par M. W. Golschmann [replaced by Darius Milhaud]. Prix des places: 20, 18, 15, 12 et 10 francs. Three matinées on Tues, Wed and Thurs [24-26 May] at 15h30. ‘Au programme, quatre comédies de MM. Jean Cocteau, Max Jacob, Eric Satie, Radiguet, avec M. Pierre Bertin dans les rôles principaux.’ ¹⁰³			

1 June 1921, ‘Concert de Charite’, Salle Gaveau, Mlle Speiser (pf)¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Anon., ‘Gaité Lyrique’, *Guide du Concert*, 14 May 1921, 481. Also see August Mangeot, ‘Les Danseurs Russes’, *Le Monde musical*, May 1921, 155-6.

¹⁰² Programme from the Poster for the ‘Spectacle de Théâtre Bouffe’, May 1921, in *Le Piège de Méduse* (booklet) (Paris: Le Astor Castral, 1998), 48. Advertisement in ‘Courrier des Théâtres: Ce Soir’, *Le Figaro*, 26 June 1921, 5. Milhaud recounts in his autobiography while Golschmann was advertised as the conductor for this series of concerts he pulled out at the last minute due to a row with Satie. Milhaud had to take his place: ‘Satie had written quite short dance tunes scored for a small group of instruments that was to be conducted by Golschmann, who, however, withdrew at the last minute as a result of a tiff.’ Milhaud, *Notes Without Music*, 103-04.

¹⁰³ Concert Announcement for théâtre bouffe in ‘Courrier les Théâtres’, *Le Figaro*, June 26 1921, 5.

¹⁰⁴ Anon., ‘Salle Gaveau’, *Guide du Concert*, 28 May 1921, 507.

Solo piano concert by Mlle Speiser
Fauré: <i>Elégie</i> Schmitt: <i>Musique sur l'eau</i> Bach: <i>5th Partita</i> (14 th invention) Satie: <i>Première gymnopédie</i> Chopin: <i>Nocturne ut mineur</i> Gil-Marchex: <i>Valse ut sharp min., Polonaise la flat maj.</i> Borodine: <i>La Reine de la Mer</i> Gretchaninoff: <i>Triste est le steppe, Berceuse</i> Rachmaninoff: <i>Souvenance</i> etc.

14 (premiere) & 21 June 1921, Théâtre du Colisée, Vladimir Golschmann (?Cond.), Caryathis (dancer) (limited programme information)¹⁰⁵

<p>‘Certes, mon spectacle sera moderne, très moderne, puisqu’il vous sera donné d’entendre des partitions inédites d’Erik Satie, de G. Auric, de F. Poulenc et de Darius Milhaud, le brillant collaborateur de Claudel dans le nouveau spectacle des Ballets suédois.’</p> <p>Erik Satie - <i>La belle excentrique</i> (orch. premiere) Georges Auric - <i>Paris-Sport</i> Maurice Ravel - <i>Rapsodie Espagnole</i> Poulenc - <i>Jongleur</i> Milhaud - ?</p>
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19 November 1921, ‘Récital Ricardo Viñes’, Société française de concerts, Salle de la Chambre de Commerce de Roanne, 31 rue Tronchet, Paris, Ricardo Viñes (pf)¹⁰⁶

<p>Récital de piano Ricardo Viñes, Soloiste de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, des Concerts Colonne et des Concerts Lamoureux Prix des places (tout droits compris): 9 fr. et 6 fr.</p>	
A.	<p>Tocata et fougue en ré mineur BACH Les vieux Seigneurs COUPERIN Sonate en sol PADRE ANTONIO-SOLER</p>
B.	<p>Caprice sur les Airs d’Alceste GLUCK-SAINT-SAËNS 3^e Impromptu FAURÉ Coin de Cimetière au Printemps DE SÉVERAC A Cheval dans la Prairies ---- Menuet Antique MAURICE RAVEL 1^{re} Gymnopédie ERICK [sic] SATIE Deux Préludes DEBUSSY L’Isle Joyeuse -----</p>
C.	<p>Scherzo BORODINE Gopak MUSSORSKI La Tour Vermeille ALBENIZ Danse Espagnole en sol GRANADOS Miramar (Valencia) TURINA Danse du Meunier MANUEL DE FALLA</p>
<p>Biography of Vines (pp. 3-4 of programme): Ricardo Viñes, né à Lerida, obtint à douze ans le premier prix de piano au Conservatoire de Barcelone; puis, quelques années après, un brillant premier prix au Conservatoire de Paris. Dès</p>	

¹⁰⁵ Caryathis, ‘Lettre de mlle Caryathis’, *Le Gaulois*, 7 June 1921, 5.

¹⁰⁶ Programme in IMEC: SAT 25.36, ‘MUSICA’ – Société française de concerts, MONTPELLIER ET C^{ie}, 31 rue Tronchet, Paris. Récital Ricardo Viñes.’

l'abord, ce jeune homme, qui était déjà une grande personnalité, se fit entendre dans toutes les Sociétés de Concerts, la Société Nationale de Musique, la Schola Cantorum, la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, Lamoureux, Colonne. Avec une audace que justifiaient son goût artistique et sa technique impeccable, il s'efforça de faire connaître au public les plus discutés des compositeurs: Chabrier, Chausson, Vincent d'Indy, Déodat de Séverac, Fauré, Debussy, Florent Schmitt, Roger Ducasse, Maurice Ravel, Albert Roussel, etc., etc., et c'est en partie, grâce à son inlassable propagande que triomphèrent ces compositeurs en France et à l'étranger.

L'exécution des pittoresques musiques russes et espagnoles – Mussorgsky, Balakirew, Borodine, Glazounow, aussi bien que Albeniz, Granados, Falla et Turina – ont fait sensation à Paris, Londres, Berlin, Vienne, Bruxelles, Genève, Florence, Porto, Madrid, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Lyon, Marseille, en République Argentine, au Brésil, etc. Partout cet artiste, aussi convaincu que modeste, porta la flamme de ses enthousiasmes, et tels étaient la sincérité de son élan, et la maîtrise de son éloquence pianistique, qu'il entraîna à la musique moderne les plus réfractaires des auditeurs. Dès 1905, à la suite des quatre concerts historiques consacrés à la "Musique du Clavier", depuis ses origines à nos jours, le *Figaro* publiait que "le public d'élite qui remplissait la salle Erard avait témoigné, outre son admiration, tout ce qu'il devait de 'reconnaissance' à l'admirable artiste qui, en des soirées rappelant celles à jamais mémorables de Rubinstein, avait magiquement fait revivre quatre siècles, depuis l'œuvre austère d'un Antonio de Cabezón jusqu'aux subtilités de la musique moderne."

C'est qu'en effet, toutes les émotions trouvent, dans son âme délicate et dans sa haute culture intellectuelle, la réceptivité la plus complète et, par elle, et par ses admirables dons pianistiques, il est le plus ému et le plus vrai des interprètes. Il faudrait des volumes pour citer les enthousiasmes délirants qui ont accueilli cet artiste dans tous ses concerts. La couleur, le pittoresque, le relief, la vie, l'émotion, l'étourdissante fantaisie, et aussi l'éclat, le moelleux, la puissance de la sonorité, - tous ces qualificatifs ont été jetés à brassées dans les éloges qu'on lui décerne. On ne les redira jamais assez tant est attachante et originale sa personnalité.

15 December 1921, 'Concerts Jean Wiéner', Salle des Agriculteurs, 8 rue d'Athènes, Jean Wiéner (cond., pf), Marya Freund (singer)¹⁰⁷

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Schönberg ¹⁰⁸	<i>Pierrot Lunaire</i>	MM. Fleury, Delacroix, Roelens et Feuillard, M. Jean Wiéner, Mme Marya Freund	Première Traduction Jacques-Benoist Méchin
Poulenc	<i>Suite du Gendarme incompris</i>	Société moderne des instruments à vent: MM. Fleury, Delacroix, Roelens, Feuillard, Foveau, Tudesq, Vizentini, sous la direction de M. Darius Milhaud.	Cette Suite fut mise à la scène par Jean Cocteau et montée au Théâtre des Malhurins.
Satie	<i>Trois petites pièces montées</i>	Jean Wiéner (cond.)	
Satie	<i>Socrate</i> (part II arranged)	Marya Freund (singer), Wiéner (pf) & 4 instrumentalists,	
Béla Bartók	<i>Suite, op. 14</i>	cond. Milhaud ¹⁰⁹	

¹⁰⁷ Anon., 'Salle des Agriculteurs', *Guide du Concert*, 9 December 1921, 154-155; L. de Crémone, 'Courrier musical', *Le Figaro* December 15, 1921, 5; and Léone Humbertt, 'Concerts Jean Wiéner', *Le Monde musical*, December 1921, 407.

¹⁰⁸ At a concert of contemporary French music in Vienna in December 1922 performed by Jane Mortier Schoenberg read out the indications of humorous games of certain pieces by Satie.

¹⁰⁹ While not advertised in the *Guide du Concert* programme, Sylvia Kahan uncovered an account of this movement of *Socrate* in a newly arranged form at this concert that listed these performers. See

Igor Stravinsky	<i>Les 5 doigts</i> <i>Blues, danse américaine</i>		Pièces très simples écrites par Stravinsky pour ses enfants
Schönberg	<i>Pierrot lunaire</i>		Répétition des fragments exécutés plus haut (1 ^{re} audition <i>bis</i>)

17 December 1921, ‘Concerts Colonne’, Théâtre du Châtelet, Concerts Colonne, Gabriel Pierné (cond.)¹¹⁰

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Beethoven Philippe Gaubert	<i>Symphonie en ut mineur</i> <i>Josiane</i>	Concerts Colonne, cond. M. G. Pierné Concerts Colonne, cond. M. G. Pierné. Ph. Gaubert, Soli: Mmes Jeanne Montjovet, Ketty Lapeyrette, Jeanne Laval, Laute-Brun, Yvonne Courso, Haramboure, Cécile Rex, Lauger-Dubois, Claire Gomant, Castel de l’Opéra, M. Jean Hervé, de la Comédie Française.	Première Légende pour soli, voix de femmes et orchestre. Sur un poème de M. Maurice Lena.
Mozart Stravinsky Mussorgsky Satie Chabrier	<i>Plaisanterie musicale</i> <i>Pribaoutiki</i> <i>Hopak</i> <i>Trois Petites Pièces</i> <i>Montées</i> <i>Ouverture de l’Etoile</i>	Concerts Colonne, cond. M. G. Pierné	<i>L’Humour en musique</i> , plaisanterie musicale, en fa, pour quatuor et deux cors poème symphonique

1922

12 January 1922, Salle des Agriculteurs, Ricardo Viñes (pf)¹¹¹

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Debussy	<i>Chevaux de bois</i> , <i>Spleen</i> , <i>Green</i> , <i>Le Faune</i> , <i>Colloque sentimental</i>	Mme Olénine d’Alheim	

Sylvia Kahan, *Music’s Modern Muse* (Rochester NY.: Rochester University Press, [2003] 2009), 227.

¹¹⁰ Advertised in ‘Concerts’ in *Journal des débats*, 24 December 1921, 3; ‘Courrier musical’, *Le Figaro*, 13 December 1921, 4; ‘Concerts Colonne’, *Guide du Concert*, 9 December 1921, 156 and ‘Programmes des Concerts’, *Le Ménestrel*, 16 December 1921, 507, amongst others.

¹¹¹ Anon., ‘Salle des Agriculteurs’, *Guide du Concert*, 6 January 1922, 207.

de Séverac Debussy Satie Ravel	<i>Cimetière du Printemps</i> <i>A cheval dans la prairie, Do'un cahier d'Esquisses</i> <i>Gnossienne (no. 1)</i> <i>Alborada</i>	Ricardo Viñes	
Enesco Ravel	<i>Estrene à Anne</i> <i>Languir me fais</i> <i>Aux Damoysselles,</i> <i>D'Anne qui me jecta de la neige</i> <i>D'Anne jouant de l'Espinelle/Espinette</i>	Jane Bathori	
Turina Frédéric Mompou de Falla	<i>Soir d'été la terrasse, de San Sebastian's</i> <i>Cortège nuptila</i> <i>Cants Magics</i> <i>Danse rituelle du feu</i>	Ricardo Viñes	
Guetary Alvarez Granados	<i>Habanera</i> <i>La Partida</i> <i>Elegia eterna,</i> <i>Vidalita</i>	Mlle D. Swainson	chanson populaire by Valero

17 January 1922, 'Marcelle Meyer – Première concert', Salle de la Ville l'Evêque, 18, rue Ville l'Evêque, Marcelle Meyer (pf) and Berthe Albert (singer)¹¹²

Premier concert (Mardi 17 Janvier), avec Mme Berthe Albert		
Préambule de M. ERIK SATIE¹¹³		
1.	a) Partita Prélude, Allemeande, Courante, Sarabande, Menuets I, II, Gigue.	BACH
	b) Caprice sur le Départ d'un ami <i>Arioso – Moderato adagio – Poco allegro – Fuga all'imitation della cornetta di Postiglione</i>	BACH
	M^{me} MARCELLE MEYER	
2.	a) Le Jour s'éteint	BACH
	b) Laissez-vous toucher par mes pleurs	GLUCK
	c) Le Récit de la messagère	MONTEVERDE
	M^{me} BERTHE ALBERT	
3.	a) Rondeau	MOZART
	b) La Villageoise	RAMEAU
	c) La Volta	BYRD
	d) Dodo ou l'Amour au verceau e) Les Tambourins	COUPERIN
	f) Les Vieux Seigneurs g) Le Tic Toc-Choc	
	h) Pastorale i) Cappricio j) Tempos di Baillo	SCARLATTI
	k) La Chasse	
	M^{me} MARCELLE MEYER	

¹¹² Programme in IMEC: SAT 25.38, 'Marcelle Meyer – Trois Concerts en Janvier 1922'. Programme also in Anon., 'Salle de le Ville d'Evêque', *Guide du Concert*, 13 January 1922, 222.

¹¹³ According to Volta in this talk Satie 'retracant l'histoire de la musique à sa façon'. Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 470. Auric read the preamble of the second concert 24 January ('avec le concours de Mme Romanitza') and Jean Cocteau presented the préambule of the third concert ('avec le concours de MM. Pierre Bertin, Gabriel Bouillon, Duquès').

4.	a) Toute peine, même vaine b) Air d'Alcibiade (Socrate) M^{me} Berthe Albert	PERGOLÉSE ERIK SATIE
5.	a) 1^{re} Gymnopédie b) Menuet (1 ^{re} audition) c) Nocturne d) Sonatine bureaucratique M^{me} MARCELLE MEYER	ERIK SATIE

24 January 1922, 'Deuxième Concert avec Mme Romantiza', Salle de la Ville l'Evêque, 18, rue Ville l'Evêque, Marcelle Meyer (pf)¹¹⁴

DEUXIEME CONCERT (MARDI 24 JAN) with Mme Romanitza		
Préambule de M. GEORGES AURIC		
1.	a) Oiseaux tristes b) Alborada del Gracioso M^{me} MARCELLE MEYER	RAVEL
2.	a) Cinq mélodies Grecques b) Vocalise M^{me} ROMANITZA	RAVEL
3.	a) La Terrasse des Audiences du Clair de Lune b) La Soirée dans Grenade c) La Sérénade interrompue d) Reflets dans l'eau e) L'isle Joyeuse M^{me} MARCELLE MEYER	DEBUSSY
4.	a) L'Echelonnement des Haies b) C'est l'Extase langoureuse c) Le Promenoir des Deux Amants <i>(La Grotte – Crois mon conseil – Je tremble)</i> d) Ballade des Femmes de Paris M^{me} ROMANITZA	DEBUSSY
5.	a) Idylle b) Vieux Sequins, Viellies Cuirasses c) Véritables Préludes flasques (pour un chien) d) Idylle e) Bourrée Fantasque M^{me} MARCELLE MEYER	ERIK SATIE CHABRIER

31 January 1922, 'Troisième concert', Salle de la Ville l'Evêque, 18, rue Ville l'Evêque, Marcelle Meyer (pf), Mme Peignot (singer)¹¹⁵

TROISIEME CONCERT (MARDI 31 JAN) with MM. Pierre Bertin, Gabriel Bouillon, Duquès		
Préambule de M. JEAN COCTEAU¹¹⁶		
1.	a) Berceuse TAILLEFERRE	GERMAINE
	b) Sports et divertissements (1 ^{er} audition) <i>Choral – Le Bain de Mer – Le Water-Chute – La Pieuvre – Colin-Maillard – Le Golf – Le Flirt – Le Carnaval – Le Tennis – Le Tango – Le Réveil de la Mariée – Le Yachting – Le Traineau – La</i>	ERIK SATIE

¹¹⁴ Programme in IMEC: SAT 25.38, 'Marcelle Meyer – Trois Concerts en Janvier 1922' and in Anon., 'Salle de la Ville l'Evêque', *Guide du Concert*, 20 January 1922, 237.

¹¹⁵ Programme in IMEC: SAT 25.38, 'Marcelle Meyer – Trois Concerts en Janvier 1922'.

¹¹⁶ According to a review of this concert Cocteau did not take part as he was ill: 'Mais le poète malade s'est fait excuser.' M. B. [Maurice Boucher?], 'Salles Diverses', *Le Monde musical*, March 1922, 113.

<i>Chasse – Les Courses – Les 4 Coins – Le Pique-Nique – La Pêche – Le Feu d’Artifice – La Balançoire – La Comédie Italienne</i> M^{me} MARCELLE MEYER	
2.	<p>a) Algaé GEORGES AURIC</p> <p>b) Hommage à Erik Satie</p> <p>c) Trois Poèmes de Jean Cocteau HONEGGER</p> <p>d) Danseuse ERIK SATIE</p> <p>M. PIERRE BERTIN¹¹⁷</p>
3.	<p>a) Rag-Time</p> <p>b) Suite de l’Histoire du Soldat (clarinette, violon et piano) STRAWINSKY <i>Marche du Soldat – Le Violon du Soldat – Petit Concert</i> <i>Tango – Valse – Rag – Danse du Diable</i></p> <p>M^{me} MARCELLE MEYER M. GABRIEL BOUILLON – M. DUQUÈS</p>
4.	<p>Six Impromptus (1^{er} audition) FRANCIS POULENC</p> <p>M^{me} MARCELLE MEYER</p>
5.	<p>a) Saudades do Brazil DARIUS MILHAUD <i>Sorocaba – Sumare – Paysandu - Gavéa</i></p> <p>b) Nocturne GEORGES AURIC</p> <p>c) Trois Pastorales</p> <p>d) Fox-Trot</p> <p>M^{me} MARCELLE MEYER</p>

17 February 1922, ‘Concert Thomas Salignac’, Salle Gaveau, 45 rue La Boétie (Animal-themed concert), Pierre Lucas (pf)¹¹⁸

<p>‘Thomas Salignac: “La musique et les Animaux” – Causerie par M. Salignac La causerie de M. Salignac, conçue dans le mode humoristique mais très documentée sur la vie des bêtes, bomporte deux parties. La 1^{re} traite des animaux mélomanes et la 2^e des rapports des compositeurs et de leurs frères inférieurs. Le programme musical vient illustrer ce qui précède et prouver l’heureux parti que les compositeurs ont tiré de leurs sympathies pour les bêtes.</p>			
COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Chabrier	<i>Ballades des gros dindons</i> <i>Villanelle des petits canards.</i> <i>Pastorale des cochons roses.</i>	MM. Salignac et P. Lucas	
Grovez Satie Glinka Balakirew Scott	<i>L’Ane</i> <i>Embryons desséchés</i> <i>L’Alouette</i> <i>Danse des Eléphants</i>	P. Lucas	
Poulenc Moussorgsky	<i>Le Bestiaire</i> <i>Le Cousin et l’Araignée</i> <i>Le Hanneton, Le Chat matelot, La Pie</i>	Marie O. D’Alheim, Mlle Swainson	
Ravel	<i>Le Paon, Le Grillon,</i> <i>La Pintade</i>	MM. Salignac et P. Lucas	
Debussy	<i>Oiseaux tristes,</i> <i>Berceuse des</i>	P. Lucas	

¹¹⁷ Also due to illness, Pierre Bertin was replaced by Mme Peignot: ‘M. P. Bertin, également absent fut remplacé par Mme Peignot, qui fut excellente dans une rôle parfois difficile.’ M. B. [Maurice Boucher?], ‘Salles Diverses’, *Le Monde musical*, March 1922, 113.

¹¹⁸ Anon., ‘Salle Gaveau’, *Guide du Concert*, 10 February 1922, 289.

	<i>Eléphants, Poissons d'Or</i>		
A. Loénine Beethoven Liszt	<i>L'Alouette</i> <i>La Marmotte, La Caille</i> <i>Le Nénuphar et le Cygne</i>	Marie Ol. D'Alheim, Mlle Swainson	
Caplet	<i>Le Corbeau et le Renard</i> <i>Le Loup et l'Agneau</i>	M. Salignac et l'Auteur	

22 February 1922, Salle de la Ville l'Evêque, 18, rue Ville l'Evêque: Marcelle Meyer (pf) and Berthe Albert (singer)¹¹⁹

- Repeat programme of 31 January 1911 concert.

9, 11 & 16 March 1922, Théâtre Mogador, Caryathis (dance) (limited programme information)¹²⁰

9 March 1922, Théâtre Caumartin, 17 rue de Caumartin, Pierre Fol (vln), Jean Wiéner (pf) (limited programme information)¹²¹

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|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Kreisler: Tambourin chinois, Rondino, Polichinelle, Caprice viennois [M. Pierre Fol] 2. Milhaud – Tangos, Blues [M. Jean Wiéner] 3. Milhaud: Fantaisie-Cinéma d'après le Boeuf sur le toit (cadence d'Arthur Honegger) |
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17 March 1922, Salle de l'Ancien Conservatoire (Salle du Conservatoire), rue du Conservatoire, Mme Marthe Martine (singer) & small orch, Roger Desormières (cond.)¹²²

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Satie	<i>Socrate (Bords de L'Illissus)</i>	Mme Marthe Martine	
Satie Auric Roussel Poulenc Debussy	<i>Le Chapelier</i> <i>Trois Interludes</i> <i>Le Jardin mouillé</i> <i>Bachelier de Salamanque</i> <i>Le Bestiaire (Apollinaire)</i>	Mme Martine	

¹¹⁹ Anon., 'Salle de la Ville l'Evêque', *Guide du Concert*, 17 February 1922 and *Le Figaro*, 17 February 1922, 5.

¹²⁰ Anon., 'Théâtre Mogador', *Le Gaulois*, 9 March 1922, 4.

¹²¹ Anon., 'Théâtre Caumartin', *Guide du Concert*, 3 March 1922, 338. Donnellon states that *Choses vues à droite et à gauche* is played in this concert. See Donnellon, 'Debussy, Satie and the Parisian Critical Press', 312.

¹²² Anon., 'Ancien Conservatoire', *Guide du Concert*, 13 March 1922, 351. The entries in bold are additional works listed as performed in Pierre Leroi, 'Mme Marthe Martine', *Le Courrier musical*, 1 April 1922, 122.

Stravinski	<i>Puerta del Vino</i> <i>Trois poèmes de la lyrique japonaise</i> <i>Trois poèmes de S. Mallarmé</i> <i>Soupir, Placet futile</i> <i>Star</i>		
Ravel			
Schmitt			
Milhaud	<i>Le Catalogue de fleurs</i>		Premiere
Couperin Rameau Scarlatti Debussy Roussel	No further info available	Mlle Suzy Welty	Solo piano works
Koechlin Milhaud	<i>Paysages et Marines</i> <i>3rd Symphony</i>	Roger Désormière (cond.)	

28 March 1922, ‘7^{ème} Concert Olenine d’Alheim’, Salle des Agriculteurs, Olenine d’Alheim (singer)¹²³

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Jean Wiéner	<i>7 Petites Histoires: C (Marche, H (Valse), K (Rag-time), N et Q (Fantasie et Fugue), U (Etude), W, X (Romance)</i>		Extraits du grand Alphabet instantané de M. René des Alyscamps
Satie	<i>3 Poèmes d’Amour</i> <i>La statue de bronze</i> <i>Daphénéo</i>	Olenine d’Alheim & Satie/Dorothy Swainson	
Poulenc	<i>Cocardes</i>		
Auric	<i>Les joues en feu</i>		
Honegger	<i>Complaintes et Dils</i>		
Milhaud	<i>On’ils sont beaux,</i> <i>Tenèbres, Obsession,</i> <i>Poèmes juifs</i> <i>Chants du Sabbat</i> <i>Psaumes CXII, XIX</i>		harmonisat de Ravel harmonisat de Swainson

31 March 1922, ‘Nouveaux Concerts’, Hôtel Continental, rue Rouget-de-Lisle, Jane Mortier (pf solo), Satie & Mortier (pf duet)¹²⁴

<p>Borodine: <i>Quatuor no. 2</i> Mozart: <i>Air de Suzanne</i> (Noces) Erlanger: <i>Seuls pleurs</i> Pieces pour piano: <i>Fantaisie et Fugue B.A.C.H.</i> (Liszt); <i>Prélude</i> (Honegger); <i>Suite</i> (Poulenc); <i>Saudades</i> (Milhaud) Oeuvres de Satie: <i>Sonatine bureaucratique, Morceaux en forme de poire</i> (nos. 1 et 2), <i>Trois</i></p>
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¹²³ Anon., ‘Salle des Agriculteurs’, *Guide du Concert*, 24 March 1922, 380, and advertised in Anon, ‘Courrier musical’, *Le Figaro*, 22 March 1922, 5. ‘[...] avec le concours de Mlle [Dorothy] Swainson, MM. Erik Satie, Darius Milhaud, Francis Poulenc, Georges Auric, Jean Wiéner. Au piano: les Auteurs ou Mlle Swainson.’

¹²⁴ Anon., ‘Hôtel Continental’, *Guide du Concert*, 24 March 1922, 384.

petites pièces montées [Mme J. Mortier et l'Auteur]
 Kullmann: *l'Indifférent (Lentement)*
 Sachs: *Quintette for piano and strings, op. 77.*

10 April 1922, Salle Erard, solo recital, Ricardo Viñes (pf)¹²⁵

Solo piano concert by Ricardo Viñes

Fauré: *Impromptu*
 de Séverac: *Coin de Cimetière*
 Schmitt: *Brises*
 Ravel: *Oiseaux tristes*
 Debussy: *Poissons d'or*
 Satie: *2^{ème} Sarabande*
 Poulenc: *Mouvements perpétuels*
 Chabrier: *Scherzo-Valse*
 Alb. Williams: *Dans la Pampa*
 Aguirre: *Triste* (chanson popularire)
 Rogatis: *Le Vent* (poème)
 José Gil: *Sonatine sol mineur*
 Chimenti: *2 Impromptus*
 Juan J. Castro: *Danza*
 V. Forte: *La Vidalita* (Prélude)
 Celestino Piaggio: *Rondeau*
 de San Sebastian: *Le Forêt*
 Mompou: *Cants magics*
 Turina: *Rondes d'enfants*
 de Falla: *Chanson du Pêcheur*
 Albeniz: *Navarra.*

22 April 1922, 'Concert de la Revue musicale', Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier, Henri Fabert (singer)¹²⁶

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Rohozinsky	<i>Suite</i>		flute, alto, harpe
Satie	<i>Mort de Socrate</i> (extraits)	M. Henri Fabert	
Roussel	<i>Impromptu</i>		harpe
Scriabine	<i>Scriabine</i>		piano
Pierné	<i>Ballades de Paul Fort</i>		
Debussy	<i>Sonate</i>		Sonate

15 May 1922, Salle Pleyel, solo piano concert, Jane Mortier (pf)¹²⁷

Solo piano concert by Jane Mortier

Roussel – *Prélude*
 Dukas – *Sonate*
 Schubert – *12 Landler, op. 171*
 Vuillemin – *Valses légères, 1^{re}, la maj.*
 Honegger – *Prélude (1919)*
 Poulenc – *Suite pour piano*
 Milhaud – *Saudades do Brazil*
 Satie – *Sonatine bureaucratique.*

¹²⁵ Anon., 'Salle Erard', *Guide du Concert*, 7 April 1922, 410.

¹²⁶ Anon., 'Concert de la Revue musicale', *Guide du Concert*, 7 April 1922, 414.

¹²⁷ Anon., 'Salle Pleyel', *Guide du Concert*, 12 May 1922, 475.

23 May 1922, ‘Séance de danses donnée par Lizica Codreano’, Salle Padeloup, 10, rue des Ursulines (V^e), près de rue St-Jacques, Jean Wiéner (pf ?), Lizica Codreano (dancer)¹²⁸

SÉANCE DE DANSES DONNÉE PAR LIZICA CODREANO AVEC LE CONCOURS DE MADAME ROMANTIZA ET DE MONSIEUR JEAN WIÉNER	
I. <i>Esquisse</i> <i>Prélude</i> <i>Mouvement perpétuel</i> (3 ^e) <i>Valse</i> M ^{lle} LIZICA CODREANO	OSWALD GUERRA MARCEL MIHALOVICI FRANCIS POULENC JEAN WIÉNER
II. 1) <i>Les Soirées de Petrograd</i> a) <i>L’Orgueilleuse</i> b) <i>L’Infidèle</i> c) <i>La Perverse</i> d) <i>La colonel Romanoff</i> 2) <i>Le Bestiaire</i> a) <i>Le Dromadaire</i> b) <i>La Carpe</i> 3) <i>Pastorale</i> M ^{me} ROMANITZA	DARIUS MILHAUD POÈMES RENÉ CHALUPT FRANCIS POULENC [ET] GUILLAUME APOLLINAIRE IGOR STRAWINSKY
III. <i>Moments fugitifs</i> <i>Danse burlesque et tendre</i> <i>Polka-Marche</i> (petites pièces montées) M ^{lle} LIZICA CODREANO	SERGE PROKOFIEFF MARCEL MIHALOVICI ERIK SATIE
IV. <i>Lee Gloxinia</i> (Trois Interludes) <i>Le Lapin</i> (Poèmes Hindous) M ^{me} ROMANITZA	GEORGES AURIC M. DELAGE
V. <i>Fragments des Symphonies pour instrument à vent</i> 2 <i>Tangos</i> (Saudades do Brésil) <i>Rag Time</i> (Musique) M ^{lle} LIZICA CODREANO	IGOR STRAWINSKY DARIUS MILHAUD JEAN WIÉNER
Prix des places: 10 & 5 francs. On trouve des billets, 10, rue des Ursulines, A la Salle Padeloup. Costumes de MM. Alexandre JAKOVLEV et Adolph FEDER	

30 June 1922, ‘Fête de Nuit à Montparnasse’, Salle Bullier, 31 Avenue de l’Observatoire, Myron Jacobsen (pf), Mlle Caryatis (dancer), Liscia Cordéano (dancer)¹²⁹

SALLE BULLIER 31 Avenue de l’Observatoire, 31 FÊTE DE NUIT À MONTPARNASSE BAL COSTUMÉ sous la direction
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¹²⁸ Programme in IMEC: SAT 25.39, ‘Séance de danses donnée par Lizica Codreano.’

¹²⁹ Copy of this programme in IMEC: SAT 25.40, ‘Fête de Nuit à Montparnasse’. Original copy can be found in the Tate Gallery Archive.

de M. ANDRÉ DE FOUQUIÈRES		
	30 Juin 1922	(Front page)
1. M ^{lle} OGINSKA <i>Valse</i> <i>Mazurka, Mélancolie</i>		CHOPIN
2. M ^{lle} TAMAR FRIEDE <i>Danse d'Anitra</i>		GRIEG
3. M ^{lle} NATACHA TROUKHANOVA Avec le concours de M ^r MOYSEENKO Danses 1830 a) <i>Gavotte</i> b) <i>Polka</i>		ZIBULKA STRAUSS
4. M ^{lle} LISCIA CORDÉANO <i>Le Prélude</i> <i>Polka Marche</i>		MARCEL MIHALOWICI ERIK SATIE
5. CHARLET & C^{ie}		
6. M ^{lle} ANICKA YAN <i>L'Ame des Arbres</i> <i>Le Pantin Mélancolique</i>		DEBUSSY P. JUAN
7. M ^{lle} CARYATIS <i>Belle Excentrique</i> <i>Danse Espagnole</i>		ERIK SATIE GRANADOS
8. M ^{lle} DJEMIL ANIK <i>Bodhisattwa</i> Danse Japonaise		
9. M ^{lle} NYOTA NYOKA <i>Bayadère</i> <i>Bedouine</i>		
10. M ^{lle} BOLDIREWA <i>Danse Tzigane</i> <i>Valse</i>		BRAHMS DRIGO
11. M ^{lle} Suzanne LAWRENCE & M^r QUITO <i>Danses Acrobatiques</i>		
Au piano: M. MYRON JACOBSON	Piano GAVEAU	RÉGISSEUR: IDLYA ZDANÉVITCH
LA SALLE A ÉTÉ DÉCORÉE PAR: SOUDEIKINE, FEDER, BARTHE, ZADKINE, GRIGORIEFF, OPTIZ DE ZARATE, GOUDIACHVILI LE BAR A ÉTÉ DÉCORÉ PAR: DE DARDEL, KISLING, PASCIN ET MAKOWSKY		
Visitez notre Exposition de Peintures et Dessins au fond de la salle à gauche. Les Oeuvres qui y figurent seront Vendues aux Enchères à l'Américaine. Vente dirigée par le célèbre Chansonnier BÉTOVE		

27 October 1922, 'diverse concert', Hôtel Continental, rue Rouget-de-Lisle, M & Mme Clauzel (pf and singer) (Programme Extract only)¹³⁰

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)
Pièces pour piano: D'Indy A. Cheval de Séverac Debussy	<i>Helvetia</i> <i>Vieille boîte à musique</i> <i>Golliwog</i> <i>Jardins sous la pluie</i>	Mlle Antoinette Veluard
Chansons Contemporaines:		

¹³⁰ Anon., 'Hôtel Continental', *Guide du Concert*, 20 October 1922, 26-7.

Delmet Satie Poulenc	<i>Les Mamans</i> <i>Daphnéo</i> <i>Cocardes</i>	M & Mme Clauzel
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30 October 1922, Salle Gaveau, Jean Wiéner (pf)¹³¹

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)
Debussy	<i>Sonata for violin and piano</i>	Jean Wiéner & Benedetti (vln)
Bach	<i>Suite en mi</i> (solo violin)	Benedetti (vln)
Poulenc	<i>Impromptus (I, II, IV, III)</i>	Wiéner
Stravinsky	<i>Piano Rag Music</i>	Wiéner
Wiéner	<i>Sonatine Syncopée</i>	Wiéner
Satie	<i>Descriptions automatiques</i>	Wiéner
Haydn	(1913)	Wiéner
Milhaud	<i>Sonata no. 2</i>	Wiéner
Transcribed by Wiéner	<i>Printemps</i>	Wiéner
	<i>Deux Danses américaines</i>	
Milhaud	<i>Le Boeuf sur le Toit</i>	Wiéner

5 December 1922, Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, solo piano concert, Ricardo Viñes (pf)¹³²

<p>Solo piano concert by Ricardo Viñes Franck: <i>Prélude, Choral et Fugue</i> Chausson: <i>Paysage</i> Fauré: <i>Bacarolle</i> de Séverac: <i>Muletiers devant le Christ</i> Chabrier: <i>Bourrée fantasque</i> Debussy: <i>Cahier d'Esquisses, Masques</i> Ravel: <i>la Vallée des Cloches</i> Satie: <i>Croquis & Agaceries d'un gros bonhomme (Danse maigre)</i> Milhaud: <i>Saudades do Brazil, Tijnca, Sumaré</i> Poulenc: <i>Impromptues (I. II. III.)</i> Albeniz: <i>Almeria</i> Mompou: <i>Scènes d'enfants, Cris dans la rue; Jeux, Jeunes filles au jardin, Fileuse</i> de San Sebastian: <i>Dans la Forêt</i> Turina: <i>Exaltation</i> [premiere] de Falla: <i>Danses du Feu.</i></p>

18 December 1922, Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, solo piano concert, Ricardo Viñes (pf)¹³³

<p>Solo piano concert by Ricardo Viñes Chausson: <i>Paysage</i> Fauré: <i>Barcarolle</i> De Séverac: <i>Muletiers devant le Christ</i> Chabrier: <i>Bourrée Fantasque</i> Debussy: <i>Cahier d'esquisses, Masques</i> Ravel: <i>Vallée des Cloches</i> Satie: <i>Croquis & Agaceries d'un gros bonhomme (Danse maigre, Española)</i></p>
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¹³¹ Anon., 'Salle Gaveau, *Guide du Concert*, 27 October 1922, 41.

¹³² Anon., 'Théâtre des Champs-Élysées', *Guide du Concert*, 1 December 1922, 122.

¹³³ Anon., 'Théâtre des Champs-Élysées', *Guide du Concert*, 15 December 1922, 151.

Milhaud: *Saudades do Brazil*
 Poulenc: *Impromptus (I. II. III)*
 Tailleferre: *Jeux de plein air* [duet with Tailleferre and Viñes]
 Albeniz: *Almerta*
 Mompou: *Scènes d'enfants*
 de S. Sebastian: *La Fileuse; Dans la Forêt*
 Turina: *Exaltation*
 de Falla: *Danse de feu*

1923

4 January 1923, 'le quatrième concert Jean Wiéner, consacré à Erik Satie et à Poulenc', Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, Suzanne Balguerie (singer), André Caplet (cond.), Jean Wiéner (pf)¹³⁴

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Poulenc	<i>Sonate</i>	MM. Cahuzac et Hermans	Premiere
Poulenc	<i>Impromptus</i>	Wiéner	
Satie	<i>Socrate</i>	Mme Suzanne Balguerie et l'orchestre sous la direction de M. André Caplet	
Satie	<i>La Belle Excentrique</i>		Whether the version for small orch., pf duet or solo is unknown.
Satie	<i>Nocturne No. 4</i> <i>Descriptions automatiques</i>	Jean Wiéner	Premiere
Poulenc	<i>Sonate</i>	MM. Entraigues, Favreau, Tadesq	Premiere cor, trompette, trombonne

13 April 1923, 'Réunion musicale mensuelle', l'Association des anciens élèves de la Schola Cantorum, Schola Cantorum, 260 rue Saint-Jacques¹³⁵

La réunion musicale mensuelle du vendredi 13 avril, de l'Association des anciens élèves de la Schola Cantorum (5 heures, 260 rue Saint-Jacques) sera consacrée aux œuvres de MM. Alquerer, de Crévecoeur, Erik Satie, et M. Maurice Emmanuel, membre du Comité artistique de l'Association, y fera une causerie sur la musique.

30 April 1923, 'Jane Bathori: Cours-Auditions les lundis à 5H', 49 Boulevard du Montparnasse¹³⁶, Jane Bathori (Singer)¹³⁷

29 janvier – Fauré – Rita Strohl

¹³⁴ Anon., 'Théâtre des Champs-Élysées', *Guide du Concert*, 22 December 1922, 172.

¹³⁵ Anon., 'Carnet musical', *Journal des débats*, 11 April 1923, 3.

¹³⁶ This was the location of the artist atelier, the Académie Vitti, a studio for women only. The American artist Henri Robert had lived there in the early 1900s.

¹³⁷ Concert flyer in IMEC: SAT 25.41, advertising a series of concerts performed by Jane Bathori in 1923, according to the date written in pencil on this programme in Ornella Volta's hand.

12 fév – Aubert – Florent Schmitt
 26 fév – P. de Bréville – Bordes
 5 mars – Ravel
 19 mars – Debussy
 16 avril – Milhaud – Honegger. Wiéner
 23 Avril – Koechlin - Martineau
30 avril – André Caplet. – Erik Satie
 7 Mai – A. Roussel. – Roland Manuel
 14 Mai – Musiciens étrangers

Cartes d'Auditeurs... 10 francs.

10... .. 80

Les 10 cartes sont valables pour n'importe quelle audition. On trouve des cartes, 49 Boulevard Montparnasse & chez Madame Bathori, 10 rue Oudinot.

10 May 1923, private concert, 'Concert de musique moderne: La seconde séance d'avant-garde', Cercle international des étudiants des nations alliées et amies de la France, Collège de France, 13 Rue Champollion, Satie (pf), Mme Charles Peignot (singer), Jane Mortier (pf)¹³⁸

"La Jeune Musique Française"	
Causerie par Monsieur Georges AURIC	
I. Trois pastorales (1920)	Georges Auric
1. <i>Vif et Rude</i>	
2. <i>Modérément animé</i>	
3. <i>Très vif et très net</i>	
Suite pour piano (1920)	Francis Poulenc
1. <i>Presto</i>	
2. <i>Andante</i>	
3. <i>Vif</i>	
Madame Jane MORTIER	
II. Quatre petites mélodies	Erik Satie
1. <i>Elégie</i> (Lamartine)	
2. <i>Danseuse</i> (Jean Cocteau)	
3. <i>Chanson</i> (XVIII ^e siècle)	
4. <i>Adieu</i> (R. Radiguet)	
Au piano: L'AUTEUR	
Souvenirs d'enfance (Jean Cocteau)	Arthur Honegger
Madame CHARLES PEIGNOT	
III. Sonatine pour piano et flûte	Darius Milhaud
MM. Georges AURIC et Roger DÉSORMIÈRES	
IV. Trois Saudades do Brasil (1922)	Darius Milhaud
Mme Jane MORTIER	
V. Chant de nourrice	Darius Milhaud
(Extrait des <i>Poèmes juifs</i>)	
Catalogue des fleurs	
Madame CHARLES PEIGNOT	
Au piano: L'AUTEUR	
VI. Quatre nocturnes (1919-1920)	Erik Satie
Sonatine Bureaucratique (1920)	
Mme Jane MORTIER	
Cette séance sera répétée le samedi 12 mai à 16h30 au Théâtre de la Chimère, 143 Blvd St.	

¹³⁸ Programme in IMEC: SAT 25.43, 'Programme de la seconde séance d'avant-garde du jeudi 10 mai'. The first séance occurred on 3 May 1923, and the third on 17 May 1923, however, Satie's name did not feature on these programmes.

Germain. La Causerie de Monsieur Georges AURIC sera reproduite par *La Revue Hebdomadaire*. [Organisateur: Robert Aron]

12 May 1923, 'Concert de la musique moderne', Baraque à la Chimère, Satie (pf), Mme Charles Peignot (singer), Jane Mortier (pf)¹³⁹

- Programme is a repetition of the concert of 10 May 1923

30 May 1923, private concert, 'Bal du baroque', organised by Comte Etienne de Beaumont, chez Beaumont, 2 rue Duroc, Marcelle Meyer (pf), Germaine Tailleferre (pf)¹⁴⁰

Les Soupeurs Marche Fse St Saens		<u>Orchestre</u>
1) La Nuit Bne de Taisne	Prélude en ut Chopin	<u>Orchestre</u>
2) Les Contes de Perrault	Mme de Gaenza	<u>Orchestre</u>
A/ M.W. Berry & Mise de Polignac	Couperin	<u>Orchestre</u>
B/Peau d'Ane	Pavane de la Mère	
Mme de Gaenza & M. G. L'Oie de Ravenne		<u>Orchestre</u>
Brancas		
C/ l'Oiseau Bleu, Mise de Jaucourt, Mis de Castellane. Chant Hindou. Flute solo de...		
l'Orchestre.		
D/ Cendrillon. Mrs Hyde. Pse de Lucinge, Souvenir de Hapsal, Tschaikowsky, violon et piano de l'orchestre		
E/ Barbe Bleue. Mme Bernstein, Pce Ach Murat. Coppélia. Orchestre		
G/ Le Petit Chaperon rouge. M. Bernstein. Le Chaperon Rouge. Orchestre		
J/ Mise de St Sauveur. M. Sotto?		
3) Les quatre Parties du monde. Mme Jean Hugo. Adlibitum. Orchestre		
4) Les Infantes. Pse Soutzo. Pavane de Haendel. Orgue et banjo.		
5) Le triomphe du baroque. Bne de Meyer. Passacail. Orchestre		
6) L'olympie. Pse de Kapurtala. Coutante de Bach. Orchestre.		
7) Danse. Mme Polowtsoff. Altweiner Taaz Lieder Kreisler. Piano & biolon de l'orchestre		
8) Les Chinonis. Cse G. De Castries. Pagode de Debussy		
9) Les Printemps. Mme di Pietro. Musique d'Erik Satie. Mmes M. Meyer et Germaine Tailleferre piano et orgue.		
10) Les Heros de Racine. Musique à part. Cse de Caumont la Force		
11) La Terre. Mme Hoyt. Musique orchestre ad libitum		
12) Les Bateleurs. Mise des Montiers. Clavejitos. Orchestre.		
13) Cse des Monstiers. Musique orchestre ad libitum.		
14) Les Médecins de Molière. Cse de Castries. Pse Lucien Murat. Piano Mme Marcelle Meyer et M. Gaentcha		
15) Salomé		
16) Comedie Italienne, Musique orchestre ad libitum. Mme Colporter		
17) La Statue retrouvée. Musique d'Erik Satie. Mrs Fellows. ¹⁴¹		
The premiere of <i>Ludions</i> also took place during the masked ball. It was performed by Mme René Jacquemaire and Satie (organ). This is not stated on the original concert programme.		

¹³⁹ See advert for this concert at the end of the programme for the concert dated 10 May 1923.

¹⁴⁰ Original typed programme in IMEC: SAT 24.18, 'Programme du Bal baroque de 1923'. Satie writes in a letter to the Princess de Polignac, dated 24 May 1923 that 'le bal des de Beaumont est remis au 30 (mai, naturellement).' Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 538-9.

¹⁴¹ This 'divertissement' for organ and trumpet was based upon an idea by Jean Cocteau and the costumes were designed by Picasso. Olga Picasso was one of the performers along with the Marquise de Médicis and Daisy Fellowes, niece of the Princess de Polignac. Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 515. See also Orledge, *Satie the Composer*, 326-7.

**2 June 1923, ‘Concerts Wiéner’, Salle Pleyel, Jean Wiéner & Satie (pf duet),
Wiéner (pf)¹⁴²**

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Webern	<i>Pièces</i>	Quatuor Pro Arte	
Satie	<i>4th Nocturne</i> <i>Chapitres tournés en</i> <i>tous sens</i>	Jean Wiéner	
Milhaud	<i>Quatuor</i>	Quatuor Pro Arte	
Satie	<i>Morceaux en forme de</i> <i>poire</i>	Jean Wiéner & Satie	
Stravinskwy	<i>Concertino</i>	Quatuor Pro Arte	
Charles Gounod	<i>Quatuor</i>	Quatuor Pro Arte	

**12 June 1923, ‘Musique de danse du XVI^e au XX^e siècle’, Salle Pleyel, Henri
Gil-Marchex (pf)¹⁴³**

<p>Solo piano concert by Henri Gil-Marchex Lully: <i>Chaconne</i> Couperin: <i>Bavolet flottant</i> Rameau: <i>Niais de Sologne</i> Bach: <i>Sarabande, Passepied mi mineur</i> Haydn: <i>Rondo all’ongaresse</i> Schubert: <i>Hommage aux belles viennoises</i> Mussorgsky: <i>Hopak</i> Tansman: <i>Danses polonaises</i> Bartok: <i>Danse Roumaine</i> Liszt: <i>2nd Rapsodie Hongroise</i> Schumann: <i>Carnaval, op. 9</i> Debussy: <i>Golliwog’s Cake-walk, Minsterels</i> Satie: <i>Danse maigre</i> (from <i>Croquis et agaceries</i>) Milhaud: <i>Saudades</i> Stravinsky: <i>Piano Rag music</i> Gil-Marchex: <i>When Buddha Smiles</i></p>

**14 June 1923, private concert, ‘La septième séance d’avant-garde du Cercle
international des étudiants’, Collège de France, Henry Cliquet-Pleyel &
Maxime Jacob (pf duet)¹⁴⁴**

<p>I. Causerie de M. Robert Aron: ‘Conclusion: Sommes-nous modernes?’</p>
<p>II. <i>La Belle excentrique</i> Erik SATIE Fantaisie sérieuse 1. <i>Grand ritournelle.</i> 2. <i>Marche franco-lunaire.</i> 3. <i>Valse du mystérieux baiser dans l’oeil.</i> 4. <i>Cancan grand mondain.</i> MM. Henri CLIQUET-PLEYEL et Maxime JACOB</p>
<p>III. Presentation de quatre jeunes musiciens:</p>

¹⁴² Anon., ‘Salle Pleyel’, *Guide du Concert*, 25 May 1923, 492-493.

¹⁴³ Anon., ‘Salle Pleyel’, *Guide du Concert*, 8 June 1923, 519.

¹⁴⁴ Anon., ‘Collège de France’, *Guide du Concert*, 8 June 1923, 520 and in IMEC: SAT 25.46, ‘Programme de la septième séance d’avant-garde du Cercle international des étudiants’. This is the concert where Satie introduces the Ecole d’Arcueil.

‘Henri CLIQUET-PLEYEL’, Roger DÉSORMIÈRE’, ‘Maxime JACOB’, ‘Henri SAUGUET’ par Monsieur Erik SATIE	
IV. Feuilles de température (Paul MORAND) <i>Don Juan.</i> <i>Révérance</i> <i>Etrennes</i> Mme Jane BATHORI	Darius MILHAUD
V. Souvenirs du bal bleu Quatre bucoliques (nos 2, 3, 4, 6). Mme Marcelle MEYER	Roger DÉSORMIÈRE Maxime JACOB
VI. Quatrains (FRANCIS JAMMES) Le guide du gourmand (ROBERT-ROBERT) 1. <i>Nicolas</i> 2. <i>Marly</i> 3. <i>Fox</i> 4. <i>Grill Room George</i> Poèmes de ‘Calligrammes’ 1. <i>Il pleut...</i> 2. <i>Le départ</i> 3. <i>Mutation</i> 4. <i>La boucle retrouvée</i> 5. <i>Exercice</i> 6. <i>Photographie</i> Mme BATHORI et les AUTEURS	Roger DÉSORMIÈRE Maxime JACOB Maxime JACOB
VII. Sonate pour alto et piano Monsieur et l’AUTEUR	Henri CLIQUET-PLEYEL
VIII. Trois mélodies 1. <i>Iles</i> (J. Cocteau) 2. <i>Amélie</i> (R. Radiguet) 3. <i>Miroir des Sports</i> (J. Cocteau) Le Mirliton d’Irène (J. Cocteau) Mme BATHORI	Henri SAUGUET Henri CLIQUET-PLEYEL
IX. Toccata et Fantaisie Trois ‘Françaises’ Mme Marcelle MEYER	Henri CLIQUET-PLEYEL Henri SAUGUET
X. Retrait-sortie	Henri SAUGUET

16 June 1923, ‘Séance Satie’, Baraque à la Chimère¹⁴⁵, 143 Blvd St-Germain, Henry Cliquet-Pleyel & Maxime Jacob (pf duet)¹⁴⁶

- Repeat of the 14 June 1923 concert, now open to the public.

16&20 June 1923, Théâtre de la Gaîté Lyrique, Ballets Russes, Ernest Ansermet (cond.) (limited programme information)¹⁴⁷

Satie <i>Parade</i> Stravinsky – <i>Les Noces</i> [Programme incomplete]

¹⁴⁵ The ‘dream shack’ was a temporary theatre constructed at 143 Blvd Saint-Germain by Gaston Baty on 9 March 1923.

¹⁴⁶ Anon., ‘La Chimère’, *Guide du Concert*, 8 June 1923, 521.

¹⁴⁷ See Volta (ed), *Correspondance*, letter from Satie to Diaghilev dated 19 June 1923, 542-3.

20 June 1923, Bienvenu française, Salle Gaveau, Jane Mortier (pf), Mme Charles Peignot (singer), Satie (pf), Mortier & Satie (pf duet)¹⁴⁸

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Dukas	<i>Sonate Mi-flat mineur</i>	Jane Mortier	
Satie	<i>Socrate</i>	Mme Charles Peignot & Satie	(arr.)
Roussel Milhaud Poulenc	<i>Suite pour piano</i> (prélude) <i>Saudades do Brazil</i> <i>Suite pour piano</i>	Jane Mortier	
Satie	<i>Sonatine</i> <i>Bureaucratique</i> <i>Parade</i>	Jane Mortier Mortier et l'Auteur	Pf duet

6 July 1923, 'Soirée du Cœur à barbe', Théâtre Michel, rue des Mathurins, Satie & Meyer (pf duet)¹⁴⁹

Igor Stravinsky - <i>Easy pieces for Four Hands</i> Darius Milhaud - "Shimmy" <i>caramel mou</i> Georges Auric - <i>Fox-trot</i> [performed by the authors or by Marcelle Meyer, Quatuor Capelle]
Ribemont-Dessaignes – <i>Mouchez-vous</i> [Dada speech]
Poetry by Jean Cocteau, Philippe Soupault and Tristan Tzara [recited by Marcel Herrand]
-proclamation by Pierre de Massot 'André Gide killed in action Pablo Picasso killed in action Francis Picabia killed in action Marcel Duchamp, evaporated...'
Erik Satie – <i>Trois morceaux en forme de poire</i> [Marcelle Meyer]
Poems by Guillaume Apollinaire (<i>Collines</i>), Philippe Soupault (<i>Je mens</i>) and Jacques Baron read by Pierre Bertin
Avant-garde Film: Charles Sheeler - <i>Manhattan</i> Hans Richter - <i>Rythme 21</i> Man Ray - <i>Return to Reason</i> [with music composed by Georges Antheil, performed by the author]
<i>Le Cœur à gaz</i> : a play in three acts by Tristan Tzara, performed by Jacqueline Chaumont of the Odéon; Marcel Herrand, Saint-Jean, Jacques Baron, René Crevel, and Pierre de Massot – directed by Yssia Sidersky – Costumes by Sonia Delaunay-Terck and Victor Barthe – Set by N. Granovsky. Zaoum poem projected by Ilia Zdanevich was accompanied by Lizica Codréano dancing (costumes by <i>Sonia Delaunay-Terck</i> , set by <i>Théo van Doesburg</i>)

¹⁴⁸ Anon., 'Salle Gaveau', *Guide du Concert*, 8 June 1923, 522 and advertisement in Anon., 'Carnet musical', *Journal des débats*, 20 June 1923, 3.

¹⁴⁹ Sanouillet, *Dada in Paris*, 279-281. Volta notes that Satie was asked by Tzara to participate in this soirée: while she notes he was present she does not state his involvement on the night or the programme of events. This is an important date however in the history of the French Dada movement as this is when the row between Tzara and Breton took place that led Breton to found the surrealist movement. Volta (ed.), *Correspondance*, 516. Programme of the work in Sanouillet, *Dada in Paris*, fn 42, 609-10 and an account of the events that occurred during the performance, 279-281. Sanouillet notes that even though the theatre was also booked for 7 July, this performance had to be cancelled as 'the director, Trébor, refused to pursue the experiment.'

**8 November 1923, ‘Concerts Koussevitzky du 8 Novembre’, Paris Opéra,
Serge Koussevitzky (cond.)¹⁵⁰**

First part:			
Satie Lily Boulanger	<i>Parade</i> <i>La Vieille prière</i> <i>bouddhique</i> <i>Ouverture</i>	Concerts Koussevitzky	Orch. version Premiere. Pour chœurs et orchestre Première jusqu’ici inédite pour un ballet pour chant et orchestra ‘un des compositeurs les plus remarquables de la génération nouvelle’
M. Delage	<i>Trois Poèmes</i>	Chanté par Mlle Jane Laval	
Second Part:			
Borodine	First act of <i>Prince Igor</i> L’air de <i>Kontchak</i> and famous dances from the same work	avec le concours de Mme Ermolenko, M. Kaidanov and the choirs	

**20 November 1923, ‘Concert Symphonique’, Théâtre des Champs-Élysées,
sous la direction de M. P. Coppola¹⁵¹**

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Honegger	<i>Pastorale d’Été</i>		
Davico	<i>Offrande</i>		2 lyriques de Tagore
Lazzari	<i>Concertstück</i>		
Blair Fairchild	<i>The red cockatoo</i>		
Roland Manuel	<i>Delie</i>		
Satie	<i>Le Chapelier</i>		
Milhaud	<i>Le Convive</i>		
Koechlin	<i>Ronel de Th. de Banville</i>		
Stravinsky	<i>Scherzo Fantastique</i>		
Busoni	<i>Bercuse</i>		Premiere
Bliss	<i>Madam Noy</i>		
Malipiero	<i>Per una favola cavalleresca</i>		

**23 November 1923, private concert, ‘Soirée de Musique et de Poésie’, Société
des Amateurs d’Art et des Collectionneurs, Hôtel de la Chambre Syndicale de
la Curiosité et des Beaux-Arts, 18, rue Ville l’Evêque, Marcelle Meyer &
Meyer-Survate (pf duet)¹⁵²**

¹⁵⁰ Anon., ‘Le Concert Koussevitzky du 8 Novembre’, *Journal des débats*, 2 November 1923, 4, and in Anon., ‘Le Concert Koussevitzky du 8 Novembre’, *Journal des débats*, 6 November 1923, 3.

¹⁵¹ Anon., ‘Théâtre des Champs-Élysées’, *Guide du Concert*, 16 November 1923, 93.

¹⁵² Programme in IMEC: SAT 25.48, ‘Société des amateurs d’art et des collectionneurs’.

SOCIÉTÉ DES AMATEURS D'ART ET DES COLLECTIONNEURS <i>Soirée de Musique et de Poésie du Vendredi 23 Novembre 1923 à 21 heures</i>	
1. La Belle Excentrique <i>Mmes Marcelle MEYER et MEYER-SURVAGE</i>	Erik SATIE
2. Quatre Chansons de Bonne Humeur <i>Mme Marguerite CARLEYS. Au piano: Mme COMBECAVE-BÉRILLON</i>	Tristan KLINGSOR
3. Saudades da Bresil Prélude Sonatine bureaucratique <i>M^{me} Marcelle Meyer</i>	Darius MILHAUD Georges AURIC Erik SATIE
4. Poèmes <i>M. Pierre Bertin</i>	Jean COCTEAU G. APOLLINAIRE Max JACOB
5. Complainte de cette bonne lune (Jules LAFORGUE) Le Corbeau et le Renard (J. de la FONTAINE) La Cigale et la Fourmi <i>Mlle Marguerite CARLEYS</i> <i>Au piano: Mme COMBECAVE-BÉRILLON</i>	Emile TRÉPARD André CAPLET -----
6. Petites pièces pour piano <i>Mmes Marcelle MEYER et MEYER-SURVAGE</i>	Igor STRAVINSKY

7 December 1923, Salle des Agriculteurs, Marguerite Nielka (pf) (limited programme information)¹⁵³

<p>Chausson: <i>Le vert colibri</i> Debussy: <i>Je tremble en voyant ton visage</i> Ravel: <i>Deux mélodies grecques</i> Debussy: <i>Quatuor</i> Koechlin: <i>Le thé</i> Manuel: <i>Délie</i> Satie: <i>Le Chapelier</i> Davico: <i>Trois Chants d'Amour</i> Glazounow: <i>Novelletes</i> Milhaud: <i>Soirées de Péetrograd</i></p>
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11 December 1923, Salle des Agriculteurs, Concert Simone De Ferrer (singer), with Jean Wiéner (pf)¹⁵⁴

<p>Chabrier: <i>Ile Heureuse, Villanelle</i> Poulenc: <i>Le Bestiaire</i> Chabrier: <i>Feuillets d'Album; Habanera,</i> Auric: <i>Alphabet</i> Gounod: <i>Venise, Chanson de Printemps</i> Satie: <i>Gymnopédie</i> Poulenc: <i>Movements Perpétuels</i> Milhaud: <i>Deux Tangos</i> Bizet: <i>Chanson du Fou, Hôtesse Arabe</i> Stravinsky: <i>Deux Blues (danse américaine)</i> Satie: <i>Daphnéo</i></p>

¹⁵³ Anon., 'Salle des Agriculteurs', *Guide du Concert*, 1 December 1923, 128.

¹⁵⁴ Anon., 'Salle des Agriculteurs', *Guide du Concert*, 7 December 1923, 141.

21 December 1923, ‘Troisième Concert Jean Wiéner consacré aux oeuvres d’Erik Satie’, Salle des Agriculteurs, Jean Wiéner (pf), Marcelle Meyer (pf), Bathori (singer) & Satie (pf), Myer & Wiener (pf duet)¹⁵⁵

SAISON 1923-1924	
<p>TROISIÈME CONCERT JEAN WIÉNER <i>Administrateurs</i>; A. DANDELLOT et FILS CONSACRÉ AUX OEUVRES D’ERIK SATIE AVEC LE CONCOURS D’ ERIK SATIE MARCELLE MEYER JANE BATHORI JEAN WIÉNER</p>	
<p>21 Décembre à 9 h. SALLE DES AGRICULTEURS</p>	
OEUVRES D’ERIK SATIE	
I. 3 MORCEAUX EN FORME DE POIRE (à 4 mains) (1891-1903) avec une manière de Commencement une prolongation du même et un Plus suivi d’une Redite	MARCELLE MEYER JEAN WIÉNER
II. a) 1^{re} GYMNOPÉDIE (1888) b) DESCRIPTIONS AUTOMATIQUES (1913) 1. Sur un vaisseau – II. Sur une lanterne – III Sur un casque c) EMBRYONS DESSÉCHÉS (1913) I. d’Holothurie – II. D’Edriophthalma – III. De Podophthalma. <i>Avec cadences obligées de l’Auteur</i>	JEAN WIÉNER
III. a) 2^{me} SARABANDE (1887) b) SPORTS ET DIVERTISSEMENTS (1914) Choral inapétissant – Le bain de mer – Le water-chute – La pieuvre – Colin Maillard – Le Golf – Le Flirt – Le Carnaval – Le Tennis – Le Tango – Le réveil de la mariée – Le yachting – Le traîneau – La chasse – Les courses – Les quatre-coins – Le pique-nique – La pêche – Le feu d’artifice – La balançoire – La Comédie italienne.	MARCELLE MEYER
IV. QUATRE PETITES MÉLODIES (1917) LUDIONS (1923)	JANE BATHORI <i>Au Piano: L’AUTEUR</i>
V. a) 4^{eme} NOCTURNE (1919) b) RÊVERIE (1920) c) CHAPITRES TOURNÉS EN TOUS SENS (1913) I. Celle qui parle trop – II. Le porteur de grosses pierres. III. Regrets des Enfermés (Jonas et Latude)	JEAN WIÉNER
VI. a) SONATINE BUREAUCRATIQUE (1917) b) VÉRITABLES PRÉLUDES FLASQUES POUR UN CHIEN (1912) I. Sévère réprimande – II. Seul à la maison – III. On joue c) VIEUX SEQUINS ET VIEILLES CUIRASSES (1913)	

¹⁵⁵ Programme in IMEC: SAT 25.49, ‘Troisième concert Jean Wiéner’ and in the *Guide du Concert*, 14 December 1923, 161.

I. Chez le marchand d'or (Venise, XIII ^e siècle) II. Danse cuirassée (période grecque) III. La défaite des Cimbres (cauchemar) MARCELLE MEYER
VII. LA BELLE EXCENTRIQUE (1920) I. Grande Ritournelle – II. Marche Franco Lunaire – III. Valse du mystérieux baiser dans l'oeil – IV. Cancan Grand-Mondain. MARCELLE MEYER ET JEAN WIÉNER
Prix des places: Parterre Réserve: 20 fr. – Parterre de face: 15 fr. Parterre de côté: 10 fr. – Stalle de Parterre: 10 fr. Balcon: 7 fr. Galerie: 5 fr. Les Billets se trouvent À la Salle des Agriculteurs, 8, rue d'Athènes Chez M. Durand, Place de la Madeleine Au Bureau Musical, 32, Rue Tronchet Au Guide-Billets, 20, Avenue de l'Opéra Chez MM. Eschig, Rouart-Lerolle, Neveux, Senart, Rossignol, Roudanez, au Magasin musical et à l'Administration de Concerts A. Dandelot & Fils, 83, Rue d'Amsterdam. Les Concerts Jean Wiéner sont organisé par MM. A. Dandelot & Fils.

1924

9 January 1924, 'Concerts Wiéner', Salle des Agriculteurs, Wiéner (pf) & R. Benedetti (vln)¹⁵⁶

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Benedict de Bériot	<i>Sonambule</i>	R. Benédetti & Wiéner	
Wiéner Paganini Strawinsky Bach Harrington-Gibbs	<i>Suite</i> <i>3 Caprices</i> <i>Etude (op. 7)</i> <i>Prélude et Fugue</i> <i>Suite (Running Wild)</i>	Jean Wiéner	
Milhaud	<i>Boeuf sur le toit</i>	Ensemble	
Satie	<i>Choses vues à droite</i> <i>et à gauche sans</i> <i>lunettes</i>	Wiéner & Benédetti (vln)	

6 February 1924, 'La première manifestation de l'Association Fiametta', Orchestre Lamoreux, Salle Gaveau (limited programme information)¹⁵⁷

'Ainsi que nous l'avons déjà annoncé, la première manifestation du Théâtre Fiametta, dirigé par Mme Bériza, aura lieu demain en soirée, à la Salle Gaveau et avec la collaboration de l'orchestre Lamoreux. Au programme, des oeuvres de Chausson, Ravel, Caplet, Schmitt, Satie, etc..., interprétées par Mme Bériza.' (<i>Le Figaro</i>)
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¹⁵⁶ Anon., 'Salle des Agriculteurs', *Guide du Concert*, 4 January 1924, 191.

¹⁵⁷ L. de Crémone, 'Spectacles & Concerts', *Le Figaro*, 5 February 1924, 3.

1 March 1924, '1^{re} Soirée artistique, le 1^{er} mars', L'Association des artistes scandinaves, Maison Watteau, 6, rue Jules Chaplain, Germaine Copperie (pf)¹⁵⁸

<p>“L'ART DOIT-IL RÉJOURIR OU ASSOMMER?” CAUSERIE PAR MAURICE RAYNAL “QUELQUES MOTS SUR L'ÉCOLE D'ARCUEIL” CAUSERIE PAR ÉRIK SATIE CONCERT PAR L'ÉCOLE D'ARCUEIL</p>	
1 ^e Partie	
Ouverture pour piano à 4 mains MM. MAXIME JACOB et HENRI CLIQUET-PLEYEL	MAXIME JACOB
Tombeaux: 3 poésies de Jean Cocteau 1. de Socrate, 2. de Narcisse, 3. de Don Juan	HENRI CLIQUET-PLEYEL
Le Guide du Gourmand (melodies sur des proses de Robert-Robert) Mlle MARGUERITE CARLEYS et les AUTEURS	MAXIME JACOB
5^e Nocturne Préludes flasques (pour un chien)	ERIK SATIE
3eme Étude (pour le toucher délicat) Shimmy Mlle GERMAINE COPPERIE	HENRI CLIQUET-PLEYEL
2ème Partie	
Mélodie Fausse Alarme (poème d'A. Copperie) Halt (poésie de Raymond Radiguet) Mlle MARGUERITE CARLEYS et les AUTEURS	ROGER DESORMIÈRE HENRI SAUGUET
Pièce pour piano 1^{re} Bacarolle 4^{eme} Française (en Sol majeur) Mlle GERMAINE COPPERIE	ROGER DESORMIÈRE HENRI SAUGUET
Retraite – Sortie MM. MAXIME JACOB et HENRI SAUGUET	

17 March 1924, Salle des Agriculteurs, solo recital by Marcelle Meyer (pf) (limited programme information)¹⁵⁹

‘Mme Marcelle Meyer donnera, Salle des Agriculteurs, 8, rue d’Athènes, le lundi 17 mars, à 9 heures, un récital de piano. Oeuvres de Debussy, Strawinski (Pétrouchka), Satie, Milhaud, Auric, Poulenc.’

15 June 1924, ‘Soirée de Paris’, organised by Comte Etienne de Beaumont, Théâtre Cigale, Roger Désormière (cond.)¹⁶⁰

<p>PREMIER AMOUR Scène sur “Les Morceaux en forme de Poires” d’Erik SATIE Chorégraphie de Léonide MASSINE La Poupée rose Mme Lydia LOPOKOVA Le Pantin M. Stanislas IDZIKOWSKI La Poupée beige Mlle Vera PIETRO</p>	
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¹⁵⁸ Programme in IMEC: SAT 25.52, ‘L’Association des artistes scandinaves’.

¹⁵⁹ Concert announcement in Anon., ‘Courrier musical’, *Le Figaro*, 12 March 1924, 5.

¹⁶⁰ Concert programme in IMEC: SAT 25.56, ‘Soirée de Paris’.

L'Enfant

Mlle Joyce MYERS

Une enfant entre dans sa chambre et joue avec ses poupées et son pantin. Elle s'assied s'endort et rêve que le pantin s'anime et qu'il l'aime. Mais les deux poupées elles aussi ont pris corps, elles fleurissent avec le pantin. L'enfant jalouse les sépare, casse les poupées, emporte le pantin. A ce moment elle se réveille, et le rêve s'évanouit. (page 1)

GIGUE

Danses sur les Thèmes classiques
Décor et Costume d'André DERAINE
Exécutés par E. et V. POLOUNINE
Chorégraphie de Léonide MASSINE
Au Piano: Mme Marcelle Meyer

Argument

Dans un parc, un prince accompagné de ses suivants rencontre une troupe de paysans et de paysannes, et se prend à danser avec la plus jolie.

La Princesse survient accompagnée de son page. Elle interrompt la danse et exécute une variation. Le Prince danse avec la Princesse, puis ils reçoivent les hommages des courtisans et des paysannes.

DISTRIBUTION

Le Prince	M. Léonide MASSINE
La Princesse	Mme LOPOKOVA
Le Page	M. IDZIKOWSKI
Les Seigneurs	MM. IGNATOW, VUORISOLA
Les Paysannes	Mlles Eléonore MARRA, PIÉTRUKIEWITZ, ZARIA, JULIETTE
Les Paysans	MM. WITSANSKY, DOMANSKY, ZMARZLIK, LADRÉ (page 2)

MERCURE

Poses plastiques

Musique d'Erik Satie Décor et Costumes de Pablo PICASSO
Thème et Chorégraphie de Léonide MASSINE
Orchestre dirigé par M. DESORMIERE

ARGUMENT

La Nuit prépare la scène de tendresse d'Apollon et de Vénus. – Les Signes du Zodiaque les entourent. – Mercure jaloux survient, coupe le fil de la vie d'Apollon et grâce à sa puissance le ramène au même instant.

Danse des trois Grâces et de Mercure. – Elles se baignent, Mercure en profite pour voler leurs perles, et s'enfuit poursuivi par Cerbère.

Fête chez Bacchus. – Mercure invente de nouvelles danses pour charmer les invités et découvre les lettres. Proserpine se trouve parmi les invités. Pluton l'enlève avec l'aide du Chaos.

Premier Tableau

a) *La Nuit*

b) *Danse de tendresse*

Vénus Mlle Vera PIETRO

Apollon M. CYWINSKY

c) *Entrée de Mercure*

Mercure... M. Léonide Massine

d) *Danse des signes du Zodiaque*

Mlles Phillimore GWYNNE, BELAS, ALLAN

Deuxième Tableau

a) *Les trois Grâces*

b) *Le bain des Grâces* M. PLIER, LADRÉ, BAIKOW

c) *Mercure vole les perles des trois Grâces et s'enfuit*

d) *Colère de Cerbère*

Cerbère MM. IGNATOW, SERGIEFF

Troisième Tableau

a) *La Fête chez Bacchus*

b) *La Polka des Lettres, Danse de Mercure inventeur les lettres*

L'invitée de Bacchus Mlle Eleonore MARRA

Proserpine	Mlle HEWITT
Le Philosophe	M. IGNATOW
Polichinel	M. VUORISOLA
c) <i>Entrée du Chaos</i> MM. WYSNANSKY, DOMANSKY, ZMARZLIK, OCHIMOVSKI, STRELEZKI	
d) <i>Enlèvement de Proserpine.</i> (page 3)	
LES ROSES DIVERTISSEMENT Sur une musique de Henri Sauguet Dansé par	
Mme LYDIA LOPOKOVA M. STANISLAV IDZIKOWSKI Mlle PIETRO Mlle MARRA Mlles AVINA, ALLAN Mlles DOUSSE, OULIANOWSKA, HEWITT, GWYNNE, PHILIMORE, BELAS. (page 4)	

22&27 June 1924, Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, Ballets Russes¹⁶¹

22 June 1924: Satie: <i>Parade</i> Molière/Auric: <i>Les Fâcheux</i> Milhaud: <i>Le Train Bleu</i> (Cocteau) Poulenc <i>Les Biches</i>
27 June 1924: Cimarosa: <i>Cimarosiana</i> Satie: <i>Parade</i> Milhaud: <i>Le Train Bleu</i> (Cocteau) Monteclair: <i>Tentations de la Bergère</i>

11 July 1924, 'Bal Olympique', la Taverne de l'Olympia, 28 Bd des Capucines (2me entrée 8 rue Caumartin) organisé par l'Union des Artistes Russes à Paris (limited programme information)¹⁶²

11, 13, 18, 20 December 1924, Théâtre de l'Atelier (Théâtre Montmartre, Place Dancourt, Paris), Jacques Février (pf), Caryathis (dancer)¹⁶³

Mademoiselle Ricotti dans ses interprétations musicales mimées et Mademoiselle Caryathis dans ses interprétations de danses

¹⁶¹ First concert advertised in Anon., 'Théâtre des Champs-Élysées', *Guide du Concert*, 13 June 1924, 527 and the second in Anon., 'Théâtre des Champs-Élysées', *Guide du Concert*, 13 June 1924, 528.

¹⁶² Programme in IMEC: SAT 25.57, 'Bal Olympique: Vrai Bal Sportif costumé', le vendredi 11 juillet 1924, de minuit à 6h, du matin à la Taverne de l'Olympia, 28 Bd des Capucines (2me entrée 8 rue Caumartin) organisé par l'Union des Artistes Russes à Paris.' Unfortunately many pages of this programme are missing and therefore it is not possible to reconstruct the full programme at this time.

¹⁶³ Programme in IMEC: SAT 25.60, 'Mlle Ricotti dans ses interprétations musicales mimées et Mademoiselle Caryathis dans ses interprétations de danses sur la musique des Six donneront leur concerts avec le concours de M. Jacques Février.' Article on this Concert in 'Les Concerts', *Le Gaulois*, 15 December 1924, 2.

<i>Sur la musique des Six</i> DONNERONT LEUR CONCERTS avec le concours de M. Jacques FEVRIER		
PREMIÈRE PARTIE		
1. Triana		Albeniz
2. Seguedille (<i>Coquetterie</i>)	M. Jacques FEVRIER	Albeniz
3. Sous les Palmiers	Mlle RICOTTI	Albeniz
4. La Lisouyera (L'Enjoleuse)	M Jacques FEVRIER	Chaminade
	Mlle RICOTTI	
5. Moment Musical		Schubert
6. Le Roi des Aunes (<i>L'Attraction de la Mort</i>)	M Jacques FEVRIER	Schubert
7. Danse Espagnole Romantique (d'après Goya) Costumes de Goutcharowa	Mlle RICOTTI	Granados
	Mlle CARYATHIS	
8. La Belle Excentrique		Erik Satie
a) Prélude		
	M. Jacques FEVRIER	
b) Marche franco lunaire		
c) Cancan grand mondain Masque et Costume dessinés par Jean Cocteau		
	Mlle CARYATHIS	
DEUXIÈME PARTIE		
9. Danseuses de Delphes		Debussy
10. Feuilles Mortes (Automne)	M Jacques FEVRIER	Debussy
11. Nocturne	Mlle RICOTTI	Borodine
12. Choral (<i>Contrition</i>)	M Jacques FEVRIER	César Franck
13. Prélude	Mlle RICOTTI	Chopin
14. Le Prélude (<i>Ressentiment</i>)	M Jacques FEVRIER	Rackmaninoff
15. Le Jongleur	Mlle RICOTTI	Francis Poulenc
	Costumes de Goutcharowa	
	Mlle CARYATHIS	
16. Aujourd'hui		Auric
	Costumes d'Antoine de Roux	
	Mlle CARYATHIS	

4, 21, 26, 27 & 30 December 1924, Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, Ballets suédois, Roger Desormières (cond.)¹⁶⁴

Relâche (premiere) – Picabia/Satie
Cinéma (premiere) – René Clair/Satie
La Queue du Chien - Picabia
 'Relâche, ballet instantanéiste en deux actes, un entr'acte cinématographique et la Queue du

¹⁶⁴ Volta notes that a cinematic prologue and entr'acte by René Clair were shown.

Chien, de F. Picabia, musique d'Erik Satie.¹⁶⁵

1925

10 February 1925, l'Hôtel Majestic, Marcelle Evrard (singer)¹⁶⁶

'Salle des Concerts de l'Hôtel Majestic, mardi soir 10 février, Marcelle Evrard, cantatrice avec le concours de Louis Fleury, flûtiste. Au programme: Œuvres de Monsigny, Lully, Bach, Gretry, Couperin, Blavet, Vinci, Chabrier, Delage, Fauré, Grovlez, Ravel, Roussel, Debussy, Ibert, Honegger, Lazzari, Satie, etc. Billets à la Salle.' (*Le Figaro*)

25 February 1925, private concert, la Sorbonne, 46 rue St-Jacques, Jane Mortier (pf), Mortier & Satie (pf duet), Bathori (singer) & Satie(pf)¹⁶⁷

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Erik Satie	Causerie de M. Erik Satie	Erik Satie	
Maxime Jacob Henri Sauguet Maxime Jacob Sauguet	<i>3 Impromptus</i> <i>Caprices</i> <i>Deux Françaises</i> <i>Cartes postales</i> <i>Plumes I, II, III</i> <i>Equipe de France</i>	Jane Bathori et les Auteurs	
Milhaud	<i>Saludos do Brazil</i> <i>Chansons</i>	Bathori & Milhaud	
Erik Satie	<i>Véritable préludes flasques</i> <i>Croquis & agaceries d'un gros bonhomme en bois</i> <i>Sonatine bureaucratique</i>	Jane Mortier	
Erik Satie	<i>Mort de Socrate</i> <i>Daphénéo</i> <i>Statue de bronze</i> <i>Chapelier</i>	Bathori & Satie	
Erik Satie	<i>Parade</i>	Satie & Mortier	ballet réaliste 4 mains
Séance privée. Invitations pour nos amis Note this concert was later broadcast on P.T.T. on 25 February – See <i>Le Figaro</i> , p. 6			

21 March 1925, 'L'Ecole d'Arcueil', Théâtre de l'Atelier, place Dancourt, Germaine Copperie (pf) & G. Merlange (vln)¹⁶⁸

COMPOSER	COMPOSITION	PERFORMER(S)	NOTES
Milhaud	Causerie de M. D. Milhaud	Milhaud	
Cliquet-Pleyel Milhaud	<i>Suite I, II</i> <i>3 Saudades do Brazil</i>	Mlle Germaine Copperie	

¹⁶⁵ Paul Bertrand, 'La Semaine musicale', *Le Ménestrel*, 12 December 1924, 518-19. See also Maxime Girard, 'Courrier des Théâtres', *Le Figaro*, 28 December 1924, 3.

¹⁶⁶ L. de Crémone, 'Courrier musical', *Le Figaro*, 4 February 1925, 6.

¹⁶⁷ Anon., 'La Sorbonne', *Guide du Concert*, 20 February 1925, 562.

¹⁶⁸ Anon., 'Théâtre de l'Atelier', *Guide du Concert*, 13 March 1925, 663.

Jacob	<i>3 Impromptus caprices (7,8,9)</i>		
Sauguet Désormière Satie	<i>Iles</i> <i>Haite</i> <i>Les quais de Paris</i> <i>Equipe de France</i> <i>Quatrains</i> <i>Choses vues à droite</i> <i>et à gauche</i>	Mme Suzanne Peignot Mlles Germain Copperie & G. Merlange	
Sauguet	<i>Sonate</i>	Mlle Geneviève Merlangue	
Cliquet-Pleyel Sauguet Satie	<i>La langage des fleurs</i> <i>3 Françaises (1, 5, 3)</i> <i>Relâche (fragments)</i>	Mlle Germaine Copperie	
Max Jacob Cliquet-Pleyel	<i>4 Poèmes</i> <i>Poèmes quotidiens</i>		
Max Jacob	<i>Suite</i>		piano et trompette

23 March 1925, ‘Concert de musique moderne’, Salle Gaveau, Marcelle Meyer (pf) & Suzanne Balguerie (singer)¹⁶⁹

Office Mondial de Concerts: FÉLIX DELGRANGE, 23, Rue du Rocher, Wagram 87-85 MAISON GAVEAU (Salle des Concerts, 45-47, Rue La Boétie) LUNDI 23 MARS 1925, à 21 Heures CONCERT DE MUSIQUE MODERNE SUZANNE BALGUERIE Cantatrice MARCELLE MEYER Pianiste FERNANDE CAPELLE ALICE PIANTINI Violonistes	
1. Socrate (Audition Intégrale) SUZANNE BALGUERIE	ERIK SATIE
2. Sonatine pour deux Violons <i>Allegro non tanto. Andantino. Allegro moderato.</i> FERNANDE CAPELLE & ALICE PIANTINE	A. HONEGGER
3. La Bonne Chanson (Audition Intégrale) <i>Une Sainte en son auréole; Puisque l'aube grandit; La Lune blanche luit dans les bois; J'allais par des chemins perfides; J'ai presque peur en vérité; Avant que tu t'en ailles; Donc, se sera par un clair jour d'été; N'est-ce pas; L'Hiver a cessé</i> SUZANNE BALGUERIE	G. FAURE
4. a) Saudades do Brazil I) <i>Sorocaba</i> ; II) <i>Corvocado</i> ; III) <i>Sumare</i> b) Deux Rag-Caprices MARCELLE MEYER	DARIUS MILHAUD DARIUS MILHAUD
5. Les Poèmes Juifs <i>Chant de Nourrice; Chant de Sion; Chant de Laboureur; Chant de la Pitié; Chant de Résignation;</i> <i>Chant d'Amour; Chant de Forgeron; Lamentation</i> SUZANNE BALGUERIE	DARIUS MILHAUD
Au Piano: M ^{lle} SUZANNE ASTRUC . – PIANO GAVEAU Prix des places: Loge (la place) 20 fr; Première Série 15 fr; Deuxième Série, 10fr; Balcon face. 8	

¹⁶⁹ Programme in IMEC: SAT 25.61, ‘Concert de musique moderne’ and in Anon., ‘Salle Gaveau’, *Guide du Concert*, 20 March 1925, 691.

fr.: Côté, 6 fr.; Deuxième Balcon face, 5 fr. ; Côté, 4 fr. (*droits compris*)
 Billets: A la maison Gaveau, 45-46 Rue la Boétie et à l'Office Mondial de Concerts 23 rue de
 Rocher.

**17 April 1925, 'Troisième Concert Jean Wiéner (Saison 1924-25)', Salle des
 Agriculteurs, Jane Bathori (singer) & Wiéner (?pf)¹⁷⁰**

SAISON 1924-25		
TROISIEME CONCERT JEAN WIÉNER <i>Administrateurs: A. DANDELLOT & FILS</i>		
AVEC LE CONCOURS DE JANE BATHORI MARGUERITE BERIZA CLAUDE LEVY MARCEL DARRIEUX ROGER DESORMIÈRES C. L. PERRET		
VENDREDI 17 AVRIL SALLE DES AGRICULTUERS à 9 h. du soir		
I. Apothèse de Corelli (pour 2 violons et piano)		COUPERIN
MM. CLAUDE LEVY, MARCEL DARRIEUX ET WIÉNER		
II. a) Deux Mélodies (Première Audition) b) Ludions (L.P. Fargue)		MAURICE DELAGE ERIK
SATIE JANE BATHORI		
III. Saudades do Brazil MILHAUD Transcription pour violon par Claude Lévy CLAUDE LÉVY		DARIUS
IV. Songs from Dark Continent pour voix et percussion (Audition)	Transcrits par	NATHALIE CURTIS (Première
BATHORI C. L. PERRET, TOURTE la direction de ROGER DESORMIÈRES		
V. Sonatine pour 2 violons HONEGGER CLAUDE LÉVY ET MARCEL DARRIEUX		ARTHUR
VI. Trois Airs pour Arc-en-ciel (Ribemont-Dessaignes) MARGUERITE BERIZA		JEAN WIÉNER (PREMIERE AUDITION)
Prix des place Parterre Réservé: 20 fr. – Parterre de face: 15 fr. Parterre de côté: 10 fr. – Stalle de Parterre: 8 fr Balcon: 7 fr. – Galerie: 5fr Les Billets se trouvent à la Salle des Agriculteurs, chez M. Durand, au Bureau Musical, au Guide Billets, chez MM. Eschig, Rouart-Lerolle, Neveux, Senart, Rossignol, Roudanez, au Magasin musical et à l'Administration de Concers A. Dandelot & Fils. Les Concert Jean Wiéner sont organisées par MM. A. Dandelot & Fils, 83 rue d'Amsterdam.		

¹⁷⁰ Programme in IMEC: SAT 25.62, 'Troisième Concert Jean Wiéner (Saison 1924-25)'.

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- 'Réunions, Cours et Conférences', *Le Figaro*, 16 June 1917, 3
- 'Courrier des Théâtres', *Le Figaro*, 7 December 1917, 3
- 'Courrier des Théâtres', *Le Figaro*, 9 December 1917, 3
- 'Courrier des Théâtres', *Le Figaro*, 11 December 1917, 3
- 'Courrier musical', *Le Figaro*, 4 June 1919, 3
- 'Courrier musical', *Le Figaro*, 11 June 1919, 5
- 'Courrier des Théâtres', *Le Figaro*, 19 June 1919, 3
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- 'Salle Pleyel', *Guide du Concert*, 14 March 1920, 191
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SAT 25.8: 'Programme du Lundi 19 Janvier 1914'

SAT 25.9: 'Quatorzième examen mensuel de quelques élèves du professeur Lucien de Flagny'

SAT 25.11: 'Lyre et Palette: Festival Erik Satie et Maurice Ravel'

SAT 25.13: 'Société musicale indépendante: Trois concerts'

SAT 25.15: 'Erik Satie, Georges Auric, Louis Durey, Arthur Honegger'

SAT 25.16: 'Première séance de poésie et de musique'

SAT 25.17: 'Programme 3 au 12 février'

SAT 25.18: 'Troisième festival MONTJOIE! Pour honorer le poète helléniste Mario' Meunier prisonnier de guerre le mercredi 20 fév 1918, 17 rue de caumartin'

SAT 25.21: 'Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier: Marcelle Meyer'

SAT 25.23: 'Maison des amis des livres: Lecture de 'Socrate' de Erik Satie'

SAT 25.24: 'Mercredi 2 avril 1919'

SAT 25.26: 'Salle de l'Etoile: 'Pour les jeunes' une heure de musique'

SAT 25.27: 'Première matinée de littérature'

SAT 25.28: 'Salle de la Société des concerts: 429me concert'

- SAT 25.32: 'Festival Erik Satie avec le Concours de Mme Maria Freund, M. Ricardo Vines, Mlle Germaine Tailleferre., cond. F. Delgrange, M. Freund'
[Handwritten copy in Satie's hand]
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- SAT 25.52: 'L'Association des artistes scandinaves'
- SAT 25.55: 'Soirée de Paris'
- SAT 25.56: 'Soirée de Paris'
- SAT 25.57: 'Bal Olympique: Vrai Bal Sportif costumé'
- SAT 25.60: 'Mlle Riciotti dans ses interprétations musicales mimées et Mademoiselle Caryathis dans ses interprétations de danses sur la musique des Six donneront leur concerts avec le concours de M. Jacques Fevrier'
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