Laurence Senelick

Émigré Cabaret and the Re-invention of Russia

Before the October Revolution, political exiles and Jewish refugees spread the image of Russia as a vast prison, riven by violence and corruption. After the Revolution, émigrés who scattered across the globe broadcast their idea of a fabulous, high-spirited Russia. Cabaret – an arena for theatrical innovation, stylistic experimentation, and avant-garde audacity – was a choice medium to dramatize this idea to non-Russian audiences. Throughout the 1920s, émigré cabarets enjoyed great popularity: Nikita Baliev's Chauve-Souris in New York, Jurij Jushnij's Die Blaue Vogel in Berlin, J. Son's Maschere in Italy, among others. Although the acts were polyglot and the compère pattered away in a pidgin version of whichever language was current, the chief attraction was an artificial Russian-ness. Cabarets promulgated a vision of a fairy-tale, toy-box Russia, akin to the pictures on Palekh boxes. This candy-box depiction was then perpetuated by nightclubs staffed by waiters in Cossack blouses and balalaika orchestras. Nostalgic regret for a factitious homeland deepened among the departed. In contrast, Soviet Russia came to look even more hostile and desolate. With time, the distance between the lives they had lived and those portrayed to foreigners increased, and became unmoored from reality. Laurence Senelick's most recent books include *Soviet Theater: a Documentary History* (2014, with Sergei Ostrovsky), the second, enlarged edition of *A Historical Dictionary of Russian Theatre* (2015), and *Jacques Offenbach and the Making of Modern Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 2017).

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Nostalgia, fatalism, balalaikas, lugubrious songs of the Volga, a crimson shirt, a frenzied dance – such is the Russian emigration.

Count Vladimir Kokovtsov (1930)[1]

THE YEAR 2012 saw a new American musical adapted from an episode in *War and Peace – Natasha, Pierre, and the Great Comet of 1812*, which enjoyed much popularity and a number of award nominations. These were due less to the book and music by Dave Malloy – essentially 'Tolstoy for Dummies' – but to the staging by Rachel Charkin. The theatres in which this work played were converted into 'supper clubs,' with tables and banquettes replacing rows of stalls; during the course of the show, blini were served and touristic 'folk'-dancers whirled and stomped among the spectators.

What Dr Johnson would have called the 'yoking by violence together' of Tolstoy's moral psychologizing to the samovar-cluttered décor of the Russian Tea Room perpetuates the notion of Imperial Russia as a Slavic Disneyland. Its 'Russian-ness' is an artificial construct, whose details and appurtenances derive neither from history nor experience, but from an imaginarium of inherited images. This repository of clichés was originally a product of émigré wishful thinking as vigorously promulgated by Western cabarets in the 1920s and early 1930s.[2]

The quaint storybook Russia projected by émigré performance was avidly accepted by audiences abroad because it offered an attractive counterweight to the new Soviet Russia, feared as bloodthirsty, aggressive, and subversive to capitalist society. This widespread alarm was, in fact, a revised and updated edition of the nineteenth-century characterization of Russia as despotic, slave-owning, vastly wealthy, and vaguely Oriental. Such a characterization was abetted by the Crimean War, the Balkan Wars, and sporadic anarchist attacks;[3] it was modified only somewhat in France in the decades before the Great War by diplomatic and economic alliances and the advent of the

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Ballets Russes, when a vogue for things Russian swept through society.

Before the First World War, most Russian immigrants were Jews, fleeing the Pale of Settlement from persecution and pogroms; they tended to be poor and propagated the image of Russia as a cruel and savage hinterland. During and after the October Revolution, however, the first wave of emigration included the nobility, the intelligentsia, and the well-to-do: bureaucrats, artists, bankers, politicians, and courtiers.

Flooding through Finland, Poland, and the Baltic states, they headed for Berlin. In that city's favour were its size, its proximity to Eastern Europe, and its relative cheapness. By the end of 1919, there were approximately 70,000 unassimilated Russian refugees in Berlin, arriving at a rate of 1,000 a month; by autumn 1920 the number had risen to 560,000, swollen by individuals in transit and prisoners of war. By 1922–23, following the Red victory in the civil war, the dispersal of General Wrangel's White army, and Lenin's deportation of potentially troublesome intelligentsia, the number rose to 600,000. In contrast, there were fewer than 100,000 Russians in France directly after the Revolution.[4]

However, a new exodus began in 1923, when the German Mark was stabilized, the cost of living rose, and the political situation worsened. Now the diaspora was funnelled into Paris; there the refugees chose to call themselves *émigrés*, to evoke the aristos who had fled the French Revolution. France was the only country in Europe that recognized White Russia, with Wrangel as its leader, as a political entity.

Comprising no more than two per cent of the foreign population settled in France in the inter-war period, the Russians were the most frequently mentioned in nearly thirty per cent of the articles in the press specifying immigrant nationality. White Russians were to have a disproportionate influence on French cultural life.[5] The lingering prestige of the Ballets Russes was enhanced by the presence of celebrities: Prince Yusupov, the assassin of Rasputin, in society; Chaliapin in opera; Georges and Liudmila Pitoëff in avant-garde drama; Stravinsky in music,[6] Lifar, Nijinsky and Pavlova in dance; Mozzhukin and Turzhansky in the cinema; with lesser musicians and dancers featured at the Folies Bergère. The plots of boulevard drama teemed with displaced Russian royalty.

Wherever they settled, the émigrés believed that they were preserving and defending Russia's traditional culture, spiritual, artistic, and historical, against the barbarians demolishing it at home. Impoverished, disorientated, they held on to the forlorn hope of returning these values and themselves to their source someday. Rather than adapting to the host society, they established tight-knit colonies. Writing of the German situation, one commentator said of the Russian émigré:

> He considers his residence abroad strictly temporary and . . . cannot assimilate to a new environment. His thoughts and actions remain oriented toward the land he continues to call his own as he waits impatiently for the day when altered conditions will permit him to return home. His emotions and intellectual roots remain firmly embedded among his own people – frequently to a greater degree than before his departure.[7]

In this state of suspended animation, the Russians abroad created their own theatres, newspapers, literary circles, mutual-benefit societies, political factions. Beyond the enclaves themselves, the most lasting impression on outsiders was made by the Russian cabarets, nightclubs and restaurants.

The Artistic Cabaret

The first and most renowned of these was Le Chauve-Souris, whose success derived in part from having the same origins and something of the same aesthetic as the Ballets Russes. Both grew out of the cultivated artistic soil of Silver Age Russia. If Diaghilev's troupe had its roots in the St Petersburg Imperial Ballet and the World of Art movement, the Chauve-Souris was an offshoot of the Moscow Art Theatre, which had instituted an annual *kapustnik* or cabbage party, a pre-Lenten revel in which the company members could let their hair down and kick up their heels. Nikita Baliev, a minor actor and share-holder in the company, decided to

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create a public version of this. The Letuchaya Mysh, or The Bat, opened in 1908 as a private club originally parodying Art Theatre productions, but in 1912 it went public and presented interpretations of classical Russian literature and song.[8] Baliev was master of ceremonies, and later prided himself on being the only Russian citizen who under the old regime 'could without fear of censorship speak from the stage'.[9]

Came the Revolution, Baliev (or Balieff as he was now spelled in the Roman alphabet) escaped first to Constantinople, and eventually to Paris, where he intended to re-invent The Bat as Le Chauve-Souris with a special Russo-French troupe. He opened it at the Salle Fémina in December 1920, his audiences combining the *tout Paris* with the *tout Moscou en exil*.[10] At this point, the sketches were in Russian, but, anticipating problems, he managed to cross the linguistic barrier as *compère* of the revue. During a London tour he used his atrocious English to amuse and beguile the spectators. He became the star of the show, turning his ostensible failings into a weapon of attack. The Chauve-Souris became a runaway success: the word constantly recurring in reviews was 'enchantment'.

In eleven visits to the United States between 1921 and 1933, the Chauve-Souris gave 1,454 performances and appeared ten times in London, but its headquarters remained Paris.[11] Later Balieff explained:

> Paris wanted to make its own at least one of all those Russian shows the city loves and applauds. Paris wanted to show through me, through the Chauve-Souris, that it was not by chance that all the émigré performers or almost all had come here. I am a bit of an ambassador in the world: I say everywhere: look how we have been welcomed in Paris! And it's true. But for Paris I am only one element among others.[12]

When The Bat first opened in Moscow, it was one constellation out of a pleiad of Russian 'miniature theatres' that had been moving in new directions before the Revolution: Meyerhold's experiments in commedia dell'arte and Asian stagecraft at the Strand, Evreinov's promotion of monodrama and parody at the Crooked Mirror, the futurist literary cabarets The Stray Dog, Crooked Jimmy, Limping Joe, and Comedian's Rest were only the most prominent.

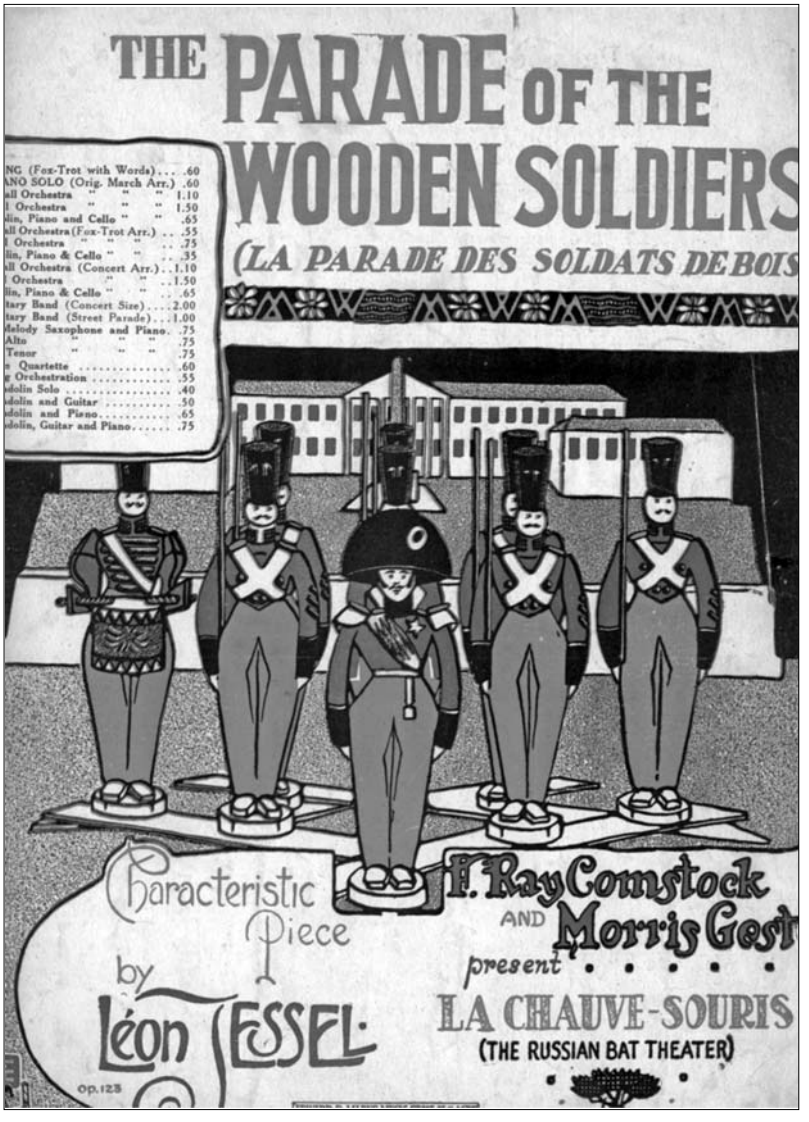
Balieff's Uses of Light

Abroad, Balieff could borrow these artistic innovations and adapt them for a less sophisticated, more varied audience. In carrying out a 'perestroika' of The Bat, he realized that the appeal had to be musical and visual rather than verbal. He employed as his designers the most colourful, theatrically adept members of the World of Art, themselves émigrés: Nikolai Benois, Aleksei Remizov, and Sergei Sudeikin.

In the first four programmes the most cited numbers were the famous 'Parade of the Wooden Soldiers' and 'Katinka'. The latter was a polka danced to a concertina and framed by a music-box, inserted into a sketch about a merchant and his wife who refuse to give their consent to their daughter's marriage to an officer; she fakes her death and the parents give in, whereupon she breaks into the dance.[13]

This number, with its staccato footwork and splashes of bright colour, became such a signature piece with its appeals to 'Papinka' and 'Maminka' that they were later copied as typical of Russian cabaret in the Hollywood film *Delicious* (1931) with a Gershwin score, and its remake *Paddy O'Day* (1935).[14]

These acts featured what would become the norm for Russian cabaret in Paris and Berlin: interludes in bright 'peasant' colours with actors stylized as if figures from the *lubok* or folk print and the painted Palekh boxes. (See over page.) Such 'primitive' motifs had already been exploited by inventive painters of the World of Art and Cubo-Futurist movement. The wooden soldiers' faces were painted like toys, their movements were angular and mechanical.[15] This was followed by a parody on a French theme, a Guy de Maupassant story played as a rococo pastoral. Chekhov's 'Sudden Death of a Horse', with a realistically portrayed pantomime nag, was also popular, while 'La Grande Opera Italiana' was sung on a miniature stage by puppets with living heads. 'A Night at Yar's Restaurant in Moscow, 1840'



featured gypsy songs and contrasting colours of black, red, and gold. Another routine had Dutch boys and girls sliding off blue Delft plates.

The earliest reviews marvelled at how Balieff could turn 'people into dolls and dolls into people', staging 'three-minute operas' and linking Beethoven with the fairground booth.[16] Gradually, more dramatic material was introduced, like Chekhov's comic sketch 'The Surgery' and 'Stenka Razin', based on a folk ballad about a bandit chieftain abducting a Persian princess who throws herself from his boat. The Orientalism of Bakst and the Ballets Russes was evoked (for some too slavishly) by 'La Fontaine de Bakhtchisarai', Pushkin's poem enhanced by harem girls and a cruel eunuch.

Above: American sheet music for 'The Parade of the Wooden Soldiers'.

Left: Katin'ka, Papin'ka and Mamin'ka designed by Sudeikin.

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Peasant Women at Chauve-Souris, designed by Sudeikin.

Beyond the graphic elements, certain aesthetic principles of the Chauve-Souris staging bore traces of modernist theatrical developments. The French director Aurélien Lugné-Poë was struck by the way the lighting created the atmosphere, and noted that the first stage designer to use light creatively was another Russian, Aleksandr Salzmann.[17] This 'virtual premise in light' allowed for an ambience in which the other elements could be integrated homogeneously.

Lugné-Poë perceived two contrasting styles of lighting, the 'concentric' and the 'eccentric', pointing out that Gordon Craig had used the concentric method, with everything emanating from the central character's viewpoint, when he staged *Hamlet* at the Moscow Art Theatre. The Chauve-Souris, on the other hand, preferred the eccentric method, especially in its employment of colour, which was synaesthetically linked to rhythm.[18]

Craig was also in the mind of American commentator Mary Cass Canfield when she compared the Chauve-Souris to his Übermarionettes, actors turned into puppets.[19] This requires a suppression of the actor's ego, a sublimation of self into plaything, unappealing to stars, but essential for an ensemble.

Approaches to Character

Except in glimpses of Russian life, such as the drinking song of the Black Hussars with its emotional lighting, the revue's characters were abstractions. A French reviewer, naming Balieff as *deus ex machina*, referred to the performers as 'marionettes' *tout pur*:

> The artists composing the troupe . . . seem to be, in fact, absolutely passive. One who plays the leading role in one piece will sing in the chorus, the next piece, then, a little later, will take part in the shadows and almost anonymously.[20]

Stanislavskian immersion in character and mood, in service to the atmospheric *Gestalt*, was here merged with the Russian Symbolist subjugation of humanity to communal fate – and then enlivened by Balieff's *joie de vivre*.

Oliver Sayler, both an expert on Russian theatre and the company's American press agent, pointed out two trends in theatre of the 1910s:

> theatre of illusion appealing to intellect and imagination, which may be realistic, symbolic or

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American programme for Chauve-Souris, by Sudeikin, and overlooked by Balieff, featuring the Captain of the Wooden Soldiers eloping with Katin'ka

abstract, but nominally self-sufficient, the drama of ideas, in short literary drama. The other is the theatrical theatre, usually denigrated as art, disregarded as trivial, unrefined.[21]

Prokofiev's opera *Love of Three Oranges* was in his view a comic bridge to the satiric theatre of let's pretend and the *son et lumière* experiments of Percy Mackaye and the chorus-master Harry Barnhardt in their people's festivals. In the course of this evolution, the Chauve-Souris represented a major step forward.

All these theoretical speculations and artistic genealogies were irrelevant to the general public. The Chauve-Souris was a good night out. When the touring Moscow Art Theatre arrived in Paris in 1923, its reception was respectful but not enthusiastic: many thought it had sold out to the Soviet government and others found its repertoire depressing in contrast to the high spirits of the Chauve-Souris. Native Frenchmen and émigrés alike found Balieff's fairy-tale Russia more appealing than that of Chekhov and

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Dostoevsky.[22] (Romola Nijinska took her mad husband out of his Swiss asylum to attend the Chauve-Souris and see Cossack dancing; it briefly bucked him up but he soon reverted to his hebetude.)

In 1925 the troupe was transferred to the Théâtre de l'Apollo, on Rue Clichy, expanding to include French performers. Some of its music was written by the darling of the German cabaret, Mischa Spoliansky. The ingenious director Nikolay Evreinov worked for Balieff in the 1927–28 season, and the designers were joined by the more muted and evocative Mtsislav Dobuzhinsky.

New York took Balieff to its heart, when, under the management of Russian-born Morris Gest, the Chauve-Souris opened on 3 February 1922. It proved such a hit that it was transferred to the 800-seat roof of the Century Theatre, its auditorium newly decorated by Nikolay Remizov with polychrome Russian folk motifs. A variant on 'Katinka', was introduced, 'The Moscow Fiancés', in which two suitors contend for two maidens. This perpetuated the convention of jolly muzhiks and peasant maids in intricately embroidered Ukrainian blouses and greased boots, page-boy haircuts for the men, braids for the women.

Above: Ukrainian festivities at Karusel.
Below: Tambov Nightingales at Maschere.

Even Mary Cass Canfield indulged in wishful stereotyping:

> Vitality is really the great stock in trade of these Russian artists – vitality and a happy abandon which Anglo-Saxons would be apt to suspect and would certainly never approximate. In their instinct for play these actors are of course arch-artists.[23]

This is only a stone's throw from the belief that African-Americans have a natural sense of rhythm.

The Bat's Progeny

The international success of the Chauve-Souris led to the sincerest form of flattery.[24] Epigones mushroomed throughout Europe, staged and designed by fugitives from the Russian stage: the Low Countries saw Karusell/Karousel, Italy and Southern France Maschere/Le Masque.[25] (See figs. above.) Smaller in scale, their style and material was invariably copied from Balieff's bill of fare. The most successful of these simulacra was located on Berlin's Goltzstrasse, Der Blaue Vogel (The Bird Blue), a name drawn from Stanislavsky's influential production of Maeterlinck's play. It was founded by Isaak Duvan-Tortsov, a minor actor from the Moscow Art Theatre attached to its splinter group in Prague; but its guiding light was Jascha Jushnij, a provincial Jewish player from Odessa who claimed to have been master of ceremonies at the Sinyaya Ptitsa cabaret in Moscow. (See opposite page.)

The Chauve-Souris had not yet appeared in Germany, so Jushnij was brazen enough to appropriate its best numbers: 'Katinka and the Wooden Soldiers', the Delft pottery, and the living heads on dolls (now singing German tavern songs instead of grand opera), the nostalgic gypsy chorus, and a rococo

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romance by 'Kitschikoff', even the French ballad 'Le roi a fait battre les tambours', all made an appearance.

Unlike rotund, moon-faced Balieff, Jushnij was slender, long-legged, and elegant in white tie and tails, but, even though he spoke fluent German, he copied the former's mangling of the audience's language. He was lucky to have his own team of brilliant designers, among them A. Khudyakov, Pavel Tschelitchew, Kseniya Boguslavskaya, Boris Bilinsky, and Elena Liessner, since reviewers noted that the visual aspect was far superior to the musical. (German critics referred to the design as expressionist, although it derived from purely Russian Cubo-Futurism.)

Blaue Vogel. Above: Barge Haulers on the Volga by A. Khudjakov. Below: Russian Dance by Boguslavskaja

However, the Blaue Vogel did provide some original notes. Copying Ilya Repin's famous painting of barge-haulers, Jushnij created 'The Volga Boat Song', illustrating the plaint already made famous by Chaliapin. The *Christian Science Monitor*, describing a later, American tour, called it

> a page torn from Gorky, a cry from the depths. Only an artist with a strong sense of humanity and pity could have conceived those seven outcasts in their rags straining at a barge rope against a sunset sky.[26]

Jushnij's other innovation was a pantomime satire of American commercialism: Mr Ford, a macaroni importer, and Mrs Boden, owner of a lingerie shop, go through a rapid 'Time Is Money' romance, complete with gunshots and a chorus of mannequins and sandwich men. The shafts may also have been aimed at the Soviet enthusiasm for American efficiency and Taylorism.[27] The American tourists who swarmed Paris but avoided Berlin would not have appreciated it; whereas the Germans, suffering under the reprisals of the Versailles Treaty, were enthusiastic. The shrewd satirist Kurt Tucholsky recommended that George Grosz take inspiration from it.[28]

Unaware of its lack of originality, audiences in Berlin lionized the Blaue Vogel. Elsa Lasker-Schuler, Emil Jannings, Conrad Veidt, and Albert Einstein were among its fans.[29] The Haus der Künste, where stormy debates raged about artistic movements, devoted in 1922 a collection of commentary and reportage to the cabaret with reproductions of its

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set and costume designs.[30] Not only intellectuals but ordinary Berlin playgoers were enthralled. One reason for the Blaue Vogel's great popularity lay in its difference from indigenous German cabaret, which was, in the words of one journalist, 'podgy and depressing' (*Plumpes und Trauriges*). 'What is so entertaining, enjoyable, or even mildly amusing about the decadence of Berlin whores and profiteers trotted out in singsong rhymes by ugly people?'[31]

Whereas the Blaue Vogel was intimate, cheerful and colourful, its artistry unhackneyed in Western eyes, Jushnij himself was more cordial, gracious and charming than his Berlin counterparts, such grousing defeatists as Fritz Grünbaum. Atmosphere, so lacking in German night spots, was in abundance here, every number a tonic. All the German commentators were surprised that there was not a hint of innuendo or smutty joke in the whole evening, nor 'a single allusion to the condition of Russia!'[32] (A veteran of government censorship, Jushnij was deliberately apolitical to reassure the German authorities that his Russians were not subversive.)

As with the Chauve-Souris, however, he played into pre-existing stereotypes of Russian life. Tucholsky noted the element of *ersatz* nostalgia, 'Yes, that's how it was in old Moscow, yes, yes.' Geographically closer to Russia, the German public was more alert than its French counterpart to events unfolding among the Soviets. One critic pointed out the contrast between actuality and fantasy, but ultimately preferred the latter.

> There is not only a Russia of the starving, freezing, and despairing, not only of the legendary eaters of tallow candles, but one that laughs, despite it all, despite it all. One thinks continually during the drolleries of this cabaret of the sinister People's Commissars, Soviets, Bolshevik atrocities, laughter has long departed the people there, yet one sees the triumphant 'expansive nature' of the Russians and rejoices. Knowing how to laugh means knowing how to live.[33]

This was the victory of a 'Russian childlike vision', 'Simplicitas russkaja', which makes no attempt to interpret or change the world. Unlike the maliciously witty Parisian cabaret or the philistine-baiting German Kabarett, 'The Russian wants to lull himself to sleep. To forget life. Through charming little follies . . . a Tchaikovsky scherzo is Russian earth, Russian life.'[34] For another reviewer, the show was an eternal Christmas present. Yet another went even further, comparing the Blaue Vogel to the League of Nations: 'The true Russo-German international treaty is concluded night after night at the Blaue Vogel.'[35]

Eternal Buoyancy – and Passive Acceptance

This kind of windy simile based on a set of variety acts became endemic. In a lengthy encomium, Ferdinand Haager, praising the Blaue Vogel as true art, went on:

> [Russian art] is somehow the expression of a profound yearning, for which we in Western European art no longer find an echo. We expect from it the consummation of some kind of hope, which slumbers in us imperceptibly and vaguely, and this is what unites all these different people over whose lands the blue bird flies in summer time.[36]

He invoked Dostoevsky to excuse the seeming triviality of the form: 'Can one say what God is? One can only speak of life. It will come to pass within you. Once we have shown you all these trivialities, you shall understand.' In short, the true Russian spirit of eternal buoyancy and passive acceptance is preserved by the cabaret, while the events transpiring in Russia itself are a perversion. A kind of transubstantiation takes place whereby the naive and open-hearted revue sketch puts the audience in touch with age-old Russian mysticism.

Balieff and Jushnij deliberately whitewashed the Russian past and ignored its present. This rose-coloured idyll of capering peasants and wind-up Cossacks was so much to the public taste that the Chauve-Souris and the Blaue Vogel spawned ever more imitations. Jushnij was challenged by the Russisches Romantisches Theater run by Boris Romanov, formerly a choreographer with Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, as well as the Teatr Kikimora and the Vanka-Vstanka.

In Paris Evreinov launched The Strolling Players (*Brodyachie komediantov*).

Another close counterpart was Anatoly Dolinov's Coq d'Or (*Zolotaya petushok* or Golden Cockerel), leading a critic to complain:

> Russians again? Always these Russians! . . . Isn't Coq d'or a second Chauve Souris? The former came from Petersburg, the latter from Moscow. And that's the whole difference? Do they want to force us a second time to admire the very same numbers?[37]

Dolinov, for all his claims to be 'director at the Alexandrinsky Theatre, professor at the Petersburg conservatory, composer, etc.', had none of Balieff's artistry and aimed his show exclusively at tourists. His first success was 'Among the Gypsies' and 'Luboks' in the familiar style, after which he turned to serious 'staged' numbers. The 1924 bill featured not only an overly familiar 'Petrushka', but 'Martyrs of the Volga', a paraphrase of the Gorkian 'Barge Haulers', with a monotonous male chorus, dark Volgarians with heads bowed against a red sky, offered to the audience as 'a symbol of 'Russian submission to fate.'[38] 'Simplicitas russkaja' was beginning to pall.

Baritone Maxim Turganov of the Blue Sarafan.

On the Town

If Le Chauve-Souris and its offspring are considered the 'high art' end of Russian émigré entertainment, then the offerings of nightclubs, *boîtes*, and restaurants may be deemed the downmarket end. The first of these in Paris, the Caveau Caucasien at 54 rue Pigalle, a classic *traktir* (inn) with a 'typical' show, was opened in October 1922. After four years of war, two of civil war, and two of exilic poverty, White Russians now conjured up an ambience steeped in synthetic nostalgia, as if fairy-tale princes had been reduced to beggary by wicked fairies.

American tourists, taking advantage of the favourable exchange rate, unwilling and unable to visit the Bolshevik Russia, chose to imbibe Slav exoticism in the comforts of Western capitals. Affluent businessmen and their wives replaced the tsars and nobility alleged to have patronized such artists in happier circumstances. And to solicit tips or pad the drinks tab, the performers regaled them with picturesque tales of their pre-Revolutionary pasts.

So began the legend that all these fugitives from Lenin had once been *ci-devant* aristocrats and officers, princesses and grand duchesses. There was a modicum of truth to this: at the Grand Hermitage restaurant, the conductor was the son of a general, the maître d' an admiral, the waiters and barmen former counts, and even the washroom attendants acted like world-weary socialites.[39] (That these down-at-heel patricians often became taxi-drivers was also grounded in truth, since taxi-driving was one of the most lucrative and accessible trades in Paris.)

Such impoverished blue-bloods were characterized as wildly impractical, frenetic, prodigal, alcoholic, sensual, veering between sophisticated decadence and unbridled savagery. A typical characterization comes from a French novelist:

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Left: Female *dzhigits*, the Rappo Sisters. Right: Mme Viriasova-Sobinova and her balalaika troupe.

How to understand a people who most often cannot understand themselves? How untangle an inextricable network of illogicalities, contradictions, truth, and falsehood which is the soul of a Russian? It is a delight in moroseness erected as a rule of life, but often broken by great somersaults of an ephemeral need for giddiness and activity.[40]

The entertainment in White Russian night spots simply confirmed such gross generalizations.

The Caveau Caucasien set the style by featuring performers in uniforms of Cossacks, uhlans, and, especially, *dzhigit* horsemen. Unable to caracole on horseback in cramped quarters, alleged former cavalry officers became experts at dancing the athletic *lezginka* and throwing daggers, able to pierce a proferred banknote or land a blade between bottles of champagne. A troupe of fifteen comprised an energetic macho ballet, the *dzigitovka*. These performers became extremely popular with female socialites, who sought them out as gigolos.

In Imperial Russian restaurants, music had been supplied by gypsy choruses, often thirty members strong, such as those in the Mokroe episode of *The Brothers Karamazov* or in Tolstoy's play *The Living Corpse*. In emigration, they tended to be small family troupes, sometimes with only a couple of female virtuosi, accompanied by balalaikas and cymbalums, endlessly repeating the same hackneyed romances. 'Ochi chyornye' (Dark Eyes) or 'Two Guitars' was inescapable. The districts of Pigalle and Montmartre served as focal points for these establishments. The Caucasien was soon followed by the Yar (named after Moscow's most famous restaurant), the Troika, and the Sans-Souci.[41]

The 'Dark Allure' of the Russian Soul

Although the appeal was primarily to foreign visitors, the French, who did not particularly care for the émigrés as resident aliens, were also attracted by the showmanship and won over by the *ersatz* atmosphere. One writer spoke of the French public's 'silly and sheep-like infatuation' with the most superficial aspects of Russian emigration.[42] There was, however, a darker allure. As Joseph Kessel put it in his popular novel *Nuit des princes*:

The strangers whom the lights of Montmartre attracted from all corners of the universe . . . did not come to [these joints] . . . as to any nightclub simply to drink and have fun. They were certainly attracted by the novelty of the décor, costumes, singing, but also by the obscure desire to penetrate, if only for a few hours, the distress of the émigrés and add to the banal pleasure of a night of drinking, another one more covert,

The interior of the Shéhérazade restaurant, Paris.

ambiguous and perverse which resembled a conquest, a rape.[43]

What's more, 'The poor snobs of Paris discovered the Russian soul.'[44] This 'impenetrable Russian soul' was interpreted to be illogical and contradictory, alternately wallowing in lugubrious self-pity and giddily indulging in hyper-activity. Russians were characterized as by turns exalted and downcast, courteous and savage, pious and irreverent, excitable, garrulous, alcoholic: the men alternately sensitive and violent, the women both reserved and sensual.

Non-Russians enjoyed imagining the splendours of the Tsarist regime as they were lulled by the rhythms of its music, which Anaïs Nin in her journal described as 'a sea of sensations', and the novelist Jean Guyon-Cesbron as a 'direct and profound frenzy of song, sorrow, joy, and orgy'.[45]

Just as the Chauve-Souris and its imitators revelled in the delights of the toyshop and the picture book, so the White Russian nightclubs conjured up the childhood reading of its non-Russian public: the flashy costumes and vivid colours recalled illustrations in Gogol's *Taras Bulba*, Jules Verne's *Michel Strogoff*, legends of the bandit Stenka Razin and the peasant rebel Pugačëv. A century of melodramas and operas laid in a mythical Russia, such as *Les Danicheff* and *Fédora*, also contributed to the acceptance of these exotic simulacra. So did the considerable Russian presence in French cinema.[46]

By late 1926, there were a hundred such establishments in Paris, and counting. To distinguish themselves, some Russian clubs sought the other extreme from the noisy bacchanals of Pigalle. The very expensive Kazbek went in for Orientalism: Persian carpets, ornamental silverware, Near Eastern *objets d'art*. All décor and decorum, it hosted the refined *chansonnier* Aleksandr Vertinsky who sang his own compositions of loss and exile. (Privately he scorned such luxurious joints as 'fairground booths', 'cheap electrified peanut galleries' populated by apes in evening dress.)[47]

Although his verses were incomprehensible to non-Russian speakers, the *luxe* of Kazbek was a great draw for rich Americans. In December 1927 the Shéhérazade opened, its interior by Boris Bilinsky drawing on Léon Bakst's Ballets Russes designs: it resembled a harem with a huge orange carpet and a colour scheme of red, orange, and black.[48]

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The Final Curtain

By the mid-1920s most nations, including France, Germany, and the United Kingdom, had bestowed diplomatic recognition on the USSR (the USA, held off until 1933). Once Red Russia was acknowledged to be a permanent installation, it sent its agents abroad to thwart counter-revolutionary activity and promote the Comintern. This further marginalized the White Russian diaspora, as intellectual apologists such as Bernard Shaw advanced a new mythology of Soviet society as a forward-looking industrial utopia. It was harder for émigrés to nurse hopes of return or a restoration of the *ancien régime*.

In Paris the glut of exotic Russiana in everything from opera to cigarettes had reached saturation point.[49] Within the émigré community, unsuccessful performers cast scorn on the nightly exhibition of Russianness for pay and the dissemination of a false representation. In trying to please the public, this portrayal had become increasingly overblown and caricatural. 'The French appreciated not the Russians themselves, but what they represented – a congealed and stereotyped image.'[50]

The most popular Russian performers began to undergo not simply a dilemma of displacement, but a kind of identity crisis: 'Is it my business to sing in a nightclub, no matter how luxurious, to the accompaniment of vodka and champagne? I am an artist whose profession serves the rich tradition of Russian culture. What am I doing here?'

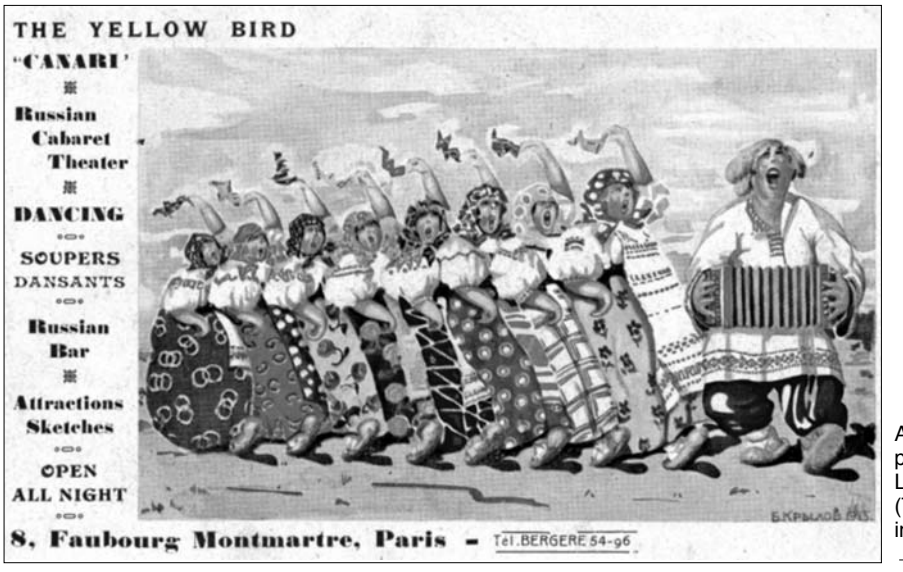
The stock-market crash of 1929 and the ensuing worldwide Depression put an end to the prodigal spending of tourists. With a poorer, less sophisticated, less relaxed clientele of students, journalists, painters, and people who had to go to work the next day, amusements became less exclusive; only one new Russian establishment opened in Paris that year while the ruinously expensive joints closed. (Restaurants adapted more quickly than cabarets and nightclubs.) Charity galas needed to be organized for the thousands of unemployed Russians in Paris in 1932.[51]

The Blaue Vogel had also become *vieux jeu*. In one of Kurt Tucholsky's sketches of 1927, a typical bourgeois couple complain of being offered 'something Russian' at the theatre: 'I can't take any more of that stuff. Wait and see – they'll stick their heads through a piece of scenery and sing "The Volga Boatman".'[52] Jushnij left Germany in the late 1920s, and under the alternate titles of Seenaya Pteetsa or The Blue Bird he toured the cabaret throughout Europe and then the United States (under the management of Sol Hurok), closing in 1932 after three thousand performances.

Audiences familiar with the Chauve-Souris rated it a second-rate copy ('it lacks great moments and indelible pictures'),[53] but it prolonged the belief that such lighthearted artistry was a natural emanation of the Russian spirit. Glimpsing the writing on the wall, other Russian artists had begun to seek their fortunes in the Americas. The Park Hotel in New York employed Russian musicians as early as 1922,[54] for, in the wake of the post-war 'Red Scare', White Russians could be patronized as sympathetic victims.

The pact between Hitler and Stalin was a crushing blow to the émigré community in Berlin. Stormtroopers invaded Vertinsky's Chyornaya roza (Schwarze Rose/Black Rose), one of the most elegant clubs on the Kurfürstendamm, simply to show Jew-infested, international Bohemia who had the upper hand. Many Russian artists fled to Warsaw. With the help of friends, Vertinsky opened a more modest establishment, The Magnolia, in a shop front on Augsburgstraße, but it failed to attract his former chic clientele. National Socialists had no taste for soulful Russian ballads or indeed for anything not *echt* German. After the Reichstag fire, White Russians had to seek out a land where they might be safe from both Nazi and Soviet powers.[55]

In Paris Balieff realized that he had gone as far as he could go in the 'Tsarist nostalgia' line. By 1928 his Russian troupe was performing in French, which audiences complained it couldn't understand because of the thick accents.[56] In 1931 he opened the Théâtre Nouveau in the building of the Théâtre Madeleine with a thoroughly revised programme, leaning more heavily on move-



Advertising postcard for Le Canari (The Yellow Bird) in Montmartre.

ment, dance, and physical clowning. There were 'French' and 'Italian' programmes on offer, and half the company was comprised of Western Europeans. New masks appeared, from Hitler to 'Miss Russia'.

Connoisseurs were not amused by the 'Frenchification' of his shows. 'That is a great mistake. We venture to advise him to concentrate on seeking colours, rhythms, forms that are specifically Russian. This is how he won over the Paris public in his time. And it is the chief thing which forces it to preserve its loyalty to this theatre.'[57]

In any case, the ominous political climate induced Balieff to move permanently to the United States, where he had long been the darling of the smart set. There too critics complained that the shows had become 'Continentalized'. 'The numbers in the current bill seem less full-blooded than those of the earlier visit', noted the *Times* reviewer Brooks Atkinson. A new routine showing a Soviet market under Lenin's New Economic Policy fell flat, 'for inevitably the Chauve-Souris has lost contact with the old Russia that gave birth to its bizarre diversion'.

Atkinson was voicing the common assumption that the Chauve-Souris had been an accurate recreation of a once-existing Russia, and he ended with the grotesque remark, 'one vaguely feels that the bourgeoisie and not the peasantry is behind it now; the smell of the soil has drifted away.'[58] That New York's leading critic should believe that a nightclub originally created by an urbane Armenian for Moscow sophisticates, then refashioned for novelty-seeking foreigners, should have anything to do with the Russian peasant shows just how deeply the Chauve-Souris and its ilk had implanted its seductive image of a fantasy Russia.

Balieff died in New York in 1937, penniless, and was buried at the expense of his one-time impresario Morris Gest. His demise was seen as an epitaph for an entire generation of Russian *émigré* artists.[59]

Notes and References

All illustrations are from the author's collection.

In the text I use a form of transliteration that is reader-friendly for non-Slavs; in the notes I use a more technical mode. When a spelling such as Tchaikovsky is in standard use I retain it; when individuals had their own preferred spelling, such as Balieff and Jushnij, I retain it. All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated

1. Quoted in Jean Delage, *La Russie en exil* (Paris: Delagrave, 1930), p. 28. Kokovtsov had been Prime Minister of Russia just before the Great War and was one of the most influential members of the emigration in Paris.

2. Opened in Manhattan in 1927 by former members of the Imperial Russian Ballet as a rendezvous for fellow expatriates, the Russian Tea Room's claims to authenticity have lost credibility over the decades as it changed location, managements, and ownership. The only monograph is a piece of puffery: Faith Stewart-Gordon,

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The Russian Tea Room: a Love Story (New York: Scribner, 1999).

3. See Laurence Senelick, '"For God, for Czar, for Fatherland!": Russians on the British Stage from Napoleon to the Great War,' in *Russians in Britain 1880–1940: from Melodrama to Modernism*, ed. Rebecca Beasley and Philip Ross Bullock (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 14–34.

4. Robert C. Williams, *Culture in Exile: Russian Émigrés in Germany, 1881–1941* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1972), p. 111–12; Robert H. Johnston, *'New Mecca, New Babylon': Paris and its Russian Exiles, 1920–1945* (Kingston; Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), p. 15; Ralph Schor, 'Les russes blancs devant l'opinion française', *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, XLVIII, No, 1 (1994), p. 211; M. Raev, *Rossija za rubežom. Istorija kul'tury russkoj émigracii 1919–1938* (Moscow, 1994); Leslie Chamberlain, *Lenin's Private War: the Voyage of the Philosophy Steamer and the Exile of the Intelligentsia* (London: Macmillan, 2003).

5. Ralph Schor, *L'opinion française et les étrangers en France 1919–1939* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1985), p. 153.

6. *Mavra*, his last piece of 'Russian music', was written for the Chauve-Souris.

7. Lewis Edinger, *German Exile Politics: the Social Democratic Executive Committee in the Nazi Era* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956), p. vii. For general studies of Russian émigré life and culture, see P. E. Kovalevskij, *La dispersion russe à travers le monde et son role culturel* (Paris: Chauny, 1951) and *Zarubežnaja Rossija. Istorija i kul'turno-prosvetitel'naja rabota russkogo zarubež'ja za polveka 1920–1970 gg* (Paris: Cinq Continents, 1971); Michèle Beyssac, ed., *La vie culturelle de l'émigration russe en France. Chronique 1920–1930* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1971); Jean-Paul Crespelle, *La vie quotidienne à Montparnasse à la Grande Époque, 1905–1930* (Paris: Hachette, 1976); Marc Reuff, *Russians Abroad: a Cultural History of the Russian Emigration 1919–1938* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Leo Livak, *Russian Émigrés in the Intellectual and Literary Life of Interwar France: a Bibliographical Essay* (Montreal; Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010); and Maria Rubins, *Russian Montparnasse. Transnational Writing in Interwar Paris* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

8. There is a considerable literature on The Bat's Russian avatar. In Russian, see Nikolaj E. Éfros, *Teatr 'Letučaja myš' N. F. Balieva* (Petrograd: Solcne Rossii, 1918); *Éstrada Rossii XX veka. Énciklopedija*, ed. E. D. Uvarova (Moscow: Olma-Press, 2004); and Lidija Tixvinskaja, *Povsednevnaja žizn. Teatral'noj bogem severjanogo veka. Kabaré i teatry miniatjuri v Rossii 1908–1917* (Moscow: Molodaja Gvardija, 2005), p. 22–44. In English, Anthony G. Pearson, 'The Cabaret Comes to Russia: "Theatre of Small Forms" as Cultural Catalyst', *Theatre Quarterly*, IX, No. 36 (Winter 1980); John E. Bowlt, 'When Life was a Cabaret', *Art News*, XLXXXIII, No. 83 (Dec. 1984); Barbara Henry, 'Theatricality, Anti-theatricality, and Cabaret in Russian Modernism', in *Russian Literature, Modernism, and the Visual Arts*, ed. Catriona Kelly and Stephen Lovell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and Mark Konecny, 'An Intimate Gathering: Russian Cabaret at Home and Abroad: Memoirs and Contemporary Accounts of Variety Theater 1909–1935', *Experiment/ЭКСПЕРИМЕНТ*, XII (2006).

9. Nikita Balieff, 'Les vingt-cinq ans de la Chauve Souris', *Le Matin*, 16 May 1933.

10. Jean Bast, 'Le Chauve Souris de Moscou', *Comœdia*, 6 May 1921.

11. The literature on the Chauve-Souris abroad is also considerable: Nikita Balieff, 'My Cabaret Confessions', *New Yorker*, 22 June 1929, p. 28–34; Alma Law, 'Nikita Balieff and the Chauve-Souris', in Laurence Senelick, ed., *Wandering Stars: Russian Émigré Theatre, 1905–1940* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1992), p. 16–31; Lawrence Sullivan, 'Nikita Baliev's Le Théâtre de la Chauve-Souris: an Avant-garde Theater', *Dance Research Journal*, XVIII, No. 2 (Winter 1986–87), p. 17–29; Marina Litavrina, *Russkij teatral'nyj Parizh* (St Petersburg: Aleteija, 2003), p. 44–51.

12. Quoted in Konstantin Kazansky with Marc Terrasse, *Cabaret russe* (Paris: Olivier Orban, 1978), p. 192.

13. It may have inspired Rudolf Friml's operetta *Katinka* (1915) whose first act involves a forced marriage in Russia.

14. *Delicious* concerns a Scottish orphan (Janet Gaynor) who has entered the US illegally and takes refuge with a troupe of Russian performers who stage a version of 'Katinka'. *Paddy O'Day* makes the immigrant an Irish child (Jane Withers) and the Russian act is one in which the village maiden must choose between Misha, Masha [*sic!*], Yasha, and Sasha, identical in page-boy haircuts and beards.

15. In Moscow it had first been staged in 1911 by the young Evgeny Vakhtangov, but was redone by another veteran of the Art Theatre Studio, Nikolay Kolin.

16. The Theatre de la Chauve-souris: Company of the Bat Theatre', *Morning Post*, London, 4 Sept. 1921; 'The Secret of Balieff's Chauve Souris', *New York Tribune*, 25 Jan. 1925. In a later recension, Katinka marries the Captain of the Wooden Soldiers.

17. Aleksandr Saltsmann (Salzmann, 1874–1934), a follower of Gurdjieff, believed that light should supplant paint in scenery by immersing the stage, as a medium for aesthetic expression of soul and body. He designed the lighting for Tairov's production of *Thamyris the Cithaera-Player* at the Kamerny Theatre, and *Pelléas et Mélisande* in Paris.

18. Aurélien Lugné-Poë, 'Au Théâtre Fémina', *Comœdia*, 26 Dec. 1920, p. 1. He offered another contrast, between the realistic school and the synthetic school of stage design, with Sudeikin as an example of the latter. See Sullivan, 'Nikita Baliev's', p. 29, note 78.

19. Mary Cass Canfield, 'Again the Chauve Souris', *The New Republic*, 21 June 1922, p. 107.

20. Jean Bastia, 'Le deuxième spectacle de la Chauve-Souris', *Comœdia*, 4 Fen. 1921, p. 1. Also see J. Labro, 'Une nuit russe dans un cabaret de Paris', *Quotidien*, No. 650 (20 Nov. 1924), p. 1.

21. Oliver Sayler, 'The Theater of "Let's Pretend"', *Century Magazine*, CIV, No. 1 (May 1922), p. 276–7.

22. Two years earlier it was Balieff who suggested that Gest bring the Art Theatre to the US. When Stanislavsky saw the Chauve-Souris in New York he noted that they had created nothing new. K. S. Stanislavsky, *Sobranie sočinenyj*, VI (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1954–61), p. 192 .

23. Canfield, loc. cit.

24. When the *Revue Russe* opened at the Booth Theatre in New York in October 1922, with the soprano Maria Kuznecova, the actors Eugenie Leontovitch and Gregory Ratoff, and a mimo-drama by Léon Bakst, it

was compared to its disadvantage to the Chauve-Souris and closed very quickly. May Johnson, 'Musical Comedy and Motion Pictures', *Musical Courier*, 12 Oct. 1922, p. 48.

25. *Maschere* was the brainchild of Lolo (Leonid Munštejn), a satiric poet and former contributor to the St Petersburg theatrical magazine *Rampa i žizn'*. *Karussel* was devised by Aleksandr Rognedov, who had been imprisoned by the Bolsheviks and turned up in Florence where he tried to organize a society around Bernard Berenson. Later he was the impresario for André Malraux's 1947 tour of South America.

26. The *Christian Science Monitor*, 27 Oct. 1923. Also see 'Russia Comes to America on the Wings of "The Bat"', *Vogue*, LIX, No. 7 (1 Apr. 1922), p. 77–8, 105.

27. Jushnij may have pilfered it from a similar piece by Nikolaj Agnivcev for the Van'ka-Vstan'ka cabaret. Agnivcev was noted for his sharp wit, whereas the Blaue Vogel was occasionally chided for its lack of bite.

28. Peter Panter [Kurt Tucholsky], 'Der blaue Vogel', *Die Weltbühne*, XII (23 March 1922), p. 305.

29. Hubert Goenner, *Einstein in Berlin 1917–1933* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2005), p. 218–19.

30. *Russisch-deutsches Theater 'Der blaue Vogel'. Dezember 1921 bis Dezember 1922* (Berlin, 1923).

31. *Das Tage-Buch*, LI (24 December 1921), p. 1608. A later notice of the third programme was more sceptical: LXIV (4 Nov. 1922), p. 1552.

32. Lothar Schreyer, *Erinnerungen an Sturm und Bauhaus* (Munich: Paul List, 1966), p. 40–1; Julius Meier-Graefe, in Friedrich Jarosy, ed., *Russische Theater: der Blaue Vogel, Dek. 1921–Dek. 1922* (Berlin: Preuss Institut Graphik, 1921), p. 25–48.

33. Ernst Decsey, 'Der Blaue Vogel: das russische Kabarett in den Kammerspielen', *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 2 Dec. 1922, p. 2–3.

34. Ibid.

35. Alfred Polgar and Monty Jacobs, quoted in Fritz Mierau, ed., *Russen in Berlin: Literatur Malerei Theater Film 1918–1933* (Leipzig: Reclam, 1991), p. 271.

36. Ferdinand Haager, 'Die Wanderflug des "Blauen Vogels"', *Baden-Badener Bühnenblatt*, XXVI (18 June 1924).

37. Pierre Varenne, 'Le Coq d'Or', *Boudoir*, 11 Nov. 1923.

38. 'Le troupe russe de Coq d'Or', *Liberté*, 13 Nov. 1923.

39. This becomes a long-lived trope in drama and cinema of the time. In Kaufman and Hart's comedy *You Can't Take It with You* (1937), the Grand Duchess Olga is a waitress at a Child's pancake restaurant in New York. A French comedy *Tovaritch* by Jacques Deval (1933) in which a former nobleman and his wife become a butler and cook to a *nouveau riche* family, was a great success in Paris, London, and New York before becoming a film in 1937 with Charles Boyer and Claudette Colbert. Harlow Robinson, *Russians in Hollywood, Hollywood's Russians* (Hanover; London: University Press of New England, 2007), p. 95–8.

40. George Imann, *La Russe* (Paris: Nouvelle Société d'Édition, 1929), p. 14–16.

41. Kazansky, *Cabaret russe*, p. 155–62, 168–9, 183, 197.

42. Jean Guyon-Cesbron, *Le cabaret des boyards* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1935), p. 12. Cf. the playwright Pierre Veber, 'Every so often we suffer from "exotic fever". We need the Dutch, the Spanish, Flemish, Germans, Russians, etc., etc. And suddenly these people are better artists, better set designers, better writers, and better musicians.' *Le Petit Journal*, Paris, 6 Dec. 1922.

43. Joseph Kessel, *Nuits de princes* [1927] (Paris: Club des Editeurs, 1959), p. 113.

44. Imann, *La Russe*, loc. cit.

45. Guyon-Cesbron, *Le cabaret des boyards*, p. 14.

46. See, e.g., Vladimir Alexandrov, 'Jules Verne's *Michel Strogoff* and Russian Émigré Cinematic Mythology' <www.versopolis.com/long-read/28/jules-verne-s-michel-strogoff>.

47. Anatolij Makarov, *Aleksandr Vertinskij portret na fone vremeni* (Moscow: Olimp, 1998), p. 215.

48. Another exception was À la Maisonette which catered to a closed society of Russian aristocracy and Parisian socialites. Kazansky, *Cabaret russe*, p. 175–7, 213.

49. 'Everywhere there used to be a coal cellar there is a Russian Restaurant now.' Will Rogers, *There's Not a Bathing Suit in Russia and Other Bare Facts* (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1927), p. 23.

50. Schor, 'Les russes blancs', p. 213.

51. Kazansky, *Cabaret russe*, p. 205–6, 245–6.

52. Kurt Tucholsky, 'Wendriners setzen sich in die Loge', 1927. For an English translation, see *Cabaret Performance Europe 1920–1940: Sketches, Songs, Monologues, Memoirs*, trans. and ed. Laurence Senelick (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), p. 38–40.

53. *Battle Creek Inquirer*, Mich., 10 Jan. 1925. Also see Robert Benchley, *Life*, NY, 15 Jan. 1925, p. 18.

54. Kazansky, *Cabaret russe*, p. 170.

55. Makarov, *Aleksandr Vertinskij*, p. 191–9.

56. Nikolaj Evreinov, *Pamjatnik mimoletnomu: iz istorii émigrantskogo teatra v Pariže* (Paris, 1953), p. 21. The Pitoëffs never lost their accents, so French audiences came to believe that Russian drama was authentic only when performed with Russian intonations.

57. Étienne Rey, 'Le nouveau spectacle de la Chauve Souris', *Comœdia*, 19 Apr. 1933.

58. J. Brooks Atkinson, 'Dutch to Russian', *New York Times*, 23 Oct. 1927.

59. Litavrina, *Russkij teatral'nyj Pariž*, p. 50–1.