

Richard Beacham

'Anonymity is the Essence': in Search of Adolphe Appia

The long neglect of the work and influence of the Swiss designer Adolphe Appia has begun to be remedied in recent decades; but as Richard Beacham points out in the following article, Appia's own character was in part responsible for his 'anonymity'. Where his friend Edward Gordon Craig was a tireless self-promoter, whose work remained influential despite being little utilized by practitioners in his lifetime, Appia tended to withdraw from contact with the wider world, and indeed chose to spend the last years of his life in the seclusion of a sanatorium. Here Beacham traces the twin threads which for long kept Appia's life a sealed book – the problems and delays over the publication of his writings, and the misplaced 'discretion' of those controlling the rights concerning Appia's homosexuality, a 'condition' which, in the early twentieth century, caused him much distress, and contributed to the long periods of deep depression, lassitude, and debilitation in his life. With the dedicated Appia scholar Walther Volbach, Beacham himself was at last able to edit and publish *Adolphe Appia: Essays, Scenarios, and Designs* in 1989. He contributed earlier studies of Appia to this journal in the two-part 'Adolphe Appia, Emile Jaques-Dalcroze, and Hellerau', in *NTQ* 2 and 3 (May and August 1985), and '“Brothers in Suffering and Joy”: the Appia-Craig Correspondence', in *NTQ* 15 (August 1988). Richard Beacham was one of the founders of the Department of Theatre Studies, University of Warwick, and besides his work on Appia has published extensively on ancient theatre practice. He has implemented ways of visualizing the study of theatre history as founding director of the King's Visualization Lab in the Department of Digital Humanities, King's College London, where he served as Professor of Digital Culture.

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Anonymity is the essence of my whole existence.
Adolphe Appia¹

ADOLPHE APPIA has only relatively recently begun to receive the attention and credit due him for his decisive but still inadequately acknowledged contribution to the modern theatre.² The failure of both theatre practitioners (who nevertheless plagiarized his designs extensively) and subsequently scholars to perceive and give credit to Appia for his extraordinarily innovative, and ultimately highly influential work was due in part to the particular circumstances of his personal life and character, but also to a number of external factors which for many years inhibited both the publication of most of his writings and a fuller understanding of the man and his work.

Looking first as some of the personal factors, we find early evidence in a piece called

'Introduction à mes notes personnelles', which was written by Appia in 1905, but remained unpublished in French until 1986, or in English until Walther Volbach and I included it in *Adolphe Appia: Essays, Scenarios, and Designs* in 1989.

After mentioning the 'external' problems faced by any theatre artist, Appia continued:

For the sake of my moral health I should, above all, frequently enjoy the incomparable happiness of seeing my work fulfilled – a goal that as I have said before, is achieved only in a production. . . . Instead, I become ever more isolated, ever more alienated from the theatre and from artists in all fields. . . . A brief explanation is probably not superfluous. I shall try to enumerate as briefly as possible the obstacles standing in the way of my normal activity and to state the reason for

my inability to overcome them. In considering my experience I discover an hereditary disposition that is perilous to define. I got it from my father: it is a kind of interruption of the normal functioning of my social faculties. Friendly contacts and purely social relations come relatively easily to me despite my stuttering. . . . But as soon as it means becoming involved in the activity of others or arousing their interest in my aims, I suddenly find myself utterly incapable of action, not because of shyness but rather because of complete ignorance. . . .

Without a sense of work and without the least knowledge of worldly matters, I had been living outside of life for a long time. At the age of twenty when I had to find out after all what Reality was, I of course took the wrong route; within a few months everything that gave a passionate zest for living was revealed to me. I surrendered to it completely, without any barriers or resistance, enchanted to the point of not recognizing for years that my ignorance was still very profound. There were the pleasures of art – as far as I could appreciate them at the time – mixed with the entirely new happiness of comradeship, friendship, of events enjoyed together, of freedom from convention. Intoxication provoked by anything done by my friends and myself: an exuberance too sudden, too violent to be controlled.

We know from a variety of other sources that in his early twenties (beginning in the period when he studied at the Leipzig Conservatory of Music, 1882–83) Appia did in fact become involved in a number of misadventures, and indeed scandals, arising from a life style which continued when two years later he enrolled at the Paris Conservatory. In 1888 he attempted suicide and undertook the first of what would be throughout his life frequent and prolonged periods of treatment at sanatoria.

In his 'Notes', Appia next describes the impact upon him of a particular friendship:

Among my friends one soon dominated all the others. . . . This relationship

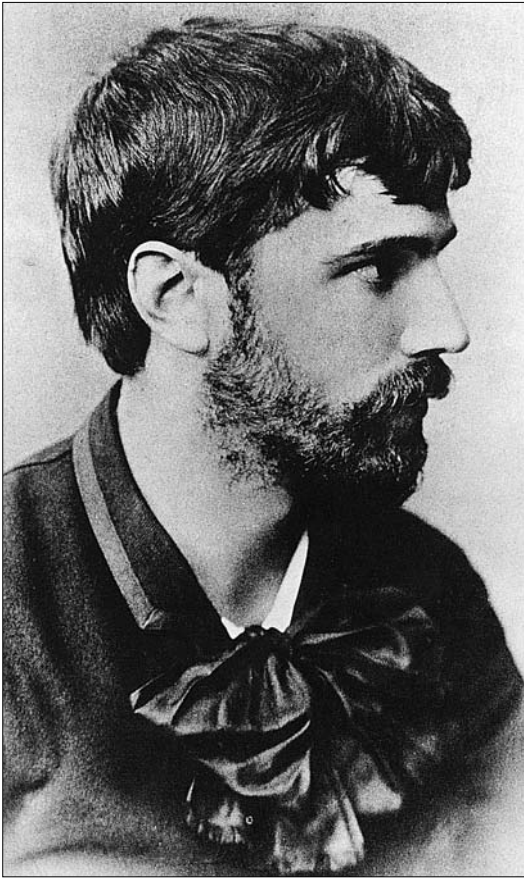
replaced Life for me, and it became my first step towards an illusion. Artificially I assumed the kind of personality that my friend and, to a certain degree, others saw in me. A catastrophe was inevitable. I recovered from that debacle (1902–03) but profound damage had been done: I never took possession of Reality except through pleasure, and never understood myself except through a one-dimensional fictional image. To my total ignorance in matters of life was added the systematic almost wishful ignorance of myself. . . .

As with him, contact with others disturbs my harmony, and the fiction, the self-deception, such as that which for example helped me attract my friend, became an irresistible longing to create a similar harmony before others.

He concludes: 'Therefore in my study and in solitude I shall do the work that must compensate for everything else.'³

Although unspecified in his piece, it is possible to propose a name for the friend.⁴ Raymond Penel was a younger cousin of Appia (and referred to him as 'my Socrates'), and together they had gone on long hiking trips in Italy around 1900. In a letter from Penel to Volbach dated 20 August 1963, he spoke of his closeness to Appia. 'We "lived" together and he told me in detail about his personal life, and his work in particular.' He also referred to the person who is likely to have been the mysterious close but unnamed friend in Appia's reference. It was a writer and journalist, Jean Thorel, who was a few years older than Appia, and whom Penel also knew well. Appia and Thorel became acquainted in 1894 and shortly thereafter began collaborating to produce an operatic adaptation of the novel *Ondine*, by Friedrich Fouqué, using Thorel's translation and, possibly, music by Fauré, whom Appia had known for several years.⁵

Penel revealed that 'Appia had the honesty to write to Thorel about his "particular inclinations" [his homosexuality] and Thorel took this as a direct declaration and was afraid this would compromise himself in the future. Everything therefore was immedi-



Appia as a young man. Above: aged twenty-four. Right: aged twenty, as a student at the Leipzig Conservatory of Music.

ately broken off. There was no going back on this, despite the intervention of friends. His reaction was violent, and Appia's sadness profound.'

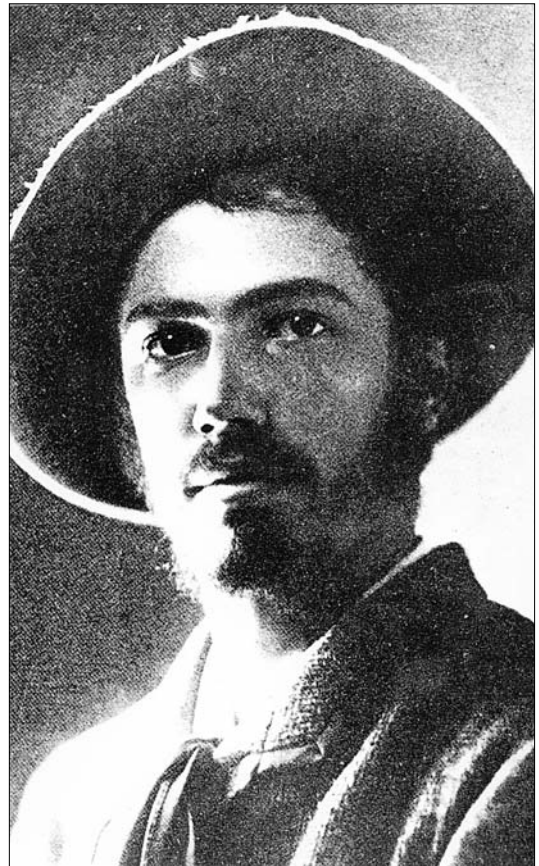
Continuing the Search for Appia

In the course of his pioneering research on Appia, which I discuss in detail later, Walther Volbach searched after and uncovered a great deal of information about the reclusive genius. In the process he also discovered, however, that much of the 'evidence' had been lost for ever. For example, he learned that Geneviève, the mentally handicapped daughter of Appia's brother Paul, burnt a quantity of Appia's sketches and letters after his death.

Madame Jaques-Dalcroze, who had no such debility, similarly destroyed most of

Appia's correspondence with her husband Emile. Consequently, scholarship seeking to research the relationship and collaboration between the two men – by far the most important that either of them undertook during their careers, and of lasting impact on the history of the theatre – is limited to the letters from Dalcroze to Appia.

One of Dalcroze's former pupils, Mrs. Charlotte MacJannet,⁶ provided me with some context for this regrettable act when I met her at her home in Geneva in 1992. She was then in her nineties, but vividly recalled Appia from the period around 1916 when she was following an intensive course in eurhythmics at the recently opened Institute Jaques-Dalcroze in Geneva, where Appia had continued with Dalcroze the experimental work undertaken with such extraordinarily success at Hellerau in the period 1911–14.⁷ She recalled his extremely reserved demeanour ('None of us girls would have dared to speak to him!') and the unconventional appearance



and behaviour which offended Dalcroze's 'very bourgeois and conventional' wife. She recounted to me one particular incident when Appia arrived for a social gathering at the Dalcroze residence in Geneva, apparently inebriated, and was barred at the door and forced to leave by Madame Dalcroze.

Nevertheless, despite the regrettable loss of such primary sources, Volbach managed through his assiduous enquiries to obtain a great deal of first-hand information from many of Appia's friends and associates, as well as from those who had met him only casually but had useful insights to contribute. What follows are relevant excerpts from documents which Volbach later entrusted to me.

Donald Oenslager, the noted American scene designer who taught at the Yale School of Drama (where I was privileged to know him), wrote to Volbach on 14 April 1964, quoting from his diary entry of 27 May 1924 after he had met Appia:

After luncheon I had coffee with M. and Mme. Mercier and with M. Appia. I stumbled along in French. M. Appia with a large black Van Dyke beard and white hair is a most striking and individual person with very strong features and stronger glasses. He is very modest and simple and unfortunately stutters a bit when not at his ease. He showed me all of his books and then all of his original drawings – all on a large scale and done in chalk and charcoal on gray or brown or blue paper, with almost no attempt at details.

Apparently he has done very few things lately. He remarked that Gordon Craig in one of his books thought him dead.⁸ Appia believes absolutely that the great man of the theatre must have first the mind and endless imagination, and then should know absolutely every department of the theatre. Appia believes study and creation should go together. He spoke of the Milan production of *Tristan* and he said he had charge of all the direction of the singers. He plans to go to Spain next year – to Barcelona and

put on *Tristan* there. M. Mercier is his assistant and a member of the Vieux-Colombier and I believe putters endlessly with the Theatre.

Volbach also obtained comments from Oskar Wälterlin (with whom Appia was working during the period in which Oenslager had encountered him), who had undertaken to produce *The Ring* with Appia at Basel in 1924–25. This project had to be abandoned after the productions of *Das Rheingold* and *Die Walküre* because of rabid opposition from the local Wagner *Verein*, scandalized by Appia's innovative staging.⁹ In a letter of 11 April 1960 to Volbach, he wrote: 'Appia was restrained and humble, not at all arrogant. Widely knowledgeable. The stutter was the result of his inhibitions and his particular sensibility. Probably he therefore drank to gain confidence. I don't know when the stutter began. Naturally one ought not to mention any of this sort of thing. Everything personal is really not important for the public.'

Wälterlin had direct and unhappy personal experience to draw upon in sounding this note of caution to Volbach. Following the *Ring* debacle, which had forced the resignation of the Director of the Basel Theatre, Wälterlin had himself, at the age of thirty, been promoted to the position. But he continued to face reactionary opposition, and the dispiriting outcome is recorded by Peter Loeffler in his biography of Wälterlin. He notes that Wälterlin had an intimate friendship with a younger actor.

So long as Wälterlin himself had worked only as an actor and stage director, his private behaviour was tolerated in silence; although already during the collaboration with Appia a few taunts had been thrown at him. But now, after becoming the head of the theatre, these hateful voices grew louder. . . . Wälterlin was not prepared to give up this friendship despite the continuous attacks that were upsetting for him, particularly because they shook his belief in the traditional tolerance of the people of Basel. In having to decide between being true to his

homeland and true to his friend, there could be only one choice.¹⁰

Wälterlin resigned from his position at Basel in 1932. Now, thirty years later, and a year before his death, in this letter to Volbach he continued:

Appia communicated most things to me orally. And he acted out a good deal himself. He was present at the rehearsals, and consulted, and he also acted out his interpretations for the singers. He had for a long time been a collaborator of Dalcroze, and strongly influenced the dance concepts [of the production]. The stage setting was done according to his designs, but not precisely because the proportions of the Basel stage were not right; we were rather restricted.

Volbach's papers also included recollections sent to him over the period from April to November 1960 by Paul Bonifas regarding the close relationship between Paul's brother Henri and Appia, who had first met in 1909 when both were being treated at a sanatorium at Chexbres, near Montreux.¹¹

I am confident in saying that this meeting was the happiest of events for both Henri and Adolphe Appia. Even though Appia was older than my brother, common tastes and the mutual discovery of that which one might call their very similar obstacles permitted them to manage in their respective solitude to liberate themselves from their feelings of repression. Their eyes were raised and they saw once again the exterior world without shame, without disgust and without fear. . . .

Appia in his youth, because of circumstances in which his sensitivity and timidity were dominant factors, began to stammer and restricted his contact with other people. . . . The bourgeois and rigid milieu – and with his brother a banker – in which he grew up, gave to Appia the feeling then and later, that he was in a prison ever threatening to claim him again. . . .

Appia always had something sober about his dress, black or light grey, not at all conventional. My recollection of him sees him in a pullover and cord trousers, I see him too in cyclists' knickerbockers, black shoes, and in summer sandals and bare feet. I certainly saw him wearing a jacket during his years in Geneva, but I don't recall it exactly, but however he dressed, he had 'style' and one that was unique to him. . . . He gave a personal feeling to everything he touched because of his exceptional nature. . . . He had a sense of humour despite the fact that he saw people without illusion; he was not bitter in anything he said.

Others who had had the experiences of life that cost him so much would have been bitter and vindictive. I heard him expound with force and irony on ideas and feelings, but never about people. . . . [After the war] Appia's beard was streaked with grey, and his eyes, always bright with spirituality and pride, now were often veiled with fatigue. His stammering varied a great deal, and always seemed to take hold of him when he was tired, or unhappy, or embarking on work. I heard him speak an entire Sunday afternoon . . . without stammering more than a few times. I know he sometimes refused to meet with people for fear that his stammer would become pronounced. . . .

His vision was so clear, he could perceive things unseen by others, and always of the essence as well as subtle or allusive. It was he who led me always to ask myself: what are you really 'seeing' and what are you 'looking at'? With me he was affectionate, genial, plain in his language and his personality, but also a little distant in the manner of one staying in their own garden, even when talking of something significant. A blossoming hedge marks a limit, one may not go beyond.

The writer and theatre critic Karl Reyle sent to Volbach (21 March 1965) a document with transcripts of his correspondence with Appia

together with his own brief annotations on the letters. Reyle was intensely interested in Appia's work and theories, of which he wrote perceptively in a number of newspaper articles. Appia mentioned to him (2 March 1925) how so often his designs were plagiarized by those who did not realize that when divorced from the overall conceptual unity of the *mise en scène*, they had no meaning. 'You, you know this! People tell me often that I have been stolen from constantly – even in the cinema.'¹²

At the end of 1925 Appia had moved into the clinic La Métairie near Nyon run by Dr Oscar Forel. In the early summer of 1926 he suffered severe heart problems. He confided to Reyle in a letter of 19 June 1926: 'This latest heart attack is the sort that means I must strictly regulate my life, if I want to remain a little longer on this earth (which I am actually complacent about). . . . Be patient and settled in all things, is my motto.'

In a letter to Reyle of 4 September 1926 Appia said he had read in the papers that Bayreuth was incorporating his ideas without crediting him, and that Siegfried Wagner had written articles in which

he stressed that he had *nothing in common with Adolphe Appia*. This is sad. I am accustomed that use is made of my ideas without acknowledgment, but I am happy that the *Idea* triumphs and I know that little by little it will overcome all. Clearly in the process I must renounce any entirely personal happiness; but at my age that no longer counts for much! My health is returning. My heart, the wretch, is rather well behaved; sullen but it has to follow along nicely. If it will last long only the Norns can tell; I am doing useful and good things again; and last Wednesday when I was 64 years old, my good and true friend Dr Forel said to me 'Appia be comforted; you are the eternal young man.'

Appia returned to the issue of the lack of credit his work was given in a letter of 10 September 1926. 'What you said about the use of my designs at Bayreuth I know about.

I know too about the exploitation of my ideas in newspapers and journals. At my age it would be so easy to give up. And as for the rest, I am not entirely without guilt myself. But anonymity is the essence of my entire existence. . . . Appia and anonymity belong together. The essential thing is that the Idea springs to Life and lives.'

On 24 October 1926 Appia wrote to Reyle discussing his relationship with Jacques Copeau and his company of actors, and the vast admiration Appia felt for their work.

One must bow down with enthusiasm before *Life* of such freshness and novelty. . . . For me the undertakings of such a school represent the entire future of dramatic art and the most powerful suggestiveness for literary and fine art. Life at last! I spent four days closely confined with them, eye to eye and heart beating in tune with theirs. On their departure from Geneva station, we were hugging, forgetful of time and space. Or perhaps in the Time and the Space of our desires. . . .

Appia went on to quote a letter he had received from Copeau.

'We need you. We need your pure and violent judgement.' This word 'violent' gave me particular pleasure because along with my joy and admiration I had not hidden from him my reservations and disapproval of certain moments. . . . Our conversations, Copeau and I, were rich, future-filled in our joy and reciprocal trust. We were able to look at one another for long periods of silence; breaking the silence at last with: 'Yes!', spoken exactly together! . . . My work goes well; Copeau has given me new hope.

Craig on Appia

In search of Appia, it is also important to consider the letters from Craig to and about Appia, as well as Appia's letters to him, of which, some years ago, I published a substantial selection and account in *New Theatre Quarterly*.¹³ The correspondence conveys a

good sense of their relationship, the affinities and differences they acknowledged in their approaches to theatrical reform, and in particular suggests their strong mutual regard and affection. I wish here to consider only a few excerpts illustrating Craig's thoughts insofar as these may be relevant to understanding the nature and cause of Appia's relative obscurity.

In his daybook account of their meeting which took place when both men's work was shown at an exhibition in Zurich, Craig had written on 13 February 1914, 'Appia and I have met. A fine creature . . .'. After recording the account Appia gave him of how his work was haughtily rejected by Cosima Wagner when he presented it to her, Craig continued:

Yesterday Appia and I had our first talk. It was *very good* – very enjoyable. . . . Today our second talk – and it was *exciting*. . . . I tried to show him without saying so that he was searching for what I was searching for – for what I believe I have found. The true and sole *material* for the art of the T. *LIGHT* – and through light movement. The veils of music and the human form made mist for his eyes and he could not see through. I thought I caught him trying once or twice to push the veils aside but he laughed and flashed out and was altogether [*word or phrase obscured*].

A fine man – seeing very clearly many things. One weakness (his strength perhaps) that first he '*needed*' Wagner to hang upon – now he '*needs*' Dalcroze.

Craig also wrote later that year in a letter to William Rothenstein dated 25 December 1914 about this same meeting:

Together with your letter came a postcard¹⁴ from an old brother whom late in life I have discovered by the authentic strawberry mark on his arm. Adolphe Appia. . . . He is so far better than I am. I was quite unbeknown to him and he unbeknown to me and we were moving *straightly* on the same point with all or nearly all the same thoughts, feelings, and sighs in our two

selves. This very queer and very touching – though I'll spare my sentiments as a rule on this point –

His reasons are the same as mine – his and my results are as two children of one mother and father – only as I say he goes one or two the better. . . .

Appia and I met at Zurich this last summer [*sic*]. How we talked. Why William, we said nothing but laughed and winked and nodded and shook again with suppressed mirth – Alleluia!! A word or two of Wagner and of Dalcroze his great friend – but no *division* by any word – only continual acknowledgement of our ancient union. . . .

I have not written to anyone about him till now. In Zurich . . . we two swept the board and it glistened. I mean he polished it, and I held the broom. So when ever the theatre enters your thoughts or men speak of it remember to mention Appia's name . . . and link us together.

Appia and Craig began an intermittent correspondence lasting from 1914 until 1924. It is one of great mutual respect and sympathy, and in the case of Craig displays an uncharacteristic admiration and humility. For example, on 4 May 1914 Craig praises Appia's design for the Elysian Fields scene from Gluck's opera *Orpheus and Eurydice* (produced in collaboration with Dalcroze at Hellerau the previous year), writing: 'the more I see it the more beautiful it seems to me. . . . It excites me far more than any other artwork which belongs to our age. . . . My dear Appia excuse that I speak – but the picture is so alive that I must speak.' Later in the same letter Craig refers to an exhibition of theatre designs planned at Cologne: 'If you will exhibit there – so will I. If you will not – I will not. I have no care any longer to exhibit anywhere if your works are not there too.'

In a letter to Craig of 8 February 1916 Appia wrote:

You write of things that take me by the heart . . . and I don't know anything to say to you. But I know that you

Friday -

SCHOOL FOR THE ART OF THE THEATRE.
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FLORENCE - ITALY.
DIRECTOR: E. CRONIN-CRAIG

Shawyeran
picture
(photograph)



in front of my desk always.
And the more I see it the more
beautiful it seems to me.
(A banal, true thing to say.)

It excites me far more than any
other artwork which belongs to
our age.
There is no escape from it &
one wishes not to escape
because it gives NO OFFENCE.

How inviting it is -
how gracious - how silent -
how perfectly temperate -
how GOOD.

My dear Appia excuse that I
speak - but the picture is so
alive that I must speak -

Letter of 4 May 1914 in which Craig praises Appia's design for the Elysian Fields, and makes a small sketch of it.

could not have my desires! Our two natures are different. You have infinite charm; me I have (and only have), this: [here Appia includes a small sketch of his Elysian Fields]. You have a thousand ways of expressing yourself, and to others. Me, I am a wolf in his lair who gazes upon the light which crosses his hole . . . luminous - very luminous! Therefore remain faithful to this white wolf.

If we could meet again - tranquilly without lyricism - with the happiness of knowing how deeply we understand one another on the *essential matter*!?

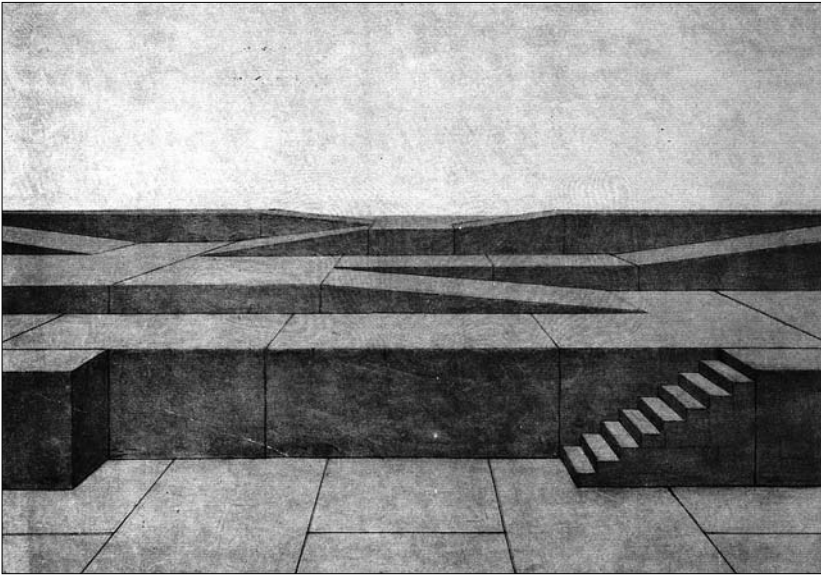
A year later in a letter to Appia of 22 February 1917 Craig touched upon what he saw as a problem severely compromising the potential of Appia's work and its reception:

I grieve that you are, what I may be allowed to call, wasting your time. Let me explain - or try to explain. If Wagner or Aeschylus should ask you to work upon scenes for them - for their drama - I would still say it is wasting your time . . . You speak - good!! Then there must not be another voice trying to be heard at the same time. If you did NOT speak - if you did not sing - I should not grieve that you should play accompaniments. Some day perhaps you will walk and talk alone: I know I cannot hope this will be very soon. . . .

I am sorry you are not here - sorry that we are not often together, because in my eyes you are the only one in the whole western theatre who I remember continually with that strange joy which is desperate and tragic because of your peculiar powerlessness and power. You, my dear, are the very noblest expression in the modern theatre. To me you are: and I say that without any needless bowing of the knee. And to me there is far more vivid life and drama in one or your great studies for scenes than in anything else known to me in our theatre of Europe. There are other rather wonderful powers in a few men and women. But NONE SPEAK as your designs do.

In a letter of 30 January 1922, Craig wrote to Appia about the International Exhibition of Theatre Design at Amsterdam then taking place, where the work of both men was featured together in the same room:

Last night I gave a lecture here. I do not remember all I said. Words are such foolish things. But I spoke much of you sitting in the Wagner Theatre at rehearsals (Did you? I said you did). I said that there at those Solemn and beautiful hours during the day - when the light mixes with the ropes and with the side scenes and back scenes - during those day rehearsals when beautiful visions come and go on those half empty stages. It was there that you were born. . . . I said so



Appia's design for the Elysian Fields scene in *Orpheus*, Act Three, which Gordon Craig greatly admired, and refers to in the letter opposite.

because I was speaking of Practice and Theory – and I claimed you as no Theorist but as an ordinarily good worker. Are you proud? Be so – I gave you the brightest medal.

Later, on 14 July of the same year, 1922, following an exhibition featuring Craig's and Appia's work at the Victoria and Albert Museum, Craig wrote: 'We were immense! But we seem to have frightened our good friend and decorator Bakst who ran away. But not before he had sent a very rude little billet doux to the Victoria and Albert Museum saying he refused to exhibit "under the same roof as E. G. C.". That's me!! For the rest everyone was in his place and all London was delighted. Especially by you.'

This affectionate correspondence continued until, on 18 December 1923, Craig wrote his last letter to Appia, which followed Appia's anguished note to him about what he feared would be the catastrophe of his production of *Tristan* at La Scala.

My dear Appia. I send you here an affectionate embrace from my heart. I know . . . I know well. I am in Genova with my small family. Will you come here and speak of these things? So comic . . . so tragic. . . It is 7:30. This Jeudi. In two hours the curtain will rise – and no one

will care but you that only 1/18th of your dream is there.

Never mind – Allow me to send you a little packet of 'indifference'. Swallow it and you will not even see Milan cathedral!

I would come to see you at once but I am very poor – for which I thank no one but myself . . . and my English Theatre. . . .

My dear Appia. Let us laugh a moment at all things. . . . My heart is troubled for you at this moment, but my laughter is placed like a wreath on the tomb of La Scala, of L'Opera (Paris); of Covent Garden (London), and all the theatrical tombs. Tres tres bon my dear Appia. Votre, Craig

Not long after Appia's death (according to a letter from Reyle to Volbach, 19 December 1961) Craig had visited Dr Forel at the sanatorium where Appia spent his last years and told Forel he had always regarded Appia as his mentor, to whom he felt a great debt, and came now to pay final homage.

However, despite the clear evidence excerpted above from their correspondence, Craig later appears to have wished to minimize, if not deny altogether, the affinities of his ideas and work with those of Appia. He asked for and obtained the return of his

letters to Appia from Appia's sister, Hélène, in 1935. And in a letter of 15 February 1960 to Bernard Hewitt, who had invited him to write a preface to Appia's *L'Œuvre d'art vivant* for Hewitt's English translation (published under Volbach's auspices), Craig declined the invitation, writing:

I wish I could do as you suggest but the fact is that I have never read the Appia book of Essays. . . . His designs I know to some extent – their beauty is enchanting. I saw them in Zurich where one of the first important exhibitions of Theatre work was held in the year – 1914 February. Appia and I met there and we were together most of three whole days – we managed to talk scraps of German, English and French.

We corresponded – the years I forget for the moment – the last time was when the Scala Theatre of Milan had tempted him to work for a Wagner Opera and then ruined all he was trying to do and almost sent him crazy. . . .

He was very gay when asked to work there – wrote me full of joy – and was sponsored by some Marquis or Count with Diplomacy at his service . . .

But in a few weeks time I got a despairing message from him 'All is lost' etc. etc. etc. So much for rashly entering an unknown forest of wild beasts without even a gun. . . . The Theatre is a peculiar monster; I know it, lived with it, was born by it – I had its horrible blood in my veins, Appia hadn't. . . .

Appia must have been staggered when it dawned on him that La Scala was about to tie him up and slip a sack over his head. – He yelled and fled –

It seems strange that Craig should be rather dismissive of Appia's *Work of Living Art* in this letter of 1960. In a letter to Appia of 19 December 1921 he had written praising once more Appia's designs (which at Craig's urging Appia had reluctantly submitted for the Amsterdam exhibition), then chiding him for not yet having sent Craig copies of his book:

They are all designs which for me to know would mean another long life – and it is because of this that I am, anyhow, able to know a little of their worth. . . . 'L'Œuvre d'art vivant' 2 copies for Amsterdam is there not one copy for Rapallo? It must be translated. I dread to read it with my amount of French or German. I am sure it will be wonderful, and quite opposed to all I write – Excellent. How I shall laugh and delight in all you say, and how it will puzzle the fools that I am so happy.

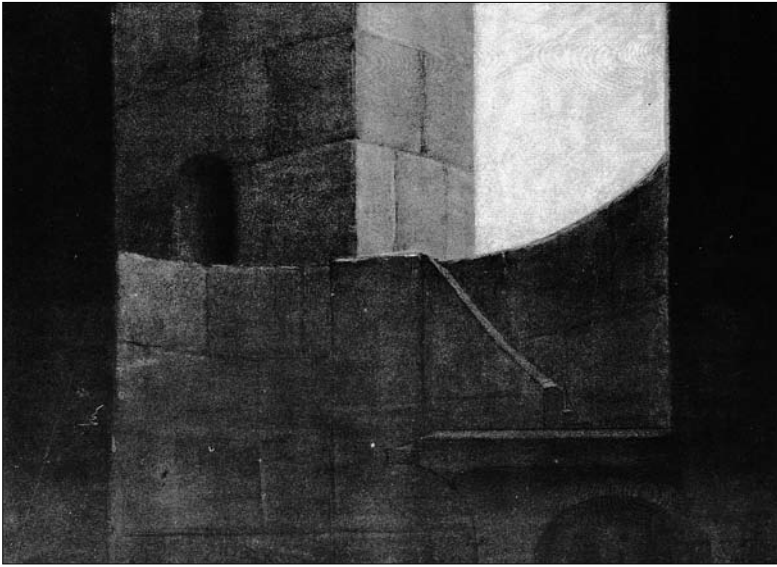
In April 1962 Karl Reyle visited Craig at his residence in Vence on the Côte d'Azur. He wrote later that at their meeting Craig

vigorously denied the view sometimes suggested that he had taken over this or that from Appia, and then said: 'I took absolutely nothing at all from Appia. Our relationship was never very close, and we had little in common. Appia was a theoretician and a spectator of a particular and unusual sort. I was a practitioner, and based my knowledge upon the facts, because I was born the son of a great actress. Did Appia reform the stage? I did not. I tried to reform the entire theatre.'¹⁵

The Great Controversy and Betrayal

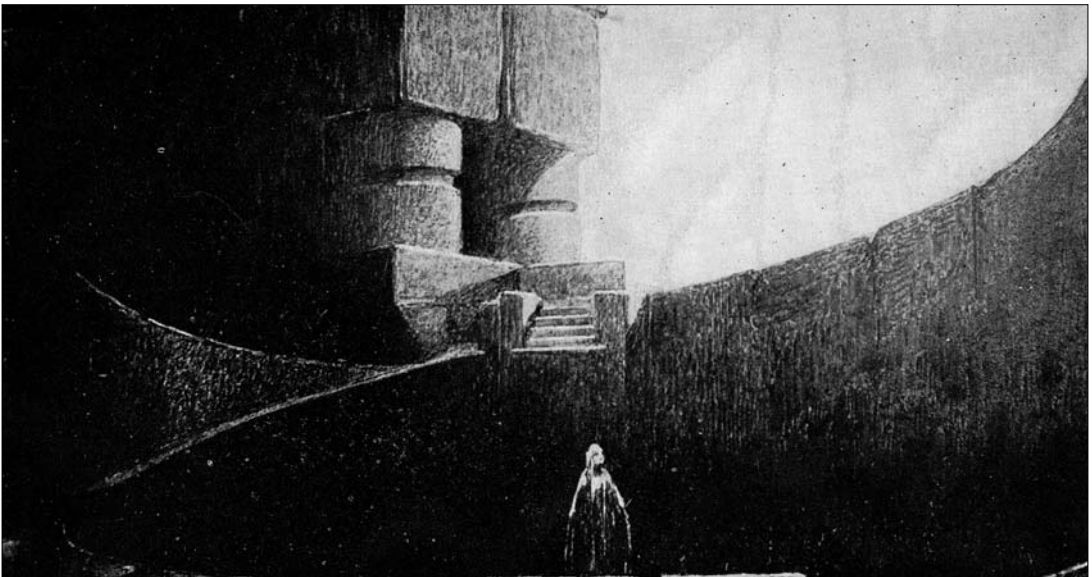
Unfortunately, and ironically, Appia's personal and professional difficulties – so destructive and dispiriting to bear during his lifetime – were compounded after his death by those who ought to have behaved better, and whose attitude and actions were extremely harmful to his legacy.

Edmond Appia was a nephew of Adolphe. In a letter of 15 May 1956 to Gordon Beck¹⁶ he recorded how, after Appia's death in 1928, in the following year a Foundation was set up with Dr Oscar Forel, Jean Mercier, and Edouard Junod as its directors. Dr Forel had been Appia's physician and a close friend during the last period of the artist's life, running the two sanatoria where he spent his last years until his death.¹⁷ Jean Mercier was an intimate friend and close collaborator of



Left: Appia's 1896 design for *Parsifal*, Act Two, 'Klingsor's Keep'.

Below: design of 1919 by Joseph Urban for the same scene at the Metropolitan Opera, New York. It is clearly based, without acknowledgement, on Appia's 1896 design.



Appia who, notably, had served as his 'right-hand man' and facilitator for the production of *Tristan und Isolde* at La Scala under Toscanini in 1923. Junod was a third friend, who was director of a school at Geneva for deaf-mutes, and had met Appia as a member of the circle around Dalcroze.

The Foundation published that year, 1929, an extensive portfolio with lithographs of a great many of Appia's designs.¹⁸ But from 1930 it was inactive for many years. Appia's designs and unpublished writings were deposited in the Museum of Art and History of Geneva, where they remained forgotten in

a cupboard for twenty years, while others were left at the Theatre Section of the Swiss National Library in Bern. In the interim, as noted before, a number of Appia's writings and designs were regrettably destroyed by his niece Geneviève.

Later, when Edmond Appia became aware of the Foundation's existence, he asked to be involved and was duly made its director. Beginning in 1952 he organized and copied the various available manuscripts of Appia's extensive writings, and provided access to all materials to Dr Edmund Stadler, who from 1946 was conservator at the Swiss Theatre

Collection within the National Library, and who intended to exhibit them when opportunities arose. Edmond Appia noted in this letter of 1956 that although he was sending to Beck copies of Appia's manuscripts,

These documents cannot be published because they are part of a collection of unpublished manuscripts that I am currently reviewing with a view to publishing them with the assistance of the Swiss National Library. Nevertheless I am sending them to you in order to facilitate your work, but I ask that you understand this is strictly private and an exceptional favour granted to you by the Foundation in sending you these documents. . . . It is precisely one of the goals of the Foundation to look favourably upon all work concerning Appia, who up to now has been inexplicably neglected by theatre specialists. In reality I don't think he has been forgotten but certain people have benefited from his ideas and works, without giving him the credit that was his due. . . . My uncle didn't have any pupils. He was far too independent and solitary to work as a teacher. . . . My uncle always lived alone, by himself, thinking and working without witnesses.

Walther Volbach, after an early career in Germany (where he had worked as an assistant to Max Reinhardt), emigrated to America, and eventually became Chair of the Department of Theatre at Texas Christian University. He conceived the idea of translating into English and publishing Appia's works, many of which had not yet been published at all in any language.

He discussed this initially with Oenslager, who himself had a collection of Appia's essays which he had received from Edmond Appia. Oenslager now wrote to Edmond, suggesting Volbach's plan, which Edmond embraced. Edmond then in turn suggested to Volbach that the publications take place under the auspices of the American Educational Theatre Association with which Volbach was prominently associated and in which he served as Chair of the Opera division of its Rare Theatre

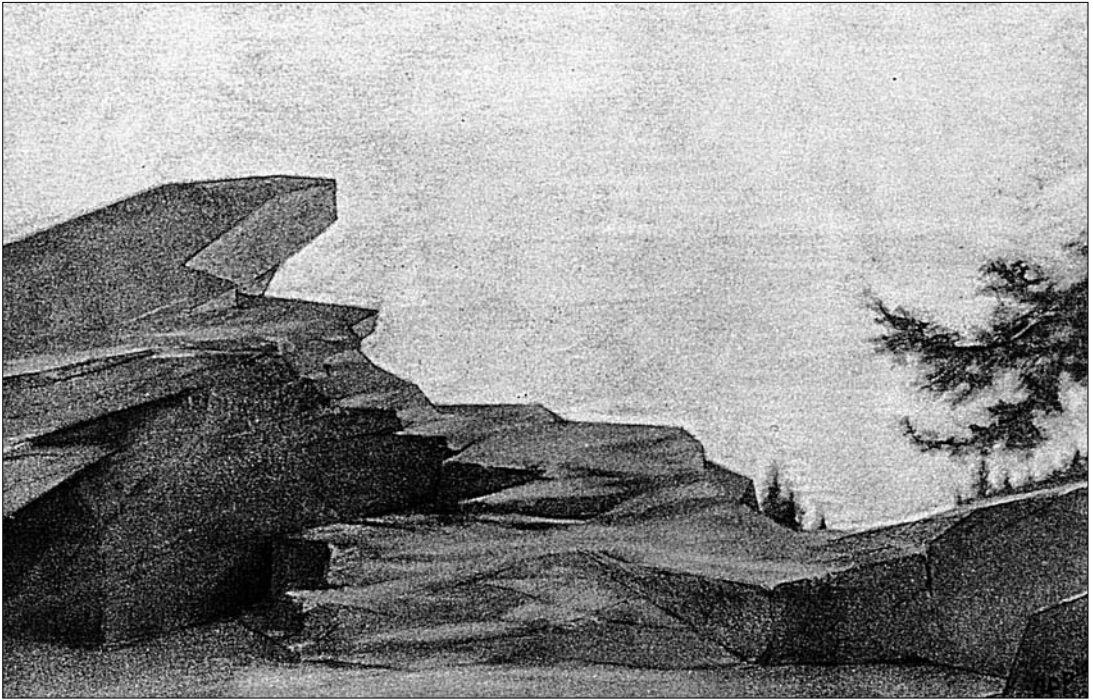
Books Project. He offered Volbach his full collaboration.

In a formal agreement of 6 October 1957, Edmond Appia, as head of the Appia Foundation, gave Volbach:

- permission to publish *Staging Wagnerian Drama* (first published in French in 1895 as *La Mise en scène du drame Wagnérien*) in English;
- exclusive permission to publish *Music and the Art of the Theatre* (written in French as *La Musique et la mise en scène*, but only published in German in 1899 as *Die Musik und die Inszenierung*) in the original French, in the German translation, and in English; and *The Work of Living Art* (first published in French in 1921 as *L'Œuvre d'art vivant*) in English; and
- assigned rights and permission to publish both in the original French and in English translation any or all of Appia's unpublished texts.

Volbach subsequently visited Edmond Appia at his home in 1959. They agreed to prepare together (in addition to the now-authorized publication of Appia's works by Volbach) an extensive biography of Appia for which Edmond promised full collaboration and access to the entire collection of the Foundation. Volbach and Edmond then both began making wide and productive enquires in pursuit of this, bringing forth a great deal of information about Appia's work and life.

For example, in a letter dated 30 April 1960 from Jean Mercier (who had known Appia since 1909) to Edmond Appia, and subsequently passed on by Edmond to Volbach, Mercier had noted that around 1920 he had been asked by Appia's brother Paul to collect Appia and take him to a clinic at Neuchâtel. Paul was a banker, very conservative, seriously God-fearing, and shared very little in common with his brother. In effect he wanted Appia placed where he was least likely to become (as had occurred in the past) an embarrassment to the family. Mercier instead took Appia (in September 1920) to Geneva to live with his wife and himself at a 'familial pension', much against the wishes of



Above: Appia's design of 1892 for *Die Walkure*, Act Three (Swiss Theatre Museum). Below: *Die Walkure*, design by Emil Preetorius for Bayreuth, 1934, showing a clear but unacknowledged debt to Appia's design of forty years earlier (copyright Richard Wagner Gedenkstätte, Bayreuth).



both Paul and Appia's sister Hélène. While there Appia continued to work upon his composition of *L'Œuvre d'art vivant* which was published in 1921. But later,

After several little infractions of Calvinist morality, his brother got him admitted to La Waldau, a sanatorium near Bern. He stayed for some months, then one day wrote to me to come and rescue him because he thought he was losing his mind. His brother did not want him to return to Geneva. . . . I took him again to stay with me, and broke off all contact with his relations.

Apart from some travel in the spring of 1922, Appia was at Waldau from September 1921 until October 1922. In removing him from the psychiatric sanatorium (which Mercier described as a veritable 'abduction') Mercier had a *'scène terrible'* with its director, who made him sign an agreement taking personal responsibility for Appia's discharge. Following this Appia returned to the previous domestic arrangement with Mercier and his wife.

In December 1923 Appia's designs and *mise en scène* for *Tristan und Isolde* were produced by Toscanini at La Scala Milan, where Mercier served as his close collaborator and assistant. Two years later, in December 1925, Appia went into what Mercier termed 'the haven of peace' of the clinic La Métairie near Nyon, run by Dr Forel, and remained under his care – there and at its annexe, La Chaumière – until his death in February 1928.

In this letter to Edmond Appia, Mercier concluded these 'personal observations' about Appia's condition by noting that they were relevant to 'the revolutionary stance of Adolphe in regard to his family background, and to his era, [which was] more from a "moral" point of view than from an "artistic" one. In sum he was a great "precursor", and so greatly "unhappy" and "unfulfilled".'

Shortly thereafter Volbach, in a letter written on 7 May 1960 to Dr Forel, sought permission to quote from a lengthy report which Forel had written about Appia and given to Edmond. Forel had known Appia very well

indeed, both as his patient and as a friend. He observed that despite his often outward show of good spirits, these may have been 'feigned rather than genuine. He laughed and joked with his lips while deep within himself he remained a tragic person. . . . [He] was impenetrable, secretive, perhaps wary, almost distrustful.'¹⁹

In his letter of 17 May responding 'so far as I feel able' to Volbach's request, Forel first noted that the material that Mercier had already provided to Volbach 'will certainly enable you to honour the work and activities of the Master. Appia's concepts have been carried forward to such an extent that a dedicated study is worthwhile. . . . Of course you may directly quote points from my report.' He continued: 'I know the American public loves "Who is Who";' and Forel therefore went on to provide some personal details about himself.

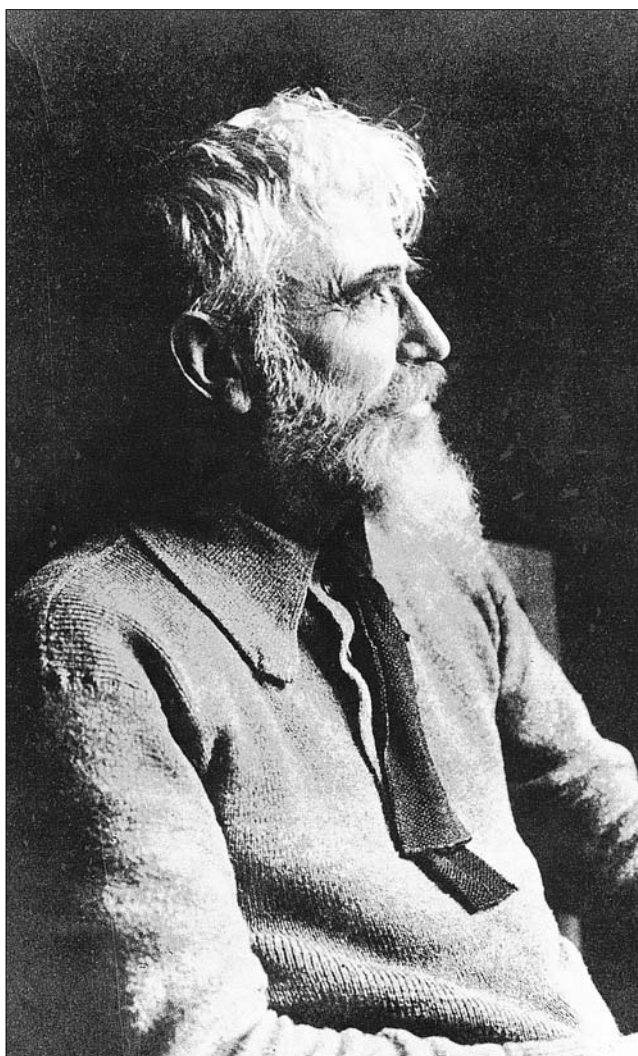
However, the bulk of his letter stressed that both because of professional confidentiality, and because it was 'not relevant or only slightly relevant to an understanding of Appia's originality', he did not wish to make any additional observations regarding the 'psychopathology' of Appia. He was, however, willing to make a few comments on his stuttering (which afflicted him from childhood on), noting that 'in general many stutterers are repressed and shy, yet at the same time ambitious and proud. But what does that tell us?' He said that at most he would suggest that '*possibly* this stuttering prevented A. A. from becoming a practising artist (actor, theatre director, musician or the like) and therefore he quite naturally became a theoretician, positive critic, and reformer of previous scenic practice. And because he had a particular grasp of human drama (arising out of his own life), it is entirely understandable that he embraced Wagner.'

The first small cloud on the horizon for the progress of Volbach's ambitious work appeared on 20 January 1961 in a short letter from Edmond Appia responding to an enquiry from Volbach about whether Pro Helvetia (in effect the Swiss Arts Council) might assist him financially in the publication project. No, unfortunately. Instead, Edmond informed



Portrait by Rene Martin of Appia in front of his design for the sacred forest for *Parsifal*, 1922 (Swiss Theatre collection).

Below: Appia, c. 1923, aged 61.



him that he had learned Pro Helvetia intended itself to publish all Appia's works in a complete French-language edition for which it would provide exclusive subvention. But Edmond Appia remained totally committed to what he termed, in this letter sent from his hospital bed, Volbach's 'magnificent efforts. . . . You may count on my absolute support.' He also promised that while recuperating he would undertake to prepare microfiche copies of some documents that might be useful to Volbach.

Unfortunately, only a little later, on 12 February 1961, Edmond Appia died. As Volbach recorded in the subsequent preface²⁰ to his biography of Appia, 'I lost a friend, whose confidence I highly valued, and an irreplaceable collaborator. After several months of soul searching, I vowed to finish the task alone.'

Some months later, on 30 October of that same year, 1961, there was another letter, this time from Mercier to Volbach on the subject of Appia's personal life. Following Edmond's death, Volbach had written to his widow, asking for certain letters. However, she was advised by Dr

Forel not to let Volbach have these. In his response Mercier now wrote to Volbach that:

Indeed you may use the writings in my letter and the memorandum I gave to Edmond Appia, except for those which by their very nature are very intimate and in my opinion have no great interest for the wider public. In my opinion these were destined to assist you in understanding the 'orientation' for determining the main psychological outlines of Appia's life.

In the course of his letter, Mercier noted that, 'if around today, Appia politically would probably be pro-communist, not nationalistic. What interested him was the human condition, above all.' He next made a few remarks about the Appia Foundation (of which he was a director) and its mission, and then noted that 'actually Dr Forel has asked us to confer on Mr Stadler in Bern the task of occupying himself with publicizing the ideas and writings of A.A.'

Mercier then continued, writing in regard to the letters that Volbach had sought from Edmond's widow:

If Dr Forel has asked Madame Appia not to give you copies of certain letters by Appia, it is probably because they are about certain intimate questions which don't hold any interest for the reader, and which probably do not add to the psychological portrayal of Adolphe Appia. This is a betrayal of 'the secret medical profession'. All this goes very well with the Swiss bourgeois spirit, typical of a country that lives on its traditions and shackles itself to them. I will write to Madame Edmond Appia to ask for details on this subject, and then to Dr Forel, if necessary. I will let you know their responses.

Meanwhile, alas, Volbach's various enquiries about Appia and in particular about his personal life, had set alarm bells ringing: it seemed that he proposed to write candidly in his biographical study about Appia's psychology and behaviour, including his homo-

sexuality. Volbach was now well advanced (since 1957) in the project of translating all of Appia's published and unpublished essays and many of the scenarios. But at the end of 1961, there arrived a bombshell letter from the Foundation written on 22 December. Volbach gave me a copy of it many years later.

Following the death of Edmond Appia, who had been so supportive of Volbach, and enthusiastically given permission and endorsed his plans for publication, members of the Foundation had changed their minds. The decision was reached by Forel, Mercier, and Edmund Stadler (the last had in the meantime become a director of the Foundation), and gave the following five orders, which I translate directly from the German:²¹

Herrs Dr Oscar Forel of St Prex, Jean Mercier in Paris, and Dr Edmund Stadler in Bern, who head the Foundation Adolphe Appia, with regard to the study about Adolphe Appia which Herr Professor Walther R. Volbach of Fort Worth Texas has undertaken, have reached the following unanimous conclusion:

- 1) The study must limit itself to the critical evaluation of the artistic work, and not research into and publicize the grounds for Appia's '*Lebenstragik*'. Biographical details are to be limited to the essential minimum. The intimate private life that Appia wished to protect from all publicity may not be touched upon even by implication.
- 2) The documents of the Foundation which have an intimate character will not be made available to Herr Volbach for use. The copies of the first part of the correspondence from Appia to Houston Stewart Chamberlain, which belong to the Richard Wagner Memorial in Bayreuth, in the possession of Herr Volbach, may not be used. Any inspection of these by other persons is forbidden.
- 3) Moreover, the Foundation which holds the exclusive original rights, reserves for itself the first publication of documents, which because of the forthcoming com-

plete edition of original French versions are of vital importance. Among these are included above all letters to and from Appia, including those which are not in the possession of the Foundation, but also small sketches, photos, etc. of Appia.

4) On the above grounds, no further documents can be made available for use by Herr Volbach. The members of the Foundation's Board are of the opinion that Herr Volbach has enough material to evaluate Appia's work aesthetically. We remind him that the Foundation sent copies of extensive unpublished essays to Herr Volbach for English translation.

5) The final typescript by Herr Volbach must, prior to publication, be presented to the Foundation's Board which reserves the right to demand changes or omissions.

Signed, Dr Edmund Stadler.

The following April (1962) Volbach took legal advice. The gist of this was that the original permission and the subsequent revised terms of the Foundation were clearly contradictory, and the latter almost certainly without legal force.²² Moreover, the lawyer believed that Volbach, on the basis of his earlier contract, had grounds to contest the Foundation's intention itself to publish the documents, since he, Volbach, had been given full authority to publish them all both in English and in original French-language editions. He was advised however, to try to avoid litigation but instead to emphasize that he had no intention of publishing any details of the private life of Appia that were of no interest to the public. Perhaps Volbach should seek assistance from the Swiss ambassador.

All attempts at reaching an agreement or compromise proved fruitless, and consequently – and lamentably – the result of the Foundation's action was that the great mass of Appia's works remained unpublished *for another generation*. The first volume of the Foundation-supported projected series of *Œuvres Complètes*, which the Foundation cited to justify their refusal to honour the earlier formal agreement granting public-

ation rights to Volbach, did not in fact appear until twenty-two years later, in 1983. The final volume (four) was published in 1991.²³

In the first volume of the *Œuvres Complètes* (appropriately, but sadly ironic under the circumstances) its editor, Marie L. Bablet-Hahn, herself directly acknowledges and briefly discusses Appia's homosexuality, noting that she does so using sources that she cannot disclose, since they had been made available to her in secret.²⁴ She notes that in 1882 (aged twenty) Appia undertook a 'dissolute' life while a student at the Conservatory in Leipzig, which forced him to leave the city. His condition was later known to several close friends and to his sister, Hélène, who seemed agreed that it was 'congenital' and 'incurable'.

For example, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, with whom Appia had a close friendship, had discussed in great detail his theories for Wagnerian staging, and to whom he dedicated *Die Musik und die Inszenierung*, referred to Appia's circumstance in a letter of 18 July 1897 to Agénor Boissier: 'He will never cease throughout his life walking on the edge of a precipice. The demands with which we have confronted him will therefore also never cease . . . because he will never be able to adhere to them. . . . [And therefore] he should always be occupied with serious work and supplied with good reading matter, etc.'

In a letter of 26 December 1899 to Chamberlain, Appia, on the eve of a year-long 'exile' to Italy, wrote explicitly about his homosexuality:

What determined me to exile myself, glowing and sad, nobody knows; how I got to be the way I am today, nobody knows. The greatest experts on homosexuality (my sister Hélène for example, my confidante) know no more than the most ignorant. What I have suffered this year, no one in the world knows.

One thing alone remains: my confidence in those who love me. . . . The others go on their path and I on mine. 'To find oneself in limitlessness . . . is a pleasure.'²⁵ Perhaps; unless I sense again in myself a

sort of lofty resistance which poisons that incomparable pleasure. Up until the end (when, how can I say?), I shall have resonating in my soul 'wild desire', the 'burning longing'. Alas, I am incorrigible in this regard, and all the Sorrentine intoxication with its beautiful people will not change anything. Your *contact* . . . made me desperate . . . moralizing; *wishing* that I could grasp your soul, I am unable to repudiate voluptuousness. . . . No matter how complex and demanding the circumstances, I *must* go, and go far away; leaving those whom I love and who love me.

Appia referred (albeit less explicitly) to his orientation in a letter some years later (1904) to a friend and great admirer of his work, the twenty-four-year-old aristocrat Hermann, Count Keyserling. In it he referred to the conflicts within himself and noted in regard to what he termed his 'feminine' virtues of tactfulness and intuition that these caused him 'to be strongly attracted to my own sex. This conflict (which alas brings in its wake plenty of other and more serious conflicts) disturbs every hour of my life and obliges me constantly to keep surveillance upon myself.'

Bablet suggests, cogently, that Appia's struggle both psychologically and socially with his condition very directly contributed to the long periods of deep depression (which led to several suicide attempts), the lassitude and debilitation that characterized his life for long periods, and to his intermittent recourse to alcohol and laudanum.

On 26 October 1967, Volbach was given a contract for his critical biography *Adolphe Appia, Prophet of the Modern Theatre: a Profile* by Wesleyan University Press, and this superb book was published in 1968. On page 116 he wrote of Appia:

He longed for the affection of friends, yet at the same time he coveted solitude. This duality is obvious in his association with men as well as women, and undoubtedly contributed to the intricacies of his sexual relations. Appia did not openly discuss

such matters, he did not even touch upon them save incidentally. Still, enough is known from his own remarks and from friends and relatives to infer that he was homosexual.

Volbach did in fact continue his monumental work of translating all the Appia material that had earlier been made available to him, including a great many unpublished essays and, as he noted in his own unpublished preface, 'the entire work, demanding and fascinating as it was, was a labour of love . . . from fall 1957 through 1963'. But in the face of the opposition of Dr Stadler and the Appia Foundation, the American Educational Theatre Association, which had earlier committed to publishing it, in 1967 refused to do so.²⁶

When I began my own research on Appia, around 1980, and consulted extensively the papers that Volbach had deposited in the Beinecke Rare Book Library at Yale, the whole appalling affair and the 'embargo' placed upon Volbach's intended publications by the Foundation were there fully documented to study in detail. In 1982, I attended the International Federation of Theatre Research meeting in Vienna, and gave a presentation on Appia (my first conference paper).²⁷ Edmund Stadler was there, and when, to make conversation, I mentioned Volbach, his reaction was, 'Oh, is he still alive, then?' He was, but by then eighty-five years old.²⁸

After reading the details of Volbach's attempt to publish his translations of Appia's writings, in 1987 I dedicated my critical biography, *Adolphe Appia, Theatre Artist*, to him as (in Appia's phrase) a 'bearer of the flame'.²⁹ At about the same time, Dr Martin Dreier, the new Director of the Swiss Theatre Collection, Bern, to which all the materials of the Foundation had been consigned, belatedly restored to Volbach permission to publish these translations.³⁰

Volbach in turn asked me if I would edit them with him. I agreed, and the works (including many essays never before published in any language) were published in 1989 by UMI Press as *Adolphe Appia: Essays, Scenarios, and Designs*. In a letter to me at the time,

Volbach, by then ninety-two, remarked that 'what goes round, comes round'. In the preface to the book, he observed that the publication 'marked the fulfilment of a dream'.

In a postcard to Appia of 1 January 1916, Craig wrote:

I would like to write you a book – one that no one else would care to read beginning 'In the beginning Love created the Heavens and the earth and the Spirit of Appia moved upon the face of the sands' and so forth.

Below this he sketched in a small version of his Elysian Fields setting, followed (written in large letters) by 'Ah!' Had he continued to put down his 'and so forth' thoughts along these lines, perhaps Craig would have concluded: 'And Appia said, "Let there be light. And there was LIGHT!"'

It is good that in the end 'les porteurs de flamme' have enabled, after many years of unenlightened opposition and lamentable delay, Appia's ideas and a better understanding of his life and work to emerge from darkness.

Notes and References

Unless otherwise stated, all translations are by the author.

1. 'Das Anonymat liegt in meinem ganzen Wesen'. Unpublished letter from Appia to Karl Reyle, 10 September 1926

2. For example, at the recent symposium marking the hundredth anniversary of the building of the Hellerau Institute <www.rhythmikwerkstatt-hellerau.de/rhythmik100hellerau/>. In 2006 the Alexander Verlag published my German-language monograph, *Adolphe Appia: Künstler und Visionär des modernen Theaters*, which included a foreword by Robert Wilson stressing the fundamental and continuing importance of Appia's work. See also my article "'Bearers of the Flame": Music, Dance, Design, and Lighting, Real and Virtual: the Enlightened and Still Luminous Legacies of Hellerau and Dartington', *Performance Research*, XI, No. 4, Digital Resources Issue (2007), p. 81–94, with a CD extensively illustrated with images, video, and 3D computer models, and my chapter, 'Thinking with Things, Speaking with Spaces: the Enduring Legacy and Lessons of Appia's "Expressive Elements" in the Digital Age', in G. Brandstetter and B. Wiens, ed., *Theater ohne Fluchtpunkt. Theatre without Vanishing Points* (Berlin: Alexander Verlag, 2010), p. 38–59.

3. 'Introduction to My Personal Notes', in R. Beacham and W. Volbach, ed., *Adolphe Appia: Essays, Scenarios, and Designs* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989), p. 41–5.

4. Bablet, in a footnote appended to the text of Appia's essay, simply cites, without comment, Houston Stewart Chamberlain as the person indicated. See her *Adolphe Appia: Œuvres Complètes*, vols. 1–4, ed. Marie L. Bablet-Hahn (Lausanne: L'Âge d'Homme, 1986–1991), vol. 2, p. 413. However, this must be doubted. Appia did not 'break' with Chamberlain until the summer of 1905, probably after this essay was composed; and indeed, he begins it with a long quote from Chamberlain which he uses to introduce and frame his own discussion. In his text, the 'catastrophe' and recovery from the debacle which Appia cites, is said to have taken place 1902–03, which is a period in which Appia was recovering from something very close to a breakdown two years earlier and during which he also undertook (August 1901) a walking holiday in the Alps with Chamberlain. Volbach also cites Thorel as the source of the 'debacle': *Adolphe Appia: Prophet of the Modern Theatre* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1968), p. 81.

5. See Jean-Michel Nectoux, trans. Roger Nichols, *Gabriel Fauré: a Musical Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 173.

6. Mrs MacJannet (1901–1999) was a remarkable person who, together with her husband Donald, undertook outstanding educational work, and provided an important legacy through the MacJannet Foundation 'established in 1968 for the benefit of humankind'. <<http://macjannet.org/191537.ihtml>>. Her father, Otto Blensdorf, had founded in 1906 at Elberfeld the first school in Germany devoted to the study of Dalcrozean eurhythmics.

7. See my articles, 'Adolphe Appia, Emile Jaques-Dalcroze, and Hellerau. Part One: "Music Made Visible"', *New Theatre Quarterly*, I, No. 2 (May 1985), p. 154–64; and 'Adolphe Appia, Emile Jaques-Dalcroze, and Hellerau. Part Two: "Poetry in Motion"', *New Theatre Quarterly*, I, No. 3 (August 1985), p. 245–61.

8. Craig had written this in the preface (p. viii) of his *On the Art of the Theatre*, 1911, and also erroneously indicated that Appia was Italian.

9. See my full account of the episode in *Adolphe Appia: Artist and Visionary of the Modern Theatre* (Harwood Academic Publishers, 1994), Chapter 10.

10. Peter Loeffler, *Oskar Wälterlin: ein Profil* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1981), p. 88.

11. Henri C. Bonifas (1887–1952) was Professor of Psychology at the University of Geneva. He published a lengthy article about Appia's work in 1918: see 'La Rénovation scénique et les travaux d'Adolphe Appia', *Les Ecrits Nouveaux*, Paris, June 1918, p. 114–29. He later wrote the introduction to the portfolio of Appia's designs published by the Appia Foundation in 1929, the year after Appia's death. Appia had dedicated his article 'Le Sujet', written in 1922, to him.

12. See Chapter 9, 'After Appia', in my *Adolphe Appia: Theatre Artist*, detailing the extensive, usually unacknowledged, 'borrowing' from Appia. See too in Bablet, *Œuvres Complètes*, vol. 2, p. 403.

13. "'Brothers in Suffering and Joy": the Appia-Craig Correspondence', *New Theatre Quarterly*, IV, No. 15 (August 1988), p. 268–88.

14. The card from Appia dated 23 Dec. 1914: 'Thank you. But I am sorry you said nothing more about your activities. Your thoughts are with me, and with my work. Mine are with you and with those you love.'

15. Karl Reyle, 'Adolphe Appia und Edward Gordon Craig', *Basler Nachrichten*, Basel (28 August 1966), p. 23. In a letter to Volbach of 24 March 1963 Reyle, who in an

earlier letter had reported Craig's visit to Forel after Appia's death, wrote that Craig now denied it.

16. Beck was the editor of *Players Magazine*. He had approached Edmond Appia seeking access to the collections of the Foundation. Edmond gave this permission. Beck later wrote: 'Adolphe Appia, His Life and Work', *Players Magazine*, XXXIII, No. 3 (1962).

17. Dr Forel, himself the son of the noted psychiatrist August Forel, was also the physician for Zelda Fitzgerald who from June 1930 to September 1931 lived at Forel's clinic, Les Rives de Prangins at Nyon, Switzerland, which Appia had helped to plan and where his ashes were buried.

18. Henri Bonifas, ed., *Adolphe Appia* (Zurich: Orell-Fuessli, 1929).

19. Quoted by Walther Volbach in *Adolphe Appia: Prophet of the Modern Theatre*, p. 130.

20. *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

21. Volbach gave me a copy of this letter in an extensive 'cache' of original documents he kindly entrusted to me following my book *Adolphe Appia: Theatre Artist and our subsequent collaboration on Adolphe Appia: Essays, Scenarios, and Designs*.

22. In a formal document of 17 June 1960 Edmond Appia, on behalf of the Appia Foundation, assigned to Volbach exclusive rights of translation into English of all the French-language texts for which the Foundation held rights. It further assigned copyright to Volbach for an edition of all of the works of Appia which he translated into English. It also assigned to him copyright in particular for *L'Œuvre d'art vivant*, *La Mise en scène du drame wagnérien*, and *La Musique et la mise en scène* and copyright for 'all the essays, studies, notes which are the property of the Foundation Adolphe Appia which would be useful for publishing a translation in English'. This

document was in turn formally recorded on 22 September 1960 in the US Copyright Office at the Library of Congress, and sealed on 1 November 1960. These original documents were given by Volbach to me, and remain in my possession.

23. *Adolphe Appia: Œuvres Complètes*, vols. 1–4, ed. Marie L. Bablet-Hahn (Lausanne: L'Âge d'Homme 1986–1991).

24. She cites her evidence and brief comments, p. 62–6 of volume 1, from which my quotes are excerpted, saying that she would publish relevant passages from Appia's correspondence in volume 6, but neither of the intended volumes 5 and 6 ever appeared. However, she does cite and quote some of the 'evidence' in volume 2, p. 402–8, including Appia's letters to Chamberlain and to Count Keyserling, which I refer to here.

25. Appia here and in the following phrases in quotation marks quotes in German from Goethe's poem, 'Eins und Alles'.

26. As Volbach recorded in his preface, p. xvii, for *Essays, Scenarios, and Designs* 'severe and very regrettable problems of organization, co-operation, and personal antagonism arose, unexpectedly, and these resulted in the collapse not only of the "rare books" project but of the AETA as well. The anticipated publication had to be delayed by many years.'

27. Published as 'Adolphe Appia and Eurhythmics', *Maske und Kothurn*, XXIX, Nos. 1–4 (1983), p. 141–52.

28. He died in 1996, aged ninety-nine. Stadler himself died in 2005 aged ninety-three. His obituary noted that he never married.

29. 'Les Porteurs de flamme' is the title Appia gave to the concluding chapter of *L'Œuvre d'art vivant*.

30. Edmund Stadler left in 1977. Dr Dreier was appointed Director in 1979.