

# Erik Satie and Vincent Hyspa: notes on a collaboration

An article by Steven M. Whiting.

Published in *Music & Letters*, pages 64-91, vol. 77, issue 1, Feb. 1996.

Reprinted with kind permission from the copyright holders.

© 1996 Oxford University Press, UK.

..... At the entrance to the Chat Noir, the paragon of Montmartre cabarets during the 1880s and '90s, a hand-painted placard once hailed passers-by in the following terms: 'Passant, arrete-toi! This edifice, by the will of Destiny . . . was consecrated to the Muses and to Joy, under the auspices of the Black Cat. Passant, soi moderne!'(1) Of course, one was supposed to be 'modern' by entering the cabaret with the throngs of spectators who came to applaud the entertainers and the shadow plays that were the rage of Parisian night-life. Yet for many young people, participation was more attractive than mere spectatorship. Countless Bohemians and would-be Bohemians haunted the Chat Noir, hoping to read or sing their verse, to write or draw for the cabaret's weekly paper,(2) or simply to cut an audacious profile - in short, to partake of the Chat Noir's atmosphere of continual performance and thereby to help define every day anew what it meant to be modern.

In 1887, two of the young hopefuls lured across the cabaret's threshold were Vincent Hyspa, who would become one of Paris's foremost chansonniers,(3) and Erik Satie, who would become one of France's most influential and problematic composers. For some two decades thereafter, their careers would intersect in ways peculiar to the cabaret milieu. They were comrades and collaborators, and the satirist Hyspa helped mould the artistic outlook of the composer Satie. The present article (part of a larger study of Satie and Parisian musical entertainment) traces the course of their collaboration; it discusses the products of that collaboration, drawing on contemporary prints and Satie's autographs; and finally, it offers a preliminary assessment of Hyspa's influence upon Satie's calling as a musical humorist.

Satie and Hyspa arrived at the Chat Noir within months of each other. Both were in their early twenties and were testing their wings. Hyspa had been sent from his native Narbonne in autumn 1887 to study law in the capital, but apparently he took the matter no further than matriculation.(4) He found menial daywork and spent his evenings at the Chat Noir, writing stories and poetry for the house weekly, among other journals. Satie had been released from military service in November and lost little time leaving home to occupy a flat at 50 rue Condorcet, three minutes' walk from the Chat Noir. He first turned up at the cabaret in late December, probably to attend the premiere of the newest shadow play, a lavishly staged *Temptation of St Anthony* based loosely on Gustave Flaubert's visionary drama and narrated with elaborate verbal artifice by the cabaret's owner, Rodolphe Salis, to the musical accompaniment of an organ and assorted percussion instruments.(5) Even then, Satie's oddly named musical ideas were his chief drawing card. He entered to the solemn announcement 'Erik Satie, gymnopediste!', and Salis, who usually hurled insulting bombast at newcomers, bowed deeply and replied, 'That's quite a profession!'(6) Whether Satie had first encountered the ancient Spartan dance in a poem by his friend Contamine de Latour or in a standard reference work like Rousseau's *Dictionnaire de la musique*,(7) his transformation of the word into a ceremonious title was entirely in keeping with the need to make a striking

entrance at a locale where boastful bluffing was the order of the day.

Early the next year, Hyspa and Satie each gained their first chances to perform at the Chat Noir. Hyspa filled in for the ailing Maurice Mac-Nab, a consumptive postal clerk

who was one of the cabaret's best-loved satirists. Salis recognized the comic potential of Mac-Nab's repertory being presented in Hyspa's heavy southern accent, and he added to the joke by introducing him as 'le bon belge'. Satie, according to his first biographer Pierre-Daniel Templier, was hired as 'second pianist', perhaps because he had meanwhile substantiated his title by composing the three *Gymnopedies*.<sup>(8)</sup> Although he may have accompanied Hyspa at this time, the circumstances of their employment scarcely promoted any creative collaboration. Hyspa was restricted to Mac-Nab's repertory and was compensated with nothing but applause. Satie's duties are unclear, but presumably he supported the 'first' pianist of the house, a young poet named Albert Tinchant who, like Satie, hailed from Normandy. Tinchant's keyboard skills were narrowly circumscribed: 'he was content', said one witness, 'to pick his way among the keys . . . with two discreet fingers'.<sup>(9)</sup> Nevertheless, Tinchant led a mandolin ensemble in the downstairs bar and played for those singers who did not accompany themselves. He also had a hand in the incidental music to some of the shadow plays, arranging or composing, conducting or playing, as the need arose. Satie could have assisted him in any or all of these functions and probably filled in for him when, as sometimes happened, the hard-drinking Tinchant was in no state to play.<sup>(10)</sup> The niggardly and domineering nature of Rodolphe Salis often drove the Chat Noir's habitués to other locales. There was a particularly well established migratory pattern from the Chat Noir to the nearby Auberge du Clou, an unpretentious tavern favoured by local bourgeois and artists alike.<sup>(11)</sup> Thus whenever Tinchant fell foul of Salis, he took refuge at the Auberge. When Hyspa finally tired of his role of Mac-Nab substitute, he, too, shifted his allegiance to the Auberge.<sup>(12)</sup> His departure was noted with a curt obituary in the weekly paper of the Chat Noir, where his name did not reappear for another three years (see Appendix I, below, 2 March 1889). Satie lingered at the cabaret beyond his friend: the house weekly carried amusing advertisements for the third *Gymnopedie* in November 1888 and for the *Ogives* in February 1889, and in the following July it announced that Satie was offering piano lessons at his flat (again, see Appendix I). The qualification 'former pupil at the Conservatoire' was the most that Satie could truthfully claim, since his undistinguished academic career had not been crowned with a diploma.<sup>(13)</sup> Satie was still working at the cabaret in 1890. A programme for the Theatre du Chat Noir lists him as one of two organists on the house musical staff. The programme bears no date, but top billing is given to *La Marche a l'etoile*, a Christmas shadow play by Georges Fragerolle first performed in January 1890.<sup>(14)</sup> By this time, the chef d'orchestre was Charles de Sivry, son of Debussy's first piano teacher. Satie may also have assisted in the conducting, to judge from a contemporary drawing. The portrait shows Satie in his first Montmartre 'uniform', with a short, fluffy beard, long locks, pince-nez with ornamental ribbon, and top hat. The baton is held in an upstretched left hand (whether this departure from convention reflects Satie's or the artist's ignorance is impossible to say). The inscription reads 'A l'ami Erik Satie' and is dated '-90', followed by an indecipherable signature.<sup>(15)</sup> Thereafter, Satie's name turns up twice more in the pages of *Le Chat Noir*. In a story printed on 29 October 1892, George Auriol spins a yarn about a London dowager who has left a fantastic inheritance to her parakeet; 'M. Fred Erick Saty' is identified as the narrator's 'vieux camarade de chez Routledge, libraire' who has informed him of the particulars in the case.<sup>(16)</sup> In the next year, Leopold Dauphin (an operetta composer who published verse under the pseudonym Pimpinelli) dedicated a poem to Satie. Whether or not Satie had any working relationship with the cabaret by 1893, he had not broken off ties with its habitués.<sup>(17)</sup>

Satie by no means restricted himself to the Chat Noir. He seems to have frequented the *Divan Japonais*, immortalized by Toulouse-Lautrec's poster, from 1888.<sup>(18)</sup> On many occasions he rejoined the renegades from the Chat Noir at the Auberge du Clou, where Tinchant had meanwhile landed a job as the house pianist. Bertrand Millanvoye, a dramatist and novelist who frequented the Auberge, reports that Tinchant was installed in the cellar room while the proprietor minded the store upstairs, with one ear cocked to be sure that some kind of music was issuing from below.<sup>(19)</sup> Since Tinchant usually reached the limits of his piano technique rather quickly, he was only too glad to yield to more proficient hands. Thus Satie and Debussy, among others, had the

opportunity to try out their latest compositions before an appreciative crowd.

Whether or not Satie and Debussy first met at the Auberge, as has long been claimed, it was probably there that Satie introduced Debussy to Hyspa. In July 1890, Debussy set Hyspa's poem 'La Belle au bois dormant' in a manner verging on cabaret style, given its combination of tongue-in-cheek medievalism and wry musical quotation. One suspects that 'La Belle' served, as much as any warnings from Satie, as an antidote to the Wagnerism cultivated (or exorcised?) in the Cinq poemes de Baudelaire. By 1891, chansonniers were performing in the basement of the Auberge.(20) Shortly thereafter a shadow theatre was launched under the direction of Miguel Utrillo i Morlius (natural father of the painter Maurice Utrillo), and this was the venue for the first creative collaboration between Satie and Hyspa, probably presented on Christmas Eve 1891. As Hyspa recalled in 1938, 'I entrusted him with a Noel, which he set to music and for which Miguel Utrillo executed the staging and the ombres. This Noel played in the shadow theatre in the basement of the Auberge du Clou.'(21) Neither the text nor the score has yet come to light. It may be that Satie simply arranged a few traditional Christmas melodies, retexted for the occasion by Hyspa. He may also have played some of his recent Gnessiennes, which would have added an exotic backdrop to Hyspa's narration.

Whatever its precise nature, this collaboration was without immediate consequences. In early 1892, Hyspa was lured back to the Chat Noir by the opportunity to perform his own repertory, this time for pay. His debut was announced on 13 February 1892 (see Appendix I), launching a remarkably successful career. Satie struck out in directions of his own, pursuing connections with two Rosicrucian sects, with a variety of artists and draughtsmen, and, of course, with Claude Debussy: one Rosicrucian group even met in the second-floor dining-room of the Auberge.(22) Satie's efforts during the 1890s to crystallize a style based on the genera of ancient Greek music(23) fit in with the esotericism cultivated in cabaret circles, while the satirical cabaret spirit was reflected in such patent hoaxes as his announcement (in the *Courrier du soir* of 22 July 1892) of an opera to be entitled *Tristan's Bastard* (supposedly to a libretto by Tinchant), not to mention his three candidacies for election to the Academie des Beaux Arts. Flippancy towards the Academie had been endemic even at the first Chat Noir, where the regulars' separate meeting-room had been christened 'L'Institut' and the waiters were costumed as 'Academiciens'. In January 1893, Le Chat Noir announced the candidacy of Satie's fellow Norman, the venerable fumiste (prankster) Alphonse Allais, for election to the Academie, and proposed Georges Courteline, George Auriol and even Willy as other worthy candidates.(24) Esotericism itself was satirized - or, perhaps, satire was esotericized - with the *Eglise Metropolitaine d'Art de Jesus Conducteur*, of which Satie was leader (or *parcier*) and sole adherent, and with the bombastic 'ballet chretien' *Uspud*. It seems likely that *Uspud* was conceived not as an unperformable stunt but as a shadow play for the Auberge du Clou, and that the references to flutes and harps in Satie's fragmentary score indicate stops on a harmonium, an instrument frequently used to accompany such pieces.(25) Whether or not the work was so performed, Satie was determined to have *Uspud* 'presented' at the Paris Opera, a quixotic charge at the windmills of the artistic establishment that was roundly approved by his fellow Bohemians: 'He earned high marks for joining battle with those miserable exploiters of artists who staged an obsolete repertory and kept their favours for authors who had already made it. One saw in [Satie] the scourge of commercialism and of "official art", always the bete noire of youthful schools and of the avant-gardes.'(26) Throughout this period, Satie carefully monitored newspaper coverage of himself, using such services as *Argus de la Presse* to gather clippings.(27) All his public gestures suggest a cabaret iconoclast struggling to cut a figure not only in Montmartre but also in Paris at large.

None of these efforts was particularly successful, even granting the notoriety gained by Satie in provoking the powerful Willy.(28) By 1899, Satie had reached an impasse. He had exhausted the inheritance that had made possible his apocalyptic publications. With money borrowed from his brother Conrad, he had moved from Montmartre to Arcueil, a dingy working-class suburb to the south of Paris. He had turned away from his Rosicrucian 'genuflectory' music(29) but had finished nothing since the *Pieces*

*froides* of 1897. He was broke, and his artistic direction was not at all clear. Vincent Hyspa stepped into the breach with an offer of regular employment. He needed

an arranger and accompanist for his performances at the Treteau de Tabarin and at the society engagements that he, like many chansonniers, took on to augment his cabaret income.(30) One of the eight surviving letters from Satie to Hyspa seems to record the Parcier's lofty acceptance:(31)

Sunday, in our Episcopal Palace at Arcueil. Looking in all directions to ensure that no one sees Us, We embrace You, Very Dear Friend. We ask the Father to allow Us to come tomorrow, Monday, as it is Our intention to do, to tell You Ourselves how happy

We are to accept everything honest and profitable in Your propositions.  
May the Lord hold You in his lap, just as We do Ourselves.

ERIK SATIE

To the outside world, Satie was still putting on ecclesiastical airs, perhaps in this case to camouflage his eagerness to relieve his straitening circumstances. Privately, however, he took a dim view of this jobbery. In a letter to Conrad (14 March 1899), he complained of the good time he lost earning money in 'works of great meanness... It's old Hyspa I've been accompanying during several evening performances. Your suit and fine old shirts have allowed me this little game.'(32) Satie's hard drinking made the 'little game' no easier to play: reportedly, Hyspa had to lock him indoors for the afternoon to ensure that he would be in a state to play the piano in the evening.(33) But Satie was clearly worried about meeting the same abject end as his late comrade Tinchant and many other Bohemians of the Butte:(34)

Give me a poet, and I'll make you two musicians, one of them a chansonnier and the other a pianist-accompanist. Within an instant, the chansonnier will have set up a so-called Montmartre cabaret. A few years later, the pianist-accompanist will have died an alcoholic, and the chansonnier will be a prince, duke or something even better.

Although neither a prince nor a duke, Hyspa had done quite well during the 1890s. After a rancorous break with Rodolphe Salis in the summer of 1894, he and several prominent colleagues (among them Jules Jouy and Paul Delmet) had indeed founded their own cabaret in a room at the Nouveau Cirque, calling it the Chien Noir as if to honour the natural enemy of the Chat Noir. In autumn 1895, Hyspa participated in the opening of the Treteau de Tabarin. In 1897, he performed frequently at Martial Boyer's Aux Noctambules, the first successful cabaret artistique in the Latin Quarter. And in autumn 1897, he became a fixture at another Mont-martre establishment, the Cabaret des Quat'z-Arts (62 boulevard Clinchy), or, rather, in that cabaret's weekly paper, to which he contributed a series of amusing lectures under the rubric 'Ecole Normale'. In the next year, Hyspa was part of an unprecedented attempt to offer cabaret chansonniers to a *café-concert* (or variety theatre) audience, which was accustomed to much blander and coarser fare. The Trianon (80 boulevard Rochechouart) presented a programme entitled 'Les Maitres-Chanteurs de la Butte', among them Hyspa, Paul Delmet, Victor Meusy and Dominique Bonnaud. The pay was fabulous by a chansonnier's standards - 1,200 francs a month rather than 15-20 francs a night(35) - but the working conditions were less than ideal. On 12 February 1898, the daily paper *Le Gaulois* announced that 'Les Maitre-Chanteurs' would share the bill with 'la belle Hongroise' Maria Recsey and her 'dances lumineuses tres originales et tres suggestives', the lion tamer Marck and the blind marksman Kook, while throughout the presentation there would be a grand masked ball - all in all, frustrating circumstances for singers accustomed to offering deft satires and elevated love poetry in a 'chamber' setting. Hyspa left before his colleagues, to be replaced by a troupe of dancing-girls from England, the '8 Chrysanthemums'.(36) But it was not the last time he would appear in a *café-concert*.

From his early days at the Chat Noir, Hyspa's hallmark had been the parodying, or retexting, of familiar songs to ironic effect, and his favourite vehicles were the sentimental romances of Paul Delmet. Thus Delmet's melody for 'Une femme qui passe' was borrowed for 'Le Noyau qui ne passe pas', a query to an accidentally swallowed prune stone. Cabarets often tried to hire Delmet and Hyspa at the same time, for, as one chronicler remembered, 'It was no small pleasure to hear, immediately after the baritone

balladeer, the parodist, who managed his deep voice with such amiable suppleness that the melody was not bruised in the least'.(37) Hyspa's brand of humour was called 'pince-sans-rire', expressed in dead-pan gibes the irony of which might not be immediately apparent. Hyspa's 'unsmiling tweaks' were much appreciated by cabaret-goers: a notice in the Parisian daily *Le Gaulois* on 3 October 1898 raved about his 'priceless, cold-blooded drollery'. Shortly thereafter, Hyspa hired Satie as his accompanist.

The Houghton Library at Harvard University and the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, possess several manuscript notebooks that bear witness to this phase of their collaboration (see Appendix II, below).(38) By reference to the daily entertainment columns in *Le Gaulois*, to the sole published anthology of Hyspa's chansons and to the current events that occasioned those songs, one can date the contents of these notebooks with respect both to the origins of individual chansons and to Satie's performance of them with Hyspa. The events commemorated in the songs span a period of nearly four years from Tsar Nicholas II's first visit to Paris in October 1896 to the Exposition of 1900. True to form, Hyspa, who claimed that a good chanson d'actualité should 'last' seven years, got good mileage out of this repertory.(39) The time-span during which Satie actually used these notebooks to accompany Hyspa was

somewhat shorter, probably from late 1898 or early 1899 to autumn 1900.

One notebook (Ho 16) contains four vocal scores in an unknown hand - probably that of Hyspa's previous pianist. Presumably, Hyspa gave this notebook to Satie at the outset of his employment to use as a model for arranging accompaniments. Satie simply copied most of its contents into his own notebook (Ho 12) with little or no change: 'Les Chansonniers', which probably dates from early 1898;(40) 'Le Desarmement', which probably followed Tsar Nicholas II's note of 28 August 1898 calling on the European powers to halt their armament campaigns; and 'Le Zebre h Felix Faure' and 'Le Duc de Connaught', both introduced at the *Treteau* in autumn 1898. It should be noted that Satie started to copy 'Le Zebre' as the first of his arrangements for Hyspa in Ho 12, so his tenure as Hyspa's accompanist must have begun after Hyspa had introduced the song (with another pianist) on 12 November 1898, even though Satie proceeded to arrange earlier repertory in Ho 12 (see pages 3-5 in that notebook). It would appear that Hyspa (or Satie) wanted to keep the songs in something approaching chronological order.

The first song in the notebook that reflects any independent arrangement by Satie is entitled 'Le Prisonnier saugrenu' (found on pages 12-13). The unlikely prisoner is Emile Loubet, elected President in February 1899 in the face of virulent demonstrations by royalists, nationalists and other conservatives who expected him to show leniency towards the ex-captain Alfred Dreyfus.(41) For the first weeks of his term, Loubet was virtually a prisoner in the *Elysee Palace*. Satie's accompaniment is relatively complex: the harmony includes modal progressions and diminished seventh chords, which are by no means common in this repertory. The draft gave him some trouble, so he made himself a clean copy on a detached folio (catalogued as Ho 49). To judge from the text cue for the last verse, this is the score used in performance. At the end of the song, Satie jotted a reminder: 'To close, take one of those good old G minor chords, if you've got any in your portfolio'.

Most of the other songs in Ho 12 reveal a similar process of arrangement on Satie's part. When he could, he copied accompaniments from Ho 16 or adapted them from printed sources. Otherwise, he harmonized tunes given to him by Hyspa, always careful to find a key that would not push the singer much higher than c'. If the register was uncomfortable, Satie recopied the song in a lower key. When he ran into difficulties, he made preliminary sketches on blank facing pages or in other notebooks. While most songs contain at least one (often harmonic) quirk that sets it apart from the ordinary, the accompaniments are generally simple, such as a seasoned cabaret pianist might presumably have shaken from his sleeve. To judge from this and similar notebooks, Satie felt uncomfortable either improvising his accompaniments or transposing them extempore.

One song in Ho 12 is not an arrangement but an original composition: the item entitled 'Peintres francais'. This chanson was probably composed in the summer of 1899, for

Hyspa and Satie entered the title on 2 September at the office of the Societe des Auteurs, Compositeurs et Editeurs de Musique (SACEM).(42) The melody appears in Hyspa's 1903 anthology, *Chansons d'humour*, under the title 'Un diner a l'Elysee', with due credit to Satie as composer and with illustrations by Jules Depaquit. For his early drafts, Satie worked back and forth between two other notebooks (Ho 10, 11) before entering two fair copies into Ho 12. The first, on pages 2425, evidently lay too high for Hyspa's voice. Satie crossed it out and wrote out a transposition a minor third lower on the next two leaves, which he cut from the book. These detached pages (now catalogued as Ho 62 and 66) show signs of heavy use, indicating that Hyspa and Satie performed the song often.

Since it was apparently Satie's first original cabaret chanson, 'Un diner a l'Elysee' deserves closer examination (the 1903 print is reproduced in Plate I). An extract from 'les journaux' gives the subject of Hyspa's barbed verses: 'Yesterday the President of the Republic and Mme Loubet hosted a dinner for the Boards of the Society of French Artists and the National Society for the Fine Arts'. Satie's music is a march out of kilter. Instead of a sixteen-bar strain, there are five four-bar phrases and a two-bar tag, with little by way of melodic correspondence between phrases. This structure, together with the mixture of upbeat and downbeat phrases, results in a piquant irregularity that is also reflected in such details as the skewed accentuation of 'français' at the end of the third stave. The musical irregularities contribute to Hyspa's mockery of the entire situation. He smells a rat in the mingling of painting and patriotism, and his ironic point is driven home when, after each course in the banquet, he brings on a military band to play the national anthem. However, this is less than clear from the 1903 print, which gives only Satie's melody for the couplets (the Houghton manuscripts show that Hyspa declaimed the refrain ('Ca sentait bon') while Satie played a snippet of the 'Marseillaise'). The first strophe may be translated as follows:

The President, as civil as could be, had invited our great French painters to come taste of his cuisine in oils.(43) They say it really was just perfect. After the soup, the radishes and the caviare (just to please the Tsar)(44) . . . [Refrain:] The taste was fine, the moment supreme, and the band of the Seventy-fourth regiment was playing (like it or not) the 'Marseillaise', a truly French hymn (or is it her?).(45)

Subsequent strophes portray the hapless attempts of the President and his wife at refined conversation, the unexpected shortage of wine and, finally, the servile scraping and contented eructations of the departing artists, rounding out Hyspa's comment on the meanness of the banquet's grand pretensions.

In the short term, both Hyspa and Satie profited from their collaboration. The entertainment columns of the Parisian dailies record no regular cabaret engagements for Hyspa from July 1899 to the end of the year. During this period, he may have lived solely from fashionable soirees and from one-night stands at diverse establishments. In either situation he was best advised to bring along his own pianist. Satie may thus have helped him through something of a dry spell or, perhaps, a stint during which Hyspa preferred free-lancing to regular employment.

Satie, for his part, drew more than material sustenance from the undertaking. The arrangements and the composing for Hyspa helped him shake off the 'genueflectory style' and pointed him in a new direction. In three notebooks (Ho 10-12), sketches and drafts for cabaret chansons alternate with music for two stage works, Genevieve de Brabant and Jack-in-the-Box, in which Satie adopted the idioms of popular music. An overture to a play (now lost) by Contamine de Latour entitled *La Mort de Monsieur Mouche* includes what is probably Satie's earliest venture into the syncopated rhythms of the cakewalk.(46) That none of these works achieved anticipated performances only added to the disappointments that led Satie to complain to his brother on 7 June 1900: 'All that I undertake so timidly fails with a boldness hitherto unknown'. For the time

being, Satie had to remain in the shadow of his collaborator Hyspa. In late December 1899, Hyspa gained a position at a new cabaret, *La Boite a Fursy*, opened by the indefatigably enterprising chansonnier Henri Fursy in the very building

once occupied by the Chat Noir. Satie's first accompaniment notebook (Ho 12) closes with one of the chansons that Hyspa introduced on this occasion, 'Une Seance a la Haute-Cour'. Other chansons of the same period - all declared by Hyspa at SACEM on 28 November 1899 - include 'Les Complots', 'La Triste Fin du Taureau Romito' and 'Les Depeches anglaises'. Satie worked out their accompaniments in Ho 10.(47) Three further arrangements for Hyspa, dating from spring 1900, appear in a notebook held at the Bibliotheque Nationale (MS 9600, pp. 18-21). Two of these chansons were provoked by the International Exposition;(48) the third is a biting parody of Massenet's sentimental parlour song 'Les Enfants', transformed into a pince-sans-rire paean to 'Les Elephants'. Unfortunately, two of these arrangements have appeared in print as original compositions of Satie.(49) Still, they seem to mark the end of Satie's apprenticeship: thereafter he was to serve Hyspa no longer as an arranger but primarily as a composer of chansons.

The most widely familiar of Satie's Hyspa songs is also the least characteristic. 'Tendrement' exemplifies the sentimental valse chantee genre popularized by Paulette Darty just before the turn of the century. The song's genesis is somewhat complicated. By 1902, Satie was turning out waltzes in a steady stream. His notebooks of the time are filled with sketches and drafts for nearly 60 strains in all. On one orchestral waltz score ('Poudre d'or', Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale (henceforth BN), MS 10060), stamped at SACEM on 11 March 1902, Satie jotted a list of instruments and wrote 'Bullier' next to it: one may infer that these were the orchestral forces available at the Bal Bullier, a dance-hall in the Latin Quarter, and that Satie was paying the rent by furnishing music for this establishment and perhaps others like it. But on 29 March, he registered another 'valse piano et orchestre' at SACEM under the title 'Tendrement': the music is entirely different from the waltz song.(50) On 19 June, SACEM stamped another Satie waltz title, 'Illusion', the music of which is nearly identical with the waltz song: in effect, it is 'Tendrement' without the text.(51) Only on 9 April of the following year did Hyspa register his lyrics for 'Tendrement' at SACEM, and Satie deposited his waltz song, with Hyspa's text, the next day; however, the publisher Bellon, Ponscarne et Cie had already deposited the song on 20 January 1903. What emerges from this tangle of dates is that the title of one waltz composition was transferred to the music of a second to produce a third. Hyspa hewed his verses to fit a pre-existing tune, something to which he was accustomed. The poetry is pure treacle, unrelieved by Hyspa's customary irony. But as we have seen, Hyspa did make an occasional appearance at the cafe-concert, where audiences expected sentimental, uncomplicated fare; one such engagement was at the Parisiana in March 1902.(52) Wherever Hyspa sang the waltz, 'Tendrement' was soon taken up by Paulette Darty herself, and in Ho 10 (ff. [19.sup.v]-[20.sup.r]) Satie noted down keys suitable for each singer.(53) The waltz's lilting (and lulling) tone, its effectively placed hesitations and hemiolas, and its ingratiating chromatic details suggest that Satie took to the genre quite readily. Perhaps he was falling back on childhood experiences. His father and stepmother both wrote salon music, and two of Satie's earliest compositions were piano waltzes published in La Musique des families.(54)

More characteristic of Hyspa's withering treatment of sentimental themes is the chanson 'Le Veuf', apparently written in 1899-1900. In the only strophe that survives, Hyspa lampoons a gambit then standard in popular romances: the nostalgic evocation of golden tresses, which in this case are clearly dyed.(55)

Elle avait les cils noirs comme toutes les blondes, l'oeil vif, etcoetera. Comme elle etait tres bonne, elle aimait tout le monde; chacun vous le dira. Je passais tous mes jours a contempler sa grace, mes yeux cherchaient les siens. Mais nous ne pouvions pas nous regarder en face, nous louchions tousles deux.

Like all blondes, she had dark lashes, a lively eye etc. Since she was so very good, she loved everyone... as everyone will tell you. I spent every day in the contemplation of her grace, my eyes seeking hers. But we could never gaze upon each other face to face, for both our eyes were crossed.

The song must have continued, since no widower has yet been mentioned.(56) One of

Satie's drafts (BN 9599, pp. 14-15) marks three endings, presumably for three strophes. Two notebooks at the Houghton Library (Ho 10, 11) record two different settings of the text, worked out in tandem. One of them was later incorporated into the *Trois morceaux en forme de poire*, as Patrick Gowers pointed out some 30 years ago.<sup>(57)</sup> The other was, I suspect, the setting that Hyspa would have performed. Its harmony is somewhat simpler, though by no means predictable, and the melody leaves more pauses for an audience to chuckle at the jokes. In both cases, Hyspa's backhanded encomium receives a wryly sentimental foil.

One of the standard anecdotes of Satie biography is that the pear-shaped pieces, with their quotations from 'Le Veuf' and perhaps other cabaret songs, were intended as a dig at Debussy, who had remarked on his friend's lack of formal sense.<sup>(58)</sup> If this was indeed the case, one might wonder whether Satie's next collaboration with Hyspa was inspired by Debussy's first series of *Fetes galantes*, published in 1903. On 16 January 1904, Satie and Hyspa signed a declaration of authorship at SACEM for a *Petit recueil des fetes*, with the chansonnier adding after his signature the sarcastic comment 'certifie sincere et veritable et naturel'. The initial idea appears to be a ten-bar melody entitled 'recueil des fetes', jotted on page 13 of Ho 12, just after the draft of 'Le Prisonnier saugrenu'. The title and the melody are in Hyspa's hand.<sup>(59)</sup> In other notebooks, now dispersed between the Houghton Library and the Bibliotheque Nationale, Satie worked this and other ideas into what appears to be a suite of four songs devoted, respectively, to the advent of spring, to the death of a picador, to the incantations of a sorcerer and to a child martyr.<sup>(60)</sup> Since the completed work does not appear among the manuscripts at either library, one can only suspect that the fair copy bearing the SACEM stamp is preserved in some private collection. The melody jotted by Hyspa in Ho 12 eventually received the title 'Air fantome' and was drafted in BN 9599 with three strophes of text:

Voici Messire Printemps Le plus beau temps C'est ce temps charmant. Si cher aux enfants, Jamais autre temps Ne plait autant.

C'est le temps des paquerettes De mille fleurettes De mille bluettes Et des alouettes Des petites betes Des maux de tetes.

On voit des petits coteaux Des petits ruisseaux Des petits roseaux Des petits oiseaux Et des arbrisseaux Des vermisseaux.

The text begins harmlessly enough, although the insistence on the same end-rhyme leads one to suspect that it will not continue so. Indeed, the references to headaches (end of strophe 2) and to 'the scrubby trees of grubby worms' (end of strophe 3) show clearly that Hyspa's pastoral is tongue-in-cheek. Satie's harmonization of the tune, drafted in another notebook (Ho 11, f. [17.sup.v]), is worthy of Delmet at his most ambitious and achieves a similar effect: it provides a sentimental setting against which Hyspa's offhand ironies can clash. Another of the chansons, 'Sorciere', is a patter song in 6/8 that impinges on that realm of bedevilled fairy-tale that so fascinated Satie:

Incantations, evocations, noirs esprits des tenebres, ebres, ebres, ebres. Imprecations, maledictions, des puissances funebres.

When Satie and Hyspa declared the *Recueil* at SACEM, Hyspa was engaged again at the *Boite a Fursy*:<sup>(61)</sup> presumably they had begun performing the suite by that time. More certainly, Hyspa performed the songs at the *Cabaret des Quat'z-Arts* by the following November, when the house journal (*Les Quat'z-Arts*) lists a 'Petit Recueil des Tetes' (sic) in Hyspa's repertory. According to the same source, Hyspa was still performing the *Recueil* in April 1905.<sup>(62)</sup> The house pianist is identified in the journal as Fernand Heintz, but it seems likely enough that Hyspa brought in Satie to accompany the chansons he had composed.

Satie continued writing for Hyspa after entering the *Schola Cantorum* in October 1905. In March 1906, a special number of the periodical *L'Album musical* devoted to Hyspa included 'ses dix grands succes', two of them with music by Satie: 'L'Omnibus automobile' and 'Chez le docteur'.<sup>(63)</sup> Both songs, drafted in Ho 8,<sup>(64)</sup> were performed

at the Cabaret des Quat'z-Arts, 'L'Omnibus automobile' by 15 October 1905 and 'Chez le docteur' by 27 January 1906.(65) Both continue the patter-song style first tried out in 'Sorciere'.

In 'L'Omnibus automobile' Hyspa comments sarcastically on attempts to employ the horseless carriage for public transportation, at a time when most regarded the car as a dangerous toy for millionaires. A peaceful night-scene is shattered by a lumbering monster that mows down 'women, children, dogs, policemen, legislative deputies and other animals'. The poet runs the omnibus down at the Place de l'Opera and discovers that it is filled with sacks of plaster. The conductor explains proudly that the sacks take the place of passengers, who might suffer injury in the bus company's test runs. Satie's melody moves, like the newfangled omnibus, in fits and starts. It breaks the text in unexpected places and sometimes in mid word, which produces at least one salty double entendre in the fourth strophe.

Enfin il s'arreta place de l'Opera Et je vis qu'il etait charge de sacs de platre. Ces sacs, me dit le con- ducteur, ces sacs sont la Pour remplacer le voy- ageur acariatre; Nous faisons des essais depuis plus de vingt mois Et sacs sont pour nous autant de gens de poids.

Despite a few tangy harmonies, the accompaniment is fairly simple and stays out of the way of the words.

In 'Chez le docteur', the object of Hyspa's irony is Emile Combes, Prime Minister of France from 1902 to 1906. Combes was a doctor not only of medicine but also of theology, and he is best remembered for his relentless attacks on the clerical orders. Playing metaphorically on Combes's double doctorate, Hyspa equates the prospect of a theologian hounding the church without quarter to one medical quack eviscerating another in pursuit of an imaginary ailment. Satie's setting is an energetic projection of the text, drawing little attention to itself but impossible to drive from the mind. The brisk tempo ensures a rapid accumulation of the puns and absurdities in Hyspa's eleven strophes. Two manuscript versions of the song invoke the Schola Cantorum. In one, the melody is notated in Satie's most exuberant calligraphy with a different C clef every half bar.(66) The other is a composition draft in which the accompaniment is indicated with thoroughbass figures.(67) Satie was turning his newly acquired academic skills to practical account.

'L'Omnibus automobile' and 'Chez le docteur' may have been followed by another song. A fair copy of an untitled chanson, formerly in the collection of Jacques Guerin, bears the ascription 'ecrit pour Vincent Hyspa' in an unknown hand.(68) Interestingly, the couplet and the refrain are in different keys (B flat and G). The accompaniment is spare (like that in the patter songs) but is of considerable harmonic interest, reflecting with its careful voice-leading a more substantial influence from Roussel's tutelage than the mixed-clef versions of 'Chez le docteur'.

Satie's last longs for Hyspa are probably identical with the 'melodies sans paroles' published by Editions Salabert in 1978: 'Rambouillet', 'Les Oiseaux' and 'Marienbad'.(69) 'Rambouillet' is another patter song, closely modelled upon 'Chez le docteur'. 'Les Oiseaux' is another two-key song, and one draft (BN 9579, pp. 40-41) shows a surprisingly contrapuntal conception that Satie simplified in his final version. I have located partial texts for 'Les Oiseaux' and 'Marienbad', the style of which strongly suggests Hyspa's political satires. It is therefore of some interest to find that in January 1908 the chansonnier was performing songs entitled 'Une Reception a Rambouillet' and 'Clemenceau a Marienbad' at the Cabaret des Quat'z-Arts.(70) Again, the composer of the music is not identified, but one strongly suspects Satie as its author and, quite possibly, as the accompanist.

This evidence of the continued association of Hyspa and Satie with the Cabaret des Quat'z-Arts (in the boulevard Clichy) may correct Virgil Thomson's supposition that Satie for 'eight (or was it twelve?) years . . . earned his living by playing the piano at a small theatrical establishment called "The Harvest Moon"'.(71) The Lune Rousse was a

cabaret founded in autumn 1904 by Dominique Bonnaud and Numa Bles, Satie's lyricists for 'La Diva de "l'Empire"' and the authors of the revue *Devidons la bobine*, in which Paulette Darty had performed that *marche chante* in July of the same year. This cabaret, located at 36 boulevard Clichy, styled itself as the authentic successor of the old *Chat Noir*. It offered chansonniers and shadow plays, and it issued a monthly paper in unabashed imitation of the defunct weekly *Le Chat Noir*.<sup>(72)</sup> Although it is tempting to suppose that Satie found employment with Bonnaud and Bles, the cabaret's paper gives no support whatever to Thomson's claim; nor, for that matter, is there any mention of *Hyspa*.<sup>(73)</sup> It seems far more likely that Satie was performing with *Hyspa* down the street at the *Quat'z-Arts*, and that his paltry income during the lean years at the *Schola Cantorum* derived in large part from this source.

Whatever the case, the songs written for *Hyspa* stake out popular chanson types that Satie cultivated over the course of at least a decade (1898-1908). The manuscripts at the Houghton Library and the *Bibliothèque Nationale* preserve some 50 original songs attesting to this activity: few of them are published, many are untitled, and most are untexted. 'Un diner a l'Elysee' was followed by a dozen other songs in brisk march tempo, which Satie soon learnt to adorn with the syncopations of the cakewalk: 'La Diva de "l'Empire"' is only the best-known example of the type.<sup>(74)</sup> 'Tendrement' is perhaps the most polished example of his numerous waltzes and waltz songs. The two 'Le Veuf' settings and the 'Air fantome' are the earliest among the songs in a sentimental vein, marked by the slower tempos and relatively complex harmony for which the pattern had already been set in Satie's arrangement of 'Le Prisonnier saugrenu'.<sup>(75)</sup> And the patter style exemplified by 'Chez le docteur' recurs in several more drafts, most untitled and all untexted.

Apart from the chansons clearly destined for *Hyspa*, there are a few that can be associated with Paulette Darty, for example 'Je te veux' and 'La Diva de "l'Empire"'.<sup>(76)</sup> One notebook (Ho 3) contains Satie's contribution to the one-act comedy *Pousse l'amour*, written in collaboration with Darty's preferred lyricist, Maurice de Feraudy.<sup>(77)</sup> Three other notebooks (Ho 4, Ho 5 and BN 9651) present drafts of 'La Chemise', a (multisectioned?) piece that Darty performed at the *Scala* music-hall in November 1909.<sup>(78)</sup> The rest of the popular music - including the *chanson de gommeux* (dandy's song) 'Allons-y, Chochotte' and several dozen song arrangements - was evidently written for singers as yet unidentified. The late arrangements (preserved mainly in Ho 4-6) include chansons as diverse as Delmet's 'Fermons nos rideaux' (c. 1900), Theodore Botrel's 'La Paimpolaise' (1897), Olivier Cambon's 'Metro-Scie' (1904) and Albert Chantrier's 'Mais voila' (1911!). The settings are utterly pedestrian and far more deserving of the designation 'works of great meanness' than anything Satie wrote for *Hyspa*.

It fitted in with Jean Cocteau's agenda in *Cock and Harlequin* to proclaim that Satie had opened the door of the concert room to 'music for every day'.<sup>(79)</sup> The perspective one gains from Satie's manuscripts is rather different. By 1899, the Rosicrucian works and the *Pieces froides* had evidently led him into a stylistic *cul-de-sac*. It was in his workaday arrangements for *Hyspa* - however harshly Satie may have judged them - that he slowly began to find his way again. To be sure, this entailed letting 'popular' music into 'serious' compositions (e.g. the *Trois morceaux en forme de poire*). But the reverse was also true: his personal style complicated and enriched the formulas of cabaret song, perhaps inevitably, since throughout this period popular music was his principal creative outlet.

Satie seems to have rounded off this phase of his career towards the end of 1909, when he invited *Hyspa* and Paulette Darty to join him in a *matinee artistique* to benefit civic groups in Arcueil. In the following year, Satie was 'discovered' by Ravel and his cohorts in the newly organized *Societe Musicale Independante*.<sup>(80)</sup> Flattered at first by their attentions, Satie soon came to resent their efforts to pass him off as a noble musical savage. Yet, thrust into an unexpected limelight, he was forced to show his colours. In so doing, he betrayed a little acknowledged but unmistakable debt to his years of collaboration with *Hyspa*.

In April 1912, Satie began contributing to the *Revue musicale* a series entitled *Memoirs of an Amnesiac* - companion pieces, as it were, to his newest works for piano. In spirit and subject matter, these writings owe much to the comic lectures that Hyspa had published in the house weekly of the Cabaret des Quat'z-Arts from November 1897. Satie certainly knew these lectures and may have been instrumental in getting them published by La Sirene in a handsome edition entitled *L'Eponge en porcelaine* ('The Porcelain Sponge') with colour illustrations by Jules Dapaquit.(81) Whether or not Satie's musings on 'L'Intelligence et la musicalite chez les animaux' were directly inspired by Hyspa,(82) in reading Hyspa's lectures one is struck time and again by details and turns of phrase that remind one of Satie: the exclamation 'Oui' as ironic punctuation, the scientific Latin used for whimsical classification, the device of dwelling on an idea in several often increasingly exaggerated variations before nailing the point home with a blunt pun. Even some of the same puns recur in Satie's writings. Consider the stray comment jotted at the end of BN 9671: 'C'est reellement un homme de caractere - dans le genre de ceux d'Imprimerie'.(83) This brings to mind Hyspa's 'characterization' of the typical chansonnier in *L'Eponge en porcelaine*: 'cet animal jouit . . . d'un ignoble caractere - genus irritabile vatum! - d'un caractere irritable, d'un tout petit caractere d'imprimerie'.(84) If Hyspa described Maurice Donnay's attentiveness in the Academie Francaise with a joke about Donnay sleeping with only one eye,(85) Satie would write a little canonic reveille for 'le bon gros Roi des Singes (lequel ne dort toujours que d'un oeil)'. Moreover, Satie's notebooks make it clear that he originally planned to introduce the *Trois poemes d'amour* and the *Embryons desseches* with tiny conferences fantaisistes of his own. While Satie did suppress these mini-monologues when it came to publication, one wonders whether his preoccupation with invertebrate sea creatures was simply a fantastical sequel to his farce about a Baron Jellyfish (*Le Piegé de Meduse*); Hyspa had produced mock-serious lectures on whales, sea-horses, sponges and a host of submarine life. In most of their public utterances, the strategy common to both authors is the resolutely serious development of a patently absurd proposition.

As for the humoristic piano suites, Satie's frequent recourse to parodic quotation is a direct extension of the technique that was the essence of Hyspa's ironic art. In this light, it seems no accident that the 'Marseillaise', once quoted for Hyspa in 'Un diner a l'Elysee', should turn up later in Satie's *Sports et divertissements* ('Les Courses'). The piano suites bristle with allusions to favourite operatic airs, popular songs, military songs, children's songs and the like.(86) The vast majority of Hyspa's *Chansons d'humour* are set to the same kinds of melody (indeed, 'Un diner a l'Elysee' is the only song in the anthology for which Hyspa ordered new music). The retexting of familiar melodies, or timbres, was standard practice among Montmartre chansonniers and was of course based on a long tradition. Hyspa's parodies usually depended for their full effect on the listeners' intimate familiarity with the original texts, which they would mentally compare, line for line, with his satirical distortion. An extreme example is the parody of Massenet cited above. Hyspa takes over the first strophe of Georges Boyer's poem about pure, innocent childhood with a single alteration: in line 1, 'enfants' is changed to 'elephants', and the incongruity renders ludicrous the rest of the saccharine original.(87)

Satie's humoristic suites depend no less on an acquaintance with the sources of his quotations. It is not only a matter of recognizing the melodic and harmonic caricatures: the original texts must often be compared with the running narratives that grace Satie's scores, and even with his quirky performance instructions. It is small wonder that the research required to understand fully such musical jokes virtually destroys them except perhaps in the mind of the specialist determined to laugh. Satie himself precluded full appreciation in performance by forbidding that his texts should be conveyed to the audience.(88) In this sense, his humoristic works are deliberately unperformable as written, creating a built-in paradox that is in the best of avant-garde traditions. Yet the underlying technique is that of the parodist Hyspa, and it served Satie well, from the humoristic suites of 1913 to his last work, the 'instantaneist ballet' *Relache* of 1924.

None of these observations is meant to slight the originality of Satie's wit but, rather, to place it in a tradition to which he himself called attention. In 1913, Satie was asked to write a blurb on himself for the music publisher Demets.(89) At the beginning of this

facetious self-portrait, he classified himself among the *fantaisistes* - 'nice, decent folks', in his opinion. In the milieux of Parisian entertainment, *fantaisiste* was a catch-all term for a wide variety of cabaret and music-hall humorists. Hyspa was regarded as a *fantaisiste* in the *chanson*, and Depaquit as a *fantaisiste* in the sphere of illustration. After accompanying Hyspa one last time in 1909, Satie took his cabaret-inspired *esprit fantaisiste* into different arenas of artistic enterprise, where he became the musical mascot for at least three successive waves of younger *avant-gardes* (the circles around Ravel, Cocteau and Picabia respectively). In so doing, he may have exchanged the cabaret for the concert hall, but he remained, like Hyspa, a master of the *pince-sans-rire*, the poker-faced tweak that left the audience trying to distinguish the earnest from the ironic, and when to laugh from when to wince. Seventy years after Satie's death, we are still trying.

1 Given in Maurice Donnay, *Autour du Chat Noir*, Paris, 1926, p. 19. This and all subsequent translations are my own.

2 Probably the longest-lived of the cabaret weeklies, *Le Chat Noir* appeared from 14 January 1882 to 30 March 1895. A *nouvelle serie* began on 6 April 1895 and ran until 4 September 1897.

3 In the milieu of Montmartre, a *chansonnier* was not a book (manuscript or printed) of *chansons* but, rather, a performer who wrote the poetry he (or, more rarely, she) sang, even though another might have composed (or arranged) the melody. The *chanteur* and *chanteuse* sang poetry created by someone else.

4 Most discussions of Hyspa's early career are based, directly or indirectly, on Hyspa's own '*Souvenirs de cabaret: du Chat-Noir au Chien-Noir*', in Maurice Donnay et al., *L'Esprit Montmartrois: interviews et souvenirs*, Paris, 1938, pp. 219-34. See also Leon de Bercy, *Montmartre et ses chansons: poetes et chansonniers*, Paris, 1902, pp. 84-87; idem, '*Le Chansonnier Vincent Hyspa*', *La Bonne Chanson*, vi (1913), 226-9; Michel Herbert, *La Chanson a Montmartre*, Paris, 1967, 193-9.

5 A programme of the first performance (28 December 1887) preserved at the Archives de la Fondation Erik Satie (Paris) identifies Albert Tinchant as responsible for the musical accompaniment. A subsequent edition, presenting Henri Riviere's *tableaux* and excerpts from the music on facing pages, includes music by Georges Fragerolle as well: *La Tentation de Saint Antoine. Feerie a grand spectacle en 2 actes et 40 tableaux par Henri Riviere . . . Musique nouvelle et arrangee par Albert Tinchant et Georges Fragerolle* (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie, [1888]). A ballet version of St Anthony's temptation, with music by Georges Auvray, was given at the Theatre Lyrique in February 1891. It is unclear whether this was inspired by the continuing popularity of the shadow show or by that of the St Anthony theme generally, or both. The cabaret *feerie* did inspire a parodic treatment of the same theme, given at the shadow theatre of the *Auberge du Clou* in March 1892, as well as Satie's *Uspud*, composed in November 1892; see Ornella Volta, *Erik Satie & la tradition populaire*, Paris, 1988, pp. 9-12.

6 The story is related in J. P. Contamine de Latour, '*Erik Satie intime: souvenirs de jeunesse*', *Comoedia*, 3 August 1925.

7 This point is argued in detail by Eric Frederick Jensen in '*Satie and the Gymnopedie*', *Music & Letters*, lxxv (1994), 236-40. On the connection of Satie's *Trois gymnopedies* with Contamine de Latour's poem '*Les Antiques*', see Robert Orledge, *Satie the Composer*, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 208, 270.

8 Pierre-Daniel Templier, *Erik Satie*, Paris, 1932, p. 14. The autographs are dated, respectively, February, March and 2 April 1888.

9 Bertrand Millanvoye, *Anthologie des poetes de Montmartre: notes biographiques et bibliographiques*, Paris, 1909, p. 399. Concerning Tinchant at the *Chat Noir*, see also

Jules Lemaitre's preface to *Les Gaites du Chat Noir*, 3rd edn., Paris, 1894, p. x.

10 Satie developed his own drinking problem at the Chat Noir: the implacably nasty music critic Henry Gauthier-Villars (alias Willy) was to claim that Satie was chased from the cabaret because he played too poorly and drank too well; see Ornella Volta, *Erik Satie: d'Esotirik Satie a Satierik*, Paris, 1979, p. 42.

11 For a guidebook description of the Auberge du Clou, see Charles Virmaître, *Paris-palette*, Paris, 1888, p. 55. Concerning the Auberge as a hang-out for disaffected Chat Noir habitués, see Alphonse Willette, *Feu Pierrot 1857-19?*, Paris, 1919, pp. 167-70;

Contamine de Latour, 'Satie intime'; Herbert, *La Chanson a Montmartre*, p. 294.

12 Hyspa, 'Souvenirs de cabaret', p. 225; Herbert, *La Chanson a Montmartre*, pp. 109-11, 194-5.

13 But in 1908, Satie earned a diploma in counterpoint at the Schola Cantorum.

14 A portion of the programme is reproduced in Ornella Volta, 'Dossier Erik Satie: L'Os h moelle', *Revue internationale de musique française*, viii (1987), 68. I am grateful to Gerard Millot for permitting me to see the original.

15 The drawing is reproduced as Plate 7 in Templier, *Erik Satie*. For other portraits of Satie in this attire, see Ornella Volta, *L'Ymagier d'Erik Satie*, Paris, 1979, pp. 26-27. Ornella Volta has suggested (private communication, 12 October 1991) that the artist was drawing an image in a mirror. According to the guidebook to the Chat Noir, the Salle François Villon (i.e., the ground-floor bar) did boast an ornate 'Louis XVI mirror, which once belonged to Marie Antoinette and was stolen from the Trianon by a former royal postillion, who presented it to the famous Mme Mauraisin, the galante courtesan of the Temple. It was given to the Chat Noir by the Viscount de Bonfils' (*Chat Noir -*

*Guide* (Paris: Au Chat Noir [Imprimerie Charles Blot, 7 rue Bleue!, n.d.), 5-6).

16 It is difficult to draw any biographical inferences from the story. Satie's father Alfred was a libraire, and Satie did come into a small inheritance by 1895, when he began publishing broadside attacks on the Parisian critical and theatrical establishments, along with *Uspud* and extracts from the *Messe des pauvres*. The source of this inheritance has not been identified: Alfred Satie died only in 1903.

17 In *Le Chat Noir: nouvelle série*, Satie's 'excommunication' of Willy (Henry Gauthier-Villars) was to become the butt of repeated jokes, beginning with an entire article in the issue of 22 June 1895.

18 Ornella Volta has surmised that Satie contributed, under the nom de plume of Virginie Lebeau, to the *Lanterne japonaise*, a short-lived illustrated weekly (October 1888-April 1889) modelled after the house journal of the Chat Noir; see Erik Satie, *Ecrits*, ed. Ornella Volta, 3rd edn., Paris 1990, p. 344. The *Divan* had been purchased in October 1888 by the poet Jean (Jehan) Sarrazin, who opened a cabaret in the cellar and attracted many of the Chat Noir's chansonniers and poets as performers, as contributors to the weekly, and as clientele. Unfortunately, Sarrazin's own *Souvenirs de Montmartre et du Quartier Latin* (Paris, 1895) makes no mention of Satie, either as a contributor to the weekly or as an habitué.

19 Millanvoye, *Anthologie des poètes de Montmartre*, p. 399. Millanvoye is identified as an habitué of the Auberge in Henri Fursy, *Mon petit bonhomme de chemin: souvenirs de Montmartre et d'ailleurs*, Paris, 1928, p. 84. Millanvoye and Fursy were well acquainted: from February 1895, they shared the direction of the *Carillon*, a cabaret artistique in the rue de la Tour d'Auvergne - see France Vernillat & Jacques Charpentreau, *Dictionnaire de la chanson française*, Paris, 1968, p. 53; Herbert, *La Chanson a Montmartre*, p. 304.

20 L. de Bercy, *Montmartre et ses chansons*, p. 163; Anne de Bercy & Armand Ziwes,

*A Montmartre... le soir: cabarets et chansonniers d'hier*, Paris, 1951, p. 86.

21 Hyspa, 'Souvenirs de cabaret', p. 227; Hyspa then proceeds to describe his return to the Chat Noir (February 1892). The Noël is also mentioned in Herbert, *La Chanson a*

Montmartre, pp. 294-5, and in Volta, *Erik Satie & la tradition populaire*, pp. 11-12. Orledge's tentative date '?25 Dec 1892' (*Satie the Composer*, p. 276) would not square with the circumstance that Hyspa had by this time returned to the Chat Noir. Nor could the Noel, so dated, have been the 'first shadow play in [the] cellars of the Auberge du Clou', for the Catalan painter Santiago Rusinol described the St Anthony parody (see n. 5, above) in a dispatch to the Barcelona paper *La Vanguardia* dated 31 March 1892; see Santiago Rusinol, *Obres completes*, ii: *Proses, impressions, records, epistolari*, 3rd edn., Barcelona, 1976, p. 146. On the other hand, Ornella Volta, who drew my attention to this source, argues (private communication) that Rusinol would have reported any shadow plays given before March 1892 (including any Noel in December 1891), since he had a strong interest in promoting the activities of his compatriots in Paris. Whatever the case, the Auberge's shadow theatre probably did not outlast Utrillo's departure early in 1893 for Chicago, where he collaborated in the presentation of ombres parisiennes at the Columbian Exposition.

22 Orledge (*Satie the Composer*, pp. 40-46) discusses Satie's and Debussy's connections with various occult groups and suggests that the two may have met as early as 1887.

23 See Patrick Gowers, 'Satie's Rose Croix Music (1891-1895)', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, xcii (1965-6), 1-25.

24 *Le Chat Noir*, No. 41 (11 January 1893).

25 See Volta, 'Dossier Erik Satie', pp. 54-67.

26 Contamine de Latour, 'Erik Satie intime', *Comoedia*, 6 August 1925.

27 Such clippings are preserved at the Houghton Library, Harvard University, under the shelf-mark BMS Mus 193 (115).

28 Concerning Satie's *guerre de plume* with Gauthier-Villars, which came to blows in 1904, see Erik Satie, *Les Bulles du Parcier*, ed. Ornella Volta, Fontfroide, 1991, pp. 57-66, 102-13. Debussy praised Satie c. 1896 as the only musician brave enough to confront Willy in print; see Robert Orledge, 'Satie, Koechlin and the Ballet "Uspud"', *Music & Letters*, lxxviii (1987), 26-41, at p. 27.

29 But see the 'Verset laique et somptueux' with which Satie honoured the Exposition Universelle of 1900, reproduced in Volta, *L'Ymagier d'Erik Satie*, pp. 38, 40, with her

comment that it marked the definitive break with 'la musique a genoux'.

30 The *Treteau de Tabarin*, located at 58 rue Pigalle, was one of the most successful cabarets after the demise of the Chat Noir in 1897. It offered theatre pieces as well as chansonniers. On 11 April 1899, the entertainment columnist for *Le Gaulois* noted that Hyspa and other chansonniers then employed at the *Treteau* were fashionable embellishments at 'soirees ondaines'.

31 The letters appear in Theophile Briant, 'Erik Satie et Vincent Hyspa', *Le Goeland*, No. 1 (22 April 1937). Patrick Gowers was kind enough to send me a handwritten copy of this obscure source: 'Eglise metropolitaine d'art de Jesus conducteur / Dimanche dans notre Palais episcopal d'Arcueil. Regardant de tous cotes si personne ne Nous voit, Nous Vous embrassons, Tres Cher Ami; Nous demandons au Pere de Nous permettre de venir demain lundi, comme Nous avons l'intention de le faire, Vous dire Nous memes que Nous sommes heureux d'accepter tout ce que Vos propositions ont d'honnete et de profitable. / Que le Seigneur Vous tienne sur ses genoux, ainsi que Nous le faisons Nous memes. / ERIK SATIE.'

32 *Templier*, Erik Satie, p. 25. See also Ornella Volta, *Satie Seen through his Letters*, trans. Michael Bullock, London, 1989, p. 78.

33 See Satie, *Ecrits*, ed. Volta, p. 262.

34 *Ibid.*, No. 182.

35 This was the typical pay of an established chansonnier: when Hyspa first began performing 'dans ses oeuvres' (i.e., his own repertory) at the Chat Noir, he received

dinner and a two-franc piece (Hyspa, 'Souvenirs de cabaret', p. 230).

36 Gil Blas, 19 April 1898 ('Spectacles divers').

37 L. de Bercy, 'Le Chansonnier Vincent Hyspa', p. 226.

38 A fuller account of the relevant Houghton manuscripts is provided in Chapter III of my Erik Satie and Parisian Musical Entertainment, 1888 to 1909 (unpublished M.Mus. dissertation), University of Illinois, 1984. The Satie papers at the Houghton Library (henceforth Ho) were recently catalogued and renumbered under the general shelf-mark bMS Mus 193. The old numbers are retained in the body of this article; the new numbers for manuscripts cited in Appendix II are given there.

39 Jean Bastia, 'Un grand chansonnier: Vincent Hyspa', Paris-Soir, 17 October 1938.

40 Hyspa's chanson text is closely related to the lecture 'Ornithologie sacree: les chansonniers' published in Les Quat'z-Arts on 2 and 9 January 1898. Hyspa joined 'Les Maitres-Chanteurs de la Butte' in the next month, which would have been an apt occasion to introduce a song about 'Les Chansonniers'.

41 See Abel Combarieu, Sept ans a l'Elysee avec le President Emile Loubet: de l'affaire Dreyfus a la conference d'Algesiras, 1899-1906, Paris, 1943, p. 14.

42 I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Ornella Volta, who made available to me transcriptions and photo-copies of SACEM documents at the Archives de la Fondation Erik Satie.

43 'Cuisine a l'huile' instead of 'peinture a l'huile', but also perhaps suggesting 'his greasy fare'. Loubet hailed from the south of France, where cooking oil is used generously.

44 The negotiation of an alliance with Russia had been one of the proudest achievements of recent French diplomacy. Loubet, at pains to preserve that relationship, renegotiated the alliance in August 1899.

45 The joke is untranslatable but derives from the uncertainty over whether 'French' should agree in gender with 'hymne' in its secular (masculine) or religious (feminine) sense.

46 The 'Prelude de La Mort de Monsieur Mouche' was copied neatly at the beginning of BN 9600 and stamped at the 'Societe des Auteurs' (with the same address as SACEM) on 18 April 1900. Robert Caby edited the music in Carnet d'esquisses et croquis, published in Paris by Editions Salabert in 1968.

47 Satie wrote the melody of 'Les Complots', presumably from Hyspa's dictation, on folio [1.sup.r] of Ho 16; Chansons d'humour describes it as a 'vieil air arrange par V.H.' The accompaniment was drafted neatly in Ho 10, folio [4.sup.r]. 'La Triste Fin', adapted from Georges Bizet's vocal score of Carmen (Paris: Choudens, 1890), appears in Ho 10, folios [5.sup.r]-[6.sup.r], with an intervening draft in Ho 12 (p. 27). 'Les Depeches anglaises', arranged from 'Le Chameau' by the operetta composer Laurent de Rille, was drafted in Ho 10, folio [8.sup.r].

48 'Souvenir de l'Inauguration de l'Exposition' and 'Les Joies de l'Exposition, ou plutot les douceurs que cette periode reserve aux Parisiens'.

49 The Massenet parody was published in 1968 under the title 'Reverie du pauvre' by Editions Salabert ('Musique contemporaine', plate number M.C. 399). 'Les Joies de l'Exposition' appeared in 1980 under the imprint of Max Eschig as 'Petite musique de clown triste' (plate number M.E. 8398): it is really an arrangement of a number from

Louis Varney's operetta *La Femme de Narcisse*. The posthumous editor in both cases was Robert Caby. Full details are given in my 'Musical Parody and Two "Oeuvres posthumes" of Erik Satie', *Revue de musicologie*, forthcoming.

50 BN 10073 is an autograph piano score bearing the SACEM stamp. The waltz is drafted in Ho 14, folio 2, on the basis of sketches in BN 9629 (pp. 2-3), BN 9614 (pp. 18, 20) and BN 9599 (p. 5). BN 9629 contains (p. 9) a fair copy of the melody in vocal notation (as opposed to beamed instrumental notation); Satie was preparing a *partie vocale*, but for what text? Hyspa's does not fit the melody.

51 Ho 35 (now BMS Mus 193 (83)), an autograph orchestral score with appended piano arrangement, bears the SACEM stamp.

52 First reported in the entertainment column of *Le Gaulois*, 2 March 1902.

53 Darty sang 'Tendrement' in B flat major, identified in Ho 10 as the 'ton original'. Satie copied out (lower) transpositions for Hyspa in the keys as follows, trying all the while to rewrite the high passage in the 'B' strain to accommodate his more restricted range: Ho 69, f. 1 (one of two leaves removed from BN 9614 after p. 16), in G/D major ('en sol-re'); Ho 58, f. [1.sup.v], and Ho 69, f. [2.sup.r], in F/C major.

54 Robert Orledge, who also remarks on Satie's relative assurance in this vein (Satie the Composer, p. 113), has recently provided an exemplary study: 'The Musical Activities of Alfred Satie and Eugenie Satie-Barnetsche, and their Effect on the Career of Erik

Satie', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, cxvii (1992), 270-97.

55 Compare 'Elle avait des beaux cheveux blonds' (Charles Cros); 'Alle [sic] etait blonde, alle etait belle' (Aristide Bruant); 'Elle etait blonde, elle etait veuve' (Charles Breydan).

56 Although (as Jeremy Drake has suggested in conversation) the widower may actually be the 'narrator', looking back on his departed wife.

57 Patrick Gowers, *Erik Satie: his Studies, Notebooks and Critics* (unpublished dissertation), University of Cambridge, 1966, i. 142-3. Gowers also transcribed the second setting: *ibid.*, ii. 170-76. Concerning the sequence of work on the two settings, see my *Erik Satie and Parisian Musical Entertainment*, pp. 148-55.

58 See Orledge, *Satie the Composer*, pp. 55-56, and the sources cited therein.

59 This demonstration of Hyspa's musical knowledge lends substance to the credits in *Chansons d'humour* that name him as composer or arranger. Incidentally, Hyspa often avoided upper case when writing titles and when signing his name, a peculiarity that recalls the *Uspud* libretto published by Satie in 1893, which, except for the dedication 'to the most High, Luminous and Permanent Indivisibility of the three Persons of the

Holy Trinity', is set entirely in lower case; see Volta, 'Dossier Erik Satie', p. 54.

60 For particulars concerning the manuscript sources of the suite, see my *Erik Satie and Parisian Musical Entertainment*, pp. 155-8, 257-8. Three of the four songs can be reconstructed from the drafts, but their order is a matter of conjecture.

61 *Le Gaulois* (4 January 1904) reports Hyspa's presence in the troupe and notes the introduction of two new songs, 'Le [1.sup.er] Janvier' and 'La Visite aux monuments', on 13 January. Neither of these chansons is to be found in the Satie manuscripts in Paris or Cambridge, Mass.

62 *Les Quat'z-Arts*, No. 37 (15 November 1904) and No. 40 (8 April 1905). Almost alone among cabaret periodicals, *Les Quat'z-Arts* lists (at least for this period) who was performing at the parent establishment and what was being performed. Copies of *Les Quat'z-Arts* are quite rare, but a microfilm at the *Bibliothèque Nationale* preserves most of the periodical's run up to No. 43 (4 January 1908).

63 L'Album musical, No. 33 (March 1906). The 1976 Salabert edition of the two songs is a reproduction of the 1906 print.

64 Another draft of 'Chez le docteur' is in Ho 2, ff. [15.sup.v]-16. BN 10074 is a fair-copy vocal score (but without text).

65 As reported in Les Quat'z-Arts, No. 41 (15 October 1905) and No. 42 (27 January 1906). In neither case is Satie identified as the composer.

66 Ho 71 (melody only) and BN 9652 (p. 4; vocal score). It may be that Satie used these as sight-reading exercises for his Sunday morning solfège pupils in Arcueil c. 1909.

67 Ho 8, f. 10. As Orledge notes, Satie often had recourse to figured basses in his counterpoint drafts for the Schola Cantorum. Although he excluded the figures from the fair copies he submitted to Albert Roussel, his teacher noted that there was 'too much harmony and not enough counterpoint' in Satie's exercises (see Orledge, *Satie the Composer*, p. 82). Already in 1902, Satie was using bass figures in a sketch for the waltz song 'Je te veux' (BN 9599, p. 24).

68 Rough drafts for the song are to be found in Ho 8, ff. [13.sup.v]-[14.sup.r] (couplet) and f. [12.sup.v] (refrain), two folios after sketches for 'Chez le docteur' and two folios before a waltz called 'Le Champagne' (part of Satie's music for *Pousse l'amour*). The notebook ends with sketches for the *Passacaille*, composed in the summer of 1906.

69 The Salabert edition is apparently based on the fair (untexted) copies in the Houghton collection (Ho 40-42). The titles are in an unknown hand. Extensive drafts for the songs are found in BN 9579, among drafts for counterpoint exercises that were submitted in October and November 1907.

70 Les Quat'z-Arts, No. 43 (4 January 1908).

71 Virgil Thomson, 'French Music Here', *New York Herald Tribune*, 5 January 1941; reprinted in *idem*, *The Musical Scene*, New York, 1945, pp. 117-18. See also *idem*, 'In the Theater', *Modern Music*, xiv/2 (1937), 102; and my *Erik Satie and Parisian Musical Entertainment*, p. 105.

72 See *La Lune Rousse*, No. 1 (15 September 1904), 1. The mast-head is patterned after that of *Le Chat Noir* (before 1895) and includes, in its illustration, a black cat gazing out

over the rooftops and windmills of Montmartre towards a harvest moon.

73 I have examined a bound volume containing issues from 1904 to 1906 plus a loose number from 1907 kindly shown to me by Ornella Volta at the Archives de la Fondation Erik Satie. A fragmentary run is housed at the Bibliothèque Nationale. According to the monthly paper, the house pianist was the composer Adolph Stanislas.

74 See also 'Le Piccadilly. Marche' and 'Imperial-Oxford', registered at SACEM on 19 October 1904 and 18 August 1905 respectively.

75 The sentimental style was particularly suited to Paulette Darty, and one lovely example of Satie's efforts in this vein was published (Paris: G. Ricordi, 1904; plate number 109561) under the title 'Douceur d'oublier' as a composition of Darty (with lyrics by Maurice de Feraudy). Satie's heavily worked draft (BN 9598, pp. 27-30) shows that if

he did not compose the melody, he certainly provided the accompaniment.

76 To these chansons I would add 'Psitt! Psitt!' sketched in Ho 9 amid drafts of counterpoint exercises that Satie submitted in autumn 1907. Darty sang a 'chanson polyglotte' in a revue called *Chapeau! Chapeau!* at the Comédie Royale (first performed on 22 December 1907), and 'Psitt! Psitt!' has a polyglot refrain.

77 Fair copies of a 'Valse de Feraudy', a 'Chanson andalouse', and 'Le Champagne' (the last with cues for dialogue) were set down in Ho 3 based on drafts in Ho 2, Ho 8, BN

9642 and BN 9577. The fragment entitled 'Aim-Cheri' (in BN 9642, p. 49) and listed by Orledge as a distinct piece (Satie the Composer, p. 290) is identical, as far as it goes, with 'Le Champagne', while the piece given the title 'Gambades' by Robert Caby (Carnet d'esquisses et de croquis, 1968) is actually an early draft for the 'Chanson andalouse'. Pousse l'amour, originally destined for the Theatre des Capucines (see Orledge, Satie the Composer, pp. 288-9, 347-8 n. 10), enjoyed a successful run at the Comedie Royale from late November 1907 to February 1908, with a revival at the Theatre Imperial in November-December 1912. Both Parisian productions were followed by performances at southern resorts (Nice and Monte Carlo).

78 Several strains entitled 'La Chemise' were drafted in Ho 4 and Ho 5, notebooks that also contain a repertory of uninspired accompaniments for popular chansons and a fair amount of school work. A fair (texted) copy of one of these strains was formerly in the collection of Jacques Guerin; its music is virtually identical with the reconstruction (from Ho 4 and Ho 5) provided in my Erik Satie and Parisian Musical Entertainment, pp. 192-7. 'La Chemise' was performed, perhaps for the first time, at Satie's Arcueil concert on 24 October 1909 (see below); the author of the text was Jules Depaquit. A dispatch from L'Avenir d'Arcueil-Cachan (21 November 1909) announces Darty's performance of the piece at the Scala; see The Writings of Erik Satie, ed. & trans. Nigel Wilkins, London, 1980, p. 160. Darty's current engagement at that establishment, with a 'repertoire completement nouveau', had begun on 6 November according to the entertainment column of Le Gaulois of that date.

79 The place of Satie in Cocteau's aesthetic agenda has been treated most recently by Nancy Perloff (Art and the Everyday: Popular Entertainment and the Circle of Erik Satie, Oxford, 1991), focusing on the music of Satie, Milhaud, Poulenc and Auric during the years 1917-24.

80 Ravel had known Satie since 1893 or 1894; see Roland-Manuel, Maurice Ravel, London, 1947, p. 21. And Satie was on quite friendly terms with at least one member of Ravel's circle, Florent Schmitt, by November 1900, when he wrote a letter to Schmitt using the familiar 'tu' (autograph letter held in the Music Department of the Bibliotheque Nationale). The concert at which Ravel brought Satie out of obscurity as the 'precursor of genius' took place in January 1911.

81 Vincent Hyspa, L'Eponge en porcelaine: seize conferences fantaisistes, Paris, 1921. In a letter of 21 July 1921 to Paulette Darty, Satie mentions that he had made several trips to Montmartre to visit Jules Depaquit, presumably in connection with this project (autograph letter in a private collection).

82 See Satie, Ecrits, ed. Volta, p. 242.

83 Ibid., No. 323.

84 The lecture on 'Les Chansonniers' originally appeared in Les Quat'z-Arts of 2 and 9 January 1898.

85 Hyspa, 'Souvenirs de cabaret', p. 227: '. . . il ne s'est pas endormi, car son esprit est toujours aussi eveille, et s'il lui arrive de dormir, on peut etre assure qu'il ne dort que d'un oeil'. See also Satie's essay 'La Journee du musicien' (Ecrits, ed. Volta, No. 11): 'Je ne dors que d'un oeil; mon sommeil est tres dur'.

86 Satie's musical allusions received their first comprehensive discussion from Leon Guichard in 'A propos d'Erik Satie: notules incoherentes', Universite de Grenoble. U.E.R. de Lettres. Recherches et Travaux, Bulletin No. 7 (March 1973), 63-80. Alan Gillmor devotes considerable attention to them in his commentary on the piano suites (Erik Satie, Boston, 1988, pp. 152-68), while Orledge provides a convenient list in Satie the Composer, pp. 200-202.

87 For a full discussion of the procedure and examples of how Satie may have learnt

from it, see my 'Musical Parody and Two "Oeuvres posthumes" of Erik Satie'.

88 'A quiconque. Je defends de lire, a haute voix, le texte, durant le temps de l'execution musicale. Tout manquement a cette observation entrainerait ma juste indignation contre l'outrecuidant. Il ne sera accorde aucun passedroit.' It is certainly no coincidence that this impediment to communication is found on the score of 'Obstacles venimeux', the first piece in Heures seculaires & instantanees. As with others of Satie's ceremoniously severe pronouncements, it is difficult to know just how seriously this is to be taken. If reading the texts aloud while playing would draw the author's 'righteous indignation', are other means necessarily excluded (for example, reading them beforehand, or printing them in programme notes)? The ideal way to give the humoristic suites a proper 'live' performance would be to project the manuscript score on a screen beside or behind the pianist. This would permit an unobtrusive co-ordination of text and music while allowing Satie's unique calligraphy its share in the experience. Sports et divertissements should be offered in no other way in a recital.

89 See Satie, *Ecrits*, ed. Volta, No. 150. For an English translation, see Rollo H. Myers, *Erik Satie*, London, 1948 (repr. New York, 1968), 110-11.

## APPENDIX I

### References to Hyspa and Satie in *Le Chat Noir*

#### (a) Hyspa

1888 21 January: 'Orgue de Barbarie' (poem)

21 April: 'Sonnet Bleu-Or' (poem)

12 May: 'Sonnet' (poem)

26 May: 'De Profundis' (poem)

10 November: 'Premier amour' (story dedicated to Albert Tinchant)

24 November: 'Misericorde' (poem)

1889 2 March: 'Hyspa. Aucun de vos peches ne vous sera remis, vilain scolaire' (notice in 'Petites correspondances').

1892 13 February: Announcement of current performances includes 'Ispa (Le Ver Solitaire)'.

Thereafter one finds numerous notices of performances and some poems by Hyspa, the last on 13 May 1893.

#### (b) Satie

1888 24 November: 'Vient de paraitre, 66, boulevard Magenta, la troisieme Gymnopedie, de Erik Satie. Nous ne saurions trop recommander au public musical cette oeuvre essentiellement artistique, qui passe, a juste titre, pour l'une des plus belles du siecle qui a vu naitre ce malheureux gentilhomme.'

1889 9 February: 'Enfin! les amateurs de musique gaie vont pouvoir s'en donner a coeur joie. / L'indefatigable Erik-Satie, l'homme-sphinx, le compositeur a la tete de bois, nous annonce l'apparition d'une nouvelle oeuvre dont il dit, des a present, le plus grand bien. / C'est une suite de melodies concues dans le genre mystico-liturgique que l'auteur idolatre, avec ce titre suggestif: Les Ogives. / Nous souhaitons a Erik-Satie un succes semblable a celui qu'il obtint jadis avec sa Troisieme Gymnopedie, actuellement sous [sic] tousles pianos. / En vente, 66, boulevard Magenta.'

20 July: 'Nous rappelons au public que M. Erik Satie, ancien eleve du Conservatoire, vient d'ouvrir un cours de piano a son domicile, 50, rue Condorcet'

23 November: 'Vieux jeu', poem by Leopold Dauphin (alias Pimpinelli) dedicated 'a Erik Satie'

1892 29 October: Satie involved as a character in a story by George Auriol

1893 23 September: 'Les Gorges d'Heric', poem by Leopold Dauphin (Pimpinelli) dedicated 'a l'ami E. Satie'

## APPENDIX II

Satie's Accompaniment Notebooks Containing the Repertory of Vincent Hyspa

The accompaniments that Satie arranged for Vincent Hyspa are found chiefly in the autograph notebooks and stray leaves for which a partial inventory is provided below, with the manuscripts listed in approximate chronological order. For want of space, the notebooks containing Satie's original compositions for Hyspa are not inventoried: references to these sources are found in the main body of the article.

The Satie manuscripts at the Houghton Library, Harvard University, were catalogued and renumbered in 1992. The provisional numbers used in my Erik Satie and Parisian Musical Entertainment and in Orledge, Satie the Composer (e.g. Ho 12, Ho 13 etc.) have been retained below, but the new numbers are also supplied from the Houghton Library accessions records. Autographs held at the Music Department of the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, are identified by the abbreviation 'BN'. All items are in Satie's hand unless otherwise indicated. Foliation of the Houghton notebooks is provided only for the sake of reference; Ho 12 is the only notebook with page numbers, which do not seem to be in Satie's hand. The BN notebooks were paginated by the library staff in 1953.

Any title supplied by Satie is given for each chanson. Titles supplied from Hyspa's Chansons d'humour (Paris: Enoch, 1903) are given in square brackets. The state of work is described as a rough draft (much reworking but still coherent), a draft (light to moderate revisions) or a fair copy (an apparently final version with little or no revision). The chansons are written in vocal score, in piano score or as simple melodies. Cross-references to Chansons d'humour provide original titles and/or identify original composers. When not apparent from the title, the subject of each chanson is briefly noted. Any dates of first performance are supplied from the entertainment columns of *Le Gaulois*.

Ho 16 = bMS Mus 193 (29)

Oblong music notebook (220 x 141 mm.), turquoise covers, 10 written pages, 6 staves

per page. None of the drafts except that on folio 1 is in Satie's hand.

f. 1 ['Les Complots'] Untitled draft in Satie's hand. 34 bars; melody only, black ink. Chansons d'humour, p. 189: 'Vieil air arrange par V.H.' Subject: Paul Deroulede, rumoured in August 1899 to be planning a coup d'etat. Fair copy in Ho. 10, f. 4.

ff. [1.sup.v]-2 'Les Chansonniers' Fair copy. 4 bars (intro.) + 16 bars; vocal score, black ink. Chansons d'humour, p. 253: 'Air: Musique de chambre' by Gustave Goublier. Related to Hyspa's lecture of the same title, which appeared in *Les Quat'z-Arts* on 2 and 9 January 1898.

ff. [2.sup.v]-3 'Le Desarmement' Fair copy. 4 bars (intro.) + 16 bars; vocal score, blank ink. Chansons d'humour, p. 203: 'Musique arrangee par Vincent Hyspa'. Subject: Tsar Nicholas II's proposal (28 August 1898) of a peace conference at The Hague (convened 18 May 1899).

ff. [3.sup.v]-4 'Le Zebre a Felix Faure' Fair copy. 4 bars (intro.) + 17 bars; vocal score, black ink. Chansons d'humour, p. 45: 'Vieil air arrange par V.H.' Subject: President Faure's encounter with an African ambassador. Introduced by Hyspa on 12 November 1898 at the *Treteau de Tabarin*.

ff. [4.sup.v]-5 'Le Duc de Connaught et le President aux manoeuvres' Fair copy. 3/4: 4 bars (intro.) + 15 bars [where] 4/4: 11 bars; vocal score, black ink. At the end the note

'Entre chaque couplet on peut reprendre les deux derniers mesures'. Chansons d'humour, p. 69: 'C'est un oiseau qui vient de France'. Introduced by Hyspa on 2 October 1898 at the Treteau de Tabarin (opening night).

Ho 12 = bMS Mus 193 (25)

Oblong music notebook (192 x 122 mm.), 34 pp. (of an original 56), 30 written, 10 staves per page.

p. 1 'Monsieur de Paris' Rough draft. Unbarred piano score; intro. in black ink, then red ink with revisions in black. As yet, not identified as a cabaret chanson: probably a later addition.

p. 2 'Le Zebre' False start: nothing beyond title, brace, clefs and key-signatures. Copied out complete on page 8.

[ 'Entrevue de Noisy-le-Sec' ] 4-bar revision of intro. for draft on following page.

p. 3 'Entrevue de Noisy-le-Sec' Draft. 24 bars; piano score, black ink. Chansons d'humour, p. 34: 'Musique arrangee par V.H.' Subject: whistlestop meeting between President Faure and Queen Victoria, 16 May 1896.

p. 4 'Lettre de Russie' Draft. 4 bars (unbarred intro.) + 20 bars; piano score, intro. in red ink, accompaniment in red and black inks. Chansons d'humour, p. 56: 'Musique de

Vincent Hyspa'. Subject: President Faure's visit to Russia in August 1897.

p. 5 'La Visite imperiale' Draft. 6 bars (unbarred intro.) + 18 bars; piano score, black ink lightly revised in red. Chansons d'humour, p. 21: 'Musique arrangee par Vincent Hyspa'. Subject: visit of Tsar Nicholas II to Paris, October 1896.

p. 6 'Le Duc de Connaught' Draft copied from Ho 16, ff. [4.sup.v]-5; continues in Ho 13.

One leaf removed, listed as Ho 13 = bMS Mus 193 (26). On the recto: [ 'Le Duc de Connaught' ]; concludes draft begun in Ho 12, p. 6. On the verso: 'Les Chansonniers'; fair copy, copied from Ho 16, ff. [1.sup.v]-2.

p. 7 'Felix a Lens' Fair copy. 6 bars (intro.) + 10 bars; piano score, intro. in red ink, vamp in black, bass line in bar of singer's entrance in red. Chansons d'humour, p. 61: 'Vieil air recueilli et derange par V.H.' Subject: visit of President Faure to coal-mines at Lens, 24 November 1898. Introduced by Hyspa on 15 January 1899 at the Treteau de Tabarin.

One leaf removed

p. 8 'Le Zebre' Fair copy. 4 bars (intro.) + 17 bars; vocal score, black ink. Copied from Ho 16, ff. [3.sup.v]-4.

p. 9 Blank

pp. 10-11 'La femme qui ne passe pas' Fair copy. Andantino: 3 bars (intro.) + 16 bars; vocal score, black ink revised (once) in red. Intro. scribbled over, recopied. Chansons d'humour, p. 267: 'Le Noyau qui ne passe pas'; melody is 'Une femme qui passe' by Paul Delmet.

pp. 12-13 'Le Prisonnier saugrenu' Draft. 3 bars (intro.) + 11 bars; vocal score, accompaniment in black ink, voice in red. Chansons d'humour, p. 99: 'Le Prisonnier de l'Elysee', 'Musique recueillie par V. Hyspa'. Subject: virtual isolation of Emile Loubet (elected President on 18 February 1899) in Elysee Palace due to enmity of royalists, nationalists and other anti-Dreyfusards.

p. 13 'recueil des fetes' Sketch. 2 bars ('ritoumelle') + 8 bars; melody only, ink. Hand probably not Satie's but Hyspa's. Note: since the Petit recueil des fetes was declared at SACEM on 16 January 1904, this sketch was probably a later addition to Ho 12. The same melody has the title 'air fantome' in Ho 73 (also in Hyspa's hand). There are drafts of this song in Ho 11, f. [17.sup.v] (rough), Ho 2, f. [13.sup.v], and BN 9599, p. 22 (with three strophes of text).

pp. 14-15 'Epiciers' Draft. 2 bars (intro.) + 17 bars; vocal score, accompaniment in black ink, voice in red. Chansons d'humour, p. 259: 'La Marseillaise des Epiciers'; melody is 'Air des Girondins' by A. Varney. Drafted one tone lower in Ho 75 (single leaf), with a fair copy in the new key in Ho 49. Subject: political consciousness of corner grocers.

Two leaves removed

pp. 16-17 'Desarmement' Fair copy. 4 bars (intro.) + 16 bars; vocal score, black ink. Chansons d'humour, p. 203: 'Musique arrangee par Vincent Hyspa'. Subject: Tsar Nicholas II's invitation (11 January 1899) to a peace conference at The Hague (convened 18 May 1899). Exact copy of Ho 16, ff. [2.sup.v]-3.

pp. 18-19 'Discours original des Presidents de France' Fair copy. 4 bars (intro.) + 17 bars; vocal score, ink. Hyspa has pencilled in the title given in Chansons d'humour - 'Toast du President dans ses Tournees de Province' - and on page 19 he has provided the instruction '8 couplets (1 mesure de ritournelle)'. Chansons d'humour (p. 135) identifies the melody as 'T'en souviens-tu?' by Emile Debraux. Also printed in *La Bonne Chanson*, ii (1909), 148-9, in an arrangement by Andre Colomb. Subject: Loubet's first official trip to the provinces in April 1899.

pp. 20-21 'Loubet assassin' Rough draft. 4 bars (intro.) + 31 bars; vocal score, black ink revised in red ink and pencil. At the end, Satie has written, 'Quel est le cochon qui a copie ca?' Chansons d'humour, p. 89: 'Le President au Concours des Animaux gras'; melody is 'La Ronde du Bresilien' by Offenbach. Subject: event on Loubet's first official trip to the provinces in April 1899. Introduced by Hyspa at the Treteau de Tabarin on 29 April 1899.

pp. 22-23 'Cette bonne vieille vache!' Draft. 4 bars (intro.) + 16 bars; vocal score, ink. Chansons d'humour, p. 351: 'La Vache enragee'; melody is 'Son camarade fait la mem' chose que lui' by Queyriaux & Chicot. Text appears in Hyspa's lecture on 'La Vache enragee' in *Les Quat'z-Arts*, 26 December 1897.

pp. 24-25 'Peintres francais' Fair copy with text of first strophe. 4 bars (intro.) + 22 bars + 5 bars (tag); vocal score, black ink. Hyspa has pencilled his title, 'Un diner a l'Elysee', at the top of page 24. Both pages are crossed out in blue pencil, and the song is recopied a minor third lower on a single leaf removed from Ho 12 (now catalogued among Ho 62; see below).

p. 26 [Fragments] Top: 5 bars; vocal score, r.h. only, black ink, D, 3/4. Middle: 5 bars; piano score, black ink, D or d, 2/4. Bottom: 4 bars; melody only, black ink, D or d, 2/4, labelled 'Variante'.

Two leaves cut out, one catalogued among leaves of Ho 62 (= bMS Mus 193 (64)), the other as Ho 66 (= bMS Mus 193 (52)). On the recto of the Ho 62 leaf are sketches: (1) 5 bars; melody only, pencil, C, 6/8; (2) three fragments of 2-3 chords each, pencil. On the verso is 'Peintres francais' (fair copy; 4 bars (intro.) + 22 bars + 5 bars ('Tres lent') + 3 bars ('entre les couplets')); vocal score, ink; marked 'ton d'Hyspa'; covers recto of next leaf (Ho 66); Chansons d'humour, p. 107: 'Un diner a l'Elysee', 'Musique de Erik Satie'. On the recto of Ho 66 is the second page of the fair copy of 'Peintres francais'. Both leaves are folded down the middle, with much deterioration along the crease. On the verso of Ho 66, on either side of the crease, are a rough draft and fair copy of a text describing the 'Principaute d'Usedom-Wollin' in brown ink (printed in Satie, *Ecrits*, ed. Volta, Nos. 387, 388).

p. 27 ['La Triste Fin du Taureau Romito aux courses de deuil'] Draft of refrain. 14 bars; piano score, ink. Chansons d'humour, p. 345: 'Air du Toreador, du Carmen'. This draft picks up the arrangement of Bizet's aria where the draft in Ho 10, ff. 5-[5.sup.v], leaves

off. Simplification of vocal score prepared by Bizet (Paris: Choudens, 1890).

p. 28 'La Haute Cour' Draft. Unbarred; abbreviated vocal score, black ink. Partly texted (not in Satie's hand). Chansons d'humour, p. 237: 'Une Seance a la Haute-Cour du Roi Petaud, Sur l'air de: Ah! ces enfants' by Georges Tiercy. Subject: Deroulede and other participants in an attempted coup d'etat of February 1899 came before this court in November 1899. Song introduced at the Boite a Fursy on 23 December 1899. Text declared at SACEM on 28 November 1899.

p. 29 Blank

p. 30 [Jack in the Box] Sketch. 15 bars; piano score, ink. For the Prelude.

p. 31 [Fragment] 2 bars; piano score, ink, G(?), 4/4.

p. 32 Blank

p. 33 [Index] In pencil, not Satie's hand. Includes only two titles: 'La femme qui passe' and 'Toast du President'.

p. [34] Blank

Ho 49 = bMS Mus 193 (62)

Single leaf torn from a music notebook (258 X 162 mm.), 12 staves.

f.1 ['La Marseillaise des Epiciers'] Draft. 18 bars; melody only, black ink, C, 4/4 (marked for transposition 'en mi'). After the last bar, the following comment in Satie's hand: 'Il me semble que cette delicieuse melodie doit etre harmonisee avec une grande decence, bien qu'elle soit guerriere. Je fais ici une modeste observation qui n'engage personne, pas meme moi.' See Ho 12, pp. 14-15.

f. [1.sup.v] ['Le Prisonnier de l'Elysee'] Fair copy. 3 bars (intro.) + 11 bars; vocal score, melody in red ink, accompaniment in black. Last strophe cued in another hand. After the last bar, the following comment in Satie's hand: 'pour finir, faire un de ces bons vieux accords de sol mineur, si vous en avez un dans vos cartons'. See Ho 12, pp. 12-13.

Ho 10 = bMS Mus 193 (23)

Music notebook (193 X 122 mm.), black covers embossed with Paisley pattern, 40 pp. (of an original 48) + ii, 40 written, 10 staves per page.

ff. 1-2 ['Un diner a l'Elysee'] Sketches. Vocal score, ink, G, 2/4. Includes much of Hyspa's text.

ff. [2.sup.v]-3 [Sketches for Jack-in-the-Box]

f. 4 ['Les Complots'] Fair copy. 2/4: 5 bars (intro.) + 16 bars [where] 3/4:1 bar; 2/4: 17 bars; vocal score, voice in red ink, accompaniment in brown ink. Chansons d'humour, p. 189: 'vieil air arrange par V.H.' Based on melody draft in Ho 16, f. 1. Text declared at SACEM on 28 November 1899.

f. [4.sup.v] [Scenario] Rough draft, ink. Reproduced in Satie, *Ecrits*, ed. Volta, No. 167.

ff. 5-[6.sup.v] ['La Triste Fin du Taureau Romito aux courses de deuil!'] Rough draft. 40 bars; piano score, ink. See Ho 12, p. 27. Text declared at SACEM on 28 November 1899.

Folios [5.sup.v] and [6.sup.v] also contain sketches for Jack-in-the-Box.

f. [7.sup.v] ['Une Seance a la Haute Cour'] Sketch. Vocal score, ink. See Ho 12, p. 28.

f. 8 ['Les Depeches anglaises'] Sketch. 25 bars; melody only, black ink. Chansons d'humour, p. 197: 'Air du Chameau' by Laurent de Rille. Subject: outbreak of Boer War, 11 October 1899. Introduced on 22 December 1899 at the Boite a Fursy. At the bottom

of the page is a sketch (9 bars; piano score) for the 'Final' of Jack-in-the-Box. The rest of the notebook contains sketches and drafts for 'Le Veuf' (both settings), the songs included in the Petit recueil des fetes, the 'Air de Genevieve' (from Genevieve de Brabant), The Dreamy Fish and 'Tendrement'. Substantially the same contents are found in much the same order in Ho 11.

BN 9600

Music notebook (193 x 122 mm.), black covers embossed with Paisley pattern, 36 pp. (of an original 48) + iv, 33 written, 10 staves per page. The similar appearance and contents of BN 9600 suggest that the notebook was purchased and used together with Ho 10 and Ho 11.

pp. 2-12 Removed

pp. 13-17 Prelude de 'La Mort de Monsieur Mouche' Fair copy. Piano score, black ink. Continues on page 15 (page 14 is blank) and at the top of page 17. Bears stamp (light blue ink) of the Societe des Auteurs with the date '18 AVRIL 1900'. Sketches for The Dreamy Fish appear on pages 16 and 17.

p. 18 ['Les Joies de l'Exposition'] Draft. Erratically barred piano score in red and black inks. Chansons d'humour (p. 219) identifies the melody as 'C'est la fille a ma tante' from Louis Varney's operetta La Femme de Narcisse (1892). Subject: disruptions of everyday life in Paris owing to the Exposition. Introduced at the Boite a Fursy on 1 May 1900. Note: on the mistaken assumption that this was a composition by Satie, Robert Caby published it posthumously under the title 'Petite musique de clown triste' (Paris: Max Eschig, 1980).

p. 19 ['Souvenir de l'Inauguration de l'Exposition'] Draft. 1 bar (intro.) + 14 bars; vocal score, accompaniment in red ink, voice in black ink. Chansons d'humour, p. 115: 'musique arrangee par Vincent Hyspa'. The Exposition was opened on 14 April 1900.

pp. 20-21 ['Les Elephants'] Fair copy. 2 bars (intro.) + 4 bars recitative-like declamation + 51 bars; piano score, black ink lightly revised in red. Chansons d'humour (p. 333) identifies the melody as "'Les Enfants" (MASSENET.)', a melodie published in 1882 to verse by Georges Boyer. Note: on the mistaken assumption that this was a composition by Satie, Robert Caby published it posthumously under the title 'Reverie du pauvre' (Paris: Salabert, 1968).

The rest of the notebook contains sketches and drafts for The Dreamy Fish, Jack-in-the-Box, 'Le Roi soleil de plomb' (used for the 'Prolongation' in Trois morceaux en forme de poire) and various instrumental waltzes, including 'Je te veux' and 'Poudre d'or' in their orchestral versions.