

Notes

1 Introduction

1 The situation in German opera in these decades is comprehensively discussed by John Warrack in his magisterial *German Opera: From the Beginnings to Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

2 *The Diaries of Giacomo Meyerbeer*, I (1791–1839), and II (1840–49), trans., ed. and annotated by Robert Ignatius Letellier (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999, 2001); Hector Berlioz, *La Critique musicale 1823–1863*, ed. H. Robert Cohen (vol. I only), and Yves Gérard (Paris: Buchet/Chastel, 1996–): I (1823–24) (1996); II (1835–36) (1998); III (1837–38) (2001).

3 Anselm Gerhard, 'Die französische "Grand Opéra" in der Forschung seit 1945', *Acta Musicologica*, 59/3 (1988), 220–70.

4 Jürgen Schläder, *Das Openuett: Ein Szenentypus des 19. Jahrhunderts und seine Vorgeschichte* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995).

5 Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); *Realism in 19th-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

6 Hervé Lacombe, 'Définitions des genres lyriques dans les dictionnaires français du XIX^e siècle', in *Le Théâtre Lyrique en France au XIX^e siècle*, ed. Paul Prévost (Metz: Serpenoise, 1995), 297–334.

7 'The best actors in the world, either for tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral, tragical-historical, tragical-comical-historical-pastoral, scene indivisible, or poem unlimited.' *Hamlet*, II. 2.

8 [Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Nougaret], *De l'art du théâtre en général*, 2 vols. (Paris: Cailleau, 1768), II, 214, 223, 226. My thanks to Herbert Schneider for pointing this out.

9 Jérôme-Joseph de Momigny, 'Opéra', in *Encyclopédie méthodique: Musique*, vol. II (Paris: Veuve Agasse, 1818; repr. New York, 1971), 220–41. The article gives a historical account of 'OPERA (GRAND)' from Lully (1632–87) to Spontini (*b.* 1774), divided into five 'schools'.

10 F. W. J. Hemmings, 'The Licensing System, 1814–1864' and 'The State-Supported Theatres in the Nineteenth Century', in *Theatre and State in France 1760–1905*

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 160–92.

11 Lacombe, 'Définitions des genres lyriques', 309.

12 David Kimbell, *Verdi in the Age of Italian Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

13 Karin Pendle, *Eugène Scribe and French Opera of the Nineteenth Century* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1979); *eadem*, 'The Boulevard Theaters and Continuity in French Opera of the 19th Century', in *Music in Paris in the Eighteen-Thirties*, ed. Peter Bloom (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1987), 509–35.

14 D. G. Charlton, 'The French Romantic Movement', in *The French Romantics*, ed. Charlton, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), I, 1–32, here 17.

15 Mark Everist, 'Meyerbeer's *Il crociato in Egitto*: *Mélodrame*, Opera, Orientalism', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 8/3 (1996), 215–50, here 247–8.

16 Théodore de Lajarte, *Bibliothèque musicale du Théâtre de l'Opéra: catalogue historique*, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, 1878). Catel's oriental *Les Bayadères* (1810), seen up to 1828, was the only comparable success (140 performances); all other successful, long-running Paris Opéra productions were ballets of various sorts.

17 Lajarte, *Bibliothèque musicale du Théâtre de l'Opéra*, II, 69. See also his 'Spontini: *La Vestale* et *Fernand Cortez*', *Le Ménestrel*, 40, 2303–7 (6, 13, 20, 27 September and 4 October 1874).

18 Lajarte, 'Spontini: *La Vestale* et *Fernand Cortez*', *Le Ménestrel*, 40, 2305 (20 September 1874), 329. This document has been identified as Paris, Archives nationales, AJ¹³.92, dossier 470: Nicole Wild, *Décors et costumes du XIX^e siècle. Tome I: Opéra de Paris* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1987), 108. It was a report from Mitoire as *garde-magasin des Menus-Plaisirs* to the Director of the Opéra. Costume designs from the same production are seen in *New Grove* 2, X, 290.

19 *Journal de Paris*, 169 (9 March 1798), 704. The production was at the Opéra-Comique, however.

20 [Hector Berlioz], 'Le *Requiem* des Invalides . . .', *Journal des débats*, 9 August 1835, in Hector Berlioz, *Critique musicale*, II,

- 247–54, here 252. He goes on to say how effective the choral use of bass voices was in *Robert le Diable*.
- 21 Moline de Saint-Yon, 'Avant-propos', *Ipsiboé, Opéra en quatre actes* (Paris: Roulet, 1824), [i]. There is no critical literature on this work, adapted from a contemporary novel of the same name by vicomte d'Arlincourt, which has its own ironic preface (2nd edn, Paris: Béchét, 1823).
- 22 Sieghart Döhring, 'Giacomo Meyerbeer and the Opera of the Nineteenth Century', website 'Meyerbeer Fan Club', <http://www.meyerbeer.com/sieghart.htm>, 1–8 [4], accessed on 26 March 1999.
- 23 Peter Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995 [1976]), esp. 90–3. We mentioned earlier Karin Pendle's work in this area.
- 24 [Anon.], 'Sur les pièces à décorations', in *Courier des spectacles*, 718 (21 pluviôse VII/9 February, 1799), 2–3.
- 25 See Thierry Delcourt, 'De Mehmed II à Mahomet II, le vrai paysage historique', *L'Avant-scène opéra*, 81 (*Le Siège de Corinthe*, 1985), 4–7.
- 26 Janet Lynn Johnson, 'The Théâtre Italien and Opera and Theatrical Life in Restoration Paris, 1818–1827', dissertation, University of Chicago (1988), 63, 67.
- 27 My translation from Edouard Robert's *Observations sur le Théâtre Royal Italien* (Paris, 1832), reproduced in Johnson, *ibid.*, 47.
- 28 Scott L. Balthazar, 'Aspects of form in the Ottocento Libretto', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 7/1 (1995), 23–35.
- 29 As in Metastasio's *Demofoonte* the central couple have a young child already, born and raised in secret.
- 30 At least from Monsigny and Sedaine's *Le Déserteur* (1769), a pioneering work in this, as in so much else; presumed infidelity causes Alexis, like an anti-hero, to desert the army knowing that deserters are routinely shot. Act II and much of Act III are set in a prison. Type 2 operas succeeding *Le Déserteur* include 'tyrant' and other 'rescue' operas under the Revolution.
- 31 Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 128.
- 32 Hemmings, *Theatre and State in France*, 208.
- 33 Douglas Johnson, 'Historians', in *The French Romantics*, ed. Charlton, II, 274–307, here 290.
- 34 Stendhal, *Vie de Rossini*, translated and annotated by Richard Coe as *Life of Rossini*, rev. edn (London: Calder & Boyars, 1970; John Calder, 1985), 60–2.
- 35 Ludwig Finscher, 'Aubers *La Muette de Portici* und die Anfänge der Grand-opéra', in *Festschrift Heinz Becker*, ed. Jürgen Schläder and Reinhold Quandt (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1982), 87–105.
- 36 Scott, *Rob Roy*, Chapter 4.
- 37 *Rob Roy*, Chapter 9. A 'pie' is a book of ecclesiastical rules; a 'graille' a book of antiphons; and a 'portuasse' a portable breviary.
- 38 Jane Fulcher, *The Nation's Image: French Grand Opera as Politics and Politicized Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Anselm Gerhard, 'Großstadt und Große Oper: Motive der "Grand Opéra" in Verdis *Les Vêpres siciliennes* und ausgewählten Pariser Opern von Rossini und Meyerbeer', dissertation, Technische Universität, Berlin (1985).
- 39 Fulcher, *The Nation's Image*, 170. This view was severely contested by Anselm Gerhard in a review of the same book within *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 149 (1988), Heft 3, 57–8.
- 40 *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, ed. D. M. Palliser, Peter Clark and M. J. Daunton, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, 2001).
- 41 Adrien Richer, *Essai sur les grands événements par les petits causes, tiré de l'histoire*, 2 vols. (Geneva: Hardy, 1758–9), mentioned in Gerhard, *Urbanization*, 311.
- 42 In actual history Péronne was being invaded by a lieutenant of Charles V of Spain. But this simply shows that the librettist wished to reflect modern times through opera realistically, using 'historical' material.
- 43 Alessandro Manzoni, 'Lettre de M. Manzoni à M. C*** sur l'unité de tems et de lieu dans la tragédie', in *Opere di Alessandro Manzoni*, 6 vols. (Florence: Fratelli Batelli, 1828), I, 142–239, here 145–6, 155ff., 188ff.
- 44 For example, Steven Huebner's review in *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 18/2 (1994), 168–74.
- 45 Mary Ann Smart, 'Mourning the Duc d'Orléans: Donizetti's *Dom Sébastien* and the Political Meanings of Grand Opera', in *Reading Critics Reading*, ed. Smart and Roger Parker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 188–212.
- 46 Heather Hadlock, 'The Career of Cherubino, or the Trouser Role Grows Up', in *Siren Songs: Representations of Gender and Sexuality in Opera*, ed. Mary Ann Smart (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 73.
- 47 Austin Caswell (ed.), *Embellished Opera Arias* (Madison, WI: A–R Editions, 1989); Will Crutchfield, 'Ornamentation' §2 and §3

in *Grove Opera* (see additional publications in the bibliography to this article).

48 Mary Ann Smart, 'The Lost Voice of Rosine Stoltz', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 6/1 (1994), 31–50.

49 Alan Armstrong, 'Gilbert-Louis Duprez and Gustave Roger in the Composition of Meyerbeer's *Le Prophète*', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 8/2 (1996), 147–65.

50 Robert Ignatius Letellier, 'History, Myth and Music in a Theme of Exploration: Some Reflections on the Musico-Dramatic Language of *L'Africaine*', in *Meyerbeer und das europäische Musiktheater*, ed. Sieghart Döhring and Arnold Jacobshagen (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1998); Gabriela Cruz, 'Laughing at History: the Third Act of Meyerbeer's *L'Africaine*', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 11/1 (1999), 31–76.

51 James Parakilas, 'The Soldier and the Exotic: Operatic Variations on a Theme of Racial Encounter', *Opera Quarterly*, 10 (1993), 33–56.

52 Cormac Newark, 'Ceremony, Celebration and Spectacle in *La Juive*', in *Reading Critics Reading*, ed. Smart and Parker, 155–87. Diana Hallman's book on this composer is imminent at the time of writing.

53 Sarah Hibberd, 'Magnetism, Muteness, Magic: *Spectacle* and the Parisian Lyric Stage, c.1830', dissertation, University of Southampton (1998).

54 Dominique Leroy, *Histoire des arts du spectacle en France* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1990); Yves Ozanam, 'Recherches sur l'Académie royale de Musique (Opéra Français) sous la seconde Restauration', dissertation, 3 vols., Paris: Ecole des Chartes (1981).

55 John Duncan Drysdale, 'Louis Véron and the Finances of the *Académie Royale de Musique*, 1827 to 1835', dissertation, University of Southampton (2000).

56 Source: Herbert Schneider, *Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Werke von Daniel François Esprit Auber (AWV)*, 2 vols. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1994), I, 203ff.

57 Jean-Louis Tamvaco, *Les Cancans de l'Opéra. Chroniques de l'Académie Royale de Musique et du théâtre, à Paris sous les deux Restaurations*, 2 vols. (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2000).

58 Adrienne Simpson, *Opera's Farthest Frontier: A History of Professional Opera in New Zealand* (Birkenhead, Auckland: Reed, 1996).

59 *La Muette de Portici* was presented in 1853–54 at the San Giacomo theatre in Corfu, as was *Robert le Diable*. Information kindly provided by Kostas Kardamis.

2 The 'machine' and the state

1 It is customary to distinguish the Paris 'Opéra' (sometimes 'Grand Opéra'), meaning the company and its theatre building, from 'opera' or 'grand opera' as an art form; the same applies to the 'Opéra-Comique' and 'opéra comique'. See the Abbreviations (p. xvii) for more detailed aspects of nomenclature. Government departments etc. are referred to in this chapter by transparent translations.

2 'Public interest' here refers to the important concept of 'intérêt général' in French law, which includes the notion of the common good.

3 Hervé Lacombe, 'De la différenciation des genres: Réflexion sur la notion de genre lyrique français au début du XIX^e siècle', *Revue de musicologie*, 84/2 (1998), 247–62.

4 The secondary theatres were the Théâtre du Vaudeville, the Théâtre des Variétés, the Théâtre de la Gaîté, and the Théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique; Nicole Wild, *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiens au XIX^e siècle. Les théâtres et la musique* (Paris: Aux Amateurs de livres, 1989).

5 One bears the title *Sur l'Opéra, et sur les dangers auxquels il vient d'échapper* ['Concerning the Opéra and the Perils it has just Escaped'] and another is *Lettre sur l'Opéra et sur les dangers auxquels il n'a pas encore échappé, adressé à l'auteur d'un écrit sur l'Opéra et sur le danger auquel il vient d'échapper* ['Letter on the Opéra and the Perils from which it has not yet Escaped, Addressed to the Author of a Pamphlet on the Opéra and the Peril from which it has just Escaped'].

6 He was partly criticising what in French is called 'déclamation', an ancient and important term defined in various dictionaries. Louis de Cahusac in the great *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné*, ed. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond D'Alembert (Paris: Briasson, 1751–65), IV, called it 'the sung expression of emotion conveyed by the words'.

7 However, the Staging Committee ceased to function in the same way after 1831.

8 Scholarly investigation is possible thanks to the sources in the Opéra library (Bibliothèque-musée de l'Opéra) and the Archives nationales, Paris, and also to three fundamental studies: Yves Ozanam, 'Recherches sur l'Académie royale de musique sous la seconde Restauration (1815–1830)', dissertation, Paris: Ecole des Chartes (1981); Anne-Sophie Cras, 'L'Exploitation de l'Opéra sous la monarchie de Juillet', dissertation, Paris: Ecole des Chartes (1996); and Viviane

Deschamps, 'Histoire de l'administration de l'Opéra de Paris (Second Empire-Troisième République)', dissertation, Université de Paris IV (Sorbonne) (1987). The Archives nationales hold most of the records of the Opéra censorship (F²¹.989), together with the librettos submitted for censorship (F¹⁸).

9 However, it is extremely difficult to be sure about the social composition of the audience. See Steven Huebner's interesting study 'Opera Audiences in Paris, 1830–1870', *Music & Letters*, 70/2 (May 1989), 206–25, and Anselm Gerhard, *The Urbanization of Opera. Music Theater in Paris in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 25–33.

10 Véron's strategies are detailed in John Duncan Drysdale, 'Louis Véron and the Finances of the Académie Royale de Musique, 1827 to 1835', dissertation, University of Southampton (2000).

11 Dominique Leroy, *Histoire des arts du spectacle en France* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1990).

12 Gentil has now been shown to be the author of an unofficial backstage diary of the Opéra from 1836 to 1848: Jean-Louis Tamvaco, *Les Cancans de l'Opéra. Chroniques de l'Académie Royale de Musique et du théâtre, à Paris sous les deux Restaurations*, 2 vols. (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2000).

13 O. Krakovitch, *Hugo censuré: La liberté au théâtre au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1985).

14 'Art becomes political less through the express desire of the authorities than by its reception by the public in a given context': Olivier Bara, 'Une révolution manquée? Masaniello face à la censure', in *Le Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique sous la Restauration* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 2001), 259–80, here 264–5.

15 The opera house on the rue Le Peletier, designed by François Debret, was built in 1821. A full description with illustrations is in Jean Gourret, *Histoire des salles de l'Opéra de Paris* (Paris: Trédaniel, 1985), 141–62.

16 The ball scene was a favourite in the 1830s, and staged on its own as 'Le nouveau bal masqué de Gustave III': Tamvaco, *Les Cancans de l'Opéra*, vol. II *passim*.

17 The comparison with the modern cinema is obvious: H. Lacombe, 'Opéra et produits dérivés. Le cas du théâtre lyrique français au XIX^e siècle', in *Histoire des industries culturelles XIX^e–XX^e siècles*, ed. Jacques Marseilles and Patrick Eveno, actes de colloque (Paris-Sorbonne, 5–6 December 2001) (Paris: Association pour le Développement de l'Histoire Economique, 2002), 431–43.

18 'Opéra', in *Grand Dictionnaire du XIX^e siècle*, ed. Pierre Larousse, 15 vols. (Paris: Larousse et Boyer, 1866–76), XI, 1361.

19 Gerhard, *Urbanization*.

20 See Louis Pinto, *Pierre Bourdieu et la théorie du monde social* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1998), 153–65.

3 Fictions and librettos

1 W. H. Auden, 'Notes on Music and Opera', in *The Dyer's Hand and Other Essays* (London: Faber & Faber, 1963), 473.

2 Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais, *The Barber of Seville or the Futile Precaution*, trans. Gilbert Pestureau, Ann Wakefield and Gavin Witt (Lewiston, NY: The Edward Mellen Press, 1997), 2. Subsequent translations into English are my own, unless otherwise stated, as here. Joseph Addison, *The Spectator*, Wednesday 21 March 1711.

3 Anselm Gerhard describes the events of the 1830 performance in Brussels of *La Muette de Portici* as 'the revolutionary effect of this anti-revolutionary opera'. See his magisterial account, *The Urbanization of Opera: Music Theater in Paris in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 131.

4 In Herbert Lindenberger's words, 'the dual authorship that marks most of operatic history reveals tensions as well as possibilities foreign to other major forms of art': *Opera: The Extravagant Art* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), 115.

5 Meyerbeer's letter to Scribe from Berlin, editorially dated 21 April 1846, cited in Heinz and Gudrun Becker, *Giacomo Meyerbeer: A Life in Letters*, trans. Mark Violette (London: Helm, 1989), 106.

6 Brian Trowell, 'Libretto', in *Grove Opera*, II, 1194–5. Gerhard charts the historical shifts in this hierarchy as 'the primacy of the literary element' wanes after around 1830 with the displacement of the *tragédie lyrique* model, still promoted in 1825 by Victor-Joseph Etienne de Jouy (*Urbanization*, 40).

7 Louis-Désiré Véron, *Mémoires d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 6 vols. (Paris: Gonet, 1853–55), III, 252. See Chapter 10, p. 170, below for the continuation of this quotation.

8 Didier van Mœre, 'Les échos de la presse', *L'Avant-scène opéra*, 118 (*Guillaume Tell*, 1989), 108.

9 Stendhal, *Life of Rossini* (1824), trans. Richard N. Coe, abridged in *The Essence of Opera*, ed. Ulrich Weisstein (New York: Norton, 1969), 191–200, here 195.

10 Théophile Gautier, *Histoire de l'art dramatique en France depuis vingt-cinq ans*, 6 vols. (Paris: Hetzel, 1859), I, 17.

11 *Ibid.*, I, 113–14.

12 To visualise the scale of Scribe's output one need only consult his *Cœuvres complètes* in 76 vols. (Paris: Dentu, 1874–85); Series III, entitled *Opéras–Ballets*, contains within its six volumes thirty-seven separate works, including those which could be classed under the rubric of grand opera.

13 Jean-Alexandre Ménétrier, 'L'Amour triste: Fromental Halévy et son temps', *L'Avant-scène opéra*, 100 (*La Juive*, 1987), 4–12, here 8.

14 Scribe was, in J.-G. Prod'homme's words, 'the principal artisan': *L'Opéra (1669–1925)* (Paris: Delagrave, 1925), 39, and Jacques Bonnaure calls him 'the well named Scribe': 'Monsieur Scribe ou le romantisme du juste milieu', *L'Avant-scène opéra*, 100 (*La Juive*, 1987), 88–93, here 88.

15 Karin Pendle, *Eugène Scribe and French Opera of the Nineteenth Century* (Ann Arbor: UMI Press, 1979), 1.

16 *New Grove/2*, XXIII, 13.

17 Patrick J. Smith, *A Historical Study of the Opera Libretto* (New York: Schirmer, 1970), 211.

18 Cited in Brander Matthews, *French Dramatists of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Scribner, 1881), 88.

19 F. W. J. Hemmings argues that 'no one ever suggested that Scribe exploited other men's work unfairly . . . On the contrary, he erred rather in giving credit where credit was barely due': *The Theatre Industry in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 249. Léon Halévy's account of his brother's career stresses the 'abnegation' and 'disinterestedness' of Scribe, so much so that the former prefers the term 'coopérateur' rather than 'collaborateur': *F. Halévy. Sa vie et ses œuvres*, 2nd edn (Paris: Heugel, 1863), 24–5, Halévy's emphasis.

20 It is for such reasons that one must be attentive to the differences between the versions which librettists such as Scribe might include in their own published works and the actual versions employed in opera productions themselves: see Chapter 10 below.

21 Gerhard observes 'grand opéra's tendency to discount the public's knowledge of literature, just as the "modern cultural industry" does: it was no longer necessary for the audience at an opera to be familiar with classical mythology or to have read the

libretto beforehand in order to follow the action': *Urbanization*, 23.

22 See Smith, *Historical Study*, 219, and Gerhard, *Urbanization*, 136–9, for references to Stephen S. Stanton, 'English Drama and the French Well-Made Play', dissertation, Columbia University (1955).

23 *New Grove/2*, XXIII, 14.

24 Although Gerhard reminds us that before the twentieth century Rossini's opera *Le Siège de Corinthe* (1826) was seen as a revolutionary turning-point in the history of the opera which antedated Auber's work (*Urbanization*, 70).

25 Cormac Newark, 'Ceremony, Celebration, and Spectacle in *La Juive*', in *Reading Critics Reading*, ed. Roger Parker and Mary Ann Smart (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 155–87, here 160.

26 A process detailed by Mark Everist, 'The Name of the Rose: Meyerbeer's *opéra comique*, *Robert le Diable*', *Revue de Musicologie*, 80/2 (1994), 210–50.

27 Scribe's authenticating footnote cites Voltaire's *Essai sur les mœurs*, chapter CXXXII, as a source of historical chronology.

28 This has been criticised at a dramatic level as 'one of the great weaknesses of the work' as 'we are never confronted with the major decision makers': Jean-Michel Brègue, 'Loin de Mérimée et du grand opéra historique', *L'Avant-scène opéra*, 76 (*Robert le Diable*, 1985), 9–19, here 14.

29 Roland Barthes, *S/Z* (Paris: Seuil, 1970), 108; Barthes's emphasis.

30 Prosper Mérimée, *Théâtre de Clara Gazul, Romans et nouvelles*, ed. Jean Mallion and Pierre Salomon (Paris: Gallimard, 1978), 259.

31 Pendle, *Eugène Scribe*, 5. Even the gaps in characterisation are construed in Pendle's praise of this 'ideal scaffolding for music' as a space into which 'the music would be able to expand, expressing qualities of spirit and emotion absent from Scribe's stick-men' (*ibid.*, 11).

32 Jerome Mitchell, *The Walter Scott Operas* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1977), 358–9.

33 Pendle (*Eugène Scribe*, 397) stresses this interrogation of the revolutionary spirit: 'If the Catholics are oversensitive and treacherous in *Les Huguenots*, the Protestants are self-righteous and gullible. In *Le Prophète* the three Anabaptist conspirators are just as wicked as the nobles against whom they are fighting. So too in *La Muette de Portici*, fanatics take over an originally idealistic revolution against a tyrannical ruler.'

34 George Jellinek, *History through the Opera Glass: From the Rise of Caesar to the Fall of Napoleon* (New York: Pro/Am Music Resources, 1994), 154.

35 See Edward Said, *Orientalism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985 [1978]).

36 *L'Africaine*, music by G. Meyerbeer, words by E. Scribe (Sydney: Gibbs, 1866), 14.

37 'For Scribe', as Helene Koon and Richard Switzer write, 'history is not a book of lessons, but a metaphor for the present': *Eugène Scribe* (Boston: Twayne, 1980), 110. However, the absurd potential of trying to reconstruct history from opera can be gauged from Jellinek's *History through the Opera Glass*.

38 Herbert Lindenberger, *Historical Drama: The Relation of Literature and Reality* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1975), 6.

39 Gary Schmidgall, *Literature as Opera* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 11.

40 David Charlton, 'On the Nature of "Grand Opera"', in *Berlioz: 'Les Troyens'*, ed. Ian Kemp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 94–105, here 104. The methods of cultural history come to the fore in Jane Fulcher's analysis of the ruses in the discourse of state power and opera's response to it. See her *The Nation's Image: French Grand Opera As Politics and Politicized Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

41 Amongst many other less well known sources, as Gerhard reminds us (*Urbanization*, 94).

42 *Le Courrier des théâtres*, 5 August 1829.

43 Suzanne Citron, *Le mythe national* (Paris: Editions ouvrières, 1987), 162. As we shall see, Berlioz would revivify this Trojan myth.

44 Lindenberger, *Historical Drama*, 61.

45 Citron, *Le mythe national*, 99.

46 Hector Berlioz, *Selected Letters*, ed. Hugh Macdonald, trans. R. Nichols (London: Faber & Faber, 1995), 362. To his son, Louis Berlioz, from Paris, 24 January 1858. See also David Cairns, *Berlioz: Servitude and Greatness 1832–1869* (London: Allen Lane, 1999), 630–1.

47 Berlioz, *Selected Letters*, 345. To Toussaint Bennet, from Paris, 11 June 1856. In a letter to Princess Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein from Baden-Baden, 12 August 1856, Berlioz confesses: 'I'm nothing but a marauder . . . I've stolen a bunch of flowers to make a bed for music, and pray God it's not asphyxiated by the perfumes' (346).

48 For an analysis of melodrama's components, see Peter Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995 [1976]).

49 Scribe, *Œuvres complètes*, ser. III, vol. VI, 73–5.

50 This 'perfect marriage' is the third of 'four basic approaches to melodramaturgy' usefully identified by Ulrich Weisstein in his introduction to *The Essence of Opera*, 1–10. Previously, the classical and neoclassical identified with Gluck saw music as 'a modest handmaiden', whereas 'the Romantic theory of opera . . . celebrates the triumph of music over drama'. Subsequently, 'the founders of Epic Opera [such as Stravinsky, Brecht and Berg] were determined to provide equal but separate facilities for music and drama' (*ibid.*, 5–6).

51 Edward Bulwer Lytton, *Rienzi, The Last of the Roman Tribunes* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1840), xiv. Lytton's use of footnotes to authenticate sources and historical references suggests the pervasion of an impulse also common to grand opera.

52 Bulwer Lytton, *Rienzi*, 538. More generally, Herbert Lindenberger argues: 'By the nineteenth century the historical process rather than the heroic individual had become the chief carrier of heroic action. When the writer can no longer conceive of a properly heroic hero, the historical process can assume the magnitude appropriate to heroism' (*Historical Drama*, 63–4).

4 The spectacle of the past in grand opera

1 David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 394.

2 Pierre Peyronnet, *La Mise en scène au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Nizet, 1974), 101–6.

3 Beaumont Newhall, *Daguerre* (New York: Winter House, 1971), 10.

4 Victor Hugo, 'Préface de Cromwell', in *Œuvres Complètes*, ed. Jean-Pierre Reynaud, 7 vols. (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1985, 1987), XII (Critique), 19.

5 In the first decade of the century, opera in a neoclassical mode did not entirely lack for audiences. Fontenelle's *Hécube* received forty-three performances between 1800 and 1808, Kreutzer's *Astynax* forty-six between 1801 and 1816, and Steibelt's *Le Retour de Zéphire* sixty-five between 1801 and 1821. Furthermore, some works of a more modern tendency found their way into the Opéra's repertory. *Les Mystères d'Isis*, based on Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte*, received 134 performances between 1801 and 1827 and Le Sueur's *Ossian ou Les Bardes* a respectable sixty-five between 1804 and 1811. And even in the first decade of the century, works that anticipated grand opera, such as Spontini's *La Vestale* (1807), *Fernand Cortez* (1809) and Catel's *Les Bayadères* (1810) began to emerge:

- Théodore de Lajarte, *Bibliothèque musicale du Théâtre de l'Opéra* (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1878).
- 6 Patrick Barbier, *A l'Opéra au temps de Rossini et Balzac, Paris: 1800–1850* (Paris: Hachette, 1987), 49; Eng. trans. as *Opera in Paris, 1800–1850: A Lively History* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1995).
- 7 Quoted in Barry V. Daniels, 'Ciceri and Daguerré: Set Designers for the Paris Opéra, 1820–1822', *Theatre Survey*, 22/1 (1981), 69–90, here 82. The Paris Opéra historical staging collection is catalogued in Nicole Wild, *Décors et costumes du XIX^e siècle. Tome I: Opéra de Paris* and *Tome II: Théâtres et décorateurs* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1987, 1993). Vol. II contains convenient biographies of all the designers mentioned in the present chapter.
- 8 Jane Fulcher, *The Nation's Image: French Grand Opera as Politics and Politicized Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 18.
- 9 The given name 'Henri' (not Edmond as traditionally found) has been determined by Jean-Louis Tamvaco in a new biography and list of Duponchel's productions within his *Les Cancans de l'Opéra. Chroniques de l'Académie Royale de Musique et du théâtre, à Paris sous les deux restaurations*, 2 vols. (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2000), II, 963–70. Duponchel (see Table 2.2, p. 27) had various titles at the Opéra, 1829–49: *Inspecteur du matériel de la scène* (1829–31); *Directeur de la scène* (1831–35); *Directeur de la mise-en-scène* (1840–41) as well as sole *Directeur* (1835–39) and joint *Directeur* (1839 and 1847–49); Wild, *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiens au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Aux Amateurs de livres, 1989), 306–7, 316.
- 10 Jean-Pierre Moynet, *L'envers du théâtre* [1873], trans. Allan S. Jackson and M. Glen Wilson, ed. Marvin Carlson as *French Theatrical Production in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: SUNY at Binghamton, 1976), 1, 16. Moynet therefore writes retrospectively for the most part.
- 11 Facsimile reproductions of twenty-two *livrets scéniques* are in H. Robert Cohen (ed.), *The Original Staging Manuals for Twelve Parisian Operatic Premières*, and *The Original Staging Manuals for Ten Parisian Operatic Premières*, *Musical Life in 19th-Century France III and VI* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1991, 1998). Several unpublished in-house *livrets scéniques* survive: Rossini, *Guillaume Tell*, ed. M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet, *Edizione Critica delle Opere di Gioachino Rossini, sezione prima-opere teatrali*, 39 (Pesaro: Fondazione Rossini, 1992–94), critical commentary, II.
- 12 Catherine Join-Dieterle, *Les Décors de scène de l'Opéra de Paris à l'époque romantique* (Paris: Picard, 1988), 30.
- 13 Théophile Gautier, *Histoire de l'art dramatique en France*, 5 vols. (Leipzig: Hetzel, 1859), II, 85.
- 14 John Duncan Drysdale, 'Louis Véron and the Finances of the *Académie Royale de Musique*, 1827 to 1835', dissertation, University of Southampton (2000); Join-Dieterle, *Les Décors de scène*, 198; Bartlet, 'Staging French *Grand Opéra*: Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* (1829)', in *Gioachino Rossini, 1792–1992: il testo e la scena: Convegno internazionale di studi, Pesaro, 24–28 giugno 1992*, ed. Paolo Fabbri (Pesaro: Fondazione Rossini, 1994), 623–48.
- 15 Marie-Antoinette Allevy, *La Mise en scène en France dans la première moitié du XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Droz, 1938), 55. Details in following section from Wild, *Décors et costumes*, II.
- 16 These are most readily available in Join-Dieterle, *Les Décors de scène*. See Wild, *Décors et costumes*, for the most advanced research on attributing the work of scene-painters.
- 17 Gautier, *Histoire de l'art dramatique*, II, 49.
- 18 Gösta M. Bergman, *Lighting in the Theatre* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1977), 256–7.
- 19 Carl Baermann, diary entry for Paris, 2 January 1839: Robert Ignatius Letellier (ed. and trans.), *The Diaries of Giacomo Meyerbeer*, Vol. 1: 1791–1839 (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999), 525.
- 20 See *livret scénique* for the first production of *La Juive*: Cohen (ed.), *Staging Manuals for Twelve Premières*, 141. There is a detailed examination of the movements of stage personnel in relation to scenery and *livret de mise-en-scène* in *La Juive*, by Karin Pendle and Stephen Wilkins: 'Paradise Found: The Salle Le Peletier and French Grand Opera', in *Opera in Context: Essays on Historical Staging from the Late Renaissance to the Time of Puccini*, ed. Mark A. Radice (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1998), 171–207, here 190–8. Considerations of processions by Cormac Newark and Mary Ann Smart are in Roger Parker and Smart (eds.), *Reading Critics Reading: Opera and Ballet Criticism in France from the Revolution to 1848* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 184–7, 206–12.
- 21 Not only was *La Muette de Portici* chosen to initiate a revolution in The Netherlands in 1830, it sparked unrest in Frankfurt am Main in 1831. See Chapter 9 below and Anselm Gerhard, *The Urbanization of Opera: Music Theater in Paris in the Nineteenth Century*

(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 127–34.

22 Richard Wagner, 'Reminiscences of Auber', in *Prose Works*, ed. and trans. W. A. Ellis, 8 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, 1892–99, rep. University of Nebraska Press, 1996), V (*Actors and Singers*), 41. See on this topic Pendle and Wilkins, 'La Muette de Portici and the Scenic-Musical Tableaux', in *Opera in Context*, ed. Radice, 184–90.

23 Gerhard, *Urbanization*, 87–9, analyses the unusual predominance of chorus and the lack of formal numbers for soloists in *Guillaume Tell*. He also questions the use of the term 'tableau' as it implies no movement, mentioning Michael Walter's alternative term 'Großszene' (99–100). Pendle and Wilkins, 'Paradise Found', 184–5, use 'scenic-musical tableau' and 'musico-dramatic-scenic tableau'.

24 *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, as quoted by Catherine Join-Dieterle, 'Robert le Diable: le premier opéra romantique', *Romantisme*, 28–29 (1980), 147–66, here 152. On the same opera see Rebecca S. Wilberg, 'The *Mise en scène* at the Paris Opéra–Salle Le Peletier (1821–1873) and the Staging of the First French Grand Opera: Meyerbeer's *Robert le Diable*', dissertation, Brigham Young University (1990).

5 The chorus

1 On the roles of the chorus in French opera in the decades before the French Revolution, see Arnold Jacobshagen, *Der Chor in der französischen Oper des späten Ancien Régime* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1997).

2 The Paris Opéra chorus and its role under the Terror are the subjects of M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet, 'The New Repertory of the Opéra during the Reign of Terror: Revolutionary Rhetoric and Operatic Consequences', in *Music and the French Revolution*, ed. Malcolm Boyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 107–56.

3 On the size of the chorus at the Paris Opéra see Chapter 2 above, also Karin Pendle and Stephen Wilkins, 'Paradise Found: The Salle Le Peletier and French Grand Opera', in *Opera in Context: Essays on Historical Staging from the Late Renaissance to the Time of Puccini*, ed. Mark A. Radice (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1998), 171–207, here 346 n. 25; also Hugh Macdonald, 'Music and Opera', in *The French Romantics*, ed. D. G. Charlton, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), II, 352–81, here 360. The comparable figures on German and Russian houses are in Christoph-Hellmut Mahling, *Studien zur*

Geschichte des Opernchors (Trossingen and Wolfenbüttel: Editio InterMusica, 1962), App. 5; and on Italian houses in John Rosselli, *The Opera Industry in Italy from Cimarosa to Verdi: The Role of the Impresario* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 57, table 2.

4 Pendle and Wilkins, 'Paradise Found', 182–3.

5 See sources cited in n. 3.

6 On the role of the chorus throughout nineteenth-century opera as an embodiment of the political power of the people, see James Parakilas, 'Political Representation and the Chorus in Nineteenth-Century Opera', *19th-Century Music*, 16/2 (1992), 181–202.

7 David Charlton, 'The Nineteenth Century: France', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Opera*, ed. Roger Parker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 122–68, here 143.

8 Gaetano Donizetti, letter of 16 March 1835 to Antonio Dolci, no. 160 in Guido Zavadini, *Donizetti: Vita, Musiche, Epistolario* (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1948), 369.

9 For some phrases of Jewish chant that could have served as models for Halévy's Seder music, see Charlton, 'Romantic Opera: 1830–1850', in *Romanticism (1830–1890)*, ed. Gerald Abraham, *New Oxford History of Music*, IX (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 85–139, here 103.

10 On the Old Believer song that Musorgsky turned into the chorus 'Gospod' moy' in *Khovanshchina* see Vladimir Morosan, 'Folk and Chant Elements in Musorgsky's Choral Writing', in *Musorgsky: In Memoriam, 1881–1981*, ed. Malcolm Hamrick Brown (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), 95–133, here 127.

6 Dance and dancers

My thanks to Lisa Arkin and Joan Erdman for offering information about character-dance and Indian dance, respectively.

1 Richard Wagner, 'Cultural Decadence of the Nineteenth Century', in *Prose Works*, ed. and trans. W. A. Ellis, 8 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, 1892–99), III, 351–2.

2 See Carol Marsh, 'Lumberjacks and Turkish Slaves', *Choreologica*, 2 (1995), 37–45; Ivor Guest, *The Ballet of the Enlightenment* (London: Dance Books, 1996), 1–11; Bruce Alan Brown, *Gluck and the French Theatre in Vienna* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 143–93 and 282–357; Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell, 'Opera and Ballet at the Regio Teatro of Milan, 1771–1776: A Musical and Social History', dissertation, University of California at Berkeley (1980), esp. Chapters 9,

- 10 and Epilogue; Gerhard Croll, 'Gasparo Angiolini', in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, ed. Selma Jeanne Cohen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), I, 87–9; Hansell, 'Jean-Georges Noverre', *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, IV, 694–700; Rebecca Harris-Warrick, 'Ballet', in *New Grove/2*.
- 3 Music for ballet-pantomimes at the Opéra often consisted of arrangements until the 1820s, and generally speaking was not free of borrowings until the 1840s. The term 'ballet-pantomime' was commonly used in the nineteenth century for what had been called the 'ballet d'action' in the eighteenth century.
- 4 The years of the reign of Louis-Philippe, 1830–48, are known as the July Monarchy.
- 5 See Giannandrea Poesio, 'Blasis, the Italian Ballo, and the Male Sylph', in *Rethinking the Sylph*, ed. Lynn Garafola (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1997), 131–41. On the Parisian stage, the *danseur* was frequently replaced by a *danseuse en travesti*. See Lynn Garafola, 'The Travesty Dancer in Nineteenth-Century Ballet', *Dance Research Journal*, 17/2 and 18/1 (Fall 1985, Spring 1986), 35–40.
- 6 See Lisa C. Arkin and Marian Smith, 'National Dance in the Romantic Ballet', in *Rethinking the Sylph*, 11–68. In the present chapter, the term 'character' dance is used to mean folk-derived or 'national' dance. ('National dance' was the nineteenth-century term.) Particularly in past centuries, the term could include rustic dance, dances by older characters and dances that show a character's occupation (e.g., shoemaker, baker, sailor). Today's term 'character role' is not the same (meaning non-danced roles for older characters).
- 7 By F. Taglioni, Schmidt and Auber, St Petersburg, 1838. Not to be confused with *La Gipsy* (1839) in Paris.
- 8 *La Presse*, 2 October 1837, trans. in Ivor Guest (ed.), *Gautier on Dance* (London: Dance Books, 1986), 19. Eduard Julius Friedrich Bendemann (1811–89) painted his *Jeremiah on the Ruins of Jerusalem* in 1834.
- 9 Théophile Gautier, *La Presse*, 7 March 1841, trans. in Ivor Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in Paris* (London, 1966; 2nd edn 1980), 204.
- 10 Gautier, trans. Guest in *Romantic Ballet in Paris*, 180.
- 11 Henrik Lundgren, 'Lucile Grahn', in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, III, 222–4; 'Lucile Grahn', in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Ballet*, 2nd edn, ed. Horst Koegler (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 183.
- 12 See Ivor Guest, *Jules Perrot, Master of the Romantic Ballet* (London: Dance Books, 1984), 35, 47, 51. In flamenco, the term 'zapateado' refers to the technique by which rhythmic and counter-rhythmic patterns are 'made by any part of the shoe (*zapato*), including stamps (*golpes*); soft, brushing steps (*escobillas*); rhythmic heel beats (*taconeo*) and whatever toe–heel sound combinations the dancer can make with his or her shoes. The *zapateado* is also a particular dance in 6_8 time in which this technique is used. It is the only flamenco dance traditionally performed without arm movements': Matteo [Matteo Marcellus Vittucci] with Carola Goya, *The Language of Spanish Dance* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 267.
- 13 *La Charte de 1830*, 18 April 1837, trans. Guest in 'Théophile Gautier on Spanish Dancing', *Dance Chronicle*, 10/1 (1987), 17.
- 14 *La Presse*, 28 July 1839, trans. *ibid.*, 10/1 (1987), 31.
- 15 Auguste Baron, *Lettres et entretiens sur la danse* (Paris: Dondey-Dupré, 1824), 282. All translations in this chapter are mine unless otherwise indicated.
- 16 Johann Gottfried von Herder, *Sämtliche Werke*, 33 vols. (Berlin: B. Suphan, 1877–1913), XVIII, 248, trans. in Frederick M. Barnard, *Herder's Social and Political Thought: From Enlightenment to Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 61. See also Arkin and Smith, 'National Dance in the Romantic Ballet', 32–4.
- 17 *La France musicale*, 30 June 1839, supplément, 369.
- 18 Pietro Lichtenthal, *Dictionnaire de musique*, trans. and ed. Dominique Mondo (Paris: Troupenas, 1839), I, 115–16 [orig. *Dizionario e Bibliografia della Musica* (Milan: A. Fontana, 1826)]. Lichtenthal was writing of dance music within the ballet-pantomime, but the same dictum applied to dance music within opera.
- 19 *La Tentation* (words by Edmond Cavé and Henri Duponchel, music by Halévy and Gide, choreography by Coralli) was first performed on 12 March 1832, and referred to in some official correspondence as a 'ballet mixed with singing'. 'Bayadère' was the French term for the Hindu temple dancer who was called, in South India, a 'devadasi', or 'servant of a god'. Such dancers danced their devotion to the Hindu god of whatever temple they were dedicated to, for life. From this dance, eventually, in the 1920s and 1930s came what is now called 'Bharata Natyam' (Indian dance).

20 See Emilio Sala, *L'Opera Senza Canto. Il Mélo Romantico e l'Invenzione della Collonna Sonora* (Venice: Marsilio, 1995), and Sarah Hibberd, 'Magnetism, Muteness, Magic: Spectacle and the Parisian Lyric Stage c.1830', dissertation, University of Southampton (1998).

21 *Le Ménestrel*, 23 March 1834, trans. Maribeth Clark, in 'Understanding French Grand Opera through Dance', dissertation, University of Pennsylvania (1998), 180. The quadrille was a balletic, technically challenging form of popular dance which may be seen as a precursor to American square dance.

22 Unnamed journalist quoted in 'Julien, Louis-Antoine', in *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique* ed. François-Joseph Fétis, 2nd edn (Paris, 1894; repr. Brussels, 1963), IV, 454, trans. Clark in 'Understanding French Grand Opera', 220–21.

23 *Le Constitutionnel*, date unspecified, trans. in Guest, *Romantic Ballet in Paris*, 131.

24 *Vert-Vert*, 24 December 1834. In this review *Las Treias* and *lo Chibalet* were described as having been danced by 'a large number of young men uniformly costumed like shepherds after the manner of Watteau'. See also François Gasnault, *Guinguettes et lorettes. Bals publics et danse sociale à Paris entre 1830 et 1870* (Paris: Aubier, 1986), 74.

25 'Chronique de l'Académie royale de musique', Paris, Bibliothèque-musée de l'Opéra, MS Rés. 658, III, no. 77, 273–82.

26 Gautier, *La Presse*, 1 July 1844, trans. in Guest, *Gautier on Dance*, 141.

27 Tracy C. Davis, *Actresses as Working Women* (London: Routledge, 1991), 133–5. 'Wilis' (see Chapter 10, n. 51) were nocturnal ghosts of female virgins bent on killing men by dancing them to death. Giselle is an exceptional example because she forgives her betrayer and protects him from her sister Wilis.

28 Charles de Boigne, *Petits Mémoires de l'Opéra* (Paris: Librairie Nouvelle, 1857), 132, trans. Cyril Beaumont in *Complete Book of Ballets* (New York: Garden City, 1941), 121. See also Lisa Arkin, 'The Context of Exoticism in Fanny Elssler's *Cachucha*', *Dance Chronicle*, 17/3 (1994), 316, 318. The *cachucha* was in ³/₈ time, for couples or for a soloist.

29 Nestor Roqueplan (as 'Jules Vernières'), 'Les Coulisses de l'Opéra', in *La Revue de Paris* (1836), repr. in Martine Kahane, *Le Foyer de la danse* (Paris: Musée d'Orsay/Bibliothèque Nationale, 1988), 5–6. See also Susan Leigh Foster, 'The Ballerina's Phallic Pointe', in

Corporealities: Dancing Knowledge, Culture and Power, ed. Foster (London: Routledge, 1996), 1–24.

30 See Chapter 2 regarding payment details. Kahane refers to 'prostitution légère' in *Le Foyer de la danse*, 8, 13. See also Felicia M. McCarren, 'The Female Form: Gautier, Mallarmé and Céline Writing Dance', dissertation, Stanford University (1992).

31 Julie Daubié, *La Femme pauvre au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Thorin, 1869), quoted by Susan Trites Free in 'Dance of the Demi-monde: Paris Opera Ballet Dance and Dancers in the Social Imagination of the Second Empire', M. F. A. dissertation, York University, Canada (1986), 42–3.

7 Roles, reputations, shadows: singers at the Opéra, 1828–1849

1 *Revue et gazette musicale*, 18 and 21 February 1841; this anecdote is taken from the second instalment. Early in 1841 Loewe was thought to be on the verge of signing a contract at the Opéra, and consequently her strengths and weaknesses were hotly debated in the press. The rumoured contract never materialised, and Loewe had to wait a few years to make her name in Italy by creating the prima donna roles in Verdi's *Ernani* (1844) and *Attila* (1846).

2 Chamisso, *Peter Schlemihl's wundersame Geschichte* (Munich: Winkler Verlag, 1982). Schlemihl also appears as a secondary character in E. T. A. Hoffmann's 'A New Year's Eve Adventure'.

3 Berlioz, *Memoirs*, trans. David Cairns (London: Panther Arts, 1970), 399.

4 The episode is recounted in numerous biographies; see for example, Corneille Cantinjou, *Les Adieux de Mme Stoltz* (Paris: Brettau, 1847), 22.

5 On the vogue for mute characters in *mélodrame*, see Peter Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James and the Mode of Excess* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976; repr. 1995); and Sarah Hibberd, 'Magnetism, Muteness, Magic: Spectacle and the Parisian Lyric Stage c.1830', dissertation, University of Southampton (1998).

6 See Austin Caswell, 'Mme Cinti-Damoreau and the Embellishment of Italian Opera in Paris: 1820–45', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 28 (1975), 459–92. According to one report, Rossini himself found Cinti-Damoreau's style too Italianate for the grand opera seriousness of *Le Siège de Corinthe*. An 1826 letter quotes him as saying that Cinti-Damoreau was ill-suited for the role of Pamyra, and, indeed, for tragic parts

- generally, that she would shine only in the score's few virtuosic passages. Letter from Frederick Duplantys to Sosthène de la Rochefoucauld, 1 August 1826; Paris, Archives nationales, O/3/1676, Opéra 1826.
- 7 De Boigne's remark was made in the context of an unfavourable comparison with Cornélie Falcon: 'Dorus-Gras sings as an instrument plays; Mlle Falcon sang with her soul as much as with her voice': *Petits mémoires de l'Opéra* (Paris: Librairie nouvelle, 1857), 163.
- 8 Léon and Marie Escudier, *Études biographiques sur les chanteurs contemporains* (Paris: J. Tessier, 1840), 199.
- 9 According to Jules Janin, quoted in Barthélémy Braud, *Une reine du chant: Cornélie Falcon* (Paris: Peyriller, Roucher et Ganion, 1913), 9–10.
- 10 For an exhaustive account of this debut, see Charles Bouvet, *Cornélie Falcon* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1927), 24–48.
- 11 Louis Véron, *Mémoires d'un bourgeois de Paris*, cited in Braud, *Une reine du chant*, 20; and Patrick Barbier, *Opera in Paris, 1800–1850: A Lively History* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1995), 154. As points of comparison, Anselm Gerhard reports that Henri Duponchel made 12,000 francs a year as director of the Opéra, Meyerbeer was paid 24,000 francs by Maurice Schlesinger for the publication rights to *Les Huguenots*, and Eugène Scribe's annual income ranged between 100,000 and 180,000: *The Urbanization of Opera: Music Theater in Paris in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 37–8. But these figures can be contradictory and unreliable: Gerhard reports that Cinti-Damoreau's salary in the 1830s 'never exceeded' 60,000 per year (38), while Barbier (154) has her at 15,000.
- 12 Named for Louise-Rosalie Dugazon (1755–1821), who sang at the Opéra-Comique from 1769 to 1804 and created the role of Nina in Dalayrac's *Nina, ou la Folle par amour*, as well as several roles in operas by Grétry and Méhul.
- 13 Quoted in Bouvet, *Cornélie Falcon*, 39.
- 14 I am indebted to Benjamin Walton for this insight about Falcon's break. See his 'Falcon, Cornélie', in *New Grove/2*.
- 15 Quoted in Paul Achard, 'Le 125^e anniversaire de Cornélie Falcon', an unattributed article (but from 1939) included in Falcon's *Dossier d'artiste* at Paris, Bibliothèque-musée de l'Opéra.
- 16 Charles de Boigne offers a poignant account of that failed comeback in *Petits mémoires de l'Opéra*, 202–3.
- 17 Margaret Miner has traced the theme of prohibition on women's singing through the fantastic tales published in the *feuilletons* of the period; see her 'Phantoms of Genius: Women and the Fantastic in the Opera-House Mystery', *19th-Century Music*, 18/2 (1994), 121–35.
- 18 Bellaigue's account is quoted in Bouvet, *Cornélie Falcon*, 140–2.
- 19 Meyerbeer's letter (1 January 1837) is quoted in Quicherat, *Adolphe Nourrit: Sa vie, son talent, son caractère, sa correspondance*, 3 vols. (Paris: Hachette, 1867), III, 370. On the complicated question of how Meyerbeer's opera became 'our Huguenots', see Steven Huebner, 'Huguenots, Les', *Grove Opera*, II, 765. Halévy outlines the genesis of 'Rachel, quand du Seigneur' in his *Derniers souvenirs et portraits* (Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1863), 167.
- 20 See Quicherat, *Adolphe Nourrit*; and Henry Pleasants, ed., *The Great Tenor Tragedy: The Last Days of Adolphe Nourrit as told (mostly) by himself* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1995).
- 21 Berlioz tells this story in satirical terms in the sixth of his 'Evenings with the Orchestra', 'How a Tenor Revolves around the Public'; *Evenings with the Orchestra*, trans. Jacques Barzun (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), 64–75.
- 22 John Rosselli has shown, however, that several other tenors in the 1820s and 1830s were working towards singing high notes from the chest: *Singers of Italian Opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 176–8.
- 23 L. and M. Escudier, *Études biographiques*, 169–70; Halévy, *Derniers souvenirs*, 152. A fascinating comparison of Nourrit and Duprez in the role of Masaniello has recently been made available, written by Berlioz: *Critique musicale*, ed. Yves Gérard (in progress: Paris: Buchet/Chastel), III, 281–2 [8 October 1837].
- 24 For an account of Duprez's introduction of the *ut de poitrine* into *Guillaume Tell*, beginning with a performance in Lucca in 1831, see his *Souvenirs d'un chanteur* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1880); excerpts reprinted in *Voix d'Opéra: Ecrits de chanteurs du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Editions Michel Maule, 1988), 77–9 and 131–3. Duprez claimed that 'Amis, amis' had not been performed in Paris since Nourrit cut it after the opera's second performance, but Elizabeth Bartlet has shown this and some of Duprez's other claims for his own importance to be false or exaggerated. See Rossini, *Guillaume Tell*, ed. M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet (Pesaro: Fondazione Rossini, 1992),

- xliii–xliv. According to at least one account, Rossini himself was appalled by the sound of Duprez's high C; see Edmond Michotte, 'An Evening at Rossini's in Beau-Séjour (Passy)', in *Richard Wagner's Visit to Rossini and An Evening at Rossini's Beau-Séjour (Passy) 1858*, trans. and ed. Herbert Weinstock (London: Quartet Books, 1968), 98–9.
- 25 J.-M. Mayan, *Les Guêpes du théâtre* (Paris: Bonvalot-Jouve, 1906), 152.
- 26 Choron's pedagogical style is outlined in J. Adrien de La Fage, *Eloge de Choron* (Paris: Comptoirs des Imprimeurs Uris, 1843). Complaints about the Conservatoire's training are found in the unreliable (but highly entertaining) manuscript purporting to be the memoirs of a woman employed backstage at the Opéra as a dresser but actually by its *contrôleur de matériel*, Louis Gentil: 'Le Conservatoire et l'Opéra' [1837] in Jean-Louis Tamvaco, *Les Cancans de l'Opéra. Chroniques de l'Académie Royale de Musique et du théâtre, à Paris sous les deux Restaurations*, 2 vols. (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2000), I, 355–6.
- 27 Choron's reading method is laid out in his treatise *Méthode pour apprendre en même temps à lire et à écrire* and described in La Fage, *Eloge de Choron*, 21.
- 28 Duprez himself described Nourrit's 'reciting' of recitative: *Souvenirs d'un chanteur*, as excerpted and translated in Pleasants, ed., *The Great Tenor Tragedy*, 160. On Duprez's innovations with recitative, see also Karin and Eugen Ott, "Nur von grossen Sängern lernt man sangbar und vortheilhaft für die Menschenstimme schreiben": Stil und Technik des Meyerbeer-Gesangs', in *Meyerbeer und das europäische Musiktheater*, ed. Sieghart Döhring and Arnold Jacobshagen (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1999), 231–49, here 247.
- 29 Halévy, *Derniers souvenirs*, 199–200.
- 30 For a more detailed evaluation of these accusations and of Stoltz's career in general, see my 'The Lost Voice of Rosine Stoltz', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 6/1 (1994), 31–50.
- 31 Letter to Michele Accursi, January 1842: *Studi donizettiani*, 1 (1962), 80.
- 32 On the genesis of *La Favorite* and Stoltz's contribution, see Rebecca Harris-Warrick, 'Introduzione storica', *Gaetano Donizetti—La Favorite* (Milan and Bergamo: Ricordi, 1997), xix–xxiv.
- 33 Liszt, 'Pauline Viardot-Garcia', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 50/5 (28 January 1859), 49–54.
- 34 The phrase is from L. and M. Escudier, *Etudes biographiques*, 36.
- 35 One version of the tale appears in M. Sterling Mackinlay, *Garcia: The Centenarian and his Times* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1976 [1908]), 132.
- 36 On the Berlioz–Viardot collaboration on *Orphée*, see Joel-Marie Fauquet, 'Berlioz's Version of Gluck's *Orphée*', in *Berlioz Studies*, ed. Peter Bloom (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 189–253. See also Berlioz's reviews of the two Gluck revivals, translated in *The Art of Singing and Other Essays (A Travers Chants)* by Elizabeth Csicsery-Rónay (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 71–81 and 136–47.
- 37 Thorough discussions of Viardot's relationships with contemporary composers and other artists can be found in Gustave Dulong, *Pauline Viardot, tragédienne lyrique* (Paris: Association des amis d'Ivan Tourgueniev, Pauline Viardot, et Maria Malibran, 1987); and April Fitzlyon, *The Price of Genius: A Life of Pauline Viardot* (London: John Calder, 1964).
- 38 An indication of the esteem in which Viardot was held as a composer is her inclusion in the collaborative cantata, *Contes mystiques* (1890), which also includes movements by Fauré, Augusta Holmès, Massenet, Saint-Saëns and Widor. A recent and assertive recording of three of Viardot's songs by Cecilia Bartoli (another successful Rosina and Cenerentola) gives a good idea of what Viardot might have sounded like singing them herself (*Chant d'Amour*, London 452 667–2). Ten of Viardot's songs are included in Pauline Duchambge, Loïsa Puget, Pauline Viardot and Jane Vien, *Anthology of Songs* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1988).
- 39 Saint-Saëns, 'Pauline Viardot', in *Musical Memories*, trans. Edwin Gile Rich (London: John Murray, 1921), 145.
- 40 Viardot inspired an amazing number of fictional portraits, including George Sand's *Consuelo*, veiled depictions in Ivan Turgenev's *Smoke* and *A Month in the Country*, and George Eliot's verse drama *Armgarth*. On the Sand and Turgenev works, see Fitzlyon, *The Price of Genius*, 113–19, 254–6, and 399–402; on Eliot, see Susan J. Leonardi and Rebecca A. Pope, *The Diva's Mouth: Body, Voice, Prima Donna Politics* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996), 73–82.
- 41 Nearly the unique exception is the cabaletta in the Act V prison scene, a number whose bravura style Berlioz lamented as completely unsuitable for 'an old woman, weighed down by care': *Journal des Débats*, 20 April 1849; repr. in *Hector Berlioz: Les*

Musiciens et la musique (Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1903), 106–27, here 114.

42 Heinz and Gudrun Becker, *Giacomo Meyerbeer: A Life in Letters* (London: Christopher Helm, 1989), 125. The special ‘Meyerbeer’ clause in Viardot’s contract, mentioned in Chapter 2, p. 29, shows that no fixed upper limit was placed on her payments, which Meyerbeer ‘arbitrated amicably’ with her.

43 Interestingly, Viardot’s own vocal treatise, published in a modern edition as *Gesangsunterricht (Une heure d’étude)* (Berlin: Bote and G. Bock, n.d.) includes several exercises designed to develop control of detached articulations.

44 E. Dannreuther, ‘Azucena is Fidès in Romany’, *Oxford History of Music*, 2nd edn (London, 1932), 63; cited in Julian Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, 3 vols. (London: Cassell, 1978), II, 68.

8 Directing grand opera: *Rienzi* and *Guillaume Tell* at the Vienna State Opera

1 Hans Keller, *Criticism*, ed. Julian Hogg (London: Faber, 1987), 17–45.

2 The Act III ‘Ballet Pantomime’ given before the assembled and feasting grandees at the Council of Konstanz. A scenic infidel fortress is about to be attacked by men-at-arms when it suddenly changes into a tasteful gothic edifice, surrounded by gracious ballerinas.

3 The sequence is published in *Rienzi, der Letzte der Tribunen*, ed. Reinhard Strohm and Egon Voss, *Sämtliche Werke*, Band 3/V: ‘Anhang und kritischer Bericht’ (Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhne, 1991), 24–40.

9 *La Muette* and her context

1 For example, *La Muette* was staged in Paris on 4 August 1830 in a benefit performance for the victims of the July uprising, in which, by public demand, the patriotic fishermen’s chorus was replaced by the *Marseillaise*. And at a performance on 25 August, in the presence of Louis-Philippe, Nourrit sang the *Parisienne* and the *Marseillaise*, dressed in the uniform of the national guard.

2 However, rather than prompting a spontaneous uprising, as has often been believed, it seems that the opera was selected beforehand to launch the revolt. And in spite of its apparent political significance, the king of The Netherlands insisted on its performance later the same month. See Sonia Slatin, ‘Opera and Revolution: *La Muette de Portici* and the Belgian Revolution of 1830

Revisited’, *Journal of Musicological Research*, 3 (1979), 45–62.

3 Richard Wagner, ‘Reminiscences of Auber’ [1871], in *Prose Works*, ed. and trans. W. A. Ellis, 8 vols. (London, 1892–99; repr. New York, 1966), V, 35–55, here 53.

4 Jane Fulcher, ‘*La Muette de Portici* and the New Politics of Opera’, *The Nation’s Image: French Grand Opera as Politics and Politicized Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 11–46.

5 For a discussion of the political situation in France at this time, see G. de Bertier de Sauvigny, *La Restauration* (Paris: Flammarion, 1955), esp. 409–23.

6 On Wednesday 23 April, for example, *La Muette de Portici* was at the Opéra, *Deux mots* at the Opéra-Comique, *Yelva* at the Gymnase-Dramatique, *Les Immortels* at the Variétés, *La Muette de la forêt* at the Gaité and *La Muette* at the Luxembourg. For details about these works, see my ‘“N’étourdissant jamais l’oreille”: *La Muette de Portici* and Traditions of Mime’, in ‘Magnetism, Muteness, Magic: *Spectacle* and the Parisian Lyric Stage c.1830’, dissertation, University of Southampton (1998), 109–52.

7 See, for example, John Warrack, ‘The Influence of French Grand Opera on Wagner’, in *Music in Paris in the Eighteen-Thirties*, ed. Peter Bloom (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1987), 575–87; Emilio Sala, ‘Verdi and the Parisian Boulevard Theatre’, *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 7/3 (1995), 185–205; and Herbert Schneider, ‘*La Muette de Portici*’, *Grove Opera*. There also appears to be a conscious evocation of Fenella’s final scene in Donizetti’s *Adelia* (1840): the orchestral panic that accompanies Fenella’s mounting despair in *La Muette* here introduces *Adelia*’s mad scene at the end of the opera in a striking internalising of gesture and movement.

8 *La Pandore*, 1748 (3 March 1828), 2. Translations in this chapter are my own, unless otherwise stated.

9 See Anselm Gerhard’s edition of the *Essai*: ‘Victor-Joseph Etienne de Jouy: *Essai sur l’opéra français*’, *Bollettino del Centro rossiniano di studi*, 1–3 [bound as one] (1987), 63–91. Jouy wrote the libretto for P.-F. L. Aimon’s five-act opera *Velléda, ou les Gauloises* (unperformed) in 1813, and was working on the libretto for *Guillaume Tell* at the same time as Scribe and Delavigne were preparing *La Muette*. For a discussion of the creation of *Tell* see Gerhard, “Sortire dalle vie comuni”: Wie Rossini einem Akademiker den *Guillaume Tell* verdarb’, in *Oper als Text: romanistische Beiträge*

zur *Libretto-Forschung*, ed. Albert Gier (Heidelberg: Winter, 1986), 185–219.

10 Gerhard, 'Jouy: *Essai*', 70.

11 A comprehensive list of *Masaniello* literature is given in Jean R. Mongrédien, 'Variations sur un thème – Masaniello: Du héros de l'histoire à celui de *La Muette de Portici*', *Jahrbuch für Opernforschung* (1985), 90–160. Contrary to the claims of a number of modern commentators, the story does not appear to have been adapted for the secondary Parisian theatres in the 1820s.

12 See Karin Pendle, *Eugène Scribe and French Opera of the Nineteenth Century* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1979), 413.

13 But it is deafness rather than muteness which proves to be the most significant affliction of Scott's Fenella: other characters talk of their innermost secrets in her presence, and are forced to mime to make her understand; she relies on facial grimaces and trembling to communicate emotion. This is a reversal of the situation in the opera, where only Fenella mimes.

14 This undated text exists only as a sixteen-page fragment entitled *Masaniello* (Paris: Boulé, n.d.) at Bibliothèque nationale, Y²p – 117(1). In a presumably earlier version of 1822, *Masaniello, ou Huit jours à Naples*, Defauconpret focuses simply on Masaniello's relationship with his wife. Although there seems to be no copy of this 1822 version extant in French, a report of it appears in Pierre Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*. Herbert Schneider and Nicole Wild also mention a Spanish translation of the novel by D. F. de P. Fors de Casamayor (Barcelona, 1844) in 'La Muette de Portici': *Kritische Ausgabe des Libretts und Dokumentation ihrer ersten Inszenierung* (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1993), 1–2.

15 In the play, entitled *Masaniello, the Fisherman of Naples* (with incidental music by Henry Bishop), the drama centres on Masaniello's guilt: he dines with the Spaniards, and Lorina follows him, disguised as a man, and attacks him when she sees him declaring his love to Olympia. Masaniello kills his attacker, only realising it is Lorina when it is too late. This guilt follows him throughout the rest of the play, and it is the reason that he drifts in and out of sanity. Meanwhile the people (independently) come to trust the duplicitous Spanish duke, and turn against Masaniello. The play concludes with him being shot and killed by the mob.

16 Four versions of the libretto, together with variants between the sources for each version,

are reproduced in Schneider and Wild, 'La Muette de Portici'.

17 Other ironic moments were essayed in earlier, more complicated, versions of the text, notably with regard to the possibility that Alphonse and Fenella could be together after all. The first draft concludes with a double misunderstanding: Alphonse declares he will marry Fenella, but when Elvire and the procession arrive, Fenella runs to her boat to allow the authorised wedding to take place. Alphonse decides he will leave Elvire and go to fight for his country in order to forget; Fenella sees him taking Elvire's hand and, believing they are happy, leaps into the sea while the chorus celebrates the (apparently) joyful union, oblivious of Fenella's sad end.

18 Scott Balthazar has written of the similar move in nineteenth-century Italian opera, by which plots were driven by unity of action (rather than by a rigid upholding of all three of the Aristotelian Unities), as set out by Alessandro Manzoni in his *Lettre à M. C*** sur l'unité de temps et de lieu dans la tragédie*, published in Paris in 1823. This shift had the effect of cutting out extraneous material and focusing more clearly, in the case of Italian opera, on love-triangles. Although the action in *La Muette* too can be reduced to the triangle of Fenella–Alphonse–Elvire, this leaves the important public dimension out of the equation. See Balthazar, 'Aspects of Form in the Ottocento Libretto', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 7/1 (1995), 23–35.

19 This has particular dramatic resonance in a year (1827) when sleepwalking scenes were infiltrating many works, from Rouget de Lisle and Chelard's opera *Macbeth* and Scribe, Delavigne and Hérold's ballet *La Somnambule* at the Opéra, to a host of works at the secondary theatres. As I have discussed elsewhere, the visual aspect of such trance scenes were more appropriate to French drama of the time than the vocal aspects that were to become so popular in the visually similar mad scenes of Italian opera. Here the two dimensions are combined. See my '“Dormez donc, mes chères amours”: *La Somnambule* and Representations of Trance', in 'Magnetism, Muteness, Magic', 70–108.

20 Public interest tended to revolve either around congenitally deaf (and therefore mute) people, with the emphasis on their deafness and how other people could communicate with them (as seen in *Peveril of the Peak*, for example), or with temporary muteness caused by shock or emotion (as commonly depicted in *mélodrame*).

- 21 Nina's madness has been examined in some detail in relation to psychiatric theory and practice of the period. See Patrick Taïeb, 'De la composition du *Délie* (1799) au pamphlet anti-dilettante: Une étude des conceptions esthétiques de H.-M. Berton', *Revue de musicologie*, 78 (1992), 67–107; Stefano Castelvocchi, 'From *Nina* to *Nina*: Psychodrama, Absorption and Sentiment in the 1780s', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 8/2 (1996), 91–112.
- 22 The Opéra's literary jury suggested the authors might insert a logical explanation for Fenella's muteness early in the opera. But Scribe and Delavigne decided to ignore this recommendation, and the gap remains in the opera: Alphonse simply states to Lorenzo, 'Speech snatched from her lips by a terrible event has left her defenceless against her unfaithful lover'. For the full exchange about the lack of explanation of Fenella's muteness, see the censors' report (Paris, Archives nationales, O³ 1724) and the accompanying letter from Auger to La Rochefoucauld, 24 October 1825, in Schneider and Wild, 'La *Muette de Portici*', 195–6.
- 23 Anselm Gerhard, *The Urbanization of Opera: Music Theater in Paris in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 145.
- 24 Schneider and Wild, 'La *Muette de Portici*', report the lengths of the four drafts as follows: 44 pages, 36 pages, 48 pages (unfinished) and 56 pages. (Although the final version is not included here, it differs only slightly from the fourth draft, and is comparable in length.) There is, in other words, very little expansion from the first (three-act) version to the final one, because cutting and reordering are the more significant changes.
- 25 Gerhard, *Urbanization*, 134.
- 26 See Marian Smith, 'Ballet-Pantomime and Silent Language', *Ballet and Opera in the Age of 'Giselle'* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 97–123. Singers used gesture, though not in the extensive way that dancers did.
- 27 Peter Brooks gives an account of the expressive potential of melodrama in *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976; 2nd edn 1995).
- 28 The play was still being performed at the Théâtre Français and the Court in the 1820s, and was mentioned regularly in press reviews of theatre works featuring mutes. There is a vast literature on the work of the Abbé de l'Épée and the subsequent education of deaf-mutes. For a history and a detailed bibliography, see Harlan Lane, *When the Mind Hears: A History of the Deaf* (New York: Random House, 1984).
- 29 Emilio Sala terms this device an expressive 'short circuit', in 'Que ses gestes parlants ont de grâce et de charmes': Motivi "mélo" nella "Muette de Portici"', in *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società internazionale di musicologia: Trasmissione e ricezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, ed. Angelo Pompilio, Lorenzo Bianconi, F. Alberto Gallo and Donatella Restani (Turin: EDT, 1990), I, 504–20.
- 30 This legibility is achieved in a variety of ways involving written notes, pictures and off-stage communication never witnessed by the audience; only in Scribe's *Yelva* is detailed mimed narrative (like that of Fenella) employed, and it relies heavily on the use of musical quotation to clarify the gestures. The unquestioned legibility of Fenella's gestures was satirised in the parody *La Muette du Porte Bercy*. In the first act the mute tries to indicate, as did Fenella to Elvire, that she has no voice; the stage instructions suggest: 'She points to her mouth, wanting to show that she is mute . . . She indicates that it is not hunger which torments her: she cannot speak . . . She indicates that she is not suffering from toothache: she is lacking speech.' The principal function of pantomime here is to show how mime is an unclear and tedious means of communication.
- 31 *La Pandore*, 1682 (28 December 1827), 3.
- 32 *Moniteur Universel*, 62 (2 March 1828), 260.
- 33 *Le Ménestrel*, 8/8 (25 January 1863), 59–60.
- 34 Smith, *Ballet and Opera*, 129.
- 35 For example, as Emilio Sala has shown (with illustrations), there is a clear similarity between the music that accompanies Fenella as she explains to Elvire that her despair is caused by love, and a passage in Pixérécourt's *mélodrame La Muette de la forêt* when the mute and the father of her lover try to escape from their captors. In both passages a dotted figure rises sequentially over a series of repeated triplet chords, suggesting tension and hesitation. See Sala, "Que ses gestes parlants ont de grâce et de charmes"; and *L'opera senza canto: Il mélo romantico e l'invenzione della colonna sonora* (Venice: Marsilio, 1995), 182–3. Whether or not this was a conscious allusion by Auber, it illustrates his absorption of melodramatic techniques in musical depiction of emotion.
- 36 See, for example, Gerhard, *Urbanization*, 146.

37 Allusions to other works are suggested more subtly: Fenella's escape from her prison window, accompanied by a descending scale, is also found in *Deux mots*; there is a similarity between the orchestral accompaniment to Fenella's leap into the lava at the end of the opera and a passage in the Wolf's Glen scene, the Act II finale to *Der Freischütz*, when Max has a vision of Agathe who, having lost her senses, is about to jump into a waterfall; finally, the D minor harmony in the Act V finale of *La Muette* recalls the finale of *Don Giovanni*. Such allusions were common currency in the secondary theatres, and it seems plausible that Auber was aware of these similarities, given their dramatic significance to the opera.

38 It has another layer of significance for us, as Auber took it from the 'Dona nobis' of a mass he had previously composed for his friend the count of Caraman; see Schneider, 'Auber', *New Grove* 2.

39 In Act I it appears in Fenella's pantomime while she is in prison, just before she thinks of a way to escape; the chorus which follows comes ahead of Fenella's identification of Alphonse as her seducer; 'Saint bien heureux' heralds the final battle between the Spanish and the Neapolitans; and Fenella's prayer precedes Masaniello's death, her loss of hope and her suicide.

40 For a description of some of the techniques of popular theatre that were absorbed into grand opera in general (and into *La Muette* in particular), see Karin Pendle, 'The Boulevard Theaters and Continuity in French Opera of the 19th Century', in *Music in Paris*, ed. Bloom, 509–35.

41 Pixérécourt's stage directions for the final scene of the play (Paris, 1827). The directions for the tableau are given in full, in English translation, in Pendle, 'The Boulevard Theaters', 532.

42 For example, Pendle notes 'one cannot but notice that Fenella throws herself into the erupting volcano to the accompaniment of a rather simple chromatic passage', *Eugene Scribe*, 412. She goes on to surmise that Auber was not capable of writing suitably dramatic music for this scene, and that Meyerbeer was the first to realise such drama musically.

43 See Solomé's *mise-en-scène* for *La Muette de Portici* in H. Robert Cohen, *The Original Staging Manuals for Twelve Parisian Operatic Premières* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1991), 59. However, the choral prayer was added only in August 1827 at the behest of the censors; see Schneider and Wild, 'La Muette de Portici', 7.

44 This mechanism can be compared to the psychopathology of hysteria where 'the energy attached to an idea that has been repressed returns converted into a bodily symptom'. See Geoffrey Nowell-Smith's discussion of film melodrama, 'Minnelli and Melodrama', in *Home is Where the Heart Is: Studies in Melodrama and the Woman's Film*, ed. Christine Gledhill (London: BFI Publishing, 1987), 70–74, here 73.

45 Carl Dahlhaus reminds us of this contemporary description of Auber's style in *Nineteenth-Century Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989 [1980]), 67. He defines this quality as consisting primarily of harmonic and melodic simplicity and rhythmic clarity; the beats of the time signature are often emphasised with short, 'dry' chords (typically a quaver followed by a quaver rest).

46 Wagner, 'Reminiscences of Auber', 46.

47 See Gerhard, *Urbanization*, 134–40, and Pendle, *Eugène Scribe*, 397–403.

48 They contrast strikingly with the arias of *tragédie lyrique* in which emotion and psychological development are traced through more extended forms and with lengthy recitatives. Gerhard quotes the German critic Stefan Schütze who recognised this unusual feature of *La Muette* as early as 1830, terming it the 'principle of excitement': *Urbanization*, 133.

49 For example, see Gerhard, *Urbanization*, 134.

50 Not only did the authorities view it as posing no threat to the régime, but other commentators noted its anti-revolutionary stance. After seeing the opera in 1831, Goethe described it as a 'satire on the people':

Eckermann's Conversations with Goethe, trans. Robert O. Moon (London: Morgan, Laird, 1951), 374. But the picturesque southern European locale brought to mind at least two contemporary revolts in which France was involved as one of the three European powers: those in Naples and Greece, uprisings that both had popular support in France.

51 For a study of representations of Marianne in the nineteenth century see Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789–1880* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); originally published in Paris, 1979. Agulhon illustrates how around 1830 the constitutional monarchists used revolutionary symbolism – particularly the image of Marianne – to evoke a more general idea of freedom.

52 Joan Landes suggests that the movement away from the masculine iconography of the

absolutist body politic to the female representation of the Republic was matched by a rejection of the importance of visual image, in favour of the higher (masculine) status of abstract reasoning. This view has parallels with Fenella's plight: although she indirectly initiates the revolt, the resolution of the situation is decided by Alphonse and Masaniello. See Joan Landes, 'Representing the Body Politic: The Paradox of Gender in the Graphic Politics of the French Revolution', in *Rebel Daughters: Women and the French Revolution*, ed. Sara E. Melzer and Leslie W. Rabine (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 15–37.

53 Wagner, 'Reminiscences of Auber', 42.

54 The information here on the performance history is largely from Alfred Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*, 2nd edn (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 1970), 711–13.

55 The Earl of Harewood and Antony Peattie (eds.), *The New Kobbé's Opera Book* (London: Ebury, 1997), 13.

10 Scribe and Auber: constructing grand opera

1 Anselm Gerhard, 'Grand Opéra', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, 2nd edn (Kassel, 1994–), Sachtteil, III, col. 1575.

2 *Aline, Reine de Golconde, Opéra en trois Actes, Paroles de MM^{rs}. Vial & Favier à Monsieur Monsigny par H. Berton* (Paris: Aux Deux Lyres, chez M^{me} Duhan et Comp^{ie}, n.d. [1803]).

3 Bibliothèque nationale, MS n.a.fr. 22562, 663: 'Plan du Prophète, grand-opéra en 5 actes'.

4 Bibliothèque nationale, MS n.a.fr. 22567, 108: 'Noëma, grand-opéra'. Cf. Meyerbeer's diary entry for 10 July 1846 in Meyerbeer, *Briefwechsel und Tagebücher*, ed. H. and G. Becker, 5 vols. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1959–99), IV (1846–1852), 92.

5 Bibliothèque nationale MS n.a.fr. 22565, 364: 'Dom Sébastien, grand-opéra'; MS n.a.fr. 22571, fol. 17^v: 'Le Fou de Péronne, grand opéra en 2 actes'; fol. 18, 'La Tapisserie, grand opéra en un acte'; fol. 30: 'La Tapisserie ou Pygmalion, grand opéra en 2 actes ou opéra comique'; MS n.a.fr. 22562, 646: 'plan de La Fiancée de Manganni, grand opéra'; MS 22563, 2: 'Le Comte Julien, grand opéra en 3 actes'; MS n.a.fr. 22568, 322: 'Le Cheval de bronze, opéra comique mise en grand opéra'.

6 Herbert Schneider (ed.), *Correspondance d'E. Scribe et de D.-F.-E. Auber* (Liège: Mardaga, 1998), 68.

7 Louis-Désiré Véron, *Mémoires d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 6 vols. (Paris: de Gonet, 1853–5).

8 Castil-Blaze, *L'Académie Impériale de Musique*, 2 vols. (Paris: Castil-Blaze, 1855), II, 252.

9 The letter is in Bibliothèque nationale, MS n.a.fr. 22551, 32.

10 'de monumentaux pots-pourris': Gilles de Van, 'Le Grand Opéra entre tragédie-lyrique et drame romantique', *Il Saggiatore musicale*, 3/2 (1996), 325–60, here 329.

11 Stephen Sadler Stanton, 'English Drama and the French Well-Made Play, 1815–1915', dissertation, Columbia University (1955), 87.

12 Scenic tableaux are basically decorative; dramatic tableaux develop a strong moment of the action and 'act tableaux' bestow a special atmosphere across a whole act. The totality of these tableaux can organically constitute a second or 'social intrigue': de Van, 'Le Grand Opéra', 339.

13 de Van, *ibid.*, 354.

14 According to de Van (*ibid.*, 333) the diorama convent scene in Act III of *Robert le Diable* has affinities with certain fairytale dramas.

15 Véron, *Mémoires*, III, 252–3.

16 Ernest Legouvé, *Soixante ans de souvenirs*, 2 vols. (Paris: Hetzel, 1886), II, 181.

17 As regards content, it is especially noteworthy that the quotations from *La Marseillaise*, which Scribe did not insert until the libretto was first printed, are absent from the score. Qualitatively and quantitatively, all other differences between the libretto and the first published score are insignificant.

18 In ensembles, words for different singers printed on the same horizontal plane are counted twice; for repeated words that are not printed out, only the line calling for the repetition is counted.

19 Cf. H. Schneider and N. Wild, 'La Muette de Portici': *Kritische Ausgabe des Librettos und Dokumentation der ersten Inszenierung* (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1993).

20 Anselm Gerhard, 'Die französische "Grand Opéra" in der Forschung seit 1945', *Acta Musicologica*, 59/3 (1987), 220–70, here 241.

21 Following Gustavus III's assumption of power in 1772, he established Swedish opera, financing the court theatre and other, private, theatres, encouraging composers and drafting scenarios for operas that were worked up into librettos by a number of other hands. He planned *Gustaf Wasa* (libretto by J. H. Kellgren, music by J. H. Naumann, 1786).

22 Marked 'Pas de paysans dalécarliens'. Dalecarlia (now Dalarna), is a province in central Sweden, where Gustaf Wasa has come to seek shelter: in 1521 Dalecarlia was

- influential in liberating Sweden from Danish oppression (which is the theme of the king's opera).
- 23 Examples include the scene in which the students express alarm before the horrors of the wild Harz Mountains (Act I, end); the fact that Zéila, early in Act II, presents herself at the inn as a maid; Marguerite's fury at Albert's disloyalty (II.13); the toast to Zéila and Conrad's dance with her (III, second tableau); Albert's self-inculpation (IV.3); Marguerite's warning to Albert (IV.4); Rodolphe de Cronembourg's attempted kidnapping, and a few details of Albert and Rodolphe's quarrel.
- 24 See Jürgen Schläder, *Das Opernduett: Ein Szenentypus des 19. Jahrhunderts und seine Vorgeschichte* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995), 135, 139; Steven Huebner, 'Italianate Duets in Meyerbeer's Grand Operas', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 8 (1989), 203–58; Harold S. Powers, '“La solita forma” and “The Uses of Convention”', *Acta Musicologica*, 59/1 (1987), 65–90.
- 25 This is Powers's 'Adagio', strongly preferred to 'Cantabile': '“La solita forma”', 69.
- 26 Huebner, 'Italianate Duets', 208–9.
- 27 Schläder, not counting the opening recitative, finds three 'sections' and two 'in-between sections', namely bars 26–45 and 68–106 (*Das Opernduett*, 86).
- 28 This constitutes Schläder's first 'section' plus first 'in-between section' (*Das Opernduett*, 86).
- 29 'as the piece was first drafted, Alfonso was to respond to Elvira's strophe in conventional manner with a solo rendition of the same strain': Huebner, 'Italianate Duets', 247, citing the full score autograph at Paris, Bibliothèque nationale (Mus) MS 2775.
- 30 Noting a similar conclusion in *Robert le Diable* – Isabelle's cavatina in the holograph version of the score – Schläder speaks of 'formal deficiency' and 'the breaking of an inherited pattern', since the form is not rounded off in the D major section (*Das Opernduett*, 88–9).
- 31 F. Danjou noted in *La Revue musicale*, 6/14 (4 April 1839), 111, that this duet, 'Est-ce toi?', 'is curtailed, and was not liked, in spite of the talents of [Gilbert] Duprez and Mlle Nau. The duet opening Act III is one of Auber's best pieces'.
- 32 *La France musicale*, 1 (22 July 1838), non-paginated.
- 33 *La Revue musicale*, 3 (1828), 133–4.
- 34 Théophile Gautier, *Histoire de l'art dramatique en France depuis vingt-cinq ans* (Paris: Hetzel, 1858), 40.
- 35 Richard Wagner, *Ein deutscher Musiker in Paris: Novellen und Aufsätze* (1840–41) in *Über deutsches Musikwesen*, in *Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen*, Volks-Ausgabe, 6th edn, 16 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, [1911–14]), I, 165.
- 36 Nevertheless, French translations of two sources by William Coxe were published long before the opera was written: *Voyage en Pologne, Russie, Suède, et Danemark* (Geneva: Barde, Manget, 1786) and *Nouveau voyage en Danemark, Suède, Russie, Pologne et dans le Jutland, la Norwège, la Livonie, le duché de Curlande et la Prusse* (Paris: Volland, 1791).
- 37 John Brown, *Les Cours du Nord, ou Mémoires originaux sur les souverains de la Suède et du Danemarck depuis 1766*, French translation by J. Cohen (Paris: Bertrand, 1820). The Parisian publication of the literary works of Gustavus III only two years after they appeared in Stockholm is further proof of French interest in the tragic monarch: *Collection des écrits politiques, littéraires et dramatiques de Gustave III, roi de Suède, suivie de sa correspondance*, ed. J. B. Dechaux, 5 vols. (Stockholm: C. Delén, 1803–5); *Œuvres politiques, littéraires et dramatiques de Gustave III*, ed. J. B. Dechaux, 4 vols. (Paris: Levrault, Schoell, 1805–06).
- 38 See *Les Cours du Nord*, III, 108–9.
- 39 Cf. Anselm Gerhard, 'Grand Opéra', *Sachteil*, III, col. 1580.
- 40 Scribe, *Gustave III, ou Le Bal masqué, opéra historique en trois actes suivi d'une relation de la mort de Gustave III extraite de l'ouvrage de M. Coxe sur la Suède* (Paris: Jonas, 1833), 83–7; also separately printed in Scribe, *Relation de la mort de Gustave III, suivie d'une analyse de la pièce* (Brest: De Come et Bonetbeau, 1837), which is listed under William Coxe in the Bibliothèque nationale's *Catalogue générale*. The text is not found in Scribe, *Œuvres*, in most editions of the libretto of *Gustave III* or in translations of it.
- 41 *Cours du Nord*, III, 157–8, reporting that the superstitious Gustavus III frequented the aged Mademoiselle Arvedsen, renowned in Stockholm as a 'sibyl' (or fortune-teller).
- 42 Louis-Désiré Véron, *Paris en 1860: Les Théâtres de Paris depuis 1806 jusqu'en 1860* (Paris: Bourdilliat, 1860), 126.
- 43 Véron, *Mémoires*, III, 247–9.
- 44 *Correspondance d'E. Scribe et de D.-F.-E. Auber*, 113.
- 45 Stefan Kunze, 'Fest und Ball in Verdis Opern', in *Die 'Couleur locale' in der Oper des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Heinz Becker (Regensburg: Bosse, 1976), 269–78.

46 *Ibid.*, 273.

47 Cf. Herbert Schneider, 'Verdis Parlante und seine französischen Vorbilder', in *Traditionen–Neuansätze: Für Anna Amalie Abert (1906–1996)*, ed. Klaus Hortschansky (Tutzing: Schneider, 1997), 519–40.

48 *La France musicale*, 2 (1839), 217–18.

49 *La Fille de l'air, féerie en 3 actes mêlée de chants et de danses . . .* par MM. Cogniard frères et Raymond, musique de M. Adolphe, décors de MM. Devoir et Pourchet, Théâtre des Folies-Dramatiques, 3 août 1837 [Paris: no publisher, 1837].

50 *La Fille de l'air*, 3.

51 'The Wilis are the souls of humans who died of love . . . at midnight they come out from their coffins and dance under the light of the moon in graveyards or near ruins . . . Those who are tormented by the pangs of love find amidst these phantoms the image of their loved one . . . Then, soon caught up in the fascination of their dances, they join in and finally forfeit their lives among these treacherous illusions': *Les Filles de l'air*, 21.

52 T. Gautier puts 'Burgmann', but presumably means Hans Burgkmair; on the other hand he does not mention Lochner, who was active in Cologne.

53 Gautier, *Histoire de l'art dramatique*, 240.

54 *Ibid.*, 243. The ballet was choreographed by Jean Coralli.

55 According to Karin Pendle (*Eugène Scribe and French Opera of the Nineteenth Century* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1979), 383) the action is purely fantastic. Consequently, this 'five-act work [is] in no sense a grand opera'; Auber himself called it simply 'opéra'.

56 Gautier, *Histoire de l'art dramatique*, 238.

57 Of all Auber's grand operas, *La Muette de Portici* was the only one for which a full staging-manual was published; in fact it was the first opera for which this was done.

58 *La France musicale*, 2 (1839), 218.

59 *La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, 6 (1839), 161.

60 Gautier, *Histoire de l'art dramatique*, 237.

61 *Ibid.*, 242.

62 For complete lists of librettos, scores and smaller arrangements issued in various countries for all Auber's operas, see Herbert Schneider, *Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Werke von Daniel François Esprit Auber*, 2 vols. (Hildesheim: Olms, 1994).

63 *Le Ménestrel*, 6/50 (10 November 1839), unpaginated.

64 *La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, 10 (1843), 80.

65 Véron, *Les Théâtres de Paris*, 111–12.

66 *La Revue et gazette musicale*, 17 (8 December 1850), 401.

67 *La Revue et gazette musicale*, 17 (15 December 1850), 410.

11 Meyerbeer: *Robert le Diable* and *Les Huguenots*

1 J. P. Eckermann, *Conversations with Goethe*, trans. J. Oxenford, ed. J. K. Moorhead, Everyman's Library (London: Dent, 1970), 291–2 (12 February 1829). Goethe felt that only the composer of *Don Giovanni* would have been able to cope with the 'awful and repulsive passages' in *Faust*, and it was, of course, before *Robert le Diable* that he made his comment about Meyerbeer. Earlier, on 29 January 1827 (*ibid.*, 162), Goethe remarked that *Faust* could be set to music only by a composer 'who, like Meyerbeer, has lived long in Italy, so that he combines his German nature with the Italian style and manner'.

2 See Mark Everist, 'The Name of the Rose: Meyerbeer's opéra-comique *Robert le Diable*', *Revue de musicologie*, 80/2 (1994), 211–50. Scribe's first sketches for the work date back to winter 1825–26.

3 It is important to note in passing that Véron's first actual production as director was a French version of Weber's *Euryanthe* (as *Euriante*) arranged by Castil-Blaze, in April 1831: Everist, 'Translating Weber's *Euryanthe*: German Romanticism at the Dawn of French Grand Opéra', *Revue de musicologie*, 87/1 (2001), 67–104.

4 Knud Arne Jürgensen, 'The "Ballet of the Nuns" from *Robert le Diable* and its Revival', in *Meyerbeer und das europäische Musiktheater*, ed. Sieghart Döhring and Arnold Jacobshagen (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1998), 73–86, here 76.

5 See Paul Bénichou, *Le Temps des prophètes: Doctrines de l'âge romantique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1977).

6 *Oeuvres de Saint-Simon et d'Enfantin*, 47 vols. (Paris: Dentu, 1865–78; repr. Aalen: Zeller, 1963–64), XXIII, 160. This and other theories are discussed in Ralph P. Locke, *Music, Musicians and the Saint-Simonians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

7 Matthias Brzoska, *Die Idee des Gesamtkunstwerks in der Musiknovellistik der Julimonarchie*, Thurnauer Schriften zum Musiktheater, 14 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1995), 165.

8 Joseph d'Ortigue, *Le Balcon de l'opéra* (Paris: Renduel, 1833), 122–3.

9 *Revue musicale*, 5/42 (26 November 1831), 336.

- 10 Karin Pendle, *Eugène Scribe and French Opera of the Nineteenth Century* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1979); also Christopher Smith, 'Scribe', *Grove Opera*.
- 11 Meyerbeer, it appears, deserves credit for the hero's indecision in this ultimate test, which was added at the final rehearsals. In a printed libretto held by the Bibliothèque nationale (Thb. 878) with a version of the text anterior to the usual score, Robert seems to have opted for Alice, rather than his father. At the end of the trio, Robert 'taking Alice's hand' says to her 'Come', whereas in the final version, Robert remains standing between Alice and Bertram, who *both* say 'Come' to him.
- 12 Heinrich Heine, *Über die französische Bühne. Vertraute Briefe an August Lewald*, 9. Brief [1837], ed. Christoph Trilse (Berlin: Henschel, 1971). Heine forms part of Sandy Petrey's related study of Robert's character: 'Robert le diable and Louis-Philippe the King', in *Reading Critics Reading*, ed. Roger Parker and Mary Ann Smart (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 136–54, here 146.
- 13 The entire text of *Gambara*, translated by Clara Bell and James Waring, is available on website 'Meyerbeer Fan Club', www.meyerbeer.com/Balzacs%20Meyerbeer.htm, accessed on 22 Feb. 2002.
- 14 Pendle, *Eugène Scribe*; Smith, 'Scribe'.
- 15 Sieghart Döhring and Sabine Henze-Döhring, *Oper und Musikdrama im 19^{ten} Jahrhundert*, Handbuch der musikalischen Gattungen, 13 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1997). The acts have one tableau (stage set) each, except Acts III and V, which contain two each. A tableau can contain any number of scenes (defined by entrances and exits).
- 16 This aria, which originally included a metaphysical explanation of the fallen angel's fatherly love, supposedly imposed on him as a penitence by Divine Providence, was unfortunately much shortened shortly before the première: see libretto, in Bibliothèque nationale, Thb. 878, and Döhring, 'Robert le Diable' in *Pipers Enzyklopädie des Musiktheaters*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus and Sieghart Döhring, 7 vols. (Munich: Piper, 1986–97), IV, 126.
- 17 Jürgensen (see 'The "Ballet of the Nuns"', 80–3) was at least able to reconstruct the step sequence of Taglioni's choreography.
- 18 Hector Berlioz, 'De l'instrumentation de Robert le Diable', *Gazette musicale de Paris*, 12 July 1835, 229–32; ed. Yves Gérard in *Hector Berlioz. Critique musicale*, II (Paris: Buchet/Chastel, 1998), 209–16, here 214.
- 19 Taglioni's choreography for *Robert le Diable* is the start of Romantic ballet, to be exemplified later by *La Sylphide* (1832) and *Giselle* (1841): see Chapter 6 Appendix 1, above.
- 20 Anselm Gerhard, 'Giacomo Meyerbeer et le thriller avant la lettre: Choc et suspense dans le cinquième acte des *Huguenots*', in *Le Théâtre lyrique en France au XIX^e siècle*, ed. Paul Prévost (Metz: Serpenoise, 1995), 107–18.
- 21 Robert Ignatius Letellier (ed.), *The Diaries of Giacomo Meyerbeer Vol. 1: 1791–1839* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999), 420, 439.
- 22 *Ibid.*, 439–42.
- 23 Giacomo Meyerbeer, *Briefwechsel und Tagebücher*, ed. Heinz Becker *et al.*, 5 vols. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1959–99), II, 232.
- 24 Döhring, 'Les Huguenots', in *Pipers*, IV, 155.
- 25 Heinz Becker, 'Der Marcel von Meyerbeer: Anmerkungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte der *Hugenotten*', *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung* (1979–80), 79–100.
- 26 Letter to Scribe, 2 July 1834: *Briefwechsel*, II, 376.
- 27 The vocal score with piano reduction edited by R. Zimmermann and B. Böhmel (Leipzig: Peters, 1973) restores many of the Act III cuts; the original material is in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra.
- 28 Joseph d'Ortigue, *Palingénésie musicale* (Paris: La France Catholique, 1833), 221: see Brzoska, *Die Idee*, 154.
- 29 Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989 [1980]), 12–15.
- 30 Letter to Minna Meyerbeer, 15 September 1835: *Briefwechsel*, II, 481.
- 31 Letter to Minna Meyerbeer, 6 March 1836: *ibid.*, 511–12.

12 Meyerbeer: *Le Prophète* and *L'Africaine*

- 1 Giacomo Meyerbeer, *Briefwechsel und Tagebücher*, ed. Heinz Becker *et al.*, 5 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1959–99), II, 527.
- 2 Unless otherwise identified, information on the compositional history of *Le Prophète* comes from Alan Armstrong, 'Meyerbeer's "Le Prophète": A History of its Composition and Early Performances', dissertation, Ohio State University (1990). I am also grateful to Professor Armstrong for putting at my disposal microfilms of some of the sources on which his dissertation is based. Meyerbeer's fragmentary French comments on the 1836 scenario are printed in his *Briefwechsel und*

- Tagebücher*, III, 19–20. This document is dated and partly completed by five pages of unpublished preliminary notes in a pocket diary that Meyerbeer used only from 26 November through to the end of the year (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, N. Mus. Nachl. 97, V/270).
- 3 Further information on the compositional history of *L'Africaine* can be found in John H. Roberts, 'The Genesis of Meyerbeer's *L'Africaine*', dissertation, University of California, Berkeley (1977).
- 4 The libretto published at the time of the first performance and reproduced in subsequent editions of Scribe's collected works is a literary text that includes some material from previous versions along with variants produced solely for publication.
- 5 The original production book is reprinted in *The Original Staging Manuals for Twelve Parisian Operatic Premieres*, ed. H. Robert Cohen (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1991), 151–82.
- 6 See, for example, his *Briefwechsel und Tagebücher*, III, 399.
- 7 Hector Berlioz, *Correspondance générale*, ed. Pierre Citron (Paris: Flammarion, 1972–), III, 624.
- 8 Georg Joseph Vogler, *Betrachtungen der Mannheimer Tonschule* [Mannheim, 1778–81], 4 vols. (rpt. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1974), III, 178.
- 9 Henri Blaze de Bury, *Meyerbeer et son temps* (Paris: Michel Levy, 1865), 182.
- 10 The heroine, for example, is poisoned at her wedding by her husband's mistress, buried alive in the belief she has died of plague, delivered from her tomb by grave-robbers, and shot by her husband, who mistakes her for a ghost; she then drags herself bleeding through the snow while he dies of plague, clutching his mistress to ensure she will not escape the same fate. See also Gilles de Van's comments on *Guido* and other late grand opera librettos by Scribe in his 'Le Grand Opéra entre tragédie lyrique et drame romantique', *Il Saggiatore Musicale*, 3/2 (1996), 325–60, here 355–8.
- 11 Paul Bonnefon, 'Scribe sous la Monarchie de Juillet d'après des documents inédits', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 28 (1921), 96.
- 12 Meyerbeer, *Briefwechsel und Tagebücher*, III, 19.
- 13 See, for example, the quotation from Fétis in Meyerbeer, *Briefwechsel und Tagebücher*, IV, 626.
- 14 Meyerbeer, *Briefwechsel und Tagebücher*, V, 529.
- 15 The Handelian style is still more obvious in the original version of the *couplets*, where the semiquaver passages now sung syllabically are melismatic. Armstrong suggests that Levasseur could no longer negotiate such coloratura ('Meyerbeer's "Le Prophète"', 317).
- 16 See an unpublished letter of Meyerbeer to his wife Minna, 18 October 1839 (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, N. Mus. Nachl. 97, H/122) and his *Briefwechsel und Tagebücher*, III, 245, 255. The melody of 'Roi du ciel' – which Meyerbeer reports working on while studying *Alexander's Feast* – could have been suggested by the air and chorus 'Happy pair' in that ode, and the passage beginning 'le paysan et sa cabane' in the *Trio bouffe* may echo the air 'Heroes, when with glory burning' in *Joshua*.
- 17 Meyerbeer, *Briefwechsel und Tagebücher*, III, 315.
- 18 Armstrong, 'Meyerbeer's "Le Prophète"', 40.
- 19 Gustave Roger, *Le Carnet d'un ténor* (Paris: Paul Ollendorff, 1880), 191.
- 20 For an overview of these revisions, see Alan Armstrong, 'Gilbert-Louis Duprez and Gustave Roger in the Composition of Meyerbeer's *Le Prophète*', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 8/2 (1996), 147–65.
- 21 The complete prayer, 'Eternel, Dieu sauveur', appears in many vocal scores and has been included in some recent recordings.
- 22 Bibliothèque nationale, MS n.a.f. 22504, fol. 37v. Partly translated in Armstrong, 'Meyerbeer's "Le Prophète"', 26.
- 23 Paul Bonnefon, 'Les Métamorphoses d'un opéra: lettres inédites de Eugène Scribe', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 41 (1917), no. 5, 880–2.
- 24 These notes are partially preserved in Bibliothèque nationale, MS n.a.f. 22504, fols. 68–81r. Although they are in the hand of two copyists, the content leaves little room for doubt that they came from Pillet.
- 25 Bibliothèque nationale, MS, n.a.f. 22504, fol. 49v.
- 26 Meyerbeer, *Briefwechsel und Tagebücher*, III, 207.
- 27 This statement is based on *The Diaries of Giacomo Meyerbeer*, ed. Robert Ignatius Letellier, II (London: Associated University Presses, 2001) rather than on the German edition, which is incomplete for this period.
- 28 See Armstrong, 'Meyerbeer's "Le Prophète"', 136–41.
- 29 This scene is transcribed in full in Armstrong, 'Meyerbeer's "Le Prophète"', 1367–74.

- 30 For an analysis of this overture, see Anselm Gerhard, 'Religiöse Aura und militärisches Gepränge: Meyerbeers Ouvertüren und das Problem der rein instrumentalen Form', in *Meyerbeer und das europäische Musiktheater*, ed. Sieghart Döhring and Arnold Jacobshagen (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1998), 203–8. The complete overture is transcribed in Armstrong, 'Meyerbeer's "Le Prophète"', 511–641.
- 31 Armstrong, 'Meyerbeer's "Le Prophète"', 366.
- 32 Some of the music was physically removed from the main autograph score and currently must be reconstructed from the original performing material in the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra in Paris. It is possible, however, that the missing autograph fragments, which formed part of the Meyerbeer *Nachlass* that disappeared at the end of World War II, will eventually be recovered.
- 33 Roberts had access only to the autograph of Act V but Acts I–IV have since come to light in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Crakow.
- 34 Giacomo Meyerbeer, *Deuxième partie de l'opéra en cinq actes L'Africaine* (Paris: Brandus & Dufour, 1865).
- 35 The score is part of the missing *Nachlass* cited in n. 32. The principal numbers Meyerbeer seems to have reused were the choruses 'Debout, matelots,' 'O grand Saint Dominique,' and 'Il faut du vin' at the beginning of Act III, the final chorus of Act III, and portions of the Inès–Sélika duet and Sélika's solo scene in Act V.
- 36 Meyerbeer, *Briefwechsel und Tagebücher*, V, 96.
- 37 Julian Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, 3 vols. (London: Cassell, 1973–81), III, 392.
- 38 Roberts, 'Genesis', 110–11.
- 39 On contemporary response to this ritornello, see Gabriela Gomes da Cruz, 'Giacomo Meyerbeer's *L'Africaine* and the End of Grand Opera', dissertation, Princeton University (1999), 333–7.
- 40 See *ibid.*, 81–2.
- 41 The ballet scenario is transcribed in Roberts, 'Genesis', 85.
- 42 *Ibid.*, 111.
- 43 For additional background on the ballad of Adamastor, see Gabriela Cruz, 'Laughing at History: The Third Act of Meyerbeer's *L'Africaine*', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 11/1 (1999), 31–76.
- 13 The grand operas of Fromental Halévy**
- 1 'Halévy et *La Reine de Chypre*', *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, 9/9 (27 February 1842), 75–8, here 76. Subsequent articles appeared in issue 11 (13 March), 100–02; issue 17 (24 April), 179–80; issue 18 (1 May), 187–8.
- 2 *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 29 January 1842, 140.
- 3 Seemingly involving the functions of both a *répétiteur* and performance accompanist: Nicole Wild, *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiens au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Aux amateurs de livres, 1989), 206.
- 4 Entering the Conservatoire at nearly ten years old, he went on to become a protégé of Cherubini, winner of the Prix de Rome in 1819 and instructor and professor in several posts: *répétiteur* of solfège in 1813, adjunct professor in 1818, professor of harmony and accompaniment in 1827 and of counterpoint and fugue in 1833. In 1840 he attained the honoured post of professor of composition. As the Opéra's third-ranked *chef de chant*, he worked primarily with the chorus and, as premier *chef*, with soloists: Wild, *Dictionnaire*, 312–13, notes that the positions of *chef de chant* and *chef de chœur* were not clearly designated until c. 1840.
- 5 Léon Halévy, *F. Halévy: sa vie et ses œuvres* (Paris: Heugel, 1862), 23–5, claimed that Scribe wrote little beyond the 'first draft', although he approved all subsequent textual changes.
- 6 F. Halévy, *Derniers souvenirs et portraits* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1863), 166–7; Stéphane Wolff, *L'Opéra au palais Garnier (1875–1962): Les Œuvres, les interprètes* (Paris: Déposé au journal *l'Entracte*, n.d.), 129.
- 7 Karl Leich-Galland (ed.), *Fromental Halévy, 'La Juive': dossier de presse parisienne (1835)* (Saarbrücken: Lucie Galland, 1988), 50–1.
- 8 William L. Crosten, *French Grand Opera: An Art and a Business* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1948), 73–4, 90; Karin Pendle, *Eugène Scribe and French Opera of the 19th Century* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1977), 5; M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet, 'Grand opéra', *Grove Opera*, II, 514; Anselm Gerhard, *The Urbanization of Opera: Music Theater in Paris in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 125–7.
- 9 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS n.a.fr. 22584, vol. I, fols. 14v–15v; vol. II, fols. 19v–20r.
- 10 *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, fol. 66r. Léon Halévy, *F. Halévy*, 23, reported that Scribe's original setting for *La Juive* was Goa, the capital of Portuguese India where the Inquisition was established in 1560. Konstanz, however, appears in the draft scenario: Bibliothèque nationale, MS n.a.fr. 22502, vol. XXIII.

- 11 This substitution was recognised by the *Constitutionnel* reviewer (25 February 1835).
- 12 *La Juive* was the most expensive production staged to date by the Paris Opéra, with costs estimated at 134,000 francs; its first six performances brought in 48,669.55 francs in receipts (Bibliothèque-musée de l'Opéra, RE 38). Nicole Wild, *Décor et costumes du XIXe siècle*. Tome II: *Théâtres et décorateurs* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1993), 328, notes that Lormier, 'champion of local colour and historical exactitude,' modelled his costumes after early fifteenth-century iconography of southern German soldiers and clerics. See his sketches, Bibliothèque-musée de l'Opéra, D 216 (10)-II.
- 13 *Le Rénovateur*, *Courier de l'Europe* (1 March 1835), in Leich-Galland (ed.), *Dossier*, 151.
- 14 Rachel's image is reproduced and discussed in Cormac Newark's 'Ceremony, Celebration, and Spectacle in *La Juive*', in *Reading Critics Reading: Opera and Ballet Criticism in France from the Revolution to 1848*, ed. Roger Parker and Mary Ann Smart (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 155–87.
- 15 Léon Halévy, *Résumé de l'histoire des juifs modernes* (Paris: Lecointe, 1828). Also see *L'Israélite français*, the first Jewish journal in France, co-founded by Halévy's father Elie in 1817 with the epigraph, 'tien[s] au pays, et conserve la foi' ('hold to one's country, and keep to one's faith').
- 16 Letter of 25 March [1859] in Marthe Galland (ed.), *Fromental Halévy: Lettres* (Heilbronn: Lucie Galland, 1999), 164–5; Karl Leich-Galland, 'Fromental Halévy et l'âge d'or de l'opéra français', *Entre le théâtre et l'histoire: La Famille Halévy (1760–1960)* (Paris: Arthème Fayard, 1996), 75, 345, n. 30; Halévy, *Derniers souvenirs*, 168. For further discussion of Halévy's Jewish identity, see Diana R. Hallman, 'The French Grand Opera *La Juive* (1835): A Socio-Historical Study', dissertation, The City University of New York, 1995), Hallman's new book on *La Juive* (see Select Bibliography), and Ruth Jordan, *Fromental Halévy: His Life and Music, 1799–1862* (London: Kahn & Averill, 1994).
- 17 Early versions of the libretto, including draft verse (Bibliothèque nationale MS n.a.fr. 22562) and fragments of libretto fair copies (MS n.a.fr. 22502, vol. 23, 4^o), reveal Scribe's initial ideas to have Rachel converted at the end of Act V. Louis Véron, *Mémoires d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 5 vols. (Paris: Librairie Nouvelle, 1856–7), III, 181, gives the librettist the credit for deciding on Rachel's tragedy, or at least for selecting the mode of execution,
- that of being thrown into a cauldron of boiling liquid – an idea which may have been borrowed from Christopher Marlowe's tragedy *The Jew of Malta* (1592). In 1818 this then-forgotten play had been revived amid great controversy by Edmund Kean at London's Drury Lane Theatre.
- 18 Halévy's use of the anvil was preceded in French opera by Rodolphe Kreutzer's *Abel* (1810, rev. 1823), associated with demons and destruction in Act II and in Act III with Cain. Auber incorporated it in *Le Maçon* (1825). Wagner's later use of anvils to represent the Nibelungen workers as well as a force of greed and malevolence in *Der Ring des Nibelungen* may have a subtextual link with Eléazar in *La Juive*, as the Nibelungen are forgers of gold, and may have represented Jewish capitalists.
- 19 Karl Leich-Galland, 'La Juive: commentaire musical et littéraire', *L'Avant-scène opéra*, 100 (*La Juive*, 1987), 57.
- 20 Hugh Macdonald, 'Grandest of the Grand', notes to the 1989 Philips recording of *La Juive* (CD 420 190–2).
- 21 A. Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in its Historical Development* (New York: Henry Holt, 1929), 473.
- 22 The libretto was used in translation for at least three other operas: Franz Lachner's successful *Catharina Cornaro* (Munich, 1841), Donizetti's *Caterina Cornaro* (Naples: San Carlo, 1844) and Balfé's *The Daughter of St Mark* (London: Drury Lane, 1844): see Chapter 20, p. 412.
- 23 *Revue et gazette musicale*, 5/11 (18 March 1838), 113–16, here 114.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 5/10 (11 March 1838), 105–7, here 106. Léon Halévy, *F. Halévy*, 26, claimed to have written the words to this romance.
- 25 *Revue et gazette musicale*, 5/11, 115. See Halévy, *F. Halévy*, 31. During the rehearsal period, Duprez, whose arrival at the Opéra sparked Nourrit's fateful departure, took over the role of Guido intended for Nourrit. The role of Ginevra also changed hands in early stages, from the vocally troubled Falcon to Dorus-Gras.
- 26 *Revue et gazette musicale*, 5/13 (1 April 1838), 137–41, here 141.
- 27 Pierre Larousse (ed.), *Grand Dictionnaire universel du XIX^e siècle* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1982), XIII/2, 883 (reprint of Paris edn, 1866–79). There are at least two orchestral motifs connected with the idea of Venetian power and influence.
- 28 See n. 1: translations are in *Wagner: Prose Works*, ed. and trans. W. A. Ellis, 8 vols. (London, 1892–99; repr. New York, 1969), VIII, 175–200. Katharine Ellis, *Music Criticism*

in *Nineteenth-Century France: La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris, 1834–1880*

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 194, emphasises that Wagner's 'hyperbolic' praise of Halévy's music was motivated by his own self-interest. Although his commentary may have been affected by a need to curry favour with the publisher as well as the Opéra establishment, aspects of his own operas, as well as his later commentary, suggest an admiration that was more than superficial.

29 *La Démence de Charles VI* (Paris: Jules Didot l'aîné, n.d.); Henri Blanchard, *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, 10/12 (19 March 1843), 99–102. Although the names of both librettists appear on librettos and scores of *Charles VI*, press reports and other sources mention Casimir Delavigne as the primary librettist.

30 David H. Pinkney, *Decisive Years in France: 1840–1847* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 130–2.

31 As noted in *La Gazette de France* (17 March 1843).

32 Paris, Archives nationales, AJ¹³ 205: copyist libretto with censors' markings.

33 *La Gazette de France* (17 March 1843), 1. In Schlesinger's unheeded request for reimbursement for the pulped libretto copies he reminds Pillet that the censors' authorisation had given him the go-ahead for the original printing (letter dated 3 May 1843: Archives nationales, AJ¹³ 183, folder, 'Ouvrages/Charles VI').

34 Blanchard, *Revue et gazette musicale*, 10/12 (19 March 1843), 99, reports that the censor requested replacement of the words 'Guerre aux tyrans' by 'Vive le roi'. The issue of 5 March 1843 notes that the censors' 'mutilations' included the omission of a chorus ending with the refrain 'Mort aux Anglais'.

35 'Charles VI'; Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire*, III, 127. The chorus was included among six *chants* published in an anthology of national songs by Brandus; arrangements include *Chant national de l'Opéra Charles VI de F. Halévy pour le piano par Stephen Heller*, Op. 48, No. 1 (Paris: M^{ce}. Schlesinger, n.d.).

36 As pointed out in *Le Constitutionnel* (17 March 1843).

37 'Revue des théâtres', *Le Papillon* (April 1843).

38 *Mélodie: Théâtres lyriques, critique, nouvelles*, 1/34 (18 March 1843), 1.

39 Wagner's *Der fliegende Holländer* (1842) may be a loose adaptation of the myth. French approaches are discussed in Frank Paul

Bowman, 'Illuminism, Utopia, Mythology', in *The French Romantics*, ed. D. G. Charlton, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), I, 76–112, here 103–4.

40 Paul Smith [Edouard Monnaie], 'Théâtre du Grand Opéra: Le Juif Errant', *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, 19/17 (25 April 1852), 130.

41 *Ibid.*, 131.

42 *Le Constitutionnel* (22 March 1858), cited in Karl Leich-Galland, '*La Magicienne* (1858), dernier grand opéra de Fromental Halévy: livret de Jules de Saint-Georges', paper given at the meeting of the International Musicological Society, Madrid, 7 April 1992, 2.

43 Leich-Galland, '*La Magicienne*', 2.

44 H. Berlioz, *Correspondance générale*, ed. Pierre Citron, in progress (Paris: Flammarion, 1972–), V, 551, 556; letter from Gounod to Bizet, 24 May 1858, Bibliothèque nationale, MS n.a.fr. 14346, fols. 84–86.

45 Ellis, *Music Criticism*, 191–4.

46 *Gazette musicale de Paris*, 2/41 (11 October 1835), 335.

47 *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 29 (January 1842), 141; *Mélodie: Théâtres lyriques, critique, nouvelles*, 1/35 (25 March 1843), 1.

48 'Halévy et *La Reine de Chypre*' (see nn. 1 and 28), 24 April, 179.

49 Odette's 'Ah! qu'un ciel sans nuage' in *Charles VI* fits Castil-Blaze's description of a simple, unembellished *romance*, as pointed out by Huebner, along with Gérard's square-phrased ternary *romance* set in the Romantic 'love' key of G♭ major; Rachel's passionate *romance* 'Il va venir', however, offers a completely different character for this aria type: Steven Huebner, *The Operas of Charles Gounod* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 263. Also see his discussion of aria and ensemble treatments.

50 See Berlioz's praise of his rhythmic choices in reviews of *Guido et Ginevra* (nn. 23, 24, 26 above). Among repetitive rhythms are homorhythmic patterns in choral numbers, syncopated motifs that create intense agitation, ostinati and climax-building rhythmic crescendos.

51 Huebner, *Gounod*, 224, 229, notes that Halévy 'preferred to maintain the integrity of his main rhythmic motif', and Hugh Macdonald, *Grove Opera*, III, 1283, speaks of his 'fallible' text-setting. The composer in an undated letter to Pillet concerning a duet in *La Reine de Chypre* writes of his 'verse of ten feet [pieds] divided by five, which is a novelty!': Bibliothèque nationale (Mus.), *Lettres autographes*, vol. 50, no. 48.

52 William Edward Runyan, 'Orchestration in Five French Grand Operas', dissertation, Eastman School of Music (1983), 270–3.

53 *Ibid.*, 275–8.

54 As suggested in the Schlesinger orchestral score, its parts could be performed, with some exceptions, by the regular orchestra if a company did not have the resources for a second. The stage music appears as a supplement in the published orchestral score, *La Reine de Chypre: Opéra en cinq actes, paroles de M. de Saint Georges, musique de F. Halévy*, 2 vols. (Paris: Maurice Schlesinger, n.d.), II, 386, 557.

55 *Revue et gazette musicale*, 5/11 (18 March 1838), 115.

56 Malou Haine, *Adolphe Sax (1814–1894): Sa vie, son œuvre, ses instruments de musique* (Brussels: Editions de l'université, 1980), 97–8. Verdi's *Jérusalem* was the first opera to benefit.

57 On 5 January 1875 the first two acts were given, with the débuts of Gabrielle Krauss as Rachel, Pierre François Villaret as Eléazar, and Gaffiot Belval as Brogni, under the direction of Ernest Deldevez. On 8 January, the full opera was presented, with choreography by Louis Merante and *mise-en-scène* by Léon Carvalho. See 'Revue musicale – l'inauguration du nouvel opéra', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1 (1875), 465–70; Wolff, *L'Opéra au palais Garnier*, 129–31; Martine Kahane (ed.), *L'Ouverture du nouvel opéra, 5 janvier 1875* (Paris: Ministère de la culture et de la communication, 1986), 30, 44.

58 Alfred Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597–1940*, 2nd edn (Geneva: Societas Bibliographica, 1955), 59; *Gazette musicale de Paris*, 2/32 (9 August 1835); *Revue musicale*, 9/44 (1 November 1835); *Le Ménestrel*, 3/7 (17 January 1836), 3, and 3/24 (15 May 1836).

59 The version given on 16 November was adapted by J. R. Planché with music arranged by Thomas Simpson Cook. *Le Ménestrel*, 108 (27 December 1835), 4, reported that it was performed at Drury Lane without 'some choirs, marches and dances' and with a happy ending – the saving of Rachel. In 1850 *La Juive* was sung there in multiple languages: P. A. Fiorentino, in *Les Grands Guignols* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1872), 283, referred to it as 'La Juive des quatre nations' ('The Jewess of Four Nations') and 'la Tour de Babel' ('The Tower of Babel').

60 Gerard Fitzgerald (ed.), *Annals of the Metropolitan Opera: The Complete Chronicle of Performances and Artists*, 2 vols. (New York: Metropolitan Opera Guild; Boston: G. K. Hall, 1989), I, 11–12.

61 The role of Eléazar quickly became known as one of Caruso's most effective and favoured roles, as well as the last he performed. After suffering a haemorrhage while singing Nemorino in *L'Elisir d'amore* on 11 December 1920, he made his final career appearance in *La Juive* on Christmas Eve, 1920: Fitzgerald (ed.), *Annals*, 297.

62 See Halévy's enthusiastic description: *Fromental Halévy: Lettres*, 120–1.

63 Letter to Hippolyte Rodrigues, Paris, 10 April 1861, in *ibid.*, 194–5.

64 *Correspondance [de] George Sand*, ed. Georges Lubin, 25 vols. (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1964–91), X, 496 (16 October 1851), as cited and translated in Jordan, *Fromental Halévy*, 155.

14 From Rossini to Verdi

1 Jacques-Gabriel Prod'homme, 'Verdi's Letters to Léon Escudier', *Music & Letters*, 4 (1923), 62–70, 184–96, 375–7, here 376. See n. 2 below; also Léon Escudier, *Mes souvenirs* (Paris: Dentu, 1863). The Opéra's enormous resources, for Verdi, went with a desire to dazzle (and sell) that sometimes outweighed artistic values. 'Boutique' is also slang for a place of work, especially an unpleasant one.

2 These (as well as a special government pension – see below) permitted Rossini to retire from the stage after *Guillaume Tell* and live very well indeed. Verdi later claimed that the aggravation in dealing with the Opéra was not worth the monetary rewards. Writing to his Paris agent Léon Escudier on 20 October 1858 (after the lukewarm success of *Les Vêpres siciliennes*), he exploded: 'You're talking to me about theatre? . . . and about writing for the Opéra?! . . . You?! . . . Let's be open, and bear with me when I speak clearly what I feel. I am not rich enough nor poor enough to write for your leading theatre. Not poor enough to need meagre gains; not rich enough to live well in a country with very high expenses': Prod'homme, 'Lettres inédites de G. Verdi à Léon Escudier', *Rivista musicale italiana*, 35 (1928), 1–28, 171–208, 519–52, here 20. In fact the honoraria, even for Verdi (as well as contracts), were not so 'meagre', and the composer kept careful track and insisted on payment in full, as was his due. See additional examples in *I copialettere di Giuseppe Verdi*, ed. Gaetano Cesari and Alessandro Luzio (Milan: Commissione esecutiva per le onoranze a Giuseppe Verdi, 1913; repr. Bologna, 1987). Furthermore, Verdi did later write for the Opéra: his masterpiece *Don Carlos*.

3 Typically by this time French publishers negotiated with composers for a lump-sum

payment for access to the score, for permission to have arrangements made and for the rights to negotiate with publishers in other countries for distribution outside France: for letters of Troupenas to Artaria about *Guillaume Tell* see Jeffrey Kallberg, 'Marketing Rossini: sei lettere di Troupenas ad Artaria', *Bollettino del Centro rossiniano di Studi* (1980), 41–63.

4 The only other prominent Italian composer successful on the international scene and in Paris was Vincenzo Bellini. After the favourable reception of *Norma* and *La sonnambula* in Paris and the première there of *I Puritani*, Bellini was actively pursuing projects for the Opéra and the

Opéra-Comique at the time of his sudden death at the age of 33 (23 September 1835).

5 For Rossini's contracts with the *maison du Roi* acting on behalf of the Opéra, see Jean-Marie Bruson, *Rossini à Paris, Musée Carnavalet, 27 octobre–31 décembre 1992* (Paris: Société des Amis du Musée Carnavalet, 1992), 56–62. Rossini knew full well what power he had: by refusing to submit the final acts of *Guillaume Tell* to the copyist in the spring of 1829, he virtually blackmailed the government into accepting his terms: *ibid.*, 64–5. For an account in English citing the correspondence, see Herbert Weinstock, *Rossini: A Biography* (New York: Knopf, 1968), 161–4. The July Revolution (1830) suspended the pension, but it was reinstated in 1835 after the composer's vigorous, even legal, appeals.

6 According to an Opéra insider, Louis Gentil (*contrôleur du matériel*), the director Duponchel sensed that Donizetti would be a successful addition to the roster of contemporary composers and persisted in spite of the opposition of the institution's *premier chef du chant*, Halévy: Jean-Louis Tamvaco, *Les Cancans de l'Opéra: chroniques de l'Académie Royale de Musique et du théâtre, à Paris sous les deux Restaurations*, 2 vols. (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2000), I, 400–01, 522. Tamvaco's annotations contain a wealth of information about singers, composers, librettists, Opéra personnel and patrons.

7 To placate Scribe, whose *Le Duc d'Albe* lost its place in the queue, the administration, with librettists Royer and Vaëz, agreed to cede him 50 per cent of the librettists' royalties, although his participation seems to have been minimal: Rebecca Harris-Warrick, 'Introduzione storica', *Gaetano Donizetti: La Favorite*, Edizione Critica delle Opere di Gaetano Donizetti, 3 (Milan: Ricordi, 1997), xix–xxii.

8 Contract for *Les Vêpres siciliennes*, 28 February 1852: *I copialettere di Verdi*, 139–40; transcribed drafts of papers for *Don Carlos*, Paris, Archives Nationales, AJ¹³ 505: Ursula Günther, 'La genèse de *Don Carlos*', *Revue de musicologie*, 58 (1972), 16–64, here 31–5; 60 (1974), 87–158.

9 Julian Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, 3 vols. (London: Cassell, 1973–81), II, 240, and Charles Osborne, *Verdi: A Life in the Theatre* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), 184–5.

10 28 March 1827, 1: 'Urlo francese' was a common term with Italian opera supporters to refer to the traditional French declamatory and sometimes intense vocal style.

11 Letter to Charles-Edmond Duponchel, 25 May 1828: Guido Zavadini, *Donizetti: Vita–Musiche–Epistolario* (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1948), 471–2.

12 E.g., *Le cabinet du lecture et le cercle réunis*, 10 April 1840; *Le moniteur des théâtres*, 11 April 1840: these (in French) and other reviews are in *Le prime rappresentazioni delle opere di Donizetti nella stampa coeva*, ed. Annalisa Bini and Jeremy Commons ([Rome:] Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, 1997), 793–900, here 803–05.

13 Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, 'Registres de l'Opéra', RE 6–7.

14 Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, II, 179–80; *I copialettere di Verdi*, 154–5 (letter to Roqueplan, 28 October 1854).

15 The plot has little to do with the famous tale in the *Arabian Nights*: Ali-Baba is an avaricious spice merchant bent on thwarting young lovers. Jules Janin in *Journal des débats* was not alone in criticising the librettist for deviating from the source: 'everything has been altered, turned upside-down; we recognise neither the spirit nor the language nor the characters nor the cave nor anything else from the tale': 24 July 1833, 1–3.

16 Berlioz thought Marliani's score 'well constructed, clear, [but] without a well defined local colour; it has neither Rossini's verve nor Bellini's melancholy but, overall, the score of *La xacarilla*, a Frenchified Italian one, is pleasing': *Journal des débats*, 1 November 1839.

17 Italian composers contributed to thirteen ballets during this period. Among the most prolific and popular composers was Cesare Pugni.

18 William Ashbrook notes another possible reason, in *Donizetti and his Operas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 149–50.

19 Though the reception at the première seemed moderate, Berlioz augured for

success: *Journal des débats*, 18 November 1848, repr. Bini and Commons (eds.), *Le prime rappresentazioni*, 1228–35.

20 Perrin's papers, Paris, Archives Nationales, AJ¹³ 183, provide documentation. On 25 May 1844 the director Auguste-Eugène Vatel's representative in a letter to the *Ministre de l'Intérieur* protested the Opéra's plans. The minister consulted the government-sponsored Commission Spéciale des Théâtres Royaux, which ruled in the Opéra's favour, as *Othello* was to be given in translation (a weak reason, it must be noted, but then, this Commission sided generally with the Opéra). The case of *Robert Bruce* was more complicated since the Théâtre Italien's objections were focused on the music. On 7 October 1846 the minister's under-secretary asked the Opéra director for copies of the libretto and the score. Two days later Perrin replied that two copies of the libretto would be sent as soon as possible, but the score was another matter. He noted that as was the usual practice, 'the score [i.e. that submitted to the Opéra by Niedermeyer] was parcelled out to twenty or thirty copyists hard at work preparing parts for the chorus, orchestra, soloists, prompters, etc. There is no [spare] copy of the score and to make one would require several weeks during which other urgent work would have to be put on hold.' (This is further confirmation that the manuscript scores currently housed at the Opéra were prepared after the parts.) Perrin went on to say that the music was selected from Rossini operas not part of the Théâtre Italien's repertory and made the questionable claim that 'all [borrowed pieces] had been revised, cut or lengthened by Rossini himself. He concluded that it required much effort on his part to persuade the composer to participate and that he was proud to have succeeded. On 6 November the Commission again backed the Opéra: the libretto was new and Rossini had the right to reuse his music as he saw fit.

21 Critics, as often, focused on deficiencies they perceived in the libretto and Italian composers' failure to pay enough attention to the quality of the text they set: Janin on *Othello* is representative (*Journal des débats*, 16 September 1844). *Robert Bruce* was not helped by a poor performance by Rosine Stoltz and her tantrum in response to boos: Herbert Weinstock, *Rossini, a Biography* (New York: Knopf, 1968), 238–40.

22 On 28 January 1846 the minister told the Opéra that *Lucie de Lammermoor* would be permitted on condition that it did not count

towards fulfilment of conditions in the *cahier des charges* (the director's schedule: see Chapter 2): 'since this work has been given as part of standard repertory both in regional theatres for a dozen years and in Paris at the Théâtre de la Renaissance for quite some time, there will be no advantage for the [Opéra] administration to stage it': Archives nationales, AJ¹³ 183. Though deemed unworthy of the Opéra, *Lucie de Lammermoor* proved to be a consistent money-earner for it. 23 David Lawton, '“Le trouvère”: Verdi's Revision of “Il trovatore” for Paris', *Studi verdiani*, 3 (1985), 79–119.

24 Having Roméo sung by Mlle Vestivali may have been problematic for a mid-nineteenth-century Parisian audience, as trouser roles for main characters were never part of the tradition at this theatre (as Rossini noted when he replaced the role of General Calbo (mezzo soprano) by that of Néoclès (tenor) in *Le Siège de Corinthe*). Gustave Héquet concluded: 'Let's be honest: Bellini's music is not from any perspective suited to French singers' customs': *L'Illustration*, 17 September 1859, 213–14. Reviewing *Sémiramis*, the same critic noted that 'translations are rarely successful at the Opéra': *ibid.*, 21 July 1860, 45–6. The singer Barbara Marchisio was cast in the role of the hero, Arsace.

25 Hans Busch, *Verdi's Aida: The History of an Opera in Letters and Documents* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1978).

26 Paologiovanni Maione and Francesca Seller, *I reali teatri di Napoli nella prima metà dell'Ottocento: studi su Domenico Barbaja* (Bellona: Santabarbara, 1994); Franco Carmelo Greco (ed.), *Il Teatro del re: San Carlo da Napoli all'Europa* (Naples: Edizione scientifiche italiane, 1987); Franco Mancini, author [vols. I and III], Agostino Ziino, Bruno Cagli, eds. [vol. II], *Il Teatro di San Carlo, 1737–1987* (Naples: Electa, 1987); Carlo Marinelli Roscioni (ed.), *Il Teatro di San Carlo, II: La cronologia, 1737–1987* (Naples: Guida, 1987).

27 On 3 April 1826 Rossini directed a benefit concert for the Greek patriots. By the time of the opera's première the French government had begun to be openly supportive of the Greek cause: 'No doubt, the current situation on everyone's minds about the much more recent siege and self-sacrifice added significantly to [the audience's] interest': *Journal de Paris*, 11 October 1826, 2.

28 See various opera entries in Grove Opera; Gerhard, *The Urbanization of Opera: Music Theater in Paris in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998);

- on Rossini and Donizetti operas, Philip Gossett's introductions in the *Early Romantic Opera* series (New York: Garland, 1978–83); on Rossini operas, P. Isotta, 'Da *Mosè a Moïse*', *Bollettino del Centro rossiniano di studi* (1971), 97–117; Pierluigi Petrobelli, 'Balzac, Stendhal e il *Mosè* di Rossini', *ibid.*, 205–19; *L'Avant-scène opéra*, 81 (*Le Siège de Corinthe*, 1985); M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet, 'Rossini e l'Académie Royale de Musique a Parigi', *Rossini 1792–1992: mostra storico-documentaria*, ed. Mauro Bucarelli (Perugia: Electa, 1992), 245–66; on *Les Martyrs*, see *The Donizetti Society Journal*, 2 (1975); *L'opera teatrale di Gaetano Donizetti: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi 1992*, ed. Francesco Bellotto (Bergamo: Comune di Bergamo, 1993), especially the essay by Michele Girardi: 'Donizetti e il grand opéra: il caso de *Les Martyrs*', 135–47; also Ashbrook, *Donizetti*, 148–50, 428–34; On *Jérusalem*, *Quaderni dell'Istituto di studi verdiani*, 2 (1963); David R. B. Kimbell, 'Verdi's First Rifacimento: *I Lombardi and Jérusalem*', *Music & Letters*, 60 (1969), 1–36; Ursula Günther, 'Verdi in Paris: Aspects of *Jérusalem* and *Les Vêpres siciliennes*', paper read at the Fourth International Verdi Congress, Chicago, 25 September 1974; Arrigo Quattrocchi, 'Da Milano a Parigi: "Jérusalem", la prima revisione di Verdi', *Studi verdiani*, 10 (1994–95), 13–60.
- 29 H. Robert Cohen (ed.), *The Original Staging Manuals for Twelve Parisian Operatic Premières* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1991) includes those for *La Favorite*, *Guillaume Tell* (but for another more detailed see the critical edition) and *Les Vêpres siciliennes*. Cohen's *The Original Staging Manuals for Ten Parisian Operatic Premières, 1824–1843* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1998) includes those for *Dom Sébastien*, *Les Martyrs*, *Moïse* and *Le Siège de Corinthe*.
- 30 Letter of 8 April 1829: Zavadini, *Donizetti*, 494–5.
- 31 Translated by Günther in 'Verdi in Paris'.
- 32 *I copialettere di Verdi*, 59. This passage in a letter draft dated 24 September 1848 is crossed out, but still reflects Verdi's views: Günther, 'Verdi in Paris', also cites it.
- 33 People had in mind Augustin Hapdé's highly successful *mélodrame*, *Le Passage de la Mer Rouge* (Théâtre de la Gaité, 1817). See, e.g., *Journal des débats*, 29 March 1827: 'The machiniste should be ashamed of himself. In this opera the high point of his contribution should be the parting of the Red Sea. This was all the easier to do since he had a model for this complex machinery in Hapdé's *mélodrame* given a few years ago at the Théâtre de la Gaité; all that was necessary was to enlarge and perfect it. I must admit that the inventor [Hapdé] has the edge. Certainly there is a lot to be done to turn this around in the favour of the royal theatre whose superior financial support and larger stage should be to its advantage.'
- 34 Nicole Wild, *Décors et costumes du XIX^e siècle*, I: *Opéra de Paris* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1987), 7.
- 35 Only two dances appear in the Troupenas ed. (published scores, destined for regional theatres with more limited resources for spectacle, e.g., ballet soloists, often omit some dances); but Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Mat. 19 [239 (291)], the part of the ballet *répétiteur*, indicates the following: N^o 1 Rondo in A; N^o 2 Pas de deux in F; N^o 3 Air in B \flat [= 1^{er} air in Troupenas]; N^o 4 Pas de trois in D [= 2^e air in Troupenas]; N^o 5 Final in G. The shelf-mark of the Final's score is Mat. 19 [239 (317)].
- 36 What follows is based on the copy in Archives nationales, AJ¹³ 206, slightly abbreviated.
- 37 E.g., review of *Le Siège de Corinthe*, *Journal des débats*, 11 October 1826, 2.
- 38 *Journal des débats*, 29 March 1827, explains these distinctions in considerable detail.
- 39 E.g., Léon Escudier, *La France musicale*, 12 April 1840 (in Bini and Commons (eds.), *Le prime rappresentazioni*, 826–7), and *Le Charivari*, 12 April 1840 (Bini and Commons (eds.), *Le prime rappresentazioni*, 823).
- 40 However, extempore embellishment was another thing: the *Journal des débats*, reviewing *Le Siège de Corinthe*, noted '[Pamyra's air] would seem [even more touching] without the embellishments which Mlle Cinti adds without justification' and *Le National*, reviewing *Les Martyrs* on 12 April 1840, noted that 'Mme Dorus-Gras [as Pauline] is, as usual, the same exceptional cantatrice, the same incorrigible embellisher, flinging vocal pyrotechnics at random, whether in a festive scene or one in the tombs': in Bini and Commons (eds.), *Le prime rappresentazioni*, 821.
- 41 *Le Corsaire*, 12 April 1840: 'This is the Rossinian style *par excellence*. Expressions of revolt are mixed with pious hopes, blessing, anger, rage and resignation': Bini and Commons (eds.), *Le prime rappresentazioni*, 810).
- 42 Ashbrook, *Donizetti*, 427.
- 43 As well as the Rossini literature previously cited, see Janet Johnson, 'The Musical Environment in France', in *The Cambridge*

- Companion to Berlioz*, ed. Peter Bloom (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- 44 *Journal des débats*, 11 October 1826, 2.
- 45 See literature previously cited, plus: Berlioz, ‘Guillaume Tell’, *Gazette musicale*, 1 (1834), 326–7, 336–9, 341–3, 349–51, Eng. trans. in *Source Readings in Music History*, ed. Oliver Strunk (New York: Norton, 1950), 808–26; *L’Avant-scène opéra*, 118 (Guillaume Tell, 1989); Richard Osborne, ‘Guillaume Tell’, *Grove Opera*; M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet with Mauro Bucarelli, *Guillaume Tell di Gioachino Rossini: Fonti iconografiche* (Pesaro: Fondazione Rossini, 1996).
- 46 Gilles de Van, ‘Les sources littéraires de Guillaume Tell de Rossini’, *Chroniques italiennes*, 29 (1992), 7–24.
- 47 Anselm Gerhard discovered and analysed a manuscript copy of Jouy’s original in the Archives: ‘“Sortire dalle vie comuni”: Wie Rossini einem Akademiker das Libretto verdarb’, in *Oper als Text: romanistische Beiträge zur Libretto-Forschung*, ed. Albert Gier (Heidelberg: Winter, 1986), 185–219; see also Gerhard, *Urbanization*, 94–6. The critical edition mentioned in Table 14.1 note 2 contains an edition of it (*Commento critico, testi*, 9–105) and further brief examination in the ‘Prefazione’ (I, xxiv–xxix).
- 48 Cf. Berlioz, ‘Guillaume Tell’; Georges Imbert de Laphalèque, *Revue de Paris*, 5/4 (August 1829), 257; Alphonse Martainville, *Le Drapeau blanc*, 5 August 1829, 2.
- 49 François-Joseph Fétis, *Revue musicale*, 6/4 (1829), 43. However, the balance of the piece is skewed as a result. This may be why the opening section, though not consistently, was sometimes omitted in Paris while Nourrit sang the part. Perhaps it was felt more dramatic to begin with the news of Tell’s imprisonment and the plea for arms. There is no truth to the rumour that it was a result of Nourrit’s vocal difficulties.
- 50 For her variants elsewhere see the volume *Commento critico*, within the critical edition.
- 51 *Le Drapeau blanc*, 5 August 1829, 2.
- 52 *Le Messager des chambres*, 5 August 1829, 4.
- 53 One measure of its enduring success are the numerous parodies. To cite but three: Offenbach’s ‘trio patriotique’, ‘Lorsque la Grèce est un champ de carnage’, *La Belle Hélène* (1864) quotes Rossini’s music, as the text spoofs the original (the context being marital discord); Stop (Louis-Pierre Morel-Retz) in his 1849 woodcut assumed reader’s knowledge of the trio to interpret a political commentary on French involvement in Rome; Henriot (Henri Maigrot) relies similarly in his, which concerns the 1894 bicycle craze in Paris: Bartlet, with Bucarelli, *Fonti iconografiche*, 136–40, esp. 111–20.
- 54 Strunk, *Source Readings*, 821.
- 55 *Le Globe*, 5 August 1829, 494.
- 56 Berlioz, review of *La Fille du régiment*, *Journal des débats*, 16 February 1840: in Bini and Commons (eds.), *Le prime rappresentazioni*, 777. *Lucie* was playing to packed houses; *La Fille du régiment* became a staple at the Opéra-Comique; *Rita* – dating from c. 1841 – reached the same theatre in 1860; *L’elisir* (Paris première, 1839) became another staple. Donizetti’s measured reply appeared in *Journal des débats*, 17 February 1840: Bini and Commons (eds.), *Le prime rappresentazioni*, 779; Ashbrook, *Donizetti*, 146–7. The exchange prompted an amusing caricature in *Le Charivari*, the Italian composing two scores at the same time (Zavadini, *Donizetti*, after 512).
- 57 Nicole Wild, *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiens au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Aux amateurs de livres, 1989), 375–8.
- 58 Letter to Tommaso Persico, undated but stamped 9 May 1840: Zavadini, *Donizetti*, 513.
- 59 On the complex history of *L’Ange de Nisida*, based in part on an unfinished Italian opera entitled *Adelaide*, and its transformation into *La Favorite*, see Ashbrook, *Donizetti*, 441–2, and Harris-Warrick, ‘Introduzione storica’, xiv–xxiv.
- 60 For further detail, see Harris-Warrick, ‘Introduzione storica’, xix–xxiv.
- 61 Several critics found this in extremely poor taste. *Le Ménestrel*, 6 December 1840, described it as the ‘one scene which no one will find appropriate or tasteful’: Bini and Commons (eds.), *Le prime rappresentazioni*, 943.
- 62 E.g., *Gazette de France*, 7 December 1840: Bini and Commons (eds.), *Le prime rappresentazioni*, 956–62.
- 63 Dumas also had in mind a real courtesan, Marie Duplessis (pseudonym of Alphonsine Plessis), who died of tuberculosis in her mid-twenties. The way he framed the story, particularly in the play version, is arguably operatic.
- 64 ‘The dance *airs* are charming. In the first, with an English horn solo, admirably played by M. Verroust, a pretty melody in duet contradicts the well-known proverb: “Do you know of anything worse than one flute? – Yes, two flutes.” *The pas de six*, a piquant bolero, and the Moorish ensemble, in which there is a

- toned-down imitation of Algerian music, with its black drummers, triangles, tambourines, etc., is lively and of a quite original cast'; Berlioz, *Journal des débats*, 6 December 1840; in Bini and Commons (eds.), *Le prime rappresentazioni*, 933.
- 65 On *Guillaume Tell* see the critical edition. Verdi in *Les Vêpres siciliennes* insisted on final-act changes from Scribe before setting it, after which it still came in for criticism: Andrew Porter, 'Les *Vêpres siciliennes*: New Letters from Verdi to Scribe', *19th-Century Music*, 2 (1978–79), 95–109; Anselm Gerhard, '“Ce cinquième acte sans intérêt”': preoccupazioni di Scribe e di Verdi per la drammaturgia de *Les Vêpres siciliennes*', *Studi verdiani*, 4 (1986–87), 65–86; for contemporary reviews see *Giuseppe Verdi: Les Vêpres siciliennes: dossier de presse parisienne (1855)*, ed. Hervé Gartioux, *Critiques de l'Opéra Français du XIXème Siècle*, 6 (Heilbronn: Lucie Galland, 1995).
- 66 *Le Corsaire*, 4 December 1840; *L'Echo français*, 4 December 1840; *La Quotidienne*, 7 December 1840; Bini and Commons (eds.), *Le prime rappresentazioni*, 913–14, 964. Even Berlioz had many positive as well as negative things to say: *Journal des débats*, 6 December 1840 (in Bini and Commons (eds.), *Le prime rappresentazioni*, 928–35). Harris-Warrick reminds us of the venality of the Parisian press: both praise and critiques must be treated with a certain scepticism ('Introduzione storica', xxiv–xxviii). The financial records in the 'Journal de l'Opéra' (Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Usuels 201) strongly support the positive reviews.
- 67 'Write for the Opéra where performances last half a day, poor me! What a mass of music, what a quantity of notes!': letter to Opprandino Arrivabene, 30 September 1865; Annibale Alberti, *Verdi intimo: carteggio di Giuseppe Verdi con il conte Opprandino Arrivabene* (Milan: A. Mondadori, 1931), 59.
- 68 7 August 1850: *I copialettere di Verdi*, 104.
- 69 According to Scribe, Verdi insisted on this collaboration: see letter to Charles Duveyrier, 3 December 1854, in Porter, 'Les *Vêpres siciliennes*: New Letters'.
- 70 See the Chronology: in the six years prior to *Don Carlos*, of seventeen new works nine were ballets, three were short operas (in one or two acts) – all unsuccessful – and five were longer operas (in four or five acts): Rossini's *Sémiramis*, Wagner's *Tannhäuser*, Gounod's *La Reine de Saba*, Meyerbeer's *L'Africaine* and Mermet's *Roland à Roncevaux* (only the last two remained in repertory).
- 71 The secondary literature on *Don Carlos* is extensive. In addition to works already cited, see *Atti del II° Congresso Internazionale di Studi Verdiani, Verona, Castelvechio; Parma, Istituto di studi verdiani; Bussato, Villa Pallavicino, 30 luglio – 5 agosto 1969*, ed. Marcello Pavarani (Parma: Istituto di studi verdiani, 1972); Andrew Porter, 'The Making of *Don Carlos*', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 98 (1971–72), 73–88; Ursula Günther, 'La genèse de *Don Carlos*, opéra en cinq actes de Giuseppe Verdi, représenté pour la première fois à Paris le 11 mars 1867', *Revue de musicologie*, 58 (1972), 16–64, and 60 (1974), 87–158; Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, III, 3–157; Paul Robinson, 'Realpolitik: Giuseppe Verdi's *Don Carlo*', *Opera & Ideas: From Mozart to Strauss* (New York: Harper & Row, 1985), 155–209; *L'Avant-scène opéra*, 90–91 (*Don Carlos*, 1986); Ursula Günther, 'La genèse du *Don Carlos* de Verdi: nouveaux documents', *Revue de musicologie*, 72 (1986), 104–77. See *Grove Opera*, 'Don Carlos' by Roger Parker, for an explication of the plot(s) of the original French version and subsequent revisions, as well as a brief performance history, and further bibliography. For contemporary reviews see Hervé Gartioux (ed.), *Giuseppe Verdi: Don Carlos: dossier de presse parisienne (1867)* (Heilbronn: Musik-Edition Lucie Galland, 1997).
- 72 Verdi to Perrin, 21 July 1865; Günther, 'La genèse' (1972), 30.
- 73 Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, III, 17–21; Ursula Günther, 'Le livret français de "Don Carlos": le premier acte et sa révision par Verdi', *Atti del II° Congresso*, 90–140; *eadem*, 'La genèse' (1972), *passim*.
- 74 On 'triangles' see Chapter 1 above; also Andrew Porter, 'Verdi', *New Grove* /1, XIX, 654, and David Charlton, 'Verdi in Paris', in *Romanticism (1830–1890)*, ed. Gerald Abraham, *New Oxford History of Music*, IX (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 359.
- 75 Escudier to Perrin, 17 July 1865, in Günther, 'La genèse' (1972), 24. The reference to *Le Prophète* is not fortuitous: it was the outstanding success at the Opéra during Verdi's first extended stay in Paris, and taught him much about French taste.
- 76 Gartioux (ed.), *Giuseppe Verdi*, reveals the warm reception of this finale at the première.
- 77 Verdi wrote to Giulio Ricordi that the third-act finale was 'without doubt the best thing in the opera': Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, III, 119. It was praised even by those who had grave misgivings about the opera as a whole; for example Eugène Tarbé remarked,

- 'This scene . . . is admirable from beginning to end. It is an immense number which will ensure in itself the immortality of *Don Carlos*; it is a stunning example of skill and inspiration . . . it presents a world in movement, seething with every passion, every pain . . .' (*Le Figaro*, 17 March 1867, in Gartioux (ed.), *Giuseppe Verdi*, 29).
- 78 In addition to items previously cited, see Joseph Kerman, 'Verdi's Use of Recurring Themes', in *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. Harold Powers (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 495–510, and for an introduction to the French heritage, Robert T. Laudon, *Sources of the Wagnerian Synthesis: A Study of the Franco-German Tradition in Nineteenth-Century Opera* (Salzburg: Katznbichler, 1979).
- 79 In Act II the prayer continues with repetitions and extensions; in Act V only the opening is cited. The apparent augmentation in Act V is, in fact, a notation to make the rhythm the same: in Act II the tempo is *andante sostenuto assai* (♩ = 72), whereas in Act V it is *allegro* (♩ = 144).
- 80 See Frits R. Noske, 'From Idea to Sound: Philip's Monologue in Verdi's "Don Carlos"', *Studi verdiani*, 10 (1994–95), 76–92, here 78–9, and Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, III, 120–1.
- 81 I.e. three short notes followed by one longer: Frits Noske, 'The Musical Figure of Death', in his *The Signifier and the Signified. Studies in the Operas of Mozart and Verdi* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1977), 171–214, here 202ff.
- 82 Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, III, 125 and his preceding analysis of this scene.
- 83 Giuseppina Verdi (née Strepponi) to Mauro Corticelli, 7 December 1866: Alberti, *Verdi intimo*, 113, cited in the trans. of Osborne, *Verdi*, 194.
- 84 Günther, 'La genèse' (1972), 49 and (1974), 129. Their progress was reported to the public, in sometimes heroic-Romantic terms: 'The composer is tall . . . with shoulders like those of Atlas . . . His appearance is proud and manly, his attitude that of a defiant opponent . . . Verdi listens . . . His sense of hearing is doubly, triply, acute. He questions everything. In this tumultuous harmony he can hear the quietest of notes. He can hear everything simultaneously: the chorus, the brass, the aria, and everything that happens on and off the stage. He stands, leaps about, valiantly spurring on all these groups, shouting in an Italian accent which gives a certain charm to his speech' (Jules Claretie in *Le Figaro*, 17 February 1867, mostly trans. in Osborne, *Verdi*, 194–5).
- 85 Pierre Véron, *Le Journal amusant*, 16 March 1867, in Gartioux (ed.), *Giuseppe Verdi*, 57–8. For other examples see *ibid.* and Günther, 'Wagnerismen in Verdis *Don Carlos* von 1867?' in *Wagnerliteratur–Wagnerforschung*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus and Egon Voss (Mainz: Schott, 1985), 101–08. The assumption that Italians were masters of natural, seemingly effortless melody while Germans excelled in harmonic complications, especially evident in dominant orchestral writing, was a constant trope in French music criticism for a century.
- 86 Verdi to Escudier, 1 April 1867: Alberti, *Verdi intimo*, 131, trans. in Osborne, *Verdi*, 197.
- 87 See the entries in Alfred Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera 1597–1940*, 3rd edn, rev. Frank Walker (London: J. Calder, 1978).
- 88 See his letter of 26 May 1844, cited by Harris-Warrick, ed., 'Introduzione storica', *Gaetano Donizetti: La favorite*, xxix.
- 89 Julian Budden notes that in addition to Bassi's 'wretched translation', the resources required, even without the ballet, exceeded most Italian theatres; *I Lombardi* resonated in *Risorgimento* Italy; and, perhaps most importantly, Verdi set 'conditions which priced it out of the market'. *The Operas of Verdi*, I. *From Oberto to Rigoletto* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 358. Still, *Gerusalemme* was given in Milan, Constantinople, Vienna, Alexandria, Algiers, Oporto, Seville, Buenos Aires, Paris and Sydney, according to Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera*, col. 831.
- 90 The account of the history of *Les Vêpres siciliennes* in Italy summarised here is indebted to Budden, *Operas of Verdi*, II, 238–39, which provides important corrections to Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera*, col. 918.
- 91 Verdi to Tito Ricordi, 6 July 1855; *ibid.*, 238, after Abbiati, *Giuseppe Verdi*, II, 297.
- 92 What follows is indebted to Budden, *Operas of Verdi*, III, 26–39, Günther, 'Prefazione/Vorwort', *Giuseppe Verdi: Don Carlos* [piano-vocal score], and Parker, 'Don Carlos', *Grove Opera*. These sources detail Verdi's extensive revisions for his Italian versions.
- 93 Unlike the translation/minor adaptation approach of *Vêpres*: Verdi wrote no new music for *Vespri* for any Italian production. Rossini's 1840 Bologna finale for *Rodolfo di Sterlinga*, yet another transplantation of *Guillaume Tell*, was a reworking of one of his Paris revisions

for the three-act version, undertaken without the help of Bis or Jouy.

15 After 1850 at the Paris Opéra: institution and repertory

1 Review in *Gil-Blas*, 2 December 1885.

2 For a fine survey of the opera's literary sources see Jean-Claude Yon, 'Les Avatars du Cid', *L'Avant-scène opéra*, 161 (*Panurge, Le Cid*, 1994), 112–19.

3 Annegret Fauser has perceptively written of an 'aura of authenticity' produced by such passages in Thomas's *Hamlet*: 'Hamlet', in *Pipers Enzyklopädie des Musiktheaters*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus and Sieghart Döhring, 7 vols. (Munich: Piper, 1986–97), VI, 287.

4 Review by 'M.B.', *L'Indépendance*, 1 December 1885.

5 See Steven Huebner, *The Operas of Charles Gounod* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 104–19.

6 Reported by 'Un monsieur de l'orchestre' in 'La Soirée théâtrale', *Le Figaro*, 1 December 1885.

7 On this point see my *French Opera at the Fin de Siècle: Wagnerism, Nationalism, and Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 49–51.

8 Hervé Lacombe has written of the development of an intimate 'poésie d'opéra' in the music of Gounod and his successors in *Les Voies de l'opéra français au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1997), chap. 6; trans. as *The Keys to French Opera in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

9 The expression 'faire grand' plays an important role in a newspaper altercation that Roqueplan had with the critic Jules Janin over Halévy's *Le Juif errant*. Their exchange was published in a widely distributed pamphlet entitled *Critique du Juif errant: Roqueplan embêté par Jules Janin* (Paris, 1852).

10 David Charlton has posited that a substantial public dimension is not an essential feature of grand opera and identified a strain of the genre 'lacking an expression of public political interest' in 'On the Nature of "Grand Opera"', in *Hector Berlioz: Les Troyens*, ed. Ian Kemp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 99. But several of the works he cites in this category, for example *Gustave III* and *L'Africaine*, have a very clearly articulated public–political dimension that intersects with themes of love. In *L'Africaine*, the colonial ambitions of Portugal provide the entire *raison d'être* for the plot as well as insight into the psychology of Vasco and his ultimate rejection of Séliska. Rather than

establish two categories – the political and the apolitical – it seems preferable to think of the relative balance between public and private: within a genre that as a rule accords considerable emphasis to the public realm, some works bring this more to the foreground while others must allot less time to this realm because of very complicated private intrigues. *Robert le Diable* is, however, relatively apolitical and exceptional within the context of grand opera; indeed, some might want to question whether it is a grand opera at all. On the other hand, a defence of the relevance of the term to *Robert* might begin with Herbert Lindenberger's observation that morality plays may be understood as a subset of conspiracy plays in the sense that the devil and other nefarious forces band together 'to tempt man away from God's path': *Historical Drama: The Relation of Literature and Reality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 33.

11 A full and accurate account of the genesis of *Thaïs* is Patrick Gillis, 'Thaïs dans tous ses états: Genèse et remaniements', *L'Avant-scène opéra*, 109 (*Thaïs*, 1988), 66–74.

12 For a critical perspective on this generic designation see Huebner, *French Opera*, 152–9.

13 Review of *Thaïs*, *Le Figaro*, 17 March 1894.

14 Given the complexity of opera production (and its increasing internationalisation in the nineteenth century) the delineation of sub-genres such as grand opera will always be more thorny than the same critical task applied to, say, instrumental music. Anselm Gerhard writes that 'French grand opera is not an entirely self-sufficient genre, however: although there are many differences it remains too closely connected to its French precursors for that, and above all it is bound up with Italian and German opera of its own time.' *The Urbanization of Opera: Music Theater in Paris in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 10–11.

But no genre or sub-genre, even an instrumental one, stands completely independent of other genres; that grand opera is so intimately connected to other operatic sub-genres is in itself a generic characteristic and a reminder that the tools and methods of genre analysis must be specially adapted to a polyvalent genre such as opera. Gerhard also rightly points out that the metaphor of generic birth–rise–decline is inappropriate to grand opera; I would add that it would be difficult to argue its appropriateness to any generic category.

- 15 Letter to Edouard Moullé, dated by editors to Sept. 1881 [?]: Emmanuel Chabrier, *Correspondance*, ed. Roger Delage, Frans Durif and Thierry Bodin (Paris: Klincksieck, 1994), 138.
- 16 Letter to Enoch and Costallat, dated by editors to early July 1881 [?]: Chabrier, *Correspondance*, 132.
- 17 'Les Reprises de l'Exposition', in *La Musique française* (Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1901), 202.
- 18 One impediment to further performance of some of the older repertory was a fire that occurred at the Opéra warehouse on the rue Richer in January 1894. The sets for *L'Africaine*, *Le Prophète*, *Robert le Diable* and *La Juive* were destroyed, although it should also be noted that so were those of *Le Cid* and *Patrie!* which (in addition to *Le Prophète*) did have pre-World War I revivals. See Marcel Rémy, 'L'Incendie des décors de l'Opéra', *Le Guide musical*, 14 January 1894.
- 19 For a description and social analysis of the popularity of Wagner at the Palais Garnier in this period see André Michael Spies, *Opera, State and Society in the Third Republic, 1875–1914* (New York: P. Lang, 1998), 81–90.
- 20 For an overview see Huebner, *French Opera*, 11–21.
- 21 Gerhard, *Urbanization*, 395–6.
- 22 Review of *Françoise de Rimini*: *La Renaissance musicale*, 7 May 1882.
- 23 Review of *Le Cid: Le Siècle*, 1 December 1885.
- 24 Review of *Patrie!*, *Le Ménestrel*, 26 December 1886. Pougin refers here to a forthcoming production of *Lohengrin* at the Eden-Théâtre in Paris. A. Landely wrote in his review of how he always preferred 'heroes of Rysoor's stamp, all élan and spontaneity, to those rugged Siegfrieds, nurtured in the rocky lairs of misty German lands': *L'Art musical*, 31 December 1886.
- 25 On this point see Gerhard, *Urbanization*, 388–95.
- 26 *Ibid.*, 394.
- 27 Bellaigue, 'Le Grand Opéra Français' (article written in 1906), in *Les Epoques de la musique* (Paris: Librairie Delagrave, n.d.), 201.
- 28 On Opéra audiences in this period see Frédérique Patureau, *Le Palais Garnier dans la société parisienne 1875–1914* (Liège: Mardaga, 1991), 297–388. On audiences from an earlier period see Huebner, 'Opera Audiences in Paris 1830–1870', *Music & Letters*, 70/2 (May 1989), 206–25.
- 29 On this event see Patureau, *Le Palais Garnier*, 22–3.
- 30 Rolland, *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, 10th edn (Paris: Hachette, 1922), 223, 225.
- 31 Refined taste of a different sort had of course been cultivated at the Théâtre Italien.
- 32 Guy de Maupassant's novel *Bel-Ami* (1885) is a famous illustration of press practices in this period.
- 33 Arno J. Mayer's *The Persistence of the Old Regime: Europe to the Great War* (New York: Pantheon, 1981) is a masterful survey of the commingling of elites in Europe.
- 34 On this point see Spies, *Opera, State and Society*, 53.
- 35 This took the form of arranging numerous performances at reduced prices in order to make the house more accessible. For a review of these largely unsuccessful attempts see Patureau, *Le Palais Garnier*, 389–430.
- 36 *Ibid.*, 406–7. Friday performances were the most prestigious. In a letter of 6 January 1897 Ernest Reyer once protested to Opéra director Eugène Bertrand that his *Sigurd* had been performed on three consecutive Mondays, 'the worst day of the week', and that he wished it to be given on a forthcoming Friday, the best day, in order to demonstrate that it could still make money: Paris, Archives nationales, Papiers Bertrand, ABx1 4128.
- 37 *Cahiers des charges* are kept at Archives nationales, AJ¹³ 1187.
- 38 Huebner, *Operas of Charles Gounod*, 223–50.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 203.
- 40 The genesis of the project extends back to 1879 when Saint-Saëns requested a scenario of the subject from Louis Gallet. The latter obliged, but the project lay dormant for ten years until Ernest Guiraud requested permission from Saint-Saëns to set it. When Guiraud died, Saint-Saëns took up a project that had been his to begin with: Hugues Imbert, review of *Frédégonde*, *Le Guide musical*, 22 December 1895.
- 41 See Huebner, *French Opera*, 213–16.
- 42 Saint-Saëns, 'L'histoire et la légende dans le drame lyrique', in *Ecole Buissonnière* (Paris: Lafitte, 1913), 109–20.
- 43 Huebner, *French Opera*, 195–212.
- 44 *Ecole Buissonnière*, 115. Schumann's strong attack on *Les Huguenots* dated from 1837 where it had appeared as 'Fragmente aus Leipzig, 4' in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. It can be read in Fanny Raymond Ritter (trans. and ed.), *Music and Musicians: Essays and Criticisms by Robert Schumann* (London: William Reeves, 1877), 302–7.
- 45 *Ibid.*, 277–300.
- 46 These matters are more fully treated in Huebner, *French Opera*, 178–85.

47 Bruneau, *La Musique française* (Paris: E. Fasquelle, 1901), 78. A selection of the reviews of the Théâtre-Lyrique première is *Hector Berlioz: Les Troyens à Carthage: Dossier de presse parisienne* (1863), ed. Frank Heidlberger ([Heilbronn]: Musik-Edition Lucie Galland, 1995); even at that time critics did not discuss the work as if it were a grand opera.

48 He argues the point convincingly in *Opera and Ideas: From Mozart to Strauss* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), 101–51.

49 On this point see Kemp, *Les Troyens*, 7, where it is suggested that in reading his libretto to the Emperor in 1858, Berlioz might have hoped that a parallel would be drawn with Virgil writing the *Aeneid* for Augustus.

50 Kemp, *Les Troyens*, 89.

16 Richard Wagner and the legacy of French grand opera

1 Richard Wagner, 'Erinnerungen an Auber', in *Sämtliche Schriften und Dichtungen* [hereafter SSD], 16 vols. (Leipzig, 1911–16), IX, 55.

2 *Ibid.*, 44–5.

3 For a complete list of the operas Wagner is known to have rehearsed, conducted or attended as a young man between 1833 and 1839, see T. Grey, 'Musical Background and Influences', in *The Wagner Compendium*, ed. Barry Millington (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992), 69–70.

4 His first opera, *Die Feen*, after Carlo Gozzi's fable *La Donna serpente*, had taken Weber's *Euryanthe* and the operas of Marschner as a point of departure, although it already suggested something of the young composer's susceptibility to the scope and gestures of the new grand opera manner.

5 Wagner remarks on the 'grand' aspirations of his comic opera in the course of a lengthy account of *Das Liebesverbot* in his autobiography, *Mein Leben* ('My Life'), including his rash attempt to mount a production, under the most inauspicious of circumstances, at the end of his second season as music-director in Magdeburg. 'As the work was by no means a light musical comedy [*Singspiel*] but rather, despite the airy character of the music, a grand opera [*grosse Oper*] with many large and complex ensembles, this undertaking was close to foolhardy': *My Life*, trans. Andrew Gray (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 112.

6 'One seemed to have virtual musical pictures before one's eyes, and the concept of a musical "picturesque" might well find a

foothold here, were it not even more appropriate to see in this a happy example of theatrical "sculpture" or relief [*theatralischen Plastik*]: SSD, IX, 45.

7 Karin Pendle and Stephen Wilkins describe this scene of *La Muette* (III.2) as paradigmatic of the 'animated tableau' central to the aesthetic of grand opera. See 'Paradise Found: The Salle le Peletier and French Grand Opera', in *Opera in Context: Essays on Historical Staging from the Late Renaissance to the Time of Puccini*, ed. Mark A. Radice (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1998), 171–207, here 184–8.

8 Issues of gesture and motivic recurrence (and signification) from Auber to Wagner are richly explored by Mary Ann Smart in *Resonant Bodies: Music and Gesture in Nineteenth-Century Opera* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), esp. Chapters 1, 5 and 6.

9 'This career plan of mine', he adds characteristically, and quite irrelevantly, 'must be yours as well': letter of 27 October 1834, in *Sämtliche Briefe*, ed. Gertrud Strobel and Werner Wolf (in progress: Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1967–), I, 167–8.

10 Wagner, *Eine Mitteilung an meine Freunde* [1852]: SSD, IV, 185. The libretto he later worked out (see below) was in four rather than five acts.

11 Robert W. Gutman, *Richard Wagner: The Man, His Mind, and His Music* (New York, 1968), 59. A libretto by Scribe, Gutman notes, commanded as much as 20,000 francs at this time.

12 To give Wagner credit however, when he later worked up the scenario into a complete libretto himself, in the summer of 1842 (in high spirits over the forthcoming Dresden première of *Rienzi*), he offered the text *gratis* to his colleague C. G. Reissiger as a goodwill gesture. When Reissiger declined the offer – Wagner supposed him to be suspicious of a gift-horse coming from this particular Greek – it was offered to the German-Bohemian composer Friedrich Kittl and eventually reached the stage in Prague, on 19 February 1848, as *Bianca und Giuseppe, oder: Die Franzosen vor Nizza*. Dieter Borchmeyer examines the *Hohe Braut* project in the context of Wagner's preoccupation with the methods and historical subjects of grand opera in the 1830s in chapter 2 of *Ahasvers Wandlungen: Richard Wagner* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2002; translation forthcoming from Princeton University Press).

13 The draft scenario for *Die Sarazenen* is given in English translation in *Richard*

- Wagner's *Prose Works*, ed. and trans. W. A. Ellis, 8 vols. (London: Kegan Paul & Co., 1892–99), VIII, 251–76. The full libretto text (1842) of *Die hohe Braut* is included in *SSD*, XII, 136–77.
- 14 Cf. *My Life*, 145–6, 149–50. *Rienzi* would never reach the stage of the Opéra, but only the Théâtre Lyrique in 1869, long after Wagner had repudiated his early ambitions in this direction.
- 15 The details of Wagner's Parisian arrangements are found in John Deathridge, Martin Geck and Egon Voss (eds.), *Wagner Werk-Verzeichnis* (Mainz: Schott, 1986), as WWV 62 (A–F). A different 'Wagner' (Paul) was doing similar arrangements at the same time in the same place.
- 16 'Es ist ein ganz anderer – wie viele sagen – neuer Genre': letter of 5 Jan. 1843 to Cäcilie Avenarius: *Sämtliche Briefe*, II, 203–4.
- 17 Hitler's early enthusiasm for *Rienzi* is discussed by Helmut Weinland, 'Wagner zwischen Hegel and Hitler', in *Richard Wagner zwischen Beethoven und Schönberg*, ed. Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn, *Musik-Konzepte*, 59 (Munich: edition text + kritik, 1988), 3–30, here 15. For a somewhat more free-wheeling account of the role of the opera in Hitler's development, see the first chapter of Joachim Köhler, *Wagner's Hitler: The Prophet and his Disciple*, trans. with an introduction by Ronald Taylor (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000).
- 18 *Eine Mitteilung an meine Freunde* ('A Communication to my Friends'), in *SSD*, IV, 258–9.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 259. Wagner describes here the extensive dramatic pantomime composed to precede the formal ballet as such. This pantomime (see Chapter 8 and n. 3 for further details) was omitted from the abbreviated full score (though it exists in the later Breitkopf & Härtel piano-vocal score), and Wagner laments its omission from staged productions, precisely because it is more dramatically integral than the ensuing ballet. The latter by itself, he admits, gives the impression of 'routine operatic spectacle' (259n.)
- 20 He further rationalises that the tenuousness of his career at this point forced him into compromises which, under better circumstances, he might have avoided.
- 21 Wagner, 'Über Meyerbeers "Huguenotten"', *SSD*, XII, 29–30. The essay seems to have been written some time between 1837 and 1840, though it was published only posthumously.
- 22 The conspiracy trio in Act IV of *Rienzi* shares the C♯ minor tonality of Meyerbeer's scene and the contrasts of *sotto voce* plotting with *fortissimo* exclamations of righteous anger and revenge (requisites of any 'conspiracy scene' from that point on). These contrasts are less elaborately plotted in Wagner's score than in *Les Huguenots*, however, and the printed full score leaves out much of the faster, louder material (*molto agitato*). Helmut Weinland compares the use of a signal-bell to interrupt the reverie of the love-torn protagonists in each opera: the shift to the last phase of Adriano's Act III aria in *Rienzi* and the interruption between Raoul's Cavatine and the 'Grand Duo' of Raoul and Valentine in Act IV of *Les Huguenots* (Weinland, 'Wagner and Meyerbeer', in *Richard Wagner zwischen Beethoven und Schönberg*, 31–72, here 47–50). It is unclear how well Wagner knew the *Huguenots* score before he got to Paris in 1839. Even if the *Rienzi* libretto had been conceived without direct knowledge of Scribe's for the *Huguenots*, the composition of the last three acts (in 1840) could still have reflected the impact of Meyerbeer's musical setting. An opera that Wagner *did* encounter just before starting *Rienzi* was Spontini's *Fernand Cortez*, which Anno Mungen cites as an influence on the structure and heroic-military colouring of Wagner's opera. See A. Mungen, 'Wagner, Spontini, und die grand opéra', in *Richard Wagner und seine "Lehrmeister"*, ed. C.-H. Mahling and K. Pfarr (Mainz: Are Edition, 1999), 129–44.
- 23 On the pantomime, cf. n. 19 above. Wagner noted in *Mein Leben* that at the Dresden première the first two acts alone lasted as long as a complete performance of *Der Freischütz*. With each successive act he became increasingly panic-stricken that the audience would give up and leave in exhaustion. But instead (he reports with more than a little self-congratulation), they remained to cheer him *en masse* six hours later (*My Life*, 232).
- 24 Of course, last-act finales in grand opera generally eschewed the broad amplifications typical of central act finales in favour of a speedy and effective denouement.
- 25 In addition to the already cited (posthumous) essay on Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots* (n. 21), this ideal of a cosmopolitan operatic synthesis, specifically as a solution to the tenuous position of German Romantic opera in the international canon, was articulated at the close of the essay

‘On German Music’ and in the feature on ‘Halévy and the French Opera’, published in the *Revue et gazette musicale* in 1840 and 1842 respectively, and already in Wagner’s first published article, ‘On German Opera’: *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, 10 June 1834. The texts of these can be found in SSD, I and XII, and *Richard Wagner’s Prose Works*, VII and VIII.

26 Cited from Henry Pleasants’ translation in *Vienna’s Golden Years of Music, 1850–1900* (New York, 1950), 24.

27 *Oper und Drama*, Part 3, section 3 (SSD, IV, 152–5). The passage is translated in Grey, *Wagner’s Musical Prose: Texts and Contexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 375–7.

28 One might also say, along these lines, that in *Lohengrin* the visual spectacle that had always been a defining attribute of grand opera has been transposed ‘into’ the music, in the guise of a special emphasis on timbral and harmonic colouring and the association of such musical ‘colour’ with certain characters and situations. See T. Grey, ‘Wagner’s *Lohengrin*: Between *grand opéra* and *Musikdrama*’, in *Richard Wagner: Lohengrin*, English National Opera Guides, 47, ed. Nicholas John (London: John Calder, 1993), 24–7 (section entitled ‘The Dramaturgy of Musical “Colour”’).

29 Letter to Franz Liszt of 18 April 1851: *Selected Letters of Richard Wagner*, trans. and ed. Stewart Spencer and Barry Millington (New York, 1988), 222.

30 SSD, III, 301–6. In the original German text, Wagner distinguishes Meyerbeerian *Effekt* (using the suspiciously ‘foreign’ word) from a genuine effect (*Wirkung*), the latter indicating a logical, necessary consequence of a legitimate ‘cause’ (a plausible dramatic *raison d’être*, in this case).

31 The one concession to Meyerbeer’s talent in *Opera and Drama* regards this scene – although half the credit is given to Scribe: SSD, III, 306.

32 George Bernard Shaw pinpointed the ‘regression’ to grand opera within the *Ring* cycle in the final scene of *Siegfried*: ‘The rest of what you are going to see is opera, and nothing but opera’: *The Perfect Wagnerite* (London: Constable, 1923; rpt. New York, 1967), 54. Paradoxically, then, it was precisely the latest parts of the cycle to be composed (Act III of *Siegfried* and all of *Götterdämmerung*) that Shaw dismissed as dramatically ‘backward’, despite their sophistication of compositional technique.

33 Sieghart and Sabine Henze-Döhring compare the final catastrophic scenes of *Le Prophète* and *Götterdämmerung* in their book *Oper und Musikdrama im 19. Jahrhundert* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1997), 264–8. Their enthusiasm for Meyerbeer, however, encourages what is certainly a misreading (262) of Wagner’s ironising reaction to *Le Prophète* in Paris in 1850 (in a letter to Theodor Uhlig of 13 March 1850). Another letter, to Ferdinand Heine on 14 September 1850, clearly refutes the Döhrings’ non-ironic reading of the Uhlig letter (if the publication of ‘Judaism in Music’ the preceding month were not evidence enough).

34 Cf. n. 18 above.

35 Gutman, *Richard Wagner*, 154. (The reference is to the location of the Opéra at the time Wagner knew it.) Gutman is speaking here of Wagner’s theatrical aesthetic more broadly (as one of pomp, spectacle, and ‘realistic’ historical staging), rather than of specific issues of dramaturgy or musical style.

36 ‘Über die Benennung “Musikdrama”’: SSD, IX, 307; *Richard Wagner’s Prose Works*, V.

37 Gutman, *Richard Wagner*, 292.

38 *Ibid.*, 185.

39 See, for example, Pendle and Wilkins, ‘Paradise Found’, 171–208, here 182–3.

17 Grand opera in Russia: fragments of an unwritten history

1 Cavos’s *Ivan Susanin* is not to be confused with the opera known to Soviet audiences under the same title; this latter was a politically necessitated revision of *A Life for the Tsar*, expunged of the Tsarist sympathies evident in title and plot alike.

2 There are no comprehensive performance statistics on Russian opera presently available (although see n. 4, below), but useful, if partial, information is to be found in reliable sources.

3 Stasov coined the catchphrase *moguchaya kuchka* (‘Mighty Handful’) in 1867 for ‘The Five’, later also called ‘The Balakirev Circle’, consisting of Alexander Borodin (1833–87), César Cui (1835–1918), Mily Balakirev (1836/7–1910), Modest Musorgsky (1839–81) and Nikolay Rimsky-Korsakov (1844–1908).

4 Abram Akimovich Gozenpud (b. 1908), *Muzikal’nyi teatr v Rossii: ot istokov do Glinki* (Leningrad: GMI, 1959); *Russkiy opernyi teatr XIX-go veka*, I: 1836–56 (Leningrad: Muzika, 1969); *Russkiy opernyi teatr XIX-go veka*, II: 1857–72 (Leningrad: Muzika, 1971); *Russkiy opernyi teatr XIX-go veka*, III: 1873–1889 (Leningrad: Muzika, 1973); *Russkiy opernyi*

teatr na rubezhe XIX–XX vekov i F. I. Shalyapin (1890–1904) (Leningrad: Muzika, 1974); *Russkiy operniy teatr mezhdv dvukh revolyutsiy, 1905–1917* (Leningrad: Muzika, 1975); *Russkiy sovetskiy operniy teatr, 1917–1941* (Leningrad: GMI, 1963). See his biography and selective writings listed in *New Grove*/2.

5 Unfortunately Gozenpud's work lacks the full scholarly apparatus required by present-day standards in the West; it is to be hoped that Gozenpud's research materials will be made available to scholars so that his sometimes sketchy information on sources can be supplemented (at the time of writing, Gozenpud is still alive).

6 Gozenpud, *Russkiy operniy teatr XIX veka, 1836–56*, 305.

7 N. Gogol, 'Peterburgskiy zapiski 1836 goda', *Sobraniye sochineniy v shetsi tomakh*, VI (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoye izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennoy literatury, 1953), 113.

8 Anonymous article 'Nechto o Bol'shom teatre', *Literaturnaya gazeta*, 39 (1844), reproduced in Gozenpud, *Russkiy operniy teatr XIX-go veka, 1836–1856*, 38.

9 A. Grigor'yev, 'Robert-d'yavol', *Repertuar i Panteon*, 1846, vol. 13, Book 1, 255; quoted in Gozenpud, *Russkiy operniy teatr XIX-go veka, 1836–1856*, 88.

10 Quoted in *Istoriya russkoy muziki*, V (Moscow: Muzika, 1988), 291.

11 Quoted in *ibid.*, 28.

12 More information on the competition between native and foreign companies can be found in Richard Taruskin's essay 'Ital'yanshchina', in *Defining Russia Musically* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 186–236.

13 In a curious reversal of this situation after the 1917 Revolution, there was a short period when French grand operas were valued precisely for their political associations. Since no operas with Soviet subject matter existed prior to 1925, the Soviet Government considered *Fenella* suitable fare for the celebrations surrounding the first anniversary of the Revolution (produced by the former Mariinsky Theatre, now renamed GATOB). *Les Huguenots* and *Le Prophète* were also revived at the time, but with their libretti modernised for propaganda value. *Les Huguenots* thus became *The Decembrists*, set in Russia in 1825, with Saint-Bris transformed into Nicholas I.

14 Gozenpud, *Russkiy operniy teatr XIX-go veka*, 182. If the incident occurred within two years of the première, the tsar in question was Nicholas I, but if later, then Alexander II; the date is not specified.

15 Ts. A. Kyui [C. A. Cui], 'Russkaya opera', first published in *Sankt-Peterburgskiy vedomosti*, 261 (22 September 1875), signed ***; repr. in *Izbranniye stat'yi*, ed. Y. A. Kremlyov (Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoye musikal'noye izdatel'stvo, 1952), 183–9, here 185.

16 Ts. A. Kyui, 'Neskol'ko vivodov', first published in *Sankt-Peterburgskiy vedomosti*, 73 (15 March 1869), repr. in *Izbranniye stat'yi*, 147–54, here 148.

17 V. V. Stasov, 'Tormoz' novogo russkogo iskusstva', *Stat'yi o muzike*, ed. V. Protopopov, 5 vols. (Moscow: Muzika, 1974–80), III, 264. Stasov claimed that the Russian public now favoured *La Traviata*, *Il Trovatore*, *Aida* and *Faust*; since the last two follow many conventions of grand opera, the change owed more to the musical content than the generic framework.

18 Mikhail Ivanov, although a contemporary of Stasov, had none of the latter's fear of admitting the many foreign influences upon Russian composers; he readily declared, therefore, that Glinka 'made use of grand opera forms' in both his operas, and also saw the character of Susanin as a successor to Guillaume Tell and Masaniello. See M. M. Ivanov, *Istoriya muzikal'nogo razvitiya Rossii v 2-kh tomakh*, 2 vols. (St Petersburg: Suvorin, 1910–12), I, 280–95.

19 Stasov, 'Iskusstvo XIX veka', *Stat'yi o muzike*, vol. Vb, 66. For Stasov, however, *Ruslan* was always the more important of the two works; he might have been more reluctant to make a similar admission with respect to this work.

20 M. I. Zheleznov's memoirs, quoted in M. I. Glinka, *Literaturnye proizvedeniya i perepiska*, I (Moscow: Muzika, 1973), 423.

21 Glinka, 'Zametki ob instrumentovke', *Literaturnye proizvedeniya i perepiska*, I, 183.

22 Gozenpud, *Russkiy operniy teatr XIX-go veka*, 51.

23 Stasov, 'Arkheologicheskaya zametka ob postanovke *Rognedi*', *Stat'yi o muzike*, II, 65–9. Stasov went on to advise Musorgsky concerning both *Boris Godunov* and *Khovanshchina* as well as several other well-known operas.

24 Stasov, 'Iskusstvo XIX veka', *Stat'yi o muzike*, Vb, 9–105, here 68.

25 Ts. A. Kyui [Cui], 'Muzikal'naya deyatel'nost' Meyerbera', signed***, *Sankt-Peterburgskiy vedomosti*, 98 (25 May 1864), ed. in Kyui, *Izbranniye stat'yi*, 23–8, here 25.

26 Stasov, 'Verit' li?', Eng. trans. by R. Taruskin in *Opera and Drama in Russia* as

Preached and Practiced in the 1860s (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 130–1.

27 Stasov, ‘Verit’ li?’, *Stat’yi o muzike*, II, 79.

28 Musorgsky’s letter to Arseny Golenishchev-Kutuzov, 15/27 August 1877; see M. P. Musorgsky, *Pis’ma* (Moscow: Muzika, 1984), 245.

29 The idea of commissioning a collective work also seems to have come to Gedeonov from French soil, where the tradition of collective composition flourished in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; the most extreme example was *La Marquise de Brinvilliers* (1831), the work of no less than nine composers including Auber, Boieldieu and Cherubini. As it happens, *Mlada*’s plot can also be traced to France, since it closely resembles one of Filippo Tagliioni’s ballet plots. See Gozenpud, *Russkiy operniy teatr na rubezhe XIX–XX vekov i F. I. Shalyapin (1890–1904)*, 84.

30 Four of Alexey Verstovsky’s six completed operas are based on a mixture of history and legend from the Kievan Rus era (c. 882–c. 1169), and often pivot around a conflict between Christians and pagans; these are the dialogue operas, *Vadim* (1832, the part of the main character is spoken), *Askold’s Tomb* (1835), *A Waking Dream, or Churov Valley* (1844), and the only all-sung opera, *Gromoboy* (1857).

31 *Néron* was commissioned by the Paris Opéra, as a setting of a pre-existing libretto by Jules Barbier. For reasons that remain obscure, it was never produced in Paris, but instead received its première in Hamburg (1879), when it was praised by von Bülow as a successful example of a non-Wagnerian opera.

32 Tchaikovsky used Zhukovsky’s translation of Schiller’s drama *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*, as well as French versions of the story by Jules Barbier (the play *Jeanne d’Arc*, 1873) and Auguste Mermet (the opera *Jeanne d’Arc*, to his own libretto, Opéra, 1876). However, the role of Thibaut in the drama is entirely Tchaikovsky’s own invention.

33 N. A. Rimsky-Korsakov, *Letopis’ moyey muzikal’noy zhizni* (Moscow: Muzika, 1972), 279.

34 I. S. Zil’bersheyn and V. A. Samkov (eds.), *Sergei Dyagilev i russkoye iskusstvo*, I (Moscow: Izobrazitel’noye iskusstvo, 1982), 421.

35 *Ibid.*, 205–6.

18 Grand opera among the Czechs

1 All Czech opera titles are given in English with the Czech title following the first

citation. All genre designations are taken, where possible, from contemporary published vocal scores or as they were advertised on the posters of premières. Although the term ‘*zpěvohra*’ (literally ‘sung play’, i.e. Singspiel) was used routinely as an alternative to ‘opera’ on posters and in scores, for the purposes of this chapter ‘*zpěvohra*’ will be translated as ‘opera’.

2 The Prague National Theatre (Královské zemské české a národní divadlo [the Royal Provincial Czech National Theatre]) was open briefly from 11 to 23 June 1881 giving five performances of Smetana’s Festival Opera *Libuše*, intended for the opening of the theatre, and two of Meyerbeer’s *Les Huguenots*. The major part of the building was burnt down on the night of 12 August and the theatre reopened slightly over two years later on 18 November 1883, to the day the twenty-first anniversary of the opening of the Provisional Theatre (18 November 1862).

3 This was given on 8 October 1882, a little over a year before the theatre closed to make way for the rebuilt National Theatre. It ran for a spectacular, in Czech terms, five consecutive performances followed by two more before the end of the year: see Jan Smaczny, ‘The Daily Repertoire of the Provisional Theatre in Prague’, *Miscellanea musicologica*, 34 (1994), 9–139, here 109; the 1884 performances were of a revised version of the opera.

4 The relative figures concerning the most popular operas are informative: Smetana’s *Dalibor* (premièred 1868) was given 103 times, *Libuše* (premièred 1881), 71 and *Dimitrij*, 63; in total Fibich’s *The Bride of Messina* was given sixteen times.

5 Smetana’s *Libuše* was written in 1869–72 as a coronation opera: but when Franz Joseph turned down the Bohemian crown the opera served to inaugurate the National Theatre. In spite of its dignified demeanour and unique aim as a festival opera, it was not designed specifically as a ‘reform’ work.

6 An excellent digest of Hostinský’s activities is given in John Tyrrell, *Czech Opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 112–14.

7 When Hostinský discussed *Dimitrij* as part of a more general survey of Dvořák’s operatic works in the context of the Czech national revival, the question of the Smetana succession, with Fibich as the chosen heir, occupied much of the discussion: *Dimitrij* was seen as being firmly in the Meyerbeer line by comparison with works such as Smetana’s *Libuše* (*The Bride of Messina* is not mentioned).

His extended article is the major progenitor of the notion that the Smetana–Fibich line represented the progressives and that Dvořák was, as a composer of absolute music, the drag on the tendency. See *Antonín Dvořák ve vývoji naší dramatické hudby* (Prague, 1908), 12–15, reprinted in Boleslav Kalenský (ed.), *Antonín Dvořák: Sborník statí o jeho díle a životě* [Antonín Dvořák: A Collection of Essays about his Life and Work] (Prague: Umělecká Beseda, 1912), 208–26. Zdeněk Nejedlý, to an extent Hostinský's successor in developing the idea of a line of descent in Czech opera, considered *Dimitrij* to be Dvořák's most 'regressive' work (Zdeněk Nejedlý, *Zdenko Fibich: zakladatel scénického melodramatu* [Zdenko Fibich: The Founder of Scenic Melodrama] (Prague: Roman Nejedlý, 1901), 172.

8 In the twenty-one-year history of the Provisional Theatre, *Dalibor*, which Smetana said he considered his most important score, was given complete only fifteen times, fewer than *The Brandenburghers in Bohemia* (27), *The Bartered Bride* (116), *The Two Widows* (19), *The Kiss* (46) and *The Secret* (25); *Libuše* (11) and *The Devil's Wall* (5) had only two and four years respectively to make their mark before the second opening of the National Theatre in 1884 while *Dalibor* had fifteen (see Smaczny, 'Daily Repertoire', 137). Performances of *Dalibor* increased considerably towards the end of the nineteenth century and in the first twenty years of the twentieth (see Hana Konečná, *Soupis repertoáru Národního divadla v Praze 1881–1983* [List of Repertory of the Prague National Theatre 1881–1983] (Prague: Národní divadlo, 1983)), perhaps indicating greater sophistication among audiences. In addition, the company of the Provisional Theatre had been unable to provide a suitably heroic tenor for the title role. For a comparative table of the most frequently performed operas in the Provisional and National Theatres, see Tyrrell, *Czech Opera*, 40.

9 See Hostinský, *Antonín Dvořák*, 13.

10 See Zdeněk Nejedlý, *Dějiny opery Národního divadla* [The History of Opera in the National Theatre], 2nd edn, 2 vols. (Prague: Práce, 1949), I, 367.

11 Reviews in *Divadelní listy* [Theatre Pages], 3/36 (1882), 290 and *Dalibor*, 4/27 (1882), 214.

12 In fact *La Vestale* was enough of a favourite in Prague in the first half of the nineteenth century for the overture and an aria to feature at the head of at least two 'quodlibet'

evenings, on 14 December 1834 and 1 December 1840, for the actor Josef Grabniger and the conductor František Škroup respectively; J. Vondráček, *Dějiny českého divadla: doba předbřeznová 1824–1846* [The History of Czech Theatre: The Period Before the March Revolution 1824–1846] (Prague: Orbis, 1957), 79 and 144.

13 Josef Krasoslav Chmelenský (1800–39), also the librettist of the 'first' Czech opera, František Škroup's *The Tinker* (*Dráteník*) was, as the January 1826 edition of the Viennese *Theaterzeitung* noted, both assiduous and brisk in translating foreign operas into Czech at this stage (see Vondráček, *Dějiny*, 28–9). 14 Méhul's *Joseph* was given four times in the Provisional Theatre; though *Les Deux journalières* was given only twice in the Provisional Theatre, some indication of its significance can be gauged from the fact that these were also the first two performances of any opera in the Theatre: Smaczny, 'Daily Repertoire', 11 and 115.

15 Méhul's *Joseph* was the first opera to be given complete in Czech, in Brno in 1839; even after this, opera in Czech was virtually unknown until Moravia opened its own Provisional Czech National Theatre: Tyrrell, *Czech Opera*, 57.

16 Première in Czech translation: Prague, Estates Theatre, 6 January 1854.

17 Built by Count Nostitz and opened in 1783 as the Count Nostitz National Theatre (Gräflich Nostitzsches Nationaltheater), and for which Mozart wrote *Don Giovanni* and *La Clemenza di Tito*, it had various incarnations. Nostitz sold it to the Bohemian Estates in 1789 after which it was known as the Royal Theatre of the Estates (Königliches Ständestheater). For much of the nineteenth century it was the main stage for plays and opera in German, and after 1824 until the opening of the Provisional Theatre, a large number of performances in Czech took place; in 1888 it ceded its primacy for performances in German to the larger New German Theatre (Neues Deutsches Theater). After the Second World War it was known as the Smetana Theatre and from 1992 the State Opera of Prague. For a full account of Prague theatres pre-1990 see Tyrrell, *Czech Opera*, 13–59. 18 Tyrrell, *Czech Opera*, 21.

19 Otakar Nový's *Národní divadlo 1883–1983* [The National Theatre 1883–1983] (Prague: Národní divadlo, 1983) gives a lively account of the building and its precursor.

20 From an interview in the Viennese newspaper, *Die Reichswehr*, 1 March 1904;

- partially reprinted in O. Šourek, *Dvořák ve vzpomínkách a dopisech* [Dvořák in Letters and Reminiscences] (Prague: Topič, 1938), 180–1.
- 21 From a reminiscence: Otakar Mařák, 'Mé vzpomínky na Ant. Dvořáka' [My Memories of Antonín Dvořák], *Divadlo* (1929) partially reprinted in Šourek, *Dvořák*, 177–8. The performance referred to was the première of a new production of *Les Huguenots* given on 26 April 1903 in which Mařák took the role of Raoul.
- 22 In numerous reviews for *Národní listy* for which Smetana wrote between May 1864 and April 1865 (reprinted in V. H. Jarka, *Kritické dílo Bedřicha Smetany* [The Critical Writings of Bedřich Smetana] (Prague: Pražská akciová tiskárna, 1948). Smetana's view is also echoed by later commentators including John Clapham in his *Master Musicians* study, *Smetana* (London: Dent, 1972), 34.
- 23 Tyrrell, *Czech Opera*, 34.
- 24 All figures are derived from Smaczny, 'Daily Repertoire'.
- 25 *Národní listy*, 16 July 1864; repr. in Jarka, *Kritické dílo*, 90–1. In fact, Smetana mistakenly described the Vaccai opera as *I Capuleti e i Montecchi*, the Bellini opera on the same subject which was in the repertory of the Provisional Theatre and whose finale, as was common throughout Europe in the nineteenth century, was replaced by that of Vaccai's opera.
- 26 Theatre poster of 16 October 1864 (Theatre Centre of the National Museum, Prague). On this particular occasion, the performance was enhanced by two guest acrobats from the Cirque Napoléon in Paris.
- 27 Interview in the *Sunday Times* (10 May 1885) repr. in David Beveridge (ed.), *Rethinking Dvořák: Views from Five Countries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 281–8.
- 28 Adolf Čech, *Z mých divadelních pamětí* [From My Theatre Memories] (Prague: Urbánek, 1903), 94.
- 29 See Tyrrell, *Czech Opera*, 104; also Marta Ottlová, 'K problematice české historické opery 19. století' [Towards Problems of Czech Historical Operas in the Nineteenth Century], *Hudební rozhledy*, 34 (1981), 169–72.
- 30 Sabina, a radical, may have been influenced by an unfinished play by J. K. Tyl called *The Expulsion of the Brandenburgers* [Zapuzení Branibořů] whose prime focus is the populace rather than individuals: Brian Large, *Smetana* (London: Faber and Faber, 1970), 146–7.
- 31 Tyrrell, *Czech Opera*, 1.
- 32 Tyrrell notes that the poet and folklorist, Karel Jaromír Erben, described the town rabble as 'communists of the basest sort': Tyrrell, *Czech Opera*, 159, quoting Petr Daněk and Jana Vysoká, 'Dokumenty k operní soutěži o cenu hraběte Harracha' [Documents Concerning the Operatic Prize Competition of Count Harrach], *Miscellanea musicologica*, 30 (1983), 147–75.
- 33 In fact, this expressive number anticipates by nearly ten years the main theme from Smetana's *Vltava*.
- 34 On the theatre poster (Theatre Centre of the National Museum, Prague) the description is 'vel. nár. op.' (velká národní opera). Other contemporary sources describe it as a 'grand romantic opera' (velká romantická opera): Tyrrell, *Czech Opera*, 326.
- 35 Tyrrell, *Czech Opera*, 135.
- 36 The first two acts were published in Prague in 1874, entitled 'grand opera' (veliká opera), and the remaining three in 1880. This was the first serious Czech opera to be published in vocal score and only the second after *The Bartered Bride*.
- 37 Much was made on the poster of new decorative sets for the first two acts.
- 38 Milan Pospíšil, 'Meyerbeer und die tschechische Oper des 19. Jahrhunderts', in *Meyerbeer und das europäische Musiktheater*, ed. Sieghart Döhring and Arnold Jacobshagen (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1998), 407–41.
- 39 Vituperative and tortured polemics surrounded the reception of *Dalibor*: John Clapham, 'The Smetana–Pivoda Controversy', *Music & Letters*, 52/4 (1971), 353–64.
- 40 Repr. in František Bartoš, *Smetana ve vzpomínkách a dopisech* [Smetana in Reminiscences and Letters] (Prague: Topič, 1939), 153–4. Halévy's Ahasuerus opera is discussed in Chapter 13.
- 41 Alan Houtchens makes this point in his excellent doctoral dissertation, 'A Critical Study of Antonín Dvořák's *Vanda*', University of California, Santa Barbara (1987), see esp. Chapter 1, sec. 4, 'Wave of Slavic Nationalism', 17–45. Additionally, both Czech librettists, Václav Beněš-Šumavský and František Zakrejs, were sympathetic to their national cause.
- 42 For a succinct, perceptive account of the trajectory of the Czech national revival, including a consideration of the impact of humanist philosophers such as Herder, see René Wellek (ed.), Peter Kussi (trans.), *The Meaning of Czech History*, by Tomáš G. Masaryk (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1974).

- 43 Alec Robertson, *Dvořák* (London: Dent, 1945), 130; Hans-Hubert Schönzeler, *Dvořák* (London: Marion Boyars, 1984), 47–8; even John Clapham, basing his judgement on Šourek, was decidedly lukewarm about the opera: *Dvořák: Musician and Craftsman* (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), 272–3.
- 44 Hostinský, *Antonín Dvořák*, 12. A recent recording of the opera gives some idea of the virtues of this remarkable score (*Wanda*: Prague Chamber Choir, WDR Radio Choir/Symphony Orchestra, Cologne, cond. Gerd Albrecht: Orfeo C149 003 F).
- 45 A comprehensive critical edition by Milan Pospíšil still awaits publication.
- 46 Figures in this paragraph from Tyrrell, *Czech Opera*, 40.
- 47 A more detailed examination of the relationship between *Vanda* and *Armida* is in Smaczny, ‘*Vanda* and *Armida*, a Grand-Operatic Sisterhood’, in *Rethinking Dvořák*, ed. Beveridge, 81–97.

19 Italian opera

- 1 *Crepuscolo* means ‘twilight’; the Italian trilogy thus alludes to Wagner’s *Götterdämmerung*, first performed in 1876.
- 2 A *pezzo concertato* (concerted piece) is defined in *Grove Opera*, III, 989, as ‘A large ensemble of soloists and chorus generally to be found as the second movement of a central finale, to which it forms the lyrical climax’, whether slow or fast; they sometimes begin canonically with soloists, but are sometimes choral from the start.
- 3 See Luca Zoppelli, ‘*I Medici* e Wagner’, in *Ruggero Leoncavallo nel suo tempo. Atti del 1° Convegno internazionale di studi su Ruggero Leoncavallo*, ed. Jürgen Maehder and Lorenza Guiot (Milan: Sonzogno, 1993), 149–62; *idem*, ‘The Twilight of the True Gods: Cristoforo Colombo, *I Medici* and the Construction of Italian History’, *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 8/3 (1996), 251–69; Jürgen Maehder, ‘*I Medici* e l’immagine del Rinascimento italiano nella letteratura del decadentismo europeo’, in *Nazionalismo e cosmopolitismo nell’opera fra ’800 e ’900. Atti del 3° Convegno Internazionale ‘Ruggero Leoncavallo nel suo tempo’*, ed. Jürgen Maehder and Lorenza Guiot (Milan: Sonzogno, 1998), 239–60; Alan Mallach, ‘Alberto Franchetti e la sua opera *Cristoforo Colombo*’, *Nuovo Rivista Musicale Italiana*, 26/2 (1992), 193–211.
- 4 Ippolito Valetta, ‘Rassegna musicale’, *Nuova Antologia*, 157 (16 January 1898), 360–1.
- 5 Marcello Conati, ‘“L’oltracotata turba che

- s’indraca”. Inforestieramenti dell’opera italiana nel secondo Ottocento’, in *Musica senza aggettivi. Studi per Fedele d’Amico*, ed. Agostino Ziino, 2 vols. (Florence: Olschki, 1991), I, 345–53, here 349.
- 6 A ‘characteristic’ piece is one designed to evoke a particular geographical, historical and cultural locale, for example, by using folk-like material. See Chapter 6, ‘Dance and dancers’.
- 7 For this reversal of perspective, see Giovanni Morelli, ‘Il bello della *Gioconda*’, in the programme-book for the opera given at La Scala, Milan (1997), 47–83, here 73. On *Gioconda* and Decadent opera see Maehder, ‘Szenische Imagination und Stoffwahl in der italienischen Oper des Fin de siècle’, in *Italianische Oper im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Maehder and J. Stenzl (Bern: Lang, 1994), 187–248.
- 8 For the ideology of the post-Verdian libretto see Luigi Baldacci, *Dopo Verdi* (1974), reissued in *idem*, *La musica in italiano. Libretti d’opera dell’Ottocento* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1997), 118–39.
- 9 See *Grove Opera*, IV, 199: ‘Scapigliatura’ (‘bohemianism’) refers to the artists themselves, to the ‘period of renewal in Italian culture’ between 1860 and 1880, and also to ‘a literary trend that opened the way to *verismo* while anticipating some features of the *fin-de-siècle* decadent movement’. For Boito and the Scapigliatura, see Guido Salvetti, ‘La Scapigliatura milanese e il teatro d’opera’, in *Il melodramma italiano dell’Ottocento. Studi e ricerche per Massimo Mila* (Turin: Einaudi, 1977), 567–604; *idem*, ‘Dal Verdi della maturità a Giacomo Puccini’, in *Musica in scena. Storia dello spettacolo musicale*, ed. Alberto Basso, 6 vols. (Turin: Unione tipografico-editrice torinese, c. 1995–97), II (Gli Italiani all’estero. L’opera in Italia e in Francia), 370–401; Paolo Rossini, ‘Il teatro musicale di Arrigo Boito’, in *Arrigo Boito, musicista e letterato*, ed. Giampiero Tintori (Milan: Nuove edizioni, 1986), 39; and, importantly, Adriana Guarnieri Corazzol, ‘Scapigliatura e Décadence’, in *Musica e letteratura in Italia tra Ottocento e Novecento* (Milan: Sansoni, 2000), 7–127.
- 10 See Anselm Gerhard, *Die Verstädterung der Oper. Paris und das Musiktheater des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler and Carl Ernst Poeschel, 1992); trans. as *The Urbanization of Opera: Music Theater in Paris in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), esp. 402–8; Stéphane Wolff, *L’Opéra au Palais Garnier (1875–1962)* (Paris, 1962; repr. Paris: Slatkine, 1983), 147.

- 11 See Michael Faure, 'Du nationalisme dans les théâtres lyriques parisiens entre 1875 et 1925', in *Nazionalismo e cosmopolitismo*, ed. Maehder and Guiot (see n. 3 above), 79–97.
- 12 Filippo Filippi, *Meyerbeer, Studi critico-biografici* [1864], in *Musica e musicisti. Critiche. Biografie ed escursioni* (Milan: Brigola, 1876), 161. On the circulation of the first grand operas by Meyerbeer, see Fiamma Nicolodi, 'Meyerbeer e il grand-opéra a Firenze', *Quaderni di teatro*, 9/36 (May 1987), 80–98; partially abridged as 'Il grand-opéra di Meyerbeer in Italia: da fenomeno elitario a spettacolo di massa', in *Orizzonti musicali italo-europei, 1860–1980* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1990), 43–75. Especially valuable are Fabrizio Della Seta, 'L'immagine di Meyerbeer nella critica italiana dell'Ottocento e l'idea di "dramma musicale"', in *L'opera tra Venezia e Parigi*, ed. Maria Teresa Muraro, 2 vols. (Florence: Olschki, 1988), I, 147–76; Della Seta, *Italia e Francia nell'Ottocento* (Turin: E.D.T., 1993), 277ff.; Alessandro Roccatagliati, 'Opera, opera-ballo e grand-opéra: Commistioni stilistiche e recezione critica nell'Italia teatrale di secondo Ottocento (1860–1870)', in *Opera e libretto*, ed. Gianfranco Folena, Maria Teresa Muraro and Giovanni Morelli (Florence: Olschki, 1990), 283–349.
- 13 Fiamma Nicolodi, 'Les Grands Opéras de Meyerbeer en Italie', in *L'Opéra en France et en Italie (1791–1925). Une scène privilégiée d'échanges littéraires et musicaux. Actes du Colloque franco-italien (Villecroze, 16–18 oct. 1997)*, ed. Hervé Lacombe (Paris: Société française de musicologie, 2000), 87–115. For a census of the widespread appreciation of Meyerbeer throughout the theatres of Italy, see Anna Tedesco, "Opere a macchina". La fortuna di Giacomo Meyerbeer in Italia dal 1840 al 1870, dissertation, University of Bologna (1996–97), 19, 23 *et passim*. Also Marcello Conati, 'Quasi un mistero il silenzio italiano sui Grand-opéra di Meyerbeer', *Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana*, 27/2 and 27/4 (April–June and October–December 1999), 157–70, 535–57.
- 14 Kathleen Kuzmic Hansell, 'Il ballo teatrale e l'opera italiana', in *Storia dell' opera italiana*, ed. Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli, V (*La spettacolarità*) (Turin: E.D.T., 1988), 287–302.
- 15 Michele Girardi and Franco Rossi, *Il teatro La Fenice. Cronologia degli spettacoli 1792–1936* (Venice: Albrizzi, 1989), 246–52, 259. *Satanella*, a *ballo fantastico* in five tableaux (Berlin, 1852), was one of the German-born Hertel's early successes, in collaboration with the Milanese composer Cesare Pugni. *Brahma* and *La Camargo* were both first seen in Milan, both in 1868.
- 16 From *Pungolo*, 10–11 April 1876, reproduced in *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, 31/16 (16 April 1876), 135.
- 17 See Alberto Rizzuti, *Fenomeni del baraccone. Il 'Guarany' di Antônio Carlos Gomes fra donne, cavalier, armi et orrori* (Turin: Paravia, 1997), 62–3.
- 18 Numbered 2337; also *Testo unico* R.D. dated 19 September 1882, no. 1012.
- 19 Boito wrote that its protagonist 'is the incarnation of the eternal "No" in the face of Truth, Beauty and Goodness': see the 'Prologo in teatro' of *Mefistofele* (libretto, 1868 version) in *idem, Tutti gli scritti*, ed. Piero Nardi ([Milan]: Mondadori, 1942), 101.
- 20 Letter from A. C. Gomes to G. Ricordi, 9 February 1880, ed. in *Antônio Carlos Gomes. Carteggi italiani*, ed. Gaspare Nello Vetro Gomes (Milan: Nuove edizioni [c. 1976]), 128. See this volume particularly for Gomes, containing also Marcello Conati, 'Formazione e affermazione di Gomes nel panorama dell'opera italiana. Appunti e considerazioni', 33–77.
- 21 Music which, indeed, influenced the generation comprising 'la Giovane Scuola' ('Young School'): the term is discussed in *Grove Opera*, II, 428–9. It applies to composers influenced by *verismo*, for example, in Mascagni's *Cavalleria rusticana* (1890).
- 22 Jay Nicolaisen, *Italian Opera in Transition, 1871–1893* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980), 100–8, gives a thorough account of the rich treasury of forms in Italian opera in the late nineteenth century.
- 23 According to Gomes, enthusing about Maddalena Mariani-Masi (who created the title role in *La Gioconda*), the latter's interpretation was as incisive as that of the famous actress Adelaide Ristori: see letter from Gomes to G. Ricordi of 7 November 1879 in *Antônio Carlos Gomes. Carteggi italiani*, 123.
- 24 Adriana Guarnieri Corazzol, 'Opera and Verismo: Regressive Points of View and the Artifice of Alienation', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 5/1 (1993), 39–53.
- 25 For the dances in *Il figliuol prodigo*, see Renato Di Benedetto, 'I ballabili nelle opere di Amilcare Ponchielli', in *Amilcare Ponchielli 1834–1886. Saggi e ricerche nel 150° anniversario della nascita*, ed. Nino Albarosa (Casalmoreno: Cassa rurale, ed. artigiana di Casalmoreno, 1984), 246; the reference to J. Strauss is in G. Ricordi, 'Il Teatro della Scala. *Ruy Blas*'

Gazzetta musicale di Milano, 24/15 (11 April 1869), 122.

26 David Charlton, 'On the Nature of "Grand Opera"', in *Hector Berlioz: Les Troyens*, ed. Ian Kemp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 94–105; repr. in *idem*, *French Opera 1730–1830: Meaning and Media* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000); Gilles de Van, 'Le Grand Opéra entre tragédie lyrique et drame romantique', *Il Saggiatore musicale*, 3/2 (1996), 325–60.

27 Dated 1872, the *Messa in scena* for *Il Guarany* is reproduced in Rizzuti, *Fenomeni del baraccone*, 98–152. See too Michaela Peterseil, 'Die "Disposizioni sceniche" des Verlags Ricordi. Ihre Publikation und Zielpublikum', in *Studi Verdiani*, 12 (1997), 150–5.

28 Giuseppe Mazzini, *Filosofia della musica* [1836], ed. Marcello De Angelis (Florence: Guaraldi, 1977), 61–2.

29 An exception is Cecilia's 'Polacca-sortita' in *Il Guarany*, Act I, which is preceded by trills and runs.

30 Letter from Alfredo Catalani to Antonio Ghislanzoni of 23 November 1883, reproduced in Alfredo Bonaccorsi, *Alfredo Catalani* (Turin: Arione, 1942), 13.

31 Julian Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, 3 vols. (London: Cassell, 1973–81), III, 283.

32 The 'inubia' (here, a poetic synonym for the *membitarará*) was a war-horn made of maçaranduba wood, used by the Tupi-Guarani Indians.

33 On typologies of Italian operatic dances of the period, see G. Schüller, 'Ponchielli: *La Gioconda: Ballett*', in *Pipers Enzyklopädie des Musiktheaters*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus and Sieghart Döhring, 7 vols. (Munich: Piper, 1986–97), V, 41.

34 S. F[arina], 'Rivista milanese', *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, 25/13 (27 March 1870), 107.

35 'How on earth has this sophisticated orgy, on the steps of the very temple of Isis, been given official authorisation? it makes one blush with embarrassment': Léon Escudier, 'Opéra. *L'Enfant prodigue*', *La Musique. Gazette de la France musicale*, 49 (8 December 1850), 373.

36 Emilio Praga had by then written the libretto of *I profughi fiamminghi* for Franco Faccio, first staged in 1863. See note 9 above concerning the *Scapigliati*.

37 Fabrizio Della Seta, 'Un aspetto della ricezione di Meyerbeer in Italia: Le traduzioni dei Grands opéras', in *Meyerbeer und das europäische Musiktheater*, ed. Sieghart Döhring and Arnold Jacobshagen (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1998), 309–51.

38 *Piano*: line with final accent on the penultimate syllable (commoner in Italian prosody); *tronic*: line with final accent on the final syllable.

39 *Sdruciolò*: line with final accent on the antepenultimate syllable.

20 Grand opera in Britain and the Americas

1 See discussions of terminology within Chapters 1 and 10.

2 London was the centre for opera in Britain in the nineteenth century. Although such cities as Birmingham, Manchester, Glasgow and Edinburgh hosted the performances of visiting opera companies, they acquired their own permanent troupes only from the end of the nineteenth century. For the establishment of permanent companies in these and other cities, see *Grove Opera* under relevant place name.

3 For further information about the licensing, management and repertory of these theatres, see Robert D. Hume and Arthur Jacobs, 'London, §II: Institutions', in *Grove Opera*, and Christina Fuhrmann, 'Adapted and Arranged for the English Stage: Continental Operas Transformed for the English Theater, 1814–33', dissertation, University of Washington (2000). Until 1843 the King's Theatre had the legal monopoly on Italian opera, while the patent theatres Covent Garden and Drury Lane had the monopoly on 'regular' spoken drama, and French and German opera (in English) – although the authorities tended to be lenient during the nineteenth century. A useful reference work is Theodore Fenner, *Opera in London: Views of the Press, 1785–1830* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994).

4 See Hume and Jacobs, 'London, §II: Institutions', 2: Theatres: *Covent Garden*.

5 For more detail on Her Majesty's and Covent Garden, see Gabriella Dideriksen, 'Repertory and Rivalry: Opera at the Second Covent Garden Theatre, 1830 to 1856', dissertation, King's College, University of London (1997), Part I.

6 Although rivalry for the grand opera repertory had diminished to an extent, spoiling tactics could be used. The tenor Ander, for example, was engaged for a high sum in 1852 to sing Arnold in *Guillaume Tell*, even though he was not rated by Gye; the main benefit was that Lumley was prevented from staging more French operas at Her Majesty's: Dideriksen, 'Repertory and Rivalry', 223–5.

7 At Covent Garden the main season ran from March or April through to the end of

August, while in Paris it ran from September through to the spring; this enabled singers to perform in both cities. During autumn and winter at Covent Garden the opera house was frequently leased to entrepreneurs; in autumn 1848, for example, Alfred Bunn ran a season of English opera (including both native works and English translations of foreign works): Harold Rosenthal, *Two Centuries of Opera at Covent Garden* (London: Putnam, 1958), 72–84.

8 These and other examples of how the repertory was moulded around the available singers are discussed in Gabriella Dideriksen and Matthew Ringel, 'Frederick Gye and "The Dreadful Business of Opera Management"', *19th-Century Music*, 19/1 (1995), 3–30; and Rosenthal, *Two Centuries of Opera*, 32–4.

9 For a detailed discussion of Bishop's adaptations of Italian and comic French operas as well as grand operas, see Fuhrmann, 'Adapted and Arranged'.

10 These adaptations were a burletta at the Adelphi (23 January 1832), Bishop's *The Demon* at Drury Lane (20 February 1832) and Lacy's *The Fiend Father* at Covent Garden (21 February 1832). Fuhrmann ('Adapted and Arranged') notes that Allardyce Nicoll identified further adaptations at Sadler's Wells (13 February) and the Royal Pavilion (16 March): *A History of English Drama 1660–1900*, IV: *Early Nineteenth-Century Drama*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), 83.

11 Rupert Ridgewell, "Meyerbeer's Best Intentions Utterly Destroyed"? Henry Bishop's "Robert le Diable" (London, 1832), dissertation, Royal Holloway, University of London (1993). I am grateful to Rupert for drawing my attention to his thesis, from which most of the information concerning this adaptation is drawn.

12 Covent Garden source: Royal College of Music, MS 382, dated January 1832. Ridgewell establishes that the score to which they had access (presumably acquired from the Opéra or from Schlesinger) must have postdated the Paris première, but predated the 1832 publication: "Meyerbeer's Best Intentions", 31–2.

13 Though some critics actually criticised it for its fidelity: Fuhrmann, 'Adapted and Arranged', 186.

14 Ignaz Moscheles, *Recent Music and Musicians: As Described in the Diaries and Correspondence of Ignaz Moscheles* (New York: Da Capo, 1970), 176; cited in Ridgewell, "Meyerbeer's Best Intentions", 3. Given the careful attention Meyerbeer paid to

orchestration, creating specific timbral effects to underline dramatic developments, it is possible that the new orchestration led Moscheles and other critics to complain about the adaptation. Examination of the new orchestration might throw light on this particular aspect of the work's reception.

15 Hofer was a Tyrolean freedom fighter who headed a successful series of peasants' revolts but was betrayed to the French, who shot him. Four numbers were cut, four more combined into two new numbers, a chorus transformed into a duet, a soprano aria transposed for bass-baritone, and several new pieces created out of the hunting-horn theme associated with the enemy, and of melodies from the overture: Fuhrmann, 'Adapted and Arranged', 176–9.

16 Ingredients of melodrama, from plots, characters and visual effects to trouser roles, were often added to operas, and the use of pantomime 'eased audiences into an acceptance of more action-based music'. Extra scenes with special effects were often supplied, and a new tableau was added to *The Demon*: Fuhrmann, 'Adapted and Arranged', 280, 331.

17 Alfred Bunn, *The Stage both Before and Behind the Curtain*, 3 vols. (London: R. Bentley, 1840), III, 110–11; cited in Fuhrmann, 'Adapted and Arranged', 202–3.

18 For example, James Kenney's adaptation of *La Muette de Portici* as *Masaniello* for Drury Lane condensed some longer scenes, reordered material and added a few lines of dialogue in an effort to simplify the story and recast it in three acts. Fenella's pantomime scenes remained more or less intact. Kenney claimed that 'lopping off redundancies, and making some slight additions, giving colour and reality to the action, is all I have done for *Masaniello*': preface to printed libretto (London: E. Moxon, 1831).

19 Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, *Musical Reminiscences*, 4th edn (London: John Andrews, 1834), 216 (supplement); anonymous critic, cited in Charles Gruneisen, *Memoir of Meyerbeer* (London: T. Brettell, 1848), 14.

20 Robert Ignatius Letellier (trans. and ed.), *The Diaries of Giacomo Meyerbeer*, Vol. 1: 1791–1839 (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999), 439–40.

21 *The Harmonicon* (1832), 160; cited in [John Edmund Cox], *Musical Recollections of the Last Half-Century*, 2 vols. (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1872), I, 242.

22 Planché justified this radical change to the plot – and intensified interest in its status as a

dramatisation of actual events – by claiming that he had taken the liberty of ‘vindicat[ing] the character of poor Madame Ankestrom, who was actually living at that period’; see James Robinson Planché, *Recollections and Reflections*, rev. edn (London: Sampson Low, 1901), 148. Speaking roles were common in English opera of the time.

23 See Dideriksen, ‘Repertory and Rivalry’, 316, for a reconstruction of the new opera.

24 Cited in [Cox], *Musical Recollections*, 281–3.

25 Information about Gye in this paragraph is drawn from Gye’s newly discovered diaries, as presented in Dideriksen and Ringel, ‘Frederick Gye’.

26 On his annual visits Gye made a point of attending new works and concluding contracts for operas and singers; he often had the personal involvement of composers for their works. Meyerbeer, for example, was involved in the productions of all but one of his operas for the Royal Italian Opera, and composed new music and oversaw (from Paris) alterations made for the adaptations: Dideriksen, ‘Repertory and Rivalry’, 204.

27 *The Athenæum*, 1083 (29 July 1848), 754–5.

28 Planché, *Recollections and Reflections*, 179. Even in 1848 censorship required that the murder of Valentine, Raoul and Marcel on stage at the end of *Les Huguenots* be omitted; instead the curtain falls as ‘the murderers rush against them’: see the printed libretto (London, 1849).

29 Dideriksen, ‘Repertory and Rivalry’, 294, 307.

30 In modern terms, adaptations of Italian operas fared better than those of French (or German) works, as adapters were guided by the conventions of Italian opera. Roberta Montemorra Marvin has shown how changes required for the censor were generally made only in the translations in the librettos, the original Italian being sung with few if any changes to the music: ‘The Censorship of Verdi’s Operas in Victorian London’, *Music & Letters*, 82/4 (2001), 582–610.

31 The changes are detailed in *The Athenæum*, 1082 (22 July 1848), 731–2; also Dideriksen, ‘Repertory and Rivalry’, 300–03, 312–13; see 328–9 for a reconstruction of the new opera.

32 Gruneisen, *Memoir of Meyerbeer*, 16, 18.

Gruneisen was a founding member of the Royal Italian Opera at Covent Garden, and so not an impartial observer.

33 George Bernard Shaw, *Music in London 1890–94*, 3 vols. (London: Constable, 1932), I, 199 [27 May 1891].

34 *La Muette* appears to have been a particularly popular opera with English-speaking audiences during the nineteenth century, and performed far more frequently than any of Auber’s other grand operas. Herbert Schneider finds twenty-six librettos, published in Britain (eleven), America (fourteen) and Australia (one), in English, Italian and German adaptations. It was particularly popular in Britain in the 1830s, and continued to be published until 1916. Arrangements of numbers from the opera were published in England as late as 1938. See Table 1.2 and Chapter 1, n. 56.

35 See Eric Walter White, *A History of English Opera* (London: Faber, 1983), 262.

36 Berlioz was engaged as the conductor for the 1847–48 season (during the first of his five visits to London): David Cairns (ed. and trans.), *A Life of Love and Music: The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz 1803–1869* (London: Folio Society, 1987), 384.

37 See Hume and Jacobs, ‘London §II: Institutions’.

38 For example, see Rosenthal, *Opera at Covent Garden*, 295; and Cairns (ed.), *A Life of Love and Music*, 454–7.

39 On the influences of French (mainly comic) opera on English musical style, see Dideriksen, ‘Repertory and Rivalry’, 240–55.

40 Barnett wrote the music for a two-act ‘Musical Romance’ by R. J. Raymond entitled *Robert the Devil! Duke of Normandy*, for Covent Garden in 1830. Based on the legend which inspired Meyerbeer’s opera of 1831, it may have been influenced by Bouilly’s and Dumersan’s *comédie* of 1813, written for the Théâtre du Vaudeville, Paris, and by *Don Giovanni*.

41 See George Biddlecombe, *English Opera from 1834 to 1864 with Particular Reference to the Works of Michael Balfe* (New York: Garland, 1994), 83.

42 Balfe’s operas naturally embody his musical influences. He studied composition and singing in Italy and pursued a short career as a singer, had a contract with the Théâtre Italien, Paris in the mid-1820s, and associated with Cherubini and Rossini: Nigel Burton, ‘Balfe’, *New Grove/2*.

43 Biddlecombe discusses specific influences of Rossini, Auber and Meyerbeer on Balfe’s *The Bohemian Girl: English Opera*, 109–10.

44 Biddlecombe, *English Opera*, 115–18; other examples of similarities with Halévy’s score are also discussed.

45 Dalayrac’s *Deux mots* (1806, revived in Paris in the 1820s) is also based on episodes from *The Monk*, and it, together perhaps with

Weber's *Silvana*, inspired the authors of *La Muette*. Any of these works could have been known by Loder, but the coincidence of 'mute' works serves to illustrate the continuous circulation of ideas at this time and the difficulty in pinning down specific influences.

46 These were settings of Planché's libretto on the theme of Edward III's siege of Calais (1838) and (an Italian version of) Scribe's adaptation of *The Tempest* (1846–47): John Warrack, 'Mendelssohn's Operas', in *Music and Theatre: Essays in Honour of Winton Dean*, ed. Nigel Fortune (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 263–97. For more on *The Tempest* see Benjamin Lumley, *Reminiscences of the Opera* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1864), 166–8. Halévy eventually set the libretto in 1850.

47 Planché, *Recollections and Reflections*, letter from Mendelssohn to Planché [1838], 202–4, cited in White, *A History of English Opera*, 272.

48 Planché, *Recollections and Reflections*, 203. Details of the dealings between librettist and composer, together with a reproduction of their letters, are provided by Planché (202–17). Later in the volume he notes that Mendelssohn did not like *Masaniello*, *Tell* or *Robert*, which perhaps helps to explain why Mendelssohn was not happy with Planché's libretto for their own 'grand opera' (227–8).

49 Although, as Stephen Banfield notes, it must have seemed old-fashioned by the time it was performed at Covent Garden in 1893: 'Stanford', in *Grove Opera*.

50 Andrew Lamb, 'Ivanhoe and the Royal English Opera', *Musical Times*, 114 (1973), 475–8. The venue was built specifically for the opera, by the impresario Richard D'Oyly Carte.

51 Shaw, *Music in London 1890–94*, I, 76 (27 April 1892). The reasons are explored in Lamb, 'Ivanhoe', 475.

52 Biddlecombe, *English Opera*, 167.

53 Shaw, *Music in London 1890–94*, I, 168–9 (18 May 1892).

54 It features a blind girl (with her own leitmotif), a lively chorus, 'Water-melons rich and rare', that recalls Auber's market chorus, and concludes with the eruption of Vesuvius and a scene 'of terror and confusion in the streets'; the hero and heroine escape in a boat with the blind girl, who leaps into the sea, to her death.

55 Nigel Burton, 'Opera: 1865–1914', in *The Romantic Age 1800–1914*, ed. Nicholas Temperley, Blackwell History of Music in Britain (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), 342–5, here 343. Burton suggests that Cowen's

Pauline (1876, Lyceum) and Goring Thomas's *Esmeralda* (1883, Drury Lane) reveal the influences of Gounod and Ambrose Thomas (*Pauline*) and Bizet.

56 Stephen Banfield, 'The Early Music Renaissance: Mackenzie, Stanford and Smyth', *British Opera in Retrospect* (Gerrard's Cross: British Music Society, 1986), 63–8, here 64.

57 For different national schools of opera and their influences on American opera see Elsie Kirk, 'United States of America', in *Grove Opera*.

58 Katherine Preston, *Opera on the Road: Travelling Opera Troupes in the United States, 1825–60* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 1–6.

59 John Dizikes, *Opera in America: A Cultural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 231. In 1854 the Bowery theatre in New York became known as the Stadt Theater, and German theatre and opera was presented there, including performances of *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin* in 1859 conducted by Carl Bergmann, which attracted mainly German immigrant audiences. In 1855 a German season was mounted at Niblo's theatre, and German musicians gradually came to dominate the country's leading orchestras.

60 American and European troupes would often extend their tours into Canada.

Occasional French grand operas were given (notably *Les Huguenots*), but Italian and then German operas became favoured in Canada, as in America: Helmut Kallmann, *A History of Music in Canada 1534–1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960).

61 One of the largest travelling troupes was Theodore Thomas's American Opera Company (1886), performing 'grand operas' sung in English by Americans, but also Mozart, Verdi, Delibes and Wagner. It disbanded after two years owing to lack of funds.

62 Edith Wharton, *The Age of Innocence* [1920] (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1996), 2–3; cited in Pierre Degott, 'L'opéra en version traduite: L'exception de la Grande-Bretagne', *Revue de musicologie*, 85/2 (1999), 333–50, here 345–6.

63 Carl Bergmann and others had already begun to champion Wagner's music in concert halls and increasingly in opera houses, in spite of the limited enthusiasm of audiences, and there was heated philosophical debate about the composer's writings. In this climate, Italian opera came to seem old-fashioned and limited: Karen Ahlquist, 'Mrs Potiphar at the Opera: Satire, Idealism, and Cultural Authority in Post-Civil War New York', in *Music and Culture in America*,

- 1861–1918, ed. Michael Saffle (New York: Garland, 1998), 29–51, here 42.
- 64 See W. H. Seltsam, *Metropolitan Opera Annals* (New York: H. W. Wilson; Metropolitan Opera Guild, 1947).
- 65 Information about opera in San Francisco is from George Martin, *Verdi at the Golden Gate: Opera and San Francisco in the Gold Rush Years* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 3 and 64–94.
- 66 Bochsa advertised in the *Daily Alta California* for extra performers to swell the ranks of his company and the opera opened five days later: Martin, *Verdi at the Golden Gate*, 75–6.
- 67 Louisiana was French until 1762, then ceded to Spain. In 1800 it was returned to France, but sold to America in 1803. See Henry A. Kmen, *Music in New Orleans: The Formative Years, 1791–1841* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966); and Ronald L. Davis, *A History of Opera in the American West* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965).
- 68 Acrobatics and vaudevilles were frequently added to encourage audiences at both theatres, although they were added only between acts at the French theatre.
- 69 Kmen, *Music in New Orleans*, 160.
- 70 The opera was never performed and Fry did not even try to have it staged in America, instead giving it to a singer to show around London, where it attracted no interest: Dizikes, *Opera in America*, 98–9.
- 71 Kmen, *Music in New Orleans*, 199–200.
- 72 Dizikes, *Opera in America*, 379.
- 73 Charles Wakefield Cadman (1881–1946) similarly attempted to ground American opera in national history, using ‘authentic’ American folk music. *Shanewis* (1918, New York), was based on the life of an Indian, but Cadman’s idiom was essentially European and he set native melodies in conservative nineteenth-century harmonies.
- 74 Cited in Dizikes, *Opera in America*, 380–1.
- 75 The brief details here about Latin American composers are drawn from biographical entries in *Grove Opera*.
- 76 Also Luca Zoppelli, ‘The Twilight of the True Gods: *Cristoforo Colombo, I Medici* and the Construction of Italian History’, *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 8/3 (1996), 251–69.
- 77 Julian Budden, ‘Wagnerian Tendencies in Italian Opera’, in *Music and Theatre*, ed. Fortune, 299–332.
- 78 For a survey, see Robert Stevenson, ‘Rio de Janeiro’, in *Grove Opera*.
- 79 Stevenson, ‘Buenos Aires’, in *Grove Opera*.