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SEEING SAPPHO IN PARIS:
OPERATIC AND CHOREOGRAPHIC ADAPTATIONS
OF SAPPHIC LIVES AND MYTHS

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ἀγι δὴ χέλυ δῖα μοι λέγε
φωνάεσσα δὲ γίνεω

yes! radiant lyre speak to me
become a voice

Sappho, fragment 118.¹

Like shards of broken pottery, the life and works of Sappho (the poet from Lesbos) remain incomplete, scrambled, lost, and yet incredibly alluring. Each writer, singer, actor, composer, reader who encounters the fragmented remains of the work and life of the historical Sappho hears something different from her lyre. Part of the reason for this is the fractured nature of her work. Today, her lyrical poems exist as broken pieces of reflective glass: sharp, penetrating, dangerous splinters of the great works in which we gaze into, hoping to find the whole, but instead we only glimpse a fractured reflection of ourselves. Saved on deteriorating scraps of papyrus, or quoted in fragments as examples of stunning lyric poetry by Cicero, Plato, and Longinus, traces of Sappho's work exist today as ruins. The mirroring effect of these fragments has been felt in almost every generation in the Western world since her death. With each encounter, subjects listen to the endless echo of her radiant lyre resonating in the epoch in which they live and adapt her songs for their *own* time based upon their own fantasies of *her* time.

This paper looks at three Parisian fantasies of Sappho: Charles Gounod's revision of his first opera, *Sappho* (1851, rev. 1884), Charles Cuvillier's operetta *Sapphō* (1912), and the Sapphic music and dramatic activities held in the garden of Natalie Clifford Barney (ca. 1900). For each of these productions, musical scores (when they exist) provide scant information as to how the authors and performers imagined the myths and lives of Sappho; iconographic sources, however, open doors to new readings, illustrating how these pieces appropriated past Sapphic fictions to create nuanced and often satirical productions. Here, I contend that visual culture played a privileged role in the reception of these very different musical representations of Sappho histories and fantasies.

ΨΑΠΦΩ. In her landmark study of Sappho's reception in France, Joan DeJean writes:

Sappho is a figment of the modern imagination. During her recovery by early modern scholars, she was completely a French fantasy. And throughout the entire span of her modern existence, she has remained largely a projection of the French imagination.²

These fantasies, however, take root in ancient sources. The myth of Sappho's love affair with Phaon and her leap from the Leucadian rock first appeared in the third century BC. The great leap, the "kill-or-cure remedy for hopeless passion" derives from tales of primitive ritual sacrifices to Apollo, which Strabo recorded in his *Geography* (18-23 AD) cementing the legend to Sappho's writings for consumption by generations of writers. Sappho's connection to her male lover Phaon most likely stem from a confusion in her poetry since "Phaon" is another name for Aphrodite's beloved, Adonis. Since Sappho wrote poems in the voice of Aphro-

dite lamenting the loss of Adonis who perished while hunting wild boars, later interpreters must have misunderstood and assumed she was speaking in her own voice not that of the Goddess of Love. For her Greek descendents, like Plato and Strabo, Sappho was a poetic heroine and a great muse.³

Other early perceptions of Sappho that circulated in the nineteenth century are important to mention here as well; while her life (mythologies) and works received praise at home in ancient Greece, they suffered condemnation in other contexts. The Romans in particular vilified and chastised Sappho for the sensuality and the open homoeroticism of her poetry. "For the Roman writers then Sappho was, at best, a poet of love; worse, a nymphomaniac; and, worst of all a lover of women."⁴

SAPHO EN FRANCE: REINCARNATIONS OF SAPHO, 1600–1860. Her two legacies (the poetess/heroine and the nymphomaniac/sensualist) wind their way through French history and culture. When Ovid was in vogue in the late seventeenth century, French writers entertained a Roman view of Sappho as a negative, sensual, evil woman. Early French Hellenists, however, tried to rescue Sappho, representing her as "the original voice of female passion."⁵ This dualism continued throughout the eighteenth century with one group of artists firmly dedicated to preserving the idea of a pure Sapphic heroine (a Hellenistic reading), and another movement railing against her (the Orientalist reading). Surprisingly, the Enlightenment followed one Sapphic path, with little to no speculation on Sappho's female lovers. For the generation of the Marquis de Sade, Sappho was only interested in men.⁶

In the early nineteenth century, Sappho appeared as heroine in post-revolutionary art and as a dangerous "intellectual" in Napoleonic heroic fiction. At the same time she began to develop a following in women's circles. A great number of portraits during this period depict society ladies holding Sappho's lyre. In addition, several representations of Sappho as a heroic woman began to appear in the theatre.⁷

Earlier French operas based on the life and myths of Sappho include Vernard de Jochère's *Sapho, opera en trois actes* (1772); Emphis and Cournol's *Sapho* (1818); Antoine Reicha's 1822 reworking of Emphis and Cournol's *Sapho*, as well as Jean-Paul-Edige Martini's *Sapho* premiered in 1795 to a libretto by Constance de Salm (known as C.M. Pipelet de Leury and later as the Princess von Salm-Reifferscheid-Dyck).⁸ Notable early Sappho operas outside the French tradition include Niccolò Piccinni's *Phaon* (1778), and Giovanni Simone Mayr's *Saffo, ossia I riti d' Apollo Leucadio* (1794), as well as Giovanni Pacini's *Saffo* (1840). Gounod's 1851 opera *Sapho* was not the first French opera to have a strong female heroine, nor the first to make that heroine Sappho. However, Gounod's *succès d'estime* overshadowed all earlier attempts at operatic portrayals of Sappho, receiving moderate praise and revivals to this day.

With the help of his librettist, Émile Augier, Charles Gounod presents one of the favorite mid-nineteenth-century myths in the 1884 revisions of his first opera from 1851 on the historical Sappho: her love for the young and handsome Phaon, and her sacrifice and faithful leap from the cliffs.

The original 1851 opera situates the chaste Sapho as heroine against the debauched courtesan Glycère (a new addition to the story added by Augier). While Sapho praises virtue and fidelity in her winning ode in the song contest of act I, Glycère uses trickery and deceit in act II to get Pythéas to reveal the plans for Phaon's secret coup to unseat the tyrant Pittacus. In Glycère and Sapho's following duet in act II, Glycère aggressively confronts Sapho, plainly stating that she will tell Pittacus about the coup and how he will then kill Phaon if she remains with him. Sapho remains resolute in her defiance of Glycère, proclaiming "Jamais! Jamais! Non! Non!" however, she finally succumbs. In order to save the attempted coup, she resigns herself to let Phaon believe she no longer loves him so he can run off with Glycère. She renounces her love for Phaon, in an attempt to save his life, and sings a final aria before leaping from the cliffs. Gounod's Sapho is dutiful and courageous, a patriot and revolutionary: qualities honored in French women of the nineteenth-century. Her resolve and heroism are admirable, and her actions befit a revolutionary.⁹ She prefers to accept death and her lover's scorn rather than to jeopardize the rebellion of her comrades.

My interest lies however in the 1884 version of the work: the fruit of further collaboration between Augier and Gounod. Taking up the role of Sapho originally created by Pauline Viardot in 1851, Gabrielle Krauss earned praise for her role as the title character in 1884. Reviewers of the opera in its four-act form with a revised and expanded libretto and additional music observed that the successes of the 1851 version's elements retained in the 1884 production were limited to Glycère and Pythéas's duet and Sapho's leap.¹⁰



1. Adrien Marie, *Sapho*, act IV (1884) with Mlle. Krauss. Lithograph, 32.5 × 23 cm. Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra, Paris. — 2. Josef Hoffman, sketch for Wagner's *Die Walküre*, act III, scene 1, with Brünnhilde and Valkyries. — 3. Plate from *Sapho* showing the scene where Glycère seduces Pythéas, *Les Premières Illustrées, Notes et Croquis*, vol. 3 (1883-84), between pages 100 and 101. — 4. Gustave Moreau, "Mlle. Richard as Glycère, a Courtesan in *Sapho*" (1884). Private collection — 5. Gustave Moreau, "Phaon", costume design for *Sapho* (1884). Private collection.

The new version of the opera not only retained suggestive duets of the courtesan (Glycère) and the rebel (Pythéas), but also expanded their material placing it as the heart of the second act. Moreover, Glycère dominates this act; Augier greatly expands her role with added arias and dramatic recitatives highlighting the courtesan's importance in the fate of all characters. One reviewer goes on to equate this new production not only to the

Grand Opera tradition, but identifies Wagnerian influences as well. Discussing the enlarged final act he writes: “A good deal of Wagnerian breadth and grandeur distinguished this final act. The figure of the white-robed poetess, relieved against the somber background, might have passed for that of a doomed *Walkyrie* deprived of her armour.”¹¹ A lithograph of this scene depicting the arrangement of jagged rocks and trees visible in Josef Hoffmann’s original sketches for *Die Walküre*, act III [figs. 1 & 2]. Wagnerian allusions, while generally in vogue in the 1880s, nonetheless indicate a change in reception of Sappho: that the profile of this historic figure could potentially find congruence with the epic breadth, decadent myth-making associated with Wagnerian opera.¹² In addition, new costumes, sets, and music were created to address the new vogue for exotic, and Orientalist fantasies of Sappho.

Gounod’s updated music includes large sections of the original production kept without changes as well as new material, written on separate folios and inserted into the original orchestral score.¹³ An examination of some of the editions to the 1884 version highlights Gounod’s awareness of the changing musical and dramatic tastes. In the second act, Glycère’s entrance develops from a simple recitative in the 1851 production to a grand exotic flourish in 1884 with harp, triangle, cymbals, and major seventh chords resolving by tritone [ex. 1].

The erotic elements are further elaborated in this version as well. The following duet between Glycère and Pythéas after her exotic entrance evokes an eroticism that is merely hinted at in the 1851 version. Pythéas, quite drunk, makes passes at Glycère who responds by pouring him more wine while coaxing secrets from him. With each new cup of wine poured, the courtesan sings another line of seduction, which the drunk and, presumably aroused, Pythéas replies to in patter excitement.

Glycère: Il m’aurait plu de vous voir cette audace !

Pythéas: Je lui plairai par cette audace !

Glycère: Elle vous eût rendu beau tout à fait !

Pythéas: Je semblerais beau tout à fait !¹⁴ [see example in appendix]

These orientalist elements were highlighted not only in the score, but also in the stage design and costuming for the 1884 version of Gounod’s opera. A print in *Les Premières Illustrées* from the first performance of the new version depicts the scene mentioned above where Glycère seduces Pythéas [fig. 3]. An unusually decadent costume sketch for Glycère has survived by Gustave Moreau for an unstaged production depicting a courtesan who perhaps shopped at the same clothing store as pagan Thaïs, or Salome. The costume for Phaon displays a similar decadent tendency, absent from the original conceptions of the characters [figs. 4 & 5]. Phaon’s gossamer cape, long feminine fingers and hair, flowing cloak and pleated and ruffled blouse sharply contrast the revolutionary image of the 1851 production. In 1884, Glycère dramatically and musically takes over Sappho’s role as leading lady, replacing the chaste early nineteenth-century fantasy with a decadent fin-de-siècle fantasy of Sappho as courtesan.

The preponderance of iconographic relics from the production appear more striking compared to the lack of musical relics. The 1884 score was never published and the manuscripts, scattered across the globe, deserve more attention.¹⁵ The visual domain of the new version not only provides greater insight to the vogue for Orientalism and exoticism at the Opéra, but also shows how the score and libretto received changes to complement the growing trends in visual culture.

SAPPHO AND TERPSICHORE: RÉGINA BADET AS SAPPHÔ (1912). In contrast, the 1912 operetta, *Sapphô*, by André Barde and Michel Carré, with music by Charles Cuvillier, has neither a surviving score nor a libretto.¹⁶ One review documents its existence. It appears at first glance to take Augier and Gounod’s *Sappho* as a point of departure. Revolutionaries and courtesans mark this narrative of betrayal; however, both music and text aim for satire and humor above gravitas and drama. In his review for *Le Théâtre*, Étienne Roubier writes:

Vous devinez que l’œuvre n’a aucun rapport avec celle d’Alphonse Daudet; il s’agit ici de la poétesse antique, inexorable, comme l’on sait, aux désirs des hommes. Les auteurs nous l’ont présentée traversant — si je puis dire — une crise de curiosité amoureuse et légitimement impatiente, après l’ivresse des bonheurs devinés, de goûter aux joies révélées.¹⁷

Roubier’s highly suggestive précis continues as he describes how Sapphô throws her devotion on Phaon, an “éphèbe”. In the operetta, however, Phaon’s love is chaste and virtuous: “He holds onto his virtue tighter than a woman her hair.”¹⁸ Her love for Phaon proves problematic for her political allies as Eunice comes to separate Phaon and Sapphô. Eunice sends Phaon to the courtesan Myrrhine, and Sapphô into exile. In the



6. Production photo of Régina Badet as Sapphô. *Le Théâtre* 319 (1 April 1912), 24. — 7. Mary Garden as Aphrodite. Chicago newspaper clipping (1906).

second act, Eunice woos Phaon but he swaps places with Lycias who wants to focus on his career “de sportsman”. The imbroglio continues until Sapphô returns and mimes the story of Diana and Acteon and she and her lover are reunited. The reviewer leaves tantalizing clues about the operetta’s topical and sexual humor noting how “MM. André Barde et Michel Carré used copious bits of charming humor in the amusing dialogue of this imbroglio: the undertones of current events, and other piquant allusions pepper the text of this spicy parody.”¹⁹

While score and libretto appear to be lost, we can deduce some of the “piquant” allusions through costume, set, character, and the reviews.²⁰ Looking at one of the costumes worn by the dancer Régina Badet reproduced in *Le Théâtre*, one notes striking similarities to the costumes and poses of Mary Garden in *Thaïs* (1894) and *Aphrodite* (1906) signaling that a victim of the satire might have been the ancient Greek themed operas popular in Paris. The use of the sexually charged mirror as prop (a common cipher for women’s sexual solipsism and consequently lesbian eroticism),²¹ as well as the distinctive headpiece and pose demonstrate that these works (both based on fantasies of antiquity featuring courtesans) proved worthy of satire in the operetta [figs. 6-9].

BARDE AND CARRÉ'S ANCIENT SATIRICAL MODELS AND MODERN SUBJECTS OF RIDICULE. Another photo for *Le Théâtre* features Badet miming the story of Diane and Acteon for a coterie of classical characters from popular fiction and history [fig. 10]. Due to the missing score and libretto, it is impossible to know the exact nature of these characters or how the authors parodied them in the comedy. The characters depicted in the production photo for *Sapphô* include Macrobe, Calyce, Myrrhine, Phaon, Sapphô, Bilitis, Lycias, Mnasidice, and Glycère. Understanding their cultural, theatrical and literary significance in early twentieth-century Paris reveals some of the piquant allusions referred to by the reviewer of the 1912 operetta.

Macrobe (the Gallicized name of Ambrosius Macrobius Theodosius, fl. 395–423) authored *Saturnalia*, a chronicle of the discussions supposedly held at the house of Vettius Praetetus (ca. 325–385) on the eve before the winter Roman holiday Saturnalia. Styled in the manner of Plato's *Symposium*, the second book of this work is filled with "bons mots" as well as a discussion of sensual delights; much of this has been lost, but what exists deals with "pleasures of the table".²² Some sources identify Calycè (Calyce, Kalyke, or Calycia), a nymph and the daughter of Aeolus and Enarete, as Zeus's lover, others as one of the Nysiads who nursed Dionysus. "Lycias" (Lysias, ca. 445–380 BC) was most famous as an Attic orator involved in democratic politics and continually cited as a paradigm of the Attic prose style, notably by Plato in the *Phaedrus*; however, the name appears in other sources as well.²³

We find Glycère (Glycera) not only in Augier and Gounod's *Sapho*, but in numerous Greek and Roman texts as a common name for a courtesan.²⁴ A "Glycera" came between the comic playwrights Menander and Philemon, and the name of a courtesan "Glycera" appears frequently in Horace's odes (*Carmina* I:19, I:30, I:33, and III:19). She often invokes strong passions in the narrator not only for her beauty but also her sexual prowess. In *Carmen* I:19 only "a victim's blood will soothe her vehemence".²⁵ *Carmen* I:33 parallels Glycera's toxic love, where Horace's speaker consoles a younger man who has been lured and discarded by Glycera the courtesan: "What, Albius! why this passionate despair / For cruel Glycera? why melt your voice / In dolorous strains, because the perjured fair / Has made a younger choice?"²⁶ In *Carmen* III:19, he vows: "I for my Glycera slowly, slowly die."²⁷

Another famous incantation of her name appears in Lucian's *Dialogues of the Courtesans*. Here Glycera and Thaïs discuss how one of Glycera's lovers/patrons has abandoned her for another courtesan (whom Thaïs reassures her friend is much older and uglier, yet is tall and has a nice smile). Lucian of Samosata (known also in the Gallicized version as Lucien, ca. 120–after 180 CE), known for his irreverent humor and satirical dialogues, proved popular in late-nineteenth-century culture with at least six complete modern translated editions appearing in the last three decades of the century.²⁸ Also included in these dialogues are the names Pythias and Lysias (Pythéas found in Augier's libretto and Lycias found in Barde and Carré's operetta). Lucian's characters in this dialogue include a courtesan Joessa, her friend (another courtesan) Pythias, and an Athenian young boy, Lysias. Joessa opens the dialogue with a lament to Lysias equating him to Phaon and threatening to kill herself:

Jo[essa:] Cross boy! But I deserve it all! I ought to have treated you as any other girl would do, bothered you for money, and been engaged when you called, and made you cheat your father or rob your mother to get presents for me; instead of which, I have always let you in from the very first time, and it has never cost you a penny, Lysias. Think of all the lovers I have sent away [...] I kept myself for you, hard-hearted Phaon that you are! I was fool enough to believe all your vows, and have been living like a Penelope for your sake; mother is furious about it, and is always talking at me to her friends. And now that you feel sure of me, and know how I dote on you, what is the consequence? You flirt with Lycaena under my very eyes, just to vex me; you sit next to me at dinner, and pay compliments to Magidium, a mere music-girl, and hurt my feelings, and make me cry. [...] as for Cymbalium, whom you kissed no less than five times, I didn't mind so much about that, — it must have been sufficient punishment in itself: [...] Did I ever displease you? ever look at any other man? Do I not live for you alone? [...] You will be sorry some day, perhaps, when you hear of my hanging myself, or jumping head first into a well; for die I will, one way or another, rather than live to be an eyesore to you. There will be an achievement for you to boast of! You need not look at me like that, nor gnash your teeth: if you have anything to say against me, here is Pythias; let her judge between us. Oh, you are going away without a word? — You see what I have to put up with, Pythias!²⁹



GARDEN
de l'Opéra Comique

8. Mary Garden as Aphrodite wearing the distinctive headdress. Private collection. — 9. Mary Garden as Thaïs holding mirror. Private collection.

Lysias, however does not see his behavior as unwarranted, for when he returns he angrily chides the women for condemning him as he is justified. Just five days before he caught Joessa in bed with another man! The imbroglio ends with the revelation that the man in bed with Joessa was none other than Pythias whose head had been shaved due to illness. Even in the scholarly Fowler translation, the reconciliation of the three hints at a sexual *ménage à trois*.

Myrrhine appears in Aristophanes's *Lysistrata* as the ring-leader's close friend and the wife who mercilessly tortures her husband's erection, leading him on with oils, beds, pillows and blankets only to refuse him. Steadfast in her chastity, Myrrhine notoriously controls the amorous situation manipulating her husband to help the *Lysistrata*'s "Amazons" win their peace. Glycera (Glykera) and Myrrhine both show up in Meander (ca. 342–291 BCE) as well. In *Perikeiromene* ("The one with the shaved head"), Glycera is a concubine of a mercenary soldier. Myrrhine is the neighbor who has been secretly bringing up Glycera's brother who had been separated at birth. When Glycera embraces her brother her head is shaved in punishment. Eventually Glycera moves into Myrrhine's house as the courtesan seeks her freedom in the status of wife.³⁰ Myrrhine also appears as a common name for *heteria* (courtesans) attached to the Attic orator, Hyperides as "the most expensive heteria of her day".³¹

Bilitis and Mnasidice are both characters from Pierre Louÿs's fictitious collection of ancient lesbian poetry from 1894. *Les Chansons de Bilitis*, perhaps the author's most controversial work, is a collection of poems written by a fictional ancient Greek female author, Bilitis, who was supposedly a contemporary of Sappho of Lesbos. Louÿs claimed to have translated the poems from the original Greek sources, and in his introduction even listed fictional academic citations. The poems portray the three periods of Bilitis's love life: her lust for a young shepherd, a ten-year relationship with another woman on the isle of Lesbos, and finally, her life as a courtesan in Cyprus. Mnasidice plays a critical role in the second part as the chief female lover of Bilitis. In the poem, *Les seins de Mnasidika*, for example, Louÿs unambiguously depicts a homoerotic scene between the two women.

Les seins de Mnasidika

Avec soin, elle ouvrit d'une main sa tunique et me tendit ses seins tièdes et doux, ainsi qu'on offre à la déesse une paire de tourterelles vivantes.

« Aime-les bien, me dit-elle ; je les aime tant ? Ce sont des chéris, des petits enfants. Je m'occupe d'eux quand je suis seule. Je joue avec eux » ; je leur fais plaisir.

« Je les douche avec du lait. Je les poudre avec des fleurs. Mes cheveux fins qui les essuient sont chers à leurs petits bouts. Je les caresse en frissonnant. Je les couche dans de la laine. »

« Puisque je n'aurai jamais d'enfants, sois leur nourrisson, mon amour, et puisqu'ils sont si loin de ma bouche, ne-leur des baisers de ma part. »

Mnasidika's breasts

Carefully, with one hand, she opened her tunic and tendered me her breasts, warm and sweet, just as one offers the goddess a pair of living turtle-doves.

"Love them well", she said to me; "I love them so! They are little darlings, little children. I busy myself with them when I am alone. I play with them; I pleasure them."

"I flush them with milk. I powder them with flowers. I dry them with my fine-spun hair, soft to their little nipples. I caress them and I shiver. I couch them in soft wool."

"Since I shall never have a child, be their nursling, oh! my love, and since they are so distant from my mouth, kiss them, sweet, for me."³²

As it turns out, every single character featured in *Sapphô* is associated with classical courtesans in some way. The array of women portrayed in this satirical work range from fictional courtesans to historical courtesans and all are united under Sapphô, Lysistrata-like in her ability to unify these sexually aware women and sexually curious men from all over the fantastical ancient world.

As for the music, which remains missing, a look at another Barde and Cuvillier collaboration offers an example of the ways in which these authors fashioned music and satire under the tunics of ancient Greek courtesans. Their operetta, *Lais, ou la Courtisane Amoureuse* (first presented in 1907 at the Théâtre des Capucines in Paris under the title *Son Petit Frère* and expanded to three acts in 1912, and performed in London in the late 1910s and again in Paris in 1929),³³ consists of light songs and ensemble pieces with catchy popular melodies and simple accompaniments. Music remains merely a vehicle for the presentation of farce, satire, and humor.

SAPPHO'S BOUDOIR: NATALIE BARNEY AND PRIVATE SAPPHIC WRITING AND PERFORMANCES

Faire des fragments.³⁴

The allusions to a sexually licensed Sappho, and particularly the lesbian references to Bilitis would not have slipped by Natalie Clifford Barney, the American heiress who reigned not only as the "Queen of the Amazons", but also as the most vocal proponent of Sappho in queer women's circles in early twentieth-century Paris. As the founder of Paris-Lesbos, her writings and activities demonstrate a lively private Sapphic discourse.

After inheriting the family fortune in 1902, she used her funds to set up her salon first in Neuilly and then at 20 rue Jacob, where she attracted the most fantastically sensationalist gossip. She studied French and Greek, and in 1897 she suggested to two of her lovers that they start their own "Sapphic Circle" dedicated to the love of beauty and sensuality. Other initiates to the circle included courtesans like Liane de Pougy and artists like Colette.

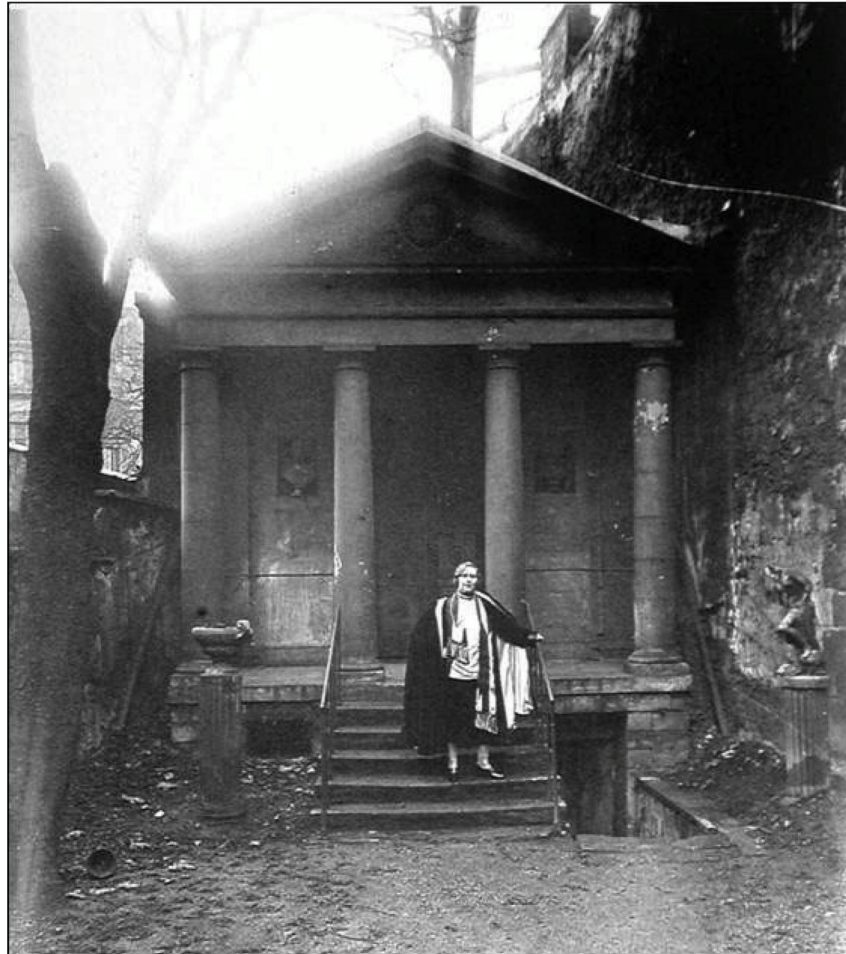


10. Production photo from act II of *Sappho* by André Barde and Michel Carré. *Le Théâtre* 319 (1 April 1912), 22.

Her garden centered on an elaborate Greek-style *Temple of Friendship*, prominently housing a bust of Sappho [fig. 11], where Paris's most elite lesbians gathered to see and to be seen. Dressed in elaborate costumes as ladies and pageboys, or maybe, like the writer Colette, sliding through the garden stark naked, visitors to Barney's home enjoyed a place where many women could express their sexuality freely without fear of persecution or judgment, amidst a bouquet of exotic incense and under the watchful gaze of Sappho's statue.

It was Eva Palmer, Barney's childhood friend and later lover, who introduced her to Sappho's fragments and to the lusciously adorned world of the ancient Greeks. Like other women of letters at this time, Barney learned Greek and poetic forms with private tutors in order to gain the mark of the "intellectual aristocracy", and like Virginia Woolf, she studied Greek in part to recover the works of Sappho from the male academics, inserting a sexual-political reading to the past.

In London, Virginia Woolf studied Sappho's culture in an effort to understand the social conditions that gave women the necessary freedom to function as artists. In Paris, Natalie Barney discovered in Sappho the promise of an alternative lesbian culture, one defined by women themselves rather than by a dominant patriarchy, one that repudiated the view of lesbianism as "sick" and "perverted", its members outcast as "the third sex".³⁵ While Barney's salon was not for all queer women in Paris, it became one of the most important



11. Natalie Barney in front of her *temple à l'amitié* at 20 rue Jacob in Paris (ca. 1940).

meeting places for the burgeoning lesbian culture of Paris in the early years of the twentieth century: and at its center, Sappho herself.

In an oft retold story: Around 1900, Barney, upset over losing her lover Renée Vivien to another woman, sent her good friend, the famous opera star, Emma Calvé dressed as a street singer to serenade Vivien from beneath her window with Orpheus's lament, "J'ai perdu mon Euridice." Jean Chalon, Barney's amanuensis, tells the rest of the story:

Similarly disguised [as a street singer] Natalie [Barney] collected the coins thrown to them. But Renée-Eurydice did not appear. Emma Calvé, who had dazzled American audiences in the role of Carmen, continued her concert with the famous: "Love is the child of Bohemia who has never known any law."³⁶ More susceptible to Bizet than to Gluck, Renée half-opened a window and Natalie threw up her poem [based on Sappho fragment 49],³⁷ attached to a bouquet. The passersby who stopped, recognized Emma Calvé, applauded as she and Natalie ran off.³⁸

This, possibly apocryphal, story, regardless of its veracity, illustrates not only Barney's penchant for Sappho, but also music, and in particular, the story reifies the ancient poet's connections to both the musical and romantic worlds of Barney, her premiere patron in the early years of the twentieth century.

While Barney's interest in Sappho has been well documented, scant information exists on the role of music within Barney's salon. Photographs and reminiscences about Barney's temple as well as the more



12. A gathering of women including Eva Palmer, Natalie Barney and possible Liane de Pougy in Barney's garden in Neuilly. Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institute Archives, Alice Pike Barney Papers Acc. 96-153, folder 6.193.

formal Friday salons provide the majority of the information. The Sappho worship seems to have begun around 1900, when Barney still resided in Neuilly. A photograph from one of the early performances from around 1905 or 1907 depicts a group of women in Greek costume, hands raised, circling a raised platform holding an unidentified flute player, Penelope Duncan playing harp, and a singer or orator who may be Eva Palmer. The courtesan, Liane de Pougy appears on the far left side of the image looking at the camera, and Natalie Barney is in the center (in white in half-profile) [fig. 12]. Morrill Cody remembers that the two Friday evenings he attended at Barney's home included readings and music as well as champagne, cocktails, and delicious catered hors d'oeuvres.³⁹ Virgil Thompson had *Four Saints in Three Acts* showcased there, she also hosted the premieres of Antheil's *Symphony for Five Instruments* and his first string quartet, as well as featured works by Darius Milhaud and Florent Schmitt in her salon.⁴⁰ In an interview, Barney's longtime housekeeper, Berthe Cleyrergue, contradicts this when asked if there were any concerts at Barney's salon: "No," she replied, "There was never any music. No. Never any music."⁴¹ The discrepancies between chroniclers hint perhaps at a separation of attendees to Barney's home: those who hear music and those who don't. One cannot deny that music played a large role in Barney's life, but "Sapphic" musical performance appears to have remained a private endeavor, heard only by a few select initiates.

Colette discusses one early Greek-inspired performance in Neuilly where she and Eva Palmer dramatized Pierre Louÿs's *Dialogue au soleil couchant* (a simple Arcadian tale of a Greek shepherd, who falls for the beautiful Greek maiden, who at first remains hesitant until she succumbs to the shepherd's voice). In Barney's garden, the aspiring actresses, Palmer as the maiden to Colette's shepherd, performed this homoerotic fantasy adorned in ancient Greek costumes and accompanied by a group of violinists hidden behind a boulder.⁴³

June 1906 saw the production of Barney's *Équivoque*, again featuring Colette and Eva Palmer, this time focusing on the love between Sappho and a bride-to-be who abandons Sappho for marriage. "Within a circle of columns on the lawn stood a five-foot wrought-iron brazier wafting incense toward the audience. The

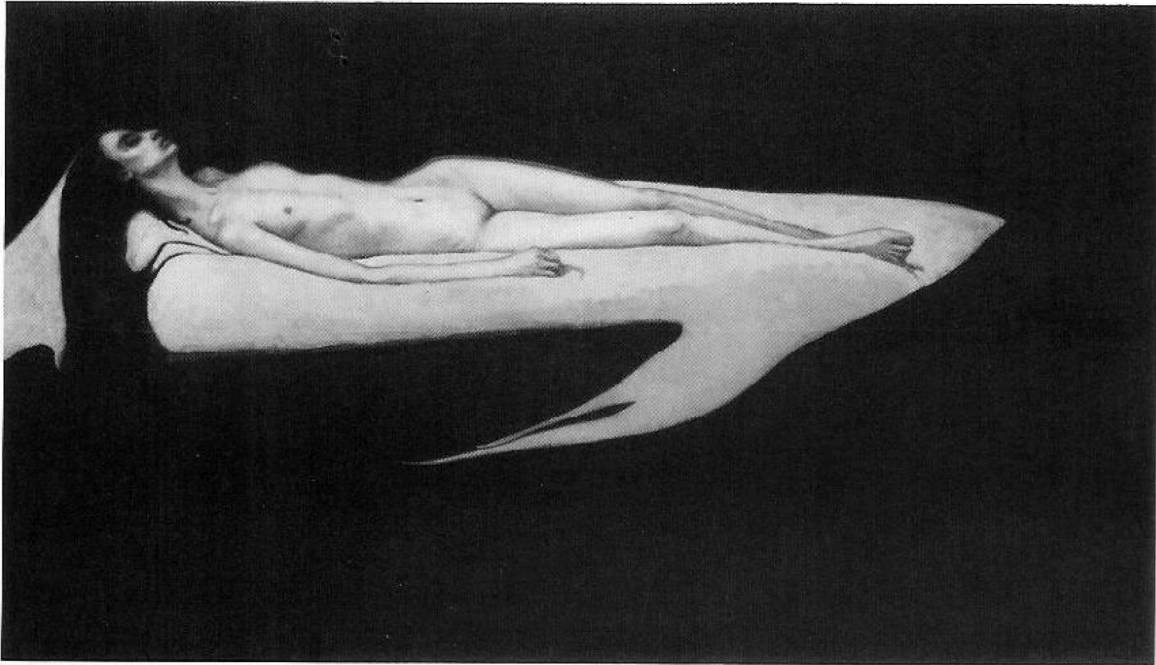


13. Eva Palmer and Penelope Duncan performing *Équivoque* in Natalie Barney's backyard in Neuilly (ca. 1906). Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institute Archives, Alice Pike Barney Papers Acc. 96-153, folder 6.76.

barefoot or sandaled actresses, clad in gauzy white floor-length Greek robes, danced to Aeolean harp music and traditional songs performed by Raymond Duncan and his Greek wife, Penelope.⁴³ The surviving photographs from this event depict the dancer with her Greek harpist (Penelope Duncan) standing near a short classical pedestal holding a tiny statue, both women draped in ancient Greek costume [fig. 13]. Eva's distant gaze and Penelope's focused attention seem to evoke Orphic overtones with the iconic harp adding support to this reading. The resulting image weaves the loss associated with the partial fragmented oeuvre of Sappho's poetry with the loss of the beloved Eurydice, which mirrors the plot of *Équivoque* – the bride-to-be who abandons Sappho for marriage.

While “performed” music featured a small (or in some accounts non-existent role) in the semi-private salon, music featured prominently in the private and poetic worlds of Barney and the women of her Sapphic salon. Renée Vivien's *Sonnet féminine* is just one example of the poet's fixation on the powers of music wedded to a discourse of loss and the past under the umbrella of Sapphic reflection.⁴⁴

Ta voix a la langueur des lyres lesbiennes,
L'anxiété des chants et des odes saphiques,
Et tu sais le secret d'accablantes musiques,
Où pleure le soupir d'unions anciennes.



14. Romaine Brooks, *Le Trajet* (1911). National Museum of American Art, Washington, D.C.

Les Aèdes fervents et les Musiciennes
T'enseignèrent l'ampleur des strophes érotiques
Et la gravité des lapidaires distiques.
Jadis tu contempas les nudités païennes.

Tu sembles écouter l'écho des harmonies
Mortes ; bleus de ce bleu des clartés infinies,
Tes yeux ont le reflet du ciel de Mytilène.

Les fleurs ont parfumé tes étranges mains creuses ;
De ton corps monte, ainsi qu'une légère haleine,
La blanche volupté des vierges amoureuses.

In writing, Barney and her companions used nostalgia and the past to express a general sense of loss as desire (and desire as loss). The conflation of sexual desire and a lost past is best exhibited in Barney's poem, *Je me souviens* (I remember), written in 1904 for Renée Vivien and presented to her in a beautiful handwritten copy at the 1904 Bayreuth festival. As a devout Wagnerite (Barney was a frequent attendee at Bayreuth), her choice of venue for the gift to Renée Vivien inflects the extended poems' desire and nostalgia with Wagnerian overtones of decadence.⁴⁵ Disapproving of the clichés of grand opera, Barney found truth in Wagnerism, and used Bayreuth as a venue for amorous as well as philosophical activities. Deeply affected as she was by *Lohengrin* and *Tannhäuser* from her first visit, return trips proved to deepen her beliefs.⁴⁶ Another, almost Tristan-esque, declamation in *Éparpillements* hints at the source of her attachment to Wagner, the psychological drama, the suffering, pain and wonderfully prolonged enjoyment: "Accepter simplement la souffrance — et toutes ses joies."⁴⁷

The unity of loss, desire, and Sappho's Greece become clear in another anecdote retold in Jean Chalon's biography of Barney. In wooing Renée Vivien, Barney often sent gifts attached to poetry in hopes of winning Vivien's heart and mind. After their first sexual encounter, Barney had to sneak back home so her family would not know that she spent the night in another woman's bedroom. Chalon narrates the rest of the story:



15. Natalie Barney. Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institute Archives, Alice Pike Barney Papers Acc. 96-153, folder 6.75.

That very day, Natalie had an antique flute delivered to Renée. Renée answered by a telegram:

How I love the silent music of this old flute. And thank you for the pretty thought that made you send this harmonious gift. I'll listen to the dormant memories that it contains. And I'll think tenderly of you. Until Tuesday evening.

Flowers, together with this card, followed close upon the telegram:

These flowers are not to adorn you, dear little one, for that would be futile, but so that you may have something of me on your person today.⁴⁸

Barney's gift and Vivien's reply invoke not only Greece and sexual desire but most strikingly Sappho's poetry. The encounter itself is a paraphrase of Sappho fr. 118: "yes! Radiant lyre speak to me / become a voice."⁴⁹ The corpus of musical references to Barney and her salon – the plays, the poems, the dances, the gifts – paint a community devoted to developing a separate Sappho – a fragmented Sappho – set apart from her nineteenth-century sisters, a Sappho with the Hellenistic nobility of Gounod and the decadent adventure of Pierre Louÿs.

When Barney instructed her readers to "make fragments" in 1910, what did she have in mind?⁵⁰ Was this a plea to construct incomplete works, or to deconstruct complete ones? In Barney's art it seems that fragments – of narrative, of poetry, and even of images – were of prized importance. In her Sapphic inspired plays, her romantic escapades, and her poetry, the fragments of Sappho poke out of the fabric. For Barney, fragments might be a metaphor for loss as they were for her lover the artist Romaine Brooks. In *La Trajet* (1911), her painting of a corpse-like Ida Rubinstein, the anemic nude subject becomes an object of desire [fig. 14]. Bram Dijkstra writes:

Brooks' painting becomes not a critique of the turn-of-the-century's victimization of woman as passive object but an emotionally charged expression of the manner in which women attempted to transform their passive position in this society as manipulated objects into the illusion of an active participation in their domination through a supposedly self-elected ideal of physical individualism and consumptive fragility. To Brooks and to the viewer, her subject, Ida Rubinstein, is an object of desire because she represents an inverted ideal of personal control. The hollow eyes and the anorexic emaciation were well-known and well-publicized features of Rubinstein's dramatic personality.⁵¹

Similarly, Barney manipulated her own image to transform a photograph of a passive dancer into an act of Sapphic poetry – a photographic fragment. Natalie Barney truly made a fragment by mercilessly tearing and cutting away the other dancers in this image with scissors [fig. 15]. Like the lines of Sappho, the image tells only a portion of the story, begging for its missing piece, inviting the viewer or the scholar to fill in the rest of the frame. Whose hand does she hold? What else is there? As Naomi Schor writes concerning the *cartes postales* of Paris ca. 1900:

[W]hat we have here is [...] a fragment of past Parisian life. The postcards we hold in our hands and file away in our albums are the same cards as those we can see represented on postcards of postcard displays [...]; they create, however tenuously, some sort of direct link between the viewer and the viewed. The complex and shifting reality that was Paris at the turn of the century is here reduced to a series of discrete units that can be easily manipulated and readily consumed.⁵²

A fragment of a fragment, Barney's image, like the old post card and the painting of the corpse-like Rubinstein, simultaneously channels the desire of loss through the willful manipulation of the remnants of the past.

SAPPHO REDUX. In situating the past in the present, historical and adaptive literary/dramatic methods can be scene as almost synonymous. Walter Benjamin made the comparison in 1940:

If one looks upon history as text, then one can say of it what a recent author has said of literary texts – namely, that the past has left in them images comparable to those registered by a light-sensitive plate. 'The future alone possesses developers strong enough to reveal the image in all its details....' The historical method is a philological method based on the book of life.⁵³

Benjamin notes the process of "developing" the past in the future and of the historian as a "reader" of history. The metaphor of the artist (photographer) reading history and developing it into a photograph of the past and the multiplicity of developing techniques (histories) to create a panoply panorama of images from the same negative is exactly the metaphor we need to uncover the myriad representations of Sappho in Parisian musical culture. Each production exists almost exclusively as images and mostly photographs.

But what of the role of the elusive author Sappho (the original subject) in the rewriting and redeveloping of what remains of the tattered negatives of her life and work? The tendency to conflate her life and her poetry has always been strong, and for good reason perhaps. As Roland Barthes describes, the author does "come back" in her text:

It is not that the Author may not "come back" in the Text, in [her] text, but [s]he then does so as a "guest". If [s]he is a novelist, [s]he is inscribed in the novel like one of [her] characters, figured in the carpet; no longer privileged, paternal, aletheological, [her] inscription is ludic. [She] becomes, as it were, a paper-author: [her] life is no longer the origin of [her] fictions but a fiction contributing to [her] work; there is a reversion of the work on to the life (and no longer the contrary); it is the work of Proust, of Genet which allows their lives to be read as a text. The word "bio-graphy" re-acquires a strong, etymological sense, at the same time as the sincerity of the enunciation – veritable 'cross' borne by literary morality – becomes a false problem: the *I* which writes the text, it too, is never more than a paper.⁵⁴

Sappho, the real historical Sappho, has certainly been lost, and the remnants of her have fallen victim to her own incomplete texts, her own mythologies.

When we look at what remains (which scraps of poetry survive the millennia of reception) we find that Sappho's contemporaries saved the most critical, the most splendid, the most impressionable lines, stanzas and phrases from her oeuvre for time immemorial. Similarly, this foray into Sapphic fantasies and myths of fin-de-siècle Paris demonstrates that despite our disciplinary biases, the visual – the clothing, the sets, the photos of parties – remain the dominant element of these productions from the last century. In the end, musical culture played second (or third) fiddle to the visual realm, and only through interdisciplinary research can we enlighten the musical discourse with these splendid productions.

Example 1. Charles Gounod, *Sapho*, act II, entrance of Glycère (1884 version). Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Mus 175 (folder 4).

The musical score is arranged in a standard orchestral format. The instruments and their parts are as follows:

- Bassoons:** Play sustained notes with dynamics *fp*, *p*, *fp*, *p*, and *fp*.
- Horn in E:** Play sustained notes with dynamics *fp*, *p*, *fp*, *p*, and *fp*.
- Horn in D:** Play sustained notes with dynamics *fp*, *p*, *fp*, *p*, and *fp*.
- Cymbals:** Play a steady rhythm of eighth notes with dynamic *p*.
- Triangle:** Play a steady rhythm of eighth notes with dynamic *p*.
- Harp:** Play sustained chords with dynamics *f* and *p*.
- Violin I and II:** Play sustained chords with dynamics *ff*, *decres.*, *p*, *fp*, and *fp*.
- Viola:** Play sustained chords with dynamics *ff*, *decres.*, *p*, *fp*, and *fp*.
- Glycère:** Soprano part with lyrics: "Les Cym - ba - les et les ci - thares__ font é - cla - ter ma hon - te dans les".
- Pythéas:** Bass part, mostly silent.
- Violoncello and Contrabass:** Play sustained chords with dynamics *ff*, *p*, and *fp*.

Fl. *cresc.* *f*

Ob.

Cl. *cresc.* *f*

Bsn. *cresc.* *f*

E Hn. *cresc.* *f*

D Hn.

Cym.

Tri.

Hp. *p* *cresc.* *f*

Vln. I *cresc.* *f* *ff*

Vln. II *cresc.* *f*

Vla. *cresc.* *f*

Glycère
airs En joy-eus - e fan - far - res De mes yeux à Pha-on

Vc. *cresc.* *f* *ff*

Cb. *cresc.* *f* *ff*

NOTES

- ¹ Sappho, *If not, Winter: Fragments of Sappho*, translated by Anne Carson (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 240-241.
- ² Joan DeJean, *Fictions of Sappho, 1546-1937* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), 1.
- ³ Margaret Reynolds, ed., *The Sappho Companion* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 71.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, 73.
- ⁵ DeJean, *Fictions of Sappho*, 93. For more on seventeenth-century French literary reincarnations of Sappho, see chapter one.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, 119-120.
- ⁷ Reynolds, *The Sappho Companion*, 195-196.
- ⁸ See Jacqueline Letzter, "Making a Spectacle of Oneself: French Revolutionary Opera by Women", *Cambridge Opera Journal* XI/3 (November 1999), 215-232; Jacqueline Letzter and Robert Adelson, *Women Writing Opera: Creativity and Controversy in the Age of the French Revolution* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 2001), 100-104; as well as David Charlton, "The Tragic Seascape: Sappho and its 12-Note Chord", *Jahrbuch für Opernforschung* I (1985), 46-72.
- ⁹ This "revolutionary" Sappho had appeared before at the premier in Naples of Giovanni Pacini and Salvatore Cammarano's 1840 opera *Saffo*. In Pacini's version, Saffo competes at a similar poetry contest to challenge the authoritarian rule of the priests of Apollo. Her oratory tries to incite the people to rebel against the cruel tradition of the sacrificial leap from the rock of Leucas. This blasphemy angers the Leucadian priest Alcandros who seeks vengeance, and has his daughter, Clymene, force Saffo's lover, Phaon to marry her. When Saffo discovers Alcandros' plan, she sneaks into the wedding where she becomes so enraged that she topples the altar. Her punishment is to take the same Leucadian leap she protested against in the opening. Remorseful for her blasphemy at the wedding, like Gounod's Sappho, she is resolute in accepting her fate even when her true identity as Alcandros's long lost daughter is revealed. This daring, confrontational, and at times, unruly Sappho is certainly a revolutionary. She stands up to authority and injustice like Gounod's Sappho and the two share the (albeit posthumous) glory of martyrdom.
- ¹⁰ Joseph Bennett, "Some Recent Music in Paris", *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* XXV/495 (1 May 1884), 254.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, 254.
- ¹² In addition to the decadence of Wagnerism there existed a distinctly "queer" Wagnerian reception as well. See Mitchell Morris, "Tristan's Wounds: On Homosexual Wagnerians at the Fin de Siècle", *Queer Episodes in Music and Modern Identity*, edited by Sophie Fuller and Lloyd Whitsell (Urbana; Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 271-291.
- ¹³ Many of these additions currently reside at Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Mus 175, others are housed at the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, the Stiftelsen Musikkulturens Främjande in Stockholm, and the New York Public Library. See Steven Huebner, *The Operas of Charles Gounod* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 190.
- ¹⁴ From act II, scene 4.
- ¹⁵ See Huebner, *The Operas of Charles Gounod*, 187 and 190.
- ¹⁶ Joan DeJean posits that the changing orthography of "Sappho" in French scholarship from "Sapho" to "Sapphô" seems to coincide with a "tolerance of sexual diversity" as twentieth century scholars begin to accept the possibility of the poet's non-heteronormative sexual life. See DeJean, *Fictions of Sappho*, 56.
- ¹⁷ "You might have guessed that the work has no relation with that of Alphonse Daudet, this is the ancient poet, inexorable, as we know, to the desires of men. The authors have taken us through—if I may say so—a crisis of curiosity in love and justifiably impatient, after the drunken orgy, to taste the joys revealed." Étienne Roubier, "Aux Capucines, Sapphô, Opérette en deux actes, de MM. André Barde et Michel Carré, Musique de M. Charles Cuvillier", *Le Théâtre* 319 (1 April 1912), 22.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 22.
- ¹⁹ « MM. André Barde et Michel Carré ont dépensé dans le dialogue de cet amusant imbroglio la plus copieuse belle humeur; les sous-entendus d'actualité, les allusions piquantes émaillent le texte de cette parodie pimentée. » *Ibid.*, 24.
- ²⁰ The Théâtre aux Capucines where most of Cuvillier's operettas premiered no longer exists at 39 boulevard des Capucines. The venue was small without an orchestra pit and works were performed often with one or two pianos and no more than six actors on stage at a time.
- ²¹ See Bram Dijkstra, "Women of Moonlight and Wax: The Mirror of Venus and the Lesbian Glass", *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in fin-de-siècle Culture* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 147-159.
- ²² Harry Thurston Peck, *Harpers Dictionary of Classical Antiquities* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1898), 990.
- ²³ Plato, however cites Lysias as paradigmatic but utterly flawed. See Plato, *Phaedrus* 230-234.
- ²⁴ See B.L. Ullman, "Some Type-Names on the Odes of Horace", *The Classical Quarterly* IX/1 (January 1915), 27-30; J.P. Postgate, "Albius and Tibullus", *The American Journal of Philology* XXXIII/4 (1912), 451-452; and B.L. Ullman, "Rejoinder to Mr. Postgate", *The American Journal of Philology* XXXIII/4 (1912), 457-458.
- ²⁵ Horace, *The Odes and Carmen Saeculare of Horace*, transl. by John Conington (London: George Bell and Sons, 1882), vol. 1, 19.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 33.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, 19.
- ²⁸ See Peck, *Harpers Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*, 970.
- ²⁹ Lucian, *The Works of Lucian of Samosata*, translated by H.W. Fowler and F.G. Fowler, 4 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, [1905]), vol. 4, 69-70.
- ³⁰ See David Konstan, "Between Courtesan and Wife: Menander's *Perikeiromene*", *Phoenix* 41/2 (summer 1989), 122-139.
- ³¹ Paraphrasing both Plutarch (*X Orat.* 894d-e) and Athenaeus (13.590d-e). See Craig Cooper, "Hyperides and the Trial of Phryne", *Phoenix* XLIX/4 (winter 1995), 304-310.
- ³² Pierre Louÿs, *Les Chansons de Bilitis, Lithographies originales de Jacques Daniel* (Paris: le club français du livre, 1957), 95-96; Pierre Louÿs, *The Songs of Bilitis*, English version by Alvah C. Bessie, illus. by Willy Pogany (repr. ed., 1926, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1988), 83.
- ³³ To expand the work, Cuvillier added a first act, as well as a song before the ballet of the third act. Other than these additions the rest of the music remains identical to the 1907 version.
- ³⁴ Natalie Clifford Barney, *Éparpilléments* (Paris: E. Sansot, 1910), 60.
- ³⁵ Shari Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank: Paris, 1900-1940* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), 281.

³⁶ "L'amour est un oiseau rebelle" from Bizet's *Carmen*.

³⁷ Sappho fragment 49 reads: "I loved you, Atthis, once long ago / a little child you seemed to me and graceless." Sappho, *If not, Winter: Fragments of Sappho*, trans. by Anne Carson (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), 103.

³⁸ Jean Chalon, *Portrait of a Seductress: The World of Natalie Barney*, trans. by Carol Burko (New York: Crown Publishers, 1979), 76-77.

³⁹ Morrill Cody with Hugh Ford, *The Women of Montparnasse* (New York; London: Cornwell Books, 1984), 135-136.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 135; and Suzanne Rodriguez, *Wild Heart: Natalie Clifford Barney's Journey from Victorian America to the Literary Salons of Paris* (New York: Ecco, 2002), 249-250.

⁴¹ Gloria Feman Orenstein and Berthe Cleyrergue, "The Salon of Natalie Clifford Barney: An Interview with Berthe Cleyrergue", *Signs* IV/3 (spring 1979), 488.

⁴² Rodriguez, *Wild Heart*, 155; Colette, *Mes apprentissages, Trois Six Neuf, Discours de Réception à l'Académie Royale Belge. Œuvres complètes* (Genève: Éditions de Crémille, 1970), 158.

⁴³ Rodriguez, *Wild Heart*, 157.

⁴⁴ See Martha Vicinus, "The Adolescent Boy: Fin de Siècle Femme Fatale?" *Journal of the History of Sexuality* V/1 (July 1994), 104-105.

⁴⁵ Barney's preference for Wagner stands highlighted

against her condemnation of the plots of Grand Opera. She writes: "Un Russe lui écrit des lettres comme des libretti de grand opéra. Les femmes aiment toujours les clichés rassurants de ceux qui savent ne pas les troubler par une personnalité autre que celle de l'amant coutumier. C'est peut-être leur manière de lui être fidèle?" Barney, *Éparpillements*, 36.

⁴⁶ See Rodriguez, *Wild at Heart*, 68 and 164-165. Barney did however, have some misgivings about Bayreuth when she wrote: "A Bayreuth. — Musique gigantesque — mais il est permis de ne pas aimer le gigantesque." *Ibid.*, 40.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁴⁸ Chalon, *Portrait of a Seductress*, 61.

⁴⁹ Sappho, *If not, Winter: Fragments of Sappho*, 240-241.

⁵⁰ Barney, *Éparpillements*, 60.

⁵¹ Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity*, 53.

⁵² Naomi Schor, "Cartes Postales: Reprising Paris 1900", *Critical Inquiry* XVIII/2 (winter 1992), 237.

⁵³ Walter Benjamin, "Paralipomena to 'On the Concept of History'", *Selected Writings, IV: 1938-1940*, ed. by Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003), 405.

⁵⁴ Roland Barthes, "From Work to Text", *Image, Music, Text*, trans. by Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 161.