

Theater Music in France, 1864-1914

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## ABSTRACT

PETER LAMOTHE: Theater Music in France, 1864-1914  
(Under the direction of Annegret Fauser)

Incidental music served as a major outlet for composers during the latter half of the nineteenth century and the start of the twentieth century. Over three hundred and fifty premières and dozens of major revivals of older works took place during the fifty-year span of this study. Composers who contributed incidental music included Bizet, Bruneau, Chausson, Debussy, Delibes, Fauré, Gounod, Massenet, Pierné, Saint-Saëns, and many other less celebrated composers.

This study examines the nature and significance of this oft-neglected genre. The topic is approached through five case studies meant to provide various cross-sections of noteworthy aspects of the genre over this fifty-year span. The approach to the case studies is twofold: through studies of the institutions which produced the most incidental music during this period, and through three productions which provide a variety of approaches with regard to their dates, theaters, compositional styles, and their respective places in their composers' careers. The Comédie-Française is examined across this fifty-year time, with particular regard to the contributions made by Léo Delibes and by Laurent Léon, the orchestral director of the theater from 1871-1913. The Théâtre de l'Odéon (1884-1892) and the Grand-Théâtre (1892-1893) are studied during the directorships of Paul Porel, the director who was responsible for reviving Bizet's *L'Arlésienne* after its thirteen-year slumber. Examinations of Jules Massenet's music for the tragedy *Les Érinnyes* (1873/1876), Claude Terrasse's music

for the farce *Ubu roi* (1896), and Claude Debussy's music for the mystery play *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien* (1911) impart varied insights into the range of musical styles present, into the interactions between theater and music, into the nature of the genre, and into the roles which incidental music played in the careers of composers. The breadth and depth of the genre is indicated by an appendix which lists the major premières and revivals of incidental scores from the years 1864-1914, with some coverage of the years before and after the period.

## DEDICATION

To Ginny, whose love and encouragement have meant so much through this long process.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	1
THE <i>LIBERTÉ DES THÉÂTRES</i> OF 1864 AND THE MOBILIZATION OF 1914.....	4
THE RECENT RISE OF STUDIES OF INCIDENTAL MUSIC.....	6
DIFFICULTIES IN RESEARCHING PRODUCTIONS OF INCIDENTAL MUSIC.....	11
THE NATURE OF INCIDENTAL MUSIC IN FRANCE, 1864-1914.....	12
1. MUSIC AT THE COMÉDIE-FRANÇAISE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.....	19
LÉO DELIBES, ÉMILE PERRIN AND THE COMÉDIE- FRANÇAISE.....	30
THE DIFFICULT LIFE OF A MUSICIAN AT THE COMÉDIE- FRANÇAISE.....	41
CONCLUSION.....	53
2. INCIDENTAL MUSIC AND THE DIRECTORSHIPS OF PAUL POREL AT THE THÉÂTRE DE L'ODÉON (1884-92) AND GRAND-THÉÂTRE (1892-93).....	59
POREL'S RISE TO THE DIRECTORSHIP.....	60
THE REVIVAL OF <i>L'ARLÉSIENNE</i> .....	68
POREL'S GROWING PROGRAM.....	90
FROM INCIDENTAL MUSIC TO OPERA: POREL AFTER THE ODÉON.....	101
3. MASSENET'S <i>LES ÉRINNYES</i> : FROM THEATER TO OPERA STAGE.....	111
THE 1873 PRODUCTION AT THE THÉÂTRE DE L'ODÉON.....	114



	THE 1873 SCORE.....	126
	THE 1876 REVIVAL AT THE THÉÂTRE-NATIONAL-LYRIQUE.....	135
	THE 1876 SCORE.....	144
	THE 1889 REVIVAL.....	151
	LES ÉRINNYES IN ORANGE.....	157
	THE CHANGING AESTHETICS OF MUSICAL ARCHAISM.....	162
	CONCLUSION.....	167
4.	THE MUSIC OF <i>UBU ROI</i> : TERRASSE’S PARALLEL WORLD OF ABSURDITY.....	169
	CLAUDE TERRASSE.....	180
	THE RECEPTION OF THE PREMIÈRE.....	187
	TERRASSE’S SCORE.....	192
5.	“QUITE FAR FROM THAT STATE OF GRACE:” DEBUSSY’S <i>LE MARTYRE DE SAINT SÉBASTIEN</i> AS INCIDENTAL MUSIC.....	207
	THE SUBSTANTIAL NATURE OF DEBUSSY’S CONTRIBUTION TO <i>LE MARTYRE</i> .....	215
	A CONTEXTUALIZATION OF THE ROLE OF DANCE IN <i>LE MARTYRE</i> .....	219
	MUSICAL SIGNIFIERS IN <i>LE MARTYRE</i> .....	223
	CONCLUSION.....	239
APPENDIX I:	LETTERS FROM LÉO DELIBES TO ÉMILE PERRIN AT THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE-MUSÉE DE LA COMÉDIE-FRANÇAISE.....	242
APPENDIX II:	LETTERS OF LAURENT-MARIUS LÉON, <i>DIT</i> LAURENT LÉON, AT THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE-MUSÉE DE LA COMÉDIE- FRANÇAISE.....	258
APPENDIX III:	A BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF THE PRODUCTIONS OF <i>L’ARLÉSIENNE</i> .....	268

APPENDIX IV:	LONGER CITATIONS ON <i>UBU ROI</i> .....	269
APPENDIX V:	FRENCH INCIDENTAL WORKS PREMIÈRED OR REVIVED BETWEEN 1864 AND 1914.....	272
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....		416

## LIST OF TABLES

Table	1.1.	Orchestral Directors at the Comédie-Française, 1766-1922.....	23
	1.2.	<i>Administrateurs Général</i> of the Comédie-Française, 1850-1913.....	24
	1.3.	Incidental Scores by Léo Delibes at the Comédie-Française.....	30
	1.4.	Incidental Scores at the Comédie-Française, 1832-1914.....	55
	2.1.	Directors of the Théâtre de l'Odéon.....	62
	2.2.	Orchestrations of <i>L'Arlésienne</i> in 1872 and 1885.....	71
	2.3.	Incidental Scores at the Odéon under the Administration of Paul Porel, 1882-1892.....	93
	2.4.	Incidental Scores at the Théâtre de la Porte-Saint-Martin, 1882-1892.....	96
	2.5.	Incidental Scores at the Comédie-Française, 1882-1892.....	98
	2.6.	Performances at the Grand-Théâtre under the Administration of Paul Porel, 1892-1893.....	106
	2.7.	Performances at the Théâtre du Vaudeville under the Administration of Paul Porel, 1893-1914.....	110
	3.1.	The Incidental Music of Jules Massenet.....	113
	3.2.	The 1873 Score of <i>Les Érinnyes</i> .....	127
	3.3.	Concordance of the 1873 and 1876 Scores of <i>Les Érinnyes</i> .....	145
	3.4.	Uses of <i>Mélodrame</i> within the Movements of <i>Les Érinnyes</i> .....	147
	3.5.	Revivals of <i>Les Érinnyes</i> (between 1873 and 1941).....	156
	4.1.	Outline of the Overture of <i>Ubu roi</i> .....	199
	5.1.	Selected Revisions of the Score for <i>Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien</i> .....	211
	5.2.	Incidental Scores for Plays with Proto-Christian Subjects.....	213
	5.3.	Incidental Scores for Plays with Settings in Antiquity.....	214

5.4.	Movements Required in Debussy's Contract for <i>Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien</i> .....	216
5.5.	Marginal References to Debussy's Music in the June 1911 Edition of <i>Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien</i> .....	217
5.6.	Synopsis of Movements in Debussy's <i>Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien</i> .....	218
5.7.	Synopsis of Movements in Thomé's score for <i>Quo vadis</i> .....	224
5.8.	Operas with Proto-Christian Subjects.....	235

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1.	Illustration of <i>L'Arlésienne</i> Tableau IV, Scene iii.....	82
3.1.	Marie Laurent as Klytaimnestra.....	124
3.2.	Prélude, Contrasting Middle Section.....	129
3.3.	Intermède, Tristesse d'Elektra.....	130
3.4.	N° 3, Scène X: Exit convention <i>mélodrame</i> .....	132
3.5.	Invocation d'Elektra.....	134
3.6.	N° 5B. Mélodrame: Motivic Content.....	148
3.7.	Reharmonizations of Repeated Tones, N° 3. Chœur: “Hélas! Hélas!”.....	166
4.1.	The 1896 Program for <i>Ubu roi</i> .....	188
4.2.	The composition of the orchestra for <i>Ubu roi</i> and the list of motives.....	193
4.3.	The Postlude to Act I, scene ii of <i>Ubu roi</i> .....	200
4.4.	Music from Act I, scene iii of <i>Ubu roi</i> .....	201
4.5.	Music from the Conclusion of Act I, scene iii of <i>Ubu roi</i> .....	202
4.6.	Music from Act V, scene iv of <i>Ubu roi</i> .....	202
5.1.	<i>Quo vadis?</i> Ouverture, mm. 1-16.....	226
5.2.	<i>Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien</i> , I. La Cour des Lys, No. 1: Prélude, mm. 1-13.....	227
5.3.	<i>Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien</i> , I. La Cour des Lys, No. 1: Prélude, mm. 31-2.....	228
5.4.	<i>Quo vadis?</i> , Ouverture, Allegro: mm. 17-22.....	229
5.5.	<i>Quo vadis?</i> , Tableau 2, “Le Combat,” mm. 7-8.....	229
5.6.	<i>Quo vadis?</i> , Tableau 2, no. 4, “Musique de fête,” mm. 53-57.....	230
5.7.	<i>Quo vadis?</i> , Tableau 3, “Scène de baiser d'Eunice,” mm. 18-21.....	230

5.8.	<i>Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien</i> , I. La Cour des Lys, No. 1: Prélude, mm. 35-6.....	231
5.9.	<i>Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien</i> , I. La Cour des Lys, No. 2 “Sébastien !,” mm. 5-8.....	231
5.10.	<i>Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien</i> , III. Le Concile des faux dieux, No. 4: “Avez- vous vu celui qui j’aime?” mm. 54-57.....	232
5.11.	<i>Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien</i> , III. Le Concile des faux dieux, No. 4: “Avez- vous vu celui qui j’aime ?” mm. 62-5.....	232
5.12.	<i>Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien</i> , III. Le Concile des faux dieux, No. 6: “Io! Io! Adonastes!” mm. 18-21.....	232
5.13.	<i>Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien</i> , I. La Cour des Lys, No. 2: “Sébastien!” mm. 27-30.....	234

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations have been used in reference to the call numbers of manuscripts and printed scores and plays at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bibliothèque-Musée de la Comédie-Française, and the Archives nationales:

AN = Archives nationales

BnF-ASP = Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Arts du Spectacle

BnF-Mus = Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la Musique

BnF-Ope = Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bibliothèque-musée de l'Opéra

BnF-Rich = Bibliothèque nationale de France, site Richelieu

BnF-Tolbiac = Bibliothèque nationale de France, site François Mitterand

C-F = Bibliothèque-musée de la Comédie-Française

## INTRODUCTION

Few musical genres were so omni-present in French theatrical entertainment as incidental music. Its tradition reaches back at least to the seventeenth century with Jean-Baptiste Lully (who wrote music for the plays of Molière and Corneille). By the mid-nineteenth century, the genre had reached new heights because of changes in theater laws, print technology, distribution mechanisms and concert life. Some 347 incidental scores premiered or were given major revivals between 1864 and 1914. Such composers as Charles Gounod, Georges Bizet, Camille Saint-Saëns, Jules Massenet, Gabriel Fauré and Claude Debussy each contributed major scores to the genre. Among the best-known incidental scores are Bizet's music for *L'Arlesienne* and Debussy's *Martyre de Saint Sébastien*. Some composers such as Saint-Saëns and Massenet were habitual contributors, each supplying sixteen incidental scores over the course of their careers. And the breadth of activity is noteworthy: some 156 composers produced incidental music on 97 stages in France and Monte-Carlo, with the vast majority of productions taking place on Parisian stages.

Indeed, incidental music was present in late nineteenth-century French theater in ways that can perhaps best be compared to film music in today's cinema. Furthermore, opera—which in the form of *grand opéra* had developed once more into the most prestigious form of public spectacle during the 1830s—had fallen into a deep crisis by the



mid-1850s on account of intrinsic generic problems. From the 1860s onward, the challenges of the German music dramas of Richard Wagner added to the predicament of the genre. Alternatives to traditional opera were increasingly located within hybrid works that often—as in the case of *Ubu roi* and *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien*—drew on traditions of incidental music. But while opera in France has justly received considerable scholarly attention over the years, its music-theatrical sibling, incidental music, has yet to be explored in musicological research. Although some studies explore incidental music in the age of Lully or in the twentieth century, comparatively little effort has gone into understanding either the genre or its importance in France during this period which straddles the Second Empire and Third Republic.

Given the large numbers of incidental works with musical scores in France between 1864 and 1914 (nearly 350 works), the study of music for plays illustrates a number of important trends in greater detail than the study of the 158 new operas produced in France, Belgium and Monaco during the same period.<sup>1</sup> Issues of the politics of music in a highly bureaucratic and centralized nation, the interaction of musical and literary styles, the use of musical topoi, and the background of how theater administrations interacted with music all are amplified in the context of the greater number of works to be examined in French incidental music of the era. Composers' biographies and our understanding of such major works as Debussy's *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien* and Bizet's *L'Arlésienne* are also revised through the larger context of scores for plays. For example, puzzling works such as *Le Martyre* are shown to be quite decipherable when related to other works of the same genre, as its danced sections are

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<sup>1</sup> This figure is based upon Alfred Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera 1597-1940*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1978).

less unusual than we have been led to believe. Moreover, music for plays often played an integral role in the reception of the dramas, shaping perceptions of the works by providing a sort of running commentary on the verbal and visual presentations (as in the case of Claude Terrasse's music for *Ubu roi*).

As with the English term "incidental music," the French term *musique de scène* embraces several related meanings simultaneously. Some authors define it as all forms of music which occur during a staged work outside of song and dance, such as overtures, entr'actes and music which accompanies staged action, thus including music during operas and ballets as well as spoken drama. As Arthur Pougin defined the term in his *Dictionnaire historique et pittoresque du théâtre*,

One gives this name to all music not destined to be sung or danced, but to accompany, to support, to underline the scenic action... Above all, one uses incidental music in drama... In the theater, all is convention, and this one is perhaps, without one actually realizing, one of the most strange and nevertheless one of the most useful in existence.<sup>2</sup>

More specifically, however, the term was used to refer to music meant to accompany spoken dramas, whether it was instrumental music or a song or dance interpolated into the drama. This study is concerned with incidental music in this latter sense of any form of music which intercedes in a comedy, tragedy, drama or other spoken play. As we will see, such incidental music took on a wide variety of forms.

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<sup>2</sup> "On donne ce nom à toute musique destinée non à être chantée ou dansée, mais à accompagner, à soutenir, à souligner l'action scénique. ... C'est dans le drame surtout qu'on emploie la musique de scène... Tout est convention au théâtre, et celle-ci est peut-être, sans qu'on s'en rende bien compte, l'une des plus étranges et pourtant des plus utiles qui soient." Arthur Pougin, *Dictionnaire historique et pittoresque du théâtre* (Paris: Firmin-Didot et cie, 1885), 534-35.

## **The *Liberté des Théâtres* of 1864 and the Mobilization of 1914**

An important factor in the growth of the genre of incidental music in France laid in the removal of legislation governing theaters in 1864. While the French Revolution had quickly led to the dismantling of all legislation of theaters through a decree issued on 19 January 1791, Napoléon reintroduced a system of theatrical regulation with an imperial decree of 29 July 1807, limiting the number of theaters in Paris to eight (the Comédie-Française, the Opéra, the Opéra-Comique, the Théâtre de l'Imperatrice (which included a troupe dedicated to Italian opera), the Théâtre du Vaudeville, the Théâtre des Variétés, the Théâtre de la Gaîté and the Théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique).<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, these eight theaters were assigned to produce specific genres, so that there would be no competition between them. Under the Restoration of the Bourbon Monarchy (1814-1830), the restrictions on theaters were relaxed but not abolished, such that new theaters opened with some frequency over the next fifty years.<sup>4</sup> Ironically, it was not until the Second Empire under Napoléon III that the *liberté des théâtres* was achieved once again, in 1864. Over the intervening years, some thirty additional theaters had been opened as exceptions to the 1807 legislation, and in 1864 there were thirty-five theaters operating in Paris. The renewed freedom given theaters had two effects. The first was an explosion in the number of theaters in Paris as a result of entrepreneurial initiative. By 1892, there were at least thirty-six theaters offering the major genres of opera, opera-comique, drama, comedy, tragedy, pantomime, ballet and vaudeville, as well as some twenty-one café-

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<sup>3</sup> See Arthur Pougin, "Liberté des Théâtres," in *Dictionnaire historique et pittoresque du théâtre* (Paris: Firmin-Didot et cie, 1885), 470-74. For a compendium of all the legislation regarding theater passed in France between 1402 and 1872, see Alfred Bouchard, *La Langue théâtrale* (Paris: Arnaud et Labat, 1878), 299-378.

<sup>4</sup> See Pougin, "Théâtres (Les) à Paris," in *Dictionnaire historique et pittoresque du théâtre*, 715-725.

concerts, fifteen private halls in which theatrical performances took place, and three equestrian theaters. By 1894, at least forty-nine theaters offered various forms of theatrical production.<sup>5</sup> Although the four principal theaters of Paris (the Opéra, the Comédie-Française, the Opéra-Comique, and the Théâtre de l'Odéon) were still regulated as to the genres they produced by means of the government subventions they received, other theaters were free to produce whatever works they had the means to support. As a result, the regimented separation of theatrical genres was gradually blurred as entrepreneurial theaters became more experimental in combining music, dance and dramatic productions. While such institutions as the Théâtre Libre and the Théâtre de l'Œuvre were known for their literary exploration and avant-garde productions, other theaters like the Théâtre de la Renaissance, Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt, Théâtre d'Application, and the Théâtre du Châtelet featured the more frequent and adventurous incorporation of incidental music in their dramatic blockbusters.

The start of World War I led to widespread closure of theaters across France, many for as much as nine months continuously. The Comédie-Française, for example, cancelled its matinée scheduled for 2 August, the day of mobilization of the French armed forces. As its director Albert Carré served as a Lieutenant Colonel based in Besançon, the theater was temporarily led by the Comité de Lecture, whose main responsibility was typically to choose new plays for performance at the Comédie. The theater did not reopen until 6 December, after the military governor of Paris approved the reopening of the theaters. Only six performances took place during that month, all taken from the theater's repertory except for a one-scene production based on the repertory

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<sup>5</sup> These figures for 1892 and 1894 are garnered from the theaters discussed in Edouard Noël and Edmond Stoullig's *Les Annales du théâtre et de la musique*, 1892 and 1894 (Paris: Librairie Paul Ollendorff, 1893, 1895).

work *L'Ami Fritz*.<sup>6</sup> Only in January did the theater begin a more regular performance schedule. The Théâtre de l'Odéon fared even more poorly than the Comédie; the first performance of its 1914-1915 season took place on 3 March 1915. Similar closures took place at privately-owned theaters such as the Théâtre de la Renaissance (closed from 2 August 1914 until 20 February 1915) and the Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt (closed from 2 August 1914 until 1 April 1915).<sup>7</sup> The disruptive effect of such closures and of the war, more broadly, on the production and consumption of plays and their music cannot be overstated.

The dates which frame this study have been chosen for their relevance to the theatrical life of Paris in particular, and France more broadly, given the impact of the 1864 legislation on the one hand and the advent of the First World War on the other. Both events altered the landscape of theatrical production in Paris and beyond in such significant ways, that the fifty-year period explored in the present dissertation stands out not only in terms of its theatrical production but also with respect to the political, social and aesthetic aspects characterizing theatrical production in France.

### **The Recent Rise of Studies of Incidental Music**

It is the nature of incidental music that it is often perceived as quite secondary to the play which it accompanies (hence its rather pejorative name in English, compared to the more dignified “stage music” [*musique de scène*] of the French language). Even in dealing with

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<sup>6</sup> These details about the 1914 season of the Comédie-Française are gleaned from Stoullig's *Les Annales du théâtre et de la musique* 1914-1915, 75-78, 107-108.

<sup>7</sup> See Stoullig's *Les Annales du théâtre et de la musique* 1914-1915, 307 (for the Théâtre de la Renaissance) and 321 (for the Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt).

the substantial and decidedly *not* secondary scores of French incidental music near the turn of the twentieth century, such a mindset often leads to this music being overlooked by contemporary theatrical and musical criticism, in official archival documents, and in subsequent articles and monographs on French theater. Such biases force the musicologist to integrate a wide variety of sources in order to create a catalogue of the incidental music performed or revived during this era.

Contemporary studies of the French theater continue to give short shrift to incidental music, when it is mentioned at all. Agnès Pierron's monograph *Le Théâtre, ses métiers, son langage* includes a brief passage on the subject, in which she refers to the golden age of the sung and danced *intermèdes* by Molière working with Lully and Charpentier, then skips over to Bertold Brecht and Paul Dessau's work in the twentieth century.<sup>8</sup> She defines its function as a form of diegetic music: "in any case, [incidental music] must not be illustrative (that makes for redundancy), nor too invasive: good incidental music must not draw attention to itself" (En tout cas, elle ne doit pas être illustrative [« ça fait pléonasme! »], ni trop envahissante: une bonne musique de scène ne doit pas se faire remarquer). This is in complete contrast to the role of many of the scores by French composers in the later nineteenth century, however.<sup>9</sup> Many scores during this period became integral to the performance of the plays and also became staples of the concert repertory as well. A scarcely more nuanced approach is found in Michel Corvin's *Dictionnaire encyclopédique du théâtre*. In transitory passages concerning the history and

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<sup>8</sup> See Agnès Pierron, *Le Théâtre, ses métiers, son langage* (Paris: Hachette, 1994), 72.

<sup>9</sup> Pierron, *Le Théâtre, ses métiers, son langage*, 72.

aesthetics of music and theater, he situates Rousseau as a turning point in the development of stage music between the eras of Molière and Brecht.<sup>10</sup>

Fortunately, studies of incidental music in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been growing. Pierre Menneret's 1974 dissertation "La Musique de scène en France de Napoléon III à Poincaré 1852-1914" opened discussion of incidental music in nineteenth-century France, but has since become dated through the new appearance of a wealth of primary materials not available at the time of his writing.<sup>11</sup> A recent monograph by Catherine Steinegger titled *La Musique à la Comédie-Française de 1921 à 1964: Aspects de l'évolution d'un genre* approaches the genre through the history of the foremost institution of spoken drama in France during the mid-twentieth century.<sup>12</sup> Elinor Nichols Olin's dissertation "*Le Ton et la parole: Melodrama in France, 1871-1913*" broke new ground in understanding the political and cultural impetus for the growth of musical melodrama in France after the Franco-Prussian War.<sup>13</sup> Specifically, she documents the reception of musical melodrama in nineteenth-century France as a distinctly French solution to the problem of combining text and music, with Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Pygmalion* (1770) as the touchstone for such sentiment. The study closes with a helpful list of works for both stage and concert hall, including information on manuscripts and published scores. Jacqueline Waeber's monograph *En Musique dans le*

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<sup>10</sup> Michel Corvin, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique du théâtre*, 2 vols. (Paris: Bordas, 1995), 635-6.

<sup>11</sup> Pierre Menneret, "La Musique de scène en France de Napoleon III à Poincaré 1852-1914" (PhD diss., Conservatoire de Paris, 1973).

<sup>12</sup> Catherine Steinegger, *La Musique à la Comédie-Française de 1921 à 1964: Aspects de l'évolution d'un Genre* (Sprimont, Belgium: Mardaga, 2005).

<sup>13</sup> Elinor Nichols Olin, "*Le Ton et la parole: Melodrama in France, 1871-1913*" (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1991).

*texte: Le mélodrame, de Rousseau à Schoenberg* examines the scope of musical melodrama across France and the Germanic countries, including a comprehensive works list of melodramas from 1770 to the present by European and American composers.<sup>14</sup> Recent work by Elizabeth Paley on narrativity in nineteenth-century German incidental music, as well as work on nineteenth-century English incidental music by Michael Pisani, have raised the profile of the genre from the oblivion to which it had generally slipped in studies of the nineteenth century, outside of the brief discussions found in the biographies of composers such as Mendelssohn, Offenbach and Fauré.<sup>15</sup> The present study will enrich this growing body of literature by exploring the genre from a range of perspectives: the documentary appendix of incidental music offers the first comprehensive overview of the genre, while my musicological interpretation in this dissertation draws on a wider range of recent methodologies to understand the genre in its musical, theatrical and aesthetic aspects.

This study is particularly indebted to the approaches to opera in recent scholarship. The approaches to the genesis, cultural context and significance of opera as seen in the monographs of Hervé Lacombe, Steven Huebner, and Jane Fulcher have innately influenced my conception of this study.<sup>16</sup> The dissertation of Elinor Nichols Olin

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<sup>14</sup> Jacqueline Waeber, *En Musique dans le texte: Le Mélodrame, de Rousseau à Schoenberg* (Paris: Van Dieren, 2005).

<sup>15</sup> See Elizabeth Paley, "Dramatic Stage and Choral Works," in *The Cambridge Companion to Schumann*, ed. Beate Perrey, 195-222 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Paley, "Narratives of 'Incidental' Music in German Romantic Theater" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1998); Paley, "'The Voice Which Was My Music': Narrative and Nonnarrative Musical Discourse in Schumann's 'Manfred,'" *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music* 24 (2000): 3-20; Paley, "Zwischenreden für Zwischenakte: Egmont and the Melodramatic Supplement," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 104 (2005): 79-97; and Michael Pisani, "Music for the Theater," in *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian and Edwardian Theater*, ed. Kerry Powell, 70-92 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

<sup>16</sup> See Hervé Lacombe, *The Keys to French Opera in the Nineteenth Century*, translated by Edward Schneider (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Steven Huebner, *French Opera at the fin de*



on musical melodrama was important to my conception of incidental music within a spectrum of works which incorporated melodrama, including concert pieces. I have also followed closely on the methodology of Katharine Ellis, Jann Pasler, and Annegret Fauser whose work with critical reception influenced my work in drawing upon music and theater critics for an understanding of the roles of incidental music broadly, and certain works specifically, within the context of the theatrical and musical life of Paris.<sup>17</sup> The study of music and institution found in Chapters One (the Comédie-Française) and Two (the Théâtre de l'Odéon) was particularly informed by the work of Mark Everist on the Odéon and the Théâtre de la Renaissance.<sup>18</sup> The research of F.W.J. Hemmings and Jacques Robichez affected my approach to the theatrical side of the productions.<sup>19</sup> Works by Annegret Fauser and Mary Ann Smart shaped my approach to musical topoi and gesture, as did the studies which have become the cornerstones of this literature, by Leonard Ratner, Wye J. Allanbrook and Kofi Agawu.<sup>20</sup>

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siècle: *Wagnerism, Nationalism, and Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); and Jane F. Fulcher, *The Nation's Image: French Grand Opera as Politics and Politicized Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

<sup>17</sup> Katharine Ellis, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France: La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris, 1834-1880* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Jann Pasler, "'Pelléas' and Power: Forces behind the Reception of Debussy's Opera," *19th-Century Music* 10 (1987): 243-264; and Annegret Fauser, "Phantasmagorie im deutschen Wald? Zur Freischütz-Rezeption in London und Paris 1824," in *Deutsche Meister, böse Geister? Nationale Selbstfindung in der Musik*, edited by Hermann Danuser and Herfried Münkler (Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2001), 245-273.

<sup>18</sup> Mark Everist, *Music Drama at the Paris Odéon, 1824-1828* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002) and Everist, "Theatres of Litigation: Stage Music at the Théâtre de la Renaissance, 1838-1840," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 16 (2004): 133-161.

<sup>19</sup> F. W. J. Hemmings, *Theatre and State in France, 1760-1905* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Hemmings, *The Theatre Industry in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Jacques Robichez, *Le Symbolisme au théâtre: Lugné-Poe et les débuts de l'Œuvre* (Paris: L'Arche, 1972).

<sup>20</sup> Annegret Fauser, "Visual Pleasures—Musical Signs: Dance at the Paris Opéra" *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 104 (2005): 99-121; Mary Ann Smart, *Mimomania: Music and Gesture in Nineteenth-Century Opera* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); also Leonard G. Ratner, *Classic Music:*

## Difficulties in Researching Productions of Incidental Music

The first of my two approaches to the study of incidental music in France is documentary in character. In order to discuss the aesthetic presence and music impact of the genre, I had to first establish reliable data on its presence, chronology, and geographic distribution. The challenge in this aspect of my work lay in the nature of the archival and documentary resources. One difficulty facing the researcher of theatrical music is simply the establishment of a production's location and institutional context. Thus the name of a theater may or may not overlap with the name of the troupe of actors who produce the performance at that venue. This is especially true for such start-up troupes as the Théâtre de l'Œuvre, the Petit Théâtre des Marionnettes, and others. It is also true for certain theaters which frequently rented their halls to such troupes, including the Théâtre de l'Application and the Théâtre Bodinière. Where the name of the theater differed from that of the troupe, I have indicated such a disparity whenever possible.

A second difficulty lies in ascertaining the date of the première of incidental works. Beginning in the 1880's, it became an increasingly common practice in Paris for theaters to mount open dress rehearsals (*répétitions générales*) to which members of the press were invited, one or two nights before the première.<sup>21</sup> Occasionally, those members of high society close to the playwright or director also attended, giving this dress rehearsal many of the hallmarks of a gala première rather than a final rehearsal.

Consequently, dates of premières may vary in the secondary literature by one to three

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*Expression, Form, and Style* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1980); Wye J. Allenbrook, "Metric Gesture as a Topic in *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*," *The Musical Quarterly* 67 (1981): 94-112; Ratner, "Topical Content in Mozart's Keyboard Sonatas," *Early Music* 4 (1991): 615-619; V. Kofi Agawu, *Playing with Signs: A Semiotic Interpretation of Classic Music* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

<sup>21</sup> See F.W.J. Hemmings, *The Theatre Industry in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 72-76.

days, depending on which of these two events are taken as the “première.” Again, I have attempted render transparent such discrepancies whenever they have come to my attention. The catalogues of the Bibliothèque nationale de France are often helpful for clarifying such dates. Printed copies of the play texts, which often list the date of the première on the title page, can also be useful in this, although they are most to be trusted when printed some time *after* the première, for in certain cases a projected date of première failed to materialize.

This documentary research resulted first and foremost in the catalog of incidental music presented in the appendix to this dissertation. It is equally relevant in establishing repertoire lists for specific time periods in the theaters discussed in my dissertation, illuminating for the first time, for example, who composed music for the Odéon during the directorship of Paul Porel or establishing the chronology for, and development of, key musico-theatrical productions such as *Les Érinnyes* (with incidental music by Massenet) and *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien*.

### **The Nature of Incidental Music in France, 1864-1914**

French incidental music of this era ranged from single overtures played before the raising of the curtain (such as Jules Massenet’s 1873 score for Racine’s *Phèdre*) to significant scores and a startling diversity of musical forms. At times the addition of symphonic *entr’actes* rounded out the score, as with Erik Satie’s preludes for the three acts of Josephin Péladan’s *Le Fils des étoiles* (1892) or Gabriel Fauré’s score for *Pelléas et Mélisande* (the four movements were premièreed at the Prince of Wales Theatre in London on 21 June 1898, along with *Mélisande*’s song “The King’s Three Blind

Daughters”). Such scores were at times comprised of a pastiche of selections from several composers, as with the excerpts from Mozart, Schumann and Haydn which accompanied Alfred de Musset’s *comédie Fantasio* at the Théâtre de l’Odéon on 24 February 1892.

And similarly, incidental scores were sometimes reduced from operatic scores or program music, as in the case of the overture and entr’actes extracted from Mozart’s *Le Nozze di Figaro* for a revival of Beaumarchais’ *Le Mariage de Figaro* at the Théâtre de l’Odéon on 27 October 1889 or the excerpts from Hector Berlioz’ *Roméo and Juliette* which accompanied Shakespeare’s play at the Théâtre de l’Odéon on 22 December 1910.

Other incidental compositions consisted of a single diegetic song, frequently with orchestral accompaniment, often as a love serenade or work song. Examples of this include Léo Delibes’ songs for Victor Hugo’s *Ruy Blas* (“Chanson des Lavandières) and Alfred de Musset’s *À Quoi rêvent les jeunes filles* (“Romance à Ninon”), as well as the two newly composed songs contributed by Ambroise Thomas for the 1886 production of *Hamlet* at the Comédie-Française. Massenet contributed solo chansons for the performance of *Notre Dame de Paris* (Victor Hugo, adapted P. Fourcher) at the Théâtre des Nations on 4 June 1879 and for the 15 June 1886 revival of Théodore Barrière and Henry Mürger’s *La Vie de bohème* at the Théâtre de l’Odéon.

A third common form of incidental music laid in the use of music for dance, whether ballet, folk dances or pantomimic movement. Such scores include the ballet Jacques Offenbach contributed to Léon Guillard’s *comédie, Un Mariage sous la Régence*, at the Comédie-Française (premièred 21 September 1850), the ballet suite which Jules Massenet added in 1876 to his score for Leconte de Lisle’s *Les Érinnyes* (with a prominent pantomimic passage at its center), and the three *airs de ballet* which Paul

Puget contributed to the production of Alfred de Musset's *Lorenzaccio* at the Théâtre de la Renaissance (3 December 1896). The incorporation of dance in French incidental music becomes increasingly pantomimic in nature towards the end of the nineteenth century, as witnessed by Camille Saint-Saëns' scores for *Déjanire* (*tragédie en 4 actes* by Louis Gallet, première at the Arènes de Béziers on 28 August 1898) and *Parysatis* (*drame en 3 actes* by Jane Dieulafoy, première at the Arènes de Béziers on 17 August 1902). Both mix significant degrees of ballet (incorporated into celebratory scenes onstage) with pantomimic passages at crucial moments in the drama. Not least in this trend are two collaborations by playwright Gabriele d'Annunzio and dancer Ida Rubinstein. The first, and more famous, is *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien*, with music of Claude Debussy (Théâtre du Châtelet, 22 May 1911); the second is *La Pisanelle ou La Mort parfumée*, with music by the Italian composer Ildebrando da Parma (Théâtre du Châtelet, 11 June 1913). Both make extensive use of pantomime in the lead role (held in each case by Rubinstein).

The last and most integrated relationship between a play and music can be found in the combination of many of the above-mentioned functions in combination with extensive use of musical melodrama. Such works were sometimes referred to as *dramas lyriques*, in reference to their near-operatic status; while few featured solo singing, many did incorporate choruses.<sup>22</sup> Alternately, they were sometimes referred to as *adaptations musicales*.<sup>23</sup> The paradigmatic works in this category include George Bizet's score for Alphonse Daudet's play *L'Arlésienne* (Théâtre du Vaudeville, 1 October 1872; revived

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<sup>22</sup> I provide a more thorough discussion of this use of the term *drame lyrique* in Chapter 4.

<sup>23</sup> For more on this term, see Léon Brémont, "La Musique de scène et l'adaptation musicale," in *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire*, ed. Albert Lavignac and Lionel de La Laurencie, Part 2, Vol. 6. (Paris: C. Delagrave, 1920–31), 3373–3384.

Théâtre de l'Odéon, 5 May 1885), and Massenet's score for *Les Érinnyes* (Théâtre de l'Odéon, 6 January 1873; revised and expanded for the Théâtre-National-Lyrique, 15 May 1876). Other works which joined this list include Francis Thomé's score for Georges Lefèvre's adaptation of Shakespeare's *Roméo et Juliette* (Théâtre de l'Odéon, 30 October 1890) and Charles-Marie Widor's *Conte d'avril* (Théâtre de l'Odéon, 22 September 1885; revised and expanded at the Odéon, 13 March 1891). Claude Terrasse's music for Alfred Jarry's *Ubu roi* (Théâtre de l'Œuvre, 10 December 1896), Alfred Bruneau's music for Émile Zola's *La Faute de l'abbé Mouret* (Théâtre de l'Odéon, 1 March 1907), Gabriel Pierné's score for Pierre Loti's *Ramuntcho* (Théâtre de l'Odéon, 20 February 1908) and Debussy's music for *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien* fit these criteria as well, though they were not explicitly referred to as *dramas lyriques* or *adaptations musicales*.

Such near-operatic works serve to remind us that the mixture of music and drama exists on a continuum rather than in a binary relationship. At one extreme the drama is entirely accompanied by music, a genre we commonly identify as opera in the traditional sense; next one finds *opéra-comique*, *Singspiel*, American musicals and the like, interspersing songs, overtures and entr'actes with the dramatic dialogue; and typically, incidental music spans the wide area from the half-accompanied dramas of *opéra-comique* and its cousins to the simple overture preceding a play. But towards the close of the nineteenth century in France, composers blurred this line increasingly. In addition to the examples above, I would cite Gabriel Fauré's music for *Prométhée*, a *tragédie lyrique en 3 actes* by Jean Lorrain and A.-Ferdinand Hérold (the Arènes de Béziers, 26 August 1900). This work featured six singing roles and three entirely spoken roles, combining

song and melodrama in a fashion which rendered the difference between incidental music and opera most indistinct. This line was also straddled by several scores which were converted (or were intended for conversion) from incidental works to opera, including Saint-Saëns' *Déjanire* (incidental score, 1898; operatic score, 1911) and Debussy's *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien* (incidental score 1911, projected opera never realized).

The subjects of the following chapters have been selected to provide points of entry into issues central to incidental music during this era, as well as to introduce some major figures and important scores which have been overlooked or forgotten since their time. Chapter One examines music at the Comédie-Française over the fifty-year span of 1864-1914, focusing on two significant but different musical contributors and their impact on the theater: one a well-known Parisian composer, Léo Delibes; the other a significant but obscure *chef d'orchestre*, Laurent Léon. Despite the seemingly limitless resources of the theater and the understated yet central role which music played there during this era, the resources devoted to music at the Comédie-Française were disproportionately low in comparison to the quality and quantity of the music produced there. My chapter follows these musical productions and explores how music was produced and valued in this context. Chapter Two examines the directorships of former actor Paul Porel at the Théâtre de l'Odéon (1884-92) and the Grand-Théâtre (1892-93), including his landmark 1885 revival of Alphonse Daudet's *L'Arlésienne* with Bizet's music, and several newly composed scores by Widor, Bourgault-Ducoudray, Godard, and others. The breakneck pace of productions incorporating significant scores performed by either the Concerts Colonne or Orchestre Lamoureux at times outstripped the Opéra in the number of major productions incorporating music. This chapter gives rise to

discussions about the competitive nature of the Odéon under Porel and the roles of incidental music in high-profile theatrical productions. Chapter Three considers Jules Massenet's score for Charles Marie Leconte de Lisle's *tragédie antique* titled *Les Érinnyes* through its various incarnations from its première at the Théâtre de l'Odéon in 1873, to the première of its expanded score at the Théâtre-National-Lyrique (Gaîté) in 1876, to its subsequent revivals at the Comédie-Française, Théâtre antique d'Orange, Théâtre de la Monnaie in Brussels, and beyond. Such widespread performances led the music for *Les Érinnyes* to become the second-most performed work of French incidental music from this era, behind *L'Arlésienne*. From its première, Massenet's incidental score played a much larger part in the reception of his works than our current understanding of Massenet's legacy would lead us to believe. Chapter Four examines the music which Claude Terrasse contributed to Alfred Jarry's seminal play *Ubu roi* (1896), reconsidering the combination of avant-garde drama with seemingly bourgeois music as a predecessor to works by Satie and others which mixed the avant-garde with artistic elements drawn from less intellectualized popular sources. Lastly, Chapter Five discusses Debussy's music for *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien* in light of its generic context of incidental music. I posit that contrary to scholarly discussion in the past decades, Debussy's music is not the bastardized or unusual music-dramatic score as we have been led to believe since its 1922 revival. Instead it fits squarely into the parameters of incidental music as a wide-spread genre popular before World War I. My study concludes with several appendices. The first two are transcriptions of letters by composer Léo Delibes, and Comédie-Française *chef d'orchestre* Laurent Léon, to the director of the Comédie-Française, Émile Perrin. The last is a list of incidental works premièreed or revived



between 1864 and 1914 (including scores from earlier in the nineteenth century when possible, and including post-1914 scores by composers who were active before that date).

The latter is offered in the hope that it may prove to be a valuable resource to further research on French incidental music of the period.

## CHAPTER ONE

### MUSIC AT THE COMÉDIE-FRANÇAISE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Since its foundation in 1680, the Comédie-Française has been the foremost of French theaters for spoken drama.<sup>1</sup> Within the rigid hierarchy of the four principal state-funded theaters during the nineteenth century, it was second only to the Paris Opéra, receiving a substantial subvention of ₣240,000.<sup>2</sup> Its long and distinguished history was equalled by its status as the preserver of French classical theater, including such playwrights as Molière, Racine, Corneille, Regnard, Voltaire, Marivaux, Beaumarchais, and others. Additionally, the Comédie-Française served as the gateway for contemporary playwrights to be incorporated into the classical tradition, through their own plays being added to the repertoire of the theater. Important additions during the nineteenth century included Émile Augier, Alexandre Dumas  *fils*, Alfred de Musset, and Victor Hugo.<sup>3</sup> The responsibility of the theater to maintain a wide repertory of works accrued over three hundred years gave the theater a museum-like quality that at times was at odds with its second mandate, to produce new works by living

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<sup>1</sup> The Comédie-Française was officially renamed the Théâtre-Français from 1804 to February 1848, when it was renamed the Théâtre de la République before reverting back to the Comédie-Française on 2 December 1852. See Nicole Wild, *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiennes au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres, 1989): 94-95. The name “Théâtre-Français” remained in popular usage with critics throughout the nineteenth century, while the Théâtre de l’Odéon was referred to both officially and colloquially as the “Second Théâtre-Français.” For purposes of this study, I will refer to the Comédie-Française rather than the Théâtre-Français regardless of the era involved.

<sup>2</sup> See *Le Ménestrel*, “Nouvelles diverses: Paris et départements,” 23 November 1884, 414. By comparison, the Théâtre de l’Odéon received ₣100,000 annually during the same period.

<sup>3</sup> For a brief summary of the most performed authors and plays in the repertoire of the Comédie, see Jules Claretie’s preface to Alexandre Joannidès, *La Comédie-Française de 1680 à 1900* (Paris: Plon, 1901), i-vii.

playwrights. Such productions incurred risk of critical and financial failure which were not present for productions of repertory works, in which the main interest of the elite audiences was to compare the débuts of younger members of the company in repertory roles to the performances of their predecessors. Indeed, many critical reviews of repertory productions focus almost exclusively on the début of this or that young artist in a given role, rather than debate the merits of the play (a foregone conclusion) or of the staging and direction (which were usually superb); such reviews were especially emphasized for an actor's first performance at the theater.<sup>4</sup>

Unlike other theaters at which the directors typically held all financial responsibility as entrepreneurs, the Comédie-Française was comprised of a business society in which new members (known as *pensionnaires*) became vested in the company through the accrual of shares over the course of their career (gaining the title of *sociétaire* upon receipt of their first share). Those who received twelve shares were considered fully vested. Dividends were paid annually to all *sociétaires* based on this system of investiture, providing the entire company with a motivation towards profitability which was significantly different from that seen at any other Parisian theater.<sup>5</sup>

From its inception in 1680, the theater enjoyed a reputation for combining drama with music and dance. Many studies have focused on music during the early years of the theater, but only a handful of nineteenth-century sources discuss the role of music during the

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<sup>4</sup> For reviews of the début of Albert Lambert  *fils* at the Comédie in the title role of Hugo's *Ruy Blas*, see Auguste Vitu, "Premières Représentations," *Le Figaro*, 18 September 1885, 3; and Francisque Sarcey, "Chronique Théâtrale," *Le Temps*, 21 September 1885, 1-2.

<sup>5</sup> For an extended discussion of the structure of the company of the Comédie-Française, see Francisque Sarcey, *A Company of Actors* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1926).

nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Jules Bonnassies's forty-three page study *La Musique à la Comédie-Française* bestows two paragraphs to compositions performed at the theater in the nineteenth century.<sup>7</sup> Playwright Maxime Boucheron is less stingy, providing twenty-four pages to discuss music at the theater, from the 1850's through the time of his writing in the mid-1880's.<sup>8</sup> And former Administrateur-Générale of the Comédie-Française, Édouard Thierry, does include references to music at the theater during the wars of 1870-71 in the published chronicle of the last days of his directorship.<sup>9</sup> Noëlle Guibert provides a very succinct summary of music at the theater from its inception to the late twentieth century in her article "La Direction Musicale à la Comédie-Française," pausing briefly to comment on Offenbach, Roque, Ancessy and Léon.<sup>10</sup> In several cases, authors writing about the role of music at the Comédie during the nineteenth century have felt it necessary to assert the contemporary importance of music at the theater, to draw the nineteenth-century musical practices out of the shadow of the theater's seventeenth-century legacy. Boucheron opened his chapter-length study rather drolly: "At first – perhaps even at second glance, the title above will leave only surprise. Music at the Théâtre-Français? My God! yes: excellent music played exceptionally."<sup>11</sup> And in reflecting on the history of music at the theater after the death of its

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<sup>6</sup> For a study on music and theater during the years leading to the formation of the Comédie-Française, see John S. Powell, *Music and Theatre in France, 1600-1680* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

<sup>7</sup> Jules Bonnassies, *La Musique à la Comédie-Française* (Paris: Baur, 1874), 38-39.

<sup>8</sup> Maxime Boucheron, "La Musique au Théâtre-Français," in *La Divine Comédie... Française*, pref. Henry Bauër (Paris: Librairie Illustré, 1888): 173-196.

<sup>9</sup> Édouard Thierry, *La Comédie-Française pendant les deux sièges (1870-1871)* (Paris: Tresse et Stock, 1887).

<sup>10</sup> Noëlle Guibert, "La Direction musicale à la Comédie-Française," *Comédie-Française – Les Cahiers* 18 (1996): 85-89.

<sup>11</sup> "Au premier – peut-être même au second abord, – le titre ci-dessus ne laissera pas que de surprendre. De la musique au Théâtre-Français? Mon Dieu ! oui: d'excellent musique supérieurement exécutée." Boucheron, "La Musique au Théâtre-Français," in *La Divine Comédie... Française*, 173-74.

*chef d'orchestre* Laurent Léon in 1913, Maxime Serpeille asserted “Indeed, at the Comédie, music plays a more important role than one would generally assume” (La musique joue en effet, à la Comédie, un rôle plus important qu’on ne le suppose généralement).<sup>12</sup> As to music at the Comédie-Française during the twentieth century, studies have begun in earnest, owing to Catherine Steinegger’s recent volume *La Musique à la Comédie-Française de 1921 à 1964*.<sup>13</sup> Although my study will be primarily concerned with music at the Comédie-Française between 1864 and 1914, it necessarily begins by summarizing music at that theater during the first part of the nineteenth century.

Much of the illustrious founding tradition of music at the Comédie-Française had eroded by the start of the nineteenth century. While plays continued to be performed with music in the first part of the nineteenth century, there were few commissions, and many of the surviving scores from that era are anonymous. The surviving musical materials at the Bibliothèque-Archives de la Comédie-Française indicate that *chefs d'orchestre* of the first half of the nineteenth century made frequent use of pastiche scores to accompany plays.<sup>14</sup> Nicole Wild reports that according to a decision of 28 December 1829, “the *chefs d'orchestre* were responsible for composing or arranging songs or instrumental music ‘chosen from the most fashionable subjects’” (Les chefs d’orchestre du théâtre sont chargés de la composition ou de l’arrangement de morceaux de chant ou encore de musique, empruntés et « choisis

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<sup>12</sup> Maxime Serpeille, “La Musique à la Comédie-Française,” *Le Figaro*, 10 July 1913, 1.

<sup>13</sup> Catherine Steinegger, *La Musique à la Comédie-Française de 1921 à 1964* (Sprimont, Belgium: Mardaga, 2005).

<sup>14</sup> The Bibliothèque-musée de la Comédie-Française preserves two collections of pastiche manuscript parts, both compiled by Auguste Roques. The first is comprised of 50 heavily annotated excerpts for I violin, oboe, contrabass, and clarinet “composed, arranged, or orchestrated by A. Roque,” and is found under call number 6 R 22; the second consists exclusively of 38 bassoon excerpts, and is found under call number 6 R 23.

dans les sujets les plus en vogue »).<sup>15</sup> (see Table 1.1, below, for a list of *chefs d'orchestre* through the “long” nineteenth century.) Accordingly, the orchestral materials drawn together by Loiseau and Roques as fodder for pastiche and arranged incidental scores included music by Halévy, Hérold, Meyerbeer, Adam, C. Vogel, Weber, Rossini, Donizetti, Berlioz, Davis,

Table 1.1. Orchestral Directors at the Comédie-Française, 1766-1922<sup>16</sup>

<i>Chef d'orchestre</i>	Dates of Directorship
Antoine-Laurent Baudron	1766 – c. Easter 1822
(Panphile-)Léopold(-François) Aimon	31 August 1822 – 1832
Auguste(-Mathurin-Balthazar) Barbereau	1 April 1832 – end of December 1842
Isodore Loiseau	1 January 1843 – 30 September 1850
Jacques Offenbach	1 October 1850 – 26 September 1855
Auguste Roque(s)	30 September 1856 – c. 27 April 1868
Joseph-Jacques-Augustin Ancessy <sup>17</sup>	28 April 1868 – end of December 1870
Laurent-Marius Léon, <i>dit</i> Laurent[-]Léon <sup>18</sup>	c. 15 March 1871 – 8 July 1913
Omer Letorey <sup>19</sup>	13 July 1913 – October 1922

Flotow, Paer, Auber, and others.<sup>20</sup> The two *chefs d'orchestre* from the earlier part of the century, Léopold Aimon (31 August 1822-1832) and Auguste Barbereau (1 April 1832-end

<sup>15</sup> Wild, *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiennes au XIXe siècle*, 97.

<sup>16</sup> Dates of service for Baudron through Ancessy appear in Wild, *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiennes*, 99.

<sup>17</sup> Ancessy is known to have served as the *chef d'orchestre* at the Théâtre de l'Odéon from 1845 to 1853, and very likely served in that role until contracted for the same duties by the Comédie-Française. The dossier “ANCESSY chef d'orchestre 1868” contained at the Bibliothèque-musée de la Comédie-Française contains a contract for his services at the theater, signed on 28 April 1868.

<sup>18</sup> Léon's title was alternately given as *chef d'orchestre* or *directeur du service musical*. He had served as *sous-chef d'orchestre* under Roques and Ancessy, from March 1857 until the resolution of both the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune allowed him to return to the Comédie-Française in 1871. The start date for his tenure is taken from a letter to Émile Perrin dated 8 March 1871, contained in the dossier “Laurent LEON chef d'orchestre 1835 + 1913” contained at the Bibliothèque-musée de la Comédie-Française. His contract does not survive, but strangely he did sign a letter to Émile Perrin dated 23 September 1871 with the humble title “sous-chef d'orchestre;” see Appendix II, Letter 4.

<sup>19</sup> Letorey became *second chef d'orchestre* in July 1905; see Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales* 1905, 49 fn1. The Bibliothèque-musée dossier which bears his name spells it as Letoray, while on his published music his surname ends –ey.

<sup>20</sup> “Ainsi que l'attestent les catalogues de matériel d'orchestre dressées par Loiseau et Roques, la musique a été empruntée, pour le 19e siècle, à des auteurs comme Halévy, Hérold, Meyerbeer, Adam, C. Vogel, Weber,

of December 1842) were not known for the quality of the orchestra under their leadership.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, such well-known names as Auber and Boieldieu do figure among the composers who contributed newly composed scores to the theater in the 1830's.

The revitalization of music at the Comédie-Française was to come with the appointment of the thirty-one year old Jacques Offenbach as *chef d'orchestre*, on 1 October 1850.<sup>22</sup> Hired under the directorship of Arsène Housset (*dit* Houssaye, Administrateur Général from 27 April 1850 to 30 January 1856), Offenbach worked with Auguste Roques, the assistant orchestral director at the Comédie.<sup>23</sup> (See Table 1.2, below, for a list of *Administrateurs-Générales* of the Comédie-Française from 1850 to 1913.) Offenbach's appointment was calculated to raise the level of music at that theater above those of his

Table 1.2. *Administrateurs-Générales* of the Comédie-Française, 1850-1913

<i>Administrateur Général</i>	Dates of Directorship
Arsène Housset <i>dit</i> Houssaye	27 April 1850-30 January 1856
Adolphe Simonis <i>dit</i> Baron Empis	31 January 1856-22 October 1859
Edouard Thierry	25 October 1859-19 July 1871
Émile Perrin	19 July 1871-8 October 1885
Albert Kaempfen, Administrateur Provisoire	c. 26 May 1885-c. 30 Sept. 1885
Jules Claretie	20 October 1885-23 December 1913

predecessors, Auguste Barbereau and Isidore Loiseau. Offenbach was paid ₣15,000 annually, from which he was to deduct the salaries of the twenty musicians which his contract obliged

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Rossini, Donizetti, Berlioz, Davis, Flotow, Paer, Auber, L. Clapisson, F. Bazin, H. Potier, A. Grisar.” Wild, *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiennes*, 97.

<sup>21</sup> Boucheron reports that under Loiseau, despite the frequent employment of orchestral works of Beethoven, Haydn and Weber as entr'actes, “the performances were, above all, mediocre” (l'exécution en était plutôt médiocre) because he hired amateurs, not virtuosi. See Boucheron, *La Divine Comédie... Française*, 174-75.

<sup>22</sup> Offenbach remained as the *chef d'orchestre* until 26 September 1855. Details of Offenbach's term at the Comédie-Française may be found in Jean-Claude Yon, *Jacques Offenbach* (Paris: Gallimard, 2000): 83-127.

<sup>23</sup> The records of the Bibliothèque-musée de la Comédie-Française preserve scant information about A. Roque[s]; his own signature varies with regard to the final “s” in the surname and in the records his first name is invariably reduced to an initial. His first name is given in Boucheron, *La Divine Comédie... Française*, 177.

him to pay, as well as costs of engraving whatever music would be necessary to fulfill his functions.<sup>24</sup> Houssaye obtained his intended results, as critics and musicologists continued to refer to the success of Offenbach's directorship well into the twentieth century. During this period Offenbach wrote eleven incidental scores, co-wrote the music for *Murillo, ou La Corde du pendu* with Meyerbeer, and co-arranged music for performances of *Le Malade imaginaire* with Roques. (See Table 1.4, at the end of this chapter, for a list of incidental works premièreed at the Comédie-Française between 1832 and 1914.) Additionally, Charles Gounod contributed music for *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (9 January 1852) and *Ulysse* (18 June 1852) under Offenbach's directorship.

Boucheron wrongly dismisses the directorship of Roques as of little importance to the musical history of the Comédie-Française.<sup>25</sup> Under Roques, a revival of what were then called *chœurs* at the theater took place, as a number of major scores for plays on antique subjects were commissioned and premièreed. This nomenclature of "choruses" obscured the fact that these large-scale works usually utilized full orchestras and vocal soloists in addition to the choruses after which they were named in a nod to the prominent role of choruses in the tragedies of classical antiquity.<sup>26</sup> Movements within these *chœurs* included overtures, entr'actes, *mélodrames*, choruses, and occasional vocal solos. Such works would include Félix Clément's score for *Athalie* (*tragédie en 5 actes* by Jean Racine, 20 March 1858),

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<sup>24</sup> The orchestra of "twenty musicians including the director" (20 musiciens y compris le chef), included four first violins, three second violins, two violas, a cello, two contrabasses, a flute, two clarinets, two horns, a piston cornet, an oboe and a bassoon. See the three-year contract dated 30 September 1850 (and renewed on 8 June 1853 for three years) in the dossier "Jacques OFFENBACH" contained at the Bibliothèque-musée de la Comédie-Française.

<sup>25</sup> Boucheron, *La Divine Comédie... Française*, 177.

<sup>26</sup> The printed piano-vocal score for Gounod's *Ulysse* comprises 112 pages; the printed piano-vocal score for Membreé's *Œdipe roi* comprises 28 pages; the manuscript piano-vocal score for *Athalie* (BnF-Mus Ms. 11016) contains 44 pages; the manuscript orchestral score for Cohen's *Psyché* (BnF-Mus D. 12348) contains 229 pages; the manuscript orchestral score for Cohen's *Esther* (BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 73) contains 237 pages.



Edmond Membrée's music for *Œdipe roi* (*tragédie en 5 actes, en vers* by Sophocles, trans. Jules Lacroix, 18 September 1858), and Jules Cohen's scores for *Athalie* (*tragédie en 5 actes* by Jean Racine, 8 April 1859), *Psyché* (*tragédie en 5 actes et 6 tableaux* by Corneille, Molière, Quinault and La Fontaine, 14 August 1862), and *Esther* (*tragédie en 3 actes* by Jean Racine, 5 July 1864). Almost inexplicably, while later nineteenth-century discussions of music at the Comédie-Française would inevitably evoke remembrances of Offenbach's work there, they would avoid mention of these quite substantial scores for plays on classical subjects, even when describing scores of similar duration, textures and instrumentation, such as *L'Arlésienne* or *Les Érinnyes*.<sup>27</sup> One is left to suppose that the towering reputation of the Comédie-Française in all matters concerning staging, artistic direction and acting had eclipsed the significance of these major scores. In addition to these choruses, Roques's tenure also saw the première of his own scores for *Le Malade imaginaire* (*comédie-ballet en 3 actes* by Molière, 1860) and *Hernani* (*drame en 5 actes en vers* by Victor Hugo, 20 June 1867), as well as a pastiche score for the première of *Un Jeune homme qui ne fait rien* (*comédie en 1 acte en vers* by Ernest Legouvé, 3 April 1861) on music by Chopin. Roques was succeeded by J.-J.-A. Ancessy in the spring of 1868.

Very little creation of new scores occurred during Ancessy's direction. No scores by Ancessy survive at the Comédie-Française from his tenure as *chef d'orchestre*; only his 1854 score for *Au Printemps* is held there, suggesting that he reverted to the earlier tendency for

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<sup>27</sup> For examples of the conspicuous omission of the choruses at the Comédie-Française, see Charles Darcours, "Courrier des théâtres," *Le Figaro*, 13 May 1876, 3; Albert de Lasalle, "Chronique musicale," *Le Monde illustré*, 20 May 1876, 331, 334; B. Jouvin (under the pseudonym Bénédict), "La Partition « des Érinnyes »,» *Le Figaro*, 17 May 1876, 3; Adolphe Jullien, "Opéra-National-Lyrique: *Les Érinnyes*," *La Revue et gazette musicale*, 21 May 1876, 162-3; and Adolphe Aderer, "Spectacles et Concerts," *Le Temps*, 9 March 1891, 3.

pastiche, arrangement and revival of previously-composed incidental music.<sup>28</sup> Thierry records that Ancussy consulted with a man named Mathieu regarding possible music for a short ballet in *Une Fête de Néron*, a five-act tragedy revived at the Comédie-Française on 3 August 1870.<sup>29</sup> Two men named Eugène Mathieu, father and son, each had music stores in Paris, suggesting indeed that the ballet music in this work was arranged rather than composed.<sup>30</sup> The only record of a performance of incidental music during his directorship is for Octave Feuillet's drama in four acts and six tableaux, *Dalila*, première at the Théâtre du Vaudeville in 1857 and revived at the Comédie-Française on 28 March 1870. In his supplement to Fétis's *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, Pougin commented on Ancussy: "The musical education of Ancussy was lacking, and his productions had no value" (L'éducation musicale d'Ancussy était nulle, et ses productions n'avaient aucune valeur).<sup>31</sup> Pougin's opinion would seem to be in the minority; most notably, the Administrateur Générale Thierry held him in high regard. In *La Comédie-Française pendant les deux sièges*, Thierry praised Ancussy in the entry written on the date of his death: "He was a worthy man and a man of merit... as orchestral director, by his modesty, his care for our scores, his good management of his musicians, he earned our respect in every connection" (C'était un digne homme et un homme de mérite... comme chef d'orchestre, par sa modestie, par le soin de nos partitions, par la bonne tenue de ses musiciens, il nous convenait sous tous les

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<sup>28</sup> *Au printemps* was première with music by Ancussy at the Théâtre de l'Odéon on 5 April 1854 and the play and score were subsequently revived at the Comédie-Française.

<sup>29</sup> Thierry, *La Comédie-Française pendant les deux sièges*, 8, 25. The work had been première at the Théâtre de l'Odéon on 28 December 1829.

<sup>30</sup> For more on Eugène Mathieu, *père* and *filis*, see Anik Devriès and François Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique française*, 2 vols. (Geneva: Minkoff, 1979-1988).

<sup>31</sup> See François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, Supplément et Complément T. 1, ed. Arthur Pougin (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1881), 15.

rappports.)<sup>32</sup> Much was made of the performances that he conducted of M<sup>lle</sup> Agar's singing of *La Marseillaise* at the theater on various occasions during the Franco-Prussian War.<sup>33</sup> He succumbed to the privations of the war on 2 January 1871. In the interim, the formal retention of an orchestra by the Comédie-Française was renounced, freeing up valuable floorspace in the orchestra section for additional revenue-generating seating while reducing costs spent in retaining the seventeen musicians mandated by Ancessy's contract.<sup>34</sup> It is very likely that the privations of the war played a major part in the initial decision to lay off the orchestra; a letter by Thierry to the Ministre des Beaux-Arts, dated 25 February 1871, requests that the governmental subsidy for the theater be restored, in accordance with the *décrets* of 1812 and 1850.<sup>35</sup>

Ancessy's *sous-chef d'orchestre*, Laurent Léon, was at that time serving in the French army as musical director of the third Légion de Vaucluse.<sup>36</sup> During this interim, at least three musicians applied for the open position, in addition to Léon.<sup>37</sup> Thierry seems to have been rather unaware of Léon, as the only occurrence of his name in *La Comédie-Française pendant les deux sièges* is to note the receipt of a "Letter of Mr. Léon, director of music of the Third Legion of Vaucluse, who seeks to succeed Mr. Ancessy" (Lettre de M. Léon, chef

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<sup>32</sup> Thierry, *La Comédie-Française pendant les deux sièges*, 227-28.

<sup>33</sup> Thierry, *La Comédie-Française pendant les deux sièges*, 10, 25; Frédéric Loliée, *La Comédie-Française de 1658 à 1907* (Paris: Lucien Laveur, 1907), 307-308.

<sup>34</sup> See Boucheron, *La Divine Comédie... Française*, 180.

<sup>35</sup> Thierry, "Appendice K," in *La Comédie-Française pendant les deux sièges*, 511-14.

<sup>36</sup> See Appendix II, Letter 2.

<sup>37</sup> Thierry records the names of Hurand, Leprévost and Cadaux as applicants; see *La Comédie-Française pendant les deux sièges*, 256.

de musique de la 3<sup>e</sup> légion de Vaucluse, qui sollicite la succession de M. Ancessy).<sup>38</sup>

Strangely, not only does he misspell the name, he also fails to refer to Léon as the *sous-chef d'orchestre* of the theater.

Despite this unassuming start as *chef d'orchestre* – without an ensemble of his own – Léon made a greater mark than any *chef d'orchestre* save Offenbach. Arguably, if Léon had Offenbach's business sense and ambition rather than the humility for which he became so well-known by his death in 1913, Léon would have been known as the greatest musician of the Comédie during the nineteenth century. By 1902, Edmond Stoullig was singling him out as the “very distinguished orchestral director of the Comédie-Française” (le très distingué chef d'orchestre de la Comédie-Française), which respect was never lavished on Roques or Ancessy by the press.<sup>39</sup> During his tenure he composed some twenty-two new incidental scores, adapted or reconstituted fifteen others, contributed to sections of two scores by Léo Delibes, and premièreed incidental music by Émile Paladilhe, Léopold Dauphin, Henri Maréchal, Léo Delibes, Camille Saint-Saëns, and Charles Hess. Additionally, under his baton the Comédie-Française imported plays with incidental music by Etienne Singla, Emmanuel Chabrier, Raymond Bonheur, and Jules Massenet into its repertory. Beside all this activity stand the revival of scores commissioned for the Comédie-Française under earlier *chefs d'orchestre*, performances of which are rarely referred to in theatrical reviews or histories of the theater but which occurred with some frequency nevertheless (as evidenced in part by the fifteen reconstituted scores which Léon worked upon). Of all the music produced under

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<sup>38</sup> Thierry, *La Comédie-Française pendant les deux siècles*, 328. The index of the book correctly spells the name “Léon.”

<sup>39</sup> Stoullig, *Les Annales* 1902, 67.

Léon, perhaps that of Delibes tells the most remarkable story about the musical life of the theater.

### **Léo Delibes, Émile Perrin and the Comédie-Française**

Between spring 1879 and autumn 1882, Léo Delibes contributed music to five productions at the Comédie-Française (see Table 1.3, below). What is truly noteworthy about this is that he never contributed incidental music to any other theater, and that he started his contributions at such a late period of his career. While composers such as Massenet, Bizet and Terrasse produced incidental music particularly at the start of their career (as well as after they were well-established), Delibes had been a major figure in ballet, opéra and opéra-comique for almost a decade. Moreover, the letters by Delibes preserved at the Bibliothèque-Archives de la Comédie-Française illustrate much of the practical working relationship between a composer and a theater director.

Table 1.3: Incidental Scores by Léo Delibes at the Comédie-Française

Play Title	Date of Première of Music	Playwright
<i>Ruy Blas</i>	4 April 1879	Victor Hugo
<i>Garin</i>	8 July 1880	Paul Delair
<i>À quoi rêvent les jeunes filles</i>	29 November 1880	Alfred de Musset
<i>Barberine</i>	27 February 1882	Alfred de Musset
<i>Le Roi s'amuse</i>	22 November 1882	Victor Hugo

Indeed, what connected Delibes to the Comédie-Française was his relationship with its director, Émile Perrin. Delibes had served as chorus master at the Opéra de Paris during Perrin's directorship there.<sup>40</sup> Delibes left that post to take up composition full-time, after the successes his many *opérettes* and of his ballets, *La Source* (1866, composition shared with

<sup>40</sup> Perrin served as director of the Opéra from 20 December 1862 to 9 May 1871, under several titles as the administration was reorganized. Delibes served as choral accompanist from 1 May 1863 through 1871, taking over the role of *chef de chœur* in Victor Massé's absence during 1871.

Louis Minkus) and especially *Coppélia, ou La Fille aux yeux d'émail* (1870). While most composers wrote incidental music on commission motivated by pay or the opportunity to enlarge their reputations, the letters by Delibes to Perrin tell a different story.

Boucheron speculated that Delibes, “singularly respected by Perrin, must be his favorite composer at the Théâtre-Français” (particulièrement estimé de M. Perrin, devait être son compositeur favori au Théâtre-Français).<sup>41</sup> Many of the letters do display the warm and personal relationship of the director and composer (see Appendix I for transcriptions of all of Delibes’s letters held at the Bibliothèque-Archives de la Comédie-Française). In the letter dated 3 April 1879, Delibes reported visiting with Perrin’s nephew Camille Du Locle when the two crossed paths in Italy: “I have frequently encountered Du Locle in Rome, and I have been very happy to see him again” (J’ai rencontré souvent du Locle à Rome, et j’ai été très heureux de le revoir).<sup>42</sup> In Delibes’s letter dated 19 August 1879, we find him asking Perrin to pass on Delibes’s greetings to Madame Perrin, in the very formal language customary of letters of the era: “I ask you, dear sir, to give to Madame Perrin my best regards, and to believe in my very sincere affection” (Je vous prie, cher Monsieur, de présenter à Madame Perrin mes respectueux hommages, et de croire à mon bien sincère attachement).<sup>43</sup> In two of the undated letters, we find Delibes referring to the arts bureaucracy in which both men

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<sup>41</sup> Boucheron, *La Divine Comédie... Française*, 185.

<sup>42</sup> Camille Du Locle (1832-1903) had assisted Perrin while the latter served as Directeur of the Opéra de Paris (1862-1870), during which time Delibes served as the choral accompanist at the Opéra. After Perrin left the Opéra, Du Locle co-administered the Opéra-Comique with Adolphe de Leuven (1870-74) before becoming sole director (1874-76). Du Locle was well-known as a contributor to several important libretti, notably those of Verdi’s *Don Carlos* (1867, libretto by Joseph Méry and Du Locle after Schiller) and *Aida* (1871, Du Locle’s libretto was translated into Italian by Antonio Ghislanzoni), and Reyer’s *Sigurd* (1884, libretto by Du Locle and Alfred Blau) and *Salammbô* (1890, libretto adapted from the novel of Gustave Flaubert by Du Locle).

<sup>43</sup> See Appendix I, Letter 2.

figured so importantly as “our circle” (notre cercle).<sup>44</sup> In the second case, Delibes explicitly refers to the Concours Musical de la Ville de Paris as the social group; both men served as members of the Ministère des Beaux-Arts of the Institut de France as well, and both served on the juries of the Conservatoire de Musique et de Déclamation (Claretie as an outside expert judging the acting of young comedians and tragedians, Delibes as a judge of counterpoint and of harmony after being appointed to the faculty of the Conservatoire on 16 December 1880). And at times, the veil of formality is lifted between the two men, as in the letter dated 17 September 1881. There, Delibes requests tickets to a performance of *Œdipe roi* for himself and his wife, noting “It’s a little indiscrete, with the current prosperity of the Théâtre-Français?” (C’est peut-être très indiscret, avec la prospérité actuelle du Théâtre-Français?).<sup>45</sup> This statement shows marked irony, given the increase in revenues at the Comédie-Française of 50% during Perrin’s directorship over those of his predecessor, Edouard Thierry.

Frequently, one finds Delibes showing a tendency towards collaboration with Perrin, as in the letter of 3 April 1879, where he asks for news of “our improvisation” (notre improvisation [emphasis original]) on the music for a revival of Victor Hugo’s *Ruy Blas* (*drame en 5 actes*).<sup>46</sup> He continues by asking

Did this music suit the scene well and was it retained? If so, was the effect good, bad, or simply nothing? And the performance? The singer? The small accompanying orchestra?<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> See Appendix I, Letters 23. and 24.

<sup>45</sup> See Appendix I, Letter 8. *Œdipe roi*, Sophocles tr. Jules Lacroix, with music by Edmond Membreé, was première September 18, 1858, and revived for 23 performances in 1881. For fiscal comparisons of the directorships of Thierry and Perrin, see Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales* 1881, 54-55.

<sup>46</sup> See Appendix I, Letter 1.

<sup>47</sup> “Cette musique convenait-elle bien à la scène et a-t-elle été conservée? Dans ce cas, l’effet en a-t-il été bon, mauvais, ou simplement nul? et l’exécution? la chanteuse? le petit orchestre d’accompagnement?”

His next letter praises Perrin's addition of an offstage chorus to Delibes's score, noting

I would not have found the excellent combination that you have imagined, which reconciles all. [...] You have made the miracle, dear Sir, so that I must transfer to you the greatest part of this little success, of which I am very proud. For me, this is one more occasion to show you my affectionate and very strong gratitude.<sup>48</sup>

Similarly, in the letter dated 17 October 1882, we find Delibes admitting to Perrin "The other day, it [a scene from the revival of Victor Hugo's *Le Roi s'amuse* (*drame en 5 actes*)] was not perfected, as to the musical effect. You were right" (*L'autre jour, elle n'était pas au point, quant à l'effet musical. – Vous aviez bien raison*).<sup>49</sup> When business called Delibes out of town during the première of *Le Roi s'amuse*, he notified Perrin

I will not be there tomorrow. But I put myself in your hands to bring to light, to the extent possible, the incidental music of Act I. [...] In you alone, dear Sir, I entrust my cause, and I know that I am in good hands.<sup>50</sup>

And in an undatable letter Delibes states that he "is very, very keen to have your [Perrin's] impression, which has guided me so many times already" (*Je tiens beaucoup, beaucoup à avoir votre impression, qui m'a guidé déjà tant de fois [emphasis original]*).<sup>51</sup>

Such respectful deference to the theater director who had commissioned the scores is certainly unusual, though directors frequently wielded such artistic control over incidental music (as we will see with *Les Érinnyes* in Chapter Four, below). Where the director yielded such control, the playwright often usurped it in their place (as shown in the case of *Ubu roi* in

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<sup>48</sup> "Je n'aurais pas trouvé l'excellente combinaison que vous l'avez imaginée, et qui concilie tout. [...] Vous avez fait le miracle, cher Monsieur, aussi c'est à vous que je dois reporter la meilleur part de ce petit succès, dont je suis très fier, et c'est pour moi une occasion de plus de vous témoigner mon affectueuse et bien vive gratitude." See Appendix I, Letter 2.

<sup>49</sup> See Appendix I, Letter 13.

<sup>50</sup> "Je ne serai donc pas là demain. Mais je me confie entièrement à vous pour mettre en lumière, dans les limites du possible, la musique de scène du 1er acte. [...] C'est à vous seul, cher monsieur, que je confie ma cause, et je sais qu'elle est en bonnes mains." See Appendix I, Letter 15.

<sup>51</sup> See Appendix I, Letter 20.



Chapter Five, below). Delibes could understandably put such trust in Perrin, given Perrin's unusual degree of experience as an opera director before taking over the Comédie-Française. It should be noted that Delibes's letters scarcely request the opinion of Laurent Léon.<sup>52</sup> In light of the combined experience of Delibes and Perrin, and with Delibes's recourse to the opinions of his close friend and music publisher Henri Heugel as well, Léon's opinions were of less value to Delibes than they might otherwise have been.

Each of the five productions to which Delibes contributed music illustrate a different aspect of the composer's interaction with stage music. With the first, *Ruy Blas* (*drame en 5 actes en vers* by Victor Hugo, 4 April 1879), Delibes's letters indicate his intention to contribute incidental music as a favor to Perrin rather than upon financial remuneration.<sup>53</sup> An undated letter from Delibes to Perrin finds the composer in the uncomfortable position of walking the fine line between his desire to "bear witness to you, as well as the Comédie-Française, my affectionate devotion" (*de vous témoigner, ainsi qu'à la Comédie-Française, mon affectueux dévouement*) and his legal obligations to the Société des Auteurs, Compositeurs et Éditeurs de Musique (SACEM). As a member of SACEM, Delibes's music would ordinarily receive royalties for each performance. Judging from his letter, it seems that the addition of the offstage chorus requested by Perrin to the "Chanson des Lavandières" was enough to reclassify his contribution so that SACEM attempted to collect royalties from the theater. The letter finds Delibes stating repeatedly and wholeheartedly that "for this piece, I have never intended to claim the smallest royalty from the Comédie-Française" (*pour ce morceau, je n'ai jamais entendu réclamer le moindre droit à la Comédie-Française*). That

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<sup>52</sup> In a post-script to Appendix I, Letter 6., Delibes offers to confer with Léon regarding instrumentation for the score of *Garin*.

<sup>53</sup> See Appendix I, Letter 3.

Delibes intended to contribute an orchestral song to the theater for free, and even revised it several times in collaboration with Perrin, is testimony to the remarkable amiability of the composer and the intimate friendship between the men.

The two letters concerning the music for *Garin (drame en 5 actes en vers)* by Paul Delair, 8 July 1880) are indicative of the speed with which music was frequently composed and rehearsed for incidental productions. On Thursday 17 June 1880, Delibes sent the music for the vocal solo of M<sup>lle</sup> Dudlay, which Léon was to copy and return in order for Delibes to complete the orchestration on Sunday.<sup>54</sup> Meanwhile Delibes was at work on a *chasse* for six brass instruments. The manuscript for the song was not returned to Delibes until Thursday the 24<sup>th</sup>, on which day Delibes offered to meet with Léon to discuss instrumentation of the chanson before returning the completed work on the 29<sup>th</sup> – just two days before what Delibes believed would be the première of the work.<sup>55</sup> (Léon contributed some fanfares for the work as well; see Appendix II, Letter 10.) To evoke the Moorish descent of the character, Delibes’s chanson for Aïscha featured an accompaniment of English horn, flute and tambourine.<sup>56</sup> Noël and Stoullig refer to the presence of some *mélodrames* by Delibes, for which no manuscript has yet been found.<sup>57</sup> In actuality, the work was premièreed ten days after Delibes turned in the score, on 8 July. Such rapid working schedules were common for

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<sup>54</sup> See Appendix I, Letter 5.

<sup>55</sup> See Appendix I, Letter 6.

<sup>56</sup> See Auguste Vitu, “Premières Représentations,” *Le Figaro*, 9 July 1880, p. 3: “J’allais oublier de signaler une délicieuse guzla qui accompagne dans la coulisse la ballade du premier acte dite par M<sup>lle</sup> Dudlay. Le cor anglais, la flûte et les tambourins suffisent à cette originale mélodie, écrite comme en se jouant par M. Léo Delibes.”

<sup>57</sup> “M. Perrin a fait grandement les choses, c’est indicutable, et il a multiplié les amusements des yeux et des oreilles (car, outre les beaux décors et les riches costumes, il a fait écrire les mélodrames de *Garin* par M. Delibes). Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales* 1880, 138.

composers of incidental music, especially for shorter excerpts such as songs or for overtures and entr'actes, which would be rehearsed and performed quite apart from the stage action.

It is notable that this new play, one of only two premières that season at the Comédie, was given lavish care by the administration. The minutes of the administrative committee meeting of 24 December 1880 note that “*Garin* cost more than F40,000 and nearly three months of work. It was performed sixteen times” (*Garin* a couté plus de 40,000 F et près de trois mois de travail. Il a été représenté 16 fois).<sup>58</sup> The minutes also record the severe critical reception of the play, suggesting that both critics and audience members found the drama wanting.

The next work Delibes contributed to Perrin’s enterprise comprised but a small part of a gala event. The retirement benefit of the actor Talbot on 29 November 1880 incorporated a number of dramatic and operatic excerpts, including the première of Delibes’s setting of the “Romance à Ninon” (“Ninon, Ninon, que fais-tu de la vie?”) from Alfred de Musset’s *À quoi rêvent les jeunes filles*.<sup>59</sup> Delibes’s letter to Perrin on the subject evidences the degree of care Delibes took over these short works.<sup>60</sup> In this undated letter, Delibes writes that “for these two artists [a mandolinist and a harpist], a rehearsal is absolutely necessary and that I read through their parts with them” (Pour ces 2 artistes, il me faut absolument une étude musicale

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<sup>58</sup> See the “Livre de Comité d’Administration du 7 janvier 1875 au 26 décembre 1887,” 284, at the Bibliothèque-musée de la Comédie-Française.

<sup>59</sup> Performances of *À quoi rêvent les jeunes filles* were very rare through at least 1895. Only this one scene was performed at the Comédie-Française by 1900; the same excerpt was performed at the Théâtre des Variétés on 29 April 1881 as part of a *représentation extraordinaire au bénéfice* for Mme Judic, who sang Delibes’s chanson from the wings (see Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales* 1881, 269); and an excerpt was performed at the Théâtre de l’Odéon on 3 November 1881 as part of a *représentation extraordinaire au bénéfice* for the characterist André Gill (See Albert Soubies, *Almanach des Spectacles*, 1881, 28; and Jules Prével, “Courrier des Théâtres,” *Le Figaro*, 3 November 1881, 3).

<sup>60</sup> See Appendix I, Letter 7.

et que je leur passe déchiffrer leur partie [emphasis original]). Delibes wished to prepare the instrumentalists himself, writing

I believe it would be preferable that I come over on my own at the theater during the day. I will sort out the thing with you at the piano. But for my two gents, (the harpist and the mandoline) I demand a closed door! at least for a good half-hour.<sup>61</sup>

One might suppose that the gala nature of the event warranted such close attention on Delibes's part, rather than leaving the rehearsals in the hand of the more-than-competent Léon. Yet Delibes also insisted on personally rehearsing the singer for the next chanson he wrote for a *comédie en 3 actes* by Alfred de Musset, *Barberine* (also known as *La Quenouille de Barberine*).<sup>62</sup> Again, he offers that “if I were not a little sick, I would come to you to bring it myself and to work on the interpretation of the song” (Si je n'étais un peu souffrant, je serais venu vous l'apporter moi-même et causer de l'interprétation de la chanson).<sup>63</sup> According to the next letter, Delibes even rehearsed the soloist, noting that “I have much work to do before letting you hear it” (je tiens beaucoup à la faire travailler avant de vous la faire entendre) before he rehearsed the soloist with the ensemble in the presence of Perrin the next day.<sup>64</sup>

Delibes last score for Perrin and the Comédie-Française was by far his most substantial. For the fiftieth-anniversary gala reprise of *Le Roi s'amuse* (*drame en 5 actes en vers* by Victor Hugo) on 22 November 1882, he contributed a score which included six

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<sup>61</sup> “Il serait préférable je crois, que je vienne tout seul au théâtre dans la journée. Je réglerai la chose avec vous par piano. Mais pour mes deux bonshommes, (le harpiste et la mandoline) je réclame le huis-clos! au moins pendant une bonne demi-heure [emphasis original].”

<sup>62</sup> This work was premièreed 27 February 1882.

<sup>63</sup> See Appendix I, Letter 9.

<sup>64</sup> See Appendix I, Letter 10.

antique dances for the first act ballroom scene, as well as two chansons.<sup>65</sup> Again Delibes's letters show the painstaking perfectionism displayed in earlier productions. For this much larger score, rehearsals began as early as 17 October, over four weeks before the première.<sup>66</sup> At that time Delibes began rehearsals with Edmond Got, the comedian who played Triboulet, and the courtesans of Act I. Simultaneously Léon was rehearsing a revised version of the chanson from Act III, scene iii, "Quand Bourbon vit Marseille," sung by De Pienne (played by Prudhon) and Triboulet. Delibes noted that other sung passages would be performed by students of the Paris Conservatoire, a practice which Boucheron described as standard.<sup>67</sup> And again, we see evidence of the collaboratory nature of Delibes's work with Perrin, as he commented that he was revising the orchestral music of the first act in light of Perrin's comments.

Certainly not all cases where a composer contributed incidental music involved such deeply personal interaction as these examples between Perrin and Delibes. But these letters do give us insight into the degree of artistic control and involvement in the music which many directors enjoyed as those who had commissioned the scores.

In light of the press reception of Delibes's incidental music, it seems unlikely that he wrote the smaller incidental works in order to gain any notoriety. While none of Delibes's five incidental works escaped observation in *Le Ménestrel* (the music journal published by Heugel, who also published Delibes's scores), the smaller works were generally overlooked

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<sup>65</sup> The suite of six antique dances were published in a piano reduction as *Le Roi s'amuse: six airs de danse dans le style ancien* by Heugel in 1882. The chansons were not published, and do not show up in the Comédie-Française's card catalogues or in the dossiers for *Le Roi s'amuse* and for Delibes.

<sup>66</sup> See Appendix I, Letter 13.

<sup>67</sup> Boucheron, *La Divine Comédie... Française*, 185.

in the press, or were referred to without connection to Delibes.<sup>68</sup> An important exception laid in the encyclopedic coverage of Noël and Stoullig's *Les Annales du théâtre et de la musique*, which duly referenced each of Delibes's five musical contributions to the Comédie-Française.<sup>69</sup> The daily newspaper *Le Figaro* did manage to cover Delibes's incidental music quite well: the society review of *Ruy Blas* which appeared in *Le Figaro* did refer explicitly to Delibes's contribution to the production.<sup>70</sup> Jules Prével cited Delibes as the composer of the chanson of Aïsha in *Garin* and provided the text as well.<sup>71</sup> Auguste Vitu noted the "délicieuse guzla" written by Delibes for the first act of the play in his review of the performance. Conversely, Henri de Bornier of the highly regarded *La Nouvelle revue* only noted that the chanson took place in the first act, omitting mention of its composer.<sup>72</sup> The dean of French theatrical critics, Francisque Sarcey, failed to note the presence of music in his reviews of *Ruy Blas*, *Garin*, and *Barberine*.<sup>73</sup> He had little to say about music in reviewing the retirement benefit for the actor Talbot held at the Comédie-Française on 29 November 1880 (which included Delibes's setting of the chanson from Alfred de Musset's play *A Quoi rêvent les jeunes filles*):

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<sup>68</sup> See H. Moréno [pseudonym for Henri Heugel], "Semaine théâtrale," *Le Ménestrel*, 6 April 1879, 148; 11 July 1880, 251; 5 December 1880, 4; 26 February 1882, 99; 5 March 1882, 108; 19 November 1882, 404; 26 November 1882, 411.

<sup>69</sup> See Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales* 1879, 106 (*Ruy Blas*); 1880, 138 (*Garin*); 1880, 190 (excerpt from *A Quoi rêvent les jeunes filles*); 1882, 51 (*Barberine*); and 1882, 93 (*Le Roi s'amuse*).

<sup>70</sup> Un Monsieur de l'Orchestre, "La Soirée théâtrale," *Le Figaro*, 5 April 1879, 3.

<sup>71</sup> Jules Prével, "Courrier des théâtres," *Le Figaro*, 6 July 1880, 3.

<sup>72</sup> Auguste Vitu, "Premières représentations," *Le Figaro*, 9 July 1880, 3; Henri de Bornier, "Revue du théâtre," *La Nouvelle revue*, 15 July 1880, 432-445.

<sup>73</sup> Francisque Sarcey, "Chronique théâtrale," *Le Temps*, 7 April 1879, 1-2 (*Ruy Blas*); 12 July 1880, 1-2 (*Garin*); 6 March 1882, 1-2 (*Barberine*).

One of the intermèdes which was most pleasant was a fragment of the delicious fantasy of Alfred de Musset: *A Quoi rêvent les jeunes filles*. Misses Reichemberg and Bartet, who spoke in alternating verses, formed a very charming group, while Talazac sung with exquisite taste the *romance* of the poet from under the balcony, set to music by a composer unknown to me.<sup>74</sup>

Reviews of *Barberine* in *La Nouvelle revue* and *La Revue des deux mondes* make no reference to Delibes's chanson.<sup>75</sup> Even the weekly music periodical *La Renaissance musicale* fails to acknowledge that there was any music present in the production, much less to recognize the hand of Delibes in its composition.<sup>76</sup> The absence of Delibes's name in these reviews found in prominent and respected *revues* and newspapers suggests that his reputation benefited little from his incidental music. While there may have been some slight status for Delibes to gain from his incidental music, it would be negligible in comparison with the immense success of his ballets and of his *opéras-comique* *Le Roi l'a dit* (1873) and *Jean de Nivelle* (1880), which were increasingly performed from Belgium to St. Petersburg since their premières. Indeed, of all Delibes's incidental scores, only the music for *Le Roi s'amuse* figured in Charles Darcour's obituary for Delibes in *Le Figaro* and in Johannes Weber's obituary in *Le Temps*, suggesting that the composer received no significant symbolic capital from his incidental works.<sup>77</sup> The likely reason behind Delibes's contributions to the Comédie is to be found in his close personal relationship with Perrin, and his appreciation for the

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<sup>74</sup> "Un des intermèdes qui ont fait le plus de plaisir, c'est un fragment de la delieuse [sic] fantaisie d'Alfred de Musset: *A quoi rêvent les jeunes filles*. Mlles Reichemberg et Bartet, qui l'ont dit en vers alternés, formaient un bien charmante groupe, tandis que Talazac chantait, sous le balcon, avec un goût exquis, la romance du poète, mise en musique par je ne sais quel compositeur." Francisque Sarcey, "Critique théâtrale," *Le Temps*, 6 December 1882, 2.

<sup>75</sup> Henri de Bornier, "Revue du théâtre," *La Nouvelle revue*, 15 March 1882, 443-57; Louis Ganderax, "Revue dramatique," *La Revue des deux mondes*, 1 March 1882, 455-66.

<sup>76</sup> Armand Ephraïm, "Revue dramatique et musicale," *La Renaissance musicale*, 5 March 1882, 75-76.

<sup>77</sup> Charles Darcours, "Léo Delibes [obituary]," *Le Figaro*, 17 January 1891, 1-2; Johannes Weber, "Chronique musicale," *Le Temps*, 26 January 1891, 3.

director's role in launching Delibes's career. Witness the comment by theater society critic Arnold Mortier in his review of *Ruy Blas*:

The composer of *Coppélia* is, moreover, the musician of predilection for the eminent general administrator of the Comédie-Française. It was Perrin who had in some way invented and launched Delibes, while he directed the Opéra.<sup>78</sup>

That Delibes contributed these scores primarily because of the close relationship he held with Perrin is indeed rare among the incidental scores surveyed in this study, and testifies to the generosity of the composer as well as the tremendous esteem in which each man held the other.

The near-exclusion of the *chef d'orchestre* Léon in these productions which incorporated Delibes's scores testifies to the manner in which house musicians at the Comédie were often overlooked or seen as tertiary to the actors and to the repertory. While the combined musical talent and reputation of Delibes and Perrin might have justified Léon's exclusion in these cases, they fit a larger pattern of relative neglect for music and musicians at the Comédie-Française, which only grew after the orchestra was suppressed in 1871.

### **The Difficult Life of a Musician at the Comédie-Française**

Despite the many rosy descriptions by critics and historians of Offenbach's term with the Comédie-Française, the post was not without difficulty for the composer. In addition to paying his twenty-member orchestra and paying for the costs of engraving and copying music from his own salary of F15,000, Offenbach was required to pay any additional costs which might occur for the musical aspect of any production, including (but not limited to)

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<sup>78</sup> "L'auteur de *Coppélia* est, du reste, le musicien de prédilection de l'éminent administrateur générale de la Comédie-Française. C'est M. Perrin qui a en quelque sorte inventé et lancé Delibes, lorsqu'il dirigeait l'Opéra." Un Monsieur de l'Orchestre [pseudonym for Arnold Mortier], "La Soirée théâtrale," *Le Figaro*, 5 April 1879, 3.



benefit performances given at the retirement of *sociétaires* of the company.<sup>79</sup> Offenbach was required to pay out of pocket for any work which required harp or other instrument foreign to the orchestra of the house. Fortunately for Offenbach, the theater did remunerate pianists and singers directly. He was to compose or arrange music for the theater, and keep the music relevant to the latest styles. He was to be available to perform on the cello at least once per month, at the discretion of the *administrateur*. And, of course, his responsibilities included rehearsing the musicians, conducting performances and coordinating the musical cues with the stage manager. Generously, the contract allowed for Offenbach to work outside the theater whenever such work did not conflict with his duties, except if specifically forbidden by the direction of the Comédie-Française. Boucheron suggests that Offenbach frequently left his brother to conduct the orchestra while the composer used the spare time to write music while huddled under the footlights before the stage.<sup>80</sup> Within two years of joining the administration of the Comédie-Française, Offenbach found cause to voice serious complaint about the role of music within the hierarchy of the theater. Writing in late 1852, he lamented:

Barely settled in, I saw that I would battle vainly against the prejudice that at the Théâtre-Français one must have impossible music, an execrable orchestra; the *sociétaires* above all do not care. – I have learned that one raised the curtain at the ring of the bell only, as is done in the most secondary theaters, and each night, one encountered insurmountable difficulties. Once on stage, the *sociétaires* did not want to wait; on the other hand, the *avertisseur* refused to let them go, having received formal orders from Mr. Houssaye, and this caused problems, complaints, and arguing to recommence without end.<sup>81</sup> Soon I only conducted in circumstances where a

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<sup>79</sup> See the contract in the dossier “Jacques OFFENBACH” contained at the Bibliothèque-musée de la Comédie-Française.

<sup>80</sup> Boucheron, *La Divine Comédie... Française*, 176.

<sup>81</sup> According to Arthur Pougin, an *avertisseur* is an employee of a large theater, such as the Opéra or the Comédie-Française, whose job is to inform actors in the green room that their scene is imminent. See Pougin, *Dictionnaire historique et pittoresque du théâtre* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1885), 69.

conductor was truly needed, or in plays where the music was indispensable, such as the *Ulysses* of Gounod.<sup>82</sup>

Of course, the *sociétaires* had little external incentive to care about the music. Actors who graduated from *pensionnaire* to *sociétaire* became vested in the theater, accruing shares over time, until they reached the full measure of twelve shares. Any profits were divided amongst the troupe according to investiture at the end of each year. With some exceptions, actors frequently felt that music was a non-essential element which reduced the profitability of the theater, and therefore reduced their annual bonus.

Despite the pressures and frustrations Offenbach endured, he chose on 8 June 1853 to renew his initial three-year contract (signed 30 September 1850) for an additional three years. He did not finish out the contract, however. On 26 September 1855 he resigned his post, opting instead to focus his energies on his new directorship at the Bouffes-Parisiens.<sup>83</sup>

Offenbach's *sous-chef d'orchestre* Roques took over his contract on 30 September 1856, which was finally amended to reflect this on 15 January 1857. No later contracts for Roques remain in his dossier in the archives of the theater, though he remained there until 1868. Yet in a letter dated 25 January 1862 Roques reported to Léon Guillard his litany of complaints, grown longer than those of Offenbach.<sup>84</sup> They included significant cuts to the

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<sup>82</sup> “À peine installé, je vis que je lutterais en vain contre ce préjugé, qu’au Théâtre-Français il fallait avant tout une musique impossible, un orchestre exécrable, les sociétaires surtout ne s’en souciaient pas. – J’avais obtenu qu’on ne levât le rideau qu’à l’appel de la sonnette, comme cela se fait dans les théâtres les plus secondaires, et chaque soir, on se heurtait pour cela à des difficultés insurmontables. Une fois sur la scène, les sociétaires ne voulaient pas attendre ; de son côté, l’avertisseur refusait de faire lever, ayant reçu des ordres formels de M. Houssaye, et c’était des ennuis, des plaintes, des tiraillements sans cesse renaissants. Bientôt je ne conduisis plus que dans les circonstances où il fallait véritablement un chef, ou dans les pièces où la musique était indispensable, comme l’*Ulysse* de Gounod.” Jean-Claude Yon, *Jacques Offenbach* (Paris: Gallimard, 2000):111, citing André Martinet, *Offenbach, sa vie et son œuvre* (Paris: Dentu et Cie, 1887): 13.

<sup>83</sup> Yon, *Jacques Offenbach*, 154.

<sup>84</sup> Léon Guillard (1810-1878) served as the archivist at the Comédie-Française and served on the *comité de lecture* (which convened to judge new plays for performance at the theater) from 1855 to 1877. This and all

orchestral budget, personal attacks on Roques during budget meetings, and difficulty finding suitable orchestral players within the budget constraints. Roques felt that his work keeping the theater within the musical currents of Paris, and despite his scores for *Le Testament de César* (music for a ballet within the play), *Comme il vous plaira*, and his arranging of Edmond Mentrée's music for *Œdipe roi*, was going unnoticed and unvalued.<sup>85</sup> Roques closed the letter by asking for Guillard to plead his case to the administration.

We find that three years later, little had changed for Roques. In a letter dated 22 August 1865, Roques noted that the budget for music had not been augmented since the then-current system of regulating the orchestra at the Comédie-Française was instituted in 1830. Nevertheless, the role of the orchestra had grown considerably, from what Roques described as “some popular refrains [and] an overture” (*flons flons de volge une ouverture*) to “a very much larger role” (*l'orchestre joue un bien plus grand rôle*), incorporating many major scores by well-known contemporary composers expressly commissioned for the theater. While these concerns had been ongoing, Roques took the 1865 reprise of *Athalie* as the point of addressing his Administrateur Général, Edouard Thierry. Noting the administrator's need for thrift in running the theater, Roques countered that the orchestra was on the verge of a personnel crisis. Morale was at a low ebb, and though Roques does not directly state concern that his musicians might walk out, he does state that he “has come to pass through a crisis that could be disastrous” (*une crise qui pouvait être désastreuse*). One can certainly appreciate the bind Roques found himself in; while he was assigned full responsibility for all

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letters by Roques cited here are preserved in the dossier “ROQUES chef d'orchestre de 1857 à ?” contained at the Bibliothèque-musée de la Comédie-Française.

<sup>85</sup> *Le Testament de César* (première 10 November 1849, *drame en 5 actes en vers et un épilogue* by Jules Lacroix), *Comme il vous plaira* (première 12 April 1856, *comédie en 3 actes et en prose*, adapted from Shakespeare by George Sand), and *Œdipe roi* (première 18 September 1858, *tragédie en 5 actes, en vers* by Sophocles, trans. Jules Lacroix)

music at the theater, his resources were certainly substandard, and he had little control over the pay rates for his musicians. As long as the number of players and the total musical budget were both fixed by his contract, he could not even lay off any players in order to better pay the most needed parts. Even his complaints made some thirty months earlier to Guillard had fallen on deaf ears. Roques's proposed solution was to pay each musician ₣15 additionally to "find a better spirit, more zeal, and a better performance throughout" (trouver un meilleur esprit, plus de zèle, et partout un meilleur exécution).

In another letter dated only "Friday" we find Roques writing to Thierry that he did not know quite why Mr. D'Avesnes returned his monthly pay, but that "for more that twenty years [sic] I pay the musicians badly; I do not hide that someone at least complains about this, from one cent to another" (depuis plus de 20 ans que je paye mal les musiciens je ne sache pas que personne au moindre est en ce se plaindre, d'un centime d'une). Roques here implies that D'Avesnes had refused his pay as a protest against the low wage.

The last letter from Roques to Thierry, dated 6 September 1866, finds Roques at his most pointed and audacious language. He writes

following a conversation with Guillard on my bill about *Atrée*, and *Fantasio*, I have little understood how one found it a little too strong and how one had inquired into how much copies cost in order to compare the current cost of ordinary copies with those of my two last scores (which are not at all the same thing). I am angry to think of the disturbance caused Verteuil and I withdraw simply my bill, leaving to your personal appreciation the price of the above-named copy...<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> "à la suite d'une conversation avec Monsieur Guillard sur ma nôte d'*Atrée*, et de *Fantasio* j'ai peu comprendre qu'on les trouvait un peu trop forte et qu'on s'était enquis de ce que poursuit couter les pages de copie afin d'assimiler les prix couurant d'une copie ordinaire avec celle de mes deux dernières partitions (qui ne se trouver pas du tout dans le même cas) je suis fâché croyer le bien des derangement que cela créera des causeés a M. Verteuil et je retire simplement ma nôte laissant a votre appreciation personnelle le prix de la surdite copie..." N.B. *Atrée et Thyeste*, tragedie en 5 actes en vers by Crébillon, première 14 March 1707, reprised with a *prologue en vers* translated from Seneca's *Thyeste* by Thierry and Henri de Bornier on 11 August 1866. Verteuil held the second-highest post (*Sécretaire générale*) at the Comédie-Française under Thierry.

Noting that he would not wish for all the world to cast a cloud on his position over a “miserable question of money” (misérable question d’argent), he nonetheless continues by stating baldly that

my position is bogus at the theater between the administration which must pay the least possible, and the orchestra which seeks the highest pay with a very slim budget in view of the high demands of ongoing music. I know that one of these days it will drag us whether we like it or not, and that having had enough, and after several unresolved ordeals, it must come to a new state of things. At all times I have done all that was humanly possible to stand up to the storm which rumbles ceaselessly and if I do not succeed, to believe that it will not have been my fault.<sup>87</sup>

Such complaints were the last by Roques to be preserved at the Comédie-Française.

When his successor Ancessy signed a contract on 28 April 1868 for the 1868-1869 theatrical season, it was – even still – for F15,000, to pay “seventeen musicians including the director” (17 musiciens y compris le chef).<sup>88</sup> Some relief was provided to the orchestra through the reduction of three musicians and through the absorption of the costs of copying music by the theater rather than the *chef d’orchestre*’s salary. By 28 December 1868, Ancessy was already writing to Thierry – having attempted unsuccessfully to meet with the director in person – requesting that his budget be raised from F15,000 to F19,400 in order to add five musicians and to pay the musicians better. Unlike Roques’s letters, Ancessy retains a polite but insistent tone throughout, showing signs of a better education than his predecessor through the more orthodox spellings and elegant grammar than Roques’s writing

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<sup>87</sup> “Ma position est fautive au théâtre d’un côté l’administration qui doit payer le moins possible, et de l’autre un orchestre qui cherche en se faire payer le plus cher me trouvant avec un budget très mince vu les grandes exigences de courant musical. Je sais qu’un de ces jours il nous entraînera bon gré mal gré et que de guerre lasse, et après plusieurs épreuves sans résultat, il faudra en arriver à un nouvel état des choses. Tout à fois j’ai fait humainement tout ce qu’il était possible de faire pour tenir tête à l’orage qui gronde sans cesse et si je ne réussis pas croyez bien qu’il n’y aura pas de ma faute.”

<sup>88</sup> Under Ancessy the orchestra was comprised of one assistant orchestral director, three first violins, two second violins, one viola, one cello, two contrabasses, a flute, a clarinet, a piston cornet, two horns, a trombone and a timpanist. Since Offenbach’s contract, the orchestra was therefore reduced by two violinists, a viola player, a clarinet, an oboe and a bassoon, but augmented with an assistant orchestral director, trombone and a tympanist. The contract cited here and the letter by Ancessy cited below are preserved in the dossier “ANCESSY chef d’orchestre 1868” contained at the Bibliothèque-musée de la Comédie-Française.

had displayed. Ancussy argued for the additional funding on the basis that “the orchestral budget (while a secondary department) is below that of the most secondary theaters of Paris, your hall is large, our orchestra finds itself in very unfavorable conditions by its long and narrow physical placement” (le budget de l’orchestre (quoique service secondaire) est inférieur à celui des théâtres les plus secondaires de Paris, votre salle est grande, notre orchestre par sa conformation longue et étroite se trouve dans des conditions les plus défavorables).<sup>89</sup> While ceding that there would quite often be productions without the orchestra during that season, Ancussy reported that the inventory of music at the theater showed some eighty plays where the music was indispensable, whether offstage or onstage. After requesting new, lighter music stands made of metal rather than wood, Ancussy rather optimistically signaled that “I will have other little secondary improvements to indicate to you at an opportune time” (J’aurai d’autres petites améliorations secondaires a vous signaler en temps opportune). While there is no evidence to show whether or not Ancussy’s request was granted, the sixty-eight year old did remain as the orchestral director at the theater until he passed on at age seventy-one. Either improvements were made, or the honor of being promoted at the end of his career to serving the foremost theater for spoken drama in France was worth whatever difficulties Ancussy encountered there.

Given the longstanding difficulties Léon encountered while serving at the Comédie-Française, one assumes that the prestige of the post was a significant part of his decision to remain at the theater. From Laurent Léon’s forty-two year term as *chef d’orchestre*,

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<sup>89</sup> The reference to the “most secondary theaters of Paris” here recalls Offenbach’s unflattering comparison made in 1852, cited above: “one only raises the curtain at the ring of the bell, as is done in the most secondary theaters.”

four of his letters addressing the musical situation survive. The first dates from 23 September 1871, the last from early 1891, spanning twenty years of concerns and grievances under two Administrateurs-Générales of the Comédie-Française (Émile Perrin and Jules Claretie).

In the first letter, Léon acknowledges that although the orchestra is dissolved, a great deal of the dramatic repertoire of the theater necessitate incidental music.<sup>90</sup> While Léon had organized musicians in the wings on an *ad hoc* basis with payment to the musicians negotiated by a fee per performance, in his letter of 23 September 1871 Léon proposed to Perrin (at the latter's invitation) that a string quintet be retained at a rate of F280 per month (F3360 per year), excluding the salary of the ensemble leader who would also play first violin, making six musicians total. Léon was quick to point out that under the current system, nothing prevented the uncontracted musicians from being hired out to other theaters, endangering the stability of the ensemble and occasionally leading to empty seats in "the service called 'in the wings'" (le service dit "en Coulisses"). Oddly, the title by which Léon signed the letter indicates that he was not yet installed as the *chef d'orchestre*, as he still provisionally retained the position of *sous-chef d'orchestre* – though nobody else had been hired to replace Ancessy. It is not clear at what point Léon was promoted, but evidence from later letters suggest that it was likely during 1871.

In Léon's second surviving letter regarding the administration of music at the Comédie, dated 2 January 1873, he politely requested a meeting with Perrin that evening.<sup>91</sup> Léon wished to inform Perrin of the impossibility of continuing to supply a repertoire of music under current conditions, suggesting that "a few minutes of discussion will permit you to judge the difficulty which occupies me and to resolve it in a definitive manner" (Quelques

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<sup>90</sup> See Appendix II, Letter 4.

<sup>91</sup> See Appendix II, Letter 5.

minutes d'entretien vous permettant de juger la difficulté qui m'occupe et de la résoudre d'une façon définitive).

The letters leave one with the impression that Perrin and the administration of the theater were quite disinterested in music and could not envision a significant role for music within the productions of the Comédie. However, evidence exists to show that Perrin was not as averse to the creation of spectacle through music as his silence to Léon suggested. When faced with the possibility of a mandatory closure for safety renovations in 1884, the administrative committee of the Comédie discussed their options for performance locations at a meeting on 4 October 1883. When senior actor Edmond Got proposed that they schedule the repairs for July or August so that the troupe of the Comédie might make use of the hall of the Opéra-Comique during its annual closure, Émile Perrin suggested that “for this occasion, one might stage some spectacle with music, like *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, or *Ulysse* by Ponsard [with music by Gounod], *L'Arlésienne* by Alphonse Daudet [with music by Bizet], *Hamlet* or *Psyché*, or *Athalie* with the choruses by Mendelssohn.”<sup>92</sup> Ultimately, the Comédie did not take the stage of the Opéra-Comique during that summer, and performed none of the plays which Perrin proposed. But it is remarkable that Paul Porel's experiments with such spectacles at the Théâtre de l'Odéon would begin in the 1884-1885 season, and included both *Athalie* (with Mendelssohn's music) and *L'Arlésienne* (with Bizet's music).

Despite Perrin's stated interest in creating a sense of spectacle through music, his conduct towards Léon remained unchanged. No further letters from the musician to Perrin

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<sup>92</sup> “M. l'Administrateur-Général ajoute qu'on pourrait peut-être monter à cette occasion quelque pièce à spectacle, avec de la musique, comme le *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, ou l'*Ulysse* de Ponsard, l'*Arlésienne* d'Alphonse Daudet, *Hamlet* ou *Psyché*, ou *Athalie* avec les chœurs de Mendelssohn.” See the book of the Comité d'administration, séance du jeudi 4 octobre 1883, p. 400, in the Bibliothèque-musée de la Comédie-Française.



exist, even though Léon worked under Perrin for another twelve years. But the letter from Léon to actor Frédéric Febvre (datable by internal evidence to the latter half of 1885) suggests that little changed since Léon's 1873 letter.<sup>93</sup> Particularly, Léon notes that he had continued to be occupied with "recruiting musical personnel (singers and musicians), moreover often difficult" (m'occuper du recrutement du personnel musical [chanteurs et musiciens] d'ailleurs souvent difficile).

Léon opened this letter by explaining why he chose to address Febvre "off the record" (officieusement), noting his musical competence, the professional respect between the two men, and Febvre's past efforts to intercede with Perrin on Léon's behalf. If Febvre were to find merit in Léon's concerns, he might intercede with those concerned. Léon began his case by reporting that after watching Léon's work for a considerable period of time, Perrin had emphatically promised to create a more defined position as director of music – a promise as yet unfulfilled. Suggesting that his salary was rather modest, Léon boldly yet modestly stated "it must be raised to a figure which I would not be well-suited to address" (il devrait être élève à un chiffre qu'il ne me conviendrait pas d'apprécier), reminding Febvre of Léon's twenty-eight years of service to the theater (fifteen as director of music). Léon had not received any royalties or fees for any music composed or arranged for the theater, instead receiving only the praise of members of the company as his principal remuneration. Yet besides his administrative duties, Léon was kept busy recruiting musicians, remaining constantly at the disposal of the administration, and being otherwise responsible for production of all musical aspects at the theater. He even had to quit a second job in order to devote himself exclusively to the theater, which might request his services at any hour. After closing his letter with a very polite and elegant paragraph in which he promised to remain a

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<sup>93</sup> See Appendix II, Letter 10.

faithful and devoted servant of the theater regardless of Febvre's decision on Léon's request, Léon included a postscript list of nineteen plays for which he had composed or arranged the music. This list is invaluable to understanding Léon's contribution to the theater, as many of these scores no longer appear in the music holdings of the Bibliothèque-musée de la Comédie-Française, and were not referred to in contemporary musical and theatrical criticism.

The fourth and final letter by Léon in supplication of a greater salary dates from early 1891.<sup>94</sup> In it, Léon formally addresses the Administrateur Général Jules Claretie and all the members of the Comité d'Administration, boldly yet politely bringing his need to their attention. The language and tone of this letter shows a shrewdness in addressing the issue in forceful terms without attacking or alienating any of the administrators, instead attempting to "appeal to their [sense of] justice" (à faire appel à votre justice) without assigning blame for the perceived injustices.

Léon again began his appeal by noting his long service to the theater – thirty-four years to date, twenty of which as director of music – with responsibility for directing the orchestra and singers, composing, managing and recruiting musicians, administering the music library, etc. Much of the letter sadly repeats the concerns he presented to Febvre six years earlier. Léon reported that his diminishing wages were accompanied by an increase in duties at the theater owing to the ever-increasing number of musical works, rehearsals and matinées which required his constant presence at the theater, in addition to the recruitment of musicians and musical research required to prepare the incidental scores. Such duties prevented him from taking on outside work.

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<sup>94</sup> See Appendix II, Letter 11.

Léon reported that he had even avoided declaring his compositions to the Société des Auteurs, Compositeurs et Éditeurs de Musique (SACEM), in violation of his membership in that society, in order to prevent potential conflicts with the theater. For the same reason, he had not published any of his music, resulting in the double loss of royalties of production and of publication. Moreover, he had received no fees from the theater for any of the nearly forty compositions, reconstitutions of older scores, and musical adaptations (*adaptations musicales*).<sup>95</sup> After drawing to their attention his zeal for his work and his irreproachable record, he requested a salary which would “allow me to live honorably and to affirm with dignity the functions which I fulfill at the Comédie-Française” (me permettant de vivre honorablement et d’affirmer avec dignité les fonctions que j’exerce à la Comédie-Française). Again, a postscript to the letter included a works list of some twenty scores composed by Léon, another fourteen adaptations and reconstructed scores, and a reference to some twenty additional scores for piano or organ. This list contains several invaluable additions to the list in the 1885 letter, enabling a more complete picture of Léon’s contributions to stage music at the Comédie-Française.

The low pay given to the directors of music would have been more tolerable if the theater had been in dire straits financially. Yet the minutes of the administrative committee meeting of 26 December 1887 show that the period from January through May 1882 set a record income for the theater of F1,030,659. This number was nearly matched by the F999,620 earned during the same period in 1885, and was even surpassed by the income of

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<sup>95</sup> *Adaptation musicale* is a term which applied particularly to incidental works which utilized a large degree of melodrama and / or solo or choral singing in addition to instrumental passages such as overtures, entr’actes and diegetic music. For more on the *adaptation musicale*, see Léon Brémont, “*La Musique de scène et l’adaptation musicale*,” in *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire*, ed. Albert Lavignac and Lionel de La Laurencie, Part 2, Vol. 6 (Paris: C. Delagrave, 1920–31): 3373-3384.

F1,060,064.50 during the first five months of 1887.<sup>96</sup> Moreover, Albert Soubies reported that the most lucrative work performed at the Comédie-Française in 1891 was none other than *Œdipe roi*, Jules Lacroix's adaptation of Sophocles's play which premiered in 1858 with a substantial score by Edmond Membrée.<sup>97</sup> The manner in which the Comédie-Française gave so little support to its musical capacity is ironic in light of the prominent role which music played in making *Œdipe roi* the most financially successful work of 1891.

## Conclusion

While the Comédie-Française consistently maintained its role as the most important theater in France throughout the nineteenth century, its centrality to the musical life of France was less secure. Known more for the quality of its actors and stage productions than for its music, it nevertheless maintained a high quality of musical performance despite the relatively meager resources allocated to music by its administration. Because of its unique status as the preeminent spoken theater of France, and because of the unmatched subvention it received from the French government, it did not serve as a model for the stage music of other theaters, just as the depth of its repertory was unique among French theaters. Rather, it existed in its own world musically, as indicated by the complete absence of reference to music of the Comédie-Française in comparative discussions of other incidental scores. The high quality of its incidental music in the nineteenth century showed through in the rare reviews which

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<sup>96</sup> See the *Livre de Comité d'Administration du 7 janvier 1875 au 26 décembre 1887*, 648-49, at the Bibliothèque-musée de la Comédie-Française.

<sup>97</sup> "At the Opéra, the highest receipt of the year 1891 was reached by *Lohengrin*, which it is necessary to say was not a new work outside of Paris, and had already existed for forty-two years; at the Français [i.e., the Comédie-Française], it was *Œdipe roi*..." (A l'Opéra, la plus forte recette de l'année 1891 a été réalisée par *Lohengrin*, qui n'était, il faut bien le dire, une nouveauté que pour Paris, et qui compte déjà quarante-deux années d'existence; aux Français [Comédie-Française], c'est par *Œdipe roi*...). See Albert Soubies, *Almanach des spectacles*, T. 20: *Coup d'œil d'ensemble 1871-1891* (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1893), 202.

bothered to take note of the frequent use of music. Nevertheless, the quality of music at the Comédie in the nineteenth century was overshadowed by the history of music in its founding years, and by the relatively negligible role of music there in comparison to the Paris Opéra, to which it served as a companion stage for spoken drama.

The secondary role of music at the Comédie throughout the century serves as a stark contrast to the significant role of music in the creation of spectacle at the Odéon between 1884 and 1892. While music at the Comédie was rarely on the minds of its administration, critics and even its audience, Paul Porel managed to make music the centerpiece of his administration of the Odéon at a time when the Comédie's own Léon was most prolific as a composer of incidental music. Porel's audacity in developing the Odéon as a pseudo-lyric stage managed to bring his theater out of the shadow of the Comédie-Française and became an unintentional foil for the invisible role of music at the Comédie-Française.

Table 1.4: Incidental Scores at the Comédie-Française, 1832-1914<sup>98</sup>

Play	Date of première / reprise	Author	Composer
<i>Louis XI</i> *	9 February 1832	Casimir Delavigne	Anonymous
<i>Les Enfants d'Edouard</i> *	18 May 1833	Casimir Delavigne	Daniel-François-Esprit Auber*
<i>Athalie</i>	29 May 1838	Jean Racine	Adrien Boieldieu*
<i>Les Burgraves</i> *	7 March 1843	Victor Hugo	Anonymous
<i>Le Chandelier</i>	29 June 1850	Alfred de Musset	Jacques Offenbach*
<i>Un Mariage sous la Régence</i> *	21 September 1850	Léon Guillard, after the novel of Brindeau	Jacques Offenbach*
<i>Le Joueur de flûte</i> *	19 December 1850	Emile Augier	Jacques Offenbach*
<i>Le Malade imaginaire</i>	? ?, 1851	Jean-Baptiste Poquelin, dit Molière	Auguste Roques* & Jacques Offenbach*
<i>Valéria</i> *	28 February 1851	Auguste Maquet & Jules Lacroix	Jacques Offenbach*
<i>Mademoiselle de la Seiglière</i> *	4 November 1851	Jules Sandeau	Jacques Offenbach*
<i>Le Bonhomme jadis</i> *	21 April 1852	Henry Murger	Jacques Offenbach*
<i>Ulysse</i> *	18 June 1852	François Ponsard	Gounod, Charles-François*
<i>Le Barbier de Séville ou Le Précaution inutile</i>	11 September 1852 <sup>99</sup>	Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais	Jacques Offenbach*
<i>Le Mariage de Figaro ou La Folle journée</i>	27 October 1852 <sup>42</sup>	Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais	Jacques Offenbach*
<i>Murillo ou La Corde du pendu</i> *	18 October 1853	Aylic Langlé fils	Jacques Offenbach* & Giacomo Meyerbeer*
<i>Romulus</i> *	13 January 1854	Alexandre Dumas père, Octave Feuillet & Paul Bocage	Jacques Offenbach*
<i>Le Songe d'une nuit d'hiver</i> *	12 June 1854	Edouard Plouvier	Jacques Offenbach*

<sup>98</sup> An asterisk (\*) next to the title indicates that the play was a première; an obelisk (†) next to a title indicates its première at the Comédie-Française. Similarly, asterisks next to the names of composers indicate that the score was a première, while obelisks indicate the première of the score at the Comédie-Française.

<sup>99</sup> Yon states that Offenbach's scores for *Le Barbier de Seville* and *Le Mariage du Figaro* were composed during September 1852, but provides no dates of performance. The Parisian daily newspaper *La Presse* shows performances of these plays on the dates that I provide above.

<i>Au Printemps</i> <sup>†100</sup>	5 April 1855	Léopold Laluyé	Joseph-Jacques-Augustin Ancessy <sup>†</sup>
<i>Athalie</i>	20 March 1858	Jean Racine	Félix Clément*
<i>Œdipe roi</i> *	18 September 1858	Sophocles, tr. Jules Lacroix	Edmond Membrée*
<i>Athalie</i>	8 April 1859	Jean Racine	Jules Cohen*
<i>Le Malade imaginaire</i>	? ?, 1860	Molière	Auguste Roques*
<i>Un Jeune homme qui ne fait rien</i> *	3 April 1861	Ernest Legouvé	Frédéric Chopin arr. Roques*
<i>Psyché</i>	14 August 1862	Pierre Corneille, Molière, Philippe Quinault & Jean de La Fontaine	Jules Cohen*
<i>Esther</i>	5 July 1864	Jean Racine	Jules Cohen*
<i>Hernani</i>	20 June 1867	Victor Hugo	Auguste Roque(s)*
<i>Dalila</i> *	28 March 1870	Octave Feuillet	Brisson* <sup>101</sup>
<i>Tabarin</i> *	15 June 1874	Paul Ferrier	Émile Paladilhe*
<i>L'Ilote</i> *	17 June 1875	Charles Monselet & Paul Arène	Léopold Dauphin* <sup>102</sup>
<i>L'Ami Fritz</i> *	4 December 1876	Erckmann-Chatrian <sup>103</sup> [& Jules Barbier]	Henri Maréchal*
<i>Ruy Blas</i>	4 April 1879	Victor Hugo	Léo Delibes*
<i>Garin</i> *	8 July 1880	Paul Delair	Léo Delibes* & Laurent Léon*
<i>À Quoi rêvent les jeunes filles</i> (excerpt)*	29 November 1880	Alfred de Musset	Léo Delibes*
<i>Barberine</i> *	27 February 1882	Alfred de Musset	Léo Delibes*
<i>Les Rantzau</i> *	27 March 1882	Erckmann-Chatrian	Henri Maréchal*
<i>Le Roi s'amuse</i> <sup>104</sup>	22 November 1882	Victor Hugo	Léo Delibes*

<sup>100</sup> The score was première at the Odéon on 5 April 1854; an undated letter in the Bibliothèque-musée de la Comédie-Française dossier “Ancessy” shows that the score was copied for use at that theater, without alterations, under the *chef d'orchestre* Roques.

<sup>101</sup> While this composer’s identity is uncertain, a composer named Frédéric Brisson composed numerous piano transcriptions and dances published for popular audiences between 1849 and 1892.

<sup>102</sup> While *La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* names “L. Dauphin” as the composer of the score, the 1875 edition of the play states “for the music of *Ilote*, contact Mr. Léon of the Comédie-Française” (Pour la musique de *l'Ilote*, s’adresser à M. Léon, à la Comédie-Française). If Léon was not the composer, then perhaps the only score of the (never published) work was the manuscript owned by the theater. Compare Anonymous, “Nouvelles des théâtres lyriques,” in *La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, 27 June 1875, 206, with Charles Monselet and Paul Arène, *L'Ilote: comédie en un acte, en vers* (Paris: Tresse, 1875), [4].

<sup>103</sup> Erckmann-Chatrian was the collective pseudonym for frequent collaborators Emile Erckmann & Alexandre Chatrian.

<i>Smilis</i> *	23 January 1884	Jean Aicard	Henri Maréchal*
<i>Hamlet</i> †	28 September 1886	Shakespeare, adapt. Alexandre Dumas & Paul Meurice	Ambroise Thomas* & Laurent Léon <sup>105</sup>
<i>Le Mariage de Figaro</i>	29 March 1887	Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais	Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais <sup>106</sup>
<i>Grisélidis</i> *	15 May 1891	Armand Silvestre & Eugène Morand	Laurent Léon*
<i>Rosalinde</i> †	29 May 1891	Lambert Thiboust & Aurélien Scholl	Laurent Léon*
<i>La Mégère apprivoisée</i> <sup>107</sup> *	19 November 1891	Shakespeare, adapt. Paul Delair	Laurent Léon*
<i>Par le glaive</i> *	8 February 1892	Jean Richepin	Laurent Léon*
<i>Le Sicilien</i> <sup>108</sup>	19 May 1892	Molière	Camille Saint-Saëns*
<i>Le Juif polonais</i> †	19 September 1892	Emile Erckmann & Alexandre Chatrian	Etienne Singla†
<i>Dom Japhet d'Arménie</i>	12 February 1893	Paul Scarron	Laurent Léon*
<i>Antigone</i>	21 November 1893	Sophocles, tr. Paul Meurice & Auguste Vacquerie	Camille Saint-Saëns*
<i>La Femme de Tabarin</i> †	21 July 1894 <sup>109</sup>	Catulle Mendès	Emmanuel Chabrier†
<i>Le Fils de l'Arétin</i> *	27 November 1895	Henri de Bornier	Laurent Léon*
<i>Tristan de Léonois</i> *	29 October 1897	Armand Silvestre	Laurent Léon*
<i>Othello ou Le More de Venise</i> *	27 February 1899	Jean Aicard	Laurent Léon*
<i>Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme</i> <sup>110</sup>	18 March 1899 (at the Paris Opéra)	Molière	Jean-Baptiste Lully
<i>Les Burgraves</i> *	February 26, 1902	Victor Hugo	Camille Saint-Saëns
<i>Les Phéniciennes</i> * <sup>111</sup>	August 10, 1902 <sup>112</sup>	Georges Rivollet, after	Laurent Léon*

<sup>104</sup> *Le Roi s'amuse* was premièred at the Comédie-Française on 22 November 1832, and quickly censored. It was not performed again until this production.

<sup>105</sup> Thomas's newly composed "Chanson d'Ophélie" and "Chanson du Fossoyeur" were published on page eight of *Le Figaro* on 6 October 1886.

<sup>106</sup> This production restored the vaudeville finale of Beaumarchais to the work. See Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales* 1887, 58.

<sup>107</sup> *La Mégère apprivoisée* is an adaptation of *The Taming of the Shrew*.

<sup>108</sup> Performed by members of the Comédie-Française at a benefit gala at the Opéra.

<sup>109</sup> This play was premièred at the Théâtre Libre on 11 November 1887.

<sup>110</sup> This work was performed as a benefit gala on this date at the Paris Opéra by members of the Comédie-Française on 18 March 1899 and on 11 March 1900, 15 October 1903, and 26 December 1905.

<sup>111</sup> This work was introduced to the stage of the Comédie-Française on 10 July 1905.



		Euripedes	
<i>Marion de Lorme</i>	July 14, 1906 (at the Trocadéro)	Victor Hugo	Étienne-Nicolas Méhul, arr. Laurent Léon* <sup>113</sup>
<i>Electre</i> *	4 February 1907	Sophocles, tr. Alfred Poizat	Laurent Léon*
<i>Polyphème</i> * <sup>114</sup> †	19 May 1908	Albert Samain	Raymond Bonheur†
<i>Les Bergères de Théocrite</i> *	11 June 1910	Armand d'Artois	Laurent Léon*
<i>Les Érinyes</i> †	4 July 1910	Charles-Marie Leconte de Lisle	Jules Massenet† <sup>115</sup>
<i>Marionnettes</i> *	26 October 1910	Pierre Wolff	Laurent Léon*
<i>La Surprise de l'amour</i>	27 April 1911	Pierre de Marivaux	Charles Hess*
<i>Le Ménage de Molière</i> *	11 March 1912	Maurice Donnay	Laurent Léon* & Jean-Baptiste Lully
<i>Pygmalion</i>	29 June 1912	Jean-Jacques Rousseau	Horace Coignet, arr. Laurent Léon* & Omer Letorey* <sup>116</sup>
<i>Ruy Blas</i>	23 February 1914	Victor Hugo	Omer Letorey*
<i>Macbeth</i>	30 May 1914	Shakespeare, adapt. Jean Richepin	Omer Letorey*

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<sup>112</sup> Performed by the troupe of the Comédie-Française at the Théâtre antique de l'Orange.

<sup>113</sup> Music from the revolutionary song “Le Chant du Départ” was performed; see Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales* 1906, 77-78. Further productions at the Trocadéro took place on 22 April and 14 July 1907.

<sup>114</sup> This work was premièreed at the Théâtre de l'Œuvre on 10 May 1904.

<sup>115</sup> Noël and Stoullig remark that the incidental music was “adapted after the score of Massenet” (adaptée d’après la partition de M. Massenet); see Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales* 1910, 78. Serge Basset notes in his “Courier des Théâtres” column that “the musical entr’acte by Massenet will be performed with the curtain down, between the first and second parts” (L’entr’acte musical de M. Massenet sera exécuté à rideau baissé, entre la première et la deuxième parties); see *Le Figaro*, 4 July 1910, 5.

<sup>116</sup> See Alfred Loewenberg, *The Annals of Opera, 1597-1940* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 1970): 312.

## CHAPTER TWO

### INCIDENTAL MUSIC AND THE DIRECTORSHIPS OF PAUL POREL AT THE THÉÂTRE DE L'ODÉON (1884 – 92) AND GRAND-THÉÂTRE (1892 – 93)

During an eight-year period from 1884 to 1892, the Théâtre de l'Odéon came out of its shadow as the *deuxième Théâtre-Français* to become a hybrid theater, mixing a form of musical drama with the spoken drama it customarily offered. However, unlike the role of the Odéon as an official opera house between 1824 and 1828, no operas were performed at the Odéon in these eight years.<sup>1</sup> Rather, a substantial amount of music was frequently integrated into the spoken dramas, to both popular and critical success. In these eight years the Odéon produced some 863 performances featuring incidental music.<sup>2</sup> It hosted the revival of several dramatic scores (most notably Georges Bizet's music for Alphonse Daudet's much neglected *L'Arlésienne*) and premiered thirteen new scores, including two each by Gabriel Fauré and Charles-Marie Widor. As the unprecedented success of this theater in mixing music and spoken theater during this period was due to the vision and ambition of director Paul Porel, this chapter will center on a study of music under his directorship of the Odéon, and concludes by examining briefly Porel's subsequent directorships of the Grand-Théâtre and Théâtre du Vaudeville.

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<sup>1</sup> See Mark Everist, *Music Drama at the Paris Odéon, 1824-1828* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002) and Paul Porel and Georges Monval, *L'Odéon: Histoire administrative, anecdotique et littéraire du Second Théâtre Français (1782-1853)*, 2 vols. (Paris: A. Lemerre, 1876-1882).

<sup>2</sup> While productions with incidental music averaged nearly 108 per year, from 1884 to 1892 the Odéon produced between 300 and 377 total performances annually. Figures may be found in Albert Soubies, *Almanach des spectacles* (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1875-1914).

The events of this period foreground a different role for the Odéon than its traditional functions as the least-funded and least-recognized of the four major state-funded Parisian stages. Often known by its alternative name of Second Théâtre-Française (that is, second to the Comédie-Française), this theater served generally as a training ground for actors and actresses from which the Comédie-Française could draw talent, and as such rotated through the classic repertory of French plays and premiered some new plays (after the Comédie-Française had declined to perform them). A subsidiary function of the Odéon was to provide its performances to the widest possible audience, especially the students whose universities and apartments surrounded its edifice in the 6<sup>th</sup> Arrondissement. By incorporating scores which approached 45 minutes to an hour in length, the Odéon attracted a broader and more loyal audience, enabling it to take greater risks in its offerings with less fear of fiscal loss.

### **Porel's Rise to the Directorship**

While incidental music was a peripheral part of the repertoire of the Odéon from its founding in 1782, the principal figure in giving music a central role at the Odéon was Paul Porel (pseudonym for Désiré-Paul Parfouru, 1843 – 1917). Porel began his career as an actor, having studied at the Conservatoire alongside Sarah Bernhardt. In 1862 he won the top prize awarded that year for a male comedic actor in the annual Concours du Conservatoire.<sup>3</sup> Taken into the cast of the Théâtre de l'Odéon that year, he remained there until 1866. From 1867 –

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<sup>3</sup> Porel was named as the top male awardee in 1862: "Comédie. Hommes: 2e prix (à l'unanimité), Parfouru, élève de M. Régnier." It should be noted that there was no first prize winner that year. Nor were any prizes awarded to tragedians, whose top rank awarded was first runner-up (*1er accessit*). See "Concours du Conservatoire," *Le Menestrel*, 27 July 1862: 277.

1870 he was part of the troupe at the Théâtre du Gymnase, He returned to the Odéon under Félix Duquesnel in 1871, after the Franco-Prussian War.<sup>4</sup>

By 1875 he served as one of the leading male actors there. As many Parisian theatrical directors were of literary or bureaucratic background, Porel demonstrated his intellectual side by co-authoring a substantial and well-researched history of the Odéon with Georges Monval, then librarian of the Comédie-Française.<sup>5</sup> Thus, Porel was quite aware of the potential for the Odéon to produce music, in light of the history of music at the Odéon in the 1820's.

On 14 March 1881, Porel was named stage director at the Odéon under the general directorship of Charles de La Rounat, who had assumed leadership of the theater for the second time.<sup>6</sup> The well-seasoned critics Édouard Noël and Edmond Stoullig frequently commented on the close partnership between the young Porel and the aging director, as did commentators for *Le Figaro*. Their working relationship was quickly seen by the press as an apprenticeship for Porel, under a very capable administrator with a reputation for both sound fiscal policy and strong artistic direction. De La Rounat's second turn at the directorship was marked by net annual profits and positive critical reviews of his productions. Porel continued on with occasional acting roles in addition to his directorial duties. Having begun his engagements at the Odéon under de La Rounat's previous directorship (see Table 2.1: Directors of the Théâtre de l'Odéon), Porel was long familiar with de La Rounat's leadership

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<sup>4</sup> See Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales du théâtre et de la musique* 1885 (Paris: G. Charpentier et Cie, 1886), 197.

<sup>5</sup> Porel and Monval, *L'Odéon: Histoire administrative, anecdotique et littéraire du Second Théâtre Français (1782-1853)*.

<sup>6</sup> The date of Porel's appointment as Stage Director is given in Christian Genty, *Histoire du Théâtre National de l'Odéon (journal de bord) 1782-1982* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1982): 54.

style. Porel was made co-director on 25 May 1882, as a result of de La Rounat’s failing health.

From the initiation of the co-directorship, Porel took on an increasing amount of responsibility until he was made interim director (after De La Rounat’s death, early in November 1884), as is evidenced from the number of changes made at the theater after his appointment. Since closing for summer on 3 June 1882, renovations were made on the performance hall of the theater. A new curtain was installed and painted, the interior redecorated, the tapestries replaced, and additional lighting installed. This was especially striking since the entire building had undergone extensive renovations during the summer

Table 2.1: Directors of the Théâtre de l’Odéon, 1856 – 1906<sup>7</sup>

Director	Dates of Directorship
Charles de La Rounat	1 July 1856 – 31 May 1866
Charles de Chilly	1 June 1866 – 11 June 1872
Félix Duquesnel	11 June 1872 – 31 May 1880
Charles de La Rounat	1 June 1880 – 25 May 1882
Charles de La Rounat and Paul Porel	25 May 1882 – 25 December 1884
Paul Porel	26 December 1884 – 31 May 1892
Émile Marck & Émile Desbeaux	1 September 1892 – 30 June 1896
Paul Ginisty & André Antoine	1 July 1896 – 23 November 1896
Paul Ginisty	24 November 1896 – 31 May 1906

of 1875, the first since the building was hastily rebuilt after the fire of 20 March 1818. The four-month period from September to December 1882 included six premières comprised of 25 acts, a sum which surpassed the requirements of their *cahier des charges* for the entire season, and highlighted the successful partnership of de La Rounat and Porel.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Dates for the directorships of the Odéon from 1807 to Porel’s appointment as director are summarized in Nicole Wild, *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiens au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Aux Amateurs des Livres, 1989): 289-293. Dates for subsequent directorships can be found in Genty, *Histoire du Théâtre National de l’Odéon*.

<sup>8</sup> The *cahier des charges* issued to de La Rounat stated “on devait donner annuellement 4 grands ouvrages de 3 à 5 actes et 4 ouvrages de 1 à 2 actes, ce qui fait au minimum 16 actes nouveaux” (4 large works of 3 to 5 acts and 4 works of 1 to 2 acts, for a minimum of 16 new acts, must be given annually). See Noël and Stoullig, *Les*

Additionally, de La Rounat and Porel enjoyed financial success. While the Comédie-Française outspent its income from ticket sales by F300,000 during the first six months of 1884, the Odéon was praised by the Ministre des Beaux-Arts for producing a profit despite the meager subvention it received.<sup>9</sup> According to the *cahier des charges* issued to de La Rounat in 1880, the theater was accorded F100,000 annually under the condition that the tickets for *fauteuils* (armchairs of the orchestra and balconies) cost F5 in place of F7.<sup>10</sup> The profits at the Odéon were F12,858 in 1883, and they rose to F50,000 for the first five months of 1884 alone. The economic success of the Odéon provided its directors with some latitude in their administration of the theater, as would be seen in the programming for the upcoming season.

The 1884 – 85 Parisian theatrical season was previewed in *Le Figaro* in a serial article by Jehan Valter, with the Odéon's upcoming season surveyed on 16 August 1884. Many of the highlights were reprises or translated works: Jules Lacroix's translation of *Macbeth*, Alphonse Daudet's *L'Arlésienne* to be produced with Bizet's score, the Goncourt brothers' *Henriette Maréchal*, and another unspecified Shakespearean translation by Auguste Dorchain.<sup>11</sup> In October 1884, de La Rounat's health degraded to such a state that he was no longer able to co-direct the theater; Porel was appointed interim director while the Minister of Public Instruction deliberated on de La Rounat's replacement. During this interim period,

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*Annales* 1892, 128, which recounts details of the *cahier* of de La Rounat and Porel in comparison with that given to their successors Emile Marck and Emile Desbeaux in 1892.

<sup>9</sup> See *Le Menestrel*, "Nouvelles diverses: Paris et départements," 23 November 1884, 414.

<sup>10</sup> See Genty, *Histoire du Théâtre Nationale de l'Odéon*, 53. This figure is paltry in comparison with the F240,000 subvention received annually by the Comédie-Française, which possessed an endowment in addition.

<sup>11</sup> Dorchain's *Conte d'avril*, an adaptation of *Twelfth Night, or What You Will*, was not premiered until the start of the 1885-86 season.

Porel wasted little time in putting his own stamp on the direction of the Odéon. At the start of the month, rehearsals commenced for Jules Lacroix's adaptation of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, a translation lauded both for its accuracy and its elegant French. Premiered in 1863 at the Odéon, this reprise had to compete with the successful production of *Macbeth* in Jean Richepin's prose translation at the Théâtre de la Porte-Saint-Martin, première on 21 May 1884.<sup>12</sup> Richepin's translation was reprised at the Porte-Saint-Martin on 15 September to start the 1884 – 85 season under the new directorship of Félix Duquesnel, and reached its 47<sup>th</sup> performance on 2 October, when it closed to make way for *Les Danicheff*. Thus the production of *Macbeth* at the Porte-Saint-Martin made for direct competition with that of the Odéon. Lacroix's production of *Œdipe Roi* at the Comédie-Française had been a major success in the previous season; yet Porel did not want to count exclusively on that poet's appeal to guarantee the success of *Macbeth*. In order to distinguish the Odéon's production with lesser-known actors from that at the Porte-Saint-Martin, which had featured "The Divine" Sarah Bernhardt as a major source of its appeal, Porel commissioned the Odéon's conductor, Schatté, to compose incidental music for the work.<sup>13</sup> Although the well-above-average ticket receipts suggest that the addition of music to the production was popular with audiences, it did not enhance the critical response.<sup>14</sup> As was common for incidental music by lesser-known composers, the press largely overlooked the music; *Le Figaro* neglected to

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<sup>12</sup> For the production at the Porte-Saint-Martin, Sarah Bernhardt had initially courted Lacroix to permit his version to be performed there; when he refused to allow his work to be performed until near the end of the year, she commissioned Richepin to produce rapidly a new translation. See Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales* 1884, 200-201.

<sup>13</sup> Schatté's first name has been lost: it is omitted from the Livres du Bord of the Odéon (preserved as series AJ55 at Les Archives Nationales (AN) in Paris), passed over in the press, and missing from his scores housed in the BnF.

<sup>14</sup> Opening night ticket sales for *Macbeth* were ₣1,831.00 and grew steadily to reach ₣3,106.50 for the matinée and ₣3,209.50 for the evening performance on 2 November 1884. These figures eclipse those of the Sunday matinée and evening performances of 26 October at ₣1,435.25 and ₣1,033.25, respectively.

mention it altogether in its announcements and review of the work. Noël and Stoullig made a special point to refer to it in a footnote as “trivial and sometimes grotesque music” (musique insignifiante et parfois grotesque), “which was the only stain on the production” (qui fut la seule tâche de cette représentation).<sup>15</sup>

As de La Rounat’s death from bone cancer became imminent, Porel encountered a threat to his position from within his own theater. When Porel used his power as interim director to fire Fernand Bourgeat from his post as *secrétaire générale* of the Odéon, Bourgeat submitted his own application for directorship of the theater. This half-hearted challenge to Porel’s leadership only served to strengthen public support for Porel, as *Le Figaro* reminded its readers that Porel’s candidacy had been endorsed to the Ministry of Public Instruction in a letter signed by the majority of the playwrights currently produced by the Odéon, including Émile Augier, Victor Cherbuliez, François Coppée, Alphonse Daudet, Théodore de Banville, Émile Doucet, Jules Lacroix, Leconte de Lisle, Paul Meurice, Aurélien Scholl, André Theuriet, Auguste Vaquerie, and Auguste Vitu, among others.<sup>16</sup> On 26 December 1884, a day after de La Rounat’s passing and a day after *Le Figaro* announced Bourgeat’s candidacy, Porel was at last officially appointed to sole directorship of the theater. He appointed Émile Marck to replace himself as stage director, and Émile Desbeaux to replace Bourgeat as *secrétaire générale*.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> See Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales* 1884, 109-110 fn1.

<sup>16</sup> See Prével, “Courrier des Théâtres,” *Le Figaro*, 26 December 1884, 4.

<sup>17</sup> Bourgeat later was added to the administrative staff of the Conservatoire, where he became embroiled in the scandal surrounding Juliette Toutain. See Annegret Fauser, “‘La Guerre en dentelles’: Women and the ‘Prix de Rome’ in French Cultural Politics,” in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 51 (1998): 83-129, especially 95-96.



Having witnessed the financial and popular success generated when *Macbeth* was accompanied by a mediocre score, Porel moved to improve upon this pattern. By drawing from his house composer, Porel had been able to avoid paying a commission to the composer of the work. He soon realized that he could avoid paying a commission by utilizing a pre-existing score by a dead musician, which would allow him to choose an already well-received score rather than taking a chance on a new work. Thus, for the celebration of Racine's 245<sup>th</sup> birthday on 21 December 1884, Porel programmed one of Racine's classics, as was customary (a similar pattern was normative on the birthdays of Molière and Corneille, at both the Odéon and the Comédie-Française). In this case, it was Racine's late work *Athalie*, but uncharacteristically it was accompanied by the 150 musicians of the Orchestre Colonne playing Mendelssohn's incidental score. This music had been given its concert première in Paris by the Concerts du Conservatoire on 27 January 1867.<sup>18</sup> It was first performed at the Odéon with the play on 5 July 1867; Jules Padeloup conducted his orchestra for the performance.<sup>19</sup> The music had been reprised at the Odéon for a single performance by the Colonne orchestra on 21 December 1873, causing such a rush at the ticket office that no tickets were left for the theater to give to press critics.<sup>20</sup> Strangely, despite its success in 1873 it had not been revived in the intervening twelve years. Porel announced a series of six performances combining his actors with the 150 musicians of the

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<sup>18</sup> The Concerts du Conservatoire reprised the incidental music for *Athalie* on 3 February 1867. For information on the Concerts du Conservatoire, see D. Kern Holoman, *The Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, 1828-1967* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004). Electronic appendices to this volume, including concert programs, are available online at <http://hector.ucdavis.edu/sdc/>.

<sup>19</sup> The Orchestre Padeloup had first performed the work at the Concert Hall of the Paris Conservatoire in January; perhaps it was this performance which led director Charles de Chilly to the joint performance with the Odéon in July.

<sup>20</sup> See Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales* 1884, 112, and Jules Prével, "Courrier des Théâtres," *Le Figaro*, 21 December 1884, 3.

Colonne orchestra (on the evenings of December 21, 25 and 28, with matinees on January 2, 3, & 4, 1885). But when the receipts from the first performance reached the unusually high figure of F7,061.25, Porel realized he had found his niche. He initially extended the production to reach ten performances on 14 January, and again added seven more performances through 6 April. The audience responded with a full house and nightly curtain calls, and receipts averaged F4,897.35.<sup>21</sup> Unfortunately, records have not been found which indicate how much Porel remunerated Colonne and his musicians.

Porel's strategy to draw together a beloved classic tragedy with a score by a highly esteemed composer helped the Odéon weather the commotion surrounding the 26 December production of Victorien Sardou's *Théodora* at the Porte-Saint-Martin. This *drame en 5 actes et 8 tableaux* was accompanied by Massenet's incidental music for women's choir and organ. But as with *Macbeth* at the Porte-Saint-Martin, Sarah Bernhardt was particularly lauded for her alluring creation of the title role as the courtesan-turned-queen. The work was so popular that its première elicited a full-page review by Auguste Vitu on the *front* page of *Le Figaro* the next day.<sup>22</sup> The customary "Soirée de Théâtre" column written by "Un Monsieur de l'Orchestre" (pseud. for Émile Blavet) was similarly moved up to page two, and likewise its length was augmented significantly. The production ran for two hundred sixty-four performances in the 1884 – 85 season, a number unthinkable at the Odéon because of its requirements to rotate through its large repertory and produce new works as well. The one-

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<sup>21</sup> Receipt figures are drawn from AN AJ55 14.

<sup>22</sup> It was customary for reviews in *Le Figaro* to be found on the second-to-last page of the four, six, or eight-page issue, comprising at most two of the six columns found on a page. Such a prominent treatment for *Théodora* was unheard of.

hundredth performance of *Théodora* on 5 April 1885 attained more than ₣7,000, bringing the cumulative receipts to the record sum (for a *boulevard* theater) of ₣1,006,940.50.

While the combination of *Athalie* with music by Mendelssohn would be frequently revisited under the directorships of Porel (in 1885 and 1888 at the Odéon, as well as at the Grand-Théâtre in 1893), his most successful revival would come the following May.

### **The Revival of *L'Arlésienne***

When Porel programmed the revival of *L'Arlésienne*, he could scarcely have dreamed that it would become the signature work of his directorship. *L'Arlésienne* had been premièreed at the Théâtre du Vaudeville on 1 October 1872, where it had been a critical and financial failure.<sup>23</sup>

The revival of *Carmen* on 21 April 1883 at the Opéra-Comique had drawn renewed appreciation for Bizet's craft, attaining great success with fifty-two performances that year, eighty-six in 1884, and sixty-four in 1885. Yet the play *L'Arlésienne* with its score by Bizet had not been revived, though it had never departed from the concert halls of Paris. The great care Porel took with the production of *L'Arlésienne* suggests that he saw potential for its revival to form the keystone of his first season as sole director of the Odéon. In advance of the performance of *L'Arlésienne*, Porel had added music to two productions since the 16

August announcement of the Odéon's season. Certainly with *Macbeth* and *Athalie* he wanted

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<sup>23</sup> In her preface to her edition of the *L'Arlésienne* Suite No. 1, Lesley Wright points out that while the 1872 edition of the play and several newspapers give the date of the premiere as 1 October 1872, several other newspapers, Bizet and Mme Daudet suggest the premiere occurred on 30 September. Beginning on 12 December 1882 with Victorien Sardou's *Fédora*, the première date of many Parisian productions was obscured by the practice of a public dress rehearsal (attended primarily by theatrical critics) a day before the official premiere; see F.W.J. Hemmings, *The Theatre Industry in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 72-75. Wright's research at the archives of the Société des Auteurs et Compositeurs Dramatiques shows receipts for 30 September, suggesting that the première did indeed occur on that date and that the date of 1 October 1872 is erroneous (communicated to me by private correspondance). See Georges Bizet, *L'Arlésienne Suite No. 1 for Orchestra*, Lesley Wright, ed. (London: Ernst Eulenberg Ltd., 1998): IIIIn3 and Georges Bizet, *L'Arlésienne Suite No. 2 for Orchestra*, Lesley Wright, ed. (London: Ernst Eulenberg Ltd., 2001): IIIIn3. For more on the 1872 production, see Hervé Lacombe, *Georges Bizet: naissance d'une identité créatrice* (Paris: Fayard, 2000): 589-610.

to explore the power of music to set his productions of classics apart from those of other theaters. Yet the late addition of music to these two productions may have been calculated as practice for *L'Arlésienne*. His previous productions served to prepare the coordination of music with drama, explored the use of the Odéon's own orchestra and that of Édouard Colonne, and provided a comparison of the effect of a major score by a relatively unknown composer (Schatté) versus a composer of international status (Mendelssohn). He had even managed to extend the run of *Athalie* twice, in coordination with Colonne and his musicians. Whether by explicit design or otherwise, the productions Porel directed had explored the practice of incidental music thoroughly by the time of the revival of *L'Arlésienne*.

Accounts of the production note the unusual meticulousness employed in every aspect. Noël and Stoullig concluded their review with a summary:

The play was well-performed, staged with unusual care, and the scenery which depicted the shore of Lake Vaccarès, in Camargo, was glorious. – A truly literary and musical evening, exceedingly poetic and artistic. It is worthy of a very special mention in this volume of our *Annales du théâtre et de la musique*.<sup>24</sup>

The impression created by Bizet's music was strong enough that Noël and Stoullig broke off their description of the plot at the start of the fifth tableau in order to praise the "real treat" of the "fine harmonies, these elegantly shaped phrases and these beautiful details in the orchestration" (c'est un vrai régal pour l'auditeur d'entendre ces fines harmonies, ces phrases au contour élégant et ces jolis détails d'orchestre).<sup>25</sup> Colonne and the orchestra received high praise for performing with "a rare perfection and irreproachable ensemble, with the most

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<sup>24</sup> "La pièce était bien jouée, montée avec un soin tout particulier, et le décor qui représentait les bords de l'étang de Vaccarès, en Camargue, était d'un effet superbe. – Soirée vraiment littéraire et musicale, poétique et artistique au premier chef. Elle méritait une mention toute spéciale en ce volume de nos *Annales du théâtre et de la musique*." Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales*, 1885, 221.

<sup>25</sup> Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales*, 1885, 218.

delicate nuances and exquisite feeling” (Colonne et les soixante musiciens de l’Odéon ont exécuté avec une perfection rare et un ensemble irréprochable, avec les nuances les plus délicates et un sentiment exquis).<sup>26</sup>

For the 1885 production, the 1872 score was altered by the anonymous arranger from a chamber orchestra of 26 instruments to a full symphony, based on Bizet’s own orchestration of the *L’Arlésienne* Suite No. 1 (see Table 2.2 for a comparison).<sup>27</sup> *Le Temps* put a favorable spin on the authenticity of this new version:

The score of Georges Bizet will be performed for the first time in its entirety, not as it had been originally written for the small orchestra of the Vaudeville, but according to the last version by the celebrated composer who reorchestrated his work for large symphony orchestras.<sup>28</sup>

The announcement continued by pointing out that the end of the Odéon’s season had been fixed for 31 May, and consequently there would be only twenty-four performances of the work during the twenty-seven-day period between its première and the end of the season.

The work was so successful that the twenty-fourth performance was reached five days before the intended end of the season. Yet the theater remained open until 13 June, almost two weeks past the previously announced closure date. The decision to extend the run of performances must have been made early, for there is no mention in the *Livres du bord*

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<sup>26</sup> Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales*, 1885, 219. No other source suggests that the musicians were the Odéon’s house orchestra, and although it is unclear how many singers versus instrumentalists were present, 60 instrumentalists of 150 musicians total is an unlikely number, as other productions report Colonne’s forces varying between 80, 100, or 150 instrumentalists.

<sup>27</sup> Table 2.2 is based on a comparison of the 1872 manuscript score (Ms. 435 at the BnF-Musique), the two published orchestral suites (Georges Bizet, *L’Arlésienne Suite No. 1 for Orchestra*, Lesley Wright, ed. (London: Ernst Eulenberg Ltd., 1998) and Bizet, *L’Arlésienne Suite No. 2 for Orchestra*, Lesley Wright, ed. (London: Ernst Eulenberg Ltd., 2001), and the 1885 printed orchestral score (Bizet, *L’Arlésienne* (Paris: Choudens, 1885) housed at the BnF-Musique under call number Vmb. 62.

<sup>28</sup> “La partition de Georges Bizet sera donnée pour la première fois dans toute son intégrité, non pas comme elle avait été primitivement écrite pour le petit orchestre du Vaudeville, mais selon la dernière version du célèbre compositeur qui réinstrumenta son œuvre en vue des grands orchestres symphoniques.” Anonymous, “Spectacles et Concerts,” *Le Temps*, 29 April 1885, 4.

Table 2.2: Orchestrations of *L'Arlésienne* in 1872 and 1885

<u>1872 score, 26 musicians</u>	<u>Suite No. 1 &amp; 1885 score</u>
2 Flutes (Piccolo)	2 Flutes
Oboe (English Horn)	2 Oboes (Oboe 2 also plays English Horn)
Clarinet in B-flat	2 Clarinets in B-flat
Alto Saxophone in E-flat	Alto Saxophone in E-flat
2 Bassoons	2 Bassoons
Natural Horn	4 Natural Horns
Valved Horn in F	
	2 Trumpets in C
	2 Cornets in B-flat
	3 Trombones
Timpani in C, G	Timpani in C and G
Provençal Tambourin	Tambour
Piano, Harmonium	Harp or Piano
4 I Violins	I Violins
3 II Violins	II Violins
1 Viola	Violas
5 Cellos	Cellos
2 Contrabasses	Contrabasses

(AN AJ55 14) of a “final performance” (dernière représentation) until Monday, 8 June, where a countdown begins for the final six performances, culminating in the thirty-ninth performance on Saturday, 13 June. Receipts from the première were rather low— F2,699 compared with F7,061.25 for the first night of *Athalie*. Perhaps more complimentary tickets were issued. Nevertheless, receipts grew with each passing performance, reaching F6,080.50 for the matinée on 17 May, despite competition with the evening performance of *L'Arlésienne* that same day, which drew in F4,461.50 (total receipts of F10,542 in a single day). Over the course of the original twenty-four scheduled performances, receipts averaged F5,208.92, which was F311.57 higher than the average for the seventeen performances of *Athalie*. This is noteworthy given not only the slow start for *L'Arlésienne*, but also given the longer run it enjoyed and the much denser performance schedule which might have saturated

its target audience much sooner (*L'Arlésienne*'s initial schedule of twenty-four performances was reached in twenty-two days, compared with the seventeen performances of *Athalie* spread over 107 days, between 21 December 1884 and 6 April 1885).

It is unclear how much Colonne and his orchestra were remunerated for their performances at the Odéon, or even the degree to which the performers were exclusively drawn from the ranks of the Concerts Colonne.<sup>29</sup> None of the records for the Odéon at the Archives Nationales address such contractual information or payment records; nor have I located any discussions of the same in the press.

We might be forgiven today for viewing in hindsight the success of Porel's revival of *L'Arlésienne* as inevitable. It was so well-received in 1885 and became such an integral part of the repertoire of the Odéon, Éden-Théâtre, and later the Comédie-Française that it is hard to imagine it could have been otherwise.<sup>30</sup> Yet in 1885, the success of *L'Arlésienne* was anything but certain. Albert Verdier made this clear in the opening of his review of the production: "When I said that *La Nuit de Cléopâtre* constituted the last première of the season, I never dreamed of *L'Arlésienne*."<sup>31</sup> Anatole Claveau noted that the work was "reprised or rather resuscitated," while Achille de Lauzières de Thémis referred to the audience "present at the resurrection, at the rehabilitation of the drama by Daudet."<sup>32</sup> Émile

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<sup>29</sup> Noël and Stoullig suggest that Colonne conducted the 60 musicians of the Odéon house orchestra for the revival of *L'Arlésienne*, a figure which seems unlikely given the 150 musicians (including chorus) cited in many other press sources. See Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales* 1885, 218-219. For the revival on 8 October, they note the performance by "Colonne and his orchestra" (Colonne et son orchestre), which accords with other accounts; see Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales* 1885, 236.

<sup>30</sup> For a list of productions of *L'Arlésienne*, see Appendix Three at the end of this dissertation.

<sup>31</sup> "Quand je disais que la *Nuit de Cléopâtre* constituait la dernière première de la saison, je ne songeais pas à l'*Arlésienne*." Albert Verdier, "La Soirée Théâtrale: *L'Arlésienne*," *La Presse*, 6 May 1885, 3.

<sup>32</sup> "J'ai hâte d'arriver au grand succès de la semaine, l'*Arlésienne*, de M. Alphonse Daudet, repris ou plutôt ressuscité mardi dernier à l'Odéon." A[natole] Claveau, "Revue dramatique," *La Patrie*, 11 May 1885, 2; "On n'analyse donc pas la musique de l'*Arlésienne*, on l'écoute, on l'admire et on la garde dans sa mémoire. Voilà

Desbeaux, the *secrétaire générale* of the Odéon, reviewed the production in the society column titled “Les Soirs des premières” in *Le Moniteur universel*, under his pseudonym “L’Amateur des Spectacles.”<sup>33</sup> He likewise commented on the unanticipated nature of the success: “For the public who went to the Odéon, the production was unexpected. Little by little they were amazed; next they were fascinated with the work, the artists, the staging.”<sup>34</sup> Equally surprising to readers today are the points of discussion among the critics which display a degree of rumor and uncertainty about the history of the score. Jacques Hermann asserted that the 1872 score had been quite brief, and that after the production flopped, Bizet had expanded it to its 1885 form as a labor of love, without hope of seeing it performed.<sup>35</sup> Adolphe Aderer, writing anonymously for *Le Temps*’ “Spectacles et Concerts” column, claimed that this production was the first to present the score in its entirety, as the smaller size of the orchestra used in 1872 necessitated reductions.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, composer and critic Victorin Joncières remarked that a chorus found in the second act of the 1872 production had

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ce que j’ai fait ; voilà ce que vous faites vous tous qui avez assisté à la résurrection, à la réhabilitation du drame de Daudet.” [Achille de Lauzières] de Thémines, “Revue musicale,” *La Patrie*, 12 May 1885, 3.

<sup>33</sup> Desbeaux also wrote criticism for the high-circulation *Petit Parisien*. In 1881, Fernand Bourgeat was active as the dramatic critic (under pseudonym) for both *La Marseillaise* and *Le Mot d’ordre*, while also serving as the *secrétaire générale* of the Odéon. While many theater administrators also wrote dramatic criticism, it was most often done *after* their administrative terms were over. An example of a former administrators-turned-critics active in 1885 include Fernand Bourgeat, who wrote the “Courrier des Théâtres” for *Gil Blas*, and Édouard Thierry (former Administrateur Générale of the Comédie-Française) who was the chief reviewer for *Le Moniteur universel*. It seems that Desbeaux had reduced his critical activity after Porel promoted him; in 1881, he was the sole critic for *Le Petit moniteur*, *Le Petit presse*, and *Le Presse illustré*, as well as the author of the “Courrier des Théâtres” for *Le Moniteur universel*. I have found no signs that anyone perceived a conflict of interest on Desbeaux’ part; certainly it was no greater than that of music publisher Henri Heugel writing music criticism for *Le Ménestrel*, or of the various composers who wrote music criticism (including Victorin Joncières, Ernest Reyer, Gaston Serpette, Charles Widor, and later Claude Debussy) and playwrights who wrote dramatic criticism (such as Alphonse Daudet, Armand Silvestre, and Jean Richepin).

<sup>34</sup> “Pour le public qui venait à l’Odéon, le spectacle a été inattendu. Peu à peu il s’étonne; puis il est émerveillé de l’œuvre, des artistes, de la mise en scène.” L’Amateur des Spectacles (Émile Desbeaux), “Les Soirs des premières,” *Le Moniteur universel*, 6 May 1885, 495.

<sup>35</sup> Jacques Hermann, “Musique: Si l’ « Arlésienne » était un opéra!,” *Le Constitutionnel*, 12 May 1885, 2.

<sup>36</sup> Anonymous (Adolphe Aderer), “Spectacles et Concerts,” *Le Temps*, 7 May 1885, 3.



been suppressed at the 1885 revival, because Bizet had recycled that fragment in *Carmen*.<sup>37</sup> None of these comments had any merit, but they show the degree to which the saga of the score of *L'Arlésienne* had become the stuff of legend, playing upon the imaginations of even those who were insiders to the Parisian musical and theatrical world of that time.

In this light, Porel's decision to reprise the work showed a tremendous degree of foresight and risk-taking which was amply rewarded. Porel's risks included a significant investment in stage designs (he hired four well-known artists to paint the four backdrops: Rubé, Chaperon, Jambon and Lemeunier), luxurious costumes made in southeast France, and a repeat of the imaginative arrangement with Colonne and his orchestra playing the score to accompany the actors. Perhaps another director would have been less daring with his budget while the theater's accountants showed a current deficit approximating £10,000.

It is true that the approaching tenth anniversary of Bizet's death (3 June 1875) made the revival timely. The placement of *L'Arlésienne* in mid-May served both to make it a finale to the Odéon's season and to position it as closely as possible to the anniversary, within the Odéon's customary annual closure date of May 31. Bizet's score had been a staple on the concert stage since Jules Pasdeloup premièreed what has come to be known as Bizet's *L'Arlésienne* Suite No. 1 at the Concerts Pasdeloup on 10 November 1872. Bizet's growing posthumous reputation was bolstered by the reprise of *Carmen* at the Opéra-Comique on 21 April 1883 (performed 46 times that year), after it had already met success throughout Europe, beginning with Vienna in 1875. Moreover, Daudet's rise as a dramatic author enabled a re-evaluation of the merits of the play itself.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Victorin Joncières, "Revue Musicale," *La Liberté*, 11 May 1885, 1.

<sup>38</sup> In the intervening years since the disastrous première of *L'Arlésienne* at the Vaudeville, Daudet had seen three works reach the stage. These included the one-act opéra-comique *Le Chariot* (music by Emile Pessard,

Porel had already acquired a reputation as a successful recoverer of “dead” plays. Just two months before the revival of *L’Arlésienne*, the Odéon revived *Henriette Maréchal*, a *drame en 3 actes et en prose* by Edmond and Jules de Goncourt. A flop at the Comédie-Française on 5 December 1865, *Henriette Maréchal* became a moderate success at the Odéon on 3 March 1885, and played to a very respectable 47 performances. This penchant for revivals, especially so many successful ones, led Lauzières de Thémis to refer the Odéon as a “appellate court for unjustly condemned works” (cour de cassation des œuvres injustement condamnées).<sup>39</sup> Henri de Lapommeraye was even more colorful in his assessment:

If theater directors were, in literary history, favored with surnames like the kings, Porel would soon be designated as “Porel the Just,” or “The Generous,” or “The Avenger.” ... To avenge authors of unmerited disdain is just and generous; and it is certainly an enterprise worthy of esteem, gratitude and repayment.<sup>40</sup>

Porel’s interest in reviving *L’Arlésienne* may have been personal, as well as a part of his broader campaign of revivals. Émile Blavet (writing under the pseudonym “Un Monsieur de l’Orchestre”) suggested that Porel’s intent to revive *L’Arlésienne* dated back to the work’s première, when Porel consoled Daudet with a promise to avenge him if ever Porel became

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libretto by Paul Arène and Alphonse Daudet) produced at the Opéra-Comique on 18 January 1878; his 5-act comedy *Le Nabab* (adapted from Daudet’s novel by Daudet and Pierre Elzear) produced at the Théâtre du Vaudeville on 30 January 1880; and his 5-act comedy *Les Rois en exil* (adapted from Daudet’s wildly successful novel by Daudet and Paul Delair) produced at the Théâtre du Vaudeville on 1 December 1883. *Sapho* (a play in 5 acts adapted from Daudet’s novel by Daudet and Adolphe Belot) would follow on the heels of the reprise of *L’Arlésienne*, being premiered at the Théâtre du Gymnase on 18 December 1885.

<sup>39</sup> Lauzières de Thémis, “Revue musicale,” *La Patrie*, 12 May 1885, 3.

<sup>40</sup> “Si les directeurs de théâtre étaient, dans l’histoire littéraire, gratifiés de surnoms comme les rois, M. Porel ne tarderait pas à être désigné aussi: Porel dit le Juste, ou le Généreux, ou le Vengeur. [...] Venger les auteurs de dédains immérités est juste et généreux; et c’est certes une entreprise qui mérite estime, gratitude et récompense.” Henri de Lapommeraye, “Premières Représentations,” *Paris*, 7 May 1885, 2-3.

director of the Odéon.<sup>41</sup> But Porel's general interest in revival was likely also driven by the perceived lack of suitable young playwriting talent. At the end of the nineteenth century, there was a growing crisis in French theater, whereby younger writers were deemed inadequate by both critics and public to replace the older generations of successful playwrights such as François Ponsard (1814 – 67), Émile Augier (1820 – 89), Edmond de Goncourt (1822 – 96) and his brother Jules (1830 – 10), Alexandre Dumas *fils* (1824 – 95), Victorien Sardou (1831 – 1908), François Coppée (1842 – 1908), Erckmann-Chatrion (pen name of Émile Erckmann (1822 – 99) and Alexandre Chatrion (1826 – 90)), Eugène Scribe (1791 – 1861), Henri de Bornier (1825 – 1901) and Victor Hugo (1802 – 85), whose passing on 22 May 1885 was emblematic of the crisis.

Writing some eight years later, Albert Soubies summed up the trend in French drama since 1870:

One may ask oneself if the impression would be the same today for some new Rip or some Epimenides who, having fallen asleep on the eve of the war of 1870, was awakened on the threshold of 1892. One thing would strike him immediately: the constant appearance on posters of old plays; or at least before 1870, frequent reprises of works which are not shown regularly, and more significantly still, the large public which they attract and the sums which they collect. ... To sum it up, on all the Parisian stages one still applauds the masters whom one applauded twenty years ago, and their new works are similar enough to their preceding ones. As to the newcomers, at least those who have been well-received by the public, they are always imitators, "traditionals," rather than creators or even innovators. ... the most important thing is still lacking, which alone can delineate a revolution in the dramatic art: a man of genius or, at least, a very great and unique talent.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> "Il y a longtemps que l'idée de jouer *l'Arlésienne* hante le cerveau de M. Porel. En octobre 1872, il assistait à la première, et, malgré la chute de la pièce, il en sortit enthousiasmé. – Tout de mal, disait-il à Daudet en manière de consolation, vient de ce que votre œuvre n'est pas dans son cadre. Je vous donnerai votre revanche, si jamais je suis directeur de l'Odéon !" Un Monsieur de l'Orchestre (Émile Blavet), "La Soirée théâtrale," *Le Figaro*, 6 May 1885, 3.

<sup>42</sup> "On peut se demander si l'impression serait aujourd'hui la même pour quelque nouveau Rip ou quelque Épiménide qui, s'étant endormi au lendemain de la guerre de 1870, se serait réveillé au seuil de l'année 1892. Une chose le frapperait tout d'abord: l'inscription constante, sur les affiches, des pièces anciennes, ou tout au moins antérieures à 1870, les reprises fréquentes d'œuvres qui n'y figurent pas régulièrement, et, chose plus significative encore, le public nombreux qu'elles attirent et les sommes qu'elles font encaisser. [...] En résumé,

His conclusion was almost sardonic in its tone: “Although the newcomers are often mediocre, they appear in great numbers, and this fecundity is a happy symptom” (Si les nouveautés sont souvent médiocres, elles éclosent en grand nombre, et cette fécondité est un symptôme heureux).<sup>43</sup>

This ongoing crisis had been felt at the Odéon during the 1884 – 85 season. In his review of *L’Arlésienne*, playwright Henri de Bornier noted the lack of repeated failure of new plays at the Odéon that season.<sup>44</sup> Similarly, Paul-Émile Chevalier referenced the lack of successful premières in the opening of his review for *L’Arlésienne*:

After having revived *Henriette Maréchal*, Porel is giving us a reprise of *L’Arlésienne* by Daudet, which was so coldly received in 1872 at the Vaudeville, under the direction of Carvalho. Does the new director of the Odéon wish to take up the task to demonstrate to us that the playwrights of twenty years ago had more dramatic sentiment than those of today? Or does he really seek to convince us that our taste is purified, and that in 1885 we are so much more capable of judging artistic works for their true value? Whatever the case, Porel has found in these two reprises a success which he had not been able to find with new plays, which he had tried previously.<sup>45</sup>

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sur toutes les scènes parisiennes on applaudit encore les maîtres qu’on applaudissait il y a vingt ans, et leurs œuvres nouvelles [begin p. 205 here] sont assez semblables aux précédents. Quant aux nouveaux venus, ceux-là du moins qui ont été bien accueillis du public, ce sont presque toujours des imitateurs, des « traditionnels », plutôt que des créateurs ou même des novateurs. [...] il manque ce qui importe d’abord, ce qui seul peut déterminer une révolution dans l’art dramatique, c’est-à-dire un homme de génie ou, du moins, d’un talent très grand et très personnel.” Albert Soubies, *Almanach des spectacles*, T. 20: *Coup d’œil d’ensemble 1871-1891* (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1893), 202, 204-205, 207.

<sup>43</sup> Soubies, *Almanach des Spectacles*, T. 20, 207.

<sup>44</sup> Henri de Bornier, “Revue du Théâtre: Drame et Comédie,” *La Nouvelle revue* 34 (1885): 861-64.

<sup>45</sup> “Voilà qu’après avoir remis à la scène *Henriette Maréchal*, M. Porel nous donne une reprise de cette *Arlésienne* de M. Daudet, qui fût si froidement reçue en 1872 au Vaudeville, sous la direction de M. Carvalho. Le nouveau directeur de l’Odéon prendrait-il à tâche de vouloir nous démontrer que les auteurs dramatiques d’il y a vingt ans avaient plus le sentiment dramatique que ceux d’aujourd’hui? Ou bien cherche-t-il nous convaincre que notre goût s’est épuré, et que nous sommes, en l’an 1885, beaucoup plus capables de juger des œuvres artistiques leur juste valeur? De façon ou d’autre, M. Porel a trouvé dans ces deux reprises un succès qu’il n’avait pas pu rencontrer avec les pièces nouvelles, dont il avait essayé précédemment.” Paul-Émile Chevalier, “Semaine Théâtrale: *L’Arlésienne* à l’Odéon,” *Le Ménestrel*, 10 May 1885, 179.

As we have seen, a similar crisis was ongoing at the Comédie-Française, where premières of plays by younger talent were almost invariably disappointing, both critically and financially, in comparison to those of reprises (of both classical and recent works) and plays by older writers, such as Erckmann-Chatrian. Jean Aicard's *drame en 4 actes Smilis* was meant to be a cornerstone première for the 1884 – 85 season of the Comédie-Française, introducing a younger playwright to the theater's repertoire. Instead, it played for a mere ten performances, a figure indicative of its massive critical and popular failure.

Several factors contributed to the success of *L'Arlésienne*. As Desbeaux noted, the production's success included three elements: the deepened theatrical education of the public since 1872, the growing reputation of Bizet, and the taste and studiousness of Porel's staging.<sup>46</sup> Other reviewers frequently commented that the actors' skill contributed to the triumph (although several reviewers singled out one performer or another for disparagement). For Édouard Thierry of *Le Moniteur universel*, the production was a "very big success, in which one must give the actors their large and rightful part. ... this cast raised the work by ten degrees. The Théâtre-Français does not pay attention to such things; it leans too much on the side of comedy, and for this it has declined, even with such distinguished talents."<sup>47</sup> Such a comparison favoring the Odéon over the Comédie-Française is indeed noteworthy, given the preeminence of the Comédie-Française in the rigidly fixed political and social hierarchies of Parisian theaters, as well as the vast disparity in funding between these two institutions.

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<sup>46</sup> L'Amateur des Spectacles (Emile Desbeaux). "Les Soirs des Premières," *Le Moniteur universel*, 6 May 1885, 495.

<sup>47</sup> "Très grand succès, dans lequel il faut distribuer aux acteurs leur large et juste part. Ils ont très bien joué. [...] cette distribution bien entendue a élevé la pièce de dix degrés. Le Théâtre-Français n'y prend pas garde ; mais il incline trop du côté de la comédie, et il en est à descendre, même avec des talents très distingués." Édouard Thierry, "Théâtres," *Le Moniteur universel*, 11 May 1885, 513-14.

It might seem odd for Desbeaux to leave off any mention of Daudet's rise as a dramatic writer, or the merits of the play itself. But many critics assailed the text of the play for its lack of dramatic qualities. Francisque Sarcey was the standard-bearer for this group, revisiting and expanding his comments from his 1872 *feuilleton* on *L'Arlésienne*. His 1885 review began defensively, recalling the fallout resulting from his influential review of the work's première:

At last, I come to *L'Arlésienne*, by Alphonse Daudet, which was revived at the Odéon with a great commotion. The success of *L'Arlésienne* this time has been enormous, and the ticket office of the theater is never empty. Some use this as excuse to attack the critics, who were apparently so very mistaken at the first appearance of *L'Arlésienne* and killed the play. I still hear Carvalho say to me with his spirited wit: "You killed *L'Arlésienne*." And Daudet, in a tone of voice more soft and plaintive: "You killed *L'Arlésienne*." But not at all.<sup>48</sup>

Sarcey noted that the popularity of Bizet's music and its excellent performance by Colonne and his orchestra was enough to explain the work's current success. When he turned his pen to the drama itself, he pulled no punches: "*L'Arlésienne* is a very weak play."<sup>49</sup> He expanded the discussion a week later in his next *feuilleton*:

No, it is not the drama which interests the audience of *L'Arlésienne*. They find in it (as we have always acknowledged, even from the beginning) two or three delicious scenes, written by an exquisite pen. In my opinion, the play is a deadly bore. ... From the first word, Frédéric [*sic*] is shown in a love so violent, so complete, so absorbing, that it is no longer love, it is an obsession, it is madness. ... It is *status quo* in its horror. The *status quo* is the opposite of theater, which lives on movement. The movement may be as slow, as unnoticeable as you want; as in *L'Ami Fritz*, for example, where it seems that one remains in place, but where one is softly led by an irresistible current to a

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<sup>48</sup> "J'arrive enfin à *L'Arlésienne*, d'Alphonse Daudet, qui vient d'être reprise à l'Odéon avec un grand éclat. Le succès de *L'Arlésienne* a cette fois été énorme, et le bureau de location du théâtre ne désemplit pas. On prend texte de là pour railler les critiques, qui se seraient lourdement trompés à la première apparition de *L'Arlésienne* et qui auraient tué la pièce. J'entends encore Carvalho me dire avec sa verve fouguese : – Vous avez assassiné *L'Arlésienne*. Et Daudet, d'un ton plus doux de voix plaintive : – Vous avez assassiné *L'Arlésienne*. Mais pas du tout." Francisque Sarcey, "Chronique Théâtrale," *Le Temps*, 11 May 1885, 1-2.

<sup>49</sup> "*L'Arlésienne* est une pièce très faible." Sarcey, *Le Temps*, 11 May 1885, 1-2.

predetermined point: the marriage of the friend Fritz with the pretty Suzel. ... There and there alone lies the primordial and also sadly irredeemable defect of the drama. All the rest follows from it. ... I only go to the theater to be entertained, and *L'Arlésienne* does not entertain me.<sup>50</sup>

Such comments represented one perspective which was repeated amongst the critics whose assessments of the work were more negative. Amongst such reviewers, however, only the play fell in disfavor. For example, Léon Kerst complained about the manner in which the play gripped the audience by “continuously tickling the nerves of the spectator” (*chatouiller longuement les nerfs du spectateur*) in dread of Frédéric’s suicide.<sup>51</sup> Like Sarcey, he found the plot thin: “Has one ever seen such a banal pretext for five acts of comedy?” (*Vit-on jamais un fait divers aussi banal servir de prétexte à cinq actes de comédie?*)<sup>52</sup> Yet after his diatribe against the play, Kerst changed his tone: “Anyway, these are personal reflections. What is important to restate is the great effect of this performance, which brings the greatest honor to the new director of the Odéon” (*Ce sont là, d’ailleurs, réflexions personnelles. Ce qu’il est important de constater c’est l’immense effet de cette soirée qui fait le plus grand honneur à la nouvelle direction de l’Odéon*).<sup>53</sup> He then completed his review by praising the score, Colonne’s conducting, and the acting.

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<sup>50</sup> “Non, ce n’est pas dans *L’Arlésienne* le drame qui intéresse les spectateurs. Il s’y trouve (nous l’avons toujours reconnu et dès le premier jour) deux ou trois scènes délicieuses, écrites d’une plume exquise. La pièce est à mon sens d’un ennui mortel. [...] Dès le premier mot, Frédéric [sic] nous est donné comme fêru d’un amour si violent, si entier, si absorbant, que ce n’est plus un amour, c’est une possession, c’est une folie. [...] C’est le *statu quo* dans son horreur. Le *statu quo*, c’est le contraire du théâtre, qui vit de mouvement. Le mouvement peut être aussi lent, aussi insensible qu’on voudra ; comme dans *l’Ami Fritz*, par exemple, où il semble qu’on reste sur place, mais où l’on est doucement entraîné par un courant irrésistible à un point déterminé : le mariage de l’ami Fritz avec la jolie Suzel. [...] Là et là seulement est le primordial et malheureusement aussi l’irréparable défaut du drame. Tout le reste en découle. [...] Je ne viens au théâtre que pour m’amuser, et *L’Arlésienne* ne m’amuse pas.” Sarcey, “Chronique Théâtrale,” *Le Temps*, 18 May 1885, 1-2.

<sup>51</sup> Léon Kerst, “Premières Représentations,” *Le Petit Journal*, 8 May 1885, 3.

<sup>52</sup> Kerst, *Le Petit journal*, 8 May 1885, 3.

<sup>53</sup> Kerst, *Le Petit journal*, 8 May 1885, 3.

Some critics found that the acting and directing at the Odéon made the play more palatable than at its 1872 première. Auguste Vitu noted that the Odéon brought a different flavor to the production than did the Vaudeville: "... I would like to point out that at the Odéon *L'Arlésienne* is played more as a drama than as a comedy, more as a tragedy than a drama, less as a tragedy than a *poème lyrique*."<sup>54</sup> It was this shift that brought to the fore some of the more poetic and touching qualities in the scenes, especially the one which received the most praise for the actors' skill as well as Daudet's craft: the reunion of the old shepherd Balthazar with his childhood sweetheart, Renaude. The two seventy-year olds have not seen each other for fifty years, at which time the lovers had been separated when Renaude was compelled to marry another. The impending marriage of Frédéri to the local beauty Vivette leads her grandmother Renaude to town for the festivities. When Balthazar recognizes Renaude, he blushes and apologizes for breaking their oath to never see each other again, offering that he would have avoided her if he had known of her itinerary. She informs him that there is no longer any reason to keep the oath, and kisses him – reunited with her youthful love after so many patient years apart. Desbeaux reported that

the great scene between Mme Crosnier [Renaude] and Paul Mounet [Balthazar] made the entire hall cry. The two perfect artists play this scene with such artistry, such sentiment, such truth, that at rehearsals (we saw this stunning fact with our own eyes) the artists Tessandier, Cornaglia, Yahne, and even the stage manager, were unable to hold back tears. It is the touchstone of success.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> "... je me borne à constater qu'à l'Odéon *L'Arlésienne* est jouée plus en drame qu'en comédie, plus en tragédie qu'en drame, moins en tragédie qu'en poème lyrique." Auguste Vitu, "Premières Représentations," *Le Figaro*, 6 May 1885, 3.

<sup>55</sup> "La grande scène entre Mme Crosnier et M. Paul Mounet a fait pleurer la salle entière. Les deux parfaits artistes la jouent, cette scène, avec un tel art, un tel sentiment, une telle vérité, qu'aux répétitions (nous avons *de visu* constaté ce fait étonnant) les artistes eu [sic: en], Mlle Tessandier, M. Cornaglia, Mlle Yahne et même le régisseur, n'ont pu retenir leur larmes. C'est là la pierre de touche du succès." Desbeaux, *Le Moniteur universel*, 6 May 1885, 495.



Vitu also attributed the deep impression left by this scene to Mounet and Crosnier who acted “with as much gravity, with as much grandeur as they might have given to the

Figure 2.1: Adrien Marie, illustration of *L'Arlésienne* Tableau IV, Scene iii in *Le Monde illustré*, 16 May 1885, 341 (image taken from the collection of the Library of Congress).



RENAUDE (M<sup>me</sup> Crosnier). -- Dieu lui-même n'a pas voulu que nous mourions sans nous être revus, et c'est pour cela qu'il a mis de l'amour dans le cœur de ces deux enfants. Après tout, il nous devait bien ça pour nous récompenser de notre courage...

BALTHAZAR (M. Paul Mounet). -- Renaude!

RENAUDE. -- Est-ce que tu n'aurais pas de honte à m'embrasser, toute vieille et crevasée par le temps, comme je suis là?...

BALTHAZAR. -- Oh!

RENAUDE. -- Eh bien, alors, serre-moi bien fort sur ton cœur, mon brave homme; voilà cinquante ans que je t'en dois, ce baiser d'amitié.

(Quatrième tableau, scène III.)

reunion of Penelope and Ulysses.”<sup>56</sup> Similarly, Henri de Pène noted that this scene was a “fragment of a nearly Homeric grandeur,” and Louis Ganderax wrote that the scene seems to have been written by “student of Marivaux inspired by Homer.”<sup>57</sup> Such superlatives might be expected for the actors of the Comédie-Française, but was comparatively uncommon at the Odéon.

Sarcey had referred to such well-written scenes as *hors-d'œuvres* in his 1872 review, from which his 1885 analysis quoted a paragraph verbatim. Louis Ganderax, in *La Revue des deux mondes*, took a decidedly different stance.<sup>58</sup> No reviewer defended the play more ardently. He took full advantage of the *Revue*'s bimonthly publishing schedule to read and respond to the concerns expressed by critics in the daily newspapers. His eleven-page review systematically examined the play for its dramatic qualities, and demonstrated the dramatic impetus in each tableau. For the scene with Balthazar and Renaude – seen as extraneous by Sarcey – he showed its integral place in the drama:

Who therefore claims that this fragment is a trifle? [...] With regard to Frédéric and the Arlésienne, the couple abandoned to passion and hopeless, a superior convention followed by the poet required another couple rise up, Balthazar and Renaude, souls governed by virtue and entering the harbor together.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> “[C]’est ainsi qu’une scène épisodique, celle où le vieux berger Balthazar revoit au bout de cinquante ans la vieille Renaude qu’il avait tant aimée et qu’il a fui par devoir, scène vraiment belle et touchante, qui avait passé inaperçue au Vaudeville malgré l’incontestable talent de ce pauvre Parade, dont nous apprenons aujourd’hui la mort, et de madame Alexis, qui l’a précédé dans la tombe, a produit ce soir un effet immense. Pourquoi ? Parce que M. Paul Mounet et madame Crosnier l’ont] jouée avec autant de gravité, avec autant de grandeur qu’ils en auraient donné à la reconnaissance de Pénélope et d’Ulysse.” Vitu, *Le Figaro*, 6 May 1885, 3.

<sup>57</sup> “Cette scène, fragment d’une grandeur presque homérique,…” H. de Pène, “Les Premières,” *Le Gaulois*, 6 May 1885, 3; “[ce passage, qui] semble inspiré par Homère à un élève de Marivaux.” Louis Ganderax, “Revue Dramatique,” *La Revue des deux mondes*, 1 June 1885, 694-704.

<sup>58</sup> Louis Ganderax, “Revue Dramatique,” *La Revue des deux mondes*, 1 June 1885, 694-704.

<sup>59</sup> “Qui donc prétend que ce morceau est un hors-d’œuvre ? [...] En regard de Frédéric et de l’Arlésienne, ce couple abandonné à la passion et désemparé, une convenance supérieure, observée par le poète, voulait qu’un autre couple se dressât, Balthazar et Renaude, âmes gouvernées par la vertu et entrant de conserve dans le port.” Ganderax, *La Revue des deux mondes*, 1 June 1885, 701.

Such compelling arguments filled Ganderax's more charitable review, countering Sarcey and Kerst at each turn. Even the form of the work was dramatic to Ganderax, for nothing was more dramatic than "the progress of [the two brothers] towards a new moral state."<sup>60</sup>

Although the merits of the play were hotly debated, the critics were nearly unanimous in their acclaim for the music of Bizet and its interpretation by Colonne and his orchestra. For Sarcey, the quality of Bizet's music and its performance at the hands of Colonne were enough to explain the nightly full house at the Odéon. He felt strongly enough about this to state it in both his reviews of the work, on 11 May and 18 May 1885:

It takes at least ten years for a masterpiece of music to be declared a masterpiece. The orchestral suites added by Bizet to *L'Arlésienne* have been around for nearly fifteen. The other night at the Odéon, their effect was stunning, irresistible. There were, at each instant, murmurs of admiration; one was so compelled to clap that one did not wait for the musical phrase to end. Three pieces were encored, and they had to be replayed from the beginning. Colonne's orchestra was marvelous. On all these points there was only one voice, and this is enough to explain the success of *L'Arlésienne*. (11 May)

The hall of the Odéon is full each night (and, once again, I am very happy that this is the case), but maybe it is full because of the people who come to hear the music of Bizet, admirably performed by Colonne's orchestra, just as in February it was overrun fifteen consecutive times by a crowd which was attracted by the choruses of Mendelssohn, and who listened to Racine's *Athalie* in the bargain... These crowds may be explained by causes outside the intrinsic merit of the work. (18 May)<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> "D'autre part, la forme qu'il lui donne n'est-elle pas scénique et dramatique ? Rien de mieux disposé pour la rampe que ce groupe des deux frères, ni de plus intéressant pour le spectateur que le progrès de l'un et de l'autre vers un nouvel état moral."

<sup>61</sup> "Il faut dix ans au moins à un chef-d'œuvre de composition musicale pour être déclaré chef-d'œuvre. Les suites d'orchestre ajoutées par Bizet à *L'Arlésienne* en comptaient près de quinze. L'effet en a été, l'autre soir, à l'Odéon, foudroyant, irrésistible. C'étaient, à chaque instant, des murmures d'admiration ; on était si pressé de battre des mains qu'on ne laissait pas achever la phrase musicale. On a bissé trois morceaux ; on les eût fait tous recommencer. L'orchestre de Colonne a été merveilleux. Sur tous ces points il n'y a eu qu'une voix, et c'en serait assez pour expliquer le succès de *L'Arlésienne*." Sarcey, "Chronique Théâtrale," *Le Temps*, 11 May 1885, 2. "La salle de l'Odéon est pleine chaque soir (et, encore un coup, je suis très aise qu'il en soit ainsi), mais peut-être est-elle pleine de gens qui viennent écouter la musique de Bizet, admirablement exécutée par l'orchestre de Colonne, comme au mois de février elle a été quinze fois de suite envahie par une foule qu'attiraient les chœurs de Mendelssohn, et qui entendait *Athalie* de Racine par-dessus le marché... Cette affluence peut s'expliquer par des causes tout autres que le mérite intrinsèque de l'ouvrage." Sarcey, "Chronique Théâtrale," *Le Temps*, 18 May 1885, 1.

The editors of the daily newspaper *La Liberté* apparently agreed that the score was the main draw of the work, as they put Victorin Joncières' musical review of the work on page 1, and relegated Paul Perret's theatrical review to page 2.<sup>62</sup> Joncières commented that the score was too well-known for him to analyze it again, and continued:

A sentiment of exquisite delicateness, of a truly poignant sensibility, reigns in it. One recognizes the skilled hand of a master in the craftsmanship, in the harmonic inspiration, in the ingenuity of combinations of the processes he employs to render his thought.<sup>63</sup>

And Paul-Émile Chevalier concurred in *Le Ménestrel* that “the greatest part of the applause was addressed to the ravishing music of Georges Bizet.”<sup>64</sup>

Although Louis Ganderax differed with Sarcey by finding the play compelling in itself, he agreed that the music was also a significant part of the attraction. He introduced discussion of the music by observing “Obviously, the music of *L'Arlésienne* is powerful, exquisite; one senses in it a genius in full possession of his art” (Assurément, la musique de *l'Arlésienne* est puissante, elle est exquise, on y sent un génie en pleine possession de son art).<sup>65</sup> Claveau, writing for *Le Gaulois* under the pseudonym “Quisait,” more pointedly argued that the “great satisfaction of the public did not come solely from the music of Bizet”

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<sup>62</sup> See Victorin Joncières, “Revue Musicale,” *La Liberté*, 11 May 1885, 1 and Paul Perret, “Revue Dramatique,” *La Liberté*, 11 May 1885, 2.

<sup>63</sup> “Il y règne un sentiment d’une exquise délicatesse, d’une sensibilité vraiment poignante. Quant à la facture, aux trouvailles harmoniques, aux ingéniosités des combinaisons, on y reconnaît de suite la main d’un maître sûr, des procédés qu’il emploie, pour rendre sa pensée.” Joncières, “Revue Musicale,” *La Liberté*, 11 May 1885, 1.

<sup>64</sup> “[*L'Arlésienne* a très complètement réussi et c’est au milieu de bravos enthousiastes que la toile s’est baissée sur la mort de Frédéri. Mais il est juste de constater que] la plus grosse part des applaudissements était adressée à la ravissante musique de Georges Bizet.” Paul-Émile Chevalier, “Semaine Théâtrale: *L'Arlésienne* à l’Odéon,” *Le Ménestrel*, 10 May 1885, 179.

<sup>65</sup> Ganderax, “Revue Dramatique,” *La Revue des deux mondes*, 1 June 1885, 694.

(...cette grande satisfaction du public ne venait pas uniquement de la musique de Bizet).<sup>66</sup>

Henri de Bornier likewise commented that

Those who are malicious (there are always some around!) wish to give the honor [for the success] to the ravishing music of Bizet, to the choruses so well conducted by Colonne. I am far from sharing this opinion, and I protest. The alternately charming and tragic play of the poet suffices to explain the more abundant interest than at the first gathering. [...] The success of *L'Arlésienne* is due to this excellent scene [that of Balthazar and Renaude], among others, and not to the music, as beautiful as it is. It is also due to the rare merit of the actors...<sup>67</sup>

Yet although there was some debate as to whether or not the music was the *central* point of interest for the audience, no critic debated its immense contribution to the production.

What struck commentators most were the short melodramatic snippets which had been necessarily omitted from the concert version of the work:

Without speaking of the relatively important pieces that have formed the Orchestral Suite of *L'Arlésienne*, a classic today, it is the perfect manner in which the little phrases of eight or ten measures, of which there is no trace left in the concert hall, are bound to the drama and make one body with it.<sup>68</sup>

Jacques Trézel likewise noted that

a charming surprise for the regulars of the Châtelet and the Cirque was the choral part, and above all the incidental music, so intimately tied to the action that it completed it and perfected it. In days of old one made fun of melodramas and muted tremolos, without considering that in the hands of a master, the orchestra could

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<sup>66</sup> Quisait [pseud. for Claveau, according to Emile Mermet, *Annuaire de la presse* 1886 (Paris: chez l'auteur, 1886), xix; most likely this is Anatole Claveau, the dramatic critic for *La Patrie*]. "La Poésie au Théâtre," *Le Gaulois*, 12 May 1885, 1.

<sup>67</sup> "Les malicieux (il y en a toujours et partout !) voudraient en faire honneur à la ravissant musique de Bizet, aux chœurs si bien dirigés par M. Colonne. Je suis loin d'être de cet avis et je proteste. La pièce tour à tour charmante et tragique du poète suffit à expliquer ce regain plus abondant que la première récolte. ... C'est à cette excellente scène, entre autres, et non à la musique, quelque belle qu'elle soit, c'est à cette scène que le succès de *L'Arlésienne* est dû. Il est dû aussi au mérite rare des acteurs..." Henri de Bornier, "Revue de Théâtre: Drame et Comédie," *La Nouvelle revue* 34 (1885): 861, 864.

<sup>68</sup> "Sans plus parler des morceaux relativement importants qui ont formé la Suite d'orchestre de *L'Arlésienne*, aujourd'hui classique, c'est la façon parfaite dont toutes ces petites phrases de huit ou dix mesures, dont il n'y avait plus trace au concert, sont adhérentes au drame et font corps avec lui." Adolphe Jullien, 1885 review in *Le Français*, reprinted in *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* (1892), 352-57, citation 356.

become a real musical décor. ... And what discretion in the entry of the instruments, what discernment in the choices of sonorities, what understanding of the theater in the recall of the motives!<sup>69</sup>

While the music was universally lauded, a minority of critics took issue with individual aspects of the music or the performance. For Henry Bauer, Colonne's musical direction was the nadir of the evening; not only did he take issue with the "unfaithful and pretentious" conducting, but even with the presentation of Colonne's name on the poster in larger letters than those of Bizet and Daudet.<sup>70</sup> Perhaps the fact that Colonne conducted facing the audience played some role in Bauer's assessment of Colonne's pretentiousness; Ernest Reyer was another critic to take note of this.<sup>71</sup> And Jacques Trézel noted that while the performance of the music was "at the height of dramatic interpretation," he still reproached Colonne for "rushing the movements sometimes, in the menuet above all, where the vocal line seems almost lost among the embroidery of the accompaniment."<sup>72</sup> Commentator Jacques Hermann spent an entire article expressing his wish that *L'Arlésienne* had been an

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<sup>69</sup> "Mais une charmante surprise pour les habitués du Châtelet et du Cirque a été la partie chorale, et surtout la musique de scène, si intimement liée à l'action qu'elle la complète et la met au point. On s'est moqué jadis des mélodrames et des trémolos en sourdine, sans songer qu'entre les mains d'un maître, l'orchestre peut devenir un véritable décor musicale. ... Et quel discretion dans l'entrée en scène des instruments, quel discernement dans le choix des sonorités, quelle entente du théâtre dans les rappels de motifs!" Jacques Trézel, "La Musique à l'Odéon," *Le Moniteur universel*, 6 May 1885, 495.

<sup>70</sup> "The orchestral conductor, Colonne, had no part of the triumph, even though his name appears on the poster in larger letters than those of Daudet and Bizet. It is impossible to conduct more faithlessly or pretentiously" (Le chef d'orchestre, M. Colonne, bien que son nom figure sur l'affiche en plus gros caractères que ceux de Daudet et de Bizet, n'est pour rien dans le triomphe. Il est impossible de conduire plus infidèlement et plus prétentieusement). Henry Bauer, "Critique Dramatique," *L'Echo de Paris*, 7 May 1885, 3.

<sup>71</sup> Ernest Reyer, "Revue Musicale," *Journal des débats*, 24 May 1885, 1-2.

<sup>72</sup> "L'exécution musicale a été à la hauteur de l'interprétation dramatique. [L'orchestre de M. Colonne a retrouvé ses qualités premières : l'art des nuances et le fini du détail. Je reprocherai seulement au chef d'orchestre de] presser parfois les mouvements, dans le menuet surtout, où la phrase de chant est comme perdue sous les broderies d'accompagnement." Jacques Trézel, "La Musique à l'Odéon," *Le Moniteur universel*, 6 May 1885, 495.

opera.<sup>73</sup> And Sarcey, ever one to disapprove of incidental music as a bastardized genre between spoken drama and opera, echoed Hermann:

Ah! If Daudet wanted to render a great service to himself and to the public, he would write a mediocre little piece of an idyll, with three characters, to connect the orchestral suites of Bizet. This little play would be given at the Opéra-Comique, where it would have a crazy success and remain in the repertoire. One would play it all over Europe. In the form it has now, *L'Arlésienne* can only be played at the Odéon, and still Porel needed the good fortune to find Colonne's orchestra unoccupied.<sup>74</sup>

Fortunately, Sarcey was proved wrong about the inability of other theaters to stage effectively *L'Arlésienne* with the larger orchestration that the Odéon had brought to life.

While the production attracted an immense amount of critical attention, it also appealed to the elite of the Parisian literary and political scenes. Verdier noted in *La Presse* that “the audience which yesterday applauded the story of the loves of Frédéri was among the most brilliant; the ‘tout Paris’ of premières met at the Odéon, and I could cite as many as ten *académiciens* who listened attentively to the work of their future colleague.”<sup>75</sup> Émile Blavet (writing under the pseudonym “Un Monsieur de l’Orchestre”) noted the presence of Émile Zola, François Coppée, Ludovic Halévy and Daudet himself at the work’s première at the Odéon.<sup>76</sup> To this list we can add the names of Charles Thomas Floquet (then President of the

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<sup>73</sup> “Bizet, indeed, has made in his score a superb and already arresting sketch of an opera” (Bizet, en effet, dans sa partition, a pour ainsi dire fait l’esquisse superbe, et déjà saisissante, d’un opéra). Jacques Hermann, “Musique: Si l’ « Arlésienne » était un opéra!,” *Le Constitutionnel*, 12 May 1885, 2.

<sup>74</sup> “Ah ! Si Daudet voulait se rendre un grand service à lui-même et au public, il écrirait un petit bout d’idylle quelconque, à trois personnages, pour rélier les suites d’orchestre de Bizet. Ce semblant de petit pièce passerait à l’Opéra-Comique, où elle aurait un succès fou et demeurerait au répertoire. On la jouerait dans toute l’Europe. Sous la forme qu’elle affecte aujourd’hui, *l’Arlésienne* ne peut être représentée qu’à l’Odéon, et encore a-t-il fallu que Porel eût la bonne fortune de rencontrer l’orchestre de Colonne inoccupée.” Francisque Sarcey, “Chronique Théâtrale,” *Le Temps*, 18 May 1885, 2.

<sup>75</sup> “[En effet,] la salle qui applaudissait hier l’histoire des amours de Frédéri était des plus brillantes ; le tout Paris des premières s’était donné rendez-vous à l’Odéon, et je pourrais citer jusqu’à dix académiciens qui écoutaient attentifs l’œuvre de leur futur collègue.” Verdier, “La Soirée Théâtrale,” *La Presse*, 6 May 1885, 3.

<sup>76</sup> Un Monsieur de l’Orchestre (pseud. Émile Blavet), “La Soirée Théâtrale,” *Le Figaro*, 6 May 1885, 6.

Chamber of Deputies), Georges Clémenceau (then member of the Chamber of Deputies), Alexandre Dumas  *fils*, and Bizet's widow Geneviève.<sup>77</sup>

In the conclusion of his review for *La Revue des deux mondes*, Louis Ganderax gave advice to the Comédie-Française about how it should stage the work:

When *L'Arlésienne* will be reprised at the Comédie-Française, where it will equal the success of *L'Ami Fritz*, I ask that it be played with a little more abandon and finesse, maybe with a touch of Mediterranean accent on the lips of the characters, and not only those of the field hand and the shepherd.<sup>78</sup>

Such a bold assertion that the work *would* be taken into the repertoire of the Comédie was as high a praise as a critic might bestow on the revival. Even the disgruntled Sarcey was caught up in the sweep, for after attacking the play and even various aspects of the production, he concluded:

And now, I have only one tip to give you: go to hear *L'Arlésienne*! ... From all that Daudet has written there emerges a charm which penetrates one, as if one were in Provence, under the light of the sun and the smells of the earth. One feels this and scarcely analyses it. And moreover, goodness! there is music.<sup>79</sup>

The revival of *L'Arlésienne* was second only to *Carmen* in resuscitating Bizet reception in Paris. The next Parisian revival of one of Bizet's stage works would not take place until *Les Pêcheurs de perles* was revived in Italian at the Théâtre de la Gaîté (newly

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<sup>77</sup> See Anonymous (Adolphe Aderer), "Spectacles et Concerts," *Le Temps*, 7 May 1885, 3.

<sup>78</sup> "Quand *L'Arlésienne* sera reprise à la Comédie-Française, – où elle égalera le succès de *l'Ami Fritz*, – je demanderai qu'elle soit jouée avec un peu plus d'abandon et de finesse, peut-être avec une pointe d'accent méridionale sur les lèvres de tous les personnages, et non plus seulement du marnier ou du berger." Louis Ganderax, "Revue dramatique: *L'Arlésienne*," *La Revue des deux mondes*, 1 June 1885, 694-704, citation 703-04.

<sup>79</sup> "Et maintenant, je n'ai qu'un conseil à vous donner : allez entendre *l'Arlésienne* ! [...] il se dégage de tout ce qu'écrivit Daudet un je ne sais quel charme, dont on est pénétré, comme l'on est, dans sa Provence, de la lumière du ciel et des parfums du sol. Cela se sent et ne s'analyse guère. Et puis, dame ! il y a la musique." Sarcey, Francisque. "Chronique Théâtrale," *Le Temps*, 18 May 1885, 2.



reorganized as the Opéra-Italien) on 20 April 1889.<sup>80</sup> The efforts in 1890 by the daily newspaper *Le Gaulois* to raise funds for a statue in honor of Bizet spurred on a number of performances of Bizet's works. The first was a revival of *La Jolie Fille de Perth* at the Théâtre-Lyrique (Eden-Théâtre) on 3 November, which played eleven times before the theater shut down.<sup>81</sup> An all-Bizet program by the Concerts Colonne followed on 9 November at the Théâtre du Châtelet. Admirably, Colonne avoided excerpts from *L'Arlésienne* and included only one from *Carmen*, choosing instead to focus on Bizet's lesser-known works.<sup>82</sup> On 29 November, *L'Arlésienne* reached its 180<sup>th</sup> performance at the Odéon, with all proceeds given to benefit the composer's memorial.<sup>83</sup> Lastly, the Opéra-Comique performed *Carmen* on 11 December and delivered a stunning F42,000 to the cause.<sup>84</sup> By this time, Bizet was known in the press as "the composer of *L'Arlésienne* and of *Carmen*," signaling the importance of *L'Arlésienne* in rejuvenating Bizet's posthumous reception.<sup>85</sup>

### **Porel's Growing Program**

The success which Porel encountered with the revival of Daudet and Bizet's previously unsuccessful *L'Arlésienne* only whetted his appetite, and provided a financial boost which

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<sup>80</sup> The French-language revival of *Pêcheurs* took place at the Opéra-Comique on 24 April 1893, under the directorship of Carvalho, who had premièreed the work in 1863.

<sup>81</sup> See Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales* 1890, 516-517.

<sup>82</sup> See Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales* 1890, 527-528.

<sup>83</sup> See Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales* 1890, 159-60.

<sup>84</sup> See Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales* 1890, 119-20.

<sup>85</sup> For an example, see the review of *La Jolie fille de Perth* by Intérim, "Premières Représentations," *Le Figaro*, 4 December 1890, 4: "On a le droit et le devoir de reconnaître qu'elle n'est point un chef d'œuvre. Le jeune musicien s'y montre par moments un maître, mais, dans l'ensemble, il est loin encore d'être l'artiste original et puissant qui s'est développé dans *L'Arlésienne* et dans *Carmen*." See also Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales* 1890, 527.

enabled him to take further risks in incorporating music into his dramatic productions. In concluding his review of *L'Arlésienne*, Émile Blavet of *Le Figaro* reported of the presence of music in the coming season at the Odéon:

In staging plays where music takes a large role, Porel, who has written a fine history of the Second Théâtre-Français, has only resumed an interrupted tradition. By the current craze for music, this endeavor is well-timed; and the likable director will have nothing to regret. *Athalie*, dressed up by Mendelssohn, gave excellent results from a financial standpoint. *L'Arlésienne*, dressed up by Bizet, will continue this happy vein. So Porel has well proposed not to stop there: he is preparing for us, for the coming season, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, with the music of the same Mendelssohn, and *Psyché* and *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* with the music of Lully.<sup>86</sup>

Blavet's report only proved partially true: while Porel did produce these works, only *Le Songe d'une nuit d'été* took place in the 1885 – 86 season (14 April 1886); *Psyché* waited until 11 April 1887, while *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* lingered in the wings until 7 January 1889. Meanwhile, Porel included revivals *Macbeth* and *L'Arlésienne* into the early weeks of the 1885 – 86 season, before premiering two plays with scores that he had newly commissioned from Charles-Marie Widor: *Conte d'avril* and *Les Jacobites*.

*Conte d'avril* was an adaptation by Auguste Dorchain of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night, or What You Will*, as a *pièce en quatre actes et six tableaux en vers*. Premiered on 22 September 1885, it was performed twenty-six times, in alternation with twenty-eight performances of *L'Arlésienne*. *Les Jacobites* was a *drame en 5 actes, en vers* by François Coppée, and was premièreed on 21 November 1885. Set in 1745 during the doomed military campaign for the throne of England by Charles-Edward, descendant of the Stuart line (whose

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<sup>86</sup> “En jouant des pièces où la partie musicale tient une large place, M. Porel, à qui l'on doit une belle histoire du second Théâtre-Français, n'a donc fait que reprendre une tradition interrompue. Par la mélomanie qui règne, cette tentative vient à son heure ; et le sympathique directeur n'aura pas à la regretter. *Athalie*, à la sauce Mendelssohn, a donné des résultats superbes, au point de vue financier. *L'Arlésienne*, à la sauce Bizet, continuera cette veine heureuse. Aussi M. Porel compte-t-il bien ne pas s'en tenir là : il nous prépare, pour la saison prochaine, le *Songe d'une nuit d'été*, avec la musique du même Mendelssohn, *Psyché* et le *Bourgeois gentilhomme*, avec la musique de Lulli.” Un Monsieur de l'Orchestre (pseud. Émile Blavet), “La Soirée théâtrale,” *Le Figaro*, 6 May 1885, 3.

reign had ended with James II). The drama presented the conflict through the eyes of a Jacobite and his family. The narrative was particularly relevant to French history as the pretender to the throne fled to Brittany after his decisive loss at Culloden. Capturing the public's imagination far more strongly than did *Conte d'avril*, it played for seventy-one performances before closing on February 7.

The effect of these two plays with incidental music was felt in two ways. First, they proved the viability of scores newly commissioned from young, rising composers, and second, they allowed for the Odéon to alternate between multiple productions with incidental music so that there would be few nights without a substantial score enhancing the onstage entertainment. From the opening of *Macbeth* on 8 September 1885 through the closing of *Les Jacobites* on 7 February 1886 (153 days), there were 142 performances of plays accompanied by significant incidental music scores. Excluding the final performance of *Les Jacobites* (which occurred one week after the penultimate performance), the statistics are even more impressive, as the total number of performances through 31 January 1886 reached 141 within 146 days. While Mondays were the only day of the week nearly exclusively free of music (and often found the theater featuring performances of several short plays from the classical French repertoire), almost every Sunday featured both *matinée* and evening performances. While there were twenty days without incidental music at the Odéon between 8 September 1885 and 31 January 1886, fifteen days featured two performances with incidental music. No other Parisian stage which produced comedies, tragedies and dramas even attempted to maintain such a busy schedule of musical performances.

An examination of the plays given with incidental music during Porel's administration shows a markedly different path from those taken by the Comédie-Française and the Théâtre de la Porte-Saint-Martin (see Table 2.3). The lack of government subvention

Table 2.3: Incidental Scores at the Odéon  
under the Administration of Paul Porel, 1882 – 1892<sup>87</sup>

Play	Date of première / reprise	Author	Composer	Performances during season
1882 – 83				
<i>Le Sicilien ou L'Amour peintre</i> <sup>88</sup>	5 September 1882	Molière	Eugène Sauzay* (S)	9
1883 – 84				
<i>Severo Torelli</i> *	21 November 1883	François Coppée	Schatté* (S)	109
1884 – 85				
<i>Macbeth</i>	31 October 1884	Shakespeare, tr. Jules Lacroix	Schatté* (S)	18 (fanfares & orchestra) 26 (fanfares)
<i>Athalie</i>	21 December 1884	Jean Racine	Felix Mendelssohn (C)	17
<i>L'Arlésienne</i> †	5 May 1885	Alphonse Daudet	Georges Bizet (C)	39 <sup>89</sup>
1885 – 86				
<i>Macbeth</i>	8 September 1885	Shakespeare, tr. Lacroix	Schatté (S)	13
<i>Conte d'avril</i> *	22 September 1885	Shakespeare, adapt. Auguste Dorchain	Charles-Marie Widor* (S)	26
<i>L'Arlésienne</i>	8 October 1885	Alphonse Daudet	Georges Bizet (C)	27

<sup>87</sup> An asterisk (\*) next to the title indicates that the play was a première; an obelisk (†) next to a title indicates its première at the Odéon. Similarly, asterisks next to composers' names indicate that the score was a première, while obelisks indicate the première of the score at the Odéon. An (S) next to the composer's name indicates performance of the score by the house orchestra, conducted by Schatté; a (C) next to the composer indicates performance by the Orchestre des Concerts Colonne, while an (L) indicates performance of the score by the Orchestre Lamoureux. Numbers of performances are recorded by season, which typically ran from late August / early September through late May / early June.

<sup>88</sup> Molière's *Le Sicilien ou L'Amour peintre* with music by Sauzay was given under the joint directorship of Porel and de La Rounat.

<sup>89</sup> Noël and Stoullig give a figure of 3 matinees and 60 evening performances during calendar year 1885, while AN AJ55 14 states 39 performances between 5 May and 11 June, with 27 more between 7 October and 19 November. See Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales*, 1885, 245.

<i>Les Jacobites</i> *	21 November 1885	François Coppée	Charles-Marie Widor* (S)	69
<i>Athalie</i>	21 December 1885	Jean Racine	Felix Mendelssohn (C)	3
<i>Le Songe d'une nuit d'été</i> † <sup>90</sup>	14 April 1886	Shakespeare, tr. Paul Meurice	Felix Mendelssohn (C)	30
<i>La Vie de bohème</i>	16 May 1886	Théodore Barrière and Henry Mürger	Camille Saint-Saëns, Jules Massenet <sup>91</sup> (S)	25
<i>L'Arlésienne</i>	24 May 1886	Alphonse Daudet	Georges Bizet (C)	1
1886 – 87				
<i>La Vie de bohème</i>	26 September 1886	Théodore Barrière and Henry Mürger	Camille Saint-Saëns, Jules Massenet (S)	17
<i>Le Fils de Jahel</i> *	14 October 1886	Simone Arnaud	Louis-Auguste Bourgault-Ducoudray* (S)	15
<i>L'Arlésienne</i>	30 October 1886	Alphonse Daudet	Georges Bizet (C)	13
<i>Psyché</i>	11 April 1887	Pierre Corneille, Molière, & Philippe Quinault	Jean-Baptiste de Lully and Jules Cohen† (S)	10
1887 – 88				
<i>Psyché</i>	2 October 1887	Pierre Corneille, Molière, & Philippe Quinault	Jean-Baptiste de Lully and Jules Cohen† (S)	5
<i>L'Arlésienne</i>	15 October 1887	Alphonse Daudet	Georges Bizet (L)	42
<i>Beaucoup de bruit pour rien</i> †	8 December 1887	Shakespeare, adapt. Louis Legendre	Benjamin Godard* (S)	90
<i>Esther</i>	21 December 1887	Jean Racine	Jean-Baptiste Moreau† (S)	2
1888 – 89				
<i>Crime et châtiment</i> *	15 September 1888	Dostoyevski, adapt. Hugues Le Roux & Paul Ginisty	Henri Maréchal* (S)	23

<sup>90</sup> The Opéra-Comique reprised Ambroise Thomas' 3-act opéra comique *Le Songe d'une nuit d'été* on 19 April 1886 (Rosier and de Leuven, librettists).

<sup>91</sup> The Livres du Bord mention the inclusion of the “Chanson napolitaine du *Timbre d'Argent*” (from Act II, scene 2) sung by “M. Auguez” as an intermède (probably bass-baritone Florentin Antinous Numa Auguez, 1847-1903). As was common even for productions with major scores, the Livres du Bord do not note the presence (or absence) of music after the first performance of this run. For the production of Act I of *La vie de Bohème* at the reopening of the Odéon after renovations on 19 November 1875, Jules Massenet contributed an orchestral song setting of Henri Meilhac's poem “La Chanson de Musette.” It is likely that the presence of the singer Auguez at the performance on 16 May 1886 was to sing “La Chanson de Musette” during Act I, and that he was subsequently called upon to sing between acts; if this was the case, Auguez also likely was called upon for all performances in this production run.

<i>Athalie</i>	13 October 1888	Jean Racine	Felix Mendelssohn (L)	16
<i>Caligula</i> †	8 November 1888	Alexandre Dumas père	Gabriel Fauré* (S)	34
<i>Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme</i>	7 January 1889	Molière	Jean-Baptiste de Lully (L)	9
<i>Les Érinnyes</i>	16 March 1889	Sophocles, adapt. Leconte de Lisle	Jules Massenet (L)	20
<i>L'Arlésienne</i>	15 April 1889	Alphonse Daudet	Georges Bizet (L)	8
1889 – 90				
<i>Le Mariage de Figaro</i>	7 October 1889	Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais	W.A. Mozart (L)	5
<i>Shylock</i> *	17 December 1889	Shakespeare, adapt. Edmond de Haraucourt	Gabriel Fauré* (S)	56
<i>Egmont</i> †	7 February 1890	Goethe, tr. Adolphe Aderer	Ludwig von Beethoven† (L)	21
<i>Beaucoup de bruit pour rien</i>	21 March 1890	Shakespeare, trans. Louis Legendre	Benjamin Godard	14
1890 – 91				
<i>Fleurs d'avril</i> *	6 October 1890	Gabriel Vicaire & Jules Truffier	Charles Hess* (S)	5
<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	30 October 1890	Shakespeare, tr. Georges Lefèvre	Francis Thomé* (S)	38
<i>L'Arlésienne</i>	29 November 1890	Alphonse Daudet	Georges Bizet (L)	25
<i>Fleurs d'avril</i>	23 February 1891	Gabriel Vicaire & Jules Truffier	Charles Hess (S)	16
<i>Conte d'avril</i>	12 March 1891	Shakespeare, adapt. Auguste Dorchain	Charles-Marie Widor (expanded score)* (L)	10
1891 – 92				
<i>Macbeth</i>	20 January 1892	Shakespeare, trans. Georges Clerc	Unknown (Schatté?) (S)	24
<i>Alceste</i> †	28 March 1891	Euripedes, adapt. Alfred Gassier	Alexandre Georges* (S)	8
<i>Les Érinnyes</i>	24 February 1892	Sophocles, adapt. Leconte de Lisle	Jules Massenet (L)	16
<i>Germinie Lacerteux</i>	12 March 1892	Edmond de Goncourt	Unknown <sup>92</sup> (S)	18

<sup>92</sup> The Livres du Bord (preserved under call number AJ55 at the Archives nationales (AN)) show that the rehearsals of this work called for “musique,” without specifying its role. No mention of music is made either in Noël and Stoullig’s *Les Annales* 1892 or in journalists’ reviews of the production. It is likely that the music consisted of the diegetic use of popular songs, played at a piano, to evoke the cabaret.

for the Porte-Saint-Martin meant that the director was free to run the theater as a for-profit enterprise, without pressure to première a minimum number of new plays or to maintain a specified number of plays in the repertory – two tasks mandated for the Odéon and the Comédie-Française by the *cahiers des charges*. A typical season at the Porte-Saint-Martin (see Table 2.4) consisted of five or six productions, each of which would run between 35 and 250 performances, with one or two new plays among the productions. From the start of the

Table 2.4: Incidental Scores at the Théâtre de la Porte-Saint-Martin, 1882 – 1892<sup>93</sup>

Play	Date of première / reprise	Author	Composer	Performances during season
<i>Nana Sahib</i> *	20 December 1883	Jean Richepin	Jules Massenet*	35
<i>Théodora</i> *	26 December 1884	Victorien Sardou	Jules Massenet*	264
<i>Le Crocodile</i> *	21 December 1886	Victorien Sardou	Jules Massenet*	146
<i>Mam'zelle Pioupiou</i> *	31 May 1889	Alexandre Bisson	William Chaumet*	100
<i>Théodora</i>	7 October 1889	Victorien Sardou	Jules Massenet	79
<i>Jeanne d'Arc</i> *	3 January 1890	Jules Barbier	Charles Gounod*	136
<i>Cléopâtre</i> *	23 October 1890	Victorien Sardou & Émile Moreau	Xavier Leroux*	98

1883 – 84 season, the appearance of Sarah Bernhardt in the lead female roles provided a significant part of the box office appeal for this theater. The various directors who served at the Porte-Saint-Martin concurrent to Porel's leadership of the Odéon all employed incidental music in the same manner: new scores were commissioned for selected new plays, most often those which showed the most promise for a long production run (because of an exotic

<sup>93</sup> An asterisk (\*) next to the title indicates that the play was a première; an obelisk (†) next to a title indicates its première at the Porte-Saint-Martin. Similarly, asterisks next to composers' names indicate that the score was a première, while obelisks indicate the première of the score at the Porte-Saint-Martin.

setting, a sensational plot, or the reputation of the author).<sup>94</sup> The directors often coupled the investment in a new score with lavish stage designs by well-known artists which amplified the appeal of the exotic or historic settings of the plays.

Conversely, at the Comédie-Française newly composed incidental music served three functions.<sup>95</sup> Incidental music was commissioned, for instance, to dress up revivals of classical works, such as Edmond Membrée's 1858 score for Jules Lacroix's translation of *Œdipe roi*, and Léo Delibes's divertissement score for the 1882 revival of Hugo's *Le Roi s'amuse*. A second use of incidental music was to accompany the first performances at the Comédie-Française of plays première elsewhere. Examples include Victor Hugo's *Ruy Blas* (première at the Théâtre de la Renaissance, 1838) revived on 4 April 1879 with the addition of an orchestral chanson by Léo Delibes, and Lambert Thiboust and Aurélien Scholl's *Rosalinde* (Théâtre du Gymnase, 1859) accompanied by music of house conductor Laurent Léon. A similar use of music, but in arrangement rather than as a new composition, can be found in productions such as *Hamlet* in Dumas and Meurice's translation (first performed in Paris at the Théâtre Historique in 1847) which was accompanied by extracts from Ambroise Thomas's opera *Hamlet* (1868).

The third way in which new incidental music was employed at the Comédie-Française was to add emphasis to the première of a new play. Such cases included *L'Ami Fritz* by Erckmann-Chatrian (and Jules Barbier, uncredited; première on 4 December 1876),

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<sup>94</sup> At the start of Porel's co-directorship with de La Rounat, Paul Clèves directed the Porte-Saint-Martin; he was succeeded by Louis Derembourg. In August 1884, Félix Duquesnel (former director of the Odéon) took over direction of the theater.

<sup>95</sup> The Comédie-Française was directed by Emile Perrin from 19 July 1871-30 May 1885; Albert Kaempfen served briefly as transitional director until Jules Claretie began his 28-year directorship on 20 October 1885.



Table 2.5: Incidental Scores at the Comédie-Française, 1882 – 1892<sup>96</sup>

Play	Date of première / reprise	Author	Composer	Performances during season
1882 – 83				
<i>Barberine</i> *	27 February 1882	Alfred de Musset	Léo Delibes*	12
<i>Les Rantzau</i> *	27 March 1882	Émile Erckmann & Alexandre Chatrian	Henri Maréchal*	70
<i>Le Roi s'amuse</i> <sup>97</sup>	22 November 1882	Victor Hugo	Léo Delibes*	19
1883 – 84				
<i>Les Rantzau</i>	21 September 1883	Erckmann & Chatrian	Henri Maréchal	13
<i>Smilis</i> *	23 January 1884	Jean Aicard	Henri Maréchal*	10
<i>Les Rantzau</i>	6 April 1884	Erckmann & Chatrian	Henri Maréchal	1
1886 – 87				
<i>Hamlet</i> †	28 September 1886	Shakespeare, adapt. Alexandre Dumas & Paul Meurice	Ambroise Thomas	68
<i>Le Mariage de Figaro</i>	29 March 1887	Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais	Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais <sup>98</sup>	4
1887 – 88				
<i>Œdipe roi</i>	18 July 1888	Sophocles, tr. Jules LaCroix	Edmond Mentrée	18
1890 – 91				
<i>Grisélidis</i> *	15 May 1891	Armand Silvestre & Eugène Morand	Laurent Léon*	51
<i>Rosalinde</i> †	29 May 1891	Lambert Thiboust & Aurélien Scholl	Laurent Léon*	27
1891 – 92				
<i>Œdipe roi</i>	17 October 1891	Sophocles, tr. Jules Lacroix	Edmond Mentrée	24
<i>La Mégère apprivoisée</i> *	19 November 1891	Shakespeare, adapt. Paul Delair	Laurent Léon*	24
<i>Par le glaive</i> *	8 February 1892	Jean Richepin	Laurent Léon*	70
1892 – 93				
<i>Le Juif polonais</i> †	19 September 1892	Erckmann & Chatrian	Etienne Singla†	21

<sup>96</sup> An asterisk (\*) next to the title indicates that the play was a premiere; an obelisk (†) next to a title indicates its premiere at the Comédie-Française. Similarly, asterisks next to composers' names indicate that the score was a premiere, while obelisks indicate the premiere of the score at the Comédie-Française.

<sup>97</sup> *Le Roi s'amuse* was premiered at the Comédie-Française on 22 November 1832, and quickly censored. It was not performed again until this production.

<sup>98</sup> This production restored the vaudeville finale of Beaumarchais to the work. See Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales* 1887, 58.

*Les Rantzau* by Erckmann-Chatrian (27 March 1882), *Smilis* by Jean Aicard (23 January 1884), each with music by Henri Maréchal, and Alfred de Musset's *Barberine* with an orchestral sérénade by Delibes (27 February 1882).<sup>99</sup> Laurent Léon also contributed scores to the premières of *Grisélidis* (by playwrights Armand Silvestre & Eugène Morand, 15 May 1891), *La Mégère apprivoisée* (Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*, adapted by Paul Delair, 19 November 1891), and *Par le glaive* (Jean Richepin, 8 February 1892). Occasionally, plays were revived from other theaters with their original scores, as well, such as Erckmann-Chatrian's *Le Juif polonais* with Etienne Singla's score from the Théâtre-Cluny's 1869 production.

In contrast, the majority of plays to which Porel had music added were classics, or by canonical authors: Molière, Jean Racine, Pierre Corneille, Philippe Quinault, Beaumarchais, Sophocles, Shakespeare, Goethe, and Alexandre Dumas père (1802 – 70). Three of the authors whose plays Porel produced with music were senior writers whose reputations were assured. Of these, the first was Alphonse Daudet (1840 – 97), whose *L'Arlésienne* (score by Georges Bizet) had a mixed reception in its 1872 première, as discussed above. Charles-Marie Leconte de Lisle (1818 – 94) was a poet whose *Les Érinyes* (music by Jules Massenet) had been a critical success in its 1873 première at the Odéon and in its expanded version at the Opéra-National-Lyrique in 1876 (see Chapter Three). Edmond de Goncourt (1822 – 96) had written the novel *Germinie Lacerteux* with his brother Jules, which Edmond adapted after his brother's death into a *pièce en 10 tableaux*. Théodore Barrière (1823 – 77) and Henry Mürger (1822 – 61) had collaborated on *La Vie de bohème* which premièred at the Théâtre des Variétés on 22 November 1849. Of the younger generations of playwrights,

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<sup>99</sup> Erckmann-Chatrian (sometimes unhyphenated) was the pen name for the very successful and inseparable playwriting team of Emile Erckmann & Alexandre Chatrian.

François Coppée (1842 – 1908) had already enjoyed a major critical and popular success at the Odéon with his five-act verse drama, *Severo Torelli*, which premiered there on 21 November 1883.<sup>100</sup> Gabriel Vicaire (1848 – 1900) had established himself as a successful poet, while his partner in the writing of *Les Fleurs d'avril*, Jules Truffier (1856 – 1943), was himself a successful actor at the Comédie-Française as well as a published poet. Perhaps the only risk Porel took in applying music to a play was with *Le Fils de Jahel* by Simone Arnaud (1850 – 1901), a relative unknown who would go on to supply librettos to Coquard and Bourgault-Ducoudray. For the première on 14 October 1886, Porel had his house orchestra play a score newly composed by Louis Bourgault-Ducoudray. Although the production was a critical success from every angle (play, music, staging and acting), it only lasted fifteen performances before a reprise of *L'Arlésienne* on 30 October brought in higher receipts once again.

If Porel's incidental music pairings took few risks from a literary standpoint, the same was true musically. Most of the composers whose music he utilized (Georges Bizet, Jules Massenet, Felix Mendelssohn, Gabriel Fauré, Henri Maréchal, Jean-Baptiste Lully) were already significantly represented on Parisian opera stages or on the concert programs of Parisian orchestras, including those directed by Colonne and Padeloup. Even the inclusion of Charles-Marie Widor was not entirely daring; the up-and-coming composer had already seen his ballet *La Korrigane* premiered at the Paris Opéra on 1 December 1880, and his *drame lyrique* in 4 acts titled *Maître Ambros* (libretto by François Coppée and Auguste

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<sup>100</sup> It might be noted that both *Severo Torelli* and *Les Jacobites* had been first offered to the Comédie-Française to produce, but that theater passed over them both, even after the massive success of the 1883 production which reached 131 performances by the end of 1885.

Dorchain) had been announced for the 1885 – 86 season at the Opéra-Comique.<sup>101</sup> Only with Benjamin Godard's score for *Beaucoup de bruit pour rien* do we find Porel taking a risk, as the relatively unknown Godard had not composed for the Parisian stage before.<sup>102</sup>

### **From Incidental Music to Opera: Porel after the Odéon**

It is not clear at what time Porel became interested in using his directorship of the Odéon as a platform for preparing his resumé for the Opéra de Paris. But the announcement on Saturday, 18 April 1891 that Eugène Bertrand (1834 – 99) would replace the embattled co-directorship of Pierre Gailhard and Eugène Ritt seems to have caught many off guard, as some still expected Gailhard and Ritt's directorship to be renewed, and their term in office was not set to expire until 30 November. Certainly few expected Bertrand to be chosen; as Noël and Stoullig noted, among all the candidates "it was he to whom one gave the least thought who was chosen" (ce fut celui auquel on pensait le moins qui fut choisi).<sup>103</sup> In choosing Bertrand, the Ministre des Beaux-Arts abandoned the struggling Gailhard and Ritt, despite their recent success with Massenet's *grand opéra*, *Le Mage*. He also overlooked such possible directors as Léon Carvalho, who had eleven years experience directing the Opéra-Comique and twelve more at the Théâtre Lyrique. And he also rejected Porel whose career trajectory made him a strong candidate to head the premier opera house of France.

The Opéra's new director Bertrand had spent the first five years of his career as a Conservatoire-trained comic actor at the Odéon, an ironic parallel to Porel's professional

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<sup>101</sup> The work was premiered on 6 May 1886.

<sup>102</sup> Godard's *grand opéra* in 4 acts, *Pédro de Zalaméa* (libretto by Leonce Detroyat and Armand Silvestre, after Calderón), was premiered at the Royal Theatre in Antwerp on 31 January 1884.

<sup>103</sup> Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales* 1891, 12.

development. By 1859, the twenty-five year-old Bertrand had moved into theater administration, first in the United States, next in Brussels and Lille. Bertrand had directed the Théâtre des Variétés since 1 July 1869, where he premiered works with scores by Jacques Offenbach, Hervé, Charles Lecocq and Gaston Serpette, in addition to many premières without music. Apparently the adventurous programming Bertrand submitted with his application for the position as the new director of the Opéra was the decisive factor in his appointment. Bertrand planned to revive Gluck's *Armide* and *Orphée* aside performances of works by Berlioz, Reyer, Massenet, and Saint-Saëns, and operas translated from the Italian (Verdi and Boïto), Russian (Rubinstein and Glinka) and German (Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* and *Lohengrin*). He also reduced the subscription price of seats in the orchestra from ₣6 to ₣5, and promised Sunday matinées at prices as low as ₣2.50 per seat. Bertrand's choice to fill the post of musical director at the Opéra was none other than Édouard Colonne, formerly partnered with Porel for *L'Arlésienne*, *Athalie* and *Le Songe d'une nuit d'été* at the Odéon; Colonne would also conduct the orchestra from time to time.<sup>104</sup>

Porel was embittered by the announcement of Bertrand's nomination to the directorship of the Opéra, having coveted the position for himself. Whatever the faults of Porel's application for the directorship of the Opéra, he had done an excellent job directing the Odéon. Genty summed up Porel's achievements:

creations and revivals of unknown and forgotten works, both old and new, French and foreign; the *matinées-conferences* on Thursdays, dedicated to the youth, where the classic masterpieces were commented on by well-known literary figures such as Larroumet, Vitu, Lintilhac, F. Sarcey, etc., completing the education given in the schools and colleges; large place given to music, etc.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Anonymous, "Dernières nouvelles," *Le Temps*, 19 April 1891, 4.

<sup>105</sup> "... création ou reprise d'ouvrages inconnus, oubliés, anciens ou modernes, français et étrangers, les matinées-conférences du jeudi, dédiées à la jeunesse, où seraient commentés les chefs-d'œuvre classiques,

Additionally, the Odéon had undergone renovations in 1882, at the start of Porel's co-directorship. In an article in *La Revue d'art dramatique*, an author under the pseudonym "L'Abbé de Chazeuil" defended Porel's work by noting that the theater had never been so prosperous as in the last five years.<sup>106</sup> Despite Porel's tremendous achievements at the Second Théâtre-Français – or perhaps because of it – our pseudonymous author reports:

Porel is not beloved in the world of theater – or, to say it better, he has a lot of enemies there. Nearly all reproach him for walking too directly towards the goals at which he aims and for being scarcely embarrassed by what would disturb others. In short, some say that his motto is "what do the means matter, as long as I succeed." And these people may just be right.<sup>107</sup>

In light of Porel's strong record at the Odéon, it is clear that his reputation for ruthlessness in reaching his goal must have played a significant role in his rejection for the post at the Opéra, as it made many influential enemies for Porel.

On 7 March 1892, Georges Boyer leaked in *Le Figaro* that Porel had leased the dilapidated Éden-Théâtre for a fifteen-year term, and would begin with a wholesale renovation of the building.<sup>108</sup> This move was a surprise to many, who expected Porel's successes at the Odéon to lead him to renew his contract. *Le Figaro* later disclosed that Porel

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complétant l'enseignement donné dans les écoles, lycées et collèges, conférences fait par des littérateurs connus: Larroumet, Vitu, Lintilhac, F. Sarcey, etc., ... large place donnée à la musique, etc." Genty, *Histoire du Théâtre National de l'Odéon*, 60.

<sup>106</sup> N.B. "L'Abbé de Chazeuil" is the name of a character in *Adrienne Lecouvreur*, a comedy-drama in 5 acts in prose by Ernest Legouvé and Eugène Scribe that was premiered at the Comédie-Française (i.e., the Théâtre-Français) on 14 April 1849. See L'Abbé de Chazeuil, "Le Second Théâtre-Français," *La Revue d'art dramatique*, T. 26, 1 April 1892: 35-43 and 15 April 1892: 105-15, citation 37.

<sup>107</sup> "M. Porel n'est pas aimé dans le monde des théâtres, ou, pour mieux m'exprimer, il y compte beaucoup d'ennemis. Presque tous lui reprochent de marcher trop droit vers le but qu'il vise et de ne s'embarrasser guère de ce qui gênerait tout autre. Bref, d'aucuns disent que sa devise est: « Qu'importe les moyens, pourvu que je réussisse. » Et ces gens-là sont peut-être dans le vrai." de Chazeuil, "Le Second Théâtre-Français," *La Revue d'art dramatique*, 108.

<sup>108</sup> Georges Boyer, "Courrier des Théâtres," *Le Figaro*, 7 March 1892, 3.

also turned in his resignation as director of the Odéon on 7 March, effective at the expiration of his contract on 31 May 1892.<sup>109</sup>

The impact of Porel's consistent combination of theater and music at the Odéon was seen in part through the proposal submitted by Léonce Détroyat to succeed him. Détroyat suggested that the theater's name be changed to "Odéon: Grand Théâtre National," and that it alternate music with comedy and drama: Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays would feature concerts, while Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays would feature plays; Sundays would alternate.<sup>110</sup> In the event, Porel was succeeded instead by Émile Marck and Émile Desbeaux, who had served as Porel's loyal stage director and *secrétaire générale*, respectively. Their three-season directorship proved to be in stark contrast musically to Porel's tenure, as they only directed two productions with incidental music. The first production was *Vercingétorix*, a *drame national en 5 actes* by Edmond Cottinet with music by Camille Saint-Saëns, première on 7 October 1893. Reviews were mixed, and it was performed merely fifteen times; the score consisted only of two short excerpts, including a fanfare. The second work with incidental music was *Yanthis*, a *pièce en 4 actes en vers* by Jean Lorrain with a score by Gabriel Pierné. It was first performed on 10 February 1894. Despite some critical acclaim for both the play and the music, it also closed after only fifteen performances.<sup>111</sup>

Porel meanwhile had brought with him many of the actors from the Odéon, such that he had a full troupe upon arrival at the Éden-Théâtre, which he renamed the Grand-

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<sup>109</sup> Boyer, "Courrier des Théâtres," *Le Figaro*, 9 March 1892, 5.

<sup>110</sup> Georges Boyer, "Courrier des Théâtres," *Le Figaro*, 13 March 1892, 3.

<sup>111</sup> The rather slight piano-vocal score for *Yanthis* filled 18 pages. It might be noted that Pierné's score for *Izéyl*, an "Indian drama" in 4 acts in verse by Armand Silvestre and Eugène Morand, was premiered only two weeks earlier, on 24 January 1894 at the Théâtre de la Renaissance. That score was comprised of an aubade and a serenade.

Théâtre.<sup>112</sup> But first the theater needed extensive renovations, and the summer of 1892 was devoted to such work. Although Porel remained quiet as to the programming at the Grand-Théâtre, Georges Boyer speculated that he would continue the trends begun at the Odéon: “Porel will play the classic repertory, modern comedies, and the *drame lyrique*” (M. Porel jouera le répertoire classique, la comédie moderne et le drame lyrique.)<sup>113</sup> Here we see the use of the term *drame lyrique* to refer not to opera (for which it was a generic term covering *grand opéra*, *opéra-comique*, and foreign operatic sub-genres), but to the extensive incidental scores frequently seen at the Odéon. As we shall see in Chapter Three, this usage was current at least since 1876, when the expanded score for *Les Érinnyes* was première.

Porel opened his new venture on 12 November 1892 with a performance of Daudet’s *Sapho*, featuring excerpts from Mendelssohn, Delibes and Massenet during the entr’actes to mask the long set changes. The orchestra was conducted by the house *chef d’orchestre*, Gabriel Marie. Although this production departed from the typical *drame lyrique* format with which Porel had made such a mark at the Odéon through its pastiche nature and lack of melodrama, Porel’s combining music (in whatever form) and drama was to be even more entrenched at the Grand-Théâtre than in his previous directorship. Of the nine works produced in the brief lifespan of the Grand-Théâtre, only two avoided the employment of music in one fashion or another (see Table 2.6, below). The production of *Le Malade imaginaire* première Saint-Saëns’ arrangement of Lully’s music, showing an appreciation for the classics which Porel’s years at the Odéon had instilled in him.

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<sup>112</sup> At the point that Porel’s resignation was made public, he already had at least five actors contracted to the future Grand-Théâtre from among the Odéon’s stable, including Messieurs Maury, Duard, and Gautier, and Madames Réjane (Porel’s future wife) and Tessandier. See Boyer, “Courrier des Théâtres,” *Le Figaro*, 9 March 1892, 5.

<sup>113</sup> Boyer, “Courrier des Théâtres,” *Le Figaro*, 9 March 1892, 5.



Table 2.6: Performances at the Grand-Théâtre  
under the Administration of Paul Porel, 1892 – 1893<sup>114</sup>

Play	Date of première / reprise	Author	Composer	Performances during season
<i>Sapho</i>	12 November 1892	Alphonse Daudet	Mendelssohn, Delibes and Massenet (excerpted as entr'actes)	35
<i>Le Malade imaginaire</i>	28 November 1892	Molière	Marc-Antoine Charpentier arr. Saint-Saëns*	3
<i>Lolotte</i>	28 November 1892	Henri Meilhac and Ludovic Halévy	None	3
<i>Merowig</i> *	9 December 1892	Georges Montorgueil	Samuel Rousseau* (drame lyrique in 3 acts and 5 tableaux)	5
<i>Lysistrata</i> *	22 December 1892	Aristophanes, adapt. Maurice Donnay	Amédée Dutacq*	76
<i>L'Arlésienne</i>	22 January 1893	Alphonse Daudet	Georges Bizet	24
<i>Pêcheur d'Islande</i> *	18 February 1893	Pierre Loti and Louis Tiercelin	Guy Ropartz*	20 <sup>115</sup>
<i>Les Faux bons hommes</i>	5 March 1893	Théodore Barrière & Ernest Capendu	None	6
<i>Athalie</i>	20 March 1893	Jean Racine	Mendelssohn	3
30 March 1893: theater closed due to high costs				

Porel was finally able to realize his intention of directing opera with *Merowig*, a *drame lyrique* which had won the city of Paris's compositional contest that year.<sup>116</sup> The

<sup>114</sup> An asterisk (\*) next to the title indicates that the play was a premiere; similarly, asterisks next to composers' names indicate that the score was a premiere. Numbers of performances are recorded by season, which typically ran from late August / early September through late May / early June.

<sup>115</sup> My perusal of the pages of *Le Figaro* from 1 January to 30 March 1893 shows only nine performances of *Pêcheur d'Islande*, while Noël and Stoullig counted 20. Since the work received some critical acclaim, it would be unheard of for it to close after only nine performances, while 20 would be a very short (though quite possible) run for a critically-acclaimed play which did not connect with the audience. I attribute the difference to the frequent inconsistencies in *Le Figaro's* coverage of matinées held at the Grand-Théâtre.

<sup>116</sup> The cast included Numa Auguez, the same singer found above in association with *La Vie de bohème*. *Merowig* was later produced in Nancy on 12 January 1899.

work was disappointing both dramatically and musically, and closed after five performances. This could only have been financially disastrous for such a new enterprise. Less disappointing was the performance of *Lysistrata* (22 December 1892), a *comédie en 4 actes et un prologue* by Aristophanes, adapted by Maurice Donnay, with music by Amédée Dutacq. *Lysistrata* is arguably the most salacious of Aristophanes' comedies, which only helped the length of its production run. Praised by critics for its sets, costumes, and its substantial score (87 pages in its piano-vocal incarnation), it played 76 times.<sup>117</sup> During the month of January alone, the production brought in F147,852, averaging F5,280.43 per night.<sup>118</sup> Even more impressively, the performance on 4 February took in F6,421, showing that its appeal was still growing some six weeks after its première. Performances eventually ceased not due to declining receipts, but due to a scheduled leave of absence on the part of Réjane.<sup>119</sup>

As he had done at the Odéon, Porel set about buttressing his financial position by dovetailing *Lysistrata* with the production of *L'Arlésienne* after the latter commenced on 22 January 1893. Gabriel Marie, the music director of the Grand-Théâtre, conducted 120 musicians in the performance, assuring that the scale of the production would equal those productions held previously at the Odéon. The effect was noted in the conclusion to Noël and Stoullig's review of the production, as they commented that "through the delicious music of

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<sup>117</sup> *Lysistrata* was revived with Dutacq's score at the Théâtre du Vaudeville on 6 May 1896, where it played 73 times to critical and popular success, and again at the Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens on 30 October 1909, where it played to a very respectable 124 performances.

<sup>118</sup> Boyer, "Courrier des Théâtres," *Le Figaro*, 2 February 1893, 7.

<sup>119</sup> Boyer, "Courrier des Théâtres," *Le Figaro*, 12 February 1893, 4.

Bizet, at places *L'Arlésienne* takes on an operatic tone” (Ajoutons que *l'Arlésienne* prend parfois, dans la délicieuse musique de Bizet, un ton de drame lyrique).<sup>120</sup>

The alternation of performances of *Lysistrata* and *L'Arlésienne* into February assured a steady income during rehearsals for *Pêcheur d'Islande*, which premiered on 18 February 1893. This *pièce en 4 actes et 9 tableaux*, adapted from the novel by Pierre Loti by the author and Louis Tiercelin with music by Guy Ropartz, received reviews ranging from positive to mixed; it suffered in part because the psychological element so prominent in the novel was difficult to translate to the stage. After only twenty performances, it closed. As March wore on, Boyer commented that the hall was looking less than full during performances of *L'Arlésienne*, speculating that the Parisian public may have been saturated with the work at last.

The writing was on the wall for Porel and the Grand-Théâtre, though he did manage to keep this out of the press for the time being. A revival on the subscription series of *Les Faux Bons Hommes* (a *comédie en 4 actes* dating from 1856) alternated with *Lysistrata* and *L'Arlésienne*, providing the orchestra a few nights off (and presumably cutting costs as well). Porel produced *Athalie*, the second workhorse from his Odéon stint, on 20 March as part of the subscription series, which might have raised public interest in the programming at the Grand-Théâtre if not for irreconcilable differences Porel encountered in negotiating an upcoming performance of *Madame Sans-Gêne* by Victorien Sardou. Without notice, on 30 March 1893 Porel walked away from his fifteen-year lease and released his troupe from their contracts, citing *force majeure* as his legal defense based on the exceedingly heavy costs of

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<sup>120</sup> Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales* 1893, 336.

starting such an enterprise from the ground up.<sup>121</sup> Certainly the cost of massive renovations and of assembling an in-house orchestra rivaling those of the established concert societies in size played a role in the demise of the theater, as did Porel's careful attention to artistic detail, set designs and costumes. One wonders how much sooner the theater would have closed had Porel not pilfered the troupe at the Odéon to jump-start the Grand-Théâtre.

As to Porel's later career, he became co-director of the Théâtre du Vaudeville on 1 September 1893, joining Albert Carré who had been at the post since 1885. When Carré departed for the Opéra-Comique on 16 January 1898, Porel continued on as director through 2 August 1914, when the theater was forced to close by the onset of the First World War just as the *comédie en 3 actes* by G.-A. de Caillavet, Robert de Flers, and Etienne Rey titled *Belle Aventurier* reached 259 performances. When the theater reopened on 2 April 1915, it was under the joint interim directorship of Victor de Cottens and E. Danancier, although Porel remained in the wings at least through 25 November 1915.<sup>122</sup> While director at the Vaudeville, Porel largely abandoned the lavish productions with music through which he had made such a name for himself at the Odéon and Grand-Théâtre (see Table 2.7, below), despite that he had taken his able conductor, Gabriel Marie, with him from the Grand-Théâtre.

Porel never relived the immense success he had while mixing music and drama during his directorship of the Odéon. But what he accomplished in those eight years served to distinguish the traditionally secondary Odéon from all other theaters in Paris, by carving out a successful and marketable niche for the theater in the ever-shifting artistic landscape of the

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<sup>121</sup> Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales* 1893, 341.

<sup>122</sup> Stoullig, *Les Annales* 1914-15, 201.

Table 2.7: Incidental Music at the Théâtre du Vaudeville under the Administration of Paul Porel, 1893 – 1914<sup>123</sup>

Play	Date of première / reprise	Author	Composer	Performances during season
<i>La Vie en voyage</i>	30 September 1901	Maurice Desvallieres	Gabriel Marie	21
<i>La Plus Amoureuse*</i>	3 October 1906	Lucien Besnard	Frédéric Schneklud*	34
<i>Princesse d'amour*</i>	24 January 1907	Judith Gautier	Edmond Laurens*	28

French capital. The degree of music performed at the Odéon between 1884 and 1892 was not attempted at the Comédie-Française, where it would be seen to distract from the focus on excellent acting, and where the much smaller hall (and especially the smaller orchestra pit) would not allow for such extravagant musical ensembles. Although Porel did not enjoy such success on the musical front again, his reputation for daring yet solid artistic direction and for sound business sense did follow him. While we are left to wonder what he might have accomplished had he been allowed to turn his talent to the direction of the Opéra de Paris, it is clear that he had a major impact on the musical life of Paris while director of the Théâtre de l'Odéon and the Grand-Théâtre.

<sup>123</sup> An asterisk (\*) next to the title indicates that the play was a premiere. Similarly, asterisks next to composers' names indicate that the score was a premiere. Numbers of performances are recorded by season, which typically ran from late August / early September through late May / early June.

## CHAPTER THREE

### MASSENET'S *LES ÉRINNYES*: FROM THEATER TO OPERA STAGE

In January 1873, the much anticipated première at the Théâtre de l'Odéon of Leconte de Lisle's antique drama, *Les Érinnyes*, provided the frame for a substantial score by the young and promising composer Jules Massenet. The work was premièred only three months after Daudet's play, *L'Arlésienne* (1 October 1872). If Bizet's score for *L'Arlésienne* was to become the best-known piece of music written for the Parisian theaters in late nineteenth-century France, Massenet's incidental music for *Les Érinnyes* had a similar impact upon subsequent incidental music in France and received an equally important number of performances. Like Bizet's *L'Arlésienne* and also Charles Gounod's music for *Les Deux Reines de France* (given its public première only six weeks before *Les Érinnyes*), Massenet incorporated significant amounts of musical *mélodrame*, setting apart these post-war scores from incidental music of the previous decades on the major Parisian stages for spoken drama.<sup>1</sup> In partnership with *L'Arlésienne*, it would set a new standard for the incidental music produced in France over the next forty years. Massenet's score for *Les Érinnyes* would serve in particular as a model for the growing collection of scores for plays with subjects derived from Greek and Roman antiquity.

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<sup>1</sup> *Les Deux reines de France*, a drama in four acts by Ernest Legouvé, was premièred before the public at the Théâtre-Italien on 27 November 1872. It had been planned for public performance in 1865, but was suppressed by the censors. A private performance of the choruses was given *chez* Bertin on 5 March 1865, with Saint-Saëns and Bizet at two pianos. See Pierre Menneret, "La Musique de scène en France de Napoleon III à Poincaré 1852-1914" (PhD diss., Conservatoire de Paris, 1973): 159, citing in turn Auguste Durand, *Le Ménestrel*, 12 March 1865, 116, and Gustave Bertrand, *Le Ménestrel*, 1 December 1872, 3-4.

As is frequently noted in Massenet scholarship, the score which he contributed for *Les Érinnyes* played a crucial role in establishing Massenet's reputation.<sup>2</sup> Along with his highly successful oratorio *Marie-Magdeleine* (first performed in April), *Les Érinnyes* brought Massenet to fame in 1873, four years before he became known as an opera composer with the success of *Le Roi de Lahore* in 1877.<sup>3</sup> *Les Érinnyes* was the first of his fourteen incidental scores (see Table 3.1, below). In its revised form, it was also his most substantial score – comprised of some 75 minutes of music, filling 111 pages in its piano-vocal score.<sup>4</sup> Only in 1900 would he write similarly expansive incidental music for the Odéon production of Racine's *Phèdre* to go with the concert overture he had composed in 1873 on the same subject.

Massenet's score was written for a *drame antique* in two parts by well-known poet Charles-Marie Leconte de Lisle (1818-1894), founder of the Parnassian movement in poetry and mentor to such prominent writers as Stéphane Mallarmé, Comte de Villiers de L'Isle-Adam, and Catulle Mendès. The drama was an adaptation of the first two tragedies of Aeschylus' trilogy *The Oresteia* and represented Leconte de Lisle's first foray onto the stage. The drama is organized not in acts, but in two parts which correspond to the first two tragedies of the *Oresteia*. As Part I (entitled *Klytaimnestra*) opens, the Érinnyes silently haunt the stage in a premonition of the end of the drama. This first part is centered around the

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<sup>2</sup> See Demar Irvine, *Massenet* (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1994): 63, and Hugh Macdonald, "Massenet, Jules (Emile Frédéric)," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 90, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Grove Publications, 2001).

<sup>3</sup> *Don César de Bazan, opéra-comique en 3 actes* by A. d'Ennery, P.P. Dumanoir and J. Chantepie (after Hugo's *Ruy Blas*) was première at the Opéra Comique in Paris on 30 November 1872. Scarcely a success, it played thirteen times before closing. *Marie-Magdeleine, drame sacré en 3 actes* by Louis Gallet, première at the Théâtre de l'Odéon on Good Friday, 11 April 1873, with Pauline Viardot singing the lead role.

<sup>4</sup> Jules Massenet, *Les Érinnyes, tragédie antique, en 2 actes, de Leconte de Lisle, musique de J. Massenet, partition pour chant et piano* (Paris: G. Hartmann, 1876).

Table 3.1: The Incidental Music of Jules Massenet  
 (N.B. Massenet's 1899 overture to Edouard Noël's drama *Brumaire* seems not to have been performed with the play)

Play	Playwright	Place of Première	Date of Première
Les Érinnyes	Charles-Marie Leconte de Lisle	Paris, Théâtre de l'Odéon	6 January 1873
Un Drame sous Philippe II	Georges de Porto-Riche	Paris, Théâtre de l'Odéon	14 April 1875
La vie de bohème	T. Barrière & H. Mürger	Paris, Théâtre de l'Odéon	19 November 1875
L'Hetman	P. Deroulède	Paris, Théâtre de l'Odéon	2 February 1877
Notre-Dame de Paris	Victor Hugo & P. Foucher	Paris, Théâtre des Nations	4 June 1879
Michel Strogoff	A.-P. d'Ennery & Jules Verne	Paris, Théâtre du Châtelet	17 November 1880
Nana Sahib	Jean Richepin	Paris, Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin	20 December 1883
Théodora	Victorien Sardou	Paris, Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin	26 December 1884
Le Crocodile	Victorien Sardou	Paris, Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin	21 December 1886
Phèdre	Jean Racine	Paris, Théâtre de l'Odéon	8 December 1900
Le Grillon du foyer	Ludovic de Francmesnil, after Dickens	Paris, Théâtre de l'Odéon	1 October 1904
Le Manteau du roi	Jean Aicard	Paris, Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin	22 October 1907
Perce-Neige et les sept gnomes	J. Dortzal	Paris, Femina	2 February 1909
Jérusalem	Georges Rivollet	Monte Carlo, Opéra	14 January 1914

triumphal return of Agamemnon and his army from the war, and his murder at the hands of his wife Clytemnestra and her lover Aegisthus. Part II (*Orestès*) opens with Elektra and the Khorèphores mourning Agamemnon's death in a scene made famous by the musical melodrama which Elektra shares with the cello solo. Into this scene of despair, Orestès surprises Elektra with his unforeseen return, and comforts his sister. When Orestès kills Aegisthus and mortally wounds his mother offstage, Elektra flees in horror. After Clytemnestra expires onstage, Orestès enters into a ten-minute monologue of wrath while standing over her bloody corpse. Contrary to the *Oresteia*, the tragedy ends not with the gods



pardoning Orestès, but with his destruction at the hands of the Furies, who close on him from all sides. By suppressing the last part of the trilogy, Leconte de Lisle omitted the redemption of Orestès at the hands of the gods, who overlook his matricide in light of the extenuating circumstances which motivated his actions. The early closure of the narrative renders a much more pessimistic interpretation of the myth.

Also contrary to ancient practice, Leconte de Lisle does not provide a collective voice in the drama. Instead, the choruses cede their speech to two representative members. For the male ensemble of Part I (the *Chœur des Vieillards*, comprised of the men of Argos too old to go to war), Talthybios and Eurybatès speak; and the female ensemble of Part II (the *Chœur des Khoèphores*, women who assist Elektra in the ceremony of mourning for Agamemnôn) is represented by Kallirhoé and Ismena. This technique of rendering a more personal aspect to the function of the chorus was praised by literary critic Jules Girard as a satisfactory compromise between ancient practice and modern dramatic tastes.<sup>5</sup>

An examination of this *drame antique* and its reception provides insights into the processes which produced incidental music, changing aesthetics of antique music in France, issues of musical genre, and Massenet's development as a composer. To begin, I will now turn to the 1873 première and its reception.

### **The 1873 Production at the Théâtre de l'Odéon**

The published memoirs of Félix Duquesnel, director of the Théâtre de l'Odéon at the time of the première of *Les Érinnyes*, afford a glimpse into the process by which a play was chosen

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<sup>5</sup> Jules Girard, "Eschyle sur la scène française," *Revue des deux mondes* (1889): 609-626.

to receive incidental music.<sup>6</sup> Duquesnel recounts all the salient details, from choosing the play through the opening night, providing rare insight in the production of incidental music in Parisian theaters. Few sources offer such (albeit self-serving) richness of information about the background of both practical and artistic decision-making in Parisian theaters. Indeed, Duquesnel's memoirs represent a similar kind of window on the landscape of Parisian theaters as Louis Véron's recollections of his directorship at the Opéra.<sup>7</sup>

Duquesnel began his history by telling how Charles-Edmond, the librarian of the French Senate and a personal friend of Leconte de Lisle, brought a manuscript of the *Les Érinnyes* to Duquesnel's office, claiming it as a masterpiece "with all the insistence of an enthusiastic friendship."<sup>8</sup> When he returned three days later, Duquesnel admitted the value of the play, but expressed two reservations. The first was on account of Leconte de Lisle's use of language, in particular the transliterated Greek names (such as *Orestès* and *Klytaimnestra* in place of the more familiar French versions *Oreste* and *Clytemnestre*), which he feared would scare away the less erudite public. Duquesnel neglected to cite the title itself, for the version more familiar to the French resonates with English speakers as well: *Les Furies*. Indeed, the transliterated title was so foreign to the French audiences that many critics would transpose the vowels, misspelling it as "*Érynnies*." Duquesnel's second reservation was that the play could not be performed without incidental music, "a 'prop' as the Germans say. The

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<sup>6</sup> Félix Duquesnel was director of the Théâtre de l'Odéon from 11 June 1872 – 31 May 1880, the period during which the Odéon gained a strong reputation for incidental music; he later turned to theater criticism, writing for *Le Gaulois*. His *Souvenirs littéraires* ends with a chapter entitled "Leconte de Lisle: *Les Érinnyes*" which, perhaps slightly mistitled, discusses Massenet and his music at equal length (Paris: Bibliothèque des Annales, 1901): 289-301. Massenet's own memoirs, *Mes Souvenirs*, provide a supplementary perspective on the matter (Paris: L. Lafitte, 1912; translated as *My Recollections* (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1970)).

<sup>7</sup> Louis Véron, *Mémoires d'un bourgeois de Paris, comprenant la fin de l'Empire, la Restauration, la Monarchie de Juillet, la République jusqu'au rétablissement de l'Empire*, 5 vols. (Paris: Librairie nouvelle, 1857).

<sup>8</sup> "[A]vec toute l'insistance d'une amitié enthousiaste," Duquesnel, *Souvenirs littéraires*, 291.

verses while beautiful and sonorous would gain in certain situations by being underlined with musical sonorities. We will have also some preludes and melodramatic *intermèdes*...”<sup>9</sup>

Perhaps Duquesnel had in mind the criticism that Théophile Gautier had leveled at *L’Orestie* of Alexandre Dumas *père* in 1856, that such a *drame antique* deserved to have music to accompany it, as it had in antiquity.<sup>10</sup> Several days later, Charles-Edmond returned with Leconte de Lisle, who refused to alter the Greek names but did concede to allow music, so long as it “be discreet and not hinder the hearing of the words.”<sup>11</sup>

Duquesnel noted that Leconte de Lisle seemed more stunned than charmed by the reception of his play. His response is understandable, as ordinarily a playwright would submit his play to a committee of readers appointed by the theater, or to the director himself, for consideration. Moreover, Leconte de Lisle had initially conceived of his play as a literary object rather than a theatrical production; indeed, *Les Érinnyes* would become his first foray onto the stage. Nevertheless, the invitation Leconte de Lisle received to stage his play, and the bypassing of the *comité de lecture* process, stand as the only departure in this account from the standard practice seen at the Théâtre de l’Odéon, Comédie-Française and other theaters.

When rehearsals began on 10 December 1872, Leconte de Lisle showed up from time to time – mostly to see how the text would be declaimed, while worrying throughout about

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<sup>9</sup> “[Ensuite, je voudrais adapter une musique de scène,] un « support », comme disent les Allemands, les vers qui sont beaux et sonores gagneraient dans certaines situations à être soutenus de sonorités musicales. Nous aurions aussi des introductions et des intermèdes de mélodrame...” Duquesnel, 292.

<sup>10</sup> Théophile Gautier, “Critique théâtrale,” *Le Moniteur*, 14 January 1856, 53-4.

<sup>11</sup> “[qu’elle] serait discrète et n’empêcherait pas d’entendre les vers.” Duquesnel, 292.

the impact of the music on the text.<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile, Duquesnel struggled to choose the composer. Charles-Edmond suggested a proven composer, such as Gounod. Gounod had composed intermittently for the Comédie-Française since 1852, and one of his successes there was in fact on an antique subject: Gounod had provided the choruses for François Ponsard's five-act tragedy *Ulysse*, which opened on 18 June 1852. Despite the tradition dating back to Racine's tragedies *Esther* and *Athalie*, the use of choruses to accompany a play had not been seen in France since 1844, when Mendelssohn's choruses were given with Sophocles' *Antigone* at the Odéon.<sup>13</sup> Gounod's reinstatement of choral incidental music made quite a mark, leading to a minor revival of choruses in repertory plays, including Edmond Membrée's music for Sophocles' *Ceïpe roi* and Jules Cohen's music for Racine's *Athalie* and *Esther* and Corneille's *Psyché*.<sup>14</sup>

Yet Duquesnel and Leconte de Lisle were both in favor of a younger, unknown composer. For Duquesnel this would mean lower costs, as a new composer could not command the same rate as a major name like Gounod could. For Leconte de Lisle, a younger composer would be more pliable and more likely to capitulate to the demands of a famous

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<sup>12</sup> The rehearsal dates are found in the "Livres du Bord du Théâtre de l'Odéon," Paris, Archives Nationales, AJ55 11. *Les Érinnyes* was rehearsed on twenty-four different days before its première.

<sup>13</sup> *Antigone*, adapted from Sophocles by Paul Meurice and Auguste Vacquerie with incidental music by Felix Mendelssohn, opened at the Théâtre de l'Odéon on 21 May 1844.

<sup>14</sup> J.-B. Wekerlin, "Ulysse," *Le Ménestrel*, 20 June 1852, 1-2: "The first performance of *Ulysse* with which we have been absorbed for some time took place last Friday. The Théâtre-Français contained all the spectators it could fit, besides those who could not get in because it was full. A tragedy with choruses, this was indeed a new attraction: since *Esther* and *Athalie* of Racine, this idea had scarcely been taken up again, except at the Odéon several years ago with the tragedies of Sophocles which only obtained a contestable success, despite the beautiful music of Mendelssohn." (La 1ère représentation d'Ulysse dont on s'occupait depuis quelques temps a eu lieu vendredi dernier. Le Théâtre-Français contenait tout ce qu'il pouvait contenir de spectateurs, indépendamment de ceux qui n'ont pu entrer, faute de place. Une tragédie avec chœur, c'était en effet une nouveauté attrayante: depuis l'Esther et l'Athalie de Racine, cet essai n'avait guère été renouvelé, si ce n'est à l'Odéon il y a quelques années, par les tragédies de Sophocle qui, malgré la belle musique de Mendelssohn, n'ont obtenu qu'un succès contestable.)

playwright. Duquesnel inquired about young composers with Vaucorbeil, the commissioner (and sometime composer) who oversaw the government-subsidized theaters.<sup>15</sup> Vaucorbeil recommended the relative unknown Jules Massenet, whose reputation at that time was due primarily to the concert suites and overtures he wrote during his Prix de Rome sojourn (1864-6) and *Don César de Bazan*, première in 1872 at the Opéra Comique. Vaucorbeil himself introduced the director and composer at Duquesnel's office a few days later, at which time it was decided that the score should be "sober, discreet; no woodwinds, no brass, nothing but strings, at most one percussionist, and three trombones, for the appearances of the 'bitches of Hell.'"<sup>16</sup>

It took Massenet only ten days to return with a complete score, which he played at the piano for Duquesnel. The director then assembled an orchestra with the aid of Édouard Colonne, a friend of Massenet, who was just becoming known as a conductor. Although the music was very discreet in Duquesnel's eyes, Leconte de Lisle complained nevertheless that "this music, besides being useless, hinders the hearing of my verses!"<sup>17</sup> The poet required that many cuts be made from the score, to the regret of Duquesnel – and the sensitive Massenet, whose distress was evident.

As a result of the furor raised by Leconte de Lisle over the audibility of his text during the melodramas, both the author and the composer spoke frequently of taking back

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<sup>15</sup> In *Mes Souvenirs*, Massenet recalls his publisher Georges Hartmann as the intermediary responsible for creating Duquesnel's interest in the young composer. The conflicting recollections may be compatible, as Vaucorbeil may have contacted Hartmann in his search for a young composer, and both men may have been present at the introduction of Massenet to Duquesnel.

<sup>16</sup> "[Il fut convenu, pour complaire à l'auteur de poème, que le compositeur ferait une musique] sobre, discrète; pas de bois, pas de cuivres, rien que des cordes, tout au plus une batterie, et trois trombones, pour les apparitions des « chiennes de l'Hadès »." Duquesnel, 294.

<sup>17</sup> "Cette musique, d'ailleurs bien inutile, empêche d'entendre mes vers !" Duquesnel, 295.

their work – Leconte de Lisle as a threat, Massenet as a conciliation. Thus, when Leconte de Lisle stormed off the rehearsal stage one day in a rage, Duquesnel suggested to Massenet that they take advantage of the situation by adding *more* music: at the point where Agamemnon returns to court, he would celebrate his military victory with songs and dances. Unfortunately for Massenet, the next day after he had improvised the music for this insertion at the piano, Leconte de Lisle reappeared and relegated this also to the pile of purged sections. In the end the playwright was able to restrain himself from providing further difficulties for Duquesnel, eventually becoming somewhat more warm and personable as the première approached.

The première on 6 January 1873 was, by all accounts, a success overall. Paired with the one-act curtain raiser *Le Dêpit amoureux* by Molière, it brought in a generous F1,766.75, surpassing the 24 October 1872 revival of Victor Hugo’s *Ruy Blas* at F1,534.50 and the average receipts for January at F919.30.<sup>18</sup> Aside from a break during the celebration of Molière’s birthday on 15 January, it played twenty-five consecutive nights, in combination with various one-act openers, before closing on 31 January. This number of performances, while not unusually high for the Odéon, was indicative of a respectable degree of success. In addition to the music, a significant draw for the audiences was found in the principal actors, as I will discuss below. As to the text of the play itself, the verses by the respected senior poet became something of a critical *succès de scandale*.

Reception as seen in the theatrical and musical press was mixed. Many took Leconte de Lisle to task over the form of his adaptation. Francisque Sarcey, the venerated theater critic for *Le Temps*, noted that each of the previous French adaptors of Greek plays had made concessions to the taste of their audience. In doing so, they had created translations which

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<sup>18</sup> Molière’s comedy *Le Dêpit amoureux* was ordinarily shortened from five acts to two; apparently the Odéon had found a way to condense it to one act for use as a prelude to a longer play. Receipt figures are found in the “Livres du Bord du Théâtre de l’Odéon,” Paris, Archives Nationales, AJ55 11.

were cultural as much as linguistic, designed to reach towards the audience rather than demand that the audience should rise to the drama. Not so with Leconte de Lisle, and the literalness of his translation – in both cultural and linguistic terms – created a tremendous friction in the reception of the play. As Sarcey opined,

*Les Érinnyes* of Leconte de Lisle is a premeditated and intentional return to the fierce brutality of Aeschylus. What did I say? A return? Authors have worked hard lately to soften a fair amount of violence in the old tragedies. The translators themselves, when they have transported these ancient works to the stage, have not judged it appropriate in some environments to give a literal version. On the contrary, Leconte de Lisle has gone further than the horror of his model. He makes me think of Gringalet, to whom his master asked after seeing the famous wallet full of money, “You haven’t taken any, at least?” “No,” he responded simply, “I have given it back.” Leconte de Lisle has given it all back. He has started with the idea, which is indeed shared by today’s public, that Aeschylus is full of a mysterious and grandiose savageness, and he has omitted all that does not agree with that ideal of the Greek legend in 1872.<sup>19</sup>

The esteemed poet had certainly given it all back: by the end of the drama, Agamemnon and Clytemnestra have died on the stage. After killing his mother, Orestes rages during a ten-minute monologue while her body remains exposed on the stage with open eyes and bloody wounds. He then meets his doom at the hands of the Furies themselves. It so overwhelmed the audiences that the weekly *La Scène* published its edition of 19 January 1873 with a cover illustration cleverly depicting the carnage. At the center of the illustration, surrounded by the

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<sup>19</sup> “Les *Érinnyes* de M. Leconte de Lisle sont un retour prémédité, voulu, vers la sauvagerie farouche d’Eschyle. Que dis-je? un retour? On s’était jusqu’en ces derniers temps appliqué à adoucir certaines violences des vieux tragiques. Les traducteurs mêmes, quand ils avaient transporté ces œuvres antiques à la scène, n’avaient pas jugé à propos en quelques endroits de donner une version littérale. M. Leconte de Lisle a enchéri au contraire sur l’horreur de son modèle. Il me rappelle Gringalet, à qui son maître visitant le fameux portefeuille, tout plein de billets de banque, demandait :

“-- Tu n’en a pas pris, au moins?”

“-- Non, répondait-il simplement, j’en ai remis.”

“M. Leconte de Lisle en a remis et beaucoup. Il est parti de cette idée, qui est en effet générale chez le public contemporain, c’est qu’Eschyle est tout plein d’une férocité mystérieuse et grandiose, et il a retranché tout ce qui ne concordait pas avec cet idéal de la légende grecque en 1872.” Francisque Sarcey, “Chronique théâtrale,” *Le Temps*, 13 January 1873, 1-2; reprinted in Sarcey’s *Quarante ans de théâtre*, vol. 4 (Paris: Bibliothèque des Annales, 1901): 419-430.

characters' names written in the Greek alphabet, stands a Greek vase. The vase teeters precariously while the figures painted upon it come to life, only to eviscerate each other mercilessly. Red, yellow and blue ink superimposed briskly over the black and white page make the illustration much more vivid and intensify the violence.

In addition to the complaints about the restored violence and strangely Hellenized names, Sarcey and others seized upon the far-too-literal translations of Greek idioms into nearly incomprehensible phrases, where equivalent French idioms existed. The critics' idiom of choice for ridicule was Leconte de Lisle's wording "to have a cow on your tongue," a phrase analogous to the French expression "to close one's mouth with a thousand[-franc] bill."<sup>20</sup> Such idioms would remain problematic throughout the reception of the play, and this one in particular was so problematic as to be remembered even in 1892.<sup>21</sup> Lastly, Sarcey railed against the lack of context given the audience by the dialogue of the characters. In his view, Leconte de Lisle assumed that his audience had a greater knowledge of Greek history than even Aeschylus did. For example, at the start of Part I, Scene ii, the night watchman gives no direct reference to his identity or function in society. Only after eight lines does he give enough information for the audience to piece together that he is a night watchman and has detected the return of the victorious army, whereas Aeschylus gives such information

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<sup>20</sup> Eurybatès to Talthybios, Part I, Scene i: "Pour nous, ayons un bœuf sur la langue. Silence!" See Sarcey, *Quarante ans de théâtre*, vol. 4, 426, and Maxime Gaucher, "Causerie littéraire," *La Revue politique et littéraire*, 11 January 1873, 682-4. Bernard Latzarus indicates that this corresponds to the French locution "on lui a fermé la bouche avec un billet de mille" (see his *Leconte de Lisle, Adapteur des Érinnyes: Contribution à l'histoire de l'hellénisme dans la littérature contemporaine, avec une note sur la Cassandre de Victor Hugo* (Université de Paris: Thesis, 1920): 7).

<sup>21</sup> See Albert Soubies, "Le Théâtre à Paris pendant les années 1872 et 1873," *La Revue d'art dramatique* 28 (1892): 321-333, citation 324; cited in Howard Lee Nostrand, *Le Théâtre antique et à l'antique en France de 1840 à 1900* (Paris: E. Droz, 1934): 112.



immediately. Leconte de Lisle risked losing his audience's attention by demanding so much of them.<sup>22</sup>

Despite the many pitfalls which some critics perceived in the play, many found it compelling. Jules Janin gushed, "A very great success has crowned this powerful work."<sup>23</sup> Auguste Vitu, despite voicing certain complaints in unison with Sarcey, completed his review "In summation, a beautiful evening for all."<sup>24</sup> Even such virulent scoffers as Sarcey were willing to praise the adaptation for its admirable poetry, its vigor and its sonority. Perhaps Leconte de Lisle had been right to defend the audibility of his text so forcefully, as the sonority and poetry would have been lost if the words were muffled.

Not even the complications and difficulties of the text proved to be an obstacle for the principal actors, whose excellent performance rendered the bitter violence even more striking. Marie Laurent was singled out for her particularly stunning depiction of Klytaimnestra. As Auguste Vitu explained, "The performance of the *Érinnyes* has been nothing but a continuous triumph for Marie Laurent."<sup>25</sup> As the anonymous reviewer for *La Revue britannique* opined, "The Odéon possesses a true tragedienne in Madame Laurent; the Comédie-Française will kidnap her sooner or later."<sup>26</sup> Laurent so captured the public's imagination that on 1 February, *Le Monde illustré* featured a full-page illustration of Laurent

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<sup>22</sup> Sarcey, *Quarante ans de théâtre*, vol. 4, 426.

<sup>23</sup> "Un très grand succès a couronné cette œuvre puissante." Jules Janin, "La Semaine dramatique," *Journal des débats*, 13 January 1873, 1-2.

<sup>24</sup> "En résumé, belle soirée pour tous." Auguste Vitu, "Premières représentations," *Le Figaro*, 9 January 1873, 3.

<sup>25</sup> "La représentation des *Érynies* [sic] n'a été qu'un long triomphe pour madame Marie Laurent." Auguste Vitu noted that Marie Laurent had also played Electra in the January 1856 production of *l'Orestie* by Alexandre Dumas père, the previous treatment of the *Oresteia* on a Parisian stage; *Le Figaro*, 9 January 1873, 3.

<sup>26</sup> "L'Odéon possède dans Mme Laurent une vraie tragédienne ; la Comédie française la lui enlèvera tôt ou tard." Anonymous, "Chronique et bulletin bibliographique," *La Revue britannique*, January 1873, 249-50.

as Klytaimnestra, seated defiantly on a throne, with an axe barely visible in the shadows beside her. She sits surrounded by darkness and flanked by Elektra and Cassandra. Below her feet, one of the Furies traces her name with her fingers while the others chase Orestès to his doom (see Figure 3.1 below).

In Duquesnel's eyes, Part I (*Klytaimnestra*) of the two-part drama made a more powerful impression on the audience, owing to both the strength of the text and to the talent of actress Marie Laurent in the eponymous role. The impact of Part II (*Orestès*) was weakened in part by the sore throat of the protagonist, played by Paul-Félix-Joseph Taillade. Maxime Gaucher quipped,

“*Orestès* had *Tailladès* [sic] for his interpreter, who dedicates himself to roles of parricidal sons, of criminals pursued by the gods, of victims of destiny. Never has there been a victim of destiny more congested. This was no longer hoarseness; it was nearly the extinction of a voice. From the beginning it was difficult to hear him; he had *a calf on his tongue*. In the end, by sheer force of will, he made himself heard.”<sup>27</sup>

Of all the elements of the production, the score encountered particular success, as the entr'acte and the “Invocation d'Elektra” were encored, the latter declaimed by actress Émilie Broisat over the cello solo played by Alfred Bruneau.<sup>28</sup> And the press agreed with the audience in this high estimation of Massenet's contributions, praising the unknown composer's work even more highly than the play of the venerated poet. Maxime Gaucher felt that the two preludes “did not lack a certain diabolic cachet. [...] The effect of the double

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<sup>27</sup> “*Orestès* a pour interprète *Tailladès* voué aux rôles de fils parricide, de criminel poursuivi par les dieux, de victime des destins. Jamais il n'y eut victime du destin plus enrhumée. Ce n'était plus de l'enrouement, c'était presque une extinction de voix. A peine d'abord pouvait-il articuler ; il avait *un veau sur la langue*. Enfin, à force de vouloir, il s'est fait entendre.” Gaucher, *La Revue politique et littéraire*, 683. In his review published two days later, Sarcey used the same quip about the calf on the tongue.

<sup>28</sup> Duquesnel cites the cellist as Alfred Bruneau; see *Souvenirs du théâtre*, 297-8. At least one contemporary critic noted, however, that the cellist was named Vandergucht, the cellist who also played the solo with the Concerts Populaires under Pasdeloup on 16 February 1873; see Charles Bannelier, “Théâtre national de l'Odéon: *Les Érinnyes*,” *La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, 12 January 1873, 11-12.

Figure 3.1: Marie Laurent as Klytaimnestra  
in *Le Monde illustré*, 1 February 1873, 73  
(image taken from the collection of the Library of Congress).



overture was very appreciated; for my part, I found that the impression of vague fright produced by this music was more powerful than the impression caused by the sight of the Furies themselves.”<sup>29</sup> Auguste Vitu, the theater critic for *Le Figaro*, broke from his common practice to discuss the music briefly:

“M. Massenet, the young composer of *Don César de Bazan*, has written for *les Érynnies* [sic], an introduction, an entr’acte and a march which seemed to me of an excellent color and a refined instrumentation. I hope very much that my collaborator, M. Benedict, will have the occasion to hear it and to tell his feelings on it.”<sup>30</sup>

If Sarcey did not likewise break stride to praise the music, at least he did not condemn it either. In his review of *L’Arlésienne* only three months earlier he had blasted the mixture of drama with music as a bastardization, preferring that spoken drama remain distinct from opera: “Drama and opera each have their particular means of dramatic expression. [...] Music will be therefore rarely welcome in a drama, when one has not made a place for it in advance; and if one has made a place, it is an opera.”<sup>31</sup> Given the substantial nature of the instrumental sections and the *mélodrame* during Elektra’s prayers and libations, Sarcey’s lack of commentary suggests that Massenet did an excellent job in integrating the music with the text.

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<sup>29</sup> “M. Massenet a composé à l’intention des *Érinnyes* deux ouvertures qui ne manquent pas d’un certain cachet diabolique. [...] L’effet de la double ouverture a été très-apprécié ; pour ma part, j’ai trouvé que l’impression de vague effroi produit par cette musique était plus puissante que l’impression causée par la vue des *Érynnies* [sic] elles-mêmes.” Gaucher, *La Revue politique et littéraire*, 683.

<sup>30</sup> “M. Massenet, le jeune compositeur de *Don César de Bazan*, a écrit pour *les Érynnies* [sic], une introduction, un entr’acte et une marche qui m’ont paru d’une excellente couleur et d’une instrumentation distinguée. Je désire beaucoup que mon collaborateur, M. Benedict, ait l’occasion de l’entendre et d’en dire son sentiment.” Vitu, *Le Figaro*, 3.

<sup>31</sup> “Le drame et l’opéra ont chacun leurs moyens particuliers d’expression dramatique. [...] La musique sera donc rarement la bienvenue dans un drame, quand on ne lui a pas fait sa place d’avance; et si on la lui a faite, c’est un opéra.” Sarcey, “Chronique théâtrale,” *Le Temps*, 7 October 1872, 1-2. See Chapter Four for a more detailed discussion of the reception of *L’Arlésienne*.

## The 1873 Score

Until now, confusion has existed regarding exactly what music was performed at the 1873 première. In his Massenet biography Demar Irvine relied primarily on an account by Arthur Pougin, which differs, however, from those of the other critics who attended the 1873 première. As noted above, Auguste Vitu recalled an introduction, an entr'acte and a march. Arthur Pougin suggested that the music heard at the première consisted of a introduction, two *intermèdes*, and a melodrama.<sup>32</sup> On the other hand, Gustave Bertrand wrote in *Le Ménestrel* of an introduction, a little march which salutes the entry of Agamemnon, an introduction for the entry of Elektra and her companions, and the prayer of Elektra.<sup>33</sup> Guy de Charnage's review for *Le Bien public* is close to that of Bertrand.<sup>34</sup> We can forgive Pougin if he overlooked the march which accompanied Agamemnon's entry, as Bertrand reported it to be of "little interest," and Pougin likely labeled the music which accompanied Elektra's entry as a second *intermède*.

A manuscript copy of the music for *Les Érinnyes* exists in the Bibliothèque nationale de France bearing the stamps "Concerts-Colonne" and "Ed. Colonne."<sup>35</sup> The manuscript is undated, except for the note "(I<sup>er</sup> représ) 6 janvier 1873." Its orchestration matches that employed in the 1873 Odéon première: three trombones, timpani in G and D, and strings (with violins divided in 2 parts). Furthermore, the title of N<sup>o</sup> 2 refers specifically to the actress who had played Klytaimnestra, Mme Laurent. It is thus safe to assume that this score

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<sup>32</sup> Cited by Demar Irvine in *Massenet*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1994), 68.

<sup>33</sup> Gustave Bertrand, "Semaine théâtrale," *Le Ménestrel*, 12 January 1873, 51-2.

<sup>34</sup> Guy de Charnage, "Revue musicale," *Le Bien public*, 14 January 1873, 3.

<sup>35</sup> The manuscript, housed in the Département de la Musique of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, is found under call number Ms 4274. It consists of 21 folios – 40 pages of music – and is bound in blue cloth. Conductors markings are found throughout.

dates from 1873. The score is comprised of a prelude and eight numbered movements (see Table 3.2, below). Several sections are crossed out or abridged in pencil by a hand which

Table 3.2: The 1873 Score of *Les Érinnyes*  
(underlined movements were performed at the 1873 première)

Théâtre de l’Odéon, 6 January 1873 (orchestral score, Ms 4274, BnF)
<u>Prélude</u>
Première Partie: N° 1. Musique de scène. Scène Première (entry of Érinnyes) <u>N° 2. Après la sortie de Mme Laurent – Trombe sur le Théâtre [entry of Agamemnôn]</u> N° 3. Scène X
Deuxième Partie: <u>N° 4. Intermède: Tristesse d’Elektra</u> <u>N° 5. Scène Première. Musique de scène</u> <u>N° 6. Invocation d’Elektra</u> N° 7. Cue: “Rien, sinon que l’Hadès est un gardien fidèle...” [end of Scène V] N° 8. Cue: “Horreur!” [end of II <sup>e</sup> Partie]

differs from the copyist – most likely the hand of Edouard Colonne himself. Combining the accounts left us by Duquesnel and critics Vitu, Pougin, Bertrand and Charnage, we can reconstruct that the Prelude and numbers 2 (accompanying Agamemnôn’s entry), 4 (the intermède), 5 (the entry of Elektra and the Choephores), and 6 (the “Invocation d’Elektra”) were performed at the Odéon in 1873.

Massenet’s use of preludes and entr’actes to accompany the drama was in keeping with tradition. The prelude is in a sectional ternary form, comprised of music drawn from

later sections of the drama. The first section is drawn from the procession of the *Vieillards Argiens*, and recurs after the exit of the *Érinnyes* at the opening of the drama. In a stately G minor in common time, the texture is essentially homophonic and the phrase procedure is almost exclusively comprised of four-measure units. The contrasting middle section is drawn from and expands upon the music which accompanies the demise of Orestès at the hands of the *Érinnyes*. Comprised of 58 measures in D minor and in  $\frac{6}{8}$  time, its shrieking *fortissimos* contrast strongly with the *piano* and *mezzoforte* dynamics of the processional. Also striking is the frequent occurrence of a five-measure phrase structure in which the held notes beginning each phrase provide abrupt contrast with the fleeting sixteenth notes of the remainder of the phrase. The sense of rocking irregularity created by this phrase structure seems to encapsulate the terror of Orestès final moments, reminding us of the “diabolical cachet” to which Maxime Gaucher had referred (see Figure 3.2 below). The “Intermède: Tristesse d’Elektra” (relabelled simply as *Entr’acte* in the 1876 score) was of an entirely different character. Its *piano* dynamic and serene lyricism provide the audience with a moment of relief from the violence inherent in the tragedy, and display the gift for melodic construction for which Massenet became so famous (see Figure 3.3 below).

Less traditional than the instrumental excerpts are the melodramatic sections in *Les Érinnyes*. Ms 4274 shows that Massenet’s use of melodrama in *Les Érinnyes* had initially included short musical passages which underlined entries and exits of characters, as well as speech. Such a usage of melodrama within a respectable drama had a recent precedent in Bizet’s music for *L’Arlésienne*, which Massenet knew well – he had attended the première just three months earlier, and returned to see it again during its brief run.<sup>36</sup> It is also likely

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<sup>36</sup> The première took place at the Théâtre de Vaudeville on 1 October 1872. Demar Irvine informs us of Massenet’s attendance at *L’Arlésienne*; see *Massenet*, 64-5.

Figure 3.2: Prélude, Contrasting Middle Section  
(score examples taken from published piano-vocal score (Paris: G. Hartmann, 1876), from  
the library collection of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

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**Allegro con fuoco.** (126 = ♩)

The image displays a musical score for the 'Prélude, Contrasting Middle Section' by Frédéric Chopin. The score is written for piano and 3 Trombones. It consists of five systems of music. The first system includes a piano part with a 'Ped.' (pedal) instruction and a 'Tamtam' instruction, and a trombone part with a '3 Trombones.' instruction. The tempo is marked 'Allegro con fuoco.' with a metronome marking of 126 = ♩. The score features various musical notations, including dynamics such as *ff* and *M.D.* (Messa di Voce), and articulation marks like accents and slurs. The piano part is characterized by a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes, while the trombone part provides a harmonic accompaniment. The score is presented in a clear, professional layout with standard musical notation.



Figure 3.3: Intermède, Tristesse d'Elektra

ACTE II

Orestès

N° 6.

ENTR' ACTE.

**Andante sostenuto, très calme.**

**PIANO.**

*sostenuto e dolcissimo.*

*p*

(Violoncelles et Altos.)

*bien chanté et très soutenu.*

*p* (Violons.)

*tr* *tr*

*poco* *a* *poco* *appassionato.*

*f* *rit.*

that he attended the performance of Ernest Legouvé's *Les Deux Reines de France* at the Théâtre Italien with music by Gounod in November 1872. In numbers 3 and 7 of the 1873 version we find something approaching the simplicity of boulevard *mélodrame*, here analogous in function to recitative in opera. In number 3, the strings play five measures of rapid oscillating notes while the Furies are evoked by the trombones which play a chromatic cadential motive (a  $vii^{o7}/V$  embellished with a flat second scale degree, resolving to  $V^7$ ), even as Klytaimnestra ends Part I of the drama by her defiant monologue and exit (see Figure 3.4). This example recalls the boulevard melodrama convention of using short musical snippets to accompany the entrances and exits of characters. Another striking boulevard-style example is number 7, where the strings play homophonic whole-note tremolos for seventeen measures while a servant announces the death of Agamemnon, in Scene vi.

Just as several critics overlooked the music which accompanied Agamemnon's entry, it remains possible that some of the shorter examples of *mélodrame* were performed and overlooked. Those examples which were quite brief and of a background (rather than foreground) nature might not have been memorable enough for critics to take notice of them, including numbers 3 and 7 (discussed above), number 2 (comprised of two sections of 16 measures and 18 measures) and number 8 (comprised of 20 measures). Similarly, it is possible that the music composed for the entry of the Érinnyes (number 1) may have seemed to critics as part of the introduction, or as the "double overture" to which Gaucher referred, as its first measures commenced before the raising of the curtain.

By far, the most lauded excerpt of Massenet's score was the *Invocation d'Elektra*. This melodrama was an arrangement of an earlier work, the "Mélodie-Elegie" of the *Dix*

*Pièces de genre* (for piano), Op. 10 (c. 1866).<sup>37</sup> This number, 44 measures long in E minor and common time, is marked by the fusion of both pantomimic and spoken melodramatic elements with a strongly melodic and highly memorable accompaniment. (We will return to this combination of elements in the discussion of the second version of the score below.)

Figure 3.4: N° 3, Scène X: Exit convention *mélodrame*  
 [score example adapted from published piano-vocal score (Paris: G. Hartmann, 1876)]

KLYTAIMNÉSTRA.  
 Je l'attends, tête haute et sans baisser les yeux!

**Andante sostenuto.**

The musical score is presented in three systems. The first system shows the beginning with strings in the left hand and trombones in the right hand. The tempo is marked 'Andante sostenuto.' and the dynamics are 'ff'. The second system continues the piece, with a 'ten.' marking above the trombone part and a 'RIDEAU.' marking above the strings. The dynamics change to 'fff'. The third system shows the final measures of the piece, with a 'cresc.' marking above the strings.

<sup>37</sup> Cited in the forthcoming catalog of Massenet's works by Jean-Christophe Branger.

Over a highly expressive solo cello melody, the upper strings play a syncopated chordal accompaniment. The dotted rhythms of the melody seem to refer to Elektra's sobbing. The *pianissimo* dynamic and the transparency of texture serve to allow the text to remain audible despite the power of the melody to attract attention away from the speaker (see Figure 3.5 below).

Duquesnel clearly had high hopes for *Les Érinnyes*, and he lamented later the brevity of the play's run on the stage. He recalled that as early as the second performance, the hall was empty – an occurrence far too common at the Odéon – and that “at the end of fifteen miserable performances, it lingered on closing.”<sup>38</sup> Yet his memory may have been a bit harsher than reality, for archival documents clearly show that the play ran for a more respectable twenty-five performances (remember that Massenet's *Don César de Bazan* only played for thirteen nights). By comparison, the 24 October 1872 revival of *Ruy Blas* ran for 36 performances, and other plays in the 1872-3 season at the Odéon ran for as many as 52 performances, providing us with a sense of what Duquesnel might have hoped for with *Les Érinnyes*.

Although the play did not stay in the theater for as long as Duquesnel wished, the impact of both the play and its accompanying music can be seen in other ways. On 9 February 1873 and again one week later, Jules Pasdeloup conducted a suite with the title *Musique pour une pièce antique* at the Concerts Populaires. Demar Irvine reports that “the movements were listed as (1) Prélude; (2) Marche religieuse; (3) Entr'acte; and (4) Air de danse des Saturnales,” thus appearing to incorporate one of the ballet sections Massenet had

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<sup>38</sup> “Malgré le succès de la première représentation, *les Érinnyes* eurent une brève carrière. Dès la seconde, ce fut le désert vide, comme trop souvent, à l'Odéon. Au bout d'une quinzaine de représentations misérables, elles durent quitter l'affiche.” Duquesnel, 299.

Figure 3.5: Invocation d'Elektra

N°8  
INVOCATION  
MELODRAME

83

KALLIRHOË

Et les Dieux entendront ton appel éploré:

**Très lent** et avec un grand sentiment

(ELEKTRA prend une coupe et s'approche du tombeau.)

PIANO.

*mf* *v<sup>lle</sup> solo.*  
le chant très marqué et très expressif.

ELEKTRA

Hermès! prompt messenger qui montes d'un coup d'aile

De la pâle prairie où germe l'asphodèle

Jusques au pavé d'or des princes de l'Aithér,

A toi d'abord, Hermès, le vin pur du Kratér!

(Elle verse la libation)

*pp* *cresc.* \* *f* *ritm.* *pp*  
Ped.

improvised at the piano for Duquesnel.<sup>39</sup> The music had captured the public imagination strongly enough to be transferred successfully to the concert hall. And the play lingered in the public consciousness after its closure as well. On 7 April 1873, an anonymous play entitled “*Orestes et Klytaimnestra, parodie des Érinyes*” opened at the Théâtre du Palais-Royal, keeping Leconte de Lisle (and by extension, Massenet) in the public eye even after the closure of the play itself.<sup>40</sup>

### **The 1876 Revival at the Théâtre-National-Lyrique**

Massenet had tasted success with his abridged score for *Les Érinyes*. Yet this version utilized only five of his twelve composed movements (if we count each part of the substantial divertissement as its own movement). As we have seen, he likely used the last of the three sections of the ballet movement in the suite performed by Padeloup. Ever an economical composer, Massenet remained unwilling to let the other six movements remain unperformed before the public. So at some point he began negotiations to restage *Les Érinyes* in its fullest musical shape. (It would appear that Massenet acted without the involvement of Leconte de Lisle, for whom the critical reception of *Les Érinyes* on the stage was a bitter experience.)<sup>41</sup> The sought-after performances would not take place at the Odéon, but at a far more unlikely stage: the Théâtre-National-Lyrique.

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<sup>39</sup> Irvine, *Massenet*, 68.

<sup>40</sup> See Seymour Travers, *Catalogue of Nineteenth-Century French Theatrical Parodies* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1941): 65.

<sup>41</sup> Leconte de Lisle would not attempt to stage another of his works until 1888, when he completed *L'Apollonide, a drame antique en 3 actes*. Unperformed during his lifetime, it was premièreed as a *drame lyrique* with music by Franz Servais at the Odéon on 3 December 1896, seventeen months after Leconte de Lisle's death.

The Théâtre-National-Lyrique was one link in a chain of short-lived attempts to found a lyric stage in Paris to serve as an alternative to the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique. The theater owed its existence to the tireless efforts of Albert Vinentini, the former *chef d'orchestre* to Jacques Offenbach at the Gaîté, and a childhood friend of Massenet.<sup>42</sup> Since obtaining the directorship from Offenbach's hands on June 25, 1875, Vinentini had maintained the Gaîté's repertoire and aims in the spirit of his former partner. But his own vision for the Gaîté was larger and more ambitious, and in September 1875 he requested authorization from the Minister of Public Instruction to form a double-troupe for opéra and opéra-comique, and to initiate a Thursday concert series of excerpts from symphonies, operas and oratorios.<sup>43</sup> He was named director of the Théâtre Lyrique (salle de la Gaîté) for a four-year period beginning November 20, 1875.<sup>44</sup>

Because the very name of the theater would become involved in the 1876 reception of *Les Érinnyes*, the history of its name is worth recounting here in full. Before the name of the theater could be finalized, it was necessary for the Prefect of the Seine to issue a decision. The initial name of Théâtre Lyrique (salle de la Gaîté) had by now become altered to prevent confusion with the other Théâtre Lyrique (salle du Châtelet). The new designation was the Théâtre-National-Lyrique, and to add to the confusion the latter two words were frequently

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<sup>42</sup> Massenet recalled Vinentini as a dear friend from childhood in *My Recollections*, 120 (translation of *Mes Souvenirs*, 127). For information on Albert Vinentini, see François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique. Supplément et complément [à la 2. éd.]*, edited by Arthur Pougin (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1878-80): 1134-5. As Vinentini was a longtime affiliate of Offenbach, he appears frequently in Jean-Claude Yon's very thorough biography *Jacques Offenbach* (Paris: Gallimard, 2000).

<sup>43</sup> For dates, see Nicole Wild, *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiens au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Aux Amateurs de livres, 1989): 172-4 and 342-4.

<sup>44</sup> Gustave Lafargue cites a subvention figure of F100,000 for the 1876-7 season, which remained unchanged from the 1875-6 season; cf. "Courrier des théâtres," *le Figaro*, 29 May 1876, 3. Noël and Stoullig recount that the subvention was augmented by F200,000 in 1876 due to the "devoted efforts" of Halanzier, the Minister of Beaux-Arts. See Édouard Noël and Edmond Stoullig, *Les Annales du théâtre et de la musique 1876* (Paris: Librairie Paul Ollendorff, 1877): 342.

inverted in the press. Yet the Prefect dismissed this name as well, and directed shortly after the official opening of the theater that it should become known as the Opéra-National-Lyrique, a fairly redundant rubric meant somehow to distinguish it from the Théâtre national de l'Opéra, the Théâtre national de l'Opéra-Comique, and the Théâtre Lyrique located at the Châtelet. We may be excused for finding the decisions of Vizontini, the Minister of Public Instruction and the Prefect of the Seine somewhat confusing, and amusing. And it is clear from the press of the time that the critics found the affair amusing as well. Indeed, the author of the "Nouvelles des théâtres lyriques" column in *La Revue et Gazette musicale* found the name "a little bizarre, since one imagines with difficulty an 'opera' which would not be 'lyric.'"45

The work which Vizontini selected for the grand opening of the theater on May 5, 1876, was Victorin Joncières's new grand opéra *Dimitri*, the plot of which is best known to us today through Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov*. The new opéra hit its mark, enjoying a stunning critical and financial success which gave hope to Vizontini's ambitious venture. But the theater needed more than one work to maintain its income. Thus *Dimitri* alternated with Molière's *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* and *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*, spoken dramas performed with the divertissements and music of Lully. These had been in the repertoire of the Gaîté already before the opening of the Théâtre-National-Lyrique.<sup>46</sup> Unfortunately the

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<sup>45</sup> "Le théâtre qui porte désormais ce nom, – un peu bizarre, puisqu'on conçoit difficilement un « Opéra » qui ne serait pas « lyrique », mais qu'explique suffisamment le désir du directeur d'éviter avec l'administration municipale le conflit que l'on sait,..." Anonymous, "Nouvelles des théâtres lyriques," *La Revue et gazette musicale*, 14 May 1876, 158.

<sup>46</sup> "...le 23 janvier le théâtre de la Gaîté donnait la première représentation du *Bourgeois gentilhomme* de Molière, accompagné des divertissements et de la musique de Lully, c'est-à-dire tel qu'il avait été joué devant Louis XIV, et que le 2 avril il offrait à son public *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*, accompagné aussi des divertissements et de la musique de Lully." Édouard Noël and Edmond Stoullig, *Les Annales du théâtre et de la musique* 1876 (Paris: Librairie Paul Ollendorff, 1877): 340.



financial success of *Dimitri* was not repeated by the Molière plays, and Vизentini rushed to bring a second major work to the public.

That work was *Les Érinnyes*. There was a certain irony in presenting the complete version as the second première of the Opéra-National-Lyrique, for although the score nearly tripled in size, gaining choruses and a three-part ballet divertissement, it yet contained *not a single note* of solo singing. Thus, a major spoken drama was given at a *lyric* theater, redundantly *re-named* the *Opéra-National-Lyrique*, without recitatives or arias in the entire work – and with only choruses, ballet and melodrama to provide any resemblance to opéra or opéra-comique.

Given the tapering off of spoken dramas from the Gaîté's repertoire after *Dimitri*, we might wonder why such an incidental work as *Les Érinnyes* was premièred at all. A part of the answer can be found in the column "Nouvelles des théâtres lyriques," in the April 30 edition of *La Revue et Gazette musicale*, which read, "As we have said, *Les Érinnyes* will be performed the day after *Dimitri*, but for a short time, because this work (which is not an opera) will not become part of the repertoire of the Théâtre-Lyrique, and M. Vизentini is only playing it to honor an engagement already undertaken by the théâtre de la Gaîté for three performances only."<sup>47</sup> Yet Vизentini had directed the Gaîté for over ten months before opening the new lyric theater, and he could certainly have found room for three performances during that interval. While we may never know his precise motives, several advantages presented themselves through delaying the première of *Les Érinnyes* until the opening of the Opéra-National-Lyrique. One was the opportunity to use the F300,000 subvention of the lyric

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<sup>47</sup> "Les Érinnyes feront, comme nous l'avons dit, les lendemains de *Dimitri*, mais pendant peu de temps, car cet ouvrage, qui n'est point un opéra, ne fait pas partie du répertoire du Théâtre-Lyrique, et M. Vизentini ne le joue que pour faire honneur à un engagement pris jadis, pour trois représentations seulement, par le théâtre de la Gaîté." Anonymous, "Nouvelles des théâtres lyriques," *La Revue et gazette musicale*, 30 April 1876, 141-2.

theater to offset any losses from the creation of the new staging, which would likely have strained the Gaîté's budget too far. A second advantage laid in the success of Massenet's score, which was by this time critically acclaimed and well-known through both the *Concerts Populaires* and concerts at the Théâtre du Châtelet. The score would draw its own audience even if the play was notorious for appealing primarily to those initiated in the poetic values of the Parnassians, the group from which the "art for art's sake" movement in France developed. The expansion of a popular score into a major spectacle broadened its already significant appeal. Finally, the performance of *Les Érinnyes* required dramatic actors, and since Vizentini's new company consisted solely of lyric actors, he was compelled to "borrow" the two lead performers from the Porte-Saint-Martin, and the remainder of the cast from the Odéon.<sup>48</sup> In doing so, he gave his already taxed troupe the luxury of additional time to learn new roles for the upcoming works, under less pressure. And the pressure was considerable for the fledgling crew, given Vizentini's promise to the Minister of Public Instruction in his letter of November 6, 1875: "My program is summed up in these words: produce, produce and always produce."<sup>49</sup> Indeed, Émile Blavet noted in his society review of *Dimitri* that the troupe simultaneously rehearsed *Dimitri* on the stage, Jules Philippot's *Le Magnifique* in the foyer and Carl Maria von Weber's *Obéron* in Vizentini's office!<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> "*Les Érinnyes* se jouent trois fois, après quoi M<sup>me</sup> Marie Laurent et M. Taillade retournent à la Porte-Saint-Martin pour y créer *l'Espion du roi*." Édouard Noël & Edmond Stoullig, *Les Annales du théâtre et de la musique* 1876 (Paris: Librairie Paul Ollendorff, 1877): 298. These two artists had created the roles of Klytaimnestra and Orestès, respectively, at the Odéon in 1873.

<sup>49</sup> "Mon programme se résume en ces mots: produire, produire et toujours produire" (letter of 6 November 1875). See Wild, *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiens au XIXe siècle*, 342.

<sup>50</sup> "Une fois sa troupe à peu près formée, Vizentini,... faire répéter en même temps *Dimitri* sur la scène, le *Magnifique* au foyer et *Obéron* dans son cabinet..." Arnold Mortier (under the pseudonym Un Monsieur de l'orchestre), "La Soirée théâtrale: *Dimitri*," *Le Figaro*, 6 May 1876, 3.

While the manner in which *Les Érinnyes* straddled generic boundaries provided practical advantages for Vizzini, it led to some confusion in its critical reception, starting with the generic labels applied to the work. The irony of a première at the Opéra-National-Lyrique which was *completely* devoid of solo singing was not lost on critics, who felt compelled to discuss the generic nature of the work. Many called it a *drame antique*, the term by which Leconte de Lisle and Massenet had designated it, which gave no indication as to the increased importance of the music for a play whose initial score was already substantial.<sup>51</sup> Conversely, in *Les Annales du théâtre et de la musique* of 1876, Édouard Noël and Edmond Stoullig called the work a two-act opera in their summary list of the lyric works première on that stage. Albert de Lasalle called it a “hybrid work,” while Oscar Comettant and G. Stradina used the descriptor *tragédie lyrique*.<sup>52</sup> And several critics called it a *drame lyrique*, as it was most often called in the *Courriers des théâtres* columns.<sup>53</sup>

The genre of *drame lyrique* had its origins as a more serious sibling to the opéra-comique of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in which drama with a moralizing tone about modern life and ordinary people might be encapsulated in an entertaining setting. But by the 1880’s, the *drame lyrique* would have strong associations

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<sup>51</sup> See theater critic Auguste Vitu’s review in *Le Figaro*, 17 May 1876, 3; music critic Adolphe Jullien’s review in *La Revue et gazette musicale*, 21 May 1876, 162-3, which calls the work a *drame antique* in the rubric of the review yet describes the work as a *drame lyrique* in the text; Noël and Stoullig initially refer to the work as a *drame antique* (p. 296), but change their generic designation for the summary list on p. 341.

<sup>52</sup> Albert de Lasalle, *Le Monde illustré*, 20 May 1876, 331; G. Stradina, *L’Art musical*, 18 May 1876, 158, which calls it a *tragédie* in the rubric of the review, yet a *tragédie lyrique* in the text; Oscar Comettant, “Revue Musicale,” *Le Siècle*, 22 May 1876.

<sup>53</sup> See Arnold Mortier (under the pseudonym Un Monsieur de l’orchestre, “La Soirée théâtrale,” *Le Figaro*, 15 May 1876, 3; Adolphe Jullien, “Opéra-National-Lyrique: *Les Érinnyes*,” *La Revue et gazette musicale*, 21 May 1876, 162-3; Adrien Laroque, “Revue des théâtres,” *Le Petit Journal*, 13 May 1876, 3; Charles Darcours, “Courrier des théâtres,” *Le Figaro*, 13 May 1876, 3; Anonymous, “Les Théâtres,” *Le Siècle*, 14 May 1876, 3; Victor Wilder, “*Dimitri*,” *Le Ménestrel*, 14 May 1876, 189.

with Wagnerism in France. Indeed, Arthur Pougin noted polemically in his 1885

*Dictionnaire historique et pittoresque du théâtre* that

[t]wenty or twenty-five years ago, one still considered *Les Huguenots*, *Guillaume Tell*, *La Juive*, *Le Prophète*, as beautiful *dramas lyriques*; since then, a new musical school, the excessive school of the Wagnerians, has changed all this; the masterpieces which we cited are considered no more than simple operas by the new iconoclasts, and it is not necessary to say with what contempt this word is used by them; the apparently much more noble label of *drame lyrique* is reserved exclusively for the works of Richard Wagner, for which it had been impossible to go without a special designation.<sup>54</sup>

Yet neither of these understandings of the genre apply here, begging the question: in what sense was *Les Érinnyes* a *drame lyrique*?

Although the majority of the nineteenth-century French music and theater dictionaries define the *drame lyrique* in terms of its original or Wagnerian varieties, the Larousse *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIXe Siècle* (1870) defines the genre as “an opera, play entirely set to music, or dramatic piece mixed with singing,” which fits *Les Érinnyes* remarkably well.<sup>55</sup> Indeed, this catch-all definition would seem to fit nearly *anything* in which drama and music are mixed, including all forms of opera, incidental music and even vaudeville. But this vague broadness of the definition seems to have been connected to trends in music criticism, as the critical response to *Les Érinnyes* demonstrates. And in light of the vagueness of this usage,

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<sup>54</sup> [Drame lyrique] est la qualification qu'on donne souvent à un opéra sérieux, dans lequel le sentiment dramatique, pathétique, passionné, est poussé à sa plus grande puissance. Il y a vingt ou vingt-cinq ans, on considérait encore *Les Huguenots*, *Guillaume Tell*, *La Juive*, *Le Prophète*, comme de beaux drames lyriques ; depuis lors, une nouvelle école musicale, l'école des wagnériens à outrance, a changé tout cela ; les chefs-d'œuvre que nous venons de citer ne sont plus considérés par les nouveaux iconoclastes que comme de simples opéras, et il n'est pas besoin de dire avec quel mépris ce mot est employé par eux ; la qualification, beaucoup plus noble, paraît-il, de *drame lyrique* est exclusivement réservée aux œuvres de Richard Wagner, pour lesquelles il eût été impossible de se passer d'une désignation spéciale.” Arthur Pougin, “Drame lyrique,” in *Dictionnaire historique et pittoresque du théâtre* (Paris: Firmin-Didot et cie, 1885): 309.

<sup>55</sup> “DRAME – *Drame lyrique*, Opéra, pièce toute en musique, ou pièce dramatique mêlée de chant : *C'est à Monsigny, je crois, qu'on doit le genre du Drame Lyrique.* (Halévy.)” in *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIXe Siècle*, ed. Pierre Larousse, 1188, Tome 6 (Paris: Administration du Grand dictionnaire universel, 1870). Somewhat ironically, the 1878 Supplement to the Larousse dictionary classified *Les Érinnyes* as a *drame antique* despite the fittingness of its *drame lyrique* definition; see “*Érinnyes*, (LES),” in *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle: supplément*, Tome 16, 764.

reviewers contextualized it for their readers. In his “Courrier des théâtres” column in *Le Figaro*, Charles Darcours prepared his readers for the shape of the work by comparing it to a *drame lyrique*, “or better, a *melo*-drama in the true and olden conception of the word, a scenic genre rarely used by us, but well-known in Germany, where Mendelssohn has particularly popularized it.”<sup>56</sup> Similarly, Albert de Lasalle noted the German affinity for such works in his review of *Les Érinnyes* in *Le Monde illustré*, stating that it was “one of the hybrid works which please the Germans so much, in general, and some French in particular. There were no sung pieces properly speaking among these melodramas, and the roles are left to spoken actors, but there were an introduction, entr’actes, choruses, ballet airs and other intermedes. There exist, in this form, considerable works: *Egmont* and *the Ruins of Athens*, by Beethoven; *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, by Mendelssohn; *Struensée*, by Meyerbeer; and (it has been too much forgotten) *the Siege of Missolonghi*, by Hérold.”<sup>57</sup> In the same way, while discussing the score of *Les Érinnyes* for *Le Figaro*, Bénédict cited Beethoven’s *The Ruins of Athens*, Weber’s music for Schiller’s play *Jeanne d’Arc*, and Meyerbeer’s music for his brother’s play *Struensée*.<sup>58</sup> And Adolphe Jullien situated Massenet’s score as a *drame lyrique* amidst Mozart’s music for *Thamos, King of Egypt*, Beethoven’s *Egmont*, Meyerbeer’s *Struensée*, Schumann’s *Manfred*, and Gounod’s 1873 score for Jules Barbier’s play *Jeanne d’Arc*.<sup>59</sup> In reminding their readers of such expansive incidental scores, the

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<sup>56</sup> “... les *Érinnyes* ont été transformées en drame lyrique, ou mieux, en *mélo*-drame dans la véritable et ancienne acception du mot, genre scénique peu usité chez nous, mais très connu en Allemagne, où Mendelssohn l’a particulièrement popularisé.” Charles Darcours, “Courrier des théâtres,” *Le Figaro*, 13 May 1876, 3.

<sup>57</sup> Albert de Lasalle, “Chronique musicale,” *Le Monde illustré*, 20 May 1876, 331, 334.

<sup>58</sup> B. Jouvin (under the pseudonym Bénédict), “La Partition « des *Érinnyes* »,” *Le Figaro*, 17 May 1876, 3.

<sup>59</sup> “On pouvait, d’autre part, étudier ce genre particulier de composition musicale, auquel on est convenu de donner le nom de *drame lyrique*, passer en revue les chefs-d’œuvre déjà écrits dans ce genre par les plus grands maîtres, depuis *le Roi Thamos* et *Egmont* jusqu’à *Struensée* et *Manfred*, sans oublier d’examiner les conditions

critics were able to shift their readers' horizon of expectations in line with the type of *drame lyrique* which *Les Érinyes* represented. And in doing so they created a niche for the incidental form of the *drame lyrique* which was based on both domestic and foreign scores well-known to the Parisian public, providing a strong sense of historical precedent for the scores appearing from 1876 onwards.

One might wonder if the inclusion of incidental works under the rubric of *drame lyrique* was only a short-lived phenomenon of the 1870's. Yet in 1891, Charles-Marie Widor revised and expanded his 1885 incidental score for an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, titled *Conte d'avril*. Some six years after Pougin's polemical definition of the term *drame lyrique*, and 15 years after the première of Massenet's expanded score, this score received the same generic designation from the journalists and once again a constellation of comparable incidental scores was given for the readers. In this case, Adolphe Aderer compared the work to Bizet's *L'Arlésienne* (1872/1885), Massenet's *Les Érinyes* (1873/1876), Francis Thomé's *Roméo et Juliette* (1890), Mendelssohn's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and Beethoven's *Egmont*.<sup>60</sup> Similarly, the score that Gabriel Fauré wrote for the adaptation of *Prométhée* (1900) by Jean Lorrain and André-Ferdinand Hérold received a similar generic label, nuanced as a *tragédie lyrique*. With this rubric, the composer reflected both the relevant theatrical subgenre (tragedy as opposed to drama) and hinted at the

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essentiels de ce genre et son plus ou moins de valeur absolue comme création d'art, son crédit plus ou moins grand auprès du public; – mais j'ai traité moi-même toutes ces questions lorsque la *Gazette musicale* me chargea de juger un des derniers essais de drame lyrique, la *Jeanne d'Arc* de M. Gounod." Adolphe Jullien, "Opéra-National-Lyrique: *Les Érinyes*," *La Revue et gazette musicale*, 21 May 1876, 162-3.

<sup>60</sup> "M. Porel va remettre cet ouvrage à la scène et il a chargé M. Ch. Widor de faire pour *Conte d'avril* ce que Bizet a fait pour *L'Arlésienne*, Massenet pour les *Érinyes*, Francis Thomé pour *Roméo et Juliette*, etc., etc., et ce qu'avaient fait Mendelssohn pour le *Songé d'une nuit d'été* et Beethoven pour *Egmont*. *Conte d'avril* vient ainsi augmenter le répertoire des drames lyriques." [Adolphe Aderer], "Spectacles et Concerts," *Le Temps*, 9 March 1891, 3.

substantial number of sung roles mixed into this work originally meant to be *musique de scène*, by the reference to the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century operatic sub-genre.

Elinor Olin has established at length how this generic label was utilized by nationalistic French critics who sought to supplant Wagnerian influence on their musical traditions.<sup>61</sup> Hervé Lacombe has further traced the implications of the term through nineteenth-century French theatrical and musical dictionaries.<sup>62</sup> Tracing the above-referenced incidental *dramas lyriques* demonstrates the degree to which the usage of this rubric for incidental works remained in current usage throughout the crisis of Wagnerism in France, serving both as a means of distinguishing these unusual *musique de scène* scores and as a means to reclaim the French identity of this generic label from the Wagnerians.

### **The 1876 Score**

Just as there was confusion among the critics and in the secondary literature over the music performed at the 1873 première, confusion has also existed regarding the relationship between the 1873 and 1876 scores. Much of this was propagated by Massenet's students and friends, whose recollections were colored by hindsight long after their teacher's ascent to fame. While Duquesnel implied that the score which Massenet wrote in 1873 contained all the movements which would be performed in the 1876 revival, manuscript evidence suggests otherwise. An examination of BnF Ms 4274 shows that significant portions of it do match the 1876 score closely, as demonstrated in Table 3.3, below. Of the movements performed in 1873, only the music for Agamemnon's entry changed significantly in the 1876 version,

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<sup>61</sup> See Olin, "*Le Ton et la parole: Melodrama in France, 1871-1913.*"

<sup>62</sup> See Hervé Lacombe, "Definitions des genres lyriques dans les dictionnaires français du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Le théâtre lyrique en France au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Paul Prevost, 297-334 (Metz: Serpenoise, 1995).

Table 3.3: Concordance of the 1873 and 1876 Scores of *Les Érinnyes*  
(movements in bold correspond closely or exactly between versions; underlined movements  
were performed at the 1873 première)

<b>Théâtre de l'Odéon, 6 January 1873</b> (orchestral score, Ms 4274, BnF)	<b>Théâtre-National-Lyrique, 15 May 1876</b> (piano-vocal score, G. Hartmann, 1876)
<b><u>Prélude</u></b>	<b>N° 1. Prélude</b>
Première Partie:  <b>N° 1. Musique de scène. Scène Première</b> (entry of Érinnyes?)  [N.B. The divertissement was likely sketched in 1873, but cut before rehearsals – hence its absence from Ms 4724]  <u>N° 2. Après la sortie de Mme Laurent – Trombe sur le Théâtre [entry of Agamemnon]</u>  <b>N° 3. Scène X</b> (without chorus of Vieillards)	Acte I: Klytaïmnestra  <b>N° 2. Mélodrame</b> (entry of Érinnyes) N° 3. Choeur N° 4. A. Choeur du retour B. Divertissement I. Danse grecque II. La Troyenne regrettant la patrie perdue III. Final C. Reprise du choeur [entry of Agamemnon]  N° 5. A. Mélodrame B. Mélodrame <b>C. Mélodrame</b> (with chorus of Vieillards)
Deuxième Partie:  <b><u>N° 4. Intermède: Tristesse d'Elektra</u></b> <b><u>N° 5. Scène Première. Musique de scène</u></b> <b><u>N° 6. Invocation d'Elektra</u></b>  N° 7. Cue: “Rien, sinon que l'Hadès est un gardien fidèle...” [end of Scène V] N° 8. Cue: “Horreur!” [end of II <sup>e</sup> Partie]	Acte II: Orestès  <b>N° 6. Entr'acte</b> <b>N° 7. Scène religieuse et choeur</b> <b>N° 8. Invocation d'Elektra:” Mélodrame</b> N° 8 bis. Mélodrame N° 9. Mélodrame et choeur  N° 10. Les apparitions: Mélodrame

where it was entirely replaced by the three-part *chœur – divertissement – reprise du chœur* complex. On the other hand, the ostensibly unperformed portions of the 1873 score underwent significant change, as only fragments (a few measures at most) of numbers 7 and 8 from 1873 appear in the 1876 score, and number 3 from 1873 was altered by the addition of the chorus of *Vieillards* over the five-measure orchestral postlude to Part I.



Aside from the reorchestration (from a string orchestra, trombones and tympani to an orchestra with a full complement of winds, brass and percussion), one of the main features of the 1876 score is the addition of the chorus. To accomplish this in setting a play in which the chorus never speaks, Massenet pilfered certain lines belonging to Talthybios and Eurybatès (the spokesmen of the *Chœur des Vieillards*) and gave them to the ensemble (see numbers 3, “Hélas! hélas!”; 4, “Gloire aux Héros!”; and 5C, “Mélodrame”). Likewise in Part II, certain lines belonging to Ismèna and Kallirhoé are given to the Khoéphores (see number 7, the *Scène religieuse et Chœur*) and to a mixed offstage choir (number 8 *bis*, “Mélodrame”). And at times, someone (perhaps Massenet himself?) seems to make up new lines of text for the chorus as well (as in the middle of number 3, and in number 9, “Mélodrame et Chœur”).

In comparison with the 1873 score, we can see that several of the brief passages of *mélodrame* were recomposed for the revival in 1876. The new passages are often more musically sophisticated, providing some motive or topos which gives the listener information regarding the setting of the scene or its dramatic import. And within the 1876 version, the recurrence of certain musical passages provides greater cohesion across the score than in the 1873 version (as reflected in Table 3.4, below). An example of such indexical value in Massenet’s 1876 score is found in “N<sup>o</sup> 5. B. Mélodrame,” which bridges Scenes vii and viii in Part I (see Figure 3.6 below). At this point in the play, the Chœur des Vieillards remains upstage as Eurybathès and Talthybios discuss Kasandra’s prophetic condemnation of their adulterous queen. While they speak, the musical melodrama shifts from rapid figuration and tremolos to the homophonic “Marche des Vieillards” heard in the Prélude and at the opening of Part I. This music had reflected the patient and somber watch for the King and his returning army kept by the men too old to fight. Here, even as the march is recalled,

Table 3.4: Uses of *Mélodrame* within the Movements of *Les Érinnyes*

Title of Movement	Description of Melodrama
N° 2. Mélodrame	Melodic and motivic. No dialogue – only movement of Érinnyes across the stage (pantomime) over music incorporating melodies and motives; concludes with the “Marche des Vieillards” as the old men of Argos enter the stage (a sophisticated entrance-convention <i>mélodrame</i> ); 50 measures
N° 4. A. Choeur du retour	Spoken dialogue between Eurybathès and Talthybios over boulevard-style melodrama (tremolos and simple arpeggiations) at opening of movement; 19 measures
N° 5. A. Mélodrame	Spoken monologue by Kasandra over music incorporating melodies and motives; 27 measures
N° 5. B. Mélodrame	Spoken dialogue over music incorporating recurrence of “Marche des Vieillards;” 19 measures
N° 5. C. Mélodrame (with chorus of Vieillards)	Exit convention, no dialogue; musical texture between melodic and boulevard-style; 5 measures
N° 7. Scène religieuse et choeur	No dialogue, only entrance and movement of Khoéphores; musically coherent, in bipartite form; 44 measures at beginning of movement.
N° 8. Invocation d'Elektra:” Mélodrame	Spoken monologue by Elektra (prayer) as she pours out libations for Agamemnôn; over solo cello melody and orchestral accompaniment. Formerly part of the “Dix pièces de genre,” Op. 10, for piano; 44 measures
N° 8 bis. Mélodrame	Spoken dialogue between Orestès and Elektra over a cappella choral setting of the “Marche des Vieillards;” 15 measures
N° 9. Mélodrame et choeur	Spoken dialogue between Klytaimnestra, Elektra, Kallirhoé, Ismèna and a servant; incorporates music from the “Scène religieuse” and “Invocation d'Elektra,” with successions of held chords in between; 45 measures
N° 10. Les apparitions: Mélodrame	Spoken monologue of Orestès as he flees the Érinnyes' wrath; pantomimic elements present also. Incorporates music from the “Invocation d'Elektra” and from the middle section of the ternary-form Prélude, mixed with homophonic tremolo passages; 109 measures

Klytaimnestra advances on Agamemnôn to kill him; the next lines of the play are his exclamations of protest as he dies. The poignant implication made by the proximity of the “Marche des Vieillards” to Agamemnôn’s death is that the long watch of the old men – a watch grown to ten years in length – has been in vain; their march is transformed from a

Figure 3.6: N° 5B. Mélodrame: Motivic Content

**B. MÉLODRAME.** KASANDRA 69

Sois éternellement maudit! maudit sois-tu!  
(Elle entre dans le Palais)

**Allegro agitato.**

**PIANO.**

**EURYBATHÈS.**  
Hélas! c'est le souci des hommes éphémères  
De suivre en trébuchant dans l'ombre du chemin  
La mourante lueur d'un jour sans lendemain.

**Andante.** *espressivo.* **TALTHYBIOS.** *pp*  
Puisse Zeus démentir ses paroles amères!

**TALTHYBIOS.**  
Quel homme peut se dire heureux sous les nuées?  
**EURIBATHÈS.**  
Comme les grandes eaux qui s'en vont refluées

Et semblent disparaître à l'horizon dormant  
Les biens qu'on croit saisir reculent brusquement

**TALTHYBIOS** **EURYBATHÈS.**

Nul ne peut retenir de ses mains inhabiles  
Le tourbillon léger des phalènes mobiles. Et nul aussi ne peut arrêter dans son cours  
Le torrent déchainé des lamentables jours.

watch to a funereal procession. In this way the music employs a sort of leitmotivic construction, which – though less sophisticated and developed than the melodramas he wrote for *Manon* (1884) – serves to comment on the action in meaningful ways.<sup>63</sup> Given Massenet’s well-known affinity for the music of Hector Berlioz, and the similarity of the dramatic subjects, one might suspect that Massenet was influenced by Hector Berlioz’s use of the chorus in *Les Troyens* in writing this poignant moment.

As if to counter to Sarcey’s criticism that the play did not offer enough context for the audience, Massenet’s music frequently provides the listener with a degree of contextual information to supplement the scant background provided by Leconte de Lisle’s verses. The scene of Agamemnon’s triumphal return utilizes the standard musical trappings of the court, including triadic brass fanfares and dotted rhythms. But more than the use of the standardized topoi, Massenet’s score relied on the use of the recurrent motives to produce references which might provide the audience with information as to the import of the setting or the action. This is seen in the moment of Agamemnon’s offstage death as referenced above, and in number 8 *bis*, where the unaccompanied offstage chorus acclaims Orestès’s declaration that he will avenge his father, to the tune of the “Marche des Vieillards” once again. The final motive to recur is the cello melody from the “Invocation d’Elektra,” heard as Orestès addresses the memory of his father at the end of his “triumphal” monologue over his mother’s corpse.

According to Pierre Menneret, Massenet’s use of *mélodrame* was innovative in that several of his *mélodrames* do not combine speech and music, but replace speech with

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<sup>63</sup> For a discussion of *mélodrame* in *Manon*, see Jean-Christophe Branger, “Le Mélodrame musical dans *Manon* de Jules Massenet,” in *Le Théâtre lyrique en France au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Paul Prevost, 239-277 (Metz: Editions Serpenoise, 1995).

gesture.<sup>64</sup> This insight deserves further discussion. In addition to underlining speech, the conventions of the *boulevard mélodrames* also included frequent musical snippets accompanying the entries and exits of characters on the stage and other significant actions, and even what today we might call “mood music,” e.g., music designed to heighten the emotional impact of a scene while remaining discretely in the background.<sup>65</sup> And the related genre of *mimodrame* is even more suggestive on this point, especially in light of the representation of the Érinnyes by mute actors, whose actions spoke in lieu of dialogue. As Arthur Pougin defined the genre,

“The mimodrame is a sort of melodrama which takes its name from the fact that the spoken action is sometimes interrupted and replaced, if not by an action properly said to be mimed, at least by mute scenes which are composed of combats, group movements, marches of war and for horses, etc., which make up a part of a larger spectacle as well as a genre of their own.”<sup>66</sup>

The opening of Part II provides one example of this type of group movement: the *Chœur des Khoèphores* enter, led by Kallirhoé and Ismèna, to pour libations and place garlands for Agamemnon’s funeral. (This scene immediately precedes the “Invocation d’Elektra.”) In both the 1873 and 1876 versions, this scene is accompanied by a memorable hymn-like D major *andantino* in triple time (ironically called a march by many of the critics in 1873, apparently because of its function as a procession). The opening of the drama also illustrates the use of *mimodrame* as part of a larger spectacle, as the Érinnyes wander

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<sup>64</sup> Pierre Menneret, *La Musique de scène en France de Napoleon III à Poincaré 1852-1914* (Le Perreux: P. Menneret, 1973), 81.

<sup>65</sup> Compare Arthur Pougin, “Mélodrame,” in *Dictionnaire historique et pittoresque du théâtre* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1885), 511-2: “Cette appellation de *mélodrame* a été donnée aux pièces de ce genre parce qu’elles étaient accompagnées de courts morceaux de musique instrumentale, destinés à souligner tel ou tel événement, l’entrée ou la sortie d’un personnage, un incident qui se produisait, une scène mystérieuse, etc.”

<sup>66</sup> “Le mimodrame est une sorte de mélodrame qui tire son nom de ce fait que l’action parlée se trouvait parfois interrompue et remplacée sinon par une action mimée proprement dite, du moins par des scènes muettes qui se composaient de combats, d’évolutions, de marches guerrières et équestres, etc., qui en faisaient un spectacle à part et d’un genre particulier.” Pougin, “Mimodrame,” in *Dictionnaire historique et pittoresque du théâtre*, 520.

forebodingly across the stage before dawn and the entry of the *Chœur des Vieillards* drive them away. Perhaps counter to what one might assume, the Érinnyes – though represented by the three trombones – were not given any particular melody or motive to be played by the trombones in this movement or any other part of the score. Massenet's 1876 score provided a C minor *andante* in common time to accompany this group movement, although it remains unclear if the music which he composed for this scene was suppressed in 1873.

Massenet's use of such melodramatic techniques was uncommon in dramas intended for more literate audiences. Although it is possible that he consciously borrowed this technique from the boulevard theaters, it seems more likely that it was suggested to him by the mute Furies themselves, as a means of giving them a musical voice to match the spoken *mélodrames* of the other characters. Regardless, the introduction of such techniques represented an advance in the integration of musical melodrama with classical drama, as begun by Bizet and Gounod some months earlier.

### **The 1889 Revival**

While the 1876 revival had been a critical success, its short run had left less of an impact on the Parisian audiences than Massenet might have hoped. Indeed, for thirteen years the drama and score lived separate lives: the verses by Leconte de Lisle reverted to their role as a purely literary translation, and Massenet's music enjoyed a lively concert life as a suite. Excerpts from the play appeared sporadically in the Conservatoire's *Concours de tragédie et de comédie*, giving evidence that the adaptation had become a standard version of the Oresteia,

but otherwise the play was absent from the stage.<sup>67</sup> Fortune turned for the play in 1888, when it was announced as a highlighted part of the *Soirées classiques* series at the Odéon by its director, Paul Porel (the same director who had so successfully revived *L'Arlésienne* in 1885). Of the 48 plays in the series, *Les Érinyes* (with Massenet's 1876 score) was given equal billing with such staples as Racine's *Athalie* (with music by Mendelssohn), Molière's *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* (with music by Lully), and Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and *Othello*.<sup>68</sup> Intended originally to be performed once for subscribers only, it would be the first performance of the entire score at the Théâtre de l'Odéon.

Significant as this placement on a special series might have been, it became swallowed up by another event at the end of that season – an event which triggered a more momentous revival of the play with the 1876 score. This time it was neither the verses nor the music which prompted the renewed interest, though each did benefit from the revival. Instead, it was the retirement of actress Marie Laurent which led to a string of performances which surrounded the *Soirée classique* performance.

Contrary to the estimation of the critic for *La Revue britannique*, Marie Laurent – the original Klytaimnestra who was so acclaimed in 1873 and who had played the role again in 1876 – had remained at the Odéon throughout her career, and was never called up to the Comédie-Française. Despite being overlooked by the Comédie-Française, her talents were significant enough that she was named *Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur* in 1888.<sup>69</sup> When

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<sup>67</sup> See Emile Morlot, "Critique dramatique: Les Concours de tragédie et de comédie au Conservatoire," *La Revue d'art dramatique* 3 (1886): 224-234, and "Les Concours de tragédie et de comédie au Conservatoire," *La Revue d'art dramatique* 7 (1887): 207-215.

<sup>68</sup> See Mairobert, "Gazette anecdotique," *La Revue d'art dramatique* 11 (1888): 309-314.

<sup>69</sup> See Jacques Sem, "Marie Laurent chevalier de la Légion d'honneur," *La Revue d'art dramatique* 11 (1888): 141-3.

her retirement neared, Paul Porel chose *Les Érinnyes*, a work for which Laurent had retained a special fondness since its première, for her *représentations de retraite*. Clearly Porel placed a high value on the combination of a major score, a major poet and the retirement of a highly lauded actress to pull in audiences for this play which had not yet known an unmitigated success.

And Porel was right in his judgment. The revival, limited to ten “exceptional” performances (including the *Soirée classique*), was a major success with the critics and the public, enough to draw the President of the Republic, Sadi Carnot, to the final performance on 29 March 1889.<sup>70</sup> Although some critics continued to voice the old concerns over the verse adaptation, Francisque Sarcey noted that the public had become comfortable with the hellenized names and elocutions. In addition to praising the verses, he commended the overall impression of the work as still overwhelming. As an example, he singled out the surrounding of Orestès by the Furies in the final scene as creating “a great chill in the hall,” stating that “one will never go farther in [creating] terror.”<sup>71</sup> Though the play and its principal actors pleased the seasoned critic, he panned the players of the minor roles, who seemed not to understand their lines. Conversely, Emile Morlot of *La Revue d'art dramatique* had nothing but praise for the actors. He especially praised the music, to which a part of the success of the reprise was due, and conductor Charles Lamoureux and his orchestra for their

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<sup>70</sup> See Christian Genty, *Histoire du Théâtre national de l'Odéon (Journal de Bord) 1782-1982* (Paris: Éditions Fischbacher, 1981): 68.

<sup>71</sup> “Quand les Eumenides, se dressant de toutes partes, ont entouré le parricide, le menaçant de leurs doigts tendus vers lui, il a passé un grand frisson sur la salle; on n’ira jamais plus loin dans la terreur.” Francisque Sarcey, “Chronique théâtrale,” *Le Temps*, 18 March 1889, 1-2.



excellent performance.<sup>72</sup> Likewise, Sarcey commented that the music that Massenet had composed had become as admired as the music for *L'Arlésienne*; “It has been accepted as a masterpiece and has become a classic. There are no more praises to give it.” For him, the musical performance offered “the utmost pleasure,” and he noted that the added *divertissement* was performed with “such verve and grace” that the audience cried out for it to be encored.<sup>73</sup> The success of both the actors and the music was so strong that when theater critic Jules Girard reexamined the play three months later in *La Revue des deux mondes*, he justified returning to discuss an “old work” by the tremendous reception given to the performers and the score.<sup>74</sup>

If the music and the actors had made a deep impression, the play still inspired some discomfort. Anticipating this, Porel scheduled a lecture on the drama for the *Soirée classique* performance of 23 March. It was given by Jules Lemaître, a prominent playwright and theater critic, and intended to aid the audience in understanding the underappreciated tragedy.<sup>75</sup> Such a decision was not entirely unusual, as the series of classic plays served in large part to educate the public on the works which made up the repertory and to heighten interest in them; lectures on the dramas were a frequent expression of this function. Yet if

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<sup>72</sup> “Il serait injuste de ne pas accorder une part du succès de la reprise à la musique, aujourd’hui célèbre, écrite par M. Massenet pour la tragédie de M. Leconte de Lisle et exécutée par l’orchestre Lamoureux avec sa précision ordinaire.” Emile Morlot, “Critique dramatique,” *La Revue d’art dramatique* 14 (1889): 51-2.

<sup>73</sup> “M. Massenet a composé pour les *Érinnyes* une suite d’orchestre qui est aujourd’hui aussi célèbre que celle qu’a écrite Bizet pour *L’Arlésienne* de Daudet. M. Lamoureux la joue souvent à ses concerts. Elle a passé chef-d’œuvre et est devenue classique. Il n’y a plus d’éloges à en faire. On l’a, hier soir, entendue avec un plaisir extrême.” Sarcey, *Le Temps*, 18 March 1889, 2.

<sup>74</sup> “Si je pense à revenir sur un ancien ouvrage, c’est qu’il a été repris avec un certain éclat et accueilli par des applaudissements que le mérite des interprètes et l’élégance gracieuse ou pathétique de M. Massenet achevaient de justifier.” Jules Girard, “Eschyle sur la scène française,” *Revue des deux mondes* (1889): 609-626: 609.

<sup>75</sup> See Jules Lemaître, “Conférence au théâtre de l’Odéon. L’Orestie d’Eschyle: à propos des *Érinnyes*,” *La Revue d’art dramatique* 14 (1889): 87-98, reprinted in Jules Lemaître, *Impressions de théâtre* (Paris: Boivin, 1891): 1-18.

Porel expected a sympathetic discussion of the play, he misjudged his lecturer. It is clear that Lemaître felt a certain discomfort with the adaptation, as he spoke not about *Les Érinnyes* but about the *Oresteia* instead, as a step towards understanding Leconte de Lisle's version. Only at the conclusion did he venture to *mention* the poet, noting that in the most beautiful verses which Leconte de Lisle had written, one finds his "implacable genius [...] much more inhuman than Aeschylus." His embarrassment with the text is made clear in the next sentence, in which he turned to the music: "Happily Massenet has mixed it with music, which is entirely graceful, sweetness and sensual delight. And so you lose nothing."<sup>76</sup> Once again, an appeal was made to the music as a means to make the bitterness of the violence and retribution in Leconte de Lisle's adaptation more palatable. While the poet was given his due as an author of verses, his pessimistic fatalism and coldness did not impress Lemaître. And again, the aesthetic divorce between the score and the play was called to attention by a theater critic as an asset of the production.

Despite the negative tone of Lemaître's lecture, the success of the 1889 revival was less ambiguous or attenuated than in 1873 or 1876. The effect of the generally positive critical reception and the acclamation of the public was enough to place *Les Érinnyes* in the repertory for the first time. This was aided by the frequent performance of the score in concerts, and abetted by the gradual adoption of the play as a standard modern French adaptation of Aeschylus' trilogy (witnessed in part by its placement in the *Concours de tragédie et de comédie* of the Conservatoire). The success of the 1889 revival led to more frequent productions of the work (see Table 3.5, below). In 1890 and in 1891, the Odéon

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<sup>76</sup> "Mais vous y retrouverez (avec des vers si beaux qu'il n'y en a guère de supérieurs dans notre littérature) l'implacable génie de M. Leconte de Lisle, beaucoup plus inhumain qu'Eschyle. Heureusement M. Massenet y mêlera sa musique, qui n'est que grâce, douceur et volupté. Et ainsi vous ne perdrez rien." Lemaître, "Conférence au théâtre de l'Odéon," 98.

included it again in its series of classic performances. Before his departure from the Odéon, Porel mounted another substantial revival of the work, on 24 February 1892.<sup>77</sup> Once again Lamoureux conducted the orchestra, but this time the orchestra did not play *Les Érinyes*

Table 3.5: Revivals of *Les Érinyes* (between 1873 and 1941)

Location	Date (number of performances, if known)
Opéra-National-Lyrique (Gaîté), Paris	15 May 1876 (4 complete, 1 of ballet alone)
Théâtre de l'Odéon, Paris	16 March 1889 (10)
Odéon	1890
Odéon	1891
Odéon	24 February 1892 (16)
Odéon	2 June 1896
Théâtre antique d'Orange	2 August 1897 (1)
Odéon	11 January 1900 (6)
Paris Opéra	12 August 1900 (1, Invocation d'Elektra only)
Paris Opéra	6 June 1901 (1, Part II only; benefit performance for Marie Laurent)
Théâtre de la Monnaie, Brussels	28 March 1907 (2, on Holy Thursday & Easter Saturday)
Théâtre antique d'Orange	3 August 1907
Comédie-Française, Paris	4 July 1910 (11)
Comédie-Française	7 February 1911 (4)
Odéon	22 March 1917
Odéon	November 1918
Odéon	8 April 1920
Théâtre des Champs-Élysées, Paris	24 December 1920 (4, including Christmas eve, 2 performances Christmas day)
Théâtre antique d'Orange	31 July 1922
Comédie-Française	24 March 1931
Grand Théâtre de Bordeaux	19 Novembre 1931
Odéon	23 October 1941 (4)

alone. It also played a pastiche score comprised of music by Mozart, Schumann and Haydn which was arranged for the première of Alfred de Musset's *Fantasio*, a comedy in two acts.

*Les Érinyes* reappeared as part of the *Matinées classiques* series on 2 June 1896, inspiring a

<sup>77</sup> Porel retired from the Odéon on 31 May 1892; see Wild, *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiens au XIXe siècle*, 294.

succession of plays on antique subjects with incidental music for the coming autumn. These included:

*Les Perses, tragédie en 2 parties*, adapted from Aeschylus by André-Ferdinand Hérold, with music by Xavier Leroux (Massenet's former student), 29 October 1896, 7 performances (originally scheduled for a sole performance on the *matinées classiques* series, but its success led to six evening performances),

*Philoctète, tragédie en 5 actes*, adapted from Aristophanes by Paul Gavault, with music by Arthur Coquard, 19 November 1896, 2 performances,

*L'Apollonide, drame lyrique en 3 actes et 5 tableaux*, adapted from Euripides by Charles Marie Leconte de Lisle, with music by Franz Servais, 3 December 1896, 4 performances,

and *Plutus, comédie en 3 actes*, adapted from Aristophanes by Paul Gavault, with music by Xavier Leroux, 17 December 1896, 6 performances.

In addition, the ever-present *Athalie* was also performed (*tragédie en 5 actes* by Racine, with music by Mendelssohn, 19 December 1896, 4 performances), though its intended six performances were presumably curtailed to four in order to make room for additional performances of *Plutus*.<sup>78</sup> Having inspired this cluster of imitators, *Les Érinnyes* would move on to a more distinctive venue in 1897: the Théâtre antique d'Orange.

### ***Les Érinnyes in Orange***

The Théâtre d'Orange is an open-air theater, still extant today, which dates from Roman antiquity. Of immense proportions, the stage is one-hundred eighty feet across, and the amphitheater seats over twelve thousand spectators.<sup>79</sup> Since 21 August 1869, modern

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<sup>78</sup> See Édouard Noël and Edmond Stoullig, *Les Annales du théâtre et de la musique 1896* (Paris: Librairie Paul Ollendorff, 1897): 159.

<sup>79</sup> Sarcey reports the size of the stage as sixty meters in his review of the troupe of the Comédie Française at Orange in 1888, reprinted in *Quarante ans de théâtre*, vol. 1, 10<sup>th</sup> ed. (Paris: Bibliothèque des Annales, 1900): 344-353.

performances had been given at festivals in the ancient amphitheater, beginning with *Joseph*, a *drame lyrique* by Méhul, the tomb scene from Gounod's *Roméo et Juliette* and *Les Triomphateurs*, a cantata by Imbert.<sup>80</sup> Performances followed on a very sporadic schedule thereafter, with gaps of as much as twelve years between festivals. It was only nineteen years after the first performances that director Paul Mariéton began exclusively to produce dramas from antiquity or on antique subjects in the ancient theater. The Théâtre antique d'Orange was inaugurated at the fourth festival with a production of Sophocles' *Œdipe roi* on 11 August 1888, performed by artists from the Comédie-Française. From 1894 onwards, the stage was used primarily for translations of ancient plays and for modern adaptations of antique subjects, as a means of asserting the Latin identity inherent in French history – and, by extension, France's claim to being the most worthy inheritor of the Roman empire's grandeur.<sup>81</sup>

The sixth festival at Orange took place from 2-3 August 1897, again with the aid of artists from the Comédie-Française. By this date, the festival had achieved such an importance in French culture as to warrant the attendance of the President of the Republic.<sup>82</sup> For this occasion, the program began with *Les Fêtes d'Apollon*, a prologue in one act, in verse, by Louis Gallet. By all accounts, however, this prologue was rather undistinguished, and the program truly began with the entry of the Érinnyes, “horrible specters who seemed, indeed, like fitting masks in the immense, gaping sepulcher which the Théâtre d'Orange

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<sup>80</sup> See “Nouvelles diverses: Paris et départements,” *Le Ménestrel*, 8 August 1897, 255.

<sup>81</sup> For a reading of the Théâtre antique d'Orange and the cultivation of *mélodrame* as intended signifiers of France's direct cultural link with ancient Rome and Greece, see Elinor Nichols Olin, “Neo-Hellenism and Melodrama in the *plein air*,” in “*Le Ton et la parole: Melodrama in France, 1871-1913*” (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1991), 76-187.

<sup>82</sup> See “Nouvelles diverses: Paris et départements,” *Le Ménestrel*, 8 August 1897, 255.

resembles.”<sup>83</sup> For theater critic André Dumas, *Les Érinnyes* had never before been “so beautiful, so strong, so Aeschylan.”<sup>84</sup> It was not universally so acclaimed. In his letter to *Le Temps*, Sarcey called *Les Érinnyes* a “false masterpiece,” stating that the effect of the production had been rather mediocre. After so many years of praising the work, his opinion had changed – at least on the play itself, which he decided was “lacking in pathos” and “constantly tense and violent.”<sup>85</sup> As to the music, it had “saved the situation:”

In the entr’acte which separates the two episodes of *Les Érinnyes* there is a relatively long symphony, which is a marvel of grace. One of the pieces which makes it up had so captured the audience that the entire amphitheater, in one voice – despite the late hour, despite fatigue – cried *encore*, and the Colonne orchestra had to play it... The acclamation was immense, and Massenet won one of the greatest successes in which he may take pride. This was not a public of dilettantes which he had charmed; it was the masses, who judge only by sentiment, and the common way of appreciating works of art is that they are pleasing.<sup>86</sup>

(Sarcey’s critique might have been taken as damning praise if it had not been obvious that those of elevated taste certainly *did* appreciate Massenet’s talents.) *Le Ménestrel* clarified that the crowd of *twelve thousand* spectators had encored “La Troyenne regrettant la patrie perdu,” the second of the three parts of the *divertissement*. And Sarcey’s comment about the

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<sup>83</sup> “Le vrai, le grandiose, le superbe spectacle a commencé, dès l’entrée des Érinnyes, spectres effroyables qui semblaient, en effet, les larves normales de l’immense sépulchre béant auquel ressemble le théâtre d’Orange...” Catulle Mendès, review of *Les Fêtes d’Apollon* and *Les Érynnies* [sic], reprinted in *L’Art au théâtre*, vol. 3 (Paris: E. Fasquelle, 1900): 312-318, citation 317.

<sup>84</sup> “C’est avec les *Érinnyes* que le spectacle a vraiment commencé. Elles n’avaient jamais paru si belles, si fortes, si eschylennes.” André Dumas, “Les Représentations d’Orange,” *La Revue d’art dramatique* (1897): 794-9.

<sup>85</sup> “[...] les *Érinnyes* manquent de pathétique à un point qu’on ne saurait dire, si le vers en est constamment tendu et violent.” Cited in “Nouvelles diverses: Paris et départements,” *Le Ménestrel*, 8 August 1897, 255.

<sup>86</sup> “[C’est la musique qui a] sauvé la situation. Il y a dans l’entr’acte qui sépare les deux épisodes des *Érinnyes* une symphonie assez longue, qui est une merveille de grâce. L’un des morceaux qui la composent a si bien enlevé l’auditoire que la cirque, d’une commune voix, malgré l’heure avancée, malgré la fatigue, a crié *bis*, et qu’il a fallu que l’orchestre de Colonne s’exécutât. [...] L’acclamation a été immense, et Massenet a remporté là un des plus beaux succès dont il puisse se glorifier. Car ce n’est pas un petit public de dilettantes qu’il a charmé; c’est la grande foule, qui ne juge que par sentiment, et la bonne façon d’apprécier les œuvres d’art c’est de s’y plaire.” Cited in “Nouvelles diverses: Paris et départements,” *Le Ménestrel*, 8 August 1897, 255.

fatigue of the crowd becomes more understandable when we recall that the spectacle itself did not end until 12:50 am, as Mendès reported.<sup>87</sup> André Dumas' closing notes on the production amplify Sarcey's opinion:

If the music written by Saint-Saëns for *Antigone* adapts itself better to the ancient play, the music of Massenet – voluptuous and sweet – adds to it by contrast with the horror of *Les Érinnyes*.<sup>88</sup>

His comments echo those of Charles Bannelier, who in 1873 had praised Massenet for avoiding an imitation of the violent tone of the play.<sup>89</sup> Even Mendès himself, an old disciple of Leconte de Lisle, had to admit that the music was the source of the great success of the production. Yet he rejoiced to see the work of his “always venerated and beloved master” triumph before such a crowd.<sup>90</sup>

After the musico-dramatic success of *Les Érinnyes*, the festival ended on 3 August with Sophocles' *Antigone*, translated by Paul Meurice & Auguste Vacquerie (the same version for which Saint-Saëns had written an incidental score, première at the Comédie-Française on 21 November 1893). For reasons which remain unclear, the troupe of the Comédie-Française chose not to reprise Saint-Saëns' music, which had been successful at its première; perhaps it was felt that the text did not require adornment to appeal to the public.

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<sup>87</sup> Mendès, review of *Les Fêtes d'Apollon* and *Les Érynnies* [sic] in *L'Art au théâtre*, vol. 3, 1900, 315.

<sup>88</sup> “Si la musique, écrite par Saint-Saëns pour *Antigone*, s'adapte mieux à la pièce antique, celle de Massenet, voluptueuse et douce, ajoute par contraste à l'horreur des *Érinnyes*.” Dumas, “Les Représentations d'Orange,” 799.

<sup>89</sup> “Nous le louons sincèrement d'avoir su éviter l'écueil d'une lutte avec le ton souvent violent du poème.” See Charles Bannelier, “Théâtre national de l'Odéon: *Les Érinnyes*,” *La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, 12 January 1873, 11.

<sup>90</sup> “Quant au succès, il a été, je l'ai dit, énorme, unanime, bruyamment et interminablement enthousiaste. Une bonne part, sans doute, en fut méritée par la musique de M. Massenet. Mais il n'y a plus rien à dire de ces pièces pour orchestre, depuis longtemps classées dans l'opinion, popularisées par tous les concerts, et je me donne tout entier à la joie d'avoir vu triompher devant tout un peuple l'œuvre de Leconte de Lisle, l'œuvre de mon toujours vénéré et toujours bien-aimé maître.” Mendès, review of *Les Fêtes d'Apollon* and *Les Érynnies* [sic] in *L'Art au théâtre*, vol. 3, 318.

Nevertheless, the success of the 1897 production was so significant that more music was planned for future spectacles. The decision to commission a new opera on the subject of Prometheus for Orange, announced early in the year, was confirmed by the substantial receipts from the festival, which amounted to F75,000 from two days.<sup>91</sup> As reported in *Le Ménestrel*, “[t]he very great success obtained by the score for *Les Érinnyes*, by Massenet, seems to strongly suggest to the organizers that music is indispensable for the grand solemnities in the open air.”<sup>92</sup> It was largely the success of *Les Érinnyes* at Orange which led to that festival’s frequent mixture of ancient subjects with modern music.

However, by 1897, awareness of ancient musical practice had advanced enough that not all critics felt that Massenet’s music was an asset to the production of a play on an antique subject. When the program for the 1897 summer festival at Orange was first announced in February 1897, André Hallays expressed his dissatisfaction with the manner in which the directors of the Théâtre antique d’Orange claimed that they were returning to *antique* theater by the mixture of “Aeschylus put into French alexandrines, with music by Massenet.”<sup>93</sup> His complaint was not against Massenet alone; for Hallays, “The *Oedipus Rex* of Lacroix or the *Oresteia* of Leconte de Lisle will not be any more Greek on the stage of

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<sup>91</sup> For the announcement of the intent of Paris Opéra director Pedro Gailhard to commission *Prométhée*, see André Hallays, “Au jour le jour,” *Le Journal des débats*, 21 February 1897, 1. Receipt figures are drawn from “Nouvelles diverses: Paris et départements,” *Le Ménestrel*, 8 August 1897, 255.

<sup>92</sup> “Le très grand succès obtenu par la partition des *Érinnyes*, de Massenet, semble indiquer très suffisamment aux organisateurs que, pour les grandes solennités en plein air, la musique est indispensable.” “Nouvelles diverses: Paris et départements,” *Le Ménestrel*, 15 August 1897, 262.

<sup>93</sup> “[...] on jouera de l’Eschyle mis en alexandrins français avec de la musique de M. Massenet, orchestrée pour le plein air. C’est ce qu’on appelle une restitution du théâtre antique.” André Hallays, “Au jour le jour,” *Le Journal des débats*, 21 February 1897, 1.



Orange than on the stage of the Théâtre-Français.”<sup>94</sup> Yet he did seem to implicitly single out the mixture of an antique drama with modern music as faulty:

On a theater of an entirely Roman grandeur and unsightliness, actors give a simulacrum of a caricatured and mutilated Greek tragedy accompanied by arch-modern music. This mixture of Aeschylus and Massenet, in a kind of “Châtelet” of Roman decadence, may amuse the imaginations and shake the nerves of listeners accustomed to all the preposterousness of our composite spectacles – all while serving respectable electoral interests. But art has nothing to gain in these attempts at pseudo-archeology.<sup>95</sup>

While Dumas had felt the music added to the drama by its contrast, Hallays saw nothing but falseness in the pretense of these productions. The conflict between these two opinions would only deepen as further revivals were mounted, thus providing fascinating insight into changing notions of musical representations of antiquity.

### **The Changing Aesthetics of Musical Archaism**

The study of ancient music had advanced since Massenet had written the score for *Les Érinnyes* in the last weeks of 1872. In that year, the third volume of François-Joseph Fétis’s *Histoire Générale de la Musique* appeared, which surveyed the music of ancient Greece and Rome. The first volume of François-Auguste Gevaert’s *Histoire et théorie de la musique de l’antiquité* was published three years later, in 1875, and the second volume emerged in 1881. Meanwhile, Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray published three books on antique music. The first was his *Souvenirs d’une mission musicale en Grèce et en Orient* of 1876, which reached

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<sup>94</sup> “L’*Œdipe-roi* de M. Lacroix ou l’*Orestie* de M. Leconte de Lisle ne seront pas plus grecs sur la scène d’Orange que sur celle du Théâtre-Français.” Hallays, *Le Journal des débats*, 1.

<sup>95</sup> “Sur un théâtre d’une grandeur et d’une laideur toutes romaines, des comédiens donnent le simulacre d’une tragédie grecque travestie et mutilée, qu’accompagnent des musiques archi-modernes. Ce mélange d’Eschyle et de Massenet, dans une sorte de « Châtelet » de la décadence romaine, peut, – tout en servant de respectables intérêts électoraux, – amuser les imaginations et secouer les nerfs d’auditoires accoutumés à toutes les saugrenuités de nos spectacles composites. Mais l’art n’a rien à voir dans ces tentatives de pseudo-archéologie.” Hallays, *Le Journal des débats*, 1.

its second edition in 1878. He followed this first study with his *Études sur la musique ecclésiastique grecque, mission musicale en Grèce et en Orient, janvier-mai 1875* (published in 1877) and his *Conférence sur la modalité dans la musique grecque* (1879).

The discourse on musical antiquity did not remain in the academy alone, but also began to affect the composition and performance of music. One of the most striking examples of the intersection between academic discourse on musical antiquity and performance was seen at the Palais Garnier in 1886. For a gala benefit event whose profits would go to aid the poor, Charles de Sivry reconstituted ancient Greek music as incidental music for Henri de Bornier's verse adaptation of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*. Performed on 26 January 1886, the receipts totaled to a stunning F120,000.<sup>96</sup> In 1893, the tune of a "Hymn to Apollo" was rediscovered on the grounds of the École Française of Athens and presented to the public on 12 April 1894. Preceded by a lecture on Greek music by Théodore Reinach, the hymn was sung by Jeanne Remacle and accompanied by Gabriel Fauré at the harmonium (simulating the antique flute) and Frank Robert at the harp (simulating the cithara), playing an accompaniment devised by Fauré for the instrumentation indicated by a line of the hymn itself.<sup>97</sup> One imagines that the quintuple meter and tetrachordal scales of the melody must have left quite an impression on the audience. Erik Satie had incorporated such exotic antique scales into his own music as early as 1891, in the chanson "Salut au drapeau" written for Josephin Péladan's *drame romanesque, Le Prince du Byzance*.

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<sup>96</sup> Receipt figures are given in Guillaume Livet, "Le Théâtre grec à Paris," *La Revue d'art dramatique* (1893): 1-7.

<sup>97</sup> Reinach's lecture was reproduced under the title "Conférence sur la musique grecque et l'hymne à Apollon," in *La Revue d'art dramatique* (1894): 321-336. See also Jean-Michel Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: Les voix du clair-obscur* (Paris: Flammarion, 1990), 203-4, 539. A second hymn, also discovered in 1894, was harmonized by Léon Boëllmann (Nectoux, 204).

Such developments had the effect of leading the more educated public, including theater and music critics, to demand a greater semblance of antiquity in the music composed for ancient subjects. In 1873, Charles Bannelier had been the sole critic to voice such a desire. After praising Massenet for avoiding a battle with the violent tone of the play, he confessed that “Some reminder, even fleeting, of the Greek modes would have been welcome, and we regret to not find it there.”<sup>98</sup> Yet in 1897, even such a sympathetic critic as André Dumas felt compelled to note that the “exquisite” triplets in the prelude to the second act “are not Greek at all.”<sup>99</sup> And in reviewing the 1910 production at the Comédie-Française (the production in which *Les Érinnyes* officially became a part of the repertoire of the Théâtre-Français), Léon Blum implied a similar concern over his perceived mismatching of the score and the play. To Leconte de Lisle’s translation “entirely inspired by the naked savagery of Aeschylus” (that is to say, as Greek as the original), Massenet composed music “without nobility nor lines, tender, caressing, sensual, entirely sonorous and graceful, totally without unity or vigor.”<sup>100</sup> (One wonders if Blum even noticed the role of the recurrent motives, such as the *Marche des Vieillards* or the music from Elektra’s invocation.) In Blum’s reading, the music emphatically did not match the Hellenic qualities of the adapted

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<sup>98</sup> “[...] quelque ressouvenir, même fugitif, des modes grecques, eût été le bienvenue, et nous regrettons de ne pas l’y trouver.” Charles Bannelier, “Théâtre national de l’Odéon: *Les Érinnyes*,” *La Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, 12 January 1873, 11.

<sup>99</sup> “Le prélude du deuxième acte a été joué à ravir. Il y a là des triolets, qui ne sont pas grecs du tout, mais qui sont exquis.” Because no triplets appear after the second part of the Divertissement – “La Troyenne regrettant la patrie perdue” – it would seem that Dumas is referring to that section. See Dumas, “Les Représentations d’Orange,” 799.

<sup>100</sup> “Sur un poème tranquille et serein jusque dans sa violence volontaire, à la fois cruel et pur, tout inspiré de la nudité farouche d’Eschyle, animé par la plus altière et la plus grave mélancolie, M. Massenet a appliqué une musique sans noblesse et sans lignes, tendre, caressante, sensuelle, toute en sonorités et en grâces, totalement dépourvue d’unité et de vigueur. Il n’est pas question de nier la valeur propre de cette musique. Mais en jouant cette suite d’orchestre, sans le texte, aux Concerts Colonne, et le texte au Théâtre-Français, sans la musique, tout serait au mieux.” Léon Blum, *Au théâtre: Réflexions critiques*, 4e série (Paris: P. Ollendorff, 1912): 296-8.

play. While at pains not to deny the value of the score, Blum offered performing the text and music independently as a solution, the former on the stage and the latter in the concert hall.

Recalling Bannelier's desire for even a "fleeting reminder" of the modes, it is indeed difficult to find any traces of modality in Massenet's score, which is based almost exclusively on major-minor tonality. The closest any passage comes to modality is in the opening five measures of "La Troyenne regrettant la patrie perdu," which are firmly in the Phrygian mode on D (though the remainder of the movement is in B flat), and in chorus number 3, where the melodic emphasis on E provides an affect of the Phrygian mode in a movement where the orchestral accompaniment lies firmly in A minor (both passages belong to the 1876 version). Nevertheless, the music was not entirely devoid of antique touches. The initial orchestration, emphasizing strings and percussion, could well be read as a modern approximation of the instrumentation then believed to be used to accompany Greek tragedies. In the 1876 score, the orchestration of the *Danse grecque* presents a reflection of ancient music, as its melody featured two flutes playing over a string accompaniment which is frequently pizzicato, to simulate the plucked cithara. This is essentially the texture cited by Reinach in his lecture on the "Hymn of Apollo" as approximating ancient performance practice. Certainly, Massenet's *Danse grecque* was no less antique than the harmonium-harp accompaniment freely composed by Gabriel Fauré for the "Hymn of Apollo." Moreover, Massenet's reharmonization of a repeated tone in the chorus number 3, "Hélas! Hélas!" is a technique which was reportedly used by the Greeks (see Figure 3.7). Massenet was not alone in his use of this technique; indeed, in his sketches for *Les Troyens*, Berlioz experimented with a similar pattern of reharmonized, chanted pitches.<sup>101</sup> Similarly, the five-measure phrase

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<sup>101</sup> See D. Kern Holoman, *Berlioz* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989): 526.

Figure 3.7: Reharmonizations of Repeated Tones, N° 3. Chœur: “Hélas! Hélas!”

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*f*  
 O Dai - môn — très au - gus - - te sou - viens -  
*f*  
 O Dai - môn — très au - gus - - te sou - viens -  
*p*  
*f*  
*p*  
*f*  
*f*  
*ff*  
 toi du père et de l'en - fant!...  
*ff*  
 toi du père et de l'en - fant!... *p*  
*ff*  
*espress.*  
*p*  
*p*  
 O Zeus, en - tends nous! — *f* O Dai - môn —  
*f*  
 Zeus en - tends nous! — O Dai - môn —  
*dim.*  
*mf*  
*f*  
*p*

structure of the music of terror (in the Prélude and the final melodrama) can well be construed to reflect the five-syllable poetic meter of ancient Greece. Yet the critiques presented by Blum, Dumas and others are symptomatic of the growing awareness on the part of the critics (and by extension, the public who read their reviews) of the qualities which comprised the music of Greek antiquity, and their consequent desire for ever more sophisticated musical evocations of that distant era.

## **Conclusion**

We have seen how a study of Massenet's music for *Les Érinnyes* provides insights into the factors which controlled the production of incidental music, into the intertwined issues of musical genre and cultural consumption, and into the changing aesthetics of antique music in France. Moreover, the study of the mutating reception of Massenet's score suggests that further study of incidental music on antique subjects might provide a unique point of entry into the changing aesthetic values of French music composed on similar topics.

It is strange that such a play which was never truly a popular success nor an undisputed critical success should remain a part of the repertoire for some seventy years. Much of that is due to the music, which was able to be performed separately much better than could the verse adaptation by Leconte de Lisle, as witnessed by the vibrant concert life of the score. Like *L'Arlésienne*, *Les Érinnyes* demonstrates that "incidental" music during this period frequently became integral to the conception of the play, much as the libretto and score of an opera become welded together in the audience's conception of the work. In this regard the *drame lyrique* label for incidental works is deserved, as its implication of kinship

with opera carries also the implication of an integral role for *musique de scène*. With these scores by Bizet and Massenet, it became unthinkable that the play should be staged without the musical accompaniment which was such a key to their successes.

Yet not all works of “integral” incidental music were so well-recognized by the public and the press as Massenet’s score. And the rather scandalous success of Leconte de Lisle’s tragically violent and pseudo-hellenist adaptation pales in comparison to the scandal surrounding the gratuitously violent, scatological satire of 1896: Alfred Jarry and Claude Terrasse’s *Ubu roi*.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE MUSIC OF *UBU ROI*: TERRASSE'S PARALLEL WORLD OF ABSURDITY

Alfred Jarry's iconoclastic farce *Ubu roi* is frequently cited as a seminal work for twentieth-century drama, touted as the precursor to such dramatic movements as Surrealism, Absurdism and even German Dadaism. Prominent figures including Guillaume Apollinaire and Jean Cocteau claimed the influence of *Ubu roi* on their own work. But while the play has been a mainstay in theater studies since its scandalous première in Paris nearly provoked a riot in 1896, few musicologists have been aware of the role attributed to the incidental score by composer Claude Terrasse. Terrasse's score, comprised of an overture and seventy-six short movements, utilized a high degree of musical melodrama and tight motivic construction in a light comic score which remained rather detached from the scatological and violent aspects of the play. The music has even been cited by one Jarry scholar as having saved the play from flopping at its première.<sup>1</sup> Another retrospective review of the première commented further that the music "toned down the anger of the raging men of letters" who were present

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<sup>1</sup> "Quant à la musique, Claude Terrasse, beau-frère de P. Bonnard, s'en chargea. Beaucoup – quand du moins sa musique drôle eut acquis de la célébrité – considèrent qu'il avait sauvé la pièce ; sur le moment même, on la trouva surtout le bastringue. En tout cas, Terrasse entra entièrement dans le jeu, devint l'un des meilleurs amis de Jarry, et ne cessa de collaborer avec lui, comme Bonnard et Ranson. On voit que l'Œuvre et *Ubu roi* furent au principe de bien des choses." (As to the music, Claude Terrasse, brother-in-law of Pierre Bonnard, undertook it. Many – at least when his humorous music had acquired some fame – considered that it had saved the play; at the same time, they found it mostly noise. In any case, Terrasse fully entered the game, became one of the best friends of Jarry, and never ceased to collaborate with him, like Bonnard and Ranson. One sees that the Théâtre de l'Œuvre and *Ubu roi* were a preview of sorts.) P. Lié (pseud.), "Comment Jarry et Lugné-Poe glorifièrent Ubu à l'Œuvre," *Cahiers du Collège de 'Pataphysique*, nos. 3-4 (27 October 1950): 37-51, citation 48.



in the audience, making it possible for the performance to continue.<sup>2</sup> An examination of the music and its role in the drama illustrates several points about incidental music. First, the music of *Ubu roi* serves as an example of a collaboration where the conception of the music corresponded quite strongly to the aesthetic influences on the play. Specifically, Terrasse's music reflects Jarry's aesthetic by creating a world of sonic references which parallel the play's theatrical referentiality. Second, the interaction between music and avant-garde drama did not have to be exotic; it could also be outwardly conventional or even lowbrow. This approach was fairly uncommon in the musical circles of the avant-garde. In writing such a score, Terrasse showed his willingness to be influenced by the literary side of the avant-garde rather than by the composers associated with the avant-garde, such as Satie, Debussy, Ravel, Vidal or Chausson. Finally, in contrast to the substantial orchestral scores of *L'Arlésienne* and *Les Érinnyes*, the music of *Ubu roi* demonstrates that important incidental scores were not exclusively orchestral; sometimes financial constraints or limited backstage space restricted the performative forces to a chamber ensemble or keyboard accompaniment.

The tale of the creation of *Ubu roi* begins in 1888 in Rennes, the capital city of Bretagne. There, Jarry attended the Lycée where he and classmates Charles and Henri Morin mercilessly tormented and mocked Father Hébert, their physics professor, as only fifteen-year-old boys can.<sup>3</sup> Father Hébert's name was adapted as Hébé, which Jarry himself later

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<sup>2</sup> "La musique, non plus, on ne l'entendait guère, de la coulisse où Claude Terrasse manipulait un asthmatique piano; et cependant, la veuve imprévue, l'humour intensif de ces marches à pantins, de ces fanfares, de ces hymnes carnavalesques, eussent pu, pour sûr, *tonifier les ires des littérateurs déchaînés.*" Valentin Mandelstamm, "Dans la coulisse d'*Ubu roi*," in *Fantasio*, 15 April 1908, p. 838.

<sup>3</sup> After Jarry's death, the Morin brothers contested his apparent claims of sole authorship of the text of *Ubu roi*, providing their accounts of its genesis to Charles Chassé. Chassé's 1921 volume, *Sous le masque d'Alfred Jarry (?): Les Sources d'Ubu roi*. (Paris: H. Floury, 1927), was carefully timed as it appeared just months after the release of a new edition of *Ubu roi* by the Parisian publisher Fasquelle, the first since 1900. The scandal created by these revelations has been viewed by many commentators as calculated to discredit not only Jarry, but the Symbolist movement more broadly (see especially Jacques Robichez, *Le Symbolisme au théâtre: Lugné-Poe et*

changed to Ubu. Classroom jests evolved into a series of comic sketches and short plays, the most significant of which was titled *Les Polonais* and produced in the Morin attic using homemade marionettes. We know that these early performances featured some music: Noël Arnaud and Henri Bordillon report that the play originally ended with a “Chanson du décervelage.”<sup>4</sup> This song contrafacted the popular *chansonette* “La Valse des Pruneaux” with a parodistic text, exchanging the local references to Parisian locales with those of Rennes, and substituting a chorus which exhorts the audience to watch the debraining in place of the original song’s instrumental *ritournelle*.<sup>5</sup> It has even been suggested that Jarry’s mother may have played the piano at these early performances, though no evidence has been provided to support that thesis.<sup>6</sup>

Jarry arrived in Paris in 1891, carrying the manuscript with him. He continued to develop the narrative until it assumed mythical proportions: Ubu became an malevolent version of the Elizabethan Everyman, an incarnation of evil itself. Gradually Jarry worked

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*les débuts de L'Œuvre* (Paris: L'Arche, 1957): 357-8, who particularly accuses Chassé of this aim). Chassé’s 1927 volume was subsequently republished in an augmented edition titled *Dans les coulisses de la gloire: d’Ubu roi au Douanier Rousseau* (Paris: Éditions de la Nouvelle Revue critique, 1947). Instead of discrediting Jarry and Symbolism, the 1927 scandal surrounding *Ubu roi* had the effect of entrenching support for Jarry, the Symbolists, and especially *Ubu roi* more than ever, as many critics stated that the authorship of *Ubu roi* was inconsequential in light of its technique and influence, and in light of the role of Jarry, Lugné-Poe and L’Œuvre in bringing it to the public. On this, see especially Robichez, *Le Symbolisme au théâtre*, 359.

<sup>4</sup> This ending did not feature in the 1896 performance, nor in the 1896 and 1897 editions of the play. See Alfred Jarry, *Ubu: Ubu roi, Ubu cocu, Ubu enchaîné, Ubu sur la Butte*, preface by Noël Arnaud, edited by Noël Arnaud and Henri Bordillon (Paris: Gallimard, 1978): 130, 466.

<sup>5</sup> “La Valse des Pruneaux” was composed by Charles Pourny to a text by Villemer-Delormel (Paris: L. Bathlot, 1883). The “Chanson du décervelage” was restored to the play for the 1898 performances at the Théâtre des Pantins in Paris, this time with music by Claude Terrasse, and published by the Éditions du Mercure de France that same year as the third of a series of nine excerpts composed by Terrasse for that theater. See Alfred Jarry and Claude Terrasse, “Répertoire des Pantins: La Chanson du décervelage” (Paris: Éditions du Mercure de France, 1898). The three excerpts of the “Répertoire des Pantins” which had texts by Jarry were reprinted in facsimile at the end of the eight-volume first edition of Jarry’s *Oeuvres complètes*, edited by R. Massat (Monte Carlo: Éditions du Livre, 1948).

<sup>6</sup> See Judith Cooper, *Ubu roi: An Analytical Study* (New Orleans: Tulane Studies in Romance Languages and Literature, 1974): 25.

his way to the center of the literary *avant-garde* in Paris. His poems and short prose won prizes in contests sponsored by the prominent newspaper *L'Écho de Paris*, and were subsequently published in the weekly supplement *L'Écho de Paris littéraire illustré*. The editorial board of *L'Écho de Paris* included, among others, the poets and critics Catulle Mendès, Henry Bauer, Octave Mirbeau, Jean Lorrain, Armand Silvestre and Marcel Schwob, all of whom became staunch allies of Jarry at the time of the production of *Ubu roi*.<sup>7</sup> The subsequent publication of Jarry's literary and artistic criticism and poetry in the monthly review *L'Art littéraire* drew the attention of Alfred Vallette, director of the newly revived *Le Mercure de France* (1890).<sup>8</sup> Jarry was introduced to the leading figures of the Parisian literary *avant-garde* through Vallette's Tuesday evening *salon* at the offices of *Le Mercure de France* early in 1894. The connections Jarry made through Vallette proved invaluable for him, as he met a host of young Symbolist authors, including Henri de Régnier, Paul Fort, Paul Valéry, Gustave Kahn, Eugène Demolder, Léon Bloy, André-Ferdinand Hérold, André Gide, and Pierre Quillard. In this circle he read aloud from the text of *Ubu roi*, as he had done amongst friends from the Lycée Henri IV in 1891 when he had first arrived in Paris. Even more important for the future of *Ubu roi*, Hérold introduced Jarry in late 1894 to the young director of the Théâtre de l'Œuvre, Aurélien-François Lugné-Poe.<sup>9</sup>

Lugné-Poe had started his career under André Antoine at the Théâtre Libre in 1888, before rebelling against Antoine's credo of naturalism in favor of more experimental drama. Beginning in 1890, Lugné-Poe co-founded and directed the Théâtre d'Art. The culmination of this enterprise was the première of Maurice Maeterlinck's play, *Pelléas et Mélisande*, on

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<sup>7</sup> Keith Beaumont, *Alfred Jarry: A Critical and Biographical Study* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984): 36.

<sup>8</sup> Beaumont, *Alfred Jarry*, 37.

<sup>9</sup> Aurélien-François Lugné-Poe, *La Parade*, vol. II: *Acrobaties* (Paris: Gallimard, 1931): 163.

17 May 1893. In the next season he founded the Théâtre de l'Œuvre, dedicated to bringing an unusually diverse range of drama to the Parisian audiences: not only were the Symbolists performed there, but also much of Ibsen and Strindberg, ancient Indian dramas, Shakespeare, German and Russian contemporary plays, and even the world première of Oscar Wilde's *Salomé*. Jarry soon discussed his plans for *Ubu roi* with Lugné-Poe, providing him with a copy of the unfinished play. But the piece was too avant-garde even for this cutting-edge director to be readily accepted: as Lugné-Poe's memoirs tell, he had no idea how to begin producing this play onstage.<sup>10</sup>

His bewilderment was reasonable, as the play represented a tremendous departure from even the oddest Symbolist fare which the Œuvre regularly served. Although *Ubu roi* has been viewed by some commentators as a Symbolist work, it clearly stood at the periphery of Symbolism.<sup>11</sup> Comedy was not in the mainstream of Symbolism, which tended towards a hieratic, solemn, avowedly philosophical and – at its worst – an overly self-important aesthetic. For British playwright Arthur Symons, who attended the première of the play, *Ubu roi* was the inversion of serious Symbolist drama, “a comic antithesis to Maeterlinck.”<sup>12</sup> One of the ways in which it inverted the trends of Symbolism was in what some have seen as its emphatically non-literary presentation. In his history of the early years of the Théâtre de

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<sup>10</sup> “Auparavant, il m'avait communiqué non achevé *Ubu roi*, que je ne savais par quel bout prendre pour le réaliser à la scène” (First, he had given me the incomplete *Ubu roi*, which I had no idea how to begin to realise for the stage). [Aurélien-François] Lugné-Poe, *Acrobaties: Souvenirs et Impressions de Théâtre (1894 – 1902)*, vol. 2 of *La Parade* (Paris: Gallimard, 1931): 160.

<sup>11</sup> Chief among the later critics to view *Ubu roi* as Symbolist are Jacques Robichez, Frantisek Deak and Keith Beaumont. See Jacques Robichez, *Le Symbolisme au théâtre: Lugné-Poe et les débuts au l'Œuvre* (Paris: L'Arche, 1957); Frantisek Deak, *Symbolist Theater: The Formation of an Avant-Garde* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); and Keith Beaumont, *Alfred Jarry: A Critical and Biographical Study* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984). As Deak pointed out, however, many writers on Symbolism ignore *Ubu roi* altogether, including Dorothy Knowles' study *La Reaction idéaliste au théâtre*, and Gisèle Marie's *Le Théâtre symboliste*; see *Symbolist Theater*, 238.

<sup>12</sup> See Arthur Symons, “A Symbolist Farce: *Ubu roi*,” in *Studies in Seven Arts* (London: A. Constable, 1906): 372.

l’Œuvre, Jacques Robichez commented wryly that *Ubu roi* was more analogous to a dramatic scenario than to a literary play. Although he was otherwise sympathetic to Jarry’s creation, Robichez ascribed the play’s significance to its dramatic originality and its influence on later writers rather than in the quality of its text.<sup>13</sup> For Robichez, *Ubu roi* was not only at the fringes of Symbolism, but likewise at the fringes of comedy: it was a “practical joke because of its provocative cynicism, because of its accumulation of vulgarity, because of its complete break with the traditions of comic theater.”<sup>14</sup>

While Robichez faulted the play for its scenario-like literary qualities, the literary merits of the play were not at issue for Frantisek Deak, who read *Ubu roi* in light of the traditions of commedia dell’arte and pantomime for which a literary text was not a prerequisite.<sup>15</sup> But it was not only in its lack of literary qualities and in its use of comedy that *Ubu roi* differed from other Symbolist plays. Deak noted that “Jarry’s new theatrical language is comparable in part to the theatrical language of l’Oeuvre’s previous productions, but it is also fundamentally different.”<sup>16</sup> The use of a composite backdrop with depictions of seemingly disparate elements contributed in part to the notion of the play as a “hoax.” Yet for those with the patience to look deeper, the backdrop formed a sort of synthesis of all the settings in which the play takes place. Contemporary critic Romain Coolus recognized and praised these developments in his review of the première:

We should point out certain particularly successful details of the staging. As the decor did not change, it became a question to *evoke*, instead of directly represent, the various places where the action took place. For this we had recourse to several *signs*

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<sup>13</sup> Robichez, *Le Symbolisme au théâtre*, 358.

<sup>14</sup> “Mystification par le cynisme provocateur, par l’accumulation des grossièretés, par la rupture complète avec les traditions du théâtre comique.” Robichez, *Le Symbolisme au théâtre*, 358.

<sup>15</sup> Deak, *Symbolist Theater*, 238.

<sup>16</sup> Deak, *Symbolist Theater*, 237.

capable of suggesting what could not otherwise be shown: some of them, foreshortened actions which were very expressively synthetic – running, the climbing of the hill; the battle – form a new sort of theatrical language which warrants further discussion.<sup>17</sup>

Given that *Ubu roi* contained these significant departures from mainstream avant-garde drama, not to mention more conventional Parisian drama such as that of Victorien Sardou and Eugène Scribe, Jarry worked hard to woo Lugné-Poe into producing his work.

Jarry began by detailing his peculiar vision for the production of *Ubu roi* in a letter to Lugné-Poe on 8 January 1896:

The act which we have already discussed will be delivered to you by the agreed date, that is, about the 20<sup>th</sup>. But I am writing to you beforehand to ask you to give some thought to a project which I would like to submit to you and which I hope may interest you. Since *Ubu roi*, which you liked, is a complete story in itself, I could, if you liked, simplify it somewhat, and then we would have something which could not fail to be funny: you yourself found it funny when you read it without bias one way or the other.

It would be interesting, I think, to produce this (at no cost, incidentally) in the following manner:

1) Mask for the principal character, Ubu; I could get this for you, if necessary. And, in any case, I believe that you yourself have been studying the whole question of masks in the theater.

2) A cardboard horse's head which he would hang round his neck, as they did on the medieval English stage, for the only two equestrian scenes; all these details fit in with the mood of the play, since my intention was, in any case, to write a puppet play.

3) One single stage-set, or, better still, a plain backdrop, thus avoiding the raising and dropping of the curtain during the single act. A formally dressed individual would walk on stage, just as he does in puppet shows, and hang up a placard indicating where the next scene takes place. (By the way, I am absolutely convinced that a descriptive placard has far more "suggestive" power than any stage scenery. No scenery, no array of walkers-on could really evoke "the Polish Army marching across the Ukraine.")

4) The abolition of crowds which usually put on a terrible collective performance and are an insult to the intelligence. So, just a single soldier in the army

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<sup>17</sup> "Il convient de signaler certains détails de mise en scène particulièrement heureux. Le décor ne changeant pas, il s'agissait d'évoquer, au lieu de les présenter directement, les divers lieux où évoluait l'action; pour cela on a eu recours à un certain nombre de *signes* susceptibles de suggérer ce qu'on ne pouvait montrer: quelques-unes, actions en raccourci et très expressivement synthétiques – la course; la montée de la colline; la bataille; – constituent une sorte de langage théâtral nouveau sur lequel il y aura lieu de revenir." [Romain] Coolus, "Notes dramatiques," in *La Revue blanche*, 1 January 1897, 38-40, citation 40.

parade scene, and just one in the scuffle when Ubu says “What a slaughter, what a mob, etc....”

5) Choice of a special “accent,” or, better still, a special “voice” for the principal character.

6) Costumes as divorced as far as possible from local color or chronology (which will thus help to give the impression of something eternal): modern costumes, preferably, since the satire is modern, and shoddy ones, too, to make the play even more wretched and horrible.

There are only three important characters who do much talking, Ubu, Ma Ubu and Bordure. You have an actor whose appearance is exactly right for Bordure and would make a splendid contrast with Ubu’s bulk – I mean the tall fellow who declaimed “It is my right.”

Finally, I have not forgotten that this is no more than a suggestion for you to ponder at your leisure, and I have only discussed *Ubu roi* with you because it has the advantage of being the sort of play that most of the public will appreciate. Anyway, the other thing I am working on will soon be ready, and you will see how much better it is. But if the project I have just outlined does not seem completely absurd to you, then I would appreciate your letting me know, so that I will not be working unnecessarily on the second scheme. As we planned, neither of them will take more than three-quarters of an hour’s playing time.

With best wishes for all your good work, which gave me the chance of enjoying yet another highly interesting evening yesterday.<sup>18</sup>

Although Lugné-Poe initially showed no interest in directing *Ubu roi*, Jarry would not be easily deflected. Jarry was able to place *Ubu roi* for publication in two parts in the April and May 1896 editions of *Le Livre d’art*, a monthly review co-edited by Paul Fort. In May 1896 Jarry became secretary to Lugné-Poe and seized the opportunity to lobby for his play from within the staff of the theater. And June saw the publication of the first edition of *Ubu roi* by the Éditions du Mercure de France, bearing the descriptive subtitle *Drame en cinq Actes en prose / Restitué en son intégrité tel qu’il a été représenté par les marionnettes du Théâtre des Phynances en 1888*. During the offseason of the Théâtre de l’Œuvre, Jarry finally convinced Lugné-Poe to mount *Ubu roi* near the end of 1896, immediately following

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<sup>18</sup> It is striking in how many aspects the production matched this statement; the preference for a single-color backdrop was neglected, and it seems that a more realistic horse-prop was rented for F30 (according to Jarry’s letter of 7 December 1896, *Alfred Jarry: Ubu*, 425). The cited translation of the text is found in Roger Shattuck and Simon Watson Taylor, eds., *Selected Works of Alfred Jarry* (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1965): 67-8. The original French text of the 8 January 1896 letter may be found in Alfred Jarry, *Ubu: Ubu roi, Ubu cocu, Ubu enchaîné, Ubu sur la Butte*, preface by Noël Arnaud, edited by Noël Arnaud and Henri Bordillon (Paris: Gallimard, 1978): 412-3, and is reproduced in Appendix IV.

a production of *Peer Gynt* which incorporated Grieg's famous score and an orchestra of sixty musicians.<sup>19</sup>

With a publicity run abetted by Jarry's salon connections with the editors of the avant-garde reviews *Le Mercure de France* and *La Revue blanche*, Jarry published provocative articles about the theater, particularly one entitled "On the Uselessness of Theatricality in the Theater."<sup>20</sup> In the article, Jarry criticized several aspects of contemporary theater which he found useless, revising notions about decor and actors in particular. For him, it was problematic that theatrical "decor is a hybrid, neither natural nor artificial."<sup>21</sup> And the imposition of the author's vision for the decor would be dangerous, as it would interfere with the spectator's "right to see a play in a decor which does not clash with his own view of it."<sup>22</sup> Decor painted by non-painters would be preferable, as it would remain more abstract; better still would be single-color backdrops, and most ideal would be a blank white backdrop against which the spectator's imagination would not clash. Setting would be supplied not by decor but by placards posted at the start of each scene, in place of the changing of the entire decor (as articulated in the letter to Lugné-Poe). Articles of the decor which the actors manipulate – such as the opening of a door or window – would be carried on as props, "like a table or a torch."<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> *Peer Gynt* was given its Parisian première on 12 November 1896, with Gabriel Marie conducting the Concerts Colonne orchestra.

<sup>20</sup> The articles are "De l'inutilité du théâtre au théâtre," in *Le Mercure de France* (September 1896): 467-473, translated by Barbara Wright as "Of the Futility of the 'Theatrical' in the Theater" in *Selected Works of Alfred Jarry*, 69-75; and "Les Paralipomènes d'Ubu," in *La Revue blanche* (1 December 1896): 489-93.

<sup>21</sup> *Selected Works of Alfred Jarry*, 70.

<sup>22</sup> *Selected Works of Alfred Jarry*, 71.

<sup>23</sup> *Selected Works of Alfred Jarry*, 72.



As to the actors, in addition to the adoption of masks and unique voices called for in his letter to Lugné-Poe, Jarry posited a new use of movement. The actors would use their bodies to communicate based on simple, universal gestures rather than the idiosyncratic language of semiotically-laden pantomime gestures, which he found impenetrable for the uninitiated by virtue of its idiomatic nature. As an example of a “universal gesture” he suggested “the marionette displaying its bewilderment by starting back violently and hitting its head against a flat,” showing that he had not departed from his schoolboy fascination with the impersonal wooden figurine as a medium for theater.<sup>24</sup> And in the article he further developed his conception of the masked actor, noting that the masks should not be as simple as the Greek masks of tears or laughter, but should indicate the “nature of the character: the Miser, the Waverer, the Covetous Man accumulating crimes...”<sup>25</sup> The expressive power of the face would be replaced in part by the adept use of footlights, which would allow the actors to “displace the shadows over the whole surface of his mask” through “slow nodding and lateral movements of the head.”<sup>26</sup> Finally, the common use of a young adult female actress to play boys would be replaced by the use of a teenage male, as was the case in Molière’s company, as well as in Elizabethan England and ancient Greece.

Jarry’s views on decor were ultimately driven by a Symbolist understanding of literature: “In any written work there is a hidden meaning, and anyone who knows how to read sees that aspect of it that makes sense for him.”<sup>27</sup> By reducing the decor to abstraction, in place of the *trompe l’œil* sets which characterized both mainstream and Naturalist French

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<sup>24</sup> *Selected Works of Alfred Jarry*, 73.

<sup>25</sup> *Selected Works of Alfred Jarry*, 74.

<sup>26</sup> *Selected Works of Alfred Jarry*, 73.

<sup>27</sup> *Selected Works of Alfred Jarry*, 70.

theater of the day, spectators would be both enabled and compelled to develop their own interpretation of the symbols in the drama. Such participation by the audience in the creation of the drama was a crucial part of Jarry's theatrical aesthetic. It served to counter the creation and reception of drama as light entertainment devoid of intellectual stimulation, which Jarry frowned upon as bourgeois. Moreover, the depersonalization of actors through masks, contrived voices and puppet-like motions seems to have been a response to the fame of such actors as Sarah Bernhardt and Mounet-Sully, whose celebrity created more of a spectacle than did the dramas in which they played. By removing the focus from the actors and the visual artistry, emphasis might be returned to the drama and to its meanings, hidden or otherwise.

Lugné-Poe responded so positively to Jarry's manifesto that he published a response in the October 1896 issue of *Le Mercure de France* titled "Regarding 'On the Uselessness of Theatricality in the Theater.'"<sup>28</sup> In it he praised Jarry's proposed reforms of the theater, repeating many of the core tenets of Jarry's article. For him, Jarry's artistic vision was informed by an aesthetic which Lugné-Poe called "a return to the art of the past ages, to that studied naïvety," which he felt was similar in nature to Elizabethan drama.<sup>29</sup> It would seem that after Lugné-Poe's initial tepid response to Jarry's play, he had fallen for the young man's unusual vision for the theater. It was shortly after Lugné-Poe became persuaded of Jarry's dramatic talents that the idea of incidental music entered the equation.

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<sup>28</sup> Aurélien-François Lugné-Poe, "A propos de 'l'inutilité du théâtre au théâtre,'" in *Le Mercure de France* (October 1896): 90-98.

<sup>29</sup> "Remonter à l'antique, à cette naïveté savante, [...]." Keith Beaumont, *Alfred Jarry: A Critical and Biographical Study* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984): 96, citing in turn "A propos de 'l'inutilité du théâtre au théâtre.'"

## Claude Terrasse

Lugné-Poe claims in his memoirs to have introduced the composer Claude Terrasse to the project, a claim which is corroborated in A.-F. Hérold's obituary of the composer. Hérold even reports that it was Terrasse who initiated the collaboration: he had already read the play and been struck by its comedy, and suggested to Lugné-Poe that it would be fitting to add music to go with it.<sup>30</sup> The composer was likely introduced to the director through Terrasse's brother-in-law Pierre Bonnard, a painter who had assisted with sets for Lugné-Poe's productions since his days at the Théâtre d'Art.<sup>31</sup> In the following decade, Terrasse would become known as the successor to Offenbach, seen by his contemporaries as the most significant composer of opérette in decades. Such intermediary composers as Arthur Coquard, Charles Lecocq and André Messager came to be seen as placeholders between Offenbach and Terrasse, who was frequently cited by critics as instigating a revival in an otherwise ailing genre. Most prominent among these was Claude Debussy who, in 1903, reviewed Terrasse's three-act opérette *Le Sire de Vergy* in an article bearing the title "Une Renaissance de l'opéra bouffe." In it, Debussy compared Terrasse to Offenbach, noted his growing fame, and praised Terrasse's orchestration.<sup>32</sup> And in describing his one-act comédie musicale *L'Heure espagnole* in 1911, Maurice Ravel referred to Terrasse and Offenbach as

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<sup>30</sup> A.-Ferdinand Hérold, "Claude Terrasse," in *Le Mercure de France* 144 (1923): 694-700.

<sup>31</sup> "Pour la musique à composer, cela va tout seul, je trouve Claude Terrasse, beau-frère de Pierre Bonnard, qui lui-même nous aidera avec nos amis Vuillard, Lautrec, Sérusier, Ranson, aux décors, pour la mise en scène..." Lugné-Poe, *Acrobaties*, 175-6.

<sup>32</sup> Debussy seems throughout rather evasive and self-consciously uncertain how to deal with Terrasse's comedic music. He states near the end of the review, "I may seem to be critical, but I have no right to be, for on many counts *Le Sire de Vergy* is a highly amusing piece." Claude Debussy, "Une Renaissance de l'opéra bouffe – Reprise de « *Werther* » à l'Opéra-Comique," *Gil Blas*, 27 April 1903, reprinted in *Monsieur Croche et autres écrits*, ed. François Lesure (Paris: Gallimard, 1987): 158-162; translated as "A Renaissance for Opera Buffa," in *Debussy on Music*, trans. Richard Langham Smith (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988): 182-186, citation 184.

the standards to which all comic opera is compared.<sup>33</sup> Although he would later become a fixture of Parisian light comedy, Terrasse was entirely unknown to the Parisian public in 1896.

Nevertheless, Terrasse was familiar with the musical life of Paris, having attended the École Niedermeyer from 1883 or 1884 until 1887.<sup>34</sup> After a stint in the army and seven years teaching organ, piano and harmony at the École de Saint-Elme in Arcachon, Terrasse returned to Paris to take up the choir organ (*orgue de chœur*) at La Trinité, a post he would hold until June 1899.<sup>35</sup> Although Terrasse had composed a mass, a song, a few piano works, and some pedagogical works, he had not yet written any works for the stage. Jarry's choice to commission the twenty year old composer with the score for *Ubu roi* would therefore enable him to exert more creative control than would be possible with a more experienced composer. As to the financial aspect, Jarry certainly could not have afforded a more experienced composer. Despite his proposition in the letter of 8 January 1896 that *Ubu roi* could be staged inexpensively using his experimental approach to theater, the production exceeded its budget, spending as much on the costumes and set as it earned in gross receipts

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<sup>33</sup> "I have written a comic opera, which I would like to think will prove to be a fresh source of inspiration. Note that in France, this musical genre doesn't exist. Offenbach wrote parodies of opera; today, Terrasse, with delightful verve, distorts rhythms and amuses with his unexpected orchestration, but it isn't the music which makes one laugh. I wanted the chords, for example to seem funny, like puns in language. If I may put it this way, I 'heard funny.'" René Bizet, "L'Heure espagnole," interview with Ravel in *L'Intransigeant*, 17 May 1911; reprinted in *A Ravel Reader: Correspondence, Articles, Interviews*, ed. Arbie Orenstein (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990): 411-2, citation 411.

<sup>34</sup> See Philippe Cathé, *Claude Terrasse*, pref. by Ornella Volta (Paris: L'Hexaèdre, 2004): 16, 18.

<sup>35</sup> Cathé, *Claude Terrasse*, 32, 41.

for the dress rehearsal and single performance.<sup>36</sup> No wonder Lugné-Poe claimed that Jarry's excesses were plunging him blindly into debt.<sup>37</sup>

In the event, Jarry was not disappointed with the work of his unestablished partner. *Ubu roi* proved to be the first of many collaborations, including several which were left incomplete. Jarry worked closely with Terrasse on the revival of *Ubu roi* on 20 January 1898 at the Théâtre des Pantins, a makeshift puppet theater located in the garden behind Terrasse's spacious apartment at 6, rue Ballu in Montmartre. For this production Terrasse wrote two new numbers, the "Marche des polonais" and the "Chanson du décervelage," which together with a four-hand piano arrangement of the Overture d'*Ubu roi* were published in a series of excerpts entitled *Le Répertoire des Pantins* by L'Éditions du Mercure de France.<sup>38</sup> In addition to the revival of *Ubu roi*, Jarry worked closely with Terrasse, Bonnard, Hérold, Louise France (the actress who played Mère Ubu) and Gémier at various productions at the Théâtre des Pantins between December 1897 and May 1900. Given evidence of their close collaborations on later works such as the opéra-bouffe *Pantagruel* (in 5 acts and 6 tableaux, libretto by Jarry and Eugène Demolder, 1910), the opérettes *Le Manoir enchantée* (1 act,

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<sup>36</sup> Beaumont suggests that the production costs of *Ubu roi* reached ₣1,300 (*Alfred Jarry*, 121); According to Lugné-Poe, the gross receipts totalled ₣1,300 (*Acrobaties*, 182).

<sup>37</sup> "Jarry, lui, me jeta dans les dettes avec aveuglement..." (Jarry blindly threw me into debt...) *Acrobaties*, 176. He continues with a humorous account of one such excess, describing Jarry's rental of forty wicker mannequins to be used as nobles and bourgeois who were to be flippantly executed by Père Ubu.

<sup>38</sup> See Claude Terrasse, Alfred Jarry, and Franc-Nohain, *Répertoire des Pantins: 9 Chansons de Claude Terrasse dont 6 sur des poèmes de Franc-Nohain et 3 sur des paroles de Jarry*, illustrated by Jarry and Pierre Bonnard (Paris: Mercure de France, 1898). The (very humorous yet dedicated) scholarly society devoted to Jarry, the Collège du 'Pataphysique, republished the three excerpts of music from *Ubu roi* in 1951, along with a version of "La Chanson du décervelage" in its original form as a contrafact of Charles Pourny's "Valse des Pruneaux;" see Claude Terrasse and Alfred Jarry, "Seconde version musicale de la Chanson du décervelage" (Paris: Collège de Pataphysique, an LXXVIII [= 1951]) and Alfred Jarry, "Première version musicale de la Chanson du décervelage" (Paris: Collège de Pataphysique, an LXXVIII [= 1951]).

1905) and *Léda* (1900), as well as on several failed projects, we might assume that they worked closely together on the score for *Ubu roi* also.<sup>39</sup>

This hypothesis is especially plausible in light of the unusual degree of creative control which Jarry exercised over other aspects of the production. As Lugné-Poe candidly reported, when first presented with *Ubu roi* he “did not know how to begin to produce it onstage.”<sup>40</sup> As late as 15 November – only twenty-four days before the dress rehearsal of *Ubu roi* – he confided his fears about the public response to *Ubu* to Rachilde (pseud. Marguerite Eymery), a novelist and playwright who was married to Alfred Vallette. Her reply was crucial to the production as it convinced him not to cancel the play.<sup>41</sup> Just as importantly, she convinced him to play up the puppet aspect as much as possible – a decisive suggestion as Lugné-Poe had considered directing it as a *tragedy*, significantly misreading the play.<sup>42</sup>

In light of Lugné-Poe’s bafflement with the text, Jarry frequently usurped creative control over the production, taking full advantage of his insider status as the *secrétaire-régisseur* of the Théâtre de l’Œuvre. It was Jarry who illustrated the program and arranged

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<sup>39</sup> Beaumont notes that while Jarry’s comic opera texts were “written occasionally in collaboration with other authors, they were also in most if not all cases written in close collaboration with the composer Claude Terrasse, who had composed and performed the incidental music for *Ubu roi* in 1896 and with whom Jarry had worked closely in the Théâtre des Pantins in 1897-8” (*Alfred Jarry*, 263). Philippe Cathé has also detected Terrasse’s collaboration on musical entries in Jarry’s *Almanach illustré du Père Ubu (XXe Siècle)* of 1901 in his article “Jarry-Terrasse au travail [le grand Almanach illustré du Père Ubu d’après des documents inédits],” in *Carnets trimestriels du Collège de Pataphysique* 3, 21 Pédale 128 [15 mars 2001], p. 73-76.

<sup>40</sup> “Auparavant, il m’avait communiqué non achevé *Ubu roi*, que je ne savais par quel bout prendre pour le réaliser à la scène.” Lugné-Poe, *Acrobaties*, 160.

<sup>41</sup> Rachilde replied in an undated letter which is reprinted in Lugné-Poe, *Acrobaties*, 174-5. In it, she encouraged Lugné-Poe not to abandon the production and to keep his word to Jarry. She began with the comment that “sometimes, success is simply a *scandal*” (succès... est quelquefois, simplement un grand *tapage* [italics in original]) and implied that he should see the play as a joke.

<sup>42</sup> Jarry conveyed Lugné-Poe’s intention to treat the play as a tragedy in his article “Questions de théâtre,” in *La Revue blanche*, 1 January 1897, 16-18; the article is reprinted in Arnaud and Bordillon, eds., *Ubu*, 345.

for it to be printed by *La Critique*, as were many of the Œuvre's programs (see Figure 4.1). Similarly, Jarry chose most of the props and costumes which were used, including the forty wicker mannequins of the nobles slaughtered by Père Ubu.<sup>43</sup> The production used nearly all the unusual proposals which Jarry had made in letters to Lugné-Poe and in published articles, but rejected Rachilde's suggestions to attach marionette strings to the actors and to avoid the *conférence*.

The *conférence* was a common practice in French theater of the day by which major plays were expounded upon immediately before their performance for the edification of the audience. By 1896 this convention had assumed such significance in Parisian theatrical culture that the Théâtre de l'Odéon preceded each of the plays on its *Matinées Classiques* series with an address about the play and its author, delivered by a major theatrical critic. Jarry lampooned the convention by presenting his *conférence* overdressed in outsized formal wear, with his hair slicked to his head, and seated at a table covered with a burlap sack, while he muttered inaudibly in the staccato monotone which had adopted as his standard speech pattern (and which Gémier imitated in creating Père Ubu, on the advice of Lugné-Poe).<sup>44</sup> He began by thanking the critics who had favorably reviewed the play at its publication: Armand Sylvestre, Catulle Mendès, Aurélien Scholl, Jean Lorrain and Henry Bauër. (By doing so he shrewdly suggested to the audience that to condemn his play would be to show themselves less insightful into the meaning of *Ubu roi* than the assemblage of prominent avant-garde reviewers who had praised it at its literary release). He promptly launched into a convoluted allusion to Swedenborgianism which many took as complete nonsense, and next

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<sup>43</sup> A letter from Jarry to Lugné-Poe, dated 7 December 1896, provides many of the details; see Arnaud, *Ubu*, 425. Further details are provided by Lugné-Poe in *Acrobaties*, 176-7.

<sup>44</sup> Lugné-Poe, *Acrobaties*, 176. For an eyewitness account of the *conférence* see Rachilde (pseud. Marguerite Eymery), *Alfred Jarry ou le Surmâle des lettres* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1928): 71-76.





stated that the performance would incorporate some cuts requested by the actors in the fourth and fifth acts, including some passages which he declared were essential to the understanding of the play. One can appreciate why some members of the audience would find his *conférence* rather mystifying and suspect him of intentional obfuscation, especially as his voice seemed not to carry very well to the audience – compounding the conceptual difficulties in understanding his lecture.

He was probably quite sincere, nevertheless, in that he made several crucial points about the performance in this address. First, Jarry claimed that part of his motivation for addressing the audience was that the sympathetic critics had seen more symbolism in the play than Jarry might have intended. Thus the reference to Swedenborgian philosophy, which asserted that simple forms are more perfect than more developed ones. Here, Ubu's simplicity (even naïveté) allowed for the audience to see wide ranging allusions in the work, and to form broadly divergent interpretations about the meaning of the play and to whom the ignoble characters might refer. He also pointed out several technical details about the performance: that they were unable to obtain a mask for Ubu in time for the performance, and that the "orchestra" (as reported in *L'Echo de Paris* on 8 December 1896 and in the program, and detailed in the preface to the 1897 facsimile edition of the play) would be missing due to hasty preparations, and would be replaced by drums and piano.<sup>45</sup> He

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<sup>45</sup> On the subject of the mask, Beaumont asserts that Gémier did wear one for the 1896 production, on the evidence of many eyewitnesses; he thus assumes Jarry to be speaking metaphorically or ironically here (see endnote 26, p. 318-19). However, the accounts to which he refers were all published in the 1920's and later (including Rachilde, Lugné-Poe, Georges Rémond, and Gémier himself) and thus were writing after the 1908 production; many attended both and likely had conflated the two. A photo from 1908 shows a masked Gémier onstage, but no such evidence survives from 1896. In a letter from Jarry to Lugné-Poe dated 7 December 1896, Jarry asks the director to receive a shipment of Ubu's belly and two masks (to be altered by l'Œuvre to the appearance of Ubu) from a costume shop, and to pay the F12 as Jarry was "currently without phynances." As Lugné-Poe left no contraindication to Jarry's request, we might assume the masks and belly were indeed rented, and therefore likely a part of the production. See Alfred Jarry, *Ubu*, ed. Arnaud, 425, which supplements Lugné-Poe's account from *Acrobaties* with additional letters not included in the director's autobiography.

suggested that the lack of extras for the crowd scenes was due to the unavailability of actors (implying that it was not due to his aesthetic values), thus indirectly appealing for a charitable response from the audience to his aesthetic aims. And he prepared the audience for the unusual stage setting by suggesting that the bizarre mixture of apparently unrelated objects helped to establish the universality of the setting, “just as a play can be set in Eternity by, say, letting people fire revolvers in the year one thousand or thereabouts.”<sup>46</sup>

### **The Reception of the Première**

The response of the audience to the oddities of the play has been described in retrospect by many of the attendees of the performance, and become a staple of the myth surrounding *Ubu roi*.<sup>47</sup> And even eyewitnesses have confused the responses to the dress rehearsal and the première in retrospect. As Beaumont notes, the dress rehearsal went rather well until the third act, when

in place of the door of the prison cell, an actor stood with one arm outstretched; Gémier “inserted” a key into his hand, made a clicking noise, and turned the arm as if opening a door. Suddenly tumult broke out on all sides, the audience apparently having decided at this point that “the joke had gone on long enough.”<sup>48</sup>

Gémier responded by dancing a jig to distract the audience and restore order through laughter, overcoming the shouting and whistling which had interrupted the performance.

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<sup>46</sup> Translation by Simon Watson Taylor; see Appendix IV for his full translation of the *conférence*.

<sup>47</sup> Many of the eyewitness accounts date from the 1920’s and thus conflate and confuse some details due to the erosion of memory, the rise of *Ubu roi* as an icon of the avant-garde, and the conflation of memories of the 1908 production with that of 1896. These include Rachilde’s account in *Alfred Jarry ou la Surmâle des lettres* (Paris: B. Grasset, 1928), Lugné-Poe’s account in *La Parade, Vol. 2: Acrobaties: souvenirs et impressions de théâtre (1894 — 1902)* (Paris: Gallimard, 1931), and the interview with Firmin Gémier published in *Excelsior*, 4 Nov. 1921, titled “Deux représentations retentissantes: M. Firmin Gémier nous dit ce que furent la répétition générale et la première d’*Ubu roi*.”

<sup>48</sup> Beaumont, *Alfred Jarry*, 100.

But the première was even less calm than the dress rehearsal: the hall went wild with first word, “Merdre!” – a modification of the French “merde” rendered as “shite” or “pshitt” in English translations of the play. For fifteen to twenty minutes, chaos reigned. In retrospect, Lugué-Poe’s concern about the “troubles which followed Jarry” was justified – as was Rachilde’s comment about the power of scandal. The critical reception was so embroiled in scandal that it led to a protracted battle of wills between the conservative critic Henri Fouquier of *Le Figaro* and the progressive critic Henri Bauër of *L’Echo de Paris*, as seen in their columns during the weeks following the première.<sup>49</sup>

Such a radical change in the aesthetic of drama was sure to leave its mark at the première, despite the precautions taken by Jarry in his journal articles. By all accounts, the performance was a tremendous scandal, on the order of Victor Hugo’s *Hernani* in 1830 or – for a more musical comparison – Stravinsky’s *Le Sacre du Printemps* in 1913. Critics struggled with how to present their observations to the public; many simply panned the play outright, as did the magisterial critic Francisque Sarcey, who wrote, “It is a filthy hoax which deserves only the silence of contempt... This is the *limit!*”<sup>50</sup> With all the fuss over the play itself, the music was largely overlooked in the earliest discussions. Few theater critics who wrote about the performances found space to discuss the score. And because the Œuvre’s reputation was not built on music, few music critics reviewed the performance, despite the

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<sup>49</sup> Another aspect of the Ubu mythology is that after the Fouquier-Bauër debates, Fouquier used his influential status to successfully campaign for Bauër’s removal from his post at *L’Echo de Paris*. Robichez demonstrates that Lugué-Poe’s assertions of this story are false, and that Bauër remained on the staff of *L’Echo de Paris* for two years after the “bataille d’*Ubu roi*,” until his pro-Dreyfus views led to a break with the nationalist newspaper. Yet the debates over *Ubu roi* did damage Bauër’s reputation, as seen in ironic comments about Bauër in *La Revue d’art dramatique*, *La Critique*, and *L’Aube* following the dispute. See Robichez, *Le Symbolisme au théâtre*, 381-2.

<sup>50</sup> “C’est une fumisterie ordurière qui ne mérite que le silence du mépris... La mesure est comblé.” Cited and translated in Keith Beaumont, *Alfred Jarry: A Critical and Biographical Study* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1984): 103.

(erroneous) announcements of a forty-piece orchestra for the production. Arthur Symons' review of the production assessed the music as deeply and insightfully as did any, even if in the largely dismissive terms with which he discussed the play:

The author, who has written an essay, 'De l'Inutilité du Théâtre au Théâtre,' has explained that a performance of marionettes can only suitably be accompanied by the marionette music of fairs; and therefore the motions of these puppet-people were accompanied, from time to time, by an orchestra of piano, cymbals, and drums, played behind the scenes, and reproducing the note of just such a band as one might find on the wooden platform outside a canvas booth in a fair.<sup>51</sup>

Those critics who made a more sincere effort to come to terms with the play inevitably turned to its referentiality in order that their readership might comprehend the revolution that had taken place at the première. No critic more ably encapsulated the allusions than prominent playwright and avid Wagnerian Catulle Mendès, who wrote in his review:

Father Ubu exists. Made of Pulcinella and of Polichinelle, of Punch and of Karageux, of Mayeux and of Monsieur Joseph Prud'homme, of Robert Macaire and of French Prime Minister Thiers, of the Catholic Torquemada and the Jew Deutz, of an agent of the French National Police and the anarchist Vaillant, phenomenally smutty parody of Macbeth, of Napoléon and of a pimp become king, he exists from now on, unforgettable.<sup>52</sup>

Mendès's list includes the French, Italian and English slapstick marionette traditions: items on the level of the fairground, Punch-and-Judy-type puppetry. But it also includes literary melodrama and literary marionette traditions. Louis Lemercier de Neuville's character Joseph Prud'homme was one such example. From 1862 to 1891, Lemercier de Neuville produced marionette plays which satirized bourgeois values under the monarchies and empires of nineteenth-century France and were produced at the provocatively titled Théâtre

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<sup>51</sup> Symons, "A Symbolist Farce," in *Studies in Seven Arts*, 372.

<sup>52</sup> "Le Père Ubu existe. Fait de Pulcinella et de Polichinelle, de Punch et de Karageux, de Mayeux et de M. Joseph Prud'homme, de Robert Macaire et de M. Thiers, du catholique Torquemada et du juif Deutz, d'un agent de la Sûreté et de l'anarchiste Vaillant, énorme parodie malpropre de Macbeth, de Napoléon et d'un souteneur devenu roi, il existe désormais, inoubliable." Catulle Mendès, "Premières Représentations," *La Presse*, 11 December 1896, p. 2.

Erotikon.<sup>53</sup> Robert Macaire was a character known to inhabit ribald plots in both literary melodramas and puppet theater. And well-known Symbolist playwrights Maurice Maeterlinck and Maurice Bouchor both wrote a number of intellectual plays to be performed by marionettes. These included Maeterlinck's *Alladine et Palomides, Intérieur, et La Mort de Tintagiles: trois petits drames pour marionnettes* (1894), and Bouchor's *La Tempête* (1888), *Les Oiseaux* (1889), *Noël, ou Le mystère de la nativité* (1890), *La Légende de Sainte Cécile* (1892), *Le Songe de Kheyam* (1892), *La dévotion à Saint André* (1892), (*La Miracle de Saint Georges* (1896), and *Les Mystères d'Eleusis* (1896). From the above we see that the puppetry influences on *Ubu roi* ranged from a popular, fairground style to an avant-garde, literary mode.

Marionette theater, however, was not the only source of Ubu's referentiality; the sixth scene of Act IV, featuring Father and Mother Ubu stuck in a cave with a bear, draws upon a similar scene in Molière's play *La Princesse d'Elide*. The image of a power-hungry noble usurping his king's throne, only to lose it again, is clearly heavily indebted to *Macbeth*. And Roger Shattuck has convincingly shown that the plot of *Ubu roi*, including its setting in Poland, the names of certain characters, and the political intrigues involving the throne are all very close to the libretto of Emmanuel Chabrier's opéra-comique *Le Roi malgré lui*, which premiered in Paris in 1887—only a year before the first schoolboy performances of *Ubu roi*.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> See Paul-Louis Mignon, *J'aime les Marionnettes* (Paris: Editions Denoël, s.d.): 121. Lemerrier de Neuville borrowed the Prud'homme character into his marionette plays from the live-actor dramas of his colleague Henri Monnier. See "PRUDHOMME (Monsieur)," in *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*, ed. Pierre Larousse, vol. 13 (Paris: Administration du Grand dictionnaire universel, 1875): 340-1.

<sup>54</sup> Roger Shattuck, *The Banquet Years* (New York: Vintage Books, 1968): 208.

Perhaps the last major context to which *Ubu* refers is the Wagnerism which had saturated *fin de siècle* France, which once again seems to owe its origins to the era of the schoolboy farce. Wagner's *Lohengrin* had enjoyed a brief production run in 1888 which was curtailed by anti-Wagner factions, much as *Tannhäuser* had been in 1861. Jarry's interaction with Wagnerism is seen through his fervent desire to integrate the arts through drama, while yet stamping each aspect of the production with his radical ideas of how that medium might communicate his artistic vision. The production of *Ubu* featured a host of famous visual artists, known collectively as the Nabis, who worked on the unorthodox stage design. Jarry's aesthetic called for special attention to the gestures of the actors, to make them appear more like clumsy marionettes. And Jarry had called upon Claude Terrasse to provide a musical score for his creation, which was rather substantial in length, even if mostly comprised of short snippets. Jarry's synthetic vision for the visual art, gesture, narrative, and music represented his own peculiar approach to *Gesamtkunstwerk* within his radical aesthetic.

The 1897 edition of the play, published by the Éditions de Mercure de France, entailed a lithograph facsimile of Jarry's manuscript. Limited to 300 copies, it contained the text of the play with fanciful illustrations by Jarry, as well as Terrasse's complete score arranged for solo piano in his own hand.<sup>55</sup> On page ten, Jarry dedicated the play to the writer Marcel Schwob, and Terrasse dedicated the score to the theater critic Henry Bauër. These two figures had used their influence to support Jarry's creation: in 1893, Schwob had helped place some of Jarry's excerpts about Père Ubu in the pages of *L'Echo de Paris littéraire et illustré*, which he co-edited with Catulle Mendès. Bauër had provided some of the most positive reviews of the published text of the play in mid-1896.

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<sup>55</sup> No indications are given in this edition for the percussion parts which were described in accounts of the première.

## Terrasse's Score

Even a cursory look at this score dedicated to Bauër suggests a host of points for interpretation. First, the composition of the intended orchestra is given on page 12 of the play, immediately following the dedications (see Figure 4.2). In agreement with the program distributed at the première, the instrumentation has “so many brass instruments that it must be classified as a fanfare, in fact exactly what the Germans would call a ‘military band’” ([Après qu’a préludé une musique de] trop de cuivres pour être moins qu’une fanfare, et qui est exactement ce que les Allemands appellent une “bande militaire...”) <sup>56</sup> Yet most of the designated instruments are not modern ones. Jacques Carelman has shown how nineteen of the twenty-three specified instruments appear in a table of medieval and renaissance instruments in Henri Lavoix’s *Histoire de la musique* of 1884. <sup>57</sup> Of the remaining four, it is the *grande flûte* likely meant a soprano flute to the exclusion of the piccolo, as this was a common indication in French scores at the time. The other three are more fanciful. Although the *oliphans* was a form of hunting horn made from an elephant’s trunk, by describing it as green Jarry invokes a thinly veiled phallic reference (compare Père Ubu’s frequent euphemism “de par ma chandelle verte” (by my green candle); green was known to the symbolism of the era as a color of renewal and regeneration in nature, and by extension, indicated human sexuality as well). The *grand basson* (large bassoon) and *triple basson* (triple bassoon) invoke a tendency towards the musically grandiose reminiscent of both Wagner and Berlioz.

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<sup>56</sup> “Programme d’Ubu roi,” *Alfred Jarry: Ubu*, 336, trans. Watson Taylor, *Selected Works of Alfred Jarry*, 79.

<sup>57</sup> Jacques Carelman, “L’orchestre d’Ubu roi,” in *Europe: Revue Littéraire Mensuelle* 623-624 (1981): 160-171, citing Henri Lavoix, *Histoire de la musique* (Paris: A. Quantin, 1884): 139. The instruments listed in Ubu roi are drawn from the wind (including brass) and percussion families.

Figure 4.2: The composition of the orchestra for *Ubu roi* and the list of motives (drawn from pages 12-13 of the 1897 edition, score images taken from the collection of the Beinecke Library of Yale University)

The image shows two pages from a musical score. The left page (page 12) is titled "Composition de l'Orchestre" and lists various instruments. The right page (page 13) is titled "Thèmes" and shows five musical staves with handwritten notes and clefs, labeled "Tere UBU", "Mere UBU", "Ialotius", "Pande Kencelas", and "Ours".

Composition de l'Orchestre –  
Hautbois, Chalumeaux, Cervelas,  
Grande Basse.  
Flageolets, Flutes traversières [sic], G[ran]de Flûte,  
Petit Basson, Grand Basson, Triple Basson,  
Petits cornets noirs, Cornets blancs aigus,  
Cors, Sacquebutes, Trombones, Oliphans verts,  
Galoubets, Cornemuses, Bombardes,  
Timbales, Tambour, Grosse-Caisse,  
Grandes Orgues

(underlined instruments appear in Henri-Marie-François Lavoix fils, *Histoire de la Musique* (Paris: A. Quantin, 1884): 139)



Thèmes (Motives): Père Ubu (Father Ubu), Mère Ubu (Mother Ubu), Palotins (Ubu's henchmen), Famille Wenceslas (Wenceslas Family), Armée Polonais (Polish Army), Ours (Bear)

Several interpretations of this unusual list suggest themselves. The large numbers of medieval and renaissance instruments connect this list with the cryptic and humorous inscription on the dedication page: “Thereatte Lord Ubu shooke his peare-head, whence he is by the Englysshe yclept Shakespeare, and you have from him under thatte name many goodlie tragedies in his own hande” (Adonc le Père Ubu hoscha la poire, dont fut depuis nommé par les Anglois Shakespeare, et avez de lui sous ce nom maintes belles tragœdies par escript).<sup>58</sup> This reference to Shakespeare—a favorite author of the French stage since the beginning of the nineteenth century—confirms the referentiality of the text to *Macbeth*, and points to a satirical element in the writing of *Ubu*. The list of ancient instruments also serves as a nod to the burgeoning interest in performance practice in Paris during this time. But the emphasis on the louder instruments also alludes to bombastic music, and in light of the reference to German instrumentation (in fact exactly what the Germans would call a “military band”), we might assume that the bombast indicates Wagner more specifically.<sup>59</sup> The page facing the instrumentation confirms this, as it presents a list of *thèmes* which are labeled in the manner of Wagnerian leitmotifs: Père Ubu, Mère Ubu, Palotins, Famille Wenceslas, Armée Polonais, Ours (Father Ubu, Mother Ubu, Ubu's henchmen, Wenceslas Family, Polish Army, Bear; see Figure 4.2). The motives have a rather simple, tuneful nature,

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<sup>58</sup> Jarry, *Ubu roi* (1897), 11, translated by Cyril Connolly and Simon Watson Taylor in *Alfred Jarry: The Ubu Plays*, ed. Simon Watson Taylor (London: Methuen & Co., 1968): 19.

<sup>59</sup> For art historian Matthias Waschek, the staging of *Ubu roi* was an ironic commentary on Wagnerian production values. See “Zum Wagnérisme in den bildenden Künsten,” in *Von Wagner zum Wagnérisme: Musik, Literatur, Kunst, Politik*, ed. Annegret Fauser and Manuela Schwartz (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 1999): 535-546.

aside from Père Ubu's which employs a leap of a minor ninth, and the Ours motive, which is the only motive to employ chromatic tones (the flatted sixth and raised fourth scale degrees).

While the score does utilize these motives, it does not rely on them overmuch, nor does the texture of the scoring resemble anything like that of Wagner or his French adherents. Instead, the musical texture is far closer to operetta than to *grand opéra* or to music drama, most frequently utilizing a simple melody-accompaniment texture. Similarly, the key signatures employed are rather simple, ranging from four flats to an occasional five sharps, while more frequently employing two or fewer accidentals in the key signatures. The chromaticism which the score employs is most often of the passing tone variety, though the frequency and variety of chromatic usage increases as the score continues. Where modulations do occur they are often of a sectional nature rather than meticulously prepared. Among the more common goals of the chromatic modulations is the flatted submediant, rather old-fashioned by 1896. And most significant among its non-Wagnerian characteristics was the lack of any vocal music in this edition.<sup>60</sup> Instead, the score called for a mixture of overtures, entr'actes and musical melodrama, much as Bizet's *L'Arlésienne* and Massenet's *Les Érinnyes* had done before. Unlike those scores, however, the interaction of music and speech in *Ubu roi* was far more subtle and flexible, as the instrumental interludes and the melodrama were much more frequent and of a wider range of durations. Terrasse's music was thus more deeply integrated into the presentation of the drama than the music in these earlier works which had created the precedent for the incidental form of the *drame lyrique* in France.

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<sup>60</sup> Two songs were published in 1898 after the play was revived briefly at the Théâtre des Pantins, a makeshift marionette theater located in Claude Terrasse's garden courtyard: a new version of "La chanson de décervelage" ("The debraining song") and "La chanson des Palotins" ("The Palotins' song"), both composed by Terrasse. In addition, a four-hand piano version of the Overture was published, and the three pieces were part of a series of nine excerpts titled *Le Répertoire des Pantins* (Paris: Éditions du Mercure de France, 1898).

If the cursory look at the score suggests Elizabethan drama, historically-informed performance practice, Wagnerism, operetta and French incidental music, the closer examination multiplies the list many times over. In addition to the clear Wagnerian references, a number of less well-known musical references can be teased out of the fabric of Terrasse's score. On the one hand, we find many parallels with other incidental scores of the avant-garde; on the other, there are parallels with less elevated genres such as melodramas and fairground music.

Comparisons between the score for *Ubu roi* and contemporary incidental music show that although there are points of connection, Terrasse's work was original in many respects. Of all the incidental scores produced during this era in France, it is fitting that the most direct comparisons can be made between the music for *Ubu roi* and the music for Symbolist marionette dramas. At least five such works were given at the Théâtre d'Application between 1891 and 1896, with music by Georges Fragerolle, Francis Thomé, and Alfred Bruneau. Similarly, the Petit Théâtre des Marionnettes (at the Galerie Vivienne) produced eight plays with incidental scores between 1888 and 1894, seven of which were for plays by Maurice Bouchor, featuring music composed by Ernest Chausson and Paul Vidal. In common with Terrasse's music for *Ubu roi*, these scores for marionette plays featured frequent use of musical melodrama and a greater number of movements than did the more well-known incidental scores such as *L'Arlésienne* or *Les Érinnyes*. Yet although Terrasse's music is closer to that of the marionette plays than to any other incidental music of this period, significant differences remain. Thomé's scores for *L'Enfant Jésus* (1891) and *Le Château de Kœnigsburg* (1896) often utilized song to a degree which blurred the lines between *opéra-comique* and spoken drama. The scores by Vidal and Chausson, on the other hand, were more

clearly incidental music but differed from *Ubu roi* in that they were often comprised of fifteen to twenty movements which were each longer than those for *Ubu roi*, and usually incorporated choruses and vocal soloists.<sup>61</sup>

A second source of intertextual reference for the music of *Ubu roi* lies in the musical world of the popular theater which had inspired Jarry. Its influence is more striking than that of the contemporary incidental works on *Ubu roi*. Indeed, after attending the première of *Ubu roi*, Symons described the score (rather pejoratively) as “fairground music befitting a puppet play.”<sup>62</sup> While thorough descriptions of French nineteenth-century fairground music seem nonexistent, its repertoire was typically drawn from popular compositions and performed on mechanical instruments such as the barrel organ, much like the music heard on carousel rides. Similar music still accompanies the puppet shows in the public gardens in Paris today.<sup>63</sup>

A score which illustrates a third point of reference is the anonymous score for the popular melodrama *Robert Macaire*, for which parts have been preserved at the Département de la Musique of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.<sup>64</sup> As Catulle Mendès noted in his

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<sup>61</sup> Chausson’s scores included *La Tempête*, *Les Oiseaux*, and *La Légende de Sainte Cécile*; Vidal wrote music for *Noël, ou Le Mystère de la nativité*, *L’Amour dans les enfers*, *Le Songe de Kheyam*, *La Dévotion à Saint André*, and *Les Mystères d’Eleusis*. All these plays were written or translated by Maurice Bouchor, except *L’Amour dans les enfers* which was written by Amédée Pigeon.

<sup>62</sup> See Keith Beaumont, *Alfred Jarry: A Critical and Biographical Study* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1984): 98, citing in turn Symons, “A Symbolist Farce,” in *Studies in Seven Arts* (London: A. Constable and Co., Ltd., 1906): 373.

<sup>63</sup> For more on such garden theaters, see Gérard Boilot, *Les Marionnettes des Jardins à Paris (1818 — 1956)* (Paris: Association nationale des Amis de la Marionnette, 1997).

<sup>64</sup> Call number Mat TH (343). This work is catalogued in Pauline Girard, *Musiques de scène des théâtres parisiens conservées à la Bibliothèque-Musée de l’Opéra: 1778 — 1878: Inventaire* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1993): 144-5: “*Robert Macaire*, Mélodrame en 4 actes. Livret d’Amand Lacoste, Benjamin Antier, Frédéric Lemaître, Maurice Alhoy & A.-J. Overnay. Première représentation, Paris, Folies Dramatiques, 14 juin 1834; reprise Porte-Saint-Martin, 5 septembre 1835 & 23 — 24 mars 1848. MS Livret AN F18 963. Ms. Parties. 1834 — 1848. Mat. TH (343).” While formerly held at the Bibliothèque de l’Opéra, the works

critique of *Ubu roi*, the melodrama *Robert Macaire* (1834 –1835 – 1848) was among the most clear literary precedents for *Ubu*. This relation by precedent holds true not only for the plots but also for the music of these plays, as the two scores bear some striking outward resemblances. Both scores are written for 5-act plays incorporating slapstick comedy and social satire.<sup>65</sup> Both scores utilize sectional overtures; that of *Robert Macaire* reaches 310 measures in length, while *Ubu roi* tops out at 176 measures. Both are comprised of numerous short movements during the drama; *Robert Macaire* possesses 64 movements besides its overture, while *Ubu roi* contains 76. In each score, these range from 2 or 3 measures up to fifty-eight measures, though most are under twenty measures. Repeat signs occur with some frequency, providing the conductor with a flexibility of movement length to suit the dramatic needs. And just as with *Ubu roi*, the musical materials of *Robert Macaire* are of a simplistic nature: the surviving orchestral parts show a simple melody-accompaniment texture as the rule, with basic partwriting that did not require virtuosi, and simple key signatures from three sharps to four flats. Cues from the spoken text are sprinkled throughout the parts, indicating where tremolo passages should begin to underline dialogue in the simplest form of musical melodrama. Similarly, many of the shorter musical snippets in *Ubu roi* are carefully positioned within the spoken text and labeled to indicate their role as atmospheric sonority. While it is unlikely that Terrasse knew this particular score for *Robert Macaire* – which was written in 1834 and revived in 1835 and 1848, nearly fifty years before *Ubu roi* – it stands nevertheless as an exemplar of musical accompaniment to a *boulevard* melodrama which was among the most famous in nineteenth-century France, and the most relevant to *Ubu roi*.

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catalogued by Girard have moved to the Département de la Musique, while the catalogue is currently found only at the Opéra.

<sup>65</sup> *Robert Macaire* is in four acts with a prologue, while *Ubu roi* is in five acts.

Consequently, it is representative of the popular musico-dramatic influences which Terrasse would have known.

The overture for Terrasse's score utilizes the sectional formula so popular in operettas, with many of the sections drawn directly or thematically from music which is presented later as entr'actes, pantomime or melodrama in the body of the work, much as operetta overtures introduce sections from entr'actes and arias to the audience.

Table 4.1: Outline of the Overture of *Ubu roi*

Measures	Key, time signatures	Tempo, other markings	Leitmotifs present; Major recurrences
1-24	CM, $\frac{6}{8}$	Gaiement, <i>ff</i>	m. 9-24, Famille Venceslas (in augmentation)
25-66	Cm, $\frac{2}{4}$	<i>mf</i>	-None- (this section used as Postlude to Act II)
67-78	Cm, Common time	<i>f</i>	m. 67-73, Père Ubu m. 73-78, Mère Ubu
79-117	B-flat, $\frac{2}{4}$	<i>ff</i>	m. 79-110, Armée polonaise (excerpts of this section used as Postlude to Act V)
118-120	B-flat, Common time	Modéré	m. 118-120, Père Ubu
121-175	CM, $\frac{2}{4}$	<i>ff</i>	m. 125-152, Palotins (excerpts of this section used as Postlude to Act I)

Generally tuneful and harmonically uncomplicated, this overture encapsulates the light, comic touch and tuneful clarity of Offenbach's style remarkably well.

Yet Terrasse's encapsulation of Offenbach's style at the start of the score does not prevent him from exploring more complicated styles as the score unfolds. To be sure, his use of leitmotifs is shorter-breathed than a truly Wagnerian usage. But he does manage to utilize the motives in augmentation, diminution, complex rhythmic alterations, transformational processes, and in combinations which are consistently fresh and artful. In the spirit of

eclectism, these usages of the motives are most often presented with a clarity and tunefulness which was a hallmark of the most self-conscious French styles of the era.

An example of a combination of two motives which incorporates a transformation of a motive is found in the postlude to Act I, scene ii (see Figure 4.3 below). Beginning with a four-measure accompaniment “vamp” at measures five and six, the excerpt uses the Père Ubu motive in a fashion clear to any listener, and which is even readily apparent to the eye in the score. The second motive remains latent until the last three measures, where the accompanimental pattern is altered slightly to reveal its basis in the motive for Mère Ubu, incorporating a reference to the only other character present in the scene.

Figure 4.3: The Postlude to Act I, scene ii of *Ubu roi*



A similar instance of a subtle compositional transformation of a theme occurs in Act I, scene iii, when Ubu poisons the nobles from the court of King Venceslas (see Figure 4.4 below). After a series of falling ninths, the pantomimic music which accompanies their death begins rather like a Bach invention. What started as a two-part imitation in the right-hand part is transformed in the last two systems of the score to sonically resemble the *Dies Irae* theme so frequently used to signify death in dramatic and programmatic music.

Figure 4.4: Music from Act I, scene iii of *Ubu roi*





An example of a more complicated setting of a leitmotif can be found in the end of the same scene, where a truncated E major form of Mère Ubu's theme is shrewdly set in an inner voice within the context of B-flat major, between a chromatic run and a scalar bass pattern (see Figure 4.5).

Figure 4.5: Music from the Conclusion of Act I, scene iii of *Ubu roi*



And a passage found in Act V, scene iv (the final scene of the drama) employs more Wagnerian harmony in the service of mimesis, to represent the blowing of a strong wind for sailing. There, a chromatic run in the upper voice is harmonized by a progression which might best be labeled as a Neapolitan –  $vii^{\circ}/V$  –  $vii^{\circ 7}$  in D minor (see Fig. 4.6).

Figure 4.6: Music from Act V, scene iv of *Ubu roi*



Again, although the harmony and the mimetic nature of this passage would be at home in a Wagner opera, the texture remains one of a melody-accompaniment rather than the polyphony associated with Wagner. The harmonic ambiguity of this passage lies in stark contrast to the harmonic simplicity of the Overture, even if the textures of the two are similar.

Examinations of passages such as these four help indicate the wideranging referentiality of Terrasse's score, which he employed in parallel to the referentiality of Jarry's unusual play. In such a way, the musical score which Claude Terrasse provided for *Ubu roi* showed a striking degree of insight into Jarry's vision, especially given that the composer was twenty years old and had never composed for the stage before. For those who might expect the score for *Ubu roi* to match the strident avant-garde nature of the text, the music can seem rather off-putting in its surface simplicity and in its lack of outwardly avant-garde moments. According to this view, Terrasse's setting fundamentally lacks avant-garde touches which might have included modality, exotic or synthetic scales, far-flung modulations, invented forms, references to musical antiquity or the use of golden-section formal proportions, in order to match the avant-garde nature of the drama. Its texture is almost exclusively melody-accompaniment, and it would seem very much at home in the world of operetta, to which Terrasse would later turn with a success not seen since Offenbach himself. But through this simplicity, Terrasse achieved a sort of studied naïveté in the musical soundscape very like that which Lugné-Poe saw in the play itself.

Yet that naïveté can seem rather disorienting when viewing productions of the play which use Terrasse's score. Terrasse biographer Philippe Cathé has also noted the lack of pretense on the part of Terrasse's score. In his opinion, the unusual simplicity creates a sort of proto-minimalism, which he has labeled "musical aphorism."<sup>66</sup> I would argue that Terrasse was capable of providing avant-garde touches to his score; in an incidental score for the play *Les Silènes* composed some 18 months later, he utilized whole-tone scales and palindromic motives in a fashion quite similar to the techniques of Debussy and Satie. I believe that

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<sup>66</sup> Philippe Cathé, "De l'aphorisme musical: Claude Terrasse & la partition des « Silènes »,” *Carnets trimestriels du Collège de Pataphysique* 6 (15 December 2001): 84-9.

Terrasse's compositional choices were not limited by any provincial lack of exposure to the avant-garde world, but were deliberately made to emphasize the musical influences of the popular theater which had inspired Jarry.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of Terrasse's contribution to French incidental music lies in its situation with respect to the avant-garde. Although lacking in the typical musical means used by Terrasse's avant-garde contemporaries, his music parallels the avant-garde nature of the play as closely as did any incidental music of the era. In combining the influences of Wagnerian chromaticism and leitmotifs and Offenbach's operetta scores with musical references that reflect the eclecticism of the play which it sets, Terrasse's score is intellectually, if not musically, avant-garde. Perhaps most significantly, Terrasse's use of elements drawn from popular music in an avant-garde milieu prefigures Satie's incorporations of popular music in such works as *Trois morceaux en forme de poire* (1903), *Sports et divertissements* (composed 1914, published 1923), and *Parade* (1917). Satie's mixtures of elements of popular and art music within a single work has been widely described as innovative and ground-breaking. Seen in light of Terrasse's score, however, Satie's achievements would appear to be less original than we have previously assumed.

Through passing resemblances to several genres and styles, Terrasse's score remains fundamentally a composite work, reflecting and responding to the referentiality of the play. While the play and the score have occasionally been viewed at odds with one another, instead Terrasse's score likely provides an "authorized" interpretation of the play, especially given evidence of his close working relationship with Jarry in later collaborations. In this light, Terrasse supplied clues to the audience which might provide context in which they could form interpretations of this unusual work. This was especially useful in light of the polysemy

of signifiers in the text of the play. Terrasse's provision of one interpretation of the text via music would suggest a range of interpretations as a point of departure for others to decipher the wideranging signifiers of the play's text and theatrical language. This role of the incidental score is exceptional among the works examined in this study; neither Bizet's music for *L'Arlésienne*, nor Massenet's for *Les Érinnyes* nor Debussy's for *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien* require such a function of their respective scores. Massenet's music particularly avoids the aesthetic values of its text, eschewing depictions of the violence and of the ancient era in favor of a beautiful setting which utilizes melodrama to simulate Greek musico-dramatic practices (according to French notions of ancient drama and music which were current in 1873). On the other hand, Debussy's music mixes musical signifiers of medievalism and Roman antiquity within his idiosyncratic musical language, to a curious effect which keeps with the text of its play. In *Ubu roi* the music made the graphic obscenity of the play palatable, much as Massenet's music had done for the violence of *Les Érinnyes*, yet it does so not by avoiding the aesthetic of the play but by interpreting this aesthetic to its audience. By proposing one interpretation of the play it sets to music, Terrasse's score for *Ubu roi* shows that incidental music can be invaluable to couching the reception of plays whose aesthetic values are foreign to their audiences.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### “QUITE FAR FROM THAT STATE OF GRACE:” DEBUSSY’S *LE MARTYRE DE SAINT SÉBASTIEN* AS INCIDENTAL MUSIC

Claude Debussy’s score for Gabriele d’Annunzio’s play *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien* has often received the harshest criticism made of any of the composer’s works. It was controversial even at its first performance on 22 May 1911 at the Théâtre du Châtelet in Paris, and it has remained so ever since. Neither François Lesure nor Robert Orledge could make much sense of it, and press releases associated with the 1988 revival at the Paris Opéra called it “an unclassifiable work, not belonging to opera nor ballet” and belonging “to an unclassifiable genre: simultaneously mimodrama, ballet, oratorio.”<sup>1</sup> Ivanka Stoianova even went so far as to claim that D’Annunzio and Debussy “founded a genre: a genre too new for their contemporaries that only some informed individuals came to appreciate it.”<sup>2</sup>

We shall see that this apparent confusion of genres is not so much the work’s as ours, but as a result, we have failed to allow *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien* to speak for itself. One symptom of this problematic reception is the range of works with which *Le Martyre* is

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<sup>1</sup> “...une oeuvre inclassable, ne relevant ni de l’opéra, ni du ballet... à un genre inclassable: à la fois mimodrame, ballet, oratorio...” It should be noted that the 1988 production represented noted avant-garde American director Bob Wilson’s debut as a choreographer. The press releases are dated 29 and 31 January and are found in the *Dossier de l’œuvre* at the Bibliothèque de l’Opéra de Paris. While Orledge acknowledges the incidental nature of the score, he calls the work a “curious hybrid” (230). Lesure’s comments will be examined at more length below. See François Lesure, “1911: Saint Sébastien,” in *Claude Debussy: Biographie Critique* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1994): 335-346; and Robert Orledge, “*Le martyre de Saint Sébastien*: 1911,” in *Debussy and the Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982): 217-236.

<sup>2</sup> “[Car l’effort de ces deux grands hommes du XXe siècle] fondait en réalité un genre: un genre trop nouveau pour ses contemporains que seuls quelques avertis arrivaient à apprécier.” Ivanka Stoianova, “Saint-Sébastien mythe et martyr,” in *Silences* 4 (1987): 131.

usually compared. The list is short – only two works – and they are both operas. The first is Debussy’s own *Pelléas et Mélisande*, his only other completed work for the lyric stage; the second is Wagner’s *Parsifal*. Few works are likely to stand up to such comparisons; the additional problem for *Le Martyre* is that it was never an opera in the first place. My main argument is that by re-examining the initial reception of the work and by revising our generic understanding of *Le Martyre*, we can better appreciate Debussy’s achievement in this, perhaps his most misunderstood score.

As a staged work, *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien* has a rather spotty history, plagued from the start by both external and internal problems. Indeed, in the weeks before the work was premiered, the Archbishop of Paris threatened to excommunicate any of the faithful who attended its performances on the grounds that the yet unpublished work “stages and disfigures the history of one of our most glorious martyrs, in the most disrespectful manner.”<sup>3</sup> Shortly thereafter, the French Minister of War was killed in a freak airplane accident, and as a result, a national day of mourning was declared for the date of the gala dress rehearsal of *Le Martyre*. Despite the telegrams and messages sent all over Paris to notify ticketholders of the cancellation, an angry crowd eventually forced their way into the dress rehearsal and joined the press in the audience, after arguing vehemently with the theater staff.

The difficulties surrounding *Le Martyre* did not end here. The most problematic aspect of the work was its massive text, whose 3,995 verses made it extend to four and a half hours in performance. To be sure, a significant number of critics did praise Italian poet Gabriele d’Annunzio’s uniquely synoptic approach to the French language. In particular,

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<sup>3</sup> “... mettre en scène et défigurer, dans les conditions les plus inconvenantes, l’histoire de l’un de nos plus glorieux martyrs.” The Archbishop sent an open letter, dated 16 May 1911, to the press to announce the boycott. It can be found at the end of René Bizet’s article “M. Claude Debussy et la Musique sacrée,” in *Comœdia*, 18 May 1911, p. 3.

Léon Blum noted the manner in which the work mixed vocabulary and images from various periods of the French language.<sup>4</sup> Yet many critics complained that the text spent too much time creating local color and thus lacked momentum. It would seem that even those responsible for the work agreed with these criticisms, as it is reported that the second act was significantly reduced after the May 22 open dress rehearsal.

Even as dependable a commentator as François Lesure has described the contemporary press criticism of *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien* as “helpless before such an untraditional type of spectacle: oratorio, mimodrama, ballet?”<sup>5</sup> He cites Emile Vuillermoz’ 1911 review in support: “A strange work, in an unknown style, not fitting into any category.”<sup>6</sup> Yet when one examines Vuillermoz’ comment in a larger context of critics than the eight which Lesure cites, it becomes clear that Vuillermoz was in the minority in his assessment of the work as unclassifiable. Debussy himself had prepared the reception of his score by describing the “incidental music” (musique de scène) he was writing in his often-cited interview about *Le Martyre* with René Bizet, published 18 May 1911.<sup>7</sup> Even more pointedly, Pierre Lalo opened his review of the music with the header “*Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien*, incidental music written by Claude Debussy for the drama by Gabriele

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<sup>4</sup> See Blum, “Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien,” *Comœdia*, 23 May 1911, p. 1-2.

<sup>5</sup> “La critique fut assez désemparée devant un type de spectacle si peu traditionnel: oratorio, mimodrame, ballet?” Lesure, *Claude Debussy*, 341.

<sup>6</sup> “Œuvre étrange, d’un style inconnu, ne rentrant dans aucune catégorie.” Lesure, *Claude Debussy*, 341, citing Vuillermoz; found in “Le Mois: Concerts, Nouvelles, Variétés,” *S.I.M. La Revue musicale* (June 1911): 69-70.

<sup>7</sup> “... I’ve put to work all my theories – if one may call them that – on incidental music, which must be something other than the vague buzzing which too often accompanies verse and prose; which must become one, intimately, with the text.” (... j’ai mis à exécution mes théories – si je puis dire – sur la musique de scène, qui doit être autre chose que le vague bourdonnement qui accompagne trop généralement les vers ou la prose, qui doit faire corps, étroitement, avec le texte.) René Bizet, “M. Claude Debussy et la musique sacrée,” *Comœdia*, 18 May 1911, p. 3.



d'Annunzio.”<sup>8</sup> Not content to let the header speak for itself, he uses the term “incidental music” four more times in the review, rather than the genre-neutral “score” which some reviewers used. Similarly, after he panned the text of the play, Henri Ghéon wrote in *La Nouvelle revue française*:

“I have said nothing of the spectacle; it may have saved the play: the incidental music of Debussy supported it with truly Christian harmonies which show a remarkable widening of his manner; the splendid decors of Bakst had dignity and the principal performer herself mimed nobly, without affectation, the impossible role of the saint.”<sup>9</sup>

Indeed, of the 30 reviewers of *Le Martyre* I have studied, 24 examined Debussy’s score as incidental music without questioning its genre. Thus, in 1911 few critics were confused as to the genre of the work, and especially the nature of the music.<sup>10</sup> Perhaps the critics’ facility with the genre of incidental was to be expected, as incidental music in France was a far more flexible and widespread genre than opera. During the period 1864 to 1914, some 550 incidental works were premiered, compared to some 150 operas during the same 50-year span.

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<sup>8</sup> “*Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien*, musique de scène écrite par M. Claude Debussy pour le drame de M. Gabriele d’Annunzio.” Pierre Lalo, “Feuilleton du *Temps* du 30 mai 1911: La Musique,” *Le Temps*, 30 May 1911, p. 3

<sup>9</sup> “Je n’ai rien dit du spectacle; il pouvait sauver la pièce: la musique de scène de M. Debussy la soutenait d’harmonies vraiment chrétiennes et qui marquent dans sa manière un remarquable élargissement; les décors splendides de M. Bakst avaient de la dignité et la principale interprète elle-même, mima noblement, sans afféterie, le rôle impossible du Saint.” Henri Ghéon, “M. d’Annunzio et l’Art,” *La Nouvelle revue française* (1 June 1911): 5-16. The phrase “truly Christian harmonies” seems a calculated plea for Catholics to accept this work (against the Archbishop’s censure). To the extent that it does refer to anything in the score, it would most likely allude to the imitation of Palestrinian counterpoint in the choral parts, especially in the fifth *Mansion*.

<sup>10</sup> As to Vuillermoz’s breathless confusion about the genre of the work, I would argue that he was so star-struck with Debussy and his music that he sought – whether consciously or unconsciously – to mythologize the score from the start. It would seem that his intimate knowledge of the work – with Chadeigne, he had served as an assistant to choirmaster Inghelbrecht for the 1911 première of *Le Martyre* – led him to see the score from the perspective of the trees rather than the forest. In any event, the genre of the work would seem much more confusing to one whose vantage point was onstage while leading a portion of the 350 choristers and extras, than to an audience member who might form a more comprehensive view of the work. Vuillermoz’s confusion is all the more excusable as he had to wander about the stage, singing cues to keep the choristers on their parts, for Bakst had redistributed the choristers and extras on the stage to balance out the colors of the costumes, at the expense of the musical cohesion!

Confusion about the genre of Debussy's music crept in later, as the various bastardized forms of *Le Martyre* saw the light of day. The first revision led to the 1912 concert suite of the work, containing orchestral excerpts from the first, third and fourth *mansions* (as the acts of the play were called).<sup>11</sup> (See Table 5.1 for a summary of the major revisions which the score for *Le Martyre* underwent.) The same year also saw Inghelbrecht conduct a concert version of the work, with nine soloists, 250 choristers and orchestral players, and all five

Table 5.1: Selected Revisions of the Score for *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien*

Concert Version, Concerts de la Société Musicale Indépendante, Paris, 1912
Oratorio Version, Concerts Padeloup / André Caplet, Paris, 11/12 May 1922
Oratorio Version, Concerts Padeloup / D.E. Inghelbrecht, Paris, 1 November 1928 (performed frequently through 1933, then taken up by the Orchestre National under Inghelbrecht)
Oratorio Version, Concerts du Conservatoire / Roland Manuel, Paris, June 1941
Abridged (2-hour) "Integral" Version created by Véra Korène & Victor de Sabata, conducted by André Cluytens, Théâtre Antique de Fourvière, July 1952
Mimodrame Version (performed by mute dancers with excerpts of the dialogue prerecorded & amplified, excepting the spoken roles retained by <i>le Saint</i> and <i>l'Empereur</i> ; adapted by Hubert Devillez), Opéra de Paris cond. by Louis Fourestier, 8 February 1957
Ballet version without spoken text created by André Souris, Brussels, 1964 (cited in Edmond Lockspeiser, <i>Claude Debussy: His Life and Mind</i> , vol. 2 (London: Cassell, 1965): 165 n1.)
Ballet Version (adapted by Bob Wilson), Opéra de Paris, 25 March 1988

<sup>11</sup> Movements one and two of the suite are based on music from the first *Mansion*; movements three and four are based on music from *Mansions* three and four, The fifth *Mansion*, with its choral accompaniment to the apotheosis of the saint, would transfer poorly to the instrumental medium.

*mansions* of the play. Notably absent from this version were all the spoken roles, suggesting that this version amounted to a straight performance of the score without any spoken dialogue.<sup>12</sup> It would seem that the confusion over the genre was already well-established by the time of *Le Martyre*'s 1922 première on the Paris Opéra stage, where generic expectations associated with that institution combined with the recent adulterated presentations of the score to spark interrogation of the work's classification.

Having established that the majority of critics in 1911 understood *Le Martyre* as a play with incidental music, I would like to turn now to comparable *fin de siècle* works, in order to better contextualize Debussy's often maligned score and to demonstrate its strong resemblances to incidental music of its day. Perhaps the most obvious and relevant works to compare with *Le Martyre* are those which also drew their plots and themes from Christian history and legend. Sacred subjects were not unusual on the French stage of the *fin de siècle*, even if Debussy was not so well known for promulgating such themes. Representations of the lives of saints in particular had enjoyed a revival in French theater since the 1880's, with settings both in medieval Europe and in Roman antiquity. Some of the more well-known of these include Louis Gallet's fourth-century saint Thaïs in Jules Massenet's eponymous opera (based on Anatole France's novel), and the roles of Théodora and Gismonda played by Sarah Bernhardt. The list of plays with proto-Christian themes and incorporating incidental music includes at least five works.<sup>13</sup> These include Alexandre Dumas' *Caligula* with music by

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<sup>12</sup> For this version, the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris allowed the faithful Catholics to attend; it would seem that the elimination of the disrobed actress playing Sébastien removed the suggestion of decadence from the work. See André de Fouquières, "Une Véritable « Première » musicale," c. 15 June 1912, in BnF-ASP Re 5264.

<sup>13</sup> For our purposes I have excluded those scores for plays with medieval Byzantine settings, including Massenet's score for Sardou's *Théodora* and Archainbaud's score for Sardou's *Gismonda*. These employ a different set of musical signifiers, including an instrumentation comprised exclusively of chorus and organ. In light of Massenet's significant use of organ and chorus in the Byzantine-themed *Esclarmonde* (1889), it would

Fauré, Maurice Bouchor’s *Noël, ou le mystère de la nativité* with music by Vidal, Bouchor’s *La Légende de Sainte Cécile* with music by Chausson, Emile Moreau’s *Quo vadis?* with music by Thomé, and Anatole France’s *Les Noces corinthiennes* with music by Thomé. All of these, except for *Noël, ou le mystère de la nativité*, narrate the lives of saints and members of the early Christian church in the context of the Roman empire, much like *Le Martyre*. In

Table 5.2: Incidental Scores for Plays with Proto-Christian Subjects

Gabriel Fauré, <i>Caligula</i> (incidental music, drama in 5 acts and a prologue in verse by Alexandre Dumas père, Paris Théâtre de l’Odéon, 8 November 1888)		
Setting: Rome, 41 AD. Proto-Christian subject matter	Ballet: Marche (Act I), “Air de danse” (Act V)	Musical Signifiers: thematic use of P5 interval (melodic and harmonic), Neapolitan harmony
Paul Vidal, <i>Noël, ou le mystère de la nativité</i> (incidental music, Paris Petit Théâtre des Marionettes (at the Galerie Vivienne), 25 November 1890)		
Setting: Bethlehem, 1 AD. Proto-Christian subject matter	Ballet: None	Musical Signifiers: thematic use of P5 interval, thematic use of chromatic scale fragments
Ernest Chausson, <i>La Légende de Sainte Cécile</i> (incidental music, drama in 3 acts in verse by Maurice Bouchor, Paris Petit Théâtre des Marionettes, 25 January 1892)		
Setting: Roman antiquity (between the 2 <sup>nd</sup> & 4 <sup>th</sup> centuries AD). Proto-Christian subject matter	Ballet: None	Musical Signifiers: thematic use of P5 interval, thematic use of chromatic scale fragments, Neapolitan harmony
Francis Thomé, <i>Quo vadis?</i> (incidental music, drama in 5 acts and 10 tableaux by Emile Moreau after the novel by Henryk Sienkiewicz, Paris Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin, 17 March 1901)		
Setting: Rome, in the era of Nero, 64 A.D.	Ballet: Tableau 2, “No. 5E. Danses gaditaines”	Musical Signifiers: thematic use of P5 interval, thematic use of chromatic scale fragments, Neapolitan harmony
Francis Thomé, <i>Les Noces corinthiennes</i> (incidental music, drama in 3 acts and a prologue in verse adapted by Francisque Sarcey from the novel by Anatole France, Paris Théâtre de l’Odéon, 30 January 1902)		
Setting: Corinth, in the era of Hadrian (c. 125 A.D.)	Ballet: None	Musical Signifiers: thematic use of P5 interval, Neapolitan harmony

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seem that this instrumentation figures prominently in the musical representations of medieval Byzantine subjects composed in late nineteenth-century France.

addition, incidental music for plays with settings in ancient Greece, the Roman Empire, Persia and Egypt offer a secondary intertext to Debussy's score for *Le Martyre*. Even without reference to proto-Christian subjects, the ancient Western world (broadly interpreted) had been a stimulation to the French exoticist imagination since Leconte de Lisle and the Parnassians had written poetry on such subjects in the 1860's. Table 5.3 provides a list of nine such works, including Saint-Saëns' music for *Antigone*, *Déjanire* and *Parysatis*.

Table 5.3: Incidental Scores for Plays with Settings in Antiquity

Charles Gounod, <i>Ulysse</i> (incidental music, tragedy in 5 acts in verse by François Ponsard, Paris Comédie-Française, 18 June 1852)		
Setting: Greek mythical antiquity	Ballet: None	Musical Signifiers: Descending chromaticism
Jules Massenet, <i>Les Érinnyes</i> (incidental music, antique tragedy in 2 parts by Charles-Marie Leconte de Lisle, Paris Théâtre-National-Lyrique, 15 May 1876; original version Paris Théâtre de l'Odéon, 6 January 1873)		
Setting: Greek mythical antiquity	Ballet: Opening of Part II	Musical Signifiers:
Camille Saint-Saëns, <i>Antigone</i> (incidental music, tragedy in 2 parts by Sophocles transl. Paul Meurice & Auguste Vacquerie, Paris Comédie-Française, 21 November 1893)		
Setting: Greek mythical antiquity	Ballet: None	Musical Signifiers: thematic use of P5 interval, thematic use of chromatic scale fragments, Neapolitan harmony
Paul Vidal, <i>Les Mystères d'Eleusis</i> (incidental music, play in 5 tableaux in verse by Maurice Bouchor, Paris Petit Théâtre des Marionnettes (at the Galerie Vivienne), 16 January 1894)		
Setting: Greek mythical antiquity. Religiously-themed subject	Ballet: three "pantomime" movements: score numbers 11, 19, 22ter	Musical Signifiers: thematic use of P5 interval, thematic use of chromatic scale fragments
Camille Saint-Saëns, <i>Déjanire</i> (incidental music, tragedy in 4 acts in rhythmic prose by Louis Gallet, Arènes de Beziers, 28 August 1898)		
Setting: Greek mythical antiquity	Ballet: Act IV, "No. 2: Chœur dansé;" "No. 3: Pantomime: Prière"	Musical Signifiers: thematic use of P5 interval (melodic and harmonic), thematic use of chromatic scale fragments, Flat-2 / Neapolitan harmony

Paul Vidal, <i>Ramses</i> (incidental music, drama in 1 act in verse by Joseph de Perquidoux, Théâtre Egyptienne de l'Exposition Universelle, 26 June 1902)		
Setting: Egypt, c. 1300 B.C.	Ballet: None	Musical Signifiers: thematic use of P5 interval, thematic use of chromatic scale fragments, Neapolitan harmony
Camille Saint-Saëns, <i>Parysatis</i> (incidental music, drama in 3 acts by Jane Dieulafoy, Arènes de Beziers, 17 August 1902)		
Setting: Persia, c. 400 B.C.	Ballet: Act II, "No. 3, Scène et Ballet"	Musical Signifiers: thematic use of P5 interval, thematic use of chromatic scale fragments, flatted 2 <sup>nd</sup> scale degree / Neapolitan harmony
Henry Février, <i>Aphrodite</i> (incidental music, drama as great spectacle in 5 acts in verse by Pierre Frondaie after Pierre Louÿs, Paris Théâtre de la Renaissance, 18 March 1914)		
Setting: Alexandria, 50 BC	Setting: Alexandria, 50 BC	Setting: Alexandria, 50 BC
Guy Ropartz, <i>Œdipe à Colonne</i> (incidental music, tragedy in 4 acts in verse by Sophocles, transl. Georges Rivollet, score completed 1914, Paris Comédie-Française, 21 July 1924)		
Setting: Greek mythical antiquity	Setting: Greek mythical antiquity	Setting: Greek mythical antiquity

### **The Substantial Nature of Debussy's Contribution to *Le Martyre***

Critics have made much of Debussy's rushed composition of this work as a means to explain perceived weaknesses of the score. Some, including Robert Orledge, cite Debussy's comment that he composed in a two months a score which ordinarily would have taken him a year to complete.<sup>14</sup> While Ivanka Stoianova argues for the merits of the score, she does helpfully summarize the brief window of time in which Debussy worked. He received the first segments of the text on 9 January 1911, and the complete play on 2 March; rehearsals

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<sup>14</sup> "I should tell you that I wrote in two months a score that would normally take me a year." See Robert Orledge, *Debussy and the Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 218, citing interview with René Bizet, "M. Claude Debussy et la musique sacrée," *Comœdia*, 18 May 1911, p. 3.

began at the start of April for the première on 22 May.<sup>15</sup> What none have commented upon is the manner in which Debussy fulfilled his contract twice over with the score he contributed (see Table 5.4). He even surpassed the number of movements suggested in D’Annunzio’s June 1911 edition of the play, which included references in the margins to indicate the placement of Debussy’s music (see Table 5.5).<sup>16</sup> The contract which Astruc submitted to Debussy, based on a four-act play, required the composition of a score of incidental music (*musique de scène*) in eight movements and gave Debussy the option of composing an additional “Madrigal à 5 voix” for the first act.<sup>17</sup> The final score which Debussy submitted contained no fewer than eighteen movements (see Table 5.6). One might consider that

Table 5.4: Movements Required in Debussy’s Contract for *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien*

1er acte:	a) Prélude Symphonique b) Danse des Charbons Ardents, accompagnée du Chœur des Séraphins c) (facultatif) Madrigal à 5 voix
2e acte:	a) Prélude Symphonique b) Danse des Planètes
3e acte:	a) Prélude Symphonique b) Danse de la Passion de Notre Seigneur
4e acte:	a) Prélude Symphonique b) Lamentation des Femmes Veuves et Finale

Debussy could easily have restricted his composition to the items required by the contract if

<sup>15</sup> Stoianova, “Saint-Sébastien mythe et martyr,” 155n34.

<sup>16</sup> D’Annunzio’s play used the Latin texts *Magister Claudius sonum dedit* and *Magister Claudius sonum dedit usque as finem* as cues to Debussy’s expected contributions, which totaled eleven in number. See Gabriele D’Annunzio, *Le Martyre de saint Sébastien* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1911).

<sup>17</sup> The original contract is found in BnF-Musique Rés. Vm. Dos. 13 (4), and is reproduced in facsimile in Eiko Kasaba, “*Le Martyre de saint Sébastien*: étude sur sa genèse,” in *Cahiers Debussy* 4–5 (1980–81): 20–21. The contract is also included in François Lesure, Denis Herlin, and Georges Liébert, eds., *Claude Debussy: correspondance 1872-1918* (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), 1355–57.

Table 5.5: Marginal References to Debussy's Music in the June 1911 Edition of *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien*<sup>18</sup>

<p><u>Mansion I:</u>  <i>Magister Claudius sonum dedit:</i>  1. Canticum Geminorum (Marc and Marcellien), vv. 1-14, p. 17  2. <b>Chorus Virginum (9 Virgins), vv. 524-640, p. 44-49</b>  3. <b>Chorus Juvenum (9 Youths), vv. 641-757, p. 49-54</b>  <i>Magister Claudius sonum dedit usque as finem:</i>  4. Canticum Geminorum (Le Saint, Des Voix Partout Éparses, Une Voix, Des Voix Jubilantes, La Femme Muette, La Femme Aveugle, Canticum Geminorum, Chorus Seraphicus), vv. 1442-1591, p. 93-102</p> <p><u>Mansion II:</u>  <i>Magister Claudius sonum dedit:</i>  5. <b>(Phoenisse, Ilah, Hassub, Jardane, Atreneste, Pheroras, Hyale), vv. 1592-1616, p. 108-110</b>  6. Erigoneium Melos, vv. 1789-1796, p. 119-120  <i>Magister Claudius sonum dedit usque as finem:</i>  7. (La Sainte, Le Saint, Vox Cœlestis), vv. 2900-2931, p. 182-185</p> <p><u>Mansion III:</u>  <i>Magister Claudius sonum dedit:</i>  8. (Les Citharèdes), vv. 3141-3144, p. 209  <i>Magister Claudius sonum dedit usque as finem:</i>  9. (Le Saint, Les Orphiques, Des Voix Éparses, L'Empereur, Les Femmes de Byblos, Chorus Syriacus, Vox Sola, Semichorus I &amp; II, ), vv. 3212-3604, p. 214- 237  <b>(only partially set to music)</b></p> <p><u>Mansion IV:</u>  <i>Magister Claudius sonum dedit:</i>  10. (Chorus Syriacus), vv. 3835-3842, p. 260</p> <p><u>Mansion V:</u>  <i>Magister Claudius sonum dedit usque as finem:</i>  11. (Chorus Martyrum, Chorus Virginum, Chorus Apostolorum, Anima Sebastiani, Chorus Sanctorum Omnium), vv. 3900-3938, p. 268-270</p>
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<sup>18</sup> Page and verse numbers refer to the text of the play published in June 1911. See Gabriele D'Annunzio, *Le Martyre de saint Sébastien* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1911). Items in bold are not set to music, despite the marginal notes in the text of the play.



Table 5.6: Synopsis of Movements in Debussy's *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien*<sup>19</sup>

<u>I. La Cour des Lys</u>	
No. 1:	Prélude. Lent – “Frère, que sera-t-il le monde” (Les Jumeaux) p. 17, vv. 1-14
No. 2:	“Sébastien” (Chœur) p. 93-94, vv. 1440, 1460
No. 3:	Danse extatique de Sébastien sur le charbons embrasés. Assez animé – “Hymnes, toute l’ombre s’efface” (Les Jumeaux, Chœur) pp. 99-102, vv. 1540-42, 1548-50, 1570-72, 1576-78, 1589-91.
<u>II. La Chambre magique</u>	
No. 1:	Prélude. Très modéré
No. 2:	“Je fauchais l’épi de froment” (La Vierge Erigone) pp. 119-20, vv. 1789-96
No. 3:	“Qui pleure mon enfant si doux” (Vox cœlestis) pp. 184-5, vv. 2925-31
<u>III. Le Concile des faux dieux</u>	
No. 1:	Prélude. Modéré
<b>No. 2:</b>	<b>Modéré. “Venge nos feux! Venge nos temples!” (Toutes les voix, parlé) p. 199, v. 2950</b>
No. 3:	“Païan, Lyre d’or, Arc d’argent!” (Chœur) pp. 209, vv. 3141-45
No. 4:	“Avez-vous vu celui que j’aime?” (Le Saint, Chœur, Vox sola) p. 219-22, vv. 3297-3320, 3329-3336
No. 5:	“Ne pleurez plus!” (Le Saint, Vox sola, Chœur) p. 224, vv. 3360-64, 3368-73
No. 6:	“Io! Io! Adoniastes!” (Chœur) pp. 231-32, vv. 3488-95, 3512.
No. 7:	“Il est mort, le bel Adonis” (Chœur) pp. 222-23, vv. 3337-38, 3345-48
<u>IV. Le Laurier blessé</u>	
No. 1:	Prélude. Sombre et lent
<b>No. 2:</b>	<b>“Voyez, je sens que dans la paume” (Le Saint) p. 253, vv. 3763-65</b>
No. 3:	“Hélas!” (Chœur) p. 260, vv. 3839-42 ; <b>p. 264, vv. 3896-99</b>
<u>V. Le Paradis</u>	
No. 1:	Interlude. Modéré
No. 2:	“Gloire!” (Chœur, Anima Sébastiani) pp. 268-70, vv. 3900-38.

he were uninterested in the project. Similarly, he might have written only eight movements if he desired to focus his energy on perfecting them. Instead, he wrote eighteen movements, which suggests that Debussy did find something in the play about which to feel passionately, and that his work on this score – though taxing – also was rewarding in some way besides the

<sup>19</sup> Page and verse numbers refer to the text of the play published in June 1911. See Gabriele D’Annunzio, *Le Martyre de saint Sébastien* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1911). Movements in bold are not called for in the marginal notes in the text of the play.

F20,000 he desperately needed at the time.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, Debussy's editor Jacques Durand recalled the composer's enthusiasm for the project in his memoirs:

When approached, Debussy decided to undertake the work. The mystical subject suited his very introverted aesthetic. He had, moreover, personal ideas which he described to me about *The Passion* which was mimed by Saint Sebastian in the mystery in question, ideas of profound originality.<sup>21</sup>

Désiré-Émile Inghelbrecht recorded Debussy's response to hearing the complete work at the dress rehearsal: "All those who participated in that rehearsal had the revelation of a masterpiece. And Debussy himself simply wept."<sup>22</sup> Rather than the hack product of a rushed job, it seems that Debussy put his heart and his back into the composition of this work, rendering moot any arguments about the perceived shortcomings of the work owing to the brevity of its composition or the lack of interest of the composer.

### **A Contextualization of The Role of Dance in *Le Martyre***

Besides subject and setting, another comparison between *Le Martyre* and its contemporaneous French incidental scores lies in the creation of spectacle through the presence of dance. The incorporation of pantomimic dance to drive the plot in the First and Third *Mansions* (as the acts of the play were called) has led to much discussion of the genre

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<sup>20</sup> Debussy divides one of the passages which D'Annunzio requested be set to music into four movements; these are numbers 4 through 7 of Mansion III. If one were to count these as a single movement, Debussy composed fifteen movements.

<sup>21</sup> "Debussy, pressenti, se décida à entreprendre le travail. Le sujet mystique convenait à son esthétique plutôt intérieure. Il avait, de plus, sur *La Passion* qui était mimée par saint Sébastien dans le mystère en question, des idées personnelles qu'il me développa, idées empreintes d'une originalité profonde." Jacques Durand, *Quelques souvenirs d'un éditeur de musique, 2e série (1910 – 1924)* (Paris: A. Durand et fils, 1925), 21, cited in Denis Herlin, "Le Martyre de saint Sébastien," in *Opéra et religion sous la IIIe République*, edited by Jean-Christophe Branger and Alban Ramaut (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2006), 220.

<sup>22</sup> "Tous ceux qui participèrent à cette répétition-là eurent alors la révélation du chef-d'œuvre. Et Debussy lui-même qui, simplement pleura." Désiré-Émile Inghelbrecht, *Mouvement contraire, souvenirs d'un musicien* (Paris: Éditions Domat, 1947), 221.

of *Le Martyre*. Yet similarly prominent uses of ballet and pantomime are found in seven other scores with settings in antiquity, both with and without proto-Christian subjects.

Gabriel Fauré's music for the 1888 production of the *Caligula* by Dumas père includes an *Air de danse* in the Bacchanale scene of Act V, which is not called for in the text of the play. Francis Thomé's music for Emile Moreau's 1901 dramatic adaptation of *Quo vadis?* featured a danced section during the "Musique de fête" of the Bacchanale at Nero's palace in the second tableau.

In its revised version of 1876, Jules Massenet's music for Leconte de Lisle's *Les Érinnyes* adds a major balletic spectacle in the fifth scene of Part I, which is not found in the text of the play, much like the ballet in *Caligula*. This *divertissement* (so labelled in the score of *Les Érinnyes*) is preceded and followed by a chorus of the people of Mycenae who welcome home the heroes returning from the Trojan war, adding to the magnitude of this spectacle. The *divertissement* is comprised of three parts. The first ("Danse Grecque") and third (simply labelled "Final") utilize a *corps du ballet*, but the middle movement ("La Troyenne regrettant la patrie perdue") employs a solitary figure, a Trojan woman who mimes her lament over the loss of her homeland over a nostalgic *andante*.

More significant for the comparisons with *Le Martyre* is the presence of pantomimic elements in Leconte de Lisle's play. *Les Érinnyes* opens and closes with the pantomimic acting of the titular characters, better known to us as the Furies. The Furies open the drama by wandering about the ancient palace of Pelops until the sun rises, adding a menacing element to the grandeur of the location. The drama closes when the Furies appear first to summon Orestes to his doom, then to fall upon him and tear him to pieces. Throughout, these figures remain mute, using the gravity of their presence and their motion to

communicate their power and import within the drama. The audience is aided in its interpretation of the Furies' actions by Orestes' verbal responses to their sudden appearance around Clytemnestra's corpse and subsequent pursuit of Orestes.

Paul Vidal's score for Maurice Bouchor's *Les Mystères d'Eleusis* (1894) features three movements labeled simply and directly "pantomime" (Nos. 11, 19, and 22<sup>ter</sup>). Each underlines actions of crucial importance to the drama: the first, as two humans recognize the failure of the wheat crop brought on by Persephone's departure for the underworld; the second, as Persephone begins to bend her heart towards Hades; the last, as the humans recognize the overflowing harvest.

Saint-Saëns' scores for both *Déjanire* (1898) and *Parysatis* (1902) also feature significant degrees of dance and pantomime. In Act IV of *Déjanire*, Hercules celebrates his victory over Eurytus of Œchalia by declaring a feast, taking Eurytus' daughter Iole as his wife, and preparing to offer sacrifices to his father Jupiter. After the chorus exhorts the assembly to celebrate, a movement labeled "Pantomime" appears in the score. This movement serves to accompany both the gathering of the dancers and musicians to receive Iole and Hercules, and the religious procession which Hercules and Iole make towards the place of libations, where Hercules takes up the cup. (In this context, it is noteworthy that the text of the chorus which precedes the pantomimes exhorts the "voluptuous priestesses" ("prêtresses voluptueuses") to "mime the sacred mysteries" ("mimez les mystères sacrés"), thus linking the realm of the sacred to the ancient art of pantomime). Moreover, Lichas (the chief of the Heraclides) is a mute role in the play, adding another layer to the mixture of dance and pantomime within *Déjanire*.

In a similar vein, Saint-Saëns' music for Louis Gallet's *Parysatis* incorporates both ballet and pantomimic elements. In Act II, yet another festival to celebrate the victorious return of a king generates a ballet (No. 3 "Scène et Ballet") as part of a larger spectacle during a feast. Throughout the drama, the entries and exits of Parysatis and Aspasia are underlined with music, endowing these moments with pantomimic qualities.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, in Act III, the second number ("Cortège-Récit-Chœur-Scène") includes a lengthy mute scene with music that underlines the entrance of the ambassadors into the court of Darius. This is soon followed by Darius' descent from his throne, followed by twenty-four girls playing harps, to perform his silent benediction of the assembly by raising his scepter as they prostrate themselves.

Février's score for the 1914 dramatic adaptation of Pierre Louys' novel *Aphrodite* features two danced sections, the "Danse au clair de lune" and the "Danse d'Aphrodisya." The character of Aphrodisya not only dances during a Bacchanale scene, but subsequently mimes a drunken scene. Following shortly after this, her naked body is displayed prominently during her crucifixion for a crime committed by Démétrios, the lead male character – not unlike the erotically charged spectacle of Sebastian's execution, where he cries orgasmically "Again! Again!" as arrow after arrow is shot into his partially clothed body, fastened to the tree with ropes.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> See Arthur Pougin's definition of *mimodrame*: "Mimodrama is a form of melodrama which takes its name from the fact that the spoken action is sometimes interrupted and replaced, if not by an action literally mimed, at least by mute scenes which are composed of battles, the movements of crowds, the marching of soldiers or horses, etc., which make a part of a spectacle as well as a genre of its own" (Le mimodrame est une sorte de mélodrame qui tire son nom de ce fait que l'action parlée se trouvait parfois interrompue et remplacée sinon par une action mimée proprement dite, du moins par des scènes muettes qui se composaient de combats, d'évolutions, de marches guerrières et équestres, etc., qui en faisaient un spectacle à part et d'un genre particulier). Pougin, *Dictionnaire historique et pittoresque du théâtre*, 520.

<sup>24</sup> Stoianova argues that this moment is asexual, steeped in moral masochism rather than eroticism. I do not agree. See Stoianova, "Saint-Sébastien mythe et martyr," 139.

Such comparisons show that Debussy's score for *Le Martyre* was far from an anomaly in its emphasis on dance, or in its incorporation of pantomime in the Third *Mansion* where Sébastien silently acts out the Passion of Jesus Christ. The precedent for a pantomime in a religious context had already been directly explored in Gallet and Saint-Saëns' *Déjanire*, where a pantomime immediately precedes a prayer to Jupiter.

Thus, while the prominent role of dance in Debussy's score reflects the integral role of the ballerina Ida Rubinstein in the work's commission and creation, the confused reception of the work from 1922 onwards shows a significant loss of awareness of the important precedents for the role of dance and especially of pantomimic acting in incidental scores with comparable historic settings in late antiquity.

### **Musical Signifiers in *Le Martyre***

Finally, the collection of incidental scores on similar subjects and with similar settings provides an opportunity to investigate the use of musical signifiers for these settings and subjects. Perhaps the most striking musical comparisons with *Le Martyre* are to be found in Thomé's score for *Quo vadis?* This play was an adaptation of Henryk Sienkiewicz's eponymous novel. Published in Polish in 1896, the novel quickly gained favor throughout Europe, as it was translated into 26 languages within five years of its initial publication. It appeared in French in 1900, published by *La Revue blanche*, a notable Parisian Symbolist revue. Emile Moreau adapted the novel as a drama in five acts and ten tableaux, which came to life on the stage of the Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin on 17 March 1901. Like the novel, the production also encountered a striking success, as it ran for one hundred-fifteen performances in the 1901–1902 season and was revived the following autumn for another

fifty-two performances. *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien* and *Quo vadis?* bear some conspicuous similarities. Both are set in the Roman Empire; both involve conflicts between the proto-Christian church and antique pagan religions; both involve erotic elements; and both were associated with the Symbolists.

Table 5.7: Synopsis of Movements in Thomé's score for *Quo vadis?*

<u>Ouverture</u>
<u>Second Tableau</u>
No. 1. A. Entrée de Poppée
No. 2. B. Entrée de Néron
No. 3. C. Le Combat des Gladiateurs
No. 4 D. Musique de fête
No. 5. E. Danses gaditaines
<u>Third Tableau</u>
No. 6. Scène du Baiser d'Eunice
<u>Fifth Tableau</u>
No. 7. A. "Évohé!"
No. 8. B. Faunes et Bacchantes
<u>Sixth Tableau</u>
No. 9. Strophes de Néron
<u>Seventh Tableau</u>
No. 10. Le Chant des Chrétiens
<u>Eighth Tableau</u>
No. 11. A. L'Appel aux combattants
No. 12. B. Fanfares funebres
<u>Tenth Tableau</u>
No. 13. Mort d'Eunice et de Pétrone

As to the scores, the presence of parallel musical-semiotic elements suggests that Debussy and Thomé drew from the same fount of musical topoi. The opening measures of each work feature a confluence of several aspects designed to evoke local color. The first is tonal ambiguity. In Thomé's score, we can see this ambiguity present from the opening measure: the downbeat of measure one employs the stacked fifths A-E-B, under the C-sharp of the melody; all this occurs over a pedal E, creating ambiguity as to mode and key: is it in

C-sharp minor or E major (see Figure 5.1 below)? While the remainder of measure one suggests E major as a clear tonality, measure two returns strongly to C-sharp minor. Similarly, in Figure 5.2, Debussy's score opens in the E-flat dorian mode, before the restoration of the C-flat of the key signature at measure seven shifts the mode to E-flat aeolian.<sup>25</sup> The frequent alternation between a Neapolitan harmony (of F-flat major) and a major supertonic harmony (of F major) prolongs the C-flat–C-natural ambiguity.

This prominent use of the Neapolitan is the second feature which unites the two scores. The Neapolitan harmony of measure four in *Quo vadis?* is similarly echoed in the opening measures of the prelude to *Le Martyre*.<sup>26</sup> In Debussy's score, we see a move to a colorful root-position Neapolitan towards the end of measure six, recurring in measures eight and 12. Even in Thomé's strongly tonal score, the Neapolitan serves as a color chord rather than as a predominant.

Third, the presence of a prominent falling perfect fifth in the opening melody of *Quo vadis?*, followed shortly thereafter by a motivic alteration of that interval, will find an echo in the opening bars of *Le Martyre*. There, the leap of a diminished fifth in measure seven is answered by the minor sixth in measure nine. By encircling the perfect fifth from a semitone above and below, both of these rising intervals recall the pair of rising perfect fifths in the opening four measures, and serve to prepare the wider rising intervals of measures 11-13. The use of perfect fifths persists in the prelude of *Le Martyre*, as seen in Figure 5.3. There,

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<sup>25</sup> The full text of the 1911 piano-vocal score is available at <https://urresearch.rochester.edu/handle/1802/4061>, courtesy of the Sibley Library at the Eastman School of Music.

<sup>26</sup> The Neapolitan in measure 4 of *Quo vadis?* is labeled as such based on its context in E major, according to its resolution to V7 of E major. Alternately, it might be labeled as a III# in C-sharp minor.



Figure 5.1: *Quo vadis?* Overture, mm. 1-16. Piano reduction from an uncatalogued orchestral manuscript in the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra (Bibliothèque nationale de France).

**Allegro**

Piano

**Allegro**

3

3

5

3

piano jusqu'à la fin

piano jusqu'à la fin

V

V

9

3

12

3



Figure 5.3: *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien*, I. La Cour des Lys, No. 1: Prélude, mm. 31-2.



the interval again repeats, this time as a falling fifth – initially B-flat to E-flat, then A-flat to D-flat. This motivic repetition and transformation serves to add a degree of unity to Debussy's *prélude* which is not present in Thomé's overture. For although both initial movements serve to introduce the materials upon which the remainder of the score will be based, Debussy's score is organized as a through-composed movement which presents the motives that form the basis of the work. An underlying sense of organic unity is provided by the process of transformation of the perfect fifth and by the flexible phrase lengths. On the other hand, Thomé's overture is cast in a sectional form like those of *opéras-comiques* and operettas, which allows it to present the main themes of later movements in their entirety. As a result of the freer invention of the themes in *Quo vadis?*, the overture lacks the broader unifying elements seen in Debussy's prelude.

The last element in common between the two scores is a sliding chromaticism, which recurs in a number of disparate contexts. This motive occurs throughout both scores, unlike the isolated motivic use of the perfect fifth in Thomé's overture. A rising chromatic scalar passage is first encountered in *Quo vadis?* at measure 17 of the overture, where it begins the second part of the sectional form (See Figure 5.4). A chromatic scalar passage recurs first in the third movement, during a battle of gladiators, where the passage evokes the octatonic

scale as a means to its exoticism (Figure 5.5). A similar usage occurs in measures 28-35 of that same movement.

Figure 5.4: *Quo vadis?*, Overture, Allegro: mm. 17-22.

Figure 5.5: *Quo vadis?*, Tableau 2, “Le Combat,” mm. 7-8.

The next occurrence of such chromaticism at the thematic level is in the “Musique de fête,” no. 4, in Tableau 2. There, in the context of an orgiastic feast in Nero’s palace, the music’s slippery accidentals serve to evoke a sexually-charged environment (Figure 5.6). The last occurrence of such chromatic material within a new theme in *Quo vadis?* is in the sixth number, “Scène de baiser d’Eunice,” in Tableau 3. There, it occurs as the main thematic material of the contrasting middle section in a ternary form, as in Figure 5.7 below (where measure 18 concludes the A-section of the form). Leaps are strategically placed in the theme

Figure 5.6: *Quo vadis?*, Tableau 2, no. 4, “Musique de fête,” mm. 53-57.

con anima

*mf*

con anima

*mf*

to provide a welcome sense of relief and variety within the chromatic context, adding to the singing lyricism of the movement.

Figure 5.7: *Quo vadis?*, Tableau 3, “Scène de baiser d’Eunice,” mm. 18-21.

*mf*

poco piu vivo

*mf*

poco piu vivo

*p*

*mf*

*p*

Similar uses of chromatic fragments recur throughout the score of *Le Martyre* as well. The first is in measure 35 of the prelude, where a descending chromatic fragment A-flat-F is repeated and extended to F-flat in the following measure (See Figure 5.8). A similar descending chromatic passage is found in the inner voice of the texture near the opening of that scene (See Figure 5.9). There, as the orchestra underlines Sébastien’s speech with *mélodrame*, the inner parts audibly descend chromatically from A-natural to G-flat, after

which the chromaticism continues in an attenuated form as the line passes from G-flat to F-flat–E-flat–D-flat to conclude.<sup>27</sup>

Figure 5.8: *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien*, I. La Cour des Lys, No. 1: Prélude, mm. 35-6.



Figure 5.9: *Le Martyre*, I. La Cour des Lys, No. 2 “Sébastien !,” mm. 5-8.



Figures 5.10 and 5.11 illustrate *Le Martyre*'s thematic use of chromaticism the context of Sébastien's re-enactment of the Passion of Jesus Christ. Figure 5.10 shows a repeated, fragmented descent from F to D-flat in the bassline. Figure 5.11 combines a chromatic descent in the choral parts (from G-flat to E-flat) with a repeat a semitone higher, drawing together the significance of the Neapolitan / flat-second scale degree with the chromatic scalar motion. Figure 5.12 features a sliding chromatic ascent (E–G-sharp) in the soprano vocal line and a brief descending chromatic fragment in the tenor (D-sharp–C-sharp) and is drawn from the scene in which the pagans acclaim Sébastien for his perceived divinity.

<sup>27</sup> Only nine measures later the descending chromaticism will be moved to the primary melody, as described above at Example 3.

Figure 5.10: *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien*, III. Le Concile des faux dieux, No. 4: “Avez-vous vu celui qui j’aime?” mm. 54-57.

Figure 5.11: *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien*, III. Le Concile des faux dieux, No. 4: “Avez-vous vu celui qui j’aime?” mm. 62-5.

Figure 5.12: *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien*, III. Le Concile des faux dieux, No. 6: “Io! Io! Adonastes!” mm. 18-21.

As with the combination of the Neapolitan and the chromatic scalar fragments in Example 11 above, the motivic value of the perfect fifths and descending chromaticism is also further demonstrated in Debussy's score through the combination of both elements. This is seen in the second number of the First *Mansion* in *Le Martyre* (Figure 5.13). As the dynamic drops to *piano*, one sees a brief chromatic descent in the inner voice (D-flat–C–C-flat) combined with the rising fifth element (E-flat–B-flat). The consistent melodic use of the very stable, almost elemental sound of the perfect fifth lends Debussy's score a motivic and thematic unity which is not found in Thomé's score to the same degree. Instead, Thomé's score functions within a more traditionally French aesthetic, eschewing French Wagnerism by its reference to the classical French aesthetics, including an emphasis on melody, a clarity of form and texture, and balanced phrase procedure.

The use of these musical signifiers is not limited to these two scores, but is found also in the other works listed in Tables 5.2 and 5.3, suggesting that the combination of Neapolitan harmonies, pervasive thematic use of perfect fifths, and the thematic use of chromatic scalar fragments in these scores serves to evoke a sort of local color for the ancient settings common to these works. Each of these three semiotically charged elements are common features in music from the late nineteenth-century onwards. Yet based on comparative analysis, this constellation of topoi seems unique to these scores for antique and proto-Christian themed dramas. That this constellation of topoi served to evoke the local color of ancient settings is borne out all the more strongly since these topoi were not found only in incidental music. This combination of signifiers appears also in operatic scores with librettos on similar subjects, including Massenet's *Thaïs* (1894) and Erlanger's *Le Fils de l'étoile*



Figure 5.13: *Le Martyre*, I. La Cour des Lys, No. 2: “Sébastien!” mm. 27-30.

The musical score consists of eight vocal staves and a piano accompaniment. The vocal parts are arranged in four pairs. The lyrics are: "Tu es té - moin!" and "Sé - bas - tien!". The piano accompaniment is in the bottom two staves. The score includes a *p dim.* marking in the piano part. The music is in a minor key and 4/4 time. The vocal lines are in a soprano or alto range, and the piano part features arpeggiated chords and sustained notes.

(1904). I would suggest that further comparison of incidental and operatic scores on similar subjects and with similar settings might be invaluable in understanding better the semiotic content of music for the French stage in the nineteenth century.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, since the

Table 5.8: Operas with Proto-Christian Subjects

Jules Massenet, <i>Thaïs</i> (comédie lyrique, libretto in 3 acts and 7 scenes by Louis Gallet after Anatole France's eponymous novel, Paris Opéra, 16 March 1894)		
Setting: The Thebaid & Alexandria, 4 <sup>th</sup> century A.D.	Ballet: End of Act II.	Musical Signifiers: thematic use of P5 interval, thematic use of chromatic scale fragments, Flat-2 / Neapolitan harmony
Camille Erlanger, <i>Le Fils de l'étoile</i> (drame lyrique, libretto in 5 acts by Catulle Mendès, Paris Opéra, 20 April 1904)		
Setting: Jerusalem, c. 71 A.D.	Ballet: Beginning of 4th Tableau	Musical Signifiers: thematic use of P5 interval, thematic use of chromatic scale fragments
Camille Erlanger, <i>Aphrodite</i> (drame lyrique, libretto in 5 acts by Catulle Mendès, Paris Opéra, 20 April 1904)		
Setting: Alexandria, 50 BC	Ballet:	Musical Signifiers:

constellation does not show up in Debussy's other major scores on antique themes (such as *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* and *Les Chansons de Bilitis*), it would seem that Debussy's compositional reception of this evocation of local color was peculiar to proto-Christian themes.<sup>29</sup>

The comparisons I have drawn between Debussy's music for *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien* and other *musiques de scène* of the era do show many commonalities, ranging from

<sup>28</sup> At the very least, the examination of incidental scores in the search for topoi yields a fivefold increase in the number of works to be examined over looking at operas alone, providing a much broader and more reliable basis for identifying musical signifiers.

<sup>29</sup> This constellation of local-color evoking topoi is also absent from Mendelssohn's *Antigone*. This score was premiered in Paris at the Théâtre de l'Odéon in 1844 and was instrumental in creating interest in incidental music. The absence of such means of local color in this Germanic score is significant in light of the use of chromaticism in Gounod's *Ulysse* of 1852, suggesting the development of a tradition of distinctly French topoi.

the literary themes, to the prominent incorporation of dance, to the use of similar musical topoi across widely divergent compositional styles and strategies. Of course, these commonalities serve to validate the comparisons between these scores, and to suggest the richness of French incidental music of this era. But perhaps more importantly for Debussy's music for *Le Martyre*, these comparisons serve to highlight Debussy's originality and creativity in a score that challenged him both musically and personally. By restoring the role of Debussy's score as an accompaniment to a play rather than an oratorio, mimodrame, or even a pseudo-opera, we are enabled to approach this work with a horizon of expectations comparable to those held by the 1911 audience. Through further contextualization of Debussy's score we might also come to agree with some of the more positive opinions about the work that critics formulated in 1911. Among those who esteemed the score was Alfred Bruneau, who wrote:

The music of *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien* ranks among the most beautiful scores which Claude Debussy has ever written, I believe. To start with, it strikes one with its clarity, its serenity and its force. [...] It seems deeply thought-out and easily realized. Different, in a way, from the author's earlier scores, it nevertheless gives up nothing which constitutes his personality. One finds there the whole-tone scale of his preceding works. One also finds in it sometimes a breadth of sentiment, other times a simplicity of means worthy of note and of praise.<sup>30</sup>

Influential critic Robert Brussel of *Le Figaro* also praised the music, specifically for its intimate support of the play:

The music adds a flavor to it which one may never have tasted. For the first time, the musical melodrama is intimately united to the poem, is identified

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<sup>30</sup> "La musique du *Martyre de saint Sébastien* compte, je crois, au nombre des plus belles qu'ait écrites M. Claude Debussy. Elle frappe, tout d'abord, par sa clarté, sa sérénité et sa force. [...] Elle semble profondément pensée et facilement réalisée. Différente, en un certain sens, de celles que son auteur a déjà conçues, elle n'abdique cependant rien de ce qui constitue la personnalité de celui-ci. On y retrouve la gamme par tons entiers des œuvres précédants. On y découvre aussi tantôt une largeur de sentiment, tantôt une simplicité de moyens dignes de remarque et de louange." Guy Launay and Alfred Bruneau, "Au Théâtre," *Le Matin*, 23 May 1911, p. 2.

with it, exalts it, prolongs it, without its intervention ever modifying the atmosphere other than to make it more penetrating. The four preludes which Debussy composed, the choruses, the solos, count among his most accomplished pages.<sup>31</sup>

Gaston Carraud wrote simply, “My impression was that it was one of the most beautiful things which Debussy has ever written.”<sup>32</sup> And even Erik Satie wrote privately to his brother Conrad that “M. Gabriele d’Annunzio gave us a very incomplete piece, poor man. A very select and numerous audience. Very beautiful interpretation. Claude’s music was very successful; it saved the situation.”<sup>33</sup> In light of such praise, we might consider that the merits of the score were partly responsible for generating comparisons between it and the operatic scores of *Pelleas* and *Parsifal*, as this incidental score seemed to warrant comparisons with a more exalted genre than its own.

Debussy told Henry Malherbe in an interview given during the composition of this work that he was “quite far from that state of grace” necessary to compose such pure sacred music as that of his ideal model, Palestrina.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, he did manage to compose a work of rare beauty and sensitivity which merits far more attention than it has yet received.

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<sup>31</sup> “La musique y ajoute une saveur qu’on n’avait peut-être pas encore goûtée. Pour la première fois, dans le mélodrame, elle s’unit intimement au poème, s’identifie à lui, l’exalte, le prolonge, sans que son intervention, une seule fois, modifie l’atmosphère autrement que pour la rendre plus pénétrante. Les quatre préludes qu’a composés M. Debussy, ses chœurs, ses soli, compteront sans doute parmi ses pages les plus achevées.” Robert Brussel, “Courrier des Théâtres,” *Le Figaro*, 22 May 1911, p. 6-7; citation, 7.

<sup>32</sup> “J’en garde la sensation d’une des plus belles choses que M. Debussy ait écrites.” Gaston Carraud, “Théâtres,” *La Liberté*, 24 May 1911, p. 3.

<sup>33</sup> (M. Gabriel[e] d’Annunzio nous donne une pièce bien incomplète, le pauvre homme. Public de choix. Nombreux. Ton frère avait très chaud. Très belle interprétation. La musique de Claude est très réussie; elle sauve la situation.) In a letter from Archives FES, cited in Robert Orledge, “Debussy and Satie,” in *Debussy Studies* ed. Richard Langham Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 154-178, citation 171.

<sup>34</sup> “Il faut se donner à cette œuvre [i.e., sacred music] avec une héroïque générosité et un constant renoncement à toutes choses et soi-même. Qui nous rendra le pur amour des musiciens pieux des anciennes époques? Qui éprouvera à nouveau la grandiose passion d’un Palestrina? [...] Je suis moi-même bien loin de cet état de grace.” Henry Malherbe, “M. Claude Debussy et ‘Le Martyre de Saint-Sébastien,’” *Excelsior*, 11 February 1911, p. 7.

By my attempts to reconstruct the horizon of expectations which reviewers and audience members brought to the première of *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien* in 1911, I hope to make it possible for our ears to appreciate the subtlety and grace of Debussy's achievement in this, his most significant contribution to the genre of incidental music.

## CONCLUSION

While the genre of incidental music underwent explosive growth in France from 1864 onwards, it had clear roots in the scores performed at the Comédie-Française and the Théâtre de l'Odéon in the era preceding theatrical deregulation. And it was these two theaters which continued to contribute the most to the genre throughout the century, owing to their *cahiers de charges* which required them to produce a large number of repertory works annually as well as première a minimum number of new plays each year. Entrepreneurial stages such as the Théâtre de la Renaissance, Théâtre du Vaudeville, Théâtre de la Gaîté and Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt could typically focus on producing as few as three to fifteen works annually, compared to the fifty to eighty-five works per year which typified the seasons of the Comédie-Française and the Théâtre de l'Odéon.

The established and increasingly ossified repertory of the Opéra, rich in works from the 1830's and 1840's, led composers to seek alternate venues for performance of staged works. After the demise of the Théâtre-National-Lyrique in 1878, the secondary outlet for opera was the Opéra-Comique, a theater well-known for its conservative audiences. Within this relative vacuum of stages for operatic production, the many stages of Paris which produced spoken dramas served as surrogates for composers to hone their craft.

A host of composers relied upon incidental scores as a means of entry into a crowded profession; these included Jules Massenet, Claude Terrasse, Henri Maréchal,

Alexandre Georges, and Benjamin Godard. After several failed attempts to get operas staged, Gabriel Pierné produced his incidental scores *Bouton d'or* (Nouveau Théâtre, 4 January 1893), *Izéyl* (Théâtre de la Renaissance, 24 January 1894) and *Yanthis* (Théâtre de l'Odéon, 10 February 1894). Yet the genre was not merely used as an entrance to the career. Many composers continued to produce incidental music throughout their careers. These included Massenet, whose fifteenth and final incidental score, *Jérusalem*, was produced posthumously at the Opéra de Monte-Carlo, and Camille Saint-Saëns, whose thirteenth and last incidental score, *On ne badine pas avec l'amour*, was produced at the Comédie-Française in 1917. And Pierné's eighth and final incidental score, *Les Cathédrales*, was produced in 1915, after his career as a conductor had taken off and two of his works had been performed at the Opéra-Comique.

The lines between *opéra*, *opéra-comique* and incidental music were quite blurry for many of the more substantial incidental scores, and this blurring became more steady and deliberate as the era continued. Scores such as Fauré's *Prométhée* (Arènes de Béziers, 26 August 1900), Saint-Saëns's *Parysatis* (Arènes de Béziers, 17 August 1902), Alfred Bruneau's *La Faute de l'abbé Mouret* (Théâtre de l'Odéon, 1 March 1907), Pierné's *Ramuncho* (Théâtre de l'Odéon, 20 February 1908) and Debussy's *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien* (1911) blur the distinction between genres through their frequent mixture of sung and spoken roles, through their recurrent incorporation of ballet and pantomime, through their regular use of melodrama, and through the extensive nature of their scores. That these composers were all well-established when they wrote these scores suggests that the blurring of generic boundaries was not undertaken to prove their ability to write in an operatic style, as a young composer might attempt. Instead, it suggests that

these composers deliberately sought to cultivate an aesthetic that blurred distinctions between opera, *opéra comique* and spoken drama in a renewed attempt to fuse the arts in a manner unlike Wagnerian tendencies.

The importance of further studies of this genre is threefold. First, study of incidental music illustrates the wide variety of institutions, composers and directors who were involved with music for staged entertainment in a manner which the study of opera alone does not. Many of the directors of the Opéra, Opéra-Comique and Théâtre-Lyrique served at the non-lyric theaters during some phase of their careers. Second, study of incidental music shows the diverse manners in which music and staged entertainments were combined, filling a gap between studies of opera and research on the entertainments of the *café-concerts*. Third, comparative studies of opera and incidental music with similar settings and plots offers the possibility of identifying a wider degree of musical signifiers than would the study of opera alone. My study of *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien* serves as an example of this, in a case where comparisons between two incidental scores yielded semiotic content found across sixteen incidental scores and three operas. Further study of incidental music in France at the turn of the twentieth century offers many possibilities for completing our understanding of musical and theatrical productions during this vibrant and dynamic era.



APPENDIX I: LETTERS FROM LÉO DELIBES TO ÉMILE PERRIN AT THE  
BIBLIOTHÈQUE-MUSÉE DE LA COMÉDIE-FRANÇAISE

Section I. Datable letters

1.

Naples – jeudi 3 avril / Hotel Royal des Étrangers

Cher Monsieur,

Je vois dans les journaux de Paris que la première de *Ruy-Blas* fut annoncée pour vendredi.<sup>1</sup>

Je compte que ce mot vous parviendra au lendemain de la représentation et je vous serais bien reconnaissant de me donner des nouvelles de notre improvisation.

Cette musique convenait-elle bien à la scène et a-t-elle été conservée? Dans ce cas, l'effet en a-t-il été bon, mauvais, ou simplement nul? et l'exécution? la chanteuse? le petit orchestre d'accompagnement?

Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire combien tous ces détails m'intéressent et comme je serai heureux d'être renseigné par vous.

Je reste quelques jours à Naples, enthousiasmé des splendeurs naturelles de ce délicieux pays, plus encore que des beautés classiques de Rome.

Veillez croire, cher monsieur, au très affectueux attachement de votre tout dévoué

Léo Delibes

J'ai rencontré souvent du Locle à Rome, et j'ai été très heureux de le revoir.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ruy Blas* was reprised at the Comédie-Française on Friday, 4 April 1879.

<sup>2</sup> Camille Du Locle (1832-1903) was the nephew of Émile Perrin. Du Locle had assisted Perrin while the latter served as Directeur of the Opéra de Paris (1862-1870), during which time Delibes served as the choral accompanist at the Opéra. After Perrin left the Opéra, Du Locle co-administered the Opéra-Comique with Adolphe de Leuven (1870-74) before becoming sole director (1874-76). Du Locle was well-known as a contributor to several important libretti, notably those of Verdi's *Don Carlos* (1867, libretto by Joseph Méry and Du Locle after Schiller) and *Aïda* (1871, Du Locle's libretto was translated into Italian by Antonio Ghislanzoni), and Reyer's *Sigurd* (1884, libretto by Du Locle and Alfred Blau) and *Salammbô* (1890, libretto adapted from the novel of Gustave Flaubert by Du Locle).

2.

Amalfi, 19 août 79

Cher Monsieur Perrin,

Je ne puis vous dire quel plaisir m'a causé votre lettre si aimable et si affectueuse.

Je savais déjà par les journaux l'immense succès de la reprise de *Ruy-Blas*, et j'avais lu qu'à côté des grands effets de cette soirée, mon petit coin de musique avait produit une bonne impression, grâce à la fraîcheur des jeunes voix qui l'interprétaient, mais j'ignorais tous les détails.<sup>3</sup>

Comme il est heureux que je n'aie pas été là!

Il m'aurait été impossible de ne pas m'incliner devant l'opinion du Poète, d'autant qu'elle était absolument fondée et certes, je n'aurais pas trouvé l'excellente combinaison que vous l'avez imaginée, et qui concilie tout.

Vous vous rappelez peut-être que j'avais fait d'abord 3 petits strophes pareilles, suivis d'une 4e différente. Je me conformais strictement ainsi au sentiment et à la coupe des paroles. Mais cette redite de 3 couplets de suite forcément trop courts, amenait une monotonie inévitable et l'effet était médiocre.

C'est alors que j'ai cherché autre chose. J'ai pensé que ce qu'il faut à ce moment du drame, c'est une impression, une sonorité, et que, sans le mot "amour" les vers fussent-ils de Victor Hugo sont destinés à ne pas être entendus. (J'ajoueraï [sic, ajouterai] que je connais peu d'exemples de chœurs chantés dans la coulisse, desquels on puisse saisir un traitre mot!)

Mais ce que je pensais là tout bas, et je suis heureux de me trouver d'accord avec votre grande autorité des choses lyriques, il m'eût été impossible de le dire tout haut, et je ne sais vraiment comment je m'en serais tiré.

Vous avez fait le miracle, cher Monsieur, aussi c'est à vous que je dois reporter la meilleure part de ce petit succès, dont je suis très fier, et c'est pour moi une occasion de plus de vous témoigner mon affectueuse et bien vive gratitude.

Je vous prie, cher Monsieur, de présenter à Madame Perrin mes respectueux hommages, et de croire à mon bien sincère attachement.

Léo Delibes

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<sup>3</sup> *Ruy Blas* was performed 35 times during 1879 (more than any other play except for the 36 performances of *Hernani*; there were 68 different plays performed that year), and 28 times in 1880. Such numbers would be quite low for another theater, but were rather high for the Comédie-Française due to the heavy burden of plays in its repertory, both "moderne" and "classique."

Je compte être de retour à Paris vers le 10 mai; inutile de dire que ma première visite sera pour *Ruy-Blas*.

3.

Mon cher Monsieur Perrin,

Je vous renouvelle ici les paroles que je vous ai dits:

Lorsque j'ai fait pour *Ruy-Blas* le petit chœur de coulisse que vous avez bien voulu me demander, je n'ai eu, en aucune façon, la prétention de produire une œuvre lyrique, mais bien, en notant ces quelques mesures, de vous témoigner, ainsi qu'à la Comédie-Française, mon affectueux dévouement – et, par conséquent, l'idée d'une rétribution quelconque n'a jamais pu entrer dans mon esprit.

J'apprends que la Société des Auteurs, Compositeurs et Éditeurs de Musique, dont je fais partie, vous réclame un droit à ce sujet, et que, d'après la formule du traité que j'ai signé, il me serait interdit de disposer librement d'une œuvre, si peu importante qu'elle soit.

Cependant, en cas de contestation, je ne puis que déclarer ce qui est la vérité, c'est que pour ce morceau, je n'ai jamais entendu réclamer le moindre droit à la Comédie-Française.

Veillez croire, cher monsieur, à tous mes sentiments les plus dévoués,

Léo Delibes

4.

LE MÉNESTREL  
Musique et Théâtres

Paris le 10 Juin 1880

J.-L. HEUGEL  
DIRECTEUR  
2 bis, rue Vivienne

Cher Directeur

Vous seriez bien aimable d'autoriser M. Léon, le chef de musique de la Comédie Française, à me communiquer le manuscrit de Léo Delibes sur la sérénade de Ruy-Blas, afin que je puisse faire graver ce petit orchestre.

Mille remerciements de & tout dédiée

J. Heugel

Cher Monsieur Perrin,

Voulez vous avoir l'obligeance de faire remettre à Mr Heugel le manuscrit qu'il vous demande. Il désire faire graver cette petite partition et je n'ai pas d'autre exemplaire que celui qui est à la Comédie Française.

Veillez croire à tous les sentiments de votre bien dévoué

Léo Delibes

5.

Jeudi 17<sup>4</sup>

Cher Monsieur Perrin,

Voici la musique pour Mademoiselle Dudlay.<sup>5</sup>

Voudrez vous bien prier Mr. Léon de la faire copier ce plus promptement possible, et dès que ce sera fait de me renvoyer mon manuscrit, afin que je l'instrumente.

J'aimerais bien l'avoir samedi ; je consacrerai ma journée de dimanche à ce petit travail.

Veillez croire, cher Monsieur, à tous mes sentiments si affectueux et dévoué,

Léo Delibes

Je viens de terminer aussi la chasse pour 6 instruments de cuivre. Je crois que cela fera bon effet ainsi.<sup>6</sup>

Je la jouai à mon envoi.

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<sup>4</sup> This letter dates from 17 June 1880.

<sup>5</sup> Adeline Dudlay played the role of Aïscha in *Garin*. As the first tragedienne to join the Comédie-Française in 1874, Dudlay replaced Sarah Bernhardt, and was herself replaced by tragedienne Segond-Weber upon her retirement in 1908; see Soubies, *Almanach des spectacles* 1908 (Paris: E. Flammarion, 1909): 12; Victor Plarr, *Men and Women of the Time: A Dictionary of Contemporaries* (London: G. Routledge, 1899): 315. The text of the sixteen-couplet ballad which she sang in the first act is given in Charles Darcours, "Courrier des Théâtres," *Le Figaro*, 6 July 1880, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Léon claims to have also contributed fanfares to this work; see Appendix II, Letter 10.

6.

jeudi 24<sup>7</sup>

Cher Monsieur Perrin,

en voyant ce matin la représentation de *Garin* annoncée du 1er au 5e juillet, je m'étonnais de ne pas avoir de nouvelle de Mr Léon, mais je reçois à l'instant mes manuscrits et je vais m'occuper d'écrire ce petit orchestre.<sup>8</sup>

Puis-je vous demander de vouloir bien me faire devoir pour quel jour, exactement, vous désirez que ce soit fait?

Demain et samedi mes journées sont prises par les séances du Prix de Rome, dimanche et lundi je vais au Mans pour des concours de musique; donc, si la chose était vraiment pressée, je devrais m'y mettre aujourd'hui, en laissant d'autres occupations.

Autrement ce serait bon le mardi 29. Serait-il encore temps?

C'est sur ce point que je vous prie de me fixer par un mot.

Veillez agréer, cher monsieur, l'assurance de mon plus affectueux dévouement,

Léo Delibes

Si Mr. Léon pouvait venir me voir aujourd'hui à partir de 4 heures, je serais heureux de m'entendre définitivement avec lui sur ce choix de instruments à employer.

7.

11h 1/2

Cher Monsieur,

Pour ces 2 artistes, il me faut absolument une étude musicale et que je leur passe déchiffrer leur partie; ce sera loin d'aller tout seul du premier coup.

Il serait préférable je crois, que je vienne tout seul au théâtre dans la journée. Je réglerai la chose avec vous par piano.

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<sup>7</sup> Evidence within this letter dates it to Thursday, 24 June 1880.

<sup>8</sup> Paul Delair's *Garin* (drame en 5 actes, en vers) was premiered at the Comédie-Française on 8 July 1880. The ballade of Aïscha sung by Mlle Dudley was accompanied by an English horn, flute and tambourines, according to Auguste Vitu's review ("Premières Représentations") in *Le Figaro*, 9 July 1880, 3.

Mais pour mes deux bonshommes, (le harpiste et la mandoline) je réclame le huis-clos!  
au moins pendant une bonne demi-heure.<sup>9</sup>

D'ailleurs, j'aurai le plaisir de vous voir demain matin au ministère – mais je pense qu'il  
est mieux d'avoir

1e une répétition au théâtre au piano (avec ou sans Boulez [Bouley?]) et

2o le séance au théâtre ou chez moi avec les instrumentistes

qui reviendront tout styles le lendemain au ministère.

Mille compliments bien avec le hâte de votre tout dévoué

Léo Delibes

8.

lundi 19 7bre<sup>10</sup>

Cher Monsieur Perrin,

Je suis très désireux d'entendre Œdipe Roi.<sup>11</sup>

Puis-je vous demander 2 places, ce soir, pour ma femme et pour moi?

C'est peut-être très indiscret, avec la prospérité actuelle du Théâtre-Français?

Dans ce cas, je vous demanderai de voulons bien dire à Picard de me retenir à la location  
2 fauteuils de Balcon.

J'enverrai prendre la réponse vers la fin de la journée.

Veuillez agréer, cher Monsieur, avec tous mes remerciements, l'assurance de mes  
sentiments biens affectueux et dévoués

Léo Delibes

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<sup>9</sup> This instrumentation was used in Delibes' "Romance à Ninon" ("Ninon, Ninon, que fais-tu de la vie?") for an excerpt of Alfred de Musset's *À quoi rêvent les jeunes filles*, première 29 November 1880 at the retirement performance for Talbot.

<sup>10</sup> 7bre = September. Evidence dates this letter to 19 September 1881.

<sup>11</sup> *Œdipe roi*, Sophocles tr. Jules Lacroix, with a substantial musical score by Edmond Membreé, was premiered September 18, 1858. During the period of the Delibes-Perrin letters preserved in the Bibliothèque-Musée de la Comédie-Française, it was performed 23 times in 1881; once in 1882; 10 times in 1883; twice in 1884.

9.

220, rue de Rivoli.

Cher Monsieur Perrin, voici le manuscrit de la musique pour la Quenouille de Barberine.<sup>12</sup> Il est maintenant en ordre tel qu'il doit être exécuté. Veuillez vous bien le remettre à Léon, afin qu'il le fasse copier.

Si je n'étais un peu souffrant, je serais venu vous l'apporter moi-même et causer de l'interprétation de la chanson. Ce sera pour bientôt, j'espère.

Veillez croire, cher monsieur, à mon sincère attachement,

Léo Delibes

Je continue à penser qu'il faudrait avoir Mlle Lureau, 2d Prix de l'année dernière.<sup>13</sup> J'ai vu tantôt Mr Truffier et je me suis entendu avec lui.<sup>14</sup>

10.

Dimanche

Cher Monsieur Perrin,

Je n'ai pas eu hier la séance pour laquelle je comptais avec ma jeune chanteuse, Mlle Lureau. Elle était souffrante et m'a prié de remettre notre rendez-vous à lundi 5h. Comme je tiens beaucoup à la faire travailler avant de vous la faire entendre, je viens à mon tour vous demander de remettre la répétition d'ensemble de Barberine, avec la musique, à mardi.

Est-ce possible?

À tous les points de vue je le préférerais, étant pris moi-même demain jusqu'à 3 heures.

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<sup>12</sup> Alfred de Musset's *Barberine* was premiered at the Comédie-Française on Monday, 27 February 1882; Delibes contributed a chanson to the production. This date, coupled with the reference to Lureau (see footnote 12 below) date this letter to January 1882.

<sup>13</sup> Maria Lureau (1860-1923) won the second prize in the Concours de Chant of the Conservatoire de Musique et de Déclamation in 1881. In 1884 she married tenor Léon Escalaïs of the Paris Opéra, changing her name to Maria Lureau-Escalaïs.

<sup>14</sup> Jules Charles Truffier (1856-1943) played the role of Rosemberg in the 1882 production of *Barberine*; he entered the Comédie-Française in 1875, became Sociétaire in 1888, and retired in 1913. He also figures into Chapter 3 as the co-author, with Gabriel Vicaire, of *Fleurs d'avril* (comédie en 1 acte) produced at the Théâtre de l'Odéon on 6 October 1890, with music by Charles Hess.

D'ailleurs, une fois la chose bien réglée musicalement, je pense qu'une seule répétition nous suffira pour juger de l'effet.

Sauf contre-ordre, je me tiens à votre disposition pour mardi, et je vous prie de croire, cher monsieur, à tous mes sentiments les plus dévoués

Léo Delibes

J'envoie à Léon, l'arrangement pour le quatuor.

11.

Jeudi

Monsieur & [illegible] cher Président,<sup>15</sup>

Il me sera impossible de me rendre aujourd'hui à la séance.

Si la sous-commission termine ses travaux, je vote pour que Loreley soit réservée, et quant à l'autre partition non encore examinée, je m'abstiens, puisque je ne la connais pas.<sup>16</sup>

Veillez, cher monsieur, présenter tous mes regrets à nos collègues et croire à mes sentiments bien affectueux et dévoués

Léo Delibes

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<sup>15</sup> The Président of the Concours Musical de la Ville de Paris was not Perrin, but Ferdinand Hérold, who held the role as Préfet de la Seine and brought to the post his experience as composer of the opéra comique *Le Pré aux Clercs* (1832).

<sup>16</sup> *Loreley*, légende symphonique by brothers Paul and Lucien Hillemacher, won the compositional prize for the Concours Musical de la Ville de Paris in 1882; it was premiered on 14 December 1882 and conducted by Lamoureux. See Louis Gallet, "Revue du Théâtre: Musique," *La Nouvelle Revue*, January – February 1883: 214-220. While I have not been able to date the meeting of judges for the 1882 competition, the meeting for the prior competition can be dated to 10 April 1880, leading me to date this letter to April 1882.



12.

220, rue de Rivoli

Vendredi

Cher Monsieur Perrin,

Voilà longtemps que j'ai le désir de venir vous voir et que j'en suis empêché par mille choses.

Je vais relire Le Roi s'amuse et demain je viendrai en causer avec vous.<sup>17</sup>

Je crois que c'est vers la fin de la journée que j'ai le plus de chances de vous rencontrer sans vous déranger.

Veillez croire, cher monsieur, à tous mes sentiments bien affectueux et dévoués

Léo Delibes

13.

220, Rue de Rivoli

mardi 17 octobre [1882]

Cher Monsieur Perrin,

C'est encore aujourd'hui le jour de ma classe au Conservatoire et cette fois je ne pourrai la quitter avant 2h m.1/4.

Il ne me sera donc pas possible d'être au commencement de la répétition. Cependant j'aurai tenu beaucoup à assister à la scène des courtisanes avec Triboulet.<sup>18</sup> C'est la seule chose qui me préoccupe encore, puisque les autres passages seront chantés par des élèves du Conservatoire et qu'au 1er acte il n'y a que de l'orchestre.

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<sup>17</sup> Victor Hugo's *Le Roi s'amuse* was revived for its second performance on 22 November 1882; Delibes contributed a suite of six antique dances to the production, as well as two chansons. While the dance suite was published, the chansons were not and are absent from the Comédie-Française's card catalogues, and from the dossiers for *Le Roi s'amuse* and for Delibes.

<sup>18</sup> The scene referred to appears to be Act I, sc. 2, which concludes with brief excerpts sung by both the King and Triboulet. The role of the King was played by Jean Sully-Mounet dit Mounet-Sully (1841-1916), and the role of Triboulet by Edmond Got (1822-1901).

Je vous envoie ci-joint la musique de cette scène avec la ritournelle allongée pour aller jusqu'à la réplique "ils ont tous fait le coup!" Léon pourra, séance tenante, la faire essayer avec cette nouvelle version.<sup>19</sup>

J'espère qu'il fait aussi travailler nos comédiens – chanteuses pour tâcher d'arriver à un bon effet cette scène saisissante.

L'autre jour, elle n'était pas au point, quant à l'effet musical. – Vous aviez bien raison. Je jouais aussi la petite partition orchestrée de la musique de 1er acte, que Léon voudra bien se charger de faire copier par notre copiste convenu.

À tout à l'heure, cher Monsieur, et veuillez croire à tous mes sentiments bien affectueux et dévoués

Léo Delibes

14.

mercredi soir

Cher Monsieur,

Votre proposition de faire travailler un peu Mr. Prudhon et de voir sur la scène la plantation du décor du 4e acte, me paraît excellente, d'autant que cela ne me prendra pas beaucoup de temps, et que je pourrai, je l'espère, terminer demain ma besogne.<sup>20</sup>

Je viendrai donc à l'heure qui me sera indiquée par le bulletin.

À demain, cher Monsieur et croyez moi tout votre

Léo Delibes

15.

vendredi soir<sup>21</sup>

220, Rue de Rivoli

Cher Monsieur Perrin,

J'inscris au verso de cette lettre la liste des places que je vous demande pour la répétition générale de lundi.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> The cue "ils ont tous fait le coup" derives from Act III, sc. 3 of *Le Roi s'amuse*.

<sup>20</sup> Charles Prud'hon (1843-1930) entered the troupe as a pensionnaire in 1865, became sociétaire in 1883 and retired in 1901. He held the role of De Pienne in the 1882 revival of *Le Roi s'amuse*.

<sup>21</sup> Evidence dates this letter to 17 November 1882.

Je me décide à aller ce soir à Bruxelles, où des intérêts sérieux m'appellent, et à ne pas laisser partir Gondinet tout seul. Je ne serai donc pas là demain.

Mais je me confie entièrement à vous pour mettre en lumière, dans les limites du possible, la musique de scène du 1er acte. Certes, je n'attache pas à ce travail plus d'importance qu'il n'en mérite; mais, puisque le principe en est admis, puisque on emploie un orchestre sérieux, et qu'enfin j'y ai mis tous mes soins, je voudrais que tout en laissant aux vers leur grande importance, l'oreille puisse suivre le dessin musical de ces airs de danse.

C'est à vous seul, cher monsieur, que je confie ma cause, et je sais qu'elle est en bonnes mains.

Je vous demande l'autorisation de laisser assister, demain, à la répétition du 1er acte, mon éditeur et ami, Mr. Heugel, qui s'intéresse aussi très vivement à la chose, et qui m'en donnera des nouvelles.

À lundi, sans faute, cher Monsieur Perrin, et veuillez croire à tout mon affectueux attachement.

Léo Delibes

liste des places pour la répétition:

une loge pour ma famille.

2 fauteuils d'orchestre { Mr. J. de Camondo / et un de ses amis / qui est aussi des mieux.<sup>23</sup>

1 fauteuil d'orchestre { Mr. Ch. Grisart, / un intime.<sup>24</sup>

1 autre place d'orchestre { pour mon ténor / Talazac, qui me / charge de vous la / demander.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> The closed dress rehearsal for *Le Roi s'amuse* was set for Monday, 20 November 1882. See Jules Prével, "Courrier des Théâtres," *Le Figaro*, 19 November 1882, 3. Edmond Gondinet (1828-1888) was the librettist for the *opéra-comique en 3 actes*, *Jean de Nivelle*. Delibes was bound for Brussels to assist at the rehearsals for the local premiere of *Jean de Nivelle* there on 28 November 1882.

<sup>23</sup> Isaac de Camondo (1851-1911), a wealthy banker and amateur composer influenced by Gaston Salvayre and Delibes, was the founder of the Société des Artistes et Amis de l'Opéra. He traveled to Bayreuth in 1882 with Salvayre, Delibes, and the cellist Fischer to attend the premiere of *Parsifal* on 26 May.

<sup>24</sup> Charles Grisart (c. 1837-1904), another wealthy banker and musical amateur, began composing under Delibes' direction and was best known for his *Les Trois Margot* (opéra-bouffe en 3 actes, 1877), *Les Poupées de l'infante* (opéra-comique en 3 actes, 1881) and *Le Bossu* (opéra-comique en 4 actes, 1888). See François-Joseph Fétis and Arthur Pougin, *Biographie universelle des musiciens, Supplément et complément Tome 1 A-Ho* (Paris: Firmin Didot et Cie., 1878): 424.

16.

vendredi soir

Cher Monsieur,

Voulez vous me permettre de vous dire que je serai bien heureux si vous assistez, demain, au commencement de la séance de l'Institut.

Mon élève a le no. 1.<sup>26</sup> Je suis vraiment satisfait de son travail et je tiendrai beaucoup à ce que vous l'entendissiez.

Mille pardons de ma liberté grande et veuillez croire, cher monsieur à mes sentiments tout dévoués et bien affectueux

Léo Delibes

Section 2. Undatable letters

17.

Jeudi soir / 1 h du matin

Cher Monsieur,

J'ai refait ce soir un autre air, tout-à-fait dans un autre mouvement. Peut-être vaut-il mieux que le premier.

Voulez-vous me donner une demi-heure demain malgré les embarras d'une première?

Et dans ce cas, puis-je vous demander de me faire savoir l'heure à votre convenance.

Je suis bien desireux d'avoir votre avis avant de partir – si toutefois je pars demain soir! Je suis désolé ; ma malle ne prend pas tournure. Mais si j'ai trouvé quelque chose de portable, je me consolerais.

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<sup>25</sup> [Jean-]Alexandre Talazac (1851-1896), tenor at the Opéra-Comique, premiered the roles of Jean de Nivelle in the eponymous opéra-comique (premiered 8 March 1880) and of Gérald in *Lakmé* (premiered 14 April 1883). He also sang the romance to Ninon from the wings of the theater in the excerpt of *À quoi rêvent les jeunes filles* incorporated into the 1879 retirement performance for the comedian Talbot.

<sup>26</sup> Delibes' student René won the *premier prix en contrepoint et fugue* in 1882. The "séance de l'Institut" to which Delibes refers would likely be the juried performance of René's submission for the 1883 Prix de Rome competition, in which he won the *deuxième second grand prix*, during the same year that Paul Vidal won the *grand prix* and Claude Debussy the *premier second grand prix*. The juried performances of cantatas that year took place on 23 June 1883.

Votre Respectueusement D vou 

L o Delibes

18.

Mercredi

Cher Monsieur,

Je n'ai pas pu encore, au milieu des pr parations de mon d part, m'occuper de notre petite affaire.

Mais je compte y consacrer ma soir e ; si vers 10h ou 11h, j'avais quelque chose   vous soumettre, aurais-je ce plaisir de vous trouver au Th  tre-Fran ais?

En tous cas, je viendrai demain des l'apr s-midi.

Veillez croire, Monsieur,   tous mes sentiments si affectueux et d vou ,

L o Delibes

19.

vendredi 5en [5en: illegible] BSG

Cher Monsieur,

Je suis venu avant-hier au Th  tre Fran ais sans pouvoir arriver jusqu'  vous. Voulez vous me permettre de vo[u]s renouveler ma demande.

Je serai bien heureux s'il vous  tait possible de me faire obtenir (s'il y a une r jeuve   la location)

soit 'une 1 re loge de 4 ou 5 places'  
soit '4 bons fauteuils de balcon'

pour l'une des deux repr sentations des *Fourchambault* de la semaine prochaine.<sup>27</sup>

S'il  tait impossible de trouver 4 fauteuils, j'abandonnerai les amis qui d sirent venir avec nous et je me bornerais   vous demander 2 fauteuils de balcon.

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<sup>27</sup> *Les Fourchambault*, a com die en 5 acts en prose by  mile Augier which premi red 8 April 1878, was performed 114 times that year, 17 times in 1879, three times in 1880, 10 times in 1884, and five times in 1885.

Veillez m'excuser cher monsieur, si je suis indiscret, et croire à tous mes sentiments bien affectueux et dévoué

Léo Delibes

J'aurai l'honneur de venir vous voir demain dans l'après-midi.

20.

vendredi soir

Cher Monsieur,

Je tiens beaucoup, beaucoup à avoir votre impression, qui m'a guidé déjà tant de fois.

Mais demain, le départ paraît irrévocable, et pour être avant 7h au chemin de fer de Lyon, il faut dîner à des heures bien gênantes!

Ne pourrai-je vous demander de prendre la peine de passer chez moi quand vous viendrez au théâtre?

(Je dis: chez moi, parce que le piano du Théâtre-Français n'est pas libre dans le milieu de la journée.)

Donc, si vous pourriez choisir une heure à votre convenance, faire convoquer Mr Léon chez moi, et m'instruire par un mot de ce que vous aurez décidé, je vous attendrai, et séance tenante, nous choisissons le version destinée à passer à la postérité.

J'attends vos instructions, cher Monsieur, et vous prie de croire à tout mon dévouement.

Léo Delibes

21.

Mercredi matin

Cher Monsieur Perrin,

J'arrive seulement du Mans et j'aurais besoin de ma journée pour faire un travail très pressé destiné aux concours d'harmonie du Conservatoire.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Delibes was appointed on 16 December 1880 to replace Henri Reber as Professeur de Composition Musicale. The Concours d'Harmonie du Conservatoire took place generally between 30 June and 16 July annually. While letter 6. above indicates that Delibes took a trip to Mans from Sunday 27 June to Monday 28 June 1880, it is unlikely that this letter also dates from 1880, as he was not yet on the faculty of the Conservatoire at that time.

Pouvez vous vous passer de moi encore aujourd'hui? Dès demain je serai tout à votre disposition à l'heure que vous m'indiquerez.

Si cependant il y avait urgence, veuillez me le faire dire par le porteur, et je me rendrais libre pendant une heure.

Veuillez me croire, cher Monsieur, votre tout dévoué

Léo Delibes

22.

Samedi

Cher Monsieur Perrin,

Je ne me suis pas trompé, n'est ce pas? Vous deviez prendre la peine de venir me voir?

Je vous ai attendu vers 6h, mercredi et jeudi. Aujourd'hui, je reste encore chez moi et je suis tout à votre disposition; mais, si vous le préférez, je me rendrai au théâtre. Voulez vous bien me le faire dire par un mot.

Veuillez croire, cher Monsieur, à tous mes sentiments bien affectueux et dévoués

Léo Delibes  
220, rue de Rivoli

23.

mercredi matin

Cher Monsieur,

Hier en acceptant pour samedi votre offre si gracieuse, j'avais oublié que le même jour il y a à notre cercle une représentation à laquelle je ne puis me dispenser d'assister.

Je viens donc vous prier d'excuser mon étourderie et de vouloir bien, si la chose est possible, remettre une faveur dont j'apprécie tout le prix au jour de la semaine prochaine qui sera le mieux à votre convenance.

Veuillez croire, cher Monsieur, à mon respectueux attachement

Léo Delibes  
220, rue de Rivoli

24.

Jeudi

Cher Monsieur,

À mon très grand regret, je suis pris demain à 5h par une séance assez importante de la commission de musique de notre cercle.

Certes, le concours de la Ville de Paris à pour moi un autre intérêt artistique que cette réunion d'amateurs et je n'hésiterais pas à me rendre de préférence à votre appel si, en l'absence de notre ami O'Donnell, qui, comme vous le savez, est souffrant en ce moment, je n'étais obligé de présider la séance.

Mais j'espère mener la chose promptement et venir vous retrouver au plus vite ; de plus, je vous demanderai l'hospitalité aujourd'hui à 5h, afin de me mettre au courant des œuvres qui nous restent à examiner.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur, l'expression de mon bien affectueux attachement

Léo Delibes



APPENDIX II: LETTERS OF LAURENT-MARIUS LÉON, *DIT* LAURENT LÉON,  
AT THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE-MUSÉE DE LA COMÉDIE-FRANÇAISE

1.

Ce 23 août 1862

Bon  
2e L.

Monsieur Le Directeur<sup>1</sup>

Je viens solliciter de votre coute deux places pour la représentation d'aujourd'hui 23 août et je serais heureux si vous accueillez favorablement ma demande.

Vous remerciant d'avance de la faveur que vous voudrez bien m'accorder.

Agréez Monsieur le Directeur, l'assurance de ma très haute consideration

L. Léon  
2e Chef d'orchestre à la Comedie française

2.

Camp des Alpines (Section de Graveson)  
Bouches du Rhône

Monsieur l'administrateur Général,

N'ayant pu rentrer à Paris, surpris par l'investissement, j'ai été mobilisé et fais partie de la 3e Légion de Vaucluse, barraqué au Camp des Alpines.

J'ai rempli pendant douze ans les fonctions de sous-chef d'orchestre à la Comédie Française et par suite du décès de M<sup>r</sup> Ancessy, je me mets entièrement à votre disposition pour tout a qui concerne la direction de l'orchestre.<sup>2</sup>

Appartenant au Ministre de la Guerre jusqu'au licenciement de la mobilisée, je ne peux devenir libre qu'en votre requisition adressée au Ministère.

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<sup>1</sup> The Administrateur Général of the Comédie-Française in 1862 was Edouard Thierry.

<sup>2</sup> Jean-Jacques-Augustin Ancessy, *chef d'orchestre* at the Comédie-Française and former *chef d'orchestre* at the Théâtre de l'Odéon, died 2 January 1871. Thierry received the letter on 28 February 1871 according to Thierry's *La Comédie-Française pendant les deux sièges (1870-1871)* (Paris: Tresse et Stock, 1887), 328. Letter 3. below helps date this letter to sometime between 2 January and 28 February 1871, possibly towards the latter date as it likely would have taken time for news of Ancessy's death to reach Léon's camp which was in the vicinity of Avignon.

Dans l'espérance que vous daignerez vous intéresser à un de vos anciens administrés

L. Léon

Chef de Musique de la 3<sup>e</sup> Légion de Vaucluse

3.

le 8 mars 1871

Monsieur l'administrateur Général,

Je quitte à la date de ce jour le Camp des alpines par suite du licenciement des gardes nationales mobilisées. Partant immédiatement pour Paris je crois pouvoir me mettre à votre disposition avant le 15 mars.

Dans l'espérance que vous daignerez m'honorer de votre bienveillance

Recevez l'annonce de mon dévouement

L. Léon

sous chef d'orchestre  
à la Comédie française

S. Lieutenant. Chef de musique de la 3<sup>e</sup> Légion de Vaucluse

4.

Monsieur,

J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser, la note que vous avez bien voulu me demander.

Quoique l'orchestre du théâtre français soit supprimé en fait, il n'est pas moins vrai qu'un grand nombre de pièces du répertoire nécessitent de la musique sur la scène. Ce service dit des Coulisses, a été fait jusqu'ici provisoirement et dans ma direction par des artistes payés au cachet; mais comme le rétablissement de l'orchestre dans la salle est dans un avenir lointain, lesdits musiciens, cherchent à occuper leurs soirées dans d'autres théâtres, concerts etc. afin de bénéficier d'appointements mensuels.

En cet état, il peut se faire, qu'à un moment donné, l'Administration ne puisse trouver au pied levé les musiciens nécessaires pour assurer le service dit des Coulisses.

C'est pour ces motifs, que j'ai l'honneur de soumettre à votre appréciation, le projet d'un quintette permanent attaché au théâtre avec un traitement mensuel:

T.S.V.P. [N.B. page turn]

Le traitement des musiciens serait établi par une moyenne de 60<sup>#</sup> chacun soit au total 280<sup>#</sup> = d'après le tableau ci-dessous.

Quand au chef à qui incomberait la responsabilité du service placé sous sa direction, il s'en remet entièrement à l'Equité de l'Administration.

Quintette (Instruments à Cordes)

1e Violon chef-dirigeant

1e Violon \_\_\_ 60

2e Violon \_\_\_ 50

Alto \_\_\_\_\_ 55

Violoncelle \_\_\_ 60

Contre Basse\_\_ 55

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total 280<sup>#</sup> plus le traitement du chef.

Les surdits musiciens seraient tenus de signer une feuille de présence quotidienne, avant le commencement du spectacle.

Ancien serviteur de la maison, je me suis fait un devoir de vous signaler ce fait en vous indiquant le moyen d'obvier aux inconvenients qui pourrait en résulter.

Daignez agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance de ma consideration la plus distinguée

L. Léon  
sous-chef d'orchestre  
Ce 23 7bre 1871

5.

A Monsieur E. Perrin  
administrateur Général de la  
Comédie-Française

Monsieur

Je vous prie de vouloir bien m'accorder une entrevue ce soir, si vous vous trouvez au théâtre.

Je desire vous entretenir de la situation, qui m'est faite, depuis la suppression du théâtre-Français.

J'ai accepté, en me chargeant de pourvoir un besoin du répertoire, sous le rapport musical, une responsabilité, que je ne saurai soutenir d'avantage [sic], si elle doit se maintenir dans les conditions actuelles. Quelques minutes d'entretien vous permettant de juger la difficulté qui m'occupe et de la résoudre d'une façon définitive.

Daignez agréer, Monsieur administrateur, l'assurance de ma très haute consideration

L. Léon

Ce 2 janvier 1873

6.

7 fevrier 1873

Monsieur l'administrateur,

Dois-je faire figurer mon nom sur le Bordereau du mois de Janvier (musique sur le théâtre) pour le nombre de représentations d'années, ou attendre une decision definitive en ce qui me concerne?

Daignez agréer l'annonce de ma très haute consideration

L. Léon

7.

Le Tréport le 7bre 1877<sup>3</sup>

Mon cher ami<sup>4</sup>

Depuis mon arrivée, il fait un temps épouvantable et la mer est un spectacle tellement grand en ce moment-ci – y en nous bravons le vent et la pluie et nous avons peine à tenir debout sur la plage. =

Comme je ne suis pas un littéraire – descripteur – maritime je laisse aux auteurs le soin de tourner les details d'usage – mais sache que nous dormons très bien installé dans une petite maison charmante et que ma femme et ma fille s'y trouvent a merveille. Je n'ai pas besoin de te dire combien je te suis reconnaissant de tes soins à remplir nos fonctions communes aussi je suis sous crainte car ta vieille experience est un sûr garant de les capacités etc etc etc etc

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<sup>3</sup> “7bre” was a commonly used abbreviation for *septembre* in nineteenth-century letters.

<sup>4</sup> The addressee is Schatté, who succeeded Ancessy as the chef d'orchestre at the Théâtre de l'Odéon.

Je ne t'en dis pas plus long. Perrin viens d'arriver avec sa famille et gare les excursions aussi ne me rappelle que dans le cas extrême mais extrême jusqu'à extrême.<sup>5</sup>

Si tu as un moment écris moi un mot sur tous les sujets.

Ma femme et ma fille se joignent à ton vieil ami pour te serrer vigoureusement la main et présenter ses meilleur compliments affectueux a Madame Schatté.

ton ami et qui  
se le sut

L. Léon

mon adresse rue de la Taux  
No. 1. Tréport  
Seine Inférieure

Pour le dernier quartier le pianiste devra d'entendre aux M<sup>elle</sup> Broisat.

Avez vous supplicie Dimanche quand?

Les instruments étaient ils d'accords?

Les journaux n'ont ils pas changé de couleur (quand tu les lis?) Le Figaro, l'Univers, le Monde, le Petit caporal, le Gaulois = ont ils toujours tes faveur!

for evver

un homme qui revient sur l'eau rien n'est perdu et Vive la France

8.

À Monsieur E. Perrin administrateur  
Général de la Comédie Francaise

Monsieur l'administrateur Général,

Etant obligé de m'absenter de Paris pour me rendre dans ma famille: J'ai l'honneur de vous informer que j'ai assuré le service de tout ce qui concerne la musique sur le théâtre et chargé M<sup>r</sup> Schatté d'en assurer l'exécution, quand besoin se fera.<sup>6</sup>

En cas d'urgence, j'ai laissé mon adresse afin de me tenir à votre disposition.

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<sup>5</sup> Émile Perrin succeeded Edouard Thierry to the post of Administrateur Général of the Comédie-Française in 1871.

<sup>6</sup> This undated letter appears to be connected with letter 7. above, dating it to September 1877.

Daignez agréer, Monsieur l'administrateur Général, l'assurance de mon respectueux dévouement

L. Léon

9.

À Monsieur Emile Perrin, administrateur Général de la Comédie-Française<sup>7</sup>

Note

M<sup>r</sup> Léon (Laurent Marius) sollicite de la haute bienveillance de M<sup>r</sup> le Prefet de la Seine, l'emploi d'Inspecteur de l'Enseignement du chant dans les Ecoles Communales de la Ville de Paris devenu vacant par le décès du titulaire.

Déjà Inspecteur de ces enseignement dans les Ecoles de l'Arrondt. de Sceaux ; il invoque à l'appui de sa demande ses titres et l'anciennété de ses services, tant dans les Lycées de l'Etat que dans les Etablissements Scolaires de la Ville de Paris.

Les résultat de son enseignement lui ont valu (pour la dernière periode décennale) plus de 50 nominations dont 30 prix.

Compositeur de musique, auteur d'ouvrages didactiques et de compositions chorales à l'usage des Lycées et des Ecoles Communales.

Chargé de la direction du Service de la Musique à la Comédie-Française.

Il désire se placer sous le haut Patronage de Monsieur Emile Perrin administrateur Général de la Comédie-Française, dont la puissante recommandation peut lui faire espérer un accueil favorable à sa demande.

- \* \* \* -

1° Inspecteur des Ecoles communales de l'arrondt. de Sceaux depuis 1868

2° Professeur titulaire de chant dans les Ecoles de la Ville de Paris depuis 1860

3° Professeur de chant au Lycée de Vanves depuis 1864

4° Compositeur de Musique

5° Lauréat des Concours de la Ville de Paris, etc.

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<sup>7</sup> While difficult to date exactly, this letter predates Perrin's death on 8 October 1885 and dates from 1878 or later, based on its information that Léon began teaching at the Écoles de l'Arrondissement de Sceaux in 1868, and had taught there at least ten years at the time of the letter.

10.

À Monsieur F. Fébvre, sociétaire de la Comédie-Française<sup>8</sup>

Cher Monsieur,

Votre compétence musicale, le sympathie et l'estime personnelle dont vous m'avez donné bien des fois le témoignage en me servant d'intermédiaire auprès de M. l'administrateur Général, m'encourage à vous adresser officieusement, une requête, au sujet des fonctions que j'exerce à la Comédie-Française.

J'ai l'espoir que vous voudrez bien lui accorder toute votre attention bienveillante, l'apprecier dans ses détails et la communiquer à qui de droit, si vous le jugez appartenu.

En me chargeant de la Direction musicale de la Scène, il y a quinze ans, M. Perrin, qui m'honorait de sa confiance absolue, m'avait formellement promis, après m'avoir vu longtemps à l'œuvre, de me créer une situation définitive en rapport avec mes fonctions : il ne l'a pas fait; mais, j'ai compté qu'il suffirait de faire appel, aux sentiments d'équité de la Comédie-Française, pour voir se réaliser, cette amélioration, qu'il projectait.<sup>9</sup>

Le traitement qui m'est alloué annuellement est de plus modeste, il devrait être élève à un chiffre qu'il ne me conviendrait pas d'apprecier.

Je compte actuellement 28 ans du service du théâtre, dont 15 comme chef titulaire.

J'ai toujours rempli mes fonctions avec conscience et les nombreuses marques de bienveillance, que j'ai reçues de la part de tous les membres de la Comédie-Française, sans exception, m'ont souvent récompensé de mon labeur et de mon dévouement aux intérêts artistiques de la maison de Molière.

Je n'ai jamais reçu aucune indemnité pour toute la musique composée ou arrangée pour le théâtre; jamais de taux pour les matinées, je n'ai absolument rien perçu comme droits d'auteur, pour mes compositions musicales.

Les charges de mes fonctions sont multiples : en dehors du côté administratif qui ne peut vous échapper, je dois: 1<sup>o</sup> m'occuper du recrutement du personnel musical (chanteurs et musiciens) d'ailleurs souvent difficile

2<sup>o</sup> être à la disposition de l'Administration d'une façon permanente

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<sup>8</sup> Frédéric Fébvre entered the troupe of the Comédie-Française as a *pensionnaire* in 1866, became a *sociétaire* in 1867, and retired in 1893. Details in this undated letter suggest it was written in 1885, the year of Perrin's death (8 October). The inclusion of the *Apothéose de Victor Hugo* in the list of Léon's works at the end of the letter suggests a date after 15 June 1885, when that work was premiered onstage. If this letter postdates Perrin's death, then perhaps Léon was attempting to garner an ally in attempting to convince Jules Claretie, Perrin's successor, of the merits of a pay raise for Léon.

<sup>9</sup> Léon became director of music at the Comédie-Française after the death of Ancessy in 1871.

3° rester en outre responsable de la musique

J'ai du même quitter un emploi fixe pour me consacrer exclusivement à la Comédie-Française, qui peut me réclamer à toute heure pour le service de la scène.

C'est pourquoi, cher Monsieur Febvre, si après de si longs services, vous reconnaissez que j'ai quelque mérite et quelque droit à une situation plus rémunératrice, mettez les en lumière.

Quelle que soit la décision prise à mon égard, je n'en serai pas moins un fidèle et dévoué serviteur, d'une maison qui m'ayant accueilli avec bonté à mes débuts, a toujours continué de me donner des preuves de sa confiance et de son estime.

Daignez croire cher Monsieur Febvre à toute ma reconnaissance, pour l'intérêt que vous me témoignerez en cette circonstance et agréer l'assurance de mon entier dévouement

L. Léon

« Pièces pour lesquelles j'ai composé ou arrangé la musique » 1° Apothéose de Victor Hugo 2° Jean de Thommeray 3° Le supplice 4° Les effrontés 5° d<sup>elles</sup> St Cyr 6° Hernani 7° Garin (fanfares) 8° Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme (reconstitution) 9° Pourceaugnac 10° Le mariage de Figaro (adaptation) 11° Bertrand et Raton 12° le Sphinx 13° Daniel Rochat 14° La fille de Roland 15° Pendant le bal 16° Athalie 17° Ruy-Blas (orgue) etc. etc. 18° Le malade imaginaire – ~~enfin~~ 19° Rome vaincue etc. etc. etc.

Le Coiffeur hommes – 400 fr.  
Jamaux -----<sup>10</sup>  
M. Léon -----

11.

Monsieur l'administrateur Général  
Messieurs les membres du Comité

J'ai la ferme conviction que vous voudrez bien m'absoudre de la respectueuse liberté que je prends en vous adressant cette lettre, dictée par des considérations d'absolu nécessité.

Votre bienveillance et vos sympathies personnelles m'encouragent à faire appel à votre justice.

Attaché à la Comédie-Française depuis mars 1857, sous les auspices de M<sup>r</sup> Régnier, en qualité de musicien et de sous-chef; promu chef, directeur du service musical depuis 1871; c'est donc une période de trente-quatre années passées au théâtre sans

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<sup>10</sup> It is unclear to what the two lines preceding Léon's signature refer. Jamaux is most likely a surname.



interruption.<sup>11</sup> Multiples sont mes fonctions : Chef d'orchestre, chef de chant, compositeur, chargé de l'administration des artistes musiciens et de leur recrutement, bibliothécaire etc.....

Les nécessités de la vie, ayant augmenté, dans des proportions considérables, je constate que malgré tous mes efforts, ma situation devient difficile, par suite du nombre toujours croissant des pièces à musique, de répétitions, et de matinées qui nécessitent d'une façon permanente ma présence au théâtre; sans compter le temps employé au recrutement du personnel orchestre et chant, aux convocations, recherches artistiques.

Eh dehors du théâtre il ne m'est plus permis de m'assurer des ressources certaines et durables.

Par un sentiment que vous appréciez, Messieurs, membre de la société des auteurs et contre ses statuts, je n'ai jamais voulu déclarer une seule œuvre musicale [p. turn] écrite pour le théâtre, dans la crainte de créer un précédent ou faire naître un conflit avec la Comédie, m'interdisant de mon plein gré, toute vente, édition de mes œuvres et aliénant ainsi une source de bénéfices résultant des droits d'auteur.

De même, qu'aucun subside ne m'a jamais été accordé pour les différentes compositions, reconstitutions et adaptations musicales, qui j'ai faites pour la Comédie (elles s'élèvent à près de quarante).

Exempte de tout reproche, j'ai toujours pris les intérêts de la Comédie, dans l'emploi que je remplis depuis si longtemps avec conscience, zèle et dévouement. Arrivé presque au terme d'une carrière laborieuse, n'ayant que le théâtre pour tout revenu,

Je viens solliciter, Messieurs, une amélioration suffisante, au traitement annuel qui m'est alloué, me permettant de vivre honorablement et d'affirmer avec dignité les fonctions que j'exerce à la Comédie-Française.

Plein d'espérance, en votre équité,

Daignez agréer, Monsieur l'administrateur Général et Messieurs les membres du comité, l'expression de mes sentiments les plus respectueux et les plus dévoués

Laurent Léon

Pièces du répertoire de la Comédie-Française.

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<sup>11</sup> This line dates the letter to 1891. The list of Léon's works at the end of the letter includes several works performed in 1891 and 1892, including *Thermidor* (24 January 1891), *Grisélidis* (15 May 1891), *Horace et Lydie* (18 September 1891), *La Maison de Campagne* (1 January 1892), and *Le Sicilien* (19 May 1892). Yet the list omits such works of spring 1891 as *Rosalinde* (29 May 1891). The likely explanation is that the letter was written in early 1891 and included completed scores with projected performance dates, of which *Rosalinde* was not yet one.

Musique de Mr. Léon –

Rome vaincue – Jean de Thommeray – Le sphinx – Bertrand et Raton – Les Effrontés – Le D<sup>elles</sup> de St. Cyr – (musique nouvelle) L'Etrangère (une partie) Pendant le bal – La fille de Roland – Hamlet (sauf le 4<sup>ème</sup> acte) – La bûcheronne – Les Fâcheux (musique nouvelle) Souvent homme varie – Hernani – Raymonde – La Seiglière – Maison de campagne – Hymne à Victor-Hugo etc....  
Thermidor, Griselidis etc.

Adaptations et reconstitutions. –

Bourgeois-Gentilhomme – Pourceaugnac – Mariage de Figaro – Malade imaginaire – Le Sicilien – François le Champi – Camille – L'honneur et l'argent – Horace et Lydie – Mari à la campagne – Le cœur et la dot – Moi – Attendez-moi sous l'orme – Le lion amoureux etc.....

Sans compter les pièces comportant du piano ou de l'orgue au nombre de vingt environ. –

APPENDIX III: A BRIEF CHRONOLOGY  
OF THE PRODUCTIONS OF *L'ARLÉSIENNE*

*L'Arlésienne* reached its 986th and final performance at the Odéon (to date) on 22 April 1946; it was also performed 24 times at the Éden-Théâtre between 22 January and 29 March 1893, and at the Comédie-Française (rue Richelieu) 30 times from 8 October 1933 through 1935, and 64 times at the Comédie-Française Luxembourg (i.e., the annexed Théâtre de l'Odéon) from 23 December 1950 through 1952, all in addition to the 19 performances of *L'Arlésienne* at the Théâtre du Vaudeville in 1872. These Parisian performances alone total to 1123 by 1952. Additionally, it was performed in 1900 at the Théâtre de Nîmes and the Théâtre de Monte-Carlo, as a gala performance (translated into Provençal) in 1908 by the Opéra Municipal de Marseille, and in 1910 at the Fête Daudet-Bizet at the Trocadéro in Paris. In June 1911 the Provençal translation was revived at the Théâtre Athéna Nike en Provence; 1912 saw a reprise at the Trocadéro with the sets from the Odéon. Acts 4 and 5 were performed at the Opéra de Paris on 20 June 1914 as part of a retirement gala for André Antoine, the director of the Odéon. In 1922 the Théâtre Mogador in Paris mounted the work for fifty performances, while in July and August of that year *L'Arlésienne* was performed at the Théâtre Antique d'Orange in Provence. It was performed at the Arènes de Fréjus in July and August 1923; at the Théâtre Royal de Gand in December 1924; as a gala at the Théâtre National de l'Opéra in Paris on 24 June 1925; at the Palais du Trocadéro in Paris by the Théâtre National Populaire, and at the Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt, in 1926; at the Théâtre de Monte-Carlo et Casino de Nice in 1927; in 1928, in Bulgaria and Toulouse (in April); in March 1929 at the Théâtre National Populaire du Trocadéro; at the Bataclan in April 1930, and at the Théâtre Montparnasse in June (performed by the cast of the Odéon); at the Théâtre Vaugirard in 1931, by the troupe of the Odéon; the Théâtre National Populaire du Trocadéro in 1933, and apparently also at the Opera of Cairo the same year. More recently, artists of the Comédie-Française performed the work in Angers in 1954. In 1980, the work was performed in Lyon at the Théâtre des Célestins; in 1997, the work was performed some 100 times in Paris and on tour by the cast of the Folies Bergère. In October 2005, the Théâtre Impérial de Compiègne adapted the work as a monologue, which was reprised on 18 March 2007.

## APPENDIX IV: LONGER CITATIONS ON *UBU ROI*

Example One: Jarry's letter to Lugné-Poe

8 janvier 1896

Cher Monsieur,

L'acte dont nous avons parlé vous sera porté à la date dite, soit vers le 20. Mais je vous écris d'avance pour vous demander de réfléchir à un projet que je vous sou mets et qui serait peut-être intéressant. Puisque *Ubu roi* vous a plu et forme un tout, si cela vous convenait, je pourrais le simplifier un peu, et nous aurions une chose qui serait d'un effet comique sûr, puisque, à une lecture non prévenue, elle vous avait paru telle.

Il serait curieux, je crois, de pouvoir monter cette chose (sans aucun frais du reste) dans le goût suivant:

1° Masque pour le personnage principal, Ubu, lequel masque je pourrais vous procurer au besoin. Et puis je crois que vous vous êtes occupé vous-même de la question masques.

2° Une tête de cheval en carton qu'il se pendrait au cou, comme dans l'ancien théâtre anglais, pour les deux seules scènes équestres, tous détails qui étaient dans l'esprit de la pièce, puisque j'ai voulu faire un « guignol ».

3° Adoption d'un seul décor, ou mieux, d'un fond uni, supprimant les levers et baissers de rideau pendant l'acte unique. Un personnage correctement vêtu viendrait, comme dans les guignols, accrocher une pancarte signifiant le lieu de la scène. (Notez que je suis certain de la supériorité « suggestive » de la pancarte écrite sur le décor. Un décor, ni une figuration ne rendraient « l'armée polonaise en marche dans l'Ukraine ».)

4° Suppression des foules, lesquelles sont souvent mauvaises à la scène et gênent l'intelligence. Ainsi, un seul soldat dans la scène de la revue, un seul dans la bousculade où Ubu dit: « Quel tas de gens, quelle fuite, etc. ».

5° Adoption d'un « accent » ou mieux d'une « voix » spéciale pour le personnage principal.

6° Costumes aussi peu couleur locale ou chronologiques que possible (ce qui rend mieux l'idée d'une chose éternelle); modernes de préférence, puisque la satire est moderne; et sordides, parce que le drame en paraît plus misérable et horrible.

Il n'y a que trois personnages importants ou qui parlent beaucoup, Ubu, mère Ubu et Bordure. Vous avez un acteur extraordinaire pour la silhouette de Bordure contrastant avec l'épaisseur d'Ubu: le grand qui clamait: « C'est mon droit. »

Enfin, je n'oublie pas que ceci n'est qu'un projet à votre bon plaisir, et je ne vous ai parlé d'*Ubu roi* que parce qu'il a l'avantage d'être accessible à la majorité du public. D'ailleurs, l'autre chose sera prête et vous verrez qu'elle vaudra mieux. Mais si le projet ci-contre ne vous semblait point absurde, j'aimerais autant en être informé, pour ne point travailler à quelque chose qui ferait double emploi. L'une comme l'autre ne dépasseront point trois quarts d'heure de scène, comme nous en étions convenus.

A vous, avec l'assurance de toute ma sympathie pour votre entreprise qui m'a encore donné hier une belle soirée d'art.

Alfred Jarry.

(Reprinted in *Jarry: Tout Ubu*. Ed. Noël Arnaud and Henri Bordillon. Paris: Gallimard, 1978: 412-413.)

Example Two: Preliminary Address at the First Performance of *Ubu Roi*, December 10, 1896

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It should be quite unnecessary (apart from being slightly absurd for an author to talk about his own play) for me to come up here with a few words before the production of *Ubu Roi* after so many more distinguished people have spoken kindly of it: among whom I would especially like to thank Messieurs Silvestre, Mendès, Scholl, Lorrain and Bauer – in fact, my only excuse for speaking to you now is that I am afraid that their generosity found *Ubu*'s belly far more swollen with satirical symbols than we have really been able to stuff it with for this evening's entertainment.

The Swedenborgian Doctor Mises has quite rightly compared rudimentary works with the most perfect achievements, and embryonic forms with the most evolved creatures, pointing out that the former categories lack any element of accident, protuberance or special characteristics, leaving them a practically spherical form like the ovule or Mister *Ubu*; and, equally, that the latter possess so many personal attributes that they too take on a spherical form, by virtue of the axiom that the smoothest body is the one presenting the greatest number of different facets. Which is why you are free to see in Mister *Ubu* as many allusions as you like, or, if you prefer, just a plain puppet, a schoolboy's caricature of one of his teachers who represented for him everything in the world that is grotesque.

This is the point of view that the Théâtre de l'Œuvre is going to give you this evening. A few actors have agreed to lose their own personalities during two consecutive evenings by performing with masks over their faces so that they can mirror the mind and soul of the man-sized marionettes that you are about to see. As the play has been put on in some haste and in a spirit of friendly improvisation, *Ubu* has not had time to obtain his own real mask, which would have been very awkward to wear in any case, and his confederates, too, will be decked out in only approximate disguise. It was very important that, if the actors were to be as much like marionettes as possible, we should have fairground music scored for brass and gongs and megaphones – which we simply did not have time to get together. But let us not be too hard on the Théâtre de l'Œuvre: our main intention is to bring *Ubu* to life through the versatile genius of Monsieur Gémier, and tonight and tomorrow are the only evenings when Monsieur Ginisty – and the current production of Villiers de l'Isle-Adam – is free to let us borrow him. We are going to make do with three complete acts, followed by two acts incorporating some cuts. I have made all the cuts the actors wanted (even sacrificing several passages essential to the understanding of the play), and for their benefit I have kept in scenes which I would have been only too happy to eliminate. For, however much we may have wanted to be marionettes, we have not quite hung each character from a string, which may not necessarily have been an absurd idea but would certainly have been rather awkward for us, and in any case we were not quite sure exactly how many people were going to be available for our crowd scenes, whereas with real marionettes a handful of pulleys and strings serves to control a whole army. So in order to fill our stage you will see leading characters such as *Ubu* and the Czar talking to each other while prancing around on their

cardboard horses (which, incidentally, we have been up all night painting). At least the first three acts and the closing scenes will be played in full, just as they were written.

And we also have the ideal setting, for just as a play can be set in Eternity by, say, letting people fire revolvers in the year one thousand or thereabouts, so you will see doors opening onto snow-covered plains under blue skies, mantelpieces with clocks on them swinging open to turn into doorways, and palm trees flourishing at the foot of beds so that little elephants perching on bookshelves can graze on them.

As for our nonexistent orchestra, we shall have to conjure up in our imagination all its sound and fury, contenting ourselves meanwhile with a few drums and pianos executing Ubu's themes from the wings.

And the action, which is about to start, takes place in Poland, that is to say Nowhere.

(translated by Simon Watson Taylor and printed in *Selected Works of Alfred Jarry*, Roger Shattuck and Simon Watson Taylor, eds., New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1965, 76-8.)

## APPENDIX V: INCIDENTAL MUSIC PREMIÈRES AND REVIVALS, 1864-1914

Although this appendix has the years 1864 to 1914 as its focus, I have included nineteenth-century premières which preceded these dates where possible, especially for composers whose main body of work fell between the dates of this study. Similarly, works after 1914 have been included for composers whose careers continued after that year.

A wide variety of sources were consulted in the compilation of this catalog. The *fichiers* on “musique de scène” of the catalogue of the Département de la Musique of the Bibliothèque nationale de France served as the starting point. Additional consultation was made in the catalogues of the Opéra, Arts du Spectacle, Arsenal and François Mitterand branches (consultation of the literary and dramatic sources often provided dates and locations of premières which were missing in other sources). For well-known composers and those who showed up repeatedly in the appendix, a consultation was made of the composer *fichier* at the Département de la Musique as well. Pauline Girard’s catalogue *Musiques de scène des théâtres parisiens conservées à la Bibliothèque-Musée de l’Opéra: 1778-1878: inventaire* also served as an important source.<sup>1</sup> The catalogues in dissertations by Pierre Menneret and Elinor Nichols-Olin served as important cross-references.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Pauline Girard, *Musiques de Scène des Théâtres Parisiens Conservées à la Bibliothèque-Musée de l’Opéra: 1778-1878: inventaire* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1993). This catalogue remains at the Bibliothèque-Musée de l’Opéra, while the collection it describes has been moved to the Département de la Musique.

<sup>2</sup> Pierre Menneret, *La Musique de scène en France de Napoleon III à Poincaré 1852-1914* (Le Perreux: P. Menneret, 1973) and Elinor Nichols Olin, *Le Ton et la parole: Melodrama in France, 1871-1913* (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1991).

Additionally, the music *fichiers* were consulted at the Bibliothèque-Musée de la Comédie-Française.

Edouard Noël and Edmond Stoullig's *Les Annales du théâtre et de la musique* 1875-1914 (Paris: Charpentier et Cie, 1876-1896; Paris: P. Ollendorff, 1897-1916) and Albert Soubies' *Almanach des spectacles* 1874-1913 (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1875-1914) provided much of the detail.<sup>3</sup> Charles Beaumont Wicks' *The Parisian Stage* vols. 4 and 5 (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1967, 1979) provided information on works which preceded the works of Noël and Stoullig, and Soubies. The daily press, especially *Le Figaro* and *Le Temps*, was consulted for factchecking and resolution of discrepancies in other sources.

This appendix is presented in chronological order by date of première (or, by date of revival for scores composed before 1864). Subsequent revivals of scores are noted in the "Other Notes" section of each entry, if known.

The following abbreviations have been used:

adapt.: adapted  
arr.: arranged  
bsn.: bassoon  
c. : circa  
cb.: contrabass  
cl.: clarinet  
cnt.: cornet  
engl. hn.: English horn  
ex.: example(s)  
fasc.: fascicle(s)  
fl.: flute  
harm.: harmonium  
hn.: horn  
illustr.: illustrated  
ob.: oboe  
oph.: ophicléide

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<sup>3</sup> After 1896, Edmond Stoullig wrote the volumes alone and published with the press of Paul Ollendorff of Paris.



org.: organ  
picc.: piccolo  
pp.: pages  
pseud.: pseudonym  
pst.: piston  
timp.: timpani  
tr.: translated  
trbn.: trombone  
vcl.: cello  
vla.: viola  
vln.: violin

# Incidental Music in France, 1864-1914

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**Catalog Number** 1  
**Date of Première/Revival** February 9, 1832  
**Play** *Louis XI*  
**Composer** Anonymous  
**Playwright** Delavigne, Casimir  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** C-F 6P1 105 (manuscript orchestral score, 16 pp., and Choeur du 1er acte & choeur villageois, with 3-part accompaniment, 6 pp.); C-F 6P1 106 (score with orchestra, 10 pp., vocal score, 3 pp.)

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**Catalog Number** 2  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 18, 1833  
**Play** *Les Enfants d'Edouard*  
**Composer** Auber, Daniel-François-Esprit  
**Playwright** Delavigne, Casimir  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie en 3 actes, en vers  
**Other Notes** Music for Act III  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** C-F 6P1 62 (3 parts: bass, horns in E-flat, clarinets in B-flat)

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**Catalog Number** 3  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 29, 1838  
**Play** *Athalie*  
**Composer** Boieldieu, Adrien  
**Playwright** Racine, Jean  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie en 5 actes  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** C-F 6P1 22 (manuscript piano-vocal score); C-F 6P1 23 (3 manuscript instrumental parts for choruses); 6P1 25 (25 manuscript parts for overture)

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**Catalog Number** 4  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 7, 1843  
**Play** *Les Burgraves*  
**Composer** Anonymous  
**Playwright** Hugo, Victor  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en trois parties  
**Other Notes** Four pieces for the first act.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** C-F 6P1 34 (manuscript 7-page score and parts, 1843)  
& C-F 6P1 35 (fanfares, 8 manuscript parts: picc., bsn., timp., trbn., oph., hn., cls., tpts. & pistons, 1843)

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**Catalog Number** 5  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 21, 1844  
**Play** *Antigone*  
**Composer** Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Felix  
**Playwright** Sophocles (Fr. tr. Auguste Meurice & Paul Vacquerie; Ger. tr. Jacob Christian Donner, adapt. Ludwig Tieck & August Böckh)  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie en 5 actes en vers  
**Other Notes** The Paris Opéra performed an adaptation by André Bonnard at the Théâtre Antique d'Orange on 30 July 1938, with music by Mendelssohn, Saint-Saëns, Messager (Wolff, *L'Opéra au Palais Garnier*, 343).  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus D. 7874 (piano-vocal score, 1844); BnF-Mus D. 7537 (piano reduction, n.d.); BnF-Mus D. 7536 (score, 1850)

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**Catalog Number** 6  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 6, 1846  
**Play** *Diogène*  
**Composer** Ancassy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Pyat, Félix  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes et un prologue, en prose  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 759 (15 manuscript parts); BnF-ASP 8o Rf. 32933 & BnF-ASP 8o Rf. 32934 (play, Paris: Pagnerre, 1846)

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**Catalog Number** 7  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 23, 1846  
**Play** *Échec et mat*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Feuillet, Octave & Paul Bocage  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 741 (manuscript rehearsal score and 10 parts)

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**Catalog Number** 8  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 14, 1846  
**Play** *La Closerie des genêts*  
**Composer** Artus, Amédée  
**Playwright** Soulié, Frédéric  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes et 8 tableaux, précédé d'un prologue

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**Catalog Number** 9  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 16, 1847  
**Play** *Alceste*  
**Composer** Edwart, Antoine-Amable-Elle  
**Playwright** Dumas, Hippolyte, after Euripides  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie en 3 actes en vers  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 18061 (autograph manuscript rehearsal score, choral parts, orchestral parts)

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**Catalog Number** 10  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 29, 1848  
**Play** *La Poule aux œufs d'or*  
**Composer** Fessy  
**Playwright** D'Ennery, Adolphe & Clairville (Louis-François-Nicolaïe Clairville, dit)  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Cirque Olympique  
**Dramatic Genre** Féerie en 3 actes  
**Other Notes** Reprised with music by Vizentini at the Théâtre de la Gaîté in 1872.

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**Catalog Number** 11  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 15, 1849  
**Play** *Les Bourgeois des métiers*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Vaez, Gustave  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes et 10 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Music for "Air de danse, pas de trois."  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma Ms. 760 (violin conductor and 13 manuscript parts: fl., ob., cl., hn., cnt., trbn., vln. I (2 ex.), vln. II, vla., vcl., cb. (2 ex.))

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**Catalog Number** 12  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 23, 1849  
**Play** *Le Juif errant*  
**Composer** Artus, Amédée  
**Playwright** Sue, Eugène  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes et 17 tableaux

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**Catalog Number** 13  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 5, 1849  
**Play** *Evelyne*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Prébois, Adèle Regnauld de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 2 actes, en prose  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 790 (manuscript rehearsal score and parts)

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**Catalog Number** 14  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 5, 1849  
**Play** *La Farnésina ou La Vierge de Raphaël*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Méry, Joseph  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 3 actes, en vers  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 788 (13 manuscript parts: fl., cl., ob.,

hn., cnt., trbn., timp., vln. 1 (2 ex.), vln. conductor, vla.,  
vcl., cb. (2 ex.)

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**Catalog Number** 15  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 26, 1849  
**Play** *L'Héritier du Czar*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Foucher, Paul & Paul-Auguste Gombault  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame historique en 5 actes, en prose  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 757 (manuscript rehearsal score and parts)

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**Catalog Number** 16  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 23, 1849  
**Play** *François le Champi*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Sand, George  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 3 actes, en prose  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 743 (manuscript rehearsal score and 14 parts)

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**Catalog Number** 17  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 15, 1850  
**Play** *Le Sicilien*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Molière (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin, dit)  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie-ballet en 1 acte  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 791 (manuscript rehearsal score and parts)

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**Catalog Number** 18  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 13, 1850  
**Play** *Chariot d'enfant*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Méry, Joseph & Gérard de Nerval  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris

**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes et 7 tableaux en vers  
**Other Notes** Translation of King Soudraka's Indian drama.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 765 (manuscript rehearsal score and parts); BnF-Tolbiac NUMM- 74550 (play, Paris: D. Giraud et J. Dagneau, 1850)

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**Catalog Number** 19  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 29, 1850  
**Play** *Le Chandelier*  
**Composer** Offenbach, Jacques  
**Playwright** Musset, Alfred de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 3 actes et 7 tableaux

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**Catalog Number** 20  
**Date of Première/Revival** September 21, 1850  
**Play** *Un Mariage sous la Régence*  
**Composer** Offenbach, Jacques  
**Playwright** Guillard, Léon, after the novel of Brindeau  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 3 actes, en prose  
**Other Notes** Ballet (See Bonnassies, *La Musique à la Comédie-Française*, 38).  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** C-F 6P1 122 (manuscript); AN F18 676 (play)

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**Catalog Number** 21  
**Date of Première/Revival** September 28, 1850  
**Play** *Les Péchés de jeunesse*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Souvestre, Émile  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 3 actes  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 772 (manuscript rehearsal score and parts); BnF-Ars GD-15733 (play, Paris: Giraud et Dagneau, 1850)

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**Catalog Number** 22  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 13, 1850  
**Play** *Les Baisers*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Lucas, Hippolyte  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 773 (manuscript rehearsal score and parts)

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**Catalog Number** 23  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 13, 1850  
**Play** *Sapho*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Boyer, Philoxène  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 1 acte, en vers  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 775 (manuscript rehearsal score and parts)

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**Catalog Number** 24  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 28, 1850  
**Play** *Jenny l'Ouvrière*  
**Composer** Vaillard, Adrien  
**Playwright** Decourcelle, Adrien & Jules Barbier  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-ASP Rf. 40357

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**Catalog Number** 25  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 19, 1850  
**Play** *Le Joueur de flûte*  
**Composer** Offenbach, Jacques  
**Playwright** Augier, Émile  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 1 acte, en vers  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** C-F 6P1 104 (manuscript score of overture, 3 manuscript parts); AN F18 676 (play)

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**Catalog Number** 26  
**Date of Première/Revival** ? ?, 1851  
**Play** *Le Malade imaginaire*  
**Composer** Roque, Antoine, Jacques Offenbach & Marc-Antoine Charpentier  
**Playwright** Molière (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin, dit)  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie-ballet en 3 actes et 1 prologue  
**Other Notes** Overture, second entr'acte & the ceremony by Offenbach, first entr'acte by Roque; duo of Act 2 by Charpentier.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** C-F 6P1 117 (manuscript score)

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**Catalog Number** 27  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 4, 1851  
**Play** *Le Testament d'un garçon, ou La Leçon d'armes*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Desnoyer, Charles & Eugène Nus  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 794 (manuscript rehearsal score and 12 parts)

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**Catalog Number** 28  
**Date of Première/Revival** February 1, 1851  
**Play** *Don Gaspar*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Lelioux, Adrien  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 804 (manuscript rehearsal score and parts)

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**Catalog Number** 29  
**Date of Première/Revival** February 6, 1851  
**Play** *La Belle au bois dormant*  
**Composer** Launois, Ach.  
**Playwright** Gavrand, Georges & Mengral  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de Luxembourg

<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Féerie en 5 actes en prose
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<b>Catalog Number</b>	30
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	February 28, 1851
<b>Play</b>	<i>Valéria</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Offenbach, Jacques
<b>Playwright</b>	Maquet, Auguste & Jules Lacroix
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Comédie-Française
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Drame en vers, en 5 actes
<b>Other Notes</b>	Fanfares & chanson
<b>Library/Archive Call Nos.</b>	C-F 6P1 197 (10 manuscript parts); AN F18 676 (play)
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<b>Catalog Number</b>	31
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	March 21, 1851
<b>Play</b>	<i>Les Contes d'Hofmann</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin
<b>Playwright</b>	Barbier, Jules, and Michel Carré
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre de l'Odéon
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Drame en 5 actes
<b>Other Notes</b>	Overture and 46 numbers.
<b>Library/Archive Call Nos.</b>	BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 803 (manuscript rehearsal score and 15 parts)
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<b>Catalog Number</b>	32
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	October 21, 1851
<b>Play</b>	<i>André del Sarto</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin
<b>Playwright</b>	Musset, Alfred de
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre de l'Odéon
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Drame en 2 actes, en prose
<b>Library/Archive Call Nos.</b>	BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 754 (manuscript rehearsal score and 13 parts: fl., cl., hn, cnt., trbn., vln. I (2 ex.), vln. II, vla., vcl., cb. (2 ex.), timp.)
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<b>Catalog Number</b>	33
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	November 4, 1851
<b>Play</b>	<i>Mademoiselle de la Seiglière</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Offenbach, Jacques
<b>Playwright</b>	Sandeau, Jules & P. Régnier

**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 4 actes

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**Catalog Number** 34  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 9, 1852  
**Play** *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*  
**Composer** Gounod, Charles-François  
**Playwright** Molière (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin, dit)  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie-ballet en 5 actes en prose  
**Other Notes** Gounod wrote one movement, with the remaining music by Lully.

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**Catalog Number** 35  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 29, 1851  
**Play** *Les Marionnettes du docteur*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Carré, Michel & Jules Barbier  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 693 (manuscript rehearsal score and parts); BnF-ASP Rf. 37757

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**Catalog Number** 36  
**Date of Première/Revival** February 11, 1852  
**Play** *Le Premier tableau de Poussin*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Tailhand, Arthur  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 749 (manuscript rehearsal score and 11 parts)

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**Catalog Number** 37  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 16, 1852  
**Play** *L'Exil de Machiavel*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Guilliard, Léon

**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 751 (manuscript rehearsal score and 11 parts)

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**Catalog Number** 38  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 21, 1852  
**Play** *Le Bonhomme Jadis*  
**Composer** Offenbach, Jacques  
**Playwright** Murger, Henry  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 1 acte  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** AN F18 677 (play)

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**Catalog Number** 39  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 21, 1852  
**Play** *Le Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène*  
**Composer** Artus, Alexandre  
**Playwright** Carré, Michel, Jules Barbier & Alexandre Artus  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame historique en 3 parties et 18 tableaux, dont un prologue et un épilogue de M. Artus  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-RdJ 8-YTH-11573 & BnF-ASP Rf. 37762 (play, Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1852)

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**Catalog Number** 40  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 18, 1852  
**Play** *Ulysse*  
**Composer** Gounod, Charles-François  
**Playwright** Ponsard, François  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie en 5 actes, en vers  
**Other Notes** This work mixes melodrama, solo and choral singing with instrumental sections. Menneret cites review by J.-B. Weckerlin in *Le Ménestrel*, 20 June 1852: "A tragedy with chorus, this is indeed a new attraction: since Racine's *Esther* and *Athalie*, the genre has scarcely been attempted, except a few years ago at the Odéon with the tragedies of Sophocles which, despite the beautiful music

of Mendelssohn, only achieved mixed success” (“Une tragédie avec chœur, c’était en effet une nouveauté attrayante : depuis l’*Esther* et l’*Athalie* de Racine, cet essai n’avait guère été renouvelé, si ce n’est à l’Odéon il y a quelques années, par les tragédies de Sophocle qui, malgré la belle musique de Mendelssohn, n’ont obtenu qu’un succès contestable”). Travers, *Catalogue of Nineteenth-Century French Theatrical Parodies* notes 4 parodies of *Ulysse* in 1852. It remained a staple at the Comédie-Française into the twentieth century. Revived at the Odéon, 11 April 1901 with musical direction by Émile Pessard. Revived at Orange, 30 July 1927.

**Library/Archive Call Nos.**

BnF-Mus Ms. 1757 (autograph manuscript, 279 pp.); BnF-Mus Ms. 1774 (autograph manuscript of the piano part written by the composer to replace the harp in the first chorus); BnF-Mus Ms. 1775 (autograph manuscript, epilogue to the last tableau, replacing Act 5, 59 pp.); BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 443 (manuscript orchestral score fragments, 7 leaves, mid-19th century); BnF-Mus Vm2 732 (orchestral score, 273 pp., Paris: Bureau central de la Musique, 1853), BnF-Mus Vm2. 733 (piano score, Paris: Bureau central de la Musique, 185(3?)); BnF-Mus L. 4132 (cited by Menneret); C-F 6P1 194

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	41
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	September ?, 1852
<b>Play</b>	<i>Le Barbier de Séville ou Le Précaution inutile</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Offenbach, Jacques
<b>Playwright</b>	Beaumarchais, Pierre-Augustin Caron de
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Comédie-Française
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Comédie en 5 actes

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	42
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	September ?, 1852
<b>Play</b>	<i>Le Mariage de Figaro ou La Folle Journée</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Offenbach, Jacques
<b>Playwright</b>	Beaumarchais, Pierre-Augustin Caron de
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Comédie-Française
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Comédie en 5 actes

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	43
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**Date of Première/Revival** September 1, 1852  
**Play** *Marie de Beaumarchais*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Galoppe, Jean-Hyacinthe-Adonis (dit Galoppe-d'Onquaire),  
after Goethe  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 764 (manuscript rehearsal score and parts)

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**Catalog Number** 44  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 26, 1852  
**Play** *Le Feuilletton d'Aristophane*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Boyer, Philoxène & Théodore de Banville  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 782 (manuscript rehearsal score and 17 parts)

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**Catalog Number** 45  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 18, 1853  
**Play** *Le Case de l'oncle Tom*  
**Composer** Anonymous  
**Playwright** Dumanoir (Philippe-François Pinel, dit) & Adolphe-Philippe D'Ennery, after the novel by "Harriett Beecker Stowe"  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 8 actes  
**Other Notes** Reprised 5 July 1901 at the Porte-Saint-Martin, played 14 times with success; "In the second and seventh tableaux, dances and songs by the American minstrels 'The Plantation's Troop'" ("Aux 2e et 7e tableaux, danses et chants par les minstrels américains « The Plantation's Troop » ... Puis, la pièce a été agrémentée d'une troupe de véritables minstrels américains, découverts par Coquelin dans un music-hall de Londres. Une noire chanteuse, à la voix assez extraordinaire, s'est fait applaudir, au second acte, au milieu d'une douzaine de « Chocolat », chargés de la partie du chœur à bouche fermée," Stoullig, *Les Annales du Théâtre et de la*

*Musique* 1901, 298-300, citations 298, 300.

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**Catalog Number** 46  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 20, 1853  
**Play** *Père tranquille*  
**Composer** Groot, Adolphe de  
**Playwright** Feval, Paul  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites review by J. Lovy in *Le Ménestrel*, 27 March 1853.

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**Catalog Number** 47  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 15, 1853  
**Play** *Le Vieux Caporal*  
**Composer** Groot, Adolphe de  
**Playwright** Dumanoir (Philippe-François Pinel, dit) & Adolphe-Philippe D'Ennery  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites review by J. Lovy in *Le Ménestrel*, 15 May 1853.

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**Catalog Number** 48  
**Date of Première/Revival** September 19, 1853  
**Play** *Gusman le Brave*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Méry, Joseph  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes, en vers  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 786 (manuscript rehearsal score and 12 parts: fl., cl., cnt., hns., trbn., timp., vln. I (2 ex.), vln. II, vla., cb. (2 ex.))

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**Catalog Number** 49  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 18, 1853  
**Play** *Murillo ou La Corde du pendu*  
**Composer** Offenbach, Jacques & Giacomo Meyerbeer  
**Playwright** Langlé, Aylic fils

**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en vers, en 3 actes  
**Other Notes** Bonnassies, *La Musique à la Comédie-Française*, 39, reports that Adam and Meyerbeer composed the score.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** C-F 6P1 140 (manuscript score for “Sérénade”); C-F 6P1 141 (score and 12 parts: vln. I (2 ex.), vln. II (2 ex.), vcl., cb., fl., ob., cl., bsn., hn. in D, pst. & tambour de basque); C-F 6P1 142 (parts: vln. I (3 ex.), vln. II (2 ex.), vla., vcl., cb., fl., ob., cl. in B-flat, bsn., cb., piston tpts., hn. in E-flat, vla., timbales, hn. in B-flat, castagnettes & trbn.)

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**Catalog Number** 50  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 28, 1853  
**Play** *Mauprat*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Sand, George  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l’Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes et 6 parties  
**Other Notes** Warmly received, played 59 times in 1853. Reprised 14 July 1855, played 13 times during that month.

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**Catalog Number** 51  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 13, 1854  
**Play** *Romulus*  
**Composer** Offenbach, Jacques  
**Playwright** Dumas, Alexandre père, Octave Feuillet & Paul Bocage  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 1 acte  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** AN F18 677 (play)

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**Catalog Number** 52  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 5, 1854  
**Play** *Au Printemps*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Laluyé, Léopold  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l’Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 1 acte en vers  
**Other Notes** Undated letter in C-F dossier “Ancessy” shows that the score was copied over for use in C-F, without changes,



**Library/Archive Call Nos.** under the chef d'orchestre Roque.  
BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 725 (manuscript rehearsal score and 15 parts); C-F 6P1 16 (manuscript score)

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**Catalog Number** 53  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 24, 1854  
**Play** *La Servante du Roi*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Duhomme, Frédéric & Elie Sauvage  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** Vma. Ms. 777 (manuscript rehearsal score and parts)

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**Catalog Number** 54  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 12, 1854  
**Play** *Le Songe d'une nuit d'hiver*  
**Composer** Offenbach, Jacques  
**Playwright** Plouvier, Edouard  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 2 actes en prose  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** AN F18 678 (play)

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**Catalog Number** 55  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 26, 1854  
**Play** *Schamyl*  
**Composer** Gondois  
**Playwright** Meurice, Paul  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes et 9 tableaux  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Tolbiac 8-YTH-16215 & BnF-ASP 8 Rf. 45503 & BnF-Ars GD-17691 (play, Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1854)

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**Catalog Number** 56  
**Date of Première/Revival** September 18, 1854  
**Play** *Le Vicaire de Wakefield...*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Nus, Eugène & E.H. Tisserant  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon

**Dramatic Genre** Drame  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 804 (manuscript rehearsal score and parts)

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**Catalog Number** 57  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 4, 1854  
**Play** *La Conscience*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Dumas, Alexandre père & Joseph-Philippe Lockroy  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 805 (manuscript rehearsal score and 13 parts)

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**Catalog Number** 58  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 14, 1855  
**Play** *Molière enfant*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Vierne, Edouard  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 789 (manuscript rehearsal score and 12 parts: fl., cl., cnt., hn., trbn., timp., vln. I (2 ex.), vln. II, vla., cb. (2 ex.))

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**Catalog Number** 59  
**Date of Première/Revival** March / April ?, 1855  
**Play** *Le Décaméron ou La Grotte d'Azur*  
**Composer** Offenbach, Jacques  
**Playwright** Méry, Joseph  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Salle Herz  
**Dramatic Genre** Légende napolitaine en 1 acte  
**Other Notes** Semi-staged play with songs.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** C-F 6R 24 (Paris: Heugel, n.d.)

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**Catalog Number** 60  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 20, 1855  
**Play** *Médée*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin

**Playwright** Lucas, Hippolyte  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 784 (manuscript rehearsal score and 18 parts: fl., cl., hn., cnt., trbn., timp., vln. I (2 ex.), vln. II, vla., cb. (2 ex.); Chasse: vln., vla., hn. I, hn. II, cnt., trbn.)

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**Catalog Number** 61  
**Date of Première/Revival** September 15, 1855  
**Play** *Maître Favilla*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Sand, George  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 3 actes, en prose  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 785 (manuscript rehearsal score and 19 parts: fl., cl., cnt., hn., trbn., timp., vln. I (2 ex.), vln. II, vla., vcl., cb. (2 ex.); onstage: principal vln., vln. I, vln. II, vla., cb.)

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**Catalog Number** 62  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 27, 1855  
**Play** *Le Raisin*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Beauvoir, Roger de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 2 actes, en vers  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 781 (manuscript rehearsal score and 13 parts: vln. I (2 ex.), vln. II, vla., cb. (2 ex.), fl., cl., hn., cnt., trbn., timp.)

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**Catalog Number** 63  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 28, 1855  
**Play** *La Florentine*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Edmond, Charles  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 806 (manuscript rehearsal score and parts)

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**Catalog Number** 64  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 19, 1856  
**Play** *La Revanche de Lauzun*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Musset, Paul de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 4 actes, en prose  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 762 (manuscript rehearsal score and 13 parts: fl., cl., hn., cnt., trbn., timp., vln. I (2 ex.), vln. II, vla., vcl., cb. (2 ex.))

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**Catalog Number** 65  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 28, 1856  
**Play** *Michel Cervantes*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Muret, Théodore  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 783 (manuscript rehearsal score and parts)

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**Catalog Number** 66  
**Date of Première/Revival** September 4, 1856  
**Play** *Le Médecin de l'âme*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Guillard, Léon & Maurice Desvignes  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 807 (manuscript rehearsal score and 14 parts)

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**Catalog Number** 67  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 10, 1857  
**Play** *France de Simiers*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Dugué, Ferdinand  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon

**Dramatic Genre** Drame  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 771 (manuscript rehearsal score and parts)

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**Catalog Number** 68  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 30, 1857  
**Play** *André Gérard*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Séjour, Victor  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 770 (manuscript parts)

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**Catalog Number** 69  
**Date of Première/Revival** July 10, 1857  
**Play** *Les Chevaliers du Brouillard*  
**Composer** Artus, Amédée  
**Playwright** D'Ennery, Adolphe & Ernest Bourget  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame à grand spectacle en 5 actes et 10 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Reprised at the Théâtre de la Gaîté on 31 October 1872 with additional ballet music by Vizentini.

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**Catalog Number** 70  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 20, 1858  
**Play** *Athalie*  
**Composer** Clément, Félix  
**Playwright** Racine, Jean  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Salle Sainte-Cécile  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie en 5 actes  
**Other Notes** Choruses sung by artists of the Opéra, likely in concert form: See Bonnassies, *La Musique à la Comédie-Française*, 21 fn2, and Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, suppl. T. 1, 187.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** C-F 6P1 17 (piano-vocal score, Paris: Jules Delalain et fils; Henry Lemoine, n.d.)

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**Catalog Number** 71  
**Date of Première/Revival** September 18, 1858  
**Play** *Œdipe roi*  
**Composer** Membrée, Edmond  
**Playwright** Sophocles, tr. Jules Lacroix  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie en 5 actes, en vers  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites review by Lovy in *Le Ménestrel*, 26 September 1858.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** C-F 6P1 146 (piano-vocal score, Paris: Paul Dupont, c. 1891) & 6P1 148 (undated manuscript orchestral score, 96 pp.); BnF-Mus Ms. 6757; BnF-Mus Vm7 7922; AN F18 680 (play)

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**Catalog Number** 72  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 8, 1859  
**Play** *Athalie*  
**Composer** Cohen, Jules  
**Playwright** Racine, Jean  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie en 5 actes  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites review by Lovy in *Le Ménestrel*, 10 April 1859.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 11017 (autograph manuscript orchestral score, 1859, 100 pp.); Cons. Ms. 11018 (partially autograph manuscript orchestral score, 214 pp.); Ms. 11015; Ms. 11016 (piano/voice/harp reduction, 1858, 44 pp.); Ms. 11019 (1) (Act I, sc. III, solo to insert in Act II after the first recit., piano-vocal autograph manuscript, 6 pp.); Ms. 11019 (2) (to insert in Act II, sc. 9, autograph manuscript orchestral score, 1859, 7 pp.); Ms. 11020 (orchestral interlude, Act III, sc.7, added at the 1858 reprise, 2 pp.); Vma Ms. 420 (manuscript, Act II soprano solo, 4 pp.); D. 12335 (manuscript, c. 1859, 199 pp.); D. 12337 (82 parts in various formats, instrumental and vocal, 1859); D. 12338 (Act I, sc. 4: chorus “tout l’univers est plein de sa magnificence,” 4 manuscript instrumental parts, 8 pp. each, c. 1859); C-F 6P1 18 (choral fanfares, Act IV, sc. 6 & Act I, sc. 3, manuscript parts for I & II tpt. in E-flat and III & IV tpt. in E-flat)

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**Catalog Number** 73  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 4, 1859  
**Play** *Un Usurier de village*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Rolland, Amédée & Charles Bataille  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame  
**Other Notes**  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 780 (manuscript parts: vln. I (2 ex.), vln. II, vla., cb. (2 ex.), fl., ob., cl., hns., cnt., trbn., timp.)

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**Catalog Number** 74  
**Date of Première/Revival** September 1, 1859  
**Play** *Noblesse oblige*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Keranion, Ange de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 5 actes en prose  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 710 (manuscript rehearsal score and parts)

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**Catalog Number** 75  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 13, 1860  
**Play** *Daniel Lambert*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Courcy, Charles de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 720 (manuscript rehearsal score and parts)

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**Catalog Number** 76  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 3, 1861  
**Play** *Un Jeune homme qui ne fait rien*  
**Composer** Chopin, Frédéric  
**Playwright** Legouvé, Ernest  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 1 acte et en vers  
**Other Notes** "...où M. Bressant chante avec goût une célèbre

romance de Chopin..." Bonnassies, *La Musique à la Comédie-Française*, 39.

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**Catalog Number** 77  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 28, 1862  
**Play** *Le Comte de Boursouffle*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet, dit)  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 708 (manuscript rehearsal score and parts)

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**Catalog Number** 78  
**Date of Première/Revival** August 14, 1862  
**Play** *Psyché*  
**Composer** Cohen, Jules  
**Playwright** Corneille, Pierre, Molière (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin, dit), Philippe Quinault & Jean de La Fontaine  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie en 5 actes et 6 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites review by J. Lovy in *Le Ménestrel*, 24 August 1862: "... Le Théâtre-Français renonce à la musique de Lulli pour le Psyché de Molière et Corneille. Cette musique a paru décidément trop passée de mode. On goûte volontiers quelques airs de Lulli dans le bon goût mais une partition toute entière du florentin pourrait bien nous écouer. Aussi, apprenons-nous avec plaisir que Monsieur Jules Cohen, déjà connu à Théâtre-Français pour ses chœurs d'*Athalie*, a été chargé de composer la musique nouvelle pour les vers de Quinault. On conservera quelques morceaux symphoniques de Lulli."  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Cons. Ms. 11032 (sketch of the orchestral score, autograph manuscript, 1862, 167 pp.); Ms. 11045 (manuscript sketches, 19 pp.); Ms. 11030 (autograph orchestral manuscript score, ca 1864, 28 pp., with changes for performance at the Théâtre de Versailles), Ms. 11031 (8 manuscript autograph parts, c. 1864, orchestral changes for performance at the Théâtre de Versailles); Ms. 11029 (autograph manuscript with sketches for orchestral changes for performance at the Théâtre de Versailles, 3 fasc.); Ms. 11028 (autograph manuscript piano-vocal fragments, 1862,



29 pp.); Ms. 11042 (1-2) (1. musical framework with poetic text, 4 leaves; 2. Thematic catalogue of pieces, 3 pp.); D. 12348 (manuscript orchestral score, c. 1862, 229 pp., “Ouverture et entr’actes de Lully; Chœurs-intermèdes-ballet de Jules Cohen” N.B. music of Lully is not included); D. 12349 (autograph orchestral manuscript score, c. 1862, 187 pp., “contenu voisin de celui de la partition d’orchestre cotée D. 12348 mais sans le grand ballet du prologue”); D. 12350 (manuscript orchestral score, 1864, 195 pp., “représentée sur le Théâtre du Palais impérial de Versailles le 20 août 1864 devant sa Majesté le roi d’Espagne, précédée de la marche royale espagnole arrangée par Jules Cohen;” score lacks Acts IV-V)

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	79
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	December 12, 1862
<b>Play</b>	<i>Niobé</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin
<b>Playwright</b>	Schmit, Alphonse
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre de l’Odéon
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Drame antique
<b>Library/Archive Call Nos.</b>	BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 714 (manuscript rehearsal score and parts: hp., fl., cl. in B-flat/C, hn., piston, trbn., timballes & triangle, vln. I, vln. II, vla., vcl., cb. 1)

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	80
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	February 10, 1863
<b>Play</b>	<i>Macbeth</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin
<b>Playwright</b>	Lacroix, Jules, after Shakespeare
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre de l’Odéon
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Drame en 5 actes, en vers
<b>Other Notes</b>	Performed 88 times that season.

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	81
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	February 4, 1864
<b>Play</b>	<i>La Maison du baigneur</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Fossey, Léon
<b>Playwright</b>	Maquet, Auguste J.
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre de la Gaîté

**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes et 12 tableaux  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Fonds Nwitter Mat. TH (255) (manuscript parts); BnF-Mus Vm26 4810 & BnF-Mus Vm12e 1716

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**Catalog Number** 82  
**Date of Première/Revival** February 20, 1864  
**Play** *Faustine*  
**Composer** Anonymous  
**Playwright** Bouilhet, Louis  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Fonds Nwitter Mat. TH (252) (manuscript parts); AN F18 903 (play manuscript)

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**Catalog Number** 83  
**Date of Première/Revival** July 5, 1864  
**Play** *Esther*  
**Composer** Cohen, Jules  
**Playwright** Racine, Jean  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie en 3 actes  
**Other Notes** Extensive choral (50 singers) and solo singing (8 soloists), and a considerable number of mélodrames. Menneret cites review at length by Gustave Bertrand in *Le Ménestrel*, 10 July 1864.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 11022 (autograph manuscript parts, 183 pp., many blank); BnF-Mus D. 12342-3 (59 instrumental and 4 vocal manuscript parts, c. 1864); BnF-Mus Vma Ms. 73 (manuscript with orchestration: fl., ob., cl. in B-flat, hns. in F/C, bsns., trbns., timp. in C/G, hp., strings, 4-part mixed choir of 50 singers, 4 female solo voices, 5 male solo voices, c. 1864, 237 pp.); BnF-Mus D. 12340 (orchestral score, c. 1864, 237 pp.)

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**Catalog Number** 84  
**Date of Première/Revival** August 31, 1864  
**Play** *Les Flibustiers de la sonore*  
**Composer** Anonymous  
**Playwright** Rolland, Amédée & Gustave Aimard  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin

**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes et 10 tableaux  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Fonds Nwitter Mat. TH (282) (manuscript parts); AN F18 904 (play manuscript)

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**Catalog Number** 85  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 24, 1864  
**Play** *La Fille de l'air*  
**Composer** Offenbach, Jacques  
**Playwright** Cogniard, Hyppolite, Théodore Cogniard & Provost Raymond  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Folies-Dramatiques  
**Dramatic Genre** Féerie en 5 actes et 9 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Reprise. Score published by E. Chailiot.

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**Catalog Number** 86  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 15, 1865  
**Play** *Les Enfants de la louve*  
**Composer** Anonymous  
**Playwright** Séjour, Victor & Théodore Barrière  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Gaîté  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes et 7 tableaux  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Fonds Nwitter Mat. TH (266) (manuscript parts); AN F18 928 (play manuscript)

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**Catalog Number** 87  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 7, 1865  
**Play** *Carmosine*  
**Composer** Ancessy, Joseph-Jacques-Augustin  
**Playwright** Musset, Alfred de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 718 (manuscript score and parts)

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**Catalog Number** 88  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 4, 1866  
**Play** *Cendrillon, ou La Pantoufle merveilleuse*  
**Composer** Chéri, Victor  
**Playwright** Clairville (Louis-François-Nicolaïe Clairville, dit), Albert Monnier & Ernest Blum

**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Châtelet  
**Dramatic Genre** Grande féerie en 5 actes et 30 tableaux

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**Catalog Number** 89  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 30, 1866  
**Play** *La Bergère d'Ivry*  
**Composer** Artus, Amédée  
**Playwright** Grangé, Eugène & Lambert-Thiboust  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Fonds Nuytter Mat. TH (356) (manuscript horn part); BnF-ASP 8o Rf. 43303 (play, Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1866)

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**Catalog Number** 90  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 23, 1866  
**Play** *Le Major Trichmann*  
**Composer** Anonymous  
**Playwright** Bourgeois, Anicet & Ernest Blum  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Gaîté  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes et 6 tableaux  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Fonds Nuytter Mat. TH (270) (manuscript parts); AN F18 929 (play manuscript)

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**Catalog Number** 91  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 20, 1867  
**Play** *Hernani*  
**Composer** Roque, A.  
**Playwright** Hugo, Victor  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame  
**Other Notes** Revival. Music added for Acts 4 & 5. Play was premiered, to a tremendous scandal, on 25 February 1830 at the Comédie-Française.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** C-F 6P1 96 (manuscript score signed "A. Roque, Paris, juin 1867" and 13 printed parts, Paris: n.p., 1867: vln. I (2 ex.), vln. II, vla., vcl., cb. (2 ex.), fl., ob., cl., bsn., hn., ophicléide or trbn., piston, piano)

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	92
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	July 5, 1867
<b>Play</b>	<i>Athalie</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Felix
<b>Playwright</b>	Racine, Jean
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre de l'Odéon
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Tragédie en 5 actes
<b>Other Notes</b>	Mendelssohn's music premiered in concert by the Concerts Padeloup, 27 January 1867; premiered with a single dramatic performance at the Odéon conducted by Padeloup on 5 July 1867. Concert performance revived by Colonne in 1873 (Noël and Stoullig, <i>Les Annales</i> 1884, 112). Performed on 21 December 1884 (17 performances) with Colonne directing his orchestra and the choirs for the 245th birthday of Racine at the Odéon, with "très belle recette." (Genty, <i>Histoire du Théâtre National de l'Odéon</i> , 60). Revived 21 December 1885 (3 performances), 13 October 1888 (14 performances) at the Odéon under Porel, with Lamoureux conducting the choir and orchestra (Genty, 67). Revived 20 March 1892 (3 performances) at the Grand-Théâtre under Porel. Performed 19 December 1896 (6 performances) at Odéon (see <i>Le Temps</i> , 20 December 1896, p. 3). Performances of 17 December 1901 at the Odéon featured Colonne and his orchestra.
<b>Library/Archive Call Nos.</b>	BnF-Mus D. 7539 (piano score, n.d.); BnF-Mus D. 7538 (orchestral score, n.d.), BnF-Mus D. 7875 (piano-vocal score, 1902); BnF-Mus D. 7547 (2) (n.d.)

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	93
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	September 10, 1867
<b>Play</b>	<i>Les Amours d'un petit clerc</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Raspail, Gilles
<b>Playwright</b>	Kock, Henry de
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre des Nouveautés
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Pièce fantastique en 3 actes

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	94
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	December 12, 1867
<b>Play</b>	<i>Les Voyages de Gulliver</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Chéri, Victor

**Playwright** Clairville (Louis-François-Nicolaïe Clairville, dit), Albert Monnier & Ernest Blum  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Châtelet  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce fantastique en 4 actes et 30 tableaux

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**Catalog Number** 95  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 29, 1868  
**Play** *Les Orphelins de Venise*  
**Composer** Fossey, Léon  
**Playwright** Garand, Charles  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Gaîté  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Fonds Nutter Mat. TH (272) (manuscript parts, dated "29 mai"); BnF-Tolbiac 8- YTH- 13228 (play, Paris: M. Lévy frères, 1868)

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**Catalog Number** 96  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 5, 1868  
**Play** *La Madone des Roses*  
**Composer** Fossey, Léon  
**Playwright** Séjour, Victor  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Gaîté  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Fonds Nutter Mat. TH (363) (manuscript rehearsal score for violin); BnF-Mus Vm26 4809

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**Catalog Number** 97  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 21, 1868  
**Play** *Théodoros*  
**Composer** Chéri, Victor  
**Playwright** Barrière, Théodore  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Châtelet  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes et 14 tableaux

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**Catalog Number** 98  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 23, 1869  
**Play** *La Princesse d'Elide*  
**Composer** Cohen, Jules

**Playwright** Molière (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin, dit)  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Grande Salle du Grand Hôtel  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie-ballet en 5 actes  
**Other Notes** Première performance with Cohen's score for the Princesse de Beauveau, 23 April 1869 in the grande salle du Grand Hôtel. Seven numbered movements.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 11027 (autograph manuscript for piano, choir of young girls, and harp, 1869, 33 pp.); BnF-Mus D. 12408 (manuscript, various formats, 1869, sung and danced intermèdes); BnF-Mus Ms. 11034 (autograph manuscript, 1869, 6 pp.); BnF-Mus Ms. 1113 (c. 1864, 237 pp.)

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**Catalog Number** 99  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 10, 1869  
**Play** *Le Chevalier de Maison Rouge*  
**Composer** Varney, Alphonse  
**Playwright** Dumas, Alexandre père & Auguste J. Maquet  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes  
**Other Notes** Reprise; premiered at Théâtre Historique, 3 August 1847.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Fonds Nutter Mat. TH (279) (8 manuscript parts, c. 1869: vln. I, vla. (2 ex.), cb. (2 ex.), fl., timp.)

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**Catalog Number** 100  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 12, 1870  
**Play** *Gilbert Danglars*  
**Composer** Jonas, Émile  
**Playwright** Bourgeois, Anicet (Auguste Anicet dit) & Michel Masson  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Gaîté  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes et 10 tableaux

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**Catalog Number** 101  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 26, 1870  
**Play** *Deucalion et Pyrrha*  
**Composer** Diache, Ch.  
**Playwright** Clairville (Louis-François-Nicolaïe Clairville, dit) & Guénée  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre des Variétés

**Dramatic Genre** Pastorale mythologique mêlée de chant

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**Catalog Number** 102  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 28, 1870  
**Play** *Dalila*  
**Composer** Brisson  
**Playwright** Feuillet, Octave  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 4 actes et 6 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Revival. Premiered at the Théâtre du Vaudeville on 30 May 1857. "...le grand air de Boabdil a été chanté dans la coulisse par M. Richard, ténor de l'Opéra." Bonnassies, *La Musique à la Comédie-Française*, 39.

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**Catalog Number** 103  
**Date of Première/Revival** September 16, 1871  
**Play** *Le Bossu*  
**Composer** Vinentini, Albert-Louis  
**Playwright** Féval, Paul & Anicet Bourgeois  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Gaîté  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes et 12 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Reprise. Premiered at the Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin, 8 September 1862.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Fonds Nutter Mat. TH (277) (manuscript parts for ballet)

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**Catalog Number** 104  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 11, 1871  
**Play** *Les Créanciers du bonheur*  
**Composer** Anonymous  
**Playwright** Cadol, Edouard  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 3 actes  
**Other Notes** Played 29 times.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma Ms. 729 (score and 10 parts); AN F18 720 & AN AJ55 109, vol. 41 (play text only)

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**Catalog Number** 105  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 14, 1871  
**Play** *Le Bois*  
**Composer** Thomé, Francis (François Luc Joseph)  
**Playwright** Glatigny, Albert de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en vers en 1 acte  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 779

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**Catalog Number** 106  
**Date of Première/Revival** ? ? 1872  
**Play** *La Poule aux œufs d'or*  
**Composer** Vizentini, Albert-Louis  
**Playwright** D'Ennery, Adolphe & Clairville (Louis-François-Nicolaïe Clairville, dit)  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Gaîté  
**Dramatic Genre** Féerie en 3 actes  
**Other Notes** Reprised with music by Vizentini. Premiere at the Cirque Olympique, 29 November 1848, with music by Fessy.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Fonds Nutter Mat. TH (354) (manuscript score of ballet); BnF-Mus Vm7 109522 ("La Boite à musique," chanson excerpt, Paris: Choudens, 1873); BnF-Mus 4o Vm7 2066 (46) & BnF-Mus Vm7 109526 ("L'Histoire à mad'leine," chanson excerpt, Paris: Choudens, s.d.); BnF-Mus Vm7 109528 ("Romance du Printemps," chanson excerpt, Paris: Choudens, 1873).

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**Catalog Number** 107  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 1, 1872  
**Play** *L'Arlésienne*  
**Composer** Bizet, Georges  
**Playwright** Daudet, Alphonse  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Vaudeville  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en trois actes et cinq tableaux  
**Other Notes** Premiered at the Théâtre du Vaudeville, 1 October 1872. Revived under Paul Porel with Colonne conducting 150 members of orchestra & chorus at the Théâtre de l'Odéon, 5 May 1885, and at the Grand Théâtre, 21 January 1893. Daudet attended the 100th performance at the Odéon on 5 November 1887 (Genty, *Histoire du Théâtre National de l'Odéon*, 66). Successful reprise on 27

January 1898 for 155th performance, the first of 30 performances that season (Genty, 85). Overture played at Palais Garnier with a scene from *Les Érinnyes*, an act from *Salammbô*, other excerpts at fête in honor of André Antoine on 12 August 1900. Acts 4, 5 given at the Palais Garnier on 20 June 1914 in honor of André Antoine; the entire work was given there on 24 June 1925 as a benefit for the Comédiens anciens Combattants (Wolff, *L'Opéra au Palais Garnier*, 344). The final performance (986th) at the Odéon on 22 April 1946 earned ₣120,905. Performed at the Comédie-Française 8 October 1933 (30 times through 1935), 23 December 1950 (64 times through 1952). Four movements arranged as a suite for orchestra by Bizet, four arranged by Ernest Guiraud as Suite no. 2.

**Library/Archive Call Nos.**

BnF-Mus Vmb 62 (undated Choudens printed orchestral score, 133 pp.); BnF-Mus Vm7 2281 (1872 piano-vocal score); BnF-Mus Con. F 2802; BnF-Mus Ms. 435 (1872 full score, 231 leaves, 445 pp. music); BnF-Mus Ms. 444 (partly manuscript printed play, “première lecture de *l'Arlésienne*, copie du drame, avec indication succincte des thèmes musicaux,” 5 gatherings, 74 leaves); AN F18 767 (manuscript of play)

<b>Catalog Number</b>	108
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	October 31, 1872
<b>Play</b>	<i>Les Chevaliers du Brouillard</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Artus, Amédée & Albert-Louis Vinentini
<b>Playwright</b>	D'Ennery, Adolphe & Ernest Bourget
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre de la Gaîté
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Drame à grand spectacle en 5 actes et 10 tableaux
<b>Other Notes</b>	Reprise. Premiered at the Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin, 10 July 1857. With music of Amédée Artus at the première and ballet music of Vinentini added at the reprise.
<b>Library/Archive Call Nos.</b>	BnF-Mus Fonds Nutter Mat. TH (280) (17 manuscript parts); BnF-Tolbiac 8-YTH-3284 (printed play, Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1857)

<b>Catalog Number</b>	109
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	November 27, 1872
<b>Play</b>	<i>Les Deux reines de France</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Gounod, Charles-François
<b>Playwright</b>	Legouvé, Ernest

**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Salle Ventadour (Théâtre Italien)  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 4 actes  
**Other Notes** Play was banned in 1865; it received a private performance *chez* Bertin on 5 March 1865, with Bizet and Massenet accompanying at the piano. Four of the twelve roles featured singers.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vm2 745 (Paris: Choudens, 1872, piano-vocal score)

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**Catalog Number** 110  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 6, 1873  
**Play** *Les Érinnyes*  
**Composer** Massenet, Jules  
**Playwright** Leconte de Lisle, Charles-Marie  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie antique en 2 parties  
**Other Notes** Played 25 times at l'Odéon in 1873. Revised version premiered at the Opéra-National-Lyrique (Gaîté), 15 May 1876; 11 numbers in score, 6 with declamation over music. Revived at Odéon on 16 March 1889 for a retirement benefit for Marie Laurent; Président de la République Sadi Carnot attended on 29 March 1889. Revived for 16 performances at the Odéon on 24 February 1892. Performed at Théâtre de l'Orange in 1897. One scene given along with excerpts from *Salammbô*, overture to *L'Arlésienne*, etc. at Palais Garnier on 12 August 1900; second performance there on 6 June 1901 (Wolff, *L'Opéra au Palais Garnier*, 348). *Le Méneestrel*, 16 March 1907, p. 85 gives info of artists from the Comédie-Française performing the work with full score and choreography in Brussels at the Théâtre de la Monnaie. Play with a very truncated score premiered at the Comédie-Française in 1910, and was reprised there in 1929-30. Reprise at Odéon as matinée on 22 March 1917 with the opéra-comique *La Chercheuse d'Esprit* by Favart. Reprised 8 April 1920 as conférence-matinée at Odéon with *Arlequin Poli par l'amour* by Marivaux. Reprised as matinée on 23 October 1941 at Odéon, performed 4 times.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus 4o Vm2 37; BnF-Mus Vm2 1182; BnF-Mus D. 7715 (orchestral score); BnF-Mus Ms. 4274 (cited by Nichols Olin, 421)

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**Catalog Number** 111  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 9, 1873  
**Play** *Vingt-neuf degrés à l'ombre*  
**Composer** Beydts, Louis  
**Playwright** Labiche, Eugène  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Palais-Royal  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 1 acte  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** C-F 6P1 199 (photocopy of manuscript piano-vocal score)

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**Catalog Number** 112  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 12, 1873  
**Play** *Blanche et Blanchette*  
**Composer** Groot, Adolphe de  
**Playwright** Saint-Hilaire, V. de & Busnach  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Renaissance  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 5 actes  
**Other Notes** Premiered in Paris at the Folies-Dramatiques on 22 January 1850 as a drame-vaudeville en 5 actes by V. de Saint-Hilaire, with new songs by Oray.

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**Catalog Number** 113  
**Date of Première/Revival** September 2, 1873  
**Play** *Le Gascon*  
**Composer** Offenbach, Jacques & Albert-Louis Vinentini  
**Playwright** Barrière, Théodore & Louis Poupert-Davyl, with L. Beauvallet, anonymously  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Gaîté  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes et 9 tableaux  
**Other Notes** With music by Vinentini. Offenbach directed the Théâtre de la Gaîté 1873-6. Girard, *Musiques de scène des théâtres parisiens conservées à la Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra: 1778-1878: Inventaire* credits Vinentini alone for the score.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Fonds Nutter Mat. TH (282) (manuscript parts); AN F18 931 (manuscript play)

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**Catalog Number** 114  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 8, 1873  
**Play** *Jeanne d'Arc*

<b>Composer</b>	Gounod, Charles-François
<b>Playwright</b>	Barbier, Jules
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre de la Gaîté
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Drame en 5 actes en vers
<b>Other Notes</b>	Menneret cites harsh review in <i>Le Ménestrel</i> , November 1873, which makes unfavorable comparisons to the “drame lyrique.” Reprise reviewed in Jules Lemaître, <i>Impressions de théâtre</i> , v. 5.
<b>Library/Archive Call Nos.</b>	BnF-Mus W8, 45 (autograph manuscript, 2 leaves, Act IV, sc. 2: “Marche du sacre de Jeanne d’Arc”); BnF-Mus Vm2 746 (piano-vocal score arr. Bizet, Paris: E. Gérard et Cie, 1873, 115 pp.); BnF-Mus Vm2. 748 (piano-vocal score arr. Bizet, Paris: E. Gérard et Cie, 1873, 76 pp.)

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	115
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	May ?, 1874
<b>Play</b>	<i>Georges Dandin</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Sauzay, Eugène
<b>Playwright</b>	Molière (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin, dit)
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Salle Pleyel
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Comédie
<b>Other Notes</b>	“Musique nouvellement écrite par M. Eugène Sauzay pour les intermèdes de cet ouvrage. 1ère représentation donnée en mai 1874 au Palais de l’Elysée” (Menneret, 160). Menneret cites very favorable review by H. Moreno in <i>Le Ménestrel</i> , 3 May 1874, which suggests the music was perfectly inspired by the text.

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	116
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	June 15, 1874
<b>Play</b>	<i>Tabarin</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Paladilhe, E.
<b>Playwright</b>	Ferrier, Paul
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Comédie-Française
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Comédie en 2 actes en vers
<b>Library/Archive Call Nos.</b>	Wild, <i>Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiens au XIXe siècle</i> cites score at C-F; AN F18 683 (play)

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**Catalog Number** 117  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 3, 1874  
**Play** *La Haine*  
**Composer** Offenbach, Jacques  
**Playwright** Sardou, Victorien  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Gaîté  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes et 8 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Offenbach directed the Gaîté 1873-76. Tableau 2 given at Palais Garnier 24 December 1907.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Tolbiac, 8-YTH-8261 (play); BnF-Tolbiac, 8-YTH-8262 (play)

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**Catalog Number** 118  
**Date of Première/Revival** ? ?, 1875  
**Play** *Le Roi René*  
**Composer** Chastan, Jules  
**Playwright** Devoisin & Deville  
**City of Première/Revival** Marseille  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Vallette  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame à grand spectacle en 5 actes et 10 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Entr'acte symphonique.

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**Catalog Number** 119  
**Date of Première/Revival** February 12, 1875  
**Play** *Le Troisième larron*  
**Composer** Schatté  
**Playwright** Normand, Jacques  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en un acte  
**Other Notes** Ballade du page à 1 voix et piano, incipit: "La tendre voix du rossignol sauvage."  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus K. 55610 & BnF-Mus Vm7 99867 (Paris: L. Escudier, 1875)

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**Catalog Number** 120  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 14, 1875  
**Play** *Un Drame sous Philippe II*  
**Composer** Massenet, Jules  
**Playwright** Porto-Riche, Georges de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon

**Dramatic Genre** Drame en quatre actes, en vers  
**Other Notes** Played 32 times in 1875 at l'Odéon. Lost except  
"Sarabande espagnole du XVIe siècle." Menneret notes it  
is cited in Octave Seré, *Musiciens français d'aujourd'hui*.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** AN F18 720 (play)

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**Catalog Number** 121  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 17, 1875  
**Play** *L'Ilote*  
**Composer** Dauphin, L.  
**Playwright** Monselet, Charles & Paul Arène  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en un acte in vers  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** AN F18 683 (play) & AN F18 720 (play)

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**Catalog Number** 122  
**Date of Première/Revival** September 16, 1875  
**Play** *Les Muscadins*  
**Composer** Artus  
**Playwright** Claretie, Jules  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre-Historique  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en cinq actes et huit tableaux  
**Other Notes** Cited in *La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*, 19  
September 1875, 300-1.

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**Catalog Number** 123  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 19, 1875  
**Play** *La Vie de bohème*  
**Composer** Massenet, Jules  
**Playwright** Barrière, Théodore & Henry Mürger  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Other Notes** "La chanson de musette" (text by Henri Meilhac) for solo  
voice & orchestra; 1886 production reviewed in  
Lemaître, *Impressions de théâtre*, v. 1.

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**Catalog Number** 124  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 10, 1876  
**Play** *Le Premier tapis*  
**Composer** Lecocq

**Playwright** Decourcelle, Adrien & William Busnach  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Vaudeville  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 1 acte  
**Other Notes** Chanson sung by Mlle Réjane. Reached 35 performances in 1876.

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**Catalog Number** 125  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 20, 1876  
**Play** *Spartacus*  
**Composer** Nibelle, Adolphe  
**Playwright** Talray, Georges (pseudonym of Baron de Langsdorff)  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Ambigu  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie  
**Other Notes** "Musique scénique, introduction, entrées, chanson à boire de Adolphe Nibelle" (Menneret, 162).

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**Catalog Number** 126  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 4, 1876  
**Play** *L'Ami Fritz*  
**Composer** Maréchal, Henri  
**Playwright** Erckmann-Chatrian [& Jules Barbier] (Émile Erckmann & Alexandre Chatrian)  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Other Notes** Sérénade for piano and violin sung by the Bohemian Joseph in Act I; chanson de Suzel in Act II.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus G. 14210 (10) (printed score, violin and piano, Act I: Sérénade du bohémien Joseph, Paris: A. Noël, c. 1898); BnF-Mus Vm7 78024 & BnF-Mus G. 14208 (1) & BnF-Mus K. 20805 (printed score, solo voice with piano and choir ad libitem, Act II: "La chanson de Suzel," incipit "Beau soldat, qui viens de la guerre" Paris: J. Hiéland, (1881), 5 pp.); BnF-Mus G. 14211 (1) (printed score, solo voice with piano and choir ad libitem, Act II: "La chanson de Suzel," incipit "Beau soldat, qui viens de la guerre" Paris: A. Sporck, s.d., 5 pp.); C-F 6P4 20; AN F18 683 (printed play)

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**Catalog Number** 127  
**Date of Première/Revival** February 2, 1877  
**Play** *L'Hetman*



**Composer** Massenet, Jules  
**Playwright** Deroulède, Paul  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Other Notes** Lost except Fanfare.

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**Catalog Number** 128  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 20, 1878  
**Play** *Le Mariage d'un forçat*  
**Composer** Ben-Tayoux  
**Playwright** Bouvier, Alexis & Elie Brault  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre-Cluny  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes

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**Catalog Number** 129  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 4, 1879  
**Play** *Ruy Blas*  
**Composer** Delibes, Léo  
**Playwright** Hugo, Victor  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes en vers  
**Other Notes** "Sérénade:" Le chant (Chanson) des Lavandières: solo voices, chorus, instruments, in Act II. With Sarah Bernhardt in the role of Dona Maria de Neubourg.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** C-F 6P1 171 (printed piano-vocal edition) & C-F 6P1 172 (autograph manuscript full score, 7 leaves, signed "L.D., 79" )

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**Catalog Number** 130  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 4, 1879  
**Play** *Notre-Dame de Paris*  
**Composer** Massenet, Jules  
**Playwright** Hugo, Victor & P. Foucher  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre des Nations  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes et 12 tableaux  
**Other Notes** "Mon père est un oiseau," chanson a cappella; private collection

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**Catalog Number** 131  
**Date of Première/Revival** February 29, 1880  
**Play** *Faust*  
**Composer** Schumann, Robert  
**Playwright** Goethe, tr. M.R. Bussine  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Concert populaire de musique classique  
**Dramatic Genre** Scènes extraites des deux parties du poème de Goethe  
**Other Notes** Concert performance, French première conducted by Padeloup, with Milles Chevrier, Piccaluga, Lamarche, Lauwers. Concert performance by Concerts Colonne using Émile Moreau's translation in 1887; performance at Nouveau Théâtre in December 1902 with translation by Pascal Fortuny.

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**Catalog Number** 132  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 22, 1880  
**Play** *La Vierge*  
**Composer** Massenet, Jules  
**Playwright** Grandmougin, Charles  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Opéra  
**Dramatic Genre** Légende sacrée en 4 scènes  
**Other Notes** The incidental music by Massenet formed part six of a "Concert historique" featuring "Six époques de l'Académie nationale de musique: Lulli, Rameau, Gluck, Gretry, Rossini, Massenet."

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**Catalog Number** 133  
**Date of Première/Revival** July 8, 1880  
**Play** *Garin*  
**Composer** Delibes, Léo  
**Playwright** Delair, Paul  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes, en vers  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Tolbiac 8-YTH-20211 (play, Paris: P. Ollendorff, 1880); AN F18 684 (manuscript of play)

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**Catalog Number** 134  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 26, 1880  
**Play** *La Cantinière*  
**Composer** Planquette, Robert

**Playwright** Burani & Ribeyre  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre des Nouveautés  
**Dramatic Genre** 3 actes

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**Catalog Number** 135  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 17, 1880  
**Play** *Michel Strogoff*  
**Composer** Massenet, Jules  
**Playwright** D'Ennery, Adolphe & Jules Verne  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Châtelet  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce à grand spectacle  
**Other Notes** Music lost.

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**Catalog Number** 136  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 29, 1880  
**Play** *À Quoi rêvent les jeunes filles*  
**Composer** Delibes, Léo  
**Playwright** Musset, Alfred de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 2 actes  
**Other Notes** "Ninon, Ninon, que fais-tu de la vie?" serenade for baritone with mandoline or harp.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** C-F 6P2 4 (piano-vocal score, Paris: Heugel, n.d.)

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**Catalog Number** 137  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 26, 1881  
**Play** *La Fée Cocotte*  
**Composer** Bourgeois, Eugène & Raoul Pugno  
**Playwright** Marot, Gaston & Édouard Philippe  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Palace Théâtre  
**Dramatic Genre** Féerie en 3 actes  
**Other Notes** Musical collaboration between Eugène Bourgeois and Raoul Pugno.

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**Catalog Number** 138  
**Date of Première/Revival** February 27, 1882  
**Play** *Barberine*  
**Composer** Delibes, Léo

**Playwright** Musset, Alfred de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 3 actes  
**Other Notes** “Beau chevalier qui partez pour la guerre:” chanson de Barberine. Play also called *La Quenouille de Barberine*.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** C-F 6P1 167 (score for solo voice and mandoline, Paris: Heugel, n.d.); C-F Dossier: Barberine (published score)

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**Catalog Number** 139  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 27, 1882  
**Play** *Les Rantzau*  
**Composer** Maréchal, Henri  
**Playwright** Erckmann-Chatrion (Émile Erckmann & Alexandre Chatrion)  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 4 actes, en prose  
**Other Notes** “Kyrie à quatre voix, 2e acte” for 4 solo voices and piano or organ. Play revived at Comédie-Française in 1916.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vm7 78045 & BnF-Mus G. 14208 (4) (score for solo voice and piano or organ, Act II: Kyrie des Rantzau, Paris: Choudens, c. 1882, 3 pp.); BnF-Mus G. 14208 (3) (score for solo voice and piano or organ, Act II: Kyrie des Rantzau, Paris: Choudens, c. 1882, 7 pp.); C-F 6P1 162; AN F18 684 (play manuscript)

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**Catalog Number** 140  
**Date of Première/Revival** September 5, 1882  
**Play** *Le Sicilien ou l’amour peintre*  
**Composer** Sauzay, Eugène  
**Playwright** Molière (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin, dit)  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l’Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en deux actes

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**Catalog Number** 141  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 22, 1882  
**Play** *Le Roi s’amuse*  
**Composer** Delibes, Léo  
**Playwright** Hugo, Victor  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française

**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes, en vers  
**Other Notes** Premiered at the Comédie-Française on 22 November 1832 and censored after one performance. Play reprised at Comédie-Française in 1911. Music consisted of two chansons, including “Quand Bourdon vit Marseille,” and the “Scène du bal ... Six airs de danses dans le style ancien:” 1) galliard 2) pavane 3) scène du banquet 4) lesquercade 5) madrigal 6) passepiéd et final (which is a reprise of the galliard). Dances performed by 40 musicians (2 fl., 2 ob., 2 bsn., 2 cl., 2 hn., strings).  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vm7 9399 (1-6); BnF-Mus G. 10360 (6); BnF-Mus Vmg 9265 (13) (Paris: Heugel, 1964); C-F 6P1 167 (chanson “Quand Bourdon vit Marseille”); C-F dossier “Barberine” (published copy of dance suite); AN F18 684 (printed play)

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**Catalog Number** 142  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 2, 1883  
**Play** *Faridondaine*  
**Composer** Adam, Adolphe  
**Playwright** Dupeuty, Adolphe & Bourget  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes et 8 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Reprise; premiered December 30, 1852 at the Théâtre de la Porte-Saint-Martin. Songs by Adolphe Adam and incidental music by Adolphe de Groot.

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**Catalog Number** 143  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 21, 1883  
**Play** *Severo Torelli*  
**Composer** Schatté  
**Playwright** Coppée, François  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l’Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes  
**Other Notes** Sérénade, incipit: “Tu m’as promis ton baiser.”  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus K. 55609 (Paris: Thauvin, 1883); BnF-Mus K. 55608 (1-2) (Paris: Thauvin, 1884; 1 in F for tenor, 2 in D for mezzo); BnF-Mus 4o Vm7 2059 (22); BnF-Mus Vm7 99865 (for tenor voice); BnF-Mus Vm7 99866 (for soprano voice); BnF-ASP 4-RF-39853

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**Catalog Number** 144  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 1, 1883  
**Play** *Les Rois en exil*  
**Composer** Pugno, Raoul  
**Playwright** Daudet, Alphonse, adapt. Paul Delair  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Vaudeville  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes & 7 tableaux  
**Other Notes** “Scènes musicales” of the 6th tableau (Mazurka, valse, hymne Dalmate, musique de scène final) for orchestra in the wings. Menneret cites review by H. Moreno in *Le Ménestrel*, 9 December 1883.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vm7 4158 (piano score, 1883)

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**Catalog Number** 145  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 20, 1883  
**Play** *Nana Sahib*  
**Composer** Massenet, Jules  
**Playwright** Richepin, Jean  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en vers en 8 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Orchestral score in three movements, with two voices.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 4288 (autograph manuscript score, 45 pp.), BnF-Mus Ms. 4289 (autograph manuscript of extract from Divertissement, 25 pp.), BnF-Mus L. 16021 (manuscript orchestral score); AN F18 907 (play manuscript)

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**Catalog Number** 146  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 23, 1884  
**Play** *Smilis*  
**Composer** Maréchal, Henri  
**Playwright** Aicard, Jean  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 4 actes en prose  
**Other Notes** Music consisted of a berceuse and a chanson.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF Vm7 70852 & BnF-Mus G. 14208 (28) (printed piano-vocal score, A. Berceuse “Il fit monter la belle,” B. Chanson, “Caille, petite caille,” Paris: Choudens, 1884, 3 pp.)

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**Catalog Number** 147  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 3, 1884  
**Play** *Elza*  
**Composer** Bruneau, Alfred  
**Playwright** Rousseil, Melle (=Mademoiselle)  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Palais du Trocadéro  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 1 acte, en verse  
**Other Notes** Music: 1) chanson arabe "Je voudrais prendre mon essor," composed for Mademoiselle Hynnes; 2) untitled instrumental section.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Rés. Vma. Ms. 83 (autograph manuscript score, signed May 1884, 9 pp., with parts: fl. (3 pp.), cl. (3 pp.), hp. (6 pp.), missing: vln.)

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**Catalog Number** 148  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 31, 1884  
**Play** *Macbeth*  
**Composer** Schatté  
**Playwright** Lacroix, Jules  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes et 8 tableaux en vers  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vm12 25736 (1-2) (piano reduction, Paris: Thauvin, 1884: No. 2 Menuet, Divertissement; No. 3, Fantaisie brillante); BnF-Mus Vm26 591 (10 parts for divertissement, Paris: Thauvin, 1885: vln. I, vln. II, vla., vcl., cb., bsn., ob., timbales, cl. B-flat, fl.)

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**Catalog Number** 149  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 21, 1884  
**Play** *Athalie*  
**Composer** Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Felix  
**Playwright** Racine, Jean  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie en 5 actes  
**Other Notes** Mendelssohn's music premiered in concert by the Concerts Padeloup, 27 January 1867; premiered with a single dramatic performance at the Odéon by Padeloup on 5 July 1867. Concert performance revived by Colonne in 1873 (Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales*, 1884). Performed on 21 December 1884 (17 performances), at the Odéon conducted by Colonne. Performed 21 December 1885 (3

performances), 13 October 1888 (11 performances) under Porel, with Lamoureux conducting the choir and orchestra; see Genty, *Histoire du Théâtre national de l'Odéon*, 67. Performed as matinée spectacle d'abonnement at Grand-Théâtre under Porel, 20 March 1893 (3 performances), and at the Odéon on 19 December 1896 (6 performances) with Colonne conducting.

**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus D. 7539 (piano score, n.d.); BnF-Mus D. 7538 (orchestral score, n.d.), BnF-Mus D. 7875 (piano-vocal score, 1902); BnF-Mus D. 7547 (2)

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**Catalog Number** 150  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 26, 1884  
**Play** *Théodora*  
**Composer** Massenet, Jules  
**Playwright** Sardou, Victorien  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en cinq actes et huit tableaux  
**Other Notes** Score for organ, mixed voices. Play premiered by Sarah Bernhardt. Reached 100 performances on 18 June 1885; subsequently reached 264 performances. Reprised 7 October 1889 (79 performances), 7 January 1902 at the Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt (70 performances). Menneret cites reviews by P. E. Chevalier in *Le Ménestrel*, 28 December 1884 & 12 January 1902. N.B. Drame musical on same text by Xavier Leroux, 1907.

**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 4268 (manuscript score, 1884, 19 leaves), BnF-Mus Ms. 4269 (partially autograph manuscript score, 21 leaves); AN F18 907 (play manuscript)

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**Catalog Number** 151  
**Date of Première/Revival** September 22, 1885  
**Play** *Conte d'avril*  
**Composer** Widor, Charles-Marie  
**Playwright** Dorchain, Auguste, after Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en quatre actes et six tableaux en vers  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites review by P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 27 September 1885. Reprised at Odéon 13 March 1891 with expanded score as a *drame lyrique*, 10 performances, reviewed in Jules Lemaître, *Impressions de théâtre*, v. 6. Reprised as matinée at Odéon on 1 March 1919, played 18



times, and on 22 December 1925.

**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 17674 (manuscript for printer, 1st Aubade, for strings and harp, 1885, 4 leaves); BnF-Mus Ms. 18128 (autograph of 1885 score for harp and string quintet, No. 1 “Aubade,” 9 pp.), Ms. 18129 (orchestral score from 22 December 1925 reprise, 4 leaves); BnF-Mus Vmg. 19407 (autograph piano reduction of “Aubade,” c. 1890); BnF-Mus Ms. 1545 (autograph score, No. 2. “Sérénade,” 7 pp., with an autograph page from *Les Jacobites*, signed by Schatté, the *chef d’orchestre* of the Odéon); BnF-Mus Vm7 5195 (piano reduction, 1891); BnF-Mus Vm 7 7769 (orchestral score, 1892); BnF-Mus D. 10346 (orchestral score, 1892); BnF-Mus Vm7 5194 (piano-vocal score, 1891); BnF-Mus Vmg. 18293 (No. 6: Marche nuptiale, 5 parts, autograph indications on flute part dated 10 August 1930, with corrections for printing, manuscript parts for grosse caisse & cymbales); BnF-Mus Fol. Vm15 307 (24, A) (16 parts, Romance-Sérénade illyrienne and marche nuptiale, transcription of Suite No. 1 for chamber orchestra by H. Mouton, Paris: J. Heugel, 1912); BnF-Mus Fol. Vm.15 307 (25) (transcription of Suite No. 2 for chamber orchestra by H. Mouton, Paris: J. Heugel, 1912); AN F18 724 (text of play)

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**Catalog Number** 152  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 28, 1885  
**Play** *Le Petit poucet*  
**Composer** Messager, André  
**Playwright** Mortier, E., Leterrier & Vanloo  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Gaîté  
**Dramatic Genre** Féerie  
**Other Notes** Chanson des Loups.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus K. 51215 (piano-vocal score, “Chanson des Loups,” Paris: Enoch frères et Costillat, c. 1885)

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**Catalog Number** 153  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 21, 1885  
**Play** *Les Jacobites*  
**Composer** Widor, Charles-Marie  
**Playwright** Coppée, François  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l’Odéon

**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes, en vers  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 1545 (one manuscript leaf in score of *Conte d'avril*, 1885)

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**Catalog Number** 154  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 26, 1886  
**Play** *Agamemnon*  
**Composer** Sivry, Charles de  
**Playwright** Aeschylus, adapted in verse by Henri de Bornier  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Opéra  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 1 acte en vers  
**Other Notes** Greek music reconstituted by de Sivry. Extracts performed at Opéra, one performance only.

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**Catalog Number** 155  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 14, 1886  
**Play** *Le Songe d'une nuit d'été*  
**Composer** Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Felix  
**Playwright** Meurice, Paul, after Shakespeare  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Féerie  
**Other Notes** Performed 30 times in 1886, with Colonne conducting the orchestra with choirs and a *corps de ballet*; the production lost money and the translation was judged to be of dubious quality. Reviewed in Jules Lemaître, *Impressions de théâtre*, v. 1. Revived on 27 March 1937, with adaptation of play by Louis Piachaud (performed 23 times).  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus D. 7551 (orchestral score); BnF-Mus D. 7552 (piano reduction)

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**Catalog Number** 156  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 28, 1886  
**Play** *La Mort de Jeanne d'Arc*  
**Composer** Bemberg, H.  
**Playwright** Delavigne, Casimir  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Salle Albert-le-Grand  
**Dramatic Genre** Scène historique  
**Other Notes** Performed as an oratorio. The Salle Albert-le-Grand is in the Dominican Priory. See "A travers Paris," *Le Figaro*,

30 April 1886, 2; “La semaine théâtrale,” *L’Art musical*,  
30 April 1886, 61.

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**Catalog Number** 157  
**Date of Première/Revival** September 28, 1886  
**Play** *Hamlet*  
**Composer** Thomas, Ambroise  
**Playwright** Dumas, Alexandre & Paul Meurice, adapted from Shakespeare  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en vers en 5 actes et 13 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Chansons for “la folie d’Ophélie” & “la scène des fossoyeurs” by Thomas. Menneret cites review by H. Moreno in *Le Ménestrel*, 3 October 1886, and Noël & Stoullig, *Les Annales...* 1886. Reviewed in Jules Lemaître, *Impressions de théâtre*, v. 1.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** C-F 6P2 4 (piano-vocal album of vocal music, Paris: Heugel, n.d., Contains arias from Hamlet (A. Thomas), “Sérénade à Ninon” (Léo Delibes))

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**Catalog Number** 158  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 14, 1886  
**Play** *Les Fils de Jahel*  
**Composer** Bourgault-Ducoudray, Louis  
**Playwright** Arnaud, Mademoiselle Simone  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l’Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes et en vers  
**Other Notes** The production saw critical success for both music and drama, but only played 15 times before making way for *L’Arlésienne*.

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**Catalog Number** 159  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 21, 1886  
**Play** *Le Crocodile*  
**Composer** Massenet, Jules  
**Playwright** Sardou, Victorien  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 5 actes et 8 tableaux  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus D. 12.679 (manuscript score); BnF-Mus Ac.e.10.953 (manuscript score); BnF-Mus D. 7749 (1)

& BnF Opéra 5180 (2) - Acq. 805-65 (piano transcription by X. Leroux, Paris: G. Hartmann, n.d.); AN F18 907 (play manuscript)

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**Catalog Number** 160  
**Date of Première/Revival** January ?, 1887  
**Play** *Le Miracle de Naïm*  
**Composer** Maréchal, Henri  
**Playwright** Collin, Paul  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Salle Pleyel  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame sacré  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 6635 (autograph manuscript score); BnF-Mus D. 7406 & BnF-Mus Vm1 3063 (orchestral score, Paris: A. Noël, 1900, 95 pp.); BnF-Mus K. 17439 & BnF-Mus L. 1647 & BnF-Mus D. 7327 & BnF-Mus Vm1 806 (piano-vocal, Paris: Macker et Noël, 1886, 75 pp.)

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**Catalog Number** 161  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 11, 1887  
**Play** *Psyché*  
**Composer** Lully, Jean-Baptiste  
**Playwright** Corneille, Pierre, Molière (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin, dit), Philippe Quinault & Jean de La Fontaine  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie en 5 actes et 6 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Revival of the 1862 score from the Comédie-Française. Performed 13 times.

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**Catalog Number** 162  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 11, 1887  
**Play** *La Femme de Tabarin*  
**Composer** Chabrier, Emmanuel  
**Playwright** Mendès, Catulle  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Libre  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragi-parade en 1 acte  
**Other Notes** Play reprised at Comédie-Française on 21 July 1894.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** AN F18 686 (printed play)

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**Catalog Number** 163  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 8, 1887  
**Play** *Beaucoup de bruit pour rien*  
**Composer** Godard, Benjamin  
**Playwright** Legendre, Louis, after William Shakespeare  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en cinq actes en vers et huit tableaux  
**Other Notes** Great success, performed 90 times in 1887-8 season. Play revived on 21 March 1891, played 14 times with renewed success. Menneret cites review by P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 18 Dec 1887: "...Plusieurs pièces symphoniques d'un fort joli caractère et d'une séduisante sonorité." Reviewed in Jules Lemaître, *Impressions de théâtre*, v. 3.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 932; AN F18 724 (text of play only, dated "ouv. 8 Xbre 87" (8 October 1887))

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**Catalog Number** 164  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 21, 1887  
**Play** *Esther*  
**Composer** Moreau, Jean-Baptiste, arranged E. Schatté  
**Playwright** Racine, Jean  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie en 5 actes  
**Other Notes** Choruses by Moreau, reconstructed for orchestra by Schatté, 1888. This score also revived 18 December 1902 (4 performances), 1 May 1913.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 808 (13 parts: fl. I, fl. II, bsn., vln. I, II, vla., cb., sop. solo, sop. (2 ex.), contralto (3 ex.)); BnF-Mus D. 8286

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**Catalog Number** 165  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 23, 1887  
**Play** *Le Baiser*  
**Composer** Vidal, Paul Antonin  
**Playwright** Banville, Théodore de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Libre  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 1 acte en vers  
**Other Notes** "Chanson de fées" for *Le Baiser*, incipit "Ah! Au lieu d'être épousée."  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus L. 11789 (piano-vocal score, Paris: G.

Hartmann: n.d.)

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**Catalog Number** 166  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 28, 1887  
**Play** *La Tentation de Saint Antoine*  
**Composer** Fragerolle, Georges & Albert Tinchant  
**Playwright** Rivière, Henri  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Chat Noir  
**Dramatic Genre** Féerie à grand spectacle en 2 actes et 40 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Music composed and arranged by Albert Tinchant & Georges Fragerolle. Excerpts from Victor Massé, Jules Massenet, Charles Lecocq, Charles Gounod, L. C. Desormes, Robert Schumann, Léo Delibes, Richard Wagner, Jacques Offenbach, Franz Joseph Haydn. Reviewed in Jules Lemaître, *Impressions de théâtre*, v. 2.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus D. 10303 & BnF-ASP 4o Ro. 13788 (piano score with play, Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1888); BnF-Estampes Tb. 36c (printed play, Paris: Plon, 1887)

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**Catalog Number** 167  
**Date of Première/Revival** September 15, 1888  
**Play** *Crime et châtime*  
**Composer** Maréchal, Henri  
**Playwright** Le Roux, Hugues & Ginesty, Paul [sic Ginisty], after Dostoyevsky  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 7 tableaux, en prose  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites review by P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 23 September 1888: "Comme toujours, le directeur de l'Odéon a voulu quelque sauce musicale au fricot dramatique et cette fois c'est M. Henri Maréchal qui a été chargé de cuisinier 2 choeurs très réussis, dont le second, celui des mariniers, a paru d'un bel effet."  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma Ms. 935 (manuscript score and 21 parts for men's chorus and instrumental ensemble, c. 1887, parts: org., harm., tenors I & II, basses I & II); BnF-Mus Ms. 19181 (Act I, sc. 1: autograph manuscript fragment, c. 1887, 1 p.: interlude for triangle, tambour de basque and guitar, originally of the Théâtre de l'Odéon); BnF-Mus G. 14210 (20) (printed ariette for 1 voice and piano, published in *Le Figaro*, 26 September 1888, paginated 8-9, incipit "Ne m'achète rien, ma mère")

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	168
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	November 5, 1888
<b>Play</b>	<i>La Tempête</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Chausson, Ernest
<b>Playwright</b>	Shakespeare, William, tr. Maurice Bouchor
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Petit Théâtre des Marionnettes (Galerie Vivienne)
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Comédie-féerie en 5 actes
<b>Other Notes</b>	Solo voices and small orchestra. Five movements: 1. Chant d'Ariel, Air de danse, Duo de Junon et Cérès, Danse rustique, Chanson d'Ariel "avec l'abeille."
<b>Library/Archive Call Nos.</b>	BnF-Mus Ms. 8750 (autograph manuscript, 1888-9); BnF-Mus Ms. 8751 (7 autograph manuscript orchestral parts for the theater, c. 1888-89: fl., vln., vla., vcl., hn. in D, hp., celesta, gong, triangle, tambourin); BnF-Mus Ms. 8752 (autograph manuscript of "air de danse," 1888-89, 17 pp.); BnF-Mus Vm26 82; BnF-Mus Vm7 41563 (1-5) (Paris: Bruneau et cie, 1889); BnF-Mus Vm7 18283 (Paris: Bornemann, 1905, 24 pp.); BnF-Mus Ms. 8755 (autograph manuscript piano reduction sketch, 33 leaves); BnF-Mus Ms. 8757 (autograph manuscript piano reduction, Act III, no. 7, "air de danse," 11 pp.); BnF-Mus Ms. 8758 (autograph manuscript piano reduction, c. 1888, 3 pp. sketch rejected for the beginning of Act V); BnF-Mus Ms. 8756 (autograph manuscript incomplete and rejected sketch for Act I, no. 1, c. 1888, 4 pp.); BnF-Mus Vm7 18283; BnF-Mus Ms. 8753 ( autograph manuscript orchestral score, Act III mélodrame, 1888, 11 pp., comprising the start of No. 9 of Act IV in the final score); BnF-Mus Ms. 8754 (autograph manuscript first sketch Act IV, No. 9b, "entrée et duo de Junon et Cérès," c. 1888-1889, 3 pp.)

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	169
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	November 8, 1888
<b>Play</b>	<i>Caligula</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Fauré, Gabriel
<b>Playwright</b>	Dumas, Alexandre père
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre de l'Odéon
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Drame en 5 actes et un prologue, en vers
<b>Other Notes</b>	For orchestra and female chorus; movements include choruses, melodramas, dances and instrumental

passages. Critics approved of the revival, while the public was indifferent; played 34 times (see Genty, *Histoire du Théâtre national de l'Odéon*, 67), 29 of which in 1888 (Noël & Stoullig, *Les Annales...* 1888, p. 139). Menneret cites review by P.E. Chevalier in *Le Ménestrel*, 18 November 1888. The play premièred at the Comédie-Française in 1837. Arranged anonymously for orchestra without chorus as music for Jules César (Shakespeare), 1905.

**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 17746 (1, 3-4) (1888); BnF-Mus Ms. 17763; BnF-Mus Ms. 17747; BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 675 (21 instrumental parts: ob., cl., fls., bsn., valved hn., tpts. I-II-III) tbn., hp. (2 ex.), I vln. (2 ex.), II vln., vla., vcl., triangle, harm., 17 soprano parts, 1888); BnF-Mus Vm7 4923 & BnF-Mus D. 3279 (piano-vocal, Paris: Hamelle, 1888); BnF-Mus Fol. Vm15 1589 (1-3) (orchestral suite, Paris: Salabert, 1928)

**Catalog Number** 170  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 16, 1889  
**Play** *Les Oiseaux*  
**Composer** Chausson, Ernest  
**Playwright** Bouchor, Maurice, after Aristophanes  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Petit Théâtre des Marionnettes (Galerie Vivienne)  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie  
**Other Notes** For flute and harp. Seven numbers in score; numbers 4 & 7 use flute & harp to accompany melodrama. Performed 4 times in 1889.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 8759 (autograph manuscript score and parts for flute & harp, March 1889)

**Catalog Number** 171  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 31, 1889  
**Play** *Mam'zelle Pioupiou*  
**Composer** Chaumet, William  
**Playwright** Bisson, Alexandre  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce militaire à grand spectacle en 5 actes et 8 tableaux



**Catalog Number** 172  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 12, 1889  
**Play** *Colibri*  
**Composer** Messager, André  
**Playwright** Legendre, Louis  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Vaudeville  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 1 acte, en vers  
**Other Notes** Sérénade. Performed as a benefit for l'Association artistique, and revived on 11 January 1890 at the Cercle de l'Union artistique.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus K. 51217 (Paris: Choudens, 1890)

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**Catalog Number** 173  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 27, 1889  
**Play** *Le Mariage de Figaro*  
**Composer** Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus  
**Playwright** Beaumarchais, Pierre-Augustin Caron de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 5 actes  
**Other Notes** Orchestre Lamoureux played entr'actes derived from the Mozart opera; 27 October 1897 was the "première des cinq représentations extraordinaires du *Mariage de Figaro*, sélection des oeuvres de Mozart avec l'orchestre d'Edouard Colonne. Gros succès" (Genty, *Histoire du Théâtre national de l'Odéon*, 84). Revived at the Odéon with Mozart's entr'actes on 17 December 1901.

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**Catalog Number** 174  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 17, 1889  
**Play** *Shylock ou Le Marchand de Venise*  
**Composer** Fauré, Gabriel  
**Playwright** Haraucourt, Edmond de, after Shakespeare  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 3 actes et 7 tableaux en vers  
**Other Notes** Played 56 times. Menneret cites review by P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 22 December 1889: "musique discrète et captivante."  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 17777 (autograph manuscript orchestral score [1889-90], 164 pp.); BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 936 (1889, 18 parts for fl., cl. I-II, ob., bsn., hn., tpt., hp., vln. solo, vln. I (2 ex.), vln. II (2 ex.), vla. (2 ex.), vcl. (2 ex.),

cb. (2 ex.)); BnF-Mus Vmd. 2303 & BnF-Mus Vmg. 20439  
& BnF-Mus Vmg. 025402 (orchestral score, Paris:  
Hamelle, 1962)

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	175
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	January 6, 1890
<b>Play</b>	<i>La Marche à l'étoile</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Fragerolle, Georges
<b>Playwright</b>	Fragerolle, Georges
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre du Chat Noir
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Mystère en 10 tableaux
<b>Other Notes</b>	Reprised 27 April 1898 on the Trentième Concerts Enoch, Salon du « Figaro ». Movements: Ouverture (with narration), L'Étoile, Les Bergers, Les Soldats, Les Lépreux, Les Esclaves, Les Femmes, Les Rois Mages, Les Pêcheurs, La Crêche, L'Adoration, Le Golgotha, Apothéose. Reviewed in Lemaître, Reviewed in Lemaître, <i>Impressions de théâtre</i> , v. 5.
<b>Library/Archive Call Nos.</b>	BnF-ASP 4o Y. 830, BnF-ASP FOL. Y. 90, BnF-ASP 4- Ro-13776; BnF-Mus K. 32628 (1890); BnF-Mus Vm7 5062 & BnF-Mus Vm7 5062A (Enoch Frères & Costillat, 1890); BnF-Mus Vm7 7925 & BnF-Mus D. 4189 (Enoch Frères & Costillat, 1893, illustr. Henri Rivière); BnF-Mus Vm27 1560 (arr. for military band by Dador, Paris: Evrette et Schaeffer, 1898); BnF-Mus Vm26 15832 (arr. for orchestra by Victor Charmettes, Paris: Enoch, (1901).

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	176
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	February 7, 1890
<b>Play</b>	<i>Le Comte d'Egmont</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Beethoven, Ludwig van
<b>Playwright</b>	Goethe, tr. Alphonse Aderer
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre de l'Odéon
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Drame en 3 parties et 12 tableaux
<b>Other Notes</b>	Performed by the Orchestre Lamoureux; played 21 times.
<b>Library/Archive Call Nos.</b>	BnF-Mus G. 10.481 (piano-vocal score, c. 1858)

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	177
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	April 19, 1890
<b>Play</b>	<i>L'Infidèle</i>

**Composer** Thomé, Francis (François Luc Joseph)  
**Playwright** Porto-Riche, Georges de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre d'Application  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en vers en 1 acte  
**Other Notes** Reprised at the Théâtre du Vaudeville 25 March 1891 for 25 evening performances & 3 matinées; at the Théâtre des Variétés 18 November 1891 (15 performances); at the Théâtre de la Renaissance 6 February 1895 (7 performances); at the Vaudeville, 24 March 1896 (50 performances) and 21 October 1898 (21 performances); and at the Théâtre des Mathurins on 8 December 1902.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-ASP Rf. 69615 & BnF-ASP Rf. 69616 & BnF-ASP Rf. 69617 & BnF-Tolbiac 8-YTH-23846 (printed play, 1890 edition)

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**Catalog Number** 178  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 21, 1890  
**Play** *La Passion*  
**Composer** Fauré, Gabriel  
**Playwright** Haraucourt, Edmond de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Société Nationale de Musique  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame  
**Other Notes** A mystery play given on Good Friday (4 April 1890) with Sarah Bernhardt, Philippe Garnier & Léon Brémont reading & Lamoureux conducting at the Cirque d'Hiver.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 915 (57 manuscript choral and orchestral parts (1890), prelude only: soprano I (6 ex.), soprano II (5 ex.), alto I (6 ex.), alto II (6 ex.), tenor (4 ex.), bass (4 ex.), I vln. (4 ex.), II vln. (4 ex.), vla. (2 ex.), vcl. (3 ex.), cb. (2 ex.), fl. (1 ex.), ob. (1 ex.), engl. hn. (1 ex.), cl. (1 ex.), bsn. (1 ex.), I & II hn. (1 ex.), III & IV hn. (1 ex.), tpt. (1 ex.), I & II trbn. (1 ex.), III trbn (1 ex.), timp. (1 ex.)

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**Catalog Number** 179  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 6, 1890  
**Play** *Fleurs d'avril*  
**Composer** Hess, Charles  
**Playwright** Vicaire, Gabriel & Jules Truffier  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en un acte  
**Other Notes** For orchestra.

**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vm26 240

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**Catalog Number** 180  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 23, 1890  
**Play** *Cléopâtre*  
**Composer** Leroux, Xavier  
**Playwright** Sardou, Victorien & Émile Moreau  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes et 6 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Score in 15 numbers, 3 of which use melodrama; includes a ballet and fanfares also. Travers, *Catalogue of Nineteenth-Century French Theatrical Parodies* cites 4 parodies between 12 November 1890 & 17 January 1891.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 4718 (autograph manuscript piano-vocal score, 5 fascicles); BnF-Mus Vm7 5145 (piano reduction, Paris: Hartmann, 1890)

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**Catalog Number** 181  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 30, 1890  
**Play** *Roméo et Juliette*  
**Composer** Thomé, Francis (François Luc Joseph)  
**Playwright** Lefèvre, Georges, adapted from Shakespeare  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes et 10 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Reviews claimed it as a poor adaptation with a good score... played 38 times; Président and Mme. Sadi Carnot attended the première. Menneret cites review by P.E. Chevalier in *Le Ménestrel*, 9 November 1890, which claims it as the first theatrical score by Thomé.

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**Catalog Number** 182  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 25, 1890  
**Play** *Noël, ou Le mystère de la nativité*  
**Composer** Vidal, Paul Antonin  
**Playwright** Bouchor, Maurice  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Galerie Vivienne  
**Dramatic Genre** Mystère en vers en 4 tableaux  
**Other Notes** For female chorus, soloist and orchestra. Extensive use of melodrama. Vidal dedicated the score "A mon cher maître J. Massenet." Reviewed in Lemaître, *Impressions*

**Library/Archive Call Nos.** *de théâtre*, v. 6.  
BnF-Mus Ms. 1211 (autograph manuscript orchestral score), BnF-Mus Ms. 1529 (autograph manuscript piano-vocal score); BnF-ASP 4o Y. 811 & BnF-Mus Vm7 5147 & BnF-Mus D. 14165 (Paris: G. Hartmann, 1890); BnF-Mus K. 23968 (excerpt, “Andante pastoral”); BnF-Mus K. 17171 (excerpt, “Berceuse de la Sainte Vierge”)

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**Catalog Number** 183  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 27, 1890  
**Play** *L’Obstacle*  
**Composer** Hahn, Reynaldo  
**Playwright** Daudet, Alphonse  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Gymnase Dramatique  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 4 actes

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**Catalog Number** 184  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 27, 1891  
**Play** *Jeanne d’Arc*  
**Composer** Godard, Benjamin  
**Playwright** Fabre, Joseph  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Châtelet  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame historique en 5 actes avec prologue et epilogue  
**Other Notes** For soloists, chorus and orchestra; score comprised of 23 musical numbers, 2 of which use melodrama.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 21098 (cited by Nichols Olin, 418); BnF-Mus Vm2 974 & BnF-Mus Vm2 975 (cited by Menneret, 172)

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**Catalog Number** 185  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 6, 1891  
**Play** *La Passion*  
**Composer** Thomé, Francis (François Luc Joseph)  
**Playwright** Haraucourt, Edmond de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre d’Application  
**Dramatic Genre** Mystère en deux chants  
**Other Notes** Noël & Stoullig, *Les Annales...* 1892, 490, lists this work as a “mystère en 4 actes et 5 tableaux en vers,” reprised on 4 April 1892.

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**Catalog Number** 186  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 28, 1891  
**Play** *Alceste*  
**Composer** Georges, Alexandre  
**Playwright** Gassier, Alfred, after Euripides  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame lyrique en cinq actes, en vers  
**Other Notes** Served as the return to the stage for Mlle Segond-Weber. Eight performances. Reviewed in Lemaître, *Impressions de théâtre*, v. 6.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 18004 (piano-vocal score), BnF-Mus Ms. 18005 (orchestral score)

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**Catalog Number** 187  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 15, 1891  
**Play** *Grisélidis*  
**Composer** Léon, Laurent  
**Playwright** Silvestre, Armand & Eugène Morand  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 3 actes, 1 prologue et 1 épilogue, en vers libres  
**Other Notes** Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales...* 1892, p. 131 mentions the strong success of *Griselidis* and *Par le glaive* (also with music by Léon).

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**Catalog Number** 188  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 29, 1891  
**Play** *Rosalinde*  
**Composer** Léon, Laurent  
**Playwright** Thiboust, Lambert & Aurélien Scholl  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en un acte  
**Other Notes** Score consists of "La Chanson de Polichinelle" and "La Chanson des routiers." Play was premiered on 1 July 1859 at the Théâtre du Gymnase.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** C-F 6P2 14 (manuscript "La Chanson des routiers"); C-F 1. ROS Thi (manuscript "La Chanson de Polichinelle," with play, Paris: Calmann Lévy 1891, autograph dedication by Aurélien Scholl to Georges Baillet)

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**Catalog Number** 189  
**Date of Première/Revival** September 15, 1891  
**Play** *Hélène*  
**Composer** Messager, André  
**Playwright** Delair, Paul  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Vaudeville  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 4 actes et 5 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Orchestral suites derived from the incidental score published between 1892 & 1930.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 7205 (autograph manuscript orchestral score, Act IV: Mort d'Hélène); BnF-Mus Vm7 5256 (piano-vocal score, Paris: Choudens, 1891)

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**Catalog Number** 190  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 19, 1891  
**Play** *La Mégère apprivoisée*  
**Composer** Léon, Laurent  
**Playwright** Delair, Paul, after Shakespeare  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 4 actes  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites review by P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 22 November 1891.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** AN F18 686 (play manuscript)

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**Catalog Number** 191  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 20, 1891  
**Play** *Famille et patrie*  
**Composer** Toulmouche, Frédéric  
**Playwright** Bureau, Édouard  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Beaumarchais  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 3 actes, en prose  
**Other Notes** Incidental music for unison chorus and piano 2 or 4 hands; incipit "Nous les petits enfants de ta modeste école."  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 15091 (autograph manuscript score, for unison choir and piano 2 or 4 hands)

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**Catalog Number** 192  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 10, 1891  
**Play** *Cantique de cantiques*  
**Composer** Labrély, Flamen de

**Playwright** Roinard, P.N., after Solomon  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Art  
**Dramatic Genre** Adaptation  
**Other Notes** "Symphonie d'amour spirituelle en huit divises mystiques et trois paraphrases, traduction et mis à la scène de P.N. Roinard, adaptations musicales de Flamen de Labrély." See *Le Mercure de France* 4 (1892): 82-5; Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales...* 1891, 420.

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**Catalog Number** 193  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 24, 1891  
**Play** *L'Enfant Jésus*  
**Composer** Thomé, Francis (François Luc Joseph)  
**Playwright** Grandmougin, Charles  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre d'Application  
**Dramatic Genre** Mystère en 5 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Score comprised of preludes, instrumental passages, chorus and soloists. Menneret cites P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 27 December 1891: "... le prélude du 1er tableau, celui du 5ème, le final du 4ème et la musique de scène du commencement du 1er m'ont semblé les pages les plus saillantes. L'orchestre, dans la coulisse, composé de 3 violons, d'un piano et d'un harmonium, est fort habilement traité..." Reprised 7 January 1892.

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**Catalog Number** 194  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 3, 1892  
**Play** *Les Lieds de France*  
**Composer** Bruneau, Alfred  
**Playwright** Mendès, Catulle  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre d'Application  
**Dramatic Genre** 1 acte  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus A. 4283 & BnF-Mus A. 4284 & BnF-Mus A. 4285 (Paris: Paul Dupont, 1896, titled *Trois lieds de France*); BnF-Mus X. 813 (Paris: Choudens, s.d.)

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**Catalog Number** 195  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 25, 1892  
**Play** *La Légende de Sainte Cécile*  
**Composer** Chausson, Ernest



<b>Playwright</b>	Bouchor, Maurice
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Petit Théâtre des Marionnettes (Galerie Vivienne)
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Drame en 3 actes en vers
<b>Other Notes</b>	Solo with female voices, small orchestra. Menneret cites Arthur Pougin, <i>Le Ménestrel</i> , 7 February 1892: "...Monsieur Chausson est l'un de nos jeunes intansigeants, et cela se voit. Sa musique est plus barbare que les bourreaux de Sainte-Cécile et il vous a une façon d'écrire pour les voix qui prouve bien qu'à son gré la musique n'est certainement pas l'art de charmer les oreilles... aussi faut-il excuser les trois jeunes personnes qui se trouvaient chargée de déchirer les nôtres et qui, grâce au compositeur, se sont acquittées de ce soin avec l'art le plus délicat et le plus raffiné..." Fifteen numbers in score: 6 labelled "mélodrame," 3 labelled "musique de scène," one labelled "mélodrame, chœur, et musique de scène." Eight numbers use declamation over music.
<b>Library/Archive Call Nos.</b>	BnF-Mus Ms. 8781 (autograph manuscript piano reduction, 49 pp, dated Civray, 28 septembre 1891); BnF-Mus Vm7 5287 (Paris: P. Maquet, 1892)

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	196
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	February ?, 1892
<b>Play</b>	<i>Le Songe de Kheyam</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Vidal, Paul Antonin
<b>Playwright</b>	Bouchor, Maurice
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Petit Théâtre des Marionnettes (Galerie Vivienne)
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Caprice en 1 acte, en vers
<b>Other Notes</b>	Menneret lists it with <i>La Dévotion à Saint André</i> & cites a review of the two by Pougin, <i>Le Ménestrel</i> , 28 February 1892: "... Toujours est-il que ces deux piécettes offrent un spectacle exquis et que la musique discrète, délicate et charmante que Paul Vidal a brodée sur l'une et sur l'autre vient encore leur prêter des grâces nouvelles..."

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	197
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	February 2, 1892
<b>Play</b>	<i>La Dévotion à Saint André</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Vidal, Paul Antonin
<b>Playwright</b>	Bouchor, Maurice
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Galerie Vivienne

**Dramatic Genre** Petit mystère en 1 acte, en vers  
**Other Notes** Menneret lists it with “Le Songe de Kheyam” & cites a review of the two by Pougin in *Le Ménestrel*, 28 February 1892. Reviewed in Lemaitre, *Impressions de théâtre*, v. 7.

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**Catalog Number** 198  
**Date of Première/Revival** February 8, 1892  
**Play** *Par le glaive*  
**Composer** Léon, Laurent & Jean Richepin  
**Playwright** Richepin, Jean  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en vers, en 5 actes et 7 tableaux  
**Other Notes** “Musique de scène de Jean Richepin & Laurent Léon” (Menneret refers to *Le Ménestrel*, 31 January 1892, p. 39). Menneret cites P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 14 February 1892: “... qui a obtenu un très grand succès en chantant de façon charmante et jolie berceuse dont M. Richepin a écrit lui-même la musique.”  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus G. 5167 (1) (“L’Homme au sable,” berceuse sung in *Par le glaive*, Act IV, scene 1; words and music in E minor by Jean Richepin, harmonized by Laurent Léon, Paris: E. Fromont, s.d. (1892), 5 pp.); BnF-Mus K. 66131; C-F 6P1 150 (Ballade: “La Fleur au corset,” words and music by Jean Richepin, piano accompaniment by Laurent Léon, Paris: E. Fromont, s.d., 4 pp.); AN F18 686 (play manuscript)

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**Catalog Number** 199  
**Date of Première/Revival** February 24, 1892  
**Play** *L’Amour dans les enfers*  
**Composer** Vidal, Paul Antonin  
**Playwright** Pigeon, Amédée  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Petit Théâtre des Marionnettes (Galerie Vivienne)  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en un acte, en vers  
**Other Notes** Alternately referred to as “L’Amour aux enfers.” Menneret cites review by Arthur Pougin in *Le Ménestrel*, 28 February 1892.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vm5 2698

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**Catalog Number** 200  
**Date of Première/Revival** February 24, 1892  
**Play** *Fantasio*  
**Composer** Mozart, Schumann & Haydn  
**Playwright** Musset, Alfred de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 2 actes et 8 tableaux en prose  
**Other Notes** Pastiche score conducted by Lamoureux, premiered on same night as revival of *Les Érinyes*.

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**Catalog Number** 201  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 15, 1892  
**Play** *Le Christ*  
**Composer** Lippacher, Clément  
**Playwright** Grandmougin, Charles  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Moderne  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame sacré en 5 parties, en vers  
**Other Notes** Symphonic preludes, vocal soloist and incidental music in 23 numbered movements.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vm7 7746 (piano-vocal score, Paris: Le Beau, 1892, 63 pp.)

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**Catalog Number** 202  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 19, 1892  
**Play** *Le Fils des étoiles*  
**Composer** Satie, Erik  
**Playwright** Péladan, Josephin  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Galerie Durand-Ruel (La Salle de la Rose-Croix)  
**Dramatic Genre** Pastorale kaldéenne en 3 actes  
**Other Notes** Three preludes for flutes and harmonium (or harp).  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Rés. Vmb. 41; BnF-Mus Ms. 10052 (1) (autograph piano reduction, 12 fol.)

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**Catalog Number** 203  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 30, 1892  
**Play** *Le Premier chant de l'Iliade*  
**Composer** Fabre, Gabriel  
**Playwright** Méry, J. & Melnotte, adaptation of Homer  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre d'Art

**Dramatic Genre** Adaptation  
**Other Notes** Performed with *Les Noces de Sathan* (Jules Bois, music by Quittard), *Vercingétorix* (Schuré, music by Duteil d'Orzanne).

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**Catalog Number** 204  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 30, 1892  
**Play** *Vercingétorix*  
**Composer** Orzanne, Duteil d'  
**Playwright** Schuré, Edouard  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre d'Art  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en vers  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 3 April 1892: "... A signaler un chœur dans la coulisse..." Performed with *Les Noces de Sathan* (Jules Bois, music by Quittard), *Le Premier chant de l'Iliade* (J. Méry & Melnotte, music by Émile Fabre).

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**Catalog Number** 205  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 30, 1892  
**Play** *Les Noces de Sathan*  
**Composer** Quittard  
**Playwright** Bois, Jules  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre d'Application  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en un acte, en vers  
**Other Notes** Performed with *Le Premier chant de l'Iliade* (J. Méry & Melnotte, music by Émile Fabre), *Vercingétorix* (Schuré, music by Duteil d'Orzanne).

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**Catalog Number** 206  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 19, 1892  
**Play** *Le Sicilien*  
**Composer** Saint-Saëns, Camille  
**Playwright** Molière (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin, dit)  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Opéra  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie-ballet en 1 acte  
**Other Notes** Music by Lully, restored by Saint-Saëns; performed by members of the Comédie-Française at a benefit gala.

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	207
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	March 19, 1892
<b>Play</b>	<i>Karadec</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Indy, Vincent d'
<b>Playwright</b>	Alexandre, André
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre Moderne
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Drame en quatre actes
<b>Other Notes</b>	Orchestral suite with chorus performed by the Société National de Musique on 2 May 1891. Score performed at Blankenberghe, Belgium on 3 August 1891. Manuscript of unpublished play is preserved by the composer's family (according to private communication with Hervé Lacombe).
<b>Library/Archive Call Nos.</b>	BnF-Mus Ms. 9190 (partially autograph manuscript, 16 vols. parts: fl., ob., cl., bsn., hns. I & II, hns. III & IV, timp., strings, 4-part mixed choir; also 9 volumes of parts in non-autograph manuscript); BnF-Mus Ms. 9196 (autograph manuscript score, 27 leaves, dated "Les Faugs 13 oct 1890"); BnF-Mus Ms. 9197 (autograph manuscript score, 67 pp., movements nos. 1, 6, 11 used for engraving); BnF-Mus D. 11587 (manuscript parts, whole score: vln. I (2 ex.), vln. 2 (2 ex.), vla., vcl, cb; nos. 1, 6, 11: vln. I (3 ex.), vln. II (3 ex.), vla., vcl., cb.); BnF-Mus A[b]10 988 (score, orchestral suite, 1893); BnF-Mus Ab 164 & BnF-Mus Vm7 7760 (piano-vocal score, Paris: Heugel, 1892); BnF-Mus Vm12 1312 (piano 4-hand transcription); BnF-Mus Vm7 7882 (1. Prélude to the orchestral suite 2. Chanson 3. Noce bretonne, Paris: Heugel, 1893)

<b>Catalog Number</b>	208
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	September 19, 1892
<b>Play</b>	<i>Le Juif polonais</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Singla, Etienne
<b>Playwright</b>	Erckmann-Chatrian (Émile Erckmann & Alexandre Chatrian)
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Comédie-Française
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Drame en trois actes et cinq tableaux, en prose
<b>Other Notes</b>	Revival. Play premiered at the Théâtre de Cluny, 15 June 1869.
<b>Library/Archive Call Nos.</b>	C-F 6P4 5

**Catalog Number** 209  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 25, 1892  
**Play** *Rabelais*  
**Composer** Ganne, Louis  
**Playwright** Méténier, Oscar & Dubut de Laforest  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Nouveau Théâtre  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 4 actes et 5 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Menneret refers to review by P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 30 October 1892.

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**Catalog Number** 210  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 12, 1892  
**Play** *Sapho*  
**Composer** Anonymous  
**Playwright** Daudet, Alphonse & Adolphe Belot  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Grand-Théâtre  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 5 actes  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 20 November 1892: "Entr'actes remplis par petits morceaux symphoniques comme l'ouverture du 'Roi l'a dit' de Delibes, Crépuscule de Massenet, Colombine, menuet de Dalayrac..." Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales...* 1892, 285-6 refer to music of Mendelssohn, Delibes & Massenet played during entr'actes.

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**Catalog Number** 211  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 28, 1892  
**Play** *Le Malade imaginaire*  
**Composer** Charpentier, Marc-Antoine, arr. by Camille Saint-Saëns  
**Playwright** Molière (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin, dit)  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Grand-Théâtre  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie-ballet en 3 actes  
**Other Notes** Score by M.-A. Charpentier restored by C. Saint-Saëns. This version was revived at the Eden-Théâtre under Paul Porel, 28 November 1892, and later played 31 times at the Odéon beginning 3 October 1912.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus D. 9408 (2) & C-F 6P1 113 (piano-vocal reduction by Gabriel Marie, Paris: Durand, 1900)

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**Catalog Number** 212  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 22, 1892  
**Play** *Lysistrata*  
**Composer** Dutacq, Amédée  
**Playwright** Aristophanes, tr. Maurice Donnay  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Grand-Théâtre  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 4 actes et un prologue  
**Other Notes** Given 9 performances under the direction of Paul Porel (former director of the Odéon). Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales...* 1892, 291: "Il ne serait pas juste d'oublier la fine et charmante musique dont M. Dutacq a discrètement accompagné *Lysistrata*."  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vm7-7843

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**Catalog Number** 213  
**Date of Première/Revival** ? ?, 1893  
**Play** *Théâtre des ombres parisiennes*  
**Composer** Sivry, Charles de  
**Playwright** Somm, Henry, Michel Utrillo & Steinlen  
**City of Première/Revival** Chicago  
**Theater of Première/Revival** "Exposition universelle"  
**Other Notes** Six works: *L'Éléphant*, *La Potiche* (both by Henry Somm), *La Conquête de la lune* (by Michel Utrillo), *Cœur inflammable* (by Henry Somm), *Le Virtuose* (by Steinlen), *Une Page d'amour* (by Steinlen).  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-ASP 16o-W-2209 (illustrated program, Paris: Léon Vanier, 1893)

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**Catalog Number** 214  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 4, 1893  
**Play** *Bouton d'or*  
**Composer** Pierné, Gabriel  
**Playwright** Carré, Michel  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Nouveau Théâtre  
**Dramatic Genre** Fantaisie lyrique à grand spectacle en 4 actes et 5 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites review by P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 8 January 1893: "Monsieur Gabriel Pierné a écrit pour 'Bouton d'or' une assez importante partition d'une facture toujours élégante et soignée, dont il faut retenir surtout la délicieuse musique du ballet et de charmants épisodes de musique de scène." Half of the 22 roles were spoken, the remainder were sung. Act I, Scene IX involves

**Library/Archive Call Nos.** mélodrama both with and without measured rhythm.  
BnF-Mus D. 3222 (Paris: Choudens, 1893, 162 pp.)

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**Catalog Number** 215  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 6, 1893  
**Play** *Sainte Geneviève de Paris*  
**Composer** Dauphin, Léopold & Claudius Blanc  
**Playwright** Dauphin, Léopold & Claudius Blanc  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Chat Noir  
**Dramatic Genre** Mystère en 4 parties et douze tableaux  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vm7 7826 (illustrated piano-vocal score, Paris: Heugel, 1893); BnF-ASP 16 Y 2953 & BnF-ASP FOL Y 96 (play only, Paris: Heugel, 1893)

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**Catalog Number** 216  
**Date of Première/Revival** February 18, 1893  
**Play** *Pêcheur d'Islande*  
**Composer** Ropartz, Joseph Guy  
**Playwright** Loti, Pierre & Louis Tiercelin, after the novel of Pierre Loti  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Grand-Théâtre  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 4 actes et 9 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Music for soloists, choruses and orchestra. Menneret cites Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales...* 1893, 341: "...ennuyeuse musique..." & P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 26 February 1893: "Je ne voudrais pas terminer sans dire un mot de la musique de M. Guy Ropartz, dont plusieurs parties parmi celles qu'il vous a été donné d'entendre, de larges coupures ayant été pratiquées à la dernière minute, m'ont paru intéressantes, telles la procession de la vierge et des airs de danses villageoises d'un rythme très franc. Monsieur Ropartz qui, jusqu'à présent, nous paraît avoir beaucoup plus le souci de la forme que de l'idée, a trouvé en M. Gabriel Marie un précieux auxiliaire." Twenty performances in 1893 (*Les Annales...* 1893, 336-41), under the direction of Paul Porel (former director of the Odéon).  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 15016 (1-5) (autograph manuscript signed and dated 31 December 1891); BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 119 (piano-vocal reduction fragments, 1892); BnF-Mus Ms. 15017 (autograph manuscript reduction for piano four hands, 1892); BnF-Mus Vm7 7847 (cited by Menneret)

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**Catalog Number** 217  
**Date of Première/Revival** February 11, 1893  
**Play** *Dom Japhet d'Arménie*  
**Composer** Léon, Laurent  
**Playwright** Scarron, Paul  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 3 actes en vers  
**Other Notes** Sérénade published in *Le Figaro*, 15 March 1893, 8.  
Performed six times that season.

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**Catalog Number** 218  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 2, 1893  
**Play** *Trop tard*  
**Composer** Pugno, Raoul  
**Playwright** Roux, X.  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Salons Particuliers  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 1 acte

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**Catalog Number** 219  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 17, 1893  
**Play** *Les Drames sacrés*  
**Composer** Gounod, Charles-François  
**Playwright** Silvestre, Armand & Eugène Morand  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Vaudeville  
**Dramatic Genre** Poème dramatique en 1 prologue et 10 tableaux, en vers  
**Other Notes** Huebner notes that Gounod contributed 4 pieces, with the remaining music composed by Lavren and Léon, (see the *New Grove's* article on Gounod); contemporary critics cite only Gounod. Reviewed in Lemaître, *Impressions de Théâtre*, v. 8.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 20283

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**Catalog Number** 220  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 7, 1893  
**Play** *Vercingétorix*  
**Composer** Saint-Saëns, Camille  
**Playwright** Cottinet, Edmond  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon

**Dramatic Genre** Drame national en cinq actes  
**Other Notes** Arabic music for Act I. For english horn, 2 clarinets, 2 darboukas, grand tambour and petit tambour.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 697 (manuscript orchestral score (3 pp.) and 4 parts, c. 1893: engl. hn., 2 cl., 2 darboukas, grand tambour; petit tambour part missing); BnF-Mus Ms. 880 (sketches)

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**Catalog Number** 221  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 21, 1893  
**Play** *Antigone*  
**Composer** Saint-Saëns, Camille  
**Playwright** Sophocles, tr. Paul Meurice & Auguste Vacquerie  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie  
**Other Notes** Play premiered with music by Mendelssohn at the Odéon, 21 May 1844. Reprise of the play with this score at the Comédie-Française in 1909. The Paris-Opéra performed an adaptation by André Bonnard at the Théâtre antique d'Orange on 30 July 1938, with music by Mendelssohn, Saint-Saëns, Messager... cf. Wolff, *L'Opéra au Palais Garnier*, 343. Menestrel cites review by Julien Tiersot, *Le Ménestrel*, 3 December 1893, in which Tiersot claims that Saint-Saëns's choruses are more carefully researched than others' versions, and give the public a better idea of the ancient Greek usage.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 517 (autograph orchestral score, dated 9 October 1893, 111 pp.); BnF-Mus D. 13.818 (printed orchestral score, 1909); BnF-Mus Fol. Vm2 29; BnF-Mus Vm7 7949; BnF-Mus D. 9408 (1) (printed piano-vocal score, 1894); C-F 6P1 15 (printed piano-vocal score, 1893)

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**Catalog Number** 222  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 13, 1893  
**Play** *Vieil air, jeune chanson*  
**Composer** Thomé, Francis (François Luc Joseph)  
**Playwright** Lénéka, Andre  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Galerie Vivienne  
**Dramatic Genre** Fantaisie musicale en un acte  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Opé Thomé 009 (manuscript); BnF-Mus Vm7 8015 & BnF-Mus K. 54319 & BnF-Mus Vm7 104944 (piano-

vocal score with play, Paris: P. Dupont, 1894); BnF-Mus 4o Vm15 7480 (score, orchestrated by H. Mouton)

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	223
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	January 16, 1894
<b>Play</b>	<i>Les Mystères d'Eleusis</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Vidal, Paul Antonin
<b>Playwright</b>	Bouchor, Maurice
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Galerie Vivienne
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Pièce en 5 tableaux, en vers
<b>Other Notes</b>	Performed by the marionettes du Petit-Théâtre. Thirty-nine movements: 9 mélodrames, 9 entrées or sorties, 2 entrées/mélodrames, 3 pantomimes, a prelude for each tableau. Reviewed in Lemaître, <i>Impressions de théâtre</i> , v. 8.
<b>Library/Archive Call Nos.</b>	BnF-Mus Ms. 1537 (manuscript fragments for piano from the 1st Tableau: no. 3 "Elégie," No. 4 "Hymne à Bacchos," 2 leaves); BnF-Mus Vm7 11860 & BnF-Mus D. 14166 (piano-vocal score, Paris: Veuve E. Girod, 1896)

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	224
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	January 24, 1894
<b>Play</b>	<i>Izéyl</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Pierné, Gabriel
<b>Playwright</b>	Silvestre, Armand & Eugène Morand
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre de la Renaissance
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Drame indien en 4 actes en vers
<b>Other Notes</b>	Score includes an Aubade and a Sérénade. Menneret cites review by P.E. Chevalier, <i>Le Ménestrel</i> , 28 January 1894.
<b>Library/Archive Call Nos.</b>	BnF-Mus Vm7 7983 (piano-vocal score, Paris: A. Durand, 1894); BnF-Mus D. 3243; BnF-Mus Fol. Vm15 322 (orchestral suite transcribed for chamber orch. by H. Mouton, Paris: Durand, 1911)

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	225
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	February 10, 1894
<b>Play</b>	<i>Yanthis</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Pierné, Gabriel
<b>Playwright</b>	Lorrain, Jean
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre de l'Odéon

**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 4 actes en vers  
**Other Notes** Given 13 performances; the narrative has the quality of a fairy-tale. Menneret cites P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 18 February 1894.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vm7 7996 (piano-vocal score, Paris: Eugène Fromont, 1894, 18 pp.); BnF-Gallica NUMM-54894 & BnF-Tolbiac 8-YTH-26555 & ASP 8-Rf-65008 (play, Paris: G. Charpentier et E. Fasquelle, 1894)

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**Catalog Number** 226  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 19, 1894  
**Play** *Axel*  
**Composer** Georges, Alexandre  
**Playwright** Villiers de l'Isle Adam, Auguste, Comte de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Gaîté  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame  
**Other Notes** Also played on 3 May (only twice total). Score in 7 movements; made into a *poème symphonique en 3 parties* in 1897: *monde religieux, monde tragique et monde passionnel*.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vm7 10711 (prélude, Paris: G. Baudoux, 1894)

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**Catalog Number** 227  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 24, 1894  
**Play** *La Belle au bois dormant*  
**Composer** Hüe, Georges  
**Playwright** Bataille, Henri & Robert d'Humières  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Œuvre  
**Dramatic Genre** Féerie dramatique en trois actes  
**Other Notes** Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales* ...1894, 539 describes "... Les poétiques et élégiaques accompagnements, les frais et mélancoliques fragments d'amoureuses symphonies émanant de la coulisse... nous ont sauvés des discours..."

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**Catalog Number** 228  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 29, 1894  
**Play** *La Porte héroïque du ciel*  
**Composer** Satie, Erik  
**Playwright** Bois, Jules  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Unknown

**Dramatic Genre** Drame ésotérique en 1 acte  
**Other Notes** Prélude for piano; orchestrated by Roland-Manuel in 1912.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Fol. Vm12 3934

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**Catalog Number** 229  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 31, 1894  
**Play** *Gismonda*  
**Composer** Archainbaud, Joseph  
**Playwright** Sardou, Victorien  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Renaissance  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 4 actes et 5 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Incidental music for women's chorus or 2-part mixed chorus with organ.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vm7 10804 (Paris: A. Labonde, 1894)

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**Catalog Number** 230  
**Date of Première/Revival** January ?, 1895  
**Play** *Famille et Patrie*  
**Composer** Ropartz, Joseph Guy  
**Playwright** Bureau, Ed.  
**City of Première/Revival** Nancy  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame  
**Other Notes** For unison chorus and piano two- or four-hands. Incipit "Nous les petits enfants de ta modeste école."  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 15091

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**Catalog Number** 231  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 25, 1895  
**Play** *Le Trèfle à quatre feuilles*  
**Composer** Neuville, Valentin  
**Playwright** Vial, E.  
**City of Première/Revival** Lyon  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Salle Monnier  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce d'ombres en 3 actes et 13 tableaux  
**Other Notes** For narrator, orchestra and chorus. Public première in Brussels, Théâtre du Diable au corps, March 1898, with shadows by Amédée Lynen. The score consists of a mixture of préludes, mélodrames, ballets, choruses and chansons. Instrumentation: fl., ob., cl., 2 cornets à pistons, 2 trbns., orgue-harmonium, piano, cymbales, triangle and snare drums, I & II vln., vla., vcl., cb.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-ASP 4o Y. 810; BnF-Mus Vm6 230 (piano-vocal,

Paris: A. Leduc, 1898)

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**Catalog Number** 232  
**Date of Première/Revival** February 9, 1895  
**Play** *Don Quichotte*  
**Composer** Renaud, Albert  
**Playwright** Sardou, Victorien  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Châtelet  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce à grand spectacle, en 3 actes et 20 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Sardou's 1864 text was revised in 1895 by Charles Nutter. Menneret cites P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 17 February 1895.

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**Catalog Number** 233  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 6, 1895  
**Play** *Moyen âge*  
**Composer** Coulet, Paul & Louis Cabrol  
**Playwright** Unknown  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Caveau du dix  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce d'ombres en 3 tableaux  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-ASP 8o Y. 1399

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**Catalog Number** 234  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 5, 1895  
**Play** *La Princesse lointaine*  
**Composer** Pierné, Gabriel  
**Playwright** Rostand, Eugène  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Renaissance  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 4 actes en vers  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites Octave Séré, *Musiciens français d'aujourd'hui*.

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**Catalog Number** 235  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 31, 1895  
**Play** *Bergerie*  
**Composer** Paulin, Gaston  
**Playwright** Formant, Maxime  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Cercle des Escholiers

**Dramatic Genre** Fantaisie en vers

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**Catalog Number** 236  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 27, 1895  
**Play** *Le Fils de l'Arétin*  
**Composer** Léon, Laurent  
**Playwright** Bornier, Henri de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 4 actes en vers  
**Other Notes** Sérénade sung by Mr. Leloir.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** C-F 6P1 85 (Sérénade, vocal part, Paris: Cartier-Gauvin, s.d.); C-F 6P1 86 (Sérénade, piano-vocal, Paris: Cartier-Gauvin, s.d.); BnF-Mus Vm7 73228 & BnF-Mus L. 14128 & BnF-Mus K. 40757 (BnF: Paris: Cartier-Gauvin, 1895); AN F18 687 (play manuscript)

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**Catalog Number** 237  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 16, 1895  
**Play** *L'Anneau de Çakuntalâ*  
**Composer** Breville, Pierre de  
**Playwright** Kâlidâsa, tr. (André-)Ferdinand Hérold  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Œuvre  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie-héroïque en 5 actes (et 7 tableaux)  
**Other Notes** Décors by Paul Ranson. The play was performed at the Odéon in 1850, tr. Méry and Nerval; next adapted by Gautier and Reyer for an 1858 ballet at the Opéra.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus L. 16463

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**Catalog Number** 238  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 21, 1896  
**Play** *Le Sphinx*  
**Composer** Fragerolle, Georges  
**Playwright** Fragerolle, Georges  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Chat Noir  
**Dramatic Genre** Épopée lyrique en 16 tableaux  
**Other Notes** For piano, treble narrator (mezzo). Shadows and décors by Amédée Vignola.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-ASP 4o Y. 827 & BnF-ASP 4o Ro 13786 & BnF-Mus D. 4192 Paris: Enoch, Flammarion, s.d.); BnF-Mus K. 38692 (1-3) (1896 excerpts)

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	239
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	February 11, 1896
<b>Play</b>	<i>Salomé</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Larde, René
<b>Playwright</b>	Wilde, Oscar
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre de l'Œuvre
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Drame en un acte
<b>Other Notes</b>	With a set by Sérusier and a lithographed program by Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec. Played also at the Nouveau Théâtre on 28 October 1896 (See Noël and Stoullig, <i>Les Annales...</i> 1896, 402).

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	240
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	March 18, 1896
<b>Play</b>	<i>Rédemption</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Marti, Esteban
<b>Playwright</b>	Vincent, Charles
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre des Lettres
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Drame sacré en 15 tableaux et en vers
<b>Other Notes</b>	Revived at the Théâtre des Lettres on 18 March 1896.

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	241
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	April 22, 1896
<b>Play</b>	<i>Le Château de Koenigsberg</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Thomé, Francis (François Luc Joseph)
<b>Playwright</b>	Silvestre, Armand
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre de la Bodinière
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Légende en 3 actes

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	242
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	June 2, 1896
<b>Play</b>	<i>La Route blanche</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Diet, Edmond
<b>Playwright</b>	Montignac, Georges & Jean Robiquet
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Cercle des Escholiers
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Un acte en vers

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**Catalog Number** 243  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 10, 1896  
**Play** *Sa Majesté*  
**Composer** Marti, Esteban  
**Playwright** Servent, Stéphane  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre des Lettres  
**Dramatic Genre** Fantaisie en vers, en 1 acte

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**Catalog Number** 244  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 10, 1896  
**Play** *Mélusine*  
**Composer** Marti, Esteban  
**Playwright** Peter, René  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre des Lettres  
**Dramatic Genre** Légende en vers, en 3 scènes  
**Other Notes** Reprised at the Théâtre des Lettres, 11 June 1898.

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**Catalog Number** 245  
**Date of Première/Revival** September 14, 1896  
**Play** *Jacques Callot*  
**Composer** Le Rey, Frédéric  
**Playwright** Cain, Henri, Eugène Adenis & Edouard Adenis  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame à spectacle, en 5 actes & 6 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Music included “jolies pavanés, marches militaires, chants tziganes...” See Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales...* 1896, 263.

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**Catalog Number** 246  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 29, 1896  
**Play** *Les Perses*  
**Composer** Leroux, Xavier  
**Playwright** Aeschylus, tr. (André)-Ferdinand Hérold, with prologue by Jean Richepin  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l’Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie en deux parties  
**Other Notes** Played 7 times at the Odéon, reprised 17 October 1912. Score consists of préludes, choral and solo melodramas,

**Library/Archive Call Nos.** instrumental passages.  
BnF-Mus Vm7 14591 & BnF-Mus D. 7014 (Paris: A. Leduc, 1896); BnF-Tolbiac 8-YTH-27729 (printed play); AN AJ55 109 v. 43 (printed play); BnF-Mus Vm7 17244 & BnF-Mus D. 7015 (orchestral suite: I. Invocation II. Air de ballet III. Choral et marche; Paris: A. Leduc, 1897)

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**Catalog Number** 247  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 12, 1896  
**Play** *Peer Gynt*  
**Composer** Grieg, Edvard  
**Playwright** Ibsen, Henryk, tr. Comte Prozor  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Œuvre (at the Casino de Paris)  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes  
**Other Notes** Performance incorporated Grieg's now-famous score.

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**Catalog Number** 248  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 19, 1896  
**Play** *Philoctète*  
**Composer** Coquard, Arthur  
**Playwright** Sophocles, tr. Pierre Quillard  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie  
**Other Notes** Score consists of préludes, choruses, melodramas.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma Ms. 933 (15 parts for fl., ob. and engl. hn., cl., bsn., hn., tpt., timp. and triangle, I vln. (2 ex.), II vln. (2 ex.), vla., vcl. (2 ex.), cb.); BnF-Mus Vm7 14629 (printed score, Paris: L. Grus, 1897); BnF-Mus K. 41801 (printed score, Paris: L. Grus, 1897); AN F18 728A (printed play)

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**Catalog Number** 249  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 1, 1896  
**Play** *Yeux clos*  
**Composer** Malherbe, Charles  
**Playwright** Carré, Michel, after a Japanese legend by Félix Regamey  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 1 acte, en vers  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vmc 1897

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**Catalog Number** 250  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 3, 1896  
**Play** *Lorenzaccio*  
**Composer** Puget, Paul  
**Playwright** Musset, Alfred de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Renaissance  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes et un épilogue  
**Other Notes** Stage design by Armand d'Artois. Menneret cites H. Moreno, *Le Ménestrel*, 6 December 1896: music consisted of "3 airs de ballet dans la coulisse et une chanson".  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vm7 14612

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**Catalog Number** 251  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 10, 1896  
**Play** *Ubu roi*  
**Composer** Terrasse, Claude  
**Playwright** Jarry, Alfred  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Œuvre  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes en prose  
**Other Notes** Reprised 20 January 1898 for marionettes at the Théâtre des Pantins, Paris; reprised 28 March 1908, at the Théâtre Antoine; and reprised 17 February 1922, at the Théâtre de l'Œuvre. Many subsequent performances used no music or newly composed music.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Rich-Ms. occ. Facs-8-319 (autograph facsimile of play and music illustrated by Pierre Bonnard, Paris: Éditions du Mercure de France, 1897); BnF Rés. Vma. 26 (1-3) (the (1) "Ouverture pour piano 4 mains," (2), "Chanson de décervelage," and (3) "Marche des Polonais" from *Ubu roi*, which are the first three excerpts of Terrasse's incidental music for marionettes, published as the collection "Répertoire des Pantins"); BnF-Mus Vm12 i 2619 (1) A (ouverture); BnF-Mus Rés. Vmc. 24 (2) (version 2 of "La Chanson de décervelage," N.p.: Collège de Pataphysique, 1951)

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**Catalog Number** 252  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 19, 1896  
**Play** *Grillon*  
**Composer** Thomy  
**Playwright** Rochel & de Ricardy

**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Moncey  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes  
**Other Notes** Cited in an anonymous review, "Théâtres," in *Le Temps*, 20 December 1896, p. 3.

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**Catalog Number** 253  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 17, 1896  
**Play** *Plutus*  
**Composer** Leroux, Xavier  
**Playwright** Aristophanes, tr. Paul Gavault  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie

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**Catalog Number** 254  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 12, 1897  
**Play** *La Montagne enchantée*  
**Composer** Leroux, Xavier & André Messager  
**Playwright** Carré, Albert & Émile Moreau  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce fantastique en 5 actes & 12 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Overture and 12 tableaux, divided into 25 numbers in score, 3 of which use declamation over music; collaboration between Xavier Leroux (15 numbers) & André Messager (10 numbers). Menneret cites Octave Séré, *Musiciens français d'aujourd'hui*.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 20619 (autograph fragment of orchestral score, 10th tableau No. XIII: Le Glacier, c. 1897, 6 pp.); BnF-Mus D. 2990 & BnF-Mus Vm7 17195 (Paris; A. Leduc, 1897)

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**Catalog Number** 255  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 15, 1897  
**Play** *La Samaritaine*  
**Composer** Pierné, Gabriel  
**Playwright** Rostand, Eugène  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Renaissance  
**Dramatic Genre** Evangile en 3 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Score in nine movements, including melodrama and soprano-tenor chorus. Reprised at the Théâtre de Sarah

<b>Library/Archive Call Nos.</b>	Bernhardt on 25 March 1899. Menneret cites Octave Séré, <i>Musiciens français d'aujourd'hui</i> . BnF-Mus A. 45650 & BnF-Mus Vm7 17187 (piano-vocal, Paris: L. Grus, 1897)
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<b>Catalog Number</b>	256
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	April 16, 1897
<b>Play</b>	<i>La Passion</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Hillemacher, Paul & Lucien Hillemacher
<b>Playwright</b>	Haraucourt, Edmond
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Drame sacré en 5 actes et 6 tableaux
<b>Other Notes</b>	For one performance only. Revived at the Odéon, 28 March 1904; Cited in Lavignac, <i>Encyclopédie de la Conservatoire</i> , 3375: "... dont de très importants fragments furent donnés deux années de suite (avec musique de scène de Francis Thomé en 1892) avant que l'œuvre fut représentée dans son ensemble au Théâtre du Châtelet le 27 mars 1893 avec musique de J.S. Bach, adaptée par Paul et Lucien Hillemacher."
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<b>Catalog Number</b>	257
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	April 30, 1897
<b>Play</b>	<i>Athalie</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Moreau, Jean-Baptiste
<b>Playwright</b>	Racine, Jean
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre de l'Odéon
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Tragédie en 5 actes
<b>Other Notes</b>	Music revived from the 1690 edition, with realization of figured bass and editing by Charles Bordes. Reprised at matinée benefit for the l' Association des journalistes républicains.
<b>Library/Archive Call Nos.</b>	BnF-Fol. Vm2 44
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<b>Catalog Number</b>	258
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	May 8, 1897
<b>Play</b>	<i>Ton sang</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Charpentier, Gustave
<b>Playwright</b>	Bataille, Henry
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre de l'Œuvre

**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie contemporain en 4 actes  
**Other Notes** Waltz in Act II.

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**Catalog Number** 259  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 29, 1897  
**Play** *Tristan de Léonois*  
**Composer** Léon, Laurent  
**Playwright** Silvestre, Armand  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 3 actes et 7 tableaux en vers, dont un prologue  
**Other Notes** Chanson bretonne.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus L. 11451 (3) & BnF-Mus L. 14127, BnF-Mus Vm7 73210 (Paris: Cartier-Gauvin, 1897); BnF-ASP Rf. 48028; AN F18 687 (play manuscript)

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**Catalog Number** 260  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 8, 1898  
**Play** *Don Juan de Mañara*  
**Composer** Vidal, Paul Antonin  
**Playwright** Haraucourt, Edmond de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes, en vers  
**Other Notes** Score consists of a romance and instrumental music.

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**Catalog Number** 261  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 9, 1898  
**Play** *Pa'hos et Zu'ella*  
**Composer** Michel, Charles M., Francis Thomé & Charles-Marie Widor  
**Playwright** Martin, Gabriel  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre des Poètes  
**Dramatic Genre** Légende en vers, en 9 parties

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**Catalog Number** 262  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 7, 1898  
**Play** *Le Juif errant*  
**Composer** Fragerolle, Georges  
**Playwright** Fragerolle, Georges  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Antoine

**Dramatic Genre** Légende en 8 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Recited by Georges Fragerolle. For piano, female (mezzo) narrator, choir in the wings.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-ASP 4o Y. 833 & BnF-Mus D. 4187 & BnF-Mus Vm7 17444 (Paris: Flammarion, Enoch, 1898)

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**Catalog Number** 263  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 21, 1898  
**Play** *Pelléas et Mélisande*  
**Composer** Fauré, Gabriel  
**Playwright** Maeterlinck, Maurice, Engl. tr. Jack W. Mackail  
**City of Première/Revival** London  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Prince of Wales  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame  
**Other Notes** Play premièreed in Paris at the Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens, 17 May 1893; Fauré's music commissioned for the 1898 English version. First version orchestrated by Charles Koechlin; second version orchestrated by Koechlin and Fauré. Suite (Prélude, Fileuse, Sicilienne, Molto Adagio) published 1901.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 17944 (manuscript with autograph annotations and corrections by Fauré, for chamber orchestra for English performances, 1898, 47 leaves); BnF-Mus Ms. 17789 (autograph piano-vocal manuscript of Acte III, sc. 1, "chanson de Mélisande," 1898, 5 pp.); BnF-Mus Ms. 15458 (autograph orchestral manuscript by Charles Koechlin, 1898, 33 pp.); BnF-Mus Ms. 17762 (1-3) (autograph pre-orchestral manuscript, 19 pp., including 1. prelude, 2. fileuse, 3. 5e acte, molto-adagio [mort de Mélisande]); BnF-Mus Ms. 17763 (autograph orchestral working manuscript of Prélude, c. 1899, 20 pp.); BnF-Mus Ms. 17764 (1-3) (autograph orchestral manuscript, 51 pp., including Prélude, fileuse, molto adagio); BnF-Mus Ms. 17765 (manuscript copied by Alfred Cortot, c. 1950)

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**Catalog Number** 264  
**Date of Première/Revival** August 28, 1898  
**Play** *Déjanire*  
**Composer** Saint-Saëns, Camille  
**Playwright** Gallet, Louis  
**City of Première/Revival** Béziers  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Arènes  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie en 4 actes  
**Other Notes** Performed six times at the Théâtre de l'Odéon on 11

November 1898, with Prés. Félix Faure at the Odéon première. Revised in 1911 as a *drame lyrique* (opera) for Monte Carlo. Performed 17 times at the Paris Opéra by 1962. Menneret cites *Le Ménestrel*, 1898: “La musique est juxtaposée sur ce drame mais n’en fait pas partie intégrante et peut-être est-ce un tort; et qui sait si en le renforçant au moyen de certains épisodes, en tirant de la présence des masses tout le parti qu’elles pouvaient offrir, ce sujet un peu maigre pour une tragédie, n’eût pas, en en développant le côté passionnel, donné lieu à un bon poème d’opéra?...”

**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 507 (partially autograph score, 1898, 235 pp.); BnF-Mus Ms. 508 (autograph piano-vocal reduction, 164 pp.); BnF-Mus Ms. 509 (autograph orchestral score, 1898, 463 pp.); BnF-Mus Ms. 510 (autograph score for strings, wind band and voices for performance at the Arènes de Beziers, 28 August 1898, including the prologue composed for this performance, 161 pp.); BnF-Mus Ms. 511 (second autograph piano-vocal reduction, 105 pp.); BnF-Mus Vm7 17459 (piano-vocal reduction, Paris: A. Durand, 1898)

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	265
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	October 13, 1898
<b>Play</b>	<i>Championnet</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Thony, Th.
<b>Playwright</b>	Henry, Théodore
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre des Nations
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Drame à grand spectacle en 5 actes & 7 tableaux

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	266
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	October 28, 1898
<b>Play</b>	<i>Médée</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Indy, Vincent d’
<b>Playwright</b>	Mendès, Catulle
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre de la Renaissance
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Tragédie en 3 actes
<b>Other Notes</b>	Thirteen movements, 9 featuring melodrama. Menneret cites a strident review by H. Moreno, <i>Le Ménestrel</i> , November 1898.
<b>Library/Archive Call Nos.</b>	BnF-Mus Ms. 9201 (autograph manuscript score, dated “Les Faugs, Mai-Sept. 1898,” 32 leaves); BnF-Mus Vm7



17457 (Paris: A. Durand, 1898); BnF-Mus Ms. 1048 (autograph manuscript, 20 pp.); BnF-Mus Vm7 17486 (orchestral suite, Paris: Durand, 1899); BnF-Mus Vm7 17487 (orchestral suite transcribed for piano 4 hands, Paris: Durand, 1899)

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**Catalog Number** 267  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 6, 1898  
**Play** *La Reine Fiammette*  
**Composer** Vidal, Paul Antonin  
**Playwright** Mendès, Catulle  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Conte dramatique en 5 actes [et 6 tableaux], en vers  
**Other Notes** Played 60 times. Reviewed in Lemaître, *Impressions de théâtre*, v. 5. Play premiered at the Théâtre Libre, January 15, 1889. The play served as the basis of a conte lyrique with music by Xavier Leroux for the Opéra-Comique, 23 December 1903.

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**Catalog Number** 268  
**Date of Première/Revival** February 27, 1899  
**Play** *Othello ou Le More de Venise*  
**Composer** Léon, Laurent  
**Playwright** Aicard, Jean  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 acte et 9 tableaux en vers  
**Other Notes** Featured three chansons: La Chanson du saule; La Chanson du piot; La Chanson du roi Etienne.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vm7 73223 (Paris: Cartier-Gauvin, 1899); AN F18 688 (play manuscript)

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**Catalog Number** 269  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 8, 1899  
**Play** *Dalila*  
**Composer** Hahn, Reynaldo  
**Playwright** Feuillet, Octave  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes  
**Other Notes** Score includes instrumental music, a tenor aria, a duo, a reverie for organ & choir. Play premiered at the Théâtre

du Vaudeville, 29 May 1857 and reprised at the Comédie-Française, 28 March 1870. Menneret cites P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 12 March 1899.

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**Catalog Number** 270  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 18, 1899  
**Play** *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*  
**Composer** Lully, Jean-Baptiste  
**Playwright** Molière (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin dit)  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Opéra  
**Other Notes** Always performed with artists of the Comédie-Française. Twelve performances at the Paris Opéra through 1962: 13 March 1817, 11 December 1826, 30 January 1840, 15 January 1845, 9 January 1852; at Palais Garnier, 18 March 1899, 11 March 1900, 15 October 1903, 26 December 1905 (see Wolff, *L'Opéra au Palais Garnier*, 345).

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**Catalog Number** 271  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 13, 1899  
**Play** *Sâvitri*  
**Composer** Terrasse, Claude  
**Playwright** Hérold, (André-)Ferdinand  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Cercle des escholiers  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie héroïque en 2 actes, en vers  
**Other Notes** Performed by the troupe of the Cercle des escholiers at the Théâtre Libre. Menneret cites P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 16 April 1899.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Tolbiac 8-YTH-28686 & BnF-Tolbiac 8-YTH-28900 (printed play)

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**Catalog Number** 272  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 20, 1899  
**Play** *Hamlet*  
**Composer** Pierné, Gabriel  
**Playwright** Morand, Eugène & Marcel Schwob, after Shakespeare  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 12 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 28 May 1899.

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**Catalog Number** 273  
**Date of Première/Revival** August 13, 1899  
**Play** *Alkestis*  
**Composer** Léon, Laurent  
**Playwright** Rivollet, Georges, after Euripides  
**City of Première/Revival** Orange  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre antique d'Orange  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en vers, en 4 actes dont un prologue  
**Other Notes** Play and score revived by the Comédie-Française on 16 November 1900 on the stage of the Théâtre du Châtelet after the Comédie-Française had burned.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** AN F18 688 (play manuscript)

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**Catalog Number** 274  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 2, 1899  
**Play** *Panthéon-Courcelles*  
**Composer** Terrasse, Claude  
**Playwright** Courteline, Georges  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Grand Guignol  
**Dramatic Genre** Fantaisie musicale en un scène  
**Other Notes** Play adapted by Rosenthal and performed 23 May 1900 at the Théâtre de la Bodinière (the location at which the troupe of the Théâtre de l'Application frequently performed) as *L'Heure du Berger* (an opéra-comique). N.B. Panthéon-Place Courcelles was a bus route c. 1900, which was mentioned in verses by P.-J. Toulet: "Nane, as-tu gardé souvenir / Du Panthéon-Place Courcelles / qui roulait à cris de crécelle / Sans au but jamais parvenir..." See Genty, *Histoire du Théâtre National de l'Odéon*, 8.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-ASP 4o Y. 815 & BnF-Mus K. 69643 (1) (printed play with music, Paris: Paul Dupont, 1899); BnF-Tolbiac, 16-YF-167 (1) (play)

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**Catalog Number** 275  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 17, 1889  
**Play** *La Marche au soleil*  
**Composer** Fragerolle, Georges  
**Playwright** Durocher, Léon  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Bodinière  
**Dramatic Genre** Épopée

**Other Notes** Score comprised of 11 movements. Legend of the Marchand expedition to Egypt.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vm7 17680 & BnF-ASP FOL. Y. 92 & BnF-ASP 4o Y. 821 & BnF-ASP 8 Y. 2384 & BnF-ASP 4 Ro 13777 & BnF-Mus D. 4190 (piano-vocal score, Paris: Flammarion, Enoch, 1900, 47 pp.); BnF-Mus Vm7 18309 (Paris: Mazo, 1905)

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**Catalog Number** 276  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 21, 1899  
**Play** *La Reine de Tyr*  
**Composer** Georges, Alexandre  
**Playwright** Richepin, Georges  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Maguera  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 4 actes, en vers  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-ASP Rf. 70578, BnF-ASP Rf. 70579

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**Catalog Number** 277  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 27, 1899  
**Play** *Les Misérables*  
**Composer** Wormser, André  
**Playwright** Hugo, Charles & Paul Meurice, after the novel by Victor Hugo  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 2 parties, avec prologue et épilogue, 3 actes et 17 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites H. Moreno, *Le Ménestrel*, 31 December 1899.

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**Catalog Number** 278  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 10, 1900  
**Play** *Godefroy*  
**Composer** Terrasse, Claude  
**Playwright** Courteline, Georges  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre des Pantins  
**Other Notes** Reprised under the title of *Sigismonde*.

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**Catalog Number** 279  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 15, 1900  
**Play** *Claudie*  
**Composer** Hillemacher, Paul & Lucien Hillemacher  
**Playwright** Sand, George  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en trois actes en prose  
**Other Notes** Played 4 times with an orchestra of 60 performers.

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**Catalog Number** 280  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 7, 1900  
**Play** *Le Petit Chaperon rouge*  
**Composer** Thomé, Francis (François Luc Joseph)  
**Playwright** Lefèbvre-Henri  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Conte en trois actes et en vers  
**Other Notes** Played 23 times. At this time the Odéon had been moved to the Gymnase after the Comédie-Française burned and took over the hall of the Odéon. Title sometimes appears in the contemporary press as "Le Chaperon rouge."  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Opé Fonds Thomé 003 (autograph manuscript score dated 28 October 1899, 59 pp.); AN F18 730 (play manuscript)

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**Catalog Number** 281  
**Date of Première/Revival** August 26, 1900  
**Play** *Prométhée*  
**Composer** Fauré, Gabriel  
**Playwright** Lorrain, Jean (pseud. for Paul Duval) & (André-)Ferdinand Hérold  
**City of Première/Revival** Béziers  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Arènes  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie lyrique en 3 actes  
**Other Notes** Cast combined three spoken roles with six sung roles, mixing song and melodrama. Review by Paul Dukas in *La Revue hebdomadaire* on 31 October 1900 suggests that the work is more incidental music than opera. Paris première at the Hippodrome (place Clichy) on 5 December 1907 with 600 musicians, next at the Paris Opéra on 15 December 1907. A reduced-orchestration version reached the stage of the Paris Opéra on 17 May 1917, and the work reached four performances at the

**Library/Archive Call Nos.**

Opéra by 1962; see also 1914 revival (at Beziers?). Saint-Saëns composed a prologue to the work.  
BnF-Mus Vm2 1181; BnF-Opé Rés. 2005; BnF-Mus Rés. Vma. Ms. 940 (manuscript for soloists, chorus, three wind bands, harps and strings, 1900, 208 pp.); BnF-Mus Rés. Vma. Ms. 1077 (autograph manuscript by Roger Ducasse of version for large orchestral of 1914, 357 leaves in 3 vols); BnF-Mus Ms. 17768 (fragments of autograph working manuscript, reorchestrated for large orchestra, 126 pp.); BnF-Mus Vm. micr. 769 (manuscript score, original orchestration of Charles Eustace & Fauré for wind bands, strings and harps, 1900); BnF-Mus Vm. micr. 700 (manuscript orchestral parts, 1900); BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 916 (piano-vocal manuscript intended for the publisher of Act II: Prélude et Premier chœur, 1900, 28 pp.); BnF-Mus Ms. 20808 (autograph manuscript reduced for string orchestra of Act I, no. 3, c. 1899, 4 pp.)

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	282
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	August 26, 1900
<b>Play</b>	<i>Prologue to Prométhée</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Saint-Saëns, Camille
<b>Playwright</b>	Lorrain, Jean (pseud. for Paul Duval) & (André-)Ferdinand Hérold
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Béziers
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Arènes
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Tragédie lyrique
<b>Other Notes</b>	Prologue to Fauré's tragédie lyrique.

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	283
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	December 8, 1900
<b>Play</b>	<i>Phèdre</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Massenet, Jules
<b>Playwright</b>	Racine, Jean
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre de l'Odéon
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Tragédie
<b>Other Notes</b>	Overture, entr'actes, melodrama and instrumental music; score begins with Massenet's 1873 overture to <i>Phèdre</i> . Président Loubet and his family attended the performance. Reprised for 2 performances at the Théâtre Sarah-Bernhardt beginning 14 November 1901, with the Colonne orchestra. Menneret cites a very important review by Arthur Pougin in <i>Le Ménestrel</i> , 9 December

**Library/Archive Call Nos.** 1900, describing the technique of mélodrame in detail. BnF-Mus Ms. 4235 (autograph manuscript used by Colonne, 1873, 44 pp.); BnF-Mus D. 7728 (piano reduction, Paris: Heugel, 1900, 78 pp.), BnF-Mus Vm2 1189 (printed orchestral score), BnF-Mus Vm2 1181 (printed piano reduction)

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**Catalog Number** 284  
**Date of Première/Revival** February 10, 1901  
**Play** *Sigismonde*  
**Composer** Terrasse, Claude  
**Playwright** Courteline, Georges  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Tréteau de Tabarin  
**Dramatic Genre** Fantaisie en un acte avec chœurs  
**Other Notes** For chorus in one and two parts, facsimile of the autograph score by Terrasse reproduced in the play along with photos of Baltha, Gustave Charpentier, Paul Delmet, Vincent Hyspa, Victor Meusy, Claude Terrasse.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Tolbiac 16-YF-167 (1) (play with music and photos of production, Paris, F. Juven, 1901)

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**Catalog Number** 285  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 7, 1901  
**Play** *Lola*  
**Composer** Saint-Saëns, Camille  
**Playwright** Bordese, Stephan  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Concerts Colonne  
**Dramatic Genre** Scène dramatique à deux personnages  
**Other Notes** Performance held at the Théâtre Nouveau.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 819 (Piano-vocal score dedicated to Mme Henri Lavedan, September 1900); BnF-Mus Vm7 17754

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**Catalog Number** 286  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 17, 1901  
**Play** *Quo vadis ?*  
**Composer** Thomé, Francis (François Luc Joseph)  
**Playwright** Moreau, Émile, after the novel by Henryk Sienkiewicz  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes et 10 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Orchestra and choirs directed by Louis Laporte,

choreography by Mme Mariquita; in Tableau 2, « danses garditaines » by Mlles Ducastel & Mochino. Played 115 times by closure on 15 June. Performed by the troupe at the Grande Théâtre de Lyon in September to considerable success. Reprised on 20 September 1901, played 52 times that fall, reaching 150 performances on October 20. “Notons l’heureux concours apporté par l’aimable partition composée par M. Francis Thomé à un gros succès, amplement justifié.” (Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales...* 1901, 298). Menneret cites P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 14 March 1901: “M. Francis Thomé a souligné de musique lointaine et fugitive les passages plus spécialement lyriques...”

**Library/Archive Call Nos.**

BnF-Opé Fonds Thomé

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**Catalog Number**

287

**Date of Première/Revival**

June 12, 1901

**Play**

*L’Ile heureuse*

**Composer**

Moret, Ernest

**Playwright**

Moraud, Eugène

**City of Première/Revival**

Paris

**Theater of Première/Revival**

Cercle des escoliers

**Dramatic Genre**

Poème dramatique en 3 actes et 4 tableaux, en vers libres, 1 prologue et 1 épilogue en prose

**Other Notes**

Menneret cites review by P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 16 June 1901 which reports the need to cut the symphonic score of the work, so that only the choruses were performed from the wings.

**Library/Archive Call Nos.**

BnF-Mus D. 8289 (piano-vocal score, 1903); BnF-Mus Vm7 18036

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**Catalog Number**

288

**Date of Première/Revival**

June 24, 1901

**Play**

*Pour la lune*

**Composer**

Delmet, Paul

**Playwright**

Guillaumet, Edouard & Jacques Lemaire

**City of Première/Revival**

Paris

**Theater of Première/Revival**

Théâtre du Grand Guignol

**Dramatic Genre**

Conte lyrique en vers

**Other Notes**

Score includes entire play mixed with sung and instrumental numbers, including melodrama.

**Library/Archive Call Nos.**

BnF-Mus Vm7 17846 (Paris: Enoch et Cie, 1901, 39 pp.)

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**Catalog Number** 289  
**Date of Première/Revival** September 30, 1901  
**Play** *La Vie en voyage*  
**Composer** Marie, Gabriel  
**Playwright** Desvallières, Maurice  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Vaudeville  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 5 actes  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites *Le Ménestrel*, "Bilan de l'année 1901," 5 January 1902.

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**Catalog Number** 290  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 4, 1901  
**Play** *Le Voile du bonheur*  
**Composer** Fauré, Gabriel  
**Playwright** Clemenceau, Georges  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Renaissance  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 1 acte (comédie chinoise)  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites "Production Lyrique en 1901," *Le Ménestrel*, 5 January 1902 & Noël and Stoullig, *Les Annales...* 1901. Reprised 8 December 1920 at the Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 920 (10 manuscript parts); BnF-Mus Ms. 17786 (autograph score manuscript); BnF-ASP Rf. 55019 (play, Paris: E. Fasquelle, 1901)

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**Catalog Number** 291  
**Date of Première/Revival** ? ?, 1902  
**Play** *Les Deux courtisanes*  
**Composer** Hahn, Reynaldo  
**Playwright** Croisset, François de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre des Mathurins  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 1 acte  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites "Bilan de l'année 1902," *Le Ménestrel*, 4 January 1903.

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**Catalog Number** 292  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 30, 1902  
**Play** *Les Noces corinthiennes*  
**Composer** Thomé, Francis (François Luc Joseph)  
**Playwright** France, Anatole

<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre de l'Odéon
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Drame en 3 actes [et 1 prologue], en vers
<b>Other Notes</b>	Performed 12 times, orchestra and chorus conducted by Edouard Colonne. Already well-received in literary world before the public première: the novel was adapted for stage by Francisque Sarcey, premiered privately to Cercle des Arts intimes on 27 January 1884 (See Howard Lee Nostrand, <i>Le Théâtre Antique et à l'Antique en France de 1840 à 1900</i> , 257). Menneret cites O. Berggruen, <i>Le Ménestrel</i> , 2 February 1902; "La pièce a inspiré à M. Francis Thomé une partition très intéressante. En dehors de la musique de scène proprement dite et de quelques chœurs chantés à la cantonnade, chaque acte est pourvu d'un prélude. Celui du 2ème acte, dans lequel le premier violon solo un ravissant cantabile, a été couvert d'applaudissements. Une ouverture assez longue est en outre placée en tête de la partition; elle offre un beau thème principal, brillamment traité avec une jolie pointe archaïque... L'orchestre de M. Colonne, qui l'a exécutée, peut d'ores et déjà inscrire cette ouverture parmi les morceaux de son répertoire."
<b>Library/Archive Call Nos.</b>	BnF-Mus W2, 128 (autograph manuscript piano reduction of overture, 2 pp.)

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	293
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	January 31, 1902
<b>Play</b>	<i>Madame Tallien</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Vieu, Jane
<b>Playwright</b>	Berthelot, Paul & Claude Rolaud
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Bordeaux
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Grand Théâtre des Arts
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Pièce heroique en 5 actes et 8 tableaux
<b>Other Notes</b>	Menneret cites <i>Le Ménestrel</i> , 9 February 1902, 48 as source informing us of two chansons sung from the wings.
<b>Library/Archive Call Nos.</b>	BnF-Mus Vm7 17884 (piano score)

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	294
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	February ?, 1902
<b>Play</b>	<i>La Belle au bois dormant</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Vieu, Jane
<b>Playwright</b>	Metivet, Lucien
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre des Mathurins

**Dramatic Genre** Féerie chantée en 19 tableaux lumineux  
**Other Notes** Movements for piano alone mixed with songs and melodrama.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-ASP 4o Y. 834 & BnF-ASP 4o Y. 828 & BnF-Mus K. 52317 & BnF-Mus Vm7 17872 & BnF-Mus D. 10327 (illustrated piano-vocal score, Paris: Enoch, E. Flammarion, 1902); BnF-Mus K. 17156 & BnF-Mus K. 16053 (excerpts, valse chantée); BnF-Mus K. 52316 (piano-vocal score)

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**Catalog Number** 295  
**Date of Première/Revival** February 26, 1902  
**Play** *Les Burgraves*  
**Composer** Saint-Saëns, Camille  
**Playwright** Hugo, Victor  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** C-F 6P1 36 (autograph manuscript for soprano and piano, Chanson de Lupus, "L'hiver est froid," 4 pp.); C-F 6P1 37 (autograph manuscript score, Air et chœur d'entrée: "Dans les guerres civiles" for baritone solo, men's choir and trumpets, 4 pp.)

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**Catalog Number** 296  
**Date of Première/Revival** March ?, 1902  
**Play** *La Passion*  
**Composer** Georges, Alexandre  
**Playwright** Jouin, Abbé  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Nouveau Théâtre  
**Dramatic Genre** Mystère en 16 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 16 March 1902: "...M. Alexandre Georges, en commentant d'une importante partition l'œuvre de M. l'Abbé Jouin, dans laquelle les chœurs jouent un rôle fort important."

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**Catalog Number** 297  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 28, 1902  
**Play** *L'Assomption d'Hannela Mattern*  
**Composer** Pierné, Gabriel  
**Playwright** Hauptmann, Gérard, tr. Jean Thorel  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris

**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Antoine  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame du rêve en 2 parties  
**Other Notes** Played on Good Friday.

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**Catalog Number** 298  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 21, 1902  
**Play** *Francesca de Rimini*  
**Composer** Pierné, Gabriel  
**Playwright** Crawford, Marion, tr. Marcel Schwob  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en cinq actes dont un prologue  
**Other Notes** Sarah Bernhardt played the title role.

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**Catalog Number** 299  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 13, 1902  
**Play** *Quatorze juillet*  
**Composer** Tiersot, Julien  
**Playwright** Rolland, Romain  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Renaissance  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 3 actes

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**Catalog Number** 300  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 26, 1902  
**Play** *Ramsès*  
**Composer** Vidal, Paul Antonin  
**Playwright** Perquidoux, Joseph de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Egyptien de l'Exposition Universelle  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 1 acte en vers  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus D. 14162 & BnF-Mus Vm2 1351 (piano-vocal score, Paris: Heugel, 1902)

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**Catalog Number** 301  
**Date of Première/Revival** August 10, 1902  
**Play** *Les Phéniciennes*  
**Composer** Léon, Laurent  
**Playwright** Rivollet, Georges, after Euripides  
**City of Première/Revival** Orange  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre antique d'Orange  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en quatre actes, en vers

**Other Notes** Play and music revived at the Comédie-Française on 5 July 1905.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** AN F18 689 (play manuscript); BnF-Tolbiac 8-YTH-31367 & BnF-ASP 8 Rf. 81506 (play, P.-V. Stock, 1905)

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**Catalog Number** 302  
**Date of Première/Revival** August 17, 1902  
**Play** *Parysatis*  
**Composer** Saint-Saëns, Camille  
**Playwright** Dieulafoy, Jane  
**City of Première/Revival** Béziers  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Arènes  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 3 actes  
**Other Notes** Score includes an Air du Rossignol and a ballet.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 519 (autograph manuscript score, 1902, 227 pp.); BnF-Mus Ms. 520 (autograph piano-vocal manuscript, Act III, no. 2, 102 pp); BnF-Mus Ms. 683 (autograph manuscript, recitative for l'air du Rossignol, 5 pp.); BnF-Mus Vm2 1346; BnF-Mus Vm2 1348; BnF-Mus D. 13808 (orchestral score of Airs de Ballet, Paris: Durand, 1903)

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**Catalog Number** 303  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 11, 1902  
**Play** *Manfred*  
**Composer** Schumann, Robert  
**Playwright** Lord Byron, adapt. Pascal Forthuny  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Œuvre  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 3 actes  
**Other Notes** Performed by the troupe of the Théâtre de l'Œuvre at the hall of the Nouveau Théâtre. Adapted to a three-role version, with Aurélien-François Lugné-Poë in the role of Manfred, Jehan Adès in the role of L'Abbé de Saint Maurice, and Juliette Clarel in the role of Némésis.

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**Catalog Number** 304  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 10, 1903  
**Play** *Le Pèlerin d'amour*  
**Composer** Debussy, Claude-Achille  
**Playwright** Michelot  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon

**Dramatic Genre** Pièce 1 act en vers  
**Other Notes** Created at Salle Douai, 29 June 1902.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** AN F18 731 (published play, 1903)

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**Catalog Number** 305  
**Date of Première/Revival** February 7, 1903  
**Play** *Andromaque*  
**Composer** Saint-Saëns, Camille  
**Playwright** Racine, Jean  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Sarah-Bernhardt  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie en 5 actes  
**Other Notes** Dedicated to Sarah Bernhardt, performed by the Orchestre Colonne. Menneret cites Arthur Pougin, *Le Ménestrel*, 15 February 1903.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 518 (autograph orchestral score, 1902, 138 pp.); BnF-Mus Vm7 18018; BnF-Mus Vm7 18019

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**Catalog Number** 306  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 6, 1903  
**Play** *Werther*  
**Composer** Hahn, Reynaldo  
**Playwright** Decourcelle, Pierre, after Goethe  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en cinq actes  
**Other Notes** Sarah Bernhardt performed the title role. Menneret cites P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 15 March 1903.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** AN F18 743 (typed copy of play)

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**Catalog Number** 307  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 23, 1903  
**Play** *La Roussalka*  
**Composer** Chevillard, Camille  
**Playwright** Schuré, Edouard  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Nouveau Théâtre  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites Octave Séré, *Musiciens français d'aujourd'hui*.

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**Catalog Number** 308  
**Date of Première/Revival** April ?, 1903  
**Play** *Circé*  
**Composer** Brunel, Raoul  
**Playwright** Richet, Charles  
**City of Première/Revival** Monte-Carlo  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de Monte-Carlo  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 2 actes, en vers  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites "Bilan musical de 1903," *Le Ménestrel*, 3 January 1904.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vm2 1363 (piano-vocal score, Paris: Choudens, 1903, 89 pp.)

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**Catalog Number** 309  
**Date of Première/Revival** August ?, 1903  
**Play** *Le Mirage*  
**Composer** Séverac, Deodat de  
**Playwright** Damart, Léon  
**City of Première/Revival** Royan  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de Royan  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 1 acte, en vers  
**Other Notes** Two numbered movements: Scène 1, scène 7.  
Instrumental music and songs. Menneret cites Octave Séré, *Musiciens français d'aujourd'hui*.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 8695 (autograph orchestral score, No. 1, sc. 1, 18pp.)

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**Catalog Number** 310  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 9, 1903  
**Play** *Le Dieu vert*  
**Composer** Eymieu, Henry  
**Playwright** Keim, Paul  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt  
**Dramatic Genre** Un acte en vers  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 8 November 1903.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** AN F18 743 (play manuscript)

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**Catalog Number** 311  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 25, 1903  
**Play** *Le Prince Consort*  
**Composer** Marcelles, Paul

**Playwright** Xanrof & Chancel  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Athénée  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie fantaisiste en 3 actes  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 29 November 1903.

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**Catalog Number** 312  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 28, 1903  
**Play** *L'Absent*  
**Composer** Leborne, Fernand  
**Playwright** Mitchell, Georges  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 4 actes  
**Other Notes** Score comprised of 29 musical numbers; all but prelude and 3 other numbers use declamation over text (Nichols Olin, 419). Menneret cites P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 29 November 1903 at length; Chevalier refers to *L'Arlésienne* as impetus for this score, and notes that the author requested music for the production. The orchestra was conducted by Chevillard.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vm7 18169, BnF-Mus Vm7 18196; BnF-Mus D. 665

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**Catalog Number** 313  
**Date of Première/Revival** December ?, 1903  
**Play** *L'Oasis*  
**Composer** David, Félicien  
**Playwright** Jullien, Jean  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Œuvre (Nouveau Théâtre)  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 5 actes  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 20 December 1903. Score consisted of fragments from *Le Désert*.

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**Catalog Number** 314  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 15, 1903  
**Play** *La Sorcière*  
**Composer** Leroux, Xavier  
**Playwright** Sardou, Victorien  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt



**Dramatic Genre** Drame en cinq actes  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 20 December 1903. Travers, *Catalogue of Nineteenth-Century French Theatrical Parodies* 94 cites a parody on 27 December 1903. Reprinted on 22 November 1907 for 24 performances.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** AN F18 743 (play manuscript)

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**Catalog Number** 315  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 28, 1904  
**Play** *Falstaff*  
**Composer** Desgranges, Félix  
**Playwright** Richepin, Jacques  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en vers, en 5 actes et 7 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 31 January 1904 as source.

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**Catalog Number** 316  
**Date of Première/Revival** February ?, 1904  
**Play** *Héliodora*  
**Composer** Neuville  
**Playwright** Bach-Sisley, Mme Jean & Marie Diemer  
**City of Première/Revival** Lyon  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre des Célestins  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en vers  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites "Bilan Musical de 1904," *Le Ménestrel*, 8 January 1905.

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**Catalog Number** 317  
**Date of Première/Revival** February ?, 1904  
**Play** *Aladin*  
**Composer** Vieu, Jane  
**Playwright** Métiwet, Lucien  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre des Mathurins  
**Dramatic Genre** Ombres chinoises en quinze tableaux  
**Other Notes** Poem & images by Lucien Métiwet.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-ASP 4o Y. 831 & BnF-ASP 4o Y. 822 & BnF-Mus Vm7 18124 (illustrated piano-vocal score, Paris: Enoch, Flammarion, 1904); BnF-Mus Vm26 20611 (orchestral score, Paris: Enoch, 1907)

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	318
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	February 3, 1904
<b>Play</b>	<i>L'Ame du passé</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Mathieu, Théodore
<b>Playwright</b>	Sonolet, Louis
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre de l'Odéon
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Un acte en vers
<b>Other Notes</b>	Scored for violins, viola and cello. Menneret cites review by P.E. Chevalier, <i>Le Ménestrel</i> , 7 February 1904.
<b>Library/Archive Call Nos.</b>	BnF-Mus Vm26 391

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	319
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	April 1, 1904
<b>Play</b>	<i>L'Assomption d'Hannela Mattern</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Marie, Gabriel
<b>Playwright</b>	Hauptmann, Gerhardt, tr. Jean Thorel
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre Antoine
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Drame du rêve en 2 parties
<b>Other Notes</b>	Played on Good Friday.

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	320
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	May 10, 1904
<b>Play</b>	<i>Polyphème</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Bonheur, Raymond
<b>Playwright</b>	Samain, Albert
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre de l'Œuvre
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Drame in 2 actes en vers
<b>Other Notes</b>	Reprised at the Comédie-Française on 19 May 1908.
<b>Library/Archive Call Nos.</b>	BnF-Mus Ms. 10209 (autograph manuscript orchestral score c. 1903); BnF-Mus Vm7 18992 (1908)

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	321
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	June ?, 1904
<b>Play</b>	<i>L'Œdipe à Colonne</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Thomé, Francis (François Luc Joseph)
<b>Playwright</b>	Sophocles, adapt. Jules Gastambide
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre de l'Œuvre (Nouveau Théâtre)

**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie en 3 actes  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 12 June 1904: “Les violons, les harpes, les flûtes, les trompettes et les timbales de M. Francis Thomé ont, trop lointainement, soupiré les douleurs, clamé les colères et grondé les orages; il est regrettable qu’on n’ait pu loger le petit orchestre dans la salle.”

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**Catalog Number** 322  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 1, 1904  
**Play** *Le Grillon du foyer*  
**Composer** Massenet, Jules  
**Playwright** Francmesnil, Ludovic de, after Dickens  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l’Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 3 actes  
**Other Notes** Reprised at the Théâtre Réjane on 2 April 1908. Menneret cites review by P.E. Chevalier in *Le Ménestrel*, 9 October 1904.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus 4o Vm12 355

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**Catalog Number** 323  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 26, 1904  
**Play** *Armide et Gildis*  
**Composer** Anonymous  
**Playwright** Sainte-Croix, Camille de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l’Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes et 6 tableaux, en vers  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites a review by Amédée Boutarel in *Le Ménestrel*, 4 December 1904.

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**Catalog Number** 324  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 5, 1904  
**Play** *Le Roi Lear*  
**Composer** Missa, Edmond  
**Playwright** Shakespeare, tr. Pierre Loti & Émile Vedel  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Antoine  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 28 scènes  
**Other Notes** Played 11 times at Odéon starting 13 December 1907. A clipping from newspaper *Chantecler* of 28 September 1928 (found in BnF-ASP Ro 2945) tells that the score

was written in 1904 for the Odéon because Debussy failed to produce his score for *Le Roi Lear* in time. Menneret refers to “Bilan musical 1904,” *Le Ménestrel*, 8 January 1905.

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	325
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	December 24, 1904
<b>Play</b>	<i>Les Accordailles</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Mathieu, Théodore
<b>Playwright</b>	Bossuet, Pierre
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre de la Bodinière
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Pièce en 1 acte en vers
<b>Library/Archive Call Nos.</b>	BnF-Mus Vm26 390; BnF-ASP Rf. 53095

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	326
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	February 7, 1905
<b>Play</b>	<i>Angelo, tyran de Padoue</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Hahn, Reynaldo
<b>Playwright</b>	Hugo, Victor
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Drame en 5 actes
<b>Other Notes</b>	Menneret cites a positive review by Amédée Boutarel, <i>Le Ménestrel</i> , 12 February 1905.
<b>Library/Archive Call Nos.</b>	BnF-Mus 4o Vm15 182; BnF-Mus Vm12 32176

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	327
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	March 27, 1905
<b>Play</b>	<i>St Martin</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Marti, Esteban
<b>Playwright</b>	Sablais, H. de
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Unknown
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Unknown
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Légende
<b>Other Notes</b>	Date of performance found in BnF-Mus card catalogue; the work does not appear in Stoullig, <i>Les Annales</i> 1905, and was likely performed privately.
<b>Library/Archive Call Nos.</b>	BnF-Mus Fol. Vm7 9673 (Paris: Impr. de E. Dupré, 1913, 33 pp.)

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**Catalog Number** 328  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 30, 1905  
**Play** *Scarron*  
**Composer** Hahn, Reynaldo  
**Playwright** Mendès, Catulle  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Gaîté  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes, en vers  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites "Bilan musical de l'année 1905," *Le Ménestrel*, 7 January 1906.

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**Catalog Number** 329  
**Date of Première/Revival** April ?, 1905  
**Play** *La Magdaléenne*  
**Composer** Vieu, Jane  
**Playwright** Duplessy, Maurice & A. Cantel  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre des Mathurins  
**Dramatic Genre** Légende sacrée en 2 actes, en vers  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites "Bilan musical de l'année 1905," *Le Ménestrel*, 7 January 1906.

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**Catalog Number** 330  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 20, 1905  
**Play** *La Pécheresse*  
**Composer** Farigoul, J.  
**Playwright** Gael, R. de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Molière  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame sacré en 3 actes  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites "Bilan musical de l'année 1905," *Le Ménestrel*, 7 January 1906.

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**Catalog Number** 331  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 25, 1905  
**Play** *La Légende des Ménétriers*  
**Composer** Eymieu, Henry  
**Playwright** Rouillet, Jacques  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Molière  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 4 actes, en vers  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites "Bilan musical de l'année 1905," *Le Ménestrel*, 7 January 1906.

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**Catalog Number** 332  
**Date of Première/Revival** August 7, 1905  
**Play** *Jules César*  
**Composer** Fauré, Gabriel  
**Playwright** Shakespeare, tr. Hugo, Victor  
**City of Première/Revival** Orange  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre antique d'Orange  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie  
**Other Notes** Based on the music for Fauré's incidental score *Caligula*. Menneret refers to "Bilan musical de l'année 1905," *Le Ménestrel*, 7 January 1906.

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**Catalog Number** 333  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 23, 1905  
**Play** *Quatre cents coups du diable*  
**Composer** Baggers, Marius  
**Playwright** Cottens, Victor de & Victor Darlay  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Châtelet  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 4 actes et 36 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Marius Baggers was the chef d'orchestre for the Châtelet.

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**Catalog Number** 334  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 28, 1905  
**Play** *La Mort de Tintagile*  
**Composer** Nouges, Jean  
**Playwright** Maeterlinck, Maurice  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre des Mathurins  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites "Bilan musical de l'année 1905," *Le Ménestrel*, 7 January 1906.

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**Catalog Number** 335  
**Date of Première/Revival** August 24, 1906  
**Play** *Fra Angelico*  
**Composer** Mareschal, Amédée  
**Playwright** Deravie, Emmanuel  
**City of Première/Revival** Aix-en-Provence  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Cercle  
**Dramatic Genre** Triptyque en vers

**Other Notes** Menneret cites “Bilan musical de l’année 1905,” *Le Ménestrel*, 7 January 1906: “Orné du chant et de musique de scène.”

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**Catalog Number** 336  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 3, 1906  
**Play** *La Plus amoureuse*  
**Composer** Schneklud, Frédéric  
**Playwright** Besnard, Lucien  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Vaudeville  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 4 actes  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites “Bilan musical de l’année 1905,” *Le Ménestrel*, 7 January 1906.

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**Catalog Number** 337  
**Date of Première/Revival** December ?, 1906  
**Play** *Pan*  
**Composer** Haas, Robert  
**Playwright** Lerberghe, Charles van  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l’Œuvre (Théâtre Marigny)  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame satyrique et comique en 3 actes

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**Catalog Number** 338  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 4, 1906  
**Play** *Jules César*  
**Composer** Doret, Gustave  
**Playwright** Shakespeare, tr. Louis de Gramont  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l’Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie en 5 actes  
**Other Notes** Menneret refers to review by P.E. Chevalier in *Le Ménestrel*, 8 December 1906.

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**Catalog Number** 339  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 24, 1907  
**Play** *Princesse d’amour*  
**Composer** Laurens, Edmond  
**Playwright** Gautier, Judith  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Vaudeville

**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 3 actes et 7 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites review by H. Moreno, *Le Ménestrel*, 26 January 1907. Stoullig, *Les Annales ...* 1907, 215 notes that 14 musicians played from the wings of the theater.

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**Catalog Number** 340  
**Date of Première/Revival** February ?, 1907  
**Play** *Electre*  
**Composer** Léon, Laurent  
**Playwright** Sophocles, tr. Alfred Poizat  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie en 3 actes  
**Other Notes** Probably by Léon, chef d'orchestre of the Comédie-Française. Menneret cites Amédée Boutarel, *Le Ménestrel*, 9 February 1907.

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**Catalog Number** 341  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 1, 1907  
**Play** *La Faute de l'abbé Mouret*  
**Composer** Bruneau, Alfred  
**Playwright** Bruneau, Alfred, after the novel by Émile Zola  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 4 actes [et 14 tableaux]  
**Other Notes** Menneret dates the premiere at 28 February, and cites a review by P.E. Chevalier in *Le Ménestrel*, 9 March 1907.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 4532 (autograph manuscript score, signed "Villers-sur-mer, 9 août 1905," 347 pp.); BnF-Mus Vma Ms. 558 (manuscript piano-vocal score); BnF-Mus Vm2 1474 (piano-vocal score); BnF-Mus A. 35616 (piano); AN AJ55 46 (printed score)

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**Catalog Number** 342  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 20, 1907  
**Play** *La Marjolaine*  
**Composer** Richepin, Tiarko  
**Playwright** Richepin, Jacques  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 5 actes, en vers  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-ASP Rf. 70586; BnF-ASP Rf. 70587

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**Catalog Number** 343  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 30, 1907  
**Play** *Monsieur de Prévan*  
**Composer** Bretonneau, Émile  
**Playwright** Gumpel, Lucien & Georges Delaquye  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 18468 (4 autograph manuscript string parts, 2 leaves each)

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**Catalog Number** 344  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 22, 1907  
**Play** *Le Manteau du roi*  
**Composer** Massenet, Jules  
**Playwright** Aicard, Jean  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 4 actes, en vers  
**Other Notes** Played once in 1907.

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**Catalog Number** 345  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 25, 1907  
**Play** *La Belle au bois dormant*  
**Composer** Thomé, Francis  
**Playwright** Richepin, Jean  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Sarah-Bernhardt  
**Dramatic Genre** Féerie lyrique en vers, en 1 prologue, 2 parties et 14 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites review by P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 4 January 1908.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-ASP Rf. 70675 & BnF-ASP Rf. 70676 (printed play in *L'Illustration théâtrale*); BnF-ASP Rf. 70677 (printed play).

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**Catalog Number** 346  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 29, 1908  
**Play** *L'Avaré chinois*  
**Composer** Bénédictus, Edouard  
**Playwright** Gautier, Judith (tr. from Chinese by)  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris

**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 4 actes et 6 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Chinese music arranged by Bénédictus.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma Ms. 723 (manuscript score and parts)

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**Catalog Number** 347  
**Date of Première/Revival** February ?, 1908  
**Play** *Nirvana*  
**Composer** Richepin, Tiarko  
**Playwright** Verola, Paul  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Fémina  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce dramatique en 4 actes  
**Other Notes** Reprised at the Théâtre de l'Odéon, 21 May 1908.  
Menneret cites "Bilan musical de 1908," *Le Ménestrel*, 2  
January 1909.

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**Catalog Number** 348  
**Date of Première/Revival** February 20, 1908  
**Play** *Ramuntcho*  
**Composer** Pierné, Gabriel  
**Playwright** Loti, Pierre  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 5 actes  
**Other Notes** Menneret refers to "Bilan musical de 1908," *Le Ménestrel*,  
2 January 1909. Score comprised of preludes, short  
fragments of melodrama. Set in Basque country,  
includes music with local color: "Ouverture sur les  
thèmes populaires basques" sold separately.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 17243 (autograph orchestral score  
manuscript, Prélude & Le couvent, from 2nd Tableau of  
Act V); BnF-Mus D. 9773; BnF-Mus Vm7 18665 (piano  
reduction); AN AJ55 46 (printed play)

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**Catalog Number** 349  
**Date of Première/Revival** February 25, 1908  
**Play** *Hypatie*  
**Composer** Laperrière, Eugène  
**Playwright** Barlatier, Paul  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Œuvre  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame antique en 2 parties et en vers

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**Catalog Number** 350  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 8, 1908  
**Play** *La Courtisane de Corinthe*  
**Composer** Lévade, Charles  
**Playwright** Carré, Michel & Paul Bilhaud  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes et un prologue, en vers  
**Other Notes** Performed by the troupe of the Cercle des escholiers at the Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt. Menneret cites review by Amédée Boutarel in *Le Ménestrel*, 18 April 1908.

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**Catalog Number** 351  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 27, 1908  
**Play** *Saül*  
**Composer** Letoray, Omer  
**Playwright** Poizat, Alfred, after Alfieri  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Gaîté  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie en 5 actes, en vers  
**Other Notes** One performance only. Menneret refers to "Bilan musical de 1908," *Le Ménestrel*, 2 January 1909.

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**Catalog Number** 352  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 16, 1908  
**Play** *Chérubin*  
**Composer** Diet, Edmond  
**Playwright** Croisset, François de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Fémina  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 3 actes, en vers  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites "Bilan musical de 1908," *Le Ménestrel*, 2 January 1909.

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**Catalog Number** 353  
**Date of Première/Revival** July ?, 1908  
**Play** *La Belle et la bête*  
**Composer** Moreau-Febure, Henri  
**Playwright** Unknown  
**City of Première/Revival** Maisons-Laffitte  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Chez M. le Duc de Clermont-Tonnerre

**Dramatic Genre** Conte en 2 actes  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites "Bilan musical de 1908," *Le Ménestrel*, 2 January 1909.

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**Catalog Number** 354  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 7, 1908  
**Play** *Les Amours d'Ovide*  
**Composer** Moreau-Febure, Henri  
**Playwright** Meriezy-Eon, Auzanet & Faral  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Fémina  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 2 actes, en vers  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites "Bilan musical de 1908," *Le Ménestrel*, 2 January 1909.

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**Catalog Number** 355  
**Date of Première/Revival** August 30, 1908  
**Play** *Le Premier glaive*  
**Composer** Rabaud, Henri  
**Playwright** Nepoty, Lucien  
**City of Première/Revival** Béziers  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Arènes  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 3 actes  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites "Bilan musical de 1908," *Le Ménestrel*, 2 January 1909.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Opé E.Q545 83

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**Catalog Number** 356  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 23, 1908  
**Play** *La Pastorale de Noël*  
**Composer** Hahn, Reynaldo  
**Playwright** La Tourasse, Lionel de & Gailly de Taurines, after the 16th century mystère by Arnoul Gréban  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre des Arts  
**Dramatic Genre** Mistère en 3 actes  
**Other Notes** Fifteen numbered movements, plus 12bis at end of score. No. 10a is a "Mélodrame" (very brief text). Many airs & choruses, several instrumental préludes and introductions.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma Ms. 1208; BnF-Mus Vm1 3083 & BnF-Mus Vm1 3083A (1901 published score with annotations)

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**Catalog Number** 357  
**Date of Première/Revival** February 2, 1909  
**Play** *Perce-Neige et les sept gnomes*  
**Composer** Massenet, Jules  
**Playwright** Dortzal, Mlle J., adapted from Grimm  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Œuvre (Fémina)  
**Dramatic Genre** Conte en vers, en 4 journées

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**Catalog Number** 358  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 3, 1909  
**Play** *L'Impératrice*  
**Composer** Hahn, Reynaldo  
**Playwright** Mendès, Catulle  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Réjane  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 3 actes et 6 tableaux, dont 1 prologue

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**Catalog Number** 359  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 10, 1909  
**Play** *La Foi*  
**Composer** Saint-Saëns, Camille  
**Playwright** Brioux, Eugène  
**City of Première/Revival** Monte-Carlo  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de Monte-Carlo  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 5 actes  
**Other Notes** Set in Egypt c. 2000 B.C. Menneret cites premiere as 19 April 1909, referring to "Bilan musical de 1909," *Le Ménestrel*, 1 January 1910 & Octave Séré, *Musiciens français d'aujourd'hui*. Revived at the Théâtre de l'Odéon, 23 May 1912 for 9 performances, with Saint-Saëns conducting the Colonne orchestra.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus D. 9434 (piano reduction, 1912); BnF-Mus Ms. 503 (autograph score, Monte-Carlo 1909, 78 pp.); BnF-Mus Ms. 826 (autograph sketches for *La Foi* and Psalm 150); BnF-Mus Ms. 2448 (autograph score dated 1908, 89 leaves for 164 pp.)

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**Catalog Number** 360  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 12, 1909  
**Play** *La Fille de tourneur d'ivoire*  
**Composer** Saint-Saëns, Camille  
**Playwright** Lafont, A.

**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Opéra-Comique (Favart)  
**Dramatic Genre** Poème antique en 1 acte  
**Other Notes** “Poème antique en 1 acte de Mme Henry Ferrare d’après une nouvelle de Mme Jean Bertheroy” (Menneret, 228-229). Incidental music excerpts drawn from Saint-Saëns’s works. Performed as a matinée extraordinaire. Menneret refers to Octave Séré, *Musiciens français d’aujourd’hui*.

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**Catalog Number** 361  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 13, 1909  
**Play** *Adonis*  
**Composer** Georges, Alexandre  
**Playwright** Villers, Mlle Emilie  
**City of Première/Revival** Haÿ  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Chez Gravereaux  
**Dramatic Genre** Reconstitution grecque en 1 acte, en vers  
**Other Notes** Menneret refers to “Bilan musical de 1909,” *Le Ménestrel*, 1 January 1910.

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**Catalog Number** 362  
**Date of Première/Revival** July ?, 1909  
**Play** *Les Trois baisers*  
**Composer** Nerini, Émile  
**Playwright** Dulhom Nogues, E.L.  
**City of Première/Revival** Saint-Gratien  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Nature  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 1 acte, en vers  
**Other Notes** Menneret refers to “Bilan musical de 1909,” *Le Ménestrel*, 1 January 1910.

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**Catalog Number** 363  
**Date of Première/Revival** July ?, 1909  
**Play** *Pan*  
**Composer** Pascal, J.  
**Playwright** Ozarien, Mme Fernande G.  
**City of Première/Revival** Saint-Gratien  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Nature  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 1 acte, en vers  
**Other Notes** Menneret refers to “Bilan musical de 1909,” *Le Ménestrel*, 1 January 1910.

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**Catalog Number** 364  
**Date of Première/Revival** July ?, 1909  
**Play** *Le Bonhomme de neige*  
**Composer** Vieu, Jane  
**Playwright** Rabier, Benjamin  
**City of Première/Revival** Aix-les-Bains  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Casino du Grand Cercle et Villa des Fleurs  
**Dramatic Genre** Conte féerique en 20 tableaux lumineux  
**Other Notes** Recitation and images by Benjamin Rabier.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus 4o Vm5 56 (piano-vocal score, Paris: M. Vieu et J. Vieu, 1910)

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**Catalog Number** 365  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 16, 1908  
**Play** *Le Marchand de sable qui passe*  
**Composer** Roussel, Albert  
**Playwright** Jean-Aubry, G.  
**City of Première/Revival** Le Havre  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Cercle de l'Art Moderne, cond. Roussel  
**Dramatic Genre** Conte lyrique en 1 acte, en vers  
**Other Notes** Conducted by Roussel. Menneret cites Octave Séré, *Musiciens français d'aujourd'hui*.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 10162 (manuscript piano-vocal score used for engraving and bearing copyright date 1910 and the cotage of editor E. Demets, 15 pp.); BnF-Mus Ms. 10161 (manuscript orchestral score, dated "Ste-Colombe le 23 oct 1908," used for engraving and bearing copyright date 1910 and the cotage of editor E. Demets, 30 pp.); BnF-Mus Fol. Vm15 177

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**Catalog Number** 366  
**Date of Première/Revival** August ?, 1909  
**Play** *Le Moissonneur*  
**Composer** Casadessus, François  
**Playwright** Charbonnel, Raoul  
**City of Première/Revival** Tulle  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Préfecture  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes  
**Other Notes** Menneret refers to "Bilan musical de 1909," *Le Ménestrel*, 1 January 1910.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus L. 5623; BnF-Mus 4o Vm2 44; BnF-Mus 4o Vm2 18

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**Catalog Number** 367  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 23, 1909  
**Play** *Pulcinella*  
**Composer** Georges, Alexandre  
**Playwright** Orliac, Melle Jehanne d'  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre des Arts  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 3 actes, en vers  
**Other Notes** Menneret refers to "Bilan musical de 1909," *Le Ménestrel*, 1 January 1910.

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**Catalog Number** 368  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 18, 1909  
**Play** *Les Sept contre Thebes*  
**Composer** Bretonneau, Émile  
**Playwright** Aeschylus, tr. (André-)Ferdinand Hérold  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie  
**Other Notes** Fanfares.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 18497 (autograph manuscript score, 1 p. and 4 parts: tpt. I, II, III, trbn.)

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**Catalog Number** 369  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 22, 1909  
**Play** *Jeanne d'Arc*  
**Composer** Rudelin  
**Playwright** Gourdon, Georges  
**City of Première/Revival** Rochefort  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Alhambra Théâtre de Rochefort  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 3 actes et 8 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Menneret refers to "Bilan musical de 1909," *Le Ménestrel*, 1 January 1910.

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**Catalog Number** 370  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 23, 1909  
**Play** *Madame Margot*  
**Composer** Moreau, Philippe  
**Playwright** Moreau, Émile & Charles Clairville  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Réjane  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 5 actes dont un prologue et 5 tableaux



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**Catalog Number** 371  
**Date of Première/Revival** February 12, 1910  
**Play** *Antar*  
**Composer** Rimsky-Korsakov, Nikolai, arr. Maurice Ravel  
**Playwright** Chekri-Ganem  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites review by A. Boutarel in *Le Ménestrel*, 19 February 1910. Preludes to Acts 1, 3 drawn from the symphonic poem *Antar*; 2 mélodies orchestrated by Ravel; 2 fragments from the ballet *Mlada* included. Reprised at l'Odéon 6 mars 1925, played 8 times.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 17653 (autograph manuscript sketches on themes of Rimsky-Korsakov)

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**Catalog Number** 372  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 17, 1910  
**Play** *Xantho chez les courtisanes*  
**Composer** Leroux, Xavier  
**Playwright** Richepin, Jacques  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites review by P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 26 March 1910.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus 4o Vm5. 57 & BnF-Mus D. 7017 (orchestral score, Paris: Choudens, 1910, 82 pp.); BnF-ASP Rf. 70588, BnF-ASP Rf. 70589

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**Catalog Number** 373  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 21, 1910  
**Play** *Coriolan*  
**Composer** Bretonneau, Émile  
**Playwright** Shakespeare, tr. Paul Sonniès  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 29 tableaux  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 18469 (autograph manuscript fanfares, 4 parts of 2 pp. each: tpts. I-III, trb.)

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**Catalog Number** 374  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 11, 1910  
**Play** *Les Bergères de Théocrite*  
**Composer** Léon, Laurent  
**Playwright** Artois, Armand d'  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Pastorale en vers en 1 acte  
**Other Notes**  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.**

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**Catalog Number** 375  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 27, 1910  
**Play** *1859*  
**Composer** Bormel, Louis  
**Playwright** Denarié, Emmanuel & Aimé d'Ancien  
**City of Première/Revival** Aix-les-Bains  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Grand Cercle  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en vers  
**Other Notes** Menneret refers to A.P., "Bilan musical de 1910," *Le Ménestrel*, 14 January 1911, 11.

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**Catalog Number** 376  
**Date of Première/Revival** July ?, 1910  
**Play** *La Sulamite*  
**Composer** Anonymous  
**Playwright** Casate, François  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Salon de Mme Georges Ancel  
**Dramatic Genre** Idylle biblique en 3 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Menneret refers to review in *Le Comœdia Illustré*, 15 July 1910.

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**Catalog Number** 377  
**Date of Première/Revival** August 21, 1910  
**Play** *Héliogabale*  
**Composer** Séverac, Deodat de  
**Playwright** Sicard, Émile  
**City of Première/Revival** Béziers  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Arènes  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie lyrique en 3 actes  
**Other Notes** Menneret refers to B. Selva's biography of Déodat de Séverac.

**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus D. 3320 & BnF-Mus 4o Vm2 40 (piano-vocal score, Paris: Rouart, Lerolle & Cie, 1910, 192 pp.)

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**Catalog Number** 378  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 26, 1910  
**Play** *Marionnettes*  
**Composer** Léon, Laurent  
**Playwright** Wolff, Pierre  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 4 actes, en prose  
**Other Notes** “Chœurs napolitains dans la coulisse, probablement de M. Laurent Léon.” Menneret cites review by P.E. Chevalier, in *Le Ménestrel*, 29 October 1910.

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**Catalog Number** 379  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 19, 1910  
**Play** *L'Amour de Kesa*  
**Composer** Moreau, Léon  
**Playwright** Humières, Robert d'  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Œuvre  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame légendaire japonaise en deux tableaux  
**Other Notes** Menneret refers to review by A.P., “Bilan musical de 1910,” *Le Ménestrel*, 14 January 1911, 11.

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**Catalog Number** 380  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 22, 1910  
**Play** *Roméo et Juliette*  
**Composer** Berlioz, Hector  
**Playwright** Shakespeare, tr. Louis de Gramont  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** 3 actes  
**Other Notes** Played 11 times in 1910, 35 times in 1911. Extracts of Berlioz score played with complete translation by Gramont. Menneret cites review by P.E. Chevalier in *Le Ménestrel*, 31 December 1910.

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**Catalog Number** 381  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 29, 1911  
**Play** *Nabuchodonosor*

**Composer** Grovlez, Gabriel  
**Playwright** Faramond, Maurice de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre des Arts  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie en 1 acte  
**Other Notes** Score comprised of Prélude, Danse du papillon, Danse lente. Menneret cites review by Amédée Boutarel in *Le Ménestrel*, 4 February 1911.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 11332 (autograph manuscript for 2 fl., engl. hn., hp. and percussion, c. 1911, 7 pp.); BnF-Mus L. 10296

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**Catalog Number** 382  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 30, 1911  
**Play** *Le Marchand de passions*  
**Composer** Grovlez, Gabriel  
**Playwright** Magre, Maurice  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre des Arts  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 3 images d'Epinal et en vers  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites review by Amédée Boutarel in *Le Ménestrel*, 4 February 1911.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 11329 (autograph manuscript score, symphonic adaptation, c. 1911, 21 pp.); BnF-ASP Rf. 65430 & BnF-ASP Rf. 65431

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**Catalog Number** 383  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 1, 1911  
**Play** *Peines d'amour perdues*  
**Composer** Vidal, Paul Antonin  
**Playwright** Shakespeare, tr. Camille de Sainte-Croix  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Fémina  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie galante en 5 actes  
**Other Notes** Performed by the Compagnie Française du Théâtre Shakespeare at the Théâtre Fémina, directed by Camille de Sainte-Croix.

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**Catalog Number** 384  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 2, 1911  
**Play** *L'Oiseau bleu*  
**Composer** Satz, Élias  
**Playwright** Maeterlinck, Maurice

**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Réjane  
**Dramatic Genre** Féerie en 5 actes et 10 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Created at the Haymarket Theatre, London, c. July 1910. Satz is of Russian origin. Menneret cites review by P.E. Chevalier in *Le Ménestrel*, 11 March 1911.

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**Catalog Number** 385  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 18, 1911  
**Play** *Hécube*  
**Composer** Léon, Laurent  
**Playwright** Euripides, tr. Jaubert & Silvain  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 3 actes

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**Catalog Number** 386  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 27, 1911  
**Play** *La Surprise de l'amour*  
**Composer** Hess, Charles Léon  
**Playwright** Marivaux, Pierre Carlet de Chamblain de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie  
**Other Notes** Music conducted by Jules Truffier.

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**Catalog Number** 387  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 19, 1911  
**Play** *Paysans et soldats*  
**Composer** Gallon, Noël  
**Playwright** Sancy, Pierre de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Gaîté  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes, en vers  
**Other Notes** Menneret refers to comparisons to music of *L'Arlésienne* in Stoullig, *Les Annales...* 1911 & review by Arthur Pougin in *Le Ménestrel*, 27 May 1911.

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**Catalog Number** 388  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 22, 1911  
**Play** *Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien*  
**Composer** Debussy, Claude-Achille

**Playwright** D'Annunzio, Gabriel  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Châtelet  
**Dramatic Genre** Mystère en 5 mansions  
**Other Notes** Orchestrated by Debussy and Caplet; 5 "Mansions" (Acts): La cour de lys, La chambre magique, Le concile des faux dieux, Le laurier blessé, Le paradis. Performed 11 times in 1911. Premiered at Palais Garnier on 17 June 1922, revived 8 February 1957, performed 44 times there by 1962. Menneret cites review by Arthur Pougin, *Le Ménestrel*, 3 June 1911.

**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Ope. Rés. 2004 (autograph manuscript); BnF-Mus. Rés. Fol. Vm5 38 (orchestral score, Paris: Durand, 1911); BnF-Mus Fol. Vm5 35 (piano-vocal score), BnF-Mus Fol. Vm5 53 (piano-vocal score with English tr.); BnF-Mus Vm. micr. 21 (partially autograph manuscript, 1911, negative microfilm of the manuscript in possession of Mademoiselle Astruc, Actes I & II, Acte III no. 1-6 et 7, acte IV)

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**Catalog Number** 389  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 1, 1911  
**Play** *Le Chagrin au palais de Han*  
**Composer** Grovlez, Gabriel  
**Playwright** Ma Tchen-yuen, adapted by Louis Laloy  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre des Arts  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en cinq actes  
**Other Notes** Menneret cites review by P.E. Chevalier in *Le Ménestrel*, 17 June 1911.

**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus L. 10293 (arrangement for a ballet danced at the home of Princesse Murat); BnF-Mus L. 10294; BnF-Mus Ms. 11325 (autograph manuscript orchestral score, 1911).

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**Catalog Number** 390  
**Date of Première/Revival** August 13, 1911  
**Play** *Muguetto*  
**Composer** Séverac, Deodat de  
**Playwright** Navarre, Marguerite  
**City of Première/Revival** Rabastiens (Tarn)  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de Verdure  
**Dramatic Genre** Conte lyrique en 3 actes  
**Other Notes** Menneret refers to Octave Séré, *Musiciens français*

*d'aujourd'hui.*  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Tolbiac 8-YTH-35116 (play, Toulouse: la Terro d'Oc, 1913)

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**Catalog Number** 391  
**Date of Première/Revival** September 21, 1911  
**Play** *Mr Pickwick*  
**Composer** Heintz, Fernand  
**Playwright** Dickens, Charles, tr. Georges Duval & Robert Charvay  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Athénée  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie burlesque en 5 actes  
**Other Notes** Menneret refers to "Bilan musical de 1911," *Le Ménestrel*, 6 January 1912.

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**Catalog Number** 392  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 23, 1911  
**Play** *Lucrece Borgia*  
**Composer** Hahn, Reynaldo  
**Playwright** Hugo, Victor  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 4 actes  
**Other Notes** Reprise with score by Hahn. Menneret cites review by P.E. Chevalier in *Le Ménestrel*, 2 December 1911.

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**Catalog Number** 393  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 22, 1911  
**Play** *Méduse*  
**Composer** Hahn, Reynaldo  
**Playwright** Magre, Maurice  
**City of Première/Revival** Monte-Carlo  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Unknown  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie antique  
**Other Notes** Score comprised of instrumental music, melodramas and choruses.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus D. 3854; BnF-Mus 4o Vm2 65; BnF-ASP Rf. 65434

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**Catalog Number** 394  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 1, 1912  
**Play** *La Reine Margot*

**Composer** Clément, Israel, dit Jules Clemandh  
**Playwright** Dumas, Alexandre père & Auguste Maquet  
**City of Première/Revival** Monte-Carlo  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Casino  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes et 13 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Reprise of the play created at the Théâtre Historique on 20 February 1847.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 18512 (autograph manuscript piano score, conductor and parts)

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**Catalog Number** 395  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 11, 1912  
**Play** *Le Ménage de Molière*  
**Composer** Lulli, Jean-Baptiste, arr. Laurent Léon  
**Playwright** Gensoul & Naudet  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 5 actes et 6 tableaux  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** C-F 6P1 130 (manuscript piano reduction by Laurent Léon of incidental music for Tableau II by J.B. Lully, made in March 1912 and dedicated “A Madame Jules Claretie, respectueusement. L. Léon;” 11 pp.)

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**Catalog Number** 396  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 28, 1912  
**Play** *Agnès, dame galante*  
**Composer** Février, Henry  
**Playwright** Cain, Henri & Louis Payen  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 4 actes, en vers  
**Other Notes** “Entr’actes, chansons and incidental music in the old style” (“Entr’actes, chansons et musique de scène dans le style ancien”): Menneret cites review by P.E. Chevalier in *Le Ménestrel*, 28 March 1912.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Fol Vm5bis 14; BnF-Mus Fol Vm15 482; BnF-Mus K 24726 (27)

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**Catalog Number** 397  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 17, 1912  
**Play** *L'Honneur japonaise*  
**Composer** Bretonneau, Émile  
**Playwright** Anthelme, Paul



**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 5 actes et 6 tableaux  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma Ms. 704 (manuscript parts)

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**Catalog Number** 398  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 4, 1912  
**Play** *Hélène de Sparte*  
**Composer** Séverac, Deodat de  
**Playwright** Verhaeren, Émile  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Châtelet  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie  
**Other Notes** Menneret refers to "Bilan musical de 1911," *Le Ménestrel*, 11 January 1913 & to Octave Séré, *Musiciens français d'aujourd'hui*.

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**Catalog Number** 399  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 11, 1912  
**Play** *Impressions d'Afrique*  
**Composer** Redstone, Willy  
**Playwright** Roussel, Edmond  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Antoine  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 4 actes et un prologue  
**Other Notes** Menneret refers to "Bilan musical de 1911," *Le Ménestrel*, 11 January 1913.

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**Catalog Number** 400  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 1, 1912  
**Play** *Napoléon*  
**Composer** Lacaze  
**Playwright** Maynet, Fernand & Gabriel Didier  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 5 actes et 9 tableaux

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**Catalog Number** 401  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 13, 1912  
**Play** *Salomé*  
**Composer** Glazounov, Alexandre  
**Playwright** Wilde, Oscar

**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Châtelet  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 1 acte  
**Other Notes** Ouverture, dance of the seven veils. Menneret refers to “Bilan musical de 1911,” *Le Ménestrel*, 11 January 1913.

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**Catalog Number** 402  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 18, 1912  
**Play** *Andromaque*  
**Composer** Léon, Laurent  
**Playwright** Euripides, tr. Eugène Silvain & Ernest Jaubert  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l’Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame

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**Catalog Number** 403  
**Date of Première/Revival** September 20, 1912  
**Play** *La Princesse et le porcher*  
**Composer** Février, Henry  
**Playwright** Terni, Mme Jacques, after Hans Christian Andersen  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Réjane  
**Dramatic Genre** Fantaisie rimée en 2 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Score comprised of one pavane, two arias. Menneret cites review by P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 28 September 1912.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Fol. Vm12 3564

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**Catalog Number** 404  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 23, 1912  
**Play** *Le Roi de l’or*  
**Composer** Baggers, Marius  
**Playwright** Darlay, Victor & Henri de Gorsse  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Châtelet  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce à grand spectacle, en 4 actes et 23 tableaux

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**Catalog Number** 405  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 21, 1912  
**Play** *Faust*  
**Composer** Schmitt, Florent  
**Playwright** Goethe, tr. Émile Vedel

**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 3 parties  
**Other Notes** Dress rehearsal held 20 December 1912. Performed 64 times at l'Odéon. Menneret cites review by Léon Morris, *Le Ménestrel*, 28 December 1912.

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**Catalog Number** 406  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 25, 1913  
**Play** *Scylla*  
**Composer** Vuillemin, Louis  
**Playwright** Mortier, Alfred  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie en 4 actes, en vers  
**Other Notes** Menneret refers to "Bilan musical de 1913," *Le Ménestrel*, 17 January 1914.

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**Catalog Number** 407  
**Date of Première/Revival** February ?, 1913  
**Play** *Le Rêve*  
**Composer** Gaubert, Philippe  
**Playwright** Guerinan  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre des Arts  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 1 acte, en vers  
**Other Notes** Menneret refers to "Bilan musical de 1913," *Le Ménestrel*, 17 January 1914.

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**Catalog Number** 408  
**Date of Première/Revival** February ?, 1913  
**Play** *La Belle étoile*  
**Composer** Jehin, Léon  
**Playwright** Nanteuil, Georges  
**City of Première/Revival** Monte Carlo  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Unknown  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 3 actes  
**Other Notes** Menneret refers to "Bilan musical de 1913," *Le Ménestrel*, 17 January 1914.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 18464; BnF-Mus Ms. 18465; BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 685

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**Catalog Number** 409  
**Date of Première/Revival** February 20, 1913  
**Play** *La Nuit florentine*  
**Composer** Saint-Saëns, Camille  
**Playwright** Bergers, Émile  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 4 actes  
**Other Notes** "La Manziragore," Chanson.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Vma. Ms. 721 (reduced score and parts)

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**Catalog Number** 410  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 3, 1913  
**Play** *Messaline*  
**Composer** Messager, Jean  
**Playwright** Montoya, Gabriel & Lionel Nastorg  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre des Quat'z'arts  
**Dramatic Genre** Ombres lyriques en 17 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Extensive melodrama and singing.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Fol. Vm7 12679 (Paris: M. Eschig, 1915, 24 pp.)

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**Catalog Number** 411  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 20, 1913  
**Play** *Le Minaret*  
**Composer** Richepin, Tiarko  
**Playwright** Richepin, Jacques  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Renaissance  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 3 actes, en vers  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-ASP Rf. 70592

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**Catalog Number** 412  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 22, 1913  
**Play** *Moïse*  
**Composer** Bretonneau, Émile  
**Playwright** Chateaubriand, François-René de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie  
**Other Notes** Play reprised at the Théâtre de l'Odéon, performed twice.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 18507 (autograph manuscript score and 10 parts)

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**Catalog Number** 413  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 11, 1913  
**Play** *La Pisanelle ou La Mort parfumée*  
**Composer** Parma, Ildebrando da  
**Playwright** Annunzio, Gabriel d'  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Châtelet  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 1 prologue et 3 actes  
**Other Notes** Préludes et danses. With Ida Rubinstein. Music conducted by Inghelbrecht; da Parma was a student of Puccini. Menneret refers to "Bilan musical de 1913," *Le Ménestrel*, 17 January 1914.

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**Catalog Number** 414  
**Date of Première/Revival** July ?, 1913  
**Play** *La Fille de la Terre*  
**Composer** Séverac, Deodat de  
**Playwright** Sicard, Émile  
**City of Première/Revival** Coursan  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de plein air  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie  
**Other Notes** Menneret refers to Octave Séré, *Musiciens français d'aujourd'hui*.

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**Catalog Number** 415  
**Date of Première/Revival** August ?, 1913  
**Play** *Les Bacchantales*  
**Composer** Leborne, Fernand  
**Playwright** Roumegais, Émilien  
**City of Première/Revival** Pré Catalan  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Unknown  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie grecque en 3 actes  
**Other Notes** Menneret refers to "Bilan musical de 1913," *Le Ménestrel*, 17 January 1914.

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**Catalog Number** 416  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 1, 1913  
**Play** *Hamlet*  
**Composer** Le Boucher  
**Playwright** Shakespeare, tr. Georges Duval  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris

**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Antoine  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie en 4 actes et 14 tableaux

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**Catalog Number** 417  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 1, 1913  
**Play** *Psyché*  
**Composer** Debussy, Claude-Achille  
**Playwright** Mourey, Gabriel  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Chez Louis Mors  
**Dramatic Genre** Poème dramatique en 3 actes  
**Other Notes** Flute solo; alternate title: Flûte de Pan; published as "Syrinx," 1927

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**Catalog Number** 418  
**Date of Première/Revival** ? ?, 1914  
**Play** *Ruy Blas*  
**Composer** Letoray, Omer  
**Playwright** Hugo, Victor  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes  
**Other Notes** Music for Act I in three movements, music for Act II is a rearrangement of Delibes's serenade for *Ruy Blas*, for harp.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** C-F Dossier *Ruy Blas* (manuscript parts)

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**Catalog Number** 419  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 14, 1914  
**Play** *Jérusalem*  
**Composer** Massenet, Jules  
**Playwright** Rivollet, Georges  
**City of Première/Revival** Monte Carlo  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Opéra  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame en 5 actes, en prose  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus K. 19490 (piano-vocal score, Paris: Heugel, 1912); BnF-Mus 4o Vm5 133

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**Catalog Number** 420  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 17, 1914  
**Play** *Aphrodite*  
**Composer** Février, Henry

**Playwright** Frondaie, Pierre, after Pierre Louÿs  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de la Renaissance  
**Dramatic Genre** Drame à grand spectacle, en 5 actes, en vers  
**Other Notes** Entr'actes and incidental music. Two orchestral suites arranged by H. Monten. Menneret cites review by P.E. Chevalier, *Le Ménestrel*, 28 March 1914.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Fol. Vm15 1359 (orchestral score); BnF-Mus Fol. Vm12 10567 (piano reduction); Menneret cites BnF-Mus Fol Vm15 1598 (1-2) and BnF-Mus Fol Vm56 26

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**Catalog Number** 421  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 7, 1914  
**Play** *Psyché*  
**Composer** Lully, Jean-Baptiste  
**Playwright** Corneille, Pierre, Molière (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin, dit), Philippe Quinault & Jean de La Fontaine  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie en 5 actes et 6 tableaux  
**Other Notes** Performed 24 times.

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**Catalog Number** 422  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 16, 1914  
**Play** *Le Misanthrope et l'Auvergnat*  
**Composer** Anonymous  
**Playwright** Martin, Pierre-Henri (*dit* Lubize), Eugène Labiche & Paul Siraudin  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Unknown  
**Other Notes** Reprise of a play premièreed at the Théâtre du Palais-Royal on 10 August 1852.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 18508 (orchestral score)

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**Catalog Number** 423  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 30, 1914  
**Play** *Le Dîner de Madelon*  
**Composer** Bretonneau, Émile  
**Playwright** Désaugiers, Marc-Antoine  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie

**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 18493 (partially autograph manuscript score (10 leaves) and 9 parts: vln. I (2 ex.), vln. II, vla., vcl., cb.; onstage: cl., cornet, trbn.)

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**Catalog Number** 424  
**Date of Première/Revival** May ?, 1914  
**Play** *La Demoiselle à marier*  
**Composer** Bretonneau, Émile  
**Playwright** Scribe, Eugène & Mélesville (pseud. Anne-Honoré-Joseph Duveyrier)  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie  
**Other Notes** Scored for solo voice, chorus and chamber orchestra. Reprise of a play created at the Théâtre de Madame on 18 January 1826.

**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 18500 (autograph manuscript score (33 pp.) and 5 parts (fl., cl., vln. I & II, cb.); solo voice and harp for 2 numbers); BnF-Mus Ms. 18463 (choral parts mixed with those for *Le Diplomate* by the same composer)

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**Catalog Number** 425  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 15, 1914  
**Play** *La Nuit des rois*  
**Composer** Anonymous  
**Playwright** Shakespeare, tr. Théodore Lascarris  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier  
**Dramatic Genre** Unknown  
**Other Notes** Translation of *Twelfth Night*. "Eight musical sequences" (Knapp, *The Reign of the Theatrical Director*, 195). See Claude Roger-Marx, "La Nuit des rois," *Comœdia-Illustré*, 15 January 1914; Jacques Copeau, *Souvenirs*, 33; Maurice Kurtz, *Jacques Copeau: Biographe d'un théâtre*, 52.

**Library/Archive Call Nos.**

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**Catalog Number** 426  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 30, 1914  
**Play** *Macbeth*  
**Composer** Letoray, Omer  
**Playwright** Shakespeare, adapt. Jean Richepin  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française



**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 5 actes et 12 tableaux, en prose et vers

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**Catalog Number** 427  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 26, 1914  
**Play** *La Jalousie du Barbouillé*  
**Composer** Fourdrain, Félix  
**Playwright** Alexandre, André, after Molière  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Impérial  
**Dramatic Genre** Farce musicale en un acte

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**Catalog Number** 428  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 7, 1915  
**Play** *Les Cathédrales*  
**Composer** Pierné, Gabriel  
**Playwright** Morand, Eugène  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 1 acte, en vers

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**Catalog Number** 429  
**Date of Première/Revival** February 8, 1917  
**Play** *On ne badine pas avec l'amour*  
**Composer** Saint-Saëns, Camille  
**Playwright** Musset, Alfred de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce  
**Other Notes** Revival; premiered at Comédie-Française, 18 November 1861. Play revived at Comédie-Française in [Spring] 1916. Score comprised of instrumental music, choruses, and an entr'acte.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 676 (autograph score sketches for stage music, choruses and entr'acte, dated Spring 1916); BnF-Mus Ms. 2446 (autograph score, 284 pp.); BnF-Mus Ms. 2447 (autograph piano-vocal score, 94 pp.)

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**Catalog Number** 430  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 23, 1917  
**Play** *Le Marchand de Venise*  
**Composer** Rabaud, Henri  
**Playwright** Nepoty, Lucien, after Shakespeare

**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Antoine  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce, adaptée en 6 tableaux

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**Catalog Number** 431  
**Date of Première/Revival** February 18, 1919  
**Play** *Imroulcaïs le roi errant*  
**Composer** Erlanger, Camille  
**Playwright** Doutté, Edmond & Fernand Nozière (pseud. Fernand Weil)  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce arabe en 3 actes

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**Catalog Number** 432  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 30, 1919  
**Play** *La Reine Wanda*  
**Composer** Erlanger, Camille  
**Playwright** Legrand, A.  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre du Gymnase  
**Dramatic Genre** Unknown

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**Catalog Number** 433  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 25, 1920  
**Play** *André del Sarto*  
**Composer** Hahn, Reynaldo  
**Playwright** Musset, Alfred de  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Unknown  
**Other Notes** Played 10 times. Score unpublished.

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**Catalog Number** 434  
**Date of Première/Revival** April 5, 1922  
**Play** *Les Joyeuses commères de Windsor*  
**Composer** Cuviller, Charles  
**Playwright** Genry, Raymond, after Shakespeare  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Unknown  
**Other Notes** April 5 was the date of the public dress rehearsal. Played 11 times with success.

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**Catalog Number** 435  
**Date of Première/Revival** June 14, 1920  
**Play** *Antoine et Cléopâtre*  
**Composer** Schmitt, Florent  
**Playwright** Gide, André, after Shakespeare  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Opéra de Paris  
**Dramatic Genre**  
**Other Notes** Performed 5 times at Palais Garnier by 1962. Preludes and symphonic interludes. Premiere was “spectacle exceptionnel organisé par Melle Ida Rubinstein,” according to Menneret, who refers to Octave Séré, *Musiciens français d’aujourd’hui*.

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**Catalog Number** 436  
**Date of Première/Revival** November 23, 1923  
**Play** *Candide*  
**Composer** Fourdrain, Félix  
**Playwright** Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet, dit)  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l’Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce en 5 actes et 8 tableaux  
**Other Notes** November 23 was the date of the public dress rehearsal. Six performances given, “entreprise difficile, succès d’estime” according to Genty, *Histoire du Théâtre National de l’Odéon*, 165.

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**Catalog Number** 437  
**Date of Première/Revival** July 21, 1924  
**Play** *Oedipe à Colonne*  
**Composer** Ropartz, Joseph Guy  
**Playwright** Sophocles, tr. Georges Rivollet  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Comédie-Française  
**Dramatic Genre** Tragédie  
**Other Notes** Movements include: Prélude du 1er acte: Entrée du Thésée. Prélude du 2e acte: Lamento. Prélude du 3e acte.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Fol. Vm15 1301; BnF-Mus Fol. Vm15 1302; BnF-Mus K. 12850; BnF-Mus K. 13272 (parts); BnF-Mus Ac.m2. 29 (1), (2) (excerpts)

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**Catalog Number** 438  
**Date of Première/Revival** September 13, 1924  
**Play** *Les Caprices de Marianne*  
**Composer** Guesnier, Germaine  
**Playwright** Musset, Alfred de  
**City of Première/Revival** Deauville  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Casino de Deauville  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie  
**Other Notes** Orchestral music by Marius-François Gaillard, solo voice and chorus by Germaine Guesnier.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** C-F 6P1 44 (piano-vocal reduction, Paris: Choudens, 1924, 65 pp.)

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**Catalog Number** 439  
**Date of Première/Revival** December 12, 1924  
**Play** *Manon Lescaut*  
**Composer** Büsser, (Paul-)Henri  
**Playwright** Nozière (pseud. of Fernand Weil)  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Gaîté-Lyrique  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce  
**Other Notes** Nos. 7, 12, 16, 17, 19 are missing.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 18737 (incomplete orchestral score, 1925, 64 leaves; Only nos. 1-6, 8-11, 13-15, 18, 20 survive); BnF-Mus Ms. 18738 (autograph manuscript, c. 1925, 4 pp., alternate music for No. 15); BnF-Mus 4o Vm5 293 (piano-vocal score, Paris: Henry Lemoine, 1925)

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**Catalog Number** 440  
**Date of Première/Revival** March 6, 1925  
**Play** *Antar*  
**Composer** Cadou, André  
**Playwright** Chekri Ganem  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Théâtre de l'Odéon  
**Dramatic Genre** Pièce  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 18502 (autograph manuscript score and 8 parts, 1925)

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**Catalog Number** 441  
**Date of Première/Revival** ? ?, 1926  
**Play** *Cinq grimaces pour Le Songe d'une nuit d'été*  
**Composer** Satie, Erik

**Playwright** Cocteau, Jean, after Shakespeare  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Champs-Élysées (concert performance)  
**Dramatic Genre**  
**Other Notes** Orchestral score for an unrealized production; Cocteau's adaptation of the play is lost.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Ms. 9625 (1-5) (autograph manuscript score sketches and notes); BnF-Mus Vmg. 10422

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**Catalog Number** 442  
**Date of Première/Revival** October 9, 1926  
**Play** *Deburau*  
**Composer** Messenger, André  
**Playwright** Guitry, Sacha  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Unknown  
**Dramatic Genre** Comédie en 4 actes et 1 prologue, en vers libres  
**Other Notes** Revival of a play premièreed at the Théâtre du Vaudeville, 9 February 1918.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Fol. Vm5 138 & BnF-Mus G. 12427 (complete piano score, Paris: F. Salabert, 1926)

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**Catalog Number** 443  
**Date of Première/Revival** January 30, 1929  
**Play** *Le Roman de Tristan*  
**Composer** Ladmirault, Paul  
**Playwright** Bédier, J. & Louis Artus  
**City of Première/Revival** Nice  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Palais de la Méditerranée  
**Dramatic Genre** Unknown  
**Other Notes** For voice with and without orchestra.  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus Rés. F. 1624 (1, 3, 5-7, 9-10)

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**Catalog Number** 444  
**Date of Première/Revival** May 12, 1930  
**Play** *La Tentation de Saint Antoine*  
**Composer** Brunel, Raoul  
**Playwright** Brunel, Raoul  
**City of Première/Revival** Paris  
**Theater of Première/Revival** Académie nationale de Musique  
**Dramatic Genre** Mystère en trois parties et neuf tableaux dont un prologue  
**Library/Archive Call Nos.** BnF-Mus 4o Vm2 197; BnF-Mus 4o Vm2. 817 (1, 2) (male and female choruses, Paris: Heugel et Cie, 1930)

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	445
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	July 14, 1936
<b>Play</b>	<i>Quatorze Juillet</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Roussel, Albert, Georges Auric, Arthur Honegger, Jacques Ibert, Charles Koechlin, Daniel Lazarus, and Darius Milhaud
<b>Playwright</b>	Rolland, Romain
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Paris
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Alhambra
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Action populaire en 3 actes
<b>Other Notes</b>	Conducted by Désormière.
<b>Library/Archive Call Nos.</b>	BnF-Mus Ms. 15012 (1-7) (autograph manuscript orchestral score, 7 vols.); BnF-Mus D. 11,567 (Roussel, Act II, manuscript orchestral score, 1936, 18 pp.); BnF-Mus Ms. 16263 (Koechlin, autograph manuscript sketches, scene from Act II, Camille-Lucile, 14 pp.); BnF-Mus Ms. 16264 (Koechlin, autograph manuscript, scene from Act II, Camille-Lucile, 1936); BnF-Mus Ms. 16265 (Koechlin, autograph manuscript sketches, scene from Act II, Camille-Lucile, 23 pp.); BnF-Mus Ms. 16266 (Koechlin, autograph manuscript orchestral score [with choir], Act II finale, signed and dated June 1939, 1st version for orchestra of 57 musicians, 32 pp.)

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<b>Catalog Number</b>	446
<b>Date of Première/Revival</b>	July 30, 1938
<b>Play</b>	<i>Antigone</i>
<b>Composer</b>	Messenger, André
<b>Playwright</b>	Bonnard, André, after Sophocles
<b>City of Première/Revival</b>	Orange
<b>Theater of Première/Revival</b>	Théâtre antique d'Orange
<b>Dramatic Genre</b>	Unknown
<b>Other Notes</b>	The Opéra de Paris performed an adaptation by André Bonnard in the Théâtre antique d'Orange on 30 July 1938, with music by Mendelssohn, Saint-Saëns, Messenger... cf. Wolff, <i>L'Opéra au Palais Garnier</i> , 343.

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F18 734-739: Opéra National, puis Théâtre Lyrique: 1847-1878

F18 740-743: Théâtre des Nations, puis Sarah-Bernhardt: 1879-1906.

F18 744-780: Théâtre du Vaudeville: 1813-1906.

F18 781-817: Théâtre des Variétés: 1805-1906.

F18 893-910: Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin: 1813-1906.

F18 911-936: Théâtre de la Gaîté: 1802-1906.

F18 931-932: Théâtre Lyrique: 1875-1877.

F18 972-983: Théâtre du Cirque, puis du Châtelet: 1850-1905.

F18 1261-1272: Théâtre de la Renaissance: 1838-1903.

F18 1292-1295: Théâtre Antoine: 1897-1906.

F18 1298-1303: Théâtre de la Bodinière (ou d'Application): 1892-1905.

F18 1345 à 1371bis: Théâtres divers: 1839-1906.

F18 1242-1243: Nouveau Théâtre: 1892-1904.

#### Administration des Spectacles:

F21 1051 à 1167: Théâtre de la Renaissance: 1787-1899.

F21 1077-1090: Théâtre-Français: 1787-1880.

F21 1099-1111: Théâtre de l'Odéon: An VI-1886.

F21 1120-1124: Théâtre-Lyrique: 1851-1879.

F21 1125-1127: Théâtre du Vaudeville: Consultat-1869.

F21 1128-1130: Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin: 1806-1868.

F21 1131-1132: Théâtre de la Gaîté: 1828-1874.

F21 1139: Théâtre des Variétés: F21 1133: 1806-1875.

F21 1135: Théâtre de l'Ambigu: 1849-1860 & Palais Royal: 1793-1866.

F21 1136: Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens: 1855-1872.

F21 1137-1138: Théâtre du Gymnase: 1820-1890.

F21 1139: Théâtre du Luxembourg: 1817-1867.

F21 1140-1141: Théâtre Beaumarchais: 1842-1874.

F21 1142-1143: Cirque olympique, national, impérial, puis théâtre du Châtelet: 1811-1871.

F21 1155A-1158: Paris, Spectacles divers: An VI-1886

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F21 4643: Comédie-Française: 1. Budget: 1911-1919, 1925; comptabilité: 1923-1924; personnel: 1870-1934.

Comédie-Française, personnel:  
F21 4644-4646: 1870-1934.

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F21 4648: 1. Répertoire: 1774-1932; 2. Demandes de représentations ou de reprise d'ouvrages: 1877-1931; 3. Représentations, organisation: 1872-1926.  
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“ANCESSY chef d'orchestre 1868”

“Charles GOUNOD compositeur (1818-1893)”



“COHEN (Jules) compositeur”  
“Edmond MEMBRÉE”  
“Henri MARECHAL”  
“Jacques OFFENBACH”  
“Jules MASSENET compositeur”  
“Laurent LEON chef d’orchestre 1835 + 1913”  
“Léo DELIBES”  
“Omer LETORAY”  
“ROQUES Chef d’orchestre 1857 à ”  
“SAINT-SAËNS”

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