LEAPING OFF THE PAGE: DIABOLICAL TECHNOLOGIES ON THE PARISIAN MUSICAL STAGE, 1827-1859

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Between 1827 and 1859, dozens of musico-theatrical works featuring the devil appeared on the Parisian stage. Mostly forgotten today, this repertoire played an important role in the development of media technologies that lead to the emergence of film at the end of the century. The devil operated as a figure who both generated and critiqued theatrical spectacle. This dissertation examines these musical stage works in the context of their literary origins and considers how the medium of the stage offered new representational possibilities. By exploring adaptations of Goethe's *Faust,* Cazotte's *Le diable amoureux,* and the story of *Robert le diable*, this project not only sheds light on the technologies that made them stageable, but also demonstrates the potential for methodologies aligned with the digital humanities to elucidate this repertoire further.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Mia Tootill holds a Bachelor of Music (Hons) degree in Clarinet Performance from Trinity College of Music, London (2008), and Master's degrees in Musicology from Pennsylvania State University (2010) and Cornell University (2013). Her dissertation research was supported by various internal and external grants, including the William Holmes/Frank D'Accone Award (for travel and research in the history of opera) by the American Musicological Society in 2014. Mia's musicological scholarship was shaped by her work in the digital humanities and during her time at Cornell she was committed to developing her skills as a teacher, particularly in the area of digital pedagogy. In 2015-16, she was awarded a Don M. Randel Teaching Fellowship by Cornell's Department of Music. Mia currently holds a research position at New York University in the Silver School of Social Work, where she is also studying for a Master of Social Work degree.

DEDICATION

For Emma

(1978—2015),

who was there at the beginning of my musical journey,

and for Taylan

(1978—2014)

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My happiest days working on this project were spent in Paris, both raiding the archives and wandering the streets, imagining what sounds I would have heard and sights I would have seen nearly two centuries ago. These research trips were made possible by a number of internal and external grants. I would like to thank Cornell University for their support through a Sage fellowship and travel grants from the Einaudi Center, the Graduate School, and the Society for the Humanities. My research was also enabled by an American Musicological Society William Holmes/Frank D'Accone Award (for travel and research in the history of opera) and Cornell's Don M. Randel fellowship provided vital funding while I was in the throes of writing. During my final trips to Paris, I benefitted from a research assistantship with Mark Everist (through the Francophone Music Criticism network), which provided much-needed practical support, in addition to a foundational education in the French press. I am also thankful for the helpful staff at the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, the Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, and the Archives Nationales. I spent many hours talking about Paris, both in and outside the city, with colleagues and friends in the FMC—Sarah Hibberd's work has shaped my own, and I have many fond memories of sharing research tips over wine with Virginia Whealton, Megan Varvir Coe, and Annelies Andries. I am particularly grateful for Sarah Fuchs Sampson, Helena Kopchick Spencer, and Catherine Hughes' support and their feedback on conference papers that formed early drafts of the dissertation.

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At the end of my fourth year, I was granted a Summer Fellowship in Digital Scholarship from the Olin library, in which I began my mapping project that serves as my digital appendix. I could not have foreseen how this would shape my scholarship and pedagogy or the wonderful relationships I would form with the librarians there. Mickey Casad, Susette Newberry, Virginia Cole, and Sarah Howe quickly adopted me as one of their own and I have so many happy memories of Friday afternoon coworking on the seventh floor of the library, looking at the view of Cayuga Lake and learning what it meant to be part of a supportive team. Their guidance shaped the digital humanities approach that formed an integral part of my methodology for this project and my time with them as a digital humanities intern informs my current work in digital pedagogy. Alongside the library, the EARS room became one of my favorite spaces on campus in my latter years at Cornell. My EARS family, with Janet Shortall at the helm, provided much-needed perspective during my years of writing. I discovered my love of counseling and reaffirmed my passion for teaching at EARS. I am so thankful for the support from all of my EARS friends, in particular Jayasri Srinivasan, Kate Shanks, Jacy Tackett, Thea Kozakis, and Ritesh Mohanty. I loved every minute of working with the undergraduate EARS counselors and Janet, whose warmth, energy, and support provided such vital nourishment.

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asked how my parents ended up with two musician children. My answer is always the same: boundless support. From my early days of recorder and clarinet lessons to my wish to go to a music conservatoire, they have been there every step of the way. It is perhaps fitting in the context of this dissertation that words do not seem sufficient to describe my deep gratitude for all of their help. I am thankful for their patience, their kindness, their love, and that they are always on the other end of a phone, no matter how many miles separate us. My brother has also been by my side, reminding me of my love of music on a daily basis with his beautiful songs. Most of all, I am grateful to everyone who offered encouragement and support when I announced that this would be my final musical endeavor (professionally, at least). As I switch gears from musicology to psychotherapy, I will treasure the lessons of these years by Cayuga's waters.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

F-Pan	Archives Nationales, Paris
F-Pn	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
F-Pa	Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris
F-Po	Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra, Paris
B.H.V.P.	Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris

INTRODUCTION

"But now I come to a pantomime which, although I first saw it fifty-three years ago, is distinctly and still delightfully engraved in my mind."[1]

— George Augustus Scala (1894)

Recalling a performance of the *Les pilules du diable* in his memoirs, the English journalist George Augustus Scala recounted this Parisian childhood memory in remarkable detail. The *féerie* premiered in 1839 at the Cirque-Olympique to great acclaim—Scala claims that "its run amounted altogether to a thousand nights" and it sent "all [of] Paris wild with excitement."[2] Acknowledging that the plot was relatively simple, Scala argued that the work's success centered on the seemingly innumerable "transformations that excited our wonder and threw us into transports of joy. [. . .] Men were changed into turkeys, children into cats, wretched hovels into palaces blazing with gold and jewels. [. . .] A man was run over by a locomotive engine—then an almost entire novelty in France; his body was cut to pieces and put back together again."[3] Within the diegetic frame of the *féerie*, these tricks were produced by the antagonist of the work: the devil.

Les pilules was undoubtedly spectacular, but the dramatic device of showcasing the devil as the conjurer of musical and visual tricks was by no means unique. Between 1827 and 1859, over seventy works featuring the devil reached the French stage. He appeared in a variety of

[1] George Augustus Scala, "Pantomimes Past and Present," in *Things I have Seen and People I have Known* (London: Cassell, 1894), 2: 115). The work premiered at the Cirque Olympique on February 16, 1839, with music by Baudouin (Laloue, Laurent, Bourgeois, *Les pilules du diable* [Paris: Marchant, 1842]). As suspension points are common in nineteenth-century French texts, brackets are used for ellipses to indicate the present author's omissions in quotations from primary texts.

[2] Scala, "Pantomimes Past and Present," 115-116.

[3] Ibid., 116-117.

guises, under many different names: Satan, Lucifer, Mephistopheles, Beelzebub, and Asmodeus, to name but a handful. Sometimes he revealed himself from the beginning; on other occasions he appeared in a mortal disguise, only to unveil his diabolical identity later in the work. Countless composers, playwrights, and collaborators adopted the character as a pretext for creating elaborate spectacles. His shape-shifting ability meant that he could fit seamlessly into any setting, whether mundane or supernatural. Moreover, there was virtually nothing that the devil could not conceivably do, and so the creators of these works were inspired—if not compelled—to push the boundaries of the medium in order to display an increasingly complex range of effects.

Hyperbolic tendencies notwithstanding, the fact that Scala specifically remembered *Les pilules* and could recall it so vividly in 1894 stands as evidence for the considerable impact of this work. The mainstays of popular theater persisted in the public consciousness through the end of the century, and some boulevard works enjoyed revivals at different theaters, as was typical for thriving operas. Yet many of the revivals struggled to maintain their relevance as the century progressed. Scala's colorful account of *Les pilules* ends with a note on its final appearance on the Parisian stage:

> This wondrous pantomime was revived in 1874 in Paris, at the great theatre of the Châtelet, but the management unwisely thought that the old rough - and - tumble tricks and grotesque transformations were no longer up to date, or at least that it was necessary to supplement them by more spectacle, more tinsel and foil paper and coloured fires, and especially by many more pairs of feminine legs. The *pilules du diable* gained in splendour, but lost in fun; nor was the revival, on the whole, a long-continued success.[4]

The need for the devil to continually conjure new tricks, perpetuating a sense of novelty and—perhaps more importantly—framing the theaters as sites of innovation, had both

[4] Ibid., 118.

positive and negative implications. "Splendour" was supposedly a positive aim, but by the 1870s it had begun to obscure another essential ingredient: a clear understanding of what audiences desired.

Even while the devil stood his ground in Paris, there were broader changes in artistic culture toward the end of the nineteenth century. Within a year of Scala's published account, Louis and Auguste Lumière held their first private film screening, marking a turning point in French theatrical history. The makeshift train that had once been so impressive in *Les pilules* was replaced by film footage of a real one that served as a trailer for the new medium itself.[5] The Lumière brothers produced their own silent short featuring the devil two years later, *Faust: apparition de Méphistophélès* (1897). Another French filmmaker—George Méliès—also saw the wisdom in borrowing the devil from the theatrical works that had preceded these films. Over ten works featuring this character appear in Méliès's catalog. The shorts grew longer, capturing more of the audience's attention and increasingly dominating artistic culture. By the early years of the twentieth century, the medium of cinema overshadowed the theatrical repertoire: even the films that adapted stage works began to stop explicitly acknowledging their predecessors.[6]

As those *diableries* faded away, however, ostensibly similar grand operas managed to survive. The staple repertoire of theatrical works featuring the devil included well-known operas such as Giacomo Meyerbeer's *Robert le diable* (1831) and Charles Gounod's *Faust* (1859, rev. 1869). The former enjoyed increasing success throughout the nineteenth century, quickly

[5] Scholars originally believed that *L'arrivée d'un train en gare de La Ciotat* was premiered at the Lumière brothers' first private film screening on 22 March 1895 at the Société d'encouragement pour l'industrie nationale, but it was recently discovered that it was released on 25 January 1896. See Patrick Keiller, "Phantom Rides: The Railway and Early Film," in *The Railway and Modernity: Time, Space, and the Machine Ensemble*, ed. Matthew Beaumont and Michael J. Freeman (Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang, 2007), 72.

[6] For example, Ferdinand Zecca, *Les sept châteaux du diable* (Pathé Frères, 1904).

spreading across Europe and remaining at the Opéra for decades (with over 470 performances by the time of Meyerbeer's death in 1864). Like the boulevard works and most grand operas, *Robert le diable* largely waned as a source of entertainment as the twentieth century progressed. However, it falls into the category of "canonical" works that have been kept alive by musicologists studying this period who acknowledge the central role the pieces played in Parisian culture. Once accused of anti-intellectualism, Meyerbeer's works now reside more prominently in the scholarly field than in the sphere of public entertainment. Perhaps surprisingly, *Faust* has received less attention from scholars (or more specifically, from Anglo-American musicologists). But it has withstood countless cultural transformations while maintaining its place in French theaters, from Méliès's cinematic adaptations to frequent stagings in opera houses across the globe today. In the meantime, the works of popular theater that once dazzled French audiences have slipped into (near-)total obsolescence.

Why did *Les pilules du diable* disappear and *Faust* remain? On the surface, they tell the same story: mortals make pacts with the devil and chaos ensues. Akin to many works from mid-nineteenth-century France—operas, *féeries*, and vaudevilles alike—they took advantage of expanding technological possibilities to create extravagant spectacles. They also both belong to a large repertoire of works that featured the devil, both as a pretext for musical and visual effects and as a dramatic device for delivering searing cultural commentary. Yet pervasive ideas about the differences between these genres and their associated theaters led to a wide gulf between the Opéra (and other "high culture" theaters) and the popular (or "low culture") theaters that has only recently begun to be bridged. The prevailing view of Paris's theatrical landscape throughout much of the twentieth century has been challenged by recent scholarship that has examined the city as a cosmopolitan ecosystem in which music emerged from a unique network of institutions.

While books such as Anselm Gerhard's *The Urbanization of Opera* (1998) and *The Cambridge Companion to Opera* (2003) served a vital role in broadening our understanding of the cultural context that gave rise to grand opera, Mark Everist's monograph on the Odéon and Sarah Hibberd's work on melodrama at institutions such as the Porte Saint-Martin have enriched our understanding of music at the "minor" theaters.[7] The most ambitious attempt to break down institutional barriers has been made by Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist's edited collection *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer in Paris, 1830-1914* (2009), which explores the literary, artistic, and sociopolitical influences on opera and ballet via the examination of works from multiple theatrical genres and institutions. In addition to the Opéra and Opéra-Comique, the volume takes account of theaters such as the Bouffes-Parisiens, the Théâtre de la Gaîté, and the Théâtre de l'Œuvre. The various essays reveal their strength by covering not only a broad range of theaters but also interchanges between them in terms of aspects such as management models, reportorial content, and the works' creators and consumers.[8]

Part of the challenge facing such scholarship stems from the longstanding dominance of the Opéra: researchers wishing to explore multiple theaters or genres are faced with the question of how to prevent the (in)famous institution from overshadowing everything around it. In the introduction to their collection of essays, Fauser and Everist observe that "[the] most thoroughly researched institution of French operatic life[, the Opéra,] is nonetheless too often seen as

[7] See Anselm Gerhard, *The Urbanization of Opera: Music Theater in Paris in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Mary Whittall (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); David Charlton, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Grand Opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Mark Everist, *Music Drama at the Paris Odéon, 1824-1828* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Sarah Hibberd, "Monsters and the Mob: The Grotesque on the Parisian Stage, 1826-1836," in *Textual Intersections: Literature, History and the Arts in Nineteenth Century Europe*, ed. Rachel Langford (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009), 29–40.

[8] Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist, eds. *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer: Paris, 1830-1914* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

separate from the complex network of musical institutions in Paris."[9] Karin Pendle's 1987 essay on how the boulevard theaters revitalized opera skillfully argued for the importance of these venues, but in the thirty years since her publication many more questions have been raised.[10] Attempts to escape from the Opéra's shadow have involved a focus on the genre of melodrama, largely—or entirely—bypassing discussion of broader theatrical culture. Early musicological discussions of melodrama described the genre as a precursor to grand opera, often failing to recognize that it continued alongside opera throughout the nineteenth century.[11] More recently, Jonathan Hicks and Katherine Hambridge have edited a collection of essays on melodrama at the turn of the nineteenth century.[12] These essays build on Jaqueline Waeber's study and Hibberd's edited collection, which stand as rich and important contributions to our understanding of melodrama in multiple countries and over large spans of time.[13]

While Marian Smith's landmark study of ballet-pantomime focuses on the Opéra, it provides a guide for exploring similarities and connections between dance and opera.[14] In the wake of Smith's work, musicologists focused on dance are increasingly turning to other genres that interacted with the ballet-pantomimes through the inclusion of movement or intertextual

[9] Fauser and Everist, "Introduction," ibid., 2.

[10] Karin Pendle, "The Boulevard Theaters and Continuity in French Opera of the 19th Century," in *Music in Paris in the Eighteen-Thirties*, ed. Peter Bloom, Life in Nineteenth-Century France 4 (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1987).

[11] See Jane Fulcher, *The Nation's Image: French Grand Opera as Politics and Politicized Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 17. Fulcher describes how the popularity of melodramas at the boulevard theaters provoked a crisis at the Opéra and the emergence of grand opera.

[12] Katherine Hambridge and Jonathan Hicks, ed. *The Melodramatic Moment, 1790-1820* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017).

[13] Hibberd, ed., *Melodramatic Voices: Understanding Music Drama* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2013). Jacqueline Waeber, *En musique dans le texte: Le mélodrame, de Rousseau à Schoenberg* (Paris: Van Dieren, 2005).

[14] Marian Smith, *Ballet and Opera in the Age of Giselle* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

commentary. Helena Kopchick Spencer's recent work has touched on the nineteenth-century vaudevilles that parodied the ballet-pantomimes.[15] However, this repertoire—parodies, vaudevilles, and works that fall into both categories—remains largely unmined, particularly in comparison to its eighteenth-century precursors. Likewise, the popular theater genre of the *féerie* is only now capturing musicologists' attention, for example in Tommaso Sabbatini's current work.[16]

This dissertation seeks to contribute to these recent studies of the popular theaters and genres by examining a variety of venues and works alongside the Opéra and its repertoire. Rather than focusing on a single institution or genre, I adopt a broader approach in order to illuminate rich connections that were evident throughout nineteenth-century Paris but that elude us today. I explore a range of genres, including melodrama, vaudeville, *féeries,* and numerous hybrid genres, which were performed at venues such as the Cirque-Olympique, Théâtre du Vaudeville, and Porte Saint-Martin.

Meyerbeer's *Robert le diable* (1831) and Gounod's *Faust* (1859/69) loosely bookend this study. They played important roles in Paris' theatrical climate and are vital for developing a comprehensive understanding of works such as the parodies that quoted and alluded to them. My attention, however, is trained on readdressing long-held hierarchies and the degree to which we privilege these works with regard to their boulevard counterparts. It is especially important to acknowledge that while some of the popular theater works appeared in response to these operas, others foreshadowed and influenced them. Instead of tracing linear movement from one theater

[15] Helena Kopchick Spencer, "The *Jardin des femmes* as Scenic Convention in French Opera and Ballet" (PhD diss., University of Oregon, 2014).

[16] Tommaso Sabbatini, "Beyond Opera and Musical Theater: Rethinking Nineteenth-Century Parisian Theater with Music through the Lens of *féerie*" (presentation, Annual American Musicological Society Meeting, November 2016, Vancouver, Canada).

or genre to another, I draw on *Robert* and *Faust* as part of my attempt to re-imagine the complex network that was mid-nineteenth-century French theatrical culture.

The question of how best to represent this network has driven my methodology. Scholars grappling with the pervasive dominance of grand opera are confronted with numerous challenges, including the daunting scale of the works themselves, the number of libretti and scenarios for the popular theater works, and the countless reviews that litter the French press. Even getting to grips with relatively short vaudevilles can be a momentous task, as it often requires knowledge of many operas in order to grasp intertextual references. These issues have driven musicologists to adopt digital approaches already in use by other humanities disciplines.

Studies of nineteenth-century France are increasingly engaging with the burgeoning discipline of the digital humanities. Computational approaches have been used by literary scholars for a number of years now as a way to analyze patterns and trends within works and across large corpuses.[17] In the musicological realm, recent projects have ranged from dossiers of opera reviews to articles on foreign musicians in Paris that provide information for network analysis to performance histories for musical stage works.[18] These endeavors to provide comprehensive overviews of musical life in Paris have challenged selective methodologies in which canonic works are prioritized. Instead, the data is presented evenly, enabling scholars to construct a larger picture.

Digital visualizations have the potential to make additional contributions. A growing understanding of the power of visual media in the nineteenth century drove the emergence of the

[17] See Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History* (London: Verso, 2005).

[18] Everist, Ellis, et al., *The Francophone Music Criticism Network,* accessed June 25, 2017, http://fmc.ac.uk/; Fauser, Catherine Hughes, et al., *Foreign Musicians in Paris: A Web Resource,* accessed June 25, 2017, http://parisforeigners.web.unc.edu/; Joann Élart, Yannick Simon, and Patrick Taïeb, *Dèzede*, accessed June 25, 2017, https://dezede.org/.

repertoire examined in this dissertation. This power has pervaded throughout the past two centuries and remains a forceful tool for artists and scholars alike today. A digital map of Parisian theaters thus accompanies this text, serving as a digital dissertation appendix. My *Mapping Paris Theaters* project consists of digitized nineteenth-century maps of the city with digitally plotted theaters, information about the venues, and a tool for analyzing inter-theatrical connections.[19] This digital map endeavors to provide a way of understanding Paris's theatrical geography more comprehensively. The urban landscape of the nineteenth-century capital played a central role in determining how the repertoire of theatrical works was created and consumed.

Digital approaches to research (and also pedagogy) are not the only ways in which musicologists engage with technology as both current and historical phenomenon. Recent explorations of the developments in musico-visual spectacle in nineteenth-century France have investigated the role of technological innovation, and these studies have played a vital part in shaping my methodological approach. Hibberd's work in this area engages with media studies scholarship in order to trace connections from the early *spectacles d'optique* through the stage works, including exploring the multisensory properties of these spectacles.[20] Gundula Kreuzer's forthcoming monograph on Wagnerian technologies likewise draws upon a media-theoretical approach so as to demonstrate how Meyerbeer's operas provided a foundation for Richard Wagner's own "innovative" stagings.[21] Emily Dolan and John Tresch's individual and

[19] *Mapping Paris Theaters* is available at http://mappingparistheaters.com.

[20] Interdisciplinary scholars of nineteenth-century France are increasingly examining scientific studies from that period in order to further our understanding of how developments in that area shaped cultural trends. See Hibberd, "*Le naufrage de la méduse* and operatic spectacle in 1830s Paris," *19th-Century Music* 36, no. 3 (Spring 2013): 257.

[21] Gundula Kreuzer, *Curtain, Gong, Steam: Wagnerian Technologies of 19th-Century Opera* (Berkeley: University of California Press, forthcoming).

collaborative work offers further insights into a range of technological innovations.[22] Following their models, I turn to media archeologists such as Erkki Huhtamo, who has traced media developments from early nineteenth-century experiments through to film, using a *topos* approach (i.e. recurrent concepts that recur across a variety of media).[23] Both Tresch and Huhtamo offer a way to think about the repertoire I explore in this dissertation in the context of scientific developments—they were artistic works, but also "experiments" in how musical and visual technologies could be used on the stage to stretch the possibilities of this medium.

The figure of the devil serves as the *topos* under investigation in this dissertation, particularly insofar as it represents a set of relationships with technology and new forms of media. This association dates back to at least the fifteenth century. When Gutenberg's assistant, Johann Fust, brought copies of the newly-printed Gutenberg bible to Paris, the French were suspicious of how he could have produced the copies so quickly and was offering them so cheaply, and so they accused him of being in league with the devil. It was only after he showed them how the printing press worked that they relented. The confusion was amplified by a mix up between 'Fust' and 'Faustus'—the latter being the necromancer who inspired the Faust legend and was a contemporary of Gutenberg's assistant. Yet even after this mistake was clarified, many confused the two and the story became an emblem of France's suspicion of technological innovation.[24]

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[22] Emily Dolan and John Tresch, "A Sublime Invasion: Meyerbeer, Balzac, and the Opera Machine," *The Opera Quarterly* 27, no. 1 (2011): 4-31. Also, John Tresch*, The Romantic Machine: Utopian Science and Technology After Napoleon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

[23] Erkki Huhtamo and Jussi Parikka, eds., *Media Archaeology: Approaches, Applications, and Implications* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011). Also, Huhtamo*, Illusions in Motion: Media Archaeology of the Moving Panorama and Related Spectacles* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013).

[24] See Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *Divine Art, Infernal Machine: The Reception of Printing in the West from First Impressions to the Sense of an Ending* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 2-3.

Such stories carried through the centuries, both orally and in literary adaptations and new works of fiction. Nineteenth-century playwrights, composers, and librettists capitalized on their audiences' familiarity with this history and used this association to draw attention to contemporary uses and suspicions of technology. Pursuing this *topos* enabled me to compare the ways in which the stage works depicted the devil—drawing on their literary predecessors and one another while simultaneously anticipating the emergence of film.

The five chapters of this dissertation draw on these diverse methodological approaches to offer a history of mid-nineteenth-century Paris that demonstrates the connections between theatrical culture, musico-visual spectacle, and technological innovation. Chapter One, Reading, Listening, and Watching in Paris, provides context on the wide variety of genres and theaters covered in this repertoire and its literary forbearers. I examine the ways in which the devil was used as a literary device and trace the paths of Jacques Cazotte's *Le diable amoureux* and Goethe's *Faust*, whose adaptations I examine in Chapters Three and Four. After exploring the broader movement of a number of works from text to stage, I turn to the theaters themselves. By detailing what Parisians were hearing, reading, and watching (and where they did so), I endeavor to help my own readers step into the shoes of an audience member from this time, so that they might better understand the appeal of the theatrical works examined in Chapters Two, Three, and Four. The following chapters loosely follow a chronology leading from *Robert le diable* (1831) through *Le diable amoureux* (1840) to *Faust* (1859/69), but the broader context of these works disrupts the misleading linearity of this narrative: after all, the first *Faust* adaptations appeared prior to *Robert*, *Le diable amoureux* originated as an eighteenth-century novella, and *Robert* continued to be performed through the late nineteenth century.

Chapter Two, Dragons, Devils, and Trains: Technology on the French Musical Stage,

explores how the creators of *Robert* and subsequent boulevard works experimented with new musico-visual technologies to capitalize on their audiences' desire for spectacle and expose the devilish nature of the machines. I examine *Robert* itself before turning both to the works that preceded it and to a number of vaudevilles, *féeries,* and other popular theater works that parodied, quoted, and otherwise alluded to the grand opera. These adaptations positioned the devil as a conjurer of the musical spectacle and commented on the musico-visual spectacle in *Robert* (and the broader culture of excess at the Opéra). At the same time, they rivaled Meyerbeer's work in their own use of elaborate effects.

In Chapter Three, Multisensory Desires and the Seductive Dance of the Devil, I trace the development of Jules-Henri Vernoy de Saint-Georges's *Le diable amoureux* for the stage, examining how the story was used to draw attention to the devilish and seductive possibilities of musico-visual spectacle, particularly when the body was used as an extension of other technologies. Reviews by the French press provide a nuanced understanding of how audiences engaged with this work, and in particular with the lead dancer who played the devil. I examine how movement replaced text in this *ballet-pantomime* and then compare it with *Les amours du diable*—an *opera-féerie* written by de Saint-Georges's son.

Chapter Four, The Devil's Handiwork: A Media Archaeology of Goethe's *Faust*, tackles the huge Faust repertoire. I examine how various French adaptations of Goethe's *Faust*—an "unstageable" literary masterpiece—pushed the limits of stage works and in some ways anticipated the development of film. After summarizing the many *Faust* stage works, I examine select modes of experimentation in these adaptations, including the potential of speed in this medium, the devil as conjurer, the setting of the Walpurgis Night scene, and the final schism between heaven and hell. The adaptations range from the first works that appeared in the late

1820s, following the initial French translations, to the Second Empire works that preceded (and in some ways surpassed) Gounod's *Faust.* Like the parodies explored in Chapter Two, these works appeared at a wide variety of theaters, which accrued changing capabilities and associations as the century wore on.

Finally, Chapter Five, From Stage to Screen: Diabolical Opera, Digital Musicology, and Technologies of Representation, provides context and justification for my accompanying digital appendix. I detail other digital projects centered on the long nineteenth century in order to provide an overview of the connections between musicology and the digital humanities, and document the reasons for my development of *Mapping Paris Theaters*. Tracing the emergence of data visualization methods from the nineteenth century through to the current day, I demonstrate how and why this approach might be relevant for studying works from this period. Sensory engagement played an important role then as now, and thus provides a fruitful way of thinking about how we might recreate immersive experiences. *Les pilules du diable* may have been largely forgotten and it is impossible to fully recover this work, but might there be a way to reconnect with the feeling of wonder Scala described upon seeing the *féerie*? And if there is, why is it important that we do so?

CHAPTER I

READING, LISTENING, AND WATCHING IN PARIS

In the middle of *Les grotesques de la musique* (1859), Hector Berlioz muses on a trend in recent productions at one of Paris's major theaters: "The Opéra-Comique, as you know, has created and brought into the world a host of works where the devil is the hero: *Le diable à quatre, Le diable page, Le diable boiteux, le diable couleur de rose, Le diable amoureux, Le diable à Seville, La part du diable, Le diable à l'école, La fiancée du diable.*"[1] Anyone familiar with the French critic's literary output would not have been surprised by these comments, for Berlioz had drawn attention to the profusion of works featuring the devil in many of his reviews of these operas and ballets. The reception history of this repertoire brims with remarks such as "Once again the devil, always the devil."[2] For his part, Berlioz lists works from other theaters in his comments about the Opéra-Comique to show how easily one could confuse what was performed where. These discussions were not merely relegated to reviews in the French press; on occasion, the works themselves drew attention to the different devils that had recently appeared. The end of an 1840

[1] "Le théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique, qu'on le sache et qu'on se le dise, a créé et mis au monde une foule d'ouvrages dont le diable est le héro: le *diable à quatre*, *le diable page*, *le diable boiteux*, *le diable couleur de rose*, *le diable amoureux*, *le diable à Séville*, *la part du diable*, *le diable à l'école*, *la fiancée du diable*." Hector Berlioz, *Les grotesques de la musique* (Paris: Bourdilliat, 1859), 108. Leuven, Mazilier, and Adam, *Le diable à quatre* (Opéra, 1845); Théaulon and Hérold, *La clochette, ou le diable page* (Opéra-Comique, 1817); Scribe and Auber, *La part du diable, ou Carlo Broschi* (Opéra-Comique, 1843); Coralli, Burat de Gurgy, and Gide, *Le diable boiteux* (Opéra, 1836); *Le diable couleur de rose, ou, Le bon-homme misère* (Théâtre de Molière, 1798) or Berlioz might have been referring to the recently performed *Le diable rose* by Fournier, Pol Mercier, and Déjazet (Théâtre Déjazet, 1859); Saint-Georges, Mazilier, Reber, and Benoist, *Le diable amoureux* (Opéra, 1840); Cavé, Hurtado, and Gomis, *Le diable à Seville* (Opéra-Comique, 1831); Scribe and Auber, *La part du diable, ou Carlo Broschi* (Opéra-Comique, 1843); Scribe and Boulanger, *Le diable à l'école* (Opéra-Comique, 1842); Scribe, Romand, and Massé, *La fiancée du diable* (Opéra-Comique, 1854).

[2] "Encore le diable, toujours le diable." P. Durand, "Délassements-Comiques: *Le réve du diable*, vaudeville en un acte, par M. Legrand—Premières représentations le 21 septembre 1855," *Le presse théâtral* 39 (September 30, 1855), 3.

Palais-Royal *vaudeville*, *Les guêpes*, includes a scene in which a devil enters singing a love song. The other characters are intrigued by the intruder and debate his identity:

> PIERROT, *interrupting him*: Which devil is that?
> PADOCKE: It's not *Robert le diable.*
> AZAZEL: It's not *Le diable boiteux.*
> COQUETTE: Oh no! It's *Le diable amoureux*![3]

Such wry commentary on the profusion of devils in recent productions at the Opéra provides us with a glimpse into inter-theatrical relationships across nineteenth-century Paris.

Movement from theater to theater was common for French musical stage works in the mid-1800s. The subjects of many melodramas eventually found their way to the Opéra, parodies of operas and ballets appeared in *comédies-vaudevilles*, and a number of works were readapted for different theaters. Berlioz's references to this network hint at a richer and more nuanced narrative of nineteenth-century French theatrical culture than many subsequent discussions imply. Like Bayard and Dumanoir (*Les guêpes*) and countless other playwrights who self-reflexively commented on this repertoire, Berlioz reacted with amusement rather than surprise or disquiet. After all, writers had increasingly turned to supernatural creatures to discuss darker topics from the late eighteenth through the nineteenth century—from English Gothic fiction to the German *Schauerroman* and the French genres of the *fantastique* and *frénétique.* Theatrical adaptations were a natural outgrowth of literary engagement with the supernatural. The audience for these stage works would have been familiar with these literary texts and for many, announcements of the latest adaptations of works such as *Faust* would have provoked great

[3] "Pierrot, *l'interrompant*: 'Quel diable est-ce là?' Padocke: 'Ce n'est pas *Robert-le-diable*.' Azazel: 'Ce n'est pas le *diable boiteux.*' Coquette: 'Eh non! C'est le *diable amoureux.*'" Bayard and Dumanoir, *Les guêpes* (Paris: Delacombe, 1840)*,* 10. Premiered at the Palais-Royal on November 30, 1840.

excitement. Across and throughout these manifold works, the devil ran the show—metaphorically, at least.

At the same time as Goethe's *Faust* was gaining popularity in France, the musical world was captured by a flesh-and-blood simulacrum of the conjuring Mephistopheles: Niccolò Paganini. The violin virtuoso cultivated a supernatural aura, conveying the seductive qualities of the mysterious to his nineteenth-century audiences. Paganini captured the attention of the musical elite when he performed at La Scala in 1813, but he rose more fully to prominence during a European tour in the late 1820s. The press fanned rumors concerning the origin of his talent. An 1829 report from a Leipzig critic provides a typical example of the rhetoric surrounding the virtuoso: "this man with the long black hair and the pale countenance opens to us with his violin a world which we had never imagined, except perhaps in dreams. There is in his appearance something so supernatural that one looks for a glimpse of a cloven hoof or an angel's wing."[4] The visual played an important part in Paganini's appeal, in conjunction with the range of impressive musical effects he conjured to beguile his audience.

While Paganini inspired depictions of virtuosic devils and fueled suspicions about music's dark powers, a number of literary texts featuring central roles for the devil directly resulted in theatrical adaptations. Cazotte's *Le diable amoureux* and Goethe's *Faust* stand as the two best-known pieces of literature that appeared in adapted form on the Parisian stage, with *Faust* leading to numerous theatrical stagings at venues ranging from the Delassements-Comiques to the Opéra. To say that these texts "inspired" the stage adaptations that followed gives short shrift to the importance of the theatrical works. In many ways, the literary texts

[4] Unsigned review, *Leipziger musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig, 1829), trans. and qtd. in Claude Kenneson, *Musical Prodigies: Perilous Journeys, Remarkable Lives* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1998), 35.

functioned as blueprints waiting to be realized on stage: the devils of Cazotte, Goethe, and others jumped off the page and were realized in three-dimensional form.

This chapter reimagines the literary, musical, and theatrical climate of mid-nineteenth-century Paris by detailing what broad swathes of the public were reading, watching, and hearing. Tracing the shift from book to stage, I examine the literary background of this musical repertoire, exploring why writers were drawn to the devil, and how Parisians came to know texts including Cazotte's *Le diable amoureux* and Goethe's *Faust*. The numerous theatrical works that featured the devil chose different versions of the character to suit their purpose. Considering the world of nineteenth-century French readers thus becomes a necessary step in understanding how they would have apprehended the stage works discussed in this dissertation. Furthermore, I explore how the visuality and sonic aspects of literature around 1800 led composers and playwrights to treat the texts like blueprints, waiting to be realized in three-dimensional form.

The second half of this chapter then turns to the theaters themselves. Information on the boulevard theaters has been largely left to dictionary summaries or relegated to monographs that focus on these venues in isolation, ignoring the primary theaters and their repertoire. A more detailed overview of the theaters and the audiences they attracted offers an alternative view, demonstrating that similar musico-visual spectacle appeared at all the theaters, many of which possessed greater technological capabilities than has previously been assumed.

The devil as French literary device

There are only a handful of studies of the devil and music, none of which focuses on the nineteenth century or engages with French culture. In contrast, literary scholarship has chronicled the rise of the devil in French literature, and includes studies based in the long

nineteenth century, most comprehensively in Max Milner's *Le diable dans la littérature française, 1772–1861* (1960).[5] Milner's survey of this repertoire focuses on nineteenth-century texts while acknowledging the impact of earlier works such as John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, which continued to circulate throughout France throughout the nineteenth century. The epic poem was first published in 1667, spawning discussions in French literary circles from the early eighteenth century and eventually translations. During the French Revolution, the poem—and its anti-hero—gained increasing traction in France: Milton's rebellious Satan was seen to embody qualities that the revolutionaries esteemed.[6] Jean-Frédéric Shall's illustrations for the 1792 edition of Dupré de Saint Maur's translation show Satan in Roman dress, while John Martin used similar imagery in one of his mezzotints, "The Fall of the Rebel Angels" (1826).[7] Martin's Satan carries a shield and spear, blurring the distinction between Satan's identity as a supernatural creature and Milton's depiction of his tragic humanity (see Illustration 1.1). "Schall's Satan never appears less, or at least less sympathetic than [to quote Milton] an 'Arch-Angel ruin'd' (I, 593)," while Martin's figure is depicted naked, tumbling out of Paradise, clinging to his weapons like a

[5] Max Milner, *Le diable dans la littérature française: De Cazotte à Baudelaire 1772-1861* (Paris: J. Corti, 1960). Also see Robert Muchembled, *A History of the Devil: From the Middle Ages to the Present,* trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003); Maximilian Rudwin, *The Devil in Legend and Literature* (Chicago: Open Court, 1931); Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Mephistopheles: The Devil in the Modern World*, new edition (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990).

[6] They had come to Milton by way of the English writer's non-fiction works that directly explored political issues, which eventually led interested parties to his most famous text. Voltaire notably wrote about the work in his 1727 *Essay in Epic Poetry*, which was first published in English, as he was in Milton's home country at the time, but soon after appeared in French. Two years later, Dupré de Saint Maur produced the first French translation of *Paradise Lost*; other translations include one by the great Enlightenment poet Louis Racine in 1755.

[7] John Milton, *Le paradis perdu*, trans. Dupré de Saint Maur, illustr. Jean- Frédéric Schall (Paris: Defer de Maisonneuve, 1792). John Martin, *The Paradise Lost of Milton with illustrations, designed and engraved by John Martin* (London: Septimus Prowett, 1827). Martin was an English painter well-known in France among writers such as Victor Hugo, Jules Michelet, Gautier, and Nerval, Samuel Prowett commissioned twenty-four original mezzotints in 1823, which were sold individually and eventually published in a two volume edition of Milton's text in 1827.

defeated soldier.[8] This fallen angel inspired humanized devils throughout the nineteenth century, blurring the line between supernatural and mortal realms and paving the way for tropes such as the devilish conjurer/creator.

Illustration 1.1. John Martin, mezzotint engraving for *Paradise Lost,* Book 1, line 44, *The Fall of the Rebel Angels* (London: Septimus Prowess, 1825).

Although *Paradise Lost* is the most famous reading of the biblical story of Adam and Eve, few French contemporaneous discussions of the poem focused on its biblical associations.

[8] Wendy Furman, "Colorizing *Paradise Lost*: Jean-Frédéric Schall's Designs for *Le paradis perdu* (1792)," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 59, no. 4 (1996): 472. This trope is continued in Gustav Doré's "The Fall of Lucifer" (1866), where Satan is shown in full Roman armor. Doré balances Satan's jagged wings and the hellish background with human feet (instead of cloven hooves), and a look of fear—one hand in his hair, eyes wide, and mouth open.

François-René Chateaubriand moved away from the character's biblical background, focusing on Satan as an entertaining character in his chapter on *Paradise Lost* in the 1802 *Génie du christianisme*—a text that introduced many of the ideas of early French Romanticism.[9] Chateaubriand's view that Satan's greatest power lay in his ability to entertain shaped subsequent depictions, especially as the devil became a more generalized figure of darkness in the years following the Revolution. Some writers had shifted towards this focus even earlier, such as Alain-René Le Sage's *Le diable boiteux* (1726), which provided a satirical account of the devil Asmodeus's sojourn in Paris.[10]

In his exploration of nineteenth-century representations of the devil, David Pike observes that many of these texts used the metaphor of hell to describe an environment of subversion, revolution, and excess in the French city—the devil standing either below, as a ruler encouraging bad behavior, or above, as a detached observer critiquing it.[11] In *Le diable boiteux*, Asmodeus does both. The devil takes his young student, Don Cleophas, above the city in order to unveil its mysteries (i.e. depravities) to him. Yet he also claims responsibility for many of the same vices he criticizes, such as "luxury, debauchery, games of chance and chemistry. [. . .] the carousel, dance, music, comedy, and all the new fashions in France."[12] This duality served as an important

[9] "Voilà, certes, si nous ne nous trompons, une des conceptions les plus sublimes et les plus pathétiques qui soient jamais sorties du cerveau d'un poète." François-Réné de Chateaubriand, "Caractère de Satan," *Génie du christianisme* (Paris: Le Normant, 1802), 2:271.

[10] Alain-René Le Sage, *Le diable boiteux* (Paris: Veuve Pierre Ribou, 1726), 27.

[11] David Lawrence Pike, *Metropolis on the Styx: The Underworlds of Modern Urban Culture, 1800-2001* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007).

[12] "C'est moi qui ai introduit dans le monde le luxe, la débauche, les jeux de hasard et la chimie. Je suis l'inventeur des carrousels, de la danse, de la musique, de la comédie, et de toutes les modes nouvelles de France." Le Sage, *Le diable boiteux*, 27.

model for composers, playwrights, and librettists, who later used this figure both to generate and to critique spectacle.

Le Sage's text gained increasing popularity in the nineteenth century, lending its name to satirical journals, theatrical adaptions, and even a moral education text for children.[13] As writers explored themes of debauchery and subversion, the figure of the devil provided a way to think about the possibilities of textual media. The multitude of guises under which this character appeared meant that there was a version of the devil suitable for any topic or medium. Just as journals borrowed Le Sage's Asmodeus, other devils such as Mephistopheles and Satan re-appeared in countless works—normally with distinct associations, serving as different demonic tropes. Theatrical audiences would have been familiar with many of the names playwrights and librettists chose for their devils, enabling a degree of intertextuality that would be hard for a twenty-first-century audience member to grasp.

In addition to the literary texts themselves, an encyclopedia of demonology appeared in 1818, providing the Parisian public with a clear guide to the characteristics associated with each devil's name. Jacques Auguste Simon Collin de Plancy's *Dictionnaire infernal* enjoyed great success, going through six editions up until 1863, with the final edition including a set of illustrations. Some of the names arose well before 1800: "Satan" originated in the Hebrew Bible, called "a demon of the first order; leader of demons and of hell, according to theologians; demon of discord, according to the demonologists, revolutionary prince, and leader of the opposition party, in the government of Beelzebub."[14] When people speak of "the" devil today, they are

[13] In addition to *Le diable boiteux*, there was also *Le diable, Le diable rose, ou le petit courrier de Lucifer, Asmodée, Le journal du diable, Le Lucifer, Le bon diable*. Many had a satirical focus, while a few specialized in theatrical reviews. The librettist for the ballet-pantomime *Le diable boiteux,* Burat de Gurgy, capitalized on the success of the production by later publishing *Le diable boiteux des enfants: Scènes morales pour l'éducation* (1848).

[14] "Démon du premier ordre; chef des démons et de l'enfer, selon les théologiens; démon de la discorde, selon les démonomanes, prince révolutionnaire, et chef du parti de l'opposition, dans le gouvernement de Belzébuth."

typically referring to any one of the figures mentioned above, whereas in the nineteenth century "the" devil would have meant Satan, king of devils.[15] Collin de Plancy references the two Satanic characteristics that nineteenth-century readers of Milton's poem valued the most: his position as a fallen angel and flawed being, and his anti-heroic, revolutionary nature—qualities that fascinated the Parisian public. "Lucifer" ('bringer of light') is also often used in the nineteenth century to refer to "Satan," the name of Milton's devil prior to his fall from heaven.

Beelzebub ('Belzebuth' in French) also appears in *Paradise Lost* and, like Satan, comes from the Christian tradition of demons. Collin de Plancy acknowledges that he is frequently depicted as Satan's right-hand man: "Belzebuth, prince of demons, according to the Scriptures; the foremost in power and crime, after Satan, according to Milton; supreme ruler of Hell, according to Wierius. His name signifies *lord of flies.*"[16] French librettists and composers sometimes used Beelzebub instead of Satan to denote an important and powerful devil who was free of the more humanized associations with Satan to be found in Milton's text. More frequently, Beelzebub was used as a grotesque monster who took different forms—such as the camel's head at the beginning of *Le diable amoureux.* Collin de Plancy explains that he often appears in different guises and includes an image of Beelzebub as a grotesque fly in the 1863 illustrated edition of the *Dictionnaire.*

Jacques-Albin-Simon Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire infernal* (Paris: P. Mongieaine, 1818), 267. The opposition party refers to the group of archangels who were thrown out of heaven and formed a new infernal council in Hell, opposing God. The name comes from the Hebrew word *ha-satan* - 'the adversary.'

[15] De Plancy emphasizes Satan's importance as the leader of the angels' revolt against God and paraphrases Milton's description of Satan in Book I: "He above the rest / In shape and gesture proudly eminent / Stood like a tower. His form had yet not lost / All her original brightness, nor appeared / Less than archangel ruined, and th' excess / Of glory obscured. (I.589-94); John Milton, *Paradise Lost,* ed. Gordon Teskey (New York: Norton, 2005).

[16] "Prince des démons, selon les Ecritures; le premier en pouvoir et en crime après Satan, selon Milton; chef suprême de l'empire infernal, selon Wierius. Son nom signifie *seigneur des mouches.*" De Plancy, *Dictionnaire infernal* (1818), 81.

"Mephistopheles" first appeared in the Faust chapbooks of the sixteenth century, but was not included in the *Dictionnaire* until the 1825-6 edition, following the first translations of *Faust* in France. Collin de Plancy describes him as a "demon from Faust, who one recognizes by his cold spite, from the bitter laughter which insults to tears, to the gleeful ferocity which he reveals at the sight of aches and pains; it is he who, by mocking attacks the virtues. [. . .] He is after Satan the most formidable master of hell. See *Faust.*"[17] In *Faust,* Goethe makes the distinction between Satan as *the* devil and Mephistopheles as *a* devil clear. Rejecting Milton, he calls Satan a figure "long since consigned to the book of fables—although humans are no better off: the evil one is gone, the evil ones remain" (I.2507–9). Ultimately, public understanding of the different types of devils helped writers, artists, and composers use these characters appropriately and exploit their associations so that they could be placed in any setting to conjure spectacle, regardless of whether it took place in a supernatural or a mortal realm.

Le diable amoureux

While the biblical and poetic devils were usually quite distinct in the nineteenth-century, Cazotte sought to exploit one of their common themes. The devil has always been a seductive creature, capable of tempting even the most holy of men through superhuman means. For centuries the

[17] "Démon de Faust, qu'on reconnaît à sa froide méchante, à ce rire amer qui insulte aux larmes, à la joie féroce qu'il montre à l'aspect des douleurs; c'est lui qui, par la raillerie attaque les vertus, abreuve de mépris les talents, fait mordre sur l'éclat de la gloire la rouille de la calomnie. C'est après Satan le plus redoutable chef de l'enfer. Voyez *Faust.*" Ibid., 95. Little changed in subsequent versions of the *Dictionnaire,* though the 1863 edition added the comment "Il n'était pas inconnu à Voltaire, à Parny, et à quelques autres" and also referenced Desaur and Saint-Geniès's *Les adventures de Faust* (1825). De Plancy, *Dictionnaire infernal* (Paris: Henri Plon, 1863), 454. Mentioning Goethe's antecedent Voltaire and his contemporary Parny helped place this manifestation of the devil in a broader French tradition stretching back to the eighteenth-century. By dismissing Marlowe's Dr. Faustus and failing to explain whether Voltaire and Parny knew Goethe's *Faust* or the story more generally, Collin de Plancy hints that there might be earlier French connections to this character that were distinct from the English or German traditions.

Church warned its followers of the dangerous powers of female sexuality by likening women to devils or other figures of darkness. Drawing on an emerging interest in androgyny, Cazotte produced a novella about a female devil who is androgynous in appearance and succeeds in tempting an "innocent" soldier.[18] *Le diable amoureux* (1772, rev. 1776) influenced a host of novels about female temptation across Europe and was latter heralded as the first *conte fantastique*. Literature drawing on this theme of female devils ranged from English Gothic fiction, such as Matthew Lewis's seminal *The Monk* (1795) to E. T. A. Hoffmann's *The Elixirs of the Devil* (1816), not to mention works by Charles Nodier and Charles Baudelaire.[19]

Cazotte's novella relates the story of a Spanish naval officer, Alvaro, who conjures the devil in an attempt to impress his friends. The devil becomes his servant and Alvaro quickly makes use of this newfound power, ordering the grotesque creature to transform itself into a page named Biondetto. Biondett*o* is soon revealed to be a *diablesse*—a female devil (Biondett*a*)—who falls in love with Alvaro and tries to seduce him. In the first edition of the novella Alvaro resists the temptress, but the second (which proved to be more popular) suggests that the seduction was successful.

Le diable amoureux's success stemmed from its characterization as a *conte fantastique*. In his book on the genre, Tzvetan Todorov suggests that the fantastic occurs in this novella because Alvraro—and by extension, the reader—is unsure whether the devil is real, and thus we live in a world in which such creatures either exist or they are imaginary, created by a series of illusions.

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[18] Foucault examine this surge of interest in androgynes in his *History of Sexuality*. See also Frédéric Monneyron, *L'androgyne décadent: mythe, figure, fantasmes* (Grenoble, France: Ellug, 1996).

[19] Nerval, Baudelaire, Gautier, and Apollinaire specifically discuss Biondetta/o in their critical writings and poetry. See Claudine Hunting, "Cazotte and the Counterrevolution or the Art of Losing One's Head," in *The French Revolution of 1789 and Its Impact*, ed. Gail M. Schwab and John R. Jeanneney (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1995), 46, n.4.

As Todorov explains, "the fantastic occupies the duration of this uncertainty. Once we choose one answer or another, we leave the fantastic for a neighboring genre, the uncanny or the marvelous. The fantastic is experienced by a person who knows only the laws of nature, confronting an apparently supernatural event."[20] This definition illuminates two reasons for the genre's appeal. First, a fantastic text (or other artistic work) was required to take place in the "real" world, which provided the reader or audience with a relatable context for the novelty of the supernatural character or event. Second, the fantastic "implies an integration of the reader into the world of the characters: that world is defined by the reader's own ambiguous perception of the events narrated."[21] In other words, the genre required a certain active participation of the reader (or audience member) to the point that the "work" only really came into being when it was performed, whether on a physical (public) or mental (private) stage.

In addition to the ambiguity over whether the devil is real or an illusion, Alvaro remains unsure of whether Biondetta is a woman or man for much of the text. This gender confusion greatly enhanced the novella's appeal: Alvaro continually stares at the devil, pondering this question, which prompts the reader to subject Biondetta to an imaginary gaze. The devil has frequently been depicted as an androgynous figure in literature and the visual arts, which largely stems from the idea of the devil as a shapeshifting character who uses visual deception to trick his/her victims.[22] In *Le diable amoureux,* Cazotte takes this imagery a step further by continuously switching his devil's gender. The (presumably) male devil turns into a female dog,

[20] Tzvetan Todorov, *The Fantastic: A Structural Approach to a Literary Genre*, trans. Richard Howard (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University Press, 1973), 25.

[21] Ibid., 31.

[22] See Mircea Eliade, *Mephistopheles and the Androgyne; Studies in Religious Myth and Symbol.* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1965).

who transforms into a male page, back to a female virtuoso singer, and then spends the rest of the novella alternating between the male page and Alvaro's female lover. The reader becomes as baffled as Alvaro as Cazotte continually moves between female and male pronouns, "il" and "elle." Biondetta's female gender is only confirmed when she is injured, which provides a pretext for undressing her.

Much of the novelty of Cazotte's novella and its suitability for theatrical adaptation issued from the way in which Cazotte's prose compels the reader to visualize the story and imagine its sonic world. Music plays an integral part in Biondetta's seduction of Alvaro, as the devil appears as a performer at key moments of the novella. The first musical interlude occurs shortly after the devil enters Alvaro's service. Upon his command, Biondetta appears as Fiorentina, a singer and harpist. Alvaro "press[es] the virtuoso to make us hear a sample of her talent" and so she performs a recitative and aria from an unnamed opera.[23] Cazotte's descriptions of the music-making give equal weight to visual and aural elements:

> She took her harp and began to play; her hands were small, slender and dimpled, at once pink and white, their fingers, oh so slightly rounded at the tips, were fringed with nails whose shape and grace were inconceivable; we were all taken by surprise, and felt ourselves to be at the most delicious concert. As she sang, I realized that a powerful voice does not necessarily have greater soulfulness, greater expressiveness, than a soft one: never had gentle voice stirred more emotion. I was moved to the depths of my being, and almost forgot that I was the creator of the charms which ravished me.
>
> The singer addressed the tender expression of her recitative and song to me. The fire of her looks pierced through the veil; its sweetness and persistence were indescribable; those eyes were not unknown. At last, fitting together the features as the veil allowed me to glimpse them, I recognized in Fiorentina that rascal Biondetto; but the elegance of her figure was shown to much more striking advantage in the guise of a woman than in the costume of a page.[24]

[23] "Je pressai la virtuose de nous faire entendre un échantillon de son talent." Jacques Cazotte, *Le diable amoureux*, ed. Nerval (Paris: L. Ganivet, 1845), 50.

[24] Cazotte, *The Devil in Love*, trans. Judith Landry (Sawtry, UK: Dedalus, 1991), 39-40.

The devil's seductive power is realized through music, provoking Alvaro's obsession with gazing upon Biondetta that continues throughout the novella. More broadly, the prominence of musical and visual elements (the latter emphasized by Beaumont's mid-nineteenth-century illustrations) reflects an increasing desire for greater sensory engagement with these stories.

Discussions of demonic virtuosity entered other French literary works, often drawing upon the image of Biondetta but sometimes merging influences from different texts. Cazotte's description of the virtuoso's gentle expressiveness counters the image of the fiery virtuoso impressing audiences with their technical skill, as cultivated by Paganini. This tension between subtle techniques of seduction and obvious bravura continued, with literary and stage works experimenting on both fronts. Théophile Gautier's narrative poem *Albertus* parodies *Faust*, but the devil in the story is more akin to Cazotte's figure of seduction.[25] A young "diva" attracts and then seduces Albertus one night at a performance of *Don Giovanni*, only to later reveal herself as a devil. The protagonist is cast down to hell, where a concert of devilish virtuosi entertains him with a duet before brutally beating him. As rumors circulated about Paganini and conflicting opinions on virtuosity appeared in the press, it was not surprising that literary (and then musico-dramatic) works should explore different aspects of musical performativity.[26]

Faust arrives in France

[25] Also see George Sand's *Les sept cordes de la lyre* (1838), where the lyre takes the place of the violin.

[26] See J.Q. Davies, "Gautier's 'Diva:' The First French Uses of the Word," in *The Arts of the Prima Donna in the Long Nineteenth Century,* ed. Rachel Cowgill and Hilary Poriss (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 123-146. In the middle ages, Césaire de Heisterbach told the story of a virtuosic performer who was clearly under the spell of a demon. See Césaire de Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorun,* ed. J. Strange (Cologne, 1851). Other nineteenth-century texts include Aloysius Block, "Ugolino," in *Le livre des contours* (Paris: Allardin, 1833). Block relates the story of Tartini (the violinist-composer associated with the Devil's Trill) and Paganini. Also *Tobias Guarnerius* by Charles Rabou.

Forty years after Cazotte's novel was first published, a very different devil arrived in the French capital: Mephistopheles. Although Voltaire wrote of seeing adaptations of the legend in Germany, Faust had barely set foot in France prior to the nineteenth century. Even Christopher Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* (1592) was not translated until the Goethe-influenced Faust craze prompted Victor Hugo to publish a version of the English text in 1858. Yet aesthetic shifts during the early years of French Romanticism produced a new environment in which the duo of conjuring devil and tempted scholar could thrive.

Gérard de Nerval's 1827 translation of *Faust, Part I* is often cited as the work that brought Goethe's play to French audiences, but the true arrival of Goethe's *Faust* in France happened earlier still. Germaine de Staël published her *De l'Allemagne* in 1814—a text that would prove to be hugely influential over the ensuing decades, accumulating twenty-five French editions by 1883.[27] *De l'Allemagne* discusses German trends in philosophical thought alongside major works of German literature, including Goethe's *Faust*, *Part I* (1808). The book claimed to present the ideas of German Romanticism to France. In reality, Staël translated German Romantic ideology into terms to which the French would be more receptive. In his book on the French author, John Clairborne Isbell describes how "every choice Staël makes helps shape the nineteenth century. She stands Goethe's *Faust* on its head, to make the play less ridiculous for a neoclassical public, and thereby gives Europe an ennui-ridden hero who is damned instead of saved, as in Berlioz."[28] Staël's discussions of German literature in *De l'Allemagne* consist of

[27] Germaine de Staël, *De l'Allemagne*, ed. Simone Balayé (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1968). Napolean destroyed an earlier edition of the text, which Staël wrote in while in exile in 1810, as he believed it to be German propaganda. This prompted her to publish the work in England first (1813).

[28] John Claiborne Isbell, *The Birth of European Romanticism: Truth and Propaganda in Staël's "De l'Allemagne"*, 1810-1813 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 7.

synopses and translations of what she deemed to be the most interesting parts of the works, which further enabled her to present *Faust* to the French public in her preferred light.

In its original form, *Faust* tells the story of a scholar who is disappointed with life and tries (but fails) to gain knowledge by means of magic. The devil appears and says he will serve Faust on earth, if only Faust will serve Mephistopheles in hell. Faust agrees, but adds a clause—if he is ever so happy in a moment that he wishes to stay in it forever, then he will lose the wager and be damned to hell. He regains his youth (thanks to Mephistopheles) and meets and seduces a young girl, Gretchen (translated in French as 'Marguerite'). She then becomes pregnant, accidentally poisons her mother, and eventually commits infanticide after Faust leaves her: the first book concludes with her assumption into heaven. The second book explores Faust's travels to lands such as Ancient Greece, where he meets Helen of Troy, and ends with Faust's own assumption into heaven after the eternal feminine redeems him.

Staël's summary of the first book follows the broad outlines of this story, but her conception of the characters diverges from that of Goethe—she claims that "the devil is the hero of this work."[29] Little did she know that this would help engender an onslaught of adaptations that focused on Mephistopheles over the rest of the century. Staël's provocative statement appearing in the second paragraph of her synopsis, followed by a lengthy passage devoted to the devil. Only then does she turn to Faust himself. Noting this divergence from Goethe, Isbell suggests that "Staël's central theme is the conflict between good and evil, exemplified in Mephistopheles," which became a driving force behind Parisians' fascination with the devil.[30] The French Revolution had played a crucial role in blurring the lines between good and evil,

[29] Staël, *De l'Allemagne*, 343.

[30] Isbell, *The Birth of European Romanticism*, 75.

which created a desire for literature that recognized the tension between this polarity rather than traditional didactic stories. This trope could be seen in works preceding *Faust*: the Marquis de Sade famously claimed that Gothic novels were "the necessary fruits of the revolutionary tremors felt by the whole of Europe."[31] Part of Mephistopheles' appeal was that he stood both for evil (or an evil complicated by this tension) and also as a critic of evil. Staël explains that "Goethe wished to display in this character [. . .] an audacious gaiety that amuses. There is an infernal irony in the discourses of Mephistopheles, which extends itself to the whole creation, and criticizes the universe like a bad book of which the Devil has made himself the censor."[32] He provokes Faust to demonstrate how mankind is prone to falling, especially when given a little push, but does so in a bitingly satirical way.

Following Staël's summary of *Faust,* full translations of *Part I* appeared from 1823 and stage adaptations began shortly after. These initial attempts to grapple with Goethe's play struggled with its philosophical baggage, often translating the play too literally or taking excessive liberties with its style and content.[33] Finally, Nerval produced a translation in 1827 that was hailed as capturing the spirit of Goethe's original. In his memoirs*, Lorely: Souvenirs d'Allemagne,* he recounts attending a performance of *Faust* in 1850 with friends: "Many times we had talked about the possibility of creating a *Faust* in the French style, without imitating the

[31] Marquis de Sade, "Ideas on the Novel," in *The Gothic Novel: A Casebook,* ed. Victor Sage (London: Longman, 1990), 49. For a discussion of the broader motivations behind the rise of Gothic fiction and the genre's influence in France, see Terry Hale, "French and German Gothic: The Beginnings," *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction*, ed. Jerrold E. Hogle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 63-84; and Daniel Hall, *French And German Gothic Fiction In The Late Eighteenth Century* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2005).

[32] Staël, *De l'Allemagne*, 344.

[33] Albert Stapfer (1823) and Comte de Sainte-Aulaire (1823). Also Théolon (1827).

inimitable Goethe."[34] That Nerval was still contemplating how to approach *Faust* over twenty years after his first translation speaks to the enormity of this challenge. He had already produced two new editions of his original translation, in 1835 and 1840, each time grappling with what a "French Faust" might really mean.

Despite Nerval's concerns, Goethe's praise for Nerval's translation implies that even his initial efforts were not entirely in vain. Goethe wrote in a letter to his friend Johann Peter Eckermann that "I don't like reading *Faust* in German anymore; yet in this French translation everything makes a refreshing, novel, and spirited impression."[35] The success of Nerval's work largely stemmed from his decision to use more prose than verse. By changing the rhythm of the text, Nerval moved *Faust* closer to natural speech. The balance of the natural and unnatural (and by extension supernatural) that Nerval achieved later formed a central component of the Faust adaptions on stage, as composers such as Gounod grappled with spoken versus sung text. [36] By the time Nerval translated *Part II* in 1840, only Henri Blaze de Bury, paragon of French music criticism, dared challenge him.[37]

From text to stage

[34] Gérard de Nerval, *Lorely: Souvenirs d'Allemagne,* 776; trans. in Matthew Gumpert, *Grafting Helen: The Abduction of the Classical Past* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012), 193.

[35] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, January 3, 1830, in *Conversations of Goethe with Johann Peter Eckermann*, trans. John Oxenford, ed. J.K. Moorhead (New York: Da Capo Press, 1998), 396.

[36] Gounod's first version of *Faust* included spoken text, in keeping with the quasi-opéra comique nature of many works premiered at the Théâtre-Lyrique. When he reworked the opera, he replaced these sections with sung recitative-like passages.

[37] Henri Blaze de Bury*, Le Faust de Goethe: traduction revue et complète, précédée d'un essai sur Goethe, accompagnée de notes et de commentaires et suivie d'une étude sur la mystique du poème* (Paris: Charpentier, 1840).

The interaction between these literary texts and the musical stage works was enabled by a changing culture of reading towards the end of the eighteenth century: recreational reading became more commonplace as literacy became ever more widespread.[38] The weakening of publishing restrictions further helped the dissemination of the inexpensive *bibliothèques bleues* and chapbooks—thin, cheaply-made books that normally included popular stories or legends (such as *Robert le diable*). These changes meant that the theater-going public became increasingly aware of the stories behind the musical stage works. As literacy grew, modes of reading also changed. Jonathan Sterne and Jonathan Crary have traced scientific developments of the early nineteenth century that led to an increased understanding of the different senses—an awareness that drove new modes of observation and listening, such as the desire for multisensory experiences.[39] Illustrations appeared in fictional books well before the nineteenth century, but the vogue for dual-media texts rose even further from 1800, both spurring and responding to other modes of visualization, such as the *tableau vivant,* panorama, and diorama (all *spectacles d'optique*).

Paradise Lost's popularity in early nineteenth-century Paris was largely propelled by the addition of the aforementioned images to new French translations. Eugène Delacroix's lithographs for *Faust* likewise increased the play's success, aided the creation of a French Faust, and furthermore pleased Goethe. When the images were published in Stapfer's 1825 translation of *Faust*, Goethe wrote that "the more perfect imagination of an artist like this obliges us to conceive the situations as well as if he conceived them himself. And I must confess that M.

[38] Martyn Lyons, *Reading Culture and Writing Practices in Nineteenth-Century France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 43-5.

[39] Jonathan Sterne, *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003); Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 1990).

Delacroix has surpassed my own conceptions in these scenes; how much more will the reader find them vivid beyond his imagination!"[40] Mephistopheles appears in a number of the lithographs, both with and without his mortal disguise. In "Méphistophélès dans les airs," Delacroix displays the devil naked, flying over a city with his talons out, lips upturned, and glistening eyes (see Illustration 1.2). Delacroix's interpretation was likely encouraged by Staël's

Illustration 1.2. Delacroix, "Méphistophélès dans les airs," *Faust: Eighteen lithographs* (1828)[41]

[40] Goethe to Eckermann, November 29, 1826; qtd. and trans. in *Goethe on Art*, ed. John Gage (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1980), 239.

[41] A digital copy is available in the Portland Art Museum's Digital Collection at http://portlandartmuseum.us/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=16315;type=101.

description of the devil, as well as an English version of *Faust* he had seen earlier that year. After viewing the play, he wrote to a friend "I saw here a play of *Faust* which was more diabolical than one could imagine. Mephistopheles is a masterpiece of intelligent character."[42] The devil was played by a well-known comedian, Daniel Terry.[43]

Illustration 1.3. Edouard de Beaumont, Cazotte's *Le diable amoureux* (Paris: L. Ganivet, 1845).[44]

[42] Goethe, quoted in *Eugene Delacroix: Correspondance Generale,* ed. André Joubin (Paris, 1938), 160.

[43] Richard Friedenthal, *Goethe: His Life and Times* (Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2010), 516.

[44] A digital copy is available on Gallica at http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb39835209g.

The images for an 1845 edition of *Le diable amoureux*, edited by Nerval, were also likely inspired by theatrical depictions—the ballet-pantomime adaptation had premiered at the Opéra five years previously to great acclaim. In addition to three new chapters devoted to Cazotte's "life, artistic process, and his prophesies and revelations," the edition included a set of two hundred illustrations provided by the young artist Édouard de Beaumont (see Illustration 1.3), a huge number for such a short novella. The text is saturated by these images, which occur on the majority of its pages. The sheer extent of illustrations for the new edition emphasizes the desire to *see* the characters and scenes Cazotte describes. Even though the devil Urielle had already been depicted on stage, the new edition served as a visual counterpart to piano and chamber music arrangements of the ballet by enabling domestic enjoyment of the story.

Composers, librettists, and costume designers were also evidently influenced by these artists in their depictions of the devil. In his *Soirées de l'Orchestre*, Berlioz describes a dream inspired by Martin's picture "Satan presiding at the Infernal Council." Following a service at St Paul's Cathedral, the composer explains:

> I saw [the] Cathedral whirling around and I was once again within. By some strange transformation the Church was changed into the abode of Satan. The setting was that of the celebrated picture of Martin. Instead of the Archbishop on his throne Satan was enthroned. Instead of the thousands of the faithful and the children grouped around him, hosts of demons and souls in torment shot forth their fiery glances from the depths of the visible darkness, and the whole iron structure of the amphitheater on which these millions were seated vibrated in a terrifying manner, filling the air with hideous harmonies.[45]

Berlioz's *La damnation de Faust* included Mephistopheles, rather than Satan, but the "hosts of demons" might well have inspired the hell scene in which he musically depicts large numbers of

[45] Berlioz, *Soirées de l'Orchestre* (Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1854); qtd. and trans. in Edward Lockspeiser, "Berlioz and John Martin," in *Music and Painting: A Study in Comparative Ideas from Turner to Schoenberg* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), 28.

devils.

Alongside a rise in illustrations, French literary texts and translations became more pictorial, both reflecting and prompting the development of melodrama. In his preface to *Cromwell*, Hugo calls out for theatrical realization of these texts:

> Instead of action, we are given narrative; instead of tableaux, descriptions. Grave personages stationed, like an antique chorus, between the play and ourselves come and tell us what is happening in the temple, in the palace or in the public square, so that we are frequently tempted to cry out: Really! Well take us there then! . . . It would be good to see![46]

English Gothic fiction first appeared in France from the 1790s, the translations often appearing in France within a year or two of their publication in England. The impetus for Gothic fiction has been contested, but French writers have suggested that its development partly grew out of attempts to deal with the Revolution. In France, the trauma of the Revolution was particularly evident in works by Nodier, who translated many of the English texts and eventually began writing his own stories; he coined the term *école frénétique* to describe works by writers who "flaunt their atheism, rage and despair over tombstones, exhume the dead in order to terrify the living, or who torment the reader's imagination which such horrifying scenes as to suggest the deranged dreams of madmen."[47] Influenced by works such as Matthew Lewis's *The Monk*, which included vivid descriptions of bloody scenes, the *école frénétique* was popular among the masses, but held in low regard by the intellectual elite. Nodier himself criticized the genre,

[46] Victor Hugo, *Cromwell* (Paris: A. Dupont, 1828), 44.

[47] Nodier, *Annales de la Littérature et des Arts* 16 (1821): 82, qtd. and trans. in Terry Hale, "French and German Gothic: The Beginnings," *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction*, 78. Nodier's *Smarra* was regarded as the first *roman frénétique*—the novella tells the story of a man who is haunted by nightmares about vampires who violently harm those around him.

though works by writers as celebrated as Honoré de Balzac, Théophile Gautier, and Victor Hugo can be considered as *romans frénétiques*.[48]

The popular nature and descriptive narrative imagery of the *école frénétique* helped drive the multimedia spectacle of popular theater at the turn of the century. Excessive horror in parodies of the genre, such as Jules Janin's 1829 *L'âne mort et la femme guillotinée*, which depicted animal fights, prostitution, murder, rape, and deformity, drove the blend of humor and the monstrous that would become characteristic of boulevard parodies of the 1830s. While the short-lived *roman frénétique* began to disappear around 1836, the influence of the *conte fantastique* remained.[49] The genre of the *fantastique* emerged with Cazotte's *Le diable amoureux* in 1772 and was propelled forward by E. T. A. Hoffmann in the early years of the nineteenth century. Engaging with the supernatural themes of the *frénétique*, but eschewing overtly horrific imagery, *contes fantastiques* often depicted more humanized devils who might have appealed less to those who enjoyed the rich visual imagery of horror works, but aimed to captivate readers craving greater intellectual nourishment from their supernatural fiction.

With the exception of a relatively unsuccessful attempt to stage *Le diable amoureux* in the 1820s, these literary texts existed primarily in two-dimensional formats until the first adaptations of *Faust* in 1827.[50] However, stage adaptations of other literature flourished, largely through the new genre of melodrama. As the burgeoning scholarship on the *mélodrame à grand spectacle* has revealed, these works emerged in France on the boulevard stage in the aftermath of

[48] Hale, *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction,* 79.

[49] Marie-Catherine Huet-Brichard, *Entre le frénétique et le fantastique* (Brno, Czech Republic: Université Masaryk, Faculté des lettres, 1993).

[50] *Le Lutin amoureux, un pièce en deux actes à grand spectacle* by de Rougemont premiered at the Panorama-Dramatique on May 22, 1822.

the French Revolution. Primarily addressing the theme of good versus evil, the works attracted broad audiences through a combination of spoken theater, increasingly elaborate *mises-en-scène*, and incidental music. A number adapted English Gothic fiction. The vivid visual language of Gothic fiction demanded dramatic realization; many of the works had already explored the possibilities of cross-media, using illustrations and sometimes even accounts of musical performances, as in Lewis's *The Monk.* Melodramatic adaptions appeared in both countries, each with their own unique approach. The stage directions for the French melodramas sought to realize the descriptive accounts of horror by deploying a combination of musical and visual spectacle.

In discussing the spectacle of melodrama, dramatic scholars have often meant the visual aspect—in fact, many cited a prominence of the visual over the audible as a requirement of melodrama.[51] However, recent examinations of music by the best-known of the melodrama composers—René Charles Guilbert de Pixérécourt—by scholars including Katherine Astbury have revealed how this music worked together with the rest of the *mise-en-scène*.[52] In an article on melodrama, Emilio Sala advocates for discussion of the music, stating that "without the reintegration of music, the spectacular dynamic of melodrama remains de facto incomprehensible."[53] Indeed, the 1817 *Traité du mélodrame* highlights the necessity of music:

> Everyone knows the power that music has [had] on the mind, since the Greeks. Today, although less widespread than in ancient times, music still gives great

[51] "What the melodrama would develop was an easily readable set of signs with a visual rather than an aural predominance." John McCormick, *Popular Theatres of Nineteenth Century France* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2004), 159. Peter Brooks devotes the beginning of his text to the stage genre, but the book's main focus is melodrama's influence on 20th-century literary genres. See Peter Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess: With a New Preface* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976).

[52] Katherine Astbury, "Music in Pixérécourt's Early Melodramas," *Melodramatic Voices*, ed. Hibberd, 15-26.

[53] Emilio Sala, "Mélodrame: Définitions et métamorphoses d'un genre quasi-opératique." *Revue De Musicologie* 84, no. 2 (January 1, 1998), 243; qtd. and trans. in Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination*, 27-8.

> courage to soldiers, awakens enthusiasm in the hearts of the people. [. . .] With such qualities it must naturally be included in melodrama. It is also good at preparing: its sounds are heard at the start of each scene, it announces the characters who will appear. If the whole orchestra, acting together, produces muted lugubrious sounds, it is the tyrant who approaches and the whole audience trembles; if the harmony is sweet and soft, the unfortunate lover will appear before long, and all hearts become tender.[54]

The treatise describes music that closely foreshadows and mimics the drama, which the author implies are its strengths and yet also stand as reasons for the lack of attention this repertoire has received. Tremolo strings, diminished seventh chords, scalic runs, tritones, chromaticism, and percussive sounds dominate these scores—musical effects that successfully paint a picture of a "tyrant" approaching or "the unfortunate lover," but struggle to stand by themselves. A certain combination of these effects became increasingly associated with the devil over the course of the nineteenth-century. Derek B. Scott lists the following demonic signifiers that were codified by the century's end: "minor key (especially D minor), chromaticism, dissonance (especially involving diminished seventh chords and augmented triads), angular melody (especially tritones), syncopation and tempo fluctuation (creating a disintegrating effect on meter and tempo), sacred or noble signifiers in the 'wrong context' . . . glissandi, acciaccaturas, slides, and chromatic 'slithering.'"[55] They appear with varying frequency and density in the scores for the repertoire discussed here—more so in the works comprised of newly-written music, though quoting a work such as *Robert le diable* enabled vaudevilles to employ the demonic signifiers at key moments. The effects have never been regarded as having

[54] Abel Hugo, Armand Malitourne, and Jean-Joseph Ader, *Traite du mélodrame* (Paris: Delaunay, 1817), 54-5, trans. and qtd. in *Melodramatic Voices*, ed. Hibberd, 4.

[55] Derek B. Scott, "*Diabolus in Musica:* Liszt and the Demonic," in *From the Erotic to the Demonic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 129-30.

any particular musical value, yet they formed a musical language that would have helped audiences recognize the devil and more broadly added to the spectacle.

Of course, this musical language was by no means absent from grand opera. Opera scholars have reframed the narrative to speak of how skillfully composers such as Meyerbeer integrated musical effects into their dramatic works, with sufficient subtlety that they did not overshadow the words or be regarded as excessive. To contend with Wagner's criticisms of grand opera's "effects without causes" is hard enough without having to spring to the defense of melodrama.[56] Aside from the importance of considering melodrama's influence on grand opera, however, there is also a need for exploration of the genre's continued existence *alongside* opera. Hibberd notes that "from the late 1820s, the autonomy of music in these works increased, with more structured and refined interventions and more varied instrumentation."[57] The plays included instrumental musical interludes, which were used to underscore the text and accentuate the effect of climactic moments, popular (unsung) tunes, and pantomime music (occasionally even sung music, particularly later in the century). As the early *spectacles d'optique*—such as the *tableau vivant,* panorama, and diorama—that had played such an important part in grand opera's emergence fell into disuse, melodrama continued along its own path, interacting with the increasing number of hybrid genres that developed as the century progressed.

Theatrical culture

Shared approaches to musico-visual spectacle mark many similarities between ostensibly "high" and "low" genres. The divisions between grand opera (and *opéra comique* etc.) and melodrama

[56] Richard Wagner, *Oper und Drama*, ed. and commentary by Klaus Kropfinger (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1984), 82.

[57] Hibberd, "Introduction," *Melodramatic Voices,* 4.

and *vaudeville* (and the other hybrid genres) have been further fueled by misleading notions of distinct and mutually exclusive audiences. The long-held view that popular theaters catered to the working class and that the Opéra was purely for the rich has been undercut in recent years by studies of the former by Speagle and Julia Przybos and of the latter by Steven Huebner and Anselm Gerhard.[58]

The melodrama playwright Guilbert de Pixérécourt talked of all the "men, women, children, rich and poor . . . [who] came to laugh and weep" at his melodramas.[59] Far from being a genre of *le peuple,* melodrama began with more conservative associations. Its early focus on moral concerns was driven by the upper classes and Pixérécourt himself was an aristocrat. As it developed, a wide audience flocked to the theaters: Przybos describes how "at the time, rich and poor, aristocratic and plebeian, bourgeois and working class, the public of the boulevards did not lend itself to categorization based on social origin; mélodrame was consumed not by a single class, but by society as a whole."[60] McCormick further clarifies these descriptions by examining seat prices at the various theaters in comparison to average salaries at the time.[61] His conclusions echo those of Anselm Gerhard in the latter's discussion of Opéra attendance.[62] Although the

[58] John Speagle, "Opera and Parisian Boulevard Theatre, 1800-1850" (PhD diss., Princeton, 2006); Julia Przybos, *L'entreprise mélodramatique* (Paris: José Corti, 1989); Steven Huebner, "Opera Audiences in Paris: 1830-1870," *Music & Letters* 70, no. 2 (May 1989): 206–25; Anselm Gerhard, *The Urbanization of Opéra,* trans. Mary Whittall (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

[59] "J'ai vu, pendant plus de trente ans, tout la France accourir aux représentations multipliées de mes ouvrages. Hommes, femmes, enfants, riches et pauvres, tous venaient rire et pleurer aux mélodrames bien faits." Guilbert de Pixerécourt, "Dernières réflexions de l'auteur sur le mélodrame," in *Théâtre Choisi* (Paris: Tresse, 1841), 4: 493. Pixerécourt (1773-1844) wrote for the Théâtre de la Gaîté from 1809.

[60] Przbos, *L'entreprise mélodramatique,* 42; qtd. and trans. in Speagle, "Opera and Parisian Boulevard Theatre, 1800-1850," 18-19.

[61] McCormick, *Popular Theatres of Nineteenth Century France*, 78. The guidebooks offer further information on the changing ticket prices.

[62] Gerhard, *The Urbanization of Opéra*, 31-2.

Opéra was patronized primarily by the aristocracy and upper bourgeoisie, reports from the time do mention the (lesser) attendance of the lower classes: "Ministers, Peers, Members of Parliament, writers, tradesmen, artists, foreigners, and nationals jostle and elbow each other at all the banisters. Equality reigns at the Opéra."[63]

Table 1.1. Prices of seats at Parisian theaters in 1847, from "Theatres," in *Galignani's New Paris Guide,* (Paris: A. and W. Galignani, 1848), 454-467.

Ambigu-Comique	Avant-scènes du rez-de-chaussée et des premières, 5 fr. Premières loges de face, premier rang, 4 fr. Stalles de balcon et de première galerie, 3 fr. 50. Baignoires grillées, premières loges découvertes, et stalles d'orchestre, 3 fr. Avant-scènes des secondes, 2 fr. 50. Orchestre, première galerie, 2 fr 50. Deuxièmes loges découvertes, deuxième galerie, baignoires découvertes, 2 fr. Balcon, 1 fr. 50. Parterre, 1 fr. 25. Quatrième amphithéâtre, 50 c.
Gaîté	Avant-scènes du rez-de-chaussée, 5 fr. Premières loges de face et baignoires, 4 fr. Stalles de balcon et amphithéâtre, 3 fr. Deuxièmes loges de face, deuxième avant-scènes, stalles d'orchestre, premières loges découvertes, 2 fr. 50. Prèmiere galerie, 2 fr. Orchestre 1 fr. 75. Pourtour, 1 fr. 50. Parterre, 1 fr. Troisième galerie, 60 c. Quatrième amphithéâtre, 40 c.
Gymnase-Dramatique	Avant-scènes, loges d'entresol, 6 fr. Premières loges fermées, balcon, stalles d'orchestre, 5 fr. Baignoire, orchestre, première galerie, 4 fr. Première de côté, avant-scènes des secondes, et deuxièmes loges fermées, 3 fr. Deuxièmes de côté, et avant-scènes des troisièmes, 2 fr 50. Troisièmes, 2 fr. Parterre, 1 fr 75. Deuxième galerie, 1 fr 25.
Opéra	Stalles de parterre, 4 fr. Orchestre, amphithéâtre et galerie des premières, 7 fr. 50. Premières loges de face, avant-scènes des premières et du rez-de chaussée, 9 fr. Baignoires et loges des galeries, 6 fr. Balcon des premières, deuxièmes loges de face, avant-scènes des deuxièmes, 7 fr 50. Deuxièmes de côte et troisièmes de face, 5 fr. Troisièmes de côte et quatrièmes de face, 3 fr 50. Quatrièmes de côte, amphithéâtre des quatrièmes de face, 2 fr 50.
Opéra-Comique	Loges de la première galerie, avec salons, premières loges de face, avant-scènes des baignoires, 7 fr 50. Fauteuils et stalles de balcon, loges de la première galerie, sans salons, premières loges de face, sans salons, 6 fr.

[63] "Ministres, pairs, députés, écrivains, marchands, artistes, étrangers et nationaux se heurtent et se coudoient à toutes les rampes. L'égalité règne à l'Opéra, et peut-être le spectacle d'un tel public offre-t-il autant d'attraits que les magnificences de la scène." Eugène Briffault, *L'Opéra* (Paris: L'advocat, 1834), 421-22.

	Fauteuils d'orchestre et de première galerie, avant-scènes de premières loges, baignoires, avec ou sans salons, 5 fr. Prèmieres loges de côte, avant-scènes des loges de la deuxième galerie, 4 fr. Deuxième galerie, 3 fr. Parterre, loges de la deuxième galerie de face, 2 fr 50. Avant-scènes des troisièmes loges, troisièmes loges, 2 fr. Amphithéâtre, 1 fr.
Porte Saint-Martin	Avant-scènes des premières, des secondes avec salon, et du rez-de chaussée, premières loges grillées de face, premières découvertes, 5 fr. Secondes loges grillées de face, stalles de balcon, et avant-scènes, 4 fr. Stalles de balcon de face, stalles d'orchestre, 3 fr. Baignoires, orchestre première galerie du deuxième rang, avant-scènes des troisièmes, 2 fr 50. Secondes loges, 2 fr. Parterre, amphithéâtre, 1 fr. 50. Deuxième galerie, 1 fr. Deuxième amphithéâtre, 50 c.
Vaudeville	Avant-scènes du rez-de-chaussée et de la galerie, 6 fr. Avant-scènes des premières, stalles d'orchestre, de balcon, loges de la galerie, et du rez-de-chaussée de face, 5 fr. Premières loges, avant-scènes des secondes, stalles de la galerie et baignoires de côté, 4 fr. Deuxièmes loges, 3 fr. Balcon, 2 fr. 50. Seconde galerie, 1 fr. Parterre, 2 fr.
Variétés	Avant-scènes, 6 fr. Loges de la galerie et balcon, 5 fr. Stalles d'orchestre, 5 fr. Orchestre, première galerie, loges de face du second rang, 4 fr. Loges de côté du second rang, 2 fr. 50. Stalles du pourtour, 2 fr. 50. Parterre et deuxième galerie, 2 fr. Premier amphithéâtre, 1 fr. Deuxième, 50 c.

Prices changed little between 1815 and 1848, ranging from 25 centimes for the cheapest seats at the Funambules to 9 francs for the best boxes at the Opéra (see Table 1.1). Although the range was wide, there was a large degree of overlap in the middle. The poorest members of society were unlikely to ever attend the theater. For those closer to the average wage (2 francs/day for men, 1 franc 3 centimes for women) in 1847, periodic visits to the theater as a much-needed form of escape would have been more feasible, and they were well within the reach of highly skilled workers such as carpenters and printers, who earned as much as 4 francs

50 per day).[64] Perhaps the firmest conclusion one can draw about audience attendance is that the wealthier members of society likely attended the secondary theaters to a far greater extent than later studies have assumed. The most expensive tickets at the Théâtre de la Gaîté and Ambigu-Comique were 5 francs in 1847 and included such luxuries as arm rests. Additionally, more and more seats could be booked in advance. These diverse audiences would have appreciated the works on different levels, according to who had seen the operas that were parodied or read the libretti or summaries in the press. However, recognizing the intertextuality did not necessarily mean that someone would appreciate the joke, as the people who attended both the more and less expensive theaters were the ones who the vaudevilles normally poked fun at.

An 1835 article on the "Physiologie du spectateur" offers further insight into the audiences of the various theaters, despite its overt bias against the working class. The critic Lodoys Sibille recounts reports such as "[The Porte Saint-Martin] is currently the theater of the people, who go there cheaply. [. . .] There, the public is boisterous and shrill."[65] Other nineteenth-century books provided more detailed studies of the various theaters. In addition to French studies such as François Harel's *Dictionnaire théâtral* (1824) and the *Histoire critique des théâtres de Paris* (1822), a number of foreign guidebooks appeared, some devoted wholly to informing visitors about theatrical culture, notably Charles Hervey's *The Theatres of Paris* (1847).[66] Other tomes explored specific aspects, such as the architecture of many of these

[64] McCormick, *Popular Theatres of Nineteenth Century France*, 78-9. He also notes that the many mid-nineteenth century descriptions of the working classes in accounts of theatrical audiences provide further evidence of their attendance.

[65] "La Porte-Saint-Martin, depuis que le drame sanguinaire est un peu passe de mode, a vu petit à petit ses loges se vider et son balcon devenir veuf de spectateurs. – C'est maintenant le théâtre du peuple, qui y va à bon marché, vu le grand nombre de billets à 50 centimes que M. Harel met en circulation. – Là le public est turbulent et criard." "Physiologie du spectateur," *Le Monde dramatique* 2 (November 1835-May 1836): 139.

[66] François-Antoine Harel, *Dictionnaire théâtrale, ou Douze cent trente-trois vérités* (Paris: Barba, 1824); Auguste Philibert Chaalons d'Arge, *Histoire critique des théâtres de Paris* (Paris: Lelong, 1822); Charles Hervey, *The*

venues. The French press likewise tended to report on a range of theaters, rather than just the Opéra. Although major operatic works tended to receive more space, a glance through the journals reveals that reviews of *vaudeville* works occasionally supplanted coverage of works that we now regard as canonical.

Despite more balanced accounts of theatrical life, hierarchies were far from absent in the nineteenth century, especially during the Napoleonic Empire and the Restoration. Discrepancies among the theaters primarily stemmed from financial discrepancies, generic differences originating in the eighteenth century, and restrictions imposed upon the theaters by Napoleon. The latter occurred in 1806 and 1807, when the Emperor issued decrees mandating that there would only be four "grands théâtres" and four "secondary" ones.[67] The former included the Opéra, the Théâtre-Français (with the Odéon recognized as an annex), the Opéra-Comique, and the Théâtre-Italien. The "secondary," commercial theaters were the Gaîté, Ambigu-Comique, Vaudeville, and Variétés. The decrees dictated that the Opéra was designated as the institution for singing and dancing, and was the only one to hold the rights to present pieces entirely in music. The Opéra-Comique had to alternate spoken and sung texts, the Théâtre-Italien could only give pieces in Italian, and the Théâtre-Français covered the repertory of tragedies and comedies (with the Odéon also allowed to stage the latter). The secondary theaters were restricted to pre-written music—i.e. arrangements of popular tunes or numbers from recent operas set to new texts. The first two were primarily intended for melodramas and pantomime, while the others were for

Theatres of Paris (Paris: Gaglignani, 1847). Also see, *Stanford's Paris Guide: With Three Maps, and a View of the Champs Elysées* (London: E. Stanford, 1858); *Galignani's New Paris Guide: Or, Stranger's Companion Through the French Metropolis* (Paris: A. and W. Galignani, 1848).

[67] "Décret concernant les théâtres," June 8, 1806; "Règlement pour les théâtres," April 25, 1807; "Décret impérial relatif aux théâtres," July 29, 1807; reproduced in Nicole Wild, *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiens (1807-1914)* (Paris: Symétrie, 2012).

vaudeville works.[68] All works had to be delivered to the ministry for censorship. The rest of the theaters were designated a lower standing of "spectacles de curiosités."

The decrees themselves did not have as huge an impact as one might imagine, for the conditions grew increasingly lax during the July Monarchy—this has been attributed by Nicole Wild to the government's greater concern over social than aesthetic issues.[69] Theaters flourished, licenses were easy to obtain, and plenty ignored restrictions such as the ban on newly composed music at the *vaudeville* theaters. Even during this period of restriction, minor theaters—named "forain" or simply "spectacle de curiosité"—continued to thrive in the crevices of Paris. These theaters had risen after the 1791 decree of freedom by the National Assembly that stated that "Every citizen may set up a public theater and put on plays of every genre, provided he has first declared to the city authorities his intention of doing so."[70] The official labels were eventually discarded in 1864, which served less to radically change theatrical culture than to make the process easier for the composers and librettists.

The primary theaters

Located in the ninth arrondissement, the Salle Le Peletier—home to the Opéra from 1821 to 1873—resided in a more upmarket area of the city, though not quite the epicenter of Paris, the myriad accounts of the venue's importance notwithstanding. In comparison to the much-

[68] The large number of different hybrid genres that emerged in the nineteenth-century appeared, in part, as attempts to bypass censorship restrictions on what genres could be performed where. See Robert Justin Goldstein, "France," in *The Frightful Stage: Political Censorship of the Theater in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), 85.

[69] Wild, *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiens*, 9.

[70] "Tout citoyen pourra élever un théâtre public et y faire représenter des pièces de tout genre, en faisant, préalablement à l'établissement, sa déclaration à la municipalité." "Décret de l'Assemblée Nationale, 13 janvier 1791," qtd. in Maurice Albert, *Les théâtres des boulevards (1789-1848)* (Paris: n.p., 1902), 67.

celebrated Palais Garnier, which did not open until 1873, relatively little scholarship has been devoted to the Salle Le Peletier, despite its status as the birthplace of grand opéra. Rebecca Wilberg's frequently cited dissertation on the *mise-en-scène* at the Opéra in the nineteenth century provides a comprehensive overview of the theater and its stage machinery, which included innovations such as the *trappe anglaise* and rotating backdrops.[71] Reminding us that spectacle was by no means new to French opera in the nineteenth century, Wilberg accounts for some of the differences between earlier works and the genre of grand opera in her discussion of the new *salle* and its personnel. For one thing, the machiniste's control over the *mise-en-scène* waned. Instead, the librettist, *décorateur*, and *metteur-en-scène* (who proposed the initial plan for the visual aspects of an opera) made many of the decisions regarding the works scenic conception, only involving the machinist later in the process.[72] Technological displays still played an integral role in productions—both at the Opéra and at other theaters as innovations flourished—but they were integrated in a different way.

One of the largest changes came from the shift in stage design from a fairly rigid set of shrinking rectangles to a more three-dimensional series of hinged flats, unusual shapes (for example, to create trees), and extra drops—all of which were designed to make the sets appear more realistic.[73] These visual innovations were adopted by other theaters and developed in a different way at the Cirque-Olympique, whose two stages and circular design lent its works its own form of a three-dimensional setting.

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[71] Rebecca S. Wilberg, "The *mise en scène* at the Paris Opéra–Salle Le Peletier (1821-1873) and the Staging of the First French *grand opéra*: Meyerbeer's *Robert le diable*" (PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 1990).

[72] Ibid., 135.

[73] Ibid., 141-2.

In her account of the rise of grand opera, Jane Fulcher suggests that the huge amount the Opéra spent on the *opéra féerie Aladin* in 1822 (more than for any other work at that time) resulted from competition with boulevard works that exploited technological advances such as gas lighting, which was imported from England that year.[74] Indeed, the Opéra's *mises-en-scène* were woefully unspectacular during the Restoration—even after *Aladin,* they remained behind those of the other theaters until the advent of grand opera. In 1827, Jean Merle lamented that "The Opéra is far behind the boulevard theaters in the art of preparing the effects."[75] A special committee was formed, headed by Edmond Duponchel (an architect who later became the director of the Opéra), to rectify this situation. Aided by Cicéri, the chief *décorateur*, the Opéra soon recovered its visual splendor.

Walking south from the Opéra, one would soon have reached the Opéra-Comique, which was located at the Salle Favart for most of the century. As its associations with the fair theaters gradually declined, the Opéra-Comique was regarded as almost—but not quite—in the same league as the Opéra and the Théâtre-Italien. The differences lay in issues such as dress (full evening dress was less strictly enforced), small changes to the social composition of the subscription lists, and genre.[76] At the Opéra, aristocrats had access to luxury seating in boxes that included "a small saloon, elegantly fitted up, affording an agreeable retreat between the acts from glare and the heat of the theater. A bell from each enables the visitors to summon attendants with

[74] Fulcher, *The Nation's Image,* 20.

[75] Jean Merle, *De l'opéra* (Paris: Baudouin, 1827), 33.

[76] Huebner cites the example of an English correspondent who reported that full evening dress was *de rigueur* at the Opéra/Theatre-Italien, but only required on State occasions at the Opéra-Comique: "Foreign and Colonial News," *The Illustrated London News* (July 9, 1853), 2; cited in Huebner, "Opera Audiences in Paris: 1830-1870," 216.

ices and refreshments without leaving the theater."[77] Between 1830 and 1870, the cost of attending the Opéra-Comique changed very little. Of the 1,200 seats in the theater, half were available for 2.50 francs and around 200 of the cheapest seats were available for 1 franc on unreserved benches in the *amphithéâtre*.[78]

Since it was known for its humor—though certainly not all works performed there were comic—and interplay between spoken and sung text, some have assumed that spectacle simply ceased to exist at this institution in any meaningful way. On the contrary, however, many *opéras comiques* struck a skillful balance between real-world settings and exciting interruptions by supernatural characters, who were depicted using a range of musico-visual effects. After the original building succumbed to fire—as did so many Parisian theaters— a new *salle* was built on the same grounds in 1840. Designed by the architects Jean-Jacques Huvé and Louis Réguier de Guerchy, the theater furthered the opportunities for creating noteworthy spectacle. Focus on the stage was encouraged—contemporary accounts highlight that "the seats of the pit are so placed that the spectator's eye is on level with the stage."[79]

The Théâtre-Lyrique was informally classified as one of the primary theaters when it opened in 1851, but emerged from a much more modest background. It had originated at the venue of the Cirque-Olympique in 1847 when Adolphe Adam had established the Opéra-National as a "people's opera." Huebner cites a memorandum that approved of the new theater: "The location of this new house in a populated neighborhood that is deprived of lyric theater will

[77] Galignani, *Galignani's New Paris Guide*, 434.

[78] Huebner, "Opera Audiences in Paris: 1830-1870," 219.

[79] Galignani, *Galignani's New Paris Guide,* 434. In addition to the stage machinery, "In the cellars, machinery forces through pipes a supply of fresh air, cooled by ice, into the body of the salle, and openings in the ceiling give egress to the vitiated atmosphere."

complete, so to speak, the education of the working and artisanal classes whose musical disposition the Orphéon societies have already demonstrated."[80] The theater failed in 1848, but reopened in 1851 as the Théâtre-Lyrique. It was widely established as the most accessible of the major theaters, though once Leon Carvalho assumed the directorship in 1856 he began to bring in composers such as Gounod, Bizet, and Berlioz. Over the following decade, the theater's audience shifted to a more even balance of the working classes and more elite members. Prices remained just slightly below those of the Opéra-Comique—ranging from 75 centimes to 5 francs (in 1851—these numbers increased to 1 to 6 francs by 1867).[81] In 1857, 633 of the total 1,500 seats were available for 1 franc 50 or less. In his description of the theater's shifting identity, Huebner suggests that "perhaps the most convincing evidence that the Théâtre Lyrique had steered away from its early idealistic goals of bringing opera to the masses were renewed calls for a people's opera that appeared in the journals after the 1860s."[82]

The secondary theaters

The secondary theaters flanked the major theaters, both geographically and temporally. Works at these theaters preceded and influenced grand opera while also responding to it, often in the form of parodies. The boulevard du Temple stood north of the Seine in the east of Paris. It was one of the central areas for entertainment that was sometimes dubious in character, taking advantage of relative freedom due to the police's lack of involvement. Numerous historians have explored the "romanticism" of this area, particularly in the 1820s and 1830s. Some of the accounts are

[80] Huebner, "Opera Audiences in Paris: 1830-1870," 223.

[81] Table in ibid., 219.

[82] Ibid., 224.

accurate—the boulevard was indeed nicknamed the "boulevard du Crime" in the early nineteenth century, due to the extensive dramatization of illegal activities in the melodramas. Yet, later writers took this idea a step farther, focusing on the entertainment and disregarding the somber climate of poverty and unemployment in this neighborhood.

Table 1.2. Number of seats at Parisian theaters, c. 1840, compiled from Wild, *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiens*

Theater	**Number of Seats**
Ambigu-Comique	1,600
Cirque-Olympique	2,250
Gaîté	2,100
Gymnase-Dramatique	1,300
Opéra	1,937
Opéra-Comique	1,200
Palais-Royal	950
Porte Saint-Martin	1,800
Théâtre-Lyrique	1,500
Vaudeville	1,300
Variétès	1,240

When the Foire Saint-Germain closed in the 1780s, the boulevard du Temple became a locus for entertainment and fixed venues appeared on the street with increasing frequency.[83] Gradually, acrobats and harlequinades were replaced by more elaborate performances inside the theaters, which took advantage of the technological advances that enabled increasingly sophisticated machinery. The size of the theaters permitted the use of large stage machinery; moreover, the additional seats resulted in higher profits and greater budgets for the works (see Table 1.2). The growing freelance scenographic industry further spurred the secondary theaters towards

[83] McCormick, *Popular Theatres of Nineteenth Century France,* 14.

impressive visual displays. While working at the Opéra, Cicéri, opened his own studio, where his students completed freelance work for other theaters, creating a competitive market for elaborate visual displays.[84] The climate of the boulevard changed shifted after 1830, due to Paris's changing geography and growth in population. It was seen less as an entertainment area belonging to a specific local community and more as the location of a number of popular theaters that Parisians from different socio-economic classes might frequent.[85] When the boulevard was destroyed in 1862, Georges-Eugène Haussmann's transformations altered theatrical culture once again.

Regarded as the most elite of the secondary theaters, the Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin stood just off the boulevard du Temple on the boulevard Saint-Martin (a street that has retained the remnants of the area's original character, and might colloquially be referred to as part of Paris's "red light district" today). In the 1830s it became another house for Romantic drama, including as the plays of Hugo, which helped elevate its status.[86] The salle Porte Saint-Martin was originally built for the Opéra after the company's previous venue burned down in 1781. After years of closure due to the Revolution and the Opéra's move to a new location, the Porte Saint-Martin welcomed a new company in 1802, which mounted pantomimes, melodramas, comedies, ballets, and *pièces à grand spectacle*. The theater was originally permitted to be one of the four secondary theaters in the 1806 decree, which stated that it was allowed to stage melodramas, so long as any sung text was set to previously written music. The decree also stated that it was not permitted to give "ballets in the historical or noble genre; this genre, such as

[84] Donald Roy, "France," in *Romantic and Revolutionary Theatre, 1789-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 363.

[85] McCormick, *Popular Theatres of Nineteenth Century France,* 76.

[86] Ibid.*,* 20.

indicated above, being exclusively reserved for the Opéra."[87] However, the decree was rendered void by a second one the following year, which removed the Porte Saint-Martin and added the Ambigu-Comique. This was perhaps, as Donald Roy suggests in his notes on the decrees, "because its stage possessed facilities for spectacle capable of offering serious competition to the Opéra."[88] The salle Porte Saint-Martin reopened in 1810 and was briefly titled the Jeux Gymniques until 1814, serving as a pantomime theater during this time. In the wake of the Restoration, it became the Porte Saint-Martin again and reclaimed its prior function.

On the corner of the boulevard du Temple stood the Cirque-Olympique, a large hippodrome (amphitheater for horse shows) that enjoyed the largest stage of all the secondary theaters. The Cirque was started by Philip Asthley in 1782, taken over by Antonio Franconi a decade later (and then by his infamous sons), and it endured a variety of names and location changes as the theatrical landscape of Paris shifted alongside its political infrastructure. When a fire interrupted performances in 1826, the other theaters helped by donating the necessary funds for recovery, as did King Charles X, the court, and ministers, which stands as evidence of the close relationship between the various institutions.[89] The new building remained on the boulevard, next to the Ambigu-Comique. Designed by the architect Alexandre Bourla, the new Cirque boasted an impressive facade, only rivaled by the even more elaborate *salle*. It seated 2300 people, slightly fewer than the original hippodrome, but still more than many of the other theaters. The theater's popularity persisted throughout further name changes (it became the *Théâtre National du Cirque Olympique* in 1834) and new management (Louis Dejean in 1836).

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[87] "Article 1-3-3," *Règlement pour les théâtres*, 1807; reproduced in Wild, *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiens*, 451.

[88] Roy, *Romantic and Revolutionary Theatre,* 273.

[89] Philippe Chauveau, *Les théâtres parisiens disparus: 1402-1986* (Paris: L'Amandier, 1999), 153.

The theater was finally sold to Jules Gallois in 1844, then became the Opéra-National in 1847. Later on the theater regained some of its original focus, becoming the Théâtre Impérial du Cirque in 1853 and the Cirque-Impérial in 1862.

Though the themes varied, the theater's main reputation was for its immense spectacles on a Napoleonic scale. Brazier wrote that "The Cirque Olympique [. . .] is not a spectacle like others, it is an exception, an eccentricity." Indeed, ironically the original theater had burned down due to the pyrotechnic effects in *L'Incendie de Sallins.* Around 850,000 francs were spent on building the new theater, which had the largest stage of all the theaters on the boulevard:

> The stage is vast, as are the requirements of the genre of spectacles represented; it measures 17 metres and 33 centimeters (55 pieds) in depth [79 pieds in width and 36 pieds high], without counting the back of the theater, which, in certain cases, can serve to give more length. [. . .] There are eight flats and the machines are out in force for the performances of grand spectacles.[90]

This was the main elevated stage, but there was also a large arena, which was used for the equestrian displays and often as an expanded stage for the other spectacles. The two were joined by movable ramps, enabling parade-like choreography.[91]

> The orchestra pit required a particularly elaborate piece of machinery:
>
> Until now, one could not find a way to save a suitable space for the orchestra, indispensable for theatrical representations. [. . .] [Now] as soon as than the equestrian exercises are finished, one sees the section of the circumference of the Cirque which almost touches the theater detach itself, and move towards the middle of the theater like a drawer in a chest. This drawer carries the music stands, and the musicians' stools and chairs. The orchestra arrives at the correct

[90] "La scène est vaste, comme l'exige le genre des spectacles représentés; elle a 17 mètres 33 centimètres (55 pieds) de profondeur, sans compter le derrière du théâtre qui, dans certains cas, peut servir à lui donner plus de longueur. Dans cette partie, on a pratiqué un pont volant qui sert de passage aux acteurs, pour se transporter rapidement d'un côté de la scène a l'autre, pendant les évolutions militaires. Les plans sont au nombre de huit, et les machines au grand complet pour les représentations à grand spectacle." Jacques-Auguste Kaufmann, *Architectonographie des théâtres: seconde série: théâtres construits depuis 1820. Détails et machines théâtrales* (Paris: Mathias, 1840), 196.

[91] Ibid.

> place as if by enchantment, by a very simple mechanism underneath, without sound and without anyone glimpsing hardly any workman.[92]

The large arena provided ample space for this piece of technical wizardry and also countless elaborate technological displays such as the inclusion of a train (which exploded at the end of each performance) in *Les pilules du diable* (1839). A huge cast was employed for these spectacles (sometimes as many as 500 or 600 extras), complementing the visual effects already created by the horses and mechanical tricks. A reference to the Cirque was used to criticize the prominence of the visual over the musical in *La Juive*—numerous critics called it an "opéra-Franconi."[93]

The many possibilities for spectacle led to the Cirque becoming a popular venue for the *féerie* genre. When Dujean took over, the minister of the interior mandated that he could stage pieces in one, two, three, or four acts, so long as they were preceded or followed by horse displays. *Féeries* were plays with musical interludes (songs with pre-composed music and moments of incidental music) that took supernatural or fairy-tale themes.[94] The fair theaters had explored including elements from fairy tales in their performances, but the genre was not codified until later in the century. Less prevalent than melodrama and vaudeville, *féeries* still enjoyed popularity throughout the century with children and adults alike. Numerous other genres

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[92] "Jusqu'ici l'on n'avait pas trouvé le moyen de ménager un emplacement convenable pour l'orchestre, indispensable aux représentations théâtrales, et le public était fatigué et de la vue des ouvriers apportant, morceau par morceau, un orchestre improvisé, et du bruit que l'ajustement de ces pièces occasionnait. L'architecte a ingénieusement pare a ces inconvénients. Aussitôt que les exercices équestres sont terminés, on voit se détacher la partie de la circonférence du Cirque qui touche presque le théâtre, et s'avancer vers le milieu de la salle comme un tiroir de commode. Ce tiroir porte les pupitres, les tabourets et les chaises destinés aux musiciens. L'orchestre arrive au lieu convenable, comme par enchantement, par un mécanisme très simple qui est mis en mouvement au-dessous du théâtre, sans bruit et sans qu'on aperçoive presque aucun ouvrier." Ibid.,193.

[93] Cormac Newark, "Not Listening in Paris," in *Words and Notes in the Long Nineteenth Century,* ed. Phyllis Weliver and Katharine Ellis (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2013), 50.

[94] Many of the early works were based on tales by Charles Perrault (1628-1703).

drew upon the supernatural themes and visual spectacle of the *féeries* and a number of hybrid genres arose, the most common being the *opéra-féerie*, which included works such as *La belle au bois dormant* (1825) and Offenbach's *La voyage dans la lune* (1875).

Although very different from the Cirque-Olympique, the Théâtre de la Gaîté also played host to a number of *féeries*, but its official designation in 1807 was for pantomime repertoire (without ballets, *arlequinades*, and other farces). It was founded in the mid-eighteenth century on the boulevard du Temple by the popular Harlequin actor Nicolet. A new theater was constructed in 1835 after the previous one burned down. Like the Cirque, the price of special effects was too high and the torch used for a special machine that created lighting was mishandled.[95] Numerous links with the Opéra existed: "All the decorations are indebted to Philastre and Cambon [who worked at the Opéra]. The theater is deeper than the old one; it's now composed of 8 flats and a rather vast backdrop which can be used freely with the benefit of theatrical effects. It has been equipped with much care by M. Contant, chief machinist at the Opéra, and loaned for performances of grand spectacles."[96] Some of the pantomime displays also included ballet, moving the works closer to the ballet-pantomime genre seen at the Opéra—Jean Coralli got his start there. Breaking the decree, the theater employed ballet masters throughout the nineteenth-century, ignoring genre restrictions in favor of exploiting the popularity of dance.[97]

The theaters in which vaudeville were performed included the Théâtre du Vaudeville, the Théâtre des Variétés, and the Théâtre du Gymnase. The oldest was the Variétés, which stood on

[95] Kaufmann, *Architectonographie des théâtres,* 266-7.

[96] "Toute la décoration est due aux mains habiles de MM. Philastre et Cambon. Le théâtre a plus de profondeur que l'ancien; il se compose maintenant de huit plans et d'un lointain assez vaste et libre pour servir avec avantage aux effets théâtrales. Il a été équipé avec beaucoup de soin par M. Contant, machiniste en chef de l'Opéra, et se prête aux représentations à grand spectacle." Ibid., 272-3.

[97] Wild, *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiens,* 119.

the boulevard du Temple for a period in the eighteenth century. Blurring the lines between the primary and secondary theaters, it (like the Porte Saint-Martin) was nearly established in a building that was originally intended for the Opéra, and then in 1790 enjoyed a brief stint in the building that would later house the Comédie-Française.[98] Finally, the company settled into a theater that still remains today on the boulevard Montmartre, a lively area that attracted a more bourgeois audience—closer in geographical proximity to the Opéra and Opéra-Comique than the boulevard du Temple.[99] A circular design likened the theater to hippodromes such as the Cirque-Olympique. According to the 1807 decree, its repertoire was limited to "little pieces in the genre *grivois*, *poissard*, or *villageois*, sometimes with songs based on pre-written music."[100]

The Théâtre du Vaudeville, the other secondary theater approved for vaudeville works, opened shortly after the 1791 declaration. Originally designed as a venue for older vaudeville, it was designated as the theater for "small works with songs based on pre-written music, and parodies."[101] As many of the secondary theaters rose in status, the vaudeville genre gained greater legitimacy, especially after Eugène Scribe began writing *comédies-vaudevilles* in 1811. The librettist's experience with vaudevilles can be seen in his *opéras comiques*—for example through his use of popular songs such as ballads as important dramatic tools (an element of the original version of *Robert le diable* that survived its transformation into a grand opera).

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[98] Ibid., 409-13.

[99] McCormick notes that the theater particularly thrived under the Coignard management from 1855-69, when works presented there ranged from devilish displays to the operettas of Offenbach. See McCormick, *Popular Theatres of Nineteenth Century France,* 25.

[100] "Article 1-3-2," *Règlement pour les théâtres*, 451.

[101] Wild, *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiens,* 419-25

Located closer to the Opéra than the other secondary theaters, the Théâtre du Palais-Royal opened in 1831 as one of two theaters in the palace, the other being the Théâtre-Français (known today as the Comédie-Française). It replaced the Théâtre du Montpensier, which had staged plays and operas, and returned to the venue's popular theater associations (it had originally been a puppet theater in the late eighteenth century). The small theater held around 930 spectators and was a popular venue for vaudeville. The Gymnase-Dramatique also served as a theater for vaudeville, though it was largely seen as a training ground for young actors when it opened in 1820.[102] Before long it rose to the ranks of the theaters such as the Vaudeville and Porte Saint-Martin, and broadened its repertoire accordingly.

Initially built on the Boulevard du Temple, the Ambigu-Comique was one of the earliest secondary theaters and was founded by Nicolas Médard Audinot, a figure from the fair theaters, in the mid-eighteenth century. The theater itself burned down in 1827 and was replaced by a larger structure on the corner of the Boulevard St Martin and the Rue de Bondy. It survived the Boulevard's destruction in 1862 and was eventually repurposed as a cinema in the 1930s. Known for melodramas and pantomimes, the Ambigu-Comique found success through its *mises-en-scène*. Daguerre obtained his first post as the principal set designer at the theater in 1817 and it was there that he experimented with using gas lamps for lighting effects, which he would later use again at the Opéra for *Aladdin* after that institution rehired him as a set designer. McCormick cites its large size and structure—large amphitheaters on the third and fourth galleries—as reasons for its diverse audience.[103] Of the 2,000 seats, 600 were in the fourth gallery, priced at only 50 centimes, making it one of the most affordable theaters. Descriptions of the *salle*

[102] Hervey, *Theatres of Paris,* 253.

[103] McCormick, *Theatres of Nineteenth-Century France,* 19.

emphasize its attractive interior and the many modernizations made to the new building, such as a chandelier, "which offers the advantage of better lighting the public and the theater, and of adding to the effects and illusion of the stage, without ever disturbing the view of the spectators placed at the highest seats."[104] It also had "all the machines equipped for the *pièces à grand spectacle.*"[105]

As the position of the Opéra changed at the turn of the twentieth century, the popular cultural identities of the theaters ensured their longevity. Among the secondary theaters that had not been destroyed in 1862, the Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin, Théâtre du Vaudeville, and Théâtre Ambigu-Comique were all used for film showings in the early years of the new century. Silent shorts of operas such as *Faust* moved into these new venues, followed by cinematic adaptions of some of the *féeries,* blurring the associations of genre, venue, and the popular as opposed to the esoteric.

Conclusion

To varying degrees, the Porte Saint-Martin and other secondary theaters flourished throughout the century, both in terms of popular reception and financially. A number of journals, including the *Revue et gazette des théâtres*, frequently reported the takings of the theaters, breaking them into different categories. Despite the high rates for attending the Opéra, the proliferation of secondary theaters meant that these venues, without fail, collectively drew higher revenues than the primary theaters. To chart a history of nineteenth-century French musical theater that

[104] "Une telle innovation offre l'avantage de mieux éclairer le public et la salle, et d'ajouter aux effets et a l'illusion de la scène, sans gêner en rien la vue des spectateurs places aux rangs les plus élevés." Kaufmann, *Architectonographie des théâtres,* 146.

[105] Ibid., 147.

promotes an evolutionary narrative from melodrama to grand opera thus ignores the important roles played by the smaller theaters throughout the century. Although its influence waned slightly after the 1820s, melodrama continued to coexist with grand opera throughout the century and ultimately prevailed after the latter genre collapsed. At the same time, other popular genres grew, including vaudeville and numerous hybrid genres. While grand opera had its own set of conventions, musical and visual spectacle were by no means relegated to this genre—the Opéra simply had greater funds to support elaborate *mises-en-scène* and hire more established composers.

Building on the information provided about the theaters Parisians frequented and the literary forebears of the musical works they witnessed there, the following chapters explore the repertoire performed at these venues. The similar themes the works dealt with—whether they were performed at the Opéra or the Théâtre du Vaudeville—uncover engagement with the other arts and an interest in a more diverse subject matter than studies of historical (and politically engaged) grand opera have tended to imply. The innovations seen in this repertoire—the elaborate spectacles at the theaters and the fascination with the devil—were driven by audiences who wanted their fictional texts to come alive and overwhelm their senses. In their endeavors to satisfy this demand, composers, librettists, and their scenic collaborators pushed the medial limits of theatrical genres, at once exploiting all the technological innovations available in Paris and creating motivations for new ones to be continually developed.

CHAPTER II

DRAGONS, DEVILS, AND TRAINS:

TECHNOLOGICAL REPRESENTATIONS ON THE FRENCH MUSICAL STAGE

On November 21, 1831, *Robert le diable* made its long-awaited premiere at the Opéra. Meyerbeer had spent years developing the score, first as an *opéra comique* and subsequently as a grand opera; rehearsals had gone on for months; and Pierre-Luc-Charles Cicéri had built an elaborate set befitting the work's new genre. Some of the top singers in Paris had been recruited and, as expected, the performance was ultimately a resounding success. Yet the premiere went far from smoothly, for it was subject to not one but three near-disasters. First, a falling portant led to broken oil lamps and nearly injured Julie Dorus-Gras (Alice). This was followed by an errant backdrop that would have crashed into Marie Taglioni if she hadn't jumped out of the way just in time. Finally, and most ironically, Adolphe Nourrit, the singer performing Robert, fell through the trap alongside Nicolas-Prosper Levasseur (Bertram) in the final act. In using (and hiding) machines to create impressive spectacles, theaters risked a host of technical mishaps. The more elaborate the machines, the greater the chance that something would go wrong, and the Opéra was frequently the site of accidents that dismantled its carefully crafted illusions. In keeping with the venue's prominent standing in the cultural life of the city, such events were normally reported in the French theatrical press, where critics gleefully exposed the secrets of the opera house (and blamed the *machinistes* for their errors).

In her discussion of the opera, Wilberg notes that nearly every review of the premiere reported these accidents.[1] The audience was particularly concerned for Nourrit's well-being,

[1] Wilberg, "The *mise en scène* at the Paris Opéra," 260-1.

fearing that the mattress below the trap had been removed immediately after Levasseur's fall, as was typical practice when another scene followed. Dorus apparently ran from the stage, weeping at the possibility of her costar's death, and several women fainted.[2] Watching the performance provoked the usual feelings of delight and amazement, but also (more than the intended) shock and terror. The machines had seemingly commandeered the performance, confirming widespread fears surrounding technology's otherworldly potential. In this instance the singers escaped unscathed, but on numerous other occasions performers were not so lucky. Half of the review of the premiere of Dennery's 1858 *Faust* in the *Journal des débats* was devoted to an accident where a young dancer caught fire from a gaslight. The casual tone of the subsequent issue, which reported her death, hints at the relatively mundane nature of these tragic events.[3] They were regarded as both inevitable accidents and by-products of the increasing reliance on technology that, in direct proportion to its power to amaze, held the capacity to cause damage and destruction.

The press eagerly reported these mechanical accidents, which found their place in the pages of journals increasingly devoted to discussions of the place of technology in contemporary Parisian life. On one page a reader might find an advertisement for a Giroux camera and on the next a report of an exhibition demonstrating bizarre experiments, or a fictional piece on machines that came to life. These written representations of technology provided rich and (more or less) logical analyses of the benefits and dangers of these machines. The articles and advertisements touched on their appeal, but few heeded the warnings. After all, it was (and

[2] "Académie royale," *Gazette des théâtres*, November 24, 1831, 6. "Chronique. Révolutions de la quinzaine," *Revue des deux mondes*, November 29, 1831, 733. Nourrit was reportedly more concerned that the audience would be confused over the ending and Véron asked "Have they changed the dénouement?" Pierre Véron, *Mémoires* (Paris: Gabriel de Donet, 1854), 3:163.

[3] "Faits divers," *Journal des débats,* September 30, 1858, 2.

arguably still is) impossible to understand the draw of a new "toy" without seeing the technology in action.

These representations of technology in the press form a strand in the complex history of *Robert*'s reception. Conversely, the technologies of representation seen through the various responses to *Robert* in the boulevard theaters form another that is equally vital to our understanding, yet has been largely overlooked. Studies of the work's reception have tended to focus on artistic responses, ranging from Balzac's *Gambara* to Degas's paintings and Liszt's *Réminiscences*.[4] Yet despite their infrequent appearance in discussions of *Robert le diable*, the operatic quotations that found their way into Parisian vaudevilles form one of the largest vehicles for understanding reception of the opera. They illuminate its use of and commentary on technology while providing a broader understanding of the complex relationship Parisians had with innovation in the nineteenth century.

Parodies of *Robert* appeared on minor stages within weeks of its premiere, followed by a host of works that engaged more deeply with the themes of the opera by adapting its musical numbers (see Table 2.1). It is perhaps unsurprising that this strain of reception has gone largely unexplored; studies of grand opera have generally paid little heed to works from popular music genres. In turn, attempts to recover the forgotten boulevard works have often involved little to no discussion of the original grand operas.[5] But nineteenth-century Paris saw extensive interaction

[4] Dolan and Tresch, "A Sublime Invasion: Meyerbeer, Balzac, and the Opera Machine," 4-31; Robert Letellier, "Contemporaneous Art and *Robert le diable*," in *Meyerbeer's "Robert le diable": The Premier "Opéra romantique"* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 145-176; Letellier, "*Robert le diable,*" in *The Operas of Giacomo Meyerbeer* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2006), 120-22.

[5] Rossi's essay on *Robert le diable* in the boulevard focuses on summarizing the works, rather than their relationship to Meyerbeer's opera, see Henri Rossi, *Le diable dans le vaudeville au dix-neuvième siècle* (Paris: Lettres modernes Minard, 2003). Also, McCormick, *Popular Theaters of Nineteenth-Century France*. McCormick again focuses on the secondary theaters and their repertoire rather than connections to the Opéra.

between theaters and individual works themselves as composers and musical directors quoted and alluded to others.

Table 2.1: Select Boulevard Responses to *Robert le diable*

Work	**Playwright/Composer**	**Premiere**	**Genre**	**Theater**
Robert le diable	Louis Van der Burch	Nov. 1831	vaudeville	Choiseul
Robert le diable	Villeneuve/Xavier/Hus-Desforges	22 Dec. 1831	vaudeville	Palais-Royal
Robert le pauvre diable ou la bouteille à l'encre	Cot d'Ordan	1 Dec. 1831	vaudeville	Funambules
Antoine et son compagnon, ou le voyage à la Thébaïde	Carmouche/Xavier	3 Sept. 1832	tentation	Variétés
Titi à la représentation de Robert le diable	Ambroise/Déjazet	6 July 1836	operette-monodrame burlesque	Palais-Royal
1837 aux Enfers	Clairville/Delatour	30 Dec. 1837	revue fantastique	Luxembourg
Le comte et le réprésentant	Simonnin/Thibouville	2 June 1838	vaudeville	Panthéon
Les pilules du diable	Bourgeois /Laloue/Laurent	16 Feb. 1839	féerie	Cirque-Olympique
Belz et Buth	Simonnin/Hilpert	21 Aug. 1839	folie-vaudeville	Panthéon
Le diable à Paris	Bosisio /Llaunet/Simmonin	31 July 1844	vaudeville	Beaumarchais
Les sept châteaux du diable	Dennery/Clairville	9 Aug. 1844	féerie	Gaîté
Faust et Framboisy	Bourdois/Lapointe	27 Nov. 1858	drame burlesque	Délassements-Comiques

A review of Villeneuve et Xavier's *Robert le diable* that appeared in the journal *L'artiste* encapsulates the parodies' approach to operatic critique:

> Help me parody! Avenge us [. . .] from grand operatic airs [. . .]. Parody, you are a providence on earth, you are truth, the sole philosophy; without you, one would have to die, because without you the world would be abandoned without contest to praise, to panegyrics and dithyrambs.
>
> The world would die of ennui. *Robert le diable* has just been parodied very wittily by Messieurs Villeneuve and Xavier. Devil, heaven, hell, deaths, spirits, the whole masterpiece of Meyerbeer, all passes here. The parody is the voice of the slave who meddles with the Roman triumph.[6]

Revealing the name of the work only at the end, the critic cites one of the first parodies of *Robert*. Villeneuve and Xavier's vaudeville appeared on December 22, 1831, at the Théâtre du Palais-Royal, just over a month after the premiere of Meyerbeer's grand opera. It was one of many theatrical parodies that sought to criticize the elaborate musical and visual spectacle of *Robert* and, beyond that, the broader culture of extravagance at the Opéra.

Hyperbolic to twenty-first-century eyes, but in keeping with the contemporaneous style of French criticism, the review proclaims the important role of parodies in putting opera's dominant role in Parisian musical culture in perspective. The rhetoric foreshadows Wagner's later accusations of grand opera's "empty spectacle." Constructing a binary opposition between grand opera's elaborate illusions and vaudeville's truth-telling, the critic implies that Villeneuve and Xavier's work holds the moral high ground. Yet the reality was far from straightforward. The very spectacle that such parodies mocked generated much of its own success—by referring

[6] "À moi parodie! venge-nous de nos grands hommes d'État, de nos aimables diplomates, des protocoles, des marchés d'armes à feu et des grands airs d'opéra. Ôte à celui-ci son masque de sauveur, et sa pompeuse métaphore d'ordre public fait voir le creux de son éloquence, le néant de son patriotisme, le vide de son âme; chasse, parodie, de leurs fauteuils diplomatiques ces six peseurs de peuples, et mets Odry à leur place: l'univers n'y perdra rien. Parodie, tu es une providence sur la terre, tu es vérité, la seule philosophie; sans toi, il faudrait mourir, car sans toi le monde serait livré sans conteste à l'éloge, au panégyrique et au dithyrambe. Le monde mourrait d'ennui. *Robert-le-diable* vient d'être parodié très-spirituellement par MM. Villeneuve et Xavier. Diable, ciel, enfer, morts, revenants, le chef-d'œuvre entier de Meyerbeer, tout y passe. La parodie est la voix de l'esclave qui se mêlait au triomphe romain." "Théâtre du Palais-Royal: *Robert-le-diable, parodie*," *L'artiste* 2 (1831), 223.

to *Robert*, parodies exploited archetypal grand opera even as they attacked it. Likewise, the notion of parodies as vessels for truth-telling was problematic in the mid-nineteenth century. Vaudevilles such as the Palais-Royal's *Robert le diable* focused their aim at operatic excess. This notion of "excess" encapsulated the superfluous characters, subplots, and the growing number of musicians in the Opéra's orchestra. Essentially, as Wagner would later argue, aspects of the works that seemed—on the surface at least—to be unnecessary to the basic plot. The new technologies that were used to create "magical" scenes in the opera house were often the primary target of the vaudevilles' attacks. Some of the parodies addressed the otherworldly nature of these unseen machines by featuring recent Parisian innovations in their stories, which allowed them to comment on how extravagance could more broadly refer to the French city's growing capitalism. At the same time, illusion played a central part in these works as dragons, devils, and trains were contrived to appear on the boulevard stages. The "honesty" of parody was just as dependent on deception as the works it sought to unveil.

Robert le diable, the opera that inspired this wide-ranging repertoire, found its success by concurrently demonstrating these new stage technologies and self-reflectively critiquing them. The mechanical error that sent Robert to hell in the premiere of Meyerbeer's grand opera can be seen as yet another effect conjured by Bertram in a work that Dolan and Tresch identify as "centrally concerned with technology and its alternately diabolical and divine potentials."[7] Dolan and Tresch explore the fascinating figure of the devil and suggest that Meyerbeer's work self-consciously explored the place of new technology in Paris through him. In the opera, the devil,

[7] Dolan and Tresch, "A Sublime Invasion: Meyerbeer, Balzac, and the Opera Machine," 6. For discussions of Meyerbeer's materialism, see also Cormac Newark, "Metaphors for Meyerbeer," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 127, no. 1 (2002): 23-43; Mary Ann Smart, "'Every Word Made Flesh': *Les Huguenots* and the Incarnation of the Invisible," *Mimomania: Music and Gesture in Nineteenth-Century Opera* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 101–31.

Bertram, conjures musico-visual spectacles that relied upon innovations such as new trap doors, gas lighting effects, and rotating backdrops. Wagner's condemnation of "empty" spectacle centered on the lack of any substance beyond impressive "mechanism," thereby deriding Meyerbeer's use of new visual and musical technologies.[8] While Dolan and Tresch could have explored the use of the mechanical in any of Meyerbeer's operas—for example, the famous sunrise in *Le prophète* features at the center of Wagner's attack—the absence of a diabolical character in most of the works prevented the inward commentary that they observe in *Robert.*

Dolan and Tresch trace opera's association with marvelous machines back to its earliest origins.[9] In particular, we might understand such concerns about technological spectacle and the diabolical as endemic to contemporary Parisian culture. In his study of nineteenth-century Paris, Pike suggests that as "the capital of luxury goods and conspicuous consumption as well as the infernal locus of violent revolution and subversion, Paris was an underworld by turns magical and rebellious, ruled by the devil."[10] Pike lists Paris's position at the center of novelty and technological innovation as a vital part of this environment of consumption, where "the glamorous devil could embody the magical progress of technology or its role in tempting the citizens to damnation."[11] He discusses nineteenth-century writers who likened Paris to the underworld and the influence of literary works such as *Le diable boiteux* on seeing the devil in a position of power over the city. In much of the literature Pike examines, the devil assumes one of

[8] Wagner, *Oper und Drama,* 82.

[9] Dolan and Tresch, "A Sublime Invasion: Meyerbeer, Balzac, and the Opera Machine," 5. Earlier still, the devil was associated with technological progress—most notably in France, as evidenced by examples such as the Gutenberg bible conspiracy. See Eisenstein, *Divine Art, Infernal Machine*, 2-3.

[10] Pike, *Metropolis on the Styx*, 3.

[11] Ibid*.,* 71.

these two positions—either standing below Paris, as a ruler provoking bad behavior, or above, as a detached observer critiquing it. Often, he performed both roles.

In many ways, the devil was an ideal character for vaudevilles to adopt as they made the transition away from the host of stock characters from the *commedia dell'arte* to a variety of historical and legendary figures. In light of his shape-shifting properties, the devil was endlessly adaptable, as the long history of different types of devils attests. As composers and playwrights/librettists tried different ways of deploying this figure in operatic parodies, they demonstrated a wide range of comic techniques, rejecting some of the parodic conventions of the previous century. For scholars today, it is difficult to know whether to categorize a vaudeville work loosely based on and subtly mocking *Robert* as a parody. Genre designation has not clarified which works are parodies, as the multitude of hybrid genres in the nineteenth century meant that parodies appeared in many different forms. The devil of vaudevilles, *féeries*, and the associated boulevard works embodied the same duality as the literary devils Pike described and was invoked both to generate and to critique musico-visual spectacle.

The balance of mocking opera while often adopting its spectacle shifted in favor of the latter as interest in the *féerie* resurged at mid-century. These "fairy-tale" works often turned away from the Opéra, focusing instead on making their own musico-visual effects as elaborate as possible. However, the influence of *Robert*—and specifically Bertram—remained: the *féeries* drew liberally upon the opera, often to heighten their own musical spectacles and to overcome some of the limitations of the smaller orchestras at theaters such as the Gaîté.

This chapter examines how the image of the demonic conjurer was used in *Robert le diable* and then adopted in a variety of ways in the boulevard theaters. I trace the story's journey from the turn-of-the-nineteenth-century adaptations to Meyerbeer's grand opera, then examine

its return in a number of vaudevilles and *féeries* as well as works from related genres. I explore how the creators of *Robert* employed new musical and visual technologies both to capitalize on their audiences' desire for spectacle and to expose the devilish nature of those very technologies. I then investigate how the boulevard venues engaged with *Robert* as a way of critiquing the extravagance of the Opéra, while often concurrently drawing upon the same musico-visual spectacle that sealed the grand opera's success. Finally, I turn to the influence of *Robert*'s use of and engagement with technology in the *féeries*. By examining a selection of boulevard works—both those that simply parodied *Robert* and others that engaged with the work as a means of exploitation and a reference point for agonistic comparison—I seek to complicate the narrative of *Robert le diable's* dominance by illuminating the important part other works played in its history, and Parisian musico-dramatic culture more broadly.

Robert le diable

In her landmark study of grand opera, Fulcher credits the immense visual spectacles that took place on the smaller stages as playing a large part in changes at the Opéra in the early nineteenth century. This began with works such as the *féerie Aladdin* in 1822, which used gas lighting—an innovation that appeared first on the boulevards.[12] Musicologists have increasingly acknowledged such influences, but in the case of *Robert le diable* the initial adaptations of the story have drawn little comment. I propose that consideration of these works should form a vital part of a discussion of spectacle in *Robert*. In many ways, the migration of scenic effects from the smaller theaters to the larger is unsurprising—Cicéri's and Daguerre's start in the boulevard

[12] Fulcher, *The Nation's Image*, 20.

theaters is well known.[13] It is easy, however, to see the subsequent narrative as one of straightforward influence trickling from the Opéra down to the boulevards when the movement in fact occurred both ways. Undoubtedly, the parodies and other works at the minor theaters appropriated the stylistic and technical accoutrements of popular grand operas. That notwithstanding, they also developed their own musical and visual innovations, unbound by the restrictions of propriety and concerns over excessive spectacle.

The history of *Robert le diable* follows this winding path of influence from the boulevards to the Opéra and back again. Prior to Meyerbeer's collaboration with Scribe and Delavigne, Jean-Nicolas Bouilly and Théophile Dumersan's *Robert le diable* appeared in 1812 and Henri Franconi junior's *Robert le diable ou le criminel repentant* followed in 1815. While the scope of the former work—a *comédie*—was relatively modest, the stage directions for Franconi's pantomime reveal an onslaught of musico-visual effects. Premiered at the Cirque Olympique, a hippodrome that typically featured equestrian displays before or within the plays, the work included jousting, sword throwing, and a contredance of eight horses guided by their riders. The first act evidently influenced Act III of the later opera: it opens with Robert exiting a cavern and a frightening voice appearing from nowhere declaring "Robert, hell calls for you!" Satan subsequently appears, followed by demons. Although the opera exchanges Robert for Bertram and the offstage voice of Satan for the offstage demons' chorus, the similarities are too close to be purely coincidental. The directions describe visual and sonic effects akin to the thunder and flames seen at the beginning of Meyerbeer's Act III: "A terrible storm proclaims

[13] Daguerre held some minor posts (primarily as a painter) at the Opéra between 1808 and 1816, but demonstrated most of his theatrical innovations when he became the chief decorator of the Ambigu-Comique in 1816. He returned to the Opéra with Cicéri in 1820. See Wild, "Un demi-siècle de décors à l'Opéra de Paris: Salle le Peletier 1822-1873," in *Regards sur l'Opéra* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1976), 17. Also Pendle, "The Boulevard Theaters," 521.

itself. Thunder roars with a crash. The forest is filled with black vapors. Satan launches himself from the summit of the rocks. The earth opens and vomits a host of demons from the depths of its abysses."[14]

When this work was premiered in 1815, the first Cirque-Olympique was still open (it closed the following year). Seating 2,700 people, the theater both catered to a larger audience than the Opéra and had a larger stage space, due to the use of the floor arena in addition to the extensive stage.[15] The combination of the arena and stage provided a more three-dimensional space, looking forward to the innovations in stage design seen in *Robert* through the use of staggered and shaped flats.[16] In many ways, the venue would have been ideal for Franconi's *Robert le diable*—one can imagine the lower level of the arena as an effective stand-in for the abyss of hell. While the degree to which Meyerbeer or Scribe—one of the early masters of the *comédie-vaudeville* genre—drew upon this work is open to question, it stands as an example of the boulevards' early use of musico-visual spectacle and reveals an intricate web of alternating influence and response.

Franconi's vivid depiction of Satan continued in *Robert*, where the devil Bertram is of central importance. The devil played a minor part in the original French tale, but Scribe and Delavigne drew heavily upon Charles Maturin's *Bertram,* and Meyerbeer expanded the role

[14] "Un orage terrible s'annonce. Le tonnerre gronde avec fracas. La fôret se remplit de vapeurs noires. Satan s'élance du haut des rochers. La terre s'entr'ouvre et vomit du fond de ses abimes une foule de demons." Henri Franconi junior, *Robert le diable, ou le criminal repentant* (Paris: Hoquet, 1818), 6.

[15] Wild, *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiens,* 89; Alexis Donnet and Alexis Orgiazzi, *Architectonographie des théâtres de Paris: Ou parallèle historique et critique de ces édifices, considérés sous le rapport de l'architecture et de la décoration* (Paris: Didot, 1821), 227-234.

[16] Wilberg, "The 'mise en scène' at the Paris Opéra," 141-2.

when he reconfigured the work from an *opéra comique* into a grand opera.[17] While Franconi's Satan is a rather two-dimensional character, frightening Robert and creating gleeful havoc on stage, Bertram is a more complex figure. Humanized by his love for his son, he skillfully oscillates between appearances as a Miltonian fallen angel and a Mephistophelean conjurer. Images of Bertram from around the time of the premiere tend to depict him in a standard knight's costume rather than the typical devil's garb, but the progression from the initial colorful costume sketches in which he is seen with a bright yellow robe and green tights to drawings of Levasseur show a shift towards emphasizing his dark nature (see Illustration 2.1). This can be best seen in

Illustration 2.1. "Bertram," *Robert le diable*, F-Po, IFN-8454523

[17] For a discussion of the Maturin and other sources, see Catherine Join-Dieterle, "*Robert le diable*: le premier opera romantique," *Romantisme*, 28, no. 29 (1980): 147-66. Everist traces the genre transformation in "The Name of the Rose: *Robert le diable*," in Giacomo *Meyerbeer and Music Drama in Nineteenth-Century Paris*, Variorum Collected Studies Series (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005).

François-Gabriel Lépaulle's well-known tableau of the final act. Bertram's devilishness is emphasized through the light dress of Robert and Alice: they are both further illuminated by rays from heaven (see Illustration 2.2).

Illustration 2.2. Lépaulle, tableau of Act V of *Robert le diable*, F-Po, MUSEE-520[18]

The musical and visual effects for which *Robert* gained notoriety tend to appear at moments when Bertram summons people or objects, eliding the devil's conjuring skills with Meyerbeer's musical creations and Cicéri's *mise-en-scène*. The blurring of fantasy and reality was nothing new to Parisian audiences, especially with regard to the figure of the conjurer. As Francesca Brittan has chronicled, the magician-conductor became a common trope in nineteenth-

[18] A digital copy is available on *L'histoire par l'image* at https://www.histoire-image.org/etudes/robert-diable-heros-emblematique?language=de.

century Paris. Magicians served as popular entertainers in the early part of the century, using new technology to produce impressive tricks that gave audiences the impression they held a kind of mystical power. The adoption of a similar style of dress by both conductors and wizards provoked comparisons between their use of a wand and the gradual adoption of a baton by Berlioz and his contemporaries. Brittan explores the way in which conducting was associated with new technologies, first through the broader similarities between sonic and electrical charges, and then the direct link that formed upon the creation of "a new 'electric baton,' a quasi-telegraphic device allowing [Berlioz] to wield the vast musical forces of modern spectacle." [19] The dangers of such unwieldy power were not lost on the French critics whom Brittan cites as complaining and voicing fears about the electric baton:

> One critic for the *Revue musicale* complained, revealingly, that [Berlioz's] Exhibition concerts were not a staging of music but of "locomotives" and "telegraphs," figuring Berlioz himself as a wielder of musico-imperial current. His baton allowed him to hold together an orchestra of ever-increasing size—a kind of musico-imperial machine. . . . Its sound was already, as this critic (and many others) complained, deafening, operating as a sonic weapon, an echo of Metropolitan power.[20]

This Metropolitan power could also very well be described as Mephistophelean power.

The devil did not always need a wand-like object with which to command supernatural images or sounds in the Parisian stage works. Meyerbeer refers to the power of the wand in *Robert* through the magical branch, using the organic material of the object to form a contrast with the overload of man-made technologies. Yet the devil himself does not use the branch, but rather tells Robert to take and use it:

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[19] Francesca Brittan, "The Electrician, The Magician, and the Nervous Conductor" (presentation, Annual American Musicological Society Meeting, Louisville, KY, November 2016). See Brittan, "Electric Baton: Spectacle, Sound and Science at the 1855 Exposition," in *19th-Century Opera and the Scientific Imagination*, ed. David Trippett and Benjamin Walton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

[20] Brittan, "The Electrician, The Magician, and the Nervous Conductor."

BERTRAM: Upon the tomb in that terrible place there is
An evergreen branch, a fearful talisman . . .
ROBERT: Yes, go on . . . go on . . .
BERTRAM: It makes everything possible;
It grants wealth and immortality!
ROBERT: Well?
BERTRAM: It must be plucked by you! (Act III, scene 6)[21]

Meyerbeer emphasizes the tension between (human) nature and the (mechanized) supernatural by associating Robert with the wooden branch and Bertram with musical and visual technologies. Although the performance directions suggest that Robert, like Bertram, uses the branch to conjure musico-visual spectacle, the words of the Chorus of Demons clarify that he is by no means in charge:

Chorus with Dancing

(The instant Robert plucks the branch, thunder rumbles, the nuns turn into specters, and demons rise from under the ground. They all form a disordered circle around him as they dance. He opens a passage for himself through the specters by waving the branch before him.)

CHORUS OF DEMONS:
He's ours!
Hasten here all!
Yes, we're triumphant!
Specters, demons,
Hasten here all! . . . (Act III, scene 7)[22]

In addition to the demonstration of the demons' power through their celebration of capturing Robert and the directive "Hasten here all!", the audience would have been cognizant that the nuns had already been summoned by Bertram earlier in the scene. Robert's power is an illusion, implied by the act of plucking the "magical" branch but not actually realized by it. Bertram was

[21] Scribe and Delavigne, *Robert le diable*, trans. Richard Arsenty, vol. 5, *The Meyerbeer Libretti*: *Grand Opera I* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 104-7.

[22] Ibid., 116-7.

controlling the nuns, just as Satan, the king of the devils who is invoked but never seen, was controlling the demons.

The music both works with the visual spectacle to create an elaborate display of demonic power and negates the control Robert falsely believes he now possesses. After he plucks the branch, low brass enter, followed by rising chromatic strings and woodwind, and finally a repeat of the percussion from the Valse Infernale when the demons begin to sing. As Matthias Brzoska has pointed out, this instrumentation is associated with devils throughout the opera: "The orchestration of demoniac coloration—essentially represented by horns, bassoons, and timpani in dark-toned mixtures—serves as a *Leitklang* (i.e. a recurring timbre) throughout the opera. Even on its own, it is specific enough to convey the nature of the characters."[23] This demonic *Leitklang* is often used in combination with other demonic signifiers (diminished sevenths, syncopation, disjunct melodies, tritones etc.), especially at moments of heightened drama. In addition to the reappearance of this timbre, the melody the demons sing is from the nun's bacchanalian dance earlier in the scene. These are the devil's musical creations, not Robert's.

In contrast to Robert's lack of control, Bertram's conjuring of the nuns in Act III, scene 2 stands as the climactic moment of devilish display in the opera. The Act begins with the impressive illusion of hidden demons singing from inside a cavern (using megaphones to amplify and alter their voices).[24] Meyerbeer used two orchestras (one behind the stage) to create the sound worlds of the two spaces—earth and hell—and the Infernal Waltz introduces the

[23] Matthias Brzoska, "Meyerbeer: *Robert le diable* and *Les Huguenots*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Grand Opera*, ed. David Charlton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 195. Meyerbeer draws on earlier use of demonic signifiers by Gluck and Mozart (e.g. the use of trombones in *Don Giovanni*).

[24] The audience was very impressed with this effect, with one critic calling it "cette innovation incroyable. A cinq reprises des applaudissements frénétiques ont retenti dans la salle, et ils exprimaient, encore faiblement sans doute, la satisfaction des spectateurs." "Académie Royale," *Gazette des théâtres* 3 (November 1831): 3.

extensive use of percussion that remains associated with the demons through the rest of the opera. However, this scene displays the powers of the king of the devils, Satan, who is revealed as Bertram's master in the next act. The nuns are Bertram's chance to display his own conjuring skills:

> BERTRAM
> Nuns who repose beneath these cold stones,
> Do you hear me?
> For an hour quit your sepulchral beds,
> Arise!
> Fear not the terrible wrath of an immortal saint,
> No, fear not her terrible wrath!
> It's I, the monarch of Hell, who summons you . . .
> *(with an expression of sadness)*
> It's I . . . I, damned as you!
> Nuns, do you hear me? . . .
> Nuns, rise from your graves! [25]

In her paper on "The Vibrating Spirit of Meyerbeer's Nuns," Hibberd discusses the mechanical nature of the nuns as they slowly rise and dance, quoting Berlioz's description of the scene:

> It is more about the immobility of death while nevertheless touching simultaneously on the movement of life. All is cold, dusty and heavy, like the marble sarcophaguses that slowly open. . . . The horns, the piston trumpets, the trombones, ophicleides, timpani and tam-tam alone groan some syncopated pianissimo chords, preceded by two strong pizzicato strokes for the cellos and basses. Then, after a few of these horrible strophes, two bassoons alone gurgle a more animated rhythm, which already is the presentiment of a dance movement, to which the nuns, half resuscitated, soon give themselves over to; but it is pale, so dreary, so full, the hand of death pressing still so heavily on these miserable creatures, that on hearing this rough sound one could think one was hearing the creaking articulation of the galvanized corpses, and seeing their hideous spasmodic movements. Horrible! Horrible![26]

[25] Scribe and Delavigne, 108-11.

[26] Berlioz, "De l'instrumentation de *Robert le diable,*" *Gazette musicale de Paris* 28 (July 12, 1835), trans. and qtd. in Letellier, *Meyerbeer's "Robert le diable,"* 88.

Other critics cited by Hibberd offered similar comments on the frightening nature of these creatures and the ways in which music accentuated their jagged movements. Hibberd suggests that the combination of the staging and Daguerre's lighting effects would have summoned for audiences Robertson's phantasmagorical ghosts and the shadowy forms seen in Daguerre's dioramas earlier in the century.[27] While eerie, the fluid nature of Robertson's ghosts mimicked human movement—the success of the illusion depended on obscuring the mechanical nature of the technology and blurring the lines between the natural and the supernatural. In contrast, a reconstruction of Fillipo Taglioni's choreography for this scene reveals that the nuns' movements were closer to those of automata—objects imbued with otherworldly associations as they visually displayed their mechanicity while using sound to create the illusion of the real.[28]

While the dancers mimicked the movements of machines, demonstrating Bertram's power over technology and alluding to recent visual illusions, Meyerbeer tried to obscure the machines themselves. Soft brass chords are joined by tam-tam rolls at the beginning of the nuns' procession. As Gundula Kreuzer has documented, *mise-en-scène* books from this era described the use of the instruments to cover the sound of noisy machines—in this case, the opening of the trap doors that served as coffin lids from which the nuns emerged. The tam-tam was also used as a device both for coordinating the backstage machinery and for emphasizing climactic moments. Kreuzer suggests that as the popularity of the tam-tam increased, "leading theaters began to edit the expensive gong generously into various earlier operas as well, listing it either in scores or

[27] Hibberd, "The Vibrating Spirit of Meyerbeer's Nuns" (presentation, Annual American Musicological Society meeting, Louisville, KY, November 2015).

[28] Knud Arne Jürgensen and Anne Hutchinson Guest from August Bournonville's notation of performances at the Opéra and his recreation of the scene for the Royal Danish Opera in the 1830s, cited in ibid.

among mechanical accessories. This left the tam-tam fluctuating between orchestra pit and backstage, music and machinery, intended artistic medium and technological supplement."[29] Ultimately, these moments of spectacle displayed a sophisticated combination of musical and visual technologies, continuously associated with the devil. Moments such as Robert's plucking of the branch, which he falsely believes will give him power, and Nourrit's accidental fall through the trap door served as reminders that the ghostly machines were in charge, not the humans. These (un)intentional events allowed the Opéra to capitalize on its audiences' desire to believe that maybe, just maybe, dark forces were behind these innovative phantasmagorical effects onstage—and, if one were susceptible to such implications, behind the new technologies becoming increasingly ubiquitous throughout Paris.

Fifteen years after the premiere of *Robert*, by which point the stages of Paris were flooded with devils of all stripes, Berlioz's *La damnation de Faust* appeared at the Opéra-Comique. The *légende dramatique* stands apart from most of the repertoire discussed here, as it remained an unstaged work until it appeared as a new production in Monte Carlo in 1893. Indeed, in many ways the work was wildly different from the operatic and popular theater spectacles of the day. The orchestra was the prominent visual feature, with only three singers (who played Faust, Marguerite, and Mephistopheles) standing facing the audience, devoid of costumes and lacking any colorful backdrop.

If adequate technology had existed to fulfil Berlioz's high standards of visual spectacle, would the work have remained in its oratorio-like conception until 1893? Accounts of a planned London staging that did not take place suggest yes: that Berlioz was intentionally trying to break

[29] Kreuzer, "*Faire un tamtam*: Sound and the Gong in Nineteenth-Century Opera" (presentation, Annual American Musicological Society Meeting, Milwaukee, WI, November 2014). See Kreuzer's forthcoming *Curtain, Gong, Steam*.

free of the genre expectations of opera. Inge van Rij details how in the composer's plans for the staging, Mephistopheles becomes a typical lover, usurped from his role as demonic conjurer. In contrast, van Rij explains that the "unstaged" original version might have actually followed the very depiction of Mephistopheles seen in the boulevard works that pervaded the 1840s. At the premiere, the singer who performed the role of the devil stood in front of the orchestra, facing the audience. This position copied that of many earlier conductors, while in this case Berlioz faced the orchestra—leaving the audience to see Mephistopheles as being in control of the music, conjuring it from his invisible wand.[30]

Another moment in *La damnation de Faust* offers connections with *Robert* and demonic conjuring. The aforementioned electric baton was used to conduct the "invisible" (offstage) chorus of demons. Hidden from the audience, the baton was an impressive piece of technology that coordinated orchestra and chorus, and made this staging possible. Yet invisible coordination was far from a new concept. In her discussion of magicians, Brittan lists a trick by Robert-Houdin, a contemporary of Berlioz, in which

> he made harps and violins 'play themselves' via a complicated arrangement of rods and signals: each onstage instrument was linked via an insulated tube to the soundboard of an identical instrument concealed below the stage. Alerted by an electric buzzer, real musicians played the concealed instruments, whose vibrations traveled up the rods to the visible harps, which, receiving the vibrations, seemed magically to produce sound.[31]

Meyerbeer's stipulation for an offstage ensemble for the infernal waltz in *Robert* occured earlier still—minus electric batons or buzzers, yet achieving the same magical conjuring of sound.

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[30] Inge van Rij, "Back to (the Music of) the Future: Aesthetics of Technology in Berlioz's Euphonia and Damnation de Faust," in *The Other Worlds of Hector Berlioz: Travels with the Orchestra* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 236-7.

[31] Brittan, "The Electrician, The Magician, and the Nervous Conductor."

Parodying *Robert*

A scant few days after Meyerbeer's *Robert le diable* was first performed, Émile-Louis Van der Burch's vaudeville of the same name appeared at the Théâtre de Choiseul.[32] Labelled a "tableau villageois," the work resembles Meyerbeer's opera only loosely. Given that it appeared so soon after the premiere, Van der Burch may have written the text before seeing the opera (although the libretto was available beforehand). More likely, the work's creators were less concerned with actually parodying *Robert le diable* and more focused on exploiting its popularity: any vaudeville taking the name of the Opéra's latest triumph would be guaranteed a large audience.

The plot veers away from Meyerbeer's example, holding to only the sketchiest outlines of its village setting and protagonist. Van der Burch refers to specific moments from the opera, such as Robert's plucking of the magical branch—in scene six, the vaudeville Robert is found up a tree. The music from *Robert le diable* does not appear at all, however. Instead, airs from other operas (e.g. Auber's *Le philtre*) and popular songs are used. In many ways, the work comprises a patchwork of references. A vaudeville tune from the prologue *Arlequin dans la lune* (1812) evokes the colorful garb and hijinks of the *commedia dell'arte*, while quotations from the supernatural *Robin des bois* and *La dame blanche* bring to mind Weber and Boieldieu's dark timbres and ominous harmonies. The element of parody appears primarily through mocking the characters' belief in the devil—in this work Robert himself is the prince of darkness, in accordance with the original story of *Robert le diable*, known to many through the widely available *bibliothèques bleues*.

[32] Émile-Louis Van der Burch, "Robert le diable" in *Théâtre de la jeunesse* (Paris: Didier, 1841), 91-135.

Subsequent works engaged more directly with Meyerbeer's opera. Cot d'Ordan produced a vaudeville at the Théâtre des Funambules on December 1 entitled *Robert le pauvre diable ou la bouteille à l'encre*. The Funambules was known for its light-hearted fare, especially parodies. The closest parody of *Robert* came much later: *Titi à la représentation de Robert le diable* premiered at the Théâtre du Palais-Royal in 1836.[33] Ambroise and Déjazet's burlesque operatic monodrama featured the character Titi, sung by Pierre Levassor (not to be confused with Nicholas Levasseur). Henri Rossi notes that "everything is thus reviewed in a trivial and comic perspective, more through a desire for satire against a genre which the authors of this parody find without doubt very boring, grandiose, and melodramatic, the French grand opera."[34]

Déjazet's distaste for operatic excess particularly stands out in his arrangement of the melody of the infernal waltz, originally sung by a large chorus of devils offstage. Unlike most of the songs in the monodrama, this one is unaccompanied, providing a stark contrast to the dense percussion in the original opera. Scribe's gleeful demons are replaced by comic commentary: "I am bored, you bore me, it bores me to death. What a bore to have to sing under the stage for a hundred sous!" The preceding description in turn mocks the barren landscape of the original scene and the special effect of the offstage demons singing through megaphones: "In the third act, the scene takes place on a rock, nothing can be seen in this place, I believe, except a wooden cross and the grass that grows at the foot of the cross. To the right a cave of thieves; the thieves are hidden in the lower part of the theater, and in order to have louder voices, they sing the lyrics

[33] Ambroise and Déjazet, *Titi à la représentation de Robert le diable,* trans. by anonymous (Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, 1879).

[34] Rossi, *Le diable dans le vaudeville,* 140.

through pieces of hosepipe."[35] Visual ingenuity and sonic innovation fail to impress here, instead providing comic fodder for the opera's critics.

Mocking operatic spectacle occurred in a similar vein in Simonnin and Llaunet's *Le diable à Paris*, which appeared on the stage of the Théâtre Beaumarchais in 1844. The vaudeville followed the publication of the first part of Jules Hetzel's literary anthology of the same name. Hetzel introduced his two-volume collection of short stories with a tale of how, when a large number of sinners arrives at the gates of Hell from Paris, the devil remarks "All of Paris is here," and sends one of his minions to explore the French capital and report back. Many of the literary giants of the day contribute fictional accounts of the city and its depravities, including Honoré de Balzac, George Sand, Gérard de Nerval, and Charles Nodier.[36]

The vaudeville drew on many major French operatic works with dark associations, including *Robin des bois* and *Giselle.* Rather than seizing on the ballad from *Robert le diable*, as was common practice for many vaudevilles, Simonnin and Llaunet chose Bertram's invocation of the nuns for a scene in which the devil Moufflot attempts to seduce a married woman, Loelia:

> MOUFFLOT
> Air: *De l'évocation de Robert le diable*
> Oh celestial beauty whose look ignites me,
> Listen to me,
> Endure my confidence;
> And that the delight which consumes my soul
> May
> Burn as much in you as it does in me . . .
> Day, Night, I dream of your image!

[35] "Je m'embête, tu m'embêtes, / Ca m'embête beaucoup, / Qu' c'est donc bête pour cent sous / De chanter dans l'dessous!" and "Au 3me acte, la scène se passe sur un rocher, dans cet endroit n'aperçoit, je crois, qu'une croix de bois et l'herbe qui croît au pied de la croix. Á droite une caverne de voleurs; les voleurs sont cachés dans l'dessous du théâtre, et pour avoir de plus grosses voix, ils chantent dans des bouts de tuyaux de poète." Ambroise, *Titi à la représentation de Robert le diable*, 4.

[36] Jules Hetzel, ed., *Le diable à Paris,* 2 vols (Paris: Hetzel, 1845-6).

Like the demons' chorus, this was one of the most musically and visually impressive moments of the opera. Moufflot's unrestrained song, however, fails to have the effect achieved by Bertram's conjuring. Instead, an unimpressed Loelia responds "*with impatience.* It is finished, I hope . . . ," stripping the devil (and by extension Meyerbeer's music) of his power.[37] Although the original music has been lost, a simple quadrille arrangement for piano (with violin, flute and cornet/flugelhorn) of selections from the vaudeville provides an idea of its simplicity, in stark contrast with the spectacle that permeated the original opera.[38] This was a given for such

Illustration 2.4. Bosisio, *Le diable à Paris: quadrille brillant pour piano* (Paris: Richault, 1844), F-Pn, VM12 E-766[39]

[37] "O céleste beauté dont le regard m'enflamme, / Ecoute moi, / Subis ma foi; / Et que la volupté qui consume mon âme / Autant qu'en moi, / Brûle chez toi . . . / Le jour, la nuit, je rêve ton image!" Simonnin and Llaunet, *Le diable à Paris* (Paris: Decaux, 1844), 3.

[38] Bosisio, *Le diable à Paris: Quadrille brillant pour piano (avec accompagnement de violon, flute, flageolet, ou cornet à pistons)* (Paris: Richault, 1844).

[39] Digital copy available on Gallica at http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb42504382k.

arrangements, which were rarely complex; however, many included a vocal part for the character of the devil that allowed the audience to play at being the prince of darkness in their own homes. Not so for *Le diable à Paris*, which included an image of the devil flying above Paris on the quadrille's frontispiece—a nod to Le Sage's *Le diable boiteux*, in which the devil looked down upon the debauchery in Paris, and so confirmation that here the audience was in the devilish role of critic, not sinner (see Illustration 2.4).

Parody as truth-teller

While the Opéra capitalized on blurring the boundaries between fantasy and reality, vaudeville made these distinctions all too keenly felt. One anecdote about Meyerbeer's grand opera told of a landlord reporting a Satan-worshipping tenant to the police, only to find the man was rehearsing for *Robert le diable*.[40] The creators of the vaudevilles poked fun at this mania by introducing a number of devils in their works who are later revealed to be humans in disguise. This was a common plot device in many *opéras comiques*, such as Cavé and Hurtado's *Le diable à Seville*, also from 1831. However, while in such *opéras comiques* the devil's fraud was typically revealed to the audience early on, the boulevard audiences remained as clueless as the deceived characters. Following the *L'artiste's* critic's call for parodies to serve as truth-tellers, these vaudevilles revealed the stark reality that the Opéra's 'magical' spectacles were fundamentally deceptive.

One of the first parodies of *Robert* followed this format. Villeneuve and Xavier's *Robert le diable* appeared at the Palais-Royal on December 22nd 1831. The librettists followed the basic story of Robert and his father (here named Bertrand) disrupting a village, but in this retelling

[40] Milner, *Le diable dans la littérature française*, 325.

Bertrand is eventually revealed as a simple cook and ends up partaking in a double wedding alongside his son rather than descending to hell. The whole work, especially the altered ending, is filtered through a burlesque lens, and its irreverent spirit is emphasized by the musical interludes quoting popular songs (including *Frère Jacques* and *Au clair de la lune*) and operatic airs (from, for example, Auber's *Le philtre* and *Le dieu et la bayadère*).[41] Raimbault's ballad is the only song from *Robert*. A typical feature of contemporary *opéras comiques* (the original genre of Meyerbeer's work), ballads were normally used to relate a supernatural legend, which would later appear to come true, only to be revealed as a hoax at the end of the opera. In *Robert*, the opposite happens—the ballad seems false, as Robert reveals himself as the mortal protagonist when the knights sing the song, but the audience later discovers that he is in fact the son of the devil.

Xavier and Villeneuve's vaudeville flips the order of truth and illusion once more. Now sung by an old country woman, the text exaggerates the legend, making claims such as "When he spoke of God, / His mouth was on fire" and "Under his feet, the earth opens, / The fields yellow before him."[42] Robert appears here as a supernatural character, with a fiery mouth and the ability to move the ground beneath his feet. In contrast, the original ballad told of how Robert "slayed husbands" and "abducted wives"—terrible acts, but mortal ones. While the knights in Meyerbeer's scene laugh at the absurdity of Robert the "devil," hysteria follows the ballad in the parody when Robert enters the scene: "After the verses, all the women press themselves against one another with gestures of great fright; the thunder falls with a crash; the door of the oven is

[41] Villeneuve and Xavier, *Robert le diable* (Paris: R. Riga, 1832).

[42] "Quand il parlait de Dieu, / Sa bouche était en feu" and "Sous ses pas, s'entr'ouvre la terre, / Les prés jaunissent devant lui." Ibid., 8.

knocked open, and through the bolts of lightning penetrating from the oven, one sees a human figure appear. Everyone lets out a scream and runs away, saying: 'Is it him? It is him! . . .'"[43] The parody's exaggeration highlights the many other scenes in the grand opera saturated with effects such as thunder and lightning that induce mass hysteria.[44] Furthermore, by creating the illusion that Robert is the son of the devil only to reveal Bertram as a mortal cook later in the work, Villeneueve and Xavier drew attention to the blurred lines between "reality" and illusion at the Opéra, whether the question concerned the veracity of the devil or the source of the thunder and lightning.

The ballad also appears in Simonnin and Hilpert's folie-vaudeville *Belz et Buth* (Théâtre du Panthéon, 1839). Louisa, a young female character, changes the words of *Jadis régnait en Normandie* to relate the story of her fiancé's death in Act I. Thunder and lightning appear at the beginning of the ballad and increase throughout until Belz appears at the end: "When the last verse of the ballad finishes, ones hears a thunderclap, one sees lightning. Belz appears wrapped in a sheet. General distress. Music."[45] Although the vaudeville parodies the Opéra's extravagance at other points, this moment provides an example of how such works were often susceptible to the very flaws they critiqued.

By the end of *Belz et Buth,* the creators had recovered their original intention and returned to mocking Parisian culture, specifically the widespread devil craze:

BELZ, *au public*

[43] "Après les couplets, toutes les femmes se sont presses les unes contre les autres, avec les marques d'une grande frayeur; le tonnerre tombe avec fracas; la porte du four est renversée, et au feu des éclairs qui pénètrent dans le four, on voit une figure humaine apparaître. Toutes jettent un cri et se sauvent en disant: 'C'est lui! C'est lui! . . .'" Ibid.

[44] In Act III, scene 2, thunder is heard as Bertram enters the devil's lair. Flames then appear at the mouth of the cavern. Scribe and Delavigne, *Robert le diable,* 84-5.

[45] "Quand finit le dernier couple de la ballad, on entend un coup de tonnerre, on voit des éclairs. Belz parait enveloppé dans un drap. Effroi general. Musique." Ibid., 5.

Air: *Du Domino noir*
The devil is always in fashion,
And everyone today
Swears by him;
The devil is an accommodating being,
Who settles everywhere
According to taste.
Who charms eyes at the opera?
It is the amorous *Robert le diable*,
Or else it is *Le diable boiteux*.
Not so long ago one laughingly selected there
Les pilules du diable, and then
His *Mémoires* were written..
A certain *Diable couleur de rose*,
Thumbed its nose
At the Normans;

From *Diable à quatre* I suppose
One still recalls,
Without much effort.
These works are delightful;
Ah! Why cannot we offer you gentlemen
Ones here that are just as charming!
When two poor devils of authors,
Dare to claim your favors.
Undoubtedly then
They have the devil's body.
But since finally everything fades away,
Thanks to a truly
indulgent audience,
Belz et Buth has come into fashion
And may a hellish success
Be offered to them.

TOUS
Belz et Buth has come into fashion
And what a success from hell
Is offered to them.[46]

[46] "Belz: Le diable est toujours à la mode, / Et chacun aujourd'hui / Jure par lui; / Le diable est un être commode, / Qu'on arrange partout / Suivant son goût. / Qui charme à l'Opéra les yeux? / C'est Robert-le-diable amoureux, / Ou bien encore c'est le diable Boiteux. / Naguères en riant l'on a pris / Les Pilules du diable, et puis / Ses Mémoires furent écrits.. / Certain diable couleur de rose, / Aux Normands a donné, / Un pied de né; / Du diable à quatre je suppose / Qu'on se souvient encore, / Sans trop d'effort. / Ces ouvrages sont ravissants; / Ah! que ne pouvons-nous céans / Vous en offrir Messieurs d'aussi charmants! / Quand deux pauvres diables d'auteurs, / Osent réclamer vos faveurs. / Sans doute alors / Ils ont le diable au corps. / Mais puisqu'enfin tout s'assomme, / Grâce au public vraiment / Bien indulgent, / Mettez Belz et Buth à la mode / Et qu'un succès d'enfer / Leur soit offert.

Numerous boulevard works that featured the devil commented on the proliferation of devils on Parisian stages, often identifying works such as *Robert le diable* that appeared at the Opéra. They thereby mocked the institution (and its credulous audiences) for falling victim to this bizarre fashion, while more or less tacitly acknowledging that they themselves were following suit.

Musical and visual technologies

One of the most popular moments in Meyerbeer's opera—the infernal waltz of Act III—appeared frequently in the boulevard works that drew upon *Robert.* The creators of these works used Meyerbeer's music for several reasons. First, they employed exaggeration to mock the spectacle that appeared in this popular moment in *Robert.* Second, they took advantage of the audience's memory of the original infernal waltz to conjure ghostly impressions of larger sonic forces than their small orchestras could provide. Finally, they juxtaposed Meyerbeer's music with extra, even more impressive, musico-visual effects to demonstrate their superiority. In addition to engaging with *Robert* in these different ways, the works often included technological commentary, contributing to a broader discourse on Parisian culture.

Clairville senior and Delatour's *revue fantastique 1837 aux enfers* used the demonic waltz for their own chorus of devils glorifying Lucifer. The altered text to the infernal chorus addressed devilish temptation and emphasized Lucifer's control over this fictional Paris (and, by implication, the real city too):

> CHOEUR INFERNAL
> Air: *Choeur des démons de Robert le diable*
> Whenever the horrifying
> Devils

Tous: Mettez Belz et Buth à la mode / Et qu'un succès d'enfer / Leur soit offert." Simonnin and Hilpert, *Belz et Buth* (Paris, L. A. Gallet, 1839), 12.

Populate our hell,
They tempt us
When they sing:
Glory to Lucifer!

Being supreme,
Heaven itself
Has placed in our hands
Tortures,
For the vices
Of all humans![47]

The subsequent performance directions accentuated the musico-visual spectacle, rivaling the corresponding scene in Meyerbeer's opera: "After the chorus, the claps of thunder sound with much force. The theater is on fire. One sees Astarok descend on a flying dragon."[48] By juxtaposing Meyerbeer's music with an even more impressive visual spectacle, the vaudeville ridiculed the extravagence of the Opéra while at the same time suggesting that the much smaller Théâtre du Luxembourg could compete with even grander effects. Shortly after Astarok's entrance, the character "L'indulgence" appears. She claims her purpose is to help realize new works in the fine and dramatic arts, but the underlying criticism of operatic puffery is hard to miss.

1837 aux enfers also provided an insightful reflection on the important role machines played in contemporary Parisian life. Premiered on December 30th 1837, this *revue fantastique* looked back at some of the developments of the past year, told through a story about Lucifer's quest for a popular new invention. One of his assistant devils eventually discovers a train, which is brought on stage—a feat only surpassed by the on-stage explosive destruction of a train in *Les*

[47] "Si des diables / Effroyables / Peuplent notre enfer, / Ils nous tentent / Quand ils chantent: / Gloire à Lucifer! / Bien suprême, / Le ciel même / A mis dans nos mains / Des supplices, / Pour les vices / De tous les humains." Clairville aîné and Delatour, *1837 aux enfers* (Paris: Morain, 1838), 7.

[48] Ibid.

pilules du diable two years later. The first passenger-only rail line had opened from Paris to Saint-Germain the previous August, so this relatively new invention would have been at the forefront of audiences' minds.

In 1840, the journal *L'entr'acte* went one step further and published a satirical announcement of a new work by Berlioz entitled *La locomotive: symphonie en quatre parties*: "The work of Berlioz is not entitled *Faust*. The famous composer is bored by Goethe, by Mephistopheles and by Margaret. The muse that has come to inspire him is a new muse: it is the muse of the railways. His symphony is entitled: *The Locomotive*."[49] The description of the imaginary work details a series of sound effects, mostly produced by large numbers of instruments or repetitive phrases, such as the "grinding of a machine" which was represented by "25 measures of trumpets." The finale featured saxhorns sounding a funereal fanfare upon two trains meeting, and ended with the train's furnace exploding. Playwrights and composers were not the only ones capable of capitalizing on the public's concerns for entertainment.

Mirroring the direct competition seen in *1837 aux enfers*, *Les sept châteaux du diable* altered the text to the infernal waltz to narrate Satan ordering the death of the character Sathaniel—also a devil. The performance directions describe a loud sound, followed by Sathaniel's entrance through a trap door, and finally the song:

> CHOEUR
> Air de *Robert le diable*
> He was a traitor
> To his master,
> He was a traitor to Hell;
> It is justice,
> That he perish

[49] "L'œuvre de Berlioz n'est point intitulée Faust. Le célèbre festivaliste est blasé sur Goethe, sur Méphistophélès et sur Margarethe. La muse qui vient de l'inspirer est une muse nouvelle: c'est la muse des chemins de fer. Sa symphonie a pour titre: la locomotive." "La locomotive: Symphonie à grand orchestra," *L'entr'acte,* April 9, 1840, 2-3.

By fire, by fire![50]

The music from the waltz repeats as Satan orders the character Ric-à-Rac to behead Sathaniel. Once he has obeyed the command, the sound stops and the visual effects take over: "At the moment when Ric-à-Rac presents the head to Satan, the head acquires a body and goes away." The bizarre shape-shifting continues as "The arms in turn acquire a body and legs and go . . . At this moment a new head and new arms come out of the trunk, the whole costume is transformed, and the devil Sathaniel becomes a little genie."[51]

The end of the prologue built on this impressive spectacle by taking advantage of the mechanical props available at the Théâtre de la Gaîté: "During the chorus the demons seize Sathaniel and throw him into the cauldron; one sees, through the cauldron which reddens, Sathaniel writhe. At the same moment, a detonation is heard; the cauldron changes into a winged machine; Sathaniel rises into the air."[52] Reversing Bertram's fall to hell, Dennery and Clairville surprised audiences with an apotheosis.[53] Both the opera and *féerie* feature Satan displaying his power—in *Robert*'s case by way of the demons—over another devil, which serves as a pretext for elaborate spectacle. In *Robert*, this display of power helps illuminate Bertram's humanity, as he sings of his love for his son. No such plot exists in *Les sept châteaux*—Sathaniel has simply

[50] "Il fut traître / A son maître, / Il fut traitre à l'Enfer; / C'est justice, / Qu'il périsse / Par le feu, par le feu!" Dennery and Clairville, "Boudoir de Satan," prologue of *Les sept châteaux du diable* (Brussels: J. A. Lelong, 1843), 9.

[51] "Au moment où Ric-à-Rac présente la tête à Satan, la tête prend un corps et s'en va. [. . .] Les bras prennent à leur tour un corps et des jambs et s'en vont. [. . .] A ce moment sortent du tronçon une nouvelle tête et de nouveaux bras, tout le costume se transforme et le diable Sathaniel devant un petit génie." Ibid., 9-11.

[52] "Pendant ce chœur les demons se sont emparés de Sathaniel et le jettent dans la chaudière; l'on voit, à travers la Chaudière qui rougit, Sathaniel s'agiter. Au même moment une détonation se fait entendre; la Chaudière se change en une machine ailée; Sathaniel s'élève dans les airs." Ibid., 15.

[53] *Les sept châteaux* was a great success and reappeared at the Théâtre du Châtelet at the end of the century, then was later adapted for film.

fallen on the wrong side of his master and little justification is given for his death, let alone why he is taken to heaven while Bertram is sentenced to hell. Rather, the seemingly arbitrary plot of the *féerie* points to the freedom of the genre, which, unlike opera, could use whatever justification for spectacle the creators chose, no matter how ridiculous it might seem.

The creators of these works knew that much of the success of *Robert le diable* stemmed not only from visual spectacle, but also from the sonic force of Meyerbeer's music. With a huge orchestra, including such unexpected instruments as the organ, the composer created a diverse range of new timbres. The larger budget of the Paris Opéra enabled the company to employ the ensemble the work required, while the smaller theaters could not raise such forces and were also forbidden from doing so. Musical quotation thus served a second function, sometimes alongside parody and at other times distinct from it: by performing a musical extract from a grand opera, the smaller ensemble could prompt the audience to recall the original music and the concomitant sonic effects.

Dumanoir and Dennery's féerie *Les cinq cent diables* (Théâtre de la Gaîté, 1854) used Meyerbeer's music in this way. In choosing the *féerie* genre for their work, they abstained from parody and instead created a musical and visual spectacle featuring countless devils, elaborate machinery and costumes, and both previously written and newly composed music by Fossey. *Robert* is evoked in the middle of this long work. The third act mimics the equivalent point in Meyerbeer's opera: set in a forest, the curtain rises to an empty stage, implying that the chorus is unseen. The text to the demons' chorus follows the same general theme of revelry as in Scribe's libretto:

Robert le diable:	*Les cinq cent diables*
Act III, Sc. 2 CHOEUR DES DÉMONS	Act III, Sc. 1 CHOEUR

	Air: *de Robert le diable*
Let's enjoy the games,	Children of Darkness,
Black phantoms! . . .	Son of Lucifer,
Black demons, phantoms,	Famous demons
Let's enjoy the games	Who populate hell
Of this dismal realm,	The solemn voice
Forget the skies!	Who commands all,
Glory to the master who leads us!	Tonight calls you
Let him preside over our dance! . . .[54]	To a grand rendezvous![55]

By 1848, the Gaîté's orchestra had dropped from the 20-24 musicians present in 1830 to just 16.[56] Whether or not the theater had managed to hire more players by 1854, the orchestra would have paled in comparison to the Opéra's forces. Quoting Meyerbeer's music could not completely compensate for the lack of resources, but it served as an inventive substitute.

In addition to drawing upon the audience's memories of the sounds of *Robert*, the boulevard works would have been able to exploit a range of sound effects—some intentional, some not—through their own limited resources. For example, most of the ensembles at these theaters included at least one bassoon and so would have been able to exploit the instrument's weak middle register and strained upper notes to mimic the sounds of hell. In his *Treatise,* Berlioz mentions *Robert* as an example of the instrument's capabilities:

> Its tone is not very loud and its timbre completely lacking in brightness and nobility; allowance must always be made for its propensity to sound grotesque when exposed. [. . .] The character of its top notes is rather painful and dolorous. I might even say miserable, which can sometimes be put to most surprising effect. [. . .] when M. Meyerbeer wanted a pale, cold, cadaverous sound in his scene of the resurrection of the nuns in

[54] Scribe and Delavigne, *Robert le diable,* 84-5.

[55] "Enfants des ténèbres, / Fils de Lucifer, / Des démons célèbres / Qui peuplent l'enfer / La voix solennelle / Qui commande à tous, / Ce soir vous appelle / Au grand rendez-vous!" Dumanoir and Dennery, *Les cinq cent diables* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1854), 25.

[56] Wild, *Dictionnaire des théâtres parisiens,* 169.

> *Robert le diable*, it was from the flaccid notes of the middle register that he got it.[57]

In the decade between the initial publication of the *Treatise* in 1843-44 and Berlioz's revised version of 1855, a new bassoon appeared in Paris. Eugène Jancourt, Frédéric Triébert, and Buffet-Crampon developed an instrument with more keys and other minor modifications that resulted in a larger range and "more evenness of tone, a fuller sounding middle register, and greater ease of fingering than had earlier versions."[58] This was a timely development for many composers, but marked the beginning of the end for the timbral characteristics Berlioz had described. That the changes in the instrument's capabilities went unreported in the *Treatise* likely speaks to the focus of the new edition—it was an expansion, rather than a total revision—but also the time it would have taken for orchestras to adopt the new instrument. For once, the smaller theaters' limited budgets would have paid off.[59]

Robert **in the** ***féeries***

While the creators of *Robert le diable* used the character of Bertram to subtly draw attention to the eerie nature of technological progress (and by extension the machines the work employed), some of the boulevard works chose to make more palpable statements. Many of the largest contrasts between *Robert* and the works that followed played out in the visual realm, whereas the

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[57] Berlioz, *Berlioz's Orchestration Treatise: A Translation and Commentary,* ed. and trans. Hugh Macdonald (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[58] Roland Jackson, "Bassoon," in *Performance Practice: A Dictionary-Guide for Musicians* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 36.

[59] Triébert developed a Boehm-system bassoon with Marzoli in 1855, which "had larger than usual tone holes in acoustically determined positions and a complex mechanism to match; but ironically, its clear sound was considered not bassoon-like, and this factor, coupled with its mechanical complexity, doomed it." Joan Peyser, *The Orchestra: A Collection of 23 Essays on Its Origins and Transformations* (Milwaukee: Hal Leonard Corporation, 2006), 151.

sonic effects were often carried directly from one work to the other, albeit with more frequency or density. Thunder and lightning were particularly popular. Xavier's *Robert le diable* adopted these effects, which pervaded Meyerbeer's third act, for Robert's entrance. The stage directions call for a "roar of thunder," potentially asking for the same complex effect that would have appeared at the Opéra. In her dissertation on *Robert's mise-en-scène*, Wilberg describes the lavish effects in Act III, explaining that while distant rumbles of thunder could be achieved easily by moving a piece of sheet iron in the wings,

> a clap of thunder was a more complicated manner. A thunder apparatus was made of numerous long planks of sheet-iron strung on top of each other by a cord at each end and separated from each other by knots at even distances in the cords. It was suspended by the two ends of the cords threaded through a pulley that was placed below one of the second-level *corridors* in the *cintre.* At the given moment, two stagehands hoisted the apparatus up to the pulley and allowed it to fall unrestrained to the metal floor of the first *corridor.* The result was a loud crack and a series of irregular, echoing crashes.[60]

The extent to which thunder appeared around or following the appearance of devils in these stage works suggests that either this machinery was available at other theaters or they used the eighteenth-century technique of shaking a box of large rocks. No matter how many times the thunder roared, the sheet iron effect would not have impressed audiences who had heard the Opéra's complex apparatus.

The pinnacle of visual spectacle occurred in *Les pilules du diable*—the work that ceased to disappear from Scala's memory. One of the most popular works at the Cirque-Olympique, *Les pilules* was revived at the Châtelet in 1880 to even greater success (see Illustration 2.3) and eventually made it into Méliès's film *Le diable noir* (1905).[61] Written by Laloue, Laurent, and

[60] Wilberg, "The 'mise en scène' at the Paris Opéra," 311.

[61] The machinery for the 1880 version was even more elaborate than the 1839 extravaganza. See Alfred de Vaulabelle and Charles Hemardinquer, *La science au théâtre: étude sur les procédés scientifiques en usage dans le théâtre moderne* (Paris: H. Paulin, 1908). Méliès's film survives, see Méliès, *Le diable noir* (Star Film Company,

Bourgeois and premiered in 1839, it showcased a train—the second occurrence of this new invention on the French stage, following *1837 aux enfers*. The work tells the story of a man who makes the fatal mistake of buying magic pills from the devil. Various diabolical accidents ensue, culminating in a scene in which a train explodes in accordance with the devil's orders and Seringuinos has to reconstitute his body parts (a scene that likely influenced the later *Les sept châteaux du diable*).

Illustration 2.3. Poster of the Lauri-Lauris production of *Les pilules du diable*, Théâtre du Châtelet, [1890], F-Pn, ENT TB-1 (2)-ROUL.[62]

1905), 35 mm film, from YouTube video, posted by "publicdomainmedia," September 7, 2006, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wbJ01n5uoxc.

[62] A digital copy is available on Gallica at http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90149191.

The first scene of the fourth tableau is set at the train station. Jobard, Babilas, and La Folie are all dressed as English chauffeurs. La Folie sings an air to music from a refrain in *Robert:* "L'or est une chimère" (Gold is but an illusion):

> LA FOLIE.
> Air: L'or est une chimère.
> In our rounds we no longer know
> Any other coachman than the driver!
> We have changed the world
> By inventing steam.
> In spite of myself, I lose patience
> From seeing myself overtaken by lightening
> But, I want to go so quickly
> That our travelers will be left without air.
> One no longer, etc.[63]

The simple and upbeat sicilienne was a well-known song from *Robert*—it was one of the songs to be sold in a vocal arrangement, so even audience members who had not seen the opera itself might well have known the original words and music. The refrain appears in Act I, scene 7, in which Robert gambles away his money, provoking Bertram (and then the knights) to comfort him with claims that "gold is but an illusion." Bertram sings of how "Gold is but an illusion, / Let's enjoy it while we may! / Isn't pleasure the only, / True good on earth? . . ."[64] *Les pilules* critiques the gambling scene in *Robert* by juxtaposing words celebrating how the characters have "changed the world by inventing steam" with the music of operatic indulgence. The English phrase "gambling hell" originated from a late 18th-century literary work, Mercier's *Tableau de*

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[63] "On n'connaît plus à la ronde / D'aut' postillon que l'chauffeur! / Nous avons changé le monde / En inventant la vapeur. / Malgré moi je m'irrite / De m'voir dépasser par l'éclair / Mais, je veux aller si vite, / Que nos voyageurs manqu'ront d'air. / On n'connaît plus la ronde, etc." Laloue, Laurent, Bourgeois, *Les pilules du diable* (Paris: Marchant, 1842), 22.

[64] Scribe and Delavigne, 40-1.

Paris.[65] Mechanical progress replaces base pleasures—both the gambling within the fictional world of *Robert* and the operatic decadence its audience enjoys by watching the scene unfold. On another level, the text of the air in *Les pilules* takes the refrain literally, suggesting that the train is a demonic illusion, which is later endorsed when the devil causes it to explode.

Nicolas Brazier and Jules Joseph Gabriel de Lurieu's *folie-fantastique Le diable à Paris* (1836, Théâtre de la Gaîté) also used the sicilienne refrain. In their altered text, the character Filoselle thanks the devil for healing his gout and requests to see the Luxor Obelisk. The devil obliges, but criticizes the extravagance of the monument: "The Luxor! You are not disgusted . . . a monument that cost only two million!"[66] The Egyptian monument had been installed in the Place de la Concorde two months prior to the play's premiere and although it was a gift, France paid dearly for its transportation and erection. By using the music of the *Robert* sicilienne, *Le diable à Paris* condemned the careless treatment of money in Meyerbeer's gambling scene, and by extension the Opéra's own reckless spending as well as the broader culture of excess in the French capital. Yet the Obelisk also stood as a reminder of France's mechanical advances. Transporting (and then installing) such a large and heavy object had been an impressive feat of innovative engineering—diagrams detailing the process can still be seen today on the Obelisk's pedestal. By first critiquing the object and then displaying an image of it (on the backdrop

[65] Pike discusses this phrase in the context of rhetoric surrounding conceptions of the underworld and its increasing pairing with capitalism as the nineteenth century progressed. See Pike, *Metropolis on the Styx,* 6.

[66] "Le Luxor! Tu n'es pas dégoûte . . . un monument qui ne coûte que deux millions." Nicolas Brazier and Jules Joseph Gabriel de Lurieu, *Le diable à Paris* (Paris: Nobis, 1836), 20.

curtain), Brazier and Gabriel de Lurieu capitalized on contemporaneous visual spectacle and aligned their work with technological innovation while still condemning Parisian profligacy.[67]

A reference to "L'or est une chimère" reappeared the following year in Eugène Devaux and Auguste Dupuis's vaudeville-féerie *La poudre de Perlimpinpin* (1840). Satan, who is the master of the house, appears with flames rising from his head as the characters arrive at the palace. The phrase is repeated as Cantalou and Frédéric argue over the merits of money:

> FRÉDÉRIC
> With wealth, I have only encountered false friends, gold-digging women. I see it only too much: gold is but an illusion!
>
> CANTALOU
> Right! Right! Yes, gold is but an illusion, etc., etc. That is what is said, but not what is thought. Well! She signals to us; we are in her palace, and we can come out richer than all the bankers in Germany.[68]

Reminding the audience of the extravagence of *Robert*—and by extension the Opéra—through these references to the work's sicilienne refrain, Devaux and Dupuis take issue with the glorification of wealth. The fictional Bertram might claim that "Gold is but an illusion," but the growing culture of wealth and materialism in Paris implied otherwise. Frédéric serves as the representative of the boulevards, implicitly attacking the Opéra through his complaints that fortune does not result in happiness and only leads to false friends and lovers. Unlike many of the other parodies and vaudeville works, which disapproved of the culture of prodigality while

[67] The stage directions indicate that "Le théâtre change et laisse apercevoir la place de la Concorde. Le rideau du fond représente l'obélisque de Luxor entouré de la foule, et la belle avenue des Champs-Élysées avec le grand Arc-de-Triomphe qui domine à l'horizon. Cette décoration est du plus bel effet." Ibid.

[68] Frédéric: "Riche, je n'ai rencontré que de faux amis, des femmes intéressées. Je ne le vois que trop: l'or est une chimère!" Cantalou: "Connu! connu! oui, l'or est une chimère, etc., etc. Ça c'est dit, mais ça ne se pense pas. Tiens! elle nous fait des signes; nous sommes dans son palais, et nous pouvons en sortir plus riches que tous les banquiers de l'Allemagne" Eugène Devaux and Auguste Dupuis, *La poudre de perlimpinpin* (Paris: Tresse, 1840), 15.

exploiting it through musical and visual spectacle, this work proposes the opposing argument through Cantalou, who wants to embrace the riches available to him.

Although the boulevard served as the primary locus for operatic critique, the Opéra looked inwards in *Le diable boiteux*—the 1836 ballet-pantomime version of Le Sage's satirical story—and challenged a different type of spectacle, that of the body rather than the machine.[69] I discuss this work in Chapter 3, examining its portrayal of the devilishly feminized seductive body and the ballet's depiction of corruption in the opera house. In this context, its technological innovations and theme of critical engagement demand brief mention. As in Le Sage's work, the ballet tells the story of the devil who gazes down upon Paris and all its depravities and uses his powers to pass through the walls of the city's buildings so as to unveil the city's secrets to his mortal friend. They end up peering into the Opéra itself: the audience was placed in the strange situation of looking at a small replica of the building while already inside it.

In his dissertation on *Opera and Parisian Boulevard Theatre,* Speagle discusses how the theater-in-theater device (essentially a *mise-en-abîme*) was an effective device for ballets at the Opéra, used for *Manon Lescaut* (1830) prior to *Le diable boiteux*.[70] The stage designs for the latter reveal an ambitious set that followed a similar assembly of flats to create a more three-dimensional stage as in *Robert*—only this time they were used to create multiple rooms within the opera house assembled on stage, from the prompter's box to dressing rooms. The dancer performing the devil could not quite pass through walls, as Le Sage described in his book, but

[69] Jean Coralli, Edmond Burat de Gurgy, and Casimir Gide, *Le diable boiteux, ballet-pantomime en trois actes* (Paris: Jonas, 1836).

[70] Speagle, "Opera and Parisian Boulevard Theatre, 1800-1850," 138.

the ability to look into the opera house would have been novel to the audience.[71] With satisfying irony, the audience members who paid the least for their seats were best able to look down onto the representations of Paris and the Opéra on stage, as the cheap seats were located in the highest section. For once, it was they who sat in the position of the all-seeing devil, gazing down at the devilish debauchery on (and perhaps off) stage.

Conclusion

References to *Robert* proliferated for as long as the grand opera remained in the Opéra's repertoire and was revived across Europe and North America. Some of these mentions were brief—for example, the 1861 vaudeville "Laura est une chimère" (a punning reference to the song "L'or est chimère") does not use any of Meyerbeer's music, but a character comments that "All my good little comrades sang, morning and evening, in my ear, that well-known air from *Robert le diable*: 'Gold is but an illusion! Tra-la-la!' What a horrible pun!"[72] Quotations and allusions were not always complimentary, but they demonstrate that *Robert* was never far from the public consciousness. Indeed, the boulevard works played an important role in ensuring *Robert*'s continued popularity by prolonging dialogue about the work. In turn, the grand opera sent its audiences to these smaller theaters so that they could enjoy intertextual comic commentary that not everyone in the theater would have been able to appreciate.

Critiques of operatic extravagance allowed the vaudevilles to continue the long tradition of parody while exploring other advantages of quotation and allusion. Furthermore, the wide

[71] Perhaps surprisingly, this story was never adapted for film—likely due to the stronger tradition of adapting féeries, rather than ballet-pantomimes or works of a satirical nature.

[72] "Tous mes bons petits camarades chantaient, matin et soir, à mon oreille, cet air si connu de *Robert le diable*: 'L'or est chimère! Tra-la-la! Et caetera.' Quel horrible calembour!" Charles Narrey and H. Lemonier, *Laure est une chimère* (Paris: Barbré, 1861), 8.

repertoire of works featuring the devil contributed to a broader debate about technological innovation and devilish subversion in the French capital, joining *Robert le diable* in using spectacle both to entertain and to reflect on the implications of excess and illusion. But what of the audiences' own awareness of what they saw on stage? The critic who reviewed Villeneuve and Xavier's *Robert le diable* proclaimed the work's truth-telling, but failed to see the central role illusion played in that vaudeville and many others. By using musical and visual effects to overwhelm their audiences' senses, these works swept the Parisian public up into the very craze for devilish spectacle that they mocked. By the end of vaudevilles such as *Belz et Buth*, the devil was no longer laughing with the audience, but at them. Moreover, the constant possibility that "real" mechanical accidents could occur during a performance served to fuel any suspicions the public held about technology as they sat on the edge of their seats, unaware of exactly where the line between fantasy and reality was being drawn.

CHAPTER III

MULTISENSORY DESIRES AND THE SEDUCTIVE DANCE OF THE DEVIL

> Since *The Monk*, the somber novel by Lewis, since *Robin des Bois*, *Robert le Diable*, and a host of other works in which the plot is based on the famous pact of selling the soul of an individual for the greatest glory of my lord Satan, it is difficult to arouse terror and pity by this dramatic-fantastic method. However, the superhuman way of producing these effects, of provoking interest, belongs nonetheless more to the conditions of pantomime than to those of the word [. . .].[1]

Invoking the trope of the "superhuman" to explain the production of musico-visual spectacle, the critic Henri Blanchard joined a contentious and pervasive discussion within French culture in his review of the ballet-pantomime *Le diable amoureux*: the limitations of the written word. When it first appeared in 1772, Jacques Cazotte's novella included illustrations and deployed colorful language to evoke the tantalizing sights and sounds of the devil, inspiring a host of supernatural literary works such as *The Monk.* When the ballet-pantomime appeared at the Opéra nearly sixty years later, it seemed as if the novella had been a blueprint for such an adaptation all along. Although various details of the plot had to be changed, dance allowed the audience to experience the seductive power of the devil that lay at the heart of the story in a new, more embodied way.

Adaptations of literary texts into ballets occurred frequently in the years surrounding the premiere of *Le diable amoureux*. The successful staging of Alain-René Lesage's *Le diable*

[1] "Depuis *le Moine*, sombre roman de Lewis; depuis *Robin des Bois, Robert-le-Diable* et une foule d'autres ouvrages dont l'intrigue est basée sur ce fameux traité de l'aliénation de l'âme d'un individu quelconque en faveur et pour la plus grande gloire de messire Satan, il est difficile d'exciter terreur et pitié par ce ressort dramatico-fantastique. Ce moyen surhumain de produire de l'effet, de faire naitre l'intérêt, rentre cependant plus dans les conditions de la pantomime que dans celles de la parole, et, nous nous plaisons à le reconnaître, M. de Saint-Georges a tiré tout le parti possible du joli poème de Cazotte, en ne lui empruntant guère que l'idée de rendre le diable amoureux de celui qu'il s'est chargé de perdre, idée qu'il a fécondée, et dont il est résulté des situations tour à tour comiques, touchantes et terribles, préparées, nuancées, au reste, par une mise-en-scène qui fait le plus grand honneur à M. Mazilier, et le place au premier rang comme chorégraphe." Henri Blanchard, "Académie royale de musique: *Le diable amoureux*, ballet-pantomime en 3 actes et 8 tableaux, par MM. de Saint-Georges et Mazillier, musique de MM. Benoist et Reber, décorations de MM. Philastre et Cambon (première représentation)." *Revue et gazette musicale* 7, no. 55 (September 27, 1840): 471.

boiteux four years previously had paved the way for the premiere of Jules-Henri Vernoy de Saint-Georges and Joseph Mazilier's version of *Le diable amoureux*. By the time the latter premiered on 23 September 1840, the popularity of the ballet-pantomime genre was steadily increasing and the Opéra spared no expense. The new production cost over 60,000 francs—more than three times the amount of *Giselle*, which premiered the following year.[2]

Berlioz's lengthy review details the hyperbole surrounding the premiere and the extravagance of the endeavor:

> Now it's about pantomime, dance, costumes, decorations, daggers, lights, flames, lightening, trombones, creditors, pirates, women, one hundred thousand diableries. The author of this new ballet appears to be proposing to stage the song of Desaugiers: *Vive l'enfer!* And in particular this verse:
>
> > All of the Opéra,
> > Will be there,
> > Singing,
> > Dancing,
> > Each playing their role;
> > With Adam
> > And Satan,
> > Paul and the great Sultan
> > Will do the cabriole.
>
> But since the choruses he [Saint-Georges] had blended with the dance had been removed a few days before the performance, it follows that the whole Opéra is not there, since there is no more singing.[3]

[2] *Giselle* cost 20,182.81 fr., while *Le diable amoureux* cost 61,530.66. Revenue, personnel expenses and equipment costs for works from this period at the Opéra are provided in F-Pan AJ/13/228-230. Smith lists examples in *Ballet and Opera in the Age of Giselle*, 250 n. 2.

[3] "Maintenant il s'agit de pantomime, de danse, de costumes, de décorations, de poignards, de feux, de flammes, de foudres, de trombones, de créanciers, de pirates, de femmes, de cent mille diableries. L'auteur du nouveau ballet semble s'être proposé de mettre en action la chanson de Désaugiers: *Vive l'enfer*! et surtout ce couplet: 'Tout l'Opéra / Y sera, / Chantera, / Dansera, / Chacun jouera son rôle; / Avec Adam / Et Satan, / Paul et le grand Sultan / Feront la cabriole.' Seulement les chœurs qu'il avait mêlés à la danse ayant été supprimés quelques jours avant la représentation, il s'ensuit que tout l'opéra n'y est pas, puisqu'il n'y a plus de chant." Berlioz, "Le diable amoureux," *Journal des débats* (September, 26, 1840), reprinted in *La critique musicale d'Hector Berlioz, 1823-1863*, ed. H. Robert Cohen and Yves Gérard (Paris: Buchet-Chastel, 2002), 4: 375.

Indeed, a handful of choruses had been removed shortly before the premiere, but few critics seem to have been aware of this, as Berlioz was one of the only ones to comment on the exclusion.[4] In any case, the removal of words served only to heighten the impact of the musico-visual spectacle, the huge *corps de ballet,* and a surfeit of props and scenery. Grand opera was known for its large casts, but the inclusion of a chorus of pirates (and even creditors) took this to a new extreme.

The need to lengthen the original short story could have been one reason for the byzantine plot in this adaptation. The expanded plot became little more than a pretext for the use of dancers' bodies as extensions of the visual spectacle—the larger and more varied the cast, the greater the effect. Though impressive, the *mise-en-scène* was not quite as innovative in its use of technology as works such as *Robert le diable* or *Faust.* Rather, human bodies served as a different form and representation of technology, seducing the audience and drawing attention to the tension between machines and nature that came to a head in the nineteenth century.

As discussed in Chapter Two, depictions of the devil conjuring new technologies lay at the heart of *Robert* and many of the popular works that followed. This trope played a less prominent role in *Le diable amoureux,* but there were many moments in the ballet where it was clear that this extravagant spectacle was born of dark means. In his review in the *Revue des deux mondes*, Blaze de Bury spoke of how "the devil never fails to be represented in the devices through which he appears, and keeps to hand an enormous sign where can be read some sacramental motto such as: 'Be mine, To you all the earth's pomp,' for example, all this for greater intelligence of the

[4] There was originally a "choeur des virallers," comprising tenors 1 and 2, and "basse tailles" (essentially baritones) in Act II, tableau 4. See the incomplete autograph score, F-Pn, Musique MS- 20121 (1-2). Smith discusses how hybrid works that included singing brought ballet-pantomime and grand opera genres closer together in her chapter on "Hybrid Works at the Opéra," in *Ballet and Opera in the Age of Giselle*, 124-166.

drama that unfolds."[5] Akin to contemporaneous works that featured this figure, *Le diable amoureux* coupled this depiction of the devil as a creator of musico-visual spectacle with the idea of the devil as critic—a central role for the character in the earlier *Le diable boiteux.*

This chapter continues to explore the devil as creator and critic of musical and visual effects, this time focusing not on the ways in which the various arts could be rendered as verbal text, but on how they replaced it. In *Robert le diable*, the devil functioned both to exploit new technology and embody fears about such innovations. In the case of *Le diable amoureux*, the creators of the ballet used the tempting devil to stage scenes of seductive dancing, which in turn drew attention to the almost dangerous power of the musico-visual spectacle that this genre produced. Reviews of the work reveal the critics' obsession with the devil of the title—the seductive Urielle, danced by Pauline Leroux. She appealed to audiences on visual, aural, and visceral levels, tapping into a desire for multisensory performances that had been fueled by *spectacles d'optique* in the early years of the century. I examine these different facets of Urielle's appeal by looking at the allure of the character's androgyny, her provocative solo dances, and the sensory overload created by combined musical and visual spectacle in moments such as the scene in hell. By way of contrast, I then explore another adaptation of the same literary work—*Les amours du diable*—as a way to compare how the same story might be told in different ways, and how divergent technologies might be put to similar ends.

[5] "C'est bien lui, nous avons reconnu l'appartement où s'élucubrent d'ordinaire les conjurations, cette antique salle ténébreuse aux fenêtres en ogives, aux murs bariolés de toute sorte d'images fantastiques, où le diable ne manque jamais d'être représenté dans l'appareil sous lequel il va se produire, et tenant à la main une énorme pancarte où se lit quelque devise sacramentelle: *Sois à moi, à toi toutes les pompes de la terre*, par exemple, tout cela pour la plus grande intelligence du drame qui se joue." Blaze *de Bury*, "Revue musicale," *Revue des deux mondes*, October 1, 1840, 156.

From literature to stage

The way in which the audience reacted to the temptation of the dancers featured in *Le diable amoureux* and other ballets led ballet historian Louise Robin-Challan to term the experience "erotic daydreaming."[6] Although dance had played a prominent role in operas of the eighteenth century, ballet-pantomimes ushered in a new era of in which movement was used in new ways on the Parisian stage. These changes occurred at the Opéra both because of a cultural shift within the institution and changes to ballet itself. The Opéra's director Louis Véron recognized the profitability of this daydreaming and encouraged spectacles that tempted the audiences in more ways than one. In his memoirs, he advised that: "One must also add the seductions of a young and pretty dancer who dances better and in a different manner than those who have come before her. When one appeals neither to the mind nor the heart, one must speak to the senses and especially to the eyes."[7] Smith cites this passage in her chapter on "The Lighter Tone of Ballet-Pantomime," explaining that "Véron and his successors did work hard to ensure that many ballet-pantomimes at the Opéra adhered to a strategy relying on variety, contrast, and the 'young and pretty dancer.'"[8] Recently, scholars have also turned their attention to ballet's appeal to the senses, to which Véron also alludes. More than any of the other works examined in this dissertation, ballets-pantomimes such as *Le diable amoureux* capitalized on a growing investment in sensory engagement, responding to and provoking discussions by authors and critics alike.

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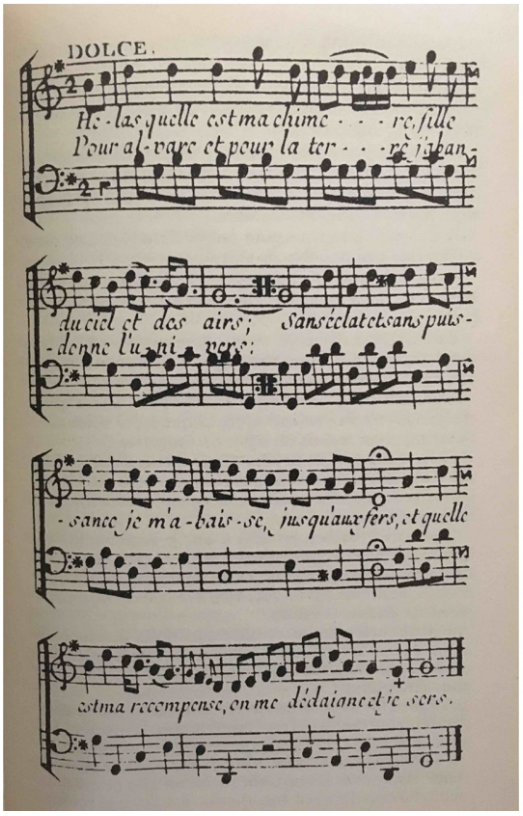
[6] Louise Robin-Challan, "Social Conditions of Ballet Dancers at the Paris Opéra in the Nineteenth Century," *Choreography and Dance* 2, no. 1 (1992): 17-28.

[7] "Il faut encore ajouter a tout cela les séductions d'une artiste jeune et belle, qui danse mieux et autrement que celles qui l'ont précédée. Quand on ne parle ni à l'esprit ni au cœur, il faut parles aux sens et surtout aux yeux." Louis Véron, *Mémoires d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 3:224-5; trans. and qtd. in Smith, 59.

[8] Smith, *Ballet and Opera in the Age of Giselle,* 59.



Illustrations 3.1 and 3.2. Jean Michel Moreau, "Biondetta improvise au clavecin," *Le diable amoureux*, *nouvelle espagnole* (Paris: Le Jay, 1772), F-Pn, 8-Y2-6293[9]

As detailed in Chapter One, the various editions of the novella *Le diable amoureux* demonstrate how words could evoke other artistic media, such as images and sounds, through descriptive language. The first edition also included illustrations and musical notation (see Illustrations 3.1 and 3.2).[10] While the novella relies on the written word to describe the performances of the virtuoso musician, the ballet instead features music itself. By changing the devil from a musician to a talented dancer, the creators were able to highlight the seductive power not only of music, but of movement too. In the literary work, the devil masquerades as a

[9] A digital copy is available on Gallica at http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb33345556b

[10] One of the illustrations consisted of musical notation for the song that Biondetta sings—it is unknown whether Cazotte or the novella's illustrator (Jean Michel Moreau) composed the piece. It is more likely that it was a popular tune from that period.

traveling singer and uses her musical skills to seduce Alvaro. In the ballet, the page performs a variety of seductive dances, namely in two scenes in which she attempts to impress the male lead, now renamed Count Frédéric (played by Mazilier), and a secondary character, the Grand Visir. These dances supplanted the devil's virtuosic musical performances in the original novella.

As discussed in Chapter 1, countless English and French novels were adapted as melodramas—transmutations that would not have been possible without the musical and visual possibilities suggested within the original works. More broadly, the vogue for multisensory works that emerged in the early years of the century was influenced by changing ideas about listening and seeing.[11] Dioramas, panoramas, *tableaux vivants*, and other *spectacles d'optique* informed the primacy of the visual in grand opera, and the medium of ballet afforded even greater possibilities for appealing to the eyes as well as the ears.

For some, old values persisted. Georges Guénot-Lecointe questioned the representational power of movement: "*Le diable amoureux* is still criticized for offering, here and there, reminiscences of *Le diable boiteux,* of *La sylphide*. This is not surprising: it must be so. A thousand examples will prove it: there is, in pantomime, only one way of expressing a scene of love; how many do we count in song and in poetry, which is even richer?"[12] This attitude was a remnant of eighteenth-century concerns, which had largely been resolved or superseded by 1840. In his exploration of *ballet d'action*, Edward Nye turns to Johann Gottfried Herder's writings on

[11] See Jonathan Sterne, *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003); James Johnson, *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); and Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 1990).

[12] "On reproche encore au *Diable Amoureux* d'offrir, çà et là, des réminiscences du *Diable boiteux*, de *La sylphide*. Cela n'a rien de surprenant, cela même doit être. Un exemple entre mille le prouvera: il n'y a, dans la pantomime, qu'une seule manière d'exprimer une scène d'amour; combien en compte-on dans le chant et dans la poésie, plus riche encore?" Georges Guénot-Lecointe, "Théâtres: Académie Royale de Musique," *La sylphide* 1, no. 2 (1840): 167.

the senses to explain how ideas of ballet's deficits centered on misguided attempts to compare it with verbal language: "[the critics] held it to task for not being able to do what speech does, or, conversely, they criticized it for doing what speech cannot do."[13] Nye compares the more intellectual mode of hearing to sight, which, according to Herder, "is most likely to flood the mind with an excess of perceptual information" and prevent rational analysis.[14]

Herder's views about the overstimulation of sight (and the concomitant understimulation of touch) were addressed in the following century as understanding of perception grew and aesthetic values changed. Overstimulation was embraced by early nineteenth-century French *spectacles d'optique,* which have become increasingly visible in work by opera and film scholars. The innovations of these works have been most recently explored in Hibberd's article "*Le naufrage de la méduse* and Operatic Spectacle in 1830s Paris," in which she summarizes Crary's and Sterne's discussions of why the senses became so important in the nineteenth century:

> The first advance was the separation of the individual senses for scientific study, arising from the realization that the same stimulus could excite different effects in different senses: each sense was abstracted from the others as a unique and closed experiential domain. The second advance was a shift from a fixed, objective mode of understanding the senses to a more dynamic and subjective approach: a move from the purely physical and theoretical to the cognitive and experiential, whereby the senses were recognized to be active agents rather than passive receptors in the process of perception.[15]

In his *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century*, Crary cites Maine de Biran's work on perception: "What is crucial about Biran's work in the early

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[13] Edward Nye, *Mime, Music and Drama on the Eighteenth-Century Stage: The Ballet d'Action* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 35-6.

[14] Johann Gottfried Herder, *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache* (Berlin: Christian Friedrich Voß, 1774), paraphrased in ibid.

[15] Hibberd, "*Le naufrage de la méduse*," 251.

1800s is the emergence of a restless, active body whose anxious *motilité* (i.e. willed effort against felt resistance) was a precondition of subjectivity. . . . Visual perception, for example, is inseparable from the muscular movements of the eye and the physical effort involved in focusing on an object or in simply holding one's eyes open."[16] There was thus no separation between an audience member's (physical) action of viewing the ballet and the ways in which other body parts responded to the sight of the dancers via a tapping foot, goosebumps on their arms, or a whole host of lustful reactions.

While the *spectacles d'optique* and developing theories of the senses moved Parisian culture closer to the necessary conditions for a realization of Cazotte's story on the stage, the devil's presence grew. Among the growing number of ballet-pantomimes, *Le diable boiteux* is perhaps the most obvious example. No devil appears in the popular *La sylphide,* but Joellen Meglin suggests that Mephistopheles's conjuring of sylphs in an early Faust melodrama led to their association with dark power (she argues this work would still have been in the public consciousness at the premiere of *La sylphide*).[17] As Smith has revealed, "supernatural characters fared particularly well in ballet-pantomime, in part because certain physical movements were implied to be natural to their species."[18]

The first—tenuous—adaptation of *Le diable amoureux* clearly drew on such developments on and off the Parisian stage. Entitled *Le lutin amoureux*, the work premiered at the Panorama-Dramatique on May 22, 1822. This *pièce en 2 actes à grand spectacle*, which featured a scenario

[16] Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, 72.

[17] Joellen A. Meglin, "Behind the Veil of Translucence: An Intertextual Reading of the *Ballet fantastique* in France, 1831–1841. III: Resurrection, Sensuality, and the Palpable Presence of the Past in Théophile Gautier's Fantastic," *Dance Chronicle: Studies in Dance and the Related Arts* 28, no. 1 (2005): 67–142.

[18] Smith, *Ballet and Opera in the Age of Giselle,* 67.

by B. de Rougemont and choreography by Renauzy, was said to have a "*mise-en-scène* with much talent, but without success."[19] Indeed, viewers were somewhat disappointed by the visual spectacle, according to a critic for the *Journal de Paris*: "Most of the spectators counted on more phantasmagoria than he showed them. He has been very restrained in his use of this genre of *merveilleux*, but he substitutes a pleasantly written dialogue, full of finesse and witty lines."[20]

The story of *Le diable amoureux* did indeed seem to be well suited to the type of phantasmagoria seen in the early nineteenth-century *spectacles d'optique.* These works largely owed their success to a skillful interplay of realism and illusion. In his discussion of phantasmagoria, John Tresch explains that "to produce an effect of uncanniness, the artist first had to master the conventional techniques of realism: only a well-established, predictable world could be effectively thrown into doubt by the sudden eruption of the seemingly impossible."[21] Some of the most successful supernatural works of nineteenth-century France, such as *Robert le diable*, were set in the real world with a predominantly mortal cast. Most of the action in *Le diable amoureux* also takes place in sublunary realms, emphasized by the set and costumes.

At first glance, Urielle appears to be a mortal character: images of Leroux in costume show her in a traditional page's outfit (see Illustration 3.3). Sung ballades were commonly used to introduce mythical characters in *opéras comiques*, including *Robert le diable*, which began life in this genre. As this was not possible in the ballet, the set designers, Philastre and Cambon, used the backdrop for the second tableau to feature a painting on the walls of the gothic library

[19] L. Henry Lecomte, *Le panorama dramatique: 1821-23* (Paris: Lecomte, 1900), 45.

[20] "La plupart des spectateurs comptaient sur plus de fantasmagorie qu'il ne leur en a fait voir. Il a été fort économe de ce genre de merveilleux, mais il y a substitué un dialogue agréablement écrit, plein de finesse et des traits spirituels." "Panorama Dramatique: Première représentation du *Lutin amoureux,* pièce en deux actes." *Journal de Paris* 143 (May 23, 1822): 2.

[21] Tresch, *The Romantic Machine,* 131.

depicting the legend of Beelzebub, who sent the devil Urielle to earth to serve Frédéric's ancestors in exchange for his soul. The subtle use of a background image instead of a prominent song contributed to the illusion of Urielle as mortal, which was then uncannily disrupted. Furthermore, these blurred distinctions between realism and the supernatural contributed to the theme of ambiguity that lay at the heart of the novella and contributed to the success of the ballet.

Illustration 3.3. "Costume de Mlle Pauline Leroux, role d'Uriele dans *le Diable amoureux*," no. 1420 (Paris: Hautcœur-Martinet, 1840), F-Po C-261 (15-1420)[22]

[22] A digital copy can be found on Gallica, http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb39761235h.

Leroux's devilish power

The critics' enthusiasm for this long-awaited work resulted in lengthy descriptions of its musico-visual extravagance and the important role played by Leroux, the star ballerina. The "superhuman means" that Blanchard described referred to the persistent trope of the conjuring devil. In this new work, however, the devil's power was rather more complicated. Many characters had been added to the initially small cast and one of the largest alterations was the expansion of the character Beelzebub—king of the devils. In Cazotte's work, he only appears at the beginning, displaying himself as a grotesque creature:

> [. . .] I called *Beelzebub*.
>
> A frisson ran through my veins, and my hair bristled on my head. Hardly had I finished, than a window opened up in front of me, at the top of the vault: a flood of light more dazzling than that of day poured in through the opening; a camel's head, as hideous in size as in shape, appeared at the window. [. . .]
> I was quite unequal to the situation; I do not know what bolstered my courage and prevented me from falling into a faint at that sight and at the even more dreadful sound which echoed in my ears.[23]

Shortly thereafter, Alvaro commands Beelzebub to transform himself into a dog and then into a page disguised as a virtuoso, who becomes known as Biondetto/a.[24] Although the devil does not appear in this frightening form again, the initial impact on Alvaro's senses becomes a central theme of the entire novella.

The ballet-pantomime drew upon the more complex system of demonic hierarchies laid out in *Le dictionnaire infernal* to split the single shape-shifting Beelzebub into two devils. This served to realize the sensory experience described in the original literary work—the audience

[23] Cazotte, *Le diable amoureux,* 39-40.

[24] See Chapter 1, 25.

alternately experiences terror through the sight and sounds of the king of the devils and feels desire while gazing upon Urielle. In addition to appearing at central moments to heighten the

Illustration 3.4: Paul Lormier, "Belzébuth: M. Montjoie," no. 13 in *Le Diable Amoureux: douze maquettes de costumes* (1840), F-Po, C-261 (15-1420)[25]

spectacle, the character of Beelzebub humanizes the feminized devil (see Illustration 3.4):

[25] A digital copy is available on Gallica at http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb40915947k.

> The chimney then expands, the back opens slowly; a long, pale ray from the moon is projected into the darkness through the opening, and on this luminous spot, Beelzebub majestically advances, his eye on fire, his forehead terrifying and menacing. At his feet is crouching Urielle, demon of the feminine order, a white and pale creature whom the master's look alone makes tremble. [. . .] On a gesture from Beelzebub, Urielle rises: "Look," says the demon, pointing to Frederick, "this is your lord and your master. I am giving you to him, you will obey him in all things. [. . .]"[26]

This relationship between the devils evidently continued in the subsequent works, as an image from the December 1840 Porte Saint-Antoine parody shows Urielle at the feet of Beelzebub, clutching a cross. It is through her demonic nature that the character displays her power as a temptress; at the same time, it is through her all-too-human qualities that she appeals to the male characters (and by extension the audience members).

The body of Urielle—or rather Leroux—exerted a powerful demonic force in a very different way to Beelzebub, whose visual appeal centered on his grotesque demonism. The idea of the devil's power over their prey pervaded reviews of the work, which painted Pauline Leroux as a temptress. Audience members could not help but imagine what they might do under her devilish control. Georges Guénot-Lecointe, a reviewer for the journal *La sylphide*, held her responsible for the work as a whole: "Mlle Pauline Leroux is, as it were, the whole ballet, [the devil] is the *Deus intersit* [God in the midst] of the action: it is she who pushes the work forward, entering through a trap door, leaving through another, transforming from a man into a woman in the time

[26] "La cheminée s'agrandit alors, le fond s'ouvre lentement; un long et pale rayon de lune se projette dans l'obscurité par l'ouverture, et sur ce jet lumineux s'avance majestueusement Belzebuth, l'œil en feu, le front terrible et menaçant; à ses pieds est accroupie Urielle, démon de l'ordre féminin, blanche et pale créature que le seul regard du maitre fait trembler. Belzebuth examine avec pitié le jeune homme évanoui: 'Quoi! c'est la' semble-t-il dire 'le mortel audacieux qui voulait me rendre son esclave, un pareil maître est indigne de moi, cette créature lui suffit,' dit-il, en désignant Urielle. Sur un geste de Belzebuth, Urielle se lève: 'Regarde' lui dit le démon en lui montrant Fréderic 'voilà ton seigneur et ton maître. Je te donne à lui, tu lui obéiras en toutes choses, mais à condition que tu me le donneras à ton tour. Je le veux, il me le faut." Saint-Georges, *Le diable amoureux,* (Paris: Denriot, 1840), 15-16.

of a second, sometimes descending to hell, sometimes rising to heaven [. . .]"[27] In his description, Guénot-Lecointe suggests that Urielle's power stems from her ability to create impressive visual spectacle—or, rather, that the visual spectacle stems from her demonic power. Berlioz likewise spoke of this seductive power when reflecting on the ballet in his review of the subsequent (and related) *Les amours du diable: "*Have you seen a very juicy ballet by M. de Saint Georges, the father of the author of *Les amours du diable*, a ballet where the principal part was so nicely filled by Mlle Pauline Leroux, where one rolled about laughing at it, and in which the charming dancer burned with a thousand fires all the spectators aged twenty years and even those endowed with the triple of that age?"[28] The convention of discussing the singer or dancer in reviews meant that the rhetoric used frequently imbued Leroux, rather than her character, with this power.

These descriptions from the French press cast Leroux as a conjurer of her own spectacle. The narrative surrounding her performance in *Le diable amoureux* further blurred the line between the dancer and the character, and whether either or both might be in league with dark forces. After dancing the role of the peasant girl Paquita in *Le diable boiteux,* Leroux injured her leg while performing in *La fille du Danube* and she was forced to stop dancing for the next four years. Eventually, she returned to health in time for *Le diable amoureux,* provoking florid accounts of her "magical" recovery in the press:

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[27] "Mlle Pauline Leroux est, en quelques sorte, tout le ballet, c'est le *Deus intersit* de l'action: c'est elle qui fait marcher la pièce, entrant dans une trappe, sortant par l'autre, d'homme se métamorphosant en femme dans l'intervalle d'une seconde, tantôt descendant dans l'enfer, tantôt montant au ciel, et belle et spirituelle, et partout et toujours." Guénot-Lecointe, "Théâtres: Académie Royale de Musique," 166.

[28] "Avez-vous vu un très piquant ballet de M. de Saint-Georges, un ancêtre de l'auteur des *Amours du Diable*, ballet dont le rôle principal était si joliment rempli par Mlle Pauline Leroux, où l'on riait à se tordre, et dans lequel la charmante danseuse faisait brûler de mille feux tous les spectateurs âgés de vingt ans et même ceux doués du triple de cet âge?" Berlioz, "Théâtre-Lyrique: Première représentation de les amours du diable, opéra-féerie en trois actes et neuf tableaux, paroles de M. de Saint-Georges, musique de M. A. Grisar," *Journal des débats,* March 17, 1853): 1-3.

> The charming Pauline lent an ear to the religion of her old master; it seemed to him [to reside] in the secret of the gods . . . Vestris had represented so many of these divinities, and always to their advantage, that in the end they had to do something for him. Vestris, in fact, won out over the disciples of Aesculapius; Mythology triumphed; Pauline Leroux was saved . . . yes, by the Styx, she was.[29]

Whether or not Leroux's teacher, the famed Auguste Vestris, was involved in her recovery is unclear. Yet he had been called "le dieu de la danse," which provided an excuse for contemplating otherworldly intervention. The reference to the Styx, the river separating earth from the underworld, further connected Leroux to her character Urielle, and built on the audiences' thrill at the otherworldly hi-jinx both on and off stage. Other reports tell of how audiences waited with bated breath to see whether her recovery would allow her to do the role justice, or if she would become "le diable boiteux" (the limping or lame devil).[30] Combined with her multi-year absence from the Parisian stage, this lent Leroux a certain novelty that would have been missing with the popular and dependable Taglioni or Elssler.

Novelty played a vital part in Cazotte's novella through Alvaro's attraction to the androgynous devil; likewise, it was an important aspect of the travesty dancer's increasing popularity in the middle of the nineteenth century. Lynn Gararola describes how the *danseuse en travesti* rose to prominence from the July Revolution through around 1850, in some cases stepping into roles previously performed by men. [31] Appearing in the middle of this period, *Le*

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[29] "Le charmante Pauline prêta l'oreille à la religion de son vieux maître; il lui sembla dans le secret des dieux . . . Vestris en avait tant représenté de ces divinités, et toujours à leur avantage, qu'elles devaient, au bout du compte, faire quelque chose pour lui. Vestris l'emporta en effet sur les disciples d'Esculape; la mythologie triompha; Pauline Leroux fut sauvée . . . oui de par le Styx, elle le fut." Hippolyte Lucas, "Theatres: Pauline Leroux et Vestris," *L'artiste* 2, no. 6 (1840): 356.

[30] Hervey, "Pauline Leroux," in *The Theatres of Paris*, 17.

[31] Lynn Garafola, "The Travesty Dancer in Nineteenth-Century Ballet," *Dance Research Journal* 17, no. 2 & 18, no. 1 (1985-86): 35. While Garafola's observations about the travesty dancers appear to be correct, Smith has refuted her implication that male dancers practically disappeared from the stage. See Smith, "The Disappearing Danseur," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 19, no. 1 (March 1, 2007): 39.

diable amoureux was at once adhering to current ballet conventions while providing commentary on this very trend. Discussions of travesty roles liken the visual effect of someone from one gender performing another to the *spectacles d'optique* in its use of deception. Maribeth Clark cites an article from 1838 in which the critic expresses an affinity for these roles in the context of page characters:

> Do not believe that the slender, casual form of a young girl would satisfy our requirements. On the contrary, we prefer pronounced forms protruding under the pants of white or sky blue silk that show them to advantage in opposition to all the principles of theatrical illusion. We want to force the spectators to recognize with the first glance and without any help from their opera glasses that the woman is nothing but a woman dressed as a little boy.[32]

In Cazotte's novella, the devil's androgyny plays an essential part in Alvaro's temptation—the story would not exist without this aspect, for the ongoing gender confusion drives the narrative. In many ways, this made ballet-pantomime the ideal genre for a stage adaptation. Akin to the desire to be deceived by visual tricks in the *spectacles d'optique* while starting to apprehend how they were achieved, spectators enjoyed watching travesty dancers with full (or at least semi-) awareness of what lay beneath the surface. Gender ambiguity did not simply pique the interest of audience members; it heightened the eroticism already associated with watching female dancers at the Opéra. Théophile Gautier's descriptions of Fanny Elssler show that what he perceived as Elssler's androgynous features served to increase her sexual

[32] "N'allez pas croire que la taille svelte, dégagée, élancée d'une jeune fille satisfasse aux exigences de l'emploi. Au contraire nous préférons les formes prononcées et saillantes sous le pantalon de soie blanche ou bleue de ciel qui les accuse encore davantage en opposition avec tous les principes de l'illusion théâtrale nous voulons que les spectateurs soient forcés de reconnaître au premier coup d'œil et sans le secours d'aucune lunette, la femme est rien que la femme habillée en petit garçon." "Chronique de l'Académie Royale de Musique. Les cancans de l'Opéra, 1838," 143; ctd. and trans. by Maribeth Clark, "Bodies at the Opéra: Art and the Hermaphrodite in the Dance Criticism of Théophile Gautier," in *Reading Critics Reading: Opera and Ballet Criticism in France from the Revolution to 1848*, ed. Mary Ann Smart and Roger Parker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 245.

appeal, especially when she cross-dressed.[33] Unlike Elssler, there were no discussions of androgyny relating to Leroux's appearance, but this might be in part because she did not feature as prominently in the French press.

The devil's ambiguous gender played an integral role in her powers as a temptress. Announcements of the ballet drew attention to the devil's dual identities of female devil and male page, ensuring that the audience would pay attention to this visual trick at the premiere, and the lengthy discussions in the press afterwards helped prolong the fascination. To complement the visual switches, marked by costume changes, Saint-Georges and Mazilier drew attention to this gender ambiguity in their scenario, which would have been circulated at the beginning of the performance. Writing in *Le charivari* shortly after the premiere, the critic A. C. spoke of how "The page who presents itself with the recommendation of Beelzebuth is called Urielle, and the booklet warns us that it is a demon of the *feminine order*. The libretto, like Cazotte, has avoided the use of the word *diablesse*."[34] As in the novella, Urielle is alternately referred to as "il" or "le diable" and "elle," provoking the audience to constantly question whether they were seeing a woman playing a man or a woman playing a woman. The absence of sung words served an equally important part of the deception, as the character avoided being marked as female by Leroux's voice.

Urielle's first performance in Act I, tableau two, scene four drew attention to her androgyny. She mimicked Cazotte's devil's vocal and harp performance by recreating its

[33] Ivor Guest, *Gautier on Dance* (London: Dance Books, 1986).

[34] "Le page qui se présente avec la recommandation de Béelzébut a nom Urielle, et le livret nous avertit que c'est un démon de l'ordre féminin. Le livret, de même que Cazotte, a reculé devant l'emploi du mot diablesse." A. C., "Grand opéra: Première représentation du *Diable amoureux*, ballet-pantomime en trois actes et huit tableaux, par MM. de Saint-Georges et Mazilier, musique de MM. Benoist et Réber, décors de MM. Philastre et Cambon," *Le charivari* 270 (September 25, 1840): 1-2.

performative power through her dancing, and asserted her control over Frédéric by sending him to sleep before she started, placing him in a position of vulnerability while she infiltrated his dreams. As she removed her page's costume, revealing her female form in a gauze dress, Urielle's concurrent dancing and unveiling would have conjured an image of a striptease, which can only have played into the fantasies of her spectators:

> Urielle then moves quietly towards Frédéric, looks at him with passion; then, frightened by a movement of Frédéric, which seems to announce his awakening, she hides behind the sofa where the count has fallen asleep. She soon raises her head to make sure of his sleep; but her page clothing has disappeared, a tunic of gauze envelops her without hiding her charms. She runs to Frédéric, puts her hand on the heart of the young count, whom this soft contact seems to agitate. Delighted with this first success, she continues her attractive coquetries: sometimes she allows him to glimpse an elegant figure, a charming arm, then she wraps herself in her veil of gauze; she dances before the young man the most seductive dance, varying her graceful poses; sometimes running to him as if to hold him in her arms, then immediately fleeing him, fluttering and seeming to hover above his sleeping figure! The emotion of Frédéric seems to increase at every moment. This intoxicating vision charms and transports him. Urielle at last, leaning over the Count, finishes her dance by brushing his forehead with her lips. At this moment, Frédéric makes a sudden movement to awaken.[35]

Though this performance was technically directed at Frédéric, his still, sleeping body likened him to an inert prop, which left the audience in the position of watching Urielle alone and set up an intimate relationship between the real-life spectators and the devil.

[35] "Urielle s'avance alors doucement vers Frédéric, le regarde avec passion; puis, effrayée d'un mouvement de Frédéric, qui semble annoncer son réveil, elle se cache derrière le sofa où s'est endormi le comte. Elle relève bientôt la tête pour s'assurer de son sommeil; mais ses habits de page ont disparu, une tunique de gaze l'enveloppe sans cacher ses charmes. Elle court à Frédéric, met sa main sur le cœur du jeune comte, que ce doux contact semble agiter. Ravie de ce premier succès, elle continue ses attrayantes coquetteries : tantôt elle lui laisse entrevoir une taille élégante, un bras charmant, puis elle s'enveloppe dans son voile de gaze ; elle danse devant le jeune homme le pas le plus séduisant, variant ses poses gracieuses; tantôt courant à lui comme pour le serrer dans ses bras, puis le fuyant aussitôt voltigeant et semblant planer sur son sommeil! L'émotion de Frédéric semble augmenter à chaque instant. Cette enivrante vision le charme et le transporte. Urielle enfin, se penchant sur le comte, termine sa danse en effleurant son front de ses lèvres. A cet instant, Frédéric fait un brusque mouvement pour s'éveiller Urielle surprise fuit rapidement." Saint-Georges, *Le diable amoureux,* 17-18.

For much of the ballet, Frédéric resists Urielle's advances: she ultimately focuses on gaining his soul rather than his love. By the time the devil performed her climactic dance in Act III, aimed at the Grand Visir to whom Frédéric sold her in exchange for his mortal fiancée, the fictional characters serve as a pretext for her seductive dancing, which was ultimately aimed at the spectators beyond the proscenium. This persistent shape-shifting was praised more than once in the French press. In his article in *La sylphide,* Jules Robert praised Urielle/Leroux's beguiling glances: "Sometimes she smiles amorously; sometimes disdain wanders across her lips; sometimes her expression is sad and melancholic. She is coquetry personified. There is an entire poem in this scene of seduction."[36]

Dancing with the devil

In conjunction with the visual effect of Urielle's gender switching in her Act I seduction, the devil produced a visceral reaction in her subsequent seduction in Act III—seen by many as a climactic point in the work. Dancers often broke through the fourth wall in order to appeal to these visceral desires, making the audience members feel as if they could dance with the character on stage. In her discussion of Crary and Sterne, Hibberd makes a call for analyses of hearing and seeing that acknowledge the interaction between the different senses, and these analyses should arguably include touch. Although Crary separates the eyes and ears, he discusses theories of seeing that emphasized the necessity of touch, citing Berkeley and other eighteenth-century theorists who claimed that "a key model for visual perception is the sense of touch."[37]

[36] "Tantôt elle sourit amoureusement; tantôt le dédain erre sur ses lèvres; tantôt son regard est triste et mélancolique. C'est la Coquetterie personnifiée. Il y a tout un poème dans cette scène de séduction." Jules Robert, "Artistes Modernes: XI: Pauline Leroux," *La sylphide* 1, no. 2 (1840): 249.

[37] Crary, *Techniques of the Observer,* 58.

Crary provides Locke's example of a blind man seeing through touch. Flipping this order, the creators of *Le diable amoureux* had to use music-visual spectacle to create the illusion of tactile engagement, given that the audience could not touch the dancers (at least, not until after the performance).

An oft-quoted account by Charles de Boigne highlights the eroticism of watching Fanny Elssler's cachucha in *Le diable boiteux* and the illusion of the dancer offering a hand to her spectators: "That swaying of the hips, those provocative gestures, those arms that seem to reach out for and embrace an absent being, that mouth that asks to be kissed, the body that thrills, shudders and twists, that seductive music, those castanets, that unfamiliar costume, that shortened skirt, that half-opening bodice."[38] A different sort of physical engagement with a performance had been possible earlier in the century as *spectacles d'optique* offered effects that actually reached out and touched spectators, such as the use of ventilation to mimic a sea breeze in Jean-Charles Langlois's rotunda.[39] Despite the larger budget and capability for musical and visual effects at the Opéra, the visceral appeal of these earlier spectacles was lost. Ballet provided a way to regain this sensation by provoking audiences to recall sensory memories of their own dancing. In *Le diable amoureux*, the scene in which Urielle seduces the Visir included a cachucha, cracovienne, and polonaise. The audience would have recognized these social and national dances immediately, as they were all popular in Parisian ballrooms of the day. Smith notes that divertissements were influenced by the latest ballroom tastes: "So receptive was the

[38] "Ces déhanchements, ces mouvements de croupe, ces gestes provoquants, ces bras qui semblent chercher et étreindre un être absent, cette bouche qui appelle le baiser, tout ce corps qui tressaille, frémit et se tord, cette musique entrainante, ces castagnettes, ce costume bizarre, cette jupe écourtée, ce corsage échancré qui s'entrouvre." Charles de Boigne, *Petits mémoires de l'Opéra* (Paris: Librairie Nouvelle, 1857); qtd. and trans. in Cyril Beaumont, *Complete Book of Ballets* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1938).

[39] Hibberd, "*Le naufrage de la méduse*," 253.

Paris Opéra to social-dance fashion, in fact, that dances new to the city's ballrooms in the 1830s and 1840s . . . were virtually guaranteed to appear on the Opéra's stage. Among these popular ballroom dances were so-called "national" dances . . . such as the cracovienne."[40] The cachuchua became popular after Fanny Elssler's performance of it in *Le diable boiteux* and began appearing in ballrooms (though Smith notes it may have existed in this setting beforehand).[41]

The eroticism of the entire dance would have been accentuated by the placement of the Grand Visir as the primary spectator in Act III:

> Scene VIII
> Urielle makes a sign of joy and triumph; she shows the Visir to Frédéric, telling him to go and hold him back. The young man, full of hope in the promises of the devil, runs to the Visir and stops him. At this moment the graceful demon drops the burnous that covers her, and suddenly appears in a rich and bizarre bayadère costume; she then starts a novel dance to the sounds of brilliant music that bursts in at this moment.
>
> Scene IX
> The procession, attracted by this strange spectacle, surrounds the new dancer and examines her with admiration. The Visir himself appears to have the most lively reaction to the seduction: he soon approaches Urielle, looks at her with love, and puts all his riches at her feet.[42]

The Ottoman character provided an excuse for even more elaborately eroticized dancing. The cachucha was a Cuban and Spanish dance, with Andalusian associations, further accentuating the exoticism of this scene. Elssler's performances of it would have still been fresh in the audience's

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[40] Smith, *Ballet and Opera in the Age of Giselle,* 18.

[41] Ibid., 249, n. 29.

[42] "[Scene VIII]]Urielle fait un signe de joie et de triomphe; elle désigne le visir à Frédéric, en lui disant d'aller le retenir. Le jeune homme, plein d'espoir dans les promesses du diable, court au visir et l'arrête,.. A ce moment, le gracieux démon laisse tomber le bornouss qui la couvre, et paraît tout-à-coup dans un riche et bizarre costume de bayadère; puis elle commence un pas original aux sons d'une musique brillante qui éclate en ce moment. [Scène IX] Le cortège, attiré par cet étrange spectacle, entoure la nouvelle danseuse et l'examine avec admiration. Le visir lui-même paraît éprouver la plus vive séduction: il s'approche bientôt d'Urielle , la regarde avec amour, et met toutes ses richesses à ses pieds . . ." Saint-Georges, *Le diable amoureux*, 35-6.

memory, which would have further added to the intensity of the seductive spectacle. The dance succeeded in captivating Leroux's audience as much as it had for the audience of *Le diable boiteux* four years earlier: in his review, Blanchard referred to her version as "a dance which is a manifestation of all the most seductive cachuchas of hell or paradise."[43] Blaze went even further, relating how "Élie is excellent in this character [of the Grand Visir], to whom Mlle Pauline Leroux [Urielle] ends by losing her head in a truly diabolical dance, [with] lascivious looks, unbridled gestures and provocative glances, leaving far behind her all the prowess of this genre invented by Mlle Elssler. It is worth watching this despot formerly dead to pleasure, this dilettante of lust, passing through all of the degrees of sensation, from equanimity, and annihilation, to the climax of desire; from a dulled eye to a fiery eye; his weighty eyelid rises, stares, lights up and [then] blazes."[44] Incorporating social dances into an opera or ballet was not new, but this powerful visual spectacle and Urielle's unique engagement with her audience lowered the barrier between dancer and spectator, the fictional world and the real one, provoking a visceral desire that audiences could respond to silently as they sat in their seats and subtly felt their own bodies move.

Of course, for many male spectators this visceral engagement was no substitute for actual physical relations with the dancers. Much has been written about the social culture of the Opéra; Smith tartly points out "the tendency of many male patrons to focus on the medium instead of

[43] "Celui-ci y consent, signe, et alors Urielle pour faire oublier Lilia au visir danse devant lui un pas qui est une émanation de toutes les plus séduisantes cachuchas de l'enfer ou du paradis." Blanchard, "Académie royale de musique," (September 27, 1840): 471.

[44] "Élie est excellent dans ce personnage, à qui Mlle Pauline Leroux finit par faire perdre la tête dans un pas vraiment diabolique, et qui, pour les allures lascives, les gestes effrénés et les œillades provocatrices, laisse bien loin derrière lui toutes les prouesses du genre inventées par Mlle Elssler. Il faut voir ce satrape déjà mort au plaisir, ce dilettante de la luxure passer par tous les degrés de la sensation, de l'impassibilité, de l'anéantissement, au paroxisme du désir, de l'œil terne à l'œil de feu; sa paupière appesantie se soulève, se fixe, s'allume et flamboie." *Blaze de Bury*, "Revue musicale," 157-8.

the message."[45] That the boxes in which the richest men sat were called the *loges infernales* seems beyond ironic coincidence. The male gaze was by no means new to early nineteenth-century Paris, but scholars have described a shift in how the culture of erotic desire and fulfillment was encouraged during this period at the Opéra. Garafola acknowledges that while "poverty, naturally, invites sexual exploitation," the degree to which the dancers were treated as commodities would not have occurred without a change in the Opéra's infrastructure:

> In the 1830s, however, the backstage of the Paris Opéra became a privileged venue of sexual assignation, officially countenanced and abetted. Eliminating older forms of "caste" separation, the theaters enterprising management dangled before the elect of its paying public a commodity of indisputable rarity and cachet—its female corps of dancers.
>
> . . . As the Opéra's most influential *abonnés,* the occupants of these *loges infernales*—all male of course—enjoyed certain privileges: the run of the *coulisses*, for example, and entry to the *Foyer de la Danse*, a large room lined with barres and mirrors just behind the stage. Before 1830, lackeys in royal livery had warded prying eyes from this warm-up studio. When the new regime turned the Opéra over to private management, the *Foyer de la Danse* acquired a different function.[46]

This privileged access to the backstage areas might have risked the destruction of the carefully constructed fantasy world created onstage if it were not for the promise of physical enjoyment. This was akin to the dual desire to be deceived by technological tricks and understand how they worked, but via a more visceral rather than intellectual form of engagement.

As Smith has explained, the plots of the works were also used to encourage this dynamic of male power and female submissiveness in the private realm—akin to the promotion of state-dominated order in the public realm that Jane Fulcher has documented in grand opera.[47] Smith

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[45] Smith, *Ballet and Opera in the Age of Giselle,* 68.

[46] Garafola, "The Travesty Dancer in Nineteenth-Century Ballet," 36.

[47] While nineteenth-century writers and critics commented on this culture, the system in which female dancers' bodies could be possessed was not fully explored and critiqued until the wave of 1980s scholarship.

describes how a warning of inappropriate female behavior occurs in *Le diable boiteux* through Florinde, who dances the cachucha, attracts male attention, and is subsequently thrown aside by her lover in favor of a more virtuous country girl.[48] Gide and his collaborators explored the broader sexual culture even more directly in this work by using the powerful imagery of the devil standing above Paris looking down on and unveiling the debauchery below. They addressed the culture of the Opéra itself by opening Act II in the "foyer de la danse" of a royal theater in Madrid and moving the action around the different parts of the opera house—a theater within a theater.[49] As in Le Sage's eighteenth-century work, the devil Asmodeus is able to see and pass through walls, revealing the city's depravity to his mortal friend. However, the opera house was a new addition to the ballet version—as critics recognized, this was clearly more than an adaptation of a fictional work. The ballet's creators evidently used Madrid as a stand-in for Paris (as did many of the grand operas) and boldly exposed the opera house—particularly the opera box—as a site of debauchery where wealthy Parisian men could satiate their desires.[50]

Writers commented on these events with curiosity and often sardonic humor—perhaps most overtly in an 1844 book by Salvador Jean Baptiste Tuffet entitled *Les mystères des théâtres de Paris: Observations! indiscrétions!! révélations!!!* Tuffet describes how "after the drop of the curtain, all these nymphs are wrapped in Indian cashmere or tartans of doubtful color, rushing into the carriage of the benefactor and into the lover's cabriolet; or, placing the foot, recently wrapped in pink or white silk, into special socks, walking back to the solitary garret or the *loge*

[48] Smith, *Ballet and Opera in the Age of Giselle,* 70. See also Fulcher, *The Nation's Image*.

[49] Jean Coralli and Burat de Gurgy, *Le Diable boiteux* (Paris: Felix Malteste, 1836). 2.

[50] Speagle, "Opera and Parisian Boulevard Theatre, 1800-1850," 138. Also Scribe, "Judith, ou la loge d'opéra," in *Tonadillas, ou historiettes en action* (Paris: Dumont, 1838).

paternelle above which one has ambitiously written the word: Concierge."[51] In reality the women were a far cry away from luxurious hotels. While Tuffet empathizes with the plight of the dancers, he does not attack the male patrons. In the preceding passage, he instead blames the devilish power of seduction, referring specifically to *Le diable amoureux* and explaining that "this disease was contagious in the theater and the city. *Le diable amoureux* was surrounded by tributes and seductions; to resist all this it was necessary to be an angel; and the devil of the Opéra was a woman!"[52] For the male spectators of this particular ballet, there was no need to choose between paying attention to the medium or the message: they were one and the same.

Devilish music

Whether or not the creators of *Le diable amoureux* intended to offer the sort of social commentary found in *Le diable boiteux*, it is hard to ignore the ballet's engagement with contemporaneous discussions of the seductive power of music. In Cazotte's original story, the devil is a virtuoso whose musical talents help seduce Alvaro. It was far from a unique story of music and temptation: similar tales pervaded the contemporaneous fictional writings of authors such as E. T. A. Hoffmann. Like *Faust*, Hoffmann's works became well known in France and influenced conceptions of music's power. At one point in *Kreisleriana*, Hoffmann describes the

[51] "Après le baisser du rideau, toutes ces nymphes s'enveloppent de cachemires des Indes ou de tartans à la couleur douteuse, s'élancent dans le landaw du bienfaiteur et dans le cabriolet de l'amant; ou, posant dans des socques articulés le pied tout à l'heure enveloppé de soie rose ou blanche, regagnent pédestrement la mansarde solitaire ou la loge paternelle au-dessus de laquelle on a fait écrire ambitieusement le mot: Concierge." Salvador Jean Baptiste Tuffet, *Les mystères des théâtres de Paris: Observations! indiscrétions!! révélations!!!* (Paris: Marchant, 1844), 387-388

[52] "Mademoiselle Pauline Leroux a fait admirer son gracieux talent dans le boléro, l'allemande et la saltarelle. Le *diable amoureux* a rendu Lafont des Variétés amoureux comme un diable; le fils du vainqueur de Valmy avait fait comme Lafont; et cette maladie fut contagieuse au théâtre et à la ville. On entoura le Diable amoureux d'hommages et de séductions; pour résister à tout cela il fallait être un ange; et le diable de l'Opéra était une femme! . . ." Ibid.

chromatic movement from C major to minor in a sequence of chords. This evocation of music is punctuated with: "'But let us dance above the open graves in our wild frenzy of pleasure. Let us shout for joy—those below will not hear it. Hurrah, hurrah, dance and rejoice, the devil enters to the sound of trumpet and drums!"[53] While *Kreisleriana* best demonstrates suspicions over the devil's involvement, Hoffmann's *Automata* (1819) offers the clearest description of music's seductive qualities:

> How can I ever hope to give you the faintest idea of the effect of those long-drawn swelling and dying notes upon me. . . . a rapture which words cannot describe took possession of me—the pain of a boundless longing seized my heart like a spasm. I could scarcely breathe, my whole being was merged in an expressible superearthly delight. I did not dare to move; I could only listen; soul and body were merged in ear. It was not until the voice had been silent for some time that tears, coming to my eyes, broke the spell, and restored me to myself.[54]

Similar ideas about music frequently appeared in the libretti of these devilish works. In Antoine-Nicolas Béraud's play *Faust*, Faust comments on music's power to awake his senses:

> (Melodious music is heard.)
>
> Ah! From what delights do these melodious sounds fill my senses! A new life seems to circulate throughout my whole being! These songs, through their magic power, calm the storm that was agitating me . . . This celestial harmony has ceased; I hear nothing more but the rolling thunder which is lost in the valley, my lamp itself has fallen, and the pale gleam of the light penetrates alone in this narrow space. But he whom I have dared to invoke does not yet appear; however, a secret instinct warns me of his approach.[55]

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[53] E. T. A. Hoffmann, "Kreisleriana," in *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings: "Kreisleriana, The Poet and the Composer," Music Criticism,* ed. David Charlton and trans. Martyn Clarke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 134.

[54] Hoffmann, "Automata," in *The Best Tales of Hoffmann,* trans. E. F. Bleiler (New York: Dover, 1967), 85.

[55] "(Une musique mélodieuse se fait entendre.) Ah! de quels délices, ces sons mélodieux remplissent mes sens! une vie nouvelle semble circuler dans tout mon être! Ces chants, par leur vertu magique, calment la tempête qui m'agitait . . . Cette harmonie céleste a cessé; je n'entends plus que les roulements du tonnerre qui se perdent dans la vallée; ma lampe même s'est éteinte, et la pale lueur de l'éclair pénètre seule dans ce réduit. Mais celui que j'ai osé invoquer ne parait point encore; cependant un instinct secret m'avertit de son approche." Béraud, Merle, and Nodier, *Faust* (Paris: J. N. Barba, 1828), 4-5.

Responding to *Le diable amoureux* in the press, French critics focused on this darker side of music's power. Blanchard repeatedly used the word "*surhumain*" (superhuman) in his reviews and referred to the idea of music's otherworldly creation and powers in his second discussion of the ballet: "Urielle's dance is full of a superhuman melodic charm and sweetness of accompaniment."[56] Blaze likewise imbued the score with supernatural power in his review, stating that "We have also recognized the famous book of magic spells which one spells out with frenzied gestures, by appearing to conduct the unfortunate musicians of the orchestra, who blow until they wear out their lungs into the wide open mouth of trombones and ophecleides."[57] Turning to the devil's broader power, he suggested that a magical force lay behind the talents of the librettists, composers, choreographer, and set designers: "The librettists of the Académie Royale de Musique are akin to the alchemists of the middle ages; they also know how to subdue the mysterious forces of nature by incantations, and make gold in their own way."[58] These magical effects in *Le diable amoureux* appealed to both eyes and ears, and commented on the tendency to see technological progress inside and outside the opera house as being a result of supernatural forces—sometimes suspiciously so, in which case the deceitful and lascivious devil was the perfect scapegoat.

The plot of the ballet played a more prominent part in furthering these ideas about music's seductive power than the music itself. Blanchard was impressed by the score, but didn't

[56] "Le pas d'Urielle est plein d'une grâce mélodique, d'une suavité d'accompagnement surhumaines." Blanchard, "Académie Royale de Musique," *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* 7, no. 57 (October 11, 1840): 489.

[57] "Nous avons reconnu aussi le fameux grimoire qu'on épèle avec des gestes forcenés, en ayant l'air de battre la mesure aux infortunés musiciens de l'orchestre, qui soufflent à d'époumoner dans la gueule béante des trombones et des ophicléides." Blaze de Bury, "Revue musicale," 156-7.

[58] Les *poètes* de l'Académie royale de Musique sont un peu cousins des alchimistes du moyen-âge; ils savent eux aussi se soumettre par des incantations les forces mystérieuses de la nature, et faire de l'or à leur manière." Ibid., 154-5.

believe it could compete with the elaborate mise-en-scène, explaining that "the composers must be annoyed with M. de Saint-Georges for providing such a pretty fabric to embellish, because it is so brilliant and active, it occupies so much of the attention of the spectator, that it scarcely leaves him time to listen to the music."[59] Despite the seductive quality of Leroux's dancing, the music for the ballet portions of the work was not particularly memorable—critics were more interested in the visual spectacle and had relatively little to say about the music. Rather than relying on the traditional *ombra* topic, Benoist and Reber's scoring enabled Urielle's music to support her different guises—instead of reminding the audience that she was the devil, the music helped convince them that she was a dancer, page, or any other figure. Characteristics of the musical figures and gestures associated with older devils, such as the classic tritone, diminished sevenths, chromaticism, and disjunct melodies, appeared periodically, but mainly at moments of overt pantomime.

Instrumentation and texture played a larger role in generating a sensory overload. The beginning of the final scene in hell opens with repeating fortissimo chords by the low woodwinds, ophicleide, and strings, which gradually build up to a climax as more instruments and percussion enter. The emphasis is on sonic force, supported by abounding unison motifs. Meanwhile, according to Berlioz, in the midst of "pools of fire and sulphur; demons of all sizes and all possible sexes give themselves over to movement."[60] The composers worked with the set designers to create a type of sensory experience that evoked the world of hell. The music

[59] "Les compositeurs doivent en vouloir à M. de Saint-Georges de leur avoir donné un si joli tissu à broder, car il est tellement brillant et mouvemente, il occupe tellement l'attention du spectateur, que c'est à peine s'il lui laisse le temps d'écouter la musique." Blanchard, "Académie Royale de Musique," (October 11, 1840): 489.

[60] "Nous retombons au milieu de la grande salle de bains de Monseigneur Satan. C'est là qu'on se rafraîchit dans des étangs de feu et de soufre; les démons de toutes les dimensions et de tous les sexes possibles, se livrent à leurs ébats au milieu des ondes ardentes avec un charme infini." Berlioz, *Le diable amoureux*, 2.

evidently succeeded, as Berlioz complained that it was "a little too constantly noisy" while allowing that "the series of infernal scenes which [Benoist] includes renders this pitfall difficult to avoid."[61] That Berlioz, the master of overstatement, should suggest that the music was too "noisy" implies that the sound must have been truly overwhelming.

Les amours du diable

By first including sung texts and then removing them, *Le diable amoureux* drew more attention to the power of instrumental music than if the ballet had never included words in the first place. Shifting reconfigurations of words, music, and movement persisted in the works that followed. Shortly after the premiere of *Le diable amoureux*, a parody appeared at the Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Antoine entitled *Les français peints par eux-mêmes.* Much of Clairville's *revue fantastique* attacks the Opéra in general, but the eleventh scene focuses on the recent ballet-pantomime. Two devils enter and announce themselves as "le Diable amoureux of the Opéra" and "le Diable amoureux of Saint-Antoine." After Pierrot challenges both of them, the latter attacks the devil of the Opéra with a song from a vaudeville, *La grisette de Bordeaux*:

> Innocent victim
> Of his marvelous power,
> It is Love [i.e., the god of love] that animates me;
> I'm the devil in love.
> Happy as a monk,
> I was born near the Porte St-Antoine,
> And little devil,
> Very pleasant,
> It is very clear
> That I made an effect of hell.
> Innocent victim, etc. etc.
>
> Although less intelligible,

[61] "Le reste est bien instrumenté; peut-être est-ce un peu trop constamment bruyant, au troisième acte surtout ; mais la série de scènes infernales qu'il contient rendait cet écueil difficile à éviter." Ibid.

At the Opéra, the Devil is incomprehensible.
He does not speak
Except in pantomime!
Me, I'm more talkative,
I speak and speak a lot, because.
Innocent victim, etc. etc.[62]

Following the song, the devil from the Opéra questions why the other would dare mock him. In many ways, the scene demonstrates the usual playful competition between theaters—the smaller theater capitalizing on the recent success at the Opéra and trying to reclaim the devil for the boulevard stages. Yet it also raises larger questions: which stage and which genre was most fitting for the seductive devil? Was his power most evident when he sang? Or did the absence of language in ballet-pantomimes enable music to realize its full potential as a demonic force?

Twelve years later, De Saint-George's son attempted to answer these questions by returning to the subject that his father had used to garner so much success. Collaborating with Grisar and using the same characters, he penned a new adaptation of Cazotte's novella, this time entitled *Les amours du diable.* The *opéra-féerie* in four acts and nine tableaux appeared at the Théâtre-Lyrique on 11 March 1853 and an abridged version followed at the Opéra-Comique ten years later. It received some attention in the wake of the popularity of *Le diable amoureux,* but it subsequently disappeared from the repertoire and has been overlooked by scholars since. At the premiere, the role of Urielle was sung by Mme Colson (Pauline Marchand), who failed to create anywhere near the same reaction as Leroux. However, the mezzo-soprano Célestine Galli-Marié,

[62] "Innocente victime / De son pouvoir merveilleux, / C'est l'amour qui m'anime; / Je suis le Diable amoureux. / Heureux comme un chanoine, / Moi, je naquis près de la porte St-Antoine, / Et petit diable / Fort agréable, / Il est bien clair / Que je fis un effet d'enfer. / Innocente victime, etc., etc. / Bien moins intelligible, / A l'Opéra, le Diable est incompréhensible. / Il ne s'exprime / Qu'en pantomime! / Moi, plus bavard, / Je parle et parle beaucoup, car. / Innocente victime, etc. etc." Clairville senior, *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* (January 1, 1841)*,* 6.

who would later create the title role in *Carmen*, performed the role in the revival. Writing almost a decade later in the *Revue des Deux Mondes,* F. de Lagenevais spoke of how

> Our recollections do not go back to [*Le diable amoureux*], but we saw Grisar's work when it was taken back to the Opéra-Comique, and what we can say is that Mme Galli-Marié was outstanding in it. What a devil in love this young woman was in 1861 [recte 1863] with her slender appearance, her cunning eye and her charming rogueries! She was not pretty, she was more dangerous and burned up the boards; in addition [she had] a warm, passionate voice, which succeeded in highlighting the dramatic beauties of this score, one of the most interesting in the repertoire of Grisar.[63]

Using language analogous to that used to describe Leroux, the critic talks of Galli-Marié's seductive power, suggesting that singing could sometimes have a similar impact to bodily movement.

The most obvious change from one medium to another came at the end of *Les amours du Diable.* Like *Le diable amoureux,* the *opéra-féerie* ended with scenes in hell and subsequently heaven. Urielle's salvation might seem shocking today, but it attracted barely any attention in the press at the time. The *Charivari*'s review provides one of the few acknowledgements, explaining that "This conclusion of a devil ascending into paradise may not be perfectly in conformity with theological truth, but at least it is new and consoling."[64] The power of novelty to excuse absurd plot twists was on even more flagrant display in the later work. In the thirteen years that separated the two works, stage technology advanced sufficiently to enable an elaborate

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[63] "Nos souvenirs ne remontent point jusqu'au ballet, mais nous avons vu l'ouvrage de Grisar quand on le reprit à l'Opéra-Comique, et ce que nous pouvons dire, c'est que M^{me} Galli-Marié y faisait des prouesses. Quel diable amoureux que cette jeune femme en 1861 avec sa svelte allure, son œil malin et sa friponnerie charmante ! Elle n'était pas jolie, elle était pire et brûlait les planches ; puis une voix chaude, passionnée, qui savait mettre en relief les beautés dramatiques de cette partition, une des plus intéressantes du répertoire de Grisar." F. de Lagenevais, "Revue musicale - Les théâtres lyriques," *Revue des deux mondes* 3/6 (1874), 914.

[64] "Ce dénouement d'un diable montant en paradis peut ne pas être parfaitement conforme à la vérité théologique, mains du moins il est neuf et consolant." A. C., *Le charivari*, 2. The church and this salvation of Urielle would have brought to mind *Robert le diable* and also possibly *Faust.* While there had been few *Faust* adaptations by the time of the premiere of *Le diable amoureux*, Carr's 1850 *Faust et Marguerite* would have been fresh in the minds of the Théâtre-Lyrique's audience in 1853.

apotheosis in the finale of *Les amours du diable*, which dazzled audiences and detracted from what could have been seen as a sacrilegious ending.

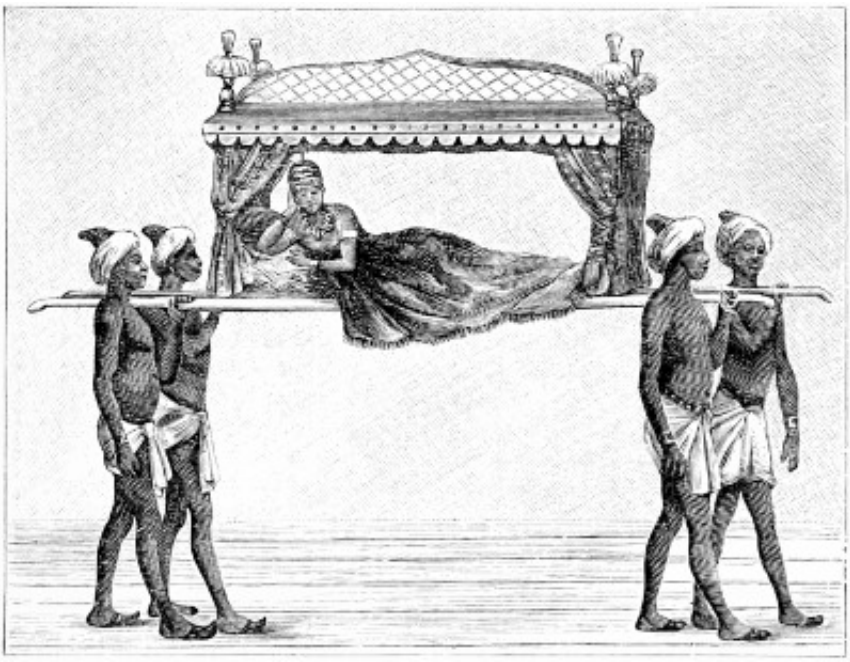

Illustration 3.5. "The Magic Palanquin," *Magic Stage Illusions and Scientific Diversions, Including Trick Photography*, ed. Albert Hopkins (New York: Munn, 1901), 34.[65]

Responding to an 1863 revival of the work at the Opéra Comique, Albert de Lasalle attempts to explain how the devil's rise to heaven occurred: "It is true to say that if the palanquin [a litter, or wheel-less vehicle] does not communicate with the floor, which implies the compliant trap is prevented from performing its function, it is surmounted by a small dome into which it is very probable that a spring sends Mme Galli-Marié during the short moment when the curtains are closed . . . . But let us be discreet and not remove the illusions held by the believers in the

[65] A digital copy is available on Google Books at https://books.google.com/books?id=-hQLAAAAIAAJ&pg=PP1#v=onepage&q&f=false.

parterre."[66] The illusions created by Leroux's body in *Le diable amoureux* did not simply disappear from *Les amours du diable,* but were performed by different machines. In both cases, audiences wanted to be deceived while they watched a performance, but also to have access to an explanation of the illusion—or at least to hints at how it wrought its effects.

While de Lasalle had to guess at how the mechanism of the palanquin worked (see Illustration 3.5), by the time Jules Moynet tackled the subject a decade later he had access to more specific information*:*

> The heroine of the piece appeared in a palanquin of a very flimsy appearance, constructed so as to take away all idea of a double bottom [of the palanquin], and resting on the shoulders of four slaves; all at once the actress closed two curtains of silk, the curtains opened almost immediately; the actress had disappeared: where had she gone? Now this was done in full light, on the perfectly lit down stage. This disappearance was for a long time unexplained, and excited a legitimate curiosity during a great number of performances. The explanation, however, was very simple; the supports of the palanquin were very frail in appearance, the canopy itself did not have sufficient thickness to enclose a person, the four thin columns, metal tubes, contained counterweights, whose wires passed through small pulleys placed at the top and were attached to a frame, upon which was formed the silk cushion on which the actress was lying. At the moment when the curtains closed, one of the porters, a machinist in costume, released the wire; the frame, carried by the counterweights, rose into the upper part, the very flat dome of which, made of a very light cardboard, adopted the form of the person who came to lodge there. The middle of this dome, in metallic fabric, allowed air to pass for the actress to breathe. This movement took place very rapidly, and, at the moment when it was completed, a wire pulled by one of the porters opened the curtains. All the means of set-painting had been employed so that the columns and the dome would appear thinner than they actually were. The porters, chosen for their strength, went away merrily, as soon as the disappearance had been effected. The illusion was complete. This trick had been discovered and built by A. Pierrard, machinist at the Théâtre-Lyrique.[67]

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[66] "Il est vrai de dire que si, le palanquin ne communique pas avec le plancher, ce qui empêche de supposer qu'une trappe complaisante fasse son office, il est surmonté d'un petit dôme dans lequel il est bien probable qu'un ressort envoie Mme Galli-Marié se loger pendant le court instant où les rideaux son fermés . . . . Mais soyons discret et n'ôtons pas leurs illusions aux croyants du parterre." Albert de Lasalle, "Chronique musicale: Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique: *Les amours du diable,* opéra-comique en quatre actes et huit tableaux de M. de Saint-Georges, musique d'Albert Grisar," *Le monde illustré* 333 (29 August 1863), 112-3.

[67] "Dans un opéra, *Les amours du diable*, l'héroïne de la pièce paraissait dans un palanquin d'un aspect très-léger, construit de façon à ôter toute idée de double fond, et porté sur les épaules de quatre esclaves; tout à coup l'actrice

This passage forms part of an extensive exploration of nineteenth-century stage technologies, complete with images and entitled *L'envers du théâtre: machines et decorations.* The machine was evidently included because it constituted a useful innovation and impressed audiences, but Moynet also notes that there was a relatively "simple" explanation for how it worked.

Les amours du diable balanced this showcasing of new technology with capitalizing on the popularity of previous works—in addition to *Le diable amoureux*, the work quoted and alluded to *Robert le diable* at numerous points (and with varying degrees of success). In his review, Berlioz described the fifth tableau in Act III: "Beelzebub immediately goes to a very dark place, surrounded by rocks, where he calls a crowd of women dressed in white muslin. As soon as he sees them arrayed around him, a solemn chorus of trombones bursts out in D minor (so as not to resemble the evocation of *Robert le diable*, which is in B minor), and Beelzebub tells them in terrifying pantomime: *Nonnes qui reposez* . . . etc."[68] Berlioz only slightly exaggerates the similarities between the two works: Beelzebub does not replicate Bertram's words, but the

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fermait deux rideaux de soie, les rideaux se rouvraient presque aussitôt ; l'actrice avait disparu : où avait-elle passé? Or ceci se faisait en pleine lumière, sur l'avant-scène parfaitement éclairée. Cette disparition fut longtemps inexpliquée et excita pendant un grand nombre de représentations une légitime curiosité. L'explication en était cependant fort simple; les supports du palanquin étaient d'apparence fort grêle, le couronnement ne présentait lui-même aucune épaisseur pouvant renfermer une personne, les quatre colonnettes, tubes de métal, renfermaient des contre-poids, dont les fils passaient par de petites poulies placées au sommet, et venaient prendre un cadre formant le dessus du coussin de soie sur lequel était couchée l'actrice. Au moment où les rideaux se fermaient, un des porteurs, machiniste costumé, lâchait le fil de retraite; le cadre, entraîné par les contre-poids, montait dans la partie supérieure dont le dôme très-aplati, et fait de cartonnage très-léger, épousait la forme de la personne qui venait s'y loger. Le milieu de ce dôme, en toile métallique, laissait passer l'air pour que l'actrice pût respirer. Le mouvement s'opérait très-rapidement, et, au moment où il était accompli, un fil tiré par un des porteurs ouvrait les rideaux. Tous les moyens que fournit la peinture avaient été employés pour que les colonnettes et le dôme présentassent à la vue moins d'épaisseur qu'ils n'en avaient réellement. Les porteurs, choisis parmi des hommes robustes, s'en allaient allègrement, aussitôt la disparition. L'illusion était complète. Ce truc avait été trouvé et construit par A. Pierrard, machiniste du Théâtre-Lyrique." Jules Moynet, "Les trucs," *L'envers du théâtre: machines et décorations* (Paris: Hachette, 1874), 92-3.

[68] "Belzébuth se rend aussitôt dans un endroit fort sombre, entouré de rochers, où il appelle une foule de femmes vêtues de mousseline blanche. Aussitôt qu'il les voit rangées autour de lui, une solennelle sonnerie de trombones éclate en *ré* mineur (afin de ne pas ressembler à l'évocation de Robert-le-Diable qui est en *si* mineur), et Belzébuth leur dit en pantomime terrible : *Nonnes qui reposez* . . . etc.." Ibid.

musical allusions would have been clearly recognized by audience members. In 1853 and even at the time of the revival in 1863, *Robert* was still a popular attraction on the operatic stage.

Berlioz questions some of these musical decisions more directly as he continues his lengthy analysis:

> But as she ascends little by little the rocky staircase that leads to the holy place, threatening signs terrify the audience: it thunders; the sea is unleashed, and the tin-plate that serves as a tam-tam at the Théâtre-Lyrique, sounds again. Finally, at the moment when the demon entered the church and received the nuptial blessing, a thunderbolt threw her lifeless, and all, with the deepest consternation, recognized that the dead woman was not Lilia. This thunderbolt has always intrigued me in the ballet of M. de Saint-Georges the elder, as it intrigues me in the new opera of M. de Saint-Georges the younger. Is the lightning coming from heaven or hell? Who is it that launches it? Is it God, displeased at seeing a damned woman profane the holy place and the sacrament of marriage? Or is it Beelzebub, furious that one of his subjects is exposing herself to the influence of religion and love, and consequently to eternal salvation? There is a profound mystery here. But it doesn't matter, the scene is romantic and beautiful. I only wish that the thunderbolt were launched by a more experienced hand.[69]

Here, Berlioz takes issue with the misuse of thunder in both *Les amours du diable* and the earlier *Le diable amoureux*. Indeed, this effect was popular in many theatrical works, both on the primary and popular stages, and was typically associated with demonic spectacle. A tam-tam is used to produce thunder in Berlioz's own *La damnation de Faust*—Berlioz's earlier comments about noise and his observation that the audience was terrified were in keeping with his own orchestral strategies. That the reason for the effect was unclear in these work flags up the danger

[69] "Mais, au fur et à mesure qu'elle monte l'escalier de rochers qui précède le saint lieu, des signes menaçants épouvantent l'assistance : il tonne; la mer est déchaînée, et le bain de siège en fer-blanc qui sert de tam-tam au Théâtre-Lyrique retentit de nouveau. Enfin, au moment où la démone va entrer dans l'église et recevoir la bénédiction nuptiale, un coup de foudre la renverse sans vie, et tous, avec la plus profonde consternation, reconnaissent que la morte n'était point Lilia. Ce coup de tonnerre m'a toujours intrigué dans le ballet de M. de Saint-Georges l'ancien, comme il m'intrigue dans le nouvel opéra de M. de Saint-Georges le jeune. La foudre vient-elle du ciel ou de l'enfer ? Qui est-ce qui la lance ? Est-ce Dieu, mécontent de voir une damnée profaner le saint lieu et le sacrement du mariage ? ou bien est-ce Belzébuth, furieux qu'une de ses sujettes s'expose à l'influence de la religion et de l'amour, et par suite à la salvation éternelle ? Il y a là un mystère profond. Mais c'est égal, la scène est romantique et belle. Je voudrais seulement que la foudre partît d'une main plus exercée." Berlioz, "Théâtre-Lyrique: Première représentation de *les amours du diable*, opéra-féerie en trois actes et neuf tableaux, paroles de M. de Saint-Georges, musique de M. A. Grisar," *Journal des débats,* March 17, 1853, 1.

of "effects without causes." Were these works indeed confirmation that there was some truth in Wagner's critique of French practices? Perhaps not. Berlioz's juxtaposition of God and Beelzebub, questioning who was responsible for the sounds, brings to light an underlying question: who is the creator of this spectacle? Just as Tuffet absolved the male spectators of their indiscretions by blaming the power of the female devil, Berlioz implies that darker forces are at work—feeding into the audiences' desire to believe in the magic of the spectacle and contributing to a conception of the demonic conjurer that still persisted half a century later when Méliès's works emerged.

Conclusion

By 1845, Leroux had retired due to failing health—unsurprisingly, given the strain her body had endured during the run of *Le diable amoureux.* One critic noted that "never has a longer, more difficult, and more tiring mimed part been performed by a dancer."[70] The ballet was successfully restaged in a revised version for the Russian Imperial Ballet in 1848 by the well-known choreographer Marius Petipa (and his father Jean Antoine Petipa) with the new title *Satanella.*[71] This time, the lead role was performed by Elena Andreianova, who had studied with the Taglionis and was the first Russian ballerina to interpret the title role in *Giselle*, receiving even greater fame than Leroux. Yet nine years after the revival she was dead at the age of thirty-eight, and both versions quickly disappeared from the repertoire.

[70] "Jamais rôle mimique plus long, plus difficile et plus fatigant en effet n'a été rempli par une danseuse; mais aussi, jamais il n'avait été donné à une actrice de traduire par la pantomime et la danse un caractère plus enjoué, plus passionné, plus dramatique, plus varié enfin de toutes les nuances de l'amour, du dépit, de l'orgueil et de la gaité." Blanchard, "Académie royale de musique," (September 27, 1840): 473.

[71] The original music was re-orchestrated by Konstantin Liadov and the revival premiered on February 10, 1848 at the Bolshoi Kamenny Theatre in St. Petersburg, Russia.

In his *Mémoires,* Véron emphasizes the importance and requirements of the dancers' bodies:

> My medical studies allowed me to distinguish, perhaps more readily than the other judges, those girls whose health, temperament, bodily proportions, and the delicacy of the joints of their feet and hands, rendered the most suitable for the art of dance. I often stopped the lessons of young children who were sickly, doddery, resembling little old men, and whom this exercise weakened instead of fortifying. Their mothers and ballet masters, their protectors, respectfully contested my decisions; but a sense of humanity made me inflexible.[72]

While elsewhere in his account he speaks of the dancers' beauty alongside a need for talent, here the focus is entirely on anatomy—the body's raw materials. Véron attempts to counter his previous objectification of the dancers' bodies, but given his reputation for exploitation, his concern for their wellbeing seems less than genuine. In contrast, Tuffet painted a very different picture in his discussion of ballet that followed his remarks on *Le Diable amoureux*:

> It is there [at the Opéra] that the poor girl destined to dance will undergo torture that humanity has banished from our laws. It is necessary first to imprison her feet in a box with grooves; there, heel against heel and knees apart, the feet are forced to get used to staying by themselves on a parallel line. [. . .]
>
> And these tortures, these studies must be continuous and incessant. The Jew Ahasverus received as a punishment this order which the angel repeated unceasingly to him: Walk! Walk! — The dancer is a poor wandering Jew who constantly hears the demon crying to her: Dance! Dance![73]

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[72] "Cependant mes études médicales me faisaient distinguer, plus sûrement peut-être que les autres juges, celles que leur santé, leur tempérament, les proportions de leur corps, la finesse des attaches des pieds et des mains, rendaient les plus propres à étudier l'art de la danse. Il m'arrivait souvent de faire cesser les leçons à de jeunes enfants malingres, cacochymes, ressemblant à de petits vieillards, et que cet exercice affaiblissait au lieu de les fortifier. Les mères et les maîtres de ballet, leurs protecteurs, combattaient respectueusement mes décisions; mais un sentiment d'humanité me rendait inflexible. Ces examens d'enfants me rappelaient un peu les matinées de mes années de jeunesse, passées au milieu des nouveau-nés, des enfants malades et des nourrices." Véron, *Mémoires d'un bourgeois de Paris,* 221.

[73] "C'est là que la pauvre jeune fille qui se destine à la danse va subir la torture, que l'humanité a bannie de nos lois. Il faut d'abord emprisonner ses pieds dans une boîte à rainures; là, talon contre talon et genoux en dehors, les pieds sont forcés de s'habituer à rester d'eux-mêmes sur une ligne parallèle. — C'est ce qu'on appelle se tourner. Ensuite on passe à un autre genre de torture : poser le pied sur une barre que l'on doit tenir avec la main opposée au pied qui exerce. — C'est ce qu'on appelle se casser. Et puis après avoir été mises à la question, les pauvres nymphes doivent étudier assidûment les assemblés, les jetés, les balancés, les ronds de jambes, les fouettés, les cabrioles, les pirouettes sur le coude-pied, les sauts de basque, les pas de bourrée et les entrechats à quatre, à six et à huit. — Et ces tortures, ces études doivent être continuelles, incessantes. Le juif Ahasvérus a reçu pour punition cet ordre que

Leroux and the other dancers were victims, whether indentured to an institution or the devil. In both cases, the dancers' bodies were likened to objects to be pushed to (and beyond) their limits as a means of creating spectacle.

Stories of dancers' failing bodies and early deaths drew attention to the vulnerability of the working body, especially in comparison to the voice, given the much longer career of opera singers. Likewise, the palanquin used in *Les amours du diable* and other stage machines were quickly replaced by newer and more impressive stage tricks in works such as *Faust.* Whether *Le diable amoureux* would have remained in the repertoire had Leroux and Andreianova continued to dance remains in the realm of speculation. Nineteenth-century operatic and ballet culture meant that singers and dancers were treated like stars: they were written about extensively in the French press, and the perceived quality of their performances often determined a work's success.

As in the Faust works of the 1850s describe in the following chapter, the creators of the *opéra-féerie* used machines in complex ways that anticipated the birth of cinema. Berlioz's accounts of one moment in this work and the earlier ballet demonstrate this evolution. Saint-Georges junior replicated (word-for-word) Beelzebub's entrance in the ballet in his adaptation, but Berlioz's description of each varies hugely. For the earlier work, he explains how "The incantation succeeds, the thunderbolt breaks out, and Satan appears on a luminous cloud."[74] In contrast, his description of the latter brings to mind the common trick of the growing devil seen in Méliès's films: "From a luminous point, which grows incredibly little by little, we see Beelzebub emerge, gilded and gleaming, a great devil six feet high, with something black rolled

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l'ange lui répète sans cesse: Marche! marche! — La danseuse est une pauvre juive errante qui entend sans cesse le démon qui lui crie: Danse! danse!" Tuffet, *Les mystères des théâtres de Paris*, 388.

[74] "La conjuration réussit, la foudre éclate, et Satan paraît sur un nuage lumineux ayant à ses pieds la belle Urielle, divine diablesse qu'il met aux ordres de Frédéric, à la condition pour elle de cacher son sexe, de servir de page au jeune comte et de consommer sa damnation." Berlioz, "Le diable amoureux," 1.

up on the ground like a hedgehog in front of him."[75] The hedgehog then transforms into Urielle—a bizarre divergence from the novella, in which a camel's head first appears (that the small hedgehog would accentuate the large size of Beelzebub seems to be the only explanation for the choice of this animal).

The reviews written by Berlioz and his contemporaries help us reimagine these works and their impact. Their disappearance from the repertoire and (largely) from musicological discourse did not betray a lack of impact, but indicates that they spoke to a particular moment in history, like the parodies addressed in Chapter Two. By using Cazotte's story of *Le diable amoureux* to reflect on the seductive properties of musico-visual spectacle, Saint-Georges senior's ballet-pantomime sheds light on a moment in French cultural history when countless composers, librettists, set designers and choreographers were exploring the possibilities of the medium of the stage. If this work looked back at the past and at the present, then Saint-Georges junior's *Les amours du diable* looked to the future and to the continued grasp that multisensory experiences would continue to exert on susceptible humans.

[75] "D'un point lumineux qui s'agrandit démesurément peu à peu, nous voyons sortir Belzébuth, doré, rutilant, un grand diable de six pieds de haut, avec quelque chose de noir roulé à terre en hérisson au-devant de lui." Berlioz, "Théâtre-Lyrique," 2. For an example of Méliès's use of this device, see *Le diable géant ou le miracle de la madonne* (1901).

CHAPTER IV

THE DEVIL'S HANDIWORK:

TOWARD A MEDIA ARCHAEOLOGY OF GOETHE'S *FAUST*

In 1827, Nerval's new translation of Goethe's *Faust, Part I* was published in France, prompting a number of stage adaptations of the supposedly unstageable play. Since melodramatic settings of popular texts frequently appeared at the Porte Saint-Martin, it was no surprise when Béraud, Merle, and Nodier's *drame Faust* appeared there in 1828, accompanied by Alexandre Piccini's music.[1] In the audience sat Carl Friedrich Zelter, prolific composer and longtime friend of Goethe. In a letter to the playwright he reported that: "It is Goethe's *Faust*; it is Gretchen, Mephistopheles, Martha, but travestied, materialized, confined to earth and hell [. . .] all the spiritual part is effaced. We have every scene in the original, but all at cross purposes."[2] A century later, Walter Benjamin echoed Zelter's observation of a travestied *Faust* when referring to a number of cinematic adaptations, including silent shorts by George Méliès and the Lumière brothers, who compressed the original play to an even greater extent by reducing it to a series of brief clips (Méliès's 1897 *Faust et Marguerite* lasted only twenty minutes owing to the technical restrictions of the new medium).

The practice of cutting down works in the process of adaptation was far from new, but it was particularly conspicuous throughout the French history of *Faust*. The legacy of Goethe's play has drawn special attention to the various ways in which it has been reimagined. Moreover,

[1] The premiere took place on 29 October and included choreography by Coraly and stage design by Lefèvre.

[2] Carl Friedrich Zelter, *Goethe's Letters to Zelter: With Extracts from those of Zelter to Goethe*, trans. and annotated by A. D. Coleridge (London: George Bell and Sons, 1892), 110.

the cyclical trend of dismantling and rebuilding Goethe's *Faust*—which itself was originally published as a fragment—reveals the signs of agonistic struggle both with tackling a seminal German work and with the challenge of making it conform to different formats and media.

In *Faust*, Mephistopheles draws our attention to the inadequacies of written and spoken words, music, and the visual arts as independent media. Across the various stage adaptations, the devil demands spectacular treatment, pushing boundaries—technological as well as moral—to breaking point. Recognizing this, Méliès and other filmmakers used the character as motivation for the creation of specifically cinematic effects, with Méliès going so far as to play the devil in some of his films. This drew attention to the devil's conjuring ability by identifying the character with the creator. In his overview of Faust films, Osman Durrani observes that

> A succession of twentieth-century directors were attracted to Faust not least because of the challenge to develop new cinematic strategies. No longer bound by conventional constraints, they dispensed with tangible props and three-dimensional settings, mixing shadows, cartoons, mechanical marionettes and live actors in vibrant productions that bear the hallmark of many styles, ranging from the woodcut-like effects of Expressionism to digitization. . . . The majority of Faust films were pioneering achievements that occupy a special place in cinema history.[3]

Durrani focuses specifically on the Faust films, but Mephistopheles's hold extended to a number of other silent shorts in which the devil both served as an excuse for spectacle and drew attention to the otherworldly nature of these effects.

Recent articles on the earliest of the Faust adaptations by Rose Theresa and Inez Hedges have revealed that Gounod's rather than Goethe's *Faust* was often used as a reference point—between 1897 and 1926, approximately thirty silent films adapted selections from the opera.[4]

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[3] Osman Durrani, *Faust: Icon of Modern Culture* (Hastings, UK: Helm Information, 2004), 314.

[4] Rose Theresa, "From Méphistophélès to Méliès: Spectacle and Narrative in Opéra and Early Film," in *Between Opéra and Cinema*, ed. Jeongwon Joe and Rose M. Theresa (New York: Routledge, 2002), 1–18; Inez Hedges,

Filmmakers would sometimes set part of a scene (typically featuring the devil performing a trick), but the aforementioned *Faust et Marguerite* by Méliès reduced the whole opera to a short film, retaining aspects of the staging and choreography while copying the original costumes.[5] The musical accompaniment varied from live arrangements of sections of the work to the eventual synchronization of recordings made by well-known opera singers.[6] Potential copyright issues notwithstanding, textual fidelity was far less important than the invocation of visual (and to a certain extent sonic) effects that were familiar from the opera.

The interest in spectacle evinced by these cinematic adaptions as well as in Gounod's opera echoes the *drame* Zelter dismissed as a "materialized" version of Faust, and thereby the broader body of Faust works performed in the boulevard theaters. It is tempting to disrupt the accepted critical history of how Gounod's *Faust* is situated in the lineage of grand opera by using these popular works to trace an alternative linear evolution of spectacle from this *drame* through Gounod's work to the cinematic adaptations. Yet such an evolution forms only one part of the tale. The conflicting responses to technological progress addressed in Chapter 2 shaped the Faust adaptations, which alternately embraced and rejected spectacle as Parisian culture at once played into and reflected the birth of cinema. The musical and visual effects that contributed to (and

"Faust and Early Film Spectatorship," in *Framing Faust: Twentieth-Century Cultural Struggles* (Carbondale, IL: SIU Press, 2009), 12-43.

[5] A surviving fragment is available online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AlED2lR83H8. It was produced by the Star Film Company and released in France, the UK, and the US.

[6] A piano arrangement of certain corresponding parts was produced for *Faust et Marguerite* and the score was sold with the film. The operatic synchronizations tended to focus on the singer over visual spectacle (though the singers' gestures were a different type of spectacle!) and so have received little attention from film scholars—e.g. Lumière's *Faust* film starring the opera singer Jeanne Hatto. See Sarah Fuchs Sampson, *Technologies of Singing, Teaching, and Spectating in French Operatic Culture, 1870-1914* (PhD diss, University of Rochester, 2016).

drove) the success of Gounod's adaptation display this tension alongside related complications raised by the question of genre.

Table 4.1: Select Faust works premiered in Paris, 1827-1869

Work	**Playwright/Composer**	**Premiere**	**Genre**	**Theater**
Faust	Théaulon	27 Oct. 1827	drame lyrique	Nouveautés
Faust	Béraud, Merle, Nodier, Piccini	29 Oct. 1828	drame	Porte Saint-Martin
Fausto	Bertin	17 Mar. 1831	opera semiseria	Théâtre-Italien
Faust et Marguerite	Doinet, Cohen	15 Apr. 1846	poème lyrique	Henri Herz Salle
Faust et Marguerite	Carré, Coudor	19 Aug. 1850	drame fantastique	Gymnase-Dramatique
Méphistophélès	Delaporte, Ruytler	13 Mar. 1858	saynète musical	Variétés
Faust	Dennery, Artus	27 Sept. 1858	drame fantastique	Porte Saint-Martin
Faust et Framboisy	Bourdois, Lapointe,	27 Nov. 1858	drame burlesque	Delassements-Comiques
Faust	Carré, Barbier, Gounod	19 Mar. 1859 & 3 Mar. 1869	grand opera	Théâtre-Lyrique & Opéra

In this chapter, I reject a primarily linear narrative of media developments from text to stage to screen, instead following Huhtamo and Parikka's focus on topoi.[7] Adopting this approach in examining the Faust adaptations, I investigate the various musico-visual effects that contributed to the devilish spectacle with which the creators of these works experimented. In addition to works seen on the popular stage, including Carré and Coudor's *Faust et Marguerite* (1850), Michel Delaporte's *Méphistophélès* (1858), Adolphe Dennery's *Faust* (1858), and

[7] Huhtamo and Parikka, eds., *Media Archaeology*.

Boudois and Armand Lapointe's *Faust et Framboisy,* I examine Gounod's *Faust* (1859/69) in both its versions (see Table 4.1 for a selection of the Faust works). By focusing on topoi rather than linear progression, I attempt to avoid letting the enormity of Gounod's opera drive a narrative in which the other works exist solely in relation to it. In doing so, I connect these nineteenth-century productions with their cinematic successors, expanding on Theresa's discussion of Gounod and Méliès to illuminate the equally vital roles the boulevard works played in the development of film.

How does one create spectacle? Or rather, how does one create spectacle that is recognized as such, that is indubitably spectacular? The creators of the Faust adaptations used the figure of Mephistopheles to investigate the possibilities of visual and musical spectacle, pushing the boundaries of nineteenth-century musical stage genres. After summarizing *Faust*'s journey on the stage from Goethe to Gounod, this chapter examines these divergent approaches. First, I focus on speed and how music (or the lack thereof) and visual special effects shaped how audiences experienced the devil's entrances. I then turn to Mephistopheles's conjuring of Marguerite as an example of his assertion of devilish power, blurring the line between creator and conjurer (which anticipates Méliès's commentary on this concept). The various settings of the Walpurgis Night offer examples of how the creators of these works capitalized on the audience's desire for multisensory engagement, in turn highlighting new possibilities of the stage medium. Finally, I explore settings of the final scene of *Faust* that split the stage to display heaven and hell concurrently, illuminating technology's dual ambiguous associations with both good and evil.

From book to stage to film

A book or a play? The history of *Faust* and how to define Goethe's masterpiece has always been complex. The Faust legend had already appeared in text, on stage, and through music, but Goethe seemed to mix all three. For many, the dense philosophy elaborated in the play made it unsuitable for the stage—an oft repeated observation that sustained the binary opposition between the weighty German text and the flightiness of subsequent French stage adaptations. In reality, it was not only the French who envisioned the work as a staged spectacle. Goethe's intention to mount a production of *Faust* has been well documented, as has his desire for music—ideally (the unfortunately deceased) Mozart, or, in second place, Zelter:

> Finally [I can] report that we are faced with a strange enterprise, namely to perform *Faust* as it stands, insofar as that should prove at least partially achievable. Would that you might provide us with some assistance in composing music, especially for the Easter chorus and the lullaby song.[8]

As Goethe implied, *Faust* included numerous moments at which music was clearly intended to be present.

The proposed staging in Weimar never took place. However, while Goethe was at first ambivalent toward another attempt and later opposed it, in mid-1810s Berlin the nobleman and musician Anton Heinrich Radziwell recited a selection of early scenes and accompanied himself on the cello, with the poet in attendance. Goethe was reportedly impressed and permitted a subsequent private production on May 24, 1819, organized by Karl Graf von Brühl, with music by Radziwill.[9] Goethe's initial comments to Zelter suggest the presumption of music for the texts

[8] Goethe to Zelter (Nov 10, 1810), in Durrani, *Faust: Icon of Modern Culture*, 200.

[9] Choir directed by Zelter. This production has been largely forgotten—likely due to the lack of documentation of what it exactly involved. Initially the only surviving records were rehearsal accounts and sketches for the scenery. However, the score was discovered in the late 1990s in Belarus and was staged by their National Opera in 1999. See Durrani, *Faust: Icon of Modern Culture,* 200-201. Also, Bernd Malh, *Goethe's Faust auf der Bühne (1806-1998)* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1999).

that were already scripted as songs. Rehearsal accounts, set designs, and (more recently) a rediscovered score show numerous other additions, including musical effects.[10] These various musical elements, which followed contemporary melodrama practices, paint a picture of a larger musical component than Goethe's initial comments suggest. Whether Goethe enjoyed or approved of the production remains unknown, as does the extent to which these musical "effects" contributed to the rise of musical spectacle on the French stage.

Debates over whether *Faust* was suitable for the stage persisted throughout the nineteenth century. Further productions followed, some of which Goethe refused to endorse, claiming he no longer had any interest in *Faust* being staged, while he became reluctantly involved with others.[11] Regardless of the author's preferences, this largely forgotten part of *Faust's* history suggests value in exploring the various ways in which aspects of the play might be musically realized. The degree to which French playwrights, librettists, and composers knew about the German stagings remains unclear. Writers such as Madame de Staël informed Parisians about broader German culture and reports of a variety of foreign performances appeared in the press as the century progressed, so reviews of some of the *Faust* adaptations may well have appeared. In any case, this history complicates the polarization of French and German approaches to *Faust*, demonstrating instead their shared theatrical history.

While the Germans were struggling with how to stage *Faust*, French explorations of the possibilities of musico-visual spectacle began with the first *Faust* stage adaptations of the 1820s.

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[10] Beate Agnes Schmidt, "Anton von Radziwill: Compositionen zu Goethes *Faust* (1808–1832)," in *Musik in Goethes 'Faust': Dramaturgie, Rezeption und Aufführungspraxis* (Sinzig, Germany: Studio Verlag, 2006), 203–88.

[11] Durrani, *Faust: Icon of Modern Culture*, 200-1. August Klingemann's staging (with changes) alongside his own Faust play at the Brunswick court theater on January 19, 1829, is generally regarded as the first performance of the play. Goethe reportedly said that since he no longer had any interest in *Faust* in the theater, Klingemann was free to do as he wished.

In her article on these early works, Hibberd explains that "the ultimate transference from the philosophical to the visual, and thus from the moral to the demonic elements of the work, came with a number of stage versions of the legend which . . . were already influencing the nature of translations and paintings."[12] Although it can be tempting to see the transition from text to stage to screen as a straightforward evolution, those who wanted to actualize Goethe's text constantly shifted between different media. In turn, responses in the fine arts, including Delacroix's illustrations (1825), shaped later theatrical adaptations such as Gounod's *Faust*. Likewise, Faust's sound world moved from the theatrical stage to concert and recital halls, and back again.

Hibberd traces *Faust*'s journey from popular theaters, including incarnations of the story at the Théâtre des Nouveautés (Théaulon's 1827 *drame lyrique*) and the Porte Saint-Martin (Béraud's 1828 *drame*), to the primary theaters, where the "debasement" of the heavily philosophical play was less well received (Bertin's 1831 *Faust*, Théâtre-Italien). Some of the key moments of spectacle that garnered popularity for Gounod's *Faust* appeared in these works. Despite the Mephistophelean elements in the hugely successful *Robert le diable*, it would take nearly another three decades for Faust himself to reappear on one of the major stages due to the conundrum of how to deal with the weighty philosophy of Goethe's play.

As discussed in Chapter 1, plenty of wealthy Parisians frequented the Boulevard theaters, yet "despite the diverse make-up of such audiences . . . the genres staged and the audience reaction were always perceived by critics as inferior: common, immoral and lacking intelligence."[13] One of the reviews Hibberd cites claims that "There are people who see in *Faust* only devilry," concisely summarizing the view of demonic spectacle as playing a minor and

[12] Hibberd, "'*Cette diablerie philosophique'*: *Faust* Criticism in Paris c.1830," in *Reading Critics Reading*, 114.

[13] Ibid., 119.

unimportant part in Goethe's work.[14] Other reviews echo this view, placing morality and spectacle in opposing positions:

> We could see in this diabolical and sacred phantasmagoria only a vulgar, morally undistinguished *mélodrame.* [. . .] The characters are neither real nor fantastic; they have no character, no life. [. . .] However, we would not be surprised if [Théaulon's] *Faust* were to achieve success. We discern some good pieces of music, not at all badly played ... ingenious machines, rich costumes, magnificent decor; in short a brilliant and varied spectacle that does not address the spirit or the heart, but which is far from boring and which must surely attract a crowd.[15]

Even as interest in adapting Goethe's play declined and historical topics began to dominate the primary theaters, Mephistopheles remained a popular character. Hibberd lists Lesguillon's drame *Méphistophélès, ou le diable et la jeune fille* as an example—a work that was finally staged at the Panthéon in 1832 after having been previously banned by the censor for its attacks on the establishment. The satirical devil was not new to Paris: many journals sported variations of his name.[16] Yet the stage endowed him with greater presence: here, the devil came alive and leapt off the page. The treatment of Gounod's music in the cinematic Fausts would return to this approach, bringing it back to its Boulevard roots.

Prior to his triumphant return to the stage in the 1850s, Mephistopheles appeared in Victor Doinet and Henry Cohen's 1846 *Faust et Marguerite.* This "poème lyrique after Goethe" preceded Berlioz's better-known orchestral work, premiering at the Henri Herz salle on 15 April 1846. Like *La damnation de Faust,* this work was for orchestra and included just three singers filling the roles of Marguerite, Faust, and Mephistopheles. Carré and Coudor's *Faust et Marguerite*, which would later become the basis for Gounod's opera, followed in 1850. On the

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[14] *Le Corsaire,* November 2, 1828, qtd. and trans. in ibid.

[15] *Le Globe,* 1 Nov 1827, trans. in Hibberd, "'*Cette diablerie philosophique.*"

[16] See Chapter 1, 21, n. 36

whole, the French public was more accepting of *Faust* on the stage in the late 1840s than it had been in the late 1820s. However, one important voice took exception: that of Nerval. One could be forgiven for assuming that the celebrated translator of *Faust* would not object to French theatrical adaptations of the work. His own interpretation found its success through taking certain liberties with Goethe's text, in contrast to the more direct translation provided by Stapfer.[17] He nonetheless voiced displeasure in a review of a performance of Carré and Coudor's *drame fantastique Faust et Marguerite*:

> What can one say now that Faust is playing this week at the Gymnase? [. . .] That it is a shame there is no law to stop people from mutilating and misrepresenting foreign masterpieces. [. . .] Do you think Marguerite, sitting at her spinning wheel, who sang the King of Thule, while admiring herself in the mirror, wearing jewels that the devil sent, wasn't better off in her little room than the garden?[18]

Premiered at the Gymnase on 19 August 1850, the abridged version of the play included spoken text and musical interludes, approaching Goethe from a comic angle befitting the Boulevard. Much of the comedy to be found in Gounod's portrayal of Mephistopheles had its origins here, while tragic moments such as the infanticide were removed in the interest of levity. Whereas Nerval's changes focused on adapting the medium, developing Goethe's unstageable play into more of a literary text intended for consumption by readers, the Gymnase's alterations appear, at first glance, to be more superficial. If it were not for the success of Gounod's opera, *Faust et Marguerite* might have remained in the repertoire as another work that distorted Goethe. Instead, it exemplifies innovative stage techniques that took the German play as a blueprint for how the story might better fit a French aesthetic.

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[17] See Hibberd, "*Faust* Criticism in Paris, c.1830," 113.

[18] Nerval, *La presse*, August 26, 1850; qtd in Jacques-Gabriel Prod 'homme and Arthur Dandelot, *Gounod (1818-1893) sa vie et ses œuvres* (Paris: C. Delagrave, 1911), 1: 187.

Once *Faust et Marguerite* opened the door for a return to adapting Goethe's play more directly, other adaptations began to reappear on the boulevard stages. 1858 was a particularly popular year for Faust works. Many critics discussed the number of *Fausts* on view:

> *Faust* is fashionable. The Porte-Saint-Martin takes the most money with the *Faust* of M. Philippe, known at all times as Dennery. The Théâtre-Lyrique prepares a *Faust* by M. Gounod, and the Gymnase is preparing to mount another *Faust* by I do not know who. The Folies-Nouvelles wanted to dominate the competition, and are exhibiting a certain *Faust* with white clown makeup, who, to be more sure of bewitching its audience, borrowed the features of [the comic mime] Paul Legrand.[19]

Audiences could also see parodies of Goethe's work in Delaporte's *Méphistophélès* at the Théâtre des Variétés in March and Bourdois and Lapointe's *Faust et Framboisy* at the Théâtre des Délassements-Comiques in November of 1858.[20] The first of these demonstrates Mephistopeheles's comic potential, initially seen in the 1850 Gymnase production, but in a shorter piece with just four characters and a small musical ensemble. Although Delaporte's *Méphistophélès* focused on the devil rather than Faust himself, the *saynète musical* took the name of the Faustian devil. In this comic musical sketch, Delaporte extracted Mephistopheles from the Stygian depths of German philosophy by featuring him in a short, light-hearted play with a handful of songs. Unlike the popular genre of vaudeville, used for many comic works at the time, this music was written to order by the composer Rustler.

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[19] "Faust est à la mode. La Porte-Saint-Martin bat monnaie avec le *Faust* de M. Philippe, connu de tout temps sous le nom de Dennery. Le Théâtre-Lyrique prépare un *Faust* de M. Gounod, et le Gymnase s'apprête à monter un autre *Faust* de je ne sais qui. Les Folies-Nouvelles ont voulu primer la concurrence, et exhibent un certain *Faust* enfariné, qui, pour être plus sur d'ensorceler son monde, a emprunté les traits de Paul Legrand." "Chronique théâtrale," *Le voleur illustré* 109 (December 3, 1858): 79. No record of the Gymnase *Faust* exists—it may have been pulled due to the sheer number of Fausts on the stage. The Folies-Nouvelles work that the critics references was a parody premiered in November entitled *Le faux Faust* by Barbier (Frédéric, not Jules).

[20] Dennery also went by D'Ennery. Lapointe was best known as the librettist of Offenbach's opérette bouffe *Mesdames de la halle*, which premiered a few months prior to *Faust et Framboisy*.

Dennery and Artus's *Faust* could not be more different. Discussions of the work today—normally alongside Gounod's work—are almost always limited to the observation that it featured a volcano.[21] Yet Dennery's *Faust*, which appeared at the Porte Saint-Martin, played a much larger role in the nineteenth century—the work delayed the premiere of Gounod's opera, since the director of the Théâtre-Lyrique did not want competing *Fausts* on the Parisian stage.[22] The postponement was only partially effective: many reviews of Gounod's work claimed that the Porte Saint-Martin *drame* visually overshadowed its successor. The winning team of Cambon and Thierry (who also worked on Gounod's *Faust*) created an impressive *mise-en-scène* that captured the attention of the Parisian public by catering to its desire for sensory overload. In *Le Figaro*, Charles de Courcy claimed that "One has rarely seen a more brilliant premiere, and, to use a phrase that I never use, I will say that all of Paris was there."[23] Echoing these sentiments, Henri Rochefort concluded his discussion of the work's dubious relation to Goethe by claiming that:

> But the attraction of *Faust* will not be in the more or less intelligent way in which he has been rejuvenated. That which astonishes, which delights, which enchants, from which one does the honors of 150 performances for which the work is known, is the staging. No one, not the Opéra, nor any of the theaters which intend to take the public by the eyes, have ever approached such splendor, nor, above all, such profusion.[24]

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[21] For example, Henry Bacon, "The Faust Theme in Romantic Music," *Lives of Faust: The Faust Theme in Literature and Music. A Reader*, ed. Lorna Fitzsimmons (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 210.

[22] Steven Huebner, *The Operas of Charles Gounod* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 104-5.

[23] "On a rarement vu de plus brillante première représentation, et, pour me servir d'une phrase qui n'a jamais servi, je dirai que tout Paris était là." Charles de Courcy, *Le figaro* 379 (October 3, 1858): 6.

[24] "Mais l'attrait du Faust ne sera pas dans la manière plus ou moins intelligente dont il a été rajeuni. Ce qui étonne, ce qui ravit, ce qui enchante, ce à quoi on fera les honneurs des 150 représentations auxquelles est appelé l'ouvrage, c'est la mise en scène. Jamais, ni l'Opéra, ni aucun des théâtres qui ont la prétention de prendre le public par les yeux, n'avaient approché d'une pareille splendeur, ni surtout d'une pareille profusion." Henri Rochefort, "Courrier des théâtres: Porte-Saint-Martin: *Faust*, drame en cinq actes et seize tableaux, par M. Dennery," *La presse théâtrale* 39 (October 3, 1858): 1.

Rochefort goes on to praise Rouvière, who created the role of Mephistopheles: "All the actors have done their duty, neither more nor less. Only one has surpassed the goal, it is M. Rouvière. There are about ten individuals in Paris who are passionate about M. Rouvière. Grassot, in I no longer know which piece, where he kept repeating: *see my satanic laughter*."[25] Paul Hadol's caricature of the work for *Le Gaulois* shows the devil center stage, holding two of his minions positioned on sticks, taking charge of the *drame* (see Illustration 4.1).

Illustration 4.1. Paul Hadol, "Faust: Théâtre de le Porte Saint-Martin," *Le Gaulois,* F-Po Estampes Scenes Faust (24)[26]

[25] "Tous les acteurs ont fait leur devoir, ni plus ni moins. Un seul a dépassé le but, c'est M. Rouvière. Il y a, à Paris, une dizaine d'individus que M. Rouvière passionne. S'il veut se contenter des suffrages de cette minorité, il est dans son droit; quant à nous, nous n'avons bien saisi en lui qu'un côté comique; le côté terrible nous a complétement échappé. Il nous a rappelé, d'une façon désespérante, Grassot, dans je ne sais plus quelle pièce où il répétait constamment: *vois mon rire satanique.*" Ibid.

[26] A digital copy is available on Gallica at http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb42386466d.

Faust et Framboisy premiered exactly two months after Dennery's *Faust*. Despite its similar use of lurid spectacle, it has received even less attention than the Porte Saint-Martin work, likely due to the smaller theater and the greater focus on humor over spectacle. In this retelling of *Faust*, Mephistopheles appears at first as a friend of Faust, as in Dennery's work—this time as an older man called "Bacchus" (associating the devil with Dionysian excess). Other elements of the original play were retained, although some changes were made. It begins with Faust as a scholar and teacher: he falls for Marguerite, travels with Mephistopheles, and—as in many of the other French works—is damned to hell at the end. Much of the comedy arises from exaggeration and distortion. After Mephistopheles appears Faust regains his youth, but this time appears as a dandy. Like some of the parodies examined in Chapter Two, the music is taken from a large number of operas (though more original music is used as a supplement, a practice that became increasingly common as the century progressed). Although comedy appears throughout, there are moments of subtlety and scenes where the focus appears to be more on competing with the other 1850s Fausts through showing off its spectacle than on making the audience laugh. Humor was important, but the comic Mephistopheles in Gounod's work and the devil in this one demonstrate that the gap between light-hearted comedies and serious works had narrowed by this point. *Faust et Framboisy* was also a much longer work than the earlier parodies, including details from Goethe's play such as the character of Martha.

Reviews of these works evince critical interest in how they connected to Goethe, but none was swept up by this preoccupation as much as Gounod's *Faust*. Such concerns continued into twentieth- and twenty-first-century scholarship. Hugh Macdonald's summary of *Faust* displays a typical discussion focused on the creators' intentions:

> If we return to Gounod's *Faust*, it will perhaps now be clear that Barbier and Carré were more profoundly affected by E.T.A. Hoffmann and Ovid than they ever were by Goethe. The recurrent complaint that Gounod's opera both trivializes and sentimentalizes Goethe's *Faust* is a complaint that misjudges the librettist's purpose and perhaps the composer's too. . . . Neither play nor libretto declares Mephistopheles to be the 'spirit of negation', as Goethe conceived him, and the philosophical problem of evil is not addressed. Mephistopheles is more a magician, with demonic powers of life and death, vulnerable to the sign of the cross. He is a Hoffmannesque charlatan."[27]

Gounod's lack of interest in Goethe's Faust and the subsequent larger role Marguerite plays have caused many to see the opera as adhering to the romantic sensibilities of its genre. It is also important not to underestimate the vital role of the satirical Mephistopheles, who complements the love story and Gounod's lyrical writing with an impressive array of musico-visual spectacle. As one critic argued, perhaps the devil, rather than Goethe, was to thank for the operatic masterpiece: "Go and listen to his work at the Théâtre-Lyrique. It is the first time that a composer has been inspired by this dark drama, where the noblest movements of the soul become crimes inspired by the devil."[28]

While critics—then as now—contemplated the work's associations, Gounod and his fellow creators seemed more interested in playing with the possibilities of the stage medium in retelling *the* (or *a*?) Faust story. Writing in *Le mémorial diplomatique* after the Théâtre-Lyrique premiere, Dubois voiced his concerns over the Faust craze that had hit Paris, but acknowledged music offered something that written text alone could not:

> When the poster announcing yet another *Faust* appeared, I confess that my impression was not agreeable. *Faust* in drama, *Faust* in ballet, *Faust* in opera, *Faust* in prose, *Faust* in verse. So one gets it everywhere, I thought; but the public

[27] Hugh Macdonald, "Dr. Mephistopheles," in *Beethoven's Century: Essays on Composers and Themes* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2008), 209.

[28] "Allez donc entendre son œuvre au Théâtre-Lyrique. C'est la première fois qu'un compositeur s'inspire de ce drame si sombre, où les plus nobles mouvements de l'âme deviennent des crimes sous l'inspiration du démon," P. Dubois, "Revue des théâtres: Théâtre-Lyrique: *Faust*, opéra en cinq actes, musique de Gounod," *Le mémorial diplomatique*, March 27, 1859, 205.

> does not like too much of a good thing. Well! Of so many translations of Goethe's masterpiece into all languages and even into gestures, the one I prefer today, the only one that seems to me truly worthy of the original, is the translation into music. [. . .] Music [. . .] precisely because it lacks the precision of a written language, offers the poet an almost infinite field of expression. It is only a cry, a cry that paints pain or joy, love or hatred, but with a lot of strength and scope.[29]

In many ways, the expectations of genre provided Carré and Gounod with productive guidelines that shaped the work as it moved from *drame fantastique* (Carré's *Faust et Marguerite*) to *opéra comique* with spoken and sung text and eventually added recitatives (Théâtre-Lyrique, March 19, 1859, and the 1860 version) to quasi-grand opera (Opéra, March 3, 1869).

Moving with the times

From the devil's immediate appearance in a burst of smoke to the rush of a train towards the audience, the impressive possibilities of speed in the new medium were advertised to cinema goers from the mid-1890s. Indeed, for much of the later twentieth century the early silent films seemed even quicker than their successors, due to films being played back at different (and often incorrect) speeds.[30] Although such misapprehensions were eventually rectified by film historians, the idea of speed as an essential attribute of new technology held a grain of truth. *Spectacles d'optique* such as Eadweard Muybridge's zoopraxiscope only worked as moving images when the user spun the cylinder quickly enough, and for decades the latest animated movies were

[29] "Quand l'affiche annonçant encore un *Faust* a paru, j'avoue que mon impression n'a pas été agréable. *Faust* en drame, *Faust* en ballet, *Faust* en opéra, *Faust* en prose, *Faust* en vers. On en met donc partout, pensai-je; mais le public n'aime pas tant la muscade. Eh bien! de tant de traductions du chef-d'œuvre de Goethe en toutes les langues et même en gestes, celle que je préfère aujourd'hui, la seule qui me paraisse vraiment digne de l'original, c'est la traduction en musique. [. . .] La musique, au contraire, justement parce qu'elle n'a pas la précision d'une langue écrite, offre au poète un champ d'expression presque infini. Ce n'est qu'un un cri, un cri qui peint la douleur ou la joie, l'amour ou la haine, mais avec beaucoup de force et d'ampleur." Ibid., 205-206.

[30] Projection speeds weren't standardized to 24 fps until the mid- to late-1920s, so guesswork (or misunderstandings) caused the confusion over playback. See Paul Virilio's work on speed and the intertwining of technology and accidents (for example, without trains derailment cannot exist), especially in *The Original Accident* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007)

known for their chase scenes and other hi-jinx.[31] The proportional relationship between speed and technological innovation was thus a trope upon which playwrights, composers, and filmmakers could readily draw: it was an essential tool for fast-paced vaudeville, short films, and other forms of entertainment densely packed with references to other media.

Perhaps the most striking demonstration of the very different approaches to staging from Goethe to Méliès can be found in the treatment of Mephistopheles's entrance. While Faust spends numerous pages introducing the devil in the German play, the character bursts onto the scene in a flash of smoke in the cinematic adaptations.[32] It is tempting to see the gradual increase of speed as emblematic of the shift from the (relatively) slow pace of life in the eighteenth century to the prevailing fast pace at the turn of the twentieth. To be sure, the technological innovators proudly advertised the speed with which various devices worked. Yet rather than simply demonstrating mechanical progress, the Faust adaptations display the tense reactions to these developments—alternately slowing down and speeding up as they moved with and against the current of the times.

In Delaporte's light-hearted *Méphistophélès,* the devil initially enters as a seemingly mortal character called the "Anacharsis." After a sonic cue consisting of four descending chromatic tremolo chords and a dramatic build-up spanning a mere five lines, he reveals himself in a short song, "je suis le diable" (see Illustration 4.2):

> I am the devil!
> Scarecrow of the universe,
> Nonsense is profitable to me...
> And on thy soul, old pervert,
> I extend my dreadful claw!

[31] See Eric Laurier's discussion of the zoopraxiscope in "Capturing Motion: Video Set-Ups for Driving, Cycling, and Walking," in *The Routledge Handbook of Mobilities,* ed. Adey et al. (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2014), 493.

[32] E.g. Méliès, *Le cabinet de Méphistophélès* (1897) and *Le diable géant* (1902).

It's my levy
I must!
I am the devil!
Yes, the devil! [33]

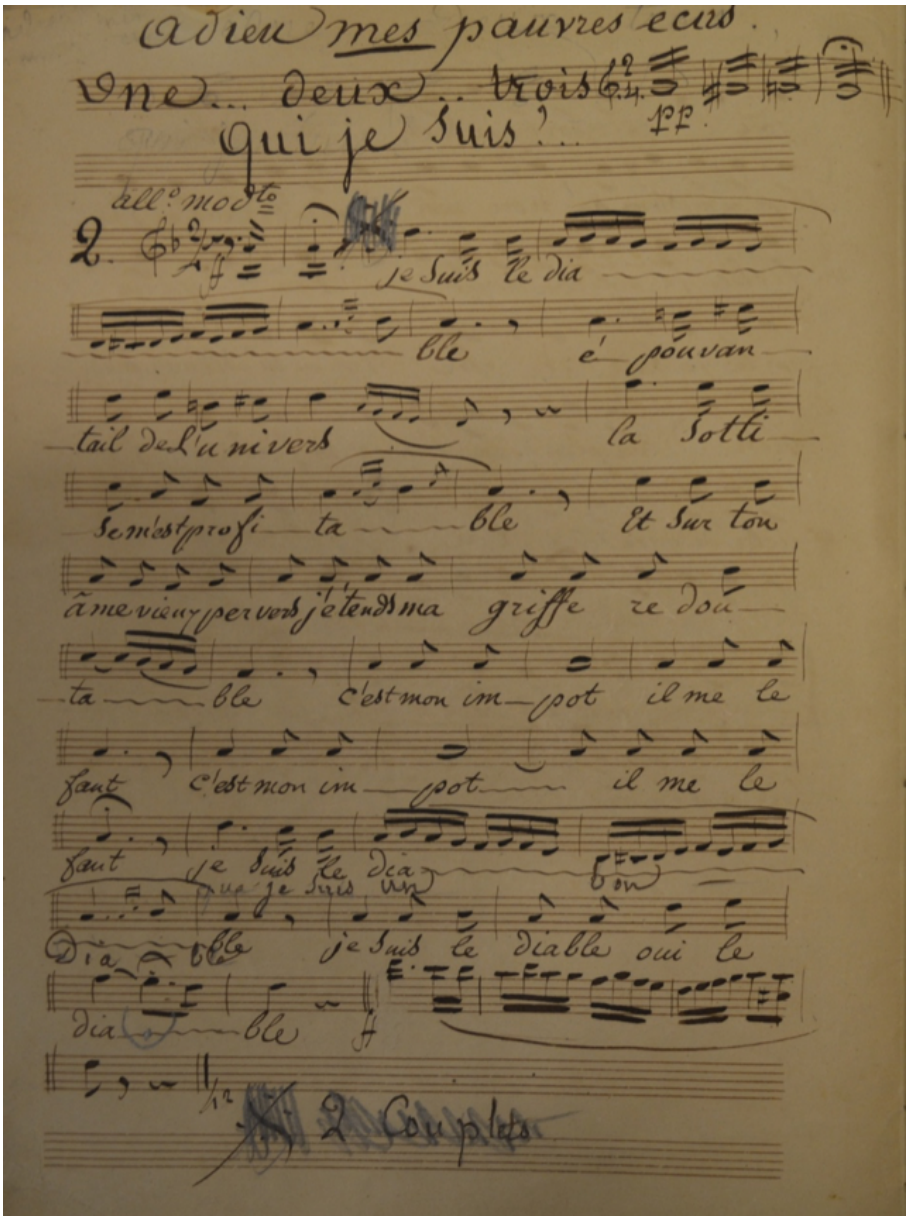

Illustration 4.2. Ruytler, Répétiteur part, *Méphistophélès* (1858), F-Pn, 4o-COL-106/1682

[33] "Je suis le diable / Epouvantail de l'univers, / La sottise m'est profitable. . . / Et sur ton âme, vieux pervers, / J'entends ma griffe redoutable! / C'est mon impôt / Il me le faut! / Je suis le diable! / Oui, le diable!" Michel Delaporte, *Méphistophélès* (Paris: Morris, 1858), 2.

The song clearly marks the climactic point of the work—it is repeated at the end—but it is a far cry from the entrance of Goethe's Mephistopheles. Instead, the devil's introduction functions as a moment of visual and musical spectacle, with the quick-paced song serving to heighten the comedy. The text is straightforward, but uses the technique of exaggeration to paint the devil as an otherworldly comic character. The vocal line consists of long melismas on the word "le diable" and there is dissonance between the instrumental parts, in keeping with demonic topoi. The repeating rolls on the timpani emphasize the amusing scare tactics of this comedy, rumbling underneath the small ensemble and voice. While other boulevard adaptations appear to have adhered more closely to the melodramatic tradition of privileging sonic over musical effects, most tended to depict a comic devil rather than a fearsome one, with the literality of the word painting foreshadowing mickey-mousing in silent film. The quick pace of his entrance enhanced the comedic effect in the stage works, as timing plays an important role in making comedy effective.

In *Faust et Framboisy*, the devil reveals himself upon Faust's summons and quickly conjures his demons: "He changes in plain view. Mephistopheles appears as a grotesque demon and his infernal laughter is heard."[34] As in Dennery and in contrast to Goethe, the performance directions make it clear that the devil's transformation must appear onstage and swiftly by way of whatever visual effect might be necessary. The accompanying laughter (also common at the devil's introduction) is followed by a song that repeats the refrain "C'est le diable." In Goethe's *Faust*, Faust asks Mephistopheles for his name, which provokes a long discussion about the nature of the devil and his identity as the "spirit of negation." Such a debate is absent from

[34] "Il a changé a vue. Méphistophélès parait en démon grotesque et fait entendre son rire infernal." Bourdois and Lapointe, *Faust et Framboisy* (Paris: Beck, 1858), 4.

Dennery (in which the devil simply responds with his name!) and *Faust et Framboisy*, in which a chorus of demons proclaims "C'est le diable!" again and again. In the latter work, the devil's entrance is an excuse for both visual spectacle and musical celebration, which is emphasized by references to the eyes during the song: "Flee, fearsome phantom, / Do not offer yourself to my eyes! . . ." and "His fearsome person, / here bursts your eyeballs."[35]

Dennery's Mephistopheles immediately displays his conjuring skills by initiating the first visual trick of the *drame*. After introducing himself as an old colleague of Faust, "Dr. Magnus," he "changes his clothes and appearance, and appears in the features and clothes of Mephistopheles."[36] The stage trick of devilish shape-shifting would have involved a complex combination of smoke to disguise what was going on onstage: an expeditious costume change combined with some sort of mask or other props (the instruction to alter aspects other than dress emphasizes the sophisticated nature of this particular effect). The shift from normal dress to devil's garb contrasts with Goethe's telling, in which Faust is surprised "as the vapor subsides [and] Mephistopheles, dressed like a traveling scholar, steps forward from behind the stove."[37] In fact, impressive spectacle seems to be the opposite of what Goethe intended in his setting of this scene. Not only does the devil appear in normal clothes, but his entrance is far from magical (he seems to reveal himself from a hiding spot), and the tempo of the scene remains slow throughout, as Faust recites a lengthy monologue and the vapor gradually gathers.

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[35] "Fuis, fantôme redoubtable / Ne t'offre pas à mes yeux! . . . [. . .] Sa personne redoubtable, / Ici te crève les yeux." Ibid.

[36] "Magnus change de vêtement et d'aspect, et apparaît sous les traits et le costume de Méphistophélès." Adolphe Dennery, *Faust* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères), 10.

[37] Goethe, *Faust*, *Part I*, trans. David Constantine (London: Penguin Classics, 2005), 42.

Gounod's Mephistopheles has often been heralded as a master of comedy, and the boulevard works demonstrate the devil's potential to operate as both conjurer and satirical commentator. In particular, much of the comic aspect of Mephistopheles's character stems from Carré and Coudor's earlier *drame*. However, the devil of this opera mixes comedy with grandeur—both fitting for the genre and a way to emphasize his control (over Faust, the music, and the audience). The devil's entrance in Gounod's opera is simpler than in Dennery's work, though no less effective. Instead of the challenge of an instantaneous costume change, Mephistopheles appears through a trapdoor. Every moment is carefully scripted—the *mise-en-scène* instructs that a red tint should appear at the window to indicate what is about to happen, then Mephistopheles rises through the larger of two trapdoors.[38] Meanwhile the orchestra builds up to the moment the devil arrives and loudly announces his own arrival: "Me voici!" The drop down to pianissimo chromatic strings and flute accompanied by tremolo basses immediately after this proclamation help highlight his entrance as a brief effect—the sounds form an aural counterpart to a burst of smoke that slowly clears and the tremolo would have been recognized as a demonic marker.

The build-up to the devil's appearance is far more gradual than in the boulevard works and the tempo slows after he announces himself, restoring a degree of Goethean gravity while retaining the impressive spectacle of the earlier stagings. These simple visual and musical effects are the first of the work—hitherto, we have watched Faust remain seated in the armchair he occupied when the curtain rose and then wander around his study. From Marguerite's appearance

[38] "[Faust] knocks on the book on: *Curse the science,* then he comes back to the middle of the scene and looks at the window, saying: *To me Satan!* He shrinks on seeing the window illuminated with a red complexion, (it is night on the stage and in the room) and moves in front of the spot R, looking at the window and saying: *To me*." *Faust* livret de mis-en-scène manuscript, Collection de la Association de la régie théâtrale, B.H.V.P., [F6 (III).

to the dense spectacle of the Walpurgis Night, every addition to the scholar's world after the devil's entrance is clearly a result of Mephistopheles's magic. Yet despite the way in which this scene positions Mephistopheles rather than Gounod as the creator, its divergences from the boulevard works remind us that it is still an opera insofar as it holds to many of the expected conventions of the genre.[39] Slowing Mephistopheles, and by extension the spectacle, down allows this scene to fit more neatly into operatic expectations, while also pushing against the increasing speed of new genres, new technology, and the changing century.

By the early 1900s, the once-impressive trick of shape-shifting became a cinematic cliché as the filmmakers simply stopped mid-shot for the actor to change his costume.[40] The journey to this point in media history took the better part of the previous century, while cinema's developments occurred swiftly—any impressive trick was quickly imitated and thus lost its power to surprise. Moreover, the films were made in short spans of time more akin to the hurried production of boulevard works than the decade-long development of Gounod's *Faust.* As Wendy Hui Kyong Chun observes, "New media, like the technology on which they rely, race simultaneously towards the future and the past, toward what we might call the bleeding edge of obsolescence."[41] Like the media at the center of Chun's discussion, the *Faust* adaptations seen on the boulevard emerged quickly, immediately commenting on and taking advantage of the very latest technological advances, before disappearing just as quickly from both the stage and Parisian history writ large.

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[39] In comparison, Berlioz's *La damnation de Faust* took advantage of its hybrid genre to depict speed solely by music in the ride to hell. Once the work was finally staged and joined operatic seasons across the globe, the added visual effects accentuated the spectacle but in many ways slowed the imagined tumbling towards hell (at least until the advent of video effects more recently).

[40] E.g. Méliès, *Le diable au couvent* (1899).

[41] Wendy Hui Kyong Chun, "The Enduring Ephemeral, or The Future is a Memory," in *Media Archaeology*.

Conjuring Marguerite

If speed was directly tied to technological progress and effective spectacle, it also played a part in how audiences engaged differently with the changing media through which Faust's story was relayed. The act of reading Goethe's *Faust* demands slow consideration of the poet's words. The brilliance comes from not only the lyricism of the prose and verse, but also the multitude of meanings behind each word and line. Reading requires action in a way that—on the surface—contrasts with the seemingly passive consumption of stage works. In many ways, this passivity played an important function in these adaptations—just as the devil places Faust under his spell, so he does with the audience, asserting both his dominance within the story and as a conjurer of the spectacle. As a critic ("Y") said in the *Diogène* review of Béraud's *Faust*, "Mephistopheles wants to seduce Faust and Martha and all the world."[42]

Mephistopheles's identity as a conjurer constitutes a vital part of the commentary on technology found in both Dennery's and Gounod's *Faust* works. The performance directions in the libretti and reports in the press paint an image of works that drew upon Paris's increasing number of technological innovations and the devil's potential to serve as a representative and conduit of elaborate spectacle. Courcy's review of Dennery's work singled out that aspect of the performance, stating that "Apart from a few very understandable hesitations by the *machinistes*, the machines were well maneuvered, and I doubt that one could see again anytime soon a

[42] "Méphistophélès veut séduire Faust et Martha et tout le monde." Y, *Diogène*, December 6, 1828, 4.

performance as spectacular. Decors, costumes—all this is taken from the *féerie* and one searches for the golden wand which has conjured this flamboyant world."[43]

Courcy's comments connect this work to two important traditions of the nineteenth century. The first is the genre of the *féerie*, which, by 1858, had largely veered from its original fairy-tale associations and was used primarily to indicate the conspicuous presence of special effects. Since the 1839 premiere of *Les pilules du diable*, *féeries* had continued to appear at theaters such as the Cirque Olympique and the Porte Saint-Martin. The appearance of *féeries* at the latter—a "more legitimate" theater—was emblematic of a broader blurring of distinctions between primary, secondary, and popular, and the genres themselves. In light of the ways in which cinema drew upon the developments of the *féeries* and grand opera, the similarities between approaches to spectacle in Dennery and Gounod's *Faust* works are clear.

Courcy's description of "the golden wand which has conjured this flamboyant world" provides a second connection, this time looking back to the tradition of magicians and depictions of the devil as conjurer explored in Chapter 2. The invisible golden wand was, of course, Mephistopheles's hand. In Gounod's *Faust* (and many of the other adaptations), intimations of devilish conjuring are sometimes subtle and at other times obvious, but they are commonly indicated by a raised hand or flick of the wrist in the performance directions.

The necessity not only of Mephistopheles's conjuring but of the very character himself is called into question in Carl Dalhaus's damning evaluation of Gounod's *Faust*:

> According to the rules of operatic dramaturgy, the sorcery that Mephistopheles applies at the beginning and the end of the Act 3 duet in order to turn Marguerite's fondness into love, and love into passion, is entirely superfluous: in light of Wagner's and Verdi's operas it seems almost to be a law of the genre that

[43] "A part quelques hésitations très excusables des machinistes, — les machines ont bien manœuvré, — et je doute qu'on revoie de longtemps un spectacle aussi grandiose. Décors, costumes, — tout cela tient de la féerie et l'on cherche la baguette d'or qui a évoqué ce monde flamboyant." Courcy, 6.

> passion is visited upon the characters unawares. What Mephistopheles does could have been accomplished just as easily without him by the music. But if Mephistopheles's sorcery impairs the substance of the drama rather than deepening it, manipulating its psychological processes and turning the tragedy into a puppet show, it also represents the sole *raison d'être* for the existence of the Devil in a metaphysical tragedy reduced to the level of *drame lyrique*. For however domineering Mephistopheles's behavior may be on stage, with his couplets, macabre pranks, and shady intrigues, he is basically extraneous to the essentials of the plot.[44]

Dalhaus's comments raise the question of why the devil exists in the world of Gounod's *Faust*. Linking Mephistopheles's conjuring with music's expression of passion, he unintentionally touches upon the reason for such a proliferation of Faust works. Gounod's version is far from unique in its inclusion of the conjuring devil. Rather, out of the repertoire explored in this dissertation, it is the only work attached to a set of (operatic) genre conventions, which Mephistopheles dismantles one by one. These works, in part, found their success by materializing musical sorcery—Mephistopheles represents the power of music, and so while he might be extraneous to the plot, he plays a vital part in the cultural commentary the works provided. Moreover, his inclusion signals the joining of musical and visual spectacle so essential to the success of Parisian stage works in the nineteenth century. Without Mephistopheles, the musical effects stand alone—admittedly effective in Berlioz's *La damnation de Faust*, but garnering greater success alongside their visual counterparts in a much larger number of works. The question therefore lies in whether Gounod's *Faust* is a vessel for Goethe's tale and a demonstration of Gounod's mastery of the genre, or whether Mephistopheles himself appears as a vessel for a commentary on the power of music and the power of spectacle both on and off the nineteenth-century Parisian stage.

[44] Carl Dalhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 277.

Mephistopheles's conjuring skills are most impressive in his summoning of Marguerite. In Goethe's text, it is clear that Marguerite is mortal: she is seen in the street as Faust and Mephistopheles walk by. Many of the stage adaptations veer away at this point, using the female character as a pretext for the display of elaborate visual effects. In her article on Faust settings, Rose Theresa selects Marguerite's appearance as a central moment of spectacle in the opera—specifically an introduction of the work's gendering of spectacle and narrative, as Faust gazes upon the vision Mephistopheles has conjured. Akin to the boulevard *Faust* works, Marguerite appears as a phantom before she is introduced as a mortal character existing in her own right. This moment occurs early in the opera, in the middle of Faust and Mephistopheles's duet in Act 1, scene 2. As Faust is hesitant to sign away his soul, the devil asks "What will it take to persuade you? / If it is youth you desire, / dare to gaze upon this."[45] The *livret de mise-en-scène* describes how Mephistopheles "makes a sign" and "the curtain rises slowly and leaves on display Marguerite, seated close to her spinning wheel and spindle." The stage plan details how the stage is divided into two sections. The upper portion consists of a raised platform where Marguerite sits, and three curtains—the backdrop with an image of Marguerite's bedroom, one made from blue, transparent gauze, which remains extended, so as to provide an ethereal haze when Marguerite is revealed, and the front curtain, which serves as the backdrop for Faust's study. In her description of the staging, Theresa likens the setting to a picture: Marguerite is still, silent, and illuminated by a bright light, while Faust and Mephistopheles are in relative darkness, like the audience, who are induced to join them in gazing upon the vision.[46]

[45] Goethe, *Faust,* 59.

[46] Theresa, "From Méphistophélès to Méliès," 4.

Illustration 4.3. Lamy, after Cambon and Thierry's designs, *Faust*, Act I, scene 2, Théâtre-Lyrique (1859), F-Po, IFN-8438837[47]

Cambon and Thierry's designs for *Faust* went a step further than the early grand opera experiments with staggered and shaped flats, creating a sophisticated and effective *mise-en-scène*. Although the surviving production manuscripts stem from the 1869 premiere, a lithograph from the Théâtre-Lyrique premiere in 1859 implies that a similar staging was already present in the earlier version. The lithograph depicts Marguerite seated on a raised platform towards the

[47] A digital copy is available on Gallica at http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb423829555.

back of the stage while what appears to be a transparent curtain separates her from the other characters (see Illustration 4.3).

Léon Durocher's review of the Théâtre-Lyrique production in *La Revue et Gazette Musicale* describes the staging:

> And because it is necessary that Faust's youth be useful to him somehow, Mephistopheles immediately shows him, in a magical transparency, Marguerite sitting before her spinning wheel, singing and spining. The orchestra completes the picture. A violin line imitates the sound of a spinning wheel. The harps accompany this effect with a mysterious harmony upon which the soft and veiled sonority of the horns spreads vaporous hues.[48]

Many critics drew their readers' attention to Mephistopheles's conjuring skills, mentioning how, for example, "on a sign from Mephistopheles, day changes into night, and a swarm of the prettiest dancers at the Opéra appear brilliant in youth and beauty."[49] More than one mentioned the use of electric light, which was also used in the earlier scene in which Marguerite first appears. These moments helped foster the image of the devil as magician, not only bringing other characters to life, but also conjuring new technologies.

Thanks to its access to innovations such as electric light, the technological bravura of this scene in *Faust* surpassed that of its predecessors. Some, however, did come close. In *Faust et Framboisy*, Marguerite first appears as an apparition conjured by Mephistopheles. A phantasmagoria opens Scene One of the second tableau. The orchestra plays the air "Dormez,

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[48] "Et comme il faut que cette jeunesse de *Faust* lui serve à quelque chose, Méphistophélès lui montre aussitôt, dans un transparent magique, Marguerite assise devant son rouet, qui chante et filant. L'orchestre complète le tableau. Un trait de violon imite le bruit de rouet. Les harpes accompagnent ce trait d'une mystérieuse harmonie sur laquelle la sonorité douce et voilée des cors répand des teintes vaporeuses." Léon Durocher, "Théâtre-Lyrique: *Faust*, opéra en cinq actes, paroles de MM. Michel Carre et Jules Barbier, musique de M. Gounod (première représentation le 19 mars 1859)," *La revue et gazette musicale de Paris* 13 (Marc 27, 1859): 102.

[49] "Au cinquième acte, c'est la nuit de Valpurgis. Nous voici dans l'empire souterrain de Méphisto, qui dit à Faust d'une voix terrible et satanique: "N'as-tu pas promis de l'accompagner?" Faust est glacé de terreur; mais, sur un signe de Méphisto, le jour fait place à la nuit, et l'essaim des plus jolies danseuses de l'Opéra apparaissent brillantes de jeunesse et de beauté." Marie Escudier, "Théâtre Impériale de l'Opéra: *Faust* de Charles Gounod (1re représentation), *La France musicale* 10 (March 7, 1869): 70.

mes chers amours!" as "one sees a young girl in silhouette; she removes from her head a huge braid, which she combs and then slings behind her."[50] Despite the lack of text, the air would have been well known to the audience, as it was a popular romance by Amédée de Beauplan that had appeared in Hérold's *La sonnambule,* four vaudevilles about sleepwalking that appeared in 1827, and likely a number of other works on the boulevard stages.[51] Aside from the closing ballet, this was the only instrumental number in the work, an aspect that would have added to the eeriness of the apparition. The instructions specify "music from the orchestra throughout the whole phantasmagoria," implying that the orchestra continues when the dialogue begins, as in the melodramatic tradition. As Faust utters words of adoration, an unnamed girl (only later revealed as Marguerite) performs silent movements at the direction of Mephistopheles:

> MEPHISTOPHELES: You see the one who adores you ready to go to bed! . . .
> *(The young girl removes her headscarf and her dress, which disappears)*.
> FAUST: Where will it stop? . . .
> *(She then removes ten petticoats that disappear in the same way, leaving only a crinoline cage.)*[52]

As she moves to remove the final garment, "Mephistopheles makes a gesture" and sends her away before she can do so, much to Faust's chagrin.

Earlier still, Marguerite first appeared as a conjured vision in Béraud's 1828 *drame*. Béraud describes how "the tableau disappears, and one catches sight, in a magic mirror, of

[50] "On voit une jeune fille en silhouette; elle ôte d'abord de sa tête une natte énorme qu'elle peigne et jette ensuite derrière elle." Bourdois and Lapointe, *Faust et Framboisy*, 5.

[51] Hibberd, "'Dormez donc, mes chers amours': Hérold's *La Somnambule* (1827) and dream phenomena on the Parisian lyric stage," *Cambridge Opéra Journal* 16, no. 2 (2004): 107-132.

[52] Mephistopheles: "Tu vois celle qui t'adore prête à se mettre au dodo! . . . *(La jeune fille retire son fichu et sa robe qui disparaissent)*." Faust: "Où ça va-t-il s'arrêter? . . . *(Elle retire ensuite dix jupons qui disparaissent de la même façon, et reste avec une cage crinoline.)*" Bourdois and Lapointe, *Faust et Framboisy,* 5.

Marguerite at the foot of the bed."[53] Leading up to Marguerite's appearance, Faust complains about Mephistopheles taking him to the Brocken: "I hate this machine of sorcery. What pleasures do you dare to promise in this confused mass of extravagant figures? What advice can I expect from the hostess of such a dwelling?"[54] The devil's subsequent conjuring of Marguerite serves as a response to Faust's complaints about the technology of magic— a not-so-oblique reference to the stage technologies involved in creating the extravagant scene. Sure enough, the scholar is silenced by the visual temptation of Marguerite's apparition, and likewise critics's complaints about the work's un-Goethian spectacle could not quell the audience's fascination for Mephistopheles's fantastical creations.

Sensory overload in the Walpurgis Night

Mephistopheles's conjuring talents are highlighted through Marguerite's appearances, especially in Gounod's adaptation, but reach a pinnacle in settings of the Walpurgis Night scene. The *Walpurgisnacht* is the eve of the feast day of Saint Walpurga. According to Germanic folklore, it is the night of a witches meeting on the Brocken—the highest peak of the German Harz mountains. *Faust* is the best-known literary setting—in Goethe's play, Mephistopheles brings Faust to the festival, which has descended into a satanic orgy, in order to distract him from Gretchen. Perhaps more than any other moment in Goethe's play, this scene struggled to attain its full impact using text alone. The illustrations that preceded the theatrical adaptations demonstrate very different approaches, each of which seemed to influence the visual and musical

[53] "Le tableau disparaît, et l'on aperçoit, dans un miroir magique, Marguerite au pied de son lit." Béraud, *Faust,* 13.

[54] "J'ai horreur de cet appareil de sorcellerie. Quelles jouissances m'oses-tu-promettre dans ce confus amas de figures extravagantes? quel conseil puis-je attendre de l'hôtesse d'un pareil logis?" Ibid., 12.

spectacle on the stage. While Moritz Retzsch's illustration displays a frenzied mass of demons surrounding Faust and Mephistopheles, Delacroix's image remains sparse, with a skillful use of light and dark shading (Illustrations 4.4 and 4.5). In the latter, the devil's right arm appears stretched out in the midst of black shapes suggestive of demons, confirming his control of the image's two-dimensional effects.[55] Later on, the creators of the stage works would build on the sensory overload, the role of movement, and the visual representation of devilish control seen in these representations.

Illustration 4.4. Retzsch, "Faust and Mephistopheles on the way to the Walpurgis night," Illustrations for *Faust* (Tübingen, Germany: Cotta, 1818).

[55] Goethe praised Delacroix's lithographs: "Here, in a fantastical product between heaven and earth, between the possible and the impossible, between the crudest and the most tender, and between any other opposites one might possibly imagine, Herr Delacroix seems to feel at home and proceed as if on his own turf. The impressive luster [of this edition] is thus muted and the spirit transported from the world of the clear letters into a dusky world, and the ancient sense of a fairy-tale-like narrative returns to the fore." Goethe, in John Michael Cooper, *Mendelssohn, Goethe, and the Walpurgis Night: The Heathen Muse in European Culture, 1700-1850* (Rochester, NY: University Rochester Press, 2007), 175.

Illustration 4.5. Delacroix, "Faust and Mephistopheles in the mountains," lithograph, 1828[56]

Though devoid of demons, Théaulon's *Faust* includes scenes on the Harz mountains and Béraud's subsequent work climaxes in a scene clearly adapting the Walpurgis Night, with sorcerers and demons where "the theater represents a terrifying site."[57] In both these early works, the densest performance directions reside in these scenes and describe vivid displays of visual and musical effects. Works dating from the 1850s built upon those moments, taking advantage of the technological advances that had occurred in the intervening decades. Most often, there was

[56] A digital copy is available in the Metropolitan Museum of Art's digital collection: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/337093.

[57] Béraud, *Faust,* 22.

mention of an orgy—either in the libretti or reviews—highlighting the erotic dimensions of the musico-visual spectacle that was conceived to fulfill the audience's multisensory desires.

In *Faust et Framboisy*, which preceded Gounod's work by a year, there is no mention of the Walpurgis night or the Brocken setting, but the eighth tableau is clearly labelled as "the sabbath." The Queen of the Sabbath and her chorus of devils sing an air from Halévy's *Le juif errant* (1852), likely from the hellish setting of act five. The short song is followed by brief conversation and then a rondeau, sung first by the queen and then repeated by the chorus. The forty-line song lasts far longer than any of the other musical numbers, making this a sonic climax of the work:

> Quick to the Sabbath, come join the round,
> All you numerous people whom hell has seduced;
> Come to us from all over the world.
> Hell is gay tonight, it is midnight!
> Come, children of the noisy orgy.[58]

In the fifth and final scene of the tableau and act, the orgy comes to life as dialogue gives way to a waltz:

> Mephistopheles approaches Marguerite while fascinating her; the queen does the same to Faust, and all four perform a great infernal waltz that is dramatic on the part of Mephistopheles and Marguerite, and comic on the part of the other two. At the end of the waltz, all the characters group at the end and let out a diabolical cry.[59]

The performance directions do not specify the music to be played at this moment, but the dance brings to mind the infernal waltz in *Robert le diable.*

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[58] "Vite au sabbat qu'on accoure à la ronde / Peuple nombreux que l'enfer a séduit; /Venez chez nous de tous les coins du monde. / L'enfer est gai ce soir, il est minuit! / Venez, enfants de la bruyante orgie." Bourdois and Lapointe, *Faust et Framboisy,* 18.

[59] "Méphistophélès s'approche de Marguerite en la fascinant; la reine en fait autant à Faust, et tous les quatre exécutent une grande valse infernale, dramatique de la part de Méphistophélès et de Marguerite, et comique de la part des deux autres. A la fin de la valse, tous les personnages groupés au fond poussent un cri diabolique." Ibid., 19.

The earlier ballet-pantomimes clearly demonstrated the need for dance in stage adaptations. This alternative medium could only fulfill its true potential by giving equal weight to image, text, and music, and by regarding movement as highly as the rest of the visual design. Gounod's *Faust* built on the climactic moments seen in the boulevard adaptations such as *Faust et Framboisy*—as discussed in Chapter 3, movement played a vital part in appealing to the audience's desire for multisensory stimulation. While the inclusion of dance in the 1869 version of Gounod's *Faust* is often read as a capitulation to conventional expectations, it could also be understood in terms of the composer's interest in exploring different visual techniques while he was simultaneously mapping out the musical possibilities of the different genres with which each theater was primarily associated. Although ballet divertissements were standard in French opera, by 1869 the pressure of adhering to grand operatic conventions had largely waned: in any case, as Dalhaus noted, Mephistopheles broke many of the rules regardless.

Gounod's opera follows the basic premise of the Walpurgis Night—Mephistopheles leads Faust to the Harz mountains and takes him to a cave full of women who perform a seductive ballet. Despite the devil's efforts to distract him, Faust is thrust back into reality when he sees a vision of Marguerite. In his discussion of the opera, Huebner is rather dismissive of the Walpurgis Night scene, claiming that "it is doubtful that the *Walpurgisnacht*, essentially an elaboration of the Faust-Mephistopheles side of the opera, could be defended as anything more than a disposable distraction to the unfolding of Marguerite's fate."[60] Yet reviews of the 1859 and 1869 premieres paint a different picture. Escudier's previously quoted review in *La France Musicale* described how the Walpurgis Night scene managed to encapsulate the range of visual display, from Mephistopheles's grotesque and fearful form to the beauty of the dancers: "In the

[60] Huebner, *The Operas of Charles Gounod,* 126.

fifth act, it is the night of Walpurgis. Here we are in the underground empire of Mephisto, who says to Faust in a terrible and satanic voice: "Have you not promised to accompany her?" Faust is frozen with terror; but, on a sign from Mephisto, daylight gives way to night, and the swarm of the prettiest dancers of the Opera appear brilliant with youth and beauty."[61] Like many other moments, the critic notes the devil's conjuring, highlighting how obvious it was to the audience that the dancers are his creation. In his review of *Faust* in *La revue et gazette des théâtre*, Jules Ruelle echoed the idea of otherworldly creation, observing that: "The ballet is the ideal of luxury and fantasy. This scene of antique orgy is truly a magical tableau."[62]

While "orgy" is used as a descriptive word for the Walpurgis Night scene in more than one of the boulevard works, it is missing from this act of *Faust*. However, Faust mentions it in his encounter with Mephistopheles in Act 1 of Gounod's work: "I want [. . .] the mad orgy / Of the heart and senses!" Shifting the word into Faust's list of desires and associating it with the senses places the protagonist and audience together in their craving for sensory overload. In addition to Ruelle's use of the term in his review, Élias de Rauze's review in *La Revue et Gazette Musicale* (which also appeared on the day after the premiere) refers to an orgy for the senses—this time the eyes:

> And what dazzling magnificence in the choreographed part! When Mephistopheles, through a signal, transforms the gloomy and sinister enclosure of the witches of the Walpurgis Night into a sparkling display where the beauties of all countries appear, bathed in an ocean of light, in the most seductive and voluptuous poses, there was a long cry of admiration in the hall, and applause broke out, loud, unanimous, and prolonged. No, never had one seen at the Opéra such an exhibition of lights, shimmering fabrics, fascinating beauties; it is an orgy

[61] Escudier, "Théâtre Impériale de l'Opéra," 70.

[62] "Le ballet est l'idéal de luxe et de fantaisie. C'est vraiment un tableau magique que cette scène d'antique orgie." Jules Ruelle, *La revue et gazette des théâtres* 19 (March 7, 1869): 1.

> for the eyes. Satan must have told himself that he had never been replaced so well.[63]

Although the visual aspects of this scene received the most attention from the critics, the music, alongside movement, clearly made a valuable contribution to the fervor of the spectacle. By itself, the music is arguably underwhelming, or "unterrifying," as Huebner says in his discussion.[64] From a musicological perspective, perhaps such a reaction to the music accounts for the drastically different reactions to this scene by nineteenth- and twenty-first-century scholars and critics. Gone are the off-stage orchestra and the demon's chorus of *Robert* that so explicitly signaled terror. Instead, the various sections of the Walpurgis Night demonstrate a mastery of contrasts, of moving in one moment from the sweet, *pianissimo* whisperings of the will'-o'-the-wisps to the chromaticism and building tension surrounding Faust and Mephistopheles's entrance to the loud march-like announcement of the Bacchanal. At a certain point, a sonic assault on the ears ceases to become effective, and so Gounod's music veers away from the saturation of demonic topoi that one might expect, instead catching listeners off-guard as they find themselves relaxing in quiet moments of diatonic harmonies and sparser textures. Moreover, the tamer ballet segments help demonstrate the temptation that lies at the heart of the opera—just as Faust is seduced by the beauties Mephistopheles presents to him, the audience finds itself swept up by the lilting dance music and attractively dressed dancers.

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[63] "Et quelle éblouissante magnificence dans la partie chorégraphique! Quand Méphistophélès, d'une signe, fait changer la sombre et sinistre enceinte des sorcières de la Nuit de Valpurgis en une corbeille étincelante où les beautés de tous les pays apparaissent, baignées d'un océan de lumière, dans les poses les plus séduisantes et les plus voluptueuses, il y a eu dans la salle un long cri d'admiration, et les applaudissements ont éclaté, bruyants, unanimes, prolongés. Non, jamais on n'a vu à l'Opéra une pareille exhibition de lumières, d'étoffes chatoyantes, de beautés fascinatrices; c'est une orgie des regards. Satan lui-même a dû se dire qu'il n'avait jamais été aussi bien remplacé." Élias de Rauze, "Théâtre impérial de l'Opéra: *Faust*, première représentation," *La Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 10 (March 7, 1869): 79.

[64] Huebner, *The Operas of Charles Gounod*, 126.

Compared with Gounod's *Faust*, Dennery's work only briefly mentions the Walpurgis Night scene. Decorated by Thierry, the "desolated site" of the twelfth tableau is quickly specified by Mephistopheles to be the "highest summit of the Brocken, on the Walpurgis Night."[65] Most of this short scene is devoted to an angel revealing she has taken the face of Marguerite in order to try to save Faust. However, the scene ends with "demons and goblins" appearing when the main characters leave, and the performance of an infernal rondo. The brevity of this scene is perhaps surprising in light of the extent to which the elaborate spectacle was discussed among the critics. The genre designation of *drame fantastique* indicates a reason for this. Rather than holding back on the effects for key dramatic moments, the *drame* followed its literary equivalent (*littérature fantastique*) and relied on consistent spectacle throughout, akin to a modern-day action film.

In order to establish even more pretexts for musico-visual effects, Dennery included a scene that nods to *Part II* of *Faust*. Most of the adaptations solely followed *Part I,* so Helen of Troy is virtually always excluded and Marguerite receives even greater attention. Arguably the most radical revision of (or sublime indifference to) Goethe in Dennery's work came in a scene in which Mephistopheles whisks Faust to Herculaneum, where he sees Marguerite in addition to the goddess Daphne and Helen of Troy. The eternal feminine is replaced with rolls of thunder and the "deafening noise of the eruption of Vesuvius," followed by a scene wholly devoted to collapsing columns and walls, Vesuvius vomiting lava, and the eventual annihilation of everything and everyone on stage, except for Faust and Mephistopheles. According to Marguerite, the volcano erupts so that Faust "will see how people cursed by the Lord perish," but her claims fall on deaf ears, and Faust simply restates to Mephistopheles that "You promised me

[65] Dennery, *Faust,* 82.

riches, power. I want them! It's through them I can save myself!"[66] The French Faust is less concerned with metaphysics and more with material gain. The audience is spared even his salvation, since the *drame* ends with Mephistopheles getting the last laugh—his vanishing act concludes the work, following Marguerite's apotheosis. An angel urges Faust to repent, but such an act is surplus to requirements: after an apotheosis and a descent to hell, the question of the protagonist's redemption might even seem tiresomely bourgeois.

The split stage: Heaven/Hell

The split stage, depicting both heaven and hell, was one of the most celebrated innovations in Béraud's early adaptation of *Faust*. It presented audiences with one of the central advantages of the theatrical medium over its literary counterparts—spatial representation afforded possibilities denied to the written text. Moreover, Béraud had a significant impact on the ways in which subsequent librettists and composers dealt with the weighty morality of Goethe's text: each subsequent version necessitated an intentional decision over whether to show Faust forgiven or damned, or to focus solely on Marguerite's ascent to heaven. The tensions between good and evil have an obvious counterpart in *Robert le diable*, in which the protagonist is torn between the two at the end of the opera. If the creators of this earlier work indeed bore out Heine's claim that the opera addressed the tensions between the Revolution and the *ancien régime* (represented by Bertram and Alice, respectively), the *Faust* adaptations either paint a more complex picture of political allegiance or were driven by additional motives.

[66] Huitième tableau: Marguerite: "Eh bien, tu verras comment périssent les peuples maudits par le Seigneur, tu verras s'écrouler cette nouvelle Gomorrhe et tomber sous la colère divine ces adorateurs des dieux infâmes." Neuvième tableau: "Les colonnes et les murailles s'écroulent et laissent voir la ville en ruines. — La Vésuve vomit la lave qui se répand de toutes parts. Au moment de l'envahissement, tous ont disparu, excepte Faust et Méphistophélès. — Cris de désolation." [. . .] Faust: "Pas encore! . . . Tu m'as promis la richesse, la puissance, je les veux! C'est par elles que je puis me sauveur!" Ibid., 63.

As discussed in Chapter 2, in nineteenth-century France the devil was seen as embodying two positions: a critic unveiling the depravity of Parisian life and a conjurer of subversion. Pike writes of how "the devil's association with the space of the nineteenth-century city in its aerial and subterranean manifestations is both a symptom and a cause of modern ambivalence towards the urban."[67] In the case of these works, "urban" stood for technology and varying approaches to the use of physical space helped emphasize fluctuating reactions to Parisian progress. The imagery of the devil standing either above or below plays out across Béraud's split stage in a self-evidently visual way. In this work, exclamations by Mephistopheles and "a voice from above" proclaiming "she is lost!" and "she is saved!" are followed by an elaborate ending of angels and demons:

> The door to the dungeon opens with a crash; the executioner enters with his valets and guards, and carries away Marguerite. Mephistopheles takes Faust in his arms. A cloud appears little by little, and when it has happened, the theater is split in two; below, hell, and Faust tormented by demons; above, paradise, and all the angels grouped around Marguerite.[68]

Carré and Coudor's *Faust et Marguerite* was not as visually impressive as the ending to this earlier work, but likewise included what appears to have been a split stage. Marguerite's ascent to heaven is followed by Mephistopheles taking Faust's hand and declaring "And you, dear doctor, go ahead! . . ."[69] The work ends with the two men engulfed in flames.

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[67] Pike, *Metropolis on the Styx*, 36 (chap. 1, n. 34).

[68] "La porte du cachot s'ouvre avec fracas; le bourreau entre avec ses valets et des gardes, et entraine Marguerite. Méphistophélès emporte Faust dans ses bras. Un nuage s'élevé peu a peu, et lorsqu'il a disparu, le Théâtre est partage en deux; en bas, l'enfer, et Faust tourmenté par les démons; en haut, le paradis, et tous les anges groupés autour de Marguerite." Béraud*, Faust,* 68.

[69] Michel Carré, *Faust et Marguerite* (Paris: J. A. Lelong, 1850), 88.

In *Faust et Framboisy*, Faust's gradual descent to hell is spread over the final two scenes and this, rather than Marguerite's apotheosis, forms the prime focus. Following a lengthy song (with new music by Gourlier) about how Faust is damned, "The choir of the dead lie down again. Mephistopheles drags Faust away and they both sink beneath the earth, in the middle of flames, and get into fist fights. Marguerite rises, curtsies to the audience, picks up her baby, and runs away."[70] Marguerite's fate is quickly settled with the standard "She is damned!" "She is saved!," whereas Faust's descent lasts the entire final tableau. Dialogue gives way to movement in the eleventh scene—an infernal dance, set in a corner of hell:

> On a violent strike of the tam-tam, the trapdoors open, the dead rise, devils surround them and they are dragged away alongside several people from the previous tableaux, in an infernal dance, in which Faust, Mephistopheles, and the queen of the witches' sabbath participate, together with the Terrible Savoyard, a small demon who dances in the middle of them; at the end of the dance, the flames come out from the wings, and the damned cry out in fear.[71]

In combination with the *valse infernale* that appeared earlier in the work, this scene capitalized on the use of ballet to enhance the spectacle.

Ultimately, Marguerite's ascension to heaven and Faust's descent to hell are both results of Mephistopheles's conjuring, meaning that even the works solely depicting an apotheosis ended with a celebration of devilish debauchery. Works such as Doinet and Cohen's 1846 *Faust et Marguerite* followed Goethe directly and depicted this seemingly angelic ending by displaying only Marguerite's apotheosis. Théaulon's *Faust* managed an even lighter approach—in the

[70] "Les trépassés se recouchant. Méphistophélès entraîne Faust, et ils s'enfoncent tous deux sous terre, en milieu des flammes, et se donnent des coups de poing. Marguerite se lève, fait une révérence au public, emporte sa bébé et se sauve." Bourdois and Lapointe, *Faust et Framboisy,* 22.

[71] "Sur un violent coup de tam-tam, les trépassés se relèvant, des diables les environnent et ils sont entraines, ainsi que quelques personnages des précédents tableaux, dans une danse infernale à laquelle prennent part Faust, Méphistophélès et la reine du sabbat, ainsi que le Terrible Savoyard, petit diablotin qui danse au milieu d'eux; à la fin de la danse, des flammes sortant des coulisses, les damnés poussent des cris de frayeur." Ibid.

drame lyrique the devil is damned to hell, and it is implied that Faust and Marguerite live happily ever after. Many works killed Marguerite, ending the love story, but revealed her to be saved—taking advantage of the apotheosis for a crowning moment of musico-visual spectacle. Somewhat in the vein of the lush harmonies and angelic imagery of the final church scene of *Robert*, Gounod's *Faust* turns away from Mephistopheles and Faust at the very end and focuses on visual and musical depictions of clouds and angels as Marguerite rises to heaven.

While split stages offered a new way to approach space and exploit the possibilities of the visual arts, they were not an integral part of the evolutionary process that led towards film. This new medium valued spatial continuity, which had first been sought in the panoramas of the early nineteenth-century and was more fully realized through its quick shifting tableau.[72] Such scene changes mimicked the sort of linear unfolding seen in musical works. In contrast, the split stage pushed against such musical restrictions, instead looking backwards to the long tradition of last judgement paintings. For works such as Béraud's *Faust,* innovation lay in juxtaposing these art forms, while others found the most powerful finales through alignment of visual and musical depiction. These experiments moved the stage medium forward, but they were just that—experiments, some of which faded into obsolescence like the works they lay within.

Faust in other media

Just as the journey from Goethe's *Urfaust* to Gounod's grand opera spanned nearly a century, *Faust's* afterlife continued to develop in new ways well into the twentieth century. Goethe's play was not merely adapted in a variety of different media: the reception of these adaptations ranged from the traditional review to fictional accounts to comic strips, as Cormac Newark has observed

[72] For a discussion of spatial continuity in the panorama, see, Huhtamo*, Illusions in Motion*, 250-55.

in his discussion of references to Gounod's *Faust* in the Belgian comic strip *Tintin*.[73] Humorous works such as the aforementioned *Mephistopheles* and *Faust et Framboisy* were followed by parodies of Gounod's opera after the 1859 and 1869 premieres. Visual responses to the work included traditional lithographs and stereoscope cards. The stereoscope was a relatively new invention, which enabled one to see three-dimensional images by placing appropriately produced cards into the viewing contraption. While 3D technology has been held up as an example of twentieth-century technological progress, it can be traced back to these cards, which first appeared in France in the late 1830s. In addition to *Faust*, the stereoscope cards featured scenes from theatrical works such as Offenbach's *Le voyage dans la lune*.

Sets of *diableries* were particularly popular, appearing primarily in the 1860s and depicting the devil in various scenes from banks and shops to the Opéra. No longer tethered to the page, thanks to the proliferation of staged devils, the character jumped out of the stereoscope card as viewers pressed their eyes to the optical devices. This act of interactive viewing (the 3D character remains two-dimensional until placed in the machine) brought to the eyes what the sheet music arrangements offered to the hands and ears: audience members were able to engage with these works in their own homes, furthering their interest and capitalizing upon the operas' popularity.[74] Although the cards were relatively affordable, Charles Baudelaire's description touches on the indulgence of the gaze, mimicking the rhetoric of the reviewers of the earlier ballet-pantomimes: "It was not long before thousands of pairs of greedy eyes were glued to the

[73] Cormac Newark, "Faust, Nested Reception and *La Castafiore*," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 25, no. 2 (2013): 165-84.

[74] Possibly the most extreme example of the connection between *Faust*—and by extension, opera—and nineteenth-century consumerism came in the form of collectible cards that marketed various luxury foods. Images from Gounod's opera could be seen on the Liebig company's meat extract collectible cards (alongside other operas, including *Robert*) and even in Felix Potin's 1885 advertisement cards for boxes of chocolates.

peep holes of the stereoscope, as though they were the skylights of the infinite [. . .] the love of obscenity, which is as vigorous in the heart of natural man as self-love, could not let slip such a glorious satisfaction."[75] Baudelaire's comments likely referred to the various series of erotic cards that featured the devil, produced by Eugene le Poitevin in 1835.[76]

Media such as the stereoscope cards captured brief moments from a story—they focused on spectacle rather than narrative. Yet, their collectors would have known the original theatrical works and so they functioned dually as enticing visual effects and reminiscences of a larger story. In turn, the ongoing stage adaptations drew upon these visual innovations and their musical equivalents (initially sheet music arrangements, but later gramophone recordings), demonstrating the possibilities of a multimedia approach. In her article on *Faust*, Theresa tackles the tension between narrative and effects that has been explored by film historians such as Tom Gunning. Gunning coined the phrase "cinema of attractions" to describe early silent films that prioritized impressive spectacle over plot. Theresa argues that Gounod's *Faust*, and particularly the character of Mephistopheles, provided Méliès with a sound basis for displaying his cinematic innovations while also acquainting him with the craft of narrative storytelling. She lists *Faust et Marguerite* as an example of Méliès's merging of the two. Drawing largely upon Gounod's work, from the sets to the costumes, Méliès retains the effects that made Gounod's and his own works so popular in the process of relaying the story of Faust in twenty minutes.

Of course, the tension between narrative and spectacle preceded silent film. Opera scholars have recently drawn upon Gunning's theories to explain the popularity of early visual

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[75] Charles Baudelaire, "The Salon of 1859: The Modern Public and Photography," in *Classical Essays on Photography*, ed. Alan Trachtenberg (New Haven, CT: Leete's Island Books, 1980), 87.

[76] For discussion of these erotic diableries, see David J. Jones, *Gothic Machine: Textualities, Pre-Cinematic Media and Film in Popular Visual Culture, 1670-1910* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011).

innovations such as magic lanterns, panoramas, and Daguerre's dioramas, while the balance of effects and narrative in grand opera has been debated ever since Wagner lambasted Meyerbeer's *Le prophète* for producing effects without causes. Wagner was referring to both the visual and musical aspects of grand opera, yet discussions of visual spectacle can often eclipse consideration of music in early film. The *Faust* films provide telling examples of the dual musical influences of opera and popular theater on the new medium. Gounod's *Faust* (and to a certain extent Berlioz's *La damnation de Faust*), rather than the boulevard works discussed here, served as the primary basis for the French films. However, other popular boulevard works featuring the devil—often a version of Mephistopheles—were successfully adapted for film (*Les pilules du diable* and *Les sept châteaux du diable*, for example). Furthermore, the form the musical accompaniment took was more akin to the pre-written musical songs and instrumental interludes found in melodrama, vaudeville, and related French popular stage genres. Arrangements of brief moments from Gounod's opera, often for piano or small ensemble, were played by musicians at the new movie theaters as part of the background music to a film. Though some of Gounod's larger scale narrative devices remained, the focus was on musical effects, which complemented the devilish tricks seen on screen. The very word-painting techniques on which grand opera relied, and for which it was criticized, would play an important role in the new medium.

Conclusion

Discussions of Gounod's *Faust* in the French press frequently mentioned other Faust settings, particularly Dennery's recent production. It was de rigueur for critics to tackle the work's relationship to Goethe's play, the question of whether the adaptation was accurate, and the issue

of whether or not such accuracy ultimately mattered. Some lambasted other works in order to praise Gounod's opera as the first faithful adaption of *Faust*. Although many other critics applauded Dennery's *drame* for its wonderful *mise-en-scène*, Durocher began his review of Gounod's work by saying he hadn't seen Dennery's *Faust*, but from what he'd heard "it was not the true *Faust*."[77] One 1858 adaptation went so far as to call itself *Le faux Faust.*[78] Criticisms of French adaptations were common in Germany, where fidelity—or at least verisimilitude—to one of their great literary masters was regarded as paramount. In contrast, French artists were more concerned with creating their own adaptations, which tended to resist the philosophical implications of the original play and to take a cavalier approach toward a dead author from a rival nation, no matter how formidable his reputation. That notwithstanding, the French critics' comments demonstrated the temptation to compare these works, to be drawn into the concept of one "true" interpretation.

Over half a century later, Walter Benjamin tackled nineteenth-century Parisian life in his unfinished *Arcades Project*—a work throughout which quotations and allusions to *Faust* percolate. His most direct discussion focused not on the nineteenth-century adaptations, but the cinematic *Fausts* that followed:

> The foregoing, put differently: the indestructibility of the highest life in all things. Against the prognosticators of decline. Consider, though: Isn't it an affront to Goethe to make a film of *Faust,* and isn't there a world of difference between the poem *Faust* and the film *Faust*? Yes, certainly. But, again, isn't there a whole world of difference between a bad film of *Faust* and a good one? What matter are never the "great" but only the dialectical contrasts, which often seem

[77] Durocher, "Théâtre-Lyrique," 102.

[78] An *opérette parodie* by Frédéric Barbier, under the pseudonym Stephan, performed at the Folies-Nouvelles in November 1858.

> indistinguishable from nuances. It is nonetheless from them that life is always born anew.[79]

This defense of the "faux" *Fausts*—from a German critic at that—celebrates the changes themselves by acknowledging the importance of fresh interpretations. Instead of viewing *Faust* as an artifact produced and owned by one of the German greats of the past, Benjamin positions the work as a generator and an advocate for the new.

Benjamin's second direct mention of Faust demonstrates why this work, arguably more than any other major text from this time, was intertwined with novelty. In his section on "Photography," Benjamin quotes Eugène Buret's 1840 discussion of French and English working-class life: "The most fantastical creations of fairyland are near to being realized before our very eyes. [. . .] Each day our factories turn out wonders as great as those produced by Doctor Faustus with his book of magic."[80] Indeed the sole *Faust* adaptation he mentions by name is Sébastian Rhéal's *La vision de Faustus ou l'exposition universelle en 1855*—a work that never made it to the stage. In this case, the published libretto provides an example of how *Faust'*s journey via the Parisian stage was bound up with broader narratives of Parisian progress, especially in the technological realm. This first exposition functioned as a venue for displaying French progress in the competitive context of London's Great Exhibition of 1851, which was achieved largely by way of the extravagant Palais de l'Industrie. In Rhéal's work, the character of Faustus proclaims "the second renaissance of the muses," reflecting on the success and promise of artistic achievement in the French capital.

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[79] Walter Benjamin, "On the Theory of Knowledge, Theory of Progress," in *Arcades Project*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1999), 459, [N1a, 4].

[80] Eugene Buret, *De la misère des classes laborieuses en France et en Angleterre,* (Paris: Paulin, 1840), 2:161-162, qtd. and trans. in ibid., 673, [Y2,1].

For the Lumière brothers and Méliès, *Faust*—or more specifically Mephistopheles—provided a way to draw upon medial innovations of the nineteenth century and to demonstrate the possibilities of the myriad new technologies it fostered. Goethe's devil provided Dennery, Delaporte, Gounod, and many other composers, librettists, and their collaborators with the same opportunity. This did not mean that these works ignored the complex narrative of Goethe's *Faust*: on the contrary, issues surrounding the diabolical potential of media have lain at the heart of the Faust legend since its beginnings. However, the theatrical and cinematic adaptations demonstrate that the French *Faust* was ultimately an expression of domestic aesthetics that prioritized spectacle. Not, as Wagner claimed, "empty" spectacle, but spectacle replete with the potential to entertain, to dramatize historical events, and to illuminate the eerie potential of new technologies while satisfying morbid curiosity in the material causes, effects, and consequences of excess.

CHAPTER V

FROM STAGE TO SCREEN: DIABOLICAL OPERA, DIGITAL MUSICOLOGY, AND TECHNOLOGIES OF REPRESENTATION

In 1906, Méliès produced a new film starring Mephistopheles called *Les quatre cents farces du diable.*[1] The film tells the story of how an engineer makes a deal with the devil so he can fulfill his wish of making a high-speed trip around the world. As such stories tend to go, things end badly when the vehicle in which the engineer is traveling crashes, splitting in two. In his discussion of Méliès's many depictions of technological disasters, Brian R. Jacobson posits that the filmmaker based this work on the 1891 collapse of Gustave Eiffel's railway bridge, in which seventy-three people died and many more were injured.[2] In reality, Méliès's film was actually a new adaptation of the 1839 *féerie Les pilules du diable* that Scala had celebrated just a few years previously, but Jacobson can be forgiven his mistake: the line between real and imagined diabolical accidents was hard to define.

The suspicions about technology's otherworldly associations that came to the fore in the nineteenth century carried through the birth of film and are still evident. More than just handy scapegoats, devils, witches, and the like have provided ways to explain constantly evolving machines that often surpass widely established limits of understanding. Sometimes specific failures and successes have raised particular questions and anxieties, but frequently a broader skepticism surrounding technological innovation has informed reactions. The sentiment behind

[1] Méliès, *Les quatre cents farces du diable* (Star Film Co., 1906), 35 mm film, from YouTube video, posted by "Strych Pełen Filmów," February 25, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l0f0Mtglktc.

[2] Brian R. Jacobson, *Studios Before the System: Architecture, Technology, and the Emergence of Cinematic Space* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 79.

Wagner's oft-quoted critique of grand opera's "effects without causes" is still present today. It finds its counterpart in the phrase "bells and whistles," often casually uttered in response to the twenty-first century versions of such displays.

Criticisms of supposedly superfluous uses of technology are not limited to modes of entertainment—they have found their way to intellectual realms that are regarded with disdain for their desire to explore new forms of scholarly discourse. One of the fields that has endured the most attacks within academia is the digital humanities, in which scholars employ and investigate computational approaches to humanities scholarship and pedagogy. Although impressive to some, others are unsure what to make of its use of unfamiliar technology, and digital humanists are still learning how to explain their work to the broader humanities so that the meanings behind its mediations become clear.

Similar to the grand operas that caught Wagner's attention, the shift from digital work as a type of counter-cultural experiment to a more mainstream methodology has given rise to many debates about its scholarly value. A provocative article published by the *Los Angeles Review of Books* in 2016 attracted great attention for its claims that the digital humanities embraces innovation for innovation's sake: "Like much of the rhetoric surrounding Silicon Valley today, this discourse sees technological innovation as an end in itself and equates the development of disruptive business models with political progress."[3] The comparison with Silicon Valley unveils a certain discomfort with the commercialism and politics of the digital humanities. In many ways, this response to technological developments within and outside of academia mimics much of the reaction to the overlooked boulevard repertoire that this dissertation has examined. Factors

[3] Daniel Allington, Sarah Brouillette, and David Golumbia, "Neoliberal Tools (and Archives): A Political History of Digital Humanities," *Los Angeles Review of Books*, May 1, 2016: https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/neoliberal-tools-archives-political-history-digital-humanities/.

such as cheap(er) ticket prices and entertaining spectacle made these works accessible to a wider audience. In turn, these characteristics of the boulevard repertoire impacted conceptions about the artistic value of works that even the relatively uncultivated could grasp.

The rest of the article further exposed the putative emptiness of this work: "What Digital Humanities is *not* about, despite its explicit claims, is the use of digital or quantitative methodologies to answer research questions in the humanities. . . . The implication is that in Digital Humanities, computer use is an end in itself."[4] Akin to press responses to French grand opera, the critics of these works cannot divine any traces of substance behind the spectacle. Yet, in both cases, the material itself plays a vital role in addressing deeper intellectual questions. If humanists care about the types of media they study, surely it obtains that the media we use to find the answers—whether pen and paper or computers—also matter more than we might first assume.

These similarities between the (ab)uses of and reactions to technology then and now led to the development of my own digital project: historical maps of Paris with digitally plotted venues and associated information, which appear here as a digital appendix. If the composers and librettists I was studying used multiple media to analyze and reflect on these very technologies, how might my own process of multimedia creation enable me to access and reframe knowledge about this repertoire? The project began with my desire for a more tactile engagement with the materials in question. For many scholars of Parisian culture, this means familiarity with the city itself, especially in light of the important role the urban landscape played in the creation of art works performed within the city's borders. Fauser and Everist's *Music, Theater, and Cultural*

[4] Ibid.

Transfer details this close-knit relationship between geography and music.[5] What, then, does it mean to access this type of embodied knowledge when thousands of miles away? Is it possible for digital methods to recreate this indescribable mode of engagement?

Of course, accessing knowledge about the city and the materials themselves is foremost a practical endeavor. Much of my adoption of digital methodology has arisen from necessity, and many of the basic tools are used by scholars who would not necessarily identify themselves as "digital humanists." Creating a digital version of my paper pre-Haussmann map of Paris (with colored pushpins denoting the theatrical venues) started as a means by which to carry this information from one research site to another. Likewise, the searching capabilities of OCR (Optical Character Recognition software) proved invaluable in discovering many important popular works whose libretti lay buried in the Google Books corpus, neglected by musicological and theatrical research.[6] Even the relative simplicity of searching the Bibliothèque nationale de France's catalog online changed over the course of my research, as the Opéra library shifted from the traditional card catalogs to digital cataloging, and I likewise cataloged the journals relevant to my topic.

This chapter thus serves as a reflection on both the textual and digital methodologies I have employed in this large-scale project. Although digital humanities scholars are increasingly producing such explanations, the relative novelty of the coupling between this field and musicology has meant that the latter still frequently separates scholarship from digital creativity. In turn, the lack of critical discourse surrounding these projects provides further ammunition for the skeptics. In order to connect my own mapping resource with the spectacles under

[5] Fauser and Everist, eds. *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer*.

[6] OCR is the electronic conversion of images of text to machine-encoded text.

investigation, I trace nineteenth-century approaches to data visualization, illuminating connections between visual culture then and now. I proceed to examine digital approaches in recent years that have focused on increasing sensory engagement with materials in order to further our understanding of the past. In my section on digital musicology, I explore the multiple projects on nineteenth-century France in recent years that have informed my own work here. Finally, I provide context for my digital dissertation appendix, *Mapping Paris Theaters,* and suggest possible directions for the further development of this resource.

Nineteenth-century approaches

The nineteenth-century technologies examined and the digital humanities approach deployed in this dissertation have more in common than might initially meet the eye. The term "data visualization" sounds contemporary, and the GIS maps and network analyses we see accompanying today's scholarship appear suitably modern, yet they emerged out of a long history of visual representations of data. This journey is traced by Manuel Lima in his *The Book of Trees: Visualizing Branches of Knowledge.* The thick tome displays hundreds of knowledge trees from the Medieval era through to the current day, chronicling their development over the ages. As one critic for the American Historical Association noted, "There are times when modern technology seems removed from the arts and letters. . . . But now comes Manuel Lima with a book on trees of knowledge to challenge tech enthusiasts' claims to originality."[7] Indeed, the work counters preconceptions about contemporary charts and its images breathe life into what would otherwise be unprepossessing quantitative representations. In Lima's words, the book

[7] Jacob Soll, "Trees in a Forest of Knowledge: From Page to Pixel in Manuel Lima's The Book of Trees," *Perspectives on History,* October 2014: https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/october-2014/trees-in-a-forest-of-knowledge.

conveys the "power of visual aids in facilitating understanding. It shows us, simply, the power of visual communication."[8]

Lima's visual argument is strong, though critics have found his accompanying text somewhat lacking.[9] More persuasive is the digital humanities scholar Scott Weingart, who has also turned to the past in order to contextualize his current work and demonstrate a lineage that proves particularly relevant for historians of earlier periods. In his keynote at the 2015 HASTAC conference, Weingart traced data visualization from the medieval period through today, arguing for the primacy of the visual in the generation and consumption of knowledge.[10]

Although missing from Weingart's charts, William Playfair played an important part in the development of visualizations in France around the turn of the nineteenth century. The Scot moved to Paris in 1787 and quickly won over Louis XVI with his recently published book *The Commercial and Political Atlas*, which was not a conventional atlas but a collection of charts—some of which, such as the pie and bar charts, Playfair had invented.[11] Breaking through language barriers, Playfair claimed that "[the king] at once understood the charts and was highly pleased. He said they spoke all languages and were very clear and easily understood."[12] As Playfair's charts became more widely used, some were integrated into maps of the capital city

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[8] Manuel Lima, *The Book of Trees: Visualizing Branches of Knowledge* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 2014), 43.

[9] Soll. Also Scott B. Weingart, "[Review] The Book of Trees, Manuel Lima," the scottbot irregular (blog), April 12, 2014: https://scottbot.net/review-the-book-of-trees-manuel-lima/.

[10] Weingart, "Connecting the Dots," the scottbot irregular (blog), August 6, 2016: http://www.scottbot.net/HIAL/index.html@p=41441.html

[11] See Johanna Drucker, *Graphesis: Visual Forms of Knowledge Production* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).

[12] William Playfair, *Playfair's Commercial and Political Atlas and Statistical Breviary*, ed. Howard Wainer and Ian Spence (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1.

and France more broadly. Maps of Paris in particularly became increasingly popular throughout the nineteenth century, often appearing in the huge number of guidebooks produced.[13]

While Playfair's charts facilitated the apprehension of information, another scholar sought to complicate both the production and the consumption of historical knowledge. The visualizations of nineteenth-century American historian and educator Elizabeth Palmer Peabody have been largely overlooked, but Lauren Klein has recently drawn attention to Peabody's innovative 1856 textbook *A Chronological History of the United States*.[14] Admittedly, Peabody's charts push abstraction to an extreme, yet Klein argues that it is precisely this abstraction that cements her importance in the history of data visualization. Klein explains the reasoning for Peabody's charts as encouraging plural approaches: "For Peabody, the abstraction of the grid was preferable to a more mimetic form because it 'left scope for a little narration.' In other words, she believed that if her visualizations provided the contours of history, the viewer could then—both literally and figuratively—color them in."[15] Some of the charts Peabody provided herself. Klein recounts how she travelled across the country with copies of her textbook and huge pieces of fabric the size of a large rug (see Illustration 5.1). Without the context of the textbook, viewers have no idea that they are looking at a visual representation of significant events from seventeenth-century American history.

[13] See Chapter 1, 29, for a discussion of such guidebooks.

[14] Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, *A Chronological History of the United States* (New York: Sheldon and Blakeman, 1856).

[15] Lauren Klein, "Feminist Data Visualization; Or, the Shape of History," (presentation, Modern Language Association Annual Convention, Philadelphia, PA, January 7, 2017): http://lklein.com/2017/01/feminist-data-visualization-or-the-shape-of-history/.

Illustration 5.1. Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, grid visualization from *A Chronological History of the United States* (1856), digitized by Klein, "Feminist Data Visualization"

The abstraction of this chart allows ample room for viewers to interpret it as they wish, but Peabody wanted to move one step further by encouraging students to create their own histories. To this end, she included largely blank charts with the textbook that only featured basic historical information. This sort of interactive engagement lay at the center of Peabody's philosophy of storytelling, which Klein has sought to replicate in her website recreation of these blank charts, in which she asks the user "what would it mean if a visualization was designed to be difficult and abstract? If it was intended to send us back to the original source of the data in order to make sense of the image we encountered? What if the goal of visualization was to allow each person, individually, to interpret the image for herself?"[16] Moreover, Peabody accorded

[16] Klein et al. *The Shape of History: Reimaging Elizabeth Palmer Peabody's Historical Visualization Work*, accessed July 20, 2017: http://shapeofhistory.net/. This interactive website, created with Klein's graduate students, allows the user to "play" at constructing a historical narrative. This type of engagement forces the user into active consumers (and creators) of knowledge, supplanting the more passive act of reading or listening. The site also

primacy to the senses, which drove her pursuit of the visual and the tactile experiences afforded by the large material charts she produced. In her article "Visualization as Argument," Klein writes that her charts "were intended to appeal to the senses directly, to provide 'outlines to the eye.'" [17] Playfair also thought about the sense of sight as he produced his charts, commenting that "[of] all the senses, the eye gives the liveliest and most accurate idea of whatever is susceptible of being represented to it."[18]

As Klein notes, however, Peabody was concerned not only with accuracy, but also with invoking pleasure. This connects her abstract work not only with broader discussions of the senses among nineteenth-century theorists, but also with the French *spectacles d'optique* that sought to entertain audiences through sensory overload and the theatrical works that followed. The concern for pleasure in this repertoire was viewed as contrary to its capacity for knowledge production, whereas the opposite was arguably true for data charts. In reality, both played important parts in spectacles and visualizations—a balance that would later prove vital for twenty-first-century digital scholarship.

Digital approaches

In *The Book of Trees,* Lima links the work of early historians who created visualizations with contemporary efforts: "The challenges they faced were all similar to the ones we face currently,

details how Klein's group have been creating electronic quilt charts, following other digital experiments with physical computing.

[17] Klein, "Visualization as Argument," *Lauren Klein: Research* (blog), December 2014: http://lklein.com/2014/12/visualization-as-argument/. The popular "reddit" discussion website has a subreddit "Data is beautiful" where members of the public can share data visualizations. See https://www.reddit.com/r/dataisbeautiful/.

[18] Playfair, *Playfair's Commercial and Political Atlas,* 29.

and the goal was the same then as it is now: to explain and educate; to facilitate cognition and gain insight; and, ultimately, to make the invisible visible."[19] It is useful to remember these words in the midst of concerns about progress for progress's sake—that the creators of digital tools today develop them because they can, not because they are needed. Franco Moretti's work has addressed this challenge of illuminating forgotten histories. Leading the charge among literary scholars, he has become known for his macro-analytical approach, widely known as "Big Data," or (with greater regard to his specific field and methodology) "distant reading."

In *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History*, Moretti argues for broader consideration of literary works, examining not only extraordinary texts—some of which have made it into the canon, some not—but also the everyday ones. Recognizing the limitations of time when it comes to reading, Moretti points out that this is symptomatic of a methodological issue, stating that "a field this large cannot be understood by stitching together separate bits of knowledge about individual cases, because it *isn't* a sum of individual cases: it's a collective system that should be grasped as such, as a whole."[20] Such systems are optimally represented graphically rather than discursively. While Moretti's exemplary graphs display the very problem that drives their genesis—the expanding publication of novels—his literary topic closely mirrors the growth of theatrical works throughout the nineteenth century. Herein lies the importance of Moretti's work: just as computational tools offer ways of "seeing" literary works overshadowed by the so-called greats, they also provide pathways for scholars from other disciplines to gain access to the bigger (and perhaps more accurate) picture.

[19] Lima, "The Book of Trees," 10.

[20] Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees*, 4.

Although Peabody's work has been largely forgotten, the importance of enabling plural histories as made visible by her visualizations has been a driving motive for data visualizations in recent decades. Theories of the power of visual media expressed by Peabody and her contemporaries have likewise carried through mapping projects and network analyses today. Øyvind Eide's study of literary texts and maps draws on these earlier discussions to justify his approach, paraphrasing Lessing:

> The speed with which we are able to get an overview of an image is very different from the speed with which we can get an overview of a text. The text has to be read and understood, while the image just has to be glanced at. Even a complex statue or painting can be seen at superfluous level quickly, whereas a complex textual description has to be read before the main structure can be understood. When we look at a clear expression of things in space on a painting, we rapidly study the parts, then their connection, and then we combine them into a whole. When a poet tries to copy this process, it is not fast enough, because reading will take too much time. By the time we reach the end, we have forgotten the beginning.[21]

Eide's argument for the visual is part of a broader discussion of the relationship between different media in his chapter on "Texts and Maps as Media Expressions." He asks, "How do we express our experience of one artwork in the language of another art form? Specifically, how do we move from image to text?" Noting that we have a term to describe verbal textual descriptions of visual works of art—ekphrasis—Eide quotes B. F. Scholz's intermedial study. In his exploration of the space between work and description, Scholz explains "that the *transposition d'art* of ekphrasis involves a gaze, a conscious encounter of a perceiving subject ('seeing', 'choosing', 'showing') with a work of art. The ekphrastic text thus comes to us, its readers, as the

[21] Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laokoon, oder über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie, Erster Theil* (Berlin, Christian Friedrich Voss, 1766), qtd. and trans. in Øyvind Eide, *Media Boundaries and Conceptual Modelling: Between Texts and Maps* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 142.

record of that gaze."[22] Eide does not argue for or against transmediation, but rather cautions his audience to be aware of what might be changed in the process of translating a work from one medium, or "sensory configuration," to another.

The maps at the center of Eide's work are driven by his view that geographical transmediation can help one connect with a text or other work. Mapping projects have proven popular within the digital humanities, using a wide range of GIS (geographical information systems) tools to transport the user into another place—and often another time. Paris has inspired a particularly large number of digital projects, matched only by London. Many have focused on ways of experiencing historical Paris from our own remote perspective. Recent projects include "Paris Past and Present," a project led by Meredith Cohen, an art historian at UCLA. Cohen explains that the project "aims to create interactive 3D-digital models of great 'lost' monuments, architectural complexes, and diverse quartiers of medieval Paris. Through such reconstructions, we hope to make aspects of medieval architecture and urban life more accessible for the classroom and also to facilitate historical research requiring accurate virtual environments."[23] Striking this balance of serving students while also appealing to researchers has increasingly become a priority for such projects.

Cohen's reference to scholars "requiring accurate virtual environments" displays the increasing acknowledgement that this type of interaction can play an important role in research. The first notable project on Paris, which still dominates the literature, was a virtual project

[22] B. F. Scholz, "A Whale that Can't be Cotched? On Conceptualizing Exphrasis," in *Changing Borders: Contemporary Positions in Intermediality,* ed. Jens Arvidson et al. (Luns, Sweden: Intermedia Studies Press, 2007), in Eide, *Media Boundaries and Conceptual Modelling,* 145.

[23] Meredith Cohen, Kristine Tanton, and Meg Bernstein, "About Us," *Paris Past and Present*, accessed August 1, 2017: http://paris.cdh.ucla.edu/about/.

entitled *Virtual Montmartre*—a part of Bryan Carter's *Virtual Harlem*.[24] James J. Sosnoski writes of the project:

> To students of jazz and blues, it will not be a surprise that a group at the Sorbonne in Paris who have seen Virtual Harlem wish to construct a Virtual Montmartre. Many of the famous African American musicians, writers, and artists who lived and worked in Harlem or Bronzeville, often in both neighborhoods, also lived in Montmartre. . . .
>
> What makes Virtual Harlem, Virtual Bronzeville, and Virtual Montmartre important to teachers of cultural history is that these VR [virtual reality] simulations are reproductions of historical settings in which students can experience, however virtually, sights that no longer exist. They are resonant examples of VR as an instructional technology that makes history come alive. . . . Persons exposed to such effects experience the past in a sensuous way.[25]

Presenting a virtual reality experience at Disney World as a comparable example, Sosnoski goes on to claim that "VR is capable of providing the impossible—a living experience of the past," likening it to a "time machine."[26]

"Virtual Reality" is a technology that uses headsets (and sometimes physical spaces) to create realistic images and sounds that simulate the user's presence in a computer-generated environment. It emerged in the 1990s as a commercial endeavor that appealed primarily to gaming communities. However, scholars such as Carter saw the potential for developing similar modes of virtualization in the academic realm, particularly as a means to engage a wider audience, such as students. *Virtual Harlem* was first developed in 1997 and now resides on the

[24] Bryan Carter et al., *Virtual Montmartre*, accessed August 1, 2017: http://www.montmartre-virt.paris-sorbonne.fr/

[25] James J. Sosnoski, "Virtual Reality as a Teaching Tool: Learning by Configuring," in *Small Tech: The Culture of Digital Tools,* eds. Byron Hawk, David M. Rieder, and Ollie O. Oviedo (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 41.

[26] Ibid.

platform "Second Life"—an online virtual world (that users access from their computer, without headsets) that was developed in 2003.[27]

The term "time machine" that Sosnoski uses in reference to *Virtual Montmartre* is similarly used to describe the *Virtual Paul's Cross Project*, which Paul Fyfe describes as "making a claim not just to the project's historical fidelity but to its *immediacy,* an experience of the past available just now."[28] That this term appears so frequently in discussions of virtual reality projects speaks to the sense of wonder they evoke and to assumptions of authenticity: these are not deemed to be twenty-first century versions of Paris, but accurate recoveries of a past city that would be lost were it not for modern technology. Of course, the cost of the realism of these projects (and to a certain extent the immediacy) is that the fidelity Fyfe describes is impossible. The detail required to create such virtual worlds demands imaginative speculation, and while this does not necessarily detract from the value of such recreations, it does impinge on their authenticity.

Using a virtual ride at Disney World as an example, Fyfe draws attention to the entertainment aspect of *Virtual Montmartre* in the midst of his broader discussion of it as a pedagogical tool. It is precisely this gamification of history lessons that has caused friction between creators of virtual reality and digital humanities scholars. The latter have dedicated great attention to convincing traditional humanities fields of its validity as a serious scholarly field of inquiry, which notions of games threaten.[29] Yet play undeniably performs an important role in

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[27] Carter, "Virtual Harlem/Virtual Montmartre," in "Projects," *DH Commons*, accessed August 1, 2017: https://dhcommons.org/projects/virtual-harlemvirtual-montmartre.

[28] Paul Fyfe, "Radiant Virtuality," *Victoria's Lost Pavilion: From Nineteenth-Century Aesthetics to Digital Humanities*, ed. Fyfe et al. (New York: Springer, 2017).

[29] Kevin Kee, ed., *Pastplay: Teaching and Learning History with Technology* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014).

digital humanities. So where can (or should) the line be drawn between game and scholarly work?

Sosnoski's description of a sensory engagement with the past harkens back to nineteenth-century *spectacles d'optique*. Hibberd's description of spectators feeling a sea breeze (through a ventilation trick) in Jean-Charles Langlois's 1831 panorama of a scene from the Naval Battle of Navarino provides one example of such a visceral interaction.[30] Like other panoramas, Langlois's creation was designed to entertain through overwhelming the audience's senses. Yet it was not solely used for entertainment: cadets from the Brest Naval Academy visited the rotunda in order to experience what it was like to be on a warship during a battle.[31] Similar to Carter's aims for the Virtual Montmartre project, Langlois's installation sought to stimulate senses such as touch that are typically excluded from the historical record for the purpose of knowledge production, not mere pleasure.

Virtual reality arguably comes closer to the innovations of that century than other projects that prioritize sight and hearing over touch, but recent developments in physical computing are challenging this lead. The digital humanities scholar Jentery Sayers has started a lab dedicated to exploring tactile engagement at the University of Victoria. In an article on the twentieth-century experiments ("Fluxkits") that inspired his lab's physical computing efforts, Sayers describes them as "sensory experiences, blurring distinctions between object and event, material and concept."[32] This idea of sensory experiences has resulted in the lab building early historical objects such as a

[30] This was constructed at the new rotunda in the rue des Marais-du-Temple: see Hibberd, "*Le naufrage de la méduse*," 257.

[31] Edward P. Alexander, Mary Alexander, and Juilee Decker, *Museums in Motion: An Introduction to the History and Functions of Museums* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 113.

[32] Sayers, "Kits for Cultural History," in "Kits, Plans, Schematics," ed. Helen J. Burgess and David M. Rieder, special issue, *Hyperrhiz* 13 (Fall 2015): http://hyperrhiz.io/hyperrhiz13/workshops-kits/early-wearables-essay.html.

French electro-mobile jewelry piece that was displayed at the Exposition universelle in Paris in 1867 (see Illustration 5.2). Some are replicas of objects that are now housed in museums and so unavailable for physical handling, while others are produced from blueprints of objects that never saw the light of day. All are reimaginings that allow us a different type of access to historical information originating in and about the nineteenth century. Sayers has coined the term "prototyping the past" to describe this work, explaining that "prototyping the past understands technologies as entanglements of culture, materials, and design, and it explains how and why technologies matter by approaching them as representations and agents of history."[33]

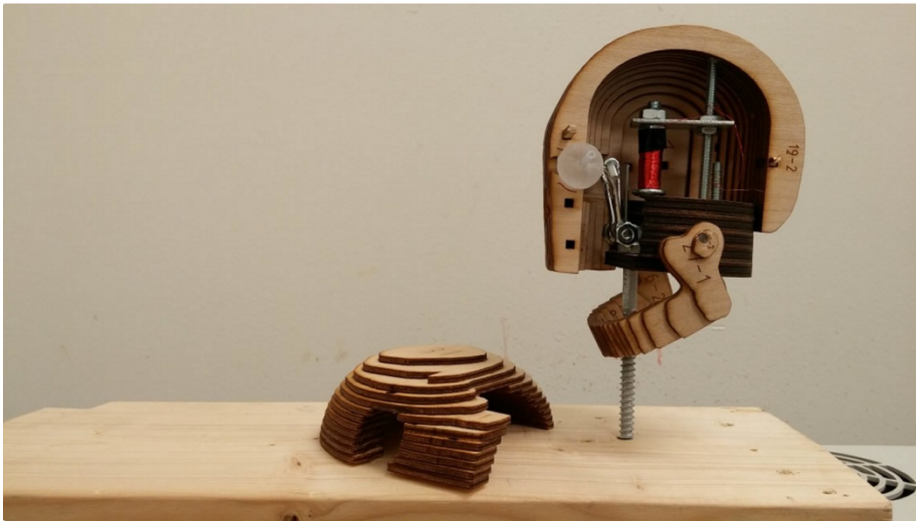

Illustration 5.2. Jentery Sayers et al., photograph of a large-scale, functioning prototype of an electro-mobile skull stick-pin, "Prototyping the Past."

Physical computing's focus on reimagining rather than replicating separates it from virtual reality. The "time machine" attempts of the latter seek to return to the Paris of the past and define success as immersing their user so deeply in the experience that they forget about modern

[33] Sayers, "Prototyping the Past," in "Critical Making: Design and the Digital Humanities," ed. Jessica Barness and Amy Papaelias, special issue, *Visible Language* 49, no. 3 (December 2015), http://visiblelanguagejournal.com/issue/172/article/1232.

life. In contrast, physical computing embraces the differences—and often tensions—between the old and the new, seeking to recreate means of engagement than the exact materials themselves. I saw first-hand the power of digital work in helping modern-day audiences gain understanding of past cultures when I taught a silent film music course. I grappled with how to help the students understand the widespread reactions of wonder to the silent films we studied, which to them seemed antiquated in comparison to the 3D movies available today. By completing assignments in which they engaged with creating their own multimedia works, such as rescoring silent shorts and writing multimedia articles in Scalar, they grew to relate to the experiences of audiences around 1900.

While Klein and Sayers asked their students to produce physical objects and mine focused their efforts on digital ones, all of these efforts center on accessing knowledge through artistic (re)creations that move past the written word. In the nineteenth-century, this took the form of efforts such as Peabody's blank charts for her students and, in musical culture, the rise of domestic music-making. A large portion of the extant music for the repertoire I examine in this dissertation exists as piano-vocal and small ensemble arrangements. The audiences of nineteenth-century French stage works such as *Robert le diable* and *Les pilules du diable* would sit at home after viewing a performance and engage with the music through these arrangements, "playing" at being the devil or another character. Passive consumption of the musico-visual spectacle was supplemented by active engagement.

Although a certain portion of the domestic music repertoire demanded relatively high standards of musicianship and so was only accessible to audience members who had received considerable training, many of these arrangements were relatively simple. This was particularly the case for the popular music works that lacked the complexity of Meyerbeer or Gounod's

writing. To a certain extent, operas and ballet-pantomimes were aimed at a narrow audience (though not as narrow as previously thought, as addressed in Chapter 1). However, the boulevard works reached a broad section of the nineteenth-century Parisian public. *Les pilules du diable*—one of the most popular works, as discussed in Chapter 2—not only captivated the rich and poor alike, but also entertained many children. This was even truer of the film adaptations of these stage works. The desire to recapture this breadth and engage diverse audiences has driven the work of many digital humanities scholars, especially those engaged in physical computing efforts. The "maker labs" that have sprung up in many libraries are arguably a twenty-first version of the subsection of domestic music-making focused on pedagogy (for example Liszt's piano arrangements of Beethoven symphonies).[34] These spaces offer opportunities for alternative knowledge creation to scholars and lay audiences—even seeking to reach young children, like *Les pilules*.

Digital musicology

The musical counterpart to Moretti's distant reading occurred in music theory before musicology. Computer-aided analysis has assisted theorists in outsourcing time-consuming work to machines, enabling the expeditious analysis of much larger corpuses and the identification of emerging patterns that might not be obvious to the human eye or ear. Medieval scholarship has dominated this area so far, and Michael Scott Cuthbert's *music21*—a web resource with tools for analyzing

[34] Marie Sumner Lott, *The Social Worlds of Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music: Composers, Consumers, Communities* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2015), 47. Sumner Lott juxtaposes virtuosic transcriptions and practical or pedagogical arrangements, such as Liszt's two- and four-hand arrangements, which were designed for the average music lover at home.

music—stands as a primary example of digital work for many in the field.[35] Like opponents of Moretti, musicologists more focused on cultural studies have regarded such projects warily, questioning what we stand to lose when we collaborate with machines. Areas such as data visualization and network analysis help to stake out a middle ground that prioritizes deepening complex cultural understanding over rote computational analysis.

A broad range of digital projects has appeared within Francophone musicology. These projects fall into two overlapping categories: using digital technologies for analysis, as part of the methodology, and using them for presentation. Many stem from both of these intentions. The role the urban landscape of Paris played in French culture has given rise to many geographical projects such as those mentioned above, but it is far from the only area in which projects have emerged. Digital repositories have become increasingly important in enabling scholars across the globe to access necessary materials, regardless of financial support for on-site research trips, which is in keeping with the accessibility focus evinced by much digital work. The Bibliothèque nationale de France has led the charge with its digital library, Gallica, which has digitized an increasing percentage of its holdings since its inception in 1997.

The BnF's efforts have been expanded by groups such as the *Francophone Music Criticism* network (FMC), which has developed a web resource that provides a relatively simple but invaluable service: a searchable repository of transcribed articles from the French press.[36] The FMC was started in 2006 and is officially based in England, but boasts an international membership of around two hundred. The website provides transcriptions of over 2,000 reviews

[35] Michael Scott Cuthbert, *Music21: A Toolkit for Computer-Aided Musicology,* accessed July 1, 2017, http://web.mit.edu/music21/.

[36] Everist, Ellis, et al., *Francophone Music Criticism Network*.

of French music and ballets from the long nineteenth century. These reviews are organized into easily-searchable collections sorted by work, event, series, author, or performer. The FMC's commitment to covering a broad range of journals and the increasing attention to the boulevard theaters by musicologists working on nineteenth-century France have developed concurrently, and each has spurred the other. Similar to the popular theaters whose works fell into obsolescence, many short-lived journals included insightful reviews which have been overlooked in the midst of those that have stood the test of time. During an archival trip to Paris, I worked as a research assistant for the FMC. Hours spent locating and transcribing reviews played a large role in informing my methodology by encouraging me to search for trends across a large body and wide range of reception sources.

Transcriptions are not so common as one might expect in this era of big data, largely thanks to the development and consistent improvement of OCR technology. Yet it is dangerous to overestimate the efficiency of OCR, since important keywords or phrases are still frequently lost in older texts. The large body of FMC transcriptions offers reviews that are not only more legible, but a way to reliably search across the collections. One can search for "les yeux" and examine the critics who wrote about the eyes most frequently (Blaze de Bury) or how often such discussions about sensory engagement changed from year to year. Musicologists have yet to branch into using data visualizations for this body of reviews, but such methods hold a host of possibilities.

Grieve Smith's *Digital Parisian Stage* project offers transcriptions of theatrical works from the long nineteenth century.[37] In the project description, Smith demonstrates a similar

[37] Grieve Smith, "Digital Parisian Stage Project," *Grieve Smith* (blog), accessed June 30, 2017: https://grieve-smith.com/blog/stage/.

desire for sensory engagement and the "time machine" approach of the virtual reality projects, asking "In 1810, if you were strolling down one of the Grands Boulevards where all Paris gathered to socialize, what would you hear? If you walked into one of the great theaters along the Boulevards, what would you hear from the stage?" Still in an early phase, Smith's project has thus far focused on organizing libretti that have already been scanned and completing transcriptions for the Napoleonic era. His background in computational linguistics has assisted him in developing a corpus annotation tool that helps catch common errors and changes of spelling from the nineteenth century to today. Echoing the approach of Moretti, he aims to use computers to push against the long-held focus on the repertoire of the primary theaters: "many older corpora were compiled using a 'principle of authority,' and tend to give voice to nobles and wealthy bourgeois characters. The *Digital Parisian Stage* avoids that bias by using random sampling to center the popular theater of the period, giving researchers a fuller picture of the language of lower classes as it was represented on stage."[38] His commitment to the aims of musicologists such as myself and his technological knowledge demonstrate the multitude of opportunities that present themselves via interdisciplinary collaboration on digital projects.

One of the most promising emerging projects of late is *Dezède*—a boutique website that provides information about performances in France from 1771 to today. Its creators, French musicologists Joann Élart, Yannick Simon, and Patrick Taïeb, describe the site as a "research and development tool dedicated to the archiving and chronology of performances. *Dezède* enables the reconstruction and organisation of theater programme collections, allotted to towns, institutions, artists or works. To do this, it uses an innovative scientific method to structure the on-line publication: treatment and analysis of sources, critical edition of programmes and

[38] Ibid.

classification of events."[39] A marvel of metadata organization, the database is searchable by picking a work or concert to explore. For example, one can search for *Robert le diable* and see listings for performances of the full work, a section (e.g. the *Valse infernale*), and also adaptations. In the future, the creators have plans to create visualization tools, including maps, broadcasts, a historical timeline, and diagrams of the strings. There is even a tool for "source transcription training," demonstrating the project's commitment to education. The unusually substantive support for *Dezède* issuing from a number of institutions bodes well for realization of these goals.

Foreign Musicians in Paris (FMiP) is one example of a project full of potential that was cancelled before it could be fully realized. It began as a project for Fauser's graduate seminar on this subject at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and provides information on the musicians who came to Paris over the long nineteenth century.[40] Although it is now defunct, the web resource covers biographies of the musicians and also an extensive tagging system of dates, locations etc., so that users can find connections between featured individuals. Building on works such as Fauser and Everist's *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer*, the project offers a critical look at the urban center. However, its wider value arguably lies in the potential for examining networks through data visualization.

In a recent session at the 2017 Modern Language Association convention focused on "Keeping the *H* in DH," Lindsay Van Tine proposed a more nuanced view of databases, suggesting metadata as the key to a more humanistic approach to machine analysis.[41] FMiP is an

[39] Élart, Simon, and Taïeb, *Dèzede*.

[40] Fauser, Hughes, et al., *Foreign Musicians in Paris*.

[41] Lindsay Van Tine, "Keeping the *H* in DH" (presentation, Modern Language Association Annual Convention, Philadelphia, PA, January 7, 2017).

example of this, and Fauser's description emphasizes that it is a resource designed to provoke conversations on these interactions rather than an end unto itself: "Foreign Musicians in Paris is a web resource designed to serve as a launching platform for scholarship on the numerous foreign musicians and composers, professionals and dilettantes, career seekers and impresarios, who, among others, came to Paris at some point during the late eighteenth, nineteenth, and/or early- to mid-twentieth centuries." The current site is not complete enough for visualizations. However, should another musicologist add the relevant metadata, even without writing the accompanying biographies, this would provide an excellent resource for network analysis using a tool such as Gephi (open-source visualization software that allows the user to upload a dataset and generate an image such as the one in Illustration 5.3).

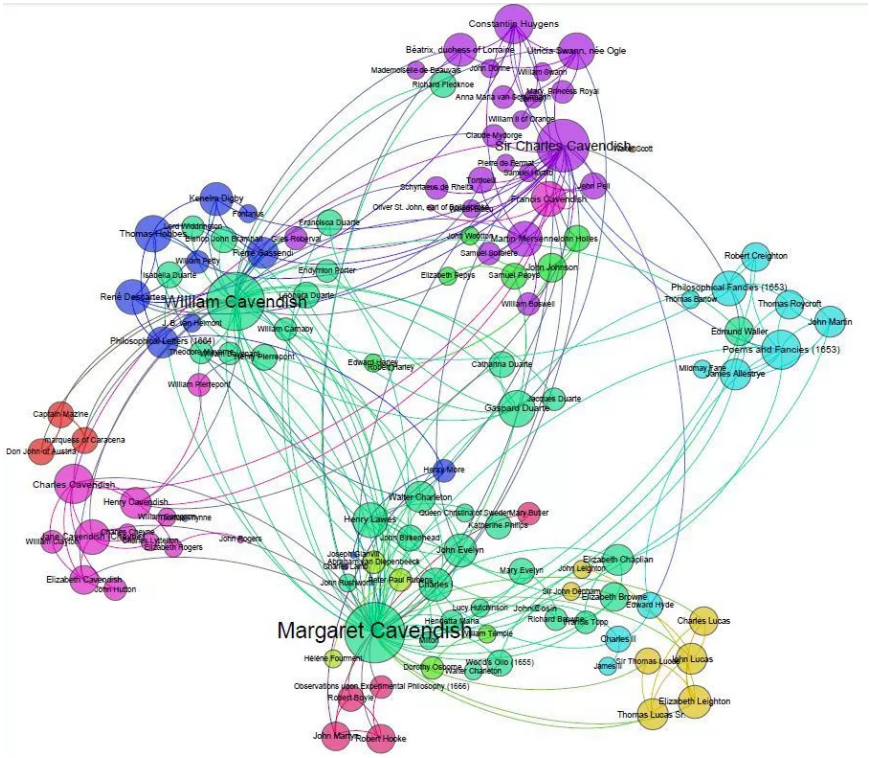

Illustration 5.3. Shawn W. Moore, Social network visualization of Margaret Cavendish using Gephi, digital image, Digital Cavendish Project, March 30, 2017[42]

[42] Available at http://www.digitalcavendish.org/cavendish-network/.

Eleanor Cloutier's project on the Théâtre-Italien joins the mapping sites I mentioned earlier and, like mine, serves as accompaniment to her dissertation.[43] While completing research at the Archives Nationales, Cloutier discovered a collection of letters from subscribers to the management of the Théâtre Italien which provides information about the identities and connections between patrons. She explains that her visualization "explores the networks that can be drawn out of these letters, as subscribers referred each other to the management for better seats, asked if friends could pick up their tickets, and shared bankers. Visualizations of the connections between subscribers across neighborhoods and seating tiers help in a reassessment of the physical and spatial aspects of social life during the July Monarchy, in the city and in the theater."[44] Her focus on challenging previous conceptions of where different classes of audience members resided complements my efforts to use mapping to illuminate the geographical spread of the popular theaters. Moreover, Cloutier's project has broader implications on how network analysis and GIS might be productively used together.

One of the digital projects relating to Paris that has garnered the most excitement is Mylène Pardoen's *Bretez* project.[45] Still in development, *Bretez* seeks to allow the user to experience the sights and sounds of eighteenth-century Paris through exploring the city in an immersive 3D experience. The project uses the well-known Turgot-Bretez map from 1739 to recreate the landscape. The soundscape was based on documents from the period, including Louis-Sebastien Mercier's *Le tableau de Paris* (1781) and current work by the historians Arlette

[43] Eleanor Cloutier, "Repetitive Novelty: Italian Opera in Paris and London in the 1830s and 1840s," PhD diss. (University of California, Berkeley, 2016).

[44] Cloutier, "Mapping Desire: Aesthetic Community at the Théâtre Italien during the July Monarchy" (presentation, tosc@bologna.2015, Bologna, Italy, June 30, 2015).

[45] Mylène Pardoen et al., *Bretez,* accessed August 1, 2017: https://sites.google.com/site/louisbretez/.

Farge (an eighteenth-century specialist), Alain Corbin (a sensory theorist), and Youri Carbonnier (who specializes in houses built on bridges).[46] Although it is being built using a digital game engine, the project has thus far received more attention from musicologists than game enthusiasts, and few connections have been drawn between it and comparable virtual reality projects such as Virtual Montmartre. Currently, YouTube videos take the watcher through a demonstration of walking (or rather, gliding) through the reconstruction.

An article on the *Bretez* project begins with proclaiming: "Paris as you have never heard it before!" The appeal of novelty, which lies at the heart of the stage works I have examined throughout this dissertation, functions as a double-edged sword in the digital humanities. The appeal of the new, of accessing experiences and knowledge that would otherwise be impossible, draws in audiences while concurrently generating skepticism. Would a concert of forgotten French music advertising the same promise generate the same suspicions? In some ways, the established field of performance practice and burgeoning area of digital musicology seem to be polar opposites. One centers on returning to the natural experience of the music, of removing the transmutation of writing about music and creating knowledge through performing. The other uses machines to mediate our experience of musicological topics. Yet in both cases there is a desire for embodied learning and for appreciating the technologies through which historical knowledge and experience are themselves mediated.

The historian of science and technology Tresch writes about how this tension between nature (or "organicism") and machines itself arose in the second half of the nineteenth century, generating biased assumptions about earlier relationships between the two. In reality, "[while]

[46] Laure Cailloce, "The Sound of 18th-Century Paris," *CNRS* (October 22, 2015): https://news.cnrs.fr/articles/sound-18th-century-paris.

some expressed wariness or even hostility toward machines, others embraced them; and many did so with attitudes and ideas usually associated with romanticism. Taken as aids for externalizing and expressing the self, machines drew forth virtual powers and brought about conversations among hidden forces; they could be used to create new wholes and organic orders, remaking humans' relationship to nature and renewing nature itself."[47] While Tresch himself focuses on examining these past approaches and does not engage in digital humanities work, *The Romantic Machine* is increasingly cited by nineteenth-century media studies scholars as a means of justifying digital approaches.

The possibilities for overcoming the modern-day separations between nature and machines, and more specifically digital and performative work, are embraced in an *Early Music* issue devoted to digital projects. In the editorial, Dan Tidhar acknowledges that "Despite the apparent contradiction in terms, recent years have seen many different forms of fruitful synergy between early music scholarship and modern technology. . . . The use of evolving tools, methods and services continuously opens up new avenues for research, scholarly work and performance practice."[48] Embodied learning plays an important part in the *Digital Fauvel* project: one of its creators, Anna Zayaruznaya, hosts a Medieval Song Lab, while the other, Rebecca Fiebrink, is a member of the Embodied AudioVisual Interaction Group. The EAVI group is a research group based in the UK that uses technology to facilitate embodied interactions with sound and image.[49] Adding to the more common sensory engagement of seeing and listening, touch is listed as an important facet of the *Digital Fauvel.* The project description states that "Our digital version was

[47] Tresch, *The Romantic Machine*, 3.

[48] Dan Tidhar, "Editorial," *Early Music* 42, no. 4 (2014): 513.

[49] *Embodied AudioVisual Interaction Group*, accessed July 15, 2017, http://eavi.goldsmithsdigital.com/.

designed to run on the Samsung SUR-40 multitouch tabletop. The software allows people to interact with high-resolution pages of the original object using natural touch gestures familiar to users of tablets and e-readers."[50] For medievalists, this type of visceral engagement with manuscripts has been particularly rarified and therefore coveted, due to the fragile nature of the materials. One cannot claim touching a digital version is the same as handling the original manuscript, but it is a related form of sensory engagement nonetheless—accessible to scholars, students, and music lovers regardless of location or status.

In his article "Rehear(s)ing Media Archaeology" in the Journal of the American Musicological Society's recent colloquy on "Discrete/Continuous: Music and Media Theory after Kittler," Roger Moseley connects reconstructions of media artifacts with the pursuit of historically-informed performances by examining the work of the media theorist Wolfgang Ernst. Moseley explains that:

> Ernst's experimental pursuit of media archaeology is performative to the extent that its nondiscursivity must be staged and enacted rather than merely described. . . . This entails not only the investigation and preservation of technological artifacts to a degree that can verge on the fetishistic, but also the reconstruction and (where necessary) the simulation of the ecological systems in which they first came to be in order to summon and channel the prevailing *Eigenzeitgeist*.[51]

Moseley's explanation of Ernst echoes justifications for the physical computing experiments of Sayers and Klein, and the varying ways in which scholars have tried to simulate the experience of traversing Paris using digital tools. Discussing the advent of historically-informed performances at the turn of the twentieth-century, Moseley observes that "new aesthetic

[50] Anna Zayaruznaya and Rebecca Fiebrink, *Digital Fauvel,* accessed July 15, 2017: http://www.doc.gold.ac.uk/~mas01rf/DigitalFauvel/.

[51] Roger Moseley, "Rehear(s)ing Media Archaeology," in the colloquy "Discrete/continuous: Music and media theory after Kittler," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 70, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 221.

possibilities were made imaginable by the limitations as well as the capacities of a technology that promised to realize dreams of musical time- and space-travel."[52] Returning to the rhetoric used to advertise the virtual reality experiences, he illuminates the romanticized hopes that characterize all these explorations of embodied learning. Suggestions of technology's supposed otherworldly powers are absent from these discussions, but this idea lingers in the background through the idea that somehow manmade technologies might surpass human limitations. Ideas about time travel rose to the fore in the late nineteenth century with H. G. Wells's science fiction—a literary genre that in some ways rejected the supernatural and yet shared a certain rejection of realism in favor of illusion with the earlier *diableries*.

Mapping Paris Theaters

My own digital project, *Mapping Paris Theaters*, grew out of these digital humanities and digital musicology precedents as well as the long tradition of nineteenth-century maps of the city.[53] The process of developing it while writing my dissertation has served me in practical ways and helped me access knowledge about multimedia creation in multifarious ways. I began the project prior to my longest research trip to Paris, intending it to guide my conception of the geographical spread of the theaters and to become a repository for my archival materials. The digitized maps displayed on the web resource are from 1834 and 1870 and the dots denote theaters: green for primary theaters, purple for secondary, and blue for the popular theaters (according to the official designations from the beginning of the century, shown in Illustration 5.4). A timeline slider at the bottom of the page allows the user to display whichever theaters were in use during any given

[52] Ibid.

[53] *Mapping Paris Theaters*: http://www.mappingparistheaters.com/.

year. Another toggle button on the right allows the user to switch their view between the pre- and post-Haussmann maps and a map of modern-day Paris, enabling the user to view where a theater still stands (or stood).

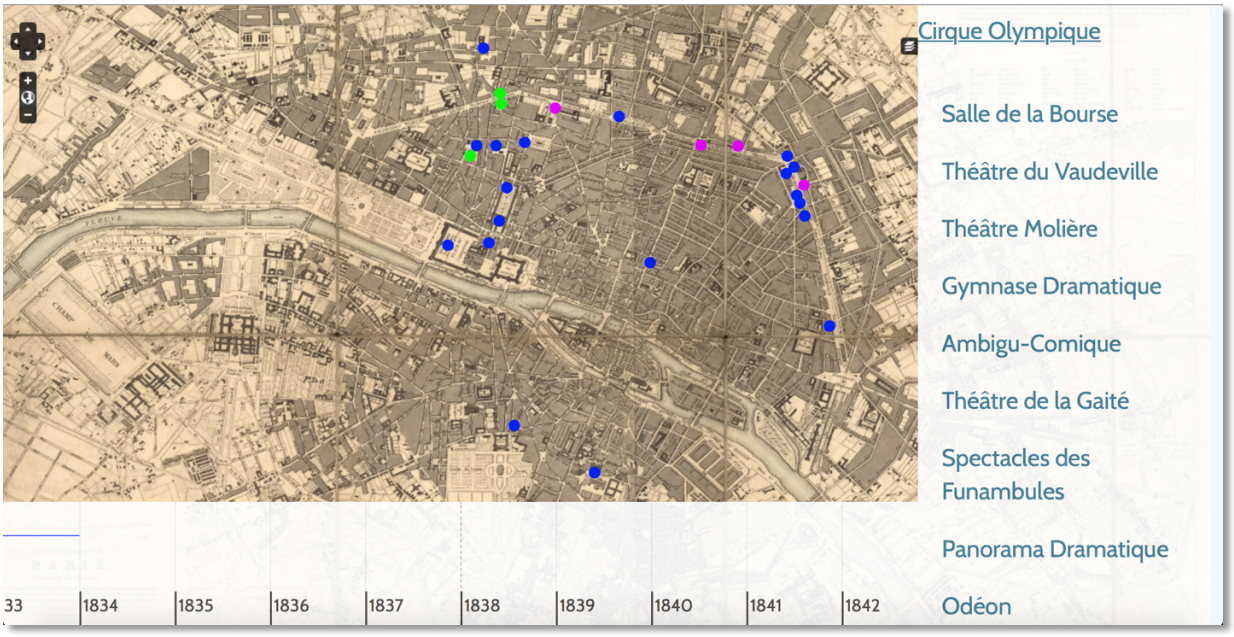

Illustration 5.4. Digitized 1834 map, *Mapping Paris Theaters*

These maps were created using Neatline—a GIS plugin available through the Omeka content management system (CMS). Although Wordpress is the most widely known CMS, Omeka has become popular for archival research due to its expertly tailored system for storing archival materials and their metadata.[54] A free resource, Omeka champions open-access endeavors and encourages scholars to digitize and share materials. Furthermore, the option to add site editors with varying degrees of administrative permissions enables a wide range of collaborative options.

[54] Adding a digitized stage diagram, for example, prompts a site editor to provide a large range of metadata ranging from the usual title field to the "rights holder." See https://omeka.org/codex/Describing_Items. Omeka uses the "Dublin Core Schema"—a set of vocabulary terms used to describe metadata, which are a standard for databases and so easily transferable.

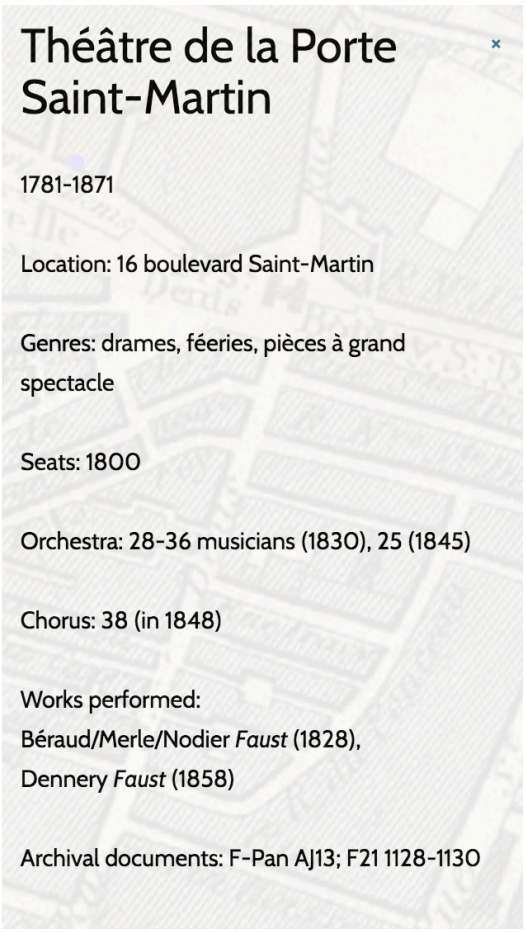

Illustration 5.5. Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin entry, *Mapping Paris Theaters*

When a user clicks on a theater on the map, a box pops up with pertinent information, such as number of seats, dates, genre associations, works performed, etc., and links to the archival materials related to each theater (see Illustration 5.4). Materials such as a plan for the stage of the Cirque-Olympique help provide the user with an idea of the size and nature of the spectacles produced there and serve as tools for reimagining lost performances. The final function of this resource in its current version is to allow the user to examine connections between the theaters. I have tagged the theaters with associated works—for example, all of the theaters in which early melodramas on the subject *Robert le diable* and the parodies of Meyerbeer's opera were performed have been tagged with "Robert." When one adds a pre-

written line of code, the relevant dots increase in size, so the user can visually see how the grand opera travelled around Paris.

In its current form, the site serves as an example of how I have used data visualization to aid my own attempts in rejecting the primacy of the Opéra and breaking down the hierarchies of the theaters. Moreover, it has investigated the ways in which lengthy dissertation appendices might become digital and thus more accessible. Perhaps more importantly, it exists as a basic tool that scholars of nineteenth-century Parisian theater might add to and alter as a means of furthering collaborative work on this period.

There are many possibilities for expansion. While the current system of altering the size of the colored dots reveals connections between the theaters centered on the parodies, a layer of network analysis using standard nodes and edges (i.e. dots and lines as in Illustration 5.3) would demonstrate these relationships in a more visually powerful way. The parodies themselves could also particularly benefit from computer-aided analysis. The partial OCR of the digitized corpus available through Gallica and Google Books proved invaluable in catching obvious mentions of *Robert le diable*, parodies of which were explored in Chapter 2. In light of the gigantic nature of the grand operas, however, it is impossible to pick up all references in the vaudeville (and other) works that followed. Improving and correcting the OCR digitizations and going so far as to make transcriptions of the works would enable cross-comparison with the operas and other possibilities for expansion, such as collaborative annotation and the insertion of embedded media such as images, scores, and even recordings of the songs.

Second, developing the site into a more immersive experience would improve accessibility. Using technology for teaching, or simply for engaging any type of audience, garners skepticism when it involves stuffed PowerPoint slides presenting an overwhelming

amount of material in a variety of forms of media. But the creators of these newer projects are in the business of immersion, not presentation—using multimedia not merely to inform, but to appeal to the senses and to transport those who engage with them. It is unlikely that academia will ever fully embrace technologies such as Second Life, which cater to a niche audience and have gaming connotations (and associated limitations). However, the 3D technology that was once limited to large digital projects capable of employing web developers to develop boutique websites is gradually becoming more readily available.

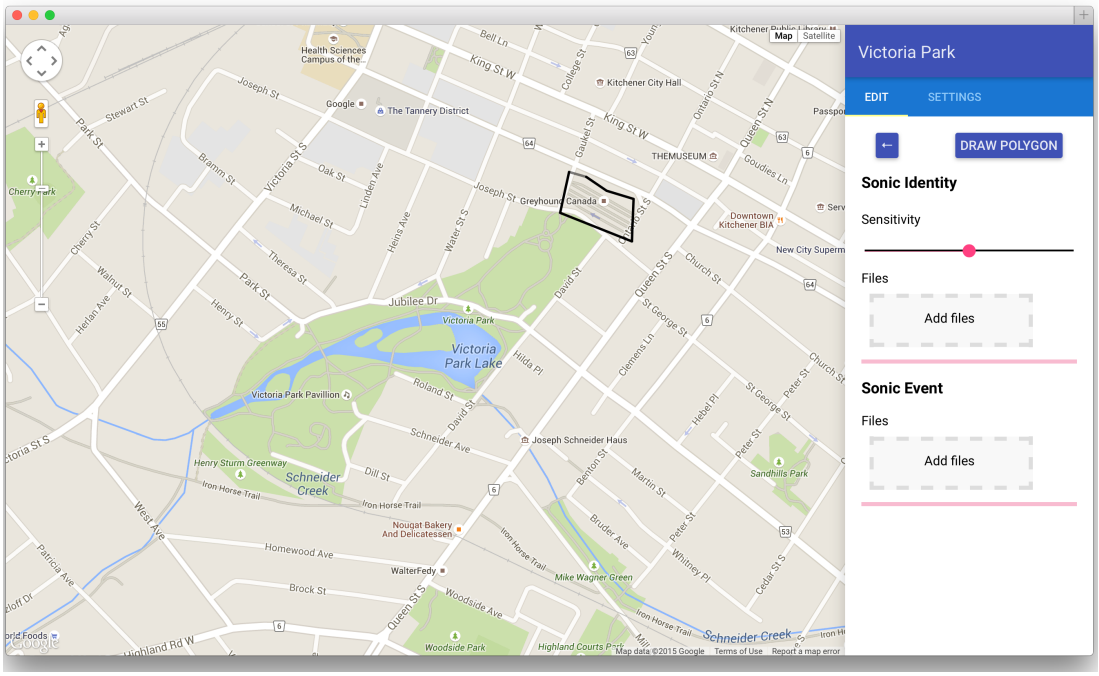

Illustration 5.7. Burr, Jensenius, and Prier, prototype of the HATengine tool, digital image[55]

Finally, setting the parody texts heard in the boulevard theaters to the extant pre-written tunes that provided their musical scaffolding and then recording this forgotten music for a sound

[55] Available at http://hatengine.com/.

map would enliven the sonic history of this period. The HATengine tool being developed by scholars in Ontario will allow users to assign sounds to different areas and then to load the map onto their smartphones.[56] As they walk around, the music automatically begins to play when they enter the vicinity of whichever building is associated with the sound. Easy to use and open source, it offers many possibilities for merging virtual reimaginings of Paris with the modern-day city.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to place my digital approach in the context of this dissertation writ large and has brought me to reflect on the meaning and use of what I have created. In their article on "The Literary And/As the Digital Humanities," Jessica Pressman and Lisa Swanstrom contrast opposing views between scholars who prioritize data and literary theorists, citing one of Alan Liu's many contributions to this debate. They detail how Liu claims that "digital data is thought to transcend specific material contexts and configurations. According to this logic, data needs no contextual frame to explain or process it; in and of itself, it is and means. In the cultural context of the "discourse network 2000" (as Liu calls it, updating Kittler's media-based epistemology), one might infer that information, not interpretation, counts."[57]

Despite Liu's concerns, the body of DH scholarship that explains and contextualizes these approaches continues to grow, and graduate students are increasingly integrating this work

[56] Lauren Burr, David Jensenius, and Mark Prier, *HATengine*, accessed August 1, 2017: http://hatengine.com/.

[57] Alan Liu, "Transcendental Data: Toward a Cultural History and Aesthetics of the New Encoded Discourse," *Critical Inquiry* 31, no. 4 (Summer 2004), discussed in Jessica Pressman and Lisa Swanstrom, "The Literary And/As the Digital Humanities," *Digital Humanities Quarterly* 7, no. 1 (2013): http://www.digitalhumanities.org/dhq/vol/7/1/000154/000154.html#liu2004. See also Friedrich Kittler, *Discourse Networks 1800/1900*, trans. Michael Meetter (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992).

into their dissertations rather than treating it as a whimsical spin-off project.[58] The ephemeral nature of so many cutting-edge technologies demands more traditional written reflections. Previous centuries do not hold a monopoly on media deterioration and obsolescence: early digital projects such as the Domesday Book now exist only through written accounts. [59] Web archiving is increasingly encouraged as part of sustainable project design, but whose responsibility is it to complete such tasks? Stalled initiatives such as *Foreign Musicians in Paris* might appear secure because of institutional hosting, but who decides which projects are the most important to archive? The balance of archival documents about the primary theaters in comparison with the secondary and popular venues provides a cautionary tale in cultural and political priorities and prejudices.

Yet amidst efforts to refute claims of the digital humanities' inability to reflect and interpret and the vital work of preservation, have we forgotten the value of data? Basic information about the boulevard theaters was easy to obtain in the nineteenth century—theater revenues were listed in major journals and guidebooks aimed towards lay audiences and visitors to the city provided overviews of the theaters. Moreover, the works themselves encouraged easy access, from the low(er) ticket prices to the musico-visual spectacle that appealed on multiple levels, regardless of intellectual background. Accessibility—whether through transcriptions that allow greater legibility, data visualizations that enable easier interpretation for visually-minded

[58] See Cloutier, "Repetitive Novelty," and Joshua Neumann, "Toward Defining Tradition: Statistical Analysis, Performance, and Puccini's *Turandot*" (PhD diss., University of Florida, forthcoming).

[59] See Robin McKie and Vanessa Thorpe, "Digital Domesday Book lasts 15 years not 1000," *The Guardian,* March 3, 2002, https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2002/mar/03/research.elearning. A large-scale multimedia version of the Domesday Book was rendered obsolete sixteen years after its creation because of the eradication of 12-inch laser disc players, leaving the original book to outlive the digital version. I have had a constant reminder that some media last more than others, as many of the theatrical works featured in this dissertation have only been accessible through textual media—i.e. libretti and written accounts in the press.

people, multi-lingual translations of central information, or broader open-access initiatives—is a foundational aspect of the politics and work of the digital humanities. For this particular project, it also serves as a way to reconnect with the very circumstances in which its repertoire originated.

AFTERWORD

In 2008, a new production of Berlioz's *La damnation de Faust* premiered at the Metropolitan Opera, directed by Robert Lepage, whose previous credits included the Cirque du Soleil's Las Vegas show. The production attracted widespread attention for its extravagant staging, which included digital images that responded to the music and movement. *The New York Times* reacted with a review entitled "Techno-Alchemy at the Opera," in which the cultural critic Daniel J. Wakin described how

> A watery reflection ripples beneath a boat gliding along the stage. Soldiers march over a field of grass. The blades rustle. Fire flutters above the face of a soprano singing of the burning flame of love.
>
> Water, fire and field are all illusion, created by computers, infrared cameras, digital projectors and scrims. These uncanny scenes play out in a production of Berlioz's "Damnation de Faust," which opens Friday night at the Metropolitan Opera and introduces an unprecedented level of technological stagecraft to the house.[1]

The success of the opera, or rather *légende dramatique*, in 2008 contrasted starkly with the negative reactions to its 1846 unstaged premiere. Despite Berlioz's innovative use of instrumental technologies, *La damnation de Faust* originally departed from the visual spectacle seen in other diabolical works from the 1840s, only appearing in its staged version at the end of the nineteenth century as the boulevard works were starting to disappear and cinema began to emerge.

Four years after Lepage's production, *Robert le diable* appeared at Covent Garden—the first performance of the work there since the nineteenth century. Expectations were likewise

[1] Daniel J. Wakin. "Techno-Alchemy at the Opera: Robert Lepage Brings His 'Faust' to the Met" *The New York Times* (November 6, 2008): https://nyti.ms/2uuznXb.

high, but when the production finally premiered on 6 December 2012 critics took the director Laurent Pelly to task for his "camp" production:

> Directors who don't delve into the background of works they stage aren't doing their jobs properly, but inquiries can lead to unsettling results. Laurent Pelly could have read in any reference book that Meyerbeer originally conceived the idea of basing an opera on the Norman legend of "Robert le Diable" for Paris's Opéra Comique, but that circumstances led him to write the work for the Paris Opéra instead.
>
> His production has audiences drawing comparisons — surely for the first time in history — between a French grand opera and Monty Python's "Spamalot". . . . There is room for humor in French grand opera — one of the numbers is labeled "duo bouffe" — but Mr. Pelly abuses the privilege. . .[2]

Using rhetoric commonly used to describe *Regietheater*, the British and international press voiced complaints that it wasn't taken "seriously" enough.[3] In its updated form—the production included features such as a bear wandering on stage during the Act I ballade—*Robert*'s once-celebrated spectacle now seemed hugely inappropriate.

Was Pelly simply unfit to stage this grand opera, or could it be that the work Wagner lambasted for its focus on entertainment now fits more comfortably in the intellectual realm? Maintaining an opera's relevance has always been a struggle. In the introduction to their edited collection, Fauser and Everist note that "Operas by Mozart, Tchaikovsky, Wagner or even (ironically) Debussy were seen as transcending their historical and institutional context; indeed their intrinsic aesthetic value was celebrated because of their ability to shed the burden of history (in existing simultaneously in past and present), while French operas (especially grand operas of the nineteenth century) were cast as artistic productions imprisoned by the conventions of their

[2] George Loomis, "Opera of the Soul, Sparsely Staged," *The New York Times* (December 18, 2012): https://nyti.ms/2v99Ia2. Also see Tim Ashley, "Robert le Diable – Review," *The Guardian* (December 7, 2012): https://www.theguardian.com/music/2012/dec/07/robert-le-diable-review. Ashley describes the "pervasively camp tone" of the production.

[3] Ashley, "Robert le Diable – Review."

institutional context."[4] The works I have explored in this dissertation all flourished because of how they engaged with and reflected on the network of Parisian institutions, the vogue for musical and visual spectacle, and broader cultural concerns about technological innovation that were present in the nineteenth century's central decades. They served as examples of how the medium of the stage could overcome the limitations of the written word, but did that come at the cost of their capacity to transcend time and space?

La damnation de Faust evidently succeeded in maintaining its relevance—or rather, in *finding* it, given that its popularity only developed after the time in which it was written. This is perhaps because Lepage's production made no claims towards fidelity. Instead, it recalls how two hundred years ago Staël stood "Goethe's *Faust* on its head, to make the play less ridiculous for a neoclassical public."[5] In recovering the forgotten moments of Paris's theatrical history, it is tempting to use productions such as Lepage's to bolster arguments for the revival of the boulevard works on the French (or international) stage. In many cases this would be an impossible endeavor, owing not only to lost performance materials but also to the absence of the music. But more importantly, is it necessary to revive these works in order to fully reconnect with them? *Robert le diable* stands as a cautionary tale with regard to such endeavors.

That *Robert* now fits more comfortably as the focus of musicological studies than as a work of entertainment seems to be proof that scholars have finally succeeded in countering Wagner's accusation of "empty" effects. Yet at what cost? Zelter claimed that "all the spiritual part is effaced" in favor of the material in the French theatrical *Faust.*[6] For *Robert*, the opposite

[4] Fauser and Everist, *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer,* 2-3.

[5] Isbell, *The Birth of European Romanticism*, 7.

[6] Zelter, *Goethe's Letters to Zelter*.

is closer to the truth. Musicologists' increased concern for the media in which works appeared offers hope for the repertoire to which this grand opera belongs. Furthermore, the gradual adoption of digital humanities techniques provides new avenues of opportunity. Just as early nineteenth-century authors struggled with the limitations of the written word, the traditional methodology of opera studies calls out for an alternative way to reimagine this elusive theatrical culture. In the nineteenth century, illustrations and then theatrical adaptations offered an answer for those dissatisfied with textual media. Today, a different type of multisensory interpretation presents a possible solution.

Much of this dissertation has focused on the spectacle that resided on the Parisian stage—of lightning bolts and hordes of demons, devilish shrieks, and overwhelming orchestras. I do not attempt to claim that my use of the visual arts through my geographical visualization comes close to the brilliance of these spectacles. Yet at the heart of these musico-visual effects lay a desire to experiment with the boundaries of different forms of media, and that is what I have attempted to do in this project. The task of recovering forgotten works has likewise driven the production of what you read here, and I have grappled with how best to approach this challenge. In Chapter I, I suggested that we attempt to reimagine the experience of being an audience member in mid-nineteenth-century Paris. But perhaps we need to look to a different point in the history of this repertoire. At the same time Scala was writing his colorful description of *Les pilules du diable*, writers and critics were producing articles that unveiled the secrets behind palanquins and other "magical" devices that this work and its stablemates employed. The end of the nineteenth century was sufficiently close to the period under investigation that people such as Scala could still recall their experiences, and yet far enough away to enable a certain degree of critical distance. Rather than seeking to have the last word, let's leave a few tricks for others to

expose—after all, nearly two centuries later, the vogue for diabolical spectacle hasn't quite disappeared yet.

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