

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

MUSIC, THE MARKET, AND THE MARVELOUS:  
PARISIAN *FÉERIE* AND THE EMERGENCE OF MASS CULTURE, 1864-1900

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## Abstract

This dissertation is one of the first book-length contributions on *féerie*, the French fairy play, and the very first from a music historian. It examines Parisian *féerie* between the 1864 deregulation of theatres (the chronological endpoint of Roxane Martin's monograph on the genre) and the turn of the century, relying on an extensive body of hitherto largely overlooked sources.

It challenges the conventional wisdom according to which *féerie* faded into irrelevance during this period by arguing that a lower number of new plays did not mean a reduced presence of *féerie* on the Parisian stage, as well as by incorporating composerly *féerie* and scientific *féerie* into an integrated history of *féerie*. In fact, composerly *féerie* (inaugurated by Victorien Sardou and Jacques Offenbach's *Le roi Carotte*, 1872) and scientific *féerie* (inaugurated by Adolphe d'Ennery and Jules Verne's *Le tour du monde en 80 jours*, 1874) have long been chiefly associated with operetta and melodrama, respectively.

Several concepts are introduced as interpretive tools for late nineteenth-century Parisian theatre: that of "theatre with music," including all genres where music has an essential role in the dramaturgy, from *vaudeville* to *grand opéra*; operettization, the application of operetta-style music to genres beyond operetta; *féerization*, the spread of *féerie* dramaturgy beyond traditional *féerie*; and the "total work of art of the present," that is, a plurimedial work without centralized authorship, autonomy, or textual stability.

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I maintain that the time and energy I invested in my life outside work over the course of the past few years have made me a better scholar. The most formative books I read while writing this dissertation are ones I read in my spare time. Louis Aragon's novel cycle *Le monde réel*, Annie Ernaux's *Les années*, and Virginia Woolf's *The Years* connect the past and the present, the collective and the individual, facts and imagination, research and lived experience in a way that has inspired me in my effort to navigate the passage between the Scylla of determinism and the Charybdis of extreme relativism, between the fear of appropriating the past and the temptation of declaring it unknowable.

And then there is of course the part of my life outside work that has been making me a better scholar simply by making me a better human being. I could never be grateful enough to Valentina and to my family for that.

## RISM sigla

A-Wn	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
CH-Zschmitt	Zürich, Schmitt private collection
F-Pan	Paris and Pierrefitte-sur-Seine (Seine-Saint-Denis), Archives nationales
F-Pbh	Paris, Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris
F-Pn	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la musique
F-Pnas	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des arts du spectacle
F-Po	Paris, Bibliothèque-musée de l'Opéra
F-SMcusset	Saint-Mandé (Val-de-Marne), Cusset private collection
US-CAt	Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Harvard Theatre Collection
US-BUu	Buffalo, NY, University at Buffalo, Music Library

## 1. Overture: *Féerie* and theatre with music

### Evidence: *Les bibelots du diable* (1858)

Among the manuscript orchestral parts that the Bibliothèque nationale de France has inherited from the Théâtre des Variétés, there is one set of parts that strikes the modern observer for its apparently hybrid nature.<sup>1</sup> It contains, distributed over three acts, more than fifty brief vocal numbers of the kind one would expect in a nineteenth-century *vaudeville*: a few have original music, some others recycle music composed for previous productions at the same theatre, most are based on pre-existing tunes (*timbres*, popular opera or operetta numbers, or songs). That the music found in these parts does not belong to a *vaudeville*, however, is evident from the sheer amount of instrumental music: in addition to the overture and entr'actes, the play is punctuated by numerous orchestral intrusions ranging from a single chord to a balletic *divertissement* in seven numbers. In fact, included are not one but two *divertissements*, as in most canonic *grands opéras*, and dancers also perform two pantomimes (involving moving statues and mute harem guards). But music is also used, in melodramatic fashion, to underscore the stage action, as one can verify through a comparison with the

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<sup>1</sup> F-Pnas fonds Variétés 4-COL-106(926,1) and 4-COL-106(926,2). For RISM sigla, see <http://www.rism.info/en/sigla.html>. To avoid clutter, citations for post-1864 primary sources will not normally be given in footnotes: the reader is referred to the **Appendix** instead.

printed text of the play:<sup>2</sup> we find music for a combat scene (a fixture of melodrama);<sup>3</sup> all the tricks that create the appearance of magic are accompanied at least by a pertinent musical gesture; and the effect of open-curtain changes of scenery (*changements à vue*) is amplified by music. Counting both fully fledged set pieces and short cues, music occurs over eighty times in the course of the play (Table 1.1).

This set of parts, which has never been examined by scholars, is a valuable document of a little-studied but highly relevant genre in nineteenth-century Parisian theatre, *féerie*. Specifically, it is the score of *Les bibelots du diable* (The Devil's Trinkets, 1858) by playwrights Théodore Cogniard and Clairville. In addition to being one of a handful of complete *féerie* orchestral scores prior to 1870 and possibly the only one dating from the Second Empire, it preserves the music of an extremely successful *féerie* by two specialists of the genre.<sup>4</sup> Even though the star composers whose music was borrowed for *Les bibelots* (Gioachino Rossini, Giacomo Meyerbeer, D.-F.-E. Auber, among others) were not consulted, and those who willingly contributed were humble practitioners (Julien Nargeot, Jules Boucher, and Camille Schubert), this set of parts is testimony to how heavily *féerie* relied on music, to the point that the show simply could not have worked without what we call today a soundtrack. It is easy to see, for instance, that to a contemporary observer *féerie* would have been unthinkable without

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<sup>2</sup> Théodore Cogniard and Clairville, *Les bibelots du diable* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1858, both as a brochure in the Théâtre contemporain illustré series and as an 18mo volume).

<sup>3</sup> The well-known satirical *Traité du mélodrame* (signed “A! A! A!” and written by Abel Hugo, Armand Malitourne, and Jean-Joseph Aderer) describes melodrama’s musically enhanced combats: A! A! A!, *Traité du mélodrame* (Paris: Delaunay, Pélicier, Plancher, 1817), 39–40 and 55.

<sup>4</sup> See Roxane Martin, *La féerie romantique sur les scènes parisiennes, 1791–1864* (Paris: Honoré Champion), 599–605 for a (provisional) bibliography of extant *féerie* scores up to 1864. Martin lists thirteen full scores or complete sets of parts dating between 1798 and 1843 (as well as the score for Adolphe d’Ennery’s supernatural melodrama *Faust*, from 1858), and makes use of the score for *Les mille et une nuits* (1843) on pp. 303–24 of her book. In addition to those, the fonds Variétés and the fonds Ambigu-Comique (also at the Bibliothèque nationale de France) have parts for *Le Petit Poucet* (1845) and *L’étoile du berger* (1846), respectively. Jean-Claude Yon has examined a manuscript vocal score for a Second Empire *féerie*, *Rothomago* (1862): see his “La féerie ou le royaume du spectaculaire: L’exemple de *Rothomago*,” in *Le spectaculaire dans les arts de la scène: Du Romantisme à la Belle Époque*, ed. Isabelle Moindrot (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2006), 126–33.

tricks and transformations, and tricks and transformations would have been unthinkable without music. As for the vocal numbers, most of the vocal lines in *Les bibelots du diable* are not technically demanding, but we would be wrong to assume that they were performed perfunctorily, or that the audience did not care about the singing. Indeed, at a crucial moment in the plot, four characters launch into a burlesque quartet rendition of “Viens, gentille dame,” the celebrated tenor *cavatine* of Adrien Boieldieu’s *La dame blanche*, offering a parody of operatic virtuosity not unlike those concocted by Jacques Offenbach for his operettas. The reviewer of *Le Ménestrel* commented approvingly that the performers produced some “odd cooing whose like is not found in any human throat.”<sup>5</sup>

The score of *Les bibelots* also demonstrates the plasticity of *féerie*. Some items have been replaced with highlights from stage works that had not yet been premièreed in 1858, as though the *féerie* had been given rejuvenating injections of new music to keep it current with fashion. It is only logical to suppose that the changes were made for the 1862 revival, and it is surely not a coincidence that the new pieces of music were taken from Offenbach operettas, as the female lead of the revival, Lise Tautin, had come straight from Offenbach’s theatre, the Bouffes-Parisiens, and had been the first Eurydice in *Orphée aux enfers* (1858). In *Les bibelots du diable*, Tautin reprised two numbers she had premièreed and two more from the repertoire of the Bouffes.<sup>6</sup> The music of *Les bibelots* would keep evolving even after 1862. In 1874, composer Alexandre Artus published a waltz that was probably interpolated into (or replaced) the second ballet of the play for that year’s revival at the Théâtre de la Renaissance.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> “[D]es roucoulements étranges qui n’ont pas d’équivalent dans aucun gosier humain.” “Semaine théâtrale,” *Le Ménestrel*, August 29, 1858, 3. All translations are mine, unless otherwise noted.

<sup>6</sup> She would eventually leave the Variétés but continue her career in *féerie*, starring in *Aladin, ou La lampe merveilleuse* at the Châtelet in 1863.

<sup>7</sup> The set of parts from the Variétés was probably used for this revival, too, as an annotation mentions Léa Silly, who took part in the production (and who had also been an operetta star during the Second Empire).

This set of parts, then, is likely to raise familiar questions for the music historian. Were *féeries* properly spoken or musical theatre? Can they really be considered spoken plays when they included operetta music performed by operetta artists? Yet how can *féerie*, which has actors singing *timbres*, fit within musical theatre, which normally has singers performing music written by a composer? Is *féerie* a melodrama where people happen to sing, or a *vaudeville* with some background music to grease the wheels of stage illusion? Beyond these obvious questions about genre, a musicologist grounded in the discipline's tradition of textual criticism might have wondered about the alterations made to the score in 1862. Do they constitute a new version of a "work" or are they just contingent on a particular performance? Do we have to consider the music from 1858 as more authoritative than the music from 1862? Or are questions of authoritativeness inappropriate given the absence of any single composer responsible for the music? Is music an integral component of the work, as in opera, or is it an element of a particular production of that work, as in melodrama? According to the terminology proposed by Jens Hesselager, in the former case the score would be a "work-text," in the latter case it would have the status of a "performance-text."<sup>8</sup> But how could the dialogue be a work-text and the music a performance-text when words were written to a deliberately chosen *timbre* or other pre-existing tune? Conversely, if we admit that the dialogue is inseparable from the music, how would we argue for separating it from the staging? Roger Parker has written that opera production books (*livrets de mise en scène*) illuminate the "no-man's-land . . . between 'the work' and its 'interpretation,'"<sup>9</sup> which presupposes the notion

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<sup>8</sup> See Jens Hesselager, "Musik til Skuespil: Two Methodological Challenges and a Few Observations Occasioned by an Early Nineteenth-Century Danish Manuscript of Incidental Music," in *Theater mit Musik: 400 Jahre Schauspielmusik im europäischen Theater: Bedingungen — Strategien — Wahrnehmungen*, ed. Ursula Kramer (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2014), 183–201.

<sup>9</sup> Roger Parker, "Reading the *Livrets*, or The Chimera of 'Authentic' Staging," in *Leonora's Last Act: Essays in Verdian Discourse* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 148.

that any staging is “an act of interpretation, an act of reception.”<sup>10</sup> But in a *féerie*, where the plot is largely a function of the visual spectacle and the stage machinery, how could we work from the assumption that the playwright is an author while the *régisseur*, the *chef machiniste*, and the set and costume designers are simply interpreters? What if the printed play itself, which was hardly intended for armchair reading, were better described not as a work-text meant to preserve the play irrespective of performance but as a performance-text, whose main purpose was to serve as a record of a performance? We could decide to sidestep the problem by declaring that the “work” is not the level at which *féerie* predominantly operates and that all *féerie* texts of any nature ultimately document one production, hence they might be called “production-texts.”

These are all perfectly legitimate questions. But *féerie* forces us to reconsider some of the assumptions that underlie them, making us realize how our musicological toolbox might not be well suited to approach nineteenth-century Parisian theatre. First, we might be preoccupied too much with authors and works, and too little with genres and institutions. Secondly, our distinction between spoken and musical theatre (with its corollary, the distinction between actors and singers) might be misleading. The same thing can be said of the division of musical theatre into opera and operetta, which singles out the latter and lumps several genres (*grand opéra*, *petit opéra*, *opéra comique*, *drame lyrique*) into the former. And thirdly, the work/performance binary might not prove equally useful for all genres.

In what follows I will use a period image as an entry point into nineteenth-century Parisian theatre in order to sketch the methodological preoccupations that will guide me in my study of fin-de-siècle *féerie* and address the first two of these issues. In particular, I will argue for abandoning the dichotomy between spoken and musical theatre and for adopting

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<sup>10</sup> Parker, “Reading the *Livrets*,” 134.

the category of “theatre with music,” encompassing all the genres where the verbal text is not self-sufficient (as is the case for literary theatre) but is rather inseparable from music and staging. These genres, ranging from *vaudeville* to *grand opéra*, cannot be studied without acknowledging their plurimedial nature,<sup>11</sup> nor should they be taken in isolation from each other.

I will then introduce in greater detail my object of study, French *féerie* between 1864 and 1900. While *féerie* was a conspicuous presence on the nineteenth-century Parisian stage, only two book-length studies have been devoted to it, neither of them by a music scholar.<sup>12</sup> I will show that the last third of the century did not witness, as is often assumed, the decline of the genre, but instead its renewal and continued vitality. Moreover, as the period for which *féerie* music is best documented, the *fin de siècle* is a promising starting point for a musicological inquiry, whose findings can offer new insights beyond the *fin de siècle* and beyond *féerie*.

With roots in the pseudofolkloric tradition of the French fairytale (exemplified by Charles Perrault and Madame d’Aulnoy) and critical offshoots in film (starting with Georges Méliès in the 1890s), *féerie* accompanied the establishment of a modern popular culture, produced by specialized professionals for the consumption of a large public, which took over the spaces formerly occupied by folklore. At the end of this process, *fin-de-siècle féerie*, inseparable from the theatre industry that made it possible and from a wider landscape of

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<sup>11</sup> “Plurimedial” is the preferred term of scholars of intermediality such as Werner Wolf and Irina O. Rajewsky. See, for example, Werner Wolf, “Intermediality Revisited: Reflections on Word and Music Relations in the Context of a General Typology of Intermediality,” in *Word and Music Studies: Essays in Honor of Steven Paul Scher and on Cultural Identity and the Musical Stage*, ed. Suzanne M. Lodato, Suzanne Aspden, and Walter Bernhart (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), 13–34.

<sup>12</sup> Namely, Martin, *La féerie romantique*, and Stéphane Tralongo, “Faiseurs de féeries: Mise en scène, machinerie et pratiques cinématographiques émergentes au tournant du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle” (*thèse de doctorat*, Université de Montréal, Université Lumière Lyon 2, 2012), by a theatre scholar and a film scholar, respectively. Martin, though, deserves credit for collecting and making use of musical evidence. Only a late example of the genre (Jean Richepin and Henri Cain’s *La Belle au bois dormant*, 1907) has received some musicological attention, with a chapter in Erin Brooks’s dissertation on music for plays starring Sarah Bernhardt: Erin M[ichelle] Brooks, “Sharing the Stage with the *voix d’or*: Sarah Bernhardt and Music in the Belle Époque” (PhD diss., Washington University in St. Louis, 2010), 421–99.

dioramas, World's Fair displays, advertising posters, and other "spectacular realities,"<sup>13</sup> is representative of the incipient phase of mass culture, whose full realization in the age of film and illustrated magazines has been famously described by Walter Benjamin. As commercial works designed to reach exceedingly large audiences, *féeries* are therefore particularly attractive as repositories of Third Republic hegemonic ideas about progress, capital, the nation, colonialism, and gender.

But the relation of *féeries* to their social context is not just a thematic one. The "market" and the "marvelous" of my title are closely intertwined: *féerie's* embrace of the market had as profound an influence on its poetics as Richard Wagner's rejection of the market had on the poetics of his mature works. If Wagner's ideal was the total artwork of the future, that of *féeries* can be dubbed the "total artwork of the present" — plurimedial works whose multiple authors had limited agency, and which call into question (to address the last of the points I raised above) the work/performance binary.

### Theatre with music

What "theatre" meant for late nineteenth-century Parisians can be gleaned, literally, through the eyes of a contemporary. Consider this street corner, at the intersection of boulevard des Capucines and rue Scribe, in the ninth *arrondissement* of Paris (fig. 1.1). It is a cloudy afternoon in late April 1879. The trees that line the Haussmanian boulevard are green, the sign "Grand Café" shines in golden letters. On the *piano nobile* of the Grand Café building

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<sup>13</sup> I am adopting the expression popularized by Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

— a pastiche of Renaissance architectural elements, not dissimilar from the ones that grace place de l’Opéra one block away — men in top hats lean against an ornate balcony railing observing passers-by in similar attire. The moment has been captured by Jean Béraud, possibly the most famous anecdotal painter of the French Third Republic, in a small oil painting now at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore.<sup>14</sup> On the left of the composition are two elegant women: one, in black, is crossing the street, the other, in red, has already reached the sidewalk; both are lifting the hems of their dresses, not wanting them to trail on the setts or into the dubious-looking gutter. Standing a couple of meters from the woman in red is a man sporting a top hat and bushy side-whiskers. The two characters do not interact in the least: both are giving their undivided attention to the real protagonist of the painting, an advertising column — or, more precisely, this being Paris, a Morris column (*colonne Morris*). The eponym for the columns is the firm Morris et Compagnie, which was already in charge of theatre posters when it won an 1863 competition for dedicated billposting surfaces (prompted by public outcry at aggressive unauthorized advertisement).<sup>15</sup> Ever since, Morris columns have been dispensing information on theatres and other amusements to Parisian strollers, like our lady in red and side-whiskered gentleman, who are in all likelihood making evening plans.

When we think of French Belle Époque<sup>16</sup> posters, we may picture Toulouse-Lautrec’s work for the Moulin Rouge, Sarah Bernhardt’s heroines (and heroes) as immortalized by Alphonse Mucha, the sprightly female figures of Jules Chéret, or the evocative atmospheres of Georges Rochegrosse. What is displayed on the Morris column, however, is not the illustrated

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<sup>14</sup> *Paris Kiosk*, or *Le kiosque des affiches*. “Paris Kiosk,” accessed December 15, 2017, <http://art.thewalters.org/detail/27564/paris-kiosk/>. See also William R. Johnston, *The Nineteenth Century Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, MD: Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery, 1982), 128.

<sup>15</sup> H. Hazel Hahn, *Scenes of Parisian Modernity: Culture and Consumption in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 147–51.

<sup>16</sup> In French usage, the term is generally used to refer to the years 1900–1914. Here I am conforming to English-language usage, where the Belle Époque is understood to include the last quarter of the nineteenth century as well.

poster in which these artists excelled, but its older, humbler cousin, the typographic poster. As Jean-Claude Yon writes, “Even though it can include an illustration starting with the early 1850s, the theatre poster is first and foremost typographic, since it must supply the information that a twenty-first-century spectator is used to finding in theatre programs or in news outlets, namely the contents of the performance, start times, cast lists, seat prices, and box-office hours,”<sup>17</sup> information that was legally binding for the theatre. Morris columns covered in typographical theatre posters are documented in photographs by Charles Marville and Eugène Atget. But those black-and-white photographs lack an essential component of theatre advertisement: as art historian Ruth E. Iskin has remarked, “the typographic poster relied not only on words but also, to great effect, on brilliant colors (the colored paper was mandated by the fact that the use of white paper was preserved for official government posters).”<sup>18</sup> In *Le ventre de Paris* (1873), Émile Zola writes: “at either end of the foot-path was a billposting pillar covered with theatre posters, alternately green, yellow, red, and blue, like a harlequin’s costume”;<sup>19</sup> a character in a story by Théodore de Banville raves: “On the only path that I ever took through Paris . . . they put up a Morris column, covered in theatre posters. I had never seen posters! They materialized all of a sudden, yellow, blue, green, maize, lilac, grey, red, pansy- and rose-colored.”<sup>20</sup>

The bright colors of theatre posters were visual markers: ever since the Ancien Régime, every playhouse was associated with a distinctive shade. In a passage from *Swann’s Way* (*Du*

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<sup>17</sup> Jean-Claude Yon, *Une histoire du théâtre à Paris de la Révolution à la Grande Guerre* (Paris: Aubier, 2012), 230.

<sup>18</sup> Ruth E. Iskin, *The Poster: Art, Advertising, Design, and Collecting, 1860s–1900s* (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2014), 218.

<sup>19</sup> “[A]ux deux bouts du trottoir, deux colonnes d’affichage étaient comme vêtues d’un habit d’Arlequin par les carrés verts, jaunes, rouges, bleus, des affiches de théâtre.” Émile Zola, *Le ventre de Paris*, ch. 5. In *Les Rougon-Macquart*, ed. Armand Lanoux and Henri Mitterand (Paris: Gallimard, 1960–67), 1:841. English translation by Brian Nelson as *The Belly of Paris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 223.

<sup>20</sup> “Sur le seul chemin que je parcourusse jamais dans Paris . . . on installa une colonne Morris, couverte d’affiches de théâtre. Je n’avais jamais vu d’affiches! Tout à coup, elles éclatèrent, jaunes, bleues, vertes, maïs, lilas, grises, rouges, couleur de pensée et couleur de rose.” Théodore de Banville, “Les affiches,” in *Les belles poupées* (Paris: Charpentier, 1888), 89–90.

*côté de chez Swann*), the narrator of Marcel Proust's *Recherche*, still a young boy, has not set foot in a theatre yet, but he can recognize "the green poster of the Opéra-Comique" from the "wine-colored poster of the Comédie-Française."<sup>21</sup> He can fantasize about titles, too, and he has, one might claim, an instinctive grasp of genre from the fact that, unlike *Le testament de César Girodot* (a modern comedy) and *Oedipus the King* (the Greek tragedy), which appear on the wine-colored posters, *Les diamants de la couronne* and *Le domino noir*, two typical examples of July Monarchy *opéra comique*, appear on the green ones. Proust's narrator, to this point, does not know the names of the playwrights, translators, and composers behind these titles. But knowing them was simply not necessary to navigate the Parisian theatre landscape. The side-whiskered man in the Béraud painting, who is looking at a poster for *Fatinitza*, might or might not know that the music is by a certain Franz von Suppé and that the work has been successful in Vienna: to be sure, it is the title, in display type, that caught his attention, not the name of the composer. But even before approaching the Morris column to read the smaller type with authors' and performers' names, he has anticipated some kind of light work with music, since he has recognized a poster from the Théâtre des Nouveautés.

If the boy from *Swann's Way* were present at the scene, he would be able to tell the green Opéra-Comique poster from across the street; coming closer, he would be able to read "La flûte enchantée." The boy might ignore the fact that the *Magic Flute* advertised is a French adaptation of a revered work by Mozart. But he would be able to guess that between it and *Fatinitza* — which does not appear on a green poster — the former is closer to *Les diamants de la couronne* and *Le domino noir*. The different colors of their posters would alone allow him also to predict that *Camille Desmoulins* (at the Théâtre des Nations) and *Salvator Rosa* (at the much

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<sup>21</sup> "[L]'affiche verte de l'Opéra-Comique . . . l'affiche lie-de-vin de la Comédie-Française." Marcel Proust, *Du côté de Chez Swann*, pt. 1, ch. 2. In *À la recherche du temps perdu*, ed. Jean-Yves Tadié (Paris: Gallimard, 1987–89), 1:72–73.

larger Théâtre du Châtelet) offer rather different attractions. In both cases he would be right, while a modern observer might be deceived by the fact that *Fatinitza* is billed as an *opéra comique* or that both *Camille Desmoulins* and *Salvator Rosa* are historical melodramas. Moreover, seeing on two posters of the same yellow two titles as different from each other as the ones he remembers from the wine-colored posters — one, like *Oedipus the King*, is short and imposing, the other, like *Le testament de César Girodot*, more mundane — he would correctly infer that, like the Comédie-Française, the Odéon cultivates two different repertoires: classical (*Dom Juan*, Molière's comedy) and modern (*Le Marquis de Kénilis*, a new verse play).

If a child seems too naive an observer, let's suppose that Béraud's woman in red is a keen and sophisticated consumer of theatre and entertainment. She will know that the music of *Yedda*, the ballet advertised on the Opéra's pale-yellow poster, is by Olivier Métra, and it will not be lost on her that at the Tivoli ballroom, whose diagonally striped poster sits just above the Opéra's, they are probably going to play some of Métra's immensely successful waltzes and polkas. She will also realize that both the verse play *Le Marquis de Kénilis* and the melodrama *Camille Desmoulins* are set during the French Revolution. But it will probably never cross her mind to compare an outing at the Opéra to one at a ballroom in the working-class tenth *arrondissement*, or a verse play at the Odéon (a state-subsidized showcase for high culture) with a melodrama at the Théâtre des Nations (a privately managed company aiming at a wide audience). This doesn't mean that we shouldn't care about the musical output of Métra as a whole or about representations of the Revolution in late nineteenth-century Parisian theatre. But we should keep in mind that in all likelihood the woman in red wouldn't say "I listened to some Métra" or "I saw a play about the Reign of Terror." She is more likely to use phrases like "I saw a ballet at the Opéra," or "I went to the Odéon." And probably the

Odéon and the ballet at the Opéra are, to her, such different experiences that she would find the expression “going to the theatre,” encompassing both, unthinkably vague: one of those expressions, like “purchasing goods” or “taking a means of transportation,” that one would never use to describe one’s day.

Béraud’s painting, then, affirms what musicology has come to embrace in recent decades: we should give to genres and institutions at least the same attention we give to authors and works. But this image can also help us examine and understand novel ways of how we might want to think of theatre. The organization of our present-day theatre industry and our academic institutions encourages us to apply to theatre a certain taxonomy. According to the method of successive dichotomous divisions (*diairesis*) first illustrated by Plato and deeply ingrained in our intellectual habits, we distinguish spoken theatre from musical theatre; within musical theatre, we set ballet aside from the genres where words are uttered; and we split the latter, along lines of “seriousness” and prestige, between opera on the one hand and operetta (together with its cousins the zarzuela and the musical) on the other. This forking-tree scheme (fig. 1.2) works well for us today: New York’s Lincoln Center hosts different companies for opera, ballet, and plays and musicals in different venues; in London, plays, musicals, opera productions, and dance productions compete in dedicated categories for the Olivier Awards; the French Ministry of Culture funds *théâtres nationaux* for spoken theatre, *opéras nationaux* for opera, and *centres chorégraphiques nationaux* for dance; Cambridge University Press publishes the specialized journals *New Theatre Quarterly*, *Cambridge Opera Journal*, and *Dance Research Journal*; and we all know what we mean by “play,” “opera,” and so on. But this taxonomy might seriously misrepresent the reality of nineteenth-century Paris.

Looking back at our Morris column, it would make little sense to lump into the category of “spoken theatre” *Dom Juan*, whose appeal lies in Molière’s text, with *Camille Desmoulins*, promising living pictures of famous episodes of the Revolution, or *Salvator Rosa*, which boasts a picturesque ballet.<sup>22</sup> On which side of the spoken-versus-musical divide should we put *Le Grand Casimir*, whose poster can be seen on the side of the Morris column facing the woman in red and which can be considered either as a *vaudeville* with an entirely original score (by Charles Lecocq) or as an operetta trying to pass for a *vaudeville*? (Incidentally, the same applies to one of Hervé’s best-known works, premièred four years later at the same theatre, *Mam’zelle Nitouche*.) The boundary between operetta and opera was also more permeable than we would assume: the three-act operettas playing in town at the end of April 1879 (in addition to *Fatinitza*, Léon Vasseur’s *Le droit du seigneur*, Jacques Offenbach’s *Madame Favart*, Hervé’s *La Marquise des rues*, and Charles Lecocq’s *La petite Mademoiselle*) not only called themselves *opéras comiques*, but all contained roughly as many musical numbers as *The Magic Flute* and more than the old favorite *Les diamants de la couronne* (which the Opéra-Comique had just revived). On the other hand, the cast for *The Magic Flute* at the Opéra-Comique included two former operetta performers, the baritone Lucien Fugère as Papageno and the comic tenor (called a *trial*) Barnolt in a speaking role.

The truth is that neither the distinction between opera and operetta nor that between spoken and musical theatre is helpful here. Music (be it vocal numbers, dance numbers, or melodramatic music punctuating the action) was an integral and defining part of melodrama, *vaudeville*, and *féerie*. It might be worth taking a step back to the Napoleonic system of theatre licensing, adopted in 1806–7 and in effect until 1864, to remember that what differentiates

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<sup>22</sup> For these details I rely on the entertainment listing magazine *L’Orchestre*, published from 1856 to 1911 and sold in theatres and music venues.

these genres from *opéra comique* is not, as we might think, that they consist of “plays” and *opéra comique* of “operas,” but that *opéra comique* had entirely original scores while the other genres did not. If we were, as an experiment, to infer a scheme of dichotomous divisions from the 1807 decree,<sup>23</sup> the first bifurcation would probably be between literary theatre (tragedy and comedy, performed at the Comédie-Française and at what would eventually be known as the Odéon), which might not have any music beyond overtures and entr’actes, and theatre with music. The second bifurcation would be between theatre entirely set to music (continuous opera and ballet, performed at the Opéra and by the troupe that would later found the Théâtre-Italien) and theatre mixing spoken dialogue and music. The third bifurcation would be between theatre with spoken dialogue and original vocal numbers (*opéra comique*, performed, of course, at the Opéra-Comique) and theatre with spoken dialogue and music but no original vocal numbers (*vaudeville*, melodrama, *féerie*, performed at the commercial playhouses, the so-called *petits théâtres*).<sup>24</sup> (The Opéra-Comique’s monopoly on plays with spoken dialogue and original vocal numbers, already threatened during the July Monarchy, was lost with the inception of the Théâtre-Lyrique and the rise of operetta in the 1850s.) Of course, there is some arbitrariness in this conjectural taxonomy (fig. 1.3), but it is safe to assume that for nineteenth-century Parisians, *vaudeville* could not be assimilated to comedy, melodrama could not be assimilated to tragedy (as we might be tempted to do), and *opéra comique* could not be assimilated to continuous opera.<sup>25</sup> The distinction between plays with and without original vocal numbers, though, was a casualty of the deregulation of theatres (the *liberté des théâtres*) in 1864. This made possible *La vie parisienne* (1866), composed by

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<sup>23</sup> Reproduced in Nicole Wild, *Dictionnaires des théâtres parisiens, 1807–1914* (Lyon: Symétrie, 2012), 449–53.

<sup>24</sup> Farce and mime, which in purely taxonomical terms could be considered analogous to comedy and ballet respectively, for reasons of social prestige were also assimilated to the last group.

<sup>25</sup> The complete edition of Eugène Scribe’s works placed the *vaudevilles* in series 2 but the comedies in series 1, the *opéras comiques* in series 4 but the continuous operas in series 3. Eugène Scribe, *Œuvres complètes*, 75 vols. (Paris: Dentu, 1874–85).

Offenbach for a *vaudeville* theatre, the Palais-Royal, and the original melodrama scores written in the early 1870s by Georges Bizet, Charles Gounod, and Offenbach (for Alphonse Daudet's *L'Arlésienne*, 1872, Jules Barbier's *Jeanne d'Arc*, 1873, and Victorien Sardou's *La haine*, 1874, respectively). Less well known is another product of this development, *féerie* with entirely original scores, or, as I will call it, composerly *féerie*.

Telling plays apart from operas and operetta seems thorny, one might object, but at least audiences would have known the difference between an actor and a singer. They certainly did, but apparently they were more eager to stress embrace what the two groups had in common. Opera and operetta performers could very well be referred to as “actors,” and several publications profiled the female performers of the Parisian playhouses without regard to their specialization: Félix Savard's *Les actrices de Paris*, Paul Mahalin's lewd who's who *Les jolies actrices de Paris*, the illustrated publication with portraits by Ernest de Liphart *Les actrices de Paris*, or two similarly titled poetry collections, one by Eugène Hubert and Christian de Trogoff, the other by Eugène Billard.<sup>26</sup> The Dane Richard Kaufmann reported that the “rising stars” of the French stage around 1890 were Aimée Tessandier, Jeanne Granier, Marie Gisier-Montbazou, and Juliette Simon-Girard,<sup>27</sup> placing a tragic actress from the Comédie-Française on equal footing with three operetta singers. Careers could also take extravagant turns: Pierre Grivot started as a comic actor in the 1860s, switched to being an operetta singer, and was eventually engaged as a *trial* at the Opéra-Comique; Jean Perier is remembered in music histories as the baritone who created the male lead in Claude Debussy's iconic symbolist

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<sup>26</sup> Félix Savard, *Les actrices de Paris* (Paris: Librairie centrale, 1867); Paul Mahalin, *Les jolies actrices de Paris*, 5 vols. (Paris: Tresse, later Tresse & Stock, 1878–89), first volume originally published 1868 by Pache et Deffaux; Eugène Hubert and Christian de Trogoff, *Les actrices de Paris, quatrains* (Paris: Lachaud, 1872); Émile Bergerat et al., *Les actrices de Paris* (Paris: Launette; Decaux, 1882); Eugène Billard, *Nos étoiles: Sonnets-portraits des jolies actrices de Paris* (Paris: Michaud, 1886), first volume of a planned but apparently aborted series.

<sup>27</sup> Richard Kaufmann, *Paris of To-Day*, trans. Olga Flinch (New York: Cassell, 1891), 227–34.

opera, *Pelléas et Mélisande* (1902), but within months of that première he also appeared in a spectacular play at the Châtelet and in a comedy at the Athénée.<sup>28</sup>

It seems striking that music historians have yet to develop a comprehensive picture of nineteenth-century Parisian theatre with music, the vast field of intrinsically plurimedial genres spanning from *vaudeville* to *grand opéra*. While continuous opera, and to a lesser extent *opéra comique*, operetta, and ballet, are familiar ground, studies of French melodrama have only flourished in the past couple of decades. Much work remains to be done on *vaudeville*, and virtually none has been done by musicologists on *féerie*. The growing interest in incidental music is very much welcome;<sup>29</sup> however, the very label of “incidental music” might obscure the extent of theatre with music. For example, *Les Érinnyes* (1873) and *Le Crocodile* (1886) are often cited in the same breath as incidental music scores by Jules Massenet, but *Les Érinnyes* (Leconte de Lisle’s tragedy after Aeschylus) was a literary product, enjoyable in printed form as much as in performance, while *Le Crocodile* (a play by Sardou) was a piece of theatre with music — a truly plurimedial work where the dialogue (which remained unpublished for sixty years) was inseparable from the musical and visual components.

*A fortiori*, a comprehensive history of nineteenth-century Parisian theatre at large is still lacking, one accounting for both literary theatre and theatre with music. Until recently, most surveys have been conceived essentially as literary histories: they relied on printed verbal texts, took for granted authorial control on the part of the playwright, and established hierarchies of relevance based on stated or inferred individual poetics.<sup>30</sup> But nineteenth-

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<sup>28</sup> Respectively, *Les aventures du capitaine Corcoran* (which premiered in October, six months after *Pelléas*) and *L’enfant du miracle* (which premiered the next February).

<sup>29</sup> For example, Peter Lamothe, “Theater Music in France, 1864–1914” (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2008), and Herbert Schneider, “Französische Schauspielmusik während der Epoche Jules Massenets,” in Kramer, *Theater mit Musik*, 263–98.

<sup>30</sup> So, for example, most of the headings in the table of contents of Michel Autrand’s *Le théâtre en France de 1870 à 1914* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2006) bear a person’s name; of the people profiled, the vast majority are

century Parisian theatre cannot be reduced to a literary activity. Even within the bounds of verbal dramatic texts, a large number of plays, as we have seen with *Les bibelots du diable*, were printed more to serve as a record of a production than to be enjoyed through silent reading — if they were printed at all. People who were hardly literati, like César Ribié, who could not even write,<sup>31</sup> or the mime Clément-Philippe Laurent, could be credited as dramatists (*Le pied de mouton*, coauthored by Ribié, and *Les pilules du diable*, coauthored by Laurent, were hugely influential *féeries*). In order to have a more complete picture of the dramatic production of the period, we should not only give musical texts the same importance as verbal texts, but move beyond the canon. In fact, we have access to what Franco Moretti would call a “great unread” of printed plays and scores.<sup>32</sup> But there is also a “great unpublished” ready to be explored — manuscript plays in the censorship files at the Archives nationales and manuscript orchestral parts. And we also have abundant material documenting the “great unwritten,” the physical, ephemeral reality of performances — production books, visual evidence, and accounts. A comprehensive history of Parisian theatre based on this wealth of sources, of course, demands that one admit that stage works and their fortune are the product of contingent circumstances as much as of individual genius.<sup>33</sup>

Indeed, the Béraud painting is a useful reminder of how the life of theatre works was not confined to the sacred space of the stage. For starters, theatre both drew on and spilled into other media. The poster with an illustration at the top of the column might be that of the

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playwrights, and the selection concentrates on the literary avant-gardes, excluding prolific practitioners of commercial genres but including poets and writers who had very few plays performed or none at all.

<sup>31</sup> Roxane Martin, *L'émergence de la notion de mise en scène dans le paysage théâtral français, 1789–1914* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2013), 67.

<sup>32</sup> Franco Moretti, “The Slaughterhouse of Literature,” in *Distant Reading* (London: Verso, 2013), 63–89.

<sup>33</sup> This is why professional historians, less inclined than literary or music historians to believe in the autonomy of the work of art, have led the way: see Yon, *Une histoire du théâtre à Paris*, and Christophe Charle, *Théâtres en capitales: Naissance de la société du spectacle à Paris, Berlin, Londres et Vienne, 1860–1914* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2008).

social melodrama *L'assommoir*,<sup>34</sup> based on Zola's 1877 novel. Next to the Ambigu where *L'assommoir* is playing, the Porte-Saint-Martin is reviving the dramatization of Alexandre Dumas's historical novel *La dame de Monsoreau*. In the three years before the moment captured by the painter, no fewer than seven operas after novels and short stories were premièreed in Paris.<sup>35</sup> *La dame de Monsoreau* would also become an opera, in 1888 (music by Gaston Salvayre); likewise, Alphonse Daudet's 1884 novel *Sapho* would see the stage first as a melodrama (1885), with former operetta star Jane Hading in the title role, and then as an opera by Jules Massenet (1897). As the end of the century approached, adaptations also started to go the other way: Adolphe d'Ennery and Eugène Cormon's immensely popular melodrama *Les deux orphelines* (1875), for instance, was made into an even more successful novel (initially published in installments, which helped it reach working-class readers).<sup>36</sup> A type of commercial byproduct older than the novelization was sheet music: *Le Grand Casimir*, for example, in addition to being published in vocal score (complete and as excerpted numbers), prompted a piano quadrille, a piano waltz suite, a piano polka, and a piece for beginner pianists — all of which were also transcribed for piano duet — as well as selections for solo flute, solo cornet, and military band. Quadrilles, in particular, which have been studied as “a popular means through which the public became familiar with new operas,”<sup>37</sup> to quote Maribeth Clark, were arranged from hit shows in every genre of theatre with music. And literary theatre could inspire them, too. If we were able to see Proust's wine-colored poster on our Morris column, it would announce that the Comédie-Française is reviving Victor Hugo's

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<sup>34</sup> A typographic poster for *L'assommoir* with a lithographed image is preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, and can be accessed at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9008521p> (link verified December 15, 2017).

<sup>35</sup> Tommaso Sabbatini, “Jerusalem, Machaerus, Carthage: Massenet's *Hérodiade* and Flaubert's *Orient*,” in *Massenet and the Mediterranean World*, ed. Simone Ciolfi (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2015), 86, 99.

<sup>36</sup> Adolphe d'Ennery, *Les deux orphelines*, 2 vols. (Paris: Rouff, 1887–89).

<sup>37</sup> Maribeth Clark, “The Quadrille as Embodied Musical Experience in 19th-Century Paris,” *The Journal of Musicology* 19, no. 3 (2002): 503.

*Ruy Blas* with Sarah Bernhardt as the female lead. Until a couple of months earlier, Bernhardt had been playing another Hugo role, Doña Sol of *Hernani*; to capitalize on her success, a composer by the name of Ida Chapelle wrote a quadrille titled *Dona Sol*, whose cover, predictably, is adorned with a medallion of Bernhardt in costume.<sup>38</sup>

The presence of the Tivoli poster also makes obvious that theatres had to vie for customers in a larger entertainment market. Outside the perimeter of theatre were other kinds of *spectacles*, as they are called in French, such as acrobatics, circus, panoramas, puppet theatre, stage magic, *café-concert*, and music hall. “In order to study [nineteenth-century Parisian] theatre one needs to study the entertainments [*spectacles*],” has warned Jean-Claude Yon,<sup>39</sup> and the reason is apparent. Jean-Gaspard Debureau, one of the most momentous figures in the history of pantomime, performed at what technically was a venue for acrobatics; the Théâtre du Châtelet is the heir to the Cirque-Olympique, originally devoted to equestrian shows; French theatre incorporated moving panoramas well in advance of the 1880s cases familiar to opera scholars (Richard Wagner’s *Parsifal* and Giuseppe Verdi’s *Otello*); *café-concert* stars Thérèse, Anna Judic, and Théo made the leap to theatre; and recently Sarah Gutsche-Miller has made a persuasive case for integrating music hall into the history of French ballet.<sup>40</sup>

Finally, we shouldn’t lose sight of the fact that what the painting shows is theatre stepping out of its auditoria to lure buyers in the street, through a barrage of colors and display type. Nineteenth-century Parisian theatre was a powerful cultural industry — indeed, probably the most powerful cultural industry in the West before the advent of Hollywood — in a capitalist, consumerist society. If this sounds exaggerated, it is because, in popular culture,

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<sup>38</sup> Ida Chapelle, *Dona [sic] Sol*, quadrille brillant pour piano (Paris: A. Mascllet, n.d. [but 1879]), plate number I.C.I.(6).

<sup>39</sup> Yon, *Une histoire du théâtre à Paris*, 9.

<sup>40</sup> Sarah Gutsche-Miller, *Parisian Music-Hall Ballet, 1871–1913* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2015).

Belle Époque Paris is often conflated with a bucolic “postcard” Paris. But one need only read Georges d’Avenel’s *Le mécanisme de la vie moderne* to dispel this illusion. According to d’Avenel, in 1902 Parisians were subject, or had been subject until recently, to all kinds of advertising assault. Posters followed them not just in the streets but in railway stations, railway carriages, omnibuses, *métro* stations, and were displayed on newsstands and public urinals. D’Avenel also describes scrolling light signs, human billboards, mobile billboards, slogan chanting, advertising sculptures, as well as advertising theatre curtains and what we would now call product placement in stage plays.<sup>41</sup> The last two examples are only further evidence of what the garish colors of Béraud’s Morris column expose: that theatre was no Olympian retreat untarnished by the stench of money. Fredric Jameson has written that “[o]f all the arts, architecture is the closest constitutively to the economic, with which, in the form of commissions and land values, it has a virtually unmediated relationship.”<sup>42</sup> Theatre, however, and particularly theatre with music, can probably claim a similar distinction — only, instead of land, it needs an enormous amount of highly skilled labor. Inevitably, those who can pay in advance for the cost of that labor contribute to shaping the artistic result. Eugène Scribe claimed, in his Académie française induction speech, that theatre was not the mirror of society. Nonetheless, his *grand opéra* librettos are rightly regarded as among the most perfect ideological expressions of the ruling class of the July Monarchy, which funded the Opéra through state subventions and subscriptions.<sup>43</sup> The corollary to this is that the more labor-

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<sup>41</sup> Georges d’Avenel, *Le mécanisme de la vie moderne* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1896–1905), 4:166–70.

<sup>42</sup> Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991), 5.

<sup>43</sup> See Jane F. Fulcher, *The Nation’s Image: French Grand Opera as Politics and Politicized Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Anselm Gerhard, *The Urbanization of Opera: Music Theater in Paris in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Mary Whittall (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), originally published as *Die Verstädterung der Oper: Paris und das Musiktheater des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1992); Diana R. Hallman, *Opera, Liberalism, and Antisemitism in Nineteenth-Century France: The Politics of Halévy’s “La Juive”*

intensive and therefore expensive the genre, the more theatre reflects the hegemonic worldview: as the July Monarchy is best understood through lavish *grand opéra*, so, perhaps, the most extravagant *féeries* of the fin de siècle can tell us more about dominant discourses in the Third Republic than fringe literary plays can.

If Belle Époque Paris can be fodder for escapist fantasies, the public debate of the past decade or two prompts us to look at it with different eyes. Political scientist Suzanne Berger has popularized the expression “first globalization” to describe the Belle Époque, stressing the interconnectedness of Western economies, the developments in communication, and mass migration during the period.<sup>44</sup> Conversely, economist Thomas Piketty has spoken of our age as a new Belle Époque, with a return to extreme concentration of wealth.<sup>45</sup> The Béraud street scene suggests another way Belle Époque Paris anticipates our present: with a wide-ranging offer of *spectacles* and a flourishing publishing industry helped by near-universal literacy, it was an incubator for modern mass culture. A final development that would lead to mass culture as described by Frankfurt School critical theory lurks in the background of the painting: the Grand Café building, where the idle gentlemen in top hats are enjoying the mild spring weather surrounded by opulent pediments and giant-order pilasters, would be, fifteen years later, the place chosen by the Lumière brothers to demonstrate their Cinématographe.

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(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); and Sarah Hibberd, *French Grand Opera and the Historical Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

<sup>44</sup> Suzanne Berger, *Notre première mondialisation: Leçons d'un échec oublié*, trans. Richard Robert (Paris: Seuil, 2003).

<sup>45</sup> Thomas Piketty, *Le capital au XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Seuil, 2013), translated by Arthur Goldhammer as *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).

## *Féerie* and the total artwork of the present

The takeaway from our street scene, then, is that theatregoing in nineteenth-century Paris consisted of manifold experiences; that to account for those experiences, we need to set aside our own categories (including our very notions of spoken and musical theatre, of opera, and of incidental music) and try to adopt those of contemporaries; and that we must therefore give priority to genres and institutions, and, in order to do so, sideline issues of authorial agency and artistic value. We should consider corpora, not single works; we should consider works condemned by the selective tradition alongside canonic ones; we should consider all the aspects of the performance, not just the verbal text (or the score, in operas); we should consider the contribution of a host of agents (performers, management, audiences) to theatre works, not just that of the creators; and we should consider theatre works as the product of an industry and as a part of a media landscape.

I do not claim that this is a radically novel approach.<sup>46</sup> What I do claim is that *féerie*, and late nineteenth-century *féerie* in particular, not only is a natural candidate for this approach, but requires it. Indeed, long-held disciplinary habits have prevented music historians from recognizing late nineteenth-century *féerie* as a relevant phenomenon, or actually, from recognizing it as a phenomenon at all.

It must be acknowledged that *féerie*, as a stage genre, has disappeared from our cultural horizon to the point that we even fail to detect its faint echoes when we encounter them.

Possibly the closest approximation to a *féerie* one can witness nowadays is an English

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<sup>46</sup> For book-length studies of stage music in nineteenth-century Paris that concentrate on genres and institutions see, for example, T.J. Walsh, *Second Empire Opera: The Théâtre Lyrique, Paris 1851–1870* (London: J. Calder, 1981); Emilio Sala, *L'opera senza canto: Il mélo romantico e l'invenzione della colonna sonora* (Venice: Marsilio, 1995); Olivier Bara, *Le théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique sous la Restauration: Enquête autour d'un genre moyen* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 2001); Mark Everist, *Music Drama at the Paris Odéon, 1824–1828* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Martin, *La féerie romantique*; Gutsche-Miller, *Music-Hall Ballet*.

Christmas pantomime — or panto, as it is familiarly known. The genre continues to this day across Britain and Ireland, perhaps thanks to the inherently conservative nature of holiday habits: it is currently kept alive by amateur companies as well as by large-scale operations servicing multiple cities, among them Qdos Entertainment, which boasts on its website of being “one of the largest, broad-based entertainment Groups [sic] in Europe.”<sup>47</sup> But its Continental counterpart has vanished for good. So countless readers of Flaubert’s novels no doubt wonder what a *féerie* is, when the biographical notice informs them that Flaubert wrote one (*Le château des cœurs*), but soon forget the piece of information. The image of a bullet-shaped rocket crashing into the right eye of an anthropomorphic moon instantly evokes the most iconic sequence of Georges Méliès famed 1902 *Le voyage dans la lune*, known in English as *A Trip to the Moon* — a film that “has been quoted and imitated in audiovisual works ranging from *Around the World in Eighty Days* (1956), to the music video for the Smashing Pumpkins’ song ‘Tonight, Tonight’ (1996), and alluded to in literature as different as Louis-Ferdinand Céline’s nihilistic interwar novel *Death on the Installment Plan* [*Mort à crédit*] (1936) and Brian Selznick’s illustrated children’s book *The Invention of Hugo Cabret* (2007).”<sup>48</sup> But if many get the Méliès reference, very few realize that *Le voyage dans la lune* is in fact a *féerie*. In the past few decades, the *féeries* set to music by Offenbach have been occasionally revived by opera houses; for this to be possible, however, they had to be adapted and marketed as operettas: *Le voyage dans la lune* (1875) at the Berlin Komische Oper, directed by Jérôme Savary, in 1979; the 1874 version of *Orphée aux enfers*, directed by Jean-Louis Martinoty, at the Paris Opéra, in 1988; *Le roi Carotte*, directed by Laurent Pelly, at the Opéra de Lyon in 2015. André Messager’s score for

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<sup>47</sup> “About Qdos Entertainment,” accessed January 9, 2020, <http://www.pantomime.com/about>.

<sup>48</sup> Matthew Solomon, introduction to *Fantastic Voyages of the Cinematic Imagination: Georges Méliès’s Trip to the Moon*, ed. Matthew Solomon (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2011), 2. Brian Selznick’s book has since been adapted for the screen as *Hugo* (2011), directed by Martin Scorsese.

the 1888 *féerie Isoline* is currently available in a recording made in 1947 by the French national radio orchestra and released by the Institut national de l'audiovisuel — a document that is, however, at two removes from an actual *féerie* (by virtue of the concert performance and the recording). *Féerie* also casts its long shadow over some sound films that cinephiles might be familiar with: The Shirley Temple vehicle *The Blue Bird* (1940) is based on Maurice Maeterlinck's *L'oiseau bleu* (1908), a late literary recuperation of *féerie* by the Belgian Symbolist playwright. The Laurel and Hardy movie *Babes in Toyland* (1934) is based on a 1903 “musical extravaganza” by Victor Herbert, which might be seen as the American equivalent to a *féerie* or a panto. One could even retrace a lineage from stage *féerie* to Jacques Demy's *Peau d'Âne* (1970) by way of Jean Cocteau's *La Belle et la Bête* (1946): Cocteau wrote repeatedly about the lasting impressions the *féeries* he saw as a child, in fin-de-siècle Paris, made on him and he was a major influence for Demy.<sup>49</sup>

If this is the flotsam of *féerie*, what was the ship like? A witty answer comes from poet and playwright Jean Richepin, who penned the following definition in 1883:

I mean “*féerie*” in the modern sense, or rather in the Parisian sense, *féerie* being a play built around scenery, tricks, transformations, and allegorical characters, where vegetables speak and sewing machines sing *rondeaux*, the silliest [kind of] play that ever was.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Hélène Laplace-Claverie, *Modernes féeries: Le théâtre français du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, entre réenchantement et désenchantement* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2007), 81–84.

<sup>50</sup> “J’entends *féerie* au sens moderne du mot, ou plutôt au sens parisien, *féerie* signifiant une pièce à décors, à trucs, à transformations, à personnages allégoriques, où les légumes parlent, où les machines à coudre chantent des *rondeaux*, pièce stupide s’il en fut.” Jean Richepin, “La *féerie* de la rue,” in *Le pavé* (Paris: Maurice Dreyfous, 1883), II.

Perhaps more objectively, we can say that *féeries* were light melodramatic plays with vocal numbers set in a fairytale universe. By “melodramatic” here I mean plays that, like melodramas, were conceived for the commercial theatres, whose dramaturgy disregarded literary conventions, relying instead on visual spectacle and on instrumental music underscoring the stage business, and that were characterized by sensational devices, rudimentary psychology, and Manichaeism. These features of melodrama, in fact, are perfectly compatible a light-hearted subject, as well as with vocal numbers, which were indeed also present in some melodramas.<sup>51</sup>

The two great French fairytale writers of the seventeenth century, Charles Perrault and Madame d’Aulnoy, were common sources, together with Antoine Galland’s version of the *Arabian Nights*. Titles like *Le Petit Poucet* (Hop-o’-My-Thumb, plays from 1798, 1845, 1885), *La Belle au bois dormant* (Sleeping Beauty, 1800, 1811, 1874, 1894, 1907), *Le Chat botté* (Puss in Boots, 1802, 1820, 1878), *Riquet à la houppe* (Riquet with the Tuft, 1802, 1875, 1889), *Cendrillon* (Cinderella, 1806, 1866), *Peau d’Âne* (Donkeyskin, 1808, 1838, 1863), or *Le Petit Chaperon rouge* (Little Red Riding Hood, 1818, 1841, 1900) point to Perrault; *La Belle aux cheveux d’or* (Pretty Goldilocks, 1806, 1847), *L’oiseau bleu* (The Blue Bird, 1803, 1831), *La biche aux bois* (The White Doe, 1845), or *La chatte blanche* (The White Cat, 1852) to d’Aulnoy; and *Aladin, ou La lampe merveilleuse* (Aladdin, or The Wonderful Lamp, 1804, 1863), *Le mille et une nuits* (The Arabian Nights, 1843, 1881), *Ali-Baba, ou Les quarante voleurs* (Ali Baba, or The Forty Thieves, 1853) to the *Arabian Nights*. Original titles often also convey a pseudofolkloric flavor by evoking magical

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<sup>51</sup> One should not take too literally the idea of melodrama as “opera without song,” as popularized by Emilio Sala in his groundbreaking study of Romantic (i.e., circa 1800–1830) French melodrama, *L’opera senza canto*. Sala himself acknowledges the existence of *mélodrame-vaudeville* (precisely, melodrama with vocal numbers). Moreover, many influential melodramas of the mid-century have vocal numbers: *La grâce de Dieu* (1841), *Don César de Bazan* (1844), *La vie de Bohème* (1849), *Manon Lescaut* (1851), *La dame aux camélias* (1852), *Les filles de marbre* (1853), most of which are discussed by Sala in a later book, *Il valzer delle camelie: Echi di Parigi nella “Traviata”* (Turin: EDT, 2008), translated by Delia Casadei as *The Sounds of Paris in Verdi’s “La Traviata”* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

objects or devils: *Le pied de mouton* (The Sheep's Foot, 1806, rewritten in 1850 and 1860), *La queue du diable* (The Devil's Tail, 1807, 1852); *Les pilules du diable* (The Devil's Pills, 1839), *Les sept châteaux du diable* (The Devil's Seven Castles, 1844), *La poudre de Perlinpinpin* (Perlinpinpin's Powder, a pun on a name for a quack remedy, 1853), and, as we have seen, *Les bibelots du diable*. *Féeries* were totally devoid of psychological subtlety, but rich in incidents and comic gags as well as heavy in music, dance, and virtuosic feats of scenery and theatre machinery. In its mature form, the genre adopted an episodic structure, where a substantive number of changes of scenery fragmented the action into as many *tableaux*. If the ideal of much nineteenth-century French theatre was the *pièce bien faite*, the well-wrought play, with its consistency and economy of means, *féeries* were rather *pièces à tiroirs* — the theatre jargon for those plays where largely independent episodes are stacked on top of each other like drawers. Their plots were built around some highly spectacular, attention-grabbing moments (or, to use the French word, *clous*), which makes *féerie* somewhat closer in dramaturgy to circus, music hall, lantern shows, or early film than to “serious” theatre. (In this respect *féerie* also resembles *revue*, a genre at the edge between theatre and *spectacles*.)

Before *féerie* was a thing, the word “féerie” — derived from “fée,” fairy — used to mean the art of fairies (one is tempted to translate it as “fairycraft”) and by extension the imaginary universe in which this art was practiced, similarly to the English “fairyland.” The meaning of “fairyland” (and the adjective “féérique,” equivalent to the adjectival use of “fairy” or “fairytale” in English) coexisted in the nineteenth century with the new use of “féérique” to denote the theatrical genre. This is, of course, confusing for the modern scholar. As Roxane Martin has pointed out, “Honoré de Balzac, Théodore de Banville, and the Goncourt brothers use this term sometimes to refer to a particular space-time, associated with dream and phantasmagoria, sometimes to designate the dramatic genre that won success on the *boulevard*

stage in the nineteenth century. *Féerie* seems therefore to get lost in its multiple definitions: dramatic genre or aesthetic category?”<sup>52</sup> The slipshod extension from “fairyland” to “fairy play” was the result of a gradual process. In the eighteenth century “féerie” was used as a modifier for more established generic designations to indicate supernatural, pseudofolkloric content. So, for example, the *opéra comique* *La belle Arsène* (1773, libretto by Charles-Simon Favart, music by Pierre-Alexandre Monsigny) is called, at least in some sources, “comédie-féerie” (“comédie mêlée d’ariettes” being still the standard way to refer to *opéra comique* at the time) and *Alcindor* (1787, libretto by Marc-Antoine-Jacques Rochon de Chabannes, music by Nicolas Dezède) is an “opéra-féerie.” In this older usage as a modifier, which continued well into the nineteenth century, *féerie* is not so much a genre as what some English-speaking literary theory calls a mode:<sup>53</sup> much like the pastoral or the elegiac, the *féerique* operates across genres. The emergence of *féerie* as a genre, alongside the continuation of *féerie* as a mode (or as “aesthetic category,” as she prefers to say), are retraced by Martin in her masterful study. The best accounts in English of the early history of *féerie* prior to her book are the work of film scholar Katherine Singer Kovács:

The *féerie* was born shortly after the French Revolution . . . in its earliest form the *féerie* was a type of melodrama in which acrobatics, music, and mime were the main elements. Like melodramas, the plots of most *féeries* pivoted upon a struggle between forces of good and evil. But while these forces remained invisible in melodramas, in *féeries* they

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<sup>52</sup> Martin, *La féerie romantique*, 13.

<sup>53</sup> See Alastair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 106–11, and John Frow, *Genre* (London: Routledge, 2006), 63–67. Prominent examples of studies devoted to modes across genres and media are Peter Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1976) and James Chandler, *An Archaeology of Sympathy: The Sentimental Mode in Literature and Cinema* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013).

were incarnated onstage by gnomes and witches. . . . over the years *opéra-féeries* and *pantomime-féeries* eventually replaced *mélodrame-féeries* in popularity. . . . Plays of this kind remained popular until around the middle of the century when vaudeville intervened and modified the form of the *féerie*.<sup>54</sup>

Martin nuances this picture. *Féerie* is indeed, like melodrama, a product of the French Revolution, more exactly, of the 1791 decree that deregulated Parisian theatres and caused “the emancipation of a part of theatre from the domain of literature.”<sup>55</sup> According to Martin, though, *féerie* is not so much a particular case of melodrama as a product of the same historical circumstances, *féerie*, melodrama, and *vaudeville* all having “emerged from the same field of experimentation and aesthetic intermingling that followed the 1791 decree.”<sup>56</sup> With the reestablishment of the theatre licensing system in 1806, *féerie* (unlike melodrama) was not recognized (and therefore not permitted) as a spectacular form in its own right, yet the *féerique* mode remained very vital. The First Empire and the Restoration, then, saw *opéras-féeries* (or, we should say for the sake of clarity, *féerique* operas) set to music by Nicolas Isouard (*Cendrillon*, 1810, and *Aladin*, 1822), Ferdinand Hérold (*La clochette*, 1817), Adrien Boieldieu (*Le Petit Chaperon rouge*, 1818), and Michele Carafa (*La Belle au bois dormant*, 1825), as well as *féerique* ballets at the Opéra: *Cendrillon* (1823), *Zémire et Azor* (1824), and *La Belle au bois dormant* (1829), the last with a scenario by Scribe and music by Hérold. *Féerie* proper, in order to comply with the licensing system, first disguised itself as pantomime, omitting most of the dialogue, then, in the 1820s, occupied the institutional spaces of *vaudeville*, helped by the fact that *vaudeville*

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<sup>54</sup> Katherine Singer Kovács, “Georges Méliès and the *Féerie*,” *Cinema Journal* 16 (1976), no. 1:1, 3–4. Kovács also communicated her findings to a different audience in “A History of the *Féerie* in France,” *Theatre Quarterly* 8 (1978), no. 29: 29–38.

<sup>55</sup> Martin, *La féerie romantique*, 47.

<sup>56</sup> Martin, *La féerie romantique*, 55.

was keen on parodying opera, and *féerique* opera was the vogue. Martin distinguishes two types of *vaudeville*-like *féerie*: “A *féerie* with a moralizing dimension . . . and a *féerie* that, privileging the burlesque, found inspiration in the writing register of parody,”<sup>57</sup> that is, in her terminology, the “Manichaeian *féerie*” and the “burlesque *féerie*,” corresponding to two types of *vaudeville* identified by Henri Gidel, the “anecdotal *vaudeville*” and the “farcical *vaudeville*.”<sup>58</sup> Around 1830, these two strands were unified and superseded by the “spectacular *féerie*,” what I have referred to above as the “mature form” of *féerie*, at which stage *féerie* is unquestionably established as a genre.

Late nineteenth-century *féerie* has received even less attention than *féerie* in general. The reason for such a lack of interest is to be found in the general opinion that the last third of the nineteenth century was an age of decadence, or, more precisely, of obsolescence, for *féerie*. This opinion, I believe, must be corrected by two adjustments of perspective.

First adjustment: the decline in the number of new *féeries* in the second half of the nineteenth century does not necessarily mean a decline in the genre’s popularity. In fact, it is the consequence of what historian Christophe Charle has called “a new regime of [theatre] production.”<sup>59</sup> Charle calculated that the number of new plays given in Paris dropped from 322 in 1852 to 91 in 1900; on average, each theatre gave 16.1 new plays in 1852 and 4.5 in 1900 — in both cases, a whopping 72% decrease. The expansion of the metropolis and Haussmann’s urban renovation meant that Paris had growing suburbs and an increasingly depopulated city center. This forced theatres, which were located in the center, either to cater to a wealthy elite of assiduous theatregoers or to attract more occasional spectators from a large geographical

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<sup>57</sup> Martin, *La féerie romantique*, 169.

<sup>58</sup> Martin, *La féerie romantique*, 188.

<sup>59</sup> Charle, *Théâtres en capitales*, 205–20.

area (as well as from the ranks of foreign and provincial visitors). If they chose to widen their appeal, their strategy was to produce fewer but larger shows, with a higher proportion of revivals (since they offered a better guarantee of economic return than new plays) and much longer runs — which is exactly what happened with *féerie*.

Second adjustment: not all *féeries* were billed as *féeries*. Kovács used, for her considerations on genre, Charles Beaumont Wicks’s bibliographical compilation;<sup>60</sup> Charle uses the yearbooks by Albert Soubies and by Édouard Noël and Edmond Stoullig;<sup>61</sup> Hélène Laplace-Claverie bases her statement that “we count 11 *féeries* premièrees between 1879 and 1888, 14 between 1889 and 1908,” and so forth on the catalogues of the Société des auteurs et compositeurs dramatiques.<sup>62</sup> But, as scholars of French opera know all too well, the genre attributions declared by authors, theatre managers, and publishers in the nineteenth century are both inconsistent and misleading. To cite just one example, many *grands opéras* were labeled just “opéra” on frontispieces, and yet no one could deny that *grand opéra* was very much present as a category in French theatrical practice. Two examples will suffice of how printed genre designations are unreliable for the purposes of this study: the immensely popular *Le voyage de Suzette* (1890) is a “spectacular play” (*pièce à grand spectacle*) according to the printed text, a “spectacular operetta” (*opérette à grand spectacle*) according to the score; the score of *Le pays de l’or* (1892) has “play” on the title page and “operetta” in the table of contents.

If we reexamine the picture of the years 1870–1900 with these caveats in mind, we find that *féerie* not only did not wane at the fin de siècle, but indeed thrived and showed an exceptional capacity for adaptation. The first innovation during this period is what I will call

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<sup>60</sup> Charles Beaumont Wicks, *The Parisian Stage: Alphabetical Indexes of Plays and Authors* (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1950).

<sup>61</sup> Albert Soubies, *Almanach des spectacles* (Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, 1875–1915); Édouard Noël and Edmond Stoullig, *Les annales du théâtre et de la musique* (Paris: Charpentier et Cie, 1876–1916).

<sup>62</sup> Laplace-Claverie, *Modernes féeries*, 9.

the “composerly *féerie*”: instead of having patchwork scores compiled by their house conductors, theatres started to commission well-regarded composers (generally those active in operetta) to write entirely original scores. The first example, in 1872, is *Le roi Carotte*, text by Sardou, music by Offenbach — Richepin’s quip about plays “where vegetables speak,” quoted above, is in all likelihood directed to this work, to its model for speaking vegetables, the Cogniard brothers’ *La biche au bois* (see **Chapter 2**), or to both. Composers who wrote composerly *féeries* after Offenbach include Charles Lecocq, Gaston Serpette, Edmond Audran, Louis Varney, André Messager, Léon Vasseur, and Xavier Leroux; we might add Massenet to the list if we decide that Sardou’s *Le Crocodile*, for which he provided the music, is a *féerie* (and there are grounds to support such a decision). Emmanuel Chabrier also had a “dream,” which never came true, of writing a composerly *féerie* for the Gaité (“a big thing of the *Roi Carotte* kind,” as he wrote to his publisher).<sup>63</sup> For some fifteen composerly *féeries* from the period 1870–1900 both the text and the music are extant, and in another few cases we have either the text or the music.

As I have mentioned earlier, composerly operetta is but an aspect of a phenomenon set in motion by the *liberté des théâtres*: what I call (see **Chapter 2**) “operettization,” where original vocal numbers, a trait that used to set operetta apart among the commercial genres, spread across Parisian theatre with music (Lecocq’s *Le Grand Casimir*, which we have encountered earlier, is a case of operettized *vaudeville*). But the last quarter of the nineteenth century was also witness to a “féerization” of Parisian theatre (see **Chapter 3**): features of *féerie* (modular articulation, visual attractions, humor, musical numbers, dance) combined with elements from other theatrical traditions (the adventure melodrama, the *vaudeville de mouvement*),

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<sup>63</sup> “Mon rêve serait de faire une grande machine dans le genre du *Roi Carotte*, chez Debruyère.” Emmanuel Chabrier to Enoch et Costallat, n.d., in Emmanuel Chabrier, *Correspondance*, ed. Roger Delage and Frans Durif (Paris: Klincksieck, 1994), 191. Ironically, Chabrier wanted Richepin as a librettist.

opening new paths to *féerie*, although somewhat diluting it (as operettization did, in a way, dilute operetta).

The first and foremost product of this féerization of theatre is the “scientific *féerie*,” which renounced the traditional fairytale subject matter and turned to what we might call, anachronistically, science fiction and travelogue. *Le tour du monde en 80 jours* (1874), adapted by veteran playwright Adolphe d’Ennery and Jules Verne from the latter’s *Around the World in Eighty Days*, was greeted as a *féerie* by none other than Émile Zola, who commented perceptively that

a charming popularizer, Mr. Verne, had become massively successful with books that were taking the place of Perrault’s tales in the hands of children. The *féeries* of thirty years ago were adapted from those tales; it only made sense that today’s *féeries* would be adapted from Mr. Verne’s books.<sup>64</sup>

Other than Zola’s words, we have abundant evidence that these shows of a new kind, often simply labeled “*pièce à grand spectacle*” (spectacular play), did not put an end to *féerie*, but instead continued it. For example, Jules Claretie called *Le tour du monde en 80 jours* “[a]n amusing spectacle, where the fantastic is represented by electricity and steam power, and where the talismans of the old *féerie* are replaced by gunshots”;<sup>65</sup> man of letters–cum–theatre manager Paul Ginisty included *Le tour du monde* and two more d’Ennery-Verne collaborations

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<sup>64</sup> “[U]n aimable vulgarisateur, M. Verne, obtenait des succès énormes avec des livres qui succédaient aux contes de Perrault, entre les mains des enfants. Les *féeries* d’il y a trente ans étaient tirées de ces contes; il devenait logique que les *féeries* d’aujourd’hui fussent tirées des livres de M. Verne.” Émile Zola, “Adolphe d’Ennery,” in *Nos auteurs dramatiques*, in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Henri Mitterand (Paris: Nouveau Monde éditions, 2002–10), 10:389.

<sup>65</sup> “Spectacle amusant, où le fantastique c’est l’électricité et la vapeur, où les talismans de l’ancienne *féerie* sont remplacés par les coups de revolver.” Jules Claretie, *La vie moderne au théâtre: Causeries sur l’art dramatique* (Paris: Georges Barba, 1869–75), 2:366.

(*Michel Strogoff*, 1880, and *Voyage à travers l'impossible*, 1882) in his early twentieth-century monograph on *féerie*,<sup>66</sup> and in Italy adaptations of *Le tour du monde* and *Le voyage de Suzette* were explicitly advertised as “féeries” — perhaps due to the fact that, *féerie* being a loanword in Italian, its etymological connection to “fairy” was not as apparent to speakers as in French, and it was therefore easier to apply the term to non-supernatural subjects. It is worth noting that Zola’s observation that fairytales were being replaced by the books of Jules Verne in society at large and consequently in *féerie* proves a point made by James Smith Allen in his landmark study of popular French romanticism: that in the course of the nineteenth century, thanks to urbanization, increased literacy, and the development of a middle class, folklore was displaced by a commercial popular culture designed for large-scale dissemination.<sup>67</sup>

An even more decisive move toward modern mass culture is marked by the final metamorphosis of *féerie*, namely into the film *féerie*, born with the conversion to film of stage magician Georges Méliès. Méliès’s trick films on fairytale and science-fiction subjects were marketed as *féeries* and “pièces à grand spectacle,” and indeed they replicate the dramaturgy of the stage *féerie*, with their visual wonders and their articulation into *tableaux*. His very choice of subjects is significant: the first film he billed as a *féerie* (“grande féerie extraordinaire en 20 tableaux”) was, in 1899, *Cendrillon*, on the same fairytale that had inspired a frequently revived stage *féerie* by Clairville (1866). His masterwork in the genre is possibly the scientific film *féerie Voyage dans la lune* (“pièce à grand spectacle en 30 tableaux,” 1902), heavily indebted to Offenbach’s composerly scientific *féerie* with the same title (1875).<sup>68</sup> Another scientific *féerie* by Méliès, *Voyage à travers l'impossible* (“pièce fantastique à grand spectacle en 40 tableaux,”

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<sup>66</sup> Paul Ginisty, *La féerie* (Paris: Louis-Michaud, 1910).

<sup>67</sup> James Smith Allen, *Popular French Romanticism: Authors, Readers, and Books in the 19th Century* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1981).

<sup>68</sup> Thierry Lefebvre, “A Trip to the Moon: A Composite Film,” trans. Timothy Barnard, in Solomon, *Fantastic Voyages*, 49–63.

1904), shares a title with a d'Ennery-Verne play. It is also worth noting that Méliès contributed with film projections to two stage *féeries* by Victor de Cottens and Victor Darlay, *Les 400 coups du diable* (1905) and, as Stéphane Tralongo has recently discovered, *Pif! Paf! Pouf!, ou Un voyage endiablé* (1906).<sup>69</sup>

In short, *féerie* was so resilient a phenomenon that it was able to retain its identity even as it moved from melodrama into operetta territory, abandoned its previously defining subject matter, or migrated from the stage to the new medium of film. And yet, a comprehensive study of *féerie* at the fin de siècle, where the composerly, scientific and film variants are merely considered as different sides of the same object, still remains to be written. The recent work by film scholars on late *féerie* is helpful for solving the conundrum of a genre that migrates from one medium to another.<sup>70</sup> In particular, André Gaudreault's provocative thesis is that early cinema (*le cinéma des premiers temps*) is not cinema. What Edison and the Lumières invented in the 1890s was just a technology; cinema, which is an institution, dates only from circa 1910. Méliès remained all his life a man of the theatre, only one who adopted film technology: his merit was "to have introduced cinematography into the theater (i.e., into stage entertainment), not the reverse."<sup>71</sup> When he was shooting *féeries* in his studio, then, Méliès was using the camera to make theatre, not unlike when he was collaborating with Cottens and Darlay. From these premises, Tralongo developed, in his doctoral dissertation,<sup>72</sup> a historical inquiry into the continuity between stage and film *féerie*. If Tralongo's contribution — the only book-length

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<sup>69</sup> Tralongo, "Faiseurs de féeries," 211–51, and Stéphane Tralongo, "Rêve d'artiste: La collaboration de Georges Méliès aux spectacles du Châtelet et des Folies-Bergère," in *Méliès, carrefour des attractions*, ed. André Gaudreault and Laurent Le Forestier (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2014), 129–41.

<sup>70</sup> See especially André Gaudreault, *Cinéma et attraction: Pour une nouvelle histoire du cinématographe* (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2008), translated by Tim Barnard as *Film and Attraction: From Kinematography to Cinema* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2011); Frank Kessler, "The Féerie Between Stage and Screen," in *A Companion to Early Cinema*, ed. André Gaudreault, Nicolas Dulac, and Santiago Hidalgo (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 64–79; and Tralongo, "Faiseurs de féeries."

<sup>71</sup> Gaudreault, *Film and Attraction*, 41. In French: *Cinéma et attraction*, 77.

<sup>72</sup> Tralongo, "Faiseurs de féeries."

study of late *féerie*, and one of two on *féerie* at large — is invaluable, its disciplinary focus means that the musical practices of stage *féerie* (which either did not pass into film *féerie* or did so leaving little evidence behind) are sidelined.

The fin de siècle, though, is the period for which *féerie* music is best documented, thanks to the vogue for composerly *féerie*, and late *féerie* makes an ideal starting point to study the music of earlier *féerie*, of other genres of theatre with music, and to formulate hypotheses on early film music. Of course, knowledge — either direct or through conjectural reconstruction — of *féerie* scores is fundamental to a better understanding of a genre so heavily reliant on music. Musicologists, however, have failed to realize that this body of *féerie* music exists: first, because in printed scores, as we have seen, genre designations are most of the time misleading; secondly, because *féerie* scores can look either like melodrama (in manuscript orchestral parts compiled by a theater’s house conductor), hence “spoken theatre,” or like operetta (printed as vocal scores under the name of a well-known composer), hence “musical theatre,” and a genre that straddles the spoken-versus-musical divide has seemed unthinkable.

Moreover, the study of *féerie* can be a healthy corrective to a scholarly discourse on nineteenth-century French music that is often is skewed toward highbrow genres such as opera or toward the avant-gardes (Wagnerism, the Montmartre scene, Naturalism, Symbolism). A few figures will suffice to illustrate the sheer dimensions of *féerie* as a cultural phenomenon. Among the large commercial playhouses specializing in *féerie*, The Porte-Saint-Martin and the Gaîté seated roughly 1,800 each (fewer than the Opéra but more than the Comédie-Française, the Odéon, or the Opéra-Comique), the Châtelet probably somewhere around 2,600. D’Ennery and Verne’s *Le tour du monde en 80 jours* had received, by the end of the century, over 1,500 performances. For comparison, only a handful of works at the Opéra

and Opéra-Comique reached the milestone of the *millième*, the thousandth performance. The most popular title of the *grand opéra* canon, “*Les Huguenots* was given regularly [at the Opéra] until 1936, reaching a total of 1,120 performances”;<sup>73</sup> by 1900, *Michel Strogoff* had totaled around 1,170 performances in Paris, which is to say that it had more performances in twenty years than *Les Huguenots* received in a century. The *féeries* *Coco* (1878), *Le Petit Poucet* (1885), and *Le voyage de Suzette* (1890) all surpassed 200 performances within the first two calendar years of their stage life, whereas the best that Massenet ever managed with one of his operas in a two-year period was 101 performances, in 1889–90, when the World’s Fair gave a boost to *Esclarmonde*.

Opera and operetta scholarship has much to gain from a greater familiarity with *féerie*. Such an endeavor could shed light not only on clearly *féerique* works like D.-F.-E. Auber’s *Le cheval de bronze* (1835 at the Opéra-Comique, 1857 at the Opéra), Albert Grisar’s *Les amours du diable* (1853 at the Théâtre-Lyrique, 1863 at the Opéra-Comique) and *La chatte merveilleuse* (1862), or Massenet’s *Cendrillon* (1899), but also on less obvious candidates like Offenbach’s *Les contes d’Hoffmann* (1881), Massenet’s *Esclarmonde* (1889), and even Maurice Ravel’s *L’Enfant et les sortilèges* (1925). An example of how our ignorance of *féerie* affects our understanding of works in other genres could be Chabrier’s beloved operetta *L’étoile* (1877). No one fails to remark that the protagonist’s second solo number, the “romance de l’étoile,” alludes, subtly but transparently, to “O du, mein holder Abendstern” from Wagner’s *Tannhäuser*.<sup>74</sup> The preceding number, the “rondeau du colporteur,” gets considerably less discussion, despite being the bravura showpiece by which the character is introduced. But if one realizes that the “rondeau du colporteur” is a nod to the extremely popular “ronde des colporteurs” from Offenbach’s *Roi*

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<sup>73</sup> Gerhard, *The Urbanization of Opera*, 403.

<sup>74</sup> Roger Delage, “Chabrier et Wagner,” *Revue de Musicologie* 82, no. 1 (1996): 175; Steven Huebner, *French Opera at the Fin de Siècle: Wagnerism, Nationalism, and Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 283.

*Carotte*, new questions about *L'étoile* spring to mind. By inviting comparisons between Paola Marié, the creator of the *travesti* role of the peddler Lazuli, and Zulma Bouffar, who had starred in *Le roi Carotte* — also in a *travesti* role — the intertextual reference must have drawn attention to this number, which, like its model, satirizes the cosmetic industry. Knowing *Le roi Carotte*, and the *féerie* tradition of talismans and magical objects into which it tapped, the description of beauty products in *L'étoile* assumes another dimension, establishing a connection between modern marketing and older superstitions. And what must it have meant to have a text ostensibly written from a male point of view delivered by a woman impersonating a man but dressed as to satisfy the male gaze? What about the irony of an actor, and a cross-dressing actor at that, mocking an essential tool of her performance, makeup? What peculiar combination of suspension of disbelief and disenchantment did this number require from the audience (a problem that is crucial for *féerie*)? These questions could lead us to unexpected places, very far from the issues of Wagnerism and musical language that usually dominate the conversation about Chabrier.

It will have become apparent by this point that *féerie*, unabashedly commercial, highly intertextual, subject to extensive alterations in revivals, calls for modes of inquiry other than close reading of single works. But *féerie* challenges our disciplinary assumptions in an even more fundamental way.

Scholars of nineteenth-century opera are used to interrogating works that can be isolated from their scenic realizations (no one would argue, for example, that Édouard Lalo's *Fiesque* does not exist because it was never performed: we are in a position to know how Lalo imagined it, and we are more or less content with that). Those works are plurimedial and normally entail artistic collaboration, but the historical trend, exemplified by Meyerbeer,

Verdi, and Wagner, to centralize artistic responsibility means that the composer can effectively be given credit for the whole combination of the verbal, musical, and visual components. If Wagner marks a major milestone in this shift, its premises are seen in *grand opéra*, with Meyerbeer's ability to exert strict control on the staging of his operas, thanks to a legal framework that "enabled [him] to supervise productions in other theaters besides the Opéra, or to refuse individual theaters the right to perform his work": as Anselm Gerhard writes, "this development represented the decisive step toward the modern conception of an opera as an autonomous work of art" and *grands opéras* "were among the first [operas] to embody the modern concept of the inviolacy of the work of art,"<sup>75</sup> even though such an ideal still had to come to a compromise with the needs of the opera industry. With the composer established as the opera's author, we can attribute the details of the work to a set of individual choices (either intentional or unconscious), and from the composer's choices we can infer his or her poetics and worldview. With *féerie*, however, neither of these conditions — works that can exist outside of performance, authors that are accountable for the whole of the work — applies. There is no ultimate author in a *féerie*, where the playwrights — usually in the plural — have their agency limited by the technicians and designers in charge of the visual spectacle and by the compiler or composer of the music. Also, all these creators are constrained by the human and technical limitations of the theatre for which the *féerie* is written, as well as by the mission of *féerie* theatres, which was not to provide an outlet for artistic expression but to score commercial successes. As a result, we cannot look for the mark of a creative personality in a *féerie* the way we would in an opera.

Literary theatre exists out of performance because its verbal component is transmitted and consumed as a literary text, through authoritative sources: there is no doubt that the

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<sup>75</sup> Gerhard, *The Urbanization of Opera*, 407–8.

text/performance binary, which is a cornerstone of theatre scholarship,<sup>76</sup> is perfectly suited to literary theatre. But with theatre with music, things get more complicated: its visual component is hard to fix in written form, and music scores might have as their primary purpose to allow for a performance to be reproduced, not to transmit an authoritative text. Even with those difficulties, nineteenth-century opera also exists out of performance, as we are able to approximate the plurimedial work as envisioned by the composer. We normally have reasonably authoritative sources for the verbal text and the music, and we can at least strive to reconstruct what a composer-sanctioned staging would look like. The composer's conception of the staging is of course much less well-documented than his or her conception of the music, but it is a difference in degree, not in kind: the score, after all, is merely a document that imperfectly renders the music the composer had in mind, the same way that evidence of productions allows us some (much more limited) access to the staging the composer must have had in mind. With *féerie*, instead, as we have seen, the written records are mostly utilitarian, and it is impossible to recover the ideal image of the work in all its dimensions as held in the author's mind, simply because *féeries*, unlike operas, have no ultimate author. The only thing we have access to, with *féerie*, is performances. Unlike opera, *féerie* only existed before its audiences; unobserved phenomena (such as the unperformed *Fiesque*) were simply an impossibility.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Especially of theatre semiotics: see Anne Ubersfeld, *Lire le théâtre* (Paris: Belin, 1996, originally published 1977 by Éditions sociales), translated by Frank Collins as *Reading Theatre* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); Keir Elam, *The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama* (London: Routledge, 2002, originally published 1980 by Methuen); Patrice Pavis, *L'analyse des spectacles: Théâtre, mime, danse, danse-théâtre, cinéma* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2005, originally published 1996 by Nathan), translated by David Williams as *Analyzing Performance: Theater, Dance, and Film* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 2003).

<sup>77</sup> *Féerie*'s otherness from the Western theatre genres based on the centrality of a dramatic text invites an analogy with the twentieth-century phenomenon known, after an influential book by Hans-Thies Lehmann, as postdramatic theatre (Hans-Thies Lehmann, *Postdramatic Theatre*, trans. Karen Jürs-Munby [London: Routledge, 2006], originally published as *Postdramatisches Theater* [Frankfurt am Main: Verlag der Autoren, 1999]). *Féerie*, though, would not fit easily in Lehmann's historical narrative, as the very label "postdramatic" would be undermined by the existence of non-dramatic theatre in the previous century. Moreover, in the light of *féerie* and

*Féerie* undoubtedly shares some traits with the Wagnerian *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Both channeled the power of music and visual spectacle to offer their audiences a powerful sensory experience and the thrill of being transported to a supernatural universe. Both, in other words, resorted to the marvelous. *Parsifal* (1882) even adopted the same technology, the moving panorama, as the 1878 *Coco* (by Clairville, Eugène Grangé, and Alfred Delacour). Moreover, if we follow Theodor Adorno, the key principle of Wagnerian music drama is phantasmagoria, “[t]he occultation of production by means of the outward appearance of the product,”<sup>78</sup> and likewise *féerie*, with its tricks and transformations, conceals human labor and creates an illusion of spontaneity. Phantasmagoria, argues Adorno, makes the Wagnerian music dramas behave as commodities (according to the Marxist theory of commodity fetishism), and *féeries* are, unapologetically, commodities. The point, however, is precisely that Wagner’s works pretend *not* to be commodities. Wagner did everything in his power to make his operas appear not as the product of the theatre industry, but as the creation of individual genius; as Adorno notes, the integration of the arts Wagner pursued was in protest against the division of labor. Mainstream *féerie*, on the contrary, did not disguise its commercial nature, it placed no emphasis on individual genius, and its mode of production emphatically embraced division of labor. The diametrically opposed attitudes toward the market of Wagner’s operas and *féeries* are the fundamental reason why the former exist outside of performance and the latter do not.

Wagner aimed at transcending time and space with his works, a vision enshrined in the slogan “the total artwork of the future” (*das vollendete Kunstwerk der Zukunft*). Meyerbeerian

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of the other genres of theatre with music, the theatre of the avant-gardes, starting with Symbolism in the 1880s, should not be read as a “crisis of drama,” but rather as a recuperation of plurimedial theatre by the literati (in other words: not as a retreat of literary drama, but as its expansion).

<sup>78</sup> Theodor Adorno, *In search of Wagner*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (London: Verso, 2005), 74.

*grand opéra*'s delicate balance between similarly lofty ambitions of autonomy and a pragmatic rooting in contemporary theatrical practice was also framed by a perceptive contemporary, George Sand, as a tension between the "future" and the "present." She wrote in an open letter to Meyerbeer: "You have not yet entirely freed yourself . . . from the ignorance of an unsophisticated audience and from the demands of foolish singers. . . . But are you not now able to shape your listeners, to impose your will on them, to force them to forgo their limitations, and to show them a purity of taste that they ignore, and that no one has been able yet to openly proclaim? . . . above popularity and human glory are the cult of art and the artist's creed. You are the man of the present, dear master; be also the man of the future."<sup>79</sup> *Féerie*, which lays no claim to autonomy, is solely concerned with the mundane reality of theatrical life, and could therefore be dubbed the total artwork of the present.

Yet, as the total artwork of the future, by its very nature, fails in its attempt to escape the market, since it reproduces the mechanism of commodity fetishism, so the total artwork of the present fails in its attempt to emulate the market, precisely because it cannot fully emulate commodity fetishism. *Féerie*'s existence in the present and its lack of an ultimate author inevitably draw attention to the contributions of performers and to the ingenuity of the craftspeople behind its tricks and transformations — in one word, to labor. *Féerie* does not achieve what Adorno calls "intoxication," or at least, this is my hypothesis. The only way to prove it or disprove it is by learning more about audiences, the most obscure category among the participants in the *féerie* industry. Answering the question I asked above — how naive

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<sup>79</sup> "Vous ne vous êtes pas encore tout à fait affranchi . . . de l'ignorance d'un public grossier et des exigences des chanteurs inintelligents. . . . Mais à présent ne pouvez-vous pas former votre auditoire, lui imposer vos volontés, le contraindre à se passer de lisières, et lui révéler une pureté de goût qu'il ignore, et que nul n'a encore pu proclamer franchement? . . . au-dessus de la faveur populaire et de la gloire humaine, il y a le culte de l'art et la foi de l'artiste. Vous êtes l'homme du présent, maître, soyez aussi l'homme de l'avenir." George Sand, *Lettres d'un voyageur*, in *Œuvres autobiographiques*, ed. Georges Lubin (Paris: Gallimard, 1970–71), 2:929. This letter was first published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* on November 15, 1836.

*féerie* audiences were — is key to knowing whether *féerie* only promoted acceptance of the status quo or whether it also allowed some room for subversion.

## Tables and figures for ch. 1

**Table 1.1.** Music for *Les bibelots du diable* (1858), after F-Pnas fonds Variétés 4-COL-106(926,1) and F-Pnas fonds Variétés 4-COL-106(926,2), *violon conducteur* part.

I: instrumental; VT: vocal, based on pre-existing tune (*timbre*, opera excerpt, etc.); VS: vocal, stock music (music composed for a previous production at the Théâtre des Variétés); VO: vocal, original music.  
Shaded items date, or might date, from the 1862 revival.

### Act I

number in ink	number in red pencil	type	description / incipit	remarks
		I	Ouverture	
1		VT	Approchons en silence	
2		VT	C'est un marquis, il faut qu'on se le dise	
3		VT	Quelle réjouissance	
4		VT	Respectez mon âne	
5		VT	Chacun m'repète	
6		VO > VT	Berger de la montagne	after Offenbach, <i>Le Pont des soupirs</i> (operetta, 1861), supersedes "La nuit j'en rêve," music by Boucher
6bis	7	VT	Chaque jour je soupire	after Clapisson, <i>La promise</i> ( <i>opéra comique</i> , 1854); replaced with a setting after Offenbach, <i>Le Pont des soupirs</i> , but first setting reinstated
7	8	VT	Honneur! honneur!	after Meyerbeer, <i>Les Huguenots</i> ( <i>grand opéra</i> , 1836)
8	9	VO	<del>Voyez ce vieux château maudit</del>	music by Nargeot; crossed out (cut in 1862?)
9	10	VT	Allons, partons, je le veux, je l'ordonne	
	11	I	[ascending scale]	
	12	I	[ascending scale]	
10	13	VT > VT	De l'or à moi, de l'or en masse	after Offenbach, <i>La chanson de Fortunio</i> (operetta, 1861), supersedes "Quoi! dans mes mains, de l'or! de l'or! est-il possible," after Adam, <i>Le brasseur de Preston</i> ( <i>opéra comique</i> , 1838)
11	14	VS?	Nous voici, nous accourons	used in <i>Lanterne magique</i> (1856)
11bis	15	I	[melodramatic music: transformation]	
12	16	VS?	Avant cette vente à l'encan	used in <i>Le royaume du calembour</i> (1855)
12bis	17	I	[melodramatic music]	
13	18	VT	Ah! cré coquin	
	19	I	[trill and cymbal clash]	
14	20	VS	Quel est ce nouveau mystère?	used in <i>La bourse au village</i> (1856)
14bis	21	I	[melodramatic music]	

(Table I.I, continued)

number in ink	number in red pencil	type	description / incipit	remarks
15	22	I VT	[descending scale] Qu'est-ce que je vois?	after folk song "À mon beau château"
16	23	I VT > VT	[descending scale] Quoi! c'est à moi ces beaux habits?	after song by Paul Henrion, replaces "C'est mon inconnu," on a <i>timbre</i> attributed to Beethoven
17	24	VT	Ah! que d'amour j'inspire!	after song by Paul Henrion
18	25	I VT	[ascending scale] Ô ciel! quel changement!	after Hérold, <i>La clochette</i> (opéra comique, 1817)
19	26	VT	J'l'avoue, un jour que j'vous portais, Risette	
20	27	VT	Que m'importent la maison	
20bis	28	I I	[melodramatic music] [melodramatic music: transformation and tableau]	

## Act 2

number in ink	number in red pencil	type	description / incipit	remarks
	29	I	Entr'acte	
21	30	VT	Marianne, la femme à Pierre	
	31	I	[ascending scale]	
	32	I	[arpeggio]	
22	33	I VS	[ascending scale] Quel est ce mystère?	used in <i>Les deux brigadiers</i> (1842)
23	34	VT I	Tout's les jeunes fill's, pour le r'tnir [melodramatic music, later repeated during transformation]	after folk song "La boulangère a des écus"
	35	I	[scalar figuration]	
	36	I	[single chord <i>ff</i> ]	
24	37	VT	De la part de gente fillette	
25	38	VT	Sitôt que je veux faire un pas	
26	39	I	[melodramatic music]	
26bis	40	I I VT	[melodramatic music] [descending scale] Ciel! au fonds du puits! malheur nouveau!	after Rossini, <i>Il barbiere di Siviglia</i>
27	41	I VT	[ascending scale] Ciel! monsieur le bailli!	after Auber, <i>Le philtre</i> (petit opéra, 1831)
27bis	42	VO > VT	Prodige étrange	after Offenbach, <i>Un mari à la porte</i> (operetta, 1859), supersedes "Ah! je possède un talisman!," music by Boucher
	43	I	[trills]	
	44	I	[melodramatic music]	

(Table I.I, continued)

number in ink	number in red pencil	type	description / incipit	remarks
27ter	45	VT	Ciel! un instant! — Trêve aux propos!	
28	46	I	[trills]	
		I	[melodramatic music]	
28bis	47	VT	Monsieur, laissez-moi!	after song by Loïsa Puget
29	48	VS	J' trouv' que vos p'tits souliers sont beaux	used in <i>Les moissonneurs de la Beauce, ou Le soldat laboureur</i> (1821)
	49	I	[descending scale]	
	50	I	[descending scale]	
30	51	VT?	Ô ciel! quelle surprise!	
31	52	VS	Jetez-vous sur cet homme!	used in <i>Un monsieur qui ne veut pas s'en aller</i> (1852)
32	53	VT > VS	Laisse-toi conduire	used in <i>Un roi malgré lui</i> (1854), supersedes "Quand l'amour nous rassemble," after Auber, <i>Le cheval de bronze</i> (opéra comique, 1835; grand opéra, 1857)
33	54	VT	Sur un gai côteau	
34	55	VT	Mais tu pourrais avec raison	
		I	[ascending scale]	
		I	[arpeggio]	
35	56	VS	Ah! qu'c'est joli! qu'c'est joli!	used in <i>Les jolis soldats</i> (1826)
36	57	I	[march]	
37	58	VT	Viens, palais magique	after Boieldieu, <i>La dame blanche</i> (opéra comique, 1825)
37bis	59	VS > ?	Gloire, honneur à notre roi	supersedes "Pour fêter notre [reine]," music used in <i>Le roi des drôles</i> (1852) (likely typo in printed play: in order to match the music, text should read "Pour fêter notre reine, / Pour fêter notre roi," etc.)
		I	Ballet [introduction and seven numbers]	supersedes 1858 ballet (introduction and nine numbers), from which violin I and percussion parts survive at F-Pnas Variétés 4-COL-106(1942); excerpts were also published in piano reduction
				in 1858, performance of children violin prodigies Jules and Juliette Depierre (according to review in <i>Le Ménestrel</i> : Mayseder, <i>Air varié</i> , and <i>Le carnaval de Venise</i> [presumably Paganini, op. 10])
		I	[ascending scale]	
		VO?	Singulière aventure!	music matches the words, even though there is an early call for the curtain to drop

(Table I.I, continued)

## Act 3

number in ink	number in red pencil	type	description / incipit	remarks
	61	I	Entr'acte	
		I	[melodramatic music]	
37bis [sic]	62	VT	Ah! puisque dans cette grotte	crossed out, but marked "bon"
37ter	[63]	I	[melodramatic music: pantomime]	
38	64	VT	Puisqu'on rabaisse	
		I	[melodramatic music]	
		I	[ascending scale]	
		I	[descending scale]	
39	65	VT	<del>Quel désespoir!</del>	crossed out with remark "sans chant" (cut in 1862?)
	66	I	[arpeggio]	
40	67	I	[scalar figure]	
		VT	Il a reparu	
40bis	68	I	[melodramatic music]	
41		VT > VT	<del>J'ai perdu bonheur et richesse</del>	after a song by Alexandre Michel, actor at the Variétés, supersedes "Non, non, je n'ai plus d'espoir," after Massé, <i>Les chaises à porteur</i> (opéra comique, 1858); crossed out
42	69	VO	Et bien, tout seul, je tenterai l'épreuve	music by Nargeot
		I	[melodramatic music]	crossed out, but marked "bon"
43	70	VS	Dans un n'harem il faut	used in <i>Les p'tits agneaux</i> (1857)
43bis	71	I	[melodramatic music]	
44	72	VT	Je suis pacha sous cet attirail	after Poise, <i>Bonsoir voisin</i> (opéra comique, 1853)
44bis	73	I	[melodramatic music: pantomime]	
44ter	74	VT	Venez, gentilles bayadères	after Isouard, <i>Aladin</i> (opera, 1822)
		I	[ballet in four numbers]	
45	75	VT?	Enfer! elle me brave!	
46	76	VT	De vous braver un instant	
46bis	77	I	[instrumental ritornello of following song]	replaced to match new no. 46ter
46ter	78	VT > VT	Connaissez-vous dans la Castille	after Offenbach, <i>M. Choufleuri restera chez lui le...</i> (operetta, 1861), supersedes "Il est dans la vieille Castille"
	[7]9	I	[arpeggio]	
		I	[melodramatic music]	
47		VT	<del>Vieux marquis, redoute ma vengeance</del>	after Donizetti, <i>Lucie de Lammermoor</i> (1839); crossed out, text not in printed play (cut before the première?)
48		VT	<del>Qu'est-ce que j'ai donc?</del>	crossed out, text not in printed play (cut before the première?)
48	80	VT	On nous a percé le flanc!	
		I	Changement [i.e., transformation music]	

(Table I.I, continued)

number in ink	number in red pencil	type	description / incipit	remarks
49	81	VT	Gai, gai, marions-nous	after Massé, <i>Les noces de Jeannette</i> (opéra comique, 1853)
50	82	I	[arpeggio]	
50bis	83	VT	Petit, tout est petit	after folk song “Maman les p’tits bateaux”
51	84	I	[instrumental reprise of no. 49]	
52	85	I	[melodramatic music: combat]	
53	86	VO	Honneur! honneur! à notre auguste reine	music by Nargeot



Fig. 1.1. Jean Béraud, *Paris Kiosk*. Oil on canvas, 35.5 × 26.5 cm. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum (not on display).

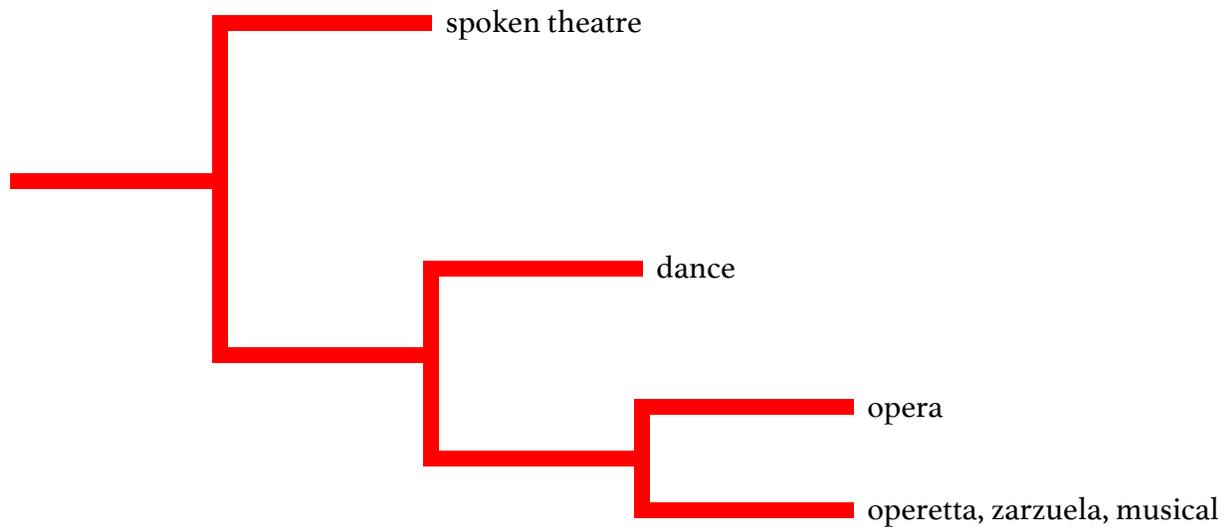


Fig. 1.2. Taxonomy implied by most contemporary discourse about theatre.

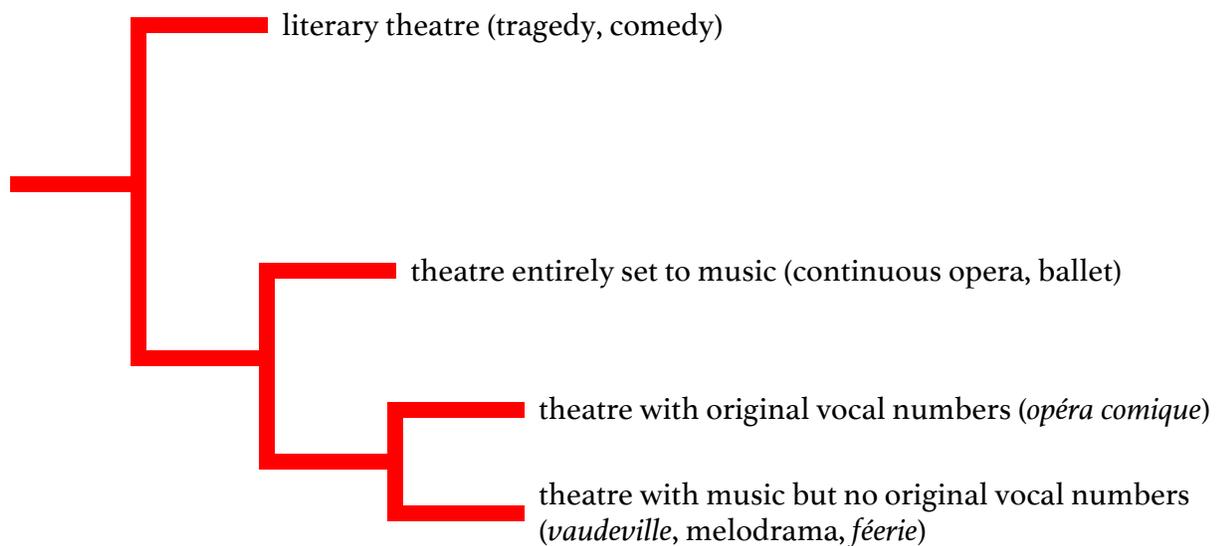


Fig. 1.3. Taxonomy of theatre implied by the Napoleonic licensing system, in force 1807–64.

## 2. Composerly *féerie* and the operettization of *féerie*

### 1868: The death of *féerie* that wasn't

In 1868, the prospects for Parisian *féerie* did not look good. No major new work saw the stage that year — *Les voyages de Gulliver*, by Clairville, Albert Monnier, and Ernest Blum, which premièred the previous December, would turn out to be the last important *féerie* of the Second Empire, and one of just two *féeries* of note of the second half of the 1860s, the other being the same authors' 1866 *Cendrillon*. There was only one large-scale revival, *Ali-Baba ou Les quarante voleurs* (by Théodore and Hippolyte Cogniard, from 1853) at the Prince-impérial and later at the Châtelet. And that one revival only cast new doubts on the financial viability of the extravagant productions that *féerie* demanded under the new “regime of production”:

Hippolyte Hostein, manager of both theatres, had to sell the Prince-impérial in September and the Châtelet in October, and was declared bankrupt on October 13.<sup>1</sup> Hostein's ruin, moreover, followed on the heels of that of Marc Fournier, manager of the Porte-Saint-Martin, who had gone bankrupt in April and who was also famous, as we shall see, for his lavish *féerie* productions. Yet another *féerie* house, the Gaité, was also in troubled waters: a new manager, Victor Koning, had taken over in the spring, but he, too, would be declared bankrupt the next

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<sup>1</sup> Adrien Marx, “La Ville et le Théâtre,” *Le Figaro*, September 13, 1868, 1–2; Jules Prével, “Petit courrier des théâtres,” *Le Figaro*, October 5, 1868, 3; Jules Prével, “Petit courrier des théâtres,” *Le Figaro*, October 16, 1868, 3.

February. An article by theatre critic Albert Wolff in the October 14 issue of *Le Figaro* mentioned in passing that detractors of *féerie* were slaying the slain, as the genre was dead — had long been dead, even.<sup>2</sup>

But a few days later the same newspaper featured a piece by another writer, Paul Arène, who squarely rejected Wolff's claim:

*Féerie* is not dead, as they have said: she is just fleeing her creditors, disguised as operetta, and I saw her entering the Athénée the other night, at the time streetlights get switched on. The poor thing has been bad-mouthed enough, hasn't she? . . .

She, *féerie*, dying in poverty? Nonsense! And why, if you please? Because she might have bankrupted yet another theatre director and ruined some lovers who wanted to see her too lavishly dressed? But how many do the same thing in Paris all the time, and get naught but richer?<sup>3</sup>

That Arène hypostatized *féerie* as a high-maintenance *cocotte* is revealing. Rather than suggesting, by way of its fairytale subjects, associations with innocence and childhood, *féerie* by this time conjured notions of titillation and ostentation, commodification of women's bodies and consumption. Perhaps it also helped that one of the attractions of the recent *Le voyages de Gulliver* had been Hortense Schneider, the operetta diva *par excellence* of the 1860s, who had a reputation for venality and sexual availability.

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<sup>2</sup> Albert Wolff, "Gazette de Paris," *Le Figaro*, October 14, 1868, 1.

<sup>3</sup> "La féerie n'est pas morte, comme on l'a dit; elle fuit tout simplement ses créanciers, déguisée en opérette, et je l'ai vue entrer à l'Athénée, l'autre soir, à l'heure où les gaz s'allument. . . . Mourir de misère! elle, la féerie!! En vérité, vous voulez rire! Et pourquoi, s'il vous plaît? Parce qu'elle aura conduit à la faillite un directeur de plus, et mis sur la paille des amoureux qui voulaient la voir trop somptueusement vêtue? Mais combien, tous les jours, agissent de même à Paris, qui n'en demeurent que plus riches." Paul Arène, "Bagatelles parisiennes," *Le Figaro*, October 19, 1868, 1.

If one looks past the inherent misogyny of this discourse, though, Arène's piece was right, or prescient, on many accounts. Reports of the death of *féerie* were indeed greatly exaggerated. We should keep in mind that in the autumn of 1867 Parisians were treated to as many as three simultaneous large-scale *féerie* productions for months in a row (*Cendrillon* at the Châtelet; *La biche au bois*, about which more later, at the Porte-Saint-Martin; and *Peau d'Âne*, from 1863, at the Gaîté). The *féerie* fatigue of 1868 is therefore understandable, and 1869 would again witness successful *féerie* revivals. Had not the Franco-Prussian War broken out, 1870 could even have boasted a brand new *féerie*: Sardou and Offenbach's *Le roi Carotte*, which cleared the censorship board a mere days before the onset of the conflict.<sup>4</sup> The *féerie* renaissance that followed the war would eventually validate Arène's prediction that the genre had a bright path ahead.

When he mentions the Théâtre de l'Athénée, Arène is alluding to the recent (October 8, 1868) première of Laurent de Rillé's *Le Petit Poucet*, an operetta on a *féerique* subject. The appearance of this work and, apparently, a flair for the trends of the newly deregulated theatre market led Arène to see that the future of *féerie* laid in genre hybridization. As he writes in keeping with his *cocotte* metaphor,

*Féerie* will do what everyone else does, and if by way of funny articles and virtuous prefaces you will succeed in making her ashamed of her name, she will change her name, that's all, and you will run again into her somewhere, charming and popular. You will run again into her, whether she will go by ballet, operetta or *folie*, and you will

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<sup>4</sup> The approval date on the *manuscrit de censure* (F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 931) is July 15, 1870; France declared war on Prussia on July 19.

recognize her, and the opera glasses will recognize her from her colored trimmings, her less than virtuous attitudes, and her legs eager to show off their pink stockings.<sup>5</sup>

Arène's intuition would prove correct. In fact, contamination would go far deeper than operetta's occasional incursions into the fairytale corpus that had traditionally been the preserve of *féerie*. To account for the production that emerged from the generic crucible of the Third Republic, I propose (see **Chapter 1**) to think in terms of the operettization of *féerie* and the féerization of commercial theatre. The present chapter will be concerned with the former, and more in general with the change *féerie* undergoes, while the next will deal with the change that the influence of *féerie* brings about — namely, the féerization of theatre. In the following pages, therefore, I will see how *féerie* in the traditional mold not only survives the Franco-Prussian War but indeed thrives during the Third Republic, and how it adapts, in particular by embracing original music.

To illustrate the developments that led to the alleged death of *féerie* as misdiagnosed by Wolff and to its transfiguration as correctly foreseen by Arène, I will start with the story of one of the most important *féeries* of the century, *La biche au bois*, tracing it through the end of the Second Empire. I will then venture into the mostly uncharted territory of *féerie* in the last third of the nineteenth century, returning to the later incarnations of *La biche au bois* at the end of the chapter.

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<sup>5</sup> “La féerie fera comme les autres, et si à force d’articles amusants et de préfaces vertueuses vous parvenez à la faire rougir de son nom, elle changera de nom, voilà tout, et vous la retrouverez quelque part, charmante et bien accueillie; vous la retrouverez, qu’elle s’appelle ballet, opérette ou folie, et vous la reconnaîtrez, et les lorgnettes la reconnaîtront à ses franfreluches [*sic*] de couleur, à ses allures peu vertueuses et à ses jambes heureuses de montrer des bas roses.”

## A *féerie* from the July Monarchy to the Second Empire: *La biche au bois*

It is not by chance that I refer to the *story* of *La biche au bois*. Even though I will not go as far as to personify a genre as Arène does, I think that for a genre like *féerie*, where the agency of creators and performers is limited and works develop an existence of their own, sometimes across generations, it makes sense to follow the vicissitudes of a non-human entity, namely the work. In a way, I am adopting the model of the it-narrative, as scholars of English literature call the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century genre of novels that have objects (or animals) as protagonists and narrators. There is a consensus that, precisely because their non-human heroes have no volition of their own, but operate at the mercy of the logic of commercial exchange, it-narratives were particularly well suited to make sense of the increasingly capitalist society of their time.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, an it-narrative might provide a gateway into a genre as deeply shaped by economic forces as *féerie*. An it-narrative is also a useful antidote to the great-man pitfall that is always lurking in history writing: celebrity artists like Hervé or Sarah Bernhardt will make appearances in an account of *La biche au bois* in pretty much the same way the illustrious Oliver Goldsmith makes an appearance in *The Adventures of a Hackney Coach* (1781), not as a protagonist, but as a passenger of the titular carriage.

Première in 1845 and revived in 1865, 1867, 1881, and 1896, *La biche au bois*, though discarded by the selective tradition, was hugely influential in its time — as a journalist might put it, it could be the most important nineteenth-century French play you have never heard of. Originally written by the brothers Cogniard, Théodore and Hippolyte, *La biche au bois* is based on Madame d'Aulnoy's fairy tale of the same title (literally, The Doe in the Woods, but

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<sup>6</sup> On the it-narrative, see Leah Price, "From *The History of a Book* to a 'History of the Book,'" *Representations* 108, no. 1 (2009): 120–38; Liz Bellamy, "It-Narrators and Circulation: Defining a Subgenre," in *The Secret Life of Things: Animals, Objects, and It-Narratives in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Mark Blackwell (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2007), 117–46; Christina Lupton, "The Knowing Book: Authors, It-Narratives, and Objectification in the Eighteenth Century," *Novel* 39, no. 3 (2006): 402–20.

also known in English as “The White Doe”). It dramatizes the adventures of Princess Désirée, on whom the evil Fée de la Fontaine (the Fairy of the Spring) has put a spell, and of Prince Souci (Marigold). The cast also includes Désirée’s rival, the African Princess Aïka, betrothed to Souci; her henchman Mesrou; Désirée’s father, King Drelindindin, and his seneschal Pélican; Souci’s mother, Queen Jonquille (Daffodil); a second, lower-status couple of lovers formed by Fanfreluche and Giroflée (Wallflower); and a host of minor characters. This partial *dramatis personae* is telling of what to expect from the play: spectacular excess, one-dimensional characters, a Manichaean division between good guys and bad guys, constructive symmetries, exoticism, family-friendly escapism.

On its appearance at the Porte-Saint-Martin *La biche au bois* earned, with good reason, the praise of Théophile Gautier, the most vocal proponent among the Romantic generation of a non-verbal-centric theatre.<sup>7</sup> Among the selling points of the show was the presence of the infamous “Spanish” dancer Lola Montez, then at the height of her Parisian fame,<sup>8</sup> whose nefarious reputation remained associated with the play even though she ultimately did not take part in the performance.<sup>9</sup> The 1845 *Biche au bois* was nothing short of an international success. It was immediately imitated in London by John Maddison Morton, as *The Princess Who Was Changed into a Deer* (Drury Lane, 1845), and James Robinson Planché later chose the same subject for one of his “fairy extravaganzas,” *The Prince of Happy Land, or The Fawn in the*

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<sup>7</sup> Gautier, who was also one of the creative minds behind the rise of French Romantic ballet (*Giselle*, *La pèri*), famously coined the expression “spectacles oculaires,” ocular entertainment. See Olivier Bara, “Avant-propos,” in “Boulevard du crime: Le temps des spectacles oculaires,” special issue, *Orages* no. 4 (2005), 9–20; Marie-Françoise Christout, “La féerie romantique au théâtre: de *La sylphide* (1832) à *La biche au bois* (1845), chorégraphies, décors, trucs et machines,” *Romantisme* no. 38 (1982), 77–86; Hassan el Nouty, “Spectacle oculaire et théâtre populaire chez Théophile Gautier,” in *Théâtre et pré-cinéma: Essai sur la problématique du spectacle au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Nizet, 1978), 65–76. In English, see Kristian Moen, *Film and Fairy Tales* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 12.

<sup>8</sup> Montez (generally spelled Montès in French) had just appeared at the Porte-Saint-Martin in the ballet *La dansomanie*. Not Spanish at all (she was born in Ireland), she is best remembered as a cosmopolitan intriguer and as a Svengali to Bavarian king Ludwig I.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, the entry for *La biche au bois* in the *Larousse du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*: Pierre Larousse, ed., *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Administration du Grand dictionnaire universel, 1866–77), 2:705–6. Montez had to put her stage career on hiatus after the controversial death in a duel of her lover, newspaper owner Alexandre Dujarrier, on March 11, 1845. *La biche au bois* premiered on the 29th of the same month.

Forest (Lyceum, 1851). Far away in gold-rush San Francisco, *La biche au bois* was chosen as the inaugural production of the French-language Union Theatre, in 1853.<sup>10</sup>

I have used all of the currently available sources to reconstruct the music of *La biche au bois* in its five versions: published excerpts for 1845 and 1865; Hervé's manuscripts for 1865; editions of the play for 1845, 1867, and 1881; *manuscrits de censure* for 1865, 1867, 1881, and 1896; a printed program for 1881; and press announcements and reports.<sup>11</sup> The results are in **Table 2.1**. In *La biche au bois* one finds all the kinds of *féerie* music exemplified by the score of *Les bibelots du diable* (see **Chapter 1**) — besides the overture and entr'actes: vocal numbers; dance and pantomime music; diegetic music,<sup>12</sup> such as fanfares, hunting calls, marches and in general music for the frequent parades of processional scenes, typical of *féerie* as much as they are of *grand opéra*; and melodramatic music, that is, non-diegetic instrumental music.<sup>13</sup> The last category includes *mélodrame* in the narrow sense, where dialogue is spoken over an orchestral background, *scènes mystérieuses* where music confers an ominous aura to words and gestures,<sup>14</sup> as well as combats and music synchronized to *changements à vue*, tricks, and transformations.

According to Roxane Martin, “In the 1840s, a *féerie* normally consisted of roughly fifteen *tableaux*, two or three ballets, roughly twenty open-curtain transformations and roughly thirty strophic vocal numbers [*couplets chantés*].”<sup>15</sup> The 1845 *Biche au bois* is consistent with these

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<sup>10</sup> Daniel Lévy, *Les Français en Californie* (San Francisco: Grégoire, Tauzy et C<sup>ie</sup>, 1885), 116–17.

<sup>11</sup> In addition to the sources listed in **Appendix**, I have used *L'Orchestre*, one of the performance-listing periodicals sold in theatres; the program for the 1881 revival at F-Pnas 4-RF-39697; D.A.D. Saint-Yves [Édouard Déaddé], “Revue des théâtres,” *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*, September 17, 1865, 305–6; “Nouvelles,” *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*, September 24, 1865, 313–14. I have been wary of the fact that press announcements tend to inflate the number of *tableaux*, counting transformations or even tricks as separate *tableaux*.

<sup>12</sup> In an opera, this would fall under the category of “stage music”: see Luca Zoppelli, “‘Stage Music’ in Early Nineteenth-Century Italian Opera,” trans. Arthur Groos and Roger Parker, *Cambridge Opera Journal* 2, no. 1 (1990): 29–39.

<sup>13</sup> See Michael Pisani, *Music for the Melodramatic Theatre in Nineteenth-Century London and New York* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2014), xix–xxii. Unlike Pisani, I consider music “assisting a scenic or lighting effect” (xx) as part of this category.

<sup>14</sup> See Emilio Sala, *L'opera senza canto: Il mèlo romantico e l'invenzione della colonna sonora* (Venice: Marsilio, 1995), 105–6, 135–41.

<sup>15</sup> Roxane Martin, *La féerie romantique sur les scènes parisiennes, 1791–1864* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2007), 234.

numbers, as can be seen in **Table 2.2** (with the proviso that the table includes as vocal numbers both *couplets* and choruses). Also evident from **Table 2.2** is that, while the music of the vocal numbers is largely non-original (as mandated by the law), it tends to be recent. Very few numbers are based on old *timbres*, the “known tunes” (*air connus*) on which both composers at the secondary theatres and *chansonniers* relied.<sup>16</sup> Some vocal numbers are recycled from previous productions (for which they might or might not have been newly composed), consistently with the practice of commercial theatres. In fact, if novelties at opera houses provided a stream of original music, a stream into which one would never step twice, the music sung at a boulevard theatre was akin to a pool whose water was kept fresh by a small but constant influx of newly written or newly parodied tunes. In the case of *Les bibelots du diable*, we can know with certainty that the pool of available music took the form of an in-house score library at the Théâtre des Variétés, since pencil annotations in the *violon conducteur* part reveal from which older set of parts the music of most numbers has been copied. There are no extant orchestral parts for *La biche au bois*, but the 1845 printed play indicates that some vocal numbers have passed into this *féerie* from older works by the Cogniard brothers staged at various theatres.<sup>17</sup> One wonders, therefore, if the brotherly team of playwrights moved among theatres bringing with them a figurative — or literal — suitcase of tunes they had previously used.

At any rate, the vocal music of *La biche au bois*, far from being a perfunctory compilation of trite materials, is clearly meant to sound as exciting and fashionable as possible within the boundaries imposed by the licensing system. Scholars of French theatre are inclined to think

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<sup>16</sup> The main reference book for this repertoire (made up of songs or final *vaudevilles* from old *opéras comiques* and *vaudevilles*, as well as folk songs) was *La clé du caveau*, as helpful to the modern scholar as it was to the nineteenth-century composer. The fourth and final edition of this compilation, comprising 2350 tunes, is Pierre Capelle, ed., *La clé du caveau* (Paris: Cotelle, 1848).

<sup>17</sup> Namely, the *vaudeville* *Le fils de Triboulet* (Palais-Royal, 1835), the *féeries* *La fille de l'air* (Folies-Dramatiques, 1837) and *Les trois quenouilles* (Palais-Royal, 1839), the melodrama *Lénore* (Porte-Saint-Martin, 1843), the ballet *L'ombre* (Porte-Saint-Martin, 1843), and the *vaudeville* *Iwan le moujick* (Gymnase, 1844).

that *vaudeville*, the main nineteenth-century genre with non-original vocal music, was limited (and perhaps lazy) in its musical selections, and, even though there is little or no research to support this impression, there might be some truth to it: for example, the music for *Jeanne et Jeanneton* by Eugène Scribe and Antoine-François Varner, from the same year as *La biche au bois*, consists mostly of decades-old tunes.<sup>18</sup> But the same cannot be said of *féerie* — at least, not of mid-century *féerie*. *La biche au bois* contains parodies of popular successes in all sorts of genres: opera, *opéra comique*, ballet, parlor song, piano piece, dance music. It is evident that *féerie*, rather than building on a consistent (though not immutable) repertoire of “known tunes,” as *vaudeville* does, strives to reflect the current taste by riding the musical zeitgeist. The reasons might be both social and cultural. While *vaudeville*, with *timbres*, tended to reward the insider knowledge of assiduous theatregoers, *féerie* wanted its music to be relevant beyond a self-referential corpus in order to appeal to audiences that patronized theatres more infrequently: children (who might still have known popular tunes from parlor music-making) and lower-middle- or working-class spectators for whom a *féerie* outing could represent an occasion to catch up with recent musical trends. In the latter case, *féerie* could have worked (at least musically) as a popular digest, in a manner similar to the end-of-the year revue, which was taking shape around the same time.<sup>19</sup> As for the cultural reason, *féerie*, as a genre for an industrial age, valued novelty in both music and stagecraft, much as *grand opéra* did.

Novelty, though, is not the same thing as originality, and tensions between the two arise both in *grand opéra* and in *féerie*. It is a little-remarked fact that *grand opéra* was conspicuously attuned to the latest cultural trends — for example, *Robert le Diable* is patently influenced by Goethe’s *Faust*, Carl Maria von Weber’s *Der Freischütz*, and Matthew Gregory Lewis’s *The*

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<sup>18</sup> Eugène Scribe and Antoine-François Varner, *Jeanne et Jeanneton*, in Eugène Scribe, *Œuvres complètes* (Paris: Dentu, 1874–85), series 2, 30:275–353.

<sup>19</sup> See Olivier Bara, Romain Piana, and Jean-Claude Yon, eds., “En revenant à la revue: La revue de fin d’année au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle,” special issue, *Revue d’histoire du théâtre* 67 no. 2 (2015).

*Monk* — yet its librettos were almost never overt adaptations from literary works. Adaptations were common, by contrast, in the less prestigious *opéra comique*.<sup>20</sup> *Grand opéra*, one can surmise, prided itself on offering not just novel subjects, but original ones at that: not just fashionable works, but works of genius as well. On the contrary, *féerie*, as far as vocal numbers were concerned, was forced to pursue novelty mostly by adapting pre-existent materials. Revivals posed another problem. *Grands opéras* that stayed in the repertoire would lose their novelty while retaining their originality: they would continue to be seen as trailblazing works of genius. In *féerie* revivals, instead, original music was often sacrificed to the need for novelty. In *Les bibelots du diable*, some original numbers of the 1858 version were discarded in 1862 to make room for Lise Tautin's *arie di baule*, and, as we will see, in the history of *La biche au bois*, too, new non-original music would be preferred to old original music.

We should keep in mind, at any rate, that vocal numbers are just one aspect of *féerie* music. The spectacular *tableaux* that constituted the main attractions (the *clous*) of *féeries* relied on music for coherence. In the case of *La biche au bois*, evidence suggests that the impressive final *tableau* of act 2, “La roche terrible,” had what in film parlance one would call wall-to-wall music. The scene was so memorable that Théophile Gautier gave a detailed account of it in his review:

The set depicting the enchanted castle can compete with the finest; the three-dimensional rocks (*roches praticables*) rise all the way up to the border; a stream of real water shines and spatters on sheets of silver; the pine trees stretch out their ghostly arms over the ravine; the eagle-owl rolls its fiery eyes and whisks the air with its loose-jointed

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<sup>20</sup> I made this point in Tommaso Sabbatini, “Jerusalem, Machaerus, Carthage: Massenet’s *Hérodiade* and Flaubert’s *Orient*,” in *Massenet and the Mediterranean World*, ed. Simone Cioffi (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2015), 85–100.

wings; the skeletons of knights that have been transformed into stone reveal their blazing outlines behind their granite shells; blackish, hairy forms slide down the slopes; flabby monsters, crawling on deformed stumps, slip into the way of the prince and his squire, and try to have him desist from his venture, but the prince uproots a pine tree and crosses the stream on that makeshift bridge. The spell is broken.<sup>21</sup>

In a very short amount of time, “La roche terrible” manages to produce a feat of scenery (the stream of real water), a trick (the animation of the owl), a transformation (of the rocks into skeletons), and a combat, all held together by music, which has a far greater cohesive power than the sparse dialogue. The *tableau* bears some resemblance with the “ride to the abyss” episode (“La course à l’abîme”) of Hector Berlioz’s *La damnation de Faust* (1846), which sounds largely like melodramatic music, even though the action is purely imaginary, as *La damnation* is not a stage work. Like “the prince and his squire” in *La biche au bois*, Faust and Mephistopheles encounter frightening supernatural creatures: a “hideous monster,” mimicked by low brass and woodwinds, “large nocturnal birds,” mimicked by piccolos, flute, and clarinets, and dancing skeletons. These creatures are not found in the diabolical horse ride near the end of Part I of Goethe’s *Faust* that ostensibly inspired the “ride to the abyss,” but are Berlioz’s own addition, and Berlioz could indeed have seen *La biche au bois*, or read Gautier’s review, in the spring of 1845, before leaving Paris in the summer for a Central European tour during which he would work on *La damnation*.

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<sup>21</sup> “La décoration représentant le château enchanté peut lutter avec les plus belles; les roches praticables s’élèvent jusqu’aux frises; un torrent d’eau naturelle reluit et grésille sur des lames d’argent; les sapins étendent leurs bras de spectre sur l’abîme; le grand-duc roule ses yeux flamboyants et fouette l’air de ses ailes énervées; les squelettes des chevaliers métamorphosés en pierre s’ébauchent en traits de feu sous leur enveloppe de granit; des formes noirâtres et velues se laissent couler le long des rampes; des monstres flasques, rampant sur des moignons estropiés, se glissent dans les jambes du prince et de son écuyer, et tâchent de le faire renoncer à son entreprise, mais le prince déracine un sapin et traverse le torrent sur ce pont improvisé. Le charme est rompu.” Théophile Gautier, *Critique théâtrale*, ed. Patrick Berthier (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2007–), 5:401.

The 1845 *Biche au bois* was an extremely expensive production for a non-state-subsidized theatre, which was not lost on critics: both Gautier and an editor at *Le Ménestrel*<sup>22</sup> mention a budget of 100,000 francs, which is probably not an accurate estimate but clearly is a plausible estimation of an order of magnitude (a Fermi estimation, we would say today). It is hard to compare purchasing power at such a long temporal distance, but it might be fair to say that the equivalent order of magnitude might be a million euros or dollars.<sup>23</sup>

Although 100,000 francs was an impressive sum for a private theatre in the first half of the century, by the time of the 1865 revival the paradigm had shifted toward the “new regime of production” described by Christophe Charle (see **Chapter 1**). It seems likely that, if we had accurate figures, those for 1865 would dwarf the ones for 1845. Playwright Marc Fournier, who had become sole manager of the Porte-Saint-Martin in 1851, earned a reputation for inordinately expensive productions, which only long runs of performances could make financially viable. According to Henry Buguet, writing in 1877, the 1853 *féerie Les sept merveilles du monde* “was the first specimen of those over-the-top productions that have been followed by many an imitation, but that make [Fournier] the leader of that school of scenic lavishness.”<sup>24</sup> Consistently with the logic of the new regime of production, the *féeries* that Fournier chose to stage after *Les sept merveilles du monde* were revivals, thus making the investment they required less risky. In 1860 Fournier presented a new version of *Le pied de*

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<sup>22</sup> Gautier, *Critique théâtrale*, 5:402; “Bulletin dramatique,” *Le Ménestrel*, April 6, 1845, [2].

<sup>23</sup> According to the *Annuaire statistique de la Ville de Paris*, a kilo of bread cost around 30 cents in 1845 (in Paris); it presently costs around three and a half euros (across France), according to the INSEE. Similarly, the average weekly wage of a French manual worker is in the hundreds of euros nowadays and was in the tens of francs in the mid-nineteenth century, so assuming a difference of an order of magnitude between mid-nineteenth-century francs and today’s euros or dollars seems appropriate. *Annuaire statistique de la ville de Paris* 1893 (Paris: Masson, 1895), 304; Émile Chevallier, *Les salaires au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Rousseau, 1887), 41–48; “Prix moyens mensuels de vente au détail en métropole: Pain baguette (1 kg),” INSEE, accessed January 4, 2020, <https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/serie/000442423>; “Salaires dans les entreprises,” INSEE, accessed January 4, 2020, <https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/3676648>.

<sup>24</sup> “*Les 7 Merveilles du Monde* furent le premier spécimen de ces mises en scène à outrance qui ont été suivies de tant d’imitations mais qui laissent M. Marc Fournier le chef de cette école du faste scénique.” [Henry Buguet], *Porte-Saint-Martin*, no. 10 in the series *Foyers et coulisses: Histoire anecdotique des théâtres de Paris* (Paris: Tresse, 1877), 22.

*mouton*, the foundational Romantic *féerie* from 1806, already heavily reworked in 1850. It was followed in 1863 by *Les pilules du diable*, from 1839, and eventually by the twenty-year-old *La biche au bois*. Fournier's *Biche au bois* aspired to be, and was hailed as, the very "state of the art" (*le dernier mot*) in *féerie* staging. The expression was used both by Henri Moreno (pseudonym of the music publisher Henri Heugel) on *Le Ménestrel* and by Benoît Jouvin on *Le Figaro*.<sup>25</sup> Jouvin goes so far as to write that the Opéra should take lessons from the Porte-Saint-Martin's use of electric lighting (famously employed in Meyerbeer's *Le prophète* in 1849, but still rare on Parisian stages until the 1880s) in ballets, and that the celebrated parade of Halévy's *La Juive*, which had been *le dernier mot* in its day (1835), "now looks like the basics, compared to the original parade of the Kingdom of Bells."<sup>26</sup> Édouard Fournier, on *La Patrie*, is of the opinion that Meyerbeer's *L'Africaine*, then forthcoming at the Opéra, would have a hard time matching the exotic *divertissement* of *La biche au bois*.<sup>27</sup> The set for the final *apothéose*, according to the *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*, had been contracted out to a "Calcott" from London, in all likelihood the designer Albert Callcott, active in the London popular theatres, which were reputed to be at the forefront of stage illusion.<sup>28</sup>

In 1865, moreover, the *liberté de théâtres* had lifted restrictions on original vocal numbers in plays, and the lucrative potential opened up by the new legislation was demonstrated by Offenbach's hit *La belle Hélène*, première at the Théâtre des Variétés in December 1864. Fournier, then, decided to spend his money not just on the visual spectacle of the revamped *Biche au bois*, but also on the music, and hired Hervé, who had been Offenbach's main competitor in the 1850s and was by then on his way to a successful comeback after a period of

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<sup>25</sup> Henri Moreno, "Semaine théâtrale," *Le Ménestrel*, March 26, 1865, 131; Benoît Jouvin, "Théâtres," *Figaro*, March 30, 1865, 1-2.

<sup>26</sup> "[C]e dernier mot n'est plus qu'un A, B, C, comparé au défilé original du *Royaume des Sonnettes*." Jouvin, "Théâtres," 2.

<sup>27</sup> Édouard Fournier, "Théâtres," *La Patrie*, March 27, 1865, 1.

<sup>28</sup> D.A.D. Saint-Yves [Édouard Déaddé], "Revue des théâtres," *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*, March 26, 1865, 100-101.

disgrace.<sup>29</sup> In addition to providing new music for the play, Hervé also starred as Prince Souci: while the score of the 1865 *Biche au bois* was by no means the coherent work of a single artist, no composer had ever enjoyed such visibility on a *féerie* stage.

The revival of *La biche au bois* is also notable for marking the Parisian debut of Henri Justamant, now remembered as one of the most important choreographers of the second half of the nineteenth century, and possibly the best documented. The dancing cast included Zina Mérante, formerly of the Opéra, and the Porte-Saint-Martin's own Mariquita, who was destined to a bright career as a performer and choreographer.<sup>30</sup>

The new production of *La biche au bois* proved popular beyond all expectations: premièred on March 23, it ran without interruption for fourteenth months. During this mammoth run, the Porte-Saint-Martin, far from resting on its laurels, spared no energy in keeping the play attractive to audiences. According to a report in *Le Ménestrel*, for the hundredth performance in early July “the ballets were enhanced, and several sets and a large part of the costumes were replaced”<sup>31</sup> — a claim that may have been exaggerated but must have had some basis in reality. In September, soprano Delphine Ugalde (who throughout her career shuttled between the Opéra-Comique and the commercial theatres) took over the part of Prince Souci. Similarly to what we have witnessed with *Les bibelots du diable* and Lise Tautin, new musical numbers were interpolated to highlight Ugalde's strengths, drawing in part on her repertoire. On the same occasion, two new ballets were introduced; and yet another was added in late December. Sarah Bernhardt relates in her memoirs that as a young actress, after her disappointing experiences at the Comédie-Française and the Gymnase and

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<sup>29</sup> Hervé's career had lagged behind that of his rival, surely in part because of a conviction for pedophilia: see Jean-Claude Yon, *Jacques Offenbach* (Paris: Gallimard, 2000), 184–85. It would completely recover in the late 1860s with a string of full-length operettas, including *L'œil crevé*, *Chilpéric*, and *Le petit Faust*.

<sup>30</sup> See Sarah Gutsche-Miller, *Parisian Music-Hall Ballet, 1871–1913* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2015), 69–73.

<sup>31</sup> “[L]es ballets ont été renforcés, plusieurs décors et une bonne partie des costumes renouvelés.” Gustave Bertrand, “Semaine théâtrale,” *Le Ménestrel*, July 9, 1865, 251.

before her engagement at the Odéon, she was called up as a last-minute replacement and played Princess Désirée alongside Ugalde for a few nights.<sup>32</sup> Hence, when Bernhardt, in 1907, participated in a nostalgic evocation of the old *féerie*, staging and starring in Jean Richepin's *La Belle au bois dormant*, she was in a way revisiting memories of her early career.<sup>33</sup>

In 1867, Paris hosted its second World's Fair, and its theatres deployed their strongest assets to attract the visitors who flocked to the city. The Opéra presented Verdi's new *Don Carlos* and Meyerbeer's recent *L'Africaine*, the Théâtre-Lyrique capitalized on Gounod's *Roméo et Juliette*, the Palais-Royal on Offenbach's *La vie parisienne* from the previous year, the Variétés on Offenbach's *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein*, the Châtelet on its *féerie* of 1866, *Cendrillon*. As for the Porte-Saint-Martin, it had again recourse to *La biche au bois*. The new production, which ran from June to November, spared no effort to outdo the already splendid 1865 one, and featured guest dancers from La Scala and even live lions. The extensive rewriting of the play accentuates the characteristics of *féerie* dramaturgy — anti-economic, paratactic, attractional, formulaic, intertextual — also by means of ironic distancing. Roxane Martin, who has compared the 1867 and 1845 versions of *La biche au bois* (as well as the 1860 rewriting of *Le pied de mouton* and the 1806 original), writes that with Second Empire *féerie*, “Authors undertake, on the one hand, a scaling up [*surenchère*] of the spectacle (recovering and upgrading *clous*), on the other hand develop a parodic writing, playing on the mechanization and the recontextualization of old *clous*.”<sup>34</sup> *Féerie*, in other words, becomes not just more self-conscious, but completely unapologetic. No wonder, then, that its custom of

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<sup>32</sup> Sarah Bernhardt, *Ma double vie: Mémoires de Sarah Bernhardt* (Paris: Charpentier et Fasquelle, 1907), 157–59. Bernhardt misremembers the actress she was substituting for, but her account is otherwise credible, and corroborated by her nineteenth-century biographer Clément Clément: Clément Clément, *Sarah Bernhardt* (Paris: Derveaux, 1879), II.

<sup>33</sup> Also, as Erin Brooks remarks, the choreographer of *La Belle au bois dormant* was Mariquita, whom Bernhardt had met at the time of her appearance in *La biche au bois*. Erin M[ichelle] Brooks, “Sharing the Stage with the *voix d’or*: Sarah Bernhardt and Music in the Belle Époque” (PhD diss., Washington University in St. Louis, 2010), 477.

<sup>34</sup> Martin, *La féerie romantique*, 411–12.

incorporating extraneous acts (*Les bibelots du diable*, back in 1858, already featured a performance of child violin prodigies) can now extend to a circus number with lions.

A surprising casualty of the 1867 overhaul of *La biche au bois* was Hervé's music from 1865, most of which was sacrificed. In the tension between originality and novelty already observed above, the latter clearly had the upper hand. In retrospect, this suggests that two years earlier, Hervé's original music had been prized for its novelty, not for its originality. It also serves as a warning that there is no teleological path from non-composerly to composerly *féerie*, nor is there grounds for claiming composerly *féerie* as in any way superior or more perfected. In fact, if narratives of progress are always problematic, it would be particularly absurd to craft one for a genre that pursued novelty as its main goal and embraced contradictory fads in the process. For example, in May 1868 *Le Figaro* was writing that the old, neglected *timbres* were due to be back in fashion and that the upcoming *féerie* *Le diable à quatre* would be entirely based on *timbres*.<sup>35</sup> But *Le diable à quatre* did not see the stage until after the war, in 1872 (as *Les griffes du diable*, by Clairville and Charles Gabet), and by that time, probably in response to Offenbach's composerly *Roi Carotte*, it had been larded with original vocal numbers by Hervé and other composers, as well as parodies from recent hits.

Not only had *La biche au bois* a life of its own, independent of the Cogniard brothers or of Hervé, but that life became particularly cosmopolitan after 1865. In addition to the people that made the journey to Paris from the four corners of the earth to see it during the 1867 World's Fair, *La biche* itself traveled the globe. An English adaptation by Francis Cowley Burnand, *The White Fawn*, was performed in Liverpool in 1867 and (in a different version) at London's Holborn Theatre in 1868.<sup>36</sup> *The Black Crook*, the extravagant and wildly successful show

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<sup>35</sup> Jules Prével, "Théâtres," *Le Figaro*, May 5, 1868, 3.

<sup>36</sup> F.C. Burnand, *The White Fawn, or The Loves of Prince Buttercup and the Princess Daisy* (London: Thomas Hailey Lacy, [1868?]).

produced at Niblo's Garden in New York in 1866 that is widely regarded as a precursor of the American musical, is often said to be inspired from *La biche au bois*.<sup>37</sup> Though there is precious little relation between the two plays, it is likely that the impresarios Henry Jarrett and Harry Palmer, who assembled the ballet troupe for *The Black Crook*, had seen the 1865 *Biche* and considered it the gold standard for spectacular theatre. The *New-York Tribune* reported ahead of the première that "The dresses for the ballet are to be similar to those used in the celebrated Paris ballet [sic] of 'Le Bisch aux Bois' [sic]. They have been purchased in the French capital."<sup>38</sup> A true adaptation of *La biche au bois* (as *The White Fawn*) was indeed staged, with the involvement of Jarrett and Palmer, in 1868 at Niblo's Garden and in Boston.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, in November 1868, *Le Figaro* reported that the sets of *La biche au bois* had been bought by the London Alhambra, at that point still a music hall but soon to become a theatre.<sup>40</sup> It is tempting to suppose that the sets of the Porte-Saint-Martin were used for a play that was produced at the Alhambra in 1872 and that is very obviously calqued on *La biche au bois*. Confusingly, that play (by Joseph and Harry Paulton) is also titled *The Black Crook*.<sup>41</sup> The notion that *La biche au bois* was the model for the American *Black Crook* might therefore have arisen from the convergence of three factors: the distinct possibility that Jarrett and Palmer held up (and mentioned) *La biche au bois* as an inspiration, Jarrett and Palmer's later involvement in an American adaptation of *La biche au bois*, and the presence of an English

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<sup>37</sup> See, for example, Gerald Bordman, *American Musical Theatre: A Chronicle*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 19.

<sup>38</sup> "The Drama," *New-York Tribune*, September 17, 1866, 10. A promotional print for *The Black Crook* does indeed feature costume designs that are clearly based on those by Marcelin for the 1865 *Biche au bois* (see **Appendix**). The print in question is reproduced in George Freedley, "The Black Crook and the White Fawn," in *Chronicles of the American Dance: From the Shakers to Martha Graham*, ed. Paul Magriel (New York: Da Capo Press, 1978, but first published 1948), 64–79, at p. 78.

<sup>39</sup> A brochure for the Boston production gives James Mortimer as the adapter: "Synopsis of the Scenery, Incidents, Songs, Dances, Marches, Etc. of the Fairy Extravaganza of *The White Fawn*" (Boston: Sam'l Chism, 1868).

<sup>40</sup> Jules Prével, "Petit courrier des théâtres," *Le Figaro*, November 24, 1868, 3.

<sup>41</sup> J. & H. Paulton, *The Black Crook* (London: J.W. Elliot, [1872]). See Ivor Guest, *Ballet in Leicester Square: The Alhambra and the Empire, 1860–1915* (London: Dance Books, 1992), 32n19.

*Black Crook* that, unlike its American namesake, does have *La biche au bois* as a model. At any rate, if the often-repeated factoid about the French origins of the American *Black Crook* might be the result of a misunderstanding, it is undisputable that the echo of *La biche au bois* reached both the United States and Britain, and that it left a mark on the local theatre scenes.

### Gentrification of a genre? The advent of composerly *féerie*

This brings us full circle to the time of Arène's opinion piece. As I have mentioned, the year 1869 would confirm his diagnosis that *féerie* was alive and well. On August 14, a lavish revival of *La chatte blanche* (from 1852) opened at the Gaîté, followed on the 31st of the same month by a new production of *La poudre de Perlinpinpin* (from 1853) at the Châtelet. If one of the assets of the 1867 *Les voyages de Gulliver* had been the star power of Hortense Schneider, the new *Chatte blanche* deployed the most iconic *café-concert* singer of the Second Empire, Thérésa, whose popularity in the mid-1860s had been nothing short of a craze. Starting with *La chatte blanche*, Thérésa embarked on a second career where she would lend her charisma (and her music) to select *féerie* productions. *La chatte blanche* played at the Gaîté until early March 1870, then again from mid-April until theatres were closed in September, shortly before the siege of Paris. As the theatres got back to their regular business after the Commune and its bloody repression, the Gaîté picked up from where it had left off, with another two months' worth of performances of *La chatte blanche*, mid-June to mid-July and mid-August to mid-September 1871. In other words, a production that had opened a year before the fall of Napoleon III ended its run under the presidency of Adolphe Thiers. In the face of such a feat, one is tempted to attribute to *féerie* an instinct for self-preservation, as Arène did with his

metaphor of the heartless *cocotte*: apparently *féerie* was indifferent not just to the financial ruin of theatre directors but also to regime change, famine, and urban guerrilla warfare.

Yet, if *féerie* did not die in the 1860s, that decade did experience a shift, of which the new regime of production is part and parcel, and which prepared the ground for the operettization of *féerie*. And that shift can be understood in terms of geography.

The best possible mental map for nineteenth-century Parisian theatre is a map of Paris (fig. 2.1). At the beginning of the 1860s, the disposition of theatres within the Right Bank largely aligned with generic and social taxonomies. A western cluster stretched within a few blocks of rue de Richelieu, the north-south axis that connects the Louvre to the Grands boulevards. It included four state-sponsored theatres for literary drama, opera, ballet, and *opéra comique*: from south to north, the Comédie-Française, the Théâtre-Italien, the Opéra-Comique, and the Opéra. But the four major *vaudeville* houses were also part of this cluster: the Vaudeville, the Variétés (both active since the *ancien régime*), the Gymnase (since 1820) and the Palais-Royal (since 1831). So was, since 1855, Offenbach's operetta theatre, the Bouffes-Parisiens. As it happens, the Palais-Royal was (and still is) just a few yards from the Comédie-Française, and the Bouffes-Parisiens a few feet from the Théâtre-Italien. The Vaudeville was until 1868 across the street from the stock exchange building. The Opéra, the Bouffes-Parisiens, and the Variétés were next to *passages couverts* — the glamorous early nineteenth-century shopping arcades that Walter Benjamin identified as one of the symbols of the “capital of the nineteenth century” and that are particularly dense in this neighborhood.<sup>42</sup> The area also saw a disproportionate concentration of fashionable restaurants and cafés (Véfour, Les Frères Provençaux, Maison Dorée, Café de Foy, Café Riche, Tortoni, and so on), as well as gentlemen's clubs, most famously the Jockey Club. This should correct any assumption that

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<sup>42</sup> Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, MA; Harvard University Press, 1999).

*vaudeville* and operetta were “popular” genres on account of being light-hearted. On the contrary, their social prestige was enormous. On top of their location, the comparatively small size of the four *vaudeville* theatres and the Bouffes-Parisiens — between 800 and 1,300 seats — made them inherently exclusive. And social prestige might depend on cultural prestige, but it might also simply depend on scarcity: even among young people of the 1960s, as Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron observed, familiarity with French classical drama, which could be acquired in school, was not a marker of class, while familiarity with boulevard drama in the *vaudeville* tradition was, despite the lower cultural prestige of the repertoire, since it was less easily accessible.<sup>43</sup> The western cluster of theatres has largely survived to this day: the Opéra and the Vaudeville were relocated during the Second Empire but remained in the general vicinity, and the Opéra-Comique and the Comédie-Française have since been rebuilt on their respective sites. With the exceptions of the Théâtre-Italien and the Vaudeville all of these venues are also still active today.

The eastern cluster was located on the northeastern corner of the medieval city center, along boulevard Saint-Martin and boulevard du Temple — the infamous *boulevard du crime*, after the sensational plays that drew crowds in the area. It comprised the five major melodrama houses of Paris: the Porte-Saint-Martin, the Ambigu, the Cirque, the Folies-Dramatiques, and the Gaité, all within a few minutes’ walk from each other. Also part of this cluster was the Théâtre-Lyrique, which occupied the premises of Alexandre Dumas’s short-lived melodrama theatre, the Théâtre-Historique. Close to the working-class neighborhoods of eastern Paris, these were the real popular theatres. They tended to be larger than the western commercial theatres: the Porte-Saint-Martin, the Gaité, the Ambigu, and the Cirque

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<sup>43</sup> Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Les héritiers: Les étudiants et la culture* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1964), translated by Richard Nice as *The Inheritors: French Students and their Relation to Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 34–36 in the French edition, 19–20 in the English translation.

had a capacity between 1,800 and 2,000 seats. They tended to be cheaper, too. In 1860, the Gaîté and the Ambigu had seats for 50 *centimes*, the Porte-Saint-Martin for 40 *centimes*, the Folies-Dramatiques for as little as 30 *centimes*. The difference in social prestige with the western theatres was obvious to contemporaries. Depictions (usually patronizing) of lower-class melodrama audiences are commonplace in the first half of the century, from artworks such as those by Honoré Daumier and Louis-Léopold Boilly to descriptions such as this one, which playwright Hippolyte Auger penned in 1840:

This crowd . . . is not made up of people who have been disabused by egoism and an excess of pleasures, since what they ask from the melodrama [*drame*] is a respite from their misery, what they seek in the spectacle of imaginary evils is a distraction from their troubles: they take pity on someone else's sorrow as though to escape their own.<sup>44</sup>

Reviewing a *féerie* at the Porte-Saint-Martin in 1838, Théophile Gautier ended on this note: “*Peau d’Âne*, which cost a lot of money, will, as usual, make a lot of money. We believe that the Porte-Saint-Martin should persevere with this course of action, and strive to become the Opéra of the petty bourgeoisie [*petite propriété*].”<sup>45</sup> Even though the last sentence might sound disparaging, it was probably not intended as such. Gautier, as we have seen, was highly sympathetic to *féerie*, and the comparison is flattering to the artistic merits of the Porte-Saint-Martin show, since *grand opéra* productions at the Opéra were, in the 1830s, the benchmark for

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<sup>44</sup> “Cette foule . . . n’est pas formée d’êtres désillusionnés par l’égoïsme et par l’abus de jouissances, car c’est une trêve à ses misères qu’elle demande au drame, c’est l’oubli de ses chagrins qu’elle vient chercher au spectacle de maux imaginaires: elle s’apitoie sur la douleur d’autrui comme pour tromper la sienne.” Hippolyte Auger, *Physiologie du théâtre* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1839–40), 3:278–79.

<sup>45</sup> “*Peau d’Âne*, qui a coûté beaucoup d’argent, fera beaucoup d’argent, selon la coutume. — Nous croyons que la Porte-Saint-Martin ferait bien de persister dans cette voie, et de s’efforcer de devenir l’Opéra de la petite propriété.” Gautier, *Critique théâtrale*, 1:585. Gautier had already used the expression a couple of months earlier, in a review where he approved the fact that the Porte-Saint-Martin had produced a ballet, all while disapproving the ballet in question (*Capsali, ou La délivrance de la Grèce*): Gautier, *Critique théâtrale*, 1:512–13.

Romantic plurimedial theatre. Gautier was then wishing for the Porte-Saint-Martin to match the artistic standards of the Opéra while playing the same role as a place of sociability for the Parisian middle class that the Opéra played for the elites of Orleanist France. Part of Gautier's wish came true: as we have seen with *La biche au bois* in 1865, *féerie* productions did become so sophisticated as to be compared favorably to Opéra productions. As for the “petty bourgeoisie” part, things did not quite play out as Gautier envisaged, as we shall see.

Unlike the western cluster, the eastern cluster of theatres is not easily recognized today, and the main culprit is Haussmannization, the extensive campaign of urban renovation carried out by the prefect of the Seine Georges-Eugène Haussmann under Napoleon III. In the summer of 1862, the creation of the new place du Château-d'Eau (the present-day place de la République) entailed the demolition of the Théâtre-Lyrique, the Cirque, the Folies-Dramatiques, and the Gaîté, in addition to smaller venues. While the Folies-Dramatiques only moved a few steps away, the other theatres were relocated, no longer to occupy the margins of the medieval city, but to be aligned along an axis that cut straight through it — the 30-metre-wide boulevard de Sébastopol, the main north-south thoroughfare of Haussmann's Paris. The new Gaîté sits on a neat garden square on the eastern side of boulevard de Sébastopol, while the Théâtre-Lyrique (present-day Théâtre de la Ville) and the Théâtre du Châtelet, successor to the Cirque, face each other on place du Châtelet where the boulevard meets the Seine. By contrast, the massive popular theatre that sprang up in 1866 near place du Château-d'Eau where the *boulevard du crime* had stood, the Prince-Impérial (later Théâtre du Château-d'Eau and Théâtre de la République), was never financially successful. Whether cause or consequence, the central location of the Châtelet along the Seine and the proximity of the Châtelet, the Gaîté, and the Porte-Saint-Martin to a major urban axis, the boulevard de Sébastopol, were consistent with the logic of the new regime of production, according to

which theatres were not to serve a local community but to attract audiences from far and wide. Haussmann himself writes in his memoirs that he wanted the Châtelet and the Théâtre-Lyrique to be “easily accessed from every everywhere and within reach of the Left Bank *arrondissements*.”<sup>46</sup> One could add that boulevard de Sébastopol opens up the theatres to the world beyond Paris, practically and symbolically, since its focal point is the Gare de l’Est. The Porte-Saint-Martin has been rebuilt after being destroyed during the Commune, the Ambigu, the Prince-Impérial, and the Folies-Dramatiques were razed in the twentieth century, and the Théâtre-Lyrique and the Gaîté, while retaining their façades, have lost their original auditoria, but the Châtelet is still intact in its Second Empire splendor, and among the art forms honored in the frieze that runs around its ceiling one can still read “féerie.” As it happens, the Châtelet opened its doors with a *féerie*: *Rothomago*, which was playing at the Cirque when it shut down, was transferred to the new house.<sup>47</sup> Its Gargantuan size and central location made it possible for the genre to survive longer there than in any other venue, to the point that to twentieth-century writers such as Simone de Beauvoir or Louis Aragon “féerie” and “Châtelet” were almost synonymous.<sup>48</sup> It is impossible to overstate the enduring effect that Haussmann’s choices had on the performing-arts geography of Paris. To find a public official that had a comparable impact one should probably fast forward to the 1980s and the presidency of François Mitterrand, who brought the Opéra Bastille and the Cité de la musique to eastern Paris.

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<sup>46</sup> “[F]acilement accessibles de toutes parts et bien à portée des Arrondissements de la Rive Gauche.” Georges-Eugène Haussmann, *Mémoires du Baron Haussmann* (Paris: Victor-Havard, 1890–93), 3:541.

<sup>47</sup> See Jean-Claude Yon, “La féerie ou le royaume du spectaculaire: L’exemple de *Rothomago*,” in *Le spectaculaire dans les arts de la scène du Romantisme à la Belle Époque*, ed. Isabelle Moindrot (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2006), 126–33.

<sup>48</sup> Simone de Beauvoir, *Mémoires d’une jeune fille rangée* (Paris: Gallimard, 1958), 55 (part 1); Louis Aragon, *Le roman inachevé* (Paris: Gallimard, 1956), 39 (section “Le téméraire,” poem “Voilà donc où tu perd malheureux la lumière qui s’achève”).

From Walter Benjamin to David Harvey, writers have generally seen Haussmannization as a sort of original sin of modern urbanism.<sup>49</sup> The charges brought against Haussmann are essentially two. The first is having redesigned the city in order to police the Parisian working class. This argument is often epitomized in the observation that Haussmann's wide, rectilinear, and macadamized streets had the advantage of making barricade fighting harder — an observation already made by Friedrich Engels, which Benjamin helped popularize in the early twentieth century. The second charge is having displaced, through real-estate speculation, working-class Parisians from the city center, replacing them with more affluent new residents and city users. In today's terms, Haussmann would be guilty of gentrification (nineteenth-century French speakers might have preferred the term *embourgeoisement*). Recent scholarship has nuanced the picture, but the charge is not unfounded. Workers did flee the center, and the redevelopment brought both high-end housing as well as facilities meant to serve not just local communities but a wider public.<sup>50</sup> This evolution was of course not lost on contemporaries, and was famously denounced by Jules Ferry (the future minister and prime minister of the Third Republic, then an opposition politician) in particularly evocative terms: the old Paris was bonded by “groups, neighborhoods, districts, traditions,” and “the craftsman, who is now driven away from the center by a merciless system, used to live next door to the financier,” but Haussmann had transformed these vital and diverse neighborhoods into a

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<sup>49</sup> Benjamin, *Arcades Project*; David Harvey, *Paris, Capital of Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

<sup>50</sup> See, for example, Alain Faure's contributions, among them “La ségrégation, ou les métamorphoses historiographiques du baron Haussmann,” in *Diversité sociale, ségrégation urbaine, mixité*, ed. Marie-Christine Jaillet, Evelyne Perrin, and François Ménard (La Défense: Plan urbanisme, construction et architecture, 2008), 51–64. A helpful reference work is Pierre Pinon, *Atlas du Paris haussmannien: La ville en héritage du Second Empire à nos jours* (Paris: Parigramme, 2002). In English, David P. Jordan is the author of *Transforming Paris: The Life and Labors of Baron Haussmann* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) and “Haussmann and Haussmannisation: The Legacy for Paris,” *French Historical Studies* 27, no. 1 (2004): 87–113.

playground for the wealthy and tourists — “the nicest inn on earth,” meant for “the parasites of the Old World and the New.”<sup>51</sup>

Can we see the twin logic of policing and of gentrification at work in the transformation of the theatre landscape as well?<sup>52</sup> With respect to policing, the answer is unquestionably yes. On the place du Château-d’Eau Haussmann erected the imposing army barracks of the Caserne du Prince-Eugène (the present-day Caserne Vérines), which literally loomed over the audiences of the Folies-Dramatiques and of the Prince-impérial as they entered the theatre. Haussmann had actually planned to have Gabriel Davioud, the architect of the new Châtelet and Théâtre-Lyrique, build a performing arts venue right next to the barracks: the Orphéon, a vast hall capable of seating 10,000 people and devoted to popular concerts of choral and orchestral music.<sup>53</sup> The project never came to fruition, but its paternalistic and moralistic intent is evident: providing the masses with a chance to elevate themselves through wholesome music, under the watchful eye of the state, where degenerate melodrama had once reigned supreme. As for the Châtelet and the Théâtre-Lyrique, since the completion of Haussmann’s interventions on the nearby Île de la Cité shortly after their opening, they have been essentially in the middle of a judicial and law-enforcement complex. On the north, the Chambre des notaires, an odd neighbor for two entertainment venues, forms the remaining side of place du Châtelet; on the south, two courthouses face the two theatres across the river, the sprawling Palais de justice opposite the Châtelet and the Tribunal de commerce opposite

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<sup>51</sup> “[L]’ancien Paris . . . où il existait des groupes, des voisinages, des quartiers, des traditions . . . où l’artisan, qu’un système impitoyable chasse aujourd’hui du centre, habitait côte à côte avec le financier.” Jules Ferry, *Comptes fantastiques d’Haussmann* (Paris: Le Chevalier, 1868), 8. “Nous reconnaissons qu’on a fait du nouveau Paris la plus belle auberge de la terre et que les parasites des deux mondes ne trouvent rien de comparable.” *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>52</sup> On the effects of Haussmannization on theatres, see Juliette Aubrun, “Le théâtre dans les travaux d’Haussmann,” in *Les spectacles sous le Second Empire*, ed. Jean-Claude Yon (Paris: Armand Colin, 2010), 72–83. A study of the sonic imagination of the Paris of Haussmann is Jacek Blaszkiwicz, “City Myths: Music and Urbanism in Second Empire Paris” (PhD diss., University of Rochester, 2018).

<sup>53</sup> Haussmann, *Mémoires*, 543–47; see also Isabelle Rouge-Ducos, “Davioud et l’architecture des théâtres parisiens,” in Yon, *Second Empire*, 84–94, at pp. 92–93.

the Théâtre-Lyrique. The former also housed, under the Second Empire, the police headquarters. South of the Tribunal de commerce Haussmann built another barracks, the Caserne de la Cité (now the Préfecture de police). Also, the two theatres were bracketed by the two centers of power of Second Empire Paris, recently connected by the extended rue de Rivoli: the Tuileries (the imperial residence) to the west, the Hôtel de Ville (Haussmann's own headquarters) to the east.

We can also make a case for the gentrification of the theatre landscape of eastern Paris. One should keep in mind that the citywide trend was toward an increase of the price of tickets and a decrease in the number of affordable seats during the last third of the century, so theatre in general became increasingly exclusive.<sup>54</sup> But in the East we witness a threefold transformation in the area's offering of venues, in the venues' offering of genres, and within genres.

Already in 1859 the former *café-concert* of the *boulevard du crime* where Hervé had experimented with operetta during the genre's infancy had been taken over by actress Virginie Déjazet and turned into a *vaudeville* theatre (called, after its manager and star, Théâtre Déjazet, a name it still bears). A year after moving into its new home, in 1863, the Théâtre-Lyrique dramatically upscaled its repertoire, which had been essentially limited to *opéra comique*, with Georges Bizet's *Les pêcheurs de perles*, Berlioz's *Les Troyens à Carthage*, and a French version of Verdi's *Rigoletto*. In 1866 another *vaudeville* theatre opened in a former *café-concert*, this time on the boulevard de Strasbourg, which continues boulevard de Sébastopol to the north: the Menus-Plaisirs (also called Théâtre des Arts for a few years in the 1870s, present-day Théâtre Antoine). But the unmistakable sign of the gentrification of the eastern theatres was the spread of operetta, of the full-length, post-*Orphée aux enfers* variety. In

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<sup>54</sup> See Christophe Charle, *Théâtres en capitales: Naissance de la société du spectacle à Paris, Berlin, Londres et Vienne, 1860–1914* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2008), 274–80.

October of 1867 Hervé's *L'œil crevé* debuted at the Folies-Dramatiques, in December of the same year the Menus-Plaisirs gave a new version of Offenbach's *Geneviève de Brabant*. Another theatre devoted, among other genres, to operetta opened after the war, in 1873: the Théâtre de la Renaissance, a small (hence exclusive) venue literally next door to the Porte-Saint-Martin.

In 1874, critic Arnold Mortier wrote that, as operetta made its appearance at the Renaissance the previous year, so did, among male theatregoers, “the white tie and the black tailcoat embellished with the mandatory gardenia,” as opposed to the less formal frock-coat.<sup>55</sup> In that same piece — a tongue-in-cheek guide to the dress code of Parisian premières — Mortier mentions the stereotypical male garment of the working class, the blouse, only once, when discussing the Folies-Dramatiques (where the tailcoat, the frock-coat, and the “modest overcoat” are also to be found). We are definitely a far cry from Hippolyte Auger's description of melodrama audiences only a couple of decades earlier. The Délassements-Comiques had been for decades one of the attractions of the *boulevard du crime*; it relocated nearby after Haussmann's demolitions but burned down during the Commune, and by time of Mortier's writing the name of Délassements-Comiques was borne by a venue one block from the boulevard de Strasbourg that was, allegedly, “the most elegant theatre in Paris” and “a true orgy of black tailcoats, of pearl-gray gloves, of camellias, roses, and gardenias.”<sup>56</sup> Mortier also remarks that, since Offenbach had been the manager of the Gaité, “the tailcoat has been fully embraced” at that theatre, too.<sup>57</sup> In the following years, the Gaité's repertoire would strive toward greater cultural prestige. Between 1875 and 1876 the theatre hosted, in collaboration with the Odéon, performances of Nicolas Dalayrac's 1800 *opéra comique Maison à vendre*, of a few Molière-Lully *comédies-ballets* with their original music, and a revival of Leconte de Lisle's

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<sup>55</sup> “[L]’opérette fait son apparition, et, en même temps, la cravate blanche et l’habit noir orné du gardénia obligé.” Arnold Mortier, “Physiologie des premières,” in *Les soirées parisiennes [de 1874]* (Paris: Dentu, 1875), 418.

<sup>56</sup> “[Le] théâtre le plus élégant de Paris . . . une véritable orgie d’habits noirs, de gants gris perle, de camélias, de roses et de gardénias.” Mortier, “Physiologie des premières,” 420.

<sup>57</sup> “[D]epuis la direction Offenbach, l’habit est complètement adopté.” Mortier, “Physiologie des premières,” 419.

*Les Érinnyes* with Massenet's score. In 1876 it became a legitimate opera house, even though the venture was short-lived. But the gentrification of the Gaîté had begun earlier, in 1872, and would have begun earlier still if not for the war, with that other innovation, composerly *féerie*.

If the 1865 production of *La biche au bois* with music by Hervé helped lay the ground, composerly *féerie* was the brainchild of Sardou and Offenbach. The latter was, as the Mortier piece quoted above shows, essentially synonymous with the glitz of the western theatres. By the end of the 1860s, Offenbach had never ventured east, with two exceptions. In 1855, as he was establishing his own Bouffes-Parisiens, he wrote a one-acter for Hervé's theatre (*Oyayaye, ou La reine des îles*), and in 1864 he composed a song, "La pêche," for his protégée Zulma Bouffar, who was starring in a *féerie* revival: *La fille de l'air*, from 1837, at the Folies-Dramatiques.<sup>58</sup> Offenbach first set his eyes on the eastern theatres in 1866, when he and his librettists Henri Meilhac and Ludovic Halévy, whose careers were similarly western Paris-centric, planned a *féerie* for the Châtelet, a project that did not come to fruition.<sup>59</sup> As for Sardou, as a prolific playwright in disparate genres (*vaudeville*, comedy, *opéra comique*, and occasionally melodrama), for official and commercial theatres alike, until the late 1860s he closely matched the profile of Scribe, whose facility and versatility are often remarked.<sup>60</sup> Less remarked is the fact that Scribe's career, for all its diversity, took place almost exclusively in the theatres of western Paris. The same is true for Sardou up to 1869: save for an uncredited collaboration in the adaptation of Paul Féval's novel *Le Bossu* for the Porte-Saint-Martin and a melodrama for the Gaîté that the censors did not approve for performance (*La poudre d'or*), he had written either for the western theatres or for that outpost of theatrical gentrification, the

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<sup>58</sup> It is quite possible that it was the experiences of his female performers — Tautin, Bouffar, and later Schneider, but also Irma Marié, who left the Bouffes-Parisiens to star in the 1866 *Cendrillon* — that alerted Offenbach to the potential of *féerie*, together with Hervé's example.

<sup>59</sup> Yon, *Offenbach*, 331.

<sup>60</sup> On the Scribe-Sardou parallel, see Aline Marchadier, "Victorien Sardou, héritier de Scribe?," in *Eugène Scribe: Un maître de la scène théâtrale et lyrique au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Olivier Bara and Jean-Claude Yon (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2016), 301–15.

Théâtre Déjazet. Then, in 1869, he began a parallel career as an author of historical melodramas with *Patrie!* at the Porte-Saint-Martin; later that same year newspapers reported that he and Offenbach were working on a *féerie* for the Gaîté. Why did Sardou choose to branch out to the eastern theatres? Of course, we could attribute to him purely artistic reasons — he was just fascinated by melodrama and *féerie* as art forms — or purely cynical ones — there was money to be made with the popular genres. Neither of these hypotheses is probably completely false, but the picture is more complicated. At the western theatres, Sardou had two competitors of his own generation, Alexandre Dumas *fils* and Émile Augier, and he might have wanted to diversify his output to gain an edge on them. Conversely, the melodrama scene seemed ripe for generational change: Alexandre Dumas *père* and Anicet-Bourgeois were in their sixties and nearing the end of their careers (they would die in 1870 and 1871, respectively), while Adolphe d'Ennery, Ferdinand Dugué, and Victor Séjour, who had penned the biggest hits of the Second Empire, were all born in the 1810s. Finally, the ambitious Sardou might have sensed that, after Haussmann's sanitization of the *boulevard du crime*, association with the eastern theatres did not carry a stigma anymore and would not tarnish his literary reputation. Facts would prove him right. Unlike Dumas *père*, who never managed to obtain a seat at the Académie française, Sardou was inducted in 1877, joining his rivals Augier and Dumas *fils*, despite his two historical melodramas and one *féerie* to date.

The plot of the first composerly *féerie*, like that of most *féeries*, is rich in incidents and characters but can be reduced to a simple storyline. *Le roi Carotte* is set in the fictional, vaguely Central European kingdom of Krokodyne. The likable but irresponsible prince Fridolin (tenor) is set to marry the spoiled-rotten daughter of a neighboring ruler, Cunégonde, in order to offset with her dowry the budget gap he has created (Cunégonde was played, in 1872, by Anna Judic, *café-concert* star and future operetta diva). But the sorceress Coloquinte installs a

usurper on the throne: the titular *roi Carotte* (*trial*), a carrot that she has magically grown to human proportions and endowed with unlikely charisma. Carotte wins not only the loyalty of most of Fridolin's ministers, but also the love of Cunégonde. In his quest to take his kingdom back, Fridolin is assisted by the good genie Robin-Luron (Zulma Bouffar in one of her many breeches roles) and by Rosée-du-Soir, a princess who has been held captive by Coloquinte and who offers her service to Fridolin under a boy's disguise. Many adventures later, Coloquinte and Carotte are defeated, and Fridolin regains control of Krokodyne and marries, not the airheaded Cunégonde, but the generous Rosée-du-Soir. The obvious advantage of relying on the creativity of a composer, as opposed to working with existing music, is that it allows for more formally complex, hence more dramaturgically complex, vocal numbers, and a more coherent large-scale organization of music-intensive scenes and of the work as a whole. This is already evident in Hervé's music for the 1865 *Biche au bois*. Prince Souci's *romance* "Ces beaux yeux d'où la flamme ruisselle" (see **Table 2.1**) was published for amateur consumption as an ordinary strophic song, but it appears, from Hervé's autographs and the *manuscrit de censure*, to have been in ternary form, with the reprise of the A section vocally embellished and differently orchestrated, featuring harp arpeggios and *pianissimo* tremolos in the high strings for a stereotypical celestial sound. In other words, Hervé concocted a small (and parodic) operatic *cavatine*. What is more, this number is quoted again at the end of the play (with the words "Ô doux sommeil, berce-moi dans un songe"). Of course, reminiscence effects can also be achieved with borrowed music, and Emilio Sala has examined several mid-century melodramas where internal cross-references are created with original music.<sup>61</sup> But Sala's examples involve diegetic singing (what Carolyn Abbate would call "phenomenal

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<sup>61</sup> Emilio Sala, "Motivi di reminiscenza e drammaturgia musicale," in *Il valzer delle camelie: Echi di Parigi nella "Traviata"* (Turin: EDT, 2008), 87–134, translated by Delia Casadei as "Motifs of Reminiscence and Musical Dramaturgy," in *The Sounds of Paris in Verdi's "La Traviata"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 106–63.

singing” and Luca Zoppelli “stage music”): the characters recall music that has been sung in the fictional universe they inhabit.<sup>62</sup> More specifically, the characters recall songs that exist, in that fictional universe, independently of them — not unlike borrowed music, which *actually* exists independently of the characters. This is not at all the case with Prince Souci’s *cavatine* and its recollection, where the singing is not diegetic and the music is presented as originating from the character. As a result, the musical cross-reference is purely intratextual (no external sources, either real or fictional, are in play) and represents a strong authorial statement from the composer. The same can be said about the musical cue that follows the quotation from the *cavatine*: the final *apothéose* of the play, which is based on the original, non-diegetic song of the good fairy (“Je suis en effet cette reine”), heard in a previous *tableau*. As mentioned earlier, the *tableau* “La roche terrible” already had wall-to-wall music in 1845. But Hervé also creates another *tableau* with wall-to-wall music. “Le lac des Sirènes” originally consisted, as the *manuscrit de censure* attests, of an invisible chorus accompanying a dance, a scene of spoken dialogue, and another chorus. Hervé did set both choruses to music, the first as a waltz. But he then decided to add a duet for two women’s voices, in which the waltz was eventually incorporated, and substituted for the dialogue a connecting musical number, so that the *tableau* now consisted of three consecutive and tonally related numbers. The autograph full score also shows evidence of another late intervention of Hervé’s aimed at enhancing musical continuity. The hunting chorus “Courons, amis, dans les bois” was sung before and after a scene of dialogue; Hervé decided to replace the dialogue with a solo number for Prince Souci. Since the new number is ternary, its combination with the two instances of the chorus creates an ABCBA arch form.

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<sup>62</sup> Carolyn Abbate, *Unsung Voices: Opera and Musical Narrative in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991); Zoppelli, “Stage Music.”

When Hervé composed the music for the 1865 *Biche au bois*, full-length operetta was a little over six years old and still essentially synonymous with Offenbach and his theatre, the Bouffes-Parisiens: *La belle Hélène*, the first full-length operetta to grace another stage, but still by Offenbach, had just opened at the Variétés the previous December and was still playing. By 1870, the year *Le roi Carotte* was supposed to première, the landscape had changed dramatically. Operetta had spread to more venues — in addition to the Bouffes-Parisiens and the Variétés: the Palais-Royal, the Folies-Dramatiques, the Athénée, and the Menus-Plaisirs. Hervé was now the author of half a dozen full-length operettas, some of them hugely popular, and other composers were making their bids for success: Charles Lecocq (*Fleur-de-Thé*, 1868), Laurent de Rillé (*Le Petit Poucet*, 1868, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter), Jean-Jacques Debillemont, whom we will encounter again (*Le Grand-Duc de Matapa*, 1868), Émile Jonas (*Le canard à trois becs*, 1869), and Léo Delibes, not yet of *Coppélia* and *Lakmé* fame (*La cour du roi Pétaud*, 1869). Full-length operetta had moved from being a cottage industry of Offenbach's to being a cultural institution, from being predicated on eccentricity and parody — that is, the flaunting of conventions — to having conventions of its own, from being negatively defined by the genres it parodied to having an identity strong enough to influence other genres: *La vie parisienne*, as mentioned above, was already an experiment in hybridization, as an operettized *vaudeville*.

Hervé had hinted at what contribution a composer could make to the dramaturgy of a *féerie*, providing subtler articulation of numbers and large-scale structure. Offenbach fully realized that potential. In 1865 Hervé, with his music, had brought to *La biche au bois* his personal brand, which was a selling point but did not ennoble the work. Offenbach brought to *Le roi Carotte* his brand and the recognizable marks of a cultural institution, full-length

operetta, which carried the connotations of social prestige that had accrued to it in the past decade.

We find, then, near the beginning of *Le roi Carotte*, two characters introducing themselves with lively numbers in rondeau form.<sup>63</sup> Such numbers were particularly popular (especially for women's voices, as is the case in *Le roi Carotte*) in late 1860s operetta: one immediately thinks of *La vie parisienne* ("Je suis Brésilien, j'ai de l'or") and *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein* ("Ah! que j'aime les militaires"), but in the year 1869 alone they are found in Offenbach's *La diva* and *Les brigands*, Hervé's *Le petit Faust*, and Delibes's *La cour du roi Pénaud*. *Le roi Carotte* also contains a duet that, while very much musically in a playful spirit, is organized according to the *solita forma*: a *tempo d'attacco* where the two characters confront each other ("Vers ce gnôme que j'abhorre"), a lyric, if not outright slow, movement with *a due* singing (the *allegretto* "Mon cœur de lui même"), a *tempo di mezzo* marked by a dramatic twist in the action, and a cabaletta ("Ah! j'ai bien le droit de rire"). This, too, is consistent with contemporary operetta: *La Princesse de Trébizonde* (1869) also has a duet with a slow (or at least slower) movement and a cabaletta, and so does Hervé's *Chilpéric*, from 1868. If Hervé had hinted at how a composer can lend musical consistency to *féerie*, Offenbach fully demonstrates it in the act I finale of *Le roi Carotte*, roughly fifteen minutes of uninterrupted music. To achieve that consistency, Offenbach deploys the techniques he has developed for his operettas: he incorporates as sections what could be self-contained numbers (in this case, Carotte's strophic song), creates internal reprises, recalls previous numbers (here, the armors' chorus), and relies on the propulsive power of dance rhythms (here, a waltz).

A tangible sign of both the operettization and the gentrification of *féerie* is the published vocal score of *Le roi Carotte*. For the first time, the (ostensibly) complete musical text of a *féerie*

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<sup>63</sup> The *rondeau* or *rondo*, normally designated as such, should not be confused with the *ronde*, which is normally strophic. *Le roi Carotte* contains two *rondes* as well as the *rondeaux* to which I am referring here.

was deemed worth printing, and worth owning at the non-trivial price of a book-length score. The title page proudly proclaims the work an “opéra-bouffe-féerie,” *opéra-bouffe* being the term of choice for full-length operettas (*opérette* was normally reserved for one-acters). To an attentive observer, though, it is clear that the “féerie” in “opéra-bouffe-féerie” is not a modifier as it was in the *opéras-féeries* of Isouard and others earlier in the century, which were operas on a *féerique* subject. *Le roi Carotte* is a true *féerie*, and it is rather “opéra-bouffe” that serves as a modifier to “féerie” in its designation. Browsing the score, one notices that a key character of the play, the sorceress Coloquinte, does not sing in a single number (and is even omitted from the *dramatis personae*), which would be odd in an operetta. Another prominent character, the court necromancer Truck, does join a few musical numbers, but mostly doubling another singer or the chorus, while in two, possibly three cases he is onstage but does not sing.<sup>64</sup> This shows that the role is written for a comic actor who does not have to be an accomplished vocalist. The sizable ballet would also be out of place in a Second Empire operetta, and the fact that its last section is labeled *apothéose* betrays the *féerie*. An *apothéose* is, in fact, a static *tableau* relying on stage machinery: in this case, Fridolin and his friends take off on a wild cat-shaped flying carriage, while Coloquinte is imprisoned in an outsized beehive. The score does conceal another telltale *féerique* feature of *Le roi Carotte*: two *tableaux* — the one with the visit to the magician Quiribibi, who regenerates himself after having his limbs disassembled, and the one set in the island of the apes — have no vocal numbers, but only orchestral music. The former is fundamentally a pretext for elaborate stage tricks, which are, per *féerie* customs, underscored by melodramatic music, while the latter provides a dramatic justification for a pantomime (set to tarantella and polka rhythms), not unlike the scenes that featured moving statues and mute harem guards in *Les bibelots du diable*. This music is extant, and Jean-

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<sup>64</sup> This happens in the vocal nocturne on the ruins of Pompeii and in the “ronde des colporteurs”; in the “ronde des chemins de fer” the score seems to mistakenly give to Truck the part intended for Pipertrunck.

Christophe Keck includes it in his edition of the full score (for which the critical commentary is not available yet), but the 1872 vocal score omits it, probably because it was deemed not interesting enough for amateur musicians who might buy the score, not useful to singers for whom the score was a working tool, or simply not worthy of Offenbach at a time when melodramatic music was still regarded as hackwork (*L'Arlésienne*, the Daudet melodrama with music by Bizet, would only première a few months after *Le roi Carotte*).

That the vocal score looks carefully packaged so as to maximize the work's appeal to operetta lovers confirms the hypothesis that Offenbach's music itself was designed to make *féerie* more palatable to the well-to-do, fashionable audience that consumed operetta. But once this marketing strategy is recognized as such, it is evident that the *féeriness* of *Le roi Carotte* runs much deeper than its operettaness, and informs the core of its dramaturgy. *Le roi Carotte* has a Manichean pair of a good genie and an evil sorceress, whose conflict affects the fate of the human characters; it prominently features talismans; and it is structured as a quest that leads the characters in an initiation journey through different fantastic realms — in *La biche au bois*, it was the realm of fishes, the Oriental setting of Aïka's palace, and the realm of garden vegetables; here, ancient Pompeii, the realm of insects, and that of apes. As each stage of the quest is, to a degree, self-contained, one could easily imagine adding, removing, or changing the order of realms in *Le roi Carotte* as was done in *La biche au bois*.<sup>65</sup> In fact, the realm of apes was omitted altogether in an abridged three-act version of the play. One more characteristic of Second Empire *féerie*, demonstrated by Roxane Martin, is that new works build on the most memorable attractions (the *clous*) of earlier successes.<sup>66</sup> *Le roi Carotte* is no exception. Insects were not new to the *féerie* stage, as butterflies and glowworms had appeared in *La poudre de Perlinpinpin* and in the 1866 *Cendrillon*, respectively, and *Les sept merveilles du monde* already

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<sup>65</sup> In 1865 and 1867 the order was fishes, vegetables, Aïka; for the 1896 revival it would be vegetables, Aïka, fishes.

<sup>66</sup> Martin, *La féerie romantique*, 412–24.

had a *défilé* of insects. The model for anthropomorphic vegetables, instead, is to be found in *La biche au bois*. The trick where Quiribibi has his head and limbs pulled off his body was novel enough to be presented in an 1873 book as the state of the art in stagecraft,<sup>67</sup> but it was not unprecedented. In *Les pilules du diable*, a classic *féerie* from 1839, a character came back to life after being torn to pieces by an explosion, while in *Les sept châteaux du diable* (1844) the devil Sathaniel had his head and arms cut off and grew new ones, metamorphosing into a genie. As for the collection of talismans that Quiribibi hands down to Truck, it recalls that of *Les bibelots du diable*, which was already a tongue-in-cheek tribute to *féerie* conventions.

If we can argue that Offenbach's music is one element that makes *Le roi Carotte* a gentrified *féerie*, the same can be said of another innovative aspect of the work: Sardou's choice to turn *féerie* into a political fable. Sardou's politics are famously elusive, and can be seen as ambivalent, but fundamentally reactionary (especially if *Rabagas* or *Thermidor* are foregrounded); ambivalent, but fundamentally progressive (if *Patrie!* or *La Tosca* are foregrounded); or ultimately as a form of pessimistic "right-wing anarchism" (Aline Marchadier).<sup>68</sup> The political message of *Le roi Carotte*, though, is less confused than might appear at first sight. Since the play's première, commentators have tried to make sense of it within the context of 1872 and the nascent Third Republic. But *Le roi Carotte* is best understood by placing it in the years 1869–70, at the height of the so-called *Empire libéral*. Over the course of the 1860s, the Second Empire had slowly moved away from the authoritarian rule of the previous decade, and the years 1869 and 1870 saw some significant steps toward its transformation into a parliamentary regime. The general election of spring 1869 was freer than the previous ones, as restrictions on the press and on public meetings had been lifted

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<sup>67</sup> Jules Moynet, *L'envers du théâtre: Machines et décorations* (Paris: Hachette, 1873), 95–99.

<sup>68</sup> Aline Marchadier, "Victorien Sardou et la politique," in *Victorien Sardou: Le théâtre et les arts*, ed. Isabelle Moindrot (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2011), 293–304.

(universal male suffrage had never been abolished), strengthening the oppositions. In September, the constitution was amended to give the lower, elected chamber (the Corps législatif) the power to initiate legislation. The next January, the Emperor tasked a figure of the moderate opposition, Émile Ollivier, with forming a government, thus reestablishing *de facto* the post of Prime Minister. In May, a new constitution was approved.<sup>69</sup> *Le roi Carotte*, then, was written at a moment when French institutions were in the process of finding a compromise between autocracy and British-style constitutional monarchy — a difficult process that would soon be cut short by war. Sardou seems to call for precisely such a compromise. Carotte, as Jean-Claude Yon has remarked, evokes, as a personified root, the radicals, the hardline republican opposition best embodied by Léon Gambetta.<sup>70</sup> But Carotte is just one of two twin threats that the Ruritanian country of the play faces. The other is represented by the bad tendencies of prince Fridolin himself, who, though a good-natured young man, is irresponsible and unfit to run a country. As Robin-Luron says:

This unfortunate prince is steeped in false ideas and bad habits!... as a result of the stupid education he has received... It would be impossible to rule more poorly than he does, to surround oneself with more idiots, and to have more preposterous ideas about the duties of one's profession!...<sup>71</sup>

This is the reason why Robin-Luron does not oppose Coloquinte's plan to install a usurper on Fridolin's throne: being forced into exile, he argues, will make Fridolin wiser, and forge him

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<sup>69</sup> A helpful English-language introduction to the politics of the Second Empire is Roger Price, *The French Second Empire: An Anatomy of Political Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

<sup>70</sup> Yon, *Offenbach*, 442.

<sup>71</sup> "Ce malheureux prince est pétri d'idées fausses et de mauvaises habitudes!... fruit de la stupide éducation qu'il a reçue... Il n'est pas possible de gouverner plus mal, de s'entourer de plus d'imbéciles, et d'avoir sur les devoirs de sa profession des idées plus saugrenues que les siennes!..." Victorien Sardou, *Le roi Carotte* (Paris: Michel Lévi, 1872), 28 (act 1, 2nd *tableau*, scene 4).

into a better ruler for the moment when he will regain power. The lesson for France is clear: there is nothing inherently wrong with Napoleon III (Fridolin), but having a check on his power will make him only better; on the other hand, the radicals (Carotte) might very well be evil, but they can ultimately serve a greater good. It should be noted that Robin-Luron's diagnosis of Fridolin's failings is carefully worded in order not to offend the Emperor if applied to him. (In fact, it raised no red flags with the censors.) The blame is placed not on the prince himself but on bad advisers, and Robin-Luron's idea that "exile" makes rulers wiser could only be flattering to Napoleon III, who had been in exile under the Restoration and the July Monarchy. Robin-Luron's very expression that exile is "the school of kings" even resonates with the words of Napoleon III himself, who called the fortress of Ham where he was imprisoned in the 1840s the "University of Ham."

It would seem tempting to conclude that Sardou is, once again, a new Scribe, and that the former's *féerie* espouses the same *juste milieu* centrism as the *grands opéras* of the latter, which invariably elicited sympathy toward the oppressed but warned against the dangers of violent rebellion.<sup>72</sup> As the *grands opéras* of yore reflected the consensus of the July Monarchy (that is, the views of its ruling classes), so did *Le roi Carotte* for that of the *Empire libéral*: the pursuit of a happy medium between despotism and populism. There is, though, a fundamental difference with the *grands opéras* of Scribe. These appealed to the viewer's moral sense: audiences were supposed to be appalled at injustice, in the form of religious discrimination (*La Juive*, *Les Huguenots*), feudal power (*Le prophète*), or slavery (*L'Africaine*), but also horrified by the thirst for revenge of some of the victims of such injustice. If these operas made a case for the moderate liberal ideology of the July Monarchy (and they did), it was framed in moral terms. In *Le roi Carotte*, instead, good government and bad government are

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<sup>72</sup> See Anselm Gerhard, *The Urbanization of Opera: Music Theater in Paris in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Mary Whittall (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998).

not so much a matter of ethics as a matter of competence. The problem with Fridolin at the beginning of the play, as the above quotation makes clear, is his lack of preparation; Carotte makes, of course, a disastrous ruler because he has the intelligence of a garden vegetable. Competence is also narrowly framed: both Fridolin's and Carotte's most serious offense seems to be financial mismanagement. Fridolin has squandered the government's budget; Carotte's record is: "Finances in disarray! — And the heaviest taxes! — Money's gone, bankruptcy! — And government bonds at the lowest price!"<sup>73</sup>

This narrow vision of what constitutes the "profession" of a ruler (as Robin-Luron puts it) is consistent with Sardou's utter contempt for the political class. Fridolin's ministers are, precisely, "idiots," and unprincipled ones at that. In particular, Pipertrunck, the police minister, literally sings the virtues of political turncoating in a set of *couplets* right before defecting from the Carotte to the Fridolin camp: he is agnostic between "a monarch or a republic" and his personal hero is, of course, the most celebrated *girouette* of all time, Talleyrand. It is hard not to see a disparaging allusion to Ollivier, a former republican who had switched allegiance to the Empire (and who is also the most likely model for the protagonist of Sardou's comedy *Rabagas*). However, this passage, too, was deemed innocuous by Second Empire censors, who probably sensed that Sardou was satirizing a figure of the regime without really questioning the regime itself.<sup>74</sup>

Another key moment might shed light on the ideology of *Le roi Carotte*. The play does not elaborate on *how* Fridolin's adventures make him a better ruler, but we can surmise that his visit to the realm of insects represents a crucial moment in his growth. Unlike the society of apes of the following *tableau*, which is primitive, poorly differentiated, and chaotic

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<sup>73</sup> "Les finances en déroute! / Et les impôts les plus lourds! / Plus d'argent! la banqueroute! / Et la rente au plus bas cours!" Sardou, *Le roi Carotte*, 135 (act 4, 1st *tableau*, scene 1).

<sup>74</sup> It should be said, though, that in the 1870 text that they approved "Monarque ou république" read "Royame ou République," which can be taken to leave the Empire, a monarchy but not a kingdom, out of the picture.

(probably reflecting stereotypes about non-Western peoples), that of insects is a modern, highly differentiated, well-organized industrial society. Fridolin first has a “University of Ham”-like experience among the ants, who do not recognize aristocracy but only technical expertise (“we are asking you if you are a carpenter, a mechanic, an engineer, and architect?”). Since he has none, he is forced to dig dirt, as “in this country, those who do not work do not eat.”<sup>75</sup> Then we witness an impressive *défilé*, that is, one of the long parades (set to music, of course) that reflect the penchant for accumulation of late nineteenth-century *féerie*. Together with the following ballet and *apothéose*, the *défilé* of insects formed the most spectacular *clou* of *Le roi Carotte*, and featured a stunning number of fanciful costumes designed by Théodore Thomas, of which several sketches are preserved at the Bibliothèque-musée de l’Opéra and at the Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris. Different species of insects constitute different social groups: beetles are the military brass, wood borers are carpenters marching in their guild costumes, butterflies are dandies and *demi-mondaines*, bumblebees and moths are priests, and so on. The queen bee is, of course, a queen. But in this exemplary, if not necessarily ideal, society, there is ostensibly no political class. Among the fishes and the vegetables of *La biche au bois*, or the gemstones of *La chatte blanche*, rulers had ministers, mistresses, and political enemies, with *ancien régime* monarchy as a clear model for parody (the son of the king of fishes is a dolphin, as in Dauphin, and his former prime minister was a sole, a fish that can be prepared *à la Colbert*). There is nothing of the sort in the modern society of the insects.

The satire of obtuse and disloyal politicians in Pipertrunck and the other ministers of Fridolin’s court, the ants’ disregard for anything other than technical qualification, and the absence of politicians in the realm of insects all point in the same direction. The spirit of *Le roi*

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<sup>75</sup> “[O]n vous demande si vous êtes charpentier, mécanicien, ingénieur, architecte? . . . dans ce pays-ci, qui ne travaille pas ne dîne pas!” Sardou, *Le roi Carotte*, 111–12 (act 3, 3rd *tableau*, scene 3).

*Carotte* is obviously not democratic, but it is not necessarily reactionary. In fact, it is perfectly compatible with welcoming technological innovation, rejecting clericalism and religious intolerance, standing for the values of the Enlightenment and the Revolution against obscurantism and the *ancien régime*, and even imagining a fairer society — in short, believing in progress. Sardou sounds precisely like someone who believes in progress but not in democracy (or at least not in democracy as a prerequisite of progress): he seems to prefer an enlightened technocracy where rulers are humane, but also competent and good stewards of taxpayers' money, and where being an engineer or an architect lends more authority than noble birth or (in the case of Carotte-Gambetta) charismatic leadership. Technocracy is, of course, an anachronistic word, but the concept is not foreign to nineteenth-century France. Saint-Simonism was essentially committed to a similar ideal of progress without democracy and rule by the competent, which explains why Saint-Simonians (or former Saint-Simonians) got along well with the Second Empire: to mention only the most prominent names, economist Michel Chevalier, railway entrepreneurs Émile and Isaac Pereire, and Ferdinand de Lesseps, the man behind the Suez Canal. After all, the constitutional arrangement that Napoleon III (then still President Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte) put in place after his 1851 coup was also justified in technocratic terms: the task of drafting legislation fell not to the elected Corps législatif, but to an appointed body, the Conseil d'État (Council of State), a “reunion of practical-minded men” free from partisan bias and demagoguery; elected representatives, instead, would propose “the least thought-out, the least thoroughly reasoned draft bills.”<sup>76</sup>

To use an even more anachronistic term, the enlightened technocracy that *Le roi Carotte* seems to champion is not unlike the present-day phenomenon that is often referred to in the

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<sup>76</sup> I am using the words of Louis-Napoléon himself in his January 14, 1852 proclamation: “réunion d’hommes pratiques,” “les projets moins étudiés, les moins approfondis.” “Proclamation du 14 janvier 1852,” in *Les Constitutions de la France depuis 1789*, ed. Jacques Godechot (Paris: Garnier Flammarion, 1995), 287–91.

political debate as “undemocratic liberalism”: in both cases we see a coexistence of culturally progressive values and mistrust in majoritarianism.<sup>77</sup> And in both cases those positions are those of a privileged minority that is happy with the status quo or moderate reform, and that tends to discount the grievances of those who are not, raising the specter of mob rule (or, today, “populism”). It is significant that, in the revolt that helps Fridolin regain power at the end of the play, the citizenry with which the audience is supposed to identify is composed of bourgeois and students, while fruit-stand sellers are the enemy, since they are allies of Carotte (as were gardeners in a previous *tableau*). Of course, it would be preposterous to claim that *Le roi Carotte* incites class hatred against the poor. But it does reek of a certain elitist smugness that one would not expect to find on a “popular” stage, and that points, again, to operettized *féerie* as a product of the gentrification of the eastern Parisian theatres.

### *Grandeur et décadence of operettocracy*

*Le roi Carotte* fared well at the box office: though it did not achieve success on the same momentous scale as the 1865 *Biche au bois* or the 1869 *Chatte blanche*, it played for a respectable six months, from mid-January 1872 to late July, proving more popular of the already pretty popular *féeries* of the previous fall, *La queue du chat* at the Château-d’Eau and *Le puits qui chante* at the Menus-Plaisirs, both co-written by *féerie* veteran Clairville. Composerly *féerie*, though, did not catch on immediately.

This does not mean that common wisdom is right in considering “opéra-bouffe-féerie” an extravagant and ultimately failed experiment of Offenbach’s. On the contrary, Offenbach

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<sup>77</sup> The term “undemocratic liberalism” has been popularized by Yascha Mounk, *The People vs. Democracy: Why Our Freedom Is in Danger and How to Save It* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018).

found followers right away. In 1874, two more of the large eastern theatres followed the Gaîté's lead and presented *féeries* with an original score by an operetta composer: the Châtelet programmed *La Belle au bois dormant*, with music by Henry Litolff (the cosmopolitan pianist, composer, and publisher, who had embarked on an operetta career right after the war), the Château-d'Eau *Le treizième coup de minuit*, with music by Jean-Jacques Debillemont. In both cases Clairville had contributed to the play (in collaboration with William Burnach and Gaston Marot, respectively). Yet both *La Belle au bois dormant* and *Le treizième coup de minuit* were unsuccessful and folded within a few weeks. Interestingly, reviewers found both works too music-heavy and opera-like, and *La Belle au bois dormant* particularly so. Moreover, according to Arthur Pougin, in *La Belle au bois dormant* “tricks are remarkable by their absence, and the play bears no trace of humor, which is unfortunate in a *féerie*.”<sup>78</sup>

Meanwhile, at the Gaîté, Offenbach, who seemed to have hit on just the right formula with *Le roi Carotte*, persisted. In his double capacity as composer and, since 1873, manager of the theatre, he opted for the safest and most economical way to manufacture more composerly *féeries*: adapting existing works — namely his own *Orphée aux enfers* and *Geneviève de Brabant*, as well as Sardou's 1864 *Don Quichotte*, which would receive new music by Offenbach himself. The last project did not come to fruition, but this is how the second version of *Orphée* and the third version of *Geneviève* came to be, in 1874 and 1875, respectively.<sup>79</sup> It is evident why *Orphée*, *Geneviève*, and *Don Quichotte* were chosen: on top of having mythical-legendary subjects (and widely recognized ones at that), their loose, episodic structure, especially in the case of the two Offenbach operettas, could accommodate manifold

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<sup>78</sup> “[C]hose fâcheuse dans une féerie, les trucs brillent par leur absence, et la pièce n’a pas trace de gaîté.” Arthur Pougin, “Semaine théâtrale et musicale,” *Le Ménestrel*, April 12, 1874, 148.

<sup>79</sup> For Offenbach and Sardou's aborted *Don Quichotte* project, see Yon, *Offenbach*, 518, and Martial Ténéo, “Jacques Offenbach d’après des documents inédits,” *S.I.M.: Revue musicale mensuelle* 7, no. 12 (1911): 1–35, at pp. 22–35. A *féerie* version of Sardou's *Don Quichotte* would eventually see the stage in 1895 at the Châtelet, with music by Albert Renaud; for this reworking, see Hélène Laplace-Claverie, “Sardou en féerie,” in *Victorien Sardou, un siècle plus tard*, ed. Guy Ducrey (Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 2007), 171–82.

attractions in the same way that *féeries* based on the quest model could. This kind of dramaturgy, which can be called panoramic, is also key to scientific *féerie*, which emerged at the very same time (the new *Orphée aux enfers* premiered in February 1874, *Le tour du monde en 80 jours* the next November). Offenbach's next *féerie*, *Le voyage dans la lune* (1875), is already a response to scientific *féerie* (and will be therefore discussed together with scientific *féerie* in Chapter 3).

Among the attractions appended to *Orphée* and *Geneviève* are, as we have learned to expect from *Le roi Carotte*, ballets, *défilés*, and *apothéoses*. One of the *clous* of the new *Orphée* is precisely a *défilé* of (caricatures of) ancient Greek gods and mythological creatures, ending on an *apothéose* where the flying chariot of Apollo dominates the immense crowd of performers and supernumeraries that has gathered onstage. As one can see from a comparison of the published scores of the 1858 and 1874 versions, at the end of what used to be the second *tableau* of act I, now act 2, Offenbach stretched the instrumental passage that follows the chorus “Gloire! gloire à Jupiter” from 32 bars to 167 (counting repeats) to make room for the *défilé*, and substituted the brief reprise of the chorus on which the act ended with a different, longer one, marking the *apothéose*. This expansion of the finale does not add in the slightest to its musical interest (if anything, it dilutes it), yet the *défilé* with its *apothéose* arguably proved even more popular with audiences than the four new ballets and the new vocal numbers, for which Offenbach did deploy his creativity (and which are more likely to attract the attention of the modern scholar browsing the score). This moment of the play was reproduced not just in press illustrations, but also in a promotional poster that Jules Chéret designed for the Gaîté (fig. 2.3).<sup>80</sup> The playbill for the 1877 London revival at the Alhambra used red ink and large type for the “ORIGINAL GRAND BALLETS,” but even larger type for the “GRAND PROCESSION OF

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<sup>80</sup> Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, ENT DN-1 (CHÉRET, Jules/6)-ROUL, digitized and online at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90151919> (accessed January 7, 2020).

300.”<sup>81</sup> A pamphlet by Arnold Mortier, *Promenade autour d’“Orphée aux enfers,”* described in gossipy but admiring terms the complex behind-the-scenes work needed to shepherd onto the stage the masses taking part in the *défilé*, and ended with a caricature of Offenbach standing on the chariot of Apollo and raising Apollo’s lyre with both hands, implicitly confirming the *apothéose* as the most iconic image of the work (fig. 2.4).<sup>82</sup> The adoption of a work from the repertory of the Bouffes-Parisiens is in itself part of the pattern of gentrification of the Gaîté. But one can argue that this *défilé-cum-apothéose* in particular is also a sign of the colonization of eastern Paris by the imagination of the western theatres. In 1874 the construction of the Palais Garnier, then known simply as the “new Opéra,” was nearing completion, and one can read the burlesque pantheon of the *défilé* of the new *Orphée* as a parody of the equally encyclopedic decorative program of the new Opéra, which gave material reality to a pantheon of mythological characters, allegorical figures, and artists of the past. The case for this reading is made all the more convincing by the fact that the new Opéra culminates in a statue, by Aimé Millet, of Apollo standing and raising his lyre with both hands (fig. 2.5), exactly like the Apollo of the Gaîté, which also served as the culmination of the visual composition. Even the four rearing horses attached to Apollo’s chariot at the Gaîté have a parallel in the two groups of Fame holding a rearing Pegasus, by Eugène-Louis Lequesne, that flank Apollo on each side at the bottom corners of the pediment of the fly tower. The *apothéose* of the 1874 *Orphée*, then, hypostatized the Gaîté’s status not as an alternative “Opéra of the petty bourgeoisie” as Gautier had dreamed for the Porte-Saint-Martin, but as a continuation by other means of the legitimate Opéra, in the same way as Offenbach’s early operettas (including the original *Orphée*) were a continuation by other means of *grand opéra* and Italian opera.

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<sup>81</sup> London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Theatre and Performance Collection, S.3-2007, digitized and online at <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O131036/playbill-j-miles-co> (accessed January 7, 2020).

<sup>82</sup> Arnold Mortier, *Promenade autour d’“Orphée aux enfers”* (Paris: Charles Schiller, 1874), 30. The caricature, like the other illustrations in the pamphlet, is by Bertall.

The 1875 *Geneviève*, according to the usual logic, strove to outdo its predecessor, with two encyclopedic *défilés* instead of one, the theme of the first one being means of transportation, that of the second one lovers from classic operas and operettas. The former is shoehorned into the scene of the departure for Palestine (the act 2, previously act 1, finale), and features a crowd of children, who demonstrate, in the words of Arnold Mortier,

means of locomotion past and present, from Noah's Ark through the railway, including the cart, the ancient chariot, the ostrich, the camel, the Chinese palanquin, the canoe, the gondola, the steamboat, the frigate, the gilded carriage, the sedan chair, the basket carriage that the *cocottes* hold dear, the stagecoach, the balloon, the sleigh, everything that moves, powered by steam or electricity, everything that rolls, everything that floats, everything that supports us and transports us, over land, over sea, and in the skies.<sup>83</sup>

Children had been appearing on the *féerie* stage for a long time, as we have seen in **Chapter 1** for *Les bibelots du diable*, but with the Third Republic the phenomenon takes on a new dimension. *Le roi Carotte* already featured, in the Quiribibi *tableau*, child performers (as illustrations that magically jumped out of the pages of an outsized book); so did the 1874 *Orphée*, where a chorus of children and women personified Orpheus's young violin pupils. It is not always easy to tell from the surviving evidence whether children were played onstage by actual children or women *travestis*, but we know that in the mid-1870s the Gaité had both child choristers and child dancers on its payroll (a 1874 publication, whose numbers might be

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<sup>83</sup> "Ce sont des enfants qui nous présentent les moyens de locomotion passés et présents, depuis l'arche de Noé jusqu'au chemin de fer, en comprenant la brouette, le char antique, l'autruche, le chameau, le palanquin chinois, le canot, la gondole, le vapeur, la frégate, le carrosse doré, la chaise à porteurs, le petit panier cher aux *cocottes*, la diligence, le ballon, le traîneau, tout ce qui se meut, par la vapeur ou par la mécanique, tout ce qui roule, tout ce qui flotte, tout ce qui nous porte et nous transporte, sur terre, sur mer, et dans les cieux." Arnold Mortier, "*Geneviève de Brabant*," in *Les soirées parisiennes de 1875* (Paris: Dentu, 1876), 83.

inflated for publicity purposes, reckons 10 child choristers and 16 child dancers; an internal document from 1875, which might reflect budget cuts, has 6 and 8, respectively), and that is without counting ad hoc hires and supernumeraries such as those taking part in the *défilé* of *Geneviève*.<sup>84</sup> In 1885, advertisements for *Le Petit Poucet*, also at the Gaîté, promised “military exercises” by an “army” of 150 children, and the titular hero, Hop-o’-My-Thumb, was played by a teenage girl, the future operetta star Biana Duhamel.<sup>85</sup> The following year, *Les aventures de Monsieur de Crac* contained a ballet for twenty child dancers. The 1905 *féerie* *Les 400 coups du diable*, where children were featured in a mimed scene as miniature firemen, as well as in a *défilé*, got the Châtelet into trouble for flouting regulations on child performers.<sup>86</sup> The other obvious aspect of the *Geneviève défilé* is the fascination with technology and more in general with the increasing interconnectedness of the world, a trait that is fundamental to scientific *féerie*: as we will see in **Chapter 3**, the influences between scientific and traditional *féerie* were mutual, and the two subgenres engaged in a constant exchange.

The 1875 *Geneviève* also introduced a good genie-type character, Biscotte, tailored around the talents of Thérèse, who, after her success in *La chatte blanche*, had taken part in two *féeries* at the Menus-Plaisirs, *Le puits qui chante* (1871, which she joined mid-run) and *La reine Carotte* (1872, a loose parody by anticipation of the *Le roi Carotte*, yet to be première), and had returned to the Gaîté in 1872–73 for a revival of *La poule aux œufs d’or* (1848).

The composerly status of Offenbach’s *féeries* for the Gaîté did not mean that their text was set in stone: on the contrary, they were susceptible to the same kind of textual mobility that characterized non-composerly *féeries*. In August 1874, Offenbach scrapped the last *tableau*

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<sup>84</sup> [Henry Buguet], *Gaîté*, no. 7 in the series *Foyers et coulisses: Histoire anecdotique des théâtres de Paris* (Paris: Tresse, 1875), 2:113; administrative records in Albert Vizentini’s hand in F-Pnas collection Rondel MRt boîte 72 Gaîté. I am grateful to Katherine Hambridge for alerting me to the still uncatalogued Gaîté records.

<sup>85</sup> In a previous *féerie* based on the same fairytale, in 1845, the protagonist was played instead by a dwarf performer: the American Charles Sherwood Stratton, better known under his stage name of General Tom Thumb.

<sup>86</sup> Jean-Claude Yon, *Une histoire du théâtre à Paris de la Révolution à la Grande Guerre* (Paris: Aubier, 2012), 204–5.

of act 3, “Pluto’s gardens,” with its ballet of flies, and substituted for it a whole set of new *tableaux* taking the spectator to the underwater “Neptune’s kingdom.” Save for the first one, the new *tableaux* contain no dialogue and present a seamless succession of transformation scenes, mime, dance, a new ballet, and an *apothéose*. The purpose of this large-scale alteration — which can be construed as giving rise to a third version, or at least a *second* second version, of *Orphée* — was, of course, to keep interest in the play alive after six months’ worth of performances. The strategy seems to have worked, if we are to judge by *Le Ménestrel*’s claim, the following week, that “‘Neptune’s Kingdom’ is so fine an addition to the marvels of *Orphée aux enfers* that everyone in Paris is heading back to the square des Arts-et-Métiers,” the address of the Gaîté.<sup>87</sup> It is interesting, with respect to theatrical gentrification, that *Le Ménestrel* presents the latest incarnation of *Orphée* as marketed to audiences that had *already* seen the work earlier that year, hence to those who could afford to go to the theatre on a regular basis — “tout Paris” (everyone in Paris), here, might be close in meaning to “le Tout-Paris” (the Paris that matters). *Le voyage dans la lune*, too, was the object of mid-run alterations. When Thérésa joined the cast in February 1876, she was provided with new vocal numbers, as Delphine Ugalde had been when she joined the 1865 *Biche au bois*.

From February 1874 through April 1876, the Gaîté programmed nothing but *féerie*, mostly composerly, save for a few weeks when it gave Sardou and Offenbach’s unsuccessful melodrama *La haine: Orphée, Geneviève*, yet another revival of *La chatte blanche* (with additional music by Offenbach), *Le voyage dans la lune*. After the Gaîté became an opera house, *Le voyage dans la lune* found a new home at the Châtelet, where it ran for two months in the spring of 1877. Then, for five years, composerly *féerie* disappeared from the offering of the major

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<sup>87</sup> “*Le Royaume de Neptune* est si bien venu ajouter aux merveilles d’*Orphée aux enfers* que tout Paris revient au square des Arts-et-Métiers.” Henri Moreno [Henri Heugel], “Semaine théâtrale et musicale,” *Le Ménestrel*, August 23, 1874, 299. We should keep in mind, though, that *Le Ménestrel* was the house organ of the publisher of the *Orphée* score, Heugel.

Parisian theatres. It would return with a vengeance starting in 1882, in the context of the generic cross-pollination that will be examined in **Chapter 3**. Offenbach, who died in 1880, did not live to see his latest brainchild, composerly *féerie*, thrive and evolve independently of him, as operetta had done some fifteen years earlier (and later writers who have concentrated on Offenbach have missed the legacy of his *féerie* works beyond his lifetime). The composers that we will encounter in the next chapter belong to a younger generation: Edmond Audran, Jules Massenet, Léon Vasseur, Louis Varney, Gaston Serpette were all born in the 1840s, André Messager in 1853.

In the remainder of this chapter, instead, I will focus on traditional *féerie* — stage *féerie* that is neither composerly nor scientific — after *Le roi Carotte*, and I will do so taking as a guide, once again, *La biche au bois*. Between the première of *Le roi Carotte* and the end of the century, some twenty new traditional *féeries* premiered at the major Parisian theatres. Of these, one surpassed 300 performances, the already mentioned *Le Petit Poucet* (by Eugène Leterrier, Arnold Mortier, and Albert Vanloo, 1885, revived 1891); one surpassed 200 performances, *Les mille et une nuits* (by Adolphe d'Ennery and Paul Ferrier, 1881); three more surpassed 100 performances, *L'arbre de Noël* (Leterrier, Vanloo, and Mortier, 1880), *Les aventures de Monsieur de Crac* (Ernest Blum and Raoul Toché, 1886), and *Le Petit Chaperon rouge* (Blum, Ferrier, and Pierre Decourcelle, 1900). All five were presented at the “big three” theatres of eastern Paris, the Porte-Saint-Martin, the Gaîté, and the Châtelet. Their playbills feature familiar names. Before *L'arbre de Noël* and *Le Petit Poucet*, Vanloo, Leterrier, and Mortier had penned *Le voyage dans la lune*. Zulma Bouffar, already in the cast of *Le roi Carotte* and *Le voyage dans la lune*, starred in *L'arbre de Noël* and *Les mille et une nuits*, Christian, seen in *Orphée*, *Geneviève*, and *Le voyage dans la lune*, appeared again in *Les mille et une nuits* and *Le Petit Poucet*. Henri Justamant, who, after *La biche au bois*, had kept collaborating on *féeries* (*Le puits*

*qui chante*, *La reine Carotte*, *Les griffes du diable*, Litolff's *La Belle au bois dormant*, Offenbach's *Le voyage dans la lune*, and the London production of *Orphée*), also choreographed *L'arbre de Noël*. All five plays, despite their success, remained unpublished, but we have the *manuscrits de censure*, which in three cases (*L'arbre de Noël*, *Le Petit Poucet*, and *Les aventures de Monsieur de Crac*) provide enough information about the music of the vocal numbers. For all of the plays save, apparently, *Le Petit Chaperon rouge*, at least one excerpt from the newly composed music was published in vocal score or, in the case of ballet music, a piano arrangement.

A dozen or so *féeries* from the July Monarchy through the Second Empire were also revived during the same period, some of them several times. *Les pilules du diable*, *La chatte blanche*, *Peau d'Âne*, and *Les sept châteaux du diable* all had a stage life of over fifty years. None of them, though, is as well documented throughout its evolution as *La Biche au bois*, which had two more revivals during the Third Republic, at the Porte-Saint-Martin in 1881 and at the Châtelet in 1896.

Modifications to the play continued to obey the laws of scaling up and technological improvement. If the 1867 *Biche* had featured lions, the 1881 *Biche* exhibited two elephants and two dromedaries as well, as reported by *L'Art musical*.<sup>88</sup> Moreover, according to Arnold Mortier, the titular doe (Princess Désirée in animal form) was an actual cervid, instead of a dog in disguise as had been customary.<sup>89</sup> The 1881 *Biche* employed a gas-powered magic lantern for an animated projection (eight years before the Opéra-Comique used a similar device in Massenet's *Esclarmonde*); in 1896, the magic lantern was replaced by the latest advance in moving-image technology, the cinematograph, introduced to the world by the

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<sup>88</sup> Paul Girod, "Théâtres," *L'Art musical*, September 15, 1881, 291.

<sup>89</sup> Arnold Mortier, "La biche au bois," in *Les soirées parisiennes de 1881* (Paris: Dentu, 1882), 267–74.

Lumière brothers less than a year earlier.<sup>90</sup> As Stéphane Tralongo notes, though, the *clou* of the 1896 version was an acrobatic ballet imported from England (like the *apothéose* set of 1865), which built on the aerial-dance trick of the “mouche d’or,” first used in the 1880 revival of *Les pilules du diable*.<sup>91</sup> The task of revising the Cogniards’ script to supply fresh ideas, fresh humor, and fresh topical allusions fell, in 1881, to Ernest Blum and Raoul Toché. In 1896, further alterations were carried out by Blum and, according to press reports, Paul Ferrier (Toché had died in the meanwhile). Updating a *féerie* text was nothing unusual, but in this case those responsible for the rewriting were well-known and received credit, as did Émile Blavet and Jules Prével for the 1887 revival of *La chatte blanche*.

If, from the standpoint of dramaturgy, the 1881 and 1896 versions of *La biche au bois* follow in the path set by the 1867 version, from that of music, they exhibit important differences. In this respect, *La biche au bois* and *féerie* in general can serve as an indicator to understand the changes in the Parisian theatrical landscape, and can provide a useful perspective for the historiography of French opera under the Third Republic.

The 1881 *Biche* is rife with recent favorite tunes from virtually all Parisian theatres: the Opéra (Gounod’s *Le tribut de Zamora*, 1881), the Opéra-Comique (Offenbach’s *Les contes d’Hoffmann*, 1881),<sup>92</sup> the Bouffes-Parisiens (Hervé’s *Panurge*, 1879; Audran’s *La mascotte*, 1880),

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<sup>90</sup> The Châtelet, however, did not adopt the Lumière-patented *cinématographe* but a rival technology, Georges Demenÿ’s *chronophotographe*. See Frank Kessler, “The *Féerie* between Stage and Screen,” in *A Companion to Early Cinema*, ed. André Gaudreault, Nicolas Dulac, and Santiago Hidalgo (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 64–79; Stéohane Tralongo, “Remanier les dialogues, rénover les tableaux: Le cinématographe dans la logique de récupération des grandes reprises féeriques,” *traverser/crossing* no. 20 (2012), <https://doi.org/10.7202/1015088ar> (accessed January 7, 2020); Laurent Mannoni, “Une féerie de 1896: *La biche au bois*,” *Cinémathèque* no. 10 (1996), 117–23. On the projections in *Esclarmonde*, see Jean-Christophe Branger, “Merveilleux païen et merveilleux chrétien dans l’opéra fin-de-siècle: l’exemple de Massenet,” in *Le surnaturel sur la scène lyrique du merveilleux baroque au fantastique romantique*, ed. Agnès Terrier and Alexandre Dratwicki (Lyon: Symétrie, 2012), 299–316.

<sup>91</sup> On the *mouche d’or*, see Stéphane Tralongo, *Faiseurs de féeries: Mise en scène, machinerie et pratiques cinématographiques émergentes au tournant du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (thèse de doctorat, Université de Montréal, Université Lumière Lyon 2, 2012), 145–51.

<sup>92</sup> Léon Carvalho, then director of the Opéra-Comique, tried unsuccessfully to have the barcarolle from *Les contes d’Hoffmann* removed from *La biche au bois*; according to Mortier, though, it was eventually cut to tighten the pace

the Variétés (Lecocq’s *Le Grand Casimir*, 1879), the Renaissance (Lecocq’s *La petite mademoiselle*, 1879; Lecocq’s *Giroflé-Girofla*, revived there in 1880; Offenbach’s *Belle Lurette*, 1880), and the Fantaisies-Parisiennes (Auguste Cœdès’s *La girouette*, 1880). By treating its audience to a dizzying panorama of the latest hit shows, the 1881 *Biche* almost does the work that the mid-century *revue de fin d’année* had previously done. But the biggest story here is not the newness of the music: after all, as can be seen in **Table 2.2**, the original *Biche au bois*, in 1845, had a similar percentage of vocal numbers whose music was five years old or less. More remarkable is that, despite not being a composerly *féerie*, the 1881 *Biche au bois* is thoroughly operettized, with roughly 60 percent of the vocal numbers drawing on operetta, composerly *féerie* (*Le voyage dans la lune*), or composerly *vaudeville* (*Le Grand Casimir*). Numbers based on opera or *opéra comique* have dropped into the single digits. The picture is the same in the new traditional *féeries* of the same period: as can be seen in **Table 2.3**, approximately half of the vocal numbers of *L’arbre de Noël* and *Le Petit Poucet*, and two thirds of the vocal numbers of *Monsieur de Crac*, originate from operetta or operetta-influenced works, while borrowings from opera or *opéra comique* are only a handful and often from old classics.

But if traditional *féerie* now largely sounds like operetta, it is because the Paris of the 1880s and 1890s largely sounds like operetta. An operetta belt now stretches from place de l’Opéra to place de la République, straddling the old East-West divide (**fig. 2.2**). It comprises the Théâtre des Nouveautés, which opened in 1878 on the boulevard des Italiens, the Bouffes-Parisiens, the Variétés, the Menus-Plaisirs (where operetta makes a comeback in 1886 after a hiatus), the Renaissance, and the Folies-Dramatiques. The Gaité, too, occasionally stages large-scale operettas, and so does the Eden-Théâtre, just west of the Opéra, during its ephemeral but glamorous existence. The opera scene, by contrast, experiences its lowest

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of the play. Arnold Mortier, “Les théâtres lyriques,” in *Soirées de 1881*, 244–45; Mortier, “*La biche au bois*,” 273–74; Paul Girod, “Une question à résoudre,” *L’Art musical*, September 15, 1881, 1.

fortunes: the Théâtre-Lyrique and the Théâtre-Italien have closed, the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique are increasingly conceived as museums for their respective canonized repertoires, and *grand opéra* and *opéra comique* essentially die out as genres in the 1880s.<sup>93</sup> What should surprise us is not the predominance of light music: after all, the *opéras comiques* that the Opéra-Comique churned out at a pace of four or five a year (not counting one-acters) in the 1830s and '40s were not necessarily that much more serious than fin-de-siècle operetta. Third Republic audiences might or might not have been more frivolous than their July Monarchy counterparts. What matters is that, for musical entertainment, they preferred the commercial theatres to state-subsidized institutions. Historians of opera have observed that during the Third Republic lack of opportunities made it hard for young opera composers to break through. What if the explanation for that lack of opportunities was the simplest of all, that is, a lack of demand for opera? The bourgeoisie of the July Monarchy must have felt a need for cultural legitimation, which the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique, prestigious institutions dating back to the *ancien régime*, could provide. The bourgeoisie of the Third Republic, secure in its power and without an inferiority complex, no longer felt the need for such cultural legitimation. Those who wished to signal their status could do so through cultural practices that were exclusive without coming with a high-art cachet, much as present-day American businesspeople signal their status by securing expensive major league sports tickets. Opera, on the other hand, might have been made less attractive to the upper classes by the Third Republic official rhetoric that saw in it a national treasure to be shared as widely as possible.<sup>94</sup> The several attempts at establishing an Opéra-Populaire (1874 at the Châtelet, 1878–80 at the Gaîté, 1883–84 at the Château-d'Eau, 1900 at the Folies-Dramatiques, 1900–1901 at the

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<sup>93</sup> One could take as endpoints Massenet's *Le mage* (1891) and Messager's *La Basoche* (1890), respectively.

<sup>94</sup> See Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 324–32.

Château-d'Eau) might have cheapened opera in the eyes of the elite, in the same way as public education, at the time of Bourdieu and Passeron, had cheapened French classical drama.

For about thirty years, from the late 1860s to the late 1890s, operetta reigned supreme. Jean-Claude Yon has used the word “dramatocracy,” borrowed from an American journalist of the 1830s, to describe the central place that theatre occupied in public life for a good part of the nineteenth century, when audiences were still relatively socially diverse.<sup>95</sup> I propose that the crisis of this state of affairs begins in the 1860s with the gentrification of the eastern theatres and the triumph of the esthetics of operetta, indissolubly associated with high-end commercial theatre: we could call this phase, from circa 1868 to circa 1898, the era of operettocracy.

But that phase came to an end, too. The number of new full-length operettas given at Parisian theatres dropped abruptly, from eleven in 1897 (including composerly *vaudevilles*; twelve including also a composerly *féerie*) to five in 1899 and just one in 1904. The Bouffes-Parisiens, where it had all begun, closed down in 1903 and reopened the following year programming literary drama. The Menus-Plaisirs had stopped being an operetta theatre in 1897, when André Antoine turned it into a permanent home for the avant-garde. What had happened? It turns out that not just opera, but theatre at large had become culturally marginal. Jean-Claude Yon has demonstrated as much by way of the “droit des pauvres,” the poor rate levied on public entertainments. In 1908, less than half of the revenue, 49.76 percent, came from the theatres — *cafés-concerts*, music halls, circuses, ballrooms, and cinemas making up the rest.<sup>96</sup> Going to the theatre had become just one cultural practice among many. One can speculate that the dynamics that caused the fall of operettocracy was the same that had fueled its rise: those with money to spend did not feel the need for cultural legitimation.

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<sup>95</sup> Yon, “Introduction,” in *Une histoire du théâtre à Paris*, 7–20.

<sup>96</sup> Yon, *Une histoire du théâtre à Paris*, 351.

Hence, as they had abandoned the official theatres for operetta, so they abandoned theatres altogether for music halls, sports events, and the like. After all, as Sarah Gutsche-Miller has shown, music halls could be expensive enough to satisfy the desire for conspicuous consumption.<sup>97</sup> As for *cafés-concerts*, in 1900 the Scala rented boxes at more than 8 francs per occupant, a price that could get one good box seats at the Bouffes-Parisiens or the Variétés.<sup>98</sup>

The music for the 1896 *Biche au bois* foreshadows this sea change. Numbers based on either opera or operetta are far less abundant. And less novel, too: among their sources are *Mireille*, *La vie parisienne*, and *Chilpéric*, works that were still performed, but that dated back to the 1860s, and whose composers were dead.<sup>99</sup> On the other hand, if the 1881 *Biche* already included two *café-concert* songs by Louis Gabillaud, now the couple of comic lovers, Fanfreluche and Giroflée, are given numbers “generally borrowed from the repertoire of cafés-concerts,” as the reviewer for *Le Monde artiste* remarks.<sup>100</sup> The first traditional-*féerie* hit of the new century, the already mentioned *Les 400 coups du diable* (Victor Cottens and Victor Darlay, 1905, over 200 performances) confirms the trend. Although the published play only provides information about the music of roughly half of the vocal numbers (Table 2.3), we see that opera and operetta have little weight in the score and are largely represented by old, canonized works. The sonic horizon of the play, instead, seems closer to that of the ballroom, with echoes of dance music old and new, including the latest exotic dancing fad: “La matchiche,” the dance song popularized by *café-concert* star Félix Mayol. An article that appeared on the illustrated weekly *La Vie parisienne* during the run of *Les 400 coups du diable*

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<sup>97</sup> Gutsche-Miller, *Parisian Music-Hall Ballet*.

<sup>98</sup> J.R. Cicerone, *À travers les plaisirs parisiens: Guide intime* (Paris: Édition & Publicité, 1900), 80.

<sup>99</sup> *Mireille* belonged to the repertoire of the Opéra-Comique, *Chilpéric* and *La vie parisienne* had been recently revived at the Variétés.

<sup>100</sup> “[Les] couplets, généralement empruntés au répertoire des cafés-concerts — distribués au joyeux Pougau, qui fait Fanfreluche, et à M<sup>lle</sup> Théry, pleine d’entrain, qui fait Giroflée.” Edmond Stoullig, “La semaine théâtrale,” *Le Monde artiste*, November 22, 1896, 742. I am grateful to Catherine Massip, who helped me identify the song “Y avait qu’des muf’s à c’tte noc’-là,” lyrics by Villemer and Lucien Delormel, music by Louis-Antoine Dubost. Unfortunately, I was not able to identify any more *café-concert* songs.

and that denounced the immoral practices of “industrial theatre” states, of *féerie* music: “Most often, it is drawn from the repertoire of Gounod, Dranem, or Mayol” — a dead opera composer whose music had become commonplace and two popular *café-concert* singers.<sup>101</sup> A *féerie* like *Les 400 coups du diable* is theatre that acknowledges the loss of relevance of its own medium — one could think, as a comparison, of present-day genre novels that heavily rely on film tropes, as they cater to an audience whose imagination is shaped by film, not literature.

But for an old medium coming to terms with its own loss of relevance, there was a new medium that contained the seeds of a new mass cultural practice. At the time of the 1896 *Biche*, film was still little more than a curiosity, a perfected magic lantern. By 1905, Georges Méliès had been releasing increasingly ambitious film *féeries*: from *Cendrillon* (1899), to *Le voyage dans la lune* (1902), loosely based on the Offenbach composerly *féerie*, to *Le royaume des fées* (1903), to *Le voyage à travers l'impossible* (1904), inspired by the 1882 scientific *féerie* of the same title (minus the article) by d'Ennery and Verne. *Le voyage à travers l'impossible* comprised 40 *tableaux* and was 374 meters long, resulting in a running time of about 25 minutes.<sup>102</sup> The authors of *Les 400 coups du diable*, eager, like all *féerie* authors, to keep *féerie* up to date, sought the collaboration of Méliès for two *tableaux*, “Le voyage dans l'espace” (The Space Trip) and “Le cyclone” (The Hurricane). The film insert that Méliès devised for “Le voyage dans l'espace” is extant, as it passed into the 1906 film *féerie* *Les quat' cents farces du diable* (known in English as *The Merry Frolics of Satan*), which had roughly the same (for the time) impressive proportions as *Le voyage à travers l'impossible*.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> “La musique qui accompagne une féerie ne doit jamais être originale. On la prend le plus souvent dans le répertoire de Gounod, de Dranem ou de Mayol.” Her Trippa, “Vagues généralités sur le théâtre industriel,” *La Vie parisienne*, January 20, 1906, 60.

<sup>102</sup> “Le voyage à travers l'impossible,” promotional brochure, Cinémathèque française, fonds Méliès, MELIES2-B1. On the two *Voyages*, stage and screen, see Sylvie Roques, “Du plateau de théâtre au studio de cinéma: le cas de *Voyage à travers l'impossible*,” in *Théâtre, destin du cinéma, Théâtre, levain du cinéma*, ed. Agathe Torti-Alcayaga and Christine Kiehl (Paris: Le Manuscrit, 2013), 45–62.

<sup>103</sup> “Les quat' cents farces du diable,” promotional brochure, Cinémathèque française, fonds Méliès, MELIES3-B1.

We would probably be wrong, though, to think that *Les 400 coups du diable* favored the emergence of filmmaking as an autonomous art. Cinema was still just a technology that the Châtelet could use to its ends, not yet an established cultural practice, and if the Châtelet helped the rise of cinema as a cultural practice, it was rather by hosting film screenings in its auditorium, starting in February 1907.<sup>104</sup> At any rate, *féerie*, filmic or otherwise, fell out of fashion around the time cinema was established as a cultural practice, at the end of the first decade of the century. For the purposes of the Châtelet, the film inserts of *Les 400 coups du diable* did not belong to an original art form, but simply to theatre. And Méliès himself was eager to lay claim to theatre for the material from “Le voyage dans l’espace” and for his film *féerie* output in general. A promotional brochure for *Les quat’ cents farces du diable* boasts that the material recycled from *Les 400 coups du diable* had received “500 consecutive performances at the Théâtre du Châtelet” (a figure far removed from reality), and presents the film as “a true *féerie* featuring a large number of stage tricks,” for which “considerable machinery and scenery work” was needed, instead of showcasing film-specific techniques such as stop tricks or multiple exposures.<sup>105</sup> The description of another *tableau* in the same film, “La cuisine” (The Kitchen), starring the celebrated Price clown troupe, even lists a number of stage devices that have been employed, such as different kinds of trapdoors.

*Les 400 coups du diable*, at any rate, would be the last great success of traditional *féerie*, now confined at the Châtelet. The following year, *Pif! Paf! Pouf!*, by the same playwrights and also featuring film inserts by Méliès, fared less well, and *La princesse Sans-Gêne*, in 1907, fared even worse, barely reaching 100 performances.<sup>106</sup> In 1907 and in 1908, the Châtelet also revived two timeless *féeries*: *Les pilules du diable* and *La chatte blanche*, respectively. Those productions

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<sup>104</sup> “Informations,” *Comœdia*, November 6, 1907, 4.

<sup>105</sup> “Les quat’ cents farces du diable,” promotional brochure.

<sup>106</sup> We have even less information about the music of these plays than we do for *Les 400 coups du diable*, since not only they remained unpublished, but theatrical censorship was abolished in 1906, so we cannot rely on *manuscrits de censure*.

would mark the last appearances of the classic *féerie* repertoire on the Parisian stage.

Traditional *féerie* did not end with a bang, since the risk-averse business model of the *féerie* industry made catastrophic flops unlikely, but gracefully bowed out with a production of *La chatte blanche* that closed in January 1909 having failed to meet the 100-performance bar. It had, however, lived for another forty years after being hastily pronounced dead in 1868.

## Tables and figures for ch. 2

**Table 2.1.** Music for Théodore and Hippolyte Cogniard, *La biche au bois*, 1845–1896.

PSM: Porte-Saint-Martin. Dashed boxes: entirely new *tableaux*; shading: *tableaux* moved to a different position. Numbers in parentheses in the 1865 column correspond to set-piece/cue numbers in Hervé's score and annotated copy of the play.

PSM, 1845	PSM, 1865	PSM, 1867	PSM, 1881	Châtelet, 1896
music compiled by Pilati	starring and with new music by Hervé, choreography by Justamant	additional music by Debillemont and Artus, published as <i>La nouvelle "Biche au bois"</i>	revised by Blum and Toché	further revisions by Blum and (uncredited) Ferrier, film projections
after printed play, published excerpts	after Hervé's ms scores and annotated copy of the 1845 printed play, "nouveaux couplets" brochure, <i>manuscrit de censure</i> , announcements in <i>L'Orchestre</i> , published excerpts, reviews in RGMP	after printed play, <i>manuscrit de censure</i> , announcement in <i>L'Orchestre</i>	after printed play, <i>manuscrit de censure</i> , printed program	after <i>manuscrit de censure</i> , announcement in <i>L'Orchestre</i>
<b>Act I</b>	<b>Act I</b>	<b>Act I</b>	<b>Act I</b>	<b>Act I</b>
I. Le roi Drelindindin Largesse! Largesse! reuse?: Pilati	I. Le roi Drelindindin new setting, original: Hervé (1)	[cut]	I. Le roi Drelindindin Drelindindin, Notre cher souverain original?: Donati ( <i>rectius</i> Lonati?) (at the <i>manuscrit de censure</i> stage, parody: Offenbach, <i>Les contes d'Hoffmann</i> , 1881)	I. Le royaume des clochettes Sonnez, cloches et clochettes ?
En l'admettant à nos côtés <i>timbre</i> : "Un homme pour faire un tableau," 1802	same as in 1845 (2)		Il eût été trop singulier <i>timbre</i> : A.-P.-J. Doche, <i>vaudeville</i> of <i>La famille de l'apothicaire</i> , 1830	
Quand sa cloche nous invite parody: Auber, <i>Le cheval de bronze</i> , 1835	same as in 1845 (3)		Puisque sa cloche nous invite parody: Lecocq, <i>Le Grand Casimir</i> , 1879	

(Table 2.I, continued)

PSM, 1845	PSM, 1865	PSM, 1867	PSM, 1881	Châtelet, 1896
<p>Ô bonheur! sur de légers nuages parody: Flotow, Burgmüller, and Deldevez, <i>Lady Henriette</i>, 1844 [<i>mélodrame</i>]</p> <p>Allons, vassaux, de ce pas... parody: Flotow, Burgmüller, and Deldevez, <i>Lady Henriette</i>, 1844 dance: pas des clochettes</p> <p>Comblez nos souhaits! parody: Auber, <i>Le serment</i>, 1832</p>	<p>2. La tour enchantée new setting, original: Hervé (4)</p> <p>Azur, immensité, ciel profond d'où rayonne (5) original: Hervé</p> <p>new setting, parody: Balfe (6)</p> <p>same as in 1845 (7)</p>		<p>Déjà sur de légers nuages parody: David, <i>Lalla-Roukh</i>, 1862</p> <p>Notre filleule en ce beau jour original?: Donati (<i>rectius</i> Lonati?) (at the <i>manuscrit de censure</i> stage, parody: Cédès, <i>Les parfums de Paris</i>, 1880) same as in 1845</p> <p>Crois-tu donc, pauvre imbécile parody: Serpette, <i>La petite muette</i>, 1877</p> <p>Allez! allez! les petits maçons! parody: Offenbach, <i>Le voyage dans la lune</i>, 1875</p>	<p>[melodramatic music]</p>
<p>2. L'empire jaune — Le prince Souci L'un veut le saigner, l'affaiblir reuse: Bérat, from <i>La dot de Cécile</i>, 1837, through <i>La fille de l'air</i>, 1837 Au point du jour <i>timbre</i>: "Le point du jour," from Dalayrac, <i>Gulistan</i>, 1805 (revived 1844)</p>	<p>3. L'empire jaune — Le prince Souci same as in 1845 (8/13)</p> <p>same as in 1845, arranged by Hervé; discarded</p>	<p>1. Les jardins jaunes same as in 1845</p>	<p>2. L'empire jaune — Le prince Souci Tiens! voilà le roi parody: Gabillaud, "Tiens! voilà Mathieu," song, 1880</p>	<p>2. L'empire jaune — Le prince Souci Pour plaire à Son Altesse parody: "refrain de Lingling"</p>

(Table 2.1, continued)

PSM, 1845	PSM, 1865	PSM, 1867	PSM, 1881	Châtelet, 1896
Ne me regarde pas ainsi parody: Grisar, "La peur," song, early 1840s? Oui, ventrebleu! si l'on en vient aux prises parody: Vogel, "Les trois couleurs," song, 1830 D'ici que la souffrance parody: Balfe, <i>Le puits d'amour</i> , 1843 [melodramatic music] Honneur! honneur à la princesse parody: Dalayrac, <i>Gulistan</i> , 1805 [melodramatic music] À bientôt, à bientôt! parody?, reuse: Flotow, from <i>Iwan le moujick</i> , 1844	Ces beaux yeux d'où la flamme ruisselle (9/14) original: Hervé  same as in 1845, arranged by Hervé (10/15)  [melodramatic music] new setting, original: Hervé (11/18)  [melodramatic music] new setting, original: Hervé (12/21)	  Oui, par ma lance de Tolède ?  [melodramatic music] same as in 1865?  [melodramatic music] Songe, Hildebert, dans quel gâchis ?	Car déjà je le ressentis parody: Hervé, <i>Le petit Faust</i> , 1869  same as in 1845  [melodramatic music] Courtisans chaleureux parody: Delibes, <i>Le bœuf Apis</i> , 1865 [melodramatic music] C'en est trop prince téméraire parody: Lecocq, <i>Giroflé-Girofla</i> , 1874	Joli portait aux yeux si doux ?     [melodramatic music] Il n'fallait pas, mame Aïka parody: Dubost, "Y avait qu'des muf's à c'tte noc'-là," song, 1882 [melodramatic music]
3. La Fée de la fontaine [melodramatic music] [ <i>mélodrame</i> ]			[melodramatic music]	[melodramatic music]
4. La tour obscure  Oui, je veux voir le ciel de la montagne parody: Monpou, ["Gastibelza," song, early 1840s]	4. La tour obscure Jeune, charmant, le front superbe (.../25bis) original: Hervé Je voudrais voir fleurir la rose (13/26) original: Hervé	2. La tour obscure Je suis le roi Drelindindin ?	3. La tour obscure  Loin de toute entrave importune parody: Audran, <i>La mascotte</i> , 1880	3. La tour obscure

(Table 2.1, continued)

PSM, 1845	PSM, 1865	PSM, 1867	PSM, 1881	Châtelet, 1896
<p>Du destin subissons la loi! ?: “Le roi des hirondelles”</p> <p>Je dois être sincère reuse: from <i>Judith et Holopherne</i>, 1834, through <i>Le fils de Triboulet</i>, 1835</p> <p>[melodramatic music]</p> <p>Faites place à Son Altesse! parody, reuse: Donizetti, <i>Parisina</i>, 1833 (Paris: 1838), through <i>Les trois quenouilles</i>, 1839</p> <p>Et maintenant, j’ai rempli mon message parody: Monpou, <i>Le planteur</i>, 1839</p>	<p>Hou, hou, hou, La voici (14/28) original: Hervé</p> <p>[melodramatic music]</p> <p>new setting, original: Hervé (15/31)</p> <p><b>December:</b> dance: Farandole des sonnettes</p> <p>Que dois-je dire à mon maître? . . . À celui que j’adore (16/33) original: Hervé</p>	<p>same as 1865, abridged?</p> <p>Le ciel profond d’une nuit amoureuse parody: Offenbach, <i>La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein</i>, 1867</p> <p>Bon voyage ?</p>	<p>Quand le chant le plus doux parody: Gounod, <i>Le tribut de Zamora</i>, 1881</p> <p>En écoutant ces mots si doux parody: Audran, <i>La mascotte</i>, 1880</p> <p>Il est une demoiselle parody: Gabillaud, “Guguste et Titine,” song, 1881</p>	<p>Pardon si je m’émancipe parody: Hervé, <i>Mam’zelle Gavroche</i>, 1885</p> <p>[melodramatic music]</p> <p>Ambassadeur d’un prince magnifique parody: Serpette, <i>Le Capitole</i>, 1895</p> <p>Ô Giroflée, ô femme aimée parody: Gounod, <i>Mireille</i>, 1864</p>
<p>[scène mystérieuse]</p> <p>5. La forêt des sycomores</p> <p>[parade]</p>	<p>5. La forêt des sycomores</p> <p>march (17/35, 36) original: Hervé (pubd. as “Polka- marche”)</p>	<p>3. La forêt des sycomores</p> <p>Courons, amis, dans les bois from 6th <i>tableau</i> of 1845 version</p>	<p>[scène mystérieuse]</p> <p>4. La forêt des sycomores</p> <p>[parade]</p>	<p>4. La forêt des sycomores</p> <p>[parade]</p>

(Table 2.I, continued)

PSM, 1845	PSM, 1865	PSM, 1867	PSM, 1881	Châtelet, 1896
	De l'air! de l'air! et des ombrages! (.../35bis) original: Hervé; discarded?	Loin du monde et du bruit <i>timbre</i> : Doche, from <i>Psyché</i> , 1814, through <i>Riquet à la houppe</i> , 1821		
<b>Act 2</b>	<b>Act 2</b>	<b>Act 2</b>	<b>Act 2</b>	<b>Act 2</b>
6. La mère l'Oie  Après sa métamorphose reuse?: Pothier ( <i>rectius</i> Potier)  Courons, amis, dans les bois parody: Jullien, "La Saint-Hubert," quadrille, early 1840s? Dépêchons! Oui, courons! ?: "air de Paris dans l'eau"  Oui, pauvre biche, il te reste, du moins parody: Puget, "Les yeux d'une mère, ou Huit ans d'absence!," song, 1843? [melodramatic music]  Princesse jeune et belle! reuse: Pilati, from <i>L'ombre</i> , 1843	6. La mère l'Oie  new setting, original: Hervé (19/38)  new setting, original: Hervé (20/41)  new setting, original: Hervé (21/44)  new setting, original: Hervé (.../49); discarded?	[cut]	5. La lisière d'un bois  La princesse un beau jour parody: Offenbach, <i>Belle Lurette</i> , 1880  Allons, hâtons-nous parody: Hervé, <i>L'œil crevé</i> , 1867	5. La lisière d'un bois  Écoutez l'aventure parody: "Marche des Horse-guards" (Tavan, 1882? or song?)  same as in 1881  D'un vague émoi mon cœur reste saisi parody: Hervé, <i>Chilpéric</i> , 1868
7. Le souterrain  De tous les maux qu'ici-bas on endure <i>timbre</i> , reuse: "De tous les maux qu'ici-bas on endure" = <i>vaudeville</i> of Kreuzer, <i>Jadis et aujourd'hui</i> , 1808, through <i>La fille de l'air</i> , 1837	7. Le souterrain	4. Les entrailles de la terre	6. Le souterrain	6. Le souterrain

(Table 2.1, continued)

PSM, 1845	PSM, 1865	PSM, 1867	PSM, 1881	Châtelet, 1896
Nous t'invoquons, Déesse! reuse?: Pilati	new setting, original: Hervé (22/51)  Je suis en effet cette reine (23/52) original: Hervé	same as in 1845	Nous t'invoquons, bonne Déesse parody: Poise, <i>Les absents</i> , 1864  Je suis le bon petit génie parody: Offenbach, <i>La jolie parfumeuse</i> , 1873	same as in 1881
		5. La mine des diamants  ballet: Les Salamandres		
8. Le kiosque indien  Puissance sans pareille! reuse?: Pilati  Et le ciel m'a recompensée! <i>timbre</i> : Adam, <i>vaudeville of La haine d'une femme</i> , 1824  [melodramatic music]  Adieu, ma belle parody: Marcaillou, "Indiana," waltz, early 1840s?, arranged by Pilati  [ <i>mélodrame</i> ]  Point de retard, allons, plongeons! ?: "Quel est ce bruit, cette rumeur?"	8. Le kiosque indien  [melodramatic music]  Allez, douce colombe (24/59) original: Hervé  [ <i>mélodrame</i> ]	[cut]	7. Le kiosque indien  J'errais toute seule à travers les bois parody: Hervé, <i>Panurge</i> , 1879  [melodramatic music]  Le malheur est fini parody: Cœdès, <i>La girouette</i> , 1880  Dors! il faut bien qu'à ma loi parody: Offenbach, <i>Belle Lurette</i> , 1880  [ <i>mélodrame</i> ]	7. Le kiosque indien  [melodramatic music]  [ <i>mélodrame</i> ]
		6. Le salon jonquille Après sa métamorphose from 6th <i>tableau</i> of 1865 version Il était un clair ruisseau ?	[cut]	[cut]

(Table 2.1, continued)

PSM, 1845	PSM, 1865	PSM, 1867	PSM, 1881	Châtelet, 1896
		<p>Oh là là! Que je souffre au bas du dos</p> <p>[parody: Offenbach, <i>La vie parisienne</i>, 1866]</p> <p>Ah! que j'aime ces militaires</p> <p>[parody: Offenbach, <i>La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein</i>, 1867]</p> <p>Allons, partons vite pour l'Afrique</p> <p>?</p>		
<p>9. Le royaume des poissons</p> <p>"Air d'entrée du <i>Barbier de Séville</i>": Rossini, <i>Il barbiere di Siviglia</i>, 1816 (Paris: 1819)</p> <p>[parade]</p> <p>Rendons hommage à sa grandeur!</p> <p>parody, reuse: "air de la Lucia" (Donizetti, <i>Lucie de Lammermoor</i>, 1839), in <i>Iwan le moujick</i>, 1844</p> <p>Au revoir, bon voyage!</p> <p>parody: Henri Berz (<i>rectius Herz</i>), <i>La violette</i>, piano variations, 1829, arranged by Pilati</p>	<p>9. Le royaume des poissons</p> <p>ballet: Ballet des poissons (includes Artus, "Les Poissons," polka-mazurka)</p> <p>September: ballet: La friture de goujons</p>	<p>7. Le royaume des poissons</p> <p>ballet: Les poissons</p>	<p>8. Le royaume des poissons</p> <p>[melodramatic music]</p> <p>Rendons tous hommage à tant de grandeur</p> <p>parody: Hervé, <i>Panurge</i>, 1879</p> <p>Sous une coupole en fonte</p> <p>parody: Lecocq, <i>Les cent vierges</i>, 1872</p> <p>ballet: Réjouissances au palais du roi Saumon</p>	<p>14. Le royaume des poissons</p> <p>[melodramatic music]</p> <p>[parade]</p> <p>same as in 1881, but crossed out</p> <p>Gloire à vous[,] noble roi, grande reine</p> <p>?</p> <p>ballet: Le monde sous-marin; Les anémones; Les coraux; L'empire de la mer; Les poissons volants; Apothéose</p>

(Table 2.1, continued)

PSM, 1845	PSM, 1865	PSM, 1867	PSM, 1881	Châtelet, 1896
				8. L'empire végétal (see below)
10. La chaumière des invisibles Au bon lutin, qui si bien nous régale parody: Bérat, "La Lisette de Béranger," song, early 1840s?  [melodramatic music] Talisman, guide nos pas! reuse?: Pilati	10. La chaumière des invisibles new setting, original: Hervé (25/73) September: Lutin de cette chaumière [parody: Semet, <i>Gil Blas</i> , 1860]  [melodramatic music] new setting, original: Hervé (26/76) September: Au château d'acier je m'élançe original?: Hervé September: Oui, c'est toi[,] vigne, la maîtresse parody: Massé, <i>Galathée</i> , 1852	8. La chaumière rustique	9. Un petit boudoir Je t'avais pourtant prévenu <i>timbre</i> : "Mon père était pot," traditional  Allons sans peur et sans faiblesses parody: Gounod, <i>Le tribut de Zamora</i> , 1881	9. Un petit boudoir Giroflée[,] idole de mon âme parody: Serpette, <i>Le royaume des femmes</i> , 1896
		9. La villa d'une fleur À la voix qui nous appelle ? Sois le bienvenu, cher prince ? Adieu, beau chevalier, bonne chance et courage ?	[cut]	[cut]
11. La roche terrible Malheur, malheur à l'audacieux original: Pilati	11. La roche terrible new setting, original: Hervé (26, continued/77)	10. La roche terrible same as in 1845	10. Le château d'acier same as in 1867?	10. Le château d'acier same as in 1881?

(Table 2.1, continued)

Act 3		Act 3		Act 3
12. Le palais d'Aïka	13. Le palais d'Aïka	12. Les cuisines	11. La cuisine du palais d'Aïka	11. La cuisine du palais d'Aïka
Oui, parmi nous la voilà, la voilà! parody: Burgmüller, <i>La Péri</i> , 1843, arranged by Pilati ballet: Pilati, "Pas de sept" [melodramatic music]	new setting, original: Hervé (.../79)  [melodramatic music]	Ah! et dire que c'est elle parody?: "Tyrolienne"	Nous sommes tous très malheureux parody: Offenbach, <i>Belle Lurette</i> , 1880 Même en présence du danger parody: Audran, <i>La mascotte</i> , 1880 Quel bonheur parody: Offenbach, <i>Le violoneux</i> , 1855 Ne perdons pas une minute parody: Hervé, <i>La Roussotte</i> , 1881 Ah! cet insecte carnivore parody: Hervé, "C'est dans l'nez qu'ça m'chatouille," <i>tyrolienne</i> , mid-1860s [music for lantern projections]	same as in 1881
Par prudence reuse: Pilati, from <i>Lénore</i> , 1843	new setting, original: Hervé (.../81)	Quelle ivresse same music as in 1865?  Dansez pelles et pincettes ?  dance: Pas des batteries de cuisine		
	13. Le cachot	14. Le palais d'Aïka	12. Un magnifique palais mauresque	12. Un magnifique palais mauresque
		De grâce écoutez ma prière parody: Gounod, <i>Faust</i> , 1859	Á ma voix et puisqu'il le faut parody: Jonas, <i>Le canard à trois becs</i> , 1869	

(Table 2.1, continued)

<p>[melodramatic music] [ceremonial music] Espérance, Perséverance parody: Donizetti, <i>Lucrezia Borgia</i>, 1833 (Paris: 1840)</p>	<p><b>September:</b> Vous venez, ô ma bien-aimée original?: Debillemant (<i>rectius</i> Debillemont) Vous venez, ô ma bien-aimée . . . Adieu douce chimère (.../83) original: Hervé</p> <p>[ceremonial music] new setting, original: Hervé (.../89)</p> <p>ballet: Les Amazones</p> <p><b>September:</b> Je vais partir pour des luttes nouvelles original?: Hervé</p>	<p>ballet: Grand ballet d'Aïka (Les Amazones; Les palmes; Les éventails)</p> <p>Il va partir pour des luttes nouvelles same music as in 1865?</p>	<p>[melodramatic music] [ceremonial music]</p> <p>ballet: Fête au palais d'Aïka</p>	<p>Oubliez-moi, princesse Désirée ?</p> <p>[melodramatic music] [ceremonial music]</p> <p>13. Un site de rochers au bord de la mer Allons, Fanfrelouche, allons tous les deux parody: Millöcker, <i>Der Bettelstudent</i>, 1882 (Paris: 1889)</p> <p>14. Le royaume des poissons (see above)</p>
<p><b>Act 4</b> 13. Le royaume des légumes [melodramatic music]</p>	<p><b>Act 3</b> 12. Le royaume des légumes [melodramatic music]</p>	<p><b>Act 3</b> 11. Le marché aux légumes</p>	<p><b>Act 4</b> 13. Le royaume des légumes [melodramatic music]</p>	<p>8. L'empire végétal [melodramatic music]</p>

(Table 2.1, continued)

<p>Je ne crains rien, je puis marcher contre eux <i>timbre</i>: “air de Colalto” = “Vive l’amour pour nous mieux secourir,” 1780 or earlier</p>	<p>same as in 1845?</p>		<p>Oui contre moi chacun complete parody: Audran, <i>La mascotte</i>, 1880</p>	<p>Courrier politique parody: Offenbach, <i>La vie parisienne</i>, 1866</p>
<p>dance: Pilati, “Polka des légumes”</p>	<p>ballet: Ballet des légumes <b>September</b>: ballet: La salade de chicorées; Les amours d’une carotte et d’un navet</p>	<p>ballet: La révolte des légumes</p>	<p>[parade]</p>	<p>[parade]</p>
	<p>[Act 4?]</p>	<p>[Act 4?]</p>		
	<p>13. Le palais d’Aïka (see above)</p>	<p>12. Les cuisines; 13. Le cachot; 14. Le palais d’Aïka (see above)</p>		
<p>14. La grotte des Sirènes</p>	<p>14. La grotte des Sirènes Au temps jadis, les Reines de l’ivresse (.../97) original: Hervé; discarded?</p>	<p>15. La grotte féerique</p>	<p>14. La grotte des Sirènes</p>	<p>[cut]</p>
<p>pantomime: Pas de la Sirène (includes or coincides with Pilati, “Pas de l’ombre”)</p>	<p>15. Le lac des Sirènes  Ô nuit, ô nuit profonde . . . Du sein des ondes (.../100) original: Hervé  Sois bienvenu dans notre empire original: Hervé</p>	<p>Act 4 [Act 5?] 16. Le palais des Sirènes</p>	<p>[pantomime]  Sur le lac aux flots d’azur parody: Offenbach, <i>Les contes d’Hoffmann</i>, 1881 (cut before the premiere, according to Mortier, but included in printed play)</p>	

(Table 2.1, continued)

Je suis la sirène...  
parody: Burgmüller,  
*La Péri*, 1843,  
arranged by Pilati

Voici la sirène  
(.../102)  
original: Hervé

15. L'Île des  
Plaisirs

[cut]

[cut]

[cut]

[cut]

Habitants de ces  
lieux divins  
?

Pourquoi ces fleurs?  
original

pantomime: La  
Volupté

Songez bien à notre  
exigence  
parody?: “Rose  
Pompon”

Adieu bonheur!  
adieu patrie!  
parody?: “air du  
Gondolier”

[melodramatic  
music]

[Act 5?]

Act 5

Act 4

16. Le boudoir de

[cut]

[cut]

[cut]

nacre

melodramatic  
music (cue 104  
extant)

Monsieur le diable  
et Madame la fée  
(.../105)

original: Hervé

Oui le voilà l'amant  
fidèle . . . Viens

parmi nous loin des  
soucis moroses  
original: Hervé

Oui, c'est Musette,  
la voilà (.../107)  
original: Hervé

Oui, c'est Marco la  
syrène (ms. score:  
Qu'elle soit biche  
ou duchesse)  
original: Hervé

Adieu! adieu! adieu!  
adieu! (.../110)  
original: Hervé

(Table 2.I, continued)

	<p>Ô doux sommeil, berce-moi dans un songe (.../111) original: Hervé (presumably supersedes earlier draft of the same number with different text)</p>			
				<p>15. Au pays des Géants Sans qu'il soit besoin de ficelle parody: Serpette, <i>Le carnet du diable</i>, 1895</p>
		<p>17. La cour des lions À cet instant suprême parody: Weyrauch, "Nach Osten!" 1824, pubd. (1835) as Schubert, "Adieu"</p>	<p>15. Un vestibule dans le palais d'Aïka Oui c'est assez me désoler parody: Lecocq, <i>La petite Mademoiselle</i>, 1879</p>	<p>16. Un vestibule dans le palais d'Aïka Peut-être est-ce un gala parody: "Ousqu'est la casterole," song?</p>
			<p>16. La forêt des lions</p>	[cut]
<p>16. Le royaume des Fées [parade]</p>	<p>17. Apothéose Et maintenant, venez génies . . . Venez de deux cœurs amoureux (.../112) original: Hervé <b>September:</b> Au bon vieux pays de France original?: Debillemant (<i>rectius</i> Debillemont)</p>	[cut]	<p>17. Apothéose</p>	<p>17. Apothéose</p>

Table 2.2. Vocal numbers in the five versions of *La biche au bois*.

	1845	1865	1867	1881	1896
total	43	41	26	38	20
by type:					
<i>timbre</i>	5 (13%)	3 (7%)	2 (13%)	2 (5%)	0
parody	23 (59%)	3 (7%)	7 (44%)	33 (87%)	15 (94%)
original or composed for earlier plays	11 (28%)	35 (85%)	7 (44%)	3 (8%)	1 (6%)
unknown	4 (9%)	—	10 (38%)	—	4 (20%)
by age of the music:					
≤ 5 years	16 (52%)	34 (85%)	8 (62%)	19 (54%)	3 (25%)
5 < x ≤ 10 years	5 (16%)	0	1 (8%)	4 (11%)	1 (8%)
10 < x ≤ 20 years	5 (16%)	0	0	7 (20%)	3 (25%)
20 < x ≤ 50 years	4 (13%)	4 (10%)	2 (15%)	2 (6%)	5 (42%)
> 50 years	1 (3%)	2 (5%)	2 (15%)	3 (9%)	0
unknown	12 (28%)	1 (2%)	13 (50%)	3 (8%)	8 (40%)

Table 2.3. Musical sources of the vocal numbers in four traditional *féeries*, 1880–1905.

Asterisk: operetta, composerly *vaudeville*, composerly *féerie*; dagger: opera, *opéra comique*.

source	year
<b><i>L'arbre de Noël</i> (Porte-Saint-Martin, 1880)</b>	
original: Lonati	
* Offenbach, <i>Madame l'Archiduc</i>	1874
Offenbach, “Chanson de Fortunio,” song (also in <i>La chanson de Fortunio</i> , 1861) (cut during rehearsals)	1852
original	
* Lecocq, <i>La petite mariée</i>	1875
* Offenbach, <i>La Princesse de Trébizonde</i>	1869
original: Lecocq	
* Lecocq, <i>La marjolaine</i>	1877
[original: Lecocq]	
original: Lonati	
<i>timbre</i>	
† Semet, <i>Gil Blas</i>	1860
* Offenbach, <i>La fille du tambour-major</i>	1879
* Lecocq, <i>Le barbier de Trouville</i>	1871
* Offenbach, <i>La belle Hélène</i>	1864
† Rossini, <i>Guillaume Tell</i>	1829
<i>timbre?</i>	

(Table 2.3, continued)

source	year
* Offenbach, <i>La Princesse de Trébizonde</i>	1869
* Vasseur, <i>La timbale d'argent</i>	1872
Massé, "Souvenirs!" or Weckerlin, "Sylvie," song	1850 or 1853
original	
* Lecocq, <i>La marjolaine</i>	1877
[original: Lecocq]	
* Offenbach, <i>Le Pont des soupirs</i>	1861
† Mozart, <i>Don Giovanni</i>	
Brahms, Hungarian Dance no. 4?	1869?
* Offenbach, <i>La vie parisienne</i>	1866
* Hervé, <i>Les chevaliers de la Table Ronde</i>	1866
Métra, "Les roses," waltz	1861
<i>timbre?</i>	
* Hervé, <i>Les chevaliers de la Table Ronde</i>	1866
* Offenbach, <i>La jolie parfumeuse</i>	1873
Rossini, "La danza," song	1835
* Lecocq, <i>La petite Mademoiselle</i>	1879
* Lecocq, <i>Fleur-de-Thé</i>	1868
† Auber, <i>La muette de Portici</i>	1828
<b><i>Le Petit Poucet (Gaité, 1885, revived 1891)</i></b>	
† Auber, <i>La fiancée</i>	1829
Fossey, "Le retour du soldat," from melodrama <i>Les Cosaques</i>	1853
* Offenbach, <i>Mademoiselle Moucheron</i>	1881
original?	
Gabillaud, "Il n'a pas d'parapluie," song	1882
* Chabrier, <i>L'étoile</i>	1877
* Hervé, <i>Chilpéric</i>	1868
* Offenbach, <i>Le voyage dans la Lune</i>	1875
* Offenbach, <i>Madame l'Archiduc</i>	1874
† Grisar, <i>Bonsoir Monsieur Pantalon</i>	1851
* Lacome, <i>Le beau Nicolas</i>	1880
* Serpette, <i>Madame le Diable</i>	1882
† Offenbach, <i>Les contes d'Hoffmann</i>	1881
<i>timbre</i>	
original	
* Lecocq, <i>Fleur-de-Thé</i>	1868
original	
* Offenbach, <i>La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein</i>	1867
* Lecocq, <i>Giroflé-Girofla</i>	1874
* Audran, <i>La mascotte</i>	1880
* Offenbach, <i>Orphée aux Enfers</i>	1858
<i>timbre</i>	

(Table 2.3, continued)

source	year
† David, <i>Lalla-Roukh</i>	1862
* Offenbach, <i>La vie parisienne</i>	1866
† Méhul, <i>Joseph</i>	1807
Gouzien, “La légende de Saint Nicolas,” song	1864
* Offenbach, <i>La chanson de Fortunio</i>	1861
* Planquette, <i>Rip</i> (pubd. and performed in London 1882)	1884
† Boieldieu, <i>La dame blanche</i>	1825
[original?]	
* Lecocq, <i>La fille de Madame Angot</i>	1872
Métra, “Les volontaires,” march	1870s
?	
<b><i>Les aventures de Monsieur de Crac (Châtelet, 1886)</i></b>	
<i>timbre</i>	
* Lecocq, <i>La marjolaine</i>	1877
Abadie, “Les feuilles mortes,” song	1849
* Planquette, <i>La cantinière</i>	1880
* Serpette, <i>Fanfreluche</i>	1883
* Lecocq, <i>Le cœur et la main</i>	1882
* Offenbach, <i>Les brigands</i>	1869
* Offenbach, <i>Les braconniers</i>	1873
* Serpette, <i>Le château de Tire-Larigot</i>	1884
* Serpette, <i>Le château de Tire-Larigot</i>	1884
* Audran, <i>La mascotte</i>	1880
Robillard, “L’amant d’Amanda,” song	1876
* Offenbach, <i>Les brigands</i>	1869
* Offenbach, <i>La belle Hélène</i>	1864
* Lecocq, <i>Les cent vierges</i>	1872
* Offenbach, <i>La Périchole</i>	1868
* Messenger, <i>La fauvette du temple</i>	1885
from <i>vaudeville Le voyage en Suisse</i>	1879
* Messenger, <i>La Béarnaise</i>	1885
original?	
* Lecocq, <i>La fille de Madame Angot</i>	1872
Desormes, “La grosse caisse,” piano piece	1884
* Offenbach, <i>Orphée aux Enfers?</i>	1858
* Hervé, <i>Le trône d’Ecosse</i>	1871
[original: Artus]	
* Offenbach, <i>Belle Lurette</i>	1880
Desormes, “La grosse caisse,” piano piece	1884
Métra, “Les volontaires,” march	1870s
* Offenbach, <i>Les brigands</i>	1869
* Jonas, <i>Le canard à trois becs</i>	1869

(Table 2.3, continued)

source	year
Sellenick, "Marche indienne"	1879
* Offenbach, <i>La Princesse de Trébizonde</i>	1869
Marenco, <i>Excelsior</i> (Paris: 1883)	1881
† Bizet, <i>Carmen</i>	1875
* Lecocq, <i>La vie mondaine</i>	1885
<i>timbre</i>	
* Offenbach, <i>Geneviève de Brabant</i>	1867
* Bernicat, <i>François les bas-bleus</i>	1883
* Offenbach, <i>Le roi Carotte</i>	1872
<i>timbre</i>	
* Serpette, <i>Le Petit Chaperon rouge</i>	1885
* Audran, <i>Serment d'amour</i>	1886
* Planquette, <i>La cantinière</i>	1880
<b><i>Les 400 coups du diable</i> (Châtelet, 1905)</b>	
* Varney, <i>Les mousquetaires au couvent</i>	1880
Waldteufel, "Au revoir," waltz?	1876?
?: "Big brass band"	
Parlow, "Amboss-Polka"	1860s
† Meyerbeer, <i>L'Africaine</i>	1865
* Offenbach, <i>Barbe-Bleue</i>	1866
Soyer, "Les fantoches," schottische?	1903?
nursery rhyme	
Massenet, "Les enfants," song	1882
Berger, "Marche des gamins de Paris"	1900
couplet du jiu-jitsu (sic) — ?	
* Lecocq, <i>Giroflé-Girofla</i>	1874
* Ganne, <i>Les saltimbanques</i>	1899
† <i>La Bohème</i> , <i>rectius</i> : Mascagni, <i>Cavalleria Rusticana</i> (Paris: 1892)	1890
Borel-Clerc (arr.), "La matchiche," song	1905
<b>no information for 16 numbers</b>	

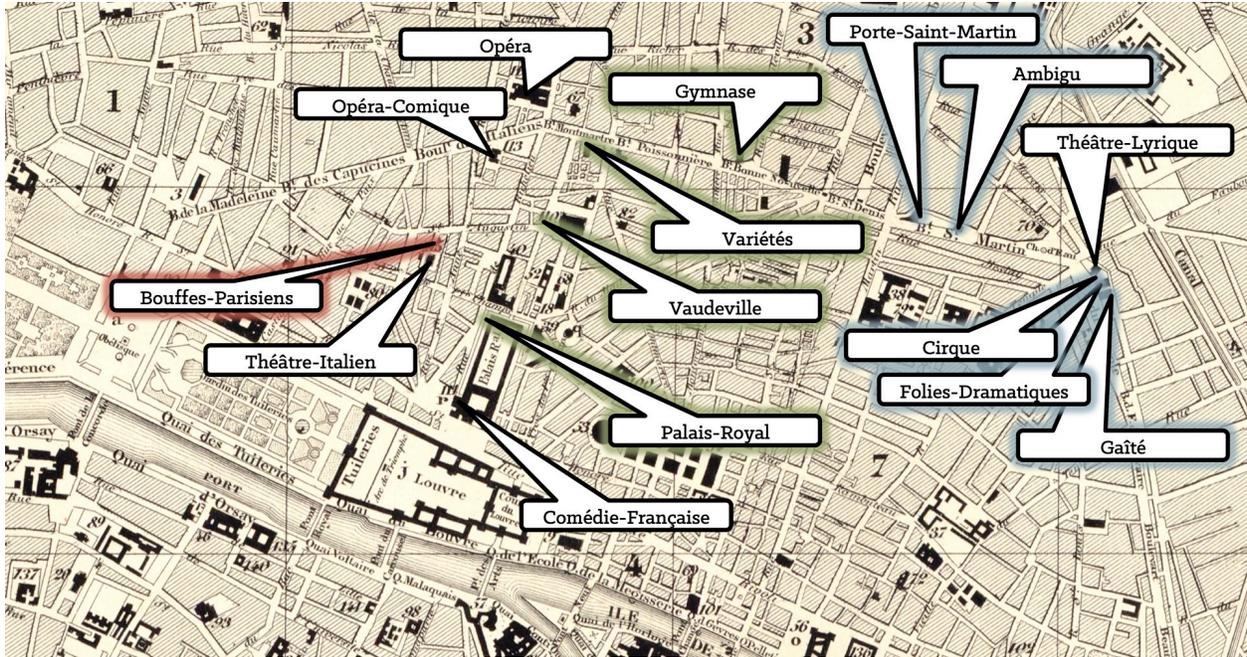


Fig. 2.1. Parisian theatres of the Right Bank, c1860. Vaudeville theatres highlighted in green, melodrama theatres in blue, operetta theatre in red.

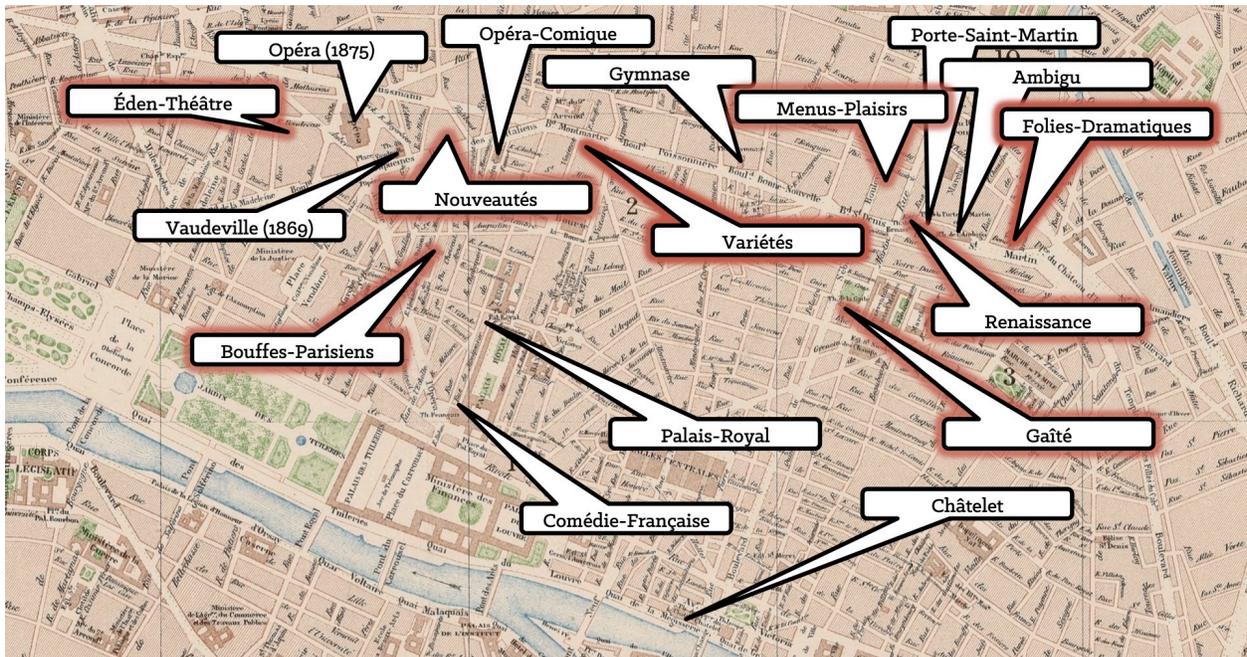


Fig. 2.2. Parisian theatres of the Right Bank in the 1880s and 1890s. “Operetta belt” highlighted in red. (“Opéra-Comique” marks the position of the Salle Favart: between its 1887 fire and its reopening in 1898, the Opéra-Comique was provisionally relocated on the place du Châtelet.)

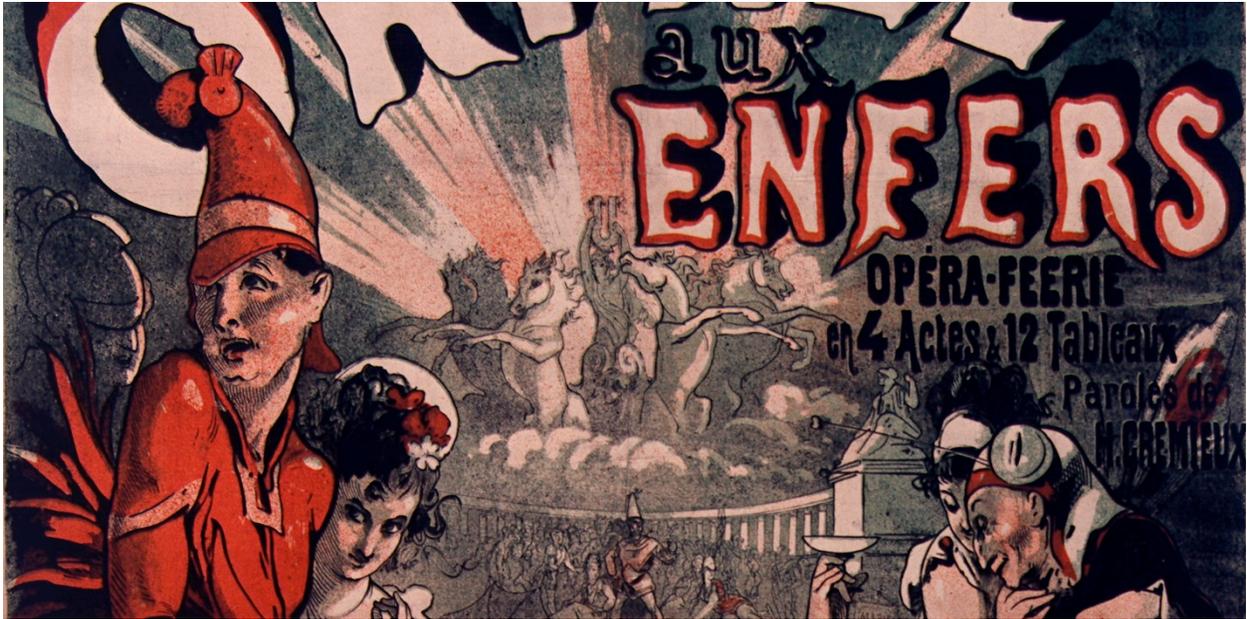


Fig. 2.3. Jules Chéret, poster for *Orphée aux enfers*, detail. Source: Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Fig. 2.4. Bertall, caricature of Offenbach as Apollo, in Arnold Mortier, *Promenade autour d'Orphée aux enfers* (Paris: Charles Schiller, 1874).



**Fig. 2.5.** Aimé Millet, *Apollo, Poetry, and Music*. Photograph from Charles Garnier, *Le nouvel Opéra de Paris*, deuxième partie, vol. 2, *Statues décoratives, groupes et bas-reliefs* (Paris: Ducher, 1875). Source: Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

### 3. Scientific *féerie* and the féerization of Parisian theatre

#### 1874–1940: the age of scientific *féerie*

Let us begin from a distant place in time — from the standpoint of nineteenth-century *féerie*, a distant place in the future.

In July 1938, Hollywood film producer and aviator Howard Hughes flew around the world in less than four days. Having departed from New York, his first stopover was at the Parisian airfield of Le Bourget, and his feat received enthusiastic coverage in the French press. Just a month later, only a few miles south of Le Bourget, the Châtelet reopened after the summer hiatus with Jules Verne and Adolphe d'Ennery's *Le tour du monde en 80 jours*, the 1874 adaptation of *Around the World in Eighty Days*, which continued to be a safe bet for the theatre's management despite the fact that Phileas Fogg's fictional record had just been beaten in real life by a factor of twenty.

The following summer, with a decision that looks equally anachronistic to us, the Châtelet brought back the other Verne-d'Ennery blockbuster, *Michel Strogoff*, from 1880. Apparently the Châtelet assumed that theatregoers would have no trouble reconciling an almost sixty-year-old play glorifying Imperial Russia and its subjugation of non-ethnic Russian peoples in Asia with a reality where the Romanov monarchy was a distant memory

and had been replaced by the ostensibly multinational Soviet Union. They might also have hoped that the ongoing negotiations between France, Britain, and the Soviet Union would be successful and that a new alliance would be soon announced. When the 1897 Franco-Russian alliance was concluded, *Michel Strogoff* had served as a vehicle to celebrate Franco-Russian friendship (or, more cynically put, the geopolitical events had helped the play stay relevant, and profitable). The same could have happened in August 1939, if things had taken a different turn. But as we know, the talks with the Western powers failed, and the Soviet Union signed the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact instead.

Howard Hughes and sixty-five years of technological advances and did not make *Le tour du monde en 80 jours* a thing of the past, but something else did. On Friday, May 10, 1940, Hitler launched his offensive on the Netherlands and Belgium. In Paris Prime Minister Paul Reynaud reshuffled his cabinet, in London Neville Chamberlain resigned and the First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill, formed a new government. The Phoney War was over, what would be known as the Battle of France had begun. On Monday, May 13, *Le tour du monde en 80 jours* was performed for the last time at the Châtelet. It would not be revived again: an optimistic tale of an Englishman (Fogg), a Frenchman (Passepartout), and an American (Archibald Corsican) on a triumphant expedition across the (largely British-ruled) globe, it was unlikely to be authorized by the German occupants, and would have been at odds with the mood of a defeated and inward-looking France.

In November 1941, the performing-arts weekly *Comœdia* published an article on *féerie* by Gaston Baty.<sup>1</sup> A prominent stage director in the interwar period and one of the three surviving members of the celebrated Cartel des Quatre, Baty was among the artists who had chosen to

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<sup>1</sup> Gaston Baty, "Féeries," *Comœdia*, November 15, 1941, 1 and 4. Hélène Laplace-Clavier quotes in part and discusses this article in *Modernes féeries: Le théâtre français du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle entre réenchantement et désenchantement* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2007), 51–52.

continue working in Nazi-occupied Paris — unlike fellow Cartel member Louis Jouvet. The article advocates for the revival of the old-fashioned, supernatural *féerie*, which, as we have seen in **Chapter 2**, had died out as a mainstream phenomenon in the first decade of the century. Baty compares supernatural *féerie* favorably to “a whole lineage of spectacular plays [*pièces à spectacle*] that had pretensions to modernize the traditional formula.”<sup>2</sup> The “lineage” in question is scientific *féerie* (though Baty does not use the expression), and its progenitor *Le tour du monde en 80 jours* (as Baty points out). What made scientific *féerie* artistically inferior, according to Baty, was its unwillingness to transcend the present moment and the physical world:

Instead of escaping out of time, people were content with traveling through space — a space shrunk to the size of Earth. Poor overly sensible *féeries*, whose imagination got weaker with every season, and the best of which could never equal *Les bibelots du diable* or *La poudre de Perlinpinpin*.<sup>3</sup>

The claim that scientific *féerie* had confined itself to Earth is technically incorrect, since some plays did explore other astronomical bodies, but the meaning is clear. This passage is noteworthy as Baty is among the first writers who could legitimately speak of scientific *féerie* in the past tense, and among the last who still recognized scientific *féerie* as *féerie*.

Without going as far as seeing in Baty’s plans for the restoration of traditional *féerie* a reactionary agenda akin to the “national revolution” of the Vichy regime, we can guess that the longing for the timeless, mythical universe of fairy tales chimed in with a disillusionment

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<sup>2</sup> “[T]oute une lignée de pièces à spectacle qui prétendirent moderniser la formule traditionnelle.” Baty, “Féeries,” 1.

<sup>3</sup> “Au lieu de s’évader hors du temps, on se contenta de voyager à travers l’espace, un espace rapetissé aux dimensions de la terre. Pauvres féeries trop raisonnable, d’une fantaisie chaque saison plus indigente, dont les meilleures n’égalèrent jamais les ‘Bibelots du Diable’ ou ‘La Poudre de Perlinpinpin’.” Baty, “Féeries,” 1.

with the ideology of progress that had marked the Third Republic. In 1944 Baty would put on a puppet-theatre production of an old-style *féerie*, *La queue de la poêle*, which shares its title with an 1856 play by Paul Siraudin and Alfred Delacour but also credits as inspirations the canonic *féerie* authors Alphonse Martainville (coauthor of *Le pied de mouton*), Clairville, and the Cogniard brothers.<sup>4</sup> In hindsight, Baty's 1941 article, with its ideal of a dream world born out of stage tricks and of an oneiric pastiche of early-modern decorative styles, appears to have found its perfect realization in Jean Cocteau's 1946 film *La Belle et la Bête*. It is surely no coincidence that the best-known sequence of the Cocteau film, where the furniture of the Beast's castle comes to life, recalls a trick-intensive *tableau* from *La biche au bois*, "La chaumière des invisibles" (The Cabin of the Invisibles).<sup>5</sup> It is probably no coincidence, either, that Cocteau is another case of an artist who accommodated himself to Nazi occupants during the *années noires*: even though *La Belle et la Bête* was made after the war, its alignment with traditional *féerie* testifies to a climate in which the values reflected by scientific *féerie* had ceased to hold currency.

Let us now move even farther away, not just chronologically, this time, but also geographically, and add to our evidence two artworks, both from the 1940s and both from distant corners of the world: one at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, the other at the Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa, Oklahoma. One is a simple pencil drawing on a small piece of paper. It was made by a teenage boy from Prague, Petr Ginz, between 1942 and 1944, while he was imprisoned in the Teresín ghetto, before being transported to Auschwitz to be killed. The other, from 1947, is an oil painting by an esteemed New York-based artist, Henry Robinson Leigh, who was 81 years old at the time. The two images, created under such dramatically

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<sup>4</sup> "La Queue de la Poêle, Féerie en 3 actes et 14 tableaux, à la manière du Boulevard du Crime, d'après Martainville, Siraudin, Clairville, les Frères Cogniard et autres Classiques du Genre." Printed program in F-Pnas 4-RO-13532 (2).

<sup>5</sup> The same sequence is likely to have suggested in turn the characters of the animated objects in the 1991 Disney cartoon *Beauty and the Beast*.

different circumstances, share the same subject. Both represent the surface of the Moon, a landscape of sharp rock formations made all the more impressive by the harsh contrast between light and shadow, and both show planet Earth in the middle of a dark sky (Ginz's drawing is known in English as *Moon Landscape*, the title of Leigh's painting is *Landscape on the Moon*).<sup>6</sup> In both cases, the full disc of the Earth is illuminated, the North Pole is facing upwards, and the outline of the continents is perfectly visible. In Ginz's drawing, the Earth presents a traditional view of the Old World; in Leigh's painting, a view of the Americas. Needless to say, this presentation of the Earth as seen from the Moon is highly unrealistic: in the famous "Earthrise" photo taken from lunar orbit in 1968, the Earth's disc is only partly lit, the Earth's axis is parallel instead of perpendicular to the surface of the Moon, the globe is enveloped in clouds, only a few sections of coastline are discernible, and those that are do not match the silhouettes that someone from the First World would be most familiar with but instead trace the shapes of Africa, South America, and Antarctica. Both artworks, Ginz's and Leigh's, reinforce a conventional image of the globe that had been imprinted in the Western mind by cartographic representations that privileged Europe and North America. One need look no further than the world maps in globular projection, with the "Western" and "Eastern" hemispheres next to each other, so ubiquitous in the nineteenth century. The engraved frontispiece of Verne's first tale of a trip around the world, the novel *Les enfants du capitaine Grant*, displays, inevitably, a map of this kind — despite the fact that a projection that splits the globe into two halves and slices through Australasia is ill suited to illustrate any trip around the world, let alone that of the novel, largely set in Australasia.<sup>7</sup> This two-hemisphere representation of the world, which had marked the era of Western imperialism, might live on

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<sup>6</sup> Yad Vashem, "Art in the Holocaust," exhibition brochure, accessed January 9, 2020, <https://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/ready2print/pdf/art.pdf>; Gilcrease Museum, "Landscape on the Moon / William Robinson Leigh," accessed January 9, 2020, <https://collections.gilcrease.org/object/012233>.

<sup>7</sup> Jules Verne, *Les enfants du capitaine Grant: Voyage autour du monde*, illustrated by Édouard Riou (Paris: Hetzel, 1868). The novel is known in English as *In Search of the Castaways*.

to this day — someone would say tellingly — in the logo of the International Monetary Fund, but the geopolitical events of the 1940s, World War II and the beginning of the Cold War and of decolonization, made its inadequacy apparent. The decade saw instead the rise of polar projections, in the popular maps drawn for mass-market magazines by Richard Edes Harrison and in the emblem of the United Nations.<sup>8</sup>

Both Ginz and Leigh were tapping into an “Earth seen from the Moon” imagery that the 1902 Georges Méliès film *A Trip to the Moon* had contributed to popularizing in its day. After falling into obscurity, Méliès had enjoyed a newfound recognition in the last decade of his life, and by the time of his death in 1938 *A Trip to the Moon* had achieved iconic status. That same year, some designs for the film were exhibited in Paris.<sup>9</sup> But Méliès was not the originator of the “Earth seen from the Moon” visual trope in popular culture, to which he referred by the more poetic expression *clair de terre* — “Earthlight,” calqued on “moonlight,” much as “Earthrise” would be calqued on “sunrise” in the 1960s. Nor did he get the idea from the most obvious suspect, Verne. In fact, in Verne’s diptych of lunar novels, *De la terre à la lune* (From the Earth to the Moon, 1865) and *Autour de la lune* (Around the Moon, 1870), the characters do not manage to land on the Moon, and cannot observe a *clair de terre* as a result. His source, instead, was none other than *Le voyage dans la lune*, the 1875 *féerie* by Albert Vanloo, Eugène Leterrier, and Arnold Mortier with original music by Offenbach. The final *apothéose* of the play, and one of its most memorable *clous*, was precisely a *clair de terre*, with a full Earth emerging from a lunar landscape.<sup>10</sup> This might not have been the first ever appearance of the

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<sup>8</sup> See Timothy Barney, *Mapping the Cold War: Cartography and the Framing of America’s International Power* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

<sup>9</sup> Eight of the designs were reproduced under the headline “Le voyage dans la Lune vu par Georges Méliès” in *Ce soir*, March 29, 1938, 8.

<sup>10</sup> On the relation of the film *Voyage dans la lune* to its stage counterpart, see Thierry Lefebvre, “A Trip to the Moon: A Composite Film,” trans. Timothy Barnard, in *Fantastic Voyages of the Cinematic Imagination: Georges Méliès’s Trip to the Moon*, ed. Matthew Solomon (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2011), 49–63, and Robert Pourvoyeur, “Exclusivités lunaires: Un opéra pirate?,” *Bulletin de la Société Jules Verne*, no. 136 (2000), 33–43.

*clair de terre* trope: Amédée Guillemin's popular science book *La lune* (1866) already contained an illustration of a *clair de terre*, albeit without the rocky peaks.<sup>11</sup> But the 1875 *féerie* — which did feature rocky peaks — certainly helped etch the image in collective memory. Méliès could have seen it both as a teenager in the 1870s and as an adult in 1892, when it was revived in Paris for the last time. Press illustrations from the time of the première suggest that the Earth, in *Le voyage dans la lune*, looked exactly as it would in Méliès's film and in Petr Ginz's drawing, displaying Europe, Africa, and Asia, North Pole on top, no clouds. A poster commissioned by the music publisher Choudens to advertise Offenbach's music for the play depicts the *clair de terre* scene: the disc of the Earth is very bright and the continents are hard to discern at first sight, but once the picture is flipped horizontally and appears as it was drawn on the lithographic stone, the mass of Eurasia on the top portion of the globe (the bottom portion is hidden by the rock formations) is easy to recognize.<sup>12</sup>

What are we to make of the survival of *Le tour du monde en 80 jours* and *Michel Strogoff* until World War II, and of the long-lasting reverberation of *Le voyage dans la lune*, despite its disappearance from the stage at the turn of the century?

The stage life of *Le tour du monde en 80 jours*, and as a consequence the stage life of scientific *féerie*, encompasses virtually the whole Third Republic. When the play premiered on November 7, 1874, the new regime was not yet fully established: the provisional Assemblée nationale was still sitting in Versailles, the constitutional laws that would define the new institutional makeup of France had not been passed yet, and there were serious doubts about President Patrice de Mac Mahon's loyalty to the republican form of government. Two months after *Le tour du monde* disappeared from the Parisian stage, Prime Minister Philippe Pétain

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<sup>11</sup> Amédée Guillemin, *La lune* (Paris: Hachette, 1866), illustration at p. 147.

<sup>12</sup> Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, ENT DN-1 (ANCOURT)-FT 6, and F-Po, AFFICHES ILLUSTRÉES-354, digitized and online at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9008591b> and <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b531677565>, respectively (accessed February 12, 2020).

would liquidate all democratic institutions and proclaim himself “Head of the French State,” banishing the very word “Republic.” The stage career of *Le tour du monde* coincided not just with a moment in French history, but with a moment in world history. Among Verne’s inspirations was surely an 1871 article by the travel writer Edmond Plauchut titled “Le tour du monde en cent vingt jours.”<sup>13</sup> Plauchut then wrote a book about the “four military campaigns of 1874”: the Japanese invasion of Taiwan, the Third Anglo-Ashanti War, the French expedition in Tonkin, the Aceh War. The following year, to make the point of his book clearer, he reissued it as *Les armées de la civilisation*, the “armies of civilization” being those of the newly modernized Meiji Japan, Britain, France, and the Netherlands.<sup>14</sup> By the late 1940s, Plauchut’s “civilizing” powers had either lost their imperial possessions (Japan) or were confronted, in those same 1874 theatres of war, with decolonization movements led by three emerging figures on the world stage — Kwame Nkrumah, Ho Chi Minh, and Sukarno. As for the British Raj so prominently featured in *Le tour du monde*, it outlasted the play by a mere seven years.

If *Le tour du monde* was a constant presence throughout this period, *Le voyage dans la lune* was a subterranean but equally persistent one, disappearing in 1892, resurfacing ten years later in the form of the Méliès film, disappearing again, and resurfacing again with the Méliès renaissance of the 1930s. With its technophilic, anthropocentric, and Western-centric optimism, of which the *clair de terre* imagery is an emblem, scientific *féerie* embodied the ethos of an era marked by the Second Industrial Revolution, the great inventors (Bell, Edison, the Lumières, Marconi), the First Globalization, but also the apogee of the British and French colonial empires, the conquest of the American West — followed by the codification of the

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<sup>13</sup> Edmond Plauchut, “Le tour du monde en cent vingt jours,” *Revue des deux mondes*, September 1, 1871, 105–31, and September 15, 1871, 368–403.

<sup>14</sup> Edmond Plauchut, *Les quatre campagnes militaires de 1874* (Paris: Michel Lévy, 1875). Second edition as *Les armées de la civilisation* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1876).

Frontier myth — and the belief in the notion of the civilizing mission. Although shaken by the carnage of World War I, some of this optimism would live on. We find it in Henry Robinson Leigh, who, in fact, had built his career as a painter of Frontier scenes — which is why his *Landscape on the Moon* is held at the Gilcrease Museum, devoted to the art of the American West. We find it, despite his tragic life circumstances, in Petr Ginz, who, as a middle-class boy from a European capital, was the ideal consumer of Verne or Verne-inspired novels and of scientific *féerie*. What did scientific *féerie* do, after all, if not teach children — and boys in particular — that the world was their oyster, that they could literally be masters of the universe, if they were ambitious enough?

Contemporaries already drew a connection between scientific *féerie* and the ideology of the Third Republic. Twenty years before Baty, playwright Robert de Flers had already voiced nostalgia for traditional *féerie*. In a review of the 1919 scientific *féerie* *Malikoko, roi nègre*, he wrote that no one could replace fairies, “neither engineers, nor explorers, nor Negro kings, nor Mr. Wilson himself,” where “Negro kings” refers to the eponymous character of the play — the latest incarnation of the extra-European savage featured in countless scientific *féeries* — and the mention of Woodrow Wilson, who had just received the Nobel Peace Prize for his instrumental role in the founding of the League of Nations, presumably implies that he and the writers who devised scientific *féerie* plots shared an inclination to think on a global scale.<sup>15</sup> Flers summed up his complaint with the words “Why did they ‘secularize’ *féerie*?” which likened the purging of *féerie* from its supernatural elements to the secularist policies of the Third Republic, most famously the 1905 law on the separation between church and state.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> “Personne ne les remplacera, ni les ingénieurs, ni les explorateurs, ni les rois nègres, ni M. Wilson lui-même.” Robert de Flers, “La semaine dramatique,” *Le Figaro*, December 21, 1919, 1.

<sup>16</sup> “Ah! pourquoi donc a-t-on ‘laïcisé’ la féerie?” Flers, “La semaine dramatique,” December 21, 1919, 1. Flers was so proud of his quip on the secularization of *féerie* that he repeated it in 1921, in a foreword to a fairy tale by Queen Marie of Romania, and again while reviewing the 1923 play *Bouboule*. Robert de Flers, preface to Marie, reine de

But the awareness that the new *féerie* expressed a new set of values for a new era had been present since the inception of the phenomenon. In **Chapter 1** I quoted Émile Zola's remark that "it only made sense that today's *féeries* would be adapted from Mr. Verne's books" since these "were taking the place of Perrault's tales in the hands of children." Zola, who was writing after the première of Verne and d'Ennery's *Les enfants du capitaine Grant* in December 1878, was not the first person to suggest a parallel between Perrault (and traditional stage *féerie*) and Verne (and scientific *féerie*). A conservative writer, Gaston de Saint-Valry, had already made the Perrault-Verne comparison in an article titled "Old Fairies and Modern Fairies," in December 1875. Although the article is ostensibly only concerned with literature and not with the theatre, Saint-Valry's reflections may have been prompted by *Le voyage dans la lune*, which had been playing at the Gaîté since October.

I seem to hear the old fairies saying: "Child! Be wise, be clever, circumspect, eager to please . . . be skillful, active and willing to help . . ." "Young man," say the modern fairies, "learn, study, work, do not be bothered by society and men. Society is harsh and men are selfish. Turn to nature and science, focus on yourself, broaden your mind, strengthen your courage . . . As a learned person, you will be free, and, if not happy, at least at peace."<sup>17</sup>

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Roumanie, *Kildine: Histoire d'une méchante petite princesse* (Tours: Mame, 1921), 6; Robert de Flers, "La semaine dramatique," *Le Figaro*, January 14, 1924, 1.

<sup>17</sup> "Il me semble entendre dire aux anciennes fées: — Enfant! sois avisé, sois spirituel, circonspect, étudie-toi à plaire . . . sois habile, actif et serviable . . . — Jeune homme, disent les fées modernes, apprends, étudie, travaille, ne t'inquiète pas de la société et des hommes; la société est dure et les hommes égoïstes; tourne-toi [*sic*] vers la nature et la science, confine-toi en toi-même, agrandis ton esprit, fortifie ton courage . . . savant, tu seras libre, et, sinon heureux, au moins paisible." Gaston de Saint-Valry, "Critique politique et littéraire," *La Patrie*, December 14, 1875, [2].

Old fairies speak the language of the *ancien régime* — loyalty, respect for authority, prudence; modern fairies speak the language of capitalism — individualism, industriousness, innovation. The very fact that the former address the reader as “child” and the latter as “young man” highlights the contrast between a paternalist ethics and an ethics of personal responsibility. To quote a classic work of social history, Harold Perkin’s *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780–1880*, the modern fairies voice the “entrepreneurial ideal” that replaced *ancien régime* values by prevailing in a “battle for the heart” (that is, a struggle for cultural hegemony).<sup>18</sup> The emergence of scientific *féerie* in the mid-1870s coincided with the definitive triumph of the entrepreneurial ideal in France — a triumph arguably marked by the 1876 election and the constitutional crisis of the following year, which put an end to the reactionary *ordre moral* cabinets and consolidated the young Third Republic as a parliamentary regime.

If the magnitude and influence of scientific *féerie* as a cultural phenomenon are beyond doubt, my labeling this phenomenon “scientific *féerie*” is not innocent. Fin-de-siècle critics did not settle on a term, after the initial popularity of “scientific *féerie*,” and often referred to *Le tour du monde* to define the genre by way of synecdoche. Most theatre historians call this repertoire by the term *pièce à grand spectacle* — a common as well as frustratingly vague contemporary designation that appends the qualifier “highly spectacular,” used throughout the century, to the neutral term “play,” which became widespread after the 1864 deregulation had ended the policing of theatrical genres. Modern scholarship has failed to fully acknowledge these works as part and parcel of the *féerie* tradition. John McCormick’s *Popular Theatres of Nineteenth-Century France* discusses them in a chapter devoted to melodrama, despite also having a chapter on *féerie*; in his survey of nineteenth-century Parisian theatre, Jean-Claude Yon groups them with military plays, while, again, dealing with *féeries* in a

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<sup>18</sup> Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780–1880* (London: Routledge, 2002). First published 1969.

separate section; Sylvie Roques, in her recent monograph, emphasizes the originality of the Verne plays; Anne-Simone-Dufief considers *Le tour du monde* a hybrid of melodrama, comedy, and *féerie*.<sup>19</sup> In choosing to use “scientific *féerie*” for this corpus, I am striking a compromise between an emic and an etic position. On the one hand, the expression “scientific *féerie*” seems to have fallen out of use after the 1870s.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, there is ample evidence that these plays continued to be considered, and called, *féeries*.

When, in 1886, the Châtelet revived *Le tour du monde*, critic Edmond Stoullig greeted it as “the masterpiece of [its] genre,” and though he did not advance a label for that “genre,” he described *Le tour du monde* as “this *féerie* that wanders from Suez to the Indies, and from Indies to San Francisco.”<sup>21</sup> In 1890, the *Revue d'art dramatique* published a satirical piece by playwright Auguste Germain based on the old trope of writing for the stage as cookery. “Recipes” for different kinds of melodramas (roasted meats, in the culinary metaphor) are followed by a single recipe for *féeries* (desserts). While military plays are treated as a variant of melodrama, plays in the vein of *Le tour du monde* are included among *féeries*. In fact, Germain writes that

One can distinguish between two kinds of *féerie*: the old and the modern. The old one consisted in taking a fairy tale, generally by Perrault, and dividing it up into *tableaux* where one could see in order a poor cabin, a palace room, a forest, a cave, then the palace of the fairies, the palace of diamonds, the palace of mirrors, and any number of

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<sup>19</sup> John McCormick, *Popular Theatres of Nineteenth-Century France* (London: Routledge, 1993); Jean-Claude Yon, *Une histoire du théâtre à Paris de la Révolution à la Grande Guerre* (Paris: Aubier, 2012); Sylvie Roques, *Jules Verne et l'invention d'un théâtre-monde* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2018); Anne-Simone Dufief, “*Le tour du monde en quatre-vingt jours*, une *féerie* scientifique,” in *Jules Verne cent ans après*, ed. Jean-Pierre Picot and Christian Robin (Rennes: Terre de Brume, 2005), 139–58.

<sup>20</sup> Which does not mean that there are no later occurrences: see, for example, Georges Cain, *Anciens théâtres de Paris: Le boulevard du crime, les théâtres de boulevard* (Paris: Charpentier et Fasquelle, 1920), 238.

<sup>21</sup> “[C]ette *féerie* qui se promène de Suez aux Indes et es Indes à San Francisco . . . C’est le chef-d’œuvre du genre, enfin.” Edmond Stoullig, “Premières représentations,” *Le National*, November 22, 1886, 4. Also in Édouard Noël and Edmond Stoullig, *Les annales du théâtre et de la musique*, year 1886 (Paris: Charpentier, 1887), 320.

other palaces. — The modern one has harnessed the latest discoveries of science. Instead of taking us to impossible lands, it makes us travel to actual places, to Persia, to the Indies, to Patagonia, to Lapland, and we see real Persians, real Indians, real Patagonians, and authentic Lapps.<sup>22</sup>

Germain goes on to recommend that the author include a shipwreck scene or “A Train Attacked by Savages.”<sup>23</sup> In the summer of 1896, *Le Gaulois* reported: “Tonight the Châtelet will revive *Le tour du monde*, which has been called the queen of *féeries*.”<sup>24</sup> Though I have not found another instance of “the queen of *féeries*” referring to *Le tour du monde*, at least the article-writer was applying to the Verne play an epithet which seems to have been mostly used for two canonical supernatural *féeries*, *Les pilules du diable* and *La biche au bois*. Later that year, when the Châtelet revived that other queen of *féeries*, *La biche au bois*, d’Ennery was spotted in the audience by prominent critic Francisque Sarcey, and, according to the latter’s review, they had the following exchange:

“We should find,” [d’Ennery] told me, “a new form for *féerie*.”

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<sup>22</sup> “On peut distinguer deux sortes de féerie : l’ancienne et la moderne. L’ancienne consistait à prendre un conte de fées généralement de Perrault, et à le découper en tableaux où l’on voyait successivement une pauvre cabane, une chambre d’un palais, une forêt, une caverne, puis le palais des fées, les palais des diamants, le palais de glaces et une infinité d’autres palais. — La moderne a mis à contribution les dernières découvertes de la science. Au lieu de nous emmener dans des pays impossibles, elle nous fait voyager dans des contrées réelles, en Perse, dans les Indes, en Patagonie, en Laponie, et nous voyons de vrais Persans, de vrais Indiens, de vrais Patagons et d’authentiques Lapons.” Auguste Germain, “Les recettes de cuisine théâtrale de M. Sésosthène Rabichon,” 3rd and final installment, *Revue d’art dramatique*, vol. 18 (April-June 1890): 34.

<sup>23</sup> “L’attaque d’un train par les sauvages.” Germain, “Les recettes de cuisine théâtrale,” 34. Germain uses a mid-sentence capital as if he were quoting a title of a *tableau* or the wording of a playbill.

<sup>24</sup> “Le Châtelet repred ce soir *Le tour du monde*, qu’on a appelé la reine des féeries.” Tout-Paris, “Bloc-notes parisien,” *Le Gaulois*, July 11, 1896, 1.

“That is what you attempted,” I replied to him, “when you wrote *Le tour du monde en 80 jours* with Jules Verne. That trip around the world, if you figure it out, is the ancient *féerie* in a scientific form.”<sup>25</sup>

If anything, after the disappearance of supernatural *féerie* from the Parisian stage in 1909, the term “*féerie*” could be applied to the new kind of plays without need for the “scientific” or “modern” qualifier. A 1909 book about stage technology that describes the shipwreck and the airplane seen in a play from that same year, *Les aventures de Gavroche*, repeatedly calls the play a *féerie*.<sup>26</sup> When Simone de Beauvoir, born in 1908, mentions the *féeries* she has seen as a child at the Châtelet, she is referring to this non-supernatural variety of *féerie*, to which the titles she cites belong (*La course au bonheur*, from 1917, and, unsurprisingly, *Le tour du monde*) and which was the only one practiced at the time (with the lone exception of a throwback in 1921, *Jean-qui-rit* by Hugues Delorme).<sup>27</sup>

All this suggests that there are ample grounds to consider this repertoire a subclass of *féerie*, which I will call “scientific *féerie*.” In fact, what needs to be justified is rather its exclusion from discussions of *féerie*. The main culprit for the erasure of scientific *féerie* as *féerie* is probably to be found in Paul Ginisty’s 1902 volume on *féerie*, which accepts as *féerie* Verne and d’Ennery’s *Voyage à travers l’impossible*, but disapproves of non-supernatural subjects and pits the *Tour du monde*-style “spectacular play” (*pièce à spectacle*) against the “‘classic’ *féerie*.”<sup>28</sup> Ginisty clearly shared the nostalgia for the waning *féerie* of old that was common among the literati of the time and that produced, as we have seen, Maurice Maeterlinck’s *L’oiseau bleu*,

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<sup>25</sup> “Il faudrait, me disait-il, trouver à la féerie une forme nouvelle. — C’est ce que vous avez essayé de faire, lui répondis-je, quand vous avez écrit, avec Jules Verne, le *Tour du monde en 80 jours*. Ce tour du monde n’était, à le bien prendre, que l’antique féerie sous une forme scientifique.” Francisque Sarcey, “Chronique théâtrale,” *Le Temps*, November 23, 1896, [1].

<sup>26</sup> Max de Nansouty, *Les trucs du théâtre, du cirque et de la foire* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1909), 53–58.

<sup>27</sup> Simone de Beauvoir, *Mémoires d’une jeune fille rangée* (Paris: Gallimard, 1958), 55 (part 1).

<sup>28</sup> Paul Ginisty, *La féerie* (Paris: Louis-Michaud, 1910), 214–15.

among other works. But the fact that Ginisty's remained for decades the only available book-length study of *féerie* has meant that it has too often been taken at face value, without questioning the agenda of its author.

Introducing (or rather reintroducing) the category of “scientific *féerie*” has at least three advantages: it allows for new readings of *Le tour du monde* and its progeny; it adds to our understanding of traditional *féerie*, as traditional plays often borrowed ideas from the scientific ones; and it provides us with a conceptual tool for mapping the confusing generic landscape of Parisian theatre after the 1864 liberalization. That tool is what I call “*féerization*.” If operettization consisted in exporting the practice of original vocal numbers outside operetta, *féerization* consisted in exporting the dramaturgy of *féerie* — a paratactic organization into *tableau*-sized episodes and an emphasis on visual attractions — outside traditional *féerie*. The above quotation from Auguste Germain makes explicit how the new *féerie* adopted this model, lifting it from the old. While the old *féerie* had a certain thematic consistency, though, scientific *féerie* is more diverse, and ranges from melodrama-like plays like *Michel Strogoff* to *vaudeville*-like ones like *Le voyage de Suzette* (1890). But *féerie* dramaturgy is an essential component of *féerized* plays, arguably less accessory (because more structural) than the musical numbers that characterize operettized plays. This is why seeing a corpus of *féerized* plays as “scientific *féerie*” is useful.

On the surface, operettization is a means to split up a traditional category — recognizing the *vaudeville* in operettized *vaudeville*, or the *féerie* in operettized *féerie*, instead of filing them together under the operetta label — and *féerization* a means to lump disparate works into a new category, scientific *féerie*. The point, however, is neither splitting nor lumping, but to develop flexible tools that will allow us make sense of a vast, un- or underexplored portion of fin-de-siècle Parisian commercial theatre.

I will start my survey from *Le tour du monde en 80 jours*, the prototype of the féerized play as *Le roi Carotte* was that of the operettized *féerie*. I will then try to map the different paths that *féerie* dramaturgy took in the following decades. We will encounter not only divergent branches and dead ends, as in evolutionary trees, but also points where separate branches coalesce, as in A.L. Kroeber's tree of culture.<sup>29</sup> The *féeries* of Gaston Serpette, with which I will end this chapter, represent one such moment of synthesis.

### *Le tour du monde en 80 jours, féerie*

Verne and d'Ennery did not invent scientific *féerie* out of thin air, and one could trace possible precedents in *féerie* literature or dramatic literature in general. An affinity with both technology and travel had long been an inbuilt feature of spectacular theatre. The "queen of *féeries*" *Les pilules du diable* (1839, by Ferdinand Laloue, Anicet Bourgeois, and Laurent) already had an exploding train coach; *Rothomago* (1862, by d'Ennery, Clairville, and Albert Monnier) built a slapstick gag around a telescope; and in Offenbach's *Le roi Carotte* Fridolin and his friends sang a number to explain rail travel to the incredulous denizens of ancient Pompeii. The 1853 *féerie* *Les sept merveilles du monde*, by d'Ennery and Eugène Grangé, treated the spectator to an excursion through the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, as promised by the title; it had been preceded by the less influential *Les quatre parties du monde* (1851, by Anicet Bourgeois, Clairville, and Laurent), set, again as advertised by the title, across four continents. The occasion for Théophile Gautier's impassioned advocacy for "ocular entertainment" (*spectacles oculaires*) was an 1841 military play, *Murat*, which he praised for affording the viewer

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<sup>29</sup> I borrow the analogy from Franco Moretti, "Trees," in *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for Literary History* (London: Verso, 2007), 78–81.

the opportunity to travel through space, from Egypt, to Russia, to Southern Italy.<sup>30</sup> When reviewing *La biche au bois* in 1845, Gautier again mentioned as a strength of ocular entertainment its ability to transport the spectator “from Hell to Heaven, *from Switzerland to China*, from the palace to the cabin.”<sup>31</sup> In 1848 Gérard de Nerval and Joseph Méry collaborated with Hervé on a play with music, variously titled *De Paris à Pékin* or *Les Parisiens en voyage* and sometimes referred to as a *féerie*, that took its characters around the world — to Haiti, Panama, Borneo, and China.<sup>32</sup> Combining travel and technological wonders, a play from 1851 celebrated, and literally recreated on stage, the London Great Exhibition of that year: *Le Palais de cristal, ou Les Parisiens à Londres*, by Clairville and Jules Cordier, which was revived in an updated version in 1866, as Paris geared up for another World’s Fair.

Despite this prehistory, though, the obligatory starting point of an investigation into scientific *féerie* is *Le tour du monde en 80 jours*, and the first question that needs to be answered is: in what respects is *Le tour du monde* a *féerie*?

The plot of *Le tour du monde*, which premiered at the Porte-Saint-Martin in November 1874, is largely the same as the 1873 novel of the same title (but written with the number spelled out: *Le tour du monde en quatre-vingts jours*; to avoid confusion, I use for the novel the customary English title, *Around the World in Eighty Days*). Yet it would be wrong to assume that the astute man of the theatre d’Ennery had taken the initiative to adapt *Around the World in Eighty Days* and that Verne only signed the play in order to collect royalties. Writing a play was very much Verne’s idea: he had initially conceived the work for the stage and penned a

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<sup>30</sup> Théophile Gautier, *Critique théâtrale*, ed. Patrick Berthier (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2007–), 3:257–58. For Gautier and “ocular entertainment,” see note to **Chapter 2**.

<sup>31</sup> “Vous sautez de l’enfer au ciel, de la Suisse à la Chine, du palais à la chaumière, sans bouger de place.” Gautier, *Critique théâtrale*, 5:399. Emphasis mine.

<sup>32</sup> Unfortunately, only the Haiti episode was performed (in 1850, as *Une nuit blanche*), and the text of the play is lost. See Michel Rosenfeld, “*De Paris à Pékin* ou *La Nuit Blanche*? Une lettre inédite de Gérard de Nerval à Paul Bocage,” *Revue d’histoire littéraire de la France* 84, no. 4 (1984): 570–76; Gérard de Nerval, *Théâtre*, ed. Jean Richer, vol. 1, no. 3 in the series *Œuvres complémentaires de Gérard de Nerval* (Paris: Minard, 1965), 421–30.

draft with a different collaborator, Édouard Cadol. Afterwards he reworked by himself the draft play into the novel, and then, with d’Ennery, the novel into the performed play. It is worth keeping in mind that in his thirties and early forties, before turning to the novel, Verne had tried to succeed as a playwright. He was close to the Dumas family as Alexandre père was running his Théâtre-Historique and later worked for the Théâtre-Lyrique. Between 1850 and 1861 he had six works performed, all but one in one act; among those were four librettos for his composer friend Aristide Hignard, which testify to Verne’s early interest in plurimedial art forms.<sup>33</sup> If d’Ennery brought his extensive *féerie* experience to *Le tour du monde* (besides *Les sept merveilles du monde* and *Rothomago*, mentioned above, he was a coauthor of *Les sept châteaux du diable* and *La poule aux œufs d’or*, both from the 1840s), the Verne-Cadol draft already exhibits the characteristics of scientific *féerie*: a lighthearted tone, an episodic structure with a large number of *tableaux*, and several spectacular attractions — a *défilé* and ballet, a disaster (the Great Chicago Fire), and, in the Yokohama episode, a performance from an troupe of acrobats (which would pass into the novel). In this version Passepartout even sang a vocal number. There is no evidence that Verne regarded the work as a *féerie*, but it is perhaps telling that Cadol apparently thought of “offering it to Offenbach,” that is, of submitting it for performance at the Gaîté, of which Offenbach had become manager in 1873 and which was heavily invested in *féerie*.<sup>34</sup> The very number of *tableaux* in *Le tour du monde* — 15 in the performed version, 16 in the surviving manuscript of the Verne-Cadol version, and apparently

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<sup>33</sup> Verne’s librettos for Hignard are, in chronological order, *Colin-maillard* (1853), *Les compagnons de la marjolaine* (1855), *Monsieur de Chimpanzé* (1858), and *L’auberge des Ardennes* (1860). *Monsieur de Chimpanzé* was signed by Verne alone and was performed at the Bouffes-Parisiens, the others were performed at the Théâtre-Lyrique and were written in collaboration with Michel Carré.

<sup>34</sup> Gustave Lafargue, “Courrier des théâtres,” *Le Figaro*, November 20, 1873, 4, quoted in Roques, *L’invention d’un théâtre-monde*, 117. The closest that Verne got to acknowledging his debt to *féerie* is, to my knowledge, an 1872 letter where he pitches an idea for an adaptation of *Voyages et aventures du capitaine Hatteras* (1866) to his publisher, reminding him that “newspapers have been so kind as to say that Mr. Verne should write a *féerie*.” Olivier Dumas, Piero Gondolo della Riva, and Volker Dehs, eds., *Correspondance inédite de Jules Verne et de Pierre-Jules Hetzel, 1863–1886* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1999–2002), 1:165.

even more at an earlier stage — is telling. Melodramas other than military plays rarely had more than a dozen *tableaux* at the time; only military plays, revues, and, of course, *féeries* had that many.

*Le tour du monde en 80 jours*, as the title implies, follows the eccentric upper-class Englishman Phileas Fogg, who has bet a million francs with members of his gentlemen's club that he will travel across the globe (eastwards, starting and finishing in London) in eighty days by train and steamship. His planned itinerary reflects developments that were extremely recent in the early 1870s, something that is easy to miss for modern observers. If the play mentions that the Indian railway network has just joined Bombay to Calcutta (the connection between the Great Indian Peninsula Railway and the East Indian Railway having been established in 1870), it is the case too that the Suez Canal had only been opened in 1869, that the First Transcontinental Railroad in the United States had been completed only a few months before that, also in 1869, and that regular passenger service across the Pacific, operated by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, had only started in 1867. Not only was Fogg's route — by train to the Mediterranean, then by sea to Bombay across the Suez canal, across India by train, across the Pacific, across the United States by train, and across the Atlantic — the only possible one in a world where the Trans-Siberian Railway and the Panama Canal did not exist yet, it was also newly possible. In the play Fogg travels with his French valet Passepartout and is pursued by a competitor, the American Archibald Corsican, and by the detective Fix, who suspects Fogg of having stolen two million francs from the Bank of England. In India they are joined by Aouda, the young widow of a rajah, who would be burned on her husband's pyre if it were not for the intervention of Fogg, Passepartout, and Coriscan. The play, here, rehashes the trope of the Indian practice of *sati* as a justification for a "civilizing" Western intervention, a trope that has a famous precedent in French letters in

Antoine-Marin Le Mierre's 1770 tragedy *La veuve du Malabar*. The thwarted immolation ceremony also provides an occasion for an impressive *défilé* featuring a live elephant. In Calcutta, Aouda's sister Néméa also joins the party of travelers. The *tableau* that follows contains another *clou*: the travelers have landed in Borneo after a shipwreck and found themselves in a snake-infested cave, but they are saved by the Malay queen and former slave of Aouda's Nakahira, who charms the snakes. (Unlike the elephant, those were not live animals, but mechanical contraptions.) A ballet ensues in the next *tableau*. In America, the travelers' train is attacked by the Pawnee: the "Train Attacked by Savages" scene that Germain mentions as part of the secret sauce for a modern *féerie*. Here we see what was likely an echo of the most influential French stage work on cross-cultural encounter from the previous decade, Giacomo Meyerbeer's posthumous *grand opéra L'Africaine* (1865). In what amounts to the spectacular *clou* of the opera, Vasco da Gama's ship, after crashing on a reef, is stormed by Hindu "savages"; *Le tour du monde* offers a contemporary equivalent and at the same time challenges the supremacy of *grand opéra* on the terrain of stage illusion, as spectacular theatre loved to do (see **Chapter 2**). The theme of the exotic slave that, reinstated as a queen in her native country, helps her Western friends, seen in the Nakahira character, might also derive from *L'Africaine*. *Le tour du monde* then takes us to a bizarrely Boreal-looking natural site supposedly in Nebraska, with a dramatic geological formation (the "Giants' Staircase") and a coniferous forest, for a showdown between the Pawnees, who have kidnapped Aouda and Néméa, and the United States Army. If Native Americans are portrayed as barbarous and bloodthirsty, they are also presented, through the words of the Pawnee chief, as victims of the settlers. On the last leg of the journey, from New York back to England, Passepartout is reunited with Margaret, the English maid who had proposed to him in London. After another shipwreck, this time shown on stage, the characters make it to England. Once the confusion

arising from time differences is lifted (by traveling eastwards, Fogg has experienced 80 days in the space of 79), Fogg realizes he has won his bet. He is also cleared of the accusation of stealing the two million francs from the Bank of England. At last he claims his prize at the club, and the three couples formed by Fogg and Aouda, Corsican and Néméa, and Passepartout and Margaret announce their marriages.

The music of the play was by the resident conductor of the Porte-Saint-Martin, Jean-Jacques Debillemont, who, as seen in **Chapter 2**, had had a full-length operetta performed before the Franco-Prussian War and in that same year had composed the score of the early composerly *féerie* *Le treizième coup de minuit*. No scholar has examined the music of *Le tour du monde*, but we can have a fairly good idea of how it sounded: a few excerpts were published in piano reduction, and in the collections of the Association de la Régie théâtrale (ART) a Violin I part survives, which, though incomplete, contains the first three acts (the first ten *tableaux*).<sup>35</sup> There is no guarantee that the part reflects the 1874 Porte-Saint-Martin production exactly: it could have been copied for a revival, or for a production in the provinces. But it does not conflict with the published excerpts and the printed play, and the numbering of the *tableaux* is the original one, as opposed to that inaugurated by the 1901 Châtelet revival (for which new music was written by Marius Baggers).

In what sense, then, is *Le tour du monde* a *féerie*? By this point it should be clear what Germain meant when he wrote that “[i]nstead of taking us to impossible lands, [modern *féerie*] makes us travel to actual places.” If a traditional *féerie* consisted in a journey through a number of fantastic realms — in *La biche au bois*, for example, the realm of fishes, Aïka’s kingdom, and the realm of garden vegetables — so *Le tour du monde* consists of a journey through a number of real-life locales: Suez, India, Borneo, the American West. As in

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<sup>35</sup> F-Pbh fonds ART 2-TMS-00107 (see **Appendix**).

traditional *féerie*, the rationale for the journey is a quest. As in traditional *féerie*, *Le tour du monde* comprises relatively self-contained episodes — in French stage jargon, it is a *pièce à tiroirs* — so that one could easily think of adding or substituting new episodes. As in traditional *féerie*, *Le tour du monde* is a melodramatic play, meaning that the orchestra underscores the stage business, as attested by the ART part. Yet, as in traditional *féerie*, the overall tone is comical. This sets *Le tour du monde* apart from melodrama — at least late-nineteenth-century melodrama — where the pathetic register dominates instead. Indeed, a comparison with d’Ennery’s successful melodramas of the same period, written in collaboration with Eugène Cormon — *Les deux orphelines* (1874) and *Une cause célèbre* (1877) — suggest that *Le tour du monde* belongs to a different genre. And it is not just a matter of register. *Féerie*, like melodrama, stages a Manichaeian conflict between good guys and bad guys, but there is little or nothing at stake in the conflict. Melodramas are about innocence avenged, virtue rewarded, vice punished; *féeries* are about accomplishing a mission. There is no moral lesson to a *féerie* (at least not for *féerie* of this period). In this respect, *Le tour du monde* is without doubt a *féerie*, not a melodrama: there is no moral dimension to Fogg’s pursuit, which is, on the contrary, completely gratuitous, with no justification other than a bet. By contrast, in *Les pirates de la savane* (1859, by Anicet Bourgeois and Fernand Dugué), set in Mexico and generally considered the most representative specimen of adventure melodrama (*melodrame d’aventures*), the positive characters are on an eminently moral mission: reuniting a young girl with her mother. The absence of such a moral mission in *Le tour du monde* means that the plot does not really have a moral interest. The interest lies instead in the exotic locales, which were merely a backdrop of the story in adventure melodramas and which instead *are* the story here

— exactly as the fantastical realms of traditional *féerie* were the substance of *féerie*, not an accident.<sup>36</sup>

In **Chapter 1** I have described *féeries* as light melodramatic plays set in a fairytale universe. If *Le tour du monde* is light-hearted and has melodramatic music, it is undeniably set in our universe. In *féeries*, it is understood that the laws of magic as are natural in the staged world as the laws of physics in the offstage world. While this is not the case for *Le tour du monde*, its characters — specifically, Fogg and Corsican — do operate according to a logic that is different from usual human logic. They are eccentrics, and explicitly recognized as such: the gentlemen’s club of which Fogg is a member and that Corsican hopes to join is called the Eccentrics’ Club. Compulsively organized, Fogg has no interest in visiting the countries he crosses on his journey, while Corsican has traveled around the Red Sea on foot walking backwards. The laws of physics apply to them, but they defy social norms. The characters of later plays by Verne, although ostensibly human beings, are similarly alien. In the 1883 *Kériban le Têtu*, which he wrote without d’Ennery, Verne put a twist on the idea behind *Le tour du monde*: the eponymous protagonist is a technophobe obsessive, instead of a technophile obsessive like Fogg, but he too does not subscribe to usual human logic. The only rationale behind the trip around the Black Sea that forms the subject matter of the play is Kériban’s stubborn refusal to pay a small fee to cross the Bosphorus in Constantinople, where he lives. Similarly, the protagonist of *Michel Strogoff*, the courier of the Czar who travels from Moscow to Irkutsk in the middle of an armed conflict to deliver a message, at first sight looks like a traditional melodrama hero placing devotion to his country above all else. But on closer inspection, Strogoff is forced to repress his natural feelings — pride, filial love, even

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<sup>36</sup> I am inclined not to consider a *féerie* the last Verne play of the century, the 1887 *Mathias Sandorf*, by William Busnach and Georges Maurens, after Verne’s novel of the same title, precisely because the moral motive of the eponymous protagonist (seeking revenge) makes the play more akin to a classic melodrama.

patriotism: precisely the feelings that would make him a traditional melodrama hero — in order to accomplish his mission. The sense of duty that drives him, like the eccentricity that drove Fogg, is at odds with normal human behavior. Also, if Fogg was one with the technology he relies on, Michel Strogoff is one with technology he replaces: his mission is made necessary by the failure of telegraph lines, which have been sabotaged by the Tatar rebels. Both characters are, in a way, living machines, hence, again, somewhat other than human.<sup>37</sup> The two remaining Verne-d'Ennery collaborations, the adaptation of *Les enfants du capitaine Grant* (1878) and the above-mentioned *Voyage à travers l'impossible* (1882), feature another type of character that is somehow not bound by ordinary human logic, that is, the scientist: Paganel in *Les enfants du capitaine Grant*, Doctor Ox in *Voyage à travers l'impossible*. *Voyage à travers l'impossible*, the most ambitious, but also the most puzzling and the least successful of the Verne-d'Ennery collaborations, is also the only one that implies that a character genuinely has supernatural powers (which is probably why Ginisty did not object to considering it a *féerie*). The organist Volsius is best understood as an angel who takes on the appearance of characters from Verne novels in order to win over to faith the science-obsessed, and apparently Verne-obsessed, protagonist. The paradox is that the *modus operandi* of the angel Volsius, consisting of transformations and ruses, is the one traditionally attributed to devils, from *Les sept châteaux du diable* — the old d'Ennery *féerie* — to *Les contes d'Hoffmann* — the 1851 play and the then very recent (1881) Offenbach opera. Even though Volsius, this bizarre tempting angel or redeeming devil, comes out as the winner, it is significant that in *Voyage à travers l'impossible* faith seems to be at a structural disadvantage against science, as devils were once portrayed as disadvantaged against God.

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<sup>37</sup> *Kéraban le Têtu* hit the shelves as a novel and the stage as a play in the same year. So it seems likely that Verne had conceived the work for the two media at the same time, as it appears to be the case for *Le tour du monde*. It is possible that *Michel Strogoff* also had a similar genesis: see Roques, *L'invention d'un théâtre-monde*, 129–30. At any rate, the dramaturgy of these plays cannot be explained away with the fact that they also exist in the form of novels.

Another structural element betrays *Le tour du monde* as a *féerie*. Its system of characters seems to have been based on that of two of the most popular *féeries* of the July Monarchy, namely *La biche au bois* and *La chatte blanche* (see **Chapter 2**). Both *La biche au bois* and *La chatte blanche* have a prince (Prince Souci and Prince Pimpondor, respectively) and a princess (Désirée and Blanchette); *Le tour du monde* has Fogg and Aouda, duplicated by Corsican and Néméa, and both “princes,” Fogg and Corsican, rescue, *féerie*-style, their “princesses.” As neither Corsican nor Néméa are in the novel, the idea of duplicating the hero and the heroine must be ascribed to d’Ennery, whose *Les sept châteaux du diable* already had two heroes and two heroines (in that case, too, a pair of sisters). *Le tour du monde* has a couple of lower-class lovers (Passepartout and Margaret), as did *La biche au bois* (Fanfreluche and Giroflée) and *La chatte blanche* (Petitpatapon and Pierrette). The two classic *féeries* had each a good fairy (Fée Topaze, Fée des Bruyères) and an evil fairy (Fée de la fontaine, Fée Violente). When she intervenes to protect the other characters from the snakes in the cave, Nakahira reveals herself as a good fairy. It is worth noting that the Fée Topaze also appeared in a cave in *La biche au bois*; the Fée des Bruyères, like Nakahira, first presented herself under an unassuming guise (namely, as an old woman). As for the evil fairy, it is obvious that in *Le tour du monde* Fix performs the duties of an evil genie, persecuting the travelers all along their journey. And, despite having no magical powers, Fix, like supernatural *féerie* characters (and notably like Satan in *Les sept châteaux du diable*), is a shapeshifter. He is disguised as an old Brahman in Calcutta, as an “American pioneer” in San Francisco, as a black passenger on the train, as a black cook on the steamship from New York. In French theatre jargon, this is known as a *rôle à tiroirs* (analogous to the *pièce à tiroirs*).

The role of Passepartout, clearly intended for a very physical comedian (the character is supposedly a former acrobat), seems to be the one for which the association with supernatural

*féerie* was most tangible, at least judging from casting choices. The first three great Passepartouts all performed in at least one production of supernatural *féerie*. In fact, they all performed *Le tour du monde* and supernatural *féerie* back to back: in 1874, Alexandre had just taken part in a revival of the 1860 *Le pied de mouton*; after taking possession of the role in 1896, Désiré Pougaud went straight from Passepartout to Passepartout's counterpart in *La biche au bois*, Fanfreluche; right after taking over the role in 1908, Gustave Hamilton played the equivalent part in *La chatte blanche*, Petitpataton. Taken together, the careers of the three actors illustrate the historical continuity between supernatural and scientific *féerie*. Alexandre had more than a decade of experience in supernatural *féerie* at the time of *Le tour du monde*: before the Porte-Saint-Martin poached him, he had acted in *Peau d'âne* (1863), the 1869 and 1871 revivals of *La chatte blanche*, *Le roi Carotte* (1872), the 1872 revival of *La poule aux œufs d'or*, and the 1874 version of *Orphée aux enfers* at the Gaîté. He also continued to be seen in supernatural *féeries* until his retirement.<sup>38</sup> Around the turn of the century Pougaud performed in both scientific and traditional *féeries* at the Châtelet, and became known as “the kids’ Coquelin” (*le Coquelin des gosses*) for his popularity with young audiences, who apparently recognized his acting style across subgenres.<sup>39</sup> Hamilton, who succeeded to Pougaud as the *féerie* star of the Châtelet, came too late to appear in any non-scientific *féerie* other than *La chatte blanche*.

A blatant *féerique* trait of the dramaturgy of *Le tour du monde* is its reliance on spectacular attractions. Like *Le roi Carotte* from two years earlier or the revamped *Orphée aux enfers* from nine months earlier, *Le tour du monde* boasts an extravagant *défilé* in the Indian episode. The

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<sup>38</sup> Among other productions, he appeared in *L'arbre de Noël* (1880), the 1881 revival of *La biche au bois*, and the 1887 revival of *La chatte blanche* (1887). He also played a Passepartout-type role, that of the ballet teacher Tartelet, in *Voyage à travers l'impossible*.

<sup>39</sup> The reference was to Constant Coquelin, star of *Cyrano de Bergerac*, who was at the peak of his fame during the same period. See Pougaud's obituary in *Comœdia*: “Pougaud est mort,” *Comœdia*, November 1, 1928, 3. Besides *La biche au bois*, Pougaud was seen in *Les sept châteaux du diable* (1895), *Rothomago* (1897), *La poudre de Perlinpinpin* (1898), *Le Petit chaperon rouge* (1900), *Les 400 coups du diable* (1905), *Pif! Paf! Pouf!* (1906), *Les pilules du diable* (1907), and *La princesse Sans-Gêne* (1907). Among the scientific *féeries* in which he was featured were instead revivals of *Le voyage de Suzette* and *Michel Strogoff* (for the former, see below in this chapter).

stage direction calls for fakirs, priests, a crowd of men, women, and children, “fanatics” (*sic*, for *sadhus*), musicians, temple dancers (*bayadères*), a statue of the goddess Kali, and the elephant. In the ART part, the march that accompanies the procession is, counting repeats, almost 200 measures long, or roughly the same length as the processional scene (the *marche indienne*) in *L’Africaine*, which clocks in at around ten minutes. For comparison, the processional scene (march and *ballabile*) of Verdi’s *Aida* took roughly a third of that time in the Cairo version (which would not be performed in Paris until 1876), and even in the now familiar version devised for the 1880 Opéra production it lasts only about six and a half minutes. Unfortunately, the ART part does not indicate the entrance of the several groups that compose the *défilé*; the lyric section marked “Sos[tenu]to Cantabile,” though, may have coincided with the appearance of the *bayadères*.

Like all spectacular *féeries*, *Le tour du monde* contains a ballet *divertissement* in several numbers. In the printed play, the *tableau* in question only consists of a few lines of dialogue, a stage direction that ends “The queen [Nakahira] climbs onto her throne,” and the indication “ballet.” If the ART part can be trusted, someone (surely Nakahira after taking place on her throne) uttered the words “[Q]ue la fête commence,” a stock phrase to cue in *divertissements* in boulevard theatre (*fête* being an old-fashioned synonym for *divertissement*). At some point the phrase came to be seen as both *féerie*-marked and antiquated. Probably, since *féerie* embraced metatextuality and was not preoccupied with verisimilitude, it was not bothered by an ossified, stereotyped expression and kept using it for longer. Also, military plays, another genre that traditionally employed the phrase, had already become less popular in the 1860s and took a while to recover after the Franco-Prussian War. Whatever the case, by the early 1870s, “Que la fête commence” had already acquired this reputation. In 1873, Francisque Sarcey called it “the well-known *féerie* phrase”; in January 1874, Arnold Mortier wrote in his

column “as they say in *féeries*: ‘Que la fête commence!’”<sup>40</sup> When, in George Bizet’s *Carmen*, which premièred four months after *Le tour du monde*, Carmen announces in a mock-grandiose tone “je commence” before launching into her seduction dance, Bizet and his librettists probably expected listeners to be familiar with the “Que la fête commence” convention and used that familiarity for comic effect: the contrast between Carmen’s pompous recitative (in an *opéra comique* setting) and her surroundings is already amusing, but it becomes more so if one compares her makeshift solo show to the splendid *divertissements* of *féerie*. In short, it seems hard to imagine that a play from the 1870s would use the phrase “Que la fête commence” other than to make fun of it or to pledge (in tongue-in-cheek fashion) allegiance to *féerie*.

According to the ART part, the *divertissement* is comprised of nine numbers: again, this might or might not exactly reflect the 1874 layout (there is a number “5 bis,” and number 4 is missing), but it should not be too far off. Its music sounds only blandly exotic to our ears, accustomed to the exuberant, modally inflected Orientalism of *Aida* or of Camille Saint-Saëns’s *Samson et Dalila*, infamously peppered with augmented seconds. If anything, it is reminiscent of the older Orientalist style of Félicien David and Ernest Reyer, mostly relying on rhythmic ostinatos and pedal points. But in 1874 *Aida* had not yet been heard in Paris, and *Samson et Dalila* had not been heard anywhere; a possible model for Debillemont was the Orientalist ballet *La source* (1866, but revived after the war), which oscillates between the more conservative musical language of the portions composed by Ludwig Minkus and the more modern one of the portions by Léo Delibes. The most interesting among the *divertissement* numbers in *Le tour du monde* are the two that were excerpted for publication in piano

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<sup>40</sup> Francisque Sarcey, “Chronique théâtrale,” *Le Temps*, February 17, 1873, [1] (“[L]a fameuse phrase des féeries: Et maintenant que la fête commence”); Un Monsieur de l’Orchestre [Arnold Mortier], “La soirée théâtrale,” *Le Figaro*, January 29, 1874, 3 (“Et maintenant, comme on dit dans les féeries, que la fête commence!”).

reduction. The one that bears the title “Danse des mulâtresses” (Dance of the Mulatto Women) in the ART part was published both as “La Malaisienne” and as “Mariquita-polka.” The cover art for the “Mariquita-polka” sheet music shows, indeed, Mariquita, the star dancer of the Porte-Saint-Martin whom we have encountered in the 1865 *Biche au bois*, in brownface (and brown body stocking, under a revealing costume). “Malaisienne” — that is, a woman from Maritime Southeast Asia, then known in French as *Malaisie*, though not necessarily an ethnic Malay — seems a more appropriate descriptor than “mulatto,” which is probably used here loosely as a synonym for “brown-skinned.” And while Léon Dufils, who arranged the version marketed as “Mariquita-polka,” emphasized the polka rhythm in the accompaniment to cater to consumers of parlor-dance music, the number is unquestionably a slow polka, as attested by its 2/4 time signature, its insistence on the rhythmic motives eighth-eighth-fourth (at the level of the measure) and eight-sixteenth-sixteenth (at the level of the beat), and its runs of sixteenth-notes in the trio section. The presence of a polka in an exotic setting should not surprise us: *La source* contained a polka, too, and so did the *divertissement* of Ambroise Thomas’s *grand opéra Hamlet* (1868), despite the absurdity of placing a quintessentially nineteenth-century dance in medieval Denmark. Standards of historical and geographical verisimilitude are always selectively enforced, and at the time dance types, like corsets for female actors, still fell among the things to which such standards did not necessarily apply.

This is also true for the other published number, a sensuous “Valse indienne,” which actually sounds more like a mazurka, with its accented weak beats (ex. 3.1).<sup>41</sup> It also sounds uncannily familiar: the first bar of the melody is virtually identical (minus the anacrusis) to that of “Anitra’s Dance” in Edvard Grieg’s score for Henrik Ibsen’s *Peer Gynt* (ex. 3.2). The key

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<sup>41</sup> Jann Pasler, in her *Composing the Citizen*, ascribes the “Valse indienne” to the North American episode of *Le tour du monde*. She has been understandably misled by the illustrations of the published excerpts, which also, inexplicably, pair “La Malaisienne” with the attack on the train. Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 414.

is the same (A minor), and so is the Orientalist effect of an arpeggiated double pedal point created by the regular repetition of tonic and dominant for the first seven bars of the melody. The accented weak beats are the same, too, and Grieg does use the word “mazurka” in the tempo marking. The contrasting major section of the Debillemont number has a run of eighth-notes and (at least in a measure) a hemiola figure that seem to anticipate the second half of Grieg’s main theme.

Now, it is highly implausible that these similarities are fortuitous. Since *Peer Gynt* premiered in 1876, and Grieg started composing the music in 1874, he may very well have come across the excerpt from *Le tour du monde*. The questions are rather whether he actively sought a model for an exotic dance number or if he randomly found one, and whether he unconsciously drew on a memory of Debillemont’s music (which can be quite effective as an earworm) or rather intentionally plagiarized his French colleague. If the last, less generous hypothesis were true, that would be proof of the fact that Grieg regarded the commission of the *Peer Gynt* score as hackwork, something that would not be surprising, given that such was still the reputation of melodrama scores, that *Peer Gynt*, although written for a literary monument, is a melodrama score, and that composerly melodrama scores were a new phenomenon in the 1870s. Grieg’s biographer John Horton, writing in 1945, found “Anitra’s Dance” lacking in exotic color and compared it instead to Grieg’s Baroque-style pastiches. I would contend that he failed to acknowledge the older, pre-*Aida* and Saint-Saëns, more subdued kind of musical Orientalism present in the piece. Also, nineteenth-century stage dance shared a musical vocabulary with parlor dance and probably sounded old-timey and domestic to Horton as a result. By comparing “Anitra’s Dance” to the “lyric piece” op. 86 no. 2, “Grandmother’s minuet,” which is meant by the composer to sound old-timey and domestic, Horton was projecting his own perception of nineteenth-century dance music onto Grieg —

he was hearing “Anitra’s Dance” the way Grieg had intended “Grandmother’s minuet,” but not “Anitra’s Dance,” to be heard.

Another indispensable ingredient of a *féerie* are tricks and transformation scenes. *Le tour du monde* similarly makes liberal use of stage technology to emulate, not magic, but the forces of nature and technology: the train, the steamer, the shipwreck. Perhaps the most *féerie*-like effect of *Le tour de monde* is the transformation of an innocuous-looking cave into a nest of snakes: the mechanical snakes of *Le tour du monde* are an evolution of the mechanical owl that we have seen in a similarly ominous scene in *La biche au bois*. From the ART part we know that the trick of the snakes coming to life was supported by an increasingly menacing chromatic accompaniment, and that the arrival of the train was synchronized to mimetic music. To be sure, ships and shipwrecks are not exclusive to *féerie*.<sup>42</sup> But *Le tour du monde* cannot be assimilated to melodrama and opera’s longstanding fascination with disasters. In opera and melodrama, extreme events are presented as exceptional, and characters as relatively powerless against them. By contrast, in *Le tour du monde* they are to an extent normalized. Both disasters and technology seem to be, for the characters end especially for Fogg, just part of the fabric of life, as magic was part of the fabric of life for the characters of supernatural *féeries*. If a first-time spectator might initially wonder if the good guys in the play are going to overcome the obstacles with which they are faced, it soon becomes clear that the interest of the play lies instead in watching them overcome the obstacles, since it seems inevitable that they will — again, as in *féeries*. In *Voyage à travers l’impossible*, the characters would be made invulnerable by a potion that allows them to resist any temperature and to breathe underwater or in the absence of air; in *Le tour de monde* there is no such plot device,

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<sup>42</sup> Besides *L’Africaine*, a very famous stage ship was that of Victor Séjour’s hit melodrama *Le fils de la nuit* (1856), which had been recently revived at the Gaîté (in 1872). D’Ennery himself had to his name no fewer than three melodramas with the word “shipwreck” or “shipwrecked” in the title: *La prière des naufragés*, 1853, and *Le naufrage de La Pérouse*, 1858, as well as the celebrated *Le naufrage de la Méduse*, solely credited to Charles Desnoyer when it premièred in 1839, but frequently revived from 1857 onwards with d’Ennery listed as coauthor.

but the characters already seem invulnerable, albeit to a lesser degree. If in opera and melodrama the spectacle of the disasters could be sublime, as it could remind the audience of how nature can overpower humans, what *Le tour du monde* offers is just the marvelous (as in *féerie*) rather than the sublime. Reviewing the première of *Le tour du monde*, Francisque Sarcey lamented that the actor who played Aouda was forced to waste her talent in a role that required her to “walk through scene changes from eight o’ clock through midnight.”<sup>43</sup> Perhaps Sarcey, too, felt that the characters of the play are set on an inevitable trajectory, and that they are largely impermeable to the extraordinary circumstances in which they evolve — or, more exactly, at home in them like fish in water. This sense that the characters move along a predetermined trajectory also gives the impression that they have limited agency, like the human characters in a supernatural *féerie*, who are at least in part the pawns of higher forces.

One of the *clous* of *Michel Strogoff* can serve not only a perfect illustration, but almost as a metaphor of this aspect of the dramaturgy of scientific *féerie*. For two consecutive *tableaux*, which do not contain a single line of dialogue, all the good guys glide down the Angara river on a raft. The actors, behind whom a panorama shows the banks of the river passing by, do not utter a word. The moving panorama becomes even more enthralling when the surface of the water, which is covered in a layer of naphtha, is set ablaze. In this scene, the characters physically follow a predetermined path, and physically seem insulated from their environment, as their raft does not burn. They do not seem to have agency at all, and they do not do anything to hold the viewer’s interest, which is instead directed towards the visual spectacle in the background. It is tempting, of course, to draw a comparison between the moving panorama of *Michel Strogoff* and the most famous moving panorama of music history,

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<sup>43</sup> “[C]e rôle consiste à se promener de huit heures du soir à minuit à travers des changements de décors.” Francisque Sarcey, “Chronique théâtrale,” *Le Temps*, November 16, 1874, [1].

that of Wagner's *Parsifal*, which premiered twenty months after *Michel Strogoff*.<sup>44</sup> In the case of *Parsifal*, too, setting a silent — and still, despite the appearance of walking — actor against a moving background can be seen as a way of conveying the passivity and acceptance of one's mission on the part of the titular character, at least for the act I transformation scene; the parallel with the protagonist of *Michel Strogoff* is not so far-fetched. Of course, we should not jump to the conclusion that Wagner was inspired by the Verne-d'Ennery play, also because there were earlier instances of moving panoramas on the stage that Wagner might have had in mind. But — by parallel evolution if not by filiation — affinities in dramaturgy prompted similar choices in stage technology for *Michel Strogoff* and *Parsifal*. And those affinities make sense if we acknowledge the *féerie* nature of *Michel Strogoff*: *féeries* follow the pattern of a quest, that is, an initiation journey, and *Parsifal* depicts an initiation journey; in *féeries* humans' agency is subordinated to higher powers, and that is obviously the case in *Parsifal*.

There is a final, subtle but crucial, analogy between *Le tour du monde* and traditional *féerie*. A typical motif of *féerie* is that of the talisman: a magical object that makes otherwise impossible things happen. In *Voyage à travers l'impossible*, the potion that grants, to use an anachronistic word, superpowers is patently a scientific stand-in for the talisman. *Le tour du monde* is not so explicit. Fogg has two million francs in the bank at the beginning of the play: he bets one million, while the other million is his budget for the journey. This way, if he succeeds, he will break even; if he loses, he will have lost all his fortune. He has Passepartout carry around the million francs in cash in a bag, and uses the money to overcome the obstacles he encounters along the way. That means bribing the mechanics on the steamship

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<sup>44</sup> On the *Parsifal* panorama, see Patrick Carnegy, *Wagner and the Art of Theatre: The Operas in Stage Performance* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 104–14, and Evan Baker, "Richard Wagner and His Search for the Ideal Theatrical Space," in *Opera in Context: Essays on Historical Staging from the Late Renaissance to the Time of Puccini*, ed. Mark A. Radice (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1998), 241–78. For more information on the *Michel Strogoff* panorama see Jules Verne and Adolphe d'Ennery, *Michel Strogoff*, ed. Louis Bilodeau (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1994), 139–40nn150–52.

to Bombay, buying the elephant, bailing himself to avoid prison, and buying the steamship from New York to lawfully hijack it. It might not be obvious to us, but anyone versed in *féerie* would have recognized that the bag of cash acts like a talisman. Also, as with an old-fashioned *féerie* talisman, characters fight over the bag. In San Francisco, Fix takes it from Passepartout with a ruse, but Passepartout manages to recover it during the Atlantic crossing.

Money in *Le tour du monde* is thus the equivalent of magic in supernatural *féerie*. And the characters seem to implicitly recognize the power of money as they did for that of magic. Not only is Fogg motivated by his bet, but Fix is motivated by the reward promised to the agent who will find the Bank of England thief. Money creates bonds between characters, too: Passepartout has literally invested in Fogg, as he has bribed Fogg's previous valet in order to get hired in his place, and Margaret wins Passepartout's love by saving him from the financial consequence of a blunder (leaving a gas lamp on in Fogg's house).

As a *féerie*, *Le tour du monde* seems to lack one essential element, namely the final *apothéose* (indeed all Verne plays save *Voyage à travers l'impossible* lack an *apothéose* proper). Yet the parallel between money and magic might suggest that the final *tableau* works as a substitute for an *apothéose*. In most *apothéoses*, we have a glimpse of the supernatural abode of fairies and genies. In *La chatte blanche* we see Titania, Queen of Fairies. In the original *Biche au bois* and in *Les bibelots du diable* (1858) we see the Queen of Genies. In *La poudre de Perlinpinpin* (1852) and *Peau d'Âne* (1863) a "fairy palace" and the "palace of fairies" appear respectively, and so on. The final setting of *Le tour du monde* is the new headquarters of the Eccentrics' Club — not a supernatural location, but in a way an otherworldly one. "[O]ne would not believe we are in London," comments a character, the architecture is an Orientalist pastiche, and the

place is adorned with exotic plants.<sup>45</sup> Indeed, the Club does look like a fairy palace, but the only magic at work is that of the ten million francs the members have spent on the building, plus one million (which they expected to getting back from Fogg) on the opening reception, which we witness. As the fairy palaces of *féerie* were populated with fairies and genies, this palace is populated by the Eccentrics — not only, as we have seen, somewhat removed from human conventions, but also, like supernatural creatures, characterized by a predictable appearance (evening dress) and endowed with extraordinary powers (money). And the newly formed couples are introduced to this gathering as newly formed couples were introduced to the supernatural beings in traditional *féeries*. It is interesting that the secular fairy palace, so to speak, of *Le tour du monde* should look not only splendid, but exotic. The simplest explanation is that the authors and set designers went for a modern twist on an *Arabian Nights* esthetic that had long been a source of inspiration for *féerie*. But another reading is also possible: as the rest of the play showed how the magic of money could open the whole world for one man, the final *tableau* shows how that same magic of money can bring the whole world to one place — especially if the place happens to be London, arguably the financial capital of the world and for sure the capital of a vast colonial empire. The Eccentrics, after all, do not need to travel around the world, as the world is already at their feet.

We should not forget, at any rate, that gentlemen's clubs did exist in real life, and so did Orientalist architecture, like the Moorish-revival extravaganza concocted by the set designer of the final *tableau*. An Orientalist architectural vocabulary could function as a signal of exclusivity, since it tended to be associated with facilities that promised hedonistic, escapist experiences to those who could afford them — coffee houses, Turkish baths, entertainment

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<sup>45</sup> “Vraiment, on ne se croirait pas à Londres ici, mais dans le plus beau pays du monde!...” Adolphe d’Ennery and Jules Verne, *Le tour du monde en 80 jours*, in *Les voyages au théâtre* (Paris: Hetzel, 1881), 140 (act 5, 15th *tableau*, scene 1).

venues, and of course World's Fair pavilions. Within the Western metropolis, the distance between a cosmopolitan Orientalist style and the local vernacular style visually translated the distance between elite (or aspirational) taste and the everyday existence of the lower classes. By implying that exclusive venues such as the Eccentrics' Club are to the modern city what fairy palaces are to the universe of traditional *féerie*, *Le tour du monde* equates this class distance to the distance between human and supernatural beings. And as supernatural beings are usually gendered, fairies being female, genies male, and so on, so are their modern-day counterparts: the Eccentrics are an all-male crowd, and so, it is understood, are those wielding similar power in real life.

Only one important component of *féerie* is missing from *Le tour du monde*: vocal numbers. There is one instance of singing, though: the incantation with which Nakahira charms the snakes. As we shall see, though, the vast constellation of féerized theatre that scientific *féerie* brought about would contained no shortage of vocal music, or composerly music, for that matter.

### **After *Le tour du monde*: a landscape of féerized plays**

The influence of *Le tour du monde en 80 jours* cannot be overstated, and it is fair to say that the play became an instant classic, with a 13-month run (November 1874 through December 1875) that almost matched that of the 1865 *Biche au bois*. Taking into account the six months' worth of performances that it received at the Châtelet in 1876, *Le tour du monde* reached almost 600 performances in less than two years, an astounding feat. After that, only twenty months passed before it was revived again, in 1878. The *millième* — the 1,000th

performance — took place on January 13, 1887, twelve years and two months after the première. Consider by comparison that Ambroise Thomas's *Mignon*, probably the most popular *opéra comique* from the Second Empire and one of the most popular *opéras comiques* ever, from 1866, took 27 and a half years to achieve the same milestone, *Carmen*, which admittedly had a slow start, took almost 30 years, and Jules Massenet's *Manon* took over 35 years. Even for Edmond Rostand's *Cyrano de Bergerac*, that other monumental hit of the Third Republic, over fifteen years had to pass between the première and the *millième*. By the time of its demise in 1940, *Le tour du monde* had surpassed 3,500 performances.<sup>46</sup>

The first impulse when considering the legacy of *Le tour du monde* is, of course, to start from Verne and d'Ennery's subsequent plays (*Les enfants du capitaine Grant*, *Michel Strogoff*, *Voyage à travers l'impossible*, all joint, plus *Kéraban le Têtu*, by Verne alone). I have just given in to this impulse myself above. But the first to react to *Le tour du monde* were not Verne and d'Ennery themselves, but other creators. As a consequence, the story of scientific *féerie* is, from the very beginning, a story of hybridization with traditional *féerie*.

The *défilé* of the means of locomotion in the 1875 version of Offenbach's *Geneviève de Brabant*, seen in **Chapter 2**, might count as a very early response to *Le tour du monde*, mere months after the première of the Verne-d'Ennery play and a few blocks from the theatre where it was playing.<sup>47</sup> It was the following fall, though, that Offenbach launched a grand counteroffensive with *Le voyage dans la lune*, his last composerly *féerie* for the Gaîté.<sup>48</sup> *Le voyage dans la lune* has all the trappings of a traditional *féerie*: a prince (the earthling Caprice, a trouser role), a princess (the Selenite Fantasia), their respective families (two kings and a queen, as in *La chatte blanche*), the kings' right-hand men (in this case court scientists — Microscope on

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<sup>46</sup> Roques, *L'invention d'un théâtre-monde*, 8.

<sup>47</sup> A possible inspiration for this *défilé* could be a science-popularization book from 1874: Ernest Deharme, *Les merveilles de la locomotion* (Paris: Hachette, 1874).

<sup>48</sup> On *Le voyage dans la lune*, see Jean-Claude Yon, *Jacques Offenbach* (Paris: Gallimard, 2000), 527–33.

Earth and Cactus on the Moon). It is peppered with visual gags and puns, features supernatural creatures, and in general is not preoccupied with verisimilitude or plausibility. Its treatment of the Moon as a topsy-turvy world where love is unknown is more akin to a fable than to science fiction. Offenbach was also clearly building on his other completely original *féerie* for the Gaîté, the utterly non-scientific *Le roi Carotte*: the industrial, militaristic setting of the *tableau* of the forge recalls the realm of insects in the older work, and the “ronde des charlatans” shared both the dramatic situation and a performer, Zulma Bouffar, with the “ronde des colporteurs,” possibly the most popular number from *Le roi Carotte*. If *Le roi Carotte* had a vocal number on rail travel (the “ronde des chemins de fer”), *Le voyage dans la lune* had a vocal number extolling the superiority of space travel over rail travel (the “rondeau de l’obus”).

And yet, despite the absolute continuity between traditional *féerie* and *Le voyage dans la lune*, science is an essential inspiration for the play. The plan to reach the Moon on a giant bullet shot by an outsized cannon is lifted from Verne’s *De la terre à la lune*. As for the characters’ descent into a volcano, it is clearly indebted to Verne’s *Voyage au centre de la Terre* (Journey to the Center of the Earth, 1864). The presence of volcanoes on the Moon was deemed plausible at the time — even though the volcano of the play is active, which would have been more controversial. As mentioned above, the iconic *clair de terre* can be traced back to science-popularization literature, and the setting for the second of the two *divertissements* is explicitly described as a “moonscape after Flammarion,” that is, based on the works of Camille Flammarion, the celebrated astronomer and popular-science writer.<sup>49</sup> As it happens, Flammarion’s *Les mondes imaginaires et les mondes réels*, first published in 1865, resonates with

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<sup>49</sup> The model for the “moonscape,” in particular, could be an illustration of a “paysage lunaire” in *Les merveilles célestes*, first published 1865, which proved extremely popular, going through numerous editions (as well as being translated into English as *The Wonders of the Heavens*). Camille Flammarion, *Les merveilles célestes: Lectures du soir*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Hachette, 1867), illustration at p. 337.

many aspects of *Le voyage dans la lune*. Flammarion, who united modern science with a philosophical belief in the plurality of worlds, did not rule out that the far side of the Moon could have an atmosphere, and that it could be inhabited. (More prudently, Verne, in *Autour de la lune*, only conceded that the Moon might have been inhabited in the past.) In *Le voyage dans la lune*, the earthlings mistakenly believe that the Moon has no atmosphere and no life, and so do the Selenites, the inhabitants of the Moon, for Earth. This witty dramatic justification, which makes for great comedic effect, echoes *Les mondes imaginaires et les mondes réels*: Flammarion argues that a Selenite, observing the ever-changing appearance of Earth, would logically conclude that our planet is inhabitable.<sup>50</sup> Flammarion also remarks that one could send a telegraphic message to the Moon and back in a few minutes (omitting to say that that would require laying a telegraphic cable between the Earth and the Moon).<sup>51</sup> In *Le voyage dans la lune*, Microscope sends and receives messages while on the Moon thanks to a pocket telegraph (*a fortiori*, no mention of a cable here, either). Moreover, Flammarion muses at length on how the Earth must be to the Selenites what the Moon is to earthlings, “the star of mystery, the source of poetry.”<sup>52</sup> This sentiment is perfectly captured, and conveyed to the audience, in the *clair de terre apothéose*. The play embraces Flammarion’s radical relativism as well, as the *apothéose* must be read against the two numbers about the Moon — a *romance* and a *valse chantée* — sung by Caprice in act 1, before leaving the Earth. The *apothéose* even shares with the *romance* a word: the adjective “argente” (silver), reminiscent of clichéd treatments of the moon in Romantic lyric poetry, which in the *apothéose* is instead applied to the Earth.

The second *divertissement* seems at first very unscientific, save for the “moonscape after Flammarion” setting: its subject is the sudden arrival of winter, and the ballerinas personify

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<sup>50</sup> Camille Flammarion, *Les mondes imaginaires et les mondes réels: Voyage astronomique pittoresque dans le ciel* (Paris: Didier, 1865), 20–21.

<sup>51</sup> Flammarion, *Les mondes imaginaires et les mondes réels*, 10.

<sup>52</sup> “Elle est pour eux ce que la Lune est pour nous, l’astre du mystère, la source de la poésie.” Flammarion, *Les mondes imaginaires et les mondes réels*, 21.

swallows (which are caught by surprise) and snowflakes, ostensibly in keeping with the dainty imagery of Romantic ballet. But the idea that the Moon should experience extreme temperature variation is a scientific one. Since the lunar “day” coincides with the lunar cycle as observed from Earth, each point of the Moon gets roughly 15 days of light followed by roughly 15 days of darkness, and, due to the absence of atmosphere, the surface temperature instantly gets extremely hot at sunrise and extremely cold at sunset. This fact had already made its way into fiction with Edgar Allan Poe, who was known in France through Charles Baudelaire’s translations and who was admired and held as a model by Verne:

I have much to say of the climate of the [Moon]; of its wonderful alternations of heat and cold; of unmitigated and burning sunshine for one fortnight, and more than polar frigidity for the next[.]<sup>53</sup>

Verne himself had reiterated it in *Autour de la lune*:

No twilight on [the Moon’s] surface; night following day and day following night with the suddenness of a lamp which is extinguished or lighted amid profound darkness, — no transition from cold to heat, the temperature falling in an instant from boiling point to the cold of space.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Edgar Allan Poe, “The Unparalleled Adventure of One Hans Pfaall,” in *The Imaginary Voyages*, ed. Burton R. Pollin (Boston: Twayne, 1981), 425. See John Tresch, “Extra! Extra! Poe invents science fiction!,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. Kevin J. Hayes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 113–32.

<sup>54</sup> Jules Verne, *Autour de la lune*, ch. 13, here in a contemporary English translation: *Round the Moon*, in *From the Earth to the Moon Direct in Ninety-Seven Hours and Twenty minutes, and a Trip round It*, trans. Louis Mercier and Eleanor E. King (New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Company, 1874), 249.

The librettists of *Le voyage dans la lune* have divorced the idea of drastic changes in temperature both from the cycle of light and darkness and from the absence of atmosphere — in fact, snow, which contributes to the onstage spectacle, is predicated on the presence of an atmosphere. But there is no doubt that they were thinking of this scientific phenomenon. As the characters sing in the ensemble with chorus that precedes the *divertissement* (and that is quoted in the final *galop*), “What a surprising country! We were in the Tropics, now we find ourselves in Norway!”<sup>55</sup> The astronomy fact also prompted a purely musical invention of Offenbach’s. Part of the ensemble with chorus is sung on the shivering onomatopoeia “brr,” producing a tongue trill, the vocal equivalent of flutter-tonguing in wind instruments (ex. 3.3). Emmanuel Chabrier, who (as mentioned in Chapter 1) would have loved to write a composerly *féerie*, would use the same effect, in all likelihood inspired by *Le voyage dans la lune*, in the orgiastic choral waltz (the “fête polonaise”) that opens Act 2 of the 1887 *opéra comique* *Le roi malgré lui* (ex. 3.4).<sup>56</sup> What was a form of musical humor in Offenbach, dictated by the dramatic situation, would become a deliberate timbral choice — and an impressive one at that — in Chabrier, with no justification other than an artistic one.

If *Le tour du monde* is more *féérique* than one might suppose, *Le voyage dans la lune* is more scientific than one would expect. Especially if one considers their temporal proximity, mentioning them in the same breath is only logical — in spite of the historiography that has grouped the former with melodrama and the latter with operetta. With a cookery analogy à la Auguste Germain, we could say that *Le tour du monde* and *Le voyage dans la lune* were concocted by different chefs using different ingredients, but belong to the same type of dish: scientific *féerie*. There are, however, plays that, like the 1875 *Geneviève*, incorporate scientific

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<sup>55</sup> “Quel pays étonnant! / On était au tropique, on se trouve en Norwège!” Albert Vanloo, Eugène Leterrier, and Arnold Mortier, *Le voyage dans la lune* (Tresse, 1877), 26 (act 3, 14th *tableau*, scene 10).

<sup>56</sup> As remarked in Chapter 1, the “rondeau du colporteur” from Chabrier’s 1877 operetta *L’étoile* is, like the “ronde des charlatans” in *Le voyage dans la lune*, reminiscent of the “ronde des colporteurs” in *Le roi Carotte*. It is worth noting that the librettists of *L’étoile* are two coauthors of *Le voyage dans la lune*, Leterrier and Vanloo.

themes while remaining true to their nature as traditional *féeries*. *Les aventures de Monsieur de Crac* (1886) is one such play. The titular hero, created by playwright Jean-François Collin d'Harleville in the 1790s, is a sort of French Baron Munchausen, so the work (in which the German Baron Munchausen also appears) is inscribed in a pseudo-folkloric tradition. With a good fairy, implausible events, a *tableau* set in the realm of birds and an *apothéose* in the kingdom of fairies, it has impeccable traditional-*féerie* credentials. And yet it featured an Indian episode clearly reminiscent of *Le tour du monde*: judging from the published excerpts, a march and a waltz from a *divertissement*, the music, by the Châtelet's resident conductor, Alexandre Artus, was also very much in the vein of Debillemont's "Indian" music for *Le tour du monde*.<sup>57</sup> The star of the *divertissement*, as well as dedicatee of the waltz — but also, this time, the choreographer — was none other than Mariquita. Among the attractions of *Les aventures de Monsieur de Crac* were also a hot-air balloon, as in *Kériban le Têtu*, and a whale, as in *Les enfants du capitaine Grant*. As we have seen in **Chapter 2**, *Les 400 coups du diable* (1905), at the tail end of supernatural *féerie*, contained the film segment "Le voyage dans l'espace," despite the very conservative plot based on the Manichaeian conflict between Satan and a good genie. Moreover, *Les 400 coups du diable* had a depiction of a Paris of the future where everybody gets around by air, a "Carpathian castle" whose designation was a transparent nod to Verne (*Le château des Carpathes* is a novel from 1892), and, at the *manuscrit de censure* stage, even a submarine. Contamination also happened in the opposite direction. In *L'oncle d'Amérique*, a *Tour du monde*-style play from 1903, anthropomorphic garden vegetables appear as costumes in a Carnival procession in Venice, a clear homage to *La biche au bois*.<sup>58</sup> The same play also

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<sup>57</sup> The 1877 and 1878 revivals of the traditional *féerie* *Rothomago* had similarly incorporated Indian-themed attractions.

<sup>58</sup> André Charlot, "Théâtre du Châtelet: *L'oncle d'Amérique*," *L'Art du théâtre*, January 1904, illustration at p. 11.

featured a “Dance of Geese and Turkeys,” reminiscent of the giant turkeys that were among the attractions of *Rothomago*.

### *Comic travelogues*

The creation of scientific *féerie*, with the consequent exchanges between supernatural and scientific *féerie*, is just one aspect of the phenomenon of generic cross-pollination that I describe as the *féerization* of Parisian theatre. It was quickly followed by a hybridization of *féerie* and *vaudeville*, and by a resurgence of composerly *féerie* in the 1880s and '90s. Of course, these three trends are not mutually exclusive, and the *féeries* of Gaston Serpette, which will be discussed in the last section of this chapter, are arguably at the crossroads of all three.

But let us proceed with order. In 1878 actor Jules Brasseur opened a new playhouse, the Théâtre des Nouveautés, on boulevard des Italiens, in close proximity to the Opéra, the Vaudeville, and the Opéra-Comique. The first play he produced was *Coco*, a *vaudeville* by Clairville, Eugène Grangé, and Alfred Delacour. Significantly, the cast reunited Offenbach alumni: Christian (*La Périchole*, the *Gaîté Orphée* and *Geneviève*, *Le voyage dans la lune*), Léa Silly (*La belle Hélène*), plus Brasseur himself and Céline Montaland, *vaudeville* actors who had taken part in *La vie parisienne*. It is therefore not surprising that *Coco* was an operettized *vaudeville*, with many vocal numbers, a good deal of which had original music. Among the musicians who contributed to the score was a successful operetta composer, Auguste Cœdès, and the non-original vocal numbers tended to use music from recent operettas. What is more surprising is that *Coco* looks not just operettized but *féerized* as well. With five acts, the play is on a grander scale than most *vaudevilles*. Several of the vocal numbers are presented not as

instances of characters casually breaking into song, but as diegetic performances, and in some cases they also call for dance: the contrast with another popular *vaudeville* from the same year, Alfred Hennequin and Albert Millaud's *Niniche*, is remarkable.<sup>59</sup> What is more, Act 4 ends on a moving panorama observed from the deck of a ship, evoking both scientific *féerie*'s obsession with travel and means of transportation and the penchant for spectacle of *féerie* in general. While *Coco*, in typical *vaudeville* fashion, is a well-wrought play with a carefully orchestrated plot, as opposed to the loose plots of *féerie*, it contains moments that work as attractions, as in a *féerie*. There are even a quest of sorts — the characters are on the pursuit of a parrot on the run, the titular *Coco* — and a hint at a *défilé*: when the peasants present the birds they have captured in the hope of getting the reward promised for *Coco*, the scene brings to mind a procession of women gathered to try on Cinderella's slipper. The dramaturgy of the late nineteenth-century *vaudeville de mouvement* is, so to speak, at the opposite of that of *féerie*: the interest of the former lay in the machinations of the plot, that of the latter in visual spectacle; one is guided by the principle of economy of means, the other relies on gratuitous effects. Even though the *vaudeville* element is prevalent, *Coco* points toward a paradoxical conciliation between the two dramaturgies.

If the operettization of *féerie*, as discussed in **Chapter 2**, brought the taste of the Western theatres of Paris to the Eastern theatres, the *féerization* of *vaudeville* did the opposite, importing back into the western part of the theatre landscape a dramaturgy that had become associated with the large theatres of the eastern part. But that was the completion of a process, not a reversal of it — a logical next step in the erasure of the boundary between the West and the now gentrified East. That *Coco*, ten years later, was revived at the Folies-Dramatiques, at the opposite end of the Grands boulevards, is further proof of the erasure of that boundary.

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<sup>59</sup> Alfred Hennequin and Albert Millaud, *Niniche* (Paris: Allouard, 1878). *Niniche* was a composerly vaudeville, having an original score by Marius Boullard.

Furthermore, since the Nouveautés were a brand-new theatre, *Coco* can be read as a manifesto play of sorts, outlining the generic horizon of the new venture. Such manifesto plays were common in nineteenth-century Parisian theatre, from Eugène Scribe's *Les trois genres* for the Odéon (1824, the three genres being tragedy, comedy, and *opéra comique*), to Théodore Cogniard and Clairville's *La liberté des théâtres* for the Variétés, right after the Second Empire deregulation (1864). As late as 1891, a new manager at the Porte-Saint-Martin inaugurated his tenure (and a refurbished auditorium) with a manifesto play that combined vaudeville, melodrama, and ballet, *Voyages dans Paris*, by Ernest Blum and Raoul Toché. If we are to infer that *Coco* promised a combination of vaudeville, operetta, and *féerie*, Brasseur would in fact deliver, staging, as we shall see, three *féeries* during his tenure at the Nouveautés.

The moving panorama of *Coco* might very well have inspired that of *Michel Strogoff* in 1880, and the example of the Nouveautés might have encouraged the Variétés to produce, in 1879, *Le voyage en Suisse*, another hybrid between *vaudeville* and attractional entertainment, in this case built around the talents of an English acrobatic troupe, the Hanlon-Lees.<sup>60</sup> But the true successors to the experiment of *Coco* are to be found in a string of plays given at the Gaîté between the late 1880s and the early '90s, one of which proved hugely successful. *Dix jours aux Pyrénées* (1887, by Paul Ferrier), *Le voyage de Suzette* (1890, by Henri Chivot and Alfred Duru), and *Le pays de l'or* (1892, by Chivot and Vanloo) all surpassed 100 performances. A hit on its appearance, *Le voyage de Suzette* went on to have a decades-long stage career, being revived into the interwar period. All three plays are operettized, having vocal numbers with operetta-style music. *Dix jours aux Pyrénées* and *Le pays de l'or* are also composerly, as all the music is by Louis Varney and by Léon Vasseur, respectively, both popular operetta composers, the former

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<sup>60</sup> On *Le voyage en Suisse*, see Mark Cosdon, "Le voyage en Suisse in Europe, 1879–1881," in *The Hanlon Brothers: From Daredevil Acrobatics to Spectacle Pantomime, 1833–1931* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2009), 50–76.

best known for *Les mousquetaires au couvent* (1880), the latter for *La timbale d'argent* (1872). When it was first performed, *Le voyage de Suzette* had instead non-original music, with some additions by Vasseur, who conducted the première (probably the melodramatic music and perhaps a couple of vocal numbers). An alternative composerly setting exists, though, entirely by Vasseur: this seems to have been performed only in the provinces, while Paris apparently stuck to the non-original setting until 1910, when the Vasseur version was performed at a minor theatre, the Trianon-Lyrique.<sup>61</sup> The choice may have been made by the publisher Choudens for legal or financial reasons: a later, less successful play from the Gaîté, the 1893 *Les bicyclistes en voyage*, was also performed in Paris with non-original music, but Choudens issued a composerly score by Marius Carman, who had provided some dance music for the Gaîté production. At any rate, it is apparent that *Le voyage de Suzette* was written to accommodate borrowed music. Offenbach's "ronde des colporteurs" from *Le roi Carotte* — "Nous venons du fin fond de la Perse," We come from deepest Persia — is parodied as "Nous venons du fin fond de l'Espagne" (We come from deepest Spain), which is made particularly funny by the fact that some characters come from Spain while others come, indeed, from Persia: one is even tempted to think that the whole plot was conceived as a setup for this musical joke.

All three plays have a high number of *tableaux*, *Dix jours aux Pyrénées* ten, *Le voyage de Suzette* eleven, *Le pays de l'or* fourteen. All adopt the travelogue model of *Le tour du monde* and the other Verne plays, with a plot characterized by constant geographic displacement. But unlike the Verne plays, the rationale for geographic displacement is not some abstract aspiration to accomplish a more or less arbitrary mission or to test the boundaries of the possible. The characters, here, have more mundane reasons for traveling — not necessarily

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<sup>61</sup> To further complicate matters, the score of *Le voyage de Suzette* is sometimes credited to Edmond Audran, presumably in error.

ones frequently encountered in everyday life, perhaps, but ones that resonate with the reality of the First Globalization. In *Dix jours aux Pyrénées* the characters are on a package tour organized by a travel agency; the very subtitle of the play, in lieu of a generic designation, is “round trip” (*voyage circulaire*), so that the playbill (or the frontispiece) reads like an advertisement for the fictional travel agency. The premise of *Le voyage de Suzette* is that two childhood friends from France have ended up in Persia and Spain: one is a businessman who has made a fortune in Asia, the other is the creator of a universal language (spectators would have thought of either Volapük or Esperanto, though the former was still better known at the time). In *Le pays de l’or*, the incentives to geographical mobility are an operetta touring company and the idea that hard-working immigrants can succeed in the United States — an idea that was not called the American Dream yet, but that was very much present, in an era of mass migration to the New World. These plays, therefore, reconciled the extraordinariness of *féerie* with the ordinariness of *vaudeville*. They were, like *féerie*, a source of the marvelous, but they also provided the sort of relatability that *vaudeville* offered: the feeling that the onstage characters belonged to the same society in which the audience lived. Together with the presence of vocal numbers, this set them apart from the Verne plays, populated, as we have seen, by somewhat more-than-human or other-than-human characters.

These comic travelogues — together with Serpette’s *féeries*, discussed below — can therefore be seen as cases of *féerized vaudeville*. But there is no underestimating their *féerieness*: they are conceived as a vehicle for a series of feats of scenery and of spectacular *clous*, and they contain the same ingredients that we have found in other *féeries*, scientific and non-scientific alike. All three contain ballets: *Dix jours aux Pyrénées* has a Spanish *divertissement* and a *farandole*, *Le voyage de Suzette* two *divertissements* (one Spanish, one presumably a *ballet blanc*), *Le pays de l’or* a horse race-themed *divertissement* and two isolated

dance numbers (of sailors and of Native Americans). All have a *défilé*, whether a relatively modest *paseillo* in a bullring (*Dix jours aux Pyrénées*), a civic procession in San Francisco with local authorities and miners (*Le pays de l'or*), or a massive circus parade (*Le voyage de Suzette*), which according to the correspondent for the Italian musical periodical *Il teatro illustrato* ran for twenty minutes.<sup>62</sup> As seen with the 1867 and 1881 productions of *La biche au bois* and with *Le tour du monde*, displays of live exotic animals had their place in *féerie*.<sup>63</sup> The circus parade of *Le voyage de Suzette* pushed the envelope with a whole menagerie including a camel, an ostrich, an elephant, and two dromedaries.<sup>64</sup> Child performers — featured in traditional *féerie*, in the Offenbach *féeries*, and, at least as supernumeraries, in *Le tour du monde*<sup>65</sup> — appear in *Dix jours aux Pyrénées* and *Le voyage de Suzette*. These plays also exhibit the typical *féerie* propensity to incorporate extraneous acts as performances within the performance: *Dix jours aux Pyrénées* includes a bullfight, *Le voyage de Suzette* a stage-magic act and a pantomime, *Le pays de l'or* a minstrel show and a recreation of Charles Blondin's tightrope walk over Niagara Falls. In all three cases the cast included a clown troupe, the Oriel's Brothers for *Dix jours aux Pyrénées* and "les Price," already seen in *Le Petit Poucet* (1885), for the other two plays. The penchant of *féerie* for the display of female bodies (see Chapter 4) is reflected in the last *tableau* of *Dix jours aux Pyrénées*, set on the beach at Biarritz, and in the first *tableau* of *Le pays de l'or*, where the residents of a boarding school for girls demonstrate their gymnastics skills.

That *Le tour du monde* was a model for these comic travelogues is made explicit by a duet near the beginning of *Dix jours aux Pyrénées*, where the male lead sings that he will follow his

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<sup>62</sup> "Il viaggio di Susetta," *Il teatro illustrato*, May 1890, 67.

<sup>63</sup> *Le voyage dans la lune* also included a dromedary, and elephants took part in a *défilé* in the 1881 *Les mille et une nuits*. Lions were seen in the 1874 revival of *Les pilules du diable*, snakes in the 1878 revival of *Rothomago*.

<sup>64</sup> Georges Boyer, "Courrier des théâtres," *Le Figaro*, February 19, 1890, 6. This is consistent with the Choudens production book (see Appendix), except that the production book does not make the difference between camel and dromedary.

<sup>65</sup> See Roques, *L'invention d'un théâtre-monde*, 289–91 for the use of child performers in revivals of *Le tour du monde* and *Michel Strogoff*.

loved one “to Cochinchina, to Kamchatka! . . . on land or sea, by rail coach, by steamship . . . even if that meant circling the globe where we live.”<sup>66</sup> A minor character in *Le pays de l’or* in the form of a robber baron used to getting his own way by throwing money around echoes Phileas Fogg’s modus operandi. But reminiscences of traditional *féerie* are also very much present. *Dix jours aux Pyrénées* manages to include anthropomorphic animals by means of an astonishing dream *tableau*. The character who is having the dream, by way of subconscious word play, makes the leap from the vocal cracks (*chats*) of a tenor who is traveling with the organized tour to cats (*chats*). As the music quotes from the finale of Charles Gounod’s *Faust*, the vocal cracks materialize as cats; a pantomime by the Oriel’s Brothers segues into a love duet between two cats sung by the same actors who play the dreamer’s unfaithful wife and her lover. The system of characters of *Le voyage de Suzette* strongly recalls that of traditional *féerie*: the two childhood friends mentioned above, fathers to the titular Suzette and to the male lead, are the equivalent of *féerie* kings; the two leads are the equivalent of a princess and a prince; and the maid of the “princess” and the valet of the “prince” form a lower-status second couple. As for *Le pays de l’or*, the *tableau* titled “L’Electric-Hotel” depicts, precisely, a futuristic New York hotel where all services are requested through electric call buttons, minimizing human interaction. This sounds like a real-world, modern-technology-driven transposition of the “Cabin of the Invisibles” from *La biche au bois* mentioned at the beginning of this chapter — where, as the title suggests, invisible beings satisfied every need of the cabin’s guests. (The quartet sung in the “Electric-Hotel” *tableau* also contains the same tongue trill effect found in *Le voyage dans la lune* and *Le roi malgré lui*, this time used to mimic electric bells.) The kinship between these comic travelogues, traditional *féerie*, and the Verne plays

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<sup>66</sup> “Je vous suivrais au bout du monde, / En Cochinchine, au Kamtchatka! / Je vous suivrai sur la terre et sur l’onde, / En wagon, en steamer et même en troïka! . . . Partout où vous irez, j’irai sur votre trace, / Du globe où nous vivons dût-on faire le tour.” Paul Ferrier, *Dix jours aux Pyrénées* (Librairie théâtrale, 1888), 9–10 (act 1, 1st *tableau*, scene 5).

seems undeniable, and the statement with which Sarcey began his review of *Le voyage de Suzette* is blunt but fundamentally correct: “*Le voyage de Suzette* is the ancient *féerie* in modern garb: *Le tour du monde en 80 jours* is the prototype of this kind of spectacular plays.”<sup>67</sup>

### *Composerly féerie after Offenbach*

Chapter 2 mentioned that composerly *féerie* disappeared from the Parisian stage between 1875 and 1882, save for performances of *Le voyage dans la lune* and a revival of *Orphée aux enfers*. No musician other than Offenbach achieved success with a composerly *féerie* until 1882. But composerly *féerie* did make a comeback in the 1880s and '90s, before fading out again at the end of the century. Of the composerly *féeries* that I have identified for this period, two are the comic travelogues *Dix jours aux Pyrénées* and *Le pays de l'or* just discussed, and five are by Serpette. One is the reworking of Victorien Sardou's *Don Quichotte*, a joint project of Sardou and Offenbach from the 1870s that came to fruition in 1895 with music by Albert Renaud (see Chapter 2). *Le chat du diable*, given in 1893, is a posthumous French adaptation of a *féerie*, or rather a Christmas pantomime, that Offenbach wrote for London, *Whittington* (1874).<sup>68</sup>

Among the other plays in the category, five stand out as a consistent subset: *Les pommes d'or*, music by Edmond Audran, the composer of *La mascotte* (1880), given at the Menus-Plaisirs in 1883; *Le puits qui parle*, also set by Audran, given at the Nouveautés in 1888; *Isoline*, music by André Messager, who had achieved notoriety with *La fauvette du temple* (1885), given at the

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<sup>67</sup> “*Le Voyage de Suzette* c’est l’antique *féerie* habillée à la moderne: le *Tour du monde en 80 jours* est le prototype de ce genre de pièces à spectacles.” Francisque Sarcey, “Chronique théâtrale,” *Le Temps*, January 27, 1890, [2].

<sup>68</sup> Jean-Claude Yon, “*Whittington* d’Offenbach: *féerie* anglaise ou française?,” in *La traduction des livrets: Aspects théoriques, historiques et pragmatiques*, ed. Gottfried R. Marschall (Paris: Presses de l’Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2004), 359–67.

Renaissance in 1888; *Riquet à la houppe*, music by Varney, given at the Folies-Dramatiques in 1889; and *La fille de l'air*, music by Paul Lacome, known for *Jeanne, Jeannette et Jeanneton* (1876), which was given at the Folies-Dramatiques in 1890. All were produced at theatres that did not have the means for spectacle that the Porte-Saint-Martin, the Gaîté, or the Châtelet had. And none was commercially successful, despite good reviews for some. The Nouveautés were, as we have seen, a recently opened fashionable theatre; as discussed in **Chapter 2**, the Menus-Plaisirs and the Renaissance were drivers of the gentrification of the theatre landscape of Eastern Paris, and the Folies-Dramatiques — a former melodrama house — a victim of the same gentrification process. None of these theatres was a stranger to operetta, and the Nouveautés and the Folies-Dramatiques, at the end of the 1880s, specialized in operetta and composerly *vaudeville*. Perhaps, in a way, these composerly *féeries* were not so much operettized *féerie* as féerized operetta, as customers expected operetta and were served *féerie*, so to speak. Contrary to *Le roi Carotte* back in its time, the element of novelty, in a landscape saturated with operetta music, was not to be found in the operetta-style vocal numbers but in the *féerie* plots. Except that those were not that novel, either: *Les pommes d'or* had already been performed as a non-composerly *féerie* in 1873; *La fille de l'air* was the adaptation of an often-revived *féerie* from 1837; *Le puits qui parle* and *Riquet à la houppe* rehashed classic *féerie* material. For *Isoline*, noted Wagnerian (but also noted hack) Catulle Mendès had concocted a more interesting play, with nods to Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and to Watteau's *Embarkation for Cythera*, anticipating the intellectual *féeries* of the early twentieth century. It was not enough to ensure the success of the work, though. What preserved it from oblivion was the fame of André Messager, boosted by his subsequent works (particularly *Véronique*, 1898). *Isoline*, unique among non-Offenbach *féeries*, was recorded after World War II and even revived at the Opéra-Comique in 1958.

The disappointing business record of composerly supernatural *féerie* at the fin de siècle, at any rate, seems to suggest that *féerie*, to succeed, needed either an original take on the genre (which was delivered by Serpette), or the kind of spectacular resources only available to the largest theatres in town. And if, among the three largest theatres, the Gaîté found a winning formula with the comic travelogues, the other two — the Porte-Saint-Martin and the Châtelet — did not produce a similar trend, but came up with interesting experiments in composerly *féerie*. *Le Crocodile*, the 1886 play by Sardou with a score by Massenet, has been rightfully likened to *féerie* by Guy Ducrey, who also cites a contemporary review in support of the comparison.<sup>69</sup> Though stopping short of calling *Le tour du monde* a *féerie*, Ducrey acknowledges that Sardou's model was *Le tour du monde* and that *féerie* was a precedent for a theatre that eschewed the dramaturgy of the well-wrought play. If we are to believe Sarcey, Sardou himself admitted that he wanted to try his hand at the genre practiced by Verne and d'Ennery.<sup>70</sup> And indeed, *Le Crocodile* is strongly reminiscent of *Le tour du monde*: there is a shipwreck, that of the steamship *Le Crocodile*; it is set in Maritime Southeast Asia, as was part of *Le tour du monde*; the protagonist is constantly under threat of arrest; an attack by Malay pirates recalls the attack on the train by Native Americans; and the play ends with a magnificent reception where the couples that have formed in the course of the action are publicly announced. What *Le Crocodile* lacks, though, are not just vocal numbers but a *divertissement* and a *défilé*. The work was not a failure, but it was not influential either. In hindsight, it is easy to blame its modest success on its *féerie*-like nature. But it is equally possible that it would have fared better if Sardou, on the contrary, had fully embraced *féerie*

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<sup>69</sup> Guy Ducrey, "La Pièce mal faite: Victorien Sardou et le modèle kaléidoscopique du théâtre," in *Victorien Sardou, un siècle plus tard*, ed. Guy Ducrey (Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 2007), 183–94.

<sup>70</sup> Francisque Sarcey, "Le Crocodile," in *Quarante ans de théâtre* (Paris: Bibliothèque des *Annales politiques et littéraires*, 1900–1902), 6:132–33.

and asked Massenet to compose ballet music and a march for a *défilé*.<sup>71</sup> If *Le Crocodile* has seemed perplexing to scholars, it is because it is a *féerie*, but it does not completely fit into a history of *féerie* either. In fact, it stands isolated between the Verne plays (1874–1883) and the comic travelogues of the Gaîté (1887–1893), and essentially represents a dead end of scientific *féerie*.

Another composerly experiment with a score was by Vasseur, *Le prince Soleil* was once again a *Tour du monde*–style play, taking the spectator from Sweden to India via Portugal, Gibraltar, the Chagos Islands, and Japan, and like the comic travelogues it had vocal numbers. Unlike the comic travelogues, though, it did not seek to bring the plot down to a more human dimension compared to the Verne plays. Instead, a portion of the work ventures into supernatural *féerie* territory, with a lengthy excursion to the fantastic kingdom of the Sun (albeit justified as a hallucination). The date of the première in the summer of 1889, at the height of the World’s Fair, is revealing. *Féerie*, with its emphasis on non-verbal elements, was an ideal programming choice to lure into a theatre the international visitors to a World’s Fair, as we have seen for *La biche au bois* in 1867. *Le prince Soleil* looks explicitly designed to appeal to the World’s Fair crowd. Gibraltar is presented as a microcosm of different nationalities and ethnicities, and the protagonist has six sidekicks from all around the world who only communicate through gestures, lacking a shared language.<sup>72</sup> The six sidekicks were played by the Lauri-Lauris, a pantomime troupe from England that included members of the Lauri,

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<sup>71</sup> Massenet is often given credit (or partial credit) for another scientific-*féerie* score, that of *Michel Strogoff*. I believe this rests on a misunderstanding: Massenet did, in fact, supply music for *Michel Strogoff* — “supply” as in “help find,” though, not as in “write.” According to a press report, Massenet acted as an intermediary between the Châtelet and Nikolay Rubinshteyn, who provided a transcription of a Russian military tune: Jules Prével, “Courrier des théâtres,” *Le Figaro*, September 15, 1880, 4 (“Le compositeur N. Rubinstein, directeur du Conservatoire de Moscou, vient d’envoyer à M. Jules Massenet, qui l’a immédiatement transmis à M. Duquesnel, le motif annoté de la Retraite de la garde impériale russe, destiné au *Michel Strogoff* de d’Ennery et Jules Verne, qu’on répète au théâtre du Châtelet”). As Louis Bilodeau has shown, Massenet had initially been considered to compose the score of *Michel Strogoff*, but the collaboration did not materialize: Louis Bilodeau, introduction to *Michel Strogoff*, ed. Bilodeau, xli–xliii.

<sup>72</sup> For the portrayal of Gibraltar I am relying on a printed program: Georges Bertal, “*Le prince Soleil*: Analyse et programme de la pièce” (Paris: Kugelmann, 1889), 16.

d'Auban, and Evans theatrical families. A writer for the newspaper *La Lanterne* attributed to the managers of the Châtelet the following consideration: “[M]ost of our spectators will not know a single word of French, and they will only come to see the dancers, the *mouche d’or*, the Lauri-Lauris, and the pretty scenery.”<sup>73</sup> Vasseur’s music, one imagines, was equally supposed to bridge the language barrier.

If *Le prince Soleil* was a success, the same cannot be said of the last composerly *féerie* of the century, *La montagne enchantée*, music by Messenger and Xavier Leroux, which folded after a month at the Porte-Saint-Martin in 1897. The text, by Émile Moreau, best known as a collaborator of Sardou, and Albert Carré, soon to become the manager of the Opéra-Comique, appears to be lost, but the play was a supernatural *féerie* with some literary pretensions and a Middle Eastern setting. It had very elaborate scenery, two ballets, and pantomime by “les Price,” who impersonated genies and monsters in a climactic *tableau* that bore a resemblance to “La roche invisible” in *La biche au bois* (see **Chapter 2**). It had, moreover, a rich and sophisticated score, which also included vocal music, although its star, the former operetta performer Jane Hading, used her singing voice sparingly, as she had done in the title role of Alphonse Daudet’s *Sapho* (1885) — in this case, she played a Turandot-like icy princess who does not sing until her conversion to love. It is hard to say whether the flop of *La montagne enchantée* had to do with the merits of the work or was just a symptom that the tide was turning against what I have called in **Chapter 2** “operettocracy.” A decade would pass before another supernatural *féerie* with an original score would see the stage. But *La Belle au bois dormant* (1907), by Jean Richepin and Henri Cain, music by Francis Thomé, is already a

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<sup>73</sup> “Songez que la plupart de nos spectateurs ne sauront pas un mot de français et ne viendront que pour voir les danseuses, la mouche d’or, les Lauri’Lauris [sic] et les beaux décors.” “Au Châtelet,” *La Lanterne*, July 14, 1889, 2. For the *mouche d’or*, see note to **Chapter 2**. Kristian Moen discusses *Le prince Soleil* in the context of the World’s Fair in *Film and Fairy Tales* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 35–37, and in “‘Never Has One Seen Reality Enveloped in Such a Phantasmagoria’: Watching Spectacular Transformations, 1860–89,” in *Cinematicity in Media History*, ed. Jeffrey Geiger and Karin Littau (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 35–45.

retrospective work, inaugurating the nostalgic appropriation of the old *féerie* by literary theatre.<sup>74</sup>

### The *féeries* of Gaston Serpette

Gaston Serpette, a rough contemporary of Massenet, Varney, and Vasseur, was a composer with impeccable academic credentials (a Prix de Rome laureate, no less) who chose to specialize in light stage music. It is fair, then, to describe him as an operetta composer. Except that, on closer inspection, some of his operettas reveal themselves as composerly *vaudevilles*, such as the relatively popular *La demoiselle du téléphone* (1891). The 1887 *La lycéenne* is now remembered as an early *vaudeville* by Georges Feydeau; had posterity, for some reason, been kinder to the composer and less kind to the playwright, we would now probably think of it as an “operetta” by Serpette — in the same way *Mam’zelle Nitouche*, another composerly *vaudeville*, is considered an operetta by Hervé. Some of Serpette’s other works are actually *féeries*: *Madame le Diable* (1882), *Le château de Tire-Larigot* (1884), *Adam et Ève* (1886), *Le carnet du diable* (1895), and *Le carillon* (1896).<sup>75</sup>

As was the case for Offenbach and Verne, I am not interested in a “great man” but in a set of plays that happen to share, among other things, a creator. Indeed, they share more than a creator. All of Serpette’s *féeries* except *Madame le Diable* are credited to the team of playwrights formed by Ernest Blum and Raoul Toché, then, after Toché’s death in 1895, by Blum and Paul Ferrier. The same team, as we have seen in **Chapter 2**, was responsible for the

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<sup>74</sup> On Thomé and *La Belle au bois dormant*, see Erin M[ichelle] Brooks, “Sharing the Stage with the *voix d’or*: Sarah Bernhardt and Music in the Belle Époque” (PhD diss., Washington University in St. Louis, 2010), 421–99.

<sup>75</sup> Serpette also provided music for *Le mirliton enchanté*, a *féerie* that received a private performance at the Cercle de l’Union artistique (the gentlemen’s club also known as Cercle des Mirlitons) in 1883. Serpette’s *Le Petit Chaperon rouge*, from 1885, is an operetta, not a *féerie*.

revisions to the text of *La biche au bois* in 1881 (as Blum and Toché) and 1896 (as Blum and Ferrier), as well as for the traditional *féeries* *Les aventures de Monsieur de Crac* (Blum and Toché) and *Le Petit Chaperon rouge* (Blum and Ferrier, joined by Pierre Decourcelle). These five *féeries* were all performed at comparatively small, hence exclusive, theatres: the Renaissance (*Madame le Diable*), the Nouveautés (*Le château de Tire-Larigot* and *Adam et Ève*), and the Variétés (*Le carnet du diable* and *Le carillon*). *Adam et Ève* was relatively unsuccessful, *Le carillon* completely so, possibly another casualty of the late-1890s crisis of operettocracy. Moreover, the text of the former and the music of the latter are, to my knowledge, lost. I will then focus solely on the three most successful plays. Of those, *Le carnet du diable* proved particularly popular, with two revivals in 1897 and 1900. *Le carnet du diable* is also the best documented one, since both the production book and orchestral parts survive.

Serpette's *féeries* can look baffling to a modern observer, but they start making sense once they are understood as products of the generic crucible of féerized Parisian theatre. They would have been unthinkable without the experimentations of *Le roi Carotte*, *Le tour du monde*, and *Coco* in the 1870s — although they do not resemble any of the three. The trends described in the previous section converge in these works. They tend to blur the boundaries between the supernatural marvelous and the technological marvelous, between the wonders of the imagination and those of the increasingly interconnected world of the First Globalization. Like the comic travelogues of the Gaîté, they strike a compromise between the extraordinariness of *féerie* with the ordinariness of *vaudeville*. But, like the composerly supernatural *féeries* of the same years (from *Les pommes d'or* through *La fille de l'air*), they are written for smaller theatres — and take advantage of that, with risqué plots and humor that would be out of place at the family-friendly larger theatres.

Both *Madame le Diable* and *Le château de Tire-Larigot* combine the Manichean conflict of *féerie* with the emphasis on adultery of *vaudeville*. As a result, in both plays there are two supernatural characters, incessantly changing appearance (they are *rôles à tiroirs*), trying respectively to make adultery happen and to stop it in its tracks. In *Madame le Diable* these two characters are a couple (a he-devil and a she-devil), in *Le château de Tire-Larigot* they are rivals: two eighteenth-century gentlemen whose portraits have come to life. In both cases, of course, the *rôles à tiroirs* were designed to showcase the talents of the performers: the she-devil was operetta star Jeanne Granier, one of the two eighteenth-century gentlemen was Brasseur, whose role in *La vie parisienne* was already a *rôle à tiroirs*.

Nods to traditional *féerie* abound: in *Le château de Tire-Larigot* some talismans have been sold off at an auction, as in *Les bibelots du diable*, in *Madame le Diable*, a barber's lotion has the power to instantly regrow hair, as in *Les pilules du diable*. Portraits coming to life had already been seen in *Les pilules du diable* and in *La biche au bois*. But modern technology is also present. Characters travel from a supernatural realm to the world of humans by means of an elevator in *Madame le Diable*, of an automobile in *Le carnet du diable*. Serving as an interface between the two universes are electric meters in the former play and a bank in the latter. One of the *clous* of *Le château de Tire-Larigot* is an elevator that magically morphs into a hot-air balloon. *Le château de Tire-Larigot* also contains musical numbers inspired by the elevator and telephone — respectively suggesting an analogy between an elevator ride and female erotic arousal and comparing love and the telephone as means to connect human beings. *Madame le Diable* exploits the ambiguity of automata, presenting them in turn as a feat of engineering (when crafted by a “van Vaucanson *fils*,” presumably a descendant of Jacques Vaucanson) and as the product of the dark arts of the she-devil. Explorers, travelers, tourists, foreign oligarchs are

present across these plays; *Le carnet du diable*, in particular, satirizes the glitzy lifestyle of privileged South American expats in Paris, the so-called *rastaquouères*.<sup>76</sup>

The scores reveal that the frequent tricks (appearances, disappearances, transformations) are synchronized to short musical cues, which are often mimetic (for instance, an ascending musical gesture for a character emerging from a trap). This is further attested by the production book for *Le carnet du diable* and consistent with the composerly supernatural *féeries* of the same period (*Le puits qui parle*, *Riquet à la houppe*, *La fille de l'air*). In **Chapter 1** we observed this practice of synchronizing tricks to musical cues for the 1858 *Les bibelots du diable*; we can now say with certitude that it carried on into the 1890s. The *Serpette féeries* likewise have musical cues to accompany the many scene changes (*Madame le Diable* has twelve *tableaux*, *Le château de Tire-Larigot* ten, *Le carnet du diable* eight). They also have dance music, if not necessarily ballets proper. Both *Madame le diable* and *Le carnet du diable* end on an *apothéose*. *Madame le diable* also had a *défilé* of hells from different traditions (Norse, Japanese, classical) that reflected the approach to *défilés* of fin-de-siècle traditional *féeries*, not just cumulative but almost encyclopedic. In 1881, *Les mille et une nuits* put on display every possible type of lamp, *Le Petit Poucet* would do the same with boots in 1885, and so would the 1898 revival of *La poudre de Perlinpinpin* with porcelain and the 1900 *Le Petit Chaperon rouge* with fans.

*Serpette*'s original scores indulge in the kind of musical humor that characterized *féerie* and *vaudeville* with non-original music — the kind that presupposes that a complicit, in-the-know audience will recognize familiar tunes. So in *Madame le Diable* a pianist that rents his

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<sup>76</sup> For the *rastaquouères*, see Jean-Pierre Ricard, "Le Paris-rasta et le rejet du cosmopolitisme," in *La vie parisienne*, proceedings of the third meeting of the Société des études romantiques et dix-neuviémistes, ed. Aude Déruelle and José-Luis Diaz (online, 2008), accessed January 9, 2020, <https://serd.hypotheses.org/files/2018/08/Ricard.pdf>. The Brazilian played by Brasseur in Offenbach's *La vie parisienne* comes to mind as a precedent for *Serpette*, although the term *rastaquouère* was not in use at the time and did not become current until the 1880s.

services for family soirees peppers his number with impressions of an amateur baritone singing an excerpt from Gaetano Donizetti's *La favorite* and a child singing a *romance* by Léopold Amat, "Où vas-tu, petit oiseau?," as well as a quotation from the *café-concert* song "La chaussée Clignancourt," by Paulus and Aristide Bruant.<sup>77</sup> In *Le château de Tire-Larigot*, the story of a family that runs from the eighteenth century through the present is told through quotations of tunes associated with different political regimes: "Vive Henri IV" for the *ancien régime*, "Le chant du départ" for the Revolution, "Veillons au salut de l'Empire" for the First Empire, "La Parisienne" for the July Monarchy, "Partant pour la Syrie" for the Second Empire, ending with Olivier Métra's "Les volontaires" for the present of 1884. This does not mean that Serpette does not avail himself of the potential that an original score affords: *Le château de Tire-Larigot* has a through-composed seduction scene, as well as a central finale that parodies Italianate conventions, as in vintage Offenbach, with an overemphatic *quadro di stupore* and an equally overemphatic *stretta*.

*Le carnet du diable* serves as a convenient endpoint to this exploration of féerized Parisian theatre. Its last revival in 1900 not only coincided with the end of the century but marked one of the last appearances of composerly *féerie* on the Parisian stage.<sup>78</sup> If traditional *féerie* would limp on for another few years and scientific *féerie* would survive for several decades, the great experiment in generic cross-pollination that had lasted for a quarter of a century had come to an end. But *Le carnet du diable* can also serve as a starting point for a reflection on the ideology and the poetics of *féerie*. A somewhat contradictory work, it raises questions that only a deeper

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<sup>77</sup> The pianist being the she-devil in disguise, the impressions are third-degree performances, and they added to the already impressive range of skills that Jeanne Granier demonstrated in this role.

<sup>78</sup> The 1905 *L'Âge d'or* — by Feydeau and Maurice Desvallières, with a score by Varney — can be seen as an attempt to recapture the spirit of the *féeries* of Serpette, who had died the previous year. It even had the same leading man as all of Serpette's *féeries* save the first, Albert Brasseur. The play, however, fail to achieve the success of Serpette's three hits.

investigation into the *féerie* industry can answer — an investigation that will be carried on in the next chapter.

The play revolves around Belphégor, the titular devil, and two romantic leads of different backgrounds, the student Arsène and the South American heiress Mimosa. The plot is set in motion by a bargain in which Belphégor agrees to help Arsène win the heart of Mimosa and Arsène agrees to cede to Belphégor part of his potency. Instrumental in the bargain is a resolutely modern incarnation of Cupid, the banker Cupido; other significant characters are Belphégor's cheated-on wife Sataniella, Arsène's cousin Casimir, Mimosa's uncle Rodrigo, and Rodrigo's love interest Jacqueline. Similarly to what we have observed for *Le roi Carotte* in **Chapter 2**, Serpette's vocal writing is clearly adapted to each performer in a cast of varying musical abilities. So, for example, the role of Cupido, written for the 67-year-old comedian Lassouche, only requires him to sing in a single number, almost exclusively in unison with two other performers. Belphégor has mostly stepwise melodies, and his Act 3 *couplets* are, according to a footnote in the vocal score, to be recited instead of sung, possibly because their sung rendition was disappointing. The *couplets* Hervé composed for the same actor — Baron — in *Mam'zelle Nitouche* were also ludicrously simple, as they only used three pitches. By comparison, Mimosa, played by Juliette Méaly, who could shoulder the *tyrolienne* of *La vie parisienne*, is given a long and demanding role, complete with a high C.

After a *pot-pourri* overture, the work opens with a tongue-in-cheek chorus of devils that sets the stage for a trial in Satan's infernal court. Sataniella, Satan's niece, has sued Belphégor for infidelity, and manages to have him condemned to be impotent for three years (in the manuscript; apparently reduced to one year in the play as performed). After the verdict, melodramatic music based on the preceding chorus plays in the orchestra while the shallow scene of the courtroom gives way to a deep scene. We are now in a Parisian *brasserie à femmes*,

the kind of late nineteenth-century establishment that “used [its] female employees to deploy strategies of sexual titillation that would encourage men to consume,” as Andrew Israel Ross explains in a recent article.<sup>79</sup> This one has fake-medieval decor and a theme whereby all servers are dressed in the costume of a royal favorite, loosely defined — Aspasia, Cleopatra, Agnès Sorel, Diane de Poitiers, Gabrielle d’Estrées, Madame de Maintenon, Madame de Pompadour, Mademoiselle Lange. This array of historical figures accommodates in a realistic setting the encyclopedic penchant of late nineteenth-century *féerie* and compensates for the lack of a *défilé*. The *tableau* of the *brasserie à femmes* opens with a chorus of servers and clients, possibly reminiscent of the opening of *Le roi Carotte*, also set in a brasserie. We are then introduced to a pair of cousins, Casimir and Arsène Marjavel — the former impossibly lucky, the latter impossibly dogged by bad luck — and to an uncle-and-niece duo of extravagant and obscenely wealthy South Americans, Rodrigo and Mimosa. Both the two cousins and the two South Americans sing strophic numbers; the following ensemble with chorus where Mimosa humiliates Arsène, who is in love with her, is also strophic.

The brasserie owner closes for the night, not realizing that Arsène has drunk himself to sleep. In his dreams, Arsène involuntarily summons Belphégor, who materializes in the room haloed with red light, emerging from a vampire trap (*trappe anglaise*) concealed in a wine barrel. The production book prescribes that Belphégor execute three “mesmeric gestures” (*passes magnétiques*) at Arsène: “at the first one, Arsène stands up; at the second, he stretches his arms; at the third, half waking up, he makes a step downstage.” This wordless sequence is supported by diminished-seventh chords in the orchestra. At each of the three gestures, the chord is raised by a semitone, with the kind of fine synchronization that would be referred to as “Mickey Mousing” in film music. The scene that follows, is, predictably, a variation on the

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<sup>79</sup> Andrew Israel Ross, “Serving Sex: Playing with Prostitution in the *Brasseries à femmes* of Late Nineteenth-Century Paris,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 24, no. 2 (2015): 289.

trope of the pact with the Devil. Less predictable are the terms of this pact. Belphégor explains to Arsène that every human is allotted a certain amount of sexual activity, which takes the form of checks deposited at the Banque des Amours: every time one has intercourse, a check is exchanged and one's account balance drops. Belphégor asks for a bank transfer from Arsène in return for unlimited luck. Arsène accepts and the two are swallowed by a trap, which lets out a flame: another change of scenery accompanied by music, and we are transported, for the third and final *tableau* of the act, to the Banque des Amours, where the two finalize their deal in front of the bank's manager, Cupido. This *tableau*, again, fuses the supernatural and the technological marvelous: the architecture is rococo in style, pink is the dominant color (at least according to the production book), and the bank clerks are cupids (played by women *en travesti*), yet the clerks' chorus depicts a frenzied atmosphere dominated by the sound of electric bells and makes reference to the telephone, the telegraph, and the stock market. Belphégor appears once again (this time followed by Arsène) through a vampire trap and on an orchestral signal; at the end of the act, a diabolic automobile, which literally fires sparkles, emerges from a trap (announced by a flame and a diminished-seventh arpeggio) to carry away Belphégor and Arsène.

Act 2 is set in Rodrigo and Mimosa's outrageously luxurious suburban residence, a replica of Versailles in the Bois de Boulogne. We are treated to two musical numbers that parody sentimental *topoi*: the *couplets* in which Mimosa agonizes over her missing cockatoo and a duet in which Rodrigo lavishes gifts on Jacqueline, one of the servers of the brasserie. Picturesque members of the foreign colony arrive, to the accompaniment of melodramatic music, to attend the party that Rodrigo and Mimosa are giving. Belphégor and Sataniella also show up and sing a comic duet. Arsène enters having found Mimosa's cockatoo, and Mimosa starts to fall for him. The culmination of the party, after a chorus celebrating the *rastaquouères*,

is a show of *tableaux vivants* to which Arsène is admitted as a performer. The four *tableaux vivants*, which are of course accompanied by music, are, according to the production book, “Les deux boulonnaises” (The Two Women from Boulogne-sur-Mer, also announced in the press as “Les pêcheuses de crevettes,” The Prawn Fishers, possibly because the Opéra-Comique was reviving Bizet’s *Les pêcheurs de perles*), “Jupiter et Danaë,” “Le bûcheron mondain” (The Worldly Lumberjack), and “Roméo et Juliette.” This is, of course, yet another instance of *féerie* coopting acts from other performing arts (as well as playing to the male gaze, with women in body stockings). *Madame le Diable* and *Le château de Tire-Larigot* had done the same thing, too, including clowns. But the *tableaux vivants* of *Le carnet du diable* also functioned, not unlike a revue number, as a commentary on current affairs, at least in the case of “Jupiter et Danaë” — where Jupiter apparently personifies French finance and Danaë the Boer republic of Transvaal, literally showered with French money — and “Le bûcheron mondain” — which probably alludes to the deforestation of a portion of the Bois de Boulogne to build what is now known as the Jardin des serres d’Auteuil. This hypothesis is reinforced by the fact that in the music for “Le bûcheron mondain” Serpette quotes the folk song “Nous n’irons plus au bois, les lauriers sont coupés” (we will not go to the *bois* any more, the laurels have been cut). The decision to embed a quotation in the melodramatic music, instead of the vocal numbers, should not surprise us, as it was a common practice in nineteenth-century Parisian theatre with music. To cite but two examples from fin-de-siècle *féerie*, the *défilé* of boots of *Le Petit Poucet*, mentioned above, was accompanied by a medley of tunes suggesting different social settings; in the *tableau* “La Ville charmante” from *L’arbre de Noël* (1880) the soldiers of a city devoted to sensual pleasures marched, fittingly, to the tune of the invocation to Venus from Offenbach’s *La belle Hélène*. The *tableaux vivants* are also consistent with the diegetic universe of *Le carnet du diable*: it makes perfect sense that the personification of

finance as Jupiter has the face of the banker Cupido, that the lecherous fawn of “Le bûcheron mondain” is Belphégor, who has been reaping the benefits of his arrangement with Arsène, and that Romeo and Juliet are played by Arsène and Mimosa. In fact, the *tableau vivant* becomes the excuse for Arsène to kiss Mimosa, disrupting the second-level performance and causing the *mise en abyme* to collapse. After a moment of general confusion, Mimosa declares in a set of *couplets* that she wants to marry Arsène, and the act ends on a reprise of the *rastaquouère* chorus.

If the *tableaux vivants* of *Le carnet du diable* were part of an opera, we would probably laud the balance they strike between spectacle for the sake of spectacle, topical references, and *Hamlet*-style metatheatricality as a major strength of the work, from which we would consider them indissociable. But in the world of *féerie*, *clous* can always be improved upon. *Le carnet du diable* was therefore subjected to the same treatment that we have witnessed for *La biche au bois* in **Chapter 2**, albeit on a less brutal scale and within a shorter timespan. For the 1897 revival, the *tableaux vivants* were scrapped and substituted with a pantomime based on the characters from a series of books by Richard O’Monroy,<sup>80</sup> the Manchaballe family, whose three daughters are or aspire to be ballerinas. Not only did the pantomime belong to two fictional universes, that of *Le carnet du diable* and of O’Monroy’s books (the characters of the former supposedly impersonating those of the latter), it also happened to reproduce at the very same time two real Parisian locations. In fact, the pantomime showed the *foyer de la danse* at the Opéra as seen in the wax figure reconstruction of the Musée Grévin. Neither the topical allusions nor the connection with the plot of *Le carnet du diable* is lost in the substitution of the pantomime for the *tableaux vivants*: the character played by the now lucky Arsène has picked the winning ticket in a lottery, and the youngest of the sisters, who impresses a foreign

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<sup>80</sup> Richard O’Monroy, *Madame Manchaballe* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1892); O’Monroy, *Les petites Manchaballe* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1893); O’Monroy, *Les propos de Madame Manchaballe* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1896).

monarch with her dancing, is clearly modeled on Cléo de Mérode, then on the roster of the Opéra, whose relationship with Leopold II of the Belgians was well known.

The 1900 revival, though, aimed at surpassing that of 1897. A new set of *tableaux vivants* was introduced in lieu of the pantomime: this time there were no fewer than eleven of them. Again, they made reference to current affairs, among them the visit of the Shah of Persia to the Paris World's Fair, the North American tour of Sarah Bernhardt and Constant Coquelin, and the newly opened *métro*. And yet another kind of non-dramatic spectacle was incorporated into theatre, with Albert Brasseur emulating the stunts of quick-change artist Leopoldo Fregoli, who had just enjoyed a sensational success at the Olympia.<sup>81</sup>

Act 3 opens in the bedroom where Mimosa and Arsène are to spend their wedding night: their chambermaids sing a duet with chorus while they give the finishing touches to the room. In the rather risqué scene between the newlyweds that ensues, Arsène realizes that he is unable to have sex. As Mimosa leaves for a moment, Cupido emerges from a trap door and tells Arsène that his account has been drained by the bank transfer to Belphégor. After Cupido's exit, Arsène and Mimosa sing a strophic comic duet (the fourth such number in the play), at the end of which he flees the room. Next comes a change of scenery, where the transformation music, by quoting from the first *tableau* of Act I, leads us to believe that we are being transported back to hell. Instead we end up in a sort of annex of hell, the holiday villa of Sataniella and Belphégor (possibly located on the Riviera, or at any rate on the Mediterranean coast, since the sirocco is mentioned). As the couple conforms to the manners and tastes of wealthy earthlings, the room looks like any respectable parlor, with a fireplace, a piano, a secretary desk, and an academic sculpture (a statue of Venus). Sataniella receives her neighbors Rodrigo and Jacqueline, with whom she shares a comic trio, then Belphégor, alone,

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<sup>81</sup> In 1900 two ballets were also added to Acts 1 and 3 of *Le carnet du diable*, and cuts were made to compensate for the additions.

confesses in a set of *couplets* that he has already squandered all of Arsène's checks. He also demonstrates his diabolic secretary desk, whose drawer opens and closes on command, while the orchestra accompanies the movement with a musical gesture, consistent with *féerie* practice. Mimosa first, then Arsène show up at the villa, but their conversation with Rodrigo is not helpful. Finally Mimosa is left alone in the room, and we are treated to another *clou*. Following an invocation in the form of a waltz (the erotic dance *par excellence*), the statue of Venus comes to life (that is, a woman in a body stocking is swiftly substituted to the cutout) and mimes the answer to Mimosa's questions. Venus, the good fairy of this *féerie*, invites Mimosa to a musical game of hunt-the-thimble (*cache-tampon* in French), where the clues are given both by objects in the room, animated through tricks, and by the orchestra: the fireplace tongs jingle, the piano plays on its own, and the music swells until Mimosa finds the contract between Arsène and Belphégor, at which points Venus turns back into a statue. Belphégor arrives, and Mimosa, undaunted, confronts him. By threatening to expose him to Sataniella, she manages to have him sign a promissory note to the order of Arsène, for 1,500 checks (fifty percent more than he has received). The tricks by which Belphégor turns a spoon into a quill, produces a piece of paper, and makes ink out of sugar are, again, synchronized to chords in the orchestra, like his mesmeric gestures in Act I. As Cupido happens to walk in, Mimosa redeems the promissory note, replenishing Arsène's account at the Banque des Amours. Belphégor has been outsmarted, but it is hinted that he might lure Casimir, who is sad at being single, into a pact of the same nature as the one with Arsène. The final *apothéose* depicts Venus as she ascends in her chariot through the sky, confirming the goddess as the good fairy in the universe of *Le carnet du diable* and titillating the audience with five women in body stockings.

*Le carnet du diable* is a perplexing work in many respects. It features an independent heroine who chooses whom to marry and is not intimidated even by the Devil, yet it condones and practices the objectification of female bodies. (Also, Mimosa displays no female solidarity towards Sataniella or the brasserie servers.) The equivalence between sex and money that is the premise of the work is, of course, particularly troubling. On the one hand, the play seems to assume that people are, by accident of birth, allotted widely varying amounts of sexual activity in their lifetimes, which is only a logical step away from assuming that economic inequality is inevitable. On the other hand, the impossible case of a man selling potential sex could be a metaphor for the very real case of women selling actual sex. The fact that Arsène's sex power can be purchased by Belphégor also makes it analogous to labor power, which can be purchased by the employer, especially since in *Le carnet du diable* sex power, like labor power, is finite. Is there a parallel between labor and prostitution to be seen here — the worker and the prostitute both having nothing to sell but their physical capabilities? And if there is, can it be extended to intellectual labor? After all, the authors of the play must have been acutely aware they were selling their finite mental capabilities, and that with raunchy plays like this one they were making a living by catering to the sexual appetites of buyers.

Belphégor apparently can create checks out of thin air by getting into debt, while Arsène cannot: shall we see that as an allusion to finance? The forces of the First Globalization are also on full display, in the ostentatious consumption habits of the *rastaquouères* and in the *tableau vivant* visualizing the flow of French money into Transvaal. It is worth noticing that the sources of wealth of the *rastaquouères* are as invisible as the forces behind Belphégor's magic tricks, and Rodrigo seems virtually as able as Belphégor to make things happen at his will: the analogy between money and magic that was implicit in *Le tour du monde* is suggested even more strongly here.

And yet, spectators must have known that the stage illusion was the result of hidden labor, much like the wealth of the *rastaquouères* — or, for that matter, that of Phileas Fogg, or of the robber baron of *Le pays de l'or*. Serpette's *féeries* seem even to direct attention to the unacknowledged labor on which the performing arts rely. The pianist of *Madame le Diable*, after all, sings about his condition as a proletarianized artist. *Le château de Tire-Larigot* has a duet for two *ouvreuses*, the female ushers of Parisian theatres. Considering the bad reputation that surrounded the category, the duet sounds fairly sympathetic. Moreover, the two fictional *ouvreuses* (the latest incarnation of the two shapeshifting gentlemen) work at the Variétés, the same theatre where the performance of *Le château de Tire-Larigot* is taking place in real life. The “Electric-Hotel” of *Le pays de l'or* is also about hidden labor and similarly invites a parallel with stage illusion; its precedent in *La biche au bois*, the “Cabin of the Invisibles,” can be read the same way.

In sum, questions about the ideology of *féerie* cannot be answered without addressing the relationship between consumers of illusion and manufacturers of illusion that lies at the heart of the genre. To what degree the consumers were willing to acknowledge or ignore — or perhaps both — the manufacturers, of course, depended on their age, class, and patterns of cultural practices. In the next chapter, therefore, I will turn my attention to the *féerie* industry in both its component parts: the “makers” of *féerie* and *féerie* audiences.

## 4. The people of *féerie*

### A phenomenon without a noumenon

In Chapters 2 and 3 I have touched on the politics of *Le roi Carotte* and of *Le carnet du diable*, respectively. I will now try to broaden the scope to the politics — class politics, sexual politics, imperial politics — of *féerie* at large. But in order to find answers, we must move beyond the corpus of extant plays, and focus instead on the *féerie* industry and the sociability of *féerie*. The reason lies in the nature of *féerie*, which was, so to speak, a phenomenon without a noumenon, or, to paraphrase Antisthenes instead of Kant, a genre where one could see the horse (the performance), but not the horseness (the work). Language provides, I believe, a good demonstration of this point.

One day, perhaps, readers of English-language texts from the early twenty-first century will need explanatory footnotes to clarify now-current, by then obscure sport idioms. Some of the stagecraft metaphors found in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century French prose may be equally puzzling to the modern reader. Around 1880, for example, an advertisement for a cosmetic skin treatment, “la Georgine Champbaron,” ended with this pitch: “Like the fairy in a

*féerie* of the Châtelet, you will peel off the old woman!”<sup>1</sup> In a popular novel from the July Monarchy, a woman changes behind a screen and “reappear[s] instantly, as though the wand of a fairy or the string of a stage machinist had replaced her men’s clothes with a loose dressing gown.”<sup>2</sup> The 1882 financial collapse of the Union générale was described by one writer with a poignant analogy: “Now, the flares have faded and a rancid smell of burnt paper is spreading through the streets of Paris, as in the *féerie* theatres after the final *tableau*.”<sup>3</sup> Reviewing the Finnish pavilion at the 1900 Paris World’s fair, architect Frantz Jourdain congratulated his colleague Eliel Saarinen (father of modernist icon Eero Saarinen) for not indulging in “Châtelet- or Gaité-style *cartonnage*.”<sup>4</sup> In *Les misérables*, Victor Hugo compared the vague aspiration for change that can fuel a revolt to the excitement triggered in an audience member by “the machinist’s whistle.”<sup>5</sup>

The first two quotations allude to the quick costume changes that were one of the stock tricks of *féerie*. An actor would wear two costumes one on top of the other. The outer, looser costume would be designed so as to split into two halves and would conceal some gut strings; by pulling on the rings at the end of those strings, a stagehand could make it fall apart and instantly disappear into the trap room, revealing the second costume.<sup>6</sup> In *Les pilules du diable*, the play from which we started this journey through *féerie*, the old Micheline turns back into her twenty-year-old self and the shepherd Toby suddenly finds himself dressed in aristocratic

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<sup>1</sup> “Comme la fée dans une féerie du Châtelet, vous dépouillez la vieille femme.” “Petite chronique,” *La Vie parisienne*, October 2, 1880, 580.

<sup>2</sup> “[E]n reparaissant immédiatement, comme si la baguette d’une fée ou la ficelle d’un machiniste de théâtre eût remplacé ses vêtements d’homme par une ample robe de chambre.” Frédéric Soulié, *La comtesse de Monrion*, in *Œuvres complètes* (Paris: Librairie théâtrale, 1852–55), 3:61 (part 1, ch. 32).

<sup>3</sup> “Maintenant, les flammes du Bengale sont éteintes et il se répand une odeur rance de papier brûlé sur le pavé de Paris, comme dans les théâtres de féerie après le dernier tableau.” Albert Wolff, *La haute-noce* (Paris: Victor-Havard, 1885), 258.

<sup>4</sup> “Pas de fla-fla, . . . pas de rodomontades, pas de cartonnage du Châtelet ou de la Gaité.” Frantz Jourdain, “L’architecture à l’Exposition Universelle: Promenade à bâtons rompus,” *Revue des arts décoratifs*, August 1900, 250.

<sup>5</sup> “[L]e sentiment qui fait . . . qu’on aime au théâtre le coup de sifflet du machiniste.” Victor Hugo, *Les misérables*, ed. Yves Gohin (Paris: Gallimard, 1995), 2:395 (part 4, bk. 10, ch. 1).

<sup>6</sup> The trick is described in Jules Moynet, *L’envers du théâtre: Machines et décorations* (Paris: Hachette, 1873), 188–91.

garb. In both cases the transformation was surely achieved by this trick, and in both cases the orchestra played a descending scale, mimicking the downward motion of the disappearing outer costume (see **Table 1.1**, at cues 15/22 and 16/23). In *La chatte blanche*, as noted in **Chapter 3**, the good fairy also appeared in the form of an old woman, only to shed her disguise. *Féerie* fairies, then, actually did “peel off the old woman,” bizarre as it might sound to us. As for the collapse of the Union générale, flares (*feux de Bengale, flammes de Bengale*) were a standard component of *féerie apothéoses*.<sup>7</sup> Although their use in the nineteenth century was not confined to *féerie* — the production book for Arrigo Boito’s opera *Mefistofele* prescribes them, for instance<sup>8</sup> — at least in Paris their pungent smell seems to have been intimately associated with the sensory experience of the commercial theatres and of *féerie* in particular. If we are to believe Camille Saint-Saëns, when smoke bombs releasing “a dreadful smell, similar to that of flares” were used at the Opéra première of Charles Gounod’s *Faust* in 1869, they deeply annoyed young ladies, who sought refuge in their “lace handkerchiefs.”<sup>9</sup> Even accounting for the obvious misogyny, the anecdote is telling of how the smell of flares, so characteristic of *féerie*, was still deemed socially inappropriate for the Opéra at the end of the Second Empire. *Cartonnage*, a cognate to Mexican *cartonería*, was the art of making papier-mâché sculptures (known, too, as *cartonnages*); in Frantz Jourdain’s remark, the Châtelet and the Gaîté are clearly code for *féerie*, which made heavy use of such sculptures, both as props and as part of costumes. Of course, the *cartonnages* of *féeries* are, for Jourdain, shorthand for garish, unsubtle taste. A present-day architectural critic might express the same thought using Disney, instead

<sup>7</sup> See Moynet, *Envers du théâtre*, 102: “[l]es flammes de Bengale, de tous temps complétement obligé d’une apothéose.”

<sup>8</sup> “Disposizione scenica per l’opera *Mefistofele* di Arrigo Boito,” ed. Giulio Ricordi (Milan: Ricordi, n.d.); see also Alessandra Campana, “The ‘Fleeting Moment’: Arrigo Boito’s *Mefistofele*,” in *Opera and Modern Spectatorship in Late Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 15–47.

<sup>9</sup> “[U]ne affreuse odeur, analogue à celle des feux de Bengale, se répandit rapidement jusqu’aux loges de fond, et les jolies spectatrices, tout effarouchées, durent chercher dans leurs mouchoirs de dentelle un rempart protecteur contre cette désagréable invasion.” Camille Saint-Saëns, “Charles Gounod,” in *Portraits et souvenirs* (Paris: Société d’édition artistique, 1900), 63.

of *féerie*, as a bogeyman, and indeed both the Disney esthetic and the esthetic of *féerie* exhibit a propensity for ahistorical architectural pastiche, while the “fur character” performer of Disney theme parks can be seen as the modern equivalent of the *cartonnage*-wearing supernumeraries of *féerie défilés*. Victor Hugo was, in all likelihood, also thinking of *féerie*: the “machinist’s whistle,” later replaced by a bell, was the signal for a scene change, of which *féerie* had plenty — hence the anticipation that hearing it caused in the viewer. Beyond these examples, *féerie* was a relatively common term of comparison for people seeming to suddenly materialize or disappear, as if through a trap; for sudden changes in one’s surroundings, as in the scene changes of *féerie*; for edifices (both in the physical and the metaphorical sense) collapsing or springing up, like the enchanted palaces of *féerie*.

Such anecdotal evidence gives the impression that references to stagecraft in non-specialist discourse were often references to *féerie*, and that references to *féerie* were predominantly references to stagecraft. In the minds of writers, opera and operetta seem to have been chiefly associated with their performers. Melodrama was indissolubly linked to a musico-dramatic technique, the infamous melodrama tremolo, as well as a stock character, the melodrama villain.<sup>10</sup> For *féerie*, what left the greatest mark on the imagination was apparently not so much the dramaturgy or the individuality of the performers as the complex of technology and human agents that enabled the spectacle.

This can be explained with the status of *féerie* as what I have called “total artwork of the present,” which does not exist in the abstract realm of works, separate from their scenic realization, but only in the *hic et nunc* of performance. For example, there is no such thing as an ideal form of *La biche au bois* that can be accessed in the same way a literary play can be accessed through a text, or an opera through a text, a score, and a production book: there are

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<sup>10</sup> *Traître*, traitor, or *tyran*, tyrant, in French, though the neutral, technical term was *troisième rôle*.

only the instantiations of *La biche au bois* in its five productions, and the evidence they left behind. If *féerie* inevitably brought stagecraft to mind, it is because there is no talking of *féerie* without talking of the people who made — and those who consumed — *féerie*. After his conversion to social justice, Victor Hugo was famously fond of formulations that personified the people as a trinity of man, woman, and child — man being largely a synonym for worker, as Hugo was advocating for labor rights alongside women’s and children’s rights. Our exploration of the social microcosm of *féerie* will revolve around four figures: the worker — specifically, the machinist — the child, the woman, and the foreigner.

### The machinist

On March 27, 1884, the Porte-Saint-Martin hosted a charity matinée to raise money for the stage machinists’ benevolent fund (*caisse de secours*). The program, as usual for this kind of event, was a hodgepodge of different acts. Sarah Bernhardt lent her support to the cause by performing Act 2 of Jean Racine’s *Phèdre*; so did Thérèse. The celebrated trio for male voices from Gioachino Rossini’s *Guillaume Tell* (“Quand l’Helvétie est un champ de supplices”) was sung in what, judging by the names of the performers, must have been a parodic rendition. More to the point, Louis Dumaine — seen in two Verne plays, *Le tour du monde* as Corsican and *Kéraban le Têtu* as the protagonist — read a poem written for the occasion by Jean Richepin. The five stanzas of this “Ode en l’honneur des machinistes” celebrate stagehands by comparing them to a warship’s crew. If Richepin’s intention is clearly a noble one — to sing the unsung heroes of theatre and raise awareness of the hazards they are exposed to — the possibility of a machinist dying on the job is at once normalized, estheticized (with a

juxtaposition between stage pigments and “real blood”), and brushed off (“Bah! Qu’emporte!”).<sup>11</sup>

At one point during the *matinée*, the curtain rose on comedian Saint-Germain standing alone on an empty stage, in character as “Jean Gouju,” the theatre’s blacksmith. In a short monologue, Jean Gouju presents himself as a spokesperson for the machinists. He, too, addresses accidents on the workplace, his working-class eloquence (that is, working-class eloquence as imagined by the author of the monologue) proving more relatable than Richepin’s verse. But on top of that, he presides over a demonstration of stagecraft, a sort of behind-the-scenes tour: the title of the monologue is, for this reason, “L’envers du théâtre expliqué par Jean Gouju.”<sup>12</sup> The demonstration culminates in an open-curtain scene change and is cut short by the machinists mischievously opening a trap under Jean Gouju — two staples, the scene change and the trap, of the visual vocabulary of *féerie*. Two machinists are called by name: a “Charlot,” who fetches the equipment to simulate thunder, lightning, and rain, and François Courbois, the stage carpenter of the Porte-Saint-Martin, who remains unseen, but gives the signal for the scene change. In fact, the French *machiniste* covers both ordinary stagehands and their supervisor, the stage carpenter (*chef machiniste* or *machiniste en chef*), which is why I am privileging the English cognate of the word.

It is remarkable that, in order to make the work of the machinists visible, the monologue had to show an empty stage — a sight that was otherwise inconceivable in nineteenth-century theatre. A quarter century later, the audience of a *féerie* house would again be greeted by the shocking sight of an empty stage, and again, that would suddenly make visible the hidden labor of the machinists. It was September 8, 1910, and the audience that had come to the Châtelet for the scientific *féerie* *Les aventures de Gavroche* had to be told that the performance

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<sup>11</sup> Jean Richepin, “Ode en l’honneur des machinistes,” in *Interludes* (Paris: Ernest Flammarion, 1923), 119–22.

<sup>12</sup> [Louis Péricaud], *L’envers du théâtre: Expliqué par Jean Gouju, serrurier, manuscrit de censure*, F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 907.

was cancelled, as the machinists had gone on strike. The theatre's *régisseur*, who made the announcement, commented that while normally in *féeries* "there were no such things as insurmountable obstacles," the machinists' strike had just proven to be one — an implicit admission that the illusion of "no insurmountable obstacles" was only made possible by the cooperation of the machinists.<sup>13</sup> Many things had of course changed since "Jean Gouju." If in 1884 the machinists only had a benevolent fund, in 1910 they had a union, established the previous year. Also, if the audience of 1884 was encouraged to paternalistically sympathize both with the stagehand "Charlot" (a diminutive) and with "mon vieux Courbois," the *chef machiniste*, in 1910 the stagehands and the *chef machiniste* found themselves on opposite sides of the industrial action: Eugène Colombier  *fils*, the *chef machiniste*, could be seen standing next to the manager and to the police commissioner. This time, not only the stage illusion was shattered, but the master of illusion himself was revealed as the equivalent of a plant foreman. Another difference is that by 1910 traditional *féerie* had died out and scientific *féerie* was confined to the Châtelet. The machinists of 1910 might very well have been more politicized than those of the 1880s, but it also seems quite likely that their profession was in a more precarious position, threatened by the decline of spectacular theatre and *féerie* in particular. In 1908, *Comœdia* had interviewed several *chefs machinistes*, who deplored both working conditions (fewer people on staff, shorter rehearsal periods) and changing tastes (the disappearance of *féeries*, the preference for a naturalistic staging style).<sup>14</sup>

If machinists were by definition invisible and unsung throughout the nineteenth century, there was, however, a genre where their work was acknowledged to some degree, and that genre was, of course, *féerie*. When the first milestone of *féerie*, the 1806 *Le pied de mouton*,

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<sup>13</sup> "Mesdames, messieurs, vous pouviez croire qu'au théâtre du Châtelet — royaume de la féerie, comme on se plaît à l'appeler — il n'y avait pas d'obstacles insurmontables!" "Les Machinistes du Châtelet déclarent la grève," *Comœdia*, September 9, 1910, 1.

<sup>14</sup> Sombreuil, "Chez les machinistes," *Comœdia*, January 9, 1908, 3.

was published, the *chef machiniste*, Camus, was credited on the title page. The names of later star machinists are often encountered in editions of *féeries*: Auguste Marie in the 1840s and '50s, Riotton in the 1860s. Eugène Godin, the *chef machiniste* behind Offenbach's *féeries* and Serpette's *Madame le Diable*, is not credited in printed plays, but was the object of an extensive profile.<sup>15</sup> On a program for *Les 400 coups du diable* (1905), almost a century after *Le pied de mouton*, all members of the creative team behind the play get not only their names, but also their photographs out in print. And two of them stand out. One is the choreographer, Mademoiselle Stichel, the only woman pictured. The other is Eugène Colombier *fils*, the machinist, who is the only man sporting a *casquette* — the flat cap seen as the quintessential working-class headwear.<sup>16</sup> By reproducing all portraits in the same size (next to Colombier and Stichel are the costume designer and the two playwrights; on the facing page are the theatre's management and the conductor, Marius Baggers) the program gives equal dignity to people whose life experience outside the theatre must have been pretty different. From the Bottin directory for 1898, the year Colombier became *chef machiniste* at the Châtelet, we know that he lived on rue de la Grange-aux-Belles, in the working-class tenth *arrondissement*.<sup>17</sup> Also according to the Bottin, the street had a butcher selling horse meat (the poor man's meat) and several small factories.<sup>18</sup> One of these, at house number 33, would become, in 1906, the headquarters of the Confédération générale du travail union. The area's traditional association with the labor movement and the left is still obvious today: two nearby streets were named after socialist figures Louis Blanc and Eugène Varlin in 1885 and 1910, respectively, and since 1971 the architectural highlight of the neighborhood has been the

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<sup>15</sup> Un pompier [Paul Devaux], "Eugène Godin," in *Un coin de l'Éden* (Paris: Librairie théâtrale, 1885), 17–31.

<sup>16</sup> The program is reproduced in Hélène Marquié, "Enquête en cours sur Madame Stichel (1856–ap. 1933): Quelques pistes de réflexion," *Recherches en danse* no. 3 (2015), accessed January 8, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.4000/danse.974>.

<sup>17</sup> *Annuaire-almanach du commerce, de l'industrie, de la magistrature et de l'administration . . . Didot-Bottin*, year 1898 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1898), 334.

<sup>18</sup> *Bottin* 1898, 2760.

headquarters of the Communist Party, designed by Oscar Niemeyer. By contrast, the composers we have encountered in **Chapter 3** tended to live in the affluent *arrondissements* of Western Paris: Messager in the eighth, Serpette and Varney in the ninth, Leroux in the sixteenth, Audran in the seventeenth; Vasseur lived in the Western suburb of Asnières.<sup>19</sup> The recognition of the machinists' work, or at least the *chef machiniste's*, extended beyond printed plays and promotional material, and was part of the culture surrounding *féerie*. Mentioning the fairy and the machinist in the same breath, as in the novel quoted above, must have seemed only logical: in a recent article Amélie Caldérone quotes an 1847 revue by Clairville and Dumanoir where *féerie* tricks are defined as “transformations effected by the fairy and the machinist.”<sup>20</sup>

In fact, it is not just machinists who are, if not necessarily more visible, more talked about in *féerie*. The public seems to have taken a deeper interest in the nuts and bolts of *féerie* than they did for any other stage genre, even for the equally technologically demanding *grand opéra*. As we have seen, disparate writers drew on *féerie* for their theatre metaphors. *Féerie* is overrepresented in fin-de-siècle and early twentieth-century books on stagecraft. We have extensive “behind the scenes” accounts of *féerie* productions, such as the one by Arnold Mortier of the 1874 *Orphée aux enfers*, mentioned in **Chapter 2**. Press illustrations of the backstage of *féeries* are almost a subgenre of their own, and one wonders whether theatre managers granted backstage access to artists as a deliberate publicity strategy. These kinds of images probably shaped expectations, and perceptions, of *féerie* spectators as much as illustrated posters, but in the opposite direction. If illustrated posters encouraged spectators to

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<sup>19</sup> Félix de Rohegude, *Promenades dans toutes les rues de Paris*, 20 vols. (Paris: Hachette, 1910); obituaries for Vasseur (who died in 1917) give Asnières as his place of residence.

<sup>20</sup> “Des changements opérés par la fée et le machiniste.” Amélie Calderone, “Au croisement du Vaudeville anecdotique et de la féerie: codification du genre de la revue de fin d’année sous la Monarchie de Juillet,” in “En revenant à la revue: La revue de fin d’année au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle,” ed. Olivier Bara, Romain Piana, and Jean-Claude Yon, special issue, *Revue d’histoire du théâtre* 67 no. 2 (2015): 209.

focus on the illusion — and ignore, say, the ropes from which “flying” performers were hanging or the body stockings that stood in for bare skin — the backstage images encouraged them to fantasize on the reality behind the illusion. Of course, the two modes of spectatorship need not be mutually exclusive. At any rate, contrary to the proverbial sausage, seeing how *féerie* was made did not diminish people’s appetite for it. In fact, it seems to have added to the genre’s appeal, at least for a portion of the audience.

There are several reasons, I believe, for such disproportionate contemporary interest in the material reality of *féerie* staging. The first is self-evident: *féerie* productions reached a level of technological sophistication only matched by Opéra productions. The second is that a total artwork of the present lacks not only a stable text, but also centralized authorship. This, of course, sets *féerie* apart from *grand opéra*. The third reason is that, traditionally at least, *féerie* was not an exclusive cultural practice, and was intended for children and adults alike. While attending *grand opéra* was in itself a status symbol, at a *féerie* theatre adult bourgeois Parisians would find themselves sharing the auditorium with children, lower-class people, and foreigners they perceived as uncultured. They might therefore have felt the need to differentiate themselves from those supposedly less discerning spectators. Exhibiting a disenchanted, in-the-know attitude to stage illusion would provide them with a way to achieve just that (all while enjoying the illusion like anyone else).

A fourth reason, perhaps, has to do not so much with what sets *féerie* apart from *grand opéra* as with what sets it apart from melodrama. As I have remarked in **Chapter 3**, *féeries* tend to lack moral interest as opposed to melodramas, and they do not traffic in the sublime, but only in the marvelous, as the audience does not really feel apprehension for the characters. This means that *féerie* is, in a way, sensorially immersive without being emotionally immersive

— a feature that can make it conducive to a culture of incredulity.<sup>21</sup> It also means that the interest of *féerie* lies in the illusion itself, which becomes an end rather than a means. It is therefore not inappropriate to say that *féerie* is to melodrama what early, attractional film is to narrative film. Film scholar Ian Christie has argued that, in the transition from attractional film to narrative film, film “tricks” became “effects,” and the contribution of those who devised them ceased to be recognized and valued in discourse around film.<sup>22</sup> The same seems to apply, not diachronically but synchronically, for nineteenth-century theatre, with the artisans of *féerie* illusion receiving more attention than those working in other genres at the same time. It is also remarkable that the crisis both of *féerie* and of the machinist as a profession at the end of the first decade of the twentieth century coincided with the narrativization of film, as if the same trend away from illusion for illusion’s sake had marginalized both the creators of stage tricks and those of film tricks.

I should expand on what I gave as the second reason, *féerie*’s lack of centralized authorship. And the best way to do so is to indulge in the very curiosity that surrounded *féerie* in the nineteenth century and ask ourselves, too, how the sausage was made.

“To make” (*faire*) and “makers” (*faiseurs*) were, as it happens, the terms of choice for the creative process and the creators of *féerie*. In French as in English, these words belong to the semantic field of craftsmanship rather than art, and they come in handy for modern scholars, too: Jean-Claude Yon has referred to *féerie* playwrights as “‘makers’ with a steady grasp of their ‘craft’ [*métier*]” and Stéphane Tralongo has titled his dissertation “*Féerie Makers*.”<sup>23</sup> The

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<sup>21</sup> In other words, *féerie* is not conducive to what Theodor Adorno calls “intoxication” (see **Chapter 1**). For examples of cultures of incredulity in film history, see Lisa Bode, “‘It’s a Fake!’: Early and Late Incredulous Viewers, Trick Effects, and CGI,” *Film History* 30, no. 4 (2018): 1–21.

<sup>22</sup> Ian Christie, “The Visible and the Invisible: From ‘Tricks’ to ‘Effects,’” *Early Popular Visual Culture* 13, no. 2 (2015): 106–12.

<sup>23</sup> Jean-Claude Yon, “La *féerie* ou le royaume du spectaculaire: L’exemple de *Rothomago*,” in *Le spectaculaire dans les arts de la scène: Du Romantisme à la Belle Époque*, ed. Isabelle Moindrot (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2006), 127;

language of craftsmanship, of course, does not have to be pejorative: talk of “filmmaking” and “filmmakers” does not necessarily do less justice to film than auteur theory does. As for *féerie*, according to his obituary in *Le Figaro*, Adolphe d’Ennery not only did not resent, but welcomed being called a “maker.”<sup>24</sup>

The initial impulse for the making of a *féerie*, though, at least in the second half of the century, did not really come from the playwright or playwrights, but from a theatre manager. In 1853, the daily *Le Nouvelliste* imagined a playwright pitching a *féerie* to a manager — implying that the playwright at hand was d’Ennery, the manager Marc Fournier, the theatre the Porte-Saint-Martin, and the *féerie* *Les sept merveilles du monde*, but also that the situation was generalizable. At this point in the narrative the playwright clearly has not written a single word yet and his idea for a play consists in little more than a title, but he persuades the manager to commission a new *féerie* by reciting box-office figures for the three *féeries* premièred at the Porte-Saint-Martin in the previous ten years (among them *La biche au bois*).<sup>25</sup> In 1882, a writer joked that as one could not make juggled hare without a hare, so one could not make a *féerie* without a theatre manager willing to invest a large sum of money. A playwright, therefore, would only put pen to paper after a manager told him: “make a *féerie* in twenty tableaux for me, and I will bet 200,000 francs on it.”<sup>26</sup> As we have seen in **Chapter 2**, in 1845 the 100,000 francs allegedly spent on *La biche au bois* was regarded as an extravagant sum; that in 1882 200,000 francs only seemed routine is telling of how much the budgets of *féeries* had skyrocketed, even though these are obviously not accurate figures.

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Stéphane Tralongo, *Faiseurs de féeries: Mise en scène, machinerie et pratiques cinématographiques émergentes au tournant du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (thèse de doctorat, Université de Montréal, Université Lumière Lyon 2, 2012).

<sup>24</sup> Charles Chincholle, “Adolphe d’Ennery: Sa famille, sa vie, ses œuvres,” *Le Figaro*, January 26, 1899, 4–5.

<sup>25</sup> Charles de Matharel de Fiennes, “L’intérieur du théâtre,” *Le Nouvelliste*, October 28, 1853, [1–2]. The article was serialized over four issues (October 28 through 31).

<sup>26</sup> “[F]aites-moi une féerie en vingt tableaux, je risquerai dessus 200,000 francs.” Edmond Benjamin and Henry Buguet, “Comment on fait les pièces,” in *Coulisses de bourse et de théâtre* (Paris: Ollendorf, 1882), 230. My supposition is that Benjamin wrote the *bourse*-related texts in the collection and Buguet the *théâtre*-related ones.

The large upfront investment that *féeries* needed meant that they were huge gambles for theatre managers. As another fin-de-siècle writer, Georges Moynet, put it, “The manager, by producing one of those expensive plays, is betting formidable stakes on a game of heads and tails.”<sup>27</sup> The logical propensity of managers to minimize risk explains the safe choices of late nineteenth-century *féerie*: high proportion of revivals, adaptations of older plays as *féeries*, adaptations of novels, original plays based on tried-and-true models. To make once again a comparison with film history, late nineteenth-century *féerie* was not an “industry of prototypes” — an expression often used in Romance languages (less so in English) to describe the twentieth-century film industry, stressing the point that unlike manufacturers of mass-produced goods, film studios could not replicate their products. It was instead closer to the present-day business model of Hollywood franchise films. Film producer and academic Rod Stoneman has lamented the risk aversion of a film industry where “across time, [market research] works as a self-fulfilling prophecy” and leads the audience to ask for more of the same; recently Martin Scorsese has decried “market-researched, audience-tested, vetted, modified, revetted and remodified” film franchises as a result of “the gradual but steady elimination of risk.”<sup>28</sup> *Féerie* did not have modern market research, but theatres and audiences were arguably locked into a similar pattern, with theatres not daring to offer anything beyond what they thought audiences expected and audiences not daring to expect anything beyond what theatres were offering: what Stoneman calls “a closed loop, replicating learned forms and received formulas,” and Scorsese, in more folksy terms, “a chicken-and-egg issue.” As a result, new *féeries* never strayed far from the model set by their predecessors: as a critic wrote

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<sup>27</sup> “Le directeur, en montant une de ces pièces coûteuses, joue à pile ou face un enjeu formidable.” Georges Moynet, *Trucs et décors: Explication raisonnée de tous les moyens employés pour produire les illusions théâtrales* (Paris: Librairie illustrée, 1893), 122.

<sup>28</sup> Rod Stoneman, “Chance and Change,” in *Film and Risk*, ed. Mette Hjort (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2012), 262; Martin Scorsese, “The Dying Art of Filmmaking,” *New York Times*, November 5, 2019, A27, online as “Martin Scorsese: I Said Marvel Movies Aren’t Cinema. Let Me Explain,” accessed November 8, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/04/opinion/martin-scorsese-marvel.html>.

in 1883, “There is a mold for plays of this kind, as invariable as that of Savoy sponge cakes [*gâteaux de Savoie*]”.<sup>29</sup>

Once they had secured a commission from a theatre, then, the playwrights — usually in the plural — would draft the play, pouring their ideas into the metaphorical cake mold of *féerie*. They would then bring their draft back to the theatre, where, to quote yet another source, “the machinist [i.e., the *chef machiniste*], the stage designers, the builder of props and *cartonnages* [would] rack their brains to come up with sensational tricks.”<sup>30</sup> The 1853 contributor of *Le Nouvelliste* imagines a dialogue between Fournier and his *chef machiniste* Caron, who agree on alterations to the moments, in the draft play, where the effects the playwrights have imagined would prove too expensive or simply impossible to realize. According to this account, for example, in addition to having an elephant become a café, d’Ennery and his collaborator also wished to have a camel become a pool table. While the elephant makes its way into the final play, the camel has to be sacrificed for technical reasons. In the dialogue — which probably stems from humorous conjecture rather than insider knowledge, but is nonetheless plausible on some level — Fournier explains that the camel is essential to a pun, one of the lame *calembours* that are a constant of *féerie* humor.<sup>31</sup> Despite this, it is not clear how much of the dialogue would have actually been written by this stage: I suspect little to nothing, in order to maximize efficiency.

In fact, although it dates from half a century later, a rare — and unexamined — document of this phase of the *féerie*-making process survives at the fonds Méliès of the

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<sup>29</sup> “Il y a un moule pour ce genre de pièces, aussi invariable que celui des gâteaux de Savoie.” Édouard Noël and Edmond Stoullig, *Les annales du théâtre et de la musique*, year 1883 (Paris: Charpentier, 1884), 272.

<sup>30</sup> “Le machiniste, les décorateurs, le fabriquant d’accessoires et de cartonnages, se creusent la cervelle pour trouver des trucs à sensation.” Moynet, *Envers du théâtre*, 92. The passage to which this sentence belongs is also found, with minor alterations, in [Henry Buguet], *Gaîté*, no. 7 in the series *Foyers et coulisses: Histoire anecdotique des théâtres de Paris* (Paris: Tresse, 1875), 1:44, where “machiniste” reads “chef machiniste.” The Moynet version is quoted in Yon, “La féerie ou le royaume du spectaculaire,” 128.

<sup>31</sup> Matharel de Fiennes, “L’intérieur du théâtre,” October 30, [1–2].

Cinémathèque française.<sup>32</sup> *Pace* the inventory, it is not a scenario for *Les quat' cents farces du diable*, the Méliès film that outgrew from his collaboration to the stage *féerie Les 400 coups du diable*, but a scenario for the stage *féerie* itself. It is a fair copy prepared by one of the agencies that specialized in theatre manuscripts.<sup>33</sup> A detailed prose description of the action of each *tableau* is copied in the right-hand pages. In the otherwise blank left-hand pages are indications for the effects demanded by the action on the facing page: tricks (“The hat changed into a [chamber] pot”), transformations (“The pharmacy becomes the pastry shop”), appearances and disappearances of characters through traps (“Appearance of the King of Genies”), lighting effects (“Green light”), pyrotechnics (“Lycopodium”), sound effects (“The bell”), scenery (“Gauze curtain,” “Panorama”), costumes (“Satan as an old lady”), and of course film projections “to be arranged with Monsieur Méliès.” The resulting document is not unlike a two-column film script, with the visual events on the left and the dialogue on the right, except that a prose description is standing in for the dialogue. We can, I believe, assume that this scenario was circulated among the team described above as “the machinist, the stage designers, the builders of props and *cartonnages*,” which in this case also included “Monsieur” Méliès, whose copy has been preserved. We can also assume that the *chef machiniste* Colombier had reservations on this draft, much as his predecessor Caron had reservations on the first draft of *Les sept merveilles du monde*. We do know for sure — from the *manuscrit de censure* and the printed play — that *Les 400 coups du diable* underwent significant alterations between the stage reflected in the scenario and the performed version.

It seems logical, therefore, that the playwrights would not start writing the dialogue of a *féerie* until they had heard back from the *chef machiniste* and the other members of the

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<sup>32</sup> Cinémathèque française, fonds Méliès, MELIES76-B11 (see **Appendix**).

<sup>33</sup> For a grim picture of the practices of these agencies, see Benjamin and Buguet, “Les copistes dramatiques,” in *Coulisses*, 218–20; Georges Grison, “Un bureau de copistes,” in *Paris horrible et Paris original* (Paris: Dentu, 1882), 89–97; Paul Ginisty, “Le copiste,” in *Choses et gens de théâtre* (Paris: Perrin, 1892), 255–70; Paul Ginisty, *La vie d'un théâtre* (Paris: Schleicher frères, 1898), 8–9.

theatre's creative team. These would not have limited themselves to vetoing the playwrights' ideas, but would have offered positive input. In an 1898 article, playwright Ernest Blum is quoted reminiscing about his experience with an unnamed *féerie* — easily identifiable as the 1866 hit *Cendrillon*. A stage designer, the celebrated Jean-Louis Chéret, allegedly came to him with an idea for a set representing “the land of fire, which will become a blue lake.” Blum obliged and wrote a fiery mountain and a lake into the play, with no justification other than to accommodate Chéret's set.<sup>34</sup>

*Féerie*, then, inverts the priorities of literary theatre twice: by putting funding ahead of the work, and by putting stagecraft ahead of the verbal text. If dialogue came relatively late in the creative process, though, music presumably came even later, at least in the case of non-composerly *féerie*. It is not uncommon, in *manuscrits de censure*, to find a blank space where the text of a musical number should be, or to find a text written in at a later moment in a hand other than the copyist's. Manuscript full scores of *féeries* are rare, probably because non-original music was copied from existing sets of parts, as seems to have been the case for *Les bibelots du diable*. One exception is the full score for *Les mille et une nuits*, a 1843 *féerie* for which Auguste Pilati provided a significant amount of music — both new and composed for earlier plays, including at other theatres. To my knowledge, only the first volume of Pilati's full score survives, covering approximately the first half of the play.<sup>35</sup> A press report informs us that a first draft of *Les mille et une nuits* was “submitted to the machinists” of the Porte-Saint-Martin in June, another that rehearsals had started in late September, by which point the play must have been fully written.<sup>36</sup> Pilati must have assembled the music as rehearsals were underway, since the surviving portion of the full score bears dates comprised between November 13 and

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<sup>34</sup> “[L]e pays du feu, qui deviendra un lac d'azur.” Adolphe Aderer, “Comment on fait une féerie,” *Le Temps*, November 24, 1898, [3].

<sup>35</sup> F-Pnas fonds Variétés 4-COL-106(1061).

<sup>36</sup> “Coulisses théâtrales,” *Les Coulisses*, June 23, 1842, [4] (“Les auteurs ont livré le poème aux machinistes”); “Mosaïque,” *L'Indépendant*, September 29, 1842, 3.

November 20, 1842. We can surmise that by the end of November Pilati had finished copying his full score, so that it could serve as the basis for the orchestral parts. Orchestral rehearsals could then take place during the final few weeks of rehearsals (the play premièred on January 25).

Four months of rehearsals for the 1843 *Les mille et une nuits* (from late September to late January) was probably longer than expected but putting together a new *féerie* production was a time-consuming affair. In the second half of the century, the financial pressure that led theatres to increase the number of performances must also have led them to compress rehearsal schedules. *Le voyage dans la lune*, which was readied in two months as the Gaité was struggling in 1875, is arguably a case in point.<sup>37</sup> Yet in 1870 a magazine estimated that three months of rehearsals would not have been enough for *Le roi Carotte*; in 1881 *Les mille et une nuits* (which only shared a title with its 1843 predecessor) apparently took three months of rehearsals, and so did the 1887 revival of *La chatte blanche*.<sup>38</sup> The 1908 *Comœdia* article mentioned above quoted the *chef machiniste* of the Folies-Dramatiques, Robert, as saying: “Ten years ago, staging a play took four months,” which is probably an exaggeration, but not by much.<sup>39</sup>

This overview of how *féeries* were made should have made clear the outsized role played by the “machinist” — a term that conflated the manual, though highly skilled, labor of the stagehands and the intellectual labor of the *chef machiniste*. That such an outsized role raised questions of authorship was already clear to contemporaries. Influential critic Francisque Sarcey loved to insist, in his column on *Le Temps*, on an analogy: the machinist is to *féerie* what

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<sup>37</sup> Rehearsals started on August 23, according to Gustave Lafargue, “Courrier des théâtres,” *Le Figaro*, August 22, 1875, 4; the première took place on October 26.

<sup>38</sup> “Théâtres,” *Journal des modes*, June 25, 1870, 7; Un Monsieur de l’Orchestre [Arnold Mortier], “Courrier des théâtres,” *Le Figaro*, March 2, 1882, 3; Dom Blasius, “Théâtres,” *L’Intransigeant*, January 9, 1887, 3 (announcing the beginning of rehearsals for January 10, three months ahead of the April 2 première).

<sup>39</sup> “Il y a dix ans, on mettait quatre mois pour monter une pièce.” Sombreuil, “Chez les machinistes.”

the composer is to opera or *opéra-comique*. In both cases “the writer [i.e., the playwright] is but a librettist” who should serve his collaborator, he wrote in 1869, reviewing the revival of *La poudre de Perlinpinpin*.<sup>40</sup> He would use the same comparison in 1872, reviewing *La reine Carotte* and *Le roi Carotte*, and as late as 1897, reviewing *La montagne enchantée: in a féerie* “The play [*drame*] . . . must be subservient to the trick, as much as in an opera it must be the humble servant of music.”<sup>41</sup>

Reviewing the 1869 revival of *La chatte blanche*, Sarcey went as far as to argue half-jokingly that the playwrights were not deserving of the ten per cent share of box-office revenue they received, as “féeries are actually made by the machinist, in partnership with the manager and the *metteur en scène*.”<sup>42</sup> As it happened, from a legal standpoint, the machinist of a *féerie* had already been recognized as an author entitled to collect royalties. In 1859 Raynard, the machinist who had come up with the tricks of the *féerie Cri-Cri*, sued the playwrights who had penned the play in order to be recognized as a collaborator, and the judge ruled in his favor, finding that, while in the case of literary plays “sets can only be considered a very marginal accessory,” in the case at hand “the play virtually as a whole consists in the machine or trick, that words and scenes are justified by it, that without it they would not make any sense or be of any worth.”<sup>43</sup> At first sight, this recognition of the work of the machinist as intellectual property seems to anticipate the fight for the recognition of the

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<sup>40</sup> “L’écrivain n’est qu’un librettiste à qui l’on ne demande . . . qu’un talent de préparer au metteur en scènes [sic] des occasions de trucs ou de décors.” Francisque Sarcey, “Chronique théâtrale,” *Le Temps*, September 13, 1869, [2].

<sup>41</sup> Francisque Sarcey, “Chronique théâtrale,” *Le Temps*, January 22, 1872, [1]; Francisque Sarcey, “Chronique théâtrale,” *Le Temps*, April 19, 1897, [1] (“Le drame . . . doit s’asservir au truc, comme, dans un opéra, il doit être l’humble serviteur de la musique”).

<sup>42</sup> “[L]es féeries sont faites en réalité par le machiniste, en compte à demi avec le directeur et le metteur en scène.” Francisque Sarcey, “Chronique théâtrale,” *Le Temps*, August 23, 1869, [2].

<sup>43</sup> “[S]i, dans les ouvrages purement littéraires, la décoration ne peut être considérée que comme un accessoire très-secondaire, . . . ici, au contraire, la pièce presque tout entière consiste dans la machine ou le truc; que les paroles et les scènes sont motivées par lui; que, sans lui, elles n’auraient aucune signification ni valeur.”

“Jurisprudence en matière d’œuvres dramatiques,” *Annuaire de la Société des auteurs et compositeurs dramatiques*, vol. 1 (1866–69): 587n. Cited in Roxane Martin, *L’émergence de la notion de mise en scène dans le paysage théâtral français, 1789–1914* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2013), 163.

work of the *metteur en scène* as intellectual property at the end of the century, which Roxane Martin discusses in her study on the emergence of modern *mise en scène* in France. But, to rephrase Martin's argument in perhaps a cruder fashion, while the work of the *metteur en scène* — like the work of the stage director today — was construed as pertaining to the performance of a work, the work of the *féerie* machinist was construed as pertaining to the work itself, collapsing performance and work, staging and play. If a non-logocentric, “postdramatic” vision of theatre sounds more progressive to us than one based on a text-performance dichotomy, in the nineteenth century viewing the staging as separate from the play was the progressive position; Sarcey, who was, after all, a conservative critic, was being premodern, not postmodern, when he claimed that the machinist should be considered as an author. He can, perhaps, be seen as holding to a paradigm that Martin traces back to the early nineteenth-century playwright Jean-Baptiste Hapdé. A rival of René-Charles Guilbert de Pixérecourt, Hapdé practiced and theorized a “highly spectacular melodrama” in which the staging, not the verbal text, was deemed to be the essential component of the work, hence the one deserving of protection under intellectual property laws.<sup>44</sup>

And yet the collapsing of performance and work is the only way to make sense of the ontology of *féerie*, including the issue posed by *féerie* revivals. Only if a production of a *féerie* is the *féerie* — not one practical realization of an ideal *féerie* — can one conceive a *féerie* that changes with every production, like *La biche au bois*, and yet is treated as one and the same object. The proverbial image to which contemporary writers resorted when describing *féeries* such as *La biche au bois* is that of the “couteau à Jeannot,” a knife that is passed down as a family heirloom and that keeps being treated as the original knife even when both the blade

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<sup>44</sup> Martin, *Émergence*, 76–78.

and the handle have been replaced.<sup>45</sup> English has “my grandfather’s axe” or “George Washington’s axe” with the same meaning, which however seem to be both less frequent and more recent. The “couteau à Jeannot” is the folksy French equivalent of the ship of Theseus in ancient Greek philosophy or the Ise Grand Shrine in Japanese culture: a permanent object made of impermanent materials. If the “couteau à Jeannot” and “my grandfather’s axe” belong to the domestic sphere, it is perhaps significant that the ship of Theseus, the Ise Grand Shrine, and even George Washington’s axe — supposedly the axe he used to cut down the fabled cherry tree — are connected to the shared cultural heritage of a civic or national community. In the case of *féerie*, too, the “couteau à Jeannot” status of works is functional to a process of transmission of cultural heritage across generations. In hindsight, we can see Sarcey’s words in 1869 as functional, precisely, to a process of canon formation that had been taking place over the previous decade — an anomalous canon formation, without either a strong work concept or strong authorship. *Grand opéra* is the logical term of comparison: a small number of works premièreed within a relatively short time frame was immediately established as a core canon, grounded (especially in the case of Meyerbeer) in the stability of texts and the authority of composers: *La muette de Portici*, *Robert le diable*, *La Juive*, *Les Huguenots*, *La favorite*, first performed between 1828 and 1840. Between 1863 and 1869, the Porte-Saint-Martin, the Gaîté, and the Châtelet revived a similarly small set of *féeries* from a similarly short time period: *Peau d’Âne*, *Les pilules du diable*, *Les sept châteaux du diable*, *La biche au bois*, *La chatte blanche*, *La poudre de Perlinpinpin*, all dating from between 1838 and 1853. They all would be revived again into the 1890s or even into the new century, comprising, for all intents and purposes, a core canon of *féerie*, which however was not predicated on the intangibility of the

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<sup>45</sup> See, for example, this review of the 1896 revival of *La biche au bois*: F.D. [Félix Duquesnel], “Les premières,” *Le Gaulois*, November 15, 1896, 3. The expression is also found in the variant “couteau de Jeannot,” or with alternative spellings for the name (Janot, Jannot, Jeanot).

works — if anything, on its opposite. *Cendrillon* (1866), *Le tour du monde en 80 jours* (1874) and *Michel Strogoff* (1880) were coopted into this core canon on their appearance more or less as *Le prophète* (1849), *L'Africaine* (1865), *Hamlet* (1868), and the 1869 version of *Faust* were coopted on their appearance into the Opéra core canon.

This is to say that, as canon formation at the Opéra during the July Monarchy went hand in hand with the codification of the ontology of *grand opéras* as stable works for which ultimate artistic responsibility rested with the composer — an evolution that had repercussions for the whole of nineteenth-century European opera — so the formation of something resembling a canon at the three major *féerie* houses during the Second Empire went hand in hand with the codification of *féeries* as total artworks of the present. And as the Opéra of the 1830s, aspiring to be the “Versailles of the bourgeoisie” after the July Revolution, was the product of its historical context, so were the theatres that shaped the *féerie* canon in the 1860s, driven by the economic forces of the new regime of production and of gentrification. If these forces incentivized theatres to revive old *féeries*, which *féeries* to revive — and which *féeries* were admitted into the canon as a consequence — might have depended on another consideration. By reviving, between 1863 and 1865, *féeries* that were between twenty and twenty-five years old (*Peau d'Âne*, *Les pilules du diable*, *Les sept châteaux du diable*, and *La biche au bois*), theatres might have bet on parents bringing their children to see the plays they had enjoyed as children themselves.<sup>46</sup> This would recall the recent proliferation, since the late 2000s, of family films that implicitly or explicitly appeal to the nostalgia of Generation X or older-Millennial parents, while ostensibly catering to their children: Disney and Pixar “princess” films (starting with *The Princess and the Frog*, 2009) harking back to those of the so-called Disney renaissance (starting with *The Little Mermaid*, 1989); live-action remakes of

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<sup>46</sup> In 1864, the Folies-Dramatiques also revived a 27-year-old *féerie*, *La fille de l'air*.

earlier Disney films that children of the 1980s and 1990s have known through their home-video releases; *Wreck-It Ralph* (2012) with its evocation of the world of 1980s and 1990s arcade games; the sequels to the *Indiana Jones* films (1981–9) and to *TRON* (1982) in 2008 and 2010 respectively, as well as the reboot of the *Jurassic Park* franchise (1993–2001) as *Jurassic World* in 2015.<sup>47</sup>

This brings us to the next fundamental question about *féerie*: what was the primary audience of these plays, adults or children?

### The child

The text of *Les 400 coups du diable* was not published as a volume, nor, as was frequently the case for plays, as an issue in a collection — *Le magasin théâtral* in the nineteenth century, *L'illustration théâtrale* in the early twentieth century. It appeared instead in *Mon beau livre*, a monthly magazine for children, offering age-appropriate articles “on current affairs, travels, sports, science, and history,” as well as novels and short stories.<sup>48</sup> The *féerie* that followed it at the Châtelet, *Pif! Paf! Pouf!* (1906), which opened in December, was greeted as a Christmas gift for “children old and young.”<sup>49</sup> Back in 1858, a review of *Les bibelots du diable*, which instead opened in August, read: “The *féerie* of the Variétés . . . will please the schoolchildren

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<sup>47</sup> For *TRON* and nostalgia, see Jason Sperb, “TRON Legacies: Disney and Nostalgia Blockbusters in the Age of Transmedia Storytelling,” in *Flickers of film: Nostalgia in the Time of Digital Cinema* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2016), 114–38.

<sup>48</sup> “[N]os articles habituels d’actualités, de voyages, de sports, des sciences et d’histoire.” “La grande innovation de *Mon beau livre*,” *Mon beau livre*, February 15, 1906, 182.

<sup>49</sup> “[C]ette amusante féerie que M. Fontanes offre, pour leurs étrennes, aux grands et petits enfants de Paris.” Edmond Stoullig, *Les annales du théâtre et de la musique*, year 1906 (Paris: Paul Ollendorff, 1907), 338.

[*collégiens*] on summer break; it will delight children young and old.”<sup>50</sup> Both the critics’ language and the theatres’ timing of the production (and on both counts these are not isolated examples) make clear that *féerie* was not just suitable, but meant for school-age children.

“Old children” are, of course, young-at-heart adults, but how young were the “young children” that attended the performances? The term *collégien* is of no help: while today *collège* and *lycée* denote two different educational stages (lower and upper secondary education, or, in layman’s terms, middle school and high school), in the nineteenth century they both covered the entirety of primary and secondary education, the difference being one of prestige of the institution. The last quarter of the century saw a rise in *matinée* performances, and some *matinées* were explicitly marketed to families, as *matinées enfantines*. In an 1887 article, man of letters Charles Bigot related — or imagined — an encounter with a grouchy old reactionary at a performance of that year’s revival of *La chatte blanche*. The production, in that case, was timed to coincide with the Easter school break, and the grouchy old reactionary is probably thinking of a *matinée* when he says: “All the parents will bring here their children: *collégiens*, girls and little girls, even six- and seven-year-old children.”<sup>51</sup> In 1886, the great illustrator Albert Robida published a cartoon depicting bourgeois families at a *féerie* *matinée* — the play must have been *Le Petit Poucet* at the Gaîté.<sup>52</sup> According to the caption, nurses with babies were also in attendance. In 1880 Jules Claretie penned an account of a *matinée* performance of *L’arbre de Noël*, whose spectators sound very young, as Claretie puts their adulthood at fifteen years in the future.<sup>53</sup> Both *L’arbre de Noël* and *Le Petit Poucet* premiered in October and played

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<sup>50</sup> “La féerie des Variétés . . . fera la joie des collégiens en vacances; elle délectera les petits et les grands enfants.” “Semaine théâtrale,” *Le Ménestrel*, August 29, 1858, 3.

<sup>51</sup> “Tous les parents vont amener là leurs enfants; collégiens, filles et fillettes, jusqu’aux enfants de six et sept ans.” Charles Bigot, “Les rois de féerie,” *Revue d’art dramatique*, vol. 6 (April-June 1887): 187.

<sup>52</sup> Albert Robida, “Une matinée de féerie,” *La Caricature*, January 23, 1886, 27.

<sup>53</sup> Jules Claretie, *La vie à Paris*, year 1880 (Paris: Victor-Havard, 1881), 453–56.

into the next year, and needless to say, in the case of *L'arbre de Noël*, the very subject of the play was chosen to resonate with the winter holiday season.

Outside of matinées, though, *féerie* audiences would not have been that young. Victorien Sardou apparently claimed to have written *Le Crocodile* with his daughter and her friends in mind; Geneviève Sardou, born in 1875, was eleven when the play premiered.<sup>54</sup> According to Sarcey, Sardou had written *Le Crocodile* “for children aged twelve to fifteen, boys and girls.”<sup>55</sup> Sardou also allegedly said that sixteen, the age of Sarcey’s daughter, was “already a bit too old” to enjoy the play.<sup>56</sup> In 1904, critic Adolphe Brisson recommended the scientific *féerie* *Monsieur Polichinelle* for the same age range: “one [cannot help but] say to boys and girls aged twelve to fifteen: ‘Go, sweeties, have fun!’”<sup>57</sup> An 1898 column in *Le Gaulois*, instead, painted a picture of boys and girls in their late teens at a *féerie* performance (the girls are said to be sixteen), affecting disinterest and “displaying that occasion- and protest-specific skepticism with which they will punish their families for taking them to such a puerile entertainment.”<sup>58</sup> On the other hand, *féeries*, alongside operettas and revues, were said to attract teenage boys awakening to sex: Arnold Mortier, in 1874, lists among the destinations for this category of theatregoer the Châtelet (which was performing *Les pilules du diable* at the time) and “all the theatres . . . with ballets and *apothéoses*.”<sup>59</sup> The reason lies in the paradox, to which we will return, that *féeries* catered both to children and to the gaze of heterosexual men.

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<sup>54</sup> Jerome A. Hart, *Sardou and the Sardou Plays* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1913), 96–7.

<sup>55</sup> “Il ne s’était proposé qu’un but: écrire pour les enfants de douze à quinze ans, garçons et filles.” Francisque Sarcey, “*Le Crocodile*,” in *Quarante ans de théâtre* (Paris: Bibliothèque des *Annales politiques et littéraires*, 1900–1902), 6:132.

<sup>56</sup> “C’est déjà peut-être un peu tard.” Sarcey, “*Le Crocodile*,” 6:139.

<sup>57</sup> “On est vaincu d’avance et l’on dit aux garçons et aux fillettes de douze à quinze ans: — Allez, chers petits, amusez-vous.” Adolphe Brisson, “Chronique théâtrale,” *Le Temps*, October 24, 1904, [2].

<sup>58</sup> “[E]n affichant ce scepticisme d’occasion et de protestation, par quoi ils ou elles puniront leurs familles de les avoir amenés à ce spectacle si puénil.” Tout-Paris, “Bloc-notes parisien,” *Le Gaulois*, December 5, 1898, 1.

<sup>59</sup> “Aux Folies, à la Renaissance, au Châtelet, dans tous les théâtres à revues, à jupes écourtées, à tableaux vivants, à ballets et à apothéoses.” Arnold Mortier, *Les soirées parisiennes [de 1874]* (Paris: Dentu, 1875), 30.

We have seen in **Chapter 3** how the emergence of scientific *féerie* next to the old supernatural *féerie* in the 1870s can be seen as reflecting the shift from the *ancien régime* values enshrined in traditional fairytales to a bourgeois entrepreneurial ideal. This of course, makes all the more sense if we think of *féeries* as vehicles of the transmission of values to the next generation. With scientific *féerie*, the pedagogical role of *féerie* changed: from a generic (and perfunctory) ethical message about good triumphing over evil and challenges leading to living happily ever after, *féerie* went on to incorporate educational material. Children could learn about technology and especially geography, experiencing vicariously places as diverse as Russia (*Michel Strogoff*), India (*Le tour du monde, Le prince Soleil*), present-day Indonesia (*Le tour du monde, Le Crocodile*), Japan (*Le prince Soleil*), the United States (*Le tour du monde, Le pays de l'or*), Chile (*Les enfants du capitaine Grant*), Australia (also *Les enfants du capitaine Grant*). An early scientific *féerie* that I have not discussed in **Chapter 3**, *La Vénus noire* (1879), was a tale of African exploration, adapted from a successful novel. In order to stress the educational element of the play, a small Africa-themed exhibition was arranged in the foyer of the theatre.<sup>60</sup> Moreover, according to a disapproving American contemporary writer, “Between the acts a drop curtain is lowered, on which is painted a huge map of Africa, with the route of the heroes of the piece distinctly marked. One might as well go to a meeting of the Geographical Society at once.”<sup>61</sup>

Needless to say, the education children — and adults — could receive from the *Tour du monde*-style plays postulated Eurocentrism and the belief in the civilizing mission of the West. As Jann Pasler has noted, these plays “did much to give the illusion that foreign cultures were accessible and comprehensible, wherever the Westerner’s gaze might wander”; while not

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<sup>60</sup> For an overview of the exhibits, see Émile Desbeaux, “Le théâtre illustré,” *Le Monde illustré*, September 13, 1879, 166.

<sup>61</sup> J. Brander Matthews, *The Theatres of Paris* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1880), 178–79.

insisting on children as the intended audience of this repertoire, Pasler also aptly establishes a parallel between *Le tour du monde* and “the *Journal de voyages*, oriented to a public of adolescents.”<sup>62</sup> *Féerie* was ideally suited to serve as an educational vehicle of sorts because, to a certain degree, it could present the attractions within a play as autonomous from the work as a whole, hence supposedly more authentic. For example, the minstrel show in *Le pays de l’or* was a recreation of a minstrel show — a minstrel show as performed by fictional characters within the play to music written by the composer of the rest of the score, Léon Vasseur. But a Parisian audience, and especially an audience of children, would have felt that they were witnessing a minstrel show, not a recreation. In a genre with stronger textual stability and authorial control this illusion of immediacy would have been harder to achieve. Sylvie Chalaye remarks that *La Vénus noire* is chronologically situated between the *grand opéra* fantasy of Meyerbeer’s *L’Africaine* and the human zoos of the end of the century.<sup>63</sup> I would add that, as a scientific *féerie*, it is also ontologically in between the two: neither a vision entirely filtered through a strong creative personality, nor a purportedly unmediated and documentary display.

In **Chapter 3** we have seen how the influence of scientific *féerie* fed back into traditional *féerie*. One wonders, then, whether the encyclopedic *défilés* of fin-de-siècle traditional *féerie* — of lamps in *Les mille et une nuits*, of boots in *Le Petit Poucet*, of porcelain in the 1898 revival of *La poudre de Perlinpinpin*, of fans in *Le Petit Chaperon rouge* — might represent an extension of the educational impulse of scientific *féerie*. This hypothesis is supported by a polemical text by playwright Émile Bergerat, first published in 1886 and clearly taking aim at *Le Petit Poucet*. Children, writes Bergerat,

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<sup>62</sup> Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 416, 414.

<sup>63</sup> Sylvie Chalaye, “L’invention théâtrale de la ‘Vénus noire’: De Saartjie Baartman à Joséphine Baker,” in *L’altérité en spectacle, 1789–1918* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2015), 55–66.

will duly hallucinate in front of strictly chronological *défilés* of suspenders and learned *apothéoses* of vegetables, by means of which they will learn that the cauliflower is not the flower of the cabbage and that the Choubersky is a stove.<sup>64</sup> . . . French children are mad about these clumsy attempts at popularization illuminated by flares.<sup>65</sup>

Bergerat also imagines a *défilé* consisting in “an ethnographic procession of all the undergarments worn by mankind until the invention of the flannel undershirt.”<sup>66</sup>

It was evident for contemporaries that scientific *féerie* was part of a wider industrial complex targeting the children of the bourgeoisie: not just Verne, but also Paul d’Ivoi and Alfred Assollant, from whose novels the scientific *féeries* *Les cinq sous de Lavarède* and *Les aventures du capitaine Corcoran*, respectively, would be adapted in 1902; not just the *Journal de voyages*, but also the *Magasin d’éducation et de récréation* and *Mon journal*. Jules Claretie, in 1883, established a connection between scientific *féerie* (an expression that he himself used) and educational toys. French children, according to Claretie, asked for “a mineralogy set, or a chemistry set, or an electric machine” as presents; they found military-themed toys less attractive than “the Ruhmkorff coil or the Bunsen cell”; “Judging from the toys they like best, all of today’s children will be scientists in fifteen or twenty years.”<sup>67</sup> These observations, naturally, are not telling of the preferences of children as much as of the parenting strategies

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<sup>64</sup> Pun between *chou*, cabbage, and the name of Russian-born engineer Charles de Choubersky, inventor of a patented stove.

<sup>65</sup> “Les enfants pour qui ces choses sont composées, y auront les hallucinations requises devant des défilés de bretelles rigoureusement chronologiques et des apothéoses de légumes savantes par lesquelles ils apprendront que le choufleur n’est pas la fleur du chou et que le chouberski est un poêle. . . . L’enfance française est folle de ces à-peu-près vulgarisateurs qu’illuminent les feux de Bengale.” Émile Bergerat, preface to *La clé des songes*, in *Ours et fours: Théâtre en chambre* (Paris: Dentu, 1886), 2:493.

<sup>66</sup> “C’est une procession ethnographique de tous les ‘vêtements de dessous’ portés par l’humanité jusqu’à l’invention du gilet de flanelle.” Bergerat, preface to *La clé des songes*, 2:497

<sup>67</sup> “Tous les enfants, aujourd’hui, demanderaient ou une boîte de minéralogie, ou une boîte de chimie, ou une machine électrique. . . . [Military-themed toys] ont bien encore leur séduction, mais beaucoup moindre que la bobine de Rumkorf ou la pile de Bunsen. . . . À en juger par les jouets qu’ils préfèrent, les enfants d’aujourd’hui seront tous des savants dans quinze ou vingt ans.” Jules Claretie, *La vie à Paris*, year 1883 (Paris: Victor-Havard, 1884), 499–500.

of adults. We probably should see in this phenomenon the triumph of the entrepreneurial ideal and the preoccupation of the bourgeoisie to build what we would now call the human capital of their children.

There is a reason I have been talking of bourgeois children. Although evidence is somewhat elusive, there are grounds to think that lower- or lower-middle-class people would be found in the auditorium at a *féerie* performance, but children would have been less likely to be among them, since a family outing to the theatre would have been costly on a low budget. On the other hand, lower-class children would be found at a *féerie* performance, only not in the auditorium. In **Chapters 2** I have mentioned the frequent resort of *féerie* to child performers — choristers, dancers, clowns, and in particular supernumeraries. The 1870s, starting with Offenbach's *féeries* at the Gaîté, seem to have witnessed an intensification in this practice, and outrage over the use of children in *féerie* productions seems to have played a large part in the demand that theatres be subject to stricter child-labor regulations (a law was passed in 1892, but apparently to little effect). The press offers a few glimpses into the lives of these underage workers. We can read about a (probably real) "Henri" who fell asleep in a bunny costume during an exhausting late-night rehearsal of the 1876 revival of *Les sept châteaux du diable* and about a (probably fictional) "Nini" who had passed a dance audition with Mariquita; we can read about the boys who wore the boot-shaped *cartonnages* of *Le Petit Poucet* and about the youngest performer in the same production, aged three and a half.<sup>68</sup>

If children on stage were workers themselves, children in the audience, in some ways, could be assimilated to workers. Over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century theatre became increasingly exclusive: not only did ticket prices rise, but the proportion of

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<sup>68</sup> Arnold Mortier, "Les sept châteaux du diable," in *Les soirées parisiennes de 1876* (Paris: Dentu, 1875), 324–31, at pp. 328–29; François Thiébaud-Sisson, "Le petit monde des théâtres," *Le Petit Parisien*, supplément littéraire illustré, January 29, 1893, 37–38; C., "Les coulisses d'une féerie: *Le Petit Poucet* à la Gaîté," illustrated by Cab, *La Vie parisienne*, December 5, 1885, 685–89.

affordable seats decreased. Among *féerie* theatres, the Gaîté, the Porte-Saint-Martin, and the Châtelet all underwent renovations, in 1881, 1891, and 1898, respectively. Based on seating plans from the Bottin directory and on the plans of the original architect, Gabriel Davioud, I estimated that, with the 1898 renovation, affordable seats at the Châtelet (3 francs or less, in the *parterre* and the *amphithéâtre*) went from over a half of the total (52%) to 44%.<sup>69</sup> Similar calculations for the other two houses would probably yield similar results. Yet, the author of an 1889 book could still write that at these three theatres “Melodramas, historical dramas, and *féeries* in twenty-five *tableaux* have a knack for attracting the bourgeois, the shopkeeper, and the worker.”<sup>70</sup> It is not far-fetched to think that adult bourgeois spectators who found themselves sharing the theatre with both children and lower-class adults would have had a similar attitude toward the two groups, given a longstanding tendency to infantilize the working class. Charles Bigot’s grouchy old reactionary is explicit on this point: *féerie* is a sensitive genre because it reaches two impressionable populations — children and the lower classes “who fill up the upper levels of those vast auditoria.”<sup>71</sup>

I believe that a certain set of *féerie* spectators wanted to signal their superiority from both children and lower-class spectators, and did so through a deliberate strategy of selective attention. Children, one supposes, were engrossed by the performance, both because of its sheer visual magnificence and because going to the theatre to see a *féerie*, when they were not yet of age for more adult genres, was a rare treat. As Christophe Charle has observed, lower-class families who could afford going to the theatre only sporadically would have treated a performance as a special occasion, a self-indulgent splurge, and were probably attracted by highly spectacular genres such as *féerie* precisely because of the sensation of getting their

<sup>69</sup> Bottin 1898, 12; *Annuaire-almanach . . . Didot-Bottin*, year 1900 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1900), 22; César Daly and Gabriel Davioud, *Les théâtres de la place du Châtelet: Théâtre du Châtelet, Théâtre-Lyrique* (Paris: Ducher, 1865).

<sup>70</sup> “Les *mélos*, les drames historiques, les *féeries* en vingt-cinq *tableaux* ont le don d’attirer le bourgeois, le commerçant et l’ouvrier.” Maurice du Seigneur, *Paris, voici Paris* (Paris: Bourloton, 1889), 301.

<sup>71</sup> “[C]’est lui [le peuple] qui remplit les étages supérieurs de ces vastes salles.” Bigot, “Les rois de *féerie*,” 187.

dollar's worth of entertainment.<sup>72</sup> They would, therefore, have savored every moment of the play, too. By contrast, Sarcey informs us that, at performances of *La reine Carotte* (1872), some would only come to the theatre to see Thérèse in a dance number: "It is known that at ten in the evening is the moment of the Spanish dance. The auditorium fills up fifteen minutes prior to that, and empties fifteen minutes after that; a part of the auditorium, of course."<sup>73</sup> This would explain why, for example, the announcement of the 1875 revival of *La chatte blanche* in *L'Orchestre* gives the time (ten o'clock) for the most hyped *clou* of the play, "Le pays des oiseaux." Press illustrations, I have argued above, were directed at the section of the audience that wished to exhibit this kind of superior, in-the-know attitude. It is probably no coincidence, then, that the illustrations that Alfred Grévin drew for *Le Journal amusant* in 1872 with some of the attractions of *Le roi Carotte* are captioned with the approximate time of each attraction (the insects "Between ten and eleven o'clock," the apes "Between eleven o'clock and midnight").<sup>74</sup> The sheet music for the "Chanson des animaux," from the 1872 *féerie* *Les griffes du diable*, which contains impressions of animal sounds, has a footnote that reads: "For the impressions, listen to Mademoiselle Silly at the Menus-Plaisirs every night at half past ten." That all these examples are from the 1870s, though, suggest that the habit of selectively attending a *féerie* performance might later have declined. Perhaps that had to do with *féeries* becoming ever richer in not-to-be-missed *clous*, or with *féeries* naturally becoming more exclusive as the attendance of less affluent audiences declined. But the desire for a socially selective, adult-only *féerie* experience could explain the success of Serpette's *féeries* in the 1880s and 1890s, given at small, exclusive theatres and utterly unsuitable for children.

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<sup>72</sup> Christophe Charle, *Théâtres en capitales: Naissance de la société du spectacle à Paris, Berlin, Londres et Vienne, 1860–1914* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2008), 284.

<sup>73</sup> "On sait qu'à dix heures du soir, c'est le moment du pas espagnol. La salle s'emplit un quart d'heure auparavant et se vide un quart d'heure après; une partie de la salle, bien entendu." Sarcey, "Chronique théâtrale," January 22, 1872, [1].

<sup>74</sup> *Le Journal amusant*, February 3, 1872, 4.

## The woman

If the “children of all ages” trope is consistent in *féerie* discourse from the Second Empire through the early nineteenth century, so is another trope. A writer from 1868 laments that the previous year’s *Les voyages de Gulliver* has distinguished itself by “reaching and surpassing every limit with respect to the state of undress of its female supernumeraries”; one from 1906 claims that the primary goal of *féerie* is to display “the highest number possible of shoulders, napes of the neck, arms, armpits, bottoms, thighs, and calves in the most varied positions.”<sup>75</sup> And this was only the kind of language that was deemed fit for publication. In their journal, the Goncourt brothers give an account of a rehearsal for the 1863 revival of *Les pilules du diable* at the Porte-Saint-Martin, then under the management of Fournier, with Mariquita among the leading dancers. A representative from the censorship board is present, and the Goncourt crudely comment that his role is “to ascertain if, in this brothel we call a *féerie* house, they make men too hard.”<sup>76</sup>

Some female performers associated with *féerie* were spoken of in starkly objectifying terms. Delval, who played the African princess Aïka in the 1865 and 1867 productions of *La biche au bois*, is mentioned in two poems from Théodore Banville’s collection *Les Occidentales*.<sup>77</sup> But in one she is remembered for her “naked parts” (*les portions nues*), in the other for her tights (*maillot à cuisses*). Eugénie Mariani, who performed in *Cendrillon*, *Les voyages de Gulliver*,

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<sup>75</sup> Gustave Vapereau, *L’année littéraire et dramatique*, year 1867 (Paris: Hachette, 1868), 140 (“Cette pièce . . . a été surtout signalée pour avoir atteint et dépassé toutes les limites, sous le rapport du déshabillé de ses figurantes”); Her Trippa, “Vagues généralités sur le théâtre industriel,” *La Vie parisienne*, January 20, 1906, 60 (“[L]e principal but de toute pièce à grand spectacle est de montrer . . . le plus grand nombre possible d’épaules, de nuques, de bras, d’aisselles, de croupes, de cuisses et de mollets dans les attitudes les plus variées”).

<sup>76</sup> “C’est la voix du préposé à la Pudeur publique, chargé d’examiner si, dans ce bordel qu’on appelle un théâtre de féerie, on ne fait point trop bander les personnes.” Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *Journal des Goncourt*, ed. Jean-Louis Cabanès (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2005–), 3:570.

<sup>77</sup> Théodore de Banville, “À la biche empaillée qui figurait à la Porte-Saint-Martin dans *La biche au bois*” and “Inventaire,” in *Œuvres poétiques complètes*, ed. Peter J. Edwards (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1994–2009), 5:22–25 and 5:40–43. Delval’s real name was Léontine Goret, and she was the sister of Léa Silly (also a pseudonym), encountered in **Chapter 1** and **Chapter 3**. In the 1867 *Biche au bois*, the two sisters shared the bill.

*Le roi Carotte* (as the sorceress Coloquinte), and the 1872 revival of *La poule aux œufs d'or*, was known as “the most attractive woman in Paris” (*la femme la mieux faite de Paris*).<sup>78</sup> The public perception of this category of *féerie* performer is best summed up by a vocal number from the metatheatrical prologue to *La reine Carotte*. Right after securing an engagement with a theatre manager, an aspiring *féerie* star, perhaps inspired by Delval or Mariani, sings the following, on a tune that is identified on the printed play as the “air des *Deux maîtresses*” but was actually composed by Alexandre-Pierre-Joseph Doche for an 1834 *vaudeville*, *Jacquemin, roi de France* (ex. 4.1):

La comédie

Que j'étudie

A pour public tout un monde élégant.

Je serai reine[,]

Mais sur la scène

Où des amours le cortège m'attend.

Belle statue, il faut qu'[o]n idolâtre

Tout ce que j'ai de bien..., d'original,

Qu'on me connaisse... et je prends le théâtre

Qui n'est pour moi qu'un premier piédestal.

J'y veux des rôles

Courts et peu drôles,

Je ne tiens pas aux bons mots... pas du tout;

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<sup>78</sup> Albert Vizentini, *Derrière la toile (foyers, coulisses et comédiens): Petite physiologie des théâtres parisiens* (Paris: Achille Faure, 1868), 200, which is not, however, the only occurrence.

Mais je désire  
Pouvoir sourire  
À l'avant-scène, à l'orchestre, partout.  
Ça m'est égal qu'on m'appelle une grue,  
Pourvu qu'on dise: «elle est très bien, ma foi[»,  
Et que la foule au théâtre accourue  
N'ait de regards et des cœurs que pour moi[i.]

Fée ou princesse,  
Page ou déesse,  
À peu de frais on me costumera[:]  
Plus mon costume,  
Comme une plume,  
Sera léger, plus mon rôle plaira.  
Être une actrice et se montrer habile,  
Que de travail pour en arriver là[!]  
Ce que je veux être est moins difficile,  
Il ne faut pas étudier pour ça  
La comédie.<sup>79</sup>

I have reproduced the text in full as it articulates, in a way that manages to be nuanced and crude at the same time, a *féerie*-specific version of that nineteenth-century French stereotype, the actress-courtesan, most famously embodied by the title character of Zola's novel *Nana*

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<sup>79</sup> Clairville, Victor Bernard, and Victor Koning, *La reine Carotte* (Paris: Dentu, 1872), 1–2 (prologue, 1st *tableau*, scene 2). I have retouched the punctuation to improve readability.

(1880).<sup>80</sup> For this ambitious young woman, the performance that counts (the “comédie”) is not the one that takes place onstage, but that of the social life to which she aspires, in select circles (“tout un monde élégant”) where she will enjoy the protection of influential men: “des amours le cortège,” in keeping with the analogy between the stage and social life, evokes a *féerie*-style procession, but refers to a string of romantic relationships. In other words, she envisions the theatre as a mere stepping stone (“un premier pédestal”) to a career as a *demi-mondaine*, a “kept woman.” She is not worried about her reputation (“Ça m’est égal qu’on m’appelle une grue”); on the contrary, she plans to use her sex appeal to her advantage, smiling to spectators, with a preference for those sitting in the most expensive seats (“à l’avant-scène, à l’orchestre”).<sup>81</sup> All this might also apply to an operetta performer, such as Zola’s Nana, who appears in a fictional counterpart of *La belle Hélène*.<sup>82</sup> Other elements, though, betray the *féerie* starlet. She is cast in a few stock roles, chiefly that of the fairy; she squarely refuses to learn how to act or even how to deliver jokes (“je ne tiens pas au bon mots”), and considers her body her only asset. Not her body movements, though, but her features (“tout ce que j’ai de bien”), which are to be admired like those of a statue, and revealed by the scantiest costumes imaginable (as a “page” she would have worn tights, as a “goddess” probably a body stocking). By describing herself as a living statue, the *féerie* starlet of *La reine Carotte* is essentially claiming that she is not so much a performer as an attraction. When she is playing a fairy she is not on stage as a fictional character, but as herself, or, at least, that is what she (and the creators of the *féerie*) want the

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<sup>80</sup> On the social position of women in the theatre industry, see Lenard R. Berlanstein, *Daughters of Eve: A Cultural History of French Theater Women from the Old Regime to the Fin de Siècle* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); Anne Martin-Fugier, *Comédienne: De M<sup>lle</sup> Mars à Sarah Bernhardt* (Paris: Seuil, 2001); Isabelle Michelot, “Du plancher au pavé: parcours et détours des comédiennes des petits théâtres,” *Romantisme* no. 134 (2006), 43–54.

<sup>81</sup> Delval probably owed her marriage to an aristocrat in 1881 to the networks she had built while she was active as a performer. Needless to say, a desire for social ascension does not necessarily mean that one’s artistic vocation is insincere, as *La reine Carotte* would have us believe.

<sup>82</sup> Nana does, however, end her career with the non-speaking role of a fairy in a *féerie*.

audience to think. As for the exotic exhibits of scientific *féeries*, this contrived immediacy was made possible by the very nature of *féerie* as a total artwork of the present.

The erotic charge of *féerie*, though, was deeply intertwined not just with the ontology of the genre, but with its economy as well. This is apparent if one descends through the hierarchy of performers, from the Delvals and the Marianis, to the supernumeraries to whom most of the “shoulders, napes of the neck,” and so on seen in *féeries* belonged. Casting women supernumeraries was an important moment in the making of a *féerie*. In the 1898 article mentioned above, Ernest Blum explains how this was carried out. First of all, a “young and pretty women needed at the Such-and-Such Theatre” advertisement is circulated in newspapers. For the 1898 revival of *La poudre de Perlinpinpin*, in fact, a similar advertisement appeared in the press a couple of months before the première. This kind of advertisement was also, apparently, disseminated through posters. According to Blum, “five to six hundred women” would turn out: those with some evident physical defect would be rejected on the spot, the others would be asked to undress to their underwear and would undergo another round of selection, purely based on their appearance.

In the 1870s, Maxime Du Camp writes that the supernumeraries of *féeries* and other “pièces à femmes” (as the brutal contemporary jargon had it) are recruited “in fashion stores, in seamstresses’ workshops, in the small furnished apartments that are rented on a monthly basis”; in 1898 Paul Ginisty writes that they are workers (*ouvrières*), but also artists’ models and wives of theatre employees. Du Camp gives as their daily wage “30 sous,” that is, 1 franc 50, Ginisty “1 franc 50 or two francs,” specifying that they are paid fifty cents more than their male counterparts. Despite the intense eroticism surrounding *féerie*, this information would suggest that the milieu of female *féerie* supernumeraries was not necessarily adjacent to prostitution, as was famously the case for female ballet dancers. The pay was low, but not necessarily much

lower than a regular seamstress's salary: if it represented additional income for an already employed woman with the possibility of working flexible hours, or additional family income in the case of married supernumeraries, it could boost the finances of a working-class woman or family, respectively. The fact that some of the supernumeraries were married and that women were paid more than men is also telling. The only suspicion of licentiousness in these passages is an aside where Ginisty remarks that artists' models are "more capricious than the others"; but that too might only imply lack of discipline.

And yet there is no doubt that male theatregoers paid to see female bodies, that *féerie* was trafficking in voyeurism under the cover of children's entertainment, and that it relied on the invisible, manual labor of the machinists as much as it did on the very visible, emotional labor of the women supernumeraries. Cultivating the impression of sexual availability in exchange for remuneration, in fact, seems a textbook example of emotional labor as conceptualized by Arlie Hochschild in the 1980s.<sup>83</sup> It was a part of the job of the flight attendants Hochschild observed as her case study; in the case of *féerie* women supernumeraries, it was essentially the job description. Virtually nothing but emotional labor was demanded from women supernumeraries, and theatres were happy to pay for that emotional labor. Financial records for commercial theatres are rare to come by, but we do have a tentative budget for a revival of *Orphée aux enfers* that Albert Vizontini, then manager of the Gaîté, planned in the summer of 1875, and that presumably would have taken place while rehearsals for *Le voyage dans la lune* were underway. We can then compare Vizontini's estimated daily personnel expenses for *Orphée aux enfers* with the personnel expenses of the

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<sup>83</sup> Arlie Russell Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012). First published 1983.

Opéra for 1875.<sup>84</sup> The wages of choristers, dancers, and musicians represent a similar proportion of the total wages of non-administrative personnel at the Gaîté and the Opéra: 8% for choristers at both theatres, 15% and 16% for dancers at the Gaîté and the Opéra, respectively; 11% for orchestral musicians at both theatres (but 13% at the Gaîté including the stage band); 8% for machinists at both theatres. The expenditure for cast members is lower as a proportion at the Gaîté (48%) than at the Opéra (54%). But the most significant difference is the expenditure for supernumeraries, which is four times higher at the Gaîté: 8% versus 2%. It should be noted that, at the rates mentioned above, Vizentini's budgeted expenditure for supernumeraries, 130 francs a day, would not have remotely covered the 210 supernumeraries (150 men and 60 women) mentioned in an 1874 publication.<sup>85</sup> It would have paid for 70 men at one franc a day and 40 women at 1 franc 50, though, or 55 men and 50 women; either way, the number of people on stage, with cast members, choristers, and dancers, could have easily been close to 250, roughly half of whom would have been women.<sup>86</sup> The 1874 figures might have been inflated for publicity purposes, Vizentini might have been planning a revival on the cheap (relatively speaking), or, quite possibly, both things might be true. Blum's "five to six hundred women" claim is probably not to be taken too literally, either.

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<sup>84</sup> Sources: administrative records in Albert Vizentini's hand in F-Pnas collection Rondel MRt boîte 72 Gaîté; F-Po CO-365.

<sup>85</sup> [Henry Buguet], *Gaîté*, no. 7 in the series *Foyers et coulisses: Histoire anecdotique des théâtres de Paris* (Paris: Tresse, 1875), 2:113.

<sup>86</sup> I reckoned 38 cast members (18 women, 20 men), 46 choristers (18 women, 22 men, 6 children), 46 dancers (38 women, 8 children). The budget for the stage band is 36 francs: about fifteen players paid between two and three francs seems a reasonable guess.

## The foreigner

The role of *féeries* as purveyors of voyeuristic pleasures in the last third of the nineteenth century is inextricably linked with the transformations in the Parisian theatre industry: the gentrification of the Eastern part of the city center, the deregulation of 1864, the rise of the new regime of production. Both Maxime Du Camp and, some twenty years later, Georges Moynet stressed that theatres were not catering to a neighborhood, nor even Parisian, audience anymore. They instead relied on visitors from the provinces and from abroad, whose constant influx by train made possible for productions to run for months on end (and thereby recoup exorbitant upfront investments). Theatres then needed to accommodate the tastes of this audience: according to Moynet, “these recruits from the outside especially appreciate inordinate luxury,” which included “the accumulation of masses of supernumeraries”; for Du Camp, “It is for this audience, the most forgiving of all and an easily charmed one, that they invented . . . the *pièces à femmes*.”<sup>87</sup> Already in January 1864, a character in a satirical piece in *La Vie parisienne*, commenting on the deregulation decree that Napoleon III was about to sign, predicted that Paris would become “a transit city, where the passing Chinese, Americans, English, Portuguese, Russians will replace the natives. There will be a theatre playing *Peau d’Âne* forever; another playing *Le pied de mouton*; yet another playing *Les pilules [du diable]*, and so on, and so forth.”<sup>88</sup> The implication, of course, was that *féerie*, unlike literary theatre, was

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<sup>87</sup> Moynet, *Trucs et décors*, 123 (“[C]es recrues du dehors apprécient surtout le luxe à outrance. . . . [L]e luxe écrasant, l’accumulation des masses de figuration . . . sont à la portée de tous ceux qui ont la bourse bien garnie ou du crédit sur la place”); Maxime Du Camp, *Paris: Ses organes, ses fonctions et sa vie dans la seconde moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1869–75), 6:178 (“C’est pour ce public indulgent entre tous et facile à charmer que l’on a inventé . . . les pièces à femmes”).

<sup>88</sup> “[C]e sera une ville de transit, où les Chinois, les Américains, les Anglais, les Portugais, les Russes de passage remplaceront les indigènes; il y aura un théâtre qui jouera éternellement *Peau-d’Âne*, un autre le *Pied de mouton*; un troisième, les *Pilules*, etc., etc...” Édouard Siebecker, “Ce qui se dit dans la salon à propos du théâtre,” *La Vie parisienne*, January 2, 1864, 16.

suitable for an international audience who did not master the French language and supposedly did not seek high art but rather visual, and erotic, stimulation.

The *féerie* productions that targeted visitors to the five World's Fairs held in Paris in the nineteenth century are a testament to the privileged relationship between *féerie* and audiences from outside Paris. *Les pilules du diable* and *Les sept châteaux du diable* were revived for the World's Fair in 1855; in 1867 it was the turn of *Cendrillon*, *La biche au bois*, and *Peau d'Âne*, as we have seen in **Chapter 2**. *Les sept châteaux du diable* and *Le tour du monde* were revived in 1878; the Gaîté gave a new *féerie*, *Le Chat botté*, then fell back on a revival of *Orphée aux enfers*. Also in 1878, the Châtelet, as a marketing strategy, gifted a ticket to the World's Fair to those who bought their *féerie* ticket in advance.<sup>89</sup> In 1898, as we have seen in **Chapter 3**, it was the Châtelet that (after yet another revival of *Le tour du monde*) conceived a new *féerie* with the World's Fair audience in mind, *Le prince Soleil*. In 1900, *féerie* and theatres in general were already in crisis, but visitors to the World's Fair were not left without a *féerie* — a revival of *La poudre de Perlinpinpin*. After *Le prince Soleil*, the Châtelet tried (in vain) to replicate its success with other summer *féeries* clearly aimed at international tourists: *Orient-Express* in 1890, *Tout Paris* in 1891. Both had vocal numbers, like *Le prince Soleil*, and at least some of the music of *Tout Paris* was by Louis Ganne, the future operetta composer, then known for his *café-concert* music. *Tout-Paris* subverts the premise of the *Tour du monde*-type plays by applying it to Paris: it is, in fact, an excursion through the most picturesque locales of the French capital. The reviewer for *Le Ménestrel* commented that the play was intended “exclusively for the foreigners who choose the two months of June and July to make their little visit to the City of

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<sup>89</sup> Édouard Noël and Edmond Stoullig, *Les annales du théâtre et de la musique*, year 1878 (Paris: Charpentier, 1879), 422.

Lights,” and joked that it would have allowed travellers on a Thomas Cook tour to squeeze more sights into a short stay.<sup>90</sup>

One could probably argue that the relationship of *féerie* to its cosmopolitan audience is thematized in the cosmopolitan casts of characters of scientific *féeries* — especially when those characters are witnesses to *divertissements* showcasing scores of women’s bodies or in general to performances within the performance. At least one traditional *féerie* seems to engage in a similar self-reflection: in *L’arbre de Noël* the good fairy Bagatelle, played by Zulma Bouffar, singlehandedly confers cosmopolitan vibrancy on an empty hotel by impersonating, in quick succession, a side-whiskered, heavily built American man, a Belgian woman, and a female Spanish dancer. But the most obvious equivalent within *féerie* for the foreigners who patronized *féerie* is to be found in *Serpette*, and precisely in the *rastaquouères* featured briefly in *Madame le diable* and prominently in *Le carnet du diable*. In *Le carnet du diable*, in particular, the servers of the *brasserie à femmes* can be seen as a stand-in for *féerie* women performers: the paring of a *rastaquouère* (Rodrigo) and a server (Jacqueline) then becomes a virtual fulfillment of the erotic fantasies entertained by voyeuristic *féerie* spectators.

However, it is tempting to think that *Serpette*’s *féeries* flattered their spectators’ sense of superiority not just over children and working-class theatergoers, but also over foreigners seen as wealthy but uncultured. By satirizing the *rastaquouères*, *Le carnet du diable* might have been telling its audience: this is a *féerie* for the chosen few, and the crass foreigners who are only interested in “inordinate luxury” (to borrow Moynet’s expression) would not enjoy it. Real-life *rastaquouères* might actually have been less interested in the offering of the small *vaudeville* and operetta theatres than they were in the colossal *féeries* of the large Eastern

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<sup>90</sup> “[L]a vraie pièce d’été, faite exclusivement pour les étrangers qui choisissent les deux mois de juin et de juillet pour faire leur petite visite à la ville-lumière.” Paul-Émile Chevalier, “Semaine théâtrale,” *Le Ménestrel*, June 21, 1891, 196.

houses. Perhaps, instead, rich foreigners did attend *Le carnet du diable*, which provided them with an opportunity to dissociate themselves from the *rastaquouère* stereotype and to be accepted by their French-born peers. Even in the latter case, the circular logic of exclusivity resists falsification: if a play is for people of taste only, enjoying it proves that one has good taste.

This is only a tentative first step toward a social history of fin-de-siècle *féerie*. Perhaps there is just too little evidence for us to know much more. But I have tried to make the most of contemporary accounts and of the archival documents I had at my disposal. I hope I have managed to put a human face on the repertoire that I excavated in the previous two chapters. So-called “popular theatre” is, by definition, theatre of the people. But, as with the famous phrase from the Gettysburg Address — which France enshrined in its own constitution after WWII — “of the people” would be a rather nebulous concept without “by the people” and “for the people,” and without defining who “the people” is. The unavoidable question, then, is by what people, and for what people, “popular theatre” was made. I have tried, in this chapter, to answer this question for *féerie*, and to point out how the ontology, the economy, and the ideology of the genre are inseparable from each other.

## 5. Coda

### Ending on a dissolve

As the time comes to write “conclusions” to this dissertation, I am reminded that Gustave Flaubert — the author who first ignited my curiosity about *féerie* — maintained that reality does not conclude, only our narratives do.<sup>1</sup> Without being as radical as Flaubert, I do share his suspicion of providential endings. My very subtitle, “Parisian *Féerie* and the Emergence of Mass Culture, 1864–1900,” implies a fundamentally open narrative.

“1900” makes for a nice round number and coincides with the last revival of *Le carnet du diable*, but I could easily have chosen another date: 1895, the première of the last successful composerly *féerie* (*Le carnet du diable*); 1897, the last composerly traditional *féerie* (*La montagne enchantée*); 1898, the last *féerie* production at the Porte-Saint-Martin (*Cendrillon*); 1899, the last traditional *féerie* production at a theatre other than the Châtelet (*Le chat botté* at the Théâtre de la République); 1907, the last production of a new traditional *féerie* (*La princesse Sans-Gêne*); 1908, the last revival of a traditional *féerie* (*La chatte blanche* at the Châtelet); or even 1912, the

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<sup>1</sup> Flaubert famously wrote in a letter that “The frenzy for drawing conclusions is one of the most dreadful and most sterile obsessions of humankind.” Gustave Flaubert to Marie-Sophie Leroyer de Chantepie, October 23, 1863, in Gustave Flaubert, *Correspondance*, ed. Jean Bruneau and Yvan Leclerc (Paris, Gallimard, 1973–2007), 3:353 (“La rage de vouloir conclure est une des manies les plus funestes et les plus stériles qui appartiennent à l’humanité”).

last film *féeries* of Georges Méliès, which are among the last film *féeries* altogether, as other filmmakers (Albert Capellani, Segundo de Chomón, Gaston Velle) had already abandoned the genre. Moreover, all these “lasts” should not overshadow the firsts of those same years. The waning of commercial *féerie* coincided with the waxing of literary *féerie* — Jean Richepin and Henri Cain’s *La Belle au bois dormant* dates from 1907, Maurice Maeterlinck’s *L’oiseau bleu* premiered in 1908 in Moscow and in 1911 in Paris.<sup>2</sup> The waning of film *féerie* around the same time coincided with the waxing of narrative film and the institutionalization of cinema. To borrow an image precisely from early cinema, *féerie* did not end on an iris out, but on a dissolve.

That other part of my subtitle, “the emergence of mass culture,” points precisely to this dissolve. I hope to have shown that, contrary to received wisdom, the story of *féerie* in the last third of the nineteenth century is not a story of decline, and that *féerie* did more than rest on its past glories. That period also contained the seeds of what was to come — even though it cannot be reduced to an incubation period, which is why media scholars have now moved away from teleological discourse about *pré-cinéma* or the prehistory of cinema. I do not have the ambition or the expertise to fully retrace the connection between fin-de-siècle *féerie* and modern mass culture, which would be a work of media archaeology. But it is evident how *féerie* as a total work of art of the present prefigures twentieth-century mass culture: cultural production as an industry, cultural practices as consumption, non-autonomy of the work of art, limited agency of the creators. Unlike both high culture and folklore, *féerie* was produced by a small number of intellectuals for the consumption of a relatively vast and relatively diverse audience. This, of course, does not mean that the consumers were necessarily passive or naive. But the power imbalance between producers and consumers allowed it to serve as a

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<sup>2</sup> For literary *féerie* in the twentieth century, see Hélène Laplace-Claverie, *Modernes féeries: Le théâtre français du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, entre réenchantement et désenchantement* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2007).

vehicle for the transmission of dominant values: the educational side of scientific *féeries* and *féerie*'s targeting of children are aspects of a wider pedagogical function.

Given this open-ended nature of my narrative, and the fact that I see this dissertation as a first step in a wider research agenda, I will not use these pages to “conclude” in the sense that irked Flaubert. I will instead take stock of the work I have been doing, while at the same time assessing the work that remains (for myself and for others) to be done.

### The results so far...

The present dissertation does, I believe, deliver on the customary promises of filling a gap in the literature and breaking new ground. At the same time, though I might not love the word “revisionist,” it advances an alternative narrative of late nineteenth-century Parisian theatre. By putting forward tools that might be applied to other objects of study, I also hope to have pointed to possible paths for future research.

Mine is one of the first book-length contributions on *féerie* and the very first from a music historian. It challenges the conventional wisdom according to which *féerie* faded into irrelevance at the end of the nineteenth century. It does so, first, by arguing that, although fewer new plays were explicitly advertised as *féeries* in the second half of the century, fewer new plays does not mean fewer performances, and fewer plays advertised as *féeries* does not mean fewer *féeries*. Secondly, it incorporates composerly *féerie* and scientific *féerie*, previously associated with operetta and melodrama, respectively, into an integrated history of *féerie*. According to the framework I advance, fin-de-siècle *féerie* was a vast ecosystem where new plays coexisted with revivals, composerly *féeries* with non-composerly *féeries*, scientific *féeries*

with traditional *féeries*, more popular *féeries* with more exclusive ones. Hybridization among various strands of *féerie* also occurred, as exemplified by the *féeries* of Gaston Serpette. And the archival research I have conducted has demonstrated that there is a large, hitherto largely untapped body of evidence for *féerie* as thus defined (see **Appendix**).

I do not find it belittling to say that my dissertation is a survey, as I can claim to be not only the first to survey this repertoire, but also the first to recognize my corpus of plays as a coherent repertoire. I am fully aware that my reclassifying plays as *féeries* might seem a sleight of hand. In 2010 Pierre Bayard published a tongue-in-cheek essay titled *Et si les œuvres changeaient d'auteur?* (What If Works Were to Switch Authors?), where he argued that we can gain useful insights by arbitrarily attributing a literary work or work of art to a different author and study, say, Tolstoy's *Gone With the Wind* or Alfred Hitchcock's *Battleship Potemkin*.<sup>3</sup> I sometimes wonder if I have been doing the same thing, except that I made works switch genres instead of authors. So I do accept that there is an arbitrary component in my approach. But arbitrary is not the same thing as gratuitous, and I have gone to great lengths to make sure that my approach has been historically grounded. I have not adopted a rigorously emic stance for the simple reason that doing so would have simply have been impossible — see my discussion of contemporary generic designations in **Chapter 1** and my argument for systematizing the use of the expression “scientific *féerie*” in **Chapter 3**.

Yet, beyond classifying and describing this repertoire, I have also tried to make sense of it. First of all, I suggest getting rid of the anachronistic notion of “musical theatre” and replacing it with “theatre with music,” including all genres where music has an essential role in the dramaturgy, from *vaudeville* to *grand opéra* (**Chapter 1**). I make the case that composerly *féerie* — *féerie* with original scores by established composers — is part of what I call

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<sup>3</sup> Pierre Bayard, *Et si les œuvres changeaient d'auteur?* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 2010).

operettization — the application of operetta-style music to genres beyond operetta (Chapter 2). Similarly, scientific *féerie* is a case of *féerization* — the spread of *féerie* dramaturgy beyond traditional *féerie* (Chapter 3). I also argue that we cannot do justice to the poetics of *féerie* without taking into account the *féerie* industry and the ontology of *féerie*, which are also inseparable from each other (Chapter 4). This is why I have written of theatrical gentrification and of operettocracy on the one hand, and of the total work of art of the present on the other — that is, a plurimedial work without centralized authorship, autonomy, or textual stability.

### ...and the road ahead

In the preceding chapters I have foregrounded unfamiliar plays such as *Les bibelots du diable*, *La biche au bois*, *Le roi Carotte*, or *Le carnet du diable*. In keeping with my revisionist agenda, I have also aimed at shedding new light on more familiar cultural artifacts such as *Orphée aux enfers*, *Le tour du monde en 80 jours*, and *Le voyage dans la lune*, by placing them in non-obvious contexts. On the other hand, my mentions of Emmanuel Chabrier, of *La damnation de Faust*, *Carmen*, *Parsifal*, *The Black Crook*, and *Peer Gynt* hint at how *féerie* can suggest new readings for works that lie outside the domain of *féerie*. Two more examples come to mind here.

Jules Massenet's 1899 opera *Cendrillon* is an obvious case of a work that familiarity with *féerie* can cause us to recontextualize. In particular, two elements in the opera clearly pay homage to the *féerie* tradition. One is Massenet's decision to have a woman play the role of Prince Charming. Casting *féerie* princes as *travesti* roles was a standard practice. As I have mentioned, Delphine Ugalde was Prince Souci in the 1865 *Biche au bois* and Irma Marié was

the first Prince Charming in the 1866 *Cendrillon*. Prince Caprice of *Le voyage dans la lune* was Zulma Bouffar, who also wore breeches in *Le roi Carotte* and (as part of a *rôle à tiroirs*) in *Les mille et une nuits*. Closer to Massenet's opera, both Prince Isolin in *Isoline* and the eponymous hero of *Le prince Soleil* were impersonated by women, and Juliette Simon-Girard played *féerie* princes in the 1896 *Biche* and in the 1897 revival of *Rothomago*. The other blatant *féerie* element of Massenet's *Cendrillon* is the procession of princesses in act 4, which is, for all intents and purposes, a *féerie défilé*. The production book and a stage photograph show that the procession, at the Opéra-Comique, consisted of nine princesses from various parts of the world with their attendants.<sup>4</sup> The idea of a *défilé* of princesses from all over the world, lining up to try on the glass slipper, has no basis in Perrault's tale, but reproduces instead a *clou* of the 1866 *Cendrillon*. That the *défilé* of the Massenet opera was similarly intended as a spectacular *clou* is evident from the fact that both the libretto and the score are designed to draw attention to it. In fact, it is announced by a monologue by the wicked stepmother that anticipates its musical material.

Fast forward a quarter century, to Ravel's *L'Enfant et les sortilèges* (1925) and its duet between a fairytale Princess and the titular Child, who identifies with the prince in her fairytale. Since the Child is a *travesti* role, it is a duet between two female voices, echoing both Massenet's *Cendrillon* and the *féerie* tradition. The harp arpeggios that mark the appearance and disappearance of the Princess have attracted the attention of Caroly Abbate and Jesse Fillerup.<sup>5</sup> Complementing their readings, I have formulated elsewhere the hypothesis that these arpeggios — respectively ascending and descending — are a nod to the mimetic musical

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<sup>4</sup> I consulted the manuscript production book at F-Pbh fonds ART 8-TMS-02739. An engraved production book also exist at F-Po B-400 (5). Photographs of the Opéra-Comique production are reproduced in the July 1899 issue of *Le Théâtre*. See also Jonathan Parisi. "Mettre en scène *Cendrillon*: d'Albert Carré (1899) à Benjamin Lazar (2011)," in *Massenet aujourd'hui: Héritage et postérité*, ed. Jean-Christophe Branger and Vincent Giroud (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2014), 253–83.

<sup>5</sup> Carolyn Abbate, "Outside Ravel's Tomb," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52, no. 3 (1999): 465–530; Jessie Fillerup, "Ravel and Robert-Houdin, Magicians," *19th-Century Music* 37, no. 2 (2013): 130–58.

gestures of *féerie*.<sup>6</sup> Nothing more *féerie*-like, in fact, than having the orchestra play an ascending figure as a character emerges from a trap, and a descending figure as a trap swallows her back.

Theatre with music, operettization (and operettocracy), *féerization*, and the total work of art of the present might be rather graceless as neologisms, but my hope is that the concepts they represent might serve the scholarly community beyond this dissertation. In fact, I believe that “operettocracy” lays the ground for a reappraisal of French operetta, marking the fundamental difference between Offenbach’s full-length operettas of the Second Empire and the rich landscape of operettas and operettized plays of the period from the late 1860s through the late 1890s. “Operettization” opens the door to a history of *vaudeville* that would include what I call composerly *vaudevilles*, thus challenging the assumption that *vaudeville* dropped its musical numbers during the Third Republic. It would also probably benefit a history of the French military play — which remains to be written — by allowing scholars to bridge the military-themed melodramas of the July Monarchy and Second Empire and the military-themed operettas of the Third Republic. The idea of a “total artwork of the present” could be applied to revue, or, beyond nineteenth-century theatre, to film.

Postulating a single field of “theatre with music” encompassing plays with and without singing, with and without original music is crucial to my next research project, which will look at the relation of fin-de-siècle Parisian *féerie* to commercial spectacular theatre of the same period in London. It might end on a provocation, taking the concept of theatre with music to its logical conclusion would bring about the end of opera studies. And that would not necessarily be a disaster. After all, Western cultures of the early modern and modern ages

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<sup>6</sup> Tommaso Sabbatini, “Music-hall avec effraction: Inquiétante étrangeté et métathéâtre dans *L’Enfant et les Sortilèges* de Maurice Ravel,” in *L’espace “sensible” de la dramaturgie musicale*, ed. Héloïse Demoz, Giordano Ferrari, and Alejandro Reyna (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2018), 261–91, at pp. 277–79.

practiced a wide range of stage-music genres, and the “opera” label arbitrarily includes some of them, not necessarily closely related, while excluding others. The arbitrariness of the “opera” label is not really the problem, so long as it is acknowledged. The problem is the uncritical acceptance of a socially and historically situated label. Too often, when we use the term “opera,” or at least when we use it outside a time- and place-specific context, we fail to remind ourselves that “opera” is nothing but a set of stage-music genres from disparate traditions and periods that was packaged as a coherent whole by a certain twentieth-century patrician subculture. The Metropolitan Opera circa 1920 considered *Il barbiere di Siviglia* and *Parsifal* as belonging to the same category, but there is no reason why we should do the same. No musicologist says “classical music” with a straight face anymore. Perhaps in the future the same might apply to “opera,” and textbooks — as well as theatre seasons — might reflect the richness and diversity of theatre with music, from Neapolitan opera buffa to English masque, from *tragédie lyrique* to Brechtian epic theatre, from melodrama to revue, without granting or withholding letters of nobility.

## Musical examples

Allegro.

PIANO.

Ex. 3.1. Jean-Jacques Debillemont, “Valse indienne,” in *Le tour du monde* (Paris: Léon Grus, 1875).

Tempo di Mazurka. (♩ = 160.)

16.

Str. *mp*  
Orch. *p*

Ex. 3.2. Edvard Grieg, “Anitra’s Dance,” in *Peer Gynt*, piano reduction by Gustav F. Kogel (Leipzig: Peters, n.d.).

neig' Tombe à flocons Tombe à flocons. Brr

neig' Tombe à flocons Tombe à flocons. Brr

neig' Tombe à flocons Tombe à flocons.

neig' Tombe à flocons Tombe à flocons.

neig' Tombe à flocons Tombe à flocons.

pp

Ex. 3.3. Tongue trill in Jacques Offenbach, *Le voyage dans la lune* (1875). A3.3. Tongue trill in Jacques Offenbach, *Le voyage dans la lune* (1875)ct 3, number 26, “Finale de la neige.”

*ff* rrr rrr rrr rrr rrr r!...

*ff*

Ex. 3.4. Tongue trill in Emmanuel Chabrier, *Le roi malgré lui* (1887). Act 2, number 9, “Introduction et chœur dansé.”

Mouvt de Valse. Chant.

N<sup>o</sup> 2220.

Alla Coda.

CODA

Allegretto.

24

Ex. 4.1. Tune no. 2220, after Alexandre-Pierre-Joseph Doche, from *La clé du caveau*, 4th edition: Pierre Capelle, ed., *La clé du caveau* (Paris: Cotelle, 1848). To accommodate the text of *La reine Carotte*, the eighth-notes at the beginning of mm. 7 and 11 need to be split into two sixteenth-notes. The final E at m. 21 also needs to be split.

Appendix:  
Chronology and primary sources of Parisian *féerie*, 1864–1908

Chronology of plays

**Table A.I.** New *féeries* at Parisian theatres, 1864–1908

Not included: one-act works; private or semi-private performances; works performed at *théâtres de banlieue*, unless revived elsewhere; aborted projects. An asterisk next to a composer's name means that the work is a composerly *féerie*.

Authors	Title	Première	Revivals
Clairville, Monnier, Blum, mus. Chéri	<i>Cendrillon, ou La pantoufle merveilleuse</i>	Châtelet, 1866	Châtelet, 1867 and 1868 Porte-Saint-Martin, 1879 Châtelet, 1888 Châtelet, 1891 Châtelet, 1895 Porte-Saint-Martin, 1898
Clairville, mus. Javelot, Moniot	<i>Ric-din, Ric-don</i>	Délassements-Comiques, 1866	
Clairville, Monnier, Blum, mus. Chéri	<i>Les voyages de Gulliver</i>	Châtelet, 1867	
Oswald, mus. Hervé, Graziani, Raspail	<i>Les contes de fées</i>	Délassements-Comiques, then Ambigu, 1871	Menus-Plaisirs, 1872 (as Oswald and Lemonnier, <i>Les contes de Perrault</i> )
Clairville, Marot, mus. Diache	<i>La queue du chat</i>	Château-d'Eau, 1871 and 1872	Châtelet, 1883
Clairville, Grangé, mus. Raspail	<i>Le puits qui chante</i>	Menus-Plaisirs, 1871	
Clairville, Bernard, Koning, mus. Thérésa, Raspail, Chéri, Cœdès	<i>La reine Carotte</i>	Menus-Plaisirs, 1872	
Sardou, mus. Offenbach*	<i>Le roi Carotte</i>	Gaité, 1872	
Clairville, Gabet, de Vermand (after Sedaine, <i>Le diable à quatre</i> , 1756), mus. Hervé, Cœdès, Raspail, Chautagne	<i>Les griffes du diable</i>	Menus-Plaisirs, 1872	
Clairville, Grangé, Koning, mus. Hervé, Cœdès, Raspail, Patuisset	<i>La cocotte aux œufs d'or</i>	Menus-Plaisirs, 1872	
Laporte, Rigodon	<i>Pommes d'Ève</i>	Déjazet, 1873	
Chivot, Duru, Blondeau, Montréal, mus. Diache, Chautagne	<i>Les pommes d'or</i>	Château-d'Eau, 1873	Menus-Plaisirs, 1883, with composerly score by Audran
Marot, mus. Oray	<i>Les trois princesses</i>	Déjazet, 1873	

(Table A.1, continued)

Authors	Title	Première	Revivals
Marot, <b>mus.</b> Monet	<i>Le poisson volant</i>	Déjazet, 1873	
Clairville, Marot, <b>mus.</b> Diache	<i>La patte à Coco</i>	Château-d'Eau, 1873	
Crémieux, [Halévy], <b>mus.</b> Offenbach* (adaptation of 1858 operetta)	<i>Orphée aux enfers</i> (new version)	Gaité, 1874	Gaité, 1878 Gaité, 1887 Éden, 1889 Variétés, 1902
Clairville, Busnach, <b>mus.</b> Litolff*	<i>La Belle au bois dormant</i>	Châtelet, 1874	
Clairville, Marot, <b>mus.</b> Debillemont*	<i>Le treizième coup de minuit</i>	Château-d'Eau, 1874	
d'Ennery, Verne, <b>mus.</b> Debillemont	<i>Le tour du monde en 80 jours</i>	Porte-Saint-Martin, 1874	Châtelet, 1876 Porte-Saint-Martin, 1878 Châtelet, 1884, 1886, 1889, 1891, 1893, 1896, 1898, 1901, 1904, 1905, 1907, 1908
Crémieux, Tréfeu, <b>mus.</b> Offenbach* (adaptation of 1859 operetta, rev. 1867)	<i>Geneviève de Brabant</i> (3rd version)	Gaité, 1875	Variétés, 1908
Beauvallet	<i>Riquet à la houppe</i>	Théâtre des Arts (=Menus-Plaisirs), 1875	
Clairville, Montréal, Blondeau, <b>mus.</b> Samuel David, Matz-Ferrare	<i>Pif-paf</i>	Château-d'Eau, 1875	
Vanloo, Leterrier, Mortier, <b>mus.</b> Offenbach*	<i>Le voyage dans la lune</i>	Gaité, 1875	Châtelet, 1877 Porte-Saint-Martin, 1892
Dreyfus, Grédelue, <b>mus.</b> Debillemont	<i>Le miroir magique</i>	Porte-Saint-Martin, 1876	
de Kock, Beauvallet	<i>Les cornes du Diable</i>	Beaumarchais, 1877	
Tréfeu, Blum, <b>mus.</b> Jonas, Darcier, Bourdeau	<i>Le Chat botté</i>	Gaité, 1878	
Clairville, Grangé, Delacour, <b>mus.</b> Cœdès, Édouard Clairville, Cellot, Lindheim	<i>Coco</i>	Nouveautés, 1878	Folies-Dramatiques, 1888
d'Ennery, Verne, <b>mus.</b> Debillemont	<i>Les enfants du capitaine Grant</i>	Porte-Saint-Martin, 1878	Châtelet, 1892
Belot, <b>mus.</b> Artus	<i>La Vénus noire</i>	Châtelet, 1879	
Leterrier, Vanloo, Mortier, <b>mus.</b> Lecocq, Jacobi	<i>L'arbre de Noël</i>	Porte-Saint-Martin, 1880	
d'Ennery, Verne, <b>mus.</b> Artus	<i>Michel Strogoff</i>	Châtelet, 1880	Porte-Saint-Martin, 1882 Châtelet, 1887, 1891, 1893, 1897, 1900, 1903, 1904, 1906
Marot, Philippe, <b>mus.</b> Bourgeois and Pugno*	<i>La Fée Cocotte</i>	Palace-Théâtre, 1881	

(Table A.1, continued)

Authors	Title	Première	Revivals
d'Ennery, Ferrier, <b>mus.</b> Artus	<i>Les mille et une nuits</i>	Châtelet, 1881	
Meilhac, Mortier, <b>mus.</b> Serpette*	<i>Madame le Diable</i>	Renaissance, 1882	
d'Ennery, Verne, <b>mus. de</b> Lagoanère	<i>Voyage à travers l'impossible</i>	Porte-Saint-Martin, 1882	
Verne	<i>Kériban le Têtu</i>	Gaité, 1883	
Blum, Toché, <b>mus.</b> Serpette*	<i>Le château de Tire-Larigot</i>	Nouveautés, 1884 and 1885	Nouveautés, 1888
Ferrier, Burani, Floury, <b>mus.</b> Pourny	<i>Coco-Félé</i>	Châtelet, 1885	
Leterrier, Mortier, Vanloo, <b>mus.</b> Messenger, Chassaigne, Fock	<i>Le Petit Poucet</i>	Gaité, 1885 and 1886	Gaité, 1891
Blum, Toché, <b>mus.</b> Artus	<i>Les aventures de Monsieur de Crac</i>	Châtelet, 1886	
Blum, Toché, <b>mus.</b> Serpette*	<i>Adam et Ève</i>	Nouveautés, 1886	
Sardou, <b>mus.</b> Massenet*	<i>Le Crocodile</i>	Porte-Saint-Martin, 1886	
Ferrier, <b>mus.</b> Varney*	<i>Dix jours aux Pyrénées</i>	Gaité, 1887	
Beaumont, Burani, <b>mus.</b> Audran*	<i>Le puits qui parle</i>	Nouveautés, 1888	
Mendès, <b>mus.</b> Messenger*	<i>Isoline</i>	Renaissance, 1888	
Ferrier, Charles Clairville, <b>mus.</b> Varney*	<i>Riquet à la houppe</i>	Folies-Dramatiques, 1889	
Raymond, Burani, <b>mus.</b> Vasseur*	<i>Le prince Soleil</i>	Châtelet, 1889	
Duru, Chivot, <b>mus.</b> Vasseur (also composerly setting entirely by Vasseur)	<i>Le voyage de Suzette</i>	Gaité, 1890	Châtelet, 1901 Châtelet, 1907
Cogniard, Raymond, Liorat (after 1837 <i>féerie</i> ), <b>mus.</b> Lacomme*	<i>La fille de l'air</i>	Folies-Dramatiques, 1890	
Burani, <b>mus.</b> Goudesone	<i>Orient-Express</i>	Châtelet, 1890	
Duval, <b>mus.</b> Ganne	<i>Tout Paris</i>	Châtelet, 1891	
Morel	<i>Le tour du monde d'un enfant de Paris</i>	Belleville, 1891	Théâtre de la République (=Château-d'Eau), 1894 Ambigu, 1904
Chivot, Vanloo, <b>mus.</b> Vasseur*	<i>Le pays de l'or</i>	Gaité, 1892	
Blum, Toché	<i>Madame l'Amirale</i>	Châtelet, 1892	
Chivot, Blondeau, <b>mus.</b> Carman (also composerly setting entirely by Carman)	<i>Les bicyclistes en voyage</i>	Gaité, 1893	

(Table A.1, continued)

Authors	Title	Première	Revivals
Nutter, Tréfeu, <b>mus.</b> Offenbach* (adaptation of <i>Whittington</i> , London, Alhambra, 1874)	<i>Le chat du diable</i>	Châtelet, 1893	
Bataille, d'Humières, <b>mus.</b> Hüe*	<i>La Belle au bois dormant</i>	Théâtre de l'Œuvre (at the Nouveau-Théâtre), 1894	
Sardou, <b>mus.</b> Renaud* (adaptation of 1864 play)	<i>Don Quichotte</i> (new version)	Châtelet, 1895	
Blum, Ferrier, <b>mus.</b> Serpette*	<i>Le carnet du diable</i>	Variétés, 1895	Variétés, 1897 Variétés, 1900
Marot	<i>Les aventures de Thomas Plumepatte</i>	Théâtre de la République, 1895	Ambigu, 1905
Blum, Ferrier, <b>mus.</b> Serpette*	<i>Le carillon</i>	Variétés, 1896	
Marot	<i>Le voyage de Mistress Robinson</i>	Théâtre de la République, 1896	
Albert Carré, Moreau, <b>mus.</b> Messenger and Leroux*	<i>La montagne enchantée</i>	Porte-Saint-Martin, 1897	
Morel, <b>mus.</b> Mauget	<i>Le Chat botté</i>	Montparnasse, 1898	Théâtre de la République, 1899
Blum, Decourcelle, <b>mus.</b> Baggers	<i>Robinson Crusoe</i>	Châtelet, 1899	
Blum, Decourcelle, Ferrier	<i>Le Petit Chaperon rouge</i>	Châtelet, 1900	
d'Ivoi	<i>Les cinq sous de Lavarède</i>	Châtelet, 1902	
Gavault, Berr, Vély	<i>Les aventures du capitaine Corcoran</i>	Châtelet, 1902	
de Cottens, Darlay	<i>L'oncle d'Amérique</i>	Châtelet, 1903	
Decori, Darlay, <b>mus.</b> José, Baggers	<i>Monsieur Polichinelle</i>	Châtelet, 1904	
de Cottens, Darlay, <b>mus.</b> Baggers	<i>Tom Pitt, le roi des pickpockets</i>	Châtelet, 1905	
Feydeau, Desvallières, <b>mus.</b> Varney*	<i>L'Âge d'or</i>	Variétés, 1905	
de Cottens, Darlay, <b>mus.</b> Baggers	<i>Les 400 coups du diable</i>	Châtelet, 1905	
Collins, Herbel (adaptation of Drury Lane Christmas pantomime)	<i>Cinderella</i>	Porte-Saint-Martin, 1906	
de Cottens, Darlay, <b>mus.</b> Baggers	<i>Pif! Paf! Pouf!, ou Un voyage endiablé</i>	Châtelet, 1906	
Kéroul, Barré, <b>mus.</b> Baggers	<i>La princesse Sans-Gêne</i>	Châtelet, 1907	
Richepin, Cain, <b>mus.</b> Thomé	<i>La Belle au bois dormant</i>	Théâtre Sarah-Bernhardt, 1907	

**Table A.2. *Féerie* revivals, 1864–1908.**

Cirque: variously known as Cirque-Olympique, Théâtre national, Théâtre impérial du Cirque. Demolished 1862, company moved into the newly built Châtelet. Prince-Impérial: later Château-d’Eau.

Playwrights	Title	Première, revivals to 1863	Revivals from 1864
Cogniard brothers, Raymond	<i>La fille de l'air</i>	Folies-Dramatiques, 1837	Folies-Dramatiques, 1864 Menus-Plaisirs, 1877 Folies-Dramatiques, 1890 (see Table A.1)
Clairville, Laurencin, Vanderburch	<i>Peau d'Âne</i>	Porte-Saint-Martin, 1838 Gaîté, 1863	Gaîté, 1867 Châtelet, 1883 Châtelet, 1890
Bourgeois, Laloue, Laurent	<i>Les pilules du diable</i>	Cirque, 1839 Cirque, 1842 Cirque, 1849 Cirque, 1853 Cirque, 1855 Cirque, 1858 Porte-Saint-Martin, 1863	Châtelet, 1873 and 1874 Châtelet, 1880 Châtelet, 1890 Châtelet, 1907 and 1908
Clairville, d'Ennery	<i>Les sept châteaux du diable</i>	Gaîté, 1844 and 1845 Gaîté, 1855	Châtelet, 1864 Châtelet, 1876 Châtelet, 1878 Châtelet, 1895
Cogniard brothers	<i>La biche au bois</i>	Porte-Saint-Martin, 1845	Porte-Saint-Martin, 1865 Porte-Saint-Martin, 1867 Porte-Saint-Martin, 1881 Châtelet, 1896
Clairville, d'Ennery	<i>La poule aux œufs d'or</i>	Cirque, 1848 Cirque, 1860	Gaîté, 1872 Châtelet, 1884
Cogniard brothers, [Delaporte] (after Ribié and Martainville, 1806)	<i>Le pied de mouton</i>	Gaîté, 1850 Porte-Saint-Martin, 1860 (credited to Cogniard brothers and Crémieux)	Porte-Saint-Martin, 1874 Éden, 1888
Clairville, Cordier	<i>La queue du diable</i>	Ambigu, 1852	Déjazet, 1874 Ambigu, 1885
Cogniard brothers	<i>La chatte blanche</i>	Cirque, 1852	Gaîté, 1869, 1870, and 1871 Gaîté, 1875 Châtelet, 1887 Châtelet, 1908
Cogniard brothers	<i>Ali-Baba, ou Les quarante voleurs</i>	Cirque, 1853	Prince-Impérial, then Châtelet, 1868
Cogniard brothers	<i>La poudre de Perlinpinpin</i>	Cirque, 1853	Châtelet, 1869 Châtelet, 1898 Châtelet, 1900
Théodore Cogniard, Clairville	<i>Les bibelots du diable</i>	Variétés, 1858 Variétés, 1862	Renaissance, 1874 Beaumarchais, 1875
Clairville, Siraudin, Lambert-Thiboust	<i>La fille du diable</i>	Variétés, 1860	Château-d’Eau, 1874 Ambigu, 1884

(Table A.2, continued)

Playwrights	Title	Première, revivals to 1863	Revivals from 1864
Clairville, d'Ennery, Monnier	<i>Rothomago</i>	Cirque, then Châtelet, 1862	Châtelet, 1877 and 1878 Châtelet, 1897

## Primary sources

Vocal and instrumental excerpts (i.e., sheet music) in vocal score and piano reduction, respectively. Press illustrations, photographs, posters, ephemera, derivative works (such as quadrilles), chamber and band arrangements, etc. not listed. Musical excerpts not listed where a vocal score is available. Place of publication, unless otherwise specified, is Paris. State of the Justamant and Grévin materials as of 1893 and 1894, respectively, after auction catalogues.<sup>1</sup> No list of this kind can ever claim to be exhaustive or definitive. Sources that I have not been able to consult are marked with an asterisk. Sources that I have newly attributed to a play are marked with a dagger. I was not able to access the archives of the Société des Auteurs et Compositeurs dramatiques, as the Bibliothèque de la SACD was closed for renovations in 2017–18, when I did most of my archival research.

### I. New *féeries*

#### *Cendrillon, ou La pantoufle merveilleuse* (1866)

##### Text

Printed play: Clairville, Albert Monnier, and Ernest Blum, *Cendrillon, ou La pantoufle merveilleuse*, grande féerie en cinq actes et trente tableaux. Librairie internationale, [1867].

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 976.\*

##### Music

Vocal excerpts:

- Victor Chéri, “Les trois amants de Jeannette,” ronde. [Bazar européen, 1872.] Plate number C. 2.
- V[ictor] Chéri, “Des cœurs plus grands et des pieds plus petits,” rondo. Bazar européen, [1872]. Plate number C. 45.
- G[aston] Serpette, “Valse de Cendrillon.” Choudens, [1888]. Plate number A.C. 8100. (1888 revival.)

Instrumental excerpts:

- Jean Brus, “Stichel-danse.” Humblot, [1888]. Plate number P.H. (1888 revival.)

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue de livres anciens et modernes et des manuscrits originaux des ballets et divertissement de M. Henri Justamant*, auction catalogue, Hôtel Drouot, May 15, 1893 (Paris: Paul, Huard et Guillemin, 1893); *Aquarelles, dessins, croquis originaux par A[lfred] Grévin*, auction catalogue, June 12–13, 1894 (Paris: Maulde, 1894).

- Jean Brus, “Valse de Cendrillon.” Choudens, [1888]. Plate number A.C. 8087. (1888 revival.)

### Staging

Stage designs by Henri Robecchi: F-Po ESQ 19-192, ESQ 19-193.

Stage design model: F-Po MAQ A-594.\*

Costume designs by Alfred Grévin: extant as of 1894, current location unknown.\*

Notated choreography and *mise en scène* by Henri Justamant: New York Public Library, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, MGRN-Res. 73-259.\* (1879 revival.)

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### *Ric-din, Ric-don* (1866)

#### Text

Printed play: Clairville, *Ric-din, Ric-don*, féerie en 4 actes et 14 tableaux. L. Vieillot, [1866].\*

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### *Les voyages de Gulliver* (1867)

#### Text

Printed play: Clairville, Albert Monnier, and Ernest Blum, *Les voyages de Gulliver*, pièce fantastique en quatre actes et trente tableaux. Librairie internationale, [1867].

#### Music

Vocal excerpts:

- Victor Chéri, “Le mousse et la reine,” ronde. E. Heu, [1867]. Plate number E.H. 284.
- Victor Chéri, “Les matelots de la Marine anglaise,” couplets. E. Heu, [1867]. Plate number E.H. 285.
- Victor Chéri, “La chanson du bébé,” ronde. E. Heu, [1867]. Plate number E.H. 288.
- Victor Chéri, “La chanson du capitaine.” E. Heu, [1867]. Plate number E.H. 289.

### Staging

Stage design models: F-Po MAQ A-555, MAQ A-604.\*

Costume designs by Alfred Grévin: extant as of 1894, current location unknown.\*

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### *Les contes de fées / Les contes de Perrault* (1871)

#### Music

Vocal excerpt: Hervé, “Valse des fiançailles.” E. Heu, [1872]. Plate number E.H. 1056.

Incomplete orchestral material?: F-Pnas fonds Ambigu-Comique 4-COL-54(835).\*†

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### *La queue du chat* (1871)

#### Text

Printed play: Clairville and Gaston Marot, *La queue du chat*, féerie en vingt-quatre tableaux. Michel Lévy frères, [1871].

### *Le puits qui chante* (1871)

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#### **Text**

Printed play: Clairville and E[ugène] Grangé, *Le puits qui chante*, grande féerie en trois actes et vingt tableaux. Michel Lévy frères, [1872].

#### **Music**

Vocal excerpt: G[illes] Raspail, “Valse des syrènes.” *Veuve Margueritat*, [1872]. No plate number.

#### **Staging**

Notated choreography by Henri Justamant: F-Po B-217 (29).

### *La reine Carotte* (1872)

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#### **Text**

Printed play: Clairville, Victor Bernard, and Victor Koning, *La reine Carotte*, pièce fantaisiste en trois actes et douze tableaux dont un prologue en deux parties. E. Dentu, 1872.

#### **Music**

Vocal excerpts:

- A[uguste] Cédès, “Faut que l’ train passe.” G. Hartmann, [1872]. Plate number G.H. 800.
- Thérésa (G[illes] Raspail, arranger), “La reine Carotte,” chanson. G. Hartmann, [1872]. Plate number G.H. 801.
- G[illes] Raspail, “Bonsoir.” G. Hartmann, [1872]. Plate number G.H. 802.

#### **Staging**

Notated choreography by Henri Justamant: F-Po B-217 (29).

### *Le roi Carotte* (1872)

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#### **Text**

Printed play: Victorien Sardou, *Le roi Carotte*, opéra-bouffe-féerie en quatre actes, vingt-deux tableaux. Michel Lévy frères, 1872.

Printed play, three-act version (never performed in Paris, possibly never performed at all): Victorien Sardou, *Le roi Carotte*, opérette-féerie en trois actes et onze tableaux. Michel Lévy frères, 1872.

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 931.

#### **Music**

Vocal score: J[acques] Offenbach, *Le roi Carotte*, opéra-bouffe-féerie en 4 actes 18 tableaux. Choudens, [1872]. Plate number A.C. 2273.

Full score, modern edition, edited by Jean-Christophe Keck. Berlin: Boosey & Hawkes, Bote & Bock, © 2015. For rental only.

Autograph?: CH-Zschmitt.\*

Sketches and fragments in full score: US-NHub Koch Collection FRKF III3 (GEN MSS 601 , box 178, folder 1520).\*

### Staging

Stage design models by Édouard Despléchin and Philippe Chaperon: F-Po MAQ A-212 (1), MAQ A-212 (2), MAQ A-451.\*

Costume designs by Théophile Thomas in F-Po D216 Z-1.

Costume designs by Théophile Thomas: F-Pbh 4-TMD-00309 through 4-TMD-00334.

Costume designs by Alfred Grévin: extant as of 1894, current location unknown.\*

Sixteen costume designs by Eugène Lacoste are reproduced in *Le Journal amusant*, February 10, 1872.

Some staging notes, in Albert Vizentini's hand, in F-Pnas collection Rondel MRt boîte 72 Gâté.

## *Les griffes du diable* (1872)

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### Text

Printed play: Clairville and Charles Gabet, *Les griffes du diable*, pièce fantastique en trois actes et douze tableaux, imitée de Sedaine. Michel Lévy frères, [1872].

### Music

Vocal excerpts:

- A[ugus]te Cœdès, “Chanson des animaux.” Dupuis, [1872]. No plate number.
- A[uguste] Cœdès, “Scène de la psyché,” couplets. Dupuis, [1872]. No plate number. *Petit format* (vocal line without accompaniment) only?
- A[uguste] Cœdès, “C’ que mon mari m’a défendu.” Dupuis, [1872]. No plate number. *Petit format* only? Also autograph manuscript: F-Po CS-4855 (18).
- Auguste Cœdès, “Rondeau de Margot.” Autograph manuscript: F-Po CS-4855 (19).
- Manuscript sketch for five vocal excerpts by Cœdès, including “Air de la fée Popotte” and “Couplets de Margot”: F-Po CS-4855 (22).
- Hervé, “Le raccomodement,” couplets. Dupuis, [1872]. No plate number.

### Staging

Notated choreography by Henri Justamant: F-Po B-217 (29).

## *La cocotte aux œufs d’or* (1872)

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### Text

Printed play: Clairville, Eugène Grangé, and Victor Koning, *La cocotte aux œufs d’or*, grande féerie parisienne en trois actes et douze tableaux précédée d’un prologue en deux tableaux. Michel Lévy frères, [1873].

### Music

Vocal excerpt: A[uguste] Cœdès, “Cot, cot, codettel,” chanson. G. Hartmann, [1873]. Plate number G.H. 329.

Instrumental excerpt: G[illes] Raspail, “Valse des girouettes.” No mention of publisher, [1873]. No plate number.

### *Pommes d'Ève* (1873)

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#### Text

*Manuscrit de censure*: possibly in F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 1204?\*

### *Les pommes d'or* (1873)

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#### Text

Printed play:

- Chivot-Duru and Blondeau-Montréal [i.e. Henri Chivot, Alfred Duru, Henri Blondeau, and Hector Montréal], *Les pommes d'or*, féerie en trois actes et dix-huit tableaux. Tresse, n.d. The copy I consulted (F-Pnas 8-RF-41752) is marked “second edition.”
- Chivot-Duru and Blondeau-Montréal, *Les pommes d'or*, opérette-féerie en trois actes et douze tableaux. Tresse, 1883. (1883 composerly version.)

#### Music

Vocal score: Edmond Audran, *Les pommes d'or*, opérette féerie en 3 actes. Choudens, [1883]. Plate number A.C 5802. (1883 composerly version.)

#### Staging

Costume designs by Samuel-Marie Clédat de Lavigerie: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, RESERVE KH-167-FOL, *identifiant* ESTNUM-7930.† (1883 composerly version.)

Notated choreography by Justamant: extant as of 1893, current location unknown.\* (1873 production.)

### *Les trois princesses* (1873)

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#### Text

Printed play: Gaston Marot, *Les trois princesses*, vaudeville-féerie en trois actes et huit tableaux. Tresse, [1873].

### *Le poisson volant* (1873)

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#### Text

Printed play: Gaston Marot, *Le poisson volant*, féerie en trois actes et douze tableaux. Tresse, [1874].

### ***La patte à Coco (1873)***

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#### **Text**

Printed play: Clairville and Gaston Marot, *La patte à Coco*, féerie en cinq actes et vingt tableaux. Tresse, [1873].

#### **Staging**

Notated choreography by Justamant: extant as of 1893, current location unknown.\*

### ***Orphée aux enfers (1874)***

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#### **Text**

Printed play: Hector Crémieux, *Orphée aux enfers*, opéra-féerie en quatre actes et douze tableaux. Michel Lévy frères, [1874].

*Manuscripts de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 931 (both February 1874 play and August 1874 addition “Le royaume de Neptune,” unpublished).

#### **Music**

Vocal score: J[acques] Offenbach, *Orphée aux enfers*, opéra-féerie en quatre actes et douze tableaux. Heugel, [1874]. Plate number H. 4425.

Full score, modern edition, edited by Jean-Christophe Keck. Berlin: Boosey & Hawkes, Bote & Bock. For rental only.\*

#### **Staging**

Stage design by Charles Cambon: F-Po ESQ CAMBON-86.

Costume designs by Alfred Grévin: extant as of 1894, current location unknown.\*

Sixteen costume designs by Stop are reproduced in the Heugel vocal score.

Notated choreography by Justamant: extant as of 1893, current location unknown.\* (1877 London production, 1878 Gaité revival.)

### ***La Belle au bois dormant (1874)***

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#### **Text**

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 979.

#### **Staging**

Notated choreography by Henri Justamant: F-Po B-217 (37).

### ***Le treizième coup de minuit (1874)***

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#### **Text**

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 1172.

### *Le tour du monde en 80 jours (1874)*

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#### **Text**

Printed play: *Le tour du monde en 80 jours*, pièce en 5 actes et un prologue (15 tableaux). In A[dolphe] d'Ennery and Jules Verne, *Les voyages au théâtre*. J. Hetzel, [1881]. Also published individually.

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 905.

Earlier play by Verne and Édouard Cadol, modern edition: *Bulletin de la Société Jules Verne*, no. 152 (2004).

#### **Music**

Instrumental excerpts: J[ean-]J[acques] Debillemont, *Le tour du monde*. Léon Grus, [1875]. Plate number L.G. 3238. Contains "Marche des rajahs," "La Malaisienne," "Valse indienne," "God Save the Queen."

Incomplete vn. 1 part: F-Pbh fonds ART 2-TMS-00107.

#### **Staging**

Stage design by Jean-Louis Chéret: F-Po ESQ 19-129.

Stage design model: F-Po MAQ A-599.\*

Copies of the printed play with staging annotations at F-Pbh fonds ART.

### *Geneviève de Brabant (1875)*

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#### **Text**

Printed play: Hector Crémieux and Étienne Tréfeu, *Geneviève de Brabant*, opéra-féerie en cinq actes. Michel Lévy frères, [1875].

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 931.

#### **Music**

Supplement to the 1867 vocal score: J[acques] Offenbach, *Geneviève de Brabant*, opéra bouffe en cinq actes. Heugel, [1875]. Plate number H. 3610.

Autograph?: F-SMcusset.\*

#### **Staging**

Stage design model by Édouard Despléchin: F-Po MAQ A-110.\*

Costume designs by Alfred Grévin: extant as of 1894, current location unknown.\*

Eighteen of Grévin's costume designs are reproduced in *Le Journal amusant*, April 10, 1875.

### *Riquet à la houppe (1875)*

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#### **Text**

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 1296.

### *Pif-paf (1875)*

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#### **Text**

Printed play: Clairville, [Hector] Montréal, and [Henri] Blondeau, *Pif-paf*, féerie en cinq actes et vingt tableaux. Tresse, 1876.

#### **Music**

Instrumental excerpt?: F[erdinand] Matz-Ferrare, "Pif, paf!," polka. Bordeaux: V[ict]or Ravayre-Raver, [1881]. Plate number R. 615 R.

#### **Staging**

Stage designs by Amable: F-Pnas GR FOL-MAQ-1770, GR FOL-MAQ-1771.\*

### *Le voyage dans la lune (1875)*

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#### **Text**

Printed play: A[lbert] Vanloo, E[ugène] Leterrier, and A[rnold] Mortier, *Le voyage dans la lune*, opéra-féerie en quatre actes et vingt-trois tableaux. Tresse, 1877.

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 931.

#### **Music**

Vocal score: J[acques] Offenbach, *Le voyage dans la lune*, opéra-féerie en 4 actes. Choudens, [1876]. Plate number A.C. 3340.

Autograph: A-Wn Mus.Hs.2341.

#### **Staging**

Costume designs by Alfred Grévin: extant as of 1894, current location unknown.\* A list of designs by Grévin is in F-Pnas collection Rondel MRt boîte 72 Gâté.

Notated choreography by Henri Justamant: New York Public Library, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, MGRN-Res. 73-259.\*

### *Le miroir magique (1876)*

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#### **Text**

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 906.

### *Les cornes du diable (1877)*

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#### **Text**

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 1131.

### *Le Chat botté (1878)*

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#### **Text**

Printed play: Étienne Tréfeu and Ernest Blum, *Le Chat botté*, grande féerie en trois actes et vingt-deux tableaux. A. Allouard, [1878].

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 932.\*

### Music

Vocal excerpt: Émile Jonas, “Rondeau des chats.” E. & A. Girod, [1878]. Plate number E.J. 52.

### Staging

Elements of stage design models: F-Po MAQ A-565.\*

Costume designs by Alfred Grévin: extant as of 1894, current location unknown.\*

## *Coco (1878)*

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### Text

Printed play: Clairville, [Eugène] Grangé, and [Alfred] Delacour, *Coco*, comédie-vaudeville en cinq actes. A. Allouard, 1878.

### Music

Vocal excerpts:

- A[uguste] Cœdès, “Couplets du château.” J. Hiéland, [1878]. Plate number J.HD. 871.(1).
- A[uguste] Cœdès, “Le sabot de Jeannette,” ronde. J. Hiéland, [1878]. Plate number J.HD. 865.(2).
- A[uguste] Cœdès, “Couplets des saltimbanques.” J. Hiéland, [1878]. Plate number J.HD. 872.(3).
- A[uguste] Cœdès, “Chanson de Coco.” J. Hiéland, [1878]. Plate number J.HD. 866.(4).
- A[uguste] Cœdès (after a tune performed by the Estudiantina Española), “Madrilène.” J. Hiéland, [1878]. Plate number J.HD. 867.(5).
- [Adolphe] Lindheim, “Chanson des mousses.” J. Hiéland, [1878]. Plate number J.HD. 868.(6).

### Staging

Stage designs by Henri Robecchi: F-Po ESQ ROBECCHI-22, ESQ ROBECCHI-23.

## *Les enfants du capitaine Grant (1878)*

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### Text

Printed play: *Les enfants du capitaine Grant*, pièce en 5 actes et un prologue (13 tableaux). In A[dolphe] d’Ennery and Jules Verne, *Les voyages au théâtre*. J. Hetzel, [1881]. Also published individually.

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 906.

### Staging

Stage design models by Amable: F-Pnas GR FOL-MAQ-1743, GR FOL-MAQ-1744, GR FOL-MAQ-1745, FOL-MAQ-1746.\*

## *La Vénus noire (1879)*

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### Text

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 980.

## Music

Instrumental excerpt: Alexandre Artus, "Marche de la caravane." Le Bailly, [1880]. Plate number L.B. 1883.

## *L'arbre de Noël* (1880)

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### Text

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 906.

### Music

Vocal excerpts:

- Charles Lecocq, "Rondeau de la poupée." Heugel, [1880]. Plate number H. 5204.(1).
- Charles Lecocq, "Polka de la montreuse d'ours." Heugel, [1880]. Plate number H. 5205.(2).
- Charles Lecocq, "Le Noël des petits enfants." Heugel, [1880]. Plate number H. 5206.(3).

Instrumental excerpts:

- G[eorg] Jacobi, "Valse." Heugel, [1880]. Plate number H. 6870.
- G[eorg] Jacobi, "Polka-mazurka des poupées." Heugel, [1880]. Plate number H. 6871.
- G[eorg] Jacobi, "Galop final." Heugel, [1880]. Plate number H. 6872.
- G[eorg] Jacobi (E. Mangin, arranger), "Le rêves de Noël," andante. Heugel, [1881]. Plate number H. 6871.

### Staging

Stage design by Jean-Louis Chéret: F-Po ESQ 19-140.

Stage design models: F-Po MAQ A-573, MAQ A-574, MAQ A-575.\*

Costume designs by Alfred Grévin: extant as of 1894, current location unknown.\*

Notated choreography and *mise en scène* by Henri Justamant: New York Public Library, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, MGRN-Res. 73-259.\*

## *Michel Strogoff* (1880)

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### Text

Printed play: *Michel Strogoff*, pièce à grand spectacle en 5 actes et 16 tableaux. In A[dolphe] d'Ennery and Jules Verne, *Les voyages au théâtre*. J. Hetzel, [1881]. Also published individually.

Modern edition: edited by Louis Bilodeau. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1994.

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 980.

### Music

Instrumental excerpts:

- Alexandre Artus, "Musique russe de Michel Strogoff." *Le Journal de musique*, December 11, 1880.
- Alexandre Artus, "Marche triomphale." Le Bailly, [1881]. Plate number L.B. 1974.

- Alexandre Artus (F[rédéric] Wachs, arranger), “Retraite russe et marche de cavalerie.” *Le Bailly*, [1881]. Plate number L.B. 1997.
- Alexandre Artus, “Chant du Volga — Chant cosaque — Retraite des fifres — Danse cosaque — Marche des trompettes.” *Le Bailly*, [1882]. Plate number L.B. 2172.
- G[eorges] Guilhaud, “Fête tartare,” ballet. Choudens, [1881]. Plate number A.C. 5068.
- Marius Baggers, “Fête de nuit à Moscou,” ballet russe. G. Siéver, [1909]. Plate number G. 1545 S. (1900 revival.)
- Marius Baggers, “Au camp tartare,” ballet oriental. G. Siéver, [1910]. Plate number G. 1546 S. (1900 revival.)

### Staging

Copies of the printed play with staging annotations at F-Pbh fonds ART.

### *La fée Cocotte* (1881)

#### Text

*Manuscrit de censure*: possibly at F-Pan?\*

#### Music

Vocal excerpt: Émile Bourgeois, “Chanson à boire.” *Le Figaro*, February 9, 1881.

Instrumental excerpts: Raoul Pugno, “3 airs de ballet.” Heugel, [1882]. Plate numbers H. 7378 (1), H. 7378 (2), H. 7380 (3).\*

Sketches by Raoul Pugno: F-Pn MS-19646.\*

#### Staging

Costume designs by Alfred Grévin: extant as of 1894, current location unknown.\*

### *Les mille et une nuits* (1881)

#### Text

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 980.

#### Music

Vocal excerpt: Gaston Serpette, “Je t’aime!,” couplets de la déclaration. Choudens, [1882]. Plate number A.C. 5420.

Instrumental excerpts:

- Alexandre Artus, “Marche de Cléopâtre.” *Le Bailly*, [1882]. Plate number L.B. 2052.\*
- Alexandre Artus, “Scheerazade,” polka mazurka. *Le Bailly*, [1882]. Plate number L.B. 2053.
- Alexandre Artus, “Dinarzade,” polka mazurka. *Le Bailly*, [1882]. Plate number L.B. 2054.
- Alexandre Artus, “Alchimiste-polka.” *Le Bailly*, [1882]. Plate number L.B. 2055.

#### Staging

Stage designs by Philippe Chaperon: F-Po D-345 (I,17/2), D-345 (I,18).

Stage design models by Philippe Chaperon: F-Po MAQ A-422, MAQ A-423, MAQ A-424.\*

Stage design model by Amable: F-Pnas EKTA VOL MAQ 162.

Costume designs by Alfred Grévin: extant as of 1894, current location unknown.\*

### *Madame le Diable (1882)*

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#### **Text**

Printed play: Henri Meilhac and A[rnold] Mortier, *Madame le Diable*, féerie-opérette en quatre actes, douze tableaux. Calmann-Lévy, 1882.

#### **Music**

Vocal score: Gaston Serpette, *Madame le Diable*, féerie-opérette en 4 actes et 12 tableaux. Enoch frères & Costallat, [1882]. Plate number E.F. & C. 608.

Orchestral and choral material: F-Pnas fonds Variétés FOL-COL-106(8,1) through FOL-COL-106(8,5), 4-COL-106(961,1), 4-COL-106(961,2).\*

### *Voyage à travers l'impossible (1882)*

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#### **Text**

Modern editions:

- Jules Verne and Adolphe d'Ennery, *Voyage à travers l'impossible*, pièce fantastique en 3 actes, inédite. Edited by François Raymond. Jean-Jacques Pauvert, 1981.
- Jules Verne and Adolphe d'Ennery, *Voyage à travers l'impossible*, féerie en trois actes et vingt tableaux. Edited by Agnès Marcetteau-Paul and Jean-Michel Margot. Nantes: L'Atalante, 2005.

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 907.

#### **Music**

Instrumental excerpts:

- O[scar] de Lagoanère, "Valse des Altoriennes." L. Bathlot, [1882]. Plate number L.B. 3397.
- O[scar] de Lagoanère, "Valse du feu" (but cover: "Valse des salamandres"). L. Bathlot, [1882]. Plate number L.B. 3398.
- O[scar] de Lagoanère, "Les canotiers altoriens," polka. L. Bathlot, [1882]. Plate number L.B. 3405.
- O[scar] de Lagoanère, "Les follets," polka. L. Bathlot, [1883]. Plate number L.B. 3508.

#### **Staging**

Stage design model by Philippe Chaperon: F-Po MAQ A-466.

### *Kériban le Têtu (1883)*

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#### **Text**

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 933.

Modern edition: *Bulletin de la Société Jules Verne*, no. 85–86 (1988).

## Staging

Stage design model by Philippe Chaperon: F-Po MAQ A-413.\*

Stage design model by Amable: F-Pnas GR FOL-MAQ-1761.\*

## *Le château de Tire-Larigot (1884)*

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### Text

Printed play: Ernest Blum and Raoul Toché, *Le château de Tire-Larigot*, opérette fantastique en trois actes, dix tableaux. Calmann Lévy, 1884.

### Music

Vocal score: Gaston Serpette, *Le château de Tire-Larigot*, opérette fantastique en trois actes et dix tableaux. E. Gérard, 1884. Plate number C.M. 11838.

## *Coco-Fêlé (1885)*

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### Text

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 981.

### Music

Vocal excerpts:

- Ch[arles] Pourny, “Ronde de Coco-Fêlé.” L. Bathlot, [1885]. Plate number L.B. 5469.
- Ch[arles] Pourny, “La culotte et le pompon,” chanson à boire. L. Bathlot, [1885].\*

## *Le Petit Poucet (1885)*

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### Text

*Manuscrits de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 934. (Both 1885 production and 1891 revival.)

### Music

Vocal excerpt: André Messager, “Chanson des loups.” Enoch frères & Costallat, [1885]. Plate number E.F. & C. 1161.

Instrumental excerpts:

- Alfred Fock (after André Messager), “Suite de valse.” Enoch frères & Costallat, [1885]. Plate number E.F. & C. 1163.
- Alfred Fock, “Polka.” Enoch frères & Costallat, [1885]. Plate number E.F. & C. 1164.
- Léon Vasseur, “Menuet des Contes de Perrault.” Roger & C<sup>ie</sup>, [1891]. Plate number R. et C<sup>ie</sup> 72. (1891 revival.)
- Léon Vasseur, “Grande valse” (but cover: “Valse des Contes de Perrault”). Roger & C<sup>ie</sup>, [1891]. Plate number R. et C<sup>ie</sup> 73. (1891 revival.)

## Staging

Stage design model by Henri Robecchi and elements of stage design models by Philippe Chaperon: F-Po MAQ A-435.\*

Costume designs by Alfred Grévin: extant as of 1894, current location unknown.\*

### *Les aventures de Monsieur de Crac (1886)*

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#### **Text**

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 981.

#### **Music**

Vocal excerpt: Alexandre Artus, “Couplets du tambour et de la trompette.” Le Bailly, [1886]. Plate number O.B. 2458.

Instrumental excerpts:

- Alexandre Artus, “Valse des bergers.” Le Bailly, [1887]. Plate number O.B. 2455.
- Alexandre Artus, “Marche indienne du Rajah.” Le Bailly, [1886]. Plate number O.B. 2456.
- Alexandre Artus, “Valse des bayadères.” Le Bailly, [1886]. Plate number O.B. 2457.
- Alexandre Artus, “De Crac–polka.” Le Bailly, [1887]. Plate number O.B. 2464.

### *Adam et Ève (1886)*

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#### **Music**

Vocal score: Gaston Serpette, *Adam et Ève*, opérette fantastique en 3 actes. Heugel, 1886. Plate number H. 6295.

### *Le Crocodile (1886)*

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#### **Text**

Printed play: Victorien Sardou, *Le Crocodile*, comédie en 5 actes et 8 tableaux. In *Théâtre complet*. Vol. 10. Albin Michel, 1947.

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 907.

#### **Music**

Melodramatic music, piano reduction: J[ules] Massenet, *Musique de scène composée pour une pièce de Victorien Sardou (“Le Crocodile”)*. G. Hartmann et C<sup>ie</sup>, [1887]. Plate number G.H. & C<sup>ie</sup> 1759.

Manuscript full scores: F-Pn D-12679, AC E10-953.\*

#### **Staging**

Stage design by Alfred Lemeunier: F-Pnas GR FOL-MAQ-6632.\*

Stage designs (sketches and ground plans) in F-Pbh 1-TMD-00901.

### *Dix jours aux Pyrénées (1887)*

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#### **Text**

Printed play: Paul Ferrier, *Dix jours aux Pyrénées*, voyage circulaire en cinq actes et dix tableaux. Librairie théâtrale, 1888.

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 934.

## Music

Vocal score: L[ouis] Varney, *Dix jours aux Pyrénées*, grande opérette en 5 actes et 10 tableaux. Choudens, [1887]. Plate number A.C. 7383.

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## *Le puits qui parle* (1888)

### Text

Printed play: [Alexandre] Beaumont and [Paul] Burani, *Le puits qui parle*, opéra-comique en 3 actes et 6 tableaux. Choudens, 1888. I consulted the not-for-sale copy marked “épreuve” at F-Pnas 8-RF-38125.

### Music

Vocal score: E[dmund] Audran, *Le puits qui parle*, opéra-comique fantastique en 3 actes. Choudens, [1888]. Plate number A.C. 7854.

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## *Isoline* (1888)

### Text

Printed play: Catulle Mendès, *Isoline*, conte de fées en dix tableaux. E. Dentu, 1888.

### Music

Vocal score: André Messager, *Isoline*, conte de fées en 3 actes et 10 tableaux. Enoch frères & Costallat, [1888]. Plate number E.F. & C. 1545.

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## *Riquet à la houppe* (1889)

### Text

Printed play: Paul Ferrier and Charles Clairville, *Riquet à la houppe*, féerie en trois actes et un prologue. Librairie théâtrale, 1889.

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 1013.

### Music

Vocal score: Louis Varney, *Riquet à la houppe*, féerie en trois actes. Choudens, [1889]. Plate number A.C. 9566.

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## *Le prince Soleil* (1889)

### Text

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 981.

### Music

Vocal score: Léon Vasseur, *Le prince Soleil*, pièce à grand spectacle en 4 actes et 22 tableaux. Société anonyme d'édition mutuelle de musique, [1889]. Plate number E.M. 127.

### *Le voyage de Suzette* (1890)

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#### Text

Printed play: Henri Chivot and Alfred Duru, *Le voyage de Suzette*, pièce à grand spectacle en trois actes et onze tableaux. P.-V. Stock, 1897. (Vasseur composerly version.)

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 934.

#### Music

Vocal score: Léon Vasseur, *Le voyage de Suzette*, opérette en 3 actes à grand spectacle. Choudens, [1890]. Plate number A.C. 8303. (Vasseur composerly version.)

Manuscript fragment: US-CAat HTC-LC b M1508.V34 V69 1890. (Non-composerly version?)

#### Staging

Choudens production book: F-Pbh fonds ART 4-TMS-03978.

Other *mises en scène* (manuscript copies of the Choudens production book, annotated copies of the play) at F-Pbh fonds ART. Pasted into 8-TMS-03105 are color illustrations for most *tableaux*, perhaps supplied by Choudens alongside the production book.

### *La fille de l'air* (1890)

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#### Text

Printed play: Armande Liorat after [Théodore and Hippolyte] Cogniard and [Provost] Raymond, *La fille de l'air*, opérette fantastique en 4 actes et 6 tableaux. P. Dupont, n.d.

Possibly not-for-sale copy at Bibliothèque nationale de France, site Tolbiac, 4-YTH-6173.\*

#### Music

Vocal score: Paul Lacome, *La fille de l'air*, opérette fantastique en 4 actes et 7 tableaux. Paul Dupont, [1890]. Plate number A.G. 1<sup>re</sup> S<sup>ie</sup> 10.14.1.

### *Orient-Express* (1890)

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#### Text

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 982.

### *Tout Paris* (1891)

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#### Text

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 982.

#### Music

Instrumental excerpt: Alexandre Artus, "Tout-Paris," valse. Le Bailly, [1891]. Plate number O.B. 3960.(7/91).

### *Le tour du monde d'un enfant de Paris (1891)*

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#### **Text**

Printed play: E[rnest] Morel, *Le tour du monde d'un enfant de Paris*, pièce en 12 tableaux. Barbré, 1899.

### *Le pays de l'or (1892)*

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#### **Text**

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 935.

#### **Music**

Vocal score: Léon Vasseur, *Le pays de l'or*, opérette en 3 actes, à grand spectacle (but frontispiece: pièce à grand spectacle en 3 actes). Choudens, © 1892. Plate number A.C. 8809.

### *Madame l'Amirale (1892)*

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#### **Text**

*Manuscrit de censure*, Act I only: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 982.

### *Les bicyclistes en voyage (1893)*

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#### **Text**

Printed play: Henri Chivot and Henri Blondeau, *Les bicyclistes en voyage*, pièce en trois actes et sept tableaux. Choudens, 1893. Possibly not-for-sale copies at Bibliothèque nationale de France (I consulted the one at Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, THN-21396). (Carman composerly version.)

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 935.

#### **Music**

Vocal score: Maruis Carman, *Les bicyclistes en voyage*, pièce à spectacle en 3 actes et 7 tableaux. Choudens, © 1894. Plate number A.C. 9382. (Carman composerly version.)

### *Le chat du diable (1893)*

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#### **Text**

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 982.

Manuscript play in F-Po fonds Nwitter.\*

#### **Music**

Bilingual (English-French) vocal score of *Whittington*: Jacques Offenbach, *Whittington*, opera bouffe in 3 acts. [London]: Cramer, [1874?]. Plate number C. & Co. 7058.

### *La Belle au bois dormant (1894)*

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#### Music

Melodramatic music, arranged for piano duet: Georges Hüe, *La Belle au bois dormant*, féerie dramatique. Alphonse Leduc, © 1895. Plate number A.L. 9570.

### *Don Quichotte (1895)*

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#### Text

Printed play: Victorien Sardou, *Don Quichotte*, pièce en trois actes et onze tableaux. In *Théâtre complet*. Vol. 15. Albin Michel, 1961.

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 982.

#### Music

Vocal excerpt: Albert Renaud, “Sérénade.” A. Quinzard, [1895].\*

### *Le carnet du diable (1895)*

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#### Text

*Manuscrits de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 814 (both 1895 play and 1897 addition “Les petites Manchaballe”).

#### Music

Vocal score: Gaston Serpette, *Le carnet du diable*, pièce fantastique en 3 actes et 8 tableaux. Choudens, © 1895. Plate number A.C. 10036.

Orchestral and choral material: F-Pnas fonds Variétés FOL-COL-106(646,1) through FOL-COL-106(646,3), FOL-COL-106(10).

Incomplete manuscript vocal score: F-Pnas fonds Variétés FOL-COL-106(102).†

#### Staging

Choudens production book: US-BUu MT955 .C27.

### *Les aventures de Thomas Plumepatte (1895)*

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#### Text

Printed play: Gaston Marot, *Les aventures de Thomas Plumepatte*, pièce en 5 actes et 10 tableaux. Librairie Molière, 1901.

#### Staging

Annotated copies of the play: F-Pnas fonds Ambigu-Comique 4-COL-54(2079) through 4-COL-54(2083), 4-COL-54(32).\* (1905 revival.)

### *Le carillon (1896)*

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#### Text

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 815.

***Le voyage de Mistress Robinson (1896)***

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**Text**

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 1178A.

***La montagne enchantée (1897)***

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**Music**

Vocal score: André Messager and Xavier Leroux, *La montagne enchantée*, pièce fantastique en cinq actes et douze tableaux. Alphonse Leduc, © 1897. Plate number A.L. 9787.

Autograph (Leroux) fragment in full score: F-Pn MS-20619.\*

***Robinson Crusôé (1899)***

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**Text**

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 983A.

**Staging**

Stage design models by Amable: F-Pbh fonds Amable o-TFS-005-0035 through o-TFS-005-0038.\*

***Le Petit Chaperon rouge (1900)***

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**Text**

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 983A.

***Les cinq sous de Lavarède (1902)***

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**Text**

Printed play: Paul d'Ivoi, *Les cinq sous de Lavarède*, pièce à grand spectacle en 4 actes et 21 tableaux. Combet, [1902].\*

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 983A.

**Staging**

Copies of the printed play with staging annotations at F-Pbh fonds ART.\*

***Les aventures du capitaine Corcoran (1902)***

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**Text**

Printed play: Paul Gavault, Georges Berr, and A[drien] Vély after [Alfred] Assolant, *Les Aventures du capitaine Corcoran*, pièce en 5 actes et 17 tableaux. P.-V. Stock, 1904.\*

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 983A.

### *L'oncle d'Amérique* (1903)

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#### **Text**

*Manuscrit de censure:* F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 983A.

#### **Staging**

Stage design by Amable: F-Pbh fonds Amable o-TFS-005-0044 through o-TFS-005-0054.\*

### *Monsieur Polichinelle* (1904)

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#### **Text**

*Manuscrit de censure:* F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 983A.

#### **Music**

Vocal excerpt: Marius Baggers, "La chanson du qui," chanson populaire enfantine. E. Gallet, [1904].\*

#### **Staging**

Stage designs by Amable: F-Pbh fonds Amable o-TFS-005-0055 through o-TFS-005-0070.\*

### *Tom Pitt, le roi des pickpockets* (1905)

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#### **Text**

*Manuscrit de censure:* F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 983A.

#### **Staging**

Stage design model by Amable: F-Pbh fonds Amable o-TFS-005-0070 *bis* (1-2).\*

### *L'Âge d'or* (1905)

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#### **Text**

Printed play: Georges Feydeau and Maurice Desvallières, *L'Âge d'or*, comédie musicale en trois actes, et neuf tableaux. In Georges Feydeau, *Théâtre complet*. Vol. 9. Le Bélier, 1956.

Modern edition: edited by Henry Gidel. In Georges Feydeau, *Théâtre complet*. Vol. 3.

Classiques Garnier, 2012. Revised and updated edition, originally published 1988.

*Manuscrit de censure:* F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 817.\*

### *Les 400 coups du diable* (1905)

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#### **Text**

Printed play: Victor de Cottens and Victor Darlay, *Les 400 coups du diable*, féerie en 3 actes et 34 tableaux. *Mon beau livre*, February 15, 1906.

*Manuscrit de censure:* F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 983A.

Manuscript scenario: Cinémathèque française, fonds Méliès, MELIES76-B11.†

## Staging

Stage designs, including a model, by Amable: F-Pbh fonds Amable o-TFS-005-0071 through o-TFS-005-0078.\*

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## *Pif! Paf! Pouf!, ou Un voyage endiablé (1906)*

### Staging

Stage designs, including models, by Amable: F-Pbh fonds Amable o-TFS-005-0079 through o-TFS-005-0086, TMC-0024.\*

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## *La princesse Sans-Gêne (1907)*

### Staging

Stage designs by Amable: F-Pbh fonds Amable o-TFS-005-0109 through o-TFS-005-0112.\*

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## *La Belle au bois dormant (1907)*

### Text

Printed play: Jean Richepin and Henri Cain, *La Belle au Bois-Dormant*, féerie lyrique en vers en un prologue, deux parties, quatorze tableaux. Imprimerie de *L'Illustration*, [1908]. Also published in the periodical *L'Illustration théâtrale* and in book form by Charpentier et Fasquelle.

Manuscript play with Francis Thomé's annotations in F-Po fonds Thomé.\*

### Music

Vocal excerpt: Francis Thomé, "Chanson." Henry Lemoine, [1908]. Plate number 20367 H.\*

Manuscript (including autograph) score and sketches: F-Po fonds Thomé.\*

### Staging

Stage designs by Émile Bertin: F-Pnas 4-MAQ-8599, 4-MAQ-8600.\*

## 2. Revivals

Sources for earlier productions of the same plays can be found listed in Roxane Martin, “Répertoire bibliographique des pièces et des documents relatifs à leur représentations,” in *La féerie romantique sur les scènes parisiennes, 1791–1864* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2007), 525–610.

### *La fille de l'air* (1837)

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See also *La fille de l'air* (1890) under “New féeries.”

#### Text

Printed play: [Théodore and Hippolyte] Cogniard and [Provost] Raymond, *La fille de l'air*, féerie en cinq actes et neuf tableaux. Barbré, [1864]. (1864 revival.)

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 1005.\* (1864 revival.)

#### Music

Vocal excerpt: Jacques Offenbach, “La pêche.” Challiot & C<sup>ie</sup>, [1865]. Plate number E.C. 3178. (1864 revival.)

### *Peau d'Âne* (1838)

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#### Text

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 980. (1883 revival.)

#### Music

Instrumental excerpts:

- Charles Hubans, “Grande valse.” L. Bathlot, [1883]. Plate number L.B. 3756. (1883 revival.)
- Charles Hubans, “Pizzicato.” L. Bathlot, [1883]. Plate number L.B. 3757. (1883 revival.)
- Charles Hubans, “Saltarelle.” L. Bathlot, [1883]. Plate number L.B. 3758. (1883 revival.)

#### Staging

Notated choreography by Henri Justamant: F-Po B-217 (13). (1883 revival.)

### *Les pilules du diable* (1839)

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#### Music

Manuscript full score in the hand of Albert Vizontini: F-Po CS-5395. (1873 revival; also used for 1890 revival.)

#### Staging

Stage designs by Amable: F-Pbh fonds Amable o-TFS-005-0087 through o-TFS-005-0108.\*  
Costume design by Alfred Grévin: F-Pnas 4-O ICO THE-37 (15). Color reproductions of four designs by Grévin are also found in F-Pnas 4-ICO THE-828 and in F-Pbh fonds ART. (1880 revival.)

Notated choreography by Justamant: extant as of 1893, current location unknown.\* (1874 revival?)

### *Les sept châteaux du diable* (1844)

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#### Music

Vocal excerpts:

- Victor Chéri, “On a tout quand on a d’ça,” ronde. E. Gérard et C<sup>ie</sup>, [1864]. Plate number C.M. 10181.\* (1864 revival.)
- Victor Chéri, “Rondo.” E. Gérard et C<sup>ie</sup>, [1864]. Plate number C.M. 10182.\* (1864 revival.)

Instrumental excerpt: Alexandre Artus, “Thérèse-polka.” No mention of publisher, [1876]. No plate number. (1876 revival.)

### *La biche au bois* (1845)

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#### Text

Printed play:

- Copy of the original play with Hervé’s annotations. F-Po fonds Hervé Liv. 317. (1865 revival.)
- “Nouveaux couplets chantés dans *La biche au bois*, grande féerie en 4 actes et 16 tableaux.” 8-page brochure. J. Barbré, 1866. (1865 revival with September 1865 alterations.)
- [Théodore and Hippolyte] Cogniard, *La nouvelle “Biche au bois,”* grande féerie en 5 actes et 17 tableaux. Barbré, [1867]. (1867 revival.)
- [Théodore and Hippolyte] Cogniard, Ernest Blum, and Raoul Toché, *La biche au bois*, féerie en quatre actes & dix-sept tableaux. Barbré, [1881].

*Manuscrits de censure:*

- F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 904. (1865 revival.)
- F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 905. (1867 revival.)
- F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 907 (Acts 1, 2), F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 904 (Acts 3, 4). (1881 revival.)
- F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 982. (1896 revival.)

#### Music

Vocal excerpts:

- Hervé, “Duo.” Ph. Feuchot, [1865]. Plate number P.F 571. (1865 revival.)
- Hervé, “Duo des sirènes.” Ph. Feuchot, [1865]. Plate number P.F 572. (1865 revival.)
- Hervé, “Rondeau.” Ph. Feuchot, [1865]. Plate number P.F 580. (1865 revival.)
- Hervé, “Romance comique.” Ph. Feuchot, [1865]. Plate number P.F 582. (1865 revival.)

Instrumental excerpts:

- Hervé, “Polka-marche.” Ph. Feuchot, [1865]. Plate number P.F 569. (1865 revival.)

- Amédée Artus, “Les poissons,” polka-mazurka. Ph. Feuchot, [1865]. Plate number P.F 579. (1865 revival.)

Autograph full score of Hervé’s newly composed music: F-Po fonds Hervé 19. (1865 revival.)

Incomplete manuscript vocal score: F-Po fonds Hervé 255. (1865 revival.)

### Staging

102 costume designs by Marcelin are reproduced in *La Vie parisienne*, April 8, April 22, May 6, and June 3, 1865. (1865 revival.)

Notated choreography and *mise en scène* by Henri Justamant: New York Public Library, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, MGRN-Res. 73-259.\* (1881 revival.)

## *La poule aux œufs d’or* (1848)

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### Text

*Manuscrits de censure:*

- F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 931. (1872 revival.)
- F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 980. (1884 revival.)

### Music

Vocal excerpts:

- Albert Vinentini, “La boîte à musique.” Choudens, [1873]. Plate number A.C. 2594. (1872 revival.)
- Albert Vinentini, “L’histoire à Mad’leine.” Choudens, [1873]. Plate number A.C. 2595. (1872 revival.)
- Albert Vinentini, “Chanson de la cocotte.” Choudens, [1873]. Plate number A.C. 2596. *Petit format* only? (1872 revival.)
- Albert Vinentini, “Romance du printemps.” Choudens, [1873]. Plate number A.C. 2597. (1872 revival.)
- Albert Vinentini, “Couplets de l’effet.” Choudens, [1873]. Plate number A.C. 2598. (1872 revival.)

Manuscript full score in the hand of Albert Vinentini: F-Po CS-5402. (1872 revival.)

Short score (*violon conducteur?*) of the “Ballet des instruments”: F-Pn MAT TH-354.\* (1872 revival.)

### Staging

Costume designs by Samuel-Marie Clédat de Lavigerie: F-Pbh 4-TMD-00002 through 4-TMD-00009. (1884 revival.)

Costume designs by Alfred Grévin: extant as of 1894, current location unknown.\* (1872 revival.)

## *Le pied de mouton* (1850)

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### Text

*Manuscrit de censure:* F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 915.\* (1874 revival.)

## Music

Vocal excerpt: Gaston Serpette, "Duo de la grotte enchantée." Choudens, [1888]. Plate number A.C. 8099.

## Staging

Costume designs by Alfred Grévin: extant as of 1894, current location unknown.\* (1874 revival.)

Eight of Grévin's costume designs are reproduced in *Le Journal amusant*, September 19, 1874. (1874 revival.)

Notated choreography by Henri Justamant: F-Po B-217 (14). (1888 revival.)

## *La chatte blanche* (1852)

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### Text

*Manuscrits de censure:*

- F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 931. (1875 revival.)
- F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 981. (1887 revival.)

### Music

Vocal excerpts:

- Thérèse (L[éon] Fossey, arranger), "Les canards tyroliens." E. Heu, [1869]. Plate number E.H. 1014. (1869 revival.)
- Émile Jonas, "La mare aux grenouilles." E. et A. Girod, [1875]. Plate number E.J. 19. (1875 revival.)
- Émile Jonas, "Couplets de la fauvette." V[eu]ve Girod, [1887]. Plate number E.J. 71. (1887 revival.)
- Émile Jonas, "Couplets de Pierrette." V[eu]ve Girod, [1887]. Plate number E.J. 73. (1887 revival.)

Instrumental excerpts:

- Émile Jonas, "Sommeil et réveil des oiseaux." V[eu]ve Girod, [1887]. Plate number E.J. 75. (1887 revival.)
- Émile Jonas, "Pizzicato du ballet des oiseaux." V[eu]ve Girod, [1887]. Plate number E.J. 76. (1887 revival.)

### Staging

Stage designs by Henri Robecchi: F-Po ESQ ROBECCHI-7, ESQ ROBECCHI-8. (1869 revival.)

Costume designs by Théophile Thomas in F-Po D216 Z-1.† (1869 revival.)

Costume designs by Alfred Grévin?: extant as of 1894, current location unknown.\*† (1875 revival.)

Notated choreography and *mise en scène* by Henri Justamant: New York Public Library, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, MGRN-Res. 73-259.\* (1870 revival.)

### *La poudre de Perlinpinpin (1853)*

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#### **Text**

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 983A. (1898 revival.)

#### **Music**

Vocal excerpt: Victor Chéri, “Sérénade.” E. Heu, [1869]. Plate number E.H. 1016.\* (1869 revival.)

Instrumental excerpt: Victor Chéri, “Polka des potiches.” E. Heu, [1869]. Plate number E.H. 828. (1869 revival.)

#### **Staging**

Stage design models by Édouard Despléchin: F-Po MAQ A-199, MAQ A-200, MAQ A-201, MAQ A-202.\* (1869 revival.)

### *Le bibelots du diable (1858)*

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#### **Music**

Instrumental excerpt: Alexandre Artus, “Valse des sultanes.” A. O’Kelly, [1874]. Plate number A.O’K. 154. (1874 revival.)

The orchestral material from 1858 and 1862 seems to have been used for the 1874 revival as well: F-Pnas fonds Variétés 4-COL-106(926,1).

### *La fille du diable (1860)*

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#### **Text**

*Manuscrit de censure*: F-Pan F<sup>18</sup> 964.\* (1884 revival.)

#### **Music**

Vocal excerpt: A[dolphe] Lindheim, “Tyrolienne.” Le Bailly, [1885]. Plate number L.B. 2341.

### *Rothomago (1862)*

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#### **Music**

Vocal excerpts:

- Victor Chéri, “Turlurette,” ronde. L. Conrard, [1878]. Plate number L.C. 349.\* (1877 or 1878 revival.)
- Adolphe de Groot, “Les Heures!,” mélodie. C. Alard, [1878].\* (1877 or 1878 revival.)

Instrumental excerpts:

- Victor Gentil, “Polka des cloches.” E. Chatot, [1877].\* (1877 revival.)
- Alexandre Artus, “Rothomago-fanfare.” Le Bailly, [1878]. Plate number L.B. 1593. (1877 or 1878 revival.)

## Gallery



**Fig. G.I.** “Féerie” cartouche on the ceiling of the Théâtre du Châtelet. Photograph by author, February 26, 2017.

*Chœur et Danse des Sirènes.*

N<sup>o</sup> 100

All<sup>o</sup> = valse

(Nota. La 1<sup>re</sup> fois, le Chœur de Chœur sans Danse, et la 2<sup>e</sup> fois, et accompagné par les Cordes seulement.)

(D. T. Papier mobile N<sup>o</sup> 19.) A Sainte Colette, Editeurs et Cartons pour musique militaire; Papiers réglés pour musique. (Nouvelle impression perfectionnée.)

Fig. G.2. Autograph full score of Hervé's music for *La biche au bois*. Paris, Bibliothèque-musée de l'Opéra.

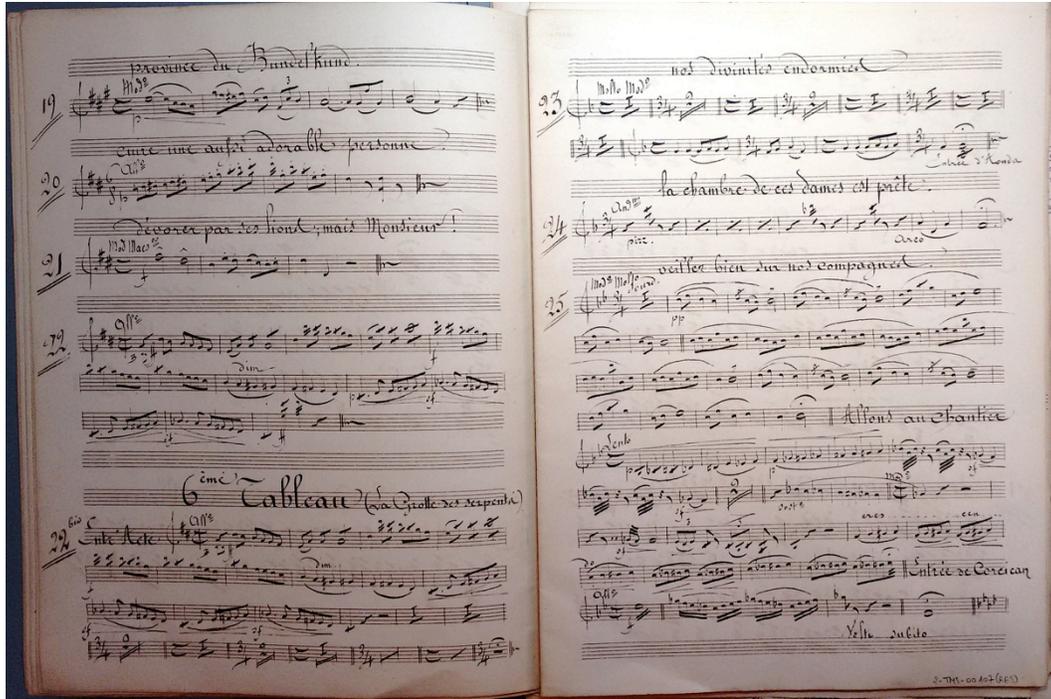


Fig. G.3. Violin I part for *Le tour du monde en 80 jours*. Paris, Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris, fonds ART.

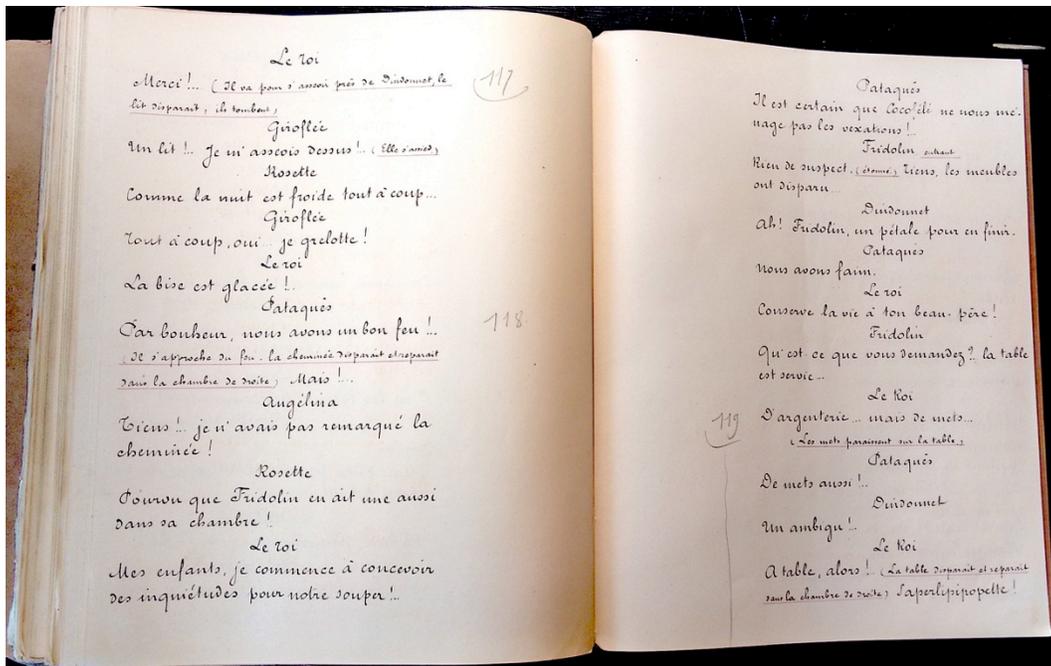


Fig. G.4. A manuscript de censure (*Coco-Félé*) annotated with numbers for musical cues. Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, Archives nationales.

## MUSIQUE DE SCÈNE.

**CHASSE.** 8<sup>va</sup>  
p<sup>te</sup> Fl.

**A**

Pist. Tromb. *f* Cymb. *ff* Quat.

Musical score for 'CHASSE' in 2/4 time. The top staff is for the first flute (p<sup>te</sup> Fl.) with a dynamic of *f*. The bottom staff is for percussion, including Piston (Pist.), Trombone (Tromb.), Cymbal (Cymb.), and Quatuor (Quat.), with dynamics *f* and *ff*. The score consists of three measures.

**BORNE.** All<sup>o</sup> vivace. répéter cette mesure jusqu'à l'arrêt du truc.

**B**

*f* Quat.

Musical score for 'BORNE' in 6/8 time. The top staff is for Quatuor (Quat.) with a dynamic of *f*. The bottom staff is for Quatuor (Quat.) with a dynamic of *f*. The score consists of three measures.

**CANON.** 8<sup>va</sup>  
p<sup>te</sup> Fl.

**C**

v<sup>lle</sup> C.B. *f* v<sup>lle</sup> C.B. Quat.

Musical score for 'CANON' in 2/4 time. The top staff is for the first flute (p<sup>te</sup> Fl.) with a dynamic of *f*. The bottom staff is for Violoncelle (v<sup>lle</sup> C.B.) and Quatuor (Quat.), with a dynamic of *f*. The score consists of three measures.

## ENTRÉE DE LA COMTESSE.

**D**

Clar. Quat. *pp*

Musical score for 'ENTRÉE DE LA COMTESSE' in 2/4 time. The top staff is for Clarinet (Clar.) and Quatuor (Quat.) with a dynamic of *pp*. The bottom staff is for Quatuor (Quat.) with a dynamic of *pp*. The score consists of three measures.

Tutti.

Musical score for 'ENTRÉE DE LA COMTESSE' in 2/4 time. The top staff is for Quatuor (Quat.) with a dynamic of *Tutti*. The bottom staff is for Quatuor (Quat.) with a dynamic of *Tutti*. The score consists of three measures.

Fig. G.5. Melodramatic musical cues in the vocal score of Gaston Serpette's *Madame le Diable*. Source: Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

THÉÂTRE DU CHÂTELET

# PEAU D'ÂNE

*A Madame NOLLET*

POUR PIANO *DOZIAN*

PAR

## CHARLES HUBANS

*Piano. 6<sup>f</sup>      Orchestre net. 2<sup>f</sup>*

aux CLOCHES de CORNEVILLE, Paris, L. BATHLOT, Éditeur, 59, Rue de l'Échiquier  
Propriété p<sup>o</sup> tous pays 1885

*Ve 9 136*

*4076*

Fig. G.6. Sheet-music cover art for an excerpt from the 1883 production of *Cendrillon*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la musique.



Fig. G.7. Selection of Nadar photographs of *Le Petit Poucet* (1885). Composite by author, images from Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France.





Fig. G.9. Printed program for the 1881 production of *La biche au bois*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des arts du spectacle.

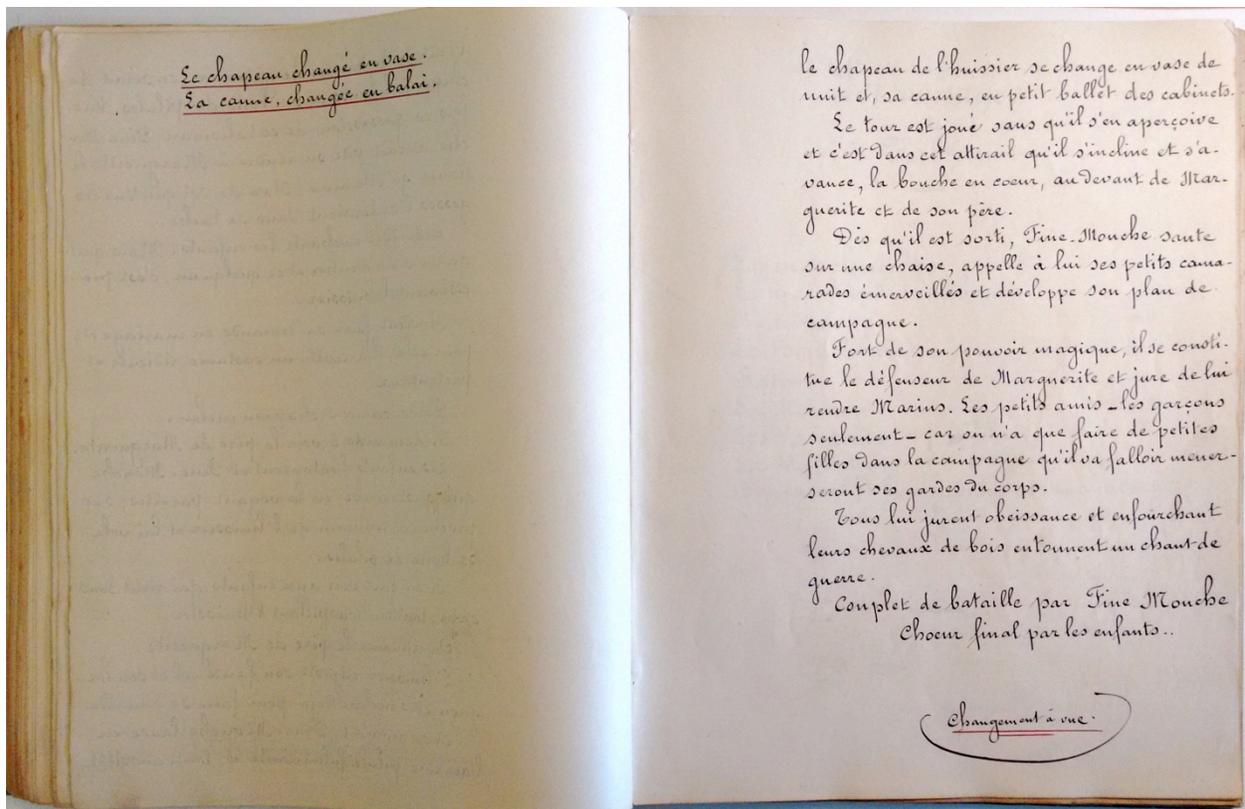


Fig. G.10. Manuscript scenario for *Les 400 coups du diable*. Paris, Cinémathèque française, fonds Méliès.

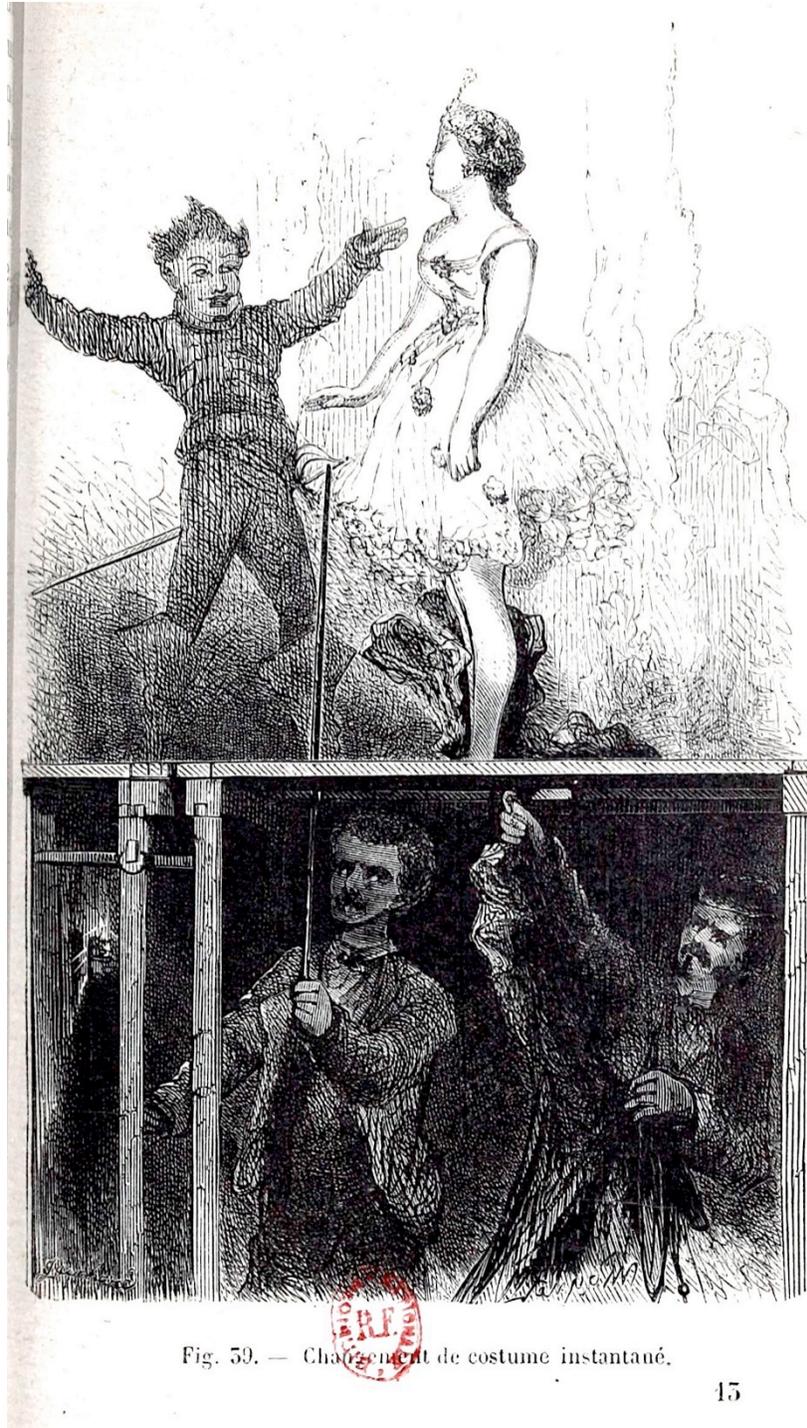


Fig. 59. — Changement de costume instantané.

Fig. G.II. Quick costume change, a common *féerie* trick. From Jules Moynet, *L'envers du théâtre: Machines et décorations* (Paris: Hachette, 1873). Source: Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

## Ordre du défilé :

Deux trompettes à cheval,	se placent devant le décor du 1 <sup>er</sup> plan droit,
Buffalo à cheval,	d <sup>o</sup> d <sup>o</sup> d <sup>o</sup> , en montant,
Une écuyère amazone,	d <sup>o</sup> d <sup>o</sup> 3 <sup>ème</sup> plan;
Une écuyère pommée,	d <sup>o</sup> d <sup>o</sup> d <sup>o</sup> ;
Douze servants du cirque,	d <sup>o</sup> devant les 5 chevaux ci-dessus;
Char des musiciens (14)	la tête des chevaux dans le décor du 4 <sup>ème</sup> plan gauche;
Quatre clownesses	d <sup>o</sup> devant le 1 <sup>er</sup> plan gauche;
Un chameau monté par une femme,	d <sup>o</sup> devant le 3 <sup>ème</sup> plan droite;
Six africains	d <sup>o</sup> devant le chameau;
Char des danseuses	la tête des chevaux dans le décor du 3 <sup>ème</sup> plan gauche;
19 Danseuses (Guerrières à pied)	d <sup>o</sup> décor du 2 <sup>ème</sup> plan gauche;
Deux poneys, (Enfant debout)	d <sup>o</sup> dans la coulisse fond droite;
Trois ânes avec clowns,	d <sup>o</sup> devant le char des danseuses;
Douze musiciens à pied,	d <sup>o</sup> à l'avant-scène droite.
Un nègre debout sur 2 chevaux,	d <sup>o</sup> décor 1 <sup>er</sup> plan gauche. Les 4 clownesses rentrent coulisse.
Voiture d'autruche (Paquita, et 2 clownesses)	d <sup>o</sup> dans la coulisse fond droite;
Groupe Buffalo (1 à cheval, 9 à pied)	d <sup>o</sup> à côté du char des danseuses;
Deux clowns autruche	d <sup>o</sup> à côté des Buffalo ci-dessus;
Une charrette singes,	d <sup>o</sup> devant les Buffalo,
1 <sup>er</sup> éléphant royal,	d <sup>o</sup> fond droite,
Six africains,	d <sup>o</sup> à droite devant les six déjà placés.
Un chameau, monté par Verduron, parapluie	d <sup>o</sup> directement avant-scène gauche;
d <sup>o</sup> , monté par Bonomet, tambour	d <sup>o</sup> d <sup>o</sup> droite;
Char de Suzette	d <sup>o</sup> au milieu de l'avant-scène;
Six lecteurs	d <sup>o</sup> sur la gauche du char

Fig. G.12. Choudens production book for *Le voyage de Suzette*. Paris, Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris, fonds ART.





UNE MATINÉE DE FÉERIE.

Ils ont tous été sages, ou ils ont promis de l'être: la salle est bondée, il y a jusqu'à des nourrices avec leurs jeunes clients, ceux qui se tiennent le mieux et le plus gravement de toute la salle. Explosions de rires dans tous les coins. De temps en temps les gens de l'orchestre reçoivent sur la tête des oranges et même des biberons abandonnés dans le délire de la joie.

Fig. G.14. Albert Robida, "Une matinée de féerie." From *La Caricature*, January 23, 1886.  
Source: Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

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