

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

The Lyric Theatre in Provincial France  
(1789 – 1914)

being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of Ph. D.

in the University of Hull

by

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*In memory of the late*

*Robert Bennett, professeur – Université de Caen,*

*Jan Haines, Head of French, King Edward VI School,  
Stratford upon Avon*

*and my father, Jack Bould*

*all of whom contributed in many different supportive ways  
to the genesis and development of this thesis.*

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As so little has been written on the lyric theatre in provincial France the study depends to a large extent on primary sources from archives. In some ways that was fortuitous, as the first call was the archive départemental. Sometimes recourse had also to be made to the archives preserved by the municipalities. I have built up enormous debts of gratitude to the staff of the archives that I visited. The actual archives varied from extremely modern buildings, such as in Besançon, Caen, La Rochelle, Rouen and Quimper, to buildings as fascinating in their history as the documents viewed. Avignon was in a calm room above the cloisters of the Palais des Papes and in Dijon I worked in the room where Mozart had played while visiting that city. Despite the surroundings, all had one thing in common and that was the welcome. From one end of France to the other I was met with friendly interest and help. I am beholden to the staff of the archives that I visited and am grateful for all their kindnesses, help and advice.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

As so much of the material was sourced from the Archives Départementales across France, a code was devised to help readers follow the geography of the thesis. The French system identifies the archive by the département number. Unless the reader has an expert knowledge of car number plates the system is not easy; I have preferred to use the opening letters of the département name so AD14 becomes ADCal representing Calvados. In the summary of the archives, parallel document – appendix VI.

ADAis	Aisne	ADI-V	Ille-et-Vilaine
ADAllier	Allier	ADL-A	Loire-Atlantique
ADA-M	Alpes-Maritimes	ADL-G	Lot-et-Garonne
ADArđ	Ardèche	ADLoz	Lozère
ADAube	Aube	ADMan	Manche
ADAude	Aude	ADMay	Mayenne
ADAv	Aveyron	ADN	Nord
ADB-R	Bouches du Rhône	ADP-C	Pas-de-Calais
ADCal	Calvados	ADP-O	Pyrénées-Orientales
ADCan	Cantal	ADH-R	Haut-Rhin
ADCh	Charente	ADRh	Rhône
ADC-M	Charente-Maritime	ADH-S	Haute-Savoie
ADCdO	Côte d'Or	ADS-M	Seine-Maritime
ADDor	Dordogne	ADSo	Somme
ADDoubs	Doubs	ADTarn	Tarn
ADDr	Drôme	ADT-G	Tarn-et-Garonne
ADFi	Finistère	ADVar	Var
ADGard	Gard	ADVau	Vaucluse
ADGers	Gers	ADYo	Yonne
ADH-L	Haute-Loire	ADT-B	Territoire de Belfort

AN      Archives Nationale – Paris

BL      British Library

A similar approach has been used for Archives Municipales –

AMAng	Angoulême
AMLaval	Laval
AMLyon	Lyon
AMMans	Le Mans
AMMayenne	Mayenne
AMPerpignon	Perpignon
AMVichy	Vichy

Prefix BM is used for Bibliothèque Municipale eg. BMLyon.

Certain French words were problematic – when and when not to italicise. Partly because of the different meaning to the English theatre ‘director’, and also the many references to the ‘directeur’, the word has neither been anglicised nor italicised. Unless the word ‘maire’ is being quoted from a text in French it was felt appropriate to use the English spelling. The same applied to grand opera. Where there are French words that are in day-to-day usage and the meaning is plain, it seems unnecessary to change them – arrondissement, département, préfecture and préfet being such examples. Similarly, Opéra, Opéra-Comique, and Vaudeville refer specifically to the theatres, while opéra, opéra comique and vaudeville refer to the genres. (The genres are discussed at appropriate sections in context of the historical changes.) The Paris Opéra and Opéra-comique are used for the institutions from 1789-1914 regardless of the particular title, or theatre that they might have been housed in, during the period of the study. Occasionally it is necessary to use the all-embracing word ‘opera’ when referring to all the main lyric genres. As far as possible this has been avoided so as to prevent confusion. Similarly, there has been the regular problem of directeurs not defining works by the correct genre. For the directeur, terms like opéra, or opéra comique seemed to be all embracing words that included works that nowadays might not be so classified. However, as provincial theatres tended to perform all lyric works as opéra comique, that is to say the opera included spoken dialogue rather than being through composed with recitatives, the term becomes less of a genre and more an indication of procedure. If quoting provincial repertoire lists the directeurs nomenclature has been repeated which often led to opéras being included in the opéra comique list and vice versa. It also caused confusions when vaudevilles were included in the wrong genre list. Translations, other than where specifically attributed, are my own.

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## INTRODUCTION

This thesis had a very simple genesis. While travelling round France it was hard not to notice that a prominent feature of many a provincial town was the municipal theatre. Often the theatre was decorated with the muses of *tragédie*, *comédie*, *drame* and *opéra*. Viewing these theatres prompted the dual question of what was performed in them and by whom. Equally tantalising was what exactly did the generic term *opéra* actually refer to. It soon became apparent that, although the theatre industry in the provinces was either directly or indirectly a major employer, there has been remarkably little written on the subject.

One problem that dogged most aspects of the study was the centralism of everything French. Until comparatively recently, the historiography of nineteenth-century France has been in effect that of nineteenth-century Paris. The majority of histories that evaluate the period from the Revolution to the Great War rarely mention the provinces. When the countryside is referred to it is usually in the context of poor harvests, shortages that impinged on Paris, or of rural uprisings. Should ordinary people, rather than the great or good, appear in the histories, they are usually manning the barricades. A further problem, in particular with histories that chart the Revolution, was that historians influenced by later social and political ideologies tried to force the period into a straitjacket based on an inappropriate paradigm. Until comparatively recently the evaluations of the Revolution tended to suggest that it represented a conflict between the evil of absolute monarchy and the good of democratic republicanism: the end of feudalism and the move to capitalism.

In a lecture in 1954, Alfred Cobban (1901-1968) questioned the Marxist orthodoxy. Cobban pointed out that the leaders of the Revolution actually came from the

ranks of local public officials, that is to say the administrators, prosecutors and judiciary, hardly people who had little connection with the *ancien régime*.<sup>1</sup> There was a rediscovery of the Tocquevillian perspective of the Revolution as continuity as well as change. François Furet (1927-1997) further attacked the adherence to the Marxist view by considering the underlying political philosophies, the relationship of the Enlightenment to the Revolution. Furet argued that the philosophies of Jean-Jacques Rousseau were central to the Revolution.<sup>2</sup> These debates are significant for the music historian as continuity with change is a more valid interpretation of the events rather than a great divide. Many of the pre-1789 lyric works discussed here can be viewed as promoting Enlightenment ideals that happened to be appropriate for the Revolutionary stage. Although it is not appropriate to be concentrating on the lyric genres, certain developments, such as the rise of what are referred to as 'Rescue operas' will be considered during the course of the discussion of the repertoire.

However, whether the historian's standpoint has been Marxist or revisionist, liberal or neo-conservative, what is conceded is that the bourgeoisie were the main beneficiaries of the Revolution. As Republics gave way to Empires, and vice versa, the standing of the middle-class was strengthened as the century progressed. The problem is what is actually meant by the term bourgeois. The term has been put to so many uses that it needs a moment's attention. Jacques Barzun notes that for Karl Marx 'the bourgeoisie were the masters of a stage in history as if aristocrats and peasants no longer exerted any power. After him novelists and critics used the name as a term of abuse denoting stuffy moralism and philistine tastes.'<sup>3</sup> He also added a codicil to the effect that it was idle to speak of 'the' bourgeoisie, 'the' middle class or even the petty bourgeoisie as if one knew

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<sup>1</sup> Lecture reprinted in Cobban, Alfred, *Aspects of the French Revolution* (New York: Cape, 1970), 90-111.

<sup>2</sup> Furet, François, *Interpreting the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

<sup>3</sup> Barzun, Jacques, *From Dawn to Decadence* (London: Harpur Collins, 2001), 243.

what one was talking about. Norman Davies, citing M. Browsers, commented that the ‘*bagarre des profs*’ over the French revolution has become the Divine Comedy of the modern secular age.<sup>4</sup> For the purpose of this thesis, the term will be used for a broad band of the population below the First and Second Estates living together in the larger towns: bankers, merchants, capitalists, entrepreneurs, industrialists, senior officials and members of the liberal professions. The band also includes the rentiers, (people living off income from property), minor officials, clerks, schoolmasters and mistresses, shop owners and shop assistants in the ‘*grand magasins*’. They might have little sense of solidarity but their paths would meet in the theatre. However, building up a picture of society in nineteenth century France has not been easy.

Most political histories are helpful in giving a picture of State and Government. They mention some of the ministers who held the responsibility for overseeing the theatres, ministers such as Pierre Barroche, Achille Fould, the Duc de Morny, Lucien Napoleon and the Comte Walewski. But, as histories of the great and the good, they rarely look beyond to the minor officials such as the *préfets*, or the political life in provincial centres.

If the political historian fails to provide a picture of provincial life, the view of the social and economic historian is equally limited. Understanding the transitions from the small Catalan forges to the iron and steel industry of Le Creusot, seeing the development of textiles and chemicals in Rouen, or the state of wine production in the Herault is relevant to the study as it helps to explain the economic factors that were underpinning the prosperity of the provincial towns. With an increasing prosperity came opportunities for relaxation and diversions. Equally so periods of recession could impact negatively on theatre as audiences might dwindle and subsidies might well be cut.

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<sup>4</sup> Davies, Norman, *Europe, A History* (London: Pimlico, 1997), 689.

In France, the series of books – *La Vie quotidienne* – published immediately after the Second World War, emphasize the popularity of the theatre throughout the century, but it has to be said that most of the ‘everyday’ in the series was that of Paris. Some of the most concise references to provincial life were found in Eugene Weber, *France, fin de siècle* with specific chapters on the theatre, tourism, health and recreations.<sup>5</sup> Histories of individual towns, particularly those in the series published by Privat, which amongst others include Caen, Dunkerque, Laon, Lille, Nantes, Soissons and Toulon, again build up comprehensive pictures of the development of the towns. Quite often there are references to the popularity of the municipal theatres, including allusions to favoured genres, but they rarely give any details of the personnel, the repertoire or the composition of the audiences. More critically, there have been few studies of towns that detail the urban demography.

In the last two decades there has been more interest in local studies. Individual départemental archivists have conducted some of the research, while on a wider scale the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (C. N. R. S.) has encouraged local studies. The University of Bordeaux hosted a conference, 25-26 October 1985, which looked at small towns from the Middle Ages to the present time. Published papers included research into the importance of the fairs, the role of tourism in creating the nineteenth-century bathing resorts, the elites in small towns and occupations in towns in the Pyrenees.<sup>6</sup> Some of the papers, on topics such as the fairs, the resorts and the casinos, impact on this study, particularly in relation to the travelling theatre companies that naturally exploited any opportunity for an augmented audience. Similarly, the study of the development of the resorts helps put into context the evolution of the theatrical

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<sup>5</sup> Weber, Eugene, *France, fin de siècle* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986).

<sup>6</sup> *Les Petites villes du moyen-âge à nos jours* ed. by Jean-Pierre Possou and Philippe Loupès, (Bordeaux: C. N. R. S., 1987).

summer season. Gabriel Désert, one of the foremost historians of Caen has chronicled the summer season on the Normandy coast with particular reference to Deauville and Trouville.<sup>7</sup> A more recent series of articles that record the development of Cabourg, Deauville, Dieppe, Granville and Trouville appeared in 2002 and also have references to the theatrical life during the *Belle-Époque*.<sup>8</sup> Another study of a resort is the thesis of Isabelle Pouzadoux that looked at the cultural life of Vichy.<sup>9</sup>

There has been a shift in the emphasis of research and some indication can be found in the analysis of published output undertaken by Thomas Schaeper.<sup>10</sup> Schaeper notes that political history, which had been the mainstay prior to 1970, was overtaken in the 1970s and '80s by the work of the social and economic historians. However, driven by the followers of Furet, from the late 80s young scholars moved to intellectual and cultural histories. This migration has also been augmented by the work of women entering the profession some of whom chose to work specifically on gender themes. All these recent changes are moving research in a direction that will in time provide a clearer picture of provincial life.

Many initial questions remained unanswered and it was therefore necessary to turn to less obvious sources. Even then trying to establish a picture of urban society in the provinces remained elusive. John Ardagh, in his collection of extracts that make up *Writer's France* (1989), found it surprising how few good regional novels were located in the larger cities. Cities such as Lille, Lyon, Nantes and Toulouse have inspired little of note. Normandy fares better with the writings of Flaubert, Maupassant and Proust.

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<sup>7</sup> Désert, Gabriel, *La Vie quotidienne sur les plages Normandes du Second Empire aux années folles*, (Paris: Hachette, 1983).

<sup>8</sup>, *Bains de mer et thermalisme en Normandie* ed. by Jean-Paul Hervieu, (Caen: Annales de Normandie, 2002).

<sup>9</sup> Pouzadoux, Isabelle, *Contribution à l'histoire culturelle d'une station thermale. Le grand casino de Vichy de 1820 à 1939*, mémoire de maîtrise d'histoire, université de Clermont-Ferrand, 1989.

<sup>10</sup> Schaeper, Thomas J., 'French History as written on both sides of the Atlantic' *French Historical Studies*, 17 (1991), 233-48.

The main reason for the neglect was artistic snobbery: the serious writer despised both the bourgeois and the provincial. In Stendhal's *Le Rouge et le noir* the main protagonist, Julien Sorel, moves as quickly as possible from Dôle to Besançon before setting his sights on Paris. In *Eugénie Grandet* (1833), Balzac described the dull and confining side of bourgeois life in Saumur. At the beginning of *Les Illusions perdues* Balzac gave a fine description of Angoulême and its society, but then ridiculed the pretensions of its *soirées* and *salons*. Parisians regarded anything outside the capital as natural history. The bourgeoisie fared equally badly. Writers and caricaturists unfailingly portrayed the bourgeoisie and the acquiring of wealth and power in an unflattering light. Arthur Rimbaud (1854-1891) satirized the evening gathering of businessmen in the public garden in Charleville-Mézières in his poem *A la Musique*:

Sur la place taillés en mesquines pelouses,  
 Square où tout est correct, les arbres et les fleurs,  
 Tout les bourgeois poussifs qu'étranglent les chaleurs  
 Portent, les jeudis soirs, leurs bêtises jalouses.

Sur les bancs verts, des clubs d'épiciers retraités  
 Qui tisonnent le sable avec leur canne à pomme,  
 Fort sérieusement discutent les traités,  
 Puis prisent en argent, et reprennent: 'En somme!...'

[On the square cut into shabby little lawns, / the Square where all is correct, the trees and flowers, / all the wheezy bourgeois strangled by the heat / bring along, on Thursday evenings, their jealous absurdities. // On the green benches, clubs of retired grocers, who poke the sand with their round-headed walking sticks / very seriously discuss their contracts / then make pecuniary valuations and recapitulate: 'All things considered!...']

Literary sources have to be treated guardedly when building a picture of provincial life if only because of the particular viewpoint and agenda of the writer. The France of this study is the very France ridiculed and despised by the intellectuals and writers of the period. Their picture of a selfish, self-serving and self-satisfied bourgeoisie is one-sided. France did not have the equivalent of an Arnold Bennett to portray provincial life in less

critical terms. The small towns are portrayed as stultifying places: places to be escaped from at the first opportunity along the road that led to Paris.

It is equally necessary to be wary of the rural literature that on one hand plays down the role of the towns while portraying life in the country as an unremitting grind, or conversely takes a completely opposite stance giving a rose-tinted filter to *La France profonde*. Rural poverty did exist and cannot be dismissed lightly. Pierre-Jakez Hélias (1914-1995) wrote an autobiographical study of poverty in Brittany, *Le Cheval d'orgueil*, but rural hardship was not the norm for the majority of the population. The writings of Marcel Pagnol or particularly Gabriel Chevallier's *Clochemerle*, present another face of rural France that is equally one-sided, a sort of 'times lost' in a rustic Arcadia. It is worth bearing in mind that, through Napoleonic efficiency, even in the least populated areas the principal town of the département was never more than a day's horse-ride away. Rural France was no more isolated than parts of Dorset, East Anglia, Merionethshire or Montgomeryshire, and possibly with better county towns. In the more rural départements, the annual agricultural fairs still provided a major draw and attraction for the town's country neighbours. The economic impact of these fairs and *fêtes* made them extremely significant dates in the calendar of the small town, a significance not lost on a theatre directeur as he arranged his touring schedule to maximise both audience and earning potential.

Other literary sources referred to for background information include the diaries of the Englishman and American abroad. The descriptions of provincial France on the eve of the Revolution by Arthur Young and Benjamin Franklin build up a picture of the prosperity of many of the regional towns. One has to be careful in using such indicators of prosperity, as Young's comparisons of English and French agricultural practice have in

recent times been seen as flawed, as they suffer from not comparing like with like.<sup>11</sup> Despite that criticism, Young's comments about the towns might be taken at face value. The towns were incidental to Young's *raison d'être*, the comparative study of agrarian change, and so he had no particular axe to grind. Later in the century the travels of Stendhal are paralleled in the writings of Henry James. Similarly, John Ruskin, in *The Bible of Amiens* (1880), although primarily concerned with the cathedral, depicts a town of good shops, cafes, patisseries and a theatre. All these writers describe prosperous towns with promenades, excellent civic architecture, literary and historical societies, theatres and a population that was economically comfortable.

These glimpses of life in the towns are further corroborated in the paintings of Turner, David, Géricault, Ingres, Monet, Manet and the Impressionists. To understand fully the period of this study it has been necessary supplement the written sources by reference to rather more eclectic sources. It has been the paintings, postcards, posters, early films and guidebooks that helped establish the picture of provincial society.

For over a century one of the main meeting places of provincial society was the theatre. Despite its importance, little is known of the provincial theatre industry in France. Fortunately for the historian the theatre was highly regulated and much of that regulation and resulting correspondence remains in the archives of towns and départements. It was a regulatory system that had consequences for the repertoire performed in the theatres, and the regulations created a working practice that was a world away from that of Paris. The organization of the theatrical season is studied, and the working conditions of the main players considered. The sizes of troupes and orchestras are viewed in the context of the differing working practices. Again it has to be said that

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<sup>11</sup> Jones, Colin, 'Bourgeois revolution revived' in *The French Revolution in Social and Political Perspective* ed. Peter Jones, (London: Arnold, 1996), 78-9.



little has been directly written on this subject. The recent history of the orchestra by Zaslaw is referred to in the section 'An Orchestral Interlude'.

There have been studies of the theatre industry in general, such as that by Harold Hobson, but they either concentrate on the dramatic productions or are Paris based.<sup>12</sup> The lyric theatre is less well served. The most helpful studies of the industry have been written by F. W. J. Hemmings. Hemmings does include specific chapters on the provincial theatre but these are sadly marred by omissions and errors. The claim that 'the turmoil into which the Paris theatres were flung during the Revolution was to a large extent mirrored in the provinces, though only Bordeaux has been made the subject of a detailed and documented inquiry'<sup>13</sup>, is blatantly wrong as the Revolution did spawn a multitude of local studies of which J-J. Barbé on the theatre in Metz and Pantaléon Deck's authoritative history of the theatre in Strasbourg are but two such examples.<sup>14</sup> In addition Hemmings hypothesises, I believe wrongly, that the *subvention* (a local subsidy for the theatre voted by the municipal authorities) was supporting a weak provincial theatre industry. He also repeats many of the prejudices concerning the standard of performance in the provinces. The present study will hopefully refute and clarify some of the assertions and assumptions conveyed by previous writers. Two books by Marvin Carlson and one by Dominique Leroy provide comprehensive background information about the theatre industry and its regulation.<sup>15</sup> They also dealt with issues such as ticket pricing and audiences both in Paris and the provinces.

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<sup>12</sup> Hobson, Harold, *French Theatre since 1830* (London: Calder, 1978)

<sup>13</sup> Hemmings, F. W. J., *The Theatre Industry in Nineteenth Century France* (Cambridge: C. U. P., 1993). Hemmings, *Theatre and State in France, 1760-1905* (Cambridge: C. U. P., 1994), 143.

<sup>14</sup> Barbé, J-J., *Le Théâtre à Metz pendant la Révolution* (Reims: Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française, 1928) Deck, Pantaléon, *Histoire du Théâtre Français à Strasbourg 1681-1830* (Paris: Le Roux, 1948).

<sup>15</sup> Carlson, Marvin, *The Theatre of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966), and *The French Stage in the Nineteenth Century* (Metuchen, N. J.: Scarecrow Press, 1972) Leroy, Dominique, *Histoire des arts et spectacles en France* (Paris: Harmattan, 1990).

There are also a number of studies of individual theatres. Spire Pitou, T. J. Walsh and Mark Everist respectively recorded the histories of the Paris Opéra, the Théâtre-Lyrique and the Odéon.<sup>16</sup> The provincial houses, other than Monte-Carlo, fare less well. It has been possible to go back to a number of nineteenth-century studies that had been initially prepared as papers for local historical and philosophical societies, such as those by Lumière and Carlez in Caen, Déstranges in Nantes and Bouteiller in Rouen. There have also been a number of recent studies of provincial theatres; notably that by Christian Goubalt in Rouen (1979), Mairie-Claire Le Moigne-Mussat in Rennes (1988), and catalogues for exhibitions recording the theatres of Lyon and Marseille prepared by the Bibliothèque Municipale in Lyon (1982) and the Archives de Ville, Marseille (1987). Not quite as lavish as the studies of Lyon and Marseille, but equally informative, was the brochure for an exhibition by the Musée de l'Opéra de Vichy (2003). While not just concerned with the theatre, there is a study of music in Douai from 1800-1850 by Guy Gosselin (1994). There have also been recent books on the theatre in Perpignan (1996) and Limoges (2001) by Christine Tisseyre and Marc Précicaud respectively. All the studies mentioned fill in many details of, but none recreate, a complete theatrical year. Nor do they clarify details such as the rehearsal and preparation of the repertoire. Christine Carrere Saucedo has researched one year in the theatre in Auch, but the theatre in Auch is atypical being only representative of the smaller towns on circuits of travelling companies. The aim of this study is to give an overview of the repertoire used by the different types of troupes and in a range of towns and cities.

Since 1990 there has been a shift in the emphasis of research that has seen the work of social, and local historians gather momentum. In 1990 there were few French

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<sup>16</sup> Pitou, Spire, *The Paris Opera* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985).

Walsh, T. J., *Second Empire Opera* (London: Calder, 1981).

Everist, Mark, *Music Drama at the Paris Odéon, 1824-1828* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

University departments specifically studying the history of French music, or the provincial lyric theatre. One exception was the Department des Arts, Lettres, Langues et Civilisations de l'Université François Rabelais, Tours, under the direction of the late Professeur Jean-Michel Vaccaro (1938-1998). A significant recent addition to research has been the Bron Centre de Documentation Théâtrale de l'Université Lyon II. During the 1990s a number of universities, including Clermont Ferrand, Lille, Nantes, Orléans, Perpignan, Poitiers and Rennes, supervised research papers on local theatres and their contribution to the cultural life of the provinces.<sup>17</sup> At a national level the details of archives, and associated artefacts such as stage designs, are being recorded on websites making the tracking and the knowledge of accessibility of documents a little easier.<sup>18</sup> Most important is the CESAR database (Calendrier électronique des spectacles sous l'ancien régime et sous la révolution).

It is not intended, or within the scope of this thesis, to give a history of French music from 1789-1914 when discussing the repertoire that was performed in the provinces. However, as changes occurred to opéra comique, or as new genres entered the picture a brief discussion will be made as to the significance of the changes and recent literature relating to them. A starting point will be the development of music over the period in Paris and seeing how it then impacted on what was being performed on provincial stages. Risking pre-empting the findings of the later sections, it is fair to say that many of the problems relating to the history of provincial society, or the theatres, also created obstacles to researching the section on the repertoire. Until recently, the literature of the long-century consisted of studies of the main Paris theatres, histories of individual composers, an odd autobiography from the period and a number of genre

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<sup>17</sup> Examples of *thèses* and *mémoires*, such as André Santelli's study of the lyric theatre in Bastia from 1789 to 1981 or Martine Vincent's 1997 study of the theatre in Orléans from 1808 to 1850, are either cited in the bibliography or the survey of archival sources, appendix L, parallel document.

<sup>18</sup> A useful site is

studies. There has been a significant shift and Jean Mongrédien, in his history of French music from 1750-1830, did not overlook the provinces while acknowledging that this was an area needing further research.<sup>19</sup>

Few previous studies of provincial theatres have analysed complete seasons with the exception of Le Moigne-Mussat who has studied returns to the Société d'auteurs et compositeurs dramatique (S. A. C. D.) for the incidence of provincial performances. Our knowledge of performances in Paris has been enhanced by the writings of Emmet Kennedy, Marie-Laurence Netter (1996), Michel Noiray (1989) and André Tissier (1992 and 2002) who have brought a new clarity to the period of the Revolution and dispelled many earlier myths. For many, the entire decade of the Revolution was equated with the Reign of Terror and symbolized by the guillotine. M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet neatly rationalized the problem of much of the earlier research into both the Revolution and the music of the period. 'The standard books are limited not only because they fail to analyse adequately the works performed, but also because the search for the *best* examples of republican slogans has led to undue attention given to certain dramatists and neglect of others'.<sup>20</sup> This present thesis takes a number of the recent findings and relates them to the provincial centres.

For this thesis repertoire lists from well over a hundred theatres and companies have been scrutinized and compared. The results have been surprising and in some cases startling. It has not been an easy task, as the documents remaining in the archives often represent a year here and a year there, rarely a complete cycle. Occasionally a sequence of years does survive. What became apparent was that a vast repertoire was employed. The repertoire gradually evolved. It was also noticeable that towns separated by the

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<sup>19</sup> Mongrédien, Jean, *French music: from the Enlightenment to Romanticism* (Portland: Amadeus, 1996).

<sup>20</sup> Bartlet, M., Elizabeth, C., *Etienne Nicolas Mehul and opera during the French Revolution, Consulate and Empire: A Source, Archival, and Stylistic study* (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago, Illinois, June 1982), 1217.

sizeable distances were often playing remarkably similar programmes. From those two observations, and the fact that meaningful correlations were found, it has been possible to hypothesize about the missing years in the records of some theatres and to generalize for the whole of France. Over a third of all the départements were visited during the course of the study. There was the obvious problem of having to rely on the documents that have survived, the vagaries of war meant that fewer records survived in some of the northern parts of France. The archives in St. Lo (Manche), along with the whole town, were devastated during the Normandy invasion. There were similar omissions in the records of Caen. The annexation of Alsace-Lorraine at the end of the Franco-Prussian War also caused problems. Other difficulties were less foreseeable.

As programming needed central approval, directeurs sent in long lists of their intended repertoire to the Minister of the Interior but they rarely mention the composer. Just once in a while a composer was specifically named if there were two works of the same title in the same season. If the works were not being performed alongside each other then there was often no attribution and it has been necessary to make informed guesses. Tracking down the composers was quite a task; the main sources were Steiger's *Opernlexikon*, Beaumont Wicks *The Parisian Stage* and the repertoire lists in Albert Soubies' nineteenth-century studies of the principal lyric theatres in Paris.<sup>21</sup> But this was only partially successful and biographies of individual composers, posters and other diverse founts of information, including the Internet, have also been used. The composers of some works remained remarkably elusive and one looks forward to the completion of Nicole Wild and David Charlton's studies of the repertoire at the Opéra-Comique.<sup>22</sup> Some directeurs misspelling, abbreviating, or wrongly classifying

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<sup>21</sup> Steiger, Franz, *Opernlexikon* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1975), Wicks, Charles Beaumont, *The Parisian Stage* (Alabama, University of Alabama, 1953).

<sup>22</sup> *Répertoire musical du théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique, Paris, 1762-1971* ed. by David Charlton and Nicole Wild, (Paris: forthcoming).

vaudevilles as operas, were contributory factors in the remaining anonymity of certain works.

Although it was not the primary reason for the study of the repertoire, it is inevitable that the findings provoke a number of questions regarding the popularity of certain composers and certain works. As will be shown, over the last two decades there has been a reappraisal of a number of the composers and the genres that they were associated with. The starting point was not promising. A student studying for 'A' level music in the 1970s would have had as his 'bibles' Donald J. Grout's *History of Western Music* and Alfred Einstein's *Music in the Romantic Era*. In the *History of Western Music*, Grout hardly mentions the operatic developments taking place in France between 1770 and 1820. This is possibly surprising as opera was one area in which Grout had particular interest and expertise. In his *Short History of Opera* Grout has little more than a paragraph on Grétry, and of the five pages on Boieldieu, Auber and Hérold three pages are musical examples.<sup>23</sup> Writing from an earlier perspective Einstein, in a chapter on Romantic opera has just six lines about Grétry which mainly concentrates on the atypical fantasy-opera *Zémire et Azor*. There are passing references to Lesueur, Méhul and Spontini and a further six lines about *Richard Cœur de lion*.<sup>24</sup> Einstein does make one throwaway observation that with Grétry he had 'cited the name of a musician who perhaps contributed most to the transformation of 18<sup>th</sup> century into Romantic opera'. Writing twenty-five years later, Henry Raynor made no reference to Dalayrac, three observations on Grétry, and one to Boieldieu in a sentence about Grétry, while commenting that the works 'demand more than the oblivion that they have gone into.'<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Grout, Donald J., *A Short History of Opera* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 296, 387-392.

<sup>24</sup> Einstein, Alfred, *Music in the Romantic Era* (London: Dent, 1947), 105.

<sup>25</sup> Raynor, Henry, *A Social History of Music from the Middle-Ages to Beethoven* (London: Barrie Jenkins, 1972), 244.

The disparagement of opera in favour of other musical and literary genres has been a central and continuing fact of operatic history. It is probably significant that the art of music criticism and musicology was developed in nineteenth-century Germany. Edward J. Dent made the point that ‘the Germans of that period were indeed pioneers in symphonic music, but they were not very successful at opera so it was only natural for patriotic philosophers to point out that symphonic music was truly German, while opera was mainly French or Italian and was therefore more or less reprehensible.’<sup>26</sup> The aesthetics of the nineteenth century and music criticism placed the symphony, or chamber music on a higher plane than lyric works. The dominance of German musicology laid down a hypothesis that Beethoven was central and pivotal in the move to the Romantic era, whereas it can be argued that most harbingers of romanticism were on the French lyric stage. If music historians reject, or ignore, ‘lesser’ genres and arrangement of pre-existent music then a sizeable amount of the music for the French stage will never be considered. A large portion of the historical picture will be unexamined and not just of the boulevard theatres but the Opéra as well. Fortunately, in recent years, the writings of Mark Everist, among others, have helped to redress the situation.<sup>27</sup> The thesis follows some of the recent re-evaluations of French music of the period and explores some of the areas where the research is as yet in its infancy.

This study has been hindered by the absence of in-depth studies of music in the French provinces. The principal reasons for this apparent lack of interest may be two-fold. On the one hand there is the prejudice that intellectuals feel for the provinces (the very word ‘provincial’ has negative connotations), whilst on the other hand there is the

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<sup>26</sup> Dent, E. J., *Opera* (London: Penguin, 1940), 15-16.

<sup>27</sup> Everist, Mark, *Music Drama at the Paris Odéon, 1824-1828* (2002), ‘Theatres of Litigation: Stage music at the Théâtre de la Renaissance, 1830-1840’, *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 16 (2004) and *Giacomo Meyerbeer and Music Drama in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (2005).

fact that the popular genres performed in the provincial theatres were the very ones that critics and musicologists have tended to dismiss as second-rate. On the French lyric stage there was a hierarchy that had as its highpoint grand opera then descended through opéra comique, opérette to vaudeville, before similarly passing down to music-hall, gymnastic displays and animal acts. This hierarchy of taste has meant that whilst a good deal has been written about the rise of grand opera in Paris, and about associated composers such as Meyerbeer, the same could not be said for the other genres until recently.<sup>28</sup>

In 2005, there are also a number of studies coming to fruition that should provide information that either adds to, fills in some omissions, or complements this thesis. The European Science Foundation project on the circulation of music and musician in Europe 1600-1900 promises to be the most valuable. Of particular interest are the researches by Dr Damien Colas and Dr Miriam Chimènes (Institute de recherche sur le patrimoine musical en France, CNRS/BNF) on the orchestra in nineteenth-century Paris, and Halévy and the Parisian opera orchestras. Niels Jensen (University of Copenhagen) is also preparing research into the opera orchestras of Europe and measuring the impact of composers and certain seminal works on the orchestra. Dr Michael Fend (King's College, London) is studying musical education in Europe, a study that takes in the conservatoires of Lille, Marseille, Metz and Toulouse. There is also the research of Geneviève Honegger (Strasbourg) into the conservatoire and orchestra of Strasbourg. In France, the conservatoires were founded on a pyramidal and hierarchical structure that led to Paris. With the close links between the regional music schools, conservatoires and municipal theatres, Fend's and Honegger's research may help to consolidate our understanding of the musicians training and coincidentally give some indication of

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<sup>28</sup> Pendle, Karen, 'Paradise Found: The Salle le Peletier' in *Opera in Context* ed. by Mark Radice (Portland: Amadeus, 1998) 171-208, 'The Boulevard Theatres and continuity in French Opera of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century', *Music in Paris in the Eighteen-Thirties* ed. by Peter Bloom (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1987) 509-36. Charlton, David, 'Opéra-Comique: Identity and manipulation' in *Reading Critics Reading* ed. by Roger Parker and Mary Ann Smart (Oxford: OUP, 2001) 13-45 are three examples of recent articles.



provincial performing standards: in many cases the professeurs at the municipal music school, or conservatoire, were contracted to play in the municipal theatre' orchestra. However, the most crucial research relevant to this study is that of Dr David Charlton and Dr Nicole Wild (Royal Holloway, London) cataloguing the repertoire of the Opéra-Comique, 1761-1971. There is also a study by Dr Claude Loupiau (Université Paris I) of the Théâtre des Champs Elysées in Paris.

The question of the popularity of certain works and genres has been tackled from a number of perspectives, most notably box-office success and longevity in the provincial repertoire. In Paris success might simply be a good initial run. The provinces were allowed no such luxury. Probably resulting from season ticket holders wanting more for their money than one work over the period of a month, or longer, programmes were expected to change from one day to the next. Repeats of works had to be agreed to and sanctioned by the mayor. It has therefore been necessary to find other ways of gauging popularity and success other than initial runs. The question of longevity is particularly interesting as it has to be asked whether the period that works remained in the public domain was the result of satisfying the public taste, or whether it was a consequence of the conditions that the provincial theatres laboured: conditions that forced them to maintain a large repertoire. It also has to be asked whether some of the assumptions that have been made about audiences in Paris apply to the provinces. The reception of Wagner's music in the provinces is one such field. The reception history of a number of works is considered. In a different context James Johnson argues that audiences in Paris became less volatile because of their coming into contact with the symphonies of Beethoven, the provinces also became quieter but whether it was for the same reasons is debatable.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Johnson, James H., *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 257-69.

The thesis is divided into three sections that are interrelated. The initial chapters discuss the theatre in the urban landscape. Consideration is given to the composition of society in the provincial towns and how they interacted. The social stratification of Paris, and the debatable association of certain classes with certain theatres, did not apply outside the capital. The growth and development of resorts and spas, where greater leisure opportunities could be enjoyed, and the impact on theatre seasons are discussed.

Each section attempts to locate some salient features that either reinforce or challenge existing assumptions. Although some of the findings might have been guessed, the thesis hopefully provides statistical evidence that substantiates what had previously been conjecture. More often it actually challenges many previous-held prejudices. There is a tension at the centre of the study between the view from Paris and the reality in the provinces. As has been stated, as far as the published sources are concerned, the topic could not have a worse starting point: it is about the genres that have been denigrated, people (the bourgeoisie) who have been despised by writers and artists, and about the wrong place (the provinces). 'Provincial' and 'bourgeois' are words, like 'national' and 'religion', which conceal a variety of meanings beneath an apparently simple and homogeneous surface. More often than not the words are said in tones of disapproval: they cause negative reactions.

As the secondary literature was limited the majority of the research has had to be from archival sources. The study does take in a variety of towns and all the geographical regions of the country. The choice of towns has not been arbitrary. The centres include the industrial north, university towns, towns in agricultural areas, garrison and naval towns, resorts and spas, and some of the remotest towns in the Massif Central.

The sources have included repertoire lists; prospectuses; programmes; correspondence between directeurs, mayors, préfets, ministers, fire officers and police officials; posters of entertainments and posters outlining legislation and regulations.

There has been recourse to the local press and the specialist press such as *Le Moniteur des théâtres*. *Cahier des charges* (contracts between town and directeur), *livrets* (libretti) and *livret des mise-en-scènes* (performing editions) have been studied along with related original scores, such as for *Le Barbier de Seville* and *Othello*, Rossini / Castil-Blaze. Postcards of theatres and artistes have been collected and archives of set-designers and theatrical suppliers visited. Perhaps the strangest source was when the reconstructing a season for the theatre in Le Mans from the records of the local gas company. Amongst the correspondence for the theatre was the record of the volume of gas that had been supplied to the theatre and a note of the works performed on the particular evening.

From a wealth of local detail emerges a fascinating picture of the lyric theatre in provincial France; a picture that contradicts and challenges many of the presently held orthodoxies. Lastly, rather than just writing about the nineteenth century, the time-span has been extended to cover the period from the Revolution to the Great War: a 'long-century' framed by two calamitous events in the history of France. The intention is to give an overview. At this stage in the research into the theatre in provincial France there is still need for this overview. The few studies of individual centres might, for one reason or another, have been atypical. This overview is possibly analogous to taking a wide-angle photograph. Anyone two people looking at the landscape might hone in on different details, but they will both, hopefully, also see the wider picture.

## **Section 1**

# **Provincial France, Society and the Lyric Theatre**

## TOWNS, THEATRES AND THE URBAN LANDSCAPE

The history of the lyric theatre in provincial France, in the long century from the Revolution to the First World War, is inescapably linked to the urbanization of France and the development of the towns into centres for recreation as well as commerce. The nineteenth century was a period of unprecedented change throughout Europe. France was particularly remarkable in that 'dynamic' and 'stagnation' would both be equally apt descriptions of the years from 1789 - 1914. A French Rip Van Winkle, sleeping undisturbed and then waking in 1850, would have found a France that over a hundred years had seen huge constitutional and political changes. It was a nation that had suffered a vast bloodletting during the Revolution and a quarter of a century of European conflict and yet would still have been a France that was recognizable and familiar. France was still predominantly rural. There were cosmetic changes but the underlying structure was the same. The préfet rather than the King's intendant administered the new département; the nobility were now notables and the bourgeoisie still lived in a world remote from that of their agrarian neighbours.

The landscape was still one of inefficient farms, sleepy villages and small towns. At the close of the eighteenth century when the population of Paris would have been around six hundred thousand, the total urban population of France has been estimated at less than two million. Approximately 95% of France's total population of twenty-six million lived in isolated farms, hamlets, villages and small country towns.<sup>1</sup> Historians

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<sup>1</sup> Cobban, Alfred, *A History of Modern France* (London: Penguin, 1961), II. 11.

and economists have debated at what point a village might be regarded as a town.<sup>2</sup> Quoting the arguments of Marcel Reinhard<sup>3</sup>, Fernand Braudel came down firmly for an urban population of 10,000 rather than 2,000 as the divide for a town. However, whilst appreciating Braudel's argument that towns smaller than 10,000 would not have had the range of trades and services that we would now consider to be the prerequisites of urban society, the fact remains that in 1790 there were only 76 towns outside Paris that were above that divide. Amongst the 76 towns were a small group of comparatively large centres (30,000+ inhabitants) and five that had populations between 50,000 and 100,000. Only Lyon and Marseille had over 100,000 inhabitants. Braudel also makes the point that: 'Paris, lacking a direct outlet to the sea, unlike London for instance, was not dynamic enough to animate the French economy. In France, the role of economic stimulus was divided among several towns...'<sup>4</sup> It was these towns that developed particularly during the mid and late eighteenth century and within whose social life the theatre played such an important role.

The age of enlightenment saw town-planning projects developed on a grand scale. The symmetry, airiness and wide avenues, along with the squares and gracious public buildings that are such a feature of many provincial towns today, were part of urban renewal schemes that dated from the last years of the *ancien régime*. As town centres were remodelled with public money, so wealthy individuals put up magnificent town houses for themselves, together with tenements that they proposed to rent to the burgeoning middle class.

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<sup>2</sup> Braudel, Fernand, *The Identity of France* (London: Collins, 1990), 444-5.

<sup>3</sup> Reinhard, Marcel, 'La population des villes à mesure sous la Révolution et l'Empire' in *Population*, 1954, (2), 279-88.

<sup>4</sup> Braudel, 445.

Interesting glimpses of the towns of provincial France on the eve of the Revolution are found in the observations of the English traveller Arthur Young, and in the diaries of the American diplomat Thomas Jefferson. Young's impressions of France reflect the prosperity of many of the towns visited in 1787. 'Much as I have heard and read of the commerce, wealth and magnificence of this city [Bordeaux], it greatly surpassed my expectations.' Similarly, 'the theatre, built ten or twelve years ago, is by far the most magnificent in France. I have seen nothing that approaches it...The establishment of actors, actresses, singers, dancers, orchestra etc. speaks of the wealth and luxury of the place... Pieces are performed every night, Sunday not excepted, as everywhere in France.'<sup>5</sup>

Nantes made equally profound impressions on Young. As well as commenting on the public buildings, which reflected the obvious material affluence of the town, Young was struck by the signs of culture among the wealthy middle class of Nantes: the theatre and *chambre de lecture* (the equivalent of the English subscription library) were especially noted.

In the same year that Young was travelling through France, Thomas Jefferson was making a tour through the regions of France and Italy. Although primarily concerned with the agricultural practices of the regions, Jefferson did give a description of Marseille. The city was 'an amphitheatre surrounded by high mountains of naked rock,' within which he found [an] 'extensive society, a good theatre, freedom from military control and the most animated commerce of any on the coast.'<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Young, Arthur, *Travels during the years 1787, 1788 and 1789... [in] the Kingdom of France*, (Bury St. Edmunds: 1792), ed. by Constantia Maxwell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), I, 59-61.

<sup>6</sup> *Thomas Jefferson's European Travel Diaries*, ed. by James McGrath Morris and P. Weene, (Ithaca, N.Y.: Isidore Stephanus, 1987), 18.

Equally interesting is the account of an English theatre enthusiast, Anna Francesca Cradock, who kept a diary of her leisurely travels in France during 1783-6. The theatre at Aix-en-Provence was smallish but attractive with performances coinciding with the sessions of the *Parlement* from Christmas to June. The new theatre at Bordeaux was elegant from the outside, but Mrs Cradock thought the interior too heavy. She also commented that it was too large for the orchestra that they employed. Lyon and Montpellier were both judged 'excellent'. In November 1784, Mrs Cradock saw a performance of a pageant in a vast open-air amphitheatre. For the pageant, the Lyon theatre company had augmented the circus troupe of Antonio Franconi.<sup>7</sup> However, her comments on the theatre at Saumur were less favourable as it was 'little more than a barn'. The 'orchestra' at Saumur was a wretched musician scraping at a three-stringed violin.<sup>8</sup>

The first theatre to open outside Paris had been in Marseille in 1685. The company that was based in Marseille also visited Arles and Avignon. Avignon had its own permanent company by 1705. The present theatre in Marseille dates back to 1787. Other theatres constructed in the eighteenth century before the Revolution were Metz (1752), Nancy (1755), Lyon, Montpellier, Aix-en-Provence and Versailles (all 1756),

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<sup>7</sup> Details of Franconi's early career are given in Thétard, Henri, *La Merveilleuse histoire du cirque* (Paris: Julliard, 1978). Franconi led a circus troupe and arranged equestrian spectacles. He was based in Lyon from 1786-1792 before moving to Paris. Franconi provided the Opéra with horses for the charge in Spontini's *Fernand Cortez*. His descendants were influential during the nineteenth century and helped maintain the popularity of the circus. It is also of interest that the pageant Mrs. Cradock witnessed was just one example of performances in arenas and Roman remains, and that these were not a twentieth-century manifestation.

<sup>8</sup> Cradock, Anna Francesca, *Journal de Madam Cradock, Voyage en France, 1783-1786, traduit d'après le manuscrit original et inédit par Mme O. Delphin-Baileyguier* (Paris: Perrier, 1896), 110, 205, 99-100, 144, 280.



Auch (1761), Brest (1765), Nantes (1770), Beauvais (1773), Rouen (1776), Bordeaux (1780), and Besançon (1786).<sup>9</sup>

Apart from the theatres mentioned, there were others in the naval towns of Toulon, La Rochelle, and Le Havre. John Moore, a Scottish physician, noted that as well as theatres in manufacturing and trading towns 'the same thing takes place in most of the frontier towns, and wherever there is a garrison of two or three regiments.'<sup>10</sup> There were theatres in the important frontier towns of Arras, Douai, Strasbourg and Bayonne. Strasbourg was a special case as there were French and German theatres in the town, a consequence of the annexation in 1681. The presence of theatres in garrison towns provided a relatively harmless diversion to the alternatives of drink or brothels.

However, what is of particular interest is that at the end of the eighteenth century the most significant advances in theatre architecture and the design of theatre auditoria were taking place in the provinces rather than in Paris.<sup>11</sup> The architect Jacques-Germain Soufflot provided the theatre in Lyon with a degree of comfort and safety that was unknown in Paris theatres. It was at Lyon that Soufflot installed for the first time a safety curtain in a theatre. Victor Louis, who was also a town planner, designed the Grand Theatre in Bordeaux. Louis incorporated many of the features that were advocated by the contemporary theorist André-Jacob Roubo  *fils*. Roubo believed that civic theatres should ideally be characterized by physical isolation in a square that was opened onto by several streets, thus affording vistas both of and from the monuments.

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<sup>9</sup> Dates for theatre opening from histories of individual towns and the summary by Charlton, David, and Smith, Richard Langham, 'France' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1992), II, 272-4.

<sup>10</sup> Moore, John, *A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland and Germany* (London: Strahan and Cadell, 1780), I, 143-4.

<sup>11</sup> For a discussion of theatre architecture prior to the Revolution see Howarth, William D., *French Theatre in the Neo-Classical Era 1550-1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 461-98.

The theatres should be decorated with impressive porticoes.<sup>12</sup> In Besançon, and almost 100 years before Wagner at Bayreuth, Claude-Nicholas Ledoux placed the orchestra in a sunken pit. Ledoux also provided the *parterre* with seats. In a letter to the *intendant* Lacoré, Ledoux comments that only in France were the least wealthy condemned to stand on their feet for over two hours.<sup>13</sup> He promised that at Besançon the *parterre* audience would be better treated and better placed than had been the case up until that time.<sup>14</sup>

A number of new theatres dated back to the troubled days of the Revolution when the populace of several towns was agitating for their own theatre. In Laon the church of St. Remy was bought and converted to a municipal theatre. The theatre opened on 5 August 1793 and remained at the heart of the cultural life of Laon till destroyed in the Great War.<sup>15</sup> In both Aurillac and Dieppe the theatres were housed in sequestered convents while the theatre in Perpignan had previously served as the collège du Jesuits.<sup>16</sup> In Privas, after the Revolution, L'Église des Cordeliers was used as the municipal theatre. The choir was demolished for the stage and the two side chapels were transformed into *loges* (tiered boxes).<sup>17</sup> Similarly, the theatre in Cahors

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<sup>12</sup> Roubo, A. J. fils., *Traité de la construction des théâtres et des machines théâtrales* (Paris: Collot & Jombert, 1777), I, 24.

<sup>13</sup> To the modern theatre-goer the *parterre* is the top-price orchestra seats but, in eighteenth-century Paris it was a sort of holding pen for students, merchants, clerks, lawyers, intellectuals and the occasional aristocrat who went there for the atmosphere. It was where the court met the streets. While other areas of the theatre were seated, the *parterre* stood. A lively account of the *parterre*, and the changes that occurred after the Revolution, is found in Ravel, Jeffrey, S., *The Contested Parterre* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999).

<sup>14</sup> Correspondence in ADDoubs, Fonds de l'Intendance, C40.

<sup>15</sup> Billon, Jean, 'Histoire du théâtre à Laon et à Soissons', *Memoires de la Fédération des Sociétés Savantes du Département de l'Aisne* (Aisne: Chauny, 1956), III, 70.

<sup>16</sup> Tisseyre, Christine, *Le Théâtre de Perpignan 1811-1914* (Perpignan: Éditions des Archives Communales, 1995) 11.

<sup>17</sup> The original theatre in Privas survived as a popular artistic centre until 1932 when it became the Odéon Palace cinema, finally closing some forty years later and now housing the public library. Leouzon,

was initially housed in the disused Église des Ursulines before moving in 1822 to what is now the café Tivoli. In 1835 the town inaugurated the present municipal theatre.<sup>18</sup>

The early years of the nineteenth century were also years of urban expansion and refurbishment. Peace was a great healer. Business began to revive almost immediately after 1815 and the towns prospered and spread into their rural hinterlands. The wealth was in some cases the result of the development of rural workshops feeding the towns, such as in the case of the textile industries around Rouen and Lyon. The provincial towns were benefiting from the economic revival around them. The prosperity of some of these provincial towns is reflected in the paintings of the period. The landscape painter J. M. W. Turner visited the Loire valley in 1826 and from his paintings of Nantes, Angers, Blois, Saumur, Tours and Orléans there is a feeling of prosperity and obvious civic pride displayed in the elegant public buildings and promenades.<sup>19</sup> The focal point of Nantes' urban development, by the financier Jean-Joseph-Louis Graslin, was the Place Graslin, with its neo-classical theatre and impressive open space surrounded by distinguished town houses designed by Mathurin Crucy (1749-1826), who was also the architect of the Théâtre de l'Odéon in Paris. Turner's watercolour, figure 1, shows the theatre in Nantes. It is an animated scene with crowds going about their everyday business in front of the theatre. While Turner was in Nantes, the theatre was advertising a mélodrame, vaudeville and Spontini's *Fernand Cortez*. With Turner's enthusiasm for the theatre, it is more than likely that he attended the performance.

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Gilbert, *Le Théâtre à Privas* (6p. typescript, 1983), ADArd 4<sup>0</sup> Br 93. 2.

<sup>18</sup> <http://www.francequercy.fr/chiffres/theatre.html>. (retrieved 12-08-03)

<sup>19</sup> A detailed account of the travels from Shoreham, through Brittany and after the Loire back to Calais, along with sketches and reproductions of the paintings can be found in the catalogue to the Tate Exhibition of Turner's travels to the Loire in 1826. Warrell, Ian, *Turner on the Loire* (London: Tate Publishing, 1997).



Figure 1. *Nantes: The Place Graslin and Grand Theatre*. J. M. W. Turner

When Stendhal wrote *Les Mémoires d'un touriste* in 1836, there was a ready market for travel books in France. Conventional travel books dealt with what the traveller would see, the monuments, the antiquities, the paintings in the art galleries and the scenery. All these are to be found in the *Mémoires* but so are the towns, and especially the people. Stendhal's humour is wry, often condescending, but still offers genuine glimpses of provincial life.

The towns of Chalons, Lyon, Carpentras, Clermont, Lorient, Granville, Rouen, Aix-les-Bains, Aix-en-Provence, Chambéry, Montpellier and Béziers all charmed Stendhal. As he progressed down the Rhone on a steamboat, reaching Montélimar, he noted that he saw masons at work everywhere:

They are building a tremendous lot of houses in the cities, towns and villages. Streets are straightened everywhere. In the fields all the slopes are being tiled, walls built, hedges planted. I could fill four pages with details about the prosperity of France, especially in the departments north of a line drawn from Besançon to Nantes. Even the stick-in-the-mud south begins to rouse itself.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Stendhal, *Les Mémoires d'un touriste* trans. A. Seager (U.S.A: Northwestern Univ. Press, 1962), 110.

Although the art galleries and museums were Stendhal's first destination in a town, he did comment on some of the theatres with varying degrees of enthusiasm. Nantes had impressed but Lyon invoked his ire:

A lucky accident, a fire, I believe disembarrassed them [the Lyonnais] of their big theatre, an enormous heavy building of the period of Louis XIV. It was just opposite the Town Hall, and it smothered it. [...] The question of building a new theatre came up. Some quite reasonable sites were proposed, for instance, that of the Boucheries near the Saône. But not at all. They preferred the old location, and the town is forever uglified. Only a step from Lyon, Italy offers four hundred ready-made models for theatres and of all sizes [...] but the bourgeoisie of Lyon took great care not to go see the Fenice in Venice or the new theatre at Brescia or the Scala.<sup>21</sup>

More to Stendhal's taste were the theatres in Lorient and Chambéry. In Lorient a pretty little boulevard led up to the theatre. The theatre was 'well arranged, small, tranquil and 'snog' [*sic*].' Chambéry was blessed with two monuments that met with Stendhal's approval, 'a charming theatre and a beautiful street with arcades on both sides.'<sup>22</sup> The theatre, built in 1824, could hold an audience of 1,800, about one-tenth of the population of Chambéry.<sup>23</sup> Some ten years after the visit by Turner to Nantes, Stendhal stayed in a hotel that looked onto the view the artist had painted. He was entranced by the scene and had to admit that it equalled anything in Paris.<sup>24</sup> Such diaries and memoirs help present a picture of towns that were not merely centres of commerce but also of the arts, dignified with libraries, museums, art galleries and theatres.

Many theatres were built facing either the hôtel de ville, or the préfecture, as in Agen, Angers, Angoulême, Besançon, Cahors, Carcassonne, Lyon, Le Puy, Nancy, Orléans, Poitiers, Rennes, Saumur and Saintes. Others were actually part of the Hôtel

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<sup>21</sup> Stendhal, *Les Mémoires d'un touriste*, 87-88.

<sup>22</sup> *ibid*, 166 and 231.

<sup>23</sup> Black, Philippe, *Le Théâtre Charles Dullin à Chambéry* (Chambéry: Guides conférenciers de Chambéry, 1987), 7.

<sup>24</sup> Stendhal, *op cit.*, 136.



Hôtel de Ville - Auch, Bayonne, Pau, St. Omer and Toulouse. Figure 2 shows the Grand Théâtre, Lyon from the courtyard of the Hôtel de Ville.

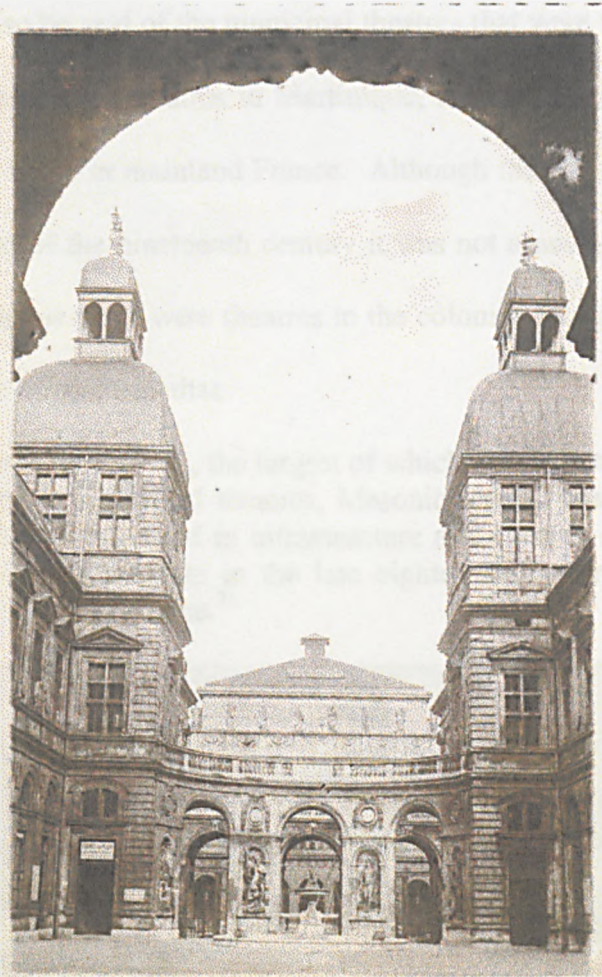


Figure 2. The theatre and municipal authorities in close harmony, Lyon.

The close relationship between State and theatre is not without significance. The closeness was no doubt intended to affirm the role of the theatre in a grand design of an enlightened and ordered society, while also keeping a weather eye on what occasionally might be a disorderly stage. In Strasbourg the theatre was at the centre of social life, and also physically at the centre of the town. Perhaps, even more so in

Strasbourg, it was a political statement, symbolizing a bastion of the French language on *alsacien* soil.<sup>25</sup>

This could also be said of the municipal theatres that were in *France outre-mer*. Figures 3, 4, and 5 show the theatres in Martinique, Alger and Ha Noi: buildings that would be equally at home in mainland France. Although the three illustrations are for theatres from the end of the nineteenth century it was not a new phenomenon. At the end of the *ancien régime* there were theatres in the colonies. Referring to Guadeloupe and Martinique there were towns that:

...were also cultural centres, the largest of which, by the second half of the eighteenth century, possessed theatres, Masonic lodges, reading clubs and newspapers. They compared in infrastructure and even in size – between 4,000 and 10,000 inhabitants in the late eighteenth century – with most medium-sized towns in France.<sup>26</sup>



Figure 3. The Municipal Theatre in Martinique (photo, Gill Glover, 1990)

<sup>25</sup> Hemmings, F. W. J., *Theatre and State in France, 1760-1905* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 141. For specific examples such as the theatre in Strasbourg see Deck, Pantaléon, *Histoire du Théâtre Français à Strasbourg 1681-1830* (Strasbourg: Le Roux, 1948).

<sup>26</sup> Boule, Pierre, H., and Thompson D. Gillian, 'France Overseas', in *Short Oxford History of France: Old Regime France* ed. by William Doyle (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 135.





Figure 4. Théâtre Municipal – Alger (postcard, author’s collection)



Figure 5. The restored Opera House in Ha Noi.<sup>27</sup>

The theatres were regarded as a statement of culture and as an image of nation.

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As the towns prospered so did individuals, especially the hierarchy of the towns. Fashionable society, a society based on money rather than the Court, enjoyed the local municipal theatre but was also beginning to have access to the developing recreational centres such as seaside resorts and inland spas. The casino in Aix-les-Bains was opened as early as 1825 and incorporated a theatre that had a summer season provided by a troupe from Chambéry. A feature of the casinos was their theatres. Offering family entertainment in the theatre ameliorated the gambling in the casino, but of course it was the profits from the gambling that paid for the 'respectable' diversions.

The aristocracy and higher bourgeoisie were able to live a visibly more comfortable existence. But not only did the privileged benefit. As a whole, the living standards of ordinary French people also rose steadily from 1820-50. Housing, sanitation and health were improving. Compared to the beginning of the century a larger proportion of the population was living in towns and finding employment in industry and services. There was an associated migration of workers to the towns on either a seasonal or permanent basis. New industries replaced the old and major industrial towns saw rapid population growth.

Summarizing the first half of the nineteenth century one might conclude that, although it ended in crisis, a great deal had occurred that was to the benefit of the majority of the population. In 1815 France was in a parlous state. Two million men had been mobilized of whom one million were dead. Seven hundred thousand ex-soldiers were looking for peacetime employment. There were the expenses to support a foreign occupation until those troops were finally evacuated in 1817. Life began again, and agriculture, industry and trade all slowly recovered. Moreover, the towns had been steadily growing and displaying many signs of prosperity.

The second half of the nineteenth century was to prove even more dramatic. France transformed herself into a world power. The capital was being metamorphosed by Baron Haussmann from a building site into the focus of European social life. Napoleon III reigned over a capital that, with all its material transformations, Imperial *fêtes* and splendid exhibitions, shone before the world. Paris, more than ever, became a centre of attraction for foreigners: the city of both gaiety and vice.

Similar developments, though on a different scale, took place in the provinces. In 1855, Delacroix writing to a friend after a journey by coach, commented that 'it was intolerable when having to travel to places that the railway had not reached as one was thrown into a dreadful old cart, dumbfounded and crowded together with every scoundrel imaginable.'<sup>28</sup> It was the development of the railways that drove the prosperity of the second half of the century. At the beginning of 1852 there were 3,685 kilometres of railway routes. By 1870 it had grown to 17,740 kilometres. Over the same period the number of passenger journeys in a year grew from 6,378,000 in 1841 to 111,162,000 by 1869.<sup>29</sup> This new mobility, allied to the money and the time for recreation that the fashionable world now enjoyed, encouraged the development of seaside resorts in particular and tourism in general.

Charles, Duc de Morny (1811-1865), half-brother of Napoleon III, Minister of State and would-be writer of opérette, was the power behind the successful development of Deauville, while Imperial visits gave a renewed vigour to spas such as Aix-les-Bains and Vichy. Vichy saw spectacular growth throughout the second half of the century. In 1833 it had received just five hundred and seventy-five tourists while by 1860 that

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<sup>28</sup> 'Les communications dans tous les pays qui ne sont pas traversés par les chemins de fer sont intolérables... jeté dans d'affreuses carrioles, entassé et confondu avec toute la canaille possible'. Allem, Maurice, *La Vie quotidienne sous le Second Empire* (Paris: Hachette, 1948), 262.

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.* 265.

number had risen to twenty thousand. In 1861 Napoleon III gave his mark of approval to the spa town and by the summer of 1890 one hundred thousand visitors were descending on Vichy. The present theatre in Vichy dates from 1902. E. J. Hobsbawm makes the point that 'the ailing liver was a great leveller, and mineral spas attracted a cross-section of the non-aristocratic rich and the professional middle classes, whose tendency to drink and eat too much was reinforced by prosperity.'<sup>30</sup>

Another spa popular with Napoleon III was Plombières. In 1861 Berlioz visited the town for a month and found his first two weeks coincided with the Emperor being in residence. The whole resort was in 'full dress'.<sup>31</sup> In 1865 Bismark had an interview with Louis Napoleon in Biarritz, while the moderate liberal statesman Count Camillo Cavour of Piedmont attended secret negotiations in Plombières, possibly starting the practice of international diplomatic meetings held at resorts.

To meet the demand for recreation, the number of spas and seaside resorts continued to increase. Arcachon thrived after the opening of the railway from Bordeaux in 1850. Vittel, which first started to exploit its waters in 1845, had a casino designed by Garnier, architect of the Paris Opéra. The Mediterranean coast continued to attract the aristocracy, and Queen Victoria visited Hyères in the 1860s, as did Tolstoy and Robert Louis Stevenson. St-Jean-de-Luz, Wellington's headquarters in 1813-14, had remained a popular watering place with the English who by 1869 had a resident Anglican chaplain. Contrexéville, Dieppe, Granville, Hyères, La Rochelle, Le Mont-Dore, Malo-les-Bains, Royan, Vals-les-Bains and Trouville were just a handful of the

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<sup>30</sup> Hobsbawm, E. J., *The Age of Capital, 1848-1875* (London: Abacus, 1977), 241.

<sup>31</sup> Holoman suggests that Berlioz enjoyed himself in Plombières, but compared it unfavorably with Baden-Baden and other German spas. Holoman, D. Kern, *Berlioz* (London: Faber and Faber, 1989), 483-4.

many towns that began to exploit themselves as resorts.<sup>32</sup> As has been noted, a feature of the spa towns was the casino, and a feature of the casino was the theatre. Figures 6 and 7 show two quite different casino theatres and the extremes of auditoria - the opulent theatre in Monte-Carlo and the less grand casino-theatre in Cherbourg.



Figure 6. The theatre in the Casino at Monte-Carlo

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<sup>32</sup> A description of the development of the spa towns and resorts in Toulouze, Bernard, *Villes d'eaux, Stations thermales et balnéaires* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale Éditions, 2002)



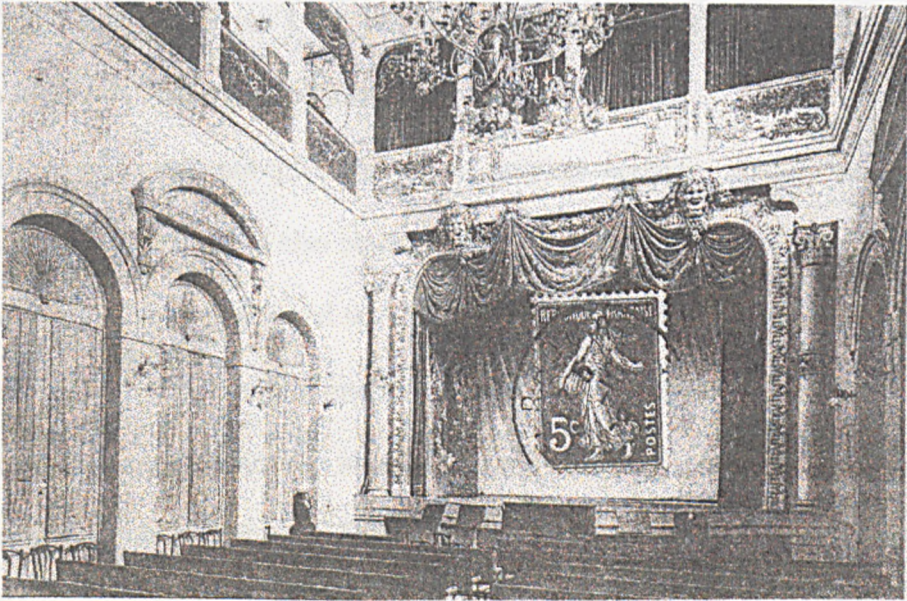


Figure 7. The theatre in the Casino at Cherbourg; note the small orchestra 'pit'.

But it was not just the resorts that were flourishing. As the new centres for leisure were growing, so too were the industrial towns. By 1870 France was an industrial power. Migration to the towns continued and some rural areas, such as Lozère, began to suffer from serious depopulation. Both Paris and Lyon ceased to be workers' cities as their centres, previously filled with small industries and workshops, were taken over by trade, the service industries and leisure activities. As the working classes moved out to peripheral industrial suburbs, the middle class took their place in the newly gentrified centres. Café society, restaurants and theatres all prospered.

There was significant urbanization in the second half of the nineteenth century. There was a migration from the country, communes and hamlets had falling populations but towns were growing and more individual towns reached sizes that could support a whole range of services. Bordeaux doubled in size, from 130,900 to 256,600, while Toulouse increased from 93,400 to 149,800 in the second half of the nineteenth century. Some towns experienced even greater population increases, Marseille growing from 195,300 to 491,200 while there was an almost fourfold increase in Roubaix, growing

from 34,700 to 124,400. From 1851-1911 the proportion of people living in towns rose from 25% to almost 50% of the population.<sup>33</sup>

The towns were not just centres of market activity, disseminating goods, education and information, but also places of social discourse. Margaret Jacob writes of towns as centres of an 'enlightened sociability.'<sup>34</sup> In other words, people were brought together by their cultural interests, and not by religion, occupation or social status. This sociability is most recognizable in the reading societies, salons, *académies* and philosophical societies. The *académies* discussed and debated, regarding knowledge and rhetoric as important enough to be shared. French provincial *académies* had about 2,500 *académiciens* in any one year. A provincial town housed not just the market and the magistrates' court, but post office, libraries, bookshops and theatre and possibly a university.<sup>35</sup>

The overwhelming reality for the majority of the population was living in, or near, a town. It is relatively easy to find statistical evidence for an economic history of a century, but less easy to quantify 'la sociabilité'. However, we are social animals and the fairs and markets brought the country into contact with the town. From café society and salons to cycling or tennis clubs, from choral societies and *fanfares* to the *académies* and learned societies, the provincial towns offered all aspects of 'la sociabilité' and a variety of genial activities.

The most popular diversions included simple pleasures such as the *promenade* but also the café, music, dancing and the theatre. 'Highpoint of the cultural life, the

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<sup>33</sup> Price, Roger, *A Social History of Nineteenth Century France* (London: Hutchinson, 1987), 84.

<sup>34</sup> Jacob, Margaret, 'The Enlightenment redefined' in *The French Revolution in social and political perspective* ed. by P. Jones, (London: Hodder, 1996), 207.

<sup>35</sup> 24 towns had a university outside Paris, Toulouse being established in 1229 through to Marseille in 1854.

theatre during the nineteenth century affirmed its social importance simply by the position it held in the urban landscape.<sup>36</sup> The municipal theatres were subsidized (the *subvention*) more or less heavily, but by the end of the century this did not prevent every small town wanting its own theatre, even if it could only rely on the occasional visit from a touring company. Albi, Gueret, Alençon, Vesoul, Die, Bar-sur-Seine, Villefranche de Rouergue and Quimper all afford instances of new theatres being built at the end of the century.<sup>37</sup>

In Honfleur a local poet, Amedée Tissot, was commissioned to pen a prologue for the inauguration of the town's new theatre in 1870. Part of the oration was a dialogue between 'Dramatic Art' and the 'Town':

Dramatic Art:

Oh what surprise and good fortune, his [the architect's] magical powers  
have transformed my mausoleum into an enchanted Eden.

The Town:

But of my children he is one of the most ingenious,  
always go-ahead, at times audacious,  
and this word is here to speak highly  
of the one in whose brain the good project was thought up.<sup>38</sup>

Later in the dialogue there is a discussion of the practicalities. 'Art', asks the 'Town', what it has all cost, 'a million francs?' Needless to say, there had been no such

<sup>36</sup> 'Point d'orgue de la vie culturelle, le théâtre au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle affirme son importance sociale notamment par la place qu'il occupe dans le paysage urbain.'

Fritsch, Jocelyne, 'Une affaire d'état' in *Saisons d'Alsace*, 120, 1993, 19.

<sup>37</sup> Not all the towns that built new theatres in the last years of the nineteenth century were building for the first time. Albi and Quimper had been visited by touring companies that had previously used rather incommodious *salles des spectacles*.

<sup>38</sup> L'Art dramatique.

O surprise, o bonheur! sa puissance magique  
Transforme mon sépulcre en un Eden féérique

La Ville.

Mais parmi mes enfants il en est d'ingénieux,  
Toujours entreprenants, parfois audacieux.  
- Et ce mot est ici pour faire leur éloge -  
Dans le cerveau de l'un bon projet se loge.

Tissot, Amédée, *Inauguration du théâtre de Honfleur* (Lisieux: Mme Lajoye-Tissot, 1870).

profligacy as ‘Honfleur was neither Paris nor Lyon.’ When the true cost is revealed, a fraction of the suggested millions, ‘Art’ cannot believe it and inquires whether their architect is a famous sorcerer, ‘No, it was simply that he knew his trade.’ The second scene outlined the theatre’s plans for the future and the Normandy muses of Auber, Boieldieu and Corneille were duly acclaimed.<sup>39</sup> The finale brought the entire troupe on to the stage, entering behind banners that proclaimed the legends *drame*, *comédie*, *vaudeville* and *opérette*. After the opening ceremony, the evening proceeded with performances of *Le Farfardet* and *Les Pantins de Violette* by Adolphe Adam. And so began what would be, for over a century, one of the leading social focuses of Honfleur. Similar scenes must have been commonplace across France as new theatres proudly opened their doors for the first time, although perhaps not all towns had their own Amédée Tissot to record the event.

The end of the nineteenth century also saw a flurry of urban enhancement and the construction of new theatres. As has been noted, many towns built theatres for the first time, such as Albi, Villefranche de Rouergue and Honfleur, while others replaced earlier buildings as in Agen, Angoulême, Calais, Cherbourg, Clermont-Ferrand, Le Puy (figure 8), Lons-le-Saunier, Tulle, Quimper and Vichy.

The theatre in Rouen was also rebuilt, but in this case as a result of the old theatre having burnt down. On re-opening, the theatre celebrated by issuing a commemorative leaflet which surveyed the previous century and also looked forward to the Millennium. The print, reproduced as figure 9, showed a vision of Rouen in the year 2000. The theatre is portrayed as an even larger gothic edifice, with dirigibles in the sky and horse-traffic in the streets.

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<sup>39</sup> Like the Garnier Opéra, many theatres are decorated with facing stones depicting the muses, genres and favoured writers and composers. Boieldieu, Adam, Auber, Corneille, Racine and Molière all feature regularly across the public buildings of France.



PROJET DE THEATRE  
pour la Ville du Puy (Haute Loire)  
Sur l'Emplacement entre Le Tribunal Civil et la Route Nationale

*Façade sur la Route Nationale*

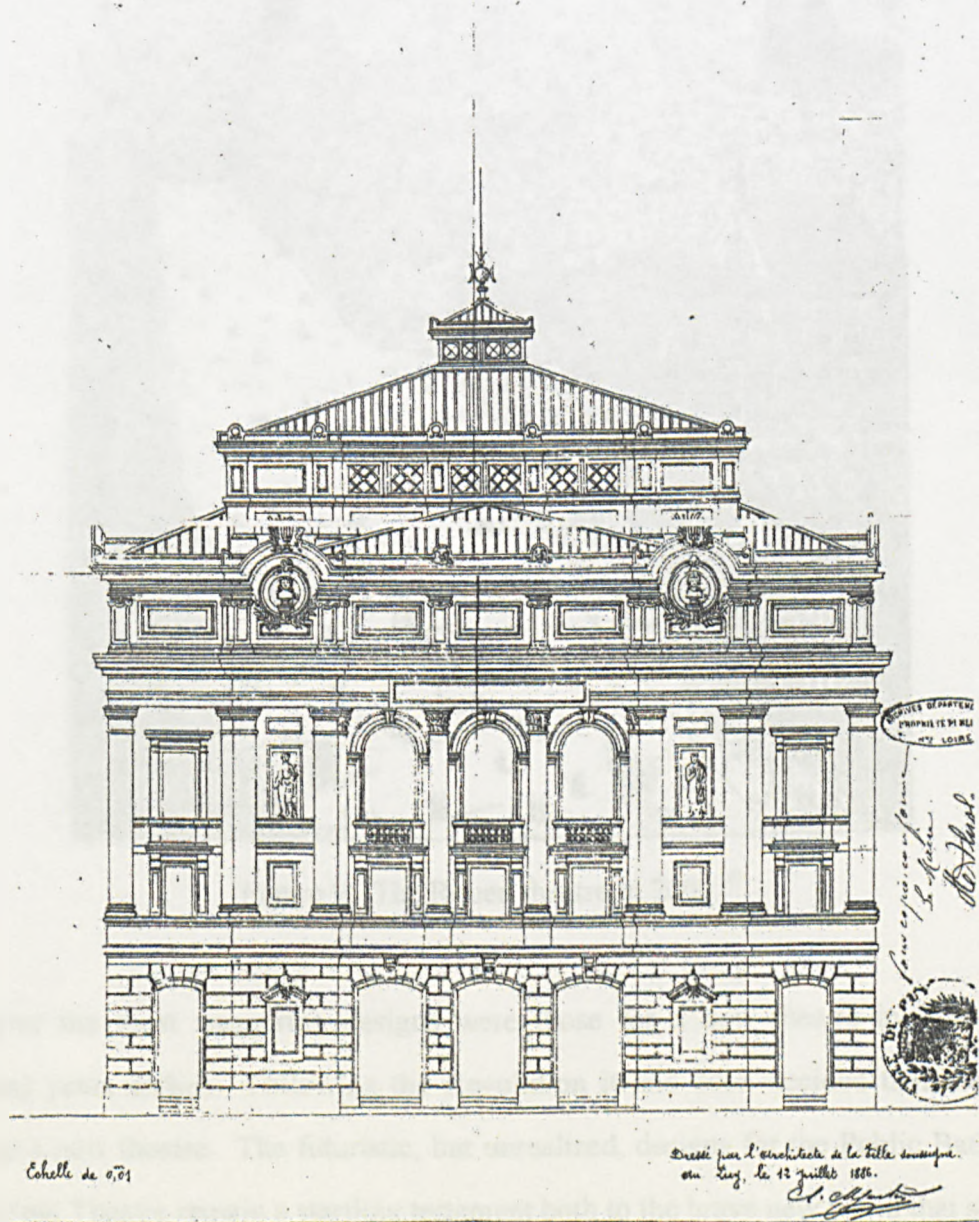


Figure 8. Architect's plan of new theatre for Le Puy, 1886 (ADH-L)





Figure 9. The Rouen theatre in 2000.<sup>40</sup>

However the most staggering designs were those for a new theatre in Lille some hundred years earlier. Following the Revolution it had been decided that the town needed a new theatre. The futuristic, but unrealized, designs for the Public Baths and Municipal Theatre remain a startling testament both to the brave new world that seemed to be opening after the Revolution and the part that the theatre would play in developing the image of nation (figure 10).

<sup>40</sup> Deshays, Emile, *Le Théâtre-des-Arts, Rouen* (Rouen: Léon Deshays, 1885).



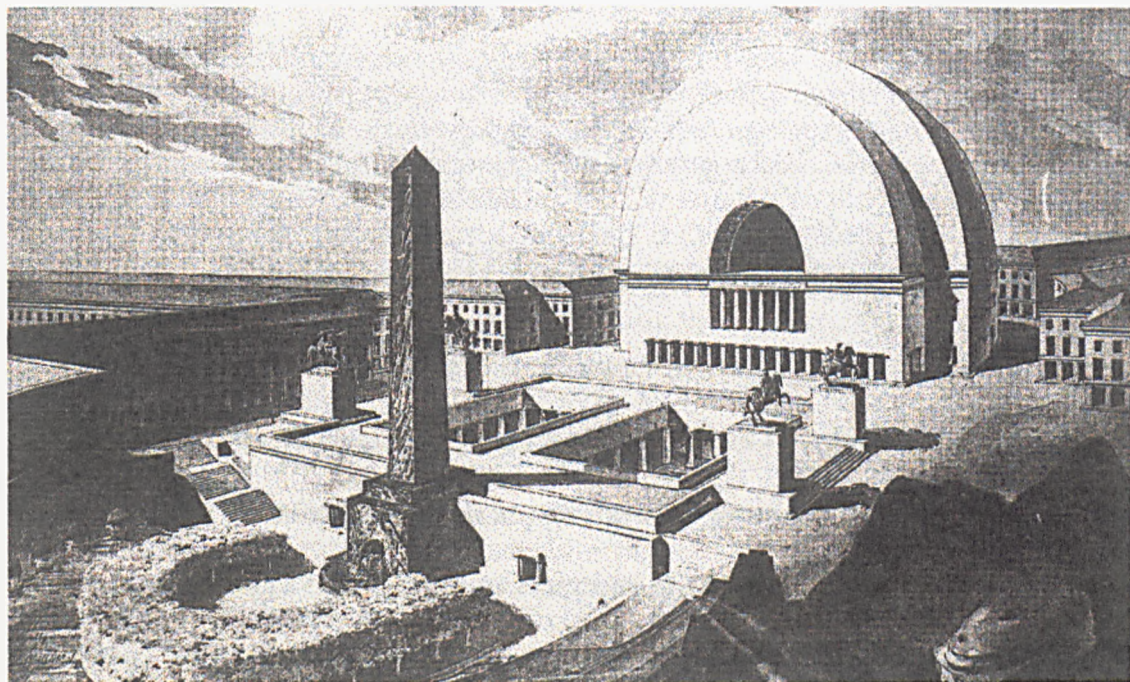


Figure 10. *Vue du Théâtre du peuple et des bains publics, projet de F. Verly, an II.*  
(Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lille)<sup>41</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Reproduced in Trenard, Louis, *Histoire de Lille* (Toulouse: Privat, 1991), 274.

## 2

## URBAN SOCIAL LIFE AND THE THEATRE

To understand the society it is necessary to review the places where they met. 'The promenade is *de mode*,' a journalist noted.<sup>42</sup> On a fine day, at midday and in the evenings, there were the *boulevards* and *promenades* for it was there that one went to be seen and where those entering society first came to be noted and discussed. Stendhal, in his novel *Le rouge et le noir*, refers to improvements being made to the public promenade in the (fictional) small Franche-Comté town of Verrières.<sup>43</sup> The setting of the novel soon moves from Verrières to the regional capital, Besançon. Besançon, with its imposing citadel commanding the heights, excited Stendhal's protagonist, Julien; the whole scale was grander than his native Verrières. The young man spent two hours just walking the ramparts and promenades, drinking in the sights, admiring the shops, before finally entering a café. 'The high stature of the men, their round shoulders, their ponderous way of walking, their enormous whiskers, their long frock coats in which they were clad, all attracted Julien's attention.'<sup>44</sup> Stendhal described the public walks while also drawing attention to another strand of provincial life: the importance of café society for men. The drawing room, or *salon*, provided an equivalent meeting place and focal point for female society.

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<sup>42</sup> *Journal de Paris* (11 April 1808).

<sup>43</sup> Stendhal, *Le Rouge et le noir*, trans. by Margaret Shaw (London: Penguin Classics, 1953), 23, 27.

<sup>44</sup> *ibid.* 177.

Another element in the social life in the département revolved around the military establishment. Not only were there the officers and their wives resident in the town but there was also a regular procession of visiting senior officers of the National Guard. Typical was Felix Marmion, adjutant in the Grande Armée, uncle to Hector Berlioz, an army officer and musician. 'Several letters in the family archives mention his fame as a singer in the drawing-rooms of Grenoble and Meylan.'<sup>45</sup> Officers and their wives would have enjoyed performances of the ballads, *romances*, and operatic airs that were so popular in the *salons*. Marmion was fond of music but his great passion was the lyric theatre. Many an officer's second home was the theatre. Nor did the military hierarchy disapprove of this particular pastime. In 1837 the non-commissioned officers of the 37<sup>th</sup> Regiment in Quimper were allowed by their commanding officer to put on benefit evenings at the theatre in order to raise money for the poor.<sup>46</sup> Likewise, between 1821 and 1853, with the approval of their commanding officer, the garrison at Belfort raised several thousand francs for civic charities with their performances of operas, dramas and dances. The musicians of the regiment accompanied the entertainments.<sup>47</sup> In their turn many provincial theatres had special concessionary rates for military personnel. In a posting away from Paris officers were glad of the entertainments offered, and many a directeur was grateful for the soldiers augmenting his audience. As has been noted when discussing the construction of

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<sup>45</sup> Cairns, David, *Berlioz* (London: André Deutsch, 1989), I. 93

<sup>46</sup> Lefeuve, Romaine, *Le Théâtre dans le Finistère* (Quimper: handwritten, 1963), 36.

<sup>47</sup> By the mid-nineteenth century Belfort, a garrison town and a mountain resort, was sufficiently prosperous to attract touring members of the Comédie Française and the Vaudeville. Corret, A., *Histoire de Belfort* (Belfort: J-B Clerc, 1855), 76.

theatres, a consequence of the garrison was that it meant that almost without fail the main town of the département possessed a theatre. One exception was Rodez, préfecture of the Aveyron, which lagged behind many other towns in providing a purpose-built theatre. When the matter was debated in the council chamber, a theatre was seen as a necessary adjunct to a garrison town as the stage could provide morally uplifting diversions for the soldiery and be instrumental in maintaining good order!<sup>48</sup> A garrison town could make significant contributions to revenues. With military season tickets and ordinary tickets at a discounted rate, officers and soldiers were encouraged to attend the theatre. In Nîmes during the 1830s a monthly season ticket cost 24frs. for a man. A General paid the same, but a Colonel paid 15frs and then there were increasing subsidies so that a sous-lieutenant paid just 6frs. for his *abonnement*.<sup>49</sup> An extreme example can be seen in Strasbourg in 1751. The French-speaking population was a minority in the town and while all civilian spectators brought in 6,010 *livres* the military contribution to the coffers was 19,629 *livres*.<sup>50</sup> Although Strasbourg might be atypical, with the military outnumbering the civilian population by three to one, the truth remains that army and navy personnel contributed a significant proportion of audiences in garrison towns and ports.

Alongside the military establishment was the civil administration. At the very zenith was the Préfet. To implement the Code Civil, Napoleon had instituted a new official, the préfet, who was the senior government official in each of the département.

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<sup>48</sup> Tisseyre, J. M., 'Le Théâtre de Rodez,' *Les Cahiers de Rouergates*, 6 (October 1971), 78.

<sup>49</sup> The monthly season ticket rates taken from a poster for the Grand Théâtre, Nîmes, ADAud 8T8.

<sup>50</sup> Deck, *Histoire du Théâtre à Strasbourg*, 49.

The préfet oversaw the day-to-day administration of the département. To the préfet of the Basses-Pyrénées Napoleon once said, 'Castillane, you are a pasha here. A hundred leagues from Paris a préfet has more power than I'.<sup>51</sup> However, in Paris it was generally agreed that an audience with the First Consul was one of the most splendid in all of Europe. In December 1799 heavily embroidered official uniforms were created for the consuls and ministers. Five months later uniforms were provided for the préfets and senators. At receptions those not in uniform were expected to wear the full dress of the old Court.<sup>52</sup> The prestige that surrounded the préfet was often heightened by his title of *comte* or *baron*, given as a recompense for his labours. With his protocol, galas, balls, banquets, receptions and fireworks he allowed the provinces the illusion of a society close to that of Paris. Stendhal noted that:

...you find that all small towns of ten thousand inhabitants, especially in poor districts, are animated by a great hatred for the Sub-Prefect. He gives two balls every year, and the people he invites to them have great contempt for the others, whom they call servile, but it is only during the elections every four years that they really fight.<sup>53</sup>

In his turn, the préfet might not have relished entertaining local politicians, landed gentry, businessmen, professionals and small-town functionaries. Certainly the préfet in Laon, Alexandre Méchin, was scornful of his provincial neighbours and wished to be back in Parisian society. Méchin (1772-1849) was just twenty-nine when he was

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<sup>51</sup> Cronin, Vincent, *Napoleon* (London: Harper Collins, 1971), 200.

<sup>52</sup> Mansel, Philip, 'Napoleon the Kingmaker,' *History Today* (48 / 3), 40.

<sup>53</sup> Stendhal, *Les Memoires d'un touriste*, 85.

appointed as préfet to the Aisne. For the young official Laon was a tedious banishment.

Writing to the sous-préfet he drew a far from flattering picture of Laon society:

Vous eussiez vu nos élégants  
devenir d'indiscrets aimables  
et nos matrones vénérables  
assises sur un triple rang,  
toutes au bonheur de médire;  
jasant si bien, et pour tout dire,  
faisant si bien qu'on ne  
s'entendait plus.

Le Mardy gras, jour à jamais fameux  
Vous eussiez vu quarante couturières,  
Offrir aux spectateurs nombreux  
L'aspect si doux de quarante derrières,  
Se trémoussant à qui mieux.

Et dans leurs mouvements rapide  
Défier le jarret nerveux  
Du danseur le plus intrépide  
Là sont confondus les états;  
La dame danse avec javotte  
Et nos plus grave magistrat  
Savent manier la marotte.<sup>54</sup>

Despite the rather jaundiced view of the young préfet, balls and dances were an important part of social life in the provinces. The préfet would have a complimentary

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<sup>54</sup> You would have seen our elegant gentlemen // become indiscreet lovers // and our venerable matrons // sitting together in three rows // all happily slandering away // gossiping so loudly, in a word or so // one couldn't hear oneself think.

On Mardi Gras, a day forever renowned // you could have seen forty seamstresses // offer up to the numerous spectators // the view, so sweet, of forty rears // vying with each other to wiggle the most.

And in their swift movements, // challenging the vigorous legs of the most intrepid dancer, // all ranks are mingled together; // the lady dances with the gossip, and our most solemn magistrates // get to grips with empty-headed dolls.

Billon, Jean, in *Mémoires de la Fédération des Sociétés du Département de l'Aisne*, III. 72, [Kindly translated by the late Ian Haines, Head of French, King Edward VI Boys' Grammar School, Stratford upon Avon].



'loge' at the theatre. As well as the salon and dances of the préfet the municipality and theatre directeurs would arrange masked balls to mark Mardi Gras and other *fêtes*.

The handbill for 27 January 1879 for the theatre in Arras noted that to mark Mardi Gras and 'in response to the numerous requests the management will give a grand costumed and masked ball.'<sup>55</sup> Balls, especially masked balls, were a useful additional source of revenue for the theatre directeurs. The 1817 returns for the *troupe ambulante* of Cocatrix de Franlieu show that their visit to St. Jean d'Angély (Charente-Maritime) coincided with the annual *fête*.<sup>56</sup> As well as the usual theatrical performances there was a *bal paré*. The returns reveal that the revenue taken was over 600frs. Such receipts were in excess of any evening when plays and operas were performed. Three years later in Toulon, Mme Bernard the directrice gave masked balls in the theatre on the two Sundays preceding Shrove Tuesday and then on the day itself. The receipts for the first two were not encouraging, raising only some 89frs. However, the Tuesday Mardi Gras ball brought in 829frs 85c that more than compensated the management.<sup>57</sup> Dances were always a popular diversion both in Paris and the provinces.

Leisure ceased to be the preserve of the aristocracy. Regular dinners, grander receptions, yachting and racing joined hunting as main relaxations of the upper classes, while fishing, shooting, dancing and the theatre had even wider appeal. The very rich who travelled with their own establishments were being joined by growing numbers of vacationers from the upper and middle ranges of the bourgeoisie.

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<sup>55</sup> '...pour répondre aux nombreuses demandes, le direction donnera un grand bal paré et masqué.' The information is taken from one of a number of attractive handbills for the theatre in Arras, ADP-C B714/3.

<sup>56</sup> The information was found in the returns for the theatres of La Rochelle, Rochefort and St. Jean d'Angély 1816-1817, of Cocatrix de Franlieu. These documents in the archives in La Rochelle are mirrored in similar examples from Belfort and Aix-en-Provence. ADC-M 4T26.

<sup>57</sup> The trimestriel returns for Toulon are in the archives in Draguignan. They included a breakdown of the number of seats sold for each performance. ADVar 9T5-2.

A normal town, however small, had specific functions. Trade exchange, administration, justice, attracted the urban crowd, however sporadic or relative. Resorts, on the other hand, were centres where people came together in pursuit of interests that had little or nothing to do with business, but rather with leisure and pleasure.<sup>58</sup>

The new resorts offered opportunities for concerts and shows, promenades, excursions, dancing, gambling and meeting each other, especially the opposite sex. Resorts that had been primarily aristocratic, such as Aix-les-Bains or Biarritz, began to take on a more cosmopolitan air. As early as 1824, Caroline Duchess of Berry had taken residence in Dieppe. The season included receptions, dinners, balls, concerts, horse racing, firework displays, excursions and promenades. The actors of the Théâtre du Gymnase performed in an improvised theatre in La Chapelle des Minimes. Work started on the actual theatre-italien on 2 February 1826 and it opened to the public on 8 August of the same year.<sup>59</sup> The Empress Eugénie, following her stay in 1850, had popularized Biarritz. By 1860 it had a railway line and its prosperity really took off. Spas developed as well as the seaside resorts. As already seen, Vichy that had welcomed 20,000 visitors in 1860, was entertaining 100,000 by 1890. As the social base of the visitors widened, so the very fashionable few moved their favours. Dieppe increased its visitors and the wealthy moved to Trouville, and then as the shopkeepers and minor civil servants arrived at Trouville so that resort was superseded by Deauville. Further along the coast in Cabourg, the casino housed a billiard room, a lecture hall, ladies room (with piano), and a theatre seating 1,000 for *concerts, bals et spectacles*. Baedeker noted that Cabourg was:

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<sup>58</sup> Weber, Eugene, *France, Fin de siècle* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986), 179.

<sup>59</sup> Bignot, Gérard, 'La Préhistoire des Bains de Mer à Dieppe', in *Bains de mer et thermalisme en Normandie* ed. by Jean-Paul Hervieu (Caen: Annales de Normandie, 2002). 27.

de monde de la mode, des journaux, des théâtres, des artistes, de la danse, du cirque et peut-être...chat!...de la bicherie et de la demi-bicherie.<sup>60</sup>

The world of the arts at Cabourg included Marcel Proust, Monet, Adam, Auber, Gounod and Massenet. From mid-July to mid-September it was reported that, 'only those who cannot leave remain in Paris.' (*Fin de Siècle*, 8 August 1897).

The period of most growth of spas and resorts coincided with more liberal theatre licensing laws in 1864. In Nîmes, in addition to the Grand Théâtre, small establishments opened behind the larger cafés; at La Croix de Fer the Théâtre Conrozier was launched; on rue Bonfa there was the Théâtre Despeysses. Other venues included the Théâtre de la Renaissance, the Théâtre Casino d'Été, the Eden Théâtre, the Folies Bergères and the Théâtre des Variétés. The Casino provided the summer season during the period that the municipal theatre was closed.<sup>61</sup> Similarly in Vichy in 1864, a theatre in the Casino replaced the original *Salle des fêtes de l'établissement thermal*. As the number of tourists and curists visiting Vichy increased so to did the venues for theatrical entertainments: the Eden Théâtre (1882), Théâtre de l'Alcazar (1890) that would by 1910 be transformed into the Théâtre de l'Élysée-Palace, Théâtre du Jardin de Vichy (also known as the Casino Kursaal) (1900), and the Théâtre de Pygmées (1900), a sort of Punch and Judy with human marionettes. The Jardin de Vichy offered spectacles for

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<sup>60</sup> Heraud, Colette and Guy, 'D'Ennery lance Cabourg', in *Bains de mer et thermalisme en Normandie*, ed. Jean-Paul Hervieu (Caen: Annales de Normandie, 2002). 127-8.

<sup>61</sup> The minor theatres in Nîmes had their greatest successes between 1870 and 1900. It has to be admitted that they tended to come and go, finally losing out to the cinema. Some were glorified café-concerts while others did keep to fairly discrete genres, or rather indiscrete in the case of the Folies Bergères. The Casino provided a summer season to complement the Grand Théâtre that included grand opera. Clément, Robert, *Les Théâtres de Nîmes au cours des siècles* (Nîmes: Lacour, 1986) 21-6.

the whole family, 'wonderful jugglers, above all a pretty troupe of small cats admirably dressed.' <sup>62</sup>

The improvements in the national economy allowed leisure time for all classes. Even the working classes grew used to lives in which they saw things and places that their parents had never been able to see. One of the major benefits of the nineteenth century was the expanding notion of vacation. In *fin de siècle* France, holidays and the spread of travel, rest and restoration were being seen as a desirable norm: the affirmation of the right to idleness was not just for a favoured few but for everybody. Dancing, football and cycle races aroused intense enthusiasm. But the most popular diversion for all classes throughout the century was the theatre.

Surveys by the Théâtre National Populaire (TNP) during the 1950s and 1960s give a notion of the composition of audiences; however, there was no such market research or national statistics in the nineteenth century. Although lacking such precise empirical evidence, a recurring hypothesis of historians of the 'long century' was that the population lived in and for the theatre. In the series of volumes that make up *La Vie quotidienne*, published between 1946 and 1950, there are regular references to the theatres of Paris and the provinces. Following the Revolution and during the Consulate the noise, lights and movement all drew the crowds especially during the lugubrious dark evenings. Programmes changed frequently and seats were accessible to all

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<sup>62</sup> There is a good collection of local newspaper accounts of the secondary theatres in the Archive Municipal de Vichy (these are fully cited in the repertoire section and the bibliography). The details of the Jardin de Vichy were from *L'Avenir de Vichy*, 21 (22 May 1904). There were some less obvious sources such as the safety reports on the buildings by the *sapeurs et pompiers*, AMVichy I155-158. Other details Wirth, Thierry, *Vichy* (Vichy: Wirth, 2000) 340-365.

purses.<sup>63</sup> Throughout the century the theatre remained a truly popular diversion. 'The theatre, as with all the other pleasures, was greatly enjoyed during the Second Empire.'<sup>64</sup> Likewise at the end of the nineteenth century, Paris offered everything from classical drama to the avant-garde, from Scandinavian tragedies to the earthiness of the boulevard theatre. One could listen to *Tannhäuser* or *Madame Angot*. What was of particular importance was that the theatres catered for all tastes and all pockets.<sup>65</sup>

Histories of individual towns regularly refer to the role of the theatre as the most prevalent leisure activity. Some examples drawn from various regions will serve to illustrate the importance of the theatre in the social life of the provinces. In Rodez, "for over a century, the municipal theatre was symbolically at the centre of the town's artistic life, at times brilliant but later less so...."<sup>66</sup> The theatre was the hub of cultural life in Périgueux following its opening in 1838. During the summer *spectacles et concerts* were also given at the Grand Café de Paris, Périgueux.<sup>67</sup> In La Rochelle:

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<sup>63</sup> 'Imaginons seulement Paris sans cinéma, sans music-hall, et avec des cafés qui, malgré leur réputation, nous feraient penser aujourd'hui à des estaminets de province. Représentons-nous cette ville aux maigres quinquets, lugubre dès la tombée de la nuit, et demandons-nous où nos arrière-grands-pères auraient pu trouver un peu de mouvement, de bruit et de lumière, sinon dans les salles de théâtre.' Robiquet, Jean, *La Vie quotidienne au temps de Napoleon* (Paris: Hachette, 1946), 126.

<sup>64</sup> 'Le théâtre a, comme tous les autres plaisirs, été fort goûté pendant le Second Empire.' Allem, Maurice, *La Vie quotidienne sous le Second Empire* (1948), 221.

<sup>65</sup> '...théâtre classique, théâtres d'avant-garde, théâtres du boulevard. De Porel à Lugné Poé, d'Antoine à Samuel, de l'Odéon aux Variétés, de *Tannhäuser* à *Madame Angot*, des âpres tragédies scandinaves aux déshabillages en scène, chacun pouvait en avoir pour son goût et pour son argent.' Burnand, Robert, *La Vie quotidienne en France de 1870 à 1900* (Paris: Hachette, 1948), 223.

<sup>66</sup> 'au centre de cette vie artistique provinciale, le Théâtre Municipal a été pendant plus d'un siècle un symbole, un temps brillant, puis combien amoindrir...' Tisseyre, J. M., *Les Cahiers de Rouergates*, 6 (October 1971), ADTa C2433, 75.

<sup>67</sup> Becquart, Noël, 'Spectacles et divertissements à Périgueux en 1874' in *Périgord Actualités* (12.01.1974).

...following the difficult years [at the beginning of the nineteenth century], the middle-class hankered after all types of diversions and the popularity of the theatre in this epoch is well attested. From 1815 to 1831 there were no less than 1,222 performances at La Rochelle, varying between 50 and 100 according to the year (100 in 1816, the year of the return of the Bourbons and of peace). As to the programme, above all comedies and vaudevilles, operas and opéras comiques, more rarely costume dramas and tragedies.<sup>68</sup>

The cultural life of Toulon revolved around the Grand Théâtre. The repertoire of the theatre had a bias towards the lyric genres. *Café-concerts* were offered at the Café des Arcades, while at the Café l'Alcazar the entertainment included popular arias, mimes, songs, opérettes, pantomimes, and short comedies (*saynètes*). Although the *café-concerts* were extremely popular the Grand Théâtre maintained its universality as a report from the mayor's office observed. '[During 1865] the laboring classes and the less well-off occupied 108,424 seats while the well-to-do and rich occupied 26,856 seats.'<sup>69</sup> Even as late as 1900, an anonymous writer in Annecy could recall that the town's main diversions were sport, the theatre and the cinema.<sup>70</sup>

From opera to vaudeville, from melodrama to Racine, as soon as the curtain went up there was a real enthusiasm and the audience was transfixed.<sup>71</sup> At Marseille it was a similar picture:

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<sup>68</sup> '... après les années difficiles, la bourgeoisie aspirant à toutes les sortes de distractions et le vogue du théâtre à cette époque en est une autre preuve. De 1815 à 1831, il n'y eut pas moins de 1,222 représentations à La Rochelle, variant de 50 à 100 selon les années (100 en 1816, année du retour des Bourbons et de la paix). Au programme, des comédies surtout et des vaudevilles, des opéras, des opéra-comiques, quelque rares drames et tragédies.' Delafosse, Maurice, *Histoire de La Rochelle* (Toulouse: Privat, 1991), 248.

<sup>69</sup> '... la classe laborieuse et peu aisée occupe dans l'année 108,424 places...la classe aisée ou riche - 26,856 places.' Agulhon, M., *Histoire de Toulon* (Toulouse: Privat, 1980), 265.

<sup>70</sup> Author unknown, *L'Activité musicale à Annecy de 1900-1914* (Handwritten, n.d.), ADH-S. F389.

<sup>71</sup> Weber, Eugene, *France, fin de siècle* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986), 167.

A working class public always frequented the theatre, always reacted keenly to the repertoire that it preferred - operas, operas-comiques and melodramas. From one genre to the other the plots didn't change much, and the melodramas had for a long time a musical accompaniment. Stendhal, present at a performance of *Le Gamin de Paris* in Marseille, observed "that after a couple of minutes, this hall full of Provençals was so attentive and silent that you could hear a pin drop."<sup>72</sup>

In something of a contrast Jules Vallès (1833-85) described an evening in the theatre at

Le Puy:

The public was mixed: the ladies in low-cut dresses bent forward nonchalantly on the front of the boxes; the onlookers cat called and threw their programmes. The rich ate ices; the poor crunched on apples.<sup>73</sup>

This short extract with the ices and crunching apples gives a vivid picture of a provincial theatre in the middle of the nineteenth century. Although the catcalls and jeering might have disturbed that particular performance, what is important is the evidence of the broad social mix at the theatre. '*Mélangé*' refers to both a social mix and a motley crowd.

The depiction of audiences, both in paintings and cartoons, was common throughout the century. Although the intention of the artist might have been slightly patronizing, these caricatures reveal the serious involvement of the audience in the action on the stage. *Le Monde dramatique* of 1835 presented a series of illustrations

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<sup>72</sup> 'Un public populaire a toujours fréquenté le théâtre, toujours réagi vivement au répertoire qui avait ses préférences - opéras, opéras-comiques, ou mélodrames. D'un genre à l'autre les intrigues ne changeaient guère, et le mélodrame avait longtemps comporté un accompagnement musical. Stendhal, assistant à Marseille à une représentation du *Gamin de Paris* observant 'qu'après deux minutes, cette salle pleine de Provençaux était attentive et silencieuse à entendre voler une mouche.' Agulhon, Maurice, 'La Ville de l'âge industriel' in *Histoire de la France Urbaine* ed. by George Duby, (Paris: Ed. du Seuil, 1983), IV, 376.

<sup>73</sup> 'Le public est mélangé: Les dames décolletées se penchaient nonchalamment sur le devant des loges; les voyons jetaient des lazzis et lançaient des programmes. Les riches mangiaient des glaces; les pauvres croquaient des pommes.' Agulhon cites Vallès who in his trilogy *Jacques Vintras* drew upon his experiences as a boy in Le Puy on the south-east edge of the Auvergne. Agulhon, op cit. 377.

that examined the audiences of the different Parisian theatres from the Opéra to the Funambules. Possibly the best known illustrations of theatre audiences and performers are found in the cartoons of Honoré Daumier. Daumier showed all aspects of theatrical life in his series of cartoons *Les Gens du spectacle*.<sup>74</sup> He mocked the bourgeois, portrayed the braying in the *paradis*, and sketched every one from the directeur down to the stage boys making waves for a mélodrame. His cartoons showed great tragédiens in full flight, and the audience, and orchestra, gently slumbering. Artists and engravers, ever-practical men, knew that there was a market for these prints of theatrical life. The provincial artist also recorded life in the local theatre including individual members of the audience such as the Marseille's caricaturist Sem's illustration of George Gilbert Voisins, son of le Comte Albert des Voisins and the great dancer Marie Taglioni. George was a habituée of the Grand Théâtre, Marseille – reproduced as figure 11.

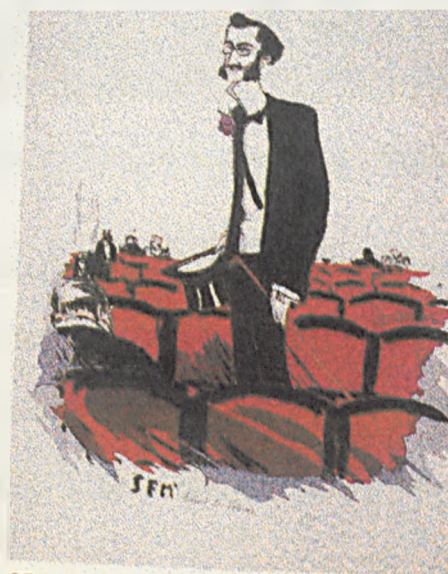


Figure 11. Caricature by Sem of George Gilbert at the Marseille theatre, 1899.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Daumier, Honoré, *Les Gens du spectacle* (Milan: Éditions Michèle Trinckvel, 1993)

<sup>75</sup> From BMMarseille – 1232, reproduced in *Divines divas, vivat l'opéra* (Marseille: Archives de la Ville, 1987), 79.



Equally interesting are the illustrations from the local press of the time. Figure 12 shows crowds for tickets in Lyon. The local press also reported on the productions and reproduced scenes from the operas for their readers.



Figure 12. Crowds in Lyon at the theatre.<sup>76</sup>

During the late-eighteenth century and nineteenth century there does seem to be what might be described as ‘theatremania’. Amateur dramatics were extremely popular.<sup>77</sup> In the 1730s and 1740s Voltaire had a private theatre in Madame du Châtelet’s property at Cirey. The evocative, modest château-theatre at Cirey still

<sup>76</sup> *Le Progrès illustré* 1 January 1893. (BMLyon 5752)

<sup>77</sup> References to amateur theatre can be found in Hemmings, *Theatre and State*, (1994) 72-3, 226-40. Recent research into the amateur theatre, *théâtre(s) de société* and *théâtre bourgeois* includes Plagnol-Diéval, Marie-Émmanuelle, and Quéro, Dominique, *Les Théâtres de société au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Bruxelles: Éditions de l’Université de Bruxelles, 2005) and Trott, David, ‘Qu’est-ce que le théâtre de société?’ in *Revue d’Histoire du Théâtre*, 2005, (1), 7-20.

survives. On Madame du Châtelet's death, Voltaire moved to rented accommodation in Paris where he immediately established a private theatre. During the 1770s and 1780s Marie-Antoinette shared in amateur theatricals. The *Mémoires* of Madame Campan record that the Queen performed exceptionally well in Rousseau's *Le Devin du village* and that opéras comiques and comédies were the favoured genres for such performances.<sup>78</sup> With such a lead from the Queen it was a possible encouragement to amateur theatricals in the aristocratic way of life both in Paris and the provinces.

What is of particular interest is the number of country houses that put on an annual season of theatrical performances and these were seen as a great social event in the particular neighbourhood. The château of Le Marais presented a theatrical season, and one that survived the Revolution. The season in 1807 ran for the three weeks after the last Sunday in August. At L'Hermitage, north of Valenciennes, there could be at least 800 people in the auditorium. It is not without significance that 'extras' at those performances were recruited from the soldiers garrisoned nearby at Condé. As late as 1912 Monsieur and Madame Thiry installed a 'salle des fêtes' at their château of Boisset-les-Prévanches. The shows staged there were mainly opérettes, the cast always an amateur one. The audience was made up of relatives, neighbours and officers from the garrison at Évreux.<sup>79</sup> Figure 13 shows one such performance at the chateau of Boisset where there is a small orchestra in attendance.

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<sup>78</sup> Campan, Marie-Jeanne, *Mémoires sur Marie Antoinette* (Paris: Baudouin, 1822), I. 228-231.

<sup>79</sup> Girouard gives a particularly comprehensive account of the theatres in country houses in the chapter, 'Interlude 1: Putting on a show.' Girouard, Mark, *Life in the French Country House* (London: Cassell 2000), 197-218.





Figure 13. A performance at the château of Boisset-les-Prévanches in approximately 1912, the stance of the performers and the small orchestra suggest a lyric work.<sup>80</sup>

But amateur theatricals were not just a conceit of the aristocracy. Often amateur performances were the result of frustration when a professional touring company was unable to visit all the towns on its circuit. In 1863 it was the young men in Apt who, lacking the entertainment of a visiting troupe, wrote to the mayor asking whether they could use the theatre for a series of performances to raise money for charities and the poor. They proposed a repertoire of five plays, a number of vaudevilles, romances and chansonnettes, and three operettas of Offenbach: *La Bonne d'enfant*, *Croquefer* and *La*

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<sup>80</sup> Girouard, Mark, *Life in the Country House*, 216.

*Rose de St. Flour*. They went ahead regardless of the usual protocols, resulting in an official complaint from the sous-préfet in Apt to the préfet in Avignon.<sup>81</sup>

Judging by the number of scripts sent to the préfectures many amateurs also had aspirations as writers. Most of the would-be dramatists submitted plays, but occasionally an opera passed over the desk of the préfet such as the melodramatic *Stella*, words by E. Boulet de la Vallée and music by Monsieur A. Lecomte. The one-act opera had a cast of three principal characters, including Lucifer, and there was a chorus.<sup>82</sup> 'Monsieur Lecomte' has all the suggestion of an alias. It was not uncommon for members of the aristocracy to have theatrical pretensions.

One of Offenbach's most performed one-act opérettes, *Monsieur Choufleuri restera chez lui*, had a libretto that was a collaboration between Halévy and the Comte de Mornay. Monsieur le Chevalier de Courval submitted the manuscript of a vaudeville, *L'Officier en semestre*, to the prefecture of the Yonne. It was performed in Auxerre on 4 July 1830.<sup>83</sup> In Rouen, the préfet was asked to consider an opéra comique, *La Perle de Frascati*, by Amedée de Rondin whose address was given as the Château de Buisson de Mai, near Pacy-sur-Eure. With the libretto was a letter of recommendation from M. Bernard *chef d'orchestre* at the Théâtre-des-Arts, Rouen.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> The initial request to the Maire was on 1-1-1863, the complaint to the Préfet is dated 23-1-1863. ADVau 4T3.

<sup>82</sup> A number of submissions are to be found on ADSM 4T106. Sadly, it is not recorded whether they were approved or refused.

<sup>83</sup> The correspondence between Auxerre and the Ministry of the Interior, 18.01.1830 and 24.03.1830 in ADYo 80T3.

<sup>84</sup> Another libretto, but with a reference enclosed hoping to influence the préfet, ADS-M 4T106.

Equally, employees of the theatres might submit scripts and in Troyes on 16 January 1838 there was a benefit performance that comprised three works by the directeur Devaux.<sup>85</sup> For a concert on 25 October 1863 at Jonzac, given in aid of the poor, permission was needed to perform a vaudeville by a member of the Fanfare de Jonzac.<sup>86</sup> An opéra comique performed in Caen in 1834, *La Rosière-Suisse*, was a joint effort between a local writer and the *chef d'orchestre* of the Municipal Theatre, Crémont. Two years later a member of the Caen troupe, Charles René, provided both words and music for an opéra comique, *Les Blanchisseuses*.<sup>87</sup>

The shelves of prefectures were filled with such scripts and libretti. In Rouen there were, amongst many others: *Une Ficelle*, Léon Chatillon-Billon (stamped approved); *La Sécurité maritime* and *Le Trébuchet*, both by Alfred Desprez; *Les Trois mendiants* and *Les Mystères de Mont-St-Michel* by A. Duroguier (fils) of 22, Rue Beauverges, Le Havre and *Le Diable à Rouen* by M. Payen.<sup>88</sup> Apart from the fact that both Alfred Desprez and Duroguier appear stage-struck there is an interesting connection between a number of these works. *Une Ficelle* and *Le Sécurité maritime* shared a common setting of Le Havre. *Le Sécurité maritime* had the added piquancy of being set in the Théâtre des Variétés where it was performed. With the devil in Rouen and the mysteries of Mont-St-Michel the writers were treading a parochial stage.

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<sup>85</sup> The programme appears to have been sent along with other documents requesting permission to play Dijon. ADCd'Or 36T4a.

<sup>86</sup> Request to perform, along with a copy of the script, ADC-M. 4T21.

<sup>87</sup> Carlez, Jules, 'La Musique à Caen de 1066-1848,' *Mémoires de l'Académie Nationale, des Sciences, Arts et Belles-Lettres de Caen*, (Caen: Blanc-Hardel, 1876), 241-242.

<sup>88</sup> One of many scripts sent to the préfet, ADS-M. 4T87.

Similarly, a popular work in the 1902 season in Perpignan was a revue, *Perpignan sur les planches*, with words by a local journalist César Boyer.<sup>89</sup> Local settings were often given to the most successful works in the repertoire. Parodies or pastiches were extremely popular with audiences. The Boulogne writer Ernest Deseidler reinvented Offenbach in *La Grande Duchesse de Boulognestein*. This ‘méli-mélo’ (muddle) was included in the 1871 season in Boulogne.<sup>90</sup>

For a writer, the stage offered the best way to widespread acclaim. But for the majority of enthusiasts for the theatre, or a member of the middle class wishing to display status in a provincial town, a mark of distinction was to have a season ticket for a *loge* (box) at the theatre. In Alès, a small prosperous town in the Hérault, the Municipal Theatre had twenty-seven *loges*<sup>91</sup>. The season ticket holders occupying the *loges* present an interesting cross-section of the higher echelons in a small town. The council minutes for 1896 list whose bid for a *loge* had been accepted, and in most cases the occupation was also recorded. The representatives of commerce and trade were primarily made up of merchants and dealers, *négociants*, although the list does include a draper, and in 1901 a mill owner and a tapestry maker. In 1896 Mlle Bénajean, the *Directrice du Collège*, had a *loge* and then in 1904 the world of education was also represented by a *professeur du lycée* and a *professeur de gymnastique*. *Notaires et avocats* were the principal lawyers with *loges*, but in 1904 they were joined by the Public Prosecutor and the Clerk to the Court. More unusual occupations included, in

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<sup>89</sup> Inspection copy for the approval of the maire to allow performance, ADP-0. 4T114.

<sup>90</sup> The flyer for this *méli-mélo* based on Offenbach is in ADP-C B1307<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>91</sup> Reports to the Council in Alès and applications for *loges*, ADGard 8T11.

1901, a reporter from a Marseille’s daily paper, and in 1904 the director of the casino and a *conducteur au chemin de fer*. Each year a certain number of the *loges* were just listed by name.

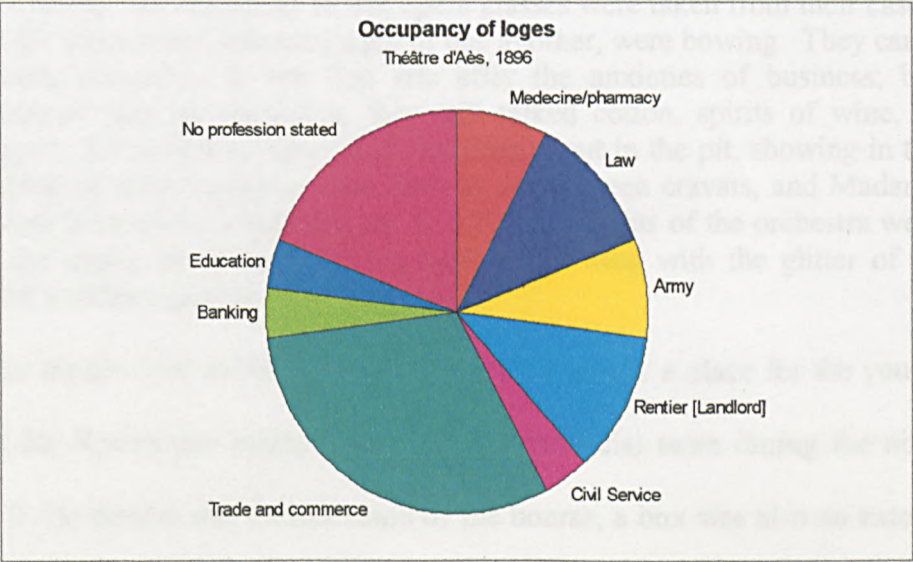


Table 1. Allocation of boxes at municipal theatre in Alès by profession.<sup>92</sup>

The absence of senior members of both the council and the police from this list is most probably because they were automatically allocated a number of complimentary tickets. Certainly in towns where there was the prefecture there were separate boxes both for the mayor and the *préfet*. Because of the social standing of the officials it occasionally led to tensions such as when the mayor of Le Mans attempted to abolish the *loge* of the *préfet* as an economy.

<sup>92</sup> The information for the table was taken from Reports to the Council in Alès. ADGard 8T11.

Table 1 gives a glimpse of the small-town hierarchy, a society based round the liberal professions and commerce. It is this community of interest that is caught in the description of the theatre in Rouen by Flaubert:

The theatre was beginning to fill; opera glasses were taken from their cases, and the subscribers, catching sight of one another, were bowing. They came to seek relaxation in the fine arts after the anxieties of business; but 'business' was not forgotten; they still talked cotton, spirits of wine, or indigo [...] The young beaux were strutting about in the pit, showing in the opening of their waistcoat their pink or apple-green cravats, and Madame Bovary from above admired them [...] Now the lights of the orchestra were lit, the lustre, let down from the ceiling, throwing with the glitter of its facets a sudden gaiety over the theatre ...<sup>93</sup>

The theatre was an extension of the bourse: it was a place for the young to be seen, and for Rouen you could substitute any provincial town during the nineteenth century. If the theatre was an extension of the bourse, a box was also an extension of the *salon*. It might appear paradoxical, but within a very public place was a space that was essentially private – the *loge* of the theatre or at the opera. The lady-of-the-house would act within her *loge* exactly as she would in her *salon* receiving visits from friends and relations. The rituals would vary depending whether the evening was one with the family guests invited from outside the familial circle. Importantly, it was a place where the nineteenth-century woman was dominant.

One other link between the young men in the bourse and the theatre might be a similar liberal education. Music and drama had featured widely in the Jesuit colleges as they inculcated self-assurance, good bearing, and assisted the memory. Although the Jesuits were expelled in 1762, the transitional period from college to the establishment

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<sup>93</sup> Flaubert, Gustave, *Madame Bovary* (Ware: Wordsworth Classics, 1994), 171-172.



of the lycées in 1802 often saw only cosmetic changes.<sup>94</sup> Many towns had been very proud of their college and the education that it had provided. From the beginning of the eighteenth century plays and operas were performed in the Jesuit college in Caen. During the same period ballets were performed at the Université de Caen who employed a *maître de danse*.<sup>95</sup> Figure 14 shows the stage set for the staging of tragedies and ballets at the college in Rennes. The cost for the set had been a staggering 30,000 livres. In 1812, the boys of the Jesuit college in Chambéry (Savoie) staged a performance of *Jean de Paris* (Boieldieu). The *professeur de rhétorique* had trained his pupils who apparently were successful in their interpretation of the opera.<sup>96</sup> From the beginning of the nineteenth century singing instruction was supplemented by tuition on wind and brass instruments. From the 1840s the school could boast ‘un bon orchestre d’harmonie.’ Eugène Henry, organist at the cathedral, was singing instructor to the Lycée. Under his direction the school achieved high standards of choral singing and included such works as *Le Désert* and *Christophe Colomb* by Félicien David in its repertoire.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> The Lycées, one of Napoleon’s lasting successes, were introduced by a *loi* of 1 May 1802. The Lycée in Marseille included dance as an optional subject. The majority of département had a lycée, many using the sequestrated buildings of former convents or abbeys, as in the case of Caen and the Abbaye aux Hommes. Boudon, Jacques-Olivier, ed. *Napoléon et les lycées* (Paris: Nouveau Monde Éditions, 2004), 68 and 72-87. Colleges in over 50 cities had ‘salle d’actions’, see also Peyronnet, Pierre, ‘Le Théâtre d’éducation des Jésuites’ in *Dix-huitième siècle*, 8 (1976), 107-21.

<sup>95</sup> Carlez, *Mémoires de l’Académie Nationale des Sciences, Arts et Belles-Lettres de Caen* (Caen: 1876), 215.

<sup>96</sup> Mugnier, F., *Le Théâtre en Savoie* (Annecy: Société Savoisienne d’Histoire et d’Archéologie, 1887), 107.

<sup>97</sup> Le Moigne-Mussat, Marie-Claire, *Musique et société à Rennes* (Geneva: Minkoff, 1988), 318.

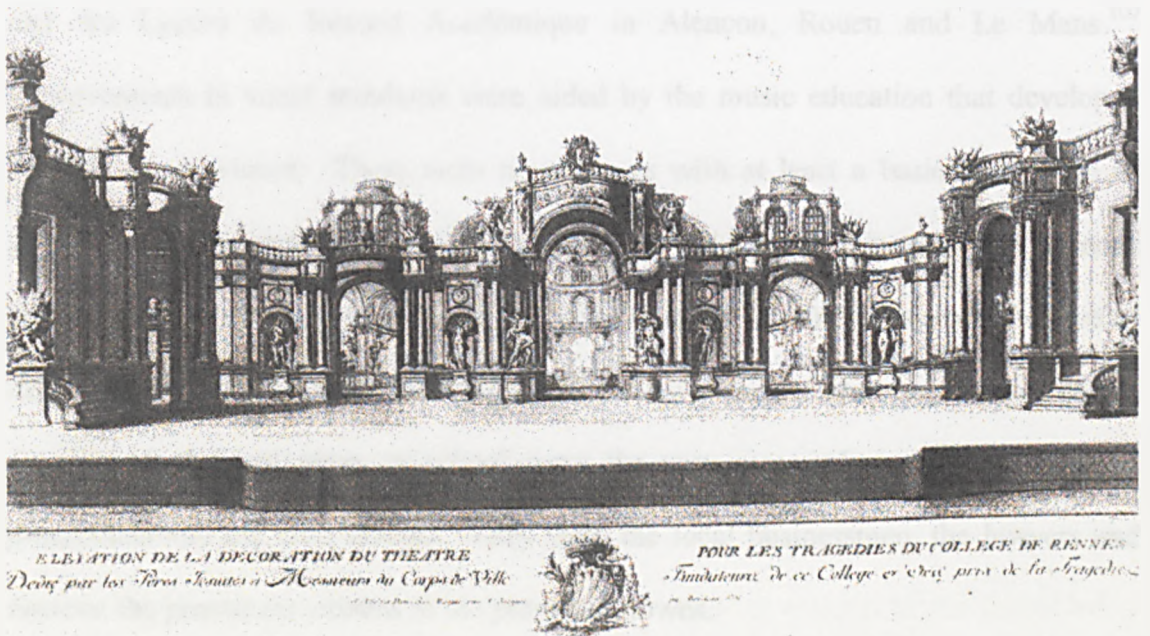


Figure 14. Set design for Jesuit College in Rennes, 1755.<sup>98</sup>

From the 1850s the music staff of the Lycée and École Normale in Caen were listed in the *Annuaire du Département*. The Lycée had both vocal and instrument instructors. In 1855 Jules Carlez was the vocal instructor at the Lycée as well as being a professor at the Caen Conservatoire. Carlez was director of the conservatoire from 1884-1905.<sup>99</sup> By 1895 the Lycée had a music staff of six and a teacher of dance. The other Caen secondary schools: L'Institution Ste. Marie, L'École Normale, and the Cours Secondaire des Jeunes Filles all had at very least a teacher of singing. The same was true of the Collèges Communeaux in Bayeux, Falaise, Lisieux, Honfleur and Vire

<sup>98</sup> The illustration is reproduced from Fabre, Paul, 'Le Collège jusqu'en 1762' in Zola, *le lycée de Rennes dans l'histoire* ed. by Jean-Noël Cloarec, (Rennes: Éditions Apogée, 2003), 16.

<sup>99</sup> Jules Carlez was one of the earliest historians and musicologists to research the development and history of the musical life of Caen.

and the Lycées du Ressort Académique in Alençon, Rouen and Le Mans.<sup>100</sup> Improvements in vocal standards were aided by the music education that developed through the provinces. There were now singers with at least a basic knowledge of solfège. Equally importantly, it can be argued that the music education in the Jesuit Colleges and their successors helped to cultivate a middle class that was receptive to theatre and in particular the lyric stage. The young men who had sung and performed operas and classical plays in school were the very same who entered the liberal professions and the civil service. They were the local businessmen, the lawyers and doctors: the prominent citizens in the provincial towns.

From these diverse references we can begin to build up and define a picture of the provincial audience. Robert Darnton made a study of Montpellier using an anonymous description of the town in 1768.<sup>101</sup> Through the eyes of his anonymous middle-class observer he built up a picture of the stratification of society in Montpellier, then a town of some 25,000 inhabitants. What he did not do was break the population down into specific numbers. In Montpellier, there was a lack of an old aristocracy. The leaders were from the First Estate (the Church) and the Second Estate, (wealthy merchants, bankers, and senior officials and magistrates). Darnton dismisses the First Estate as having a ceremonial role but little real influence. The ruling group was a community of similar interests. They knew each other well and their social paths crossed regularly. They met at concerts, at plays, at lectures, at ceremonies and on the

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<sup>100</sup> The details of teaching staff in the schools built up from the relevant *Annuaire du Département* in ADCal.

<sup>101</sup> Darnton, Robert, *The Great Cat Massacre and other episodes in French cultural life* (London: Penguin, 1984), 107-143.

Promenades. They dined together on a Sunday. They may have had a box at the theatre but they did not fill the theatre.

Accepting the popularity of theatre, it still remains difficult defining the social make up of the audiences in the provincial theatres. Considering who could afford to attend best approaches the problem. In the Paris of 1854 the Opéra had seat prices that ranged from 2frs 50c to 10frs, while the Théâtre-Italien went from 4frs -10frs. The Opéra-Comique had a choice of seat prices from 1fr to 7frs. No other lyric theatre had seats costing more than 6frs. The cheapest venue was the Funambules where the prices ranged from 0.30c to 2frs.<sup>102</sup> With the cheapest price of a ticket at the Opéra being 2frs.50c, which was just above the average daily wage of a labourer, it meant that while it was not impossible for a working man to attend, such outings must have been atypical.<sup>103</sup> As can be seen in table 2, the lowest price at the Opéra (2frs.50c) is the same as the maximum price in the sample of provincial theatres in the 1850s.

Town	Year	Cheapest seats	Middle range	Most expensive	Comments
Tulle	1850	1fr	1fr.25c	2fr.50c	
Perpignan	1850	0.50c	1fr	2fr	
Agen	1853	0.50c		2fr.50c	190 seats in <i>paradis</i> at 0.50c, 330 at 1fr in parterre and 2 <sup>nd</sup> gallery but only 17 at 2fr 50c.
Caen	1853	0.60c	1fr	2fr.50c	
Angers	1885	0.50c		4fr	½ price tickets for non-commissioned officers in 2 <sup>nd</sup> and 3 <sup>rd</sup> tiers.

Table 2. Examples of provincial theatre seat prices.

<sup>102</sup> Details extracted from tables in Leroy, *Histoire des arts et spectacles en France* (1990) 145-7.

<sup>103</sup> The notion that some Paris theatres catered for a particular 'class' has largely been refuted by Huebner, Steven, 'Opera audiences in Paris 1830-1870', *Music and Letters*, 70/2 (1989), 203-58.

The ticket prices for the 1853 season in Agen ranged from 0.50c to 2frs 50c. There were also twelve *loges* for subscription holders.<sup>104</sup> In 1850 a *loge* at Nancy cost 225frs for the season while a single ticket in a *loge* cost 5frs for each performance. A seat in the *parterre* was 1fr 10c while the *paradis* cost 0.60c, with a reduction to 0.30c for members of the garrison.<sup>105</sup> In Perpignan individual season tickets cost 80frs for men and 50frs for women,<sup>106</sup> while in Draguignan in 1865 it was possible for women to buy a month's subscription ticket for eight performances at 10frs while 12frs was the price for men, giving an equivalent individual price of 1frs 25c - 1frs 50c for the best seats.<sup>107</sup> The prospectus for the theatre in Angers for 1885-6, offered an annual season rate of 180frs, or 35frs for a month, for reserved seats, and 135frs and 28frs for non-reserved places. Cheapest daily prices were 0.50c and the most expensive 4frs. Non-commissioned officers and soldiers were entitled to half-price tickets in the second and third galleries. The season went from 1 October 1885 to the end of March 1886 with a guaranteed one hundred performances. For an additional 20frs, on the price of a season ticket, purchasers could have free access to the Théâtre du Cirque.<sup>108</sup> The prospectus for Angers is reproduced as appendix 1 in this volume.

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<sup>104</sup> Details taken from the prospectus of Henry Delmar, directeur at Agen. ADL-G. 4T25.

<sup>105</sup> 'À Nancy vers 1850 le théâtre s'adresse à toutes les catégories sociales.' Agulhon, Maurice, *Histoire de la France Urbaine*, IV, 376.

<sup>106</sup> Tisseyre, Christine, *Le Théâtre de Perpignan* (1995), 188.

<sup>107</sup> Details are from prospectus of Henry Donnay, Draguignan, 1865. ADVar 9T5-1.

<sup>108</sup> Information on the theatres in Angers is taken from the 1885 prospectus of directeur-administrateur Jules Breton.

The 1865 report by the mayor of Toulon, previously mentioned (p.34), compared numbers of tickets sold to the labouring classes (108,424) with the well off (26,856), a ratio of 4:1. In Agen (table 2) the theatre had:

190 seats at 0.50c  
 330 seats at 1fr.  
 140 seats at 2frs. 40c  
 17 seats at 2frs. 50c

In addition to the above number of seats, there were 12 *loges* for season ticket holders.<sup>109</sup>

As can be seen, there were substantially more cheap seats to those costing over 2frs. The ratio of cheap to expensive seats would be in the region of three to one. When considering the provincial theatre audience, it has to be remembered that although occasionally provincial theatres were more expensive than some of the minor theatres in Paris, the highest prices in the provinces were much less than the major houses in the capital. Additionally, as the municipal theatre in some small town covered the complete range of repertoire from the majority of the Paris theatres, the lyric repertoire was much more accessible to a broader based audience than it was in Paris. It can therefore be argued that the provincial theatre was socially more accessible than Paris. Certainly there were in the audience representatives of the higher echelons of society who enjoyed the status of a box, and attended the theatre to meet friends of their own circle but the *paradis* was working class. The provincial theatre audience would be a real '*mélangé*'. A proportion of the audience would come from the businessmen, lawyers, schoolmasters and civil servants who had received a lycée education. The very education in the lycée might have encouraged an interest in theatre and music. The

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<sup>109</sup> Details taken from the prospectus of Henry Delmar, directeur at Agen. ADL-G. 4T25.

audience was also made up of the less formally educated clerks and shop assistants, the number of which had burgeoned over the century. There were the domestic servants and the military, the artisans and country cousins visiting the towns.

Table 15 shows a return for April 1853 from the directeur of the theatre in Caen.

Ville de Caen 4 <sup>e</sup> trimestre de l'année 1853					
Mois	Jours	compositions des spectacles	Recettes	frain	
avril	3	Les Forcherons, coucher d'une étoile	505 50	193	
"	7	Dame Blanche changement de main	287	183	
"	10	courtes de Lyon, maître de chapelle	607 50	192 75	
"	11	Mousquetaires de la Reine, Duel chez Ninon	392 50	190	
"	14	Haydée, Les avocats	604 75	186 75	
"	15	Fée aux roses, Riche d'amour	338	187 50	
"	17	Jean le cocher, tige du Bengale	1510	175 75	
"	18	La case, M <sup>me</sup> Bertrand, Diplôme du Monarque	1339 25	190 25	
"	19	Forcherons, Petites misères	850	190 25	
"	21	Soupe d'une nuit d'été, Gabrielle	985	191 50	
"	22	Leodora, Belle, mari à la campagne	668 25	181	
"	24	Sirene, Le Diable	1490 75	189	
"	25	Jean le cocher, Rendez-vous Bourgeois	420 50	176	
"	26	Forcherons, Petite Fardette	448	193 50	
"	28	Caïd, coucher d'une étoile 4 <sup>e</sup> acte favorable	551 25	209	
Mai	1	Haydée, fièvre brûlante	942	202 25	
"	15	Adrienne, Le caprice			
"	16	Andromaque, Moineau de Lesbie			

Figure 15. The returns from the troupe of directeur Filhol, April / May 1853.<sup>110</sup>

The *recettes* indicate that certain nights of the week were more popular than others with audiences (10<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, 24<sup>th</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> May). They also show that with box-office takings as high as 1,490frs and 1,510frs some nights enjoyed very high audience figures. With figures

<sup>110</sup> Part of the trimestriel report for April / May 1853, ADCal T2 323.

like those, all sections of the theatre must have been full. The theatre was truly 'popular'. Nor can it be said that a particular genre was the draw. On all evenings there were mixed programmes that included plays, vaudevilles and operas. The most receipts were for an evening that did not have an opera (17 April), but the second highest box-office was for *La Sirène* (Auber). Similarly 18 April had no opera, but the next highest receipts were for *Haydée* (Auber) on 1 May.

In Paris, the choice of genre decided which theatre was attended. Seat pricing at such theatres as the Opéra effectively excluded some members of the population. Although that would remain true for all theatres, the lower ticket prices of the popular theatres in Paris and of the provincial theatres allowed a much wider accessibility. The fact that the provincial theatres played the repertoire of the capital's principal theatres brought their specific genres to a much broader social base.

I would suggest that the towns of the provinces enjoyed a society that was a microcosm of Paris. The préfet might miss the social life of the capital but he took with him a pattern of Parisian 'society' into the provinces. *La sociabilité* is evidenced in the promenades, the café life and at the theatre. As well as the municipal theatres, spa towns with casinos offered opera seasons and orchestral concerts. In addition, *café-concerts* provided lyric entertainments that might include chansonettes, vaudevilles and opérettes. Indeed, for the majority, provincial life was not as stultifying as some writers have portrayed.



## **Section 2**

### **The Provincial Theatre Industry**

## 3

## REGULATING THE THEATRE INDUSTRY

## 3.1 National Regulation

The close regulation of the theatre industry in Paris and the provinces during the nineteenth-century was not a new phenomenon. In both 1713 and 1714 Louis XIV issued specific *Règlements* in an attempt to curb some of the excesses and the disorderly state of affairs that typified the Académie royale de musique.<sup>111</sup> It is apparent from the preamble that, following the death of Lully in 1687, there had been a marked decline in the standards of the theatre and Louis was intent on rectifying the failings. The eighteen articles of 1713 were expanded to forty-seven one year later. All aspects of administering the company were covered. The subjects range from the planning of seasons and the responsibilities of the management, to the working conditions and conduct of the performers. The list of penalties and fines for infringements of the regulations speak volumes.

However, during the early days of the Revolution, theatres initially enjoyed an unparalleled level of freedom. As early as 4 August 1789 theatrical *privilèges* had been abolished. A *loi* (Statute) of 26 August 1790 had abolished theatres' monopolies of certain genres. On 13 January and 2 March 1791, the 'Liberté des théâtres'<sup>112</sup> was proclaimed. These statutes stated that any citizen had the right to build a public theatre

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<sup>111</sup> Details of the *Règlements*, together with other *Ordonnances* and an *Etat* (specification of personnel to be employed as actors, dancers and orchestral musicians) are reproduced in Durey de Noinville, Jacques Bernard, *Histoire du théâtre de l'Académie Royale de Musique en France* (Paris: Chez Duchesne, 1757 / reprinted Geneva, 1972), 105-46. To compare with earlier examples, documents that relate to the period 1672-1700, including details of fines for misdemeanors, see Wood, Caroline and Sadler, Graham, *French Baroque Opera: A Reader* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

<sup>112</sup> Details of the theatrical liberty can be found in Hemmings, F. W. J., *Theatre and State* (1994), 55-63 and Leroy, *Histoire des Arts du Spectacle en France* (1990), 83.

and produce pieces of all genres after registering his intentions with the authorities.<sup>113</sup> Censorship was abolished. Article 2 of the statute stated that works of authors who had been dead for five years or more became public property and could be performed anywhere in France. One effect of ending the monopoly of certain theatres for particular repertoires, such as that of the Comédie-Française for the plays of Racine, Corneille, Voltaire and Molière, was that audiences, previously unable to afford the prices of the Comédie-Française, were introduced for the first time to the works of Molière and when the curtain fell would demand 'author'.<sup>114</sup>

The intention of the *Liberté* was to develop a theatre that was '*une école de patriotisme, de vertu et tous ces sentiments affectueux qui font la liaison et le charme des familles*'.<sup>115</sup> However, by 1793 patriotism was replacing virtue and theatres were expected to deliver a political education. The theatres were to become '*un instrument révolutionnaire*' whose mandate was to make understandable '*le culte révolutionnaire*' to the man in the street. Furthermore the Opéra, in a decree of 1795, was to be '*une école de républicanisme*'.<sup>116</sup> Perhaps surprisingly, the Opéra fulfilled the task with appropriate *pièces d'occasion* and remained a subsidized theatre.<sup>117</sup> Certain pieces were seen as counter-revolutionary and were accordingly banned from the stage. Ironically, rather than Royalty on the stage, it was a dog lifting its leg against Pantalón, in a play at the Gaîté, that helped bring back censorship.<sup>118</sup> As a result of some of the rabble-

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<sup>113</sup> Hemmings, *Theatre and State* (1994), outlines the proliferation of theatres in Paris, 55-63, and for a survey of the Parisian theatres during the Revolution see Wild, Nicole, 'Les Théâtres Parisiens sous la Révolution' in *Orphée Phrygien* ed. by Jean-Rémy Julien and Jean-Claude Klein (Paris: du May, 1989), 205-216. For a provincial example, such as Lyon, see Corneloup, Gérard, *Trois siècles d'opéra à Lyon* (Lyon: Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, 1982), 78-83.

<sup>114</sup> Hemmings, *Theatre and State* (1994), 60.

<sup>115</sup> Leroy, Dominique, op. cit., 83.

<sup>116</sup> Under the terms of an arrêté of an IV, *ibid.* 84.

<sup>117</sup> Levels of subsidy are mentioned in Hemmings, *Theatre and State* (1994), 68.

<sup>118</sup> Root-Bernstein outlines the activity of Nicolet's theatre on the Boulevard du Temple and how a performance of an earthy comedy *Harlequin the English Cerberus* helped the return of censorship.

rousing excesses of the theatres, legislators of all shades of the political spectrum began to look closely at the possibility of a return to a regulated industry.

On 24 September 1797 Minister Sotin, responsible for the *Police générale*, wrote to the administrators of the départements, towns and cantons reminding them of the need for vigilance at all times against counter-revolutionaries and provocateurs. Whilst acknowledging that the Revolution had been successful, Sotin warned that routed opponents were not far away and that the theatres should only be used to propagate the ideals and virtues of the Republic:

The Republic has triumphed, but her enemies, though vanquished, have only been dispersed: they will look for opportunities to rally again, and in the shadows they hatch new plots; ...One of their most powerful instruments, other than the satirist's poisoned pen, is the theatre: they had control of it, and it is time that it was returned into the hands of the people's magistrates... I therefore recommend that you examine most rigorously the repertoire of the theatres in your district and guard against performances of works that are calculated to trouble public order, deprave the spirit of republicanism, or reawake a longing for royalty.<sup>119</sup>

Particularly harsh words were reserved for the actors who once had benefited from the Revolution and now performed reactionary plays and *vaudevilles* that attacked the State. Performers were expected to apply their zeal to Republican works and raising the public spirits and if they did not they would answer to a knowing public and the Tribunal. Individual actors, even whole companies, were denounced and brought before

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Root-Bernstein, Michèle, 'Popular Theatre in the French Revolution' in *History Today*, 43, February 1993, 25-31.

<sup>119</sup> 'La République a triomphé; mais ses ennemis vaincus ne sont que dispersés: ils vont chercher à se rallier et à ourdir, dans les ténèbres, de nouvelles trames...Un de leurs plus puissans instrumens, celui qui, après la plume empoisonnée des libellistes, a le plus servi leurs desseins par la dépravation de l'esprit républicain, c'est le Théâtre: ils en avaient usurpé la direction; il est temps qu'elle rentre dans les mains des Magistrats du peuple... Je vous recommande donc l'examen le plus sévère du répertoire des théâtres de votre arrondissement, et de défendre la représentation des pièces propres à troubler la tranquillité publique, à dépraver l'esprit républicain et à réveiller l'amour de la royauté.' The whole letter is of significance, illustrating the gradual erosion of liberty as the need to control and censor the theatre became more politically expedient. The letter, the opening of which is reproduced as figure 17, also reflects the vulnerability of the early Republic as counter-revolution was an imminent possibility. ADDoubs 1T469.

the Jacobin commissions. In Bordeaux one actor, M. Arouth, went to the guillotine. He had the misfortune to be required to express Royalist sympathies and the line 'Vive le Roi!' appeared in his script. His protestations that it was just a line from the drama did not save him from execution.<sup>120</sup>

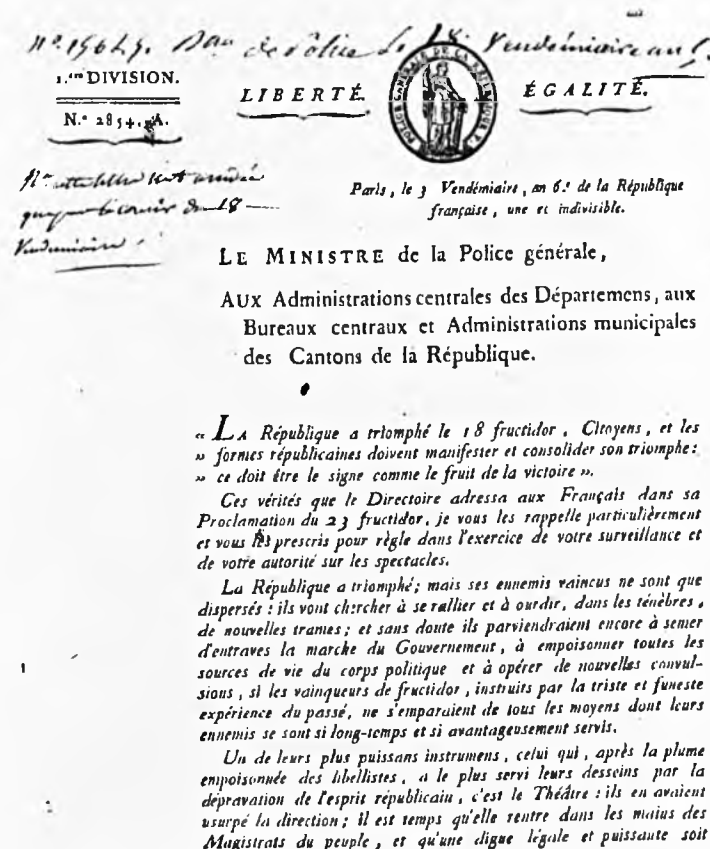


Figure 16. The opening page of Sotin's letter.

The role of the theatre in promoting Republicanism is illustrated by the instructions for the reopening of the theatre in Lyon in September 1794, reproduced as figure 17. The significant phrases are to be found in the opening preamble and

<sup>120</sup> Estrée, Paul d', *Le Théâtre sous le terreur 1793-1794* (Paris: Émile-Paul frères, 1913), 52-53. Details of theatrical life in Paris can be found in Carlson, Marvin, *The Theatre of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966).

specifically in article three. In the preface it was stated that the theatre should both instruct and provide an honest relaxation for the citizens of the ‘commune-affranchie’ [Lyon]. Similarly, article three stipulated that the theatre ‘should only stage works that raised the Republican spirit.’<sup>121</sup>

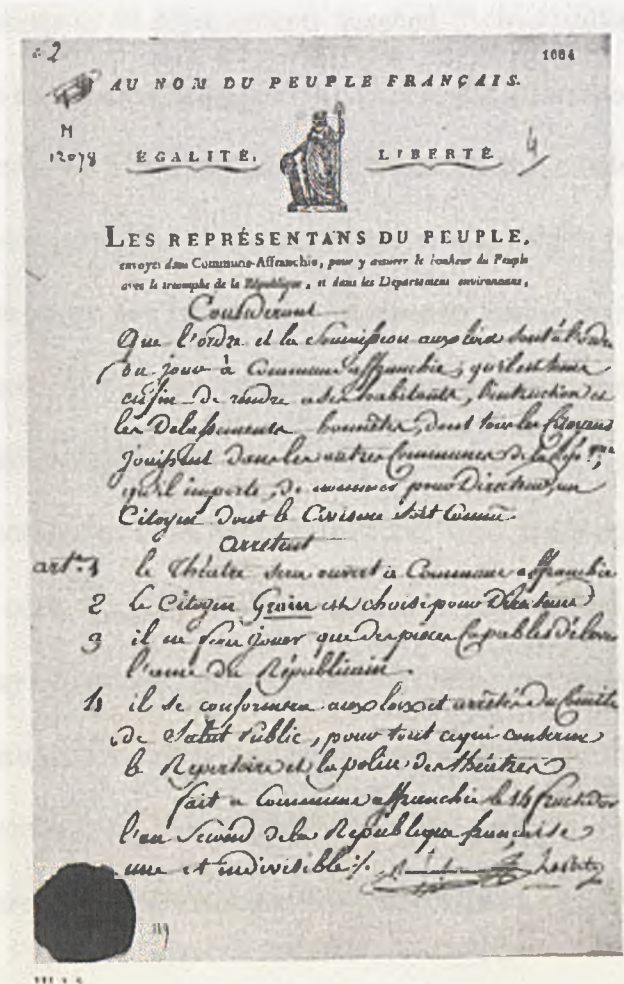


Figure 17. The permission to re-open the theatre in Lyon.

The revolutionary theatre was therefore seen as having a part to play in the education of the public towards a prescribed dogma. Needless to say, following the period of the Terror and the subsequent reaction, there was a new doctrine. The

<sup>121</sup> ‘rendre ... l’instruction et les délassements honnêtes’.  
‘... il ne fera jouer que des pièces capable d’élever l’âme du républicain’, (Lyon: BM 1046).

changing emphasis of the role of the theatre did not always sit comfortably with maintenance of public order. On 4 September [18 fructidor] 1797 Paris awoke to a military occupancy. The ultra-conservatives were purged but the coup d'état brought disturbing side effects, one being increased unrest in the provinces. The press was muzzled and elections in 49 départements quashed.<sup>122</sup> In Aurillac, following the coup, the local Jacobins raised their heads and tried to use the theatre to relight a fire that had burnt down to embers. The Council put a check on the rabble-rousing by applying regulations that only permitted works advertised on the theatre posters, pieces that had the approval of the mayor and which were intended to 'refine' public morals.<sup>123</sup>

On 12 April 1800 Lucien Bonaparte signed an order from the Ministry of the Interior that would radically alter the history of theatre in the provinces for the next sixty years. In somewhat more temperate words than his predecessor Sotin, Lucien Bonaparte called upon the people to trust him as he outlined the reasons for change in the theatre industry. Claiming that it was from a profound respect for its citizens, it had become the Government's duty to protect the people from theatrical performances that were either demeaning or that might offend the public's values or corrupt their morals.<sup>124</sup> In future only works that had been authorized for performance in Paris might

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<sup>122</sup> Accounts of the 1797 coup d'état can be found in Barnett, Correlli, *Bonaparte* (Ware: Wordsworth, 1997), 5, and Asprey, Robert *The Rise and Fall of Napoleon Bonaparte* (London: Abacus, 2000), 236-238.

<sup>123</sup> 'Les municipaux y mettent le holà, en rappelant un arrêté du Directoire qui imposait l'obligation de ne jouer ou de ne chanter sur scène que des pièces ou des airs annoncés par les affiches, de l'agrément de l'administration municipale, ayant pour but l'épuration des moeurs...' Leymarie, Michel, *Opéra, Comédie, Drame à Aurillac* (Typescript, n.d.) ADCan 4<sup>0</sup> 384<sup>17</sup>, 5.

<sup>124</sup> 'Les spectacles, Citoyen, ont attirée la sollicitude du Gouvernement. C'est témoigner au peuple intérêt et respect, que d'éloigner de ses yeux tout ce qui n'est pas digne de son estime, et tout ce qui pourrait blesser ses opinions ou corrompre ses moeurs. Convaincu de cette vérité, le Gouvernement m'a chargé de l'honorable soin de surveiller les théâtres. Vous m'aidez, Citoyen, à justifier sa confiance.' Copies of the order are in ADDr 14T3b and ADDor 1T471.

be played in the départements. Furthermore this censorship was to apply equally to both old and new works. All plays, vaudevilles and operas that had been previously performed were to be centrally vetted, and only then would the départements receive a list of works that were sanctioned and a corresponding list of works that were prohibited. The prohibitions rarely concerned operas. Plays, vaudevilles and chansonnettes, however, were closely scrutinized and often received the censor's pen. The repertoire was regulated and the experiment in total theatrical liberty was finished.

Touring troupes were still sanctioned at a local level with the final decision devolving down to the mayor. In Aurillac the mayor, Citoyen Aubadie, was faced with the choice of four troupes that had petitioned him to present plays during the Fair of St.Urbain. The theatre was little more than a hall on the site of the nave of the ancient convent of Notre Dame that had been requisitioned by the town at the time of the Revolution. However, in a remote rural region that normally offered the sparsest of box-office returns, the fairs represented an opportunity for some type of profit. In the following table we can see the concentration of theatrical activity in the months of Aurillac's fairs. The activity is indicated by the number of days in each month that the theatre had opened, the unusually busy winter season of 1807-08 seems to have been an exception to the general pattern.

Year	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
1806	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	4	2	0
1807	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	1	10	9	10
1808	9	8	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	12	7	0
1809	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	5	1	0
1810	0	0	0	0	4	3	0	0	3	12	1	0
1811	0	0	1	0	8	0	0	0	0	2	0	0

Table 3. Number of days theatre in Aurillac open in any given month, (1806-1811).<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Table interpolated from information in Leymarie, *Opéra, comédie, drame à Aurillac*, 6-7.



As the fairs were profitable for both the performers and the town, it was inevitable that for all the authorized troupes there were even greater numbers of itinerant performers who saw the opportunity of rich pickings. Often unlicensed troupes and individual artists would arrive in the town and attempt to set up their booths. These visitors were little more than rabble-rousers and, as in previous ages when actors without royal or noble patronage were regarded as rogues and vagabonds, the Mayor was able to apply vagrancy laws in the interest of public order.<sup>126</sup>

Despite the changes, theatrical liberty still remained a little too independent for the liking of the First Consul. At the beginning of 1806 the Ministry of the Interior requested all préfets to return a questionnaire detailing the provision of theatres and halls used by travelling companies in their particular département. In the return for the Drôme it was noted that the town of Montélimar with a population of just 4,000 had a *salle des spectacles* that was visited by theatrical troupes.<sup>127</sup> In the Dordogne the theatres of Périgueux, Tulle, Sarlat, Bergerac and Montignac were described as being generally small and incommodious. The theatre in Excideuil, north west of Périgueux, was part of a hospital.<sup>128</sup> The mayor of Carcassonne took the opportunity to make a plea for the town having a resident troupe.<sup>129</sup> The statistical returns from the préfets were supposedly the basis for the review of the theatres of France. However, one might conjecture that the whole process of consultation was something of a sham. The initial request for information concerning the theatres in the Gard, for example, was in a letter from the Interior Ministry to the préfet dated 19 April 1806. In turn the préfet forwarded this request for information to the mayor of Nîmes on 19 May.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Leymarie, op cit. 7.

<sup>127</sup> The return from the préfet of the Drôme, ADDr 14T2/1.

<sup>128</sup> Villepelet, R., 'Le Théâtre en Dordogne,' in *Bulletin de la Société Historique et Archéologique de Périgord*. 62, 266.

<sup>129</sup> Correspondence between the mayor and minister in ADAude 4T17.

<sup>130</sup> Correspondence concerning the theatres in Nîmes ADGard 8T1.

Presumably without waiting for the reply from the regions, the theatres of France were reorganized by Imperial decree on 6 June 1806 and a ministerial notice of 25 April 1807 explained the implications and working of the decree.<sup>131</sup>

The First Consul's changes effectively controlled the movement of all troupes, ensured that the whole of France was served by the touring companies and also policed the repertoire that was to be performed. The process of reform applied to both Parisian and provincial theatres. As has been noted, the theatres in Paris had proliferated immediately during the Revolution. Under the re-organization that increase was drastically curtailed with twenty-five flourishing theatres being forced to cancel performances and close down permanently. Each of the remaining ten licensed theatres, as described in article three of the decree, was assigned its own particular genre. The reorganized Paris theatres were classified as either 'grands théâtres' or 'théâtres secondaires'. The 'grand théâtres' included both lyric theatres and theatres producing plays. The Théâtre Français was to perform the classical tragedies and the Théâtre de l'Impératrice also had a repertoire of plays. The lyric theatres were the Théâtre de l'Opéra, Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique and the Théâtre-Italien. The secondary theatres were the Théâtre du Vaudeville, which played short plays which mixed light songs and satire; the Théâtre des Variétés on the Boulevard Montmartre which staged *le genre grivois, poissard et villageois* (plays of a risqué, bawdy, vulgar or rustic nature); the Théâtre de la Porte St. Martin which was the stage for melodrama; the Théâtre de la Gaité producing pantomimes, harlequinades and farces; and finally the Théâtre des Variétés Étrangères which had a repertoire of foreign plays.

Article nine of the decree explained how in towns with more than one theatre, such as Lyon, Bordeaux, Marseille, Nantes and Turin, the principal theatre would play the repertoire of the Parisian grand théâtres while the other theatre would perform the

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<sup>131</sup> A number of examples of the *Règlement sur les théâtres* of 25 April 1807 with the list of arrondissements remain in archives such as ADP-O 4T108 and ADDoubs 1T471.

repertoire from the théâtres secondaires. Each theatre might take works from the other's repertoire but only with the express permission of the préfet. Rouen, Bruxelles, Brest, Toulouse, Montpellier, Nice, Genoa, Alexandrie [Alessandria], Gand [Ghent], Anvers [Antwerp], Lille, Dunkerque, Metz and Strasbourg had a permanent resident company (*troupe stationnaire*).



Figure 18. Map of France showing theatrical arrondissements, 1807.

For the provinces the second crucial detail was contained in the next article of the decree. Article Ten divided France into twenty-five theatre arrondissements, each having one or two authorized companies (*troupes d'arrondissement*) and a circuit of towns that they were to serve. There are then listed two hundred and fifty-three towns that were divided across these districts. The details of the arrondissements are of

sufficient importance to reproduce them here and to consider some of the implications of the list:

1<sup>o</sup> arrondissement (1 troupe)

Nancy  
Lunéville  
Toul  
Pont à Mousson  
Faisbourg (Phaisbourg)  
Bar sur Ornan (Bar-le-Duc)  
Verdun  
Sarre Libre  
Thionville  
Longwy

3<sup>o</sup> arrondissement (1 troupe)

Grenoble  
Vienne  
Valence  
Montélimar  
Romans  
Chambéry

5<sup>o</sup> arrondissement (2 troupes)

Toulon  
Grasse  
Fréjus  
Draguignan  
Antibes  
Brignolles  
Saint Tropez  
Aix  
Arles  
La Ciotat  
Tarascon  
Gap  
Briançon  
Digne

7<sup>o</sup> arrondissement (1 strong troupe)

Montauban  
Albi  
Castres  
Sorèze  
Agen  
Marmande  
Cahors  
Figeac  
Moissac  
Auch  
Mont de Marsan  
Dax

2<sup>o</sup> arrondissement (1 troupe)

Dijon  
Beaune  
Nuits St George  
Auxonne  
Châlons  
Mâcon  
Autun  
Bourg-en-Bresse  
Poligny  
Dole  
Lons-le-Saunier  
Genève

4<sup>o</sup> arrondissement (1 troupe)

Nîmes  
Beaucaire  
Le Pont Saint Esprit  
Uzès  
Avignon  
Carpentras  
Orange

6<sup>o</sup> arrondissement (1 strong troupe)

Beziers  
Pézenas  
Agde  
Lodève  
Frontignan  
Lunel  
Ganges  
Carcassonne  
Castelnaudray  
Narbonne  
Perpignan

8<sup>o</sup> arrondissement (2 troupes)

Bayonne  
Pau  
Lescar  
Navarrenx  
Tarbes  
Bagnères  
Barège  
Foix  
Mirepoix  
Saint Giron

## 9° arrondissement (2 troupes)

Limoges  
Tulle  
Uzerche  
Brive la Gaillarde  
Poitiers  
Lusignan  
Périgueux  
Bergerac  
Angoulême  
Cognac

## 11° arrondissement (2 troupes)

Clermont Ferrand  
Riom  
Saint Flour  
Aurillac  
Le Puy  
Mende  
Rodez  
Millau  
Villefranche de Rouergue  
Privas  
Tourmon  
Aubenas

## 13° arrondissement (2 troupes)

Orléans  
Beaugency  
Montargis  
Courtenay  
Tours  
Amboise  
Blois  
Angers  
Saumur

## 15° arrondissement (1 troupe)

Auxerre  
Sens  
Joigny  
Avallon  
Vermenton  
Tonnerre  
Troyes  
Bar-sur-Aube  
Bar-sur-Seine

## 17° arrondissement (2 troupes)

Rennes  
Vitré  
Dol  
St Malo  
Cancale  
Laval  
Mayenne

## 10° arrondissement (2 troupes)

La Rochelle  
Saintes  
Rochefort  
St Jean d'Angély  
Royan  
Niort  
Saint Maximin  
Fontenay  
La Châtaigneraie  
Montagne

## 12° arrondissement (2 troupes)

Moulins  
Nevers  
Montbrison  
Saint Etienne  
Roanne  
Bourges  
Gueret  
Chateauroux

## 14° arrondissement (1 troupe)

Reims  
Chalons  
Vitry  
Épernay  
Melun  
Fontainebleau  
Nemours  
Provins  
Chaumont  
Langres / Joinville

## 16° arrondissement (2 troupes)

Besançon  
Pontarlier  
Montbéliard  
Vesoul  
Gray  
Colmar  
Belfort  
Huningue  
Neuf-Brisach  
Porrentruy

## 18° arrondissement (1 troupe)

Quimper  
Morlaix  
Saint-Brieuc  
Lamballe  
Dinan  
Vannes  
Lorient

Le Mans  
La Flèche  
La Ferté Bernard

19<sup>e</sup> arrondissement (1 troupe)

Caen  
Bayeux  
Lisieux  
Falaise  
Honfleur  
Coutances  
Cherbourg  
Avranches  
Alençon  
L'Aigle

20<sup>e</sup> arrondissement (2 troupes)

Amiens  
Abbeville  
Peronne  
Le Havre  
Dieppe  
Caudebec  
Evreux  
Louviers  
Chartres  
Dreux  
Pontoise  
Étampes  
Mantes  
Versailles  
Saint Germain

21<sup>e</sup> arrondissement (2 strong troupes)

Calais  
Arras  
Saint Omer  
Boulogne  
Douai  
Gravelines  
Valenciennes  
Cambrai  
Beauvais  
Noyon  
Compiègne  
Senlis  
Chantilly  
Laon  
Soissons  
Saint Quentin

22<sup>e</sup> arrondissement (2 troupes)

Liège  
Spa  
Aix-la-Chapelle  
Cleves  
Cologne  
Maastricht  
Saint-Trond  
Mons  
Tournai

23<sup>e</sup> arrondissement (1 troupe)

Bruges  
Ostende  
Courtray  
Ypres  
Louvain  
Tirlemont  
Malines  
Namur  
Bouvines  
Fleurus

24<sup>e</sup> arrondissement (1 troupe)

Mayenne  
Worms  
Neustadt  
Deux Ponts  
Koblenz  
Sarrebouurg  
Sarrbruck  
Luxembourg  
Charleville-Mézières  
Sedan  
Givet

25<sup>e</sup> arrondissement (1 troupe)

Saverne  
Sélestat  
Haguenau  
Wissembourg  
Epinal

Table 4. List of towns served by *troupes d'arrondissement*.

The reorganization included a number of towns that had been annexed by France during Napoleon's expansionist expeditions. Examples include Turin, the capital of Piedmont, a province that had been annexed by Napoleon in 1802, also Genoa, Alessandria, Ghent and Antwerp. Napoleon saw the theatre as a way of promoting French culture in the newly acquired territories, particularly arrondissements 22-24 and the towns with a resident company listed above.

Jean Mongrédien points out that in 1795 Alençon, Amiens, Arras, Bayonne, Besançon, Béziers, Brest, Caen, Calais, Carcassonne, Châlons-sur-Marne, Châlons-sur-Saône, Dunkerque, Grenoble, La Rochelle, Le Havre, Lille, Lyon, Mâcon, Marseille, Metz, Montpellier, Nancy, Nantes, Orléans, Perpignan, Poitiers, Rennes, Rochefort, Rouen, Saint-Quentin, Strasbourg, Toulon, Toulouse and Tours 'were able to maintain an opera company, no matter how average it was.'<sup>132</sup> However, the reorganization of 1807 in some ways formalized the status quo. Caen and Alençon were placed in the same arrondissement. Similarly, Arras, Calais and Saint-Quentin were organized into the twenty-first arrondissement. Possibly the situation is being overstated and it would be more appropriate to say that the towns Mongrédien lists were capable of sustaining an opera season given by touring companies rather than being able to support a resident company. Table 4 also helps us appreciate the size of some of the arrondissements and also just how difficult it must have been visiting all the towns. What is also apparent is that when the towns are mapped the divisions were not as arbitrary as might be imagined but based on the boundaries of the départements. Considering the important role that the préfets had in overseeing the theatres the grouping is not surprising. Napoleon's decree formalized previous practice whilst tightening up the policing of the repertoire. The towns listed in the twenty-five arrondissements already had a theatre, or *salle des spectacles*, that was visited by touring companies before the Revolution. Certainly Rennes was served by a troupe from Lorient in 1785 and continued to be on

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<sup>132</sup> Mongrédien, Jean, *French Music* (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus, 1996), 139-140.



the circuit of troupes that toured from Vannes to Nantes rather than having a resident company. This is not to belittle the truly remarkable fact that there were over two hundred and fifty towns now served by thirty-seven authorized troupes under the auspices and control of the central government. These arrondissements were to be the basis of provincial theatrical life for the following sixty years.

Of the particular towns mentioned earlier in the replies to the Minister, Montélimar found itself placed in the third arrondissement along with Valence, Chambéry, Romans and Vienne, and served by a troupe based in Grenoble. The theatres of Périgord were placed in the ninth arrondissement with the exception of Sarlat, Montignac and Excideuil. The ninth arrondissement stretched from Angoulême and Poitiers in the north, east to Limoges through Brive and Tulle, and west to Cognac with a southern border of the Dordogne. Nine towns in five départements were covered; it needed two troupes to cover such a widespread district. One of the troupes was based on Limoges, while the second worked out of Poitiers and Angoulême.<sup>133</sup> Each troupe was composed of fifteen artistes, not including the orchestra and stagehands. In an attempt to keep these rural troupes viable, the directeur suggested that members of the company might give lessons in music and declamation in public establishments such as the lycées.<sup>134</sup> The sixth arrondissement joined Perpignan in the Pyrénées-Orientales with seven towns in the Hérault and three in the Aude.

Inevitably introducing the new system did not always go smoothly. In some cases it was felt that the arrondissements were too arbitrary, not reflecting local realities. The préfet of the Gard believed they would be better served by one strong troupe that visited Nîmes, Avignon and Montpellier. The new fourth arrondissement spread out too far east into the Vaucluse, extending as far as Orange and Carpentras. Another point of contention was the appointment of the directeur. The initial round of appointments was

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<sup>133</sup> Ministeriel *circulaire* outlining troupes 1807, ADDor 1T333.

<sup>134</sup> Villepelet, R., 'Le Théâtre en Dordogne', 265.



problematic as many towns already had a troupe in situ. The resident directeur could apply for his old position, but there was no guarantee that he would be successful. In Nîmes, the town favoured M. Louis Primo who was popular with his Nîmeoise public but Paris imposed M. Constant. Constant had previously been touring the préfectures of Maine et Loire and of the Sarthe and quite frankly did not know the Mediterranean region. He came with a diet of mélodrames and vaudevilles. Such a limited menu brought Constant into conflict with the authorities in Nîmes. To appease his critics he used sleight of hand and came to an unofficial solution. Constant appointed Martin as *régisseur* to the theatre in Nîmes, in effect creating two troupes. Martin retained eleven men and nine females to play the opéras and comédies in Nîmes while Constant toured the rest of the arrondissement.<sup>135</sup>

As one season ended the directeurs could apply to the préfet to renew their *privilège* or look to a new arrondissement. By 1 August of any year the Ministry of the Interior was to be informed by the préfet as to who held the *privilege* and also the personnel of the troupes, their engagements, repertoire, and the duration and dates in each of the towns that they toured. All these details had to be ratified by the Ministry. As has been stated, only works that had been performed on a Parisian stage could be seen in the provinces. Napoleonic order had been brought to the theatres and the message that they should disseminate would be one that was controlled from Paris. A whole new bureaucracy dealing with the day-to-day administration of the theatres was established in the Ministry of the Interior: the Beaux-Arts (Theatre division). Circulars and directives from the Ministry defined the boundaries of the arrondissements and reiterated the regulations covering all aspects of the theatres from repertoire to policing and safety.

In France there appeared a system for administrating the theatres that was the embodiment of Michel Foucault's interpretation of Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon.

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<sup>135</sup> Correspondence between mayor, préfet and minister in ADAud. 4T17.

Foucault's describes a particular instance of a disciplinary regime that is also seen as a metaphor for the State. The Panopticon uses a technique of subjection induced by the permanent visibility that the architecture of the panoptic building allows. Its most intense expression is found in the prison, where inmates are aware that they are under constant surveillance from a centrally located observation tower that looks down into every cell. Whether the tower is manned or not makes no difference, as it is the probability of surveillance that induces the prisoners to comply with the authorities. The mechanism of surveillance imposed on the theatrical world encouraged just such compliance in regions far distant from the centre. The panoptic vision meant that government and policing went hand-in-hand. In late eighteenth-century France, police regulations were specified and utilized by public servants as administrative practices. This involved the police in every aspect of human happiness.

The police deal with religion, not, of course, from the point of view of dogmatic orthodoxy but from the point of view of the moral quality of life. In seeing to health and supplies, the police deal with the preservation of life. Concerning trade, factories, workers, the poor, and public order, the police deal with the conveniences of life. In seeing to the theatres, literature and entertainment, their object is life's pleasure. In short life is the object of the police. The indispensable, the useful and the superfluous....<sup>136</sup>

Foucault suggests that the traditional relationship, which implied that the happiness of the people was an effect of good government, was now inverted and that happiness became an essential component in the success of the State. For the French theatres Paris was the observation tower of the Panopticon. Whether the surveillance of the theatre industry was repression or enlightenment is another debate. Napoleon established a system that he hoped would both monitor the content of theatrical performances, hopefully ensure that the troupes were competent and not least be able to hold them accountable central government. The Minister of the Interior monitored the whole theatrical industry.

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<sup>136</sup> Barker, Philip, *Michel Foucault* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), 65.

One way that the Minister raised particular concerns was through his reflections in the annual *circulaire*.<sup>137</sup> One such irritation for the Minister was the way that some *directeurs* popularized performances by adding unnecessary spectacle. Adding ‘tight-rope walking, acrobatics or equestrian displays to scenes...’ was to be an infringement of regulations.<sup>138</sup> In *Circulaire 39* dated 1 May 1815, Minister Carnot complained of abuses by *directeurs*. He cited troupes where the *directeur* kept the best part of the receipts while allowing the actors to be reduced to penury. Other *directeurs* had returned tables of troupes that appeared fine on paper, while the reality was that the *comédiens* were little more than a motley crew that lacked both talent and conduct. Some troupes that should have been more than adequate for the task took no care of their repertoire and did not vary it, presenting the public with a season of tired and worn out works. These abuses, along with a scandalous traffic in the *privilèges* that had been granted to specific named *directeurs*, meant that many troupes were not fulfilling the obligations that had been imposed on them. They were harming the *art dramatique* and betraying the trust of the municipal authorities with all sorts of indignities. The Minister warned that such abuses would not be viewed with favour and the *directeurs* would be dismissed and replaced. He emphasized that the theatre had a responsibility in maintaining standards of public morality and developing a taste for the ‘arts’.<sup>139</sup>

The Minister also advised *préfets*, *sous-préfets* and mayors that they were not to allow the practice of actors and actresses of the Paris theatres who, having been granted leave of absence to tour the provinces, then extended their stay to maximize personal profits. Furthermore, he decreed that any receipts from performances given after the

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<sup>137</sup> A set of *circulaires* for the years 1814-1816, 1818 and 1823 are in ADAv 15T3/2.

<sup>138</sup> ‘dances de cordes, voltiges et exercices d’équitation aux pantomimes...’  
Notice from the Minister of the Interior to all *préfets*, copy in ADDr 14T2/1 and ADAv 15T3.

<sup>139</sup> *Circulaire 39* (1 May 1815) Minister Carnot to the *préfets*. ADDr 14T2/1.

date when the artist should have returned to their own company would be given to benefit the poor.<sup>140</sup>

As well as the directives from Paris there was a ready supply of reports back from the provinces to the Ministry. In 1818, the préfet for the Tarn noted that unlicensed travelling troupes were invariably extremely bad and that the licensed troupes were unfortunately not much better.<sup>141</sup> Certainly the arrondissements that included the less prosperous and more thinly populated areas tended to suffer from second-rate troupes. Among the details of the troupes serving the arrondissements for 1816-1817 are the actual touring arrangements and the dates in each town.<sup>142</sup> Of particular interest are arrondissements that had more than one troupe: usually one was designated to play the comédies while the other was a lyric troupe entirely given over to opera. Figure 19 shows part of *Circulaire* 40 and records arrondissements 17, 18 and 19. What is unusual about arrondissement 19 is that the *1<sup>er</sup> troupe* offered comédie and opéra, effectively working as two troupes, although Monbrison did not receive opéra.

There was sufficient concern by 1823 for the Minister to send out a questionnaire about the state of the theatres in each département. The préfets were asked to nominate towns that could support a permanent troupe.<sup>143</sup> He also recognized that many faced financial problems and, while not offering State aid, did allow towns to offer the theatres free of charge to the directeur or to permit the payment of a subvention (subsidy). The level of subvention was often a deciding factor as to what genres could be performed. For example, as will be shown later, the *cahier des charges* (contract

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<sup>140</sup> From the regulations issued by the Minister, May 1815, article 30. ADYo 80T1.

<sup>141</sup> ‘... les acteurs du passage et sans brevet sont ordinairement fort mauvais et les autres malheureusement ne sont pas toujours bons.’ Taken from a report compiled for the préfet on the state of the theatre in Rodez that was submitted to the Ministry in 1818. ADAv 15T 3/1.

<sup>142</sup> The Circular is to be found in a number of archives - particularly clean copies are in ADDr 14T2/1, and ADAube T310.

<sup>143</sup> *Circulaire* from the Minister of the Interior to all préfets, 13 May 1823. ADP-O 4T114.

between town and directeur) might stipulate that for a particular level of subsidy grand opera should be included.

( 11 )	
17. <sup>e</sup> ARRONDISSEMENT.	
A Châlons-sur-Saône .....	Le mois de mai.
A Alençon .....	Le mois de juin.
A Bourges .....	Le mois de juillet.
A Laval-Saint-James .....	Le mois d'août.
A Nîmes .....	Le mois de septembre.
A Poitiers .....	Le mois d'octobre.
A Alençon .....	Novembre, décembre, et moitié de janvier.
A Châlons .....	De 15 janvier à la fin de mars.
18. <sup>e</sup> ARRONDISSEMENT.	
A Grenoble .....	Avril et mai.
A Chambéry .....	Juin et juillet.
A Grenoble .....	Du 1. <sup>er</sup> août au 15 août.
A Valence .....	Du 16 août au 15 octobre.
A Grenoble .....	Du 16 octobre jusqu'à la fin du Carnaval.
A Chambéry .....	Le reste de l'année théâtrale.
19. <sup>e</sup> ARRONDISSEMENT.	
1. <sup>re</sup> TROUPE, OPÉRA ET COMÉDIE.	
Du 30 avril au 14 mai .....	Les deux genres à Clermont.
Du 15 mai au 15 juin .....	L'opéra à Aurillac.
Du 16 juin au 15 juillet .....	La comédie à Riom et Clermont.
Du 16 juillet au 15 août .....	Les deux genres au Puy.
Du 16 août au 15 septembre .....	La comédie à Montbrison.
Du 16 septembre au 15 octobre .....	L'opéra à Clermont.
Du 16 octobre au 15 novembre .....	Les deux genres à Saint-Etienne.
Le reste de l'année théâtrale .....	Les deux genres à Clermont et à Riom.
2. <sup>e</sup> TROUPE.	
Du 15 mai au 30 juin .....	A Montbrison, et dans les petites villes du département de la Loire.
Du 1. <sup>er</sup> juillet au 31 août .....	Dans les villes du département de la Haute-Loire (autres que celle du Puy), et dans les villes de l'Aniérche.
Du 1. <sup>er</sup> septembre au 30 octobre .....	Dans le département du Cantal.
Du 1. <sup>er</sup> novembre au 31 décembre .....	En Puy, et dans les petites villes du département de la Haute-Loire.
Le reste de l'année théâtrale .....	A Montbrison, et dans les petites villes du département de la Loire.

Figure 19. Part of *Circulaire 40* showing details of troupes in 19<sup>th</sup> arrondissement. (ADAube T308)

On 8 December 1824 Charles X issued an *Ordonnance royale*<sup>144</sup> that further re-organized the French theatres. Greater flexibility was offered by having an increased number of troupes, but still working within the framework and administration of the arrondissements that Napoleon had established. Eighteen major provincial towns were to be served by *comédiens sédentaires*: Bordeaux, Boulogne, Brest, Calais, Le Havre, Lille, Lyon, Marseilles, Metz, Montpellier, Nancy, Nantes, Perpignan, Rouen, Strasbourg, Toulon, Toulouse and Versailles. In addition there were eighteen *troupes d'arrondissement* covering a number of départements. The 7<sup>e</sup> troupe served Calvados,

<sup>144</sup> AMPerpignan R15 and ADAube T308.

the Manche and Eure; the 14<sup>e</sup> troupe, Isère and the Drôme, and the 15<sup>e</sup>, the distinctly rural and under-populated areas of the Tarn et Garonne, Lot et Garonne, Aude, Tarn, Lot and Herault except for Montpellier which had a *troupe sédentaire*. The *troupes ambulantes* were intended to supplement the work of the *troupes d'arrondissement* by visiting the smaller towns that did not immediately fall into the circuits of the larger troupe.

The main reason for this major reappraisal was to offer greater flexibility in bringing professional theatre to an ever-growing list of provincial centres. But there were other motives. Many *comédiens* received their initial training on the provincial stage. A vibrant provincial theatre industry, with its many levels and troupe sizes, provided a promotional hierarchy for the artistes that led to the *théâtres royaux* in Paris.<sup>145</sup>

To encourage in the public a taste for high drama and tragédie, and also to help the problem of areas that had been abandoned by their directeurs, a troupe was established in 1828 under directeur Harel to exploit towns that had been without dramatic productions for over six months.<sup>146</sup> The opening of *Circulaire 71* establishing the troupe is reproduced as figure 20. The reasons and conditions are clearly laid out, not least the requirements for the troupe to be directed solely by Harel and the restrictions on the repertoire to be performed. One of Harel's first excursions was to Auch in Gascony that had been without a troupe for almost a year. But this new troupe could only be a palliative as circuits and theatres were regularly abandoned. A year later Harel was promoted to Paris and the Théâtre Royal de l'Odeon, his provincial duties being taken over by directeur David.

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<sup>145</sup> 'Considérant que l'art dramatique est intéressé à la prospérité des théâtres de province, puisqu'ils offrent aux jeunes comédiens, avec les avantages d'une instruction graduée tous les moyens de se faire connaître et d'arriver un jour aux théâtres royaux.' The Ordonnance of 8.12.1824 was found in a number of Archives but a particularly clear copy is in ADDr 14T2/1.

<sup>146</sup> Harel receives an amusing mention in Berlioz's *Memoirs*, not as one of the most imaginative directeurs but certainly financially wily. Berlioz, Hector, *Memoirs*, 397-8.

MINISTÈRE  
DE L'INTÉRIEUR.  
  
DIRECTION  
DES  
BELLES-LETTRES,  
SCIENCES,  
ET BEAUX-ARTS.

Paris, le 15 Octobre 1828.



CIRCULAIRE  
N.° 71.

*MONSIEUR LE PRÉFET*, sur la demande qui m'en a été faite par un grand nombre d'auteurs dramatiques, et dans le but d'encourager dans les départemens le genre de la tragédie et de la comédie, qui, en général, y est trop négligé, j'ai autorisé M. Harel à former une troupe ambulante qui sera exclusivement consacrée à ce genre de représentations. Toutefois, j'ai mis à cette autorisation des limites et des restrictions qui ont pour objet de garantir aux directeurs brevetés des départemens les droits et prérogatives spécifiés dans leurs brevets. La troupe de M. Harel ne pourra exploiter que les théâtres d'où les directeurs auraient été absens depuis plus de six mois, ou ceux qui seraient fermés par suite de la faillite ou de l'abandon des directeurs. Dans l'un comme dans l'autre cas, il devra préalablement obtenir la permission de l'autorité locale.

(2) D'autres dispositions de cet arrêté portent que M. Harel devra diriger cette troupe en personne, et qu'il ne pourra donner des représentations sur un théâtre qui ne serait pas compris dans les deux exceptions ci-dessus, que du consentement du directeur en exercice, et moyennant le paiement de l'indemnité fixée par l'article 11 de l'ordonnance royale du 8 décembre 1824.

Ce brevet exceptionnel ayant été accordé à M. Harel dans l'intérêt de l'art dramatique, il importe qu'il puisse l'exercer

A M. le Préfet d

Figure 20. The opening of *Circulaire 71*, (ADC-M 4T21)

The young Charles-Jean Harel (1790-1846) had been destined for the civil service. His uncle, Luce de Lancival – author and actor – had been charged with the boy's education and he certainly did not intend his nephew to follow him onto the stage. Harel was one of Napoleon's young Turks and in 1814 was appointed sous-préfet to Soissons (Aisne). The return of the Bourbons led to flight and an exile in London from 1815-1820. Harel's exile was eased in 1817 by the arrival of the great tragédien François Joseph Talma (1763-1826) and the celebrated actress Mlle George, (Marguerite Joséphine Weimar, 1787-1867) mistress of Napoleon and Wellington. It



was not long before he was Mlle George's lover and the life of a bureaucrat no longer held any appeal. On his return to France, Harel established himself as directeur of a *troupe ambulante* and took to the roads. Although Mlle George was mainly performing at the Odéon, she would often accompany Harel on his travels. In 1826 the couple and their troupe were in Lille, in 1827 Caen, and in 1828 Tulle in Corrèze. Also, one cannot but help feel that it was Mlle George's influence that assured his rapid promotion to the Odéon. The Odéon and Porte Saint-Martin theatres enjoyed a certain success under Harel, although it is also suggested that Harel was 'the least scrupulous rascal in all the history of the theatre [the Odéon].'<sup>147</sup> Harel later toured Russia and Constantinople, a venture that led to his bankruptcy.

In *Circulaire 48*, Paris, 10 October 1829, the Minister insisted that, once awarded a *privilège*, the directeur could neither sell nor cede his license. The punishment for such an infringement was severe and the directeur could face being made destitute. *Article* thirteen gave directeurs the right to include masked balls in their season especially at the time of Carnival. Balls were popular, a useful supplement to municipal income and an additional source of monies for the directeur. The regulations also stated that mayors and the municipal authorities could request charity performances in aid of the poor and distressed. Often the proceeds of last performance of a season were donated to municipal charities.

As in previous regimes it was inevitable that the towns falling in the larger rural arrondissements still had very few visits from the touring troupes. The fact that Rodez received no touring companies in either 1835 or 1836 prompted the town's theatre lovers to start a subscription for a new *salle des spectacles* that would hopefully entice the *comédiens* to their district. In other cases, such as Draguignan in 1825, it was the

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<sup>147</sup> 'le fripon le moins scrupuleux de toute l'histoire du théâtre...' It is also thought that Harel provided the model for the directeur in Carné's film *Les Enfants du paradis*.

Further details can be found in the biography of Mlle George, Lyonnet, Henry, *Dictionnaire des comédiens Français* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1969), 115-27.

amateur performers of the town who petitioned the mayor to be allowed use of the theatre for a limited season. The local thespians proposed a repertoire of 22 works, which included nine comédies, a mélodrame, five vaudevilles and seven operas.

The taste and demand for theatre continued to grow and, as it did, additional troupes were added to the arrondissements. In 1837 a second troupe was attached to the second arrondissement allowing the first company to be based at Amiens while the new troupe served Beauvais, Abbeville and Laon. In the prosperous north the number of troupes increased but in the remote Massif Central too few troupes covering too large an area still left many towns without a regular theatre season. In 1853-1854 Aveyron was not included in any arrondissement. Similarly in 1842-43, 1848-1850, and 1853-1854 no one held the *privilège* for Valence and the Drôme. The Ministry of the Interior in Paris carefully monitored the touring programmes in an effort to ensure that towns had an equitable distribution of the troupes and that conflict was avoided. Minister Duchâtel reminded the préfets that it was essential to get the balance right between a sufficient number of performances in a town and not allowing too many troupes to follow each other too rapidly - it was in the interest of the directeur.<sup>148</sup>

In 1841, the Minister, Le Comte Duchâtel, raised some particularly perceptive issues. There were the usual concerns that the rules and regulations were not being followed. There were the councils that tolerated troupes that had not been authorized; there were municipalities that failed to give a subvention that was adequate to exploit the chosen expensive genres and there were unfortunate choices of directeurs and companies that were far from homogeneous. The Minister found the whole industry in an extremely disturbing state.

But more importantly he also argued that there was not enough innovation in Paris. Duchâtel concluded that there were insufficient new productions in Paris, neither

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<sup>148</sup> Issues raised in a letter from the Beaux-Arts division of the Interior Ministry to préfets, dated 12.12.1843 ADAr. T625.

offering the variety nor the quantity to service the provinces. The situation was further aggravated by the domination of the Parisian stage by Auber and Meyerbeer. The large scale of the works and the rising salaries of artists, especially principal singers, had caused the provincial repertoire to become both limited and extremely costly to mount. One reform he proposed was to authorize an additional lyric theatre in Paris to help promote new works.<sup>149</sup> After a couple of false starts, the Théâtre Historique opened its doors for the first time on 20 February 1847. Unfortunately, these were not propitious times and, although it was headed by Alexandre Dumas and survived the 1848 Revolution, the finances were such that it closed on 20 December 1850. In 1851 it re-opened as the Théâtre-Lyrique.

By 1852 the sheer amount of paperwork needed to maintain the smooth running of the theatre industry led to some simplification and delegation of responsibilities to the provinces. Whilst the authorization of repertoire for the Parisian theatres continued to be dealt with by the Minister of the Interior, new works by local writers receiving a restricted production could be sanctioned by the préfecture. A work had to be approved by each respective département where it was to be performed, so although a play, *Les Vampires du canal*, had played successfully in Angers under the title of *Le Chantier du petit Capozza*, it needed the consent of the préfecture of the Seine-Maritime to receive a Rouen début.<sup>150</sup>

Throughout the Second Empire, and to the end of the century, the theatre industry was constantly expanding. As was noted in the previous chapter a municipal theatre was regarded as an indispensable symbol of civic status. The addition of summer seasons in spas and resorts also gave a new and ready market. Sometimes commercial enterprise ran ahead of legal niceties. Once the entertainments included extracts from opéras comiques, opérettes and vaudevilles they came within the strictures

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<sup>149</sup> A Copy of the *Circulaire* for 1841 from Duchâtel, ADT-B 4T38.

<sup>150</sup> The correspondence and copy of the text, ADS-M 14T87.

of the Minister of the Interior. The performances were often by unlicensed troupes and so managed to violate all the regulations of the theatrical *arrondissements* and the system of *privilèges*. In 1858 the Casino in Cabourg (Calvados) played 22 vaudevilles without having permission from the mayor or *préfet*.<sup>151</sup> Further along the Normandy coast, Monsieur Hugot, an actor of the Caen theatre troupe, administered the casinos of Lion-sur-Mer and St. Aubin. To entertain the summer visitors he had assembled a *troupe dramatique et lyrique* which gave regular performances of plays and light lyric works. Hugot was not licensed and his argument that he was just giving one-off casual entertainments was rather negated by the posters that advertised an 'excellente saison'. The increasing complaints of troupes infringing each other's *privilège*, and the dissatisfaction of municipalities that were not receiving an adequate number of visits from touring troupes, led to a new review of the total theatrical framework. The whole bureaucratic structure that controlled the theatres had become stretched to breaking point.

However, despite the immediate pressures to reorganize, central government introduced a major new initiative. It was decreed that the theatre orchestras of France were to have a standardized tuning of A = 435, '*normal diapason*'. There had been quite a variety of different figures across France, ranging from 443 in Bordeaux to 456 in Lille. Following the 1859 deliberations of the French Academy, the note A was fixed at 435 vibrations per second at 15°C.<sup>152</sup> On 21 February 1860, Achille Fould, the Minister of the Interior, informed all *préfets* that as from the following season every theatre was to conform to the new standard pitch. The Minister suggested that the

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<sup>151</sup> The correspondence between casino proprietors, mayor, *préfet* and *directeur* in ADCal T2324.

<sup>152</sup> The Commission included Auber, Berlioz, Meyerbeer, Rossini, Thomas and Halévy as *rapporteur*. Berlioz felt that A of 449 would have been about right but the Government settled for 435. Berlioz had been concerned about the rise in pitch prior to the report of the Commission, see Berlioz, H. *Débats* 29 September, 1858 and the subsequent reprint *A Travers chants* (Paris: Lévy frères, 1862), 278. For background information, and much better than the most recent edition on-line, see Rhodes, J. and Thomas, W. R. 'Pitch - 5', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 7 ed. by Stanley Sadie, (London: Macmillan, 1980), 785.

change to the standard pitch did not have to be a costly exercise. The theatres might budget the following sums as a replacement cost for any instruments that could not be adapted - an oboe 130frs, a clarinet 300frs, a piccolo 40frs, a bassoon 150frs, and a flute 200frs, making a total of 820frs. The Minister optimistically assumed that the sale of the old instruments would raise some 400frs that could be set against the above figure and so, with the retuning of the brass at 80frs, the total cost would be in the region of 500frs. For larger orchestra that had bells and an organ, a further 100frs needed to be allocated for the retuning. The Minister believed that, even in extreme cases, the sum required for the changes should not have exceeded 600frs.<sup>153</sup> In reality these estimates could prove to be woefully inadequate as the accounts of the theatre at Le Havre demonstrate:

2 flutes	530frs	2 bassoons	240frs
2 piccolos	170frs	3 horns	450frs
2 clarinets	480frs	2 cornets	128frs
2 oboes	400frs	3 mutes at 30frs	<u>90frs</u>
2 cor anglais	416frs	Total	<u>2,904frs</u> <sup>154</sup>

Similarly, the municipal authorities at Rouen estimated that, as the orchestra was larger, their costs for adapting the theatre instruments, including the tubular bells and organ, would amount to some 4,810frs.<sup>155</sup>

On 8 September 1862 the new Minister of the Interior, Count A. Walewski, wrote to all préfets requesting a full description of all the theatres in their départements. The first page of the Minister's letter is reproduced as figure 21. The survey was to establish the exact state of all halls in either municipal or private ownership in each

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<sup>153</sup> 'Avec les frais que pourra entraîner la mise au ton des cloches et de l'orgue dans les orchestres ou s'il en trouve, l'ensemble des dépenses ne devra pas excéder la somme de 600 francs.'

The circular of Achille Fould implemented the deliberations of the Commission. The full document survives in a number of archives including ADGard 8T2, ADI-V 4T68 and ADS-M 14T106.

<sup>154</sup> Report to the council from the directeur, ADS-M 4T106.

<sup>155</sup> Letter to the mayor from the directeur, ADS-M 4T 97.

town. In the opening gambit Walewski pointed out that the theatres were still working under laws from 1824. In the intervening years much had changed and the theatres were not responding to the needs and progress of the epoch.

MINISTÈRE D'ÉTAT.

Paris, le 8 septembre 1862.

THÉÂTRES.

CIRCULAIRE.

*Monsieur le Préfet, l'ordonnance de 1824, qui régit encore aujourd'hui les exploitations des théâtres des départements, ne répondant plus aux besoins et aux progrès de notre époque, depuis surtout que l'établissement des chemins de fer a modifié les voies de communications, je m'occupe en ce moment d'une organisation générale qui donne satisfaction à tous les intérêts légitimes, aux intérêts de l'art comme à ceux du public, des directeurs et des artistes, et je viens, à cet effet, réclamer le concours de vos lamieres.*

*Veillez donc, Monsieur le Préfet, me donner tous les renseignements que vous pourrez réunir sur la situation des théâtres de votre département, et me faire connaître par quelle combinaison un nouvel essor vous semblerait pouvoir être donné à leur prospérité. Est-ce à l'association? est-ce à la liberté qu'il faut recourir? suffit-il d'opérer le remaniement des arrondissements théâtraux? Les troupes sédentaires doivent-elles être maintenues ou supprimées? Tous les genres peuvent-ils être autorisés sans subvention, ou faut-il, au contraire, que les villes qui veulent jouir de plus grands privilèges artistiques en prennent la charge à leur compte, ou garantissent au moins les directeurs contre des exigences trop onéreuses?*

*Je ne vous adresse pas un programme et un questionnaire afin de vous laisser plus de latitude. Toutes vos observations seront l'objet d'une étude attentive.*

*En attendant qu'une loi nouvelle vienne réglementer définitivement la matière, je désire, dès aujourd'hui, Monsieur le Préfet, prendre certaines dispositions qui me paraissent d'une grande urgence et dont, en tout cas, l'épreuve sera bonne et utile à faire.*

*La forme actuelle des débuts et le mode employé pour la réception des artistes dramatiques ne sont nullement en harmonie avec l'esprit de notre temps; le droit du public doit être respecté sans doute et je ne voudrais pas qu'il y fût porté atteinte; il ne faut pas que les artistes sans talent soient imposés, mais il faut encore moins que, par malveillance et de parti pris, des artistes estimables soient exposés à des manifestations inju-*

A Monsieur le Préfet d

*Charles Walewski*

Figure 21. Opening of *circulaire* from Minister Walewski beginning process that led to the reorganization of the theatre industry in 1864. (ADC-M 4T28).

It was time to find solutions that would be fair to audiences, directeurs and artistes. In the final paragraph on the first page of the *circulaire* the Minister also mentioned one of the main causes of discord that had bedevilled the theatres over sixty years, the system of *débuts*. The minister kept a weather-eye on *débuts*, especially when they led to unrest, but it was a local responsibility to administer the system. For that reason it is intended to deal with the subject in two phases – in the section on local regulations, outlining the mechanism for undertaking the *débuts*, and later when reviewing the theatrical year. It will be shown that the intentions often bore little relation to the reality.

The changes that had been signalled by Count Walewski in 1862 were finally introduced two years later. In a decree of 6 January 1864, headed ‘relatif à la liberté de l’industrie théâtrale.’ There were three strands to the legislation that was introduced. The first two might seem almost contradictory: liberty and protection. As with the 1791 theatrical liberty, any individual was free to build a new theatre or rent an existing one with the intention to manage it, with no other formal requirement than notifying the Ministry of Beaux-Arts and the relevant prefecture. The copyright regulations that limited certain genres to certain state theatres were abolished.<sup>156</sup>

However the liberty was not total. The Minister did bring in new regulations for *café-concerts*, *café-chantants*, *spectacles de curiosités* and *marionettes*. *Café-concerts* were tackled by central government in an attempt to protect theatres from the competition of these smaller venues that did not carry costly overheads. Some *cafés* had

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<sup>156</sup> One of many copies of the decree of 6 January 1864 in ADDr 14T2/1. The central government held responsibility for matters of public safety and the Minister for the Beaux-Arts continued to authorize the works that were to be performed in Paris. In the provinces the *préfets* sanctioned theatres in their *département*. Details of the cause and effects in Hemmings *Theatre and State* (1994), 173-5, and Leroy, *Histoire des Arts du Spectacle* (1990), 270.



begun to provide lavish lyric productions, particularly of *opérettes*, to the disadvantage of the municipal theatres. In an undated circular, a copy of which survives fire-damaged in the Lozère archives, the Minister noted that the proliferation of *cafés-chantants* was undermining the theatres as they were including extracts from new operas in their repertoire.<sup>157</sup> The repertoire of the lyric theatre was inappropriate for the *cafés* that were supposed only to perform *chansonnettes* or *romances* for one or two voices.

There was a third strand to the changes. Throughout the century Paris had not produced an adequate number of new works to service the provinces. Attempts to redress the problem had been made, such as the establishment of the Théâtre-Lyrique.<sup>158</sup> As early as 1829, François Joseph Fétis had suggested 'Decentralization artistique'. Fétis had proposed that six towns, Lyon, Marseille, Bordeaux, Rouen, Toulouse and Lille, should each produce three new works annually, eighteen works in total by young composers.<sup>159</sup> Paradoxically, it was the provinces that most vehemently opposed the change. The old adage of the prophet not being known in his own country seemed to be the main objection. Composers wanted the recognition and status that a Parisian success endowed. The new legislation made it easier for works to be premiered in the provinces although significant amendments did not occur till 1882. It became possible for certain theatres that had a track record of success in producing lyric works to be given additional status. In 1888 Rouen did achieve the status of *Premier Théâtre*

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<sup>157</sup> ADLoz M12625

<sup>158</sup> In 1842 Adam, Berlioz and Thomas had petitioned for a third lyric theatre in Paris, and again in 1844 there was a petition from the laureates of the *Prix de Rome*, both failed. These attempts and the later success of Adolphe Adam which led to the Théâtre-Lyrique are in Walsh, T. J., *Second Empire Opera* (London: Calder, 1981), 1-12

<sup>159</sup> Fétis, F. J., *La Revue musicale*, 1829, IV, 133, cited in Goubault, Christian, *Les Musique, les acteurs et le public au Theatre des Arts de Rouen 1776-1914* (Rouen: C. R. D. P., 1979), 73-4.

*Lyrique Départemental Français*. Ironically, the first theatre to be given additional rank, *Premier Théâtre Lyrique de Paris*, was the Theatre Royale de la Monnaie de Bruxelles!<sup>160</sup> The importance of the Théâtre-des-Arts, Rouen, as a theatre introducing new works of national importance is discussed more fully in the section on repertoire during the Third Republic.

Performances in Paris were still sanctioned by the *Maison des Beaux-Arts* but the primary function of the Minister was public safety. The State retained the right to intervene in matters of repertoire, and still circulated the list of prohibited works, but most other responsibilities devolved to the départements. As time passed, so other ministries took an interest in the theatre industry. The Minister of the Interior intervened in employment issues, in particular with regulations that concerned the exploitation of minors. One example is the Employment Act of 1892, which forbade the employment of children under the age of thirteen in theatres although in special cases authorization could be sought from the préfet.<sup>161</sup> It has to be noted that throughout the nineteenth century France had stringent legislation to protect children from being exploited. Before the Revolution there had been a debate around the use of children in Audinot's theatre. The arguments polarized between the Archbishop of Paris's complaints that when the plays were performed innuendo, apparently spoken in innocence, became an abominable profanation of the sacred rights of childhood to those who regarded the troupe as just a seminary for the stage. Although the children of actors might be permitted to play juvenile roles, the employment of children or

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<sup>160</sup> Salès Jules, *Théâtre Royal de la Monnaie, 1856-1970* (Nivelles: Havaux, 1971)

<sup>161</sup> Correspondence concerning the employment of children can be found amongst a number of archives of which ADA-M 10M 0002 and ADLoire T1890 are two examples. Often in archives series M rather than T, the requests offer another indication as to performances of operas with raggazzi, such as *Carmen* or *Bohème*.

performances by troupes of children, were banned. In 1844, the minister, writing to the préfet of the Haute-Vienne, had counselled vigilance: *je recommande toujours à votre vigilance...les troupes d'enfants dont les représentations ne doivent être tolérées sous aucun prétexte.*<sup>162</sup> It was accepted that there were plays and operas that might need child performers and in such cases each would be carefully considered by the préfet.

In a *circulaire* from the Ministère de Commerce, de l'Industrie et des Postes et Télégraphes dated 25 April 1894, the Minister reiterated the right of the Inspecteur de Travail to enter theatres to check their employees. Also there was a requirement for the weekly repertoire to be forwarded to the Ministry of Commerce in addition to the Ministry of Beaux-Arts. In 1900 at Dijon twelve children were employed in a production of *Carmen* and ten in *Patrie*.<sup>163</sup> A production of the opérette, *Rip*, in 1913 at the theatre in Périgueux occasioned a lively correspondence that was still rumbling on in May 1914. It appears that the préfet could permit children under the age of thirteen to work in the theatre but not under the age of nine. The cast included Max, Irene and Giselle Herbault, Alvain and Alphonse Desforges and Ida and Jeanne Rigaud. The youngest children were Irene, who was eight years old, Giselle, seven, and Jeanne five years old. All three were the children of artistes of the company and yet the Inspector from the Ministry of Commerce and Social Services had complained.<sup>164</sup>

Having considered the national legislation the following section considers the regulations that helped administer the theatres at a local level.

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<sup>162</sup> Letter dated 17 December 1844 from the Minister of the Interior to the Prefet in Limoges ADH-V 1T373.

<sup>163</sup> The many performances of *Carmen* meant that such approval was regularly sought, request in ADCdO 36T9.

<sup>164</sup> Letter dated 12.05.1914 from Ministère de Commerce to Préfet du Dordogne ADDor 1T333.

### 3.2 Local Regulation

From the outset the local mayor and préfet had certain responsibilities in the day-to-day overseeing of the theatres. Not only was it necessary to ensure that the national laws and regulations were being scrupulously adhered to, but also that specific local concerns were catered for. The local regulations were equally divided between matters of public safety and order (Police du Théâtre).

Local regulations extended to the commencement and duration of theatrical performances. Table 5 summarizes some of the theatres' opening times.

Year	Theatre	Start of performance	To be ended by	Comments
1790	Nantes	5.30 pm	8.30 pm	Musicians receive instructions 5.00 pm ready to play 5.15 pm.
1793	Laon	5.30 pm	8.30 pm	
1807	Nîmes	6.00 pm	9.00 pm	See footnote <sup>165</sup>
1830	Troyes	6.30 pm	11.00 pm	Musicians to receive instructions 6.00 pm, ready to play 6.15 pm.
1835	Cahors	6.30 pm	11.00 pm	
1836	Draguignan	6.30 pm	10.00 pm	January, February, November and December.
		7.00 pm	11.00 pm	March April, September and October.
		8.30 pm		All other months. Beyond 11.00 pm only by express permission of the mayor.
1838	Auxerre	6.30 pm	11.15 pm	1 October – 31 March.
		7.00 pm		1 April to end of season
1872	Besançon	7.45 pm		Chef and sous-chef in place 7.30 pm and all musicians 7.40 pm.
1880	Besançon	8.00 pm	1.00 am	1.00 am in exceptional circumstances.

Table 5. Commencement and duration of theatrical performances.<sup>166</sup>

<sup>165</sup> The early finish before 1810 reflects the fact that towns were ill lit and that in those troubled times late-night crowds were actively discouraged.

<sup>166</sup> Details for the individual towns from – Destranges, Etienne, *Le Théâtre à Nantes depuis ses origines jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1893), 82; Billon, *L'Histoire du théâtre à Laon* (1856) 76; Troyes ADAube T308; Cahors, ADLot 4T6; Draguignan, ADVar 9T5/1; Auxerre, ADYo 80T1 and Besançon, ADDoubs 1T475.

However there were often additional local codicils. In Laon (1793), the directeur was instructed that if the actors were not ready at the allotted time to go on stage they faced three days in prison. To assist the cast with their timekeeping, article 6 of the Police regulations for the theatre in Nîmes stated that a warning bell would be rung  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour before the beginning of the performance for actors and  $\frac{1}{4}$  an hour for musicians. If the evening began with an opera, the regisseur would give a signal for the overture and should it be a comédie then a symphonie [instrumental piece] would be played.<sup>167</sup> In Troyes, the start of the evening performance was signalled by the striking of the clock of the Church of the Madeleine some two roads away.<sup>168</sup>

Although the examples are from a number of different towns the pattern across France was remarkably uniform. Apart from the obvious seasonal variations, as the century progressed the later starting times reflected the extension of the working day and the growing social importance of dinner.

Once the doors of the theatre were open the regulations sought to maintain public order and safety. In an age when candles, oil or gas were the principal ways of lighting and heating theatres, fire was a persistent and regular cause of concern. Theatres regularly burnt down, although few with such tragic consequences as when on 24 August 1796 the Grand Theatre in Nantes caught fire during a performance of Gretry's *Zémire et Azor* with the subsequent loss of seven lives and many injured. It would appear that few provincial theatres were lucky enough to avoid major rebuilding following disastrous fires.

There were regular accidents such as when in 1842 Mlle Gillet, a member of the ballet at the Célestins, Lyon, was badly burnt when her costume caught on the footlights. Similarly in 1853 Mlle Mara's dress caught fire, but on that occasion calamity was averted by the quick attention of M Ferrand, second bass of the

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<sup>167</sup> From the Police regulations, ADAude 8T8.

<sup>168</sup> ADAube T308.

company.<sup>169</sup> In 1861 Mme Delphine Ugalde (1819-1910) of the Opéra-Comique was performing with directeur Goby's Caen troupe.<sup>170</sup> A performance of *Le Caïd* was marked by an accident that could have been a tragedy. It was the age of the crinoline and Mme Ugalde's costume caught the gas lighting at the front of the stage. Within seconds she was engulfed in flames. The actor Dupin threw himself onto the blazing robe followed by directeur Goby and the other singers who damped down the flames. One can only guess the emotions in the theatre: shock, joy, relief – for over twenty minutes the audience applauded the courage of the artists and only then was it possible to continue with the opera.<sup>171</sup> In Rouen, on 25 April 1876, as the cast were preparing for a performance of Ambroise Thomas' *Hamlet*, a jet of gas caught the curtain causing a fire that injured many and burnt the theatre to the ground. Figure 22 reproduces the artist's impression of the disaster that appeared in *L'Illustration* (27.04.1876). There was a tragic fire at the theatre in Nice in 1880 and, most famously, the directeur Leon Carvalho was jailed for negligence following the fire that killed 131 people when the Opéra-Comique in Paris burnt down in 1887. The theatre in Bayonne and the Porte St. Martin (Paris) burnt down in 1889. Fire was such a risk that smoking was prohibited in the theatres, and at Cahors it was expressly forbidden to take stoves and heaters inside the auditorium.<sup>172</sup> However, in Besançon the authorities did tolerate hot-water bottles during the winter months.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> Vuillermoz, G., *Cent ans d'opéra à Lyon* (Lyon: Bascou, 1932), 15.

<sup>170</sup> Delphine Ugalde played Suzanne in the 1858 revival of *Les Noces de Figaro* that ran for 143 performances between 1858 and 1861 at the Opéra-Comique; Blondine in the 1859 *L'Enlèvement au sérail*, and the title role in *Gil Blas* by Semet. After the first production on 24.3.1860 it ran for 61 performances. In 1871 she was asked by the Committee of the Commune to take part in an ambitious programme in aid of war widows and orphans.

<sup>171</sup> Lumière, *Le Théâtre à Caen, jusqu'à nos jours* (Caen: Adeline, 1896-1922 in 3 vols.) II, 16.

<sup>172</sup> Article 10 of the orders pertaining to the administration of the theatre in Cahors, 1835 - ADLot 4T6.

<sup>173</sup> 1858 Regulations for Municipal Theatre in Besançon, ADDoubs 1T471.



Figure 22. The Theatre-des-Arts, Rouen in flames, 1876.  
(*L'Illustration*).

In the regulations for Troyes the firemen were expected to be in position fifteen minutes before the doors opened to the public and remain in the theatre half an hour after the performance. In Auxerre it was required that one *sous-officier*, one *caporal* and four *sapeurs de la compagnie des pompiers de la garde nationale* would be present at each performance.<sup>174</sup> In Perpignan it was the responsibility of the captain of the fire brigade and the *directeur* to ensure that all water reservoirs were full and that the water

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<sup>174</sup> The details of regulations in Troyes and Auxerre are from the documents cited earlier, ADAube T308 and ADYo 80T1.



pumps were working and to ensure that the water was changed regularly. At the performances firemen, four in 1876 and seven by 1884, had to be at their posts before the theatre's gaslights were illuminated. In 1887 an iron fire curtain was installed in Perpignan and in 1891 the fire brigade asked the municipal authorities if they could simulate the evacuation of the theatre.<sup>175</sup>

In addition to the fire brigade there was a police presence at each performance. In Druguignan the police strength was listed as one guard to keep order, a brigadier, two gendarmes and a commissioner of police with as many agents as he thought necessary. At Auxerre the box on the left hand side of the theatre was reserved for the commissioner of police, and there was to be a sub-lieutenant, a corporal and six men from the garrison at each performance. The police station had to be supplied with details of the repertoire, a list of the company, their passports and precise details of their lodgings. The presence of the police was very necessary as audiences could be volatile. The *Police Ordonnance* in the archives of Auch outlines the procedures for clearing the theatre.

Art.10. If the commotion prevents the actors from performing the play, the Commissioner of Police, wearing his official sash, will invite the audience to be silent. If the noise does not cease immediately he will have the curtain lowered. He will then address the crowd a second time in order to obtain silence. If good order has not been re-established he will call upon the audience to leave. In case of a refusal, after this third appeal, he will have the theatre evacuated and all those who put up resistance, or prolong the disorder, will be arrested.<sup>176</sup>

In 1790 liveried servants and wigmakers, in the habit of powdering gentlemen's wigs, were not allowed into the Grand Theatre in Nantes. Across France, spectators

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<sup>175</sup> Tisseyre, Christine, *Le Théâtre de Perpignan*, 33-4.

<sup>176</sup> 'Art. 10. Si le tumulte empêchait les acteurs de jouer la pièce, le Commissaire de Police, revêtu de son écharpe, invitera le Public au silence. Si le bruit ne cesse point, il fera baisser le rideau. Il adressera alors une seconde invitation au Public pour obtenir le silence. Si le bon ordre ne se rétablit pas, il sommara les spectateurs de se retirer. En cas de refus, après cette troisième sommation, il fera évacuer la salle et arrêter tous ceux qui opposeraient de la résistance ou qui entretiendraient le désordre.'

The documents concerning the policing of the theatre in Auch - ADGers VIIIIR 14, while those for Druguignan ADVar 9T5/1 and Auxerre ADYo 80T3.

were not permitted to keep hats on their heads once the performance had begun, nor raise umbrellas in the auditorium. Swords, canes and other weapons were banned, as were dogs. The very thorough regulations for the theatre in Angoulême warned audiences against writing graffiti on the walls, statues and paintings, or in the hall, foyer or boxes of the theatre.<sup>177</sup> It was forbidden to enter the theatre with wet or dirty overcoats that could damage the furnishings and hangings of the hall or might inconvenience other members of the audience. The audience could sit only in the area of the theatre designated by their tickets but they were allowed to reserve a seat by marking it with a glove, handkerchief or other such object. Before the curtain was raised there was to be no singing, loud talking, no large and noisy gatherings in the hall or corridors, and no calling for works that were not part of the evening's entertainment. Nothing was to be thrown onto the stage and, once the performance had begun, there was to be no loud talking or marks of approval or criticism that might upset the flow of the play or opera. No one was to clamber onto the stage or go back stage to the dressing rooms. The young of the town and garrison were always falling in love with actresses and, as a consequence, were always finding themselves in front of the magistrate for having ventured into such forbidden places.

Women and young girls 'known to the police' were to be admitted only to designated seats. They were forbidden to wander the corridors and vestibules and at the first cause of trouble, indecency, or clamour occasioned by their presence, they would be immediately expelled from the theatre. In Aix-en-Provence 'Ladies not accompanied by a gentleman will not be admitted to the first or second galleries.'<sup>178</sup> A woman on her

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<sup>177</sup> Taken from *Règlement du Théâtre (Police) 1875*, Ville d'Angoulême, dated 15.05.1875 and approved by the préfet thirteen days later. Article 76 dealt with women 'known to the police' AMAngoulême Br 8278.

<sup>178</sup> 'Les dames non accompagnées d'un cavalier ne seront pas admises aux premières et aux deuxièmes galeries.' From poster of Police regulations for Aix-en-Provence, 1867. AMAix R4/48. The example is from a Police regulation, similar restrictions might also be cited in the *cahier des charges*, as will be shown in the next section. Local authorities had a double-edged sword to deal with such circumstances.

own was evidently suspect and therefore not allowed into the better areas of the theatre.

The regulations for Draguignan stated that after the performance had ended, the theatre and corridors should be well lit while at Cahors, in the presence of a police officer, the concierge and his dog would make a final inspection of the whole theatre.<sup>179</sup> Local regulations dealing with safety and audience behaviour were supplemented by those that related specifically to the performers and laid down the fines for breaches of the rules. Actors and musicians were warned against adding to their parts or performing works that had not been advertised. Lewd gestures by the actors were not to be tolerated and any absence through illness had to be certified by a doctor. An actor or musician who claimed indisposition ran the risk of a hefty fine or twenty-four hours in prison if subsequently seen in the streets of the town or any other public place.

There is a scene in Marcel Carné's 1945 film, *Les Enfants du paradis* where the harassed directeur is doling out fines as fighting breaks out on stage.<sup>180</sup> The cartoon by the caricaturist Honoré Daumier, reproduced as figure 23, introduces 'the *régisiseur* who reigns in the wings'. On this occasion he is imposing a fine on an actor for missing a cue. In Besançon the list of fines for the orchestra ranged from a mere 25c for speaking loudly during a performance to 5fr for refusing to play the music placed before them.<sup>181</sup> The hierarchy of fines took in being late for tuning, rehearsals or performances, missing rehearsals or performances, and sending in deputies without first having arranged permission for such substitutions. The consequences could be very serious as a habitual offender could be reported to the mayor and summarily dismissed.

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<sup>179</sup> Draguignan ADVar 9T5/1 Cahors ADLot 4T6.

<sup>180</sup> Marcel Carné's celebrated film is set against the backdrop of the popular theatre. Two of the main characters are based on historical figures: Baptiste Debureau, a celebrated mime-artist and the romantic actor Frédérick Lemaître.

<sup>181</sup> The fines are listed on a contract signed by all the musicians of the Besançon theatre, dated 12.7.1872. ADDoubs 1T475.



Figure 23. *Le Régisseur*<sup>182</sup>

Similarly, regulations in Dijon reminded the musicians that they were exclusively at the service of the theatre and could not put in deputies without permission from the *chef d'orchestre*.<sup>183</sup> The instructions of the *chef* had to be followed 'sur-le-champ'. Illness required a sick-note from the hospital doctor. Lateness was punished by a sliding scale of fines. Missing the overture would result in losing a quarter of the evening's fee; one act, a third of the fee; two acts, half the fee and anything above that, the total fee. Absence from a rehearsal would lead to the fee being withheld and, for sending an unauthorized deputy, a fine of half the fee. That it was necessary to have these fines calls into question the behaviour of some members of the troupe.

The local regulations were primarily concerned with maintaining good order, the health and safety of both audiences and employees, and ensuring that the repertoire was

<sup>182</sup> Daumier, Honoré, *Les Gens du spectacle* (Paris: Éditions André Sauret, 1982), 41.

<sup>183</sup> *Régulation pour l'orchestre du théâtre - Dijon 1889*, ADCdO 36T6d.

one that had the approval of the Minister in Paris. However, equally important was the question of the quality of the troupe.

At the beginning of each season the directeur assembled his company and announced it to the town; but this was only the beginning of the process before the final composition of the troupe was confirmed. The leading members of the company, principal singers and actors, had to face a trial by ordeal before their fiercest critics – the audience. The *début* system was, in effect, a probationary period for newcomers to the troupe and a mechanism for the re-engagement of existing members for the season. A systematic assessment of its members' performance was, in theory at least, designed to ensure that a troupe was balanced and competent. Members of the incoming company had to be assessed in three different roles. The three dates would be announced and after the third a vote (*scrutin*) would be taken. The result determined whether the artiste remained in the troupe. It all seemed so reasonable, after all a town did not want to find that some of the company were inadequate and that they were stuck with them for a year. In Amiens all *débuts* had to take place by early October. If for any reason the deadline was not met then a fine of 50frs per performance for every unfilled position in the company was deducted from the subsidy. The consequences of failure in the *débuts* could be painful for the individual artists but they were potentially ruinous for the directeur and troupe. All conditions were required to have been met by 1 November and failure to do so resulted in the fine escalating to an hundred francs per performance.<sup>184</sup>

Figure 24 reproduces the instructions for the troupes based on La Rochelle. The principal troupe had *débuts* in La Rochelle, while those for the *troupe ambulante* were

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<sup>184</sup> Details of the examples of the conditions for Amiens outlined in contract between the town authorities and the directeur of the municipal theatre. ADSO T153.

held in Saintes. The ten articles list the details of the duration, the method and those to be examined.

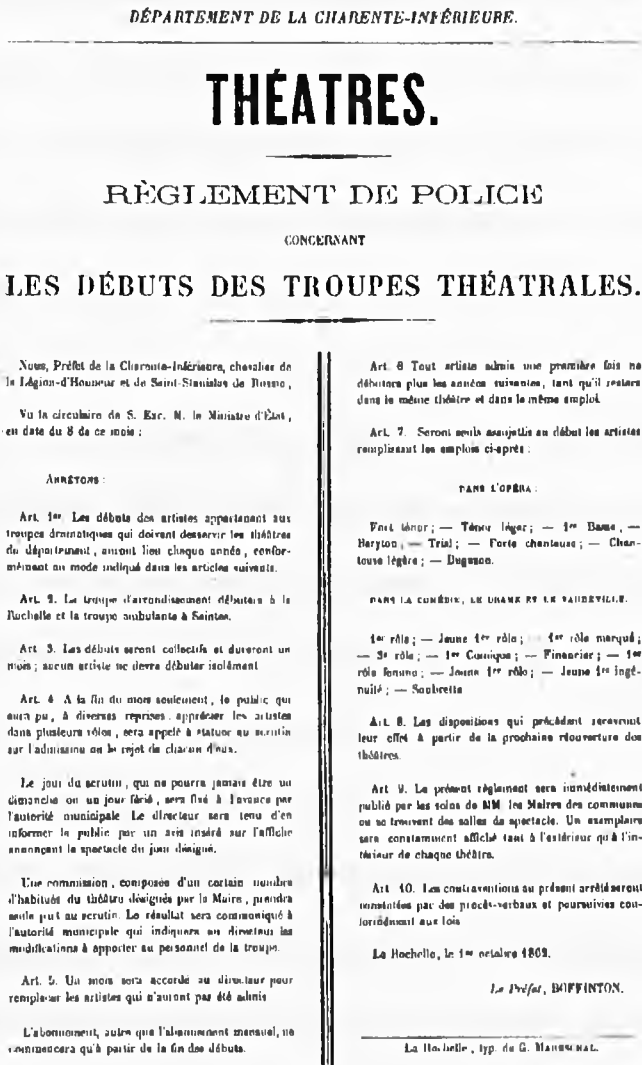


Figure 24. Regulating the *débuts*, La Rochelle 1862. (ADC-M 4T22)

A similar poster of the regulations for the theatre in Dijon states that new members to the company would usually make three *débuts* in different roles; sometimes, such as in the case of a member of the company being re-engaged, just one

appearance would suffice.<sup>185</sup> On the handbills for the evening performance, ticket holders were informed which *débuts* were being marked and of their opportunity to vote. Each male member of the audience received a list of the *débutants* and the roles that they were playing. In the interest of public order the results were announced as quickly as possible and copies forwarded to the mayor, theatre commissioners and directeur. A notice of the vote, and the final composition of the troupe, was to be displayed at the theatre. Except for the most minor of local differences this was the pattern of *débuts* across France.

In Limoges in 1889 the vote was extended to both sexes over 18; however, a vote by all the audience often increased the level of unrest in the theatre.<sup>186</sup> One solution was that used by the Mayor of Colmar. He resolved the problem by establishing a 'Municipal Commission' of twenty-three members to act as the jury at the *débuts*. The Mayor acted as President of the Commission.<sup>187</sup> Interest in the commission was high and there were forty-five nominations to serve. Thirteen were from members of the Municipal Council and the other thirty-two from amateur musicians and habitués of the theatre. The occupations of the latter group were given as engineers, insurance agents, a manufacturer, notaries, lawyers, a doctor of medicine and one *artiste musicien*.

While the Commission in Colmar was the particular response of one town, the seasoned method remained for many. After the legislation of 1864 that increased theatrical liberty, the directeur in Lyon, Raphaël Felix, tried to use the new regulatory

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<sup>185</sup> Regulations for the *Débuts des Artistes* dated 29.8.1866. ADCdO - 36T8

<sup>186</sup> Amendments to system of débuts, theatre poster, ADH-V 1T376.

<sup>187</sup> Applications to serve on the new commission, ADH-R 4T127.

framework to end the system of *débuts*. It led to riots in the theatre, disorder in the streets, effigies of the directeur strung up and burnt and the army brought in to assist the police. A company of infantry, the dragoons and the police were required to disperse the riot, which the police estimated at its height involved a crowd of 10,000.<sup>188</sup>

As late as 1910 the regulations for the *débuts* in Montauban indicate that each member of the audience received on entry to the theatre a slip with the name of the artiste being adjudged alongside, which was 'OUI : NON.' The vote was taken under the surveillance of the Commissaire de Police assisted by four members of the audience. Voting occurred during the last interval and, during the final count, the curtain remained down. As soon as possible the régisseur and the commissaire announced the result. In the interest of good order all noisy demonstrations were officially forbidden.<sup>189</sup> The most dispiriting feature for the artistes who had been dismissed from the troupe was that they were expected to serve out the following month while waiting for their replacement. The intention was to provide a balanced homogeneous troupe. When the theatrical year is reviewed, in section 4.4, the consequence and reality of these regulations will be considered.

Although the local regulations were primarily concerned with health and safety, the débuts brought in an element of quality control. As many theatres were subsidized through a subvention it is not surprising that directeurs and troupes were held accountable. The third strand of regulation was found in the *cahier des charges*, the contract between the town and the directeur.

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<sup>188</sup> Corneloup, Gérard, *Trois siècles d'opéra à Lyon* (Lyon: Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, 1982), 131.

<sup>189</sup> Poster *Regulations du Théâtre, Hôtel de Ville, Montauban*, 17.10.1910, ADT-G 115T/1.



### 3.3 The *Cahier des charges*.

The last instrument of local regulation was the *Cahier des charges*. The *Cahier* was effectively the contract between the town and the directeur. Here was to be found the minutiae of the day-to-day running of the theatres: the hours of openings, concessions to the directeur, payments and conditions for the orchestra and stage staff, the type of repertoire, and what was expected from the voted *subvention*. The *Cahier* outlined when the season started and ended, how many times a week the theatre would open – either for rehearsal or to the public – and the range of genres that the directeur would provide. It was a requirement that the troupe would be *bien composé*, all *débuts* having been settled within a short time, usually a month, after the commencement of the season, and that the wide repertoire could be performed satisfactorily. What was regarded as *bien composé* varied from decade-to-decade and place-to-place.

The contracts were remarkably detailed. The *Cahier des charges* for the 1899-1900 theatrical season in Nîmes contained no less than 47 conditions<sup>190</sup>. The opening preamble, as is the case with all others *cahiers*, stated that the Mayor was working within the guidelines of previous legislation, in this case from 1824, 1856 and 5 April 1884. In addition the conditions complied with the Council meeting of 11 February 1899 that had determined the expectations of the town and the obligations imposed on the directeur. The first section, conditions 1-8, dealt with the actual use of the theatre. The theatrical season began in September and all *débuts* were to be settled by 10 October. The mayor reserved the right to use the theatre, without loss to the directeur, four times during the main season, but not on play days; he could also use it on six occasions out of season for balls, charity performances, free concerts or concerts for the profit of the Conservatoire and other musical institutions. The season might end early through a case of *force majeure* or following a fire; such cases would be reviewed

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<sup>190</sup> The details are taken from the 1899-1900 *Cahier*, ADAude 8T8. They are typical of many similar sized towns. Sometimes, as in the case of Auch, *cahiers* were interchangeable. The *Cahier* for Toulouse was used by Auch with any references to Toulouse crossed out and Auch written in. ADGers I 013.4

individually. There was to be an inventory of lighting equipment, scenery and all fittings which would be inspected at the end of a season when it would be determined whether it was the responsibility of the town or directeur to make good any damage. Similarly, at the beginning and end of a season, the heating and lighting equipment should all be in working condition. The second section dealt with the subvention, articles 9-10. The subvention for the year was set at 50,000frs. The chief *machiniste* was to be paid 1,500frs per annum and the administration reserved the right to appoint the lighting director and his assistant at a pay of 120frs and 60frs a month respectively. Should there be a matinee performance the machiniste and lighting crew would receive an additional payment.

The third section laid out the prices that could be charged for individual performances and season tickets, conditions 11-24. Ticket prices ranged from 0.50c – 4frs; season ticket holders could expect a minimum of 120 performances over six months. An annual season ticket cost 120frs for men and 100frs women, while a monthly season (20 performances) cost 30frs for a man and 20frs for a woman.<sup>191</sup> Season tickets for the military were to be by mutual agreement between the garrison and the directeur. There were *loges* reserved for the *préfet, maire, général commandant d'armée* and *commissaire de police*. There were also reserved seats for the *officier de service, officier des pompiers de service, brigadier de police, agent de service, sous-officier de service* and the town architect. 20 reduced price tickets were to be kept for pupils of the *École Nationale de Musique*, 10 male and 10 female, every day except Mondays and Sundays. If the directeur wished to give a concert, or have a visiting celebrity artiste, he could suspend the season tickets and raise prices although season ticket holders could have a free ticket in the parterre. Should a visiting artiste wish to hire the hall, the fee would be decided by the directeur, but if it were thought to be excessive the mayor would arbitrate.

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<sup>191</sup> It is only possible to speculate about the price difference between men and women but at its simplest it might have been to encourage family attendance, or perhaps the 'gentle sex' were a civilizing influence.

The fourth section dealt with the troupe, conditions 25-35. It was expected that the troupe would be capable of playing grand opera, *les traductions* (performances of foreign language operas), opéra comique, and opérette. *Drame*, *comédie* and *vaudevilles* were optional. The troupe was listed as having 20 principal singers, a chorus of 16 men and 14 women and a ballet of 11 dancers. The orchestra had 47 regular salaried musicians and the directeur was expected to give first refusal of all orchestral positions to the professeurs of the municipal conservatoire. Performances were on Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday with Monday as an optional day. All performances were to be over by 12:30a.m. Benefit performances could be given for either *L'Association des artistes dramatique* or *L'Association des artistes musiciens*. From April to September the directeur was allowed to employ touring companies.

The final section of the *Cahier*, titled *Dispositions*, covers a ragbag of small details: details of replacing artistes, maintaining the Bibliothèque of the theatre, stamp duty payments, wear and tear, the hours and details of the fire service, and the requirement for the directeur to pay a caution to the council of 10,000frs which was reimbursable one month after the season ended. There were also two clauses that deserve special comment. Clause 45 stated that the directeur and all choristes were to be French nationals. The only exceptions were the *1<sup>er</sup> sujets de la troupe*, *du corps de ballet* and *chef d'orchestre*. Also, and specific to Nîmes, performances in the Roman arena were a completely independent and additional exploitation that the directeur might apply to undertake if he so wished.

The use of the amphitheatre for drama or opera might seem a twentieth-century conceit, but in the *cahiers* that do survive in the Archives in Nîmes, are many tantalizing references. In 1826 the Roman arena was available to the directeur on Sundays and public holidays. The cahier for 1847 allowed the directeur free use of the theatre and the amphitheatre and the mayor reserved the right to use the Roman remains for *fêtes publique*. Similarly in 1860, of the 37,000frs subvention, 4,000frs could be used for performances in the arena. Article 4 of the 1867 cahier refers to performances

in the amphitheatre being independent of the main contract but that the directeur was permitted to stage productions the arena on Sundays between 1 October and 30 April. Later in the century it became almost the fashion to herald the annual season of bullfighting (*la corrida*) with a performance of *Carmen* in the arena augmented by real toreadors and matadors. Figure 25 reproduces an interesting postcard (post marked 1915) that shows the amphitheatre with a raised area and music stands: a concert or an opera? Unfortunately there are no other clues, although it certainly was not *la corrida*.

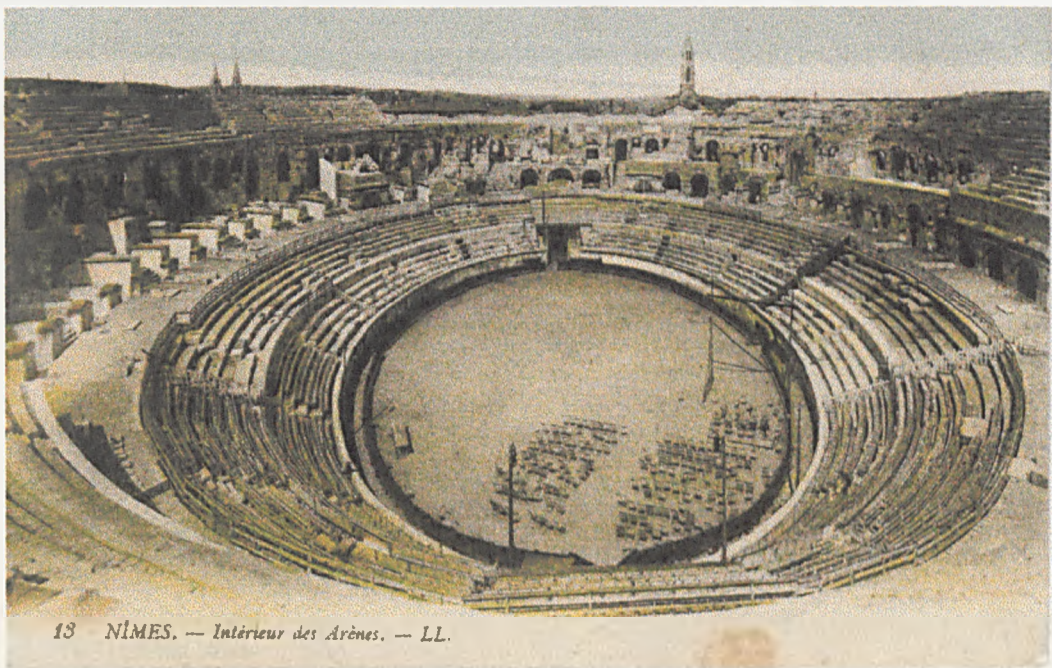


Figure 25. The Arena at Nîmes (postcard, author's collection).

Some local details are very precise, such as the following from Limoges: in 1897 a woman without a hat had to be accompanied by a man to be allowed entry to the seats in the stalls. Considering that the theatre was often seen as a healthy diversion for the military one condition is remarkably strange. Article 28 of the *cahier des charges* for 1885-7, stated that known prostitutes were only permitted seats in the 3<sup>rd</sup> tier. Ostracized they might have remained in a splendid quarantine, except for the fact that

article 30 stated that the 3<sup>rd</sup> tier was where the half-price tickets for *les simple soldats* were also available.<sup>192</sup>

Of particular interest are the details of the troupe sizes and the repertoire that was expected. The details for the theatre in Toulon in 1838 specified that the repertoire of the troupe was to include grand opéra, opéra comique, vaudeville, comédie, tragédie, drame and mélodrame. There was a chorus of twelve singers alongside nine male and eight female principals. The orchestra strength was given as thirty-seven. The theatre also employed one scene painter, two scene changers and four stagehands.<sup>193</sup>

The 1846 *Cahier des charges* for Amiens lists a troupe that was particularly strong in male roles.

1 <sup>o</sup> Tenor en tous genres	1 <sup>ère</sup> Chanteuse en tous genres
2 <sup>o</sup> Tenor (Colin)	2 <sup>ème</sup> Chanteuse
Tenor sérieux (Philippe-Gavaudan)	1 <sup>ère</sup> Dugazon
Baryton, jeune basse (Martin)	2 <sup>ème</sup> Dugazon
1 <sup>o</sup> Basse en tous genres	3 <sup>ème</sup> Dugazon
2 <sup>o</sup> Basse	1 <sup>ère</sup> Duegne
3 <sup>o</sup> Basse	Soubrette
Tenor comique (Trial)	Coryphée / 1 <sup>ère</sup> dessus / utilité
Tenor comique (Laurette)	Coryphée / 2 <sup>ème</sup> dessus / utilité
Tenor comique (2 <sup>o</sup> Trial)	
Tenor (Jeune comique)	
Coryphée / tenor	
Coryphée / basse	
Coryphée / taille	
Utilité tenor	
Utilité basse	

Table 6. Principal roles, requirement for theatre in Amiens, 1846.<sup>194</sup>

The chorus comprised eight men and eight women. However, it really was an all-singing, all-dancing chorus as the five members of the *corps-de-ballet* also sang in the

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<sup>192</sup> *Les filles en carte, et les femmes se livrant notoirement à la prostitution ne pourront être admises aux loges et stalles de première ni aux salles de seconde galerie et aux secondes.* Both *cahiers*, 1885 and 1897, in ADH-V 1T376.

<sup>193</sup> The details are listed in correspondence dated 16-05-1838. ADVar 9T5-2.

<sup>194</sup> A discussion of the titles of the theatrical roles in the Amiens list can be found in section 5.1 'A new generation of singers' (p.165). The list is taken from the Amiens *Cahier des charges* for 1846, ADSO T152.

chorus. The *utilités* were also expected to sing in the choruses. Although it is suggested in some *livrets* that ballets could be suppressed, so integral was the choreography in some operas post 1830 that the larger towns did include a small *corps-de-ballet* in the company.

In 1863 Besançon the directeur was required to provide an opera troupe that comprised some forty-three singers. This troupe was to be made up of fifteen soloists, four dancers and a chorus of twenty-four. There was a *chef d'orchestre* and two *sous-chefs*. The *sous-chefs* acted as répétiteurs and played 1<sup>st</sup> violin and viola in the orchestra. Plays and vaudevilles were accompanied by five musicians, a number that included the *sous-chefs*. Larger plays, other than lyric genres, could have an orchestra of twelve musicians. Article 16 is unusual as it gives specific directions as to the repertoire to be performed. In a remarkably understanding instruction, the authorities of Besançon stated that whereas Donizetti, Bellini and Auber were typical of the composers expected, Halévy or Meyerbeer were only to be performed if the directeur so wished as it was not part of his contract. The Council was reassuring directeurs that they did not have to bankrupt themselves recreating the spectacle required in grand opera. It would appear that the reference to Auber suggests his lighter works rather than *La Muette de Portici*, and similarly it was the larger of Halévy's compositions that would have been on the optional list.<sup>195</sup>

The *Cahier* for Aix-en-Provence in 1867 listed nine male and seven female principals. There was a chorus of twelve. The season was spread over five months during which there were to be no less than sixty performances, or twelve per month.

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<sup>195</sup> The *Cahier des charges* for Besançon, ADDoubs 1T474.

The theatre was to be open on Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday evenings.<sup>196</sup> The 1869 contract with the orchestra of the Municipal Theatre in Dijon expected the musicians to perform on a minimum of twenty-three evenings in a month. In Dijon the full orchestra numbered thirty-six musicians while plays, comédies and vaudevilles were to be accompanied by a quartet of instrumentalists.

One of the conditions to which directeurs had to agree, in order to earn the subsidy, was to introduce new works to their repertoires. From a modern day perspective, acceding to this demand might seem either courageous or foolhardy. All that can be said is that, for the most part, the most popular genres were mass-produced and readily accessible to audiences. Berlioz, in his usual forthright manner, stated that 'as for those pleasant and useful commodities which are daily manufactured in the manner of meat-pies, and which go by the name of opéras comiques, I do not have the least desire to add to their number.'<sup>197</sup> New works had to be premiered in Paris. The provincial directeur judged which of the most popular successes in Paris could successfully be introduced into the repertoire of the regional theatres. The obligation to provide new works, and the fact that the directeur was allowed very few repeats, meant that he required a very large corpus of works to sustain the season.

The 1869 *Cahier* in Dijon formalized the arrangements for the performance of new works. The directeur had to introduce at least three new works each season.<sup>198</sup> The first was to be performed by 15 January, the second by 15 February and the final work by 1 March. At least one of the works had to be a grand opera. Failure to satisfy

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<sup>196</sup> Aix-en-Provence AMAix R4/48.

<sup>197</sup> Berlioz, *Memoirs* trans. David Cairns, 468.

<sup>198</sup> New works were primarily recent successes in Paris, however, new works were also defined as those that had not been presented on the particular stage for a long time. Statutes for exploiting the Dijon theatre, 1848. ADCdO 36T6b, and 1869 ADCdO 36T6c.

the requirement for new works would result in a fine of 2,000frs, representing one month of the subvention. The question of new works was further amplified in the instructions for the 1902-03 season in Boulogne-sur-Mer. The directeur was expected to give at least sixty performances of which six were to be new lyric works or works that had not been heard in the previous ten years. The proviso that the works could come from earlier decades partly explains provincial revivals of works by composers such as Boieldieu, Gluck, Grétry and Isouard.

Even smaller towns having short seasons would have a *cahier* to cover their particular needs. In Auch the town authorities drew up a contract with directeur Saint-Sernain to work the concession for the municipal theatre.<sup>199</sup> Saint-Sernain ran a theatrical agency in Toulouse. For three months he was contracted to provide Auch with a season of vaudeville, drame and opérette. Opérette had to be played at least once a week and no piece was to be played more than three times during the period of the concession. Saint-Sernain was to provide a balanced and complete troupe and an orchestra of at least two first violins, two second violins, a viola, a 'cello, a double bass and a piano. With all the examples it must be remembered that these were not the whims of individual directeurs but rather the expectations and demands of municipal authorities, demands that had to be met for the directeur to be awarded the *privilège* for a theatre or a *subvention*.

Documents in the archives of the Pas-de-Calais give an indication of the problems and deliberations that faced councils when setting the *subvention* and deciding the details of the *Cahier des charges*. In a cost-cutting exercise, the 1885 season of the Boulogne Municipal Theatre was reduced from ten months in the year to six months: 15

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<sup>199</sup> *Traité* between Saint-Sernain and Mayor of Auch for 1889-1890 season, (ADGers VIII R14).



October - 15 April. The theatre was offering drame, comédie et opérette on three evenings during the week. Opérette was an option, rather than obligation, for the directeur. In 1889 the council proposed re-establishing a lyric season supported by a subsidy of 30,000frs. It was felt that opera at the theatre would be a major attraction. Directeur Bérard had produced some beautiful opérettes ‘...et personne ne venait au théâtre!’<sup>200</sup> Although on that occasion there was no immediate action, the question continued to be debated until two years later when the subvention was raised to 25.000frs. The Municipal Theatre was handicapped by two factors that it had no control over. The theatre was closed during the summer, the very time when tourists were visiting, and there was a casino that was putting on a season of lyric works. Opérette was ‘démodé’ and opera had not drawn the crowds; the performances of *Thaïs*, *Sapho* and *Cavalleria Rusticana* had been financially disastrous. The council was faced with two options: keep the opera season or replace it with plays and opérettes. Councillor Lemaître let it be known that he was against the latter option as he was heartily sick of *La Fille de Madame Angot* and *Les Cloches de Corneville*. More perceptively it was noted that if the lyric genre was suppressed then the orchestra would go, which in turn would have serious repercussions for the Municipal Music School. The theatre orchestra had a complement of twenty-six musicians (strings divided 4.4.2.2.2, woodwind 2.1.2.1, brass 2.2.1 timpani and percussion) which could be supplemented during the opera season with an additional oboe and bassoon, and a further two horns and two trombones. In 1906 there was talk of reinforcing the orchestra so that it had forty-five players and would be capable of offering a true *grand-opéra* season - *La Juive*, *Guillaume Tell* and *La Prophète*. The council even asked whether it might be

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<sup>200</sup> Deliberations of the Boulogne Municipal Council, ADP-C T384.

possible to present *Lohengrin*, *Tannhauser* and *Sigurd* in Boulogne. Councillor Thierry proposed a subvention of 30,000frs while noting that Calais gave 40,000frs to their theatre. Councillor Chochoy commented that there were more people in Calais. For all the debate, the rise in the subsidy was rejected in a vote of eight for the motion, sixteen against and with three abstentions. No changes were made to the *Cahier*.

Similarly when faced with a financial crisis, the authorities in Marseille economized by substituting comedy and melodrama for the grand opera and opéra comique that had previously been in the contract of the directeur. The season ticket holders were furious. The new season opened on 30 October 1897 with a costume drama, *La Maison du baigneur*. The audience reacted noisily. When it was announced that the next work in production from 7 November was another drama, *Le Camelot*, opposition really mounted. Placards appeared round the town inviting the townsfolk to register their disapproval of the changes to the repertoire of the theatre. Trouble was anticipated and trouble there was.<sup>201</sup> By 9 November, the previous week of unrest paled into insignificance. The theatre was packed, not least because of the presence of the 200 police who had been mobilized. Twenty members of the audience were arrested, many severely beaten and expelled from the theatre, shouts of 'subvention or resign' by the 2,000 spectators, *La Marseillaise* sung by the crowd, and the tenor Dolléon of the former company mounted the stage to render several operatic airs: not a word of the play was heard. The curtain was brought down and the protestors stormed out of the theatre and headed to the town hall. The hullabaloo of the cries and shouts and whistles redoubled and more arrests were made. The crowd then moved onto the prefecture demanding that the préfet dissolve the municipal council. Unfortunately the préfet

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<sup>201</sup> Placards and the call to arms are mentioned in *La Gazette du Midi*, 8-9 November 1897.

missed the crowd's approbation – 'Vive le Préfet' – as he had gone to bed and had slept deeply. So, at a very late hour, the crowds dispersed to cafes to continue the debate over tankards, soup, cheese and sauerkraut and then home. However, what had been an ugly confrontation could have been worse as the mounted police and the hussars were ready to advance. The editor of *La Gazette du Midi* asked how long it would be before there was a real tragedy, how long before the cavalry would receive the order to charge? The question became academic as the theatre was closed for the rest of the year. For the next season grand opera was returned to the cahier. The council appointed a new directeur and voted in a new subvention, albeit lower than what had been offered two years previous before the troubles.<sup>202</sup>

This section has briefly looked at the way the theatre was tightly regulated both at national and local level. The national regulations were the result of the First Consul's desire to keep what might otherwise be an anarchic theatre in line: to use the theatre as a means of educating the public and to offer a vision of the Nation to the whole of France. As Republics gave way to Empires, changes to the regulations of the provincial theatres evolved. But these changes were often only superficial, as later rulers understood the wisdom of the Napoleonic framework. It is not without significance that, as late as 1863, the Minister of State for the Interior, a very senior State official, oversaw the theatres. When in 1863, the Interior Ministry passed from Comte Walewski to Billault it was shorn of some of its trappings. Theatres and the Conservatoire then came into the domain of the Minister of the Imperial Household and Fine-Arts, Maréchal Jean Baptiste Vaillant. Although many responsibilities were later moved from Paris to the

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<sup>202</sup> Details of the riots and disorder taken from *La Gazette du Midi*, 10 November and 11 November 1897.

préfets, Paris still kept an eye on matters of repertoire, health and safety and employment.

The local regulations ensured that the wishes of the government in Paris were carried out, that censorship was enforced and that the theatres of France were safe for the public. The opening of the *Règlement sur la Police des Spectacles* published by the Mayor of Troyes in 1830 points to the dual functions of entertainment and public order:

Considering how the theatre offers the population a contrast to their labours, an honest recreation, it is at the same time the duty of the authorities to watch over these so that tranquility and good order are at no point troubled during performances, and to insist that the directeur conforms always to these obligations and conditions laid down to him in regard to the public.<sup>203</sup>

In the local regulations we find the requirements for *débuts* and the policing of the troupes; the details of how the police and fire brigade would supervise the theatre; the monitoring of troupes and performances and the dialogue between minister and préfets and préfets and mayors.

The expectations and aspirations of the local authorities were contained in the *cahier des charges*. The minutiae of administering a theatre were included along with the obligations that the directeur had to satisfy if he was to be granted his subvention. Remarkably, from all this panoptic supervision and bureaucracy, there emerged an extremely vibrant provincial theatre industry. The next section deals with the way that the regulations were interpreted in practice.

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<sup>203</sup> 'Considérant que si le Spectacle offre aux habitants un déclassement à leurs travaux, une récréation honnête, en même temps qu'il est du devoir de l'autorité de veiller à ce que la tranquillité et le bon ordre ne soient point troublés pendant les représentations, et d'exiger que le Directeur se conforme toujours à ce que les obligations et les convenances lui prescrivent à l'égard du public.' ADAube T308.

## 4

## THE THEATRICAL YEAR

## 4.1 The Directeur



Figure 26. A provincial 'directeur',  
caricature by Théodore Gérard (author's collection)

This section intends to see how the legislation discussed in the last chapter was actually interpreted and how the rules were applied in practice. Overseen by minister, préfet and mayor, the person in the unenviable position of putting on a successful season that pleased both audiences and the authorities was the directeur.

The one-act play, *Le Directeur d'un petit théâtre*, by Saint Phal [Rousseau] begins with the régisseur complaining how each year brings a new directeur, the previous one having retired from the scene usually as a result of inexperience or ineptitude. Having seen it all before, the theatre is blessed with a new directeur, an upholder of traditions, a skillful manipulator and above all – a charlatan.<sup>204</sup>

<sup>204</sup> Saint Phal (Rousseau) *Le Directeur d'un petit théâtre* (Paris: 1804), 1, BL 11738.a.27.(8.)  
On stage, directeurs were rarely shown in a favourable light, for example in W. A. Mozart, *Der Schauspieldirektor*.

Most directeurs led a fairly nomadic existence, switching from one town to another with the regularity of the seasons. Although a *privilège* might be offered for three years, the reality was that the majority of arrondissements and towns replaced their directeur annually. From the information in the *Annuaire du Calvados* (an annual statistical review and list of officials in the département) and returns from theatre directeurs housed in the Archives du Calvados, it is possible to build up a list of the direction of the theatre in Caen.

Year	Directeur	Year	Directeur
1803-1815	Julien	1880- ?	Rochette
1815-1816	Juche	1888-1890	Jacob
1816-1819	Juche / Julien	1890-1892	Gribouval
1819-1830	Julien	1892-1894	A. Gaugiran
1830-1831	Julien / Lefevre-Panien	1894-1895	L. Bougain
1831-1834	Lefevre-Panien	1895-1897	Dhervilly
1835-1836	Constant Billon	1897-1898	Hertz / Santara
1836-1837	Clement	1898-1899	Clasis / Santara
1839-1841	Edouard Haquette	1899-1900	Dhervilly
1841-1844	Blot	1900-1901	Mme Carina-Bensussan
1844-1846	Edouard Haquette	1901-1902	Baron Ballard
1846-1847	Solomé	1902-1903	Louis Joubert
1847-1848	Blot	1903-1904	George Richet
1848-1849	R. A. M Dargis	1904-1905	Dreux / Brun
1850-1853	Filhol	1905-1906	Brun
1853-1855	Edouard Haquette	1906-1907	Sabin / Bressey
1855-1856	Daiglement	1907-1908	L. Lacaze
1856-1859	Stainville	1908-1910	Julien Focheux
1859-1862	Goby	1910-1911	Edouard Daurelly
1873- ?	Petit-Delamarre	1911-1912	Barbe / Valensin
1879-1880	Duplessy	1912-1914	Yvan Kerp

Table 7. Directeurs of the Théâtre Municipal, Caen (1803-1914).

Albeit incomplete, table 7 does help to show how regularly the direction of a provincial theatre might change during the nineteenth century. From 1880 to the Great War the turnaround of directeurs was almost one every twelve months. However, what is both unusual and remarkable is that during the first thirty years of the nineteenth century the theatre was administered almost entirely by one directeur – Julien. Julien's period in office was from 1803-1834 with only the shortest of interruptions at the time of the Restoration in 1815.

A similar and more complete picture is offered in Marseille:

Year	Directeur	Year	Directeur
1789-1791	L. Garet	1855-1858	Tronchet / Lafeuillade
1791-1792	Quériau	1858-1859	Tronchet / Chabrilat
1792-1793	Richard / Martelly	1859-1860	Letellier
1793-1798	A. Beaussier	1860-1861	Montelli
1798-1801	Bonnet / Bonneville	1861-1864	Halanzier
1801-1806	A. Beaussier	1864-1865	Defossez
1806-1806	P. Brulo	1865-1867	Halanzier
1806-1810	Société des artistes / Vialeton	1867-1870	Husson
1810-1815	Prat / Fay	1870-1871	Theatre closed
1815-1818	A. Verteuil	1871-1872	Husson
1818-1820	Langle	1872-1873	Pilot
1821-1827	P. E. Chapus	1873-1874	Theatre closed
1827-1828	Société des artistes	1874-1876	Husson
1828-1830	Bernard	1876-1881	Campocasso
1830-1831	A. Crudère	1881-1884	L. Bernard
1831-1834	Baubet	1884-1885	E. Elbert
1834-1837	E. Rey	1885-1886	Campocasso
1837-1838	Société des artistes / Bremens	1886-1888	Roudil
1838-1841	A. Bremens	1888-1889	Stoumon / Calabresi
1841-1842	Clérissseau	1889-1891	Campocasso
1842-1843	Société des artistes / Chabrilat	1891-1893	Dufour
1843-1843	Auzet	1893-1894	Lestellier
1843-1844	Laverrière	1894-1897	F. Mobisson
1844-1845	Chabrilat	1897-1898	Charley
1845-1847	Provini	1898-1900	P. Lan
1847-1847	Société des artistes / Lafague	1900-1901	P. Lan / d'Albert
1847-1847	A. Allemand	1901-1903	Vizentini / J. Fabre
1847-1852	Pellegrin	1903-1908	H. Valcourt
1852-1855	Provini	1908-1914	A Saugey

Table 8. Directeurs of the Grand Théâtre, Marseille.<sup>205</sup>

Between 1789 and 1914 the theatre in Marseille was administered by no less than fifty-seven directeurs. The longest uninterrupted residence was that of P. E. Chapus who held the *privilège* from 1821 to 1827. However, the directeur who administered the theatre for the most years was Beaussier between 1793 and 1798 and then 1801 to 1806. In the same way, at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Campocasso directed the theatre for ten years although it was divided into three separate periods. Halanzier administered the theatre from 1861 to 1864 and then from 1865 to

<sup>205</sup> Table of directeurs extracted from Bonnot, *Divines Divas, Vivat l'Opéra*, 141.

1867, Defossez holding the 1864-1865 interregnum. From documents in a number of archives it is possible to follow the careers of both Defossez and Halanzier. Defossez, born in 1817, certainly administered the theatres of Nancy 1852, Le Havre 1853-1858, Strasbourg 1862, Amiens 1863-1864, Marseille 1864-1865, Le Havre 1866-1869 and Nantes 1869-1873. Hyacinthe Olivier Henri Halanzier, born in 1819 into a theatrical family, made his *début* at the age of four in Lyon in *Le Vieux Célibataire*. After his first performance the young Halanzier was embraced by the great *tragédien* Talma (1763-1826) who was making his last tour to Lyon. Halanzier's education was on the road and in 1835 he was a member of the troupe in Dieppe. In 1841 he directed a troupe in Saint-Ouen before moving to a *troupe ambulante* based on Arras for the 1843-1844 season. His first major theatre was Strasbourg in 1854 and then Lyon from 1856 to 1857. The next move was north to Rouen where he stayed three years, 1858 to 1861. Halanzier then travelled south to Marseille for the two periods mentioned, 1861-1864 and 1865-1867. Marseille had a reputation for having difficult audiences. However, for Halanzier, they were fruitful years with important productions of *Faust* and *Mireille* (Gounod), *Roland à Roncevaux* (Mermet) and *L'Africaine* (Meyerbeer). Halanzier invited the great Adelina Patti (1843-1919) to Marseille where she performed in 1861 and again in both January and December 1866. Patti was one of the first truly international stars. She made her *début* in New York, conquered Europe and retired to Craig-y-Nos in Wales. On 4 September 1870 Halanzier moved to Lyon. The Franco-Prussian War caused the theatre to close. It was during those dark days that Halanzier was invited to Paris to take over the directorship of the Opéra which he held to 1879.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> The details of Halanzier's early life taken from Dupêchez, Charles, *L'Histoire de l'Opéra de Paris* (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1984), 37.





Figure 27. Hyacinthe Olivier Henri Halanzier at the Opéra. Caricature by Yves and Barret, a Herculean task especially when shackled by the administration and expectations of the audience. (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra).<sup>207</sup>

The proximity of Lyon and Marseille encouraged a traffic in directeurs between those two towns. Both theatres were prestigious and so the flow was never just in one direction. Directeurs Prat, Brulo, Halanzier, Campocasso, Dufour, Vizentini and Valcourt all worked in both towns and often on more than one occasion. Campocasso was in Marseille from 1876-1881, Lyon (1881-1882), Marseille (1885-1886), Lyon (1886-1888), Marseille (1889-1891) and back to Lyon for the 1894 season. Similarly Valcourt played Marseille from 1901 to 1903 and later Lyon from 1909 to 1912. Valcourt was in Marseille in 1915 and then back to Lyon from 1924 to 1933.

In table 8, page 111, there were occasions when the administration was a *Société des artistes*. These periods, frequently found on the lists of other theatre's management, usually reflect emergency measures which might be caused by a variety of

<sup>207</sup> Halanzier is shown weighed down by the Opéra and with his feet tied by the demands of administration and expectations of audience. Reproduced from Corneloup, *Trois siècles d'opéra à Lyon*, 149.

circumstances ranging from the death of the directeur, bankruptcy, his abandoning the *privilège* or some nefarious behaviour. There were four such periods during the first half of the nineteenth century in Marseille when the troupe had a *société*, three in Lyon and eight in Perpignan over the same years. In such cases it was often the *régisseur* or *chef d'orchestre* who temporarily held the reins.

#### 4.2 Selecting a directeur.

Although the theatre season might have ended in May or June there could be no respite for the directeur. Annually all was movement and change between arrondissements and towns. Several months before a concession expired preparations were underway for the following year. The initial stage of this paper chase was at the Municipal authorities level. If a vacancy existed, letters were sent to neighbouring towns and prefectures, and advertisements were placed in the specialist press, such as *Le Moniteur des théâtres* and the *Courrier du theater*. The letters, notices and advertisements gave details of what genres were expected, duration of the season and particulars of the subvention that might be awarded. In 1841, two months after the vacancy for the theatre in Limoges had been announced, there were still no applicants. On 27 March 1841, referring to this situation, the following paragraph appeared in *La Gazette du Centre*:

The theatrical year is almost over. So farewell to our singers and artistes! Who knows if our stage will be exploited next season for our songs and our complaints. M. Combettes has given up the sceptre, as Napoleon at Fontainebleau. The throne is free and yet no one dares sit on it.<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> L'année théâtrale est près de finir. Adieu donc nos chanteurs et nos chanteuses! Qui sait si notre scène retentira l'année prochaine de nos chansons ou de nos plaintes. M. Combettes a déposé le sceptre comme Napoléon à Fontainebleau. Le trône est vide et personne n'ose s'y asseoir.

The replies to the mayor initiated the first stage of the debate as the authorities weighed the relevant pros and cons of the applicants for their theatre's *privilège*. In 1864, following disastrous *débuts* that had sabotaged Victor Daiglemont's attempt to put together a cohesive troupe in Le Havre, the town council short-listed seven candidates.

This selection was made up of:

Jean François Bartholy, 'ancien directeur de province et comique amusant',  
Beauce living in Marseilles,  
Gaurençon, directeur at Avignon,  
Baudin, experience listed as 'divers',  
Rousseau directeur at Rouen, previously Antwerp, Ghent, Mons and Rennes,<sup>209</sup>  
Dharmville artiste from Rouen and  
Louis Adolphe Desfossez who held the *privilège* for Amiens.

Once the applications were received, reports had to be requested from the départements where the candidates had previously worked. This meant that the préfet would seek advice from the municipal authorities, who would in turn access the weekly reports from the *police du théâtre* in order to compile a reference. After lengthy municipal deliberations, the Le Havre mayor recommended directeur Bartholy to the sous-préfet who submitted the proposal to Paris for Ministerial endorsement.<sup>210</sup> Although the Minister of the Interior would invariably rubber stamp the local recommendation, he had his own extensive records consisting of files on all actors, singers and directeurs, which was built up from his correspondence with the préfets, the police reports and the *trimestriel* returns of each season.

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<sup>209</sup> Rousseau was awarded a state pension of 300 francs marking 42 years on the stage, ADS-M 4T94.

<sup>210</sup> Correspondence between Maire and Sous-Préfet in Le Havre dated 6.1.1864, (ADS-M 4T94).

### 4.3 Forming the troupe.

Once the negotiations for the *privilège* of a particular arrondissement had been agreed, a new paper-trail was initiated as many day-to-day details still had to be settled: the repertoire had to be submitted to Paris for approval; the final complement of the troupe needed to be finalized and their personal details forwarded to the *préfecture* and Paris; the touring itinerary needed to be agreed and presented for authorization. A *troupe d'arrondissement* and a *troupe ambulante* might serve the same town during the season. It was necessary to see that municipalities received a uniform pattern of visits and that troupes did not overlap.

With the *directeur* fully occupied arranging the season and touring details, it might be his wife who had done the legwork to arrange individual artistes' contracts. M Gillon's *troupe d'opéra* visited Troyes between 15 May and 30 June 1859. Amongst the minutiae of the accounts are the expenses of journeys his wife had made to engage the lyric artistes appearing in Troyes. These costs were rightly regarded as part of the legitimate outlay for the *directeur*, which would in due course be reimbursed by the Council. The journey that Mme Gillon made to engage the tenor Alexandre Challard in Amiens cost 98frs, while her month's stay in Paris, Amiens and Lille ran up a bill of 300frs.<sup>211</sup>

Challard, the principal tenor, was able to command 1,000frs a month for his 1859 visit to Troyes, an impressive sum when compared to the next highest payment of 450frs that Mlle Grambert, the principal soprano, earned. Table 9, on the following page, gives some indication of the hierarchy of the company and the divisions that were maintained even as they travelled to Troyes. Principal singers and the *régisseur* were

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<sup>211</sup> An invoice from *directeur* Gillon to the Troyes Municipal Council dated 27-07-1859, ADAube T308.

allowed second-class rail tickets with only Challard being given the luxury of first class travel. The majority of the company, including the *chef d'orchestre*, was consigned to the railway's equivalent of steerage. It is also interesting that of the orchestra, only the *chef* and principal 'cellist are mentioned. The majority of the chorus and orchestra would be employed locally on arrival at Troyes.

Journey of	Rail travel	Cost Frs. c.	Role
M et Mme Pointel	3 <sup>ème</sup> classe	20. 60	1 <sup>ère</sup> Duegne
M et Mme Chapuis	3 <sup>ème</sup> classe	20. 60	2 <sup>ème</sup> Tenor
M Emile Auguste	3 <sup>ème</sup> classe	10. 30	Trial
Mme Vinkel	3 <sup>ème</sup> classe	10. 30	Choriste
M et Mme Falbert	2 <sup>ème</sup> classe	28. 10	1 <sup>ère</sup> Dugazon
Mlle Grambert	3 <sup>ème</sup> classe	14. 00	1 <sup>ère</sup> Chanteuse
M et Mme Tallement	3 <sup>ème</sup> classe	20. 60	2 <sup>ème</sup> Trial et Choriste
M Libet	3 <sup>ème</sup> classe	10. 30	Jeune premier
M Duez	3 <sup>ème</sup> classe	10. 30	Violoncelliste
M Julien	3 <sup>ème</sup> classe	10. 30	Tenor
M Jean Ketz	3 <sup>ème</sup> classe	10. 30	Choriste
M Lemaire	2 <sup>ème</sup> classe	14. 00	Régisseur
M Ribert	2 <sup>ème</sup> classe	14. 00	Baryton
M Nirvin	3 <sup>ème</sup> classe	10. 30	Utilité
M Challard	1 <sup>ère</sup> classe	21. 00	Tenor léger
M Coste	3 <sup>ème</sup> classe	10. 30	Chef d'orchestre
M Henri Armand	3 <sup>ème</sup> classe	10. 30	2 <sup>ème</sup> Tenor
Mme Julien	3 <sup>ème</sup> classe	10. 30	2 <sup>ème</sup> Duegne
Mme Nine	3 <sup>ème</sup> classe	10. 30	1 <sup>ère</sup> Duegne
Mme Nangin	2 <sup>ème</sup> classe	14. 00	1 <sup>ère</sup>

Table 9. Travelling expenses incurred by directeur Gillon, 1859<sup>212</sup>.

Smaller troupes, which might include a lyric season that only lasted a few weeks, booked their principal artistes just for the short period of the operas. These singers would often have to make long solitary journeys across France to join the troupe. It was a France wary of political anarchists and a France that had strict vagrancy laws. All travel between départements was carefully monitored and musicians needed a permit to journey from town to town. *The Register of street entertainers*,

<sup>212</sup> Gillon submitted his travelling expenses to the Council for endorsement, ADAube T308.

*acrobats, organ grinders, travelling musicians and singers*,<sup>213</sup> which survives in the Archives of the Lozère, gives a fascinating insight as to who might be travelling on the lonely roads in one of the most isolated parts of the Massif Central.<sup>214</sup> To this day Lozère is a remote and quiet corner of France. One hundred and fifty years ago travel over the mountain roads and tracks was difficult and often dangerous. The register of the travel permits takes care to differentiate between the *chanteur ambulante* and the *artiste lyrique*. The *chanteur ambulante* was the travelling singer whose livelihood was in the bars and the ever-popular *café-concerts*. The *chanteur* was invariably listed as being ‘sans domicile fixée’. The towns they visited were more numerous, often small and rarely possessed a theatre. The *artiste lyrique*, the aristocrat of the road, was the singer en-route from his or her home to the next *saison d'opéra*. Each travel permit included a list of physical details in lieu of a photograph: a forerunner of an identity card and part of the panoptic supervision of the provinces. In 1863 the seventeen-year-old Joseph Pirona, *chanteur ambulante*, was just five foot tall, small mouthed, with chestnut hair, a pale complexion and no sign of a beard. Many of the *musiciens ambulantes* were Italian. Although the roads of the Massif were certainly not paved with gold, the mid-nineteenth century towns of rural France could still offer better chances of employment than some of the more impoverished areas of Italy. These journeys often created a camaraderie of the road, a camaraderie brought about by the common hardship.

One Parisian artiste, Ida Sainte-Elme, recalled in her autobiography how at the beginning of the nineteenth century, she found herself in Aix-en-Provence and

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<sup>213</sup> *Registre des saltimbanques, bateleurs, escamoteurs, jouers d'orgues, musiciens ambulants et chanteurs*, ADLoz. M12288.

<sup>214</sup> Details of the musicians travelling in Lozère from *Registre d'inscriptions des saltimbanque*, ADLoz. M12289.

financially embarrassed. Recognizing several friends in the local theatre company she approached them and found herself employed by the directeur, who immediately announced that the company was taking to the road and the next stop was Digne (Alpes de Haute-Provence). Eleven members of the troupe were installed on hay that had been covered in wretched sacking. But they were not all the company: there was the Persian cat of the *ingénue*, the parakeet of the *soubrette*, and the pug of the *première rôle*. As Ida recalled, ‘it was a baggage train to die laughing at, and a journey which would appear very droll to all those who were minded not to take life too seriously.’<sup>215</sup> However comical the account now seems, it was the reality of touring before the railway age.

Once the members of the company had assembled, a final list would be submitted to the mayor. The list would be similar in detail to table 10, reproduced from a return to the mayor in La Rochelle during the 1850s. It is possible to see just how diverse the artistes’ backgrounds were. The town listed is the town of birth and so in no way reflects how far each member of the troupe has travelled on that occasion to be in La Rochelle. However, the towns where the members of the company had originally come from would appear to be fairly cosmopolitan. In a similar document for La Rochelle, but a season some forty years earlier, out of a company of twenty-three, less than half were previous employees of the directeur. That season four artistes travelled to La Rochelle from Amiens, one from Arras, one from Dunkerque in the north, three from Brest in Brittany and four from Grenoble in the east.<sup>216</sup> It is worth emphasizing

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<sup>215</sup> ‘C’était une colonne à mourir de rire et un voyage qui paraîtra très amusant à tous ceux qui ont le bon esprit de ne pas prendre la vie trop au sérieux.’ Sainte-Elme, Ida de, *Mémoires d’une contemporaine* (Paris: Flammarion, 1895), 165.

<sup>216</sup> Details from a return of Cocatrix de Franlieu for the 1816-7 season listing company and pay. ADC-M 4T25.

that if there was a constant movement of directeurs, it was mirrored by an even greater flow of actors, actresses and singers.

<u>Employment</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>First name</u>	<u>Town of birth</u>	<u>Year of Birth</u>
Directeur	Garbet	Auguste	Genève	1809
1 <sup>er</sup> Régisseur	Marcelin	Alhazar	Mauléon	1831
2 <sup>e</sup> Régisseur	Eugène	Ciron	Bordeaux	1832
Chef d'orch	Hénin	Jacques	Lagnieu	1803
1 <sup>er</sup> Tenor	Barsagol	Jean	Toulouse	1830
2 <sup>e</sup> Tenor	Massot	Leon	Lille	1819
3 <sup>e</sup> Tenor	Alhaizor	Paul	Paris	1837
1 <sup>er</sup> Basse	Rubner	Paul	Brest	1828
2 <sup>e</sup> Basse	Baptiste	François	Paris	1800
Baryton	Gonnell	Pierre	Paris	1818
Trial	Goujon	Pierre	Paris	1829
2 <sup>e</sup> Trial	Dumesnil	Pierre	Rouen	1822
Laurette	Pastelot	Edouard	Paris	1803
1 <sup>er</sup> Comique	Bady	François	Lyon	1822
Utilité	Luchesy	Frédéric	Lyon	1830
<u>Mesdames</u>				
1 <sup>ère</sup> Rôle	Pastelot	Clemence	Paris	1814
1 <sup>ère</sup> Chanteuse	Massot	Stephanie	Paris	1830
Dugazon	Bardagol	Augustine	Versailles	1832
Ingénuité	Fernando	Françoise	Marseille	1834
Jeune 1 <sup>ère</sup>	Legaigner	Marie	Marseille	1829
Soubrette	Somnet	Josephine	Clermont Ferrand	1814
Duegne	Culle	Elisa	Bordeaux	1809
3 <sup>ème</sup> Amoureuse	Meyer	Agnes	Brussels	1822
Utilité	Lemaître	Blondel	Rouen	1812

Table 10. The troupe of Auguste Garbet.<sup>217</sup>

With the troupe assembled rehearsals began in earnest. In Paris Verdi was infuriated by the slowness of the rehearsals. His wife was even more so. Burning with impatience to get to the family home in Genoa, she noted that 'at the Opéra they argue for twenty-four hours before deciding whether Fauré or la Sass is to raise a finger or a

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<sup>217</sup> The return from Garbet to the Mayor is typical of the many. ADC-M 4T30.



whole hand!’<sup>218</sup> If Verdi's theatrical world moved at the tortoise speed of the Opéra, in the provinces all was a flurry.

The first Caen production of Auber's *La Fiancée* in 1836 was lavishly produced and enthusiastically received by the audience, yet the whole work had been studied and mounted in just fifteen days.<sup>219</sup> Admittedly the directeur was helped by using set formulas and the guidance laid out in the *livret de mise-en-scène* of the opera, but even so, considering these rehearsals had to be in addition to the repertoire works that were being staged on three nights of each week, it was no small achievement.

The whole question of productions in the provinces is one that as yet has not been satisfactorily answered. Libretti of early nineteenth-century plays and vaudevilles in the Archives Municipale in Lyon do on occasions have some production details. The livrets for two works from the period of the Revolution, *Le Procès de Socrate* (Collot d'Herbois) and *Le Délire* (Berton), have stage directions and some printed comments on interpretation. As well as setting the scene the character Tillement in *Le Délire* is ‘elegantly dressed with a powdered wig’. There are indications how passages should be read, such as *tristement*, and *très vivement*.<sup>220</sup> Similarly in *Catherine ou La Belle fermière*, a *mêlée de chant* in three acts by Mme Julie Candeille, there are specific indications on how to deliver lines – page 6 has instructions such as *avec abandon*, *étonné*, *embarrassé* and *avec chagrin*.<sup>221</sup> However, the details are fairly superficial.

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<sup>218</sup> Letter from Guiseppina to her friend Mauro Corticelli (7 December 1866) quoted in Osborne, Charles, *Verdi: A Life in the Theatre* (London: Michael O'Mara, 1990), 194.

<sup>219</sup> Lumière, *Le Théâtre à Caen*. II, 29. As a comparison, the Opéra-Comique tended to spend about 21 days preparing a new one-act work, 28 days for 2 acts and 35 days for 3 acts. *Le Solitaire* (Carafa) had taken 28 days and *La Dame blanche* (Boieldieu) 29 days. Bara, Olivier, *Le Théâtre de l' Opéra-Comique sous la Restauration* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2001), 79.

<sup>220</sup> The details are taken from bound volume of libretti AMLyon 354529.

<sup>221</sup> Candeille, Julie, *Catherine ou La Belle fermière* (Paris: Chez Barba Libraire, 1797), BL 11738 a 27.(5)

From the beginning of the nineteenth-century there were specific *livrets de mise-en-scène* and *livret scénique* that were aimed specifically at the provincial directeur. Gösta Bergmann has shown that the development of theatrical agencies immediately before and after the Revolution helped service the provincial theatres, not only as an employment exchange, but with costumes and all the performing materials needed to stage a season. A number of the theatrical agencies had been founded by provincial directeurs such as Bonnet-Bonneville, directeur of the Grand Théâtre in Marseille, and Perlet who in 1803 had been directeur of the Théâtre des Terreaux in Lyon.<sup>222</sup>

Marie-Antoinette Allévy had recognized the importance of the *livrets de mise-en-scène* as early as 1938.<sup>223</sup> The two volumes by Robert Cohen (1986 and 1990) that took up the work of Allévy have opened an extremely interesting debate. Cohen, in his studies of the performing manuals, makes the point that the provincial directeur, or the *régis seur*, was not expected to be innovative but rather recreate, as far as was physically possible, the production as seen in Paris:

Staging in Paris and the French provinces throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth was an art of preservation rather than creation. *Régisseurs* strove to conserve, to the extent possible, the original mise-en-scène, of an opera's premiere as transcribed in the production book. Staging, in a word, was *not* intended to be altered.<sup>224</sup>

In a cartoon by Daumier, Figure 28, the *régis seur* is shown as someone handing on a tradition, a particular stylistic way of speech and deportment, again an example of conservation rather than creation.

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<sup>222</sup> For a discussion of the development of the theatrical agencies and their role in servicing the provincial directeur see Bergmann, Gösta, 'L'Agence théâtrales et l'impression des mises en scène aux environs de 1800', *Revue de la société d'histoire du théâtre*, 8 (1956), 228-240.

<sup>223</sup> Allévy, Marie-Antoinette, *La mise-en-scène en France dans la première moitié du dix-neuvième siècle* (Paris: Droz, 1938).

<sup>224</sup> Cohen, H. Robert, *The original staging manuals for twelve Parisian premières* (Stuyvesant, N. Y.: Pendragon Press, 1991), xxiii.



Figure 28. The *Régisseur* as an upholder of tradition.<sup>225</sup>

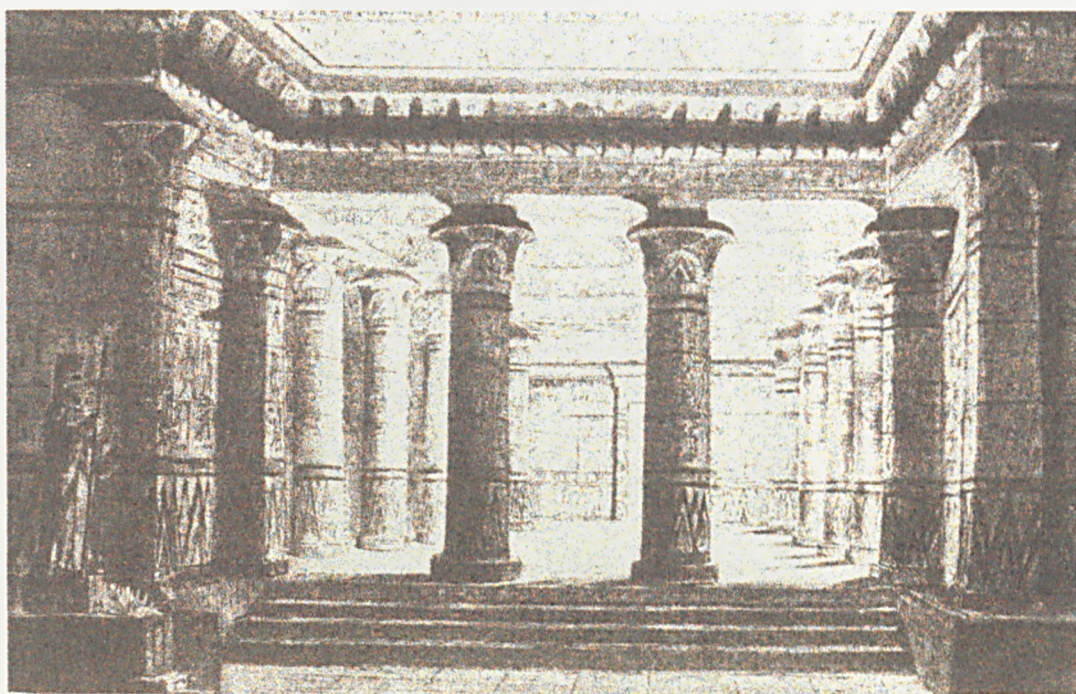
However, *livrets* are realistic working editions for the provinces that recognize the practicalities of provincial life and theatres having fewer resources and different practices. In the manual for Auber's *La Muette de Portici* there are four pages of instructions as to how the scenic demands could be simplified. Most importantly, directeurs were advised to follow the practice of theatres such as the Feydeau and treat the work as a play with music. Directeurs could do away with the ballets and speak the recitatives, in fact remove anything that was not specifically designated either as an 'air' or an ensemble passage.<sup>226</sup>

<sup>225</sup> "Come on, mam'zelle, roll those RRRs, resonate, resonate...great traditions are being lost...in my days, at the Conservatoire, they had managed to make us resonate, even on a word such as 'turnip'." Daumier H., *Les Gens du spectacle*, 42

<sup>226</sup> 'Dans certains théâtres de province, MM les Directeurs peuvent jouer *la Muette de Portici*, comme les drames lyriques que l'on joue au théâtre Feydeau, en supprimant les ballets et en parlant le récit, ainsi que tout ce qui est désigné comme air ou morceau d'ensemble.' Cohen, H. R., *The original staging manuals for twelve Parisian premières* (1991), 59.



In addition it might be possible to compare actual stage designs used in theatres across France when producing the same work. Figure 29 shows the sketches in the *livret* of the stage design for Act III of *Samson and Delila*. Figure 30 reproduces the illustration from a review of the first performance of *Samson et Delila* in Lyon.



*Samson et Dalila*. Intérieur du temple, acte 3, décor et plantation. [S 7 (1)]

Figure 29. Stage design for *Samson et Delila*.<sup>227</sup>

What is evident from figures 29 and 30 is just how closely the design in the performing manual is replicated by the set in Lyon. There are the same number of steps, the two central pillars and similar designs on and behind the pillars. Certainly the example of Lyon would appear to support the premise of preservation rather than innovation. What is particularly interesting about figure 29 is that it is taken from an early *livret*, possibly for the first performance at the Éden-Théâtre on 31 October 1890; a *livret* inscribed and autographed by Saint-Saëns. However it can equally be argued that the example is

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<sup>227</sup> From *livret* reproduced in Cohen, H. Robert, *Cent ans de mise en scène lyrique en France* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1986), 236.

atypical. The production in Lyon, figure 30, was just three months after the first performance in Paris. In that particular case, as time was short, it would be totally logical to use the Paris production rather than look for a new interpretation and new stage designs.



Figure 30. Final scene from *Samson et Delila* in Lyon.<sup>228</sup>

Research and thinking over the last decade has questioned Cohen's certitudes. Most compellingly Dr. Arnold Jacobshagen, by comparing different performance manuals of Auber's *Fra Diavolo*, found sufficient differences in the staging, musical content and dramatic disposition of the work to presume that operas were constantly being altered. His conclusion stated that 'directors had in mind not an *objective*

<sup>228</sup> Engraving from *Le Progrès Illustré*, 11 January 1891.



repetition of a production model but an innovative, constantly evolving, and lively musical drama.<sup>229</sup>

Figures 31 and 32 show set designs for *Aïda*: the first is from Vichy and the second Marseille. The production in Vichy was to open the new Opera house in the Casino in 1901. The set for Marseille dated back to the first performance of *Aïda* on 31 January 1877 and had been prepared by the Marseille firm, Maison Apy. The whole concept of the Marseille production appears more lavish than the production in Vichy.

At present more is known about theatre machinery and set-design than about day-to-day production in the provinces. Until sufficient *livrets* are discovered in provincial archives that record the practices in those towns, or we have either illustrations or *maquettes* (mock-ups of the sets) that can be compared to accounts and *livrets* in Paris, it is only possible to hypothesize.

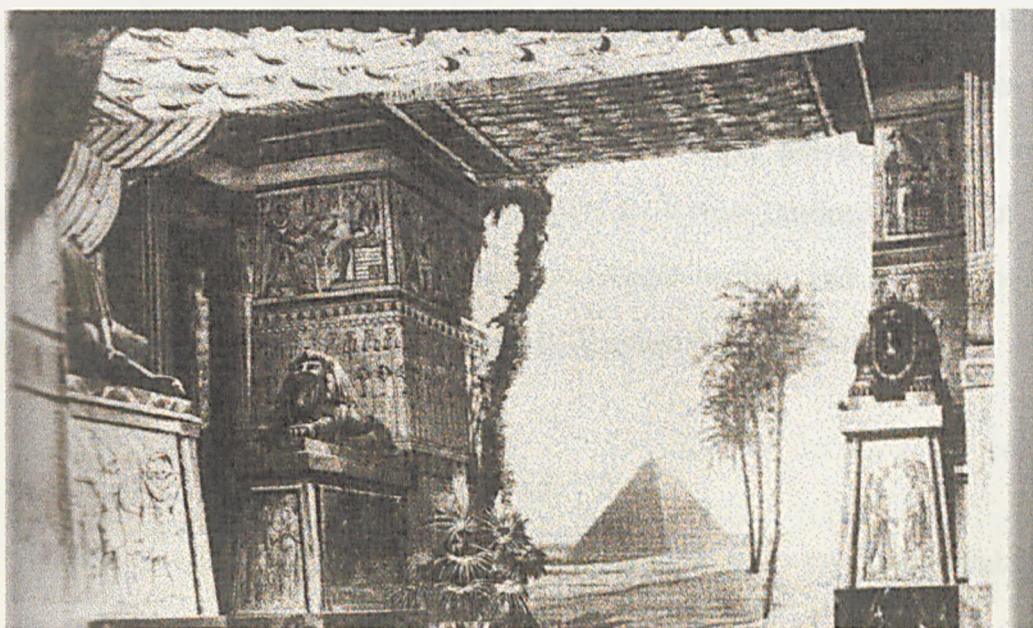


Figure 31. Decor for *Aïda* by Louis Contessa, Vichy, 1901.<sup>230</sup>

<sup>229</sup> Jacobshagen, Arnold, 'Staging at the Opéra-Comique in nineteenth-century Paris', trans. Mary Hunter, *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 13, 3, (Cambridge University Press, 2001), 260.

<sup>230</sup> Stage design reproduced from Alviset, Josette, *La Musique au cœur des saisons* (Vichy: Musée de l'Opéra de Vichy, 2003), 17.

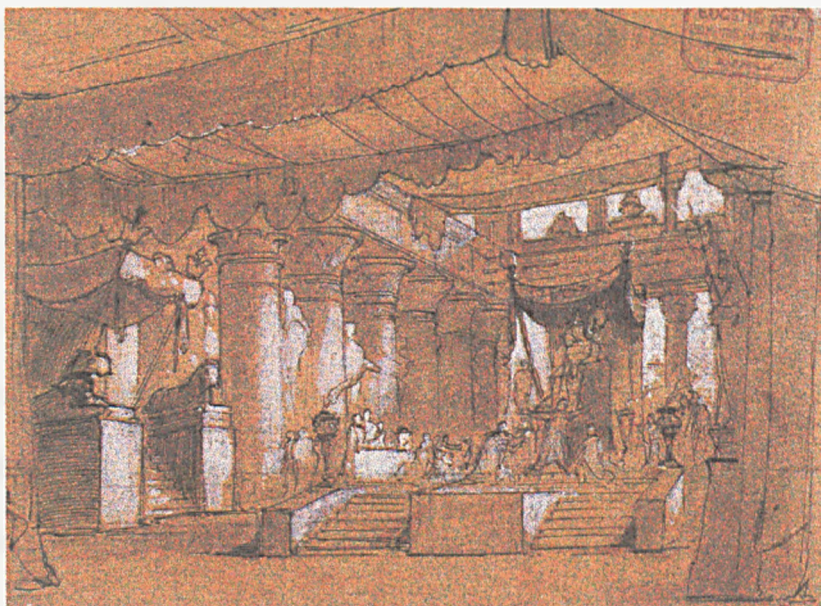


Figure 32. The 1877 decor for *Aïda* created by Maison Apy, Marseille.<sup>231</sup>

The backstage bustle of stagehands, set designers and painters, wardrobe mistresses and carpenters, musicians, dancers and dressers created an anarchic tumult out of which the directeur tried to draw some kind of order. It was not an easy task for, as J. Rousseau one of the author's of the Code civil noted, most provincial theatres were faced with having a new company each year. One singer arrived from the north, another from the Midi, a soloist from Paris and a tenor from Bordeaux. Each of them had played this or that piece in their own particular manner and often came with preconceived notions. Moreover all were ready to assist the directeur:

- I believe one enters over there.
- In Lyon, one entered over there.
- In Rouen, I played this scene on the left.
- At Marseille it is played on the right.
- I have always said this word here to the left; I could never say it to the right.<sup>232</sup>

<sup>231</sup> Reproduced from Bonnot, *Divines, Divas...* (Marseille: Archives de la Ville, 1987), 74.

<sup>232</sup> - Je dois, on entrait par là.  
 - A Lyon, on entrait par là.  
 - A Rouen, je jouais cette scène à gauche.  
 - A Marseilles, elle se joue à droite.  
 - J'ai toujours dit ce mot-là à gauche, je ne pourrai jamais le dire à droit

Delbergé, Leo, 'Choses et gens du théâtre d'après le 'Code Théâtral' de J. Rousseau,' *Revue d'Agenais*, 1958, 97. During the 1820s the productions of *codes* and *manuels* reached its height. The *Code théâtral: Physiologie des théâtres* of J. Rousseau was published by J. P. Roret in 1829.



The directeur, or regisseur, would patiently listen and then have to convince the artist that having said 'adieu' it was equally valid to depart left, as it had been right. Although Rousseau is obviously embroidering a good story in his account of provincial life, it may suggest that the *livret* was not quite so set in stone as Cohen has implied.

The principal singers would rehearse with the *chef d'orchestre* at the piano. On rare occasions they might even have the assistance of the composer. During the 1819-20 season Boieldieu visited Nantes and assisted with the rehearsals of his pieces. He stayed to hear *Zoraïme et Zulnare*, *La Fête du village voisin*, *Le Calife de Bagdad*, *Ma tante Aurore*, *La Jeune femme en colère* and *Le Petit chaperon rouge* performed in his presence, much to the delight and enthusiasm of the audiences.<sup>233</sup> Less successful was the same composer's visit to Rouen in 1826. Boieldieu wrote to directeur Morel complaining that he had heard Act One of *La Dame blanche* the previous night, Act Two that night and undoubtedly Act Three would duly appear on the following night. He objected to this piece-meal presentation of his work and he also took the liberty of appending notes and comments for the actors and a set of metronome markings to assist the *chef d'orchestre*.<sup>234</sup>

In the larger companies the *sous-chef* would rehearse and conduct performances of the vaudevilles. The chorus would rehearse with their leader and the *maître de ballet* supervised the dancers. In the case of the troupe of Jules Breton, directeur in Angers for 1885-86, the prospectus lists the responsibilities of the management. M Streliski was the *régisseur général* who was responsible for directing the operas. M Leprin, *régisseur* directed comédie et drame. Leprin was also a *comique et trial* in the opérette company

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<sup>233</sup> Destranges, *Le Théâtre à Nantes*, 247.

<sup>234</sup> Bouteiller, *L'Histoire des théâtres de Rouen*, III, 276.



and had acting roles in the drame, comédie and vaudeville troupe. Gustave Lelong was the *chef d'orchestre* while M Lynen and M Langavert were respectively *répétiteur* for the male and female choruses. Lynen was principal violin while Langavert was one of the two viola players in the orchestra. At first the dancers rehearsed with the ballet-master playing violin or with a first and second violin, while the singers had either violin direction or piano accompaniment. The orchestra was only brought in for the final rehearsals.

As soloists, chorus and orchestra rehearsed there was further bustle and activity backstage as the *mise-en-scènes* and costumes were prepared. Again the *livrets* suggest permissible and practical short cuts that the directeur might take in mounting a new production. If the company already possessed costumes for one work they might well be appropriate for another. The *livret* for Auber's *Fra Diavolo* notes that the chorus of villagers and domestics are dressed exactly as those in *La Muette de Portici*.<sup>235</sup> Even so, productions were occasionally mounted on a grand scale. Donizetti's *La Favorite* had been premièred in Rouen some twelve months after it was first produced in Paris on 2 December 1840. The opera maintained its place in the repertoire so that by the time of the 1858 revival in Rouen there had to be an order to *Maison Nonnon, Costumier de l'opéra et des bals de la Cour, Paris*, for seventeen costumes for 'seigneurs de *La Favorite*' at a cost of 1,115 francs. Either the old costumes were threadbare or this was to be special revival. Casual borrowing from other works in the repertoire was tending to become a thing of the past as the directeur strove for a new authenticity of scene and costume. However it has to be accepted that sometimes scenes were kept for long periods and then recycled as figures 33 and 34 indicate. Figure 33 is from a production

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<sup>235</sup> Cohen, *The original staging manuals for twelve Parisian operatic premières*, 12.

in Toulouse of *Faust* (1860) while figure 34 is over 50 years later and a production of *Don Quichotte*.

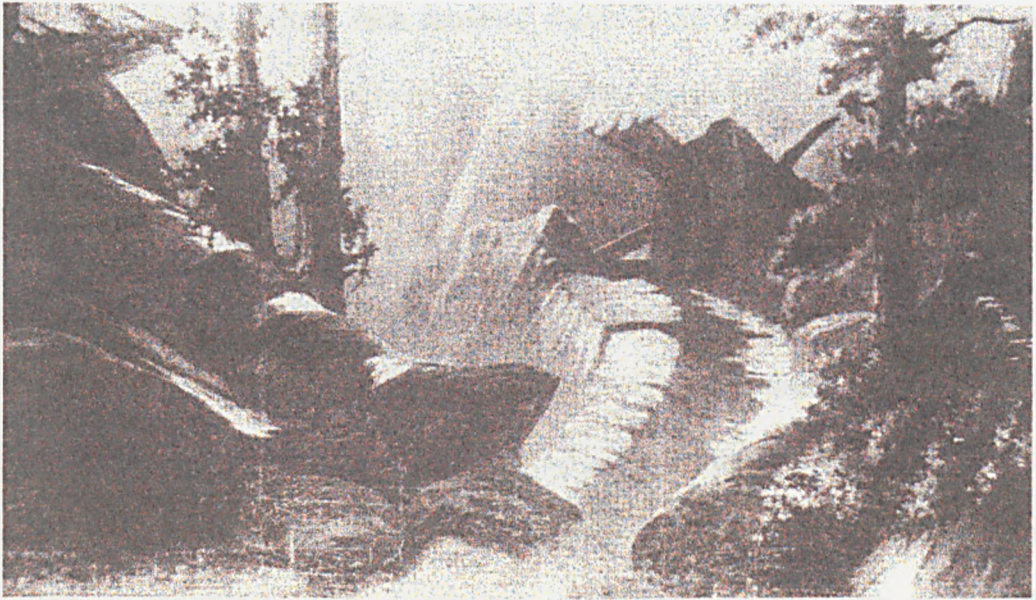


Figure 33. 1860 production of *Faust*, Toulouse.

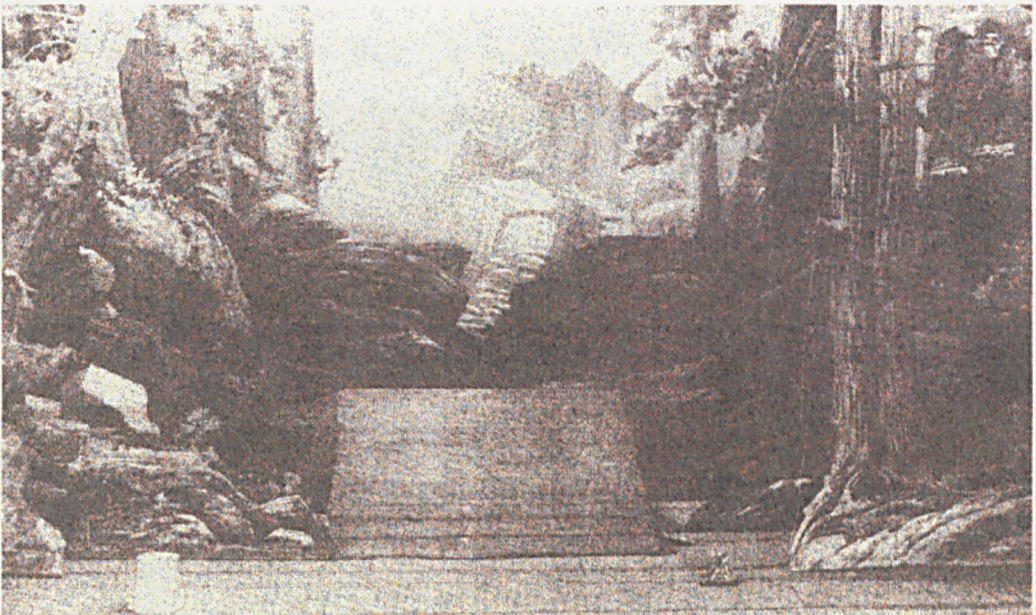


Figure 34. Showing use of 50yr old backdrop in production of *Don Quichotte* in Toulouse, 1912.<sup>236</sup>

<sup>236</sup> Figures 33 and 34 reproduce illustrations in Rivière, Auguste and Jouffray, Alain, *Le Théâtre du Capitole, 1542-1977* (Toulouse: Privat, 1978), 148-9.



With such borrowings and re-workings it is hard to believe that productions were set in stone. Nor does it explain the *mise-en-scène* for works that were not first produced in Paris. These might include such standard works as *Le Barbier de Seville* Rossini / Castil-Blaze, first produced in Lyon 1821 (see the discussion on pages 248-50 in the section on repertoire). Did the Lyon staging become the standard or was there a new production when the work was performed in Paris? Similarly *Le Roi de Lahore* had opened in Paris, but the 1897 production in Lyon used the *mise-en-scène* from La Scala.

What can be said is that the *mise-en-scène* was an important part of a very large theatre industry. The workshops of Maison Apy in Marseille provided costumes and sets to many of the theatres of the south. Maison Apy employed designers, painters, carpenters, seamstresses, and shoemakers to provide all that was needed for a production. Figures 35, 36 are of the workshops of Maison Apy while 37 and 38 are set designs for Marseille and the theatre in Avignon.<sup>237</sup>



Figure 35. Maison Apy, Marseille, the shoe workshop.

<sup>237</sup> Figures 35-38 are all reproduced from Bonnot, *Divines Divas...*, 65, 71, 72 and 74.



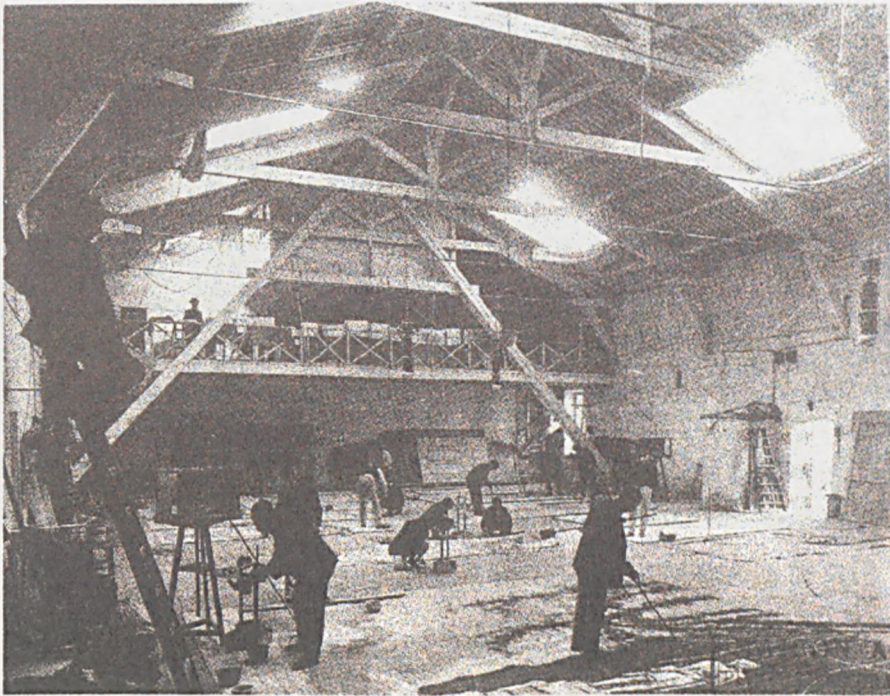


Figure 36. Maison Apy, the main workshop.  
Note the designer supervising from the perspective of the ladder.

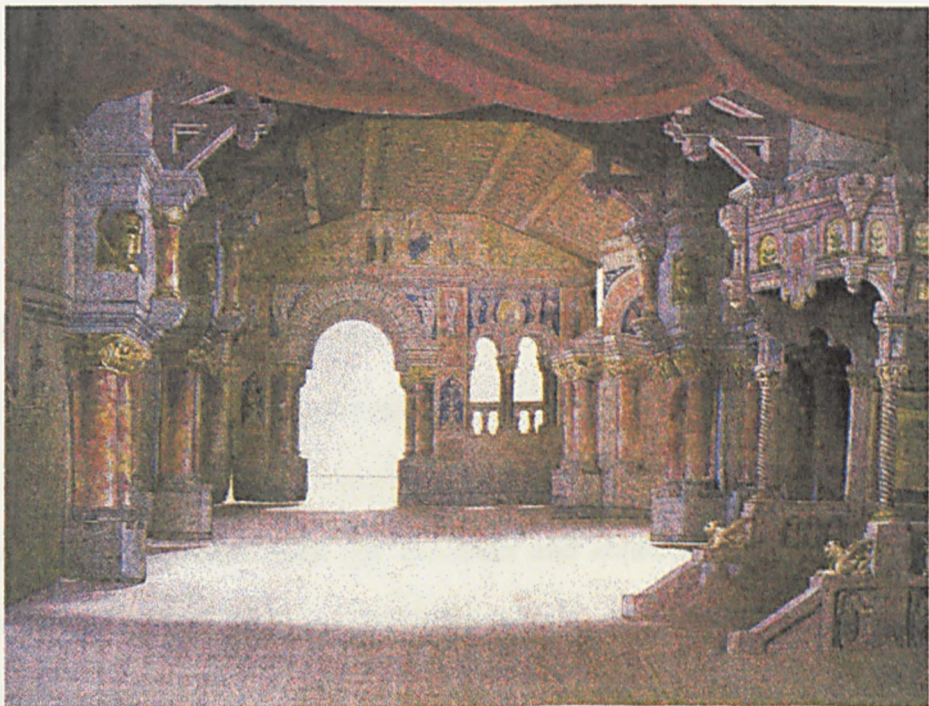


Figure 37. Maison Apy set design for *Tannhäuser* in Marseille, 1896.





Figure 38. Maison Apy set design for *Louise* in Avignon, 1901.

With actors, dancers and musicians, with administrators and stagehands, with painters and set designers, ticket and poster printers, costumiers and wigmakers and the panoply of police, firemen and civil servants to oversee the industry, the theatre was a vital part of the local economy even in a small town.

#### 4.4 A Season is announced and the first hurdle.

Very little time had passed from the arrival of the troupe to the grand opening, but in the town there would have been an air of anticipation and expectancy fuelled by the promises outlined in the new season's prospectus. In his autobiography, Adolphe Adam describes the activity in a small town just before the new theatre season. If the bars and cafés were filled with the *habitués* and amateur critics, they were also a convenient meeting point for the cast. Young singers or new members of the company, might find it advantageous to ingratiate themselves with their future audience. A word

here, a drink there or a few free tickets might all help make the opening nights a little easier.<sup>238</sup>

# GRAND THÉÂTRE DE SAINT-QUENTIN

## Année 1878-1879

### DIRECTION DE M. EMILE-AUGUSTE VASSELET

MESDAMES, MESSIEURS,

La municipalité de Saint-Quentin m'a fait l'honneur de me confier cette année la direction du Théâtre de votre ville. J'ai, en conséquence, Mesdames et Messieurs, l'avantage de placer sous vos yeux le tableau du personnel que j'ai composé.

Je vous le livre sans en faire l'éloge; à vous seuls appartient le droit d'apprécier cette question à sa juste valeur.

En ce qui me concerne, il me suffira de vous dire, Mesdames et Messieurs, que mes efforts, mon zèle et mon activité vous sont acquis, et que je ferai tout ce qu'il dépendra de moi pour obtenir et mériter vos bienveillants suffrages.

Votre très-dévoué serviteur,

EMILE-AUGUSTE VASSELET

#### ADMINISTRATION

<p>MM. EMILE-AUGUSTE, Directeur - Administrateur;</p> <p>DELAISTRE, Régisseur général, parlant au public;</p> <p>ANDRÉ, deuxième Régisseur;</p> <p>MENNIEZIER, deuxième Régisseur, Régisseur des Chœurs.</p>	<p>MM. GUYANIER, 1<sup>er</sup> Chef d'Orchestre;</p> <p>ALPHONSE LELONG, 2<sup>e</sup> Chef d'Orchestre;</p> <p>COMPAGNON, Chef Machiniste;</p> <p>*** Contrôleur-Casseur municipal;</p> <p>MAXIME GUFFROY, Bouffeur.</p> <p>ROBERT, Colporteur.</p>
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#### TROUPE

##### OPÉRAS COMIQUES, TRADUCTIONS

<p>MM. *** Ténor en tous genres;</p> <p>*** Deuxième Ténor;</p> <p>ROBERT, Baryton;</p> <p>*** Première Basse;</p> <p>DETAILLE, seconde Basse des premiers;</p> <p>EMILE-AUGUSTE, Ténor Comique;</p> <p>DUPRAT-LAJARRIETTE, 1<sup>er</sup> Trial;</p> <p>DUMAGNY, 1<sup>er</sup> rôle;</p> <p>GINETTE, 1<sup>re</sup> Comique;</p> <p>ROUSSEAU, second Trial;</p> <p>*** Coryphées Basse.</p>	<p>M<sup>lle</sup> MARIE GELIN, première Chanteuse en tous genres;</p> <p>GUYANIER, première Dugazon;</p> <p>DETAILLE, deuxième Dugazon;</p> <p>CAVE, 1<sup>re</sup> Dugazon;</p> <p>D'AVANCOURT, deuxième Chanteuse;</p> <p>ADRIAN, des deuxième Dugazon;</p> <p>DUPRAT-LAJARRIETTE des deuxième Dugazon;</p> <p>DUMAGNY, 1<sup>re</sup> Coryphées.</p> <p>HARRIS, 1<sup>re</sup> Coryphées.</p>
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#### OPÉRETTE

<p>MM. *** Premier Ténor;</p> <p>EMILE-AUGUSTE, Ténor-Bouffe;</p> <p>DUPRAT-LAJARRIETTE, Trial;</p> <p>DETAILLE, Baryton, Basse chantante;</p> <p>DUMAGNY, Basse-Bouffe;</p> <p>GINETTE, second Ténor;</p> <p>KURT, troisième Ténor, 2<sup>e</sup> Baryton;</p> <p>ROUSSEAU, 2<sup>e</sup> Trial;</p>	<p>M<sup>lle</sup> GUYANIER, première Chanteuse;</p> <p>D'AVANCOURT, première Chanteuse (Les Soubrettes);</p> <p>DETAILLE, Dugazon;</p> <p>CAVE, 1<sup>re</sup> Dugazon;</p> <p>LUCRÈCE, deuxième Chanteuse;</p> <p>DUPRAT-LAJARRIETTE, 2<sup>e</sup> Dugazon;</p> <p>ADRIAN, deuxième Dugazon;</p> <p>HARRIS, Coryphée.</p>
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#### DRAME, COMÉDIE, VAUDEVILLE

<p>MM. DELAISTRE, grand 1<sup>er</sup> rôle, fort jeune 1<sup>er</sup> rôle (Les Félins);</p> <p>D'AVANCOURT, jeune premier rôle, jeune premier;</p> <p>ANDRÉ, jeune premier Amoureux;</p> <p>GINETTE, troisième rôle, second jeune premier rôle;</p> <p>BUNT, Père noble, 1<sup>er</sup> rôle marqué;</p> <p>DUMAGNY, grand premier Comique, Comique marqué;</p> <p>EMILE-AUGUSTE, premier Comique;</p> <p>DUPRAT-LAJARRIETTE, premier Comique jeune;</p> <p>ROUSSEAU, jeune premier Comique, fort second;</p> <p>DETAILLE, jeune troisième rôle;</p> <p>MENNIEZIER, deuxième et troisième Comique;</p>	<p>MM. BRET, grande DUMAGNY, Grimes;</p> <p>VICTOR, Utilité.</p> <p>M<sup>lle</sup> LUCRÈCE DELAISTRE, grand premier rôle, fort jeune 1<sup>re</sup> rôle, Coquette;</p> <p>GUYANIER, jeune premier rôle;</p> <p>DETAILLE, première Jeunesse, jeune première;</p> <p>CAVE, Mère noble, Dugazon;</p> <p>D'AVANCOURT, première Soubrette en tous genres;</p> <p>ADRIAN, Coquette, 2<sup>e</sup> Soubrette;</p> <p>DUPRAT, Amoureux, Soubrette;</p> <p>GINETTE, rôle de convenance;</p> <p>HARRIS, deuxième Soubrette;</p> <p>DUMAGNY, Utilité;</p> <p>ANNA GUYANIER, 1<sup>re</sup> Rôles d'Enfants.</p> <p>JOSEPHINE GUYANIER, 2<sup>e</sup> Rôles d'Enfants.</p>
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### OUVERTURE LE DIMANCHE 29 SEPTEMBRE 1878

Le programme de l'année se compose des représentations d'Opéras comiques, grands Opéras, Vaudevilles et Opérettes qui auront d'abord pendant la saison qui commence le 29 septembre et finit le 31 mai 1879. Il est personnel, nominatif, et doit être adressé au directeur avant le 15 octobre. — Tout abonné qui ne commence pas son abonnement avant le 15 octobre, devra payer son abonnement en entier, et d'avance.

Abonnement à M<sup>lle</sup> Compagnon.

Figure 39. The 1878-1879 season is announced in Saint-Quentin.<sup>239</sup>

<sup>238</sup> Adam, Adolphe, *Souvenirs d'un musicien* (Paris: Lévy, 1857), 105.

<sup>239</sup> Poster, ADAisne 2R16.

The opening paragraph of figure 39 shows directeur Emile-Auguste Vasselet introducing himself to the public of Saint Quentin. The prospectus and programme could make all kinds of promises to the audience and yet they would be judged in the initial weeks of the season at the *débuts* of the main singers. The directeur needed to establish his reputation rapidly and to do that he needed successful *débuts* but the first weeks could be difficult as is clearly shown by the concerns of Archille Foulds, Minister of the Interior:

Monsieur the Préfet, every year in the départements the reopening of the theatrical year is marked by scandalous scenes and deplorable disorders during the debuts of the artistes.<sup>240</sup>

As has already been referred to, the system of theatrical *débuts* was a subject of controversy throughout the nineteenth century as well as being one of the major causes of unrest in the theatres of France. The method of compulsory *débuts* for the principal members of a troupe was intended to guarantee that companies were well balanced and pleasing to their public. However, reality was somewhat different. In towns across France, the *habituées* of the balcony, boxes and stalls all debated the relative merits of the troupes that would visit the theatres. '[This] difficult public would lie in wait for the débuts of the singers and dancers who had to pass a very severe exam in front of the season ticket-holders.'<sup>241</sup>

The composer Adolphe Adam contended that Parisian audiences did not understand the importance of *débuts* in provincial towns. He maintained that it was of

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<sup>240</sup> 'Monsieur le Préfet, tous les ans, à l'occasion des débuts des artistes la réouverture de l'année théâtrale est signalée dans les Départements par des scènes scandaleuses et par désordres regrettables.' Extract from letter dated 2.11.1858 from Minister of the Interior, Achille Foulds, to the *Préfets*. ADAv 15T3/2 and ADYo 80T3.

<sup>241</sup> 'Un public difficile y guettait les débuts des chanteurs et des danseuses qui passaient un examen très sévère devant les abonnés.' Maureau, A., *L'Histoire d'Avignon* (Aix-en-Provence: Privat, 1979), 578.



little interest to a Parisian whether a singer succeeded or failed, whether they were engaged or not. If the singer displeased then there was always another theatre where his or her talents would be accepted. Similarly, theatre managements in Paris could engage artistes who were to their liking as the theatres had an almost guaranteed audience. However, what was of little consequence to the Parisian audience was of the greatest concern in the provinces. *Débuts* were an important event, even in the larger towns:

at this time of the year, one speaks only of this in the cafes, or at meetings; politics, tittle-tattle, the petty intrigues, are all forgotten; the débuts, that is the great concern, the only topic for the idle.<sup>242</sup>

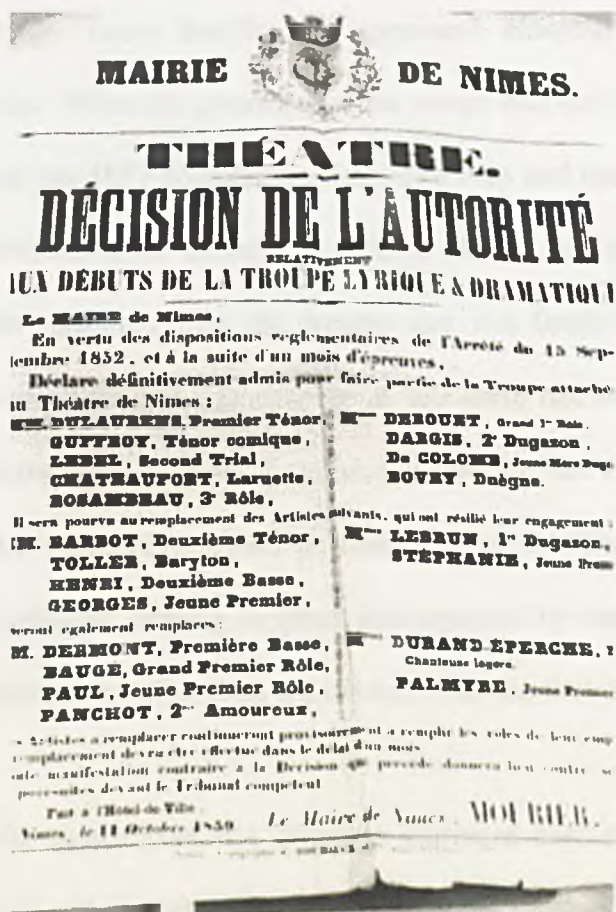


Figure 40. Poster announcing results of *débuts* in Nîmes, 1859.<sup>243</sup>

<sup>242</sup> 'à cette époque de l'année, on ne parle que de cela dans les cafés, dans les réunions; la politique, les commérages, les petites intrigues, tout est oublié; les débuts, voilà la grande affaire, l'unique occupation des oisifs.' Adam, Adolphe, *Souvenirs d'un musicien*, 106.

<sup>243</sup> ADGard 8T4.

As the opening night approached, prejudices were already fixed and cabals formed. The singer or actor, possibly facing difficult audiences, had just three opportunities in different roles to convince their detractors that they were suitable for admission to the troupe. It was not uncommon, as a result of this process, for the troupe to be so decimated that the opening of the season had to be delayed, or in extreme cases that the *privilège* to work the theatre was lost. Figure 40 shows the adjudication of the débuts in Nîmes in 1859. One can only imagine the dismay of the directeur as almost two-thirds of his troupe failed to find approval with the audience.

In 1851 Jacques Louis Bazille was appointed directeur of the theatres in Abbeville and Amiens. When the personnel of the troupe had not been finalized by the October, Article 2 of the 1837 *Ordonnances des Théâtres* had been infringed and the mayor ordered the closure of the theatre. In 1852, at Nantes, M Guerin's company met with such a hostile reception that the troupe was not finally agreed upon until November, some four weeks late. During the *débuts* there had been such outrageous scenes that the mayor had decreed that there would be no whistling during the performance and that clap-sticks would be banned from the theatre. The audience retaliated with high-pitched, braying laughter accompanied by stamping feet. Scenes such as these were the norm rather than the exception in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>244</sup>

1819 was the eighth year that directeur Corréard held the *privilège* for the theatre at Rouen and yet, despite him being a well-established directeur, he faced

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<sup>244</sup> Destranges, *Le Théâtre à Nantes*, 290. For an account of whistling as a critical response or, during the Revolution, as a political weapon see Rodocanachi, E., *Le Sifflet au théâtre. Études de mœurs et d'histoire* (Paris: Paul Ollendorff, 1896).

formidable opposition during the *débuts* and a good deal of unrest in the theatre.<sup>245</sup> Corréard had had enough and went on the attack, lambasting his critics in a letter to the local press. Whilst he agreed that the principal lady might no longer have the physical qualities of a young coquette, he did point out that appearances were superficial considerations when bearing in mind she had been successfully playing the parts in Brussels for the previous ten years. Corréard had worked in Nîmes, Nantes, Montpellier and Bordeaux taking his troupes to many small towns where audiences gladly accepted actors in rôles that might have been a little too young for them. If the troupe had not satisfied its critics in Rouen he argued, it had nothing to do with lack of talent, rather that they had been paralyzed by the severity of the public's attack. Corréard moved on and was replaced by Ernest Vanhove, who in turn resigned two years later.

The 1822-1823 season in Rouen, under the direction of M Morel, again began badly with particularly stormy *débuts*. By the 6 October the unrest had led to the arrest of several young men. A year later the *débuts* met with equally lively opposition. The three *débuts* of Mme Saint-Aubin-Goosens, on 15, 17 and 18 May 1829, were so stormy that she was convinced she was the target of a cabal. On her third appearance it became necessary for the gendarmes to evacuate the theatre. Notices were posted stating that the préfet would not tolerate any further trouble and that the perpetrators of the hubbub would be brought before the *Tribunaux*. The theatre remained calm for a week. Disturbances recommenced on 25 May, but the audience, now tired of this carnival, demanded that the whistlers respect the wishes of the hitherto silent majority. On 27 May it was considered prudent to post twenty gendarmes in the theatre, and a day later, thirty. The following day the mayor issued a new directive ordering that there should be

no signs of approval or disapproval during the performance. A result of this new edict was that the gendarmes had to be reinforced with troops from the local garrison. The disorder came to a final head on the 12 June 1829 when six members of the audience were brought before the magistrates and sentenced to twenty-four hours in prison.<sup>246</sup>

Three years later in Amiens, at the second evening of *débuts*, it was necessary to position the police throughout the *parterre*. Following the third interruption it was felt necessary to send in the army.<sup>247</sup> Troubles occurred in Nancy during the third *début* of Mme Alceste:

Whistles and bravos competed against each other with such relentlessness that we could only wish to call the public to reason and just pronounce one 'yes' or 'no' [...] one would think that the admission of Mme Alceste is a question of life or death for the theatre.<sup>248</sup>

After the third *début* of the baritone Marval at Nîmes in 1861, the préfet noted that on the whole the applause for the singer narrowly exceeded the whistling.<sup>249</sup> Following a similar decision in Nantes that allowed Mme Saint-Charles to be admitted to the company, an anonymous letter to the Town Hall suggested that she had supplied one hundred and fifty francs worth of tickets to friendly members of the *claque*. The threat

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<sup>245</sup> 'Les débuts, commencés ce jour-là, ont continué sans relâche - même le dimanche - et ont été très orageux. Le premier mois a été signalé, non-seulement par une opposition formidable, mais encore par de véritables troubles.' Bouteiller, *Histoire... des Théâtres de Rouen*, II, 61.

<sup>246</sup> Bouteiller, II, 414-5.

<sup>247</sup> Taken from a report, dated 10.6.1834, from the *Commissaire de Police* to the mayor of Amiens. ADSo T153.

<sup>248</sup> 'Sifflets et bravos se sont combattus avec tant d'acharnement que nous ne pouvons qu'en appeler à la raison du public pour prononcer un 'oui' ou un 'non' [...] on pense que la réception de Mme Alceste est une question de vie ou de mort pour le théâtre.' Correspondent to *Le Moniteur des théâtres*, 9 December 1837, 79.

<sup>249</sup> Letter dated 27.6.1861 from the *Préfet* of the Gard to the mayor of Nîmes. ADGard 8T1.

of a major disturbance at the theatre became such a real possibility that Mme Saint-Charles prudently departed the town.<sup>250</sup>

In one case in Amiens the dismissal was even more peremptory. At the second *début* of the principal soprano the audience called for the theatre's *régisser*. The public demanded the instant exclusion of the soprano. The *régisser* pointed out that it was customary for the verdict to be given after the third *début*. The audience in the *parterre* was not to be dissuaded so easily and, when they pronounced against the admission of Mlle Cellini, discretion won and she consented to retire from the scene.<sup>251</sup>

Valmore, principal singer of the Rouen company, like Mme Saint-Charles, had tried to counterbalance opposition by giving away many free tickets. During Valmore's *début* there were the usual chaotic scenes and the tickets were thrown onto the stage. The theatre was cleared and arrests were made. Two of the audience were acquitted but a third was put on police bail and fined sixteen francs, although possibly this was more for having shouted 'à bas le commissaire de police.'<sup>252</sup> Throwing tickets onto the stage was one of many ways that the audience manifested its disapproval.

As required by the local regulation of the theatres, the civic authorities monitored all performances and reacted immediately to the more excessive exhibitions by the audience. In 1832 the patience of the authorities in Besançon was tried to the limit and the mayor insisted on action against the troublemakers. Disturbances continued despite the repeated warnings from the officers in charge. The Mayor felt

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<sup>250</sup> Destranges, *Le Théâtres à Nantes*, 259.

<sup>251</sup> Details taken from the *Rapport de Police*, 9 September 1841, prepared for the *préfet*. ADSo T153.

<sup>252</sup> Bouteiller, *Histoire des théâtres de Rouen*, IV, 36.

there was no alternative but to bring in the army and if necessary close the theatre using the full rigour of the laws that were available to them.<sup>253</sup>

In 1842 the protest in Perpignan might be described as passive resistance. A high proportion of the audience disputed the results of the *débuts* and, when the offending artistes appeared on the stage, 115 season ticket holders would stand and leave the theatre. The habitués petitioned the mayor and asked him to reconsider the ballots while threatening to cancel their subscriptions.<sup>254</sup>

Even if the *débuts* had been carried out without incident, and the troupe was complete for the season, the remaining months of the theatrical year could be just as traumatic and stressful for the directeur. The provincial directeurs must have constantly felt dogged by the four horsemen of the Apocalypse.

#### 4.5 A capricious audience.

Audiences were often fickle in their loyalties, easily lost to other diversions, frequently demonstrative and on occasions volatile. In the first half of the nineteenth century disorder in the theatres was commonplace: less so, in the second half but far from unknown. The excuse for the hullabaloo might be direct critical comment on a particular performance or the result of external circumstances that were far beyond the control of the directeur. In reading through the correspondence relating to the theatrical seasons a regular complaint is the inadequacy of some of the troupes.

In 1819 the Minister of State wrote to the préfet for the Yonne warning him against the troupe of Pierre Talon. Talon had come to the notice of the Minister who was not certain whether the mediocrity of the troupe was a result of negligence or

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<sup>253</sup> Poster dated 16.1.1832. ADDoubs 1T 471.

<sup>254</sup> Petition to the mayor dated 28 September 1842, AMPerpignan R2.

cupidity.<sup>255</sup> The advice from Paris was to revoke the *privilège* if an immediate improvement was not apparent. Talon pre-empted the calls for his dismissal by announcing his retirement. That same year a period of audience unrest in the theatre at Amiens was blamed squarely on directeur Fitou whose troupe was second-rate. A police report went on to summarize some of the troupe's most glaring problems:

The principal soprano is passable. She is no longer young [...] but her voice is still fresh.

The Philippe [...] has good intentions, he knows the comedies; but his physique is not in harmony with his employment [...] his voice is worn out.

The Dugazon is cold and pinched. She lacks charm and her voice is reedy and cracked.

The Trial is repugnant and grotesque.

The Bouche-trou is a bad actor without voice, without taste.  
The public is quite fed up.<sup>256</sup>

So damning was the préfet's report to the minister on the state of Alexandre's troupe in Amiens in 1858 that the reply from Paris was simple and unequivocal – close the theatre.<sup>257</sup> Much of the unrest was caused by indifferent performances that could never come up to the expectations of the audience. As a correspondent writing to *Le*

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<sup>255</sup> 'la médiocrité de sa troupe fut le résultat de sa negligence au dessus de cupidité.' ADYo 80T4.

<sup>256</sup> 'La première chanteuse est passable. Elle n'est plus jeune [...] mais sa voix est encore fraîche. Le Philippe [...] a de bonne intention, il connaît la comédie; mais son physique n'est pas en harmonie avec son emploi [...] sa voix est usée. La Dugazon est froide et pincée. Elle manque d'âme, et sa voix est grêle et cassée. Le Trial est ignoble et grotesque. Le Bouche-trou est un mauvais comédien sans voix, sans goût. Le public est bien fatigué.'  
Weekly police report to the mayor, 1 June 1819. ADSO T153.

<sup>257</sup> Correspondence between the Amiens authorities and the Minister of the Interior dated 28 October and 3 November 1858. ADSO. T154.



*Moniteur des théâtres* from Nancy expressed it, 'we had dreamed of beauty, but we only have the mediocre'.<sup>258</sup> Other excuses for disturbances were many and varied.

Disturbances in Amiens were provoked by the troupe providing a diet of nothing but melodramas and vaudevilles. The spectators had believed that a condition of the *Cahier des charges* stipulated that the directeur also staged operas. To emphasize their displeasure the audience provided the actors with an accompaniment of rattles and clapsticks. The decision to clear the theatre was only successfully carried out when the gendarmes had been augmented by troops from the local battalion. The riot continued into the streets of the town with the audience taunting and whistling at the troops. The patience of the municipal authorities was exhausted and it was decided to close the theatre.<sup>259</sup> In a letter dated 31 August 1841, the Minister of the Interior demanded a full explanation of the circumstances that he regarded as being without precedent. He was particularly keen to ascertain whether the disturbances had been caused by the lack of talent and inferiority of the troupe, or by the mischief making of a cabal who wanted at any cost a lyric troupe. If it was for the latter reason, then the Minister was concerned that the mainly tranquil audience had been deprived of the season's performances by the theatre's closure.

In Marseille, the *Bataille d'oranges* was the result of a difference of artistic opinion. Asked to suffer a poor play, the audience requested the actors to leave the stage. The actors continued to spout their nonsense and for their troubles were pelted with oranges. The oranges also rained onto onlookers in the wings and orchestra. Furious, the latter retaliated and a full-scale battle commenced and continued until the *parterre* was transformed into 'un lac d'orangeade.' The author, whose work had

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<sup>258</sup> 'Nous avons rêvé le beau, et nous n'avons que du médiocre.' *Le Moniteur des théâtres*, 9 December 1837, 4.

caused the initial disturbance, removed the manuscript from the prompter's hand and at the height of the hostilities quietly slipped unnoticed out of the theatre. Next day the audience sought out the poor man, some to mock, others to offer condolences. Too late: a fisherman had transported the writer to Tunis where he took the turban and translated the Koran into French verse.<sup>260</sup>

Another trigger for disturbances was changes either to cast or programme. In Amiens, when the *dugazon* who had played the lead in an 1830 production of Kreutzer's *Paul et Virginie* was replaced at short notice, the audience reaction was so hostile that the curtain had to be lowered and the theatre evacuated.<sup>261</sup> Even changes that resulted from indisposition were not viewed sympathetically. On one occasion when Mme Dangremont of the Rouen company was feeling under the weather she decided that she could not do her role in *Le Concert à la cour* justice: the régisseur suggested that *La Vieille* replace the advertised opera. The audience thought otherwise and the ticket money had to be refunded in an effort to buy tranquility. When, a few days later, Mme Dangremont did sing *Le Concert à la cour* the audience had an unforgiving memory and the poor singer was met with a broadside of whistling. Amid such disorder it was necessary to send in the troops. The directeur was justifiably aggrieved when the magistrates fined him 500 francs for having failed to keep an orderly house.<sup>262</sup> Similarly, when Mme Morel-Lemaire was taken ill it was deemed safer to close the theatre in Rouen rather than risk disorder.

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<sup>259</sup> Police report dated 1 July 1841 and a poster announcing the closure of the theatre, ADSO. T153.

<sup>260</sup> Pigault-Lebrun, *Mélanges littéraires et philosophique*, 1810, cited in Bonnot, *Divines Divas*, 15.

<sup>261</sup> Police reports on the theatre in Amiens dated 28 July 1830, ADSO. T153.

<sup>262</sup> Bouteiller, *Histoire...des théâtres de Rouen*, III, 416.

Mme Morel-Lemaire was the idol of the 1819-20 season in Rouen and a soprano of some national repute. Having made her *début* as Mlle Lemaire at the Feydau in 1808 she then played the theatres of Nantes, Amsterdam, Anvers and Brussels where she married the directeur, Morel. Caught in Brussels at the time of the Battle of Waterloo she successfully crossed enemy lines with supplies and relief to French prisoners. On one such foray British soldiers caught her and, suspecting her of being a spy were about to administer summary justice. Fortunately, the happy intervention of a senior officer effected her release. After that particular incident the British turned a blind eye to her humanitarian visits. Needless to say, audiences held such a spirited actress in great affection. So it was in Rouen and yet the directeur began to favour another member of the company, Mme Ponchard-Allent, newly arrived in Rouen from the troupe of Julien in Caen. The directeur cast Mme Ponchard-Allent in roles that the Rouennais public regarded as rightly belonging to the established principal soprano, Mme Morel. Several of Mme Morel's admirers were so affronted that they whistled her apparent usurper off the stage. Mme Ponchard's performance had not deserved such scenes. As a consequence, when Mme Morel next appeared on the stage, she was met with a similar commotion. She turned and made a dignified exit but the audience demanded that she return and the performance continue. From that moment hostilities had been declared with the public divided into two camps: Morelists and Ponchardists. After a performance of Grétry's *Le Tableau parlant*, when Mme Ponchard had been the recipient of the audience's bad humour, directeur Corréard took to the local press. He asked for peace to be restored between the two parties. If anything, this action exacerbated the discord as the two factions extended their vendetta by wearing coloured ribbons to indicate who they supported. The commotion in the theatre could start before a note had been played: the performance might not even be permitted to begin.

Anonymous satirical broadsheets appeared across Rouen lampooning the troupe and its troubles. Earlier problems with the débuts, and now this bi-partisan feud, were the final straws for Corréard who tendered his resignation and departed with his company.<sup>263</sup>

Rivalry between the leading ladies of the Nantes troupe came to a head during a performance of Grétry's *La Caravane du Caire*. The principal role belonged to Mme Saint-Servant, but the audience wanted to hear Mlle Saint-James sing the part. The audience protested so much that the curtain was lowered. It was decided to comply with the audience's wishes. Mme Saint-Servant was furious, attempted to assault the directeur and actually punched the other singer before quitting the stage. In an attempt to calm the audience, the curtain was raised for the performance to resume. However, it was not the opera that transfixed the audience but rather the arrival on stage of Mme Saint Servant's husband brandishing his swordstick. Enraged by the slight to his wife, he bore down on the son of the directeur and injured him before being overpowered by a member of the audience. Women fainted, others fled the theatre whilst the men tumbled onto the stage and joined in the fracas. The public demanded that the Saint-Servants should quit the theatre and the town.<sup>264</sup>

Such professional rivalry was not just the preserve of singers and actors. In Mulhouse the opening night of the 1859 season was enlivened when the troupe of Delalain was met with a barrage of abuse from the actor Guillaume who, having failed to win the *privilège*, and assisted by a supporting claque, shouted 'assassin' at the directeur as soon as the curtain went up. The performance was abandoned and

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<sup>263</sup> Bouteiller, *Histoire...des Théâtres de Rouen*, III, 92.

<sup>264</sup> Destranges, *Le Théâtre à Nantes*, 92.

Guillaume spent the night in prison. Delalain returned to Belfort vowing not to visit Mulhouse until Guillaume had calmed.<sup>265</sup>

The protests and commotions were regarded as a right bought with the ticket. However, there were occasions when the perceived right of censure went beyond all acceptable levels of behaviour and led to real tragic consequences. Two such occurrences took place in Caen but the outcomes were felt across France. The following details are condensed from an account by the chronicler of the theatre in Caen, the nineteenth-century local historian, Henri Lumière.

On Sunday 8 December 1861, the part of Diana in *Les Diamants de la couronne* was to be played by Mlle Soria. The nineteen-year old Mlle Soria had asked the directeur to terminate her contract so that she could move to a more prestigious theatre. As Mme Fougeras, employed as mère-dugazon, had sung the part of Diana with distinction in Saint-Quentin, the change was agreed. Despite having the part in her repertoire, Mme Fougeras was not at ease and the *parterre* quickly picked up her slight hesitations. Before long the murmuring had become a raging sea, but she sang on. Prolonged whistling and cries of 'off!' marked the second act. All of a sudden she apparently stumbled and then she staggered and fell: she had suffered a stroke. Within minutes two doctors and the curé from Notre-Dame were in attendance. The mayor and préfet were summoned and they remained by her side to the end. Mme Fougeras left a fifteen-year-old son. A benefit concert was given which, as well as the theatre troupe, included the chorus of the Neustrians, one of Caen's choral societies. 600frs were raised for the son whose mother had been the 'victime d'un usage barbare.'<sup>266</sup>

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<sup>265</sup> Police reports and correspondence between the directeur and mayor of Mulhouse, ADH-R 4T138.

<sup>266</sup> Lumière, *Le Théâtre de Caen, jusqu'à nos jours*, II, 21-2.

Some twenty years later, the theatre in Caen was the centre of equally dramatic events: events that exposed the hypocrisy of a bourgeoisie that courted actresses and yet could be affronted by bohemian behaviour. Mlle Gelly transferred to Caen after two highly successful seasons in Le Mans. Audiences and critics were in accord that hers was a rising talent. While in Le Mans, Mlle Gelly had been engaged to a young officer in an artillery regiment. The sub-lieutenant followed her to Caen and assiduously attended the theatre but success had widened Mlle Gelly's horizons and she ended the liaison. The young man absented himself from his regiment and went to Monaco where he frittered away what remained of his funds. Now practically destitute he returned to Caen hoping for reconciliation. It was not to be. He attended a matinee performance of *La Fille du tambour major* then went to the theatre café where he asked for a quiet place on his own. A few minutes later a pistol shot was heard. He left beside him a letter that asked his family and regiment to forgive his violent end and thanked Mlle Gelly for all the pleasure she had given in her last appearance as Stella and he wished her every success for the future. The poor man, who was twenty-nine years old, had just 75 centimes and a portrait of Mlle Gelly on him

Advised of the tragedy, and with directeur Rochette away, régisseur Lasalle took the fateful decision to go on with the evening performance. This lack of tact was to have disastrous ramifications. That evening Mlle Gelly was welcomed with customary bravos as the audience were still ignorant of the day's events. However, come the next day, the combination of the suicide and Mlle Gelly's presence on stage just a few hours later were the talk of the town. An impulsive coalition began to form. Mlle Gelly was to appear in Lecocq's opérette *La Petite mademoiselle*. From an early hour the theatre was full and the audience in a particularly ugly humour. Directeur Rochette advanced onto the stage and tried to give the audience a measured account of what happened,

hoping to disarm potential trouble with logic and explanation. If this seemed to appease the audience it was, alas, an illusion. When Mlle Gelly made her entry onto the scene the storm broke with a hitherto unknown violence. For a time she continued to play the role, but then someone in the audience threw a funeral wreath at her feet. The actress fainted and the performance halted. Later it was announced that to satisfy the public Mlle Gelly would not reappear in the theatre at Caen. Overnight the audience turned its back on the young star. There was no point in remaining in Caen and she moved to Toulouse, but news travels fast and she was booed off that stage too. Lasalle went with her as the Caen public felt he was equally implicated in the tragedy. The two artistes found themselves ostracized and it was a long time, and after their marriage, before they returned to mainland France from an exile working in the theatres of Constantinople, Salonique, Odessa and Athens.<sup>267</sup>

In an age of vociferously demanding audiences, some towns achieved notoriety for being particularly difficult. Marseille, Toulouse and Bordeaux could all strike terror into the nerves of the faint-hearted young actor. In the 1820s the whistling craze had reached frightening proportions in Toulouse:

The more deafening the noise, the better. In 1829 the 'boos' are so loud that the singer – Madame Saint Clair – has a fainting fit on the stage. Again, in 1829, a singer, Mlle Pouilly, leaves the stage at a chorus of boos. The public wants her to apologize. She refuses. When the noise gets really deafening the police are called in.<sup>268</sup>

Rouen had a similar reputation. For a good part of the nineteenth century *allez à Rouen*, in theatrical circles, meant to face hostile whistling. *Allez à Rouen* was in itself a pun on *aller à rien*.

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<sup>267</sup> Lumière, *ibid*, III, 6-9.



## 5.6 The actor's revenge.

The local regulations were quite clear as to what was expected of actors and musicians. The list of fines reminded them of the penalties for inappropriate behaviour. Lewd or insulting conduct was not permitted, nor was the actor allowed to ad-lib or deviate from the text. However, it was inevitable that the usual problems that directeurs faced would be further aggravated when the members of the troupe hit back at a provocative audience. Faced with a barrage of daily abuse it was to be expected that sometimes the performers had just had enough.

The audience in Rouen in 1806 had been enjoying an evening baiting and humiliating the tenor Belfort.<sup>269</sup> As he made his exit from the stage he had to pass a window in the set. The tenor took the opportunity to drop his trousers and show the audience his backside. Belfort spent twenty-four hours in the cells for this misdemeanour; when he repeated the affront a few days later the punishment was increased to eight days imprisonment. Similarly, the tenor Rodel who did not always receive warm receptions from the audience in Nantes, was whistled off during a performance of *La Vestale*.<sup>270</sup> Rodel retired to his room and, despite audience clamour and entreaties of the police, resolutely refused to return. The senior police officer demanded his arrest but warned by a fellow singer, Rodel adopted the disguise of a woman and escaped the theatre under the very noses of the police. Next day the ballyhoo recommenced with the public demanding that Rodel come onto the stage to make his apologies. As the audience became more incensed at his absence it was necessary to clear the theatre.

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<sup>268</sup> Gishford, A., *Grand Opera* (London: Wiedenfeld and Nicolson, 1972), 74.

<sup>269</sup> Goubault, Christian, *La Musique...de Rouen*, 17

Again in Nantes, the tenor Val was so angered by the whistling at Mme Flachet during a performance of *La Juive*, that he noted the leader of the claque. The following day, spotting the same rabble-rouser in the Café du Sport, he marched in and boxed the surprised miscreant about his ears. The result of this selfless act of chivalry was a hundred franc fine and when Val next appeared in the theatre he was booed off the stage.<sup>271</sup>

The final performance of the 1816 season in Rouen saw a performance of *Le Cabriolet jaune*. Chéret and Valembert had received more than their fair share of whistles but at the end Chéret just turned a deaf ear and walked out. Valembert looked surprised and then, immobile, he faced his detractors. The audience was taken aback at this reaction, and even more dumbfounded when he addressed them:

Very well! What is it then? What grass have you walked on? Don't you recognize me anymore then, me, your little Valembert? Have a little patience, dear Rouennais, in a few moments I will show you my backside!<sup>272</sup>

The public was stupefied and then the commotion really exploded. Valembert may have had the satisfaction of the last word, but his departure from the town at the head of a baying mob was probably a little more precipitate than he would have liked.

In the 1820s, during a performance of *Le Barbier de Seville* in Marseille, the curtain was brought down after a truss of hay and the jaw-bone of an ass had been thrown onto the stage. The actor who had attracted most of the abuse approached the front of the stage and thanked the good people of Marseille for the kindness they had

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<sup>270</sup> Destranges, *Le Théâtre à Nantes*, 228.

<sup>271</sup> Destranges, *Le Théâtre à Nantes*, 388.

<sup>272</sup> 'Eh bien! qu'est-ce que c'est donc? Sur quelle herbe avez-vous marché? Vous ne me reconnaissez donc plus, moi, votre petit Valembert? Patientez un peu, cher Rouennais, dans quelques instants, je vous montrerai les coutures de mes bas.' Bouteiller, *Histoire...des théâtres de Rouen*, II, 550.

always shown him and he particularly thanked the gentleman who had 'foregone his dinner to make a present of it'. The stunned silence was just long enough for the actor to make his escape.<sup>273</sup>

On one occasion at least the indiscretions of an actor had a happy ending thanks to a judgment of Solomon. In Lyon, the tenor Valdéjo was discovered 'en conversation intime' with the wife of a shopkeeper of the town. Taken before the tribunal Valdéjo was condemned to prison. However, each evening under police escort he was allowed to sing at the theatre. What wisdom: Valdéjo did not miss a performance, the cuckolded husband was content at the imprisonment and the directeur saw audience figures rise.<sup>274</sup>

If the problems of the troupe and the fickleness of audiences were not enough to contend with, there were many other factors that might cause the season to flounder.

#### 4.7 Politics, pestilence, penury and war.

Sometimes neither the directeur nor the actors could possibly anticipate the reason for some of the disturbances. A particular local grievance could be the catalyst for a hullabaloo in the stalls. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the préfet for the Aveyron was a libidinous young man by the name of Tremont. He shared his favours widely amongst ladies of society. One fine evening, when the theatre in Rodez was enjoying a particularly full house, there was a sudden commotion. While the orchestra was playing an entr'acte, there descended from the air, suspended by ropes, a strange emblem: the instantly recognizable effigy of the préfet. It was decorated with

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<sup>273</sup> Combarrous, Victor, *Notes et souvenirs – L'Histoire du Grand-Théâtre de Marseille* (Marseille: Méridionale, 1927), 52.

<sup>274</sup> Vuillermoz, *Cent ans d'opéra à Lyon* (1932), 24.

larger than life appendages and attached to the body was an inscription, 'this slight object which swings in the air is a simple summary of the history of France'.<sup>275</sup> One can only imagine the success of this invention, but the authorities were not amused and as a consequence the theatre was temporarily closed.

Pestilence was a real and ever-present threat throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, the main scourge being cholera. During the devastating outbreak of 1832, which few towns escaped, the Rouen management tried their best to continue for a few weeks. The *première* in Paris on 21 November 1831, of Meyerbeer's *Robert le diable* was one of the most sensationally successful in operatic history. Just fourteen weeks later on 3 April 1832, the success was to be recreated in Rouen. That day, despite an outbreak of cholera, the theatre was besieged by a legion of opera-lovers. Programmes sold out immediately and the piano reduction was on sale, allowing the same enthusiasts to relive the terror in their own *salons*. However, the epidemic was beginning to take hold and by the second performance the management, in an effort to reassure audiences, advertised that because of the cholera 'disinfectant apparatus would be placed in convenient places'.<sup>276</sup> With dwindling audiences the inevitable had to be faced and the season was brought to an early close. Similarly, in the cholera epidemic of 1852, directeur Ronjat-Montémart found the outbreak so widespread that movement from Troyes was impossible.<sup>277</sup>

War and national emergencies also caused unwelcome interruptions to the routine of the directeur. Theatres and places of entertainment might be temporarily

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<sup>275</sup> 'ce léger objet qui dans l'air se balance est un simple abrégé de l'histoire de France.' Tisseyre, J. M, *Les Cahiers de Rouergates* 6, 80.

<sup>276</sup> 'des appareils désinfectants seraient placés aux endroits convenables.' Goubalt, *La Musique...de Rouen*, 57.

<sup>277</sup> Closure of theatre and troupe restricted to the town, ADAube T310.

closed as the mood of the nation darkened. During the troubled months of 1870 the theatre at Besançon closed and became the seat of the '*Comité de Défense*'. In the months preceding the outbreak of hostilities in the Franco-Prussian War, and as the political situation deteriorated in Alsace-Lorraine, the company in Colmar gradually fell apart. The theatre had closed and the company was destitute. M Jazon, artiste, described in a letter to the préfet, dated 22 March 1870, how they had made their last economies but were overcome by debts, not least because they had not received any pay. Jazon had a wife, sister and mother to support. Near destitution, he begged the préfet to provide him and his family with tickets to Paris, their hometown. The mayor supported the application as he regarded the suffering of the troupe as quite iniquitous, especially as it followed immediately after the scrounging supplications from the directeur, Lesvignes, who had already departed the town abandoning his fellow artistes.<sup>278</sup>

War and epidemics could disrupt the routine of the troupes but the greatest recurring threat to the directeur was penury. Many of the companies seemed to stagger from one financial disaster to the next. So many things could adversely affect the financial situation of the troupe, from weather to war, from cholera outbreaks to the economic stagnation of the country, from the audiences taste for football or *café-concerts*.

For the most part the touring companies' existence was extremely precarious. It was inevitable that there was a temptation to stay in towns that guaranteed some sort of return rather than risk the smaller towns on their circuits or certain of the more remote regions. When in 1809 Dupréynon was the nominated directeur for the Massif Central

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<sup>278</sup> Letter to the préfet, ADH-R 4T123.

region he recorded that the journey from Brive to Aurillac for eighteen persons, plus the scenery and baggage, cost him 1,800frs. One journey was equivalent to the annual salary of an agricultural worker.<sup>279</sup>

Directeur Beauval had played Périgueux from 1 August to 21 November 1814. Fifty-six performances of plays and operas were given and the income was 13,733frs 85c but expenses had been 17,569frs. Six years later the préfet in Périgueux complained that the theatrical arrondissement directeurs, Bonnet and Beauval, had not set foot once in the Dordogne since 1814. The directeurs retorted that the problem lay in the smallness of the halls. In no way could the fault be put down to a feebleness of the troupe but there really was no incentive to tour as they always ended up in deficit. Bonnet preferred to remain in Limoges as the theatres in Périgueux, Tulle, Sarlat, Bergerac and Montignac were generally small and unprofitable. Bonnet's troupe, which played both comédies and opéras, had 15 artistes not counting the orchestra or stagehands who would have to travel. In a letter to the Minister of the Interior, Bonnet acknowledged the financial problems that faced the company when they ventured out from Limoges and suggested that the company might be allowed to supplement their funds by giving music and declamation lessons in public establishments such as the lycées.<sup>280</sup>

It was a similar situation in the Doubs. Directeur Maillart listed expenses of 1,400frs for the journey of the troupe from Dijon to Besançon and another 300frs for new music.<sup>281</sup> In correspondence with the Préfet in Besançon, directeur Claparède, who

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<sup>279</sup> Leymarie, *Opéra, comédie et drame à Aurillac*, 7.

<sup>280</sup> Villepelet, *Bulletin de la société historique et archéologique de Périgord*, 62 (1993), 265.

<sup>281</sup> Financial returns 15 December 1821 – 20 February 1822, Besançon. ADDoubs IT469.

had inherited the troupe of Maillart that served the Doubs and Haut-Rhin, gave further indications of the difficulties of serving some provincial centres. Claparède pointed out that the company of thirty had made the difficult journey on foot with a mule train of some ten beasts for the baggage and properties. What was the outcome of this effort? The previous year's season in Besançon had produced expenses of 82,113frs 70c while receipts were 69,362frs 90c - a loss to the directeur of almost 13,000frs.<sup>282</sup> It is inevitable that a return to a more profitable town made obvious economic sense and yet such a move was probably an abuse of the conditions of the *privilège*. The Minister of the Interior kept an eye open for such infringements and noted when towns were being missed

Of the ten directeurs who were nominated to play the theatre in Troyes between 1830 and 1853, only two moved on to larger towns. Of the other eight, one had failed artistically and been dismissed, five had handed the direction of the troupes to others when they could no longer cope, and two had abandoned the season when finances were finally exhausted.<sup>283</sup>

Clement, the directeur in Caen from 1836-37, reintroduced *opéra-comique* into the repertoire. The orchestra was reinforced and, along with the main works of Rossini, Meyerbeer, Boieldieu and Méhul, it was announced that the season would include Adam's *Le Chalet*, Rossini's *Le Barbier de Seville*, Auber's *La Muette de Portici* and Herold's *Le Pré aux clercs*. January 1837 saw the first Caen performance of *Robert le Diable* and a month later the Caen première of Herold's *Zampa*. However, by Sunday 15 March, as the curtain came down on *Zampa*, *La Calomnie* (a play) and Adam's *Le*

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<sup>282</sup> Taken from the correspondence between Directeur and Préfet in Besançon, the file also has trimestriel reports that show day-to-day profits or losses. ADDoubs IT470.

<sup>283</sup> A report by directeur Hippolyte Gillon. ADAube T306.



*Postillon de Longjumeau* Clement received his last bouquet. With mounting financial problems and worn down by violent attacks in the local press he resigned.<sup>284</sup> Artistically Clement had been adventurous but the lyric season had defeated him.

It was a similar situation some forty years later in Besançon. The council agreed that the directeur Lerpercq had satisfied all the conditions of his tenure at the theatre. The productions had been artistic and intelligent but the public had stayed away. The fault was not with Lerpercq but he was another addition to the list of directeurs ruined at Besançon.<sup>285</sup> In 1847 Louis Theodore Remy was fifty years old and directeur of the *première troupe ambulante* serving the Aube and Yonne. His wife was the leading lady and their son Alfred Antoine the *chef d'orchestre*. It was a typical family-headed small company of just fifteen artistes. After a long career it must have been a particularly hard decision when Louis Remy asked for the transfer of the title of directeur to the *administrateur* Lardin. The day-to-day problems had exhausted Remy and he just wanted the simpler life as one of the actors in the troupe.<sup>286</sup>

Following the early departure of Duprez, directeur of the Rouen theatre, M Derville was elevated from the company to complete the 1852 season. He played a safe and economic programme of comédie and vaudeville. The 1852-53 season opened with an entirely new troupe under the direction of Courchant. He reintroduced opéra comique to the repertoire. However, by the Spring Courchant was in such a financial mess and with so many outstanding bills to meet the theatre designer seized all the

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<sup>284</sup> Lumière, *Trois années au théâtre de Caen* (Caen: Jouan, 1901), 19-20.

<sup>285</sup> Correspondence between the mayor and the préfet for the Doubs, 1876, ADDoubs IT471.

<sup>286</sup> Letter to the Minister 31.10.1847 asking for transfer of title. The transfer was agreed and a year later the family were listed in the troupe of *Le Citoyen Lardin*. ADYo. 80T4

scenery that he had painted and refused to return it until he received payment.<sup>287</sup> The *Journal de Rouen* for 29 May 1852 gave an indication as to what the company had been reduced to:

*La Favorite* of Donizetti is accompanied by a much reduced orchestra made up of string quartet, a double-bass, a flute and an upright piano. Never has the execution of an opera by a *troupe d'arrondissement* in the theatres of Meaux, Quimper, or Pezenas reached such high levels of the sublime from the ridiculous.<sup>288</sup>

A lavish production in Caen of Auber's *Le Cheval de bronze* required the services of three major scene painters from Le Havre and Paris. The opéra-féerie was staged with an extravagance unheard of on 12 January 1860. But alas, a second performance barely reached 100frs in box office receipts. At the end of that particularly disastrous evening directeur Groby mounted the stage to announce the imminent arrival from Paris of the celebrated singer Mlle Angele Cordier.<sup>289</sup> In Paris, Angele Cordier had just created the lead rôle in *La Fanchonnette* by Clapisson and her arrival in Caen helped reduce the deficits. Many a season was saved by a directeur calling on old friends, friends now starring in one of the major Paris companies, to help him revive flagging interest in the theatrical season.

In Besançon, the two advertised works for 10 and 11 April 1867 that directeur Pierre Frochet promised were Meyerbeer's *L'Africaine*, which had been produced posthumously in Paris just two years earlier, and François Bazin's *Le Voyage en Chine*. The curtain never went up. The company was not small, comprising nineteen principal

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<sup>287</sup> Police report outlining difficulties, ADS-M 4T100.

<sup>288</sup> 'La Favorite de Donizetti est accompagné par un orchestre très réduit se composant d'un quatuor à cordes, d'une contre basse, d'une flûte et d'un piano vertical. Jamais avait l'exécution d'un opéra par une troupe d'arrondissement sur le théâtre de Meaux, de Quimper-Corentin ou de Pézenas, n'a pu atteindre à un plus haut degré le sublime du grotesque.' *Journal de Rouen* 29 May 1852.

<sup>289</sup> Lumière, *Trois années au théâtre de Caen*, 9.

singers, a chorus of twenty, three ballet dancers and an orchestra of thirty-eight musicians. Frochet simply could no longer meet the wages bill. There were the usual scenes of audience disaffection and many demands as to where the subvention had gone. Frochet was suspended and the *chef d'orchestre* Grigny was asked to take over the day-to-day running of the company.<sup>290</sup>

If coping with demanding audiences and the usual pressures of temperamental prima donnas was not hard enough, there was still the need to balance the books. The lyric season was costly especially as the audiences wanted the latest grand works that were popular in Paris. The costs of an evening of an opéra by Meyerbeer might need a full house. Losses would be made, but then to economize and perform just *dramas* and *vaudevilles* usually resulted in the audience voting with their feet as the new economical diet was too limited. A regular matter of debate for both Councils and directeurs was whether they could afford opera. In 1879 the Municipal Council in Dijon was considering dropping *grand opéra*. The reason was simply financial, 'it [*grand opera*] requires great sums for minimal receipts.'<sup>291</sup> The report conceded that opérette was financially sounder with *Le Petit Duc* regularly netting between 1,200frs. and 1,800frs. nightly, while at the same time *Les Huguenots*, *La Favorite*, *Lucie de Lammermoor* and *Guillaume Tell* were only bringing 500frs-900frs into the directorial coffers. Success in Paris was represented by the triumphant run of a work over many performances. Directeur Courchant, of the Théâtre-des-Arts in Rouen, made the point that unlike Paris, the troupes in the provinces had to offer spectacles for all tastes and in all genres with less money, present new works and yet only have the most limited number of repeats of

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<sup>290</sup> Police report, ADDoubs 1T471.

<sup>291</sup> 'il necessite des frais enormes pour une recette trop minime.' Deliberations of Dijon Council dated 7.03.1879. ADCdO 36T6c.

the pieces that were most popular with audiences. There was a taste and expectation for lyric works and yet they needed great expenditure for an inadequate return.<sup>292</sup> It was an economic nightmare that led many directeurs to ruin.

However on occasions the reasons for the financial staits lay closer to home. It was not unknown for troupes to suddenly face destitution as the directeur disappeared with the takings. Directeurs Dupré and Noyon departed Amiens in 1830 without permission, taking with them most of the subvention, and abandoning the troupe to penury.<sup>293</sup> In 1856 Dijon Council offered a reward for information as to the whereabouts of, and the arrest of, directeur Philippe Roland after he had decamped with the subvention.<sup>294</sup>

Possibly the strangest of such episodes had occurred at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Rouen. In the last days of January 1801 Louis Michu (1754-1801), a distinguished singer turned directeur, disappeared, abandoning the troupe of the Théâtre-des-Arts and taking the money with him. The troupe was destitute. Under the protection of the town, the theatre re-opened on 31 January but with a much reduced company. So many of the troupe had left Rouen that the mayor had insisted that the remaining artistes lodged their passports with him to prevent any further desertions. As February continued so too did the stories of Michu being sighted in Rouen and the neighbouring district. The police collected sworn affidavits and the mystery deepened. Then the body of Michu was discovered floating in the Seine. His head was wrapped in his coat and there was no sign of any money. One could not say whether he had decamped, whether it was suicide or even if it was murder. What was agreed was that it

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<sup>292</sup> Letter to the préfet from de Courchant 1852. ADS-M 4T100.

<sup>293</sup> Police report, ADSo T154.

<sup>294</sup> Police reports, ADCdO 36Ta.

was an extremely sad end to a career that had spanned thirty years and which had been marked by much acclaim. There were benefit performances given for Michu's family.<sup>295</sup>

It was not only the directeurs who were susceptible to such nefarious behaviour. Again in 1856, at the same time as Roland was absconding from Dijon, the directeur of the troupe serving Haute-Loire, Aveyron and the Tarn was stuck at Villefranche de Rouergue but expected at Rodez. He explained his dilemma in a letter to the Préfet. The leading lady, Mlle Emilie Molé had furtively departed under cover of night, taking with her all the monies for the travel and baggage for the troupe's journey to Rodez. In addition to the loss of the subvention, and so that the company could continue performing, the directeur had the immediate extra financial burden of finding a replacement artiste for Mlle Molé. It cost him the fare for a journey from Calais to Rodez and a month's salary advance to engage the celebrated Mlle Bias for the remainder of the season.<sup>296</sup>

What picaresque adventures faced these actors and singers as they and their provisions were shaken about on the road as they ran after the money, an engagement, a bed and a meal. In 1890 Rodez directeur Déjean had been removed to debtors prison, arraigned on the one hand by Mme Josephine Vaylet, owner of the *pension* where the company were boarding, and on the other by Monsieur Garuc, theatrical costumier of Béziers, who also had not been paid. But the townsfolk of Rodez were very satisfied with their troupe. On hearing of the problem the citizens made a collection and bought

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<sup>295</sup> Bouteiller, *Histoire...des héâtres de Rouen*, II, 1-2.

<sup>296</sup> Tisseyre, *Le Théâtre de Rodez*, 82.

off the arrears.<sup>297</sup> But it has to be said that black days tended to outnumber such happy occasions. Nevertheless, the troupes continued to tour in the regions and while possibly dreaming of the theatres of Paris found themselves once more in the reality of the dusty benches of some small provincial theatre.

As the twentieth century opened it was not merely the small to middle range travelling companies that were facing financial difficulties. The Dijon Council met on 16 January 1900 to discuss the crisis in the theatres. It was reported that in Bordeaux, a combination of new sets and costumes and the introduction of the operas of Wagner was causing financial tightness. In Bordeaux itself they were less charitable suggesting that instead of trying to secure the Rhine gold, they might as well have thrown their gold in the Gironde.<sup>298</sup> Easy access to the more lavishly subsidized theatres in Paris was a contributory factor to the financial problems of the theatre in Rouen. Marseilles was in deep financial trouble and 30,000frs was needed immediately for the season to continue. Their particular crisis was put down to *'l'état sanitaire de la ville'* and the price of tickets, rather than the indifference of the public. In Montpellier and Dijon the audiences appeared to be deserting the theatres for other distractions and in Lille this was being exacerbated by the inferiority of the troupe. Besançon had abandoned grand opera and after the previous poor year was facing one that was positively disastrous. In Nancy there was no grand opera as audiences had defected to casinos, *café-concerts* and an *exposition*. After two months the resources in Valence were exhausted and the

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<sup>297</sup> Tisseyre, *Le Théâtre de Rodez*, 84.

<sup>298</sup> Gishford, A., *Grand Opera*, 79.

season had been abandoned. The theatre in Angers was 150,000frs in deficit but there had been one *coup de théâtre* during the season - Puccini's *La Bohème*.<sup>299</sup>

This chapter has given some indications of the problems facing directeurs as they prepared for a theatrical season, from the initial planning and negotiating for the *privilège* to work an arrondissement, through the rehearsals and *débuts*, benefit performances and masked balls, to the day-to-day problems of just keeping the show on the road. The roads were difficult and often the audience along the way was demanding and unsympathetic. Even if the directeur managed to get a successful and homogeneous troupe around him then factors totally beyond his control could undermine his endeavours. As has been seen the audience had high expectations and favoured the lyric genre. The railways also made it possible for Parisian companies to tour the provinces. From the 1860s Offenbach was touring with his company. With Parisian companies touring, including the Comédie Française, it tended to highlight just how threadbare some provincial theatres productions were. It was not just the companies of the 'national' theatres who were visiting the major provincial cities. Theatrical agencies could put together complete companies to tour. With a repertoire of one or two 'hit' plays they could visit a theatre for a week then move on. They had few of the overheads that the resident companies had to face. Some towns, those which had built a theatre at the end of the nineteenth century, relied on touring companies and amateurs for their seasons.

Such was the crisis in the provincial theatre industry that when, in 1909, the *Association des directeurs de province* was balloted, 50 directeurs asked that all

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<sup>299</sup> Details from the survey of theatres conducted for a Report to the Dijon Council dated 16 January 1900, *La Crise théâtral*, ADDoubs 36T6d.



*tournées*, including those from Paris, be suppressed. They also wished to ban from the provinces all the troupes of the théâtres nationaux.<sup>300</sup>

A further blow to the theatres was the developing cinema which brought to a mass audience not only novelty and reality but also magical escapism on a scale that the limitations of a stage could not compete. The cinema promised day-by-day a standard level of excellence that would not have been possible on the stage.

In a chapter that looked at the many factors that might derail a directeur's theatrical season it is inevitable that the overall picture becomes slightly distorted. It has to be remembered that on many occasions débuts passed without incidents, that balanced troupes were formed and that directeurs satisfied the terms laid down in the *cahier des charges*. Referring back to the audience in Marseille (page 35), once the curtain rose and the performance began, you could hear a pin drop in the provincial theatres. The directeurs did succeed against the odds and yet it must have seemed like walking a tightrope. Heroically these for the most part anonymous, provincial directeurs struggled on, trying to mount artistically satisfying productions with ever dwindling resources. At the end of the day many failed.

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<sup>300</sup> Leroy, *Histoire des arts du spectacle en France* (1990), 103.

## 5

## PERSONNEL

## 5.1 A new generation of singers.

The prospectus for the troupe of directeur Frederic that played Avignon and the theatres of the Vaucluse for the 1833-4 season lists the company, records the principal singers and in what capacity they were employed for the season:

M	
Frederic,	<i>1<sup>er</sup> haute-contre.</i>
L. Hurteaux,	<i>Philippe, Gavaudan et Elleviou.</i>
Hyacinthe Delabre,	<i>Colin, Martin, Laïs, Solié.</i>
Georget	<i>1<sup>er</sup> basse-taille, Valère et des Laïs.</i>
Charles,	<i>Basse-taille comique.</i>
Dumas,	<i>1<sup>er</sup> Laruelle, Trial, Féréol.</i>
Gustave Morel	<i>Jeune Trial.</i>
Hyacinthe	<i>2<sup>er</sup> Laruelle et Trial.</i>
Lemaire	<i>des seconds, Trial et grand utilité comique.</i>
César	<i>Grand utilité.</i>
Hector	<i>Grand utilité.</i>
Favier	<i>Accessoire.</i>
Mme	
Dumonchet	<i>1<sup>ère</sup> chanteuse en tous genres.</i>
Henriette Bouvaret	<i>1<sup>ère</sup> chanteuse sans roulades, mère Dugazon.</i>
Hyacinthe	<i>2<sup>ème</sup> Dugazon.</i>
Dumas	<i>1<sup>ère</sup> duègne en tous genres, Margot.</i>

Table 10. Troupe of directeur Frederic, Avignon, 1833-4.<sup>301</sup>

The reference to such names as Elleviou, Gavaudan<sup>302</sup>, Martin, and Trial are particularly interesting. Certain French vocalists had such a fine reputation that they made a lasting mark on the history of the lyric stage. Singers such as Antoine Trial (1736-1795), Louise Dugazon (1755-1821), Jean Martin (1768-1837), Jean Elleviou (1769-1842), Jean-Baptiste Gavaudan (1772-1840), Rosine Stoltz (1815-1902) and Marie Cornélie Falcon (1812-1897)

<sup>301</sup> The poster for the 1833-4 season opening reproduced as Appendix IV, from ADVar 4T4.

<sup>302</sup> Appendix II reproduces prints of Louise and Jean-Baptiste Gavaudan in operatic roles.

all gave their names to a vocal style or timbre that was to be referred to, and used as an exemplar, throughout the century.

There was also a new generation of singers working in Paris who, combining the acting skills of *tragédie lyrique* singers such as Alexandrine-Caroline Branchu (1780-1850) with a style of singing firmly based on Italian *bel canto*, were able to make their contribution and reputations interpreting the first of the new *grand opéras* of the July Monarchy. The group included Adolphe Nourrit (1802-1839), Gilbert Duprez (1806-1896), and the early *divas* Maria Malibran (1808-1836), Guiditta Pasta (1797-1865), Henriette Sontag, Giulia Grisi (1811-1869), Pauline Viardot (1821-1910), and Marie Miolan-Carvalho (1827-1895).

It is not without significance that the new cult of the *diva* expected voice, beauty, charm and grace but the singers mentioned were also recognized for their extraordinary theatrical gifts. Caroline Branchu and her partners belonged to the old school. Berlioz was totally enraptured by her and talks of her inspired pathos and extraordinary voice.<sup>303</sup> Composers wrote specifically for these voices. These singers created some of the most significant new roles in the operas of Spontini, Rossini, Boieldieu, Auber, Meyerbeer and Gounod. The students at the Conservatoire filled the Paris theatres to hear and learn from their new idols.

However, there was quite a divide between the ways that artistes trained in Paris compared to the provinces. In 1784, under the direction of the composer François Gossec (1734-1829), École Royale de Chant opened its doors as a training school for the Opéra. Through various guises it would emerge as the Conservatoire de Musique. Two years after its initial opening a drama school was attached but the drama school did not survive the

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<sup>303</sup> Berlioz, Hector, *Memoirs*, 47.

Revolution. The Conservatoire's future was assured as the various Revolutionary *fêtes* all needed the service of singers and musicians. In 1806, Napoleon reinstated the drama section of the Conservatoire at the same time as he was organizing the theatrical arrondissements of France.<sup>304</sup> State stipends were paid to the professors and instructors while bursaries were awarded to the most promising students.<sup>305</sup> With a stamp of official approval, the Conservatoire was able to guarantee a succession of performers to the Parisian stage and a certain cachet to its alumni when they travelled out into the provinces. A number of provincial directeurs were Conservatoire trained, such as Albert Vizentini, who in 1896 directed and conducted the first French language performance of *Les Maîtres chanteurs de Nuremberg* at Lyon.

The Conservatoire was a leading state institution; the aspiration of many a student at a provincial *École de musique*. Students of composition, instrumental or vocal studies probably fared better than those pursuing drama. Even then there needs to be a caveat noting that changes did not occur overnight and that vocal studies improved as some of the 'shouters', such as the Pierre Garat and François Lays, retired from the teaching staff of the Conservatoire.<sup>306</sup>

At the beginning of the nineteenth century it was generally agreed that the French national school of singing was mediocre. All of Burney's criticisms of the French howling

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<sup>304</sup> Details in Pierre, Constant, *Bernard Sarrette et les origines du Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation* (Paris: Librairie Delalain Frères, 1895).

<sup>305</sup> Hemmings, *The Theatre Industry in Nineteenth-Century France*, 172-182. See also Pierre, Constant, for details of free tuition and how intended to take students proportionally from all departments, also for vocal style where Italian is extolled at expense of French, 182-4.

<sup>306</sup> Castil-Blaze gives a poignant description of Lays on retirement in 1823 after forty-two years of service, there was no control left over his voice. Castil-Blaze, *L'Académie Impériale de Musique* (Paris: Castil-Blaze, 1855), II, 186.

(*urlo francese*) still applied.<sup>307</sup> Nothing had changed and tired voices were still being pushed too far. Many singers enjoyed a short career that was usually cut short by excesses by the age of forty. As late as 1839, vocal problems and loss of confidence led to the suicide in Naples of one of the great tenors of the epoch, Adolphe Nourrit. Nourrit was initially interred in Marseille, where for the service the organist was Chopin. There were memorial services in Lyon and the Church of St Roch, Paris.<sup>308</sup>

What the Conservatoire did, but not intentionally, was to create a two-tier profession and a vigorous debate as to the best way of training actors. There were many critics of the Conservatoire, including directeur François-Antoine Harel, and the actor Frédéric Lemaître. Harel complained that the Conservatoire ‘taught the rules of a trade and not the precepts of an art’, while Lemaître accused the professors of imprisoning youthful ardour ‘in hidebound tradition [...] to produce and perpetuate jumping-jacks for ever attached to the same string...’<sup>309</sup> However, part of the objectives of the Conservatoire was to pass on the traditions as they had been transmitted to them by past masters. A ‘raison d’être’ of the Conservatoire was to conserve.

In contrast the suburban theatres in Paris expected a beginner to learn a long play in less than a week, rehearse it and present it before the audience. Alphonse Daudet made the point that the working practices in the suburban theatres were essentially those of the provinces. In reality, the artistes of the suburbs did not have to stage the complete range of genres that their provincial cousins were required to perform. One bonus that the aspiring

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<sup>307</sup> Examples of Burney’s dyspepsia were recorded as he journeyed across France to Italy, amongst them are descriptions of the vocal style that so upset him. Burney, Charles, *Music, Men, and Manners in France and Italy 1770*, ed. by H. E. Poole (London: Folio Society, 1969), 12 and 220.

<sup>308</sup> An account of the decline and last days of Nourrit, Pleasants, Henry, *The Great Tenor Tragedy* (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus, 1995), 123-4.

<sup>309</sup> The quotes of Harel and Lemaître are cited by Hemmings, *The Theatre Industry*, 176-7.

actor in Paris had over the provincial player was being able to study at first hand the greatest performers of the age. Daudet compared the training for the theatre as between two approaches of how one might learn to swim: in the suburbs, and the provinces, the actors were thrown in at the deep end to sink or swim while at the Conservatoire they learnt the theory of swimming and the various strokes long before they were entrusted to the water – even then many succeeded in drowning.<sup>310</sup> Daudet came down narrowly in favour of the teaching of the Conservatoire, and certainly the prestige of the school ensured easy access to the major theatres in Paris and the provinces. In reality the Conservatoire provided a minority of practitioners for the provincial theatres and for many the approach was of being thrown in at the deep end. One of the great interpreters of Offenbach and opérette was Hortense Schneider. Her training epitomizes the apprenticeship that the majority of artistes faced.

## 5.2 The early career of Hortense Schneider (1833-1920)

René Bonnat, in his short biography of Hortense Schneider, published in Agen immediately after the singer's death, gives a particularly interesting account of the formative years of one of the greatest creators of *opéra-bouffe*.<sup>311</sup> Schneider was an unequalled interpreter of Offenbach, and 'Queen of Paris' under the Second Empire. In Paris, before the Franco-Prussian War, few stars shone as brightly as that of Hortense Schneider, the 'Grand Duchess of Gerolstein'. More recent biographers have tended to gloss over the early years and to move on to the more scandalous years that followed her

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<sup>310</sup> Daudet, A., *Entre les frises et la rampe* (Paris: Dentu, 1894), 10-11, cited in Hemmings, *The Theatre Industry*, 181.

<sup>311</sup> Bonnat, R. *Hortense Schneider et le théâtre d'Agen* (Agen: Imprimerie Moderne, 1921)

discovery by Jacques Offenbach.<sup>312</sup> Siegfried Kracauer wrote that 'she joined a small provincial troupe, with whom she was so badly paid that she was compelled to take a lover. It did not take long to ruin him.'<sup>313</sup> It is a colourful sentence that gives little insight. As to her early career, Richard Traubner attributes Schneider's success to her ability to deliver a song in the manner learnt from her years performing in café-concerts.<sup>314</sup> Traubner is the only biographer to state that she worked in café-concerts. James Harding starts his account from her trembling entry on to the stage of the Bouffes-Parisiens and omits her early training. Peter Grammond, in his biography of Offenbach, simply says that she was unsuccessfully trying to make her way in Paris when auditioned by Offenbach.<sup>315</sup> This would contradict evidence that suggests that she went to Paris with a letter of introduction from her time at the theatre of Agen. Even one of the most recent studies, *La Diva d'Offenbach* by Jean-Paul Bonami, spends just six out of 173 pages describing Schneider's early career.<sup>316</sup> However the formative years of Hortense Schneider's career are particularly interesting as her training was, like the majority of artistes at that time, the '*rude école pour la formation artistique*', that is to say the provincial theatre at the beginning of the Second Empire.<sup>317</sup> The following description is mainly taken from the account of Hortense Schneider in Agen, written in 1921 by René Bonnet and corroborated

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<sup>312</sup> Bernard Shaw, in a comment about *La Grande Duchesse*, reminds us that Schneider was equally infamous as famous: 'In the days when *La Grande Duchesse* was shuddered at as something frightfully wicked, when improper stories about Schneider formed the staple of polite conversation...' Laurence, D. H. ed. *Shaw's music: the complete musical criticism* (London: Bodley Head, 1981), II, 943.

<sup>313</sup> Kracauer, Siegfried, *Jacques Offenbach and the Paris of his time* (New York: Zone Books, 2002), 178.

<sup>314</sup> Traubner, Richard, *Operetta: A Theatrical History* (Oxford: O.U.P., 1983), 10 and 31.

<sup>315</sup> Harding, J., *Folies de Paris* (London: Chappell, 1979), 46. Grammond, Peter, *Offenbach: His Life and Times* (New Jersey: Paganiniana, 1981), 39.

<sup>316</sup> Bonami, Jean-Paul, *La Diva d'Offenbach*, 35-41.

<sup>317</sup> Bonnat, *Hortense Schneider*, 6.



by documents in the Archives of Lot-et-Garonne and of Gers. Although Agen is in Lot-et-Garonne, the theatrical arrondissement took in Auch and so returns from the directeur had to be sent to both préfets.

Schneider's father was an unsuccessful tailor from Strasbourg who had hoped to improve his family's fortunes by moving to Bordeaux where, on 15 May 1833 their daughter was born. Worsening fortunes saw the family move to the *Pension Solée*, rue Cadillac, near to the Théâtre-Français. The *pension* functioned as a popular theatrical digs for both touring companies and the resident troupe. It was common for companies to be housed together and to share a communal table. After the performance the actors and actresses would talk, recounting their successes to the stage-struck young girl. As a result Hortense became familiar with some of their operatic airs and current vaudeville couplets.

In 1853, when she was just twenty years old, she approached the directeur of the Agen theatre who was recruiting a small troupe for the coming season. From 1851, the administration of the theatres of Agen, Villeneuve, Auch and Montauban was in the hands of Delmas, *ancien acteur du Gymnase*. These were hardly propitious times and of Delmas' predecessors 'some rubbed along frugally, others ate up their resources; one went bankrupt, whilst another did a moonlight-flit leaving no forwarding address.'<sup>318</sup> Delmas was also heading towards ruin and yet it was not from want of trying. During six months of 1852 he had played two tragedies, 21 dramas, 14 comedies and 38 vaudevilles. As the public's taste was for lyric works, and with the encouragement of a small subvention of 1,000frs that the municipal council had voted him, Delmas began to plan a short opera season.

Hortense Schneider was one of the new recruits, employed as a second or third *dugazon* in a company of 23 singers, including a chorus of three. Few of the company were

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<sup>318</sup> '...les uns avaient vivoté, d'autres avaient mangé leur bien; l'un avait fait faillite; l'autre avait déménagé à la cloche de bois, sans laisser d'adresse.' Bonnat, *Hortense Schneider*, 8.

local: two of the tenors were from Paris, the baritone from Liège. The *chef d'orchestre* was Auguste Miroir from Grenoble although the *deuxième chef* was nineteen-year-old Justin Paillé from Agen.<sup>319</sup> Schneider's pay was a guaranteed 50frs a month with a possibility of bonuses of up to an additional 100frs, dependent on box office receipts. If the pay was meagre what was expected of the performers was considerable. The schedules were amazingly taxing and often lead to disaster.

The general repertoire of Delmas for 1853, as submitted to the Minister of the Interior, included 65 lyric works, 91 dramatic works and 135 vaudevilles:

<i>Adolphe et Clara</i>	<i>Fiancée (La)</i>	<i>Philtre (Le)</i>
<i>Ambassadrice (L')</i>	<i>Fille du regiment (La)</i>	<i>Porcherons (Les)</i>
<i>Barbier de Seville (Le)</i>	<i>Fiorella</i>	<i>Pré aux clercs (Le)</i>
<i>Bonsoir M Pantalon</i>	<i>Fra Diavolo</i>	<i>Prison d'Edimbourg (La)</i>
<i>Bouffe et le tailleur (Le)</i>	<i>Gastilbelza</i>	<i>Puits d'amour (Le)</i>
<i>Brasseur de Preston (Le)</i>	<i>Gilles ravisseur</i>	<i>Raymond</i>
<i>Caïd (Le)</i>	<i>Giralda</i>	<i>Reine de Chypre (La)</i>
<i>Carillonneur de Bruges (Le)</i>	<i>Guillaume Tell</i>	<i>Rendez-vous bourgeois (Le)</i>
<i>Cendrillon</i>	<i>Haydée</i>	<i>Robert le diable</i>
<i>Chalet (Le)</i>	<i>Jean de Paris</i>	<i>Roi d'Yvetot (Le)</i>
<i>Charles VI</i>	<i>Juive (La)</i>	<i>Rossignol</i>
<i>Cheval de bronze (Le)</i>	<i>Lestocq</i>	<i>Si j'étais roi</i>
<i>Choisi le roi</i>	<i>Lucie de Lammermoor</i>	<i>Sirène (La)</i>
<i>Comte Ory</i>	<i>Macon</i>	<i>Songe d'une nuit d'été</i>
<i>Concert à la cour (Le)</i>	<i>Maître de chapelle (Le)</i>	<i>Toréador (Le)</i>
<i>Dame blanche (La)</i>	<i>Marco Spado</i>	<i>Travestissements (Les)</i>
<i>Dame de pique (La)</i>	<i>Mariage en l'air (Le)</i>	<i>Val d'Andorre (Le)</i>
<i>Diamants de la cour (Les)</i>	<i>Mousquetaires de la reine (Les)</i>	<i>Voitures versées (Les)</i>
<i>Domino noir (Le)</i>	<i>Mystère d'Adolphe (Le)</i>	<i>Zampa</i>
<i>Don Pasquale</i>	<i>Norma</i>	
<i>Favorite (La)</i>	<i>Nouveau seigneur du village (Le)</i>	
<i>Fée aux roses (Le)</i>	<i>Part du diable (La)</i>	
<i>Ferme de Kilmore (La)</i>	<i>Petit chaperon rouge (Le)</i>	

Table 11. Proposed lyric repertoire of directeur Delmas, 1853-4. (ADGers 4T25)

The proposed repertoire was both adventurous and challenging. A number of works had only just received their first performance in Paris. Most notable among the recent works were: *Si j'étais roi*, (Adam, 1852), *Marco Spado* (Auber, 1852), *Le Carillonneur de*

<sup>319</sup> Details from list of troupe forwarded to the mayor, ADGers 4T25.

*Bruges* (Grisar, 1851), *Raymond* (Thomas, 1851), *Les Porcherons* (Grisar, 1850), *La Dame de Pique* (Halévy, 1850) and *Songe d'une nuit d'été* (Thomas, 1850). There were also two earlier works that had just received revivals in Paris, *Le Maître de chapelle* (Paër), and *Le Roi d'Yvetot* (Adam). However, it was in another old favourite, Boieldieu's *La Dame blanche*, that Schneider actually made her debut.

The season was artistically well received but ended in financial deficit.<sup>320</sup> A highlight of the season was a visit by the tenor Ismaël who had received his early musical education in Agen before moving to Paris.<sup>321</sup> In her first season in Agen Hortense Schneider had proved herself a good musician who also possessed charm and grace. When later in the year the troupe was reformed, Hortense remained, much to the delight of the audience. A review in *Le Lot-et-Garonne* noted that 'Mlle Hortense a su exciter des applaudissements [...] dans tout le spectacle elle a été charmante.'

Wishing to create an equally good impression the following season, Delmas made a fatal error. The first five evenings of the new season, 10-16 September 1853, included no fewer than nine new works. With a troupe that was badly paid and under-rehearsed the results were inevitable. If we are to believe the critic of *Le Journal de Lot-et-Garonne*, the troupe of Delmas expired in a burst of laughter.<sup>322</sup> For the audience the season was a continual parody: the dramas were terrible and evoked hilarity while the laughter during the tragedies was as great as that for the bawdiest of vaudevilles. The actors were lost in a maze of memory lapses, slips of the tongue and artistic barbarisms. After miserable *débuts*,

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<sup>320</sup> The account of the 1853 season are taken from Bonnat and confirmed by the details of the troupe and repertoire in ADGers 4T25. Bonnat gives the date of birth as 30 April 1833 whereas the return to Paris states 15 May 1833. As the years passed the date of birth became even hazier, being massaged by some five years rather than fifteen days. Bonnat, *Hortense Schneider*, 9 - 10

<sup>321</sup> Bonnat, *Hortense Schneider*, 11.

<sup>322</sup> *Le Journal de Lot-et-Garonne*, September 1853, cited in Bonnat, 14.

salvation came in the form of the famous actor of the Théâtre du Gymnase, Hippolyte Tisserant. However, the very presence of Tisserant so intimidated the young Hortense that she became incapable of articulating her words. She was increasingly removed from the plays and reserved for the *intermèdes-chantés*. Following three years of negative returns Delmas bowed out. The town council voted a 6,000frs subvention for a lyric season but a new *directeur* could not be found. The leading actor of the old troupe, Josset, took over with a well-tryed repertoire. Like it or not, he had no other option than to play the old terrifying melodramas, hilarious vaudevilles and over-complicated tragedies: they were good box-office.<sup>323</sup>

Without the incentive of a lyric season there could be no satisfactory role for Hortense who, armed with letters of introduction from Delmas and Tisserant, moved on to Paris. Cogniard, directeur of the Théâtre du Variétés and assisted by his friend Jacques Offenbach, gave the young Hortense an audition. Offenbach was spellbound and Hortense was immediately recruited to his troupe, with the proviso that she had no singing lessons. It was the beginning of a long association with Offenbach for whom she created the leading roles in *La Belle Hélène*, *La Périochole* and most famously *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein*. Although the later fame of Hortense Schneider was clearly not the norm, her early career was quintessentially that of the majority of young singers and actors.

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<sup>323</sup> 'bon gré, bon mal, il fallut donc retomber dans le vieux répertoire des drames terrifiants, des vaudevilles hilarants et des tragedies alambiguées'. Bonnat, *Hortense Schneider*, 17.

### 5.3 An orchestral interlude.

The following discussion of orchestra strengths is summarized in appendix A in the parallel document. From the earliest days of opera in the provinces some troupes employed their own orchestras, some employed a small caucus of regular musicians who were then supplemented by musicians from the towns that they visited, while other troupes merely employed a *maître de musique* who was responsible for rehearsing all the lyric works but was entirely at the mercy of local talent for his orchestra.

In an account of the theatre at Saint Quentin, George Lecocq records the whole company that toured Picardy in 1789. Every member of the troupe is listed including the machinists, stagehands, *maître de ballet* and wigmaker. Comprehensive as the inventory appears the only musicians mentioned are Martin (*maître de musique*), Kreutzer and Desjardis who were both violinists, Lombard ('cello), Châlon (oboe) and Pelissier who played the horn.<sup>323</sup> As this would have been a particularly reduced ensemble the missing musicians gain significance. It is safe to assume that the orchestra's complement would have been made up of musicians employed from the towns visited.

In 1793 the orchestra in Rouen was made up of a *maître de musique*, ten violins and violas (possibly 8 + 2) two 'cellos and two double bass. In addition there were two oboes, a clarinet, two bassoons and two horns. The same year, the orchestra in Toulouse was fractionally larger: ten violins, two violas, four 'cellos, two double bass, and a wind section of two flutes, two oboes, two bassoons and two horns: 26 in total.<sup>324</sup> It is interesting that one orchestra apparently has no flutes, while the other has no clarinets. Parts were often either omitted or played by another instrumentalist. One of the most extreme cases of doubling was that of Guthmann at the Comédie-Italienne.

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<sup>323</sup> Lecocq, George, *L'Histoire du théâtre de Saint Quentin* (Paris: Librairie Raphael Simon, 1878), 100.

<sup>324</sup> Details for provincial theatres from the *Almanach des spectacles*, 1794, 57,61.

Guthmann had been appointed as a violinist in September 1785. He was then asked to play trumpet. He played violin, viola, horn, trumpet, trombone and harp as required.<sup>325</sup> The prospectus for the 1812 troupe of Branchu in Nîmes noted that an orchestra made up of 'the music teachers of the town' accompanied the *troupe d'opéra*.<sup>326</sup> The theatre in Rouen was one that employed a permanent orchestra. In the financial report for the 1812-1813 season the orchestra strength is given as 25 musicians. Unfortunately the musicians are only listed by name and there is no indication of what instruments were played.<sup>327</sup> For the same season in Lyon, in the troupe of Ribié, Martin was the *maître de musique* and Dupuis the 2<sup>e</sup> *maître*. The orchestra was made up of 30 musicians. The strings were six 1<sup>st</sup> violins, six 2<sup>nd</sup> violins, two violas, four 'cellos and two double bass. Louis Mas and his father were listed as both flautist and oboist; the doubling of instruments was common. The remainder of the orchestra was made up of two clarinets, two bassoons, two horns, one trumpet and a timpanist. The troupe in Lyon was divided between one for tragédie and comédie and a grand opéra troupe. In addition there was a strong corps de ballet.<sup>328</sup> In 1816 Juche, who held the Caen *privilege* for the 1816-1817 season, submitted a financial return to the Minister of the Interior that mentions the names of the troupe, the orchestra and the instruments that were played. What is interesting is the composition of the pit orchestra. The orchestra was smaller than those in Lyon and Rouen with just seventeen players, which included the *chef d'orchestre* who directed from his lead violin position. There were three 1st and three 2nd violins but only one viola. The list then records three bassists, which in

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<sup>325</sup> Charlton, David, 'Orchestra and chorus at the Comédie-Italienne, 1755-1799', in *Slavonic and Western Music: Essays for Gerald Abraham* ed. by Malcolm Hamrick Brown and John Roland Wiley, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1985), 98.

<sup>326</sup> '...tous les professeurs de la ville.' ADGard 8T2.

<sup>327</sup> The financial returns for the Corréard's troupe survive in ADS-M 4T100.

<sup>328</sup> *Tableau de la troupe du grand théâtre de Lyon, pour l'année 1812-1813* (Paris: Pelzin et Drevon, 1812), BMLyon, Part-Dieu, 144616.

all probability was two 'cellos and one bass. The woodwind section was made up of two flutes, one clarinet and one bassoon. No oboes are mentioned, so as earlier it might be safe to assume players doubling on instruments. The brass section was just two horns.

In the same year two of the touring companies - the opera company of Julien serving the départements of Calvados, the Manche and the Orne, and the troupe of Madame Marigny which was based on the towns of Montauban and Agen – merely list the *maître de musique* amongst their cast lists. Both troupes would have had to use musicians from the towns that they visited. However, unlike Julien who had a complete opera company, the troupe of Madame Marigny was touring with a smaller repertoire comprising comédies, tragédies, mélodrames and vaudevilles.<sup>329</sup> Although not requiring a full orchestra, the repertoire of this latter troupe certainly called for a small ensemble of instrumentalists as the vaudeville that Marigny performed in Auch, *Le Grenadier de Frédéric* was described as an opéra-vaudeville, and *Catherine, ou La Belle fermière* (Julie Candeille) was a *comédie, mêlée de chant*.<sup>330</sup>

Two documents from 1819 help summarize some of the characteristics of the first twenty years of the nineteenth century. By 1819 the orchestra of the municipal theatre in Rouen was listed as having 25 players. The string section comprised 14 musicians divided four 1<sup>st</sup> violins, four 2<sup>nd</sup> violins, two viola, two 'cellos and two double bass. The woodwind section comprised a septet of players - double except for having just one flute, while the brass section was two horns and a trumpet. There was also a timpanist.<sup>331</sup> As a comparison, Draguignan was on the circuit of a touring

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<sup>329</sup>The details of the troupe of Madame Marigny were taken from a very attractive poster for a performance in Auch on Sunday 8 June 1817. ADGers VIII R14.

<sup>330</sup> The scoring for *Catherine ou La Belle fermière* is strings with 2 flutes, 2 clarinets and 2 horns. The 2<sup>nd</sup> air is accompanied by solo harp and the work ends with a vaudeville finale with each character in the play commenting on the action in a verse of their own. Candeille, Julie, *Catherine ou La Belle fermière* (Paris: Chez Barba Libraire, 1797), BL 11738 a 27.(5)

<sup>331</sup> ADS-M 4T100.



company. The orchestra was made up of just eleven players. The strings were half the number in Caen; two 1<sup>st</sup> violins, two 2<sup>nd</sup> violins, one viola and one 'cello. There was also one flute, two clarinets and two horns.<sup>332</sup> Whether local talent supplemented these players is a matter of conjecture. As has been stated, it was quite usual to employ musicians from the local towns visited and as Draguignan had a barracks there would have been a ready supply of military musicians.

Although concerned with the development of the eighteenth-century orchestra, the study by Spitzer and Zaslaw is of interest as it mentions some of the changes and practices relevant to theatre orchestras prior to 1820. An area of Spitzer's research that is of particular interest concerns the internal proportion of the orchestras. The orchestra in Lyon had strings 6:6:2:4:2, which as a percentage of the whole string ensemble would be 60% violins, 10% viola, 20% 'cellos and 10% basses, which accords with Spitzer and Zaslaw's findings. Even the tiny orchestra of Caen, with 6 string players and 5 woodwind, maintains proportions found in similar small orchestras between their wind and string forces.<sup>333</sup>

However there is one area of the study that seems to be contradicted by the evidence in France. Talking of theatre orchestras, Spitzer and Zaslaw stated that employment rolls might be deceptive. When opera buffa was performed the orchestra was often reduced to half the size.<sup>334</sup> The conclusion that the rolls were merely a pool that could be selected from as required does not seem to be corroborated in the case of the French provincial theatres that had a sedentary troupe.<sup>335</sup> Individual pay on salary lists does not vary wildly so there is no suggestion that some musicians were present

<sup>332</sup> ADVar 9T5/1.

<sup>333</sup> Spitzer, John and Zaslaw, Neal, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an institution 1650-1815* (Oxford: O. U. P., 2004), 308.

<sup>334</sup> Spitzer, and Zaslaw, 27.

<sup>335</sup> One example of pay lists in AMMans 859.

more often than others. The orchestra was to be 'bien composé' with numbers stipulated in the *cahier des charges*. Some theatre prospectuses listed the musicians, and if a position had not been filled mark it as vacant. In towns, where there was a separate season of grand opera, directeurs were permitted to augment the number of players. Again the precise numbers are clearly stated in the *cahier*. There were occasions when the orchestra was reduced, for example when playing incidental music for a costume drama or accompanying a vaudeville, but again the conditions and numbers required were listed in either the *cahier* or the orchestra regulations. I would contend that, apart from illnesses, the numbers given as details in the prospectus or in the *cahier*, are the numbers that would have been performing on the nights of a lyric work. In fact, as it was the custom to augment some sections from musicians of the garrison, some lists might actually underplay the maximum strength of the orchestras.

Throughout the period, the orchestral forces required to perform operas were growing. In fact 'complex textures, off-stage ensembles, new instrumental techniques, all were fast becoming part and parcel of opéra comique...'<sup>336</sup> As early as May 1756, *Les Noces chinois* had called for 14 soldiers on stage. Soldiers and their instruments became a continuing feature of stage life. There was off-stage music in *Zémire et Azor* (Grétry, 1771) including a wind sextet in act III. Henry IV (Martini) called for military music.<sup>337</sup> Daniel Steibelt's *Roméo et Juliette* (1793) a work regularly performed in the provinces between 1793 and 1830, was given a happy ending and required three trombones and a gong in the scoring. Orchestral colour was increasingly a conscious concern of the composer but, when it came to performances of their works, the reality was that many towns took a little time to catch up with the new demands and the score was performed with what was on hand. Players might double on instruments, play parts

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<sup>336</sup> Charlton, David, 'Orchestra and chorus at the Comédie-Italienne, 1755-1799', 93.

<sup>337</sup> *ibid.* 95 and 98.

in on the piano or simply omit them altogether. However, the orchestras did slowly begin to encompass the changes as finances allowed.

As can be seen from the table of theatre orchestras (Appendix A), the size of the orchestras in comparable towns and troupes was beginning to roughly conform between 1820 and 1829, as was the distribution of the instruments. There was a tendency for the woodwind section to be two each of flutes, clarinets and bassoons with possibly just one oboe. The brass section was often two horns with just one trumpet. It was not until 1826 that the orchestra in Rouen employed a trombonist. Timpanists and percussionists are also late entries to the salaried complement of the orchestras. Again this may seem strange, particularly in the light of so much 'Turkish music' or eastern exoticism in such pieces as Grétry's *Caravane du Caire*, which exploited cymbal and triangle. The lack of brass and percussion was probably remedied by borrowing from the local military musicians. In the 1820s the string section of many of the orchestras saw a slight strengthening with a move to two desks of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> violins.

By 1829 the theatre orchestra in Nantes had grown to a force of 27 musicians.<sup>338</sup> The strings were divided five 1<sup>st</sup> and two 2<sup>nd</sup> violins, one viola, four 'cellos and two double bass. There were three *chef d'orchestre* mentioned and so the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> *chef* would have played in the orchestra during operas, most probably strengthening the 2nd violins and viola, which was certainly the practice in Besançon a few years later. In fact, since 1820, the orchestras had grown in size to accommodate the requirements of such composers as Boieldieu and Rossini. However, the orchestra strength rarely exceeded 30 players prior to 1830, and a norm might be about 25 musicians.

The rise of grand opera brought with it new challenges. At the beginning of the 1830s the regulations for the theatre at Le Havre required an orchestral strength of 24 musicians. There were eleven string players (4-2-1-2-2), a septet of woodwind (1-2-2-

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<sup>338</sup> Destranges, *Le Théâtre à Nantes*, 226.

2), five brass players (two horns, one trumpet, one trombone and an ophicleide) and a timpanist. With grand opera in the ascendancy from 1830 so instrumental resources had to correspondingly expand. It became common to have a brass section of four horns, two trumpets and three trombones. In addition there would often be an ophicleide. Some theatres also employed a pianist / organist. String sections still remained, to our modern ears, comparatively small for the works being performed: fourteen or fifteen players would be the norm, possibly divided between four 1<sup>st</sup> violins, four 2<sup>nd</sup> violins and then two each of violas, 'cellos and basses. The orchestral forces, between 1830 and 1859, were tending to expand to 35 to 40 musicians. The 1839 figures for Rouen are comparatively large for the period. The brass section had three horns, two trumpets, three trombones and an ophicleide. The absence of an organist or pianist, from the Rouen list is a little curious, as four years earlier the theatre had purchased an organ for *Robert le diable*.<sup>339</sup> Perhaps one of the *sous-chefs* played the organ parts. Rouen was also one of the few theatres in the sample to have a harpist on roll. Putting these figures into a slightly broader context, the 1850 first performance of *Lohengrin* in Weimar, was accompanied by an orchestra of 35 musicians.<sup>340</sup>

At the other extreme, the figures for Caen are slightly deceptive. The theatre employed 26 musicians for the complete theatrical year. Caen had opted for a distinct season of grand opera after Easter. The *Cahier des charges* allowed the directeur to augment the orchestra with an additional 2<sup>nd</sup> violin, a viola, an oboe, a bassoon, two horns and two trombones, giving a new complement of thirty-four for the main lyric period.<sup>341</sup>

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<sup>339</sup> Correspondence from directeur Walter to the mayor complaining of escalating costs of opera. The theatre had just paid 850frs for an organ for the orchestra. ADS-M 9T52.

<sup>340</sup> Koury, Daniel, *Orchestral Performing Practice in the Nineteenth Century* (Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1986), 135.

<sup>341</sup> ADCal T2 322.

The two examples of small orchestras in Troyes (1859) and Auch (1864), with their fifteen and eight players respectively are examples of travelling companies whose repertoire mainly consisted of comedies, vaudevilles and opérettes. In fact, post 1860, the details of the theatres' orchestras divide into those that are providing just comédies and vaudevilles, those that could be augmented for a lyric season and a smaller number employing a larger ensemble for the whole year. There are a number of examples, Brest (1872), Le Mans (1884) and Valence (1904), where the *Cahier des charges* stipulated a smaller force of players for the opérette season as compared to the number needed for the main lyric season.

By 1867 the orchestra of the Dijon Municipal Theatre was 34 players and that number continued to be a typical average figure. In 1882 the theatre in Nantes introduced a harpist to the orchestra, harp parts having previously been played on the piano. In 1885 an orchestra of 38 musicians accompanied the troupe of Jules Breton that played the theatre in Angers.<sup>342</sup> This compared with an orchestra of thirty-five in Rennes, 34 in Le Mans, 31 in Boulogne and 29 in Aix-en-Provence. The orchestra of the Théâtre-des-Arts in Rouen in 1883 was remarkably strong for the provinces with a total of 53 musicians. The main difference lies in the string section. Four desks of 1<sup>st</sup> and four desks of 2<sup>nd</sup> violins were quite exceptional in the provinces as were the two desks each of violas, 'cellos and basses. The string strength was 28 musicians. The average total size of orchestra still tended to be around 30. As costs soared there was little else to do but retrench. The result was that comparatively small orchestral forces were called upon to accompany operas that to our modern ears would have required larger forces, operas by composers such as Bizet, Massenet, Puccini, Saint-Saëns, Strauss and Verdi. In certain cases this was not a problem as the smaller orchestra matched the size and acoustic of the theatre, two such examples being the theatres in

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<sup>342</sup> The orchestral details are from the prospectus for the theatre and are reproduced as Appendix I.

Chambéry, figure 41 or Auch, figure 42. However it was also the period when some towns aggrandized their theatres and then the balance between orchestra and hall could be lost. As with so many details of the study, the orchestra size was ideal for the natural repertoire of opéra comique. Later works, such as *Aïda*, *Bohème*, or *Tannhäuser* would have been more problematic. As the century progressed, the resources that were available to the municipal theatres could not match audience expectations.

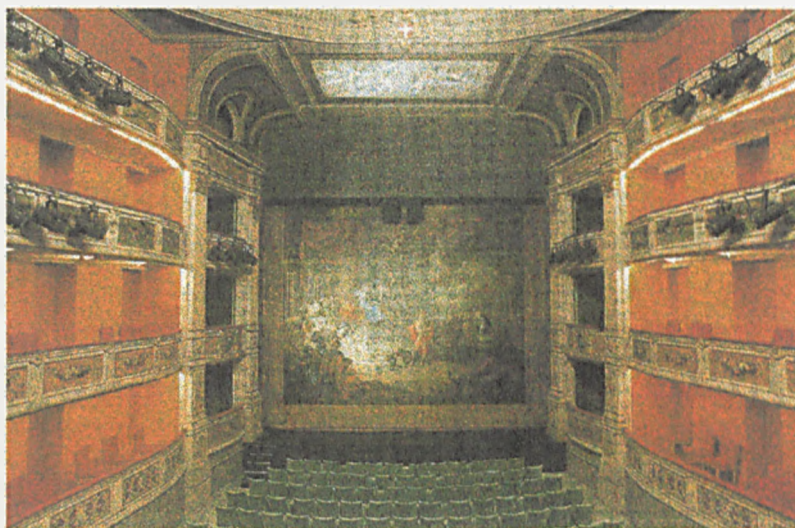


Figure 41. Chambéry: théâtre Charles-Dullin (postcard, author's collection)



Figure 42. Theatre in Auch (postcard, author's collection)

## 5.4 Pay and conditions.

The pay and conditions of the theatre orchestras help us understand both orchestral practice and the social standing of theatre musicians during the nineteenth century. Table 13 serves as a comparison of three towns in the decade from 1810. Two list complete orchestras, while the third is from a travelling troupe that only had three musicians on permanent roll.

	Caen (1816)	Draguignan (1819)	Besançon (1813)
	frs	frs	frs
1 <sup>st</sup> violin	60	72 / 40	100
2 <sup>nd</sup> violin	50	65 / 24	
Viola	50	24	
1 <sup>st</sup> 'cello	70	70	75
2 <sup>nd</sup> 'cello	50		
Bass	50		
1 <sup>st</sup> flute	70	30	
2 <sup>nd</sup> flute	50		
1 <sup>st</sup> clarinet	50	30	
2 <sup>nd</sup> clarinet		24	
1 <sup>st</sup> bassoon	50		
1 <sup>st</sup> horn	50	30	
2 <sup>nd</sup> horn	40	24	
<i>Chef d'orchestre</i>	200	150	<i>Chef d'orchestre</i> 100

Table 13. Monthly pay of theatre musicians.<sup>343</sup>

The monthly pay of the *chef d'orchestre* and lead violin in the troupe of Duchaume that served Besançon was 100frs while the principal 'cellist received 75frs. The lead violin in Caen was paid 60frs compared to Draguignan where the monthly rate was 72frs. When there are two figures in the Draguignan column of table 13, the first figure refers to the rate for the principal player and the second figure the pay for other musicians on that particular desk. The lead violin received 72frs while the other first violins were paid 65frs. The rates for the violinists and 'cellists in the three towns are remarkably similar. The most contrast comes in the rates for the conductor / director. The 150frs paid to Cheveneau in Draguignan represented a rate of pay that was higher than the

<sup>343</sup> Besançon (ADDoubs 1T472), Caen (ADCal T2321), and Draguignan (ADVar 9T5/1) for total number of instrumentalists in each orchestra see appendix 1 in the parallel document.

majority of singers, except for the *haute-contre* who was paid 300frs a month. The singers in both Besançon and Caen were better paid than in Draguignan.

It is interesting to see how the conductor and the orchestral musicians compared with the other members of the troupe. In Caen, where the *chef d'orchestre* was paid a monthly salary of 150frs, there were nine singers who were paid an equal salary or more. The principal soprano was paid 300frs while the directeur voted himself 350frs. In Besançon the *chef d'orchestre* was paid less than the majority of singers, with only minor roles and chorus members receiving smaller emoluments. The principal soprano was paid 335frs as was the *Elleviou*. The *Philippe* was paid marginally less on 325frs. Directeur Duchaume paid himself 400frs and his wife 250frs. Differentials were at their most extreme in the troupe of Duchaume. As a rule of thumb, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, principal singers were paid two to three times more than the *chef d'orchestre*. Normally the *chef d'orchestre* was paid a rate equivalent to that received by the middle range of singers. The principal orchestral players were on a par with very minor singing roles, chorus members, or the *garçon du théâtre*. What is noticeable from the list of players in Draguignan is that the majority of the musicians were paid roughly half that of the principal string players. From evidence that we shall see in later decades, it is possible to hypothesize that the principal players were the permanent members of the troupe while musicians being paid 24frs or 30frs were the musicians from the town, musicians effectively paid by the session.

The 1829 troupe of Welsch in Nantes included a number of musical dynasties. The Lucas father played viola and his son 1<sup>st</sup> violin. They were paid 55frs and 66frs, respectively. Similarly, André senior played double bass and received 66frs a month while his son, the 2<sup>nd</sup> horn, received 70frs. Lefebvre, 1<sup>st</sup> violin, was paid 83frs while his father, 2<sup>nd</sup> oboe, was paid 50frs. The most extreme case was the Ghis brothers. The elder Ghis was a 'cellist on 100frs a month, but his younger brother was principal



violinist and paid 166frs. It was not age or experience that determined pay, but rather the instrument that was played. The principal *chef d'orchestre* received a monthly salary of 208frs, while the 2<sup>nd</sup> *chef* was paid 150frs and the 3<sup>rd</sup> *chef* 83frs.<sup>344</sup>

In Rennes in 1853 the members of the military music were to be paid a sum agreed between them and the directeur.<sup>345</sup> Similarly in 1869 M. Plot and Marmin, *soldats musiciens* of the 104<sup>e</sup> *Régiment d'Infanterie*, were given permission to play at the theatre as long as it did not conflict with their military duties and in particular the military music.<sup>346</sup> In the 1886 return of the orchestra at the theatre in Brest one 1<sup>st</sup> violin, one 2<sup>nd</sup> violin, the principal flute, clarinet and bassoon, the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> horn, the two trumpets, one trombone and the two percussionists were all marked as being 'militaire'.<sup>347</sup> Twelve members of the orchestra were from the naval garrison, and interestingly two were string players. Most of the theatres in garrison towns enjoyed close links with the local regiment. The regiment both provided an audience and was a source of musicians.

Another supply of instrumentalists for the theatres came from the local conservatoires. It was partly a crisis in finding string players for the theatre orchestra in Rennes that led to the establishment of the conservatoire in that town.<sup>348</sup> With the municipal music schools and the municipal theatres being under the same authority there were many beneficial links. The strictures were often more demanding on the professeurs than the pupils. The 1884 *Règlement de l'École Nationale de Musique de la Ville de Mans* stated that it was expected that the professeurs would play in the theatre orchestra. In Besançon, professeurs of the music school were paid an annual salary

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<sup>344</sup> Destranges, *Le Théâtre à Nantes*, 226.

<sup>345</sup> Personnel files for the theatre in Le Mans, AMMans 859.

<sup>346</sup> 'la musique du 104<sup>e</sup>'. Files of directeur Montel 1881-1886, AMMans 879

<sup>347</sup> ADFi 4T19.

<sup>348</sup> Le Moigne-Mussat, Marie Claire, *Musique et société à Rennes* (1988), 319-328.

between 1,800frs and 2,400frs, which included their services to the theatre. In Dijon the orchestra was primarily composed of the professeurs of the Conservatoire, their chief pupils, private music teachers and other habitants of the town. In the event of the orchestra being under strength it was permitted to utilize students from the Conservatoire who would be employed as 'stagiaires' (trainees).<sup>349</sup> The regulations that concerned student players in the orchestra often limited their employment. In Boulogne, the maximum number of students from the municipal music school was six – two 2<sup>nd</sup> violins, a 2<sup>nd</sup> 'cello, a 2<sup>nd</sup> flute, a 2<sup>nd</sup> oboe and a 2<sup>nd</sup> bassoon.<sup>350</sup>

During the second half of the nineteenth century, pay returns suggest that more players were paid by the session rather than receiving a monthly salary. Details from Angoulême in 1858 indicate that there were different rates of pay for performing operas as compared to evenings when it was vaudevilles. The principal oboist was paid 4frs to play an opera but 2frs 25c when playing vaudevilles. The 2<sup>nd</sup> oboist received 3frs for operas and 1fr 50c for vaudevilles. The timpanist received 1fr regardless of genre.<sup>351</sup> In 1887 the rates of pay for the orchestra in Le Mans, summarized in table 14, also reflect a hierarchy of genre.

The six members of the *École de musique* received a flat rate of 2frs for each performance. There is no indication if the leader was salaried, nor is there a rate of pay for the *sous-chef* who led the 2<sup>nd</sup> violins. The 3<sup>rd</sup> trombone in the *opéra*, the bass trombone, was paid the same rate regardless of genre.

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<sup>349</sup> The details of the three towns were taken from a review of practice in those towns in preparation of a report to the mayor and council. AMMans 859.

<sup>350</sup> *Cahier des charges* for 1887, ADP-C T384.

Instrument	Pay for opéra in francs.	Pay for opérette in francs.	Annual salary
1 <sup>st</sup> violin	10	6	
1 <sup>st</sup> violin (école de musique)	2	2	
2 <sup>nd</sup> violin	5	4	
2 <sup>nd</sup> violin (école de musique)	2	2	
viola	8	5	
1 <sup>st</sup> 'cello	10	6	
2 <sup>nd</sup> 'cello (école de musique)	2	2	
double bass	9	5	
1 <sup>st</sup> flute			800
2 <sup>nd</sup> flute	5	4	
oboe	10	6	
oboe (école de musique)	2	2	
1 <sup>st</sup> clarinet	10	6	
2 <sup>nd</sup> clarinet	6	4	
1 <sup>st</sup> bassoon			1,000
2 <sup>nd</sup> bassoon (école de musique)	2	2	
1 <sup>st</sup> horn			1,000
2 <sup>nd</sup> horn	6	4	
1 <sup>st</sup> trumpet			1,000
2 <sup>nd</sup> trumpet (école de musique)	2	2	
1 <sup>st</sup> trombone	8	5	
2 <sup>nd</sup> trombone	5	4	
3 <sup>rd</sup> trombone	6	6	
Chef d'orchestre			2,600

Table 14. Rates of pay for theatre orchestra in Le Mans, 1887.<sup>352</sup>

In Troyes in 1859 the *troupe d'opéra* session rates ranged from 3frs to 5frs 50c and, with either seven to eight performances over four weeks, gave a monthly income between 24frs and 38frs. The principal 'cellist received a monthly salary of 125frs and the *chef d'orchestre* was paid 170frs. There were only three orchestral players who were salaried members of the troupe and all the other musicians were from the town. Curiously, Streleski (1<sup>st</sup> violin) is listed amongst the full company as receiving a monthly salary of 90frs, but his father was paid by the session. Chorus members were paid 75frs. The principal tenor of the company received 1,000frs.<sup>353</sup>

The pay for a session musician corresponded to the daily pay of craftsmen: the average daily pay for tradesmen was around 3frs 50c; printers and engravers averaged

<sup>351</sup> AMAng R14.

<sup>352</sup> AMMans 880.

<sup>353</sup> ADAube T308

4frs; weavers 2frs 50c; and men earned more than women. Consequently the session rate for the town musicians put them just above artisans. The majority of musicians employed from the town still needed their private teaching or other employment. The fee for the performance also required them to attend rehearsals. If the work was known then one rehearsal with the orchestra sufficed but if it was a new work there might be two or three orchestra calls. If rehearsals were excessively long, or when more were required to introduce a new work, then additional payments were made. In Boulogne, if rehearsals of a particular work outnumbered the performances of the opera, a supplement of 1fr. was paid to the musicians.<sup>354</sup> A report on salaries in Rouen in 1870 found that shop workers received an annual average wage of 600frs, with a range from a minimum of 300frs to a small number on 1,500frs. A clockmaker's pay averaged 1,800frs while butchers received on average 1,200frs. A salaried chorus member, being paid 1,000frs a year, was in the same income bracket as a shop worker in an up-market *grand magasin*.<sup>355</sup>

The figures from Troyes also show how soloists' pay had escalated at a far faster rate than minor singing roles or salaried musicians such as the *chef d'orchestre*. In Dijon in 1886 the figures were even more pronounced as the principal tenor and soprano each commanded 2,000frs a month. The high rates of pay for the principal singers tended to pull up the pay of most of the lyric artistes. It was possible for a principal soloist in a large provincial theatre to earn in one month what a manual worker earned in a year. The result was inevitable. Although audiences demanded the lyric works, directeurs found it harder and harder to make ends meet. Subventions rose, but even then the municipal purse was not bottomless.<sup>356</sup> A month of opéra cost the directeur in

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<sup>354</sup> ADP-C T384.

<sup>355</sup> *Salaire industriel dans la ville de Rouen pendant l'année 1870*, ADS-M I 435/5.

<sup>356</sup> Levels of subvention mentioned in Leroy, *Histoire des arts et spectacles* (1990)., 104-5.

Dijon 17,420frs, whereas a month of the troupe de comédie cost 2,600frs. The 1886 season ended 7,000frs in deficit, despite having received a subvention of 37,000frs from the town.<sup>357</sup>

The orchestra was quite often almost a separate entity within the company. In Angoulême the orchestra was overseen by an administration that comprised the *chef d'orchestre*, a treasurer / secretary, four musicians from the orchestra, an archivist and a copyist. This body dealt with grievances and negotiated with directeurs visiting the theatre.<sup>358</sup> In Le Mans there was one member of the orchestra delegated by the mayor and the municipal treasurer to act as an intermediary between the directeur and the artistes on matters of pay.<sup>359</sup> There were occasional grievances and strikes, such as in 1861 in Le Mans that led to most players being sacked. It appears that following the 1861 strike most of the previous orchestral members were blacklisted. However, in 1863 M Guyon petitioned the mayor to be allowed back into the orchestra. It was agreed but under the condition that he neither spoke to the press nor showed hostility to the directeur.<sup>360</sup>

One dispute in Caen was adjudicated in favour of the directeur. The musicians did not accept the ruling with good grace and went on strike. Directeur Goby installed a piano in front of the stage and accompanied the performances himself. Although nothing is now known about what caused the acrimony it does remind us that many directeurs, as well as being practical men of the theatre, were also musicians.<sup>361</sup>

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<sup>357</sup> ADCdO 36T6b.

<sup>358</sup> AMAng R14.

<sup>359</sup> AMMans 859.

<sup>360</sup> AMMans 859.

<sup>361</sup> Lumière, *Trois années du théâtre à Caen*, 18.

## 5.5 The chorus and dancers.

From the very beginning of the nineteenth century there developed a much more significant role for the chorus. It became accepted that chorus members usually had to have passed an examination in *sofège* and *chant*, and that they would be part of the action. *Le Triomphe de Trajan* saw an entire army marching on stage. *La Vestale*, 1807, had several processions and crowd movements, while *Fernand Cortez*, 1809, featured a cavalry charge that caused the terrified flight of the Mexican peasant women. *La Muette de Portici*, 1828, can be seen as the culmination of the revolutionary use of the chorus. With spectacle being an important feature of post-Revolution works the chorus needed to be supplemented.

The Paris Opéra had a chorus that, depending on the period, fluctuated between sixty and eighty members. The provincial theatres worked within much more stringent budgets and limits. There are no hard and fast rules about the size of the chorus. Posters advertising smaller troupes often advertised that the whole company would sing the choruses. Like the orchestra, some troupes had a small number of minor role singers who either sang the chorus parts, or led the local singers. In some towns, one example being Perpignan, if members of the company were not singing in a particular opera they were expected to augment the chorus.<sup>362</sup> The directeur at Perpignan was encouraged to employ local singers for the chorus. After 1860 the *conservatoire municipal* was an additional source of talent. In the financially tight 1890s the council were adamant that for the lyric season the theatre directeur, if only to ameliorate the worst hardships of high unemployment, employed local singers for the chorus and local dancers and musicians.<sup>363</sup> Travelling companies might pick up some local singers to supplement the chorus. However, as the century went on, this became less of a practical consideration as the chorus parts were much more complex and could not be learnt in the short period of rehearsals that were available. The towns with a resident troupe often had quite large

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<sup>362</sup> *Cahier des charges*, 1878, ADP-O 4T116.

<sup>363</sup> *Cahier des charges*, Article 4, 1896, AMPerpignan D1/51.

choruses. At this stage of the research, it is not possible to give average numbers for the chorus, but the figures for Rouen and Nantes, in table 15, seem to be atypically large. In an 1872 pay list for the Théâtre-des-Arts in Rouen, there is a note that only five or six of the chorus members were to be salaried and the others used, and paid, as required.

Town	Year	Chorus		Ballet		Total Chorus
		male	female	male	female	
Rouen	1804	9	9			18
Strasbourg	1811	8	6			14
Lyon	1812	10	8	12	12	18
Colmar	1812	2	2			4
Besançon	1813	3	2		1	6
Rouen	1817	(19)				19
Le Havre	1831	9	7			16
Lyon Grand	1831	16	16	20	20	32
Avignon	1833			3	2	5
Toulon	1833			3	2	5
Le Havre	1837	12	10			22
Nantes	1838	19	16	9	9	53 <sup>1</sup>
Rouen	1839	20	16			36 <sup>2</sup>
Amiens	1839	3	3			6
Amiens	1842	8	8			16
Le Havre	1844	12	12			24
Lyon Grand	1845	24	18	24	31	42
Lyon Célestin	1845	12	12			24
Besançon	1853	4	3	4	4	15
Rouen	1857	16	14	4	4	38
Troyes	1859			2	1	3
Nîmes	1871	16	12	2	2	28
Rouen <sup>3</sup>	1874	24	18			42
Aix-en-Provence	1875		6 <sup>4</sup>			6
Perpignan	1878	8	4			12
Rouen opera	1882	24	20	2	6	52
Rouen opera	1883	24	20			44
Dijon	1886	12	12	4	4	32
Perpignan	1890	10	8			18
Valence	1890	5	5	3	3	16
Valence	1891	10	8			18
Boulogne	1902	10	10			20
Valence (lyric)	1909	10	10	2	2	24
Valence ( <i>opérette</i> )	1909	6	6	2	2	16

(1) The 1838 Nantes ballet figures comprise 12 *corps de ballet* and 6 solo dancers.

(2) Five or six to be paid full-time the others as required.

(3) A large *opérette* chorus at the Théâtre Français et Cirque, Rouen.

(4) Female chorus listed, male chorus from the choral society, *Société Sainte Cécile*.

Table 15. Comparison of numbers employed in chorus or corps-de-ballet.<sup>364</sup>

All that can be said is that with the role of the chorus changing, and being a much more

<sup>364</sup> ADAube T308, ADCa T2 231, ADDoubs 1T472, ADFi 4T16, ADGard 8T1, ADS-M BHR 279/28, ADS-M 4T100 / 106 / 108, ADSO T153, ADH-R 4T135, ADP-O 4T116, ADVar 4T2, AMAix R14, AMLaval, E96 1272

integral part of the action, it was essential to have a relatively strong chorus – if only for the spectacle. It also needed to be musically competent.

From the earliest days of opera in France, dance always played a vital and significant role. The grand entertainments of Lully for the Court of Louis XIV had spectacular ballets. Ballet continued to play a significant role in nineteenth century opera. The troupe of directeur Belfort that visited Auxerre in 1806 comprised the directeur, eight men and four women, two women to play the older *duègnes* roles, three *jeunes amoureuses*, three young men, a prompter, a *maître de musique*, a composer and a *maître de ballet*, in all twenty-five persons.<sup>365</sup> Sadly it is not recorded what repertoire was performed. Although there had been opportunities for dance in the lyric works of composers before 1830, in such work as *La Caravane du Caire*, it was with the rise of grand opera that dance really reasserted itself. The renewed fortune of the Paris Opéra under the July Monarchy, and the spectacles of Auber and Meyerbeer, inevitably influenced the larger provincial theatres. The ballet sequences were an integral part of the spectacle at the Opéra. Berlioz had caustically commented that ‘the directors of the Opéra would have gladly staged a ballet in a performance of the Last Judgement if they had had the opportunity.’<sup>366</sup> Be that as it may, the provincial directeur wanted to recreate the triumphs of Paris for his audience. Although the *livret* might counsel suppressing the ballet scenes the more adventurous directeur would want to stage the work as performed in Paris. Major centres maintained a *corps-de-ballet* throughout the period of the study. The leading ballet dancers of the age visited Marseille, Lyon, and Nantes, and all those towns included dancers in their companies. In Dijon, like Caen or Besançon, the inclusion of dancers in the troupe was invariably a decision of the individual directeur and whether the company could afford to stage the larger lyric genres in their entirety. In Besançon in 1853 the chorus was literally all-dancing-all-singing. Two of the chorus tenors and one of the basses were also listed as *coryphée*. Similarly three members of the female cast have singing and dancing parts. There were

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<sup>365</sup> Return to mayor of naming members of troupe visiting the town, ADYo 80T1.

<sup>366</sup> The Berlioz quote is cited in a discussion of the role of dance in the performances at the Opéra. Smith, Marian, ‘Poésie lyrique and Chorégraphie at the Opéra in the July Monarchy’, *Cambridge Opera Journal* 4, 1, March 1992, 1.



also two in the company, M and Mme Ghis, referred to as *danseur et danseuse*. The size of theatre orchestra found in the provinces was remarkably consistent between towns. The chorus and ballet have remained a little more elusive. By the end of the century a typical chorus might be in the region of twenty singers. As to the *corps de ballet*, this was very much down to individual directeurs and requirements in the *cahier des charges*.

Whereas the pay and conditions of chorus members and instrumentalists was pretty consistent across France, the pay of the *chef d'orchestre* varied greatly company-by-company and town-by-town. In some towns the *chef* was an anonymous jobbing musician while in others he was a doyen of artistes, recorded for posterity along with the principal members of the troupe, as illustrated by figures 43 and 44.



Figure 43. Alexandre Luigini, *chef d'orchestre* of the Grand Théâtre, Lyon. Luigini directed the orchestra from 1877-1896.<sup>367</sup>

<sup>367</sup> Corneloup, Gérard, *Trois siècles d'opéra à Lyon*, 149.





Figure 43. Four postcards of members of the *Grand Théâtre de Dijon*.

Mme Duquesne and Mme Nercy were performing in the 1903-1904 season, no dates of season on other cards but both have 1905 postmarks.  
(Author's collection)

## **Section 3**

### **Repertoire**

## 6

## REPertoire

## 6.1 Introduction

The third section of the thesis reviews the lyric repertoire that was performed in the provinces. This study of the lyric repertoire encompasses three quite distinct strands. On one level it is a study that places performances in the context of a composer's life and times.

Second, it is a catalogue of the works most performed in a broad selection of provincial theatres. Although this can only be regarded as the beginning of what might in time develop into a comprehensive databank, information was gathered from over a third of all départements and half the theatrical arrondissements, it is therefore reasonable to hypothesize and draw conclusions for the whole of France from the data that emerged.<sup>366</sup>

Lastly, the lists of works that were performed in the provincial theatres studied offers an insight to audience 'taste'. The word 'taste' does not translate well from the French 'goût', the word that was used in the French literature. 'Goût' is more multi-layered than its English equivalent suggesting an enthusiasm for, popularity, preference or discernment, in addition to the subjective 'good' or 'bad'-taste.

The question of the popularity of specific works is tackled from four distinct viewpoints – the number of works by any one composer in repertoire at a particular time, the number of towns in which a work was presented, box-office success and finally the longevity of a work in the provincial repertoire.

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<sup>366</sup> The eclectic variety of sources and the difficulty of collating the data were discussed at some length in the introduction.

The lyric repertoire performed in the provinces between 1789 and 1914 is for convenience broken into five chronological periods that parallel the principal political epochs of the 'long century'. The initial period, from 1789 and the Revolution to the exile of Napoleon, covers extremely turbulent years, years that have attracted many writers. However, it will be argued that so much has been written, particularly about single aspects such as 'the Terror', the wider picture has actually been obscured. As some changes were so rapid, the period is sub-divided into the Revolutionary epoch and then the Consulate and Empire.

Following the Restoration, there was a great deal of artistic activity at the Opéra-Comique and the Odéon but the age is mainly remembered for the rise of Rossini at the Théâtre-Italien. Rossini brought his own challenges to singers and so the opportunity is taken to consider how his works transferred to the provinces. The role of Castil-Blaze is considered and two works, *Le Barbier de Seville* and *Othello* are looked at in some detail.

The July Monarchy, the period from 1830 to the Revolution of 1848, was an age when the fortunes of the Opéra were in the ascendancy through the developing genre of 'grand opera' and in particular with the compositions of Meyerbeer. Obviously such major changes in Paris impacted on theatres in the provinces with their very different working practices.

The fourth period from 1852 to the Franco-Prussian War has often been described as the Carnival reign of Napoleon III and in the theatres there certainly was a new carnival genre – opérette. The final period from 1870-1914, the Third Republic, saw Paris rise from the humiliation of the Franco-Prussian War and the loss of Alsace-Lorraine to the Universal Exhibitions and the Belle Époque when the capital was the society heart of Europe.

As so much of French music history is Paris orientated, it is necessary to preface each of these epochs with a description of the main trends and works being performed in the capital.

## 6.2 The Revolution (1789-1799).

It would be nice if we could associate the Revolution exclusively with the Declaration of the rights of Man and of the Citizen, but it was born in violence and it stamped its principles on a violent world.<sup>367</sup>

The repertoire on the provincial stage was guided by the theatrical activity in the capital and during the Revolution that activity was manifestly complex. Jacques Barzun makes the point that:

Instead of a rough time of steady change, there ensued a chaotic time of regimes and violence lasting a quarter century. The first span, five years long, may be divided into two parts. During the first three and a half, an attempt was made to liberalize the monarchy and modernize the country. In the next one and a half, dictatorship carried on terror at home and war abroad.<sup>368</sup>

In Paris the Revolution brought about such fundamental change that a complete social order collapsed and life itself became theatre. It was inevitable that the turmoil in life should be reflected on the stage, which in its turn became more and more radicalized. As was discussed in the introduction, the previous literature about the theatre in Paris has been so preoccupied with the politicized repertoire that it has led to a distorted perception of what was an extremely labyrinthine and multilayered period of theatrical history.

General histories usually mention either the Revolutionary *fêtes* or the more extreme polemics that appeared on the stage. One such celebration that invariably receives attention was when leading actors and musicians proceeded into the streets and squares of the capital to take part in possibly the most imposing feats of musical

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<sup>367</sup> Darnton, Robert, 'What was revolutionary about the French Revolution?' in *The French Revolution in Social and Political Perspective* ed. by P. Jones (London: Arnold, 1996), 25.

<sup>368</sup> Barzun, Jacques, *From Dawn to Decadence* (London: Harper Collins, 2001), 425.

direction ever attempted – *La Fête de l'Être Suprême*. From arrondissement to arrondissement, from street to street, musicians had trained every inhabitant so that the whole city would take part in a collective *Te Deum*, which was just one element of the celebration. Within hours of the performance in the streets, theatres were recreating the spectacle on their stages.<sup>369</sup> However, it has to be remembered that *pièces d'occasion* were just that, reflections of a particular moment in time and therefore by nature transitory, soon overtaken by new episodes.

Historians of the Revolution often recall the vicissitudes of leading players on the Parisian stage such as François-Joseph Talma, Abraham-Joseph Fleury, Jean-Baptiste Gavaudan or Marguerite Brunet Montansier.<sup>370</sup> Their personal tales of imprisonment and the narrow avoidance of the guillotine are as melodramatic as any of the plays that they were called to perform on the stage, but again these biographies only represent a small fragment of the overall picture.

One Jacobin work that receives a disproportionate amount of attention is *Le Jugement dernier des rois* by Sylvain Maréchal. First performed in October 1793, it reflected the darkening mood in Paris. The spectacular finale saw all the royalty of Europe, Catherine the Great and the Pope dispatched by the sans-culottes to a volcanic island that promptly erupted sending the 'crowned monsters' to a boiling perdition.<sup>371</sup>

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<sup>369</sup> Details of *La Fête de l'Être Suprême* and its transference to the stage – Carlson, Marvin, *The Theatre of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966), 203-205. Details of the Revolutionary Festivals – Robiquet, Jean, *La Vie quotidienne au temps de la Révolution* (1950), 143-147. Schama, Simon, *Citizens* (London: Penguin, 1989), 834-836, also Brevan, Bruno, 'La Révolution et ses publics' in *Orphée Phrygien*, ed. by Jean-Rémy Julien and Jean-Claude Klein (Paris: Du May, 1989), 31-33. See also, David Charlton, 'Exploring the Revolution', and Herbert Schneider, 'The sung constitutions of 1792' in *Music and the French Revolution* ed. Malcolm Boyd (1992). For a provincial example, Cosson and Dupont, *Les Fêtes révolutionnaires dans le Gard 1788-1799* (Nîmes: Archives départementales du Gard, 1989).

<sup>370</sup> An example of references to episodes in Talma's life, Schama, Simon, *Citizens*, 494-497. A brief account of the arrest of the Comédie-Française, Fife, Graeme, *The Terror* (London: Portrait, 2003), 384-385. More detail can be found in Carlson, Marvin, *The Theatre of the French Revolution* (1966), 169-206.

<sup>371</sup> Schama, Simon, *Citizens* op.cit., 796 and Carlson, Marvin, *ibid.*, 176-177.

The Parisian actors were slightly apprehensive that they might be held to account at some future restoration of the monarchy. However, a choice of being guillotined there and then or shot at some uncertain date galvanized the troupe into acceptance. From a political point of view *Le Jugement dernier des rois* was a great success. The Committee of Public Safety permitted the directors to explode twenty pounds of gunpowder at the end of each performance. With gunpowder in short supply this concession was significant. However, with a total of just twenty-three performances, twenty-two at the Théâtre de la République between 18 October 1793 and 20 February 1794 and a further performance in 1795 at the Marais, *Le Jugement dernier des rois* pales into insignificance when compared to the 180 performances in fourteen theatres of Rousseau's rustic comedy *Le Devin du village* over the same period.<sup>372</sup> The most popular opéra-comique of 1793 was François Devienne's *Les Visitandines* (The Sisters of the Visitation), which had amassed 193 performances in Paris by the end of 1795. Though today's audience would enjoy the disguises of Belfort and his servant Frontin as they attempt to break into the convent, it now seems little more than poking fun at the formality of religious orders. For audiences during the Revolution it represented a manifestation of their newly granted right to criticize the Church and members of the clergy. Just three years earlier the Théâtre Favart had rejected the libretto by Picard, but by 1793 rising anti-clericism made conditions favourable for its production.

The aspects referred to are significant, but by concentrating solely on the more extreme, or picturesque, elements the broader picture has become overlooked. However strange it may seem, during the period from the Revolution to the Consulate, it was mostly business as usual in the theatres of Paris. Theatrical activity actually increased

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<sup>372</sup> Figures taken from Tissier, André, *Les Spectacles à Paris pendant la Révolution* (Geneva: Droz, 2002) II, xx.



as theatres proliferated.<sup>373</sup> Making sense of all this activity has been helped by the significant contributions of Emmet Kennedy, Marie-Laurence Netter, André Tissier and Michel Noiray.<sup>374</sup>

Kennedy's analysis of programmes performed in the theatres of Paris during the period of the Revolution so surprised him that he asked the pertinent question: how could there be such a discrepancy between his lists of plays and the repertory analyzed in the dozens published accounts of Parisian Revolutionary theatre?<sup>375</sup> Netter divided the repertoire performed from 1789 to 1799 into three quite distinct periods: The Triumph of Classic Comedy (1789-1792), a Theatre under Surveillance (1793-1794) and the Reaction and Republican Theatre (1795-1799), which helps to emphasise the rapid change and nuance within genres that was occurring during the decade.<sup>376</sup>

From a database of 90,744 performances, of 3,742 different plays at some 50 different theatres from 1 January 1789 to 9 November 1799 Kennedy was able to generate summaries that outlined the characteristics of the Parisian stage. One minor failing is the way that Kennedy does not always distinguish between genres so that comedies, classical tragedies, lyric works and revolutionary polemics are all uncritically assembled under a collective description of 'Top Plays'<sup>377</sup>. Table 16 extracts eight of

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<sup>373</sup> For an account of the theatres in Paris, Carlson, Marvin, *The Theatre of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966) and Wild, Nicole, 'Les Théâtres Parisien sous la Révolution' in *Orphée Phrygien*, 205-216.

<sup>374</sup> Kennedy, Emmet, et al, *Theatre, Opera and Audiences in Revolutionary Paris: Analysis and repertory* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1996) and Tissier, André, *Les Spectacles à Paris pendant la Révolution* (Geneva: Droz, 1992) covers up to 1792 while a second volume (2002) deals with the period from 1793 to 1795. Noiray, Michel, 'Les créations d'opéra à Paris de 1790 à 1794' in *Orphée Phrygien*, 193-203. The significance of these writers, and their findings, was discussed in detail in the introduction to the thesis when secondary sources and recent research were evaluated.

<sup>375</sup> Kennedy, Emmet, et al, *Theatre, Opera and Audiences in Revolutionary Paris* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1996) 21.

<sup>376</sup> Netter, Marie-Laurence, 'The Great Successes of Each Year', in *Theatre, Opera and Audiences in Revolutionary Paris*, 35-50.

<sup>377</sup> Kennedy, *Theatre, Opera and Audiences in Revolutionary Paris*, 382.

the most performed lyric works from Kennedy's 'Top 50 Plays by Number of Performances, 1789-1799'. The date of the first Paris performance has been included to help put the works in the context of the Revolution.

Most performed lyric works	Ranking in Kennedy's 'Top 50 Plays'	Title	Number of performances	Date of Premiere
1	2	<i>Deux chasseurs et la laitière (Les)</i>	355	1763
2	3	<i>Servante maîtresse (La)</i>	335	1754
3	9	<i>Visitandines (Les)</i>	286	1792
4	12	<i>Nicodème dans la lune</i>	266	1790
5	13	<i>Devin du village (Le)</i>	264	1753
6	16	<i>Blaise et Babet</i>	239	1783
7	19	<i>Deux petits savoyards (Les)</i>	218	1789
8	20	<i>Mélomanie (La)</i>	214	1781

Table 16 – Eight most performed lyric works with over 200 performances based on Kennedy's analysis.

The analysis by Tissier only records the period from 1789-1795 and yet his findings are remarkably similar to those of Kennedy. Tissier found that the four most performed lyric works, each having over 300 performances, were *Les Deux chasseurs et la laitière* (413), *La Servante maîtresse* (329), *Le Devin du village* (330) and *Nicodème dans la lune* (324).<sup>378</sup> Apart from *Nicodème dans la lune* (1790) the other three works all predated the Revolution having been in the repertoire for at least forty years.

It might appear surprising that even during the most extreme period of the Terror, when the guillotine was working overtime, political works and the inherited repertoire from the *ancien régime* went hand in hand. Admittedly, for a short period all the theatres in Paris heeded the advice of the Revolutionary committees and ensured that their repertoires had a bias towards works that were appropriately didactic. Even the Feydeau followed the party line with such titles as *La Prise de Toulon*, *L'Apothéose*

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<sup>378</sup> As the analysis by Tissier is only from 1789-1795 and whilst there are significantly more works of a sans-culotte or Republican bias, works from before 1789 make up the majority of the lists along with some contemporaneous titles that were significantly less radical than some of the revolutionary tracts. The works mentioned were taken from the summary of most performed works – Tissier, *Les Spectacles à Paris pendant la Révolution*, II, 488-9.

*de Jeune Barra*, *L'Heureuse decade* 'un divertissement patriotique', and *Les Vrais sans-culottes*. The Opéra was careful to play a repertoire that was 'patriotique' after the famous decree of 1793 ordered the troupe to exhibit their republicanism in their offerings.<sup>379</sup> The theatres were political when pressure was placed on them from political masters rather than by audience demand. Once the Terror had passed, it is remarkable how quickly the repertoire returned to works that date from the *ancien régime*.

In Lille the repertoire for 1789-1790 had included 120 comédies, 80 opéras and 10 tragédies.<sup>380</sup> However, as early as 1790 the local press took up the criticism of the theatre management for maintaining a repertoire that evoked the age of monarchies. The actors were portrayed as enemies of the Revolution, not least for their having performed *Richard Cœur de Lion*.<sup>381</sup> Jacobin works presented, more plays than operas, included *Charles et Caroline ou les abus de l'ancien régime*, *Le Conspirateur confondu*, *Le Départ des volontaires villageois pour les frontières*, *L'Orphelin et le curé*, *L'Heureuse decade*, *La Mort de César*, *Le Jugement dernier des rois*, and *L'Intérieur des Comités révolutionnaires*.

Table 17, lists the performances for August 1791 at the theatre in Montauban, north of Toulouse.<sup>382</sup>

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<sup>379</sup> The complete lyric repertoire of the Opéra is found in Pitou, Spire, *The Paris Opéra, Rococo and Romantic* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood, 1985), 573-580 and specifically the years 1789-1795, 569-570. Equally helpful is M. Elizabeth C. Bartlett's discussion of the repertoire of the Opéra during the Terror, in *Music and the French Revolution* ed. Boyd (1992), 107-156. See also Bartlett, M. Elizabeth, C., *Etienne-Nicolas Méhul and Opera: Source and archival studies of lyric theatre during the French Revolution* (Weinsberg: Musik-Edition Galland, 1999).

<sup>380</sup> Repertoire lists ADN 1T293.

<sup>381</sup> *L'Abeille*, 5 January 1790 cited in Trenard, Louis, *Histoire de Lille* (1991), 295. *Richard Cœur de Lion* continued in the repertoire of the Théâtre de la Monnaie, Brussels, until the end of 1792 and the arrival of French troops.

<sup>382</sup> The details for Montauban are taken from a return from the directeur of the troupe to the mayor. ADT-G T110.

<u>Date / 1791</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>[Composer]</u>	<u>[First Paris performance]</u>
30 July	<i>Renaud d'Ast</i>	Dalayrac	1787
	<i>Alexis et Justine</i>	Dezède	1785
31 July	<i>Blaise et Babet</i>	Dezède	1783
	<i>Amant Statue (L')</i>	Dalayrac	1785
2 August	<i>Belle Arsène (La)</i>	Monsigny	1775 <sup>383</sup>
	<i>Deux chasseurs (Les)</i>	Duni	1763
3 August	<i>Faux lord (Le)</i>	Piccini	1783
	<i>Épreuve villageoise (L')</i>	Grétry	1784
4 August	<i>Rosière de Salency (La)</i>	Grétry	1774
	<i>Devin du village (Le)</i>	Rousseau	1752
5 August	<i>Nina</i>	Dalayrac	1786
	<i>Tableau parlant (Le)</i>	Grétry	1769
7 August	<i>Raoul, barbe-bleue</i>	Grétry	1789
	<i>Deux savoyards (Les)</i>	Dalayrac	1789
9 August	<i>Nouveau d'Assas (Le)</i>	Berton	1790
10 August	<i>Amant jaloux (L')</i>	Grétry	1778
	<i>Rose et Colas</i>	Monsigny	1764
11 August	<i>Zémire et Azor</i>	Grétry	1771
	<i>Tonnellier (Le)</i>	Audinot	1765
12 August	<i>Nouvelle amitié (La)</i>	Grétry	1770 <sup>384</sup>
	<i>Milicien (Le)</i>	Duni	1763
14 August	<i>Raoul, barbe-bleue</i>	Grétry	1789
	<i>Nouveau Don Quichotte (Le)</i>	Champein	1789
15 August	<i>Azémi</i>	Dalayrac	1787
	<i>Renaud d'Ast</i>	Dalayrac	1787
16 August	<i>Mélomanie (La)</i>	Champein	1781
	<i>Servante maîtresse (La)</i>	Pergolesi	1746
18 August	<i>Nouveau Don Quichotte (Le)</i>	Champein	1789
	<i>Erreur d'un moment (L')</i>	Dezède	1773
20 August	<i>Nouvelle amitié (La)</i>	Grétry	1770
	<i>Épreuve et les pêcheurs (L')</i>	?	
21 August	<i>Nouveau Don Quichotte (Le)</i>	Champein	1789
	<i>Erreur d'un moment (L')</i>	Dezède	1773
23 August	<i>Jugement de Midas (Le)</i>	Grétry	1778
	<i>Deux savoyards (Les)</i>	Dalayrac	1789
24 August	<i>Dot (La)</i>	Dalayrac	1785
	<i>Blaise et Babet</i>	Dezède	1783
25 August	<i>Raoul, sire de Créqui</i>	Dalayrac	1789
26 August	<i>Caravane du Caire (La)</i>	Grétry	1783
	<i>Épreuve villageoise (L')</i>	Grétry	1784
27 August	<i>Raoul, barbe-bleue</i>	Grétry	1789
	<i>Nanette et Lucas</i>	Herbain	1764
28 August	<i>Raoul, sire de Créqui</i>	Dalayrac	1789
	<i>Famille patriote (La)</i>	Collot d'Herbois	1790
29 August	<i>Nouveau d'Assas (Le)</i>	Berton	1790
	<i>Famille patriote (La)</i>	Collot d'Herbois	1790

Table 17. Lyric works performed at Montauban, 30 July – 29 August 1791.

<sup>383</sup> There had been an earlier performance of *La Belle Arsène* at the Court theatre at Fontainebleau in 1773.

<sup>384</sup> Grétry's *La Nouvelle amitié* appeared in 1786 but was a reworking of his earlier *L'Amitié à l'épreuve* of 1770.

The date that the work was first performed in Paris has been added to the list, both to point out the speed at which some works transferred from Paris to the provinces, and to indicate how long some of the other works had been in the repertoire. The majority of works were comparatively recent additions to the repertoire, with half being written in the 1780s. In Montauban, during August 1791, there were 47 performances of 34 operas, nine of which were given a repeat. *Raoul, barbe-bleue* and *Le Nouveau Don Quichotte* each had three performances. That these two works were given three performances comes as no surprise as they had only just been added to the repertoire following successful initial runs in Paris during 1789. The same applies to the repeats of *Raoul, sire de Créqui* and *Les Deux Savoyards* (1789), and also to *Le Nouveau d'Assas* by Berton (1790) and *La Famille patriote* by theatre directeur, writer and revolutionary, Collot d'Herbois. New works represented an important investment, in both money and rehearsal time, and so it is not surprising that the directeur would wish to recoup some of this outlay by performing the work more than once. From the perspective of the audience these operas were novelties so it is equally possible that they would want to hear these particular works more than once.<sup>385</sup> In the provinces, popularity in any one year cannot just be judged by the number of repeats that a work enjoyed as that would tend to favour the most recent additions to the repertoire. Another pointer to popularity might be the number of years that some works remained in the provincial repertoire.

Table 18 summarizes the same repertoire of Montauban but from the perspective of the decade from which each work was composed. Half the repertoire performed was

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<sup>385</sup> In both the second part of this thesis dealing with the *cahier des charges*, and the third part that dealt with a year in the life of a directeur, it was emphasised that new works were an expected condition of a theatrical season.

from the immediate past ten years, 1780-1789. Time acted as critic and what remained from the earlier decades were works that had become firm favourites with audiences.

Number of works from each decade							
	14						
	12						
	10						
	8						
	6						
	4						
	2						
		1740-49	1750-59	1760-69	1770-79	1780-89	1790
Years							

Table 18. An analysis of Montauban repertoire indicating the decade from which each work was composed.

Interestingly, the two earliest works, Rousseau's *Le Devin du village* and Pergolesi's *La Servante maîtresse* represent a transitional moment in theatrical history. That the 1740's / 50s were such a watershed is reflected in there being no operas from earlier dates. After 1750 the genre of opéra comique was changing and it was the new style that commanded the audiences' allegiance.<sup>386</sup> The works from the decades after 1750 are bedding themselves into the popular repertoire. The group of composers that were most popular with the Montauban audience included Dezède, Duni, Monsigny and

<sup>386</sup> Discussions of the changes in opéra comique can be found in Cooper, Martin, *Opéra-comique* (London: 1949) and more recently Charlton, David, 'Opéra Comique: Identity and Manipulation' in *Reading Critics Reading* ed. by Roger Parker and Mary Ann Smart, (Oxford: O. U. P., 2001), 13-45.

above all others Dalayrac and Grétry. Almost half of all the works performed were by just two composers, Dalayrac (7) and Grétry (9). In fact there were only five evenings, of the twenty-five evenings that the theatre was open, when it was possible to avoid an opera by either Dalayrac or Grétry.

During the same period in Lyon (1791-2), as well as the operas of Dalayrac and Grétry that had been performed in Montauban, directeur Fages introduced *La Famille patriote* (Collot d'Herbois) and *Nicodème dans la lune* (Beffroy de Reigny) into the repertoire. Both works were in the provincial repertoire just months after their first performance in Paris. *Nicodème dans la lune*, described as a *folie en 3 actes, mêlée d'ariettes et vaudevilles*, had enjoyed 156 performances in Paris in its first twelve months. It was part of a political theatre that fostered the revolutionary spirit, glorifying a peaceful transition to an ideal society, a Utopia. The comedy had the additional topicality of using the theatricality of a Montgolfier balloon to visit the moon.<sup>387</sup> The repertoire also included *Guillaume Tell* (Grétry), the acceptable face of Revolutionary violence. There was *Renaud* (Sacchini), a veritable epic of Christians and Saracens, kings and gods, genies and demons, and shepherds and nymphs. One of the only works to really trouble the authorities was *Richard Cœur de Lion* but in the period immediately after the Revolution it was still performed through the provinces.<sup>388</sup>

In Metz, during the immediate years that followed the Revolution, the repertoire of the theatre continued with old favourites, such as *Le Comte d'Albert* and *Le Tableau parlant*, (Grétry), *La Chasse de Henri IV* (Méhul), *Les Deux pages*, and *Blaise et Babet* (Dezède). It has already been seen how paranoid Paris became as external forces and

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<sup>387</sup> Turner, Kate, 'The Spectacle of Democracy in the Balloon Plays of the Revolutionary Period', *Forum of Modern Language Studies*, 39 / 3, (2003), 241-253.

Montgolfier had flown from Versailles just eight years previous on 19 September 1783, see Schama, *Citizens*, 122-3.

<sup>388</sup> The details of individual works performed in Lyon (1791-2) from Kradraoui, Chantal, *Au théâtre à Lyon de 1789-1799* (Lyon: Éditions Lyonnaises d'Art et d'Histoire, 1988), 28 and 34.

internal uprisings threatened the Revolution. By 1792 there was a feeling that the whole nation was under threat and the theatre rallied to its defence. The population of Metz must have felt even more threatened, as they were much closer to the front line. These were precarious times and during the matinee performance of 23 August news came of the fall of Longwy some sixty miles to the north-west of Metz. Outside the theatre, the cannons on the ramparts gave a frenzied warning of the approach of the Prussian army under the command of the Duke of Brunswick. However, as the émigrés, aristocrats and Chateaubriand were moving south along the Moselle towards the siege of Thionville just north of Metz, Brunswick headed south along the Paris road to Verdun. Verdun quickly fell to Brunswick but on 20 September, in a decisive victory that saved the Revolution, General Kellermann outfaced the Prussians at the battle of Valmy. This triumph went into Republican mythology as Kellermann rallied his troupes with a cry of 'Vive la nation!' and to *La Marseillaise* and the *Ça ira* the French army gave no ground. It was a 'triumph of the citizens-in-arms over the armed flunkies of despotism.'<sup>389</sup> Three days later, General Kellermann returned in triumph to Metz, where during a performance at the theatre he entered and was crowned with laurels by the leading actress. The Jacobins were not pleased and ordered the theatre to desist from such shows, condemning the public recognition of the military leaders. The defeat of the Prussians gave a respite, but paranoia was all around. The theatre directeur was allowed the usual ball for the carnival but it was ordered that the attending public could not be masked or disguised.<sup>390</sup>

By 1793 it might be expected that the republican instructions would be particularly adhered to in Lyon. Lyon had just been recaptured after a two-month siege following the famous decree of the Committee of Public Safety that Lyon should be

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<sup>389</sup> Schama, *Citizens*, 641.

<sup>390</sup> Barbé, J. - J., *Le Théâtre à Metz pendant la Révolution* (Reims: Annales Historiques, 1928), 25.



destroyed. The very name was to disappear, except for the inscription on a monument among the ruins that would state that 'Lyon made war on liberty, Lyon is no more.'<sup>391</sup> Jean Marie Collot d'Herbois (1750-1796), a leading member of the Convention, had been sent from Paris to ensure that the people's directions were carried out with ruthless efficiency. For Collot it was a return to a city that he knew well as he had been directeur at the theatre from 1782-9 before moving to the theatre in Geneva. Schama says that Collot d'Herbois' time at the Lyon theatre had not been happy, as he had received mixed notices from local critics and audiences, and that a good many now faced the consequences for their lack of applause.<sup>392</sup> It is a good story but apocryphal, as E. Vingtrinier, author of a study of the theatre in Lyon during the nineteenth century, had already put paid to that calumny on Collot.<sup>393</sup> However, Collot certainly took his new role seriously and as the guillotine was proving inadequate in dealing with the numbers to be executed, between 4 and 8 December 1793 'rebels' were blown into open graves by cannon fire and grapeshot. The President of the Tribunal, Dorfeuille, condemned Jean-Baptiste Fages, the 26-year-old directeur of the Lyon theatre, as a counter-revolutionary despite him having performed *spectacles patriotiques* such as *La Bataille de Clostercamp* (October 1791) and *La Bataille de Jemappes* (1792).<sup>394</sup> On 5 December 1793 Fages was among the 208 victims who were taken and executed on the plains of Brotteaux.<sup>395</sup> During 1793, *L'Année noire*, the Grand Théâtre at Lyon became *L'Assemblée du peuple* and where the *comédiens* had once walked the Jacobins

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<sup>391</sup> 'Lyon fit la guerre à la liberté, Lyon n'est plus.'

<sup>392</sup> Schama, *Citizens*, 781.

<sup>393</sup> Vingtrinier, E., *Le Théâtre à Lyon au XVIIIe siècle* (Lyon: Meton, 1879) cited by Lyonnet, Henry, *Dictionnaire des comédiens Français*, 372-3.

<sup>394</sup> Details of repertoire from Kradraoui, Chantal, *Au théâtre à Lyon de 1789-1799*, 18-9.

<sup>395</sup> Most historians of the Revolution recall the events of Lyon and, notwithstanding the Collot anecdote, a very clear and detailed account can be found in Schama, Simon, *Citizens*, 779-787.

strutted and postured.<sup>396</sup> Two years earlier two works of Grétry had been performed in Lyon side-by-side, *Richard Cœur de Lion* and *Guillaume Tell*. By 1793, one had been banned from the French stage while the other had been added to list of recommended works for the whole of the country as it portrayed legitimize revolutionary violence.<sup>397</sup> The new directeur, Citoyen Grain, ensured that his repertoire did not offend the republican masters.



Figure 45. *Collot d'Herbois and the republican triumph in Lyon*. Anon. (Musée de la Ville de Paris)

Each *decadi*, the Revolutionary calendar had every tenth day as a holiday rather than the church's Sunday, Grain and his troupe staged performances specifically in aid of the poor and destitute of the town. Whether the charity performances were the result of discretion or direction is not clear. Of the republican pieces, *L' Apothéose de*

<sup>396</sup> Kradraoui, Chantal, *Au théâtre à Lyon de 1789 à 1799* (1988), 40.

<sup>397</sup> An edict of 2 August 1793 from the Committee of Public Safety cited by Kradraoui, 28.

*Chalier*, an 'impromptu patriotique', and Gossec's *L'Offrande à la liberté* which included *La Marseillaise* were certainly performed in Lyon.

In Angers, appropriately choleric plays were put on under the Terror. One such work, *Le Siège et la prise de Cholet*, had one of the leading characters, Benjamin, exclaim sentiments of the moment:

*Les Rois! ... je les déteste,  
Les Prêtres! ... je les abhorre!  
Les Nobles! ... je les méprise!*<sup>398</sup>

Theatres were obliged to play the republican works and to 'educate' the public taste.

On 3 January 1794 the council decreed that *L'Hymne de la liberté* (La Marseillaise) would be played at the theatre at least every 'decadi' and 'every time that the public demand it.'<sup>399</sup> The Revolutionary *fêtes* became more regular and all demanded appropriate music. Such *pièces d'occasion* included *La Fête de 10 Août*, a *comédie-patriotique* by local Jacobin citoyen Viville. Viville, born in Metz in 1770, was a staunch revolutionary who later became a stauncher Bourbonnais and was later ennobled for having been a most enthusiastic imperialist. Promoted Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur he ended his career as secrétaire-generale to the Préfecture of Moselle. *Le Jugement dernier des rois* by Sylain Maréchal was performed in Metz on 28 February 1794, just five months after its first performance in Paris. 1795 was marked by disturbances in the theatre on 1 and 10 August, and then 11 and 12 October with members of the audience singing *La Marseillaise* opposed by those singing *Le Réveil du peuple*. The theatre was closed until 23 October.

The same year in Lyon, the repertoire included *Nina* and *La Pauvre femme* (Dalayrac), *Alexis et Justine* (Dezède), *La Partie quarrée* and *La Famille indigente* (Gaveaux), *L'Ami de la maison* (Gretry) *Paul et Virginie* (Kreutzer), *Les Prétendus* (Lemoyne), *Felix* (Monsigny), *Le Faux lord* (Piccini) and among the *comédies*, *Le*

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<sup>398</sup> Queruau-Lamerie, *Notice sur le Théâtre d'Angers*, 103.

<sup>399</sup> '...et chaque fois que le public le demandera.' [It is possible to imagine what licence for disturbance that particular edict allowed.] Barbé, J. - J., *Le Théâtre à Metz*, 29.

*Barbier de Séville* (Beaumarchais).<sup>400</sup> Times were changing and the 'White Terror' followed the 'Red Terror'. In the evening audiences attended the theatre to join in the singing of *Le Réveil du peuple*, having during the day hunted down the last Jacobins such as Dorfeuille who was clubbed to death and then thrown into the Saône.

In Metz, on 21 January 1796 *La Fête anniversaire de la juste punition du dernier Roi des Français* was celebrated by Voltaire's *La Mort de César* and *L'Offrande à la liberté* by Gossec. In Paris, the Directoire ordered all theatres in France to give at least one performance each month in aid of the poor. On 3 February, the performance of *Brutus* and an opéra comique by Vadé, *La Matrone d'Ephèse*, was the first of these directed 'benefit' evenings in Metz. *La Fête en réjouissance de la paix*, 8 February, was celebrated with 'morceaux patriotiques', and the parterre was given over to wounded soldiers. *La Fête de la jeunesse*, 30 March, was celebrated with performances of *Fanfan et Colas* and *Le Siège de Lille*. For *La Fête de l'Agriculture et les cultivateurs*, 29 May, the company performed *La Belle fermière* written by Mme Simon-Candeille. Mme Candeille's *La Belle fermière* remained popular with audiences but was basically a pastoral comedy that looked back in style to the 1760s. Audiences preferred a little escapism rather than a new polemic. *La Fête de vieillards* had a programme that included the anticlerical *Les Rigueurs du cloître* by Henri Berton.

As Jacobin powers diminished audiences were emboldened. In Lille, as in many other provincial towns, there were the almost expected bipartisan scenes, such as those witnessed in Metz, as part of the audience sang *Le Réveil du peuple* and the others sang *Ça ira*. The theatre had to be cleared by the military.<sup>401</sup> As the disorders had continued into 1796 the mayor revoked the people's right to demand revolutionary hymns and only the works announced and approved by the council could be played. When in 1798

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<sup>400</sup> Kradraoui, summarizes some of the main works in each season, 57.

<sup>401</sup> A report of the troubles in the theatre and correspondence with the directeurs in Lille, ADN L4894, similar troubles in Angers are mentioned in Queruau-Lamerie, E., *Notice sur le Théâtre d'Angers*, 113-115.

the new directeur, Etienne Paris, decided to play a repertoire from before the Revolution, the council agreed that he was most probably following the safest course.<sup>402</sup>

In *an VIII*, September 1798 - September 1799, the troupe that played Angers had a repertoire of 34 lyric works:

<i>Alexis</i>	Dalyrac	1798
<i>L'Amant statue</i>	Dalayrac	1785
<i>L'Amour filial</i>	Gaveaux	1792
<i>Aucassin et Nicolette</i>	Grétry	1780
<i>La Belle esclave</i>	Philidor	1787
<i>Blaise et Babet</i>	Dezède	1783
<i>La Caravane du Caire</i>	Grétry	1783
<i>Le Corsaire</i>	Dalayrac	1783
<i>Les Dettes</i>	Champein	1787
<i>Les Deux ermites</i>	Gaveaux	1793
<i>Le Directeur dans l'embarras</i>	Cimarosa	1786
<i>Léonore, ou l'amour conjugal</i>	Gaveaux	1798
<i>L'Épreuve villageoise</i>	Grétry	1784
<i>Euphrosine et Coradin</i>	Méhul	1790
<i>La Famille Suisse</i>	Boieldieu	1797
<i>Iphigénie en Tauride</i>	Gluck	1779
<i>Le Jugement de Midas</i>	Grétry	1778
<i>Lisbeth</i>	Grétry	1797
<i>La Maison isolée</i>	Dalayrac	1797
<i>La Matrone d'Ephèse</i>	Vadé	
<i>Paul et Virginie</i>	Kreutzer	1791
<i>Le Petit matêlot</i>	Gaveaux	1796
<i>Philippe et Georgette</i>	Dalayrac	1791
<i>Les Prétendus</i>	Lemoine	1792
<i>Le Prisonnier</i>	Della-Maria	1796
<i>Pygmalion</i>	Rousseau	1770
<i>Raoul, barbe-bleue</i>	Grétry	1789
<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	Steibelt	1793
<i>Sargines</i>	Dalayrac	1791
<i>Le Secret</i>	Solié	1796
<i>La Servante maîtresse</i>	Pergolesi	1754
<i>Sylvain</i>	Grétry	1770
<i>Le Tableau parlant</i>	Grétry	1769
<i>Tom Jones</i>	Philidor	1766

Table 19, Repertoire of theatre in Angers, 1798-1799

Immediately it is apparent that once again a large proportion of the works had been composed within the previous ten years. Five of the works were appearing in Angers within twenty-four months of their first performance in Paris. If we include the 1780s and the 1790s, 26 of the works that it has been possible to date fall within those divides. The repertoire was contemporary, although polemics have given way to more subtle works with a humanitarian theme such as in the case of *Léonore* (Gaveaux).

<sup>402</sup> Trenard, Louis, *Histoire de Lille* (Toulouse: Edition Privat, 1991), 296.

Pierre Déméry (1752-1809) previously directeur to the theatre in Nantes, had moved to the theatre in Strasbourg in 1788. Through the troubled years he directed the theatre with ability and honesty, whilst walking a tightrope of conflicting demands of conscience and statutory obligations. Déméry had aristocratic sympathies and certain bourgeois pretensions so it was inevitable that he ended up in prison.<sup>403</sup> On his return to the theatre it was equally inevitable that the authorities and police kept a very close surveillance of the performances and repertoire. Judging from the correspondence held in the Archives Municipales, the relationship between town and theatre was difficult.

Looking through the repertoire returns it is hard to find a specifically Jacobin work. *L'Intérieur du Comité Révolutionnaire* was given four performances between 22 September and 21 October 1796 and then once more two months later. Particular solemn, patriotic, or revolutionary occasions were marked with performances of appropriate works: *Hymne funèbre sur la Mort du Maréchal Hoche*, *Triomphe de Metz et de la liberté*, *Fête de la Cinquantaine*, *Le Légataire universel*, *Bonaparte en guerre*, *Le Retour des Français dans leur Patrie* and *Le Chant du départ*. It is a mere handful of works when compared to the total output of the theatre over a six-year period. Analysing repertoire lists compiled by Pantaléon Deck, what we see from Strasbourg is that during the period from 1790 to 1806 over 170 lyric works performed.<sup>404</sup> But it is when the repertoire is analysed more deeply it is possible to understand just how much of a thorn in the side of the authorities Déméry must have been. Regularly the *Comité du Salut Public* reproached the directeur for his lack of patriotism, or even worse for playing pieces that still spoke of kings.<sup>405</sup> Certainly, *Didon* and *Iphigénie en Aulide* continued to be performed in Strasbourg after they had been dismissed from the Parisian stage 'after eliciting delirious applause for aristocrats.'<sup>406</sup> Déméry caused the *Comité* to

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<sup>403</sup> Details of Demery and his repertoire from Deck, *Histoire du Théâtre Français à Strasbourg*, 56-70.

<sup>404</sup> Deck, *ibid*, 231-271.

<sup>405</sup> Correspondence between the Comité and the directeur, AMStrasbourg 3484.

<sup>406</sup> Quoting *Le Chronique de Paris* (15 May 1792) that demanded the banning of certain works from the stage. There was a recommendation that, rather than applying direct censorship, works regarded as 'classics' by audiences but which might be inflammatory should be discreetly omitted from the repertoire. Johnson, James H., *Listening in Paris*, 112.

work overtime as they checked each work being performed and expunged what they did not like. A word was censored here, a phrase removed or at least made more acceptable. The role of the Curé was taken out of *Paul et Virginie* and replaced by Monsieur Leblanc 'a retired colonial and friend of children.'<sup>407</sup>

The dramatic repertoire in Strasbourg looked back to Corneille, Racine, Molière, Beaumarchais, Voltaire, Rousseau, and above all to Sedaine.<sup>408</sup> Of the lyric works, the most regularly performed composers were Dalayrac and Grétry. Some works were in the repertoire every year from 1790-1800 including *Le Déserteur* (Monsigny), with 32 performances over the decade, *Le Vieillard des Vosges* (Dalayrac) 29 times and *Les Deux petits Savoyards* (Dalayrac) which received 28 performances. *Les Visitandines* (Devienne) was presented on 23 occasions and *Oedipe à Colone* (Sacchini) 22 times. A further eight operas received between 15 and 20 performances over the decade including, *La Fausse magie* and *Lisbeth* (Grétry) with nineteen stagings, *Azémi* and *Camille* (Dalayrac) and *L'Épreuve villageoise* (Grétry) 18, *Philippe et Georgette* (Dalayrac) 17, *Adèle et Dorsan* (Dalayrac) and *La Belle Arsène* (Monsigny) with 15. However, the most performed work in Strasbourg over the ten years was *La Mélomanie* by Champein that had appeared on the stage 39 times. The repertoire between 1789 and 1800 in Strasbourg had not been over revolutionary and that seems to have been the general rule.

One last archival source needs to be discussed before moving to the period of the Consulate and the reorganization of the provincial theatre industry. Two musicologists, Jean Mongrédien and Marie-Claire Le Moigne-Mussat, have referred to the Paris archives of the *Société des Auteurs et Compositeurs dramatique* (S. A. C. D.).<sup>409</sup> The registers of the *Société* ensured that composers received their performing rights for all

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<sup>407</sup> 'ancien colon et ami des enfants.' Deck gives a number of examples of changes that were required and it was the same in all towns across France. Deck, 61.

<sup>408</sup> Deck, 231-271.

<sup>409</sup> Mongrédien, Jean, *French Music*, 138-146 and Le Moigne-Mussat, 'L'Activité des théâtres lyrique en province' in *Le Tambour et la harpe* ed. by J.-R. Julien and Jean Mongrédien (Paris: Du May, 1991), 57-81.

performances of their works. The two studies, principally of the period 1794-96, tend to reaffirm the general trends and agree with the findings of Kennedy and Tissier about the most performed works. It is therefore anomalies that are of particular interest. Mongrédien expresses surprise that, although there was a good deal of theatrical activity in the provinces in the the period 1794-6, 'Western France seemed to be visited less often than other regions.'<sup>410</sup> However, Brittany and the Vendée were recovering from the guerilla warfare, and the brutal repression of the Counter-Revolution, that was not ended until the amnesties of February and April 1795.<sup>411</sup>

There is one particularly interesting detail in the summaries of the provincial theatres' activity. Throughout the period, and certainly through the nineteenth century, provincial theatres played a large repertoire with few repeats. Part of the reason was simply that a season-ticket holder did not wish to go to the same work each night. At least in Paris there was choice of theatre. In a normal season a work might have up to a maximum of five performances. It would therefore be reasonable to expect that, in a period of two to three years, the accumulated total of performances reported to the S. A. C. D. would be in single figures, or at least not more than fifteen. It is worth repeating that the most performed work in Strasbourg was *La Mélomanie* with a total of 39 stagings over a ten-year period. Two towns, Marseille and Toulouse, stand out with a number of works receiving a disproportionate number of performances – examples of such works in table 20, page 216. There were other towns where one or two works seemed to be particularly popular – *Les Deux petits savoyards* (Perpignan, 34 performances and Lille 23), *Blaise et Babet* (Rouen 29 and Caen 30), *L'Épreuve villageoise* (Lille 24) and *Ambroise* (Caen 22) – but these were exceptions.<sup>412</sup> As yet, not having either trimestriel returns or press accounts, it has not been possible to recreate the seasons of Marseille or Toulouse to see if the works were still performed on random dates or as a block.

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<sup>410</sup> Mongrédien, 140.

<sup>411</sup> Andress, David, *The Terror, Civil War in the French Revolution* (London: Little, Brown, 2005), 354.

<sup>412</sup> Le Moigne-Mussat, 'L'Activité des théâtres lyriques en province', 68-79.



Marseille			Toulouse		
Composer	Title	Number	Composer	Title	Number
Champein	<i>La Mélomanie</i>	54	Champein	<i>La Mélomanie</i>	33
Dalayrac	<i>Azémi</i>	29			
	<i>Camille</i>	31			
	<i>Deux petits Savoyards</i>	31	Dalayrac	<i>Deux petits Savoyards</i>	34
Gaveaux	<i>L'Amour filial</i>	29			
Grétry	<i>L'Épreuve villageoise</i>	28			
	<i>Le Tableau parlant</i>	28	Grétry	<i>Le Tableau parlant</i>	28
Kreutzer	<i>Lodoïska</i>	28	Kreutzer	<i>Lodoïska</i>	23
	<i>Paul et Virginie</i>	42		<i>Paul et Virginie</i>	28
Lemoyne	<i>Les Prétendus</i>	28			
			Monsigny	<i>La Belle Arsène</i>	27

Table 20. Works in Marseille and Toulouse with comparatively high incidence of stagings.

What can be said is that much of the general literature of the French theatre that is concerned with the Revolution concentrates on the polemic and yet in many ways, as far as the lyric stage was concerned, this represents a small part of a much broader picture. No accurate reports of numbers, or receipts have come to light, nor reviews in chronicles or gazettes in the provincial archives visited and so it has not been possible to judge the taste of the public for the political entertainments. Coincidentally, many of the trends that had been occurring before the Revolution, such as the rise of 'Rescue Operas',<sup>413</sup> or humanitarian themes from the Enlightenment were particularly appropriate for the theatre during the troubled years from 1789 to 1799 and struck a resonance with audiences. The righting of injustice, the destruction of tyranny and qualities such as friendship and loyalty are central to many of the popular opéra comique, not least in works such as *Richard Cœur de Lion*, *Sylvain*, *Les Trois fermiers* and *Les Solitaires de Normandie* all portrayed such themes – individuals acting selflessly for a common good. That the politicized repertoire was an aberration becomes clearer when the immediate aftermath, the period of the Consulate and Empire is considered.

<sup>413</sup> Charlton, David, 'On redefinitions of 'rescue opera' in *Music and the French Revolution* ed. by Malcom Boyd, 169-90.

### 6.3 Consulate and First Empire (1800-1815)

The coup d'état of 18-19 Brumaire (9-10 November 1799) swept away the Republic and paved the way for the establishment of the Empire. Napoleon found the country at its very lowest ebb.

Some 45 departments were in the throes of anarchy and civil war [...] the treasury was empty. Understaffed local administrations were struggling to survive [...] Roads, bridges and canals were in an appalling state, hospitals lacked doctors, staff and medicines, schools remained closed.<sup>420</sup>

Much was to be done and yet whether it was the administration, architecture, fashions, theatre, music, the Stock Market or the price of water in Paris, Napoleon was involved in all areas of the country's regeneration.<sup>421</sup> After the turmoil of the Revolution all wanted to find a common ground, a restoration of order and above all peace. Theatres maintained their popularity and as such had an important role to play in the renaissance: a role that conserved the reassurance of the past but also looked forward to a shared vision of the nation state. As has been discussed earlier in the section on the regulation of the theatre industry, Napoleon established a system for overseeing the industry that monitored standards of performance and the repertoire that was performed. However, it was not just the grand design that interested Napoleon and he regularly interfered in the minutiae of the principal Paris theatres.<sup>422</sup>

It is inevitable that the very character of Napoleon had some bearing on what music and drama was performed during the Consulate and Empire. The jury still seems to be out as to Napoleon's musical knowledge and taste. At one extreme of

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<sup>420</sup> Asprey, Robert, *The Rise and Fall of Napoleon Bonaparte*, 328.

<sup>421</sup> Accounts of the rebuilding of Paris and the question of pure water are discussed in: Horne, Alistair, *Seven Ages of Paris: Portrait of a City* (London: Macmillan, 2002), 198-223.

<sup>422</sup> A brief summary of some of the interventions can be found in Horne, Alistair, *The Age of Napoleon* (London: Phoenix, 2004), 103-115.

the spectrum, Patrick Barbier claimed that: ‘... Napoleon had scant artistic knowledge. It could be said that he was limited in outlook, and certainly he had trouble forming even a basic judgment on a work of art or a piece of music.’<sup>423</sup> Barbier did concede that this was of no great importance as he did encourage the arts, musicians and the principal theatres of Paris. However, the reality was more than just enlightened patronage of the arts. Jacques Gheusi writes that ‘it would be unjust to think that Napoleon had poor taste as far as music was concerned.’<sup>424</sup> Gheusi cites the exchange between Napoleon and Méhul, “Eh bien, vous avez une haute réputation Méhul, mais votre musique m’ennuie.” Similarly, “votre musique est peut-être plus savante; mais celle de Paisiello et de Cimarosa a pour moi plus de charme.”<sup>425</sup> It is the ‘pour moi’ that is important as it suggests a case of strong personal preferences with a particular bias towards Italian opera. Certainly his musical knowledge had developed in Milan in 1797 when he had come under the spell of the soprano Guiseppina Grassini. Napoleon had heard Grassini in an opera by Zingarelli, *Giuletta e Romeo*, which had also featured the great castrati Girolamo Crescenti.<sup>426</sup> In 1807 Grassini visited Paris and then in 1809 both Grassini and Crescenti were to return to Paris at Napoleon’s invitation. Despite Napoleon being impressed by the singing of Crescenti, castration was still included as a crime under the *Code Civil*. As Emperor, and even as First Consul, Napoleon was in many ways

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<sup>423</sup> Barbier, P., *Opera in Paris*, 6.

<sup>424</sup> ‘Il serait injuste de penser que Napoléon avait mauvais goût en matière musicale’ Gheusi, Jacques, ‘Napoleon et le théâtre lyrique’ in *Musica-Disques, Journal Musical Français*, 184/185, September / October 1969, 34-37.

<sup>425</sup> For an account of Napoleon and Méhul see Bartlett, M. Elizabeth, C., *Etienne-Nicolas Méhul and Opera*.

<sup>426</sup> Other musicians and singers, including ‘La Grassini’, who were favoured by Napoleon in Bruyr, José, ‘Napoleon, ses musiques et ses musiciens’, *Musica-Disques, Journal Musical Français*, 184/185, 18-22.

a godsend for musicians. There were State occasions that required music. He commissioned large-scale works and rewarded the composers generously. 'He called forth two of the operas that Berlioz admired most: *La Vestale* and *Fernand Cortez*.'<sup>427</sup> Napoleon founded a prize for opera that was intended to be awarded every decade, but in the event was only presented once for *La Vestale*. More successful was the annual competition for composers – *Le Prix de Rome*.

It is worth noting what Napoleon requested to be performed at the Imperial Court theatre at Saint-Cloud. During the season 1805–6 there were three works by Grétry, two by Dalayrac, and single titles by Boieldieu, Grecco, Monsigny, Paisiello and Rousseau. There was also a performance of *Une Folie* (Méhul). Similarly, in 1810 Méhul's *Joseph* was staged with the tenor Elleviou in the title role.<sup>428</sup> It would appear that even if composers were not to Napoleon's personal taste it did not preclude performances of their works.

During the Consulate and Empire the three principal lyric theatres in Paris led interesting if not over distinguished careers. At the Opéra the portrayal of a heroic past coincided with the 'Style Empire' craze in the capital that commandeered anything that was Greek, Egyptian, Etruscan or Roman.<sup>429</sup> As Republican graffiti and red bonnets were removed from sight, laurel leaves and statues of Alexander replaced them. The First Empire looked back to that of Dioclesian.<sup>430</sup> Amongst a large number of operas produced at the Opéra between 1800 and 1815, a number

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<sup>427</sup> Kolb, Katherine, 'Plots and Politics: Berlioz's Tales of Sound and Fury' in *Berlioz, Past, present and Future* ed. Peter Bloom (Rochester, N. Y.: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 78-79.

<sup>428</sup> Gheusi, Jacques, 'Napoleon et le théâtre lyrique' in *Journal Musical Français*, 184 / 5, 1969, 36.

<sup>429</sup> For a discussion of the 'Style Empire' see Horne, *The Age of Napoleon* (2004), 81-96.

<sup>430</sup> Piolet, Hugues, 'Napoléon, les précédents sur le modèle de Dioclétien' in *Historia Thematique*, 78, August, 2002, 6-9.

stand out: *Sémiramis* (Catel, 1802), *Les Horaces* (Porta, 1804), *Ossian* (Le Sueur, 1804), *La Vestale* (Spontini, 1807), *Le Triomphe de Trajan* (Persius, 1807), *Fernand Cortez* (Spontini, 1809), *Les Bayadères* (Catel, 1810) and *L'Oriflamme* (Méhul, Paër, Kreutzer and Berton).<sup>431</sup> It was also the age when Mozart was introduced to the stage of the Opéra albeit in rather bastardized forms: *Die Zauberflöte* adapted by Lachnich as *Les Mystères d'Isis*, and *Don Giovanni*, which was modified by Kalkbrenner.<sup>432</sup> Although *La Vestale* was hailed as the opera of the decade it is two other favourites of Napoleon, *Ossian, ou les Bardes* and *Fernand Cortez* that will be considered in slightly more detail in the context of provincial performances.

At the Théâtre-Italien the era of the Consulate and Empire began in intrigue and ended the same way. Mme Montansier, a leading directrice of the *ancien régime*, had managed the Court theatres at Saint-Cloud, Marly, Fontainebleau and Compiègne, the Théâtre Satory at Versailles, as well as holding the *privilege* for the theatres of Angers, Caen, Le Havre, Nantes, Orléans, Rennes, Rouen and Tours. In 1793 she had been arrested on a ludicrous charge of attempting to tunnel from her theatre opposite the Bibliothèque Nationale with the intention of burning the library down. In an attempt to rehabilitate her reputation, and no doubt to please Napoleon, she set out to resurrect the Italien.<sup>433</sup> The reformed company opened for business on 1 May 1801 with a performance of *Il matrimonio segreto*. The theatre played an important role in the capital's musical life and the works of Cimarosa, Mayr, Paër,

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<sup>431</sup> Repertoire checked from Pitou, Spire, *The Paris Opéra: Rococo and Romantic, 1715-1815* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985), 573-580.

<sup>432</sup> Details of some of the 'improvements' to Mozart in Johnson, James H., *Listening in Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) 175-6.

<sup>433</sup> Details of Mme Montansier in Soubies, Albert, *Le Théâtre-Italien au temps de Napoléon et de la Restauration* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1910), 5-7. Her earlier career in Ravel, Jeffrey S., *The Contested Parterre* and Hemmings, *Theatre and state in France, 1760-1905*.

Paisiello, Sacchini, and Zingarelli all graced its stage. It was also the theatre where Mozart was first performed, and in an unadulterated condition: *Le nozze di Figaro* (1807), *Così fan tutte* (1809) and *Don Giovanni* (1811).<sup>434</sup> Somewhat later, having been so linked with the Emperor, the return of the monarchy caused problems for the composers most associated with Napoleon. The front-runners to administer the theatre, Spontini or Paër, were trounced by the government-favoured singer 'la Catalani'.<sup>435</sup>

However during the Consulate and Empire most active in the three theatres was at the Opéra-Comique. In 1801 two rival theatres, the Feydeau and the Favart, were merged to form the Opéra-Comique (National). It became the stage for the works of Berton, Boieldieu, Gaveaux, Isouard, Méhul and Solié, along with the older repertoire of Duni and Monsigny. It oversaw the reintroduction of works, such as the revival of *Richard Cœur de Lion* on 26 March 1806, which had lapsed during the Revolutionary period for political reasons.<sup>436</sup> The theatre reopened on 16 September 1801 with a performance of *Stratonice* (Méhul) and *Les Deux journées* (Cherubini). Some 4,300 evenings later, 6 April 1814, it closed with *Le Nouveau seigneur de village* (Boieldieu) and *Lully et Quinault* (Isouard). Violent sentiments of revolution had given way to comedies of manners.<sup>437</sup> There was the return of the 'classics': 22

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<sup>434</sup> On the reception of Mozart at the Théâtre-Italien, see Mongrédien, *French Music*, 117-18 and Johnson, *Listening in Paris*, 184.

<sup>435</sup> An interesting example of the effects of régime change in Soubies, *Le Théâtre-Italien au temps de Napoléon et de la Restauration*, 8-12, and Castellani, Guiliano, 'Intrigues politiques et rivalités artistique: Le Théâtre-Italien de Paris entre Empire et Restauration' in *Revue de Musicologie* 90 / 2, 2004, 231-252.

<sup>436</sup> Just two weeks after *Richard Cœur de Lion* being reintroduced in Paris it was in the repertoire of Douai. Gosselin, Guy, *L'Âge d'or de la vie musicale à Douai, 1800-1850* (Liege: Mardaga, 1994), 212.

<sup>437</sup> Legrand, Raphaëlle and Taïeb, Patrick, 'L'Opéra-Comique sous le Consulat et l'Empire' in *Le Théâtre lyrique en France au XIXe siècle* ed. Paul Prévost, (Metz: Serpenoise, 1995), 14-15.

works by Grétry received a total of 1172 performances between 1801 and 1814. Six works of Monsigny were revived and four titles each of Duni, Dezède, Martini and Philidor. The joyous farce, *Les Deux chasseurs et la latière* (Duni), based on two of La Fontaine's fables, continued to delight audiences and was in the repertoire every year to 1814.<sup>438</sup> 159 new works were created at the Opéra-Comique between 1801 and 1814. The successes and failures of the period will be considered in detail later when the provincial repertoire from 1789-1815 is analyzed.

Table 21 reproduces the 1803 repertoire list for the season in Nîmes. To the list of titles has been added the composer and the date of the first performance in Paris. Where it is known, the theatre in Paris where the work was first performed, or the royal court theatre if predating the Paris première, has been included to give an indication of which theatres' repertoire was particularly successful in the provinces.

Just as was the case in Montauban ten years earlier, Dalayrac and Grétry still dominated the repertoire. Thirty-three of all the works in Nîmes in 1803 - over one-third of the repertoire produced - were by either Dalayrac (17) or Grétry (16). As with the previous examples the repertoire was predominantly from the preceding decade. As a number of the works were from the immediate repertoire of the Théâtre du Feydeau, it is reasonable to conjecture that *Le Tonnelier* was the opéra comique by Nicolò Isouard rather than the earlier work of the same name by Audinot. Only three titles originated from the Opéra, with an additional two works that had transferred to the Opéra following initial first performances in either Fontainebleau or Versailles. Equally noticeable is the fact that the *pièces d'occasion* from the

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<sup>438</sup> *Les Deux chasseurs et la latière*, which had been so popular during the Revolution disappeared from the repertoire during the Restauration but was briefly revived in the 1860s. Details of the earlier repertoire that was revived can be found in Legrand, and Taïeb, 39.

period of the Revolution had been just that and had not maintained a place in the popular repertoire.

<u>Proposed repertoire for Nîmes, 1803</u>		
Composer	Title	Year /Theatre
Berton	<i>Concert interrompu (Le)</i>	1802 Th. Feydeau
	<i>Délire</i>	1799 Salle Favart
	<i>Piété filiale (La)</i>	
Boieldieu	<i>Calife de Bagdad (Le)</i>	1800 Salle Favart
	<i>Zoraïme et Zulnare</i>	1798 Salle Favart
Bruni	<i>Major Palmer (Le)</i>	1797 Th. Feydeau
	<i>Rencontre en voyage (Le)</i>	1798 Th. Feydeau
Champein	<i>Baiser (Le)</i>	1781 Comédie-Italienne
	<i>Dettes (Les)</i>	1787 Comédie-Italienne
	<i>Mélomanie (La)</i>	1781 Versailles
	<i>Nouveau Don Quichotte (Le)</i>	1789 Th. Feydeau
Cherubini	<i>Deux journées (Les)</i>	1800 Th. Feydeau
	<i>Lodoïska</i>	1791 Th. Feydeau (Th. de Monsieur)
Cimarosa	<i>Directeur dans l'embarras (Le)</i>	
Dalayrac	<i>Alexis</i>	1798 Th. Feydeau
	<i>Amant statue (L')</i>	1785 Comédie-Italienne
	<i>Azémia</i>	1787 Comédie-Italienne
	<i>Camille</i>	1791 Comédie-Italienne
	<i>Deux petits savoyards (Les)</i>	1789 Comédie-Italienne
	<i>Deux tuteurs (Les)</i>	1783 Fontainebleau
	<i>Dot (La)</i>	1785 Fontainebleau <sup>439</sup>
	<i>Gulnare</i>	1797 Th. Feydeau
	<i>Maison à vendre</i>	1800 Salle Favart
	<i>Maison isolée (La)</i>	1797 Salle Favart
	<i>Marianne</i>	1796 Salle Favart
	<i>Nina</i>	1786 Comédie-Italienne
	<i>Philippe et Georgette</i>	1791 Comédie-Italienne
	<i>Raoul sire de Créqui</i>	1789 Comédie-Italienne
	<i>Renaud d'Ast</i>	1787 Comédie-Italienne
	<i>Soirée orageuse (La)</i>	1790 Comédie-Italienne
	<i>Tasse de glace (La)</i>	1797 Th. Feydeau
Della-Maria	<i>Opéra comique (L')</i>	1798 Salle Favart
	<i>Prisonnier (Le)</i>	1798 Salle Favart
Devienne	<i>Valet de deux maîtres (Le)</i>	1799 Th. Feydeau
	<i>Visitandines (Les)</i>	1792 Th. Feydeau
Dezède	<i>Blaise et Babet</i>	1783 Versailles
Duni	<i>Clochette (La)</i>	1766 Comédie-Italienne
Edelmann	<i>Ariane dans l'île de Naxos</i>	1782 Opéra
Gaveaux	<i>Lise et Colin</i>	1796 Th. Feydeau
	<i>Petit matelot (Le)</i>	1796 Th. Feydeau
	<i>Traité nul (Le)</i>	1797 Th. Feydeau
Grétry	<i>Amant jaloux (L')</i>	1778 Versailles
	<i>Ami de la maison (L')</i>	1771 Fontainebleau
	<i>Caravane du Caire (La)</i>	1783 Fontainebleau
	<i>Colinette à la cour</i>	1782 Opéra

<sup>439</sup> Although first performed at Fontainebleau in 1785 a revival in 1801 at the Ambigu Comique increased its popularity.



Grétry	(Continued)	Nîmes, 1803
	<i>Deux avars (Les)</i>	1770 Fontainebleau
	<i>Épreuve villageoise (L')</i>	1784 Fontainebleau
	<i>Événements imprévus (Les)</i>	1779 Versailles
	<i>Fausse magie (La)</i>	1775 Comédie-Italienne
	<i>Lucile</i>	1769 Comédie-Italienne
	<i>Magnifique (Le)</i>	1773 Comédie-Italienne
	<i>Méprises par ressemblance (Les)</i>	1786 Fontainebleau
	<i>Nouvelle amitié (La)</i>	1770 Fontainebleau
	<i>Raoul, barbe-bleue</i>	1789 Comédie-Italienne
	<i>Rosière de Salency (La)</i>	1774 Comédie-Italienne
	<i>Sylvain</i>	1770 Comédie-Italienne
	<i>Zémire et Azor</i>	1771 Fontainebleau
Isouard	<i>Tonnellier (Le)</i>	1801 Th. Feydeau
Lemoine	<i>Pommiers et le moulin (Les)</i>	1790 Opéra
Le Sueur	<i>Paul et Virginie</i>	1794 Th. Feydeau
Martini	<i>Amoureuse de quinze ans (L')</i>	1771 Comédie-Italienne
	<i>Bataille d'Ivry (La) = Henri IV</i>	1774 Comédie-Italienne
	<i>Droit de seigneur (Le)</i>	1783 Versailles / Th. Italienne
Méhul	<i>Euphrosine</i>	1790 Salle Favart
	<i>Folie (Une)</i>	1802 Opéra-Comique
	<i>Irato (L')</i>	1801 Opéra-Comique
	<i>Stratonice</i>	1792 Opéra-Comique
	<i>Trésor suppose (Le)</i>	1802 Opéra-Comique
Monsigny	<i>Belle Arsène (La)</i>	1773 Fontainebleau
	<i>Félix</i>	1777 Fontainebleau / Th. Italienne
	<i>Roi et le fermier (Le)</i>	1762 Th. de la foire de St. Laurent
	<i>Rose et Colas</i>	1764 Th. de la foire de St. Laurent
Paisiello	<i>Infante de Zamora (L')</i>	1781 Versailles
	<i>Marquis Tulipano (Le)</i>	1789 Comédie-Italienne
Pergolesi	<i>Servante maîtresse (La)</i>	1754
Philidor	<i>Femmes vengées (Les)</i>	1775 Comédie-Italienne
	<i>Maréchal ferrant (Le)</i>	1761 Opéra-Comique
	<i>Sancho-Pançosa</i>	1762 Opéra-Comique
	<i>Sorcier (Le)</i>	1764 Opéra-Comique
Piccini	<i>Faux lord (Le)</i>	1783 Fontainebleau / Opéra
Plantade	<i>Palma</i>	1798 Th. Feydeau
Rousseau	<i>Devin du village (Le)</i>	1752 Fontainebleau
Sacchini	<i>Colonne (La)</i>	1775 Comédie-Italienne
	<i>Oedipe à Colonne</i>	1786 Versailles / Opéra
Solié	<i>Jean et Geneviève</i>	1792 Salle Favart
	<i>Petit Jacquot (Le)</i>	1801 Th. Montansier

Table 21. Répertoire of operas for the theatre in Nîmes, 1803.<sup>440</sup>

*Ossian, ou Les Bardes* (Le Sueur) was first produced at the Opéra on 10 July 1804. A prefatory note in the 1805 edition of the libretto explains that *Ossian* had been intended for the Feydeau, but was taken to the Opéra because of the character

<sup>440</sup> List of works submitted to the préfet for approval – ADGard 8T2

of the music and the complexity and diversity of the scenes.<sup>441</sup> The opera just needed the larger facility.<sup>442</sup> The sheer scale of the Act IV 'dream scene', complete with a dozen harpists, did rather preclude it transferring to the provinces. Yet interestingly there is a reference to *Les Bardes* being a 'great success' when produced in Caen on 26 January 1806.<sup>443</sup> . It is possible that it was the opera by Lesueur, but it would be quite remarkable as there seem to be no equivalent references for performances in larger centres such as Marseille, Lyon or even neighbouring Rouen. When Napoleon visited Lyon in 1802 the timpanist of the Grand Théâtre, Robert Nicolas Charles Bochsa,<sup>444</sup> composed a suitably patriotic 'piece d'occasion', *Le Retour de Trajan ou Rome triomphante*. However, when Napoleon visited Lyon in 1805, knowing his liking for the Celtic tale of Ossian, there was an especially composed cantata sung in his honour. *Le Songe d'Ossian*, scored for tenor solo, chorus and two orchestras, was the work of Étienne Fay, a member of the company in Lyon who had previously been an artist of the Favart 1792-1795 and then the Feydeau to 1801. Fay later directed the theatre in Marseille, which brought him financial ruin. Fay's cantata praised the Emperor in an allegorical context. An age of gold and peace was promised, France had been saved from anarchy and a

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<sup>441</sup> Pitou, Spire, *The Paris Opéra: Rococo and Romantic, 1715-1815*, 401-02.

<sup>442</sup> Mongrédien dismisses the claim that the work was commissioned by Napoleon and points out that Le Sueur had been planning it from 1800, hence the initial hope that the Feydeau would produce it. Mongrédien, Jean, *French Music, 1789-1830*, 74-76. See also Charlton, David, 'Ossian, Le Sueur, and Opera', *Studies in Music 11* (1977), 37-48.

<sup>443</sup> Carlez, Jules, 'La Musique à Caen de 1066-1848', *Mémoires de l'Académie Nationale de Sciences, Arts et Belles-Lettres de Caen* (Caen: Le Blanc-Hardel, 1876), 234-5.

<sup>444</sup> Bochsa later moved to the Imperial Court as harpist, a role he continued under the monarchy. However, assorted scandals financial and bigamous led him to depart rapidly for Australia.

warning finger was waved at 'perfidious Albion'; *Tremblez fils d'Albion, l'inconstante fortune // est lasse de servir vos projets inhumains*.<sup>445</sup>

Another allegorical tale, and one remembered for its level of spectacle, was *Fernand Cortez* (Spontini). This opera had more success in the provinces than *Ossian, ou les Bardes*, but the triumph was far from instant. The work premièred on 28 November 1809 and was performed 24 times over the 26 months to 24 January 1812. It was then withdrawn and not performed again until 1817 by which time it had been completely reformed. *Fernand Cortez* became one of the rare successes of the Empire repertoire. Apparently commissioned by Napoleon to celebrate his victories, audiences delighted in Spontini's music but read entirely different interpretations into the work. Despite being extremely popular with Parisian audiences it was banned.<sup>446</sup> A distinguished cast, sumptuous costumes and the services of fourteen horses from Franconi's circus had all contributed to its early success with audiences. The first cast included in the title role Etienne Lainé.

Lainé retired from the Opéra a year later and recreated his former triumphs in a number of provincial towns before taking the post as directeur at the Grand Théâtre, Lyon. After the disastrous Revolutionary period the Grand Théâtre struggled from one bout of insolvency to the next. However in 1812, it had a comparatively strong troupe complete with a ballet. The season in Lyon began on 22 March, Palm Sunday, 1812 and ended on 10 April 1813. Directeur Ribié announced the troupe, in addition to the 10 principal male singers and 6 principal females was a

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<sup>445</sup> The full details of the special theatrical performances in Lyon for the Emperor, including earlier visits by Talma, in Zajtman, Marc, 'Création musicale au Grand-Théâtre de Lyon', *La Revue Napoléon*, 22, May 2005, 24-31.

<sup>446</sup> Details of plot and performances from Pitou, Spire, *The Paris Opéra: Rococo and Romantic, 1715-1815*, 210-212.

chorus of ten men and eight women (3 hautes-contres, 3 tailles, and 4 basses-tailles, 4 premier-dessus and 4 seconds-dessus). The ballet included a *maître des ballets*, five principal male dancers and four principal women, twelve *grand figurants* and twelve *grandes figurantes*. There was also a *quadrille* of eight *enfants*. The orchestra was just described as 30 *artistes musiciens* under their *maître de musique*, Martin.<sup>447</sup> This might seem a little understated for *Fernand Cortez* but, as in other garrison towns, there were always the *musiciens du régiment* to supplement the wind, brass and percussion. Lainé took over the administration of the theatre half way through 1812 and, wishing to make an impression, without delay recreated the role of Cortez on 4 June 1812.

After the 1817 revival in Paris *Fernand Cortez* re-entered the repertoire in Lyon under the supervision of directeur Singier.<sup>448</sup> Similarly, it was not until after the Paris revival, that the opera was produced in Rouen on 6 October 1818.<sup>449</sup> Although no date is given, Christine Tisseyre mentions *Fernand Cortez* being performed in Perpignan.<sup>450</sup> In such ways the 'image of nation' reached out into the provinces.<sup>451</sup>

Having discussed the repertoire of individual theatres, Montauban (1791), Angers (1798) and Nîmes (1803), the following example, reproduced as appendix B

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<sup>447</sup> Details from the prospectus for the 1812-13 season of directeur Ribié. BM Lyon 118001.

<sup>448</sup> Mentioned in a summary of the principal works that Singier directed in Lyon between 1820 and 1831. It was the great tenor Nourrit who was to recreate the title role in Lyon. Vuillermoz, G., *Cent ans d'opéra à Lyon* (Lyon: Bascou, 1932), 7.

<sup>449</sup> Deshays, Emile, *Le Théâtre à Rouen, 1776-1886* (Rouen: Léon Deshays, 1886).

<sup>450</sup> Tisseyre, Christine, *Le Théâtre Municipal de Perpignan, 1811-1914* (Perpignan: Archives Communales, 1995), 107.

<sup>451</sup> The use of theatre, and in particular opera, is discussed in Fulcher, Jane, *The Nation's Image: French Grand Opera as Politics and Politicized Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

in the parallel document, examines the repertoires in a number of towns but during the same season, that of 1813. In this instance the repertoires for the theatres in Caen and Rouen in Normandy, Dijon and Troyes in central France, and Valence and Nîmes in the south are compared. It has to be admitted that it is not a comparison of like-with-like. The theatre in Rouen had a *troupe sédentaire* while the other towns were visited by troupes covering theatrical arrondissements. The troupe of Duchaume that served Dijon and Besançon was a purely lyric touring company as was the troupe based on Troyes. In Nîmes, Caen, Valence and Rouen, the companies provided all dramatic and lyric genres. The list for Nîmes was from a return to the Minister of the Interior summarizing the performances over periods of two and four months while those for Dijon and Troyes were outlining plans for the complete season. What is of note is that remarkably similar repertoires were performed in a given year despite the distance between the individual towns. It is the similarity with each other, rather than with Paris, that is interesting.

The Dijon / Besançon repertoire included 171 *opéras*<sup>452</sup> while Rouen lists 108, Troyes 131, Caen 60, Valence 57 and Nîmes 38. The repertoire lists are not of the same type but they do still allow valid comparisons. Similarly, although Dijon has a longer list than the other towns it is still possible to draw meaningful comparisons and correlations with the smaller lists. Comparing Dijon's list there are 107 works common to either Rouen or Troyes. 91 of the 108 operas performed in Rouen were also performed in Dijon. The correlation between Rouen and Dijon is therefore 85%.<sup>453</sup> The statistics are based on a list of 107 works that were common to the

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<sup>452</sup> The generic term 'opéra' seems to be loosely applied by the directeurs as often vaudevilles creep into the list.

<sup>453</sup> Total number of works appearing in more than one list divided by the number of works in one of the towns that were also in the full list.

towns with larger repertoire returns. The smaller towns correlation become even more significant as the sum of the works for Caen and Nîmes, or Nîmes and Valence would not add up to 107. It would be quite possible for the theatres in those towns to have a 100% correlation with Dijon but not have a single work in common with each other. Therefore the smallest correlation of 49.1%, between Caen and Valence, is still statistically significant. Table 22 summarizes the statistics.

	Dijon	Troyes	Rouen	Caen	Nîmes	Valence
Dijon		85%	85%	98.3%	92.1%	78.9%
Rouen	85%	69.2%		75%	86.8%	77.1%
Caen	98.3%	75%	75%		71%	49.1%
Nîmes	92.1%	86.8%	86.8%	71%		65.8%
Troyes	85%		69.2%	75%	86.8%	57.9%
Valence	78.9%	57.9%	77.1%	49.1%	65.8%	

Table 22. Correlation between repertoires performed in six towns in 1813.

In the repertoires of the theatres in the sample of appendix B, Dalayrac and Grétry maintain a prominent position by the number of their works being performed, however there are very subtle changes occurring. Six works by Dalayrac are common to all the sampled theatres but this represents only a small proportion of the total number of his compositions in performance. What appears to be happening is Dalayrac's output is now being reduced to works that were particularly popular with audiences. Grétry is similarly represented by a small fraction of his total compositions. As the fortunes of Dalayrac and Grétry were beginning to wane, a new generation of composers was in the ascendancy, notably François-Adrien Boieldieu (1775-1834), and Nicolò Isouard (1775-1818).

The theatres in Rouen, Valence and Caen each had works in their repertoire that were unique to themselves. In Rouen there were nine titles that were neither in the Dijon list nor the lists of the other four arrondissements: *Médée* (Cherubini), *Myrtille et Lycoris* (Desormey), *Le Diable couleur de rose* and *La Rose blanche et la rose rouge* (Gaveaux), *Alceste*, *Iphigénie en Aulide*, *Iphigénie en Tauride* and

*Orphée* (Gluck), and *Anacréon chez Polycrate* (Grétry). The inclusion of the works of Gluck in the Rouen repertoire list is of particular interest. As noted, Gluck, improved by the addition of more ballet sequences, was a mainstay of the Paris Opéra. The nearness of Rouen to Paris (roughly 80 miles) meant that successes in the capital were rapidly reproduced at the Théâtre-des-Arts.

In Valence the two works that were not in the repertoires of the other five towns were *La Vestale* (Spontini), and *Une Heure de prison*. *La Vestale* had enjoyed significant success following its first performance at the Opéra in 1807 in both Paris and the provinces. In 1813 *La Vestale* was certainly in the repertoire of both Perpignan and Besançon. That it was performed in these towns is particularly interesting as they were served by *troupes d'arrondissement*. *La Vestale* might possibly be regarded as a problematic work, at least from the point of view of the sheer scale of the spectacle that the touring companies needed to recreate.

In Caen one work that was in the repertoire of Troyes, but not in performance in Dijon, Rouen and Valence, was *Aline, reine de Golconde* composed by Boieldieu. *Aline* had been première in St. Petersburg in 1804 but did not manage to supplant the popular opera of the same title by Berton.

From the table in appendix B it is possible to say that a central group of works enjoyed widespread popularity being common to all six towns. In Paris the length of the run that the work enjoyed and its box-office returns were the sole indicators of success. As has already been explained, in the provinces, a special case was needed for the mayor to sanction a repeat and so the number of performances in one town is only a partial vindication of a work. That a work was in the repertoire of a good proportion of provincial houses has to be a better indicator of success outside of Paris rather than the number of performances in an individual town.

Arguably, success from the composer's perspective was the number of his works in repertoire at any one time. Dalayrac was certainly the most prolific and was regularly performed across France. But then there is the question of the composer who while producing fewer works sees them enjoy such success that they were performed in the majority of towns. Possibly the most striking example of this phenomenon is the success of Rousseau's *Le Devin du village*. A more representative example from the pre-Revolutionary period might be Monsigny. A small number of Monsigny's operas remained popular throughout the provinces, so success can be gauged by longevity, either the number of consecutive years in the repertoire or the number of revivals over a period of time.

Finally there are box office receipts. Using the same trimestriel return from Troyes, from which previous comparisons were made, it is possible to extract the receipts over a three-month period.<sup>454</sup> The statistics provide us with two interesting details: the popularity of certain works and the pattern of theatre attendance of the local population. Sundays were the most profitable evenings with the Thursdays rather more mixed. The occasional Monday or Tuesday openings also tended to have lower receipts. Sunday was the evening when the working man, could more easily attend the theatre. Out of twenty-five evenings that the theatre was open, four produced receipts of less than 200frs. Average receipts for each performance were 404frs. However, a small number of evenings were well in excess of the average:

Sunday	11 July 1813	<i>Raoul, sire de Créqui, Soirée orageuse</i>	689frs 25c
Thursday	15 July 1813	<i>Jean de Paris, Deux petits Savoyards (Les)</i>	600frs 40c
Sunday	18 July 1813	<i>Jean de Paris, Traité Nul (Le)</i>	885frs 5c
Sunday	25 July 1813	<i>Belle Arsène (La), Maison à vendre</i>	711frs 80c

Table 23. Box-office success from the trimestriel returns Troyes, 1813.

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<sup>454</sup> Return from troupe ambulante 20<sup>e</sup> arrondissement, 12 August 1813. ADAube T307



It is interesting that Thursday 15 July had such a success, as mid-week performances were not usually the most profitable of evenings. However, this was a special occasion, as it happened to be the first of three performances of Boïeldieu's *Jean de Paris*. *Jean de Paris* was repeated three days later, on 18 July, and that particular evening had the highest receipts of the three months. The opera was further repeated on Thursday 29 July, but the novelty had worn off and receipts were a mere 218frs 15c. The reason for the packed theatres was that *Jean de Paris* had been one of the runaway successes in Paris of 1812 and so it is reasonable to infer that the work was entirely new to audiences in Troyes.

To conclude the analysis of the period of the Consulate and First Empire, appendix C – which is reproduced in the parallel document – is the result of combining repertoire lists, returns to town halls and prefectures, prospectuses, theatre flyers and references in the histories of individual theatres for the period 1789-1814.<sup>455</sup> The list is of opéras and opéras comiques being performed in a sample of sixteen towns or arrondissements.

By comparing the repertory lists of a sample of these theatres from across France between 1789 and 1814, one is again struck by the similarity of programming and the regularity that the same works appear in lists of quite diverse troupes. Very few opéras or opéras comiques were restricted to one centre and many belonged to a core of works that enjoyed national popularity. 285 works are mentioned in the returns, the labour of 77 composers. It is immediately apparent is that although a large number of composers were fortunate in having works in performance, a smaller group rather monopolized the stage. Of all the works listed just seven composers composed half. André Grétry (1741-1813), Nicholas Dalayrac (1753-1809), Pierre

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<sup>455</sup> The complete list of sources for the towns sampled is on the cover page of appendix C.

Gaveaux (1761-1825), Étienne-Nicolas Méhul (1763-1817) Henri-Montan Berton (1767-1844) François-Adrien Boieldieu (1775-1834) and Nicolò Isouard (1775-1818) dominated the theatres of France.

Ten works were conspicuous by being in the lists of every theatre in the sample: *Le Calife de Bagdad* (Boieldieu), *Adolphe et Clara* and *Le Deux petits savoyards* (Dalayrac), *Blaise et Babet* (Dezède), *L'Épreuve villageoise*, *Le Tableau parlant* and *Zémire et Azor* (Grétry), *Le Médecin turc* (Isouard), *Joseph* (Méhul), and *La Belle Arsène* (Monsigny). The short-list of ten titles is a reminder of one of the problems of trying to measure 'popularity'. Although Dalayrac was the most prolific of the composers, thirty-five titles being staged, it was Grétry who seems to have had box-office success with three operas in every theatre sampled as against the two major successes of Dalayrac. Similarly, in spite of the fact that Dezède and Monsigny contribute only nine titles between the two of them; with *Blaise et Babet* and *La Belle Arsène* they had composed two operas that were immensely popular with audiences and which remained in the provincial repertoire for a good many decades.

The first two pages of appendix C have a fair number of 'one-work' composers, but also some quite significant names. One is aware of the prominence of Berton and Boieldieu. Berton was nine years older than Boieldieu and it is evident in the way that quite a number of Berton's operas have had time to establish themselves with audiences, in particular *Aline, reine de Golconde*, *Les Maris garçons*, *François de Foix*, *Le Concert interrompu* and *Montano et Stephanie*. *Les Rigueurs du cloître* (1790) was one of the early melodramatic 'rescue operas'.

The first reaction at looking at the list for Boieldieu is that the operas were not enjoying the same success as those of Berton. However, Boieldieu was only fourteen

years old at the time of the Revolution and so is effectively only contributing to the repertoire from around 1800. What does stand out is that of his ten titles, three enjoyed widespread success – *Le Calife de Bagdad* (1800) is in the small group of works that were in the repertoire of all the sampled theatres, *Ma tante Aurore* dated from 1803 was equally well established, whereas *Jean de Paris*, being composed in 1812, represents a new work that was being assimilated into the provinces. Bruni had one runaway success with *Major Palmer*. Champein had all five of his titles in a quarter of the towns, however, *Les Dettes* and *La Mélomanie* enjoyed wider success. Two works of Cherubini stand out, *Lodoïska* and *Les Deux Journées*. *Lodoïska* (1791) was one of the operatic triumphs of the Revolutionary period. With prisons and burning castles, it was suitably melodramatic for the times. As with all ‘rescue operas’, good triumphs in the end. In *Les Deux journées* (1800) an honest watercarrier saves the life of two aristocrats. By 1800 the mood of the country was one for healing past differences; it is to be doubted that aristocrats and a *deux ex machina* of a royal pardon would have been permitted on the stage ten years earlier. Both works captured a mood of the times and one that audiences empathized with.

Dalayrac and his thirty-five titles, one-eighth of all the works listed, dominate the next pages of appendix C. The density and extent of the shading indicates how successful Dalayrac was – two titles in all the theatres – and the majority in at least half the sample. Of the next group of composers, *Blaise et Babet* (Dezède) was performed in all the towns in the sample and it is evident that *L'Opéra comique* and *Le Prisonnier* (Della Maria) and *Les Visitandines* (Devienne) were also popular with audiences. Duni was represented by five titles, but his operas were only being performed in a handful of towns. Gaveaux contributed eighteen titles of which seven enjoyed a wider popularity. Gluck, despite the performances in Paris, only

transferred to a small number of centres being mentioned in the repertoires of Angers, Caen, Lyon, Nantes, Rennes, Rouen, Strasbourg and Valence.

Grétry was the second most prolific composer, of the sample, represented by twenty-nine titles of which four were in the lists of all the theatres surveyed – *L'Épreuve villageoise*, *Le Jugement de Midas*, *Le Tableau parlant* and *Zémire et Azor*. From the density of shading it is evident just how many others of Grétry's operas were enjoying widespread production.

Like Boieldieu, Isouard was born in 1775 but died comparatively young at the age of forty-three. Isouard was highly popular in his time and wrote for the theatre some fifty works. Almost half of the titles were being performed in theatres in the survey. *Le Médecin turc* was in all the theatres and *Cendrillon* in eleven of the sample. *Les Rendez-vous bourgeois*, *Lulli et Quinault* and *Le Tonnelier* were also very popular.

Of the works by Kreutzer *Jadis et aujourd'hui* was well-received. *Paul et Virginie* is problematic. The returns to the mayor or préfet tend to be lists of titles with absolutely no mention of the composer. As the work of the same title by Le Sueur did not have widespread success in Paris, the ten provincial references have been attributed to Kreutzer. It may be that the performances were all by one or other of the two composers, or a mix of Kreutzer or Le Sueur; the documents referred to do not reveal the distinction. Lemoyne had a great success with *Les Prétendus* and three of Martini's five titles were similarly acclaimed. Half of the operas by Méhul's were well represented in the provincial theatres with *Joseph* enjoying particular popularity. At the time of the Revolution, Monsigny was sixty-years old. *Rose et Colas* dated back to 1764, and *Le Déserteur* 1769, and yet, as indicated by the shading, it is

possible to see how well-bedded certain of his operas were in the repertoire. *La Belle Arsène* was a particular success.

There follows a group of distinguished foreigners. Mozart enjoyed only slight success. Unlike the earlier problem of establishing the composer of *Paul et Virginie*; *Le Barbier de Seville* was certainly Paisiello as the references all predate the first performance in France of Rossini's setting. Rousseau's *Le Devin du village* (1752) continued to delight audiences across France. Spontini's *La Vestale*, first produced in Paris in 1807, found its way into the provinces, although the level of spectacle required for the opera would have created new challenges for the provincial directeur. The most widely performed works during the period of the Consulate and Empire included Grétry *Zémire et Azor* (1771), Dalayrac *Adolphe et Clara* and *Les Deux petits savoyards* (1789) and Boieldieu *Le Calife de Bagdad* (1800).

Legrand and Taïeb produced a summary of the 50 most represented works at the Opéra-Comique between 1801 and 1814.<sup>456</sup> In table 24, the first 20 titles of the summary by Legrand and Taïeb is paralleled by a list of works, taken from appendix C, that were performed in the majority of provincial theatres. Works common to both lists are highlighted.

There are a high number of works that are common to both lists and certainly those identified in Legrand's and Taïeb's study as having long initial runs in Paris invariably transferred to the majority of provincial theatres. However, sometimes the relationship between the capital and the provinces was less predictable. It is possibly only to be expected that some works that had long disappeared from the Parisian stage should continue in the provinces.

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<sup>456</sup> Legrand, Raphaëlle and Taïeb, Patrick, 'L'Opéra-Comique sous le Consulate et l' Empire', 56-7.

PARIS			PROVINCES		
Paris	Title	Composer	Title	Composer	Number of theatres
1	<i>Le Calife de Bagdad</i>	Boieldieu	<i>Le Calife de Bagdad</i>	Boieldieu	12
2	<i>Les Deux journées</i>	Cherubini	<i>Adolphe et Clara</i>	Dalayrac	12
3	<i>Aline, reine de Golconde</i>	Berton	<i>Alexis</i>	Dalayrac	12
4	<i>Une Folie</i>	Méhul	<i>Les Deux petits Savoyards</i>	Dalayrac	12
5	<i>Les Visitandines</i>	Devienne	<i>Blaise et Babet</i>	Dezède	12
6	<i>Richard cœur de lion</i>	Grétry	<i>L'Épreuve villageoise</i>	Grétry	12
7	<i>Maison à vendre</i>	Dalayrac	<i>Le Jugement de Midas</i>	Grétry	12
8	<i>Gulistan</i>	Dalayrac	<i>Le Tableau parlant</i>	Grétry	12
9	<i>Ma tante Aurore</i>	Boieldieu	<i>Zémire et Azor</i>	Grétry	12
10	<i>Felix</i>	Monsigny	<i>Le Médecin turc</i>	Isouard	12
11	<i>L'Opéra comique</i>	Della-Maria	<i>Joseph</i>	Méhul	12
12	<i>Cendrillon</i>	Isouard	<i>La Belle Arsène</i>	Monsigny	12
13	<i>Zémire et Azor</i>	Grétry	<i>Aline, reine de Golconde</i>	Berton	11
14	<i>Le Jeune prude</i>	Dalayrac	<i>Lodoïska</i>	Cherubini	11
15	<i>Le Prisonnier</i>	Della-Maria	<i>Maison à vendre</i>	Dalayrac	11
16	<i>Adolphe et Clara</i>	Dalayrac	<i>Philippe et Georgette</i>	Dalayrac	11
17	<i>Monsieur Deschalanceux</i>	Gaveaux	<i>Le Petit matelot</i>	Gaveaux	11
18	<i>Le Secret</i>	Solié	<i>Cendrillon</i>	Isouard	11
19	<i>Ambroise</i>	Dalayrac	<i>Paul et Virgine</i>	Kreutzer	11
20	<i>Les Deux petits Savoyards</i>	Dalayrac	<i>Les Prétendus</i>	Lemoine	11

Table 23. A comparison of popular works in Paris and the provinces 1801-1814

What is more interesting are the works that in a way defy logic. *Avis au public* (Piccini) only enjoyed 37 performances in Paris but is found in 10 of the theatres and arrondissements. *Avis aux femmes* (Gaveaux) despite receiving only a few less performances in Paris (31) was only noted in two of the provincial theatres. Some works had such small initial runs that it is surprising they were taken up at all: *Le Baiser et la quittance* (Méhul et al) had just five performances and *Le Déjeuner des garçons* (Isouard) six performance and yet were both represented in three of the provincial arrondissements. *Joseph* (Méhul) had a comparatively small initial run in Paris (44 performances) but was extremely popular in the provincial theatres. The provincial theatres did not just slavishly follow the fashions of Paris.

Before considering the effects of the Restoration on the provincial repertoire, there is an interesting reinforcement of the concept of a core of works that was almost without fail being played in the majority of towns. In the French-speaking town of New Orleans, in the Spanish-governed state of Louisiana there is evidence of performances of French opera from 1792. By 1796 'there were performances of operas by André Grétry (1741-1813), Nicolas Dalayrac (1753-1809) and Nicolas Dezède (1747-1792), remarkable in a town which, in the 1790s, numbered about twelve thousand people, half white, half African American slaves.'<sup>457</sup> Between 1803 and 1815 over 700 performances of about 150 different operas by fifty composers were performed in New Orleans. Most of the contemporary French repertoire was performed including *Joseph* (Méhul), *Les Deux journées* (Cherubini), and even the anti-clerical *Les Visitandines* (Devienne). It would appear that the theatre in New Orleans mimicked that of 'old' Orleans, or any other French provincial town.

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<sup>457</sup> Dizikes, John. *Opera in America: A Cultural history* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 25

## 6.4 The Restoration (1815-1830)

Following the Restoration, and over the subsequent fifteen years, twenty-nine new works were introduced at the Opéra. Twenty-one were withdrawn within a very short period of time, often having not achieved a handful of billings. Operas that enjoyed more than a passing success were *Aladin* (Isouard, 1822), *Le Siege de Corinthe* (Rossini, 1826), *Moïse* (Rossini, 1827), *La Muette de Portici* (Auber, 1828), *Le Comte Ory* (Rossini, 1828) and *Le Dieu et la bayadère* (Auber, 1830). *Aladin* elicited great interest as it was lavishly produced with initial costs reaching 170,000frs. It was billed fifty-three times in 1822 alone. *La Muette de Portici* was an immediate success and achieved its hundredth performance at the Opéra by 1830. When performed in Brussels, 25 August 1830, it acted as a catalyst for the Belgian Revolution.

Although Parisian music-lovers were used to Italians in their city, the Théâtre-Italien took on a new significance. Paris was taken by storm by the Rossini phenomenon.<sup>458</sup> Stendhal wrote in the introduction to *La Vie de Rossini*, 'Since the death of Napoleon another man has appeared who is talked about every day in Moscow as in Naples, in London as in Vienna, in Paris as in Calcutta.' Rossini became a Parisian institution. Eugène Scribe collaborated on a vaudeville entitled *Rossini à Paris*.<sup>459</sup> It appeared Paris was torn between the *dilettante* and the *anti-dilettante*.<sup>460</sup> Not only did Rossini's own works dominate the Théâtre-Italien, but he also helped

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<sup>458</sup> A recent account of Paris and Rossini during the Restoration and Second Empire, Barber, Patrick, *La Vie quotidienne à l'Opéra au temps de Rossini et de Balzac* (Paris: Hachette, 1987) trans. Robert Luoma as *Opera in Paris, 1800-1850: A Lively History* (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus, 1995).

<sup>459</sup> The plot of the vaudeville revolves around mistaken identity when the *dilettantes* believe that an obscure French composer is their expected hero. Walton, B., *ibid.*, 30.

<sup>460</sup> A good account of the reception in Paris of Rossini: Walton, Benjamin, 'Rossini in France' in *The Cambridge Companion to Rossini* ed. by Emanuele Senici, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 25-36.



introduce Bellini and Donizetti to the Parisian stage. The *bel canto* operas of these three composers were to radically affect the development of opera in France. One composer less than enamoured with the changes was Berlioz. To Berlioz, the new direction was an anathema being so removed from the world of Gluck and Spontini.

More than once I debated with myself the possibility of mining the Théâtre-Italien and blowing it up one evening, along with all the congregation of Rossinians. Whenever I met one of the hated tribe of *dilettante* I would glare at him with the eye of a Shylock and growl, "Dog! Would that I might impale thee on a red-hot stake."<sup>461</sup>

However, Berlioz was almost a voice in the wilderness and audiences flocked to hear the works of Rossini. For the provinces, the move to *bel canto* continued the trend towards the necessity for troupes having singers who could act rather than *comédiens* who happened to have reasonable voices.

Although the Théâtre-Italien was adding a number of very significant works to the canon, most activity of the principal theatres was found at the Opéra-Comique. Taking information from the study by Olivier Bara it is possible to build up a picture of this animation during a period that also enjoyed considerable artistic success.<sup>462</sup> 167 new works were introduced over the 17 years from 11 April 1814 to 27 July 1830. In addition there were the works from earlier decades that still enjoyed popularity. Bara gives a number of statistical summaries of the period the Restoration, three of which help to explain the success of certain works in the provincial theatres. The first example, table 25, lists the ten principal composers at the Opéra-Comique.

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<sup>461</sup> Berlioz, *Memoirs*, 77.

<sup>462</sup> Bara, Olivier *Le Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique sous la Restauration* (Hildesheim: George Olms, 2001).

Composer	Number of performances at O-C	Number of titles in repertoire
Boieldieu	2050	(16)
Isouard	1348	(17)
Dalayrac	1319	(25)
Auber	1034	(13)
Grétry	949	(22)
Hérold	685	(13)
Berton	660	(14)
Kreubé	564	(16)
Méhul	410	(8)
Carafa	329	(9)

Table 24. Ten most performed composers at the Opéra-Comique, 1815-1830.<sup>463</sup>

However, league tables are not always as clear as they would first appear. The figures seem to suggest that Boieldieu was the most successful composer during the period of the Restoration. But was Dalayrac more popular with audiences than Auber? The thirteen titles of Auber amassed a total of 1034 performances compared to the 1319 performances of 25 works by Dalayrac. The first work by Auber did not enter the canon until 27 January 1820 whereas Dalayrac was already in performance before 1814, the date that Bara starts his analysis. The smallest number of performances for any one work by Auber was *Fra Diavolo* (49); but that 49 was from the first performance on 28 January 1830 to 27 July 1830. 60% of Dalayrac's 25 titles failed to reach 49 performances, with five of his works having ten or less outings over the 17 years. The tables are giving bald facts that are hiding subtle changes.

Bara similarly produced a summary table of the 40 most performed works in Paris. From Bara's longer list, table 26 extracts the 'top-ten' titles by number of performances.

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<sup>463</sup> Bara, op cit. 'Table 7 – The Principal 10 Composers', 142-6.

No. of performances to 1815-30	Title	Composer	Date of 1 <sup>st</sup> Performance
369	<i>Le Nouveau seigneur du village</i>	Boieldieu	1813
310	<i>Joconde</i>	Méhul	1814
290	<i>La Dame blanche</i>	Boieldieu	1825
276	<i>Jean de Paris</i>	Boieldieu	1812
261	<i>Le Calife de Bagdad</i>	Boieldieu	1800
249	<i>Les Rendez-vous bourgeois</i>	Isouard	1807
200	<i>Adolphe et Clara</i>	Dalayrac	1799
192	<i>Edmond et Caroline</i>	Kreubé	1819
189	<i>Les Deux jaloux</i>	Gail	1813
188	<i>Richard Cœur de Lion</i>	Grétry	1784

Table 26 'Top-ten' performed works at the Opéra-Comique 1815-1830.<sup>464</sup>

The table highlights the dominance of the repertoire by Boieldieu, not least the phenomenal success that *La Dame blanche* was enjoying as it averaged over 50 performances each year from its premiere in 1825. 60% of the ten most performed titles were composed within the 20 years from 1810-1830 with only two works having been composed before 1800.

One other analysis by Bara is particularly revealing. In an analysis of 167 works presented between 1814 and 1830, Bara has a column for the number of times that a work was produced from 1814 to 1827 and then a final column for the performances between 1828 and April 1830.<sup>465</sup> Of the 152 works introduced from 1814 most had fairly short existences and only 33 of them remained in the repertoire by 1830. Fifteen new titles were added between 1828 and April 1830. Of the works in repertoire at the Opéra-Comique in 1829, half were from the immediate past decade, just under a quarter were composed between 1810 and 1819, and 9 were from 1800 to 1809. Of earlier works, only six titles remained in the repertoire from 1790-99 and just one title from

<sup>464</sup> Bara, 'Table 8 – Les 40 œuvres les plus jouées à l'Opéra-Comique sous la Restauration', 146-7.

<sup>465</sup> Bara, 'Table 4 – Les 167 créations du 11 avril 1814 au 27 juillet 1830', 83-101.

each of the decades before those dates with the earliest surviving work being *Le Tableau parlant* (Grétry, 1769).<sup>466</sup> There had been a great deal of activity, but also a great number that had extremely short stage careers.

Towards the end of the Bourbon Monarchy a fourth lyric theatre helped give an impetus to the provincial repertoire – the Odéon mounted opera from 1824-1828. The theatre was licensed to perform opéra comique that had fallen into the public domain, translations of German and Italian works (duly ‘Frenchified’) and pasticcios – musical compilations adapted to dramas. The theatre had Rossini and Meyerbeer write for it and accordingly walked a fine line between the restrictions of its licence and the rivalry of the major houses. For the provinces, the translations of Italian and German works for French audiences, which were performed at the Odéon, were of particular significance. Castil-Blaze’s editions will be considered later as they give a remarkable picture both of provincial performing practice and, arguably, standards.<sup>467</sup>

However, having considered what was happening in the four lyric theatres of Paris, how far was the activity mirrored in the provinces? The first example, table 27, replicates a trimestriel return for April 1816 at the theatre in Nîmes. There are a number of features that are of interest. The directeur at Nîmes was Alexis Singier. Singier was a distinguished provincial directeur who served the south of France from Avignon to Perpignan. Promoted to Lyon he directed the first provincial performance of *Le Barbier de Seville*, which is discussed later. The list is a reminder of the regularity that programmes changed and the fact that evenings were made up of a number of works

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<sup>466</sup> Bara, op.cit., information taken from table 4, 83-101 and table 6, 130-38.

<sup>467</sup> The regulation and the significance of the repertoire performed at the Paris Odéon is discussed in Everist, Mark, *Music Drama at the Paris Odéon 1824-1828* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

and genres. The columns of receipts and expenses show that audiences could be very thin on the ground but that some evenings certainly were *succès de recettes*:

1815-1816 Season			Directeur – Alexis Singier	1 <sup>er</sup> trimestre Receipts/Expenses
April	2	Sun	<i>Médée, La Grand père</i>	424.10/200.25
1815	6	Thurs	<i>Cendrillon, Adolphe et Clara</i>	91.15/192.50
	7	Fri	<i>Fausse magie, Piété filiale, Lulli et Quinault</i>	45.40/152.25
	9	Sun	<i>L'Oncle valet, Ninon, Chambre à coucher</i>	271.60/169.25
	10	Mon	<i>Avis au public, Camille</i>	59.45/153.55
	11	Tues	<i>Deux jaloux, Le Pèlerin blanc</i>	64.55/159.50
	13	Thurs	<i>L'Abbé de l'épée, Gulnare</i>	89.55/170.25
	14	Fri	<i>Monténéro, Le Chaudronnier de St. Flour</i>	24.75/154.25
	16	Sun	<i>Jeannot et Colin, M. Crieule, Duel singulier</i>	237.45/180.25
	17	Mon	<i>L'Homme sans façon, Jeune femme colère</i>	53.50/151.50
	18	Tues	<i>Euphrosine, Tresor supposé</i>	77.20/154.50
	20	Thurs	<i>Auberge de bagnères, M et Mme David</i>	105.60/170.25
	22	Sat	<i>Deux jaloux, Lulli et Quinault, Le Grand père</i>	238.40/170.25
	23	Sun	<i>Jocrisse aux enfants, Barbe-rousse, Jadis et aujourd'hui</i>	292.45/168.25
	24	Mon	<i>Paul et Virginie, Mari de circonstance</i>	56.45/180.25
	25	Tues	<i>Femme jaloux, Magicien sans magie</i>	26.25/155.25
	27	Thurs	<i>Françoise de Foix, L'Innocent</i>	64.25/176.25
	30	Sun	<i>Picaros et Diego, La Fille mal gardé</i>	324.85/168.25c.

Table 26. Trimestriel report, Nîmes April 1815.<sup>468</sup>

*Médée, Picaros et Diego, Jadis et aujourd'hui, Ninon, Chambre à coucher* and *Jeannot et Colin* attracted good audiences, but there again, throughout France, Sundays seem to have been the evening when most people attended the theatre. The next most popular evening tended to be Thursday. On Friday 14 and Tuesday 25 April there can hardly have been three-dozen in the audience. The orchestra and cast would have literally exceeded the audience.

The second example from the Restoration, appendix 3, page 330, is taken half way through the period of the Bourbon monarchy. The analysis is compiled from the returns of two *troupes d'arrondissements* and the seasons that their directeurs proposed

<sup>468</sup> The trimestriel report, or accounts, for April were sent to the mayor of Nîmes by Singier. He also sent a copy to the préfet ADGard 4T17.

for 1823.<sup>469</sup> The troupe of directeur Stradin toured a circuit of Auch, Agen, Albi, Cahors, Castres, Dax, Figeac, Montauban and Mont-de-Marsan in what is now the region of Aquitaine–Midi-Pyrénées, whilst that of Gautrot was centered on Troyes, 95 miles northwest of Dijon, and serving Auxerre, Avallon, Bar-sur-Aube, Joigny, Sens and Tonnerre in the region Burgundy–Champagne. Both troupes were serving circuits of comfortable, and slightly nondescript, market towns, but some 200 miles apart. To the list of works that were common to both theatres has been added whether the operas were also on the stage of the Opéra-Comique using information generated from the summaries by Bara.<sup>470</sup>

In Troyes, Directeur Gautrot proposed 138 *opéras* of which 126 were also in the repertoire that Stradin proposed for Auch. As can be seen, over 90% of the titles were common to both theatres. The 138 operas were the work of thirty-seven composers, but, as in previous decades, the repertoire was dominated by a handful of composers. Five composers contributed over half of the titles. In itself that fact is not surprising, but a closer analysis shows that the fortunes of the composers who had dominated the earlier periods were changing. The five principal composers were: Grétry (18 titles), Dalayrac (17 titles), Gaveaux (11), Isouard (10) and Boieldieu (8). The list reflects the changing fortunes of some of the composers. Compared to the earlier list of 1789-1815 a large number of composers have fallen out of public favour. Bruni was represented by just a single title. A third of Berton's titles have disappeared. The one interesting addition is *Le Barbier de Seville*. In 1821, the French language edition by Castil-Blaze had been premiered in Lyon and the work had begun its very successful history in the

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<sup>469</sup> The information for Troyes and Auch was compiled from repertoire lists deposited with the prefecture – ADAube T308 and ADGers I 013.4 respectively.

<sup>470</sup> Bara, op cit, 'Table 4 – Les 167 créations du 11 avril 1814 au 27 juillet 1830', 83-101.

provinces. The performances in both Auch and Troyes predate the appearance at the Odéon in 1824. Apart from *Le Barbier de Seville* the programmes in the two towns were not particularly innovative. However, they act as a useful reminder of how quite distant theatres were working to remarkably similar repertoires. The transference of the Rossini craze from Paris to the provinces is equally fascinating.

The historian and music critic François Henri Joseph Blaze, known as Castil-Blaze, had an extremely jaundiced view of the provincial theatres if the picture expounded in *De l'Opéra en France* is to be taken at face value. Castil-Blaze's account of the provincial theatres can either make hysterically amusing or extremely depressing reading:

On y trouverait assez des chanteurs pour former une bonne troupe, et elles sont toutes détestables. Il est bien difficile d'accorder Plutus avec Apollo.

En province les chœurs sont chantés par les acteurs eux-même. Les chœurs des femmes surtout sont véritable cacophonies.

*Cendrillon* par chanteurs dont les voix glapissantes étaient soutenues par un aigre violon...<sup>471</sup>

One wonders why, if the conditions were as universally bad as he would have us believe, he would contribute performing editions for the provincial theatres: editions that would not cater for, or overcome, the problems that he had listed in his *savant's* view of life outside Paris. For the moment it is Castil-Blaze the composer and arranger who is of particular interest rather than Castil-Blaze the historian and critic.

Replying to criticism of his arrangement of *Der Freischütz* (Weber), which appeared as *Robin des bois*, Castil-Blaze wrote 'it was common knowledge that foreign

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<sup>471</sup> 'Women's choruses that were cacophonous', 'singers and troupes that were detestable' and 'shrieking voices supported by a sour violin', these and other stories of evenings in provincial theatres would confirm the prejudiced superiority that Paris felt about life away from the capital. They make good after-dinner anecdotes but the veracity is questionable. Castil-Blaze, *De l'Opéra en France* (1820) II, 252-88, in particular, 256, 260 and 262.

operas were successful in France only if rearranged according to French dramatic methods' (*Débats* 25/01/1826). The specific arrangement of Weber made Castil-Blaze a controversial and highly vilified figure in the history of French opera. 'The arch-villain of the [Berlioz] *Memoirs* (an honour of sort) is the critic and arranger Castil-Blaze.'<sup>472</sup> Berlioz, on hearing of a pirated edition of the overture to *Les Francs Juges* by the publishers Hoffmeister of Leipzig, fulminated that it was 'so truncated and hacked about in the manner perfected by Castil-Blaze that it was scarcely recognized.'<sup>473</sup> However, it is the arrangement of two works by Rossini that are of particular interest. They are interesting for a number of reasons. On one level, the editions demand a reappraisal of Castil-Blaze and whether he deserves the degree of disparagement that has been heaped upon him.<sup>474</sup> Likewise, they are interesting as a window into the performing practices of provincial theatres. Lastly, as both the French language editions of *Le Barbier de Seville* and *Othello* were premièred in Lyon, especially after his own disparaging remarks about provincial theatres, what do the editions imply about the standards and capabilities of the provincial troupes?

*Le Barbier de Seville*, in the French language arrangement by Castil-Blaze, was premièred at the Grand Théâtre, Lyon, on 19 September 1821, almost three years before it appeared in Paris on the stage of the Odéon (6 May 1824). Between those dates it was certainly produced in Marseille (18 December 1821), Douai (26 July 1822), and

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<sup>472</sup> Kolb Katherine, 'Plots and Politics: Berlioz's Tales of Sound and Fury' in *Berlioz: Past, Present and Future* ed. by Peter Bloom, (Rochester, N. Y.: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 85.

<sup>473</sup> Cairns, David, *Berlioz: Servitude and Greatness* (London: Penguin, 1999), II, 126.

<sup>474</sup> The reappraisal is already underway, most notably in Everist, Mark, *Giacomo Meyerbeer and Music Drama in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 19-64, which originally appeared as 'Lindoro in Lyon' *Musicologica* 64/1 (1992), 50-85.



Auch, Perpignan, Rennes, Rouen, Strasbourg and Troyes during 1823.<sup>475</sup> The comments Castil-Blaze had made about the capabilities of provincial troupes might have led us to expect that the opera would have been simplified to a play with added airs. The reality was a reworking that went back to the Beaumarchais' play and retained the majority of Rossini's music. Minor rhythmic and melodic alterations had to be made to accommodate the translation. Mark Everist makes the point that Beaumarchais' *Le Barbier de Seville* was in the repertoire of the Grand Théâtre and so audiences would have an acquaintance with story and characters.<sup>476</sup> Although Everist, in the article 'Lindoro in Lyon', gives a fascinating detailed analysis of both the textual changes and musical differences that Castil-Blaze introduced, the provincial performing practices become easier to understand when the 1822 score is compared with a modern edition. The initial separately printed libretto and 1822 score, both printed with details of the cast for the first performance in Lyon, accord.<sup>477</sup> Subscribers for the arrangements by Castil-Blaze, published by Laffillé in his *Répertoire d'opéras traduits*, include both Schaffner, the musical director of the Grand Théâtre and Alexis Singier the directeur.<sup>478</sup> Appendix D, in the parallel document, compares the order of movements in the full-score of *Le Barbier de Seville* Rossini / Castil-Blaze with the G. Schirmer 1962 vocal score.

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<sup>475</sup> The date for Lyon is taken from the note on the cover of the score, BL, Hirsch II.804; Marseille – Bonnot, I., *Divines Divas* (1987), 142; and those for Perpignan – Tisseyre, C., *Le Théâtre Municipal...* (1996), 109; Rennes – Le Moigne-Mussat, *Musique et Société à Rennes*, 422; Rouen – Goubault, *La Musique...au Théâtre-des-Arts*, 62; Strasbourg – Deck, Pantaleon, *Histoire du Théâtre Français à Strasbourg*, 295; Douai – Gosselin, Guy, *L'Âge d'or de la vie musicale à Douai 1800-1850* (Liège: Mardaga, 1994), 206.

<sup>476</sup> Everist, 'Lindoro in Lyon' (1992), 79-80.

<sup>477</sup> The score – BL Hirsch ii.804 and the libretto from *N° 3 du repertoire de M. Castil-Blaze* (Paris: La Lyre Moderne, 1822)

<sup>478</sup> Everist, (1992), 61-2.

Certain numbers were moved for dramatic purposes and to conform more with the Beaumarchais original rather than Rossini's librettist Sterbini. Most significantly 'La calunnia', 'c'est d'abord', Act 1, viii to Act II, iv. The storm is earlier, an entr'acte at the end of Act III. The music lesson is given to borrowings from *Tancredi* and Méhul's *Bion*. The major change is the suppression of most of the recitative and its replacement by spoken dialogue. Most of the airs, ensembles and sections with chorus remain. There are no simplifications. There is also an interesting omission in Act IV. In the libretto, Act IV, sc. iv, there is text for a recitative passage followed by an air. However, there is a codicil which states that 'pour la province, cette scène peut-être declamée'. The provincial actors had no alternative but to speak the lines, as there was no musical setting for the text in the score.<sup>479</sup> This appears to validate the score as a performing edition for the provinces. The Castil-Blaze / Rossini score makes no concessions to the provincial troupe. From the performance in Lyon, *Le Barbier de Seville* rapidly entered the provincial repertoire.

As had happened with the introduction of the works of composers such as Boieldieu, the technical demands on singers were far removed from the opéra comique of the eighteenth century and composers such as those by Monsigny whose works could be performed by actors with a reasonable voice. That Rossini was performed in the provinces has to disprove the claims that portrayed the provincial theatres as musically inadequate. The fact that, 50 years after the performance in Lyon, a new edition of the opera, with a French translation by Desjardins and E. Potier (1872), kept the opéra comique format of music with spoken dialogue giving credence to the Castil-Blaze

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<sup>479</sup> The libretto and score referred to are BL2296.f.10 and BL Hirsch ii.804.

edition as being dramatically sound.<sup>480</sup> Castil-Blaze had provided the provinces with a performing edition that was faithful both to Rossini and Beaumarchais. As Castil-Blaze was also a practical man of the theatre, it is hardly likely that this edition for the provincial theatres would make unrealistic demands on the very troupes it had been prepared for.

Two years after *Le Barbier de Seville* was produced in Lyon the company staged Rossini's *Othello*. As a play, *Othello* was known in the provinces in an edition by the playwright Jean-François Ducis. Ducis is credited with introducing Shakespeare to the French stage. His French language editions of *Hamlet* (1769), *Romeo et Juliette* (1778), *Le Roi Lear* (1783), *Macbeth* (1784) and *Othello* (1792) all enjoyed success, despite displaying scant relationships with the originals. At the first performance of *Othello* the audience had been profoundly shocked at the murder of Hédelmone [Desdemona], several women had fainted. After that performance, Ducis improved the original by staying Othello's hand by a last-minute revelation. He even offered theatre managers an alternative to Shakespeare's distressing dénouement – one with wedding bells.<sup>481</sup> As a play, the ending had to be toned down: as an opera, Rossini made no such concessions.

The Castil-Blaze edition of Rossini was first performed in Lyon on 1 December 1823 under the direction of Singier. As with *Le Barbier de Seville*, the libretto lists the cast of the Lyon performance. Damoreau, who had sung Almaviva was now cast as Rodrigue and Mlle Folleville, Rosine, played Edelmone (sic).<sup>482</sup> Again libretto and

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<sup>480</sup> Rossini, G., *Le Barbier de Seville*, paroles françaises E. Potier (Paris: Éditions bijou, 1872), BL C.444.a.

<sup>481</sup> The contribution of Ducis introducing the works of Shakespeare to France and the details of the performance of *Othello*, Pemble, John, *Shakespeare goes to Paris* (London: Hambledon and London, 2005), 95-100.

<sup>482</sup> Details from libretto *Othello, ou le More de Venise* (Paris: chez Castil-Blaze, 1823), BL 011768.e.14.

score accord for the performance in Lyon.<sup>483</sup> The opening chorus is for male voices in 4 parts, tenors and basses divided and, similarly, after Iago's duo with Othello the male chorus is divided into tenor I, tenor II and bass. The main changes are the replacement of some, but not all, recitative by spoken dialogue. An air for 'deux soldats amis' is introduced into Act I, sc. iv. Act III, sc. iv has a melodrama with words spoken between orchestral phrases. In the duo between Iago and Othello, Act I, sc. ii, Iago's vocal line has much of the ornamentation removed. Although the libretto does not have diagrammatic blocking, as used in later *livrets des mise-en-scènes*, there is clear guidance, such as in Act II, sc. 10 when there are directions on how the chorus and dancers enter the stage and where they position themselves. The score remains remarkably true to Rossini's original despite some minor simplifications of soloists' melodic lines. Although a letter, rather than a handkerchief caused the confusions, in the opera both Othello and Desdemona died.

In 1844 a translation by Alphonse Royer and Jean Vaëz introduced *Othello* (Rossini) to the Opéra. The Rossini / Castil-Blaze *Othello* remained in the provincial repertoire until displaced by Verdi after the 1891 production in Nice which predated the appearance at the Opéra in 1894.<sup>484</sup>

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<sup>483</sup> The score referred to was the 1824 edition by Castil-Blaze, BL H.385.i.

<sup>484</sup> Pitou, Spire, *The Paris Opera, Growth and Grandeur, 1815-1914* (1990), 979-84.

## 6.5 The House of Orléans and the Second Republic (1830-1848)

After 1830 the lyric theatre began to be dominated by a new genre – grand opera.<sup>485</sup> Grand opera, foreshadowed by Rossini in *La Siège de Corinthe* (1826) and *Moïse* (1827), took the Paris stage by storm in Auber's *La Muette de Portici* and Rossini's *Guillaume Tell*, before reaching its height in such works as *Robert le diable* (Meyerbeer, 1831) *Les Huguenots* (Meyerbeer, 1836) *Gustave III* (Auber, 1833) and *La Juive* (Halévy, 1835).

The revival of the fortunes of the Opéra occurred after 1831 and was effectively brought about by the partnership of Dr. Louis Véron and Meyerbeer. The appointment of Véron on 1 March 1831 changed the ground rules that administered the Opéra. Véron was to direct the theatre on behalf of the State for six years but 'at his own risk, peril and fortune.'<sup>486</sup> Véron set out to make the Opéra pay and he did this by cultivating a wide audience of the bourgeoisie, self-made businessmen and members of the professions whose tastes he understood and shared. Many lacked any extensive education and just wanted their eyes pleased and their ears tickled. Commenting on this period, William Crosten stated that:

While the older aristocracy took its patronage to the Théâtre-Italien the bourgeoisie stormed the doors of the Académie Royale de musique, for there they found an art made in their own image - an art that was at once revolutionary and reassuring, that extended one hand towards Romanticism as it held fast to conventionality with the other.<sup>487</sup>

Crosten's comments about audiences at the separate Paris theatres have been questioned, but the encapsulation of grand opera as both revolutionary and reassuring

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<sup>485</sup> The evolution of opera from the Revolution and through such composers as Cherubini, Méhul and Spontini can be followed in Dent, Edward, J., *The Rise of Romantic Opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976) and more comprehensively in *The Cambridge Companion to Grand Opera* ed. by David Charlton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

<sup>486</sup> Drysdale, John Duncan, *Louis Véron and the finances of the Académie Royale de Musique* (Frankfurt a. M.: Lang, 2003) 102.

<sup>487</sup> Crosten, *French Grand Opera: an Art and a Business* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1948, reprinted New York: Da Capo, 1973) 130.

has validity.<sup>488</sup> Véron, with his lavish masked balls and operas that appealed through spectacle, was able to make the theatre not only the show place of France but also of Europe.

Véron took over his duties on the day that rehearsals started for *Robert le diable*. He immediately showed himself to be a wily administrator by feigning dislike for the work and demanding the government reimburse him for a contract that he had not initiated. Similarly, not entirely convinced of the music he put great reliance in the breathtaking scenes and effects that dominated the five acts. Chief amongst these was the convent scene with damned nuns climbing out of their graves and dancing a bacchanal in front of a magnificent backdrop painted by Cicéri.<sup>489</sup> The July Revolution and Meyerbeer's demands for more and more rehearsals meant that it took over five months of preparation before it reached the stage. When it was finally premièred the accessible melodies, lavish choruses, brilliant orchestrations, sumptuous scenery and costumes immediately seduced Parisian audiences. In less than three years it had reached its hundredth performance in Paris. It was a major talking point amongst musicians and intellectuals. Everyone wanted to see the opera including Heinrich Heine as expressed in his poem *Angelique*:<sup>490</sup>

Wenn ich Billette bekommen kann,	If I can get tickets,
Ben ich sogar kapabel,	that is if I am able,
Dich in die Oper zu führen alsdann:	to take you to the opera:
Man gibt Robert-le-Diable.	then there is <i>Robert le diable</i> .

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<sup>488</sup> Barbier, Patrick, *Opera in Paris* (Portland: Amadeus, 1995), 113-4 repeats the idea of an aristocratic audience at the Italien but this is challenged in Johnson, James H., *Listening in Paris*, (Berkely: University of California, 1995), 182-96 where he talks of an 'elite' audience rather than 'aristocratic' and even more fundamentally in Huebner, Steven, 'Opera audiences in Paris, 1830-1870', *Music and Letters*, 70/2 (1989), 203-58 where the occupations and backgrounds of subscribers are studied.

<sup>489</sup> Phantasmagoria was in vogue in the Romantic period; just a few months earlier Paris audiences had heard the witches' sabbath in the *Symphonie fantastique* of Berlioz.

<sup>490</sup> In reality Heine had little trouble in finding tickets as Meyerbeer, hearing that Heine wished to hear *Robert le diable* for a second time, arranged tickets for a good box, the one belonging to his 'Cerberus-like director'. Letter from Meyerbeer to Heine - Paris, December 1831. Becker, Heinz and Gudrun, *Giacomo Meyerbeer: A life in letters* (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1983), 46.

Es ist ein großes Zauberstück  
Voll Teufelslust und Liebe;  
Von Meyerbeer ist die Musik,  
Der schlechte Text von Scribe.

It is a great magical piece,  
full of Devils lust and love;  
Meyerbeer is the composer,  
Scribe the librettist.

*Robert le diable* was first performed at the Opéra on 22 November 1831 and caused a sensation, not least because of the diabolical orgy. The phenomenal success in Paris encouraged a rapid transfer to the provincial theatres.

In 1835 grand opera was consolidated first with *La Juive* (Halévy) and then on the last day of February 1836 *Les Huguenots* (Meyerbeer). The production costs were respectively 150,000frs and 160,000frs. Although these figures were colossal for the period, by 1832 Véron had raised nightly average receipts at the Opéra from between 1,100frs. and 1,200frs. to 9,000frs. and 10,000frs. for *Robert le diable*. The first night of *La Juive* took 60,000frs. in box office receipts and boxes were sold out for the first twenty performances. In 1835 Véron departed from the directorship of the Opéra, possibly finding himself on the wrong side of Micawber's financial equation: possibly caught between the expectations of his audience and mistrust between himself and a less than sympathetic government commission that oversaw the Opéra.<sup>491</sup> Ironically it was the next directeur, Duponchel, who inherited *Les Huguenots*. As Véron's tenure began so it ended, this time with the directeur seeking recompense for monies paid out on contracts and materials for *Les Huguenots*. Commenting on the scenic rather than the musical elements Heine wrote that 'the name of Véron will live for ever in music history. He has beautified the temple of the Goddess, but has turned her out of it.'<sup>492</sup>

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<sup>491</sup> Drysdale, *Louis Véron*, 160.

<sup>492</sup> Heine, Heinrich, *Über die französische Bühne. Sämtliche Werke Band, xi*. Quoted in Newman, Ernest, *The Life of Richard Wagner* (London: Gollancz, 1933), I, 259.

Similarly, the dictum of Cardinal Mazarin that 'the Opéra sings, it does not pay,' was inverted by Berlioz so that it became, 'the Opéra doesn't sing, but it pays.'<sup>493</sup>

However, the emphasis of grand opera on great effects and contrasts naturally led audiences to expect ever-greater ones. *Le Prophète* (16 April 1849) necessitated a long period of rehearsal and it also seems that no expense was too great. To take just one example, the skaters' ballet in Act III required the inventor of roller skates to be hired to start a skating class at the Opéra to train the dancers.<sup>494</sup> The skaters' ballet, the coronation scene and the explosion of the citadel all provided the visual effects that the audience had come to expect - it was all pure Hollywood a hundred years too soon.

Meyerbeer shaped his work to the particular character of the Parisian stage. He extended the formal structure of grand opera while introducing to the lyric theatre a style that, although full of grandeur, often had a melodic simplicity that charmed the ears of the audiences. The art of the scene painter and machinist were incorporated into the whole, as were the ballets, which ceased to be just diversions. Should the Opéra need to refill its coffers, then a revival of Meyerbeer did the trick and as a result the Opéra went into a period of complacency.

Between 1830 and 1849 forty-five works were added to the repertoire of the Opéra.<sup>495</sup> As in the previous decades the majority of the new works failed to establish themselves but amongst those that did were five significant box-office successes, *Robert le Diable* (Meyerbeer, 1831), *La Juive* (Halévy, 1835), *Les Huguenots* (Meyerbeer, 1836), *La Favorite* (Donizetti, 1840) and *Le Prophète* (Meyerbeer, 1849). A number of other works had initial success but then failed to remain in the long-term repertoire of

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<sup>493</sup> Berlioz, Hector, *Les Soirées de l'orchestre* (Paris: 1852), trans. C. R. Fortescue, (London: Penguin, 1963), 119.

<sup>494</sup> Barbier, Patrick, *Opera in Paris, 1800 – 1850*, 53.

<sup>495</sup> Soubies, Albert, *Soixante-sept ans à l'opéra en une page* (1893)



the Opéra: *Le Dieu et la Bayadère* (Auber, 1830), *La Philtre* (Auber, 1831), *Gustave III* (Auber, 1833), *Guido et Ginevra* (Halévy, 1838), *Le Lac des Fées* (Auber, 1839), *La Reine de Chypre* (Halévy, 1841), *Le Guerillero* (Thomas, 1842), *Charles VI* (Halévy, 1843), *L'Âme en peine* (Flotow, 1846) and *Robert Bruce* (Rossini, 1846).

There were also a number of works that transferred to the Opéra after successful runs at other theatres. *Lucie de Lammermoor* was popular with audiences and had been playing at the Théâtre-Italien since 1837. In 1846 *Lucie de Lammermoor* was performed successfully at the Opéra and by 1850 had received 85 billings. Ironically, the French language translation by Royer and Vaëz had originally been conceived as a performing edition for provincial theatres not enjoying the gilt and velvet budgets granted to the national opera house. Two other works that transferred to the Opéra were *Don Juan* and *Le Freyschütz*. *Don Juan* enjoyed success up to 1845, was then dropped from the repertoire before a revival twenty years later finally saw the work become firmly established in Paris. *Le Freyschütz* was in a new French edition that had recitatives added by Berlioz. Amongst the works that failed to please the audiences was *Benvenuto Cellini*. Berlioz had been allowed 29 orchestral rehearsals but this was followed by only four complete performances before the opera was withdrawn.<sup>496</sup>

At the Opéra-Comique, during the same period (1830-1849), over 160 works were premiered.<sup>497</sup> Although the Opéra-Comique was producing on average four times the number of new works than the Opéra, it might appear surprising that the majority had only passing success and that an even smaller proportion survived into the long-term repertoire. The following, table 28, is a list of some of the most successful works

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<sup>496</sup> Cairns, David, *Berlioz Vol.2 Servitude and Greatness* (London: Penguin, 1999), 159-168. Cairns gives a full account of rehearsals and first performance of *Benvenuto Cellini*.

<sup>497</sup> Soubies, *Soixante-neuf ans à l'Opéra-Comique en deux pages* (1894)

at the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique. The starting point for inclusion in the table of the repertoire at the Opéra-Comique has been a work with a run of at least 70 performances in the opening year while that of the Opéra has been set at 40. The first column, of the number of performances, is when only a few months remained in the opening year. The second is either the initial year or the following twelve months as relevant.

Date of Première	Composer	Short form Title	Paris theatre	Initial run in first year	
				No. of performances	
21 November 1831	Meyerbeer	<i>Robert le diable</i>	Opéra	14	47
15 December 1832	Hérold	<i>Pré aux clercs (Le)</i>	O-C	7	145
24 May 1834	Auber	<i>Lestocq</i>	O-C		73
25 September 1834	Adam	<i>Chalet (Le)</i>	O-C	39	64
23 February 1835	Halévy	<i>Juive (La)</i>	Opéra		46
23 March 1835	Auber	<i>Cheval de bronze (Le)</i>	O-C		84
13 October 1836	Adam	<i>Postillon de Longjumeau (Le)</i>	O-C	37	103
21 December 1836	Auber	<i>Ambassadrice (L')</i>	O-C	5	90
02 December 1837	Auber	<i>Domino noir (Le)</i>	O-C	12	60
22 December 1841	Halévy	<i>Reine de Chypre (La)</i>	Opéra	5	45
06 March 1841	Auber	<i>Diamants de la couronne (Les)</i>	O-C		81
26 March 1844	Auber	<i>Sirène (La)</i>	O-C		71
03 February 1846	Halévy	<i>Mousquetaires de la reine (Les)</i>	O-C		104
28 December 1848	Auber	<i>Haydée</i>	O-C	2	76
11 November 1848	Halévy	<i>Val d'Andorre (Le)</i>	O-C	23	86
16 April 1849	Meyerbeer	<i>Prophète (La)</i>	Opéra	37	49

Table 28. Lyric works with significant initial runs in Paris 1830-1849

The final Parisian stage to be considered is that of the Théâtre-Italien. The 1820s had been very much dominated by Rossini. The following decade Rossini, while maintaining his own position, was joined by a group of other composers. In 1839 there were 33 evenings dedicated to the works of Rossini, 29 to Donizetti and 17 to Bellini.<sup>498</sup> Nominally the direction of the Italien was in the hands of Severini. For political reasons Rossini was happy to remain in the shadows while maintaining a right to appoint singers and conductors; the choice of repertoire was also still very much in his hands.<sup>499</sup> It was a period when many of the *bel canto* operas of Donizetti and Bellini were introduced to

<sup>498</sup> Barbier, *Opera in Paris*, 185.

<sup>499</sup> Johnson, Janet, 'Rossini: Artistic Director of the Théâtre-Italien 1830-1836', *Revue de Musicologie* 79/1 (1993), 63-81.

Parisian audiences including *Anna Bolena*, *La Sonnambula*, *Norma*, *L'Elisir d'amore*, *Lucrezia Borgia*, *I Puritani* *Lucia di Lammermoor*, *Linda di Chamounix* and *Don Pasquale*.

The developments in grand opera and the changes in opéra comique make the period from 1830-1849 a particularly interesting one in music history. Even more interesting is seeing how the provincial theatres coped with these changes. There were changes in vocal style and orchestral scoring, changes in the role of chorus and the use of choreography, and there were changes in and staging as the *mise-en-scène* became more specific to the individual work.

Appendix E, in the parallel document, compares the repertoire of three different companies in 1837. The three towns served were Carcassonne (Aude), Draguignan (Var) and Quimper (Finistère).<sup>500</sup> The first two companies were troupes d'arrondissement working from a smaller repertoire than the 117 operas of the sedentary company at Quimper. However, they still had fairly extensive lists with 62 operas in repertoire at Carcassonne and 49 at Draguignan. To put these figures into perspective, the Opéra-Comique staged 38 works in 1837. Two of the works at the Opéra-Comique achieved run-away success, *Le Postillon de Longjumeau* (Adam) was performed 103 times and *L'Ambassadrice* (Auber) 90. Both these works had received their first performance in 1836, 31 October and 21 December respectively.<sup>501</sup> It seems that those two months made all the difference as to whether they appeared in the repertoire of the three provincial towns in this survey. Both Carcassonne and Draguignan included *Le Postillon de Longjumeau* in their programmes but not *L'Ambassadrice*. It is particularly interesting that it was the two touring companies that had incorporated *Le Postillon de*

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<sup>500</sup> The information for the three companies is taken from ADAude 4T19, ADFi 4T17 and ADVar 9T5/1

<sup>501</sup> Details of opening dates and number of performances taken from Soubies, *Soixante-neuf ans à l'Opéra-Comique en deux pages*, (1894).

*Longjumeau* into their repertoires whereas the permanent company at Quimper. Perhaps in Quimper, with so many more works already in repertoire, it was difficult to respond rapidly to the challenge of introducing a large number of new works. It cannot be a question of distance from Paris as Draguignan and Carcassonne are considerably further than Quimper. Of course, it may be simply that the directeur was less adventurous.

Comparing provincial repertoires to those in Paris, two apparently contradictory facts emerge. On the one hand there is a clear correlation between recent successes in Paris transferring rapidly to the provinces. But equally there were a group of works in the provinces that had not been seen in Paris for some time.

Over thirty of the works listed in appendix E were in performance in both Paris and the provinces. *Le Cheval de bronze* (Auber) had been performed 106 times over 1835-6 and, although not in performance at the Opéra-Comique in 1837, had been introduced into Carcassonne, Draguignan and Quimper. *Les Huguenots* (Meyerbeer), dating from 1836, was only in the repertoire of Draguignan, while *La Juive* (Halévy, 1835) was in the repertoire of that theatre and Carcassonne. Both *Zampa* and *Le Pré aux clercs* (Hérold, 1831 and 1832) were performed in all three theatres. *La Vestale* (Spontini) had been on the stage of the Opéra every year from 1807 to 1835 and so it is not surprising that, even though having just been dropped in Paris, it was still in the repertoires of provincial centres like Carcassonne and Quimper. The revival of a work in Paris could prompt renewed interest in the provinces. The 1836 Paris revival of *Les Deux petits Savoyards* (Dalayrac) encouraged a performance in Quimper and, similarly, *Le Bouffe et le tailleur* (Gaveaux), revived in Paris the same year, re-entered the repertoires of Carcassonne and Quimper. The works that achieved only moderate success in Paris transferred less readily to the provinces, cases in point being *Guido et*

*Ginevra* (Halévy) and *Le Dieu et la Bayadère* (Auber). Many of the works in performance had been composed after 1820 with almost 10% of the repertoire in the three sampled theatres from the 1830s.

However, a significant number of works were from earlier decades and, although they had not been seen in the capital for ten, or more, years had remained in the provincial repertoire. *Paul et Virginie* (Kreutzer) had disappeared from Paris in 1827 but was in the repertoire of Draguignan and Quimper. Much of the output of Dalayrac and Grétry could be found scattered between the three towns in provincial obscurity. In turn this prompts the question as to whether the phenomenon of the provincial 'drag' could actually become a stimulus for Paris. The provincial adherence to popular favourites, well after their disappearance from the Parisian stage, might allow a work an opportunity for a second reappraisal or it might even travel back to the capital as provincial artistes and directeurs found promotion to Paris.

Reviewing appendix E, it would appear that the most successful group of composers were Auber, Boieldieu and Dalayrac. However, closer examination indicates that this is only part of a broader picture as the works of Dalayrac were effectively only in the longer list of Quimper. If Quimper is eliminated from the comparison, the picture alters considerably. Needing fewer works while touring, the troupes in Carcassonne and Draguignan tended to concentrate on operas that were particularly in vogue. The much leaner lists of Carcassonne and Draguignon have cut the fat of the earlier decades, as represented by such composers as Dalayrac, Duni, Grétry, and Monsigny, in preference for Auber, Boieldieu, Carafa and Isouard. Comparing the two smaller lists, 75% of the works on the Draguignan list were also being performed in Carcassonne. Significantly, there was also a core of some 31 works that were common to all three theatres:

Adam	<i>Chalet (Le)</i>
Auber	<i>Cheval de bronze (Le)</i>
	<i>Concert à la cour (Le)</i>
	<i>Lestocq</i>
	<i>Fiancée (La)</i>
	<i>Fiorella</i>
	<i>Fra Diavolo</i>
	<i>Maçon (Le)</i>
	<i>Muette de Portici (La)</i>
Bochsa	<i>Lettre de change (La)</i>
Boieldieu	<i>Calife de Bagdad (Le)</i>
	<i>Dame blanche (La)</i>
	<i>Deux nuits (Les)</i>
	<i>Fête du village voisin (La)</i>
	<i>Jean de Paris</i>
	<i>Ma tante d'aurore</i>
	<i>Nouveau seigneur du village (Le)</i>
	<i>Voitures versées (Les)</i>
Carafa	<i>Prison d'Edimburg (La)</i>
Castil-Blaze	<i>Folies amoureuses (Les)</i>
Della-Maria	<i>Opéra comique (L')</i>
	<i>Prisonnier (Le)</i>
Fetis	<i>Vieille (La)</i>
Hérold	<i>Pré aux clercs (Le)</i>
	<i>Zampa</i>
Isouard	<i>Rendez-vous bourgeois (Le)</i>
Lebrun	<i>Rossignol (Le)</i>
Meyerbeer	<i>Robert le Diable</i>
Paer	<i>Maître de chapelle (Le)</i>
Rossini	<i>Barbier de Seville (Le)</i>
	<i>Comte Ory (Le)</i>

From this list it is possible to detect the underlying trend during the 1830s. What is evident is that Auber and Boieldieu dominated the repertoire in the same way that Dalayrac and Grétry had thirty years earlier. Returning to appendix E, the evidence from the density of the shading suggests that Boieldieu was the more performed composer. Both Auber and Boieldieu had eight titles in the repertoires of all three theatres. It is possible to speculate that during the 1830s Boieldieu was at the height of his popularity while Auber was still a rising star.

*La Muette de Portici*, *Robert le Diable*, and *La Juive*, three grand operas that had made such an impact Paris, were in the repertoires of the touring companies. Of

Rossini's compositions *Le Barbier de Seville* was well established in the provincial repertoire as was *Le Comte Ory*. Of the three sampled theatres, *Guillaume Tell* was solely in the repertoire of Quimper.

Table 29, from a sample of returns between 1830 and 1839, shows an analysis of a composer's 'share' of the provincial repertoire as indicated by the number of works in performance. Four composers (Auber, Boieldieu, Dalayrac and Grétry) were instrumental in having provided over a quarter of all the titles in performance.

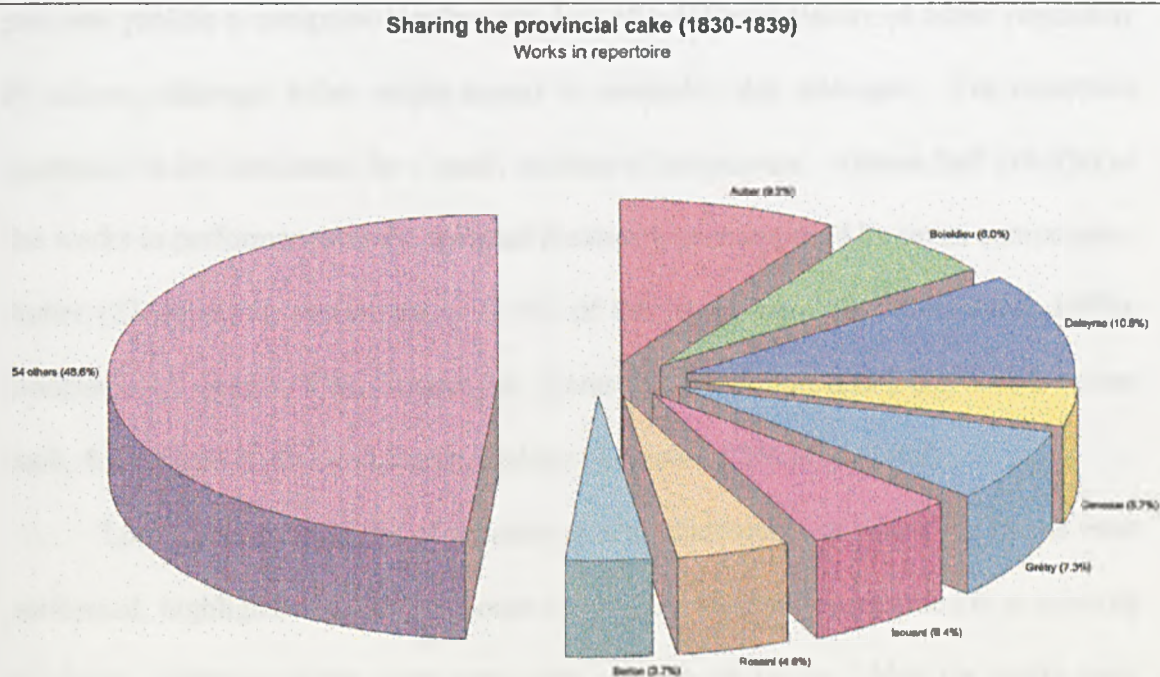


Table 29. Share of provincial repertoire by 'top' eight composers.

However, as has been discussed previously, the number of works in repertoire at a particular time does not necessarily equate with box-office success. Composers such as Dalayrac were being performed in fewer and fewer theatres, while among the 'anonymous' 54 composers who contributed 48.6% of the repertoire were some composers with major successes that were hardly off the provincial stage, a case in point being Meyerbeer.

In the ten years from 1840, trends visible during the first decade from 1830 became even more pronounced. Appendix F, in the parallel document, takes returns and details from the prospectuses of eighteen theatres across France between 1840-1849.<sup>502</sup> The list of works in performance is the smallest for any of the periods between the Revolution and the Great War. However, considering the changes in Paris, most notably the rise of grand opera, this contraction of the repertoire should not be surprising. Composers were producing fewer works but on a grander scale. After 1830 just how prolific a composer was became less of a defining feature of either popularity or success, although Auber might appear to contradict that statement. The repertoire continued to be dominated by a small number of composers. Almost half (49.6%) of the works in performance in the sampled theatres were composed by seven composers – Auber (22 operas in performance, 13.5% of the total), Boieldieu (14 operas, 8.5%), Donizetti (13 operas, 8%), Rossini (9, operas, 5.5%), Adam and Dalayrac (8 operas each, 4.9% respectively) and finally, Halévy (7 operas, 4.3% of the total).

Looking at the number of theatres or arrondissements in which the works were performed, highlights the fact that some composers were only performed in a minority of towns. Dalayrac is the most noticeable casualty as by the 1840s his works were being performed in fewer and fewer theatres. Taking the number of times that works appeared in the theatres, the hierarchy would alter significantly: Auber (132 times in the theatres sampled), Donizetti (80), Boieldieu (69), Halévy (60), Rossini (59) and Adam (56). These new figures have more significance as they reveal Donizetti and Halévy to be the main beneficiaries and Dalayrac the principal loser.

It remains difficult to find a satisfactory indicator of ‘popularity’. Using the formula of total references (the total number of times that titles appeared in all the

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<sup>502</sup> The sources for appendix F and theatres reviewed are acknowledged on the cover of that document.



theatres) divided by number of works, would mean that Dalayrac's 15 references of eight titles would give an average of 1.875. Using the above formula and applying it to a composer such as Meyerbeer, the 26 references to his three titles produces an average of 8.67. From that standpoint it would be easy to argue that Meyerbeer was enjoying significantly more success than Dalayrac by 1849.

The simplest way of assessing the hard to define quality of popularity might just be to look at the extent of the shading on the chart of appendix F. The operas of Halévy would be a justification of this approach. The solid block of shading shows that the majority of all his titles were in half of the sampled theatres. The least performed work in the group by Halévy was *Le Val d'Andorre*, but that can be explained by the fact that the work was only beginning to establish itself in the provinces following its première in Paris in 1848. The same would be true for the two operas by Verdi that appear in the lists.

It is possible to extract a list of the 'top ten' operas from the group of provincial theatres sampled:

1=	(17 theatres)	<i>Le Barbier de Seville</i>	Rossini	(1816)
		<i>Lucie de Lammermoor</i>	Donizetti	(1837)
3	(15 theatres)	<i>La Favorite</i>	Donizetti	(1840)
4=	(14 theatres)	<i>Le Chalet</i>	Adam	(1834)
		<i>La Dame blanche</i>	Boieldieu	(1825)
		<i>Robert le diable</i>	Meyerbeer	(1831)
7=	(13 theatres)	<i>Le Domino noir</i>	Auber	(1837)
		<i>La Juive</i>	Halévy	(1835)
		<i>Le Postillon de Longjumeau</i>	Adam	(1836)
		<i>Zampa</i>	Hérold	(1831)

Lastly it is worth considering some erratics. Two composers feature in the listings through the popularity of single works, *La Lettre de change* (Bochsa) and *Le Maître de chapelle* (Paër). From the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century some works maintained their popularity with audiences, notably: *Les Visitandines* (Devienne), *Richard Cœur de Lion* and *Le Tableau parlant* (Grétry), *Les Rendez vous bourgeois*

(Isouard) and *Joseph* (Méhul). A revival of *Richard, Cœur de Lion* at the Opéra-Comique to mark the centenary of Grétry caused renewed interest in that composer's music and helped maintain him in the provincial repertoire. Similarly, *Les Rendez-vous bourgeois* (Isouard) was revived at the Opéra-Comique in 1848 after a gap of 11 years. However, *Joseph* (Méhul) had not been performed in Paris since 1828. It was revived in 1851 at the Opéra-Comique and is again an example of a work that enjoyed considerable success in the provinces before returning to the capital. There were also two of Spontini's Napoleonic spectacles, *Fernand Cortez* and *La Vestale* that were still in performance in provincial repertoires some 40 years after their initial reception.

Table 30 shows how the fortunes of a group of composers fared during the first half of the nineteenth century. Auber was in the ascendancy after 1820. Berton, Dalayrac, Gaveaux, Grétry, Méhul and Solié were declining throughout the period. Boieldieu, Kreutzer and Isouard all peaked in the period 1815-29 and then began to wane in their popularity. Donizetti and Halévy were both enjoying increasing popularity from 1830 onwards.

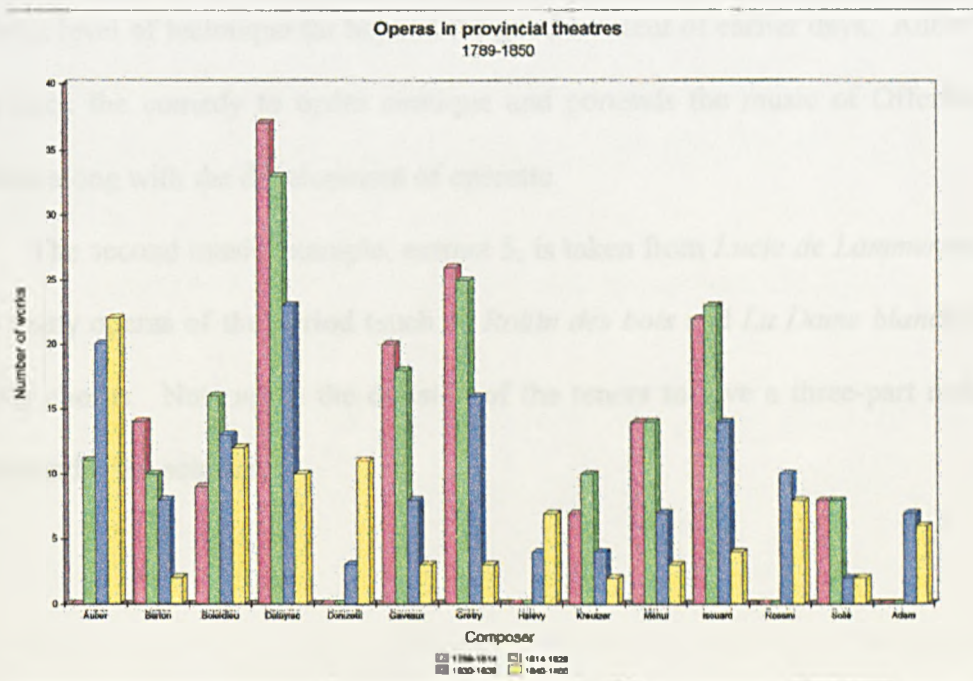


Table 30. Changing fortunes (1789-1850).

What makes the period of the House of Orléans and the Second Republic so significant in the history of the provincial lyric theatre is that at the beginning of the period a critical watershed had been reached. For a company that was specifically designated *troupe d'opéra* then it may have just been a steady evolution. But for towns where the troupe was both a lyric troupe and a drama troupe then there were repercussions that could affect the whole ethos of the company and theatrical seasons. More and more towns began to have shorter dedicated opera seasons with other genres playing for the other months of the year.

Two musical examples from the period 1830-1850 help illustrate ways the lyric works made greater demands on troupes wishing to stage them. The examples are taken from *Le Cheval de bronze* and *Lucie de Lammermoor* (Donizetti).

Music extract 4 is from the trio in Act 1 of *Le Cheval de Bronze*, the metronome marking is *allegro vivace*, minim = 120. As so often with Auber, it is the lightest of confections. Auber is a master of deft orchestration and rapid-fire vocal lines that require a level of technique far beyond the good amateur of earlier days. Auber helped bring back the comedy to *opéra comique* and portends the music of Offenbach and Sullivan along with the development of *opérette*.

The second music example, extract 5, is taken from *Lucie de Lammermoor*. As in so many operas of the period (such as *Robin des bois* and *La Dame blanche*) it is a hunting chorus. Note again the division of the tenors to give a three-part male-voice texture under the solo line.



35

T. J. doux es - poir rien ne lui

T. S. quel de - ses - pour - comment me de - fen - dre al - quel par - ti pre - dre com - ment me de -

T. A. - tend ce - voir quel par - ti va pre - dre mon il - lus - tre gen - dre quel par - ti va

T. S. pre - sa - ge cet es -

T. A. fen - dre al - quel par - ti pre - dre a - ve ce qui ce qui m'at - tend ce

T. A. pre - dre mon il - lus - tre gen - dre a - ve ce qui ce qui l'at - tend ce

T. J. rien ne lui pre - sa -

T. S. voir com - ment me de - fen - dre al - quel par - ti pre - dre com - ment me de - fen - dre al - quel par - ti

T. A. voir quel par - ti va pre - dre quel par - ti va pre - dre mon il - lus - tre gen - dre mon il - lus - tre

13

Extract 4. Act 1 / 2, Trio, *Le Cheval de Bronze* bars 121-133.<sup>503</sup>

<sup>503</sup> Auber, D. F. E., *Le Cheval de Bronze* (Paris: Brandus, Dufour, n.d.)



3

**Norman:**  
 Per - cor - re - le spiag - ge vi - ci - ne,  
 Let us roam thro' these ru - ins de - serted,

**Chorus:**  
 (Sir Henry Ashton's retainers, in hunting-array.)  
**TENORS:** Per - cor - ria -  
**BASSES:** Let us roam -  
 Per - cor -  
 Let us

**Tromb. Cl. Cor. etc. as before.**

del - la tor - re le va - ste ro -  
 Let no long - er the truth be a -  
 - mo le spiag - ge vi - ci - ne,  
 thro' these ru - ins de - sert - ed,  
 ria - mo le spiag - ge vi - ci - ne,  
 roam thro' these ru - ins de - sert - ed,

vi - ne:  
 vert - ed,  
 ca - da il  
 Let the

del - la tor - re le va - ste ro - vi - ne:  
 Let no long - er the truth be a - vert - ed,  
 del - la tor - re le va - ste ro - vi - ne:  
 Let no long - er the truth be a - vert - ed,

14047

Example 5. *Lucie de Lammermoor* Act I, Introductory chorus.

During the period 1830-1850, the demands on soloists increased and the chorus had a significantly more important singing and acting role. Partly for reasons of spectacle, and partly for musical reasons such as divided female or male choruses, it was a role that required numbers to be augmented. Also, the chorus had to be far better trained than in earlier decades. Provincial directeurs could make short cuts and economies. In the *livret* for *La Muette de Portici* the following guidance is offered; the

ballet could be suppressed; in fact anything that was neither an air nor a 'morceau d'ensemble' could be spoken.<sup>504</sup> Many provincial directeurs included dancers in their troupes and had no wish to remove the choreographed sections. Also during the period, the *livrets* did tend to be more prescriptive about costume and scenery. All these changes challenged the provincial directeur, but it was a challenge that was met.

The previous section ended with a discussion of Castil-Blaze and Rossini. It was suggested that the performing edition of *Le Barbier de Seville* and *Othello* belied the accusation of incompetent provincial houses. The performance of the bel canto operas put new demands on singers and orchestras and yet there are reports of extremely strong provincial theatres:

The Théâtre du Capitole at Toulouse was noted for its excellent operatic company, and in the course of the century had virtually abandoned all other forms of theatrical entertainment in favour of serious opera, to the great satisfaction of its music-loving audiences.<sup>505</sup>

It was claimed that during this period to 1850, if anyone wished to hear bel canto sung well it was to Toulouse that they journeyed, rather than to Paris, or even Milan. The establishment of a conservatoire in the city from 1820 aided the situation.<sup>506</sup>

Perhaps hyperbole, but it does seem to support the case of strong provincial centres.

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<sup>504</sup> Cohen H. R., *The Original Staging Manuals for Twelve Parisian Operatic Premières* (Stuyvesant, New York: Pendragon Press, 1991) 59.

<sup>505</sup> Hemmings, *Theatre and State in France*, 151.

<sup>506</sup> The details of Toulouse's reputation in *Le Théâtre du Capitole*, Rivière, Auguste and Jouffray, Alain (Toulouse: Privat, 1978), 60-1.

## 6.6 The Second Empire (1852-1870)

During the Second Empire the introduction of new works into the repertoire of the Paris Opéra was even slower than the previous two decades. The majority of fresh works failed to achieve more than a handful of performances while Labarre's *Pantagruel* had the dubious distinction of being withdrawn immediately after its première on 24 December 1855.

At the Opéra-Comique, although more new works were introduced than at the Opéra, it was not the most distinguished period of the theatre's history. Many of the works had a relatively short stage career, but a policy of playing operas with a successful past history ensured a healthy box-office even if artistic innovation was limited. In the period 1851-1870 nineteen works were rarely off the stage of the Opéra-Comique.<sup>507</sup>

Number of performances	Title	Composer	Original première	Notes
493	<i>La Dame blanche</i>	Boieldieu	1824	
481	<i>Le Chalet</i>	Adam	1834	
428	<i>Le Pré aux clercs</i>	Hérold	1832	
404	<i>La Fille du regiment</i>	Donizetti	1840	
368	<i>Le Domino noir</i>	Auber	1837	
293	<i>Fra Diavolo</i>	Auber	1830	
267	<i>Les Rendez-vous bourgeois</i>	Isouard	1807	
259	<i>Haydée</i>	Auber	1848	
206	<i>Zampa</i>	Hérold	1831	
175	<i>Le Caïd</i>	Thomas	1849	
163	<i>Le Postillon de Longjumeau</i>	Adam	1836	Revived 1861
152	<i>L'Épreuve villageoise</i>	Grétry	1784	
149	<i>Le Maçon</i>	Auber	1825	
137	<i>L'Ambassadrice</i>	Auber	1836	
129	<i>Les Mousquetaires de la Reine</i>	Halévy	1846	
129	<i>Joconde</i>	Isouard	1814	
123	<i>Rose et Colas</i>	Monsigny	1864	Revival 1862-68
116	<i>La Servante maîtresse</i>	Pergolesi	1754	Revived 1862
93	<i>Le Tableau parlant</i>	Grétry	1769	Revival 1853-60

Table 31. Most performed works at the Opéra-Comique (1851-1870)

<sup>507</sup> Figures compiled from Soubies, *Soixante-neuf ans à L'Opéra-Comique en deux pages* (1894)

At the Théâtre-Lyrique during the same period, 177 works were performed of which 125 were new to the stage of that theatre. A third of the new works also enjoyed significant runs. This was in no small part due to the inspired superintendence of one of France's great theatre managers, Léon Carvalho (1825-1897). Carvalho was directeur of the Théâtre-Lyrique from 1856-1867, the Cairo Opera House 1868-1872 (his stewardship coinciding with the first production of *Aida*) and then the Opéra-Comique from 1876-1887. Although he held a personal preference for the lighter works of Auber, Hérold, and Clapisson, he revived Mozart, Weber, Beethoven, Grétry and Gluck while launching the operas of Gounod, Bizet and Berlioz.

Appendix G, parallel document, compares the three principal lyric theatres in Paris and the works that were particularly successful. For the purpose of this analysis success has been determined by an initial run of forty, or more, performances in their first year. Whilst given that the dates are for first performance at the particular named theatre, it does not necessarily imply that this was the first performance in Paris. For example, *Faust* had a run of fifty-seven billings at the Théâtre-Lyrique after its first night in 1859. It was then produced at the Châtelet in 1862, the Ventadour in 1868, before appearing on the stage of the Opéra ten years after its première. Revivals of earlier works with comparable runs have been included. As has been seen, revivals in Paris often gave a new impetus for performances in the provinces.

However, if the previous two decades had been marked by the rise of grand opera then the period from 1850-1870 saw the development of a new genre – opérette – and initially one composer monopolized the stage. Few composers so exactly matched an age as Offenbach whose music reflected the carnival atmosphere of Paris under Napoleon III. The impact and significance of Offenbach is important on a number of levels. Crucially, Offenbach helped develop opéra-bouffe, or opérette, as a distinctive



genre.<sup>508</sup> In 1855, the year of the first great Paris Exposition, early successes encouraged Offenbach to launch his own theatre, Les Bouffes Parisiennes. As all Europe thronged to the Exposition Universelle of 1867, Offenbach consolidated his success with *La Grande Duchesse de Gérolstein* that starred the galvanizing Hortense Schneider. As Paris acted as host to the world at the Exposition, it was equally important for the guests to take in a performance of one of Offenbach's latest offerings. The Prince of Wales, the King of Egypt, the Tsar and countless crowned heads of Europe made their way to the theatre, and so did the Parisians and the many visitors from the provinces. Offenbach had seized the imagination of the age.

Second Empire society lavished their applause on Offenbach, who had become the uncontested master of opéra-bouffe, a genre that, as the songs of the café-concerts, bloomed and flourished throughout the length of the reign.<sup>509</sup>

The success did not just lie in the topicality of some of the satires. In *Orphée aux enfers* Jupiter, a thinly disguised Napoleon III, spends much of his time wenching, while the guardian of morals, Public Opinion makes an unwanted appearance. Flaubert had just been prosecuted for offending public opinion with *Madame Bovary*. Bourgeois correctness and social climbing are gently mocked in *Monsieur Choufleuri chez lui*, while in his boldest satire, *La Grande Duchesse*, the cult of war and the excesses of power are ridiculed. As well as lampooning the politics and conventions of the age, Offenbach enjoyed introducing musical parodies of his fellow composers. Among the composers lampooned were Meyerbeer in *Ba-ta-clan*, Bellini and Rossini in *Monsieur*

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<sup>508</sup> Traubner, Richard, *Operetta* (Oxford: O. U. P., 1983)

Harding, James, *Folies de Paris* (London: Chappell, 1979)

Both these studies give excellent discussions of the development and transformation of Operetta.

<sup>509</sup> 'La société du second Empire prodigua les ovations à Offenbach qui fut alors le maître incontesté de l'opéra bouffe, genre qui, comme la chanson de café-concerts, s'épanouit et fleurit tout le long du règne.' Allem, Maurice, *La Vie quotidienne sous le second Empire*, 227.

*Choufleuri*, Berlioz in *Il Signor Fagotto*, Gluck in *Orphée*, and Wagner in *Tyrolienne de l'avenir*.

The triumph of Offenbach was almost overnight and his works rapidly came to dominate the French stage. George Bernard Shaw, writing some thirty years after the initial triumph, mentions some of the features that endeared Offenbach both to French audiences and beyond. In *The Star*, 20 September 1889, Shaw noted that:

Since Monday, when I saw Offenbach's *Brigands* at the Avenue Theatre, I have been trying to make up my mind whether I run any serious risk of being damned for preferring the profligacy of Offenbach, Meilhac and Halévy...but I warn others solemnly that Offenbach's music is wicked. It is abandoned stuff: every accent in it is a snap of the fingers in the face of moral responsibility: every ripple and sparkle on its surface twits me for my teetotalism, and mocks at the early rising of which I fully intend to make a habit some day.<sup>510</sup>

The monopoly of the stage by Offenbach was at its height between 1860 and 1870 and it was a popularity that transcended national frontiers. As will be shown, the new genre made a significant impact on provincial theatres and their seasons.

The first provincial example, from the period 1850-1869, is from Le Mans and reproduced as appendix H in the parallel document. The repertoire submissions for the theatre in Le Mans are particularly illuminating as they record five consecutive seasons from 1856-1861.<sup>511</sup> What the Le Mans documents illustrate is how a directeur based in a particular town evolved his repertoire over a number of years. It is apparent that certain works were well established, for example *Le Barbier de Seville*; others were introduced and remained, for example *Le Toréador*; while others failed to make any impression and sank back into obscurity. The works are listed in short title. Operas that were introduced within two years of their première in Paris are asterisked. It should be

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<sup>510</sup> Bernard Shaw, *Shaw's Music, The Complete Musical Criticism of Bernard Shaw* ed. D. H. Lawrence, (London: Bodley Head, 1981) I. 783.

<sup>511</sup> AMMans 859.

emphasized that the works marked with an asterisk were not necessarily the only new works to Le Mans, but they do represent successes introduced to Le Mans only a few months after their initial opening in Paris.

Fourteen works were in every season from 1856 to 1861: *Le Barbier de Seville*, *Le Caïd*, *Cendrillon*, *Le Chalet*, *La Fanchonnette*, *La Favorite*, *La Fille du régiment*, *Giralda*, *Haydée*, *Lucie de Lammermoor*, *Le Maître de chapelle*, *La Muette de Portici*, *Le Nouveau seigneur du village* and *Les Rendez-vous bourgeois*. They represent a mix of recent successes from Paris beginning their provincial careers and works from earlier decades that were by then well established with provincial audiences. The beginning of the five-year run of *La Fanchonnette* (Clapissou) is interesting as it had only been premièred on the stage of the Théâtre-Lyrique on 1 March 1856. There is also much to note in the small groups of works that appeared at the end of the decade: *Ba-ta-clan*, *Croque-poule*, *Les Dames des Halles*, *Les Deux aveugles*, *Les Pantins de Violette*, *L'Ours et le pacha*, *Trombalcazar* and *Le Violoneux* all represent the advent of the new genre – opérette.

The repertoire that was performed in Vichy over the same period is equally illuminating. Each year curists wishing to take the waters invaded the town. There was a demand for entertainments, divertissements and concerts. The 1854 *Cahier des charges* allowed three performances a week during the two and a half months of the *saison d'eaux*, Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays from 15 June to 3 August. Evenings were mixed with a programme of comédies and vaudevilles in addition to the lyric work. The *troupe lyrique* was small, for example in 1858 it was made up of just Mme Guiseppina Lemaire (mezzo-soprano), Sophie Dottin (soprano), M Carré (tenor), Osmand Reynal (baryton) and Castel Stanislas (trial). The orchestra was equally reduced – two 1<sup>st</sup> violins, two 2<sup>nd</sup> violins, a viola, two ‘cellos and a bass, a flute, a

clarinet, two trumpets, two horns a trombone and piano. The size of troupe obviously restricted the choice of repertoire.

Composer	1857	1858	1859	1861
Halévy	<i>L'Eclair</i>			
Grisar	<i>Le Chien du jardinier</i>			
Adam	<i>La Marquise</i>			
Massé	<i>Les Noces de Jeannette</i>			
Boulanger	<i>Les Sabots de la marquise</i>			
Adam	<i>La Toréador</i>			
Delibes	<i>Les Deux vieilles gardes</i>			
Offenbach	<i>Les Deux aveugles</i>			
Jonas	<i>Le Duel de Benjamin</i>			
Offenbach	<i>La Nuit blanche</i>			
Offenbach	<i>La Rose de St Flour</i>			
Offenbach	<i>Le Soixante-six</i>			
Dufrène	<i>Venant de Pontoise</i>			
Offenbach	<i>Le Violoneux</i>			
Grétry		<i>Le Tableau parlant</i>		
Isouard		<i>Les Rendez-vous bourgeois</i>		
Carafa			<i>Le Valet de chambre</i>	
Poise			<i>Bonsoir voisin</i>	
Boieldieu			<i>Le Nouveau seigneur</i>	
Paër			<i>Le Maître de chapelle</i>	
Offenbach			<i>Ba-ta-clan</i>	
			<i>Toinette et son carabinier</i>	
Clapisson				<i>La Perruche</i>

Table 32. Lyric repertoire of the summer seasons in Vichy (1857-1859 and 1861)

Isaac Strauss, conductor of the Opéra balls and holder of the seasonal privilège for the Spa, was performing many of the new opérette but he was also going back to a comic repertoire that in some cases had been entertaining for over fifty years.

To summarise the first decade of the Second Empire examples of trimestrial returns and other repertoire lists have been taken from fifteen theatres and arrondissements across France. The documents record some 320 operas, the work of 83 composers and are reproduced as appendix I (parallel document). In the group of theatres that make up the sample, four composers contributed just under a quarter of the total number of works performed. Auber was the most represented composer with thirty of his operas being staged. Adam was the second most prolific composer (20 titles) then Donizetti (15) and Halévy (13). The most performed works were, *Le Chalet*

(Adam), *Le Domino Noir* (Auber), and *Lucie de Lammermoor* (Donizetti). Other works that were enjoying widespread popularity were *Le Postillon de Longjumeau* (Adam), *L'Ambassadrice*, *Les Diamants de la couronne*, *Fra Diavolo*, and *La Muette de Portici* (Auber), *La Dame blanche* (Boieldieu), *La Favorite* (Donizetti), *Le Tableau parlant* (Grétry), *La Juive* (Halévy), *Le Pré aux clercs* and *Zampa* (Hérold), *Les Huguenots* and *Robert le diable* (Meyerbeer), *Barbier de Seville* *Le Comte Ory* and *Guillaume Tell* (Rossini). The fortunes of Boieldieu were beginning to wane although two of his titles remained very popular with audiences – in particular *La Dame blanche*. Of earlier rivals, Dalayrac still had twelve titles being staged but by then in very few towns. Grétry fared better in as much as, although he only had six titles represented in the list, his *opéras comiques* were performed more widely especially old favourites, such as *Le Tableau parlant* and *Richard Cœur de Lion*. Likewise, *Les Rendez-vous bourgeois* (Isouard) survived in the repertoire of many theatres. The four Italians – Bellini, Donizetti Rossini and Verdi – contributed thirty-four titles, over a tenth of the total. The works of Offenbach and Verdi were beginning to enter the provincial repertoire. Another group of composers who were establishing themselves included Clapisson, Maillart, Massé, Poise and Thomas.

Trends that were evident in the first decade of the Second Empire continued into the period from 1860-1869. Three documents from the second decade of the Second Empire help both to summarize the decade and also illustrate typical theatrical seasons. For the theatrical year 1864-65 in Nîmes, the directeur suggested 58 lyric works, other than vaudevilles. The majority of the works were composed between 1840 and 1865. But there were some exceptions, such as *Rose et Colas* (Monsigny) which had been revived at the Opéra-Comique in 1862. *Faust*, *Martha*, *Orphée aux enfers* and *Le Pardon de Ploërmel* were amongst the most recent additions to the repertoire. For

longevity, *Le Tableau parlant* (Grétry) was only five years off the centenary of its first production. *La Dame blanche* (Boieldieu) had enjoyed forty years of success. Table 33 illustrates a lyric season by a resident troupe at the principal theatre of a town, Nîmes.

Title	Composer	First Paris performance
<i>Le Bijou perdu</i>	Adam	1853
<i>Le Chalet</i>	Adam	1834
<i>Giralda</i>	Adam	1850
<i>Les Pantins de Violette</i>	Adam	1856
<i>Le Postillon de Longjumeau</i>	Adam	1836
<i>Si j'étais roi</i>	Adam	1834
<i>Le Toréador</i>	Adam	1849
<i>Les Diamants de la couronne</i>	Auber	1841
<i>Fra Diavolo</i>	Auber	1830
<i>Haydée</i>	Auber	1847
<i>Le Maçon</i>	Auber	1825
<i>La Muette de Portici</i>	Auber	1828
<i>La Part du diable</i>	Auber	1843
<i>Norma</i>	Bellini	1835 in Italian / 1864 in French
<i>La Dame blanche</i>	Boieldieu	1825
<i>Ne touchez pas à la reine</i>	Boisselot	1847
<i>Fanchonnette</i>	Clapisson	1856
<i>Les Deux vieilles gardes</i>	Delibes	1856
<i>La Favorite</i>	Donizetti	1840
<i>La Fille du régiment</i>	Donizetti	1840
<i>Lucie de Lammermoor</i>	Donizetti	1839 in French
<i>Les Martyrs</i>	Donizetti	1840 revived Théâtre-Italien, 1859
<i>Trovalettes</i>	Duprato	1854
<i>Martha</i>	Flotow	1859
<i>Faust</i>	Gounod	1859
<i>L'Épreuve villageoise</i>	Grétry	1784
<i>Richard cœur de lion</i>	Grétry	1784 revived Opéra-Comique, 1856
<i>Le Tableau parlant</i>	Grétry	1769
<i>Bonsoir M. Pantalon</i>	Grisar	1851
<i>Le Chien du jardinier</i>	Grisar	1855
<i>Gilles ravisseur</i>	Grisar	1848
<i>Charles VI</i>	Halévy	1843
<i>L'Éclair</i>	Halévy	1835
<i>La Juive</i>	Halévy	1833
<i>Les Mousquetaires de la reine</i>	Halévy	1846
<i>La Reine de Chypre</i>	Halévy	1841
<i>Zampa</i>	Hérold	1831

Title (continued)	Composer	Date of 1 <sup>st</sup> performance
<i>Les Rendez-vous bourgeois</i>	Isouard	1807
<i>Les Dragons de Villars</i>	Maillart	1856.
<i>La Chanteuse violée</i>	Massé	1850
<i>Galathée</i>	Massé	1852
<i>La Reine Topaze</i>	Massé	1856
<i>Le Pardon de Ploërmel</i>	Meyerbeer	1859
<i>Robert le diable</i>	Meyerbeer	1831
<i>Rose et Colas</i>	Monsigny	revived at Opéra-Comique, 1862
<i>Croquefer</i>	Offenbach	1856
<i>Orphée aux enfers</i>	Offenbach	1858
<i>Le Violoneux</i>	Offenbach	1857
<i>Le Maître de chapelle</i>	Paer	1821 revived 1851
<i>Bonsoir voisin</i>	Poise	1853
<i>Les Charmeurs</i>	Poise	1855
<i>Le Barbier de Seville</i>	Rossini	1819
<i>Othello</i>	Rossini	1821
<i>Le Caïd</i>	Thomas	1849
<i>Songe d'une nuit d'été</i>	Thomas	1850
<i>Jerusalem</i>	Verdi	1847, rev. Théâtre.-Lyrique 1863
<i>Rigoletto</i>	Verdi	1857
<i>Le Trouvère</i>	Verdi	1854

Table 33. Répertoire in Nîmes 1864-5.<sup>512</sup>

The second list is from Auch in 1869, a town that only had a lyric season for just one month after Easter.<sup>513</sup> There were ten works in production, *Si j'étais roi* (Adam), *Haydée* (Auber), *La Dame blanche* (Boieldieu), *La Favorite* (Donizetti), *Faust* (Gounod), *La Juive* and *Les Mousquetaires de la reine* (Halévy), *Les Dragons de Villars* (Maillart), *Rigoletto* and *Le Trouvère* (Verdi). With such a short season the works tended to be chosen from firm favourites of audiences, guaranteed box-office

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<sup>512</sup> (ADGard 8T2)

<sup>513</sup> ADGers VIIIR14

successes. All of the works being staged in Auch were also at the Grand Théâtre, Nîmes.

In Cavaillon and Carpentras the troupe ambulante had a repertoire of fifteen lyric works entirely *opéra-bouffe* and *opérette*.<sup>514</sup> Alongside *Dans les vignes* and *La Fanchonnette* (Clapisson), *Maître Baton* (Dufresne), *Bégaitements d'amour* (Grisar), *Le Roi Boit* (Jonas), *L'Île de Calypso* (Pilato) and *Gredin de Pigoche* (Vogel) were eight works by Offenbach – *Les Deux aveugles*, *Les Deux pêcheurs*, *Monsieur Choufleuri chez lui*, *Une Nuit blanche*, *La Rose de St. Flour*, *Le 66*, *Trombalcazar* and *Le Violoneux*. It is interesting that two works of these lighter works, one by Clapisson, *La Fanchonnette*, and one by Offenbach, *Le Violoneux*, were also in the programme of the Grand Théâtre, Nîmes.

The three examples represent three different approaches to a lyric season. The first was typical of a town with a fairly extended lyric season and where *opérette* was usually performed at the town's secondary theatre. The second example from Auch was of a town that brought in a lyric troupe for the end of the theatrical year. The repertoire performed in Cavaillon and Carpentras was typical of a small touring company that in previous epochs might have had vaudevilles as their only lyric genre. *Opérette* provided small companies with a lyric genre that was not outside their technical abilities: it was also a genre that was the fashion of the moment.

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<sup>514</sup> Return of the troupe ambulante to the préfet, ADVau 4T10.



## 6.7 The Third Republic (1870-1914)

Although opérette maintained its popularity with audiences, there were subtle changes in the libretti post-1870. Romance and sentiment were in favour, completely eclipsing works of a satirical nature. It seems that after the Franco-Prussian War audiences preferred to sigh over a good love story, especially if it was decked out in lavish costumes, rather than laugh at the vices of the prevailing government. It was works such as *La Fille de Madame Angot* (Charles Lecocq, 1872), *Les Cloches de Corneville* (Robert Planquette, 1877), *La Mascotte* (Edmond Audran, 1880), *Les Mousquetaires au couvent* (Louis Varney, 1880), and *Véronique* (André Messager, 1898) that carried the genre forward to the twentieth century.<sup>514</sup> On 26 June 1921, at the opening of the *Conservatoire américain* in Fontainebleau, Saint-Saëns claimed that ‘opérette is the daughter of opera-comique that went astray, not that daughters who go astray are necessarily without charm.’<sup>515</sup>

Despite the continuing popularity of opérette and lighter forms, the Opéra-Comique ended the century on a high point with works such as *Les Contes d'Hoffman* (Offenbach), *Carmen* (Bizet), *Manon* and *Werther* (Massenet), *Le Roi d'Ys* (Lalo), *Le Roi malgré lui* (Chabrier), and *Pelléas et Mélisande* (Debussy).

During the same period the Opéra, housed in the new Garnier palace, regained its glory. Between 1871 and 1890 twenty new works were introduced at the Opéra and then a further sixty-five up to the Great War. Massenet consolidated his position in Paris by having a run of successes at the Opéra, *Le Roi de Lahore* (1877), *Le Cid* (1885), *Thaïs* (1894), *Ariane* (1906) and *Roma* (1912). After an initial run at the

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<sup>514</sup> Traubner, Richard, *Operetta* (Oxford: OUP, 1983), 75-101 and 221-235.

<sup>515</sup> ‘l’opérette est une fille de l’opéra-comique, une fille qui a mal tourné; mais les filles qui tournent mal ne sont pas toujours sans agrément.’ cited Hughes, Gervaise, *Composers of operetta* (London: Macmillan, 1962), 255.

Théâtre-Lyrique Ventadour during 1878, *Aïda* was premièred at the Garnier theatre on 22 March 1880.

Paul Gosling has described how, during the period from 1900-1914, art, poetry, literature, theatre, cinema, music and dance were all being rethought, and primarily in the salons of Paris.<sup>516</sup> One catalyst was the arrival of foreigners on the Parisian stage. This time it was not the Italians, but principally the Russians. Exoticism and extravagance had been seen in Richard Strauss's *Salomé* but it was nothing compared to the excitement caused by Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov* and the ensuing visits by Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes. Chaliapin, Nijinsky, Diaghilev and Stravinsky enthralled and scandalized audiences.

In the provinces economic pressures meant that for the majority of medium-sized towns, such as Caen, Laval or Perpignan, a season that once might have included lyric works throughout the year was reduced to a shorter distinct opera season, usually after Easter and lasting approximately eight weeks. The prospectus for the 1870 opera season in Laval lists the works that were to be performed.<sup>517</sup> Directeur Roumégoux proposed 22 operas:

Composer	Title	1 <sup>re</sup> performed Paris	Composer	Title	1 <sup>re</sup> performed Paris
Adam	<i>Chalet (Le)</i>	1834	Hérold	<i>Pré aux clercs (Le)</i>	1832
	<i>Giralda</i>	1850	Maillart	<i>Dragons de Villars (Les)</i>	1856
	<i>Si j'étais roi</i>	1852	Massé	<i>Galathée</i>	1852
Auber	<i>Haydée</i>	1847		<i>Noces de Jeannette (Les)</i>	1853
Boieldieu	<i>Dame blanche (La)</i>	1825	Rossini	<i>Barbier de Séville (Le)</i>	1824
Donizetti	<i>Don Pasquale</i>	1843		<i>Guillaume Tell</i>	1829
	<i>Favorite (La)</i>	1840	Thomas	<i>Mignon</i>	1866
	<i>Fille du regiment (La)</i>	1840		<i>Songe d'une nuit d'été</i>	1850
	<i>Lucie de Lammermoor</i>	1837	Verdi	<i>Trouvère (Le)</i>	1854
	<i>Lucrece Borgia</i>	1840			
Halévy	<i>L'Éclair (L')</i>	1835			
	<i>Mousquetaires de la reine</i>	1846			
	<i>Val d'Andorre (La)</i>	1848			

Table 33. Proposed lyric season, Laval 1870.

<sup>516</sup> Gosling, Paul, *Paris 1900-1914, The Miraculous Years* (London: Wiedenfeld and Nicolson, 1978)

<sup>517</sup> AMLaval E 96 / 1305

The composer whose works were most represented was Donizetti with 5 titles, followed closely by Adam and Halévy each with three. The production of three of the operas followed revivals in Paris. *La Val d'Andorre* had been revived at the Théâtre-Lyrique, 15 October 1860, *Don Pasquale* had been produced at the same theatre on 9 September 1864 in a new French language edition, while *Les Dragons de Villars* re-entered the repertoire of the Opéra-Comique, 6 June 1868. *Mignon* was the most contemporary work although audiences might have been considered *La Trouvère* a little avant-garde. Five years later in Laval and remarkably little seemed to have changed. Half the works that had been performed in 1870, *Le Chalet*, *La Dame blanche*, *Les Dragons de Villars*, *La Favorite*, *La Fille du regiment*, *Galathée*, *Lucie de Lammermoor*, *Mignon*, *Les Mousquetaires*, *Les Noces de Jeannette* and *Songe d'une nuit d'été* were in the season of the new theatre directeur. Large-scale operas such as *La Juive* (Halévy) *L'Africaine*, *Robert le diable* and *Le Pardon de Ploërmel* rubbed shoulders with the lighter works of Adam and Massé. Both Halévy and Meyerbeer represent a level of spectacle that might not have been expected in smaller cash-strapped provincial centres. *La Traviata* was new to the repertoire of Laval and followed the success at the Théâtre-Lyrique in a new French language edition of 1864. Of the nineteen operas only one was repeated, and that was the most recently composed, albeit nine years earlier, *Mignon*. For theatres in medium-sized towns, post-1870, there appears to be a shift in the pattern of programmes to one that was much more centred on an established repertoire rather than one that was primarily from the immediate past decade.

The Grand Théâtre in Nîmes was the principal theatre in the town but there was also the secondary theatre, the Théâtre des Variétés. Figure 46 reproduces the repertoire return for the Variétés for the 1873-74 season. As a document, it is typical of the hundreds that were analyzed for this study and helps to show the difficulties researchers face. Sixty-two works are listed, but the list hides a number of surprises. For the most

part it is a list of opérette and opéra-bouffe, lyric works from the secondary theatres of Paris. More than a quarter of the productions at the Variétés in Nîmes were the work of one composer – Offenbach. Many were the latest novelties. However, there were also a number of comic works from earlier decades.

Notable amongst the list were three works by Adolphe Adam, *Le Chalet*, *Le Farfadet* and *Les Pantins de Violette*. From the previous century and early years of the nineteenth century were *Adolphe et Clara* and *Maison à vendre* (Dalayrac), *Le Bouffe et le tailleur* (Gaveaux), *Le Maître de chapelle* (Paër) *Le Directeur dans l'embarras* (Cimarosa) and *Le Billet de loterie* (Isouard).



Répertoire 1873 et 1874 Théâtre des Variétés. Direction P. Luján	
Pièces à jouer pendant la campagne	
Adolphe et Clara	Les trois Noces
Billet de loterie	Ali-ba-boum
Barbe Bleue	La Bonte de...
Le Bouffe et le tailleur	1873
Bonsoir voisin	Une revue à Grogny-le-Vieux
Chalet	Les cartes d'une Comédie d'infamie
Chien du jardinier	Un mec chez Mme Catogan
Choufleuri	Les pantins de Violette
Croque fer	Le docteur Sargardi
Directeur dans l'embarras	Bo-ta-clan
Deux aveugles	Le joueur de Flûte
Deux pêcheurs	La Mère Blanche
Les Farfadets	Le Cautement, de M. de Crac
Maison à vendre	Le Beau Dervois
Maître de Chapelle	La nuit du 1 <sup>er</sup> Octobre
Maître-pâtisier	Souviens-toi de Valentine
Noces	Le mal de mer
Noces de St Flour	Cambour battant
Le tour	Brouille depuis Vagran
Le Ravotier de l'Amazone	La Conquête de Bonfleur
Vrom-bal-cagar	Les deux Cimbres
Une Demoselle en loterie	Un meuble de Carcassonne
Le Violoncelle	Un clou dans la serrure
Vie Parisienne	La soi Dagobert
Les amours au moulin	Les deux tourterelles
Le Carver de saucisson	Lesben et Fustichon
Huit jours de prison	Le Drame d'un gouverneur
Les deux Chateaux	La corde sautoire
Les deux en gobicomade	La femme aux yeux d'or
Le nez du roi Har-o-Ka-ci	Le Réveil
	Les hommes du village

Figure 46. The repertoire list for the Théâtres des Variétés, 1873 (ADGard 8T2)

There were also a number of works that had originally from the repertoire of the Opéra-Comique, rather than the minor or boulevard theatres, works such as *Les Noces de Jeannette* (Massé) and *Le Chien du Jardinier* (Grisar). *Bonsoir voisin* had opened at the Théâtre-Lyrique in 1853, revived at the Fantaisies-Parisiennes 17 January 1866, and then the Opéra-Comique in June 1872 just a year before the performances in Nîmes. Figure 47 reproduces a handbill for a typical evening at the Variétés de Nîmes – a vaudeville, chansonettes and an opérette.

## THÉÂTRE-CONCERT DIT DES VARIÉTÉS

Aujourd'hui Mercredi, 15 octobre 1873

### PROGRAMME DE LA SOIRÉE

#### PREMIERE PARTIE

Orchestre  
Mlle DUFRESNOY  
Orchestre  
Mlle ELISA DEBRAND  
Orchestre  
M. AGUILLON  
Mlle PARQUET  
Orchestre  
M. BAPTISTE  
Orchestre  
M. Eugène DEBRAND  
Mlle ELISA DEBRAND

Bonsoir !  
Ça fait tic tac.  
Les couleurs.  
La première fois que cela vous arrive.  
De votre vin j'accepte un verre.  
Les deux matelots.

#### DEUXIEME PARTIE

### EN MANCHE DE CHEMISE

Vaudeville en un acte, par MM. Labiche, Lefranc et Nyon.  
Corydon, M. Aguillon | Linotte, Mlle Dufresnoy.

#### TROISIEME PARTIE

Orchestre  
Mlle ELISA DEBRAND  
Orchestre  
M. BAPTISTE  
Orchestre  
Mlle PARQUET  
Orchestre  
M. Eugène DEBRAND  
Mlle ELISA DEBRAND

La bonne villageoise.  
Que chanterai-je ?  
L'original.  
La Cracoviéenne.

### LE BILLET DE LOTERIE

Opérette en un acte.

Barbouillon, notaire Griffardin, clerc de notaire Tapinau, tambour Pierre, matelot (travesti)	MM. Baptiste Charlois Aguillon Mlle Dufresnoy	Francine, lingère Tolnet, servante Paysans et Paysannes.
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Mlle Parquet  
Debrand

Nîmes. — Typ. Clavel-Baillet.



Figure 47. Handbill from the Variétés, 1873 (ADGard 8T2).

dated from 1869 but the Lecocq and Vasseur were all in preparation in Besançon within twelve months of their successful creation in Paris.

It is a similar picture a year later, but with a new directeur, Lepercq. Lepercq lists nine *opéras* and six *opérette* as being in preparation. *Carmen* (Bizet), *Mignon* (Thomas), *Les Monténégrins* (Limnander), *Le Pardon de Ploërmel* (Meyerbeer), *Quentin Durwald* (Gevaert), *La Fanchonnette* (Clapisson), *Jaguarita l'indienne* (Halévy), *La Prophète and L'Africaine* (Meyerbeer) and *Madame l'Archiduc* and *La Joli parfumeuse* (Offenbach), *La Timbale d'argent* (Vasseur), *Les Cent vierges* (Lecocq) *La Reine Indigo* (Strauss) and *Héloïse et Abélard* (Litolf). Again the novelties were amongst the lighter works, although both the Lecocq and the Vasseur *opérettes* had been performed in Besançon in 1873. *Madame l'Archiduc* was premièred in Paris in 1874 while *La Reine Indigo* (Strauss) had started its successful run at the Théâtre de la Renaissance on 27 April 1875, just four months before appearing in the prospectus of Lepercq. Of the *opéras*, *La Fanchonnette* had been successfully revived in Paris at the Théâtre de l'Athénée on 18 February 1873. The major surprise was *Carmen*. *Carmen* had opened to mixed reviews at the Opéra-Comique on 3 March 1875, two months before Bizet died and only received 47 performances in its first year at the Opéra-Comique and then just three in 1876. *Carmen* subsequently disappeared from the Paris repertoire until revived in 1883. Considering the performance history, and public reaction, it might not have been the most obvious choice for a provincial theatre, a provincial theatre that was not in the premier league of towns like Marseille, Lyon, Toulouse or Bordeaux. It was a decision that was both daring and controversial. The choice of the works in preparation possibly tells us as much about the directeur, Lepercq, as it does about the audience's preferences in Besançon.

Across France, during the 1870s, taste seems to have been for the lighter genres, although whether the preference was audience, directeur, or finance led might be

There appears to be a certain blurring of the genre borders as a number of the works performed at the Théâtre des Variétés would have been equally at home at the Grand Théâtre. Certainly Adam's *Le Chalet* was in the repertoire of both houses. Conversely, it was not uncommon for the principal theatre to be including opérette in its repertoire as was happening in Nîmes. The Grand Théâtre was performing the larger scale works of Offenbach, such as *La Grande Duchesse*, *Les Brigands*, *La Pèrichole* and *La Belle Hélène*, in the 1876 season along with opérettes by Lecocq and Hervé. The Grand was also producing some of Offenbach's smaller works: *Trombalcazar* and *La Rose de St. Flour* both appear, listed as vaudevilles, and were possibly more appropriate in the secondary theatre, the Théâtre des Variétés.

During the same year, 1873, the prospectus of directeur T. Gravière announced that the Besançon season was to commence on Thursday 4 September 1873 and that the repertoire had been selected 'from the best of the Théâtre Français, the Gymnase and other leading theatres.'<sup>518</sup> A forty-six-piece orchestra had been employed by the municipality to accompany the company. The directeur also listed thirteen works that were in preparation. The opéras comiques included: *Le Premier jour de bonheur* (Auber), *L'Ombre* (Flotow), *Les Amours du diable* (Grisar), *Le Philtre* (Auber), *Giralda* (Adam), *La Val d'Andorre* (Halévy), *La Somnambule* (Bellini), *La Fête du village voisin* (Boieldieu) and *Le Pardon de Ploërmel* (Meyerbeer). There were just four opérette mentioned: *Les Brigands* (Offenbach), *Les Cent vierges* and *La Fille de Madame Angot* (Lecocq) and finally *La Timbale d'argent* (Vasseur). Although the Bellini had been in the Paris repertoire since 1831, the performance in Besançon followed a successful revival at the Théâtre-Lyrique in 1867. The most recently produced work from Paris was Flotow's *L'Ombre* that had been created at the Opéra-Comique on 7 July 1870. It is the opérette list that is most revealing. The Offenbach

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<sup>518</sup> Both this and the following example of Lepercq are from documents dealing with the *exploitation* of the theatre in Besançon in ADDoubs 1T475.

dated from 1869 but the Lecocq and Vasseur were all in preparation in Besançon within twelve months of their successful creation in Paris.

It is a similar picture a year later, but with a new directeur, Lepercq. Lepercq lists nine *opéras* and six *opérette* as being in preparation. *Carmen* (Bizet), *Mignon* (Thomas), *Les Monténégrins* (Limnander), *Le Pardon de Ploërmel* (Meyerbeer), *Quentin Durwald* (Gevaert), *La Fanchonnette* (Clapisson), *Jaguarita l'indienne* (Halévy), *La Prophète and L'Africaine* (Meyerbeer) and *Madame l'Archiduc* and *La Joli parfumeuse* (Offenbach), *La Timbale d'argent* (Vasseur), *Les Cent vierges* (Lecocq) *La Reine Indigo* (Strauss) and *Héloïse et Abélard* (Litolf). Again the novelties were amongst the lighter works, although both the Lecocq and the Vasseur opérettes had been performed in Besançon in 1873. *Madame l'Archiduc* was première in Paris in 1874 while *La Reine Indigo* (Strauss) had started its successful run at the Théâtre de la Renaissance on 27 April 1875, just four months before appearing in the prospectus of Lepercq. Of the opéras, *La Fanchonnette* had been successfully revived in Paris at the Théâtre de l'Athénée on 18 February 1873. The major surprise was *Carmen*. *Carmen* had opened to mixed reviews at the Opéra-Comique on 3 March 1875, two months before Bizet died and only received 47 performances in its first year at the Opéra-Comique and then just three in 1876. *Carmen* subsequently disappeared from the Paris repertoire until revived in 1883. Considering the performance history, and public reaction, it might not have been the most obvious choice for a provincial theatre, a provincial theatre that was not in the premier league of towns like Marseille, Lyon, Toulouse or Bordeaux. It was a decision that was both daring and controversial. The choice of the works in preparation possibly tells us as much about the directeur, Lepercq, as it does about the audience's preferences in Besançon.

Across France, during the 1870s, taste seems to have been for the lighter genres, although whether the preference was audience, directeur, or finance led might be



debatable. What is significant is that smaller touring companies now had a lyric genre available to them, one that fell between opéra comique and vaudeville and which did not overstretch their resources. In the Aveyron, in 1873, Directeur Saint Sarnain proposed a repertoire of 26 drames, 52 comédies, 31 vaudevilles and 28 opérettes and opéras comiques.<sup>519</sup> The list ranged from the early one-act works of Offenbach such as *M Choufleuri*, *Trombalcazar*, *Les Dames des Halles* and *Le Mariage aux lanternes* to the full-scale works, *Orphée aux enfers*, *La Vie Parisienne*, *La Belle Hélène* and *La Grande Duchesse de Gérolstein*. There were also two works by Adolphe Varney, *La Polka en sabots* (1859) and *Le Moulin joli* (1849) and two by Adam, *Le Chalet*, and *Les Pantins de Violette*. Some of the works were from the immediate past decade, *Le Joueur de flûte*, (Hervé, 1864), *Le Canard à trios becs*, (Jonas, 1867) and *Fleur de thé*, (Lecocq, 1868). There were a couple of lighter operas *Les Noces de Jeannette* (Massé, 1853) and *Bonsoir voisin* (Poise), and three much earlier works, *Le Bouffe et le tailleur* (Gaveaux), *Les Rendez-vous bourgeois* (Isouard) and *Le Maître de chapelle*, (Paër). *Le Maître de chapelle* was enjoying significant re-interest following revivals, first at the Théâtre des Fantaisies-Parisiennes on 18 November 1866 and then at the Théâtre des Nouveautés, 1 April 1871.

In Aix-en-Provence, for the 1879 opera season, 26 operas were produced in their entirety with extracts from a further seven. Four composers each had three works in repertoire – Adam, Donizetti, Thomas and Verdi. Early opéras comiques included *La Dame blanche* (Boieldieu), *Les Rendez-vous bourgeois* (Isouard) and *Le Maître de chapelle* (Paër). If success was to be judged by the number of performances during the season, then the most popular were *Le Barbier de Séville* (Rossini), *Les Dragons de*

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<sup>519</sup> Repertoire list provided to the préfet in Rodez. That a touring company could take such a range of works, some requiring comparatively small casts, but some with extended numbers and with chorus and dancers, is a reflection on the extension of the railway network enabling easier access to areas that had previously been very difficult to tour. ADAv 15T 3/1.

*Villars* (Maillart), *Faust* (Gounod), *Mignon* (Thomas) and *Les Cloches de Corneville* (Planquette). Both *Le Barbier de Séville* and *La Dame blanche* had been in the repertoire of French theatres for over half a century.

The most recent works included *Mignon* and *Les Cloches de Corneville*. *Les Cloches de Corneville* was first performed at the Folies-Dramatiques on 19 April 1877, twenty-two months before the production in Aix-en-Provence. Writing in 1984, Richard Traubner observed that *Les Cloches de Corneville* 'in aggregate number of performances world-wide may well be the most popular operetta ever written.'<sup>520</sup> Aix-en-Provence is an example of a theatre where the lyric season had not been largely taken over by the lighter genres.

Following the 'freedom of theatre' and the decentralization of 1864, competition from *café-concerts*, touring companies, casinos and their theatres, made the position of the municipal theatre even more precarious than it had been during the previous decades. As has been seen, size of towns and troupes led to quite complex patterns of performance and seasons. Discrete lyric seasons, mixed seasons, seasons of just one or two genres were all solutions to the many differing, and often conflicting, requirements and aspirations that councils, audiences, impresarios and directeurs tried to satisfy. Towns that tried to economize by dropping a lyric season often found that audiences then left in droves making the dramatic season unviable. Audiences wanted a lyric season, but making it pay was almost impossible and so *subventions* continued to rise.

Prominence in this section has been given to smaller and medium-sized towns. Before concluding the section on repertoire, there were a number of theatres in major centres that enjoyed an Indian summer. It is not intended to look in too much detail at the repertoires of towns such as Lyon, Marseille, and Rouen, per se, but rather to follow the introduction of specific works into the provincial repertoire. The works selected are

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<sup>520</sup> Traubner, Richard, *Operetta, A Theatrical History* (London: Gollancz, 1984) 86.

either from a new generation of French composers such as Saint-Saëns and Massenet, or influential foreigners such as Puccini and Mascagni. It was also a period when the operas of Wagner were reappraised and began to be widely performed in France and so Wagner will be similarly reviewed.

By 1900 the provincial theatre industry was in crisis. Most of the problems were pecuniary rather than artistic, but one could lead to the other. However, all was not gloom as a significant number of towns continued to operate present seasons that featured contemporary compositions, works that often called for quite extravagant levels of spectacle.

The theatre in Monte-Carlo has a distinguished history not least because of the ballet and Diaghilev. T. J. Walsh, in his study of the period in Monte-Carlo from 1879-1909, follows the development of the theatre to the production of Wagner's *Ring* cycle in 1909, which he regarded as the 'apogée of the history of that small yet great opera house.'<sup>521</sup> Certainly Monte-Carlo was renowned and its success was mainly due to two highly colourful characters, Prince Albert I of Monaco and the directeur Raoul Gunsbourg. The Prince acted as patron and Gunsbourg had an almost free hand to provide glittering seasons to entertain the principality and visiting crowned heads of Europe. However, theatre in Monte-Carlo deserves to be regarded as an extraordinary special case.

The seasons in Monaco were usually over two or three months from late January to March, or the beginning of April. There was also a separate opérette season. From a season of just four works in 1879, there developed, after 1886, seasons that usually embraced between ten and fifteen operas. Under the direction of Jules Cohen, seasons from 1879-84 were unremarkable, except for a production of *Aïda* in 1884. The nadir was reached in 1885 when the great conductor Jules Étienne Padeloup would present

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<sup>521</sup> Walsh, T. J., *Monte-Carlo Opera, 1879-1909* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1975) ix.

single acts from selected operas - Adolphe Adam's *Le Chalet* being the only work to be given in its entirety. 1886 was marked by a new directeur and a production of *Carmen*. *Aïda* was reintroduced in 1887 and a year later Delibes' *Lakmé*. Table 34 lists some of the works introduced to the public in Monte-Carlo. Works that are asterisked are those that received their first performance in Monte-Carlo. The greatest activity followed the beginning of the long superintendence of Raoul Gunsbourg (1861-1951) who was directeur from 1893 until his death. The third column indicates the date that the opera was first performed at the Opéra and the final column shows premières that were either at other Parisian theatres, in the provinces, or abroad.

The theatre in Monte-Carlo saw the first performances of a number of significant works, especially those of Massenet. Contemporary Italian operas were brought to Monte-Carlo, including works of Boito, Leoncavallo, Mascagni, Ponchielli and Puccini. Wagner was performed, leading to a complete 'Ring Cycle' in 1909.

Gunsbourg was innovative and had the financial backing to attract the leading artists of the age to the theatre. Monte-Carlo has to remain a special case, as many details of the opera season were uncharacteristic. Between 1880 and 1900, seasons varied between a total of 11 to 33 evenings and productions of just 4 to 16 operas. From that standpoint alone the achievements of some other provincial theatres can be seen to be even more remarkable as they were equally dynamic while not enjoying the patronage that Gunsbourg enjoyed.

Year	Title	Composer	Paris	Further details
1884	<i>Aida</i>	Verdi	1876	1871 Cairo Th. Italien (Opéra, 1880)
1886	<i>Carmen</i>	Bizet	1875	Opéra Comique
1888	<i>Lakmé</i>	Délibes	1883	Opéra Comique
1889	<i>Mireille</i> <i>Philémon et Baucis</i> <i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	Gounod Gounod Lalo	1864 1860 1888	Théâtre-Lyrique Théâtre-Lyrique Opéra Comique
1890	<i>Le Pilote*</i>	Urich		
1891	<i>Le Vénitien</i>	Cahen		First performed Rouen in 1890
1892	<i>Lohengrin</i>  <i>Manon</i> <i>Samson et Delila</i>	Wagner  Massenet Saint-Saëns	  1887 1884 1893	Weimar 1850 Eden-Théâtre. (Opéra, 1890) Opéra Comique Weimar 1877
1893	<i>Damnation de Faust</i> <i>Tristan et Isolde</i>	Berlioz Wagner	1846 1902	Salle Favart Munich 1865
1894	<i>Cavalleria rusticana</i> <i>Hulda*</i> <i>Otello</i>	Masacagni Franck Verdi	1892	Rome 1890  Milan 1887
1895	<i>Amico Fritz</i> <i>Gioconda</i> <i>Jacquerie</i> <i>Méphistophélès</i>	Mascagni Ponchielli Lalo Boito	   1912	Rome Milan 1876  Milan 1868
1902	<i>Jongleur de Notre Dame*</i>	Massenet		Directed by Massenet
1903	<i>Hérodiade</i>  <i>Tasse*</i> <i>Tosca</i>	Massenet  d'Harcourt Puccini	  1884 1903 1903	Brussels 1881 Th. Italien (in Italian) Gaité-Lyrique Rome 1900
1904	<i>Hélène</i> <i>Paillasse</i> <i>Navarraise</i>	Saint-Saëns Leoncavallo Massenet	 1902 1895	Milan 1892 London 1894
1905	<i>Amica*</i> <i>Cherubin*</i>	Mascagni Massenet		
1906	<i>Ancêtre*</i> <i>Démon</i> <i>Roi de Lahore</i> <i>Tannhäuser</i>	Saint-Saëns Rubinstein Massenet Wagner	   1861	   Dresden 1845
1907	<i>Thérèse*</i> <i>Timbre d'argent</i>	Massenet Saint-Saëns		
1908	<i>L'Or du Rhin</i> <i>Henry VIII</i>	Wagner Saint-Saëns	1883	
1909	<i>L'Or du Rhin</i> <i>Walkyrie</i> <i>Siegfried</i> <i>Crépuscule des Dieux</i> <i>Iris</i> <i>Russalka</i>	Wagner Wagner Wagner Wagner Mascagni Dargomizhsky		Complete <i>Ring</i> cycle
1910	<i>Déjanire</i>  <i>Don Quichotte*</i>	Saint-Saëns  Massenet	1898	Reworking of a spectacle first performed in the Roman arena in Beziers, 1898
1912	<i>La Fille du Far-West</i>  <i>Roma</i>	Puccini  Massenet		1910 New York. Gunsbourg's troupe at the Opéra six weeks after the Monte-Carlo première.
1913	<i>Pénélope*</i>	Fauré		

Table 34. Contemporary works introduced into the repertoire of Monte-Carlo.

Throughout the period of this study Italian composers made significant contributions to the French stage, many working in Paris. After the premiere of *Aïda* in Cairo in 1871, despite the demands of the spectacle, the work began to be introduced to theatres in France, *Aïda* was first seen in Paris at the Théâtre Lyrique in 1878 and at the Opéra (Palais Garnier) in 1881. A search through prospectuses, trimestriel returns and handbills of a number of theatres shows that one of the earliest provincial performances predated the Garnier production by two years. *Aïda* was performed in Lyon in 1879. Two years later it was produced in Marseille, in the 1882 season in Avignon and then repeated there two years later. It was a major success in Rouen being produced 16 times in the 1883-4 season. All the mentioned performances predate the 1884 production in Monte-Carlo. There were performances in Nantes and eight performances in Nîmes (1886), and it was in the repertoire of Rennes by 1891. For the most part the works of Verdi were highly popular throughout France although *Otello* elicited little enthusiasm in Rouen when produced there in 1895. One opera that did arouse feelings in Rouen was *Les Vêpres Siciliennes*. When it was first mooted that the opera might be included in the 1886 season there was an orchestrated outcry against the proposal. The *Chronique de Rouen* fulminated that the work should never be played in Rouen, evoking as it did a massacre of Normands at Palermo in 1282.<sup>522</sup> Plans for the performance were quietly dropped.

Works that did attract interest, possibly through the frisson of their melodramatic actions, were the operas of the 'Verismo School'. In 1895 *Cavalleria rusticana* was produced in both Lyon and Rouen just three years after the first French-language performance in Paris. 1895 was also the year that *Gioconda* was introduced to the repertoires of Rouen and Monte-Carlo.

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<sup>522</sup> 'Nous avons à cette occasion vivement insisté sur le caractère antipatriotique de l'œuvre du compositeur italien.' *La Chronique de Rouen* (28 January 1886)

*Paillasse* was staged in 1894 for the first time, in a French-language edition by Eugène Crosti, at the Grand Théâtre, Bordeaux and subsequently that year in Lyon and Rouen. *Paillasse* was also in the 1894-5 season in Rennes. The opera was performed in Vichy in 1903. The Bordeaux / Crosti edition was used again in Brussels in 1895 before finally appearing in Paris where there was a private showing in 1899, and a full production at the Opéra in December 1902. *Paillasse* had been in the provincial repertoire ten years before it was staged at Monte-Carlo in 1904. *Tosca* was produced in Monte-Carlo (1903), Marseille (1904), Lyon (1905) and Rouen and Vichy (1907). Puccini's *Bohème* entered the repertoire of Dijon, Lyon, Marseille and Rouen in 1898 Nîmes in 1900 and Vichy 1901. Interestingly, *La Vie bohème* (Leoncavallo) was staged in both Rouen and Marseille in 1902. *Madame Butterfly* was performed in Marseille in 1907, Vichy 1910 and Lyon, 1911. Monte-Carlo stole the thunder with *La Fille du Far West*. Created in New York in 1910 it was produced in Monte-Carlo on 2 April 1912. Gunsbourg then took his company and their production to the Opéra where it was performed on 16 May 1912.

Between 1870 and 1914 there was a rehabilitation of Richard Wagner. After the 1861 production in Paris of *Tannhäuser*, disrupted by the Jockey Club, the work effectively disappeared from the Parisian stage for a further 30 years. To add to this, the attempts to perform *Lohengrin* in Paris in 1887 and 1891 were equally stormy. In that context the performances of Wagner in Monte-Carlo gain significance and in particular the complete *Ring* cycle in 1909. However, again without diminishing the achievement of Gunsbourg, it is interesting to look at dates before 1914 that Wagner was introduced to four provincial theatres besides Monte-Carlo.

	Lyon	Marseille	Rouen	Vichy	M-Carlo
<i>Vasseau fantôme</i>	1908		1896		
<i>Maître chanteurs</i>	1896	1904		1911	
<i>Tannhäuser</i>	1892	1896	1897	1903	
<i>Lohengrin</i>	1891	1892	1891	1898	1892
<i>L'Or du Rhin</i>	1903		1909		1909
<i>Walkyrie</i>	1894	1897	1906	1909	1909
<i>Siegfried</i>	1901		1900		1909
<i>Crépuscule des dieux</i>	1904	1913	1902		1909
<i>Tristan et Isolde</i>	1900				
<i>Parsifal</i>	1914	1914		1914	
Complete <i>Ring</i> cycle	1904				1909

Table 36. Performances of Wagner in Lyon, Marseille, Monte-Carlo, Rouen and Vichy.

What immediately becomes apparent from table 35 is that almost all the performances predate Monte-Carlo. Most significantly Lyon had produced the complete *Ring* cycle some five years before Gunsbourg. But that is not the only noteworthy date in the table, or Lyon the only theatre. In Paris the 1887 performance of *Lohengrin* at the Eden Théâtre directed by Charles Lamoureux, and the 1891 performance at the Opéra led to a heavy police presence on the streets and in the theatres. While Paris was in turmoil *Lohengrin* was produced with success in Rouen (7 February 1891), Angers and Nantes (21 February 1891) and Lyon (26 February 1891). *Lohengrin* was also produced four years later in Rennes (1895), Vichy (1898) and in Nîmes by 1900. Although the opera had been performed in Nice in 1881, sung in Italian, the first French language performance was at the Théâtre de la Monnaie in Brussels in 1870, under the baton of Hans Richter. The Rouen performance was notable in that it was effectively the first French-language performance in France. During the season there were twenty-six performances of *Lohengrin* and for the matinee performance on 8 March there were excursion trains from Paris, Elbeuf, Le Havre and Neufchâtel-en-Bray.

In Lyon, directeur Poncet introduced *Tannhäuser* to the 1892 season and it was certainly in the repertoire of Dijon in 1899 and Nîmes in 1900. At the first Lyon performance on 4 April 1892 the audience was hostile and to cries of ‘A bas Poncet’



the curtain was lowered early and the theatre cleared. However, the following performance on 16 April passed without incident and the opera received ten performances through the season.

A new directeur, Albert Vizentini, was appointed to the Lyon theatre in 1893.



Figure 48. Poster of 1896 Lyon production of *Les Maîtres chanteurs de Nuremberg* Photographed at, and by kind permission of, The Witch Ball, Cecil Court, London.

An incident before the first performance of *Les Maîtres chanteurs de Nuremberg* in Lyon gives an indication of Vizentini's talent. The *chef d'orchestre*, Alexandre Luigini, a distinguished conductor, composer and professeur of timpani at the Lyon Conservatoire suddenly departed the town for North Africa with one of his pupils. Directeur Vizentini went straight to the orchestra and conducted the performances. Vizentini had been born into a theatrical dynasty and had made his debut at the Odéon at the age of six. However, he followed musical studies at Brussels with Fétis and then with Thomas in Paris. As a composer, Vizentini tended to favour the lighter genres and many of his piano and salon pieces are arrangements of other composers. His *Madame Favart quadrille* (1879) and *The Sport Galop* (1880) were sufficiently popular to cross the channel and be published in London.<sup>523</sup> After leaving the Conservatoire he entered the orchestra of the Théâtre-Lyrique in 1861 and then the concerts of Padeloup. When his orchestral career was cut short by a hand injury Vizentini moved to conducting and theatre direction. Not for the first time Lyon benefited by having an able man of the theatre who was also an accomplished, intelligent musician as directeur.

In Rouen, *Le Vaisseau fantôme* was given on 21 February 1896, *Tannhäuser* a year later and then on 17 February 1900 the first production in France of *Siegfried*. The directeur and the *chef d'orchestre* had travelled from Rouen to Bayreuth the previous July to see the German production. The Rouen performance was of national interest but the production was not faultless. The local paper noted that the Théâtre-des-Arts did not possess the resources that Bayreuth utilized: 'How could our modest quartet, for example, produce the effect of the 33 violins, 13 violas, 13 'cellos and 8 double-basses of Bayreuth?'<sup>524</sup> It was also noted that judicious cuts had been made, difficult passages

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<sup>523</sup> A number of Vizentini's compositions are to be found in the British Library.

<sup>524</sup> '...comment notre modeste quatuor pourrait-il, par exemple, produire les effets des trente-trois violons, treize altos, treize violoncelles et huit contrabasses de Bayreuth?' *Petit Rouennais (Le)*, 18 February 1900.

removed and certain instruments not used. Despite these shortcomings the comment was made it could not have been better in any way.<sup>525</sup> The *Petit Journal* (18 February) talked of 'la qualité artistique' while *Le Temps* (19 February) referred to the première as 'un événement extraordinaire' advising Parisians to visit Rouen, if not least because it was nearer than Bayreuth. As it was, the Parisian music lovers had invaded Rouen for the first performance and they continued to do so, much to the chagrin of the local population who found it harder and harder to get a seat at their local theatre. Justifiably, the taxpayers of Rouen complained that they paid the Théâtre-des-Arts a subvention of 120,000 francs, which was then in effect used for performances for invited guests of the council and critics from Paris.

*Tristan et Isolde* was performed in Aix-les-Bains in 1897 and Lyon in 1900. Plans for *Les Crépuscules des Dieux* (Götterdämmerung) to be included in the 1902 season in Rouen were abandoned after the lead tenor left for Brussels but the opera was produced in Lyon in 1904 and in Marseille in 1913. *Parsifal* was produced in Lyon, Marseille and Vichy in 1914.

The above account of productions of Wagner in provincial France is obviously by no means exhaustive but it is representative and does draw out the fact that Wagner was successfully introduced to major provincial centres, and occasionally prior to performances in Paris. It is also evident that, although Monte-Carlo has rightly been regarded as a major centre of innovation, there were equally dynamic provincial theatres.

In addition to Wagner, there was a renewed interest in the music of Berlioz. Most notable were productions of *Le Damnation de Faust* in Marseille (1883)<sup>526</sup>, Monte-Carlo (1893) and Rouen and Vichy (1908). Lyon had included concert

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<sup>525</sup> 'on ne fait pas mieux dans plus d'une ville allemande' *Petit Rouennais (Le)*, 19 February 1900.

<sup>526</sup> There were thirteen performances of *Le Damnation de Faust* in Marseille between 1883 and 1940. Bonnot, *Divines Divas, vivat l'opéra*, 78.



performances of *Le Damnation de Faust* in 1880, 1889 and 1896 but it was not fully staged there until 1906. The Monte-Carlo production of *Le Damnation de Faust* of 1903 transferred to Paris. Figure 48 reproduces the 1903 poster for the Paris performance. Amongst curiosities were staged productions of *L'Enfance du Christ* such as one in Lyon during 1899. The revivals of Berlioz are interesting rather than significant.



Figure 49. Poster for 1903 production of *Le Damnation de Faust*  
 Photographed at, and by kind permission of, The Witch Ball, Cecil Court, London

Of the contemporary French composers, Delibes, Franck, Lalo and Saint-Saëns all enjoyed great success in the provinces. However, if each age seemed to have been dominated by particular composers – Dalayrac and Grétry (1789-1815), Boieldieu and

Rossini (1815-1830), Auber and Donizetti (1830-1850), and Halévy and Offenbach (1850-1870) – then the period post 1870 was very much the age of Massenet.

Between 1877 and 1914 nineteen of Massenet's operas found their way into the repertoires of the provincial theatres reviewed here. Massenet visited many of the larger centres and assisted with the rehearsals and production of his works. However, the success of a number of Massenet's works in Paris was not of the overnight variety. To give three examples, *Hérodiade* was first performed in Brussels in 1881 and received its first Paris performance at the Théâtre-Italien in 1884 but did not reach the Opéra until 1921. Similarly *Werther* was completed in 1887, lay dormant for five years, and was then performed in German in Vienna in 1892. The French première was at the Opéra-Comique a year later, but following a poor initial reception it took ten years for audiences to warm to its sombre drama. When premièred in 1894, *Thaïs* was at first a failure with Parisian audiences. It took the talents and beauty of Maria 'Lina' Cavalieri in the title role, before the work won acceptance in 1907. *Le Jongleur de Notre-Dame*, *Chérubin*, *Thérèse*, *Don Quichotte*, *Roma* and *Cléopâtre* all had their first performance in Monte-Carlo. *Le Jongleur de Notre Dame* (1902) had to wait two years before it appeared on the stage of the Opéra-Comique and for *Thérèse* the wait was even longer, four years. *Don Quichotte* transferred rapidly from Monte-Carlo to the Gaité-Lyrique in 1910 but only reached the stage of the Opéra-Comique in 1924. All this makes the provincial performances and the public's reaction of even greater interest.

Massenet was in Lyon for rehearsals of *Le Roi de Lahore* in December 1879, two years after its first production at the Opéra. Following the performance in Paris the work was introduced into the repertoire of La Scala. Vinentini saw the performance in Italy and when it was staged in Lyon he reproduced the *mise-en-scène* from La Scala. The orchestra was augmented with musicians from Turin and Mantua. Two years later and Massenet was in Nantes to supervise rehearsals of *Le Roi de Lahore* before going to

Angers to conduct a festival of his music. While in Nantes he requested that his publisher Ricordi send him the score of *Hérodiade*. *Hérodiade* was performed in Nantes in April 1883. The Nantes production predated the Paris performance. *Hérodiade* had received a production in Rouen in 1882 and it was in the repertoires of Bordeaux (23 April 1885), Marseille (12 May 1885) and Lyon (18 December 1885). In Lyon audiences fought to get seats. The great success in Lyon was partly the result of publicity generated by Cardinal Caverot. Cardinal Caverot, Archbishop of Lyon, was so enraged with what he perceived was a plainly blasphemous work that he asked the Pope to excommunicate Massenet, the directeur and the troupe of the theatre in Lyon. The Pope decided against such an extreme measure but did issue a papal bull that denied the company communion when the work was in repertoire. Needless to say this controversy greatly increased audience figures. *Hérodiade* was consistently in the repertoire in Nantes from 1884 to 1890 and also in the repertoire of Dijon.

The same year that *Werther* was first produced in Paris, 1893, it appeared in the repertoire returns of Amiens, Angers, Lyon, Nantes, Nice, Reims, Rennes, Rouen, Toulon and Toulouse. *Werther* was also in the repertoire of Vichy from 1897 and produced in Nîmes in 1900. *Le Jongleur de Notre-Dame* was in the repertoire of Vichy in 1902, following its première in Monte-Carlo, and two years before its first performance in Paris. It entered the repertoire of the theatre in Dijon in 1905.

As has been commented, the first performance of *Thaïs* in 1894 had been lukewarm. In 1899, and halfway through its wilderness years, *Thaïs*, was certainly in the repertoires of Caen, Lyon, Montpellier, Toulouse and Algiers. In Vichy, *Thaïs* was in the opera season at the Casino in 1898, 1900, 1904, 1906, 1908, 1910, 1912 and 1913. During the period from 1897-1909 *Thaïs* did not receive a single performance in Monte-Carlo.

The repertoire of the theatre in the casino at Vichy is as interesting as that of Monte-Carlo. Although Vichy lacked princely patronage it still managed a remarkable summer season with more performances of more operas than its more famous rival.

	Monte-Carlo		Vichy	
	Number of different operas performed	Number of performances	Number of different operas performed	Number of performances
1897	10	24	23	53
1898	8	19	19	45
1899	6	17	21	52
1900	7	20	25	52
1901	6	20	17	48
1902	7	20	19	47
1903	5	16	21	47
1904	10	20	26	49
1905	10	24	19	45
1906	10	28	19	52
1907	12	31	20	56
1908	11	31	23	51
1909	19	40	21	58

Table 36. Comparison of lyric activity Monte-Carlo and Vichy 1897-1909

Appendix J, in the parallel document, lists the repertoire from 1897-1914 in Vichy. In 1897, the works were well chosen as half remained in the summer repertoires for the next eighteen years. What is also interesting is how in following years the latest novelty from Paris was introduced into the programme of the theatre. *L'Africaine* (Meyerbeer), according to Spire Pitou, was dropped from the repertoire of the Opéra in 1902, and had not been performed there since 1894 as the sets had been destroyed in a warehouse fire. The work was performed in Vichy in 1897, 1903, 1905, 1908 and 1912. The repertoire in Vichy is a fascinating mix. There are works that have only just been premièred in Paris; works that were out of favour in Paris, the case of *Thaïs* has already been mentioned; and acts of preservation – Gluck, Boieldieu, Mozart and Rossini. *Les Huguenots* (Meyerbeer) was retained in the repertoire of the Opéra until its 1,120<sup>th</sup> performance in 1936. The 1898 performance of *Les Huguenots* in Vichy would have been of particular interest as it followed a revival in Paris during the preceding year. The Paris revival had new choreography by Joseph Hansen (1842-1907). Hansen had been director of the Moscow Bolshoi Theatre from 1879-1884.

In 1913 there were a group of lighter works by Varney, Planquette and Offenbach that are almost out of place with the others. Perhaps, as clouds gathered over Europe a little light relief was called for. Table 37 lists the top ten works by numbers of performance in Vichy from 1897 – 1914:

Composer	Title	No. of performances
Gounod	<i>Faust</i>	65
Massenet	<i>Manon</i>	61
Bizet	<i>Carmen</i>	59
Délibes	<i>Lakmé</i>	54
Gounod	<i>Mireille</i>	34
Massenet	<i>Werther</i>	33
Puccini	<i>La Bohème</i>	29
Gounod	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	28
Saint-Saëns	<i>Samson et Dalila</i>	27
Thomas	<i>Mignon</i>	26

Table 37. Most performed works during summer seasons at Vichy, 1897-1914.<sup>527</sup>

Returning to Marseille and habituée Antoine Bouis practically lived in the theatre. He kept a record of all the productions that he attended from the age of 11 in 1869 to his death in 1940. Bouis attended 119 performances of *Faust* and saw *Guillaume Tell* 104 times. Of the thirty most performed works, it is a group in the middle that are of particular interest. From the first performance that Bouis mentioned in his diaries, he attended 59 performances of *Samson et Dalila*, *Hamlet* (58 times), *Mireille* (57), *Mignon* (56), *Manon* and *Carmen* (51), *Hérodiade* and *La Dame blanche* (42), *Lohengrin* and *Werther* (41) and *Le Barbier de Seville* (36). Following their initial performances *Manon*, *Hérodiade* and *Werther* were in the repertoire of Marseille practically every year to 1940. The relatively low figure for *Le Barbier de Seville* might surprise present day commentators. Perhaps it was a reflection on Bouis' taste for the

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<sup>527</sup> Compiled from typed lists of annual repertoire, based on programmes and newspaper accounts, provided by Alviset, Josette, Musée de l'Opéra de Vichy, February 2005.



more serious, the only lighter work in the list is *La Dame blanche*, rather than as an indication of the nature of the Marseille repertoire.<sup>528</sup>

Having considered some of the towns that were enjoying an Indian summer it has to be remembered that for the majority financial pressures had tended to force the season into one that mainly comprised opéras comiques and opérettes. Most of the opérettes were fairly transient and did not survive the decade that they were written in.

The example from Valence 1889 is of the opérette season:

<i>La Poupée de Nuremberg</i>	Adam	<i>L'Étudiant pauvre</i>	Millooker
<i>La Cigale et la fourmi</i>	Audran	<i>Barbe-bleu</i>	Offenbach
<i>La Fiancée des verts poteaux</i>	Audran	<i>Chanson de Fortunio</i>	Offenbach
<i>Gillette de Narbonne</i>	Audran	<i>La Fille du tambour major</i>	Offenbach
<i>Le Grand Mogol</i>	Audran	<i>La Grande Duchesse</i>	Offenbach
<i>La Mascott</i>	Audran	<i>La Joli parfumeuse</i>	Offenbach
<i>Les Noces d'Olivette</i>	Audran	<i>Mme Favart</i>	Offenbach
<i>La Petite Fronde</i>	Audran	<i>Mme l'archiduc</i>	Offenbach
<i>Le Puit qui parle</i>	Audran	<i>Trombalcazar</i>	Offenbach
<i>Le Serment d'amour</i>	Audran	<i>La Vie Parisienne</i>	Offenbach
<i>Les Sabots de la marquise</i>	Boulanger	<i>Le Violonneux</i>	Offenbach
<i>Le Bouquet</i>	Chaubier	<i>Le Maître de chapelle</i>	Paër
<i>Pierrot puni</i>	Cientot	<i>La Croix de l'alcade</i>	Perry-Biagoli
<i>La Fille du régiment</i>	Donizetti	<i>Rip-Rip</i>	Planquette
<i>Mireille</i>	Gounod	<i>Josephine, vendue</i>	Roger
<i>La Lycée des jeunes filles</i>	Gregh	<i>La Petite chaperon rouge</i>	Serpette
<i>Chevaliers de la table ronde</i>	Hervé	<i>La Gamine de Paris</i>	Serpette
<i>Niniche</i>	Hervé	<i>La Lycéenne</i>	Serpette
<i>M'zelle Nitouche</i>	Hervé	<i>Le Droit de seigneur</i>	Vasseur
<i>Le Rendez-vous bourgeois</i>	Isouard	<i>Le Timbale d'argent</i>	Vasseur
<i>Le Canard à trois becs</i>	Jonas	<i>Fanfan la tulipe</i>	Varney
<i>La Gardeuse d'oies</i>	Lacome	<i>Les Petits mousquetaires</i>	Varney
<i>La Petite Mariée</i>	Lecocq	<i>Venus d'Arles</i>	Varney
<i>L'Oiseau bleu</i>	Lecocq	<i>Les Mousquetaires au couvent</i>	Varney
<i>La Princesse des canaries</i>	Lecocq		Varney
<i>Les Dragons de Villars</i>	Maillart	<i>Le Dragon de la reine</i>	deWenzel
<i>Les Noces de Jeannette</i>	Massé	<i>La Tour de Caïran</i>	Werschneider

Table 39. Valence, opéras comiques and opérettes, 1889-1890<sup>529</sup>.

Hidden away in the list are five works by Donizetti, Gounod, Isouard Massé and Paër. However, it was Offenbach and Edmond Audran who were the most performed composers. Almost a quarter of the titles were the work of those two composers. Audran had started his career, officially as an organist in Marseille, but unofficially

<sup>528</sup> From the notebooks of Antoine Bouis, AMMarseille 23 II.

<sup>529</sup> Details of repertoire in return to préfet, ADDr 14T2/2.

writing opérettes for the theatre before *Le Grand Mogol* won him acclaim and a place at the Bouffes-Parisien. *La Mascotte* opened in Paris in December 1880 and there followed 460 consecutive performances to 1882. By 1885 it had achieved its thousandth. However, *La Mascotte* and a few other titles were the exceptions, as what is immediately apparent from the list is just how transient the majority of the works were to be.

The final sample (appendix K in the parallel document) is a summary of the works performed between 1870 and 1914. It has to be emphasised that inexplicably there were so few relevant details of repertoire post 1900 in the archives visited and that works shown as ending around that date would have in all probability still been performed in provincial theatres at least up to the Great War. Also, as just mentioned, many of the opérettes were so ephemeral that they have been omitted from the final summary unless they had enjoyed more than a passing success. There are two distinct changes: the first is that whereas previously the majority of works performed tended to be from the immediate previous decade, from 1870 it was works that had weathered changing tastes. Second, there had developed a repertoire that, by natural selection, had evolved into one recognizable by twentieth-century audiences. From the appended survey it is possible to discern the patterns – works that were enjoying widespread popularity, works that were very much of their time and works whose time had passed. The list is in title order, rather than by composer, as it is individual works that are the immediate focus.

By 1870 *Adolphe et Clara* was the last title of Dalayrac still being performed and that finally disappeared from the repertoire around 1875. *L'Africaine* (Meyerbeer) and *Aïda* (Verdi) were both widely performed, *Aïda* being established for the whole period but in slightly fewer theatres than the Meyerbeer. *L'Ambassadrice* (Auber) was maintained in the repertoire but with only occasional performances. Some other titles,

*L'Amour mouillé* (Varney) and *Les Amours du diable* (Grisar) enjoyed passing popularity, but as with so much of Grisar and Varney they did not survive the Great War. *L'Arlésienne* (Bizet) enjoyed some success before 1900. Offenbach's *Barbe-bleu* and *La Belle Hélène* were more widely performed than either *La Bal masqué* (Verdi) or *Le Barbier de Seville* (Rossini). Two works that were very much of their period were *Boccace* (Suppé) and *Bonsoir voisin* (Poise). Puccini's *La Bohème* was introduced into the repertoire, completely eclipsing the work of the same title by Leoncavallo. *Carmen* (Bizet) rapidly found a place in the provincial repertoire, *Le Chalet* (Adam) enjoyed a place in the repertoire for over 70 years. Planquette is nowadays remembered as a one-work composer, his reputation resting on *La Cloches de Corneville*, however, that one work had become one of the most performed opérette of all time. *La Dame blanche* (Boiieldieu) remained in the provincial repertoire, enjoying more success than such comic classics as *Le Barbier de Seville* (Rossini), but disappeared from the mainstream during the early twentieth century. *Le Domino Noir* (Auber) disappeared from the repertoire around 1890. Many of Auber's titles remained in the popular repertoire, but just as performances of the overtures, such works being regularly performed by the BBC Northern Ireland orchestra until the late 1960s.

*Les Dragons de Villars* (Maillart) was an extremely popular work but not in the same category as *Faust* (Gounod), a work that seemed to be in the repertoire of all the theatres surveyed. A group of quite diverse works enjoyed widespread success for over forty years from 1870: *La Favorite* (Donizetti), *Galathée* (Massé), *La Grande Duchesse de Gérolstein* (Offenbach), *Guillaume Tell* (Rossini) and *Les Huguenots* (Meyerbeer). Three daughters who were popular with audiences were *La Fille de Mme Angot* (Lecocq), *La Fille du régiment* (Donizetti) and *La Fille du tambour major* (Offenbach). *Haydée* (Auber) and *Hamlet* (Thomas) were still regularly performed in the first two decades after 1870 but by 1900 had disappeared from the repertoire. *Lakmé* (Delibes)

enjoyed success in the provinces. *Lucie de Lammermoor* (Donizetti) continued its successful run completing over 75 years on the provincial stages. By 1889 it had reached 270 performances at the Opéra, an occasion when Dame Nellie Melba was singing the title role. However, it retired from the repertoire in Paris not being revived there until 1935. Paer's *Maître de chapelle* continued to delight audiences for almost a century following its first performance in 1821.

Of Massenet's works *Manon* turned out to be one of the most popular, as was *Mignon* for Ambroise Thomas. One opérette that survived was *Les Mousquetaires au couvent* (Varney). Equally popular was *Les Noces de Jeannette* (Massé) one of the transitional works between opéra comique and opérette. One of the most famous opérette, *Orphée aux enfers* (Offenbach), continued in the repertoire but in surprisingly few theatres. Possible this was a mark of the move to sentiment over satire. Certainly *La Périhole* reflected the change in the public mood and enjoyed considerable provincial success. Quite a few of the examples of *opérettes*, such as the works of Lecocq, *La Petite mariée* and *La Petite mam'zelle*, were fairly ephemeral in their success. *La Poupée de Nuremberg* (Adam), *Le Pré aux clercs* (Hérold) and *Robert le diable* (Meyerbeer) were regularly in repertoires until the Great War. *Rigoletto* and *La Traviata* (Verdi) established themselves, while *Le Rendez-vous bourgeois* (Isouard) managed over a centenary in the repertoire. Two works that enjoyed runs of over fifty years were *Si j'étais roi* (Adam) and *Le Voyage en chine* (Bazin).

From the survey it is possible to recognize that some works were too problematic for medium-sized towns to tackle, *Boris Goudonov* (Mussorgsky), *Pelléas et Mélisande* (Debussy), *Samson et Delila* (Saint-Saëns), *Tannhäuser* and *Les Walkyries* (Wagner) being just five examples. However, that they were in the repertoire lists of some provincial theatres does give an indication of the vitality of the

theatrical life outside Paris. In effect there developed a 'premier division' of theatres: theatres in major cities that were as dynamic as any theatre in Paris.

I have suggested that longevity might be one indicator of popular success. There are some works that remained in the repertoire for a century or longer. *Jean de Paris* and *La Dame blanche* (Boieldieu), *Richard Cœur de Lion* and *Le Tableau parlant* (Grétry), *La Fête du village voisin*, *Joconde* and *Le Rendez-vous bourgeois* (Isouard), *Joseph* (Méhul), *Le Maître de chapelle* (Paer) and *Fernand Cortez* (Spontini) are examples of the latter phenomenon.

## A CURTAIN CALL

Throughout the nineteenth century the major lyric theatres of Paris were at the heart of most of the developments of the various lyric genres. As a musical centre Paris dominated Europe. Composers from all sides of Europe gravitated to the French capital. This was not just a nineteenth-century phenomenon as pre-revolutionary France had seen Paris home to Gluck and then Grétry. The turn of the eighteenth into the nineteenth century saw Cherubini, Isouard, Paër and Spontini working in Paris, to be followed by a second wave of Bellini, Donizetti, Meyerbeer and Rossini. As the nineteenth century progressed Wagner's hope for recognition in Paris was frustrated whereas Verdi was successful. The lyric theatre was not the only area to benefit from the influx of foreigners. Composers such as Chopin and Liszt were captivated by the capital acknowledging that few other cities had such fine opera and such able orchestral players.

The chapters on France and society highlight similarities, but also divergences, between Paris and the provinces. The provincial urban society was in many ways a microcosm of Paris. The theatre was the main diversion for the populations in both the provinces and the capital. The tenancy of a *loge* confirmed a social standing both in Paris and the provinces. However, it is the differences that are the most interesting.

One question might be whether the provincial theatre was actually more dynamic and democratic than that in Paris. Certainly the 'national' theatres maintained social divisions by ticket pricing. The only time that classes might really mix would be in theatres such as the Bouffe-Parisien, and then the draw might be caused by the novelty of a work or a particular 'star' such as Hortense Schneider. The Parisian

theatregoer would choose the entertainment for the evening and attend the appropriate theatre. As one theatre might be enjoying a run of a work it would be necessary to attend a number of theatres to see a variety of programmes. Only the boulevard and suburban theatres came near the range of activity that was a mark of the provinces; but the boulevard and suburban theatres would not have been performing the repertoires of the 'national' theatres. There is the fundamental difference: in just one week an artisan in Nîmes could find himself being entertained by the repertoires of the Opéra, the Opéra-Comique, the Comédie-Français and the Vaudeville. Arguably, the Parisian shop assistant was less likely to enter the portals of one of the three 'grand' theatres for an evening of Donizetti, Meyerbeer or Dumas, whereas for his, or her, provincial cousin these works would be presented in the course of an evening at the municipal theatre. Such a wide repertoire was not easy for the directeur but it made the complete range of genres more readily accessible to the provincial audiences.

As has been noted, especially in the section on the *débuts*, occasionally the theatres were a little too vibrant. Early in the film *Les Enfants du paradis* there is the portrayal of one such rowdy audience at the Funambules.<sup>530</sup> Despite minor skirmishes, such as those against Wagner in the 1840s and Debussy and Stravinsky before the Great War, Parisian audiences did become quieter. James H. Johnson discusses the reasons why, for the most part, audiences in Paris had become silent by 1830.<sup>531</sup> His narrative comes down firmly in favour of a musical reason, Beethoven. Symphonic music moved the audience from a position of superficial to engaged listeners. Johnson built up a framework that saw audiences change from talkative to silent, from primitive spontaneity to self-control. As he saw it, the root cause was the displacement of operas

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<sup>530</sup> Marcel Carné's 1945 film *Les Enfants du paradis* is a wonderful evocation of the popular theatre and the underworld of early 19<sup>th</sup> C. Paris.

<sup>531</sup> Johnson, James H., *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

by symphonies in the affection of the public. The argument holds less credence in the provinces that were also becoming quieter. The popularity of the lyric genres throughout the century is obviously at odds with a view of history centred on the inexorable rise of absolute music. In Rennes audiences were introduced to the symphonies of Beethoven in the 1840s but often just as extracts.<sup>532</sup> The Société Philharmonique du Calvados had been inaugurated in 1827. One of the first concerts of the newly formed orchestra included Beethoven's 1<sup>st</sup> Symphony.<sup>533</sup> Concerts were a popular diversion but secondary to the day-to-day existence of the theatre. Concerts by local choral societies and orchestras often included symphonic movements, even whole symphonies, but this can hardly be regarded as causal in the silencing of provincial audiences.

In *The Fall of Man* Richard Sennett suggested that the members of the emergent bourgeoisie lacked the confidence to react spontaneously in public, that they were suffering a profound self-doubt that took refuge in silence.<sup>534</sup> As a class they were worried about making fools of themselves, or being embarrassed. The bourgeois 'gentilhomme', or 'dame', dreaded making a faux pas or appearing gauche. In Grétry's *Le Huron* (1768) the Native American *ingénu* was the subject of the audience's humour. After the Revolution it was the bourgeois himself who was the *ingénu*. The scenario was not a new one. Molière had mocked the social aspirations of Monsieur Jourdain in *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* (1670). Similarly, Choufleuri's attempt at social recognition was ridiculed by Offenbach in *Monsieur Choufleuri chez lui* (1861). The consequence of the lack of confidence was the publication of books of etiquette counselling the

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<sup>532</sup> Le Moigne-Mussat, *Musique et société à Rennes*, 212.

<sup>533</sup> Carlez, Jules, 'La Société Philharmonique du Calvados 1827-1869', *Mémoires de l'Académie Nationale des Sciences, Arts et Belles Lettres de Caen* (Caen: Delesques, 1896), 191-250.

<sup>534</sup> Sennett, Richard, *The Fall of the Public Man: On the Social Psychology of Capitalism* (New York: Random House, 1974), 123-255.



bourgeoisie in politeness and manners.<sup>535</sup> The effect was noticed earlier in Paris than the provinces.

One aspect of provincial life that deserves additional consideration is the theatre industry in the spas and resorts that developed during the nineteenth century. As has been noted the theatres were often an integral part of the casinos. The resorts attracted a clientele that initially was aristocratic, or from the upper echelons of commerce, but as time went on became more cosmopolitan. One thing that they shared was that they were sophisticated theatregoers who demanded more than an 'end-of-the-pier' show. Actors, actresses and musicians from Paris exploited the possibility of summer employment offered by the new resorts. Even when the artistes were local, rather than from Paris, audiences would expect a standard of performance that equalled what they saw in Paris. .

Rossini conducted the orchestra at Trouville. The Duc de Morny, half-brother to Napoléon III, developed the resort of Deauville. The casino in Deauville still houses one of the most attractive nineteenth-century theatres. By 1910, Deauville was as select as the great Riviera resorts of Nice and Monte-Carlo and attracted celebrities such as 'Coco' Chanel, the Rothschilds, and Edward VII. The casino-theatre brought the great performers of the age, such as the bass Feodor Ivanovitch Chaliapin, to Deauville. Further along the coast Gabriel Fauré and André Messager composed *La Messe des pêcheurs* for the little church of Villerville. In both Cherbourg and Dieppe the municipal theatre and the theatre of the casino alternated in entertaining the visitors with all that was in vogue. Offenbach stayed in Etretat while Saint-Saëns frequented Dieppe and later Villerville.<sup>536</sup>

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<sup>535</sup> Johnson, James H., *Listening in Paris*, chapter 13 'The Social Roots of silence', 228-236.

<sup>536</sup> For a reference to the music in the Normandy resorts: Sclaresky, Monique, *La Belle époque sur la côte normande* (Rouen: Editions Ouest-France, 1989) and Désert, Gabriel, *La Vie quotidienne sur les plages Normandes du Second Empire aux années folles*, (Paris: Hachette, 1983)

The second section of the thesis, dealt with the theatre industry. The national concern was for a vibrant but orderly stage. The national regulations emanating from Paris encapsulate the aspirations for the industry in the provinces while also helping to disseminate an image of the nation. There is almost something Reithian in the objective of entertainment and education. In garrison towns, the theatre was viewed as a necessary wholesome entertainment, an alternative to drink or brothels for the soldiers and sailors.

The local regulations were very much concerned with public safety. It is the *cahiers des charges* that hold most interest. The directeurs were not free agents, it was very much the old adage that 'he who pays the piper'. For most of the century it was the municipal authorities that paid through the *subventions*: naturally there were conditions. It is within the minutiae of council minutes and reports that the expectations for the seasons were detailed: the minimum number of performances, the size of troupe to be employed, the conditions of employment and regulation of the orchestra, the financial sanctions if the conditions were infringed and most critically the genres that were to be performed. The returns from the directeur, such as trimestriel reports or weekly financial receipts to the mayor, give an indicator of which works were popular, particularly those achieving box-office success. Although the *cahiers* indicate an aspiration, they do not show how the goal was to be achieved. A number of details have remained remarkably elusive.

Performing practice remained hardest to pin down. Although it is possible to recreate the day-to-day programmes of theatres it is only possible to infer how and when the works were prepared. It is hard to conceive, when compared to modern-day practice, just how so many works were performed during the course of the theatre's season. Some of the *livrets* studied by Robert Cohen indicate cuts that could be made in provincial performances. There are suggestions on how costumes and scenery from

other works could be substituted and used in other operas. However, until a reasonable number of annotated *livrets* from provincial theatres turn up it will be hard to accurately reconstruct performing practice outside Paris. Certainly it was a practice far removed from the slow and painstaking gestations at the Opéra.

One area of study that could contribute to our knowledge of the performing practices is research into the *mise-en-scène* through the *maquettes* and stage designs of such firms as Apy of Marseille. Just how much freedom was afforded to individual *directeurs* and *regisseurs*, when interpreting an opera or play, could be evaluated by comparing photos of productions in Paris with those from provincial theatres. It will also indicate whether the *directeur* was trying to reproduce the Paris production. Some of the works in Paris were written specifically with the resources of the Opéra in mind, conditions that could hardly be recreated in Auch or Pezenas.

Finally in the section on the theatre industry it is necessary to challenge the assumption that provincial performances had to be as second-rate as some writers would have us believe. The answer has to be probably not. Audiences could be demonstrative and hostile but for most of the year performances satisfied the public and passed without disorder. Many performances met with acclaim and were warmly received. Excursion trains took Parisian music lovers to Rouen to hear productions of Wagner. *Directeurs*, were often extremely capable men of the theatre and, as in the case of Vizentini in Lyon, able musicians. In the middle of the century Toulouse had a reputation for being a city where you would hear bel canto operas performed as well as anything in Paris, if not better. There were the editions of operas by Castil-Blaze, editions that certainly did not simplify Rossini vocally for the provincial theatre and surely they must give an indication as to what was performable by the provincial troupes such as that of Singier in Lyon.

In the towns with a music school or conservatoire, the professeurs were contracted to be the mainstay of the theatre orchestras. There are examples in *cahier des charges* that stipulate the maximum number of students, or amateurs, who could be employed. The maximum number was often very low, and even then the students were not permitted to play principal parts. In addition, regimental musicians might augment the theatre orchestra. Again there is no reason to presume that military musicians were in any way inferior players. The military musicians did more than play bugle calls; many regimental bands gave daily concerts in the towns where they were stationed.

In the fictional account of a provincial opera house in northern Europe, Berlioz gives a humorous account of a player in the theatre orchestra. Night after night tales are told as some third-rate opéra comique is performed. But there are exceptions, a performance of Weber, of Beethoven, of Rossini, of Mozart, or of Gluck and all is attention: 'Nobody in the orchestra speaks. Each musician is bent on carrying out his task zealously and lovingly'; 'Everybody listens in religious silence to Mozart's masterpiece, worthily performed both by choir and orchestra'; 'the whole orchestra, full of reverent respect for this immortal work, seems afraid of not being equal to its task...the chorus also gives a faultless performance.' Nowhere does Berlioz make fun of his provincial colleagues, except for the bass drum player, his irony is reserved for the composers of dull modern operas be they French, Italian or German. Berlioz, never one to underplay a good story, implies that there were evenings in the provinces when the programmes were well performed.<sup>537</sup>

Near the end of Marcel Pagnol's *Manon de la source*, Manon's mother and her new husband Victor are singing with the troupe in Marseille. A throw away line from a letter to Manon reinforces Marseille's reputation for having demanding audiences.

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<sup>537</sup> Berlioz, Hector, *Les Soirées de l'orchestre* (1852), trans. by C. R. Fortescue (London: Penguin, 1963), see particularly 'Evenings 3, 15, 17, 19 and 22', pages 73, 163, 170, 196 and 225.

Victor notes that they received eight encores and 'eight encores in Marseille are worth sixteen in Paris.'<sup>538</sup> Certainly audiences did not just put up with anything and performances were no worse, probably better, than the minor theatres in the capital. As has been noted, various cities had justifiable reputations for their lyric productions, cities such as Marseille, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Strasbourg, and Nantes. This is not to push everywhere else into a second or third division. The towns that were visited by touring companies could have found themselves served by troupes with smaller but well-honed repertoires.

As to the repertoire there are a number of issues that emerge from this study. One question might be why France. The art of the lyric theatre is a bringing together of the talents of a number of equal partners, singers, musicians, set-designers and composers. The long-century is fortunate in that all the necessary ingredients came together. In the section, 'A training for the stage', the new generation of singers was discussed. Allied to the improvement in the quality of singing was the very nature of the dramatic performance. A recurring comment about this new school of singers was their ability to move audiences, not only with their voices, but also by their acting. The acting in the period before the Revolution, both on the dramatic and the lyric stage, would to modern eyes have seemed very stylized, re-using set attitudes and gestures, particularly in the tragedies that called for noble or heroic postures. This was part of a long theatrical tradition that was solidly anchored in the seventeenth century. The improvement in the standard of acting was just one of a number of reforms that emerged during the nineteenth century. Many of the innovations were the result of changes that had initially emanated from the English stage. David Garrick (1717-1779) was admired on the continent and held in particular esteem in France. Used to the declamation and

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<sup>538</sup> Pagnol, Marcel, *Les Eaux des Collines: I, Jean de Florette, II, Manon of the Springs*, translated W. E. van Heyningen (London: Picador, 1989), 425.

statuesque poses of their own actors, Garrick's expressiveness of face, voice and gesture was a revelation. Garrick's natural style of acting influenced some of the French actors who saw him, in particular the great Henri-Louis Lekain (1729-1778) who was a friend and protégé of Voltaire.<sup>539</sup> A number of changes that occurred on the French stage can be attributed to the great French *tragédien*, Francois Joseph Talma (1763-1826). The evolution that Talma brought about in France was in no small part a consequence of what he had seen in England; the works of Shakespeare as interpreted by the great actor-manager brothers John Philip (1757-1823) and Charles Kemble (1775-1854), and the celebrated tragedian Edmund Kean (1787-1833).<sup>540</sup> With the changes that occurred in the standards of the acting there also came reforms in costumes and staging for productions. If the great tragic actor Talma helped bring a new realism to the stage it heralded an end to some of the previous centuries' excesses. Talma was the first French actor to play Roman characters, such as Nero in Racine's *Britannicus* in a toga, rather than contemporary dress or the then ubiquitous kilt. The period of this study is marked by a new school of actors and actresses who were more naturalistic and the operas presume an expression and movement more analogous to real life. The lyric stage began to expect singers who could also act. The period is marked by a whole series of changes, in singing and acting styles, in the design of sets and stage effects, in lighting and in costumes. The provincial directeur had to assimilate all the changes.

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<sup>539</sup> Although Talma never saw Lekain, such was Lekain's popularity that after his death there were many impersonators of his performances. Talma would certainly have known these and through them had a link back to Garrick.

<sup>540</sup> Collins, Herbert F., *Talma, a Biography of an Actor* (London: Faber, 1964), 24. Acknowledged as a major reformer of the Comédie-Française, Talma's influence would have been wider. When Talma toured the provinces he was supported by the provincial troupes, the very same troupes that nightly put on a play, opera and vaudeville. Certainly Talma performed in Normandy at Le Havre, Rouen and Caen. He also visited Arras, Boulogne, Calais Dunkerque, St. Omer and Lille in the north; Chambéry and Geneva to the east; throughout the Midi including Béziers, Marseilles, Montpellier, Lyon, Tarbes and Toulouse to the west Bayonne, Bordeaux and Nantes.

Above all, French theatre was fortunate in having librettists who seemed to capture the mood of the age. They were writers with a strong feel for dramatic situations, while being fully conversant with their audience's taste. In pre-Revolutionary days, when romance was triumphant and Marie-Antoinette tended her sheep, Arcady was man's future. The most successful works of the period had libretti by Charles Simon Favart (1710-1792). Favart worked with Duni, Gluck, Monsigny, Philidor, Grétry and many others providing the texts for over a hundred and fifty operas. Denis Diderot (1713-1784), although a dramatist rather than a librettist, was influential for his theories of drama and the principles of acting. He provided his new middle-class audience with strong emotional situations in a recognizable contemporary setting. 'The doctrine of the equality of man brought the tragic hero from the palace into the parlour, while the sensibilities of an audience which included far more women than before enjoyed being touched to tears even at a comedy.'<sup>541</sup> The libretti of Michel-Jean Sedaine (1719-1797) brought more realism to plots and reduced the comic elements. Sedaine extended the potential of the musical ensemble in opera. He collaborated with Philidor, Monsigny and Grétry. Moving away from the pastoral, Sedaine was more interested in the portrayal of justice and wrongs righted.<sup>542</sup> One such work where Sedaine cooperated with Monsigny was *Le Déserteur* (1769), in which the soldier Alexis, who is to be executed for desertion, is rescued by his fiancée. This work represents one of many such works that came to be referred to in this century as 'Rescue Operas'.<sup>543</sup> Certainly the works appealed to the audiences, and not just those in France.

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<sup>541</sup> Hartnoll, Phyllis, *The Theatre, A Concise History* (London: Thames and Hudson, Revised Edition 1985), 154.

<sup>542</sup> For an account of Sedaine's contribution to the changes in opéra comique see Charlton, David, *Michel-Jean Sedaine: Theatre, Opera and Art* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

<sup>543</sup> David Charlton discusses some of the definitions and generic works that are referred to as, 'Rescue Operas'. Charlton, David, 'On redefinitions of Rescue Operas' in *Music and the French Revolution* ed. Boyd 169-190.

The upheavals of the Revolution, and the rapid establishment of the Consulate and then the Empire, left little time for innovation. It was the lighter forms of entertainment that flourished: the opéras comiques, vaudevilles and mélodrames of René-Charles Guilbert de Pixérécourt (1773-1844). If Sedaine had set a direction then Pixérécourt consolidated the move.<sup>544</sup> Pixérécourt was a master of the theatre, a writer and *metteur-en-scène*, serving his apprenticeship in the boulevard theatres before being appointed directeur of the Opéra-Comique. A complete sea change was about to occur in the history of opera as opéra seria and opéra comique gave way to grand opera. Louis Véron, who transformed the Paris Opéra, noted in his autobiography that French grand opéra, born of the popular theatres and the *spectacles d'optique*, left aristocratic traditions behind while looking forward to the 1830s and 'to the triumph of the bourgeoisie'.<sup>545</sup> Véron was making a percipient and significant point; it was the boulevard theatres that had initiated many of the changes. The boulevard theatres, in particular the Ambigue-Comique, the Gaitié and the Porte Saint-Martin, had attracted a large bourgeois patronage.

Two operas that are generally regarded as marking the transition from opéra comique to grand opera are *La Muette de Portici* (1828) by Auber and Meyerbeer's *Robert le Diable* (1831). Karin Pendle outlined how many of the features of these two operas, which might be regarded as startling and innovative, had already featured in the *mélodrames* of Pixérécourt.<sup>546</sup> From his training as a *metteur-en-scène* came the many *coups de théâtre*, ranging from volcanoes to ship wrecks that mark Pixérécourt's

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<sup>544</sup> Disher, Maurice Willson, *Blood and Thunder* (London: Muller, 1949), 62-69.

Disher, in his discussion of the rise of melodrama, gives a colourful account of Pixérécourt and bestows on him the title of the 'father of melodrama'.

<sup>545</sup> Véron, Louis, *Mémoires d'un bourgeois de Paris* (Paris: Librairie Nouvelle, 1856), III, 105.

<sup>546</sup> Pendle, Karin, 'The boulevard theaters and continuity in French opera of the 19th Century' in *Music in Paris in the Eighteen-Thirties* ed. by Peter Bloom (New York: Pendragon, 1987), 509-536.



*mélodrames*. Similarly the settings of the *mélodrames* included abandoned monasteries and cloisters, alpine valleys and forests, chateaux and fortresses, caverns and mines; this tendency to place the action in historically or geographically intriguing settings was common to both the *mélodrames* and *grand opéra*. Another way that the boulevard was to influence high-art was the reinvention and incorporation of choreographed episodes into the action. All three boulevard theatres previously mentioned had a *corps-de-ballet*. That dance was to play an important part in the spectacle had obvious implications for the composition of provincial troupes. If Pixérécourt had been the main influence on the first thirty years of the nineteenth century, then the July Monarchy was dominated by grand opera and the libretti of Eugène Scribe (1791-1861).

Eugène Scribe's talent lay in being able to give a clear dramatic structure that satisfied the musical requirements of the composer, complemented the brilliant scenic innovations and appealed to the contemporary bourgeois audience. Scribe began his career writing for the boulevard theatres for which he wrote dozens of *comédies-vaudevilles*. His early successes led to commissions for the Opéra-Comique. If for the first thirty years of the nineteenth century the Opéra was in the doldrums, the same could not be said of the Opéra-Comique. The great days of Duni, Philidor, Monsigny, Dalayrac and Grétry were followed by those of Adam, Boieldieu, Carafa and Cherubini, all of whom collaborated with Scribe. 'A craftsman at heart and a collaborator by trade, he could enter into an alliance with music unhampered either by fears or reservations.'<sup>47</sup> The list of composers he provided libretti for includes: Adam, Auber, Audran, Boieldieu, Carafa, Cherubini, Donizetti, Gounod, Halévy, Hérold, Meyerbeer, Monpou, Offenbach, Rossini, Thomas and Verdi, amongst others. Encompassed within these libretti are some of the seminal works in the history of French *grand opéra*: *La Muette*

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<sup>47</sup> Crosten, *French Grand Opera*, 80.

*de Portici*, *La Juive*, *Robert le Diable*, *Les Huguenots*, *Le Prophète* and *Les Vêpres Siciliennes*.<sup>548</sup> Wagner, while professing a hatred of grand opera, tried to procure a libretto from Scribe. Berlioz composed part of two acts of a gothic grand opera, *La Nonne sanglante*, to a libretto by Scribe but the opera was never finished.<sup>549</sup>

The Second Empire found its perfect expression in the *opéra-bouffe* of Jacques Offenbach with libretti by Henri Meilhac (1831-1897) and Ludovic Halévy (1834-1908). Although primarily remembered for their collaborations with Offenbach, and the rise of *opéra-bouffe* and *opérette*, they also provided the libretto for one of the most successful *opéra comique* of all times, Bizet's *Carmen*

Leading librettists of this last chapter include Jules Barbier (1822-1901) and Michel Florentin Carré (1819-1872). Barbier and Carré are mainly associated with the operas of Gounod and Amboise Thomas. They also provided libretti for Bizet, David, Massé, Messager, Meyerbeer, Offenbach, and Saint-Saëns. The composers throughout the century were fortunate in being aided by the collaboration of librettists who were practical men of the theatre.

As well as the changes in the nature and content of the genres; as well as the increase in spectacle and *coups de théâtre*; there were changes in the vocal demands of the lyric genres. The early *opéras comiques* were the works most suited for companies having to perform a large number of works over the course of a season. An *opéra comique* such as *Rose et Colas* (Monsigny) had a succession of solo airs, with occasional duets and larger ensembles, which meant that each singer had comparatively

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<sup>548</sup> Coston, William. *French Grand Opera*, 70-81.

<sup>549</sup> Cairns makes the point that Berlioz was very happy with the action packed play and the explosive dénouement. Having studied the remaining music from Act II, Cairns sees it as a move from the demanding *Benvenuto Cellini* to something less ambitious. The short motifs and dark orchestral sonorities anticipate the music Verdi wrote for Paris. Cairns, David, *Berlioz* (London: Penguin, 1999), II, 241-243. What does remain of Berlioz's sketches is published in the New Berlioz Edition, IV. ed. by Ric Graubner and Paul Banks, (Kassel: Barenreiter, 2003).

little to learn. Actors with reasonable voices could interpret most airs in these operas. Grétry, and later such composers as Boieldieu and Isouard put more emphasis on ensemble pieces, which was more demanding for the singers and more difficult to learn. The *opéras* of the First Empire, such as those by Spontini, brought in new levels of spectacle to the theatres. Vocal demands further increased as the Italian school introduced *bel canto* to France during the 1820s. Grand opera (Auber, Halévy and Meyerbeer) brought a whole range of new problems ranging from vocal demands, the role of the ensemble, the level of spectacle, and the augmented orchestra required to accompany the works.

Presaged by such works as Adam's *Le Chalet* and *Le Toreador*, opérette also created new challenges for the provincial directeur. The early examples of the new genre were in many ways similar to the early *opéra comiques* of the eighteenth century. The one-act opérettes had between six and eight numbers of which solo airs, romances and couplets predominated. *Ba-ta-clan*, *Monsieur Choufleuri* and *Pomme d'Api* (Offenbach) are three early examples of the new genre which are available in recordings.<sup>550</sup> Like the eighteenth-century works, they were capable of being performed by actors or actresses who had reasonable singing voices. The smaller touring companies whose only lyric works had been vaudevilles took up these one-act opérette. As already noted, opérette had wide ranging repercussions in the provinces, not least in the pattern of the theatrical year. All the changes in the genres brought problems for any directeur. However, in Paris the directeur had the luxury of time. The provincial theatre directeur had to assimilate the changes, but his problems were exacerbated by the speed that the works had to be introduced into the repertoire and the vast number of works needed to service a theatrical season.

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<sup>550</sup> *Ba-ta-clan* / *Les Bavards*, Erato, 1997.

*Pomme d'Api* / *Monsieur Choufleuri* / *Mesdames de la Halle*, EMI, 1983.

The section on the repertoire draws out a number of points for consideration. The longevity of certain works in the repertoire poses the question whether it was a the result of genuine popularity, or rather the administrative framework that directeurs found themselves compelled to work within. In the 1830s, it is interesting to note that the touring lyric companies, that used smaller repertoires than the sedentary companies, were the first to lose the works of the older generation of composers such as Dalayrac. The provincial repertoire evolved slowly and did seem to maintain some works in their programmes well past what might have been regarded as their natural life span. The requirement for programmes to change nightly, and the fact that repeats had to be authorized by the local authorities forced directeurs to maintain large repertoires. It was also expected that whilst new works were to be introduced into the repertoire, it was incumbent upon directeurs to revive works that might not have been heard in the theatre for ten or twenty years. All these considerations might well have extended the life of some works. At the same time, it is evident that audiences maintained a genuine affection for certain operas which helped them remain in the repertoire for over a hundred years. A 1914 survey of the principal works of the lyric repertoire included such examples as *La Dame blanche* (Boieldieu), *Joseph* (Méhul), *Le Maître de chapelle* (Paer) and *La Vestale* (Spontini) along with works by Adam, Auber, Halévy, Hérold, Meyerbeer, and Thomas from the 1830s and the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>551</sup>

The overview of the provinces has shown how theatres tended to work to very similar programmes. There seemed to have been a core of works that was uniformly popular across France. However, with working practices in the provinces so different to those of Paris, it is inevitable that on occasions the desire to copy Paris and the realities of provincial life did not sit easily alongside each other. Provincial directeurs obviously wished to recreate the box-office successes of Paris but often they had limited resources.

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<sup>551</sup> Combe, E., *Les Chefs-d'Œuvre du repertoire: Opéra, opéra-comique, opérette* (Paris: Payot, 1914).

It has been shown how the boulevard theatres influenced the mainstream houses, how melodrama was introduced to libretti and how there was increasingly a reliance on spectacle. The level of spectacle in the *grand opéras* of Auber, Halévy and Meyerbeer inadvertently undermined the finances of the majority of provincial houses. Medium sized towns were unable to have a mixed repertoire throughout the year but rather short, discrete, opera seasons, usually after Easter. From the 1860s there are regular discussions and inquiries into the 'decadence' of the theatre industry. It may appear strange that while more towns were building theatres, while audiences filled the theatres for the second wave of opérette composers or to hear the latest work of Massenet, there should be a debate about the decline of the industry. However, the industry was in decline and the wounds were largely self-inflicted.

Mark Radice, *Opera in Context*, clearly shows that production in Paris was unique, the resources could not be replicated in the provinces and yet directeurs tried. Audiences, and composers, were mesmerized by grand opera, but it could not transfer easily to the majority of provincial houses. The costs were prohibitive and municipal purses were not bottomless. As has been seen, economic down turns often led towns to cut subventions.<sup>552</sup> It was not only the cost of production and the orchestra that made the works expensive, throughout the century the remuneration for the principal singers rose. Berlioz noted the trend as early as the 1840s. In *Le Ténor au zénith* Berlioz comments that if the tenor was paid 100,000frs and performed seven times a month it would be equivalent to eighty-four performances in the year, or 1,100frs each evening. Now supposing a role has 1,100 notes, or syllables, that would be 1fr per syllable.

Exemple, *Guillaume Tell*: 'Ma (1fr) présence (3frs) pour vous est peut-être en outrage (9frs) Mathilde (3frs) mes pas indiscrets (cents sous) Ont osé

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<sup>552</sup> The provincial subsidies are discussed in Monval, Georges, *Les Théâtres subventionnés* (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1879) 17-23.

jusqu'à vous se frayer un passage! (13frs)' Total 34frs. Vous parlez d'or, monseigneur.<sup>553</sup>

Similarly, Berlioz wrote that:

'in contrast to Robert Macaire's famous coffers, which were always open to receive, those of the opera houses are always open to pay out. What the tenors, sopranos and baritones eat up is beyond belief. The world has not seen such gargantuan appetites.'<sup>554</sup>

In a humorous way Berlioz was highlighting a real problem; the escalating costs brought about by a 'star' system of soloists. The public wanted spectacles and 'star' singers but directeurs could hardly afford them. The final blow came when cinema could offer extravagant spectacle on a scale unimaginable in the municipal theatre.

The overview has been able to compare towns and repertoires and to highlight similarities. It has been possible to identify a core of opéras comiques that enjoyed a long box-office success. For 125 years, in its various guises the 'national genre' of opéra comique dominated the provincial theatres. Both grand opera and opérette were aberrations, albeit significant ones. The former undermined the finances of the provincial theatre, while the latter although dominating seasons for the last thirty years of the nineteenth century created few compositions that found a lasting place in the pantheon of lyric works.

Towards the end of *Manon de la source*, Victor is reunited with Aimée. At the wedding he appeared 'draped in the black cape in which he had played *Werther*. It floated on the varnished boots of the *Postillon of Longjumeau*...'.<sup>555</sup> There are also passing references to *Si j'étais roi*, *Lakmé*, *Manon*, *La Juive*, *Les Contes de Hoffman*,

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<sup>553</sup> Berlioz, Hector, *Voyage Musical en Allemagne et en Italie* (Paris: Jules Labitte, 1844) 358-9.

<sup>554</sup> *A l'inverse de la fameuse caisse de Robert Macaire, toujours ouverte pour recevoir, la caisse des theatres lyriques est toujours ouverte pour payer. Ce que manquent les tenors, les soprani et les barytons dépasse toute croyance: on n'a jamais vu de gargantualisme pareil.* Berlioz, Hector, *A Travers chant* (Paris: Michel Lévy, 1862), 88.

<sup>555</sup> Pagnol, Marcel, *Les Eaux des Collines*, 414, 417, 418 and 422.

and Victor sees the view over the valley as an ideal backdrop for *Faust*. The cited works were examples of operas that were genuinely popular and ones that would have had a resonance with Pagnol's audience when he published the novels in 1962. The 'long-century' is a fascinating period of French theatrical life. It is a period when the theatre was the principal recreation of a large proportion of the population. In conditions that nowadays are difficult to comprehend, directeurs struggled to provide the provincial audiences with the popular works of the age and the latest successes from the capital. Over the course of the 'long century' there were a number of significant changes in the style of, and the resources needed for, the principal lyric genres – the directeurs assimilated them all. None of it made for an easy life and fame and success were hard won in the provinces.

Hopefully, the study has helped clarify the opening inquiry as to who strode the boards of the provincial theatres and what works were the mainstay of the lyric repertoire.

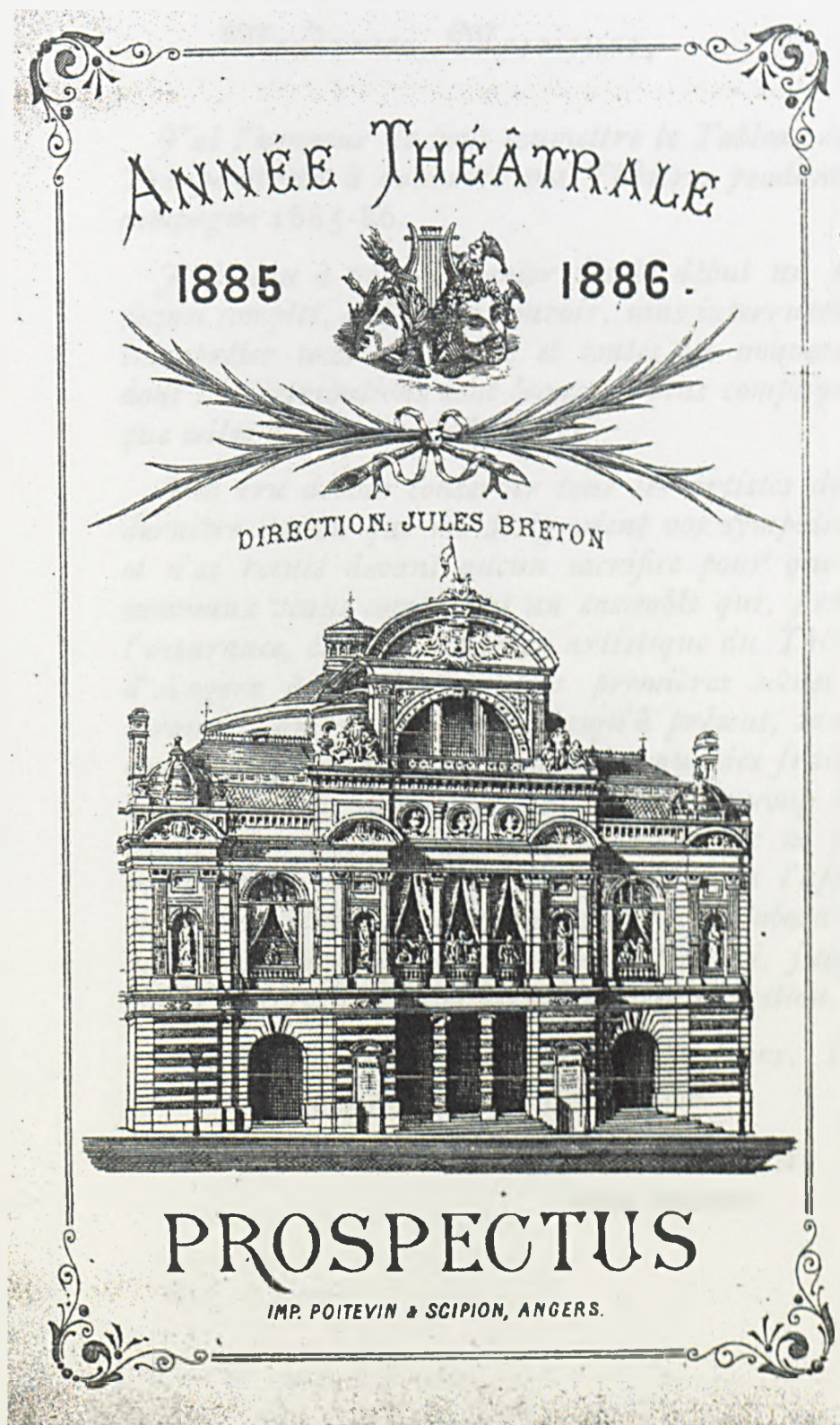
## Appendix

- I. The opening of the prospectus for the theatre in Angers, 1885-6.
- II. Costume designs for Louise and Jean-Baptiste Gavaudan.
- III. Common repertoire of theatres in Auch and Troyes.
- IV. Avignon troupe, 1833.



## Appendix 1.

Opening pages of the prospectus for the 1885 season in Angers, any pencil markings were on the original.



Mesdames, Messieurs,

*J'ai l'honneur de vous soumettre le Tableau de la Troupe appelée à desservir vos Théâtres pendant la campagne 1885-86.*

*J'ai tenu à vous présenter dès le début un personnel complet, de façon à pouvoir, sans interruption, interpréter tous les genres et toutes les nouveautés dont les distributions sont beaucoup plus compliquées que celles de l'ancien Répertoire.*

*J'ai cru devoir conserver tous les artistes de la dernière Saison que me désignaient vos sympathies, et n'ai reculé devant aucun sacrifice pour que les nouveaux venus complètent un ensemble qui, j'en ai l'assurance, élèvera le niveau artistique du Théâtre d'Angers à la hauteur des premières scènes de France; car, si je n'ai pu jusqu'à présent, tant à cause des appointements des artistes que des frais de mises en scène, équilibrer un budget beaucoup trop lourd pour les ressources de la Ville, je ne puis rétrograder, c'est pourquoi, confiant dans l'appréciation du Public, et soutenu par un Collaborateur dont le dévouement ne s'est jamais démenti, j'espère clôturer dignement mes quatre années de gestion.*

*Veuillez agréer, Mesdames, Messieurs, l'expression de mon respectueux dévouement.*

JULES BRETON.

Directeur-Administrateur.

ANNÉE THÉÂTRALE 1885-86.

3

THÉÂTRES D'ANGERS

ANNÉE THÉÂTRALE 1885-86

ADMINISTRATION :

**MM. STRELISKI**, Régisseur général, Metteur en scène de l'Opéra.

**LEPRIN**, Régisseur, Metteur en scène de la Comédie et du Drame, parlant au Public.

**ASMIRE**, Deuxième Régisseur.

**GUSTAVE LELONG**, Premier Chef d'Orchestre.

**LAFFAGE**,  
**PRYS**, ) Deuxièmes Chefs d'Orchestre. Premiers au besoin.

**MEINER**, Pianiste accompagnateur.

**LYNEN**, Répétiteur des Chœurs (Hommes).

**LANGAVERT**, Répétiteur des Chœurs (Femmes).

**EUGÈNE**, Bibliothécaire.

**BODET**, Contrôleur en Chef, Préposé à la location.

**COUTANT**, Contrôleur.

**CHOUANET**, Chef Machiniste.

**M<sup>ME</sup>S CAILLÉ**, Costumière.

**ÉLISA CHOUANET**, Costumière.

**MM. NORMANDIN**, Coiffeur des Hommes.

**VALENTIN**, Coiffeur des Dames.

**AUDOIN et BROUARD**, Souffleurs.

**AUGUSTE CROSNIER**, Accessoiriste.

## OPÉRA-COMIQUE, TRADUCTIONS

- 
- 1 MM. GOFFOËL, Premier Ténor en tous genres.
- 2 Noë CADEAU, Deuxième Ténor léger,  
Premier au besoin.
- 3 DECHEsNE, Baryton.
- 4 NEVEU, (de l'Opéra et de l'Opéra-Comique),  
Première Basse.
- 5 RONDEAU, Deuxième Basse.
- 6 OMETZ, Trial, Ténor comique.
- 7 LABRANCHE, Laruette.
- 8 HENNESSE, Deuxième Trial.
- 9 DÉMON, Troisième Ténor.
- 10 PASCAUD, Troisième Basse.
- 11 DEROUSSEAU, des Troisièmes Basses.
- 12 LOMBARD, Coryphée Ténor.
- 13 NOËL, Coryphée Taille.
- 14 ALLEMAND et GUIRAUD, Cory-  
phées Basses.
-

## OPÉRA-COMIQUE, TRADUCTIONS

---

- 1 M<sup>mes</sup> DORIAN, Première Chanteuse légère en tous genres.
  - 2 DE VITA, Première Chanteuse Contralto, les Galli-Marié.
  - 3 Mathilde DULAURENS, Première Dugazon, jeune Chanteuse.
  - 4 Rita LELONG, Mère Dugazon, jeune Mère Dugazon.
  - 5 VAN DER MEIREN, } deuxièmes dugazons.
  - 6 Marguerite JOISSANT, }
  - 7 SAVIGNY, des Deuxièmes Dugazons.
  - 8 ALLAIN, des Duègnes.
  - 9 BŒUF. Coryphée, Premier Dessus.
  - 10 FEUILLERAT, idem.
  - 11 DUPUIS, Coryphée, Deuxième Dessus.
  - 12 GUILMAIN, idem.
-

## OPÉRETTE

---

MM. NOË CADEAU, premier Ténor.  
 DECHESNE, Baryton.  
 RONDEAU, Basse bouffé.  
 OMETZ, premier Trial, Ténor comique.  
 LABRANCHE, Laruelle.  
 LEPRIN, des Comiques, Trial.  
 HENNESSE, deuxième Trial.  
 15 ALLAIN, des Grimes.  
 DEROUSSEAU, des Grimes.  
 16 ASMIRE, Coriphée.

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M<sup>mes</sup> DULAURENS, première Chanteuse.  
 15 CANTRELLE, Duègne. Desclauzas.  
 VAN DER MEIREN,  
 MARGUERITE JOISSANT, } deuxièmes Chanteuses.  
 SAVIGNY, Dugazon.  
 ALLAIN, Duègne comique.  
 14 HENNESSE, des Soubrettes.

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ANNÉE THÉÂTRALE 1885-86.

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# CHOEURS

## TÉNORS

+ MM. DEMON.  
 + LOMBARD.  
 17 DONVAL.  
 + HENNESSE.  
 15 VAN DER MEIREN.  
 19 LUNEAU.  
 22 L. LEPRIN fils.

## TAILLES

+ MM. ASMIRE.  
 + NOEL.  
 23 ÉTIENNE.  
 25 HERTZ.

## DEUXIÈMES BASSES

+ MM. PASCAUD.  
 DEROUSSEAU.  
 DEWICK.  
 VAN BETS.

## PREMIÈRES BASSES

MM. ALLEMAND.  
 GUIRAUD.  
 CHERRIER.  
 HERMANN.

## PREMIERS DESSUS

Mmes BŒUF.  
 FEUILLERAT.  
 VAN DER MEIREN.  
 DEWICK.  
 NOEL.  
 HENNESSE.

## DEUXIÈMES DESSUS

Mmes DUPUIS.  
 DONVAL.  
 GUILMAIN.  
 GUIRAUD.  
 VAN BETS.  
 RECURT.

**DRAME, COMÉDIE, VAUDEVILLE**

---

MM. JOISSANT, Grand Premier Rôle en tous genres.

RAPHAELL, Fort Jeune Premier Rôle.

MOSNIER, Jeune Premier.

RECURT, Grand Troisième Rôle.

ALLAIN, Premier Rôle Marqué, Père Noble.

ALLEMAND, Jeune Troisième Rôle, Rôle de genre.

LABRANCHE, Grand Premier Comique.

OMETZ, Premier Comique en tous genres.

P. LEPRIN, Premier Comique Jeune.

HENNESSE, Second Comique.

ASMIRE, Des Amoureux Comiques.

L. LEPRIN, Des Amoureux Comiques.

HERTZ, Des Rôles de genre.

EU'GÈNE, Des Seconds Comiques.

LL'NEAU, Utilité.

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ANNÉE THÉÂTRALE 1885-86.

9

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## DRAME, COMÉDIE, VAUDEVILLE

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M<sup>mes</sup> JOISSANT, Grand Premier Rôle en tous genres.

NOELHA STROECKER, Fort Jeune Premier Rôle.

SAVIGNY, Première Ingénuité, Jeune Première.

COLSON, Première Soubrette.

CANTRELLE Première Duègne.

BÉRANGÈRE (Des Variétés), Des Jeunes Premiers  
Rôles des Coquettes.

MARGUERITE JOISSANT, Seconde Ingénuité.

ALLAIN, Deuxième Duègne.

LUCIENNE, Grande Utilité.

HENNESSE, Des Soubrettes.

LUCILE, Utilité.

ALICE, Utilité.

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10

ANNÉE THÉÂTRALE 1885-86.

# ORCHESTRE DU THÉÂTRE

## PREMIERS VIOLONS

MM. LYENEN.  
DISPA.  
MEINER.  
FRACASSINI.  
DEBRAZ.  
JEHIN.

## DEUXIÈMES VIOLONS.

PRYS.  
BERTRAND fils.  
BAGNOLI jeune.  
VAN-ERPS.

## ALTOS

DEQUINZE.  
LANGAVERT.

## VIOLONCELLES

WEBER.  
WUILLE.  
N'CCI.

## CONTREBASSES

BUTI.  
KREGERSMANN.  
THOMSON.

## FLUTES

GORIN.  
BUYSE.

## HAUTBOIS

MM. DEJEAN.  
WERBRUGGHE.

## CLARINETTES

MOLE.  
VIDAL.

## BASSONS

BAILLY.  
ECKMANN.

## CORS

DEVILLERS.  
BOSSY.  
LHOEST.  
AUSTRUY.

## TROMPETTES

EVARD.  
BERTRAND père.

## TROMBONES

RIKIR.  
ROBA.  
LOTZ.

## TIMBALES

BOULARD.

## GROSSE CAISSE

CHOISTEAU.

## HARPISTE

NAVONE.

Chef d'Orchestre : M. GUSTAVE LEL

*total 38*

## CONDITIONS DE L'ABONNEMENT

### Et des Entrées au Théâtre

L'année théâtrale se compose de 100 représentations, qui commenceront le jeudi 1<sup>er</sup> octobre 1885, pour finir fin mars 1886.

Les représentations sont au nombre de quatre par semaine ; les dimanche, mardi jeudi et samedi, l'Administration se réservant le droit de donner des représentations supplémentaires avec abonnements suspendus.

L'abonnement au mois se compose de douze représentations.

MM. les Abonnés à l'année auront droit à toutes les représentations dont le minimum est de 100, sauf à celles dites extraordinaires. Dans ce cas, ils pourront, jusqu'au jour de la représentation, à midi, prévenir l'Administration de leur intention de conserver leurs places. A partir de cette heure, l'Administration pourra en disposer.

Les abonnements sont personnels, et une fois pris doivent être continués jusqu'à la fin de la campagne.

Tous les abonnements sont payables d'avance :

Ceux à l'année en trois paiements : le premier en s'abonnant ; le deuxième le 1<sup>er</sup> décembre et le troisième le 1<sup>er</sup> février 1886.

Abonné ou non, nul spectateur ne peut occuper d'autre place que celle qu'il a louée.

Les abonnements aux places non réservées ne donnent droit qu'aux Fauteuils d'Orchestre ou de Balcon.

MM. les Abonnés ne peuvent introduire dans leurs Loges, des personnes étrangères, à moins que celles-ci ne soient munies de billets de Premières.

Toute Loge ne peut être louée qu'en totalité, et l'Administration ne peut traiter qu'avec un seul locataire responsable, qui, en contractant l'abonnement, donnera les noms des autres personnes devant occuper la Loge.

M. le Maire se réserve le droit de disposer de la salle quand il lui plaira pour Fêtes, Concerts, Bals de Bienfaisance ou Représentations gratuites. Ces représentations seront en dehors des abonnements, articles 7 et 8 du cahier des charges.

Tous les coupons d'abonnements au mois ou à l'année doivent porter l'acquit de l'Administration.

S'adresser pour les abonnements, à partir du jeudi 24 septembre, de midi à quatre heures du soir, au bureau de location du Grand-Théâtre.

### PRIX DES ABONNEMENTS

Places réservées à l'année.....	180 fr.
Places non réservées, à l'année .....	135
Places réservées, au mois .....	35
Places non réservées, au mois.....	28

La location des Loges sera traitée de gré à gré avec l'Administration.

### PRIX DES PLACES A LA SOIRÉE

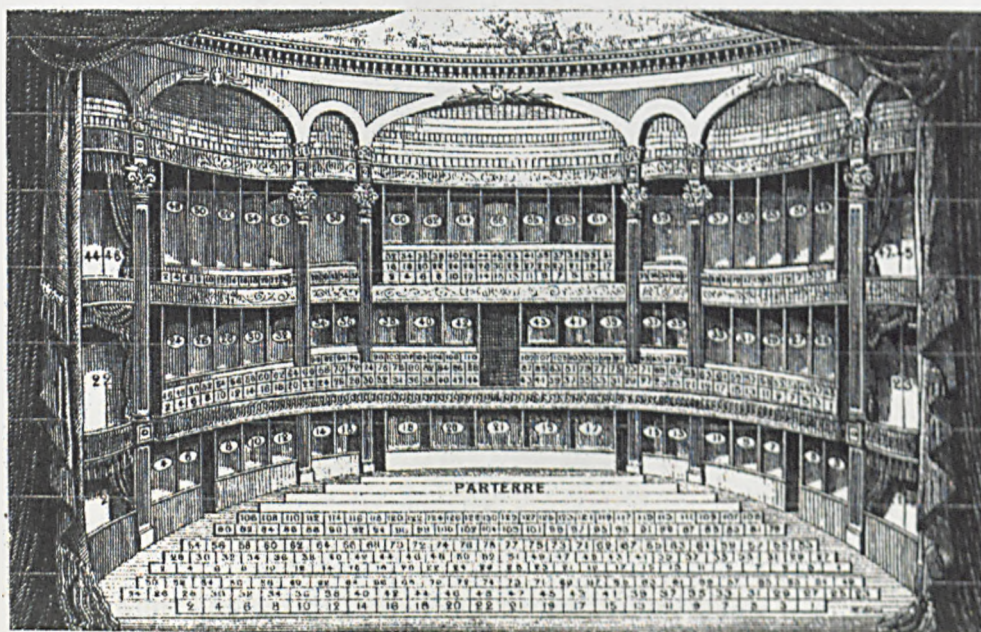
Loges à Salon .....	4 fr. » c.
Fauteuils de Balcon, Fauteuils d'Orchestre ...	3 50
Baignoires .....	3 50
Stalles de Parquet.....	2 50
Premières Galeries de Face.....	2 »
Loges de Face et d'entre-Colonnes.....	2 »
Parterre.....	1 50
Loges et Galeries de Côté.....	1 50
Troisièmes .....	1 »
Amphithéâtre.....	» 50

En location, 25 centimes par place, aux Loges à Salon, Fauteuils de Balcon, Fauteuils d'Orchestre, Baignoires et Stalles de Parquet :

Et 10 centimes aux Premières Galeries de Face, Loges de Face et d'entre-Colonnes, Parterre, Loges et Galeries de Côté et Troisièmes.

MM. les Militaires (sous-officiers et soldats) paieront moitié place, mais seulement aux Premières Galeries de Côté (2<sup>e</sup> étage) ou aux Troisièmes. Partout ailleurs ils paieront place entière.

AVIS. — Les Représentations du Théâtre du Cirque sont indépendantes de celles données au Grand Théâtre. Toutefois, MM. les Abonnés pourront, s'ils le désirent, avoir leur entrée à toutes les Représentations du Cirque, du 27 septembre 1885 à fin mars 1886, moyennant une augmentation de 20 fr. à leur abonnement du Grand Théâtre, une fois payée d'avance et pour toute la saison.





## Appendix II

## Costume designs.

Mme Louise Gavaudan in *Le Magicien sans magie*M Solié and Mme Gavaudan in *Joseph*

Composer	Date of 1 <sup>st</sup> perf.	Works in repertoire in Auch and Troyes, 1823	Paris O-C	Composer	Date of 1 <sup>st</sup> perf.	Works in repertoire in Auch and Troyes, 1823	Paris O-C
Berton	1809	<i>Françoise de Foix</i>	(1)	Dalayrac	1796	<i>Marianne</i>	
Berton	1799	<i>Délire</i>	✓	Dalayrac	1786	<i>Nina</i>	✓
Berton	1806	<i>Maris garçons</i>	✓	Dalayrac	1791	<i>Philippe et Georgette</i>	✓
Berton	1799	<i>Montano et Stephanie</i>		Dalayrac	1788	<i>Sargines</i>	✓
Berton	1808	<i>Ninon</i>	✓	Dalayrac	1790	<i>Soirée orageuse</i>	✓
Bochsa	1814	<i>Héritiers de Michau</i>	✓	Della Maria	1798	<i>Opéra comique</i>	✓
Boieldieu	1800	<i>Calife de Bagdad</i>	✓	Della Maria	1796	<i>Prisonnier</i>	✓
Boieldieu	1816	<i>Fête du village voisin</i>	✓	Dezède	1785	<i>Alexis et Justine</i>	
Boieldieu	1812	<i>Jeune femme colère</i>	✓	Dezède	1783	<i>Blaise et Babet</i>	✓
Boieldieu	1803	<i>Ma tante Aurore</i>	✓	Duni	1763	<i>Deux chasseurs</i>	
Boieldieu	1813	<i>Nouveau seigneur de village</i>	✓	Eler	1803	<i>Habit du chevalier de Grammont</i>	✓
Boieldieu	1818	<i>Petit chaperon rouge</i>	✓	Gail	1813	<i>Deux jaloux</i>	✓
Boieldieu	1820	<i>Voitures versées</i>	✓	Gaveaux	1792	<i>Amour filial</i>	✓
Boieldieu	1798	<i>Zoraïme et Zulnare</i>	✓	Gaveaux	1804	<i>Bouffe et le tailleur</i>	
Bruni	1797	<i>Major Palmer</i>		Gaveaux	1798	<i>Diabie couleur de rose</i>	
Carafa	1822	<i>Solitaire</i>	✓	Gaveaux	1808	<i>Échelle de soie</i>	
Catel	1807	<i>Auberge de bagnères</i>	✓	Gaveaux	1811	<i>Enfant prodigue</i>	
Catrufo	1815	<i>Félicie</i>	✓	Gaveaux	1806	<i>Monsieur Deschalumeaux</i>	✓
Champein	1787	<i>Dettes</i>		Gaveaux	1796	<i>Petit matelôt</i>	✓
Champein	1789	<i>Don Quichotte</i>		Gaveaux	1804	<i>Quart d'heure de silence</i>	
Champein	1781	<i>Mélomanie</i>	(1)	Gaveaux	1797	<i>Sophie et Moncars</i>	
Champein	1804	<i>Trois Hussards</i>		Gaveaux	1797	<i>Traité nul</i>	
Cherubini	1800	<i>Deux journées</i>	✓	Grétry	1778	<i>Amant jaloux</i>	(1)
Dalayrac	1799	<i>Adolphe et Clara</i>	✓	Grétry	1779	<i>Aucassin et Nicolette</i>	
Dalayrac	1798	<i>Alexis</i>		Grétry	1783	<i>Caravane du Calre</i>	
Dalayrac	1793	<i>Ambroise</i>	✓	Grétry	1787	<i>Comte Albert</i>	✓
Dalayrac	1791	<i>Camille</i>	✓	Grétry	1770	<i>Deux avares</i>	
Dalayrac	1789	<i>Deux mots</i>	✓	Grétry	1784	<i>Épreuve villageoise</i>	✓
Dalayrac	1789	<i>Deux petits Savoyards</i>	✓	Grétry	1779	<i>Événements imprévus</i>	✓
Dalayrac	1797	<i>Gulnare</i>		Grétry	1775	<i>Fausse magie</i>	✓

### Appendix III Common repertoire to theatres of Auch and Troyes, 1823

Works shaded also in repertoire of the Opéra-Comique.



Composer	Date of 1 <sup>st</sup> perf.	Works in repertoire in Auch and Troyes, 1823	Paris O-C	Composer	Date of 1 <sup>st</sup> perf.	Works in repertoire in Auch and Troyes, 1823	Paris O-C
Dalayrac	1804	<i>Heure de mariage</i>	✓	Grétry	1778	<i>Jugement de Midas</i>	
Dalayrac	1798	<i>Léon ou Le Château de Monténéro</i>	✓	Grétry	1797	<i>Lisbeth</i>	
	1797	<i>Maison isolée</i>	✓	Grétry	1769	<i>Lucile</i>	
	1800	<i>Maison à vendre</i>	✓	Grétry	1789	<i>Raoul, barbe-bleue</i>	
Grétry	1785	<i>Panurge</i>					
	1784	<i>Richard cœur de lion</i>	✓	Méhul	1807	<i>Joseph</i>	✓
	1774	<i>Rosière de Salency</i>		Méhul	1792	<i>Stratonice</i>	(1)
	1770	<i>Sylvain</i>	✓	Méhul	1802	<i>Tresor suppose</i>	(1)
	1769	<i>Tableau parlant</i>	✓	Berton	1803	<i>Aline</i>	
	1771	<i>Zémire et Azor</i>	✓	Monsigny	1773	<i>Belle Arsène</i>	
Isouard	1810	<i>Cendrillon</i>	✓	Monsigny	1777	<i>Félix</i>	(1)
	1803	<i>Confidences</i>		Monsigny	1762	<i>Roi et le fermier</i>	
	1806	<i>Déjeuner des garçons</i>		Monsigny	1764	<i>Rose et Colas</i>	
	1814	<i>Jeannot et Colin</i>	✓				
	1814	<i>Joconde</i>	✓	Pergolesi	1754	<i>Servante maîtresse</i>	
	1811	<i>Magicien sans magie</i>		Philidor	1775	<i>Femmes vengées</i>	
	1803	<i>Médecon turc</i>	✓	Philidor	1761	<i>Maréchal farrant</i>	
	1802	<i>Michel-Ange</i>	✓	Philidor	1764	<i>Sorcier</i>	
	1801	<i>Tonnellier</i>	✓	Piccini	1806	<i>Avis au public</i>	✓
	1808	<i>Un jour à Paris</i>	(1)	Piccini	1783	<i>Faux lord</i>	
Jadin	1805	<i>Grand-père</i>		Plantade	1813	<i>Mari de circonstance</i>	✓
Kreubé	1822	<i>Coq du village</i>	✓	Plantade	1798	<i>Palma</i>	
Kreutzer	1808	<i>Jadis et aujourd'hui</i>	✓	Rossini		<i>Barbier de Seville</i>	
	1791	<i>Paul et Virginie</i>	✓	Rousseau	1752	<i>Devin du village</i>	
Lebrun	1816	<i>Rossignol</i>		Sacchini	1786	<i>Oedipe à Colonne</i>	
Lesueur	1793	<i>Caverne</i>		Solié	1809	<i>Diable à quatre</i>	
Martini	1774	<i>Bataille d'Ivry</i>		Solié	1808	<i>Mlle de Guise</i>	
	1783	<i>Droit de seigneur</i>		Solié	1796	<i>Secret</i>	✓
Méhul	1790	<i>Euphrosine</i>	✓	Spontini		<i>Vestale</i>	
	1802	<i>Folie</i>	✓	Steibelt	1793	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	✓
	1803	<i>Hélène</i>		Tarchi	1799	<i>Trente et quarante</i>	
	1801	<i>Irato</i>	✓				

Works marked (1) may have not been in performance in 1823, but were on list of Albert Soubies for 1825.

### Appendix III Common repertoire to theatres of Auch and Troyes, 1823

Works shaded also in repertoire of the Opéra-Comique.



## Appendix IV

## Troupe of Frederic, 1833, Avignon.

( 4 )

**Composition de la Troupe.**

Le Répertoire sera composé d'Opéras Comiques, Grands Opéras, Vaudevilles, Comédies, Drame et Mélodrames, et surtout de tous les ouvrages nouveaux qui seront joués à Paris.

---

**ADMINISTRATION.**

MM. FREDERIC,	Directeur.
L. HURTEAUX,	Régisseur en chef.
HYACINTHE,	Second Régisseur.
BRUKER,	Premier Chef d'Orchestre.
THONON,	Second Chef d'Orchestre.
HECTOR,	Peintre de Décors.
COUSIN,	Mécaniste.
DURAND,	Magasinier.

---

**Opéra.**

MM. FREDERIC,	première haute-contre en tous genres.
L. HURTEAUX,	Philippe, Cavaillon.
***	forte seconde haute-contre et Ellevin.
HENRI DE LABRE,	seconde haute-contre et Coko.
***	Martin, Lati, Solier, chanteurs.
***	première basse-taille noble,
GEORCET,	première basse-taille chantante, Valère et des Lacs.

# **Bibliography**

I Unpublished manuscripts	344.
II Printed sources	348.
III France – Economy, history, Society and Politics.	349.
IV Theatre Studies	353.
V French Music and Composer Studies	359.

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Allier ADAI (Moulin)

4T217/1 Bourbon l'Archambault, Circulars, regulations, repertoires

4T217/2 Moulin

4T217/3 Commentry

4T217/6 Montluçon

4T220 Neris-les-Bains / Vichy *Saison thermale* 1855-65

Ardèche ADAr (Privas)

2R6 Correspondence

Aube ADAube (Troyes)

T306-310 Circulars, regulations, repertoires 1800-1860

Aude ADAude (Carcassonne)

4T17 1806-1825

4T18 1826-1835

4T19 1836-1845

4T20 1846-1938

R56-R63, notices and programmes etc 1867-1912

R64 Cahier 1890-1926

R65 Location of loges 1844-1929

R66 Requests by directeurs to play Carcassonne

Aveyron ADAv (Rodez)

15T 3/1 Correspondence re. troupes and touring.

15T 3/2 Regulations

Calvados ADCal (Caen)

T2321 Administration 1800-1821

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T2323 1851-1856

T2324 Falaise and Bayeux etc.

Côte d'Or ADCdO (Dijon)

36T 4a - 4c 1807-1863

36T 6a - 6d an XII-1918

36T 9

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36T 15 Montbard

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Charente-Maritime ADC-M (La Rochelle)  
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Corrèze ADCo (Tulle)  
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I 48-52 Police

Drôme ADDr (Valence)  
14T 2/1-2/2 Regulations  
14T 2/3A-3B Troupes and repertoire

Finistère ADFi (Quimper)  
4T 14 Quimper  
4T 18 Correspondence, troupes  
4T 19 Brest 1803-1850  
4T 20 Repertoire / correspondence 1850-1880

Gard ADGard (Nîmes)  
8T 1-3 Diverse, police  
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8T 13 Direction

Gers ADGers (Auch)  
I O13.4 Posters, troupes etc

Haute-Rhin ADH-R (Colmar)  
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**The Lyric Theatre in Provincial France  
(1789-1914)**

**SUPPLEMENT  
APPENDICES A – L**

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Theatre	Year	Dir.	vln 1	vln 2	viola	cello	bass	fl.	ob.	cl.	bn.	horn	tpt.	tmb.	timp	perc	harp	org/ piano	total
Rouen	1793	(a)	10			2	2		2	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	22
Toulouse	1793		10		2	4	2	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	26
Dijon	1803	1																	16
Lyon (1)	1812	1																	30
Caen	1816	1	3	3	1	2	1	2	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
Brest	1819	1																	15
Draguignan	1819	1	2	2	1	1	0	1	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
Brest	1822	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
Rouen	1822	1	4	4	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	25
Perpignan	1824	1	4	4	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	26
Rouen	1826	2	4	4	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	28
Nantes	1829	3	5	4	1	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	30
Lyon (1)	1830	3	6	6	2	4	4	2	2	2	2	1	3	1	1	0	1	1	40
Lyon (2)	1830	2	3	3	1	1	1	2	0	2	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	20
Lyon (1)	1831	3	6	6	2	5	5	2	2	2	2	2	4	3	1	vacant	1	2	47
Dijon	1831	1	4	4	3	3	2	2	0	2	2	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	27
Le Havre	1831	1	3	3	1	3	1	1	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	19
Dijon	1832	1	4	4	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	31
Le Havre	1834	2	3	3	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	2*	1	0	0	0	26
Rouen	1835	1	5	7	1	3	3	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	34
Rennes	1836	1	3	3	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	25
Le Havre	1837	2	4	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	2*	1	0	0	0	26
Nantes	1838	2	6	6	3	4	4	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	1	1	0	1(d)	43
Toulon	1838	1	4	4	4	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	5*	1	1	0	0	37
Rouen	1839	2	7	7	3	4	4	2	2	2	2	3	2	4*	1	1	0	0	46
Amiens	1842	2																	40
Lyon (1)	1845	4	5	6	4	5	5	1	2	2	2	4	2	4*	1	2	vacant	1	50
Lyon (2)	1845	2																	24
Rennes	1853	1	4	4	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	3	1	1	0	0	35
Vichy Casino	1854	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	10
Vichy Casino	1855	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	0	1	0	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	18
Nantes	1856	2	4	4	3	4	4	3	3	3	3	4	3	4*	1	1	0	1(d)	41
Abbeville	1858	2	4	4	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	0	0	30



Theatre	Year	Dir. (a)	vln 1	vln 2	viola	cello	bass	fl.	ob.	cl.	bn.	horn	tpt.	tmb.	timp	perc	harp	org/ piano	total
Caen	1858	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	0	0	26
Troyes	1859	1																	15
Lyon (1)	1860	4	8	8	4	5	5	2	2	2	2	4	2	4*	1	2	1	1	57
Auch	1864	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8
Dijon	1867	2	4	4	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	4	2	3	1	0	0	0	35
Nîmes	1868	2	6	6	2	4	4	2	2	2	2	4	2	4*	1	1	0	0	44
Amiens	1872	2	3	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	0	0	32
Brest	1872	2	4	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	3	1	1	0	0	35
Brest (b)	1872	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
Rouen (c)	1874	1	2	3	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	(1)	0	0	0	0	0	13
Caen	1877	1	3	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	22
Nîmes	1878	2	5	5	2	4	3	2	2	2	2	4	2	4*	1	1	0	0	41
Laval	1879	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	0	0	0	23
Le Mans	1881	1	3	3	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	23
Rouen	1883	2	8	8	4	4	4	2	2	2	2	4	2	4*	1	2	1	1	53
Dijon	1884	2	4	4	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	4	2	4*	1	1	0	0	37
Le Mans	1884	2	4	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	3	1	3	0	0	36
Le Mans (b)	1884	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	18
Angers	1885	2	6	4	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	4	2	3	1	1	1	0	40
Rennes	1885	2	4	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	4*	1	1	0	1	37
Aix-en-P	1886	1	4	4	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	26
Brest	1886	2	4	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	3	1	2	0	0	36
Arras	1887	2	3	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	3	1	1	0	1	27
Auch (e)	1889	1	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	8
Perpignan	1890	1	4	3	2	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	1	1	0	0	33
Nîmes	1899	2	6	6	4	4	3	3	2	2	2	4	2	3 +tuba	1	2	0	1	47
Boulogne	1902	1	4	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	0	0	32
Boulogne	1904	1	4	4	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	0	0	1	28
Valence	1909	1	3	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	0	0	1	26
Valence (b)	1909	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	18
Rouen	1913	2	8	6	4	4	4	2 + 1s	2+ 1s	2+ 1s	2+ 1s	4	2	3 + tuba	1	1	1	0	49 / 53

## Appendix A (Continued).

### Notes

\* In trombone column indicates ophicleide, so 4\* = 3 trombone and ophicleide.

(a) Dir. column indicates number of *maître de musique, chef d'orchestre* or *sous-chef*.

(b) Orchestra for *opérette* and *vaudeville*.

(c) Théâtre Français et Cirque, Rouen, where *opérette* and *vaudeville* were predominant not the principal theatre, the Théâtre des Arts.

(d) Nantes 1856, until 1882 and appointment of a harpist, the organist / pianist played all harp parts.

(e) Auch 1886, small ensemble for the *dramas, opérette* and *vaudeville*.

(s) Rouen 1913 On the list all players were named including 4 session woodwind players [piccolo, cor anglais, bass clarinet, contrabassoon (?)]

### General.

Some documents give list of cast, including the *chef d'orchestre* but then simply give a figure for the full complement of the orchestra. In those cases only the first and last columns are notated.

### Sources

ADAllier	4T220	AMLaval	E96 1272
ADAube	T308 / 309	AMMans	859 / 869

ADCal	T2 321
ADCdO	36T6b
ADDoubs	1T472
ADFi	4T18 / 19 / 20
ADGard	8T2
ADGers	VIIIR14
ADH-R	4T98
ADI-V	4T67
ADP-C	T384
ADS-M	4T100 / 104 / 106
	BHR279/28
ADSo	T153 / 154
ADVar	9T5/1 9T5/2
ADVau	4T2
ADYo	80T4

AMPerpignan R27 / R4/10

- (1) Lyon Grand Théâtre
- (2) Lyon Célestin

Almanach des spectacles 1794.

AMVichy I155-158

## Appendix B

A comparison of six theatres and their repertoires for the 1813-1814 season

A Comparison of six theatres and their lyric repertoires, 1813-1814 season.

Composer	Title	1 <sup>st</sup> perf.	Dijon	Troyes	Rouen	Caen	Nîmes	Valence
Berton Henri-Montan	<i>Aline, reine de Golconde</i>	1803						
Berton	<i>Concert interrompu (Le)</i>	1802						
Berton	<i>Françoise de Foix</i>	1809						
Berton	<i>Maris garçons (Les)</i>	1806						
Berton	<i>Montano et Stephanie</i>	1799						
Berton Henri-F.	<i>Ninette à la cour</i>	1811						
Boieldieu	<i>Calife de Bagdad (Le)</i>	1800						
Boieldieu	<i>Jean de Paris</i>	1812						
Boieldieu	<i>Jeune femme colère (La)</i>	1812						
Boieldieu	<i>Ma Tante Aurore</i>	1803						
Boieldieu	<i>Zoraïme et Zulnar</i>	1798						
Bruni	<i>Major Palmer</i>	1797						
Catel	<i>Aubergistes de qualité (Les)</i>	1812						
Champein	<i>Mélomanie (La)</i>	1781						
Champein	<i>Nouveau Don Quichotte (Le)</i>	1789						
Cherubini	<i>Deux journées (Les)</i>	1800						
Dalayrac	<i>Adèle et Dorsan</i>	1795						
Dalayrac	<i>Adolphe et Clara</i>	1799						
Dalayrac	<i>Alexis</i>	1798						
Dalayrac	<i>Amant statue (L')</i>	1785						
Dalayrac	<i>Ambroise</i>	1793						
Dalayrac	<i>Azemia</i>	1787						
Dalayrac	<i>Camille</i>	1791						
Dalayarac	<i>Deux petits Savoyards (Les)</i>	1789						
Dalayrac	<i>Dot (Le)</i>	1785						
Dalayrac	<i>Gulistan</i>	1805						
Dalayrac	<i>Gulnare</i>	1798						
Dalayrac	<i>Jeune prude (La)</i>	1804						

A Comparison of six theatres and their lyric repertoires, 1813-1814 season.

Composer	Title		Dijon	Troyes	Rouen	Caen	Nîmes	Valence
Dalayrac	<i>Léon</i>	1798						
Dalayrac	<i>Maison à vendre</i>	1800						
Dalayrac	<i>Maison isolée</i>	1797						
Dalayrac	<i>Marianne</i>	1796						
Dalayrac	<i>Nina</i>	1786						
Dalayrac	<i>Philippe et Georgette</i>	1791						
Dalayrac	<i>Picaros et Diego</i>	1803						
Dalayrac	<i>Poète et le musicien (Le)</i>	1811						
Dalayrac	<i>Raoul sire de Créqui</i>	1789						
Della Maria	<i>Opéra comique (L')</i>	1798						
Della Maria	<i>Prisonnier (Le)</i>	1798						
Devienne	<i>Visitandines (Les)</i>	1792						
Dezède	<i>Blaise et Babet</i>	1783						
Dezède	<i>Trois fermiers (Les)</i>	1777						
Gail	<i>Deux jaloux (Les)</i>	1813						
Gaveaux	<i>Amour filial (L')</i>	1792						
Gaveaux	<i>Enfant prodigue (L.)</i>	1811						
Gaveaux	<i>M. Deschalumeaux</i>	1806						
Gaveaux	<i>Petit matelot (Le)</i>	1796						
Gaveaux	<i>Traité nul (Le)</i>	1797						
Grétry	<i>Amant jaloux (L')</i>	1778						
Grétry	<i>Ami de la maison (L')</i>	1771						
Grétry	<i>Comte d'Albert (Le)</i>	1786						
Grétry	<i>Deux avares (Les)</i>	1770						
Grétry	<i>Elisca</i>	1799						
Grétry	<i>Epreuve villageoise (L')</i>	1784						
Grétry	<i>Événements imprévus (Les)</i>	1779						
Grétry	<i>Fausse magie (La)</i>	1775						

A Comparison of six theatres and their lyric repertoires, 1813-1814 season.

Composer	Title		Dijon	Troyes	Rouen	Caen	Nîmes	Valence
Grétry	<i>Jugement de Midas (Le)</i>	1778						
Grétry	<i>Lisbeth</i>	1797						
Grétry	<i>Panurge</i>	1785						
Grétry	<i>Raoul, barbe-bleue</i>	1789						
Grétry	<i>Richard, cœur de lion</i>	1784						
Grétry	<i>Rosière de Salency (La)</i>	1773						
Grétry	<i>Sylvain</i>	1770						
Grétry	<i>Tableau parlant (Le)</i>	1769						
Grétry	<i>Zémire et Azor</i>	1771						
Isouard	<i>Billet de loterie (Le)</i>	1811						
Isouard	<i>Cendrillon</i>	1810						
Isouard	<i>Confidants (Les)</i>	1803						
Isouard	<i>Intrigue aux fenêtres (L')</i>	1805						
Isouard	<i>Jour à Paris (Un)</i>	1808						
Isouard	<i>Lulli et Quinault</i>	1812						
Isouard	<i>Magicien sans magie (Le)</i>	1811						
Isouard	<i>Médecin turc (Le)</i>	1803						
Isouard	<i>Michel-Ange</i>	1802						
Isouard	<i>Prince de Catane (Le)</i>	1813						
Isouard	<i>Rendez-vous bourgeois (Le)</i>	1807						
Isouard	<i>Tonnelier (Le)</i>	1801						
Kreutzer	<i>Jadis et aujourd'hui</i>	1808						
Kreutzer	<i>Jeanne d'Arc</i>	1790						
Kreutzer	<i>Lodoïska</i>	1791						
Kreutzer	<i>Paul et Virginie</i>	1791						
Lemoyne	<i>Pretendus (Les)</i>	1789						
Le Sueur	<i>Caverne (Le)</i>	1793						
Martini	<i>Annette et Lubin</i>	1789						
Martini	<i>Droit de seigneur (Le)</i>	1783						

A Comparison of six theatres and their lyric repertoires, 1813-1814 season.

Composer	Opera title		Dijon	Troyes	Rouen	Caen	Nîmes	Valence
Méhul	<i>Ariodant</i>	1799						
Méhul	<i>Baiser et la quittance</i>	1803						
Méhul	<i>Euphrosine</i>	1790						
Méhul	<i>Hélène</i>	1803						
Méhul	<i>Joseph</i>	1807						
Méhul	<i>Prince troubadour (Le)</i>	1813						
Méhul	<i>Stratonice</i>	1792						
Méhul	<i>Trésor supposé(Le)</i>	1802						
Méhul	<i>Une Folie</i>	1802						
Monsigny	<i>Belle Arsène (La)</i>	1773						
Monsigny	<i>Deserteur (Le)</i>							
Monsigny	<i>Felix</i>	1777						
Monsigny	<i>Roi et le fermier(Le)</i>	1762						
Pergolesi	<i>Servante maîtresse (La)</i>	1754						
Philidor	<i>Maréchal ferrant (Le)</i>	1761						
Piccini	<i>Avis au public (L')</i>	1806						
Plantade	<i>Mari de circonstance (Le)</i>	1813						
Rousseau	<i>Devin du village (Le)</i>	1752						
Sacchini	<i>Oedipe à Colonne</i>	1786						
Solié	<i>Diable à quatre (Le)</i>	1809						
Solié	<i>Secret (Le)</i>	1796						
Steibelt	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	1793						
Tarchi	<i>Trente et quarante</i>	1798						

A Comparison of six theatres and their lyric repertoires, 1813-1814 season.

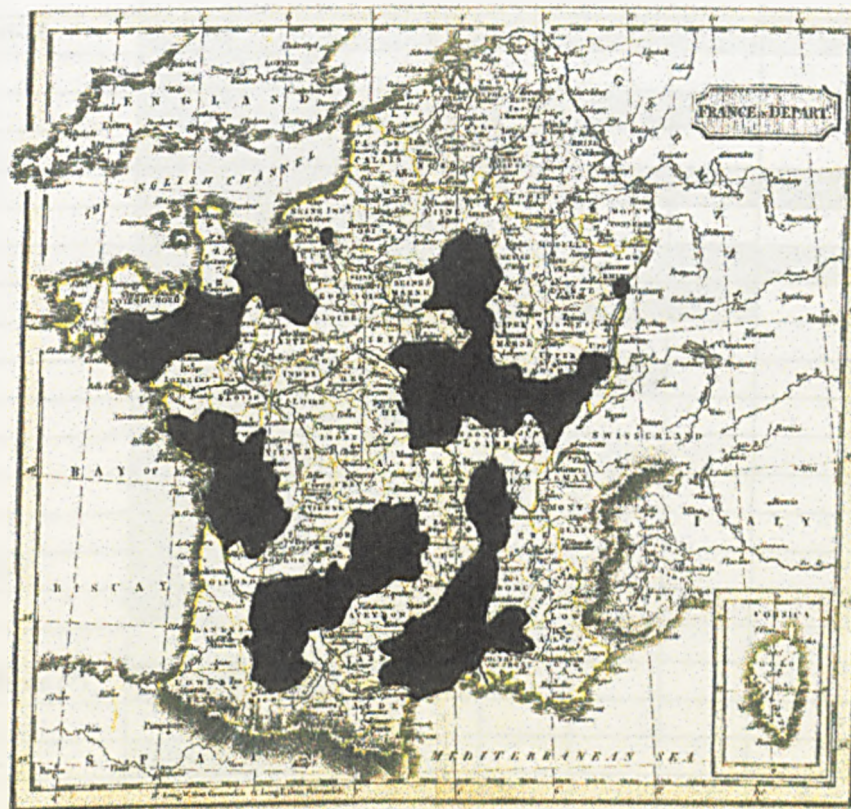
## Appendix C

### Survey of theatres and arrondissements (1789-1815)



## APPENDIX II

### Survey of theatres and arrondissements (1789 – 1815)



<b>Title of Opera</b>	<b>Composer</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>12</b>
<i>Séjour militaire</i>	Auber												
<i>Tonnelier</i>	Audinot												
<i>Aline</i>	Berton H-M												
<i>Charme de la voix</i>	Berton												
<i>Concert interrompu</i>	Berton												
<i>Délire</i>	Berton												
<i>Françoise de Foix</i>	Berton												
<i>Grand deuil</i>	Berton												
<i>Maris garçons</i>	Berton												
<i>Montano et Stephanie</i>	Berton												
<i>Piétéfiliale</i>	Berton												
<i>Ninon chez Mme. de Sevigné</i>	Berton												
<i>Nouveau d'Assas</i>	Berton												
<i>Rigours du cloître</i>	Berton												
<i>Romance</i>	Berton												
<i>Souper de famille</i>	Berton												
<i>Ninette à la cour</i>	Berton H-F												
<i>Clara, duchesses de Bretagne</i>	Bierey												
<i>Isabelle et Gertrude</i>	Blaise / Pacini (?)												
<i>Sourd</i>	Blangini												
<i>Coralie</i>	Blanchi												

<i>Lettre de change</i>	Bochsa												
<i>Aline, reine de Golconde</i>	Boieldieu												
<i>Beniowska</i>	Boieldieu												
<i>Calife de Bagdad</i>	Boieldieu												
<i>Famille suisse</i>	Boieldieu												
<i>Jean de Paris</i>	Boieldieu												
<i>Jeune femme colère</i>	Boieldieu												
<i>Ma tante Aurore</i>	Boieldieu												
<i>Nouveau seigneur du village</i>	Boieldieu												
<i>Petit chaperon rouge</i>	Boieldieu												
<i>Rien de trop</i>	Boieldieu												
<i>Zoraïme et Zulnare</i>	Boieldieu												
<i>Cinquantaine</i>	de la Borde												
<i>Auteur dans son ménage</i>	Bruni												
<i>Claudine</i>	Bruni												
<i>Major Palmer</i>	Bruni												
<i>Rencontre en voyage</i>	Bruni												
<i>Toberne</i>	Bruni												
<i>Castor et Pollux</i>	Candeille												
<i>Catherine, ou la belle fermière</i>	Candeille												
<i>Fausse Agnès</i>	Castil-Blaze												
<i>Folies amoureux</i>	Castil-Blaze												
<i>Artistes par occasion</i>	Catel												

<i>Auberge de bagnères</i>	Catel												
<i>Aubergiste de qualité</i>	Catel												
<i>Sémiramis</i>	Catel												
<i>Félicie</i>	Catrufo												
<i>Baiser ou La Bonne fée</i>	Champein												
<i>Dettes</i>	Champein												
<i>Mélomanie</i>	Champein												
<i>Menzikoff</i>	Champein												
<i>Nouveau Don Quichotte</i>	Champein												
<i>Misanthrope</i>	Charpentier												
<i>Avocat Pathelin</i>	Chartrain												
<i>Anacréon</i>	Cherubini												
<i>Deux journées</i>	Cherubini												
<i>Lodoïska</i>	Cherubini												
<i>Medée</i>	Cherubini												
<i>Directeur dans l'embaras</i>	Cimarosa												
<i>Chevaliers errans</i>	de Corvey												
<i>Suspects</i>	de Corvey												
<i>Adèle et Dorsan</i>	Dalayrac												
<i>Adolphe et Clara</i>	Dalayrac												

<i>Alexis</i>	Dalayrac													
<i>Amant statue</i>	Dalayrac													
<i>Ambroise</i>	Dalayrac													
<i>Azémi</i>	Dalayrac													
<i>Camille</i>	Dalayrac													
<i>Corsaire</i>	Dalayrac													
<i>Crispin médecin</i>	Dalayrac													
<i>Deux mots</i>	Dalayrac													
<i>Deux petits Savoyards</i>	Dalayrac													
<i>Deux tuteurs</i>	Dalayrac													
<i>Dot</i>	Dalayrac													
<i>Elise Hortense</i>	Dalayrac													
<i>Fanchette</i>	Dalayrac													
<i>Gulistan</i>	Dalayrac													
<i>Gulnare</i>	Dalayrac													
<i>Heure de mariage</i>	Dalayrac													
<i>Jeune prude</i>	Dalayrac													
<i>Koulouf</i>	Dalayrac													
<i>Léhéman</i>	Dalayrac													
<i>Léon</i>	Dalayrac													
<i>Lina</i>	Dalayrac													
<i>Maison isolée</i>	Dalayrac													
<i>Maison à vendre</i>	Dalayrac													
<i>Marianne</i>	Dalayrac													
<i>Matinée de Catinat</i>	Dalayrac													
<i>Nina</i>	Dalayrac													
<i>Philippe et Georgette</i>	Dalayrac													
<i>Picaros et Diego</i>	Dalayrac													

<i>Poete et le musicien</i>	Dalayrac												
<i>Raoul sire de Créqui</i>	Dalayrac												
<i>Renaud d'Ast</i>	Dalayrac												
<i>Sargines</i>	Dalayrac												
<i>Soirée orageuse</i>	Dalayrac												
<i>Tasse de glace</i>	Dalayrac												
<i>Pauvre femme</i>	Dalayrac												
<i>Midas en Parnasse</i>	Dedieu												
<i>Fausse duegne</i>	Della Maria												
<i>Oncle valet</i>	Della Maria												
<i>Opéra comique</i>	Della Maria												
<i>Prisonnier</i>	Della Maria												
<i>Myrtille et Lycoris</i>	Desormey												
<i>Valet de deux maîtres</i>	Devienne												
<i>Visitandines</i>	Devienne												
<i>Alexis et Justine</i>	Dezède												
<i>Blaise et Babet</i>	Dezède												
<i>Erreur d'un moment</i>	Dezède												
<i>Trois fermiers</i>	Dezède												
<i>Zélia</i>	Dezède												
<i>Belle au bois dormant</i>	Doche												
<i>Deux Edouards</i>	Doche												



<i>Fausse apparence</i>	Dubarrois													
<i>Bonne fille</i>	Duni													
<i>Clochette</i>	Duni													
<i>Deux chasseurs</i>	Duni													
<i>Fée urgèle</i>	Duni													
<i>Milicien</i>	Duni													
<i>Ariane dans l'île de Naxos</i>	Edelman													
<i>Habit du chevalier de Grammont</i>	Eler													
<i>Clémentine</i>	Fay													
<i>Emma</i>	Fay													
<i>Deux jaloux</i>	Sophie Gay													
<i>Amour filial</i>	Gaveaux													
<i>Bouffe et le tailleur</i>	Gaveaux													
<i>Deux ermites</i>	Gaveaux													
<i>Diable couleur de rose</i>	Gaveaux													
<i>Diable en vacance</i>	Gaveaux													
<i>Échelle de soie</i>	Gaveaux													
<i>Enfant prodigue = Azaël</i>	Gaveaux													
<i>Famille indigente</i>	Gaveaux													
<i>Léonore</i>	Gaveaux													
<i>Lise et Colin</i>	Gaveaux													
<i>Locataire</i>	Gaveaux													

<i>Mari colère</i>	Gaveaux													
<i>Monsieur Deschalumeaux</i>	Gaveaux													
<i>Petit matêlot</i>	Gaveaux													
<i>Quart heure de silence</i>	Gaveaux													
<i>Rose blanche et rose rouge</i>	Gaveaux													
<i>Sophie et Moncars</i>	Gaveaux													
<i>Traité nul</i>	Gaveaux													
<i>Trompeur trompé</i>	Gaveaux													
<i>Officier Corsque</i>	Gianella													
<i>Alceste</i>	Gluck													
<i>Armide</i>	Gluck													
<i>Cadi dupe</i>	Gluck													
<i>Iphigénie en Aulide</i>	Gluck													
<i>Iphigénie en Tauride</i>	Gluck													
<i>Orphée et Euridice</i>	Gluck													
<i>Faux mendiants</i>	Gresnich													
<i>Amant jaloux</i>	Grétry													
<i>Ami de la maison</i>	Grétry													
<i>Amitié à l'épreuve</i>	Grétry													
<i>Anacréon chez Polycrate</i>	Grétry													
<i>Aucassin et Nicolette</i>	Grétry													
<i>Caravane de Caire</i>	Grétry													
<i>Colinette à la cour</i>	Grétry													
<i>Comte d'Albert</i>	Grétry													



<i>Deux avars</i>	Grétry													
<i>Elisca</i>	Grétry													
<i>Épreuve villageoise</i>	Grétry													
<i>Événements imprévus</i>	Grétry													
<i>Fausse magie</i>	Grétry													
<i>Huron</i>	Grétry													
<i>Jugement de Midas</i>	Grétry													
<i>Lisbeth</i>	Grétry													
<i>Lucile</i>	Grétry													
<i>Magnifique</i>	Grétry													
<i>Méprise par ressemblance</i>	Grétry													
<i>Nouvelle amitié à l'épreuve</i>	Grétry													
<i>Pamurge</i>	Grétry													
<i>Pierre le grand</i>	Grétry													
<i>Raoul barbe-bleue</i>	Grétry													
<i>Richard cœur de lion</i>	Grétry													
<i>Rosière de Salency</i>	Grétry													
<i>Rosière républicaine</i>	Grétry													
<i>Sylvain</i>	Grétry													
<i>Tableau parlant</i>	Grétry													
<i>Zémire et Azor</i>	Grétry													
<i>Chambre à couchée</i>	Guénée													
<i>Nanette et Lucas</i>	de Herblain													
<i>Fanchon la vieilleuse</i>	Himmel													

<i>Billet de loterie</i>	Isouard												
<i>Cendrillon</i>	Isouard												
<i>Cimarosa</i>	Isouard												
<i>Confidences</i>	Isouard												
<i>Dejeuner des garçons</i>	Isouard												
<i>Français à Venise</i>	Isouard												
<i>Impromptu à la campagne</i>	Isouard												
<i>Intrigue aux fenêtres</i>	Isouard												
<i>Jeannot et Colin</i>	Isouard												
<i>Joconde</i>	Isouard												
<i>Léonce</i>	Isouard												
<i>Lulli et Quinault</i>	Isouard												
<i>Magicien sans magie</i>	Isouard												
<i>Médecin turc</i>	Isouard												
<i>Michel-ange</i>	Isouard												
<i>Petit page</i>	Isouard												
<i>Prince de Catane</i>	Isouard												
<i>Rendez-vous bourgeois</i>	Isouard												
<i>Ruse inutile</i>	Isouard												
<i>Tonnellier</i>	Isouard												
<i>Un jour à Paris</i>	Isouard												
<i>Grand-père</i>	Jadin												
<i>Serment français</i>	Jadin												
<i>Méprise volontaire</i>	Kerkadeau												
<i>Forgeron de Bassora</i>	Kreubé												

<i>Camp de Sobieski</i>	Kreutzer													
<i>Franç Breton</i>	Kreutzer / Solié													
<i>François I</i>	Kreutzer													
<i>Homme sans façon</i>	Kreutzer													
<i>Jadis et aujourd'hui</i>	Kreutzer													
<i>Paul et Virginie</i>	Kreutzer													
<i>Mystère d'Isis</i>	Lachnich / Mozart													
<i>Deux petits aveugles</i>	Lebrun													
<i>Marcelin</i>	Lebrun													
<i>Rossignol</i>	Lebrun													
<i>Pommiers et le moulin</i>	Lemoyne													
<i>Prétendus</i>	Lemoyne													
<i>Bardes</i>	Lesueur													
<i>Caverne</i>	Lesueur													
<i>Paul et Virginie</i>	Lesueur													
<i>Amoureux de quinze ans</i>	Martini													
<i>Annette et Lubin</i>	Martini													
<i>Bataille d'Ivry</i>	Martini													
<i>Droit de seigneur</i>	Martini													
<i>Henri IV</i>	Martini													
<i>Amours de Prothée</i>	Mathieu													

<i>Ariodant</i>	Méhul												
<i>Baiser et la quittance</i>	Méhul et al.												
<i>Bion</i>	Méhul												
<i>Deux aveugles de Tolède</i>	Méhul												
<i>Euphrosine</i>	Méhul												
<i>Folie</i>	Méhul												
<i>Gabrielle d'Estrées</i>	Méhul												
<i>Hélène</i>	Méhul												
<i>Irato</i>	Méhul												
<i>Joseph</i>	Méhul												
<i>Oriflamme</i>	Méhul / Berton												
<i>Prince troubadour</i>	Méhul												
<i>Stratonice</i>	Méhul												
<i>Trésor supposé</i>	Méhul												
<i>Uthal</i>	Méhul												
<i>Belle Arsène</i>	Monsigny												
<i>Deserteur</i>	Monsigny												
<i>Felix</i>	Monsigny												
<i>Roi et le fermier</i>	Monsigny												
<i>Rose et Colas</i>	Monsigny												
<i>Bastien et Bastienne</i>	Mozart												
<i>Don Juan</i>	Mozart / Lachnith												
<i>Mariage de Figaro</i>	Mozart												
<i>Barbier de Seville</i>	Paisiello												
<i>Infante de Zamora</i>	Paisiello												

<i>Marquis de Tulipano</i>	Paisiello													
<i>Servante maîtresse</i>	Pergolesi													
<i>Blaise le savetier</i>	Philidor													
<i>Belle esclave</i>	Philidor													
<i>Femmes vengées</i>	Philidor													
<i>Maréchal ferrant</i>	Philidor													
<i>Sancho-Pansa</i>	Philidor													
<i>Sorcier</i>	Philidor													
<i>Tom Jones</i>	Philidor													
<i>Avis au public</i>	Piccini													
<i>Didon</i>	Piccini													
<i>Faux lord</i>	Piccini													
<i>Ils sont chez euz</i>	Piccini													
<i>Mari de circonstance</i>	Plantade													
<i>Palma</i>	Plantade													
<i>Fausse paysanne</i>	de Propiac													
<i>Rêveries renouvelées des Grecs</i>	Prot													
<i>Ailes de l'amour</i>	de Reigny													
<i>Nicodene dans la lune</i>	de Reigny													
<i>Savetier et la financier</i>	Rigel													

<i>Nanine</i>	Rodolphe												
<i>Devin du village</i>	Rousseau												
<i>Pygmalion</i>	Rousseau												
<i>Colonie</i>	Sacchini												
<i>Oedipe à Colone</i>	Sacchini												
<i>Ricco</i>	Salieri												
<i>Chapitre second</i>	Solié												
<i>Diable à quatre</i>	Solié												
<i>Epoux généreux</i>	Solié												
<i>Jean et Geneviève</i>	Solié												
<i>Jokey</i>	Solié												
<i>Mlle de Guise</i>	Solié												
<i>Petit Jacquot</i>	Solié												
<i>Secret</i>	Solié												
<i>Fernand Cortez</i>	Spontini												
<i>Julie</i>	Spontini												
<i>Milton</i>	Spontini												
<i>Vestale</i>	Spontini												
<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	Steibelt												
<i>Auberge en auberge</i>	Tarchi												
<i>Aventure de Saint Foix</i>	Tarchi												

<i>Cabriolet jaune</i>	Tarchi													
<i>Trente et quarante</i>	Tarchi													
<i>Duel de Bambin</i>	Toméoni													
<i>Femmes et le secret</i>	Vachon													
<i>La Matrone d'Ephèse</i>	Vade													
<i>Codacile</i>	Vanderbruck													
<i>Vallée suisse</i>	Weigl													
<i>Alex de Beaucaire</i>	To be attributed													
<i>Horaces</i>	Cimarosa													
<i>Comédiens ambulants</i>	?													
<i>Épreuve et le pêcheurs</i>	?													
<i>Eugénie</i>	?													
<i>Habitant de Guadeloupe</i>	?													
<i>Honorine</i>	?													
<i>Jean de Nivelles</i>	?													
<i>Prison militaire</i>	?													
<i>Rivaux d'eux même</i>	?													
<i>Trois hussards</i>	?													
<i>Trois sultanes</i>	?													
<i>Une nuit de la Garde Nationale</i>	?													

Strasbourg Deck, Pantaléon, *Histoire du Théâtre Français à Strasbourg* Nantes, Destranges, *Le Théâtre à Nantes*  
Aurillac ADCan 4T15, Auxerre, ADYo 80T1, AvignonADVau 4T4, Besançon ADDoubs1T469, Caen ADCal T2321,  
Cahors ADLot 4T6, Dijon ADCdO 36T 4a, La Rochelle, ADC-M 4T26, Montauban ADT-G T110, Nîmes ADGard 8T6,  
Quimper ADFi 4T14 / 4T19, Rouen S-M4T100 / 4T101, Troyes ADAube T306, Valence ADDr 14T/3A.

**A comparison of Rossini / Castil-Blaze and G. Schirmer Edition of**

***Le Barbier de Seville***

**Rossini / Castil-Blaze**

*Après Beaumarchais et le drame Italien  
paroles ajustées sur la musique de Rossini.*

**Common to both**

**G. Schirmer (1962)**

**Act One**

**No 1 – *Overture***

**No 2 – *Cavatino***

**No 3 – Recit / tempo 1/ allegro vivace**

Spoken dialogue replacing recitative at end of 3.

**Recit. Count and Fiorello**

**No 4 – *Largo al factotum* up to recit.**

Recit. replaced by spoken text

**Recit.**

Spoken dialogue.

Spoken dialogue.

**No 5 – *Canzone***

Spoken dialogue

**No 6 – Oh cielo!**

**No 6 – from the allegro maestoso  
*All'idea di quell metallo***

bar 92 Figaro's ad lib marked spoken  
as is the Count's reply bar 109.



**Rossini / Castil-Blaze**

F major

No 7 Scene II Figaro and Rosina spoken

[No 8 moved]

Spoken dialogue until Rosina *Je suis donc*, allegro No 9.  
(Dunque io son tu non m'inganni)

Rosina dialogue with Figaro

Bartolo / Rosina

Bartolo / Rosina / Figaro

The Music lesson

Leads to Air

Back to La Calomnie / Bartolo No 8 Aria, allegro

Dialogue, Bartolo / Basilio

Figaro / Rosina

Bartolo / Rosina

No 10 – spoken dialogue replacing 41 bars then sung entry of Bartolo, andante maestoso  
recit into 11.

(Recit. at end of 10, 22 bars, replaced dialogue.)

**Common to both**

**Act Two**

No 7 – Cavatina

**G. Schirmer (1962)**

E major

Recit.

No 8 – La calunnia and aria

No 9

No 10 – recit. / Bartolo /

No 11 – Finale 1.

Finale 11a (Sextet from finale 1)

11b (Stretta from finale 1.)

**Rossini / Castil-Blaze**

Opens with Bartolo spoken  
19 bars of recit. cut on Bartolo  
No 12 cut on Bartolo recit. Dialogue.  
Sc. iv. Count, Rosina, Bartolo spoken,  
However, Rosina gives cue into recit  
'Avec grand plaisir' leads into Music lesson.  
Air from Méhul.  
Dialogue during what would be recit. of No 14.  
Recit. cut, spoken dialogue  
  
Recit. replaced by spoken text  
Spoken dialogue, Rosina, Count, Figaro, Bartolo.  
  
Entr'acte STORM (No 17 moved earlier)

**Common to both**

**Act Three**

**G. Schirmer (1962)**

No 12 Recit.  
No 12 Andante moderato  
(46 bars)

No 12 continued

Allegro of 14, Count. (20 bars)

No 15 Quintet, Don Basilio! Cosa veggo!  
to final recit Bartolo (20 bars)

16 Recit. and aria.

**Rossini / Castil-Blaze**

**Common to both**

**G. Schirmer (1962)**

**Act Four**

Sc. i Bartolo

No 16 recit. Bartolo

Sc. ii. Rosina

Sc. iii. Rosina / Bartolo

No 17 Storm

Sc. iv. Recit. and Air in libretto but not in score.

In libretto it states that in provincial performances  
the passage could be spoken.

Sc. v. Figaro / Count

No 18 recit.

Sc. vi Count, Rosina, Figaro, leads into the Trio section of – No 18 Andante / Rosina

*Ah! qual colpo*

*Surprise extreme*

Cut at end of trio section as it goes into recit. Figaro.

Spoken dialogue.

Recit. leading into

No 19.

Continues spoken until after the opening recit. of No 20

No 20 Finale / Allegro.

Sextet and chorus.

## Appendix E

Comparison of the lyric repertoire in  
Carcassonne, Draguignan and Quimper, 1837

Composer	Title	Paris première	Carcassanne	Draguignan	Quimper	Whether in performance in Paris	
						Theatre	Comments
Adam	<i>Bonne fortune</i>	1834					
Adam	<i>Chalet</i>	1834				O-C	
Adam	<i>Marquise</i>	1835					In rep. until 1836
Adam	<i>Postillon de Longjumeau</i>	1836				O-C	
Auber	<i>Cheval de bronze</i>	1835					
Auber	<i>Concert à la cour</i>	1824					
Auber	<i>Emma</i>	1821					
Auber	<i>Fiancée</i>	1829				O-C	
Auber	<i>Fiorella</i>	1826					
Auber	<i>Fra Diavolo</i>	1830				O-C	
Auber	<i>Gustave III</i>	1833				Opéra	
Auber	<i>Léocardie</i>	1824					
Auber	<i>Leicester</i>	1823					
Auber	<i>Lestocq</i>	1834					In rep. 1834/5
Auber	<i>Macon</i>	1825					
Auber	<i>Muette de Portici</i>	1828				Opéra	
Auber	<i>Neige</i>	1823					
Auber	<i>Philtre</i>	1831				Opéra	
Auber	<i>Serment</i>	1832				Opéra	
Bellini	<i>Pirate</i>	1832				Th. Italien	
Berton	<i>Aline, reine de Golconde</i>	1803					
Berton	<i>Françoise de Foix</i>	1809					
Berton	<i>Maris garçons</i>	1806					
Berton	<i>Montano et Stephanie</i>	1799					
Bochsa	<i>Lettre de change</i>	1815				O-C	
Boieldieu	<i>Beniowski</i>	1800					
Boieldieu	<i>Calife de Bagdad</i>	1800					Up to 1836

Composer	Title	Paris 1 <sup>st</sup>	Carcassanne	Draguignan	Quimper	Paris	Comments
Boieldieu	<i>Dame blanche</i>	1825				O-C	
Boieldieu	<i>Deux nuits</i>	1829					
Boieldieu	<i>Fête du village voisin</i>	1816					
Boieldieu	<i>Jean de Paris</i>	1812				O-C	
Boieldieu	<i>Ma tante Aurore</i>	1803					In rep. till 1836
Boieldieu	<i>Nouveau seigneur du village</i>	1813				O-C	
Boieldieu	<i>Petit chaperon rouge</i>	1818					
Boieldieu	<i>Voitures versées</i>	1808					In rep. in 1836
Boieldieu	<i>Zoraïme et Zulnar</i>	1798					
Carafa	<i>Masaniello</i>	1827					
Carafa	<i>Prison d'Edimbourg</i>	1833					
Carafa	<i>Solitaire</i>	1822					
Carafa	<i>Valet de chambre</i>	1823					
Castil-Blaze	<i>Fausse Agnès</i>	1824					
Castil-Blaze	<i>Folies amoureuses</i>	1824					
Catel	<i>Wallace</i>	1817					
Champein	<i>Mélomanie</i>	1781					
Cherubini	<i>Deux journées</i>	1800					
Dalayrac	<i>Adolphe et Clara</i>	1799				O-C	
Dalayrac	<i>Ambroise</i>	1793					
Dalayrac	<i>Camille</i>	1791					
Dalayrac	<i>Chateau de Monténéro = Léon</i>	1798					
Dalayrac	<i>Deux petit savoyards</i>	1789				O-C	Revival 1836
Dalayrac	<i>Gulistan</i>	1805					
Dalayrac	<i>Gulnare</i>	1798					
Dalayrac	<i>Heure de mariage</i>	1804					

Composer	Title	Paris 1ère	Carcassanne	Draguignan	Quimper	Paris	Comments
Dalayrac	<i>Maison à vendre</i>	1800					Dropped 1836
Dalayrac	<i>Maison isolée</i>	1797					
Dalayrac	<i>Picaros et Diego</i>	1803				O-C	
Dalayrac	<i>Raoul sire de Crequi</i>	1789					
Della-Maria	<i>Opéra comique</i>	1798				O-C	
Della-Maria	<i>Prisonnier</i>	1798				O-C	
Devienne	<i>Visitandines</i>	1792					
Donizetti	<i>Anna de Boleyn</i>	1831				Th. Italien	
Fétis	<i>Vieille</i>	1826				O-C	
Gail	<i>Deux jaloux</i>	1813					Not since 1834
Gaveaux	<i>Bouffe et le tailleur</i>	1804				O-C	Revival 1836
Gaveaux	<i>M. Deschalumeaux</i>	1806					
Gaveaux	<i>Petit matelot</i>	1796					
Gaveaux	<i>Quart heure de silence</i>	1804					
Gaveaux	<i>Traité nul</i>	1797					
Grétry	<i>Caravanne du Caire</i>	1783					
Grétry	<i>Épreuve villageoise</i>	1784					
Grétry	<i>Raoul, barbe bleu</i>	1789					
Grétry	<i>Sylvain</i>	1770					
Grétry	<i>Tableau parlant</i>	1769				O-C	
Halévy	<i>Dilettante d'Avignon</i>	1829					In rep. 1836
Halévy	<i>Éclair</i>	1835				O-C	
Halévy	<i>Juive</i>	1835				Opéra	

Composer	Title		Carcassanne	Draguignan	Quimper	Paris	Comments
Héroid	<i>Clochette</i>	1817					
Héroid	<i>Ludovic</i>	1833					
Héroid	<i>Marie</i>	1826					
Héroid	<i>Muletier</i>	1823					
Héroid	<i>Pré aux clercs</i>	1832				O-C	
Héroid	<i>Zampa</i>	1831				O-C	
Isouard	<i>Cendrillon</i>	1810					
Isouard	<i>Jeannot et Colin</i>	1814					
Isouard	<i>Joconde</i>	1814					
Isouard	<i>Lulli et Quinault</i>	1812					
Isouard	<i>Rendez-vous bourgeois</i>	1807				O-C	
Isouard	<i>Tonnelier</i>	1801					
Kreubé	<i>Edmond et Caroline</i>	1818					
Kreutzer	<i>Paul et Virginie</i>	1791					Dropped 1827
Lebrun	<i>Rossignol</i>	1816					
Lemoyne	<i>Prétendus</i>	1789					Dropped 1827
Lesueur	<i>Caverne</i>	1793					
Méhul	<i>Euphrosine</i>	1790					
Méhul	<i>Folie</i>	1802					
Méhul	<i>Irato</i>	1801					
Méhul	<i>Joseph</i>	1807					
Méhul	<i>Trésor supposé</i>	1802					
Meyerbeer	<i>Huguenots</i>	1836				Opéra	
Meyerbeer	<i>Marguerite d'Anjou</i>	1826					
Meyerbeer	<i>Robert le diable</i>	1831				Opéra	



Composer	Title		Carcassanne	Draguignan	Quimper	Paris	Comments
Monpou	<i>Deux reines</i>	1835				O-C	
Paër	<i>Maître de chapelle</i>	1821				O-C	O-C
Prévost	<i>Cosimo</i>	1835					
Rifaut	<i>Sentinelle</i>	1834					
Rossini	<i>Barbier de Seville</i>	1819					
Rossini	<i>Comte Ory</i>	1828				Opéra	
Rossini	<i>Guillaume Tell</i>	1829				Opéra	
Rossini	<i>Italiëne à Algiers</i>	1817					
Rossini	<i>Otello</i>	1821					
Rossini	<i>Pie voleuse</i>	1821					
Rossini	<i>Tancrède</i>	1822					
Sacchini	<i>Oedipe à Colone</i>	1786					Dropped 1830
Solié	<i>Diabie à quatre</i>	1809					1835 revival
Spontini	<i>Vestale</i>	1807					Every year to 1835
Weber	<i>Robin des bois</i>	1824					
?	<i>My lord et la cantatrice</i>						
Mengal	<i>Nuit au chateau</i>	1818					
?	<i>Poete filiale</i>						

Table 22. Comparison of three seasons, 1837.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dates of first performance taken from Steiger, F., *Opernlexikon*

## Appendix F

Repertoire  
(1840-1849)

## Appendix F.

### Repertoire in a sample of theatres (1840-1849)

Amiens	ADSo T154
Aubenas	ADAr T625
Avignon	ADVau 4T6
Besançon	ADDoubs 4T472
Brest / Quimper	ADFi 4T19
Caen	ADCal T2322
Chambéry	Black, Philippe, <i>Le Théâtre...à Chambéry</i>
Colmar	ADH-R 4T137
Draguignan / Toulon	ADVar 9T5/2
La Rochelle / Rochefort	ADC-M 4T28/ 4T29
Nantes / Charente	ADL-A 178T/1 Destranges <i>Le Théâtre à Nantes</i>
Nîmes	ADGard 8T7
Rennes	ADI-V 4T68
Rodez / Perpignan	ADAv15T3/1
Rouen /	ADS-M 4T83
Le Havre	ADS-M 4T94
Troyes	ADAube T308
Valence	ADDr 14T2/3A



Composer	Title of Opera	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Adam	<i>Brasseur de Preston</i>															
Adam	<i>Chalet</i>															
Adam	<i>Deux nuits = Régine</i>															
Adam / Solié	<i>Diable à quatre</i>															
Adam	<i>Marquise</i>															
Adam	<i>Postillon de Longjumeau</i>															
Adam	<i>Roi d'Yvetot</i>															
Adam	<i>Toréador</i>															
Auber	<i>Acteon</i>															
Auber	<i>Ambassadrice</i>															
Auber	<i>Cheval de bronze</i>															
Auber	<i>Concert à la cour</i>															
Auber	<i>Diamants de la couronne</i>															
Auber	<i>Dieu et la bayadère</i>															
Auber	<i>Domino noir</i>															
Auber	<i>Duc d'Olonne</i>															
Auber	<i>Fiancée</i>															
Auber	<i>Fiorella</i>															
Auber	<i>Fra Diavolo</i>															
Auber	<i>Gustave III</i>															
Auber	<i>Haydée</i>															
Auber	<i>Lestocq</i>															
Auber	<i>Macon</i>															
Auber	<i>Muette de Portici</i>															
Auber	<i>Neige</i>															
Auber	<i>Part du diable</i>															

Composer	Title of Opera	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Meyerbeer	<i>Huguenots</i>																	
Meyerbeer	<i>Marguerite d'Anjou</i>																	
Meyerbeer	<i>Robert le diable</i>																	
Monpou	<i>Chaste Suzanne</i>																	
Monpou	<i>Deux reines</i>																	
Monpou	<i>Piquillo</i>																	
Monpou	<i>Planteur</i>																	
Monpou	<i>Reine d'un jour</i>																	
Monsigny	<i>Deserteur</i>																	
Mozart	<i>Mariage de Figaro</i>																	
Paer	<i>Maître de chapelle</i>																	
Pillwitz	<i>Ra-ta-plan = Der klein tambour</i>																	
Potier	<i>Il signor Pascarello</i>																	
Prevost	<i>Cosimo</i>																	

Composer	Title of Opera	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Rossini	<i>Barbier de Seville</i>																	
Rossini	<i>Cendrillon</i>																	
Rossini	<i>Comte Ory</i>																	
Rossini	<i>Guillaume Tell</i>																	
Rossini	<i>Italiènne à Alger</i>																	
Rossini	<i>Moïse</i>																	
Rossini	<i>Othello</i>																	
Rossini	<i>Pie voleuse</i>																	
Rossini	<i>Siege de Corinthe</i>																	
Rossy	<i>Isabelle</i>																	
Sacchini	<i>Oedippe à Colonne</i>																	
Solié / Adam	<i>Diable à quatre</i>																	
Spontini	<i>Fernand Cortez</i>																	
Spontini	<i>Vestale</i>																	
Tarchi	<i>Trente et quarante</i>																	
Thomas	<i>Caid</i>																	
Thomas	<i>Double échelle</i>																	
Thomas	<i>Perruquier de la régence</i>																	
Verdi	<i>Hernani</i>																	
Verdi	<i>Jerusalem</i>																	
Weber	<i>Robin des bois</i>																	

Composer	Title of Opera	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Dezède	<i>Blaise et Babet</i>																	
Doche	<i>Memoires du diable</i>																	
Donizetti	<i>Anna de Boleyn</i>																	
Donizetti	<i>Belisaire</i>																	
Donizetti	<i>Don Pasquale</i>																	
Donizetti	<i>Elixir d'amour</i>																	
Donizetti	<i>Favorite</i>																	
Donizetti	<i>Fille du regiment</i>																	
Donizetti	<i>Linda de Chamonix</i>																	
Donizetti	<i>Lucie de Lammermoor</i>																	
Donizetti	<i>Lucrece Borgia</i>																	
Donizetti	<i>Maria di Rohan</i>																	
Donizetti	<i>Martyrs</i>																	
Donizetti	<i>Nizza de Grenade</i>																	
Donizetti	<i>Robert Devereux</i>																	
Fétis	<i>Mannequin de Bergame</i>																	
Fétis	<i>Vieille</i>																	
Flotow	<i>Âme en peine</i>																	
Flotow	<i>Esclave de camoëns</i>																	
Flotow	<i>Naufrage de la Méduse</i>																	
Gail	<i>Deux jaloux</i>																	



Composer	Title of Opera	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Gaveaux	<i>Bouffe et le tailleur</i>																	
Gaveaux	<i>Monsieur Deschalumeaux</i>																	
Gaveaux	<i>Petit matelot</i>																	
Girard	<i>Deux voleurs</i>																	
Grétry	<i>Panurge</i>																	
Grétry	<i>Richard cœur de lion</i>																	
Grétry	<i>Tableau parlant</i>																	
Grisar	<i>Eau merveilleuse</i>																	
Grisar	<i>Gilles Ravisseur</i>																	
Grisar	<i>Travestissements</i>																	
Halévy	<i>Charles VI</i>																	
Halévy	<i>Éclair</i>																	
Halévy	<i>Guittarero</i>																	
Halévy	<i>Juive</i>																	
Halévy	<i>Mousquetaires de la reine</i>																	
Halévy	<i>Reine de Chypre</i>																	
Halévy	<i>Val d'Andorre</i>																	
Hérold	<i>Clochette</i>																	
Hérold	<i>Ludovic</i>																	
Hérold	<i>Marie</i>																	
Hérold	<i>Pré aux clercs</i>																	
Hérold	<i>Zampa</i>																	



Composer	Title of Opera	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Hetzel	<i>Haydn</i>																	
Isouard	<i>Jeannot et Colin</i>																	
Isouard	<i>Joconde</i>																	
Isouard	<i>Lulli et Quinault</i>																	
Isouard	<i>Rendez-vous bourgeois</i>																	
Kreutzer	<i>Mathilde</i>																	
Kreutzer	<i>Paul et Virginie</i>																	
Lacome	<i>Jeanne et Jeannette</i>																	
Lebrun	<i>Rossignol</i>																	
Lemoine-Puget	<i>Idylle</i>																	
Lemoyne	<i>Prétendus</i>																	
Lesueur	<i>Caverne</i>																	
Maillart	<i>Gastibelza</i>																	
Mainzer	<i>Jacquerie</i>																	
Méhul	<i>Euphrosine</i>																	
Méhul	<i>Folie</i>																	
Méhul	<i>Joseph</i>																	

Composer	Title of Opera	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Auber	<i>Philtre</i>															
Auber	<i>Serment</i>															
Auber	<i>Sirène</i>															
Auber	<i>Zanetta</i>															
Balfe	<i>Puits d'amour</i>															
Bellini	<i>Norma</i>															
Bellini	<i>Puritains</i>															
Bellini	<i>Somnambule</i>															
Bochsa	<i>Lettre de change</i>															
Boieldieu	<i>Aline, reine de Golconde</i>															
Boieldieu	<i>Beniowska</i>															
Boieldieu	<i>Bouquet de l'infante</i>															
Boieldieu	<i>Calife de Bagdad</i>															
Boieldieu	<i>Dame blanche</i>															
Boieldieu	<i>Deux nuits</i>															
Boieldieu	<i>Dot de Suzette</i>															
Boieldieu	<i>Fête du village voisin</i>															
Boieldieu	<i>Jean de Paris</i>															
Boieldieu	<i>Jeune femme en colère</i>															
Boieldieu	<i>Ma tante Aurore</i>															
Boieldieu	<i>Nouveau seigneur du village</i>															
Boieldieu	<i>Petit chaperon rouge</i>															
Boieldieu	<i>Voitures versées</i>															

Composer	Title of Opera	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Boisselot	<i>Ne touchez pas la reine</i>																	
Boulanger	<i>Diabre à l'école</i>																	
Carafa	<i>Masaniello</i>																	
Carafa	<i>Prison d'Edimbourg</i>																	
Carafa	<i>Valet de chambre</i>																	
Castil-Blaze et al.	<i>Folies amoureuses</i>																	
Catel	<i>Auberge des baignères</i>																	
Clapisson	<i>Code noir</i>																	
Clapisson	<i>Gibby la cornemuse</i>																	
Clapisson	<i>Perruche</i>																	
Dalayrac	<i>Adolphe et Clara</i>																	
Dalayrac	<i>Ambroise</i>																	
Dalayrac	<i>Camille</i>																	
Dalayrac	<i>Gulistan</i>																	
Dalayrac	<i>Maison à vendre</i>																	
Dalayrac	<i>Nina</i>																	
Dalayrac	<i>Picaros et Diego</i>																	
Dalayrac	<i>Une heure de mariage</i>																	
Devienne	<i>Visitandines</i>																	

## Appendix G

Major successes at the three principal Paris lyric theatres  
(1852-1869)

Year	Opéra		Opéra-Comique		Théâtre-Lyrique	
	Composer	Title	Composer	Title	Composer	Title
1852	Halévy	<i>Le Juif errant</i>	Grisar Bazin Massé Reber Auber	<i>Le Carillonneur de Bruges</i> <i>Madelon</i> <i>Galathée</i> <i>Le Père Gaillard</i> <i>Marco Spado</i>	Adam Adam Gautier	<i>La Poupée de Nuremberg</i> <i>Si j'étais roi</i> <i>Flore et Zephire</i>
1853			Massé Reber	<i>Les Noces de Jeannette</i> <i>Les Papillottes de M. Benoist</i>	Adam Grisar Adam	<i>Le Sourd</i> <i>L'Amours du diable</i> <i>Le Bijou perdu</i>
1854			Meyerbeer Duprato Boulanger	<i>L'Etoile du Nord</i> <i>Les Trovatelles</i> <i>Les Sabots de la marquise</i>	Clapisson Adam Adam	<i>La Promise</i> <i>Le Muletier de Tolède</i> <i>À Clichy</i>
1855	Verdi	<i>Le Vêpres Siciliennes</i>	Grisar	<i>Le Chien du jardinier</i>	Weber / Castil-Blaze Poise Halévy Paër	<i>Robin des bois</i> <i>Les Charmeurs</i> <i>Jaguarita l'indienne</i> <i>Le Maître de chapelle</i>
1856			Auber Bazin	<i>Manon Lescaut</i> <i>Maître Pathelin</i>	Adam Clapisson Grétry Maillart Massé	<i>Le Sourd</i> <i>La Fanchonnette</i> <i>Richard, coeur de lion</i> <i>Les Dragons de Villars</i> <i>La Reine de Topaze</i>
1857			Thomas Isouard	<i>Psyché</i> <i>Joconde</i>	Weber	<i>Oberon</i>
1858	Halévy	<i>La Magicienne</i>	Bazin Gevaert	<i>Les Désespérés</i> <i>Quentin Durward</i>	Gounod Mozart	<i>Le Médecin malgré lui</i> <i>Les Noces de Figaro</i>

Year	Opéra		Opéra-Comique		Théâtre-Lyrique	
	Composer	Title	Composer	Title	Composer	Title
1859			Meyerbeer	<i>Le Pardon de Ploërmel</i>	Gounod Mozart	<i>Faust</i> <i>L'Enlèvement au sérail</i>
1860			Gautier	<i>Le Docteur Mirobolan</i>	Halévy	<i>La Val d'Andorre</i>
1861			Auber Cohen	<i>La Circassienne</i> <i>Maître Claude</i>	Ymbert Reyer	<i>Les Deux cadis</i> <i>La Statue</i>
1862			David Monsigny	<i>Lalla-Roukh</i> <i>Rose et Colas</i>	Grisar	<i>La Chatte merveilleuse</i>
1863	Auber	<i>La Muette de Portici</i>			Verdi	<i>Rigoletto</i>
1864			Maillart Gevaert	<i>Lara</i> <i>Le Capitaine Henriot</i>		
1865	Meyerbeer	<i>L'Africaine</i>	Bazin Hérold	<i>Le Voyage en Chine</i> <i>Marie</i>		
1866			Thomas	<i>Mignon</i>		
1867	Verdi	<i>Don Carlos</i>			Gounod	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>
1868	Thomas	<i>Hamlet</i>	Auber	<i>Le Premier jour de bonheur</i>	Adam	<i>Le Brasseur de Preston</i>
1869	Gounod	<i>Faust</i>	Offenbach	<i>Vert-vert</i>	Wagner Verdi	<i>Rienzi</i> <i>Le Bal masqué</i>

1856-1857	1857-1858	1858-1859	1859-1860	1860-1861
	<i>Ambassadrice</i>			
		<i>Amour du diable</i>		
	<i>Aveugle</i>			
<i>Barbier de Seville</i>				
	<i>Bijou perdu</i>		<i>Ba-ta-clan</i>	
<i>Bonsoir M. Pamtalon</i>				
				<i>Bonsoir voisin</i>
	<i>Bouffe et le tailleur</i>			
<i>Caïd</i>				
	<i>Carillonneur de Bruges</i>			
<i>Cendrillon</i>				
<i>Chalet</i>				
	<i>Chaperon rouge</i>			
		<i>Charmeurs</i>		
	<i>Cheval de bronze</i>			
		<i>Chien de jardinier</i>		
			<i>Codes des femmes</i>	
		<i>Comte d'Ory</i>		
			<i>Croque-poule</i>	
	<i>Dame blanche</i>			
			<i>Dames des Halles *</i>	
			<i>Deux aveugles</i>	
		<i>Deux voleurs</i>		
		<i>Diamants de la couronne</i>		
		<i>Domino noir</i>		
		<i>Dragons de Villars *</i>		
<i>Éclair</i>				
			<i>Estelle</i>	
		<i>Estocq</i>		
	<i>Étoile du nord *</i>			
<i>Fanchonette *</i>				



1856-1857	1857-1858	1858-1859	1859-1860	1860-1861
		<i>Fanfan la tulipe</i>		
				<i>Faust *</i>
<i>Favorite</i>				
		<i>Farfadet</i>		
	<i>Fête du village voisin</i>			
		<i>Fiancée</i>		
	<i>Fille de l'avare</i>			
<i>Fille du regiment</i>				
	<i>Fra Diavolo</i>			
		<i>Fugitifs</i>		
	<i>Gabrielle</i>			
	<i>Galathée</i>			
		<i>Gaspardo</i>		
		<i>Gastibelza</i>		
				<i>Gils Blas</i>
	<i>Gilles ravisseur</i>			
<i>Giralda</i>				
		<i>Guillaume Tell</i>		
<i>Haydée</i>				
			<i>Heritage de M. Pöemel</i>	
<i>Heritière</i>				
				<i>Hernani</i>
	<i>Jacquarita</i>			
			<i>Joconde</i>	
		<i>Juive</i>		
<i>Lucie de Lammermoor</i>				
	<i>Macon</i>			
	<i>Madélon *</i>			
<i>Maitre de chapelle</i>				
	<i>Maitre de Pathelin *</i>			
	<i>Marco Spado</i>			
			<i>Mariage aux lanterns *</i>	



1856-1857	1857-1858	1858-1859	1859-1860	1860-1861
	<i>Mariage aux tambours</i>			
			<i>Mariage de Figaro</i>	
<i>Marianne</i>				
		<i>Marie</i>		
		<i>Marquise</i>		
			<i>Marquise de Carabas *</i>	
		<i>Martha *</i>		
				<i>Masaniello *</i>
		<i>Médecin malgré lui *</i>		
		<i>Monsieur Desch.</i>		
		<i>Monténégrins</i>		
		<i>Moulin joli</i>		
			<i>Mousquetaires de la reine</i>	
<i>Muette de Portici</i>				
<i>Muletier de Tolède</i>				
<i>Mystère d'Isis</i>				
	<i>Ne touchez pas la reine</i>			
		<i>Noces de Ganache</i>		
	<i>Noces de Jeanette</i>			
		<i>Norma</i>		
<i>Nouveau seigneur</i>				
	<i>Oberon</i>			
	<i>Omelette fantastique</i>			
		<i>Ours et le pasha</i>		
			<i>Pantins de violette</i>	
		<i>Papilottes de M. Benoit</i>		
				<i>Pardon de Plöermel *</i>
	<i>Part de diable *</i>			
	<i>Paul et Virginie</i>			
	<i>Perdu</i>			
			<i>Petit chaperon rouge</i>	
<i>Pie voleuse</i>				

1856-1857	1857-1858	1858-1859	1859-1860	1860-1861
		<i>Porcherons</i>		
		<i>Postillon de L.</i>		
	<i>Poupée de Nurembourg</i>			
		<i>Pré aux clercs</i>		
			<i>Reine de Chypre</i>	
	<i>Reine de Topaze *</i>			
	<i>Reine Margot</i>			
<i>Rendez-vous bourgeois</i>				
<i>Robert le diable</i>				
	<i>Robin des bois</i>			
		<i>Rose de St Flour *</i>		
	<i>Saltimbanques</i>			
	<i>Si j'étais Roi</i>			
<i>Sirène</i>				
	<i>Songe d'une nuit</i>			
	<i>Tableau parlant</i>			
	<i>Toréador</i>			
		<i>Trente ans</i>		
			<i>Tromb-al-cazar</i>	
			<i>Troubadours</i>	
				<i>Trouvère</i>
<i>Val d'Andorre</i>				
	<i>Valet de chamber</i>			
			<i>Violonneux</i>	
	<i>Voitures versées</i>			
<i>Zampa</i>				

Composer	Title of Opera	1 <sup>st</sup> produced Paris	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Adam	<i>Bijou perdu</i>	1853															
Adam	<i>Brasseur de Preston</i>	1838 rev. 1848															
Adam	<i>Cagliostro</i>	1844															
Adam	<i>Chalet</i>	1834															
Adam	<i>Deux nuits = Régine</i>	1839															
Adam / Solié	<i>Diable à quatre</i>	1809 / 1845															
Adam	<i>Farfadet</i>	1852															
Adam	<i>Fidèle bergère</i>	1838															
Adam	<i>Giralda</i>	1850															
Adam	<i>Marquise</i>	1835															
Adam	<i>Pantins de violette</i>	1856															
Adam	<i>Pierre et Catherine</i>	1827															
Adam	<i>Postillon de Longjumeau</i>	1836															
Adam	<i>Poupée de Nurembourg</i>	1852															
Adam	<i>Reine d'un jour</i>	1839															
Adam	<i>Roi des Halles</i>	1853															
Adam	<i>Roi d'Yvetot</i>	1842															
Adam	<i>Si j'étais roi</i>	1852															
Adam	<i>Sourd</i>	1853															
Adam	<i>Toréador</i>	1849															
Auber	<i>Actéon</i>	1836															
Auber	<i>Ambassadrice</i>	1836															
Auber	<i>Cheval de bronze</i>	1835 rev. 1857															
Auber	<i>Concert à la cour</i>	1824															
Auber	<i>Diamants de la couronne</i>	1841															
Auber	<i>Dieu et la bayadère</i>	1830															
Auber	<i>Domino noir</i>	1837															

Auber	<i>Duc d'Olonne</i>	1842																	
Auber	<i>Emma</i>	1821																	
Auber	<i>Enfant prodigue</i>	1850																	
Auber	<i>Fiancée</i>	1829																	
Auber	<i>Fiorella</i>	1826																	
Auber	<i>Fra Diavolo</i>	1830																	
Auber	<i>Gustave III</i>	1833																	
Auber	<i>Haydée</i>	1847																	
Auber	<i>Jenny Bell</i>	1855																	
Auber	<i>Lac des fées</i>	1839																	
Auber	<i>Léocardie</i>	1824																	
Auber	<i>Lestocq</i>	1834																	
Auber	<i>Leycester</i>	1823																	
Auber	<i>Macon</i>	1825																	
Auber	<i>Marco Spado</i>	1852																	
Auber	<i>Muette de Portici</i>	1828																	
Auber	<i>Neige</i>	1823																	
Auber	<i>Part du diable</i>	1843																	
Auber	<i>Philtre</i>	1831																	
Auber	<i>Serment</i>	1832																	
Auber	<i>Sirène</i>	1844																	
Auber	<i>Zanetta</i>	1840																	
Auber	<i>Zerlina</i>	1851																	
Balfe	<i>Etoile de Seville</i>	1845																	
Balfe	<i>Puits d'amour</i>	1843																	
Bazin	<i>Madélon</i>	1856																	
Bazin	<i>Maitre Pathelin</i>	1856																	

Bazin	<i>Saint Sylvestre</i>	1849															
Bazin	<i>Trompette de M. le Prince</i>	1847															
Bellini	<i>Norma</i>	1835															
Bellini	<i>Pirate</i>	1825															
Bellini	<i>Puritains</i>	1835															
Bellini	<i>Somnambule</i>	1831															
Bochsa	<i>Héritage de M. Ploëmel</i>	1818															
Bochsa	<i>Lettre de change</i>	1815															
Boieldieu	<i>Aline, reine de Golconde</i>	1804															
Boieldieu	<i>Beniowska</i>	1800															
Boieldieu	<i>Calife de Bagdad</i>	1800															
Boieldieu	<i>Dame blanche</i>	1825															
Boieldieu	<i>Deux nuits</i>	1829															
Boieldieu	<i>Fête du village voisin</i>	1816															
Boieldieu	<i>Jean de Paris</i>	1812															
Boieldieu	<i>Jeune femme en colère</i>	1805 Paris 1812															
Boieldieu	<i>Ma tante Aurore</i>	1803															
Boieldieu	<i>Nouveau seigneur du village</i>	1813															
Boieldieu	<i>Petit chaperon rouge</i>	1818															
Boieldieu	<i>Voitures versées</i>	1820															
Boisselot	<i>Mosquita la sorcière</i>	1851															
Boisselot	<i>Ne touchez pas à la reine</i>	1847															
Boulangier	<i>Diable à l'école</i>	1842															

Cadaux	<i>Deux gentilhommes</i>	1844																
Cadaux	<i>Deux jakets</i>	1852																
Carafa	<i>Jeanne d'Arc</i>	1821																
Carafa	<i>Masaniello</i>	1827																
Carafa	<i>Prison d'Edimbourg</i>	1833																
Carafa	<i>Solitaire</i>	1822																
Carafa	<i>Valet de chamber</i>	1823																
Castil-Blaze	<i>Fausse Agnès</i>	1824																
Castil-Blaze et al.	<i>Folies amoureuses</i>	1823																
Castil-Blaze	<i>Marquise de Brinvilliers</i>	1831																
Catel	<i>Wallace</i>	1817																
Cherubini	<i>Deux journées</i>	1800																
Clapisson	<i>Fanchonnette</i>	1856																
Clapisson	<i>Figurante</i>	1838																
Clapisson	<i>Frère et mari</i>	1841																
Clapisson	<i>Gibby la cornamuse</i>	1846																
Clapisson	<i>Perruche</i>	1840																
Clapisson	<i>Promise</i>	1854																
Dalayrac	<i>Adolphe et Clara</i>	1791																
Dalayrac	<i>Camille</i>	1791																
Dalayrac	<i>Deux mots</i>	1806																
Dalayrac	<i>Deux petits Savoyards</i>	1789																
Dalayrac	<i>Gulistan</i>	1805																



Dalayrac	<i>Léon</i>	1798																	
Dalayrac	<i>Maison à vendre</i>	1800																	
Dalayrac	<i>Maison isolée</i>	1797																	
Dalayrac	<i>Marianne</i>	1796																	
Dalayrac	<i>Nina</i>	1786																	
Dalayrac	<i>Picaros et Diego</i>	1803																	
Dalayrac	<i>Une heure de mariage</i>	1804																	
David	<i>Perle de Brésil</i>	1851																	
Delibes	<i>Deux vieilles gardes</i>	1856																	
Délibes	<i>Freluchette</i>	1856																	
Della Maria	<i>Opéra-comique</i>	1798																	
Della Maria	<i>Prisonnier</i>	1798																	
Desprésaux	<i>Demoiselle d'honneur</i>	1838																	
Devienne	<i>Visitandines</i>	1792																	
Dezède	<i>Blaise et Babet</i>	1783																	
Donizetti	<i>Anna de Boleyn</i>	1830 Milan																	
Donizetti	<i>Belisaire</i>	1836?																	
Donizetti	<i>Betty</i>	1836?																	
Donizetti	<i>Dom Sebastien</i>	1843																	
Donizetti	<i>Don Pasquale</i>	1843																	
Donizetti	<i>Favorite</i>	1840																	
Donizetti	<i>Fille du regiment</i>	1840																	

Donizetti	<i>Linda de Chamonix</i>	1842																	
Donizetti	<i>Lucie de Lammermoor</i>	1837																	
Donizetti	<i>Lucrèce Borgia = Nizza</i>	1840																	
Donizetti	<i>Maria di Rohan</i>	1843 Vienna																	
Donizetti	<i>Maria Padilla</i>	1841?																	
Donizetti	<i>Martyrs</i>	1840																	
Donizetti	<i>Nizza de Grenade = Lucrèce</i>	1840																	
Donizetti	<i>Robert Devereux</i>	1838																	
Duprato	<i>Monsieur Landry</i>	1856																	
Duprez	<i>Joanita</i>	1852																	
Fétis	<i>Vieille</i>	1826																	
Flotow	<i>Ame en peine</i>	1846																	
Flotow	<i>Esclave de camoëns</i>	1843																	
Flotow	<i>Martha</i>	1856																	
Gail	<i>Deux jaloux</i>	1813																	
Gautier	<i>Flore et Zéphire</i>	1852																	
Gautier	<i>Mariage extravagante</i>	1857																	
Gautier	<i>Murdoch le bandit</i>	1851																	
Gautier	<i>Schabaham II</i>	1854																	
Gavaert	<i>Billet de Marguerite</i>	1856																	
Gavaert	<i>Diable au moulin</i>	1859																	
Gavaert	<i>Quentin Durwald</i>	1858																	



Gaveaux	<i>Bouffe et le tailleur</i>	1804																		
Gaveaux	<i>Monsieur Deschalumeaux</i>	1806																		
Gaveaux	<i>Petit matelot</i>	1796																		
Girard	<i>Deux voleurs</i>	1841																		
Gounod	<i>Médécin malgré lui</i>	1858																		
Grétry	<i>Caravane du Caire</i>	1783																		
Grétry	<i>Epreuve villageoise</i>	1784																		
Grétry	<i>Lisbeth</i>	1797																		
Grétry	<i>Richard cœur de lion</i>	1784																		
Grétry	<i>Tableau parlant</i>	1769																		
Grétry	<i>Zémire et Azor</i>	1771																		
Grisar	<i>Amours du diable</i>	1853																		
Grisar	<i>Bonsoir M. Pantalon</i>	1851																		
Grisar	<i>Carillonneurs de Bruges</i>	1852																		
Grisar	<i>Chien du jardinier</i>	1855																		
Grisar	<i>Eau merveilleuse</i>	1839																		
Grisar	<i>Gilles Ravisseur</i>	1848																		
Grisar	<i>Porcherons</i>	1850																		
Grisar	<i>Travestissements</i>	1839 rev. 1854																		
Guenée	<i>Chambre à coucher</i>	1831																		
Halévy	<i>Charles VI</i>	1843																		
Halévy	<i>Dame de Pique</i>	1850																		
Halévy	<i>Dilettante d'Avignon</i>	1829																		

Halévy	<i>Éclair</i>	1835																
Halévy	<i>Fée aux roses</i>	1849																
Halévy	<i>Guido et Ginevra</i>	1838																
Halévy	<i>Guittarero</i>	1841																
Halévy	<i>Jacquerita l'indienne</i>	1855																
Halévy	<i>Juif errant</i>	1852																
Halévy	<i>Juive</i>	1835																
Halévy	<i>Mousquetaires de la reine</i>	1846																
Halévy	<i>Reine de Chypre</i>	1841																
Halévy	<i>Val d'Andorre</i>	1848																
Hérold	<i>Clochette</i>	1817																
Hérold	<i>Ludovic</i>	1833																
Hérold	<i>Marie</i>	1826																
Hérold	<i>Pré aux clercs</i>	1852																
Hérold	<i>Zampa</i>	1831																
Hervé	<i>Ours et la pacha</i>	1848																
Isouard	<i>Billet de loterie</i>	1811																
Isouard	<i>Cendrillon</i>	1810																
Isouard	<i>Jeannot et Colin</i>	1814																
Isouard	<i>Joconde</i>	1814																
Isouard	<i>Lulli et Quinault</i>	1812																
Isouard	<i>Rendez-vous bourgeois</i>	1807																
Kreubé	<i>Edmond et Caroline</i>	1819																
Kreubé	<i>Heritière</i>	1817																

Kreutzer	<i>François I</i>	1807																	
Kreutzer	<i>Paul et Virginie</i>	1791																	
	<i>Jeanne et Jeanneton</i>	Vaudeville / Scribe 1850 Varne																	
Lajarte	<i>Secret de l'oncle Vincent</i>	1855																	
Lebrun	<i>Rossignol</i>	1816																	
Lemoyne	<i>Prétendus</i>	1789																	
Lesueur	<i>Caverne</i>	1793																	
Limnander	<i>Chateau de Barbe-bleu</i>	1851																	
Limnander	<i>Monténegrins</i>	1849																	
Louis	<i>Deux sergents</i>	1850																	
Louis	<i>Duel à Valence</i>	1844																	
Maillart	<i>Croix de Marie</i>	1852																	
Maillart	<i>Dragons de Villars</i>	1856																	
Maillart	<i>Gastibélza</i>	1847																	
Maillart	<i>Moulin des tilleuls</i>	1849																	
Massé	<i>Chanteuse violée</i>	1850																	
Massé	<i>Galathée</i>	1852																	
Massé	<i>Noces de Jeanette</i>	1842																	
Massé	<i>Reine Topaze</i>	1856																	

Méhul	<i>Folie</i>	1802																
Méhul	<i>Irato</i>	1801																
Méhul	<i>Joseph</i>	1807																
Melesville	<i>Deux Gilles</i>	1855																
Mercandantes	<i>Noces de Gamache</i>	1825																
Meyerbeer	<i>L'Etoile du Nord</i>	1854																
Meyerbeer	<i>Huguenots</i>	1836																
Meyerbeer	<i>Marguerite d'Anjou</i>	1838																
Meyerbeer	<i>Pardon de Ploërmel</i>	1858																
Meyerbeer	<i>Prophète</i>	1849																
Meyerbeer	<i>Robert le diable</i>	1831																
Monpou	<i>Chaste Suzanne</i>	1839																
Monpou	<i>Deux reines</i>	1835																
Monpou	<i>Piquillo</i>	1837																
Monpou	<i>Planteur</i>	1839																
Montfort	<i>Jeunesse de Charles XV</i>	1841																
Montfort	<i>Polichinelle</i>	1839																
Monsigny	<i>Deserteur</i>	1769																
Mozart	<i>Don Juan</i>	1805																
Mozart	<i>Enlèvement au sérail</i>																	
Mozart	<i>Mariage de Figaro</i>	1807 / 1827																
Mozart / Lachnith	<i>Mystère d'Isis</i>	1801																

Ney	<i>Cent-Suisse</i>	1840																	
Offenbach	<i>Ba-ta-clan</i>	1855																	
Offenbach	<i>Deux aveugles</i>	1855																	
Offenbach	<i>Dragonette</i>	1857																	
Offenbach	<i>Mariage aux lanterns</i>	1857																	
Offenbach	<i>Mesdames de la Halle</i>	1858																	
Offenbach	<i>Orphée aux enfers</i>	1858																	
Offenbach	<i>Rose de St Flour</i>	1856																	
Offenbach	<i>66</i>	1856																	
Offenbach	<i>Trombalcazar</i>	1856																	
Offenbach	<i>Vent du soir</i>	1857																	
Offenbach	<i>Violoneux</i>	1855																	
Onslow	<i>Colporteur</i>	1827																	
Paer	<i>Maître de chapelle</i>	1821																	
Poise	<i>Bonsoir voisin</i>	1853																	
Poise	<i>Charmeurs</i>	1855																	
Potier	<i>Caquet du couvent</i>	1846																	
Potier	<i>Il signor Pasçarello</i>	1848																	
Prévost	<i>Cosaque</i>	1835																	
Prévost	<i>Cosimo</i>	1835																	
Reber	<i>Papilottes de M Benoit</i>	1853																	
Reber	<i>Père Gaillard</i>	1852																	

Rifaut	<i>Gaspardo</i>	1836																	
Rossini	<i>Barbier de Seville</i>	1821 Lyon																	
Rossini	<i>Comte Ory</i>	1828																	
Rossini	<i>Dame du lac</i>	1825																	
Rossini	<i>Guillaume Tell</i>	1829																	
Rossini	<i>Italiénne à Alger</i>	1817																	
Rossini	<i>Moïse</i>	1827																	
Rossini	<i>Othello</i>	1825																	
Rossini	<i>Pie voleuse</i>	1824																	
Rossini	<i>Siege de Corinthe</i>	1826																	
Rossini	<i>Tancredi</i>	1813																	
Rousseau	<i>Devin du village</i>	1752																	
Royer	<i>Robert Bruce</i>	1846																	
Sacchini	<i>Oedippe à Colonne</i>	1787																	
Semet	<i>Nuits d'Espagne</i>	1857																	
Solié / Adam	<i>Diable à quatre</i>	Rev. as ballet 1845																	
Spontini	<i>Fernand Cortez</i>	1809																	
Spontini	<i>Vestale</i>	1807																	
Steibelt	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	1793																	
Thomas	<i>Caid</i>	1849																	

Thomas	<i>Carlina</i>	1840																
Thomas	<i>Carnaval de Venise</i>	1857																
Thomas	<i>Double échelle</i>	1835																
Thomas	<i>Panier fleuri</i>	1839																
Thomas	<i>Perruquier de la régence</i>	1838																
Thomas	<i>Psyche</i>	1857																
Thomas	<i>Raymond</i>	1851																
Thomas	<i>Songe d'une nuit d'été</i>	1850																
Thomas	<i>Tonnelli</i>	1853																
Valert	<i>Elève de Presbourg</i>	1840																
Varney	<i>Moulin joli</i>	1849																
Verdi	<i>Ernani</i>	1845																
Verdi	<i>Jerusalem</i>	1847																
Verdi	<i>Rigoletto</i>	1857																
Verdi	<i>Trouvère</i>	1853																
Verdi	<i>Vêpres siciliennes</i>	1855																
Villebichot	<i>Une minute trop tard</i>	1857																
Villeblanche	<i>Fiançailles des roses</i>	1852																
Weber	<i>Freyschütz / Robin des bois</i>	1824 / 1841																

## Appendix J

Repertoire of lyric season in Vichy  
(1897-1914).

Listing works and number of performances.



Title	Composer	1 <sup>st</sup> Paris performance	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	Total
<i>Faust</i>	Gounod	1859	5	4	4	2	3	3		4	3	4	5	5	6	5	4	3	4	1	65
<i>Pêcheurs de perles</i>	Bizet	1863	4	3		1															8
<i>Mignon</i>	Thomas	1866	4		3	1	3	3	2	3			1		4		2				26
<i>Dragons de Villars</i>	Maillart	1856	4	4	2		1														11
<i>Rigoletto</i>	Verdi	1857	3								3	4		1			1			2	14
<i>Lakmé</i>	Délibes	1883	3	4	4		6	3		2	5	5	5	1	3	3	3	3	4		54
<i>Galathée</i>	Massé	1852	5	3	2	2				1											13
<i>Maître de chapelle</i>	Paër	1821	2			1	3	2	2	1							3	1			15
<i>Favorite</i>	Donizetti	1840	1	4	1	1			2	1											10
<i>Samson et Dalila</i>	Saint-Saëns	1877	2	2		1		2			3	2	1	1	4	2	2		3	2	27
<i>Carmen</i>	Bizet	1875	2	1	4	5	2	3	3	2	2	5	4	4	6	5	3	2	3	3	59
<i>Traviata</i>	Verdi	1856	2							2											4
<i>Africaine</i>	Meyerbeer	1865	2						3		2			2				1			10
<i>Werther</i>	Massenet	1893	2	1		3		2	1	1		2	1	2	2	3	3	3	5	2	33
<i>Françonnelle</i>	Lavello	1897	1																		1
<i>Philomen et Baucis</i>	Gounod	1860	1						2												3
<i>Moina</i>	Isadore de Lara	1891	1	1																	2
<i>Roi d'Ys</i>	Lalo	1888	1	1										2	1						5
<i>Noces de Jeannette</i>	Massé	1853	1		2	2	4	2									1	3			15
<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	Gounod	1867	1	4	4		1	2	3	1	2		1	3	3			2	1		28
<i>Hamlet</i>	Thomas	1868		3	2	3			2	1	1		2		1		2				17
<i>Manon</i>	Massenet	1884	3	3	4	2	4	4	2	3	2	3	6	4	5	5	3	3	4	1	61
<i>Huguenots</i>	Meyerbeer	1836		2	2	2		1	2	1	1	2	3	3	1	2	2	1			25
<i>Thaïs</i>	Massenet	1894		2		1				2		2		2		1		1	3		14
<i>Mireille</i>	Gounod	1864		2	4	4	4	3	4	3	2	2		2			3		1		34
<i>Lohengrin</i>	Wagner	1887		1		3	2			1							2		2		11
<i>Fille du régiment</i>	Donizetti	1840			1		2				1										4
<i>Cavalleria rusticana</i>	Mascagni	1892			4	2		2		2											10
<i>Chalet</i>	Adam	1834			1																1
<i>Vivandière</i>	Godard	1895			2														6	2	10
<i>Orphée</i>	Gluck	1774			3														6	2	11
<i>Lovelace</i>	Hirschmann	1898			1																1

<i>Le Voyage en chine</i>	Bazin	1865			1															1
<i>Pardon de Ploërmel</i>	Meyerbeer	1859			1					3										4
<i>Barbier de Seville</i>	Rossini	1819			2				2	2	2		1	2		3	2			16
<i>Si j'étais roi</i>	Adam	1852			2															2
<i>Guillaume Tell</i>	Rossini	1829			2	2	2		2			1	2					1		12
<i>Navarraise</i>	Massenet	1895			3			2	3			1								9
<i>Bonsoir voisin</i>	Poise	1853			2											1				3
<i>Sardanapale</i>	Duvernois	1882			2															2
<i>Zampa</i>	Hérold	1831			1															1
<i>Don Juan</i>	Mozart	1805			1															1
<i>Aida</i>	Verdi	1871				4					4	2				3				13
<i>Juive</i>	Halevy	1835				2	2			2		1				1				8
<i>Bohème</i>	Puccini	1898				4	5	3		3	3		2		3		2	4		29
<i>Griselidis</i>	Massenet	1901					2	3							3					8
<i>Sigurd</i>	Reyer	1885					3		1		2			2			2	3		13
<i>Fedora</i>	Giordano	1898					2													2
<i>Paillasse</i>	Leoncavallo	1902 <sup>1</sup>						2	1			2		1						6
<i>Martha</i>	Flotow	1858						2												2
<i>Lalla-Roukh</i>	David	1862						2												2
<i>Gyptis</i>	Desjoyaux	1890						1												1
<i>Tannhauser</i>	Wagner	1861						2							1					3
<i>Portrait de Manon</i>	Massenet	1894						2												2
<i>Sapho</i>	Gounod	1851							3											3
<i>Fille de Roland</i>	Rabaud	1904							2											2
<i>Attaque du Moulin</i>	Bruncau	1893							2									3		5
<i>Arlésienne</i>	Bizet	1872							1			5								6

<sup>1</sup> First performed in France in Bordeaux, 1894, 1902 at the Garnier Palace.

<i>Jongleur de Notre Dame</i>	Massenet	1902									4			1	5						10
<i>Don Pasquale</i>	Donizetti	1843									3										3
<i>Hérodias</i>	Massenet	1884										3	2	2				2			9
<i>Louise</i>	Charpentier	1900										3	5	2		2				2	14
<i>Françoise de Rimini</i>	Thomas	1882										1									1
<i>Tosca</i>	Puccini	1903											3	2		5		2			12
<i>Thérèse</i>	Massenet											4			1		2				7
<i>Damnation de Faust</i>	Berlioz													1							1
<i>Contes d'Hoffman</i>	Offenbach	1881													4	2					6
<i>Walkyrie</i>	Wagner														3	3				1	7
<i>Marie Magdeleine</i>	Massenet														2						2
<i>Bonhomme jadis</i>	Offenbach	1853													1						1
<i>Mme Butterfly</i>	Puccini															4				2	6
<i>Quo vadis</i>	Nougés	1909														6	2				8
<i>Violoneux</i>	Offenbach																2	1			3
<i>Don Quichotte</i>	Massenet	1910															6				6
<i>Maîtres chanteurs</i>	Wagner																3	3			6
<i>Deux billets</i>	Nourey	1911															2				2
<i>Dame blanche</i>	Boieldieu																	5			5
<i>Hansel et Gretel</i>	Humperdinck																	4			4
<i>Roma</i>	Massenet																	6		2	8
<i>Passant</i>	Paladiche	1872																3			3
<i>Phryné</i>	Saint-Saëns	1893																	3		3
<i>Moulin joli</i>	Varney																		2		2
<i>Paille d'Aoine</i>	Planquette	1874																	1		1
<i>Rose de St-Flour</i>	Offenbach																		3		3
<i>Parsifal</i>	Wagner																			3	3
<i>Rêve</i>	Bruncau	1894																		1	1
<i>Noces de Figaro</i>	Mozart																			1	1

## Appendix K

### Repertoire in sample of theatres (1870-1914)

Aix-les-Bains / Chambéry ADSav T228  
Mugnier, F., *Le Théâtre en Savoie*  
Aix-en-Provence AMAix R4 49-55  
Angoulême AMAngoulême R36  
Arras ADP-C T384/ T385  
Avignon ADVau 4T8, 4T10  
BesançonADDoubs 1T 475  
Brest ADFi 4T20  
Caen / Trouville ADCal 2324  
Dijon ADCdO 36T6d/ 36T9  
Draguignon ADVar 9T 5/1  
Laval ADMay 1T954  
Le Havre ADS-M 4T94  
Le Mans ADSar 4T31  
Lyon Corneloup Gérard *Trois siècle ... à Lyon*  
Marseille Bonnot, Isabelle, *Divine divas ...*  
Nantes Destranges *Le Théâtre à Nantes* and ADL-A T100  
Nîmes ADGard 8T8/ 8T10  
Perpignan Tisseyre, Christine, *Le Théâtre municipale de Perpignan*.  
Rennes Le Moigne-Mussat, *Musique à Rennes* (1988)  
Rodez ADAv15T3/2  
Rouen Deshayes, E., *Répertoire lyrique*  
Toulon ASDVar 9T5/2  
Valence ADDr 14T2/3B



Listed by title order of lyric works

<b>Title of Opera</b>	<b>Composer</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
<i>Absents</i>	Poise																	
<i>Adolphe et Clara</i>	Dalayrac																	
<i>Africaine</i>	Meyerbeer																	
<i>Aïda</i>	Verdi																	
<i>Ali-Baba</i>	Lecocq																	
<i>Ali-ba-baum</i>																		
<i>Ambassadrice</i>	Auber																	
<i>Amico Fritz</i>	Mascagni																	
<i>Amour mouillé</i>	Varney																	
<i>Amours au moulin</i>																		
<i>Amours du diable</i>	Grisar																	
<i>Amours médecin</i>	Poise																	
<i>Amours Tziganes</i>	Léhar																	
<i>André Chénier</i>	Giordano																	
<i>Ariane</i>	Massenet																	
<i>Arlésienne</i>	Bizet																	
<i>Attaque au moulin</i>	Bruneau																	
<i>Auberge de Tohu-Bohu</i>	Roger																	
<i>Avant le noce</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Aveugle</i>																		

Number of theatres in sample where work performed

Title of Opera	Composer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
<i>Bacchus triomphant</i>	Erlanger																	
<i>Bagatelle</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Bal masqué</i>	Verdi																	
<i>Barbe-bleue</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Barbier de Séville</i>	Rossini																	
<i>Basoche</i>	Messenger																	
<i>Ba-ta-clan</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Bavards</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Béarnaise</i>	Messenger																	
<i>Beau Dunois</i>	Lecocq																	
<i>Belle Comte</i>																		
<i>Belle Hélène</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Belle poule</i>	Hervé																	
<i>Bijou perdu</i>	Adam																	
<i>Billet de loterie</i>	Isouard																	
<i>Boccace</i>	Suppé																	
<i>Bohème</i>	Leoncavallo																	
<i>Bohème</i>	Puccini																	
<i>Bohémienne</i>	Balfe																	
<i>Bonsoir, M. Pantalon</i>	Grisar																	
<i>Bonsoir voisin</i>	Poise																	
<i>Boris Godounov</i>	Moussorgski																	
<i>Bouquet de l'enfant</i>	Boieldieu																	
<i>Bourguignonnes</i>	Deffès																	
<i>Boussigneuil</i>	Okolowicz																	
<i>Braconniers</i>	Offenbach																	

Number of theatres in sample where work performed



Title of Opera	Composer	1870	1873	1876	1879	1882	1885	1888	1891	1894	1897	1900	1903	1906	1909	1912
<i>Bacchus triomphant</i>	Erlanger															
<i>Bagatelle</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Bal masqué</i>	Verdi															
<i>Barbe-bleue</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Barbier de Séville</i>	Rossini															
<i>Basoche</i>	Messenger															
<i>Ba-ta-clan</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Bavards</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Béarnaise</i>	Messenger															
<i>Beau Dunois</i>	Lecocq															
<i>Belle Comte</i>																
<i>Belle Hélène</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Belle poule</i>	Hervé															
<i>Bijou perdu</i>	Adam															
<i>Billet de loterie</i>	Isouard															
<i>Boccace</i>	Suppé															
<i>Bohème</i>	Leoncavallo															
<i>Bohème</i>	Puccini															
<i>Bohémienne</i>	Balfe															
<i>Bonsoir, M. Pantalon</i>	Grisar															
<i>Bonsoir voisin</i>	Poise															
<i>Boris Godounov</i>	Moussorgski															
<i>Bouquet de l'infante</i>	Boieldieu															
<i>Bourguignonnes</i>	Deffès															
<i>Boussigneuil</i>	Okolowicz															
<i>Bracomiers</i>	Offenbach															

Years in repertoire of sample theatres

Title of Opera	Composer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
<i>Brasseur de Preston</i>	Adam																	
<i>Bravo</i>	de Salvayre																	
<i>Brigands</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Cadet Roussel</i>	Cordeiro																	
<i>Caen s'amuse</i>	Maye																	
<i>Caïd</i>	Thomas																	
<i>Camargo</i>	Lecocq																	
<i>Canards à trios becs</i>	Jonas																	
<i>Capitaine Fracasse</i>	Pessard																	
<i>Capitaine Henriot</i>	Gevaert																	
<i>Capitole</i>	Serpette																	
<i>Carmen</i>	Bizet																	
<i>Cavalleria rusticana</i>	Mascagni																	
<i>Cendrillon</i>	Isouard																	
<i>Cendrillon</i>	Massenet																	
<i>Cent vierges</i>	Lecocq																	
<i>Chalet</i>	Adam																	
<i>Chanson de fortunio</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Chanteuse violée</i>	Massé																	
<i>Charbonniers</i>	Costé																	
<i>Charles VI</i>	Halévy																	
<i>Charmeurs</i>	Poise																	
<i>Chasse au profit</i>																		
<i>Château à Toto</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Chemineau</i>	Leroux																	
<i>Cheval de bronze</i>	Auber																	

Number of theatres in sample where work performed



Title of Opera	Composer	1870	1873	1876	1879	1882	1885	1888	1891	1894	1897	1900	1903	1906	1909	1912
<i>Brasseur de Preston</i>	Adam															
<i>Bravo</i>	de Salvayre															
<i>Brigands</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Cadet Roussel</i>	Cordeiro															
<i>Caen s'amuse</i>	Maye															
<i>Caïd</i>	Thomas															
<i>Camargo</i>	Lecocq															
<i>Canards à trios becs</i>	Jonas															
<i>Capitaine Fracasse</i>	Pessard															
<i>Capitaine Henriot</i>	Gevaert															
<i>Capitole</i>	Serpette															
<i>Carmen</i>	Bizet															
<i>Cavalleria rusticana</i>	Mascagni															
<i>Cendrillon</i>	Isouard															
<i>Cendrillon</i>	Massenet															
<i>Cent vierges</i>	Lecocq															
<i>Chalet</i>	Adam															
<i>Chanson de fortunio</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Chanteuse violée</i>	Massé															
<i>Charbonniers</i>	Costé															
<i>Charles VI</i>	Halévy															
<i>Charmeurs</i>	Poise															
<i>Chasse au profit</i>																
<i>Château à Toto</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Chemineau</i>	Leroux															
<i>Cheval de bronze</i>	Auber															

Years in repertoire of sample theatres

<b>Title of Opera</b>	<b>Composer</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
<i>Chevalier de Carderac</i>	Brion d'Orgeval																	
<i>Chevalier Jean</i>	Joncières																	
<i>Chevaliers de la table ronde</i>	Hervé																	
<i>Chez un garçon</i>	Pourny																	
<i>Chien du jardinier</i>	Grisar																	
<i>Chilpéric</i>	Hervé																	
<i>Cid</i>	Massenet																	
<i>Cigale et la fourmi</i>	Audran																	
<i>Cinq-mars</i>	Gounod																	
<i>Cliquette</i>	Varney																	
<i>Cloches de Corneville</i>	Planquette																	
<i>Cocade tricolore</i>	Planquette																	
<i>Code des femmes</i>																		
<i>Cœur et la main</i>	Lecocq																	
<i>Comte Ory</i>	Rossini																	
<i>Contes d' Hoffmann</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Coppélia</i>	Delibes																	
<i>Coq de Souvigny</i>	Boischot																	
<i>Cornette</i>	Bernicat																	
<i>Cosaque</i>	Prévost																	
<i>Coupe du roi de Thulé</i>	Diaz de la Pena																	
<i>Crépuscule des dieux</i>	Wagner																	
<i>Croix de l'Alcade</i>	Perry-Biagolo																	
<i>Croquefer</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Croque poule</i>																		

Number of theatres in sample where work performed

Title of Opera	Composer	1870	1873	1876	1879	1882	1885	1888	1891	1894	1897	1900	1903	1906	1909	1912
<i>Chevalier de Carderac</i>	Brion d'Orgeval															
<i>Chevalier Jean</i>	Joncières															
<i>Chevalier de la table ronde</i>	Hervé															
<i>Chez un garçon</i>	Pourny															
<i>Chien du jardinier</i>	Grisar															
<i>Chilperic</i>	Hervé															
<i>Cid</i>	Massenet															
<i>Cigale</i>	Audran															
<i>Cinq mars</i>	Gounod															
<i>Cliquette</i>	Varney															
<i>Cloches de Corneville</i>	Planquette															
<i>Cocade tricolore</i>	Planquette															
<i>Code des femmes</i>																
<i>Cœur et la main</i>	Lecocq															
<i>Comte Ory</i>	Rossini															
<i>Contes des Hoffman</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Coppélia</i>	Delibes															
<i>Coq de Souvigny</i>	Boischot															
<i>Cornette</i>	Bernicat															
<i>Cosaque</i>	Prévost															
<i>Coupe du roi de Thulé</i>	Diaz de la Pena															
<i>Crépuscule des dieux</i>	Wagner															
<i>Croix de l'Alcade</i>	Perry-Baglioli															
<i>Croquefer</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Croque poule</i>																

Years in repertoire of sample theatres

<b>Title of Opera</b>	<b>Composer</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
<i>Dame blanche</i>	Boieldieu																	
<i>Dames de la Halle</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Damnation de Faust</i>	Berlioz																	
<i>Daphne et Chlœ</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Déjanire</i>	Saint-Saëns																	
<i>Demoiselles du telephone</i>	Serpette																	
<i>Deux avars</i>	Grétry																	
<i>Deux aveugles</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Deux cadis</i>	Ymbert																	
<i>Deux chateaux</i>																		
<i>Deux pêcheurs</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Deux sourds</i>																		
<i>Deux timides</i>																		
<i>Deux vieilles gardes</i>	Delibes																	
<i>Diamants de la couronne</i>	Auber																	
<i>Dieux en gobichonnade</i>																		
<i>Directeur dans l'embaras</i>	Cimarosa																	
<i>Docteur Crispin</i>	Ricci																	
<i>Docteur Pourgandi</i>	Robillard																	
<i>Domino noir</i>	Auber																	
<i>Don César de Bazan</i>	Massenet																	
<i>Don Juan</i>	Mozart																	
<i>Don Pasquale</i>	Donizetti																	
<i>Don Quichotte</i>	Massenet																	
<i>Donna Juanita</i>	Suppé																	

Number of theatres in sample where work performed

Title of Opera	Composer	1870	1873	1876	1879	1882	1885	1888	1891	1894	1897	1900	1903	1906	1909	1912
<i>Dame blanche</i>	Boieldieu															
<i>Dames de la Halle</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Damnation de Faust</i>	Berlioz															
<i>Daphne et Chlôe</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Déjanire</i>	Saint-Saëns															
<i>Demoiselles du telephone</i>	Serpette															
<i>Deux avares</i>	Grétry															
<i>Deux aveugles</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Deux cadis</i>	Ymbert															
<i>Deux chateaux</i>																
<i>Deux pêcheurs</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Deux sourds</i>																
<i>Deux timides</i>																
<i>Deux vieilles gardes</i>	Delibes															
<i>Diamants de la couronne</i>	Auber															
<i>Dieux en gobichonnade</i>																
<i>Directeur dans l'embaras</i>	Cimarosa															
<i>Docteur Crispin</i>	Ricci															
<i>Docteur Pourgandi</i>	Robillard															
<i>Domino noir</i>	Auber															
<i>Don César de Bazan</i>	Massenet															
<i>Don Juan</i>	Mozart															
<i>Don Pasquale</i>	Donizetti															
<i>Don Quichotte</i>	Massenet															
<i>Donna Juanita</i>	Suppé															

Years in repertoire of sample theatres

<b>Title of Opera</b>	<b>Composer</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
<i>Dot de Suzette</i>	Boieldieu																	
<i>Double clef</i>	Chaussagne																	
<i>Dragons de la reine</i>	Leopolt de Wenzel																	
<i>Dragons de Villars</i>	Maillart																	
<i>Droit de seigneur</i>	Vasseur																	
<i>Ecartes d'un clarinette et d'un flageolet</i>																		
<i>Eclair</i>	Halévy																	
<i>Enlèvement de la Tolède</i>	Audran																	
<i>Ernani</i>	Verdi																	
<i>Ero e Leandro</i>	Bottesini																	
<i>Esclarmonde</i>	Massenet																	
<i>Etienne Marcel</i>	Saint-Saëns																	
<i>Etoile du nord</i>	Meyerbeer																	
<i>Étranger</i>	d'Indy																	
<i>Etudiant pauvre</i>	Milloecker																	
<i>Fanchonnette</i>	Clapisson																	
<i>Fanfare de St Cloud</i>	Hervé																	
<i>Fanfare la tulipe</i>	Varney																	
<i>Fanfreluche</i>	Roger																	
<i>Farfadet</i>	Adam																	
<i>Fatinitza</i>	Suppé																	
<i>Faust</i>	Gounod																	
<i>Fauvette du temple</i>	Messenger																	
<i>Favorite</i>	Donizetti																	
<i>Fée aux roses</i>	Halévy																	

Number of theatres in sample where work performed

Title of Opera	Composer	1870	1873	1876	1879	1882	1885	1888	1891	1894	1897	1900	1903	1906	1909	1912
<i>Dot de Suzette</i>	Boieldieu															
<i>Double clef</i>	Chaussagne															
<i>Dragons de la reine</i>	Leopolt de Wenzel															
<i>Dragons de Villars</i>	Maillart															
<i>Droit de seigneur</i>	Vasseur															
<i>Ecartes d'un clarinette et d'un flageolet</i>																
<i>Eclair</i>	Halévy															
<i>Enlèvement de la Tolède</i>	Audran															
<i>Ernani</i>	Verdi															
<i>Ero e Leandro</i>	Bottesini															
<i>Esclarmonde</i>	Massenet															
<i>Etienne Marcel</i>	Saint-Saëns															
<i>Etoile du nord</i>	Meyerbeer															
<i>Etranger</i>	d'Indy															
<i>Etudiant pauvre</i>	Milloecker															
<i>Fanchonnette</i>	Clapisson															
<i>Fanfare de St Cloud</i>	Hervé															
<i>Fanfare la tulipe</i>	Varney															
<i>Fanfreluche</i>	Roger															
<i>Farfadet</i>	Adam															
<i>Fatinitza</i>	Suppé															
<i>Faust</i>	Gounod															
<i>Fauvette du temple</i>	Messenger															
<i>Favorite</i>	Donizetti															
<i>Fée aux roses</i>	Halévy															

Years in repertoire of sample theatres

<b>Title of Opera</b>	<b>Composer</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
<i>Ferval</i>	d'Indy																	
<i>Femme à papa</i>	Hervé																	
<i>Femme au œufs d'or</i>																		
<i>Femme qui begaie</i>	Villebichet																	
<i>Fernand Cortez</i>	Spontini																	
<i>Fêtards</i>	Roger																	
<i>Fête du village voisin</i>	Isouard																	
<i>Fiancée des verts poteaux</i>	Audran																	
<i>Fille d'enfer</i>																		
<i>Fille de Fanchon la vieilleuse</i>	Varney																	
<i>Fille de l'épicier</i>																		
<i>Fille de Mme. Angot</i>	Lecocq																	
<i>Fille du Far West</i>	Puccini																	
<i>Fille du régiment</i>	Donizetti																	
<i>Fille du tambour-major</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Fils de Giboyer</i>																		
<i>Financier et le savetier</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Fleur de thé</i>	Lecocq																	
<i>Flûte enchantée</i>	Mozart																	
<i>Foire e St. Cloud</i>	Hervé																	
<i>Folie à Rom</i>	Ricci																	
<i>Fra Diavolo</i>	Auber																	
<i>François les bas bleus</i>	Bernicat / Messenger																	
<i>Freluchette</i>	Montaubry																	
<i>Freyschütz</i>	Weber																	

Number of theatres in sample where work performed



Title of Opera	Composer	1870	1873	1876	1879	1882	1885	1888	1891	1894	1897	1900	1903	1906	1909	1912
<i>Ferval</i>	d'Indy															
<i>Femme à papa</i>	Hervé															
<i>Femme au œufs d'or</i>																
<i>Femme qui begaie</i>	Villebichet															
<i>Fernand Cortez</i>	Spontini															
<i>Fêtards</i>	Roger															
<i>Fête du village voisin</i>	Isouard															
<i>Fiancée des verts poteaux</i>	Audran															
<i>Fille d'enfer</i>																
<i>Fille de Fanchon la vieilleuse</i>	Varney															
<i>Fille de l'épicier</i>																
<i>Fille de Mme. Angot</i>	Lecocq															
<i>Fille du Far West</i>	Puccini															
<i>Fille du régiment</i>	Donizetti															
<i>Fille du tambour-major</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Fils de Giboyer</i>																
<i>Financier et le savetier</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Fleur de thé</i>	Lecocq															
<i>Flûte enchantée</i>	Mozart															
<i>Foire e St. Cloud</i>	Hervé															
<i>Folie à Rom</i>	Ricci															
<i>Fra Diavolo</i>	Auber															
<i>François les bas bleus</i>	Bernicat / Messenger															
<i>Freluchette</i>	Montaubry															
<i>Freyschütz</i>	Weber															

Years in repertoire of sample theatres

<b>Title of Opera</b>	<b>Composer</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
<i>Galathée</i>	Massé																	
<i>Gamin de Paris</i>	Serpette																	
<i>Garçons du cabinet</i>	Talex																	
<i>Gardeuse d'oies</i>	Lacombe																	
<i>Gasparo</i>	Rifaut																	
<i>Geneviève de Brabant</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Gilets de Fianelle</i>	Guilard																	
<i>Gilles ravisseur</i>	Grisar																	
<i>Gillette de Narbonne</i>	Audran																	
<i>Giralda</i>	Adam																	
<i>Giroflé-Girofla</i>	Lecocq																	
<i>Grand Casimir</i>	Lecocq																	
<i>Grand Mogol</i>	Audran																	
<i>Grande duchesse de Boulognestein</i>	Daseidle																	
<i>Grande duchesse de Gèrolstein</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Grisélidis</i>	Massenet																	
<i>Guillaume Tell</i>	Rossini																	
<i>Gwendoline</i>	Chabrier																	
<i>Hamlet</i>	Thomas																	
<i>Hansel et Gretel</i>	Humperdinck																	
<i>Hatte du roi</i>	Boieldieu (fils)																	
<i>Haydée</i>	Auber																	
<i>Héloïse et Abélard</i>	Litolff																	
<i>Henry VIII</i>	Saint-Saëns																	
<i>Hérodiade</i>	Massenet																	
<i>Huguenots</i>	Meyerbeer																	

Number of theatres in sample where work performed

Title of Opera	Composer	1870	1873	1876	1879	1882	1885	1888	1891	1894	1897	1900	1903	1906	1909	1912
<i>Galathée</i>	Massé															
<i>Gamin de Paris</i>	Serpette															
<i>Garçons du cabinet</i>	Talex															
<i>Gardeuse d'oies</i>	Lacombe															
<i>Gasparo</i>	Rifaut															
<i>Geneviève de Brabant</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Gilets de Fianelle</i>	Guilard															
<i>Gilles ravisseur</i>	Grisar															
<i>Gillette de Narbonne</i>	Audran															
<i>Giralda</i>	Adam															
<i>Giroflé-Girofla</i>	Lecocq															
<i>Grand Casimir</i>	Lecocq															
<i>Grand Mogol</i>	Audran															
<i>Grande duchesse de Boulognestein</i>	Daseidle															
<i>Grande duchesse de Gérolstein</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Grisélidis</i>	Massenet															
<i>Guillaume Tell</i>	Rossini															
<i>Gwendoline</i>	Chabrier															
<i>Hamlet</i>	Thomas															
<i>Hansel et Gretel</i>	Humperdinck															
<i>Hatte du roi</i>	Boieldieu (fils)															
<i>Haydée</i>	Auber															
<i>Héloïse et Abélard</i>	Litolff															
<i>Henry VIII</i>	Saint-Saëns															
<i>Hérodias</i>	Massenet															
<i>Huguenots</i>	Meyerbeer															

Years in repertoire of sample theatres

Title of Opera	Composer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
<i>Huit jours à prison</i>																		
<i>Île de Tulipatan</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Indianna et Charlemagne</i>																		
<i>Ivan IV</i>	Brion d'Orgeval																	
<i>Jacquarita l'indienne</i>	Halévy																	
<i>Jean de Paris</i>	Boieldieu																	
<i>Jean de Nivelle</i>	Delibes																	
<i>Jeannot et Colin</i>	Isouard																	
<i>Jeanne, Jeannette, Jeanneton</i>	Nargeot																	
<i>Jean qui pleure et Jean qui rit</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Jeanne Maillotte</i>	Reynard																	
<i>Jérusalem</i>	Verdi																	
<i>Joconde</i>	Isouard																	
<i>Joli Gilles</i>	Poise																	
<i>Jolie parfumeuse</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Joli Persane</i>	Lecocq																	
<i>Jolie fille de Perth</i>	Bizet																	
<i>Jongleur de Notre-Dame</i>	Massenet																	
<i>Joseph</i>	Méhul																	
<i>Joséphine</i>	Varney																	
<i>Joséphine, vendue par ses sœurs</i>	Roger																	
<i>Jouer de flute</i>	Hervé																	
<i>Jour et la nuit</i>	Lecocq																	
<i>Juive</i>	Halévy																	

Number of theatres in sample where work performed

Title of Opera	Composer	1870	1873	1876	1879	1882	1885	1888	1891	1894	1897	1900	1903	1906	1909	1912
<i>Huit jours à prison</i>																
<i>Île de Tulipatan</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Indianna et Charlemagne</i>																
<i>Ivan IV</i>	Brion d'Orgeval															
<i>Jacquarita l'indienne</i>	Halévy															
<i>Jean de Paris</i>	Boieldieu															
<i>Jean de Nivelles</i>	Delibes															
<i>Jeannot et Colin</i>	Isouard															
<i>Jeanne, Jeannette, Jeanneton</i>	Nargeot															
<i>Jean qui pleure et Jean qui rit</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Jeanne Maillotte</i>	Reynard															
<i>Jérusalem</i>	Verdi															
<i>Joconde</i>	Isouard															
<i>Joli Gilles</i>	Poise															
<i>Jolie parfumeuse</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Joli Persane</i>	Lecocq															
<i>Jolie fille de Perth</i>	Bizet															
<i>Jongleur de Notre-Dame</i>	Massenet															
<i>Joseph</i>	Méhul															
<i>Joséphine</i>	Varney															
<i>Joséphine, vendue par ses sœurs</i>	Roger															
<i>Jouer de flute</i>	Hervé															
<i>Jour et la nuit</i>	Lecocq															
<i>Juive</i>	Halévy															

Years in repertoire of sample theatres

Title of Opera	Composer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
<i>Kosiki</i>	Lecocq																	
<i>Lakmé</i>	Delibes																	
<i>Lalla-Roukh</i>	David																	
<i>Lara</i>	Maillart																	
<i>Lettre de change</i>	Bochsa																	
<i>Lili</i>	Hervé																	
<i>Lisichen et Fritzchen</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Lohengrin</i>	Wagner																	
<i>Louise</i>	Charpentier																	
<i>Lucie de Lammermoor</i>	Donizetti																	
<i>Lucrèce Borgia</i>	Donizetti																	
<i>Lycée des jeunes filles</i>	Gregh																	
<i>Lycéenne</i>	Serpette																	
<i>Ma tante aurore</i>	Boiieldieu																	
<i>Maçon</i>	Auber																	
<i>Madame Boniface</i>	Lacome																	
<i>Madame Butterfly</i>	Puccini																	
<i>Madame Favart</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Madame l'archiduc</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Maîtres chanteurs de Nuremburg</i>	Wagner																	
<i>Maître de chapelle</i>	Paer																	
<i>Maitre Pathelin</i>	Bazin																	
<i>Mal de mer</i>																		
<i>Mam'zelleCarabin</i>	Pessard																	
<i>Mam'zelle Crénom</i>	Vasseur																	

Number of theatres in sample where work performed

Title of Opera	Composer	1870	1873	1876	1879	1882	1885	1888	1891	1894	1897	1900	1903	1906	1909	1912
<i>Kosiki</i>	Lecocq															
<i>Lakmé</i>	Delibes															
<i>Lalla-Roukh</i>	David															
<i>Lara</i>	Maillart															
<i>Lettre de change</i>	Bochsa															
<i>Lili</i>	Hervé															
<i>Lisichen et Fritzchen</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Lohengrin</i>	Wagner															
<i>Louise</i>	Charpentier															
<i>Lucie de Lammermoor</i>	Donizetti															
<i>Lucrece Borgia</i>	Donizetti															
<i>Lycée des jeunes filles</i>	Gregh															
<i>Lycéenne</i>	Serpette															
<i>Ma tante aurore</i>	Boieldieu															
<i>Maçon</i>	Auber															
<i>Madame Boniface</i>	Lacome															
<i>Madame Butterfly</i>	Puccini															
<i>Madame Favart</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Madame l'archiduc</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Maîtres chanteurs de Nuremburg</i>	Wagner															
<i>Maitre de chapelle</i>	Paer															
<i>Maitre Pathelin</i>	Bazin															
<i>Mal de mer</i>																
<i>Mam 'zelle Carabin</i>	Pessard															
<i>Mam 'zelle Crénom</i>	Vasseur															

Years in repertoire of sample theatres

<b>Title of Opera</b>	<b>Composer</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
<i>Mam'zelle Nitouche</i>	Hervé																	
<i>Mam'zelle Trompette</i>	Hirlemann																	
<i>Manolita</i>	Lambert																	
<i>Manon</i>	Massenet																	
<i>Marceau</i>																		
<i>Mari à la porte</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Mariage aux lanterns</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Mariage normand</i>	Lejeune																	
<i>Marianne</i>	Bazin																	
<i>Marie-Magdeleine</i>	Massenet																	
<i>Marjolaine</i>	Lecocq																	
<i>Marquise des rues</i>	Hervé																	
<i>Martha</i>	Flotow																	
<i>Martyrs</i>	Donizetti																	
<i>Martyrs de Strasbourg</i>																		
<i>Mascoite</i>	Audran																	
<i>Médecin malgré lui</i>	Gounod																	
<i>Méphistophélès</i>	Boito																	
<i>Mère des compagnons</i>	Hervé																	
<i>Mignon</i>	Thomas																	
<i>Mireille</i>	Gounod																	
<i>Miss Hélyett</i>	Audran																	
<i>Moïse</i>	Rossini																	
<i>Monsieur Choufleuri</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Monsieur Landry</i>	Duprato																	

Number of theatres in sample where work performed



Title of Opera	Composer	1870	1873	1876	1879	1882	1885	1888	1891	1894	1897	1900	1903	1906	1909	1912
<i>Mam'zelle Nitouche</i>	Hervé															
<i>Mam'zelle Trompette</i>	Hirlemann															
<i>Manolita</i>	Lambert															
<i>Manon</i>	Massenet															
<i>Marceau</i>																
<i>Mari à la porte</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Mariage aux lanterns</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Mariage normand</i>	Lejeune															
<i>Marianne</i>	Bazin															
<i>Marie-Magdeleine</i>	Massenet															
<i>Marjolaine</i>	Lecocq															
<i>Marquise des rues</i>	Hervé															
<i>Martha</i>	Flotow															
<i>Martyrs</i>	Donizetti															
<i>Martyrs de Strasbourg</i>																
<i>Mascotte</i>	Audran															
<i>Médecin malgré lui</i>	Gounod															
<i>Méphistophélès</i>	Boito															
<i>Mère des compagnons</i>	Hervé															
<i>Mignon</i>	Thomas															
<i>Mireille</i>	Gounod															
<i>Miss Hélyett</i>	Audran															
<i>Moïse</i>	Rossini															
<i>Monsieur Choufleuri</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Monsieur Landry</i>	Duprato															

Years in repertoire of sample theatres

<b>Title of Opera</b>	<b>Composer</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
<i>Moulin des Tilleuls</i>	Maillart																	
<i>Moulin joli</i>	Varney																	
<i>Mousquetaires au couvent</i>	Varney																	
<i>Mousquetaires de la reine</i>	Halévy																	
<i>Muette de Portici</i>	Auber																	
<i>Navarraise</i>	Massenet																	
<i>Ne touchez pas la reine</i>	Boisselot																	
<i>Nez du roi Kar-o-ka-ce</i>																		
<i>Ninich</i>	Hervé																	
<i>Ninon</i>	Vasseur																	
<i>Noces de Figaro</i>	Mozart																	
<i>Noces de Jeanette</i>	Massé																	
<i>Noces d'Olivette</i>	Audran																	
<i>Norma</i>	Bellini																	
<i>Nouveau seigneur du village</i>	Boieldieu																	
<i>Nuit blanche</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Nuit de 15 octobre</i>	Jacoby																	
<i>Oberon</i>	Weber																	
<i>Oeil crevé</i>	Hervé																	
<i>Oiseau bleu</i>	Lecocq																	
<i>Ombre</i>	Flotow																	
<i>Omelette à la Felembouche</i>	Delibes																	
<i>On demande une institutrice</i>	Robillard																	
<i>Oncle Célestin</i>	Audran																	
<i>Oncle de Carcassonne</i>	Desormes																	

Number of theatres in sample where work performed

Title of Opera	Composer	1870	1873	1876	1879	1882	1885	1888	1891	1894	1897	1900	1903	1906	1909	1912
<i>Moulin des Tilleuls</i>	Maillart															
<i>Moulin joli</i>	Varney															
<i>Mousquetaires au couvent</i>	Varney															
<i>Mousquetaires de la reine</i>	Halévy															
<i>Muette de Portici</i>	Auber															
<i>Navarraise</i>	Massenet															
<i>Ne touchez pas la reine</i>	Boisselot															
<i>Nez du roi Kar-o-ka-ce</i>																
<i>Ninich</i>	Hervé															
<i>Ninon</i>	Vasseur															
<i>Noces de Figaro</i>	Mozart															
<i>Noces de Jeanette</i>	Massé															
<i>Noces d'Olivette</i>	Audran															
<i>Norma</i>	Bellini															
<i>Nouveau seigneur du village</i>	Boieldieu															
<i>Nuit blanche</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Nuit de 15 octobre</i>	Jacoby															
<i>Oberon</i>	Weber															
<i>Oeil crevé</i>	Hervé															
<i>Oiseau bleu</i>																
<i>Ombre</i>	Flotow															
<i>Omelette à la Felembouche</i>	Delibes															
<i>On demande une institutrice</i>	Robillard															
<i>Oncle Célestin</i>	Audran															
<i>Oncle de Carcassonne</i>	Desormes															

Years in repertoire of sample theatres

Title of Opera	Composer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
<i>Ondine</i>	Semet																	
<i>Opéra aux fenêtres</i>	Gastinel																	
<i>Or d'Rhin</i>	Wagner																	
<i>Orphée aux enfers</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Otello</i>	Rossini																	
<i>Otello</i>	Verdi																	
<i>Paillase</i>	Leoncavallo																	
<i>Pantins du Violette</i>	Adam																	
<i>Papillotes de M. Benoist</i>	Reber																	
<i>Paradis de Mahomet</i>	Planquette / Ganne																	
<i>Pardon de Ploërmel</i>	Meyerbeer																	
<i>Parisiennes</i>	Vasseur																	
<i>Parsifal</i>	Wagner																	
<i>Part du diable</i>	Auber																	
<i>Patrie</i>	Paladilhe																	
<i>Paul et Virginie</i>	Massé																	
<i>Pêcheurs de perles</i>	Bizet																	
<i>Pelleas et Melisande</i>	Debussy																	
<i>Périchole</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Perle de Brésil</i>	David																	
<i>Petit Abbé</i>	Grisart																	
<i>Petit chaperon rouge</i>	Serpette																	
<i>Petit Duc</i>	Lecocq																	
<i>Petit Faust</i>	Hervé																	
<i>Petite fronde</i>	Audran																	

Number of theatres in sample where work performed

<b>Title of Opera</b>	<b>Composer</b>	1870	1873	1876	1879	1882	1885	1888	1891	1894	1897	1900	1903	1906	1909	1912
<i>Ordine</i>	Semet															
<i>Opéra aux fenêtres</i>	Gastinel															
<i>Or d'Rhin</i>	Wagner															
<i>Orphée aux enfers</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Otello</i>	Rossini															
<i>Otello</i>	Verdi															
<i>Paillase</i>	Leoncavallo															
<i>Pantins du Violette</i>	Adam															
<i>Papillotes de M. Benoist</i>	Reber															
<i>Paradis de Mahomet</i>	Planquette / Ganne															
<i>Pardon de Ploërmel</i>	Meyerbeer															
<i>Parisiennes</i>	Vasseur															
<i>Parsifal</i>	Wagner															
<i>Part du diable</i>	Auber															
<i>Patrie</i>	Paladilhe															
<i>Paul et Virginie</i>	Massé															
<i>Pêcheurs de perles</i>	Bizet															
<i>Pelleas et Melisande</i>	Debussy															
<i>Périchole</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Perle de Brésil</i>	David															
<i>Petit Abbé</i>	Grisart															
<i>Petit chaperon rouge</i>	Serpette															
<i>Petit Duc</i>	Lecocq															
<i>Petit Faust</i>	Hervé															
<i>Petite fronde</i>	Audran															

Years in repertoire of sample theatres

<b>Title of Opera</b>	<b>Composer</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
<i>Petite mariée</i>	Lecocq																	
<i>Petite mam'zelle</i>	Lecocq																	
<i>P'tites Michu</i>	Messenger																	
<i>Petite mousquetaires</i>	Varney																	
<i>Petit Parisien</i>	Vasseur																	
<i>Petite Pologne</i>																		
<i>Petite Poucet</i>	Audran																	
<i>Pétrarque</i>	Duprato																	
<i>Philémon et Baucis</i>	Gounod																	
<i>Pierrot puni</i>																		
<i>Pie voleuse</i>	Rossini																	
<i>Polka en sabots</i>	Varney																	
<i>Polyeucte</i>	Gounod																	
<i>Pomme d'Api</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Pont des soupirs</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Portrait de Manon</i>	Massenet																	
<i>Postillon de Longjumeau</i>	Adam																	
<i>Poupée de l'infante</i>	Grisart																	
<i>Poupée de Nuremberg</i>	Adam																	
<i>Pré aux clercs</i>	Hérold																	
<i>Premier jour de bonheur</i>	Auber																	
<i>Près St Gervais</i>	Lecocq																	
<i>Prince Toto</i>	Clay																	
<i>Princesse Columbine</i>	Planquette																	
<i>Princess des Canaries</i>	Lecocq																	
<i>Princess de Trébizande</i>	Offenbach																	

Number of theatres in sample where work performed

Title of Opera	Composer	1870	1873	1876	1879	1882	1885	1888	1891	1894	1897	1900	1903	1906	1909	1912
<i>Petite mariée</i>	Lecocq															
<i>Petite mam 'zelle</i>	Lecocq															
<i>P'tites Michu</i>	Messenger															
<i>Petite mousquetaires</i>	Varney															
<i>Petit Parisien</i>	Vasseur															
<i>Petite Pologne</i>																
<i>Petite poucet</i>	Audran															
<i>Pétrarque</i>	Duprato															
<i>Philémon et Baucis</i>	Gounod															
<i>Pierrot puni</i>																
<i>Pie voleuse</i>	Rossini															
<i>Polka en sabots</i>	Varney															
<i>Polyeucte</i>	Gounod															
<i>Pomme d'Api</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Pont des soupirs</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Portrait de Manon</i>	Massenet															
<i>Postillon de Longjumeau</i>	Adam															
<i>Poupée de l'infante</i>	Grisart															
<i>Poupée de Nuremberg</i>	Adam															
<i>Pré aux clercs</i>	Hérolde															
<i>Premier jour de bonheur</i>	Auber															
<i>Prés St Gervais</i>	Lecocq															
<i>Prince Toto</i>	Clay															
<i>Princesse Columbine</i>	Planquette															
<i>Princess des Canaries</i>	Lecocq															
<i>Princess de Trébizande</i>	Offenbach															

Years in repertoire of sample theatre

Title of Opera	Composer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
<i>Prométhée</i>	Fauré																	
<i>Promise</i>	Clapisson																	
<i>Prophète</i>	Meyerbeer																	
<i>Puits qui parle</i>	Audran																	
<i>Quentin Durwald</i>	Gevaert																	
<i>Quo vadis?</i>	Nougué																	
<i>Rabelais</i>	Ganne																	
<i>Reine de Chypre</i>	Halévy																	
<i>Reine de Saba</i>	Gounod																	
<i>Reine Indigo</i>	Strauss (fils)																	
<i>Reine Topaze</i>	Massé																	
<i>Rendez-vous bourgeois</i>	Isouard																	
<i>Revanche de Sganarelle</i>	Dubois																	
<i>Rêve</i>	Savary																	
<i>Rêve de valse</i>	Strauss (Oscar)																	
<i>Réveillon</i>	Halévy																	
<i>Richard cœur de lion</i>	Grétry																	
<i>Rigoletto</i>	Verdi																	
<i>Rip-Rip</i>	Planquette																	
<i>Robert le diable</i>	Meyerbeer																	
<i>Roi de Lahore</i>	Massenet																	
<i>Roi Dagobert</i>																		
<i>Roi d'Ys</i>	Lalo																	
<i>Roi l'a dit</i>	Delibes																	
<i>Roland à Roncevaux</i>	Mermet																	

Number of theatres in sample where work performed



Title of Opera	Composer	1870	1873	1876	1879	1882	1885	1888	1891	1894	1897	1900	1903	1906	1909	1912
<i>Prométhée</i>	Fauré															
<i>Promise</i>	Clapisson															
<i>Prophète</i>	Meyerbeer															
<i>Puits qui parle</i>	Audran															
<i>Quentin Durwald</i>	Gevaert															
<i>Quo vadis?</i>	Nougué															
<i>Rabelais</i>	Ganne															
<i>Reine de Chypre</i>	Halévy															
<i>Reine de Saba</i>	Gounod															
<i>Reine Indigo</i>	Strauss (fils)															
<i>Reine Topaze</i>	Massé															
<i>Rendez-vous bourgeois</i>	Isouard															
<i>Revanche de Sganarelle</i>	Dubois															
<i>Rêve</i>	Savary															
<i>Rêve de valse</i>	Strauss (Oscar)															
<i>Réveillon</i>	Halévy															
<i>Richard cœur de lion</i>	Grétry															
<i>Rigoletto</i>	Verdi															
<i>Rip-Rip</i>	Planquette															
<i>Robert le diable</i>	Meyerbeer															
<i>Roi de Lahore</i>	Massenet															
<i>Roi Dagobert</i>																
<i>Roi d'Ys</i>	Lalo															
<i>Roi l'a dit</i>	Delibes															
<i>Roland à Roncevaux</i>	Mermet															

Years in repertoire of sample theatres

Title of Opera	Composer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	Gounod																	
<i>Rose de St Flour</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Sabots de la marquise</i>	Boulanger																	
<i>Salammbô</i>	Reyer																	
<i>Salomé</i>	Strauss (Richard)																	
<i>Saltimbanques</i>	Ganne																	
<i>Samson et Delila</i>	Saint-Saëns																	
<i>Sapho</i>	Massenet																	
<i>Sara</i>																		
<i>Serment d'amour</i>	Audran																	
<i>Servante maîtresse</i>	Pergolesi																	
<i>Siegfried</i>	Wagner																	
<i>Sigurd</i>	Reyer																	
<i>Si j'étais roi</i>	Adam																	
<i>Sire de Vergy</i>	Terrasse																	
<i>Sirène</i>	Auber																	
<i>Soixante-six</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Somnambule</i>	Bellini																	
<i>Songe d'un nuit d'été</i>	Thomas																	
<i>Sourd</i>	Adam																	
<i>Souviens-toi de Clementine</i>	Malo																	
<i>Spartacus</i>	Monsigu																	
<i>Statue</i>	Reyer																	
<i>Surcouf</i>	Planquette																	

Number of theatres in sample where work performed

Title of Opera	Composer	1870	1873	1876	1879	1882	1885	1888	1891	1894	1897	1900	1903	1906	1909	1912
<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	Gounod															
<i>Rose de St Flour</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Sabots de la marquise</i>	Boulanger															
<i>Salammbô</i>	Reyer															
<i>Salomé</i>	Strauss (Richard)															
<i>Saltimbanques</i>	Ganne															
<i>Samson et Delila</i>	Saint-Saëns															
<i>Sapho</i>	Massenet															
<i>Sara</i>																
<i>Serment d'amour</i>	Audran															
<i>Servante maîtresse</i>	Pergolesi															
<i>Siegfried</i>	Wagner															
<i>Sigurd</i>	Reyer															
<i>Si j'étais roi</i>	Adam															
<i>Sire de Vergy</i>	Terrasse															
<i>Sirène</i>	Auber															
<i>Soixante-six</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Somnambule</i>	Bellini															
<i>Songe d'un nuit d'été</i>	Thomas															
<i>Sourd</i>	Adam															
<i>Souviens-toi de Clementine</i>	Malo															
<i>Spartacus</i>	Monsigu															
<i>Statue</i>	Reyer															
<i>Surcouf</i>	Planquette															

Years in repertoire of sample theatres

<b>Title of Opera</b>	<b>Composer</b>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
<i>Tabarin</i>	Bousquet																	
<i>Tableau parlant</i>	Grétry																	
<i>Tancrède</i>	Rossini																	
<i>Tannhauser</i>	Wagner																	
<i>Templiers</i>	Litolff																	
<i>Testament de M. Crac</i>	Lecocq																	
<i>Thais</i>	Massenet																	
<i>Thérèse</i>	Massenet																	
<i>Timbala d'argent</i>	Vasseur																	
<i>Timbre d'argent</i>	Saint Saëns																	
<i>Toréador</i>	Adam																	
<i>Tosca</i>	Puccini																	
<i>Tour du Cadran</i>	Werschneider																	
<i>Tour de moulinet</i>	Hubans																	
<i>Traviata</i>	Verdi																	
<i>Trente-ans</i>																		
<i>Tribute de Zamora</i>	Gounod																	
<i>Tristan et Isolde</i>	Wagner																	
<i>Trois chapeaux</i>																		
<i>Trois noces</i>	Dezède																	
<i>Trombalcazar</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Troubadours</i>																		
<i>Trouvère</i>	Verdi																	
<i>Tzigane</i>	Strauss																	

Number of theatres in sample where work performed

Title of Opera	Composer	1870	1873	1876	1879	1882	1885	1888	1891	1894	1897	1900	1903	1906	1909	1912
<i>Tabarin</i>	Bousquet															
<i>Tableau parlant</i>	Grétry															
<i>Tancredi</i>	Rossini															
<i>Tannhauser</i>	Wagner															
<i>Templiers</i>	Litolff															
<i>Testament de M. Crac</i>	Lecocq															
<i>Thais</i>	Massenet															
<i>Thérèse</i>	Massenet															
<i>Timbala d'argent</i>	Vasseur															
<i>Timbre d'argent</i>	Saint Saëns															
<i>Toréador</i>	Adam															
<i>Tosca</i>	Puccini															
<i>Tour du Cadran</i>	Werschneider															
<i>Tour de moulinet</i>	Hubans															
<i>Traviata</i>	Verdi															
<i>Trente-ans</i>																
<i>Tribute de Zamora</i>	Gounod															
<i>Tristan et Isolde</i>	Wagner															
<i>Trois chapeaux</i>																
<i>Trois noces</i>	Dezède															
<i>Trombalcazar</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Troubadours</i>																
<i>Trouvère</i>	Verdi															
<i>Tzigane</i>	Strauss															

Years in repertoire of sample theatres

Title of Opera	Composer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
<i>Vaisseau fantôme</i>	Wagner																	
<i>Val d'Andorre</i>	Halévy																	
<i>Valet de chambre</i>	Carafa																	
<i>Vent du soir</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Vénus d'Arles</i>	Varney																	
<i>Vêpres siciliennes</i>	Verdi																	
<i>Véronique</i>	Messenger																	
<i>Vert-vert</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Veuve Grapin</i>	Flotow																	
<i>Veuve joyeuse</i>	Léhar																	
<i>Vie Parisienne</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Vingt-huit jours de Clairette</i>	Roger																	
<i>Violoneux</i>	Offenbach																	
<i>Vivandière</i>	Godard																	
<i>Voyage de Suzette</i>	Vasseur																	
<i>Voyage en Chine</i>	Bazin																	
<i>Walkyre</i>	Wagner																	
<i>Werther</i>	Massenet																	
<i>Zampa</i>	Herold																	

Number of theatres in sample where work performed

Title of Opera	Composer	1870	1873	1876	1879	1882	1885	1888	1891	1894	1897	1900	1903	1906	1909	1912
<i>Vaisseau fantôme</i>	Wagner															
<i>Val d'Andorre</i>	Halévy															
<i>Valet de chambre</i>	Carafa															
<i>Vent du soir</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Vénus d'Arles</i>	Varney															
<i>Vêpres siciliennes</i>	Verdi															
<i>Véronique</i>	Messager															
<i>Vert-vert</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Veuve Grapin</i>	Flotow															
<i>Veuve joyeuse</i>	Léhar															
<i>Vie Parisienne</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Vingt-huit jours de Clairette</i>	Roger															
<i>Violoneux</i>	Offenbach															
<i>Vivandière</i>	Godard															
<i>Voyage de Suzette</i>	Vasseur															
<i>Voyage en Chine</i>	Bazin															
<i>Walkyre</i>	Wagner															
<i>Werther</i>	Massenet															
<i>Zampa</i>	Hérold															

Years in repertoire of sample theatres

APPENDIX L

REVIEW OF DOCUMENTS  
HELD IN THE  
ARCHIVES DEPARTMENTALES



No.	Département	Town	Series T	Other relevant documents	Publications held in Archive and notes on other sources	Visited / Ref. code in text
01	Ain	Bourg-en-Bresse	45T 1 Police, instructions 1834-1867 45T 2 Theatres, concerts 1880-1929		<i>Le Journal de l'Ain</i> <i>Le Courrier de l'Ain</i> <i>Le Carillon</i> Several libretti written by local authors	
02	Aisne	Laon		8° R 68 4M 88		ADAis
03	Allier	Moulins	4T 207 Regulations 1813-1888. 4T 209 censorship an XIII-1875 4T 210 police 1840-1878 4T 211-215 Troupes d'arrondissement 1808-1859 4T 216 bals masques 4T 217 theatres other than Moulin 4T 218-9 Moulins 4T 220 Neris les Bains and Vichy 4T 221-5 Cafés-concerts and amateurs 4T 226 Projected tour by Th. de l'Odéon 1899.			
04	Alpes de Haute-Provence	Digne-les-Bains	2T 24 Regulations, censorship, repertoire 1807-1887	1O 435 theatre in Saint-Tulle public works 4Z 67 Theatre of the Citadelle, Sisteron, 1866-1919 1F 2 posters etc 2Fi Digne 124/276/277/278 postcards 4 Fi 18 plans 5Fi 12-18 19e costumes for	Libretti by local writers	

04	AD H-P (cont)			<i>Le Barbier de Séville</i>		
05	Haute Alpes	Gap	4T 150 Generalities 4T 151 Directeurs 1800-1904 4T 152 Censorship 4T 153 Briançon 4T 154 Embrun 4T 155 Gap 4T 156 Complaint about review	F 3016 Letter from Préfet banning performance of a play in Briançon		
06	Alpes Maritime	Nice	4T 0026 Nice 1860-1881 4T 0027 Nice, Cannes, Menton, Grasse, 1814-1880. Correspondence, repertoire, subvention, etc.	Plans 1787 1F1 0189/01-2 Plans 1883 1F1 1196-1208 02O 0053 Antibes 02O 0234 Cannes 02O 0486 Grasse 02O 0701-4 Nice 02O 0847 Nice 4M 0386 10M 002 employment of minors 5K includes litigation CE K 0001 Laws and Ordinances Also series J	<i>Le Grand Théâtre de Nice 1787-1904</i> Vieil, Charles (Nice: 1905)  <i>Dix années de théâtre lyrique à l'opéra de Monte-Carlo 1879-1889</i> Druilhe, Paul <i>Annales monégasques</i> 1979  <i>Provence Historique</i> 1990 April, May and June  <i>Nice Historique</i> 1906 August and December <i>Nice Historique</i> 1913 April, May, September and October  <i>La Vie Parisienne</i> 8 February 1879	ADA-M
07	Ardèche	Privas	T 625 Regulations, correspondence, repertoires	2R6 File concerning the theatre	<i>Bulletin Municipal de Privas</i> 47, 1983 Article by Gilbert Leouzon	AD Ard
08	Ardennes	Charleville- Mézières	Series T totally destroyed in bombardment of May 1940	Archives Municipales de Charleville 1J 51 regulations 1813-1826		

	Ardennes continued			3R 9 – 13 Personel, regulations 1833- 1914 <u>Archives Municipales de Sedan</u> R 23 regulations R 34 – 41 correspondence 1814- 1852 repertoire 1842- 52 in R 40 R 67 Decors etc. 1832-1912		
09	Ariège	Foix	4T 38 Instructions an VIII-1878 4T 39 Directeurs, tableaux des acteurs, repertoire an XII-1883			
10	Aube	Troyes	T 306 – 310 Circulars, regulations and repertoire 1800-1860			ADAube
11	Aude	Carcassonne	4T 17 1806-1825 4T 18 1826-1835 4T 19 1836-1845 4T 20 1846-1938	Communal Archives R56-67 1Fi photos I67 Programme	<i>Revue Méridionale</i> 1903  <i>Annales du Midi</i> 1923	ADAude
12	Aveyron	Rodez	15T 3/1 Correspondence re. troupe 15T 3/2 Regulations		Good set of ministerial directives for 1807, 1814- 1816, 1818, 1823	ADAv
13	Bouches du Rhône	Marseilles	4T 62 Instructions 1806-1882 4T 63-6 authorisations for opening theatres 1839-1918 4T 67-73 Administration 1812-1929 4T 74-87 Direction, repertoire 1800-1933.  4T 80 Grand Théâtre 1816-1868		4T 86 and 87 are scripts and authorisations of <i>crèche vivante</i> , a provençal feature.	ADB-R

14	Calvados	Caen	T 2321 Droits des pauvres an VIII Administration 1800-1821 T 2322 1847-1851 T 2323 1851-1856 T2324 Bayeux, Falaise etc.	F6 282 Regulations Z 2431 672/673 anVIII-1807	<i>Le théâtre de Caen</i> 3 vols. Henry Lumiere (Caen, 1922) <i>Trois années au théâtre de Caen</i> Henry Lumiere (Caen, 1901) <i>Notes sur la musique et le théâtre à Caen pendant la Révolution</i> Jules Carlez (Caen, 1895)	ADCal
15	Cantal	Aurillac	4T 14 Instructions, 1806-1936 4T 15 directeurs 33e, 12e arrondissement, Allier, Cantal, Cher, Haute-Loire, Loire, Nièvre, Puy-de-Dôme. Correspondence 1808-1863, censorship and works provoking trouble 4T 16 Theatres of Aurillac, St Flour and Mauriac, correspondence, posters, notices and programmes. Complaints about length of journeys. Mme Rachel at Aurillac	8° II 5437 Posters 64M Café-concerts 6J 100	<i>Opéra, comédie, drame à Aurillac depuis deux siècles</i> Michel Leymarie  <i>Aurillac, notre ville</i> 1976 – (5)	ADCan √
16	Charente	Angoulême		Br 6055 Br 6861 Br 8278 (Police)	<i>Le Théâtre d'Angoulême 1866-1870</i> Valerie Beaufort	ADCha
17	Charente-Maritime	La Rochelle	4T 15 Instructions 1807-1864 4T 16-17 correspondence 14 arrond. 4T 18-19 Rochefort 4T 20 St Jean 4T 21 Police 4T 22 Regulations 4T 23 1811-1865 4T 24/25 Troupes receipts etc		Municipal Archive La Rochelle 2442-2469	ADC-M

	Charente-Maritime continued		4T 26-31 Troupe d'arrondissement 4T 32-34 Troupe ambulante 4T 35 2 <sup>nd</sup> Troupe ambulante 4T 36 Troupes sédentaires			
18	Cher	Bourges	9T 51 – 61 1806-1964	2J brochures, programmes etc Also Archives Municipales	Recent study for a maîtrise on period 1807-1864.	
19	Corrèze	Tulle	1 T2 (1-2) 1806-1880 172T 3 Construction of theatre in Brive.	1E dep 272/831 Tulle an III-1853 1E dep 272/832 1889-1960 1E dep 272/634 – 636 Work on theatre in Tulle.		
2A	Corse-du-Sud	Ajaccio	12T 1 regulations 1807-1830 Ajaccio 1840-1852 Bastia 1840-1862 general an VIII-1835		ADCduS also sent the inventory of the AM d'Ajaccio which had quite comprehensive documentation of the Théâtre St. Gabriel, Ajaccio 1826 – 1936. R/10 R/2	
2B	Haute-Corse	Bastia		1D, 3D and R6 1875-1946	<i>La Vie du théâtre lyrique de Bastia de 1789 à 1981</i> Mémoire de maîtrise André Santelli	
21	Côte d'Or	Dijon	36T 4a-c 1807-1863 36T 6a-d an xii-1918 36T 13 Beaune 36T 15 Montdard 36T 17 Police du théâtre			ADCdO
22	Côtes d'Armor	Saint-Brieuc	4T 1 General, Dinan, St Brieuc an VIII-1884 4T 2 Troupes 1808-1864 4T 3 St Brieuc, Guingamp,			

	Côtes d'Armor continued		amateurs, concerts, programmes etc 1806-1914			
23	Creuse	Guéret	187T 1 Circulaires 1807-1840 187T 2 Guéret 1806-1841 187T 3 Aubusson 1830-1845 187T 4 Chambon 1841 188T 1 Directeurs 1807-1842	TO 29 Regulations 1815-1880 TO 87 Faux-la- Montagne 1874-1882		
24	Dordogne	Périgueux	1T 333 correspondence and circulars		<i>Périgord Actualités</i> 12.01.1974	ADDor
25	Doubs	Besançon	IT 463 IT 469 an X-1830 1T 470 1839-1905 1T 471 Police 1807-1867 1T 472 Personnel 1838 1T 473 Personnel 1839-1867 1T 474 Exploitation of theatre 1812-1854 1T 475 Exploitation 1869-1881 1T 476 Censorship 1830-1869	I 48-52 Police R2 6-16 Subventions	<i>Un siècle de la vie théâtrale à Besançon</i> Suzanne Lepin <i>Le Théâtre de Besançon de Claude-Nicholas Ledoux</i> Anne-Lise Carrière	ADDoubs
26	Drôme	Valence	14T 2/1 – 2/2 Regulations 14T 2 3A – 3B Troupes and repertoire			ADDr
27	Eure	Evreux			Series T very depleted no relevant documents	
28	Eure-et-Loir	Chartres	4T 5 Police, control an XIII-1823 4T 6 1823-1864 4T 7 1853-1940	L NC 83 Period of the L NC 84 Revolution  also Bibliothèque Municipale 1781- 1806	<i>Le Théâtre: un tradition chartreuse</i> Paulette Couturier	
29	Finistère	Quimper	4T 14 Quimper 4T 18 Correspondence re. troupes 4T 19 Brest 1803-1850 4T 20 Repertoire 1850-1880			ADFi

30	Gard	Nîmes	8T 1 – 13			ADGard
31	Haute-Garonne	Toulouse	8T 1 Personnel an II-1853 8T 2 Police, reports etc. 1806-9 8T 3 Répertoire 1808-1834 8T 5 Capitole repertoire etc. an X-1879.	1264 W 38 Subventions other than Toulouse 1913-1950 Documents in Archives Municipales.		
32	Gers	Auch		VIII R 14 I O 13.4	<i>Revue de Gascoigne</i> 31	ADGers
33	Gironde	Bordeaux	166T 1 Regulations 167T 1 – 167T 15 Correspondence 168T 1 – 168T 2 Directeurs 169T 1 – 171T 4 Répertoire 175T 1 – 177T 4 Grand Théâtre, Bordeaux 178T 1 – 182T 1 café-concerts etc.	2L 4 – 2L 10 Administration of the theatres during the Revolution.		
34	Hérault	Montpellier	4T 33 – 35 Arrondissement 4T 36 – 37 Police 4T 38 Administration 4T 39 – 41 Béziers 4T 42 – 44 Montpellier 4T 45 – 48 Directeurs, débuts and repertoire 4T 49 Décors 4T 50 Sète			
35	Ille et Vilaine	Rennes	4T 66 Police, surveillance 4T 67 Troupes under the Empire and Restoration 4T 68 July Monarchy, Second Republic and Empire 4T 69 Decentralisation, Rennes, St. Malo, Fougères, cahiers, subventions, musicians in theatre	4 M 261 Police reports, troubles, incidents and censure	<i>L'Opéra de Rennes</i> Mme Lemoigne-Mussat  <i>Le Théâtre à Rennes au XIX siècle</i> Mémoire de maîtrise Alice Lebreton Université Rennes 2	ADI-V

35	Ille et Vilaine continued	Rennes	orchestra Rennes 1866-1895. 4T 70 other spectacles, curiosities, rights of the directeur etc			
36	Indre	Châteauroux	T 859 – 864	4M 2R Fi	<i>L'Petit théâtre de Châteauroux</i> Bernard Tillier	
37	Indre-et-Loire	Tours	T 1266 – 1278 T 1348 T 1517	10Fi postcards V/4 3.1-3.4 plans 8°BH 1159 brochure	<i>Le Grand Théâtre de Tours de 1872 à 1900</i> Memoire de maîtrise M. Montaubin	
38	Isère	Grenoble	11T 1-3 Administration 1806-1933 11T 4 Droits d'auteurs 11T 5 Theatres other than Grenoble 11T 6-7 Handbills 1880-1 11T 8-10 general an XIII-1919	J 590 programmes, prospectuses, posters theatres of Grenoble, Valence and Romans Also documents in Archives communales and Bibliothèque municipale, Grenoble.	<i>Le Théâtre à Grenoble du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle à 1900</i> Robert Avezou	
39	Jura	Montmorot	T 108 instructions, correspondence, repertoires an XI-1867			
40	Landes	Mont-de— Marsan			Very little documentation on the theatres	
41	Loir-et-Cher	Blois				
42	Loire	Saint-Etienne	T 1635 Regulations 1834-1888 T 1882 Directeurs, repertoire 1816 T 1883-1887 Diverse 1834-1866 T 1888 Theatre Cirque 1852-1864 T 1889 Police, censure 1853-1919 T 1890 Employment of minors 1901-1920 T 1904 Diverse 1841-1852	Series 1Fi 9Z, 2Fi 986 2Fi 1417photos 1J 370/1 programmes  BH Local articles (10) CH libretti by local writers.	<i>Le Théâtre municipal Massenet à Saint-Etienne (1904-1928)</i> Memoire de maîtrise Eric Le Jaoun <i>Histoire anecdotique du théâtre de Saint-Etienne</i> Barthémely Braud <i>Le Théâtre au Puy-en-Velay</i> Henri Mosnier	



43	Haute-Loire	Le Puy				
44	Loire-Atlantique	Nantes	177T 5-9 Exploitation, personnel, police, regulations, directeurs 1830-1913 178T1 repertoires an XI-1870 179T1 troupes ambulantes 1808-1874 180T1 Rights of poor and authors 1871-1939 Suppl. T 100 Repertoire lists, exploitation, personnel, regulations, 1871-1939 Suppl. T 101 Troupes ambulantes 1879-1887	BA 571/4 Police BA 571/5 Exploitation 1J 89 correspondence re. Colin 1809 1J 727 Regulations 1894-1933	<i>Le Théâtre à Nantes</i> Etienne Déstranges	ADL-A
45	Loiret	Orléans	9T 1 – 11	138 W 26020	Many documents destroyed in a fire in 1940. <i>Le Spectacle lyrique au théâtre d'Orléans</i> Mémoire de maîtrise, 1997 Martine Vincent <i>Le Théâtre d'Orléans sous la Restauration</i> Martine Vincent, 1998	
46	Lot	Cahors	4T 6 up to 1836	20 62/6		
47	Lot-et-Garonne	Agen	4T 24 Regulations 4T 25 Agen 1823-1936 4T 26 Troupes d'arrondissement			ADL-G
48	Lozère	Mende	4T 70 1814-1861 4T 71 1882-1917	M 12625-6 Police, circulars, incidents M 12289 Registre de saltimbanques 1854-1871		ADLoz
49	Maine-et-Loire	Angers				
50	Manche	St. Lo	Destroyed in bombardment of 1944			ADMan

51	Marne	Châlons en Champagne	4T 93 – 105 Theatres an XI-1940	1L 349 Police de spectacle 1I 1255 theatre an II-VIII 51M 49 – 50 1893-1931 1Z 26 regulations 1812-3 2Z 740 regulations an X-1833		
52	Haute-Marne	Chaumont	173T 1 Instructions and police 1806-1898 173T 2 reports on directeurs 173T 3-4 Troupe d'arrondissement 1808-1863 173T 5-6 Troupe ambulantes 1843-1863 173T 7 Chaumont, Langres and Saint-Dizier 1826-1864			
53	Mayenne	Laval	1T 950 – 954	E depot 96 1272 / 1305		ADMay
54	Meurthe-et-Moselle	Nancy	4T 135 1774-1960 4T 136 1807-1863 4T 137 1852-1894 4T 142 Nancy and Metz administration an X-1841 4T 143-149 Nancy 4T 150 Lunéville an X-1943 4T 151 Toul 1819-1874	1J 266 1J 273 1J 290		
55	Meuse	Bar-le-Duc	89T 1 89T 2 directeurs, surveillance an VIII-1830 89T 3 1831-1855 89T 4 1856-1864 89T 633 Salle de spectacle and theatres	Archives Communales de Bar-le-Duc E dep. 460 R2 11 – 14	<i>Le Théâtre à Verdun a 100 ans</i> Laurent Brunner	

56	Morbihan	Vannes	T 209 circulars, instructions, repertoire, itineraries 1806-1830 T 210 1831-1847 T 211 1843-1863 T 936 Correspondence 1878-1938 T 937 Instructions 1841-1897 T 1635 Employment of minors 1913-1939.	L 822 L 1744 Theatre an V-VII		
57	Moselle	Metz	1T 112 Instructions, regulations, an VIII-1870 1T 113-115 directeurs, Metz 1T 116 artistes, repertoires 1810-1870 1T 117 police, reports etc 1810-1870 1T 118 Longwy, Thionville, troupes ambulante 1819-1870 AL 181 – 195 Period of the annexation (1870-1918) AL 181 visitors and French language AL 182 German pieces authorised AL 183 Haute et Basse-Alsace AL 184 authorised 1884-1910 AL 185-189 performances in Metz and subventions 1870-1914 AL 190 Regulations, personnel, musicians 1891-1916 AL 191 Metz 1876-1914 AL 192 Thionville 1871-1918 AL 193 performances 1903-1918 AL 194-195 diverse establishments 1896-1918	J7071 1827 mairie 6J 39 Metz 27J 51 programmes 19 <sup>th</sup> C.	<i>Le Théâtre à Metz</i> Jean-Julien Barbé <i>Das Metzwer Stadttheater von 1870-1918</i> Neuffer D et H. (1934)	
58	Nièvre	Nevers	4T 1020 1870-1936 4T 1243 organisation 1830-1856 4T 1505Troupe ambulante 1808	4M 1410 Police, programmes 1805, 1824-1930		

	Nièvre continued		T 394 nomination of directeurs 1807-1830 T395 Theatre 1820-1830	1L 437 performance at Decize an VII		
59	Nord	Lille	1T 295 Regulations 1807-1933 1T 296 1/20General 1T 297 Douai 1T 298 Lille 1T 299Lille other theatres 1T 300 other towns than Lille 1T301 Troupes ambulante 1T 302 Cafés-concerts 1T 303 Concerts 1T 304 Bals / carnavaux	L 4889 – 4895 1791-An IV		ADN
60	Oise	Beauvais	1T 216	I BH 453	<i>Le Théâtre de la cour à Compiègne Alphonse Leveaux</i>	
61	Orne	Alençon	T 93 Directeurs, trimestriels 1843- 1853 programmes T 94 Itineraries programmes 1840- 1843 T 95 Instructions 1812-1875		<i>Le Théâtre à Alençon aux XVIII<sup>e</sup> et XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles Adhémar Leclère</i>	
62	Pas-de-Calais	Arras	T 384 Arras T 385 Boulogne	B1213		ADP-C
63	Puy-de-Dôme	Clermont- Ferrand	T 214, T 218, T 254, T 355, T 384.		<i>Le Moniteur du Puy-de Drôme from 1856</i>	
64	Pyrénées- Atlantique	Pau	4T 2 Bayonne 1904-6 Nomination f directeur, subvention, cahier des charges.			
65	Haute-Pyrénées	Tarbes	T 256 – 258 T 73 T 477		<i>Histoire de Tarbes Jean-François Soulet</i>	
66	Pyrénées- Orientales	Perpignan	4T 108 – 118	8° Libretti	<i>Le Théâtre municipal de Perpignan 1811 - 1914 Christine Tisseyre</i>	ADP-O

67	Bas-Rhin	Strasbourg	<p>TP 6 troupes ambulante troupe de Strasbourg conservatoire TP 7 directeurs and cahier des charges 1802-1870 TP 8 Repertoire 1802-1870 TP 9 Season tickets receipts and expenses police, etc, 1802-1867 TP 10 Buildings and fittings.</p> <p>During annexation classed as D 247 1871-1912 D383 Hageneau D388 Saverne D390 Sélestat</p>		Theatre of Strasbourg holds an archive of programmes post 1887	
68	Haut-Rhin	Colmar	<p>4T 98 – 123 1807-1865 Instructions, correspondence repertoire 4T 124-126 State of theatres reports on directeurs 4T 137 Repertoire 4T 138 Disorders 1822-1856</p>	F <sup>7</sup> 3493 Police		ADH-R
69	Rhône	Lyon	<p>4T 115 – 123 Regulations 4T 124 – 127 Lyon 4T 128 – 134 Direction 4T 135 – 138 Admin. 4T 139 – 142 Surveillance 4T 143 – 162 Posters 4T 163 – 177 Café-concerts 4T 178 Casino de Lyon 4T 179 – 181 Guignan and freedom of theatres post 1866</p>	Also Archives municipals and Bibliothèque municipals	<i>Le Théâtre à Lyon de 1789- 1799</i> Chantal Kradraoui	ADRh

70	Haute-Saône	Vesoul	T 1 1808-1827 T 2 1828-1833 T 3 1834-1837 T 4 1838-1842 T 5 1843-1844 T 6 1845-1847 T 7 1848-1851 T 8 directeurs / personnel 1851-1862 T 9 trimestriels 1850-1905			
71	Saône-et-Loire	Mâcon	1T 294 Instructions, regulations an VIII-1889 1T 295 an IX-1837 1T 296 1838-1849 1T 297 1850-1863 1T 298 exploitation, police, censure 1864-1882, 1908-1939			
72	Sarthe	Le Mans	4T 23 Instructions 1775-1831 4T 24 Control, police an X-1849 4T 25 idem 1850-1888 4T 26 Control, directeurs, personnel 1806-1815 4T 27 idem 1815-1830 4T 28 idem 1830-1845 4T 29 idem 1846-1852 4T 30 idem 1852-1860 4T 31 idem 1860-1872 4T 32 police surveillance 1822-1874		Archives municipales	
73	Savoie	Chambéry	T 228 general 1860-1953 Albertville 1865-1893 Casino Aix-les-Bains 1861-1953 T 229 Chambéry incendiary 1864 regulations repertoire 1860-1939	5FS 2532 details period before 1860 and becoming part of France		ADSav

74	Haute-Savoie	Annecy	T4 Theatre and cinema	F389 Anonymous, handwritten history of musical activity in Annecy 1900-1914	<i>Le Théâtre en Savoie</i> F. Mugnier <i>Le Dauphiné Libéré</i> <i>Revue Savoisienne</i> , 1911 <i>Revue Savoisienne</i> , 1933	ADH-S
75	Ville de Paris	Paris			Archives Natrionales F21 2829-2835 Théâtres des departments	AN
76	Seine-Maritime	Rouen	4T 79 Instructions 4T 83 Répertoire 4T 87-89 Troupes 1833-1863 4T 90 Dieppe 4T 91 Elbeuf 4T 94 Le Havre 4T 96 Rouen 4T 100-107 Répertoire an ii- 1868 4T 111 Other theatres in Rouen 4T 112 Troupes sédentaires and ambulante	6M1105  BHR 279/28 Theatre prospectus 1874-1875	<i>Histoire des Théâtre de Rouen I-IV</i> J. E. Bouteiller <i>La Musique, les acteurs, les public au Théâtre des Arts</i> Christian Goubault	ADS-M
77	Seine-et-Marne	Dammariè-lès- Lys	4T 156 instructions 1806-1838 4T 157 police 1811-1845 4T 158 general 1809-1842 4T 159 police, personnel 4T 160 directeurs 1807-1815 4T 161 1818-1820 4T 162 1824-1828 4T 163 1833-1835 4T 164 1836-1837 4T 165 1838-1840 4T 166 1841-1843 4T 167 1843-1847 4T 168 1847-1849 4T 169 1850-1854 4T 170 1855-1861 4T 171 Meaux, Meluns, Provins etc			

	Seine et Marne continued		1823-1849 4T 172 Coulommiers 4T 173 Censure 1811-1872 4T 174 Troupes ambulante 1852- 1864			
78	Yvelines	Versailles	50T 1 – 15 1LT 719 – 721			
79	Deux-Sèvres	Niort	9T 20 /22 Instructions an XIII-1863 9T 23 Niort since 1800	91J 14 programmes etc of Théâtre populaire 1897-1939		
80	Somme	Amiens	T 153 – 155	M97 176 Police	<i>Les Troupes Amiennoises de 1900 à 1950</i> Alain Trogneux	ADSo
81	Tarn	Albi			<i>L'Almanach du Tarn Libre</i> <i>Les Cahiers Rouergats</i>	ADTarn
82	Tarn-et- Garonne	Montauban	T 110-115 Regulations, circulars, censure.	5R1	<i>Histoire de Montauban</i> Daniel Ligou <i>Annuaire du Tarn et Garonne</i>	ADT-G
83	Var	Draguignan	9T 5-1 – 5-2	1L 922 E dépôt 16R14 2O 50/19 2O 140/3-6	<i>Le Centenaire du théâtre de Toulon</i> E. Coulet	ADVar
84	Vaucluse	Avignon	4T 2-10 1800-1880			ADVau
85	Vendée	La Roche sur Yon	Regulations, itineraries, directeurs trimestriel reports. T 374 1806-1840 T 375 1841-1847 T 376 1848-1858 T 377 ibid + police 1859-1940			
86	Vienne	Poitiers				
87	Haute-Vienne	Limoges	4T 30 an V111-1840 4T 31 1841-1906 4T 32-6 Limoges ->1914 4T 37 Alcazar de Limoges	1J 500 droits d'auteurs 42J 15 local revues		



88	Vosges	Epinal	10T 1-8 1813-1914	83J reviews, posters and photos etc. amateurs of Bussang 1895-1981		ADVo
89	Yonne	Auxerre	80T 1 – 4		<i>Auxerre d'autrefois</i> Christian Durot  <i>Le Senonais Libéré</i> 30-04-1981	ADYo
90	Territoire de Belfort	Belfort	4T 38, 4T 40	10M 4 employment of minors	<i>Belfort, un Belfortain raconte...</i> Henri Schuler <i>Histoire de Belfort</i> A. Corret	ADT-B
91	Essonne	Chamarande	50T see note		Département created 1964. Theatre documents in Yvelines at Versailles	
92	Hauts-de-Seine	Nanterre			(As above) Archives municipals Meudon 92190 posters and documents relevant to the theatre in Meudon	
93	Seine-Saint-Denis	Bobigny		AN CARAN F <sup>21</sup> 4682 Saint-Denis F <sup>21</sup> 1036 – 1167 suburban theatres F <sup>21</sup> 4683 – 4686 private theatres, Paris F <sup>21</sup> 2829 – 2835 Troupe d'arrondissement details of troupes and itineraries 1841-1864 F <sup>18</sup> 669-1518 press and censure Paris and	CARAN Centre d'accueil et de recherché des Archives nationales  60 rue des Francs-Bourgeois 75141 Paris	

	Seine-Saint-Denis continued			suburban theatres 1786-1906		
94	Val-de-Marne	Créteil		2R 2 Series I for local programmes etc. from Archives Communales deposited at AD94.	New département 1964	
95	Val d'Oise	Pontoise				
97	Martinique	Fort-de-France				