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### 3 | Partners in rhyme: Alphonse Royer, Gustave Vaëz, and foreign opera in Paris during the July Monarchy

MARK EVERIST

Foreign opera was always important to the history of French stage music, never more so than between the restoration of the Bourbons and the revolution of 1848. This period saw an Italian opera house that was dedicated to the performance of *melodramma* and *opera buffa* in its original language flourish in Paris, with a repertory as much protected by license as those of the Opéra Comique or the Opéra itself.<sup>1</sup> Alongside the Théâtre Italien sprang up a number of opera houses that occupied themselves with Italian opera translated into French: the Théâtre de l'Odéon during the mid 1820s, the Théâtre de la Renaissance in the late 1830s, and the Théâtre Lyrique from the late 1840s onward.<sup>2</sup> The repertorial mix in Parisian stage music, therefore, encompassed the most recent works by Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti, and Verdi as they became available and – although more sporadically – works by the same composers not only translated into French but also adapted, or to borrow the French concept “naturalized” – to suit the demands of French theatrical tradition. Neither was the Académie Royale de Musique, the epicenter of European stage music, immune to the tradition of naturalizing both German and Italian opera. The beginning of the century saw adaptations there of Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* as *Les mystères d'Isis* (1801) and of *Don Giovanni* (1805), as well as of Winter's *Il trionfo dell'amor fraterno* as *Castor et Pollux* (1806), an international soundtrack to Napoleonic triumphs all over Europe.<sup>3</sup> A second phase of adaptation involved Rossini's assimilation of French operatic practices during the 1820s with reworkings of *Maometto II*, *Mosè in Egitto*, and (partially) *Il viaggio a Reims*;<sup>4</sup> this was followed by a production of Weber's *Euryanthe* in 1831, an epoch-making version of *Don Giovanni* in 1834, and Berlioz's version of *Der Freischütz* in 1841.<sup>5</sup>

These artistic undertakings were all products of different teams of librettists and composers. Although Rossini naturalized the music of *Maometto II* and *Mosè in Egitto* himself, he worked with different combinations of librettists: Luigi Balocchi and Alexandre Soumet for *Maometto II*; Balocchi and Victor-Joseph-Étienne de Jouy for *Mosè in Egitto*. For the partial reworking of *Il viaggio a Reims* as *Le comte Ory*, Rossini worked alongside Eugène

Scribe and Charles-Gaspard Delestre-Poirson. Both the translation of the text and the adaptation of the music for *Euryanthe* were from the veteran Castil-Blaze, and the production of *Don Giovanni* came from a team that involved both Castil-Blaze and his son Ange-Henri Blaze (Blaze de Bury) as well as Émile Deschamps. When Berlioz naturalized *Der Freischütz*, the libretto was translated by Emilien Pacini.

During the second half of the July Monarchy, however, two librettists – Alphonse Royer and Gustave Vaëz (a pseudonym of Jean Nicolas Gustave van Nieuwenhuysen) – assumed a near monopoly over the naturalization of Italian opera at the Académie Royale de Musique.

They were responsible for the four main productions of Italian opera in French at the Académie Royale de Musique from the late 1830s until the revolution of 1848 (Table 3.1, p. 32): Rossini's *Otello*, Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor*, Verdi's *I Lombardi alla Prima crociata*, and the Rossini *pasticcio* *Robert Bruce*.<sup>6</sup> (Although all of the operas were ultimately destined for the Académie Royale de Musique, *Lucie de Lammermoor* had started out at the Théâtre de la Renaissance in 1839 and moved to the Académie Royale de Musique in 1846.) In addition to translations, Royer and Vaëz's most enduring triumph was their libretto for Donizetti's *L'ange de Nisida*, which metamorphosed into *La favorite*.<sup>7</sup> Together they were also the translators of Donizetti's *Don Pasquale* for Brussels the same year as its Parisian premiere at the Théâtre Italien, and the authors of an occasional work, *Les premiers pas* (a collaborative work by Adolphe Adam, Michele Carafa, and Jacques Halévy), for the opening of Adam's ill-fated Opéra National in 1847.<sup>8</sup>

Both Royer and Vaëz had careers in the theater before turning their hands to music drama. Royer had been closely involved in liberal and romantic Parisian circles in the 1820s and had made the seemingly obligatory tour to the Far East. His early career brought him success with plays at the Nouveautés, the Gaîté, and the Porte Saint-Martin, as well as with the publication of novels. Vaëz, on the other hand, was Bruxellois and started his theatrical career in Brussels; his move to Paris was marked by success at the Gaîté, the Gymnase-Dramatique, and the Vaudeville.<sup>9</sup> Table 3.2 (p. 42) lists all of Royer and Vaëz's collaborations within the domain of both musical stageworks and other dramatic genres, as well as Royer's and Vaëz's individual operatic and dramatic contributions. Royer collaborated with Gustave Oppelt on the 1859 translation of Flotow's *Stradella* for Brussels, and Vaëz was the librettist for a number of new works: Donizetti's *Rita, ou Le mari battu*, two works for François-Auguste Gevaert, and two – in collaboration with Scribe – for Xavier Boisselot, including the strikingly successful *Ne touchez pas à la reine*.

Table 3.1. Royer and Vaëz, French adaptations of Italian operas

Title	Paris premiere (Académie Royale de Musique, unless otherwise indicated)	Musical collaborator(s)	Original work(s)	Premiere
<i>Lucie de Lammermoor</i>	10 August 1839 (Théâtre de la Renaissance)	Donizetti	<i>Lucia di Lammermoor</i>	26 September 1835, Naples, Teatro San Carlo
<i>Othello</i>	2 September 1844	Benoist	<i>Otello</i> [ <i>L'italiana in Algeri</i> ; <i>La donna del lago</i> ]	4 December 1816, Naples, Teatro del Fondo
<i>Lucie de Lammermoor</i>	20 February 1846	Donizetti	<i>Lucia di Lammermoor</i>	26 September 1835, Naples, Teatro San Carlo
<i>Robert Bruce</i>	30 December 1846	Rossini, Niedermeyer	<i>Zelmira</i> , <i>La donna del lago</i> [ <i>Bianca e Faliero</i> , <i>Torvaldo e Dorliska</i> , <i>Armida</i> , <i>Mosè in Egitto</i> , <i>Maometto II</i> ]	16 February 1822, Naples, Teatro San Carlo [ <i>Zelmira</i> ]; 24 October 1819, Naples, San Carlo [ <i>La donna del lago</i> ]
<i>Jérusalem</i>	26 November 1847	Verdi	<i>I Lombardi alla Prima crociata</i>	11 February 1843, Milan, Teatro alla Scala

The process of naturalizing the musical-dramatic works encompassed a wide range of practices and approaches to the originals. These ranged from the faithful translation of *Lucia di Lammermoor* to the 1847 *Robert Bruce*, the latter straddling a line between the type of Rossinian *pasticcio* well known from the 1820s and a naturalization of *La donna del lago*. The librettists' revisions of Verdi's *I Lombardi alla Prima crociata* as *Jérusalem* and of Rossini's *Otello* fall somewhere between these two extremes. Much of the explanation for these varied practices may be found in the musical collaborators with whom Royer and Vaëz worked (noted in Table 3.1). Donizetti worked closely with Royer and Vaëz on *Lucie de Lammermoor*, and Verdi did the same for *Jérusalem*. Rossini, however, took no part in work on the 1844 *Othello*, since he was not in Paris. A key player in the *Othello* production, therefore, was the widely experienced François Benoist. *Chef du chant* at the Académie Royale de Musique, organist in the royal chapel, and professor of organ at the Conservatoire, he was also a veteran ballet composer.<sup>10</sup> Since Rossini was in Bologna while preparations were in hand for *Robert Bruce*, Vaëz went there to work on the project together with the musical arranger for the project, Louis Niedermeyer. By the late 1840s the latter was an experienced composer of *grand opéra*, with *Stradella* and *Marie Stuart* (1837 and 1844 respectively) behind him; his direction of the École Niedermeyer eventually gave him a permanent place in the history of musical pedagogy.<sup>11</sup>

The type of collaboration with composers for each of Royer and Vaëz's four major enterprises for the Académie Royale de Musique differed. In *Lucie de Lammermoor*, they worked closely with Donizetti to produce a work that was as close to a simple literary translation and musical arrangement of the Italian original as the changes to the drama permitted, but when working with Verdi on essentially the same terms they produced an almost completely new libretto for *Jérusalem*, for which Verdi wrote large quantities of new music. Paradoxically perhaps, in their collaboration with Benoist on *Othello* they followed similar lines to those practices employed in *Lucie de Lammermoor*, while for *Robert Bruce* they wrote an entirely new libretto loosely based on themes from Scott, to which Niedermeyer and Rossini had to fit pre-existing music. (See the more detailed discussion on pp. 39–40.)

## Drama

Drama was a central concern for Royer and Vaëz as they contemplated the naturalization of *dramma* – both *tragico* and *lirico* – and *melodramma*.

The broader context for their work was the general feeling expressed in the French press that, although the Italian language was easier to set and in general worked better for stage music than the French, the dramatic structure of Italian originals left much to be desired when measured against established French drama, whether by Hugo, Racine, or Scribe. Royer and Vaëz made this explicit in their dedication to Donizetti for their adaptation of *Lucia di Lammermoor*, where they pointed to both general and specific changes that French theatrical and operatic culture demanded:

We have selected *Lucia di Lammermoor* as the most poetic and impassioned work to which your musical genius has given birth, and we have tried to adapt from it a form and words that permit the theaters of our great cities to popularize it in France ... Furthermore, we have again simplified the performance of the drama, avoiding scene changes in the middle of acts, which French dramatic forms do not accept willingly; the new scenes that you have composed with us, to accommodate this arrangement of the *libretto* to the requirements of our stage, are for your opera a true naturalization.<sup>12</sup>

Much of the Parisian press agreed with Royer and Vaëz when they specified *Lucia di Lammermoor* as a good choice for a Donizetti work to naturalize. Félix Bonnaire, writing for the *Revue de Paris*, observed that:

Among Donizetti's operas, *Lucia* was the one that without doubt suited us the best. The numbers in this score, although they are developed with a certain generosity, have nothing to do with the vast dimensions with which ears used to French *ariettes* reproach Italian music so much. Choruses follow one another quickly, simple motives abound. If one excepts the finale of the first act and the Ravenswood scene in the second, compositions in a grand style with a high register of expression, it is almost everywhere music of the sort we like at the French Opera.<sup>13</sup>

By contrast, *Otello* was deemed a poor choice according to Théophile Gautier in *La presse*:

We believe that the choice of *Otello* is a poor one, not because the score does not sparkle with sublime beauty, but because in general the work is in that Italian style full of disregard for the dramatic situation and that worries little if the melody agrees with the sense of the words, provided that the musical phrase is lively, agile, sparkling.<sup>14</sup>

In other words, those things that marked out a fine Italian libretto were exactly the things that had to be avoided on the French stage.

Furthermore, the press claimed that Salvadore Cammarano's original libretto for *Lucia* had abbreviated and disfigured Scott's *The Bride of*

*Lammermoor*, on which it was based, and that Royer and Vaëz had gone some way toward restoring the authority of the 1819 novel.<sup>15</sup> This hardly seems a fair criticism of the libretto, but it makes clear that French theatrical culture viewed the text with a degree of suspicion and was only too happy to see this position apparently remedied by French *paroliers*. Royer and Vaëz were similarly praised for having understood Shakespeare well – again in a veiled criticism of the Marchese Berio di Salsa's Italian libretto – in their reworking of *Otello*.<sup>16</sup>

## Language

Although Italian *melodramma*'s dramatic framework was intolerable on the stage of the Académie Royale de Musique, its linguistic and rhythmic structure was recognized as ideal for musical setting, but a serious challenge for anyone attempting to translate it into French. Indeed, there was no shortage of critics prepared to elaborate on the relative merits of the French and Italian languages and their relationship with music. The anonymous critic – possibly Gustave Hequet – of *L'illustration* explicitly addressed this matter shortly after the 1844 premiere of *Othello*: "By virtue of work and skill, MM. Royer and Vaëz have forced our language, so cold and so unmalleable, so constrained by consonants, so loaded with epithets, to enter without too many cuts or bruises into this narrow and flexible mold of Italian poetry."<sup>17</sup>

The almost entirely positive response to Royer and Vaëz's translations and adaptations of the 1840s provides a key to understanding value judgments cast on these works. To be sure, some terms – *élégance*, *fraîcheur*, *pureté*, and even *originalité* – are too vague to decode with precision at nearly 200 years' distance, but others tell us a good deal about the qualities that were sought and praised in these naturalizations of Italian opera.<sup>18</sup> Royer and Vaëz were admired for the way in which they had responded to "le mouvement et les rythmes" (the motion and the rhythms) of the music, and in general for overcoming the difficulties of writing poetry to pre-existing melodies.<sup>19</sup> At least one critic, Hippolyte Lucas, devoted an entire article to the technical merits of what he called this "travail souterrain" – the underground techniques of translating Italian poetry into French that could be sung at the Académie Royale de Musique.<sup>20</sup> Specifically, commentators praised the librettists' translations for their qualities as sung texts. This was an important consideration given the serious issues that arose when singers

with technique designed for *grand opéra* of the 1830s and 1840s confronted Italian opera of (in some cases) previous generations.<sup>21</sup> All the poetry in the translations of the 1840s was praised for the richness and sonority of its versification – a wide variety of rhymes and their happy positioning in the new texts.

A recurring feature of the praise for Royer and Vaëz's translations was their fidelity to their models; it is, however, unclear what this might mean in the context of critical writing of the 1840s. In some cases, it was clearly generic approbation not based on first-hand comparison of, say, the 1844 *Othello* and its 1816 original. But for the critic of *La France musicale*, Marie Escudier, the versifiers had “even pushed fidelity and respect for Rossini’s musical phraseology as far as choosing only those French words that have the greatest consonant affinity with the Italian words.” He went on to claim that they had “furthermore, as in their previous work of this type, sought to render the feeling of the melodies rather than the sense of the Italian words, so often trifling and gibberish.”<sup>22</sup> Following the cast of the melody at the expense of the words – even if those words are thought to be trifling and gibberish – hardly fits with what might today be considered a faithful translation. In the context of French views on the sense of Italian librettos, as opposed to the eminent suitability of the language for music, however, such fidelity begins to develop an explicable context. Nevertheless, a reading of the press that commented on these issues reveals a wide range of tensions, not about whether Royer and Vaëz had produced faithful translations – it was almost always taken for granted that they had – but rather about what might constitute fidelity in libretto translation as late as the eve of the 1848 revolutions.

In Paris at the end of the July Monarchy, fidelity to an original in translation was a very different concept from what it is today; now the original sequence of numbers coupled to the integrity of the drama is thought to be central – with the possible exception of the use of substitute arias. That *Jérusalem* is today considered a satisfactory reworking of *I Lombardi alla Prima crociata* is largely because the musical changes were new and were authored by Verdi himself. To criticize the 1844 *Othello*, largely as a consequence of the interpolation of pre-existing works from elsewhere in the Rossini canon, is a more typical modern view. For Royer, Vaëz, and their mid-century admirers, such a consideration was clearly not as important as faithfulness to the original source for the libretto, which meant Shakespeare and Scott rather than Berio di Salsa or Cammarano. Moreover, musical considerations – reflecting the

caesura and accentual structure of Italian poetry in the translation, for example – were more important than the accurate translation of the words themselves.

## Working conditions

Royer and Vaëz did not assemble librettos in a vacuum, but worked in collaboration with composers. In the case of *Lucie de Lammermoor*, the conditions for making the arrangement were ideal: Donizetti had recently arrived in Paris with an ambition to conquer all four active opera houses, and with the clear understanding that reworking his existing operas in French would require significant effort on his part. The collaboration clearly worked well: Donizetti willingly made the few modifications to his score that Royer and Vaëz's translation required. In the area where most changes were necessary – the recitatives – the work was made easier because, unlike such earlier endeavors as *Don Giovanni* or Rossini's reworkings from the 1820s, Donizetti's original recitatives were already fully orchestrated and could, therefore, be allowed to stand unmodified as the basis for the translations. Although Royer and Vaëz's almost complete removal of Raimondo from the French version of *Lucie* triggered the removal of his Act II aria, the substitution of Lucia's "Regnava nel silenzio" with a translation of "Perchè non ho del vento" from Donizetti's *Rosamonda d'Inghilterra* resulted simply from the use of that substitution aria in Parisian performances at the Théâtre Italien during the previous two years. Royer and Vaëz's collaboration with Donizetti is one instance where claims of *fidélité* match modern expectations closely.

Although Royer and Vaëz's collaboration with Verdi was equally happy, the work involved was of an altogether different order. The libretto for *Jérusalem* can be related to Solera's *I Lombardi alla Prima crociata* only indirectly through a few remaining scenes and character relationships. Similarly, the musical consequences for Verdi represented a step change over those demanded of Donizetti a decade earlier for *Lucie de Lammermoor*. Hardly a single number from *I Lombardi* figures in *Jérusalem* without internal reworking or resequencing, and the amount of new material that Verdi wrote, so much more than for any other translation here under review, has been noted by recent commentators.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, the Parisian press of 1847 was in some doubt about the degree to which *Jérusalem*

was based on *I Lombardi*: some thought it little more than a translation of the Italian original,<sup>24</sup> while others claimed that there was no more of *I Lombardi* in it than there was of *La donna del lago* (somewhat under half) in *Robert Bruce*.<sup>25</sup>

Despite significantly different levels of intervention and change, *Lucie de Lammermoor* and *Jérusalem* have one point in common: both were the composers' first works in French and had been anticipated by productions at the Théâtre Italien – *Nabucco* and *I due Foscari* for Verdi and no fewer than seven works for Donizetti.<sup>26</sup>

In comparison, Royer and Vaëz's engagement with Rossini's works was of a significantly higher degree of complexity. The overriding context for the 1844 *Othello* and 1847 *Robert Bruce pasticcio* was Parisian impatience with the composer's silence since the premiere of *Guillaume Tell* in 1829. Parisian audiences were used to delays with foreign composers: they had to wait five years between Meyerbeer's *Robert le diable* and *Les Huguenots*, and knowing that the composer had completed *Le prophète* at the beginning of the 1840s, they did not see the premiere until 1849. Rossini's last work for the Académie Royale de Musique was over a decade old, and the composer's visit to Paris in 1843 was viewed, wrongly, as an indication of a new work. Paris's expectations of a new *grand opéra* to follow *Guillaume Tell* were only partly satisfied by the 1844 *Othello*, since its Italian original had been well known in Paris since its premiere at the Théâtre Italien in 1821.<sup>27</sup>

Royer and Vaëz were able to profit from the current view that Berio di Salsa's version of *Othello* was merely a pale imitation of Shakespeare.<sup>28</sup> This was bound to be the case for any libretto based on an early-modern play, but the view, however inaccurate, gave Royer and Vaëz room to maneuver as they put together their adaptation. The very complex set of surviving sources for *Othello* shows not only how Rossini's original music was largely retained – only Rodrigo's Act II aria was cut – but also how interpolations from his other operas – *L'italiana in Algeri*, *La donna del lago*, and others – were necessary for making this three-act adaptation. While Royer and Vaëz simply wrote their French words for the arias and ensembles onto printed copies of the music in question (whether from *Otello* or elsewhere), all the recitatives were rewritten and in some cases composed by Benoist. Contemporary voices praised his discretion: journalists claimed that they could easily recognize the original Italian recitatives in the French version and noted that Benoist's additions were restricted to a chord here and there.<sup>29</sup> This is a slight understatement, since he was responsible for all the new recitative that preceded and followed the substitute aria from *La donna del lago* in Act II. Given that Rossini had no hand in the Parisian

production, claiming fidelity to the composer's score was as much as could be anticipated; for central to the positive commentaries on the 1844 *Othello* was the view that additions taken from works by the same composer made for a more successful arrangement than if the additions had been taken, for example, from works by Donizetti or Bellini.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, Benoist was commended for having selected the music for the *divertissements* from works that were largely unknown in Paris, particularly *Armida*.<sup>31</sup> The distinction between borrowing from Rossini himself as opposed to other composers and between known and little-known works gives an additional perspective on the concept of fidelity circa 1840, about which Royer and Vaëz's activities reveal so much.

### *Pasticcio*

However praiseworthy the work of Benoist, Royer, and Vaëz, Paris still felt cheated out of its new opera by Rossini: *Othello* – as the press put it – "suffered from [Rossini's] absence."<sup>32</sup> Such a sense that Paris was Rossini's natural home – and in the mid-nineteenth century Parisian critics thought of Paris as the entire musical world's natural home – prompted the administration of the Académie Royale de Musique to take steps to bring, if not a new work by Rossini, at least a major adaptation under his direction to the stage. A completely new work looked less and less likely as the 1840s progressed, but serious consideration had been given as early as 1843 to a production of *La donna del lago* at the Opéra; this plan was rejected since – like *Otello* – *La donna del lago* had been an important part of the repertory of the Théâtre Italien since its premiere there in 1824. But much of *La donna del lago* found its way into the work to which Rossini did finally contribute to the Académie Royale de Musique, the *pasticcio* *Robert Bruce*.

The Académie Royale de Musique took no chances with *Robert Bruce*; its director, Léon Pillet, sent both Vaëz and Niedermeyer to Bologna from mid-June to mid-July 1846. It seems certain that the libretto was complete before Vaëz and Niedermeyer left Paris and that all the musical materials were assembled in Bologna; Niedermeyer's working score is based on an oblong-format holograph of all the music selected by Rossini for *Robert Bruce*, copied anonymously and almost certainly in Bologna.<sup>33</sup> Vaëz must, therefore, have fitted and adjusted the new French libretto to the music without Royer. As in *Othello*, most musical changes fell in recitatives and are written in Niedermeyer's hand in the working score. Whether Niedermeyer merely copied originals dictated by Rossini, or whether he wrote them

himself is difficult to determine; the nature and the high level of erasure and correction certainly suggests, however, that the modifications originate with Niedermeyer.<sup>34</sup>

Rossini's involvement with *Robert Bruce* was a great coup for the Académie Royale de Musique. In lieu of a sequel to *Guillaume Tell*, Paris was pleased to have such a work, a view summarized by Gustave Hequet in *L'illustration*: "Without doubt it would have been better to have had an original score; but when one cannot have what one wishes, one has to be content with what one finds, and a *pasticcio* by Rossini appears to us preferable to the original works of many composers."<sup>35</sup> This was a typical view, notwithstanding those of Fiorentino and Berlioz.<sup>36</sup> So while *Robert Bruce* problematizes the issue of joint authorship, *pasticcio*, and artistic intention, in the late 1840s such a stage work could be viewed within the same critical framework as both an entirely new opera and the types of reworkings that Royer and Vaëz had promoted during the previous decade.

## Conclusion

An overview of opera in translation at the Académie Royale de Musique in the first half of the nineteenth century reveals that Royer and Vaëz's work held a central position. Together, they dominated the reception of Italian opera at the Académie Royale de Musique in the 1840s in a way that no other team had before or since. There had been occasional collaborations that went beyond a single production – for example, between *Les mystères d'Isis* and *Castor et Pollux* (Étienne Morel de Chedeville was the translator of both librettos), *Le siège de Corinthe* and *Moïse* (Balocchi), and *Euriante* and the 1834 *Don Juan* (Castil-Blaze) – but these were relatively rare. And after Royer and Vaëz stopped working on opera in translation, Emilien Pacini (who had translated the libretto to *Le Freyschutz*) was responsible for the translations of two Verdi operas: *Louise Miller* (1853, in collaboration with Benjamin Alaffre) and *Le trouvère* (1857); similarly, Charles Nuitter translated both Bellini's *I Capuleti e i Montecchi* (1859) and Wagner's *Tannhäuser* (1861) as *Roméo et Juliette* and *Le Tannhauser*, respectively.<sup>37</sup> But despite these occasional moments when a single translator and arranger became involved in more than one work, none of these endeavors matches the consistent coverage of the field of translating Italian opera that Royer and Vaëz achieved between 1839 and 1847.

There was as wide a variety of working practices at the middle of the century as at the beginning. For both the 1801 *Les mystères d'Isis* and the 1834 *Don Giovanni* productions, for example, it was the norm to recast works radically – either for the original composers, musical arrangers nominated by composers, or others – and frequently to include pre-existing music from other works or even other composers. And such freedom was common as late as 1859 (*Roméo et Juliette* was an amalgam of Bellini and Vaccai).<sup>38</sup> Similarly, translations that largely respected the structure of their originals with minimal substitution and resequencing were common, although paradoxically Castil-Blaze's translations of Rossini's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (1819) and of Donizetti's *Anna Bolena* (1835), which adapt their originals little more than did contemporary Italian productions of the same works, were much criticized.<sup>39</sup> Royer and Vaëz adapted the concepts both of translations that involved significant adaptation by the original composer and of translations that did not; they also continued the tradition of *pasticcio* that, although popular elsewhere, had lain dormant at the Académie Royale de Musique since 1813.<sup>40</sup>

Views of the activities at the Académie Royale de Musique are incomplete if such agents of change as Royer and Vaëz are ignored. Their achievements demonstrate the continued acceptance as late as the 1850s of what today are considered high levels of modification in the translation and arrangement of Italian opera for the French stage. Their adaptations were widely praised during the 1840s for what was then understood as fidelity to the original works they were translating, and this praise points to the importance of contextualizing such artistic endeavors to understand them. Finally, the press commentary on Royer and Vaëz's work on what are now, with the exception of *Robert Bruce*, regarded as classics reveals the very high level of analysis in which contemporary critics engaged, as they communicated an understanding of both the detail and the background of Royer and Vaëz's work to their voracious readers.

Royer and Vaëz emerge as key players in the transfer of operatic cultures from Italy to France and central to the subsequent careers of Rossini, Donizetti, and Verdi. As we seek to uncover the ways in which opera developed as a pan-European phenomenon during the nineteenth century, the work of Royer, Vaëz, and their colleagues who did so much for the internationalization of music drama provides a point of entry into a world that challenges so many modern assumptions about the fashion and legacy of nineteenth-century Italian opera.

Table 3.2. Theatrical and literary works by Royer and/or Vaëz (locations of premieres are given in parentheses for theatrical works; place and date of publication appear in parentheses for literary works; names in square brackets are explanations of pseudonyms; “with” indicates a collaborator)

Date	Royer and Vaëz (musical stagework)	Royer and Vaëz (other)	Royer	Vaëz
1830			<i>Les mauvais garçons</i> , 2 vols. (Paris: Renduel, 1830), with Auguste Barbier <i>Henri V et ses compagnons</i> (Théâtre des Nouveautés)	
1834			<i>Manoel</i> (Paris: Ledoux, 1834) <i>Un divan</i> (Paris: Ledoux, 1834)	<i>Le cheval de Grammont</i> (Brussels, Théâtre Royal)
1836			<i>L'auberge des trois pins</i> (Paris: Dumont, 1836), with Roger de Beauvoir	<i>La belle écaillère</i> (Théâtre de la Gaîté), with Gabriel de Lurieu and Théaulon de Lambert <i>Il signor Barilli</i> (Théâtre de la Gaîté)
1837			<i>Petit Pierre</i> (Théâtre de la Gaîté), with Auguste Jouhaud	
1838		:	<i>Lellou</i> (Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Antoine), with Jouhaud <i>Le connétable de Bourbon</i> (Paris: Werdet, 1838)	
1839	<i>Lucie de Lammermoor</i> (Donizetti; Théâtre de la Renaissance, 1839; Académie Royale de Musique, 1846)		<i>Timoléon le fashionable</i> (Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Antoine), with Jouhaud <i>Le camp de Fontainebleau</i> (Fontainebleau), with Jouhaud	<i>Les brodequins de Lise</i> (Gymnase-Dramatique), with Laurencin [Paul-Adolphe Chapelle] and Desvergers [Armand Chapeau]

Table 3.2. (cont.)

Date	Royer and Vaëz (musical stagework)	Royer and Vaëz (other)	Royer	Vaëz
			<i>Les beaux hommes de Paris</i> (Théâtre du Panthéon), with Jouhaud	<i>Le coffre-fort</i> (Théâtre du Vaudeville)
1840	<i>La favorite</i> (Donizetti; Académie Royale de Musique)		<i>Robert Macaire en Orient</i> (Paris: Dumont, 1840) <i>Mademoiselle Beata</i> (Paris: Dumont, 1840)	
1841				<i>Rita, ou Le mari battu</i> (music by Donizetti, Opéra Comique, Paris premiere 1860)
1842		<i>Le voyage à Pontoise</i> (Théâtre de l'Odéon) <i>Le bourgeois grand seigneur</i> (Théâtre de l'Odéon)		<i>Mon parrain de Pontoise</i> (Théâtre du Palais-Royal)
1843	<i>Don Pasquale</i> (Donizetti; Brussels, Théâtre de la Monnaie) <i>L'italienne à Alger</i> (Rossini; Académie Royale de Musique [unperformed])	<i>Mademoiselle Rose</i> (Théâtre de l'Odéon)		
1844	<i>Othello</i> (Rossini; Académie Royale de Musique)	<i>La comtesse d'Altenberg</i> (Théâtre de l'Odéon)	<i>Les janissaires</i> , 2 vols. (Paris: Dumont, 1844)	
1846	<i>Robert Bruce</i> (Rossini; Académie Royale de Musique)			

Table 3.2. (cont.)

Date	Royer and Vaëz (musical stagework)	Royer and Vaëz (other)	Royer	Vaëz
1847	<i>Jérusalem</i> (Verdi; Académie Royale de Musique) <i>Les premiers pas</i> (Adam, Auber, Carafa, Halévy; Opéra National)			<i>Ne touchez pas à la reine</i> (music by Xavier Boisselot, Opéra Comique), with Eugène Scribe <i>Nouvelles d'Espagne</i> (Théâtre de l'Odéon)
1849				<i>Les bourgeois des métiers</i> (Théâtre de l'Odéon)
1850		<i>Le jour et la nuit</i> (Théâtre des Variétés) <i>Les fantaisies de Milord</i> (Théâtre des Variétés), with Charles Narrey <i>La dame de trefle</i> (Théâtre du Vaudeville), with Narrey <i>Chodruc-Duclos</i> (Théâtre de la Gaîté), with Michel Duporte <i>Un ami malheureux</i> (Théâtre du Vaudeville)	<i>Le jeu d'amour et de la cravache</i> (Théâtre Montansier), with Anicet Bourgeois and Charles Narrey	
1851	<i>Le valet de ferme</i> (Franck; ? Opéra-Comique / ? Théâtre-Lyrique [unperformed])	.		<i>Mosquita la sorcière</i> (music by Boisselot, Opéra National), with Scribe <i>Les empiriques</i> (music by François-Auguste Gevaert [unperformed])

Table 3.2. (cont.)

Date	Royer and Vaëz (musical stagework)	Royer and Vaëz (other)	Royer	Vaëz
1852		<i>Déménagé d'hier</i> (Théâtre des Variétés), with Narrey		<i>Dans une armoire</i> (Folies-Dramatiques) <i>Grandeur et décadence de M. Joseph Prudhomme</i> (Théâtre de l'Odéon), with Henry Monnier
1854				<i>Georgette</i> (music by Gevaert, Théâtre Lyrique)
1855			<i>Jane Eyre</i> (Brussels, Théâtre des Galeries Hubert), with Victor Lefèvre	
1859			<i>Stradella</i> (music by Flotow, Brussels, Théâtre de la Monnaie), with Gustave Oppelt	
1860			<i>Georges Brummell</i> (Brussels, Théâtre des Galeries Hubert)	
1864				<i>Le capitaine Henriot</i> (Opéra Comique), music by Gevaert, text with Victorien Sardou
1866			<i>Cadet le perle</i> (Théâtre de la Gaîté), with Théodore de Langeac	

## Notes

1. See François-Henri-Joseph Blaze (Castil-Blaze), *L'opéra Italien de 1548 à 1856*, Théâtres lyriques de Paris (2) (Paris: Castil-Blaze, 1856); Albert Soubies, *Le Théâtre-Italien de 1801 à 1913* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1913). For the restoration period, see Janet Johnson, “The Théâtre Italien and Opera and Theatrical Life in Restoration Paris,” 3 vols. (paginated consecutively) (Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1988), and for the 1830s, Philip Gossett, “Music at the Théâtre-Italien,” in Peter Bloom (ed.), *Music in Paris in the Eighteen-Thirties*, La Vie musicale en France au xix<sup>e</sup> siècle, 4 (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1987), pp. 327–64.
2. For the Odéon, see Mark Everist, *Music Drama at the Paris Odéon, 1824–1828* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); for the Théâtre de la Renaissance, Everist, “Theatres of Litigation: Stage Music at the Théâtre de la Renaissance, 1838–1840,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 16 (2004), 133–62; and Everist, “Donizetti and Wagner: *Opéra de genre* at the Théâtre de la Renaissance,” in his *Giacomo Meyerbeer and Music Drama in Nineteenth-Century Paris*, Variorum Collected Studies CS805 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 309–41. Still the fullest account of the Théâtre Lyrique and its immediate predecessors is Thomas Joseph Walsh, *Second Empire Opera: The Théâtre Lyrique, Paris, 1851–1870*, The History of Opera (London: Calder / New York: Riverrun, 1981).
3. All productions at the Académie Royale de Musique up to 1876 are listed in Théodore de Lajarte, *Bibliothèque musicale du Théâtre de l'Opéra: Catalogue historique, chronologique, anecdotique*, 2 vols. (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1878; reprint Hildesheim: Olms, 1969). For *Les mystères d'Isis*, see Jean Mongrédiens, “*Les Mystères d'Isis* (1801) and Reflections on Mozart from the Parisian Press at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century,” in Allan W. Atlas (ed.), *Music in the Classic Period: Essays in Honor of Barry S. Brook* (New York: Pendragon, 1985), pp. 195–211; Rudolph Angermüller, “*Les Mystères d'Isis* (1801) und ‘Don Juan’ (1805, 1834) auf der Bühne der Pariser Oper,” *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1980–83 des Zentralinstitutes für Mozartforschung der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1983), pp. 32–97. In addition to Angermüller’s article, for the 1805 *Don Juan* see Laurent Marty, *1805: la création de “Don Juan” à l'Opéra de Paris*, Univers musical (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2005).
4. See Paolo Isotta, “Da *Mosè* a *Moïse*,” *Bollettino del Centro Rossiniano di Studi*, anno 1971, nos. 1–3, 87–117; Isotta (ed.), *Gioacchino Rossini: Mosè in Egitto, Azione tragico-sacra; Moïse et Pharaon, Opéra en quatre actes; Mosè, Melodramma sacro in quattro atti*, Opera 1a, 4 (Turin: Unione tipografico-editrice torinese, 1974); Marcello Conati, “Between Past and Future: The Dramatic World of Rossini in *Mosè in Egitto* and *Moïse et Pharaon*,” *19th-Century Music* 4 (1980–1981), 32–47; Richard Osborne, *Rossini, The Master Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1986), pp. 208–13 and 237–42; Giuseppe Ierolli, “*Mosè e Maometto: da Napoli a Parigi*” (Tesi di laurea, Università degli studi di Bologna, 1989–1990). For *Le siège de Corinthe*, see Anselm Gerhard, *Die Verstädterung der Oper: Paris*

*und das Musiktheater des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1992), trans. Mary Whittall as *The Urbanization of Opera: Music Theatre in Paris in the Nineteenth Century* (University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 68–84 of the English version. Janet Johnson, “A Lost Rossini Opera Recovered: *Il viaggio a Reims*,” *Bollettino del Centro Rossiniano di Studi*, anno 1983, nos. 1–3, 5–57; Johnson (ed.), *Il viaggio a Reims, ossia L'albergo del giglio d'oro: dramma giocoso in un atto di Luigi Balocchi, musica di Gioachino Rossini*, 2 vols., *Edizione critica delle opere di Gioachino Rossini*, Series I, 35 (Pesaro: Fondazione Rossini, 1999).

5. On *Euryanthe*, see Mark Everist, “Translating Weber’s *Euryanthe*: German Romanticism at the Dawn of French *Grand Opéra*,” *Revue de Musicologie* 87 (2001), 67–105; on *Don Giovanni*, Sabine Henze-Döhring, “E. T. A. Hoffmann – ‘Kult’ und ‘Don Giovanni’ – Rezeption im Paris des 19. Jahrhunderts: Castil-Blazes ‘Don Juan’ im Théâtre de l’Académie Royale de Musique [sic] am 10 März 1834,” *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1984–85 des Zentralinstitutes für Mozartforschung der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1986), pp. 39–51; and Katharine Ellis, “Rewriting *Don Giovanni*, or ‘The Thieving Magpies’,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 119 (1994), 212–50. The best introduction to Berlioz’s naturalization of *Der Freischütz* is in Ian Rumbold (ed.), *Arrangements of Works by Other Composers (II), Hector Berlioz: New Edition of the Complete Works*, 22b (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2004), pp. xii–xiv.
6. The exception to the near monopoly of Royer and Vaëz was the translation and arrangement of Donizetti’s *Poliuto* as *Les martyrs* (1840), for which Scribe worked on the libretto translation.
7. For *L’ange de Nisida*, see Everist, “Donizetti and Wagner,” 335–38; Rebecca Harris-Warwick, “The Parisian Sources of Donizetti’s French Operas: The Case of *La Favorite*,” in Francesco Bellotto (ed.), *L’opere teatrale di Gaetano Donizetti: atti del convegno internazionale di studio, Bergamo, 17–20 settembre 1992* (Bergamo: Comune di Bergamo, 1993), pp. 77–92, and Harris-Warwick (ed.), *Gaetano Donizetti: La Favorite*, 2 vols. [paginated consecutively], *Edizione critica delle opere di Gaetano Donizetti* (Milan: Ricordi, 1997), vol. I, pp. xiii–xix. For the reasons why Scribe’s name was frequently, but much later in the century, added to the list of librettists for *La favorite*, see *ibid.*, vol. I, pp. xxi–xxii.
8. Posterity has dealt unevenly with Royer and Vaëz’s adaptations of Italian opera. *Jérusalem* has been exhaustively discussed, as has *Lucie de Lammermoor*. For discussions of *Jérusalem*, see, for example, David R. B. Kimbell, “Verdi’s First Rifacimento: *I Lombardi* and *Jérusalem*,” *Music & Letters* 60 (1979), 1–36; Julian Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, 3 vols. (Oxford University Press, 1978–1981), vol. I, pp. 339–59; Ursula Günther, “Giuseppe Verdis erster Erfolg in Paris,” *Lendemains* 31–32 (1983), 53–62; and Arrigo Quattrocchi, “Da Milano a Parigi: *Jérusalem*, la prima revisione di Verdi,” *Studi verdiani* 10 (1994–1995), 13–60. It should be noted that enthusiasm for *Jérusalem* actually dated only from the 1980s; see the critique of earlier views in Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, vol. I, p. 342. For *Lucie de Lammermoor*, see Everist, “Donizetti and Wagner,” 323–29.

A recent recording of *Robert Bruce* gave it a degree of life, but the work had been treated harshly in older literature. See *Gioachino Rossini: Robert Bruce*, compact disc, dir. Paolo Arrivabene (Dynamic, CDS 421/1–2, 2002); the review by William Ashbrook, “Review of *Gioachino Rossini: Robert Bruce*,” *Opera Quarterly* 20 (2004), 330–31, is useful. Jacques-Gabriel Prod’homme, “Rossini and His Works in France,” *Musical Quarterly* 17 (1931), 110–37; esp. 135, mentions the work only in passing, and despite an account in Jerome Mitchell, *The Walter Scott Operas* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1977), pp. 350–57, the *pasticcio* was ignored by Winton Dean (review of *The Walter Scott Operas*, *Music & Letters* 59 (1978), 460–63; esp. 460). “*Robert Bruce*,” in Félix Clément and Pierre Larousse, *Dictionnaire des opéras (Dictionnaire lyrique)*, contenant l’analyse et la nomenclature de tous les opéras, opéras-comiques, opérettes et drames lyriques représentés en France et à l’étranger depuis l’origine de ces genres d’ouvrages jusqu’à nos jours, Arthur Pougin (ed.) (Paris: Larousse, [1897]), p. 958, presents a more sympathetic view of the work.

The translation of *Othello*, critical for the reception of Italian opera in French, has hardly been discussed in modern times. See the purely factual statements based on Lajarte in Prod’homme, “Rossini and His Works in France,” 135. For a fuller account of the circumstances that led to the production of *Othello* and *Robert Bruce*, see Mark Everist, “Il n’y a qu’un Paris au monde, et j’y reviendrai planter mon drapeau!: Rossini’s Second *grand opéra*,” in *Music & Letters* (forthcoming).

9. Reconstructing biographies for the two individuals is problematic. Neither yet appears in Michel-Prévost and Jean-Charles Roman d’Amat (eds.), *Dictionnaire de biographie française* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1933– [in progress]). The best accounts of both lives are in Gustave Vapereau, *Dictionnaire universel des contemporains contenant toutes les personnes notables de la France et des pays étrangers*, 5th edn (Paris: Hachette, 1880), pp. 1588 and 1760, and in Dantès [pseud. of Charles-Victoire-Alfred Langue], *Dictionnaire biographique et bibliographique alphabétique et méthodique des hommes les plus remarquables dans les lettres, les sciences et les arts, chez tous les peuples, à toutes les époques* (Paris: Boyer, 1875), pp. 881 and 1009. Royer alone is given a partial entry in François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, 8 vols., 2nd edn (with supplement in 2 vols.) (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1860–1865), suppl. 2, p. 437.
10. Fétis, *Biographie universelle*, vol. I, p. 347. Benoist’s four ballets at the Académie Royale de Musique extended from 1839 to 1851 and involved collaboration with Ambroise Thomas, Henri Reber, and Marco Aurelio Marliani to scenarios by Théophile Gautier and Jules-Henry Vernoy, Comte de Saint-George, with choreography by Joseph Mazilier and Arthur Saint-Léon.
11. On Niedermeyer, see Fétis, *Biographie universelle*, vol. VI, pp. 318–21.
12. Guido Zavadini, *Donizetti: vita, musiche, epistolario* (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d’Arti Grafiche, 1948), pp. 882–83, based – with many errors – on Charles

Malherbe, *Centenaire de Gaetano Donizetti: Catalogue bibliographique de la section française à l'exposition de Bergame* (Paris: n.p., 1897), pp. 135–36: “Nous avons choisi la *Lucia di Lammermoor* comme l’oeuvre la plus poétique et la plus passionnée qu’ait enfantée votre génie musical, et nous avons essayé de lui adapter une forme et des paroles qui permettent aux théâtres de nos grandes villes de la populariser en France … Nous avons d’ailleurs simplifié encore la représentation de la pièce, en évitant, au milieu des actes, les changements de décors que la forme dramatique française n’accepte pas volontiers; les scènes nouvelles que vous avez composées avec nous, pour apprivoiser cette imitation du *libretto* aux exigences de notre théâtre, soient pour votre opéra une véritable naturalisation.” The dedicatory letter appears only in the version of the libretto put on sale in February 1839 and listed in the *Bibliographie de la France*, 9 February 1839.

13. *Revue de Paris* 8 (1839), 146: “Parmi les opéras de Donizetti, la *Lucia* était sans contredit celui qui nous convenait le mieux. Les morceaux de cette partition, bien qu’ils se développent avec une certaine ampleur, n’ont rien de ces vastes dimensions que les oreilles habituées aux ariettes françaises reprochent tant à la musique italienne. Les choeurs se succèdent avec rapidité, les motifs faciles abondent. Si l’on excepte le finale du premier acte et la scène de Ravenswood, au second, compositions d’un grand style et d’une très haute expression, c’est un peu partout de la musique comme on l’aime à l’Opéra français.”
14. *La presse*, 9 September 1844: “Nous croyons que le choix d’*Othello* est un choix malheureux, non que la partition n’étincelle de sublimes beautés, mais l’oeuvre, en général, est entendue dans ce style italien plein d’insouciance de la situation et qui s’inquiète peu si la mélodie concorde avec le sens des paroles, pourvu que la phrase soit vive, alerte, étincelante.”
15. *Le ménestrel*, 11 August 1839: “La traduction du libretto, n’en déplaît à plusieurs de nos confrères, doit revendiquer une très faible part dans le succès de ce drame; on sait comment l’admirable roman de Walter Scott a été tronqué et défiguré par le poète italien” (“The translation of the libretto, with all due deference to several of our colleagues, must lay claim to a very small part in the success of this drama; one knows how Walter Scott’s admirable novel has been mangled and disfigured by the Italian poet.”)
16. *Le siècle*, 19 September 1844, by Hippolyte Lucas: “Le poème italien d’*Othello* est une reflet bien pâle de l’admirable génie de Shakespeare, un écho bien affaibli de la poésie sublime du grand écrivain de l’Angleterre, dont le monde entier s’honneur; MM. Alphonse Royer et Gustave Vaëz l’ont compris mieux que personne, aussi ont-ils relevé le libretto autant qu’ils l’ont pu.” (“The Italian libretto of *Otello* is indeed a pale reflection of Shakespeare’s admirable genius, a thoroughly enfeebled echo of the sublime poetry of the great English author, honored by the entire world; MM. Alphonse Royer and Gustave Vaëz have understood him better than anyone; they have also dignified the libretto as much as they have been able.”)

17. *L'illustration*, 14 September 1844: “À force de travail et d'habileté, MM. Royer et Vaëz ont forcé notre langue si froide, si peu ductile, si embarrassée de consonnes, si chargée d'épithètes, à entrer sans trop de meurtrissures ni d'avaries dans ce moule étroit et flexible de la poésie italienne.”
18. The general approval with which the work of Royer and Vaëz was greeted may be suggested by two quotations, one from the beginning of their career and one from the end. *Journal des débats*, 6 August 1839, by Hector Berlioz: “MM. Alphonse Royer et G. Vaës [sic] ont fait leur traduction avec talent et conscience; le libretto italien n'a subi que de légères modifications qui toutes lui ont été avantageuses” (“MM. Alphonse Royer and Gustave Vaëz have made their translation with ability and conscience; the Italian libretto has only been subject to light modification that has completely been to its advantage”); and *Le siècle*, 28 November 1847, by Louis Desnoyers: “Ce sont les mêmes auteurs qui ont procédé à ces deux reconstructions, et on doit leur savoir gré d'être sortis deux fois avec honneur de cette sorte d'entreprise, entourée d'assez grandes difficultés” (“These are the same authors who have undertaken these two reconstructions [*Robert Bruce* and *Jérusalem*], and one must be deeply grateful to them for having twice come out of this sort of undertaking, surrounded with so many great difficulties, with honor”).
19. *La quotidienne*, 23 February 1846.
20. *Le siècle*, 19 November 1844.
21. *Le commerce*, 5 September 1844: “Barroilhet a exécuté d'une manière très brillante l'air de la *Donna del Lago*, intercalé dans son rôle; mais à son style d'exécution, au choix tout moderne de quelques-unes de ses cadences, on eût dit d'une cavatine de Donizetti; la couleur rossinienne avait disparu dans la traduction.” (“[Paul-Bernard] Barroilhet performed the aria from *La donna del lago* that he had woven into his role [Iago, in *Othello*] in a very brilliant manner; but from his style of performance, from the completely modern choice of some of his cadenzas, one would have said it was a *cavatina* by Donizetti; the Rossinian color had disappeared in the translation.”)
22. *La France musicale*, 8 September 1844: “Ils ont même poussé la fidélité et le respect envers la phraséologie musicale de Rossini jusqu'à ne choisir que ceux des mots français qui ont le plus d'affinité consonante avec les mots italiens ... Ils ont d'ailleurs, comme dans leurs précédents travaux de ce genre, cherché plutôt à rendre le sentiment des mélodies que le sens des paroles italiennes souvent oiseuses et amphigouriques.”
23. See note 8 above.
24. The commentary in the *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* (28 November 1847) argues that “at first glance, the additions that the composer has made do not seem very extensive”; it admits the possibility that – as in the case of *Othello* and *Robert Bruce* – the additions made by the composer were “either new compositions or borrowed from his other works” (“Les additions qu'y a faites l'auteur, soit en morceaux nouveaux, soit en emprunts à ses autres ouvrages, nous semblent au premier coup d'oeil peu importantes” [emphasis added]).

25. *Le siècle*, 28 November 1847, Desnoyers: “Elle a été bâtie en très grande partie avec les matériaux des *Lombards*, *I Lombardi*, comme *Robert Bruce* a été composé en grande partie des fragments de *la Dame du lac*, *la Donna del lago*.” (“[Jérusalem] has been constructed with the material of *I Lombardi*, in the same way as *Robert Bruce* was largely built out of fragments of *La donna del lago*.”)
26. John Black, “The Contract for Paris,” in Alexander Weatherson and Fulvio Stefano Lo Presti (eds.), *Donizetti and France; The Donizetti Society Journal* 7 (2002), 11–22; here 17.
27. Giuseppe Radiciotti, *Gioacchino Rossini: vita documentata opere ed influenza su l'arte*, 3 vols. (Tivoli: Chicca, 1927–1929), vol. II, p. 292; Jean-Marie Bruson (ed.), *Rossini à Paris: Exposition au Musée Carnavalet, 27 octobre–31 décembre 1992* (Paris: Société des Amis du Musée Carnavalet, 1992), p. 125.
28. Such views were, of course, vitiated by early nineteenth-century understandings that all versions known in French already involved significant levels of modification. On the effects of this on *Otello*, see Roberta Montemorra Marvin, “Il libretto di Berio per l'*Otello* di Rossini,” *Bollettino del Centro Rossiniano di Studi* 31 (1991), 55–76; published in English as “Shakespeare and *Primo Ottocento* Italian Opera: The Case of Rossini’s *Otello*,” in Holger Klein and Christopher Smith (eds.), *The Opera and Shakespeare, Shakespeare Yearbook*, vol. IV (Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1994), pp. 71–96.
29. *La France*, 9 September 1844, by Théodore Anne: “M. Benoist devait lui aussi, respecter l’oeuvre du maître, et cependant il y avait dans quelques parties, quelques notes à ajouter au récitatif, pour lier les morceaux entre eux.” (“M. Benoist also has had to respect the work of the master, although there were in some parts a few notes to add to the recitative in order to link the pieces together.”)
30. *La France*, 4 September 1844, by Anne: “L’oeuvre de Rossini a été non seulement respectée par M. Benoist, mais toutes les additions ont été empruntées aux œuvres du maestro, tout, jusqu’aux airs de danse.” (“Rossini’s work has not only been respected by M. Benoist, but all the additions have been borrowed from works by the maestro, all, even the dance music.”)
31. *Le constitutionnel*, 7 September 1844: “M. Benoist avait enfin à composer le divertissement du premier acte. Au lieu de puiser dans son propre fonds, l’auteur de *la Gypsy* et du *Diable amoureux* a préféré nous faire entendre les divertissements de *l’Armida* dont on ne connaissait à Paris que le beau duo: *Amor! possente nume*.” (“M. Benoist had then to compose the ballet music in the first act. Instead of drawing on his own sources, the composer of *La gypsy* and of *Le diable amoureux* preferred to have us hear the ballet music from *Armida*, from which only the fine duet ‘Amor! Possente nume’ is recognized in Paris.”)
32. Ibid.: “Rossini est à Bologne, oubliant toutes ses partitions, dédaignant la gloire, et la traduction d’*Othello* a nécessairement souffert de son absence.” (“Rossini is in Bologna, forgetting all his scores, disdaining glory, and the translation of *Otello* necessarily suffered from his absence.”)

33. Niedermeyer's working score is now Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra (F-Po), A.554.a.I-III.
34. For example, in the Marche, Scène et Cavatine (Edouard's "Pourquoi cesser vos jeux"), the passage in F-Po A.554.a.I, pp. 225–27 (based on *La donna del lago*, no. 6), is in Niedermeyer's hand and effectively scores up the *banda* parts that were originally copied separately. F-Po A.554.a.II, pp. 1–3, gives the Act II Entracte in Niedermeyer's hand with most of the second half excised in brown pencil (this is a rehearsal mark, and therefore done in Paris). The *cor anglais* takes the vocal lines in this version, and a horn is given the *cor anglais* parts.
35. *L'illustration*, 19 January 1847: "Mieux eût valu sans contredit une partition originale: mais quand on n'a pas ce qu'on désire, il faut savoir se contenter de ce qu'on trouve, et un *pastiche* de Rossini nous paraît encore préférable aux œuvres originales de bien des compositeurs."
36. Their reviews appear respectively in the *Journal des débats* and *Le constitutionnel*, both on 3 January 1847.
37. *Louise Miller* and *Le trouvère* are discussed in Hervé Gartioux, "La reception des opéras de Verdi en France entre 1845 et 1867, à travers une analyse de la presse" (Ph.D. diss., Université de Paris III, 1999).
38. This important production is too little known, but see Janet Johnson, "Vieni a veder Montecchi e Cappelletti": Bellini's *Roméo et Juliette*, grand opéra" (paper presented at the international symposium "The Institutions of Opera in Paris from the July Revolution to the Dreyfus Affair," Duke University and University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 24–26 September 2004), and Lajarte, *Bibliothèque musicale*, vol. II, pp. 226–27. The odd spelling of the title of Bellini's opera results from a quotation from Dante's *Purgatorio*.
39. Castil-Blaze incorporated "Di tanti palpiti" into the lesson scene of *Il barbiere di Siviglia* in common with many Italian productions all over Europe; see Mark Everist, "Lindoro in Lyon: Rossini's *Le Barbier de Séville*," *Acta musicologica* 44 (1992), 50–85. Whether the inclusion of "Una furtiva lagrima" in his translation of *Anne de Boulen* for Le Havre in 1835 was personal choice or a wider practice remains to be determined.
40. The last *pasticcio* to be performed at the Académie Royale de Musique before *Robert Bruce* was *Le laboureur chinois*, compiled from works by Haydn and Mozart and arranged by Ludwig Wenzel Lachnith and Henri-Montan Berton. See Peter Revers, "Mozart und China: Henri-Montan-Bertons Pasticcio *Le laboureur chinois*: ein Beitrag zur französischen Mozart-Rezeption des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts," in Rudolph Angermüller, Dietrich Berke, Ulrike Hofmann, and Wolfgang Rehm (eds.), *Bericht über den Internationalen Mozart-Kongreß, Salzburg, 1991*, 2 vols. [paginated consecutively], *Mozart-Jahrbuch 1991 des Zentralinstitutes für Mozartforschung der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum Salzburg* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1992), vol. II, pp. 777–86.