H-France Review Vol. 16 (July 2016), No. 115

Sarah Hibberd and Richard Wrigley, eds., Art, Theatre, and Opera in Paris, 1750-1850: Exchanges and Tensions. Farnham: Ashgate, 2014. vii + 267 pp. Bibliography and index. \$114.95 U.S. (hb). ISBN 978-1-409-43947-9

Therese Dolan, Temple University

Few other cultural forms possess the flexibility that opera has to integrate music, literature, theater, and painting and to stimulate discourse about the effectiveness of their performativity as aesthetic practices. Unlike other art forms that proudly claimed ancient origins, opera originated around 1600 in Italy in combinations of poetry, dance, and music staged in lavish productions to celebrate weddings, to enliven civic celebrations, and to provide courtly entertainment. Jean-Baptiste Lully's *Cadmus and Hermione* of 1673 launched opera in France at the court of Louis XIV. The clarity of five-act structures replaced the congested Baroque plots of Italian opera, and French opera evolved into a form of theater that incorporated the musical, dramatic, and visual arts in a lasting but often contentious partnership. Sarah Hibberd and Richard Wrigley's *Art, Theatre, and Opera in Paris, 1750-1850. Exchanges and Tensions* focuses on a crucial period in political and social life where the arts sought not only to support but often to rival one another as they mirrored the territoriality of the French governments and their political regimes.

The mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century in Paris bracketed by the editors of this book experienced tumultuous revolutions in governments and subsequent changes in the arts that defined French culture and nationhood. The thrust of post-Revolutionary individualism and the prioritizing of originality led to competition for critical authority among the arts.

Hibberd and Wrigley's eloquent "Introduction" highlights the growing instability in genre boundaries that in previous eras codified aesthetic and political intentions. If the Opera and the Salon sought to maintain their sovereign images by controlling subject matter and the hierarchy of the arts, the satellite theaters that operated as entertainment venues offered different artistic viewpoints that found a comparison in changing exhibition policies by which artists brought their works to the attention of the public outside of the official walls of the Salon. The essays in this collection seek to highlight key concepts most often by making particular cases visually and thematically emblematic of larger issues.

David Charlton launches the intermedia investigations with "Hearing through the eye in eighteenth-century French opera," in which he tracks the impact that the Paris Opéra designer Jean-Nicolas Servandroni (1695-1766) had on opera scenery. Servandroni decided that stage scenery should no longer serve merely as a backdrop to the actor. He invented the genre of *spectacle d'optique*; instead of a solo organist performing alone multiple instrumentalists played music, composers' names were announced, and illusionistic staging magnified the dramatic effect rather than serving as a static prop behind the actors. Opera's merging of the arts produced a level of aesthetic intensity that surpassed the display of any one of these arts by themselves in their traditional venues. Librettists were cautioned to remain aware of the composer's use of nuanced expressions so that the two arts complemented rather than competed with one another. The dominance of landscape scenery at the Opéra-Comique at the end of the eighteenth century foreshadowed the establishment of the Prix de Rome for landscape in 1816 by the Académie. The

ascendancy of landscape's rise in the academic hierarchy of the genres of painting was due to its ability to arouse feelings in the viewer that were more individually oriented than the didactic messages indicated by history painting. Charlton's essay pulls back the curtain on how the increasing visual display in staging partnered with musical invention to enhance audience engagement.

Mark Darlow analyzes France's prioritizing of eighteenth-century interarts relationships of the visual and musical in his "Nihil per saltum: chiaroscuro in eighteenth-century lyric theatre" by signaling the importance of the French concept of *clair-obscur* for interrogating the links between painting and drama. Analogies made with painting by music dramatists provided them with an enriched conceptual and critical vocabulary to apprehend effects lacking in their field-specific terminology. Darlow skillfully packs a dense amount of information into his chapter as he traces the impact of Roger de Piles's seventeenth-century Dialogue du coloris that introduced the line versus color and intellect versus natural perception debate in the theoretical writings of Denis Diderot, Michel-Jean Sedaine, and Christoph Willibald Gluck. Borrowing the concept of chiaroscuro from painting enabled musicologists to suggest structural improvements in the design of operas to improve intelligibility and dramatic unity. Diderot used the visual metaphor of chiaroscuro to facilitate his clarification of the theatrical genre of spoken drama as distinct from that of comedy and tragedy, navigating the range of emotions to achieve balance between the two dramatic extremes rather than privileging one or the other. The painter's use of nuanced shades to avoid abrupt transitions guaranteed unity. Sedaine urged a balance between spoken and sung movements in the opéra-comique, rejecting the hierarchies of line and color that privileged emplotment over music. Sedaine's advocacy of a variety of tones over nuance argued for a drama that avoided subtle gradation and marked unity in favor of a more diversified range of musical tone and contrast. The suggestive properties of the formal features employed by a painter in the visual re-enactment of subject matter on canvas supplied a motivating metaphor that allowed theorists from another discipline to shape their conceptions of how a genre of drama should be presented and perceived. When Darlow cites a critic of Gluck's reform operas who compares the composer to sixteenth-century Italian masters, I, as an art historian, am left wondering in this instance if the critique was positive or negative. The critic claims that Gluck's music was "akin to painting before Michelangelo and Raphaël had animated and ennobled line, and before Georgione (six) and Titian had taken the understanding of colour and the effect of chiaroscuro to the highest point of perfection" (p. 45). Darlow reads this as positive in that it suggests a renaissance in opera, but one can interpret this as a reference to Early Renaissance art in Italy when naturalistic art was only beginning to emerge or even an allusion to the Gothic style which Giorgio Vasari, author of Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects in 1550, condemned as "monstrous and barbarous." Here the analogy of music with art, though compelling, needs some clarification. Darlow's article efficiently and effectively takes the reader to the point where the frequent cross-references from one art to another enabled needed innovations in genre formation to flourish, and became so naturalized in critical discourse that they were assumed to have conquered the ontological restrictions of their own mode and to have benefited from the aesthetic conditions of the other type.

If music-dramatists, theoreticians, and designers looked to painting for visual and conceptual enrichments, so too did painters avail themselves of the tactical benefits supplied by the ceremony and display inherent in operatic productions. Mark Ledbury's essay "Musical mutualism: David, Degotti and operatic painting" goes well beyond the pedestrian "influence" model of one art form on another to embed his analysis in the vexed intersections of Revolutionary political, social, and aesthetic networks that confronted a generation caught in the rupture between an older regime based on the preservation of class structures and social privilege and a modern one seeking to define its voice in the formation of liberal democracy. Ledbury trains his light on the mutual benefits of the collaboration between Jacques-Louis David, the premier neoclassical master of painting, and Ignace Degotti, who designed opera décor. David portrayed Degotti seated to his left in the curtained alcove in the background of the 1807 *The Coronation of Napoleon* where the two men are appropriately staged as witnesses to the 1804 consecration of the Emperor and the crowning of Empress Josephine. David's painting with its more than one hundred figures, its sumptuous décor, and its dramatic lighting could function as easily on the proscenium at the opera as on the walls of

the Salon. Napoleon's remark when he saw the finished work ("What relief, what truthfulness! This is not a painting; one walks in this picture") indicates the convincing illusionistic partnership that such a canvas and theater held with one another during this period. Ledbury's investigation of Degotti does more than excavate a little-known persona in the vast history of David's associations. He uses the information to challenge us to find new ways of understanding David's imaginative grasp of the visual possibilities of revolutionary public festivity language and opera spectacle to create a compelling image of political and artistic allegory. Ledbury offers a perceptive take on David's transition from the quiet domestic architecture of his 1780s work to the dramatic rocky outcroppings such as the one depicted in the *Leonidas* at Thermopylae begun a decade later as influenced by Degotti's décors. He thus demonstrates the transition of a work from the banality of a painted backdrop to a newly conceived space choreographed to instill in the spectator of the painting an awe and admiration similar to the reaction of theater audiences, thus transporting them from the mundanity of their daily lives into the imaginative escape of theatrical illusions of time and space. Ledbury's cogent observation that it was at the music-drama, rather than at the Salon, that ambitious visual spectacle was most spectacularly on view in the Empire shapes our awareness of past issues. His imaginative reading of Degotti's contribution to aspects of David's 1809 Sappho and Phaon as a parodic "opera buffa" painting stands as an apt finale to a vital episode in the careers of two ambitious creators of visual display.

If the Renaissance theorist Vasari defined "Gothic" as monstrous and barbarous, the term in the age of the Enlightenment kept much of the same inflection as a style opposed to the rationality and order of the classical. As a term used in music, literature, art, and architecture, the Gothic connoted the uncanny, the eerie, the other-worldly, and that which often defied logic. Thomas Grey's essay, "Music, theatre, and the Gothic imaginary: visualizing the 'Bleeding Nun," looks at the productions spawned from Matthew Lewis's 1796 novel *The Monk*, which defined the Gothic genre in English literature. With its highly complex narrative involving ghosts and a pact with the devil, violence, and lust, the work seemed destined for the opera stage during the Romantic era. Grey traces the macabre tale of a ghost who appears every five years and the permutations of this story through stage adaptations. These convoluted plot variations take up a great deal of Grey's text as he illuminates the geography of the Gothic imaginary tale with its German origins. Eugène Scribe's libretto for *La Nonne Sanglante* is finally composed by Charles Gounod and staged in 1854 after remaining unfinished by Hector Berlioz and being passed up by other composers. It thus serves as a mid-point in the century between the original Gothic novel and its cinematic revival in Gaston Leroux's 1910 novel *Phantom of the Opera*, whose appeal continues today in film and on Broadway.

An annual event in Laguna Beach, California, since 1933 has been the Pageant of Masters where volunteers compete for roles in tableaux vivants of great works of art. No matter how varied the theme is from year to year, the pageant ends with a re-enactment of Leonardo's The Last Supper. Not only is this canonical High Renaissance work universally recognized, it also advanced realism in art at the time of its creation through its illusionistic use of the newly discovered art of perspective and psychological intensity of expression, thus making it a fitting visual model for theatrical impersonations. The tableau vivant had a rich heritage in the nineteenth century, with Jacques Offenbach promising tableaux vivants that reproduced the most beautiful subjects of historical painting when he made application to the Minister of State in 1855 for his Bouffes Parisiens. Sarah Hibberd illuminates, in "Belshazzar's Feast and the operatic imagination," the theoretical and historical tissue of the evolution of this hybrid art form during the July Monarchy in Paris. Her test case is John Martin's 1821 painting of Belshazzar's Feast, which was joined with music in three staged works. Martin's apocalyptic dramas appealed to several French writers who seized on the intermedia sensations stimulated by the sight of his paintings. Giacomo Meyerbeer's use of Martin's imagery, with all its political and social reverberations, for the final scene of his 1849 opera Le Prophète offered a powerful metaphor of the tumultuous events of the 1848 revolution and the failed ideals of the Second Republic. Hibberd deftly shapes our awareness of past issues by demonstrating how imagery, music, and theater resonate with each other to engage the spectator in a multisensory extravaganza.

A further significant aspect of theatrical legibility and artistic partnering resides in the realm of costume design. Olivia Voisin, in "Romantic painters as costumiers: the stage as pictorial battlefield," effectively traces for the reader the evolving fortunes of recognition for costume designers in the cultural world. Little concern for historical accuracy in dress occurred before the 1780s in France as the actors had responsibility--and free range--for their own outfits on stage. Painters were hired after 1780 to design costumes for actors and, by the Romantic period, some of the most illustrious names in the Salon, such as Eugène Delacroix and Paul Delaroche, also lent their talents to enhance the visual tone of the production, securing the locale and period style in which the play was set. Through meticulous and often highly scarce documentation, Voisin demonstrates the aesthetic stakes involved for costume designers as the neoclassical and romantic schools of art found their works competing for attention as the leading style of art. Louis Boulanger's career as a painter, lithographer, and illustrator was closely allied to the theater of his time, and through admirable archival research Voisin has identified misclassified and misattributed designs back to this collaborator of Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas, and others. Romantic era costume designers and painters attended to line, shape, and silhouette in creating illusions of historical narratives that through accuracy in color and accessories would transport the spectator into the vivid world of the national historical past rather than the classical subjects drawn from Greece and Rome.

The next three essays feature the role the artist Paul Delaroche played in forming the taste of his time for dramatic scenes borrowed from the stage. The pre-eminent Delaroche scholar Stephen Bann uses his essay, "Delaroche off stage," to advance, as Grey does, the connection between painting in the Romantic era and cinematic technique. Reviews of the painter's early work linked his compositions to staged presentations, and Bann points the reader to the theatrical source of inspiration and identifies Mademoiselle Duchenois (no first name given) as the model for some of the most important female roles in Restoration drama that Delaroche then made into historical canvases. While not being able to make any firmly documented connection between Dumas's gossipy allusion to a love interest by Delaroche, Bann lends credence to the speculation that the artist and actress knew each other. Bann also provides a witty insight into Delaroche's 1834 engraving of Saint Vincent de Paul Preaching before the Court of Louis XIII as populated by Delaroche's artist friends that allowed the artist to recreate a historical episode for the public while at the same time privately tweaking his housemates. Bann ends his chapter with a discussion of Delaroche's The Assassination of the Duc de Guise from 1834, seeing the panorama format as a prelude to panning cinematic technique.

Delaroche's talents as a *metteur-en-scène* found little favor with Théophile Gautier, one of the major drama, art and music critics of his time. Gautier's Salon reports on Delaroche's work rarely missed an opportunity to point out what he perceived to be the specious popularity of the anecdotal paintings that he most often contrasted with those painted by his adored artist Eugène Delacroix. Patricia Smyth uses her intervention, "Performer and spectators: viewing Delaroche," to seek out the roots of audience response to Delaroche's paintings, linking them to the popularity of melodrama. She distinguishes between intellectual and emotional modes of spectatorship in the theater and critical reviews of paintings at the Salon. Awareness of dramatic or artistic technique interfered with emotional engagement whereas an empathic response to the subject obliterated appreciation of the craft of the medium. Nineteenth-century artists often depicted figures in theater loges, looking and being looked at. This led me to think of how well Honoré Daumier's 1859 The Melodrama illustrates Smyth's point as the artist obliterates the features of the actors on stage, retaining only their histrionic gestures, while the caricaturist clearly individuates the reactions of audience members. His numerous witty lampoons of visitors to the Salon vividly capture both spectator modes as connoisseurs hunch close to canvases with their magnifying glass to comment on the quality of color while other befuddled Salon-goers puzzle over the title of a painting in the *livret* and the subject matter on the wall before them. Smyth's analysis provides an illuminating background to such images and explains Gautier's persistent dismissal of Delaroche because the critic addressed his articles to the connoisseurs of form rather than the consumers of theatrical narratives with stereotypical characters who expressed emotional extremes.

The aspect of melodrama in Delaroche's painting is taken up in Beth Wright's essay, "Delaroche and the drama of history: gesture and impassivity from The Children of Edward IV to Marie Antoinette at the Tribunal." She links his work to historiographic writing that urged artists to focus less on a faithful visual reconstruction of an era's furnishings in preference for works that encapsulated a past event and resonated with its relevance for the present. Wright's keen readings of Delaroche's narrative staging of historical events counters the accusation of melodramatic staging by emphasizing the subtlety of characterization such as the ominous presence of the shadow of the executioner at the door in Delaroche's The Children of Edward VII. Instead of the massacre that occurs in Casimir Delavigne's play derived from the same subject, Delaroche recorded the impending doom as the children hear the figure approach the door that has caused the dog to torque its body toward the source of the sound. Wright's deft observation that Delaroche has evoked the poignant vulnerability of the monarchy by means of the intellectual apprehension of a situation rather than in declamatory gestures effectively argues for a renewed sense of history painting that recaptured the past and had equal portent for the viewer in the present. Interiority also marks Delaroche's Oliver Cromwell Opening the Coffin of Charles I, where the artist sanctions the public to decide on Cromwell's guilt or innocence in the execution of the king rather than choosing a definitive solution that forced a moral conclusion. Delaroche's most famous painting, The Execution of Lady Jane Grey, incurred criticism for its alleged failure to hammer home its meaning, again allowing the public to decide on guilt or innocence. Wright credits the negativity of critical response for Delaroche's turn to the theatricality of having disembodied arms reach through a barred window to bless a kneeling Lord in Strafford on His Way to Execution. The scorn heaped on this painting related to its perceived distracted emphasis on gesture rather than narrative. Delaroche successfully returned to the pensive rather than the rhetorical mode in his Marie-Antoinette Before the Tribunal. The queen's refusal to betray any emotion as she is condemned to death infused the composition with profound historical significance as it captured Marie-Antoinette's ultimate acceptance of the role she played in France with all its consequences. The historical and aesthetic context provided by Wright's essay give an enriched and nuanced understanding of Delaroche's imagery.

Melodramatic portrayals and audience reception continue as topics in Céline Frigau Manning's "Playing with excess: Maria Malibran as Clari at the Théâtre Italien." Manning takes the concept of excess in the famed mezzo-soprano Maria Malibran's performance of Fromental Halévy's *Clari* as emblematic of an artist imposing an unwelcome original interpretation on accepted models of costume and vocal style. Malibran's departures from stage directions to willful and unexpected improvisations in costuming and movement affected the narrative in ways that wrenched the story from its moorings in a fixed genre hierarchy and became a showcase for a diva's idiosyncratic style. Malibran's strategy grafted melodrama onto high opera and merged popular and elite forms of entertainment. Cecilia Bartoli's 2008 revival of Halévy's little-known and ultimately unsuccessful opera that saw only eight performances in 1828 was obviously chosen by the present-day mezzo-soprano as a showcase for her own virtuoso style in homage to Malibran. Manning's essay opens a welcome new historical perspective on the strategies of passionately florid singing and outlandish costuming that have now become a staple of many opera productions.

As a fitting closure to this volume, Richard Wrigley's essay, "All mixed up: Etienne-Jean Delécluze and the *théâtral* in art and criticism," delves into the craft of cultural criticism in the press, the main source for an understanding of the impact of discourse on the arts. Criticism is both formative and reflective of the times in which it is written. Wrigley's two-pronged focus on Delécluze and the vexed term *théâtral* gets to the heart of the purpose of this volume with its concentration on intermedia activity. Delécluze's writings on music and painting called for artists to abandon artifice for a close study of nature. Wrigley's short essay contains few quotations from Delécluze and acts as an extension of his sustained analysis in his landmark study, *The Origins of French Art Criticism: From the Ancien Régime to the Restoration*, where he thoroughly tracks art critical writing as symptomatic of political change from the mid-eighteenth century to the 1820s. Delécluze's anxiety about proposed changes to the diapason used at the Opera in 1824 and his chafing against declamatory gestures in painting borrowed from Talma's acting open onto his aesthetic position that coded criticism as a method of political censure.

The strength of this volume lies in its close readings of examples that illuminate a pivotal group of images and ideas as French society underwent the fall of the monarchy, the rise and fall of Napoleon, the Bourbon Restoration, and the July Monarchy. A more than casual familiarity with the conventions of theater, opera, and painting are needed for this volume as the authors often assume deeper knowledge of their fields than a specialist in one or two of the areas under investigation might possess. For example, when David Charlton claims that it had doubtless always been easier to achieve a visual form of exposition in opéracomique, as opposed to other forms of opera, I would have liked a little more explanation as to why this is so. I wished that Thomas Grey, whose work on the complexities of Wagner's operas is a model of clarity, had spent less time recounting plots and more developing the rich nuggets of insight that mark his scholarship but that here tend to get buried in the detail of his contribution. It would also be helpful to have Stephen Bann's book and catalogue on Paul Delaroche handy, as the majority of works he refers to are not illustrated in his chapter. The limits placed on authors for illustrations often hamper the full enjoyment of what is otherwise a volume full of challenging insights.

Like fine impresarios, Hibberd and Wrigley have assembled an impressive cast of authors whose productions strongly illuminate the relationships between social and aesthetic forms. The impressive range of scholarly and pedagogical contexts presented in this volume make it a valuable resource for a thorough understanding of how connecting links between the aesthetic artifact and its historical and social context promoted change across the arts. The strength of the study lies in its close readings that provide a critical framework for interpreting the discursive relays that described, compared, and judged art, theater, and opera in Paris when France wrestled with changing forms of political rule on the European stage.

LIST OF ESSAYS

Sarah Hibberd and Richard Wrigley, Introduction

David Charlton, "Hearing through the eye in eighteenth-century French Opera"

Mark Darlow, "Nihil per saltum: chiaroscuro in eighteenth-century lyric theatre"

Mark Ledbury, "Musical mutualism: David, Degotti and operatic painting"

Thomas Grey, "Music, theatre, and the Gothic imaginary: visualising the 'Bleeding Nun'"

Sarah Hibberd, "Belshazzar's Feast and the operatic imagination"

Olivia Voisin, "Romantic painters as costumiers: the stage as pictorial battlefield"

Stephen Bann, "Delaroche off stage"

Patricia Smyth, "Performers and spectators: viewing Delaroche"

Beth S. Wright, "Delaroche and the drama of history: gesture and impassivity from *The Children of Edward IV* to *Marie-Antoinette at the Tribunal*"

Céline Frigau Manning, "Playing with excess: Maria Malibran as Clari at the Théâtre Italien"

Richard Wrigley, "All mixed up: Etienne-Jean Delécluze and the théâtral in art and criticism"

Therese Dolan Temple University therese.dolan@temple.edu

Copyright © 2016 by the Society for French Historical Studies, all rights reserved. The Society for French Historical Studies permits the electronic distribution of individual reviews for nonprofit educational purposes, provided that full and accurate credit is given to the author, the date of publication, and the location of the review on the H-France website. The Society for French Historical Studies reserves the right to withdraw the license for edistribution/republication of individual reviews at any time and for any specific case. Neither bulk redistribution/republication in electronic form of more than five percent of the contents of H-France Review nor re-publication of any amount in print form will be permitted without permission. For any other proposed uses, contact the Editor-in-Chief of H-France. The views posted on H-France Review are not necessarily the views of the Society for French Historical Studies.

ISSN 1553-9172