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THE FRENCH GRAND OPERA *LA JUIVE* (1835):

A SOCIO-HISTORICAL STUDY

by

DIANA R. HALLMAN

Volume I

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Music in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1995

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Music in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

April 28, 1995
Date

John M. Graziano
Chair of Examining Committee

April 28, 1995
Date

Allan W. Atlas
Executive Officer

L. Michael Griffel
Adviser

M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet

Ora Saloman

Leo Treitler

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

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PREFACE

For all the power it exerted in 19th-century Paris, French grand opera has led a rather feeble existence among 20th-century music historians. Prior to the critical attention of the last two decades, the relative dearth of scholarly works on the genre was undoubtedly a consequence of the post-Wagnerian stigma it carried as an "impure" genre, a hodge-podge of idioms created not by one inspired genius but "manufactured" by a collective group under the sway of a philistine public. With the recent resurgence of the grandiose and the pluralistic--and the general awareness that public art is an enterprise controlled and shaped by a variety of factions and individuals--it is not surprising that grand opera is gaining new attention.

My own attraction to it developed in a stimulating course in 20th-century opera taught by Leo Treitler, in which I became intrigued by the multiple, interdisciplinary approaches offered by the study of opera. My turn to Halévy was triggered in part by the paucity of critical work on this important composer, but my real interest in *La Juive* began as curiosity about its title and its religiously inflected subject. My initial questions about why this opera would have appeared in early-19th-century France, and why it would have captivated French audiences, suggested a wealth of fascinating answers. Basic facts--that its premiere came some forty years after the emancipation of Jews in France and that the composer himself was Jewish--promised to lead to rich and under-explored areas of social and cultural history.

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Research in various archives in Paris, including the Archives Nationales and the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Département des Manuscrits, Département de la Musique, and Département des Imprimés of the Bibliothèque Nationale, revealed a wealth of relevant documents and writings, so rich, in fact, that this dissertation reflects only a portion of them. In Paris, my work was greatly aided by many I wish to thank: Catherine Massip, Nicole Wild, Martine Kahane, Romain Feist, Florence Callu, and the other courteous staff of the Bibliothèque Nationale, whose answers to my queries were warmly and promptly given and who granted permission to use photocopies and photographs of the *matériel* of *La Juive*; Elizabeth Bartlet of Duke University, who generously shared her encyclopedic knowledge, insight, and expertise in French opera and Parisian archives during my stays in Paris and who has served as a careful reader of this dissertation; a number of other American scholars working in Paris, in particular, Steven Huebner, Lesley Wright, and Janet Johnson; and Karl Leich-Galland and Marthe Galland, who share an interest in Halévy and who hospitably welcomed me into their home in the south of France.

I am indebted to the members of my dissertation committee for helping to see this dissertation through to its completion. I would like to thank my adviser, L. Michael Griffel, for his solid, informed, and judicious counsel as well as his buoying words of encouragement; and my readers Allan Atlas, whose prompt, thought-provoking editing helped to push my writing along, and Leo Treitler, whose clear insights helped to check and balance my ideas. I also greatly appreciate the help and input of my other readers, John Graziano and Ora Frishberg Saloman, in addition to

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Elizabeth Bartlet. I have Bartlet, as well as my generous friends Isabelle Lorenz and Mary Hudson, to thank for help with some of the French translations that appear in this dissertation (with their aid, all were done by me, unless otherwise indicated).

The friends and family members who have struggled with me through my long years of doctoral study, and have urged me to press forward towards completion, are many. I would especially like to thank my caring companion, Gordon Hawkins, whose love, patience, and generosity have helped hold me through many rough spots; my friend and former roommate Colette Valentine, whose own hard work as a performer inspired my persistence and whose aid made my first trip to Paris possible; and my dear family, my sister Janice Hallman, my brother Stewart Hallman, and my beloved parents, Anna and Bill Hallman, for their unfailing support.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Volume I

PREFACE iv

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS x

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS xi

Chapter

1. INTRODUCTION 1

Goals of the Study 1

Sources 19

PART I. THE CREATION AND CREATORS OF *LA JUIVE* 28

2. THE CREATION OF *LA JUIVE* 29

Introduction 29

La Commission de Surveillance and le Directeur-Entrepreneur Véron 33

Composer, Librettist, and Contributors 55

The Artistic Collaboration 65

3. THE RAPPROCHEMENT OF *LA JUIVE*'S AUTHORS: LIBERALS, SAINT-SIMONIANS, AND EMANCIPATED JEWS 89

Introduction 89

Eugène Scribe 99

The Halévys 129

Citoyens and *Israélites* 129

Of and Among the Saint-Simonians 174

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PART II. THE JEWISH CHARACTERS OF *LA JUIVE* 189

4. ÉLÉAZAR AND RACHEL AS LITERARY STEREOTYPES 190

Introduction 190

The Dual Identity of Rachel: "La Belle Juive" and "La Chrétienne" 195

Éléazar as Shylock 236

Volume II

PART III. THE RELIGIOUS CONFLICT IN *LA JUIVE* 270

5. THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE AND THE VOLTAIRIAN CRITIQUE 271

6. THE MUSICAL-DRAMATIC INTENSIFICATION OF THE RELIGIOUS CONFLICT 318

The Enhancement of Christian Bigotry and Clemency: The Musical Treatment and Reworking of Act I 319

Jewish Fanaticism and Faith 355

De-emphasis of Love Triangle 410

Change of the Denouement 424

PART IV. THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXTS OF *LA JUIVE* ... 433

7. THE SOCIO-POLITICAL MEANINGS OF *LA JUIVE* 434

Introduction 434

Of Jewish Usury in Early-19th-Century France 439

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Of Intolerance, Fanaticism, and Jewish Identity 469

8. EPILOGUE 498

Appendices 505

A. Chronology of Relevant Historical Events 505

B. Basic Stages of Creation and First Production of *La Juive* 507

C. Excerpt from Journal of Fromental Halévy, 1821-22 509

D. Page from *carnet* of Eugène Scribe, 1812-33 516

E. Initial Pages from Draft Scenario of *La Juive* by Eugène Scribe 518

F. Contract for Libretto of *La Juive* between Eugène Scribe and Louis Véron, 25 August 1833 521

F-1. Transcription and Translation of Contract 524

G. Page from Draft Verse of *La Juive* ("Rachel") by Eugène Scribe 528

H. Transcription and Translation of Records of Payments to Fromental Halévy from Maurice Schlesinger for the Musical Scores of *La Juive* 530

I. Libretto of *La Juive* by Eugène Scribe, 23 February 1835: Title Page, List of Performers, Beginning of Act I 533

J. Full Score of *La Juive* by Fromental Halévy, 1835: Title Page, List of Performers, "Catalogue des morceaux" 536

K. Synopsis of *La Juive* 539

BIBLIOGRAPHY 542

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AN	Archives Nationales, Paris
ARS	Bibliothèque Nationale, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
BN-Mss.	Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits, Paris
BN-Mus.	Bibliothèque Nationale, Département de la Musique, Paris
BO	Bibliothèque Nationale, Département de l'Opéra, Paris

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Ill. 1 Title page of *Chants religieux des israëlites*, ed. Samuel Naumbourg (1847) 157

Ill. 2 Costumes of *La Juive*, 1835, Paris Opéra: Rachel (Cornélie Falcon), Éléazar (Adolphe Nourrit), Eudoxie (Julie Dorus-Gras) (Bibliothèque de l'Opéra) 204

Ill. 3 Diagram from *Collection de mises en scène, rédigées et publiées par M.L. Palianti*: Act II, Scene i, *La Juive* 244

Ill. 4 Stage Set of Act I for the 1835 Production of *La Juive*, Paris Opéra (Bibliothèque de l'Opéra) 278

Ill. 5 Caricature of Nathan Rothschild (1833) by Dantan *jeune* 447

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Goals of the Study

The present study of a central work of the 19th-century Parisian repertoire, the grand opera *La Juive*, is an attempt at a "thick" historical description. By approaching the opera through socio-cultural contexts, by viewing it as an "artifact of culture," I aim to bring multiple levels of contemporary meanings embedded in it to the fore and, reciprocally, to use the work as a vehicle for enriching the general understanding of art, culture, and society in early-19th-century France.[1] With this contextualization of the work, I hope to expose the viability of a genre that has been routinely characterized as an artistically empty, commercially manufactured, and entertainment-oriented art form.

Composed by (Jacques-François-) Fromental (-Élie) Halévy (1799-1862) to a libretto written primarily by (Augustin) Eugène Scribe (1791-1861), *La Juive* had its premiere at the Académie Royale de Musique (i.e., the Paris Opéra) on 23 February 1835. The chronological focus, therefore, is the decade in which the work was born:

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[1]In "The Web of Culture: A Context for Musicology," *19th-Century Music* VII/3 (April 1984), 351, Gary Tomlinson, in light of the influential tenets of cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz, describes art works as "artifacts of culture" which "embod[y] values and suppositions and ideas" of the culture from which they have arisen. Tomlinson acknowledges his debt to Geertz, particularly to *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973).

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the 1830s, during the first years of the July Monarchy. Within this period, I examine a complex of social, philosophical, and political meanings that the opera represented for those who created, approved, directed, and first received the work. Although a "thick" description inevitably entails historical links to prior and future decades, this study does not draw from or present the full historical life of the opera after its premiere season in Paris, since consideration of its long performance history would entail a wide scope of permutations and reinterpretations. The work under consideration is the first-production *La Juive*, as it was developed for and presented at the Académie Royale de Musique, from its premiere through its stabilization as a staged work during its first season of performances.

A fuller historical evaluation would indeed be large since the opera had a long, secure life in the theater. After an auspicious beginning as a commercial and popular success--following Auber's *Gustave III* (1833) and preceding Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots* (1836)--it went on to become one of a handful of standard works that formed the core 19th-century Opéra repertoire.[2] The Opéra relied on it to bring in solid audiences for decades following its premiere: in 1875, it was a featured work at the inauguration of the new Opéra house, the Palais Garnier;[3] in 1886, its 500th

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[2]According to *Gazette musicale de Paris* II/10 (8 March 1835), 84, the first six performances grossed nearly ₣ 60,000 (the journal was prone to exaggerate when promoting a work, however). In a *registre* of Opéra accounts in the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra (BO, RE 38), total receipts for the first six performances are recorded as ₣ 48,669.55; through the end of April most performances brought between ₣ 8,500 and ₣ 9,300 per performance.

[3]On 5 January 1875, the first two acts were given, with the debuts of Gabrielle Krauss as Rachel, Pierre François Villaret as Éléazar, and Gaffiot Belval as Brogni, under the direction of Ernest Deldevez. On 8 January, the full opera was presented, with choreography by Louis Merante and *mise en scène* by Léon Carvalho. See Stéphane Wolff, *Opéra au Palais Garnier*

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performance was given to honor the anniversary of the composer's birth.[4] Like other successful grand operas born in this operatic capital, *La Juive* also had a vigorous life on European stages beyond Paris. From late December 1835 through the autumn of 1836, it premiered in Leipzig, Berlin, Kassel, Frankfurt, Vienna, Brussels, and Budapest, among other cities.[5] An early adaptation was given in London within nine months after the Parisian premiere, on 16 November 1835; various versions of the opera were performed in that capital throughout the 19th century.[6] *La Juive* premiered at the Metropolitan Opera in New York on 16 January 1885, during its

---

(1875-1962), les oeuvres, les interprètes (Paris: déposé au journal *l'Entr'acte*, n.d.), 129-31; *L'Ouverture du nouvel opéra, 5 janvier 1875*, ed. Martine Kahane (Paris: Ministère de la culture et de la communication, 1986), 30, 44; and "Revue musicale--L'Inauguration du nouvel opéra," *Revue des deux mondes* I (1875), 465-70.

[4]The 1886 anniversary performance occurred on 26 May, the day before the composer's birthday. Later performances in Paris include a reprise in 1933.

[5]See the entry for *La Juive* in Alfred Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597-1940*, 2 vols., 2d ed. (Geneva: Societas Bibliographica, 1955), 59; *Gazette musicale de Paris* II/32 (9 August 1835); *Revue musicale* IX/44 (1 November 1835); *Le Ménestrel* III/7 (17 January 1836), III/24 (15 May 1836). *La Juive* was also performed during this period in Rouen, Lyon, Marseille, Toulouse, Aix-la-Chapelle (Aix-en-Provence), and other cities in the French provinces.

[6]The version given 16 November was adapted by J.R. Planché with music arranged by Thomas Simpson Cook, who helped to churn out a number of condensations of popular French operas in London during the 1820s and 1830s; other than *La Juive*, Cook adapted or arranged selections from Boieldieu's *La Dame blanche* (1826), Auber's *Gustave III* (1834), and Hérold's *Le Pré aux clercs* (1834). *Le Ménestrel*, No. 108 (27 December 1835), 4, reported that *La Juive* was performed at Drury Lane without "some choirs, marches, and dances" and with a happy ending--the saving of Rachel. This performance had been delayed, according to *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* II/45 (8 November 1835), 362, because the soprano contracted to sing Rachel had not learned her part. How close London performances were to the first-production Parisian *La Juive* cannot be deduced without further study, but random press reports suggest that the opera was altered drastically. The 1850 *La Juive*, for example, was sung in multiple languages; P.A. Fiorentino, in *Les Grands guignols* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1872), 283, referred to it as "La Juive des quatre nations" and "la tour de Babel."

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second season, as one of a group of French operas introduced into the repertoire during the company's first years under Leopold Damrosch.[7] After lapsing from the Met's turn-of-the-century repertoire, it reappeared in a new production featuring Rosa Ponselle as Rachel and Enrico Caruso as Éléazar on 22 November 1919; it was performed regularly during the 1920s, with its fifteenth and final season of performances coming in 1935-36.[8]

My discussion centers on the opera's Jewish characterization and its controversial dramatic subject of religious conflict, a subject related to that of *Les Huguenots*, a work begun before *La Juive* but completed and performed a year after. Yet the conflict in *La Juive*--described by Ernest Newman as "the eternal antagonism of Christian and Jew"--is perhaps more historically intriguing than the Protestant-Catholic opposition of *Les Huguenots*.[9] In today's ethnicaliy conscious age, we are drawn to understand the social connotations embedded in a work with such a title and

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[7]At the premiere, with a cast that included Amalia Materna as Rachel and Udvardy as Éléazar, there was an interpolation of "Robert, Robert toi que j'aime" from *Robert le Diable*, sung by Marie Schröder-Hanfstängl. During the 1884-85 season, other French operas that premiered were Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* (28 November), Auber's *La Muette de Portici* (29 December), and Boieldieu's *La Dame blanche* (12 March); *Les Huguenots*, *Robert le Diable*, and *Le Prophète* had appeared the previous season. *Annals of the Metropolitan Opera: the Complete Chronicle of Performances and Artists*, 2 vols., ed. Gerard Fitzgerald (New York: Metropolitan Opera Guild; Boston: G.K. Hall, 1989), 1, 11-12.

[8]The role of Éléazar quickly became known as one of Caruso's most effective and favored roles. It was also the last role he performed. After suffering a hemorrhage while singing Nemorino in *L'Elisir d'amore* on 11 December 1920, he made his final career appearance in *La Juive* on Christmas Eve, 1920 (*Annals*, 297). (A portrait of Caruso as Éléazar hangs in the Metropolitan Opera House at Lincoln Center.) See letters of 22 September 1920 and 23 November 1920 from Caruso to Emilia Tibaldi Niola discussing his roles, including that of Éléazar (Pierpont Morgan Library, Mary Flagler Collection: Koch 758, Box 102).

[9]Newman, *More Stories of Famous Operas* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), 323.

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subject. With our hindsight knowledge of the tragedies of the Dreyfus Affair and the cooperation of the Vichy government in Jewish deportation during World War II, the plot of *La Juive*, which intertwines vitriolic Catholic-Jewish confrontations with the star-crossed love of a Jewess and a Christian prince, piques our curiosity about its possible resonance with social, political, and religious issues in early-19th-century France.[10]

The work's title, subject, and characterization also raise questions about the possible effects anti-semitism may have had on the work's early reception, particularly in light of the blatant anti-semitism of a later age. The well-known anti-semitic composer Vincent d'Indy (1851-1931) characterized the era of *La Juive* at the Paris Opéra as "la période judaïque" in his pedagogical work, *Cours de composition musicale*.[11] D'Indy identified it in this way because of the many composers of Jewish heritage who succeeded on the Opéra stage (including Halévy, Meyerbeer, and Auber), but also to describe what he considered to have been their unprecedented and aberrational concern for profits over art.[12] The composer continued his attacks in *Richard Wagner et son influence sur l'art musical français*, claiming that the "heavy

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[10]An 1989 production of *La Juive* in Bielefeld, Germany, made the obvious connection to 20th-century politico-religious antagonisms in its use of soldiers costumed in Nazi uniforms. See Rolf Fath, "Bielefeld," *Opéra International* (November 1989), 39-40.

[11]*Cours de composition musicale*, 4 vols. (Paris: Durand & Cie, 1950), III, 104.

[12]*Ibid.* D'Indy wrote about the "aberrations" of this period in which artistic success became "un moyen de fortune" ("a means of fortune"): "On *exploite* une oeuvre, comme une affaire industrielle ou commerciale, par les droits d'auteur [...]. En somme, l'argent devient le but final de l'art." ("A work is exploited, like an industrial or commercial affair, by the rights of author [...]. In sum, money becomes the ultimate goal of art.")

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hand of Judaism" had held back the progress of French music and contributed to its "bastardization."[13] Among the composers responsible, d'Indy again included Halévy, but he also added Scribe, "the most obvious source of all the outlines on which the Hebrew musicians have stamped their formulas."[14] D'Indy's label and discussions of grand opera, as well as the generally negative 20th-century views of it, raise the possibility that specific and general Jewish associations may have at least subtly affected the historiography of the work and of grand opera as a whole.[15] Although d'Indy's views are extremist, they do not seem to be singular in their implied link between grand opera and anti-Jewish sentiment. Rossini's often-repeated quip (probably apocryphal) about why he renounced opera composition after 1829 also hints of anti-semitism: when asked why he had not composed any operas after *Guillaume Tell*, Rossini purportedly answered that he was "waiting until the Jews have finished their Sabbath."[16]

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[13]Paris: Delagrave, 1930. Cited in translation in James H. Johnson, "Antisemitism and Music in Nineteenth-century France," *Musica Judaica* V/1 (1982-83), 83.

[14]*Ibid.*

[15]See, e.g., Donald Jay Grout, *A Short History of Opera*, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947), 311, who wrote, among other assessments: "Musical forms and idioms were mingled in a confused eclecticism, the sole object of which was to dazzle the great mixed popular audiences of the time, who demanded thrills and for whom the aristocratic restraints of the eighteenth century had no meaning."

[16]Weinstock, *Rossini*, 166, notes that the anecdote was reported undocumented and undated in Charles de Boigne, *Petits mémoires de l'Opéra* (Paris: Librairie nouvelle, 1857). Boigne claimed that Rossini had given this answer when directors in Bologna pleaded with him to return to opera composition. Weinstock validates the anecdote by speculating that it may have occurred in the early 1830s and, if so, would have referred to Meyerbeer only; if later, it would have referred to other Jewish composers, including Halévy and Offenbach.

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In my discussion of the dramatic subject, I demonstrate how the opera's portrayal of Judeo-Catholic conflict reflects the political and philosophical liberalism that was predominant in the early years of the July Monarchy, embodied in literature and drama, as well as in the humanist, reform-oriented ideologies of its authors, and accepted by the director and governmental representatives who approved the work and who may have affected its development. Fundamental to its message is the polemic, central to French thought since the 18th century, between the principles of individual liberty and human rights and the principle of authority--namely, authority emblematic of the absolutist *ancien régime* and of the Catholic Church inextricably linked to it.[17] Although the treatment of authority is somewhat ambiguous, I view the opera as primarily a critique of the intolerance, despotism, and fanaticism of political and religious institutions--themes prominent in Voltaire's writings that gained renewed force in France following the imperialist actions of Napoleon and the return to Bourbon rule under Louis XVIII and Charles X.[18] Integral in this dramatic commentary is the opera's use of Jewish characters as symbols of social, political, and religious oppression.

The opera's Jewish elements reflect more than an anti-authoritarian message, however. Other levels of meaning are revealed by setting these elements--including characterizations of the central figures Éléazar and Rachel, the presentation of a

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[17]See George Brandes's discussion of the principle of authority in relation to the literature of the counter-revolutionary period in France, in *Main Currents in Nineteenth Century Literature*, 6 vols. (New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1975), III, 1-5.

[18]See Appendix A for a chart of events in French history relevant to this dissertation.

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Passover service, the religious confrontations, and the judicial murder of the Jews--in light of contemporary social tensions and ambivalences about Jews in French society. The July Monarchy has been recognized by historians as the first era in which Jews won absolute legal equality in France, after having been granted emancipation and citizenship in 1791, but without full legal rights. Yet the position of the Jew in the social structure of France was still somewhat precarious. Despite the prevailing liberal climate, vestiges of anti-semitism remained, with old fears of Jewish usury resurfacing as the financial clout of Baron James de Rothschild (1792-1868) and other banking notables grew more powerful. Ambiguities about the national-religious identity of Jews continued unresolved, with attitudes perhaps becoming both more ambiguous and more polarized within the outwardly tolerant environment. Orthodox Jews, who in 1791 had opposed emancipation for its threat to Jewish nationality, endorsed civil and military union with Christian citizens while still insisting on complete religious separation. Yet reform-minded Jews, many of whom were the first generation to benefit from education in the nation's colleges and universities, pressed for full integration into French Christian society, while seeking ways to make their faith and identity compatible.

Although the opera's Jewish characters are partially drawn on the literary stereotypes of the persecuted and persecuting Shylock and his beautiful daughter, they are linked to contemporary social images which correspond with the same stereotypes. The presentation of Éléazar as a vengeful *fanatique* and *hérétique* touches on the Shylock stereotype as it alludes to contemporary views of the Jew as pariah. While

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commenting on Jewish oppression, following somewhat in the tradition of Voltaire and Rameau's *Samson* (1732) and Voltaire's *Mahomet* (1742), the opera presents the two opposing factions ambiguously, thus moving beyond a tale of oppressed Jews and Christian oppressors to a more universal story of intolerance.

The search for social and cultural meanings in French grand opera is not entirely new. William Crosten's *French Grand Opera: An Art and a Business* (1948), which helped establish the standard view of French grand opera as primarily a commercial art form, engages in sociologically inspired interpretations.[19] The most provocative large-scale study of recent vintage is Jane Fulcher's powerfully argued book *The Nation's Image: French Grand Opera as Politics and Politicized Art* (1987), which she describes at the outset as a "cultural history" whose subject matter is "a set of interacting theatrical, political, and aesthetic phenomena."[20] However, as reflected in the title, her concentration is on the political. Carl Dahlhaus, stating that the contemporary Zeitgeist called for a "fusion of art and politics," refers to Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots* and *Le Prophète* as "musicopolitical concoction[s]."[21]

The socio-political implications of *La Juive*'s subject have also been addressed, although in a cursory manner. In addition to references to its subject of religious

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[19]New York: King's Crown Press, 1948.

[20]Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1. Also see her articles "French Grand Opera and the Quest for a National Image: An Approach to the Study of Government-Sponsored Art," *Current Musicology* XXXV (1983), 34-45; "Meyerbeer and the Music of Society," *The Musical Quarterly* LXVII/2 (April 1981), 213-29.

[21]*Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 114-15.

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conflict in Ernest Newman's critique and other early literature, brief discussions of the opera's social relevance are offered by Crosten and Fulcher, as well as by Karl Leich-Galland and Hélène Pierrakos in *L'Avant-scène*.[22] In the examination of French grand opera as a whole, Crosten and Fulcher offer the strongest background for considering the meanings of individual operas within socio-historical contexts.[23] Although Crosten and Fulcher diverge on many points, they converge on one large idea: that grand opera was intended to stir its audiences with the topical resonance of its subjects and the visual power of its presentation. Crosten's concentration on the commercial aspects of grand opera belongs to standard historical evaluations of the July Monarchy which, as historian Christopher Greene notes, have routinely maligned it "as a materialistic, unprincipled and socially repressive regime dominated by financial elites who justified their self-interest with the rhetoric of individual

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[22]Karl Leich-Galland, "La Juive," *L'Avant-scène: Opéra* C (July 1987), 32-87; Hélène Pierrakos, "Chrétienté, judaité et la musique," *Ibid.*, 20-23. Also see Leich-Galland's introduction to Marthe Galland, *La Juive, Opéra en cinq actes d'Eugène Scribe, musique de Fromental Halévy: Texte établi par Marthe Galland* (Saarbrücken: Musik-Edition Lucie Galland, 1990), viii; Alexander Gruber, "Gang der Handlung," *Halévy, Die Jüdin*, program booklet for the production of *La Juive* of Bühnen der Stadt Bielefeld, ed. Heiner Bruns (Bielefeld: Kramer Druck, 1989), 16-29.

[23]M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet generally refers to grand opera's use of provocative subjects in her article "Grand opéra," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 4 vols., ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1992), II, 512-14. See also Rey M. Longyear, "Political and Social Criticism in French Opera, 1827-1920," *Essays on Bach and Other Matters: A Tribute to Gerhard Herz*, ed. R.L. Weaver (Louisville: University of Kentucky Press, 1981); Sonia Slatin, "Opera and Revolution: 'La Muette de Portici' and the Belgian Revolution of 1830 Revisited," *Journal of Musicological Research* III (1979), 45-62, and other publications listed in Anselm Gerhard, "Die französische "Grand Opéra" in der Forschung seit 1945," *Acta musicologica* LIX/3 (1987), 220-70.

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liberalism."[24] In Fulcher's challenge to Crosten's view that the Paris operas of the 1830s were produced to titillate but not threaten their conventional bourgeois audiences, she emphasizes the political bases of grand opera subjects in relation to the government which subsidized the Académie Royale de Musique.

While the roles played by the Opéra administration should be evaluated, more significant to this study is a consideration of the artistic goals of the authors themselves in order to get a better sense of their responsibility in shaping the messages that the Opéra might have conveyed to its audiences. It is probable that, in this moment of comparative laissez-faire governmental supervision, librettists, composers, and other contributors felt at greater liberty to create works in compliance with their own philosophies. Consideration of these can cast light on the driving forces behind the development of the subject and help to determine whether Scribe, Halévy, and others merely adapted their work to fit the overt or unspoken expectations of the Opéra Commission, the director, or perhaps the Parisian press, or whether they were guided by their own beliefs and attitudes.

Of those who shaped the drama of *La Juive*, I focus primarily on the librettist and composer: Eugène Scribe, who conceived and wrote the libretto (at least to the point at which the composer set it), and Fromental Halévy, who, in addition to bringing the drama to life in musical form, contributed to the text of the opera. I also consider Léon Halévy, the composer's brother and philosophical "soulmate," who

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[24]"Romanticism, Cultural Nationalism and Politics in the July Monarchy: The Contribution of Ludovic Vitet," *French History* IV/4, 487.

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collaborated on textual revisions. What is revealed by exploring the attitudes of these men is a true political-philosophical accord: all held to liberal, humanist, republican ideals that had gained renewed strength in opposition to the Restoration Bourbons and to aristocratic and clerical elites, leading to the Revolution of 1830 and installation of the "Philosopher-King" Louis-Philippe. Scribe and the Halévys came of age as part of the "Generation of 1820" that condemned the old Voltairian nemeses: despotic governments or institutions that sought power through the curbing of individual liberties. Under the Bourbons, this generation had witnessed first hand the fragility of these liberties. In 1820 came the suspension of the popular lecturer Victor Cousin from the University for expression of views deemed threatening by Louis XVIII's regime, followed by the subsequent purge of the University in 1822 and, finally, in 1830, the attempt of Charles X to suspend the Chamber of Deputies in the fateful days of July.[25] Although there were a number of articulate young men of this generation who exhibited royalist leanings and sentimental views on religion during this decade prior to the appearance of *La Juive*, the most influential voices wanted a society and government built on principles of rationalism and justice. They saw the Restoration as a step backward and the Revolution of 1830 as a turn toward a more just society.

It was during the Restoration that Scribe rose to fame as a dramatist. Concentrating on social comedies, he alluded to topical events or issues but refrained

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[25]See discussions in Alan B. Spitzer, *The French Generation of 1820* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); David H. Pinkney, *The French Revolution of 1830* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).

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from being overtly political. But during the 1830s, his dramas grew more serious. Although Scribe did not participate in the Revolution of 1830, and even made statements to show his dislike of governmental upheaval, there are suggestions in his dramatic works, personal and public statements, and his intimate associations that point to an alignment between his own ideologies and the liberal principles that fueled this second Revolution.

The Halévys, as French Jews who were the first generation born after emancipation and citizenship had been won in 1791, viewed conservative, pro-Catholic regimes as naturally antagonistic to the civil liberties of Jews and other individuals whose intellectual and religious beliefs stood outside French traditional culture. Like their father, both were admirers of Napoleon for his role in the expansion of the civil rights of Jews, despite his flagrant, despotic attacks on civil liberties as emperor. Both were supporters of the Revolution of 1830 and both wrote works honoring the days of July--Fromental, a choral work, and Léon, poems of tribute.

Of the two brothers, Léon Halévy was clearly the more politically active. An early follower of Saint-Simon (Claude-Henri de Rouvroy, comte de Saint-Simon, 1760-1825), Léon penned numerous essays and dramas imbued with reformist, Saint-Simonian ideals, even after he had formally split from the group in the late 1820s. With a variety of approaches, Halévy attacked intolerance, narrow-mindedness, and oppression in French society of the past and present and lauded the intellectual vision

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and progressive ideas of the 18th-century *philosophes*, of Saint-Simon, and of reformers of the more distant past.

While we cannot assume without further biographical research that Fromental shared the views of Léon, there are many implications of intellectual and political solidarity between the two.[26] Léon described Fromental's associations with the early Saint-Simonians, as well as the lifelong intimacy that existed between him and the composer.[27] The brothers collaborated on other works that also suggest an ideological compatibiiity. Fromental's contribution to a Saint-Simonian encyclopedia later in his life suggests a continuing association with these liberal thinkers; moreover, his bid for political office in 1848 points to convictions beyond those linked strictly to a musical career.

Understanding the opera through an examination of the personal attitudes of its authors also offers insight into the creation of the Jewish characterizations of *La Juive*. The modelling of Éléazar after Shylock, for example, likely represents more than a modish literary borrowing by Scribe; perhaps it signals an absorption of cultural anti-semitism that the librettist himself did not recognize. The acceptance and

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[26]A recently published biography by Ruth Jordan, *Fromental Halévy: His Life and Music, 1799-1863* (London: Kahn and Averill, 1994), may shed some insight on this and other aspects of Halévy's life, but I was unable to consult it during my preparation of this dissertation. I did, however, consult briefly with the author in Paris in 1992; unfortunately, Ms. Jordan passed away shortly after completing her book.

[27]See the correspondence from Fromental to Léon in the Pierpont Morgan Library, Koch 681 (Box 98, Folder 1); Léon's biography of his brother, *F. Halévy: Sa Vie et ses oeuvres* (Paris: Heugel et Cie, 1862), and his tribute *Hommage à F. Halévy. Intermède lyrique exécuté sur le théâtre impérial de l'Opéra-comique, le 27 mai 1864, pour l'anniversaire de la naissance d'Halévy* (Paris: Heugel et Cie, 1864).

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shaping of this character by the composer and his brother reveal a distaste for the old image of the socially separate Orthodox Jew, which reverberates with Léon Halévy's clearly stated assimilationist views.

In the limited 20th-century historiography of *La Juive*, the composer's Jewishness has been viewed as inconsequential to its subject of Judeo-Christian conflict. This view of the seeming irrelevance of Halévy's heritage is undoubtedly linked to a number of factors: first, the Jewish elements of the opera are often seen as merely a patina on a fundamentally conventional operatic plot; second, Halévy as composer, is not considered responsible for the opera's dramatic content; and third, certain facts of Halévy's life have been interpreted as demonstrations of a disregard of his heritage. In her 1953 article in *The Musical Quarterly* on Halévy, Mina Curtiss concludes that the religious conflict is merely a stock operatic situation and irrevelant to Halévy's Jewish identity (or nonidentity), stating that the composer "seems either to have lacked or evaded any awareness of his inheritance, either social or religious."[28] Hugh Macdonald echoes Curtiss's view in his brief *New Grove* and *New Grove-Opera* entries on Halévy.[29] Likewise, in his notes to a 1989 Philips

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[28]Mina Curtiss, "Fromental Halévy," *The Musical Quarterly* XXXIX (1953), 197. See also her biography on Halévy's student and son-in-law, Georges Bizet, *Bizet and His World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958).

[29]"(Jacques-François-) Fromental [Fromentin] (-Elie) [-Elias] Halévy," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 vols., ed. Stanley Sadie (New York: Macmillan, 1980), VIII, 43-46; "(Jacques-François-) Fromental (-Elie) [Fromentin (-Elias)] Halévy," *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 4 vols., ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1992), II, 598-600.

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recording of the opera, he concludes that Halévy "had no strong awareness of his Jewish blood and sought to make no particular statement in setting 'La Juive'."[30]

Even those few who have recognized the contemporary significance of the opera's Judeo-Christian confrontations have offered narrow discussions. Of these, none has linked its subject to the composer. Karl Leich-Galland, who speaks insightfully on the historical relevance of the opera's treatment of Judaism onstage, does not connect this to the composer's heritage. An exception is John Klein's article in *The Musical Times*, which views Halévy's Jewishness as a source of inspiration, particularly "the theme of racial persecution which appealed to some secret spring in Halévy's own complex nature."[31] Klein remarks further that, although the composer "had never been particularly interested in racial traits," he succeeded in creating in the Act II Passover scene "a genuinely Jewish atmosphere, a remarkable feat in 1835."[32] Wagner, who held a lifelong admiration for the composer and the work despite his well-chronicled anti-semitism, also seems to have alluded to the composer's personal connection to the subject matter when he wrote:

> I do not hesitate to say that the essential characteristic of Halévy's inspiration is before all else the pathos of high Lyric Tragedy. Nothing could have been better suited to the type of his talent, than the subject of La Juive. One might almost say that a sort of fatality led the artist's footsteps to this 'book,' predestined to incite him to employment of his every force. It is in La Juive that Halévy's true vocation manifested

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[30]"Grandest of the Grand," notes to the 1989 Philips recording of *La Juive* (CD 420 190-2), 20.

[31]"Halévy's *La Juive*," *The Musical Times* CXIV/1560 (February 1973), 140.

[32]*Ibid.*, 141.

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> itself in a manner irrefragable, and by proofs the most striking and multiple: that vocation is, to write music such as issues from the inmost and most puissant depths of human nature. [...]
>
> As said, it is in La Juive that Halévy disclosed his vocation for lyric tragedy. In attempting to characterise his music, our first duty was to sound its depths: there lies his point of departure; from thence he took his view of musical art. I am not talking of a fugitive passion, inflaming the blood, to die down at once: I speak of that faculty of strong emotion, incisive and profound, quickening and convulsing the moral world of every age. 'Tis it that constitutes the magic element in this score of La Juive, the source whence spring alike the fanaticism of Eléazar--that rage so fierce and sombre, yet sending forth at times such blinding flames--and the dolorous love that consumes the heart of Rachel.[33]

Halévy himself recounted that the subject of *La Juive*, when first described to him by Scribe, deeply moved him:

> C'est par une belle soirée d'été, dans le parc de Montalais, que M. Scribe me conta pour la première fois le sujet de *la Juive*, qui m'émut profondément et je conserverai toujours le souvenir de cet entretien qui se rattache à une des époques les plus intéressantes pour moi de ma vie d'artiste.[34]

Reinforcing the composer's statement, Léon Halévy remembered that his brother wrote the opera "with enthusiasm and passion" and "in a state of feverish anxiety."[35]

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[33]*Wagner: Prose Works*, 8 vols., trans. W. A. Ellis (New York: Broude Bros., 1969), VIII, 179-80.

[34]Jacques-François Fromental Halévy, *Derniers souvenirs et portraits* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1863), 166: "It was a beautiful summer evening in Montalais Park when M. Scribe related to me for the first time the subject of *la Juive*, which moved me deeply, and I shall always keep the memory of this conversation which was associated with one of the most interesting epochs for me in my life as an artist."

[35]Léon Halévy, *Sa Vie*, 26.

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In discussing the complex of social, theatrical, and political meanings of *La Juive*, I will search for clues in the history of the opera's creation--from the formation of Scribe's early dramatic ideas to a stabilization of the work at the Paris Opéra during the premiere season. Of the many developments that took place in this extremely complicated history, I will single out significant changes in plot, in text, and, to some degree, in musical setting, that relate to my theses about the socio-cultural meanings of the work. Only aspects of *La Juive*'s early development pertinent to my arguments will be included. These will be examined with the understanding that it is not always possible to determine the motivations behind the revisions or to offer clear-cut explanations. Undoubtedly, at times there can be varied interpretations, linked to a range of aesthetic concerns, production exigencies, and other extramusical or extradramatic forces affecting authorial decisions. Sources such as journals, day books, or letters of Scribe or Halévy which could provide hard evidence for why the work developed as it did or offer a step-by-step tracking of the genesis have not surfaced.[36] Certainly there is nothing comparable to Meyerbeer's journals, with their daily reporting of his progress, or the correspondence between

[36]One undated letter from Halévy to "le Directeur" which reports that he will complete the first act on the 15th and "tout" by the end of the month may or may not refer to *La Juive*. I have not seen the actual letter, but only a reference in the Bibliothèque Nationale's list of letters that were available for sale by various dealers; it is shown as selling for F 470 in 1980 by the Libraire de l'Abbaye and is presumably in a private collection. At present there is no published collection of Halévy letters, but Marthe Galland is at work on an edition of selected letters of the composer.

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Meyerbeer and Scribe, necessitated by their geographical separation.[37] There is, however, solid evidence in the manuscript sources of *La Juive*, archival documents, and press reports that casts light on the transformation of the dramatic subject and its musical setting.

Sources

Extant sources that document the various permutations of the libretto of *La Juive* before and during the premiere season include:

1) a draft scenario in the hand of Scribe (BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22502/2°);

2) notes and fragments of draft verse, including "Notes d'après le partition" in an unknown hand (BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22502/1°, and n.a.fr. 22543);

3) draft verse of Acts IV and V in the hand of Scribe (BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22502/3°);

4) draft verse of all acts in the hand of Scribe (BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22562, *Vade mecum*, 1833-36);

5) a complete fair copy of one version of the five-act libretto by a copyist (AN, AJ[13]202);

6) partial fair copies, including Act IV and two different versions of Act V by the same copyist (BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22502/4° and 5°);

7) a copy of the printed libretto dated 18 February 1835 (AJ[13]202);

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[37]Giacomo Meyerbeer, *Briefwechsel und Tagebücher*, 4 vols., ed. Heinz Becker (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1960-84). This and other sources allowed Armstrong, in "Meyerbeer's *Le Prophète*: A History of its Composition and Early Performances," 4 vols. (Ph.D. diss., The Ohio State University) (Ann Arbor: UMI Press, 1990), to date a good part of the early development of *Le Prophète*, which took place over a much longer period of time than *La Juive* because of delays in bringing it to the stage.

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8) a copy of the printed libretto dated 23 February 1835, the date of the premiere ($AJ^{13}202$);

9) a copy of the second-edition printed libretto published by Jonas, dated 1835, with hand-written revisions ($AJ^{13}202$).

Sources for both music and libretto are:

1) the two-volume autograph manuscript housed at the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra in Paris (BO, A509a, vols. I-II);

2) musical sketches and fragments (BO, Rés. 135(1) [Act IV]; 𝄢4387 [Act II]);

3) the performing parts copied and used for the first production at the Paris Opéra, as well as for subsequent productions up to the 1870s (BO, Mat. 19ᵉ[315, 1-183, 231-68, 479, 505-40, 547-48, 551-607)[38];

[38]There are 607 numbered items in Mat. 19ᵉ[315, with a few instances of items not numbered by the archivist. Most are orchestral, choir, and solo parts. Among the manuscript partbooks associated with the first production, which can be identified by means of paper and watermarks, the hands of Leborne and his copyists, names of singers and instrumentalists, and correspondences with the autograph manuscript, there are also short scores for the *régisseur du chant* Jean-Madeleine Schneitzhoeffer (1788-1852), the *violon principal* (and conductor) François-Antoine Habeneck (1781-1849), and the ballet master Filippo Taglioni (1777-1871). The short scores prepared for Halévy, the *chef du chant*, as well as the prompter (*souffleur*), appear to be lost. The items that I am not considering as sources are those entirely from a later era: Nos. 184-230 are later printed parts on non-watermark, non-rag paper, with machine-ruled staves and a blind stamp of Lard, a stationer not operating in the 1830s. These parts appear to have been used from the early 1880s to at least 1903, as suggested by dates written on various leaves by orchestral players. Nos. 331-459 are printed parts used for a commemorative program celebrating the anniversary of Halévy's birth, the "couronnement du buste d'Halévy" and the 500th performance of the opera on 26 May 1886; these include selections from *Charles VI* and *La Reine de Chypre* and were most likely used in conjunction with Nos. 184-230 of *La Juive*. Nos. 460-78 and 480-504 represent another series of printed parts, uniformly bound and bearing the stamp of the publisher Lemoine and plate numbers M.S. 2001 (Schlesinger no.) and 4502 HL (Lemoine no.). These parts contain alterations that appear to correspond to a copy of a piano-vocal score (Lemoine pl. no. 4502 HL) identified as the *souffleur* copy, A509c, as well as clues to length and content of late-century performances. Nos. 541-46 and 549-50 are partbooks fully copied at one sitting on non-watermark paper of an era later than that of the first production of *La Juive*. The majority of the performing parts used as sources contain variants introduced after the first production, as indicated by newer papers, the appearance of names of singers and orchestral players of later periods, and dates written in by singers or players. The

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4) the archival score A509b, vols. I-VI;

5) the first-edition piano-vocal score published by Maurice Schlesinger c. August 1835, edited by F. Hiller (plate no. M.S. 2002);

6) the first-edition full score published by Schlesinger c. August 1835 (plate no. M.S. 2000);[39] and

7) the printed score of the overture published by Schlesinger in late 1835 or early 1836.[40]

The 1835 Schlesinger full score is widely available in facsimile in the Garland series *Early Romantic Opera* (hereafter referred to as *Schlesinger-Garland*).[41] The Schlesinger piano-vocal score can be found in a number of reprints by the publisher Lemoine. For this study, I consulted a non-dated Schlesinger-Lemoine edition (hereafter *Schlesinger-Lemoine*), which proved to be a replication of the 1835 Schlesinger publication edited by Hiller, found in the Music Division of the

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appearance of dates as late as 1879 suggests that these manuscripts served the Paris Opéra for decades following the first production.

[39]The first advertisement for a full score and orchestral parts that appears in the music journal edited by Schlesinger, *Gazette musicale de Paris*, is found in the 9 August 1835 issue, II/32, 268.

[40]This overture does not appear in the Schlesinger full score. A copy of a Schlesinger edition published in Berlin is available at the Library of Congress: *Ouverture à grand orchestre de l'Opéra: La Juive (Die Jüdinn) composée par F. Halévy* (Berlin: Schlesinger, [183?]) (S. 2012).

[41]*La Juive: Libretto by Eugène Scribe, Music by Jacques-François Halévy*, 2 vols. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1980). A partial copy of the Schlesinger edition (Acts 3-5) is available at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Département de la Musique: *La Juive: Opéra en cinq actes, paroles de M^r. E. Scribe, musique de F. Halévy, à son illustre maître et ami L. Cherubini [...], représenté pour le première fois à Paris, sur le théâtre de l'Académie Royale de Musique le 23 Février 1835* (Paris: Maurice Schlesinger, 1835) (M.S. 2000).

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Bibliothèque Nationale.[42] Also available is a modern edition of the full score by Karl Leich-Galland, which the editor compiled from the bound autograph manuscript and the Schlesinger piano-vocal score, concluding that these sources represent the definitive *La Juive*.[43] Because the 1835 Schlesinger full score omits material found in the autograph and piano-vocal score, Leich-Galland defines it as the Paris Opéra's "arrangement" of the work.[44] His editorial decisions cannot be easily traced since he has yet to offer critical notes, but it is clear from his two-page preface that he makes a distinction between the opera that Halévy alone intended and the work produced at the Paris Opéra.

The early performing parts used at the Paris Opéra, along with supporting documents, reveal a profusion of rehearsal changes, as well as omissions and variants introduced into the work after the premiere and in subsequent productions at the Paris Opéra during and after Halévy's lifetime. These give insight into the state of the autograph as well as the work's early life on the stage when the composer was actively involved in its production. Secondary textual sources that will not be

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[42]Among the piano-vocal scores available at BN-Mus. is a copy of the Schlesinger edition arranged by F. Hiller, as well as Lemoine editions. Included among the BO collection are two copies designated as prompter (*souffleur)* copies: A509c, mentioned above in n.34, and F2145, Lemoine ed., pl. no. 4504 HL. Leich-Galland, *L'Avant-scène*, 35, writes that the Lemoine editions were exact replicas, "sans changements," of the Schlesinger edition. For a list of other editions of the piano-vocal score, see Elizabeth Giuliani, "Bibliographie," *l'Avant-scène*, 128-29.

[43]*La Juive: Opéra en cinq actes d'Eugène Scribe, musique de Fromental Halévy* (Saarbrücken: Musik-Edition Lucie Galland, 1987); also see the companion edition of the libretto, *La Juive: Opéra en cinq actes d'Eugène Scribe, musique de Fromental Halévy, texte établi par Marth Galland* (Saarbrücken: Musik-Edition Lucie Galland, 1990.

[44]Leich-Galland, *La Juive*, Préface, vii.

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considered include a series of *morceaux détachés* published by Schlesinger in April 1835, before the appearance of the Schlesinger piano-vocal score; these, along with numerous arrangements of selections from the opera, promoted the opera among the public.[45] They are relevant to a more in-depth study of the work's reception than I

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[45]BN-Mus., Vm^2 766. *La Juive, Opéra en 5 actes, paroles de M. E. Scribe, musique de F. Halevy [morceaux détachés]* (Paris: Maurice Schlesinger, 1835, M.S. 2003, 1-18. The numbers listed in the thematic catalog of these *morceaux*, which appear on the cover of each number, correspond to the numbers advertised in *Gazette musicale de Paris* II/13 (29 March 1835) in Karl Leich-Galland, ed., *Fromental Halévy, 'La Juive': Dossier de presse parisienne (1835)* (Saarbrücken: Lucie-Galland, 1987), 108. This advertisement, which announces that the numbers will be available through Schlesinger on 4 April, suggests a late March to early April publication date, as does a bound volume of *morceaux détachés* originally owned by the Conservatoire, BN-Mus., L. 1040. On the cover page of each number contained in the volume is written, "Dépose à la Direction/Avril 1835." (This indication corresponds with an entry in April 1835 (No. 85) in BN's *Régistre du dépot légal*, for "La Juive nos. 1-17, Part. de Piano" published by Schlesinger, although 17, and not 18, numbers are indicated.) A review of the "publication des morceaux détachés" which appeared in *Le Courrier français* on 6 April 1835 (in Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 33) mentions eighteen pieces. The arrangements of these numbers compare generally with those found in the Schlesinger piano-vocal score, but with variants. There is also a later Lemoine edition of these 18 *morceaux détachés* with additional transposed versions, Nos. 5ter, 7bis, 17bis, and 17ter (BN-Mus., Vm^7 6378).

Many arrangements of *La Juive* for piano and other instruments were advertised by Schlesinger in *Gazette musicale de Paris*. Some were offered by him to subscribers with particular issues; for example, "les abonnés" received with the 2 August 1835 issue, "*La Valse* de la *Juive*, arrangée en rondo brillant pour le piano, par Jacques Herz." As yet another promotion of music sales, reviews of several of these arrangements appeared in the *Gazette*, such as the review of Kalkbrenner's "Rondo brillant pour le piano sur la grande marche du cortège de la Juive" and Duvernoy's "Fantaisie brillante pour le piano sur le choeur des buveurs de la Juive" in the 21 June 1835 issue (210-11). Among the many arrangements advertised by Schlesinger from May to September 1835 are: "3 Quadrilles de Contredanses, suivis de valses, pour le piano-forte sur des motifs favoris de La Juive, par J.B. Tolbecque et par Musard"; "Grande Fantaisie pour le piano sur le grand air de Nourrit dans La Juive, d'Halévy, composée par Louis Messemaker. Op. 12"; "Fantaisie pour piano et violon, sur des thèmes de La Juive, par J. Labadens. Op. 7"; "Mosaïque, mélanges des morceaux favoris de La Juive, arrangés d'une manière facile et brillante pour le piano, par C. Schunke; and "Fantaisie caractéristique pour le piano sur le grand trio de la Juive," Op. 40, by Sowinski. The review of the *morceaux détachés* in *Le Courrier français* (Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 33) gives a clear idea that these were intended for amateur use: "Peu de partitions renferment un plus grand nombre de morceaux réservés aux succès de salon et de pupitre." ("Few scores promise a greater number of pieces reserved for success in the salon and at the study desk.")

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am undertaking. *Mise en scène* documents that offer clues to the opera's development and production include Opéra records of *matériel* and disbursements ($AJ^{13}202$), as well as sketches and models housed at the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra (e.g., BO, Esq. 19[91; Esq. 19[Ciceri 14; Esq. 19[Cambon 65; Esq. C.23).[46] A staging manual for *La Juive* representing the first-production opera following its premiere is included in H. Robert Cohen's reprinting of opera staging manuals originally published by L. Palianti.[47] Other sources that help to elucidate data found in the music and text sources include a number of Opéra records:

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[46]*Mise en scène* records for later productions can be found in AN collections, including: $AJ^{13}188$, 201, and 1031. See Nicole Wild's list of sketches and *maquettes* in *Décors et costumes du XIXe siècle*, vol. 1, *Opéra de Paris* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Département de la Musique, 1987), 54-56. Her list includes materials for the first production, as well as later productions.

[47]*The Original Staging Manuals for Twelve Parisian Operatic Premières/Douze Livrets de mise en scène lyrique datant des créations Parisiennes* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1991), 137-50. As suggested by Cohen's title and his editorial commentary, he assumes that the manuals he publishes reflect the operas' premieres. In the case of *La Juive*, the fact that the manual does not include the first scene of Act III set in the apartment of Eudoxie, which was performed 23 February but omitted thereafter, reveals that it was not used for the première. Cohen undoubtedly chose his title to reflect Palianti's title. The manual that Cohen reprints is the same as that found in *Collection de mises en scènes de grands opéras et d'opéras-comiques représentés pour la première fois à Paris. Rédigées, et publiées par M. L. Palianti* (Paris: Chez l'auteur et chez MM. le Correspondants des Théatres, n.d.), [1-14]; see BO, [C 4247(49). The Palianti is a printed manual from his collection which he began in 1837; see BO, [C Pièce 573(9), "Avis" by L. Palianti. As Cohen explains (xviii), Palianti incorporated into the collection some manuals originally published by L. Duverger. It is possible that the Palianti manual of *La Juive* is a reprint of the Duverger publication that appeared a few months after the opera's premiere, as indicated by the entry 23 May 1835 in *Bibliographie de la France* for a Duverger publication of *mise-en-scène* and by an advertisement in *La Gazette musicale de Paris* II/21 (24 May 1835), 180, announcing the sale of *mise en scène*, including "instructions utiles" and "décorations en 5 planches." Prices are included in the advertisement. For a discussion of the contents and intended uses of the Palianti manuals, see Cohen and Marie-Odile Gigou, *Cents ans de mise en scène lyrique en France (env. 1830-1930)/100 Years of Operatic Staging in France* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1986), xxii-xxiii.

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1) BO, RE 235, a *registre* kept by the official Opéra copyist, Ambroise Leborne, that gives data on the copying of the manuscript performing parts;

2) AN, $AJ^{13}289$ and 293, Leborne's invoices that give further information on what was copied and on the extent of revisions;

3) AN, $AJ^{13}287$ and 293, lists of singers, dancers, and orchestral members, 1834-36.

While these various interrelated sources suggest a stabilization of the opera in Paris by the time the Schlesinger full score was completed c. August 1835, they also reveal the difficulty of arguing a case for a definitive and unalterable text. What becomes clear through comparative study of the autograph manuscript, the early performing parts and libretti, the Schlesinger printed scores, and archival documents is an opera that underwent significant changes in dramatic conception and musical setting. Although my interpretation of the early *La Juive* depends somewhat on knowing what changes took place when, I will present only an outlined chronology of the work's early history without the detail and comprehensiveness of Alan Armstrong's admirable genesis study of *Le Prophète* or John Roberts's of *L'Africaine*.[48] As stated above, aspects of the work's development will be used primarily to strengthen my hypotheses about the socio-ideological bases of the opera. A more careful study of *La Juive*'s genesis would undoubtedly clarify the individual contributions of each author (to the extent that these can be determined), although these must always be understood in terms of the nature of artistic collaboration.

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[48]Armstrong, *Le Prophète*; John H. Roberts, "The Genesis of Meyerbeer's 'L'Africaine,'" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1977).

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Based on my examination of these sources, it appears that the Schlesinger full score reflects changes that were made after the first three performances, and perhaps after later performances prior to its publication. Thus, I consider this score representative of a "stabilized version" of *La Juive*, which was collectively decided upon by the composer, librettist, and administration (referred to hereafter as the "stabilized opera").[49]

Other sources, both primary and secondary, include correspondence, memoirs, historical and journalistic essays, works of dramatic and nondramatic literature, and press reviews of 1835 (most of which are drawn from Leich-Galland's *Dossier de presse*).

* * * * *

The dissertation is divided into four main parts, beginning with an examination of the creation and creators of *La Juive* in Part I. Chapter 2 gives an overview of the roles and balance of power among the Opéra's administration, composer, librettist, and two important contributors, as well as an outline of the stages of the work's development. Chapter 3 then explores the ideologies of those who created the opera, linking them to their Zeitgeist and defining an intellectual rapprochement among them that coordinated with the aims of the director and other members of the Opéra administration. Part II centers on the characterization of Éléazar and Rachel, as modelled on literary stereotypes and in relation to contemporary attitudes; Part III

[49]See the following chapter, pp. 82-87, for further discussion.

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discusses *La Juive*'s provocative dramatic subject of religious conflict. Both parts will discuss the dramatic and musical development of the opera's plot and characters, along with its early reception, all of which underscores the socio-political meanings. Although Parts II and III address aspects of the work's context, as related to the philosophical stances of Scribe and the Halévys and to pertinent currents within literary, theatrical, and socio-cultural history in France during the 1830s, a fuller contextualization will be offered in Part IV.

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PART I

THE CREATION AND CREATORS OF *LA JUIVE*

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CHAPTER 2

THE CREATION OF *LA JUIVE*

Introduction

In the multi-texted genre of opera, and particularly of grand opera with its heightened concentration on visual imagery, the compositional process is intricate and complex, involving a range of "creators." In the broadest sense, these could include, besides composer and librettist, all those involved in bringing the opera to the stage. For this era of Parisian grand opera, Crosten gave equal footing to composer, librettist, and scene designer, writing that the "role of the composer in the emergence of grand opera is equal but hardly superior to that of either the dramatist or the *metteurs en scène*."[1] Crosten also acknowledged the *Directeur-Entrepreneur* as a key figure in the creative process, one central to the development of the genre. Dahlhaus echoed Crosten in deeming Louis Véron (1798-1867) a creator who held "astonishingly precise visions of the 'Gesamtkunstwerk' whose spectacular success he calculated."[2] To this collaboration of multiple creators, Fulcher has added the Commission de Surveillance, the government-appointed administrators of the

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[1]Crosten, *French Grand Opera*, 2.

[2]Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 125. Dahlhaus (among other scholars) further reiterated Crosten in designating the scene designer's role as crucial to the artistic whole, stating that "the decorative displays of splendor and pomp [...] of Duponchel's stage machinery were intimately connected with the dramaturgical core of a pictorial genre such as grand opera" (126).

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Académie Royale de Musique, which functioned under the Ministre de l'Intérieur, as powerful voices in setting guidelines and influencing the development of new repertoire.[3]

In this inclusive view of operatic creation, performers who rehearsed and premiered the roles could also be categorized as "creators" or, at least, "contributors." Contemporary writers spoke of singers as "acteurs" who "created" the roles they introduced; moreover, opera composers of this period (including Halévy and Giacomo Meyerbeer, 1791-1864) continued the practice of adapting their lyrical writing to suit the skills and preferences of singers for whom the roles were intended. The tenor Adolphe Nourrit (1802-39), who introduced such roles as Arnold (*Guillaume Tell*), Masaniello (*La Muette de Portici*), Robert (*Robert le Diable*), and Raoul (*Les Huguenots*) at the Paris Opéra between December 1826 and October 1836, went a step further in the creative process by contributing to libretti, music, and staging. Choreographers and dancers were also significant to this genre laden with *divertissements*.

Those involved in the creation of *La Juive*, other than the primary authors Eugène Scribe and Fromental Halévy, included: the *metteur en scène* Edmond

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[3]Fulcher, *Nation's Image*, 2. Opera scholars have increasingly begun to take a broader view of the creative process, emphasizing the "equal importance of librettist, stage designer, performers, and institution," as Mark Everist suggests in "Giacomo Meyerbeer, the Théâtre Royal de l'Odéon, and Music Drama in Restoration Paris," *19th-Century Music* XVII/2 (Fall 1993), 125. M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet, "Staging French Grand Opera: Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* (1829)," *Gioachino Rossini, 1792-1992: Il testo e la scena* (Pesaro: Fondazione Rossini Pesaro, 1992), 626, writes: "The Opéra director, the *machiniste*, the *maître de ballet*, the *maître des choeurs*, the set designer, and even the leading singers all had a say, and in numerous instances their opinions outweighed those of the authors."

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Duponchel (1795-1868), along with the artists Charles Séchan (1803-74), Louis Feuchère (1804-57), Edouard Despléchin (1806-70), and Jules Diéterle (1811-89), who designed the costumes and historical sets; Léon Halévy, who worked with his brother on changes to Scribe's libretto; Nourrit, who is credited with the text of one aria and with the direction of the *mise en scène*; the choreographer Filippo Taglioni (1777-1871); the singer-actors who created the roles; and conductor François-Antoine Habeneck (1781-1849). Besides Nourrit as Éléazar, the principals for the first production were: Nicolas Levasseur (1791-1871) as Cardinal Brogni; Marie-Cornélie Falcon (1814-97) as Rachel; Julie Dorus-Gras (1805-96) as Eudoxie; Lafont (1800-38) as Léopold; and Henri-Bernard Dabadie (1797-1853) as Ruggiero. The Opéra administration, including Véron, the Commission de Surveillance, and the comte de Montalivet, the Ministre de l'Intérieur, affected authorial choices. And finally, to widen the frame of reference, the Parisian press, whose calls for cuts or additions seem to have had a direct result on revisions in the opera, and the Parisian audiences, whose responses in the theater also led to early changes, contributed to the development of *La Juive*.

Although an all-embracing consideration of the opera's creators is beyond the scope of this dissertation, this chapter will address aspects of the administrative-artistic collaboration relevant to my discussions of *La Juive*'s content and socio-political meanings. The premises of both Crosten and Fulcher offer points of departure. While Fulcher notes the importance of artists in realizing the aims of the Académie, she contends that the chief determiners of values and "guiding concepts" in

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the Véron era were the Ministre de l'Intérieur and Commission de Surveillance.[4] She cites the theater's historical link to the monarchy in the 17th and 18th centuries, arguing that the Opéra continued during the era of grand opera as a vehicle of the State and not exclusively as an entrepreneurial venture.[5] By shifting the locus of power that Crosten placed in the director, Fulcher reinterprets basic aspects of the Parisian operas. For example, while Crosten viewed the lavish *mise en scène* of grand opera of the 1830s as reflective of bourgeois sensibilities, Fulcher believes that the brilliance and excess of staging was, as in the time of Louis XIV, an integral part of its essentially political purpose. Its sets and costumes were visual symbols of the power that the Government wanted to project on the stage, in the "nation's image."[6]

Because of the complexities of creating French grand opera, its character and meaning as a "politicized art" should not be interpreted in fundamentally dualistic terms for the sake of a strong polemic--i.e., either as a bourgeois, capitalistic venture or as a propagandistic tool of the government of Louis-Philippe. While it is important to understand the power wielded by the Commission de Surveillance and the Ministre de l'Intérieur, as well as by Louis Véron, the degree of control over content exerted by the artists must not be downplayed. In my discussion of the collaboration of

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[4]Fulcher, *Nation's Image*, 2, 6. Fulcher's commentary focuses on what she terms the "institutional frame" within which composers, librettists, and stage designers worked. Centering her research on official documents housed in the Archives Nationales, Fulcher contends that French grand opera has been gravely misunderstood because of "our crucial misconstrual of the institutional frame," particularly the roles of the Opéra administrators.

[5]*Ibid.*, 4-6. Fulcher's dates for the era of grand opera are 1830-70.

[6]*Ibid.*, 5-7.

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administrators and artists, defined by Fulcher as "the result of a felicitous, indeed remarkable coordination of theatrical conceptions and aims,"[7] I seek a balanced treatment by underscoring the artists' contributions to the shaping of the work's socio-political meanings.

In this chapter, I consider first the roles of administrators, certain administrative guidelines, and the governmental positions on censorship that affected the artistic freedom under which the composer and librettist worked, as well as the balance of power among artists and administration. I also present evidence related to the roles and working relationship of authors and contributors, with a focus on Scribe and Halévy. Finally, to undergird further my later discussions, I include an outline of the basic stages from development of the libretto to performances of the premiere season up to October 1835, when an overture replaced (temporarily) the short introduction that had been performed in the previous months.

La Commission de Surveillance and le Directeur-Entrepreneur Véron

La Juive was the last opera produced under the directorship of Louis Véron, 1831-35, and the last under the aegis of the Commission de Surveillance and Montalivet during the five years without official censorship in France. This lack of formal censorship, which seemingly set a climate of openness in political and artistic expression, affected the balance of decision-making power between Véron and the Commission. The *Cahier de Charges* of 28 February 1831, embodying the promise

[7] *Ibid.*, 68.

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to abolish censorship found in the 1830 Charter of the new government of Louis-Philippe (the July Monarchy),[8] limited the Commission's control, most obvious in its lack of references to administrative oversight of the content of operas. Only in the *Cahier*'s Supplement (30 May 1831) was there a stipulation for the submission of libretti to the Commission for authorization of a work.[9] But submission was required a mere five days before the first performance, seemingly a relaxed prescription considering the long months of preparation and heavy expenditures the Opéra would have undergone by this time. There is evidence that during the Véron years the Commission generally knew of opera subjects shortly after the director's initial approval of them and that Commission members observed at least some of the late rehearsals, the *répétitions générales*, leading up to the premieres. On the one hand, such last-minute approval of the libretto suggests a procedure that was little more than a formality; it would seem unlikely that operas accepted and overseen by Véron would be retracted at the eleventh hour. Yet on the other, circumvention of this requirement by the director was deemed a fineable offense, and, of even greater consequence, repressive censorship was a very real threat.

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[8]Article 7 of the Charter of 7 August 1830 states: "Les Français ont le droit de publier et faire imprimer leurs opinions en se conformant aux lois; la censure ne peut jamais être rétablie." ("The French have the right to publish and print their opinions in conforming to the laws; censorship can never be re-established.") See Odile Krakovitch, *Hugo censuré: La Liberté au théâtre au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1985), 44.

[9]See Article No. 8 of AN, AJ^{13}180 and AJ^{13}187. This article seems to realize the request by the minister Montalivet in January 1831 for a "censure volontaire," which Krakovitch, *Hugo censuré*, 59 ff., defines as a voluntary submission of manuscripts several days before the premiere. According to Krakovitch, the Société des Auteurs viewed Montalivet's request, which came less than a year after the Charter's no-censorship stipulation, as a hypocrisy.

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In the years leading up to *La Juive*, conflicts between Véron and the Commission arose, partly as a result of the loosely stated language of the 1831 *Cahier* and the new government's ambivalence about artistic freedom.[10] The lack of explicitness in the *Cahier* made the Commission eager to define limits and infractions and to impose more control over Véron than he had anticipated at the outset of his directorship, while the director tried to circumvent the Commission's control and to bend even the more explicitly stated rules. According to Fulcher, their adverseness also stemmed from the Commission's role as protector and image-maker of the regime.[11] It appears that Véron challenged this role: letters from the president, le duc de Choiseul (Antoine-Gabriel de Choiseul, 1760-1838), protest Véron's keeping the Commission in the dark about operatic subjects--specifically the subject of *La Juive*--and suggest that Véron exerted more control over content than the Commission (particularly its president) could tolerate. The director's dismissal six months after the opera's premiere, on 15 August 1835, signals even more concretely the administrative struggle.

In the choice of subjects, Fulcher gives most responsibility to the Commission, which sought to redefine the Académie's image to reflect the new values of the July Monarchy: it wanted to project "grandeur" in *mise en scène* and dramatic content as

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[10]Fulcher, *Nation's Image*, 62. Fulcher describes a "collision course" that existed from the beginning of their relationship. See her comprehensive discussion of the Véron period in Chapter 2 ("The Politics of Grand Opera's Rise and Decline"), in which she explores the roles of the Commission de Surveillance and the director, as well as the conflicts and "interplay" between them, particularly in relation to the production of *Robert le Diable* (1831). She reinforces some of her arguments with discussions of *La Juive*.

[11]*Ibid.*, 58-63.

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well as liberal viewpoints in topical historical subjects that would "faire vibrer le public."[12] Fulcher notes, however, that the Commission hesitated from crossing into politically sensitive territory with subjects too incendiary or damaging to the regime. It did not want the Opéra to appear anachronistic, but it also feared that works critical of authority could be turned back on the present government. Therefore, the Commission was keen not to allow a work capable of "unleashing the passions," as *La Muette de Portici* had unexpectedly done, yet it wanted subjects more substantive than that of *Robert le Diable* (based on a libretto reworked from one originally intended for the Opéra-Comique).[13] The libretto developed by Scribe after *Robert* was *Les Huguenots*, but difficulties in Meyerbeer's schedule delayed its coming to the stage until 1836, over four years later. With the political overtones of this religious conflict drawn directly from French history, the Académie certainly revealed a willingness to take on controversial subjects, but ones critical of past Bourbon regimes. Here it was that of Catherine de Medici and Charles IX, who had long been linked with the event that served as backdrop to the opera's plot, the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Eve.[14] The large-scale work following *Robert* was *Gustave III, ou le bal masqué* (1833), which also embodied liberal attitudes: it focuses on an enlightened leader who was a

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[12]*Ibid.*, 60, 18-22, 79.

[13]*Ibid.*, 76.

[14]See the discussion of *Les Huguenots* in Chapter 3, pp. 120-21.

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lover and protector of the arts, seemingly a reference, and perhaps an encomium, to Louis-Philippe as "Philosopher-King."[15]

Because of the complexity of the director-Commission relationship, Crosten's interpretation of the Opéra of the early 1830s as the realm of the omnipotent Véron is a valid one. Owing to the liberal conditions of the 1831 *Cahier de Charges* and *Supplément*, as well as Véron's seeming success at circumventing the Commission's power, the director's motivations for bringing *La Juive* to the stage warrant consideration. While Véron's commercial savvy has been well established, his own intellectual and political viewpoints have rarely been deemed noteworthy.[16] An exploration of these in relation to *La Juive* is particularly intriguing since the opera was the last work produced by Véron before he was dismissed by the Commission. Véron undoubtedly made choices based on what he sensed would be successful at the Opéra, and thus would have been influenced by the attitudes and expectations of both the Commission and Opéra audiences. But, it is also likely that he was inclined to accept works that resounded with his own philosophy.

The depiction of Véron as the chief administrative power was advanced by the director himself in his often-quoted *Mémoires*, written thirty-odd years after his stint

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[15]The "enlightened" aspects of Gustave's character are more evident in *Gustave* than in Verdi's *Un ballo in maschera*. Smaller-scale works performed before *Gustave* were the ballet ("avec choeurs") *La Tentation* (1832) by Cavé, Duponchel, and Halévy; and *Le Serment* (1832) by Scribe, Auber, and Ciceri.

[16]Crosten, *French Grand Opera*, 4, viewed his entrepreneurial concern for profits as the main determinant of the aesthetics and the subject matter of grand opera. Fulcher, *Nation's Image*, says little about Véron's political positions; instead, she, like Crosten, focuses on the capitalistic, pragmatic elements of his directorship.

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at the Académie. In defense of the manner in which he ran the Opéra, Véron spoke of himself as a "general who commands an army" with complete control: "Pendant ma direction, j'ai toujours regné et gouverné seul l'Opéra."[17] But he also portrayed himself as a diplomat who made few unilateral decisions.[18]

In relation to operatic content and presentation, Véron claimed that he carefully studied the scenario and libretto before authorizing a work and actively made decisions about the work's development and choice of singers. Almost immediately after taking the post, for example, he read the libretto of *Robert le Diable* and was struck by the "grandeur" and "originality" of the subject as well as the interesting roles; after careful reflection, he submitted "several important observations" to Scribe, Germain Delavigne, and Meyerbeer.[19] The most important, he elaborated, was his suggestion to give the role of Bertram to the bass Levasseur rather than the baritone Dabadie. According to Véron, Meyerbeer readily accepted his suggestion and transposed the role for Levasseur.[20] As further proof that he "studied" his singers and involved himself in role assignment, he refused Meyerbeer's

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[17]Le Dr. L.[ouis] Véron. *Mémoires d'un bourgeois de Paris, comprenant la fin de l'empire, la restauration, la monarchie de Juillet, la république jusqu'au rétablissement de l'empire*, 6 vols. (Paris: Librairie Nouvelle, 1857), III, 162, 195: "During my direction, I alone always ruled and governed the Opéra."

[18]*Ibid.*, 162, 167. For example, he explains that when the ballerina Marie Taglioni refused to dance in *Robert le Diable*'s famous scene of the Debauched Nuns, he granted her permission only after receiving Meyerbeer's approval. Because Véron leaned toward self-aggrandizement, and because his descriptions represent only his side, his assessments should be not be accepted without question or without weighing them against other evidence.

[19]*Ibid.*, III, 151.

[20]*Ibid.*

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request for the German singer Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient (1804-60) to perform the role of Alice because she pronounced French "très-mal."[21] In the final days before a work's premiere, Véron described overseeing the "dernière séance inévitable" with composer and librettist(s) to decide collectively on cuts and suppressions.[22]

Significant to one's understanding of the administrative-artistic rapport (or lack thereof) is the apparent mixture of conservative and liberal ideologies among the governmental appointees who made up the Commission. Fulcher describes these appointees, who represented elite circles within the new government, as watchdogs of the regime's interests against the director. But it is noteworthy that the most important appointee, the president Choiseul, had been associated with several governments, including the pre-Revolutionary *ancien régime*. He had been imprisoned as a counterrevolutionary during the Revolution, exiled from France under Napoleon, but welcomed back during the Restoration. During this latter period, Choiseul became increasingly powerful and popular as a member of the Chamber of Peers and was appointed to the provisional government at the end of the Restoration. In addition to his appointment as Commission president within Louis-Philippe's

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[21]*Ibid.*, III, 48, 151.

[22]*Ibid.*, III, 162. Véron describes the resistance from each participant to change or suppress any part of their work at such a meeting (see p. 72 below).

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regime, he was chosen as the monarch's *aide de camp* and as the Gouverneur du Louvre.[23]

More liberal members included Hippolyte Royer-Collard (1802-52), le Chef de la Division des Beaux-Arts, who then became le Chef de la Division au Ministre de l'Instruction Publique. Royer-Collard won prestige during the Restoration, succeeding his father as the personal doctor of Charles X; he also became a successful *homme de lettres* as writer of political and literary essays.[24] Of two members who were prominent in literature and journalism, Armand Bertin (1801-64) and Edmond Cavé (1794-1852), the latter was undoubtedly the more liberal. Bertin was editor of *Journal des débats,* but Cavé, who held the position of Commission secretary and later Directeur des Beaux-Arts et des Théâtres, was an editor of the Saint-Simonian publication *Le Globe*, and writer of such politically tinged works as *Les Soirées de Neuilly* (1827).[25] Halévy spoke of Cavé, with whom he collaborated on the ballet *La Tentation* (1832), as liberal, atheistic, and literary (although dilettantish).[26] In a publication of 1827, Cavé condemned censorship (before its abolishment in 1830), writing passionately of the governmental rule of the press "avec un pouvoir absolu,

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[23]Fulcher, *Nation's Image*, 58-59.

[24]*Ibid.*, 59.

[25]Other members included baron d'Henneville, "Inspecteur du mobilier de la Liste civile," and Edmond Blanc, "avocat aux conseils du Roi et à la Cour de Cassation." See Fulcher, *Nation's Image*, 58-60. Véron, in *Mémoires*, III, 96, includes Cavé as a sixth member of the Commission and gives the title of d'Henneville as "sécrétaire général du Conservatoire de musique et de déclamation" and the title of Blanc as "sécrétaire général du ministère de l'intérieur."

[26]Krakovitch, *Hugo censuré*, 77.

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dirigée par le fanatique, soutenue par la tyrannie et le scandale, [...] le tout pour le plus grand bien des gouvernements représentatifs dont les gérants s'imaginent que la sûreté est dans l'oppression, la gloire et la force des princes dans l'avilissement des sujets."[27] Shortly before *La Juive*, the responses of Cavé to attempts by Choiseul to wrest power from Véron further suggest that he was opposed to formal mechanisms of control.[28] Thus Cavé's reactions to Choiseul also reveal a tension, and perhaps a power struggle, between the two Commission members.

Based on facts of his career and some of his published views, Véron appears to have been a politically and socially open-minded individual drawn to humanistic ideas and controversial subjects. Prior to his appointment as director in 1831, at the age of thirty-three, Véron worked as a doctor, writer, and editor.[29] In the late 1820s, he contributed weekly political articles to *La Quotidienne*. Shortly after leaving this publication in 1829, Véron founded the literary journal *La Revue de Paris*, motivated by his long-standing interest in what he called "les oeuvres de

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[27]Cited in Krakovitch: "with an absolute power, directed by fanaticism, sustained by tyranny and scandal, [...] the whole for the greatest good of representative governments whose managers imagine that safety lies in the oppression, glory, and force of princes in the debasement of their subjects."

[28]Cavé's anti-censorship stance, however, does not ostensibly conform to Fulcher's portrayal of Cavé as a type of hidden censor himself, who carefully guarded the government of Louis-Philippe from being politically damaged in the theater. See Fulcher, *Nation's Image*, 59.

[29]Véron complained about being labelled "only a doctor" when disagreements at the Académie arose. He would be accused by a bitter musician who had lost his job: "'Mais vous êtes médecin, monsieur, vous n'êtes pas musicien; comment a-t-on fait de vous un directeur d'Opéra?'" (*Mémoires*, III, 147).

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l'esprit," but made possible, as he emphasized, by the change in political climate.[30] The collapse of the conservative, ultraroyalist Ministre Villèle (Jean-Baptiste-Guillaume Villèle, 1773-1854) and the rise of the Ministre Martignac (Jean-Baptiste-Sylvère Martignac, 1778-1832) at the end of 1827 brought on a new era when, as Véron stated, "politics was no longer at war with ideas" and "a grand literary movement began anew."[31]

In his journal, Véron did not aim to promote a narrow political, philosophical, or aesthetic ideology, but instead encouraged a wide range of viewpoints and literary genres.[32] Véron's opening statement of purpose, however, clearly imbues a socially progressive philosophy:

> Dans un siècle aussi positif que le nôtre, dont la raison ne se passionne que pour des faits et des résultats, elle ne pouvait non plus mener une vie isolée, rester en dehors des intérêts sociaux et ne pas reçevoir un nouveau mouvement de toutes les ambitions si bien entendues de tous les peuples.

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[30]*Ibid.*, III, 44.

[31]*Ibid.*: "La politique ne faisait plus la guerre aux idées"; "un grand mouvement littéraire recommençait." Signs of this new openness which Véron included were the reappearance of two courses suspended by the Restoration government in 1821: the popular lecture series in history by François-Pierre-Guillaume Guizot (1787-1874) and in philosophy by Victor Cousin (1792-1867). Following the suspension of Cousin's course at the Sorbonne in 1821, he was dismissed from his chair at the École normale in 1822. These courses returned in 1828, around the time that *La Muette de Portici* appeared at the Académie.

[32]*Ibid.*, III, 51. As he wrote in his preface to the first issue of *Revue*: "Nous ne prétendons point, dans ce recueil, à l'unité de doctrines ni de systèmes[...]." ("We do not claim a unity of doctrines or systems in this collection[...].")

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> Élever à une telle époque une tribune littéraire, c'est donc y susciter toutes les questions d'un intérêt général dont l'examen [...] peut conduire à des améliorations et à des progrès.[33]

The editor revealed a proclivity for relating literature to political interests in offering a prize (2,000 francs) in October 1829 for the best prose discussion of the following question: "Quelle a été l'influence du gouvernment représentatif, depuis quinze années en France, sur notre littérature et sur nos moeurs?"[34]

To ensure the journal's success, Véron solicited contributions from renowned talents along with those of obscure writers. Scribe was a contributor, as was Rossini. In the preface to the first issue, Véron announced that "des tableaux de moeurs de notre ancienne et de notre nouvelle société" by Scribe and unedited works by Rossini would appear relatively frequently.[35] Véron also promised to emphasize "original creations" and "important documents" over examples of literary criticism, suggesting an editorial approach that parallels the emphasis on historically accurate decor and costumes during his stint at the Opéra. In wanting the reader to be directly engaged with the authors' works rather than being affected by the "despotic" and "absolute" opinions of literary critics, Véron demonstrated a respect for authorship, which is

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[33]*Ibid.*, III, 50: "In a century as positive as ours, in which reason is fascinated only by facts and results, it can no longer lead an isolated life, remain outside social interests, and not welcome a new movement including all the goals so well understood by everybody.
To start a literary tribune in such an epoch, then, is to provoke all questions of general interest whose examination [...] can lead to improvements and progress."

[34]*Ibid.*, III, 77: "How has representative government influenced our literature and our morals the last fifteen years in France?"

[35]*Ibid.*, III, 52: "tableaux of morals of our old and new society."

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evident in descriptions of his working relationship with Opéra composers and librettists.[36]

The journal's financial success, its broad-minded policies, and its marshalling of the work of the young romantic writers and established artists helped secure Véron's appointment at the Opéra. Undoubtedly, the associations that he made through this publication were important to his being considered: in addition to Scribe, Duponchel was a contributor, and Choiseul participated as a member of the board.[37]

Véron's reflective descriptions of his activities during the 1820s and 1830s, as well as his commentary on writers from these decades, suggest that he shared the philosophical views and social consciousness of the generation that rose to power under the July Monarchy. For example, he attended the courses of Abel-François Villemain (1790-1870) and Cousin, whom he identified as "les oracles littéraires et politiques de la jeunesse" and "les deux plus grands lettrés de notre temps."[38] Véron respected the tolerant and rational scholarship of Villemain, who, he believed, dispassionately but insightfully judged the 18th-century philosophers and wrote in an

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[36]Preface, *La Revue de Paris*, excerpted in *Mémoires*, III, 51.

[37]In the first issue of the journal (I, 1829), 55-65, Duponchel wrote an article which focused on historical costuming as it complimented the politically liberal widow of the duc de Berry, "Des Bals costumés de S.A.R. Madame duchesse de Berri comparés aux diverses mascarades qui ont eu lieu en cour depuis le 14e siècle."

[38]*Mémoires*, III, 69: "the literary and political oracles of youth"; "the two most finely educated men of our time."

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enlightened manner about the Church fathers.[39] In commentary that runs through his *Mémoires*, Véron endorsed other articulators of liberal thought, identifying Saint-Simon, for example, as "ce grand peintre de l'humanité."[40]

Such comments, along with the editorial ideals in *La Revue de Paris*, reveal an attraction to, if not an espousal of, liberal thought and seemingly a kinship with the Commission's aim to present topical works at the Opéra. Moreover, they also reverberate with the humanistic, liberal ideology that united the Halévys and Scribe. With Scribe, he clearly exhibited another type of rapport that has been widely associated with each in the opera literature: a drive for public success. In Véron's own words, he and Scribe shared "un ami commun: c'était le public."[41]

Despite the outward signs of common ideas and values, the conflicts between the director and Commission intensified during the year prior to *La Juive*'s premiere and Véron's "retirement." In several letters in 1834, Choiseul wrote to the Ministre to complain of Véron as well as the unacceptable limitations placed on him and his colleagues by the poorly-thought-out *Cahier* of 1831. Choiseul's statements imply that the official reasons later given for Véron's dismissal--his abuse of singers' contracts and his reuse of old decor, for example--may have been superficial grievances surrounding the core problem: that the Commission could not control

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[39]*Ibid.*, III, 72.

[40]*Ibid.*, III, 89. In 1844, Véron became the director and editing manager of *Le Constitutionnel*; in this capacity he was involved in "des soucis politiques" as well as "des préoccupations littéraires" (*Ibid.*, 274, 309).

[41]*Ibid.*, 60.

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Véron as it wanted.[42] In one letter to the Ministre dated 10 April 1834, Choiseul protested Véron's power, as well as Cavé's:

> Si M. Véron reste, la Commission continuera d'après le Cahier des Charges à s'occuper plus ou moins bien, avec plus ou moins de complaisance des objets assez minimes auxquels elle est restreinte.
> [...]
> Le défaut de la Commission actuelle est la difficulté de se réunir, le contact batenail de ses membres avec la direction, et l'abandon (impossible d'empêcher) des affaires courantes au Sécretaire qui parle et écrit au nom de la Commission et sans qu'il lui fait possible de la consulter.[43]

Later that month, Choiseul stated more fully and rhetorically his appeal to allot more power to the Commission and continued his diatribes against the director.[44] He accused Véron of diminishing and degrading the spectacle and the subjects of opera, revealing the Commission's insistence on the brilliance and pomp of staging as well as its focus on content and message.[45]

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[42]There were numerous episodes, however, that appear to reveal Véron's cavalier attitudes toward hiring and firing artists, and many singers and dancers appealed to the Commission for job protection. (See AN, $F^{21}1053$, e.g.)

[43]AN, $F^{21}960$, Dossier 6: "If M. Véron remains, the Commission will continue, according to the Cahier des Charges, to attend more or less well, with more or less complaisance, to the rather trivial things to which it has been limited.
[...]
The flaw of the current Commission is the difficulty of meeting, quarrelsome contact between its members and the direction, and the relinquishing (impossible to prevent) of current affairs to the Secretary, who speaks and writes in the name of the Commission, even though he cannot consult it."

[44]AN, $F^{21}960$, Dossier 6, letter dated 29 April 1835, marked "Confidentielle."

[45]*Ibid*: "diminuant la pompe du spectacle" and "diminuant les traitements et dégoutant les premiers sujets."

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Two letters of Choiseul the following month, which illustrate more pointedly his belief that the Commission had too little control over the choice and development of a work's subject, focus on *La Juive*, Véron's opera-in-progress. In the first (21 May 1834), Choiseul bemoaned the fact that he knew nothing of the opera, even though the copying of parts had already begun, Halévy was nearing completion of a "first-draft" score, and material for the mise-en-scène was soon to be bought.[46] Ignorance about *La Juive* triggered Choiseul's frustrations about the limitations of the Commission's power, which he blamed on the *Cahier*'s "ridiculous" stipulation about libretto submission and its lack of specified control mechanisms.[47] He signed off with the hope that the Ministre would see that a new organization with greater power was "indispensable."[48] In the second letter (23 May), Choiseul wrote that he had learned a few details about the opera, but intended to extract even more information at a meeting on 25 May arranged so that Véron could explain the opera's subject to the Commission.[49]

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[46]AN, F[21]960, Dossier 5. See the discussion of basic stages of production below, pp. 73-87; also see Appendix B.

[47]*Ibid.* Choiseul is referring to Article 8 in the Cahier's *Supplément* (30 May 1831): "[...] je vais prendre les informations qu'il sera possible d'avoir car d'après la mauvaise rédaction de certains articles du Cahier des Charges, les communications des pièces ne se doivent que 5 jours avant la représentation et c'est souverainement ridicule." ("I am going to get the information that will be possible to obtain, since based on the poor drafting of certain articles of the *Cahier des Charges*, the works need be presented only 5 days before the performance, which is supremely ridiculous.")

[48]*Ibid.*

[49]*Ibid.* Choiseul promised to report about the meeting in a "Lettre officielle à Votre Excellence." I was unable to find the letter to which he referred.

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Other documents that demonstrate Choiseul's attempts to grant the Commission more control over content further point to Véron's real authority over the subject of *La Juive*. In a three-page draft outline of the changes that Choiseul wanted to see effected in the Opéra administration, he stipulated that the Commission must know the works ("connaître les pièces") and suggested that the Ministre be given account of the work one month before the first performance ("en rendre compte au Ministre un mois avant la représentation") to allow for changes that might be prompted by the Ministre's review.[50] The liberally minded Edmond Cavé, in a memorandum to the Ministre, objected to the expansion and definition of the Commission's power, particularly to the placement of the "greatest authority" in the President.[51] He insisted that the Commission's powers were sufficient if used "avec fermété."[52]

Despite Cavé's objections, the Commission's power was soon to be expanded: with the reinstitution of preventive censorship in September 1835--close to the time of Véron's dismissal--came a new *Cahier* with stricter stipulations. These stipulations,

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[50]AN, F[21]960, Dossier 6, "Pouvoirs de la Commission" (non-dated). Choiseul listed practical concerns such as verification of Opéra accounts, maintenance of material, and approval of discharges and retirements of artists as well.

[51]*Ibid.*: Cavé believed Choiseul's ideas would mean in essence "la création d'une nouvelle surintendance des théâtres subventionnés [...]" ("the creation of a new superintendency of subsidized theaters [...]"). Cavé assessed that Choiseul wanted a new superintendency with clearly defined power, particularly "avec de plein pouvoirs pour le président de cette Commission" ("with full powers for the president of this Commission"). He suggested to the Ministre that Choiseul must be told, confidentially, that the institution of the Commission, in relation to the Opéra, could not be modified nor its powers extended since the direction of the Opéra had not changed.

[52]*Ibid.* In *Mémoires*, III, 149, Véron hinted that Cavé himself was driven by a desire for control when he spoke of Cavé's "jealousies."

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including the requirement to present the libretto to the new Commission ten days in advance of the first performance, give further insight into the comparative freedom under which Véron, Scribe, and Halévy worked on *La Juive*. The new censorship, which affected the Opéra, as well as other theaters, the press, and literary publications, was greeted by many in the creative community and in the press as a complete betrayal of the no-censorship promise made in the 1830 Charter.[53] Although the law was ostensibly a direct result of the attempt on Louis-Philippe's life in July 1835, there had been signs in the few years since the banning of censorship (other than Choiseul's demands concerning the Opéra and other theaters) that many French authorities had been uncomfortable without legal control of the printed, spoken, or sung word. Before the assassination attempt set off attacks on the too-liberal press for its critiques of the regime and calls to reintroduce formal preventive censorship, "repressive censorship" ("la censure repressive") had reared its powerful head during the so-called "années de liberté" (1830-35).[54]

In an Opéra *arrêté* of 15 August 1835, which spelled out the new conditions under which Véron's successor, Edmond Duponchel, would operate, Choiseul's

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[53]See Krakovitch, *Hugo censuré*, 62-65; Fulcher, *Nation's Image*, 81; Victor Hallays-Dabot, *Histoire de la censure théâtrale en France* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1862), 73. Also see Alfred de Musset's impassioned poem "La Loi sur la presse," in *Revue des deux mondes* I/3 (1 September 1835), 609-16, condemning this encroachment on the freedom of the theater and the press.

[54]See Krakovitch, *Hugo censuré*, 45ff. Under the heading "Les premiers coups porté à la liberté," Krakovitch discusses the reappearance of political censorship (i.e., "repressive censorship") during these years.

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demand for greater administrative control over opera production was answered.[55] The stipulation of "five days before the performance" for final submission of the libretto (or ballet scenario)--a period of time Choiseul had thought "ridiculous"--was modified to "ten days."[56] But even more significant is the clearly stated condition that the work had to be approved before it was "mise à l'étude," a condition that was not included in the 1831 *Cahier* and *Supplément*, and one that had apparently not been heeded by Véron with *La Juive* (see p. 292 below). With this condition, and with a more cooperative director, the Ministre and the newly formed Commission clearly

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[55]AN, AJ[13]187. Duponchel, the *metteur en scène* who had performed the role of Acting Director during Véron's *congés* away from the Académie, was to assume his duties on the first of September.

[56]*Ibid.*, Article 22:

Aucune pièce ne pourra être representée sur le théâtre de l'Académie royale de Musique, sans notre autorisation préalable.

Avant d'être mise à l'étude, toute pièce, opéra ou ballet, devra nous être soumise, afin qu'il soit examine si les répétitions peuvent avoir lieu sans inconvénient; et, dix jours avant la représentation, elle devra nous être soumise de nouveau, afin qu'il soit décidé si elle peut être représentée ou s'il y a lieu ou non d'y faire des modifications ou des suppressions [my emphasis].

No work can be represented in the theater of the Académie Royale de Musique without our prior authorization.

Before being rehearsed, every work, opera or ballet, must be submitted to us so that one may examine whether the rehearsals can take place without inconvenience; and ten days before the performance, it must be submitted to us again so that one may decide whether it can be performed or whether it will take place or not by making modifications or suppressions [my emphasis]."

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hoped to administer more control over operatic subjects than had existed under Véron.[57]

As these documents attest, Véron was clearly important to the acceptance and development of *La Juive*, but the Commission also maintained a certain control over its content and presentation. The Commission's actions represented a type of preventive censure of authors subtler than in the years of official censorship prior to 1830. The submission of libretti for the Commission's approval five days before the premiere, a minimal intrusion into the creative process compared to the careful examination of libretti by official censors in earlier years, could be defined as a type

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[57]Véron's successor, Duponchel, appears to have been more malleable, as suggested in a letter written by Choiseul, 30 September 1836 (AN, $F^{21}960$). An all-inclusive Article 57 of this August 15 *arrêté* (AN, $AJ^{13}187$), which partially sums up the more detailed text of previous articles, seems to offer almost open-ended authority to the new Commission des Théâtres Royaux, headed once again by Choiseul under the Ministre de l'Intérieur. Article 57. The article states that the Commission des Théâtres royaux will be consulted "[...] sur la convénance des ouvrages nouveaux, sur le morcellement des ouvrages anciens, [...] dans tous les cas d'autorisation et de dispense à demander par l'Entrepreneur, sur toutes les questions intéressant l'art, la prospérité, la dignité et la conservation du théâtre et enfin sur les dispositions réglementaires qui pourront naître du présent arrêté." ("on the suitability of new works, on the division of old works, [...] in all cases of authorization and permission asked by the Entrepreneur on all questions concerning art, prosperity, dignity, and preservation of the theater and, finally, on the regulatory measures which will come out of the present *arrêté*.") Perhaps in response to Cavé's conflicts with Choiseul, limited power, in consultive but not decision-making roles, was given to the secretary and the head of the Division des Beaux-Arts:

"Dans ces cas, le Commissaire royal remplira auprès de la Commission, les fonctions de Sécretaire, avec voix consultative seulement.

Le chef de la Division des Beaux-Arts pourra assister à ces délibérations avec voix consultative seulement."

("In these cases, the Royal Superintendent, with the Commission, will fulfill the functions of Secretary with a consultative voice only.

The head of the Division of Beaux-Arts will take part in these deliberations with consultative voice only.")

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of censorship, although a comparatively weak one.[58] Moreover, during the years of the Véron administration, the Commission reported on operatic subject matter to the Ministre de l'Intérieur through letters and monthly "Procès verbaux" and, in the case of *La Juive*, attended rehearsals before issuing final authorization of the work. Yet the complaints by the Commission's president about the group's impotence and its inability to rein in Véron in the years leading up to *La Juive* suggest that the director, librettist, and composer had a substantial degree of leverage in defining the messages of the opera's subject. But it was freedom with well-understood constraints.

One very powerful constraint was repressive censorship, or at least the threat of it. The suppression of Hugo's play *Le Roi s'amuse* in 1832, only two years after the Charter's promise, had proven that censorship could still be invoked at the will of the State's theatrical administrations and/or the police, that a work could indeed be withdrawn at a moment's notice.[59] Authors working under the very real threat of

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[58]Because there was no official censorship board that examined the libretti, no "censor's libretto" exists for *La Juive* or other operas produced under Véron like the manuscript libretti which survive from the periods of more formal preventive censorship. Of the extant fair copies of libretti of *La Juive*, it is probable that the complete manuscript libretto in AN, $AJ^{13}202$ is the copy, or close to the copy, that was deposited at the Commission's office prior to the first performance. However, as I will illustrate in the following chapters, the text of this manuscript differs in significant ways from the text that was actually sung at the premiere, and even more from that sung in first-season performances that followed. For examples of censors' libretti before 1830, see the manuscripts in AN, F^{18}. On these can be seen the censors' stamps of approval and marks of "*supprimé*" in margins next to text to be suppressed.

[59]See Krakovitch, *Hugo censuré*, for a comprehensive discussion of censorship during the 1830s and 1840s, which includes an in-depth examination of the banning of Hugo's play. She notes that there were at least twenty-three political "affaires" of repressive censorship between 1830 and 1834; the first important one--prior to the prohibiting of *Roi s'amuse*--occurred in October 1831, when the police banned the play *Le Procès d'un maréchal de France* by Charles Désiré Dupeuty and Louis-Marie Fontan (45). Most works that were banned were those considered disrepectful of royal authority.

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repression compensated by censoring themselves. Hugo, in his preface to *Marion Delorme* (1831), discussed the often-stringent self-censorship that existed when formal censorship was lacking: "'[...] c'est précisément quand il n'y a pas de censure qu'il faut que les auteurs se censurent eux-mêmes, honnêtement, consciencieusement, sévèrement.'"[60] Scribe, who had proven himself artful in obscuring controversial ideas in his dramas under various regimes, shared Hugo's view, for he supported the return to official censorship as an alternative to arbitrary repressive censorship.

In July 1834, while *La Juive* was being rehearsed (see pp. 75-76), a circular was sent from the theatrical administration to all theater directors which made explicit its power to ban works through the rejuvenation of an old Napoleonic decree:

> L'article 14 du décret du 8 juin 1806, *encore en vigueur aujourd'hui*, donne à l'administration le droit d'interdire les représentations théâtrales. Depuis quatre ans, elle s'est trouvée dans l'obligation d'appliquer cet article et de défendre la représentation de plusieurs pièces. Les manuscrits ne lui étant pas communiqués, elle n'a pu le plus souvent prendre ce parti que lorsque déjà les directeurs avaient fait les frais de la mise en scène. Il en est résulté des dommages pour eux et des demandes en indemnités qui n'ont pu être admises. [...] Vous avez la faculté d'éviter tout dommage en soumettant d'avance les manuscrits des ouvrages nouveaux à la division des Beaux-Arts et des Théâtres. Les pièces qui n'auront pas été soumises seront interdites purement et simplement, lorsque, par leur contenu, elles mériteront l'application du décret; et vous ne pourrez imputer qu'à vous seul les dommages qui résulteront d'une mise en scène devenu inutile.[61]

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[60]Cited in Krakovitch, *Hugo censuré*, 79: "'[...] it is precisely when there is no censorship that authors must censor themselves honestly, scrupulously, severely.'"

[61]*Ibid.*, 61 (from AN, $F^{21}4635^{(3a)}$): "Article 14 of the decree of 8 June 1806, *still in effect today*, gives the administration the right to ban theatrical performances. For the last four years, it has been obliged to apply this article and forbid the performance of several plays. With manuscripts not being submitted to it, it could make this decision only when directors

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Reactions to this circular were sharp, including a speech by Scribe at a meeting of the Société des Auteurs dramatiques on 22 July 1834. As Society president, Scribe argued that preventive censorship, even if strict, was preferable to the restoration of arbitrary, "inquisitorial" censorship: "la loi la plus sévère vaut mieux que l'arbitraire le plus modéré."[62] Other members of the Société, however, opposed any type of theatrical censorship; disputes over the issue led Scribe to renounce his presidency.[63]

In view of this administrative threat of further repressive censorship, and the almost simultaneous attempts by Choiseul to bring about tougher supervision of theater directors (in particular Véron), it appears that the laissez-faire atmosphere of the early July Monarchy had begun to dissipate even before the assassination attempt triggered the return to official preventive censorship. Undoubtedly, the Ministre's decisions to discharge Véron and act on Choiseul's suggestions were made well before the *arrêté* of 15 August and the censorship law of 9 September. It is possible that Véron's acceptance of the potentially sensitive subject of *La Juive*, and the lengthy preparations that he had supervised before the Commission had any knowledge of it, helped push Choiseul and the Ministre toward the realization that

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had already made the expenses of the *mise en scène*. As a result, some people had expenses which could not be indemnified. [...] You have the power to avoid any financial damage by submitting the manuscripts of new works in advance to the Division of Beaux-Arts and Theaters. The theatrical works which are not submitted will be banned purely and simply, when, because of their content, they will deserve the application of the decree; and you will be able to ascribe to yourselves only the damages which will result from a wasted *mise en scène*."

[62]*Ibid.*: "the severest law is better than the most moderate."

[63]*Ibid.*, 62. Also see Fulcher, *Nation's Image*, 81.

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they could not take such chances in the future. Although they had approved the opera, first informally after Véron had been summoned to explain the subject to the Commission on 25 May 1834, and formally after reading the libretto and attending some of the *répétitions générales* in February 1835, their skittishness about its politically tinged religious content exposed their discomfort with the limited means of control defined in 1831. While *La Juive* was the last opera to enjoy fully the "no-censorship" grace period, the ambivalence of the governmental representatives towards freedom of expression and liberal thought, reflected in the imminent threat of repressive censorship as well as the Commission-Véron battles, created an atmosphere in which Scribe and Halévy must have had to weigh carefully their creative decisions about the controversial subject.[64]

Composer, Librettist, and Contributors

Scribe figures centrally in our discussion of *La Juive* since evidence shows that he originated the idea for the opera, developed a scenario and presented it to Véron for approval even before Halévy was secured as composer. Yet there are strong claims and documentary evidence that Halévy himself, his brother, and Nourrit contributed to the development of the libretto. (Moreover, evidence also suggests that other collaborators, representing unknown hand in draft verse written on note paper,

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[64]By the time of the August *arrêté* and the September law, the initial stages of the production of *Les Huguenots* were already under way. But, as its premiere was not until February 1836, its later pre-performance stages were affected by a strengthened Commission and a less powerful director (Duponchel was "on probation" as director), as well as by the censorship law.

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may have helped Scribe.[65]) And when, in the early stages, Halévy began to set the work, Nourrit influenced the composer's ideas, while Duponchel and Léon Halévy were often nearby as Halévy composed.

Léon Halévy, in his biography of the composer, gives a full, rich account of the history of the opera that allots to his brother a significant role in altering the text and drama and describes substantive contributions by himself and Nourrit. In his description, however, he never questions Scribe's role as primary author and approver of all revisions:

> Peu de poëmes d'opéras subirent plus de transformations que celui de *la Juive*, cette heureuse création de Scribe. Dans le plan primitif, la scène se passait à Goa, et l'inquisition tenait la place qu'occupe aujourd'hui dans l'ouvrage le concile de Constance. La conception musicale primitive fut elle-même changée, car une distribution de rôles qui avait été projetée, mais non maintenue, eût donné à la partition un tout autre caractère: dans ces bases premières, qui furent abandonnées, Adolphe Nourrit, au lieu d'être le père, était l'amant, et le rôle du père devait être confié à la voix de basse, à Levasseur. Nourrit, l'artiste supérieur, homme de si excellent conseil et de tant de goût, prit beaucoup de part à ces remaniements du fond. Combien de fois mon frère et lui vinrent-ils discuter, régler près de moi ces modifications consenties par Scribe, qui, comprenant avec un tact exquis le véritable rôle du poëte dramatique à l'Opéra, s'effaçait pour se subordonner aux inspirations du compositeur et à celles des artistes éminents, ses interprètes! C'était dans l'été de 1834; mon frère eut bientôt les deux premiers actes de *la Juive*, et successivement les trois autres. Quand l'on fut d'accord sur le fond, alors commença cette refonte partielle de l'oeuvre à laquelle mon frère soumettait ses poëmes, car il se les assimilait, il en faisait sa chose propre et individuelle; il s'y incarnait pour ainsi dire; il les absorbait dans sa création musicale: ici, c'était une scène dont il fallait changer le

[65]BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22502/1°. Two notes written in what appear to be different hands include the verse for the chorus "Hâtons nous" of Act I and the first three numbers of Eudoxie and Rachel of Act III that were omitted by the second performance (see pp. 417, 420-23).

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mouvement, parce qu'il ne répondait pas à sa pensée; là, au lieu du récitatif, il fallait un air; ici, au lieu du récit, un choeur (et il avait le don rare de faire intervenir admirablement les masses vocales). Il avait aussi l'éminente faculté de fondre le récitatif dans le tissu mélodique de l'oeuvre, tout en lui conservant son caractère; là, il fallait que le duo fût un trio ou qu'un air vînt se placer dans un finale; ici, il fallait exprimer un sentiment que le poëte avait omis de rendre, et qui lui inspirait un chant pathétique. Venaient ensuite les détails du vers, les innombrables modifications prosodiques, les exigences, pour lui absolues, du rhythme. "Des vers cadencés, modulés, disait-il sans cesse; pas de coupe uniforme!" De là l'extrême variété de rhythmes qui caractérise sa manière, et qui lui a fait porter si haut l'un des mérites les plus distinctifs de l'école française.

Un mot d'explication devient ici nécessaire.

Scribe, homme vraiment supérieur, du commerce le plus charmant et du caractère le plus sûr, avait, avec la passion du théâtre, celle du travail, mais du travail toujours nouveau. C'est une de ces fantaisies dans la passion, qu'on peut facilement pardonner, comme la passion elle-même est digne de tout honneur et de toute louange. Il n'aimait donc pas à s'appesantir longtemps sur le même ouvrage, et sa merveilleuse facilité de conception et d'exécution ne le lui eût pas permis. On ne pouvait, du reste, raisonnablement exiger que cet homme si occupé, si surchargé d'engagements et de travaux, et dont deux ou trois théâtres attendaient sans cesse les oeuvres promises et exigibles par traités, après avoir livré un poëme au compositeur qu'il avait choisi, se mît pendant une année, pour d'incessantes modifications, au service de ses exigences, de ses caprices ou même des nécessités de son art. Certes il n'aurait pas refusé à mon frère, qu'il aimait, ce sacrifice, si celui-ci l'eût réclamé; mais mon frère avait près de lui un coopérateur toujours prêt: j'évite à dessein le mot de *collaborateur*, et j'emploie l'expression la plus propre à la modeste mission que je m'étais assignée, mission qui, je puis le dire, n'était pas exempte d'abnégation, et dont le moindre mérite fut le désintéressement. Un accord tacite s'était donc naturellement formé sur ce point entre nous. De précédents rapports s'étaient d'ailleurs établis entre Scribe et moi, et une circonstance nouvelle vint un peu plus tard les resserrer: Scribe avait été nommé à l'Académie française en remplacement d'Arnault, l'auteur de *Marius à Minturnes*, de *Germanicus* et des *Fables*; il avait bien voulu, pour son discours de réception, me demander quelques documents, quelques aperçus sur la vie et les ouvrages d'un homme qui m'avait voué une constante et affectueuse bienveillance, et dont j'avais été, jusqu'au jour de sa mort,

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le répétiteur et le suppléant à l'École polytechnique, dans la chaire de littérature où, pendant trois années, il avait remplacé Andrieux. Scribe n'oublia pas ce léger service, qu'il m'avait été si doux de lui rendre, et il manifesta toujours le plus complet assentiment, la plus franche et la plus cordiale adhésion aux changements qu'à la demande de mon frère j'apportais aux poëmes dont il écrivait la partition, retouches de détails sans doute, mais importantes pour le compositeur, parce qu'il lui suffit souvent de huit vers et même de quatre lignes rimées selon son oreille et accentuées selon son coeur pour tenir le public en haleine par un magnifique choeur ou un *andante* passionné. Je débarrassais, il est vrai, d'un grand soin le fécond et ingénieux écrivain, mais il m'honorait d'une confiance dont j'étais touché, en même temps que j'appréciais vivement la faculté de contribuer au succès d'oeuvres qui m'étaient chères. Que l'on ne croie pas du reste que Scribe y mît de l'indifférence: il n'aurait jamais accepté un changement mal fait ou qui, dans ses idées, pût nuire à l'ouvrage. Mais, quand il reconnaissait que la pièce et le musicien trouvaient également leur compte à ce qui avait été ajouté ou modifié, il applaudissait le premier et remerciait avec effusion. J'en fis mille fois l'épreuve.[66]

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[66]Léon Halévy, *Sa Vie*, 23-25: "Few opera libretti were subjected to more transformations than that of *la Juive*, this fortunate creation of Scribe. In the original scenario, the scene took place in Goa, and the inquisition held the place that the Council of Constance occupies in the work today. The original musical conception itself changed, because the distribution of roles that was projected, but not maintained, had given to the score an entirely different character: in these first drafts, which were abandoned, Adolphe Nourrit was the lover instead of the father, and the role of father was to be distributed to a bass voice, to Levasseur. Nourrit, the superior artist, a man of such excellent counsel and good taste, took a great part in these basic revisions. How many times my brother and he came with me to discuss, to sort out these modifications agreed to by Scribe. Understanding with exquisite tact the true role of the dramatic poet at the Opéra, he stepped aside to subordinate himself to the inspirations of the composer and to those of eminent artists, his interpreters! It was in the summer of 1834; my brother soon had finished the first two acts of *la Juive*, and, successively, the three others. When there was agreement on the fundamentals, then began this partial recasting of the work to which my brother submitted his librettos; since he assimilated them, he created his own, individual thing; he was embodied in them, so to speak; he absorbed them into his musical creation: here, there was a scene in which the rhythm had to change because it did not respond to his thought; there, in place of recitative, an aria was necessary; here, in place of recitative, a chorus (and he had the rare gift of making the vocal masses work admirably). He also had the eminent faculty of melding the recitative into the melodic fabric of the work, while keeping its character; there, the duo had to be a trio or an aria had to be placed in a finale; here, it was necessary to express a feeling which the poet had failed to render and which inspired in him a moving melody. Then came the details of the verse, the innumerable modifications of prosody, the exigencies of rhythm, which were

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In weighing Léon Halévy's quite diplomatic description of his own work on *La Juive* and other operas of his brother, we must take into account that he wrote it after the death of Scribe, when his words could not have been disputed by the librettist.

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uncompromising for him. He was continuously saying: "Rhythmic, inflected lines; no uniform length!" From that, the extreme variety of rhythms which characterize his style, and which have brought one of the most distinctive merits of the French school to him.

A word of explanation is necessary here.

Scribe, a truly superior man, the most charming and the most trustworthy in character, had a passion for the theater and for work, but the work had to be always new. It is one of these fantasies in his passion, which can be easily overlooked, as passion itself is worthy of all honor and praise. He did not like to dwell a long time on the same work, and his marvelous ease to conceive and execute had not allowed him to do so. For everything else, it would not be reasonable to demand that a man so busy, so overloaded with engagements and work (whose promised works payable by contract would be expected continuously by two or three theaters), occupy himself, over the course of a year after he had delivered a poem to the composer he had chosen, with incessant modifications in the service of its requirements, its caprices, or even the necessities of its art. Certainly he would not have refused this sacrifice to my brother, whom he loved, this sacrifice, if he had asked for it; but my brother had on his side a cooperator who was always ready: I purposely avoid the term *collaborator*, and I use the most appropriate expression for the modest task that I assigned myself, a task which, I can say, was not exempt from self-sacrifice and whose least quality was selflessness. A tacit agreement, then, was naturally given to each other on this point. Moreover, previous relations were established between Scribe and me, and a new circumstance drew us closer a little later: Scribe was named to the Académie française [in 1834] to replace Arnault, the author of *Marius à Minturnes*, *Germanicus*, and *Fables*; for his reception speech, he had wanted to ask me for several documents, several anecdotes on the life and works of a man who had devoted a constant and affectionate goodwill towards me, and to whom I had been tutor and assistant at the École polytechnique up to the day of his death, in the chair of literature in which he had replaced Andrieux for three years. Scribe did not forget this small favor, which he had so kindly repaid to me, and he always demonstrated the fullest approval, the frankest and heartiest support for the alterations that I introduced, at the request of my brother, in the libretti for which he wrote the score, alterations of details without doubt, but important to the composer, because eight lines or even four lines sufficed, rhymed according to his ear and accentuated according to his heart, for keeping the public's attention with a magnificent chorus or a passionate *andante*. I freed the fecund and ingenious writer from a great care, it is true, but he honored me with a trust that touched me; at the same time, I deeply appreciated the freedom to contribute to the success of works that were dear to me. One must not believe that Scribe was indifferent: he would never have accepted a change badly made or that, in his mind, would harm the play. But, when he recognized that the play and the musician equally profited from what had been added or modified, he immediately applauded and was very thankful. I experienced this a thousand times."

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Since *La Juive* remained the *chef-d'oeuvre* of Fromental, Léon's claim of contributing to the work may have been motivated by a desire to add to his own reputation, which had diminished since his early years of promise. Léon did not lay claim, however, to the full text of any number in *La Juive*, as he did for one number in *Guido et Ginevra*, Halévy's grand opera that premiered in 1838, and one in *L'Éclair*, the opéra-comique that appeared the same year as *La Juive*. In the same account quoted above, he referred to these numbers and suggested that the librettists Scribe, F.A.E. Planard (1799-1875), and Georges-Henri Vernoy de Saint-Georges (1783-1855) welcomed his "ghost-writing" contributions. At the same time, he reinforced the idea of a certain authorial distance on the part of the librettists and implied that the composer, using his brother to realize his wishes, had the final word:

> Placé près d'Halévy à l'une des répétitions de *Guido*, et entendant pour la première fois la romance: *Pendant la fête une inconnue*, chantée d'une manière si ravissante par Duprez, il [Scribe] s'écria avec un étonnement naïf et une joie sincère: "Oh! le délicieux morceau! mais je n'ai pas fait ces paroles-là! Où est donc votre frère pour que je le remercie?" Je rendrai la même justice à Planard, à qui l'Opéra-Comique doit un si grand nombre d'excellents poëmes, et qui a fait l'*Éclair* avec M. de Saint-Georges, l'habile et heureux collaborateur de mon frère. Jamais homme ne fut plus agréablement surpris que lui, lorsqu'à l'une des répétitions de l'*Éclair* il entendit une mélodie charmante, qui avait paru faire longueur dans un duo du second acte, transportée au commencement du troisième, sur des paroles nouvelles que mon frère m'avait demandées la veille, et que je lui avais faites dans la nuit. C'était la célèbre romance: *Quand de la nuit l'épais nuage*, dont la musique est devenue si populaire. Les deux auteurs du poëme me serrèrent la main; ils auraient fait aussi bien, mieux sans

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> doute: mais j'étais là près du piano du compositeur, et, quand j'adaptais mes vers à ses mélodies, je croyais écrire sous sa dictée.[67]

Léon's statements are partially backed up in an account intended as a companion piece to the composer's biography: Edouard Monnais's *F. Halévy: Souvenirs d'un ami pour joindre à ceux d'un frère*, which was dedicated to Léon Halévy.[68] Monnais (1798-1868) was a friend of the Halévys, a writer and editor who became acquainted with the two brothers in the early 1830s, collaborated on two works with the composer, and worked with him at the Opéra after being hired as assistant director in 1839.[69] At some point after *La Juive*, a strong friendship developed between Monnais and the composer and, it appears, with Léon as well. Although Monnais's loyalties may have biased his corroborations, I assume that they

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[67]*Ibid.*, 25-26: "Seated near Halévy at one of the rehearsals of *Guido*, hearing for the first time the romance *Pendant la fête une inconnue* sung in such a ravishing manner by Duprez, he [Scribe] cried out with naive surprise and sincere joy: 'Ah! what an exquisite piece! but I did not write those words! Where is your brother so that I can thank him?' I did the same justice to Planard, to whom the Opéra-Comique owes such a great number of excellent libretti, and who wrote *l'Éclair* with M. de Saint-Georges, the skillful and fortunate collaborator of my brother. Never was a man more agreeably surprised than he when he heard, at one of the rehearsals of *l'Éclair*, a charming melody which had seemed tedious in a duet of the second act moved to the beginning of the third, set to new words that my brother had asked of me the day before and I wrote during the night. It was the celebrated romance: *Quand de la nuit l'épais nuage*, whose music has become so popular. The two authors of the verse shook my hand; they would have written well also, even better, no doubt about it: but I was there near the composer's piano, and when I was adapting my verse to his melodies, I believed I was taking down his dictation."

[68]Paris: Imprimérie Centrale des Chemins de Fer, 1863.

[69]Monnais first met Halévy at the Villemain salon (*Ibid.*, 9). At the composer's funeral in 1862, Monnais delivered a eulogy, as did Émile Perrin and Saint-Georges (see "Obsèques de M. F. Halévy" [24 March 1862], BO, Halévy, Dossier d'artiste). Under the pseudonym Paul Smith, he wrote the article "F. Halévy," *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* XXIX/12 (23 March 1862), 93.

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are truthful observations made by Monnais in his proximity to the Halévys. After referring to works that Léon is acknowledged to have written with his brother, *Promethée enchainée* and *Les Plages du Nil*, Monnais wrote:

> Vous avez souvent et beaucoup travaillé aux poëmes dont votre frère composait la musique: vous y avez fait d'heureux changements, vous en avez écrit plusieurs morceaux devenus populaires. Les auteurs de ces poëmes vous remerciaient des importants services que vous leur rendiez, mais le public n'en savait rien. A l'exception du *Dilettante d'Avignon*, vous n'avez jamais donné d'opéra seul avec votre frère, et ce ne fut ni sa faute ni la vôtre. Vous ne demandiez pas mieux l'un et l'autre que de vous associer, mais les bizarres conditions qui président aux arrangements de théâtre s'y opposaient toujours. Dans toute sa carrière, votre frère n'a guère connu que trois collaborateurs. M. de Saint-Georges et Scribe pour le public, et vous pour l'intimité [my emphasis].[70]

Monnais makes clear that the lack of public recognition for Léon's contributions, as well as the lack of opportunity for Léon to be sole librettist in collaborations with his brother, was directly related to the monopoly of power that both Scribe and Saint-Georges exerted as Opéra librettists. His account suggests that the "tacit agreement"

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[70]*Ibid.*, 33: "You have often worked a lot on the libretti for which your brother composed the music: you have made beneficial changes in them; you have written several pieces which have become popular. The authors of these libretti thanked you for the important services you rendered them, but the public knew nothing about them. With the exception of *Dilettante d'Avignon*, you have never given an opera alone with your brother, and this was neither his fault nor yours. You did not demand better of one or the other than to be a participant, but the strange conditions that exist in the arrangements of the theater were always against it. Throughout his career, your brother has known only three collaborators. M. de Saint-Georges and Scribe in public, and you in private [my emphasis]." In another passage, Monnais names one of the popular pieces penned by Léon: the romance "Quand de la nuit l'épais nuage" from *L'Éclair* to which Léon himself lays claim (17).

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with Scribe to which Léon referred was intended to protect Scribe's reputation as author as well as the royalties he would receive for the libretto.

Léon's statements also reveal that Nourrit worked closely with Halévy in the early compositional stages, in choosing and developing his own role, but undoubtedly in offering suggestions about other roles, too. Léon's claims about Nourrit's contributions are seconded by Monnais, Véron, and other contemporary writers--and by the composer himself. Nourrit is credited with having chosen the role of Éléazar, originally destined for the bass Levasseur, with having written the words to the famous aria "Rachel, quand du seigneur," and with having suggested its unusual placement at the end of Act IV.[71] Of the singer's contributions to this aria, Halévy wrote:

> Nourrit nous donna d'excellents conseils. Il y avait au quatrième acte un finale; il nous demanda de la remplacer par un air. Je fis la musique de l'air sur la situation donnée; Nourrit demanda à M. Scribe l'autorisation de faire lui-même les paroles de l'air dont la musique était faite. Il voulait choisir les syllabes les plus sonores, les plus favorables à sa voix. M. Scribe, généreux, parce qu'il est riche, se prêta de bonne grâce au désir du chanteur, et Nourrit nous apporta peu de jours après les paroles de l'air: Rachel, quand du Seigneur la grâce tutélaire[.][72]

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[71]See Fromental Halévy, *Derniers souvenirs et portraits, précédés d'une notice par P.-A. Fiorentino* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1863), 166-67, and Monnais, *Souvenirs*, 14. The change of Éléazar's role from bass to tenor is discussed further in Chapter 6.

[72]*Ibid.*, 167: "Nourrit gave us excellent advice. There was a finale in the fourth act; he asked us to replace it with an aria. I wrote the music of the aria on the given situation; Nourrit asked Scribe for the authorization to write the words of the aria, whose music was written. He wanted to choose the syllables that were the most sonorous and the most suitable for his voice. M. Scribe, generous because of his wealth, lent himself with good grace to the desire of the singer, and a few days later Nourrit brought us the words of the aria "Rachel, quand du Seigneur la grâce tutélaire." The draft verse in Scribe's hand (n.a.fr. 22562)

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Loyalty to the singer, particularly after his tragic suicide (which many blamed on the Opéra administration), may have biased Halévy and other writers to give Nourrit more credit than was due him. But, as Halévy discussed, Nourrit also developed the scenario of the ballet *La Sylphide* (1832) and adapted Shakespeare's *Tempest* for the ballet *La Tempête* (1834); he assisted in choosing costumes and meticulously studied all aspects of a role.[73] Other reports, supported by manuscript evidence, show that Nourrit also contributed to the text and dramatic ideas of Meyerbeer's operas.[74]

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includes verses for the choral finale, but not Éléazar's aria. It first appears in the copyist's libretto, AJ[13]202, in Act IV, Scene vii, beginning with the words "Lorsque d'un dieu puissant, la grâce tutélaire." Other manuscript evidence shows other variants of early-layer text: the autograph, BO, A509aII, 462 ff., and a partbook for the role of Éléazar, BO, Mat. 19[c][315(13), 145v, include a variant of the initial words in the copyist's libretto: "Hélas lorsque de dieu," which was replaced by "Rachel, quand du Seigneur." This evidence does not prove definitively Halévy's claim of Nourrit's authorship of the entire text, but neither does it refute it.

[73]Halévy, *Derniers souvenirs*, 153-54, 162. Concerning *La Tempête*, Halévy (162, n.1) wrote that "[l]e titre, l'idée première et quelques détails seulement de ce ballet étaient empruntés à Shakspeare [sic]. Tout le reste était de l'invention de Nourrit." ("only the title, the original idea, and several details of this ballet were borrowed from Shakespeare. All the rest was the invention of Nourrit.")

[74]Meyerbeer, like Halévy, greatly respected the artistry of Nourrit. In a letter to Alexandre Dumas *père* (1802-70) dated 23 May 1832, Meyerbeer wrote that "[t]ogether, you and Nourrit could write half an opera in three weeks." See *Giacomo Meyerbeer, A Life in Letters*, ed. Heinz and Gudrun Becker, trans. Mark Violette (London: Christopher Helm, 1989), 54. Also see the letter from Nourrit to Scribe in BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22502, which includes text for a duet in *Les Huguenots* between Valentine and Raoul in Nourrit's hand. Janet Johnson, "Rossini in Bologna and Paris during the Early 1830s: New Letters," *Revue de Musicologie* LXXIX/1 (1993), 73, claims that Rossini thought of Nourrit, his Arnold in *Guillaume Tell*, as his 'poëte adjoint.'" As Johnson has discovered from Rossini's correspondence, the composer gave Emile Lubbert (the Opéra director before Véron), along with the librettist, the liberty to make cuts in *Tell* during his absence, provided Nourrit was consulted.

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The Artistic Collaboration

Basic ideas about the working relationship between composer and librettist can also inform the compositional process and our interpretations of the work's meanings. Although a certain "territorialism" and creative opposition should be expected in their individual but overlapping roles as authors, they continually referred to themselves publicly and privately as collaborators and understood that the work of one was bound to that of the other. In a number of letters--although written years after *La Juive*--Scribe and Halévy address each other as "Mon cher voisin et collaborateur" or "Mon cher & illustre collaborateur"; in his *Derniers souvenirs et portraits*, Halévy speaks of Scribe as "author" and "collaborator" of *La Juive*.[75] Moreover, both librettist and composer received the same amount in royalties for performances, as was typical at the Opéra.[76]

Scribe, a seasoned writer for many of the Parisian theaters by the early 1830s, was well accustomed to the collaborative process: even in working out text destined for non-musical theater, which would not entail adapting to fit a composer's needs, Scribe often relied on other writers. Some of these for operatic and non-operatic theater, including Germain Delavigne (1790-1868), Casimir Delavigne (1793-1843),

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[75]See, e.g., letters of Scribe to Halévy dated 3 January 1848, 17 January 1852, and 6 July (year is lacking) (BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 14347, fol. 59-60, fol. 65-66, and fol. 89-90), and the letter from Halévy to Scribe dated 5 January 1849 (BN-Mus., *Lettres autographes*, vol. 50, no. 6).

[76]AN, AJ^{13}293, V, "Etat d'émargement pour servir au payement des honoraires des auteurs et Compositeurs pendant le mois de Juin 1835," reveals that Scribe and Halévy received ₣ 250 each per performance, at least during the premiere season.

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Charles Duveyrier-Mélesville (1803-66), Jean-François Bayard (1796-1853), and Saint-Georges, were credited as co-authors with Scribe; others went unnamed, acting as contributing "ghost-writers."[77] That the librettist was stimulated to create through collaboration is suggested in an homage to his co-authors written as preface to an early edition of collected works.[78]

Undoubtedly the nature of Scribe's collaborations varied with each personality and each work, though some working habits remained constant. In his discussion of the Meyerbeer-Scribe creation of *Le Prophète*, Armstrong echoes the conclusions of other scholars in suggesting that Meyerbeer exerted artistic control over the librettist, asking Scribe to rewrite to fit his rhythmic needs or dramatic concepts. According to Armstrong, Scribe complied with most of Meyerbeer's demands, although he did not yield in several instances. In these cases, however, Meyerbeer often stepped over Scribe's desires by rewriting the text himself or getting his friend Émile Deschamps

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[77]BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22584, vol. 34, fol. 64v. Also see Karin Pendle, *Eugene Scribe*, 13-16; Pendle notes that Scribe worked with approximately 130 literary collaborators.

[78]In the 1828 edition of collected works (*Théâtre de Eugène Scribe dedié par lui à ses collaborateurs*, 10 vols. [Paris: Bezou & Aimé André]), Scribe wrote:

Mes CHERS AMIS, On m'a souvent reproché le nombre de mes collaborateurs; pour moi qui ai le bonheur de ne compter parmi eux que des amis, je regrette au contraire de ne pas en avoir davantage. Souvent aussi on m'a demandé pourquoi je ne travaillais pas seul: à cela je répondrai que je n'en avais probablement ni l'esprit ni le talent; mais je les aurais eus, que j'aurais encore préféré notre alliance et notre fraternité littéraires. Le peu d'ouvrages que j'ai composés seul ont été pour moi un travail; ceux que j'ai faits avec vous étaient un plaisir [...].

My DEAR FRIENDS, I have often been reproached for my numerous collaborators; on the contrary, I, who have the happiness of counting among them only friends, regret not having more of them. I have also been asked often why I do not work alone: to this I answer that I probably have neither the mind nor the talent; but had I had them, I would have still preferred our alliance and our literary brotherhood. The few works that I have written alone have been drudgery for me; those that I have made with you were a pleasure [...].

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to do so. Such action may have contributed to what seems to have been a testy working relationship; the Meyerbeer-Scribe correspondence reveals moments in which each was wary of the other.[79] Both were accustomed to control: Scribe with almost a virtual monopoly at the Opéra and other theaters and Meyerbeer with the huge successes of *Robert le Diable* and *Les Huguenots* to bolster his power by the time of their work on *Le Prophète*.

Consideration of the working relationship between Scribe and Halévy must take into account the fact that *La Juive* represents the young composer's first grand opera for the Académie Royale, thus suggesting the possibility that Scribe exerted the greater artistic control. This implication would seem to be strengthened by the fact that the first contract signed for the writing of *La Juive* was made between the director Louis Véron and Scribe only; Halévy was not named as composer or included as signee, as was the case in other Opéra contracts of the 1830s.[80] According to Elizabeth Bartlet, however, the non-inclusion of Halévy may have had more to do with the fact that he was an Opéra employee (*chef du chant*). Thus his omission may represent the continuity of the practice of the 1820s, when composers affiliated with the Opéra were rarely included in contracts.[81] Essentially the contract of *La Juive* is an agreement between director and librettist, stipulating payments and

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[79]Armstrong, *Le Prophète*, 149-50.

[80]See, e.g., the contract for *Les Huguenots* (titled "Léonore"; dated 1 October 1832), which included Meyerbeer, and for *Guido et Ginevra* (titled "Ginevra"; dated 26 May 1836), which included Halévy, in BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22839.

[81]In conversation with Bartlet, 7 November 1993.

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deadlines for Scribe's completion of the libretto.[82] By the time of its signing, on 25 August 1833, the librettist had written and presented a draft scenario (and perhaps some draft verse) to Véron, before the idea was even introduced to Halévy. In fact, he had already sent the scenario to Meyerbeer, as revealed in a letter from the publisher Maurice Schlesinger, written shortly before the signing of the contract. Schlesinger alerted Meyerbeer that Halévy had solicited his help in securing the libretto, but without Véron's written recommendation, the publisher was hesitant to endorse Halévy. He wrote:

> Einige Stunden später kam Halevy zu mir und bat mich Ihnen zu schreiben das Poeme von Scribe welches Sie demselben zurückgeben wollten doch recht bald zurückzuschicken da Veron es gern sehen wollte, ich fragte ihn woher er das wisse und er sagte nur Veron habe ihn rufen lassen und ihn gefragt, in wieviel Zeit er eine Oper machen könne, habe ihm von diesem Poeme das Sie zurückgeben wollen gesprochen und ihm gesagt dass er es sehr gern sehen möchte. Ich erwiderte ihm "Mon ami allez trouver de suite Veron et dites lui de m'écrire un petit mot dans lequel il m'engage de demander ce poème à Mr. M.B. et je le ferai de suite." So eben kommt er zurück und sagt mir: "Veron m'a dit qu'il serait charmé de vous ce poeme mais il ne veut rien écrire pour cela", ich sagte ihm dass unter diesen Umständen ich Ihnen nichts schreiben könnte. Sie sehen also daraus dass Veron (der mir über die ganze Angelgenheit das höchste Stillschweigen versprochen) ein wenig Furcht hat, und daher glaube ich um so mehr dass Ihre Anwesenheit hier, wäre sie auch nur 24 Stunden, höchst vortheilhaft sein könnte.[83]

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[82]See p. 74 below; also see Appendix F/F-1 for a facsimile and transcription of the contract.

[83]Letter written by Schlesinger in Paris, dated 21 August 1833, to Meyerbeer in Frankfurt. *Briefwechsel*, II, 330-31: "A few hours later Halévy came to me and asked me to write to you to send him the poem by Scribe, which you wanted to give back to him, really quickly since Véron is eager to see it; I asked him how he knew this and he said only that Véron had sent for him and asked him how long it would take him to write an opera, and had spoken to him of this poem that you want to send back and told him that he would very much

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Schlesinger's account implies that he and Véron wanted to appear somewhat noncommittal about the eager young composer lest they offend Meyerbeer, a proven success at the Opéra. Yet in the account by Monnais, Véron is given a stronger role in bringing in Halévy. He claims that Véron authorized Halévy to ask Scribe for the libretto and that Halévy then approached the librettist:

> C'est M. Véron, alors directeur de l'Opéra, qui avait autorisé votre frère (et cet acte est un de ses titres les plus glorieux) à prier Scribe de lui donner un poëme. Puis-je ne pas noter en passant un mot curieux, que je tiens d'Halévy, et dont plus tard son illustre collaborateur eût ri tout le premier? Quand le musicien alla chez le poëte et qu'il lui eut expliqué le motif de sa visite, le poëte dit aussitôt: "Est-ce pressé? -- Mais oui, répondit le musicien;" et le poëte de reprendre, en songeant à la prime d'usage: "C'est que, vous concevez, si c'est pressé, c'est plus cher; j'ai des ouvrages commencés, des collaborateurs qui attendent..." L'obstacle fut levé, les collaborateurs attendirent. [...] Il fut convenu que *la Juive* serait livrée acte par acte à des époques fixées, et chaque fois qu'une époque arrivait, on voyait aussi arriver le poëte, cherchant le musicien dans les coulisses, afin de constater légalement qu'il était exact à ses échéances.[84]

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like to see it. I answered him, 'My friend, go find Véron immediately and tell him to write me a short note in which he advises me to ask Mr. Meyerbeer for the poem and I will do it at once.' Just now he comes back and says to me: 'Véron has told me that he would be delighted if you [requested] this poem, but he does not want to write in support of that'; I told him that I could write you nothing under these circumstances. You see also from this that Véron (who promised me the utmost secrecy in this whole affair) is a little apprehensive, and for that reason I believe all the more that your presence here, were it only for 24 hours, could be most beneficial." Herbert Weinstock, *Rossini: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), 160, makes the claim that the libretto was offered to Rossini, but gives no evidence for his statement. Based on my dating of Scribe's early work on the scenario, Weinstock's claim seems doubtful. Véron mentions that *Gustave III* was offered to Rossini (before Auber, presumably), but he does not say the same for *La Juive*.

[84]Monnais, *F. Halévy*, 13-14: "It was M. Véron, then director of the Opéra, who had authorized your brother (and this act is one of his best claims to fame) to request Scribe to give him a poem. Allow me to notice a curious remark that I got from Halévy, about which his illustrious collaborator would have laughed later. When the musician went to the poet and explained the motive of his visit, the poet said immediately: 'Is it urgent?' -- 'Why yes,

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Scribe's initial condescension toward the young composer is palpable in this account, particularly in the librettist's allusion to more important collaborators waiting in the wings--most likely a reference to Meyerbeer. Halévy was relatively untried as composer at the Opéra, having to his credit only the ballet *Manon Lescaut* (1830), the opera-ballet *La Tentation* (1832), and the opera *Ludovic* (1833), which he partially wrote after it had been left incomplete by Hérold at his death.[85] His one clear success at this point was *Le Dilettante d'Avignon*, which had premiered at the Opéra-Comique in 1829. Halévy had worked with Scribe on *Manon Lescaut*, writing music to a dramatic plot sketched by Scribe and a collaborator. But with such a paltry record against Scribe's hundreds of dramas and operas, many of which were public triumphs, Halévy was clearly in a junior role. Moreover, the composer's position as *chef du chant* at the Opéra, which he had held since 1829, would have placed him in a somewhat subservient role in his contacts with Scribe at rehearsals of other operas. Therefore, it would seem that in creating *La Juive* and in seeing it through the rehearsal period, Scribe would have had greater responsibility and clout in making decisions about the work. This implication is reinforced by contemporary

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answered the musician,' and the poet repeated, thinking about the usual fee: 'If it is urgent, you know, it is more expensive; I have several works already begun, collaborators who are waiting....' The obstacle was removed, the collaborators had to wait. [...] It was agreed that *la Juive* would be delivered act by act at fixed periods, and each time a deadline was up, the librettist came looking for the musician backstage in order to confirm that he was legally exact in his commitments."

[85]According to Léon Halévy, in *Sa Vie*, 19, Hérold had written most of the first act, as well as the overture; Halévy contributed a quartet to the first act and composed the entire second act.

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descriptions of Halévy as conciliatory, diplomatic, and peace-loving, characteristics that may have led him to bow to Scribe's dramatic choices and not his own.[86] Yet, as stated above, Léon Halévy attested to Scribe's flexibility and almost subservience to the "inspirations" of the composer as the libretto was being revised.

Despite Halévy's short work-list as compared to Scribe's, the composer was by no means inexperienced in collaboration. He had worked with the librettists Saint-Georges, P.F.A. Carmouche, de Courcy, and his brother on works at the Opéra-Comique, as well as with P. Giannone on *Clari*, performed at the Théâtre-Italien. With others, he had written four early unproduced works, *Les Bohémiennes*, *Marco Curzio*, *Pygmalion*, *Les Deux pavillons*, and an incomplete *Érostraste*. (It is noteworthy that Edmond Cavé, the Commission member, had collaborated with Halévy on the ballet-opera *La Tentation* shortly before *La Juive*, along with J. Coralli.) Moreover, as *chef du chant* at the Opéra-Comique from 1826 to 1829, and at the Opéra from 1829, Halévy knew first-hand the nuts-and-bolts of staging a work and undoubtedly understood the degree of negotiation and compromise among authors, director, Commission, and performing artists that was part and parcel of the creative process.

A description by Véron of a typical final meeting with composer and librettist(s) in his office prior to an opera's premiere gives an idea of creative

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[86]Véron, in *Mémoires*, III, 174, described Halévy's diplomatic advice in the handling of singers, e.g., in deciding whether Mlle Dorus or Mlle Falcon was to sing the role of Alice in *Robert* on a particular day. Halévy was also consulted about who could go on in place of Nourrit when the tenor was injured during the fourth act of a performance of *Robert*, but Halévy left the decision to the director, as Véron noted.

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struggles that may have gone on at this stage, or earlier stages, in the making of *La Juive*:

> Une dernière séance inévitable a lieu dans son cabinet, c'est celle où il faut obtenir des auteurs des paroles, du compositeur, des suppressions et des coupures. Les auteurs du poëme prétendent que retrancher une phrase, un mot, c'est rendre le poëme inintelligible, tant leur oeuvre est fortement liée. Le musicien résiste avec non moins d'opiniâtreté: sa partition, dit'il, ne peut se découper par fragments; tout y est combiné, preparé; tout s'y tient; un morceau fait repoussoir à un autre morceau, un choeur fait valoir un air: ce sont des discussions à outrance. J'avais fini par me montrer impassible pendant ces tempêtes et ces orages, et je consacrais tout le temps que duraient ces querelles à ma correspondance polie et affectueuse avec tous les rédacteurs de journaux. C'était encore travailler au succès de l'ouvrage. Enfin on arrivait à une conclusion, et tout le monde finissait par s'entendre. Le chef de la copie de musique faisait tous les changements, toutes les suppressions, et le public du moins ne critiquait jamais les paroles et la musique supprimées.[87]

Undoubtedly the types of composer-librettist quarrels reported by Véron occurred as *La Juive* underwent numerous changes (it is noteworthy that the director claims to have stayed on the outside of these discussions), but there appears to have been a generally good accord among Scribe, Halévy, and Véron. An idea of the

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[87]*Ibid.*, III, 162: "A last inevitable meeting takes place in his office, in which it is necessary to obtain suppressions and cuts from the librettists and composer. The librettists pretend that taking out a phrase, a word, renders the poem unintelligible since their work is strongly bound together. The musician resists with no less obstinacy: his score, he says, cannot be cut into fragments; everything is combined, prepared, everything holds together; one number acts as foil to another number, a chorus highlights an aria: these are excessive discussions. During these tempests and storms I was appearing impassive, and as these quarrels continued I devoted all my time to my polite and kind correspondence with all the newspaper editors. Again, this was to labor for the success of the work. Finally, we arrived at a conclusion and everyone ended in agreement. The head of music-copying made all the changes, all the suppressions, and the public at least never criticized the suppressed words and music."

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amicable feelings between composer and librettist emerges in the composer's own references to Scribe's generosity and flexibility in accommodating Nourrit and in Léon's descriptions of Scribe's easygoing collaboration with him and his brother. Véron hinted at friendly relations with the composer in frequent references to "mon ami Halévy" in his *Mémoires*. He also spoke of an artistic rapport with Scribe in his praise of the librettist's unique understanding of opera, particularly his ability to choose fascinating subjects and create situations ideal for dramatization in music and *mise en scène*.[88] In Véron's often-quoted description of five-act grand operas, he stressed Scribe's importance in creating "une action très-dramatique, mettant en jeu les grandes passions du coeur humain et de puissants intérêts historiques."[89]

Basic Stages of Creation and First Production
c. December 1832-c. October 1835

From the time of Scribe's initial ideas about *La Juive* through its premiere season, the opera underwent a complex series of permutations. As noted above, Léon Halévy claimed that "few opera libretti would be subjected to more transformations" (see p. 56). The composer, speaking more generally of operas given at the Académie, wrote:

> Les circonstances qui précèdent l'apparition d'un ouvrage lyrique, dans les conditions de notre grand théâtre, sont souvent intéressantes, et un

[88]*Ibid*, III, 182.

[89]*Ibid.*, 181: "a very dramatic plot, putting into play the grand passions of the human heart and powerful historical interests."

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> livre qui raconterait l'*histoire d'un opéra avant sa naissance*, les phases diverses par lesquelles passent l'oeuvre et les auteurs, pourrait être très-curieux; il y a un abîme entre l'idée première d'un opéra et la représentation.[90]

Based on evidence in Scribe's travel journals, the librettist may have begun collecting ideas for *La Juive* as early as 1826, but the first extant sketch of a plot outline was written no earlier than December 1832 and possibly in the first months of 1833.[91] By the time Scribe signed a contract with Véron for the creation of a libretto on 25 August 1833, he had completed the draft scenario and, it seems, at least two acts of the libretto.[92] The contract states that Scribe "a soumis le plan à M. Véron qui l'adopte et le reçoit"; it also stipulates that Scribe "will read" the first act on the first of September, the second act on 15 September, and the final three on 15 October.[93] The close proximity of the deadline for the first act to the contract date (only seven days later) strongly suggests that Scribe had already completed this act; it

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[90]F. Halévy, *Derniers souvenirs*, 159: "The circumstances that precede the appearance of a lyrical work, under the conditions of our grand theater, are often interesting, and a book that would recount the *history of an opera before its birth*, the various phases through which the work and its authors go, could be very curious; there is a chasm between the original idea of an opera and its performance."

[91]BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22584, vol. 1; fols. 14^{v}-15^{v}; vol. 8, "Quelques idées des pièces," fol. 66^{r}. See discussion below in Chapter 4, pp. 196-97. Also see Appendix B for a time chart of the work's early history.

[92]BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22839, fol. 276; n.a.fr. 22502/2°.

[93]BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22839, Article 1er: "has submitted the plan to Mr. Véron, who adopts and receives it." The language of Article 1 reflects a stage of libretto development typical at the Paris Opéra: according to Elizabeth Bartlet (in conversation on 7 November 1993), no contract would have been drawn up without a draft scenario, and usually the first two acts would have also been written by the time of its execution. See Appendix F/F-1 for a facsimile and transcription of the entire contract.

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is likely that he had also written at least part of the second. Dates in extant draft verse (n.a.fr. 22562) give further evidence of Scribe's progress: although there are no dates noted for the first two acts, Scribe indicates "16 - 7bre" ("16 September" [1833]) at the beginning of Act III, and "Montalais 21 - 7bre" ("Montalais, 21 September" [1833]) at the fifth scene of the same act.[94] Scribe, a systematic worker, appears to have begun the third act the day after he read the second for Véron. The reference in the Schlesinger letter dated 21 August 1833 to a "poëme" that Scribe had already sent to Meyerbeer, however, suggests that Scribe had already completed a full libretto by this time. If this is true, the draft verse of n.a.fr. 22562 undoubtedly represents a second-draft reworking.

By January 1834, the copying of the performing parts--and thus the planning of the production--had begun, as suggested by the date entered in a *registre de copie* kept by the official copyist Leborne.[95] By July 1834, the opera was taking shape: during this month, when the first-draft musical setting appears to have been completed, the ordering and purchasing of material for the costumes and *mise-en-scène* began.[96] Moreover, the first act was in rehearsal ("*en répétition*"), as reported

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[94]BN, n.a.fr. 22562, 76, 85. Montalais was Scribe's country home outside Paris.

[95]This date appears at the top left-hand corner of the first page of Leborne's entry for *La Juive*, BO, RE 235, 165-74, in which he itemizes the parts to be copied and makes note of the copyists assigned to the various parts. RE 235 also contains copying records for operas and ballets put on at the Paris Opéra between 1829 and 1841 or 1842, including *Guillaume Tell*, *Robert le Diable*, *Les Huguenots*, and *Les Martyrs*. In itemizing the parts, usually divided among the pages into sections for solo, chorus, and orchestra, Leborne does not always list the copyists assigned to them. There are many clues about the progress of a work that can be extracted from this *registre*.

[96]See AN, AJ^{13}202 for records of *matériel* for costumes and staging.

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in the *Nouvelles* section of *Gazette musicale de Paris* (6 July 1834).[97] By August, according to another *Nouvelle*, the last acts were being rehearsed.[98]

It is possible that rehearsals had already begun before July. Since the copying of an act usually took the Leborne *atelier* about one month to complete, it is conceivable that rehearsals began as early as February 1834. (During the preparation of *Le Prophète* in 1848, the authorization for Leborne's copying of the leading roles and chorus parts for the first two acts was not given until two weeks before the first rehearsal was to be held on 1 October 1848, although rehearsals did not actually begin until November, as Meyerbeer noted.)[99] Certain aspects of *La Juive*'s development can be deduced from the systematic "études musicales" involved in preparing an opera at the Académie Royale. A full description by Véron gives a clear idea of the stages of rehearsal:

> C'est aussi dans ce foyer du chant que les artistes et les choeurs commencent et achèvent les études musicales des partitions d'opéra. Aux premières répétitions, le compositeur tient le piano, et indique aux maîtres de chant et aux artistes les divers mouvements des morceaux d'ensemble. Les principaux rôles étudient séparément avec le maestro les airs, les duos, les trios, tout ce qu'ils ont à chanter. Lorsqu'un acte est déchiffré, les répétitions au quatuor commencent, sous la direction du chef d'orchestre; tous les instruments à cordes, violons, altos, violoncelles et contrebasses, viennent successivement exécuter cet accompagnement au quatuor. Aussitôt que tout l'ouvrage est su par les choeurs et par les sujets, on aborde les répétitions générales pour l'orchestre. Tout le *chant* répète assis. Pendant ces deux ou trois

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[97]I/27 (6 July 1834), 220. The report referred to "les artistes," who "speak enthusiastically" of the first act that they had rehearsed together several days prior.

[98]*Gazette musicale de Paris* (17 August 1834) I/33, 268.

[99]Armstrong, "*Le Prophète*," 174, 271.

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> répétitions pour l'orchestre, on corrige les fautes de copie. Les études d'un opéra se terminent par de nouvelles répétitions au quatuor, avec l'action et la mise en scène; puis enfin avec l'orchestre complet, avec les décors, avec l'éclairage, avec les costumes. Toutes ces études fatigantes, pénibles, exigent une grande fermeté de la part du chef d'orchestre et du maître de chant.[100]

That the early rehearsals with the composer, including the private meetings with soloists, occurred before the press reports of July is reinforced by the dates of payment records between Halévy and the publisher Maurice Schlesinger for both the full and piano-vocal score: 13 July and 14 July 1834, respectively.[101] Halévy had probably reached or neared some point of completion by these dates, including orchestration. Léon Halévy's account of the work's progress claims that the composer completed Acts I and II during the summer of 1834, followed by the last three acts successively, before he began a partial reworking ("cette refonte partielle") of the opera.[102] The dates of copying and contracts suggest that Léon's chronology

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[100]Véron, *Mémoires*, III, 218. "It is also in this *foyer du chant* that the artists and choruses begin and end the musical studies of operatic scores. In the first rehearsals, the composer is at the piano and indicates the various rhythms of the ensemble pieces to the singing masters and the artists. The principal roles [soloists] study the arias, duets, trios--everything they have to sing--with the composer separately. When one act is sight-read, the rehearsals *au quatuor* begin under the direction of the conductor; all string instruments, violins, violas, cellos, and basses, perform successively this accompaniment *au quatuor*. As soon as the entire work is learned by the choruses and subjects, the general rehearsals for orchestra are tackled. All the *singing* is practiced seated. During the two or three rehearsals for orchestra, the copying errors are corrected. The studies of an opera are finished by new rehearsals *au quatuor* with the action and the *mise en scène*; then, finally, with the full orchestra, scenery, lighting, and costumes. All these tedious, tiresome studies demand great firmness on the part of the conductor and chorus master."

[101]BO, Lettres autographes-Halévy. See Appendix H for a copy and transcription of these payment records.

[102]See quote above, p. 56.

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may be distorted by a few months. It is doubtful that Schlesinger would have signed contracts if the composer had completed only one or two acts.

The preparation of *La Juive* most likely followed the stages plotted by Véron. The early rehearsals that were conducted separately for soloists and chorus, accompanied by the piano, were undoubtedly led by Halévy. Léon's comments about his brother's early work with Nourrit on the role of Éléazar support Véron's description of the composer working with soloists individually.[103] Press reports other than those mentioned above give further evidence about the work's progress. A *Nouvelle* of mid-August 1834 suggested that the last acts were in rehearsal; one of late August implied that rehearsals had been discontinued and taken up again, at least for a short time, in its wording that "on reprendra" the rehearsals of *La Juive*.[104] According to a *Nouvelle* of 5 October 1834, *La Juive* was projected to begin "en scène" toward the end of November.[105] *Répétitions générales*, or rehearsals with orchestra, probably began in late November, or possibly early December, based on a date that appears in a contrabass partbook. At the top of the first page of this partbook, which contains music of Act III, appears the indication "5*me* Rep = Gene = 9 Xbre 1834," placing the fifth rehearsal with orchestra on 9 December 1834.[106]

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[103]Halévy's direction in early stages of teaching the opera may have been similar to Meyerbeer's in preparing *Le Prophète* for the Paris Opéra in 1848-49. Armstrong ("*Le Prophète*," 270 ff.) reports that Meyerbeer conducted private rehearsals with Gustave Roger (Jean) on 13, 19, and 21 November 1848, and with Pauline Viardot (Fidès) on 18 November.

[104]*Gazette musicale de Paris* I/33 (17 August 1834), 268; I/35 (31 August 1834), 284.

[105]I/40, 324.

[106]BO, Mat. 19e[315ter(597).

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A report in *Revue musicale* in late December confirms that late-stage rehearsals had taken place during the month, since it predicted that the premiere would occur in mid-January.[107] By the second week of January, again according to press reports, the first three acts were still being rehearsed, to be followed by the last two.[108] By the first week of February, however, Acts IV and V were back "au quatuor"--i.e., rehearsed with reduced strings only, as Véron put it.[109] The return to this intermediate stage resulted from these acts having been completely reworked.[110] One archival document, Leborne's *Fourniture de copie de musique* for the months of January and February 1835 (AN, AJ[13]289), indicates that there were fifteen *repétitions générales*--or at least fifteen at which changes were made in the score (see below). Correspondence and reports among the Opéra administration refer to some rehearsals, including a letter dated 4 February 1835 from Véron to the Minister which spoke of "un assez grand nombre de changements" made to the work since "les dernières répétitions"--perhaps in reference to the reworking of Acts IV and V reported in the press.[111] Two letters document a continuation of rehearsals into the third week of February: one dated 13 February 1835 from the Commission Secretary to the Minister reported on the rehearsal of the first and third acts "avec décors et

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[107]"Nouvelles de Paris," *Revue musicale* VIII/52 (28 December 1834), 413.

[108]"Nouvelles," *Gazette musicale de Paris* I/2 (11 January 1835), 15.

[109]Reported in *Revue musicale* IX/5 (1 February 1835), 38.

[110]*Revue musicale* IX/5 (1 February 1835), 38. The reworking of Act IV is evident in the music manuscripts at the BO, including Mat. 19[e][315(17), (18), (106) and Rés 135(2).

[111]AN, AJ[13]202.

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costumes" the previous day; another of 15 February from Choiseul informed the Minister that a *répétition générale* of the fifth act with costumes would take place the next evening, 16 February.[112] A costume inventory in AJ[13]202, begun in July 1834 and completed sometime after the premiere, indicates that there had been 107 rehearsals requiring the services of the costume department: it records a one-franc charge for each of "107 Répétitions," as well as for each of "30 Réprésentations d'accessoires."[113]

The date of *La Juive*'s premiere was apparently postponed at least once, and perhaps several times, according to a variety of sources. As with other operas given at the Académie, and as evident from the *Nouvelles* referred to above, the progress of the work's preparation was closely followed in the press. Projections of the premiere were made as early as the first week of October; later, several journals, which were continually updating the time of the premiere, projected that it would be in January, then in early February.[114] Some of these reports were undoubtedly released by Véron, who communicated the progress of a work to newspapers and journals in the hopes of creating an aura of excitement and expectation among the opera-going public and thus contributing to an opera's success. But it seems that unexpected delays occurred: reports suggested that *La Juive*'s premiere was being held up because

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[112]*Ibid.*

[113]AN, AJ[13]202, "La Juive, Opéra en 5 actes, réprésenté le 23 février 1835," costume inventories, 159.

[114]See *Gazette musicale de Paris* I/35 (31 August 1834), 284; I/50 (14 December 1834), 403; II/2 (11 January 1835), 15, and *Revue musicale* VIII/52 (28 December 1834), 413.

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costumes and sets had not been finished; but Véron later claimed that Falcon's vocal troubles had been the true cause of the postponements.[115] Véron wrote in his *Mémoires*:

> Pendant près de quinze jours après la dernière répétition générale, nous nous rendions tous les matins, Halévy et moi, près de Mlle Falcon, pour savoir si elle pourrait chanter le lendemain. Nous vivions ainsi dans la plus grande anxiété. Le public se plaignait de ces retards contre lesquels ni l'intelligence, ni la volonté ne pouvaient rien.[116]

Among administrative correspondence, there is no reference to Falcon, but a letter dated 12 February from Choiseul to the Minister requested a *reiâche* for 16 February and a rescheduling of the premiere to 18 February.[117] The printed libretto of 18 February confirms that this date had been relatively secure. Because a dress rehearsal of the fifth act was rescheduled for 16 February, as noted above, it appears that the opera had been delayed for reasons other than Falcon's vocal difficulties; but the five-

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[115]The choreographer Taglioni was reported to be working on *divertissements* in a January issue of *Gazette musicale de Paris* II/2 (11 January 1835), 15; the 1 February issue of the same journal (II/5, 38-39) reported that the opera was awaiting "décors." In January (i/1, 346), *Revue des deux mondes* reported that it was being held up by the armor and impatiently complained that eighteen months had passed since work had begun on *La Juive*--perhaps counting from the date Scribe signed the contract with Véron.

[116]*Mémoires*, III, 180: "For nearly two weeks after the last full rehearsal, Halévy and I went with Mlle Falcon every morning to find out if she could sing the next day. In this way we lived in a state of greatest anxiety. The public was not pleased with these delays, against which neither intelligence nor will could do anything."

[117]AN, AJ^{13} 202. In a non-dated letter from Falcon to Halévy (BN-Mss., "Lettres autographes," vol. 36, no. 193), she writes that she is fatigued and will take advantage of the cancellation of *La Juive* on Monday; she reports that she does not want to sing Tuesday, but would be ready Wednesday.

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day delay subsequent to 18 February may very well have been caused by them, as Véron attested.

The length of the rehearsal period leading up to the premiere was not atypical: at least eight months (from the first week of July to the third week of February) and perhaps twelve, if rehearsals began shortly after Leborne initiated his copying. But the length of time Halévy spent composing the work was unusually short. Léon Halévy describes his brother as working feverishly on *La Juive*, driven by a passion for the subject, but undoubtedly also by the pressure of limited time. Given Scribe's contract to finish the libretto by 15 October 1833, it is likely that Halévy completed a "first-draft" of the work within nine months--by the time of his July contract with Schlesinger. But, as suggested by the evidence in the autograph score and the performing parts, it appears that Halévy was revising and orchestrating throughout the rehearsal period. There are a number of 22-26-staved pages of the autograph on which Halévy began writing in short score, first with the vocal line supported by the bass line and fragments of prominent parts: in other words, the lines that were transferred to the voice partbooks (and perhaps the short score for Halévy) used in early rehearsals with piano.[118]

A chronology of the work's layers would be extremely difficult to chart, particularly those changes made throughout the months of rehearsals. For our purposes, general clues can be drawn from various text and music sources listed in

[118]Various layers of ink point to this sketching in "short score" on the large page before filling out the orchestration.

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the introduction, as well as other archival documents and reports. There is evidence that alterations came both in early and in late stages of rehearsal, as well as after the premiere, not just in the last days leading up to it, as Véron suggested. Leborne's *Fourniture de copie*, dated 8 April 1835, includes an itemization of the types of performing parts copied by February 1835 and the corresponding number of pages, followed by a summary of alterations made after each of fifteen full rehearsals and after the first three performances, as well as the number of days it took the copyists to complete their work:

> Coupures, rétablissements, et changements successifs, faits après chacune des 15 répétitions générales.
> à 2 journées ½ l'un dans l'autre,
> 37 journées ½
>
> id après chacune des 3 premières représentations--
> 16 journées ½ [119]

[119]AN, AJ[13]289:
"Successive cuts, restorations, and changes made after each of the 15 full rehearsals.
at 2-½ days, on balance
37-½ days

id. after each of the first 3 performances--
16-½ days"

By way of comparison, a similar *Fourniture de copie* (AN, AJ[13]293), dated 3 May 1836, for the copying of *Les Huguenots* during the months of December 1835 through February 1836 offers greater detail of seemingly more extensive changes made to this opera: eighteen days of copy work for changes in vocal parts made during the "répétitions au foyer"; thirty days for changes in orchestral and vocal parts during twenty "premières répétitions générales"; sixty days for reductions in orchestral and vocal parts; eight days for changes during the "dernières répétitions générales"; and six days for changes made after the first through third performances.

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Since the first three performances took place in late February (23, 25, 27 February 1835), the sixteen-and-one-half days of alterations made afterwards would have extended into March. The archival score (BO, A509b, I-VI), which is a six-volume manuscript copy intended to represent the opera as performed at the Académie, was prepared by Leborne's copyists sometime after the premiere, as this manuscript was typically the last of the Opéra's standard music material to be copied. The copying of Act III could not have been done prior to 25 February, because the first three numbers of this act, which were omitted at the second performance, were never copied for the archival score--as is clear from Leborne's *Registre de copie* (RE 235). This *registre* lists the numbers, which were subsequently crossed out; next to them, no copyists are assigned and no page counts are indicated.[120] Alterations that appear in the archival score, then, may represent changes that came after the premiere. The change from guitars to violins in the accompaniment of Leopold's Act I Serenade, for example, was probably a late-stage change in the first production since it can be seen in the archival score.[121]

Press reports of the sale and publication of the libretto and scores by Maurice Schlesinger give further clues for constructing a timetable for *La Juive*. *Le Corsaire*

It is likely that the invoice for *La Juive* copy work was not the first, as many changes had probably been made after its "répétitions au foyer," or private rehearsals with soloists, for example.

[120]For a more detailed explanation, see pp. 422-23, n. 84.

[121]In AN: AJ[13]293, records of extra players hired for opera performances indicate that the change was made before June 1835: for this month of performances, the only extra performer specified for the four performances of *La Juive* was the organist Benoît; a guitarist was hired for three performances of an unnamed opera, but this was most likely not *La Juive*.

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(23 February 1835) remarked on the printed libretto that would be sold for one franc at the premiere that evening, claiming that the public sale of the libretto was a "useful innovation" introduced by Schlesinger, although it was standard practice.[122] The journal *Le Moniteur universel* reported on 28 February 1835 that Schlesinger had bought the score for 30,000 francs, although the Schlesinger-Halévy contract shows that the publisher had already secured rights to both piano-vocal and full scores almost a year before; it also anticipated that the score "will be published immediately."[123] An advertisement for the publication of the Schlesinger full score did not appear until 9 August 1835 in Schlesinger's journal, *Gazette musicale de Paris*.[124] An exact publication date is difficult to assign, however; according to Devries and Lesure's dating of Schlesinger publications by plate numbers, "M.S. 2000," the plate number of the full score, and "M.S. 2002," the number of the piano-vocal score, originated in early 1836.[125]

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[122]Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 20.

[123]*Ibid.*, 121. This report repeated the news announced in "[un] de nos journaux."

[124]9 August 1835, II/32, 268. This date cannot be completely secure. Undoubtedly preparation of the published score had begun months before, but it is possible that it was not completed by the advertisement date.

[125]Anik Devries and François Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français*, 2 vols. (Geneva: Éditions Minkoff, 1979), II, 390. In the *Registre du dépot légal* of the Bibliothèque Nationale, there is no entry for the Schlesinger piano-vocal score or full score. Instead, there are entries for the Schlesinger *morceaux détachés*, entered in April 1835 and identified as "La Juive nos. 1-17, Part. de Piano" (see p. 23, n. 45, above); and an arrangement of the overture published by Schlesinger, entered in January 1836 and designated "Ouverture de la Juive arr. pour le piano par Schunke."

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Schlesinger's full score was based on the autograph, as revealed by printer's marks throughout the latter; there is also a correspondence with the archival score. Material that is crossed out in the autograph (often in the red crayon typically used by Leborne) matches material that is not included in the full score. It is likely that Schlesinger's piano-vocal score was prepared prior to the full score: it includes not only the three numbers omitted from Act III in the archival score and Schlesinger full score, but phrases and sections of music omitted from these sources that were undoubtedly cut for the sake of performance time or for dramatic tightening. One indication that it may have been published after (but not necessarily prepared after) the full score is its inclusion of the overture.

Although some evidence points to the likelihood that Halévy had written a long overture in early stages of composition, it was replaced by the short introduction well before the premiere.[126] According to Leborne's copy records and reports in the press, the long overture was not copied for the orchestra until September 1835 and was not performed before October 1835, eight months after the premiere.[127]

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[126]See n. 129 for evidence in the performing parts and the autograph manuscript, BO, A509a. In *Journal de Paris et des départemens* (23 March 1835) (Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 98), the writer claimed that he had learned that the introduction "avait été abrégée," suggesting that it had been shortened from the overture already written.

[127]See AN, AJ[13]293, *Fourniture de copie de musique*, dated 9 February 1836, for copy work of "Ouverture Pour la Juive" done in September 1835. As revealed by RE 235 and the performing parts, the "ouverture" first copied was the short introduction included in the Schlesinger full score. *Gazette musicale de Paris* (11 October 1835) II/41, 335, announced that Halévy was composing an overture to be performed for the first time the following Wednesday, 16 October. *Revue musicale* (1 November 1835), IX/44, 358, reported that the new overture of *La Juive* "expressement composée par M. Halévy" would be performed for the king and queen of Belgium.

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Halévy may have chosen to include it in the piano-vocal score in anticipation of the fall performances; the overture could have easily been added close to the time of publication after the remainder of the score had been prepared. Schlesinger did issue an orchestral version of the overture, but this appeared as a separate publication.[128] Based on the clean, "untouched" appearance of the *cahiers* of orchestral parts of the overture (whose paper, hands, and pagination indicate that they represent Leborne's September 1835 copy work), it seems that this overture was rarely performed at the Paris Opéra after being introduced in October 1835.[129]

Because this study aims to focus on the version of the opera staged by the Paris Opéra during the premiere season, it will consider the "stabilized opera" to be that reflected by the Schlesinger full score. Therefore, only the alterations that occurred prior to the Schlesinger edition published by August 1835 are those of primary interest to my discussions.

* * * * *

In the following chapter, I turn my attention to the ideologies and guiding principles of librettist and composer in relation to the socio-political currents of the

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[128]See, e.g., *Ouverture à grand orchestre de l'Opéra: La Juive (Die Jüdinn) composée par F. Halévy* (Berlin: Schlesinger, 183?) (S. 2012), undoubtedly a later Schlesinger edition (available at the Library of Congress).

[129]See Mat.19[e][315, 108, violon principal, "Ouverture de la juive," which is 69 pages of paper bearing a Charnez blind stamp; the number of pages corresponds with the "69" recorded in the Leborne *registre* RE 235 as the overture copied following the short introduction. Both this record and the paper type suggest that the part was that copied in preparation for the October-November 1835 performance(s) of the long overture. Also see other orchestral performing parts, mostly copied on Charnez paper, with page counts equalling those listed in RE 235: Mat.19[e][315, 119-24 (1st violin); 138-43 (2nd violin); 149-52 (viola); 160-68 ("Basse"/"Contre-Basse").

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day. What emerges is a clear idea that the artists were not merely fitting their work to meet the aesthetic and extramusical requirements set by the Opéra administration, but were themselves driven by personal convictions that inspired the opera's fundamental messages. Among the creators of *La Juive*, there existed a true ideological rapport.

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CHAPTER 3

THE RAPPROCHEMENT OF *LA JUIVE*'S AUTHORS: LIBERALS, SAINT-SIMONIANS, AND EMANCIPATED JEWS

Introduction

An ideological rapprochement, linked to generational spirit and thought, appears to have existed among Eugène Scribe, Fromental Halévy, Léon Halévy, and Adolphe Nourrit. The generation to which they belonged, labelled by some historians as the "Generation of 1820," which matured after the fall of the Empire, was imbued with socially progressive ideals, a "high moral tone," and a zeal to improve French society.[1] United in part by its opposition to the Restoration government, ultraroyalist actions, and established elites, this generation embraced the ideals of liberty and equality and supported the Revolution of 1830, which promised their resurgence. For many, Napoleonic fever continued unabated, despite the glaring contradictions to the principles of liberty and social justice represented by the Empire. Although ideological differences existed among the members of this generation, it was extraordinarily cohesive, as Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve (1804-69) suggested in his 1833 description of the generation's rise to power after 1830:

> There is a generation composed of those born at the end of the last century, still children or too young under the Empire, which liberated

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[1]Alan B. Spitzer, *The French Generation of 1820* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 3-4, 9.

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> itself to don manly garb in the midst of the storms of 1814 and 1815. This generation, [...] who fought with virtual unanimity under the Restoration against the political and religious *ancien régime*, today occupies the summits of power and science in business, the Chambers and the Academies. The Revolution of 1830, to which this generation had so greatly contributed by its fifteen years of struggle, was made for it to a considerable extent and was the harbinger of its accession.[2]

Alfred de Musset (1810-57), although born too late to be grouped among this generation, nonetheless recognized its unique historical position and helped to create its self-image. In an eloquent, colorful passage in *La Confession d'un enfant du siècle* (1836), Musset wrote of a generation of youths, "pale, ardent, and neurotic": "behind them a past destroyed forever, still quivering on its ruins with all the fossils of centuries of absolutism; before them the aurora of an immense horizon, the first gleam of the future [...]."[3] Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850), one of the generation's most luminous members, captured its political idealism and missionary *esprit* in *Sténie; ou, Les Erreurs philosophiques* (published in 1936):

> It is up to us, *jeunes gens*, children of the century and of liberty, to speed the dawning of happiness among nations, to make the security of thrones coincide with the freedom of peoples; already, we have great tasks to perform.[4]

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[2]Cited in translation, *ibid.*, 5-6.

[3]Cited in translation, *ibid.*, 10.

[4]Cited in translation, *ibid.*, frontispiece. Spitzer also includes quotes characterizing the generation by Félicité-Robert de Lamennais (1782-1854), François-René, Vicomte de Chateaubriand (1768-1848), and Benjamin Constant (1767-1830), 4-5.

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Modern historians of the Restoration period and French literature have added to these portrayals and self-affirmations, usually defining the generation in terms of a brilliant group of educated, predominantly middle-class males that included, in addition to Balzac, such men as Alfred de Vigny (1797-1863), Adolphe Thiers (1797-1877), Jules Michelet (1798-1874), Auguste Comte (1798-1857), Victor Hugo (1802-85), and Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863). The specific designation of the generation varies in different accounts, as well as its age span. Spitzer's label, the "Generation of 1820," adopted by a number of historians, corresponds to the "Restoration generation" and the "romantic literary generation" preferred by other writers.[5] Spitzer follows Sainte-Beuve's definition and includes individuals "born during the last decade of the eighteenth century and emerging into maturity under the Restoration" but excludes those "too old to have participated in the imperial educational system or too young to have reached early maturity by the death of Louis XVIII in 1824"; thus, he chooses the birthdates 1792 and 1803 as historical boundaries defining this generation.[6]

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[5]See, e.g., Spitzer's references, *ibid.*, 3-4, to Albert Thibaudet, "La Génération de 1820," *Histoire de la littérature française*, Part 2 (Paris: Stock, 1936), 105-292; Charles Bruneau, "La Génération de 1820," *Histoire de la langue française des origines à nos jours*, ed. Ferdinand Brunot (Paris: A. Colin, 1968), II/12, 103-15; Robert Brown, "The Generation of 1820 during the Bourbon Restoration in France: A Biographical and Intellectual Portrait of the First Wave, 1814-1824" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1979); Henri Peyre, *Les Générations littéraires* (Paris: Boivin, 1948); François A. Isambert, *De la Charbonnerie au saint-simonisme: Étude sur la jeunesse de Buchez* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1966).

[6]Spitzer, *1820*, 6. Spitzer recognizes the arbitrariness of these dates and allows for some lack of clarity at these limits. He also refers to other boundaries--e.g., the birthdates of 1795 and 1805 chosen by Peyre (4, n. 2).

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In addition to cataclysmic historical events--the collapse of the Empire and the return of the Bourbon monarchy--common schooling, membership in institutions and associations, and participation in literary salons and the founding of journals helped to galvanize the generation's collective *mentalité*. Many of the "articulate minority," defined by Spitzer as *hommes de lettres* whose writings made a public mark in the 1820s, attended the *lycées* established under the Empire (the Imperial, Napoléon, Charlemagne, and Bonaparte, which were renamed Louis-le-Grand, Henri IV, Charlemagne, and Bourbon under the Restoration), as well as the École normale, the *collège* of Sainte-Barbe, and the *collège-royal*, Louis-le-Grand. Among the most influential circles were the *normaliens*, students of the École normale and other young intellectuals inspired by the political philosophy of Victor Cousin (1792-1867), whose public lectures at the Sorbonne drew an intense following from 1815 until their suspension by the Restoration government in 1821. This suspension, along with the closing of the École normale in 1822, was part of the purge of the University undertaken by ultraroyalist factions that intensified youthful opposition to the government. Other important circles were the Carbonari, a group of political activists founded by Saint-Amand Bazard (1791-1852) and opposed to the Bourbon Restoration, and the Saint-Simonians, who began a social and philosophical movement in 1825 built on the ideas of Saint-Simon.[7]

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[7]See Spitzer, *1820* (Chapter 1, "Introduction: The Generation as a Social Network," 3-34, for a more comprehensive discussion of the education, activities, and networks of this generation or "cohort."

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Based on the birthdates and the biographical profiles of Fromental and Léon Halévy, both belong to the "Generation of 1820" as defined by Spitzer and other historians. The composer was born in 1799, the year of Balzac's birth, and his brother in 1802, the year of Hugo's. The events of 1814 left a profound imprint on them, as Léon vividly recalled in his biography of Fromental. Ignoring parental orders to avoid the military movements in Paris by keeping the windows of their house closed, the young Halévys watched and absorbed the scenes in the street:

> Je soulevai précipitamment une de ces fenêtres à tabatière comme l'on en voyait alors beaucoup, qui glissaient sans bruit dans leurs rainures. Au cri étouffé de surprise que je poussai, mon frère accourut. C'était le premier avril 1814. La veille, le sénat avait voté la déchéance de l'empereur, et la capitulation de Paris avait été signée. Deux jours avant, nos coeurs avaient tressailli au récit de l'héroïque défense de Paris par les élèves de l'École polytechnique sur les buttes Saint-Chaumont. Or, voici le spectacle qui frappait nos yeux à cette petite fenêtre de la rue Michel-Lepelletier, la seule qui fût ouverte dans la rue déserte et silencieuse. Un long escadron de Cosaques défilait lentement: pas un boutique ouverte, pas un habitant aux fenêtres et aux portes; partout l'apparence du deuil et de la désolation. L'armée ennemie entrait dans Paris, et ce détachement de cavaliers, à l'aspect sauvage, venait reconnaître ce quartier de la ville immense. Le fer de leurs longues lances s'élevait jusqu'à nous. Plusieurs levèrent la tête et regardèrent étonnés ces deux têtes d'adolescents, les deux seules qui apparussent dans la rue populeuse et comme frappée de mort. De ces deux jeunes inconnus qui les regardaient avec une morne surprise, l'un devait plus tard envoyer dans leur lointaine patrie quelques-uns de ces chants qui ont parcouru le monde, et ces beaux choeurs de *Charles VI*, dont la patriotique inspiration a pris peut-être naissance dans les souvenirs de cette douloureuse journée. [...] Nous n'oubliâmes jamais l'impression profonde qu'avait produite sur nous cette scène; et plus tard, quand nous lûmes dans certains récits qu'un odieux enthousiasme avait alors éclaté ailleurs, nous nous rappelâmes, pour donner à ce jour

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> néfaste son véritable caractère, ce petit coin muet et désolé du vieux Paris où s'étaient écoulées nos premières années.[8]

Of the two brothers, it is Léon who best fits Spitzer's description of the generation's "articulate minority" and he is, in fact, one of the almost 200 subjects who served as the basis of the author's study. In 1825, Léon added to the self-affirmations of the Restoration *jeunesse*, characterizing the period as:

> one of those epochs of sharp transition where the emerging generations are separated from their predecessors to such a degree that in the same country, in the same century, we exist as citizens of two nations and contemporaries of two eras.[9]

Léon's education at the *lycée* Charlemagne, where he won the *concours générales* in 1816-17, placed him squarely among a brilliant elite. But perhaps most crucial to

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[8]Léon Halévy, *Sa Vie*, 12: "I hurriedly raised one of the skylights like those that were commonly seen then, which slid noiselessly in their grooves. At my stifled cry of surprise my brother rushed up. It was the first of April 1814. The Senate had voted the deposition of the Emperor the day before, and the surrender of Paris had been signed. Two days before, our hearts had thrilled to the account of the heroic defense of Paris by the students of the École polytechnique on the hills of Saint-Chaumont. But here was the spectacle which caught our eyes in this tiny window on the rue Michel-Lepelletier, the only one that was open on the deserted and silent street. A long squadron of Cossacks marched slowly past: not one open shop, not one inhabitant at the windows and doors; everywhere the appearance of mourning and distress. The enemy army entered Paris and this detachment of cavalrymen with savage looks came to check out this quarter of the vast city. The iron of their long spears came right up to us. Several raised their heads and looked surprised to see two heads of adolescents, the only two which appeared in the densely populated street, who were scared to death. Of these two young unknowns who looked at them with gloomy amazement, one would later send to their distant country several of these songs which had made their way around the world as well as the beautiful choruses of *Charles VI*, whose patriotic inspiration had perhaps been born in the memories of this painful day. [...] We never forgot the profound impression this scene produced on us; later, when we read in certain accounts that an odious enthusiasm had broken out somewhere else, we recalled, to give true character to this ill-fated day, the mute, desolate tiny corner of old Paris where we spent our first years."

[9]*Le Producteur* I (1825), 275, cited in translation in Spitzer, *1820*, 30.

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Léon's categorization as a reform-minded representative of his generation are his early associations with Saint-Simon and other social thinkers and his role in articulating Saint-Simonian doctrine. He contributed to two periodicals representative of generational *esprit*: the short-lived journal *Le Producteur*, published from October 1825 to October 1826 as a vehicle for Saint-Simon's philosophy, and the more successful periodical *Le Globe*, established in 1824 by the former conspirators Pierre Leroux and Paul-François Dubois (the latter a pupil of Cousin). Léon was among *Le Producteur*'s ten founders, who also included Olinde Rodrigues (1795-1851), the man usually credited with beginning the Saint-Simonian movement, Prosper Enfantin (1796-1864), along with ex-Carbonarists Benjamin-Philippe Buchez (1796-1865) and Bazard. One of many young literati who wrote for *Le Globe*, Léon joined the alumni of the Carbonari and the École normale who formed the central force behind *Le Globe*. He also collaborated with the older, liberally minded *homme de lettres* Antoine-Vincent Arnault (1766-1834) in editing *L'Opinion: Journal des moeurs, de la littérature, des arts, des théâtres et de l'industrie*, a periodical established in December 1825. Among his signed contributions are articles heavily weighted in Saint-Simonian philosophy.

Significant in Léon Halévy's *oeuvre* is the introduction that he claims to have written to the Saint-Simonian publication *Opinions littéraires, philosophiques et industrielles* (1825), which resounds with generational optimism in its call to Frenchmen to unite, put the past behind, and march "comme un seul homme" towards

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an earthly paradise that lies in the future.[10] Ralph Locke also credits Léon Halévy with primary authorship of another article in this publication, "L'Artiste, le savant, et l'industriel: Dialogue." Largely based on this article, Locke assesses Léon Halévy as "the first of the disciples to tackle the problem of enriching and aestheticizing Saint-Simon's view of the social role of art."[11] Above all, Halévy saw the theater as the most powerful social tool of all the arts media. Illustrative of this view are his own dramas (including a collaboration with the controversial playwright Louis-Marie Fontan) and, as I shall argue, the central work of this study, *La Juive*.

Fromental Halévy's absorption in musical spheres might suggest a distance from the social networks that branched out from the *grand écoles* or that included Léon's Saint-Simonian colleagues. While his brother attended the *lycée* Charlemagne, the composer's education was centered in the Conservatoire, which awarded him the Prix de Rome in 1819, and which hired him as professor of harmony in 1827 and professor of counterpoint and fugue in 1833. Yet Fromental did associate with many of the individuals in Léon's circles. When the two brothers were living together on the rue Montholon after the death of their father in 1826, Olinde Rodrigues, who introduced Léon to Saint-Simon in 1823, lived in the same apartment building.

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[10]Cte. Claude-Henri de Saint-Simon, Léon Halévy, Olinde Rodrigues *et al. Opinions littéraires, philosophiques et industrielles* (Paris: Galerie de Bossange Père, Libraire de S.A.R. Mgr le Duc Orléans, 1825), 21-22. Léon claims to have written the introduction as well as the essays included under the heading "Mélanges"; see his "Souvenirs de Saint-Simon," *La France littéraire* I (1832), 538. Also see V. E., "Léon Halévy," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols. (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1963), VI, 169.

[11]Ralph P. Locke, *Music, Musicians and the Saint-Simonians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 37.

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Olinde's home was a center for gatherings of the young Saint-Simonians, including the brothers Edouard and Henri Rodrigues, who were "converted" to the movement by Olinde (but were unrelated to him), and the brothers Émile Pereire (1800-74) and Isaac Pereire (1806-80). According to Léon Halévy, Fromental not only joined this "société intelligente et passionée," but he revelled in its midst, "où brillaient son jugement et son esprit."[12] Despite the fact that the young composer found the group's discussions stimulating, Léon implied that his brother's focus on his Conservatoire teaching, his work as *chef du chant* at the Théâtre-Italien, and his own composition did not permit him to become a full-fledged disciple of Saint-Simon.

The circle that met at Olinde Rodrigues' home was a small but influential group of Jews who shaped the Saint-Simonian movement, and was exceptional in its public appeals for social and political reform. Despite the fact that Jews were beneficiaries of the Enlightenment, the emancipation of 1791, the civil reforms of Napoleon, and education in the best Paris schools, only a small minority was politically active. According to Zosa Szajkowski, Jews as a group did not participate in the opposition to the Bourbons of the 1820s nor in the Revolution of 1830, despite anti-semitic actions during the Restoration.[13] Remembering Napoleon's reversal of certain civil liberties, Jews were reluctant to state openly radical, even liberal, opinions for fear of reprisal. Moreover, their limited political action stemmed from

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[12]Léon Halévy, *Sa Vie*, 17.

[13]Zosa Szajkowski, "French Jews during the Revolution of 1830 and the July Monarchy," 1022.

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the fact that the secret societies that fanned the flames of liberal and republican opposition were often closed to Jews.[14]

The attraction to *Saint-Simonisme* of the Halévys and other young Jews was linked to their avidity for the *philosophe* ideals of human justice and tolerance and their desire for a fully democratic society. Prescriptions for an improved society offered by the Saint-Simonians, including the elimination of hereditary rights, widespread industrialization, and economic, intellectual, and moral uplifting of the working class, undoubtedly suggested ways in which post-emancipation Jews could forge more widely accepted and more influential societal roles. Pantheistic elements of Saint-Simon's doctrine undoubtedly appealed to Jews who were looking for ways to fit their basic religious beliefs into a society that was predominantly Christian. The emphasis on the social role of artists drew many musicians to Saint-Simonian ideals. Liszt and Berlioz are among those most frequently discussed in historical treatments of the Saint-Simonians; Nourrit was also attracted, attending many public lectures and gatherings of the group around 1830.

Scribe, whose birthyear of 1791 places him slightly outside Spitzer's dating for the Generation of 1820, nevertheless shared the liberal ideals of the Restoration generation and associated with many of its "articulate minority." One of his closest friends and colleagues was Casimir Delavigne, with whom he attended the *collège*, Sainte Barbe. Delavigne, one of his generation's most admired writers, was propelled

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[14]*Ibid.* Szajkowski notes that "with few exceptions Jews were not as yet accepted on equal terms by the Christian population, even by liberals."

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into the Academy on the immense success of his poems which mourned the fall of Napoleon, the *Messéniennes*. Memorized by countless youths who were "frantic liberals and frantic Bonapartists," Delavigne's poems gave him a reputation as a "patriot," as he was called by the dramatist Ernest Legouvé (1807-1903).[15] Scribe collaborated with Casimir Delavigne, as well as with his brother Germain Delavigne (1790-1868) on early theater works and remained a consultant and confidant even after their collaborative efforts ceased. (The brothers also collaborated with Halévy, most notably on *Charles VI*, which premiered in 1838.)

Although in many biographical statements Scribe appears removed from politics, including the events of 1830, he stated strong opposition to the Bourbon Restoration in 1814 commentary that embodies similar sentiments to Léon Halévy's cited above, although written less vividly and personally. Shortly before the creation of *La Juive*, he identified himself as a "liberal." It appears that Scribe's liberalism resonated with the philosophies of the Halévys: as I explore below, their biographies and writings expose a rapprochement, one rooted in the *esprit* of the Generation of 1820, that bound them together as creators.

Eugène Scribe

Neither musicologists nor theater historians portray Scribe as a man driven by ideological concerns. The topicality of many of his more than 420 plays and opera

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[15]*Sixty Years of Recollections*, trans. Albert D. Vandam, 2 vols. (London: Eden, Remington & Co., 1893), 16-17.

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libretti is often interpreted as modish and superficial rather than thought-provoking, corresponding with the view that he was keener about catching the public's fancy and making money than about espousing any political or philosophical concerns. The emphasis on Scribe's ideological indifference and commercial orientation was strongly articulated by Neil Arvin in an early-20th-century study of the playwright:

> Scribe has often been reproached, perhaps with some justice, for being so little moved by the tremendous political and social upheavals about him. This comparative indifference to the great changes taking place in the very life of the country, his ambition to please the public, and his conception of the theatre as a financial institution, were elements in his make-up which to a certain extent excluded that comprehension of and sympathy with the fundamental truths and principles of life without which an artist cannot be truly great.[16]

Even among those who allow deeper meaning in his dramatic works, there is a consensus that he did not respond to the socio-political climate out of personal motivation, but as an exploitative means of ensuring theatrical success. In his influential book on French opera, Crosten spoke about the relevance of Scribe's works, remarking that he "was a sounding board for the vibration of public taste" who made "capital of any prevailing ideas and predilections he found useful."[17] He

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[16]Neil Arvin, *Eugène Scribe and the French Theatre, 1815-1860* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924), 7.

[17]Crosten, *French Grand Opera*, 90. The entry on Scribe in *Larousse* reflects a similar view, stating that Scribe's art lay in understanding "les courants de l'opinion" and in responding to "la tyrannie de ses caprices et de ses modes" ("the currents of opinion"; "the tyranny of its caprices and fashions"). See "(Augustin-Eugène) Scribe," *Pierre Larousse, Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle, français, historique, géographique, mythologique, bibliographique, littéraire, artistique, scientifique [...]*, 18 vols. (Geneva-Paris: Slatkine, 1982), XIV/1, 424.

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emphasized, however, that Scribe was neither a writer of pamphlets and Hugoian prefaces nor a social philosopher, but a fundamentally conventional "bourgeois."[18] Although this term carried various connotations in the early 19th century, Crosten's label undoubtedly alludes to the basic contemporary meaning of "bourgeois" as a member of the middle-class in France, the class between workers and nobility. It was often associated with money and comfort, as suggested by Scribe himself in a quote attributed to him by *Larousse*; the words reflect what the playwright in fact did after the theater made him wealthy: "Il est temps de nous retirer, pour faire les bourgeois, pour acheter une maison à Paris et à la campagne."[19] Crosten underlines another association, that of conventionality, but does not suggest one largely 20th-century connotation of that term: that of a coarse, unrefined individual with money but no understanding of "cultured" things. This latter meaning perhaps has its roots in the 19th century, for *Larousse* points out that during the reign of Louis-Philippe, "bourgeois" became an insult levelled by the romantics at conservative and non-artistic individuals.[20] Crosten's label undoubtedly refers to Scribe's accumulated wealth as well as to his many *comédies* which deal with mundane topics, including

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[18]Crosten, *French Grand Opera*, 73-74, 90.

[19]"Bourgeois, oise," *Larousse* (1982), II, 1121: "It is time to retire, to make like bourgeois, to buy a house in Paris and in the country."

[20]*Ibid*, 1121-22. As quoted by the encyclopedia, Balzac remarked: "Comment puis-je apprendre aux bourgeois que le sang de mes veines ne ressemble point au leur?" ("How can I tell the bourgeois that the blood in my veins does not resemble theirs?") And Lammenais said: "Le bourgeois a toujours été et sera toujours, dans sa première origine, un artisan qui a prospéré." ("In his origins, the bourgeois has always been, and will always be, a craftsman who has prospered.")

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materialistic interests, which were viewed primarily as a means of flattering the bourgeoisie.[21]

Like Crosten, Karin Pendle speaks of the topicality of Scribe's work, but also determines that his "social awareness is a product of deliberate calculation, and this attitude caused him to change with the time and the regime and in turn caused his enemies to accuse him of having no principles at all."[22] In a recent article on grand opera in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, Elizabeth Bartlet echoes these assessments, writing that Scribe "was not a crusading reformer, but rather a practical playwright presenting his audience with material he knew would interest them."[23]

In autobiographical statements appearing in correspondence and personal evaluations that accompany careful financial accounts made at the end of each year, Scribe gives some foundation for these general views. In his commentary, he suggests an independence from, and sometimes an indifference to, political events and political factions.[24] Scribe insisted in an 1815 letter to his brother, for example, that

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[21]For example, Scribe addressed the morality of marriage based on money in *Le Mariage de raison* (1826), a two-act *comédie-vaudeville* written with François-Antoine Varner, and *Le Mariage d'argent* (1827), a five-act *comédie-drame* written for the Théâtre-Français.

[22]Karin Pendle, *Eugene Scribe and French Opera of the 19th Century* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1977), 5.

[23]Bartlet, "Grand opéra," *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 4 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1992), II, 514.

[24]These statements are transcribed by Paul Bonnefon, "Scribe sous l'Empire et sous la Restauration d'après des documents inédits," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, XXVII (1920), 321-70; "Scribe sous la Monarchie de juillet d'après des documents inédits," *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France* XXVIII (1921), 60-99; 241-60, and relied on by Pendle, *Eugene Scribe*. In Pendle's opening chapter on the librettist's life, 4-5, she writes that his annual financial accounts and biographical evaluations reveal Scribe to be a "practical and methodical man."

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he did not like to involve himself in political discussions and in several statements expressed frustration with the political upheaval that accompanied each change of regime.[25] Yet, many other comments show that he was not lacking in political preferences or ideology. At the end of 1814, shortly after the Restoration of Louis XVIII, he passionately displayed the anti-Bourbon fervor that united his generation; in the same letter, he suggests an early wariness of governmental control of speech that would re-emerge more emphatically in later writings and activities. His anticipation of heavy Bourbon control of literary venues attractive to him clearly steered him toward settling on a career in theater, an avenue that seemed most auspicious for personal expression as well as financial success. In this early passage there emerges a strong, impassioned emphasis on a desire to be free and independent, particularly from a government that he hated:

> Cette année [...] n'a pas été heureuse, ni pour moi ni pour la France. Les Alliés sont entrés; Paris a été pris; le pays rançonné; les Bourbons établis sur le trône: tous les malheurs à la fois!
>
> J'étais sans doute mal inspiré, car je n'ai eu que des chutes. J'ai fait avec Dupin *Barbanera*,--sifflé!--*Les Trois Bossus*,--sifflé!--*Le Gâteau de Savoie*,--sifflé!
>
> J'ai commencé plusieurs autres ouvrages, tant pour le Vaudeville que pour les Variétés et l'Opéra-Comique. Mes années de droit sont expirées. Il faudrait maintenant, et selon le voeu de ma mère, me faire avocat. Je ne m'en sens ni le goût ni le courage. Avec le règne qui commence et sous le sceptre de plomb qui pèse sur nous, il n'y aura ni liberté de la presse ni liberté de la parole. Le théâtre au contraire peut m'offir une carrière plus sûre à exploiter. Une révolution donne à la société une face toute nouvelle, des besoins tout nouveaux. Le vaudeville, seul genre auquel je me suis adonné, peut être envisagé sous un autre point de vue qu'on ne l'a fait jusqu'à

[25]Bonnefon, *Revue*, XXVII (1920), 328.

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> présent. Au lieu de suivre les traces de mes confrères et de les imiter comme je l'ai fait, je veux tâcher d'être moi, d'avoir mon genre, mon style, mon théâtre à moi. Je sais qu'un an ou deux encore je peux végéter avant d'arriver. Mais j'arriverai, je m'en sens la force, malgré mes malheurs et mes catastrophes de cette année. Jusqu'ici je ne me suis occupé de théâtre que par délassement et pour mon plaisir; à dater de maintenant, j'en fais mon état, je n'en veux pas d'autre. J'ai de quoi vivre et attendre les succès: je les attendrai. Et, que je réussisse ou non, j'aurai du moins sur bien d'autres un grand avantage, c'est d'être libre et indépendant, et de ne mendier ni places, ni secours, ni pensions d'un gouvernement que je déteste et que je méprise.[26]

As Scribe defined a new seriousness about making the theater his profession, he revealed an interest in creating socially relevant works. The following year, he reiterated this interest, describing *Une Nuit de la garde national*, a *comédie-vaudeville* written with Delestre-Poirson (Charles-Gaspard Poirson, 1790-1859), as:

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[26]Bonnefon, *Revue*, XXVII (1920), 327; partially cited in Pendle, *Eugene Scribe*, 4:

"This year [...] has not been happy, neither for me nor for France. The Allies have come; Paris has been taken; the country ransomed; the Bourbons established on the throne: all the misfortunes at the same time.

I was without doubt badly inspired, because I have had only failures. I have written with Dupin *Barbanera*--booed!--*Les Trois Bossus*--booed!--*Le Gâteau de Savoie*--booed!

I have begun several other works, as many for the Vaudeville as for the Variétés and l'Opéra-Comique. My years of law [study] have expired. It would be necessary now and, according to the wish of my mother, to make me a lawyer. I sense in myself neither the taste nor the courage for it. With the reign that is commencing and under the heavy sceptre that is weighing on us, there will not be freedom of the press nor freedom of speech. On the contrary, the theater can offer me a more certain career to make the most of. A revolution gives to society an entirely new face, with entirely new needs. Vaudeville, the only genre to which I am devoted, can be considered under another point of view than has been made up to the present. In place of following the paths of my colleagues and imitating them as I have done, I want to try to be myself, to have my own genre, style, and theater. I know that I can vegetate only one or two years more before succeeding. But I will succeed; I sense the strength in myself, despite my misfortunes and my catastrophes of this year. Up until now, I have occupied myself in theater only as a diversion and for my pleasure; from now on, I am making it my profession, I do not want any other. I have the means to live and wait for successes: I will wait for them. And, whether I succeed or not, I will at least have a great advantage over many others, that is, to be free and independent, and not to have to solicit jobs, help, or pensions from a government that I detest and despise."

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> [...] la première pièce faite d'après mes nouvelles idées, pièce du moment, pièce représentant un coin de la société aujourd'hui. Aussi c'est le premier grand succès que j'aie encore eu. Le public qui avait déserté le Vaudeville y est revenu. Fasse le Ciel que je l'y maintienne![27]

As many have emphasized, Scribe sensed the profit-making potential in works that were topical, an idea that was not new and certainly not unique to him. This is clear in his 1814 account:

> Je sais que dans la littérature on fait rarement fortune et que bien des confrères qui valaient mieux que moi n'y ont trouvé que la misère et l'hôpital. C'est qu'ils l'entendaient mal. Il y a moyen d'avoir à la fois du talent et de l'argent: l'un n'exclut pas l'autre. Tous les directeurs sont riches: pourquoi les auteurs ne le seraient-ils pas? Pourquoi les premiers ne partageraient-ils pas avec nous une partie de l'or que nous leur faisons gagner? Ce doit être et ce sera, tant que cela dépendra de moi du moins! Que le Ciel me donne la force et les moyens de faire la loi, je la ferai: et si jamais j'ai des succès, je réponds que le public les paiera cher et les directeurs aussi.[28]

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[27]*Ibid.*, 330, cited and translated in Pendle, *Eugene Scribe*, 5. Scribe's *actualité* came from personal experience, for he belonged to the National Guard: "[...] the first piece written according to my new ideas, a piece of the moment, a piece representing a corner of present-day society. Also, it is the first big success I have had to date. The public which had deserted the Vaudeville has returned. May heaven grant that I keep them there!"

[28]*Ibid.*, 327-28, cited and translated in Pendle, *Eugene Scribe*, 4: "I know that in literature one rarely makes a fortune and that many colleagues who are worth more than I have found only misery and ill health. That is because they understood matters badly. There is a way to have talent and money at the same time: the one does not exclude the other. All the directors are rich: why not the authors? Because the former do not share with us a portion of the riches that we make for them? That may be, and that will change, at least if it depends on me! Since God gives me the strength and the means to make law, I will do it: If I ever have successes I say that the public will pay a great deal for them, as will the directors."

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Scribe realized his dreams of commercial success by demanding a fee for his works as well as royalties, but such success came to taint his artistic standing among contemporary writers.[29] As Pendle notes, Stendhal criticized Scribe for having earned 150,000 francs by 1830, demonstrating that "[h]e only loves money."[30] Because such a critique has colored historical assessments, it has served to obscure Scribe's works as personal expression.

In commentary of the 1830s, well after he had become an established dramatist, Scribe struck a certain distance from political developments. In assessments at the end of 1830, Scribe registers little enthusiasm about the July Revolution (unlike his collaborators, the Halévys and Nourrit), speaking instead of his diplomatic relations with each new political regime:

> [...] Une grande revolution vient d'éclater. Je n'en blâme ni n'en approuve les causes. Je ne suis jamais mêlé de politique, mais de littérature, et c'est sous ce dernier rapport seulement que j'examinerai les conséquences d'un changement qui doit m'être plus nuisible qu'utile. Du temps de la Restauration, dont je chantonnais les travers et les ridicules, j'étais choyé et fêté, bien vu de tous, de l'opposition et même du pouvoir, et je dois consigner ici tout ce que je dois de reconnaissance à M. de Martignac, et à M. de Peyronnet, et à M. d'Haussez qui m'ont toujours si bien accueilli.[31]

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[29]Scribe's efforts were not, however, completely self-serving; he worked hard throughout the 1820s to obtain a bigger percentage of profits for all dramatic authors; see Pendle, *Eugene Scribe*, 6.

[30]*Ibid.*

[31]Bonnefon, *Revue*, XXVII (1920), 368; partially cited and translated by Pendle, *Eugene Scribe*, 7: "A great revolution has just broken out. I neither blame nor approve the causes of it. I have never been drawn by politics, but by literature, and it is only under this last report that I shall examine the consequences of a change which should be more bothersome than useful to me. From the time of the Restoration, whose shortcomings and ridicules I sang, I

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As if wanting to make a further point, Scribe adds "Il est vrai...," but trails off without completing the statement. Bonnefon suggests that Scribe checks himself by remembering the gratitude he owed to the Restoration regimes under which he had earned close to a million francs.[32] Emphasizing Scribe's seeming indifference to the Revolution, Bonnefon reports that during the days of July Scribe stayed safely away from Paris in his estate at Montalais. Bonnefon concludes that Scribe's occupation determined his opposition to the political changes and revolutions that were "so damaging to theatres"; but, Scribe did realize that, after the initial phases of instability, they could "serve his interests."[33] Arvin endorses the portrait of Scribe's political independence, noting, for example, that Scribe wrote no encomiums to Napoleon during the Empire (although he contributed to the Napoleonic fervor of the 1830s in his portrayals of colonels, captains, *lauriers*, and *guerriers* in several plays).[34]

At the end of 1832, Scribe again complained of the detrimental effects political events had on the theater, describing the closing or abandonment of Paris theaters

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was pampered and feted by the opposition as well as those in power, well considered by all, and I must record here all that I should acknowledge to M. de Martignac, M. de Peyronnet, and M. d'Haussez, who have always welcomed me so well." Jean-Baptiste-Silvère Gaye, Vicomte de Martignac (1776-1832), was the liberal Ministre de l'Intérieur who came to power in 1828; Pierre-Denis Peyronnet (1778-1854), whom Charles X brought into power under the retrogressive ministry of Polignac in 1829, was responsible for the stringent censorship law against the press of 1822. Charles Lemercher de Longpré, Baron d'Haussez (1778-1854), oversaw the Navy under Polignac and organized the expedition into Algeria.

[32]Bonnefon, *Revue*, XXVII (1920), 368.

[33]*Ibid.*, 370.

[34]Arvin, *French Theatre*, 7.

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after the republican and Carlist disturbances and the excessively violent expressions that had "invaded" the French stage. He railed against newspapers which exacerbated the anti-theater climate and insulted him and his "poor Gymnase."[35] Scribe's reactions were linked to fears that he was an anachronistic voice, one whose success had waned as the popularity of the newer voices, the romanticists, had advanced:

> Moi qui suis resté toujours fidèle à mes principes littéraires et patriotiques, moi qui n'ai point changé depuis quinze ans, et qui suis demeuré stationnaire quand tout le monde se porte en avant, je me trouve alors en arrière et on m'appelle *vieux, perruque, rococo*, etc. Libéral et classique en 1815, je suis encore libéral et classique en 1832. J'ai alors contre moi les républicains, les carlistes et les romantiques, en un mot les *ultras* de tous les genres.[36]

In this context, his comments which suggest a thoroughly apolitical stance are balanced by others infused with ideology. In both political and literary terms, Scribe claims dislike for extremes and extremists, "the *ultras* of all types," and suggests that he had remained unaffected by the changes that swirled about him. By designating himself as a "liberal" who had not altered his views since 1815, he implies a time of maturation in line with the so-called Generation of 1820, as well as a solidarity with the conscience of this generation.

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[35]Bonnefon, *Revue* XXVIII (1921), 65-66.

[36]*Ibid.*, 65; cited in translation in Pendle, *Eugene Scribe*, 8: "I who have always remained faithful to my literary and patriotic principles. I who have not changed a bit for fifteen years and who have remained stationary when everyone else has moved forward, I now find myself behind the times and people call me *out of date, prejudiced old man, rococo*, etc. Liberal and classical in 1815, I am still liberal and classical in 1832. I therefore have against me the republicans, the Carlists, and the romantics, in a word the *ultras* of all types."

A Carlist was a partisan of the monarchy of Charles X.

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His criticism of the romantics, along with the implication that he remained a classicist at a distance from them, however, does not completely accord with other statements or with his works of the 1830s. A letter that Scribe wrote the day after the single performance of Hugo's *Le Roi s'amuse* on 22 November 1833 illustrates his admiration for Hugo:

> J'aime la pièce où brillent des beautés de premier ordre. J'ignore si elle aura le succès d'*Hernani*, mais elle lui est bien supérieure selon moi. C'est dans ces deux ouvrages le même poète et le même génie, mais il y a dans celui-ci un immense progrès pour la marche de l'action, la conduite du sujet et surtout l'intérêt dramatique.[37]

Scribe's works of the 1830s reflect an adoption of, and to some degree an identification with, romantic ideals, including the mystical aspects of *Robert le Diable*, the melodramatic shock effects and historical local color of his grand operas, and his borrowings from the novels and plays of Sir Walter Scott and Shakespeare.

Scribe's close association and collaboration with the Delavignes further points to a liberal ideology.[38] Casimir Delavigne, described as "little short of a god" to

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[37]Bonnefon, *Revue*, XXVIII (1921), 66: "I love this piece in which beauties of the first order shine. I do not know if it will have the success of *Hernani*, but it seems superior to me. The same poet and the same genius are in these two works, but in this one, there is great progress in the development of the action, the management of the subject, and above all in dramatic interest." Writing to Baron Taylor, an administrator and playwright, Scribe cites a few dramatic problems in the play, to which he then offers some solutions.

[38]During his apprentice years, Scribe collaborated with Germain Delavigne on several works: in 1813, *Thibault, comte de Champagne*; in 1816, the one-act *comédie Le Valet et son rival* at the Odéon; in 1818, *La Somnambule* at the Vaudeville. The two would later collaborate on *La Muette de Portici* (1828). In 1819, Scribe wrote a parody on Casimir's successful play of 1818, *Les Vêpres Siciliennes* (which he would later rework as a libretto for Verdi). As cited by Bonnefon, *Revue*, XXVII (1920), 336, Scribe alludes to his close

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French youths, "confided everything" to Scribe, according to Legouvé.[39] In Scribe's travel notebooks of 1826-27, anti-absolutist and pro-revolutionary comments appear frequently, along with a series of laments over inhuman conditions that he witnesses or that are suggested by historical relics he sees during his journeys.[40] In Avignon, he condemns past abuses of the Church and wonders whether this early violence had set precedent for more recent tragedies among the Avignonaise, including the 1815 assassination of the French marshal Guillaume Marie-Anne Brune by royalists.[41] Scribe's yen for revolutionary heroes and stories of oppression inspired a portion of his agenda. In Zurich, Scribe paid homage to Guillaume Tell, the Swiss hero so popular in contemporary dramas and soon to be memorialized in Rossini's opera (libretto by Etienne de Jouy [1764-1846], and Hippolyte-Louis Bis [1789-1855]) at the

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friendship with the brothers in his year-end account of 1818, telling of a "charming season" of work and relaxation with the Delavignes and their family in a country house.

[39]Légouvé, *Recollections*, 20. Legouvé, who was too young to be included in Spitzer's dating for the Generation of 1820, included himself among Delavigne's admirers. He and his contemporaries preferred Delavigne to Lamartine, whom they also admired, because Lamartine was a royalist who attacked Bonaparte.

[40]In a journal that includes notes about a trip to the South of France in 1827 (n.a.fr. 22584, vol. 2, fol. 33^{r}), Scribe deplores the sight of a procession of galley slaves in chains: "[...] ô l'horrible, l'effroyable spectacle! Quatre milles galériens enchainés deux à deux passant ainsi une revue--[...] ceux condamnés à perpetuité--à perpetuité--[...] ah! quel souvenir! quelle dégradation de la nature humaine! Je n'oublerai jamais cette horrible scène et toute la journée, toute la nuit dans mes rèves je voyais défiler cette longue et immense colonne de forfait de toute espèce." ("[...] o hideous, horrifying sight! Four thousand galley slaves chained two by two passing as if in a parade--[...] these condemned in perpetuity--in perpetuity--[...] ah! what a recollection! what degradation of human nature! I will never forget this awful scene and all day and all night in my dreams I saw marching past this long, immense column of infamy of all types."

[41]*Ibid.*, vol. 2, fol. 20^{r}. See Chapter 5 for more of Scribe's commentary on Avignon and the Church.

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Académie Royale. Scribe visited an arsenal (where he placed Tell's quiver on his shoulder) and the site on Lake Lucerne where Tell's chapel was erected. At the chapel, he took the time to write down an inscription (translated by the German guide) expressing a sentiment that must have resounded with Scribe, as it did with his generation: "ici a fini la tyrannie de Gesler et commencé la liberté de la suisse."[42]

Scribe later offered clues to his fundamental philosophy in his speech ("*Discours*") on 28 January 1836 marking his induction into the Académie Française.[43] Predominant in the speech, which was both a tribute to his predecessor, Antoine-Vincent Arnault (1766-1834), and a political statement, is an insistence on the independence of artists from governmental constraints and a decrying of the curbing of liberty through abuse of power, intensifying sentiments expressed in his 1814 evaluation. Furthermore, Scribe offered the thesis, hotly contested by

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[42]*Ibid.*, vol. 8, fol. 11^{v}; 35^{r}: "here ended the tyranny of Gesler and began the freedom of the Swiss people."

[43]Eugène Scribe, "Discours de réception à l'Académie française, prononcé dans la séance du 28 janvier 1836," preface to *Oeuvres complètes de M. Eugène Scribe*, 5 vols., new ed. (Paris: Furne & Cie/Aimé André, 1840), I, 1-14. Scribe had been presented as a candidate for the Académie as early as 1830, but he was not elected until October 1834, following the death of Arnault. Bonnefon (*Revue*, XXVIII, 1921, 72) claims that had the Restoration continued, Scribe would have been elected in 1830; in a letter dated 6 October 1834 from Scribe to a friend, the dramatist himself suggests that his election was late in coming because he was not a "political man": "Si j'étais homme politique, je serais déjà nommé parmi nos sénateurs littéraires" (quoted by Bonnefon, *ibid.*, 73). Arvin, *French Theater*, 23, reports that clerical members of the Académie had voted against Scribe because of the irreligious nature of some of his plays, including *Madame de Sainte-Agnès* (1829). A letter from Jean-Pons-Guillaume Viennet (1777-1868) dated 24 September 1834 (quoted by Bonnefon, *op cit.*, 73) reveals that Scribe's election was based partly on the success of his drama *Bertrand et Raton, ou l'Art de conspirer* (1833), a success that Scribe thought was greater than the work merited (*ibid.*, 70). Because Scribe took well over a year to write his speech (he complained in correspondence about his slow progress), his formal address came much later than the time of his election.

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Villemain, that theater of earlier decades, particularly the *comédie*, had not reflected contemporary political realities.[44]

Before the august body of Academicians, Scribe portrayed himself with strong touches of humility (an expected tradition, as was praise for one's predecessor), speaking of himself as "only" a *vaudevilliste* and implying that he was unworthy to follow a literary voice as powerful as Arnault.[45] Underlying Scribe's admiration for his predecessor's *tragédie Marius à Minturnes* is a subtle self-criticism and self-deprecation, for in many of his own plays, Scribe characteristically obscures a core seriousness with palatable layers of romance, exoticism, and humor.[46] He uses Arnault as a vehicle for illustrating how the artist or *homme de lettres* had been a pawn of the State and for criticizing the Institute itself for caving in to political pressure. Because Arnault had aligned himself with the Comte de Provence (later Louis XVIII) in the days when an *homme de lettres* needed the protection of a *grand*

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[44]Scribe's thesis is thought curious by Helene Koon and Richard Switzer, *Eugène Scribe* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1980), 26, since it was an indictment of the irrelevance of his own works; also see Arvin, *French Theatre*, 23.

[45]It is likely that Scribe's public humility was laden with an unspoken sarcasm, for in Scribe's commentary on the success of *Bertrand et Raton*, he scoffed at the childishness of the public in correlating the length of the work (five acts) with its importance and of undervaluing the comparatively lighter and shorter *vaudevilles* that made up the bulk of his output (Bonnefon, *Revue*, XXVIII [1921], 70).

[46]Scribe, *Discours*, 3, lauds Arnault's nonreliance on external intrigues in his new treatment of a serious subject, of Marius as exile ("proscrit"). He admires Arnault's writing "sans imiter les auteurs qui avaient traité ce sujet avant lui, sans appeler à son aide aucune intrigue étrangère, aucun personnage de femme, aucun amour de tragédie, abordant dans toute sa sévérité et dans sa simplicité antique ce sujet qui n'offrait qu'une scène[...]." ("without imitating the authors who had treated the subject before him, without calling to his aid a single foreign intrigue, female character, tragic love, treating in all its severity and antique simplicity this subject which offered only a scene[...].")

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seigneur, he had to leave France in 1792 when the Count was exiled.[47] Arnault was allowed to return, for he later became a favorite of Napoleon, who imposed his own literary preferences on at least one of the dramatist's works, the *tragédie Les Vénitiens*. Scribe relates how Napoleon, "qui avait en littérature des idées aussi arrêtées qu'en politique," dictated a change from the play's original happy ending to a tragic one.[48] Because of Arnault's association with Napoleon, he was not only exiled again but also dismissed from the Institute, and his works were suppressed. Scribe, in bold, acerbic statements, condemns the Institute's hypocritical and politically motivated action:

> Après la catastrophe des Cent Jours, M. Arnault fut exilé; et, ce qu'on aura peine à croire, on le destitua de la place qu'il occupait parmi vous et que vos suffrages lui avaient donnée. [...] Le commandement vint, qui raya M. Arnault de l'Institut. Violant le sanctuaire des lettres, oubliant que le plus grand de nos privilèges est d'être inamovibles, et que la gloire littéraire n'est point révocable, un ordre vint, qui supprima *Marius à Minturnes* et *les Vénitiens*; et en vertu d'une ordonnance, contre-signée par un ministre, il fut décidé que ces deux beaux succès n'avaient jamais existé.[49]

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[47]*Ibid.*, 4.

[48]*Ibid.*: "whose literary opinions were just as fixed as his political opinions." Scribe noted that the hero, Montcassin, "fut donc mis à mort par ordre de Napoléon et à mort la grande satisfaction du public, qui par ses applaudissements confirma la sentence" ("was then put to death by order of Napoleon and by the great satisfaction of the public, who confirmed the sentence with its applause").

[49]*Ibid.*, 5: "After the Hundred Days catastrophe, M. Arnault was sent into exile; and, strange as it may seem, he was deprived of the office you had elected him to. [...] The order came down to expel M. Arnault from the Institute. Violating the sanctuary of letters, forgetting that the greatest of our privileges is that of being irremovable, that literary fame is not revocable, the order came down to suppress *Marius à Minturnes* and *Les Vénitiens*; and by virtue of an ordinance countersigned by a minister, it was decided that these two great successes had never existed."

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Scribe's condemnation is clearly fueled by his passionate belief in authorial freedom. His speech, which came several months after preventive censorship had been reinstated, provides insight into his arguments as President of the Société des Auteurs Dramatiques in support of this form of censorship in lieu of arbitrary repressive censorship, which he disdained.

Scribe makes further controversial statements that reveal a belief in the power of words and music to effect social and political change, but curiously denies that dramas (particularly *comédies*, including his own) had reflected true political realities of their time.[50] *Chansons*, including those written by Arnault, had been the only activist form of art in their bold criticism of governmental abuses, Scribe argues. The theater, because audiences sought diversion in it, had in fact represented the opposite of social and political truths:

> [...] Vous courez au théâtre, non pour vous instruire ou vous corriger, mais pour vous distraire et vous divertir. [...] Ainsi, dans la terreur, c'était justement parce que vos yeux étaient affligés par des scènes de sang et de carnage, que vous étiez heureux de retrouver au théâtre l'humanité et la bienfaisance, qui étaient alors des fictions. De même, sous la restauration, où l'Europe entière venait de vous opprimer, on vous rappelait le temps où vous donniez des lois à l'Europe, et le passé vous consolait du présent.
>
> Le théâtre est donc bien rarement l'expression de la société, ou du moins, et comme vous l'avez vu, il en est souvent l'expression

[50]In Arvin's interpretation, *French Theatre*, 23, Scribe "develops the paradox, contradicted by his own example, that comedy, in order to be successful, does not have to resemble society."

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> inverse, et c'est dans ce qu'il ne dit pas qu'il faut chercher ou deviner ce qui existait.[51]

Scribe's choice to direct his comments to *comédie* was undoubtedly rooted in his extensive work in comedic genres and his reputation as a *vaudevilliste*. His long dramatic career began with *Le Prétendu sans le savoir*, a dilettantish *vaudeville* which he wrote (under a pseudonym) in 1810 at age nineteen. After his stated commitment a few years later to make the theater his profession, the playwright devoted himself mostly to dramatic comedy, for which he is best known outside the musicological field. Bonnefon described Scribe as the creator, or "vulgarizer," of light, sentimental comedy adapted from the "vaudeville à couplets."[52]

In a formal response to Scribe's Académie speech, the revered historian Abel-François Villemain (1790-1870) contradicted Scribe's claims that *comédies*, especially the dramatist's own, had been irrelevant to social and political reality.[53] Villemain charged that Scribe "a passé toute sa vie à réfuter le text qu'il soutient":

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[51]Scribe, *Discours*, 9-10: "[...] You run to the theater, not to learn and improve yourselves, but to be distracted and amused. [...] Thus, during the Terror, it was precisely because your eyes were offended by bloody scenes of carnage that you were happy to find in the theater human values and goodness, as they could be found no where else at the time. In the same way, during the Restoration, when all of Europe had been oppressing you, you were reminded of the time when you made the laws of Europe, and the past became a consolation for the present.

The theater is quite rarely the expression of a society, or at least, as you have seen, it often provides an inverted image of it, and it is in what it does not say that one must look for or guess at what actually goes on."

[52]Bonnefon, XXVII (1920), 364.

[53]Véron notes that he witnessed Villemain's severe and ironic response to the speech (*Mémoires*, III, 67).

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> C'est précisement parce que notre siècle n'a pas beaucoup de caractère, que vous avez été forcé [...] de chercher des fractions de caractère, de subdiviser à l'infini vos détails d'observation et de fondre habilement vos nuances. Nos moeurs sont indécises et éparses; et vous avez *éparpillé* la comédie. Sans cela vous n'auriez pas eu le privilège d'amuser votre pays et l'Europe pendant quelques vingt années. Vous ne vous jugez vraiment pas comme vous méritez d'être jugé; et vos portraits, tout légers qu'ils sont, sont plus ressemblans que vous ne pensez: vous êtes historien malgré vous [...].[54]

Villemain elaborated with an historical overview of French *comédies* to disprove Scribe's assertions:

> La comédie, sans doute [...], n'est pas à elle seule toute l'histoire d'un peuple, mais elle explique, elle supplée cette histoire; elle ne dit rien des événemens politiques, depuis Aristophane du moins, ou, si vous voulez, depuis *Bertrand et Raton*; mais elle est un témoin de l'esprit et des moeurs publiques, qui souvent ont donné naissance à ces événemens. Sans nommer personne, elle écrit les Mémoires de tout le monde. Connaîttriez-vous parfaitement le siècle de Louis XJV, sans Molière? Sauriez-vous aussi bien ce qu'étaient la cour, la ville, et Tartuffe surtout? [...]
>
> Et plus tard, Monsieur ce théâtre subtil et maniéré de Dorat, de Lanoue, ou même de Marivaux, que vous confondez trop avec eux, êtes-vous bien sûr qu'il soit si fort en contraste avec le temps auquel il appartient? Le dix-huitième siècle, *si rempli de présent et d'avenir*, pour emprunter vos expressions, n'avait-il pas, dans l'oisiveté de ses classes élevées, dans l'abus de l'esprit, dans la mollesse raffinée des moeurs, quelque ressemblance avec le drame prétentieux qu'il applaudissait? Et ne peut-on pas même trouver, à cet égard, que

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[54]*Journal des débats* (30 January 1836), 3: "had spent his entire life refuting the text that he supports."

"It is precisely because our century lacks character that you have been forced [...] to look for the slightest evidence of it, to characterize ad infinitum your tiniest observations, and to cleverly manipulate your subtleties. Our morals are vague, lack cohesiveness, and you have emasculated comedy. Otherwise you would not have had the privilege of entertaining your country and Europe for twenty years or so. You really do not judge yourself as you deserve to be judged, and your portraits, light as they are, are more true to life than you think: you are an historian in spite of yourself [...]."

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plusieurs comédies de ce temps, qui sont de faibles ouvrages, sont pourtant de fidèles peintures, et que, peu estimées du critique, elles ne sont pas indignes d'un regard de l'historien? Quant aux bonnes comédies de la même époque, elles en disent encore plus, elles en disent trop, et *le Mariage de Figaro*, par exemple, est un renseignement incomparable pour l'histoire de la fin d'une monarchie.

[...]

Il semble donc, Monsieur, que, bon ou mauvais, naturel ou recherché, le théâtre est toujours [...] un témoin précieux pour l'histoire des opinions et des moeurs.

Dans les moeurs sont compris les préjugés, les souvenirs, les regrets d'un peuple. C'est pour cela qu'il va chercher parfois sur la scène des images qui ne sont pas l'expression immédiate de son état présent, mais qui lui rappellement ce qu'il souhaite ou ce qu'il a perdu.[55]

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[55]*Ibid.*:

"Of course comedy [...] by itself does not tell the entire history of a people; but it explains and supplements that history. Since Aristophanes at least, or, if you will, since *Bertrand et Raton*, it does not deal with political events, but it bears witness to the public morality and spirit which have often given birth to these events. Without naming names, it writes everyone's memoirs. How well would you know the century of Louis XIV without Molière? Would you have as good an idea of the court, of the city, of Tartuffe especially?

And later on, Sir, are you really sure that the subtle and mannered theater of Dorat, of Lanoue, or even of Marivaux, whom you too often mix up with them, stands in such marked contrast to its time? Did not the 18th century, *so full of the present and the future*, to use your expression, bear some resemblance to the pretentious dramas it applauded in the theater, as regards the idleness of its upper classes, the abuse of the mind, the refined laxity of its morals? And in the same way, can one not find many comedies of this time which, although poor works, nonetheless give us accurate portrayals? Just because they are poorly regarded by the critics does not mean they cannot afford interesting historical insights. As for the good comedies of the time, they tell us a lot more, they tell us too much: *The Marriage of Figaro*, for instance, affords an incomparable history lesson about the end of a monarchy. [...]

It would seem, therefore, Sir, that whether the play is good or bad, natural or overdone, the theater always [...] bears precious witness to the history of opinions and morals.

Included in morals are the prejudices, the memories, and the regrets of a people. That is why they often seek on the stage images that are not the direct expression of their current state, but images that remind them of what they want or what they have lost."

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The claims that Villemain questions also seem to be contradicted by statements Scribe himself made in his year-end accounts about the incorporation of *l'actualité* into his works, as well as other commentary in the preface to *Le Combat des montagnes* (1817). In the latter, Scribe recognized the topicality of *vaudevilles*, although he underlined their evanescence: "Parodies and circumstantial pieces are essentially the domain of vaudeville. Unhappily, they rarely survive beyond the event that brought them into being."[56] Plays built around the activities of the French national guard, for example, lost their resonance as the social and political climate changed. The comic, satiric aspects of these works also added to their ephemerality, although many had an underlying serious core that was overlooked by critics.[57]

Yet Scribe was not saying in his speech that *comédies* had been void of social or political content, only that they had reacted to societal changes anachronistically rather than motivating or embodying them. By beginning with commentary on the manipulation and rejection of Arnault's works, he hinted that censorship and autocratic political climates had not allowed dramas to be bold and activist in openly exploring hard truths on the stage, at least not consistently. In his contrast of *comédies* with *chansons*, it is clear that he regretted that the former could not be as politically frank as the latter, pointing again to his ideals about authorial freedom.

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[56]Cited in Koon and Switzer, *Scribe*, 47.

[57]*Larousse*, "Scribe," 424; Koon and Switzer, *Scribe*, 84, describe his comedies with contemporary references as "moral comedies" instead of "social comedies" and characterize Scribe as an individual "concerned with the moral problems of his ever changing society."

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These ideals undoubtedly emerged from Scribe's own experience, for he had felt the weight of censure prior to the 1830s. In 1812, his work *Marguerite de Valois*, written with Germain Delavigne, was prohibited by the Imperial police, forcing Scribe to rename it *Thibault, comte de Champagne.*[58] According to Bonnefon, Scribe persisted despite the intrusion of Imperial censors, unlike playwright Charles Brifaut, who quit the theater after he was forced to turn his *Don Sanche d'Aragon* into *Ninus II* with a change of scene from Spain to Assyria.[59] Because Scribe was in his debut years, Bonnefon wrote, he was willing to make changes to suit the censors, including transforming the setting for his work.[60] Further difficulties came in 1828 when the duchesse de Berry threatened to take away her patronage of the Gymnase over the performance of Scribe's *Avant, pendant et après*, a work which had not been approved by the censors.[61] The censors also objected to Scribe's *La Manie des places ou la folie du siècle* (1828), believing that it referred too closely to Martignac, the minister in power at the time the manuscript was

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[58]Bonnefon, XXVII (1920), 326. Although the work was poorly received, Scribe noted that it was "notre meilleure pièce, du moins c'est la seule où il y ait jolie scène et une idée originale" ("our best work, at least it is the only one in which there was a beautiful setting and an original idea").

[59]*Ibid.* It seems that he returned, however, to co-write the libretto for Spontini's three-act *tragédie lyrique Olimpie* (1819) and the five-act *tragédie Charles de Navarre* (1820).

[60]*Ibid.* In the quote included by Bonnefon, Scribe does not mention how much he had to rework the play *Marguerite de Valois*.

[61]*Ibid.*, 364.

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submitted. Scribe averted the banning of this work by writing directly to Martignac, who generously gave his approval.[62]

The early libretti for *La Muette de Portici* (1828) and *Les Huguenots* (1836) contained revolutionary and anti-royalist material that was suppressed by censorship bodies before and after the constitutionally supported "years of freedom." Although it was Scribe's collaborator, Germain Delavigne, who wrote the first, three-act version of *La Muette*'s libretto, Scribe undoubtedly approved of its content. When censors demanded that the libretto be purged of its explicit revolutionary passages, Scribe answered their demands and expanded the libretto to five acts.[63] The libretto for *Les Huguenots* was also, upon submission to the censors, considered too controversial in its clear implication of guilt of the Church and crown in the 16th-century massacre of Protestants, an implication that reflected Voltaire's historical treatment of the event and the views of later liberal historians. Censors objected to the inclusion of Catherine de Medici, as well as a verse in which King Charles is described looking down on the destruction approvingly from a balcony. The suppressed verse was originally given to Raoul in Act V, Scene ii:[64]

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[62]Bonnefon, *Revue*, XXVII (1920), 364.

[63]Herbert Schneider, "La Muette de Portici," *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 4 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1992), III, 505.

[64]From censor's manuscript libretto, *Les Huguenots* (AN, $F^{18}669$).

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Act V, Scene ii (Raoul)

Et ce sont des Français! & ce sont des Chrétiens	And these are French! and these are Christians!
Qui du trône & du ciel se disent les soutiens!	Who claim themselves the supports of throne and heaven!
Errant & furieux, maudissant leur supplice,	Wandering and furious, cursing their execution,
Des hommes & du ciel invoquant la justice,	By men and by heaven invoking justice,
Au Louvre je courais à travers le danger,	To the Louvre I ran amidst the danger,
Implorer le roi Charle!...o forfait!... anathème!...	To implore King Charles!...O betrayal!... anathema!
Du haut de son balcon j'ai vu le roi lui même	High up on his balcony I saw the king himself
Immoler ses sujets qu'il devait protéger...	Sacrificing his subjects whom he was supposed to protect...
Et ce sont des Français! & ce sont des Chrétiens	And these are French! and these are Christians!
Qui du trône & du ciel se disent les soutiens!	Who claim themselves the supports of throne and heaven!

The censors may also have objected to its original title, *St. Barthélemi*, a direct and more provocative reference to the well-known historical event, for the title was changed by the time of the opera's premiere. Because it was an event that Voltaire used as proof of Bourbon and Catholic tyranny in his *Essai sur les guerres civiles de France*, and that provoked debate among absolutists and anti-absolutists in the 1820s and 1830s, the title and subject matter were conspicuously political.[65]

In addition to *La Muette*, there were other works by Scribe that carried political overtones during the era in which the liberal minister Martignac was in

[65]*Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire* (Paris: Chez Th. Desoer, 1817), III. Pendle, 472-73, also discusses the possibility of Scribe's having borrowed from Prosper Merimée's *Chronique du temps de Charles IX*, but Steven Huebner, "Les Huguenots," *New Grove of Opera*, II, 765, notes there is little evidence to support Scribe using Merimée's account as a model and points out that there were several plays of the late 1820s built around this historical event.

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power. *Avant, pendant et après* (1828) was imbued with criticism of previous political eras, and *Mme de Saint-Agnès ou la femme à principes* (1829) had a type of feminine Tartuffe as protagonist.[66] With the advent of the July Monarchy, Scribe's works seem to have become more serious in subject, tone, and scope, despite a number of "diversionary" comedies which he continued to write. Particularly in his melodramas, historical plays, and operas of the 1830s, the social, political, and moral messages are pronounced. Bonnefon described his *Dom Miguel ou le Luthier de Lisbonne* (1831) as having "une vague odeur de pamphlet."[67] *Larousse* dates Scribe's "new manner" from his five-act *comédie Bertrand et Raton, ou L'Art de conspirer* (1833), beginning a series of historical or political *comédies* performed at the Théâtre-Français, including *L'Ambitieux* (1834), *La Camaradérie* (1837), and *Les Indépendants* (1837).[68] Arvin attributed the changes in genre and message to the effects that the political upheaval of the Revolution of 1830 had on the public's interests. In his view, the "rose-water comedy" of the Théâtre de Madame lost its appeal and Scribe was momentarily forgotten before he retrenched and produced weightier works demanded by the public.[69] Immediately before and after the 1830 Revolution, as Scribe had complained, dramas were filled with excesses of bloodshed, uprisings, and adultery. By 1833, Arvin concluded (perhaps based on Scribe's own

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[66]Bonnefon XXVII (1920), 364.

[67]Bonnefon, XXVIII (1921), 62. Published as *Le Luthier de Lisbonne* (Paris: Pollet, 1831), it was designated an *anecdote contemporaine*.

[68]*Larousse*, "Scribe," 424.

[69]Arvin, *French Theatre*, 20-21.

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words), the public was tired of such excesses and welcomed the return to the "decency and good taste" represented in Scribe's *Bertrand et Raton.*[70]

The liberal sentiments that resound in Scribe's historical dramas and operas of the late 1820s and the 1830s, while reflective of intellectual currents, also point to personal identification with the subject matter, particularly if the works are viewed as a whole. In several historical dramas, Scribe's support of liberty, tolerance, and the rights of the individual, as well as his portrayals of an anachronistic and sometimes corrupt aristocracy, further reflect liberal views. In *Avant, pendant et après*, which Bonnefon describes as a type of dramatic triptych, Scribe presents the lives of characters in three separate historical periods, satirizing "quelques abus de l'ancien régime et les excès de la Révolution ou l'absolutisme de l'Empire."[71] In the *Avant* section, set in 1787, when the aristocracy is in power, Scribe is critical of rigidly

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[70]Arvin, *French Theatre*, 21-22. Scribe repeated in 1833 (cited in Bonnefon, *Revue*, XXVIII [1921], 70) how he had profited from the public's fatigue of romantic excesses of bloody, incestuous, and adulterous plots centering on "shameless women" and prostitutes, happily announcing journalistic praises of his play, including one which hailed: "Bravo, Molière, voilà de la comédie!"

Scribe (cited in Bonnefon, *Revue*, XXVII [1920], 69) also believed that the public and critics had welcomed this work because of its grand scope and its serious subject: "[...] Mais c'était un ouvrage aux Français!... Un ouvrage en cinq actes!... Et le public, qui juge la statue d'après le piédestal, qui estime le tableau, non d'après son mérite, mais d'après son cadre et sa dimension, a crié: Bravo, c'est très bien!... Et si j'avais donné cette pièce au Gymnase, il n'y aurait même pas fait attention. Il aurait dit: Encore un vaudeville. O public bon enfant!... que je me moquerais de toi, si tu n'étais pas mon père nourricier et si je ne te devais pas ma fortune!" ("[...] But this was a real work to the French! ... A work in five acts! ... And the public, which judges the statue after its pedestal and which esteems the painting, not because of its worth, but because of its frame and its size, have cried: Bravo, this is excellent!... And if I had given this piece at the Gymnase, it would not have paid the same attention. It would have said: Yet another vaudeville. O public, you good child!... I would laugh at you if you weren't my nourishing father and if I didn't owe you my fortune!")

[71]Bonnefon, XXVII (1920), 364: "several abuses of the *ancien régime* and the excesses of the Revolution or the absolutism of the Empire."

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drawn class distinctions that obstruct the love of two characters, the Chevalier and the orphan Julie, who has grown up in his house as the ward of his mother, the duchesse de Surgy. Since marriage is out of the question, the duchesse arranges a loveless union between Julie and a man of her social class, a young farmer named Gerard. In the *Pendant* section, Scribe condemns the excesses of the revolutionary "Terror." Gerard and Julie are still together during this period, although the world around them has changed greatly: servants are forbidden, names are changed, new laws are enacted, and the aristocracy is being hunted down. The Marquis, the brother of the Chevalier, seeks refuge in the home of Gerard and Julie to escape the duchesse's former henchman, who has become a power in the revolutionary government. The Chevalier, now an army general, saves his brother, as he shows himself openly at odds with the Terror. It is he who is given the clear voice of reason (undoubtedly the voice of Scribe himself) in Scene viii: "Ah! ne confonds point la liberté avec les excès que l'on commet en son nom. La liberté, comme nous l'entendions, est amie de l'ordre et des devoirs; elle protège tous les droits. Elle veut des lois, des institutions, et non des échafauds."[72]

Of the three periods, Scribe presents *Après*, the final period set in 1828, most optimistically. (This date corresponds to the time of the brief change to the liberal ministry of Martignac.) Gone is the unjust, privileged aristocracy represented in the duchesse and the marquis, who have died. One old aristocratic friend, the vicomte de

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[72]Cited in translation by Koon and Spitzer, *Scribe*, 90. "Ah, do not confuse liberty with the excesses committed in its name. Liberty, as we understand it, is the friend of order and duty; it protects rights. It approves laws and institutions, not scaffolds."

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Morlière, returns as an anachronism after being marooned on a desert island for forty years; he is shocked at the changes in French society, particularly the taxing of all citizens and the necessity to work for a living. The barriers between social classes have broken down, illustrated by the marriage of the now-widowed Julie and the Chevalier; the merit of an individual depends more on skills and contributions and less on family background: the Chevalier's daughter's suitor has a promising career as a young attorney but lacks a pedigree bloodline. The Chevalier, revealing his adaption to the changing social climate, represents the new era's credo of reason and justice. He says: "Que je ne punis point les enfants des fautes de leur père; et que le mérite et l'honneur, partout où ils se trouvent, ont droit à notre estime."[73]

With the portrayal of the Chevalier as a sympathetic character, the aristocracy is clearly not the single target of Scribe in this play. In several other historical plays, however, he treats aristocratic characters harshly. In the two-act *comédie-vaudeville* *Le Moulin de Javelle* (1833), Scribe draws the main characters directly from French history. Setting the drama during the Regency of 1718, Scribe boldly focuses on Philippe, duc d'Orléans, Regent under Louis XV, and grandfather of Louis-Philippe, along with his confidant and advisor, l'abbé Dubois. He paints Philippe and Dubois as immoral, power-abusing individuals, along with the duchesse du Maine, who plots to assassinate the duc. Despite such negative depictions, Koon and Spitzer do not view the play as a political attack on the aristocracy; instead, they interpret Scribe's

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[73]*Ibid*: "Let me not punish the children for the sins of their father; merit and honor, wherever they are found, have the right to our esteem."

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use of the aristocracy as a metaphor for "any system that operates independently of the human spirit."[74] Yet the depictions of Philippe and Dubois resonate with portrayals of aristocrats and clerics prominent in political literature of the Revolutionary era, as well as the early July Monarchy. The indolent, profligate lifestyle condemned by revolutionary and republican factions is reflected in Philippe's actions towards securing the young working girl Babet as his mistress. Scribe also dramatizes accusations commonly levelled by liberals against the lascivious behavior of clerics, including the maintaining of harems within the hallowed confines of the Church: l'abbé Dubois, who later becomes a cardinal, is surrounded by a bevy of women.[75]

In this play, as in *La Juive* and other works, Scribe does not create a simple good-vs.-evil plot in the pitting together of different social classes or groups. Corruption also affects the lower-class characters of *Le Moulin*; moreover, each class is represented by a moral character: the lower-class Babet and the upper-class d'Aubigny, who are the only honest and "untainted" characters.[76] This diffusion of corruption may be a diplomatic guise to prevent arousing the wrath of any one political faction or to avoid the possibility of repressive censorship by obscuring the true object of criticism. Or, Scribe may have wanted to show a realistic range of humanity within each class or group. In *La Juive*, in which two religious and social

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[74]*Ibid.*, 93.

[75]See discussion below, pp. 298-99, of plays of the early 1830s that focused on the immoral behavior of Church fathers.

[76]Koon and Spitzer, *Scribe*, 93.

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groups are placed in opposition, Scribe assigns negative traits and actions to both groups, while seemingly focusing more critical weight on the Christian side.

In Scribe's *Bertrand et Raton, ou l'Art de conspirer* (1833), and later his *Adrienne Lecouvreur* (1849), the target is less equivocal. In both plays, Scribe deals with a corrupt aristocracy, particularly in *Bertrand*, in which not one aristocratic character is drawn sympathetically. As Koon and Spitzer conclude, the Danish context may have given Scribe more license to attack than in works set in France.[77] The historical event at the background of the drama is the fall of Struensee, the German doctor who rose to a Rasputin-like position of power as personal physician to Christian VII and as lover of the Queen; the time is January 1772. There is a struggle for power between Struensee and Julie-Marie, the Queen-Mother, who represents the old aristocracy and seeks to regain power through her son. The Queen does not appear onstage, however (a familiar tactic often used to avoid open criticism of royal authority); neither does Struensee. But political intrigue surrounds them. Struensee is represented by the ambitious and immoral Count de Falkenskield, a member of Struensee's council, and Goelher, who wants to be minister. Others seeking power are Bertrand de Rantzau, whom Bonnefon describes as a political Tartuffe, an immoral *grand seigneur* who "manipulates men and principles," and the bourgeois Raton Burkenshaff, over whom Bertrand triumphs.[78] Unlike Bonnefon, Koon and Switzer view Bertrand as an intelligent, rational, and humane figure who

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[77]*Ibid.*, 98.

[78]Bonnefon, XXVIII (1921), 71: "se joue des hommes et des principes."

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proves to be the true ruler of Denmark through his wise counsel, although the old regime is reinstated through Julie-Marie.[79]

Allusions to the French political scene were understood by the public, according to Bonnefon. "Aux yeux du parterre," he wrote, Bertrand represented the Prince de Talleyrand, a diplomat in Louis-Philippe's service, who was flattered by the portrait.[80] Other contemporary figures were seen as well, although less unanimously: another mentioned by Bonnefon was the banker Jacques Laffitte, who was thought to be Scribe's Raton.[81]

As attested by Villemain's comment that Scribe was an "historian in spite of himself," as well as by some of Scribe's own commentary, his dramas and operas, whether comic or tragic, can indeed be viewed as historical documents that reflect social-political currents of thought. Whether they represent an impersonal "exploitation" of the socio-political milieu or Scribe's personal convictions is debatable; although much more biographical study is needed to answer this question fully, there is enough evidence to suggest that they represent both. Although in his early years Scribe passionately stated opposition to the Restoration, he later appeared to keep his distance from political factions, perhaps in part to avoid the fate of Arnault. Scribe's insistence in his 1832 account that he was a liberal, and had been one since 1815, implies that he shared basic views of the generation that came into

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[79]Koon and Switzer, *Scribe*, 99-100.

[80]Bonnefon, *Revue*, XXVIII (1921), 71.

[81]*Ibid.*

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maturity with the fall of Napoleon and the restoration of the Bourbons. His self-identity and philosophy undoubtedly extended from his ideals about authorial freedom, but they also encompassed larger concerns about the human condition. Scribe, often described as the epitome of an *orléaniste* bourgeois, was clearly a humanist, inspired by 18th-century rational philosophy, which underscored the importance of individual freedom and decried the abuse of power by political authorities.

The Halévys

Citoyens and *Israélites*

United in generational *esprit*, Fromental Halévy, Léon Halévy, and Scribe shared a fundamental liberal ideology, but for the Halévy brothers, it was an ideology tempered by the legacy of Judaism. From their literary, devout father, Élie Halphen Halévy (1760-1826), who founded the journal *L'Israélite français: Ouvrage moral et littéraire* in 1817, the brothers absorbed a basic philosophy represented in the epigraph which heads the journal.[82] "Tien au pays, et conserve la foi," an epigraph drawn from Psalm 37, v. 3, encapsulates the post-revolutionary goals of reformist French Jews, while it reflects a view fundamental to the literary and religious

[82]Paris: Chez Poulet. In many sources, Élie Halévy is designated the founder and editor of the monthly journal, but only Mathis Dalmbert is designated as *éditeur-propriétaire* in the journal's first issue (I, 4; title page). See Léon Halévy, *Sa Vie*, 5-7. Eric Hansen, *Ludovic Halévy: A Study of Frivolity and Fatalism in Nineteenth Century France* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1987), 3, mentions Dalmbert as the publisher; Patrick Girard, *Les Juifs de France de 1789 à 1860: De l'Émancipation à l'égalité* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1976), 87, lists Dalmbert and Germain Mathiot, who is designated *libraire* (bookseller) in the first issue, as co-founders with Halévy, along with the support of the Consistoire central and of the rabbi of Cologne.

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activities of Élie Halévy, as well as to the ideals he transmitted to his sons. Biographical accounts of the Halévys, however, strongly suggest that both brothers held to the first part of their father's editorial maxim, but not the second. In most 20th-century accounts, they have been characterized as nonpracticing Jews, heavily assimilated into French Christian society, with little thought of their religious heritage. Some portray Léon as more closely linked to Judaism than Fromental. Entries in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, for example, describe the composer as having been "consciously neutral" to Judaic faith, while noting that Léon had "intermittent" connections with the Jewish community.[83] Eric Hansen, in his study of the composer's famous nephew, the librettist Ludovic Halévy (1834-1908), goes so far as to say that "[t]hrough Fromental Halévy the family severed all traditional ties with Hebrew beliefs and culture; if, by the time of the composer's earliest triumphs, his clan claimed any connection with its past, it was one in name only."[84]

In my examination of the Halévy brothers, I question this portrayed suppression of their Jewish heritage. Rather than ignoring aspects of their lives which blatantly suggest identification with Jewish concerns or characterizing them as Jews "in name only," I view the Halévys as typical of the first generation of "enlightened" French Jews--the new *Israélites*--who were eager to participate more fully as citizens while searching for new ways in which to retain their Jewish identity. With their entry into institutions from which Jews had virtually been excluded, both Fromental

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[83]Moshé Catane, "Halévy"; Josef Tal, "Jacques (François) Fromental Élie Halévy," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 16 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1971-72), VII, 1181-82, 1184-85.

[84]Hansen, *Ludovic*, 3.

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and Léon became *citoyens* in a fuller sense and advocates of an even more expansive assimilation into French Christian society than had been possible in previous generations. Yet at the same time they were drawn, both discreetly and overtly, to the traditional Judaic heritage to which their father clung.

The duality built into the prescription of *L'Israélite français*, paradoxical for Jews in countries that did not grant them civil rights, remained problematic for Fromental and Léon Halévy and other young Jews of their generation. The ambivalence and contradictions in the Halévys' public lives should not be loosely interpreted as indifference to Jewish culture, however. Rather, they must be set in the context of an age when complete equality for Jews was claimed while apostasy remained an avenue toward gaining ground socially and financially, when new positive Jewish identities were taking hold while anti-semitism was palpable in both private and public. Fromental and Léon may have downplayed their Jewishness in their ambitious rise to the nation's intelligentsia, but they also created musical, literary, and dramatic works that point to affiliations with the Parisian Jewish community and interest in the ongoing debates about Jewish concerns. Although this exploration offers only a mere outline of the Halévys' education, experiences, and attitudes as Jews in French society, it gives some foundation for understanding their approach to the socio-religious-political subject of *La Juive*.

Behind Élie Halphen Halévy's devotion to "conserve the faith" was an inculcation into Orthodox Judaism as the oldest son of a rabbi, Jacob Levy. Born in Fürth (in Bavaria), Élie then lived in Würzburg and later moved as a young man to

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Metz, France, shortly before 1789, practically on the eve of the Revolution. He was accompanied by his brother, who returned to Germany to escape the violence, but Élie remained, saying that "'all this interests me.'"[85] It is probable that Élie Halévy was first attracted to France because of the promise of great social change, since he soon became affiliated with a number of intellectual circles of enlightened, reform-minded Jews in Metz. It is not known, however, if he became a citizen.[86] In the mid-1790s, Élie moved from Metz to Paris, where he first earned his livelihood as choirmaster for several Parisian synagogues. According to a number of sources, he was later appointed cantor of the Central Synagogue in the rue de la Victoire.[87] In 1798, Élie married Julie Léon Meyer of Lorraine, and a year later Fromental was born, followed by Léon in 1802, and then three daughters.[88]

Despite his musical endeavors, Élie became esteemed primarily for his Hebraic scholarship and poetry. Those of his works that are considered influential in modern

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[85]*Ibid.*, 2.

[86]*Ibid.*, 2; 33, n. 5. Hansen refers to a letter of 18 July 1862 to Ernest Beulé from Léon Halévy, in which he writes that he had not found any documentation of naturalization among his father's papers. Moreover, Hansen cites evidence that Élie had not been naturalized before 1793: a document dated 28 August 1793 (AN, XVII 1058, unnumbered dossier) granted Élie exemption from military service on the basis of his not being a citizen.

[87]*Ibid.*, 2. It appears that Élie Halévy was not cantor for the Temple de la rue Sainte Avoye, according to Gérard Ganvert in *La Musique synagogale à Paris à l'époque du premier Temple Consistorial (1822-74)* (Ph.D. diss., Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1984). Ganvert names three cantors for this synagogue: Hayem Blos (or Plozky) (1797-1814); Isaac David (1815-18); and Israël Lovy (1818-33), 60-73.

[88]The marriage license, dated 24 June 1798, is found in AN CXVII 1058, Dossier 13, as reported in Hansen, *Ludovic*, 33, n. 8. There is scant biographical information about Fromental's sisters other than general references. Léon notes in *Sa Vie*, 16, e.g., that the oldest died in 1824, "dans tout l'éclat de la jeunesse et de la beauté."

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Hebraic literature are his poems that represent a synthesis of Judaic and French national spirit.[89] The work often designated as Halévy's most significant contribution is "Ha-Shalom" ("Hyme à l'occasion de la paix"), a poem written to commemorate the cease-fire between France and England in 1801.[90] Modelled after the Greco-Roman ode then popular in France, "Ha-Shalom" was imbued with the patriotism and agitation of the Revolutionary era in its lauding of the peacemaking efforts of Napoleon, the "brave conqueror."[91] Halévy's praise extends to France itself, not only "the most beautiful nation" and "the garden of God," but the land where liberty and equality are available to all men, including the Jews.[92] In return, urges the poem, the Jews should join their compatriots in rebuilding France.

Halévy's "Ha-Shalom" reflects his own ready acceptance of a new allegiance--only a decade after the granting of emancipation to Jews in France--as well as that of his congregation, for whom it was first performed. Accompanied by a French translation, it was sung in Hebrew on 8 November 1801 in the "Grea. Synagogue" of Paris. It soon spread to other synagogues and Christian churches throughout the country, bringing Halévy immediate recognition. The renowned Protestant minister Paul-Henri Marron (1754-1832) praised the author as a new David, "who has

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[89]S[amuel] Cahen, "De la Littérature hébraïque et juive en France," *Les Archives israélites* I (1840), 35, 38.

[90]"Ha-Shalom: Hyme à l'occasion de la paix par le Cen. Élie Lévy, chantée en hébreu et lue en français, dans la grande synagogue, à Paris, le 17 Brumaire An X" (Paris: Imprimerie de la République, An X).

[91]*Ibid.*, 16. Also referred to in Hansen, 3; 33, n. 9.

[92]"Ha-Shalom," 8, 11. Also in Hansen, *ibid.*

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celebrated the return of peace in Hebraic verse in a brilliant manner."[93] The Orientalist Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838) added to the enthusiastic reception, writing an adulatory letter that appeared as preface to the first edition of the work in 1802.[94]

Halévy was also active as a "traducteur spécial du Consistoire central," and his translations reveal a similar admiration for Napoleon that appears to have remained strong among the Consistoire spokesmen during the Empire, despite Napoleon's retreat from his previous expansion of Jewish civil rights. Among the published translations is a *Discours* by the *Grand Rabbin du Consistoire central*, S. Sègre, presented on 25 December 1808 in the synagogue of the rue Sainte-Avoye to celebrate the surrender of Madrid to Napoleon.[95] In the *Discours*, the Emperor is depicted as a conqueror as great as Alexander, Caesar, Scipio, and Charlemagne, as a wise and compassionate legislator and father, and as a re-creation of a Hebraic king ordained and sent by God to bring just leadership and well-being to the multitude.[96] Another panegyric, from 1809, is a prayer to honor the "glorious battle" in which Napoleon

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[93]Quoted in Léon Halévy, *Sa Vie*, 6, n. 1: "[q]ui a célébré d'une manière brillante en vers hebraïques le retour de la paix." This is a translated excerpt of Marron's poetic tribute in Latin verse, which Léon includes at the beginning of his book, along with a French translation in the footnote (5-6).

[94]Letter dated 11 November 1801 (20 Brumaire An X) in *Ha-Shalom*, 3; referred to in Hansen, *Ludovic*, 3; 33, n. 11.

[95]*Discours prononcé dans le Temple de la rue Ste.-Avoye* (Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Ballard, imprimeur du Consistoire central des Israélites, 1808), n.p.

[96]*Ibid.*

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defeated the Austrians at Wagram.[97] One prayer translated by Halévy was offered not to commemorate a battle but to mark the dedication of a synagogue in Lyon.[98] The prayer, delivered by Mardoché Roque-Marine, rabbi of the Circonscription de Marseille, is an homage to Napoleon as well as a blessing on local authority, a request undoubtedly intended to assure protection for the new synagogue and for the Jewish community in Lyon.

Within the same two-year period (1808-9) in which Halévy was appointed official translator of the Consistoire, he became permanent secretary of the Parisian Jewish community. Both positions were awarded Halévy on the strength of his Talmudic scholarship, language skills, and undoubtedly the reputation built on the success of "Ha-Shalom." But it is likely that they were also granted for the moral authority he commanded, as one who reminded his co-religionists of their obligations to France. Although it is not certain whether Halévy ever became a citizen, one overt manifestation of his adaptation to French society was the change of his birth name, Levy, to Halévy in 1807. As his son Léon explained, French Jews were requested by

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[97]*Discours prononcé par M. Abraham Cologna, Membre du Collège électoral des Savans du royaume d'Italie, Grand-Rabbin du Consistoire central des Israélites, le 13 mai 1809, dans le Temple de la rue Ste.-Avoie, à l'occasion de la cérémonie célébrée en actions de graces, pour les victoires remportées par l'armée française aux champs de Tann, Eckmühl, Ratisbonne, etc., etc.; Suivi d'une prière composée en Hébreu, par M. le Prés. du dit Consistoire, D. SINTZHEIM, traduit par M. Elie HALEVY* (Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Ballard, n.d.). Also see reference in Cahen, *Littérature*, 35.

[98]*Prière composée par M. Mardoché Roque-Martine Grand Rabbin de la Circonscription de Marseille. Pour être récitée à l'occasion de l'inauguration du nouveau Temple Israélite de la ville de Lyon, (en mars 1813,) administré par M. Isaac Helft, Commissaire délégué de la Synagogue Consistoriale de Marseille; traduite en Français par M. Elie Halevy, traducteur spéciale du Consistoire Central des Israélites, et de celui de la Circonscription de Paris* (Paris: De l'Imprimerie des Langues Orientales de L.-P. Sétier Fils, 1813).

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the government, in concert with the Grand Sanhédrin, to change or modify their family names to avoid the confusion created by too many similar names on official registers.[99] (The resulting name was not Gallic, however; with the added prefix, Hebraic for "the," the resulting name would translate "the Levite.")[100] It is in Élie's writings, however, that we find the strongest evidence for his interest in revamping Jewish traditions in order to bring them into a closer and more amicable accord with the institutions and society of France.

The belief in a strong alliance between Jews and governmental authority, Napoleonic and otherwise, is clear in editorial statements of *L'Israélite français* that reinforce the epigraph chosen for the periodical. In the preface to the first issue, Halévy (or a co-editor) explains that the title "rappelle aux Israélites de France leurs obligations les plus sacrées: attachement aux lois, et dévouement à la patrie."[101] Respect for religious laws was built into Jewish tradition, but adherence to political laws of the countries Jews had inhabited as non-citizens over the centuries had been a self-protective necessity. In response to the social and political changes following emancipation, however, "devotion to the country" carried new meaning for French Jews. A principal goal of the periodical was to demonstrate the progress Jews had

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[99]Léon Halévy, *Sa Vie*, 6, n. 1. Léon noted that "Halévy" was the name of several famous Talmudists.

[100]In Biblical history, "Levite" meant an individual attached to the service of God or the sanctuary; in the later Temple period, Levites taught Torah, participated in the Temple service, and were in charge of music in worship. (These meanings would have been well-known to Élie Halévy.)

[101]I (1817), 2: "reminds Israélites of France of their most sacred duties: adherence to the laws and devotion to the country."

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made as citizens and to encourage their further intellectual and moral enlightenment.[102] As expressed in the preface, "perfectionnement moral" was necessary for Jews in France "de justifier ou de méritier les avantages sociaux qu'ils ont obtenus" and, for those outside France, to prepare for a similar future, awaiting "la sagesse des gouvernemen[t]s."[103]

The choice of "Israélite" in the title, as opposed to "Juif," signifies this transformation of Jewish citizenry. The title reflects the attempts begun c. 1806 to suppress the use of the latter term because of stereotypical associations built it.[104] Articles in *L'Israélite français* center on religious, political, historical, and literary topics, of a type later found in *Les Archives israélites*. Included in the first category are translations of Scriptural pieces and religious discourses, extracts from theological books, and biographies of prominent rabbis and esteemed Jews such as Moses Mendelssohn. Among the political articles are many that reveal concern for the universal condition of Jews; many offer solutions for improving their civil and moral position in countries less enlightened than France. Historical and literary selections include such articles as "Histoire Critique de L'Inquisition d'Espagne" and "Les Israélites des Pays-Bas," as well as such poems as J.C.H. Moline's "De la Vision d'Ézéchiel" and Élie Halévy's own "La Mort de Goliath" and "Entré du grand-prêtre

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[102]*Ibid.*

[103]*Ibid.*: "to justify or merit the social advantages that they have obtained"; "the wisdom of their governments."

[104]The strongest effort for a new designation came from the Jewish leader Berr-Isaac Berr (1744-1828), who suggested it be replaced by "Israélite," or "Hebrew." See Girard, *Émancipation*, 140.

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au temple."[105] Included in the "Partie littéraire" is a lengthy examination of the legend of the "Juif errant" that found its way into French literature and drama of the next several decades.[106]

One significant work by Halévy, more theological in nature than his journal contributions, is *Limmudei Dat u-Musar* (*Instruction réligieuse et morale à l'usage de la jeunesse israélite*), a catechism of religious instruction for young Jews drawn from the *Pentateuque* (of the Torah, corresponding to the first five books of the Bible). Published in 1820, it reveals the strength of Halévy's devotion to Talmudic teachings, but again shows his determination to find common religious and social ground among Jews and their non-Jewish compatriots. Extracting from a Hebraic work by an anonymous "Levite" from Barcelona which includes 613 precepts with "humanely reasoned" explanatory notes, Halévy presents some of the same basic precepts with his own commentary. Intended to guide the student as "homme et Israélite," the book repeatedly stresses the theme of dual devotion to faith and country. Central to this is the ideal of *fraternité*--in Talmudic and Revolutionary terms--which permeates Halévy's preface, editorial notes, and selected extracts from Sanhédrin decisions. In the preface, Halévy writes:

> La jeunesse Israélite à son tour, dès son entrée dans le monde, apprendra, en se nourrissant de ces préceptes divins, à remplir tous les devoirs de la fraternité envers ceux à qui nous sommes redevables de notre bonheur et de notre propre régénération, je veux dire envers ces

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[105]II (1818), 33-46; I (1817), 28-34, 127-28; II (1818), 10-20; I (1817), 122-27.

[106]C.L., "De l'Histoire du juif errant," I (1817), 109-21. Among the respondents were Jacques Delorme and Achilles B., 176-84.

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> nations qui nous font partager les bienfaits d'une constitution sage et philanthropique. Unis désormais par le coeur et par les doux liens de la société, nous ne sommes divisés que par les manières d'adorer notre Père commun, celui qui verse ses largesses sur nous tous. Quoique ces principes salutaires ne soient pas nouveaux et qu'ils se trouvent consignés dans tous nos livres moraux, [...] on ne peut assez les répéter aux enfans, il faut les leur graver profondément dans le coeur avant de leur ouvrir la porte du sanctuaire, il faut qu'ils les considèrent comme des vérités éternelles, comme des appuis contre la malignité de nos detracteurs et comme les inébranlables supports de notre félicité spirituelle et temporelle. [my emphasis][107]

In the pedagogical sections, which begin with the Ten Commandments ("le Décalogue"), he applies precepts to ideals of citizenship. For example, below the commandment "Honor thy father and thy mother," Halévy writes: "La piété filiale est la boussole de toutes les vertus. Le bon fils est également bon époux, bon ami et bon citoyen."[108] After this preliminary section, Halévy devotes the following ones to "Devoirs envers Dieu," and then to "Devoirs envers le prochain"; the latter includes the familiar prescription "Love your neighbor as you love yourself"

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[107]*Instruction réligieuse et morale à l'usage de la jeunesse israélite* (Paris: chez l'auteur; Metz: chez Gerson-Lévy, 1820), 12: "In his turn, the young Israelite, from his entry into the world, will learn by nourishing himself on these divine precepts to fulfil all the duties of fraternity toward those to whom we owe our happiness and our own regeneration, that is, toward these nations that have shared with us the benefits of a wise and philanthropic constitution. Henceforth united by the heart and by the sweet bonds of society, we are divided only by the ways of worshipping our common Father, he who showers his generosity on us all. While these salutary precepts are not new and are recorded in all our books of morality, [...] they cannot be repeated often enough to the children; it is necessary to engrave them deeply in their hearts before the door of the sanctuary is opened to them, it is necessary that they [the children] consider them as eternal truths, as buttresses against the malignity of our detractors and as steadfast support(s) of our spiritual and temporal happiness" [my emphasis].

[108]*Ibid.*, 20, n. 1: "The filial piety is the compass of all the virtues. The good son is equally a good husband, a good friend and a good citizen."

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(Leviticus 19:18). Under the subheading "Devoirs spéciaux," Halévy again cites the importance of applying principles "relatifs à des circonstances différentes aujourd'hui."[109] He emphasizes the long-held respect for civil authority that is also reflected in the Napoleonic encomiums referred to above:

> [...] depuis la dispersion des Israélites, l'amour de l'état où ils vivaient et du souverain qui les gouvernait, a toujours été ordonné et considéré comme le premier des devoirs."[110]

Halévy reinforces the contemporary applicability of old Judaic principles with references to the reformist Sanhédrin decisions that are placed at the back of the book: Article IV, for example, is an extended passage on *fraternité*, in which the Sanhédrin exhorts all Israelites to regard their Christian *concitoyens* as brothers, to "help, protect, love" them and "treat them in all civil and moral relations equivalent to their *co-religionnaries.*"[111] Not to do so would be "contrary to these sacred maxims."[112] In Article VI ("Rapports civils et politiques"), following quotes from Daniel, Jeremiah, and Proverbs, there is the prescription that every Israelite in France and Italy "est obligé religieusement de les regarder comme sa patrie, de les servir, de

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[109]*Ibid.*, 82-83, n. 2: "relative to different circumstances today."

[110]*Ibid.*, 83, n. 2: "[...] since the dispersion of the Israelites, the love of the state in which they were living and of the sovereign who governed them has always been ordained and considered the first duty."

[111]*Ibid.*, 111-12.

[112]*Ibid.*

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les défendre, d'obéir aux lois, et de se conformer, dans toutes ses transactions, aux dispositions du code civil."[113]

Among the maxims, Halévy includes several that refer to usury: inclusions undoubtedly intended to alert young Jews to avoid any practice that might inflame old Christian fears. He quotes Scripture that warns against taking interest or "supplément" from a brother or needy person and condemns the "commerce illicite" between individuals of different religions as a transgression of divine law.[114] Again, Halévy coordinates these maxims with Sanhédrin decisions, including a long passage in Article VIII on the misinterpretation of the Hebrew word for usury (*nechech*).[115]

Despite the clear message of cooperation with Christian society, Halévy presents these guidelines and ideals with a dose of realism, hoping that they will help combat "la malveillance [...] si souvent publié contre nos lois" and steel the pupil against "la malignité de nos detracteurs."[116] In one extended note, he speaks of men "aveuglés par le fanatisme et les préjugés" who would "éléver des doutes sur la

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[113]*Ibid.*, 114: "is religiously bound to regard them [the two states] as their country, serve them, defend them, obey their laws, and conform, in all their transactions, to the requirements of the civil code."

[114]*Ibid.*, 92, 98 (Nos. 176, 177, 179, 189). Also see Girard, *égalité*, 88.

[115]*Ibid.*, 117.

[116]*Ibid.*, 12: "the bad [...] so often published against our laws"; "the malignancy of our detractors."

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compatibilité du judaïsme avec l'exercice des droits politiques et sur les principes de morale pratiqués par les Israélites."[117]

Halévy's catechism was approved, with minor modifications, by the Consistoire central.[118] In its adoption for use in Hebrew schools throughout France during the final years of the Restoration and the two decades of the July Monarchy, it became highly influential in reforming old dogma and practice. Praised by French Jewish leaders, it even elicited support from the Ministre d'Instruction publique, who found it "full of wisdom" and suitable for use in schools.[119]

Among writings that Élie Halévy left incomplete at his death in 1826 are two ambitious projects which again represent an effort to bring about a rapport between French and Jewish cultures. The first is a Hebrew-French dictionary and the second is a large study of Aesop's Fables. According to his son Léon, Élie considered the Proverbs of Solomon to be the moral bases for the Fables.[120] Although unpublished, these works demonstrate, along with his pro-Napoleonic poetry, religious cathechism, Talmudic interpretations, Biblical poetry, and his association

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[117]*Ibid.*, 110: "blinded by fanaticism and prejudice [...] raise doubts about the compatibility of Judaism with the exercise of political rights and about the moral principles practiced by the Israelites."

[118]*Ibid.* Included at the back of the publication, the modifications are usually word changes and additions of clarifying phrases (Nos. 1-10).

[119]Letter from Simeon, Ministre d'Instruction publique, to Élie Halévy, 16 November 1820, in AN CXVII 1058, unnumbered dossier, as cited in Hansen, *Ludovic*, 4; 34, n. 13.

[120]Léon Halévy, *Sa Vie*, 7, n. 1.

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with *L'Israélite français*, a zeal for the intellectual and political fusion of Jews and non-Jews, balanced by a retention of Judaic faith.

Élie Halévy's dual commitment to Judaism and civil responsibility was also manifested in the education selected for his sons. According to Léon Halévy, he and his brother attended a strict synagogue school in their early years, but were then sent to the Lycée Charlemagne and the Conservatoire, respectively.[121] Their father, despite the fact that his own Orthodox upbringing left him without the resources to oversee their work, insisted on a liberal education:

> Notre père, très-ardent pour la complète émancipation intellectuelle de ses coreligionnaires, que la révolution avait faits citoyens, ne prit pas à notre instruction une part directe (la spécialité de ses connaissances ne le permettait pas); mais il se dévoua entièrement à notre education, et quoique complètement ruiné par une malheureuse entreprise commerciale, il fit les plus grand sacrifices pour vouer ses deux fils aux études et aux professions libérales.[122]

Such an education, according to the son of Samuel Cahen, the founder of *Les Archives israélites*, was then a rarity in the Parisian Jewish community, at that time primarily composed of emigrants from Alsace-Lorraine who made their living as

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[121]Léon Halévy, *Sa Vie*, 8. Fromental entered the Conservatoire on 30 January 1809, four months before his tenth birthday. Some sources suggest that Fromental also attended the Lycée Charlemagne; see, e.g., Isidore Cahen, "Actualités: Quelques notes sur Léon Halévy," *Les Archives israélites* XLIV/37 (13 September 1883), 296.

[122]*Léon Halévy, Sa Vie*, 8. "Our father, very ardent for the complete intellectual emancipation of his coreligionnaires, whom the revolution had made citizens, did not take a direct part in our instruction (the specialization of his knowledge did not allow it); but he devoted himself entirely to our education, and despite ruining himself through a bad business venture, he made the greatest sacrifices for his two sons to study and to follow the liberal professions."

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peddlers (*colporteurs*) and small traders.[123] Despite the disapproval of his sons' "Gentile" education by less liberal Jews,[124] Élie was proud and vocal about their achievements. Included in the first volume of *L'Israélite français* is an early verse by the fifteen-year-old Léon Halévy, as well as short biographical paragraphs listing school honors received by both sons. Léon's work, entitled "Egée, Scène lyrique," is identified as a "cantate" and includes text for recitative and aria.[125] In the paragraphs following "Egée," the honors mentioned for Léon include those won in the *concours général* in 1816 and "plusieurs premiers prix" at the *collège royal de Charlemagne* the following year.[126] Noted as the achievement of Fromental, then a pupil of Cherubini at the Conservatoire, is the *second prix* in the Prix de Rome that he won in both 1816 and 1817. The presence of the proud editor-father is strongly felt in the final paragraph--if not written by Élie Halévy, undoubtedly suggested by him:

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[123]Cahen, *Archives*, 296.

[124]*Ibid.*

[125]*L'Israélite français* I (1817), 137-39. According to subsequent commentary, the work was intended to be set by the eighteen-year-old Fromental. Whether this was realized is not known, but the anticipation of a setting foreshadows future artistic collaboration between the two brothers. The plot of the short piece, centering on Egée, king of Athens, and his son Thésée, also shows an early bent for Greco-Roman themes that would blossom in Léon's mature works.

[126]*Ibid.*, 140.

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> Heureux les pères qui trouvent, dans la conduite et dans les succès de leurs enfans, la récompense des sacrifices qu'ils font pour leur procurer une bonne éducation![127]

Because of their early achievements, followed by successful careers within the institutions of France, it seems difficult to portray Léon and Fromental as anything other than fully assimilated Jews, whose desire to be noteworthy French citizens outweighed their observance of Jewish customs and traditions. Fromental's musical career was full of honors. After being awarded the Prix de Rome in 1819 for his cantata *Herminie*, the composer later became professor of harmony and accompaniment at the Conservatoire in 1827, of counterpoint and fugue in 1833, and of composition in 1840. In addition to being *chef du chant* at the Théâtre Italien (1826-29) and at the Opéra (1829-45), Fromental composed for all three lyric stages: the Théâtre Italien, the Opéra-Comique, and the Opéra. The chief comic operas produced after his first success, *Le Dilettante d'Avignon* (1829), were *L'Éclair* (1835), *Le Shérif* (1839), *Le Guitarrero* (1841), *Les Mousquetaires de la reine* (1846), *Le Val d'Andorre* (1848), and *Jaguarita l'indienne* (1855). For the Opéra, *La Juive* was followed by *Guido et Ginevra* (1838), *Le Drapier* (1840), *La Reine de Chypre* (1841), *Charles VI* (1843), *Le Juif errant* (1852), and *La Magicienne* (1858). In 1836, undoubtedly as a result of *La Juive*, he was elected to the prestigious Académie des Beaux-Arts of the Institut de France; in 1854, he was appointed its *secrétaire*

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[127]*Ibid.*: "Happy are the fathers who see, in the conduct and success of their children, the reward of the sacrifices they make to get a good education for them!"

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perpétuel, the first Jew to hold this distinguished position. Fromental was also awarded the Légion d'honneur.

Léon Halévy's active career produced fewer honors and less money than did that of his older brother, but he established a strong reputation as an *homme de lettres*. In 1831, he accepted the post of assistant professor of French literature at the École polytechnic and later became chief of Le Bureau des Sociétés Scientifiques, attached to Le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique. In addition to the operatic collaborations with his brother, Léon wrote more than thirty-five *comédies*, *comédie-vaudevilles*, and *tragédies* produced at the Théâtre Français, the Odéon, and other Parisian theaters. These included *Le Concert à la campagne* (1828), *Le Czar Démétrius* (1829), *Le Chevreuil* (1831), *Le Grand seigneur et la paysanne*, *Une Leçon d'égalité* (1832), *Indiana* (1833), *Léone Léoni* (1840), *Un Mari s'il vous plait* (1843), and *Le Mari aux épingles* (1856). Based on his translations of Euripides, Sophocles, and Horace, Léon was lauded as a Hellenist. His *Oeuvres lyriques d'Horace* was first published in 1821, on the heels of his matriculation at the Lycée Charlemagne; an important work of his more mature years was *La Grèce tragique, chefs-d'oeuvre d'Éschyle, de Sophocle et d'Euripide, traduits en vers....*[128] His *Recueil de fables* of 1844 was crowned by the Academy, but he was never elected to the exclusive *quarante* of the Institute.

In addition to the fact that the successes of both Halévy sons came within secular French society, there are additional elements in their family life that point

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[128]Paris, 1821-22, reprinted 1831-32; Paris: J. Labitte, 1846-61.

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away from a commitment to traditional Judaism. While Fromental married the wealthy Jewess Léonie Rodrigues, a member of the Rodrigues banking family of Bordeaux, in an 1842 ceremony that borrowed from Hebraic ritual,[129] Léon married a Protestant, the daughter of the architect Hippolyte Le Bas (1782-1867). I do not know whether either raised his children in the Jewish faith.[130]

Yet a significant number of dramatic works and writings by both Fromental and Léon, in addition to *La Juive*, reveal active, even if intermittent, concern for Jewish issues. In them one can feel reverberations of Élie Halévy's dual commitment to honor Judaic moral principles and culture and to seek compatibility between them and French Christian society. Signs of equivocation, of both apathy and attraction to Judaism, in part reflect the difficulties of conserving a traditionally Jewish identity in the face of civil empowerment.

An early journal entry by Fromental indicates a keen interest in Judaic customs and the condition of Jews outside France, although it seems, on the surface, to imply a lack of exposure to the Passover ritual that he later depicts in *La Juive*. Writing in the journal which he kept in Italy during his Prix de Rome sojourn from the end of 1820 to the spring of 1822, Fromental includes an extensive narrative of his visit to a

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[129]Léon Halévy, *Sa Vie*, 6, n. 2: "Il y épousa Mlle Léonie Rodrigues, et la bénédiction nuptiale y fut donnée selon le rite Israélite."

[130]*Ibid.*, 6ff.; V. E., "Léon Halévy," 169; Hansen, *Ludovic*, 31-32. Hansen reports that Fromental's oldest daughter, Geneviève, resisted a priest's attempt to convert her sometime after her marriage to the lawyer Émile Straus (her first husband was Bizet), with the comment: "J'ai trop peu de religion pour en changer" (32).

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Jewish ghetto in Rome.[131] On six of the thirty-five pages devoted mainly to travel commentary, he carefully describes the experience: his happenstance stumbling onto the ghetto, his entry into a hidden synagogue located on the second floor of a house, his listening to the responsorial prayer between the bass cantor and the worshipers, his interactions with a Monsieur Issakhar, and, in most detail, his observation of the Passover meal at Issakhar's house following the synagogue service.[132] Throughout his detailed narrative, the composer never steps forward as a Jew who is interacting with his coreligionists; instead, he introduces himself to his host as "a foreigner" ("un étranger") interested in learning unfamiliar customs. This lack of personal connection could be interpreted as a type of "editorial distancing," particularly since the description is written formally, in a manner familiar in 19th-century journals intended to be read by others. Moreover, Halévy, as a Prix de Rome winner, was undoubtedly viewing himself above all as a Frenchman in Italy. Although some 20th-century biographers, including Curtiss and Hansen, have interpreted Halévy's passage as a complete denial or ignorance of his heritage,[133] there are elements in it which "expose" the composer as more intrigued by, and aware of, his roots than is generally acknowledged.

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[131]Entry not dated. Few dated entries appear in the journal (BN-Mss, n.a.fr. 14349); the last entries are dated late spring 1822. See selected pages from this journal in Appendix C.

[132]*Ibid.*, 9^{r}-14^{r}.

[133]Curtiss, *Halévy*, 197. Hansen, *Ludovic*, 7, states that by the time Halévy wrote this journal account, he "had surrendered all awareness of being Jewish."

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Halévy describes the piquing of his curiosity when he--by chance--walks near a guarded door leading into the ghetto. While he knew beforehand that Jews lived in the city, nothing had prodded him to seek them out. But at this moment he resolves:

> profiter de l'avertissement que me donnais le hazard, et d'étudier un peu les moeurs de ce restant des douze tribes, et la manière dont on les traitait dans la capitale du monde chrétien.[134]

After meticulously describing the decor in the synagogue, the meaning and placement of the tabernacle, and the service itself, Fromental paints a grim scene of the poverty and miserable living conditions noticed en route to Monsieur Issakhar's home.[135] During the Passover meal, the young composer queries his host about the governmental treatment of the Jews:

> Vous voyez comment on nous traits, me répondis-il: le quartier que nous habitons & donc vous pouvez juger par les rues que vous avez traversés avec moi est une enceinte que nous ne pouvons franchir -- nous sommes moins misérables que nos ancêtres, me répondis-il, mais notre sort est toujours bien triste. Nous ne pouvons habiter [que] de ce quartier, que les Romains nomment ghetto, seulement, on nous a accordé la permission d'établir nos magasins dans les rues adjacents.[136]

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[134]Journal, 9[r]: "to learn from the information given to me by chance, and study the customs of this remainder of the twelve tribes a little, and the way in which they were treated in the capital of the Christian world."

[135]*Ibid.*, 11[r-v]: "--Effectivement, nous nous trouvions, dans d'étroits défilés que ne méritent pas le nom de rues. Les maisons petites, basses, mal éclairées, étaient remplies de femmes, d'enfants, dont les vêtements attestaient la misère." ("Actually, we found ourselves in narrow passes that did not deserve to be called streets. The small, low, poorly lighted houses were full of women, of children, whose clothes attested to their misery.")

[136]*Ibid.*, 14[r]: "You see how we are treated, he said to me: the quarter that we live in, as you can judge by the streets that you walked with me, is an enclosure that we cannot pass

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Curiosity about Jews outside France and compassion for their hardships appear to be the most obvious motivations behind the composer's questioning. His interest, although a naturally humanitarian one, may very well have been stimulated by the historic-cultural explorations in his father's journal, in such entries as "Des Israélites du Malabar" or Les Israélites de la Chine."[137] In this light, Fromental's detailed recounting of the synagogue service and Passover meal may have been in a sense a "comparative study" of differences between the practices of Italian and French Jews. Perhaps the young composer wrote it with the expectation of reporting to his father in Paris. It is doubtful that he was encountering these basic rites for the first time, although he seems to portray himself as a novitiate.

Inside the synagogue, Fromental carefully describes the tabernacle as if newly discovering its significance and remarks: "[...] vous avez conservé tous les usages de vos prières."[138] In the Issakhar home, he points out Hebraic writing above a door, but asks his host the meaning of the words. And, as he sits down to the Passover meal, he appears to see and taste unleavened bread for the first time. Fromental

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beyond--we are less miserable than our ancestors, he said, but our situation is always quite dismal. We can live only in this quarter, which the Romans call ghetto; we have been given permission to establish our stores in the adjacent streets." Hansen interprets Halévy's question, "What is a ghetto?"--which appears in an earlier paragraph in the journal and which Hansen uses as epigraph to his Chapter I--not as a rhetorical statement, but as a sign of a total lack of Halévy's connection with his Jewishness.

[137]*L'Israélite français* I (1817), 28-34; I (1817), 14-27, by E.F.; II (1818), 93-108, by E.F.

[138]Journal, 10v: "[...] you have conserved all the customs of your prayers."

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carefully describes various foods used in the ritual that follows the prayer. He then writes:

> Mon hôte, qui paroissait avoir un esprit assez éclairé, [...] me dis: ces préparatifs, nécéssaires à nos céremonies doivent vous paraître bien bizarres; mais vous savez sans doute que nos fêtes, comme la plupart des fêtes de tous les peuples, n'ont été instituées que pour perpétuer le souvenir d'évenements mémorables [...]. Tous ces objets dans la présence ici pourraient paraître ridicules ont un sens allégorique et doivent rappeler aux israélites leur délivrance et leur sortie de l'Égypte.[139]

As we read the account at this point, it is difficult not to think of the "disguised" Samuel in the second act of *La Juive*. Yet the composer's lack of knowledge of the Hebrew language or of traditional rituals displayed in these passages is not consistent with other biographical evidence. For example, by his brother's testimony, we know that the composer was taught some Hebrew before he entered the Conservatoire at age nine.[140] Moreover, the inclusion in his father's catechism of numerous Talmudic directives pertaining to festivals (*fêtes*) of the Sabbath, New Year, Passover, Pentecost, and the Tabernacles (Ch. V., nos. 63-94) implies that the meanings of traditional celebrations would have been familiar to Fromental by the time of his ghetto visit. The precepts relating to the celebration of Passover, for

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[139]*Ibid.*, 13r. "My host, who seemed to have a rather enlightened spirit, [...] told me: these preparations, necessary to our ceremonies, must appear very strange to you; but you know that our celebrations, like most celebrations of all peoples, were created only in order to perpetuate the remembrance of memorable events [...]. All these objects in your presence here, which may seem ridiculous, have an allegorical sense and should remind the Israelites of their deliverance and flight from Egypt."

[140]Léon Halévy, *Sa Vie*, 8. He does suggest an incomplete learning of the language, saying that they were taught "quelques notions de grammaire."

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example, discuss the eating of unleavened bread. Although there is no itemizing of other symbolic foods, immediately following Élie Halévy's passage prescribing the day that the "pain azyme" is to be eaten (No. 79, from Exodus 12:18) is the same precept Issakhar repeats: "En ce jour tu diras à ton fils: Ceci se fait à cause de ce que me fit l'Eternel, lorsque je sortis de l'Egypte" (No. 80, from Exodus 13:8).[141]

It seems unlikely that Élie Halévy would have allowed his sons to go without knowledge of the very rituals that he considered significant for his young readers, although it is conceivable that he produced his catechism upon realizing, in hindsight, that the Judaic foundation given his children had been too scanty or inconsistent. Yet close to the time of the catechism's publication, before the composer's departure for Italy, Halévy demonstrated a close association with his father's synagogue activities as well as some knowledge of Hebrew.

In the same manner in which Élie had written and translated commemorative poems, Fromental composed a Psalm set in Hebrew for the memorial service held at the Temple Sainte-Avoye for the duc de Berry, who had been killed at the Opéra on 13 February 1820. A *procès-verbal* of a Consistoire meeting (19 March 1820) preliminary to the memorial suggests that Fromental proposed the composition, perhaps at his father's suggestion:

> Il accepte avec reconnaissance l'offre que Mr Halévy présent à la séance fait de composer la musique d'un pseaume. MM le Chevalier

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[141]Élie Halévy, *Instruction*, 50: "On this day you will say to your son: this is done because of what the Lord did for me when I left Egypt." These words are taken from the traditional *Haggadah* (narration) used for the service of the Passover Seder.

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De Cologne et Deutz/Grands Rabbins du Consistoire Central de concert avec Mr Seligman Michel, gr. rabbin de la circonscription s'accordent pour lui désigner le pseaume 130, connu sous le nom de De Profundis. Mr Halévy est en outre chargé par le Consistoire de choisir le nombre de musiciens nécessaires pour exécuter d'une manière convenable la composition qu'il se propose de faire. [...]

Mr Halévy est prié d'inviter à faire partie de l'orchestre les jeunes israélites musiciens, artistes ou amateurs, qu'il croit propres à y figurer. Il préfère que l'invitation soit faite directement par le Consistoire. Son observation est accueillie et Mr le Secrétaire est prié d'écrire au nom du Consistoire à

MM Philippe	
Bloc	violons
Lyon	
Hatzfeld	
Manuel 1	
Manuel 2	violoncelles
Jacob	
Manuel	contrebasse
Dacosta	clarinette

pour les inviter à faire partie de l'orchestre que dirigira Mr Halévy.[142]

Halévy set the psalm for male chorus (first and second tenors; bass) and solo bass (*basse-taille*), specifically for Israël Lovy, cantor of the Temple Sainte-Avoye from

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[142]Ganvert, *Synagogale*, 64 (taken from AN, Reg. AA1[bis] of Consistoire papers): "It accepts with gratitude the offer that Mr. Halévy, present at the meeting, makes to compose the music of a psalm. MM. le Chevalier de Cologne et Deutz, Grand Rabbis of the Consistoire Central, together with Mr. Seligman Michel, Grand Rabbi of the District, determine that Psalm 130, known as De Profundis, be designated for him. Mr. Halévy is also charged by the Consistoire to choose the number of musicians necessary to perform in a suitable manner the composition that he proposes to write. [...]

Mr. Halévy is asked to invite young Israelite musicians, artists or amateurs whom he believes appropriate to take part in the orchestra. He prefers that the invitation be made directly by the Consistoire. His observation is welcome and Mr. le Sécretaire is asked to write, in the name of the Consistoire, to MM. Philippe [...] to invite them to take part in the orchestra directed by Mr. Halévy."

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1818 to 1833.[143] Dedicated to his teacher Cherubini, the work is scored for flute, pairs of oboes, clarinets, horns, and bassoons, three trombones, strings, and timpani. It begins with the fully instrumental *Marche funèbre* in F Minor; the setting of the Psalm follows in two numbers--the first for chorus and soloist in D Minor and the second for bass solo in F Major, accompanied by oboes, horns, and strings.

Halévy wrote at least one more work for Lovy, as suggested by a *procès-verbal* for another Consistoire meeting (2 October 1820), at which both Halévy and Lovy were present. It notes that Halévy is "invited to compose a new Hallel in which he will take care to use the beautiful talent of Mr Loewy [sic]."[144]

Léon Halévy later characterized the 1820 "Marche funèbre et de profundis" as a work "empreinte d'une profonde couleur religieuse," and one that created a sensation.[145] In a study of 19th-century Parisian synagogal music, Ganvert categorizes it as "l'une des toutes premières manifestations à musique synagogale savante à Paris," and the first score of French synagogue music of the 19th century to be printed.[146] Furthermore, he defines its use in the duc de Berry service as an important example of synagogal musical reform.

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[143]Ganvert's dates for Lovy; dates in Naumbourg (1875, xxxix) are 1816-32.

[144]Ganvert, *Synagogale*, 64-65, n. 3.

[145]Léon Halévy, *Sa Vie*, 13: "imprinted with a profound religious color."

[146]*Ibid.*, 107, 63: "one of the very first manifestations of learned synagogal music in Paris." *Marche funèbre et de profundis en Hébreu, à 3 voix et à grand orchestre (avec une traduction italienne et accompagnement de piano)...*," Paris: Chez Ignaz Pleyel et Fils aîné, [1820] (see BN-Mus., L. 1686).

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Since its establishment in 1809, the Consistoire had considered "la musique occidentale" significant to synagogue worship, particularly for the commemorative services that became popular under the Empire (the types of services for which Élie Halévy translated poems).[147] Ganvert considers this musical reform an integral part of the evolution of French Jewish culture from emancipation to equality in the 19th century: with the gaining and strengthening of Jewish citizenship came a gradual alignment with French musical practice of church and conservatory. The use of orchestral instruments was one aspect of this gradual westernization of synagogue music in 19th-century Paris. Earlier than Halévy's psalm setting, for example, a performance by the singer Abrah Brandoni was accompanied by two harps and piano during the ceremony of 15 August 1809 for Napoleon's birthday.[148] The organ was introduced into the service later, in 1844.[149]

Along with the work of Lovy and Samuel Naumbourg (1815-80), the great *hazanim* (cantors), each of whom served as *Ministre officiant* of the Temple

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[147]Ganvert, *Synagogale*, 65. The reintroduction of instrumental music, excluded from the synagogue from the time of the destruction of the Temple, also occurred in liberal, reform synagogues outside France during the 19th century. See A.Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in its Historical Development* (New York: Henry Holt, 1929), 232ff., for a discussion of attempts in Germany (primarily) to introduce European music into the synagogue. Idelsohn dates these efforts from the late 18th century; he includes the introduction of hymns and Protestant chorales into Jewish services by Israel Jacobson (1768-1828) and Meyerbeer's father, Jakob Herz Beer (1769-1825), for example.

[148]Ganvert, *Synagogale*, 62. I have not been able to find any biographical information on Brandoni.

[149]*Ibid.*, 76. See Ganvert's discussion on the debates surrounding synagogal use of the organ. Naumbourg later decried the introduction of the organ as "unfortunate" and not appropriate to the spirit of synagogue music. See also *Recueil de chants religieux et populaires des israëlites des temps les plus récules jusqu'à nos jours*, ed. Samuel Naumbourg (Paris: Chez l'Auteur, 1875), xl-xli.

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Consistorial in different eras, Ganvert deems Halévy's contributions significant in this reform. Years after "De Profundis," Halévy set a series of Psalms in the style of traditional Hebraic chant for cantorial anthologies edited by Naumbourg.[150] (See Ill. 1.) Most are three- or four-voice responsorial settings for solo voices (either soprano, tenor, baritone, or bass) and chorus in common early-19th-century harmonizations, although there are hints of "authentic" Judaic musical elements.[151]

The publications, intended for use in synagogues throughout France, were dedicated to and approved by the Consistoire Israélite. As a member of this body, along with Maximilien-Charles Alphonse Cerf Berr (President), Marchand Ennery (Rabbi), Adolphe Franck, Achille-Edmond Halphen, and five others, Halévy promoted the diffusion of these collections. Heading the 1847 edition is an endorsement by the composer, whose prestige by this time was well secured as author of *La Juive*, Institute member, and winner of Légion d'Honneur. He writes:

> J'ai examiné avec beaucoup de soin et d'attention, l'ouvrage de M^r^. Naumbourg, Ministre officiant à la synagogue de Paris, ouvrage qu'il va publier sous le titre de *Semiroth Israel*, qu'il a présenté au consistoire central et sur lequel le consistoire m'a demandé un rapport.

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[150]*Semiroth Israel: Chants religieux des israëlites*, ed. Samuel Naumbourg (Paris: Chez l'Auteur, 1847); *Nouveau recueil de chants religieux*, ed. Samuel Naumbourg (Paris: Chez l'Auteur, 1866); Naumbourg, *Recueil* (1875). Ganvert cites Naumbourg collections published in 1857 and gives 1864 as the publication date of *Nouveau recueil*; he also lists other collections published by Émile Jonas (1854), Israël Lovy (1862), and Alphonse de Villers (1872).

[151]For further information on synagogue music, see, e.g., Idelsohn's classic studies, including *Jewish Music in its Historical Development* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1929), and Aron Friedmann, *Der syncgogale Gesang* (Berlin: C. Boas Nacht, 1904). A discussion of elements in these psalm settings in relation to Halévy's setting of the Jewish service in *La Juive* follows in Chapter 6.

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Ill. 1: **Title page of *Semiroth Israel: Chants religieux des israëlites*, ed. Samuel Naumbourg (1847).**

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> L'ouvrage de M^r^. Naumbourg m'a paru réunir toutes les qualités desirables, et j'espère qu'il exercera une heureuse influence sur l'exécution des chants religieux dans nos Temples, trop souvent abandonnés à une déplorable routine. M^r^. Naumbourg a recueilli un grand nombre de chants traditionnels qu'il importe de conserver dans la liturgie, et qui sont parvenus jusqu'à nous sans rien perdre du double caractère qu'ils tirent de leur antique origine et de leur pieuse destination. Il a accompagné ces chants d'une harmonie vocale simple et facile. Les chants qu'il a composés, et ils sont en grand nombre, sont d'un bon style. C'est une oeuvre complète que M^r^. Naumbourg a préparée avec un zèle, un devouement et un talent que pour ma part je me plais à reconnaître.
>
> Je crois que l'ouvrage de M^r^. Naumbourg mérite d'être approuvé par le Consistoire central, et recommandé par lui aux consistoires des diverses circonscriptions.
>
> F. HALÉVY.[152]

In Naumbourg's collection published in 1875 after Halévy's death, the editor reciprocates with an endorsement of the composer. In the preface, following remarks emphasizing the importance of preserving the quality of traditional songs, Naumbourg

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[152]"Rapport," Naumbourg, *Chants religieux*, n.p: "I have examined with much care and attention the work of Mr. Naumbourg, Officiating Minister in the synagogue of Paris, a work that he is publishing under the title of *Semiroth Israel*, which he has presented to the Central Consistory and concerning which the Consistory has asked me to report.

The work of Mr. Naumbourg has appeared to me to reunite all the desirable qualities, and I hope that it will exercise a positive influence on the performance of religious chants in our Temples, too often abandoned to a deplorable routine. Mr. Naumbourg has collected a great number of traditional chants that are important to conserve in the liturgy, and that have come down to us without losing any of the dual character that they draw from their ancient origin and their pious destination. He has accompanied these songs with a simple and apt vocal harmony. The songs that he has composed, and they are great in number, are stylistically sound. This is a comprehensive work that Mr. Naumbourg has prepared with zeal, devotion, and talent, which, for my part, I am pleased to acknowledge.

I believe that Mr. Naumbourg's work deserves to be approved by the Central Consistory and recommended by it to consistories of various districts."

Idelsohn, *Developments*, 262, states that Naumbourg came to Paris in 1843, "warmly recommended" to Halévy.

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hails the composer's contributions to his collections, his zeal for promoting synagogue music, his knowledge of Hebrew, and his faith:

> Le génie musical des anciens Hébreux s'est conservé chez leurs descendants. Il est sorti du sein du Judaïsme moderne de grands musiciens, dont les noms illustres ne sont pas déplacés à côté de ceux de Mozart, de Haydn, et de Weber. Il suffit de citer Meyerbeer, Mendelssohn et Halévy. Il est à regretter que les deux premiers n'aient rien composé pour notre culte. Quant à Halévy, je puis dire qu'il était israélite de coeur et qu'il portait un vif intérêt à tout ce qui pouvait contribuer aux progrès de notre musique religieuse. Savant aussi distingué que grand musicien, Halévy connaissait parfaitement l'hébreu et il a bien voulu encourager l'auteur de ce recueil de ses précieux conseils et même composer, pour son premier ouvrage (*Semiroth Israël*) six morceaux dans lesquels on reconnaît (surtout dans le ps: CXVIII que je regarde comme un vrai chef-d'oeuvre,) toutes les qualités de son style magistral. Si tous les autres compositeurs israélites avaient porté le même respect à notre culte, que de belles oeuvres eussent enrichi le recueil de nos chants réligieux![153]

Halévy also encouraged contributions to synagogal music among the Jewish students he taught at the Conservatoire.[154]

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[153]Naumbourg, *Récueil* (1875), xlii: "The musical genius of the ancient Hebrews has been preserved in their descendents. It has emerged from the bosom of the modern Judaism of great musicians, whose illustrious names are not out of place next to those of Mozart, Haydn, and Weber. It is sufficient to cite Meyerbeer, Mendelssohn, and Halévy. It is regrettable that the first two have composed nothing for our religion. As for Halévy, I can say that he was an Israelite in his heart and that he took a keen interest in all that he could contribute to the progress of our religious music. A scholar as distinguished as he was a great musician, Halévy knew Hebrew perfectly and he clearly wanted to encourage the author of this collection with his invaluable advice and even to compose for his first work (*Semiroth Israël*) six pieces in which one recognizes all the qualities of his dignified style (especially in Psalm 118, which I consider a true masterpiece). If all the other Israelite composers had carried the same respect for our religion, what beautiful works would have enriched the collection of our religious chants!"

[154]*Ibid.*, 107-8. Among his students who wrote for the synagogue were Charles Le Bouc, Jules Erlanger, Jules Cohen, and Samuel David; moreover, Samuel Naumbourg attended Halévy's Conservatoire classes (the reverent tone of an admiring student permeates the passage above). Le Bouc, Erlanger, Cohen, and David studied with Halévy during the 1840s.

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Beyond his synagogue affiliations, Halévy's composition of the opera *Le Juif errant*, produced at the Opéra in 1852, represents another public manifestation of his link with Jewish concerns. Halévy was undoubtedly prompted to write this opera in response to the popularity of Eugène Sue's novel (1845) and play (1849), which demonstrated a continued literary interest in the medieval legend of Ashverus, and perhaps because of the success of *La Juive*. Yet his involvement with a second opera centered on the historical plight of Jews suggests personal engagement. Moreover, Halévy began, but did not complete, a work with a Biblical theme--the opera *Noé* (*Noah*).[155]

I do not know to what extent Halévy maintained his associations with the Parisian Jewish community following his 1820 synagogue works and prior to his Consistoire association, i.e., during the years closer to his work on *La Juive*.[156] But his Consistoire work, his composition of synagogue music, and his thorough knowledge of Hebrew, this last claimed by Naumbourg, reveal a strong engagement with Judaic culture in his mature years, which likely represents a continuation of Halévy's early upbringing. In addition to the evidence that the composer had been exposed to Hebraic language, teachings, and ceremonies through his father in his

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David was one of several students who won the Prix de Rome, for the cantata *Jephté* in 1858 (110).

[155]See BN-Mus., Ms. Vm^2 1277. The opera was completed by his student and son-in-law, Georges Bizet (vocal score, 1885; full score, 1886).

[156]Although I have not seen Jordan's new biography of Halévy, Ronald Crichton's review of it in the journal *Opera* (March 1995) quotes the author's statement that Halévy "had drifted away from religious observance in his early 20s, but like many of his emancipated co-religionists he retained an inalienable loyalty to his faith and his heritage" (319).

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developing years, there is the telling fact that the young composer had lived in the Jewish district in Paris before leaving for his Prix de Rome sojourn. From 1815, when his father began his duties with the Paris Consistoire, Fromental lived on the same street on which the Temple Sainte-Avoye stood.[157] Despite the reform-minded stances of his father and the Temple Sainte-Avoye, it truly seems improbable that Halévy would have been as distant from traditional Judaic rituals or from his own Jewish identity as his account of the ghetto visit suggests.

If the account is read with the knowledge of both his and his father's work and associations, a number of questions arise. Most importantly, why would the composer not allude to his own identity in his report, even if he were on the periphery of Judaism at this point in his life? When he spoke to the guard at the entry to the ghetto, would he not have mentioned that he, too, was Jewish to ease his way of passage? When he asked his host the meaning of Hebrew words, of the tabernacle, of the Passover foods, would he not have pointed out that, while knowing something about these things, he wanted to discover more? Instead, he is "un étranger" without any awareness of what is being explained to him.

The non-Jewish identity that the young composer presents to his host, to himself, and perhaps to future readers--in an account written shortly after his participation in at least two services at the Temple Sainte-Avoye--speaks to an ambivalence about his Jewishness and about the strength of "disguise" that he had learned to wear in daily life. In light of the experiences of other first-generation

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[157]Léon Halévy, *Sa Vie*, 13.

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emancipated Jews in France, the composer's suppression of his identity is not surprising. Blending into Christian society meant playing down, to some degree, one's "otherness," and it is likely that the young composer had learned this art of camouflage to avoid estrangement or adolescent persecution. Gustave d'Eichthal, who associated with the Halévys in the Saint-Simonian circle, describes having been derisively taunted as "le Juif" and "le Juif errant" by his fellow lycéens.[158] Conversion was one avenue taken by European Jews in their desire to assimilate, but undoubtedly some apostasies in France were as superficial as Heine's much-discussed conversion in Prussia in 1825, despite the comparatively tolerant French climate.[159] Despite the commonness of apostasy, neither Fromental nor Léon made so formal a denial of their religious heritage. As discussed below, however, Léon is "converted" to the extent that he accepts Jesus as having been a reformer of Judaism.

Other entries in Halévy's journal speak of his interactions with other Jews or point to the young composer's curiosity about Jewish issues. There is reference to a visit to Uzielli, a rich Jewish merchant, to a travelling companion named Germain Mayer, and to a joke about Rothschild. On the last page of his travel entries, before the twenty-five pages of autograph musical sketches, he jots down the book title

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[158]"Souvenirs d'enfance," ARS, Ms. 14717, 40[r].

[159]Heine's "baptism" (not a true conversion, he wrote) was no more than a nominal, "indifferent affair" in order to obtain an official position in Prussia. As quickly as a year afterwards, Heine regretted the action, claiming to be hated by both Christian and Jew because of it. See Joseph Jacobs, "Heinrich Heine," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols. (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1905), VI, 328.

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Résumé de l'histoire juive depuis son origine, jusqu'à la prise de Jerusalem by Z[itas].[160]

Among the limited correspondence found before his work on *La Juive*, there is a colorful reference to his ancestry in a letter to Salvador Cherubini, the son of his revered teacher. Halévy writes to him in Egypt and urges him to write

> à moi qui ai peut-être du sang égyptien dans les veines, vu le long séjour que mes ancestres ont fait dans ce classique pays. Car enfin il ne serais pas impossible qu'un de mes très-arrière-grands-Pères ait sacrifié à Baal, & forniqué avec quelque belle Egyptienne [...].[161]

Evidence shows that Léon Halévy, like his older brother, also maintained contact with Parisian synagogues. He wrote an ode for the inauguration on 5 March 1822 of the Temple Consistorial, which superseded the Temple Sainte-Avoye as the official synagogue of Paris.[162] Twenty years later, he contributed the text to a "Chant Funèbre," commemorating the death of the duc d'Orléans, Ferdinand-Philippe; it was performed in the same synagogue 26 July 1842.[163]

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[160]Journal, 35r.

[161]Autograph letter dated 7 May 1829 (BN-Mus., *Lettres autographes*, vol. 50): "to me who perhaps has Egyptian blood in my veins, in view of the long sojourn that my ancestors made in this classic country. Because, after all, it wouldn't be impossible that one of my great-great-grandfathers offered sacrifices to Baal and fornicated with some beautiful Egyptian[...]."

[162]Ganvert, *Synagogale*, 65-66, n. 2.

[163]*Chant funèbre, exécuté au Temple Consistorial israélite de Paris le 26 Juillet 1842, au service célébré pour le répos de l'ame de S.A.R. Ferdinand-Philippe, Duc d'Orléans* (Paris: Imprimerie de Wittersheim, 1842). See BN-Imp., Ye. 44351.

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In Léon's early career as an *homme de lettres*, his writings resonate strikingly with Élie Halévy's promotion of a French-Jewish rapport. His *Résumé de l'histoire des juifs anciens* (1825) and its companion volume, *Résumé de l'histoire des juifs modernes* (1828), were written to raise consciousness about Hebraic history, but also to discuss advancements made by Jews and condemn the perpetuation of restrictions and intolerance.[164] These objectives align with those of *L'Israélite français*, as well as those of such post-emancipation publications as *Des Juifs au XIXe siècle ou considérations sur leur état civil et politique en France...* by [?] Bail (1816) and *Considérations sur l'état des Juifs dans la société chrétienne, et particulièrement en Alsace* by Betting de Lancasterl (1824).[165] Halévy makes his aims clear in his second *Résumé*. To the imperfectly integrated French society and to other societies less integrated, he hopes to advance a more positive Jewish identity, to prove "aux Chrétiens fanatiques [...] ou aux Chrétiens peu éclairés [...] que les Juifs sont non-seulement des hommes, mais des hommes utiles, actifs, d'une organisation distinguée, digne de la liberté, et qui ont beaucoup fait pour elle, et aux Juifs, que si le temps leur assure de nouveaux devoirs."[166] Seemingly pushing the ideas of reform and

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[164]Both volumes were published by Lecointe et Durey.

[165]These and other publications about Jews are reviewed by Cahen, *Littérature hébraïque*, 33-52.

[166]*Résumé* (1828), vii: "to Christian fanatics [...] or to less-enlightened Christians [...] that the Jews are not only men, but men who are useful, active, distinguished in organization, deserving of freedom, having done much for it; and to the Jews, that the time assures them of new responsibilities."

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acculturation of *L'Israélite français* even further, he calls for a "fusion complète et définitive des sectateurs de Moïse et des autres Français."[167]

In the second *Résumé*, Léon continues the survey of Jewish history begun in the first, focusing on persecutions and inequities suffered at the hands of Christian societies. Within the "Cinquième Époque" of his survey, covering the end of the 16th century up to the time of writing, the author notes the vast changes that took place in the civil status of Jews following emancipation, the decisions of the Sanhédrin of 1806-7, and the role of Napoleon in the constitutional ruling that guaranteed freedom of worship for each religion.[168] Among the Sanhédrin decisions, some of which were included in his father's catechism, Léon discusses specific laws governing interactions between Jews and Christians, but he also notes restrictions and injustices which, despite the tolerant atmosphere, continue to plague French Jews. He addresses the suspension of a number of civil rights during the period 1808-15, which represented a return to arbitrary and discriminatory treatment of French Jews. In 1818, an effort made by the marquis de Lattier to continue the "loi d'exception" represented, in the author's view, "la dernière tentative publique et directe qui ait été faite en France contre les droites des Israélites."[169] Less overt were other "schemings" by French Catholics who continually threatened the political

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[167]*Ibid.*, 325-26: "complete and permanent fusion between the followers of Moses and other Frenchmen."

[168]*Ibid.*, 313, n. 1: Article 5 of Constitutional Charter.

[169]*Ibid.*, 317: "the last direct and public attempt that had been made in France against the rights of Israelites."

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rights and religious freedoms of Jews and kept them from public employment. The author mentions these controversial accusations only "in passing":

> [...] car nous ne parlons pas des sourdes menées, de l'influence active et pernicieuse par laquelle le parti-prêtre a constamment menacé leur existence politique, a encouragé parmi eux l'apostasie et les défections honteuses, et les a exclus jusqu'à ce jour des emplois publics et notamment des fonctions universitaires[...].[170]

While his father had optimistically believed that cross-cultural struggles would gradually disappear as French society was exposed to the zeal, valor, intelligence, and patriotism of its "adopted children," Léon felt that only through Jewish acceptance of common customs and language would true tolerance and harmony be assured.[171] The more separate or "fanatical" Jews remained, he believed, the less accepted they would be as full citizens. Instead, "le nom de Juif devienne l'accessoire, et le nom de Français le principal."[172] Only then could there be a future in which there would exist a true rapport of morality and doctrine and a consolidation of political and religious institutions.[173]

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[170]*Ibid.*, "[...] but we are not talking about the hidden scheming and the active, pernicious influence by which the clerical party has constantly threatened their [the Israelites'] political existence, has encouraged apostasy and shameful defections among them, and, until today, has excluded them from public employment and especially from university offices[...]." Halévy's own experience, as well as his observations, undoubtedly influenced this statement: he had not been admitted to the École normale supérieure because he did not conform to its religious requirements. See Hansen, *Ludovic*, 17.

[171]*Ibid.*, 311.

[172]*Ibid.*, 325: "the name Jew should become secondary, and the name French principal."

[173]*Ibid.*, 329.

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As Halévy suggests in his first *Résumé* (1825), a key to this new future lay in religious reform, for Jews as well as Christians: in essence, a drawing together of the two religions along primitive lines (see below, pp. 177-78). In his final chapter, Halévy speaks of the resistance of modern-age Jews to further change, a resistance that hinders the practice of civil rights. Now that the Jews, especially the Jews of France, belong to a world delivered from the "préjugés funestes" that had prevented emancipation for so long, the need for religious reform is urgent, as "tous les esprits éclairés" recognize. As long as Jews hold onto superstitions and "barriers," their religion will remain *asiatique* and there will remain "une ligne facheuse de démarcation" between them and their brothers of other faiths. Moreover, Christians will not offer peace and protection to a Judaism full of superstition.

The answer also lies in the recognition by Christians of a truer form of Christianity, "le christianisme primitif," one closer to the religion of Moses as continued by Jesus and Rabbi Saul. Just as the Pharisees had distorted Mosaic law before Jesus, so had "les Pharisées du catholicisme" disfigured Christianity after Jesus. With recognition of the same religious foundation, Halévy sees hope for social change.

In later commentary, perhaps after the waning of youthful idealism (or of certain aspects of his Saint-Simonian beliefs; see below), Léon appears to lean more toward religious separatism, although he continues to promote religious freedom and tolerance. In reaction to the Wormser affair in 1840--the expulsion of Abraham Wormser, a French Jew, from Dresden after local French officials refused to

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intervene--Halévy became incensed that Wormser's rights of citizenship had not protected him in a foreign country. His response appears printed next to a letter Wormser wrote to *Les Archives israélites*:

> La religion, ou le culte, d'une part: de l'autre, la nationalité, la patrie, sont deux choses tout-à-fait distinctes; tel est le principe fondamental que doit dominer la question. Le Français catholique, le Français protestant, le Français israélite doivent être égaux aux yeux des gouvernements étrangers, quelles que soient les restrictions apportées par ceux-ci à l'exercice de la liberté religieuse.[174]

Despite the Wormser incident and the even more incendiary Damascus affair (*l'affaire Damas*) of the same year, which exploded when French officials in Damascus accused Jews of the ritual murder of a French *capucin* who had disappeared, Halévy insists that Israélites should continue to be full participants in French society, taking advantage of education in the *grandes écoles* to aid in their progress as well as expand their intellectual and moral lives.[175] Educational

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[174]*Les Archives israélites* I (1840), 147. "religion or faith, on one hand, and nationality or country, on the other, are two things completely distinct; such is the fundamental principle that should dominate the question. The French Catholic, the French Protestant, the French Israelite should be equal in the eyes of foreign governments, whatever the restrictions brought about by those in the practice of religious freedom."

[175]The accusation, which claimed that Jews had killed the *capucin*, Father Thomas, in order to use his blood for making unleavened bread, was a reappearance of the ancient "blood libel." The accusation, and the arrest of notable Jews which followed (some of whom died from torture), alarmed Jews throughout Europe and galvanized a solidarity among them. In the ensuing debate over ritual murder, French Jews, who by this time had gained civil equality and an acceptance that was rare in other parts of Europe, were particularly shocked when a number of French newspapers assumed the Jews' guilt and called for condemnation. The French lawyer Adolphe Crémieux and a French delegation eventually succeeded in freeing the accused. See Girard, *Emancipation*, 149-50; also see the many articles and letters reacting to *l'affaire Damas* in the first year of issues of *Les Archives israélites* (1840).

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opportunities should be taken as privileges by Israélites, especially in light of the "odieux préjugés" during this period.[176]

Two early dramas by Léon, *L'Espion* (1828) and *Grillo, ou le Prince et Le Banquier* (1832), reflect this same awareness of anti-semitism as well as the objective put forth in his Jewish histories: to prove the social and moral worth of Jews. The belief that Jews had much to contribute as *citoyens* that is embedded in these dramas and histories attracted both Léon and Fromental to the promises of the July Monarchy. Both produced works honoring the revolutionary days of July. A choral work by the composer entitled "Juillet 1830," found in the Département de la Musique of the Biblothèque Nationale as a series of manuscript bifolios (Ms. 14264), begins with a recitative in E♭ set to a text sentimentally sympathetic to the *révolutionnaires*. Written in Fromental Halévy's hand in the manuscript, the text begins:

Voici la grande nuit sublime anniversaire	Here is the grand, sublime anniversary night
Amis, vous souviens-il de ces nuits sans sommeil où nos braves, pensifs l'oeil fixé sur la terre pour combattre et mourir attendaiens le soleil.	Friends, you remember these sleepless nights when our brave, thoughtful ones, With eyes fixed on the earth to fight and die, waited for the sun.

[176]"Instruction publique: Des Améliorations introduites par M. Cousin dans l'instruction publique," *Les Archives israélites* I (1840), 467.

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Léon's "Hymne National en l'honneur des morts et des blessés des grandes journées de juillet 1830" is a poem of seven verses and refrain which opens in patriotic and belligerent tones:[177]

En avant! marchons camarades!	Onward! March, comrades!
Et s'ils ont soif de notre sang,	And if they are thirsty for our blood,
Qu'il coule sur nos barricades,	Let it flow on our barricades,
Rendons-leur le pavé glissant!	Let us give them the glistening pavement!

References to "le drapeau tricolore" and to the "cri de France, Étouffé depuis quatorze ans!" clearly demonstrate support for a republic, as well as an anti-Restoration, pro-Napoleonic stance typical of the 1820 generation. Apparent in the text is a belief that the Orleanist monarchy offers a return to citizens' rights that were disregarded under the Bourbons:[178]

Le peuple a vengé son injure,	The people have avenged the injury
De ses droits il veut le maintien,	From its rights it wants to maintain,
Et brisant un sceptre parjure,	And breaking a false sceptre,
Il couronne un roi-citoyen.	It crowns a citizen-king.

Because both Fromental and Léon had written and would write other "official" encomiums honoring different regimes, these works may simply represent the duty to the then sovereign instilled by their father, no matter the principles embodied in the

[177]Imprimerie de Pihan Delaforest (Morinval), n.d.

[178]Léon also wrote *La Marseillaise de 1830, dédiées à la garde nationale* (Paris: Imprimerie de David, n.d.), cited in Hansen, *Ludovic*, 40, n. 88.

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particular government.[179] Hansen states that Fromental was not an "enthusiastic supporter" of the July Monarchy, although he acknowledges Halévy's official affiliation as musical director of the household of the duc d'Orleans.[180]

The composer's description of a rehearsal of *Guillaume Tell* on 26 July 1830 suggests that he had indeed been a supporter of revolutionary change. His reminiscence of the rehearsal, which he claims was etched in his mind even thirty years after the event, exudes with excitement as he describes the stimulating effect of Guillaume's revolutionary words that parallels the scene at a Belgian performance of *La Muette* that same year. Fromental's enthusiasm comes through most trenchantly as he profiles Nourrit's inspirational role in the uprising and speaks of "the victory of the people":

> Le lundi 26 juillet 1830, l'affiche de l'Opéra annonçait pour le soir même *Guillaume Tell*. Le matin, vers midi, tout le personnel du théâtre était réuni sur la scène. Chacun était préoccupé des graves événements qui se préparaient, car les fameuses ordonnances avaient été publiées la veille, et l'esprit de l'émeute grondait déjà. On causait de la chose publique, et on répétait *Guillaume Tell*. Un *raccord* avait paru nécessaire. J'étais présent à cette répétition, seul dans la salle obscure, où pénétraient par moments des rumeurs lointaines. Lorsqu'on arriva au trio célèbre, lorsque Guillaume s'écria: *Ou l'indépendance ou la mort!* un frémissement parcourut le théâtre, et les hommes qui se tenaient au fond de la scène ou qui remplissaient les coulisses, acteurs, musiciens, machinistes, comparses, soldats de garde,

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[179]In addition to his funeral march for the duc de Berry, Fromental wrote *Marche funèbre pour le retour des cendres de Napoléon* (15 December 1840); the score and *matériel* are found in AN, F[21]741-42. Léon directed yet another hymn to Louis-Philippe at the death of his brother, the duc d'Orléans: *Au Roi; Ode sur la mort de S.A.R. Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans* (Paris: Maulde et Renou, 1842). See also his drama, *Les Trois jours d'un grand peuple*, which premiered at the Théâtre Français on 9 September 1830.

[180]Hansen, *Ludovic*, 9.

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frappés d'une étincelle soudaine, accoururent et répétèrent le cri de Guillaume. Jamais mouvement réglé par un habile metteur en scène ne fut exécuté avec autant de chaleur et d'ensemble. Trente ans écoulés n'ont pu effacer de ma mémoire le souvenir de cette commotion rapide et l'effet de ce choeur étrange, de cette mélopée bizarre, où se trouvaient confondus le chant et le rhythme musical avec la libre expansion de la parole, et d'où s'échappait, comme un rayon de feu du milieu des ténèbres, le cri de guerre fortement accentué. Ce fut la fin de la répétition. Beaucoup de ces hommes, cachant sous leurs vêtements une arme improvisée, partirent et allèrent grossir les groupes qui agitaient le boulevard. Peu d'instants après, on reçut l'ordre de cesser la répétition, prévoyance tardive que l'émeute avait devancée, et de changer le spectacle annoncé. L'histoire sait comment il fut changé.

Alors, pendant onze jours, le théâtre est muet. Alors aussi, tout ce qui fait la force et le talent de Nourrit se met au service de la réalité. Le forum remplace la scène, et la voix du chanteur retentit sur la place publique. Du haut des barricades, il chante *la Marseillaise*. Porté aux honneurs de la milice nationale, il marche, l'épée à la main, à la tête d'une compagnie. Puis le théâtre reprend ses droits et ouvre ses portes. Le 4 août, Nourrit reparaît dans le rôle de Masaniello de *la Muette*, devenue opéra de circonstance; le même jour, il chante *la Parisienne*. Pour satisfaire au voeu populaire, il court de théâtre en théâtre et fait entendre des chants patriotiques, que le public répète en choeur avec un enthousiasme si grand, qu'il s'affranchit de la justesse et qu'il devance le mesure. Ce n'est plus un rôle que joue Nourrit, il est lui-même. Poëte, artiste, citoyen, il chante et célèbre la victoire du peuple.[181]

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[181]Halévy, *Derniers souvenirs*, 155-57: "On Monday, 26 July 1830, the playbill of the Opéra announced *Guillaume Tell* for the same evening. In the morning, close to noon, all theater personnel were together on the stage. Each was preoccupied with serious events that were brewing since the famous ordinances had been published the evening before, and the feeling of a riot was already rumbling. People talked of the public event and *Guillaume Tell* was rehearsed. A *raccord* [which Halévy describes in a footnote as a partial rehearsal] had seemed necessary. I was present at this rehearsal, alone in the hidden room where distant murmurings occasionally penetrated. When they came to the celebrated trio, when Guillaume cried, *Either independence or death!*, a shiver ran through the theater, and men who were at the back of the stage or who filled the wings, actors, musicians, machinists, supernumeraries, guards, who were struck with a sudden spark, rushed forward and repeated the cry of Guillaume. No movement designed by a skillful *metteur en scène* was executed with so much fervor and unity. The passing of thirty years could not have erased from my memory the remembrance of this abrupt commotion and the effect of this strange chorus, the bizarre monotonous chant in which musical melody and rhythm were mixed with the free expansion of the words and from which the strongly accentuated cry of war broke out like a beam of

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The liberal and humanist ideology of the Halévys and their devotion to *le pays* cannot be divorced from their Jewish heritage. Instead, although Fromental and Léon appear to have been non-practicing Jews, their Jewish heritage served as a vigorous source in their lives and works. Each keenly wanted to coordinate his role as *citoyen* and as *Israélite*--emancipated, reformed, educated, talented, with "much to offer." The Halévys' ideas about socio-religious reform, political freedom, and universal tolerance--assimilationist and pluralistic attitudes that are found at the base of *La Juive*--are deeply rooted in their eagerness to ameliorate the status of Jews and, on a personal level, to be accepted and lauded among the French cultural elite.[182]

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light in the middle of darkness. This was the end of the rehearsal. Many men, hiding makeshift weapons in their clothes, left to join the groups agitating on the boulevard. A few moments later, the order was given to stop the rehearsal and change the advertised show, a late foresight that the riot had forestalled. History knows how it was changed.

Then, the theater is silent for eleven days. And then, all that makes the strength and talent of Nourrit is put to the service of reality. The forum replaces the stage and the singer's voice rings out in the public square. From the top of the barricades, he sings *la Marseillaise*. Carrying the honors of the national militia, he marches, sword in hand, at the head of a company. Then the theater reasserts its rights and opens its doors. On 4 August Nourrit reappears in the role of Masaniello in *la Muette*, having become the opera of occasion; the same day, he sings *la Parisienne*. To satisfy the popular wish, he runs from theater to theater and sings patriotic songs that the public repeats in chorus with an enthusiasm so great that it neglects accuracy and gets ahead of the tempo. It is no longer a role that Nourrit plays: it is he, himself. Poet, artist, citizen, he sings and celebrates the victory of the people."

[182]The ideological legacy of the Halévys can be sensed in later generations of the family: the salon of Fromental's daughter, Geneviève, produced the manifesto of the Dreyfusards; Léon's grandsons, Daniel and Élie Halévy (named after his great-grandfather), were writers and historians whose interests and viewpoints in many ways represent a familial continuity of thought and purpose. In the 1890s, Élie Halévy, the younger, was one of the founders of a philosophical journal entitled *Revue de métaphysique et de morale*, which "aimed at nothing short of the moral reformation of France ... by providing a rationalist alternative to both positivism and to religiosity"; see Myrna Chase in *Élie Halévy: An Intellectual Biography* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 20. Both Daniel and Élie joined the campaign to save Dreyfus: Chase notes that the Affair engaged Élie "uncharacteristically in furious political activism," for "[t]o save Dreyfus was to save republican justice" (14). Chase

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Of and Among the Saint-Simonians

The humanist, progressive ideals that attracted the Halévys (as well as Nourrit) to Orleanism had also drawn them into the Saint-Simonian circle. Léon Halévy, who acted as Saint-Simon's personal secretary from 1823 to 1825, described the political doctrine of Saint-Simon as "the most radical and the most complete liberalism," which offered "all the elements of social prosperity."[183] Halévy noted that, if Saint-Simon had lived to see the Revolution of 1830, he would have vigorously supported it.[184] Before his formal split with the movement c. 1827, Léon contributed many writings articulating Saint-Simonian doctrine. Although it appears that the composer did not become an acknowledged disciple, he seems to have absorbed fundamental ideas in his early, and seemingly continuing, contact with group members who surrounded his brother.[185]

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does not believe that there was any "racial consciousness" behind Élie's actions, but Alain Silvera, the biographer of Daniel Halévy, believes that Daniel's choice was "'dictated by a certain racial origin hitherto ignored'" (Chase, *Élie*, 91).

[183]"Souvenirs de Saint-Simon," *La France littéraire* I (1832), 525: "[l]e libéralisme le plus radical, le plus complet"; "tous les élémens de prospérité sociale."

[184]*Ibid.*

[185]Fromental Halévy is sometimes included among the early Saint-Simonians, but Zosa Szajkowski, "The Jewish Saint-Simonians and Socialist Antisemites in France," *Jewish Social Studies* IX/1 (January 1947), 35, n. 13, considers his inclusion erroneous (see, e.g., Benoit Malon, *Histoire du socialisme* (Paris, 1883), II, 35). Locke, *Saint-Simonians*, 94, writes that the composer "holds an entirely neglected place in the history of music among the Saint-Simonians." While he does not name him a disciple, Locke suggests that the composer was indeed influenced by them: he writes that Fromental's interactions with the Rodrigues-Pereire circle "bore no fruit for the movement, but they were not necessarily without significance for Halévy himself. They may well have stimulated--although one cannot safely say to what degree--his social awareness and his interest in intellectual matters" (95).

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The Halévys' connection to the Saint-Simonians grew out of, and was solidified by, familial ties as well as a common Jewish heritage. Olinde Rodrigues, who introduced the twenty-one-year-old Léon to Saint-Simon and who is considered the founder of the movement after the philosopher's death, was born of a Jewish merchant family from Bordeaux. His father was a close friend as well as neighbor of Élie Halévy.[186] Olinde recruited several other young Jews, some of whom were relatives: his brother Eugène Rodrigues, the brothers Émile and Isaac Pereire, the brothers Edouard and Henri Rodrigues (unrelated to Olinde), and Gustave d'Eichthal.[187] Not all of Olinde's recruits were Jewish, however; he also brought in, for example, Barthélemi-Prosper Enfantin (1796-1864), who would later become the "father" of the Saint-Simonian temple. The friendship of the Halévys with Olinde Rodrigues as well as with d'Eichthal, who belonged to a family of bankers originally from Bavaria, was undoubtedly later strengthened by Fromental's 1842 marriage to Léonie Rodrigues, a cousin of Olinde and sister of Cécile, who became d'Eichthal's wife. The Rodrigues connection between the composer and d'Eichthal appears to have bound the families together in later decades, as suggested in correspondence. One letter from Fromental to Gustave (although undated, references to the composer's daughters show that it is of later vintage) thanks him "mille fois" for his good

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[186]See Léon's description of his excitement at meeting the philosopher in the garden of the Palais-Royal and visiting him in his apartment a few days later, escorted by Rodrigues, in "Souvenirs," 522.

[187]See Szajkowski, "Saint-Simonians," 37, for a strong account of Jewish participation in the Saint-Simonian movement. The author notes that the number of active and influential Jewish members did not exceed a dozen, but because the group was small, their participation was conspicuous and powerful.

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thoughts, expresses hope that Cécile will visit his ill wife Léonie, and closes as "votre tout dévoué & bien affectionné."[188] Another marriage further enhanced the group's cohesiveness: Émile Pereire, of a Sephardic Jewish family from Bordeaux related to the Rodrigues family, married another of Olinde's sisters.

The Halévys' attraction to Saint-Simonian thought was linked to their interest in French-Jewish rapport as well as its promises of societal reform. Writings of Léon Halévy and other young Jews in the movement reveal that some viewed their involvement as a new compromise with Christianity. At a meeting of the Saint-Simonians in 1832, Olinde Rodrigues stated that when the Jew had met Saint-Simon, he discovered a new father and a new place as part of a universal family: "'The feudal Christian gave a paternal kiss to the persecuted Jew who had crucified Jesus.'"[189] D'Eichthal, who joined the group in 1829 and remained with it through its mystical phase and its retreat to Ménilmontant, wrote to his brother in October 1836 that *Saint-Simonisme* represented "le pacte d'alliance des Juifs et des Christians."[190] He claimed to have been personally attached to the movement because of its belief in the "réhabilitation d'Israël," illustrated by Saint-Simon's comments about "le Peuple de Dieu" in the introduction to his last work, *Le Nouveau*

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[188]ARS, Ms. 14379/41; also see letters of Gustave's son, Eugène d'Eichthal, mentioning contact with Fromental's daughter, Geneviève Halévy-Bizet, ARS, Ms. 14404/6, 14404/12; and letter of Halévy-Bizet, ARS, Ms. 14379/42.

[189]Quote from *Le Globe* (16 January 1832), cited in Szajkowski, "Saint-Simonians," 38.

[190]ARS, Ms. 14393/20, letter to Adolphe d'Eichthal, 10 October 1836: "the pact of alliance between Jews and Christians."

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christianisme (1825), and by those of Eugène Rodrigues concerning Jewish persecution in his *Lettres*.[191]

The Judeo-Christian alliance among the Saint-Simonians was widely recognized, for they were often referred to as "new Jews," or sometimes as "new Christians." Szajkowski claims that the Jewish Saint-Simonians became more Christian than Jewish in their beliefs.[192] In the introduction to the *Opinions littéraires* of 1825, Léon Halévy views Jesus Christ as a positive social force, interpreting the French Revolution, which uprooted the old social order and built a base for a new structure, as a realization of "ce qu'avaient commencé Platon et Jésus-Christ."[193] Semi-Christian thoughts appear around the same time in Halévy's *Résumé de l'histoire des juifs anciens*, in which he strongly emphasizes the historical connections between Judaism and Christianity. In the penultimate chapter of this volume, Halévy views the teachings of Jesus not as a break from Judaism but as the beginning of its early reform.[194] Halévy's interpretation of Jesus's life has a decidedly Protestant slant in its recognition of both his Judaic roots and his principles as a continuation of the religious laws articulated by Moses and other Judaic prophets.

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[191]*Ibid.*

[192]Szajkowski, *French Jews*, 1023.

[193]Saint Simon, Halévy, Rodrigues, *Opinions littéraires*, 5: "what Plato and Jesus Christ had begun."

[194]The headings of this chapter (23), as listed in the Table of Contents, are: "Successeurs d'Herode; derniers rois des Juifs. – Commencemens de la reforme du Judaisme."

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Moreover, Halévy views them as a necessary reform of the distortions that had taken place in the laws in the interim:

> [Jesus] n'aspirait qu'à une reforme toute spirituelle. Il ne se présentait pas non plus comme le chef d'une nouvelle religion; il ne prétendait fonder rien de nouveau, mais faire de ce qui existait une application plus juste et plus salutaire; versé depuis son enfance dans l'étude de la loi et des prophètes, il avait apprécié toute la pureté, toute la force de la morale des livres saints. Cette morale était méconnue, négligée; la secte toute puissante des Pharisiens l'étouffait, la défigurait sous une multitude de pratiques superstitieuses érigées en lois divines, et qui opposaient une barrière insurmontable au libre développement des facultés humaines. La religion juive, par son dogme de l'unité de Dieu, par l'excellence et la liberalité de sa morale, était destinée à devenir la religion de la civilisation moderne. Mais il fallait pour cela compléter sa morale, au lieu de la restreindre. Il fallait remonter à sa source divine, la reprendre dans sa pureté primitive, pour lui faire subir une transfiguration conforme aux besoins et à l'esprit du temps: c'est ce que tenta Jésus; il remonta à Moise, comme Luther dans la suite est remonté à Jésus. "Ne pensez pas, disait-il [Jesus], que je sois venu détruire la loi ou les prophètes; je ne suis pas venu les détruire, mais les accomplir" [my emphasis].[195]

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[195]*Résumé et l'histoire des juifs anciens* (1825), 336-37: "[Jesus] aspired only to a thoroughly spiritual reform. He did not present himself as the head of a new religion; he did not pretend to found anything new, but to make a more just and beneficial application of what existed; trained since his childhood in the study of the law and the prophets, he had appreciated all the purity, all the moral force of the holy books. This morality was misunderstood, neglected; the all-powerful sect of Pharisees smothered it, disfigured it under a multitude of superstitious practices established in divine laws, which set an insurmountable barrier against the free development of human abilities. The Jewish religion, by its dogma of the unity of God, by the excellence and the liberality of its morality, was destined to become the religion of modern civilisation. But for that it was necessary to complete its morality, instead of limiting it. It was necessary to return to the divine source, to recapture its original purity in order to bring about a transfiguration in accordance with the needs and the spirit of the time: this is what Jesus attempted; he went back to Moses, as Luther in his example went back to Jesus. "'Do not think, he said, that I have come to destroy the law or the prophets; I have not come to destroy them, but to fulfill them.'"

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By stressing the supremacy of moral philosophy rather than the material and external parts of *Mosaïsme*, says Halévy, Jesus excited an insurrection against the Pharisees and "tous les membres de la synagogue."[196] Courageous in his public violation of religious practice that had been consecrated by long years of observance and in declaring himself the son of God, Jesus was sentenced to death. Both the Romans and the leaders of the synagogue instigated the fate of Jesus, and the people who chose Jesus over Barrabas were driven alike by their beliefs and their "fanatisme."[197] In this passage Halévy likens Jesus to Socrates, another great man condemned to death; like the philosopher, he was a "martyr des passions humaines."[198]

In Halévy's discussion of the conversion of early Christians after the death of Jesus, he again emphasizes the Judaic connection. Referring to St. Paul as "Rabbi Saul," the name that Christians use to designate the unconverted Paul, Halévy defines the Epistles of "ce savant docteur de la loi juive" as "le veritable code du Mosaïsme developpé."[199] After Saul introduced circumcision to facilitate the conversion of pagans, the idea of the Trinity was added by the *platoniciens* of Alexandria--yet another reform of Judaism in Halévy's mind. The conversion of pagan Gentiles from idolatry to "the religion of Moses and Jesus" went smoothly: "la croyance des Juifs

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[196]*Ibid.*, 341.

[197]*Ibid.*, 350.

[198]*Ibid.*, 346.

[199]*Ibid.*, 351.

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reformés étendit de jour en jour ses pacifiques conquêtes qui devaient civiliser le monde."[200] But the majority of the Jewish nation remained "inaccessible to reform."[201]

After Halévy had officially broken off from the group, in part over the increasing mysticism among some members, the Saint-Simonians sought Judaic roots for what had become an almost cult-like Christianate religion under Enfantin's guidance.[202] Enfantin predicted that religious liberation was eminent through "the Father" and "the Mother": the latter was expected to appear in the form of a Jewish

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[200]*Ibid.*, 352: "from day to day the belief of reformed Jews spread its peaceful conquests that civilized the world."

[201]*Ibid.*: "inaccessible à la reforme."

[202]Léon Halévy, "Souvenirs," 542. Léon bitterly describes the movement's direction and his ideological differences with Bazard and Enfantin after the failure of *Le Producteur* in 1826: "Dès que je vis les idées larges, nettes et positives de Saint-Simon étouffées sous la creuse idéologie de M. Bazard; dès que je vis Olinde Rodrigues, dominé par cette influence et par la nullité de M. Enfantin, je renonçai à tout espoir de voir renaître la véritable doctrine de Saint-Simon, et je prévis toutes les folies qui suivirent, depuis les conférences mystiques du Prado jusqu'aux cérémonies grotesques de la rue Taitbout. Je me refusai dès lors à toute participation aux entreprises prétendues saint-simoniennes; je vis qu'au lieu d'accomplir une mission de liberté, et de briser les chaînes de l'intelligence humaine, ces soi-disant libérateurs ne sauraient que lui en forger de plus lourdes et de plus étroites; je prévis aussi que quoique les ouvrages de Saint-Simon fussent là pour protester contre leurs paroles et leurs actes, aux yeux de beaucoup d'esprits ils couvriraient ce nom d'un ridicule ineffaçable." ("As soon as I saw the broad, clear and positive ideas of Saint-Simon suffocated under the hollow ideology of M. Bazard, as soon as I saw Olinde Rodrigues, dominated by this influence and by the incompetence of M. Enfantin, I renounced all hope of seeing the true doctrine of Saint-Simon reborn, and I foresaw all the follies that would follow, from the mystical conferences of the Prado to the grotesque ceremonies of the rue Taitbout. From then on I refused to participate in all the said Saint-Simonian enterprises; I saw, instead of accomplishing a mission of freedom and breaking the chains of human intelligence, these so-called liberators would know only how to forge the most ponderous and the most narrow from it; I also foresaw that although the works of Saint-Simon were there to protest against their words and actions, in the eyes of many intellects they covered his name with an indelible absurdity.")

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woman from the Orient, specifically from Turkey.[203] After the public humiliation of the group in 1832 and its subsequent disintegration, d'Eichthal focused anew on his Jewish heritage, attending services at the Temple Israëlite and searching for ways to fuse his Jewish identity with Saint-Simonian and Christian beliefs and to highlight a new role for Jews in society. Some of d'Eichthal's ideas seem to parallel Léon Halévy's statements in *Résumé* (1825), particularly his view of Judaism as "the religion of modern civilisation."[204]

After Halévy's break, there are indications that he did not discard the Christianate views articulated in his *Résumé*, or at least not all of them. Léon's commentary hints at the religious ambivalence that figures in *La Juive*, but his Saint-Simonian writings that are most relevant to this study center on the belief that art could instigate social and moral reform and that artists, along with industrialists and scientists, would be leaders in bringing this about. This thesis is prominent in his

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[203]Szajkowski, "Jewish Saint-Simonians," 42.

[204]D'Eichthal began to characterize the Jew as an individual with a "dual character" and, because of this, he was "un homme *complète*." As articulated in a number of letters, including self-promotional correspondence to politicians, bankers, and publicists (see, e.g., ARS, Ms. 14393/4; Ms. 14393/20), along with his book *Les Deux mondes* (1835), d'Eichthal believed that, because Judaism was the source for both Christianity and Islam, the modern Jew had inherited the socio-religious role as mediator between the worlds of the Occident and Orient. He chose Austria as a locus of a new world order because of its inclusion of both oriental and occidental races within its borders, including a strong population of Jews. It was in this country that Jews, as a continuation of their historical position, should act as religious and political mediators, a role that would bring about their full emancipation in Austria as well as other European countries. Beyond writing about these objectives, d'Eichthal went to Austria in 1836 to advance his ideas, even presenting them to Metternich, who ignored them. Michael Graetz, "Une Initiative Saint-Simonienne pour l'émancipation des juifs," *Revue des études juives* CXXIX (1970), 67-84, views d'Eichthal's endeavor as one of the most significant, although failed, attempts to realize Saint-Simonian thought in public action.

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introduction to the 1825 Saint-Simonian publication *Opinions*, as well as the volume's final article attributed to him by Locke, "L'Artiste, le savant, et l'industriel: Dialogue."[205] In the latter, the theme that artists should produce works for social good and not for the "imagination" alone emerges with missionary zealousness:

> C'est nous, artistes, qui vous servirons d'avant-garde: la puissance des arts est en effet la plus immédiate et la plus rapide. Nous avons des armes de toute espèce: quand nous voulons répandre des idées neuves parmi les hommes, nous les inscrivons sur le marbre ou sur la toile; nous les popularisons par la poésie et le chant; nous employons tour-à-tour la lyre ou le galoubet, l'ode ou la chanson, l'histoire ou le roman; la scène dramatique nous est ouverte, et c'est là surtout que nous exerçons une influence électrique et victorieuse. Nous nous adressons à l'imagination et aux sentiments de l'homme, nous devons donc exercer toujours l'action la plus vive et la plus décisive; et si aujourd'hui notre rôle paraît nul ou au moins très secondaire, c'est qu'il manquait aux arts ce qui est essentiel à leur énergie et à leurs succès, une impulsion commune et une idée générale [my emphasis]. [...]
>
> Sans doute l'imagination aura long-temps encore un grand empire sur les hommes; mais son règne exclusif est passé; et si l'homme est aussi avide que jamais des jouissances que les beaux-arts procurent, il exige que sa raison trouve aussi son compte dans ces jouissances: ainsi les arts risqueraient de perdre pour toujours leur importance, et, loin de diriger la marche de la civilisation, ils ne seraient plus rangés parmi les besoins de la société, s'ils s'obstinaient à suivre une direction où ils n'ont plus rien à exploiter, celle de l'imagination sans objet, de l'imagination rétrograde. Mais au contraire, s'ils secondent le mouvement général de l'esprit humain, s'ils veulent aussi servir la cause commune, contribuer à l'accroissement du bien-être général, produire sur l'homme des sensations fructueuses, telles qu'il convient à son intelligence développée d'en ressentir, et propager, à l'aide de ces sensations, des idées généreuses qui soient *actuelles*; aussitôt ils verront s'ouvrir devant eux un avenir immense de

[205]In his very thorough discussion of Saint-Simonian thought in relation to music and musicians, Locke, *Saint-Simonians*, 37, explains that the essay has often been viewed as one of the last writings of Saint-Simon, who then "regressed" from its ideas in his work that followed, *Le Nouveau christianisme*. Instead, Locke believes the article represents one of the first of the Saint-Simonian movement, largely written by Léon Halévy.

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> gloire et de succès; ils pourront reconquérir toute leur énergie, et s'élever au plus haut point de dignité qu'ils puissent atteindre: car la force de l'imagination est incalculable, quand elle s'élance dans une direction de bien public.[206]

Noteworthy in this passage is Halévy's acknowledgment that works of the theater hold the utmost power to activate social change.

Unlike his brother, Fromental did not contribute to Saint-Simonian publications in years prior to *La Juive*, but his later interests in the social value of music are illustrated in his composition of choruses for the Orphéon and publication of a singing

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[206]"L'Artiste, le savant, et l'industriel: Dialogue," *Opinions littéraires*, 341-44, partially cited and translated in Locke, *Saint-Simonians*, 38-40:

"It is we artists who will serve you as the avant-garde: the power of the arts is in fact the most immediate and the most rapid. We have arms of all kinds: when we want to spread new ideas among men, we inscribe them on marble or canvas. We popularize them in poetry and song. We use by turns the lyre or the fife, the ode or the chanson, the historical account or the novel. The dramatic stage is open to us, and it is there, above all, that we exert an electric and victorious influence. We address ourselves to the imagination and to the sentiments of man, we must then always exercise the most vivid and decisive action; and if our role appears worthless or at least truly secondary today, it is because the arts are missing what is essential to their spirit and success, a common impulse and a widely shared idea [my emphasis].

[...]

No doubt imagination will hold sway over men for a long time yet, but its exclusive reign is over. And though man is still as avid as ever for the delights that the fine arts procure, he demands that his reason also find profit in these delights. The arts would risk losing their importance forever, and, far from leading the march of civilization, they would no longer be ranked among the needs of society, were they to insist on following a direction in which they have little to gain: that of imagination without purpose, and reactionary imagination.

But if, on the contrary, they promote the general movement of the human spirit; if they too wish to serve the common cause, to contribute to growth of the general welfare, to produce such fruitful sensations in man as are appropriate for his developed intelligence to experience, and to propagate, by means of those sensations, generous ideas that are timely--immediately they will see an immensely glorious and successful future opening before them. They will be able to take possession of all their energy again and rise to the greatest height of dignity that they can attain. For the power of imagination is incalculable when it bounds ahead in a direction of public good."

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primer, *Leçons de lecture musicale* (1857), for Parisian schools. Almost simultaneous with these works, Halévy expressed views on social applications of the arts in the essay "Les Arts et l'industrie," a response to a publication of comte Léon de Laborde (1807-69) that he wrote as secrétaire perpétual of the Académie.[207] Although the essay represents collective views of a nine-member Académie commission, and not strictly the composer's personal ideas, Halévy at least shared and helped to shape many of them in his influential Académie role. Included are endorsements of some of Laborde's suggestions to make art more than "a purely aristocratic pleasure," but Halévy and the Académie dismissed others which it felt would lead to a vulgarization and trivialization of art, a "delicate flower" which must be cultivated by true masters and artists and not dilettantes and under-educated instructors.[208] The essay supports Laborde's desire to make study of the arts part of general education, emphasizing the need for young students to be exposed to great works of art and to the "regular study of choral singing."[209] It reports that the Orphéon and other choral societies "are prospering and moving in the right direction."[210] In addition to advocating the arts education of French students, including those belonging to the working classes, the essay highlights the Académie's support for industry: "Elle [the Académie] honore

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[207]F. Halévy, "Les Arts et l'industrie: Observations sur un ouvrage de M. le comte Léon de Laborde, membre de l'Institut," *Souvenirs et portraits* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1861), 307-38.

[208]*Ibid.*, 313, 320: "une jouissance purement aristocratique"; "une fleur délicate."

[209]*Ibid.*, 326.

[210]*Ibid.*, 327: "prospère et marche dans une bonne voie."

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l'industrie, qui honore le pays, contribue à sa gloire et en fait la richesse. Elle fera tous ses efforts pour en seconder les progrès, et serait heureuse et fière d'y concourir."[211] The Académie, with Halévy as its spokesman, suggested that skillful artists could direct "les travaux d'art de la grande production industrielle," but it did not fully approve of Laborde's desire for art "d'utilité pratique" and the continual application of art "aux habitudes vulgaires de la vie," which would create a weak and inevitable result: "l'absorption de l'art par l'industrie."[212]

Among Halévy's activities most overtly connected to Saint-Simonian efforts was his collaboration on an encyclopedia (*L'Encyclopédie nouvelle*) begun in the early 1860s by former Saint-Simonians, including Michel Chevalier, Duveyrier, and the Pereires. Halévy was chosen by the editorial committee to write the article on music, but he never completed it, and the encylopedia never reached publication. In the extant partial offprint, Halévy discusses the effect society and culture have on music, rather than its social uses.[213]

Closer to the time of *La Juive*, Saint-Simonian ideals resounded in a manifesto endorsed by Fromental Halévy at the return of the Republic of 1848, when the composer became most politically active. As *Citoyen* Halévy, he became a member

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[211]*Ibid.*, 316: "It [the Academy] honors industry, which honors the country, enriches it and contributes to its glory. It will make all its efforts to assist it in this progress and will be happy and proud to cooperate with it."

[212]*Ibid.*, 321, 310-11.

[213]ARS, Ms. 7860/2, "Encyclopédie, Procès-verbaux des séances du Comité Séance du 26 déc. 1862"; Ms. 7860/3-9; Ms. 7860/18, "Musique par F. Halévy." See Locke, *Saint-Simonians*, 96-97, for a discussion of the encyclopedia and Halévy's contribution.

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of the Second Republic's new reformist commissions on theaters and schools and ran for election to the Constituent Assembly on a slate with Victor Hugo and three other artists.[214] Although Halévy lost the election, the manifesto promoting his candidacy reveals the seriousness of his Saint-Simonian intentions to uplift the working classes through the arts and artists and to work for the good of the country:

> TO THE CITIZEN-ELECTORS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE SEINE, FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,
>
> The humanities, the theatre, and the liberal arts claim a portion of your vote. The poor man is indebted to them for his enjoyment, the working man for his diversions, and France for a part of her glory.
>
> It is because of these disciplines that France shines among the nations; it is their ideas which inspire the peoples of Europe. Each of their developments is earth-shaking.
>
> Thrones are collapsing; only these ideas remain and grow. There were never any treaties of 1815 checking the intellectual power of France. It is only right then to choose some representatives of these all-powerful ideas to sit among those who will set down, interpret, or express them through the pen, the voice, the chord, or the brush.
>
> The men who are devoted to the improvement of literature and art have organized several groups whose functions are clear. These groups are immersed in the feeling of brotherhood; they no longer exist as separate bodies. For representatives to the National Assembly they have chosen five candidates, as commendable for their devotion to country as for their talent.
>
> We have combined all our votes on behalf of these candidates. Alone, these votes will be powerless. Fellow countrymen, we ask you to make them strong by your support. Workers, our brothers, since social reform is involved, give a place to mental laborers [*ouvriers de l'intelligence*].
>
> The Candidates of the groups:
> Citizen Victor Hugo, Writer
> Citizen Michelot, Dramatist
> Citizen Alphonse Esquiros, Writer
> Citizen F. Halévy, Composer
> Citizen Delaitre, Painter[215]

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[214]Hansen, *Ludovic*, 34, n. 28.

[215]As cited and translated in Hansen, *Ludovic*, 9-10.

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While clearly representing support for the Republic and republican values, this document reflects a humanistic spirit and belief in reform that can also be viewed as a continuation of Élie Halévy's commitment to *fraternité* and moral improvement.[216]

Saint-Simonian views also touched another contributor to *La Juive*, Adolphe Nourrit. As early as October 1830, according to a letter of Enfantin, Nourrit attended Saint-Simonian meetings, along with Liszt and Berlioz.[217] Although his involvement seems to have come after Léon Halévy had officially left the movement, Nourrit was moved by ideas that Léon had helped to articulate, and that his brother shared, about the social mission of the artists. A letter that Nourrit wrote in 1836 in response to an article in *Le Temps* by Edouard Charton, a popular Saint-Simonian preacher, reflects the language found in the *Doctrine* and other writings by Léon:

> Yes, the theater can and must be something other than a place for the idlers to divert themselves. Since an actor's effect is often powerful, it must become *useful*. To awake generous thoughts, to exalt the loving faculties--there's our mission![218]

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[216]According to Hansen, *Ludovic*, 23; 40, n. 90, the Revolution of 1848 "troubled" Léon, but he honored the request of the Provisional Government to write a new *Marseillaise* ("La Marseillaise nouvelle" [Saint-Germain-en-Laye: T. Lancelin, n.d.], 1-2), and by 1852 was a committed Republican. His republicanism held throughout his later years; his son Ludovic attested in a journal entry dated 1870 that his father was "very republican, constantly urging revolution" and very much against the Empire of Napoleon III (*Carnets inédits*, XXII, 177-78 [30 August 1870], quoted in *ibid.*, 40, n. 91.)

[217]*Ibid.*, 98. Locke also refers to the memoirs of Hippolyte Carnot, which speak of Nourrit attending the Saint-Simonian salons on the rue Monsigny during 1830-31.

[218]Cited and translated by Locke, *ibid.*, 99.

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Ideas about the use of the theater as a moral and religious influence on the poorer classes, articulated by Nourrit after he retired from the Opéra in 1837, moved closer to those expressed by Barrault and Enfantin about an actor-priest who could transform the theater into a type of church:

> What I want is perhaps not hard to obtain: art for the people and by the people, a theater with low prices, and a school in which young artists will be trained before a new public that is free of prejudices in questions of art.... Having been the leading performer at the topmost theater, the greatest glory in my eyes is to be at the head of the bottommost. I repeat: art for the people, but wholesome art, art which causes people to love one another, religious art. Today it is through the theater that the people must pass in order to return to the Church.[219]

With Nourrit's and Léon Halévy's Saint-Simonian emphasis on the theater as a vehicle for articulating important ideas and promoting social change, Fromental Halévy's implicit and explicit endorsement of similar ideals, and Scribe's desire to produce socially relevant dramas, *La Juive* was undoubtedly intended as a work with a message and a cause. The liberal, humanistic ideology that infuses the opera emerged from the intellectual spirit of the generation that rose to power during the July Monarchy, but it also sprang from personal views held by its creators.

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[219]Cited and translated by Locke, *ibid.*, 99-100. Locke also cites an article printed in the *Courrier de Lyon* after Nourrit's death in 1839 which discussed the singer's plans more precisely, including his emphasis on the "great choral masses and numerous performing artists" who would be a part of his theater, as well as a school that would be attached to it (100).

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PART II

THE JEWISH CHARACTERS OF *LA JUIVE*

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CHAPTER 4

ÉLÉAZAR AND RACHEL AS LITERARY STEREOTYPES

Introduction

In creating the Jewish characters of *La Juive*, Scribe drew from stock figures and situations with numerous literary precedents. The stereotype of the mercenary Jew, epitomized by Shylock in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (1598), forms a central part of the characterization of Éléazar. This stock type, along with the kind, beautiful daughter who serves as his foil, can also be found in Christopher Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* (1590),[1] as well as countless other works of European literature from later eras, including Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1819). In *The Jew of Malta*, Barabas is father of Abigail; in *Merchant*, Shylock of Jessica; and in *Ivanhoe*, Isaac of York of the much-admired Rebecca. The pairing of a daughter with a Jew who has no wife also appears in the influential German play *Nathan der Weise* (1779) by the Enlightenment playwright Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-81). Although Nathan, like Shylock, is a wealthy money-lender, he is thoroughly wise, honest, and humane and represents a more idealized character type than the Christian-hating,

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[1]Edgar Rosenberg, *From Shylock to Svengali: Jewish Stereotypes in English Fiction* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960), 34, suggests that it was Marlowe who began this precedent of the old mercenary Jew with a beautiful daughter. Thomas Marc Parrott, in editorial notes to Shakespeare's *23 Plays and the Sonnets*, 2d ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953), 210, believes that the playwright modeled Jessica after Marlowe's Abigail.

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vengeful Shylock.[2] While Shylock, and not Nathan, inspired the character of Éléazar, Nathan's daughter, Recha, carries a double identity as Jewess and Christian similar to Rachel's: both are adopted daughters whose Christian roots have been kept secret and are revealed to readers/audiences only after their identities as Jewesses have been established. The coupling of the daughter with a Christian lover also has precedent in these same sources--Abigail is wooed by Lodowick, Jessica by Lorenzo, Recha by the Templier, and Rebecca by Brian de Bois-Guilbert, the Templar (and admired by Ivanhoe himself).[3] In her role as a Jewess desired by a Christian lover, as a stereotype sometimes identified as "la belle juive," Rachel carries elements of oriental exoticism that is a significant aspect of Scott's characterization of Rebecca.

Scribe, like many others of his generation, admired Shakespeare and Sir Walter Scott and clearly knew both *Merchant* and *Ivanhoe*. From the 1820s, Shakespeare had captured the esteem of French romantics and a certain popular vogue in France. In *Racine et Shakespeare* (1823), Stendhal spoke of Shakespeare's plays as masterpieces and models for the creation of works that were topical and relevant. The imitation of Shakespeare, Stendhal wrote in his preface, could lead to understanding "la manière d'étudier le monde au milieu duquel nous vivons, et l'art

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[2]Moses Debré, *The Image of the Jew in French Literature from 1800 to 1908*, trans. Gertrude Hirschler, with an introduction by Anna Krakowski (New York: Ktav, 1970), 21, discusses Shylock and Nathan the Wise as predominant types of Jewish characters in French literature. Lessing's character is often claimed to have been a tribute to Moses Mendelssohn.

[3]In addition to the discussions of literary precedent in this chapter, see pp. 346-53 for an aspect of plot borrowed from *Ivanhoe* in an early stage of *La Juive*.

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de donner à nos contemporains précisément le genre de tragédie dont ils ont besoin."[4] Hugo, in his famous preface to *Cromwell* (1827), declared Shakespeare the epitome of "drame."[5] French translations of Shakespeare's works had appeared since the late 18th century, but the French public became re-engaged with his works in the 1820s and 1830s with the appearance of a number of new editions, the performances of Shakespeare dramas in France by English actors, and the endorsements of romantic writers.[6] A publication of *Merchant* appeared in France in 1827,[7] the year that a troop of English actors scored brilliant successes in their performances of Shakespeare at the Odéon, Théâtre-Français, and the Théâtre-Italien.[8] Among many novels by

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[4]*Racine et Shakespeare* (Paris: Bossange, 1823), 2-3: "the manner of studying the world in the milieu in which we live, and the art of giving our contemporaries precisely the type of tragedy they need." See David-Owen Evans, *Le Drame moderne à l'époque romantique* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1974), 13.

[5]Paris: A. Dupont, 1828, ii. See also Gary Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare, A Cultural History from the Restoration to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 168.

[6]*Oeuvres complètes de Shakspeare, traduites de l'anglais par Letourneur, nouvelle édition, revue et corrigée par F. Guizot et A.P. [Pichot], traducteur de Lord Byron, précédée d'une notice biographique et littéraire, sur Shakspeare, par F. Guizot,* 13 vols. (Paris: Ladvocat, 1821); *Oeuvres de Shakspeare, traduites de l'anglais, par Letourneur, nouvelle édition augmentée des commentaires de Voltaire et de La Harpe,* 12 vols. (Paris: Brissot-Thivars, 1821-22); *Oeuvres dramatiques de Shakspeare, traduites de l'anglais par Letourneur, nouvelle édition, précédée d'une notice biographique et littéraire par M. Horace Meyer,* 2 vols. (Paris: A. Saintin, 1835). An edition of his dramas, edited by Alexandre Dumas, was also published by Marchant in 1839-40.

[7]An English publication with French notes was listed in *Bibliographie de la France* in December 1827: *Merchant of Venice: a comedy in 5 acts, by W. Shakspeare, as performed at the theatres royal in Drury-Lane and Covent-Garden, with explanatory French notes* (Paris: Goetschy, 1827).

[8]Evans, *Drame*, 62, notes that four years earlier the troop's Shakespeare performances in Paris had met with a comparatively cold reception.

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Scott popular in France during the 1820s and 1830s, *Ivanhoe* ranked as one of the most widely read between 1826 and 1830, appearing in ten French editions.[9] The popularity of this novel inspired stage versions in Paris and elsewhere, including the pasticcio *Ivanhoé* based on music of Rossini arranged by Antonio Pacini (1778-1866), which had its premiere at the Odéon in Paris in 1826.[10] With the vogue of Scott and Shakespeare in French literary culture, it is not surprising to find among Scribe's many book-lists in his *carnets de notes* the citation "Théâtre étranger--Shakspeare--Goethe--Schiller," as well as several references to Walter Scott.[11] Scribe also lists "le Sage," which perhaps refers to *Nathan le Sage,* the French title for Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*; much more likely, however, it designates the noted writer Alain-René Le Sage (1668-1747). Scribe could have known Lessing's play through the multi-volume publication *Chefs-d'oeuvre de Théâtres Étrangers*, published in France in 1827 (the same year as a Parisian publication of *Merchant*), possibly the same

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[9]Martyn Lyons, *Le Triomphe du livre: Une Histoire sociologique de la lecture dans la France du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Promodis, 1987), 86-87. For the period 1826-30, Lyons also lists three other French translations of Scott novels that were best-sellers: *L'Antiquaire*, *L'Abbé*, and *Quentin Durward*. For the period 1831-35, he lists *Woodstock* and *Château périlleux*.

[10]A better-known stage version of the novel is Heinrich Marschner's opera *Der Templer und die Jüdin*, first performed in December 1829 in Leipzig.

[11]In addition to including Scott's name in book lists, Scribe compared a scenic Swiss view to a description in a Scott novel in an 1826 entry of his *carnet de voyage* (BN-Mss., n.a.f. 22584, vol. 1, fol. 19^{v}); in another *carnet*, he included "Rebecca de Walter Scott" among his collection of dramatic ideas (n.a.fr. 22584, vol. 8, fol. 14^{r}), and, in yet another, he sketched a poem that begins: "Sir Walter Scott est bon anglais/quand nous autres pauvres français/avons par hasard un success-" (BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22584, vol. 10, fol. 22^{v}).

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series of foreign literature to which Scribe refers as "Théâtre étranger."[12] In the same list, Scribe includes "Mis Edgeworth" (Maria Edgeworth, 1767-1849), an Anglo-Irish writer who used a number of Jewish characters in her novels.[13] Like Scott, who includes epigraphs from *Merchant*, *The Jew of Malta*, and *The Jew* at the heads of chapters in *Ivanhoe*,[14] Scribe apparently familiarized himself with several works centered on Jewish characters and blended elements of plot and characterization from them when they suited his dramatic purposes. Several entries in Scribe's *carnets de notes* starkly reveal his habit of splicing together subjects and basic dramatic ideas from various sources: for example, Scribe reminds himself to "combine ce sujet avec [Yermolof?] ou le favori" and notes, "Les patriciens et la

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[12]*Chefs-d'oeuvre des théâtres étrangers...traduits en français: Lessing, Nathan le Sage, avec une notice signée: P.B. Émilie Galotti, traduit par M. le Cte de Sainte-Aulaire, Minna de Barnhelm, avec une notice signée: Merville* (Paris: Rapilly, 1827).

[13]Frank Montagu Modder, *The Jew in the Literature of England to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Co., 1960), 131-37, discusses various Jewish characters in Edgeworth's novels and stories, most of whom are based on "the old stock figure of the wicked Jew." These include three Jewish villains in *Moral Tales* (1801) and a Jewish money-lender named Solomon in *Belinda* (1801). In *Harrington* (1816), a novel written as an apologia to Jews, Edgeworth elaborates on the unjust treatment of Jacob, a poor honest Jewish peddler; includes a gentleman merchant and gentleman professor of Hebrew; and reveals changes in attitudes toward Jews in the protagonist, Harrington, and then allows him to be attracted to a young Jewess. Notably, rather than taking the relationship between a Jew and Christian to a potentially undesirable end, Edgeworth reveals--as in *La Juive*--that the Jewess is really the daughter of a Christian mother and was christened at birth.

[14]*The Jew* is a play by Richard Cumberland, first performed in London in the late 1700s at the Drury Lane Theater. A comic opera entitled *The Jew of Mogadore*, published in 1808, is also attributed to Cumberland.

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Nonne sanglante/deux idées à combiner pour un grand opéra."[15] As acknowledged in several Parisian reviews of the first performances of *La Juive*, as well as in the standard literature on the opera, *Merchant* and *Ivanhoe* were the most important literary sources for the opera's Jewish characterization, but it is likely that Scribe also borrowed from *Nathan der Weise* and *The Jew of Malta*.[16]

In this chapter, I present the characterizations of Éléazar and Rachel as patterned after the literary stereotypes of the mercenary Jew and his beautiful daughter, which, as we shall later see, held particular relevance in a society in which old and new images of Jews were converging in powerful and ambivalent ways.

The Dual Identity of Rachel: "La Belle Juive" and "La Chrétienne"

Rachel, whose forbidden love affair propels much of the dramatic action of *La Juive*, belongs to a host of beautiful, desirable heroines in 19th-century opera, although her portrayal as a Jewess is more narrowly linked to the orientally exotic stereotype "la belle juive." But Rachel's dual identity, as both Jew and Christian, creates ambiguity and irony in her characterization that ultimately touches both her roles as love interest of a Christian prince and daughter of a Shylockian father. In

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[15]BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22584, vol. 8, fol. 68^{r}; vol. 9, fol. 5^{r}: "combine this subject with [Yermolof?] or The Favorite"; "The Patricians and The Bloody Nun/two ideas to combine for a grand opera."

[16]*Merchant* and *Ivanhoe* are even noted as principal sources for the characterizations of Éléazar and Rachel in *Larousse, Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*, 17 vols. (Geneva-Paris: Slatkine, 1982), IX/2, 1090. The plays of Marlowe, including *The Jew of Malta*, were available in *The Works of Christopher Marlowe*, 3 vols. (London: W. Pickering, 1826).

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essence, she is given two fathers, her adopted father Éléazar and her biological father Brogni, although the cardinal is revealed as her true father only at the opera's violent denouement. While withholding the secret of her birth is a vehicle for demonstrating Éléazar's vengeance and adding dramatic tension, it allows her a more thoroughly Jewish identity than in earlier stages of the opera. In addition to her conversion that was Scribe's first choice of a denouement, there was an early emphasis on Rachel's attraction to the cardinal as well as doubt about Éléazar. Other than the vestiges of her admiration of Brogni which remain, the character traits of compassion and selflessness, typically identified in Western literary tradition as "Christian" traits, are central to Rachel's portrayal.

The romance between Rachel and Léopold, which fulfilled dramatic prerequisites of the genre as it obscured the religious-political message, was outlined by Scribe in what may be the earliest plot sketch of the opera. In tiny, scrawled, and partially illegible handwriting at the bottom of one page of his carnet labelled "Quelques idées des pièces," Scribe wrote:[17]

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[17]BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22584, vol. 8, fol. 66^{r}. (This folio has two numberings: the first, 129, is marked through and replaced with 66.) See Appendix D for a facsimile of the page including this entry. The setting of five acts, in addition to Scribe's designation "opera" next to the title, makes it clear that the librettist intended this to be a grand opera for the Académie Royale. In other entries, Scribe writes "opéra" or "opéra-comique" next to sketched-out ideas, for example, but in some he has no specification of genre or he leaves it ambiguous: one entry is specified as for "opera ou ballet Romain" (BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22584, vol. 9, fol. 8^{v}).

Scribe began this carnet in 1812, but from the few dates that can be found scattered throughout, it appears that he used it at least until the early 1830s to collect thoughts and rough scenario sketches. This entry for "La belle juive" cannot be dated precisely, but because it occurs a few pages after another entry which contains the date 1832--"La Marquise et le comedien/9 - X^{bre} - 1832 - revien de Paris"--we can surmise that it was written no earlier than December 1832 and perhaps in the early part of 1833. This dating cannot be firm,

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La belle juive opera	The Beautiful Jewess opera
1er acte son époux la quitte le soir	1st act her betrothed leaves her in the evening
2e - elle se présente comme femme de chambre chez sa rivale - apprend qu'elle est mariée	2nd she presents herself as chambermaid at her rival's -- learns that she is married
3e- le voyant pres à se marier elle dicte qu'il a eu commerce avec une juive et c'est elle -- on les condamne tous les deux	3rd seeing him married she says that he has had a liaison with a Jewess and it is she -- both are condemned
4e - elle retraite ses aveux -s'avoue seule coupable	4th she withdraws her confession -- avows that she alone is guilty
5 - l'autodafé -	5 l'autodafé

Scribe's thin sketch reveals that the taboo affair between a Jew and a Christian was central to his dramatic plotting at this point, as well as other circumstances leading from it: the love triangle between the wife, mistress, and lover; the condemnation of the two lovers after the Jewess's declaration; her subsequent disavowal, claiming guilt only for herself; and the death by "l'autodafé," apparently of the Jewess alone. Curiously, Éléazar is lacking in this rough account--unless he, as an appendage to the Jewess, is alluded to as one of the condemned "tous les deux," rather than the lover. Although it is possible that Scribe had not yet fully developed

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however, as the pages of his carnets are not always written chronologically; it is clear in entries more consistently dated in other carnets that he had the habit of returning to pages partially used and writing later entries in the remaining space. At the end of this carnet, and written with the notebook turned upside down (as compared with the earlier pages), Scribe includes a list of "pièces à faire," which he dates 1826 (fols. 75v-75r). Most likely, Scribe went to the back of the volume to separate this list from the other notes, further distinguishing it by the different direction of the book; thus, it is unlikely that the 1826 date represents the *terminus ad quem* for the entries on previous pages.

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the deeper social implications of the subject, concentration on the romantic plotting would not necessarily preclude this, since Scribe's manner of making potentially controversial subjects palatable to theatrical authorities (and undoubtedly to some audience members) was to place the love story strongly in the foreground. Scribe's choice to redress the old operatic love conflict in terms of a Jew and a Christian and, even more significant, his use of the term "l'autodafé" signal that he was thinking of the religious conflict that would later permeate and encompass *La Juive*--despite the fact that there is no clear reference to the father or to the hatred that he inspires or embodies.

At this stage, Scribe may not have begun to expand his preliminary ideas with elements of characterization and bits of plot of works from which he would later borrow. An entry in the same carnet on earlier pages entitled "Rebecca de Walter Scott," however, shows that he had intentions of using this character as a model for a dramatic work. But Scribe's specification "Bukingham de [peverise] 5 actes," which appears below the title, suggests that he was considering Rebecca in relation to another work.[18] As this entry is not marked through with a slash of the pen nor designated "Traité," as are other entries he clearly used later (including "la belle juive"), Scribe may not have ever fleshed out the specific dramatic ideas he included under this heading about "une jeune personne charmante" who is brought to court and with whom Bukingham falls in love. There is little in the sketch to point to Scribe's borrowings from *Ivanhoe* in *La Juive*. But the fact that he listed it as a potential

[18]BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22584, vol. 8, fol. 14r.

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source makes it clear that he foresaw its dramatic possibilities and probable that at some point between December 1832 and August 1833, when he signed the contract for *La Juive* with Véron, he interpolated elements of the novel with dramatic ideas set aside for "la belle juive."[19]

Scribe's working title gives a clear signal that his Jewess is, like Rebecca and other contemporary Jewesses, an object of desire. Rosenberg designated "la belle juive" as a type which reached its apotheosis in Jessica, but who was later transformed into an exotic prostitute in stories of Balzac, Maupassant, Zola, and Proust.[20] Lucette Czyba, in her examination of the 19th-century myth of "la femme orientale," including "l'esclave orientale," views the type as an object of fantasy notable in the work of Balzac and Flaubert.[21] Often she was portrayed as a woman

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[19]Several reviews noted that Rachel was modelled on Rebecca, including *L'Entr'acte* (26 February 1835) and *Le Ménestrel* (1 March 1835); see Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 36, 111.

[20]Rosenberg, *Shylock*, 34. See, e.g., Balzac's portrayal of Esther in *Splendeurs et misères des courtisanes* (1842; 1846). See also Maurice Bloch, "La Femme juive dans le roman et au théâtre," *Conférence faite à la Société des études juives le 23 janvier 1892, extrait de la Revue des études juives* XXIII (Paris: Librairie A. Durlacher, 1892), for a discussion of the stereotype, including a reference to a novel entitled *La Belle Juive* (1882) by Mme Marie Letizia Rattazzi (p. 9).

[21]See Czyba's "Misogynie et gynophobie dans *La Fille aux yeux d'or*," *La Femme au XIXe siècle: littérature et idéologie*, eds. Jean-François Tetu et al. (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1978), 141; and *Mythes et idéologie de la femme dans les romans de Flaubert* (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1983). Likewise, Hélène Pierrakos, "Chrétienté, judaïté et la musique," *L'Avant-scène: Opéra* C (1987), 23, defined the exotic Jewess as "un fantasme" ("a fantasy") in 19th-century literature.

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of extraordinary beauty, as in Hugo's 1835 poem "Sultane favorite" found in *Les Orientales*.[22]

In one of many passages in *Ivanhoe* which elaborate on the appearance of Rebecca, Scott described Ivanhoe's admiration of the "beautiful features, and fair form, and lustrous eyes of the lovely Rebecca--eyes whose brilliancy was shaded, and, as it were, mellowed, by the fringe of her long silken eyelashes, and which a minstrel would have compared to the evening star darting its rays through a bower of jessamine."[23] In *La Juive*, the most direct textual reference to Rachel's beauty comes not from a male admirer but from her rival, Eudoxie. In the Act III duet, which was omitted after the premiere, Eudoxie sings of Rachel:[24]

Act III, Scene iii (No. 14)

Que d'attraits! qu'elle est belle!	What features! How beautiful she is!
Son oeil noir étincelle	Her black eye sparkling
D'un sombre désespoir!	With dark despair!

Rachel remarks equally on Eudoxie's beauty by repeating her first line as she looks at her "with jealousy." In an earlier stage represented by the manuscript libretto n.a.fr.

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[22]Victor Hugo, *Théâtre complet* (Paris: Gallimard, 1963-64).

Que m'importe, juive adorée,	Adored Jewess, who brings
Un sein d'ébene, un front vermeil.	A breast of ebony, a brow of ruby.
Tu n'es point blanche ni cuivrée,	You are neither white nor copper,
Mais il semble qu'on t'a dorée,	But it seems that you have been gilded
Avec un rayon de soleil.	With a ray of sun.

[23]Chapter XXVIII, 299.

[24]Excerpted from the Schlesinger-Lemoine piano-vocal score, Act III, No. 14, mm. 50-56. The first three lines belong to a verse of six lines in the 1835 libretto; the fourth line was a variant probably created by the composer to balance the first four measures with a second phrase of four measures.

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22502/4°(b), when Brogni regrets Rachel's upcoming death, he says: "Hélas! qu'elle était belle."[25] Besides these references, both of which were suppressed at different stages, there are general inferences about Rachel's attractiveness from the effect she has had on a prince who disguises himself to be near her, serenades her and almost elopes with her.

Rachel's romantic characterization contains mixed images. On the one hand, she appears as an innocent young woman in love with a man she assumes to be a simple Jewish painter; she does not discover his true identity until the shocking revelations of Act II, that he is Christian, and Act III, that he is married. On the other hand, there are allusions to Rachel's seductiveness and licentiousness. A review in *Le Journal de Paris et des départemens* (28 February 1835) spoke of her as "cette pauvre petite Rachel, qui a succombé comme les Hussites" to the attentions of Léopold.[26] In Scribe's early ideas of the draft scenario, there was an even greater focus on Rachel's innocence and on the background of her romance with Samuel/Léopold. In the sketched paragraph of Act I, Scene ii, which Scribe later crossed out with a single vertical pen stroke, Rachel has an exchange with Samuel about his work as an artist that reveals her belief that he had been away painting a portrait of the cardinal, not fighting a battle.[27] Even more extraneous, dramatically,

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[25]This statement comes after Brogni discovers that Rachel is his daughter in Act IV, Scene vi, in this version. (I have designated the two versions of Acts IV and V in n.a.fr. 22502/4° as [a] and [b].)

[26]Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 90: "This poor little Rachel, who has succumbed like the Hussites."

[27]BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22502/2°, 3.

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is the excised paragraph's suggestion that Rachel is Samuel's painting student. In the opera, references to Samuel as painter do not come until Act II, Scene i.

Rachel's liaison with a married man, although she is unaware of his marriage, speaks of a nonconventional sexuality, which is intimated but not realized in *Ivanhoe*: Rebecca, who is "not without a touch of female weakness," loves the affianced Ivanhoe and he admires her, but he is "too good a Catholic to retain the same class of feelings towards a Jewess."[28] Unlike Rebecca's "purity," Rachel's is somewhat tainted. The conservative reviewer for *La Gazette de France* (27 February 1835) referred to Rachel as a "fille sans moeurs" and a "fille libertine," whose depravity defiled marital bonds and degraded a royal personage.[29]

Her sexuality is partially implied through hints of oriental exoticism, enhanced through costuming, musical symbolism, and elements of text and plot (some of which were omitted after the premiere, however). Although Rachel's costume of the first act, a blue and white tight-bodiced dress, somewhat reminiscent of a Swiss folk outfit (without décolletage), which fell to a maiden-like length above her ankles, was undoubtedly created to give a simple and somewhat demure effect, somewhat belied

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[28]Scott, *Ivanhoe*, Chapter XXVIII, 299.

[29]Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 56: "woman without morals"; "licentious woman." This writer, who viewed *La Juive* as Voltairian blasphemy (see below, p. 312-16), put an ideological spin on another assessment of Rachel's sexual character. When he discussed Rachel's acceptance of a night rendezvous with Léopold, he wrote: "Mlle Rachel qui, toute juive qu'elle est, a reçu comme on voit une éducation extrêmement philosophique et libérale." ("Mlle Rachel who, all Jewess that she is, has received an extremely philosophical and liberal education, as one can see.") (*Ibid.*, 54).

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by its asiatic turban and scarves (see Ill. 2).[30] Rachel's second-act costume, introduced for the private Jewish service, had a decidedly more Eastern flavor; it was a flowing sky blue silk caftan ornamented with purple velvet and touches of gold.[31] Although the turban and scarves of Rachel's first-production costumes may have been modelled on a variety of sources, Scott's description of the "turbaned and caftaned" Rebecca, whom Ivanhoe at first mistakes for an Arabian woman, may have provided a general idea.[32] At Rebecca's first appearance in Chapter VII of *Ivanhoe*, she is wearing "a sort of Eastern dress, which she wore according to the fashion of the females of her nation," including a turban of yellow silk decorated with an ostrich feather, a vest with "golden and pearl-studded clasps," and jewels "of inestimable value."[33]

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[30]See the same illustration in the booklet accompanying the Philips recording (47), as well as a portrait from the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra collection of Falcon as Rachel in the first-act costume (26) and in "L'Oeuvre à l'affiche," *L'Avant-scène: Opéra* C (1987), 111. On the cover of this same issue of *L'Avant-scène* is another portrait of Falcon in the costume (dated 1837), which shows a mustard gold fabric under the bodice lacing, gold tassles on the sleeves, and gold accents on the headpiece close to the face. One lithograph of the first-act costume by Devéria in the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra collection shows a floor-length skirt. (I am not certain which rendering is more realistic.)

[31]See the portrait of Falcon, perhaps in Rachel's second-act costume, in Philip Robinson, "(Marie) Cornélie Falcon," *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 4 vols., ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1992), II, 110. Also see descriptions of Rachel's costumes in AN, AJ[13]202 costume inventories.

[32]The turbaned oriental permeated French romantic art and literature, as described by Marie-Jacques Hoog in "Ces Femmes en turban," *Women in French Literature*, ed. Michel Guggenheim (Saratoga, CA: ANMA Libri, 1988), 117-23. She writes that in the ballet, e.g., "chaque danseuse devient une bayadère, une juive, une égyptienne, une sibylle, une créature des *Mille et une nuits*" ("each dancer becomes a *bayadère*, a Jewess, an Egyptian, a sibyl, a creature of the *Thousand and One Nights*") (118).

[33]Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 82-83.

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Ill. 2: **Costumes of *La Juive*, Paris Opéra (1835): Rachel (Cornélie Falcon); Éléazar (Adolphe Nourrit); Eudoxie (Julie Dorus-Gras) (Bibliothèque de l'Opéra).**

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At the premiere, and perhaps in early performances that followed, Rachel's appearance in Act III "disguised" as a slave certainly carried innuendos to an"oriental" harem. Among the initial scenes of Act III that were omitted after the premiere, Rachel, who has been brought before Eudoxie as "une pauvre fille inconnue, étrangère," asks the princess if she can be admitted as one of her slaves: "Parmi vos nombreuses esclaves/Daignez pour aujourd'hui m'admettre!"[34] According to the 1835 libretto, Rachel's appearance as a slave occurred during a celebration of Léopold's victory in a canopy or tent set among "magnifiques jardins" ("magnificent gardens") of the Emperor's palace. Following the chorus "O jour mémorable!," the celebration included a *ballet pantomine* which undoubtedly helped to create an atmosphere appropriate for Rachel's entry: although the ballet was divorced from the storyline of the opera, it featured *chevaliers* who battle a Moor to rescue captive women from an enchanted castle. A review of the ballet in *Le Figaro* (25 February 1835), which described the castle's guards as "infidels" in turbans, gives a sense that this *divertissement* symbolized a type of orientalist display linked to the larger-scale religious subject:

> [...] au moyen d'une machine cachée à l'intérieur, vous voyez s'avancer une forteresse garnie de ses tours et des créneaux; gardée par des Mécréans à turbans, elle est sommée de se rendre: sur le refus des infidèles, les hommes d'armes se disposent à lui donner l'assaut, quand

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[34]"a poor unknown, foreign girl" (Act II, Scene ii, 23 February 1835 libretto; Duo, No. 14, mm. 11-13, *Schlesinger-Lemoine*); "As one of your many slaves, deign to accept me for today!" (Act II, Scene iii, 23 February 1835 libretto; Duo, No. 14, mm. 132-34, *Schlesinger-Lemoine*). See this material in the autograph, A509aII, 39, 52, and in Mat. 19[315(7), "retiré de la juive." (Rachel's request is retained, along with the omitted Act III duet to which it belongs, in the Philips 1989 recording.)

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> tout à coup elle se métamorphose en un gracieux édifice gothique, d'où sortent de gracieuses hôtesses qui exécutent un ballet devant l'empereur.[35]

After the ballet and the chorus "Sonnez, clairons!," one of the princes of the Empire attending the *fête* toasts Léopold; when Léopold calls for a drink, he is served by Rachel, dressed like the other female slaves:[36]

Act III, Scene V

LÉOPOLD, voulant rendre raison au prince, tend sa coupe à une des servantes qui sont près de lui.	LÉOPOLD, wanting to give an explanation to the prince, holds out his cup to one of the servants near him.
Esclave! à boire!!	Slave! Drink!!
(Du groupe des femmes s'élance vivement Rachel, habillée comme ses compagnes, et tenant un vase de vin. Elle en verse dans la coupe de Léopold qui, en ce moment, se retourne, l'aperçoit et reste immobile de surprise. La coupe s'échappe de sa main tremblante.)	(From the group of women, Rachel quickly rushes forward, dressed as her companions and holding a pitcher of wine. She pours it into Léopold's cup, who, at this moment, returns, sees her, and remains immobilized with surprise. The cup falls from his trembling hand.)
LÉOPOLD O surprise! ô terreur! c'est elle! Un Dieu vengeur l'offre à mes yeux!	LÉOPOLD O surprise! O horrors! It is she! A vengeful God puts her before my eyes!

[35]Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 46: "in the middle of a machine hidden in the interior, you see a fortress decorated with towers and battlements; guarded by some infidels in turbans, it is charged for surrender: at the refusal of the infidels, the men-at-arms attack it, when all of a sudden it is transformed into a graceful gothic edifice, from which gracious hostesses emerge who execute a ballet before the emperor."

[36]Excerpted from the 23 February 1835 libretto (BO, Livr. 19[274).

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A review in *Le Corsaire* confirms that Rachel appeared at the premiere "en habits d'esclave."[37] Another review in *Le Journal de Paris et des départements*, based on the date of its publication (22 March 1835), suggests that Rachel continued to appear as a slave in the celebratory scenes of Act III even after the scenes in Eudoxie's apartment had been omitted: the writer described Rachel arriving with the slaves and holding in her hand a "riche aiguière pleine de vin de Constance."[38] Other reviews imply that Rachel's slave disguise was suppressed as early as the second (25 February) or third performance (27 February), since the author of the first review in *Le Journal de Paris*, dated 28 February 1835, described Rachel entering the Emperor's tent with Éléazar, and not with the slaves.[39] In the Palianti manual, which corresponds to the Schlesinger full score, Rachel is described as entering with Éléazar after the *ballet pantomine*; there is no mention of her appearance as a slave or of her pouring drinks.[40]

An aura of oriental color is also created in the first musical expression of the Rachel-Léopold romance: the Serenade, Act I, No. 3, in which Léopold woos Rachel

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[37]23 February 1835, Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 21. Among costume inventories (AN, AJ[13]202), I did not find a listing for a separate costume for Rachel/Falcon in the third act.

[38]Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 107: "costly ewer full of the wine of Constance." This review, initialed by "J.J." (most likely, Jules Janin), was designated as the second article on *La Juive* appearing in this newspaper. See pp. 417, 420-23 for a more detailed discussion of the Act III cuts after the premiere.

[39]*Ibid.*, 92. This review, attributed to "Z.Z.," spoke of the omission at the second performance of the opening scene of Act III, in which Rachel asks Eudoxie if she could be her servant.

[40]Cohen, *Staging Manuals*, 146.

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in his disguise as the Jewish painter Samuel.[41] As shown in Ex. 1 below, Halévy uses raised fourths, augmented seconds, and turns in Léopold's vocal line, along with a adential motive played by the oboe, in the A Minor sections that begin each couplet to evoke touches of oriental sound.[42] The composer may have chosen this setting to suggest Léopold's communication in his Jewish persona or to allude to Rachel's seductive effect on Léopold. In the piano-vocal score, Rachel responds in a sixteen-measure section in C Major that does not evoke oriental color; this section, along with the subsequent duet between Rachel and Léopold (which is a varied repetition of

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[41]Leich-Galland notes, in *L'Avant-scène opéra*, 43, that this serenade is reminiscent of the balcony seduction by Don Giovanni, "mandoline en main." (The Mozart opera had been produced at the Paris Opéra in 1834 with a number of alterations by Castil-Blaze.) In Halévy's first writing of the score, Léopold's serenade appeared as the second number, overlapping with the *Te Deum* phrases that end the choral introduction. This original placement, which can be distinguished in the autograph, reflects Scribe's description in the draft scenario of the end of Act I, Scene i (BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22502/2°, 2): "l'inconnu s'approche d'une maison qui est à droite et dont le balcon [...] fait face au spectateur--il joue pendant l'air grave et religieux du te deum, un air de mandoline. La fenêtre s'ouvre--" ("the unknown person approaches a house which is on the right and whose balcony [...] faces the spectator--during the solemn and religious melody of the *Te Deum*, he plays a tune on his mandolin. The window opens--").

[42]As revealed in the autograph and performing parts, Halévy originally scored the accompaniment simulating Léopold's mandolin for two guitars, but these were replaced by violins in these manuscript sources, as well as in the Schlesinger full score. In the 1989 Leich-Galland edition, the editor has restored the guitars, despite the fact that Halévy scratched out the guitar lines in ink and replaced them with violins in the autograph. In the archival score, the guitar parts were copied, but these are obscured by *collettes* which contain the new violin parts in a hand among Leborne's atelier. The change was probably made after the premiere, but it could have occurred relatively soon after, since Act I would have been the first act to be copied. Records of extra musicians hired for the 1834-35 season indicate that guitars were not used in *La Juive* by June 1835.

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Ex. 1: Excerpt from Léopold's Serenade, Act I, No. 3, mm. 18-47 (*Schlesinger-Garland*).

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the B section of the preceding couplets), was omitted from the Schlesinger full score.[43]

In the final three numbers of Act II which center on the romance, the air "Il va venir" (No. 10), the duet "Lorsqu'à toi je me suis donnée" (No. 11), and the trio "Je vois son front coupable" (No. 12), Rachel gradually loses her "innocence" as she reveals her suspicion and subsequently discovers Léopold's Christian identity. Her own identity as a Jewess is strengthened as their opposition is underscored. In her air, Rachel emerges as a full-blooded, passionate woman who expresses excitement, frustration, fear, and rage. Having seen Léopold's action in quelling the crowd in Act I and his rejection of the unleavened bread during the Passover service in Act II, she has begun to sense betrayal and deceit. When Léopold enters, greeting her "ma bien aimée," she angrily confronts him, and Léopold acknowledges that he has indeed deceived her: his God is not hers. To his stunned lover, he reiterates remorsefully, "je suis chrétien."[44] Rachel recovers and launches into an enraged attack in the Duet, marked "avec force," that begins with an octave leap from *g'* to *g'*. She is an "infortunée" to have given herself to one outside her religion; in a vocal line that again leaps widely from $e^{\flat}$' to *a'* and ends on an ascending scale to *c'*, Rachel shrieks her complete dishonor before her father and "un Dieu vengeur." When

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[43]This material was also suppressed in the performing parts, including the *violon principal* manuscript, by red crayon mark-outs, collettes, and stitching.

[44]Léopold's penitent tone is suggested by the falling third at the end of the statement. Halévy heightens the inevitable reaction of shock and the frozen, awkward moment between the lovers with two *ff* tonic chords on downbeats followed by an extended alternation between full-measure pauses and *p* chords under long-held clarinet tones.

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Léopold attempts to soothe her and give reasons for his deception, Rachel reminds him that their forbidden relations will inevitably bring death. He implores her to escape with him, to put aside "gloire, amis, parens"; Rachel, although despairing at the thought of abandoning her father, responds to his visceral persuasion and sets off to "elope" with him, only to be stopped cold by Éléazar.

As pointed out by a critic in *La Quotidienne* (27 February 1835), Rachel's choice to flee with her Christian lover is reminiscent of Jessica's decision in *Merchant*: "la jeune juive se décide à fuir, comme Jessica, la fille de Shylock; la maison de son père, et à suivre cet autre Lorenzo; mais mieux avisé que le juif de Venise, Eléazar surprend le couple fugitif."[45]

In the trio that follows Éléazar's interruption, the reactions of shock and fear of all three characters build an emotional tension up to the moment Éléazar is told of Léopold's true identity.[46] Reacting predictably, Éléazar spews out his wrath, only to be calmed by Rachel, whose poignant appeal wins her father's acceptance of her betrothal to this non-Jew.[47] When the married Léopold hears the word "époux," he shouts "jamais" and sets off Éléazar's *anathême*, which is joined by the spurned Rachel and a despairing Léopold in a powerful ending to Act II.

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[45]Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 141: "the young Jewess decides to flee the house of her father, like Jessica, the daughter of Shylock, and to follow this other Lorenzo; but Eléazar, better advised than the Jew of Venice, surprises the fugitive couple."

[46]This number is defined by Hugh Macdonald ("Grandest of the Grand," notes to Philips recording, 21) as an example of a "frozen" trio. In it, Halévy enhances the emotions of fear, anger, and shock in his use of gasping rests and jagged rhythms in the vocal lines.

[47]A review in *Le Figaro* (25 February 1835) described this appeal as "une séduction si profonde" that her father was willing to grant her permission to marry a Christian.

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Rachel's discovery in Act III that Léopold is married incites her to expose, and denounce, their liaison publicly, an action sketched by Scribe in his brief outline as pivotal (see p. 197 above). It is her identity as Jewess, more than Léopold's adultery, that she herself distinguishes as a crime deserving of death under Christian law.[48] The nonacceptance of a Christian-Jewish relationship suggests one aspect of religious intolerance, powerfully shown in Brogni's malediction, which is joined by an ensemble of the principals and chorus in another passionate finale.[49] Although Brogni condemns Léopold along with Rachel and Éléazar, the Council later pardons Léopold in Act V after Rachel, answering Eudoxie's appeal, has interceded and declared his innocence. The Council's pardoning of Léopold as they condemn Rachel demonstrates authoritative hypocrisy in a manner like that in *Ivanhoe*: in Scott's work, a tribunal, headed by the Grand Master of the Temple, exempts Bois-de-Guilbert from responsibility as it accuses Rebecca of casting a spell "whereby she hath maddened the blood, and besotted the brain" of a knight of the Holy Temple.[50]

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[48]Halévy's chromatic writing in the six orchestral measures following Rachel's last word strongly resembles Wagner's fire music in the later *Der Ring des Nibelungen*.

[49]Julian Budden, "Gaetano Donizetti," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 6th ed., 20 vols., ed. Stanley Sadie (New York: Macmillan, 1980), V, 559, states that Brogni's malediction influenced the setting of Baldassare's denunciation in Donizetti's *La Favorite* (1840). A review in *Le Temps* (26 February 1835, in Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 160), signed "L.-V.," complained of too many maledictions in *La Juive*: "Ce final a le défaut d'offrir la même situation que celui de second acte, qui nuit à son effet. Les anathèmes sont une bonne chose, sans doute, mais il faut en user raisonnablement." ("This finale has the flaw of offering the same situation as that of the second act, which harms its effect. The maledictions are a good thing, no doubt, but they should be used sensibly.")

[50]Chapter XXXVII, 413. In this passage, the Grand Master emphasizes the nobility and honor of Bois-de-Guilbert and the lewdness and witchery of Rebecca: "We have therefore summoned to our presence a Jewish woman, by name Rebecca, daughter of Isaac of York--a woman infamous for sortileges and for witcheries; whereby she hath maddened the blood, and

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Although one reviewer objected to the vengefulness of Rachel's Act III pronouncement as "trop en opposition avec la délicatesse de son sexe."[51] many of her reactions fit the almost saintly demeanor ascribed to Rebecca and other literary Jewesses. Both Rachel and Rebecca are shown to act differently from their fathers; neither is depicted as avaricious and both are portrayed as forgiving. There are implications of greed in Éléazar's character, but not in Rachel's; in *Ivanhoe*, while Isaac is reluctant to part with his money, Rebecca is explicitly shown to be generous with it.[52] Moreover, while Éléazar never relents in his hatred of Brogni, Rachel responds to Eudoxie's plea and selflessly saves Léopold from death. Her protectiveness of her father in Act I when Ruggiero first attacks him and, even more emphatically, her intercession for Léopold in Act II ("Pour lui, pour moi, mon père") embody the sacrificial ideal belonging to 19th-century heroines, including the stereotype of the beautiful Jewess. Rebecca, Rachel's counterpart, is shown to be

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besotted the brain, not of a churl, but of a knight; not of a secular knight, but of one devoted to the service of the Holy Temple; not of a knight companion, but of a preceptor of our order, first in honour as in place. [...] If we were told that such a man, so honoured, and so honourable, suddenly casting away regard for his character, his vows, his brethren, and his prospects, had associated to himself a Jewish damsel, wandered in this lewd company through solitary places, defended her person in preference to his own, and finally, was so utterly blinded and besotted by his folly, as to bring her even to one of our own preceptories, what should we say but that the noble knight was possessed by some evil demon, or influenced by some wicked spell?"

[51]Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 81: "too much in conflict with the delicacy of her sex."

[52]In Chapter X (122), when Gurth pays Isaac eighty zecchins for a horse and armor for his master, the Disinherited Knight, Rebecca gives back a hundred zecchins (without her father's knowledge) to send back to the Knight. Rebecca's gesture causes Gurth to say, "...this is no Jewess, but an angel from heaven!"

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noble, courageous, compassionate, and devoted to human suffering as a consoler and healer who cares for both Jews and Christians.[53]

The emphasis on the virtues and morality of the Jewish heroine was a literary device for contrasting her with a comparatively nonsympathetic or immoral father. Another, more concrete, way of distinguishing the Jewish female character was to imply or designate that she was Christian by blood, as in *La Juive*. The Jewess could also be made Christian through conversion, a solution suggested in *The Jew of Malta* by Abigail's entry into a nunnery.[54]

The portrayal of Rachel as Éléazar's adopted daughter could have been suggested by Shakespeare's hints in *Merchant* that Jessica is not the true daughter of Shylock. In Act III, Scene i, lines 34-36, Salerio challenges Shylock's assertion that she is: "There is more difference between thy flesh and hers than between jet and ivory; more between your bloods than there is between red wine and Rhenish." A remark by the clown Launcelot to Jessica again opens the question in Act III, Scene v, lines 9-10: "Marry, you may partly hope that your father got you not--that you are not the Jew's daughter."

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[53]In Chapter XXXIX (445), Rebecca forgives Bois-de-Guilbert in the same way that Rachel forgives Léopold: "But I do forgive thee, Bois-Guilbert, though the author of my early death."

[54]In Act III, Scene iv, lines 1-6, Barrabas reacts to news from his daughter:

> What, Abigail become a nun again!
> False and unkind! what, hast thou lost thy father?
> And, all unknown, and unconstrain'd of me,
> Art thou again got to the nunnery?
> Now here she writes, and wills me to repent:
> Repentance! *Spurca!* what pretendeth this?

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Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*, however, goes beyond implication: Recha, the Jewess of the play and the daughter of Nathan, is revealed to be Christian by birth. This basic fact, in addition to elements surrounding this revelation, appears to have influenced Scribe's treatment of Rachel. Similar to Recha, Rachel's identity as a Jewess is clear: she is thus identified in the opera's title and is thus treated throughout its plot. The full exposure of her birth identity, like Recha's, is not made until the end of the drama (although there are previous suggestions of Recha's Christian birth in the play). In Lessing's drama, however, the moral behind this identity switch is sharper than in the opera; the discovery of Recha's true identity, which accompanies the revelation that the Christian character is actually part Muslim, is clearly linked to the author's intent to show the fallacy of religious and ethnic prejudices.[55] Lessing's identity twists may have inspired Scribe to create the dual identity of Rachel (and perhaps of Samuel/Léopold as well). But the manner in which the revelation of Rachel's Christian birth was presented in the opera, primarily for shock effect without connection in a coherent way to other aspects of the plot, makes it less salient as a device to expose religious and social intolerance.

As mentioned above, this plot idea was not exclusive to *Nathan*: in another source that Scribe may have known, the Jewess of Miss Edgeworth's 1816 novel,

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[55]It is only one of several mistaken identities in *Nathan*: Recha is revealed to be Blandine de Filneck, the sister of the Templier (knight), the Christian Crusader who had been cast as a suitor and who spouts hatred of Muslims and distrust of Jews; the father of Recha and the Templier was not German, however, but the brother of Saladin, so these two characters, portrayed as enemies of Muslims, discover in Act V that they are in fact part Muslim themselves. Along with the portrayal of Nathan as wise and just, these discoveries expose the wrongheadedness of the bigoted statements and misjudgments that had previously been made by the Templier and the Muslim characters.

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Harrington, discovers that she was born of a Christian mother in time to marry her Christian lover (see p. 194, n. 13). It is also probable that Scribe's ideas came from a compendium of sources without Jewish characters, since disguise and identity change were common theatrical devices. But aspects of the opera's text which bear correspondences to Lessing's narrative about the rescue and adoption of Recha underscore the likelihood that the play served as a source. An example is Nathan's exchange with a monk in Act IV, Scene vii, in which he tells of losing his family in the midst of violence and being given the baby Recha, a gift that he interpreted as a divine one in exchange for his dead sons:[56]

Act IV, Scene vii

NATHAN Vous m'avez apporté cet enfant à Darun; mais vous ne saviez pas que peu de jours avant les chrétiens avaient massacré tous les juifs à Gath, jusqu'aux femmes et aux enfans; vous ne saviez pas que, parmi eux, s'étaient trouvés ma femme et sept fils de la plus belle espérance, qui furent tous brûlés dans la maison de mon frère, où je les avais cachés.	NATHAN You met me in Darun with the infant; but what you probably don't know is that a few days earlier Christians had massacred all the Jews in Gath, even women and children. You do not know that among them were my wife and seven sons, my greatest hope, who were all burned in the house of my brother, where I had hidden them.
LE MOINE Ah! céleste justice!	THE MONK Oh, my God!
NATHAN Quand vous arrivâtes, j'avais passé trois jours et trois nuits dans la cendre et la poussière, devant Dieu, et versant des larmes. Ah! que je pleurai! Je n'emportai contre Dieu; je me livrai à la colère, à la fureur; je maudis l'univers et moi-même; je jurai aux chrétiens une haine irréconciliable.	NATHAN When you came along, I had spent three days and three nights weeping in the ashes and dust before God. Oh! how I cried. I was vexed against God; I was angry, furious; I cursed the world and myself; I swore an irreconcilable hate against Christians.

[56]Lessing, *Nathan le Sage* (1827).

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LE MOINE
Hélas! je le crois bien.

NATHAN
Cependant la raison revint peu à peu; elle me parla avec sa douce voix: 'Et pourtant il y a un Dieu, et cependant ceci a été dans les desseins de Dieu! Courage! [...].' Je me levai, et m'écriai vers Dieu: 'Je le veux. Veuille seulement que ce soit ma volonté!' Alors vous descendites de cheval; vous me présentâtes l'enfant, qui était enveloppé dans votre manteau: ce que vous me dîtes alors, ce que je vous répondis, je l'ai oublié; je me souviens seulement que je pris l'enfant, je l'embrassai, je le posai sur mon lit, je me jetai à genoux, et je dis en sanglotant: 'Mon Dieu, en voici déjà un que tu me rends sur sept!'

THE MONK
Oh, I believe it.

NATHAN
Gradually my reasoning returned little by little; it whispered to me with its sweet voice: 'There is still a God and this has been God's plan! Courage! [...] .' I got up and cried to God: 'I will. If that be Your will!' Then you got down off the horse; you handed me the child wrapped up in your coat. What you told me then, what I answered, I don't remember; I remember only that I took the child, kissed it, and placed it on my bed, and falling to my knees, I sobbed: 'My God, for my seven, you have already given me one!'

The basic ideas of the Jew losing his family to violence at the hands of Christians and adopting a Christian child in the midst of more violence can be found in *La Juive*. In Act I, Éléazar refers to his sons' dying "sur le bûcher," a brutal act that triggers the same kind of "irreconcilable hatred" towards Christians as described by Nathan, and speaks again of their burning in Act IV, Scene v (No. 21). In this Act IV passage, previous events that Éléazar narrates contain a similar juxtaposition of loss of family through burning and the protection of a Christian baby, although it is not his own family that has burned in his home, but Brogni's. Moreover, unlike Nathan, Éléazar physically saves Rachel in the flames rather than being given the child by another individual. The act of saving the Christian/Jewess from a burning house, however, is part of the plot of *Nathan* and is similarly incorporated in a narrated passage (by Daya, Nathan's servant, at the beginning of Act I). The circumstances are different,

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however, since Recha is not rescued by the Templier as a baby in the play, but as a young woman from the house of Nathan. Despite the clear variations from these aspects of *Nathan*'s plot, and Scribe's incorporation of a historic event relevant to Brogni, the similarities cannot be missed in the Act IV passage of *La Juive*:[57]

Act IV, Scene v (No. 21)

ÉLÉAZAR	ÉLÉAZAR
Quand les Napolitains dans Rome sont entrés,	When the Neapolitans entered Rome,
Vous avez vu vos toits au pillage livrés,	You saw your houses pillaged,
Et ta maison en proie à l'incendie!	Your home prey to fire!
Et ta femme expirante! et ta fille chérie,	Your wife expiring and your beloved daughter
En recevant le jour mourante à ses côtés!	Dying at your side as soon as she saw the light of day.
BROGNI	BROGNI
Tais-toi, tais-toi, cruel! que ces jours détestés,	Be quiet, be quiet, cruel man! Let those hateful days
Par qui j'ai tout perdu,	Which cost me all I had
S'effacent et s'oublient!	Be obliterated and forgotten!

[57]The text of the passage is excerpted from *Schlesinger-Garland*. There are numerous variants in the 23 February libretto, including a reference to the "roi Ladislas," with a historical footnote to identify him as the king of the Neapolitans who seized Rome. Moreover, Éléazar's narrative contains a heavier reminder to Brogni of his persecution of the Jews, who saved his daughter:

> Les Juifs par toi bannis de Rome. [...]
> Oui, ces Juifs que vos lois châtient,
> Étaient là, déguisés, errans, mais les premiers
> Courant braver la flamme et sauver vos foyers!
> L'un d'eux avait saisi ta fille,
> L'un d'eux l'avait vivante emportée en ses bras!
>
> The Jews who were banned by you from Rome. [...]
> Yes, these Jews whom your laws punished,
> Were there, disguised, wandering, but the first
> Running to brave the fire and save your homes!
> One of them had seized your daughter,
> One of them had carried her alive in his arms!

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ÉLÉAZAR
Non! non! tu n'avais pas tout perdu!

BROGNI
Que dis-tu?

ÉLÉAZAR
Tu n'avais pas tout perdu!

BROGNI
Ô ciel!

ÉLÉAZAR
Un Juif avait sauvé ta fille,
Un Juif l'avait vivante enlevée en ses bras,

Ce Juif, je le connais!

BROGNI
Ah! parle! dis...son nom? quel est-il?

ÉLÉAZAR
Tu ne le sauras pas!

ÉLÉAZAR
No! No! you had not lost everything.

BROGNI
What are you saying?

ÉLÉAZAR
You had not lost everything!

BROGNI
O heavens!

ÉLÉAZAR
A Jew had saved your daughter,
A Jew had taken her away alive in his arms,
I know this Jew.

BROGNI
Ah! speak! tell me...his name? what is it?

ÉLÉAZAR
You shall not know it!

The religious character of Rachel underwent profound changes in relatively late stages of composition. The plot change of most import to her character, as well as to the fundamental message of the opera, was the switch from her conversion to death at the end of Act V. As revealed in the draft scenario, Scribe initially planned the conversion to follow the discovery of her true identity as Brogni's daughter:

> ah, s'écrie Rachel éperdue et tombant à genoux, dieu des Chretiens--reçois l'enfant égaré qui revient dans ton sein--hymne doux et religieux. Cantique solemnel et celeste qui terminit la pièce.
>
> eau sainte du baptême reçu purifie son front & ...[58]

[58]BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22502/2°, 19r: "ah, cries Rachel, overcome and falling to her knees, God of the Christians--receive your lost child who comes again to your breast--soft, religious hymn, solemn and heavenly song ends the work.

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Scribe's draft verse (*Vade mecum*, BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22562, 115-16) and two partial fair copies of the libretto that were supplanted, n.a.fr. 22502/4°(a) and n.a.fr. 22502/4°(b), reflect Scribe's draft scenario and suggest that this idea was in place when Halévy began to compose the work.[59] Since there is evidence that the air that began Act V in n.a.fr. 22502/4°(b) was set to music and rehearsed (perhaps as late as early February; see pp. 411-17 below), it is likely that Rachel's conversion was set and rehearsed as well, although there is no extant musical evidence. At the beginning of Act V in n.a.fr. 22502/4°(a), Brogni himself tells Rachel that he is her true father, a secret kept from her by Éléazar. In this version, a less realistic one psychologically, Rachel embraces Brogni as father immediately and condemns Éléazar who has deceived her. Rachel's identity is exposed in Act IV, Scene vi, in n.a.fr. 22502/4°(b), but it is Éléazar who makes the revelation to Brogni, with Rachel overhearing. Although with variant approaches to the opera's denouement, both sources end similarly. As Éléazar and Rachel await their death in an amphitheater filled with Council members, Church prelates, soldiers, spectators, and the executioner, Brogni is portrayed as seeing the injustice and hypocrisy of the juxtaposition of death with the "sacred day" of the opening of the Council. He hopes instead to convert the accused heretics by pardoning them. Rachel responds to his appeal and becomes a Christian, but Éléazar refuses, even though he is freed from his

---

holy baptismal water is received to purify her face &..."

[59]I have designated the two partial versions of n.a.fr. 22502/4° as 4°(a) and 4°(b), since the former's antecedence is suggested by its correspondence with the draft scenario's description of Act V's beginning, as well as with the draft verse (n.a.fr. 22562, 105).

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chains; as the opera ends, he looks at Rachel angrily as she is accepted into the Christian faith:[60]

Act V, Scene iii
n.a.fr. 22502/4⁰(a) & (b)

BROGNI	BROGNI
Peuple! nous venons tous d'interroger le ciel!	People! all of us are asking heaven!
Prosterné, je priais, disant à l'éternel:	I prayed, prostrate, saying to the Lord:
Mon dieu! de ce concile ouvert sous ton auspice,	My God! in this Council, opened under your auspices,
Comment aux yeux de tous attester la justice?	How can justice be proven in everyone's eyes?
Comment reconquérir & ranger sous ta loi	How to recover and bring under your law
Le Juif & l'hérétique, ennemis de la foi?	The Jew and the heretic, enemies of the faith?
Comment les ramener à ta sainte croyance?	How to restore them to your saintly belief?
Et dieu m'a répondu: Chrétien! par la clémence!	And God answered to me: Christian! through clemency!
LÉOPOLD ET SES AMIS	LÉOPOLD AND HIS FRIENDS
O doux espoir auquel je n'ose croire encore!	O sweet hope in which I don't dare believe yet!
BROGNI	BROGNI
Non, ce ne sera point par un arrêt de mort	No, a judgment of death
Que dans ce jour sacré s'ouvrira le concile!	Will not open the Council on this sacred day!
(s'adressant à Éléazar & à Rachel)	(addressing Éléazar and Rachel)
Et vous, fils d'Israél, vous dont l'âme indocile	And you, son of Israel, you whose recalcitrant soul
Repoussait notre dieu terrible & menaçant,	Repulsed our fearsome and threatening God,
Peut-être désormais votre coeur moin rebelle	Perhaps in the future your less rebellious heart
S'ouvrira-t'il à la voix paternelle	Will open to the paternal voice
De ce dieu qui de vous se venge en pardonnant!	Of this God who takes revenge on you by forgiving you!

[60]These verses correspond with those sketched in Act V, Scene v, of n.a.fr. 22562, 114-15.

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ENSEMBLE

RACHEL
O celeste lumière!
Qui brille & qui m'éclaire
De ses feux radieux!
Bénissez moi, mon père,
Et qu'à votre prière
Pour moi s'ouvrent les cieux!

BROGNI
O mon dieu, je revère
Ta bonté tutélaire
Qui nous rend tous heureux!
Pour celle qui m'est chère
Qu'à la voix de son père
Enfin s'ouvrent les cieux!

LÉOPOLD
O bonté tutélaire!
Par qui mon coeur espère
Un destin plus heureux!
Près du dieu qui l'éclaire
Son âme toute entière
S'élève vers les cieux!

CHOEUR
O bonté tutélaire!
O mon dieu, je révère
Tes secrets glorieux!
Près du dieu qui l'éclaire
Son âme toute entière
S'élève vers les cieux!

ÉLÉAZAR (regardant Rachel)
Plus forte que la mort leur clémence cruelle
Triomphe de son coeur & me ravis mon bien!

RACHEL (tendant vers lui les bras d'un air suppliant)
Éléazar!

ÉLÉAZAR
A leur dieu sois fidèle!
Moi je reste fidèle au mien!

ENSEMBLE

RACHEL
O celestial light!
That glows and shines its radiant flames on me!
Bless me, my father,
And in your prayer
The skies open for me!

BROGNI
O my God, I revere
Your protecting kindness
That makes us all happy!
For she who is dear to me
In the voice of her father
The heavens will finally open!

LÉOPOLD
O protecting kindness!
By whom my heart hopes for
A happier destiny!
Close to God who enlightens her
Her entire soul
Is raised to heaven!

CHOIR
O protecting kindness!
O my God, I revere
Your glorious secrets!
Close to God who enlightens her
Her entire soul
Is raised to heaven!

ÉLÉAZAR (looking at Rachel)
Stronger than death, their cruel clemency
Overcomes her heart and takes away my wealth!

RACHEL (reaching her arms to him in an imploring manner)
Éléazar!

ÉLÉAZAR
Be faithful to their god!
I remain faithful to mine!

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ENSEMBLE

ÉLÉAZAR
Dieu puissant de nos pères
C'est toi seul qui m'éclaires
Et qui reçois mes voeux!
Et méprisant la terre,
Mon âme toute entière
S'élève vers les cieux!

RACHEL
O celeste lumière
[same as above]

BROGNI & LE CHOEUR
[same as choeur above]

LÉOPOLD
[same as Léopold above]

(Rachel est à genoux devant Brogni qui la bénit. Le peuple se lève; toutes les bannières s'inclinent devant la nouvelle chrétienne. Une harmonie céleste se fait entendre. Léopold la regarde avec espérance & amour, & Éléazar dont on viens de détacher les fers, s'éloigne en jetant sur elle un regard de courroux. La toile tombe.)

Fin du 5e & dernier acte

ENSEMBLE

ÉLÉAZAR
Powerful god of our fathers
It is you alone who enlightens me
And receives my vows!
And scorning the world,
My entire soul
Rises towards the heavens!

RACHEL
O heavenly light
[same as above]

BROGNI AND THE CHOIR
[same as choir above]

LÉOPOLD
[same as Léopold above]

(Rachel is kneeling before Brogni, who blesses her. The people get up; all the banners are inclined before the new Christian. A celestial harmony can be heard. Léopold looks at her with hope and love, and Éléazar, whose chains have just been removed, moves away as he gives her a look of anger. The curtain falls.)

End of the 5th and last act

As revealed in the early libretto sources, there were subtler transformations that indicate that Rachel's persona was "judaicized" in later stages of development. These transformations were tied to shifts in Rachel's relationship with Brogni and Éléazar: in the early stages, Rachel is more clearly drawn to Brogni as both a father and a Christian figure, while she distances herself from Éléazar. In the final scene of Act V in n.a.fr. 22502/4°(a) and (b) (shown above), a noteworthy sign of Rachel's change of heart toward her adopted father occurs when she addresses him as

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"Éléazar" rather than "père," demonstrating that emotionally as well as spiritually she has pulled away from him. In n.a.fr. 22502/4°(b), in which Rachel discovers her birth identity in Act IV, Scene vi, she is caught in a paternal struggle for her loyalty and, in essence, for her soul. Following an ensemble in which Brogni and Rachel react to Éléazar's shocking disclosure and Éléazar sings of Rachel, Brogni continues to exclaim surprise and joy over his newfound daughter and Rachel passionately asks the cardinal, whom she addresses as "my father" (perhaps in both meanings of the word), to bless her:

Act IV, Scene vi:
n.a.fr. 22504/4°(b)

RACHEL	RACHEL
A vous que je retrouve à mon heure dernière,	To you whom I find again in my last hour,
Bénissez moi, mon père!	Bless me, my father!
Bénissez moi! je vais mourir!	Bless me! I am going to die!

After the ensemble is repeated, Brogni offers to save Rachel if she accepts the baptismal water, a gesture which sets off the struggle for control over Rachel:

ÉLÉAZAR	ÉLÉAZAR
Prononce! à qui resteras tu fidèle?	Prononce! to whom will you remain faithful?
BROGNI	BROGNI
Ton père te supplie!	Your father begs you!
ÉLÉAZAR	ÉLÉAZAR
Et notre dieu t'appelle!	And our God calls you!
BROGNI	BROGNI
Avec moi le bonheur!	With me happiness!

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ÉLÉAZAR Avec moi le martyr!	ÉLÉAZAR With me martyrdom!
BROGNI Tu vivras!	BROGNI You will live!

Rachel rejects Brogni's appeal at this point, but she seems to have immediately taken on a Christian point of view when she speaks angrily of Éléazar as an "infidèle" who has tricked her:[61]

RACHEL Oui c'est mon seul désir! Cet infidèle à qui mon âme s'est donnée Était mon dieu, ma croyance & ma foi! Il m'a trompée! il ne peut être à moi! Sa vie est près d'une autre à jamais enchainée! Je veux mourir & bénis mes bourreaux (Montrant Rannochia & les gardes qui entrent) Dont l'arrêt va finir & ma vie & mes mains!	RACHEL Yes, it is my sole desire! This infidel to whom my soul was given Was my god, my belief, and my faith! He has deceived me! he cannot belong to me! His life is close to another forever chained! I want to die and bless my executioners (Pointing to Rannochia & the guards who enter) Whose sentence will end my life and my labors!

The fourth act in this version ends with Rachel remaining loyal to Éléazar (causing Brogni to fall to the stage, overcome with emotion), before her Act V conversion.

In the opera, a hint of Rachel's attraction to Brogni, which is characterized so strongly in these early versions, remains in his Act I air "Si la rigueur" when she responds to the cardinal's kindness. Joining the choral response, while Éléazar refuses to be moved, Rachel sings: "Tant de bonté, tant de clémence désarment mon

---

[61]Rannochia, who enters with the guards, is the name replaced by Ruggiero in later stages of the opera; the name appears in the draft scenario, draft verse, and music autograph, where it sometimes appears marked through, replaced with "Ruggiero."

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coeur, malgré moi et les chrétiens et leur croyance ne m'inspirent plus tant d'effroi!"[62]

Other vestiges of early compositional layers reveal more permutations in the relationship between Rachel and her two fathers and, thus, in Rachel's dual identity. Draft verse of Act IV (BN, n.a.fr. 22502/3°) includes the text of an air planned for Éléazar, beginning with the words: "O fille chérie!/ame de ma vie!"[63] In later-stage sources--partbook *cahiers* copied by Leborne for Nourrit and his "double," Pierre-François Wartel--appears an *andantino* with a lullaby-like text sung by Éléazar to a sleeping Rachel. This air goes even farther than "Rachel, quand du Seigneur," the famous air ending Act IV, in presenting the intimate side of Éléazar's love for his adopted daughter.[64] Interpolated into the *andantino*, which is shown in Ex. 2 below, is a hint of Léopold's Act I romance repeated by Rachel in an early libretto version of Act IV. After Éléazar repeats his couplet, there is a change of key from $B^{\flat}$ to $D^{\flat}$ and a change of time signature from $\frac{3}{4}$ to $\frac{6}{8}$ preceding Rachel's words "le jour du

---

[62]"So much kindness, so much clemency disarm my heart; despite myself, the Christians and their belief no longer inspire so much fear in me!"

[63]The text for this planned air, with its reprise, is included in Act IV, Scene vi, of this source, but the entire passage is crossed out, presumably by Scribe.

[64]The air is found in BO, Mat. 19ᶜ[315(17) and (18), which are identical parts copied by two different copyists, with similar alignment, suggesting one part was copied from the other. On the first page of both copies are the designations "Éléazar" in the upper left-hand corner, "Acte 4ᵉ" in the top center, and "Andᵗᵉ" above the first music staff; in the top right-hand corner of Mat. 19ᶜ[315(17), "Nourrit" is designated as the recipient and user of the part, and, likewise, in Mat. 19ᶜ[315(18), "Vartel [sic]." (Wartel is shown to be Nourrit's "double," or cover, in Leborne's records of copying, BO, RE 235 and AJ[13] 289.) See Chapter 6, pp. 398-408, for a discussion of "Rachel, quand du Seigneur."

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retour" on $a^{\flat}$, undoubtedly intoned in her sleep.[65] (In the B section of the air that follows Rachel's intonation and precedes a return of A [AABA], it is Éléazar who uses the term "l'infidèle" in reference to Léopold.)



Ex. 2: Éléazar's *Andantino*, "Ferme encore ta paupière," in early-stage Act IV (BO, Mat. 315[17]).

[65]These words represent the final line of Rachel's text that appears in Act IV, Scene i, in n.a.fr. 22502/4°(b), and in Act V, Scene i, in n.a.fr. 22502/4°(a). In the corresponding scene in Scribe's draft scenario, Éléazar is not present in the prison in which Rachel is awaiting her death, but there is a focus on her fidelity to him: Rachel speaks of being separated from her father, but reminds herself that "le même supplice nous réunira" ("the same execution will reunite us").

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The text of this aria gives Éléazar an image of protector similar to that embodied by Brogni in No. 20 of the piano-vocal score (material that was omitted from the full score). Both fathers, using the same verb, reassure Rachel that they will watch over her: Éléazar tells her, "je veille ici pour te bénir," and Brogni promises, "je veillerai sur vous." Brogni's passage, which clearly represents a later layer than Éléazar's air since it was included in the piano-vocal score, is a remnant of the emphasis on Brogni as the true loving father who offers guardianship and life to Rachel, in lieu of a martyred death with Éléazar.

In recitative prior to the Act IV Duo in *Schlesinger-Garland*, Brogni sings "Mourir, mourir si jeune!" before he sends for Éléazar and appeals to him to renounce his faith in order to save Rachel. In the printed libretti, some manuscript performing parts, and the piano-vocal score, a more elaborate version of Brogni's lament exposes a personal fear for her fate and an impulse to protect her, which mysteriously suggest the reality of her birth (unknown to him or Rachel at this point). Sixty-four measures of this impassioned lament and exchange with Rachel, ending with Brogni's words, "je veillerai sur vous," were cut prior to publication of the full score; these measures appear crossed out in red crayon in the autograph and were not copied in the archival score.[66] The first twelve measures of this omitted section, as printed in *Schlesinger-Lemoine*, are shown in Ex. 3 below.

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[66]"I will watch over you." As evident in the *violon principal* short-score manuscript, there were a number of cuts within this section before it was cut entirely before the copying of the archival score. There is no indication that these 64 measures were copied into the archival score since there is no evidence of a break in copying, change of paper, or crossing out of measures, and because 36 pages of this score correspond to Leborne's indication of 36 pages copied in RE 235.

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Ex. 3: Act IV, No. 20 (*Duettino*): Beginning of 64-measure section in *Schlesinger-Lemoine*, mm. 74-85, omitted from *Schlesinger-Garland.*

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There may have been no exact models for the original denouement of Rachel's conversion or the *auto-da-fé*; there may have been only generalized precedents. Tragedies with Jewish characters often ended with the death of one of them (usually the Jewish usurer); comedies, such as *Merchant*, typically culminated with a conversion. Rachel's adamancy in holding onto her faith and her father at the end of *La Juive* is like that of Rebecca's in the final pages of *Ivanhoe*. After Rebecca has revealed that she and her father will leave England, a place unfavorable for "the children of my people," Rowena tries to convince her to stay and be counselled in the Christian faith, but Rebecca refuses:

> [...] 'O, remain with us; the counsel of holy men will wean you from your erring law, and I will be a sister to you.'
>
> 'No, lady,' answered Rebecca, the same calm melancholy reigning in her soft voice and beautiful features; 'that may not be. I may not change the faith of my fathers like a garment unsuited to the climate in which I seek to dwell; and unhappy, lady, I will not be. He to whom I dedicate my future life will be my comforter, if I do His will.'

Although under a different set of circumstances and of a more dramatic nature, Rachel's Act V refusal of Éléazar's last-minute appeal to choose baptism has a similar import. This final version represents a culmination of the devotion to her father expressed in Rachel's reluctance to abandon him in Act II ("Lorsqu'à toi je me suis donnée"), as well as her devotion to the Jewish faith, portrayed in the Act II service:[67]

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[67]Excerpted from *Schlesinger-Garland.*

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Act V, Scene iv (Finale)

ÉLÉAZAR
Rachel, je vais mourir!
Veux-tu vivre?

RACHEL
Pourquoi? pour aimer? et souffrir?

ÉLÉAZAR
Non! pour briller au rang suprême!

RACHEL
Sans vous?

ÉLÉAZAR
Sans moi?

RACHEL
Comment?

ÉLÉAZAR
Ils veulent sur ton front verser l'eau du baptême,
le veux-tu, mon enfant?

RACHEL
Qui? moi! chrétienne? moi!
La flamme étincelle, venez!

ÉLÉAZAR
Leur Dieu t'appelle!

RACHEL
Et le nôtre m'attend!
C'est le ciel qui m'inspire,
Je choisis le trépas!
Oui, courons au martyre,
Dieu nous ouvre ses bras!

ÉLÉAZAR
Ah! C'est le ciel qui l'inspire,
Je te rends au trépas!
Viens courons au martyre,
Dieu nous ouvre ses bras!

ÉLÉAZAR
Rachel, I am going to die!
Do you want to live?

RACHEL
Why? to love? and suffer?

ÉLÉAZAR
No! to shine in high places!

RACHEL
Without you?

ÉLÉAZAR
Without me?

RACHEL
How?

ÉLÉAZAR
On your brow they want to pour baptismal water.
Is that what you want, my child?

RACHEL
Who? me! a Christian? me!
The flames sparkle! Come on!

ÉLÉAZAR
Their God calls you!

RACHEL
And ours awaits me!
I am inspired by heaven,
I choose death!
Yes, let us hurry to our martyrdom,
God opens his arms to us!

ÉLÉAZAR
Ah! You are inspired by heaven!
I shall let you die!
Come, let us hurry to our martyrdom,
God opens His arms to us!

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The alterations that surrounded the development of Rachel's religious persona, other than pointing to the rapidity with which basic aspects of an opera could change, undoubtedly illustrate the authors' own confusion and ambivalence about her character, as well as the characters of Brogni and Éléazar. The changes may indeed reflect diversity of opinions among composer, librettist, director, and others involved in discussions of plot and character. The final solutions, to keep Rachel loyal to her adopted father and to the Jewish faith in which she was raised by not having her birth identity or her biological father revealed throughout the opera, as well as by opting for her martyred death, essentially made her a Jewess in more than name only. The withholding of information about Rachel's Christian birth until the very end of the opera, while offering a penultimate shock to the audience as it illustrated the vengeance of Éléazar, made her dual identity less pronounced than in early stages of the opera's development. But, this last-minute Christian identity certainly diffused the opera's presentation of Jewish persecution, as it allowed her to be a character more sympathetic to the Opéra's largely Catholic audiences.[68] Some critics, however, viewed the final plot twist as ridiculous and implausible (representing but one complaint among many about illogical aspects of Scribe's story).

The opera's reception of Rachel's religious identity may have also been affected by the singers who sang the role. A few articles suggest that a tradition of Jewish singers as Rachel had been established with Falcon and continued with such

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[68]Pierrakos, "Chrétienté," 23, writes that the revelation allowed the audience to have compassion for Rachel that would more naturally be given her as a Christian than as a Jew.

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sopranos as Nathan-Treillet (1815-73) and Catinka Heinefetter (1819-58).[69] This suggestion implies that, despite the final surprise revelation of Rachel's origins, her most overt identity as *juive* remained prominent.

Éléazar as Shylock

Several reviews of the first performances of *La Juive* refer to similarities between the characterizations of Éléazar and Shylock. *L'Entr'acte* (26 February 1835) and *Le Ménestrel* (1 March 1835) speak generally of the modelling after Shylock.[70] Other accounts draw more specific critical comparisons, particularly to Éléazar's greed and deep-seated hatred of his Christian persecutors. *Le Courrier français* (27 February 1835) suggests a common character trait of obstinacy between these two "stage Jews" by linking Shylock's insistence on the inhuman terms of default on his loan (the infamous "pound of flesh") to Éléazar's refusal to reveal the

---

[69]Théophile Gautier, in a review of 1841 included in *Histoire de l'art dramatique en France depuis vingt-cinq ans*, 6 vols. (Leipzig: Édition Hetzel, 1859), II, 90, writes, for example: "Depuis Melle Falcon, personne n'avait représenté la belle juive Rachel avec un physique plus satisfaisant et plus vraisemblable, et cela, par l'excellente raison que Melle Heinefetter est juive elle-même et fort belle: aussi les applaudissements israélites ne lui ont pas manqueé. Les douze tribus avaient là leurs représentants: il est juste de dire que les chrétiens y ont mêlé leurs bravos à plusieurs reprises." ("Since Ms. Falcon, no one had performed the beautiful Jewess Rachel with an appearance more pleasing and believable; there is an excellent reason for that, as Ms. Heinefetter is Jewish herself and very beautiful. The applause of the Israelites for her was not lacking. The twelve tribes had their representatives there, but it is fair to say that the Christians brought out their bravos at several reprises.") Also see "Notice sur La Juive" by Philaréte Chasles in *Les Beautés de l'Opéra ou Chefs-d'oeuvre lyriques, illustrées par les premiers artistes de Paris et de Londres sous la direction de Giraldon avec un text explicatif rédigé par Théophile Gautier, Jules Janin, et Philarétre Chasles* (Paris: Soulié, 1845), 5.

[70]Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 36, 111.

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secret of Rachel's birth to Cardinal Brogni: "il persiste à se taire avec l'obstination de Shylock demandant une livre de chair humaine aux magistrats vénitiens."[71] The same reference to a pound of flesh appears in *Journal des débats* as illustration of Éléazar's rebelliousness, along with comments about his wealth and usury:

> Eléazar est taillé tant soit peu sur le juif de Shakespeare, ce type singulier si énergique du juif en révolte. Eléazar, lui aussi, mangerait volontiers une once de chair de chrétien, viande et sang. Il était à Rome, riche, et autant honoré que peut l'être un juif; [...] Chassé de Rome, Eléazar est venu s'établir à Constance. Là, il travaille l'or et l'argent, et il prête à usure, comme c'est le droit et la liberté de sa nation.[72]

The recognition of the Shylock stereotype by several Parisian critics, along with their assumption that the reference to it would be understood by readers, suggests that the image was securely embedded in the popular consciousness. French audiences were certainly familiar with the stereotype introduced through performances or publications of *Merchant*, or through other literary and dramatic modifications of it in *Ivanhoe* or such French plays as *Le Juif* (1823) by Auguste Rousseau, Marc-Antoine Désaugiers, and Jean-Baptiste Mesnard and *Grillo* (1832) by Léon Halévy.

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[71]*Ibid.*, 28: "he persists in keeping quiet with the obstinacy of Shylock asking the Venetian magistrates for a pound of human flesh."

[72]*Ibid.*, 103: "Eléazar is modelled closely on the Jew of Shakespeare, on this singular type of Jew so energetically rebellious. Eléazar would himself also eat an ounce of Christian flesh with pleasure, meat and blood. He was in Rome, rich, and as much honored as a Jew can be; [...] Chased from Rome, Eléazar came to establish himself at Constance. There, he works gold and silver and he lends at usurious rates of interest, as is the right and freedom of his nation.

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The interpretation of Shylock varied through the ages, including 18th-century British performances in which a popular clown named Doggett created Shylock as a comic role, adhering to a comic tradition of playing Jewish characters and costuming them in red wigs.[73] But early-19th-century portrayals, in both England and France, presented Shylock as a tragic figure belonging to a martyred race rather than a cold and repulsive subhuman.[74] For the most part, the role of Éléazar belonged to this interpretation of Shylock.

Like Shakespeare's character, Éléazar is a Jew despised by the Christians who surround him, whose ill-treatment foments a hatred for his persecutors and a thirst for revenge that overpowers his greed. The humanity of Shylock was more clearly defined than the inhumanity of the evil, murderous Jew of Marlowe's play, but Éléazar has virtues even more prominent. Whereas Shylock displays a loyalty to his own people, Éléazar--as discussed in the previous chapter--demonstrates a true religious devotion that counterbalances his fanaticism and hatred of Christians. Moreover, the love for his daughter appears deeper than Shylock's.

The spurning of the Jew as a social and religious pariah, crucial to *La Juive*'s examination of intolerance, permeates *Merchant*, although Shylock has no such real religious persona as does Éléazar. Éléazar's recognition of his persecution and his reproaches of Christians are reminiscent of Shylock's angry retorts to those who turn

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[73]Shakespeare, *Twenty-three Plays*, 211. According to the discussion of Jewish stereotypes in English fiction by Edgar Rosenberg, *Shylock*, 11, the traditional stereotype of the comic miser was also represented in Scott's Jew.

[74]*Ibid.*, 211. Edmund Kean was among those who interpreted Shylock as a partially sympathetic figure in London performances.

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to him for help without disguising their loathing. Although Éléazar's statements are linked to religious persecution and not directly to financial dealings with Christians--as Shylock's blatantly are--the anger of both characters is equally strong and justified. Illustrative of Shylock's embitterment about Christian hypocrisy and abuse is his response to Antonio in Act I, Sc. iii, lines 106-29:

> Signior Antonio, many a time and oft
> In the Rialto you have rated me
> About my moneys and my usances:
> Still have I borne it with a patient shrug,
> For suff'rance is the badge of all our tribe.
> You call me misbeliever, cutthroat dog,
> And spet upon my Jewish gaberdine,
> And for use of that which is mine own.
> Well then, it now appears you need my help:
> Go to then, you come to me and you say,
> "Shylock, we would have moneys." You say so--
> You that did void your rheum upon my beard
> And foot me as you spurn a stranger cur
> Over your threshold. Moneys is your suit.
> What should I say to you? Should I not say,
> "Hath a dog money? Is it possible
> A cur can lend three thousand ducats?" or
> Shall I bend low, and in a bondman's key,
> With bated breath and whisp'ring humbleness,
> Say this:
> "Fair sir, you spet on me on Wednesday last;
> You spurned me such a day; another time
> You called me dog; and for these courtesies
> I'll lend you thus much moneys?

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A more famous passage that similarly resonates with pain and vengefulness is the celebrated revelation of Shylock's humanity, "Hath not a Jew eyes?" of Act III, Scene i, lines 45-65.[75]

The acts of contempt that Shylock describes reverberate in the crowd's treatment of Éléazar, particularly in Act I. Christian derision is perhaps uglier in *Ivanhoe*, as in the scene in which Isaac and Rebecca are cursed and refused seats, which was a model for the draft scene omitted from *La Juive* (see pp. 346-52 below).[76] But Éléazar's vengefulness, as recognized by the critic of *Le Courrier français*, echoes Shylock's as he refuses to forgive his persecutors and carries his grudge to the final curtain.

The partially compassionate characterization of Éléazar also reflects the sympathetic aspects of Scott's portrayal of Isaac. The novelist modified, but did not

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[75]Salerio

Why, I am sure, if he [Antonio] forfeit, thou wilt not take his flesh. What's that good for?

Shylock

To bait fish withal. If it will feed nothing else, it will feed my revenge. He hath disgraced me, and hind'red me half a million; laughed at my losses, mocked at my gains, scorned my nation, thwarted my bargains, cooled my friends, heated mine enemies--and what's his reason? I am a Jew. Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die? And if you wrong us, shall we not revenge? If we are like you in the rest, we will resemble you in that. If a Jew wrong a Christian, what is his humility? Revenge. If a Christian wrong a Jew, what should his sufferance be by Christian example? Why, revenge. The villainy you teach me I will execute, and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction.

[76]The cursing of Isaac as "the dog Jew" in this scene is reminiscent of the language used to attack Shylock.

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dispense with, the traditional stereotype of Jewish usurer or money-lender: Isaac is still a wealthy miser who hoards his gold, counts it with relish and is reluctant to part with it (except when the safety of his daughter is threatened). But he is less hate-filled and avaricious than Shylock and other traditional money-lenders of the stage. Although Scott is thought to have used Aaron of York from the chronicles of Matthew Paris as his model for Isaac, the novelist clearly drew ideas from *Merchant* and *The Jew of Malta*, as he himself suggests in the excerpts from these plays used as chapter epigraphs.[77]

The avaricious aspects of the Shylock stereotype are evident in *La Juive*, although somewhat toned down from what Scribe planned in the draft scenario. In his sketch for Act II, Scene ii, immediately after the Jewish prayers of the first scene, Éléazar brings out a cash box and contemplates the sale of his beautiful necklace, thinking of all the rich princes and lords at the Council. He is also anxious about his bag of gold on the table when he hears a knock on the door. In this part of the scene, subtly reminiscent of an exchange between Barrabas and his daughter Abigail in *The Jew of Malta*, he orders Rachel to put away the gold and a register. Along

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[77]These epigraphs offer another layer of commentary on Shakespeare's *Merchant* and other works within the English literary tradition that include Jewish characters, helping to delineate Scott's meaning in the narrative proper of *Ivanhoe*. As in the story, several concentrate on the sympathetic aspects of Shylock's characterization, particularly the quote from "Hath not a Jew eyes?" placed at the beginning of Chapter V. Another phrase in which Shylock alludes to the maligning and abuse that Christians have heaped on him appears at the head of Chapter VI, "To buy his favour I extend this friendship: [...]/And for my love, I pray you wrong me not." Scott also uses a quote from *The Jew of Malta* that focuses on the Jew's persecution at the head of Chapter X. This ends: "Vex'd and tormented, runs poor Barrabas,/With fatal curses towards these Christians."

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with his cash box, both are obvious, common symbols of Éléazar's greed and concern for profit. Scribe writes:

> Maintenant, mes amis, dit Éléazar, retirez vous et livrez vous au repas- je vais compter avant de me coucher mes bénéfices de la journée et régler ma caisse [...] quel dommage, dit Éléazar, que je ne puisse vendre mon beau collier de rubis, un collier de trente mille florins de l'argent qui doit en caisse--j'esperais que tous les princes et grands seigneurs qui sont en ce moment dans cette ville--[...] on frappe encore à la porte--qui est là, dit Éléazar, en tenant dans son sac son or qu'il avait déjà mit sur la table--vois, ma fille--elle entrouve un petit guichet qui est à la porte et regarde--une étrangère--une femme--suivi de deux valets-- [...] - l'étrangère peut entrer - mais seule - tiens ma fille--tiens emporter le sac d'or et ce registre et attends moi dans ma chambre-- oui, mon père [...][78]

This scene is crossed out in the draft scenario, however, and with its omission went overt, textual references to the stereotype of the miserly Jew. What remained was a comparatively less conspicuous depiction of Éléazar's love of money in his exchange with Eudoxie about the sale of the necklace, sketched in the following scene of the draft scenario ("Scene 3ème"). This sketch gives the basic structure and details for the dramatic action leading to and entailing the Act II trio in which Eudoxie sings of her desire to honor her husband, Léopold shudders at being discovered, and Éléazar

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[78]BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22502/2°, 5: "Now, my friends, Éléazar says, withdraw and go eat--before retiring I am going to count my profits of the day and balance my accounts. [...] What a shame, Éléazar says, that I cannot sell my beautiful ruby necklace, a necklace worth 30,000 silver florins which should be in the till--I would hope that all the princes and the great lords who are in this town at the moment--[...] there is another knock at the door--who is there, says Éléazar, holding in his purse the gold that he had already put on the table - go see, my daughter - she half-opens a small window in the door and looks out--a stranger--a woman followed by two valets--[...] the stranger can enter, but alone--my daughter, take this--take away the purse of gold and this account book and wait for me in my room--yes, my father."

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revels in his prospective sale. But one symbol from the previous, crossed-out scene was retained in the *mise en scène*, as suggested by a reference in Palianti's stage manual: a box that Éléazar retrieves off-stage (through a door at stage left). The box is not designated as a cash box but as a jewelry box (*coffret*) from which Éléazar takes the necklace: "Il tient à deux mains et contre sa poitrine, un riche coffret où est enfermée la chaîne d'or garnie de pierres précieuses."[79]

In the published music scores and *mise en scène* directions, this Trio (No. 9) of Act II, "Tu possèdes, dit-on, un joyau magnifique!," contains the most pointed indications of Éléazar's greed after the dramatic allusions in Act I (the interruptions of worship and celebration with the sound of his anvil and the crowd's grumblings about the Jew, "rolling in money"). In this number, following the interruption of the Jewish service, Éléazar is transformed into an avaricious Jew whose thoughts of the "bons écus d'or" that he will receive override his fears at being discovered at worship. After Eudoxie sings of honoring her husband with the jewel (and the disguised Léopold, hearing her praises, sings his regrets), Éléazar speaks of his love for gold in the same breath with his hatred for Christians:

Act II, No. 9

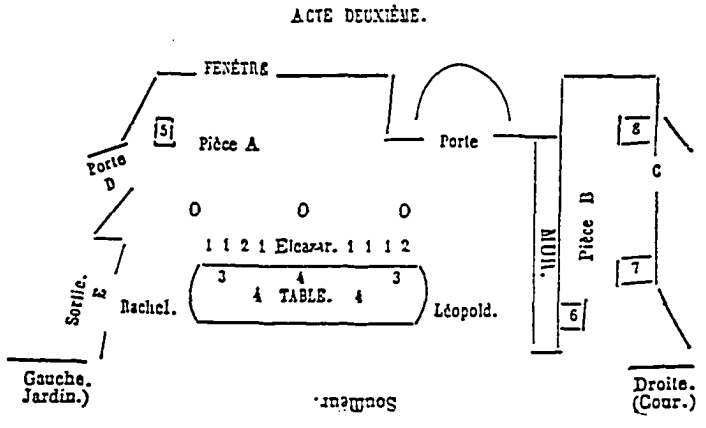
Je tremblais que cette femme ne surprit tous mes secrets	I trembled lest this woman would discover all my secrets
et je maudissais dans l'âme tous ces chrétiens que je hais,	and I cursed in my soul all the Christians I hate,
mais pour moi plaisir extrême et quel heureux avenir,	but what true pleasure and a happy future for me--

[79]Cohen, *Staging Manuals*, 143: "In both hands and against his chest, he holds a rich jewelry box where the gold chain decorated with precious stones is locked up."

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ces bons écus d'or que j'aime chez moi vont donc revenir!	these good crowns of gold that I love are going to reappear!

According to the Palianti manual, Éléazar sings this solo in a room (stage left) separated by a wall from the central room where the service had been held (see Ill. 3).[80] After going offstage during Eudoxie's solo, "Ah! dans mon âme" (beginning in m. 108 of this number), Éléazar returns to this separate room during Léopold's repetition of Eudoxie's phrases and remains there clutching the box (with both hands against his chest, according to the Palianti manual) as he sings. The image, along with the text, strikes a clear portrait of the stereotyped Jewish miser, enhanced by Éléazar's costume. The costume of the first production (and subsequent ones in Paris) served as another strong visual cue of the stereotype: atop his flowing robes a money bag was prominently placed (see Ill. 2 above).



Ill. 3: Diagram from *Collection de mises en scène, rédigées et publiées par M.L. Palianti* (reprinted in H. Robert Cohen, *Staging Manuals*, 140).

[80]In French *mise en scène* directions, the standard designation "droite" is equivalent to "stage left" and, conversely, "gauche" is "stage right."

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Halévy's setting strengthens this portrait. He creates the feeling of nervous excitement, switching from the duple meter of Eudoxie's "Ah! dans mon âme" (and Léopold's repetition) to quadruple meter as Éléazar begins to fret about her interruption. Quick dotted notes, rising lines, and repetition of text phrases (mostly syllabic) express his agitation and then his excitement about the gold. As shown in Ex. 4, the composer gives special emphasis to the phrase "ces bons écus d'or que j'aime chez moi vont donc revenir," in m. 55, by dropping out the accompaniment except for a staccato viola line in unison with his ascending vocal line. Halévy continues to highlight bits of the text phrase by staggering Éléazar's entrances, separating them from Eudoxie's and Léopold's exclamations of optimism and worry about the prospects of seeing each other. (The Palianti manual suggests that Éléazar remains physically isolated from the other two characters during this section, a common operatic staging device to delineate multiple expressions occurring simultaneously.)[81] Éléazar's agitation intensifies with quick octave leaps, triplets, and sixteenth notes in mm. 58-63. But he becomes most overwrought in the trio's reprise after an exchange with Eudoxie over the price of the necklace; as shown in

[81]Cohen, *Mise en Scéne*, 143. According to the Palianti manual, Éléazar moves from the separate room toward Eudoxie after the last note of the ensemble: "Immédiatement après la dernière note de l'ensemble, Eleazar s'avance et présente la chaîne à Eudoxie, qui pousse un cri d'admiration." ("Immediately after the last note of the ensemble, Éléazar advances and presents the chain to Eudoxie, who emits a cry of admiration.")

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Ex. 4: Act II, No. 9, mm. 52-55 (*Schlesinger-Garland*).

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Ex. 5 below, he emits a flustered stream of triplets, almost a comic patter, on various types of currency.[82] In the final phrases, beginning with three measures without Léopold and Eudoxie in the stretta of the trio, Éléazar intones on repeated $b^{\flat}$s the phrase "ah! quel plaisir de tromper ces chrétiens," with rhythmic stress on the mid-bar repetition of the word "tromper" (on the offbeat and beat 3).[83] This phrase, which particularly underscores a Shylockian attitude, appears verbatim in the draft scenario except for the variant word "bonheur" rather than "plaisir." Immediately after comes the phrase "oui--oui vengeons nous sur eux tous," followed shortly by the indication "Stretta du trio."[84] The phrase is not included in the musical setting, but Scribe's combination of the Jew's vengeful intentions towards Christians with his

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[82]In this patter, Halévy may have been alluding to the comic tradition of playing Jewish characters. A 1837 review by Théophile Gautier (*Histoire*, I, 21) of Duprez's singing of the role suggests that he emphasized the buffa qualities of this section more than Nourrit: "N'avait-on pas négligé avant lui toute la partie bouffe, dans le trio du même acte, où le juif s'applaudit de tromper les chrétiens, et que Duprez a fait ressortir d'une façon si comique et si spirtuelle?" ("Before him, hasn't there been a neglecting of the buffa part in the trio of the same act, when the Jew commends himself for fooling the Christians, and hasn't Duprez expressed it in a manner so comic and spiritual?")

The types of currency referred to are various gold coins used in earlier centuries in France and other European countries (e.g., the *florin* originated in Florence in 1252, the *ducat* in Venice in 1284). Undoubtedly, the choice to use these coins in the text was an attempt at historical authenticity, as in the novels of Balzac and Hugo (references to *ducat* and *florin* in Hugo's novels are mentioned in *Grand Larousse de la langue française*, 6 vols. (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1971-78), II, 1352; III, 1988). The term *écu*, another old type of gold (and sometimes silver) coin, was actively used in French literature of the 19th century, with a variety of connotations; one common phrase, "avoir des *écus* à remuer à la pelle," meant to be very rich (*Larousse-langue*, II, 1484)--perhaps a connotation pertinent to its use in *La Juive*. Also noteworthy is Balzac's use of *écu* in *La Maison Nucingen* (1838), 651, cited in *Trésor de la langue française: Dictionnaire de la langue du XIXe siècle (1789-1960)*, 15 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1973-92), VII, 720-21; also see VII, 532; VIII, 993; XV, 375.

[83]"Oh, what a pleasure to fool these Christians!"

[84]Scattered throughout Scribe's draft scenario are indications for the types of musical numbers that he is thinking of even before he writes verse.

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Ex. 5: Act II, No. 9, mm. 150-52 (*Schlesinger-Garland*).

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Ex. 6: Act II, No. 9, mm. 161-66 (*Schlesinger-Garland*).

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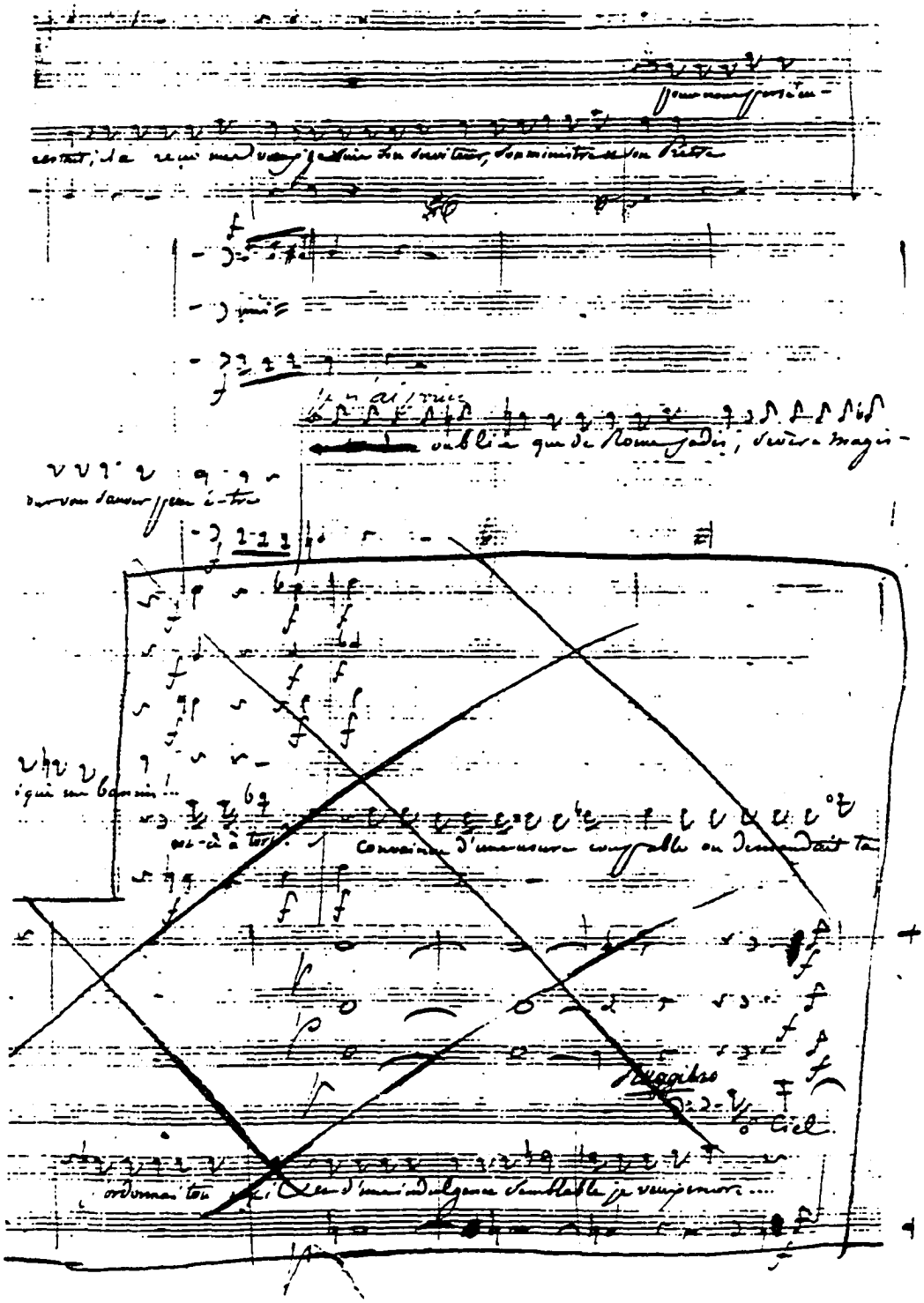


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Ex. 7: Act I, No. 1, measures omitted from autograph (A509aI, 82/167).

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usurous dealings clarifies Shylock's imprint on the librettist's first ideas. Curiously, the text phrases about "ces bons écus" and tricking the Christians that are suggested in the draft scenario and included in the score do not appear in the copyist's libretto or the early printed libretti. A hypothetical explanation for the discrepancy is that the text was reinstated late in the compositional process, but it is also possible that it was considered too inflammatory and insulting to Jewish readers of the libretto.[85]

One textual variant among the sources--a difference in Éléazar's price for the necklace offered to Eudoxie--also hints at the stereotype of the Jewish miser. In Scene iii of the draft scenario, he gives the price as "quarante mille florins," ten thousand more than the price he quotes to himself in the previous scene (Scene ii, which was crossed out, but presumably not until after Scene iii was already sketched). Undoubtedly Scribe originally intended the higher quoted price to illustrate usurous practices. In the copyist's libretto, the sale price was "trente mille florins," which also appears in the printed libretti; in the published music scores, however, the type of currency is different: it appears as "trente mille ducats."[86]

The price used in later versions, whether florins or ducats, is noteworthy in its Biblical symbolism and in its similarity to the form of Shylock's loan in *Merchant*. Surely the choice of a multiple of thirty carries a symbolic connection to Judas's thirty pieces of silver. Moreover, a multiple of three undergirds Shylock's loan of "three thousand ducats" to be repaid by the merchant Antonio ("in three months") on

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[85]One prominent member of the audience was James Rothschild, who subscribed to a box.

[86]A review in *Gazette musicale de Paris* (15 March 1835) refers to "trente mille florins," suggesting that the critic was using the printed libretto as guide, as was usual.

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threat of losing a pound of flesh. The change in the opera's sources from "trente mille florins" to "trente mille ducats," using the same form of currency as in the play, may indeed have been made to sharpen the connection to Shylock.

Enhanced by Halévy's musical treatment in the trio and the visual cues of costume and staging, the image of the Jewish miser is well defined in *La Juive*, but the reduction of textual allusions to Éléazar's greed and love of deception from Scribe's draft scenario suggests that there was a softening of the image during the compositional process. In addition to the excision of the references to the cash box, sack of gold, and account book, another comment by Éléazar to his daughter, "que l'on trompe de chrétiens" in the draft Scene vi of Act II (following the "ah quel bonheur de tromper les chrétiens" in the sketched Scene iii), was omitted. A notable later-stage change, moreover, reveals still more cutting back on overt references to his usury. In the Act I exchange between Brogni and Éléazar in the printed libretti, when the Jew accuses the Cardinal of having banished him from Rome, Brogni gives usury as the reason for his past action: "Est-ce à tort? Convaincu d'une usure coupable,/On demandait ta mort, j'ordonnai ton exil!"[87] This response was set by Halévy, but, as shown in Ex. 7, its eight measures appear crossed out in the autograph, as well as other manuscript music sources (corresponding with its omission in the published scores).[88] The review in *La Quotidienne* (27 February 1835)

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[87]"Is this wrong? Convicted of culpable usury, your death was called for, I ordained your exile!"

[88]In Éléazar's partbook, Mat. 19[c][315(13), fol. 6[v], the passage is blocked out in red crayon, corresponding to the same measures that are crossed out in the autograph in ink. The

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includes the text, suggesting that, as in other cases, the omission came after the premiere.[89]

One stereotypical element related to the wealth of Jews that was not developed, however, is an allusion to the historical practice of levying fines against Jews that would have somewhat balanced the materialism of Éléazar with the greed and injustice of Christians: in Scribe's sketched Act I, Scene iv, when Éléazar and Rachel are stopped by the crowd for having dishonored the sacred day (the "jour de Noel" still remaining here), a thousand pieces of gold are demanded of the rich Jew as "une amend pour les Chrétiens malheureux."[90] Éléazar protests such a payment, but Rachel, sensing the danger of his situation, advises him to comply. Immediately after the exchange comes the cardinal's questioning of Éléazar about his identity, similar to what remains in *La Juive*.

One aspect of the Shylock stereotype that was not adopted in the characterization of Éléazar was the conflict between materialism and familial love. In his role as father, he appears more closely drawn on Isaac of *Ivanhoe*. Like Isaac, his love for his daughter is deep and strong and outweighs his materialism; by

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measures precede Brogni's appeal, "Sois libre, Éléazar," and Éléazar's "Jamais!," discussed below (including textual changes) on pp. 356-57.

[89]Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 140.

[90]BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22502/2°, 4: "a fine for the unfortunate Christians." It is not clear who makes this demand, either Ruggiero (who is named Rannochia in the draft scenario), an elderly man ("un vielliard respectable"), or possibly, but less likely, the Cardinal, who questions Éléazar about his identity immediately following the phrases about the fine. In Act I, Scene ii, of *The Jew of Malta*, the Governor demands a tribute of Barrabas and other Jews.

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contrast, Shylock's feelings for Jessica seem superficial. When Jessica runs off with her Christian lover (as Rachel begins to do in Act II, before she is stopped by Éléazar) and takes with her Shylock's money and jewels, Shylock's concern for his possessions matches and at times dominates his feelings of betrayal or love for his daughter. He is overheard to say in Act II, Scene viii:

> My daughter! O my ducats! O my daughter!
> Fled with a Christian! O my Christian ducats!
> Justice! the law! My ducats, and my daughter!
> A sealed bag, two sealed bags of ducats,
> Of doubled ducats, stol'n from me by my daughter!
> And jewels--two stones, two rich and precious stones,
> Stol'n by my daughter! Justice! Find the girl!
> She hath the stones upon her, and the ducats![91]

In Act III, Scene i, Shylock wishes his "daughter were dead at my foot" and, at the news of her spending money in Genoa, he moans, "I'll never see my gold again." In *Ivanhoe*, there is some allusion to a conflict between familial love and money, but in many passages, Scott seems to challenge this stereotype. In Chapter XXII, for example, he refers pointedly to this difference between Isaac and Shylock by using a portion of the above quotation from *Merchant* as chapter epigraph, while emphasizing Isaac's passion for his daughter's well-being:

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[91]Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1957, 37. Barrabas, the Jewish father in *The Jew of Malta*, who is a more thoroughly nefarious character, shows no concern for his daughter's welfare: he involves her unwittingly in a plot that leads to the death of two of her suitors, one of whom she loves. After discovering the deed, she joins a nunnery to escape her father, who then poisons her (along with all the nuns) without remorse or regret.

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> 'Take all that you have asked,' said he [Isaac], 'Sir Knight; take ten times more--reduce me to ruin and to beggary, if thou wilt,--nay, pierce me with thy poniard, broil me on that furnace; but spare my daughter, deliver her in safety and honour. As thou art born of woman, spare the honour of a helpless maiden. She is the image of my deceased Rachael--she is the last of six pledges of her love. Will you deprive a widowed husband of his sole remaining comfort? Will you reduce a father to wish that his only living child were laid beside her dead mother, in the tomb of our fathers?'
>
> 'I would,' said the Norman, somewhat relenting, 'that I had known of this before. I thought your race had loved nothing save their money-bags.'
>
> 'Think not so vilely of us. Jews though we be,' said Isaac, eager to improve the moment of apparent sympathy; 'the hunted fox, the tortured wild-cat loves its young--the despised and persecuted race of Abraham love their children!'[92]

The ambivalence on the author's part comes through in the implication that Isaac was slightly feigning in the final paragraph of the above passage, as well as in indications of the conventional familial-materialistic conflict later in the novel: "Isaac, recalled to think of his worldly goods, the love of which, by dint of inveterate habit, contended even with his parental affection [...]."[93]

In *La Juive*, Éléazar's deep love for his daughter is a prominent aspect of his characterization, as poignantly expressed in his air "Rachel, quand du Seigneur" (and in the excised "Ferme encore ta paupière" discussed above).[94] As in *Ivanhoe*, his

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[92]Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 233 (Chapter XXII).

[93]*Ibid.*, 368 (Chapter XXXIII).

[94]Éléazar's famous air is discussed at greater length in Chapter 6.

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love helps to mitigate his less virtuous character traits at the same time as it produces an inner conflict. But, unlike Shylock and, to some degree, unlike Isaac, Éléazar is torn between the love for his daughter and his hatred for Christians--not between his daughter and his ducats.

As suggested above, *La Juive* also carries traces of Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*.[95] The death by cauldron in *La Juive*, the ending that supplanted Scribe's first idea of Rachel's conversion, is the same method used to kill Barrabas in Marlowe's play, albeit brought about by very different circumstances. No evidence reveals the source for the cauldron ending in *La Juive*, however. The idea may have come not from a literary source but from a historical one: although burning at the stake was the typical method used by the Church to kill heretics in earlier centuries, Scribe made note that one method used in Avignon was to plunge them into a vat of boiling water. (He noted this at his visit to Avignon in 1846, but he may have also seen and made a mental note of the vat in 1827.)[96] *La Juive*'s ending, whether drawn from literature or history, appears connected to a literary tradition in which a Jewish usurer meets with a gruesome death--even though only Rachel's death, and not Éléazar's, is shown in the stage action. The planned denouement--the successful conversion of Rachel and the attempt to convert Éléazar--relates to the usurer's apostasy that

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[95]There is no mention of Marlowe's play in Scribe's *carnet* book lists mentioned above. However, he included many English writers among his lists and could have easily obtained a copy through English publications.

[96]BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22584, vol. 5, fol. 7r. See the more detailed discussion of Scribe's Avignon visits, pp. 281-82 below.

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typically ended comedies, beginning with *Merchant*. Attempts to proselytize Éléazar remain in *La Juive*, but go unheeded.

In the early reception of the opera in Paris, the references to Jewish wealth and materialism--the Act I accusations of the populace, the vestiges of Scribe's original characterization contained in the Act II trio, and the visual cues--were powerful enough to trigger reminders of Shylock (and undoubtedly other dramatic characters built on the Shylock stereotype). As cited above, the reviewer in *Journal des débats* (see p. 237 above) responded to the usurous aspects of his character, and Berlioz, in his review in *Le Rénovateur* (1 March 1835), spoke of Rachel as the daughter "d'un vieil usurier nommé Eléazar, 'qu'on dit tout cousu d'or.'"[97] His defiant hatred of Christians, significant for his portrayal as a religious fanatic, was also viewed as a Shylockian trait.

Some reviewers presented a historical context in their responses to Éléazar's characterization that reflects post-Enlightenment ideas about Jewish history. A reviewer in *La Quotidienne* (27 February 1835), for example, related the wealth and commerce of Jews to their historical treatment as pariahs and as objects of persecution. He suggested that such treatment as the levying of fines against Jews, brought on by the anger of the people or by "the greed of rulers," justified their concern and need for money:[98]

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[97]Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 148.

[98]The reviewer chooses to include the historical practice of extracting fines and tributes from Jews, despite the fact that the idea in the draft scenario of fining Éléazar was not realized in *La Juive*.

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> Pour bien se pénétrer de l'intérêt du sujet, il faut se reporter aux idées religieuses qui préoccupaient la chrétienté au commencement du 15ème siècle et aux répugnances sociales dont les juifs étaient alors, dans tous les pays de l'Europe, l'objet et les victimes. Placée par les moeurs autant que par les lois en dehors de la civilisation, cette nation en était réduite, pour vivre, à se créer des industries souvent très condamnables: sans existence politique, elle bornait son ambition à une existence financière, et on la voyait prospérer et s'enrichir par des négoces clandestines et par le trafic honteux des monnaies, des pierres précieuses et des matières d'or et d'argent. Les juifs entassaient par ces moyens des trésors immenses qu'il enlevaient à la circulation et ils en jouissaient mystérieusement, jusqu'au moment où ils en étaient violemment dépouillés par la colère des peuples ou par l'avarice des souverains: alors les persécutions s'élevaient contre eux, les confiscations leur ravissaient leur or et les bûchers étouffaient leurs plaintes. C'est un de ces juifs enrichi par son industrie, comme orfèvre et comme joaillier, dont l'auteur a fait le héros de sa pièce.[99]

Although the reviewer does not overtly connect this discussion of past conditions to the present, the *Journal des débats* review quoted above hints of the contemporary resonance of the Shylock stereotype as it speaks of Jewish ways in the present tense.

The Jewish miser can be found in contemporary French literature and drama other than *La Juive*. Although there were other models for Jewish characterization influential in French literature during this period--the wise Nathan, for example, as

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[99]*Ibid.*, 138-39: "In order to be truly convinced of the subject's interest, it is necessary to refer to religious ideas that preoccupied Christianity at the beginning of the 15th century and to social ostracism of which the Jews were then the object and the victims in all European countries. Placed outside civilized society by their customs as much as by laws, this nation was reduced to live by building up industries often very reprehensible: without political existence, it restricted its ambition to a financial existence, and one saw it prosper and enrich itself by clandestine negotiations and by the shameful trafficking in currency, precious stones, and gold and silver objects. By these means, Jews amassed immense treasures that they removed from circulation and enjoyed in secret, up to the time they were violently stripped of them through the anger of people or the greed of sovereigns: then the persecutions rose against them, confiscations seized their gold, and stakes suppressed their complaints. It is one of these Jews, enriched by his work as goldsmith and jeweller, whom the author has made hero of his work."

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well as the Wandering Jew, or Ahasverus[100]--its appearance suggests that the image of the moneyed Jew resonated strongly among the French public. Despite the profound change in the political and social status of Jews in France after the Revolution, this centuries-old stereotype did not disappear in the 19th century. Balzac's Jewish banker, Nucingen (in *La Maison Nucingen*, 1838), is largely a sympathetic treatment: Nucingen, a financial genius, generously comes to the aid of his former employer when he meets financial ruin. But the Jewish capitalist Gobseck (in Balzac's *Gobseck*, 1842) reverberates with Shylockian avarice more intense than Éléazar's; although he is a complex figure who is also portrayed as a magnanimous philosopher, his pound-of-flesh obstinacy emerges as he persists in collecting debts even when his clients are on the brink of disaster. In later decades, the Jewish banker and other Jewish characters that appeared in the works of René Maizeroy (1856-1918) and Paul Bourget (1852-1935), for example, were grotesque, unscrupulous usurers and parvenus.[101]

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[100]The French dramatist Baron Isidore-Justin-Severin Taylor (1789-1879) borrowed from *Nathan* in his three-act play of 182[3], "La Fille de l'Hebreu et le chevalier du temple" (see its manuscript, AN, AJ[13] 1033). Among treatments of the myth of the Wandering Jew were Edgar Quinet's "Les Tablettes du Juif errant," *Revue des deux mondes* (January 1823); "Ahasverus," *Revue des deux mondes* (October 1834); and Pierre-François Camus Merville and Julian de Maillian's *Le Juif errant*, a five-act melodrama (*drame fantastique*) which premiered at the Théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique on 31 July 1834. Later theatrical settings included the 1849 dramatization of Eugene Sue's novel *Le Juif errant*, followed by Halévy's 1851 opera by the same title.

[101]Bourget presented the Jewish financier Justus Hafner in the novel *Cosmopolis* (1893) as an immoral figure, who, because of his prominence, could bring about the moral decline of the country. See the introduction by Anna Krakowski to Moses Debré, *Image of the Jew*, 6-7.

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A number of French dramas capitalized on audience expectations of the stereotype by modifying or challenging it, while others presented Jewish characters in new, idealized lights. Among the plays preceding *La Juive* that re-examined the stereotype of the Jewish money-lender with a beautiful daughter was a two-act *comédie anecdotique* of 1823 entitled *Le Juif.*[102] In this *comédie*, Isaac Samuel, a German Jew with a heavy Yiddish accent, is first shown to be a befriender and protector of Lucette, a young, naive woman; both are among a group of travellers headed to Orléans by stagecoach. Toward the end of Act I, however, Isaac's characterization quickly changes into a treacherous, miserly Jew, beginning with his exposure of Lucette's hidden money to robbers in exchange for a cut of it.[103] This and other apparently deceptive and self-serving actions lead his fellow voyagers to label his conduct "odious" and to speak of him as "this damned Israelite."[104] In the end, however, Isaac is once again shown to be a clever, brave man who had used Lucette's money in a ploy to prevent the thieves from finding the much larger sum that he was carrying as a gift for Lucette and her fiancé. Moreover, he is unmasked

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[102]*Le Juif: Comédie anecdotique en deux actes, mêlée de vaudevilles, par MM. A. Rousseau, Désaugiers et Mesnard, représentée, pour la première fois, sur le théâtre de la porte Saint-Martin, le 14 mai 1823*, in *Fin du Répertoire du Théâtre Français* XXIV-XXXV (Paris: M[me] veuve Dabo, 1824).

[103]The authors ensure that the audience will view Isaac as an unethical man by the end of the act (Act I, Scene xv) through his gleeful reaction to his good fortune in a sung ensemble and his remarks aside: "Ils prennent son argent! C'est charmant! C'est charmant!"

[104]The invectives "ce damné d'Israélites" and "un malhonnête homme" are spoken in Act II by Madame Simonne, the mother of Lucette's fiancé, Charles. After Isaac turns in Charles, who has deserted his army post, to soldiers who arrive in Act II, Scene vii, the traveller Brillant remarks: "Ah! quelle infâme perfidie!/Ah! quelle noire trahison."

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as the Paris banker who had sent money to her anonymously and as the "intimate friend and associate" of her father (who is in America fighting in the Revolutionary War).

This comedy obviously attempted to expose the hollowness of the stereotype of the Jewish miser and the pitfalls of prejudgment. Its contemporary gloss on the stereotype is suggested by the presentation of Isaac as a German or Yiddish speaker, undoubtedly a reference to the predominance of German Jews in France (particularly in Alsace), and perhaps an even more specific allusion to the heavy Yiddish accent of James Rothschild.[105] The play was controversial, however. Despite the fact that it had been reviewed by censors, the *comédie* was suppressed by theatrical authorities sometime after its premiere at the Théâtre de la Porte Saint Martin in May 1823.[106] It reappeared in 1825 "without controversy," according to a report in the newspaper *L'Opinion*: "*Le Juif*, vaudeville suspendu par ordre supérieur, vient d'être repris à la Porte-Saint-Martin, et n'a donné lieu à aucun scandale [...]."[107]

A comedy by Léon Halévy, *Grillo, ou Le Prince et le Banquier*, a two-act *comédie-vaudeville* which first appeared at the Théâtre des Variétés on 22 December

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[105]Isaac's accented French was indicated by a consistent use of "f" for "v"; "p" for "b"; "t" for "d"; and "ch" for "j" or "g," as in the following lines spoken to Lucette in Act I, Scene vii: "Chenti Temoiselle, fous li être pien cheune, c'était peut-être le première fois que fous foyachez; je foulais tonner à fous un pon afis, c'est de chamais conter ses petits affaires dans une foiture publique à tes étranchers [...]."

[106]The censors' libretto can be found in the Archives Nationales (AN, F[18]644).

[107]"Echo", *L'Opinion*: *Journal des moeurs, de la littérature, des arts, des théâtres et de l'industrie* (5 December 1825), I/5, 4: "*Le Juif*, vaudeville suspended by high order, is being resumed at the Porte-Saint-Martin; it has been given without controversy [...]."

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1832, resembles *Le Juif* in genre, as well as in approach to Jewish characterization. Like Auguste Rousseau and his collaborators, Halévy played with audience assumptions about the Jewish moneylender--again, a rich banker. (It is likely that Léon knew *Le Juif* since he was an editor and writer of literary pieces for *L'Opinion).* At the outset, he presented the international banker Grillo Cataneo--whose Jewish identity is characteristically suggested by his occupation--as an individual whose only concerns are material and whose usefulness is seen in terms of those who need his money, including the irresponsible Marquis d'Albano. In a description of Grillo in Act I by the Marquis's companion, an image of the cosmopolitan, globetrotting banker emerges, undoubtedly an allusion to the Rothschilds, the Pereires, and other successful bankers of the day:

> il a des comptoirs dans toutes les capitales de l'Europe, et quand on le croit à Rome ou à Gênes il est à Londres ou à Paris; voyageant sans cesse, il ne s'arrête dans une ville que juste le temps qu'il lui faut pour vérifier les comptes de ses associés et partager leurs bénéfices... Enfin, c'est encore un de ces personnages mystérieux et bizarres dont tout le monde parle sans les avoir jamais vus...[108]

But, like Isaac, Grillo moves beyond a purely materialistic image: he is ultimately revealed as a wise, honorable man who uses his money altruistically, saving the marquis from financial ruin; preventing the duke from disowning the marquis, his

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[108]*Grillo*, Act I, Scene v: "he has offices in all the capitals of Europe, and when one thinks he is in Rome or Genoa he is in London or Paris; travelling incessantly, he stops in a town only for the time necessary to verify the accounts of his associates and to share their profits... Finally, he is one of these mysterious and odd individuals everyone speaks about without having ever seen them..." So mysterious is this "spéculateur nomade" that Montforte, the marquis's companion, would doubt his existence were it not for the assurances of "les honnêtes financiers juifs" whom he knows.

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nephew; and restoring the defamed name of Comte Sestini, whose daughter he had adopted after her father died.

Halévy's Grillo, like Isaac, is a sympathetic spin-off of the stereotype of the miserly Jew.[109] In addition to attributing good intentions behind Grillo's machinations, Halévy humanizes him and heightens his appeal to audiences by giving him an adopted daughter, in a similar manner to that encountered in *Le Juif*, Scott's *Ivanhoe*, Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*, and *La Juive*. At the same time, he undoubtedly defends against common diatribes levelled at successful Jews of the day. Allusions to contemporary attacks on the ostentatious lifestyle of Baron James de Rothschild, and on his reputedly ignoble and uncouth manner (at least in his early years in Paris), appear in Act II, Scene v. When the marquis registers surprise over the renovations that Grillo has made on the chateau that he had bought from him, Grillo replies: "vous autres princes, vous n'avez pas besoin d'un luxe bien positif

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[109]Léon Halévy wrote another work with a central Jewish character, as suggested by his occupation as *colporteur*: *L'Espion*, a five-act play which had its premiere at the Théâtre de l'Odéon on 6 December 1828. In this play, Léon does not reinterpret the Shylock stereotype, but presents another idealized Jew who is initially misjudged. Harvey Birch, who is first portrayed as an untrustworthy character suspected of British espionage in the American Revolutionary War, is in reality a spy for the American forces who follows the commands of the *incognito* Harper, alias George Washington. (The American War of Independence was a favored setting for French dramas of the later 1820s and 1830s.) Birch aids Harper/Washington in freeing Henri Wharton, a captain in the British army who is being tried as a spy for crossing enemy lines. For Birch's bravery in carrying out his missions and in withstanding hatred in his disguise as a British spy, Washington offers him gold; when Birch refuses this material reward (thus arguing against Jewish avarice), the commander then presents a written declaration that refutes Birch's identity as an "enemy of liberty" and commends him instead as a "faithful friend" who has been denied justice for political reasons. In Act V, Scene viii, when Birch dies after being shot while helping Henri escape, Washington eulogizes him in a line that undoubtedly encapsulates the playwright's message: "Messieurs, la patrie vient de perdre un grand citoyen." ("Gentlemen, the country has just lost a great citizen.")

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[...] j'ai besoin de tout cela; j'ai l'air si peu noble, car on me prend pour un mendiant, un vagabond."[110]

These plays, which in a sense turned the Shylock stereotype on its head while simultaneously reinforcing it, underline its viability in France during the decade leading up to *La Juive*. The more negative portrayals of the miserly Jew illustrate even more pointedly the continuity of the Shylock characterization in the 19th century. The stereotype was not merely a literary habit, as the late-19th-century author Abraham Dreyfus suggested in his essay "Le Juif au Théâtre,"[111] nor was it a literary throwback without contemporary social relevance. In our view that literary expressions are reflections of social truths and values, the appearance of the Shylock stereotype in *La Juive* as well as contemporary dramas and novels alludes to a perpetuation of encrusted social attitudes. Yet, the increasing humanization of the stereotype, along with the characterizations of idealized Jews in French literature, reflected some attitudinal changes, or, at least, the utopian desires of authors to create new images, in this era when the role of the poet and dramatist was humanitarian and utilitarian.

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[110]Act II, Scene v: "you other princes, you don't need extravagant luxury [...] I need all that; I have a mien so base, because I am taken for a beggar, a vagabond." While Léon may have been commenting on the less-than-noble manner of Baron James Rothschild or the Jewish nouveau riche, he may also have alluded to the awkward position of the Rothschilds, whose wealth brought them social and political power, along with the old accusations of greed and usury. Derek Wilson, in *Rothschild: The Wealth and Power of a Dynasty* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988), 86, writes that the Rothschilds in France and England discovered that no matter how they lived, they would be pilloried as usurers by political anti-semites.

[111]*Revue des études juives* (1886), 62, cited in Debré, *Image of the Jew*, 4.

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La Juive, through the Shylockian elements of Éléazar's characterization, touched on a range of intense, conflicting, and ambivalent attitudes relating generally to the pariah status and ideas about the assimilability of Jews in early-19th-century France, which were expressed in part through fear of Jewish materialism. Within the context of the religious conflict that is central to the opera's drama and ideology, Éléazar's symbolic role as an oppressed pariah even further reflects the paradoxical ideas about Jews in France, although it is overtly used as a vehicle for the condemnation of socio-political intolerance, as we shall see.

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THE FRENCH GRAND OPERA *LA JUIVE* (1835):

A SOCIO-HISTORICAL STUDY

by

DIANA R. HALLMAN

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PART III

THE RELIGIOUS CONFLICT IN *LA JUIVE*

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CHAPTER 5

THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE AND THE VOLTAIRIAN CRITIQUE

La Juive can be viewed simply as a tale of doomed love constructed out of the building blocks of theatrical convention or as an illustration of the then-current fascination with oriental exoticism and the exotic distant past. As explored in the previous chapters, its dramatic scenes and characters have strong literary and theatrical precedents which undoubtedly tapped into the Shakespeare-Scott vogue in France. The use of an early-15th-century setting can also be linked to contemporary literary trends in which a great emphasis is placed on creating a sense of "local color" and historical authenticity. In Scott's novels, including *Ivanhoe* (1819), Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris* (1832), and other popular novels, pages and pages are devoted to visual descriptions of scenes, details of costuming, and portrayal of historical color. Correspondingly in the theater, there were visually rich *mise en scène* and well-researched period costumes.

The immediate success of *La Juive* was undeniably dependent on the opulence and grandeur of its staging and costuming, elements crucial to the aesthetic of grand opera. Pre-premiere announcements of the unprecedented expenditures fueled audience expectations, and the responses of the opera's reviewers to the *mise en scène*

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were generally effusive.[1] Indeed, there is hardly one press report that does not devote a substantial amount of its space to the review of the decor and the sumptuously dressed king, cardinals, and retinue, which are often described in awestruck tones.[2] Even in *Le Constitutionnel*, juxtaposed against a politically infused analysis of the historical event (see pp. 309-10 below), there appears a Hugoian description of a colorful, imaginary scene in Constance undoubtedly stimulated by the visual aspects of the production:

> Quelle magnifique bigarrure que cette population de seigneurs et de prêtres arrivant là de tous les pays, de tous les royaumes, de toutes les abbayes, de tous les couvens et de toutes les cathédrales: les uns en mître, les autres couverts de pourpre; ceux-ci la couronne d'argent au front, ceux-là avec un riche écusson et un casque d'or étincelant au soleil! Là le menton rond et nu des enfants de choeur et des jeunes abbés, et la barbe longue et blanche des vieux cardinaux; des lansquenets et des reîtres, de jolis pages, de belles châtelaines et les robes noires et crasseuses des moines mendiants; des lances, des enseignes guerrières, des croix, des clerges, des bannières à l'image de la Vierge et des saints, les rudes voix des soldats manoeuvrant avec la lance, et les voix claires et argentines psalmodiant des litanies.[3]

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[1]See, e.g., "Nouvelles de Paris," *Revue musicale* VIII/52 (28 December 1834). Catherine Join-Diéterle, *Les Décors de scène de l'Opéra de Paris à l'époque romantique* (Paris: Picard, 1988), 281, gives the cost of the scenery as ₣ 46,540 (compared to ₣ 30,219 for *Gustave III* of 1833 and ₣ 44,000 for *Les Huguenots* of 1836). Fulcher, *Nation's Image*, 82, reports that the total production costs of *La Juive* equalled ₣ 150,000.

[2]See Laurie C. Shulman's discussion of press reactions to the *mise en scène* of *La Juive* in "Music Criticism of the Paris Opera of the 1830s" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1985), 178-81.

[3]Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 10: "What multi-colored medley is this population of lords and priests arriving there from all countries, realms, abbies, convents, and cathedrals: some mitred, others covered in crimson; some crowned in silver, others with a rich badge and golden helmet sparkling in the sun! There the round, bare chin of children of the choir and of young clerks, and the long and white beard of old cardinals; some lancers and roughneck soldiers, merry pages, beautiful *châtelaines* and the black, filthy robes of mendicant friars; some lances, signs of war, crosses, clergy, banners in the image of the Virgin and the saints,

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Exceptions to the general clamor were reviews that criticized the staging and costuming as excessive, and even oppressive. One well-known example is Berlioz's description of the opera as "un rude cauchemar," a quip related in part to his belief that the extravagant staging threatened to overpower the music:

> Malgré les efforts qu'on a faits pour empêcher d'entendre la partition, malgré le cliquetis de toutes ces armures, ce piétinement de chevaux, ce tumulte populaire, ces volées de cloches et de canons, ces danses, ces tables chargées, ces fontaines de vin, malgré tout le fracas antimusical de l'Académie royale de Musique, on a pu saisir au vol quelques-unes des inspirations du compositeur.[4]

Sharing this opinion, François Stoepel demanded: "Est-il une seule personne qui ait donné la moindre attention à la musique durant le long cortège du premier acte et la fête somptueuse du troisième?"[5] Nourrit, in a letter of 27 March 1835 complaining of the preoccupation of the Opéra administration with the *matériel* of the *mise en scène,* said that at *La Juive*'s premiere "on n'avait vu que des costumes et des

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the crude voices of soldiers maneuvering with lance, and the clear and silvery voices [of the choristers] chanting litanies."

[4]*Le Rénovateur/Courier de l'Europe* (1 March 1835), Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 148, 151: "a harsh nightmare." "Despite the efforts that were made to prevent listening to the score, despite the clanking of all the armor, the stomping of horses, the popular commotion, the peal of bells and volleyed cannons, the dances, the laden tables, the fountains of wine, despite all the antimusical roar of the Académie Royale de Musique, one could still hear in passing some of the inspirations of the composer." Also see Shulman, *Music Criticism*, 170 ff.

[5]*Journal de Paris et des départemens* (28 February 1835), Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 88: "Is there a single person who gave the least attention to the music during the long procession of the first act and the sumptuous feast of the third?"

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décors."[6] But after the initial dazzling of the audience, he noted thankfully, the music began to triumph over "la ferblanterie" ("the hardware").[7]

The opera's setting at the Council of Constance, one of several historically important convocations of Church authorities, promised--in addition to the ceremonial pomp--an ideal backdrop for addressing the subject of religious-political-social oppression and intolerance. According to some accounts of the opera's history, Scribe's initial choice of setting for *La Juive* was not Constance but Goa, once the capital of Portuguese India, a city in which the Inquisition was established in 1560.[8] By the time the manuscript draft scenario found among the Scribe papers at the Bibliothèque Nationale was written, however, the setting is the one that remains: the Council of Constance at its opening in 1414.

Convened to end the papal schism in the Western Church, the Council of Constance (officially, the Sixteenth Ecumenical Council) met from 5 November 1414 to 22 April 1418. As a result of the forty-five sessions, the Roman Pope Gregory XII abdicated; both John XXIII, who had been elected by the Council, and Benedict XIII,

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[6]Louis Marie Quicherat, *Adolphe Nourrit: Sa Vie, son talent, son caractère, sa correspondence*, 3 vols. (Paris: L. Hachette, 1867), 8-9.

[7]*Ibid.*, 9.

[8]Léon Halévy, as quoted in Chapter 2 above (p. 56) and as corroborated by Monnais, states that Goa was the choice in "le plan primitif": *Sa Vie*, 23; *Monnais*, 14. This is reiterated by Leich-Galland, Introduction to *Marthe Galland*, vi. This choice of setting, however, cannot be confirmed by the evidence uncovered thus far. One copy of the second edition of the libretto in the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra ($AJ^{13}202$) contains handwritten editorial markings that change the setting to Goa as well as the names of the characters. This anonymous effort may have been an attempt to restore the original idea or, perhaps, present this setting anew.

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the pope in Avignon, were deposed. The election of the new pope, Martin V, came three years after the Council began. In addition to church officials, Sigismund, the German king (or king of the Romans), played a significant role. Not only was it he who had called for the convening of the Council, but he served as its official protector.

Notes in Scribe's *carnets de voyage* reveal that the visual images of Constance, as well as its historical associations with the Council, had been impressed on him as early as July 1826 during a vacation in Switzerland and Germany. It is possible that his visit to Constance gave him the idea for *La Juive*'s setting.[9] Images described in terms of the stage permeate Scribe's journal commentary, suggesting a correlation between realistically depicted scenes of historical events and the historical realism attempted in some of his works.[10] That the librettist viewed his sightseeing as fact-gathering and atmosphere-absorbing experiences is evident in a number of passages. During a visit to Basel, for example, Scribe makes notes of paintings of Hans Holbein, including one that gave him the model for a costume in *Ali-Baba*, the opera he was writing with his companion and collaborator Duveyrier-Mélesville during the

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[9]BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22584, vol. 1, fols. 14^{v}-15^{v}.

[10]These are undoubtedly related to the incorporation of personal *scènes de voyage* into music and literature common in this period. Well-known examples of a few years later are Berlioz's *Harold en Italie* (1834) and Liszt's *Années de Pèlerinage* (1836-46). The interpenetration of art and reality is also demonstrated in a passage by Scribe in which he writes that "après le description de Walter Scott, je m'y suis [en] transporté en regardant le lac de Wallenstatt." *Ibid.*, vol. 8, fol. 19^{v}.

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trip.[11] There are also descriptions of grand scenic views, to which he continually refers as "spectacles" and which he considers as if he were an audience member. Scribe's imagined vantage point cannot be missed in his description of a waterfall on the Rhine that he and his party viewed from a small open door at the Imworth chateau:

> [...] nous nous trouvons aussi suspendu au dessus du fleuve, placés et assis aussi commodement que dans une loge d'opéra pour jouir d'un des plus beaux et des plus effrayants spectacles que l'Europe puisse vous offrir. Qu'on s'imagine une montagne d'eau qui se précipitant de 80 pieds en rencontre d'autres, les heurtes, les brise et retombe dans l'abysme en torrents de mousse et d'écume qui éclairés par le soleil étincessent de mille feus et de mille couleurs!![12]

No doubt Scribe was building on past opera experiences (having observed spectacular natural scenes depicted in French opera and melodrama during the 1820s), as well as projecting scenes in his mind's eye to be used in future productions. It is impossible to know whether he was consciously thinking of future staging as he made visual imprints of Constance, but his travel references to the cathedral, the "magnificent view" of the lake at Constance, and the nearby town of St. Gall seem to correspond with his rough staging directions in the draft scenario of *La Juive*

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[11]*Ibid.*, vol. 8, fol. 8. These could be paintings of either Hans Holbein the Elder (1465-1524) or the Younger (1497-1524).

[12]*Ibid.*, vol. 1, fol. 13[r]: "[...] we found ourselves also suspended above the river, placed and seated as comfortably as in a loge at the opera, to enjoy one of the most beautiful and frightening spectacles that Europe can offer. Imagine a mountain of water that plunged headlong from 80 feet to meet others, collide, break, and fall again into the abyss in torrents of foam and froth which, lit by the sun, sparkle with a thousand fires and a thousand colors!!"

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(although with some license, since St. Gall certainly would not have been visible from Constance). For Act I, Scene i, Scribe writes:

> La scène se passe dans la ville de Constance - aux bords du lac - une place publique - une rue à droite - une église au fond - à l'horizon la vue des montagnes d'apparentes couvertes de neige - au milieu desquelles apparaît la ville épiscopale de St Gall -[13]

The principal elements of the first set for the premiere, designed by Charles Séchan, Louis Feuchère, Edourd Despléchin, and Jules Diéterle, resemble the librettist's depiction: in the foreground is a crossroads in Constance with the entrance to a church at stage left and the house of Éléazar in the center of the stage, in front of imposing Gothic structures; in the background is a painted screen of sky and mountains in the distance.[14] (See Ill. 4.) Scribe's travel images may also have been in mind when he placed, beyond the gardens of a palace at the beginning of Act 3 in the draft scenario, "les beaux points de vue et les riches paysages du Canton de Thurgovie."[15] This early description was realized in the premiere, but shifted to appear at the beginning of Scene iv of the third act; by the second performance on 27

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[13]BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22502/2°, 2: "The scene takes place in the town of Constance--on the lakeshore--a public square--a street to the right--a church at the back--in the distance the view of mountains conspicuously covered with snow--in the middle of which appears the episcopal city of St. Gall." See this page of the draft scenario in Appendix E.

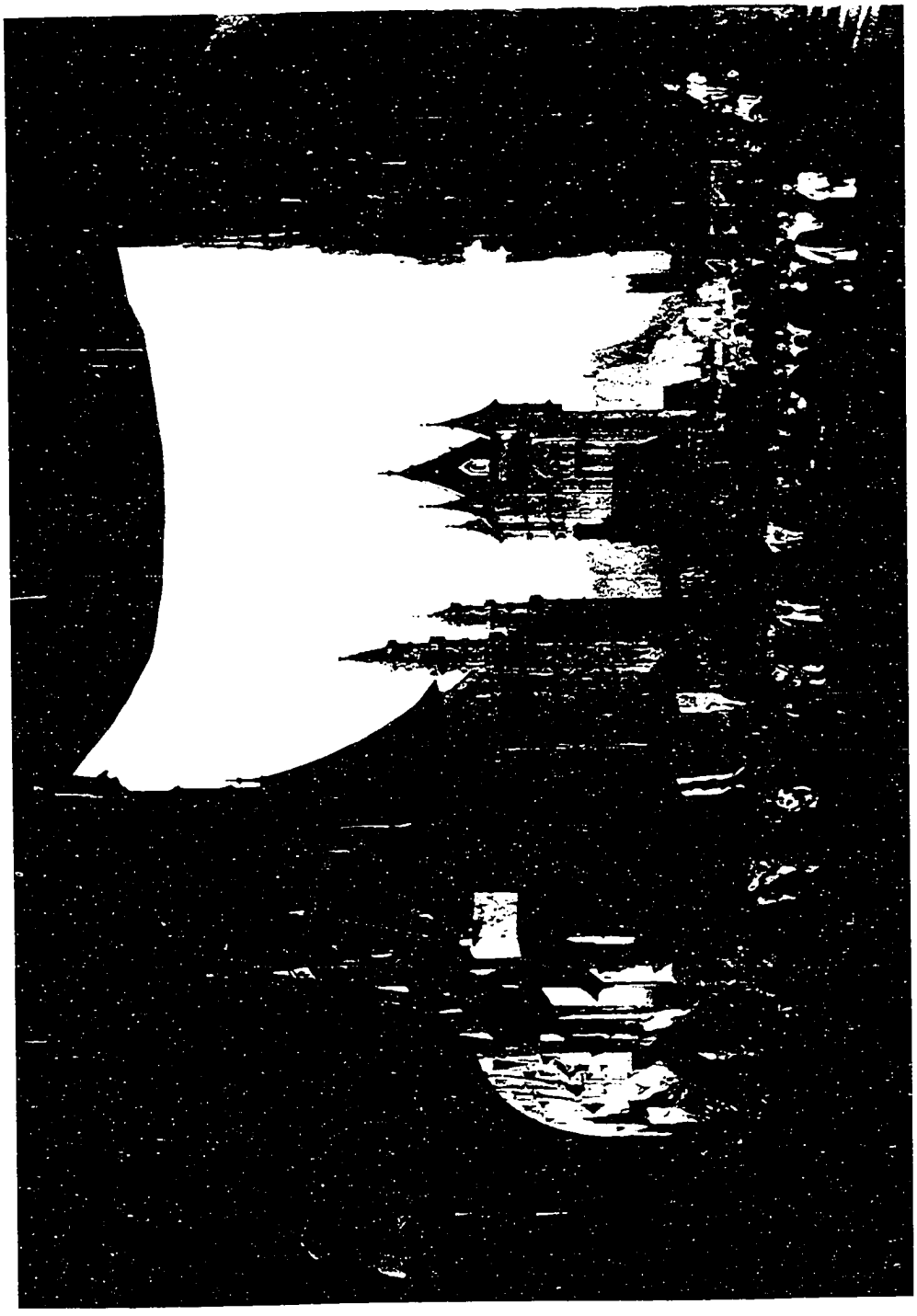
[14]Also see reprint of the lithograph made after the stage set by Séchan, Feuchère, Despléchin, and Diéterle in Join-Diéterle, *Décors*, 37, no. 20. Scribe's description of St. Gall in the background is not reflected in the set, nor in the printed libretto for the premiere or the *mise en scène* manuscript published by Palianti.

[15]BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22502/2°, 11: "the beautiful sights and fine countryside of the Canton of Thurgovie."

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Ill. 4: Stage set for Act I, Paris Opéra, 1835 (Bibliothèque de l'Opéra).

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February, when the first three scenes in Eudoxie's apartment were omitted, this scene again opened Act 3.[16]

The draft scenario reveals that the opulence of the scene was in Scribe's mind in the early conceptual stages. At the beginning of the scenario, he writes:

> Le concile de Constance le plus nombreux qui [ce soit] jamais assemblé se montra de son origine plein d'éclat et de magnificence - [...] des princes illustres avec des suites brillantes se joignirent aux innombrables écclésiastiques de tout rang, aux docteurs et aux maîtres en arts sans compte[,] la foule immense du peuple et de marchands [...].[17]

Even more trenchant in Scribe's journal commentary than the visual images are the historical associations he makes with the Council of Constance. Instead of referring to the resolution of the schism, he focuses on the Council's heresy trial and burning of the Bohemian religious reformer Jan Hus (1370-1415). Hus, a follower of John Wycliffe (1320?-1384) and a writer of theological treatises and scriptural commentary that challenged Catholic views of the Church and the sacrament of the Eucharist, voluntarily came to the Council to defend his positions. He was given safe conduct by Sigismund, but after the Council condemned thirty propositions from his works, he was arrested and burned at the stake as an obstinate heretic.

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[16]The "Mémoire des peintures faite pour l'opéra de la Juive" (AN, AJ[13]202) describes a curtain "représentant l'intérieur d'une Tente," a court and garden, with furniture and accessories.

[17]BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22502/2°, 1: "The Council of Constance, the largest that had ever been assembled, was impressive and magnificent from its outset--[...] illustrious princes with their brilliant retinues will join the innumerable ecclesiastics of all ranks, with countless numbers of senior and junior professors, the immense crowd of people and shopkeepers[...]."

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In Scribe's description of the "eerily deserted" town, he gives details of the cathedral's "salle de concile," taking note of the thrones of the Emperor Sigismund and Pope Martin V, the Bible of Jan Hus, and the chair "in which [Hus] was conducted to the stake [...]."[18] Evocative remnants of the trial and condemnation of the reformer stir deep emotion in the librettist, sending a wave of depression over him and his travelling companions. He describes "the stone block where Jean Hus kneeled when his sentence was read to him"; "the place where his works were burned" outside the cathedral; and the place "where [Hus] himself was burned" on the outskirts of the village.[19]

In his travel journal of 1827 Scribe concentrates on other instances of religious oppression when he visited Avignon, another historic seat of Catholic power and judgment. In this visit he was accompanied by the writer Castil-Blaze (1784-1857), a native of the region who acted as his local guide. Scribe's commentary is weighted with evidence of the Church's religious persecutions. He writes of the Inquisition tribunal that took place in the Papal Palace, describing room by room what occurred. In "la salle d'audience," the prisoners were brought before the Inquisitors; in "la salle des tortures," they were bound in iron chains (still hanging) and endured tortures by

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[18]BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22584, vol. 1, fols. 14^{v}-15^{r}: "fauteuil dans lequel il fut conduit au bucher où il fut brulé." Scribe spells the name "Hus" in this source and in the draft scenario; it appears as "Huss" in the early printed sources of the opera as well as in most secondary sources.

[19]*Ibid.*, 15^{v}: "la plaque de pierre où jean hus fut mis à genoux qu'on lui lisait sa sentence - en sortant nous avons vu la place où l'on a brulé ses ouvrages, plus loin hors de la ville celle où il fut brulé lui-même[...]."

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instruments so severe that Scribe blushed when he viewed them.[20] In "la salle préparatoire," the Inquisitors went "invoquer le St Esprit ou plutôt le diable qui les inspirait."[21]

Scribe's accounts of Constance and Avignon resound with Voltairian sentiments about the intolerance and barbarism of the Church. The Voltairian basis appears even more concrete if the librettist's descriptions are set against the philosopher's own historic account of the Council of Constance. In his *Essai sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations*, Voltaire devotes two chapters to the Council, these following his discussion of the papal schism in the West.[22] In the first chapter he examines the Council's political objectives of dethroning a pontiff and reforming the Church's taxes and revenues, as well as such vices as simony; in the second, he focuses on the Council's religious zealotry, illustrated by the burning at the stake of Hus and Jerome of Prague (1365-1416), another follower of Wycliffe and a friend of Hus who was also judged a heretic.[23] Voltaire sets the context by classifying Hus, Wycliffe, and Jerome as challengers to an ambitious, vice-ridden, and excessively

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[20]*Ibid.*, vol. 2, "Voyage dans le Mydi de la France, 1er Avril-1827," fols. 19v-20r.

[21]*Ibid.*, fol. 20r [my emphasis]: "to invoke the Holy Spirit or, rather, the devil who inspires them."

[22]*Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire*, 11 vols. (Paris: Chez Th. Desoer, 1817), IV, 411-22.

[23]Jerome had to flee the Inquisition in Vienna in 1410; in 1415 he tried to defend Hus before the Council of Constance. He was arrested on the way home and brought back before the Council, which coerced him into retracting the condemned articles of Wycliffe and Hus; he later withdrew his retraction. This action brought on the Council's condemnation of Jerome as a "relapsed heretic," and he was burned at the stake on 30 May 1416. See F. M. Bailey, "Jerome of Prague," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 23 vols. (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1973), XII, 1250.

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rich clergy. Although Hus rejected much of Wycliffe's doctrine, Voltaire writes that he had adopted all the "bile" that the English reformer had launched against the scandals of popes and bishops, excommunications, and all forms of ecclesiastical power. Hus was killed, Voltaire notes, for having attacked "les prétentions des prêtres."[24] Before the Council, Hus was defiant, adamently believing in the truth of his writings, which were deemed offensive and blasphemous, and refusing to cave in to demands for full retraction of his statements. Although Voltaire hints that Hus was as "fanatical" as the Council, he clearly portrays him as a morally superior religious thinker who died a heroic, martyred death:

> Voilà l'idée que j'ai cru devoir vous donner de tous les objets politiques qui occupèrent le concile de Constance. Les bûchers que le zèle de la religion alluma sont d'une autre espèce.
> [...]
> Jean Hus, plein de confiance, alla au concile, où ni lui ni le pape n'auraient dû aller. Il y arriva accompagné de quelques gentilshommes bohémiens et de plusieurs de ses disciples [...]. A peine fut-il arrivé qu'on l'emprisonna [...].
> [...]
> Jean Hus n'adoptait aucune des propositions de Wiclef qui séparent aujourd'hui les protestans de l'église romaine; cependant il fut condamné à expirer dans les flammes. [...] Les pères du concile voulaient absolument que Jean Hus se rétractât; et Jean Hus, persuadé qu'il avait raison, ne voulait point avouer qu'il s'était trompé. [...] Jean Hus fut inflexible.[...]
>
> Le concile fut aussi inflexible que lui; mais l'opiniâtreté de courir à la mort avait quelque chose d'héroïque; celle de l'y condamner était bien cruelle. L'empereur, malgré la foi du sauf-conduit, ordonna à l'électeur palatin de le faire traîner au supplice. Il fut brûlé vif en

[24]Voltaire, *Essai*, IV/1, 418, n. 1.

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> présence de l'électeur même, et loua Dieu jusqu'à ce que la flamme étouffât sa voix.[25]

Jerome of Prague met with the same severe fate a few months later, despite the fact that he publicly retracted his statements. Voltaire portrays him as more rational than Hus and as eloquent as Socrates in his discourse before his judges. The comparative references to the condemned Greek thinker give Voltaire a point of departure for more politically emphatic statements. In a footnote he differentiates between the killing of Socrates and that of Hus, designating the former as an isolated example of injustice among the Greeks and an act that brought about the repentance and the punishment of his accusers, unlike "[l]'assassinat juridique de Jean Hus."[26] The "legal murder" of Hus was followed by:

> [...] dix mille assassinats semblables, dont aucun n'a été ni puni ni réparé, même par un repentir inutile. Les grands crimes, les usages barbares que nous reprochons aux anciens tenaient à cette férocité qui est l'abus de la force. Les usages barbares des nations modernes sont

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[25]*Ibid.*, 418-21:

"Here is what I believe I should tell you about all the political objectives of the Council of Constance. The stakes that religious zealotry lit are of another matter.

[...]

Jan Hus, full of confidence, went to the Council, where neither he nor the pope should have gone. He arrived there accompanied by several Bohemian gentlemen and several of his followers [...]. He had scarcely arrived before he was imprisoned [...].

[...]

Jan Hus did not adopt a single proposition of Wycliffe that today separates the Protestants from the Roman Catholic Church; nevertheless, he was condemned to be burned. [...] The priests of the Council absolutely wanted Jan Hus to retract; and Jan Hus, sure that he was right, did not want to admit that he was mistaken. [...] Jan Hus was unyielding. [...]

The Council was as unyielding as he; but determination in the face of death was heroic; the Council who condemned him was cruel. The emperor, despite his promise of safe conduct, ordered the Palatine Elector to drag him to the stake. He was burned alive in the presence of the Elector himself and praised God until the flame smothered his voice."

[26]*Ibid.*, 421, n. 1.

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> nés au contraire de la superstition, c'est-à-dire, de la peur et de la sottise.[27]

Although Voltaire emphasizes the culpability of the Council in the killing of Hus and Jerome, he underscores the complicity of Sigismund, who, coerced by the Council, betrayed his promise of safe conduct. For his cowardice in the face of the "treacherous and barbarous" Council, Voltaire notes, Sigismund later met with fierce opposition to his succession to the throne in Bohemia, inducing him to fight sympathizers of the two martyrs with "la terreur des croisades."[28] In another footnote (which, like the one above, is often reserved for Voltaire's harshest critiques), he condemns later apologists of the actions of Sigismund and the Council as he writes of the irony of the granting to one such apologist "la première chaire de morale" founded in France in the 18th century. With heavy sarcasm, he draws an analogy: "Que dirions-nous des Turcs, s'ils s'avisaient de créer une chaire de géometrie, et qu'ils la donnassent à un homme qui aurait eu le malheur de trouver la quadrature du cercle?"[29]

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[27]*Ibid.*, 421-22, n. 1: "[...] ten thousand murders of the same kind, of which not a single one was punished or rectified, even by a futile repentance. The great crimes, the barbarous uses that we criticize in the Ancients held on in this ferocious manner, which is the abuse of strength. The barbarous uses of modern nations were born, not of superstition, but of fear and stupidity."

[28]*Ibid.*, 420, 422.

[29]*Ibid.*, 420, n. 1: "What would we say of the Turks, if they were to dare to create a chair of geometry, and they gave it to a man who had had the misfortune of trying to square the circle?"

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Although I do not know if Scribe used Voltaire's account as a direct source, the philosopher's historical interpretation appears to have provided at least a general subtext to Scribe's journal accounts and to the developing libretto, as discussed below. Scribe is likely to have known the account. He was extremely well read, as reported by friends and colleagues and as suggested by the lists of newly published books that he compiled regularly in his journals. One list, compiled c. 1837 for the library at his new chateau outside Paris (as indicated by the heading, "Bibliothèque pour Séricourt") itemized fifty-six titles or authors, including Rousseau, Walter Scott, Mérimée, Balzac, Dumas, Hugo, Eugène Sue, and "théâtre étrangers-Shakspeare-Goethe-Schiller."[30] Although Voltaire's complete works are not included in this particular list, it is nonetheless likely that Scribe owned them, or at least the portions that were most frequently published in France. Voltaire's writings permeated early-19th-century French culture: numerous editions of his complete works had appeared by 1830 (in 1825 alone, six editions were published), along with approximately sixty-five editions of *La Henriade*, twenty of the *Poèmes*, twenty of the *Théâtre*, ten of the *Contes*.[31] Between 1826 and 1831, according to Martyn Lyons, the complete works of Voltaire, as well as those of Rousseau and Molière, were among the best-selling publications in France.[32] Moreover, as early as 1813, Scribe adapted the text of

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[30]BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22584, vol. 37, fols. 26^{v}-27^{r}.

[31]André Billaz, "Les Écrivains romantiques et Voltaire: Essai sur Voltaire et le romantisme en France (1795-1830)," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Université de Paris IV) (Université de Lille III: Service de Reproduction des Thèses, 1974), 8.

[32]Martyn Lyons, *Triomphe du livre*, 86.

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Voltaire's *Scythes* for his first melodrama, entitled *Koulikan* and written with Henri Dupin. Scribe's use of Voltaire's *Essai sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations* as a source for the libretto of *Le Prophète*, on which he began work in 1836, is well documented.[33] But the Voltairian foundation of Scribe's appropriation of the Council of Constance is perhaps most strongly underscored by his parallel use in *Les Huguenots* of another historical metaphor of religious tyranny discussed by Voltaire: St. Bartholomew's Eve. As pointed out in Chapter 3, *Les Huguenots* depicts the massacre of thousands of Protestants by Catholic forces in 1572, an event described by Voltaire in his *Essai sur les Guerres civiles de France*.

The draft scenario and other evidence documenting the development of the libretto of *La Juive* further point to Scribe's attraction to Voltairian themes of religious tyranny and reveal that his association of the historic Catholic Church with oppression is fundamental to his choice of setting and to the opera's subject. In the thumbnail sketch of his early ideas for *La Juive*, found in a pocket notebook identified as "Quelques idées des pièces," there is no mention of the Council of Constance in its outline of the love conflict between Jew and Christian and the malediction leading to their condemnation.[34] Yet the term "l'autodafé," entered for the fifth act, points to a line of thought beyond the love cliché.[35] This term of Portuguese origin, well

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[33]Armstrong, *"Le Prophète,"* 8, refers to two letters from Scribe, dated 23 April and 2 May 1836, which speak of the subject of "Les Anabaptistes" (later *Le Prophète*) having been provided by certain passages in Voltaire's essay. Armstrong also notes that a passage from the essay appeared as preface to the first-edition printed libretto and later editions.

[34]BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22584, fol. 66r.

[35]See Chapter 4, p. 197; also see Appendix D.

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established as a standard term connoting the Inquisition of the Church and the burning of heretics, resonates with Scribe's travel descriptions of Constance and Avignon, with the contemporary anti-clerical sentiments prevalent in dramas of the early 1830s, and with Voltaire's account of the Council and his other writings about the Inquisition.

In a chapter entitled "De l'Inquisition" in the same *Essai sur les moeurs*, Voltaire describes the Inquisition tribunals, established in various countries, that illustrate how debased human nature can be "quand l'ignorance superstitieuse est armée du pouvoir."[36] But he distinguishes between the Inquisition and "ces sacrifices publics qu'on nomme *auto-da-fé*."[37] In a paragraph-long description, he emphasizes the violence and cruelty before and during these events and speaks of the hypocrisy of the Church and the collusion of kings behind them:

> C'est un prêtre en surplis, c'est un moine voué à la douceur, qui fait dans de vastes cachots appliquer des hommes aux tortures les plus cruelles. C'est ensuite un théâtre dressé dans une place publique, où l'on conduit au bûcher tous les condamnés, à la suite d'une procession de moines et de confréries. On chante, on dit la messe, et on tue des hommes. Un Asiatique, qui arriverait à Madrid le jour d'une telle exécution, ne saurait si c'est une réjouissance, une fête religieuse, un sacrifice, ou une boucherie; et c'est tout cela ensemble. Les rois, dont ailleurs la seule présence suffit pour donner grâce à un criminel, assistent nu-tête à ce spectacle, sur un siège moins élevé que celui de l'inquisiteur, et voient expirer leurs sujets dans les flammes. On

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[36]Voltaire, *Essai*, IV/1, 682: "when superstitious ignorance is armed with power."

[37]*Ibid.*

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> reprochait à Montezuma d'immoler des captifs à ses dieux; qu'aurait-il dit s'il avait vu un *auto-da-fé*?[38]

In Scribe's draft scenario, the term *l'auto-da-fé* appears again as an alternate title, along with an introductory paragraph on the opera's prehistory, now fully related to the Council of Constance.[39] Scribe cites in this paragraph the resolution of the papal schism as the Council's main function, but--reflecting the focus of his journal commentary and perhaps Voltaire's account--he also refers to the judgment of Hus as "un grand objet d'interêt."[40]

In Scribe's appropriation of the historical event of the Council, he characteristically manipulates historical facts and interweaves fiction into the basically factual material that he used. Scribe selects 1414 as the date for his drama, even though the Council met for a period of four years. The presentation of Sigismund as emperor may be considered a distortion by modern historians since he was not the emperor at the time of the Council, but the German king, newly crowned three days

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[38]Voltaire, *Essai*, 682-83: "It is a priest in vestments, a monk dedicated to gentleness, who administers the cruelest tortures to men in immense dungeons. Then it is a stage set up in a public square, where all the condemned are led to the stake, at the end of a procession of monks and brotherhoods. One sings, one says mass, and one kills men. An Asian, who would arrive in Madrid the day of one such execution, would not know if it is an entertainment, a religious festival, a sacrifice, or a slaughter; and it is all those things together. Kings, whose sole presence elsewhere suffices to pardon a criminal, witness this spectacle bare-headed, on a seat less elevated than that of the Inquisitor, and see their subjects expire in the flames. Montezuma was reproached for burning prisoners to his gods; what would he have said if he had seen an *auto-da-fé*?"

[39]Scribe first writes "Rachel ou l'auto-da-fé" and then crosses out "Rachel," replacing it with "la juive." Yet at the head of Scribe's draft verse (BN, n.a.fr. 22562), he retains "Rachel" as title; see Appendix F.

[40]BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22502/2°, 12.

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after the Council's opening in Aachen (or Aix-la-Chapelle). (Sigismund became Holy Roman Emperor in 1433.) But Voltaire also designates Sigismund as "emperor" in his description of the Council, as do early-19th-century historical accounts, including the *Biographie universelle* cited below on pp. 301-2. Léopold and Eudoxie (first named Theodora in the draft scenario) appear to have been creative additions. Moreover, Léopold's victory over the Hussites also bends fact since the Hussite wars were not simultaneous with the Council, but began after Bohemian nobles organized the Hussites to avenge the killing of the religious reformer. Not until Hus's death did the movement take on a revolutionary character, turning Hus into a martyr and national hero for Bohemians seeking both religious and political reform. The majority of the battles followed the papal bull issued by Martin V in 1420 which declared a crusade "for the destruction of the Wycliffites, Hussites and all other heretics in Bohemia."[41] (Voltaire's account mentions Hus's disciples coming to the Council, but does not suggest they had taken up arms for their leader's religious teachings.) Scribe undoubtedly compressed the time and events in order to make his allusions more fully political. The most significant historical detour, however, was the substitution of the condemnation of Jews in lieu of the condemnation of Hus--in essence, the substitution of one type of "heretic" for another.[42]

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[41]As cited in "Hussites," *Encyclopaedia Brittanica*, 32 vols. (New York: Encyclopaedia Brittanica, Inc., 1910), XIV, 8.

[42]This substitution was pointed out by the *Constitutionnel* reviewer (25 February 1835), who saw the Jewish characters as replacements for both Hus and Jerome of Prague.

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Although Hus does not figure in the dramatic action, the reformer is referred to in the opera's libretto, as he is in the draft scenario and draft verse. There are also references to the Hussites: in the introductory paragraph of the printed libretti and, in the libretto text itself, in Albert's recitative in Act I, Scene i (No. 1). The connections among Hus, Sigismund, the Council, and the anachronistic victory over the Hussites are briefly made in this condensed narrative passage. When Léopold asks Albert the reason for the crowd and the "concours" (prior to the *Hosanna* chorus in both *Schlesinger-Garland* and *Schlesinger-Lemoine*), Albert replies:[43]

Act I, Scene i (No. 1)

Eh! ne savez vous pas	Ah! Don't you know
Qu'aujourd'hui Sigismond arrive dans Constance	That Sigismond arrives today in Constance
Pour ouvrir un concile où Princes et Prélats	To open a council in which Princes and Prelates
Vont de la Chrétienté terminer les débats,	Are going to finish the discussions about Christianity,
Décerner la thiare, éteindre l'hérésie	Decide the [papal] tiara, extinguish heresy
Et du fougueux Jean Hus juger le Dogme impie?	And judge the impious dogma of the tempestuous Jean Hus?
Déjà ses partisans, ces Hussites fameux	Already his partisans, these famous Hussites,
Sont tombés sous les coups d'un bras victorieux	Have fallen under the blows of victorious arms
Et l'Empereur au Ciel aujourd'hui même	And the Holy Emperor himself
Rend grâce des exploits de ce héros qu'il aime!	Today gives thanks to Heaven the accomplishments of this hero whom he loves!

[43]Text taken from *Schlesinger-Garland*; save for minor variants, the text is essentially the same in *Schlesinger-Lemoine*, the manuscript fair copies, and printed libretti.

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The recitative of the *crieur* that follows the *Hosanna* chorus makes clear Léopold's role as conqueror of the Hussites:[44]

Act I, Scene ii (No. 1)

Monseigneur Léopold, avec l'aide de Dieu,	Monseigneur Léopold, with the help of God,
Des hussites ayant châtié l'insolence,	Having punished the Hussites for their insolence,
De par le saint concile assemblé dans Constance,	In the name of the holy council assembled in Constance,
De par notre Empereur, et Monseigneur Brogni,	In the name of our Emperor, and Monseigneur Brogni,
Largesse sera faite au peuple aujourd'hui!	Largesse will be given to the people today!

Other sources that show "*l'auto-da-fé*" as an early working title reinforce the connection with Catholic inquisitions and public executions and its use as a metaphor of intolerance. In a letter from the duc de Choiseul, president of the Commission de Surveillance, to the Ministre de l'Intérieur dated 21 May 1834--two weeks before *matériel* for the *mise-en-scène* had begun to be ordered and two months before Halévy had signed a contract with Schlesinger for publication rights--the opera is referred to only by this title. Complaining of his failed efforts to get information about the opera-in-progress, as discussed above, Choiseul wrote again to the Ministre two days later that he has finally learned the subject of "*L'Autodafé*": "il paroit que ce sujet d'inquisition amenera sur la scène, Cardinal, Gd. [Grand] Inquisiteurs et sa suite etc."[45] Choiseul promised to report more details after Véron explained the subject

[44]Text also taken from *Schlesinger-Garland*.

[45]AN, F[21]960, Dossier 5: "[...] it would appear that this subject of the inquisition will bring to the stage a Cardinal, Grand Inquisitors and their retinue, etc."

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before a special session of the Commission called by Choiseul. The references to the Inquisition and the use of religious figures made the Commission jittery. Choiseul's emphasis on "La Juive" as a possible title in this letter instead of "L'Autodafé" suggests that the final choice of title may have been made to squelch the Commission's fears.[46] Later correspondence shows a continuing concern over the subject that persisted into the rehearsal period.

During February 1835, a number of letters were exchanged among Choiseul, the Ministre, and Véron before the premiere.[47] A draft letter dated 3 February from the Ministre to Choiseul refers to the religious elements "dans les developpements du sujet et sur la mise en scène" and demands that the libretto manuscript that reflects changes made in rehearsal be sent to him immediately.[48] Véron responded the following day, promising to obtain from Scribe "un manuscrit correct et exact" that would show the "assez grand nombre de changements" made in the previous six rehearsals; he promised to bring it to him within twenty-four hours.[49] (This request

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[46]The dual title in the draft scenario, "Rachel ou l'auto-da-fé" (before Scribe replaced "Rachel" with "La juive"), corresponds with the original title of *Les Huguenots*: "Léonora ou St. Barthélemy." Clearly, the second parts of these original titles, in their direct references to historical events still controversial among the French public, were deemed too provocative. The title change to *La Juive* appears to have come at an earlier stage of development than that of *Les Huguenots*. In the *registre de copie* (BO, RE 235) that records the copying of several operas by the Leborne *atelier, "La Juive"* appears as title. At the top of the first page of the entry headed "La Juive" is the date January 1834, suggesting this to be the first working title choice several months before Choiseul's correspondence of May 1834. In this same source, "St. Barthélemy" is used, rather than "Les Huguenots."

[47]Also see correspondence discussed on p. 47.

[48]AN, AJ[13]202.

[49]*Ibid.* Letter dated 4 February 1835 from Véron to the Ministre.

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for a manuscript appears to challenge the "five-day-prior" stipulation of the 1831 *Cahier* supplement.) Although the premiere was delayed several times, as reported in the press, it appears that the expected date at this point may have been 16 February--thus, a little more than ten days after Véron promised to send the manuscript.[50] The review of the manuscript was not sufficient, however, to reassure the Ministre that the presentation of religious subject matter would not be "dangereuse"; a true assessment could not be made without seeing the *mise en scène*. The Ministre advised Choiseul, in a draft letter of 12 February, that the Commission should attend the last rehearsals before authorization of the work could be granted.[51] Members should observe the first, third, and fifth acts in particular,[52] that is, those acts that relate to the Catholic Church, including the singing of the *Te Deum*, the vitriolic attacks of Ruggiero and the Christian crowd, the cardinal's malediction, and the *auto-da-fé*. In Choiseul's letter of the same date (12 February), he suggested that the Ministre attend the last full orchestral rehearsals himself, "car dans la Commission il y pourrait alors des avis dictés par l'insouciance ou par des idées de progrès qui peut-être ne servient pas conformer aux sentimens et au bon goût de Votre Excellence."[53]

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[50]*Ibid.* A letter from Choiseul to the Ministre dated 12 February relays Véron's request for authorization of a *relâche* on 16 February, upping the first performance to 18 February.

[51]*Ibid.*, draft letter from the Ministre de l'Intérieur to the duc de Choiseul, dated 12 February 1835.

[52]*Ibid.*

[53]*Ibid.*: "because in the Commission there could be some opinions dictated by insouciance or by some ideas on progress which perhaps do not conform with the sentiments and the good taste of Your Excellency."

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Choiseul's suggestion reveals that the mix of conservative-liberal ideologies among members of the Commission and the Ministre resulted in varied responses to subject matter and that he, as a conservative, guarded against those who were more progressive--including Bertin, undoubtedly. Yet the conservative members apparently found nothing offensive when the Commission attended the dress rehearsal of the first and third acts on 12 February, as revealed in a formal report to the Ministre that proposed authorization of the first performance of *La Juive*:

Paris, le 13 février 1835

Monsieur Le Ministre,

La Commission de Surveillance a assisté hier, conformément à vos instructions à la répétition avec décors et costumes des 1er et 3e actes de la Juive, nouvel opéra en cinq actes, que M. Véron se propose de donner incessamment sur le théâtre de l'Académie Royale de Musique.

A la lecture qui lui avait été faite de cet opéra, la Commission n'avait trouvé rien qui ne fut très digne et très convenable, et s'étoit reservé, toutefois, de juger, par elle-même, de l'effet que pourroient produire sur les spectateurs les scènes principales des 1er, 3e, et 5e actes dans lesquelles des cérémonies religieuses devoient avoir lieu avec une sorte de solennité.

La Commission, Monsieur Le Ministre, a vu les 1er et 3e actes; les cérémonies qui ont lieu sont de celles que nos moeurs ont repoussées depuis longues années heureusement. On y voit figurer effectivement les membres les plus marquans du clergé, et notamment des Cardinaux; mais dans des costumes qui ne sont plus ceux d'aujourd'hui; on y voit aussi des croix, des bannières; mais tous ces emblèmes sont toujours dans la pièce, aussi bien que le clergé, l'objet de la vénération des populations, et tout ce qui se passe est tellement pris au sérieux, qu'il y aura impossibilité pour les esprits les plus mal intentionnés de rien tourner en dérision. L'opéra de Robert le diable, joué sur les théâtres de toutes les capitales de l'Europe, présente certainement dans la résurrection des soeurs du couvent de Ste Eulalie,

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et dans leurs danses, des inconvenances qu'on ne trouve pas dans l'opéra nouveau. Que seroit-ce donc si l'on rappeloit ici ces tems anciens, où la foi pourtant étant plus grande et le respect pour les choses saintes poussé bien plus loin que de nos jours, on alloit jusqu'à jouer les mystères, non sur un théâtre de premier ordre, mais dans de véritables parades, plus burlesques les unes que les autres?

La Commission, Monsieur Le Ministre, n'a pas encore vu le 5e acte de la Juive; mais elle s'est assurée que tout s'y passe avec autant de dignité et de convenance que dans les 1er et 3e actes; on y voit seulement figurer de plus des pénitents, cortège obligé d'un auto-da-fé.

En conséquence, Monsieur Le Ministre, la Commission, à l'unanimité, à l'honneur de vous proposer d'autoriser la représentation de la Juive, opéra en cinq actes, paroles de M. Scribe, musique de M. Halévy.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec un profond respect,

Monsieur Le Ministre,

Votre très humble serviteur,

Le Sec^{re} Membre de la Commission
de Surveillance,

F. de M[ourey][54]

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[54]AN, AJ^{13}202:

Paris, 13 February 1835

Monsieur Le Ministre,

Following your instructions, the Commission of Surveillance attended the rehearsal yesterday with scenery and costumes of the first and third acts of *La Juive*, new opera in five acts that M. Véron proposes to give soon on the stage of the Académie Royale de Musique.

In the reading of this opera which was made, the Commission did not find anything that was not very dignified and suitable, and nonetheless reserved the right to judge for itself the effect the principal scenes of the 1st, 3rd, and 5th acts, in which religious ceremonies were to take place with a kind of solemnity, could produce on the spectators.

The Commission, Monsieur Le Ministre, has now seen the 1st and 3rd acts; the ceremonies which take place are fortunately those that our morals have repudiated for years. One indeed sees there the most outstanding members of the clergy, and notably cardinals; but in costumes that are no longer those of today; one also sees crosses, banners; but all these emblems, as well as the clergy, are always the object of veneration of the populace in the drama, and everything that happens is considered so seriously that it would be impossible for the most badly intentioned to turn on anything in derision. The opera Robert le diable,

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This report suggests that the Commission was not alarmed about the basic subject matter itself, the historical treatment of the Council and its tribunal, or the depicted animosity between Jews and Christians. Rather, its primary concern was that the Christian ceremonies (nothing was mentioned about the Jewish service in the second act), religious figures, and emblems be presented in a dignified and solemn manner. Unlike *Robert le Diable*, with its scene of the dancing "debauched nuns" that the Commission regretted, *La Juive*, so the Commission perceived, presented all its religious elements in a manner that suited the general morality.

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played in the theaters of all the capitals of Europe, certainly presents in the resurrection of the sisters of the Convent of Ste. Eulalie and in their dances problems that are not found in the new opera. What would it be, then, if one recalled olden times when faith was greater and respect for saintly things went far beyond that of today, one went so far as to present mystery plays, not in a theater of the first order, but in the form of true farces, each more burlesque than the last?

The Commission, Monsieur le Ministre, has not yet seen the 5th act of la Juive; but it was assured that everything in it occurs with as much dignity and appropriateness as in the 1st and 3rd acts: one sees in it only more penitents, obligatory cortege of an *auto-da-fé*.

Consequently, Monsieur le Ministre, the Commission unanimously has the honor of advising that you authorize the performance of la Juive, opera in five acts, words of M. Scribe, music of M. Halévy.

I have the honor of being with a profound respect,

Monsieur Le Ministre,

Your very humble servant,

The Secretary Member of the
Commission of Supervision

F. de M[ourey]

(This letter is partially quoted in Fulcher, *Nation's Image*, 84.)

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In the Commission's *rapport* (dated 10 March) on the premiere, it again demonstrates its satisfaction with the religious treatment, with the added point that the luxurious *mise en scène* had not detracted from the religious ceremonies, but had enhanced them: "Les prévisions de la Commission ont été confirmées: l'effet général produit par la représentation n'a rien de fâcheux pour la religion malgré le luxe et peut-être même à cause du luxe déployé dans les cérémonies religieuses et de leur caractère sérieux."[55] The unprecedented magnificence of costume and decor that elicited effusive commentary in the press pleased the Commission, meeting and reaching beyond its criteria for grandness.

Behind the Commission's concerns about the work's religious aspects, Fulcher contends, was a renewed "politically conciliatory attitude toward the church" that was emerging in the regime of Louis Philippe as it became more authoritarian and less revolutionary in character.[56] The joining of religious ceremony with royal pomp is indicative of this ideological shift, Fulcher believes: because the dignity of Christian ceremony was maintained, the work was not overtly anti-clerical, not in the same way as *Robert le diable*, nor overtly anti-authoritarian.

In comparison with the dancing of the "debauched nuns" in *Robert* or the presentation of priests, bishops, and popes as villains, murderers, and Lotharios in satirical works that appeared in other Parisian theaters shortly after 1830, the anti-

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[55]AN, AJ[13]202: "The expectations of the Commission have been confirmed: the general effect produced by the performance has nothing regrettable for religion despite the luxury and perhaps even because of the luxury deployed in the religious ceremonies and their serious character."

[56]Fulcher, *Nation's Image*, 82.

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clerical, anti-authoritarian elements of *La Juive* were certainly tepid and veiled. As Krakovitch enumerates, profane works with such titles as *Le Mariage du capucin*, *Le Jésuite*, and *Le Te Deum et le tocsin* were performed shortly after the liberty of the theater was declared by the Charter of 1830.[57] The type of anti-clericalism represented in these satires emerged, along with dramatic portrayals of Napoleon, as reactions against the previous regime.

Prior to this time, the presentation of religious ceremony and religious officials was highly scrutinized and usually censored. After the reinstitution of theatrical censorship in September 1835, references to and portrayals of the clergy or authoritarian Catholicism were once again scrutinized by the censors, who rejected provocative works or passages. Yet many works with religious subjects were accepted--including *Les Huguenots* (1836) and *Benvenuto Cellini* (1838)--although passages were excised.[58] *Impéria*, a work destined for the Vaudeville in 1841 that was reminiscent of the anti-clerical satires of the early July Monarchy, was suppressed by the censors.[59] Yet *Don Sébastien, roi du Portugal* was approved in 1843, despite the fact that the Grand Inquisitor was characterized as an embodiment of evil.[60] According to Krakovitch, the approval came because the Inquisition was not viewed as a politically harmful symbol since it no longer existed in France--

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[57]Krakovitch, *Hugo censuré*, 157.

[58]Rehearsals for *Les Huguenots* had already begun at least by May 1835, however, several months before the September law.

[59]Krakovitch, *Hugo censuré*, 160.

[60]*Ibid.* (Verdi's Inquisitor in *Don Carlos* [1867] is similarly malevolent.)

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perhaps a reasoning shared by the Commission overseeing *La Juive*.[61] But shortly after, from 1843 to 1848, the presentation of religious figures was examined with a renewed severity, leading to the suppression of new dramas, as well as the revival of old works, which showed ecclesiastics as immoral, particularly sexually immoral.[62]

The increasing conservativeness of the pre-censorship Commission of 1834-35, as reflected in its initial wariness about the religious-political aspects of *La Juive*, undoubtedly affected the development of the libretto. Although the Commission was not a censorship body, it is likely that Scribe and other creators felt indirectly, or perhaps directly, the hesitations of at least some of its members and thus subdued or obscured potentially offensive aspects of plot and characterization. As several scholars have suggested, Scribe's long success as a playwright and librettist was partially dependent on his skills of self-censorship, of knowing what would be acceptable within each political climate.[63] In this way, as in the controls suggested in the 1834-35 correspondence between the Commission and the Ministre, censorship, although "unofficial," certainly seemed to be at work. The potential threat of repressive censorship, as exercised in 1832 with the banning of Hugo's *Le Roi s'amuse*, would have been fresh in Scribe's mind as he worked on the libretto.[64]

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[61]*Ibid.*

[62]*Ibid.*, 162-66.

[63]See, e.g., Fulcher, *Nation's Image*, 24.

[64]See discussion in Chapter 2, pp. 52-53.

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The grandness and solemnity of Christian ceremony, as well as the sympathetic characterization of the central Catholic figure, Cardinal Brogni, which to some degree acted as foils to the work's ideological agenda, may have been conscious attempts to make the opera palatable to the Commission, the Ministre, and conservative Catholics. Although there is no evidence to prove such speculation, that Cardinal Brogni (the one Church representative who is given a role) was not presented as corrupt or unsympathetic may have been an act of self-censorship, particularly in light of the anti-clerical sentiments the librettist expresses in his travel journals. Among his journal descriptions of Constance and Avignon, Scribe includes several statements that portray Church officials as immoral. In addition to his comment that the Inquisitors of Avignon were inspired by the devil (see pp. 281-82), Scribe pointedly notes that the papal living quarters were near the rooms and places of torture, condemnation, and death, as if to point out that the popes condoned the heinous proceedings with clear consciences. Following his commentary on Constance, Scribe describes his visit to the church and abbey of St. Gall on 31 July 1826, characterizing the priests of St. Gall as "prélats inquiets et turbulents qui ont toujours jetté le desordre dans la suisse."[65]

Perhaps another attempt to appease was the inclusion of a biographical sketch of Cardinal Brogni drawn from *Biographie universelle* beneath the list of *personnages* in the printed libretto. Although this passage straightforwardly presents the cardinal's

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[65]BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22584, vol. 1 (1826), fol. 16r: "[...] uneasy and turbulent prelates who have always thrown disorder among the Swiss people."

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vital role in the Council and reveals his opposition to Hus and his followers, there is no conspicuous ideological slant or finger-pointing:

> L'extinction du schisme et le maintien de l'autorité de l'église menacée en allemagne par les nouvelles opinions des hussites, étaient ce qui affectait le plus le cardinal. Malgré son grand âge il se rendit à Constance au mois d'août de l'année 1414 pour s'y concerter avec les magistrats et les commissaires impériaux sur la venue du concile qui devait rendre la paix à l'église. Il se présida pendant quarante sessions et eut jour et nuit des conférences avec l'empereur Sigismond, avec les princes et les prélats, etc.[66]

Scribe undoubtedly included this passage to clarify, in a non-inflammatory way, the association of the cardinal with the Council's decisions. Likewise, in the opera's action, the cardinal appears somewhat remote from the Council in Act IV; in Act V, Brogni does appear standing with the cardinals of the Council as the final death sentences are announced, but he does not speak any words as representative of this tribunal.

In much of the opera, there is an emphasis on the cardinal as a just, compassionate Church father, particularly in the pivotal air of the first act, "Si la rigueur," which diffuses the first attack on the Jews. Besides the possibility of self-censorship behind the manifestations of Brogni's compassion, Scribe may have wanted

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[66]The paragraph appears in the 18 February printed libretto and in subsequent libretti. The citation given is "*Biographie Universelle*, tom. 6, pag. V": "The ending of the schism and the maintenance of the authority of the church threatened in Germany by the new opinions of the Hussites were what affected the cardinal the most. Despite his advanced age, he went to Constance in the month of August of the year 1414 to meet with magistrates and imperial officers on the grounds of the Council which should give peace to the church. He presided during forty sessions and had meetings day and night with the Emperor Sigismond, with princes and prelates, etc." See Appendix I.

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to create a morally complex drama that went beyond the simplistic formula of good *versus* evil.[67] In his Voltairian attack on fanaticism, Scribe targeted both sides, counterbalancing, to some degree, the dogmatic behavior of Éléazar with the actions of Ruggiero and the Catholic crowds. As discussed below, this "sharing" of fanaticism between both Jews and Catholics offered greater complexity and ambivalence of character as well as universality of message.

The presentation of Sigismund as a mute figurehead who does not take part in the action, but whose presence is heralded by celebratory choruses, suggests self-censorship more blatantly political in nature. A direct attack on a royal figure was still questionable during this comparatively liberal period, as realized in the suppression of *Le Roi s'amuse*.[68] The visual allusions to Sigismund's part in the Council were not lost on Parisian audiences, however, at least not to educated and politically sensitive individuals such as Alexandre Dumas *père*, who emphasized, like Voltaire, Sigismund's guilt and responsibility in the fate of Jan Hus in an article for the *Gazette Musicale de Paris*.[69] Dumas writes a large portion of the article as travelogue of an 1832 visit to Constance, with more than a few similarities to Scribe's journal descriptions. Dumas reports seeing wax figures of Hus and Jerome of Prague and makes a point of relating a fact that is included in a manuscript chronicle: the

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[67]As discussed in Chapter 3, Scribe wrote a number of dramas in which he assigned negative characteristics to protagonists and antagonists.

[68]Yet Scribe initially included Catherine des Médici in the action of *Les Huguenots*, before the role was suppressed by the censors.

[69]Alexandre Dumas, "La Juive," *Gazette Musicale de Paris* II/17 (26 April 1835), 142, 144-45.

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presence of 2,788 courtesans at the Council to accommodate soldiers, as well as priests and cardinals.[70] Dumas's allusion to sexual immorality among Church figures corresponds to the even bolder accusations prevalent during the early years of the July Monarchy mentioned above.

Finally, Scribe may have chosen not to center his plot around the Council's persecution of Hus so as to diffuse his critique through historical allusion rather than reenactment. Or, he may have deviated from historical fact merely to avoid repeating himself too obviously with a conflict similar to the Catholic/Protestant pairing featured in *Les Huguenots*, which had been slated for performance before *La Juive*. Scribe's substitution of Jews as protagonists was a logical one, since they had frequently been Inquisition victims, particularly of the Spanish Inquisition.[71] Reminders of such persecutions are alluded to in recitative of Éléazar, particularly in his disclosure that his sons had perished "sur le bûcher" (in Act I, Scene iii).

The intolerance toward and persecution of the Jewish characters is made palpable in many scenes of the opera, including three powerful scenes in the first act:[72]

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[70]Compare this to the figure cited by Voltaire and by a reviewer in *Le Constitutionnel*, referred to on p. 310 below.

[71]In Voltaire's chapter on the Inquisition in *Essai sur les moeurs*, 681-82 (shortly before his description of the *auto-da-fé* quoted above), he discusses the victimization of Jews and Muslims.

[72]These excerpts are taken from *Schlesinger-Garland*, with some punctuation marks taken from *Schlesinger-Lemoine*; significant variants that appear in the printed libretti of 18 February 1835 (AN, AJ[13]202) and 23 February 1835 (BO, Livr. 19[274) are noted.

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Act I, Scene i

PLUSIEURS GENS DU PEUPLE
En ce jour de fête publique,
Quel est donc ce logis où l'on travaille encor?

D'AUTRES
C'est le logis d'un hérétique,
Du Juif Éléazar
Qu'on dit tout cousu d'or!

SEVERAL PEOPLE IN THE CROWD
In this day of public celebration,
Whose house is this where one is still working?

OTHERS
This is the house of a heretic,
Of the Jew Éléazar
Who is said to be rolling in riches!

Acte I, Scène 3

RUGGIERO, à Éléazar
Juif!... ton audace impie
Mérité le trépas!
Travailler dans un jour de fête!

ÉLÉAZAR
Et pourquoi pas?
Ne suis-je point fils d'Israel*
Et le Dieu des chrétiens m'ordonne-
t'il à moi.

RUGGIERO
Tais-toi!
(au peuple)
Vous l'entendez, au ciel même il insulte,**
Il maudit notre sainte loi.

ÉLÉAZAR
Et pourquoi l'aimerais-je?
Par vous sur le bûcher, et me tendant les bras,
J'ai vu périr mes fils!

RUGGIERO
Eh bien, tu les suivras!
***La mort au sacrilège
Et ton juste supplice aux yeux de l'Empereur

De ce jour solennel doublera la splendeur.

Act I, Scene iii

RUGGIERO, to Éléazar
Jew!... your impious audacity
Deserves death!
To work on a day of celebration!

ÉLÉAZAR
And why not?
Am I not a son of Israel*
And the God of the Christians gives me orders?

RUGGIERO
Quiet!
(to the crowd)
You hear him, he is insulting heaven itself!**
He curses our sacred law.

ÉLÉAZAR
And why would I love it?
On your orders, I saw my sons perish at the stake
while reaching out to me!

RUGGIERO
Well, you will follow them!
***Death to the sacrilegious
And your just execution in the eyes of the
Emperor
Will double the splendor of this solemn day.

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Variants in February 18/23 libretti:
*Je ne suis de votre culte,
Et le Dieu de Jacob peut me permettre à moi.
**Et par lui notre sainte loi
Est *détestée!*
***Cruel! (Rachel)
Ta fille aussi! (Ruggiero)

Variants in February 18/23 libretti:
*I am not of your religion,
And the God of Jacob can allow me mine.
**And our sacred law by him
Is detested!
***Cruel! (Rachel)
Your daughter also! (Ruggiero)

Act I, Scene vi
(Final)

RUGGIERO
Ah! grand Dieu! que vois-je!
Quelle audace impie!
Aux portes de l'Eglise un Juif se réfugie!
Vous le voyez, Chrétiens, et vous souffrez
L'empreinte de ses pas sur les marbres sacrés!

TOUS
Il a raison!

RUGGIERO
Suivez l'exemple
Du Dieu saint qui chassa tous les vendeurs du temple!

CHOEUR DU PEUPLE
Au lac!
Oui, plongeons dans le lac
Cette race rebelle et criminelle!

Au lac!
Oui, plongeons dans le lac
Ces Hébreux, ces maudits, ces enfants d'Isaac!*

Variants in February 18/23 libretti
*The final line is only: "ces enfants d'Isaac."

Act I, Scene vi
(Final)

RUGGIERO
Ah! Great God! What do I see!
What impious audacity!
In the doors of the church a Jew takes refuge!
You see him, Christians, and you allow
The imprint of his steps on the sacred marble!

EVERYONE
He is right!

RUGGIERO
Follow the example
Of the Holy Lord who chased the vendors from the temple!

CHOIR OF PEOPLE
To the lake!
Yes, let's plunge in the lake
This rebellious and criminal race

To the lake!
Yes, let's plunge in the lake
These Hebrews, these accursed ones, these children of Isaac!*

A further look into Scribe's journal commentary and consideration of his other

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religious-political dramas reinforce the idea that, despite his representation of justice and compassion in the character of Cardinal Brogni, he was most concerned with highlighting abuses of power linked to the Catholic Church and to intolerant regimes. His appropriation of the Council of Constance and its burning of heretics, although with modifications, was both realistic and metaphorical. The reality of these historical events reinforced the validity of his critique; as in other dramas and novels (such as *Ivanhoe*), this setting of a historically distant past had incisive, contemporary applications.

Voltairian convictions can certainly be sensed in one allusion in Scribe's travel journal to the *philosophe*/Church polemic, when he reacts to the irony of the appearance of a verse of Voltaire beside a tomb in the Avignon cathedral, with its legacy of the ill-treatment of those judged as heretics.[73] Furthermore, Scribe's entries for his 1827 visit to Avignon and a return visit in 1846 point to more contemporary associations of a despotic Church and State. It was in Avignon, Scribe notes, that sixty-six "unfortunates" were also mutilated by "the good inhabitants of the Midi" during the Revolution and that a Napoleonic marshal was murdered in 1815. Such "habitual ferocity" had been inherited by the Avignonais from their ancestors, "les mauvais sujets de france et d'italie" who had sought asylum when Avignon was under the popes.[74] In the 1846 entry, Scribe identifies these descendents as "la populace legitimiste avignonaise." Although almost twenty years had passed, Scribe's

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[73]BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22584, vol. 2, fol. 19^{v}.

[74]*Ibid.*, vol. 2 (1827), fol. 20^{r}.

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descriptions of the tortures and massacres linked with Avignon evoke the same sentiments expressed in 1827, but with even more passion. After itemizing these anew, he remarks: "tel est l'ensemble des petits moyens de conviction employés autrefois pour éclairer et convertir ceux qui refusaient de croire."[75] He concludes, on this eve of the Revolution of 1848, that "un temple à la liberté politique et religieuse" should be erected in Avignon, the site of so many injustices.[76]

The passionate feelings that the Halévys had about political and religious freedom undoubtedly produced a happy collaboration among the creators of the text and music of *La Juive*. Journal entries of the young composer, as well as historical, journalistic, and dramatic works of his brother, reveal anti-authoritarian and anti-clerical attitudes closely in line with those of Scribe. In his curiosity about the treatment of Jews "in the capital of the Christian world" and his description of the impoverished, ghettoized Jewish community (see pp. 147-51 and Appendix C), Fromental Halévy does not make a direct association between Jewish misery and Catholic oppression, but the probability of such a link is intimated in another entry, in which Voltairian sentiments are echoed in his description of Italian Catholicism:

> La première chose qui frappe l'étranger à son arrivée en Italie, c'est l'extrême superstition du peuple & son extrême corruption.
>
> [...] voilà le peuple à Rome, & surtout à Naples; beaucoup de prêtres, de moines, de madonnes, des croix à tous les coins de rues, des

---

[75]*Ibid.*, vol. 5, fol. 7r (22 May 1846): "such is the ensemble of small means of conviction used in earlier times to enlighten and convert those who refused to believe."

[76]*Ibid.*, vol. 5 (1847), 7.

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> indulgences attachés à l'adoration de ces madonnes, voilà la cause de cet état du peuple.[77]

Léon Halévy's reference in his second *Résumé* (see p. 166) to anti-semitic machinations by French Catholics to keep Jews from institutional positions makes a strong case for Jewish victimization at the hands of Catholics.

Despite the substitution of characters and the ambiguous treatment of the Council and the cardinal, other responses in the press besides Dumas's emphasized the historical significance of the Council in alignment with the anti-clerical attitudes of the Halévys and Scribe. The liberal *Constitutionnel* began its review of 25 February 1835 with an elaborate description of the Council full of acerbic allusions to its unjust actions, its excessive wealth, and the immorality and hypocrisy surrounding its ceremony:

> Le concile de Constance est fameux parmi les conciles, par le nombre de princes ecclésiastiques et séculiers qui y concourent, par l'importance des questions que les passions religieuses y provoquèrent, et par les tristes bûchers qu'y éleva l'intolérance. Vaste, magnifique et lugubre arène qui s'ouvrit en des pompes solennelles et dans des splendeurs d'un luxe inouï, se pronlongea en subtiles arguties et en brillans exercices de science théologique, et finit cruellement par deux supplices lamentables. Ainsi, toute la physionomie et toute l'histoire du quinzième siècle se réfléchissent dans ce célèbre conclave, comme dans un immense miroir. Les richesses et les prodigalités des prélats y témoignent leurs moeurs cupides et corrompues, lèpre de l'église, contre laquelle Wicleff et Jean Hus, ces deux précurseurs de Luther,

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[77] *Ibid.*, 3[r]: "The first thing that strikes the foreigner when he arrives in Italy is the extreme superstition and corruption of the people.

[...] here are the people in Rome, and especially in Naples; an abundance of priests, monks, madonnas, crosses on all street corners, indulgences attached to the adoration of these madonnas, here is the cause of this condition of the people."

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provoquaient déjà les sévérités de la réforme. La prédominance de l'esprit dogmatique et ascétique du temps, y éclate en longues paraphrases, où non seulement les cardinaux, les évêques et les abbés, mais les rois et les barons entrent tout cuirassés d'argumens, et se montrent diserts. Dans les querelles et les intrigues qui firent flotter le concile, de la papauté de Jean à celle de Benoît, de celle de Benoît à celle de Grégoire, on retrouve les marques de la lutte des anti-papes, cet autre scandale et cette grande plaie du 14e et 15e siècles. Enfin pour attester le fanatisme de cette curieuse et déplorable époque, le cruel aveuglement et la foi cruelle des persécuteurs et des victimes, voyez Jean Hus et Jérôme de Prague, attaqués et condamnés comme deux criminels, défendant leurs doctrines et montant intrépidement au bûcher comme deux martyrs.

Le concile dura quatre ans, de 1414 à 1418; pendant quatre ans, l'Europe fut attentive à ce merveilleux spectacle, où les plus singuliers contrastes se trouvent réunix, l'orgueil et le luxe de l'église à côté de la simplicité de son institution primitive, l'intolérance hautaine et barbare en regard des dogmes de charité et de fraternité, les saints hymnes et les saintes prières mêlés aux ruses et aux jeux d'esprit des docteurs et des clercs, le temple et l'autel de Dieu de miséricorde tout voisins des fagots ardents et de la hache du bourreau. Constance, la ville impériale, était alors tout à la fois un evaste église, un tribunal, une Sorbonne, un camp, un bazar, une immense salle de fêtes et de festins, et un cirque pour les martyrs.

[...]

On n'imaginerait pas la grande et singulière émigration qu'amena après elle à Constance cette foule armée et tonsurée, portant le glaive ou l'Evangile, la dalmatique ou le manteau royal: il arrivera à sa suite plus de soixante orfèvres pour la parer d'or ou de pierreries, quatre cent cinquante marchands de toutes espèces, deux cent cordonniers, quatre-vingt-six pelletiers, trois cent six barbiers, soixante-douze banquiers, soixante-cinq apothicaires; et ce qui donne une haute idée de la chasteté du concile, près de huit cent courtisanes.[78]

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[78]Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 9-10: "The Council of Constance is famous among the councils for the number of ecclesiatical and secular princes who converged there, for the importance of the questions that the religious passions provoked, and for the dreadful burnings at the stake that intolerance elevated. Vast, magnificent, and lugubrious arena that opened in solemn pomp and in splendors of an extraordinary wealth, [it] persisted in subtle quibbles and in brilliant exercises of theological science and ended cruelly with two appalling executions. Thus, all the physiognomy and all the history of the fifteenth century are reflected in this famous conclave, as in an immense mirror. The riches and the extravagances of the prelates reveal their greedy and corrupt morals, leprosy of the church, against which Wycliffe and Jan

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The Voltairian foundation to this review is evident, offering another type of liaison between Voltaire's treatment of the Council in *Essai sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations* and *La Juive*'s setting. It is likely that Voltaire's essay was a source that influenced authorial intent behind the choice of setting as well as its reception. One element linking the Voltaire account and the *Constitutionnel* review but seemingly missing from the opera is the allusion to the sexual immorality of Church figures. In the *Constitutionnel* description of the numerous participants that resembles Voltaire's own narrative cited below, the "almost 800 courtesans" servicing the Council closely matches Voltaire's figure of 718 courtesans:

Hus, these two precursors of Luther, already invoked severities of reform. The predominance of the dogmatic and ascetic spirit of the time explodes in long paraphrases, where not only the cardinals, bishops, and priests, but the kings and barons enter into arguments and appear eloquent. In the quarrels and intrigues that made the Council drift, from the papacy of John to that of Benoît, from that of Benoît to that of Gregory, one recognizes the traces of the struggle of anti-papal forces, this other scandal and this great wound of the 14th and 15th centuries. Finally, to attest to the fanaticism of this curious and deplorable epoch, the cruel blindness and the cruel faith of persecutors and of victims--see Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague, attacked and condemned like two criminals, defending their doctrines and intrepidly walking to the stake as two martyrs.

The Council lasted four years, from 1414 to 1418; during four years, Europe was attentive to this marvelous spectacle, where the most remarkable contrasts were found, the pride and the luxury of the church next to the simplicity of its primitive institution, the haughty and barbarous intolerance opposite the dogmas of charity and fraternity, the saintly hymns and prayers mixed with the trickery and intellectual games of professors and scholars, the church and the altar of the God of mercy, next to the burning fires and the executioner's ax. Constance, the imperial city, was then, at one and the same time, a vast church, a tribunal, a Sorbonne, a camp, a bazaar, an immense room of celebration and feasts, and a circus for the martyrs.

[...]

One could not imagine the great and unique emigration that this armed and tonsured crowd brought with it to Constance, carrying the sword or the gospel, the dalmatic or the royal mantle: with its suite came more than 60 goldsmiths in order to adorn it in gold or gems, 450 tradesmen of all types, 200 cobblers, 86 apothecaries, 306 barbers, 72 bankers, and, what gives a good idea of the chastity of the Council, almost 800 courtesans."

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> Outre la foule de prélats et de docteurs, il y eut cent vingt-huit grands vassaux de l'Empire. L'empereur y fut presque toujours présent. Les électeurs de Mayence, de Saxe, du Palatinat, de Brandebourg, les ducs de Bavière, d'Autriche et de Silésie y assistèrent; vingt-sept ambassadeurs y représentèrent leurs souverains; chacun y disputa de luxe et de magnificence: on en peut juger par le nombre de cinquante orfèvres qui vinrent s'y établir avec leurs ouvriers pendant la tenue du concile. On y compta cinq cents joueurs d'instrumens, qu'on appelait alors ménétriers, et sept cent dix-huit courtisanes sous la protection du magistrat. Il fallut bâtir des cabanes de bois pour loger tous ces esclaves du luxe et de l'incontinence, que les seigneurs et, dit-on, les pères du concile traînaient après eux.[79]

A review in the *Journal des débats* (25 February 1835) reinforces the likelihood that the action on stage was in fact interpreted, at least by liberal newspapers, as an illustration of sexual immorality of religious leaders: it refers to the "flock of young women" who dance before the Council, after commenting that "[o]n a calculé le nombre des courtisanes du concile de Constance."[80]

A review of the premiere in the royalist/legitimist paper, *La Gazette de France*--although written with a different political bias--more explicitly reveals that the work was received as an illustration of Voltairian views. In the review's attack

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[79]Voltaire, *Essai*, 415: "In addition to the crowd of prelates and doctors, there were one hundred twenty-eight grand vassals of the Empire. The emperor was almost always present. The electors of Mainz, Saxony, the Palatinate, Brandenburg, the dukes of Bavaria, Austria, and Silesia were also present; twenty-seven ambassadors represented their sovereigns there; each vied for luxury and magnificence: one can judge that by the number of fifty goldsmiths who were established there with their workers during the tenure of the Council. One counted 500 players of instruments, who were then called minstrels, and 718 courtesans under the protection of the magistrate. It was necessary to build wooden cabins to lodge all the slaves of luxury and incontinence that the lords and, it is said, the fathers of the Council trailed after them." Dumas's number of courtesans at the Council was more than double those given by Voltaire and the *Constitutionnel*; see p. 304 above.

[80]Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 106: "the number of courtesans of the Council of Constance has been calculated."

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on *La Juive* as a "véritable petit chef-d'oeuvre dans le genre voltairien" and an anachronistic example "du philosophisme voltairien le mieux conditionné,"[81] the writer focuses on historical distortions in the opera's setting. He sees much of the treatment of the Council of Constance as "un grand outrage à la religion" and a parody of the history of the Catholic Church. One aspect with which he takes issue is the opera's presentation of Jews, finding, first of all, "une grande erreur" in the juxtaposition of Éléazar's house with a church and with his disruption of Christian worship. Interpreting literally, the writer views this close contact between Jews and Christians as an impossibility in this early era (just as in the present day in many countries, he adds). In this vein, the reviewer continues to condemn the interactions depicted between Jews and Christians, sarcastically pointing out, for example, the improbability of Léopold, conqueror of the Hussites, coming "to judaicize" ("judaïser") or celebrate Passover in Constance.

Instead of condemning the Christians for their intolerance of Éléazar, however, the reviewer supports their anger by first admonishing the character for not adhering to Moses's sternly delivered law of observing the Sabbath and then arguing that the Christian religion asks only "qu'on ne trouble pas ses cérémonies de propos délibéré."[82] He harshly rejects the opera's attack on Christian intolerance:

> On parle de barbarie, d'ignorance et de fanatisme d'un autre âge et l'on vous traite au premier théatre national comme le peuple le plus sot, le

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[81]Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 50.

[82]*Ibid.*, 51: "that one not disturb its ceremonies deliberately."

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> plus crédule et le plus abruti; on cherche à vous fanatiser contre une religion dont la tolérance est le premier principe.[83]

The reviewer scoffs at the Council's action of condemning the Jews to death in the opening paragraph: "Voyez-vous les pères du concile de Constance s'occupant par manière de récréation, à faire, en grande cérémonie bouillir des Juifs dans une chaudière!"[84] Later, in his description of the fifth act, the acerbic sarcasm continues as he speaks of the cauldron sitting onstage like "un grand pot-au-feu" while the people joyfully sang. The only thing that was missing, he mocks, was an accompanying ballet since:

> dans le quinzième siècle les chrétiens étaient barbares et féroces comme les cannibales, les conciles faisaient des sacrifices humains et le peuple dansait et chantait autour des bûchers et des chaudières en dansant sur des airs exécutées à grand orchestre: plaisir, ivresse et joie![85]

The reviewer ignores the historic parallel to the burning of Hus and Jerome, which is noted by the *Constitutionnel* writer.[86] Moreover, he denies the responsibility of the Council (and other Church Councils) in corporal punishment,

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[83]*Ibid.*, 51: "There is talk of barbarism, ignorance and fanaticism of another age and one treats you, in the premier national theatre, as the most stupid, credulous, and besotted people; one looks to make you a fanatic against a religion in which tolerance is the first principle."

[84]*Ibid.*, 50: "Look at the fathers of the Council of Constance occupying themselves in a recreational manner, making a great ceremony of boiling some Jews in a cauldron!"

[85]*Ibid.*: "in the 15th century the Christians were barbarous and savage like cannibals, the Councils made human sacrifices, and the people danced and sang around the stakes and cauldrons, dancing to the tunes performed with a great orchestra: pleasure, ecstasy and joy!"

[86]*Ibid.*, 11.

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claiming that the political state was alone culpable in the death of Hus. This attack on Christianity, through the distorted treatment of the Council was, according to the reviewer, the most socially destructive and the most Voltairian element of the opera:

> La chose est de grave conséquence; on ne ment pas impunément à l'égard de l'institution la plus nécessaire à l'ordre social. Où M. Scribe a-t-il pris que les conciles prononçassent des condamnations, choisissent des supplices, et assistassent aux derniers momens de ceux qu'on exécutait? Les conciles ont jugé des doctrines et condamné des erreurs, mais jamais ils n'ont prononcé d'arrêt contre les hommes. Son drame pêche donc dans sa base principale, la vérité historique. Il est un grand outrage à la religion et il lui attribue précisement ce que les lois de l'église interdisaient à la juridiction ecclésastique: l'effusion de sang, les arrêts capitaux. Les pouvoirs politiques ont pu à cet égard outrepasser les lois de l'humanité et les règles de la modération; mais ce n'est pas la religion qu'il faut en accuser. Le concile de Constance a fait des efforts inouïs pour sauver Jean Hus qui était non-seulement un hérétique, mais encore un factieux, un chef d'émeute; l'obstination de cet homme et les violences de ses partisans ont seules obligé le pouvoir temporel à sévir contre lui.
>
> Ce n'est pas ici le lieu de faire un cours de théologie et d'histoire ecclésiastique et si j'ai pris la liberté de me moquer de M. Scribe parce qu'il a travesti sous les oripeaux de l'Opéra les choses de la religion, je ne veux pas lui donner lieu de se moquer de moi si je traitais trop sérieusement ses tromperies historiques, ses anachronismes et sa philosophie voltairienne. [...]
>
> [...] Il faut qu'un écrivain comme M. Scribe soit bien malheureux lorsque, tourmenté du besoin de mettre en scène les principes de l'église, des évêques, des prêtres et un peuple chrétien, il ne trouve dans son imagination qu'une action atroce, dégoutante, ridicule et fausse par dessus le marché, au lieu de tant d'exemples d'héroïsme, de vertus, de charité sublime et de dévouement à la cause de l'humanité.
>
> Ce qui est odieux dans toutes ces élaborations voltairiennes, c'est la mauvaise foi avec laquelle on attribue à la religion ce qui

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> appartient aux pouvoirs politiques, aux partis et aux passions du temps.[87] [my emphasis]

This reviewer definitely reveals himself as an apologist for the Council, of the sort who would have been condemned by Voltaire in his account. His reactions, reflecting the pro-Church, royalist bias of *La Gazette*, juxtaposed against the liberal views of Dumas and the *Constitutionnel* reviewer, exemplify the absolutist-liberal polemic that permeated French writing throughout the Restoration and July Monarchy. It is obvious that these accounts were vehicles for political-philosophical views. They also point to the ambiguity of interpretation that existed in the opera's subject, its presentation, and its reception. The extravagant staging of the processions

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[87]*Ibid.*, 58-59: "The matter is of grave consequence: one does not lie with impunity with regard to the institution that is the most necessary to the social order. Where has M. Scribe learned that the councils would pronounce condemnations, choose capital punishment, and witness the last moments of those who were executed? The councils judged doctrines and condemned errors, but never did they pronounce death against men. Thus his drama errs in its principal foundation, historical truth. It is a great insult to religion and it attributes to it precisely what the laws of the church prohibit in the ecclesiastical jurisdiction: bloodshed, capital deaths. The political powers could in this regard exceed the laws of humanity and the rules of moderation; but it is not religion that should be accused of it. The Council of Constance made unprecedented efforts to save Jean Hus, who was not only a heretic, but also a troublemaker, a chief of rebellion; the obstinacy of this man and the violences of his partisans alone forced the temporal power to deal with him severely.

This is not the place to give a lecture of theology and ecclesiastical history and if I have taken the liberty to make fun of M. Scribe because he has made a travesty of religious things under the tinsels of the Opéra, I do not want to give him reason for mocking me if I treated his historical frauds, anachronisms, and Voltairian philosophy too seriously. [...]

[...] It is necessary that a writer like M. Scribe be truly unfortunate when, tormented by the need to stage the principles of the church, bishops, priests, and a Christian people, he finds in his imagination only an atrocious, distasteful, ridiculous, and false action in the bargain, in place of so many examples of heroism, virtues, sublime charity, and devotion to the cause of humanity.

What is odious in all these Voltairian elaborations is the bad faith with which one attributes to religion what belongs to political powers, parties, and passions of the times."

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and ceremony, for example, was viewed either as illustration of the lofty grandeur of the Church or, in another light, of its excesses and hypocrisy, as seen in the *Constitutionnel* review echoing Voltaire's interpretation of the Council. But the work's reception underscores the Voltairian critique that was clearly at the heart of the opera's religious conflict and its setting at the Council of Constance.

As the *Gazette* critic accused, the central aim of Scribe and Halévy was to stage an attack on religious intolerance and, more indirectly, on the inhumanities of absolutist political regimes. The victimization of Jews by hate-filled Christians was the most concrete realization of this attack, but, at the same time, the actions of Éléazar also warned against the malevolence of intolerance. As we shall explore in the following chapter, the development of the opera reveals the centrality of the conflict, as well as a shift away from a strong pro-Christian stance in Scribe's early conception toward a sharper focus on Jewish persecution, as well as a more even-handed portrayal of the two opposing groups.

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CHAPTER 6

MUSICAL-DRAMATIC INTENSIFICATION OF THE RELIGIOUS CONFLICT

The antagonism between Jews and Christians, exposed in the numerous confrontations and allusions to enmity in the libretto and enhanced by the musical setting, creates a significant proportion of the dramatic tension of the opera. Evidence from *La Juive*'s compositional history signals the importance of the religious conflict and underscores the ideological intent behind its presentation. In addition to minor textual changes, substantive alterations made to the opera during the long rehearsal period and following the premiere directly intensify the conflict or indirectly sharpen the focus on it. These changes also emphasize the authors' desire to characterize not only the fanatical intolerance of the Christians but also that of the Jew Éléazar, and to balance the bigotry of each religion with some degree of sincerity and magnanimity. Through the early-stage change in the denouement from Rachel's conversion to death, however, came a shift away from a definite pro-Christian stance; aligned with this change were the reduction in focus on Brogni's compassion and the effective portrayal of Jewish orthodoxy. While there were deletions of some confrontational passages that blatantly suggest Jewish greed as well as anti-Jewish contempt, the reshaping of Act I clearly demonstrates the intent to keep the Jewish-Christian conflict at the forefront of the drama. In coordination with this dramatic

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focusing was the reduction in the role of Eudoxie that resulted in a de-emphasis on the Rachel-Léopold-Eudoxie love triangle.

The Enhancement of Christian Bigotry and Clemency: The Musical Treatment and Reworking of Act I

Of the five acts, Act I is built most thoroughly on the religious conflict: the emotional confrontations between Éléazar and Rachel and the crowds of Catholic worshipers and celebrants form the central dramatic thrust of this act.[1] After the short instrumental introduction,[2] the opera opens with a juxtaposition of Christian orthodoxy and Jewish "heresy": the first verse of the *Te Deum* is sung by an off-stage chorus, representing worshipers in a cathedral, followed by whispered disapproval of Éléazar by onstage celebrants gathered for the Council's opening. Enhanced by the stage set showing a large Gothic structure abutting Éléazar's house (see Ill. 3), the placement of the worshipers' placid praises against the celebrants' biting condemnations of the Jew, who is working and thus dishonoring the Christian feast day, immediately sets the confrontational tone that underlies the opera and hints at the hypocrisy and intolerance of the Catholic crowds, which will intensify as the drama unfolds. As shown in Ex. 1, Halévy sharpens the tensions of public conflict as well as contradictions among Catholics by setting an agitated triplet pattern in the

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[1]See the text excerpts on pp. 305-6 above. Also see Appendix K for a synopsis of the opera's plot.

[2]As noted above, the overture was not added until October 1835, eight months after the premiere.

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Ex. 1: Act I, No. 1 (*Introduction*), *Schlesinger-Garland*, 9, mm. 104-23.

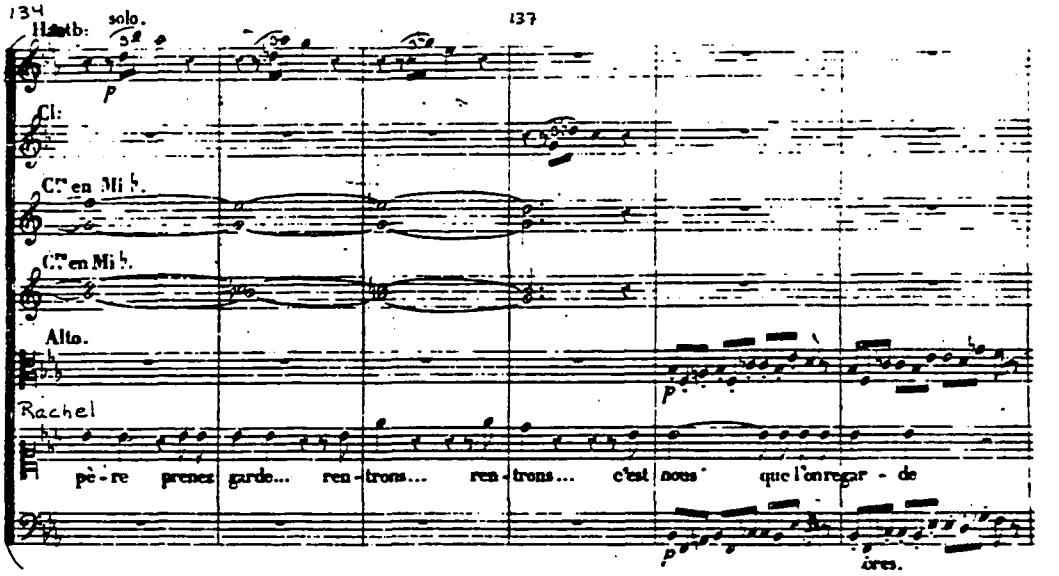
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Ex. 2: Act I, No. 1 (*Introduction*), *Schlesinger-Garland*, 11, mm. 134-48.

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Ex. 3: Act I, No. 1 (*Introduction*), *Schlesinger-Garland*, 38, mm. 358-65.

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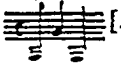
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strings against the hymnal chords of the church worshipers.[3] The repeated eighth-note rhythms and the repeated pitches of the solo and ensemble voices who mutter about the Jew, some whispering *sotto voce*, make their statements and questions pointed and excited. At Rachel's warning to her father to go back into the house, the triplet figure returns in the violas and lower strings, stated three times beginning on $B^{\flat}$-*F*, a repetition that lends a feeling of insistence. The rising line of the figure, which on each varied restatement ends a minor third higher ($d/f/a^{\flat}$), and the *crescendo* from *p* to *f* add momentum and agitation up to the simultaneous climax with the beginning of the second phrase of the *Te Deum* (see Ex. 2).

The tension subsides somewhat during the Léopold-Albert recitative, a second verse of the *Te Deum*, and the chorus "Hosanna, plaisir ivresse," which marks the beginning of the celebration for the Council's opening. But another confrontation occurs shortly after the announcements about the Council's opening by Ruggiero and the *crieur* and the choral response, "ah! pour notre ville": the sound of Éléazar's anvil (played by off-stage anvils reinforced by the new *cor à piston*) brings on a powerful, direct attack of the jeweller by the Catholic crowd (see Ex. 3).[4] Halévy

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[3]Following an introduction by an offstage organ, the first verse of the *Te Deum* is sung *a cappella*, but the second verse is accompanied by the organ, as is the return to the *Te Deum* at the end of Act I. Hugh Macdonald describes this opening as a "thrilling effect which Wagner borrowed almost unchanged in 'Die Meistersinger'" ("Grandest of the Grand," notes to the Philips recording, 22).

[4]See the editorial note, beginning at m. 358 of Ex. 3, printed to accommodate orchestras that did not have the *cor à piston*: "NB. the *e*'s of the second horn are written for a valved horn; if there isn't one in the orchestra, the second horn should be changed to C, thus making it  [.]"

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emphasizes the anvil's intrusiveness by bringing in the anvils/horns on *G* octave leaps, which clash with the $A^{\flat}$ cadence of the chorus,[5] and with the harmony at Ruggiero's words "ce bruit étrange."[6] The anvils/horns also produce a slight jolt when they shift to $B^{\flat}$ octaves, emphasizing (along with Ruggiero's $b^{\flat}$s) the juxtaposition of the $b^{\natural}$ of *G* Major and the $b^{\flat}$ of $E^{\flat}$ Major (III of *C* Minor) as Ruggiero begins the last phrase of his accusation. The timbre of the anvils/horns and their insistent repetition, atop Ruggiero's initial shouts and his continued protest as the orchestral texture and dynamic level change, add to their obtrusion.

After the crowd's anger is fomented by Ruggiero, who more forcefully condemns the disruptive behavior and orders Éléazar to be brought before him, Halévy makes the crowd's response more intense and accusatory than in its earlier whispering and finger-pointing at Éléazar. The text phrases "c'est chez cet hérétique"

This note was obviously intended for orchestras outside Paris that were unlikely to have the newly developed instruments; it corresponds with a discussion in a letter dated 16 January 1836 from Halévy to a director, Charles Valter in Rouen (BN, n.a.fr. 14346, fols. 352-53). In this letter, Halévy tells Valter that "it is impossible" to honor his request to "remplacer les cors à piston par des cors ordinaires," but he then mentions that he is enclosing "les feuilles de partition gravées [...] sur lesquelles j'ai fait les changements," which include redistribution of parts. He reminds Valter to be careful with the pages, for they are to be published as a supplement to the score, "pour la commodité des directeurs qui voudront bien monter La Juive." Schlesinger adds an addendum to the letter that reiterates the intent to publish the pages as a supplement. This letter represents the only one to which I had access that directly relates to the musical score of *La Juive* during the opera's first year of performances.

[5]The clash is not starkly abrupt, however, since the octaves are prepared by an augmented-6th chord on $f^{\sharp}$-$a^{\flat}$-c and supported by *G* Major and G^7 chords (V^7 of *C* Minor) in the first two measures in which they sound, as well as by most harmonies in the following nine measures in which the *G* octaves are repeated.

[6]At this phrase, the *G*s sound immediately after the augmented-6th chord ($f^{\sharp}$-$a^{\flat}$-c) in the strings against Ruggiero's $f^{\sharp}$s.

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and "c'est là dans la boutique"--sung in unison, thus indicating the like-minded conviction of the crowd--are set to ascending lines that culminate on a long-held $e^{\flat}$'' of the sopranos and altos against a repetition of the text (on $E^{\flat}$) by tenors and basses. The rising line and the repeated eighth notes reveal agitation among the crowd, which Halévy makes even more incisive by bringing back variations of the triplet pattern that appeared in the previous exchanges about Éléazar's work, again played by unison strings. As the chorus, beginning on repeated $e^{\flat}$s, emphatically points the finger at "du juif Éléazar, ce riche joaillier," the composer creates tension leading to Ruggiero's order to bring in Éléazar by repeating motivic arpeggiations in various harmonies on the beats in the lower strings, with syncopated chords in the strings and winds. Halévy infuses more agitation into Ruggiero's phrase with textural and dynamic changes, moving quickly from the arpeggiated bass motive to continuous triplet patterns in the strings that make a *crescendo*, against a stepwise descent in the lower strings, to a climactic fully diminished chord (*f#-a-c-e*$^{\flat}$) in the full orchestra on Ruggiero's last syllable. At this point, as flutes and strings insistently repeat a three-note motive, Éléazar is dragged in, with Rachel following.[7] With the resolution to *G* Major (leading to *C* Minor), tension is released only to build again in a triplet motive of repeated *g*s in the strings which ends first on $a^{\flat}$ and then successively on pitches in a rising line to $a^{\flat}$''. Halévy continues the ascent up two octaves in the treble voices (*g'*-*g''*) against a descending bass in contrary motion with chromaticism to a

[7]The Palianti *mise en scène* production manual notes that the guards, at Ruggiero's directive, drag Rachel and Éléazar "brutally" from their house; see Cohen, *Staging Manuals*, 138.

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climactic cadence on the dominant, as Rachel bursts out in shock and fear: "ah! mon père."

In the exchanges between Ruggiero and Éléazar, Halévy's music helps to set the character of each: for example, he underscores Ruggiero's commanding tone with echoes in the strings of his ascending and descending lines and intensifies Ruggiero's threat of death ("la mort au sacrilège") with octaves in his vocal part against a unison chromatic line in the strings. Halévy makes Éléazar's initial "et pourquoi pas" response to Ruggiero, echoed in the strings, sound light and a bit flippant; but beginning with the text "Et pourquoi l'aimerais-je?," he reveals Éléazar's increasing anger with leaps in the voice to agogically accented long notes (which ascend from $e^{\flat}$' to g' from the fourth to the eighth measures of this textual passage). Éléazar's audacity inflames Ruggiero to call for his death; the crowd endorses the directive, but its vehemence is diffused as Brogni emerges from the cathedral. After the interaction between Éléazar and Brogni, and the cardinal's "Si la rigueur," the action in Act I pivots away from confrontation towards celebration.

With the exception of Léopold's Italianate "Serenade," which introduces the attraction between him and Rachel, the final three numbers are celebratory and conflict-diverting, building up to the spectacular arrival of the Council procession. These numbers include the light-hearted chorus "Hâtons-nous, car l'heure s'avance,"

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the *choeur des buveurs*, "Ah! quel heureux destin," and the first *divertissement*, a waltz.[8]

Shortly after the finale begins with expectant shouts of the procession's arrival, however, the most intense and prolonged confrontation of Act I, "Au lac, oui, plongeons dans le lac," is set off by Ruggiero and halted by a second important personage, Léopold, with the help of his aide, Albert. Leich-Galland attributes the crowd's hateful vehemence partly to its drunkenness, noting that when sober at the opera's beginning it did not react strongly to Ruggiero's taunts.[9] Halévy's music reaches a fevered pitch in this confrontation. As Ruggiero reminds the crowd of the imprint of the Jews' steps on the "sacred marbles," Halévy maximizes Ruggiero's authoritative weight by sounding an ophicleide and the third trombone in unison with his descending scale (see Ex. 4). At Ruggiero's emotionally packed reference to Jesus and the moneylenders, the drunken crowd unleashes its anger and hatred. Halévy gives the effect of a shout at the initial words, "Au lac," with the upward leap of a fourth in sopranos and tenors and the downward leap of a fifth in the basses to a dotted half note (in $\frac{3}{4}$ and *F* Minor). This shout comes against Ruggiero's last word of his instigating command, reinforced with a *fortissimo* chord in the orchestra. Halévy's use of eighth rests--separating the three statements of the words "dans le

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[8]The text of "Hâtons-nous" does not appear in the draft verse or early printed libretti, suggesting a late addition or perhaps one that Scribe did not author. A manuscript note of the text written in a hand other than Scribe's is found among the Scribe papers, n.a.fr. 22502/1°. There is a possibility that the chorus's text originated from an unnamed collaborator, or from Léon or Fromental Halévy. The text of the drinking chorus is similar to that in the early printed libretti, with minor variants.

[9]Karl Leich-Galland, "La Juive," *L'Avant-scène: Opéra* C (July 1987), 47.

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Ex. 4: Act I, No. 7 (*Final*), *Schlesinger-Garland*, 153, mm. 38-48.

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Ex. 5: Act I, No. 7 (*Final*), *Schlesinger-Garland*, 161-62, mm. 112-31.

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Ex. 6: Act I, No. 1 (*Introduction*), transcription from Mat.19ᶠ[315(520), fol. 5ᵛ.

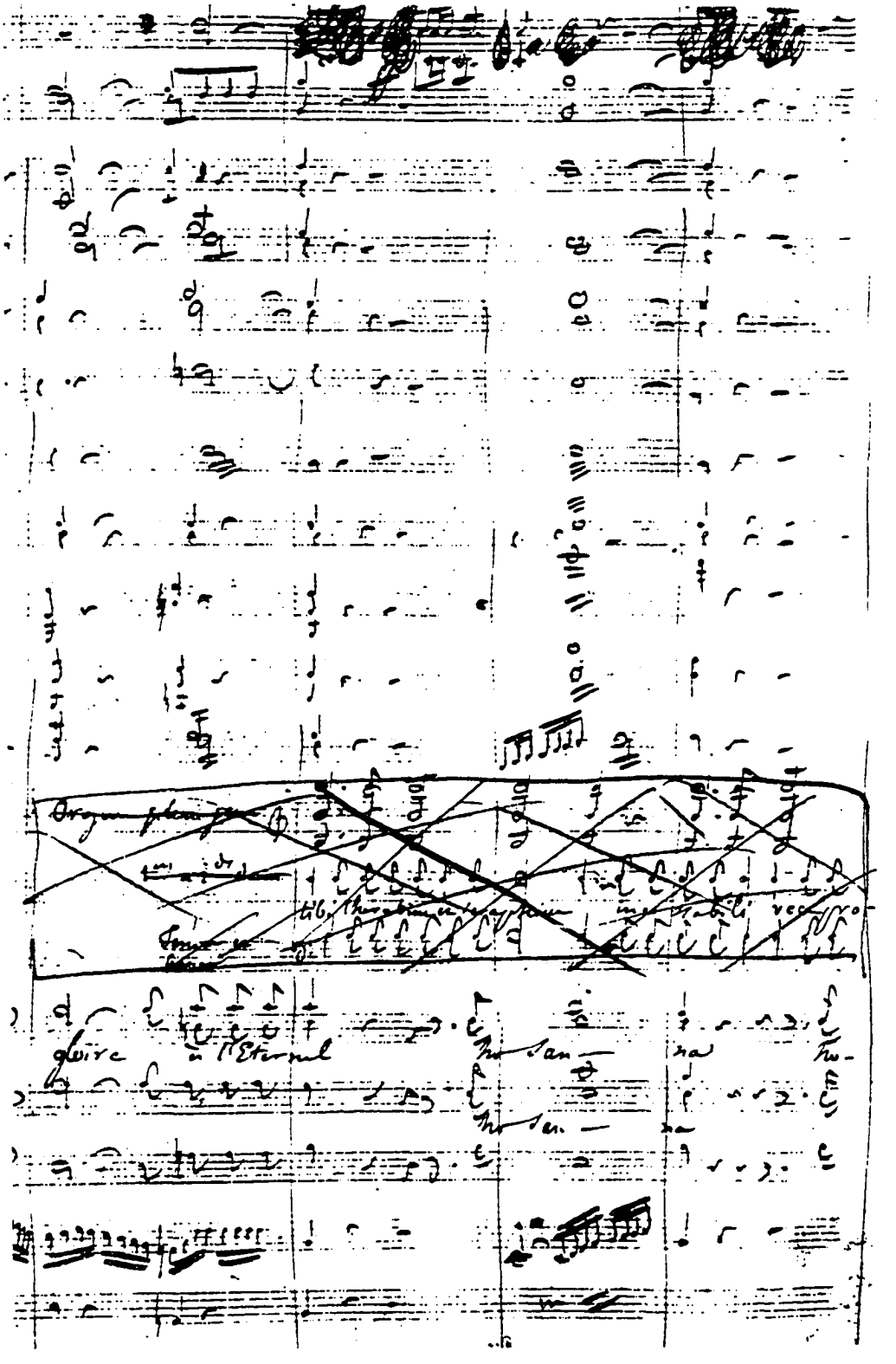
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Ex. 7: Act I, No. 1 (*Introduction*), A509aI, 38/111.

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lac," and then separating every syllable in the second presentation of the entire phrase ("oui, plongeons dans le lac ces Hébreux, ces maudits, ces enfants d'Isaac!")--suggests the breathless, heated shouts of an enraged mob. The strings, after a quick *glissando*-like rising scale in the cellos and basses anticipating the beginning of this presentation, articulate the separated syllables of the chorus. When Éléazar mocks and challenges the crowd, their anger is set off anew in a Rossinian *crescendo* that builds to a return of the "Au lac" section.After Léopold/Albert's diffusion of the crowd's anger, the finale ends with a celebratory chorus blending with the ensemble in which Rachel questions the power of Samuel (alias Léopold), Éléazar calls on God's power against the Christians, and Léopold and Albert pray that Rachel will not discover the prince's true identity.[10] After the procession arrives, a final *Te Deum* phrase is sung in F Major, followed by twelve measures of the *Hosanna* chorus, bringing symmetry and closure to the act.

Late in the compositional process, at the earliest during the later *répétitions générales* and even possibly during the early performances, the juxtaposition of worship, celebration, and confrontation had a different shape. As revealed in the autograph, the performing parts, and the archival score (which was not fully copied until sometime after the premiere), the singing of the *Te Deum* was set immediately against the beginning of the "Hosanna" chorus and not the instigatory grumblings about Éléazar. Vestiges of the old placement of the "Hosanna" at the opening, which

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[10]Thirty-two measures of the recitative preceding Léopold's action to stop the crowd that appear in the piano-vocal score (see *Schlesinger-Lemoine*, 105-6) are omitted in the full score and crossed out and obscured through the stitching of pages in the archival score (A509b).

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can be seen in the early manuscript sources, reflect more closely the text ordering found in the printed libretti, including the pre-premiere 18 February libretto, the first edition meant to accompany the premiere, the 1835 second edition, and subsequent libretti included in numerous collected editions of Scribe's works.[11] In these printed libretti, the "Hosanna" chorus is the first text to appear, adhering to the plan of an opening chorus commonly found in grand opera; the *Te Deum* appears only in the stage directions preceding the chorus text. Still visible in many of the chorus partbooks and the *partition de choeur*, the manuscript short score used by the assistant chorusmaster Schneitzhoeffer, Mat. 19[c][315(520), is the former overlapping of the last two syllables of "veneratur" of the *Te Deum* verse with the beginning of "Hosanna" (Ex. 6).[12] In others, such as a Second Tenor partbook, Mat. 19[c][315(46), the entirety of the original *Te Deum-Hosanna* combination can be clearly seen under pasted-on strips.

In this early version, Halévy takes the intersecting of the spiritual and the secular even further in later measures when he combines another Hosanna phrase ending with the *Te Deum* phrase "tibi cherubini" (Ex. 7); moreover, he sets up a

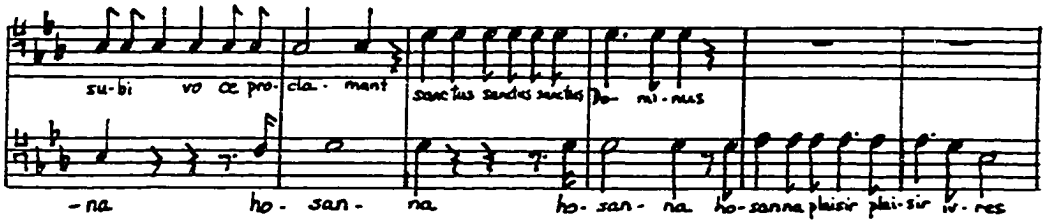
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[11]Very few changes were made to the printed libretto in publications subsequent to 1835, despite the discrepancies with the libretto as set in the musical scores. As noted above, the only substantive change in the second libretto edition was the omission of the first scene of Act III that was included in the earlier 1835 libretto sources. Among later printings, the libretto of the 1854 collected edition of Scribe's works, e.g., matches the second edition. See the opening verses of the 23 February libretto in Appendix I.

[12]In a partbook for bass, Mat. 19[c][315(52), and one for Second Dessus, Mat. 19[c][315(39), for example, this version is obscured but still visible on the back of *collettes* (containing replacement phrases) made of older-layer paper that are pasted onto pages of later-layer paper. Since the *collettes* are pasted only at the edges, it is possible to see the *verso* material.

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counterpoint between the hymn phrase "Sanctus" and another "Hosanna" phrase (Ex. 8).



Ex. 8: Act I, No. 1 (*Introduction*), transcription from Mat.19[c][315(46), Second Tenor partbook.

These two older-layer combinations can be seen clearly in the autograph manuscript; in fact, a reconstruction of the early-layer "Hosanna"--following and combining with the *Te Deum*--could be made from phrases scratched out but still visible in the autograph, with a few exceptions.[13] In this early layer, the "En ce jour" recitative and the people's muttered reactions come after the initial presentation of the "Hosanna" chorus, as revealed clearly in both the autograph and the *partition de*

[13]One of the initial phrases of the *Te Deum-Hosanna* combination, for example, does not remain in the autograph, most likely having disappeared when Halévy shifted the recitative "En ce jour" to the spot following the first *Te Deum* phrase.

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choeur.[14] When Halévy moved "En ce jour" to its position following the *Te Deum*, he did not shift the pages themselves with revisions; rather, he copied out the revised material, and recopied music that was not changed, onto a newer-layer paper that is unlike the bulk of paper found in the autograph.[15] In the *partition de choeur*, where pages are not numbered, changes in paper and copyists, in coordination with clues found in the autograph, offer clear demarcations between the earlier and later stages.[16]

In the printed libretti, the Hosanna chorus appears three times in Act I, Scene i: the first immediately following the *Te Deum*, as described above, the second following the "En ce jour" material in its original placement, and the third at the end of the scene after the announcement of the Council's opening. In the manuscript performing parts, vestiges of these presentations of the chorus in this order can be

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[14]In the *partition de choeur*, a series of pages stitched together, fols. 23^{r}-37^{v}, contain the old ordering. The material on the obscured pages of the *partition de choeur* corresponds to that in A509aI, pages 49(120) up to the end of the chorus at the word "ciel." In the autograph, the material of this ordering can still be found on pages that show indications of having been pinned or stitched together, probably before the binding of the volume since the matching pin or stitching holes in the margins are not properly aligned.

[15]One layer of page numberings, in ink seemingly in Halévy's hand, gives clear evidence for these shifts of material: the numbers 4 through 14 appear consecutively on pages of the Hosanna chorus that are moved to a later position and then renumbered after the volume is bound, suggesting an early placement in this first number. Pages 15-17 numbered in ink (again, apparently in Halévy's hand), which include the "En ce jour" recitative, are shifted in front of 4-14 to follow the pages that Halévy has recopied.

[16]Although I have not conducted a careful study of watermarks in order to use them as evidence, the "En ce jour" at the beginning of the number in this source appears on paper with a "CR" watermark, paper which seems consistently to be later-stage paper throughout the partbooks. Moreover, there is a join between the CR paper used for the rewritten transition to "Hosanna" and the paper with a "king/lion" image as watermark of the "Hosanna"; with each paper type there is a different scribe, further distinguishing the stages.

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found, partially obscured by revised sections that omitted the Hosanna's first presentation.

The basic shift of the crowd's whispered accusations about Éléazar immediately after the first *Te Deum* phrase at Act I's beginning sets the confrontational tone not only for the act but for the entire opera. The impact of this juxtaposition is more effective than in the original placement, when these exchanges followed the first *Hosanna* chorus, particularly in underlining the theme of religious intolerance. Although Halévy's first solution of combining the *Hosanna* phrases with those of the *Te Deum* exemplified more pointedly the unity between worshipers and celebrants, between sacred and secular in the opera, the separation of these phrases led to a greater musical and verbal intelligibility. This separation, in fact, made the sacred-secular connections of the scene more musically powerful through the greater clarity of this material. These alterations certainly appear motivated by a desire to intensify the opera's religious conflict.

Another alteration in the presentation of the *Hosanna* chorus, which involves a verse intended for Éléazar to be sung simultaneously with the chorus, resulted in a de-emphasis of Éléazar's greed and, consequently, a re-emphasis on his victimization at the hands of Christians. This four-lined verse appears in Scribe's draft verse (n.a.fr. 22562, 32) as well as in the 18 February and 23 February 1835 libretti, and the second-edition Jonas libretto:[17]

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[17]Taken from the 23 February 1835 libretto (BO: Livr. 19[274). The verse is repeated in the libretto after the second presentation of the *Hosanna* chorus. See Appendix I.

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Act I, Scene i
Introduction

ÉLÉAZAR, à gauche, à ses ouvriers	ÉLÉAZAR, stage right, to his workers
Amis, travaillez sans cesse.	Friends, work without ceasing.
C'est bien mériter du ciel!	To be worthy of heaven!
Fuir le vice et la paresse,	Flee vice and laziness,
C'est honorer l'Éternel!	To honor the Eternal Lord!

Scribe's intention to have this verse sung simultaneously with a verse of *Hosanna* is shown by his side-by-side placement of the verses in n.a.fr. 22562, along with a vertical stroke of the pen, as well as the "ensemble" indication in the printed libretti: Éléazar is to sing stage right while the chorus appears stage left.[18] The matching rhyme scheme further underlines the intention that the verses are to be sung together. The "Amis, travaillez" verse does not appear in the musical sources, however, suggesting that its combination with the *Hosanna* verse preceded the *Hosanna-Te Deum* combination described above. Its appearance in the printed libretti is another example of discrepancies between them and the published musical sources; its retention may suggest Scribe's desire not to omit it, despite the fact that it was omitted in the opera. One review of the premiere refers to Éléazar's verse and to the appearance of his workers.[19] While it is possible that the reviewer is reporting accurately, he may simply be referring to the libretto that he used as guide for his review. The verse is clearly a reference to the stereotyped materialism of Jews, before the sounding of the anvil (a symbol for materialism and greed better known in

[18]See Appendix G.

[19]*La Gazette de France*, Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 51.

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its later use in Wagner's *Ring*); its placement at the outset would have made Éléazar seem less a victim of the taunting crowd, particularly since he is not alone with his daughter, but overseeing laborers whom he is prodding to work harder. The deletion of the verse seems to correspond with the reduction in the Act II allusions to Éléazar's greed (see pp. 241-42); although it is speculative, it is likely that Halévy effected these changes.

Another portion of text that is included in the early printed libretti but is not found in the early published scores, removes one confrontational scene, but it is a scene with more offensive condemnations of the Jews than the crowd's whisperings already described. The text, from the Act I finale, carries a strong trace of the scene in Chapter VII of *Ivanhoe* in which Isaac and Rebecca, while searching for a seat in order to view the martial contests, are met with disparaging invectives.[20] The reaction of the Christians in the printed libretto of *La Juive* is even harsher as Éléazar and Rachel look for a place:[21]

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[20]In this scene in *Ivanhoe*, an old man's curse (in "period" language) at Isaac--"Dog of an unbeliever"--sets off the anger of bystanders, including one who "advised the Jew to remember that all the wealth he had acquired by sucking the blood of his miserable victims had but swelled him like a bloated spider, which might be overlooked while it kept in a corner, but would be crushed if it ventured into the light." Scott, *Ivanhoe*, 79-80.

[21]This text is excerpted from the 23 February libretto; it also appears in the copyist's libretto in AJ[13]202 and the 18 February printing, but it is omitted in the second edition of the libretto, corresponding to its omission in the Schlesinger musical scores. It corresponds with draft verse in n.a.fr. 22562, 46-47.

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Act I, Scene v

ÉLÉAZAR
Et comment dans cette foule immense
Trouver à se placer?

RACHEL
Mon père, suivez-moi!
Nous serons là très-bien, je croi[s].

(Elle lui montre une place vide sur un banc, Éléazar s'en approche, mais tous ses voisins le repoussent.)

CHOEUR
C'est un Juif! c'est un Juif!
Redoute mon courroux! Va-t-en! va-t'en!
Éloigne-toi de nous!
N'approche pas! ton souffle impur
Doit porter malheur, j'en suis sûr!
C'est un Juif! c'est un Juif!
Redoute mon courroux!
Va-t'en! va-t'en! éloigne-toi de nous!

RACHEL
Hélas! hélas! ils nous méprisent tous!
Avec horreur ils s'éloignent de nous!

ÉLÉAZAR, à part
Ce Juif maudit, que vous méprisez tous,
J'en fais serment, se vengera de vous.

RACHEL, allant de l'autre côté, et s'adressant à des cavaliers richement habillés.
Ah! nobles seigneurs que vous êtes,
Daignez nous souffrir près de vous.

PREMIER CAVALIER, à son voisin.
Quel malheur d'être Juive, avec des yeux si doux!

DEUXIÈME CAVALIER
Quelle pensée impie!
(A Rachel et à Éléazar les repoussant.)
Ah! par les saints prophètes,
Plus loin!

ÉLÉAZAR
How is it possible in this immense crowd
To find a seat?

RACHEL
Father, follow me!
We will sit here very comfortably, I think.

(She shows him an empty seat on a bench, Éléazar gets close to it, but all his neighbors push him away.)

CHOIR
He's a Jew! He's a Jew!
Beware of my anger! Get away! get away!
Move away from us!
Don't come near! your unclean breath
Must carry misfortune, I am sure of it!
He's a Jew! He's a Jew!
Beware of my anger!
Get away! get away! Move away from us!

RACHEL
Alas! Alas! everyone despises us!
They move away from us in horror!

ÉLÉAZAR à part
This cursed Jew that all of you despise,
I swear that he will take his revenge on you.

Rachel, going to the other side and addressing some richly dressed cavalrymen.
Ah! noble lords that you are,
Deign to allow us to sit near you.

FIRST CAVALRYMAN, to his neighbor.
What a misfortune to be a Jewess with such sweet eyes!

SECOND CAVALRYMAN
What an impious thought!
(Pushing Rachel and Éléazar away.)
Ah! by the saint prophets,
Farther! Go farther away!

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ÉLÉAZAR, à ceux qui sont devant sa porte.

Je ne tiens pas à contempler vos fêtes,

Chrétiens! mais laissez-nous du moins rentrer chez nous.

TOUS, le repoussant.
C'est un Juif! c'est un Juif!

[REPRISE CONTINUES]

(Repoussés par la foule, Éléazar et Rachel se trouvent portés jusque sur les marches de pierre qui conduisent à l'église. Là, ils s'arrêtent adossés contre les murs du temple, et la foule ne peut pas les repousser plus loin. C'est elle, au contraire, qui alors s'etoigne d'eux, comme craignant de les toucher, et Éléazar et Rachel se trouvent isolés et en vue sur les marches de l'église.

Dans le lointain, sur un air de marche majesteux et brillant, le cortège commence à défiler. Des soldats, conduits par Ruggiero, viennent faire ranger le peuple.)

ÉLÉAZAR, to those who are before his door.
I don't care about looking at your celebrations,
Christians! but at least let us return to our house.

EVERYONE, pushing him away.
He's a Jew! he's a Jew!

[REPRISE CONTINUES]

(Pushed away by the crowd, Éléazar and Rachel find themselves carried up to the stone steps which lead to the church. There, they stop to lean against the walls of the temple, and the crowd cannot push them any farther. On the contrary, the crowd then moves away from them, as if fearing to touch them, and Éléazar and Rachel find themselves isolated and conspicuous on the steps of the church.

In the distance, to a majestic and brilliant march tune, the procession begins to march by. Soldiers led by Ruggiero have just lined up the people.)

A small vestige of this passage remains in the piano-vocal score, the autograph, and the archival score. The initial exchange between Éléazar and Rachel appears verbatim in the piano-vocal score, but in A509b and the full score, it is replaced by Rachel's commenting on the "immense crowd" in front of their house, with no mention of searching for a place to sit.[22] Instead of Rachel, Éléazar leads the way (Ex. 9).

[22]In A509b, this brief exchange, beginning with Éléazar's "Et comment," matches what appears in *Schlesinger-Lemoine*, but it is crossed out and replaced with the vocal lines of Rachel and Éléazar as they appear in *Schlesinger-Garland*.

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Ex. 9: Act I, No. 7 (*Final*), *Schlesinger-Garland*, 150-51, mm. 11-26.

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Omitted from the musical sources are the crowd's verbal taunts and repulsions of the Jews, which Scribe undoubtedly conceived as a choral refrain. Since the autograph shows evidence of this omission, it is likely that Halévy set the remainder of the passage, but it was cut at some point before the archival and printed scores were prepared. According to Palianti's *mise en scène* manual, however, the Jews are still pushed away by the crowd; it contains stage directions reduced from, but similar to, those included above.[23] A small textual addition, Ruggiero's "Place rangez vous tous, vous manans et bourgeois," appears in the musical sources in lieu of the stage direction of the printed libretti indicating that Ruggiero and the soldiers line up the people.[24] A reviewer for *Le Temps* (26 February 1835) recognized the *Ivanhoe* basis of this scene, either because he referred to the libretto or because the pushing away of Rachel and Éléazar was enough of a cue:

> Il faut bien dire que tout ceci n'est pas à M. Scribe. Vous savez, dans Ivanhoë, ce beau chapitre du tournoi où le juif et sa fille ne peuvent trouver nulle part une place, et sont repoussés tantôt par les seigneurs et tantôt par les vilains. Dans l'opéra de M. Scribe, Eléazar

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[23]See Palianti's manual in Cohen, *Staging Manuals*, 140: "Repoussés par la foule, Éléazar et Rachel se trouvent portés jusque sur les marches qui conduisent à l'église. Là, ils s'arrêtent adossés contre le mur du temple." ("Pushed away by the crowd, Éléazar and Rachel find themselves carried up to the steps which lead to the church. There they stop, leaning against the wall of the temple.") Another indication in the Palianti manual (141) further eliminates the seeming interest that the Jews showed in the festivities in the omitted "*Ivanhoe*" scene: it notes that Éléazar looks at the procession "with disdain," dragging his daughter from it.

[24]"All you yokels and bourgeois, arrange your places."

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> s'en va ainsi de tous côtés, poussé, honni, et se trouve entraîné, avec Rachel, jusque sur les degrés de l'église.[25]

It is also possible, given the reviewer's choice to describe this part of the action fully, that the complete scene as represented in the printed libretto was not excised until after the premiere.

This passage may have been omitted because, together with Ruggiero's attack that comes immediately after discovering the Jews on the church steps and the ensuing choral furor, the total effect was deemed excessive and unpalatable. It may have been a scene that the composer personally found problematic: surely among Scribe's planned scenes, the ugliness of the crowd's verbal abuse of the Jews, coupled with physical repulsion, would have triggered a sharp emotional response in Halévy. Other than this alteration, however, the large changes that occurred in Act I seem guided by a desire to keep the confrontations between the religious factions sharp and clear and Christian bigotry at the forefront.

Despite the suggestions of Christian hypocrisy in the placement of worship against the attacks of Ruggiero and the crowd, the representation of Christian orthodoxy was otherwise dignified and respectful enough, as the Commission *rapport* concluded (see pp. 295-98), not to offend the morality of the Catholic majority attending the opera. In addition to the *Te Deum*, the organ, and the emblems of

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[25]Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 157-58 (article signed "L.-V."): "One should note that not all of this is by M. Scribe. You know the fine chapter in *Ivanhoe* on the tournament where the Jew and his daughter cannot find a place to sit and are repulsed, sometimes by lords and sometimes by poor people. In the opera of M. Scribe, Eléazar is treated in this way from all sides: pushed, held in contempt, and dragged with Rachel up to the steps of the church."

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Catholic ceremony, the cardinal's clemency was a strong reminder of positive aspects of Christian doctrine. The text of "Si la rigueur" encapsulates the Christian tenet of forgiveness and the music of calm dignity enhances its empathetic words.[26] This aria's placement--after Ruggiero's venomous, but distorted, reminder of Jesus's eviction of the money-lenders and after the shouts of the bloodthirsty crowd--offsets, for one very strong dramatic moment, the acidic intolerance of the other Catholics. Brogni's compassion is featured again in Act IV in his mournful lament of Rachel's upcoming death.

Brogni's more extended regrets, which were excised from the Schlesinger full score, may have been omitted because it made him too sympathetic and undermined the power of his Act III condemnation of Rachel. Following her heated public confession of her romance with Léopold in this act, Brogni cannot condone the illegal relationship; instead of interceding for Rachel--or her father, who has had nothing to do with the illicit affair--he offers up a stern, implacable malediction. In other parts of the opera, Brogni's condemning judgment is referred to, but only cursorily.[27] Save for Brogni's curse, which echoes Éléazar's own of Act II, the dramatic action does not focus on him as a figure of unmitigated intolerance.

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[26]The barely visible sketching of the first verse of "Si la rigueur" appears in the margin below the last paragraph of the draft scenario proper, diagonally beneath the words "eau sainte du baptème," suggesting that the air may have first been planned to coordinate with Rachel's conversion, the denouement that appears in the draft scenario, draft verse, and in early fair copies of the libretto, AJ[13]202 and n.a.fr. 22502.

[27]In the opera's prehistory created by Scribe (with borrowings from *Nathan der Weise*), Brogni had banned Éléazar from Rome, thus causing some of the Jew's bitterness towards Christians. See the text of Act I, Scene iv, below, p. 356. Their previous encounter is described in Éléazar's recitative in response to the cardinal in Act IV, Scene iv.

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Jewish Fanaticism and Faith

Although *La Juive* primarily targets Christians, specifically the Catholic Church and its associations, the opera directs its commentary to Jews and Judaism. Éléazar, as an embittered Jew who refuses to cooperate with Christians and carries out vengeance on Brogni, becomes something other than the oppressed, powerless victim of the cardinal, crowd, and Council. He, too, exemplifies intolerance and fanaticism; but, paralleling the duality of Christian bigotry and clemency, Éléazar does not appear thoroughly fanatical and recalcitrant: he is also shown to be sincerely devout in the Act II Passover service and pliable in his dogma when his daughter's welfare is at stake. As becomes clear in the opera's development and musical setting, the authors sought a balance between Jewish fanaticism and faith, which added to the power of the opera's ambiguous messages.

Éléazar's disruption of Christian worship and his challenging words to Ruggiero reinforce his unwillingness to cooperate with Christians. The *Gazette* reviewer, who did not want to accept any Christian transgression, was eager to point out Éléazar's intolerance in Act I, demanding: "où est ici le fanatique?"[28] A less ambiguous example of Éléazar's reluctance to make peace with Christians is captured in his sharp refusal of Brogni's fraternal gesture in Act I, Scene iv, after the cardinal has saved and pardoned him. Éléazar can think only of the cardinal's previous act of

[28]*La Gazette de France*, Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 51.

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banishing him from Rome, and when Brogni asks for forgiveness for having offended him, Éléazar shouts, "Jamais!":[29]

Act I, Scene iv

ÉLÉAZAR Je n'ai point oublié que de Rome jadis sévère magistrat, C'est toi qui me bannis!	ÉLÉAZAR I haven't forgotten that long ago, severe magistrate of Rome, You banished me!
RUGGIERO Quelle audace!	RUGGIERO What audacity!
BROGNI Et cependant je lui fait grâce entière! Sois libre, Eléazar Soyons amis, mon frère, Et si je t'offensai pardonne moi!	BROGNI And meanwhile I pardon you completely! Be free Éléazar Let us be friends, my brother, And if I offended you, forgive me!
ÉLÉAZAR Jamais!	ÉLÉAZAR Never!

Textual changes in this passage, which appear to have been made in a late stage of development (given the fact that they were made after the archival score was copied), heighten the impact of Éléazar's recalcitrance. These changes, which can also be seen clearly in the performing parts and autograph manuscript, represent discrepancies between the musical sources and the printed libretti (an earlier layer of text appears in the 18 February and 23 February libretti and was reprinted unaltered in the second edition). One change was merely a substitution of the words "Je n'ai point" for "As-tu donc" in the phrase "Je n'ai point oublié que de Rome jadis/Sévère magistrat, c'est toi qui me bannis!" This small change shifts the focus to the first

[29]*Le Courrier français* reported that at the premiere Brogni held Éléazar's hand as he made his appeal. See Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 25.

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person, making Éléazar's reminder of the past seem more accusatory, less "diplomatic." Immediately following this phrase there is an omission of several lines by Brogni, in which he gives Éléazar's usury as the reason that he had banned him from Rome (saving him from death in doing so).[30] The alteration with the greatest impact in this passage, however, is the omission of text that follows Éléazar's "Jamais!" in the 18 February and 23 February libretti. The omitted phrase, "Non jamais de pardon aux chrétiens que je hais!," expresses in a verbally emphatic way how much Éléazar despises the Christians who have persecuted him.[31] This phrase appears in the manuscript music sources in a number of musical variants (suggesting reworking in several stages), all of which are obscured through the stitching of pages or marked out in red crayon; it does not appear in the published scores. As shown in Ex. 10, the phrase can be seen in the autograph with a variant.[32] The 27 February

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[30]Ruggiero's reaction to Brogni's statement--"O ciel! on ne peut sans péril/L'absoudre!"--is replaced by "Quelle audace!," a shorter and more commonplace response to Éléazar's bold statement to Brogni.

[31]"No, never a pardon for Christians whom I hate!" The earliest source that includes this phrase is Scribe's draft verse, BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22562, 40.

[32]This phrase belongs to a passage that went through several layers, some of which were reworkings corresponding to the changes of key that the *cavatine* went through: this number was first written in $A^{\flat}$ Major, then in *G* Major, and finally in *F* Major, the key in which it appears in the Schlesinger scores. Evidence for this sequence of transpositions is found in many performing parts, including Brogni's partbook, Mat. 19[c][315(26). A portion of the *cavatine* in $A^{\flat}$ appears on fols. 11[v]-13[v]; above the top staff of the first measure, "En Sol" is written in brown ink. Following fol. 14[r], which is a blank side of paper different from 13[v], the *cavatine* is fully written out in *G* on fols. 14[v]-20[r] in another copyist's hand. This *G* Major version matches that in Halévy's hand in A509aI, with "en fa" written in ink above the top staff of the first page of the air (173); but in the autograph, the *cavatine* also appears in *F* Major, in a copyist's hand on paper that does not match what is typically used throughout the autograph. In choir partbooks, including Mat. 19[c][315(38), (30), (45), (48), and (52), there is no indication of the *G*-Major stage (perhaps the *G* Major was a brief stage that did not get recorded in the choir partbooks before the decision to drop it down to *F* was made), but "En

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review in *Le Courrier français* suggests that this phrase was sung at the premiere: "[l]e juif, peu touché de cet excès d'humilité chrétienne, y répond à voix basse par un voeu de haine éternelle."[33] This cut may represent a downplaying of the verbal intensity of Éléazar's hatred, but the resulting dramatic intensity, with only the single-word shout, is far greater. The power of the ejaculatory retort is heightened by three measures of a typical operatic flourish, a repeated C^7 chord (V^7 leading to the F Major of the *cavatine*) with a rising arpeggiated upper line in thestrings followed by punctuated chords in the full orchestra. These resolve, after a fermata, to F in the mood-changing transitional measures to Brogni's aria. Following Éléazar's refusal, Brogni's compassionate "Si la rigueur" highlights, by dramatic contrast, the Jew's closemindedness (Ex. 11).

Within Brogni's *cavatine*, when the choir and soloists respond to the cardinal's plea for forgiveness ("Tant de bonté, tant de clémence"), Éléazar continues to resist, unable to forget or forgive. Of the four ensemble voices, Halévy sets Éléazar's line most distinctly apart from the others: as shown in Ex. 12, his moving 16th notes and

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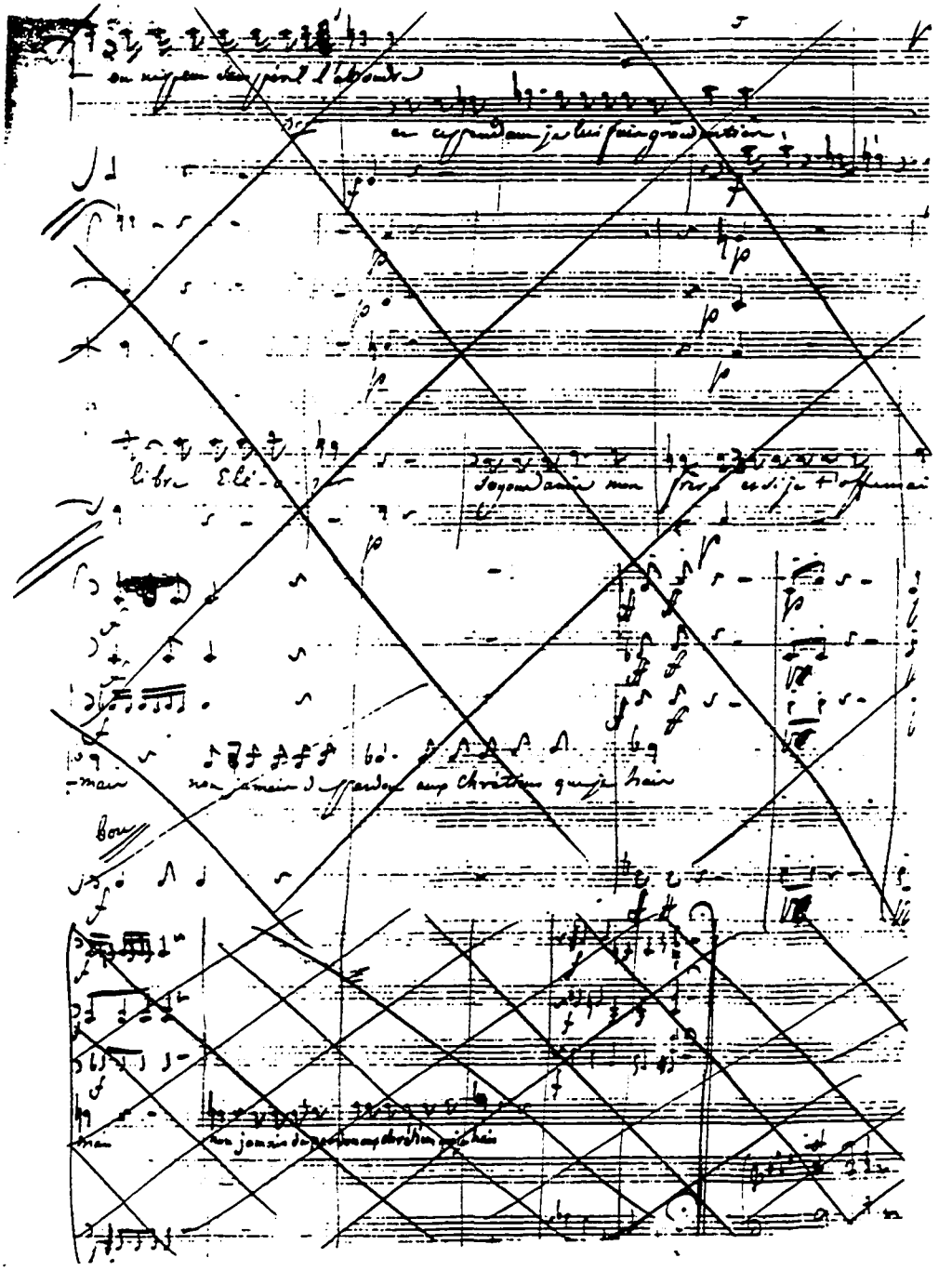
Fa" is written in black and red crayon at the key signature of $A^{\flat}$; the phrase in Ex. 1 above also appears crossed out in these sources. One interesting passage of recitative, 27 mm. in *F*, appears before the *cavatine* in Brogni's partbook, Mat. 19^{c}[315(26), fols. 7^{v}-8^{v}; these measures cannot be found in the autograph. (In the partbook, the pages containing these measures are stitched together, indicating omission at some point; moreover, a stub follows fol. 8^{v}, suggesting that other measures had already been cut.)

[33]Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 25: "the Jew, little touched by this excess of Christian humility, responds at this point with a vow of eternal hatred in a low voice."

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Ex. 10: Act I, No. 1 (*Introduction*), omitted phrase of Éléazar, A509aI, 83.

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Ex. 11: End of Act I, No. 1 (*Introduction*), *Schlesinger-Garland*, 55, mm. 532-46.

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Ex. 12: Act I, No. 2, "Si la rigueur," *Schlesinger-Garland*, 58, mm. 24-29.

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staggered entrances (with Ruggiero) isolate his voice and underscore the sense of separateness revealed in the text: "Sa vaine et tardive clémence/ne sauraient ébranler ma foi/Je garde en mon coeur la vengeance/point alliance entre eux et moi."[34]

Counterbalancing Éléazar's bitterness and hatred is the sincerity of his religious devotion, which is expressed poignantly in the intimate Passover service that begins Act II. The simplicity of the service, in direct contrast to the ceremonial pomp of the Council's processions, is partly dictated by the dramatic parameter that defined Jewish worship in this early era as clandestine, but it also suggests a heartfelt conviction not conveyed by the rich, extravagant processions of the Council.

The service in the interior of Éléazar's house was conceived by Scribe, as documented by the draft scenario and draft verse, but Halévy helped to refine it both through minor dramatic alterations that he undoubtedly effected and especially through his musical choices. One such alteration involved a change of season and a clarification of the type of service being observed. The draft scenario reveals that Scribe originally intended it as a service celebrated around the time of Christmas, the date first chosen for the beginning of the action, perhaps because it was the Christian feast day closest to the date of the Council's opening. In this source, Scribe writes at the end of his introductory paragraph: "[...] au moment où commence l'action -- au mois de décembre 1414. le jour de Noël." But the words "au mois," "décembre,"

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[34]"His hollow and belated clemency could not shake my faith; I hold vengeance in my heart, no alliance between them and me." This text, along with that of the rest of the ensemble and choir, does not appear in the AJ[13]202 copyist libretto or the printed libretti: only Brogni's single verse, "Si la rigueur," is included. It can be seen, however, in Scribe's draft verse, BN-Mss., n.a.fr.22562, 40.

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and "le jour de Noël" are crossed out, replaced with the more general dating "en 1414." Likewise, in the Scene v description of the draft scenario--which begins with the procession leading into "le palais du concile"--the phrase "fête de la nativité" is crossed out. The subsequent phrase "vêpres de la nativité" is not crossed out, however; neither is "c'est le jour de Noël" in the draft Scene i--but scribbled in the margin to the left of the paragraph describing the latter are the words "le jour de pâques et la victoire."[35]

In this source, Scribe does not designate the Jewish service as a special feast day. At first he notes that it is "le repas [...] et la prière du soir" and that the evening is "un samedi," but he then strikes out this time specification. Most likely, the designation of Christmas was omitted when it was decided that the service would be that of Passover, a choice that is clarified in the copyist's libretto in AJ[13]202, in which "la pâque" is designated in the stage directions at the beginning of Act II. One vestige of the old choice of season was never omitted: the crowd's chant of "Noël" that announces the arrival of the cortège at the beginning of the Act I Finale (No. 7) appears in the printed libretti (Scene v), the autograph, the manuscript performing parts, and the Schlesinger published scores. Prior to this seasonal reference, however, is a mention of Passover that suggests that no lapse of time occurs between the first and second acts. The Passover reference comes in recitative following Léopold's serenade (No. 3), when Rachel invites Léopold to join her family in the

[35]BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22502/2°, 1-2.

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celebration of "la Pâque sainte."[36] The Noël/Pâque discrepancy represents a curious dramatic oversight, since the text could have easily been changed. Most likely the alteration of the "Noël" shouts was neglected in the hurry to stage the opera, perhaps overlooked because the moment was fleeting and the text would have been essentially unintelligible to an audience.[37]

The basic elements of the scene as sketched in Scribe's draft scenario were maintained in the early staged versions of the opera, although details other than the religious season were altered or omitted. One such detail is the explicit designation of Éléazar as "un des rabbins[,] un des prêtres de la loi juive" who says the evening prayer. In the early printed libretti (18 February, 23 February, and the second edition published by Jonas), there is also a reference to Éléazar, as rabbi, beginning to marry Rachel and Léopold at the end of Act II. Éléazar says to the couple in these sources: "A genoux! à genoux!... prêtre de notre loi,/Que je reçoive ici tes sermens et sa foi!"[38] In sources for the music (the autograph manuscript, *Schlesinger-Garland*, and *Schlesinger-Lemoine*), he is identified only as "le juif Éléazar" and "un orfèvre joaillier" (a goldsmith jeweller), without any designation of rabbinical ties. In

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[36]Among the sources that I have consulted, this Act I invitation first appears in the AJ[13]202 copyist's libretto.

[37]One critic, however, noted that the emperor arrived in Constance on "la veille de Noël": *Le Moniteur universel* (28 Februrary 1835), Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 114.

[38]"On your knees! on your knees! priest of our law, I receive your vows and his faith!" In the draft scenario (Scene 9 in n.a.fr. 22502/4°, 11), Scribe writes: "à genoux -- à genoux - moi prêtre et pontif de notre loi - du dieu d'abraham et de jacob -- je vous [marié/unis] [...]" ("on your knees, on your knees--I, priest and pontiff of our law--of the God of Abraham and Jacob--I marry you.")

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these sources, he leads the prayer and distributes the unleavened bread, but these are functions that were often traditionally carried out by the head of the family. Moreover, in the musical setting, the idea and action of Éléazar's marrying the couple are replaced by his merely accepting and blessing Léopold as Rachel's "époux."[39] The 27 February review in *La Gazette de France* suggests that the change was not made until after the premiere: in addition to identifying Éléazar as both "[o]rfèvre" and "rabbin," this report refers to the ceremony that he begins to conduct with the phrase "A genoux."[40] A 25 February review in *Le Figaro*, however, speaks of Éléazar as "le père de la famille" distributing the bread, but does not refer to him as a rabbi who prepares to marry the couple; it merely states that Éléazar "va même jusqu'à permettre que sa fille devienne l'épouse d'un chrétien [...]."[41]

This seeming suppression of Éléazar as rabbi, along with the change to Passover, lends a more authentic touch to the treatment of characterization and ceremony. Although it is not known who determined these changes, it is likely, given the composer's heritage and his affiliations with the synagogue and Jewish community, that he would have viewed Scribe's portrayal of Éléazar as rabbi as

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[39]Also omitted from the musical setting in A509aI, *Schlesinger-Garland*, and *Schlesinger-Lemoine* are three six-line verses of ensemble (Léopold, Éléazar, and Rachel) immediately before the "A genoux!" phrase in the early printed libretti.

[40]Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 55. It is likely, as in other cases when the libretto is quoted in reviews, that the writer was using the printed libretto as a guide and possible that a discrepancy between it and the performed libretto was not recognized by the reviewer. But, since this phrase would have been accompanied by an action that was somewhat memorable, it seems unlikely that it had already been omitted.

[41]*Ibid.*, 39, 41: "is even going to permit his daughter to become the bride of a Christian."

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historically inaccurate. Scribe's concept of rabbi was clearly a 19th-century one, closer to that of a Christian priest or minister than to the Talmudic rabbi, who was primarily an interpreter of the Bible and the Oral Law, or to the rabbi of the Middle Ages, who was spiritual head of a Jewish congregation or community as well as interpreter and expositor of the law.[42] It was not until the beginning of the 19th century, with the Reform movement, that functions such as "prayer and leading in prayer, blessing of the people, and officiating in marriage and burial ceremonies" became central to rabbinical office.[43] What appears to have been a move away from characterizing Éléazar as rabbi may have indeed been a result of Halévy's suggestions. It seems likely that the composer would have pointed out that the priest-like allusions were inappropriate for a 15th-century rabbi; or, perhaps, he objected to the incongruity of associating materialism, greed, and usury with a character who was also a religious leader. Moreover, because Halévy had undoubtedly been a part of many traditional home services in which his own father led in prayer, as well as the Passover service led by Issakhar in his home in the Rome ghetto (described in the composer's early journal), he would have known that Éléazar's role as father was enough to meet the dramatic demands of the Act II service. Halévy certainly would have been sensitive to the common usage of unleavened bread in the Passover seder and perhaps suggested that Scribe's association in the draft scenario of the "pain sans

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[42]See "Rabbi, Rabbinate," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 18 vols. (Jerusalem: Macmillan, 1971), XIII, 1445-48.

[43]*Ibid.*

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levain" with the non-specified evening service be refined to an association with Passover.[44]

The musical setting of the prayer, "O Dieu de nos Pères" (identified as "Cantique" in the autograph), reflects an awareness of traditional Jewish practice and corresponds to aspects of Halévy's own works for the Parisian synagogue. As in his later psalm settings, he uses *a cappella* in the opening phrases sung by Éléazar, as well as the responsorial treatment between Éléazar, as "precentor" (lay singer) or "cantor" (a *Hazan* or professional singer), and Rachel and the small chorus of believers.[45] (As indicated in the printed libretti, there were seven men and five women, other than the principals, who participated in the service.) That Éléazar is a tenor lends further credence to viewing him as cantor, as *Hazanim* were traditionally

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[44]Of his Spring 1821 visit to the Jewish home in the Rome ghetto, Halévy described in detail the Passover seder in which he participated: "[O]n leva le voile de soie qui couvrois la table. En milieu de la table se trouvoient plusieurs gâteaux, [___] très peu épais, et percés d'une quantité de trous. Voici le pain azyme, me dis mon hôte en me présentant un de ces gâteaux, c'est ce pain qu'il nous est ordonnée de manger en commemoration du séjour d'Israel dans le désert. J'acceptai le pain azyme [...] j'entrouvai le goût assez agréable. Près des pains azymes, je vis sur la table une corbeille dans laquelle se trouvoient plusieurs oeufs durs, une morceau de mouton rôti, des [herbes] amères, du vinaîgre, et une coupe de compote de fruits."

("The veil of silk that covered the table was raised. In the middle of the table were several cakes, not very thick [___], and full of holes. Here is the unleavened bread, said my host in presenting one of these cakes to me; this is the bread that we have been ordained to eat in commemoration of the sojourn of Israel in the desert. I accepted the unleavened bread [...] I found the taste rather agreeable. Near the unleavened breads, I saw on the table a basket in which there were several hard-boiled eggs, a piece of roast mutton, some bitter [herbs], some vinegar, and a cup of fruit compote.") (Journal, BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 14349, fols. 12^{v}-13^{r}; see Appendix C.)

[45]Sacred Jewish music developed primarily into a vocal art following the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E., when the use of instruments was prohibited in synagogue worship. Moreover, the sung prayers in a home service would typically have been without accompaniment. Responsorial singing was common to Jewish psalmody and other types of synagogue song or prayer.

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tenors because of their greater vocal range and flexibility.[46] It is not known whether this aspect of Éléazar's role influenced Halévy's decision, after beginning work on the score, to reassign the role from bass (originally intended for Levasseur) to tenor (for Nourrit, who had first been given the traditional role of the lover, Léopold); the novelty of giving the central role of father to a tenor was the motivation that Halévy stated for the change.[47] Moreover, in Halévy's early experience in the synagogue, the cantor for whom he had written his *De profundis*, Israël Lovy, was a bass. But certainly making Éléazar a tenor, to be performed by the star singer Nourrit, was significant in refocusing the dramatic impact of the role.

The responses to Éléazar's phrases, four-part choral harmonizations moving in a simple progression beneath Rachel's echoes of Éléazar's lines, are of a type that can be found in the synagogue anthologies discussed above (see pp. 155-58).[48] As shown in Ex. 13, the responsorial part of the prayer consists of a series of four-

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[46]Naumbourg, *Récueil des Chants* (1875), xxxvi.

[47]Halévy recounted in *Derniers souvenirs*, 166: "lorsque je commençai à m'occuper de la partition, je fus frappé des accents nouveaux que donnerait à la musique la voix de ténor, la voix de Nourrit, dans un rôle de père. Je gagnais ainsi dans le rôle de cardinal, qui est père aussi, la voix et le talent de M. Levasseur" ("when I began to work on the score, I was struck by the new inflections that the voice of a tenor, the voice of Nourrit, would give to the music in the role of a father. Thus I gained the voice and talent of M. Levasseur in the role of a cardinal, who is also a father.").

[48]In m. 42, the basses divide into two lines, resulting in five-part harmony for two measures.

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Ex. 13: Act II, No. 8 (*Entr'acte et prière*), *Schlesinger-Garland*, 221-23, mm. 30-69.

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measure phrases, with the second phrase a slightly varied repetition of the first.[49] The bipartite subdivision of these phrases, similar to the phrase structure of Halévy's psalm settings, is reflective of the subdivision of psalm verses into two equal parts, or hemistichs, by a caesura that was common to Jewish psalmody. Each four-measure phrase is echoed by the chorus, suggestive of psalmodic practice; in some of Halévy's psalm settings, the solo and chorus alternate by hemistich, as in his setting of Psalm 118 excerpted in Ex. 14 below.

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[49]In the longer version of the prayer that appears in *Schlesinger-Lemoine*, a three-measure phrase sung by Éléazar and echoed by the worshipers extends the series of four phrases with responses in the full score and offsets the regularity of the square phrasing. This phrase and response are followed by a four-measure phrase ending the prayer, in which Rachel and the other celebrants join Éléazar in the last two measures of the phrase, a common practice in responsorial psalmody. The omission of these ten measures (3+3+4) in *Schlesinger-Garland* corresponds to the suppression of measures through the stitching of pages 20-22 in A509bII (archival score) and to those crossed out in red crayon in the autograph (p. 394). Most likely this deletion was one of the many small cuts made in the interest of performance time before publication of the full score; since action ruled Scribe's dramatic formula, the Passover service may have been judged to move too slowly with these "extraneous" measures. I have not seen evidence that reveals who was responsible for suggesting such changes in *La Juive*, although, as Véron wrote in his memoirs, there had to be a collective agreement among librettist, composer, and director about cuts and changes. There are notes made by Scribe for rehearsals of other operas among the Scribe papers at the BN that demonstrate his active participation in making changes to improve dramatic effects. In vol. 37 of n.a.fr. 22584, e.g., Scribe scribbles short phrases in his *carnet* at rehearsals of Halévy's *Guido et Ginevra* (1838), such as "plus de moment à la fin du choeur"; "ritournelle trop longue"; "entrée de Dupré [sic] trop longue"; "pas d'effet"; and "Moiti[é] du duo à couper" (fols. 96v, 99v).

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Ex. 14: Psalm 118, v. 25: No. 77 of Naumbourg, *Chants* (1847), 70.

The narrow melodic span in "O Dieu de nos pères" is also suggestive of traditional melodies, which had to be easily remembered and easily expanded to fit texts of different lengths. The melody of the prayer, set in the key of $B^{\flat}$, largely stays contained within $b^{\flat}$-f, with an occasional move one or two tones outside the fifth. In the first two measures, the melody outlines the tonic, in the second two, dominant and tonic; in phrases following the repeated *a* phrase (*a a a' a'*), the melody moves to an accented *g* on the second syllable of "mystères" (harmonized as vi_6 in the responsorial phrase, Ex. 13, m. 59). There is no real suggestion of a psalmodic reciting tone, although one might imagine an expansion into recitation on the *f'* in the initial "hemistich" of the first two phrases.

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Moreover, the slight hint of "oriental" color also alludes to traditional practice and corresponds to Halévy's psalm settings. The touch of "oriental" embellishment comes most strongly in *a'* (Ex. 13, mm. 38, 42), with the $e\natural$ (raised 4th) used as a passing tone to heighten the color of the accented $e^{\flat}$. In the harmonized choral response, a fully diminished chord supports this $e\natural$. As shown in Ex. 15, the use of the augmented fourth as color tone also appears in the opening phrases of Halévy's Psalm 118, v. 5, with the accented $f\sharp$ embellishing g:[50]



Ex. 15: Psalm 118, v. 5: No. 76 of Naumbourg, *Chants* (1847), 66.

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[50]In Halévy's psalm settings, there are other momentary hints of "authentic" Jewish elements, including the use of unison voices in this same example; an open fifth ending Psalm 118, v. 25 (No. 77 in *Naumbourg*, 1847); an alternation of $\frac{3}{4}$ and $\frac{4}{4}$ measures to accommodate metrical irregularity in the opening responsory of Psalm 115, v. 12 (No. 66 in *Naumbourg*, 1866), between tenors and chorus. For further information on traditional Jewish music, see, e.g., A.Z. Idelsohn's classic studies, including *Jewish Music in Its Historical Development* (New York: Henry Holt, 1929); Aron Friedmann, *Der synagogal Gesang: Eine Studie* (Berlin: C. Boas Nacht, 1908); Bathja Bachrach and Hanoch Avenary, "Music," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 18 vols. (Jerusalem: MacMillan, 1971), XII, 554-679.

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Halévy's use of instruments in the prayer is also suggestive of his synagogue works. The serene orchestral introduction, or *entr'acte*, with its prominent flute line lending to the feeling of intimacy, ends with a harp arpeggio that immediately precedes Éléazar's first phrase of the prayer. The harp, although frequently appearing in contemporary opera, was also linked traditionally to Jewish musical practice, a usage to which Halévy also referred in his later setting of Psalm 115.[51] After the responsorial section of the prayer, he brings in the harp again, leading to and accompanying Éléazar's offering of the unleavened bread, as well as the choral response, "Partageons-nous ce pain." It also accompanies Éléazar's *cavatine*, which was omitted (as discussed below) in *Schlesinger-Garland*.

The labelling of the above elements as "Jewish" could be easily disputed: for example, it could be argued that the responsory represents a quasi-church style and that such elements as the raised 4th or use of the harp are not exclusively or particularly "Hebraic"; these elements might simply be viewed as oriental

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[51]Halévy includes organ, and then harp, accompaniment in his setting of Psalm 115, v. 12 (No. 66), written for the marriage of his nephew Edgard Roderigues to Luise Mayer on 2 May 1858 (as stated in a footnote in the 1866 Naumbourg collection published after Halévy's death). (There are two versions of this psalm setting: No. 67, a transposition of No. 66 with an opening responsory between tenors and sopranos, rather than tenors and chorus, is *a cappella*, "sans accompagnement d'Orgue.") A harp is featured on the cover of the 1847 Naumbourg collection (see Ill. 1), held by a kingly figure in robes and crown, perhaps suggestive of King David and his *kinnor* (a type of lyre). In the 1875 collection (xli), Naumbourg endorses the use of harp, rather than organ, because of the many references to the *kinnor* and the *nébel* (a type of lyre larger than the *kinnor*) in the Bible; he himself had proposed to the Consistoire in 1846 the adoption of the harp's use for ceremonies, particularly for marriages.

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"exoticisms."[52] But, if Halévy's treatment is viewed with the knowledge of reform synagogal music in the early 19th century and compared to his own synagogue works in which he consciously incorporated idioms of European art music while alluding to Jewish musical traditions, it is difficult to label his setting of the service as "non-Jewish." The four-voice setting of the responses, for example, would not have been foreign to the synagogue with which Halévy was associated, the Temple St. Avoye, where Israël Lovy established a four-part choir in 1822.[53] Moreover, awareness of the composer's at least intermittent connections to the synagogue makes implausible Hugh Macdonald's statement that Halévy "treated the Jewish scenes as local colour, not in any way identifying with them as a Jew."[54]

Following the reverent opening prayer, which cadences in $B^{\flat}$ Major, an element of pious anger is introduced in a fourteen-measure section that begins in *G* Minor with tremolos in the winds and an agitated bass sequence, suggesting that even in prayer Éléazar's faith is touched by narrow-minded fanaticism (see Ex. 13, mm. 62-69, above). In this section, Éléazar issues a fierce warning of God's wrath at ungodly and false-hearted individuals who may have dared "to slip among us":

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[52]Halévy uses harp to accompany Brogni's *cavatine*, but less extensively than in Éléazar's sections.

[53]Avenary, "Music," 645, notes that Lovy composed music that incorporated the choral style of *opéra-comique* with the *meshorerim* tradition (cantor and two assisting soloists). See pp. 153-55 above, as well as Idelsohn's discussion, *Jewish Music*, 235-41, on the introduction of the chorale into German synagogues during the early 19th century.

[54]"La Juive," *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 4 vols., ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1992), II, 927.

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Act II, No. 8 (Scene 1)
(*Entr'acte* and prayer)

ÉLÉAZAR
Si trahison ou perfidie
Osait se glisser parmi nous,
Sur le parjure ou sur l'impie
Grand Dieu que tombe ton courroux!

ÉLÉAZAR
If treason or treachery
Dares to slip among us,
On the disloyal or ungodly
May the wrath of God fall!

Following this stern warning, the mood changes and a thirty-measure section, beginning with the text "et vous tous enfans de Moïse," expands Éléazar's religious persona as he invites the small gathering of Jewish celebrants to honor the covenant by partaking of the unleavened bread (*matzah*). Halévy underscores Éléazar's expression of sincere devotion in this section with a change of texture and orchestration (the tremolos are now legato arpeggiations, and the harp re-enters). In unison, the celebrants "recite" the text "Partageons le pain," largely on repeated $B^{\flat}$s, echoing the last two phrases sung by Éléazar in this section that cadences on $E^{\flat}$ Major. As shown in Ex. 16a, this cadence, in A509aI and *Schlesinger-Lemoine*, leads to the $A^{\flat}$ Major of Éléazar's *cavatine* which follows. In *Schlesinger-Garland*, since the *cavatine* is omitted, the interruption to the service comes immediately after the six measures of cadential extension containing Rachel's reaction ("Que vois-je!") to Léopold's throwing down the unleavened bread, as seen in Ex. 16b.

The omission of this prayerful *cavatine* undoubtedly diminished the pious side of Éléazar's character. Although the two-stanza air is relatively short, it is a pointed illustration of Éléazar's devotion, as well as his personal angst over Jewish

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Ex. 16a: Act II, No. 8: cadential mm. leading to Éléazar's *cavatine*, *Schlesinger-Lemoine*, 147-48, mm. 110-18.

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CAVATINE.



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Ex. 16b: Act II, No. 8: cadential mm. leading to the worshipers' reaction to a knock on the door, *Schlesinger-Garland*, 227-28, mm. 101-14.

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persecution and the degraded state of the Jewish nation.[55] The text for this air (see below) does not appear in the libretto sources until the 18 February printed libretto, suggesting a relatively late addition; it replaced a return to "Ô Dieu de nos pères" sung by the chorus, as indicated by the copyist's libretto in AJ[13]202.

Act II, No. 8B (Scene i)
Schlesinger-Lemoine
Cavatine

Dieu! que ma voix tremblante	God! my trembling voice
S'élève jusqu'aux cieux!	Rises to the heavens!
Étends ta main puissante	Extend your powerful hand
Sur tes fils malheureux!	On your unfortunate sons!
Tout ton peuple succombe,	All your people succumb,
Et Sion, dans la tombe,	And Zion, in the tomb,
Implorant ta bonté,	Imploring your kindness,
Vers toi s'élève et crie,	Rises up to you and cries
Et demande la vie	And begs for life
A son père irrité!	From its angry father!

Halévy's musical setting augments the emotion built into the text through varied repetition and the use of long-held notes on the highest pitches in the air on key words: as in the $a^{\flat}$' on "vie" of the phrase "vers toi se lève et crie et demande la vie" (see Ex. 17). In the second stanza, a number of variants in the vocal line, harmonization, and phrasing intensify Éléazar's pleading even further. In the last four measures of *b'* (of *ab/a'b'*), Halévy approaches the long-held $a^{\flat}$'' by a dramatic

[55]The first stanza is sixteen measures long, the second is seventeen measures with a more emphatic elaboration of the final words, "à son père irrité!" Each stanza is divided into two eight-measure phrases (*ab/a'b'*). With an introductory instrumental measure, as well as thirteen measures of cadential extension, the entire *cavatine* is forty-seven measures long.

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Ex. 17: Act II, No. 8B, Éléazar's *cavatine*, *Schlesinger-Lemoine*, 150, mm. 29-31, with earlier layer of pitches crossed out as in A509aI, [404].

leap of a fourth from $e^{\flat}$, rather than by an ascending scale in parallel measures of the *b* phrase; supporting this $a^{\flat}$ is the same diminished 7th chord (*bdfa*$^{\flat}$, but with an added 9th [$c^{\flat}$] in the bass) resolving to I^{6}_{4} in the first stanza. In the autograph, as shown in Ex. 17, Halévy's earlier idea was to approach the *g'* on "crie" and $a^{\flat}$' on "vie" from a 10th and an 11th below, respectively, which would have given more the effect of an outcry, but with dubious vocal success. More notably, however, a nine-measure cadential extension, with a legato accompaniment that softens the mood, adds poignancy as Éléazar reiterates his appeal with leaps of minor 6ths ($a^{\flat}$-$f^{\flat}$) and an operatically embellished penultimate measure. These nine measures, however, appear

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crossed out in pencil and red crayon (as well as black crayon) in A509bII, suggesting a cut at some point in the first production (Ex. 18).

A more significant reduction in the material of the worship service is the omission of the entire *cavatine* in *Schlesinger-Garland*, suggesting that it was suppressed by the time the full score was prepared, although the cut could have been as late as August 1835, when the score and performing parts were first advertised. The autograph reflects this omission: the red-crayon slash across its first measure, which is the last measure on 399^{r}, and pin holes in successive pages of the *cavatine* suggest its at-least-temporary suppression. Various accounts intimate that it was not restored until Gilbert Duprez (1806-96) first sang the role in 1837.[56] Duprez claimed that Halévy thanked him profusely for reintroducing the aria: "Halévy me sauta au cou le jour où je lui proposai de rétablir, au deuxieme acte de *la Juive*, le bel air de la Pâque, supprimé lors de la création. On sait l'effet puissant que produit toujours cette page magistrale et inspirée."[57] This account seems to ring true to the psychological attachment Halévy is likely to have had to this aria, given the known

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[56]Leich-Galland, *L'Avant-scène*, 52, 86, n. 16 (citing E.M.E. Deldevez, *Mes mémoires* [Le Puy, 1890], 191).

[57]G. Duprez, *Souvenirs d'un chanteur* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1880), 150: "Halévy threw his arms around my neck the day that I proposed to him to reestablish the beautiful Passover air in the second act of *la Juive*, suppressed since its creation. One knows the powerful effect that this brilliant and inspired page always produces."

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Ex. 18: Act II, No. 8B, Éléazar's *cavatine*, *Schlesinger-Lemoine*, 150, mm. 34-42, measures crossed out in A509bII).

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facts of his Jewish roots.[58] Moreover, Halévy understood well the nonstatic form ofopera, and he undoubtedly regretted the *cavatine*'s omission, for this dramatic statement illustrated Éléazar's personal anguish at being one of the Jewish "unfortunates" and helped to justify his hatred toward Christians.

At the end of the *cavatine* (or following Rachel's reaction to Léopold's rejection of the Passover bread in the full score), a knock on the door is heard, alarming the Jewish worshipers, who are conducting their service secretly--and illegally--in this era when non-Christians could be arrested as heretics. The lights are extinguished, the table preparations are hidden, and Eudoxie, the niece of Sigismund and the wife of Léopold (who attempts to hide himself) enters. With her interruption and the exchanges that follow, the Jewish service comes to an abrupt close.

In the piano-vocal score and the early printed libretti, however, Éléazar brings back the aura of reverence following Eudoxie's departure by inviting Samuel/Léopold to repeat the prayer with Rachel and him. Although Éléazar's line is retained from its first presentation, the return to "O Dieu de nos Pères" as a trio for Éléazar, Rachel, and Léopold (without chorus) is less worshipful and more "operatic" than before, with greater emphasis on dramatic conflict than in the earlier verse and response. Reactions of guilt and fear from the disguised Léopold, for example, act as a

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[58]One should keep in mind that Elizabeth Bartlet has found Duprez to be untrustworthy in his claims. In comments she made to me about Duprez, Bartlet noted that she has discovered Duprez to be "more than an exaggerator." I, too, found evidence of his false claims among the performing parts of *La Juive*: these contain several reminders made by orchestral players to transpose down a half-step for Duprez, thus casting doubts on the singer's much-publicized statements about his "ut de poitrine." See, e.g., the note "½ ton plus bas pour Duprez" in parts for first and second violin for Acts IV and V, Mat.19[e][315(579) and (581).

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counterpoint to Éléazar's and Rachel's prayer; moreover, Rachel's personal thoughts are woven into her discant above Éléazar's line.[59] See the beginning of the prayer's return in *Schlesinger-Lemoine* in Ex. 19 below. In this trio version, following a varied repetition of "Si trahison" sung by Éléazar alone, Léopold and Rachel join him as he repeats his warning, but Léopold breaks from them with the phrase "je crains que sur ma tête impie, ne tonne leur Dieu jaloux!"[60] This phrase, along with Léopold's previous reactions, refocuses attention on the exclusionary attitudes of the Jews (attitudes that undoubtedly extended from a fear of survival as a minority group), as well as the deception of the Christian prince. Following a return to "Si trahison," Éléazar repeats the first verse of the prayer.

This trio section appears to have been omitted sometime after the premiere. In addition to its inclusion in the libretto printed for sale around the time of the premiere (the "23 February" edition) and in the piano-vocal score, it also appears in a fair copy of an eighteen-page score fragment (BO:𝄢4387) whose hand and paper suggest that this version belonged to the archival score (A509b) before being cut.[61] It appears in the autograph (A509aI, 467-74), but red-crayon slashes on the first and last pages of this section reflect the decision to omit it. In Schlesinger's full score, in lieu of the

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[59]The dramatic actions of Samuel/Léopold rejecting the bread, as well as his reactions in this trio, appear to reflect the dramatic focus in Scribe's relatively scanty notes about the Jewish service in the draft scenario.

[60]"I fear their jealous God will rage on my ungodly head!"

[61]The copyist's hand is the same as that which appears in A509b. The paper of the fragment is like that of A509b: it is twenty-four-staved paper of similar measurement, color, and texture, with "1832" and "lion/king" watermarks.

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trio section and Éléazar's invitation to pray leading to it, Éléazar indicates in recitative that he is going to pray: this substitution cuts back on performance time as it emphasizes, in a less dramatic way, the sincerity of his faith. As shown in Ex. 20, his words, possibly an addition of the Halévys since they do not appear in the libretto editions, suggest the habitual observance of prayer.[62]

In the remainder of the opera, the religious aspects of Éléazar's character intensify, but with ambiguity, so that his words and actions can be seen as extensions of either pious spirituality or irrational fanaticism. For the most part, however, his characterization appears to move away from piety toward vengeance and bigotry. At the end of Act II, his anger and vengeance are that of a father whose daughter has been wronged: when he surprises Rachel and Léopold, he warns of "la malédiction d'un père" and sings of "le bras vengeur" in the trio with Rachel and Léopold. In the

[62]Note the editorial suggestion at m. 241 that the "cors à Piston en Mi ♭" can be replaced by a "Cor ordinaire en Sol." This corresponds with a similar editorial note shown in Ex. 3 above, n. 4.

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Ex. 19: Act II, No. 9, "O Dieu de nos Pères," in trio setting, *Schlesinger-Lemoine*, 173, mm. 238-48.

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Ex. 20: Act II, No. 9, recitative following *Trio*, "Tu possèdes, dit-on," *Schlesinger-Garland*, 267-68, mm. 225-38.

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trio that follows, his reaction becomes meshed with religious bigotry leading up to the moment Léopold discloses his true identity to Éléazar:[63]

Act II, Scene vii
(No. 12, Trio)

ÉLÉAZAR
Et toi que j'accueillis, toi qui venais sans crainte,
Outrager dans ces lieux l'hospitalité sainte

Va-t'en! si tu n'étais un enfant d'Israël,
Si je ne respectais en toi notre croyance,
Mon bras t'aurait déjà frappé d'un coup mortel!

LÉOPOLD
Frappe! je ne veux pas te ravir ta vengeance.

Je suis Chrétien!

ÉLÉAZAR
Chrétien!

ÉLÉAZAR
And you whom I welcomed, you who came without fear,
To dishonor sacred hospitality in these places
Leave! if you weren't a child of Israel,
If I didn't respect our faith in you,
My arm would have already struck you with a mortal blow!

LÉOPOLD
Strike! I don't want to rob you of your vengeance.
I am a Christian!

ÉLÉAZAR
Christian!

Rachel fends off the threat of violence with an impassioned appeal following a recitative statement, "Il n'est pas seul coupable," claiming her own guilt. In the text that Halévy sets, "Pour lui, pour moi, mon père," a replacement for text found in the early printed libretti, Rachel directly invokes Éléazar's love--"j'invoque votre amour"--as she tries to quell her father's anger and asks for his blessing.[64] Her entreaty is heightened by Halévy's setting in $D^{\flat}$ and an assuaging $\frac{6}{8}$, *Andante espressivo*. Here, as later, Éléazar's bitterness and anger are mitigated through his love for Rachel: her

[63]The text in *Schlesinger-Garland* corresponds with that in the printed libretti.

[64]The text appearing in the early printed libretti begins: "Oui, je l'aime! je l'aime!/Notre crime est le même [...]."

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heartfelt words provoke his response, "désarme, hélas! le coeur!" At the same time he wonders if he will be punished if he relents: "le ciel dans sa colère voudrait-il me punir?" But as she continues her appeal, he fully gives in to her pain and tears. After a trio section with Rachel and Léopold in which he sings the words "C'est Dieu qui l'inspire, sa douleur me déchire," Éléazar states in recitative that "ma fureur vengeresse doit céder à tes pleurs,/que le ciel en courroux comme moi te pardonne/et qu'il soit ton époux!"[65] Léopold's shocking refusal immediately sets off the malediction that Rachel had pacified. Bound with a father's fury is Éléazar's distrust of Christians: "Trahison! anathême! maudits soient les chrétiens et celui qui les aime!"

In Acts IV and V, Éléazar's animosity toward Brogni and toward Christian hypocrites and taunters continues. In a duet with Brogni in Act IV, excerpted in Ex. 21 below, he refuses the cardinal's impassioned appeal to save Rachel by renouncing his faith. Brogni insists that Éléazar alone can save Rachel, a point Halévy makes emphatic through repetition and embellishment of his words "toi seul." After Brogni's final elaboration of these words (mm. 34-35), Éléazar enters on a monotone (supported by a *pp* diminished 7th chord in the strings), expressing disbelief at Brogni's request. Éléazar's anger, mixed with religious fervor, is quickly exposed as his monotone breaks into upward leaps and his vocal line becomes increasingly agitated. But, as in Act II, thoughts of his daughter make Éléazar hesitate. In his

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[65]"It is God who inspires me, her pain tears me apart"; "my vengeful anger must cede to your tears,/that Heaven, wrathful like me, pardons you/and may he be your husband!"

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famous air ending the fourth act, "Rachel, quand du Seigneur," the emotional conflict is acute between his desire to spare the daughter he had saved as a baby, on the one hand, and his own religious faith and his vengeance toward Christians, on the other. In the text of the aria, vengeance, and not devotion, appears to be the most powerful emotion holding him back from accepting Brogni's offer to exchange his conversion for Rachel's life. In a harmonically transitional passage at the end of the return of the *A* section, Éléazar relents with the words: "Ah! j'abjure à jamais ma vengeance,/Rachel, non, tu ne mourras pas!" But his change of heart is short-lived. He hears distant shouts of death to the Jews--"Au bûcher, au bûcher les Juifs, les Juifs! qu'ils périssent!"--which prompt an immediate return to his stance of revenge. After a defiant retort--"Vous voulez notre sang, Chrétiens, et moi j'allais vous rendre ma Rachel! non, non, jamais!"--he bursts into a cabaletta in which he, enlightened by God ("Dieu m'éclaire"), exults in the fate of martyrdom that he and Rachel will share.[66] As the death shouts continue and before he sings a final couplet of the cabaletta, Éléazar repeats his vow not to give his daughter (or himself) up to the Christians: "Israël la réclame, c'est au Dieu de Jacob que j'ai voué son âme!"

This air, which is central to the characterization of Éléazar, is the most powerful evocation of his raging inner conflict. As Wagner intimated, Halévy drew

[66]Halévy uses this cabaletta tune in the long overture.

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Ex. 21: Act IV, No. 18, *Duo* ("Ta fille en ce moment"), *Schlesinger-Garland*, 552-55, mm. 34-67.

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Ex. 22: Act IV, No. 19, recitative before Éléazar's air, "Rachel, quand du Seigneur," *Schlesinger-Garland*, 580, mm. 40-64.

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Ex. 23: Act IV, No. 19, beginning of Éléazar's air, "Rachel, quand du seigneur," *Schlesinger-Garland*, 581-82, mm. 65-99.

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from a "faculty of strong emotion, incisive and profound" in setting it.[67] Despite the sudden shifts between the vengeful Éléazar and the loving father, the strongest impression left by the composer's setting comes from the pathos which emanates from Éléazar's thoughts of his daughter. In recitative that leads to the aria, Halévy announces the change of mood from hatred towards Brogni to the deep tenderness he feels for Rachel with a late-resolving diminished 7th chord ($b^{\sharp}d^{\sharp}f^{\sharp}a$) softly repeated in the horns, immediately before he reminds himself of the true horror of the situation (Ex. 22). Through pauses and light touches of *pianissimo* accompaniment, Halévy reveals the shock of Éléazar's thoughts; he intensifies them rapidly before the culmination, following a sudden *crescendo* and an augmented-6th chord in the strings, in Éléazar's fierce self-accusation, "c'est toi qu'immoler ma fureur!" After a short transition leading to the F Minor of the aria, Halévy introduces Éléazar's haunting melody with two English horns playing in thirds, in a passage that Berlioz lauded in his treatise on instrumentation for its expressivity.[68] Idelsohn claimed this melody to be the only truly Jewish melody found in *La Juive*.[69] The prominent use of $b^{\natural}$ and $e^{\natural}$ (augmented 4ths in I and IV, respectively), both accented and unaccented rhythmically, lends this *Andantino* an even stronger "oriental" color than in the Jewish service and a poignancy that evokes the most personal, sincere emotion from Éléazar, and perhaps from the composer himself (Ex. 23).

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[67]See pp. 16-17 above.

[68]*Grand Traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration* (Paris: Henri Lemoine et Cie, 1843), 122.

[69]Idelsohn, *Jewish Music*, 473.

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Éléazar's vacillation emerges again in Act V, as Rachel's death becomes more imminent. He exclaims, "Mon Dieu, que dois-je faire? hélas! éclaire-moi!," and reiterates doubts about Rachel's martydom as she voices her fear of dying. Finally, when the signal announcing the execution is given, Éléazar's love for his daughter once again breaks his vengeful spirit, and he suggests that she convert to Christianity to save herself (she refuses). Never does he retract his malevolent feelings toward Brogni, however; instead, his virulence culminates at the opera's denouement in the cruelly timed revelation of Rachel's true identity after she has been thrown into the boiling oil of the cauldron. His shout of "la voilà!," which forces Brogni to pay bitterly for his actions against the Jews, seals the image of Éléazar as predominantly unforgiving and vengeful.

Éléazar's hatred of Christians, while a Shylockian vestige, is significant to his portrayal as a religious fanatic: linked with but dominating the usurous allusions in his character, Éléazar's fanaticism--or orthodoxy--is key to his representation as a pariah in Christian society. Because the consequence of his anti-Christian sentiment is as detrimental as that of the anti-Jewish attitudes of the Catholics, his fanaticism is integral to the opera's criticism of social, religious, and political intolerance. The piety expressed in the prayerful scene by Éléazar, Rachel, and the small group of Jewish believers in the Act II Passover service--undoubtedly affected by Halévy's own attraction to Judaism--adds psychological depth to the characterization and dramatic power to the counterpoising of religious groups. Because the Jewish service, as set by Halévy, is a more overt display of religious practice and a seemingly more sincere

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one than the representations of Christian worship that are bound to secular celebration, the unjust persecution of the Jews becomes all the more concrete. But with the depiction of both Jewish fanaticism and faith, the opera moves from a one-sided opprobrium to a more complex and universal critique of intolerance.

De-emphasis of Love Triangle

Omissions in Act V late in the rehearsal period and in Act III after the premiere, primarily in the role of Eudoxie, reinforce the overall dramatic intent. Through the reduction of Eudoxie's role, diversionary aspects of the love story are lessened and the dramatic action refocused on the central problematic romance between Jew and Christian and on the broader religious conflict. There are many possible speculations for these omissions unrelated to this dramatic refocusing. One likelihood is that the material slated to showcase the florid voice of the popular and well-established soprano Laure Cinti-Damoreau was reduced when the role was given to Julie Dorus-Gras, probably because of the vocal troubles that were plaguing Damoreau around this time.[70] Although it appears that the role was securely Dorus-

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[70]Damoreau's name appears in Leborne's *Registre de Copie*, with Dorus-Gras as her "double," under the first four acts designated for the copying of the roles. Her name is crossed out, however, replaced by that of "Me Jawureck"; under Leborne's notes for the copying of Eudoxie's Act 5 part, he writes only the names of Dorus-Gras and Jawureck, undoubtedly underscoring the fact that by the time this last act was copied, Dorus-Gras had been given the role and Jawureck the "double" part. According to Philip Robinson, "Cinti-Damoreau, Laure," *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 4 vols., ed. Stanley Sadie, I, 871, Damoreau, the highest-paid singer at the Opéra after beginning a career there in 1827, left the Opéra in 1835. Dorus-Gras made her debut at the Opéra in 1831 in *Le Comte Ory*. In the Opéra accounts for June 1834 (see "Etat des appointemens des artistes du chant," AN: AJ^{13}287), the same salary of ₣ 25,000/year that is given to Damoreau is also listed for Dorus-Gras, Falcon, and Nourrit; by comparison, Lafont (Léopold) received ₣ 20,000/year,

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Gras's by July 1834, according to Opéra accounts of materials for costumes, it may have been decided that Eudoxie, at least as sung by Dorus-Gras, should not have more arias than Rachel, the dramatic soprano and "title" role.[71] (Although Rachel dominates the story and the action, she is given only one principal aria, "Il va venir!" of Act II.) Perhaps too the material was deemed lacking in strength, or the singer Dorus-Gras did not like it, or maybe she was ineffectual. (See the review from *Le Figaro* cited on p. 420 below.) Yet if these omissions are considered along with the Act I changes, as well as with the alterations in Acts IV and V which came late in the rehearsal period, the dramatic results appear linked to a concern for not complicating or deviating from the core dramatic issues.

At the beginning of Act V in fair copies of the libretto (n.a.fr. 22502/4°[b] and AJ[13]202), the first scene does not open with the chorus "Quel plaisir"; instead, Eudoxie sings a farewell air as she prepares to drink a cup of poison, an act of suicidal despair over the loss of her husband's love. In the later of two versions of Act V in n.a.fr. 22502/4°, a version which I have designated as 4°(b) to distinguish it from 4°(a) discussed below, Eudoxie actually drinks the poison and dies shortly after Léopold discovers her and is forgiven by her in the second scene. In the second scene of the AJ[13]202 libretto, which most likely succeeds the versions in n.a.fr. 22502, Léopold interrupts her <u>before</u> she drinks the poison. He admits his guilt and begs that she offer a pardon--not for himself, but for Rachel. After Léopold admits

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Levasseur (Brogni) 18,000, and Dabadie (Ruggiero), 16,000.

[71]See documents related to costumes and *mise en scène* in AN, AJ[13]202.

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that he has ridded his heart of "une flamme adultère," Eudoxie hands him the requested parchment (brought to her in Scene i by an official) and, when a signal from the emperor is heard, hurries him on to save Rachel. This version appears as follows:

Act V
Copyist's Libretto (AJ[13]202)

Un boudoir élégant de l'appartement d'Eudoxie.

Scène 1ère

EUDOXIE (assise près d'une table sur laquelle une coupe est placée)

Air

Adieu terre chérie!
Adieu riant séjour!
J'ai perdu son amour
Je dois perdre la vie!

Pour aimer & souffrir
C'est trop rester captive
Qu'il soit heureux! qu'il vive
Et moi je vais mourir!

Adieu terre chérie &.

(En ce moment entre un officer de l'empereur qui remet à Eudoxie un parchemin scellé aux armes de l'empire.)

Eudoxie (Le prenant & le posant sur la table)

C'est bien!

(L'officier salue & se retire)
J'espère ainsi lui rendre ce qu'il aime!

An elegant boudoir in the apartment of Eudoxie.

Scene 1

EUDOXIE (seated near a table on which a cup is placed).

Air

Goodbye dear earth!
Goodbye happy sojourn!
I have lost his love
I must lose my life!

To love and suffer
Is to remain captive
May he be happy! may he live
And I shall die!

Goodbye dear earth, etc.

(At this moment an officer of the Emperor enters who hands Eudoxie a parchment sealed with the arms of the empire.)

EUDOXIE (Taking it and putting it on the table.)

Good!

(The officer salutes and leaves.)
In this way I hope to set free the one he loves!

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Quand ce poison rapide aura glacé mon coeur
Cet écrit lui dira qu'à mon heure suprême

Ma dernière pensée était pour son bonheur!

Je tremble & frissonne
La mort m'environne!
O mon dieu pardonne
A mon désespoir!

Si ma main impie
Attente à ma vie,
Ah! j'en suis punie
Se ne dois plus le voir!

Je tremble, je frissonne,
La mort m'environne
O mon dieu pardonne
A mon désespoir!

(Elle a pris la coupe qu'elle va porter à ses lèvres. Entre brusquement Léopold qui pousse un cri & saisit la coupe qu'il jette loin d'Eudoxie.)

By the time this rapid poison will have chilled my heart
This document will tell him that in my final hour
My last thought was for his happiness!

I shudder and tremble
Death surrounds me!
O my God pardon me
In my despair!

If my impious hand
Threatens my life
Ah! I am punished
By not seeing him again!

I shudder, I tremble,
Death surrounds me
O my God, pardon me
In my despair!

(She has taken the cup that she is going to put to her lips. Léopold enters abruptly, shouts and seizes the cup that he throws far from Eudoxie.)

Scène 2ème

EUDOXIE, LÉOPOLD

LÉOPOLD (A Eudoxie qui est retombée sur son fauteuil.)

Non, tu ne mourras pas, quand moi seul suis coupable!
Mais avant de punir ma lâche trahison
Je venais à tes pieds implorer un pardon
Non pour moi que la vie accable,
Mais pour celle qu'hélas! j'ai conduite au bucher!

EUDOXIE (se levant)
Rachel!

Scene 2

EUDOXIE, LÉOPOLD

LÉOPOLD (To Eudoxie, who has fallen back again on her chair.)

No, you will not die, when I alone am guilty!
But before punishing my cowardly treason
I was coming to beg you for pardon
Not for my condemned life,
But for her whom I--alas!--have driven to the stake!

EUDOXIE (getting up)
Rachel!

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LÉOPOLD
Oui, je le jure à mon heure dernière
J'ai banni de mon cour une flamme adultère,

Mais le fer à la main je voulais l'arracher
A ses bourreaux! inutile espérance!
L'amitié même a trahi ma vaillance,
Oui, devant le concile ils trembients, & je vois,
Qu'il ne me reste hélas! pour la sauver.

EUDOXIE
Que moi!
(Lui donnant le parchemin.)
Voici sa grâce!

LÉOPOLD
O ciel!

EUDOXIE
L'empereur l'a signée,
Courez, il en est temps, sauvez l'infortunée.

LÉOPOLD
Ange du ciel! que mon remords est grand!
Ma vie est désormais à la tienne enchainée.
Oui, j'en prends à témoin ce dieu qui nous entend,
Ce dieu qui comme toi se venge en pardonnant!

(Il sort avec Eudoxie, le théâtre change.)

LÉOPOLD
Yes, I swear in my last hour
I have banned from my heart an adulterous flame,
But, sword in hand, I would like to tear her
From her executioners! vain hope!
Friendship even betrayed my courage,
Yes, before the Council they tremble, and I see
That nothing is left to me--alas! to save her.

EUDOXIE
Except me!
(Giving him the parchment.)
Here is her pardon!

LÉOPOLD
Heavens!

EUDOXIE
The Emperor has signed it,
Run, there is time, save the unfortunate.

LÉOPOLD
Heavenly angel! how great is my remorse!
My life is from now on bound to yours.
Yes, I call to witness this god who hears us,
This god who, like you, takes vengeance by pardoning!

(He exits with Eudoxie; the scene changes.)

Another variant of the opening of Act V can also be found in n.a.fr. 22502/4°(a). In this source (fols. 29^{r}-29^{v}), as in the draft scenario (n.a.fr. 22502/2°, 20) and draft verse (n.a.fr. 22562, 105), Rachel is sleeping in "une chapelle ardente" and dreaming of Léopold, singing a refrain of the romance of Act I.

While there is no evidence among the music manuscripts to indicate that Halévy set this early version to music, Eudoxie's aria, "Adieu terre chérie," of

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AJ[13]202 and n.a.fr. 22502/4°(b) was composed, the performing parts were copied, and the set was created. The air does not appear in the autograph manuscript, although a vestige of its original placement is suggested by the renumbering of the chorus "Quel plaisir." At the top of the blank staff page which precedes the beginning of the chorus in A509aII, Halévy writes: "5eme acte grand choeur N° 2." This numbering suggests that Eudoxie's air had originally been included as No. 1.[72]

"Adieu terre chérie," composed in *G* Major in *ABA* form, followed by the exchanges with Léopold, can be found in partbooks copied by the Leborne atelier for Eudoxie, Mat. 19e[315 (7bis), and Léopold, Mat. 19e[315 (508) and (510), along with a full set of orchestral parts, Mat. 19e[315 (269-306), including the *violon principal*, Mat. 19e[315 (269).[73] A number of clues lead to the conclusion that Eudoxie's air was omitted relatively late in the rehearsal period. The fact that it appears in three variant fair copies of the Act V libretto, the latest of which includes the major dramatic change to the end of Act V (and the opera), suggests that it persisted through several "official" versions. (These fair copies, or at least one of them, may represent what was shown to the Commission close to the premiere.) Moreover, the fact that the orchestral parts, including the *violon principal*, were copied strengthens the probability that the cut came late. In conformity with the systematic chronological creation and "study" of a work that was routine at the Opéra, the fourth and fifth acts

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[72]Of course, Eudoxie's "Adieu terre chérie" may have supplanted Rachel's repetition of the refrain from Léopold's romance as No. 1.

[73]These parts are copied on *cahiers* detached from other *cahiers* that are bound together in act-long portions, as in other cut material.

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were the last to be copied and the last to be rehearsed.[74] Moreover, the acts were not rehearsed with orchestra until they were close to final form, following the rehearsal stages, first with piano and then *en quatuor*. But the omission of the air (and the exchanges with Léopold which follow) was probably not made at the very last minute before the premiere, as suggested by a *mise en scène* record dated February 1835, which indicates that the Act V *décoration* for Eudoxie's room was only sketched, and not fully realized, before its suppression.[75] It is possible, however, that the cut was made as late as the first of February, when there was an overhauling of Acts IV and V and when *La Gazette musicale de Paris* reported that "*La Juive* attend ses décors."[76] The third scene which follows in AJ[13]202

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[74]In the case of *La Juive*, this chronology is suggested by the layout in Leborne's *registre de copie* (BO: RE 235): the choir parts, along with short scores for Halévy, the *chef du chant*, and Schneitzhoeffer, appear to have been copied first, followed by parts for the *rôles*, and then the orchestral parts. With the exception of the choir parts and the Halévy/Schneitzhoefer short scores, in which the fifth-act parts were copied before those of the fourth act, the acts were copied in chronological order.

[75]In "Mémoire des décorations composées et executées pour Mons[r] Véron, directeur de l'Académie royale de Musique, par MM Séchan Feuchères et C[ie]" (AN, AJ[13]202), the first entry for Act V is:

> 5[ème] Décoration représentant l'intérieur de la chambre à coucher de la princesse Eudoxie, Décoration tracée seulement et supprimée avant la représentation, se composant d'une ferme au 2[e] chassis -- 6
>
> 5th stage set representing the interior of Princess Eudoxie's bedroom; set, made of a truss in the 2nd subframe, sketched only and suppressed before the performance -- 6

[76]1 February 1835, II/5, 43: the *Gazette* also reported that the first four acts were almost ready as rehearsals continued; it projected the premiere to occur sometime between 15 and 20 February. The *Revue musicale* of the same date, IX/5, announced that the opera was being delayed until at least mid-February, since the fourth act had been reworked and rehearsed again *en quatuor*. Although these sources do not say anything about the fifth act, manuscript sources show that parts of Act IV were being integrated into Act V, and so it might follow

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corresponds to Scene i of the printed libretti of February 18 and thereafter, as well as with the autograph and published scores: the scenes above were omitted so that Act V begins with the "Quel plaisir" chorus in a square of Constance. See Ex. 24 below for a transcription of the beginning of "Adieu terre chérie," reduced from the short-score part for the *violon principal*, copied for Habeneck's use.

The omission of three numbers at the beginnning of Act III that were performed at the premiere further reduced the role of Eudoxie. These numbers appear in the autograph and Schlesinger-Lemoine piano-vocal score (Nos. 13-15 in the latter) but are omitted from the Schlesinger full score and the archival score: the first, "Je l'ai revu," and third, "Mon doux seigneur et maître," are arias sung by Eudoxie, and the second, "Que d'attraits! qu'elle est belle," is a duet for Eudoxie and Rachel.[77] Undoubtedly the cuts were made partially in the interest of performing time, as *La Juive* at its premiere lasted well over five hours, from 7 p.m. to 12:30 a.m.[78] As suggested above, the scenes with Eudoxie alone and with Rachel may have been deemed less successful than others, although the reviews seemed to have been mixed. *Le Figaro* welcomed the cuts since a "mediocre effect" was produced by Dorus-Gras's air of the third act (referring perhaps to No. 15, the "Boléro"),

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that the suppression of the first two scenes of Act V was made in conjunction with these other reworkings.

[77]Part of the duet and the Boléro are included in the 1987 Philips recording.

[78]*Le Constitutionnel* (25 February 1835) in Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 11. A reviewer for *Le Ménestrel* (1 March 1835), Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 112, remarked that the reductions made the work's proportions "plus rationnelles."

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Ex. 24: Beginning of Eudoxie's omitted air, "Adieu terre chérie" (reduced from Mat. 19[315[269]).

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preferring instead the Act III finale, which contains the intense drama leading to Brogni's malediction:

> Au troisième acte l'air chanté par madame Dorus, malgré le talent qu'elle met dans l'exécution, produit un effet médiocre et nous aurions peu regretté qu'il eût disparu au milieu des coupures de la représentation, mais en revanche le final de cet acte est d'un dessein large et d'un effet puissant.[79]

A critic for the *Journal de Paris et des départemens* acknowledged that the role of Eudoxie bore the brunt of reductions to the opera, which he felt were healthy on the whole, although he wryly pointed out that they should have been made before the premiere and not after:

> Le rôle d'Eudoxie a beaucoup souffert et devait beaucoup souffrir des réductions que l'ouvrage a subies. On nous a dit qu'elle avait primitivement de charmans couplets. Nous avons entendu, à la première représentation, un joli duo entre elle et Rachel; il a disparu dans le grand et salutaire abattis qui a été décidé contre la première partie du troisième acte. Il lui reste le duo du second acte et les morceaux d'ensemble, auxquels le secours de sa voix était indispensable. [...]
>
> Nous avons annoncé que des coupures avaient été faites dès la seconde représentation; d'autres ont été faites depuis. Nous croyons qu'on ferait bien dorénavant de soumettre à huis-clos les pièces à cette triste opération, et de ne pas donner aux spectateurs une répétition générale en guise de première représentation, au risque de compromettre le succès d'un ouvrage. D'ailleurs le public a droit

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[79]*Le Figaro* (3 March 1835) in Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 49: "In the third act the air sung by Madame Dorus, despite the talent she puts into the execution, produces a mediocre effect and we would have regretted it little had it disappeared amid cuts in the performance, but, on the other hand, the finale of this act has a broad design and powerful effect." Another critic who reviewed the premiere for *Le Temps* (26 February 1835), Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 159, thought both Eudoxie's air and the duet too long and suggested omitting one and reducing the other.

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> d'être traité avec plus d'égards, et d'exiger qu'on achève sa toilette dans la coulisse. Nous ne nous plaignons pas qu'on ait retranché un bon nombre de morceaux; c'était une question de vie; mais nous regrettons qu'on en ait abrégé plusieurs, qui par là ont perdu la moitié de leur effet.[80]

The *Gazette musicale de Paris*, on the other hand, praised the opening air because it had given Dorus-Gras the chance to expose "tout le luxe de sa belle voix et la pureté de sa méthode" and suggested that the cuts came because the character, much like Donna Elvira in *Don Giovanni*, was under-appreciated.[81]

According to Leich-Galland, Halévy never condoned the suppression of these Act III numbers.[82] Because these numbers appeared among the eighteen *morceaux*

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[80]22 March 1835, Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 101: "The role of Eudoxie has suffered much and had to suffer much from reductions the work has undergone. We were told that originally she had some charming verses. We heard, in the first performance, a pretty duet between Rachel and her; it disappeared in the great and healthy cutting away that was decided for the first part of the third act. There remained for her the duet of the second act and the ensemble pieces, in which the aid of her voice was essential. [...]

We announced that some cuts had been made for the second performance; others have been made since. We believe that from now on the works should be subject to this sad operation behind closed doors, and that the audience should not be given a *répétition générale* in the guise of a premiere performance, at the risk of compromising the success of a work. Moreover, the public has the right to be treated with more consideration and to demand that one finish one's *toilette* backstage. We aren't complaining that a good number of pieces were removed; this was a question of life; but we regret that several were shortened, thus losing half of their effect.

[81]8 March 1835, Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 73: "all the richness of her beautiful voice and the flawlessness of her technique." "J.J." (perhaps Jules Janin) echoed this view when he referred to Dorus-Gras's talent in singing "le rôle ingrat de la princesse Eudoxie" in *Journal des débats* (25 February 1835), 109.

[82]"La Juive," *L'Avant-scène*, 61. Also see this article for a musical and dramatic analysis of the opera, number by number in a Budden-like format, including the Act III arias and duet omitted from the full score. Leich-Galland himself believes that the music should be reincorporated into the definitive *La Juive*, since "l'auditeur a d'ailleurs besoin du calme et du charme de ces trois morceaux après l'épreuve du second acte" ("for that matter, the listener needs the calm and charm of these three pieces after the ordeal of the second act").

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détachés (as Nos. 10-12) published by Schlesinger for "dilettanti" (advertised in April 1835), in the Schlesinger piano-vocal score (advertised in August 1835), and in arrangements, they continued in some form as part of *La Juive* in the public consciousness.[83] But Opéra documents, including the early performing parts and the archival score, in addition to *Schlesinger-Garland*, make it clear they were not considered part of the stabilized opera.[84] Perhaps the strongest indication of their "official" exclusion is their omission from the archival score: these numbers were not

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[83]Leich-Galland notes the prevalent use of the first theme of Eudoxie's Boléro in Liszt's *Réminiscences de la Juive*, for example, *ibid.*, 65.

[84]Among the performing materials for the duet (No. 14) are the orchestral parts, Mat. 19ᵉ[315(583)-(605); written across the cover page of the first violin part (583), for example, is the phrase, "Coupures de la Juive." Eudoxie's partbook, Mat. 19ᵉ[315(7), contains the duet and the Boléro; written on the first page of (7) is "rétiré de la juive." The first aria, No. 13, can be found in orchestral parts, Mat. 19ᵉ[315(231)-(268).

Many variants appear among the performing parts, the autograph, and piano-vocal score in these numbers, and all sources should be consulted if the numbers are reinstated in performance. For example, recitative in the piano-vocal score that ends the duet, beginning with Eudoxie's "J'accepte désormais" (p. 244 of *Schlesinger-Lemoine*), does not appear in the autograph. Only a remnant, Eudoxie's line, "C'est lui! c'est Léopold!," can be seen in the autograph, but it is misplaced, coming before the duet (p. 38). Moreover, the recitative that precedes the chorus, "O jour mémorable," in the piano-vocal score (No. 16), does not appear in the autograph, save for a one-measure vestige, Léopold's "Ah! c'est trop suppor-".

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at first included in this source and then taken out; they were, rather, never copied for it.[85]

Although the drama does not deviate in these three numbers into a subplot as extrinsic as Eudoxie's suicide or suicide threat that accompanied the rejected "Adieu terre chérie," there is a similar focus on the personal feelings of Eudoxie. The arias are light and charming love songs to her husband (the first a so-called *air de sommeil)* that are full of coloratura flourishes. In the duet with Rachel, both women respond to the beauty of each rival. Although these numbers are musically appealing, particularly Eudoxie's *Boléro*, they are dramatically inessential, particularly to the aesthetic of grand opera, and thus were easily suppressed from the opera. The critic for *La Quotidienne* implied that the drama was indeed sharpened by the cuts, which

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[85]In Leborne's copy records for *La Juive*, BO, RE 235, in the space reserved for his delegation of copying of the archival score, he first lists the numbers 1-6 under "Acte 3," but then crosses through these numbers, renumbering 5 and 6 as 1 and 2:

Acte 3

	~~1~~	
	~~2~~	
	~~3~~	
	~~4~~	
N1	~~5~~	40 Saul
2	~~6~~	61 Roq
3		36 id
4		89 Chant

The old Nos. 1-3 are the two Eudoxie arias and Eudoxie-Rachel duet; No. 4, as numbered in Eudoxie's partbook, Mat. 19[e][315(7), is the recitative, "Ah!, c'est trop supporter," which precedes the chorus "O jour mémorable." Next to these numbers, there are no indications of page counts or names of copyists. Next to the new Nos. 1-4, page counts and copyists' names do appear, as seen above. In the archival score, "No. I" is the chorus "O jour mémorable" and the number of pages equals 40; the page counts of following numbers of Act III similarly match the RE 235 notations. (As a further clarification, Leborne's early designation "No. 5" can be seen on the first page of the chorus in the autograph, before being crossed out.)

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resolved "tout ce qui avait semblé vague et diffus" and made "la marche du poème plus rapide et plus satisfaisante."[86]

Change of the Denouement

Of the many changes that Acts IV and V underwent in various compositional stages of *La Juive*, the most trenchant is the alteration of the opera's denouement. Clearly with the conversion ending (described on pp. 221-24 above), and the expressions of clemency leading up to it, *La Juive* would have been an entirely different opera. Before the change to the tragic finale, the attack on the hypocrisy and injustice of Christian authority is mitigated, even more powerfully than in Brogni's "Si la rigueur," by his statements about the sentencing to death of Jews and "heretics" on the "sacred day" of the Council's opening and by his still more forceful appeals for mercy. Beyond Brogni's checking the crowd's hot-headed bigotry in Act I, a peaceable interaction between Brogni and Éléazar in an earlier version of Act IV, Scene v, and the cardinal's pardon in the Act V draft versions--a full one with the revocation of the death sentences of Rachel and Éléazar--underline his magnanimity.[87] The action of the Act V draft particularly makes him an even more sympathetic figure than in the stabilized opera, in which he can be viewed more

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[86]J.T., *La Quotidienne* (27 February 1835), Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 146: "all that had seemed vague and diffuse"; "the progress of the libretto swifter and more satisfying."

[87]Since n.a.fr. 22502/4°(a) and (b) contain only Acts IV and V, I am not certain if "Si la rigueur" was included in the Act I(s) which preceded in these versions, but I assume that it was. As noted earlier, however, Scribe sketched the verse in the margin below Act V in the draft scenario.

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ambiguously, as he pleads for Christian morality while condoning the execution of the Jews. Most obviously, the conversion of Rachel, in addition to providing a sentimentally happy ending, would have cast a decidedly more "Christian" tone to the opera--one that would have made the *Gazette* critic happy--although there are vestiges of Rachel's Christianate character and attraction to Brogni in the stabilized opera.

It was Scribe, according to Véron, who created the final ending of Rachel's death in a boiling cauldron. In his memoirs, he makes no mention of the earlier ending:

> La mise en scène du dénoûment de *La Juive* ne plut guère au public de l'Opéra. Cette mise en scène n'excita l'admiration que de M. Duponchel. "Comment, disait-il à M. Scribe, c'est vous qui avez inventé ce dénoûment dans chaudière! c'est vous qui avez imaginé de faire bouillir la juive au lieu de la faire brûler vulgairement sur un bûcher! Les classiques n'auraient jamais trouvé ce trait de génie! Ce dénoûment, monsieur Scribe, vous fera toute votre vie le plus grand honneur."[88]

Véron's quote of the stage director Duponchel refers to the theatricality of the ending, its "shock" value, and its supposed originality, at least for Inquisition scenes. It may simply have been the desire for a more tumultuous, melodramatic ending that motivated the change from conversion to death; or, as discussed previously, it may have been the adoption of an ending commonly found in tragedies about Jewish

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[88]Véron, *Mémoires*, III, 181: "The staging of the denouement of *La Juive* scarcely pleased the public of the Opéra. This staging excited the admiration of Mr. Duponchel only. "How did you think, he said to Scribe, to invent this denouement in a cauldron! What imagination to boil the Jewess in place of burning her at the stake as would be typical! The classicists would never have had this stroke of genius! This denouement, Mr. Scribe, will give you the greatest honor all your life."

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misers. The *chaudière* as an instrument of death for Jewish characters, rather than being original as Duponchel claimed, may indeed have been borrowed from Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*, although there is no evidence to prove this possibility. Following my arguments related to Scribe's choice of the Council of Constance as setting, I believe it is feasible (as suggested above) that the idea for the *chaudière* had been triggered by the stone vat that the librettist saw among the Church's instruments of torture and death during his visits to Avignon.

Whatever the source for the method of death, I believe that Scribe and Halévy ultimately saw the conversion ending as softening the basic critique of religious-political intolerance. With Brogni's second powerful appeal for clemency, the weight of intolerance would have shifted more heavily on the victim/heretic Éléazar and away from the Christian Council. This ending also would have leaned sharply toward Christianity as the "good" religion and Judaism as a wayward one.

Other alterations in Acts IV and V that accompanied the change from conversion to death reinforce the later-stage shift to a greater emphasis on Christian intolerance, including the omission of the Rachel-Brogni interactions discussed in Chapter 4. The decision to open Act V with a chorus rejoicing over the upcoming death of the Jews, instead of Eudoxie's suicide air or other solutions which preceded it, sealed the image of a Christian mass unwilling to be moved by clemency. The

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textual material for the first scene in the 18 February and 23 February printed libretti, as well as the second-edition libretto, appears as follows:[89]

Act V, Scene i

CHOEUR DE GENS DU PEUPLE se précipitant au milieu de la tente préparée pour recevoir les membres du concile, et contemplant les apprêts du supplice.	CHOIR OF THE PEOPLE rushing forward to the middle of the tent prepared to receive the Council members and gazing at the preparations for the execution.
Plaisir, ivresse et joie! Contre eux que l'on déploie Et le fer et le feu! Gloire! gloire! gloire à Dieu!	Pleasure, ecstasy and joy! Against them they deploy Iron and fire! Glory! glory! glory to God!
PLUSIEURS GENS DU PEUPLE Plus de travaux et plus d'ouvrage, Jour de liesse et de plaisir! Pour nous trouver sur leur passage, Amis, hâtons-nous d'accourir!	SEVERAL PEOPLE No more toil and labor, Day of jubilation and pleasure! To find ourselves at this moment, Friends, let's hurry!
D'AUTRES GENS DU PEUPLE O spectacle qui nous enchante!	OTHER PEOPLE O spectacle which enchants us!
D'AUTRES Des juifs nous serons donc vengés.	OTHERS On these Jews we will be avenged.
D'AUTRES On dit que dans l'onde bouillante Vivans ils seront tous plongés!	OTHERS They say that into the boiling wave They will be plunged alive!
CHOEUR Plaisir, ivresse et joie!	CHOIR Pleasure, ecstasy and joy!
[SAME AS ABOVE]	[SAME AS ABOVE]

This version (to which the *Gazette* reviewer undoubtedly referred in his complaints about the ludicrousness of Christians boiling Jews in a "grand pot-au-feu") is slightly

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[89]This material corresponds with that in the manuscript copyist's libretto of AJ[13]202, but as Scene iii (following Eudoxie's "Adieu terre cherie"); part of it can be seen as Act V, Scene i, in a loose-leaf sheet of draft verse, BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22543.

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altered in specific wording in the published scores, but not in meaning. In the choral setting which appears as No. 20 in *Schlesinger-Garland* and No. 23 in *Schlesinger-Lemoine*, the opening phrase "Plaisir, ivresse et joie!" is changed to "Quel plaisir, quelle joie," undoubtedly to accommodate Halévy's rhythmic ideas. Other minor changes include the substitution of the phrase "voyez tout le monde accourir" for "Amis, hâtons-nous d'accourir!" and the addition of "ah! tâchons, oui tâchons de bien nous placer." The length of this chorus attests to the intended weight of its message: although it is fast-clipped--it is marked Allegro and set in cut time (C) in *Schlesinger-Garland*, and marked Allegro vivace (C) in *Schlesinger-Lemoine*--there are 249 measures in *Schlesinger-Garland* (and 251 in *Schlesinger-Lemoine*) which precede the number's final instrumental section introduced by the anticipation of the execution, "Voici l'heure." The melodrama of this number seems more trite and heavy-handed than "Au lac" of the Act I finale, largely because Halévy's innocuous-sounding setting belies its sadistic words, particularly the final phrases about plunging the Jews into the boiling pot that climactically end the chorus (see Ex. 25).[90] A reviewer for the anti-clerical *Le Temps*, however, described it as a chorus "d'une originalité puissante, où sont rendus les cris féroces du peuple, sa curiosité infernale, et tout le fanatisme d'une population du moyen-âge."[91]

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[90]The 1989 Philips recording cuts this chorus and begins with the march which follows (No. 21 in *Schlesinger-Garland*).

[91]L.V., *Le Temps* (26 February 1835), Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 161: "of powerful originality, in which the ferocious cries, diabolical curiosity, and all the fanaticism of a population of the Middle Ages is rendered."

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Even though there is no mention of Léopold meeting the same fate in this chorus, it is not until the Act V finale, which comes immediately after the march, that Ruggiero announces that Léopold has escaped death. This announcement, which was originally placed in Act IV in earlier versions,[92] points to Christian hypocrisy, particularly in its new placement after the chorus sings happily of executing the Jews. Éléazar's sarcastic retort about Christian justice, although spoken before he finds out that a new declaration by Rachel had freed Léopold, articulates this hypocrisy. The prayers of Brogni and the choir which follow ("Au pêcheur dieu soyez propice") do not dissipate the previous suggestions of Christian injustice and insincerity; by returning to yet another juxtaposition of reverence and persecutory action, they instead serve to underline them. With Éléazar and Rachel appearing as sympathetic victims with bare feet and in white robes, the final sung phrase of the opera focuses on Christian vengeance. Rather than a return to the "Plaisir, ivresse et joie" verse indicated in the printed libretti, Halévy sets to full orchestra the phrase: "oui, c'en est fait et des juifs nous sommes vengés." Following the personal struggle between Brogni and Éléazar, which embodies the larger-scale religious conflict, this phrase comes immediately after Éléazar's own vengeful shout, ending the opera with a powerful clash of double-sided fanaticism. Yet, as at the beginning of *La Juive*, illuminated by the *mise en scène*, the weight of culpability is cast most vehemently on the Christians.

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[92]It appears in Act IV, Scene vi, in n.a.fr. 22502/4° and in Act IV, Scene viii, in the AJ[13]202 copyist's libretto.

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Ex. 25: Act V, No. 20, *Schlesinger-Garland*, 638-39, mm. 233-49.

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PART IV

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXTS OF *LA JUIVE*

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CHAPTER 7

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL MEANINGS OF *LA JUIVE*

Introduction

Within broad contexts of social, philosophical, and political thought in early-19th-century France, the socio-political meanings of *La Juive* gain in power and complexity. The Jewish characterizations reverberate with social images of Jews that appear in a variety of writings; some of these representations, like their literary counterparts, are mere recastings of old stereotypes. Although these characterizations may be viewed purely in terms of literary tradition, what is more relevant to our examination of the opera's contexts is how they signify a continuity of social attitudes towards Jews in the West, as well as a reinterpretation of these attitudes within the post-Enlightenment milieu. The stereotype of the usurous Jew, for example, expresses the Jew's historical status as social pariah, but it resounds with contemporary French attitudes towards this relatively new group of citizens. The characterization appears particularly relevant to questions about Jews and money--specifically to the practice of usury--that were raised in the decades following the granting of citizenship to Jews and to fears about capitalistic expansion and Jewish economic power within the liberal, bourgeois climate under the July Monarchy. Enlightened Jews, who were eager to strike a rapport with French Christian society, condemned the old image of the miserly Jew and feared that any traces of it would

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hinder the Jews' progress toward social equality, as illustrated in the writings of Léon Halévy. Other contemporary non-Jewish writers, although perhaps only a vocal minority, demonstrated a hardened belief in the old stereotype and a hatred of Jews who supposedly embodied it. Both the miserly Jew and the narrowminded Jewish religious fanatic were seen by a number of contemporary Frenchmen as alien to modern society, and efforts both philo-semitic and anti-semitic to root them out can be traced in the decades following emancipation.

The interest in the Jew that the opera illustrates is partly an outgrowth of the French fascination with the Orient and the Oriental Other, which began in the latter half of the 18th century and continued into the 19th. "Orientalism," which is described by Edward Said in the most general terms as "a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western experience," encompasses and was affected by political conquests--from the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt in 1798 to the French entry into Algeria in 1830--scientific discoveries and codifications of the Orient, and a general enthusiasm for anything Asiatic.[1] From approximately 1765 to 1850, as described by Raymond Schwab in *La Renaissance orientale* and reiterated by Said, a "virtual epidemic of Orientalia" infected "every major poet, essayist, and philosopher of the period."[2] Hugo, one writer touched by this "fever" as evidenced by *Les Orientales* (see p. 200,

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[1]Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 1, 42, 51.

[2]*Ibid.*, 51, citing Schwab, *La Renaissance orientale* (Paris: Payot, 1950).

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n. 22), observed: "Au siècle de Louis XIV on était helléniste, maintenant on est orientaliste."[3]

Such Orientalist expressions as can be found in works by Hugo, Balzac, Flaubert, and Scott entail what Said describes as "a kind of free-floating mythology of the Orient" that emerged from a Western consciousness of dominance and authority over the East. Many of these relish the Orient as exotic and mysterious; its differences, in opposition to the Occident, are intriguing, but, at times, fear-inducing. As Said writes, the Orient "vacillates between the West's contempt for what is familiar and its shivers of delight in--or fear of--novelty."[4] Because of these fears, and the assumption of cultural superiority, European portrayals of Muslims, Ottomans, Arabs--or Semites--were "a way of controlling the redoutable Orient."[5] Although Said treats Orientalism primarily in its Islamic branch, he points out the "historical, cultural, and political truth" of its resemblance to Western anti-semitism.[6]

The representation of Jewish characters in *La Juive* embodies both fascination and fear. Although Rachel's romantic/sexual image bears on social views of women in the 19th century, it also illustrates the attraction to Oriental exoticism that was often embodied as a feminine or domesticated character. It is the more pleasant and seemingly innocuous side of the view of the Oriental Other: Rachel is a pariah, but

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[3]*Ibid.*, citing Hugo's *Oeuvres poétiques*.

[4]*Ibid.*, 59.

[5]*Ibid.*, 60.

[6]*Ibid.*, 28.

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an acceptable one because she is an object of desire and sexual fantasy who can be controlled and dominated. Éléazar, as Shylockian usurer and Jewish fanatic, incites fear because he represents economic power and a belief system that cannot be dominated: as the unassimilable Jew whose actions foment disharmony and destruction, he cannot be controlled.

The treatment of Éléazar and Rachel is also relevant to notions about the transformation of Jewish identity grounded in *philosophe* ideals: ideas of acculturation and assimilation, of *régéneration* and *fusion*, actively being debated by Jews (including Léon Halévy) and non-Jews. In her double religious identity, Rachel carries intriguing connections to complex, post-emancipation attitudes towards Jews held by the Christian majority, and to Jewish identity after the effects of citizenship and modernization. The ambiguity in Rachel's religious characterization embodies, on a deep level of meaning, ambivalences that existed in both the Christian and Jewish communities about the place of Jews in modern French society, as separatists and outsiders or as participants and citizens. The romance, "betrothal," and near marriage of Rachel and Léopold, although staple interactions of romantic opera, touch on the question of Jewish assimilation, since Judeo-Christian intermarriage in early-19th-century France was sometimes viewed, as in the Revolutionary period, as a symbol of a new democratic era. Her near-Christian identity, although an outgrowth of the literary stereotype of the Shylockian daughter, resounds with efforts by enlightened, reform Jews to adapt the old separatist Orthodoxy to fit Franco-European cultural ideals.

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The theme of intolerance that lies at the heart of *La Juive* was one that was put forward in many guises by liberal thinkers of the 1820s and 1830s; the use of Jews as well as Protestants as symbols of political persecution and freedom can be found in other works and writings, as can the evocation of the Inquisition as metaphor for actions of the Catholic Church and Bourbon regime that threatened the ideals of an individualistic, humanistic society. As suggested by the reviews of *La Juive* that pointedly refer to the Voltairian critique, the ideological stance of the opera was not lost on the public. As an extension of the anti-clerical attitudes that predominated among the "Generation of 1820," which rose to prominence under the July Monarchy, the opera occupied itself first with illustrating the intolerance of the Catholic Church, which had joined with Restoration regimes in restricting individual freedoms in the decade preceding *La Juive*. Yet, in the Voltairian tradition, the opera aims its criticism at any political or religious group that is unwilling to accept others with different beliefs and philosophies, including the Jews.

Éléazar's depiction as a victim of obviously unjust treatment by the Christian majority as it labels and vilifies him as a heretic, along with his characterization as an alien who seemingly deserves such treatment, sends mixed messages that are rooted in the ambivalent views of the Enlightenment towards Jews and that touch on philo-semitic and anti-semitic ideas of the 1830s about Jewish "Otherness." The presentation of Éléazar as separatist and fanatic is grounded in the paradoxical views of Enlightenment thinkers, who expressed sympathy for Jewish persecution while condemning rabbinical Judaism as evil and unassimilable.

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The cultural attitudes and currents of thought behind the many paradoxes in the opera's characterization and subject will be explored below.

Of Jewish Usury in Early-19th-Century France

With the expansion of capitalism and the rise of financial elites under the July Monarchy, coupled with loss of power among aristocratic and clerical elites, the Jewish usurer was reactivated as a symbol of greed and materialism. Although the era has come under the scrutiny of revisionist historians, the generally accepted view of the July Monarchy has been that of a "Bourgeois Monarchy" in which France was run "like a joint-stock company by a narrow oligarchy."[7] In this view, the Revolution of 1830 ended the control of aristocratic factions and gave the bourgeoisie electoral and bureaucratic power, allowing it to oversee the expansion of capitalism.[8] In the 1830s, the growing fear of widespread industrialization and concerns about the social consequences of unchecked capitalism often took the form of accusations against Jewish--as well as Protestant--bankers, manufacturers, and merchants.

Yet before the 1830s, the avaricious Jew appeared in a range of discussions and debates about money-making activities and professions, many of which centered on the practice of usury. During the Empire, despite advances in Jewish civil rights, Napoleon cast political attention on the accumulation of wealth among Jews, specifically on practices among Jewish creditors in Alsace. According to Heinrich

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[7]Roger Magraw, *France, 1815-1914: The Bourgeois Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 51.

[8]*Ibid.*

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Graetz, Napoleon's concerns had been triggered in 1806: while in Alsace after the campaign of a hundred days against Austria, he had been besieged by complaints of local officials and a deputation of residents that Jewish creditors had taken possession of entire villages and that a large number of estates were mortgaged to them.[9] In order to address the question of usury, along with other practices of the Jewish community, Napoleon initiated the convocation of a Sanhédrin, a group of Jewish savants who met in 1807 to reinterpret Jewish laws in clearer alignment with French civil law. As Léon Halévy explained, these were doctrinal decisions "relatives aux devoirs de fraternité des Juifs avec leurs concitoyens des autres cultes, à leurs rapports moraux, civils et politiques, à l'exercice des arts et métiers et des professions utiles, aux prêts entre Israélites et non Israélites."[10] On the question of loans ("prêts"), the Sanhédrin declared that "à l'égard des nations étrangères, l'Ecriture sainte, en permettant de prendre d'elles un intérêt, n'entend point parler d'un profit excessif et ruineux pour celui qui le paie, puisqu'elle nous déclare ailleurs que toute iniquité est abominable aux yeux du Seigneur."[11] As a result of this decision,

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[9]*History of the Jews*, 6 vols. (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1895), V, 476.

[10]Léon Halévy, *Juifs modernes*, 307: "related to the duties of brotherhood of Jews with their fellow citizens of other religions; to their moral, civil, and political relations in the exercise of arts, trades, and useful professions; to the loans between Israelites and non-Israelites."

[11]*Ibid.*: "regarding foreign nations, the Holy Scripture, in allowing interest to be charged them, does not mean to suggest an excessive or ruinous profit for the one who is paying, since it declares elsewhere that all iniquity is abominable in the eyes of the Lord."

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however, an imperial decree on 17 March 1808 transformed the doctrinal guidelines into real restrictions on Jewish civil rights.

The decisions of this body were promoted by the Consistoire Centrale de Paris and by many individual Jews who supported reform and improved relations with French Christians. As mentioned above in Chapter 3, the composer's father was one. In his 1820 catechism, reflecting Sanhédrin directives (made clear by their inclusion in footnotes and appendices), Élie Halévy condemned the practice of usury. In his journal *L'Israélite français*, an article entitled "Le Mot juif" discussed the historical associations of usury, beginning with an exploration of the near-synonymity between "Juif" and "usurier" in French and other languages:

> Le mot Juif est employé en français comme *Giudeo*, *Judio*, *Jew* et *Jude* en italien, en espagnol, en anglais et en allemand dans la même signification, à laquelle les dictionnaires ajoutent celle d'*usurier*, parce que les Juifs ont l'habitude, dit-on, de faire l'usure; cependant tous les Israélites ne sont pas usuriers, et tous les usuriers ne sont pas Israélites.[12]

The article reiterated the Sanhédrin's definition of usury as "illicit interest" only, including interest exceeding the legal rate.[13] While it emphasized that usury in this sense was a vice contrary to Jewish law (as did Élie Halévy), the article justified its practice during the "siècles de barbarie" because of restrictions from more accepted

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[12]II, 239: "The word *Juif* is used in French as *Giudeo*, *Judio*, *Jew* and *Jude* in Italian, Spanish, English and German with the same meaning, to which the dictionaries add that of *usurer*, because, it is said, Jews have habitually practiced usury; nevertheless, all Israélites are not usurers, and all usurers are not Israélites."

[13]The author ("E.F.") refers to Articles VIII and IX of the Sanhédrin decisions.

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methods of commerce, as well as taxes and tributes that governments often imposed on Jews. But, it went on to stress, for the Jew of the 19th century--particularly the French Jew who was a full participant in a tolerant society--the practice was loathsome and even criminal:

> Mais le Juif du XIX[e] siècle qui fait l'usure, se rend *coupable* envers la société dont il fait partie, et dont il peut obtenir la récompense réclamée par son industrie, le tribut dû à ses talens, ou le prix de son travail. Enfin, l'Israélite français qui se livrerait à l'usure, deviendrait *criminel*, parce qu'il habite un des plus beaux pays de l'univers, où l'agriculture et l'industrie nationale, l'Océan et la Méditerranée offrent des ressources immenses au commerce et à la navigation; parce que le monarque y règne par la loi, et la loi par le monarque; en un mot, parce que dans un pays tel que la France, il ne peut devenir usurier sans encourir la tache d'ingrat à la patrie, sans enfreindre les lois tutélaires qui le protègent et qui l'égalent aux autres sujets du plus sage, du plus juste et du meilleur des rois.[14]

The successive generation of Jewish writers examined the same subject, most pertinently Léon Halévy in his 1828 history of modern Jews. As in his father's catechism, Léon included the Sanhédrin decision "Prêts entre Israélites et non Israélites" in the appendices of his volume. But his most extensive discussion on the subject is a historical defense of the practice, along similar lines of argument to those

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[14]I, 241-42: "But the 19th-century Jew who practices usury becomes *guilty* before his society, the society that rewards him for his industriousness, pays tribute to his talents, and the cost of his work. Actually, the French Israelite who indulges in usury can be considered *criminal*, because he lives in one of the most beautiful countries of the world, where national agriculture and industry, the [Atlantic] Ocean, and the Mediterranean offer immense resources for commerce and navigation; because the monarch reigns there by law, and the law by the monarch; in a word, because in a country such as France, he cannot become a usurer without incurring a stain of ingratitude to the country, without infringing on tutelary laws which protect him and make him equal to other subjects of the wisest, the most just, and the best of all kings.

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given in "Le Mot juif" (and, in a diluted version, in *La Quotidienne*'s review of *La Juive*). Under the subheading "Usure," in a section on the 17th and 18th centuries, Léon explained that French Jews were restricted from all modes of commerce and industry except trading in livestock, gold, or silver, but when these legal means of subsistence were successively proscribed, Jews were "reduced" to the practice of usury.[15] With no other alternatives, usury "est devenu la source de leurs malheurs, si toutefois l'on peut accuser de crime des hommes privés des moyens licites et communs à tous les autres pour soutenir une vie."[16] Léon became particularly heated in discussing the predicament of Jews in Alsace-Lorraine, who were "victimes des accusations les plus calomnieuses" under the pretext of usury.[17] Many, on the basis of false testimony and illegal actions of judges, ministers, and police superintendants, were not only accused, but arrested and convicted. Although Léon did not condone usury, he suggested that a better means of controlling it and being protected from it would have been to avoid making a contract with anyone suspected of usury; instead, the freedom of Jews in Alsace, particularly before 1780, was subject to the whims of a single official and to "procédures aussi irrégulières que vexatoires."[18]

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[15]Léon Halévy, *Juifs modernes*, 283-86.

[16]*Ibid.*, 284: "became the source of their misfortunes, if, that is, one can accuse men of crime who are deprived of means that are legal and common to everyone else for making a living."

[17]*Ibid.*: "victims of the most slanderous accusations."

[18]*Ibid.*, 286.

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Unlike the writer in "Le Mot juif," Léon did not overtly attack the practice of usury in the 19th century, nor did he mention it among his admonitions about the *régénération* of Jews. But his inclusion of the Sanhédrin decision in his Appendices suggests that, like his father and other Jews concerned with reform, he viewed the practice as antithetical to the Jewish religious heritage and to the values of good citizenship. His seeming restraint in openly criticizing the practice appears linked to his belief that attacks on usury, particularly official attempts to control it, were stratagems for a more diffuse restriction and persecution of Jews. This idea, which underlies his discussion about false accusations and mistreatment of Jews in 17th- and 18th-century Alsace, recurs in his comments that the Napoleonic decree "causa une si grande joie aux persécuteurs des Juifs" and that it was "une violation du principe qui veut que la loi soit égale pour tous."[19]

It also undoubtedly fuels his passionate description of the Marquis de Lattier's 1818 proposal to renew Napoleon's decree against Jewish usury (the so-called "loi d'exception"), which expired in March of that year. Although usury was ostensibly the primary target of Lattier's proposal, as in the imperial decree, Léon viewed it as a generalized attack on Jewish rights.[20] He emphasized that the petition Lattier put before both governmental houses (la Chambre des pairs and la Chambre des députés)

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[19]*Ibid.*, 310: "brought such a great joy to persecutors of Jews"; "a violation of the principle which demands that the law be equal for all." (One wonders if some of Léon's "proof" of official misconduct toward Alsatian Jews came from first-hand accounts by his father, who lived in Metz [in Alsace] shortly before the Revolution.)

[20]See the discussion of the "décret contre l'usure" that expired in March 1818 and Lattier's proposal of "la reconduction [renewal] du décret pour dix nouvelles années" in Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Histoire des Juifs en France* (Paris: Edouard Privat, 1972), 306.

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"ne renfermait pas *un seul fait*, mais seulement ces vagues dénonciations, si familières à l'ignorance, à la mauvaise foi et aux préjugés."[21] The proposal failed, much to the relief of French Jews, and Léon identified it as "la dernière tentative publique et directe qui ait été faite en France contre les droites des Israélites."[22]

As pointed out in Chapter 3, Léon acknowledged that, although the Lattier proposal was the end of official attempts to keep Jews from full participation in French society, behind-the-scenes anti-semitic threats and machinations continued. It appears that such a claim could have been made for the years between the publication of his history and the appearance of *La Juive* as well: despite new assurances in the Charter of 1830 that gave French Jews institutional security, and despite portrayals of the July Monarchy as an openly tolerant period, attacks on usury and greed were rife in contemporary writings and iconography. Although these did not represent a formalized, systematic anti-semitism or a majority view, they reveal that the age-old stereotypes remained valid for an outspoken minority, at least. The 1833 sculpture of Nathan Rothschild by the French caricaturist Jean-Pierre Dantan *jeune* (1800-69), for example, embodies overtly and vehemently the old image of the miserly Jew: Rothschild is portrayed with a grotesquely distorted face that features an open, fish-like mouth surrounded by thick lips (but no sharp nose); he tightly clutches purses and

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[21]Léon Halévy, *Juifs modernes*, 317: "did not contain *a single fact*, but only vague denunciations, so familiar in ignorance, bad faith, and prejudices."

[22]*Ibid.*, 317: "the last public and direct attempt which had been made in France against the rights of Israelites."

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bags as he stands amidst other bags whose coins are spilling down around his feet (see Ill. 5).[23]

Related to this are the views expressed in the 1830s by the Catholic apologist Renault Bécourt in *Conspiration universelle du judaism* (1835) and by the socialist philosopher Charles Fourier in his critical writings on the social institutions of France, including *La Fausse industrie* (1835-36).[24] These writers represented two factions who were responsible for a large proportion of anti-semitic propaganda in 19th-century France: the Catholics and the socialists. According to Zosa Szajkowski, Catholics such as Bécourt held Jews responsible for the French Revolution and portrayed them as intent on world domination.[25] In 1835, the pro-Catholic journal *L'Univers religieux* complained of "cette époque d'argent," Jewish usury, and "toute

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[23]*Dantan jeune: Caricatures et portraits de la société romantiques* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 1989), 80. According to this publication, the caricature appeared in London in June 1833. Although the sculpture was not of James Rothschild, the brother who lived and worked in Paris, Dantan's harsh ridicule of Nathan, James's brother, whose office was in London, was undoubtedly aimed at the entire banking family. Other caricatures of the Rothschilds had appeared in the previous decade. According to Anka Muhlstein, *Baron James: The Rise of the French Rothschilds* (New York/Paris: The Vendome Press, 1987), 73, James was extremely sensitive to the caricatures, but "his brothers pinned them to the wall, as signs of Rothschild success."

[24]*Conspiration universelle du judaisme* (Paris, 1835, preface only); *La Fausse industrie morcelée, répugnante, mensongère, et l'antidote, l'industrie naturelle, combinée, attrayante, véridique, donnant quadruple produit*, 2 vols. (Paris: Bossange père; l'Auteur, 1835-36).

[25]In "The Jewish Saint-Simonians and Socialist Antisemites in France," *Jewish Social Studies* IX/1 (January 1947), 48, Szajkowski includes, among anti-semitic Catholic publications other than Bécourt's, Chevalier Malet's *Recherches historiques et politiques qui prouvent l'existence d'une secte révolutionnaire, son antique origine* (Paris, 1817) and Clavel's *Histoire pittoresque de la franc-maçonnerie* (Paris, 1843). Some Catholic publications argued against the evils of the Talmud, including *Théorie du judaisme* by Abbé Louis A. (Paris, 1830); see Szajkowski, "Jewish Saint-Simonians," 48, n. 88.

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Ill. 5: Sculpture of Nathan Rothschild by Dantan *jeune* (1833).

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l'autorité du nom Rotschild."[26] In the following decade, after *l'affaire Damas* of 1840 had publicly exposed virulent prejudices among the French, publications by the Catholic leader Louis Veuillot, the Fourier disciple Alphonse Toussenel, and the anti-semitic historian Théophile Hallez, as well as a series of anti-Rothschild pamphlets, added further to the attacks on the "miserly Jews" of capitalism.[27]

Fourier, among the first to integrate socialism with familiar anti-semitic notions, interspersed his prescriptions for the economic well-being of France with a castigation of bankers, industrialists, and merchants for creating many problems of modern society.[28] Included prominently among these groups were Jews, whom Fourier saw as embodiments of dishonest bankers or villainous merchants whose machinations brought on poverty and the ruination of productive members of society. In his classification of bankruptcies, for example, he illustrated one species as premeditated actions by such culprits as "Scapin the small shopkeeper" and "the Jew Iscariot," who calculated to drive honest competitors into bankruptcy for their own benefit and "illicit gains."[29] Moreover, he suggested that Rothschild's success lay in

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[26]*L'Univers religieux, politique, scientifique et littéraire* III/no. 416 (11 March 1835), col. 1309; III/no. 368 (14 January 1835), col. 730.

[27]The journalist Mathieu (Georges Marie) Dairnvaell wrote a number of these pamphlets, signing the first ones with the pseudonym "Satan": *Rothschild Ier, ses valets et son peuple...* (Paris, 1845) (5 editions); *Histoire édifiante et curieuse de Rothschild Ier, roi des Juifs, suivie du récit de la catastrophe du 8 juillet, par un témoin oculaire* (Paris, 1846) (15 editions); *Guerre aux fripons, chronique sécrète de la bourse et des chemins de fer...* (Paris, 1846) (4 editions). See Szajkowski, "Jewish Saint-Simonians," 51-52, for a discussion of these and other pamphlets, as well as pro-Rothschild pamphlets written in response.

[28]See Jonathan Beecher, *Charles Fourier, the Visionary and His World* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1986), 416 ff.

[29]*Ibid.*, 201.

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his shrewdness and ability to make extraordinary profits, often based on false information.[30]

Fourier's anti-semitism appears to have colored his antagonism toward the "philosophical cabal," which he criticized as a "vast collection of conspiracies against authority, propriety, [...] the educated and artistic classes, cultivators and workers, that philosophy pretends to protect."[31] In *La Fausse industrie*, he blamed "le monde philosophique" for leading France in errant directions since the Revolution and intimated that Jews were in part responsible; in fact, he saw Jews as representative of the "false industry" that had moved France away from all that was "natural" and right for the country. Chief among the groups that he attacked were the Saint-Simonians, alluding to the largely Jewish makeup of the movement's leaders by labelling them "apostats."[32] Jealous of the success of the Saint-Simonians in attracting disciples and angry that they had ignored his doctrinal critique following his contact with the group in 1829, Fourier became increasingly hostile. He condemned their stances as moralists who wanted to change human nature, their attacks on "property, religion, and power," and their respect for the entrepreneurship and skills of successful bankers and industrialists.[33] (The Pereire brothers, Isaac and Émile, were Saint-Simonians who became successful bankers, rivals of Rothschild.)

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[30]Fourier, *Fausse*, II, M8.

[31]Fourier, *Fausse*, 2.

[32]*Ibid*, 8.

[33]Beecher, *Fourier*, 415-16.

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Toussenel's *Les Juifs, rois de l'époque: Histoire de la féodalité financière* (1847) intensified Fourier's condemnation of avaricious, capitalistic Jews, personified by Rothschild, and of their collaboration with Saint-Simonians.[34] In his introduction, an impassioned diatribe against all Jewry, Toussenel unabashedly made his vantage point clear on the first page, centering on the negative connotations of "Juif" as usurer:

> J'appelle, comme le peuple, de ce nom méprisé de juif tout trafiquant d'espèces, tout parasite improductif, vivant de la substance et du travail d'autrui. Juif, usurier, trafiquant, sont pour moi synonymes.[35]

Throughout his arguments, Toussenel attempted to prove his central thesis that Jews had become the virtual kings of France and, in their powerful position, were destroying the country. From 1830 to the time of his publication (the period defined by many historians as the ascendancy of the bourgeoisie), Toussenel claimed that the real sovereignty was not invested in the king, but in merchants, manufacturers, and

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[34]*Les Juifs, rois de l'époque: Histoire de la féodalité financière*, 2 vols. (Paris: Gabriel de Gonet, 1847). After James Rothschild's role in bringing down the ministry of Thiers in 1840, odious descriptions of him began coming from liberal voices in France as well. The historian Jules Michelet (1798-1874), for example, entered one such description in his journal in July 1842, after writing about Rothschild's influence as the banker of kings and suggesting that he was distant from the revolutionary events of 1830 and surprised at the ideals of those involved. Michelet wrote that Rothschild's carriage had crossed his own so quickly that he could not greet him, and in that fleeting moment "son profil de singe intelligent me frappa comme une ébauche de Rembrandt, un coup de crayon qui dit tout..." ("his profile of an intelligent monkey struck me like a Rembrandt sketch, a pencil stroke that says everything...." Cited in Jean Bouvier, *Les Rothschild*, 2d ed. (Paris: Fayard, 1967), 114.

[35]Toussenel, *Les Juifs*, I, i: "I use the despised name of Jew, as does the people, to describe anyone who traffics money, any unproductive parasite living off the work of others. As far as I'm concerned, Jew, usurer, trafficker, it's all the same."

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bankers. Through the French State's imprudent and overly generous granting of "droit de cité" to Jews, France had become "slave" to Jewish masters.[36] Proof of its enslavement was the Jewish monopoly of banks, mining, and the new railroad.[37] Further evidence lay in the avoidance of the press, particularly *Journal des débats*, to criticize this "true royalty," while it openly attacked the "official royalty."[38]

Like Fourier, Toussenel also linked Jews with Saint-Simonians in their joint path to domination of France. In a section entitled "Saint-Simon et Juda," Toussenel stressed the large percentage of Saint-Simonians who were Jewish and the alignment of Saint-Simonian social and economic credos with innate Jewish greed. The alliance of "[l]es débris dispersés de la tribu de Saint-Simon" with the "débris dispersés de la tribu de Juda" indulged in the riches of France: they "se sont adjugé le partage des dépouilles du monde civilisé, de la France surtout, *ia crème des vaches à lait*, comme dit le juif."[39] Supported by the Saint-Simonian principle, "à chacun selon sa capacité, à chaque capacité selon ses oeuvres"--which opposed the traditional idea of hereditary rights and which Toussenel considered "révolutionnaire et subversif de

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[36]*Ibid.*, I, ix: "citizenship."

[37]*Ibid.*, I, 115. Toussenel elaborated on the misfortune of mines other than those owned by Rothschild, whose products were transported on his railroad to supply his steamships.

[38]*Ibid.*, I, 140.

[39]*Ibid.*, I, 123: "the dispersed remnants of the Saint-Simonian tribe"; "dispersed remnants of the Jewish tribe"; "granted to themselves the right to divide up the spoils of the civilized world, of France especially, the *cream from the milk cows*, as the Jews say."

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toute société"--Jews were given the impetus to gain power.[40] Toussenel ran down a list of wealthy and influential Jews and Saint-Simonians (chiefly former Saint-Simonians) who fit his description; in addition to the non-Saint-Simonian Rothschild, he included: Émile Pereire, director of the Chemin de fer du Nord; the Père Enfantin, Advisory Secretary of Administration of the Chemin de fer de Lyon; Alfred d'Eichthal, brother of the Saint-Simonian Gustav d'Eichthal, who had earned huge sums "à la roulette de la Bourse"; Michel Chevalier, the writer and editor who became Advisor of State and professor of political economy; Charles Duveyrier, who held "le monopole du mercantilisme de la presse"; and Olinde Rodrigues, who advised the Rothschilds.[41]

The formation by Saint-Simonian disciples of the "féodalité financière" ("financial feudalism"), which had come to dominate French society, grew out of what Toussenel believed was the natural inclination of its Jewish members towards gold and treason.[42] With Fourierist accusations, Toussenel viewed this commercial power structure as a detrimental social force:

> La féodalité industrielle ou financière, ou commerciale, [...] a pour base le monopole commercial, oppresseur et anarchique. Son caratère, c'est la cupidité, cupidité insatiable, mère de l'astuce, de la mauvaise

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[40]*Ibid.*, I, 123: "to each according to his ability; to each ability according to his works"; "revolutionary and subversive of all society."

[41]*Ibid.*, I, 130: "in the roulette of the Stock Exchange"; "the monopoly of the mercantilism of the press."

[42]*Ibid.*, I, 132-33. Toussenel, like Fourier, drove home his point about Jewish treachery with a reference to Judas Iscariot.

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> foi et des coalitions. Toutes ses institutions portent le cachet de l'accaparement, du mensonge, et de l'iniquité. [...]
>
> Les mots de *patrie*, de *religion*, de *foi*, n'ont pas de sens pour ces hommes qui ont un écu à la place du coeur.
>
> Une patrie,--les marchands n'en ont pas [...]. La féodalité industrielle se personnifie dans le juif cosmopolite.
>
> Une religion,--je vous ai dit que le Hollandais foulait aux pieds le Christ et lui crachait au visage, pour acquerir le droit de trafiquer avec le Japonnais.
>
> La foi *commerciale* s'appelait jadis la foi *punique*; elle s'appelle la foi *britannique* aujourd'hui.[43]

Among familiar anti-semitic (and, again, anti-Protestant) reproaches, Toussenel's image of "ces hommes" (i.e., Jews) with "an écu in place of a heart" resounds with the Shylock stereotype; moreover, the reference to the "écu," a type of gold coin mentioned in *La Juive*'s Act II trio, reinforces the topical allusions to excessive wealth and greed in Éléazar's character. Toussenel also incorporated the term in the phrase "l'aristocratie des écus," which he used in alternation with "l'aristocratie financière" and "l'aristocratie d'argent" to define this alleged Judaic power base.

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[43]*Ibid.*, I, 134: "Industrial, commercial or financial feudalism [...] is based on the oppressive and anarchic monopoly of trade. It is by nature avaricious, insatiably avaricious; it is the mother of trickery, of bad faith, of interest groups. All of its institutions function by force, by lying, by iniquity.

The words *homeland*, *religion* and *faith* have no meaning for those men whose hearts have been replaced by an *écu*.

Merchants have no homeland [...]. Industrial feudalism is personified by the city-dwelling Jew.

Religion--I have told you that the Dutchman would despise Christ himself, would spit at him in the face if he could thus gain the right to traffic with the Japanese. Once upon a time *commercial* trust was called *Punic* trust. Today we call it *British* trust."

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Toussenel contrasted this so-called aristocracy unfavorably with the traditional aristocracy: while the latter had as its motto the generous-spirited "Noblesse oblige," the former was characterized by the comparatively self-serving "Chacun pour soi." The aristocratic gentleman "abandonne aux vilains toutes les professions lucratives, le négoce, l'usure, la chicane. Les mots de robin et de marchand ont dans sa bouche la valueur d'une injure."[44] On the other hand, Toussenel, echoing Fourier, emphasized that "l'aristocratie des écus" preferred inferior professions and "métiers de dupes," especially law, and disdained "honorable" professions such as farming. Furthermore, unlike the traditional aristocracy, the "aristocratie d'argent" was neither chivalrous, philanthrophic, or poetic, as demonstrated by its lack of concern for the impoverished and suffering and by its attacks on Lamartine in the Saint-Simonian paper *Le Globe*--that "feuille *catholique* entretenue par des banquiers *protestants* et rédigée par des *juifs*"--and by *Journal des debats*--"ami de la haute banque."[45] More "insatiable" than nobiliary feudalism, this judaicized system "saigne une nation à blanc, la crétinise et l'abâtardit, la tue du même coup au physique et au moral. Son despotisme est le plus déshonorant de tous pour une nation genereuse."[46] With the incendiary exclamations that permeated his text, Toussenel clearly intended his

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[44]*Ibid.*: "renounced to villains all the lucrative professions--commerce, usury, chicanery. In his mouth the words lawyer and merchant are equivalent to a slur."

[45]*Ibid.*, I, 136: "*Catholic* paper maintained by *Protestant* bankers and edited by Jews"; "friend of the high bank" (i.e., Rothschild's).

[46]*Ibid.*, I, 138: "bleeds a nation white, turns it into an idiot, degenerates it, and kills it morally and physically in the same blow. Its despotism is the most dishonorable of all for a generous nation."

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critique as a call to arms to break the exploitative "financial feudalism" and to attack Jews, his primary enemies, and, secondarily, Protestants, Saint-Simonians, and others who indulged them or cooperated with them in capitalistic endeavors. In the book's preface, he does not obscure his belligerent summons: "guerre impitoyable aux parasites de toutes les religions et de tous les drapeaux, guerre aux banquiers cosmopolites, guerre aux Juifs monopoleurs!!"[47]

Théophile Hallez's *Des Juifs en France* also bears on contemporary interpretations of the stereotype of the usurous Jew.[48] Ironically, Hallez's book echoed many of Léon Halévy's assimilationist ideas and in fact quoted liberally from Halévy's Jewish histories. But the author used these quotes within a harshly anti-semitic context, veering off, like Toussenel, into generalized accusations about the disproportionate numbers of Jews who participated in dishonest professions and practices. Hallez recognized Jews who were employed in "useful professions" (including the "liberal professions") and who understood modern society. But he countered that these Jews were exceptions. Addressing the majority of French Jews as "vous" in his text, he demands:

> Pourquoi n'y a-t-il parmi vous qu'une imperceptible minorité qui acquitte la dette de dévouement que tout citoyen contracte envers l'Etat?

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[47]*Ibid.*, I, xviii: "merciless war on the parasites of all religions and flags, war on cosmopolitan bankers, war on Jewish monopolizers!!"

[48]Hallez, *Des Juifs en France. De Leur état moral et politique depuis les premiers temps de la monarchie jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: G.-A. Dentu, 1845).

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> Faut-il dire quelle est la source de la plupart de ces grandes fortunes que vous étalez fastuesement? [...] Parmi vous, l'usure est la profession la plus répandue, comme la plus lucrative; c'est un fait, et nous le prouverons. Quand vous intervenez dans les transactions, c'est pour exercer on ne sait quel métier de courtage, ruineux pour tout le monde, productif pour vous seuls; [...]. Quand vous achetez des terres, ce n'est pas pour les cultiver; la terre rend trop peu, et elle a de lourdes charges à payer: mieux vaut une somme d'argent; l'impôt ne l'atteint pas, et l'argent prospère entre vos mains. [...] Et ce commerce d'hommes, qui pendant plusieurs siècles a été votre principale source de fortune, ne le continuez-vous pas encore dans la mesure que permet l'état actuel de nos lois? Vous ne vendez plus des esclaves, il est vrai, mais vous vendez des soldats; et le bon sens du peuple a bien compris le lien qui unit ces deux sortes de trafic, quand il vous a flétris du nom énergique et trop mérité de *Marchand de chair humaine*! Voilà les services que vous rendez à la patrie, en retour du droit de cité qu'elle vous a octroyé!
>
> Vous demandez que nous vous traitions comme nos frères; nous le voulons, et nous l'avons prouvé. Mais vous-mêmes, n'est-il pas temps que vous commenciez à nous traiter ainsi? [...] Envers vos frères, vous n'exercez pas l'usure; peut-être même n'en exigez-vous pas l'intérêt légal des sommes que vous leur prêtez: pourquoi exercez-vous l'usure la plus sordide, la plus impitoyable envers nous? [...] Pourquoi, en un mot, voulez-vous pas cesser d'être des Juifs?[49]

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[49]Hallez, *Des Juifs en France*, ix-xi: "Why is there only an imperceptible minority of you who fulfill the debt of devotion that every citizen owes to the State?

Is it necessary to name the source of most of these great fortunes that you flaunt so grandly? [...] Usury is the most common profession among you, as it is the most lucrative; this is a fact, and we will prove it. When you enter into a transaction, it is in order to cook up who knows what kind of deals, but they're ruinous for everyone else and productive only for yourselves. [...] When you buy land, it is not in order to cultivate it, the land gives back too little, and there are too many expenses to pay on it: you're better off with a pile of money; it can't be taxed and the money prospers in your hands. [...] And as concerns the trafficking in human beings, which for many centuries was your principal source of wealth, do you not continue to indulge in it still to the extent permitted by law? True, you no longer sell slaves, but you sell soldiers, and the people's common sense spotted the link between these two types of trafficking when it branded you with the harsh and all too merited name of *Merchant of human flesh*! These are the services you render to the homeland in return for the right of citizenship which she granted you.

You ask us to treat you like brothers; we want to, we have tried to. But isn't it time you began to treat us the same way? [...] You don't lend your brothers money at usurious rates; why do you inflict the most sordid, the most ruthless usury on us? Why, in a word, can you not stop being Jews?

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Brimming with hatred, Hallez created a portrait of French Jews that makes the Shylock vestiges in Éléazar pale by comparison. The author's use of Shakespeare's Jew as a reference point is clear in his accusation of Jews trading in human flesh, an image delineated more on Shylock's inhumanity than his humanity. Beyond this allusion, an epigraph from *The Merchant of Venice*, which opens the book, illustrates the merging of literary and social images and, as in the early reception of *La Juive*, the penetration of Shylock into the public consciousness. The quotation, Shylock's famous declaration of social separateness, save for business dealings with Christians--"I will buy with you, sell with you, talk with you, [...], but I will not eat with you, drink with you nor pray with you"--underlines much of Hallez's discussion. Hallez cast the Jews of France as aliens and pariahs, whose "isolated opinion" and "habits of disgraceful dealing" had brought about a "plague on the nation."[50]

The anti-semitism running through these accounts disturbed many Jews, particularly shocking those who, in the 1830s, had been given positions of honor and prestige in the public arena that had been off-limits to them in earlier regimes. One who expressed his astonishment repeatedly was the Jewish writer Ben-Lévi, who mocked the ubiquity of conventional Jewish images in *Les Archives israélites* several years after the opera's premiere:

> Aimez-vous le juif? On en a mis partout. Au théâtre, depuis Shakspeare jusqu'a Scribe; dans les romans, depuis Ivanhoé jusqu'à

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[50]*Ibid.*, xviij: "l'isolement opiniâtre"; "ces habitudes de trafic honteux"; "une lèpre pour la nation."

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> Paul de Kock; dans les journaux, depuis qu'il y a des écrivains qui commettent des feuilletons et au public qui consent à en valer quotidiennement une tartine, partout enfin dans ce monde de papier imprimé et de décorations de carton, on nous donne des juifs de convention, grimaçant, usurant, feignant, jargonnant et plus ou moins fabriqués à la vapeur.[51]

Ben-Lévi also complained about the negative implications of the term *juif* (one that he suggests touched Halévy):

> Que signifie cette phrase vide de sens: *C'est un juif.* J'entends dire: M. Crémieux est un avocat très distingué, *c'est un juif.* M. Azévédo, le nouveau préfet des Pyrénées, est un administrateur éminent, *c'est un juif.* De qui est l'admirable musique de la reine de Chypre? De Halévy, *c'est un juif.* [...] Quand vous me dites que M. Delessert est en France le père des caisses d'épargne, ajoutez-vous c'est un protestant? Lorsque vous me parlez de M. Guizot, me dites-vous qu'il appartient au culte réformé? [...] Car enfin si c'est à titre de louange qu'on s'exprime ainsi, on nous insulte en nous donnant à entendre qu les mots *juif* et *éminent* sont étonnés de se confondre; si c'est par suite d'une malveillance continue, pourquoi le souffririons-nous dans un pays où la royauté est exempte de préjugés de croyance, où la magistrature n'a qu'une religion, celle de l'impartialité?[52]

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[51]*Les Archives israélites* II (1841), 385, cited in Patrick Girard, *Les juifs de France de 1789 à 1860: de l'émancipation à l'égalité* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1976), 141: "Do you like the Jew? They have put him everywhere. In the theatre, from Shakespeare to Scribe; in novels, from *Ivanhoe* to *Paul de Kock*; in newspapers, for a long time, there have been writers who dedicate *feuilletons* to him for a public who consent to swallowing a slice of buttered bread daily; finally, everywhere in this world of printed paper and cardboard decorations, they give us the Jews of convention, grimacing, usurous, shamming, speaking jargon, and more or less manufactured of mist."

[52]*Les Archives israélites* (1842), III, 148, cited in Girard, *Les juifs*, 128: "What is the meaning of this senseless phrase "He's a Jew"? I hear it said: "Mr. Crémieux is a very distinguished lawyer, *he's a Jew*. Mr. Azévédo, the new prefect of the Pyrenees, is an eminent administrator, *he's a Jew*. Who wrote the admirable music for La Reine de Chypre? Halévy, *he's a Jew*. [...] When you tell me that Mr. Delessert is the father of the French savings bank, do you add that he is a Protestant? When you talk to me about Mr. Guizot, do you tell me that he belongs to the Reform Church? [...] For if it is in an attempt to praise that one expresses himself in this way, it is on the contrary an insult that implies that the words *Jew* and *eminent* are somehow contradictory; if it is due to persistent ill will, why do we put

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Part of Ben-Lévi's objection centered on the ingrained association of the term "juif" with usury, as Fourier's, Hallez's, and Toussenel's accounts exemplify. Writing in *Les Archives israélites* in 1842, Ben-Lévi reiterated the protest of *L'Israélite français* more than two decades earlier, but emphasized the sanctioning of this association by French authorities (not merely by isolated bigots) in his quotation from the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie*: "On appelle juif un homme qui prête à usure, qui vend exorbitamment cher et qui cherche à gagner de l'argent par des moyens injustes et sordides."[53]

The virulent anti-semitism exhibited in the publications discussed above, as well as in questions raised by Ben-Lévi, puts into sharp focus the contradictions regarding Jews that existed during the two decades of the July Monarchy (as in previous decades since the granting of citizenship). The old associations between Jews and avarice in these accounts suggest that, despite the full legal equality granted Jews in 1830 by the July Monarchy and the outwardly tolerant atmosphere that followed throughout the decade, encrusted attitudes had not been stamped out. The discrepancies between political recognition and social tolerance became shockingly apparent in 1840, when a significant portion of the French press embraced medieval beliefs about Jews surrounding *l'affaire Damas* (see p. 168). Despite the fact that in

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up with it in a country where the monarchy is free of religious prejudice and the judiciary has only one religion: that of impartiality?"

[53]III (1842), 148, cited in Girard, *Les juifs*, 128: "One calls a Jew a man who lends at usurious rates of interest, who sells at exorbitant prices, and who seeks to earn money by unjust and sordid means."

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this instance the press reactions revealed distorted ideas about Jewish religious practice--rather than Jewish avarice (although the religious and secular aspects of Jewish stereotyping often overlapped)--they triggered a reexamination by Jews of their position and acceptance within French society. Through the varied writings about Jews during this period, both philo-semitic and anti-semitic, it is evident that conventional images of the Jewish usurer, as well as the religious pariah, were prominent in the minds of many Frenchmen.

In the more immediate environment of the Académie Royale de Musique--the world in which Scribe held much sway and in which Halévy, before accruing the prestige that *La Juive* brought him, wielded less power--hints of the same ideas about Jews can be found in memoirs and letters related to life at the Opéra. Véron, writing about his experiences leading up to his directorial stint, spoke disparagingly of bankers who hampered his early entrepreneurial endeavors. Although he did not identify these bankers as Jewish, the allusion is probable:

> J'ai rencontré souvent quelques-uns de ces banquiers de ma jeunesse, qui, après s'être enrichis dans l'usure, ont fait leur chemin comme membres de bureaux de bienfaissance, sont devenus chevaliers de la Légion d'honneur et ont sang de notables dans leurs quartiers.[54]

Charles de Boigne's memoir (although published two decades after *La Juive*) gives a portrait of James Rothschild that subtly corresponds to Dantan's caricature--of his

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[54]Véron, *Mémoires*, III, 39: "I often come across some of the bankers I knew in my youth who, now grown rich through usury, have carved a niche for themselves in philanthropic organizations, have become knights of the Legion of Honor or who pass as local luminaries."

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brother Nathan--in its suggestion that the banker's money-making concerns never ceased; but by speaking of others who sought his money, the author obscured any accusation of "usurous Jew" that might underlie his depiction:

> M. de Rothschild a aussi sa loge à l'Opéra, où il vient tâcher d'oublier le soir les millions qu'il a brassés dans la journée, mais souvent les mendiants d'affaires et les chercheurs de prime le chassent de sa loge ou le forcent à la quitter. Les solliciteurs se flattent d'avoir meilleur marché de lui à l'Opéra, aux sons de la musique, que dans son cabinet au bruit des écus.[55]

Negative assumptions about Jews touched both Meyerbeer and Halévy at the Opéra. In a gossip-filled account of backstage personalities, love interests, and imbroglios written by an Opéra insider in 1836-38, the author described Meyerbeer's wealth and propensity for giving boxes and tickets as gifts (seemingly as bribes).[56] In another entry, the writer labelled Meyerbeer as "this vile Jew" for not delivering a *divertissement* for *Les Huguenots* to the choreographer Taglioni: "Nos dames sont furieuses contre ce vilain juif qui fait sans leur secours de grosses recettes."[57] Similarly, Meyerbeer is portrayed with horns in one caricature found in a collection

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[55]*Petits mémoires de l'Opéra* (Paris: Librairie nouvelle, 1857), 157. Again, the use of the term "écu" appears significant: "M. de Rothschild has his box at the Opera as well. He goes there to try to forget for the evening the miliions he manipulated during the day, but often the business beggars and the advantage-seekers force him to flee from his box. The solicitors imagine that they can get more out of him at the Opera, to the strains of music, than in his office to the tinkle of coins."

[56]"Les Cancans de l'Opéra en 1836 [en 1837; en 1838]," 3 vols., I, No. 38, 79. This manuscript comprises a series of separate entries in two fair copies at the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra (BO, Rés. 658).

[57]*Ibid.*, I, 17: "Our ladies [dancers] are furious with this vile Jew who makes huge receipts without their help."

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of iconography on the composer at the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra.[58] With such anti-semitic innuendoes, one wonders if Véron's attitudes towards bankers did not influence his feelings about Meyerbeer. In a letter dated 10 October 1832 from Meyerbeer to his wife Minna concerning the contract for *Les Huguenots*, he wrote: "Both Véron and I dread the moment when two people who do not trust one another but need one another, as is the case with us, propose their contract conditions."[59]

Halévy, although widely depicted as a congenial man, did not escape criticism as a Jew, as Ben-Lévi suggested. In *Les Cancans*, he is accused more of treachery than of avarice, however. After berating Halévy for being lazy, too involved in backstage life, and spread too thinly among his several occupations, the author accused him of finding pretexts for delaying the *mise en scène* to hide the fact that he was still newly composing a work. He also depicted Halévy as someone who took advantage of the affection of Duponchel (Véron's successor), as well as of others at the Opéra who were caught up in his dealings. The image of the calculating Jew emerges as the author summed up his angry commentary:

> Esperons toutefois que le génie protecteur des destinées de notre premier théâtre lyrique interviendra dans cette circonstance. Il éclairera M.M. Duponchel et Aguado sur les menées ténébreuses, désorganisatrices de la race Judaïque des Halévy! Esperons aussi que ramené à des sentimens plus éléves et plus conformes à son education qu'à sa naissance. Le Juif intrigant disparaitra tout à fait pour laisser

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[58]Reported in Joan Lewis Thomson, "Meyerbeer and His Contemporaries" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1972), 245-46, n. 1.

[59]Heinz and Gudrun Becker, *Giacomo Meyerbeer, A Life in Letters*, trans. by Mark Violette; ed. by Reinhard G. Pauly (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1983, trans. 1989), 56.

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> le chemin libre à l'artiste en mesure d'être applaudi par les gens de bien! Amen!!![60]

(Depictions of Halévy as a greedy Jew came after his success with *La Juive*. His brother felt compelled to put right the accusations about Fromental keeping his Conservatoire position because it was lucrative; in *Sa Vie*, Léon included evidence of the nominal salary the composer received.) Despite these views, which perhaps represent a vocal minority, the embracing of Jewish composers at the Opéra obviously speaks to a basic acceptance and spirit of openness.

Set against these discussions and expressions of Jewish character, identity, and behavior, the partial modelling of Éléazar after Shylock was clearly not that of a historically remote figure divorced from present-day interests and biases. Indeed, it seems impossible that the authors of *La Juive*, as well as the director who accepted the work, were unaware of the pertinent social implications of the character. Scribe, so astute in creating topical comedies, consciously or subconsciously sensed the appropriateness of assigning to Éléazar characteristics that audiences would recognize from literary tradition, but that also symbolized what was assumed and feared about Jews in French society. For many in France, Rothschild and other successful Jewish capitalists "proved" that the stereotype of the Jewish miser was a valid depiction; within this milieu, it is possible that Scribe also accepted the Shylock stereotype on a

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[60]*Les Cancans*, II, 132: "Let us hope all the same that the guiding spirit of our first lyric theater intervenes in this case. It will enlighten Mssrs. Duponchel and Aguado as to the disruptive and shady dealings of the likes of Halévy and his Judaic race. Let us hope as well that, having been taught higher sentiments, more in conformity with his education than with his birth, the scheming Jew will disappear altogether and leave the way free for the artist worthy of the applause of persons of quality."

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personal level, despite his warm friendships with such Jews as Adolphe Crémieux (and later with Halévy after years of collaboration).

Scribe's creation of another materialistic character whom he identifies as *juif* in his notes suggests this possibility. In a reference by Scribe in a *carnet* to *Ali-baba* (1827), the opera that he was writing with Mélesville and Cherubini, he notes: "Madame Duveyrier a copié le costume d'un juif à qui la mort enleve sa bourse et ce costume nous servira pour le juif d'ali-baba--nous voulons que l'acteur qui le jouera en porte un pareil."[61] This reference seems curious since there is no character commonly identified as Jewish in *Ali-baba*: undoubtedly Scribe was referring to the main character, the title role, who hoards golds and jewels in a cave. For this story borrowed from *1001 Arabian Nights,* it is possible that Scribe thought of the character as "Oriental," which in 19th-century western European culture often meant Jew or Arab interchangeably. But it is also possible that the association between materialism and Jews was so entrenched in Scribe's mind that he sought to "judaicize" the character.

As discussed in Chapter 4, this association was sharply delineated in *La Juive*, even after the image of the "miserly Jew" was made less heavy-handed in later stages of the opera's development (i.e., after the draft scenario stage). Beyond the implications in the libretto, score, and staging, the opera's use of the terms "juif" and "juive" appear to carry important social meaning. "Juif," as Ben-Lévi suggested, was

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[61]BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22584, fol. 7v: "Madame Duveyrier copied the costume of a Jew robbed of his moneybag by death. We will use this costume for the Jew of *Ali-baba*--we want the actor who will play him to wear a similar one."

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the commonly used designation in France in the early 1800s, despite the efforts of enlightened Jews to replace "juif" with "Israélite." From 1806, Berr Isaac Berr, a key figure in winning emancipation for French Jews, had proposed the complete suppression of the term and adoption of either "Israélite" or "Hébreu."[62] Two Jewish journals founded more than two decades apart--Élie Halévy's *Les Israélites français* and Samuel Cahen's *Les Archives israélites*--promoted the new term, signalling in their titles and in their text a break from the negative connotations of *juif*, as well as the acknowledgment of new roles and identities in French society. Perhaps emphasis should not be placed too heavily on the use of the older term in the opera, however, seeing that it was in common usage; moreover, it was appropriate to the opera's setting in the historical past. But clearly for some (undoubtedly for the Halévys), it signified the status of *La Juive*'s Jewish characters--particularly Éléazar--as unemancipated and separate, reviling and reviled by Christian society.

Since Halévy shared responsibility for characterization (although Scribe, as librettist, was considered to have primary responsibility, as Ben-Lévi assumed in his commentary on the stereotyping of Jews in the theater), we must question the composer's attitudes towards Éléazar's Shylock characterization. As hypothesized above, it is probable that the composer, with the aid of his brother, was responsible for cutting back references to Éléazar as a usurous Jew. Yet despite these alterations, vestiges of the Shylock image remained obvious, and were in fact enhanced through Halévy's setting.

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[62]Girard, *Les Juifs*, 140.

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Léon Halévy's statements about Jewish identity and his apparent sensitivity about common associations of greed and usury with Jews offer some insight. Through his emphasis on the persecution and social restriction of Jews as justification for their usury prior to the Revolution, as well as the attempts by authorities to curb the practice as a pretext for unjust indictments and abuses of French Jews, Léon passionately defended against conventional assumptions regarding Jewish avarice. Moreover, the messages in Léon's plays *Grillo* and *L'Espion*--that Jews can use money altruistically and are motivated by noble ideals--hint that Léon understood the tenaciousness of the negative stereotype and wanted to counteract it. His inclusion of pertinent Sanhédrin decisions in his Jewish histories demonstrated that he shared the belief espoused by his father and the reform-minded Consistoire that the practice should be eliminated from modern French society. Despite the fact that he believed Jews had often been wrongly accused of the practice, and that it had been used in the past as a pretext for limiting the freedoms of Jews, he apparently viewed it as a practice that was actively being pursued. With a similar paradox that existed in his (and his brother's) respect for the Jewish religion and simultaneous disdain for "fanatical" Jews as barriers to social progress, Léon's distress at the anti-semitism that arose from common notions about Jewish avarice conflicted with his ideas about usury as an out-worn, immoral practice. Just as Éléazar's fanaticism resonated with the Halévys' ambivalence and assimilationist views, so, apparently, did the Shylock stereotype in Éléazar. Ironically, the assimilationist ideas that the Halévys shared intersected with the anti-semitic views expressed by such writers as Toussenel and

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Hallez. (The appropriation of Léon Halévy's ideas into Hallez's rantings illustrates this point.)

The connection between Saint-Simonians and Jews that figured strongly in the Fourier-Toussenel commentary undoubtedly impinged on the reception of the work--an ironic twist, considering the Saint-Simonian connections of the Halévys and the Saint-Simonian ideals that inspired the social consciousness of the work. It is unlikely that the character of Éléazar was intended to represent this group directly or indirectly. As discussed in Chapter 3, both Halévys were close friends with several Saint-Simonians specifically named in Toussenel's diatribe, and both were believers in the movement's ideals of social progress, including industrial progress through railroads and steamships promoted and launched by Émile Pereire. Although Léon had formally split from the group by the time of *La Juive*'s creation, he had been responsible for articulating important aspects of Saint-Simonian thought.

A likelier contemporary figure whom the Halévys (and Scribe) may have related to the Shylock image was Rothschild, whom anti-semites viewed as the personification of the stereotype. In the minds of many Saint-Simonians, who were labelled "new Jews" or even "new Christians" by some writers, Rothschild, who had established himself in France through his connections with royalty and aristocracy, represented anachronistic practices out of touch with the economic ideas of the Saint-Simonians. Although there were professional associations between the Saint-Simonian bankers, the Pereires, and Rothschild in the 1830s, differences that later turned into a fierce rivalry between Rothschild's "haute banque" and the Pereires' "banque

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nouvelle" were beginning to emerge during this period. Moreover, Rothschild's image as a foreigner, who remained unnaturalized and who spoke and wrote French badly (he relied on a secretary for all his French correspondence), did not fit Léon's depiction of an assimilated, "regenerated" Jewish citizen of France.

Whether the building of Éléazar's character along the lines of a miserly, Christian-hating Jew in the Shylockian tradition stemmed in part from Scribe's personal anti-semitism--and perhaps from a type of Jewish self-denial in Halévy and his brother--is difficult to assess. But, as many documents of the period attest, the Shylock in Éléazar certainly reflects a cultural anti-semitism buried in stereotyped views that persisted in France, this despite the political acceptance that Jews had enjoyed in varying degrees since 1791, and particularly since the 1830 Revolution. As the bourgeoisie gained new power under the July Monarchy, fear of capitalism emerged: as expressed in the writings of Fourier, Toussenel, and Hallez, it was at times capitalism with a Jewish face. The social views of Jewish bankers and merchants embodied in such anti-semitic portrayals, and described by contemporary Jewish writers, correlate with the literary stereotype of the Jewish money-lender and offer a subtext to the materialistic allusions in Éléazar's character. The secular aspects of Jewish character were often bound with images of Jews as religious fanatics; in fact, they were integral to the religious-political polemic, discussed below, in which conservative factions and liberal factions accused their ideological adversaries of tyranny and inhumanity. Such juxtapositions in intellectual thought make the disparate elements of Éléazar's characterization appear less incongruous.

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While not a psychologically coherent figure, Éléazar was clearly one who was socially relevant for the Parisian audiences of the 1830s.

Of Intolerance, Fanaticism, and Jewish Identity

The topicality of *La Juive*'s theme of intolerance is suggested in debates on this subject among religious, political, and philosophical factions in France in the 1830s, figuring strongly in a polemic between conservatives (*absolutistes*, *royalistes*, *légitimistes*) and liberals (*révolutionnaires, républicaines*). As suggested by the opera's reviews in *La Gazette de France* and *Le Constitutionnel*, Voltaire was at the vortex of the dialectic, as both symbol and writer. Although the complexity and ambiguity of Voltaire's thought produced a myriad of often-conflicting interpretations, legitimists, romantics, and pro-clerical factions generally echoed counterrevolutionary sentiments in their portrayal of the philosopher as an atheistic devil, an anti-Christ responsible for the bourgeois, secular trends of modern society. Admirers of Voltaire, including reformists, liberals, and republicans, saw him as an upholder of social justice and liberator of humanity. For the young generation of the Restoration, for whom the July Revolution of 1830 was but a continuation of the Revolution of "89," Voltaire became the great symbol of liberalism. Frustrated by the return of Bourbon rule and renewed strength of the Church, the "Generation of 1820," including Scribe and the Halévys, often evoked his name in its opposition to the Bourbons and its support of the July Revolution and Louis-Philippe. Inspired by his attacks on the abuses and intolerance of religious and political authority that

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culminated in his prescription "Écrasez l'infâme," writers of "l'école voltairien" echoed anti-authoritarian, anti-clerical themes in their own works.

Among liberal thinkers drawn to Voltaire, the historian Jules Michelet created a sentimental, Christlike image of the philosopher in his *Histoire de la révolution française* and Hugo, after his youthful disdain for Voltaire as the inciter of "nos sanglantes erreurs," cast him as "l'apôtre de l'humanité."[63]

In light of the philosopher's controversial image, the condemnation of the opera's Voltairian foundation by the reviewer in *La Gazette de France* (see pp. 312-16) is not surprising. The writer underscored this foundation by scoffing at Scribe's aping of Étienne de Jouy (1764-1846), a prominent writer of "l'école voltairien": in his diatribe against the message of *La Juive*, he asked: "Est-ce qu'il [Scribe] s'est affublé de la perruque de M. Jouy?"[64] The critic's association to Jouy drove home his point, for the liberal image of this writer--before his work on the libretto for Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* (1829)--had been solidified through his struggles with Restoration censors over his Bonapartist historical dramas, *Belisaire* (1818) and *Sylla* (1822), as well as his imprisonment for articles that condemned the trial and execution of Bonapartist officers following the Hundred Days.[65] With the *Gazette*

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[63]André Billaz, "Les Écrivains romantiques et Voltaire: Essai sur Voltaire et le romantisme en France (1795-1830)," (Ph.D. diss., Université de Paris IV) (Lille: Université de Lille III, Service de Reproduction des Thèses, 1974), 37.

[64]*Gazette*, Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 50: "Has [Scribe] rigged himself up in the wig of M. Jouy?"

[65]Alan Spitzer, *1820*, 120. Spitzer notes that in *Belisaire* and *Sylla* the connection to Napoleon could not be missed since the actor Talma was dressed to look exactly like the fallen leader. The month-long imprisonment gave Jouy and his journalistic collaborator

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writer's reference to donning a wig, however, he may have also implied that Jouy's Voltairian views, and thus Scribe's, were relics of an outdated past.[66]

The Voltairian oeuvre attractive to reform-minded liberals, in addition to *Essai sur les guerres civiles* and *Essai sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations* mentioned above, ranged from the early essay "Epistle to Urania," which sharply criticizes the vengeful Biblical God, to late articles that attack the foundations of the Christian religion. In the established Church Voltaire saw a morality opposed to humanist reform, superstitions contrary to reason, and fanaticism which often led to repression and violence. In his "Treatise on Toleration" (1763), he spoke of the religious fanaticism that led to the torturous death of Jean Calas of Toulouse, who was accused of hanging his son to keep him from leaving the Protestant faith and, on judges' orders, was stretched on a wheel until he confessed his alleged crime. Voltaire ended his treatise with a call for brotherhood and universal tolerance, not only among Christians but among all faiths and nationalities.

Voltaire's dramas, many of which carry philosophical overtones, were also influential.[67] The *Gazette* reviewer of *La Juive* refers to his *Alzire* and *Mahomet*, albeit in mocking tones, when he compares the pretense of accurate local color in

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Antoine Jay (1770-1854) reputations as "martyrs of liberalism" and led to their writing of *Les Hermites en prison*, which capitalized on this "martyrdom."

[66]By the 1830s, according to Elizabeth Bartlet in a comment after my paper given at AMS-93, Jouy was considered by many to be an obsolete voice.

[67]See Marie Wellington, *The Art of Voltaire's Theater: An Exploration of Possibility* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987), 3-4, who discusses Voltaire's dramas both as skilled literary works and as "voice pieces for his philosophy."

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these plays to that in the opera. For its embodiment of the conflict of humanism and barbarism, *La Juive* could be said to fall in the tradition of *Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète* (1742), a play that features cultural differences and emphasizes, as the title indicates, religious fanaticism.[68] But for its use of Jews as symbols of persecution and freedom, the opera connects more specifically with Voltaire's opera *Samson*, written with Rameau in 1732, which censors found too incendiary to be allowed on the stage of the Académie Royale. Rameau's music has not survived, but Voltaire's libretto, published in his collected works, clearly points to both a religious and a political captivity in its illustration of the Israélites' despair over their condition and Samson's attempts to arouse them to break the Philistinian chains. Voltaire's theme is evident from the outset of Act I, Scene i, as a *coryphée* addresses the Israélites:[69]

Act I, Scene i

UN CORYPHÉE	A LEADER
Race malheureuse et divine,	Divine and unfortunate race,
Tristes Hébreux, frémissez tous:	Woeful Hebrews, shudder all:
Voici le jour affreux qu'un roi puissant destine	The dreadful day has come when a mighty king has deemed
A placer ses dieux parmi nous.	To place his gods among us.
Des prêtres mensongers, pleins de zèle et de rage,	Deceitful priests, full of rage and zeal,
Vont nous forcer à plier les genoux	Will force us to bend our knees
Devant les dieux de ce climat sauvage.	Before the gods of that savage place.
Enfans du ciel, que ferez- vous?	Children of God, what say you to this?

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[68]In the character Séide, Mahomet's disciple who is ordered to kill in the name of religion, Voltaire reveals the pull between religious duty and personal ethics: "Que la religion est terrible et puissante! [...] Je crains d'être barbare, ou d'être sacrilège." ("How horrible and powerful religion is! [...] I fear being barbaric or sacrilegious.")

[69]*Oeuvres complètes*, 936.

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An article by Edouard Monnais in *La Gazette musicale de Paris* entitled "Voltaire, la musique et les musiciens," which appeared several months after *La Juive*'s premiere, refers to both *Samson* and *Mahomet* and alludes to the controversial subjects that brought about their suppression as well to the contemporary resonance with *La Juive*.[70] Monnais comments that *Samson* represented Voltaire's first attempt at opera and, quoting from a notice printed with an edition of the work, writes: "On était près de le jouer, lorsque la même cabale, qui depuis fit suspendre les représentations de *Mahomet ou le Fanatisme*, empêcha qu'on représentât l'opéra de *Samson*."[71]

Voltaire's use of a Biblical story as a tale of liberation, with Samson's appeals to crush the "tyrans" and his shouts of "Liberté! Liberté!," is not singular in French literature or theater. Prior to this opera Racine's *Esther* (1689) carried similar overtones. Operas and dramas contemporary with *La Juive*, works with such titles as *Cain*, *Les Machabées*, and *Nabucodonosor* (the 1836 play that served as the basis for Verdi's 1842 opera *Nabucco*) may simply have expressed a natural focus for Catholic society since Judaism and the Hebrew Bible were the fulcrum from which Christianity sprang. Many operas produced by the Académie Royale that belong to the oratorio tradition, for example, may be viewed as non-political, such as *Moïse et Pharaon* (1829) by Rossini and Jouy. Yet the text of this opera, among others, resonates with

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[70]25 October 1835, 2° année, No. 43, 346.

[71]*Ibid.*: "It was about to be performed when the same cabal that had gotten the performances of *Mahomet ou le Fanatisme* suspended prevented the opera *Samson* from being performed."

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the ideas of political freedom and social change embedded in Voltaire's *Samson* and parallels the Restoration writings of Ballanche, which compared the situation of post-Revolutionary Frenchmen to the Hebrews in the desert, marching towards "la nouvelle terre sociale."[72]

Voltairian concerns of oppression and intolerance expressed in *La Juive* can also be found in a wide range of contemporary journalistic writings, which are permeated with such terms as "tyrannie" and "fanatique." One debate that resounds with the question of intolerance raged in the columns of the liberal *Le Réformateur: Journal des nouveaux intérêts matériels et moraux, industriels et politiques, littéraires et scientiques* and the pro-Catholic periodical *L'Univers religieux, politique, scientifique et littéraire*. In the former, the problems of social, political, and religious intolerance are specifically addressed in two unsigned articles, one of 12 October 1834 entitled "Tolérance" and another published 15 February 1835 entitled "Intolérance religieuse."[73] The October article is a plea for an open-minded acceptance of the social doctrines its editors, "des hommes de réforme," are putting forward. The author directs his appeals to "les opinions religieuses" in particular and refers to the sectarian actions of priests during and since the 1789 Revolution. While admitting that "le philosophe" had itself become fanatic as it had condemned the zealotry of religious doctrine and faith, the author reminds his readers of "[l]es conspirations permanentes des prêtres contre la nation" during the Revolution, as well

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[72]*Essai sur les institutions sociales*, cited in Billaz, *Écrivains romantiques*, 13.

[73]I/4, 1; I/129, 2.

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as "les missions scandaleuses" of the Restoration.[74] But "1830 nous a inspiré des idées plus sages," including the principle of "la liberté illimitée de la publicité" and tolerance toward all men.[75]

The 15 February article, a rebuttal to *L'Univers religieux* that appeared shortly before the premiere of *La Juive*, belongs to a direct exchange of accusations between the two papers. As the author defends the enlightened views of *Le Réformateur*, he quotes from the attack of *L'Univers religieux*:

> Nous avons avancé que nous étions plus tolérans que les hommes religieux, nous qui respectons toutes les illusions, et qui réclamons pour les consciences la liberté la plus illimitée.
>
> L'*Univers religieux* nous trouve, au contraire, aussi intolérans que les religious intolérantes, et voici comment il le prouve: "Les sciences, les lettres, la philosophie, toutes les doctrines, tous les systèmes, toutes les religions, toutes les croyances, toutes les opinions, et l'opinion républicaine elle-même, SONT COUPABLE D'INTOLÉRANCE; car toute croyance, toute opinion, et l'opinion républicaine elle-même, nient, par cela seul qu'elles existent et qu'elles affirment la vérité, les croyances, les opinions et les philosophies qui leur sont contraires."[76]

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[74]I/4, 1.

[75]*Ibid.*

[76]*Ibid.*: "We have claimed that we are more tolerant than believers, we who respect all illusions, and who call for the most unlimited freedom of conscience. L'*Univers religieux*, on the other hand, finds us just as intolerant as the intolerant believers, and he proves it by saying: 'The sciences, letters, philosophy, all doctrines, all systems, all religions, all beliefs, all opinions including Republican opinion itself, ARE GUILTY OF INTOLERANCE, for all beliefs, all opinions and Republican opinion too, deny, by the mere fact that they exist and affirm the truth, contrary beliefs, opinions and philosophies.'"

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The author then disputes the claims of *L'Univers religieux* by contrasting open-minded republican views of *Le Réformateur* with the historical intolerance of the Church:

> L'intolérance ne se contente pas de nier, mais elle persécute; elle ne cherche pas à convaincre, mais à imposer silence; elle n'oppose pas des raisons, mais des châtimens et des tortures. Or, nous seuls nous demandons la libre discussion de part et d'autre, nous seuls nous professons respect et protection pour toutes les croyances, nous seuls nous permettons de prier dans toutes les langues; de formuler des doctrines de toutes les façons; nous seuls nous ne voulons opposer que des raisons à l'erreur, que le pardon aux fautes. L'église est elle tolérante à notre façon? se content-t-elle de nier? Elle menace et elle maudit, elle jette les livres dans le tombeau de l'*index* et l'auteur dans l'enfer de l'excommunication majeure; elle ouvre l'enfer à l'âme des dissidens, elle ferme la porte de ses temples à ses dépouilles mortelles; elle accumule sur sa tête tous les châtimens dont sa foi lui promet un arsenal dans l'autre monde; et quand elle peut saisir le sceptre d'ici bas, elle n'attend pas une autre vie pour se venger des récalcitrans: l'inquisition devient son tribunal, l'*autodafé* son échafaud, la pénitence forcée le seul recours en grâce.
>
> Nous vous le demandons: si demain l'église montait encore sur le trône, aurait-elle d'autres moyens de propagande et de répression? Eh bien! l'opinion républicaine ose se flatter d'une toute autre tolérance; elle veut la liberté pour elle comme pour vous.[77]

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[77]*Ibid.*: "Intolerance is not satisfied to deny, it must persecute; it does not seek to convince, but to impose silence; it does not proffer reason, but punishment and torture. We alone, on the other hand, seek free discussion on each side, we alone profess respect and protection for all beliefs, we alone permit prayer in any language, allow the free development of doctrine; we alone wish to oppose error only by reason, fault by forgiveness. Is the Church tolerant in this, our, way? Can it sit back and pretend to be? The Church threatens and anathematizes, it dooms books to the Index and authors to the hell of excommunication; it opens the gates of hell to the souls of dissidents; it closes the doors of its temples to their mortal remains, it gathers to itself all the punishments it believes it has stored up in the other world, and when it can seize the sceptre here below, it does not wait for a better life hereafter to take revenge on the recalcitrants; the inquisition becomes its tribunal, the autodafé its scaffold, enforced penitence the only recourse for those seeking to be brought back to grace.

We ask you: if the Church were to ascend the throne again tomorrow, would it use other means of propaganda and repression? Well, Republican opinion dares to flatter itself for bestowing a totally different kind of tolerance; it seeks liberty for itself and for you."

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The author's question implies a fear of a return to a Church-dominated government, undoubtedly another restoration of the Bourbons, which was the wish of French *légitimistes*.

In its response (25 March 1835) to the accusations of *Le Réformateur*, *L'Univers religieux* defended the historical actions of the Church with equal fervor, including its *supplices*:

> Non-seulement l'Eglise ne persécute pas, elle défend encore à ses enfans toute persécution; elle nous interdit toute violence, tout mauvais traitement contre nos frères égarés, elle ordonne de les aimer et de leur faire toute le bien qui est en notre puissance, et lorsque vous supposez pour eux ou pour vous dans notre coeur des sentimens de haine, vous nous calomniez. [...]
>
> Les hérésies du moyen-âge, le mahométisme, sapaient le corps social dans sa base: il fallait les renverser ou mourir; et vous accusez l'Eglise parce qu'elle autorise les sociétés chrétiennes à combattre et à se défendre! Il en est du soldat comme du bourreau; l'Eglise n'en a pas; les peines qu'elle prononce contre les criminels sont purement spirituelles; jamais ses ministres n'ont versé le sang, elle défend même aux chrétiens de le verser, de se faire justice à eux-mêmes, et pourtant elle reconnaît à la justice, de punir le crime par des peines temporelles, d'avoir des geôles, des supplices. Au fond c'est le même droit; oui, c'est précisement parce que la société a le droit de punir le vol et l'assassinat, qu'elle a aussi le droit de combattre et d'anéantir toute doctrine, toute secte qui est destructive de la société même.
>
> [...] il est deux sortes d'intolérance: l'une dogmatique ou spirituelle, la seule que l'Eglise ait jamais exercée; l'autre politique ou temporelle qu'elle ne réclama jamais, ni dans les maximes de celui que l'Eglise reconnait comme son fondateur, son maître et son modèle, ni dans l'enseignement, ni dans la conduite publique de l'Eglise même; qu'on ne peut imputer en un mot qu'à quelques uns de ses membres rebelles à son esprit et à sa loi. Cette intolérance est un droit ou plutôt un devoir du pouvoir politique [...].[78]

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[78]"De l'Intolérance réligieuse: Réponse au *Réformateur*," *L'Univers religieux* (25 March 1835), 3[e] Année, No. 428: "Not only does the Church not persecute, it even forbids its

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The indirect implications of this commentary on the setting and subject of *La Juive*--it was written as the opera continued to draw in large audiences at the Paris Opéra--cannot be missed. The writer's insistence on separating religious and political intolerance undoubtedly arises from the common suggestions about the political power of the Church and its association with governmental power, including those in *La Juive*. In the first part of this same article, appearing a week earlier (19 March 1835), the author again insisted that the Church had not practiced political intolerance, and should not be blamed for the Inquisition and other essentially political institutions and violent acts, including the terrors of the Revolutionary era (undoubtedly as a reminder of his opponents' hypocrisy and exaggerations):

> Vous direz encore: il s'est commis beaucoup d'horreurs chez les nations chrétiennes pendant que l'Eglise était honorée et puissante.

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children to persecute; it forbids all violence, all ill treatment of our wayward brothers, it commands us to love them and do all the good to them in our power, and when you imagine that we harbor feelings of hatred in our hearts toward them or toward you, you are slandering us. [...]

The heresies of the Middle Ages and Islam sapped the body politic to its very core. It was a question of overthrowing them or dying. And you accuse the Church of authorizing Christian societies to fight and defend themselves! The Church has neither soldiers nor executioners; the punishment it inflicts on criminals is purely spiritual; its ministers have never shed blood, all Christians are forbidden to shed blood, to take justice into their own hands. It recognizes on the other hand the need for Justice in the temporal world, the need for punishment, for jails, for torture. Basically, it is the same right: yes, it is precisely because society has the right to punish theft and murder, that it also has the right to fight and destroy any doctrine or sect that threatens its existence.

[...] there are two kinds of intolerance: dogmatic or spiritual intolerance, the only one the Church has ever exercised; and political or temporal intolerance, which it has never claimed, neither in the maxims of the one whom the Church acknowledges as its founder, master, and model, nor in its education, nor in the public conduct of the Church itself. Not one example of it that cannot be easily attributed to some of its rebellious members acting against its spirit and its law. This intolerance is a right, or rather a duty, of political power [...].

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> [...] Mais n'y aurait-il pas autant de justice à lui reprocher les forfaits de Marat et de Robespierre, qu'à lui imputer les atrocités du moyen-âge et sa barbarie? Vous n'en êtes pas, j'imagine, a contester à l'Eglise ses dix-huit siècles de bienfaits, et vous n'avez pas besoin que je vous cite Montesquieu et tous nos modernes philosophes, pour vous obliger à les reconnaître. [...]
>
> Tout ceci vous semble de la *logamachie*, et vous vous écriez: l'inquisition! les guerres de religion! les croisades! n'était-ce point l'oeuvre de l'Eglise? -- Mais non vraiment, l'inquisition était une institution politique, né en certaine pays, de certaines circonstances politiques, pour un but essentiellement politique.[79]

To reinforce his point (which also underlines the indirect association with the opera), he attempts to deny that Jewish persecution was condoned by the Church, as illustrated in a statement that Pope Gregory the Great had made to a bishop who was treating Jews severely: "C'est par le douceur et les exhortations qu'il faut appeler les infidèles au christianisme; il ne faut pas les en éloigner par les menaces et la terreur."[80]

The subtextual connection of the opera's setting to the Church reformers and martyrs Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague also figures strongly in an active dialogue on

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[79]"De L'Intolérance réligieuse: Réponse au *Réformateur*," *L'Univers religieux* (19 March 1835), 3e Année, No. 427: "You still say: many horrors have been committed in Christian nations while the Church was being honored and remained powerful. [...] But wouldn't it be as right to blame it for the infamies of Marat and Robespierre as to impute to it the atrocities and barbarity of the Middle Ages? You are not about to call into question, I assume, the Church's eighteen centuries of good works, and there is no need for me to cite Montesquieu and all the modern philosophers in order to oblige you to acknowledge them. [...]

All this seems *overweening verbosity* to you, and you write: the Inquisition! the religious wars! the Crusades! was this not the work of the Church? But not really, for the Inquisition was a political institution, born in certain countries, of certain political circumstances, for an essentially political goal.

[80]*Ibid.*: "It is with gentleness and exhortations that one must call the infidels to Christianity; one must not estrange them from it with threats and terror."

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Martin Luther and to associations of Protestants with liberalism and democracy in contemporary writings. Liberal thinkers upheld Luther as a revolutionary and humanitarian reformer, as did Jules Michelet in *Mémoires de Luther* (1835) and Léon Halévy in his hagiographical, five-part "poème dramatique" *Luther* (1834) on the reformer's life.[81] In Michelet's preface, after noting Luther's admiration for Jan Hus, he characterizes Luther as the "restaurateur de la liberté pour les derniers siècles" and the "libérateur de la pensée moderne."[82] (Michelet also wrote about Hus and the Council of Constance in his *Histoire de France* [1833].[83]) Halévy's poem, which he later submitted (without success) as a four-act play, also portrays him as a hero of liberation against a despotic Church.[84] In language similar to Michelet's, Léon's speaks of Luther in his preface as "ce grand philosophe chrétien, cet intrépide champion de la liberté politique et religieuse."[85] Offering a rationale for publication, Léon states that "il est urgent que tous les amis du progrès et de la

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[81]Also see Heinrich Heine, "De L'Allemagne depuis Luther," *Revue des deux mondes* (1 March 1834), I, 473-505; (15 November 1834), IV, 373-408; IV (15 December 1834), 633-78.

[82]Jules Michelet, *Mémoires de Luther, écrits par lui-même*, 2 vols. (Bruxelles: Société Belge de Librairie, 1837). Michelet notes in the preface, dated August 1835, that his work on the book was done primarily in 1828 and 1829.

[83]*Histoire de France*, 6 vols. Bruxelles: Louis Hauman et Comp[e], 1834. See his account, which echoes Voltaire's, but appears more even-handed, in Vol. vi, 214 ff.

[84]Léon Halévy, *Luther, Poème dramatique en cinq parties* (Paris: Dépot Central de la Librairie, 1834); *Martin Luther ou La Diète de Worms, Drame historique en quatre actes, en vers limité de Zacharias Werner, reçu au Théâtre-Français, non-représenté* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1866).

[85]*Ibid.*, n.p.: "the great Christian philosopher, the intrepid champion of political and religious freedom."

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raison se réunissent pour pousser dans une direction d'avenir le sentiment religieux qui cherche à renaître, et que certaines passions politiques voudraient exploiter dans un sens purement rétrograde."[86] These portrayals, along with the discussions of Jean Hus, who was widely recognized as inspirational to Luther in his defiance of the Catholic Church, connect with *La Juive*'s setting and subject; they also hint that the Lutheran chorale in Scribe and Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots* was used to suggest an obvious philosophical and political connotation rather than a historical confusion between sects.

Pro-clerical and conservative thinkers, on the other hand, viewed Luther as an evil and corrupting force destructive to Catholic beliefs. In *L'Univers religieux*, a writer named Gorse condemns Michelet's portrayal of Luther as a "German god of the 16th century" in his history course and, with impassioned language, offers another, of a base, ambitious man who tried to supplant the authority of the Church with his own:

> Luther, avant tout, homme de chair et de sang, tiraillé par toutes les passions les plus misérables de notre nature, la débauche, l'ambition, l'orgueil, la colère, la haine, la vengeance [...]. [...] criant de toute la force de ses poumons qu'il fallait courir sur le pape comme sur une *bête féroce*; Luther, lâchant la bride à toutes les passions, autorisant la polygamie, la violation des sermens les plus sacrées, la spoliation et la dévastation des églises; Luther disant mort à la loi, brisant le libre arbitre, établissant le despotisme des grands seigneurs, s'érigeant lui-même en interprête souverain de l'action de la grâce, plaçant son

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[86]*Ibid.*: "it is urgent that all friends of progress and reason unite to push forward in a future direction the religious sentiment which seeks to be revived, that certain political passions will want to exploit in a purely retrograde sense."

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> autorité au-dessus de l'autorité de tous les pères de l'Eglise et de la tradition [...].[87]

Le Réformateur, representing the liberal viewpoint, speaks of Luther, as well as Calvin, as "simple moines, sans autre force que l'ascendant de leur éloquence, et la haute influence de leurs nouvelles convictions [...]."[88]

The focus of French liberals on the barbarism of the Catholic Church and the suggestions of Protestants as a noble, beleaguered group echo Voltaire's deploring of Protestant persecution in a number of accounts, including his description of the torturing of the Protestant father in Calas and his version of the events of St. Bartholomew's Eve. In his description of the latter in *Essai sur les guerres civiles de France*, which is generally recognized as a source of Scribe's libretto of *Les Huguenots* (see pp. 120-21), Voltaire clearly portrays the Protestants as victims of Catholic despotism. He attributes the increase of Protestant sects during this period in part to "[l]a] superstition, les secrètes fourberies des moines de ce temps-là, le pouvoir immense de Rome[...]" and "les persécutions les plus violentes" suffered at

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[87]Gorse, "Enseignement public; pensée philosophique: Cours de droit naturel par M. Jouffroy; Cours d'histoire du seizième siècle par M. Michelet," *L'Univers* (3 January 1835), 3e Année, No. 359, 2: "Luther, above all else, a man of flesh and blood, plagued by all the most miserable passions of our nature: debauchery, ambition, arrogance, anger, hatred, vengeance [...]. [...] crying at the top of his lungs to attack the pope as a *savage beast*; Luther, unleashing the bridle of all passions, authorizing polygamy, the violation of the most sacred oaths, the despoilment and destruction of churches; Luther crying death to the law, breaking free arbitration, establishing the despotism of grand lords, establishing himself as sovereign interpreter of the act of grace, putting his authority over the authority of all the Church fathers and of tradition [...]."

[88]"Intolérance religieuse," *Le Réformateur* (15 February 1835), No. 129, 1: "As for Luther and Calvin, simple monks, without power other than the influence of their eloquence and the noble effect of their new convictions [...]."

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the hands of the Catholics.[89] The Protestant sects grew, Voltaire writes, "au milieu des échafauds et des tortures."[90] In his description of Luther and his followers, however, Voltaire did not refrain from pointing out fanaticism in their conduct (see, e.g., Chapter CXXXII, "Suite du luthéranisme et de l'anabaptisme," in *Essai sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations*). By comparison, the portraits of Luther by July Monarchy liberals more strongly emphasized the leader's enlightened spirit.

In various articles throughout *L'Univers religieux* of 1835, there are numerous defenses against and direct attacks upon anti-clerical factions of the past and present, including the *philosophes*, contemporary liberal thinkers, and Protestants. One article commented that liberal newspapers were the legacy of Voltaire, saying: "c'est un reste de voltairianisme."[91] Another that railed against the fanaticism of Protestants of the day grouped them with *philosophes* in their anti-Catholic attacks:

> Les philosophes et les protestans ont beaucoup parlé de l'intolérance catholique, ce qui ne les a pas empêchés dans tous les temps d'être eux-mêmes intolérans et persécuteurs. La réforme semble aujourd'hui vouloir nous en donner de nouvelles preuves. Pendant qu'en Irlande le clergé anglican ôte son pain par la force à un peuple qui refuse de le reconnaître, en Allemagne, le chef et le protecteur du protestantisme, le roi de Prusse fait marche, ainsi que nous l'avons dit, de l'artillerie contre les piétistes silésians, uniquement parce qu'ils ne veulent pas adopter le liturgie officielle. Ce qui rend ces persécutions encore plus odieuses, c'est l'indifférence profonde des protestans en manière de religion. Que des sectaires fanatiques emploient la force

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[89]*Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire* (Paris: Chez Th. Desoer, 1817), III, 147-48: "the superstition, the secret treacheries of priests, the immense power of Rome [...]"; "the most violent persecutions."

[90]*Ibid.*, 148: "in the midst of scaffolds and tortures."

[91]*L'Univers religieux* (29 January 1835), 3[e] Année, No. 381.

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> matérielle contre les sectes qui leur sont opposées, ou contre la religion véritable, cela se conçoit; mais que des hommes non seulement sans fanatisme, mais encore sans croyance fixe et nettement définie, fassent de la persécution [...].[92]

In another issue, the writer of an article entitled "Églises Protestantes de Paris," in speaking of Lutherans, Calvinists, and Methodists in Paris, claims that "le protestantisme ne peut se soutenir que par un *séparatisme excessif et désordonné*, c'est-à-dire, par l'anarchie intellectuale et morale, ou par *l'action gouvernementale*, c'est-à-dire, par la tyrannie [...]."[93]

Partly because of Catholic condemnations of non-Catholic systems of belief, liberal thinkers used Jews and Protestants as symbols of the lack of tolerance and the curbs on individual rights in the society. Ironically, at the same time, the cultural bias inherited from Voltaire and other Enlightenment thinkers produced a skepticism about and nonacceptance of Jews and the Jewish religion. The French *philosophes*, according to Jay Berkowitz, were influenced in their attitudes toward Jews by English

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[92]"Les Protestans persécutant les Protestans," *L'Univers religieux* (27 January 1835), 3[e] Année, No. 379: "Philosophers and Protestants have spoken a great deal about Catholic intolerance, but this does not negate the fact that they have always themselves persecuted, always themselves been intolerant. The current reforms seem to want to furnish us with further proofs. In the meantime in Ireland the Anglican churchmen are forcibly taking the bread from the mouths of the people who refuse to recognize them; in Germany, as we have said, the head and protector of Protestantism, the King of Prussia, is sending his artillery against the Silesian pietists merely because they do not wish to adopt the official liturgy. What makes these persecutions even more odious is the profound indifference of Protestants when it come to matters of faith. That fanatic sects should use material force against opposing sects, or against the true religion, is conceivable; but that men who not only lack fanaticism, but also lack any fixed and precise belief carry out persecutions."

[93]*L'Univers religieux* (25 March 1835), 3[e] Année, No. 428: "Protestantism can sustain itself only by an excessive and disorderly separatism, that is, by intellectual and moral anarchy, or by governmental action, that is, by tyranny [...]."

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Deists, whose academic analyses were imbued with the belief that "Jews were a superstitious and barbaric tribe whose religious fanaticism and stubbornness deserved denigration."[94] The *philosophes*, particularly Voltaire, took the Deist invectives and pronouncements on the early Hebrew religion to another level, linking the ancient Hebrews more explicitly with contemporary Jews through character traits deemed permanent and unchanging. They often harshly criticized the Talmud as a source of Jewish superstition and immorality and the rabbinic tradition as a hindrance to a much-needed intellectual, religious, or social reform of Jews. Montesquieu, despite his active denunciation of the Spanish Inquisition and other examples of religious persecution and his endorsement of biblical Judaism, criticized rabbinic Judaism as detrimental to Jewish character.[95] The belief that Jews and the Jewish religion were "morally deficient" lay at the foundation of Abbé Grégoire's influential late-18th-century *Essai sur la régénération physique, morale et politique des Juifs* [...], which argued for Jewish legal rights and civil equality as the first steps toward the *régénération* of Jews. Influenced by Montesquieu, Grégoire believed that Jews were not to be blamed for their deficiencies, since these had developed as a result of environmental circumstances over which they had no control.[96]

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[94]Jay R. Berkowitz, *The Shaping of Jewish Identity in Nineteenth-century France* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), 34.

[95]*Ibid.*, 35-36, 255, n. 36; see Pierre Auberry, "Montesquieu et les Juifs," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* LXXXVII (1972), 87-99.

[96]*Ibid.*, 30-31.

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Berkowitz summarizes a number of theories explaining the contradictions between the Enlightenment's concern for tolerant behavior and the harsh attacks on Jews and Judaism.[97] For example, he notes that Arthur Hertzberg's characterization of the *philosophes'* critique of the Jews and Judaism, based on an analysis of their writings as well as a recognition of their ideas reiterated in anti-semitic literature, was "essentially a secularization of the theological contempt without any modification of the basic hatred," thus representing "the transition from medieval to modern anti-Semitism."[98] Like Hertzberg, Jacob Katz recognizes the anti-semitism among certain *philosophes*, particularly Voltaire, that was inconsistent with their liberal philosophy.[99] A different line of thinking is represented in Peter Gay's discussion of Voltaire's attacks on Judaism as a mask for his true target: Christianity. Gay suggests that because Christianity could not be attacked directly and openly, attacks on Judaism, which many *philosophes* viewed as the antithesis of enlightenment and tolerance, essentially served the same purpose. For Gay, the paradox in the treatment of Jewish questions among Enlightenment thinkers lay in the fact that the same philosophical stance that helped to break down religious prejudice and discrimination

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[97]*Ibid.*, 34-35.

[98]*Ibid.*

[99]*Ibid.*, 35, citing Katz's *From Prejudice to Destruction: Anti-semitism, 1700-1933* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980) and "Judaism and the Jews in the Eyes of Voltaire," *Molad* V (1973), 614-25.

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"lent credence to the notion that Judaism was morally and intellectually bankrupt."[100] As Berkowitz reiterates:

> The philosophes' conception of toleration could not coexist with anything that might be perceived to be antithetical to the aims of the Enlightenment. According to the philosophes, Judaism represented the moral and intellectual antithesis of enlightenment and toleration and therefore was a deserving target of extensive vilification. Paradoxically, the negative attitude toward the Jews and their religion was logically derived from the same philosophical position that enabled Enlightenment thinkers to address the Jewish problem sympathetically.[101]

Voltaire's negative attitudes even extended to the type of anti-semitic bias explored earlier: throughout his writings are comments about Jews as materialist, usurous, calculating, and rootless.[102]

Such Enlightenment contradictions appear in Toussenel's anti-Jewish attacks that he justified with common religious arguments; in his commentary the merging of secular and religious stereotypes is clear. Defending himself against apologists who demanded respect for Jews because of their contributions and their status as God's chosen people, he mocked the Bible as a history of immoral behavior and repeated the familiar condemnation of Jews as murderers of Christ. Borrowing Voltairian language, he claimed that the Jewish religion, whose Bible was "le catéchisme et le

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[100]*Ibid.*, 35.

[101]*Ibid.*

[102]Peter Gay, *Voltaire's Politics: The Poet as Realist* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 351, citing Voltaire's "Le Ciel des anciens," *Dictionnaire philosophique*, 139; *La pucelle*, ix, 149; *Essai sur les moeurs*, ixx, 163.

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code des peuples bourreaux," had made "un peuple ennemi de l'humanité."[103] Toussenel went so far as to identify Jews as "le peuple de Satan, non le peuple de Dieu"; if they were God's people, they would not have put Christ to death, nor would they continue "d'exploiter, par le parasitisme et l'usure, tous les travailleurs que le Christ a voulu racheter."[104] As part of his castigation, Toussenel referred to the same act that Ruggiero uses to incite the crowd against Éléazar and Rachel in *La Juive*: Christ's act of chasing the merchants from the temple. This reference is a key point for the author, as he placed it as epigraph on the book's title page and alluded to it frequently.[105]

Although Toussenel attacked Jews and Protestants as the antitheses of victims and symbols of humanity, as they were portrayed by July Monarchy liberals, he did draw parallels between them. These echo positions found in *L'Univers religieux*, with an added connection; in addition to their adherence to the Jewish Bible and religious fanaticism, Toussenel linked Protestants to Jews through their common "love of gold" and rapacious capitalism:

> Il y a même dispute entre ces races pour savoir à laquelle revient le prix de l'avarice et de la cupidité. [...] Et, circonstance bien

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[103]*Ibid.*, I, ix: "the catechism and the code of murderous people"; "a people the enemy of humanity."

[104]*Ibid.*, I, iii: "the people of Satan, not the people of God"; "to exploit by parasitism and usury all the workers that Christ had wanted to redeem."

[105]*Ibid.*, title page: "La maison de mon père est une maison de prière, et vous en avez fait une caverne de voleurs. (Jésus chassant les marchands du Temple.)" ("The house of my father is a house of prayer, and you have made it a den of thieves. [Jesus chasing the merchants from the Temple.]")

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> singulière et bien caractéristique, l'amour de l'or chez toutes ces races est proportionnel à l'intolérance et au fanatisme religieux. Le talmudiste de Francfort, le vieux Juif de sang usuraire, le circoncis, n'est pas plus fervemment attaché à la lettre de la Bible et au culte du veau d'or que le puritain de Genève, dont les ancêtres ont fait brûler Servet, que le méthodiste d'Angleterre, que le piétiste d'Allemagne. Ce sont tous enfants d'un même père, et à qui le dieu d'Israël a promis un jour, en la personne de Jacob, la propriété de la terre, à l'exclusion de tous les autres peuples. Et toutes ces sectes [...] composent à elles toutes une immense congrégation de vampires dont les estomacs sont aux banques des grandes capitales [...]. [106]

Although Toussenel acknowledged the excesses and scandalous behavior of Catholic clergy, he viewed Protestant reform as foundation for the most obdurate oppression. In France, the Protestant had been represented in "[l]e noble, le Coligny, le Condé, l'ennemi de la royauté et du peuple."[107] But it was the English, as a thoroughly Protestant nation, that embodied the severest inhumanity: "si la foi de Luther, si ce fameux principe de la Réformation avait puissance de créer des hommes libres, il est

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[106]*Ibid.*, I, iv: "There is even a contest between these races to see which one wins the prize for avarice and cupidity. [...] And, a fact that is as remarkable as it is characteristic: the love of gold among each of these races is proportional to their intolerance and their religious fanaticism. The Frankfort Talmudist, the old Jew with usury in his blood, the circumcised one, is no more fervently attached to the literal interpretation of the Bible and to the worship of the Golden Calf than are the puritan from Geneva whose ancestors burned Servet, the English Methodist, or the German pietist. They are the children of the same father, and they would one day inherit the earth, to the exclusion of all other peoples, according to the promise made through Jacob by the God of Israel. And all of these sects [...] make up a huge congregation of vampires whose stomachs are the banks in the great capitals[...]."

[107]*Ibid.*, I, vi: "the noble, the Coligny, the Condé, the enemy of royalty and the people." (Coligny was a Huguenot leader killed around the time of St. Bartholomew's Eve.")

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clair que le travailleur anglais ne serait pas aujourd'hui le plus misérable et le plus opprimé de tous les serfs du globe."[108]

Enlightenment ambivalence had been at the heart of late-18th-century discussions about Jewish citizenship: opponents believed that Jewish religious practices were incompatible with civic duties in France, while advocates believed that, with modifications of their religious and social behavior, Jews could be full participants in society.[109] Among the Jewish community, the Enlightenment paradox touched a number of Jewish writers in the debates over religious and national identity that continued after emancipation into the 1830s and beyond. Many of those who called for reform in the early decades of the 19th century, including Élie Halévy, were influenced by Moses Mendelssohn, leader of the Jewish Enlightenment in Germany and writer of *La déliverance des Juifs* (1782). Élie Halévy, who was friendly with Mendelssohn in Germany, had been among a circle of Jews in the Haskalah movement in Metz, the leading Jewish community in northeastern France, before moving to Paris.[110] Berr Isaac Berr, who wrote about political and civil emancipation, called for a moral "régéneration" of Jews c. 1806 (in *Réflexions sur la régéneration complète des Juifs en France*).

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[108]*Ibid.*: "if the faith of Luther, if this famous principle of the Reformation had power to create free men, it is clear that the English worker would not be the most miserable and the most oppressed today of all the serfs in the world."

[109]Berkowitz, *Jewish Identity*, 36-37.

[110]*Ibid.*, 60. Berkowitz notes that the Jewish intellectuals of Metz, encouraged by liberal voices such as Pierre Louis Lacretelle and the Société des arts et sciences, translated works of the Berlin Haskalah and adapted its ideology to the French context in their own publications.

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The issues of assimilation and apostasy were crucial to this debate. Many Orthodox Jews warned against the decline of Judaism in the wake of the Enlightenment and emancipation; they feared the loss of communal autonomy, which was, in fact, exchanged for the rewards of citizenship.[111] Baron Silvestre de Sacy, the renowned Orientalist who endorsed Élie Halévy's 1802 poem, believed that an enlightened Jew ceased being a Jew.[112] In the 1830s, questions about assimilation were newly discussed in light of the more openly tolerant milieu and the lessening of restrictions on Jews from holding positions within the French establishment.[113] The leader of Parisian Orthodox Jews, Abraham Créhange, modified the more stringent Orthodox views of the late 18th century by writing in *La Sentinelle juive* in support of a strong civil and military union with Christian citizens, but advocating "séparation complète pour tout ce qui touche à la religion."[114]

Among non-separatists, those who encouraged the adoption of French culture, different levels of social integration were advocated. According to Berkowitz, most Jewish leaders advocated acculturation, but not assimilation, that is, the adoption of

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[111]*Ibid.*, 15. See also Patrick Girard, *Les juifs de France de 1789 à 1860: de l'émancipation à l'égalité* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1976), 93.

[112] S[amuel] Cahen, "Littérature; De la Littérature hébraique et juive en France," *Les Archives israélites* I (1840), 43.

[113]Before 1830, for example, Olinde Rodrigues was denied admission to the higher teachers' school because of his Jewish heritage; the geologist and mathematician Abelard Servedier, refused a professorship in France in 1816, left for England; he was finally given one in France after 1830. See Zosa Szajkowski, *Jewish Education in France, 1789-1939*, ed. Tobey B. Gitelle (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 28.

[114]Cited in Girard, *l'émancipation*, 93: "total separation for all that concerns religion."

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French cultural behavior, but not at the expense of Jewish customs and Jewish loyalties.[115] As explored in Chapter 3, Élie Halévy, who attempted to combat the notion that Judaism was incompatible with an enlightened society (as emphatically stated in the preface to *L'Israélite française*), leaned toward acculturation. Like Élie, many Jewish leaders believed Judaism complementary to French culture, and that it could be retained while enjoying the full benefits of French citizenship. Yet others, like Léon, pushed for integration closer to assimilation, undoubtedly partly in reaction to the set-backs during the Restoration, when the resurgence of Catholic traditions brought a return of anti-Jewish sentiments and restrictions. Certain actions taken during the Restoration, which Léon complained about (see p. 166 above), resulted in a banning of Jews from the universities and the liberal professions.[116]

Léon Halévy's participation in the Saint-Simonian movement, his attempts to bring Christian and Jewish theology closer together, and his advocacy of a "fusion" between Jews and other Frenchmen, was driven by an instilled desire for Jews to be full participants in French society. Berkowitz claims that Halévy's term "fusion," which was "introduced mainly by gentile discussants of the Jewish question during the Restoration, denoted extensive social assimilation."[117] Many of his ideas reflect Voltairian thought: the discussion in his first *Résume* of the distortions of Pharisees certainly reflects attacks of the *philosophes* on rabbinic Judaism. In continuation of

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[115]*Ibid.*, 111-12.

[116]*Ibid.*, 113.

[117]*Ibid.*

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Enlightenment calls for moral *régéneration*, Halévy offered aggressive suggestions for reform of Jewish customs, such as the discarding of religious "superstitions" too "asiatic"--i.e., too Oriental--for Christian France, perhaps because he observed that Jews had not been able to shake their pariah status (see Chapter 3, pp. 166-67).

According to Bernhard Blumenkranz, the progression of Jewish assimilation in France gradually resulted in "une certaine déjudaïsation," particularly with the changes encouraged and effected by the Consistoires of France, including the Consistoire Central de Paris.[118] Faced with a society that did not fully embrace them and sharply curtailed their ambitions under the Restoration, many young Parisian Jews moved away from traditional Judaism. Some even became apostate, although conversions never reached epidemic proportions as in Germany from 1820 to 1848, despite the fact that apostasy was widely promoted by the Church.[119] The Saint-Simonian Gustave d'Eichthal converted to Christianity in 1817, an action that coordinated with the family's name change from Seligmann to d'Eichthal. Yet, in a letter written c. 1836, d'Eichthal insisted that even after his conversion he never stopped thinking of himself as Jewish:

> [...] vous savez que je suis né Juif et les souvenirs de mon enfance, surtout de la famille de mes grands parents, m'ont inspiré un attachement profond à la Race de mes pères, attachement qui non

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[118]*Histoire des Juifs en France* (Paris: Edouard Privat, 1972), 305.

[119]Girard, *Les Juifs de France de 1789 à 1860*, 156. *L'Univers religieux* celebrated in its pages the conversion of Jews, as well as Protestants, to the Catholic faith. See, e.g., "Nouvelles religieuses," *L'Univers religieux*, 3[e] année, No. 358 (1 January 1835); Nouvelles religieuses," *L'Univers religieux*, 3[e] année, No. 368 (14 January 1835).

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> seulement s'est concilié, mais n'a pas cessé de croître avec ma foi chrétienne.[120]

Some Jews (including Léon Halévy) intermarried with Christians, although Judeo-Christian intermarriage was relatively rare in France in the 19th century, suggesting that the Rachel-Léopold romance may have indeed carried more than the taboo of the opera's time period. But it undoubtedly retained some element of its Revolutionary value as a symbol of a new age of brotherhood and equality: for the first time during the Revolution, a Jew was not required to convert in order to marry a Christian.[121] According to Szajkowski, both supporters and opponents of Jewish emancipation had promoted intermarriage; missionaries saw it as one means of obtaining conversions.[122] During this period voluntary conversions occurred, some as a result of missionary propaganda, but there were often involuntary conversions of Jewish children.[123]

It appears that intermarriage remained a complex issue in the early 19th century for both Jewish and Christian communities, one that hinged on the question of retention of Jewish identity and Jewish practices. The Sanhédrin of 1807, in response

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[120]ARS, Ms. 14393/5, 1[v]: "[...] you know that I was born a Jew and that the memories of my childhood, especially of the family of my grandparents, inspired in me a deep attachment to the race of my fathers, an attachment which not only absorbed me, but did not stop growing with my Christian faith."

[121]Zosa Szajkowski, "Marriages, Mixed Marriages and Conversions among French Jews during the Revolution of 1789," *Jews and the French Revolution of 1789*, 834.

[122]*Ibid.*

[123]*Ibid.*, 840.

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to Napoleon's demand for a ruling on intermarriage, declared that the Jewish partner of a mixed marriage would remain Jewish, but refused to encourage such a union.[124] The rabbis stated somewhat evasively that "ils ne seraient pas plus disposés à bénir le mariage d'une Chrétienne avec un Juif ou d'une Juive avec un chrétien que les prêtres catholiques ne seraient disposés à bénir de telles unions."[125] The majority of French Jews seem to have remained opposed to the practice; in Paris, from 1808 to 1860, mixed marriages represented only six percent of Jewish alliances.[126] Among the many plays about marriage and divorce on the French stage of the 1820s and 1830s, one *vaudeville* of 1838, *Sara la Juive*, concludes with the title character deciding against marrying her Christian lover, after dreaming that her father was damning her; she instead marries her Jewish cousin.[127] This ending parallels that in *La Juive* in social terms, since both move the Jewish character away from this manner of assimilation.

The ambiguities in Rachel's religious characterization, the tug between her Christian and Jewish sides symbolized in the struggle between her two fathers over her love and in her attraction to both, undoubtedly struck at the ambivalence about Jewish status and identity in both the Christian and Jewish communities. In Éléazar,

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[124]Girard, *Les Juifs*, 135: "they were not more disposed to bless the marriage of a Christian with a Jew or a Jewess with a Christian than the Catholic priests would be disposed to bless such unions."

[125]*Ibid.*

[126]*Ibid.*, 104.

[127]David-Owen Evans, *Le Drame moderne*, 113.

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to whom the composer himself referred as "fanatique,"[128] was the old Orthodoxy that both enlightened Jews and Christians rejected, but in him also resonated the history of pain and persecution, whose vestiges still remained. In Rachel was the new, reformed Jew, an *Israélite*, who adopts Christianate, occidental ways, without giving up the faith in which she was raised.

****

It is in these broad contexts of societal attitudes that the multiple layers of meaning in *La Juive*'s treatment of religious conflict and Jewish characterizations can best be appreciated. Within these contexts, the opera's controversial and paradoxical messages, which undoubtedly touched the consciences of audiences, can be more fully understood than if viewed strictly in terms of literary and theatrical traditions. Clearly, the social-religious characterizations of Rachel, but particularly Éléazar, pierced the heart of longstanding paradoxes involving the simultaneous acceptance and rejection of Jews in French society. As these contemporary discussions attest, the use of Jewish stereotypes in the midst of an ideologically liberal, anti-clerical opera was not an anomaly, but a true reflection of contradictions within the society at large, as well as within the minds of *La Juive*'s authors. The assimilationist message embodied in the use of these stereotypes, that "unenlightened" Jewish practices produce a destructive social and political separation, strikes a rapport with the work's anti-authoritarian attack on intolerance that leads to political and religious oppression. In *La Juive*'s historical and metaphorical use of the Council's tribunal, in its portrayals

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[128]Fromental Halévy, *Derniers souvenirs*, 167.

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of and allusions to antagonisms among Jews, Catholics, and Protestants, Voltairian themes resounded, reminding its audiences that through intolerance, fanaticism, and despotism lay a continuation of the follies of the past; only through tolerance and individual freedom could there be a turn toward a new, more just society.

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EPILOGUE

La Juive was clearly a work imbued with liberal ideologies of the 1830s in France, even touching on their contradictions, and reflective of a complex of social attitudes, fears, and biases. With its attack on oppression and bigotry, it fit the Opéra administration's desire for controversial subjects that would resonate vibrantly with the public, fulfilling Véron's (and Scribe's) criteria for a "very dramatic plot" that engaged "the grand passions of the human heart and powerful historical interests."[129] Its conscience-raising topic, at the same time, exemplified the Saint-Simonian desire of the Halévys and Nourrit to address (as Léon articulated) the "imagination and emotions" of man and to have "an electric and victorious effect" on the education and moral uplift of society.

Despite Scribe's denial, in his 1836 speech before the Academie française, that his dramas (mainly his *comédies*) held contemporary relevance, the opera illustrates Villemain's retort that Scribe was a historian in spite of himself.[130] In the sense that its attack was most obviously directed at symbols of institutions debilitated under the July Monarchy, the Church, and the Bourbon regime, Scribe's comments about the theater representing the inverse of the reigning political reality bears some truth. Yet, as the government of Louis-Philippe began to take on more authoritarian tones,

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[129]Véron, *Mémoires*, III, 181.

[130]See discussion of Scribe's speech and Villemain's reaction in Chapter 3, pp. 111-18.

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as the no-censorship promises of the 1830 Charter began to be threatened and even reversed, and a reconciliation with the Church was strengthening, it is likely that the anti-authoritarian elements of the opera's criticism were also addressed to the present regime. Moreover, the topicality of *La Juive* is clear in its reflection of social, cultural, and political ideas and attitudes prevalent in the 1830s, although Scribe himself may not have fully realized, or admitted, the contemporary truths contained in his creation.

The Halévys were undoubtedly more sensitive than the librettist to the opera's messages concerning the Jewish characters. Drawing from literary models and dramatic precedent, Scribe was at least abstractly drawn to using the Jews as symbolic representatives of institutional oppression, whereas the Halévys, as a natural outgrowth of their own Jewish experience, must have approached this tale of oppression from more personal vantage points. Fromental's powerful reaction to Scribe's initial relating of the plot speaks of personal affinity, especially if weighed against his ties to the Jewish community, his concern for the plight of Jews in Italy, and his family's literary activities focused on the amelioration of Jewish life. Léon's recounting of Jewish persecution and ill-treatment of the past and present illustrates a keen awareness that this aspect of Jewish experience had not completely ended in France, despite the granting of citizenship and the gains in legal equality. With such personal identification with *La Juive*'s plot, undoubtedly the Halévys viewed its focus on Jewish persecution and religious intolerance as both an illustration of their

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Enlightenment philosophy and an example of the use of the theater for the improvement of society.

The melding of Voltairian criticism and Saint-Simonian ideals about art as a vehicle of social power in the opera's ideological basis is sensed in two 1825 articles by Léon Halévy. In "Du mot littérateur" in the journal *L'Opinion*, he writes of the example that Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Rousseau had set in showing the strength and power of *littérature*.[131] In his introduction to the Saint-Simonian *Opinions littéraires, philosophiques et industrielles*, he writes passionately about the significance of the *philosophes*, in words that connect *La Juive* even more strongly to the Voltairian, and Saint-Simonian, thought:

> C'est, en effet, la littérature qui détermine l'action directe des sciences et des beaux-arts sur la multitude; elle met en contact avec les masses le savant et ses découvertes, le philosophe et ses conceptions, l'artiste et les produits de son talent. La littérature du dix-huitième siècle à la première senti sa mission; c'est du milieu d'elle, c'est de la bouche de Voltaire et de Rousseau, qui en furent les chefs, qu'est sorti ce premier cri, ce cri de marche, qui a mis en mouvement toute la puissance intellectuelle de la société, et qui a conduit l'esprit humain aux plus nobles et aux plus rapides conquêtes.[132]

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[131]Léon Halévy, "Du mot littérateur," *L'Opinion* I/9, (9 December 1825), 1.

[132]Halévy, *Opinions*, 23: "In essence, it is literature that determines the direct effect of the sciences and the fine arts on the populace; it puts the scholar and his discoveries, the philosopher and his ideas, the artist and the products of his talent in contact with the masses. Literature of the 18th century sensed its mission from the beginning; it is from this milieu, out of the mouth of Voltaire and Rousseau, who were its leaders, that this first cry, the marching cry, was heard, which put in motion all the intellectual power of society and which drove the human spirit toward the noblest and the swiftest conquests."

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The composer's work on *La Juive* marked a turning point in his career, moving him into the prestigious arena of composition for the Opéra and undoubtedly fulfilling a personal goal for this musician who had trained and taught at the Conservatoire from the age of ten. His colleague at the Conservatoire, composer Henri-Montan Berton (1770-1844), alluded to his ambitions, but perhaps also to a higher goal, in a note of tribute to commemorate Halévy's success with his first work at the Opéra:[133]

Cher Halévy! Marche à ton noble But!	Dear Halévy! March to your noble goal!
Le Pont des Arts conduit à l'Institut!	The Bridge of Arts leads to the Institute!
Viens t'arriver près de nous, et si l'on dit qui vive?	Come near us, and if one says, who lives?
Nous répondrons, La Juive!!!	We will answer, La Juive!!!

Clearly an important part of the "goal" or the "mission" of *La Juive* for both Halévys was the vivid representation of Jewish persecution. Although this study does not offer a definitive view about authorial responsibility, Halévy's treatment of the painful experiences of Éléazar and Rachel, evoked in the intensity of the powerful Christian hatred for the Jews, seems somewhat "subjective." It undoubtedly grew out of the composer's historical awareness as well as personal experiences in which he felt shunned and even reviled because of his Jewishness. Moreover, the reverent depiction of Éléazar as a devout Jew paradoxically set against his own expressions of bitter antagonism toward Christians (that extend from his devotion as well as the

[133]BN, "Lettres autographes," vol. IX, no. 53.

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persecution he has endured) must have touched and reflected Halévy's own ambivalent feelings towards Jews and Judaism.

The anger and frustration expressed by Léon Halévy in his second *Résumé* toward "Christian fanatics" (or, at least to "less enlightened Christians," who, he noted, were more common than true fanatics at the time of his writing), but also toward unchanging, intolerant Jews, reverberate in his brother's musical expression. Although Scribe originated the idea of Léopold disguising himself as a Jew, it is likely that Halévy personaliy identified with it. As a representative of the first generation of Jews to belong to the institutions of France, Halévy undoubtedly experienced moments in which he felt both observer and participant in Jewish life and religion, as suggested by his intimacy with the synagogue at the same time he portrayed himself, in his journal description of the seder in the Rome ghetto, as an outsider to Judaic practices. As expressed in the music of *La Juive*, Halévy related to the pain behind the bitterness and recalcitrance of Éléazar, but he was undoubtedly drawn to the deceptiveness of Samuel. As suggested by the "distance" Halévy assumed in his description of Jewish ghetto, instead of being a Christian disguised as Jew, Halévy probably felt at times the Jew posed as a Christian or non-Jew.

As the politically infused reviews of *La Juive* suggest, its liberal anti-clericai and anti-authoritarian views, along with the Jewish stereotypes and their literary bases, sparked many issues, concerns, and fascinations of French society. At the same time that reviewers tried to relate the stereotypes to the historical period being depicted, their topicality is clearly indicated by both pro-semitic and anti-semitic

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writings discussed above. More direct than these contemporary writings in suggesting that anti-semitism figured in the reception of *La Juive* is a parody of the opera that appeared a year after its premiere, not in Paris, but in Lyon. This work, *La Juive de Pantin, ou La Friture manquée*, described as a "folie en trois actes et en vers, mélée de couplets, imitée d'un opéra très sérieux" and performed at the Théâtre du Gymnase on 25 April 1836, answered Éléazar's Shylock with yet another variation of the stereotype of the Jewish miser. While the name of the title character (Rachel) is kept in the parody, Éléazar becomes "Balthazard" and is identified in the list of personages as "juif" and "marchand-fripier," an old-clothes dealer. Although an allusion to a common occupation among the poorer Jews of Europe, it is undoubtedly a denigrating one. With overt references to Balthazard's usury, and the transformation of Rachel's early rescue into a kidnapping, the parody's bias is clear. The comedy also satirizes the dual identity of Rachel, but avoids her death--la friture manquée.[134]

The later denigration of *La Juive* and its composer entailed in d'Indy's collective aspersions on grand opera resonates with one contemporary critic's attack on the opera with an appropriation of Ruggiero's famed quote. Although the writer seems to direct his criticism at the lavish *mise-en-scène*, the anti-semitic allusion cannot be missed as he writes that "one is tempted to cry, with Jesus, as translated by Scribe": "Suivons l'exemple/Du Dieu saint qui chassait tous les vendeurs du temple.

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[134]In the parody's final scene, Rachel says to Balthazard and Dugrognon, her Christian father, that she will be daughter to both, for "[u]n bon coeur n'est-il pas de toute religion?" However, she is not only going to marry her Christian lover, named Popold, but she is going to become Christian: the changes in plot are remarked on in Act II by Popold, who says, "c'est mieux qu'à l'Opéra." At the end of the final act, Rachel says to the audience ("au public") that, like another *juive* "not far from you," she does not want to "fry."

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Car ce lieu est le sanctuaire de l'art et vous en avez fait un dépôt de marchandises."[135]

The attitudes revealed in the creation and reception of *La Juive*, along with period writings broached in this study, offer only points of departure for exploring the effects anti-semitism (and other types of discriminatory behavior) may have had on the historiography of this opera and of grand opera in general. Future research on the performance history and reception of *La Juive* and other works of this genre will undoubtedly lead to a better understanding of this question. New examinations and interpretations of the operatic works of Scribe and Halévy under different socio-political circumstances are needed to give fuller insight into the ideological input of these authors. Because *La Juive* reverberates with the anti-clerical, anti-authoritarian overtones of many other grand operas, some of which have gone unmentioned in this dissertation, future studies of broader scope may offer intriguing connections to other works produced in France or to those significantly linked to French productions, including *Les Huguenots*, *Dom Sébastien*, *Don Carlos*, and *Nabucco*.

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[135]*Journal de Paris et des départemens* (22 March 1835), Leich-Galland, *Dossier*, 96: "Let us follow the example/of the holy Lord, who chased all the vendors from the temple. Because this place is the sanctuary of art and you have made it a warehouse of merchandise."

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APPENDIX A

Chronology of Relevant Historical Events

1791	27 Sept.	Emancipation of all Jews in France
1804	May Dec.	Proclamation of Empire Coronation of Napoleon
1806	Sept.	Convocation of the Grand Sanhédrin
1807	7 Feb.	Opening of the Grand Sanhédrin
1808	10 Nov.	Establishment of the Consistoire Central
1814	Jan. 31 March 6 April 4 June	Allied invasion of France Capitulation of Paris Abdication of Napoleon Restoration of Bourbons; Constitutional charter of Louis XVIII
1815	18 June 8 July	Waterloo Second Restoration White Terror in Midi
1817		Founding of *L'Israélite français*
1818		End of occupation of France Abrogation of "le décret infâme" concerning French Jews
1820	Feb.	Assassination of le duc de Berry Recall of Richelieu
1821	 Dec.	Death of Napoleon Revolutionary action of Carbonari Fall of second Richelieu ministry; Ultras take over government
1824	Sept.	Death of Louis XVIII; succession of Charles X
1825	 May	Law against sacrilege Death of Saint-Simon; founding of Saint-Simonian movement Léon Halévy's *Résumé de l'histoire des juifs anciens* Coronation of Charles X at Reims

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1827	Dec.	Victor Hugo's *Cromwell* Fall of Villèle ministry
1828	Jan.	Establishment of Martignac ministry Léon Halévy's *Résume de l'histoire des juifs modernes*
1829	Aug.	Charles X establishes Polignac ministry
1830	June July 25 July 28-30 July	Victor Hugo's *Hernani* Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique* Elections Capture of Algeria Four Ordinances Revolution of 1830 in Paris Abdication of Charles
1831	Feb. Mar.	Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris* Anti-clerical riots Casimir-Périer ministry Beginning of cholera epidemic
1832		Death of Casimir-Périer
1834		Revolt in Lyons
1835	23 Feb. July	Premiere of *La Juive* Attempt on Louis-Philippe's life; Fieschi bomb plot
1840	Jan.	Founding of *Les Archives israélites* Reburial of Napoleon in the Invalides Ministry of Thiers
1842		Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris* Death of le duc d'Orléans Beginning of railway mania
1844	Apr.	Founding of *L'Univers israélite*
1847	23 Feb.	Revolution in Paris Resignation of Guizot
1848	24 Feb.	Abdication of Louis-Philippe Provisional government set up Proclamation of universal suffrage Abolition of slavery

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APPENDIX B

Basic Stages of Creation and First Production of *La Juive*

c. Dec. 1832-early 1833	Sketch of plot outline in Scribe *carnet*
25 Aug. 1833	Contract for libretto of *La Juive* between Véron and Scribe
1 Sept. 1833	Date stipulated in contract for Scribe "to read" the first act to Véron
15 Sept. 1833	Date stipulated in contract for Scribe "to read" the second act to Véron
16 Sept. 1833	Scribe begins work on draft verse of Act III (BN, n.a.fr. 22562)
21 Sept. 1833	Scribe begins work on draft verse of Act III, Scene v (BN, n.a.fr. 22562)
15 Oct. 1833	Date stipulated in contract for Scribe "to read" the last three acts to Véron
Jan. 1834	Date in Leborne's *registre* indicating the beginning of copying of performing parts
July 1834	Date of itemized records for costumes and staging materials (AN, AJ[13]202); rehearsals probably underway
13/14 July 1834	Dates of payments to Halévy from Schlesinger for full score and piano-vocal score, respectively, suggesting completion of first-draft musical score (total sale price for both scores = 15,000 francs)
17 Aug. 1834	Last acts in rehearsal, as reported in *Gazette musicale de Paris*
late Nov.-early Dec. 1834	Beginning of *répétitions générales*
9 Dec. 1834	Fifth *répétition générale*
11 Jan. 1835	*Gazette musicale de Paris* reports that Acts I-III are in rehearsal

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mid-Jan. 1835	Projected date of premiere, as reported in *Revue musicale* (28 Dec. 1834)
1 Feb. 1835	Acts IV-V back in rehearsal "au quatuor"
12 Feb. 1835	Rehearsal of Acts I & III with scenery and costumes
16 Feb. 1835	*Répétition générale* of Act V with costumes
18 Feb. 1835	Scheduled premiere; postponed
23 Feb. 1835	Premiere of *La Juive*
28 Feb. 1835	Report in *Le Moniteur universel* of sale of score to Schlesinger for 30,000 francs
9 Aug. 1835	Advertisement for sale of Schlesinger full score in *Gazette musicale de Paris*
Sept. 1835	Copying of overture performing parts
16 Oct. 1835	First performance of overture, as reported in *Gazette musicale de Paris* (11 Oct. 1835)

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APPENDIX C

Excerpt from Journal of Fromental Halévy, 1821-22 (BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 14349, fol. 8^{v}-14^{r})

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J'étais donc sur le point de quitter Rome, lorsque un jour, voulant aller au Capitole, je me égarai dans des petites rues près le Palais de Venise; en voulant retrouver mon chemin, je me égarai de plus en plus, tout à coup je me trouve au milieu d'un marché assez sale; devant moi, j'avais une grande porte devant la quelle était un petit soldat, j'entre, je demande où je suis, on me répond que je suis dans le ghetto; qu'est ce que le ghetto? c'est le quartier des Juifs — des Juifs?! — oui, ils habitent cette enceinte, ont leurs maisons sous leur, ne doivent sortir que pour aller aux boutiques de cette petite place, cette maison que vous voyez entourée de murs est une des entrées renfermant deux de leurs temples.

Ce mot m'a piqué ma curiosité, je savais bien qu'il existait des Juifs à Rome, mais comme jusque là rien ne m'engageait à porter mes intérêts à cette malheureuse race, je n'avais pas cherché aucune information, je résolus de profiter

Le palais de St Jean de Latran sur l'Aventin appartient à plusieurs mais comme chanoine Doyen, il était Comte et Prince et [illegible] jouissait aussi de grands droits. Il était un nouveau trône où l'ancien trône était tombé, la grande chaise à la grande messe; enfin dans le royaume il était par excellence le monde, salue-moi Rome à son [illegible] environnement; les rois tremblent en [illegible] devant lui; du fond du Nord entier, un manteau obscur sur la neige hardie, elle retentit sur toute la terre, [illegible] le second empire romain chancelle; des pensées antiques, des naissances de nouveau, elles inondent toutes les contrées, et maintenant, sur le penchant de sa ruine, on espère relever le trône de la Justice et du Droit de la Civilisation prochaine, on bientôt nous verrons le second Augustulus.

(Rome)

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De l'avantissement que me donnait
Schagard, en d'établir en ma faveur les mêmes
Droits en retour des Juifs établis & la
manière dont on les traitait dans la
Capitale du monde chrétien.

J'entrai dans dans la maison indiquée
Mais on m'avait indiqué comme étant leur
temple. je montai dans un étroit escalier
et je me trouvai dans une synagogue assez belle
d'ailleurs.

Quand la synagogue était éclairée. beaucoup
de Juifs y étaient rassemblés. Un
profond silence regnait dans l'assemblée. Tous
les hommes d'une espèce d'aube la tête couverte
d'un petit bonnet, la tête couverte
d'un petit bonnet, la tête couverte
d'un petit bonnet,

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J'occupai ma proposition avec reconnaissance: cette
attention [illegible] étrangère, lui dis-je, augmenta
pour lui ma joie religieuse — alors la fête me
quitta pour entourer de la prière, et mes yeux se fixèrent
sur la lettre qui me restait pour jeter un coup d'œil
sur la synagogue.

J'étais assis en face la porte, à ma droite,
je trouvais un tabernacle couvert d'une riche Soie
et couvert d'ornements. Un homme auprès duquel j'étais
placé, voyant que je regardais avec attention tout ceci:
Ce tabernacle renferme les saintes Livres de la loi
de Sona écrite sur deux tables, entourées de deux
portes d'aiguilles, [illegible] comme j'aimais
les anciens ... — vous avez connu tous les usages de
nos prières, lui dis-je — il me dit — la tradition
est constante mais nous empêche d'obtenir nos
contumats. — [illegible] lui demandai: à quoi sert
cette espèce de chaire placée à l'autre extrémité
du temple, en face le tabernacle, et à la quelle
on arrive par deux escaliers latéraux? — il me
répondit qu'on fait à haute voix

la lecture des livres saints: on [illegible] le tabernacle on les porte processionnellement au bout du temple; [illegible] et lorsque les porteurs qui les portent sont arrivés au haut de cette chaire, on les déroule, et on fait au peuple la lecture pour demain vous pourrez voir cette cérémonie. Pendant ce moi je m'occupai à regarder les bas reliefs qui entourent la synagogue d'un deux représentant la triomphe de Jérusalem, j'ajoutai, les [illegible] de sa double victoire.

Je remarquai aussi que les femmes étaient placées derrière une balustrade grillée qui les [illegible] et assez élevé, en de là elles assistaient à la prière sans être vues.

L'office finit alors. mon hôte, qui m'avait oublié le voile pour il était convenu, s'approcha de moi pour la prière du soir, me dit-il, je vous attends. — Je me levai et le suivis.

Vous allez passer par des rues bien sales, me dit-il, mais nous sommes plus ici à Jérusalem, répondit-il en souriant; nous sommes chez un peuple qui nous hait — effectivement, nous nous trouvions dans d'étroites portes

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Dofilés qui ne missitent pour Lanon de Mus. Les
Maisons petites, basses, en mot éclairées, étaient
remplies de femmes, d'enfans, dont les vêtemens allestoient
la misère. Cependant, ils étoient revêtus de leurs
beaux habits pour la fête de Bonnuth.

Lorsque nous avions traversé quelques rues,
nous arrivâmes à la maison de mon hôte qui lui était
mon hôte. L'extérieur en était sale et infame. L'escalier
étroit et tortueux, mais je fus surpris en entrant
dans l'appartement de trouver une propreté assez
élégante. Mais cette propreté et bonne odeur qui régnoient
dans la chambre dans laquelle nous nous trouvions me firent
quelque chose d'étranger en semblable appartement à
d'autres tems, d'autres mœurs, une autre vie. Les
La chambre était éclairée par une lampe à plusieurs
branches suspendue au plafond. Cette disposition
me rappela aussitôt celles que j'avois vues
à Rome, et semble appartenir particulièrement
aux usages des Israélites. Je fus au fond des petites
idées sur l'accomodement des juifs et les hébreiques.
J'en demandai l'explication à mon hôte:
Ce garçon, voyez ici, me répondit-il, signifie:
La crainte de Dieu est le commencement
de la sagesse: en Hébreu de l'autre sorte il y a

Ecoute, Israël, le Seigneur notre Dieu est un Dieu
unique. Je remarquai ensuite à cette porte
un petit coffret de fer blanc attaché à une
certaine hauteur; mon hôte me dit que c'était
la mezuzah, ce qui signifie un coffret contenant
des passages de la bible.

La table était dressée au milieu de la chambre,
mais la serviette était couverte d'une grande
pièce de soie brodée très-richement. Aux milieu
et aux quatre angles se trouvoient encore des
passages sacrés, brodés en or. Mon hôte me fit
donner également de l'application, mais comme
je négligeai de l'écrire sur mon livre de
notes, j'en totalement perdu le souvenir.

Alors la famille de mon hôte visita de
la chambre voisine. Il me présenta sa mère,
sa femme, ses cinq enfans. Il me fit remarquer
que la plupart des israélites ont beaucoup
de famille et que généralement, il semble que la
fécondité soit accompagne de la
misère. Cependant cette inflexion ne saurait
s'appliquer à mon hôte, car la

Dans le quel nous nous trouvions les ostensions, ceux de sa famille. Semblablement j'ai dit que j'avois eu au moins d'une honnête accueil

M.r Mathar (c'étoit son nom) dit à sa mère et à sa femme : M.r est un étranger que j'ai trouvé dans le temple, il m'a témoigné le désir de connoître nos usages, il a bien voulu accepter mon invitation, et il assistera ce soir à nos fêtes. Mme Mathar répondit par un de ces mots, tirés de l'Ecriture, à entendre partout, en disant à son mari, nous annonce qu'il allait commencer le jeûne.

On leva le voile de dessus la table. Au milieu de la table se trouvoient plusieurs gâteaux, sur lesquels j'ai vu, en forme d'une quantité de trous. Voici la façon, me dit mon hôte en me présentant un de ces gâteaux, qu'il avoit eu soin de choisir. Nous avons eu soin de manger en commémoration du passage des enfants d'Israël dans le désert l'agneau pascal, pour augmenter l'appétit, nous avons fait de farine d'orge, sans levain, une pâte laquelle on a mis quelques jours d'avance, j'ai trouvé le goût assez agréable.

Après le repas, nous nous mîmes sur la table une corbeille dans laquelle se trouvoient [illegible] un morceau de mouton rôti, des laitues amères, du vinaigre, et une espèce de confiture de fruits. Mon hôte, qui j'avois soin avoit un engagement éclairé, engagé l'assemblée par le voyage, (car je me souviens maintenant qu'il m'avoit dit qu'il avoit voyagé en France en Angleterre), mon hôte donna le signal. Ces préparatifs, nécessaires à nos cérémonies doivent me paroître bien bizarres, mais nous nous sommes mis à manger. Mais vous savez sans doute que nos fêtes, comme toutes les fêtes de tous les peuples, n'ont été instituées que pour perpétuer le souvenir d'événements mémorables, notables législateurs, pour atteindre leur but, a donc été obligé de multiplier les symboles. Il n'avoit d'ailleurs à nous, à qui cette manière de voyager leur étoit familière. Tous ces objets dans la première journée paroîtront ridicules ou même sans allégorique on doit se rappeler aux israélites leur délivrance de l'Egypte. Ils en leur sortie de l'Egypte.

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Il m'expliqua alors que l'on avait commencé à manger à chacun des objets qui se trouvaient sur la table. Alors, ajouta-t-il, c'est pour cette pratique qui semblera minutieuse, que la religion juive doit sa conservation, car les Juifs, n'ayant jamais cessé depuis des siècles, sans exception aucune, de s'asseoir pour manger autour d'une table, pratique semblable (Ken

Alors M. Mathias arrive de suite à table, entouré de sa famille, et commence la soirée. Il lut à haute voix la haggada (c'est la relation ainsi que les Juifs racontent leur délivrance d'Egypte) en s'interrompant de temps en temps pour distribuer aux assistants soit des petits gâteaux aimés, soit du poisson, soit du pain azyme, soit encore des herbes amères. Dans le vinaigre pour du pain azyme, soit encore

A la lecture finie, on servit le souper:

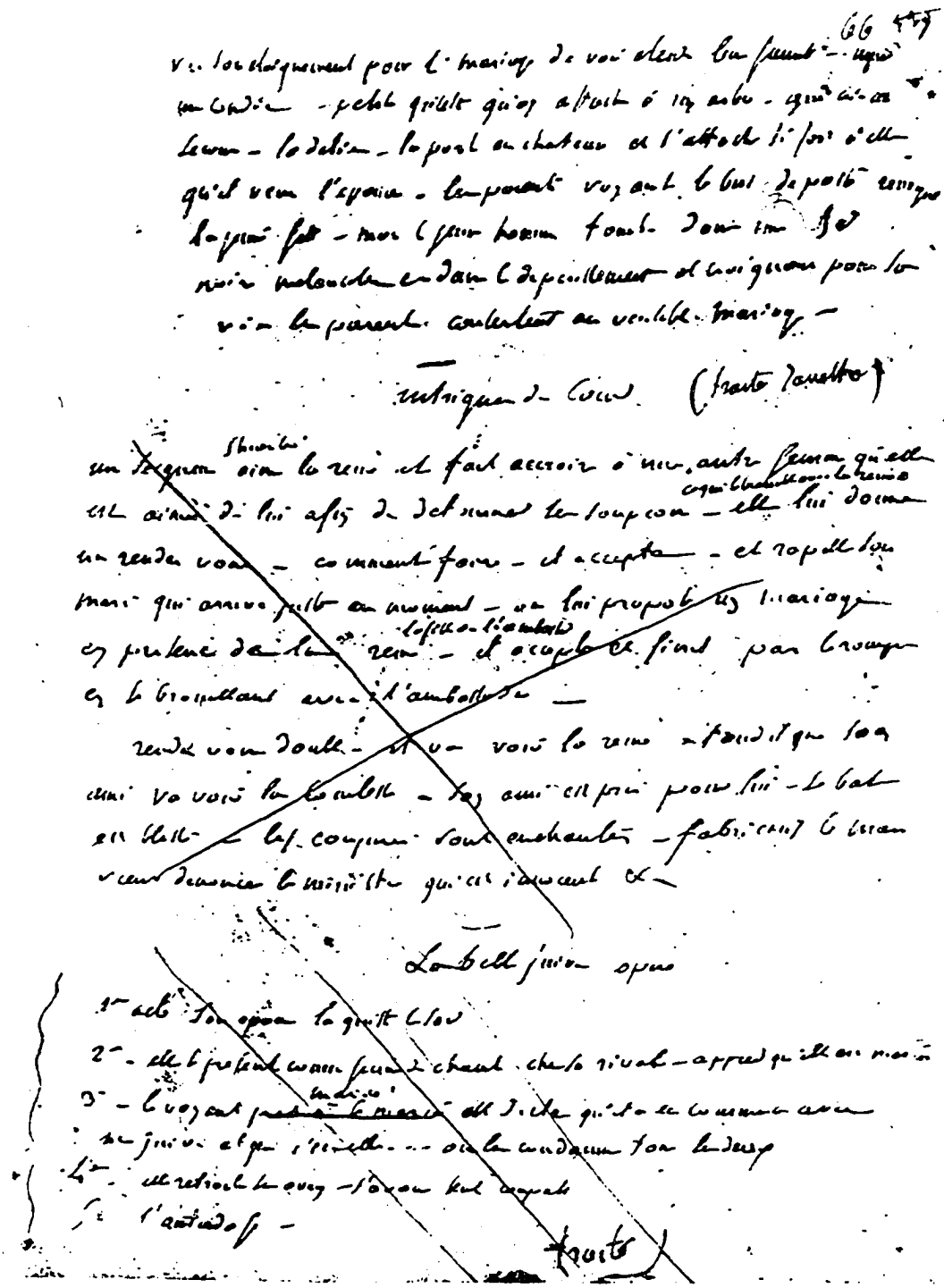
pendant le souper mon hôte m'interrogea sur la tolérance qu'accordait aux juifs le gouvernement romain — Vous voyez comme on nous traite, me dit-il, en me montrant le quartier que nous habitons, et vous vous pouvez juger par les rues que vous avez traversées avec moi si on nous encaisse — nous ne pouvons franchir — nous sommes moins misérables que nos ancêtres, me répondit-il, mais notre sort est toujours bien triste. nous ne pouvons habiter hors de ce quartier, seulement ouvrir que la Romaine nommée ghetto, seulement on nous a accordé la permission d'établir nos magasins dans les rues adjacentes. nous ne pouvons exercer aucune profession industrielle, a

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APPENDIX D

Page from *Carnet* of Eugène Scribe, 1812-33
(BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22584, vol. 8, 66)

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APPENDIX E

Initial Pages from Draft Scenario of *La Juive*
by Eugène Scribe, c. January-August 1833
(BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22502/2°, 1-2)

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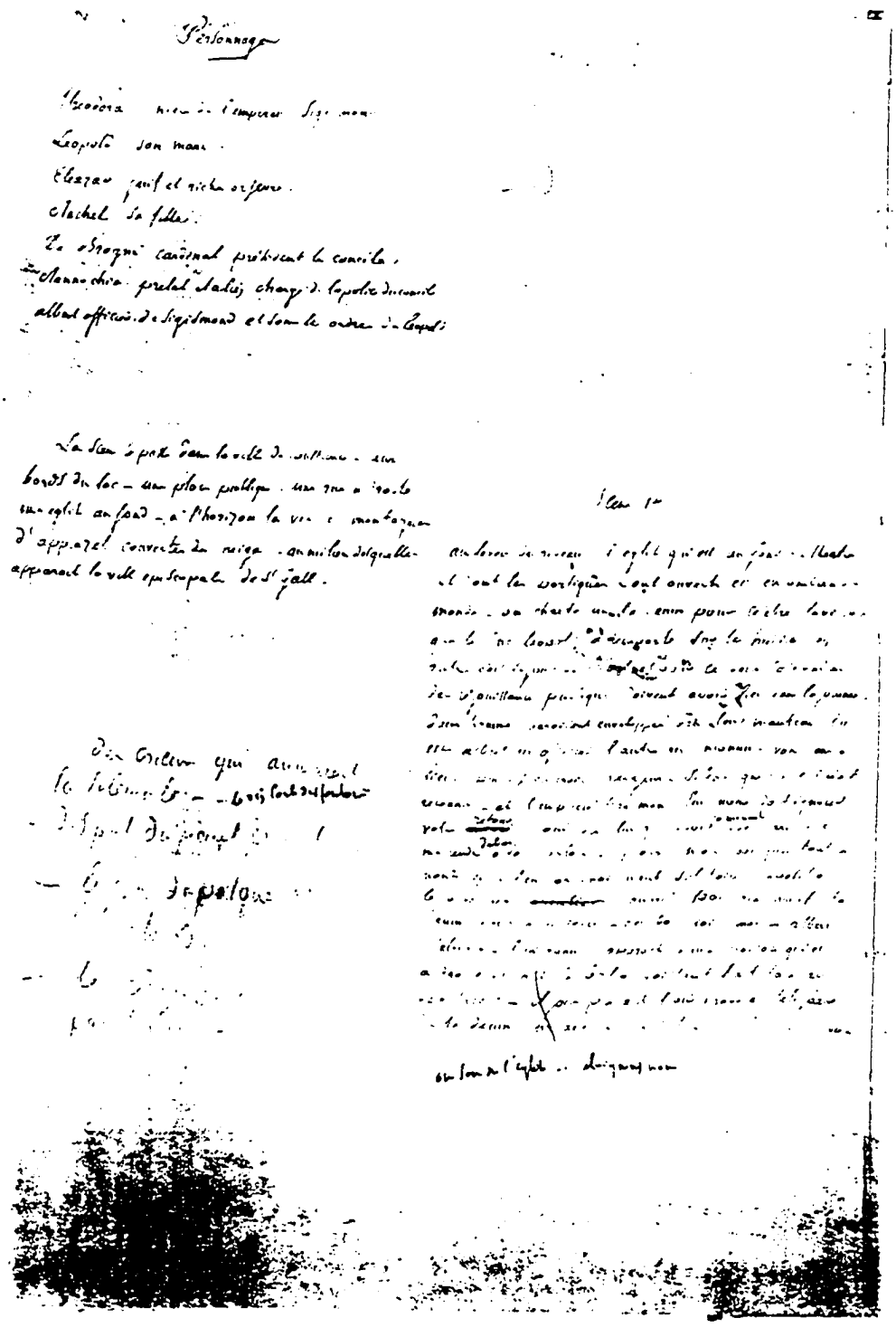
Cédit la juive -

ou

L'auto-da-fé

Le concile de Constance le plus nombreux qui ait
soit jamais assemblé fit montre de son origine plus
d'éclat et de magnificence - Le chef de l'empire,
l'empereur Sigismond que l'on venait de couronner
à Aix-la-chapelle -, se rendit à Constance pour assister
au concile - Il avait amené avec lui le cardinal
allemand de Brogny prélat vénéré dans toute la
chrétienté - toute l'Europe prenait d'autant plus
d'intérêt aux actes de ce concile que chacun était
convaincu de la nécessité de mettre fin au schisme
qui déchirait l'église en trois papes et la faisait
déshonorer l'autorité suprême - de princes
illustres avec des suites brillantes le pressèrent aux
innombrables ecclésiastiques de tout rang, de
docteurs et de maîtres en droit d'une foule
immense de peuple et de marchands [illegible]
attirés par la curiosité ou l'esprit des
spéculations - un grand objet d'intérêt était le jugement
de Jean Huss arrêté et traduit devant le concile et
l'on allait examiner sa doctrine pendant que
ses partisans commençaient dans le nord de l'Allemagne
déjà à s'insurger et à ravager l'Allemagne -
le Duc Léopold qui avait dépouillé une nièce de
l'empereur Sigismond avait été envoyé contre lui
et avait remporté une victoire signalée sur mer
on annonce l'arrivée [illegible] de Jean Huss
[illegible]

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APPENDIX F

Contract for Libretto of *La Juive* between Eugène Scribe and Louis Véron, 25 August 1833 (BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22839)

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Layard

25 août 1835.

1433

Académie Royale de Musique.

Paris, le

276

Entre les soussignés.

Jouvin, Désiré, Véron, Directeur-Administrateur de l'Académie Royale de Musique, demeurant à Paris, rue Pinon, N°8, d'une part;

Et M. Eugène, Scribe, homme de lettres, demeurant à Paris, rue Neuve St. Georges, N°8; d'autre part;

A été convenu ce qui suit:

Article 1er

M. Scribe s'engage à composer, ~~sous la forme de~~ le scénario d'un opéra en cinq actes intitulé: La Juive, dont il a donné la plan à M. Véron qui l'a adopté et le signé. M. Scribe livrera le premier acte le premier septembre, le second, le quinze du même mois, et le troisième acte le quinze octobre prochain.

Art. 2

M. Véron s'engage à payer à M. Scribe à titre de prime, et en outre des droits d'auteur fixés par les règlements ordinaires, une somme de Cinq mille francs payable, savoir: Deux mille cinq cents francs au moment où M. Scribe lui remettra les cinq actes du dit opéra, et Deux mille cinq cents francs le premier mars mil huit cent trente quatre, que le dit opéra ait été

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représenté ou mis à celle époque; mais que M. Véron se réserve de faire jouer le dit ouvrage quand bon lui semblera.

Art. 3.

En outre, et à chaque représentation du dit opéra, M. Scribe jouira d'une loge de troisième rang de face de scène, et il aura le droit de donner chez un négociant deux billets de deux places chacune où bon lui semblera à compter dans les places louées d'avance.

Art. 4.

Dans le cas, de la part de M. Véron, d'inexécution à son bail ou à son cahier des charges, il sera à faire exécuter les dites conditions par son successeur et le cédant, son bail avant le 1er mars 1854, il pourra à M. Scribe, avant son départ, les deux mille cinq cents francs, restant dûs sur la somme de cinquante mille francs.

Art. 5.

Dans le cas où M. Scribe prendrait part dans les cinquante du dit opéra de quatre cents billets pour il consent à payer à M. Véron une somme de trois mille francs, sauf le cas de mort ou de grave maladie par lui dûment constatés.

Fait double à Paris le 25 Juin 18[illegible]

Approuvé l'écriture ci-dessus

Véron.

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APPENDIX F-1

Transcription and Translation of Contract between Louis Véron and Eugène Scribe for Libretto of *La Juive*, 25 August 1833 (BN-Mss.: n.a.fr. 22839)

25 août 1833

Académie Royale de Musique

Entre les soussignés.

Louis, Désiré, Véron, Directeur et entrepreneur de l'Académie Royale de Musique, demeurant à Paris, rue Pinon, N° 8, d'une part;

Et M. Eugène, Scribe, homme de lettres, demeurant à Paris, rue Olivier S^{t}. Georges, N° 8, d'autre part;

A éré convenu ce qui suit:

Article 1er.

M. Scribe s'engage à composer* les paroles d'un opéra en cinq actes intitulé La Juive, dont il a soumis le plan à M. Véron qui l'adopte et le reçoit. M. Scribe lira le premier acte le premier Septembre, le second, le quinze du même mois, et les trois derniers actes le quinze Octobre prochain.

Art^{e}. 2.

M. Véron s'engage à payer à M. Scribe à titre de prime, et en outre des droits d'auteur fixés par les réglements ordinaires, une somme de cinq mille francs payable, savoir: Deux mille cinq cents francs au moment où M. Scribe lui remettra les cinq actes du dit opéra, et deux mille cinq cents francs le premier mars mil huit cent trente quatre, que le dit opéra ait été représenté ou non à cette époque; vû que M. Véron est le maître de faire jouer le dit ouvrage quand bon lui semblera.

Art^{e}. 3.

En outre, et à chaque représentation du dit opéra, M. Scribe jouira d'une loge de troisième de face de six places et il aura le droit

* crossed-through phrase follows in original: "dans l'espace de deux mois à dater de ce jour"

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de donner sur sa signature deux billets de deux places chacun où bon lui semblera excepté dans les places louées d'avance.

Artᵉ. 4.

Dans le cas, de la part de M. Véron, d'une cession ou renonciation à son bail ou à son entreprise, il s'engage à faire éxécuter les dites conditions par son successeur et s'il cédait son bail avant le 1ᵉʳ Mars 1834, il paieraît à M. Scribe, avant son départ, les deux mille cinq cents restant dûs sur la prime de cinq mille francs.

Artᵉ. 5.

Dans le cas où M. Scribe n'aurait pas terminé les cinq actes du dit opéra le quinze Octobre prochain, il consent à payer à M. Véron un dédit de trois mille francs, sauf le cas de maladie grave constatée par les médecins.

fait double à Paris le 25 Août 1833

dix mots rayé nuls

approuvé l'écriture ci dessus

/s/ Véron

/s/ Scribe

---

25 August 1833

Royal Academy of Music

Between the undersigned.

Louis Désiré Véron, Director and Entrepreneur of the Royal Academy of Music, residing in Paris, rue Pinon, N° 8, as the first party;

And M. Eugène Scribe, man of letters, residing in Paris, rue Olivier Sᵗ. Georges, N° 8, as the second;

Have agreed to the following:

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Article 1.

M. Scribe is contracted to write* the words of an opera in five acts entitled La Juive, for which he has submitted the scenario to M. Véron, who adopts it and approves it. M. Scribe will read the first act on 1 September, the second, on the fifteenth of the same month, and the last three acts on the fifteenth of next October.

Art^e^. 2.

M. Véron is contracted to pay to M. Scribe as a bonus, in addition to the royalties fixed by the rules, a sum of five thousand francs payable, as follows: two thousand five hundred francs at the moment when M. Scribe submits to him the five acts of said opera, and two thousand five hundred francs on 1 March eighteen hundred and thirty-four, whether the said opera has been performed or not by this period; seeing that M. Véron is the master to perform the said work when he thinks best.

Art^e^. 3.

Furthermore, for each performance of the said opera, M. Scribe will have a six-seated box facing the stage on the third level and, with his signature, he will have the right to give two tickets of two seats each wherever he wishes, except seats reserved in advance.

Art^e^. 4.

If M. Véron cedes or renounces his lease or his enterprise, he is contracted to have the said conditions executed by his successor, and if he cedes his lease before 1 March 1834, he will pay to M. Scribe, before his departure, the two thousand five hundred [francs] that remains due on the bonus of five thousand francs.

Art^e^. 5.

If M. Scribe does not finish the five acts of said opera on the fifteenth of October, he agrees to pay M. Véron a debt of three thousand francs, except in the case of serious illness confirmed by physicians.

* crossed-through phrase follows in original: "within two months of today's date"

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executed in duplicate in Paris on 25 August 1833

the ten words scored out are null

approve the above writing

/s/ Véron

/s/ Scribe

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APPENDIX G

Page from Draft Verse of *La Juive* ("Rachel")
by Eugène Scribe
(BN-Mss., n.a.fr. 22562, *Vade mecum*, 1833-36)

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9e. Acte

Acte 1er.

Le Dessin, Le Jardin Public

Chœur de travailleurs sur ce
ce bois, mondes du ciel
fins tuiles et la pauvreté
ciel honoré l'éclat.

Chœur de [illegible]
que [illegible]
gloire à gloire et l'éclat
et que sur chaque [illegible]
Dans [illegible]
rendons [illegible]
éclat. Haut jusqu'au ciel

[illegible]
nature.

Qu'elle est donc cette boutique
que Dieu nous a ouverte
ici un [illegible] ici
[illegible]
où nous [illegible]

ici celle d'une boutique
que Dieu de tout éclat a ornée

[illegible] que [illegible]
ouvre et un juste qui aura mérité
[illegible]

nous leur qui est offert.
aux [illegible]
obéissant [illegible] pour que

retour ici nous qui l'a regardé

par le Dieu d'Abraham y vivre de leur courage
et vous enfants à écouter vos

Chœur
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] de [illegible]
[illegible]

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APPENDIX H

Transcription and Translation of Records of Payments to Fromental Halévy from Maurice Schlesinger for the Musical Scores of *La Juive* (BO: Lettres autographes, Halévy folder)

Maurice Schlesinger, Edit[r] de Musique

97, rue Richelieu

Paris, le 13 Juillet 1834

Reçu de Monsieur Maurice Schlesinger la Somme de Six Cent francs à compte de mon Opéra La Juive dont je lui a rendu la Propriété [des] paroles et musique moyennant la Somme de Quinze mille francs

/s/ F. Halévy

Reçu de Monsieur Maurice Schlesinger la Somme de Deux mille francs en 2 Effets chacun de mille francs payable
le 1[er] fin Novembre 1000 fr
le 2[ème] de 10 Janvier 1000
2000

à compte de mon Opéra La Juive, dont je lui ai vendu la Propriété des paroles et de la musique moyennant la Somme de Quinze mille francs. Il est bien entendu que si par circonstance de force majeure ou autre l'opéra ne serait pas représenté a cette époque, je rendrai l'argent reçu de M[r] Schlesinger.

Paris le 13 Juillet 1834

approuvé l'Ecriture ci dessus

/s/ F. Halévy

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Maurice Schlesinger, Edit[r] de Musique

97, rue Richelieu

Paris, 13 July 1834

[Received from Mr. Maurice Schlesinger the sum of six hundred francs for my opera La Juive of which I have sold to him the ownership of the words and music in return for the sum of fifteen thousand francs.

/s/ F. Halévy

Received from Mr. Maurice Schlesinger the sum of two thousand francs in two notes each of one thousand francs payable

the first the end of November	1000 fr.
the second the 10th of January	1000
	2000

for my opera La Juive, of which I have sold to him the ownership of the words and music in return for the sum of fifteen thousand francs. It is understood that if by circumstance of force majeure or if the opera will not be performed in this period, I will return the money received from Mr. Schlesinger.

Paris 13 July
1834

approve the above writing
/s/ F. Halévy

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Je reconnais avoir reçu de M[r] Maurice Schlesinger trois effets savoir

fr	1000.	payable fin Juillet
	500.	id. fin Septembre
	500.	id. fin Octobre
	2000	

laquelle somme il me paye pour divers accompagnement pour le Piano, que je lui ferai de mon Opera: La Juive qu'il m'a acheté.

Paris le 14 Juillet
1834

F. Halévy

[I also acknowledge I have received from Mr. Maurice Schlesinger three notes, as understood

fr	1000.	payable the end of July
	500.	id. the end of September
	500.	id. the end of October
	2000	

by which sum he pays me for various piano accompaniments that I will make for him from my opera, La Juive, that he has bought from me.]

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APPENDIX I

Libretto of *La Juive* by Eugène Scribe, 23 February 1835 (Paris: Maurice Schlesinger, 1835)

Title Page, List of Performers, Beginning of Act I

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PERSONNAGES.	ACTEURS.
LE JUIF ÉLÉAZAR.	MM. AD. NOURRIT.
(1) LE CARDINAL JEAN FRANÇOIS DE BROGNY, Président du Concile.	LEVASSEUR.
LEOPOLD, prince de l'empire	LAFONT.
RUGGIERO, grand Prévôt de la ville de Constance.	DARIDE.
ALBERT, SERGENT D'ARMES des Archers de l'Empereur. . . .	F. PRÉVOST.
HÉRAUT D'ARMES de l'Empereur	DÉRIS.
OFFICIER de l'Empereur.	PRÉVOST.
Homme du peuple.	MASSOL.
Idem.	F. PRÉVOST, AÎNÉ.
Facteur du Saint Office.	POUILLET.
MAÎTRE d'hôtel de l'Empereur.	HERS.
LA PRINCESSE EUDOXIE, nièce de l'Empereur	Mme DORUS GRAS.
RACHEL.	Mlle FALCON.

(1) Jean Allemand, connu sous le nom de cardinal de Brogny, né en 1342, était fils d'un paysan du village de Brogny à une lieue d'Annecy sur la route de Genève. Il était occupé à garder un troupeau lorsque des religieux qui allaient à Genève, et qui lui demandèrent le chemin, furent frappés de sa physionomie spirituelle et de son intelligence précoce. Ils lui proposèrent de les suivre en promettant de lui faciliter les moyens d'étudier, le jeune berger ne demanda pas mieux : son père y ajouta quelques écus d'or, et il entra dans un couvent de religieux à Genève, où il reçut avec tout le zèle que Bénédict XI se fit distinguer par ses talens. Quelque temps après un cardinal le détermina à le suivre à Avignon, pour continuer ses études sous de plus habiles professeurs. Il y apprit en outre à l'étude du droit canonique, fut reçu docteur et acquit bientôt une telle réputation, qu'on le consultait de toutes parts sur les difficultés les plus épineuses. Il parvint successivement à toutes les dignités de l'église évêque de Viviers, archevêque d'Arles, puis cardinal en 1383, Alexandre V le nomma chancelier de l'église en 1408. L'extinction du schisme et la réunion de l'autorité de l'église menacée en Allemagne par les nouvelles opinions des Hussites, étaient ce qui offrirait le plus le cardinal. Malgré son grand âge il se rendit à Constance au mois d'août de l'année 1414 pour s'y concerter avec les magistrats et les commissaires impériaux sur le terme du concile qui devait rendre la paix à l'église. Il le présida pendant quarante-huit jours et mit fin aux conférences avec l'empereur Sigismond, avec les princes et les prélats, etc.

Biographie Universelle, tom. 6, pag. 17

La musique de la Juive sera publiée incessamment, chez MAURICE SCHLESINGER.

EVERAT, IMPRIMEUR, RUE DU CADRAN, 16.

LA JUIVE,

OPÉRA EN CINQ ACTES,

PAROLES DE M. SCRIBE, MUSIQUE DE M. HALEVY,

DIVERTISSEMENS DE M. TAGLIONI;

Représenté, pour la première fois,
SUR LE THÉATRE DE L'ACADÉMIE ROYALE DE MUSIQUE,
le 23 février 1835.

PARIS.

MAURICE SCHLESINGER, ÉDITEUR.

JAN DARBA, LIBRAIRE, PALAIS ROYAL, DERRIÈRE LE THÉATRE-FRANÇAIS.

1835.

Lv 13 / 374

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CHANT.

ACTE PREMIER.

RÉCITANTS ET CHANTANTS.

MM. Colon, Godefroy, Berdoulat, Ducornay, Cléry, Bagnis, Emery 1er, Emery Sr, Doudelaine, Taillan, Bouchet, Goyon, Guignet, Georget, Dumoreau père, Plunkett, Colson, Allard, Dauger, Coignet, Bourreau, Pupil, Bernard, Tardif, Ferpeau, Ley, Mlles Clérd, Charpentier, Dumoreau jeune, Saint Denis, Gontier, Robin, Dorvry, Olon, Lebrunhardi, Léonard, Léocard, Delahorgne, Monsoreau.

FEMMES ET JEUNES GARÇONS.

Mmes Hervé, Laurent, Augusta, Blangi, Prévost, Dumont, Lagatta, Butteaud, Prochi, Odinon, Bourreau, Ingrand, Bochard, Hopkner, Bourrey, Ollivi, Mathilde, Villers, Célestin, Taillard, Pleasance, Barbier.

ACTE II.

PAGES.

MM Piccardat, Labonmont, Charpentier, Guignet, Pupils, Gagnon, Bourreau.

PAGES.

Mm Lavoine Prochi, Grumeaux, Bourreau, Ingrand.

ACTE III.

PEUPLE DE LA MAURE.

Mm Alexis Duguet, Rachel, Virginie, Prévenaud Prévot, Trefort, Pouillet, Charpentier Pupper

CAVALIERS

MM. Goyon, Georget, Goyon.

ESCLAVES DIVERS.

MM. Dorvaux, Bernard, Tardif, Ferpeau, Ley Clérd, Dumoreau jeune, Saint Denis, Gontier, Robin, Dorvry, Olon, Lebrunhardi, Léonard, Léocard, Delahorgne, Monsoreau.

DAME DE LA COUR DE L'EMPEREUR.

Mmes Hervé, Augusta, Prévost, Dumont, Ratelford, Prochi, Odinon, Riquetour, Bourreau Ollivi, Mathilde, Villers.

PAGES DE LA PRINCESSE.

Mmes Laurent, Lavoine, Celeste.

ACTE V.

PÉNITENTS.

MM Clérd, Bernard, Dauger, Delahorgne, Piccardat, Monsoreau, Charpentier, Léonard, Olon, Régnier Tardif, Saint Denis, Emery 1er, Emery Sr, Bourreau, Ducornay, Henri, Doudelaine, Godefroy Dorvry, Malhard, Berdoulat, Boucher, Guignet, Eppinger.

Mmes Hervé, Lavoine, Odinon, Prochi, Laurent, Blangi, Bourreau, Grumeaux, Ingrand, Baron, Beaulard, Villers.

DANSE.

ACTE I.

PEUPLE DE L'EMPEREUR, DU CARNAVAL ET DE DIFFÉRENTES RÉUNIONS DANSEURS SEULS

Mmes Petit, Angelina, Pupil Eugène, Lamporte, Florentine, Welch, Deberray 1re, Deberray 2e, Lemonnier, Ligny Renaud, Jouard, Lécarnu, Jouve, Martial, Léonard, Caroline, Marie, Popelin, Euphrasie Julia, Deberray 3e Herbert, Dumolière P. Baptiste, Lachaise, Grandemain, Garrison

ESCLAVES

MM. Mathieu, Simon.

Mm Lambert, L. Petit, Coraly, Jouvet, Schiffer, Mignot, Alexandre, Ch. Petit, Adrien, Millet, Guillard, Grumeaux.

PEUPLE D'ESCLAVES.

Mmes Monfleuri, Elie.

Mmes Pérot, Marcia, Guichard, Pitrot, Fils James 2e, Mignot, Carl, Forster, Fils James 3e, Milande, Albertine, Larchet.

ACTE III.

PRISONNIERS DE L'INFIDÈLE.

Mmes Adèle, Julia, Dupont, Lavoie, Duvernay, Ferdinand, Dumont, Jamin.

CHEVALIERS ESCLAVES.

M. Mathieu.

Messieurs Lenfant, H. Petit, Coraly, Jouvet, Schiffer, Mignot, Alexandre, Ch. Petit, Adrien, Millet, Guillard, Grumeaux.

PRISONNIERS ESCLAVES.

Mmes Monfleuri Pérot, Marcia, Guichard Pitrot, Fils James, Bousquet, Carl, Forster, Milande, Albertine, Larchet, Fils Jamin.

LA RECRUTEUSE ESCLAVE.

M. Cazot.

LE PAGE.

Mlle Elise.

DIEUX ET PRÊTRES POUR LE SERVICE DE L'EMPEREUR.

Messieurs Clément, Prévost, Lambert, Cartet, Mi

CÉLÉBRITÉS ET ARCHITECTES DE LA SUITE DU PERSONNAGE DU CONCILE.

Messieurs Duplessis, Grenier, Bagnis, Laferte, Begrand, Jamin.

DÉCORS.

Les décorations des premier, deuxième, quatrième et cinquième actes, sont de MM. J. Diéterle, Desplechin, Séchan et L. Feuchère; celles du troisième acte, de MM Feuchère et Cambon.

La Juive.

ACTE PREMIER.

Le théâtre représente un carrefour de la ville de Constance en 1414. A droite du spectateur le portail d'une église. A gauche, à l'angle d'une rue, la boutique d'un orfèvre juif. Fleurons - Soleurs.

SCÈNE Ire.

La cloche du clocher des portes de l'église sont ouvertes. Le peuple qui en a pu entrer dans l'intérieur est agenouillé sur les degrés du péristyle. La milice de la place, hommes et femmes se promènent à gauche et devant la boutique. Eléazar près de sa fille Rachel.

On entend dans l'église chanter le grand chœur : *Te Deum. Tendemus.*

INTRODUCTION.

CHŒUR DU PEUPLE à droite.

Hosanna! plaisir! ivresse!
Gloire, gloire à l'Eternel!
Et que nos chants d'allégresse
Retentissent jusqu'au ciel!

ELÉAZAR, à gauche, à ses ouvriers.

Amis, travaillez / travaillons sans cesse.
C'est bien mériter du ciel!
Fuir le vice et la paresse,
C'est honorer l'Eternel!

PLUSIEURS GENS DU PEUPLE, passant entre eux.

En ce jour de fête publique,
Quel est donc ce Juif qui l'on travaille encore!

D'AUTRES, leur répondant.

C'est celui d'un hérétique,
Que l'on dit tout cousu d'or!
Le Juif Eléazar!

RACHEL, à Eléazar.

Mon père, prenez garde,
Rentrons! c'est nous que l'on regarde!

ELÉAZAR.

Par le Dieu d'Abraham, je ris de leur courroux!
(A ses ouvriers.)
Et vous, enfans, m'entendez vous?

CHŒUR DU PEUPLE.

Hosanna! victoire! ivresse!
Gloire, gloire à l'Eternel!
Et que nos chants d'allégresse
Retentissent jusqu'au ciel!

ELÉAZAR.

Amis, travailler sans cesse,
C'est bien mériter du Ciel!
Fuir le vice et la paresse,
C'est honorer l'Eternel!

D'AUTRES GENS DU PEUPLE, regardant Eléazar.

Il nous insulte sans cesse;
Il se rit de l'Eternel!
Et la foudre vengeresse
Doit sur lui tomber du ciel.

RACHEL, à son père.

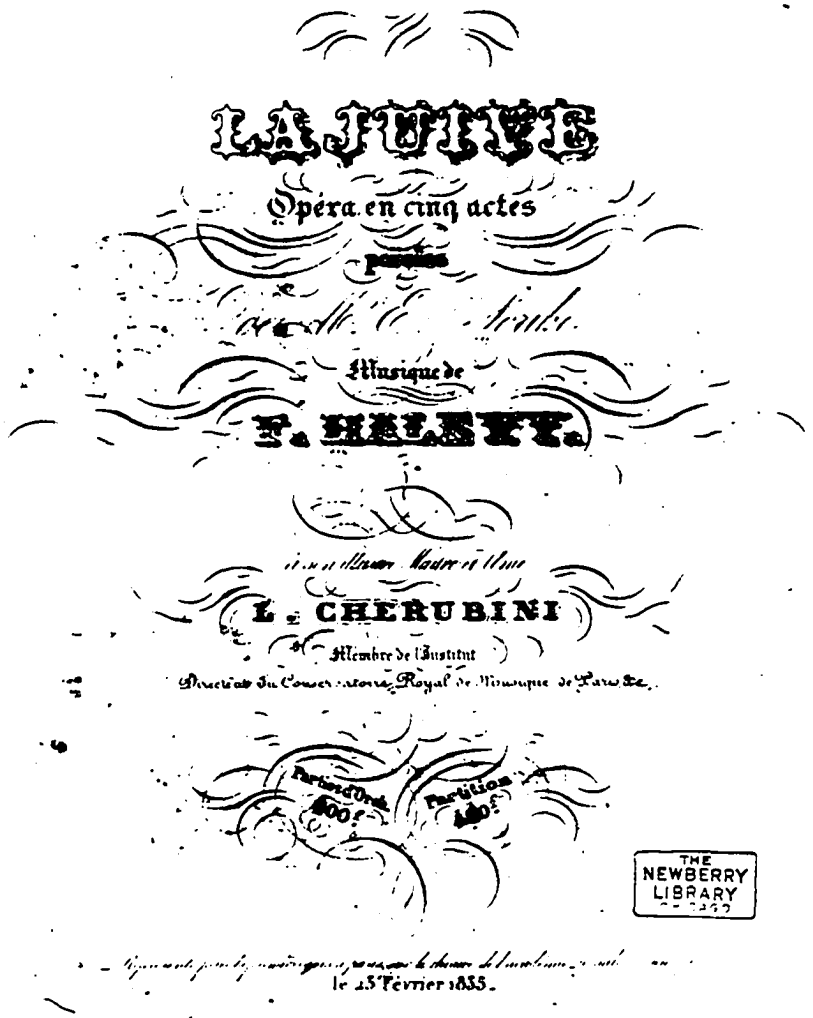
Ah! pour vous, dans ma tendresse,
Je sens un effroi mortel!
De leur foule qui s'empresse
Je connais le cœur cruel!
Rentrons, rentrons au nom du Ciel!

APPENDIX J

Full Score of *La Juive* by Fromental Halévy (Paris: Maurice Schlesinger, 1835)

Title Page, List of Performers, "Catalogue des morceaux"

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LA JU[illegible]

PERSONNAGES.	ACTEURS.
LE JUIF ÉLÉAZAR	M. A[illegible]
LE CARDINAL JEAN-FRANÇOIS DE [illegible], Président du Concile	[illegible]
LÉOPOLD, Prince de l'Empire	[illegible]
RUGGIERO, GRAND [illegible]	[illegible]
ALBERT, [illegible]	[illegible]
HÉRAUT D'ARMES de l'Empereur	[illegible]
[illegible] de l'Empereur	[illegible]
Huissier du Peuple	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
Huissier du Saint-Office	[illegible]
[illegible] d'Hôtel de l'Empereur	[illegible]
LA PRINCESSE EUDOXIE, [illegible]	[illegible]
RACHEL	Mlle FALCON.

Les [illegible] à Constance.

CATALOGUE DES MORCEAUX.

ACTE I.

N° 1.	INTRODUCTION et [illegible]	Te Deum [illegible]	Page 1.
N° 2.	CAVATINE	Si la rigueur et la vengeance	16.
N° 3.	SÉRÉNADE	[illegible] de son amante [illegible] sans plaintes	47.
N° 4.	CHŒUR	[illegible] sous l'heureux [illegible]	71.
N° 5.	CHŒUR des [illegible]	[illegible] heureux destin est [illegible]	97.
N° 6.	VALSE	[illegible]	115.
N° 7.	FINAL	Noël, tout [illegible] le cortège s'avance	144.

ACTE II.

N° 8.	ENTR[illegible] et [illegible]	O [illegible] de [illegible] pères	217.
N° 9.	TRIO	Tu pourrais [illegible]	250.
N° 10.	ROMANCE	Il [illegible] et d'effroi	277.
N° 11.	DUO	[illegible] sans [illegible]	286.
N° 12.	TRIO	[illegible]	326.

ACTE III.

N° 13.	CHŒUR	O jour mémorable, ô jour de splendeur	367.
N° 14.	PANTOMIME	[illegible]	383.
	[illegible]	Sonnez clairons	417.
	B	[illegible] et [illegible] et d'horreur et d'effroi	419.
N° 15.	FINAL C. MALÉDICTION	[illegible] du Juif vivant outrages la puissance	481.
	D.	[illegible], le Ciel lui-même les a proscrits	481.

ACTE IV.

N° 16.	SCÈNE et DUO	Du Cardinal voici l'ordre suprême	517.
N° 17.	SCÈNE	Le [illegible] en ce lieu doit se rendre	562.
N° 18.	DUO	Ta fille [illegible] devant le conseil	568.
N° 19.	AIR	Rachel, [illegible] implorer la grace tutélaire	578.

ACTE V.

N° 20.	CHŒUR	[illegible]	603.
N° 21.	[illegible]	[illegible]	648.
N° 22.	FINAL	Le conseil prononce un arrêt rigoureux	659.

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APPENDIX K

Synopsis of *La Juive*

Act I

The townspeople of Constance, Switzerland, are celebrating the opening of the Council of Constance in 1414, the ecumenical convocation that promises to mend the rift in the Catholic Church. On this Christian feast day declared by Emperor Sigismund, they also honor the victory of Prince Léopold over the Hussites, followers of the religious reformer Jan Hus (No. 1: *Introduction*, "Te deum laudamus"). As worshipers sing the *Te deum* in the cathedral, a crowd outside whispers accusingly about Éléazar, the Jewish goldsmith who continues to work, ignoring the feast day. Ruggiero, the town provost, hears the sounds of Éléazar's labor and orders the offender brought before him. After Éléazar and Rachel are dragged out of their house, Ruggiero incites the crowd further against the Jews and orders their execution for desecrating the feast day. The crowd's anger is diffused and the Jews' death is averted by Cardinal Brogni, who arrives on the scene and discovers that he knows Éléazar. Éléazar reminds the cardinal that in his earlier days as magistrate in Rome, he had banished him and other Jews from the city. Although Éléazar vehemently rejects Brogni's plea for forgiveness and offer of a brotherly hand, the cardinal prays for clemency and tolerance (No. 2: *Cavatine*, "Si la rigueur").

Éléazar and Rachel have returned home and Léopold, disguised as the Jew Samuel, approaches Rachel's window and serenades her (No. 3: *Sérénade*, "Loin de son amie"). When Léopold asks to see her, Rachel invites him to a Passover service that evening. Their conversation is cut short by the crowd gathering for the continuing festivities. (No. 4: *Choeur*, "Hâtons-nous"; No. 5: *Choeur des buveurs*, "Ah! quel heureux destin"; No. 6: *Valse*). The crowd shouts the arrival of the victors of the Hussite battles (No. 7: *Final*, "Noël, Noël, Noël"). As Éléazar and Rachel situate themselves on the church steps for a view of the procession, Ruggiero incites the crowd anew against them, recalling the famous Biblical passage about Jesus chasing the moneylenders from the temple. The crowd virulently responds, threatening to throw the Jews into Lake Constance. For a second time, their death is averted by an official, this time by Léopold, who (although disguised) instructs his aide, Albert, to hold back the mob. Rachel is puzzled by this action; she continues to be confused by this suggestion of Léopold's power. As the crowd turns its attention to the emperor's arrival, Éléazar prays, and Léopold hopes Rachel will not discover his true identity.

Act II

In his home, Éléazar leads Rachel, other members of his family, a few other Jews, and the disguised Léopold in a prayer celebrating Passover (No. 8: *Entr'acte et*

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prière, "O Dieu, Dieu de nos Pères"). As the unleavened bread is distributed, Léopold throws his to the floor, an action that Rachel sees and questions. A loud knock at the door startles the celebrants; when Éléazar hears that it is a party of the Emperor, he orders all religious items hidden and asks Léopold/Samuel to remain. Princess Eudoxie, the niece of Sigismund and the wife of Léopold, enters. Léopold exclaims his dismay in an aside; in the muted light, Eudoxie does not recognize her husband. She asks Éléazar who Léopold is, and is told he is a painter. Eudoxie then tells the purpose of her visit: to purchase a rare jewel from Éléazar to honor her husband's victory (No. 9: *Trio*, "Tu possèdes, dit-on"). In his dealing with Eudoxie, Eléazar reveals his eagerness to profit from the transaction, as Léopold frets about his deception and fears. After Eudoxie leaves, Rachel tells Léopold that she wants to see him later.

As she awaits her lover's arrival, the conflicting emotions and doubts about him emerge (No. 10: "Il va venir"). When he comes, she confronts him with her suspicions and he reveals that he is a Christian, but, quelling her with soothing words, begs her to leave all behind and run away with him (No. 11: *Duo*, "Lorsqu'à-toi"). Rachel is on the verge of responding when her father interrupts them. Éléazar, furious at Léopold's betrayal, tells the young lover that he would kill him were he not Jewish (No. 12: *Trio*, "Je vois son front coupable"). Léopold again reveals that he is Christian and awaits Éléazar's blows, but Rachel averts violence as she coaxes her father to forgive him. Éléazar's love for his daughter is so strong that he is willing to bless their marriage, but Léopold refuses, inciting Éléazar's curses and Rachel's bewildered cries.

Act III

[In the scene omitted after the premiere, Eudoxie sings joyfully of her husband's return. She is approached by Rachel, who has followed Léopold to the royal palace; Rachel asks to be her servant (or slave, "esclave") for a day and Eudoxie, though puzzled, grants her request.]

In the royal palace, the festivities continue (No. 13: *Choeur*, "O jour mémorable"; No. 14: *Pantomine et ballets*). Éléazar enters with the jewel-encrusted chain he has made for Eudoxie (No. 15: *Final*, "Sonnez clairons"). Just as the princess moves to present it to her husband, Rachel steps forward. Having recognized Léopold as her lover, Samuel, she angrily denounces him, admitting their love and pointing out the laws against their liaison. Brogni pronounces a stern malediction on Rachel, Léopold, and Éléazar for breaking God's laws.

Act IV

Rachel, Léopold, and Éléazar have been given death sentences. Eudoxie, desperate to save the husband she still loves, begs Rachel to retract her accusations against

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Léopold (No. 16: *Scène et duo*, "Du Cardinal voici l'ordre suprême"). Initially reluctant to be lenient with the lover who has wronged her, Rachel finally agrees to speak in his behalf. An officer announces the entrance of the cardinal; after Eudoxie leaves, Brogni enters and speaks to Rachel of his regrets that she should die so young (No. 17: *Scène*, "Le Cardinal, madame"). He calls for Éléazar, whom he confronts with an appeal to save Rachel and himself by renouncing his faith and adopting Christianity (No. 18: *Duo*, "Ta fille en ce moment"). Éléazar adamantly refuses; he then sings a tribute to the God of Jacob, as Brogni sings of the Christian God. Embittered toward Brogni, Éléazar reminds him of the loss of his daughter during the pillaging of Rome; he discloses that she did not die, but was saved by a Jew. Despite Brogni's moving appeals, Éléazar does not divulge the name of this Jew (his own), vowing to keep the secret until death. The cardinal is then summoned to the Council by Ruggiero.

In solitude, Éléazar becomes racked with pain and self-doubt as he thinks of his beloved daughter's upcoming death (No. 19: *Air*, "Rachel, quand du Seigneur"). Affected by his deep paternal love, he decides to renounce his vengeance and save her; but, just as he declares his intent, the crowd (offstage) calls out once again for the demise of the Jews. His anger renewed, Éléazar vows that Rachel will die a martyr, "reclaimed by Israel."

Act V

The large crowd gathered for the *auto-da-fé* celebrates the imminent death of the Jews (No. 20: *Choeur*, "Quel plaisir"). To the sounds of an orchestral march, the Council and court enter (No. 21: *Marche*). Ruggiero announces the condemnation of the Jews and the commuting of Léopold's sentence to banishment (No. 22: *Final*, "Le Concile prononce"). Shocked at the injustice of the sentence, Éléazar reacts sharply, but is told that someone has declared Léopold innocent. To her father's dismay, Rachel steps forward and renounces, publicly, her former accusations as the crowd responds. As the cardinal and the people repeat a prayer, Rachel and Éléazar are led to the scaffold that stands over a cauldron of boiling oil. When Ruggiero says that "it is time" for the execution, Éléazar cries out for a delay, again wanting to prevent his daughter's death. He asks Rachel if she wants to convert and thus save herself, but she strongly refuses, preferring to die with Éléazar. At this final moment, Brogni pleads for Éléazar to tell him where his daughter is. As Rachel is thrown into the cauldron, Éléazar points toward her with the shocking words, "La voilà!" Before a stunned cardinal, to the last vengeful cries of the celebrants, Éléazar climbs the scaffold to meet his fate.

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