COMPOSING-OUT NOTRE-DAME: HOW LOUISE BERTIN EXPRESSES THE HUGOLIAN THEMES OF FATE AND DECAY IN *LA ESMERALDA*

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Esmeralda. For Hugo, it would be the only opera libretto he would ever write, a mere footnote to his collection of widely admired novels, plays, and poetry; for Bertin, however, it would become her most important work, yet seemingly destined to fade into obscurity like so many great pieces of art. Using Schenkerian analysis, this thesis uncovers the tonal and voice-leading structure of the first act of *La Esmeralda*. A study of this nature, which operates from the premise that forms as large and complex as opera can be examined in terms of a large-scale structure, is valuable because it sheds new light on the correlation of tonal structure and dramatic organization.

Through these methods, Act I of *La Esmeralda* is read as a background progression from D major (with F# kopfton) to F major, composing-out an F#/F\(^1\) dichotomy introduced in the overture. With reference to several musical-symbolic ideas - including the representation of virtue through the pitch F#, the key of Notre-dame's bells - it is shown how the musical structure of Act I expresses the Hugolian themes of fate and decay.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

From 1831 to 1836, Victor Hugo and Louise Bertin collaborated on an opera titled La Esmeralda. For Hugo, it would be the only opera libretto he would ever write, a mere footnote to his collection of widely admired novels, plays, and poetry; for Bertin, however, it would become her most important work, yet seemingly destined to fade into obscurity like so many great pieces of art. The failure of this opera, which was performed only six times before closing, can be attributed to a combination of sexism, French politics, and audience tastes; however, it should be said that, while sexism and political dislike of the Bertin family negatively affected the reception of Louise Bertin's work, the opera itself did not appeal to contemporary tastes. This is not to say that La Esmeralda was poorly written or performed, but merely that it failed to fully capture the public's imagination. If a work of art epitomizes public tastes and is truly appreciated by audiences, few circumstances would stand in the way of its success. Of course, success with a contemporary public is not evidence of high quality; otherwise every mindless twenty-firstcentury summer blockbuster would have to be heralded as the artistic rival of Citizen Kane. As Anton Reicha—Bertin's composition teacher from 1819 to 1825²—stated, "If a good work is a failure, it is not the composer's fault, but the public's."³

It should be noted that the term "sexism" did not exist prior to the 1960s, when it was coined as part of the "second-wave" feminist movement in America. To apply the term to circumstances that existed more than a century prior may appear problematic; yet, the lack of a

¹ Denise L. Boneau, "Louise Bertin and Opera in Paris in the 1820s and 1830s" (PhD Diss., University of Chicago, 1989), 636, accessed August 8, 2017, http://catalog.lib.uchicago.edu/vufind/Record/1028296.

² Boneau, 83.

³ J.G. Prod-homme, "From the Unpublished Autobiography of Antoine Reicha" *The Musical Quarterly* 12, no. 3 (July 1936): 343.

term to describe a phenomenon does not negate its existence. On the contrary, the fact that no adequate term existed to describe discrimination on the basis of gender prior to 1960 is evidence of how deeply engrained gender inequality was in European societies. Despite the fact that women in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century France had more rights compared to the rest of Europe at the time—giving the world powerful artistic and political figures like George Sand and Olympe de Gouges—the expected role of a woman was still domestic in nature. According to a French ministerial ruling in 1820 (when Bertin was 15 and just beginning her career as an operatic composer), the sole purpose of female education was to educate girls for their "natural and respectable vocation as mothers."

Bertin's family ran the *Journal des débats*, a successful Parisian newspaper with royalist sympathies; any family involved in disseminating political information to the public can expect to become the subject of polemics (even for those members that, like Bertin, were not directly involved in politics); a royalist news source in post-Revolution France was especially controversial. The performances of *La Esmeralda*, which were high profile due to the involvement of both Hugo and Hector Berlioz, attracted the political opponents of Bertin's family. So, when claims were made that the best parts of *La Esmeralda* were actually written by Berlioz—we can only speculate upon the social or political circumstances that inspired critics to deny Bertin's authorship—the cry was easily taken up by those with preexisting bias against any work by a member of the Bertin family. In the eyes of these opponents, any success achieved by Bertin was simply bought, with money or influence. Yet, the failure of any work cannot be blamed solely upon external factors. In the case of *La Esmeralda*—and Bertin's operas in

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⁴ Christina De Bellaigue, *Educating Women: Schooling and Identity in England and France, 1800-1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 2.

general—the style was more Germanic than the French public was accustomed to; this Germanicism was a primary concern of critics, who gave the opera mixed reviews. Comments ranged from complimentary⁵ to casually sexist.⁶ Denise Boneau, in her dissertation on Bertin, notes the contradictory nature of many of the reviews,⁷ which begin by praising the work's quality only to conclude that Bertin nevertheless lacks the attributes required of a composer of opera.⁸

1.1 The Myth of the Fanciful Interpretation

In order to discuss the importance of interpretation of ideas (literary, musical, and otherwise), as well as the special challenges it poses, permit me to refer briefly to literature. In 1987, Judy Jones and William Wilson wrote a book titled *An Incomplete Education* which sought to give a short overview of a multitude of subjects, including literature, art, science, and politics; music was one of the few subjects neglected by the authors. As the title suggests, this book was meant for casual readers interested in expanding their knowledge, and it reviewed material that they might have first learned (or failed to learn) in high school. Informative and entertaining at times, it nonetheless suffered from a somewhat biased view of the works discussed; Edgar Allan Poe, for instance, is dismissed by the authors as "a hack journalist." In

⁵ Fromental Halévy noted that the opera had "a great abundance of ideas, a nicely conceived color, and frequently a rare power of expression."

⁶ Henry Chorley, quoting Owen Feltham, said "I am confirmed in my belief: no woman hath a soul, at least as far as musical composition is concerned."

⁷ Boneau, 615.

⁸ A similarly perplexing case can be found in Schoenberg's assessment of Dora Pejačević's "Verwandlung." It was commissioned by the poet Karl Kraus, who showed it to Schoenberg. According to Kraus: "Today Schoenberg visited me... I showed him Dora's 'Verwandlung.' He naturally finds that a woman cannot be a creator of music but praised the composition, especially one passage. He is very much in favor of the idea that I perform it."

⁹ Judy Jones and William Wilson, An Incomplete Education (New York: Ballantine Books, 1995), 11.

the section on *Moby Dick*, Jones and Wilson state that Melville did not realize his story was allegorical until a friend pointed it out. ¹⁰ This statement appears to have been made in an effort to disparage *Moby Dick* and diminish its literary importance. They believe, it would seem, that the way *Moby Dick* is taught in schools—in which Ahab's hunt for the great white whale is representative of humanity's search for reason—is a mistake because of Melville's supposed lack of allegorical intention. This raises an important issue about the connection between interpretation and authorial intent. I argue that whether or not Melville intended *Moby Dick* to be allegorical is irrelevant; to read the book as an allegory is to view it through a valid interpretational lens in which we can consider the narrative as provoking philosophical ideas (like ontology, in the case of Ahab's—and humanity's—search for meaning). Similarly, when analyzing *La Esmeralda*, it is both impossible—and unnecessary—to know Bertin's actual intentions; rather, we must interpret the work as it stands with the most sophisticated analytical tools available. That said, I now elaborate upon the methods used in my analysis of *La Esmeralda*.

1.2 Methodology and Overview

Using Schenkerian analysis, I uncover the tonal and voice-leading structure of the first act of *La Esmeralda*. A study of this nature, which operates from the premise that forms as large and complex as opera can be examined in terms of a large-scale structure, is valuable because it sheds new light on the correlation of tonal structure and dramatic organization. That few such studies have been undertaken to date is an unfortunate shortcoming of theoretical discourse, even given the diversity of current literature. Perhaps the root cause of this lacuna may be found in

¹⁰ Jones, 14.

Schenker's negative view of Wagner, whom he criticized as misunderstanding the music of Beethoven;¹¹ thus Schenker, having come to the conclusion that Wagner's overall ideas on music were flawed, did not apply his linear analytical techniques to Wagner's music.¹² He avoided analyzing opera (and programmatic music in general) because he believed musical logic to be preeminent and completely separate from any program or text. Beethoven rarely wrote programmatic music, and Schenker argued that, when he did, he was guided by the musical logic sometimes in spite of the text.¹³ Schenker's own myopia has since affected how Schenkerians approach (or, rather, do not approach) opera. As William Marvin argues in his 2002 Dissertation,

Schenker's argument that vocal or dramatic music must function on musical terms, independent of text or dramatic considerations, has led several other authors to assert that Schenkerian theory is inappropriate for analysis of dramatic music, or at best, that it can only lead to a partial analysis... It is notable that Adele Katz and William Rothstein, to name two authors writing in the Schenkerian tradition who have included chapters on Wagner's music in their books, tend to avoid vocal passages, focusing instead on orchestral preludes and interludes from the operas.¹⁴

It may be that the few Schenkerians seeking to research large-scale form and prolongation in opera focus their efforts on the operas of Wagner, as they wish to put to rest the controversy that is holding the theory back. Additionally, Wagner's assertions of structural unity in his own works seem to encourage a Schenkerian approach; for instance, he once complained that his friend Hans von Wolzogen "viewed the characteristics of what he calls my 'Leitmotive' rather in the light of their dramatic significance than in that of their bearing on musical

¹¹ According to Marvin (2), Schenker stated that Wagner "went forth to find Beethoven and found, ever anew, only himself."

¹² William Marvin, "Tonality in Selected Set-Pieces from Richard Wagner's *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg:* A Schenkerian Approach" (PhD Diss., University of Rochester, 2001), 2, accessed May 29, 2018, https://libproxy.library.unt.edu:2165/pqdtglobal/docview/276479510/5E27028570314C89PQ/1?accountid=7113.

¹³ Heinrich Schenker, *Beethoven's Ninth Symphony: A Portrayal of Its Musical Content, with Running Commentary on Performance and Literature as Well* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 225.

¹⁴ Marvin, 12. It should be mentioned that Poundie Burstein has also written on Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde* in the Schenkerian tradition.

construction."¹⁵ Given that Wagner saw a large-scale structure in his own works, a Schenkerian reading of them is especially warranted. Although Bertin's *La Esmeralda* is less high-profile than a Wagner opera—making it ostensibly farther from the wider debate concerning the applicability of Schenkerian analysis to opera—it will be argued that a Schenkerian approach to her opera can illuminate the coordination of the structure and semantics. It is a number opera, which makes its structure somewhat more clear-cut to begin with; it features the use of recurring themes similar in use to Wagner's *leitmotifs*; and the librettist (Hugo) worked quite intimately with the composer (Bertin), meaning that the literary ideas and themes of the former were well known and likely assimilated by the latter.

Considering the dramatic nature of the genre (grand opera), symbolic connections to the source material play a significant role in the analysis; of course, my interpretation is not the only one possible but merely a lens through which to view and discuss the work. In order to single out aspects of the opera that stand out as analytically important, I refer to Robert Hatten's concept of "musical markedness," which comes from the theory of semiotics. Borrowing the term from linguistics, markedness in music serves to highlight an aspect of a composition which is significant by virtue of being uncommon. For instance, it is true to say that in the genre of eighteenth-century symphonies it is more common to find a first movement in a major key with an *allegro* tempo marking; less frequent would be a first movement in minor with an *andante* tempo indication. In this way, major and *allegro* are unmarked for first movements of symphonies, while minor and *andante* would be marked. When one finds a marked aspect of a

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¹⁵ Matthew Brown, "Isolde's Narrative: From Hauptmotiv to Tonal Model" in Analyzing Opera: Verdi and Wagner, ed. Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 182.

¹⁶ Robert S. Hatten, *Musical Meaning in Beethoven: Markedness, Correlation, and Interpretation* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994), 36.

work, the impetus is to make it a focal point of an analysis.¹⁷ The use of this technique in analysis of opera has precedent: Carolyn Abbate employs the idea of markedness to highlight musical elements in opera that can be connected to the narrative. Although she does not use the terminology, she observes that "[music] is not narrative, but it possesses moments of narration, moments that can be identified by their bizarre and disruptive effect. Such moments seem like voices from elsewhere, speaking (singing) in a fashion we recognize precisely because it is idiosyncratic."¹⁸ In the subsequent discussion, I will recall the term when discussing the aspects of *La Esmeralda* that stand out as analytically important.

After chapters 1 and 2, which provide essential information on Bertin's musical background and Hugo's literary ideas respectively, chapter 3 presents an analysis which grows from my observations concerning Bertin's marked use of modal mixture in the overture; unexpected mixture is a technique common in the works Berlioz who, like Bertin, was taught by Reicha. ¹⁹ In Bertin's *La Esmeralda*, the alternation between D major and D minor establishes a dichotomy between F# and F\(\bar{\pi}\). The abrupt change from D major into D minor represents the idea of happiness soured by tragedy, an interpretation that is supported by the fact that the arrival of D minor coincides with the appearance of the important "Fate Theme." Additionally, the change of F# into F\(\bar{\pi}\) is significant because F# is the key in which Notre-dame's bells toll, so that the competing F\(\bar{\pi}\) may be considered as a "decayed" form of the virtuous F#. Because of the

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¹⁷ I rely on this concept when I instruct beginning theory students who struggle with the idea of "rules" in music theory, especially when composers seem to regularly violate them. It is an informed musician's job to know the most common compositional approaches (the rules, one could say) in order to identify when a composer does something different, and then to question why.

¹⁸ Carolyn Abbate, *Unsung Voices: Opera and Musical Narrative in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), 29.

¹⁹ Julian Rushton, *The Musical Language of Berlioz* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 16.

important role that F major plays (as the second tonal center of Act I), the F\$\bar{\psi}\$ in the overture functions as a promissory note. That the F\$\bar{\psi}\$-F\$\bar{\psi}\$ dichotomy becomes a significant element in the opera as a whole aligns with Schenker's observation that a chromatic detail presented early in a piece may be expanded to function at progressively higher levels of structure. As McCreless points out, Wagner employs a similar technique in the *Ring*. Finally, the importance of F\$\bar{\psi}\$ is revealed by the key areas championed by the characters most closely connected to Notre-dame: Frollo, the priest fallen from grace, begins his aria in F, while Quasimodo, Frollo's servant, initiates his aria in C, the dominant of F. In Alfred Lorenz's study of the *Ring*, connections between the narrative and their associated key areas become important for the analysis; for instance, he notes the importance of the pitch D, and D major-minor mixture: D major is used when Siegfried reforges *Nothung*, while D minor is referenced when it shatters. F\$\bar{2}\$

Through Schenkerian graphs, the analysis to be elucidated in chapter 3 attempts to show how the first act of the opera embodies a progression from D major (with the mediant note and primary tone F#) to F major, thus composing out the decay from F# to F\(\psi\) first presented in the overture. Apart from these two tonalities, any of the myriad keys expressed in the first act is important only at lower levels of structure, in part because they have not been privileged as the beginning point (as is D major) or the ending point (as is F major). A similar view of structure is espoused by Siegmund Levarie when he asserts that *Il trovatore* "begins in E major and ends in E flat minor, so that the tonal flow of the entire work amounts to an enharmonically reinterpreted Neapolitan cadence." E.T. Cone, however, argued against this kind of supposition, stating:

²⁰ Patrick McCreless, "Schenker and the Norns," in *Analyzing Opera: Verdi and Wagner*, ed. Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 286.

²¹ Warren Darcy, Wagner's Das Rheingold (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 52.

²² Siegmund Levarie, "Key Relations in Verdi's Un ballo in maschera," 19th-Century Music II (1978-1979), 143.

What does it mean to say that an opera is "in" a certain key? Not, to be sure, merely that it ends in that key, or even that it begins and ends in the key. If the former were a sufficient condition, then it would be trivially possible to assign a key to all operas except atonal ones. If the latter were sufficient, any opera could be tonally unified by supplying it with a prelude in the key of its finale. Surely, if the designation of a single key as the tonality of an opera is to have more than superficial relevance, it must refer somehow to the progress of the entire opera.²³

While Cone's retort is well-put, it is my contention (and likely would have been Levarie's) that it underestimates the level of planning undertaken by a composer of opera. When composers begin sketching a work (operatic or otherwise), they must make a choice: will the piece (or act, or scene) end in the same key as it began? To conclude a structural unit in the key in which it began is essentially the default—and therefore, the unmarked—choice. Many instrumental works follow this paradigm, perhaps contributing to the false perception that the background structures of Schenkerian analysis are better suited to analyzing a symphony than an opera. However, opera is unique because of its reliance on a narrative which—to Schenker's chagrin—the music naturally serves; it is possibly for this reason that structural units in opera do not necessarily begin and end in the same key, for an opera has more concrete ideas to express. One of the ways in which this can be done is through the marked use of a change in tonality over the course of the unit. Darcy says as much in his study of *Das Rheingold*:

When dealing with a verse expressing a single emotion, such as 'Love gives joy to life,' the composer would have no cause to modulate. But in setting a verse of mixed emotion, such as 'Love brings joy and sorrow,' the musician would feel obligated to relinquish the key expressing the first emotion for one expressing the second. If this verse were followed by 'But in her woe she also weaves raptures,' he would return to the first tonality at the point where the second emotion gives way to the first. This modulatory procedure is justified by the poetic intent, without which it would seem arbitrary and unintelligible.²⁴

²³ E.T. Cone, "On the Road to Otello: Tonality and Structure in Simon Boccanegra," Studi verdiani I (1982), 72-73.

²⁴ Darcy, 51.

To provide an additional perspective on this issue, consider the statement made by Edward Latham in his book *Tonality as Drama*:

In Schenkerian analysis, ultimate tonal success in a given piece is defined by the completion of its *Ursatz*...This arrival at tonic is an example of musical closure in the broadest possible terms, often prefigured by the many smaller linear completions and cadences during the course of the piece. Given Schenker's perceived emphasis on the fundamental structure in his analytical system any compositional strategy that he allowed to impede the progress of the *Ursatz* ought to receive pride of place in a theory of tonal drama.²⁵

Although he does not employ Hatten's terminology of musical semiotics, Latham is stating that a detour from the closure of an established tonality (such as in a structural unit that ends in a different key than it began) is *marked*, and thus analytically or symbolically important. I have followed this line of reasoning in my analysis of Act I of *La Esmeralda*. The most important aspect of the overture is Bertin's alternation between D major and D minor, a technique that she marks as especially important by setting the entirety of Esmeralda's Act IV prison aria in alternating D major and D minor. In this way, she symbolically connects the overture with Esmeralda's fate. Bertin's emphasis of F\(\beta\) led me to make a connection to the F major tonality expressed at the end of Act I. Bertin draws attention to the "failure" to close Act I in the initial key of D major by setting the Phoebus-Esmeralda love duet in A major (V of D), making clear that she could have easily kept the entirety of Act I in D, but chose not to. She could also have ended Act I in D *minor*, which would still emphasize the decay of F\(\pi\) to F\(\beta\), but by employing F major instead, she both preserves the F\(\pi\)-F\(\beta\) dyad and also reinforces the connection between F\(\beta\) and Frollo, who begins his aria in F major.

²⁵ Edward David Latham, *Tonality as Drama: Closure and Interruption in Four Twentieth-century American Operas* (Denton, TX: Univ. of North Texas Press, 2008), 4-5.

Having broached the issue of applying a Schenkerian approach to the analysis of opera, as well as ways in which other theorists have approached the representation of drama in music, I submit this study as a contribution to the small (but important) collection of studies that focus on structure and semiotics in opera.

CHAPTER 2

THE ROMANTIC NATURE OF BERTIN'S ARTISTIC AND MUSICAL UPBRINGING

2.1 Family History and Childhood Years

In order to understand Bertin's artistic and compositional sensibilities, it is important to look at the environment in which she developed. For those composers our society has deigned to include in the musical canon, it is not difficult to find information on their backgrounds and artistic influences; but for Bertin, who has been the subject of little serious study, constructing a reliable biography is challenging. In my own description of her life and influences, I will rely primarily on Denise L. Boneau's 1989 University of Chicago dissertation, "Louise Bertin and Opera in Paris in the 1820s and 1830s." Through Boneau's dissertation, which was the result of several years of study (during which she personally corresponded with Bertin's descendants) and a research trip to the Bibliotheque Nationale de Paris, we can see how one of the primary artistic influences in Bertin's life came from her own family, either directly or indirectly. Yet, her family's politics also contributed to the failure of her operatic career.

Bertin parents were Louis-François Bertin and Geneviève-Victoire-Aimée Boutard; because he shared his name with three other brothers, Bertin's father was commonly known as Bertin l'aîné. The future success of the Bertin family can be attributed to the strong will of Bertin l'aîné's mother (Françoise Bertin née LeDuc) who, after her husband died, was forced to raise all four boys on her own. As a great admirer of Voltaire, she insisted on a solid education for her children. It is remarkable that Louise Bertin's grandmother was independently successful, considering the restrictions placed upon women at the time; additionally, it was Voltaire who contributed to the increased acceptance of women in academic circles in nineteenth-century

France, a fact from which Bertin benefited.²⁶

Considering the nature of gender roles and economics in eighteenth-century France, it is unclear how Bertin's grandmother managed to not only support a family, but also ensure that her sons obtained educations. Boneau's dissertation does not specify how Françoise Bertin became financially successful, nor does Léon Say's account of the family history²⁷ from which Boneau based her research into Bertin l'aîné's forebears. At this time, the death of a father often meant that the financial responsibility fell with the eldest sons of the family. Yet, Bertin l'aîné, who was Françoise Bertin's eldest son, was only eight years of age when his father died, so it is unlikely that financial support came from her sons. Even if the Bertin boys had been of working age, the fact that they obtained educations (as their mother ensured) meant that they were not required to become the source of financial stability for the family.

There are two possibilities regarding how Françoise Bertin sustained the family: 1. she took on a trade, perhaps in the textile industry as this was a common source of money for single women in the eighteenth-century;²⁸ 2. she was left a modest sum by her husband when he died. The second of these possibilities is more likely since jobs offered to women at this time payed little. Her husband had been a military man (a captain of the King's Cuirassiers), then a guard in the house of the duc de Choiseul.²⁹ Just as the circumstances of Louise Bertin's physical disability are shrouded in mystery (as it would have been considered in poor taste inquire), there is simply no available information on the finances of Bertin's grandmother.

Bertin l'aîné followed several callings in his early years, always having a change of heart

²⁶ Boneau, 54.

²⁷ Leon Say, Le livre du centenaire du Journal des débats, 1789-1889 (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1889), 14-47.

²⁸ Olwen Hufton, "Women without Men: Widows and Spinsters in Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Family History* 9, no. 4 (1984): 355-76.

²⁹ Boneau, 53.

before going in an alternate direction. As a youth, he began studying for the priesthood, but decided instead to pursue a military career. He was placed in the *gendarmes du Roi*, but was soon drawn to the ideas of the Revolution. However, he subsequently became disillusioned with the Revolution. According to Léon Say:

[Bertin l'aîné believed the Revolution] had started down the path of arbitrariness and crime. The meetings of the Convention, which he followed assiduously, those of the revolutionary tribunal, where he heard the Queen, insulted, appeal to all mothers, the crimes that he witnessed, all inspired in him an extreme horror for the tyranny of the Convention and for the revolutionary laws.³⁰

Bertin l'aîné settled down at this point in his life, beginning a journalism career that would prove fruitful. He began writing articles for *Le Journal Français*, and also translating English literary works—notably Shakespeare and gothic novels—into French. After a short time, he established a newspaper with one of his brothers (Bertin de Veaux). This publication venture marked the beginning of Bertin l'aîné's political career, in which he was regarded as a major royalist voice; his politics contributed to his identity as a Romantic, since Romantics typically sympathized with royalist ideas, harkening back to the glorious time before the revolution. Due to his politics, Bertin l'aîné and his family suffered serious persecution from the police, who shut down his first paper, *l'Eclair*, for attacks against the constitutional monarchy; additionally, Bertin l'aîné attracted the personal ire of Napoleon Bonaparte, who had him arrested several times on charges of conspiracy before finally having him deported to the Isle of Elba. He was eventually able to return to France, using his friendship with Chateaubriand³¹ to obtain a false passport.³²

There are several important aspects of Bertin l'aîné's history that can be seen to have had

³⁰ Say, 15.

³¹ At the time, Chateaubriand was the secretary to the French Ambassador in Rome.

³² Boneau, 57-58.

an effect on his daughter, Louise Bertin. Bertin's acute sense for the dramatic arts can be attributed to her father's influence. As the owner of a newspaper that included reviews of Parisian art and music, as well as a patron of some of France's greatest Romantic writers, Bertin l'aîné regularly invited great artistic and intellectual figures to stay at their estate. Louise Bertin's close proximity to these figures led her to a natural interest in not only the composition of opera, but of the serious operatic style that resulted in her most well-known works, *Faust* and *La Esmeralda*. In most cases, there would have been certain societal expectations placed upon Bertin that would have prevented her eventual pursuit of a career in the arts; however, she ironically benefited from two unfortunate situations in her youth.

From 1811 to 1815, which were Bertin's most formative childhood years, Bertin's father was forced into retirement from journalism by Napoleon Bonaparte, who seized the *Journal des Débats* from his control. During these years, Bertin l'aîné worked from home, becoming present in his daughter's life, and giving her a "male" education. Even when Bertin l'aîné was forced to flee France again (this time, to Belgium of his own accord), he took his daughter with him while her older brothers stayed. These negative circumstances resulted in the fact that from the ages of 6 to 11, Bertin was rarely apart from her father. Having been brought up by a single mother who admired the philosophies of Voltaire, it is easy to imagine that Bertin l'aîné saw the value of a fine education, even for a daughter. Yet, even with a father who was progressive for the time, it is likely that Bertin would still have been expected to follow the typical path for nineteenth-century women, in which marriage into a comfortable life was the primary goal; however, fate intervened in the form of a tragic, yet somewhat happy, accident when Bertin was 11 years of age. Around this time (exact details are sparse) Bertin became physically handicapped, affecting her ability to walk.

In 1843, the Marquis de Custine—a writer and frequenter of the Bertin salon—wrote that Bertin had been born infirm and incapable of walking; however this report is likely inaccurate for a variety of reasons. Firstly, an 1819 letter between her father and brother mentions sadly that her condition had not much improved; if the malady had been present from birth, it is unlikely that her family would expect any improvement at 14 years of age. Secondly, friends that were closer to the family than the Marquis de Custine (Berlioz, for instance) described Bertin as having some walking ability. Therefore, it is more likely that the Marquis was simply mistaken in his claim.³³ Regardless, the fact remains that marriage was thought unlikely for Bertin. This perhaps meant that she was allowed to pursue the arts more seriously than would have been the case had marriage been an option. It is important that this claim (originally made by Boneau)³⁴ is further investigated. It is true that there were a few women who became successful in the arts while still being considered eligible wives and mothers, but the fact remains that schooling in France at the time of Bertin's formative years was intended to prepare women for a domestic role, and that a career as a composer of serious opera was considered inappropriately masculine. A short account of female education during and just before Bertin's time helps to contextualize her achievement.

2.2 The Question of the Female Education in Early Nineteenth-century France
The Counter-Reformation, which strengthened the religious order known as the

Ursulines, who were committed to sustaining and teaching the poor, also contributed to the education of women. By the end of the seventeenth-century, convent schools established by

³³ Boneau, 71-73.

³⁴ Ibid., 4.

various religious orders were flourishing in France, with roughly 500 in operation.³⁵ In the 1760s, a quarter of Parisian girls had access to schooling (thanks in part to these convent schools) and female literacy was on the rise. Around this time, however, the schools came under attack from two different sides: on one side, Enlightenment skeptics opposed the schools as religious institutions; on the other side were those influenced by Rousseau's ideas, in which the proper role of a woman was as a wife and mother. On account of these two hostile camps, the number of convent schools dropped significantly by the 1770s, but it was ultimately (and ironically) the side associated with the Enlightenment that saw to the end of convent schools; by 1792, the Revolutionary Assemblies, seeking to curb the influence of religious institutions, ordered the end of the convent school tradition.³⁶

Since the Revolution tended to follow the ideas of Rousseau with regard to ideal gender roles, little was done to replace the convent schools, with the only state-sponsored contribution being Napoleon's creation of the *Maisons d'Éducation de la Légion d'Honneur*, which only catered to daughters of men who were awarded the Legion of Honor.³⁷

2.3 How the Influence of Bertin's Family Ultimately Damaged Her Career

For Bertin's detractors, it was easily argued that the little success she achieved as a composer can be credited to nepotism; after all, the perception of any public figure is controlled by the media and her family owned one of the leading newspapers of the time. However, any family involved in politics receives its share of detractors and the Bertin family was no

³⁵ E. Rapley, "Fénelon Revisited: A Review of Girls' Education in Seventeenth-Century France," *Social History* 20 (1987), 301.

³⁶ De Bellaigue, 26.

³⁷ Ibid., 27.

exception. As staunch royalists in post-Revolution France, the Bertin family was quite unpopular in the eyes of many. Boneau claims that this likely led to critical audience members seeking to sabotage the success of *La Esmeralda*.

One might argue that those opposed to a royalist family would not necessarily be against a non-political work like an opera just because it happened to be penned by the offspring of an adversary; however, opera has always been closely connected to politics, a fact that was especially true in nineteenth-century France. According to Patrick Barbier in his 1995 book, *Opera in Paris*, 1800-1850:

During the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, rioters invariably headed for the Opéra, not because it sheltered some important person, but because it symbolized the power of the monarchy and the privilege of the ruling classes.³⁸

Clearly, the opera was a popular target for those wishing to rail against the upper classes; therefore, an opera written by the child of a royalist media mogul would be a clear target for antiroyalists. One should also consider the comments made by Sophie de Bawr, who was a close friend of Bertin and a fellow artist:

Even though this music was performed several times, it was not understood, and therefore has not remained in the theater; the snickering and murmurs in the hall, a relentless denigration in the salons, and finally a formidable cabal succeeded in killing it. It is not that the author, as a woman, had any dealings with any factions, but she was the daughter of the editor-in-chief of a newspaper that was then the butt of all political hostilities and, victim of the name she was born with, she saw her charming melodies succumb to the hatreds of a few ambitious schemers.³⁹

Berlioz, who had an intimate knowledge of the opera because of his role editing the score and overseeing rehearsals, similarly had this to say:

Nevertheless this work by a woman who had never written a line of criticism, who had never been guilty of attacking anybody nor of praising them insufficiently, and whose

³⁸ Patrick Barbier and Robert Gust Luoma, *Opera in Paris*, 1800-1850 (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1995), 107.

³⁹ Jacqueline Letzter and Robert Adelson, *Women Writing Opera: Creativity and Controversy in the Age of the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 76.

sole crime was that she belonged to a family which owned a powerful newspaper whose political views were detested by a section of the community—this work, though *greatly superior to many ephemeral pieces that are successful or at least tolerated*, failed utterly and catastrophically. ⁴⁰ (Italics mine)

Yet, despite the difficulties experienced by the opera, it must be noted that all failed works hold at least some blame for merely failing to capture their publics' attention. Ultimately, the goal of most art is not to be popular, but it is important for a work to gain exposure lest it fade into obscurity.

Parisian audiences during the early nineteenth-century had particular expectations when it came to opera. They wanted music written in the Italian style, with an emphasis on beautiful melodies, and were often disappointed when an opera did not display a certain amount of grandeur by utilizing dramatic stage effects and ballets. ⁴¹ *La Esmeralda* arguably had none of these things: the compositional style featured a heavy emphasis on harmony, the nature of the story left no room for stage effects, and there were no full ballet scenes involved. ⁴²

Despite the lack of stage spectacle compared to other French Grand Operas of the time, La Esmeralda proves itself to be an exemplary Grand Opera, at least in terms of its music. Common musical characteristics of Grand Opera are the centrality of the chorus, which becomes a character in its own right, the combination of soloists and chorus, and an emphasis on duets over solos. ⁴³ In all these aspects, La Esmeralda shines.

⁴² It should be noted that at L'Opéra, where *La Esmeralda* was performed, it was mandatory to have ballet in every opera. This perhaps explains why there is a small ballet scene weakly implied in Esmeralda's dance scene in the finale of Act II. According to Boneau (554), the full score marks "Ballet" at this moment, suggesting that other characters are dancing as well. Considering the fact that the "Ballet" marking is not found in the piano-vocal score, which was created after the opera had finished its run at L'Opéra, it is possible that the ballet aspect was forced into the score to fulfil expectations.

⁴⁰ Hector Berlioz and David Cairns, *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz* (London: Everymans Library, 2002), 242.

⁴¹ Barbier, 163.

⁴³ David Charlton, *French Opera 1730 - 1830: Meaning and Media* (London: Routledge, Taylor et Francis Group, 2016), 97.

2.4 Bertin's Musical Education: Reicha versus Fétis

It is known that Bertin studied under two teachers: Anton Reicha and François-Joseph Fétis. Yet, the extent of her interaction with either remains unclear. One of the principle aims of Boneau's dissertation was to show that Reicha was the more influential figure in Bertin's musical development. Issues in Bertin scholarship stem from the fact that the most widely cited biographical resource is Fétis' *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens*, ⁴⁴ which contains much false information about her. In addition to portraying Bertin in a poor light, it suggests that Fétis was her only composition teacher when, in fact, Reicha taught her prior to Fétis; Bertin's compositional style, like Berlioz's, bears Reicha's influence.

Evidence that Reicha was her first (and more influential) teacher can be found in the following quote by Sophie de Bawr, a fellow composer, playwright, and close friend of the Bertin family:

[Bertin's] passion for her art made her devote a number of years of her youth to the study of counterpoint (she was a student of Reicha...) and it was only after having acquired as much knowledge as a young man at a conservatory that she had her *Faust* performed at the Théâtre Italien, and *La Esmeralda* at our grand Opéra.⁴⁵

Mme. de Bawr, who knew Bertin when she was first beginning her musical education, does not even mention Fétis. Additional support for Reicha's place as Bertin's first and primary teacher is found in a statement from Alfred de Beauchesne, who provided a short biography of Bertin in his 1842 musical autograph album, to which Bertin contributed to. In it, he writes: "Student of *Reicha*, then Fétis for singing" (emphasis in the original).⁴⁶

Finally, Bertin's musical tastes appear to bear Reicha's influence as an instructor. Like

⁴⁴ François-Joseph Fétis and Arthur Pougin. *Biographie universelle des musiciens* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1881).

⁴⁵ Boneau, 47.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 77.

the music of Berlioz, Bertin's music is rhythmically and metrically flexible, commonly featuring irregular phrase lengths. More significantly, Bertin's style was often criticized by the French public for being "too German," which was to say that it featured a heavier reliance on harmony than melody; indeed, Bertin's "Germanicism" probably derived from Reicha. This same privileging of harmony over melody can be observed not only in Bertin and Berlioz, but also in the works of Louise Farrenc; like Bertin, Farrenc was subjected to the same criticism of writing in an overly-Germanic style. Unsurprisingly, the commonality of these three French composers—Bertin, Berlioz, and Farrenc— was their studies with Reicha.

Unfortunately, Fétis was essentially Bertin's first biographer, for he provided a biography of her in his 1836 *Biographie Universelle*, a task which he evidently took little care in doing properly; Fétis even failed to provide an accurate account of Bertin's birthdate, which he says was February 15 when it was, in fact, January 15. The following is an excerpt from his biography:

Painting attracted her attention at first; but seeing art only in results, she wanted only to begin by doing a painting, and for the first lesson, it was necessary to give her a canvas and paint brushes. This method was successful for her. But soon her penchant for painting was overshadowed by a passionate taste for music. She played the piano and possessed a contralto voice full of energy. The author of this *Biography* was called upon to give her singing lessons. The student's progress proceeded rapidly and developed her taste more and more for dramatic music. She burned with the desire to write an opera; but it wasn't her way to begin by learning harmony and counterpoint; it was necessary to teach her to write airs, ensembles and overtures as she had been shown how to make paintings; an original method that the professor himself was not against trying. Mlle Bertin wrote down her ideas, which gradually took the form of the piece she wanted to write; the harmony was regularized in the same manner, and the instrumentation, at first attempted by instinct and full of unprecedented notions, ended up by rendering what the young composer wanted. Proceeding thus, it happened that one day, an opera in three acts on the subject of *Guy Mannering* was completed.⁴⁷

There are several problems with Fétis' account of Bertin's education. Firstly, some of his

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⁴⁷ Boneau, 79.

statements portray Bertin as an impatient dabbler in music: saying that painting first attracted her attention, other than being simply false, gives the impression that she was uncommitted to the arts; and (more problematically) the statement that she saw art "only in results" condescendingly suggests that Bertin did not care to approach composition seriously. Fétis supports this claim by saying that, when he became her teacher, she had no knowledge of harmony and counterpoint. This failure to mention Bertin's studies with Reicha raises the question: why would Fétis lie about Bertin's previous musical education when, surely, he knew she had already taken composition lessons with Reicha? His reasoning is likely related to a well-known feud between two different schools of composition: one school, espoused by Fétis and his teacher Cherubini, was representative of the Italian tradition descended from Palestrina; while the other, the Germanic school, was represented by Reicha.

It is quite possible that Fétis believed that a musical education under Reicha was equivalent to no musical education. After all, this was the view of his own teacher, Cherubini. In his memoirs, Charles Gounod wrote that, after Reicha died, he applied to the Conservatoire (at that time, under Cherubini's control). Cherubini told Gounod's mother, "Well now, he must begin all over in another style. I do not like the style of Reicha: he's a German. The little one must follow the Italian method." Additionally, Fétis was encouraged by Cherubini to publish his compositional method in order to counter Reicha's *Traité de haute composition musicale*. According to Fétis,

The loathing inspired in Cherubini by the doctrines and teaching method Reicha wanted to prevail at the Conservatoire was the reason that led him to urge me to write a treatise on counterpoint and fugue.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Boneau, 80.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 81.

The fact that Fétis and others sought to undermine Reicha's influence is suggested by Reicha himself in his memoirs:

After twenty years of serious study I so simplified my method of teaching, that I was able to save my pupils a great deal of time, which earned me the reputation of being one of the leading teachers in Europe, a reputation which envy, mediocrity, and ignorance have tried hard to deny me.⁵⁰

In her dissertation, Boneau estimates that Bertin began studying with Reicha from 1819-1825, and then took lessons with Fétis from 1825-1827.⁵¹ Yet, it is unclear how she arrived at these dates.

2.5 Observing Reicha's Ideas on Operatic Composition in Relation to Bertin

In 1833, Reicha published his treatise on writing opera, *Art du compositeur dramatique*. This book appeared more than a decade after Bertin passed from Reicha's tutelage, and about five years after she finished studying with Fétis. Yet, the ideas that Reicha disseminated in his treatise were surely being formulated (and taught) by him for years prior to the actual publication. Within its pages, Reicha presents his views on nearly every aspect of the process of writing an opera, from choosing and setting a libretto (Book I), to writing a variety of operatic forms and styles (Books II-V), to *mise-en-scène* and stage effects (Book VI). Throughout the treatise, Reicha draws examples from his own operas; since these operas are unavailable in published form today, the treatise is also one of the few places where his operatic writing can be observed.

Much of what Reicha has to say—in the clear and simple language that is characteristic of his writing and regrettably absent in much nineteenth-century academic prose—is not

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⁵⁰ Prod-homme, 343.

⁵¹ Boneau, 83.

revolutionary. However, there are issues in the treatise that, because of their specificity, are unique and can thus be useful in tracing Reicha's influence on Bertin's own composition. In Book I, for instance, Reicha makes suggestions for setting certain types of punctuation including periods, commas, question marks, exclamation marks, and even colons and semi-colons. The libretto in the piano-vocal score of *La Esmeralda* does not include punctuation, but we may see Hugo's own punctuation in the version of the libretto published in a collection of his dramatic works; since this libretto predates the opera's premier, there are subtle differences—mainly extra lines that were eventually cut from the opera, and allusions to Frollo's priesthood that the censors requested to be removed—but there is no reason that the punctuation would have been changed for the lines that were still in the opera.

Concerning the question mark, Reicha says, "The composer, according to the rules of good declamation, must raise the voice at the end of the verse, or at the end of the sentences which have the interrogative point." This advice is followed by Bertin. Observe a few examples of this practice (*Figure 2.1.*):

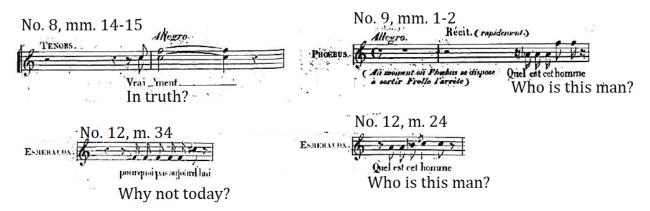


Figure 2.1. Bertin's settings of interrogatives.

It is notable that Figure 2.2., in which Bertin does not follow Reicha's advice, is used to

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 $^{^{52}}$ Anton Reicha, $Art\ du\ Compositeur\ Dramatique$ (Paris: A. Reicha, 1833), 16.

set a rhetorical question; Frollo already knows that it is Esmeralda that Phoebus is meeting for this is why he follows him (*Figure 2.2.*):

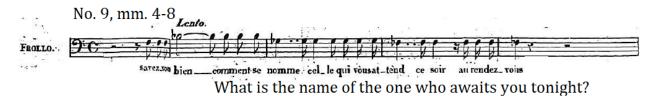


Figure 2.2. Bertin's setting of a rhetorical question.

A striking feature of Louise Bertin's music is her use of semitonal voice-leading to achieve modulations; in fact, her modulatory schemes are significantly more complex than those of many of her contemporaries. Consider, for instance, the tonal scheme of the finale to Act II, in which Bertin modulates incessantly. The number begins in C major (m. 1) before modulating to Eb major (m. 68), followed by G major (m. 157).⁵³ From mm. 175-190, Bertin drops the use of a key signature for a recitative that uses four different double bars (about one every five measures); during the course of these 15 measures, Bertin exploits semitonal voice-leading to modulate to Ab major in m. 191 (*Figure 2.3.*).

Another recitative enclosed in double bars (this time only four bars long) is employed from mm. 205-208, followed by nine bars of E major. The following section in A major (m. 218) is longer but soon gives way to D major at m. 275 and, finally, C major at m. 315 allowing the number to end in the key it began. To recapitulate, Bertin follows this succession of key areas in the Act II finale: CM \rightarrow EbM \rightarrow GM \rightarrow Recit \rightarrow AbM \rightarrow Recit \rightarrow EM \rightarrow AM \rightarrow DM \rightarrow CM. With the exception of the final stretch—in which Bertin moves through the circle of fifths—none of these key areas are closely related, being often separated by 3, 4, or 5 accidentals. Prior to the

⁵³ Bertin is seemingly composing out C minor.

aforementioned movement through the circle of fifths, the chosen keys appear to be generated through chromatic third-relations, an important feature of nineteenth-century music.



Figure 2.3. Bertin's use of semitonal voice-leading.

The emphasis on modulation, more than anything else in Bertin's music, is indicative of her training with Reicha. In connection with this, it should be pointed out that in the second book of his treatise on opera composition, Reicha includes a section on modulation which is notable for two reasons: 1. Reicha demonstrates how to modulate to keys that are separated by a half-step, a minor third, a major third, and even a tritone; and 2. Reicha realizes these modulations with an emphasis on semitonal voice-leading, sometimes employing enharmonic transformations (*Figure 2.4.*):⁵⁴

Stylistic features Bertin shares with other Reicha students (Berlioz, Farrenc, Franck) include a Germanic emphasis on harmony over melody, and a propensity for complex semitonal voice-leading—all characteristics that reveal Reicha's influence.

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⁵⁴ Reicha, 53-56.

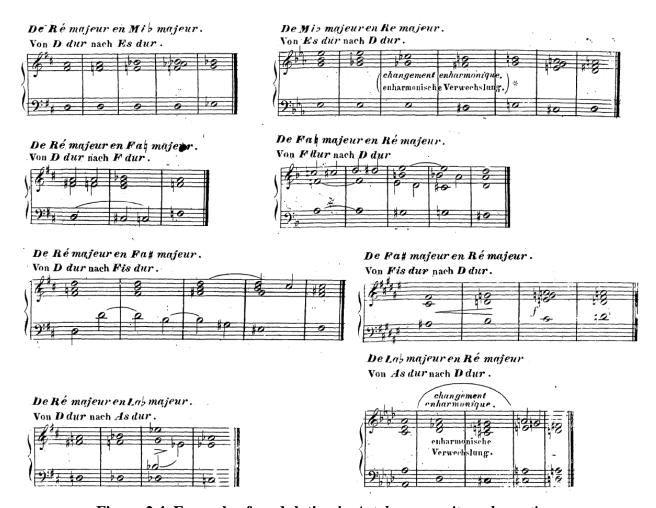


Figure 2.4. Example of modulation in Art du compositeur dramatique.

2.6 Did Bertin Influence Berlioz's Setting of *Faust*?

It is possible that Berlioz was influenced by Bertin when he wrote his operatic adaptation of *Faust*. Berlioz chose to alter the events of the story so that Faust signs the contract with Mephistopheles only *after* Marguerite is placed in jail. With this change to the plot, Faust's character becomes significantly more sympathetic, for he makes the pact in order to help Marguerite. A similar modification to the story had already been made by Bertin in her own adaptation of *Faust* several years earlier. According to Boneau, Berlioz claimed to be unaware of

Bertin's operas prior to *La Esmeralda*,⁵⁵ for which he was hired to edit the score and oversee rehearsals; however, according to Barbier, this may not have been the case:

Thanks to the support of the Bertin family, who owned *Le Journal des Débats* and whom Berlioz knew well from supervising the premiere of their daughter Louise's opera *Fausto*, the Académie Royale agreed to mount the composer's first operatic work on 10 September 1838.⁵⁶

Perhaps Barbier here confuses *Fausto* with *La Esmeralda*, but if not, Berlioz was clearly aware of Bertin's setting of *Faust*, which was one of the very first French operatic settings of the hugely influential story.

The influence of Berlioz (specifically his *Symphony Fantastique*) upon Bertin is evident in her treatments of Esmeralda's Dance Theme as she approaches her execution. As Esmeralda reaches the scaffold, we are again presented with her Dance Theme from Act I, yet it is not allowed to finish, and is instead cut off by the Fate Theme from the overture (as shown in *Figure 4.14.*); this scenario is quite similar to Berlioz's treatment of the *idée fixe* in his own "March to the Scaffold" in the *Symphonie Fantastique*. While it is clear that Berlioz inspired Bertin in this specific way, it is possible that inspiration flowed in both directions.

2.7 Bertin's Relationship with Hugo and the Beginnings of *La Esmeralda*

Both the opera, *La Esmeralda*, and its composer, Bertin, gain in credibility from the fact that such a monumental figure as Hugo was willing to write the libretto; Hugo's collaboration with Bertin is especially significant since more established composers like Rossini and Meyerbeer had already expressed interest in working with him on such a project.⁵⁷ His

⁵⁶ Barbier, 85.

⁵⁵ Boneau, 321.

⁵⁷ Arnaud Laster, "Hugo à l'opéra," L'avant-scène: opéra 208 (2002): 20.

preeminence as the leading author of France was such that his works were said to have been bought even by the illiterate (an author's dream); in nineteenth-century France, having a copy of Hugo on your book shelf was comparable to owning a Bible. Yet, Hugo selected Bertin.

Working with Bertin on an operatic setting of *Notre-dame de Paris* is a commitment that Hugo would not have undertaken lightly, for it is the only libretto he ever wrote; it is also noteworthy that the collaboration between the two began even *before* the novel (which would prove to be his most enduring work) was published.

It appears that Hugo's relationship with the Bertin family began around 1827, when the *Journal des debats* published a positive review of Hugo's *Odes et Ballades*; for this, Hugo wrote a letter of gratitude to Bertin l'aîné. From this point on, Hugo became a regular guest at the Bertin home. Exactly when Hugo developed a personal relationship with Louise Bertin is difficult to determine; however, starting in 1831, Hugo began dedicating poetry to her so it is safe to assume that the relationship had been blossoming for some time prior to this gesture. It is probable, then, that Hugo and Bertin's friendship started at least by 1830. There is no evidence, at this time, to suggest that Hugo and Bertin were romantically involved, although Hugo did have mistresses.

It is clear that Bertin was raised to be a Romantic; her father, who translated Shakespeare and gothic novels, played a large part in her development and exposed her to the figures that he worked with, including Hugo, Chateaubriand, and other French Romantics. Her sensibilities endeared her to Hugo and made their collaboration understandable. In order to investigate how Bertin expresses the Hugolian themes of fate and decay, it is necessary to observe how these themes appear in his oeuvre, specifically in *Notre-dame de Paris*.

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⁵⁸ Boneau, 392.

CHAPTER 3

NOTRE-DAME DE PARIS AND THE THEMES OF FATE AND DECAY

3.1 Hugo's Inspiration

Notre-Dame de Paris by Victor Hugo is a historical novel that almost immediately became iconic; indeed, it was so popular with the Parisian public that, soon after it was published (1831), it convinced city leaders of the importance of the gothic architecture that serves as its setting. In a way, this was Hugo's intention, since he had long been concerned for the physical state of the historical buildings of Paris. In the preface, Hugo eloquently explains to readers that his inspiration for the novel was the public's disregard for one of Paris' most historically significant buildings, as well as the possible events that could have led a tortured soul to engrave the Greek word for "fate" on the wall of one of the towers. Due to its importance, I have included the preface in its entirety:

A few years ago, while visiting or, rather, rummaging about Notre-Dame, the author of this book found, in an obscure nook of one of the towers, the following word, engraved by hand upon the wall:--

ΆΝΆΓΚΗ.

These Greek capitals, black with age, and quite deeply graven in the stone, with I know not what signs peculiar to Gothic calligraphy imprinted upon their forms and upon their attitudes, as though with the purpose of revealing that it had been a hand of the Middle Ages which had inscribed them there, and especially the fatal and melancholy meaning contained in them, struck the author deeply.⁵⁹

He questioned himself; he sought to divine who could have been that soul in torment which had not been willing to quit this world without leaving this stigma of crime or unhappiness upon the brow of the ancient church.

Afterwards, the wall was whitewashed or scraped down, I know not which, and the inscription disappeared. For it is thus that people have been in the habit of proceeding with the marvelous churches of the Middle Ages for the last two hundred years. Mutilations come to them from every quarter, from within as well as from without. The priest whitewashes them, the archdeacon scrapes them down; then the populace arrives and demolishes them.

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⁵⁹ Even in the preface, one can see Hugo's affinity for run-on sentences.

Thus, with the exception of the fragile memory which the author of this book here consecrates to it, there remains today nothing whatever of the mysterious word engraved within the gloomy tower of Notre-Dame,--nothing of the destiny which it so sadly summed up. The man who wrote that word upon the wall disappeared from the midst of the generations of man many centuries ago; the word, in its turn, has been effaced from the wall of the church; the church will, perhaps, itself soon disappear from the face of the earth.

It is upon this word that this book is founded.

March, 1831.⁶⁰

There are two major themes introduced by Hugo in his preface: fate, the word engraved into the walls of the cathedral tower before being carelessly erased from history; and decay, of the cathedral and other buildings like it. Based on the final paragraph of the preface, it is clear that Hugo views the two themes as being intimately related. He seems to question whether it is the fate of all to be forgotten, the fragile collective memories of their existence being wiped away, just as the engraving had been. Pessimistic views of this nature are typical of the philosophical ideas concurrent with the Romantic literary movement epitomized by Hugo. A few of the primary practitioners of these philosophical beliefs were Schopenhauer (1788-1860), and Kierkegaard (1813-1855), both of which were active around the time that *Notre-dame de Paris*

⁶⁰ Il y a quelques années qu'en visitant, ou, pour mieux dire, en furetant Notre-Dame, l'auteur de ce livre trouva, dans un recoin obscur de l'une des tours, ce mot gravé à la main sur le mur : ἈΝΆΓΚΗ.

Ces majuscules grecques, noires de vétusté et assez profondément entaillées dans la pierre, je ne sais quels signes propres à la calligraphie gothique empreints dans leurs formes et dans leurs attitudes, comme pour révéler que c'était une main du moyen-âge qui les avait écrites là, surtout le sens lugubre et fatal qu'elles renferment, frappèrent vivement l'auteur.

Il se demanda, il chercha à deviner quelle pouvait être l'âme en peine qui n'avait pas voulu quitter ce monde sans laisser ce stigmate de crime ou de malheur au front de la vieille église.

Depuis, on a badigeonné ou gratté (je ne sais plus lequel) le mur, et l'inscription a disparu. Car c'est ainsi qu'on agit depuis tantôt deux cents ans avec les merveilleuses églises du moyen-âge. Les mutilations leur viennent de toutes parts, du dedans comme du dehors. Le prêtre les badigeonne, l'architecte les gratte, puis le peuple survient, qui les démolit.

Ainsi, hormis le fragile souvenir que lui consacre ici l'auteur de ce livre, il ne reste plus rien aujourd'hui du mot mystérieux gravé dans la sombre tour de Notre-Dame, rien de la destinée inconnue qu'il résumait si mélancoliquement. L'homme qui a écrit ce mot sur ce mur s'est effacé, il y a plusieurs siècles, du milieu des générations, le mot s'est à son tour effacé du mur de l'église, l'église elle-même s'effacera bientôt peut-être de la terre.

C'est sur ce mot qu'on a fait ce livre. Mars 1831.

and *La Esmeralda* were written. In order to gain an understanding of the themes of fate and decay in Hugo's novel *Notre-Dame de Paris* and, eventually, how Louise Bertin represents them in her opera, I will discuss each at length. Before doing so, a brief explanation of Hugo's role in Romanticism would be beneficial.

3.2 Hugo and the Romantic Movement

As one of the primary figures of literary Romanticism in France, Hugo embodies the ideals of the Romantic Movement. In general, the Romantic Movement sought to return to pre-Enlightenment ideals, placing importance on the subjective human emotional experience and a sense of awe associated with religion and the supernatural. Romantics were suspicious of the scientific and technological strides made during the course of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries, a sentiment that expresses itself in quintessential Romantic literature like *Frankenstein*—in which tampering with the natural world results in the creation of a monster that destroys the life of its creator. Similarly, an important theme of Romantic literature was a feeling of powerlessness in the face of nature, whether represented by characters falling victim to catastrophic weather—for example, in the poetic works of Wordsworth and the Shelleys—or by characters helplessly surrendering to their own desires, as in works by Goethe like *Werther* and *Faust*. Due to this sense of powerlessness, fatalism often pervades Romantic works, as it does in *Notre-Dame de Paris*.

In Hugo's novel, inexorable destiny is the driving force behind all events. Throughout the novel, it is gradually revealed that fate is responsible for ironic and statistically unlikely connections that exist between the characters. For instance, Sister Gudule spends her life

⁶¹ While Goethe is a pre-Romantic author, his works had a major influence on the generation that followed.

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mourning the loss of her daughter Agnes, whom she believes was cannibalized by gypsies and, as a result, she casts daily abuse upon Esmeralda; however, she discovers just before Esmeralda's execution that she is, in fact, her daughter. Likewise, Esmeralda is shocked to discover that the parentage she desperately had been in search of was right in front of her. In a similar twist of fate, when Gudule's character is first introduced, she details how her daughter was taken by the gypsies and replaced with a horribly deformed child that she abandoned at the church; Hugo leaves it up to the reader to assume that the deformed child was Quasimodo, whom Frollo took in as an adoptive son. Thus, through a single past event, four of the characters (who are, with the exception of Frollo and Quasimodo, strangers to one another) have become intertwined. Frollo is also responsible for Esmeralda and Phoebus' affair since they meet when Phoebus rescues Esmeralda from Frollo and Quasimodo's abduction attempt; in this way, Frollo creates his own enemy. Finally, it turns out that nearly every principal character in the novel (Frollo, Quasimodo, Esmeralda, Jehan, Gringoire and Gudule) happens to be an orphan.

3.3 The Representation of Notre-Dame's Decay in Primary Characters

The Notre-Dame cathedral was, at the time Hugo wrote the novel, in a serious state of disrepair, having suffered extensive damage during the French Revolution. The principle characters of the novel are representative of the cathedral, almost as if they are extensions of it: their lives center around the cathedral and they all have various meaningful connections to it. Frollo, a priest fallen from grace after a series of disappointments who allows his soul to be ravaged by lust for Esmeralda, calls the cathedral his home, as does Quasimodo, the deformed bell-ringer. Esmeralda is a character of chaste purity, having taken a vow of celibacy while in search for her parents; despite the near holiness of her character, she—as a gypsy—exists on the

opposite end of the social hierarchy from Frollo, who is a powerful religious figure.

Juxtapositions such as this are common in Hugo's works, as can be seen in *Les Miserables*, in which Jean Valjean is both a criminal and a saint while Javert, a supposed representative of righteous justice, is cruel and uncaring.

As previously discussed, in writing *Notre-Dame de Paris*, Hugo is making a plea to fellow Parisians to reconsider the importance of the historical architecture of the city; for this, he specifically chose the cathedral as the representative of Paris. The choice is elegant, as it points to a part of French life that was just beginning to become irrelevant during Hugo's time: the importance of religion and of bells as a center of daily life.

According to Alain Corbin, author of Village Bells: The Culture of the Senses in the Nineteenth-Century French Countryside:

Although no systematic inquiry is possible, we can catch glimpses here and there of the gradual loss of meaning suffered by the messages borne by bells...[Their] meaning seemed to fall away, modes of attention collapsed, the usages and rhetoric of the bells grew narrower so that, in short, a whole range of auditory messages were increasingly disqualified...During the second half of the nineteenth century rural communities found other symbols for their identity; the rise of the municipal, and the falling back on the religious messages helped to undermine the prestige of the peals...Bells had gradually stopped being signs, portents, or talismans. Dechristianization caused the withdrawal within oneself enjoined by their calls to prayer to be forgotten.⁶²

This situation, in which a traditionally powerful symbol of religious feeling had begun to lose its relevance, is precisely the kind of concern that occupied the minds of Romantics like Hugo.

Hugo sets the novel in the fifteenth-century, while the cathedral was still fully intact, yet his characters—themselves an extension of the cathedral—suffer in its stead, representing the damage done to the building during Hugo's time. The strongest evidence of Hugo's frame of

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⁶² Allain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the 19th-Century French Countryside* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 306-307.

mind is the fact that he chose to make Quasimodo—who, as the bell-ringer, is the clearest representative of the crumbling cathedral—deformed.⁶³

3.4 *Notre-Dame de Paris*, Frollo, and Fatalism

This quote, in which Claude Frollo addresses himself, provides an important clue to understanding both his character and the role of fate in the novel:

It is Fate!—Alas, Claude! You are the spider. Claude, you are the fly too! You did seek science, the light, the sunshine; you only wanted to reach the open air, the broad daylight of eternal truth. But while darting toward the dazzling window, which opens into the other world, a world of brightness, intelligence, and science, blind fly, silly doctor, you did not perceive that subtle spider's web, spread by Fate between the light and you; you rushed into it, and now, with mangled head and broken wings, you struggle in the iron grip of Fate! (Hugo, Book 7 Chapter 5)⁶⁴

A key theme is expressed through Frollo's character: the inevitable decay of happiness into tragedy and misfortune. Frollo was once a happy and kind person: he once took in Quasimodo as an adoptive son, attempted to do right by his younger brother Jehan by sending him to school, and used to live a virtuous life. As Frollo says, he "did seek science, the light, the sunshine." Yet, Quasimodo was deafened by Notre-Dame's bells, ruining the already slim chance he had of taking part in society; his brother, at only 15, has shirked off his studies and begun to live a life of debauchery; and Frollo, already sunk low from these failures, has forsaken his sense of morality for a doomed infatuation with Esmeralda.

The metaphor of the "spider's web" is a multifaceted one. Frollo uses it to represent fate,

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⁶³ Porter, Laurence M., Victor Hugo (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1999), 31.

⁶⁴ "C'est la fatalité!—Hélas! Claude, tu es l'araignée. Claude, tu es la mouche aussi! Tu volais à la science, à la lumière, au soleil, tu n'avais souci que d'arriver au grand air, au grand jour de la vérité éternelle; mais, en te precipitant vers la lucarne éblouissante que donne sur l'autre monde, sur le monde de la claret, de l'intelligence et de la science, mouch aveugle, docteur insensé, tu n'as pas vu cette subtile toile d'araignée tendue par le destin entre la lumière et toi, tu t'y es jeté à corps perdu, miserable fou, et maintenant tut e débats, la tête brisée et les ailes arrachées, entre les antennes de fer de la fatalité!

which has caught him like a fly and left him powerless to resist. Yet, Frollo also sees himself as the spider because he seeks to capture Esmeralda in the same way; however, there is a subtler insinuation in this metaphor that, since Frollo is the spider, the web of fate is partly of his own making. Despite the role that fate plays in his works, Hugo believes in free will for his characters, a fact that is made plain when Quasimodo (as much subjugated by Frollo as Frollo believes himself subjugated by fate) defies his master and rescues Esmeralda from execution; but this is a temporary rescue, for Esmeralda is executed anyway. Frollo believes himself to be a victim of fate, yet he is partly to blame for all of his misfortunes: he gave Quasimodo the bell-ringing position that deafened him; he bestowed too much freedom upon Jehan; and now, he uses these misfortunes as an excuse, blaming fate for everything immoral that he chooses to do with Esmeralda. The web of fate could also be representative of the multiple connections between the characters, who, despite coming from vastly different social strata and initially being strangers to one another, are united by the cathedral as their destinies are intertwined by the events related in the novel.

Another important quote illustrates the desperation with which Frollo views his love for Esmeralda:

And when he strove to picture to himself the happiness that he might have found on earth if she had not been a gypsy, and if he had not been a priest, if Phoebus had not existed, and if she had loved him; when he considered that a life of serenity and affection might have been possible for him, too, even him; that, at that very moment, there were here and there on the earth happy couples lost in long conversations under orange groves, on the banks of murmuring streams, in the presence of a setting sun, or of a starry sky, and that, if God had willed it, he might have formed with her one of those blessed couples, his heart dissolved in tenderness and despair. (Hugo, Book 9 Chapter 1)⁶⁵

^{65 &}quot;Et quand il cherchait à se faire une idée du Bonheur qu'il eût put trouver sur la terre si elle n'eût pas été bohémienne et s'il n'eût pas été prêtre, si Phoebus n'eût pas existé et si elle l'eût aimé; quand il se figurait qu'une vie de sérénité et d'amour lui eût été possible aussi à lui, qu'il y avait en ce même moment çà et là sur la terre des couples heureux, perdus en longues causeries sous les orangers, au bord des ruisseaux, en presence d'un soleil couchant, d'une nuit étoilée; et que, si Dieu l'eût voulu, il eût pu faire avec elle un de ces couples de benediction, son Coeur se fondait en tendresse et un désespoir."

The most striking aspect of this quote is its long and repetitive structure. Hugo's writing is filled with long sentences—*Les Miserables* contains one that is 823 words in length—but the repeated use of conditionals sets this sentence apart. The reader is given a long list of reasons why Frollo's desire for Esmeralda is futile; and Frollo knows this to be the case. Knowing that his love is fated to be unrequited, Frollo immediately becomes desperate, resolving to take by force that which he cannot have willingly. One cannot help but notice a link between the style of this quote, and that of an excerpt from Voltaire's *Candide*:

All events form a chain in the best of all possible worlds. For in the end, if you had not been given a good kick up the backside and chased out of a beautiful castle for loving Miss Cunégonde, and if you hadn't been subjected to the Inquisition, and if you hadn't wandered about America on foot, and if you hadn't dealt the Baron a good blow with your sword, and if you hadn't lost all your sheep from that fine country of El Dorado, you wouldn't be here now eating candied citron and pistachio nuts. (Voltaire, chapter 30)⁶⁶

These are the words of wisdom offered to Candide by his mentor Pangloss (who expresses the ideas of Leibnizian optimism) that all events, even those that are evil, lead to "the best of all possible worlds," to which Candide replies, "That is well put, but we must cultivate our garden." By this, it is meant that we should not allow ourselves to passively be swept up by any sort of fatalism, accepting the evils that are visited upon us (or others) with the view that it could not have been otherwise; instead, we should be active shapers of our own future and not become complacent in the idea that all things are already divined (in other words, we should "cultivate our garden"). Voltaire, who was also an influential figure in Bertin's education, deals with fatalism as does Hugo; but while Voltaire takes a satirical approach (as opposed to Hugo's

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⁶⁶ "Tous les événements sont enchaînés dans le meilleur des mondes possibles; car enfin, si vous n'aviez pas été chassé d'un beau château à grands coups de pied dans le derrière pour l'amour de Mlle Cunégonde, si vous n'aviez pas été mis à l'Inquisition, si vous n'aviez pas couru l'Amérique à pied, si vous n'aviez pas donné un bon coup d'épée au baron, si vous n'aviez pas perdu tous vos moutons du bon pays d'Eldorado, vous ne mangeriez pas ici des cédrats confits et des pistaches." "Cela est bien dit, répondit Candide, mais il faut cultivar notre jardin."

tragic sensibilities), they both refute the idea that all is predetermined, whether by God (as it was for Candide at the beginning of the satire) or by Satan (as it is for Frollo).

Having observed the role of themes such as fate and decay in Hugo's *Notre-dame de Paris*, we are now well positioned to investigate their representation in the music of Bertin's opera. In the next chapter, I shall illustrate how the themes of fate—of Esmeralda's death and Frollo's damnation—and the decay of virtue—just as the façade of Notre-dame was regrettably decayed during Hugo's life—are expressed in musical terms, especially through recurring motives, key relationships, large-scale tonal-contrapuntal structure, and the dichotomy between F# and F\(\beta\).

CHAPTER 4

THE EXPRESSION OF HUGOLIAN THEMES IN THE COMPOSITIONAL CHOICES OF BERTIN

4.1 How to Use the Musical Examples

In my analysis, I utilize a few different organizational techniques to ensure maximum coverage of the material without losing coherence in the graphs. In the section of foreground graphs (Appendix A), which I have separated from the prose of the thesis for ease of viewing, I have divided the music into roughly 8-32 measure units, depending on the amount of music that can fit on a page and still be legible. In doing this, I have also segmented the music in such a way that examples begin and end on points of structural stability (usually tonic harmony, hypermetric downbeat measure, or both). In addition, these musical examples usually overlap by a measure, so that the viewer can easily connect them. Through these musical examples, I present a foreground analysis of the music; additionally, middleground graphs of each section are found in Appendix B. So, while viewing my foreground analysis, one can easily follow along in the middleground graphs. The deep middleground of each section is presented in-text, but can also be found in Appendix C. Finally, the background of Act I can be found in Figure 4.3a, as well as in Appendix D.

I have divided the deep middleground of the first act into four parts: Musical Examples C.1-C.3 represent mm. 1-369 of No. 1, and comprises the initial D major tonal area;⁶⁷ Musical Example C.4 spans mm. 370-685 of No. 1, and encompasses the beginning of the F major tonal

⁶⁷ Additionally, *Musical Example C.1*. is divided into three parts to reflect its antecedent-antecedent-consequent structure.

area; Musical Example C.5 represents No. 2 (Frollo's aria), and composes out the dominant of F; finally, Musical Examples C.6-C.8 correspond to No. 3 to show the close of the F tonal area.⁶⁸

4.2 The Centrality of D and F in Act I of *La Esmeralda*

In my analysis of Act I of *La Esmeralda*, the tonal structure projects only two large-scale tonal areas comprising D major (No. 1, mm. 1-368); and F major (No. 1, mm. 369-658; No. 2; and No. 3). The graphs to follow elucidate this reading in detail, but by simply viewing the boundary measures of each number (Figure 4.1), the centrality of D major, followed by F major is confirmed. Considering the fact (which was surely known by Bertin) that Notre-dame's bells toll in F#, it is entirely plausible—if not likely—that D major and F major were chosen specifically to highlight a movement from F# (the mediant pitch of D major, and the primary tone) to F\(\beta\).

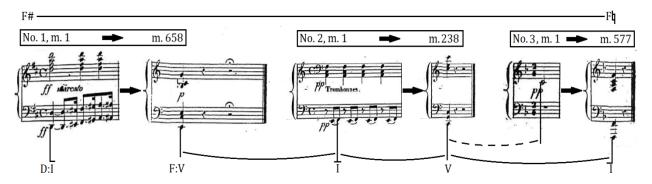


Figure 4.1. Diagram showing the centrality of D, followed by F.

Since the D tonal area regularly alternates between major and minor (as in the overture, where the F#/F\(\beta\) dichotomy is first introduced), and the background later modulates to F major, one might observe that Act I is centered around D minor and its parallel and relative majors. This

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⁶⁸ Additionally, *Musical Example C.4*. is divided into three parts to reflect its antecedent-antecedent-consequent structure.

phenomenon, known as "tonal pairing," was studied by William Rothstein's 2008 MTO article "Common-tone Tonality in Italian Romantic Opera: An Introduction" and linked specifically to the works of Verdi and Rossini. For instance, Rothstein notes that Rossini's 1829 opera *Guillaume Tell* is "dominated by the pairing of two tonics, E and G. G appears almost exclusively as G major; E vacillates between its minor and major modes." This particular statement about *Guillaume Tell* fits *La Esmeralda* so well that one could simply replace E and G with D and F, respectively. This connection is significant because it provides evidence of Italianate features in Bertin's operatic writing, while also suggesting a familiarity with Gottfried Weber's table of key relations (which positions minor keys between their respective parallel and relative minors.

4.3 The Presence of Antecedent-Antecedent-Consequent Organization

Despite its length, and multitude of harmonically enclosed sections, opera follows the same structural divisions as smaller-scale forms; a case in point is the presence of antecedent-antecedent-consequent organization. Within the D major tonal area (No. 1, mm. 1-372), there are two strong half cadences which serve to differentiate the two antecedents of the overall structure (see *Figure 4.3*a); these half cadences also punctuate important narrative points in the opera, specifically the introduction of the two lead characters of the novel, Frollo and Quasimodo.⁷¹ No. 3, as well, has two half cadences that functions similarly (Figure 4.3a).

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⁶⁹ William Rothstein, "Common-tone Tonality in Italian Romantic Opera: An Introduction," *MTO* 14, no. 1 (March 2008).

⁷⁰ Tonal pairing can later be observed in works by Austro-German composers like Wagner, Wolf, and Mahler. Additionally, Harald Krebs has noted the use of tonal pairing in the music of Schubert and Chopin, while Peter Kaminsky has observed its presence in works by Schumann.

⁷¹ It is notable that, although Esmeralda is the titular character of the opera, she is not even one of the principle characters of the novel. In fact, the name of the opera was changed to *La Esmeralda* late in the compositional

There has been little research done on the issue known as "double interruption," or a structure that is interrupted twice on the background level; two articles to deal with this subject have been Jack Adrian's The Ternary-Sonata Form⁷² and Timothy Jackson's The Adagio of the Sixth Symphony and the Anticipatory Tonic Recapitulation in Bruckner, Brahms and Dvořák.⁷³ The discussion in both articles centers on sonata form, specifically cases in which the development begins by restating tonic harmony; however, the debate is still applicable in the case of La Esmeralda, which features multiple deep-level interruptions. Many Schenkerian analyses prominently feature a single interruption, positing a large-scale antecedent-consequent structure;⁷⁴ indeed, it is a commonly found compositional scheme in tonal music. Perhaps, in part, it is the pervasiveness of the simple antecedent-consequent structure that has led some theorists to reject the notion of the double interruption in favor of a single interruption; so, when multiple interruptions of seemingly equal weight are present, the impetus is to consider one as subsidiary to the other. In Jackson's words, "perhaps the binary structure of interruption form is so deeply engrained in our psyches that we naturally assimilate two interruptions within a single interrupted antecedent-consequent structure." As described by Jackson, there are three options for dealing with an apparent double interruption in sonata form (Figure 4.2):

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process due to issues with the censors, who wished the opera to distance itself from the church. For this reason, allusions to Frollo's status as a priest were cut, although audiences would have known the story regardless.

⁷² Jack Adrian, "The Ternary-Sonata Form," Journal of Music Theory 34, no. 1 (Spring, 1990): 57-80.

⁷³ Timothy Jackson, "The Adagio of the Sixth Symphony and the Anticipatory Tonic Recapitulation in Bruckner, Brahms and Dvořák," in Perspectives on Anton Bruckner (Farnham, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2001): 206-227.

⁷⁴ For instance, my own reading of Frollo's Aria (*Musical Example C.3.*) suggests an antecedent-consequent structure.

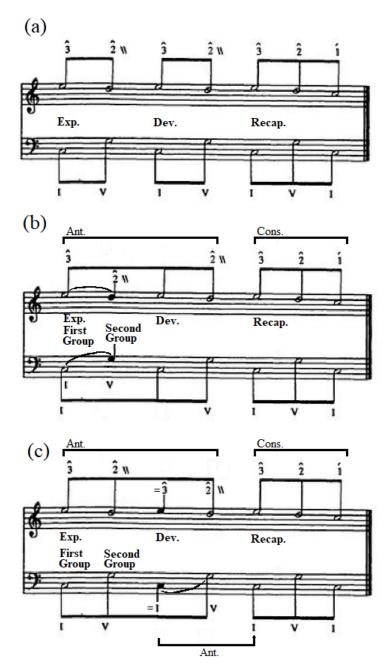


Figure 4.2. Jackson's options for dealing with an apparent double interruption in sonata form.

While all three options are conceivable, various theorists advocate for one above the others: Option A is supported by some of Schenker's graphs, although his theory was perhaps not developed enough at the time to conceive of the possibility of options B or C; Option B was the subject of Adrian's article; and option C was part of Jackson's contribution to the debate. In

this thesis, I have chosen option A, which is to simply give equal weight to both interruptions; however, it is also plausible to consider one interruption as subordinate to the other, resulting in a more typical antecedent-consequent form. Figure 4.3 illustrates a background reading of Act I: version A represents the antecedent-antecedent-consequent form used in my analysis; while version B shows the same structure, but with the double interruption organized into a typical antecedent-consequent form:

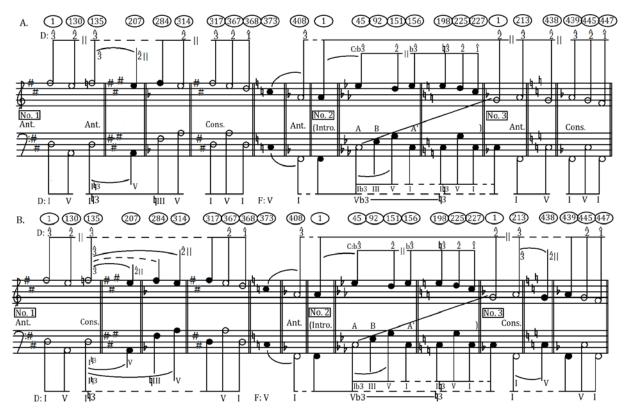


Figure 4.3. Two options for Act I background.

In terms of the musical surface, all of the interruptions posited in *Figure 4.3*a seem to be of nearly equal weight; however, Figure 4.3b—which is open to the theory that one interruption must take priority over another in the background level—is informed by narrative elements. In other words, in both No. 1 and No. 3, the first interruption (m. 135 and m. 213, respectively) may supersede the second for narrative reasons. In No. 1, m. 135 is more significant since it

introduces Frollo, who is essentially the main character of the opera; measure 317, on the other hand, merely introduces Quasimodo, whose role is much smaller. Similarly, m. 213 of No. 3 is more important than m. 439, since m. 213 is the moment of the attempted abduction of Esmeralda, the climax of the first act and the culmination of all the events leading up to it; measure 439, meanwhile, is merely the closing theme of the first act.

Although I read the first act in the manner of Figure 4.3a (using double interruption and, therefore, antecedent-antecedent-consequent form), I am open to the idea that there is only one true interruption in the background level (as expressed in Figure 4.3b). While it is not the point of this thesis to argue between the two (or other possible organizations), I thought it important to acknowledge this issue at the outset.

4.4 No. 1: The First Antecedent (mm. 1-134/Musical Examples A.1-A.9)

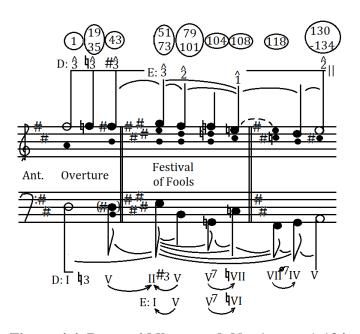


Figure 4.4. Deep middleground, No. 1, mm. 1-134.

The first antecedent (mm. 1-134), which begins with the overture (mm. 1-51) and moves through the introduction of the "Festival of Fools" (mm. 51-134), takes place before any of the

main characters are introduced; it is not until m. 135 that Frollo enters with a surprise F\$\bar{\psi}\$ over the bass D (where the half-cadence had suggested D major). The purpose of the overture is three-fold:

- 1. To introduce the dotted-rhythm as a herald of tragedy.
- 2. To establish the importance of D as a tonic.
- 3. To create a dichotomy between F# and F\(\beta\), the mediant notes of D major and D minor, respectively.

These are the symbolic terms set for the opera. I now discuss each in detail.

4.4.1 Overture (mm. 1-51/Musical Examples A.1-A.3): Bertin Establishes the Symbolic Terms Used in the Opera

The most significant part of the overture is the "Fate Theme," which occurs at m. 19 (Musical Example A.1). Later in the opera, the Fate Theme functions as a representation of Esmeralda's execution, as it is reused when she is in jail (in Act IV, No. 11), then again as Esmeralda approaches the scaffold (in Act IV, No. 15). Additionally, the Fate Theme in the overture occurs precisely at the moment in which Bertin introduces the marked alternation from D major to D minor, establishing the musical-symbolic correlation between tragedy and the F\(\beta\). As I will demonstrate, this symbolism is subsequently further strengthened through the musical representation of Frollo's character, who champions the key of F major, whereby F\(\beta\) is stabilized as the root of the prolonged sonority.

The opening of the opera also features a bass movement that is notable for several reasons: its use of irregular intervals (augmented second [A2], augmented fourth [A4]) grants it a subtly ominous character; and its dotted-rhythm—normally an energetic figure—is used by Bertin at points that link it to the tragedy that befalls the characters. Bertin confirms the symbolic

meaning of the overture (and dotted-rhythm) by recapitulating it as the opening to Act IV (Figure 4.5), which sees Esmeralda imprisoned wrongfully and awaiting execution:



Figure 4.5. Act IV opening.

After its initial introduction, Bertin refrains from using the dotted-rhythm until deep into No. 1 when the joyous festivities have ended. She reintroduces it as Quasimodo defends Frollo from the angry mob (Figure 4.6):



Figure 4.6. Return of dotted-rhythm in No. 1.

The fact that Bertin uses the dotted-rhythm in the overture and the Quasimodo-Frollo Duo, but not for the 400 measures in between indicates that she carefully reserves it to represent tragedy or conflict. If this were not the case, she might have employed it for the joyous Festival of Fools, where it would have been more at home.

At this point we become aware of the nature of Quasimodo's relationship with Frollo: Quasimodo is subject to Frollo's will. As will become apparent later in the opera, both through the events of the story and Bertin's setting of them, Quasimodo's relationship with Frollo is complex and fraught with conflict between their opposing natures; yet, Quasimodo's willingness to carry out Frollo's foul deeds helps set Esmeralda's fate in motion. Similarly, Clopin plays a significant role in Frollo's plans, giving him information about Esmeralda's whereabouts so that Frollo may attempt to abduct her, using Quasimodo; the dotted-rhythm recurs at the introduction to the *recitative* between Clopin and Frollo as these plans are made (*Figure 4.7.*):



Figure 4.7. Dotted-rhythm in beginning of Clopin recitative.

In the introduction to No. 3 (Figure 4.8), which sees Frollo and Quasimodo lying in wait for Esmeralda, the dotted-rhythm returns in the form of a familiar motive, namely that of the Fate Theme from the overture; Esmeralda's fate draws nearer. The fact that it is fragmented and inverted suggests that she will temporarily escape its closing grasp:



Figure 4.8. Dotted-rhythm in beginning of No. 3

Examples are numerous; yet it is intriguing that the moment when Esmeralda faints over Phoebus' corpse (one of the most tragic moments in the opera, since Esmeralda will be sentenced to death for this crime that she did not commit), the dotted rhythm is suspiciously absent (Figure 4.9). It is conceivable that the dotted-rhythm—or, at least, the intended effect—is present in the form of the polyrhythm 8-against-3. The resulting composite rhythm is shown underneath:

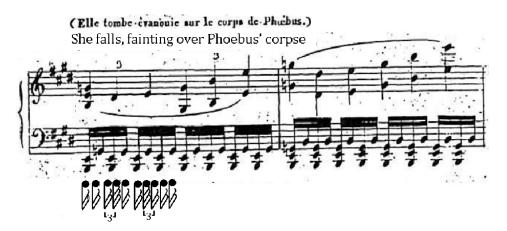


Figure 4.9. 8-against-3 polyrhythm at climax of Act III.

While not technically a dotted-rhythm, the polyrhythm results in a feeling of conflict and unevenness similar to the dotted-rhythm. It is arguable that the composite rhythm displays a similar trochaic effect to the dotted-rhythm, but it must be taken into consideration that the tempo at this point is quite fast (*Allegro*), meaning that the effect would be fleeting; additionally,

the moving notes in this passage are played by strings, which are less likely to provide the level of articulation necessary to clearly perceive such a conflict. Regardless, the 8-against-3 polyrhythm (which is emphasized by the straight eighth- and sixteenth-notes that surround it) are surely used for some expressive reason. Since Bertin establishes the connection between tragedy and the dotted-rhythm at the outset of the opera and maintains it throughout, it seems reasonable that it should recur at this climax, albeit transformed. I propose, then, that the 8-against-3 polyrhythm should be understood as a transformation of the dotted-rhythm. For the events of the opera thus far, the dotted-rhythm has connoted "tragedy," but it is unable to fully represent the catastrophic impact of Phoebus's death upon Esmeralda; thus, it evolves into the 8-against-3 polyrhythm.



Figure 4.10. Dotted-rhythm at conclusion of opera.

Unbeknownst to all, Phoebus would survive this encounter. Esmeralda will escape execution, thanks to a change in conscience from Quasimodo, yet her death comes regardless

from shock at the sight of Phoebus, who finally succumbs to his wounds. The circumstances shown in *Figure 4.9*. mirror the final moments of the opera (Figure 4.10), which prominently feature the dotted-rhythm as Frollo and the chorus proclaim her tragic fate:

It is notable that, although the events in Figure 4.9 are similar to those in Figure 4.10 (in both cases, Esmeralda is falling over Phoebus' corpse), one has the 8-against-3 polyrhythm and the other uses the dotted-rhythm. As explained, the 8-against-3 polyrhythm may be understood as a transformation of the dotted-rhythm, so why is it not reused at the end of the opera, which is surely the tragic climax since both Phoebus and Esmeralda are now dead? It is possible that this incongruity is related to point of view. One of the most jarring elements of the story's conclusion is Frollo's indifference to Esmeralda's death. He alone is responsible for it, yet he simply proclaims the fatality of the moment, essentially freeing himself from any blame; he is not remorseful in the slightest. As Esmeralda dies, Quasimodo is not present (although audiences familiar with the story might imagine that the expected murder of Frollo at Quasimodo's hands will come after the fall of the curtain); therefore, we experience Esmeralda's demise solely from Frollo's point of view. Perhaps the 8-against-3 polyrhythmic transformation of the dotted-rhythm was necessary to express Esmeralda's heartache in finding Phoebus (seemingly) dead at the conclusion of Act III, but the dotted-rhythm will suffice to express Frollo's indifference. Whatever sorrow he feels is more for himself than anyone else.

Returning now to the overture, its ominous character conflicts with the brightness of D major, creating a cognitive dissonance for the listener. One should consider that the audience was likely to know the tragic plot of Hugo's novel; therefore, a bright D major opening would have been unexpected. In this way, Bertin *marks* the tonality of the overture (to use Hatten's terminology). This markedness highlights the role of F# in the opera, since F# is the note that

gives D major its major quality, and the key in which the Notre-dame bells toll.

The first seven measures of the overture present an initial ascent to $\hat{3}$ (Musical Example A.1). When a work begins with $\hat{1}$ clearly in the top-line, the first expansion of tonic harmony (in this case, through VII°/V \rightarrow V) often serves to establish an initial ascent. Taking the primary tone F# ($\hat{3}$) in m. 7, we find a prolongation of it to the next point of tonic harmony in m. 19; however, Bertin surprises the listener with F\(\beta\) at this point. With the appearance of F\(\beta\), the "brightness" of the first measure decays, setting up the idea of happiness giving way to tragedy, which lurks just beneath the surface. The theme in m. 19, played *pesante* with trumpet, trombone and ophicleide (a nineteenth-century tuba), is indeed ominous and will later be linked to Esmeralda's execution. For this reason, I describe it as the "Fate Theme."

The Fate Theme is expanded through dominant harmony from mm. 19-35 (Musical Example A.2). During this time, the primary tone remains on $\$\hat{3}$; there is an internal descent to $\hat{1}$ in m. 35, but the primary tone is reestablished in the same measure.

At m. 44 (Musical Example A.3), the listener is presented with another surprise through a modulation to E major, completed in m. 51. On the surface, the modulatory voice-leading is quite complex, but is essentially a dominant-seventh of the new key that is altered through a 2-3bass movement (C\(\beta\-B\)). The E major arrival that this moment leads to (in m. 51) is the end of the overture, and the moment when the curtain opens to the joyous "Festival of Fools" theme; the chromatic alterations of the V7 possibly represent the music struggling to escape from the fatality of the D minor tonality. When the local D minor tonality does conclude, the new E major tonality provides a breath of fresh air. The association of major sharp keys with joyful moments

is to be expected from Bertin, who follows the general practice of the time, as described by her composition teacher, Anton Reicha.⁷⁵

4.4.2 The "Festival of Fools" Chorus (mm. 51-135/Musical Examples A.4-A.9): Representing an Unruly Crowd

In this new tonality of E major (Musical Example A.4), the (local) primary tone is G#, or $\hat{3}$. This harmony is prolonged from mm. 51-73, in which the primary tone G# moves, through a double-neighbor motion, to F# (m. 59) then A (m. 65), before returning to G# in m. 73. At this point, the chorus enters. In the typical fashion of a nineteenth-century French Grand Opera, *La Esmeralda* places a heavy emphasis on the choir. During the *Festival of Fools*, the chorus represents a group of townspeople; this is to be expected from an opera that, like its source material, concerns itself with Parisian life. In *La Esmeralda*, the choir functions exactly as it would in a Greek tragedy, commenting on the action. Since the revival of Classical Greek art was also an important aspect of the Romantic Movement, this treatment of the choir is a further indicator of Bertin's Romantic sensibilities.

The first voice parts enter as the *Choeur de Truands*, who are the vagabonds of Paris, praise their king, Clopin (Musical Example A.5). For this section, I have reduced the chorus down to a single staff, since they sing in unison; the fact that the choral part in this instance is simple intimates that the vagabonds of Paris are uneducated. In terms of voice-leading, the primary tone descends from the previous $G\#(\hat{3})$, to $F\#(\hat{2})$, as the chorus moves towards dominant harmony at m. 79. It appears at this point (Musical Example A.6) that the chorus will return to tonic harmony; however, the mob of beggars becomes unruly and, as they sing of their

⁷⁵ Anton Reicha, Trans. Peter M. Landey, *Treatise on Melody* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2000 (1814)), 9.

exploits flouting the law, they establish a harmonic circuit in B minor, altering the course of the structure away from E major. The tonicization of B minor is confirmed in m. 101, but now in the major mode. The mob does not rest, and, as they eerily sing of "dancing with spirits in the moonlight," they take the listener through a series of semitonal shifts, the goal of which is a V7 of C in m. 104. Aside from an aforementioned neighboring motion to G#, the F# primary tone had remained in force up to this point; however, it descends to F\(\beta\) in mm. 104-107, continuing the downward progression initiated from the G# in m. 51 (see *Musical Example C.1.1.*). The resolution to C major in m. 108 continues this descent further, to E\(\beta\) (\(\beta\) in C major).

At this point (Musical Example A.7), the music could be contextualized in three keys, depending upon the scope of one's hearing. Measure 108 is clearly a tonicization of C major, however, it proves to be quite short-lived. G major is the next structural goal (in m. 118), with m. 108 functioning as IV of G. Yet, on the largest scale, the ultimate goal is a return to D minor (see Musical Example C.1-C.2), which comes in m. 135 and coincides with the entrance of the first main character (Frollo). Bearing this larger context in mind, I will discuss mm. 108-135 in the key of D.

This section elucidates the role of the mob, as represented by the chorus. Measure 118 (Musical Example A.8) features several musical changes, including a return to the D major key signature of the overture, and a change in metric emphasis. Through the combination of a fermata, and the resolution of the half-diminished-seventh on the downbeat of the measure, its second beat becomes metrically emphasized. Returning to m. 73, starting with the choir's initial entrance, the choral phrases consistently began on beat 2; however, the orchestral chords on the downbeats prevented the chorus from altering the typical metric structure. Yet, in m. 118, the tables are turned. The fermata prior to beat 2 changes the listener's perception, now causing beat

2 to sound like the beginning of a new rhythmic group and, consequently creating a new metric emphasis; the resulting metrical shift is supported by Lerdahl and Jackendoff's MPR 2.⁷⁶

Additionally, the use of a dominant functioning chord on the downbeat, which resolves on beat 2, reinforces the perception of beat 2 as a point of metric emphasis; this idea is supported by MPR 9.⁷⁷ It seems that, in this instance, the vagabonds of Paris have won the power struggle, enforcing their own view of the metric structure (as established by their initial text-setting). It is worth nothing that Musical Example A.8, in which the last syllable of the poetic line is notated on the downbeat, is a prime example of Franco-Italian meter (as opposed to German meter); as observed by Rothstein, Franco-Italian meter exhibits end-accented tendencies related in part to Italian text setting procedures (specifically the *accento comune*). This instance of clear Franco-Italian meter represents a counter-example to the supposed Germanicism of the opera.

Thinking in D major (the global tonic) for mm. 118-135 (Musical Examples A.8-A.9), the harmony proceeds to VI in m. 124, supporting F# ($\hat{3}$), followed by V7/V \rightarrow V in mm. 130-134, supporting E ($\hat{2}$). In terms of the large-scale tonal structure, the top voice descent from F# to E in m. 130 functions as the end of the first antecedent (see Musical Example C.1); the listener is not presented with an expected descent to D ($\hat{1}$) at m. 135; rather, there is an interruption. Since this is the moment where Frollo, the first main character, enters, it makes perfect sense that his first appearance should coincide with an important juncture in the tonal structure. It is also

⁷⁶ MPR 2 (Strong Beat Early) is the rule that reflects the metric convention in which strong beats are typically found early in a grouping. However, it is notable that MPR 2 is a naturally problematic rule; in Rothstein's article "National Metrical Types" he discusses a difference in metric structure between what he calls German meter and Franco-Italian meter, which is end-accented and follows the meter thought by Riemann to be ideal, naturally violates MPR 2.

⁷⁷ MPR 9 (Time-span Interaction) relates to the preference of metric structures that place strong points on stronger functioning chords (like tonics).

⁷⁸ William Rothstein, "National Metrical Types in Music of the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries" in *Communication in Eighteenth-Century Music*: 112-159.

significant that Frollo sings F4, frustrating the listener's expectations in another way: the expected mode is D major, and thus, F# is expected; but instead, with the F\(\beta\), D minor is reasserted. This pivotal moment of Frollo's entrance recalls the first major surprise of the overture, in which the Fate Theme established the dichotomy between F# and F\(\beta\). As previously discussed, the bright opening of the opera is undermined by the appearance of F\(\beta\); as this moment coincides with the Fate Theme—ultimately the theme of Esmeralda's execution—F\$\psi\$ assumes tremendous semantic-symbolic significance: Frollo's entrance here on F\(\beta\), both reestablishing the D minor tonal area and denying the expected F#, serves to further reinforce the symbolic importance of F\(\beta\) as a devaluation or decay of F\(\pi\). And recalling that the famous bells of Notredame toll in the key of F# (a fact that would not have escaped Bertin), the symbolic connection cannot be denied. Jumping ahead to Act IV, No. 11 (which sees Esmeralda in jail), Bertin further marks the mixture of D as important: after beginning with a restatement of the overture (as in Figure 4.5), the remainder of the number oscillates several times between D major and D minor signifying that Esmeralda's fate hangs in the balance. When the number ends in D minor, it becomes clear that she is doomed.

- 4.5 No. 1: The Second Antecedent (mm. 135-316/Musical Examples A.10-A.27)
- 4.5.1 Frollo's Entrance and "Festival of Fools" Continued (mm. 135-178/Musical Examples A.10-A.13)

Frollo's initial solo (Musical Example A.10), in which he sings of his suffering amid the joyous crowd, purposefully stands out from the music that surrounds it. Frollo's melody descends from the $\ \ \, \hat{\ } \ \, \hat{\ } \ \,$ primary tone to the tonic, before regaining $\ \ \, \hat{\ } \ \,$ in m. 147, thus prolonging it. The Ab major six-three chord, bV6 in m. 149, is both striking and unexpected, but its use can

be attributed to the text, where it is supported by the word *flamme*. "Flame" is a recurring poetic symbol in the opera's libretto, and is evoked by multiple characters for divergent reasons. Frollo uses the word *flamme* to refer to his jealous lust for Esmeralda; the term recurs in the No. 10 trio while Frollo is spying on Esmeralda and Phoebus (Figure 4.12). In this special case, Frollo and Esmeralda both use the word *flamme* in the same phrase, but in a significantly different manner, highlighting the juxtaposition of Frollo's and Esmeralda's characters. Frollo is powerful in his religious position, but corrupt and lustful; while Emseralda belongs to the lowest cast of society, yet is pure and chaste. This type of irony is common in the works of nineteenth-century Romantics.

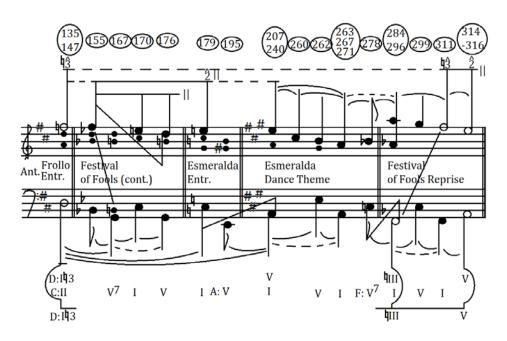


Figure 4.11. Deep middleground, No. 1, mm. 135-316.

By the end of Frollo's solo (m. 155), the primary tone remains on F^{\natural} ($^{\natural}$ 3), but is now harmonized with Bb major, at which point the chorus returns, drowning out Frollo's suffering with their joviality (Musical Example A.11). It is perhaps symbolically important that the choral

entrances that bookend Frollo's solo (first in E, then Bb) create a tritone. As will later be shown, this interval epitomizes Frollo's perversity.



Figure 4.12. No. 10 trio setting of *flame*.

Now in the key of Bb major (Musical Examples A.11-A.13), the metric change enacted by the chorus is once again in effect; this metrical shift is underscored by Bertin's notation, specifically her placement of the double bar at beat 2. F\(\beta\) is still the primary tone and is supported by a variety of chords, including I (mm. 155-160), III (mm. 161-165), and V7/II (mm. 167-169). C major is the goal for this section (see Musical Example C.2), which prepares for the arrival of Esmeralda. C major fills a variety of symbolic roles in this opera, but in this case, C major is associated with Esmeralda's purity; the representation of purity through C major is a familiar

technique in nineteenth-century opera.⁷⁹ For most of the first act, however, C major also functions negatively as the dominant of F, signifying a preparation for evil. By first introducing C major in the typical way—as a symbol of purity—then corrupting it, Bertin is once again expressing the idea of decay.

4.5.2 Esmeralda's Entrance (mm. 179-206/Musical Examples A.14-A.16)

In the following section (beginning in Musical Example A.14), Esmeralda enters in the distance, while Frollo watches lustfully. The interaction of the melody (on beats 1 and 4) with the accompaniment (displaced to beats 2 and 3) grants the music a seductive character; yet, there is a contrasting sense of purity to the theme (in C major). It is as if the music simultaneously portrays the perspectives of both Esmeralda (who is chaste) and Frollo (who is lustful and corrupt). The primary tone is E ($\hat{3}$ in C major), which descends to C in m. 186. The descent to C is local, however, since E is prolonged in the deep middleground until m. 283 (Musical Example C.2.), where it functions as the interrupted $\hat{2}$ of D major.

The melody repeats in the key of the dominant (Musical Example A.15), where the pick-up B (a leading tone substitute for $\hat{2}$ in C) is prolonged to m. 194; at this point, it resolves to C. Overall, Esmeralda's entrance music projects a third-descent from E to C. Frollo enters in a menacing tone (Musical Example A.16) and E is reestablished as the primary tone as both the highest pitch (in the orchestra) and by Frollo's drone-like proclamations. In this passage, E is supported by V of A minor (Musical Example C.2), preparing for Esmeralda's "Dance Theme," which reestablishes the supremacy of E (as $\hat{2}$ in the global key of D).

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⁷⁹ Rita Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1983), 107.

4.5.3 Esmeralda's Dance Theme (mm. 207-283/Musical Examples A.17-A.24): Foreshadowing Her Tragic Demise

The 24-bar Dance Theme (Musical Examples A.17-A.19) is set in A major and has a three-part structure; each part consists of an 8-bar parallel period. Over the course of the theme, the top voice attempts to descend to A, before finally succeeding in the third part (m. 230). It must be noted that this descent to A is internal, and E is reestablished as the governing top voice note in m. 240 (when the theme repeats).

The most notable aspect of the Dance Theme is its connection to the Fate Theme, whereby the opening notes of each are inversionally related (Figure 4.13):

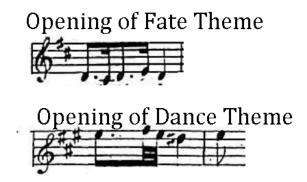


Figure 4.13. Comparison of Fate Theme and Dance Theme openings.

By linking Esmeralda's Dance Theme to the foreboding Fate Theme, Bertin foreshadows Esmeralda's tragic fate. As in the overture, Bertin corrupts a previously pure or cheerful musical idea, suggesting that happiness is bound to be destroyed by cruel fate. The idea that happiness is destined to decay into despair is central to Frollo's character who (as discussed in Chapter 2) turned to alchemy and lust after a series of disappointments in life.

The musical-symbolic link between the Fate Theme and the Dance Theme is made explicit by Bertin at the end of the opera where—taking inspiration from Berlioz's treatment of the *idée fixe* in his *Symphony Fantastique*—she cuts off the Dance Theme with the Fate Theme (Figure 4.14):

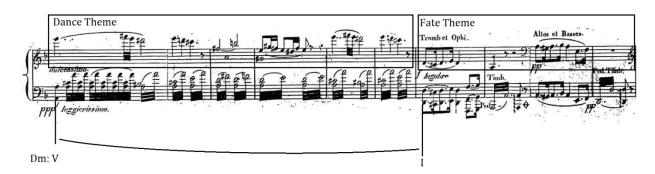


Figure 4.14. Interruption of Dance Theme by Fate Theme.

After Frollo interjects threats against Esmeralda (Musical Example A.20), the 24-bar Dance Theme repeats verbatim in mm. 240-263 (Musical Examples A.21-A.23); the descent from E to A is begun anew, yet it is once again internal. Frollo's threats return as well (Musical Example A.24), this time harmonized by VI before leading the choir to a final cadence in A major (mm. 270-275). As shown in Musical Example C.2, the A major arrival in m. 271 functions as a lower-level interruption in D major-minor. In other words, the A major prolongation represented by Esmeralda's Dance Theme is a back-relating dominant and inserted into the overarching I-\pm III-V structure of the second antecedent.



Figure 4.15. Comparison of Frollo's entrances.

A comparison of the entrances of Frollo's threats (Figure 4.15) reveals an intriguing melodic detail: the first entrance (m. 230) begins on A; the second entrance (m. 234) on B; the

third entrance (m. 263) on C#; and the final entrance (m. 267) enters on A as Frollo proclaims the reason for his threats, his "jealous heart:"

Apart from the initial pitch, each of Frollo's statements is identical, drawing attention to the four statements as a progression from one to the other; the upbeat pitches by themselves (A-B-C#-A) may be melodic. This melodic third progression intimates that Frollo's threats are not idle, but rather that he intends to follow them through. Frollo desires to possess Esmeralda for himself but, on some level, he knows that a union between them will never happen, either because of their opposite social status or due to a feeling that she could not love one who has turned his back on God. If Frollo believed there was a chance that Esmeralda would accept him, abduction (as he attempts at the end of Act I) would not have been his first choice. Based on the stage directions in m. 278 (Musical Example A.24, lower system), it is possible that Frollo has already attempted to confess his love to Esmeralda. The stage direction reads, "Frollo attempts to approach Esmeralda, who flees in fear,"80 a moment accompanied by a startling fullydiminished-seventh chord and a flurry of chromatic notes in the high winds, depicting her flight. Esmeralda clearly already recognizes that she has reason to fear Frollo. Additionally, this moment diverts the tonal structure away from D major (which would have been the natural resolution of the A major prolongation), towards F major. The fact that F major is the chosen tonality to disrupt the movement towards D major is again indicative of the oppositional relationship between D major (with its mediant note F#) and F major; this is once again suggestive of the F#-F\(\psi\) dichotomy expressed in the overture. In the background, F major is \(\psi\)III, and part of the composed out D minor tonal area expressed in the second antecedent (Appendix D).

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⁸⁰ Frollo reut s'approacher d'Esmeralda qui s'en fuit effrayée.

4.5.4 The "Festival of Fools" Reprise (mm. 284-316/Musical Examples A.25-A.27)

The Festival of Fools chorus functions as the backdrop for the onstage action. In this way, it is unproblematic that the chorus returns with the same material in wholly disparate sections; it is, however, confined to the second antecedent. The circumstances of the choral returns prove symbolically important; the choir's first two appearances book-end Frollo's introductory solo and create a large-scale tritone with each other (E-Bb), while this third return strengthens the oppositional relationship between D major and F major. At the surface, A ($\hat{3}$ in F major) is the initial top voice tone (Musical Example A.25), which eventually gives way to F\(\beta\) in m. 311; the arrival on F\(\beta\) is accomplished either by arpeggiation to C (m. 299), then to F\(\beta\) (m. 311), or through a third-descent to G (m. 303), then to F (m. 311). The main point is that Bertin's use of a fermata and double-bar at m. 316 supports an interruption in D major before the return to the tonic at m. 317, marking the end of the second antecedent. Just as the first antecedent ended with Frollo's appearance, the second antecedent will be punctuated by Quasimodo's entrance.

4.6 No. 1: The Consequent/Quasimodo's Entrance Part I (mm. 317-372/Musical Examples A.28-A.30)

The interruption in D major ($43-2\parallel$), the double barline between measures 316 and 317, and the overall change in mood, clearly separate the two sections. Just as Frollo's entrance in m. 135 was marked by an important structural tonic arrival following an interruption in D major, the same thing happens in m. 317, which coincides with the entrance of the "pope of fools procession" carrying Quasimodo. Thus, the largest-scale structural separators (the D major interruptions) are strategically placed to immediately precede those points where the main

characters enter. It is also significant that the D major tonal area established by the overture is brought to a close by another instrumental section (mm. 317-367).

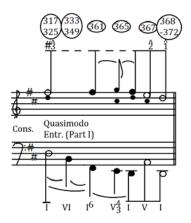


Figure 4.16. Deep middleground, No. 1, mm. 317-372.

Although this section clearly closes the D major tonal area, a true third-descent from F# is difficult to find; it is as if the main top voice movement is from $\hat{1}$ - $\hat{2}$ - $\hat{1}$. The strangeness of the voice-leading in this section is connected with Quasimodo. Yet, the following section is even stranger. As will be explained, the difference between the two sections is associated with Quasimodo's dual nature.

4.7 No. 1: Beginning the F Tonal Area and the First Antecedent (mm. 373-No. 2/Musical Examples A.31-A.50)

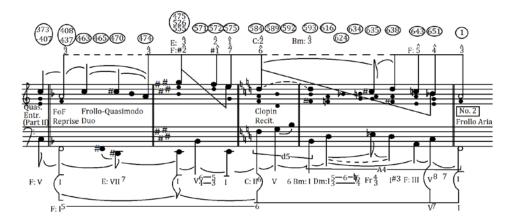


Figure 4.17. Deep middleground, No. 1, mm.373-No. 2.

4.7.1 Quasimodo's Entrance Part II (mm. 373-404/Musical Example A.31)

Since stage directions are sparse in the score, it is difficult to know exactly how the action on stage would have proceeded, but it seems as though Quasimodo receives two separate introductions. The D major section spanning mm. 317-367 receives the stage direction "enter the pope of fools procession;" but there is another, second instrumental section encompassing mm. 373-404, this time in C major (Musical Example A.31). The D major section is essentially stately and balanced, while this new C major section is highly unusual. Clearly, the peculiarity of the C major section evokes Quasimodo's deformity; it is filled with tonally surprising events and, due to the half-notes that end each phrase, the four-bar phrases appear to be disproportionately weighted towards the fourth bar. This awkward effect is amplified by the ornaments preceding each half-note chord. In combination with the *pesante* marking, this section appropriately creates the impression of someone limping across the stage. The same effect is achieved in Quasimodo's Act IV aria (Figure 4.18):



Figure 4.18. Beginning of Quasimodo's Act IV aria.

Finally, this C major theme in No. 1 (Musical Example A.31) is unmistakably associated with Quasimodo for its use of a bell motive (Figure 4.19):



Figure 4.19. Bell motive in Quasimodo's Entrance Part II.

It is possible that the procession is carrying Quasimodo close to the rear, so at its initial entrance (in D major), Quasimodo is not yet on stage; thus, the C major section functions as his proper introduction and is when the audience first sees him. The initial D major section perhaps also corresponds to Quasimodo's point of view concerning the Pope of Fools celebration. When he is chosen by the townspeople as the Pope of Fools, Quasimodo sees the position as an honor; finally, he is recognized and appreciated by others. Hence, the stately D major section represents Quasimodo's positive feelings about the occasion. The reality is, however, that Quasimodo is chosen for his peculiar ugliness, which is then epitomized by his true introduction in C major, with its tonal surprises, disproportionate phrases, and limping figure. The C major entrance, despite its strange harmonic progressions, is deceptively simple at a deeper level. When one isolates the hypermetrically strongest points, it becomes clear that the entire section is merely composing out C major, as shown in Figure 4.20:

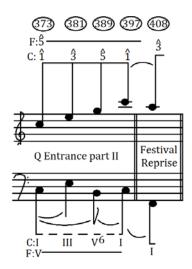


Figure 4.20. Prolongation of C (V of F) in Quasimodo's Entrance Part II.

Quasimodo's entrance, then, is divided into two parts with the first part ending the D major tonal area, and the second part initiating the F major tonal area (with C as the dominant of F). The fact that his entrance is split in such a way might seem problematic from a structural point of view; the structural divisions of the opera so far are predicated by the introduction of major characters, but Quasimodo's entrance is divided between the two major tonal areas of the first act (D major and F major). The observation speaks to the nature of Quasimodo's character. Bertin portrays his negative physical attributes (in the form of the awkward harmonic progressions and musical limp in C major), and his positive view of himself (in the stately D major procession). In marked difference between Quasimodo's D major and C major entrances, and by splitting up his entrance between the two major tonal areas of No. 1 (and, in fact, of the entire first act), Bertin is commenting upon his name, for Quasimodo means "half-made." Additionally, by dividing his entrance between the keys of D major and F major (with C major as the dominant of F), specifically, Bertin addresses Quasimodo's dual nature: he is inherently a kind person (as represented by D major, with the mediant F#) but is forced to do cruel things by Frollo (as represented by F major, with its F\(\beta\) tonic).

As previously discussed, the key of C major fulfils a variety of functions in La Esmeralda. Allow me to draw comparisons from various points in the opera. When employed for Esmeralda (m. 179/Musical Example A.14), C major represents her purity. Yet, just as humans are composed of both pure and impure intentions, C major can evoke darker ideas as well. Like many of Hugo's characters, Quasimodo represents a complex alloy of kindness (he rescues Esmeralda) and cruelty (he allows himself to be the instrument of Frollo's foul deeds); thus, C major could represent Quasimodo's purity of soul and also his status as Frollo's servant (since C is the dominant of F). Similarly, C major could signify "preparation for evil acts." Allow me to draw upon an example from later in the first act. Frollo's Act I aria (No. 2) begins in F major (which is necessary to reinforce Frollo's association with F\(\beta\)) before modulating to C minor; using mixture, however, Bertin ends Frollo's aria in C major (see Musical Example C.5). To be sure, the "true" key of Frollo's aria is C major, which prepares for a return to F. This return to F is not achieved until part way through No. 3 (see Musical Examples C.6-C.7), and occurs precisely at the moment in which Frollo and Quasimodo attack Esmeralda. This evil act is prepared for throughout Frollo's aria (since he lies in wait for Esmeralda while pondering his lust) and during the first antecedent of No. 3 (in which he and Quasimodo wait for the soldiers to pass by so that they can strike).

The idea that C major represents a preparation for evil is key to understanding the last moments of the opera. The opera essentially ends unfinished: the audience sees Esmeralda perish, but is not privy to the moment in which Quasimodo kills Frollo in vengeance; considering the popularity of the novel, Frollo's death at Quasimodo's hands is the conclusion that the audience would surely have expected. The tonality presented by the conclusion of the opera (C major) is given symbolic significance; presumably, Quasimodo does murder Frollo after the

curtain closes (for it is his tragic fate to do so) but the audience only gets to see the events that prepare for such a conclusion. Whether Bertin would have ended the opera in F major had she finished the narrative is impossible to say, but it would have been consistent with the precedent set for the relationship between C major and F major.

4.7.2 Festival of Fools Reprise-Clopin Recitative (mm. 404-end/Musical Examples A.32-A.49) The remainder of No. 1 (mm. 408-658) remains in F within the background (Appendix D), although there are various modulations along the way (such as to E major and B minor). Rather than discussing the section at length, what should be impressed upon the reader is the unity created by the octave progression from A (at m. 408) to A (at m. 1 of No. 2). This can be seen clearly in Musical Example C.4. The A primary tone (3) is supported by I in F major (m. 408), followed by VII-fully-diminished of E major (m. 474). A modulation to E major is thus enacted and the primary tone moves to G# (#2) supported by I in E major (m. 475). Over the course of the Frollo-Quasimodo duet, there is a typical descent to tonic, which is completed in m. 575. Clopin's recitative is set in D minor (starting in m. 584), but its initial six-three inversion allows F to be reestablished as the bass; the deep middleground result is a 5-6 transformation of the initial F major sonority. The top line continues its descent, moving to C supported by III in F major (m. 643), followed by Bb supported by V7 (m. 651). Number 1 ends with this dominantseventh chord and, finally, No. 2 begins with a resolution to tonic in F major (with 3 as the primary tone). The bass in Clopin's recitative is organized in two main ways: it is organized into an octave divisible by a tritone (F-B-F), which is made clear by Bertin's placement of double barlines (Musical Example C.4); but it can also be considered as composing out F major (F-A-

C), an organization that aligns with the movement of the primary tones (D-C-Bb).

To reiterate, the most notable element of Musical Example C.4 (which comprises the start of the F major tonal area and completes No. 1 of Act I) is its A-A octave progression. This octave progression may represent the careful planning that goes into the abduction (to be attempted in No. 3 of Act I), since, in the course of the progression, Frollo confers with both Quasimodo and Clopin. Quasimodo and Clopin both assist Frollo in his plans (as the brawn and the brains, respectively), but Frollo, who fails in all his life's endeavors, can do little for himself. This fact comes into play in his aria (No. 2), as he attempts to reformulate the A-A octave progression, but fails miserably. Referring briefly to the background level (Figure 4.3a), the prolongation of F major—with $\hat{3}$ as the primary tone—serves as the first half of the initial antecedent. Frollo's aria proper composes out the dominant of F, thus beginning the second half of the antecedent; and the beginning of No. 3 picks up G as the top voice tone.

4.8 No. 2: Frollo's Aria: Strengthening F^t/C Symbolism (mm. 1-end/Musical Examples A.50-A.58)

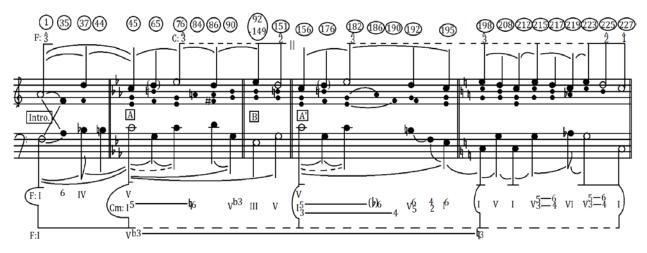


Figure 4.21. Deep middleground, No. 2, mm. 1-end.

Frollo's aria (No. 2) begins in F major, resolving the C7 chord at the end of No. 1.

Measures 1-44 (Musical Examples A.50-A.51) serve as an introduction, while the aria proper

begins at m. 45, in C minor-major; during the course of the introduction, Bertin's goal is to move from the F major opening to the new key of C minor. Yet, the F major tonality that serves as the initiation of No. 2 is an important since it further reinforces the negative symbolism of the F\(\beta\) in the opera. As previously discussed, the primary tonal area after Quasimodo's introduction (and subsequent resolution of the D major tonal area) is F major. As possibly suggested by Bertin in the overture, F\(\beta\) is a devaluation of the F# associated with Notre-Dame's bells. It is therefore significant that F\(\beta\) remains in control starting after Quasimodo's introduction (in which we see his devotion to Frollo). The events in this part of the opera are the most pivotal for Esmeralda's downfall: when Frollo uses Quasimodo to attack Esmeralda, Phoebus comes to her aid; this results in the beginning of Esmeralda and Phoebus's love affair, which drives Frollo to fatally wound Phoebus, resigning Esmeralda to death. Arguably, her fate is sealed by the end of the first act.

The trombones in mm. 1-8 (Musical Example A.50) recall the opening bassline of the opera, with its emphasis on augmented second and augmented fourth intervals, in that order. As previously discussed, these intervals function to hint to audience members that the bright D major tonality that opens the opera will not be representative of the story; they serve as a reminder of the inevitable tragedy lurking just below the surface of happiness. The fact that Frollo's aria introduction begins in this way further connects his character to the coming tragedy.

The music strays from F major through a series of applied chords before arriving in Eb major in m. 11; however, Frollo corrupts Eb major with his first line, a rising chromatic proclamation to the heavens. Eventually (m. 19), an applied chord (VII-fully-diminished) attempts to reestablish F major, but this resolution, too, is corrupted: the progression does not

bring the expected return to the primary tone $\hat{3}$ (A), but rather $b\hat{3}$ (Ab), and the harmony that supports it is a Neapolitan chord in the new key of C.

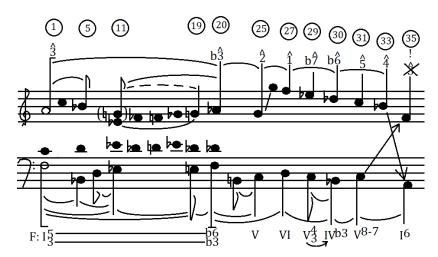


Figure 4.22. Failed A-A octave progression in Frollo's aria.

The music merely touches upon the key of C major and soon shifts back into F major (Musical Example A.51), yet it does so in a strange and surprising way: the harmony is poised on V7 of F and the primary tone, taking into account the register shift between Ab and G, has now descended through the octave to Bb (m. 33), from A (m. 1), as shown in Figure 4.22;⁸¹ therefore, because of voice-leading tendencies and the impending completion of a *second* A-A octave progression (modeled on the initial A-A octave progression shown in Musical Example C.4), the listener would expect a resolution to F major with A (3) as the regained primary tone in the upper voice. However, Bertin denies this completion and instead switches the voices so that A is in the bass and F is on top.⁸² The effect of the failed octave progression is to destabilize the F arrival in m. 33, readjusting instead towards C minor. In establishing C as a tonal center (globally, V of F), the aria proper begins. Thus, the A primary tone (3 in F major) expressed in

⁸¹ Note the register shift between Ab and G.

⁸² In Musical Example C.5, this is interpreted as a single voice exchange.

the introduction to Frollo's aria is abandoned for a third-ascent to E (Musical Example C.5, mm. 45-76), which serves as the main primary tone of the aria. To jump forward slightly, once the aria is allowed to finish (in C major), the A primary tone of the introduction to No. 2 is resolved to the G primary tone expressed at the beginning of No. 3 (see Musical Example C.6).

To recapitulate: there is an intriguing connection between mm. 1-35 of No. 2 and the previous 248 measures: as discussed in the previous section, there is an A-A descending octave progression spanning m. 408 of No. 1 to m. 1 of No. 2 (shown in Musical Example C.4). As soon as this descending octave completes (at the downbeat of No. 2), Frollo begins the octave progression again, but ultimately fails to complete it. Furthermore, this second attempt—because it takes a different route—fills in the negative space of the first in such a way that combining the two creates a full chromatic scale (Figure 4.23):

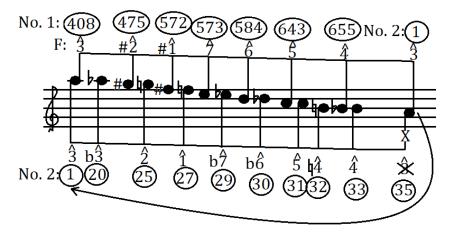


Figure 4.23. Aggregate of both A-A octave progressions.

A possible interpretation of this unique connection speaks both to the nature of Frollo's impatient character and the events that are soon to unfold. The first octave progression begins at the beginning of the F major tonal area (m. 408 of No. 1), meaning that it stretches from the Duet between Quasimodo and Frollo (where we learn of Quasimodo's devotion to his master) to just after Frollo receives the information from Clopin that will allow him to kidnap Esmeralda. This

musical span represents the planning stage of the attack upon Esmeralda, since Frollo gathers his helpers (Clopin's plan of attack, and Quasimodo's strength); that this planning is carefully done is evidenced by the length of the octave progression. Since Frollo believes that it is his fate to possess Esmeralda, he is optimistic that this plan will succeed; therefore, the octave progression is completed when Frollo's aria begins. However, as Frollo becomes lost in his passionate reveries, the octave progression recommences within a far shorter time span, and it fails. Frollo's impatience to possess Esmeralda foils the plan, for Frollo and Quasimodo do not wait a sufficient amount of time for the soldiers to pass before attacking, and Esmeralda is saved. Frollo's failure to complete the A-A octave progression in his aria (without his minions) speaks to the fact that Frollo cannot successfully carry out his plans due to impatience caused by his desperation.

The struggle for tonal control between C and F observed at the beginning of Frollo's aria is further explored at the beginning of No. 3, where it could be taken to represent the conflict of natures between Frollo (who champions F\(^1\)) and Quasimodo (who champions C). Quasimodo is, in essence, a just and virtuous character; however, the combination of a solitary lifestyle (being mostly unable to communicate with others due to his deafness) and his devotion to Frollo cause him to be led astray from what he knows to be right; Recall our discussion concerning the way in which the divided musical introduction to his first entrance represents his dual nature.

Quasimodo is Hugo's argument against physiognomy as a determinant of character, a nineteenth-century belief that ethical nature is reflected in outward appearance. Quasimodo eventually proves that he is not the monster seen by society, since he rescues Esmeralda (if only temporarily) from execution. The fact that Quasimodo is so passionate about the cathedral bells

⁸³ Richard B. Grant, *The Perilous Quest: Image, Myth, and Prophecy in the Narratives of Victor Hugo* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1968), 59.

(so much so that he deafened himself with their peals) is representative of his inherently gentle nature. According to Alain Corbin, "You could not ring without knowledge...Furthermore, without a degree of expertise there was a real risk of shattering the bronze...A good ringer was attuned to his instruments and knew how to impose his will upon them without violence and as if by persuasion."84

Returning now to Frollo's aria, the aria proper begins at m. 45 (Musical Example A.52) in C minor, with the tonic pitch C $(\hat{1})$ on top. Although the top line motion is clearly C (arpeggiated) embellished by neighbor notes B\(\beta\) and D, it is feasible to infer a primary tone Eb $(\hat{3})$ here at the outset; however, I take m. 76 (Musical Example A.53) as the point of arrival of Eb as the primary tone, i.e., significantly later, because of emphasis placed upon it and the harmonic support it receives from I. In other words, mm. 45-75 serve as an extended ascent to the primary tone (where B\(\beta\) substitutes for an implied $\hat{2}$). The half cadence in m. 90 contains a lowered third, which weakens it as a dominant of C minor, allowing the music to modulate to Eb major (the relative major of C minor); the key of Eb was touched briefly in m. 78, and the confirmation of it in m. 92 begins the B section of the aria. Considering the change to a major tonality, it is not surprising that Frollo's thoughts change in character as well. To aid the pending discussion of the B section, it would be useful to compare its text with that of the A section:

A Section	B Section
Ah well! Does it matter?	Come then, O maiden!
Fate carries me onward,	'Tis I who do claim thee!
Its hand is too strong,	Come, take me without return!
And I yield to its law!	Since God the Almighty
Life opens anew!	Whose piercing glance searcheth
My heart, lost to reason,	Our consciences, by night and day,
Has no more of hope	Requires, in his wisdom,
And no more of fear!	That my soul make choice

⁸⁴ Corbin, 232.

O demon beguiling,	Betwixt Heaven and love of a maid.
Evoked by my studies,	Take my unhappy soul,
If thou giv'st her to me	And take it without return
I'll give myself to thee!	

In the B section of the aria (Musical Examples A.54-A.55), Frollo modulates to the relative key of Eb major, with a primary tone on Eb (3 in C minor). Apart from the late primary tone, which is first approached from Bb before arriving four bars late, the voice-leading and tonal motion is ordinary; that is, until mm. 101-103. In m. 103, Bertin writes a stray g minor chord (III in Eb) before going straight back to tonic in the next measure. The interjecting nature of the G minor chord marks it as important. At first, the G minor chord seems to be an odd detour, yet it must be remembered that G minor was the harmony expressed just prior to the B section (the minor V chord); and a look to the end of the B section reveals the important role that the G minor chord has to play. In mm. 149-151 (Musical Example A.55), the listener is again presented with the music from mm. 101-103, but instead of leading straight back to Eb (as it did the first time), the G becomes the expected dominant to return to C minor. Figure 4.24 shows a re-composition of the music in order to show the ease with which mm. 101-103 could have simply led directly back to the A section:



Figure 4.24. Re-composition of mm. 92-156.

In essence, the G minor chords in m. 90 and m. 103 both represent a crossroads for Frollo, disrupting his focus and leading him away from the determined music of the A section,

towards the contemplative music of the B section. The initial G minor chord (m. 90) fails as a dominant of C minor because of its flat third and it pushes Frollo towards the contrasting B section; m. 103 functions similarly, allowing the B section to continue. However, there is a clear difference between the A section and the B section that would suggest that it behooves Frollo not to indulge in a B section at all. A look at the text reveals that the difference in tone is not merely musical. The text of the A section is fatalistic, but the B section softens on this stance: Frollo pleads that Esmeralda would "take him without return," thus granting her more agency than before; and by acknowledging that he has a *choice* to make between heaven and "love," Frollo is also contradicting his typically fatalistic view. The B section, then, because it is musically contemplative and textually opposed to fatalism, represents a risk for Frollo's planned abduction. One could imagine Frollo reconsidering his plans within the B section, choosing heaven and virtue. Yet, Frollo reaffirms his choice of damnation. Intriguingly, he does so by repeating his previous plea to Esmeralda ("Take me without return"),86 with a slight change in urgency ("Take my unhappy soul and take it without return"). 87 The first time he asks to be taken, it is clear that he is addressing Esmeralda, whom he hopes will love him; then Frollo turns his attention to God before asking to be taken again, this time into Hell because he has chosen damnation. In this juxtaposition, Frollo equates Esmeralda with God. Having made his choice, Frollo returns to C minor (m. 156) and its fatalistic text.

The remainder of the aria (Musical Examples A.56-A.58) repeats the A section, ending with mixture to C major, thereby confirming the fact that Frollo's aria functions in the

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⁸⁵ "Puis qu'un Dieu puis qu'un maître don't le regard pénètre notre Coeur nuit et jour exige en son caprice que mon ame choisis du ciel ou de l'amour."

^{86 &}quot;Viens prendmoi sans retour."

^{87 &}quot;Prends ma malheureuse ame et prends là sans retour."

background as the dominant of the larger F tonal area (Appendix D).

4.9 No. 3: Continuing the First Antecedent (mm. 1-212/Musical Examples A.59-A.65)

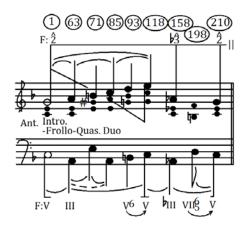


Figure 4.25. Deep middleground, No. 3, mm. 1-212.

Like the D major tonal area of No. 1, the Act I finale is structured as an antecedent-antecedent-consequent form. Unlike No. 1, however, that No. 3 starts out with a long auxiliary cadence (in F major). We know that the intended key is F major because of the key signature, but there is no F major arrival until m. 213, which coincides with the attack upon Esmeralda, further cementing the devious connotations of F^{\natural} .

4.9.1 Introduction: Establishing a Struggle for Power (mm. 1-40/Musical Example A.59)

At the start of No. 3 (Musical Example A.59), several factors would lead the listener to expect F major as the primary key. Since Frollo's aria began in F major (before moving to C) one might now expect a return to F major, with the end of Frollo's aria functioning as the dominant. The fact that No. 3 is set in an F key signature makes this intention clear; however, Bertin takes this opportunity to create yet another power struggle between the keys of F major and C major. As previously discussed, F\(\beta\) is representative of Frollo, while C is associated with

his servant Quasimodo. Thus, the struggle for supremacy between F major and C major can be interpreted as Quasimodo attempting to resist his master's evil influence.

The musical surface of the introduction to No. 3 may lead one to hear F as the primary bass note, but a comparison with mm. 25-32—which is a more fleshed-out version of the first eight measures—clarifies C as the governing bass note, while the F in mm. 3-6 is merely part of a pedal 6/4. A similar observation can be made about mm. 13-15, in which all three measures should be read as being over a C bass; this reading is later confirmed in mm. 37-39, where the music actually provides a C pedal in the bass. The Bb over C creates the impression of a dominant-seventh, which increases the need for a resolution towards F; however, in either case (m. 17, then m. 40) there is no resolution. In the first instance (m. 17), the harmony backtracks by going to a V6/V, and the second time (m. 40) the Bb, surprisingly, is essentially canceled and the music settles in C major. Even when the duet begins (Musical Example A.60), the Bb does not go away, but rather maintains a gravitational pull towards F that continues to weaken. It is clear that Bertin's primary goal in the introduction is to suggest a move to F that will not be fulfilled. By the end of the introduction, it seems as though the music has (temporarily) surrendered as it settles into C major for the duet. To support the view that this tonal conflict is representative of a power struggle between the opposing natures of Frollo (F\$) and Quasimodo (C), it is necessary to observe how Bertin chooses to destabilize the key of F major.

The first expected arrival of F major is m. 9, and an F is in fact presented (in double octaves); yet, Bertin immediately shifts away from F through the use of a clear bell motive (Figure 4.26):



Figure 4.26. Bell motive in No. 3.

As shown in the foreground graphs (with Xs), this bell motive shifts the listener away from F major, back towards the dominant. The fact that the supremacy of F major is challenged by a bell motive is not only strong evidence for interpreting this section as a struggle between Quasimodo and Frollo, but also serves to reinforce the tenability of these characters' associations with the keys of F major and C major. After each statement of the bell motive, Bertin introduces a Bb on top that strengthens the listener's expectations of an F arrival; yet, the Bb consistently fails to resolve as it should, leading instead to the dominant of C (as seen in m. 17). Reflecting this reluctance to resolve to F, the background for the section projects G (2 in F) as the primary top voice tone. The listener queries when the F major arrival will actually occur, fulfilling the promise of the key signature. As is shown later, the expected F arrival does not occur until m. 213 (Musical Example A.66). Bertin's decision to delay the F major tonic arrival until this point—which marks the moment of the planned attack upon Esmeralda—provides further evidence for the reading of F\$\pm\$ as a representation of fate.

4.9.2 Frollo-Quasimodo Duet/"Night Watch Chorus" (mm. 40-198/Musical Examples A.60-A.65)

In the Duet (Musical Examples A.60-A.65), Quasimodo is the first to enter, reinforcing C major. To be sure, C major still functions (in the background) as part of the auxiliary cadence, i.e., as the dominant of F, but it is now more convincing as a local tonal center. There is still, however, a suggestion of F, but once again a definitive move to F is thwarted by the bell motive

(i.e. at m. 48). After 60 measures of trying (and failing) to cadence in F, it appears that the music gives up and the top voice tone actually goes the other direction: starting at m. 63 (Musical Example A.61), the G ascends (through G#) to A, resulting in a definite A minor (III of F) arrival as the chorus of guards enter. Then, from mm. 63-118, there is a stepwise ascent to E ($\hat{3}$ in C), and the tonal structure arrives back at C major (or V of F). The A minor key area created by the chorus of guards was simply a detour and the C major tonality established by Quasimodo in m. 40 is prolonged, now with E on top. 88 So, over the course of the first 118 measures, there is a large-scale unfolding between G ($\hat{5}$) and E ($\hat{3}$) over the tonality of C. This structure is shown in Musical Example C.6.

Considering the fact that Quasimodo assists Frollo with the (failed) abduction of Esmeralda, the power struggle evidently tips in Frollo's favor. Therefore, it is fitting that, at m. 153 (Musical Example A.63), Frollo surprisingly derails the C major tonality that Quasimodo had established at m. 40. At the moment in question, Frollo and Quasimodo have switched melodic lines and there is an expectation that Frollo will sing a D \$\pm\$ (as Quasimodo did in m. 130) but, instead, he sings a Db and continues down (through Bb) to Ab (mm. 153-155). This event is one of the most unnatural moments of Act I and the effect is unsettling. Given the perfect fifth pedal (C-G), the bell motives, and the fact that the moving inner-voices against the static outer voices create a sonority similar to that of a tolling bell, one gets the impression that Quasimodo is doing all he can to remain in control. Measure 153 is the moment in which Quasimodo loses that control and Frollo pushes both of them into Ab major. This modulation is the beginning of a new drive towards F (Musical Example A.64) which, this time, is successful.

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⁸⁸ In m. 118 of *Musical Example A.62.*, I imply the E, but it is definitely present since it is simply delayed by a few measures; it comes in m. 120, with the C in m. 118 functioning as an inner voice.

Esmeralda's scream in m. 198 (Musical Example A.65) is an emphatic Ab (b $\hat{3}$ of F). However, the abduction fails because Pheobus (who sings an equally emphatic G ($\hat{2}$ of F) in m. 210, creating a primary tone descent) comes to the rescue. Evidently, Frollo did not wait long enough for the guards to pass by. Bertin provides a clever clue to this fact since, seconds before the attempted abduction, we once again hear the night watch theme, now in the bass (mm. 158-168). The dominant in mm. 210-212 is interpreted as a half-cadence for two reasons, each relating to the presence of an interruption between the dominant and the tonic in the new key of F major: first, the absence of orchestra for several beats gives an effect equal to a fermata. Second, Bertin's placement of the double-bar suggests a division between the dominant harmony and the new tonic.

Finally, after 213 measures, Bertin allows a strong tonic arrival in F major, the key initially suggested by the key signature. Yet, even so, it is in the form of a half-cadence. The listener will have to wait significantly longer (until the end of Act I, to be precise) for the much anticipated authentic cadence in F major.

4.10 No. 3: The Second Antecedent (mm. 213-438/Musical Examples A.66-A.75)

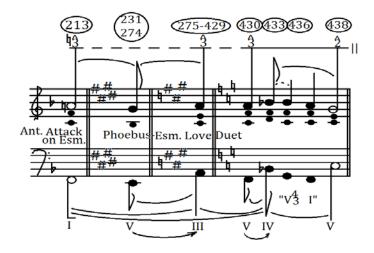


Figure 4.27. Deep middleground, No. 3, mm. 213-438.

4.10.1 The Attack upon Esmeralda: The Triumphant Return of F\$\psi\$ (mm. 213-230/Musical Example A.66)

Measure 213 (Musical Example A.66) is the first strong arrival of F major, which is unusual, considering the fact that the key signature has suggested F major from the outset of the finale. Yet, it does not come until the moment of the attack upon Esmeralda. Despite the long time that it took to arrive at this moment, F major is relinquished quickly, reflecting the swiftness of Phoebus and his soldiers, who sweep away Quasimodo as Frollo flees. The primary tone A (supported by I in F), resolves to the deep middleground lower neighbor G# (supported by I in E major, or V/III in A major).

4.10.2 The Phoebus-Esmeralda Love Duet (mm. 231-438/Musical Examples A.67-A.75)

By m. 231 (Musical Example A.67), the music takes a detour into the key of E major, then to A major in m. 275 (Musical Example A.68). These bright keys (by virtue of their many sharps) are used for the love duet between Phoebus and Esmeralda. The love duet spans nearly 200 measures (mm. 231-430/Musical Examples A.67-A.75) and is meant to express the key of A major; the duet composes out this key by tonicizing, at various moments, C# (III) and E (V). At the deep middleground level, the duet merely expands the main primary tone A (3 of F).

The end of the second antecedent (Musical Example A.75) is interpreted as a half-cadence, by virtue of the half-rest, followed by a double-bar and return of F major with A (3 in F major) placed on top; the consequent is the beginning of the final descent. The return of the night watch chorus at m. 445 (Musical Example A.76) functions as the closing theme to Act I.

4.11 No. 3: The Consequent (mm. 439-547/*Musical Examples A.76.-A.79.*)

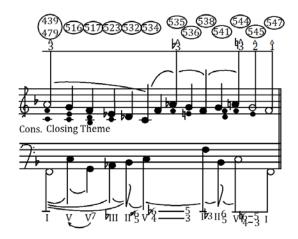


Figure 4.28. Deep middleground, No. 3, mm. 439-577.

In the consequent (and the close of the first act), there is a return of the night watch chorus. Apart from an alternation between F major and F minor, the act ends without surprises.

Most importantly, Act I ends in F major, closing the tonal area that was first begun in m. 408 of No. 1, and subsequently prolonged over 1000 measures.

4.12 Conclusion

As I have shown, there are only two primary keys in the first act of La Esmeralda. The opera begins in D major and the upper voice, generated from $\hat{3}$ (F#), is twice interrupted, first at Frollo's entrance (m. 135), then again when Quasimodo first appears (m. 317) to create an underlying antecedent-antecedent-consequent form; at this point, the two main characters have been introduced and the D major tonal area is allowed to come to a close (in m. 368). The music immediately shifts into F major, which is the second (and last) primary tonal area of the first act. Number 1 ends on the dominant of F major, while No. 2 establishes F major (and subsequently, the dominant of F) as Frollo prepares to abduct Esmeralda. The Act I finale is again set in antecedent-antecedent-consequent form, with two interruptions (in F major) and a subsequent close: the first interruption occurs at m. 210, and the following F major arrival marks the moment

of the failed abduction; the second interruption is located at m. 438, concluding the Esmeralda-Phoebus love duet that takes up a significant portion of the finale but does little to affect the overall structure; and finally, the act closes in F major. The fact that the first act begins and ends with antecedent-antecedent-consequent form and mixture creates a deep-level symmetry which, naturally, relates to the idea of fate. The very end of the opera similarly contains elements of mixture, as is clear from the final C major tonality set against a C minor key signature.

Considering the role of C major throughout the beginning of the opera (in which it represents "preparation for evil"), it seems plausible that the unfinished narrative would have closed in F major had the audience been privy to the moment when Quasimodo murders Frollo.

The crux of my reading of Act I's structure is that it coordinates the most important points in the plot with the form-creating interruptions and the large-scale progression from D major to F major. This tonal progression is important for multiple reasons: not only does it transport the audience from the celebratory beginnings of the story (set in the bright key of D major), to the darker key of F major, ⁸⁹ but it also emphasizes F# (the key of Notre-dame's bells) at the beginning, which then decays to F\(\bar{\pi}\). The first act of this opera represents the process of "fate closing its grasp" whereby the "virtuous" F# at the outset decays to the "devious F\(\bar{\pi}\)" at the end of the first act—a tonal symbolism well supported by the musical setting of Frollo's character. It is at the end of Act I, when Esmeralda falls in love with Phoebus, that her fate is sealed. Just as Bertin foreshadows the decay of F# into F\(\bar{\pi}\) in the overture, the tonal progression from D major to F major (and again, F# into F\(\bar{\pi}\)), foreshadows the ultimate demise of both Esmeralda and virtue itself.

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⁸⁹ In the school of thought that Bertin followed (established by Reicha) sharp keys are bright while flat keys are darker.

The number of studies employing Schenkerian analysis to elucidate large-scale tonal structure in opera is still fairly small; however, as I have tried to show, such an approach has great potential to show how profound ideas may be expressed in opera. Some theorists, choosing to ignore Schenker's myopia towards opera, have worked to transition Schenkerian analysis into this realm of research. These theorists (McCreless, Abbate, Latham, Darcy, etc.) understand that, just as a painter uses color to support the visual interpretation provided by the shapes on a canvas, a composer uses tonal areas (analogous to color) combined with formal processes - like interruption - (analogous to outline) to support the musical interpretation of the libretto. A Schenkerian approach, with its focus on the inherent tonal structure of a work, may facilitate the difficult task of analyzing opera at a deep level.

Despite what Schenker believed, operatic music should not (in fact, cannot) be divorced from the narrative that it supports. Wagner, too, understood this fact when he wrote concerning *Das Rheingold*:

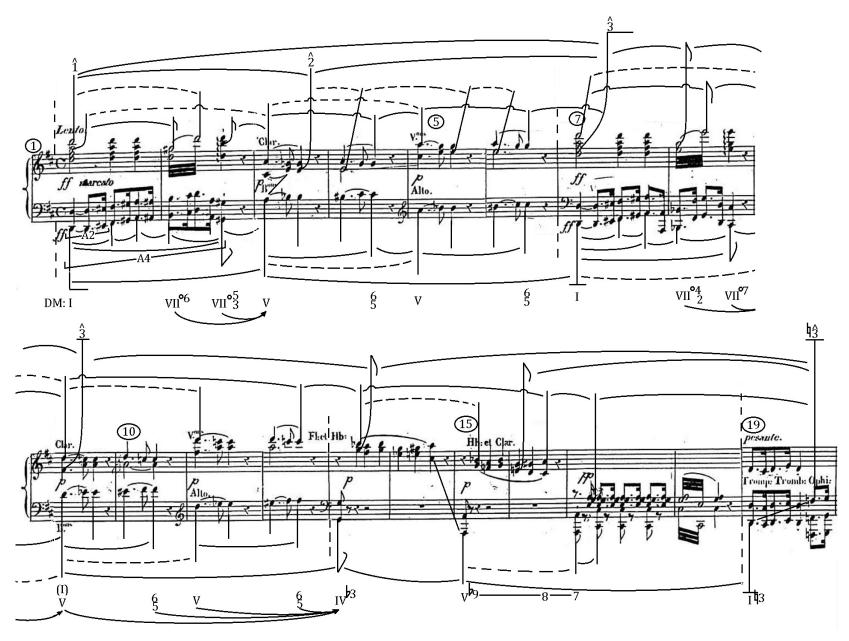
I have once again realized how much of the work's meaning (given the nature of my poetic intent) is only made clear by the music: I can now no longer bear to look at the poem without music.⁹⁰

As music theorists, we should follow Wagner's example by having as much reverence for the literary meaning of an opera as we do the musical meaning, lest we conflate programmatic music with absolute music, thus overlooking all the profound ideas contained within.

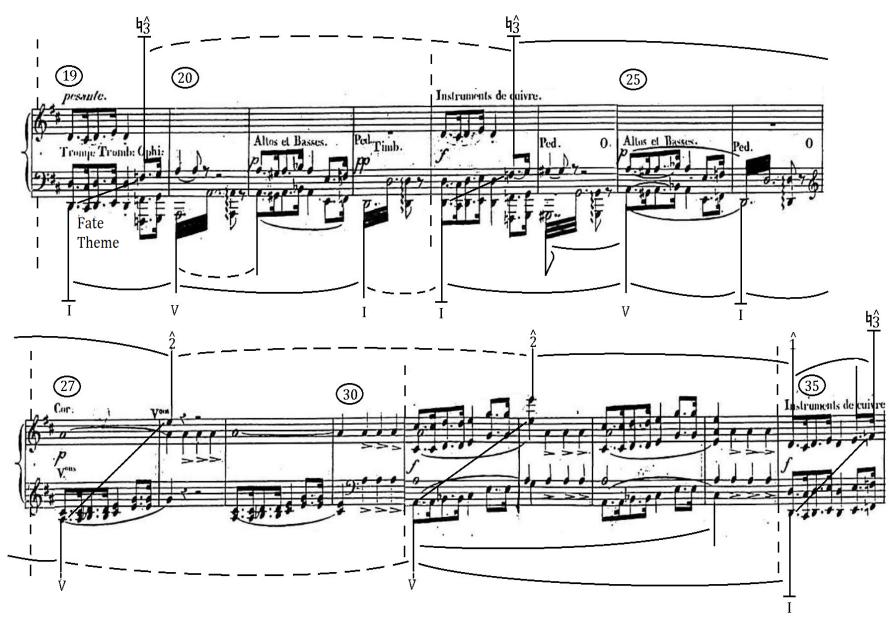
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⁹⁰ Darcy, 215.

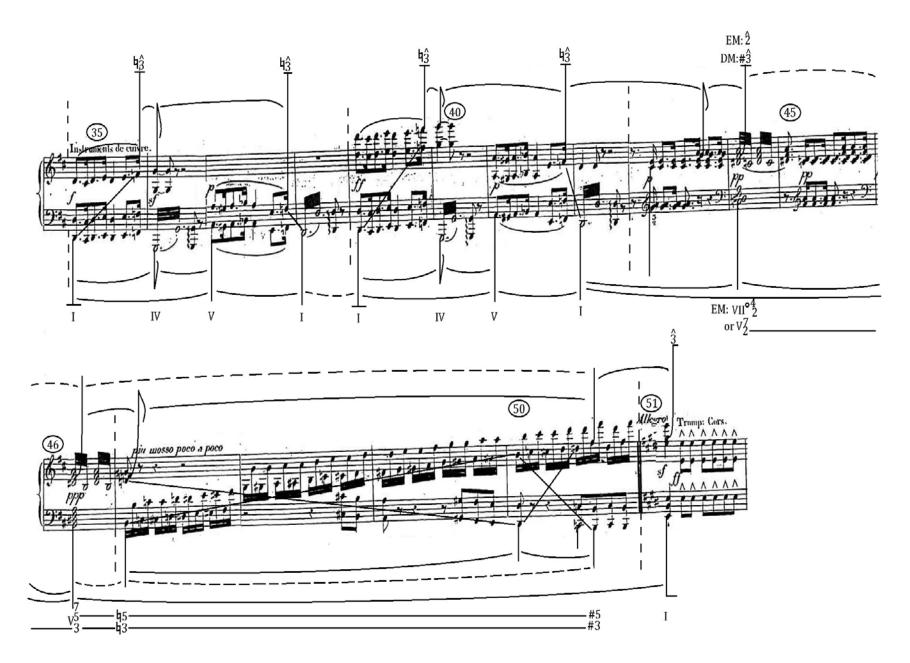
APPENDIX A FOREGROUND GRAPHS



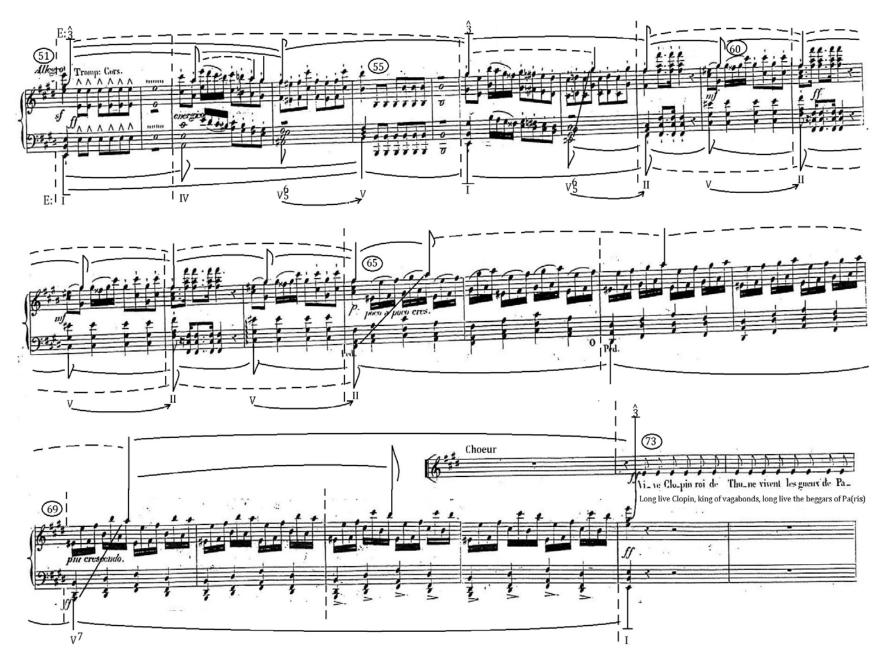
Musical Example A.1. No. 1, Overture, mm. 1-19



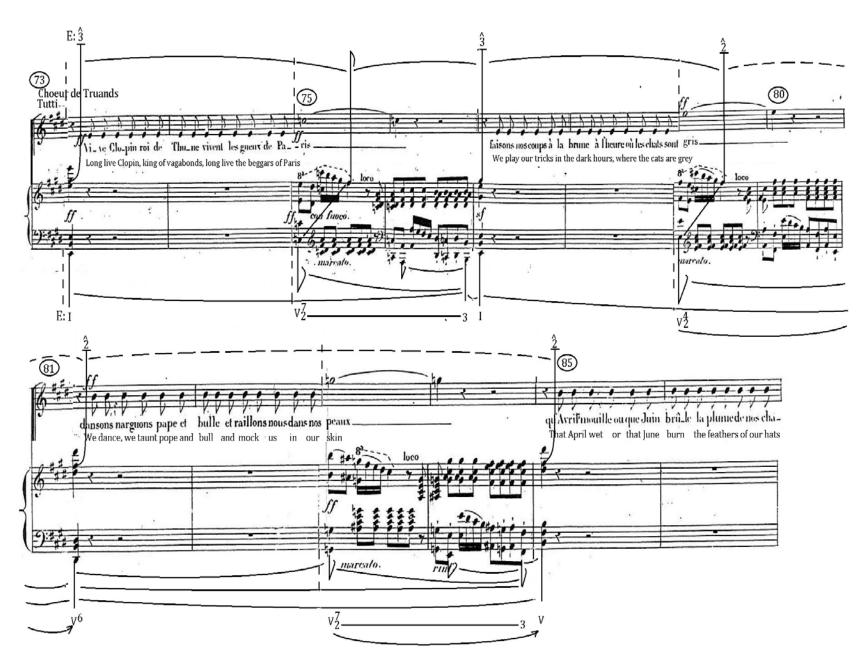
Musical Example A.2. No. 1, Overture, mm. 19-35



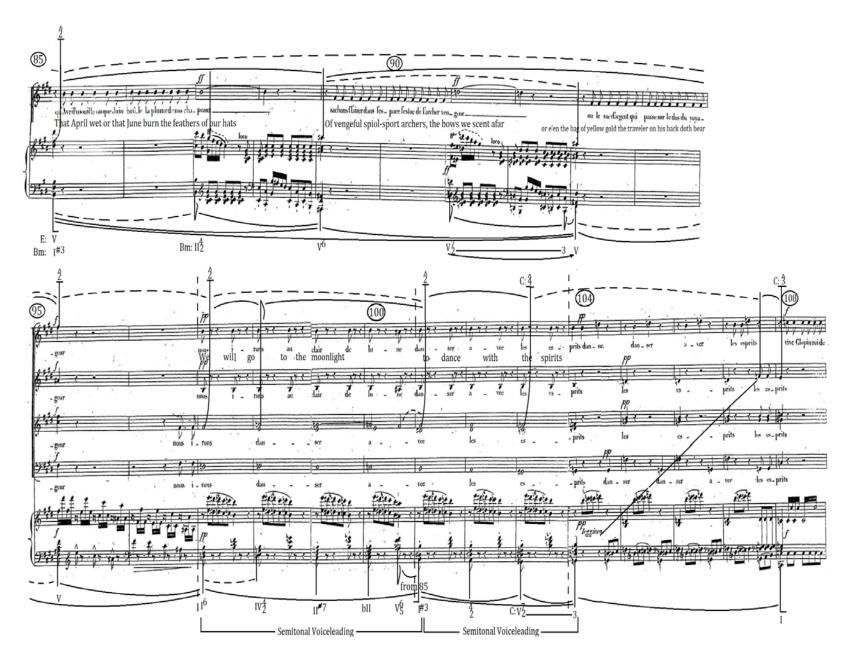
Musical Example A.3. No. 1, Overture, mm. 35-51



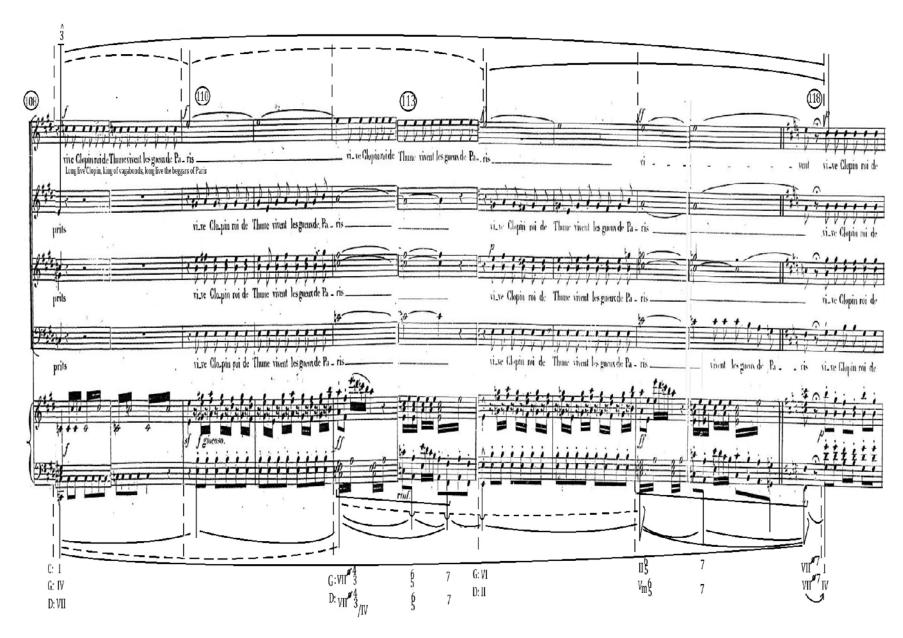
Musical Example A.4. No. 1, Festival of Fools, mm. 51-74



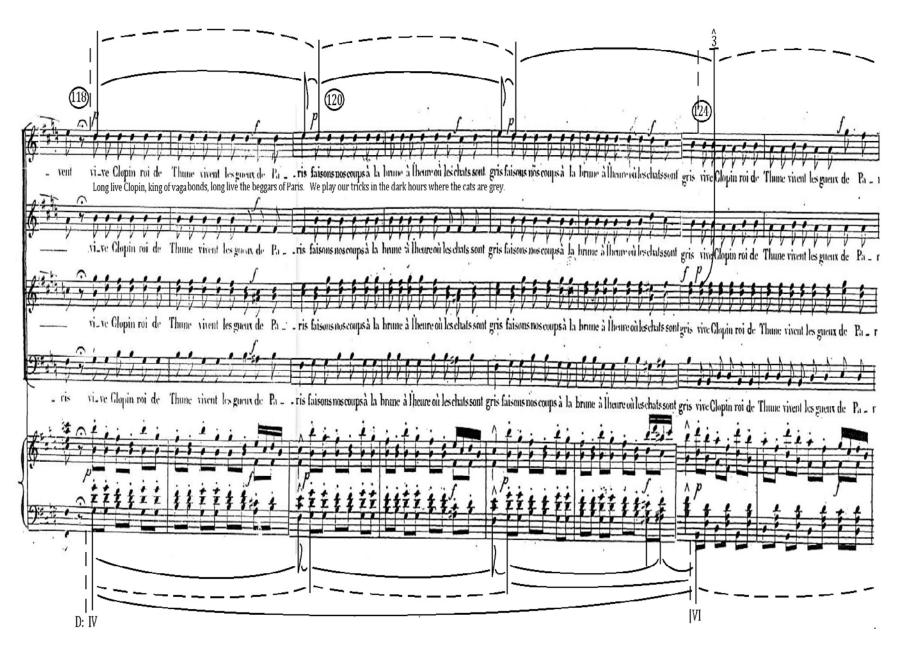
Musical Example A.5. No. 1, Festival of Fools, mm. 73-86



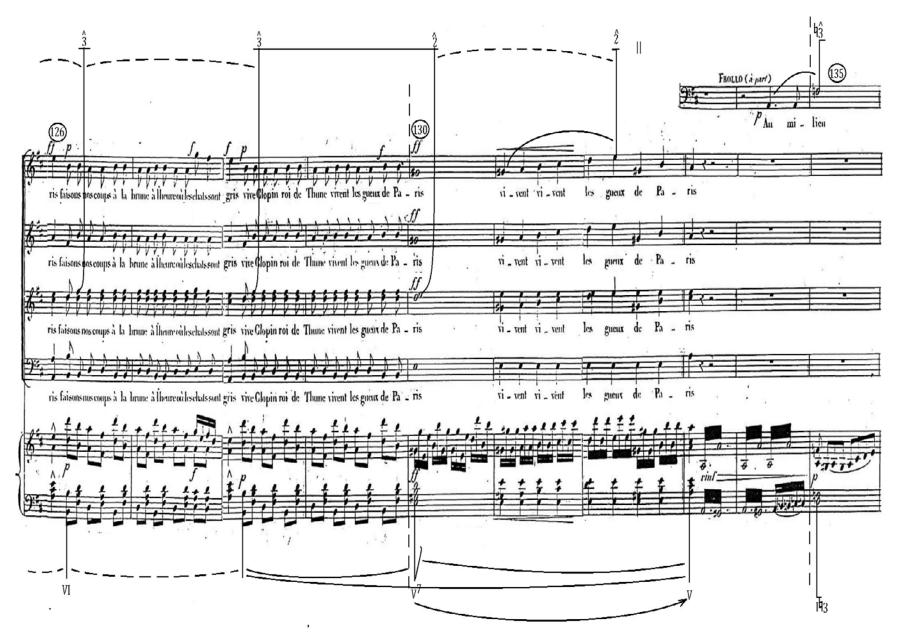
Musical Example A.6. No. 1, Festival of Fools, mm. 85-108



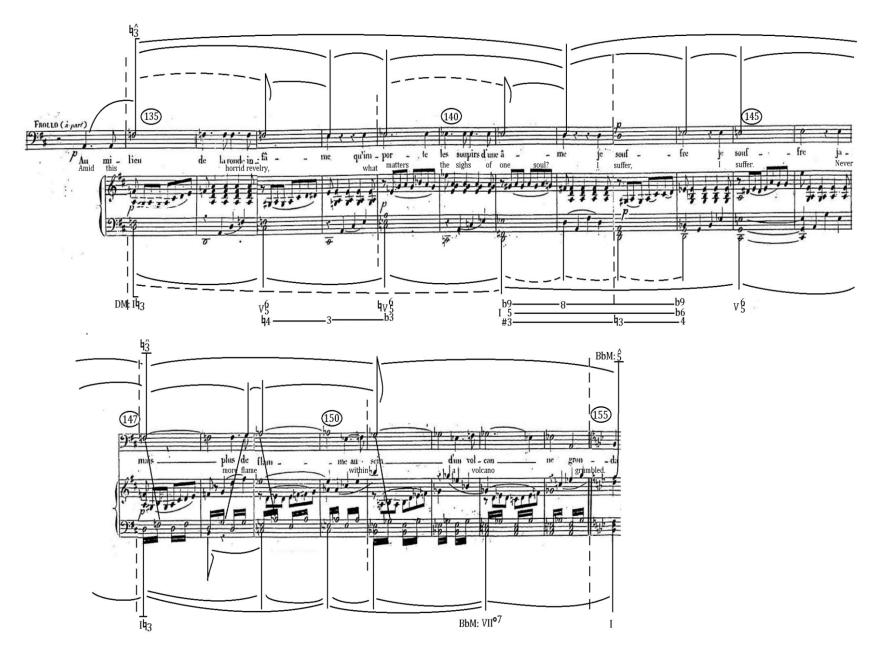
Musical Example A.7. No. 1, Festival of Fools, mm. 108-118



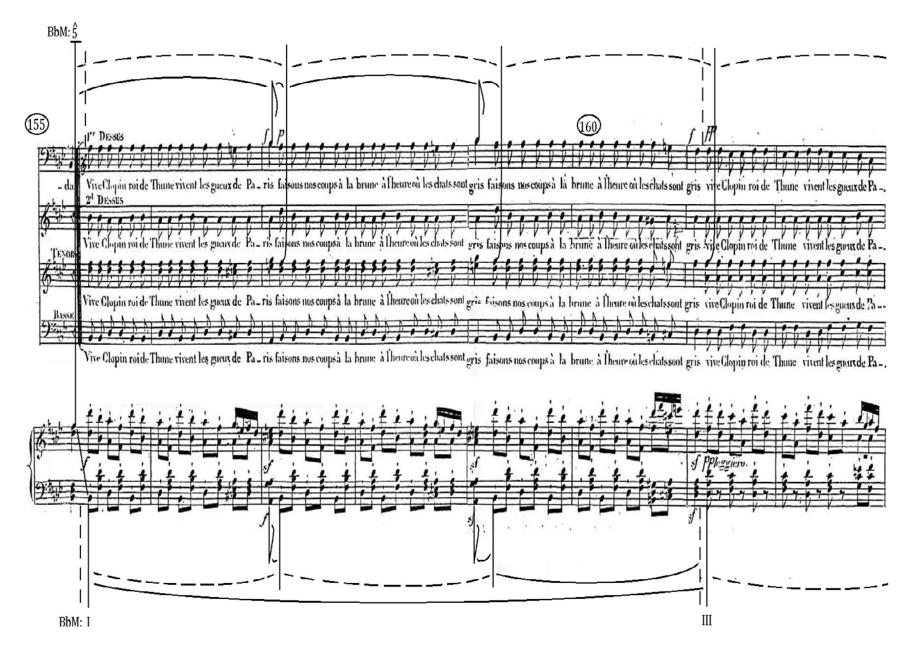
Musical Example A.8. No. 1, Festival of Fools, mm. 118-125



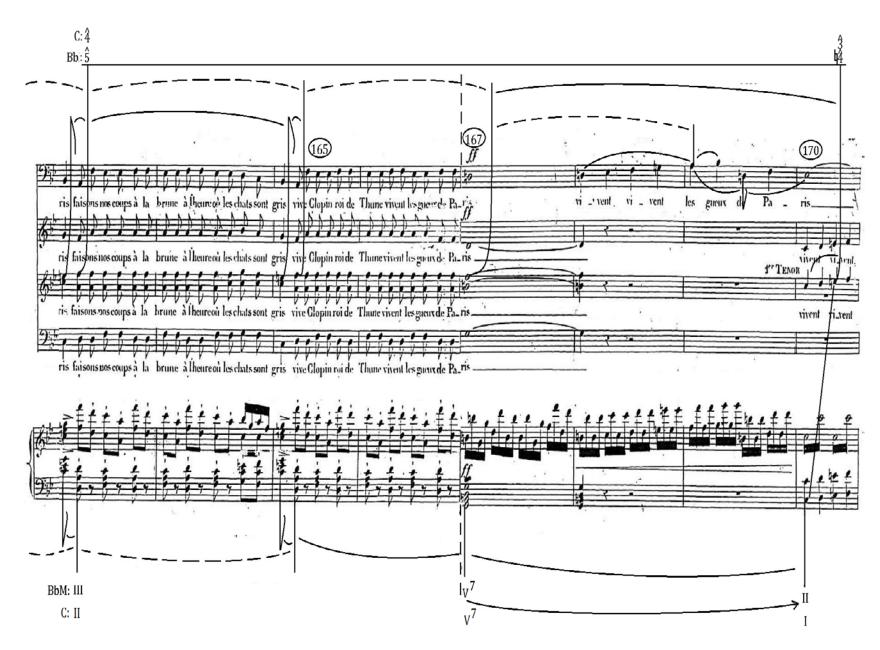
Musical Example A.9. No. 1, Festival of Fools, mm. 126-135



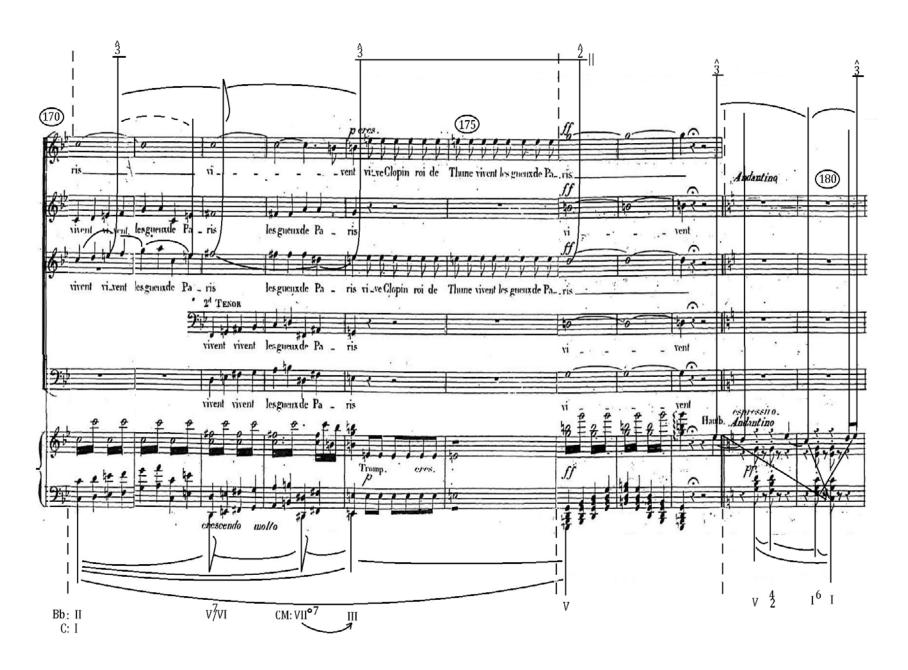
Musical Example A.10. No. 1, Frollo Entrance, mm. 135-155



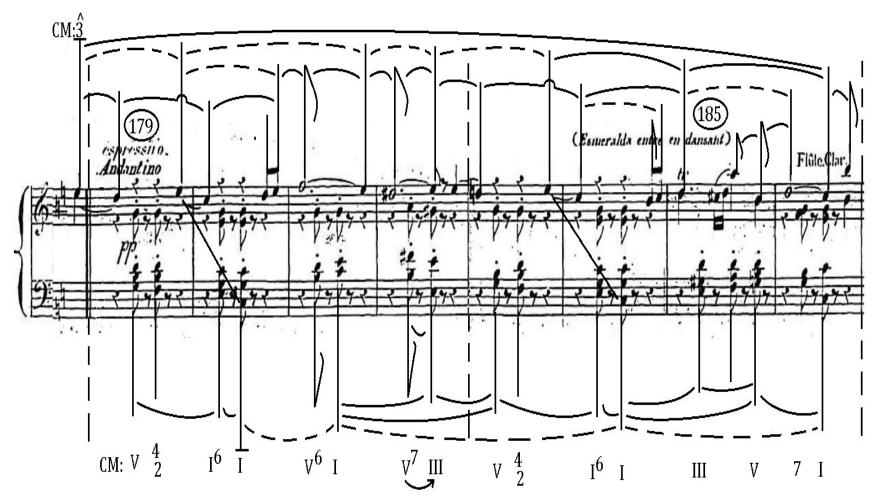
Musical Example A.11. No. 1, Festival of Fools Continued, mm. 155-162



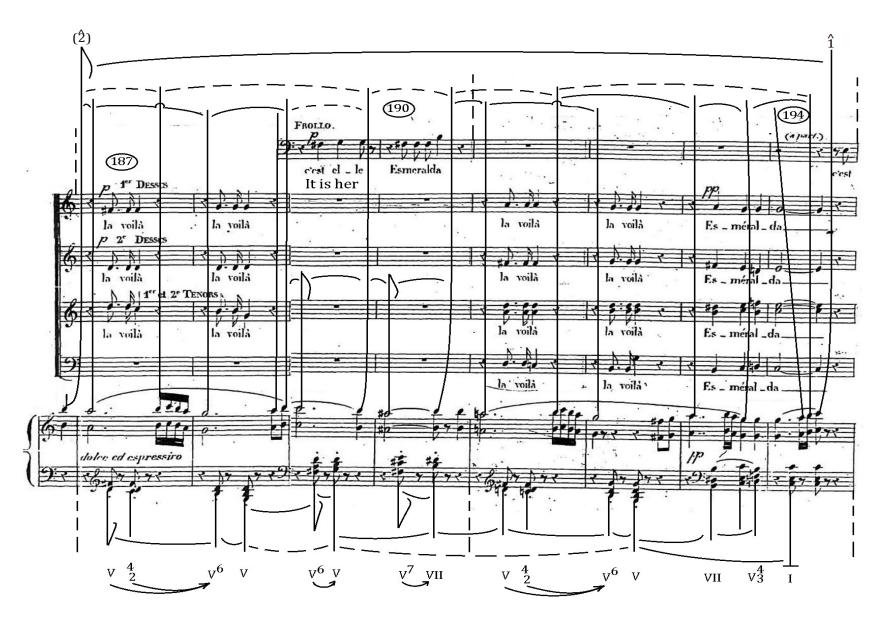
Musical Example A.12. No. 1, Festival of Fools Continued, mm. 163-170



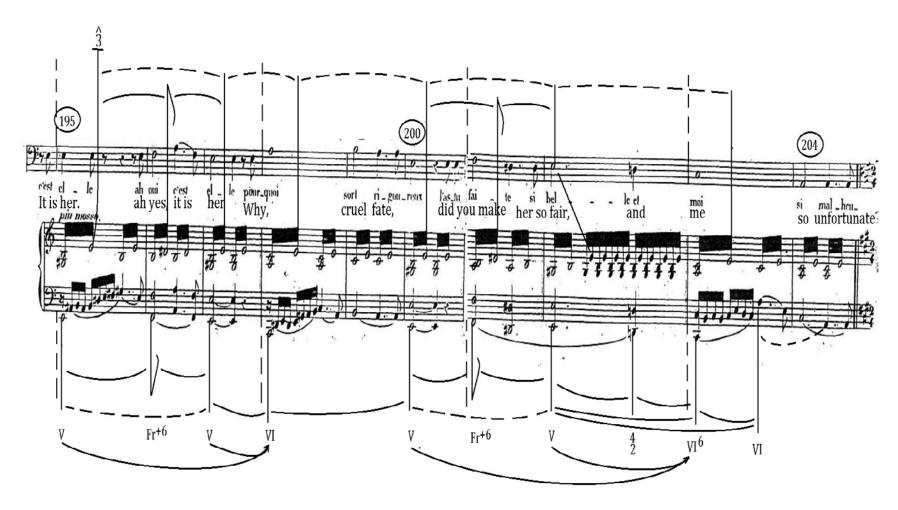
Musical Example A.13. No. 1, Festival of Fools Continued, mm. 170-180



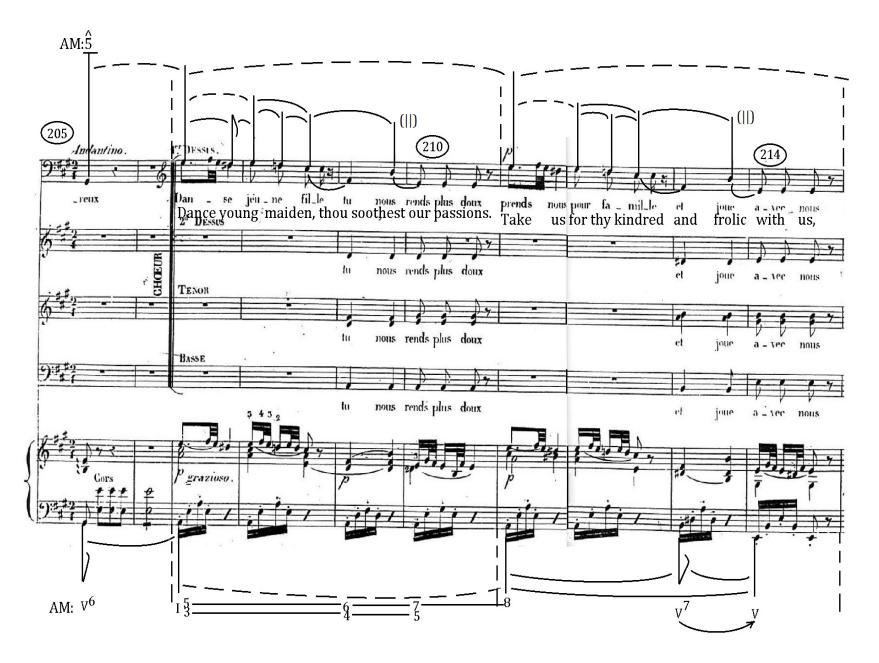
Musical Example A.14. No. 1, Esmeralda Entrance, mm. 179-186



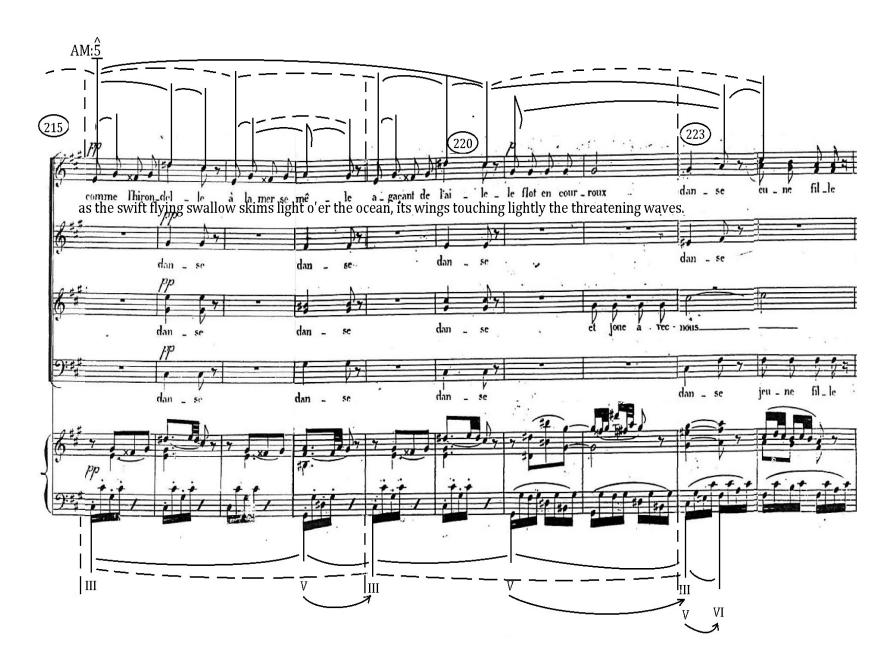
Musical Example A.15. No. 1, Esmeralda Entrance, mm. 187-194



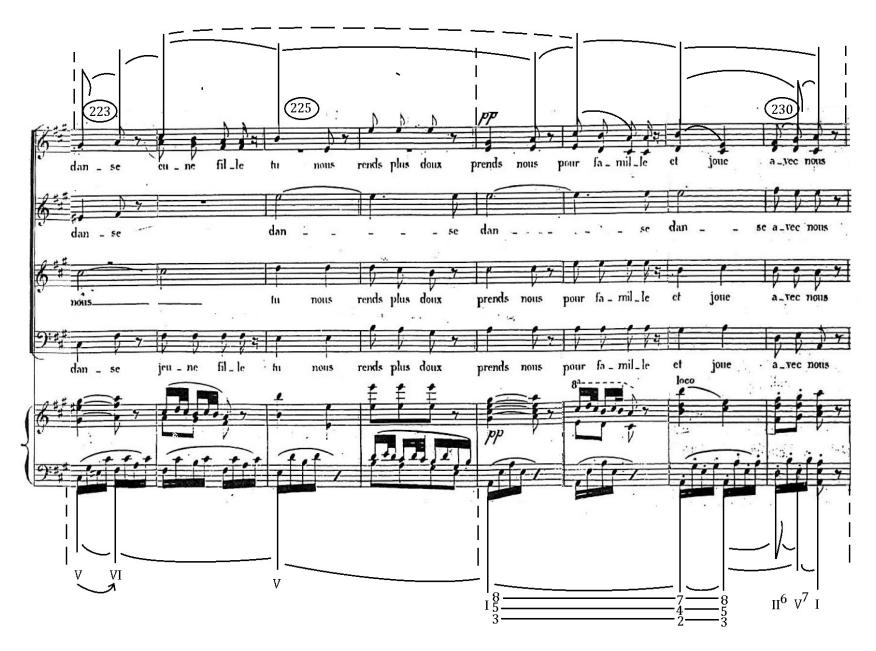
Musical Example A.16. No. 1, Esmeralda Entrance, mm. 195-204



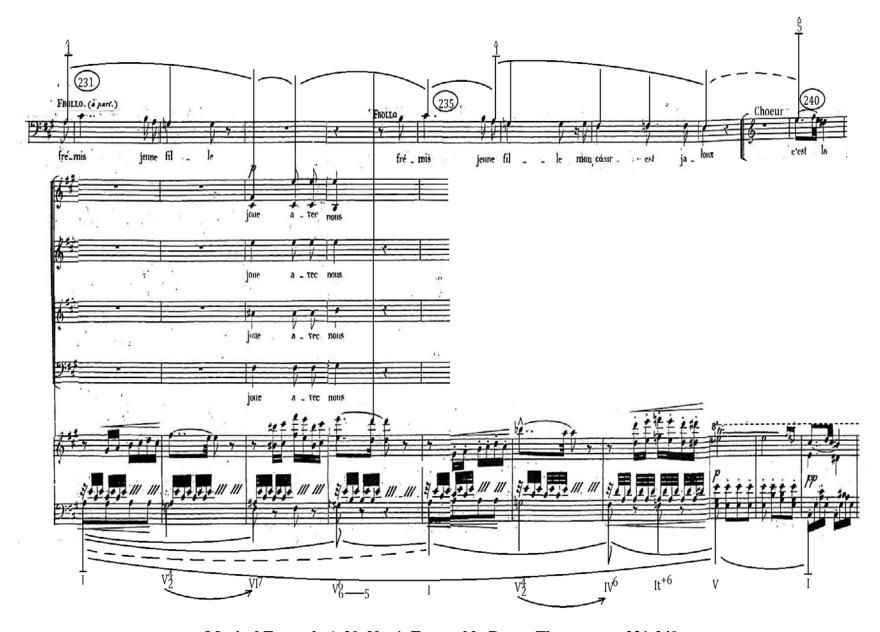
Musical Example A.17. No. 1, Esmeralda Dance Theme, mm. 205-214



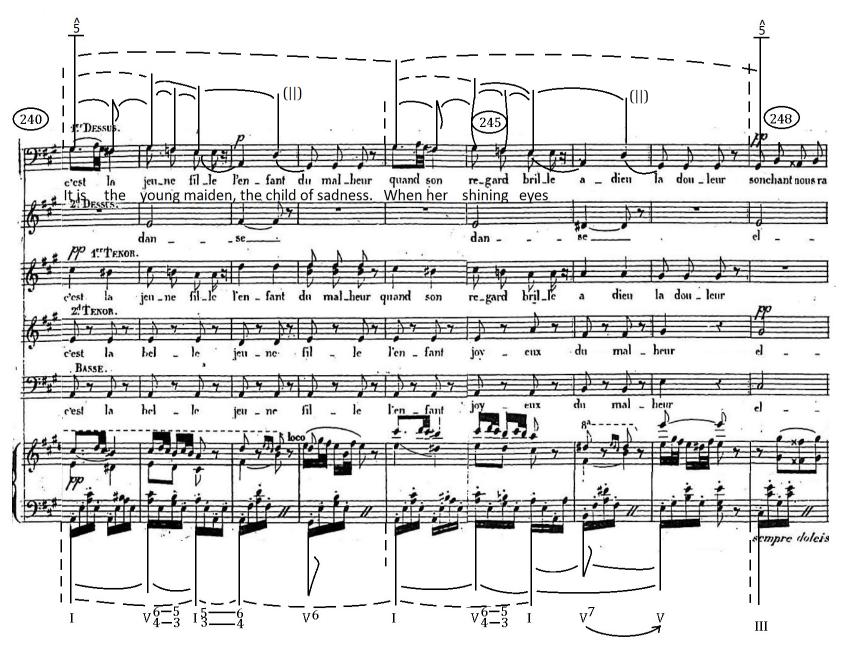
Musical Example A.18. No. 1, Esmeralda Dance Theme, mm. 215-224



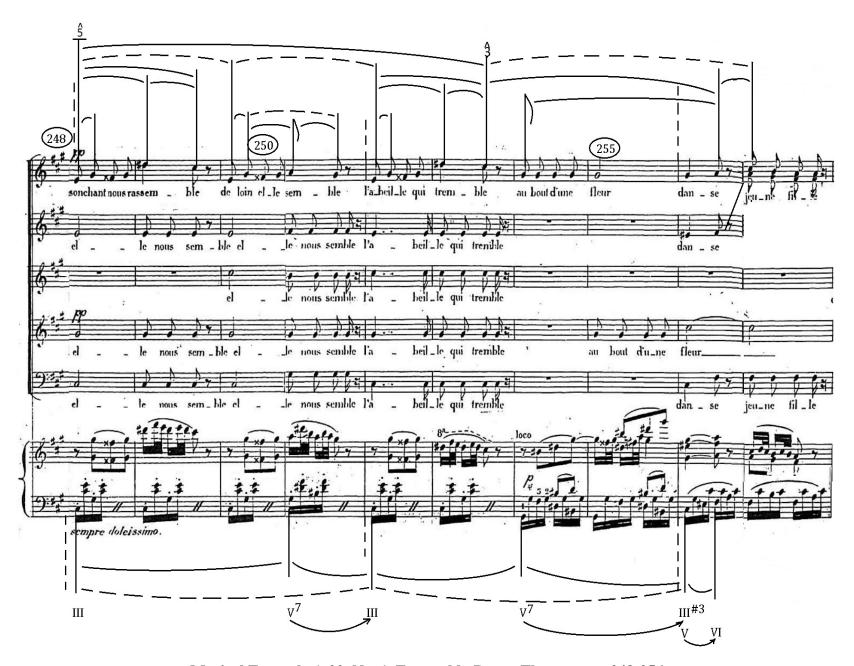
Musical Example A.19. No. 1, Esmeralda Dance Theme, mm. 223-230



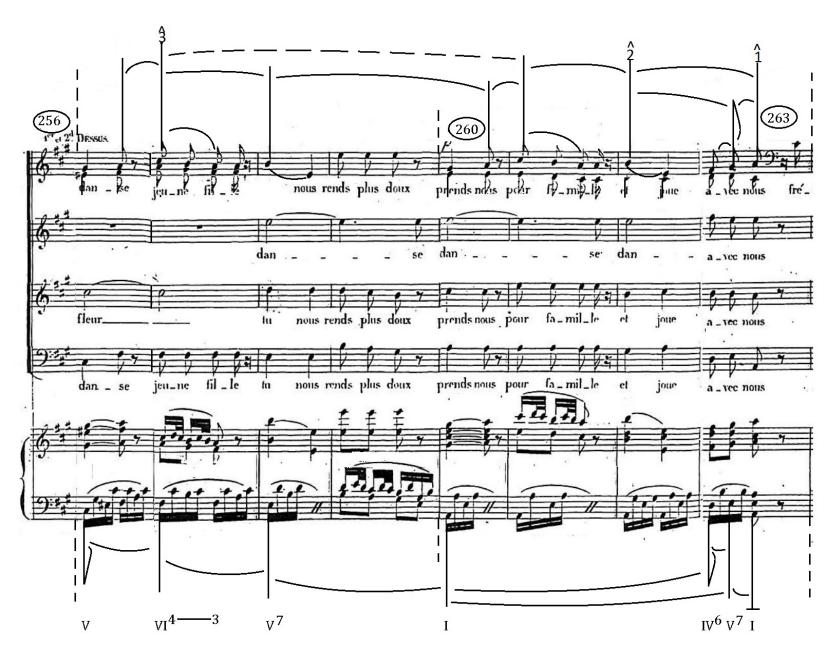
Musical Example A.20. No. 1, Esmeralda Dance Theme, mm. 231-240



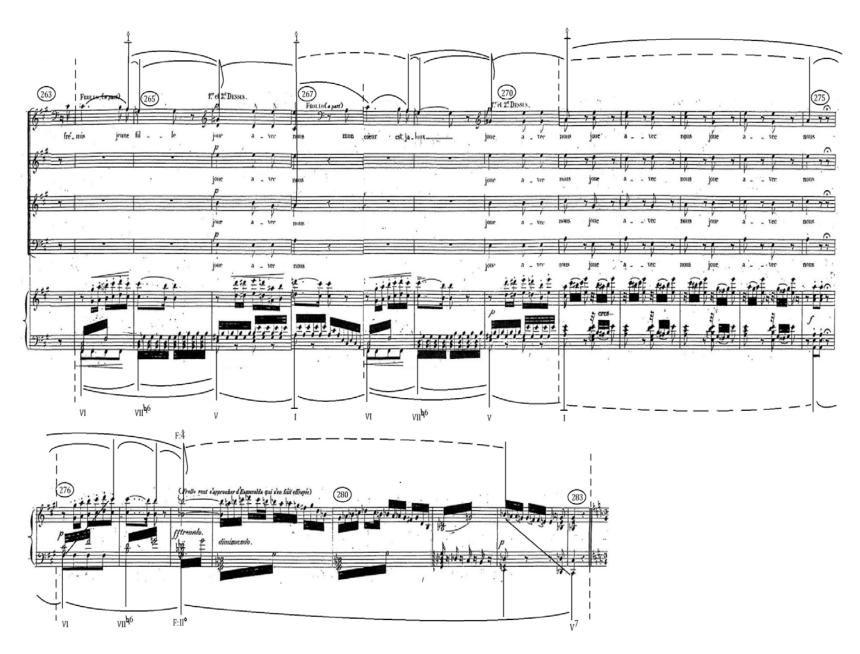
Musical Example A.21. No. 1, Esmeralda Dance Theme, mm. 240-248



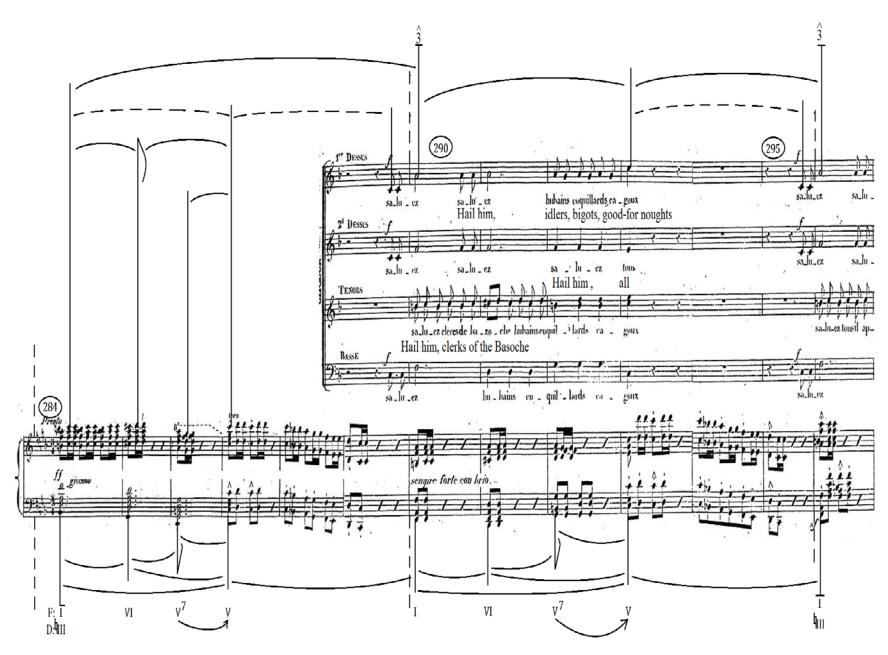
Musical Example A.22. No. 1, Esmeralda Dance Theme, mm. 248-256



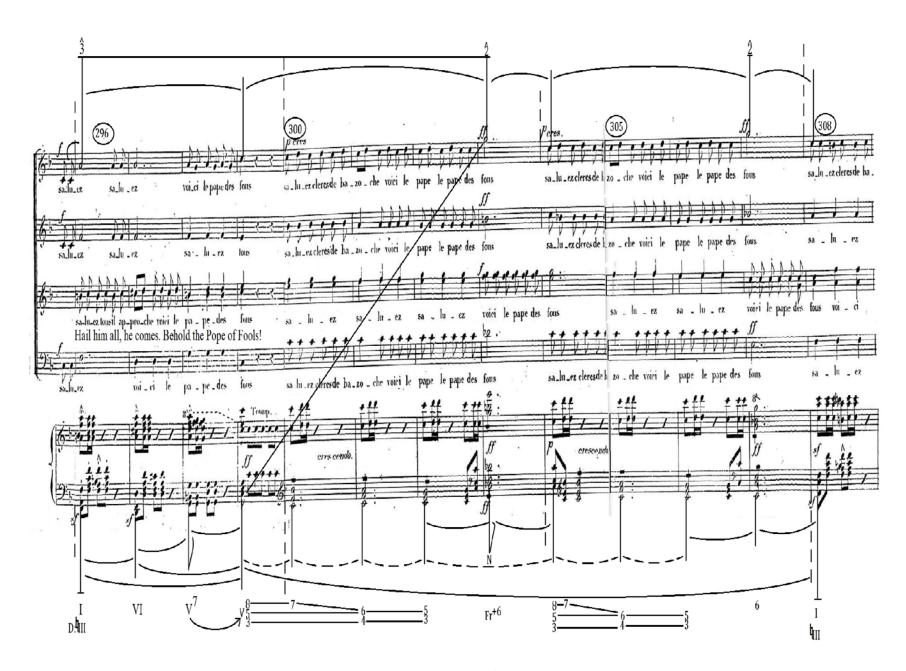
Musical Example A.23. No. 1, Esmeralda Dance Theme, mm. 256-263



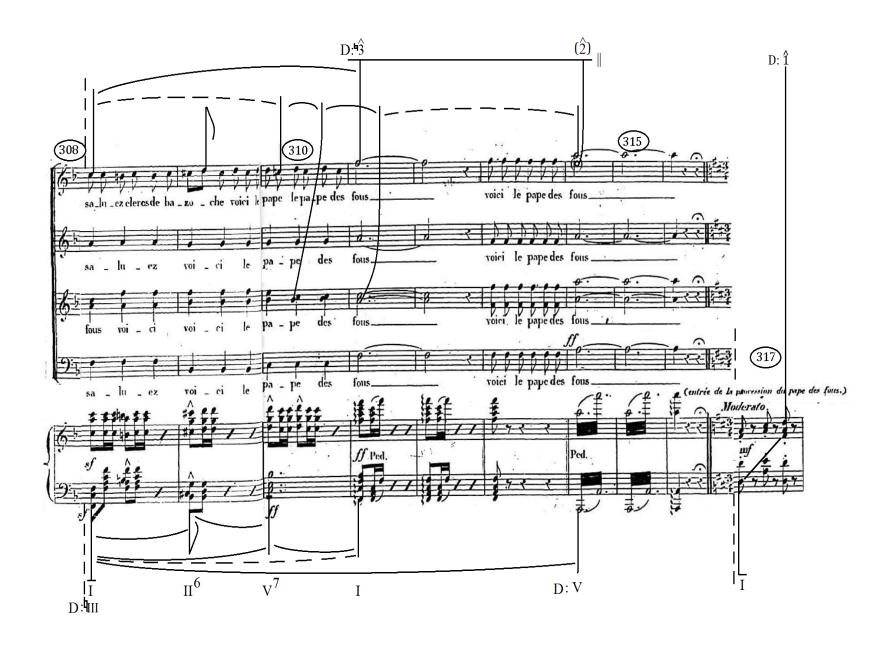
Musical Example A.24. No. 1, Esmeralda Dance Theme, mm. 263-283



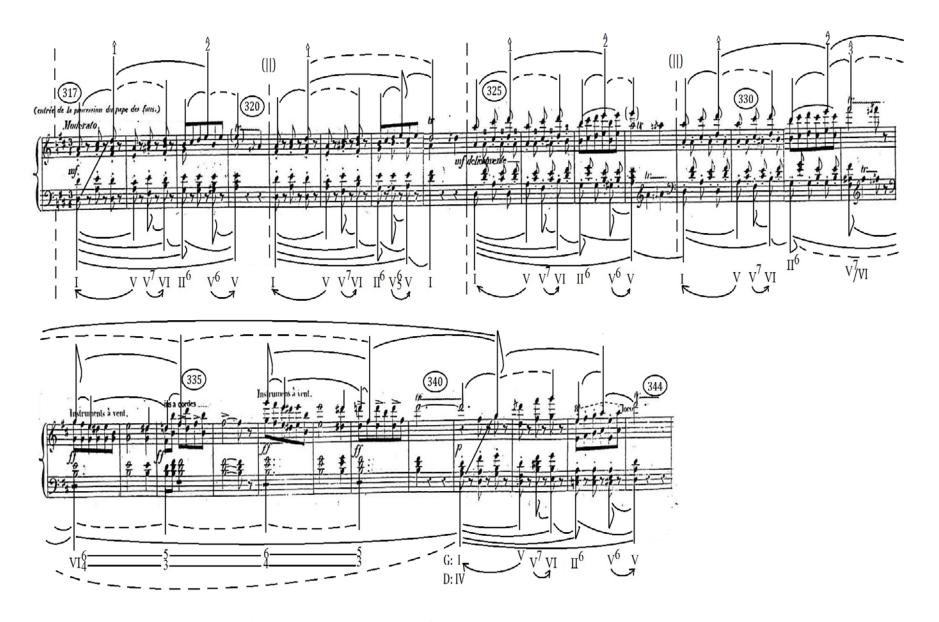
Musical Example A.25. No. 1, Festival of Fools Reprise, mm. 284-296



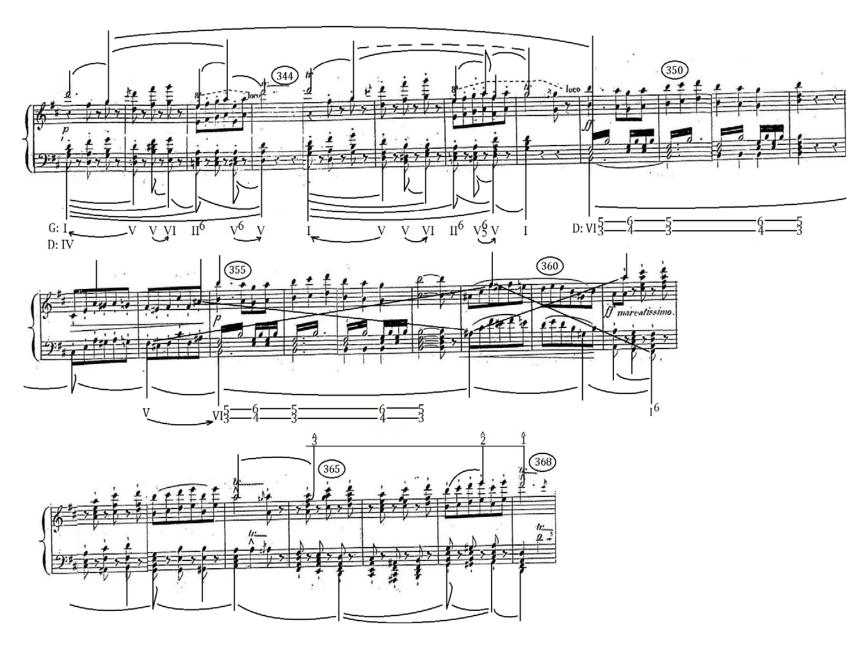
Musical Example A.26. No. 1, Festival of Fools Reprise, mm. 296-308



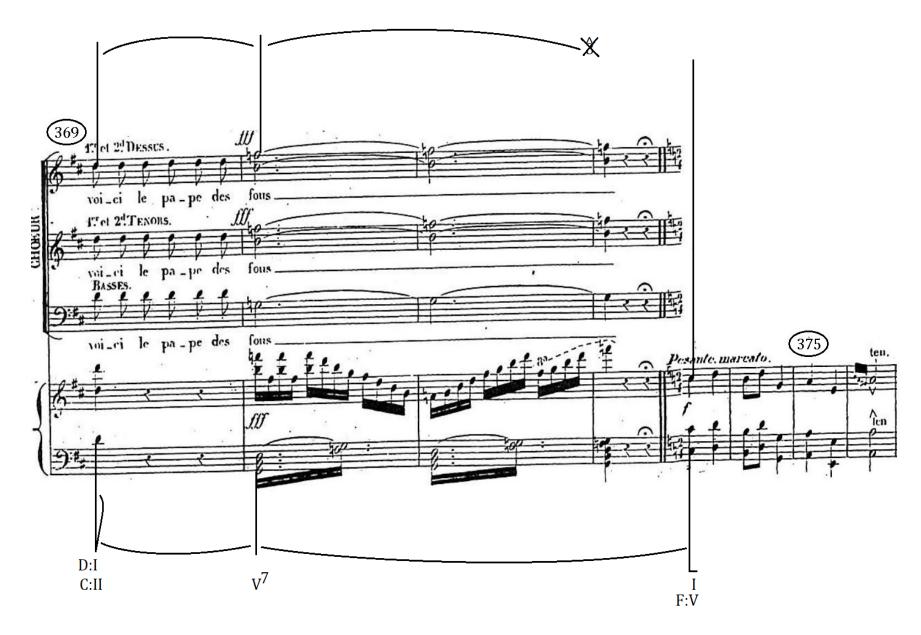
Musical Example A.27. No. 1, Festival of Fools Reprise, mm. 308-317



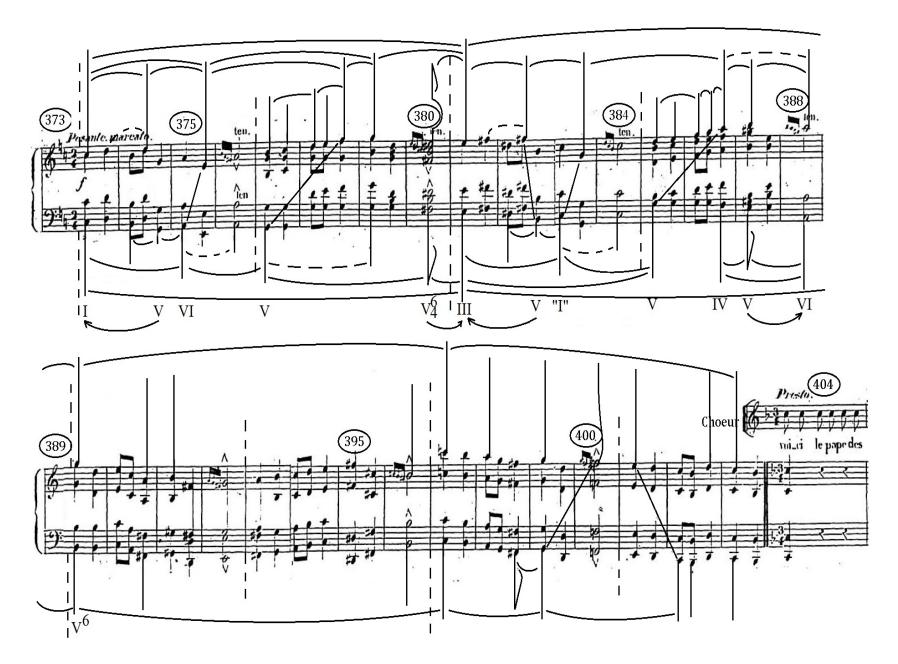
Musical Example A.28. No. 1, Quasimodo Entrance Part I, mm. 317-344



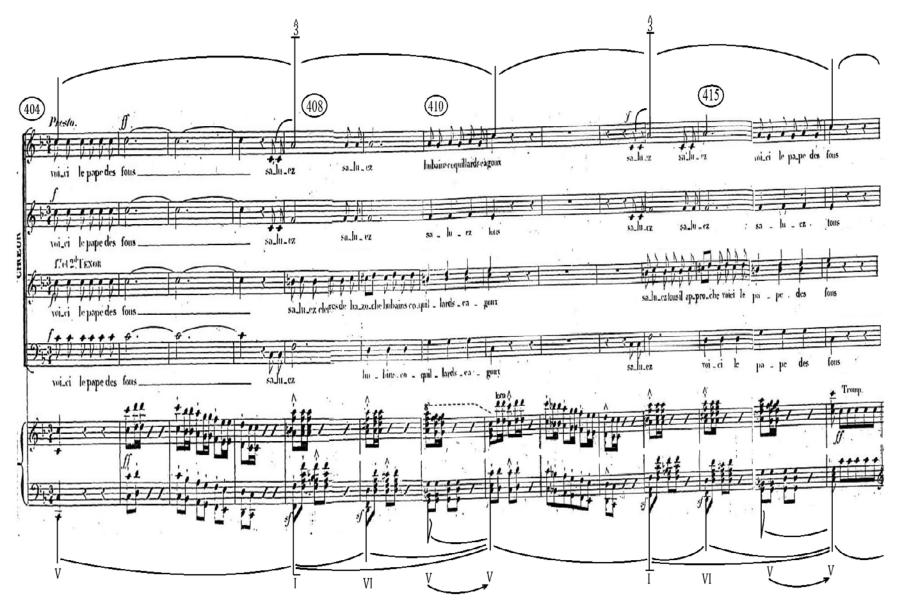
Musical Example A.29. No. 1, Quasimodo Entrance Part I, mm. 341-368



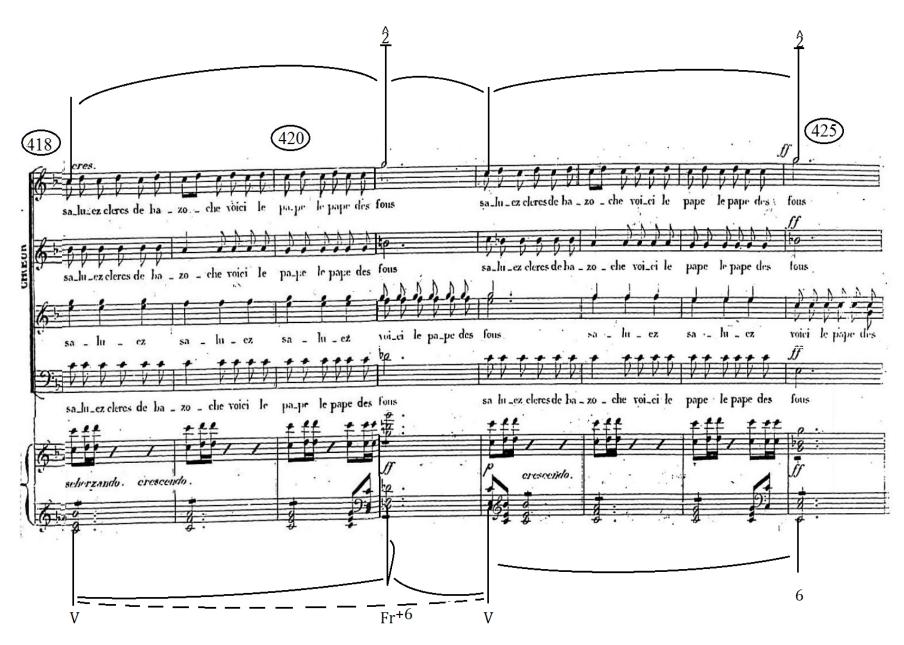
Musical Example A.30. No. 1, Quasimodo Entrance Part I, mm. 369-376



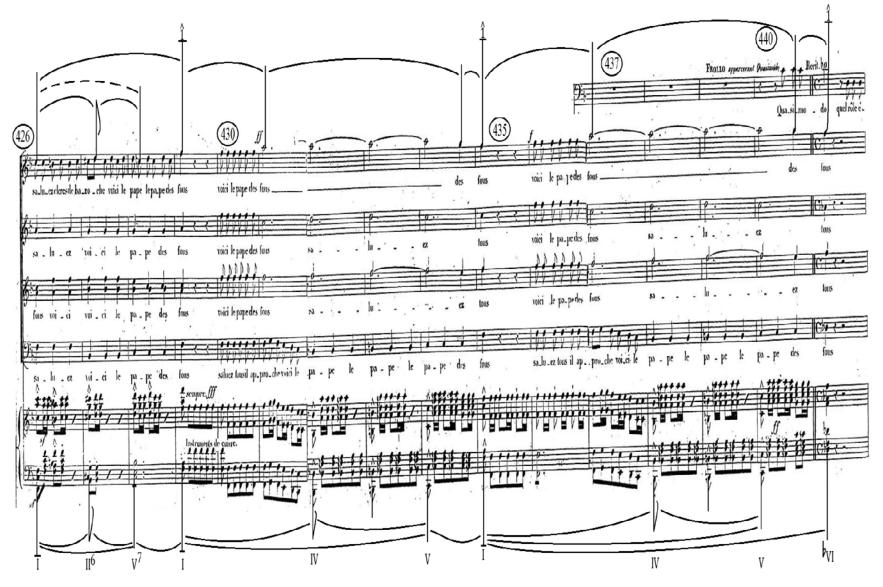
Musical Example A.31. No. 1, Quasimodo Entrance Part II, mm. 373-404



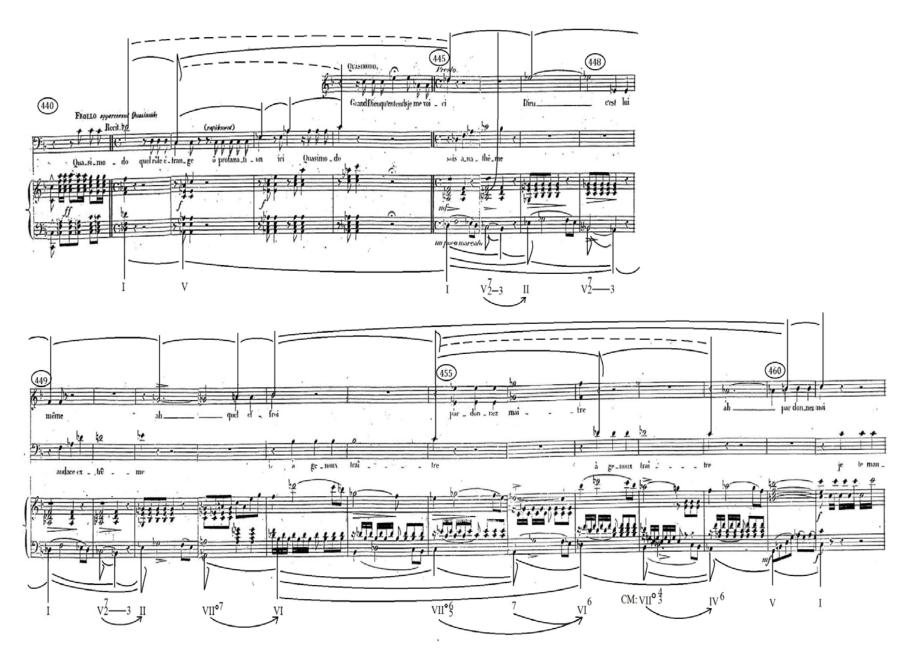
Musical Example A.32. No. 1, Festival of Fools Reprise, mm. 404-417



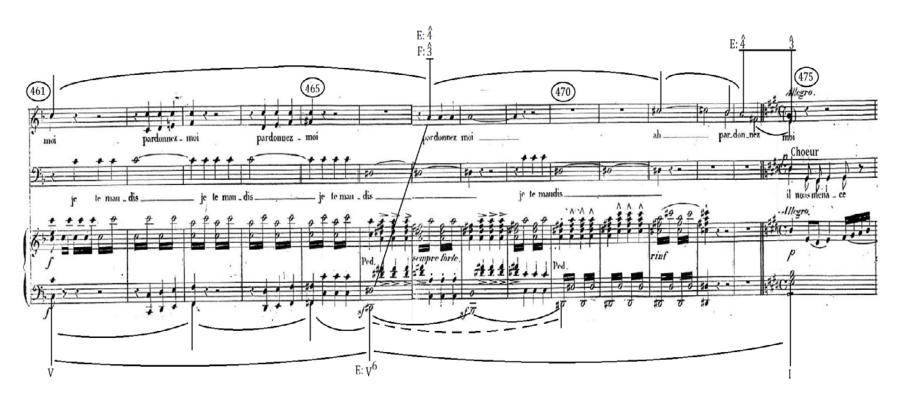
Musical Example A.33. No. 1, Festival of Fools Reprise, mm. 418-425



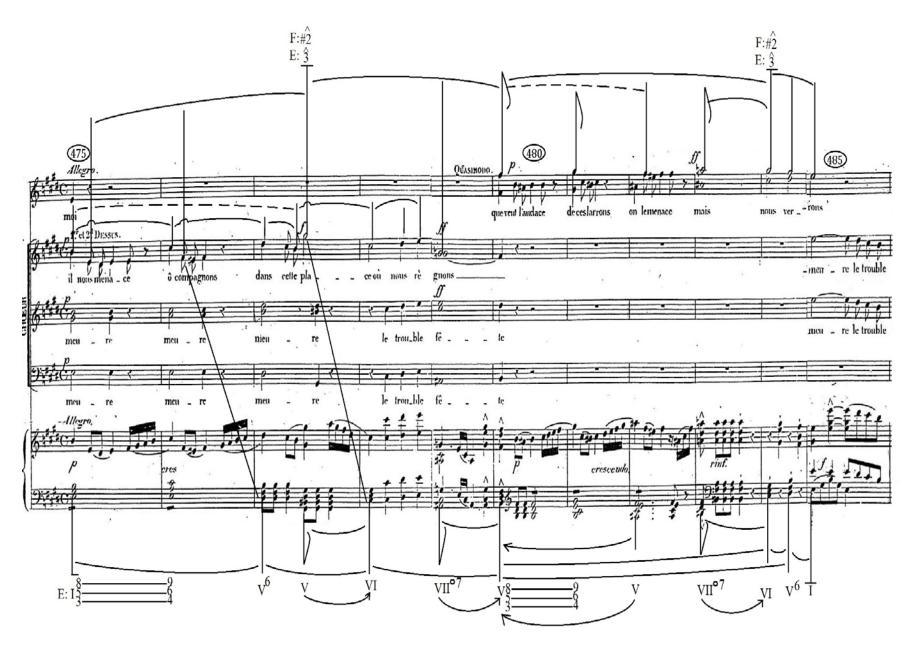
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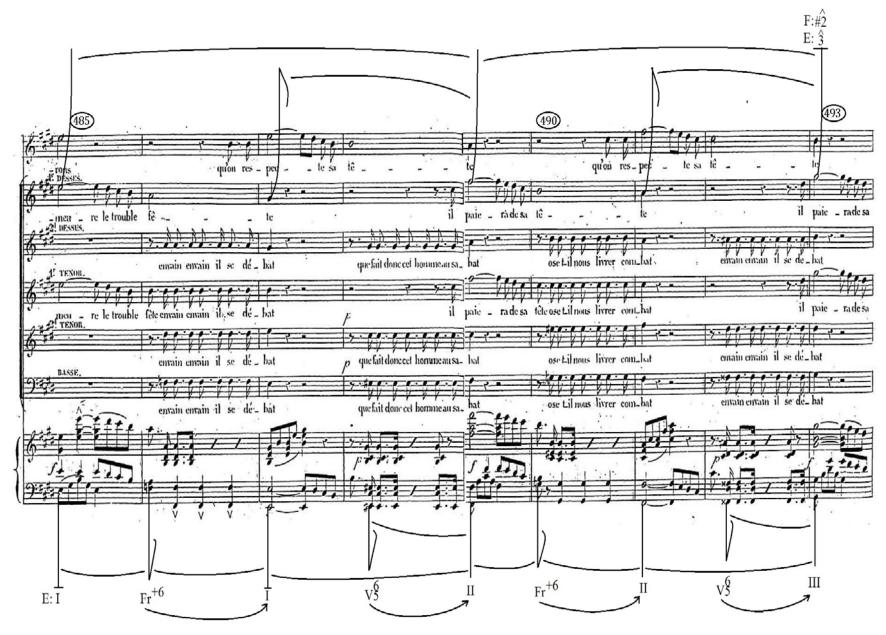
Musical Example A.35. No. 1, Frollo-Quasimodo Duo, mm. 440-461



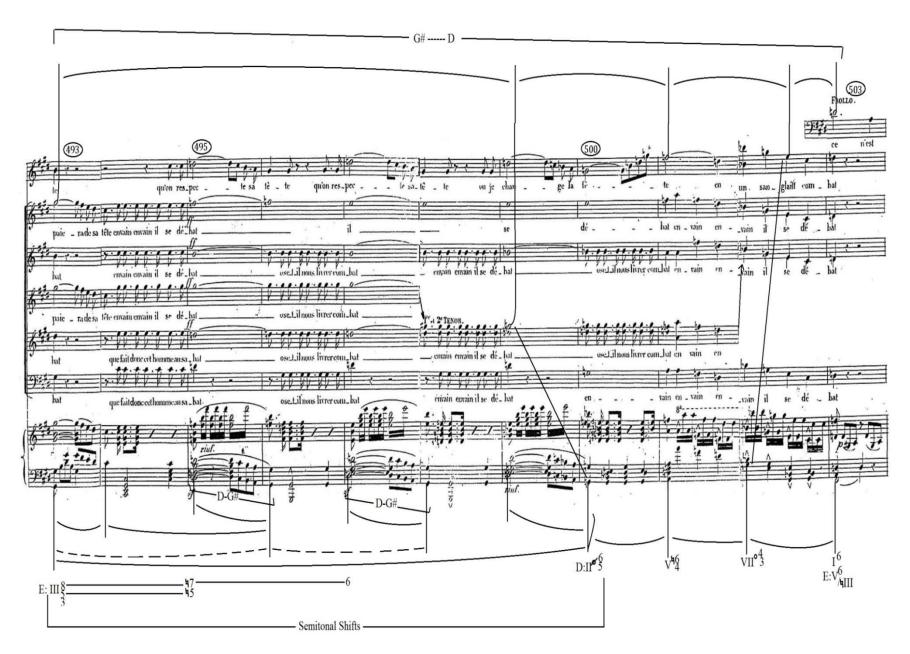
Musical Example A.36. No. 1, Frollo-Quasimodo Duo, mm. 461-475



Musical Example A.37. No. 1, Frollo-Quasimodo Duo, mm. 475=485



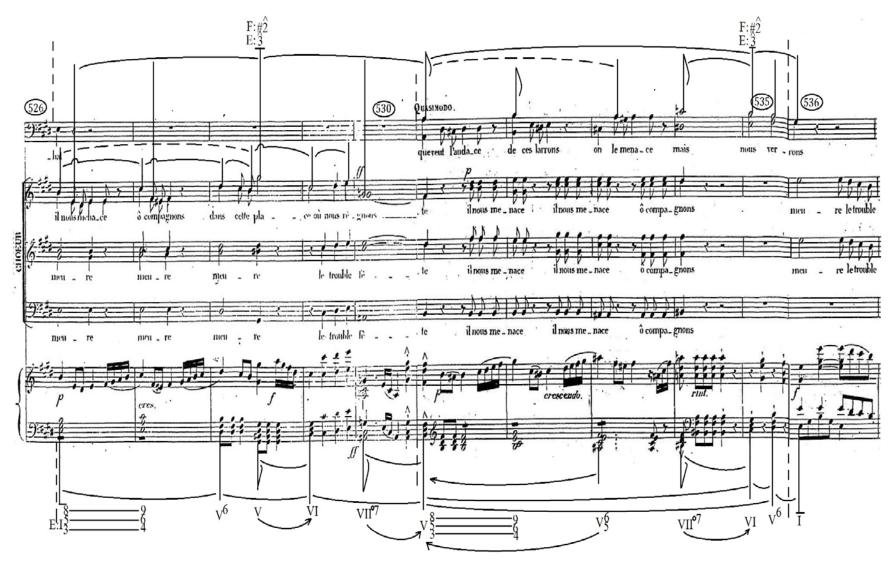
Musical Example A.38. No. 1, Frollo-Quasimodo Duo, mm. 485-493



Musical Example A.39. No. 1, Frollo-Quasimodo Duo, mm. 493-503



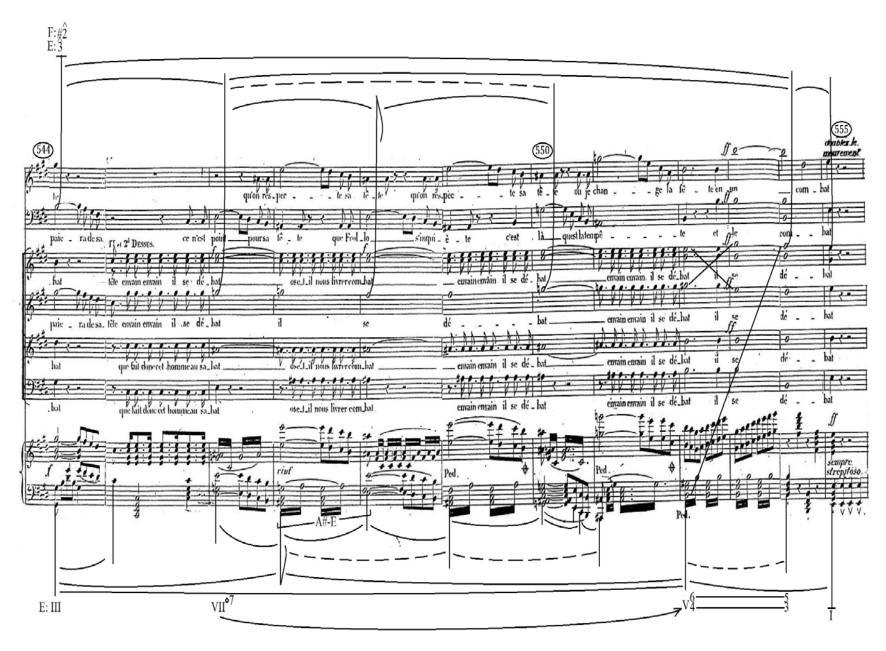
Musical Example A.40. No. 1, Frollo-Quasimodo Duo, mm. 503-526



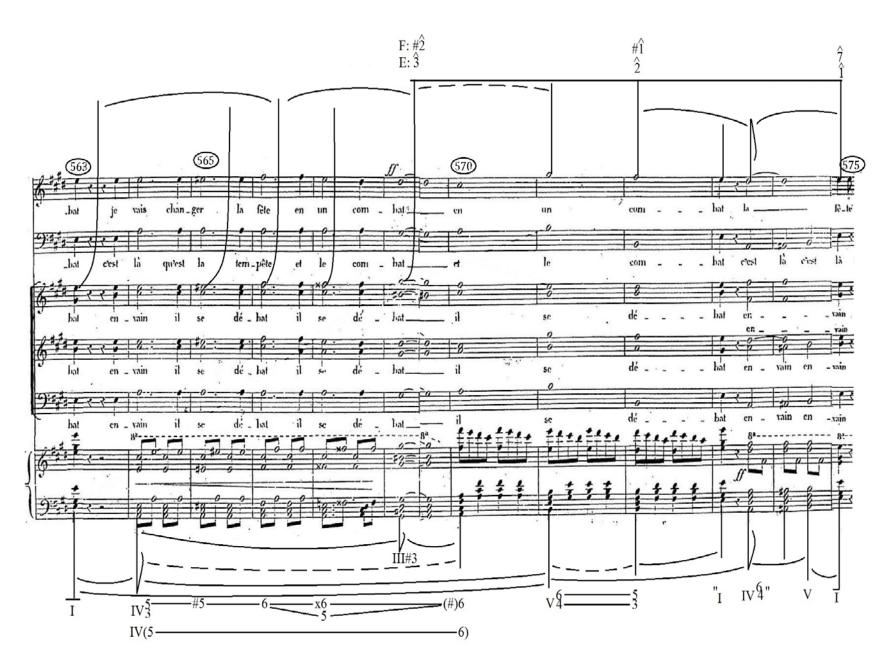
Musical Example A.41. No. 1, Frollo-Quasimodo Duo, mm. 526-536



Musical Example A.42. No. 1, Frollo-Quasimodo Duo, mm. 536-544



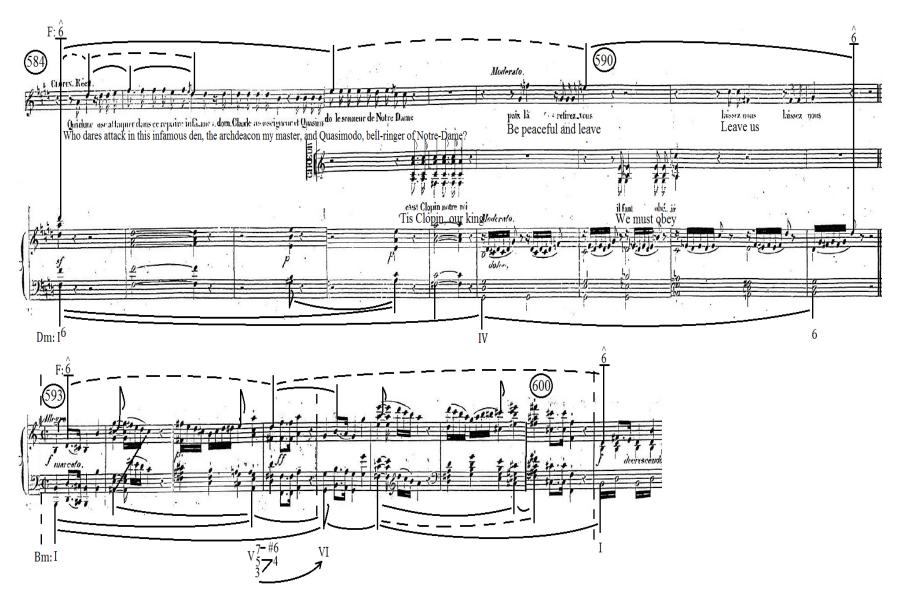
Musical Example A.43. No. 1, Frollo-Quasimodo Duo, mm. 544-555



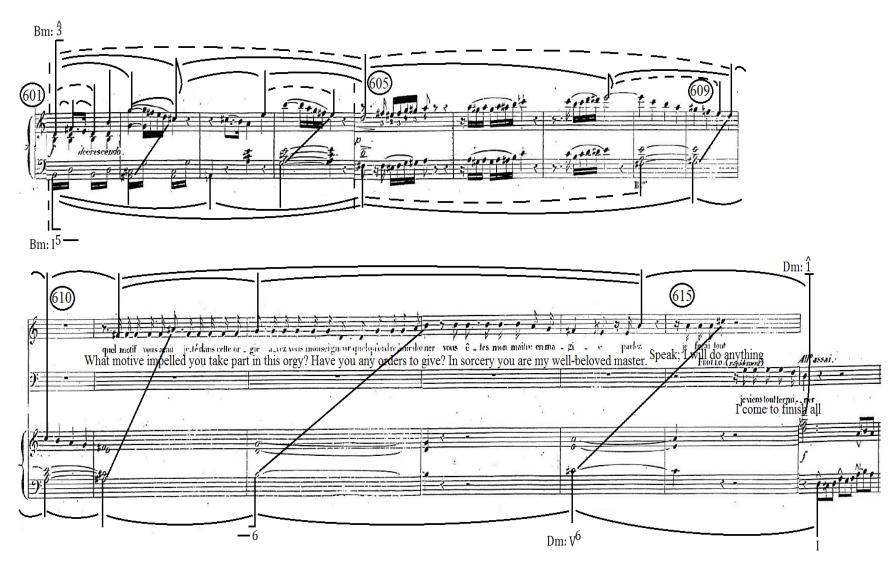
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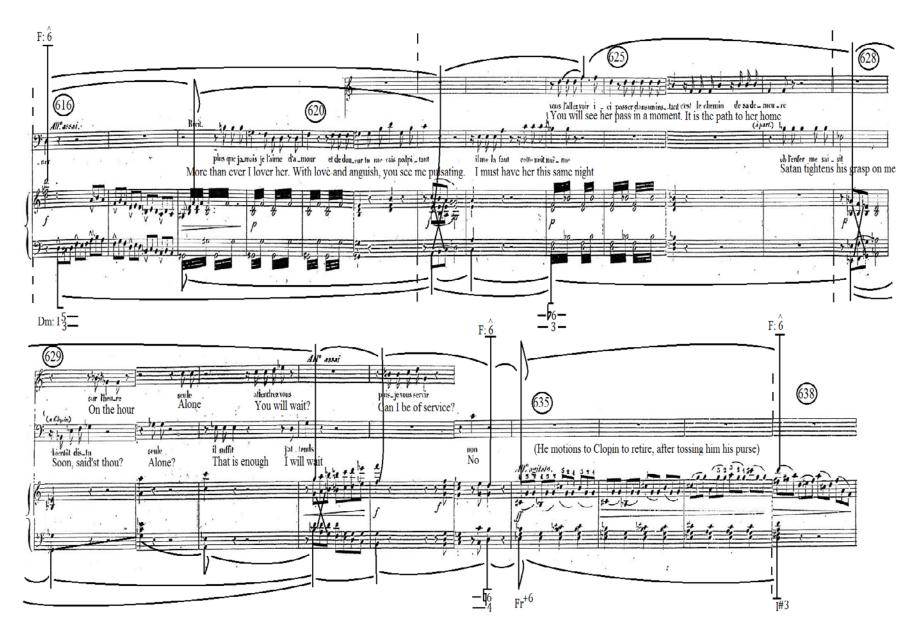
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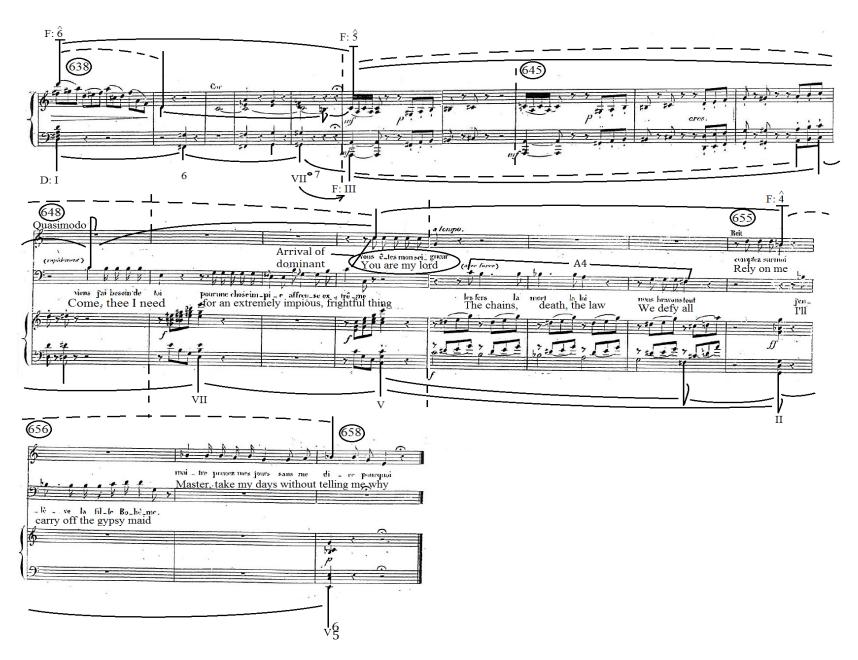
Musical Example A.46. No. 1, Clopin Recitative, mm. 584-601



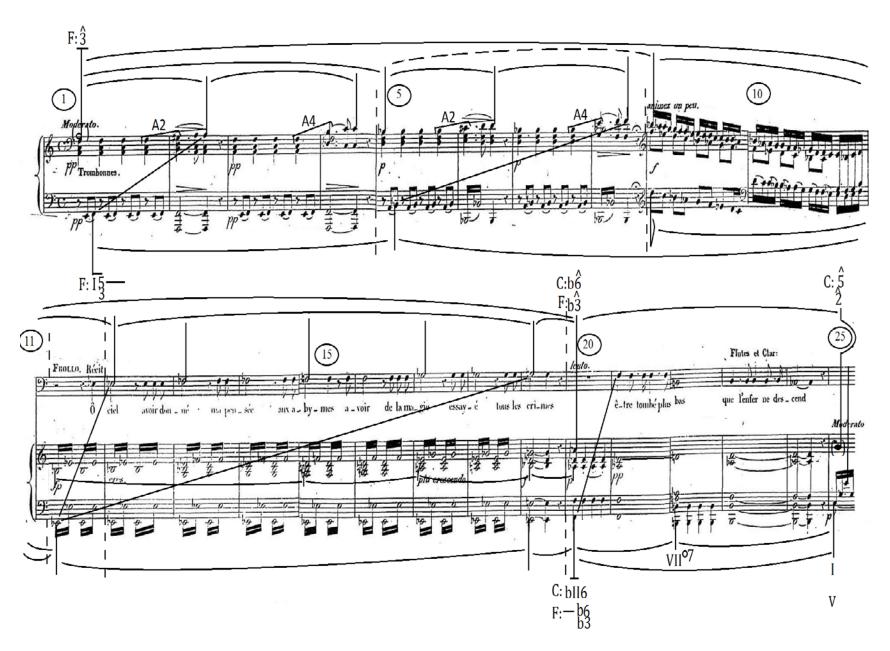
Musical Example A.47. No. 1, Clopin Recitative, mm. 601-616



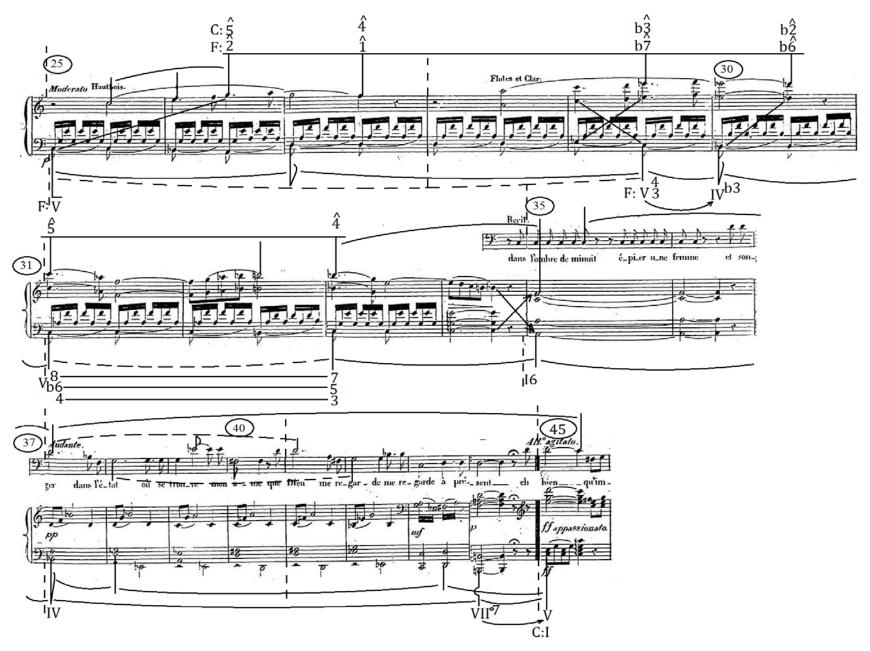
Musical Example A.48. No. 1, Clopin Recitative, mm. 616-638



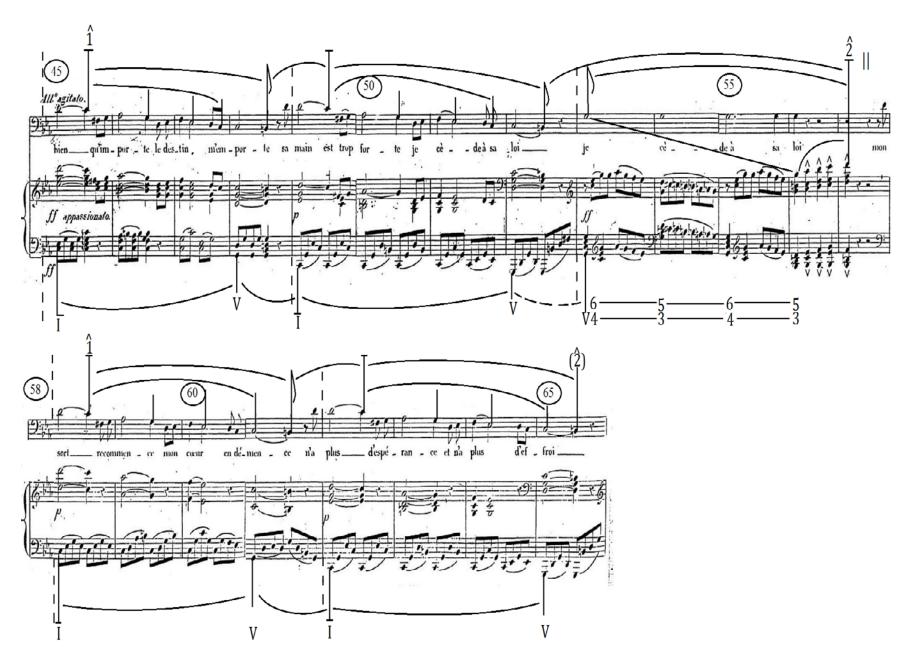
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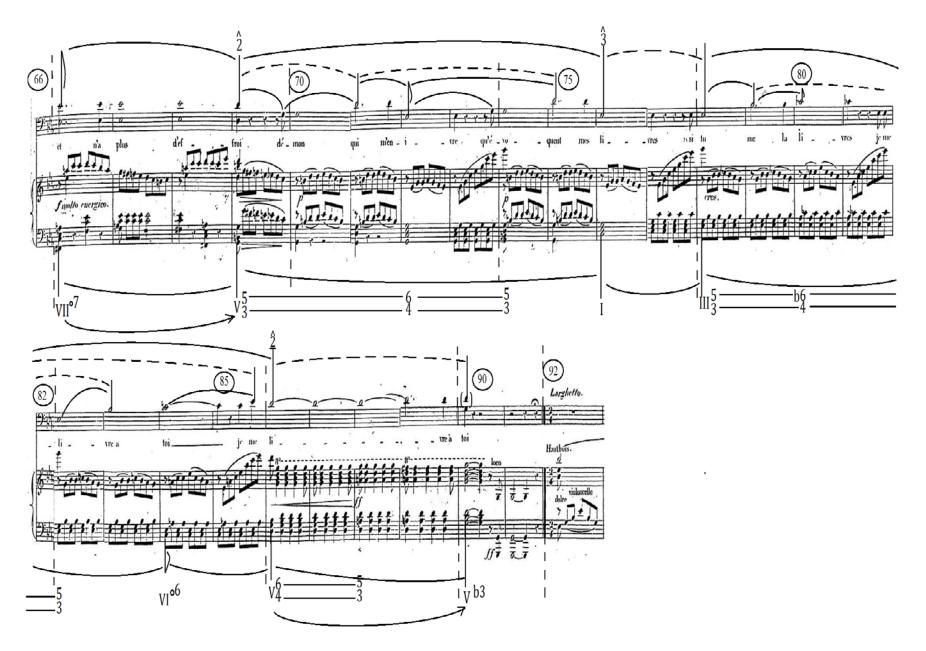
Musical Example A.50. No. 2, Introduction, mm. 1-25



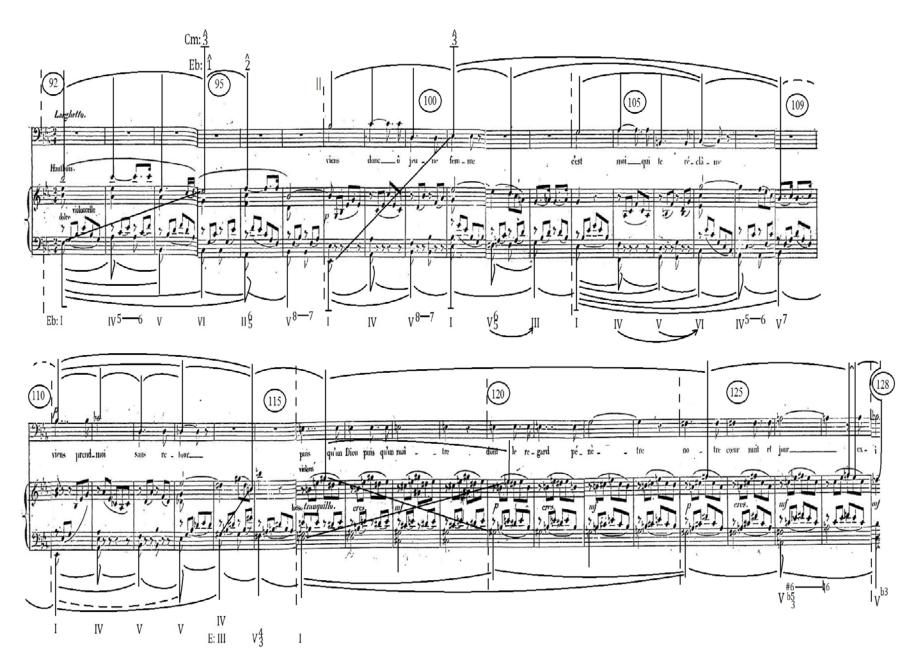
Musical Example A.51. No. 2, Introduction, mm. 25-45



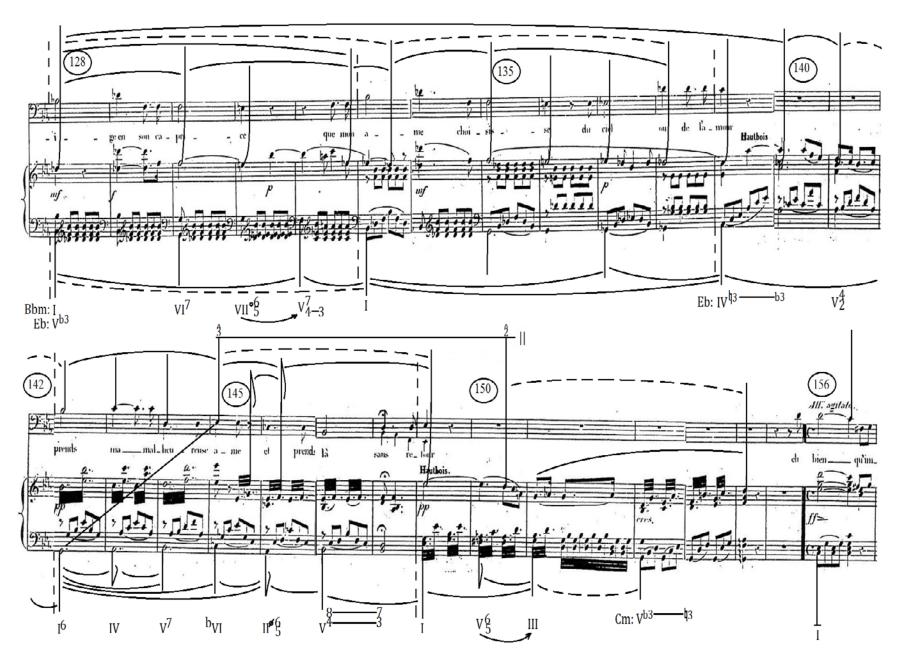
Musical Example A.52. No. 2, A Section, mm. 45-65



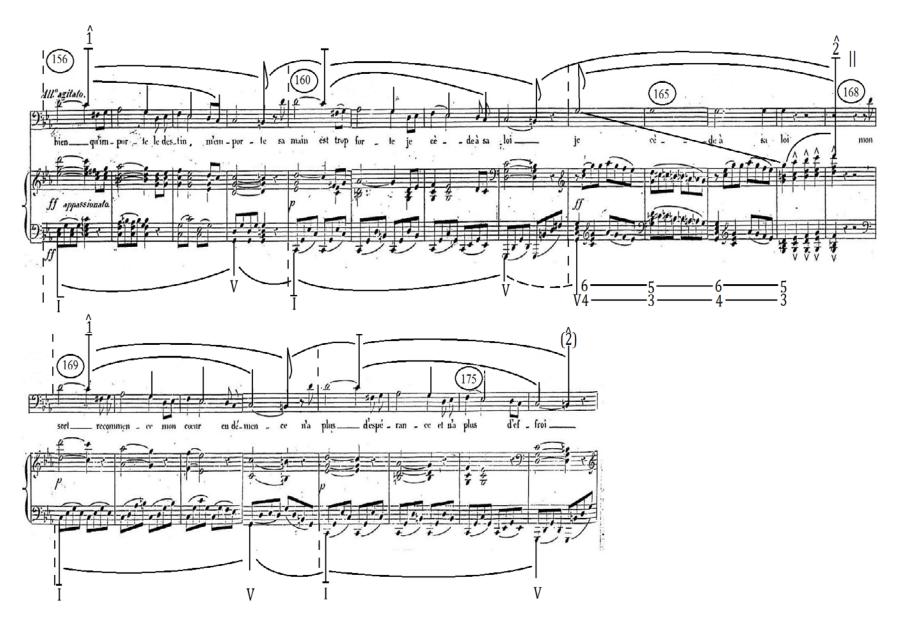
Musical Example A.53. No. 2, A Section, mm. 66-92



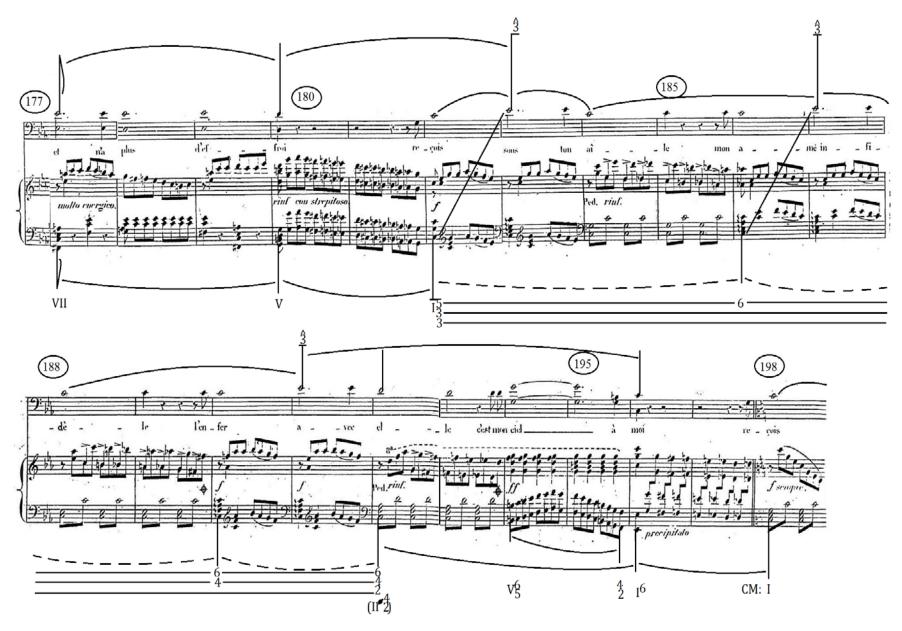
Musical Example A.54. No. 2, B Section, mm. 92-128



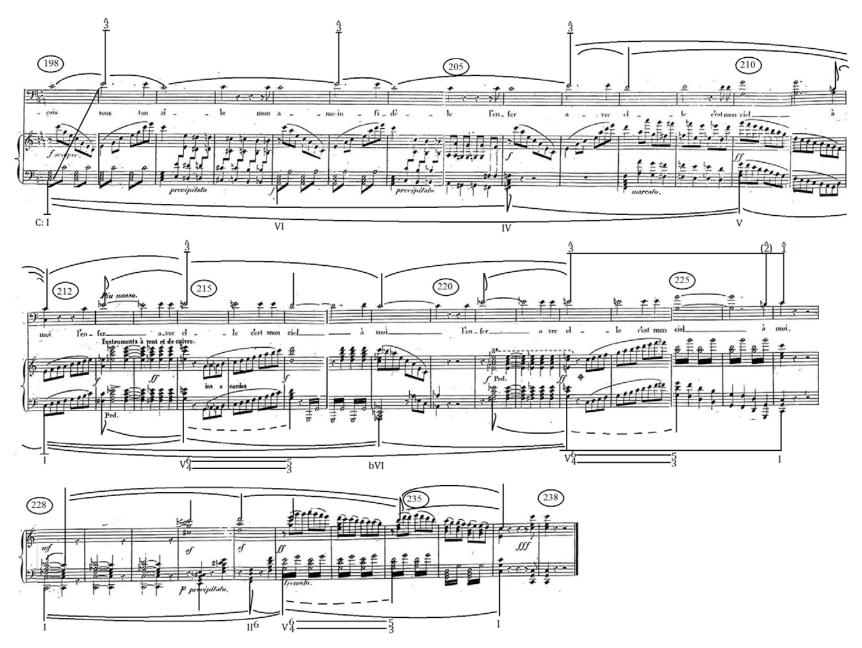
Musical Example A.55. No. 2, B Section, mm. 128-156



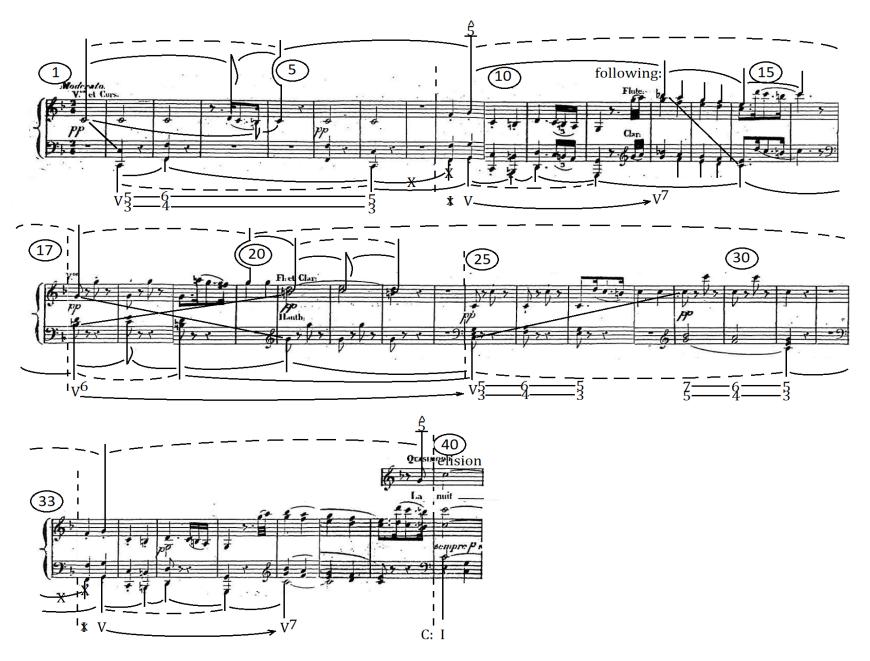
Musical Example A.56. No. 2, A Section, mm. 156-176



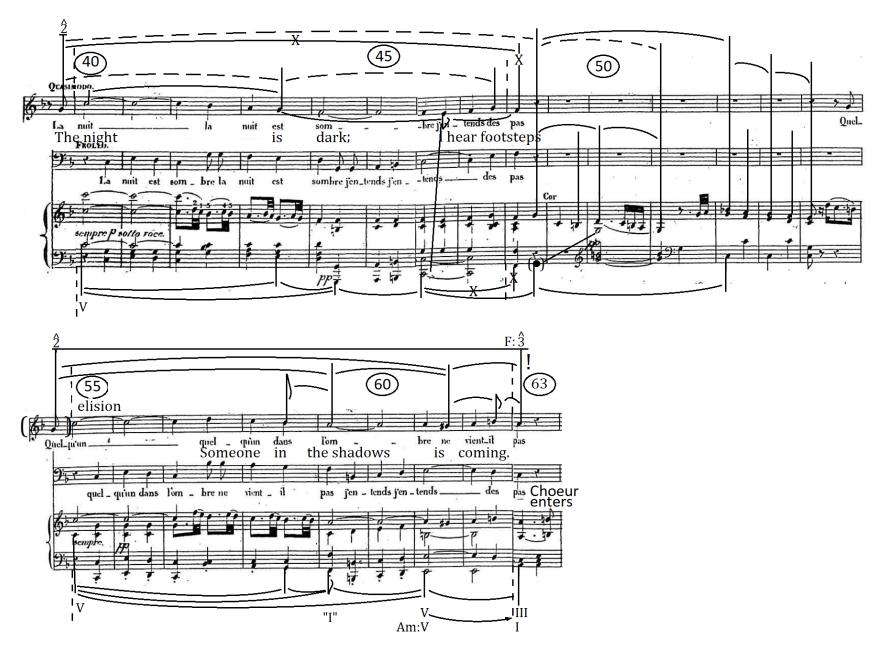
Musical Example A.57. No. 2, A Section, mm. 177-198



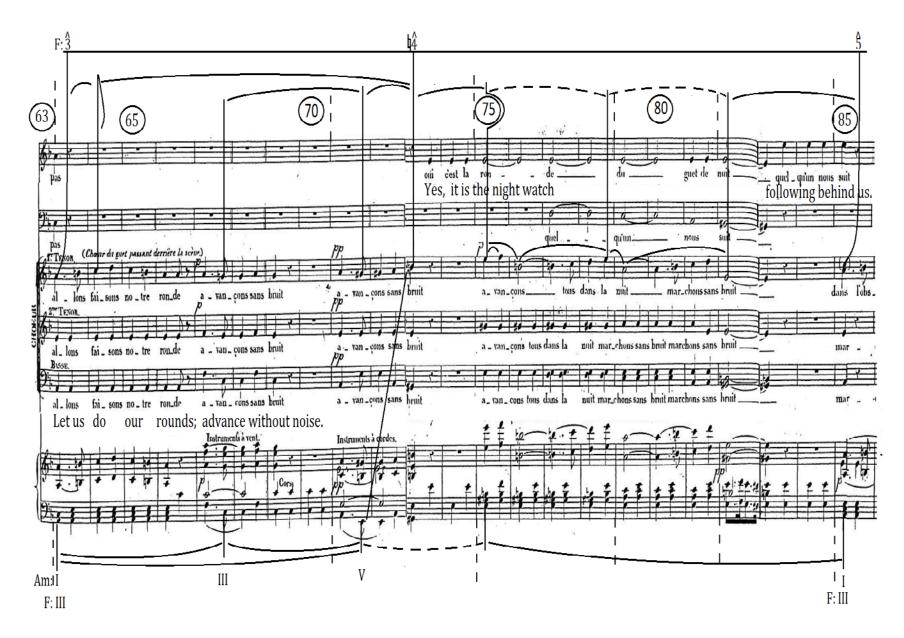
Musical Example A.58. No. 2, Coda, mm. 198-238



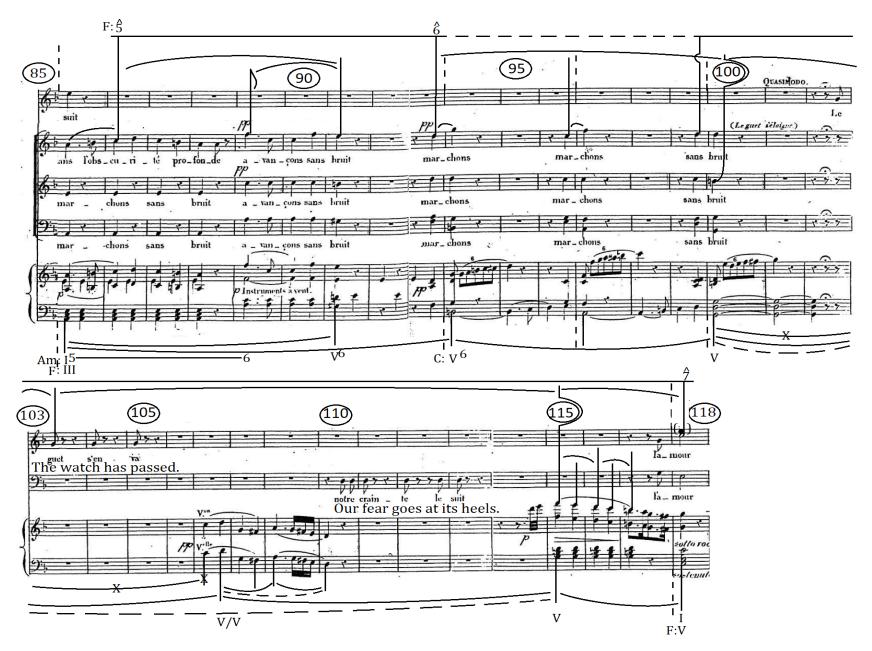
Musical Example A.59. No. 3, Introduction, mm. 1-40



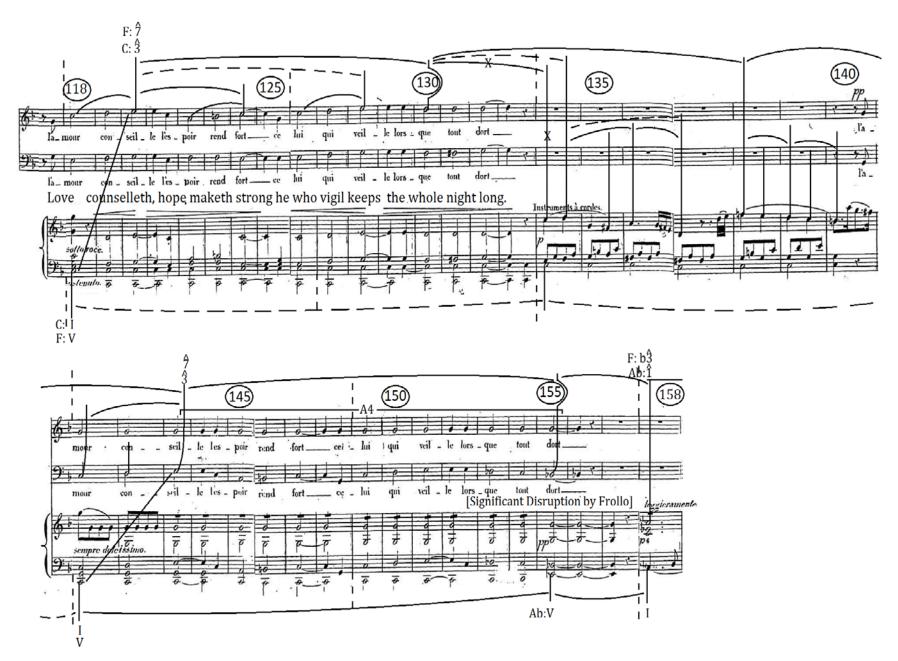
Musical Example A.60. No. 3, Frollo-Quasimodo Duo, mm. 40-63



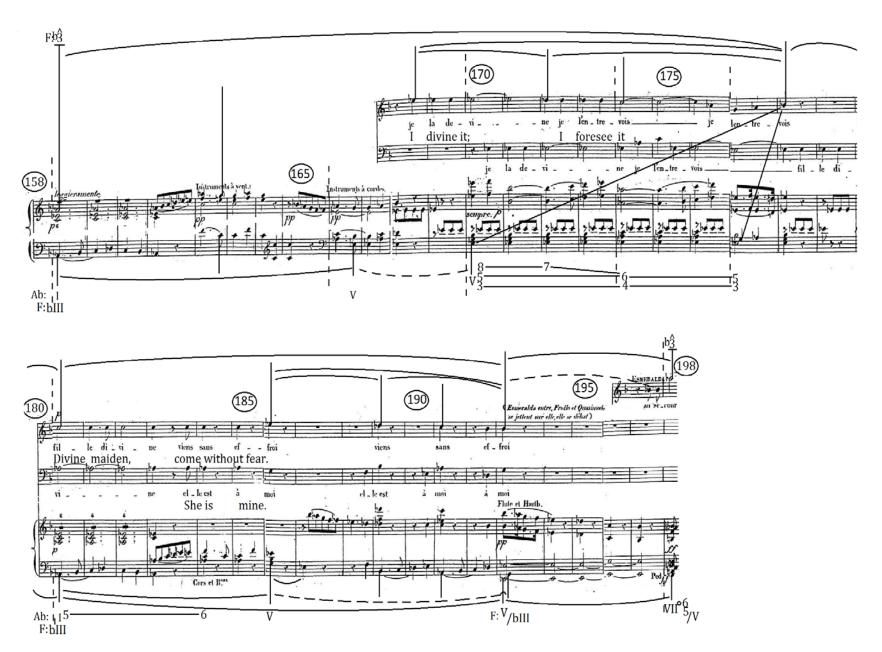
Musical Example A.61. No. 3, Frollo-Quasimodo Duo, mm. 63-85



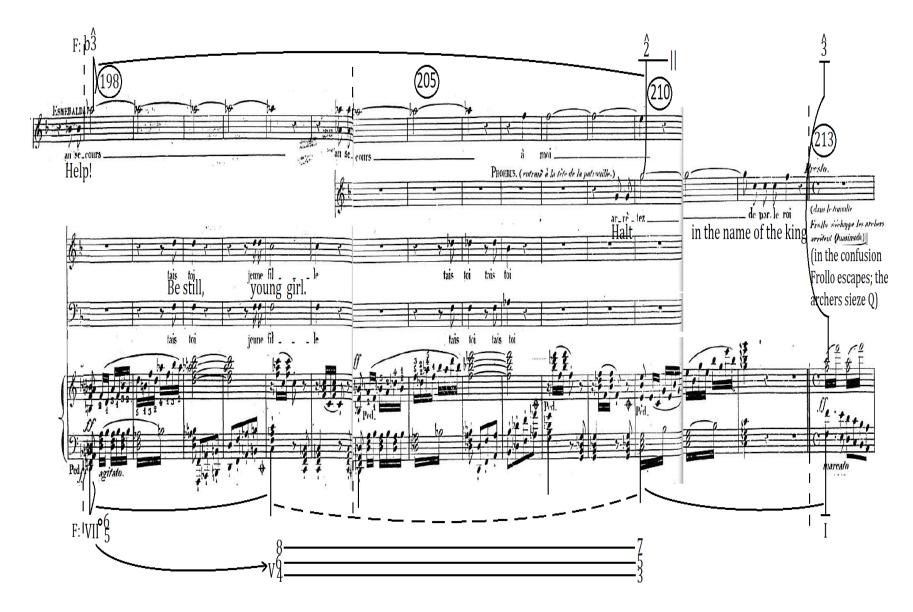
Musical Example A.62. No. 3, Frollo-Quasimodo Duo, mm. 85-118



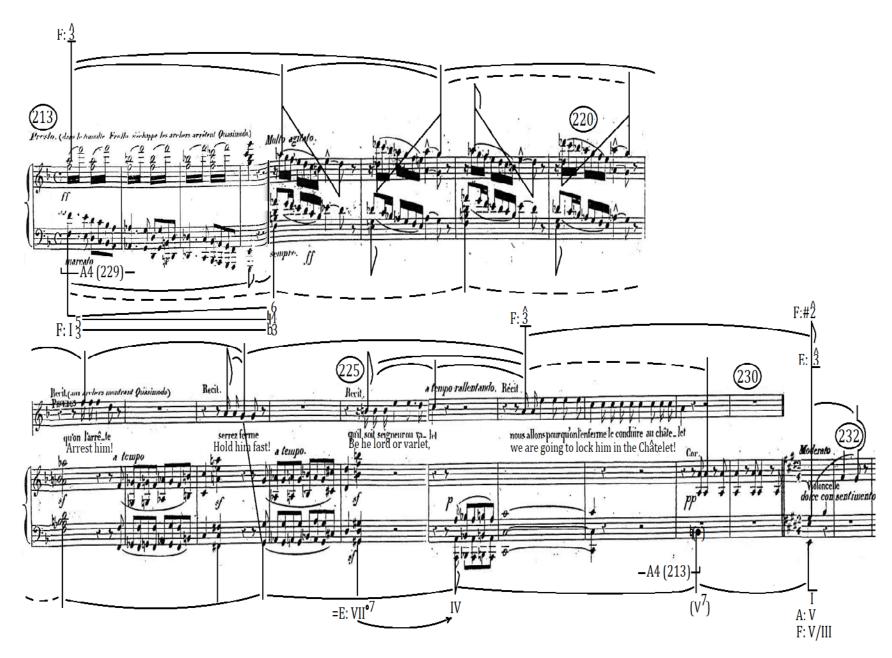
Musical Example A.63. No. 3, Frollo-Quasimodo Duo, mm. 118-158



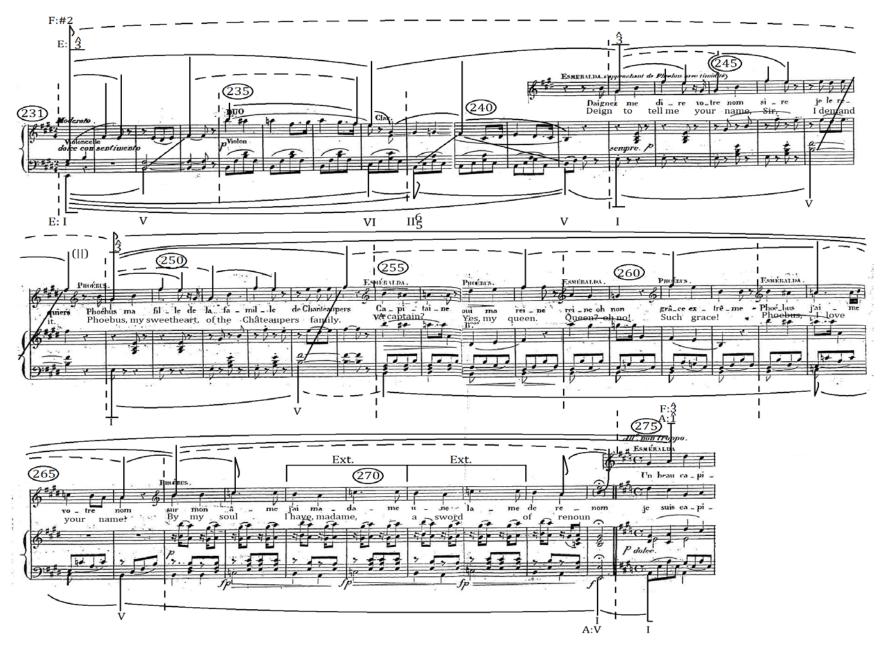
Musical Example A.64. No. 3, Frollo-Quasimodo Duo, mm. 158-198



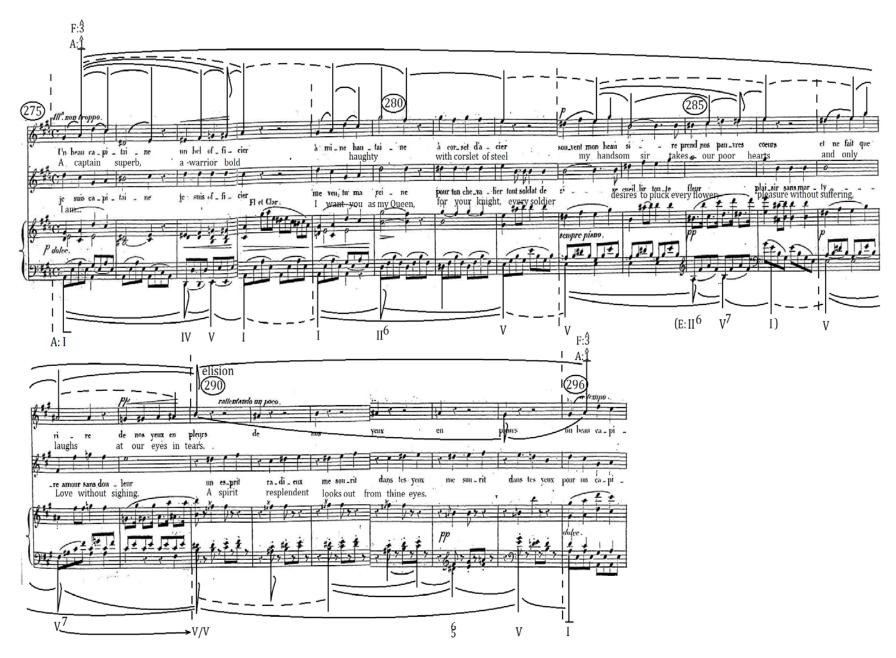
Musical Example A.65. No. 3, Frollo-Quasimodo Duo, mm. 198-213



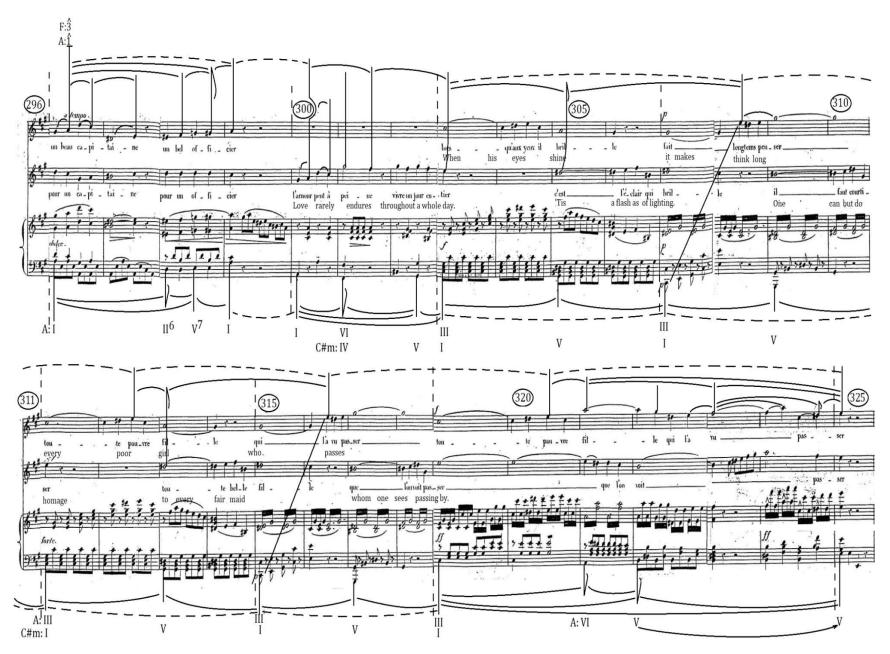
Musical Example A.66. No. 3, Attack on Esmeralda, mm. 213-232



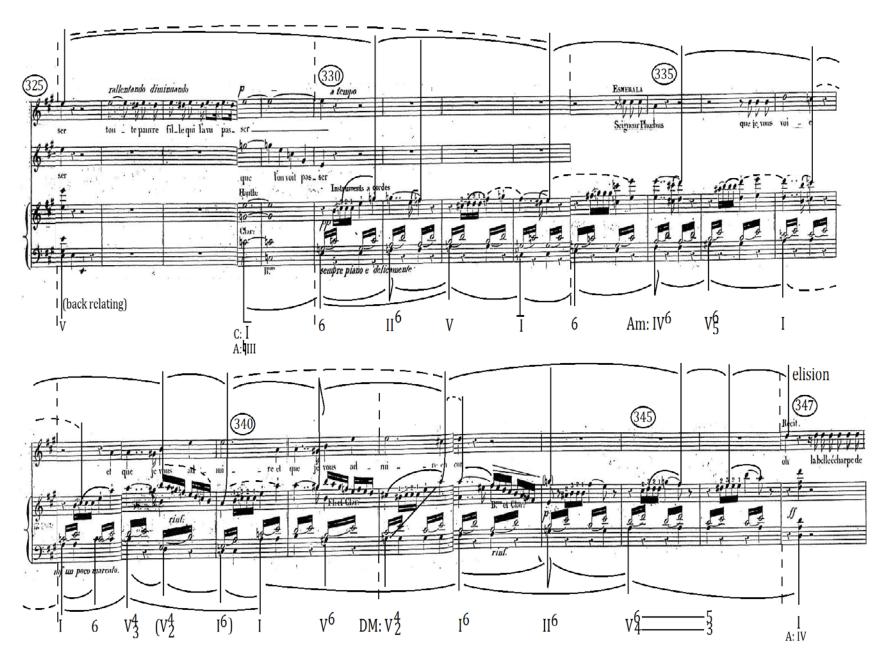
Musical Example A.67. No. 3, Phoebus-Esmeralda Love Duet, mm. 231-275



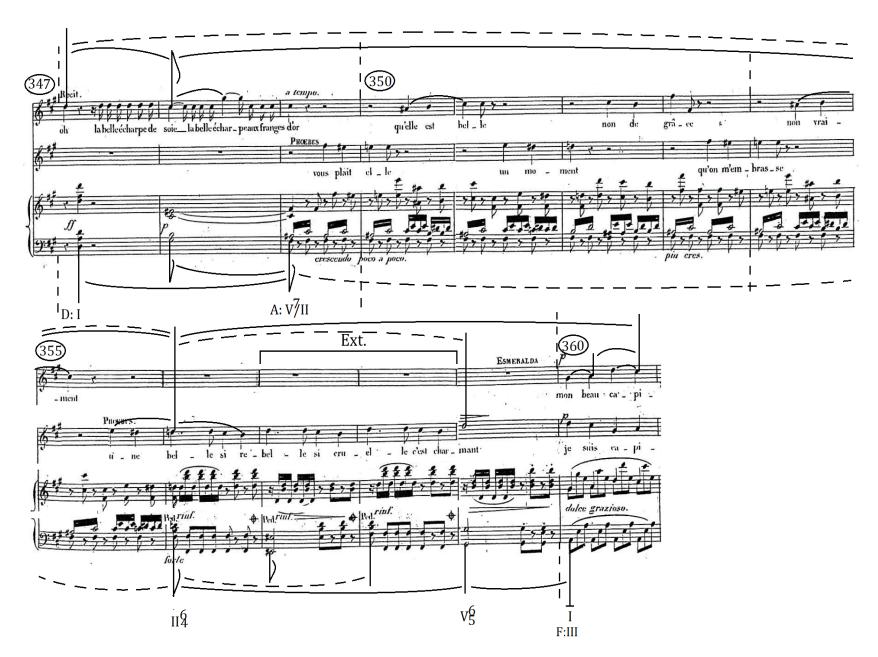
Musical Example A.68. No. 3, Phoebus-Esmeralda Love Duet, mm. 275-296



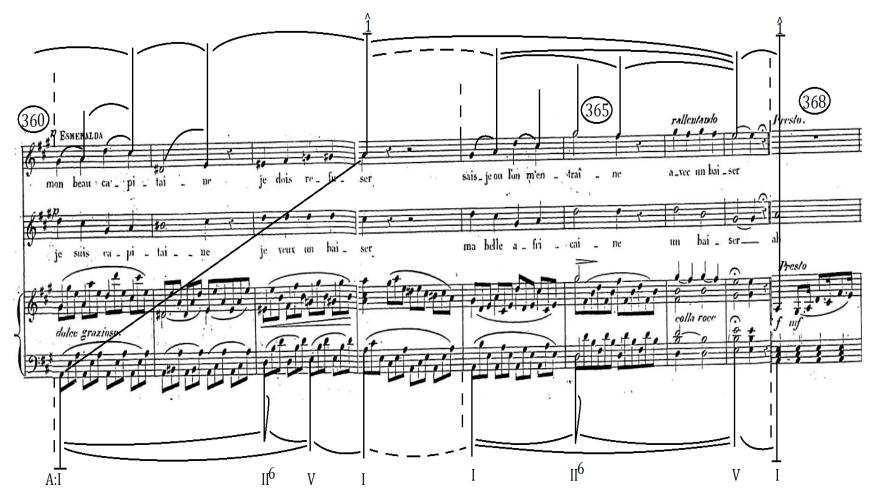
Musical Example A.69. No. 3, Phoebus-Esmeralda Love Duet, mm. 296-325



Musical Example A.70. No. 3, Phoebus-Esmeralda Love Duet, mm. 325-347



Musical Example A.71. No. 3, Phoebus-Esmeralda Love Duet, mm. 347-360



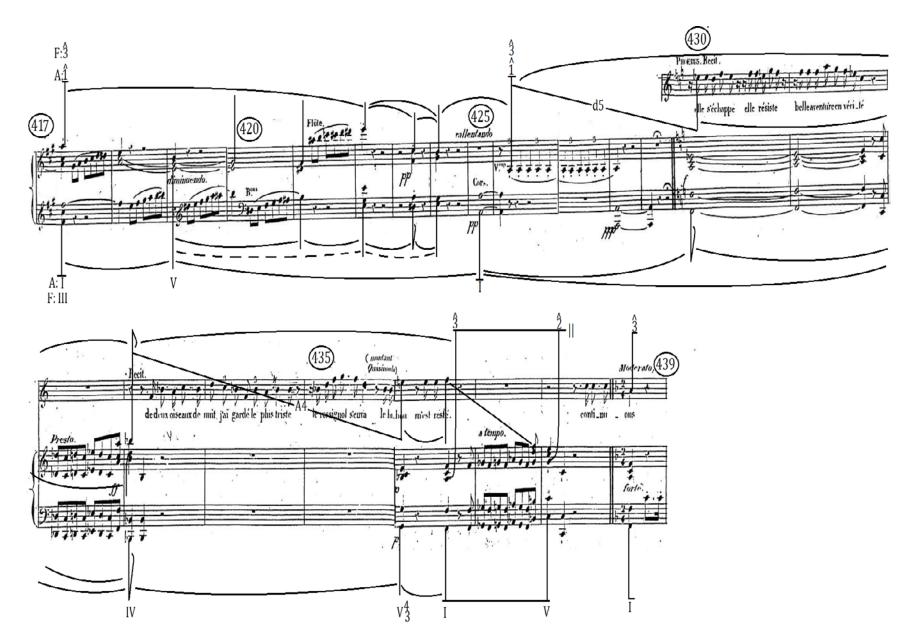
Musical Example A.72. No. 3, Phoebus-Esmeralda Love Duet, mm. 360-368



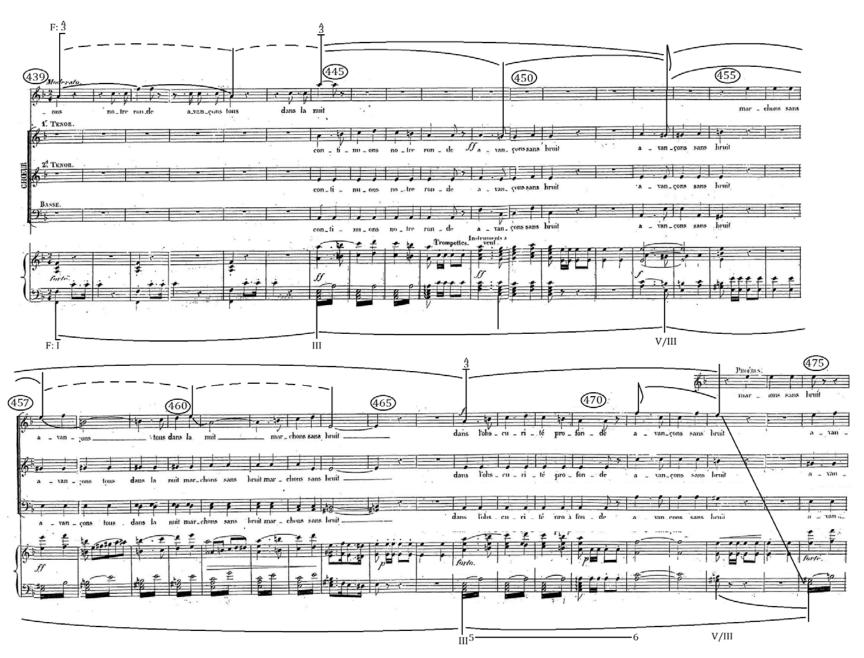
Musical Example A.73. No. 3, Phoebus-Esmeralda Love Duet, mm. 368-390



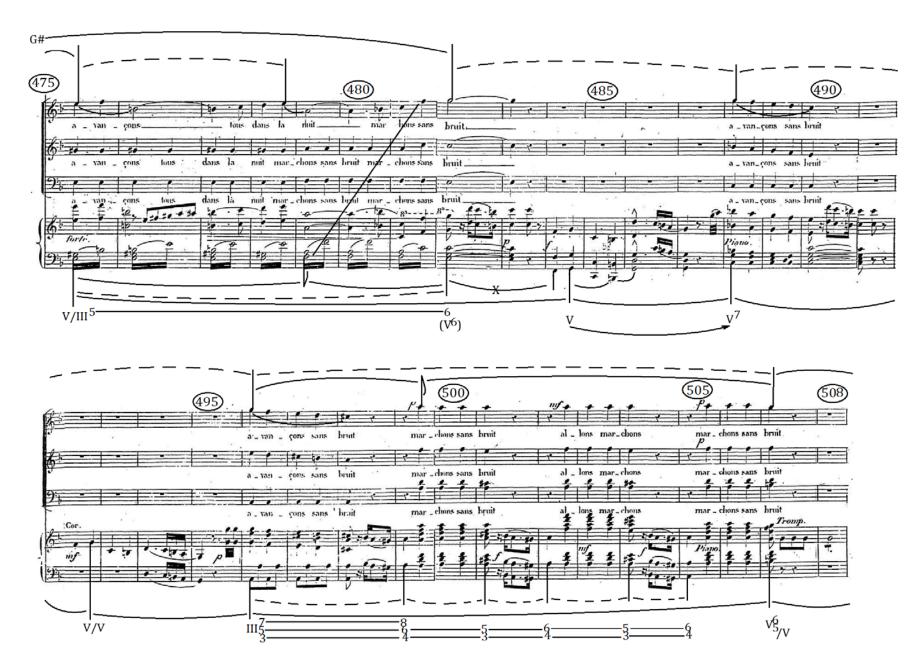
Musical Example A.74. No. 3, Phoebus-Esmeralda Love Duet, mm. 390-417



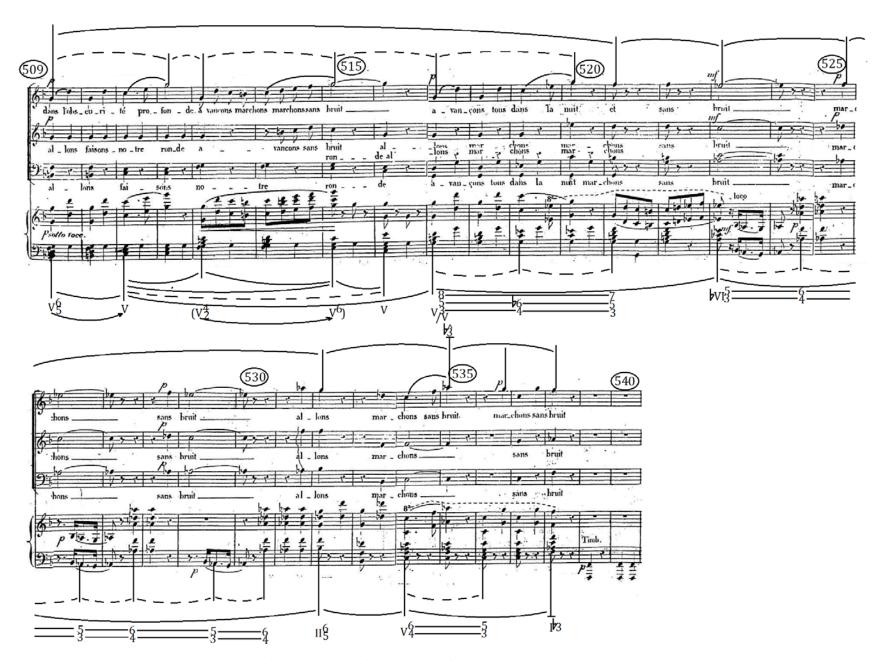
Musical Example A.75. No. 3, Phoebus-Esmeralda Love Duet, mm. 417-439



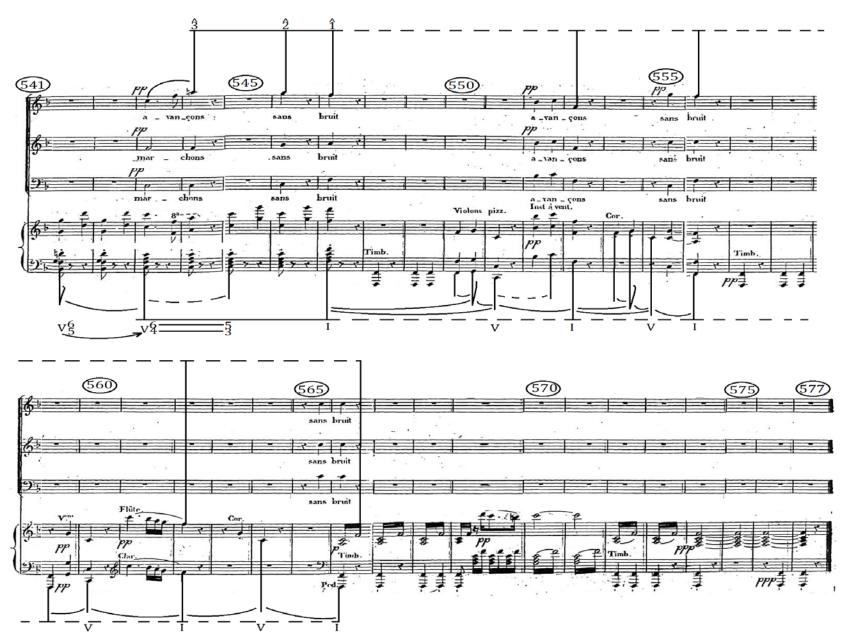
Musical Example A.76. No. 3, Closing Theme, mm. 439-475



Musical Example A.77. No. 3, Closing Theme, mm. 475-508

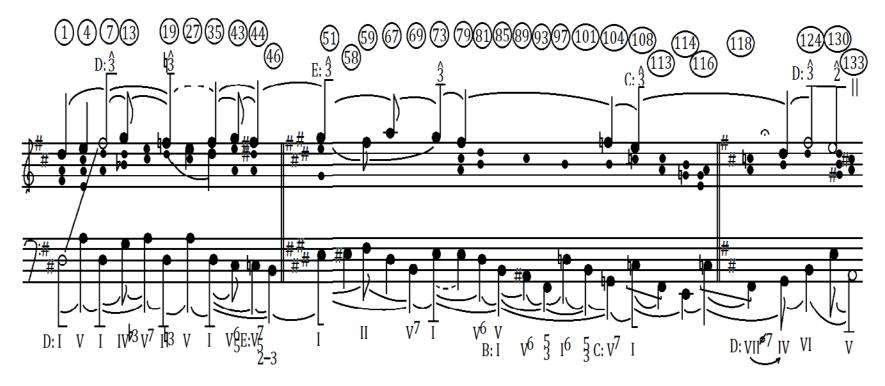


Musical Example A.78. No. 3, Closing Theme, mm. 509-540

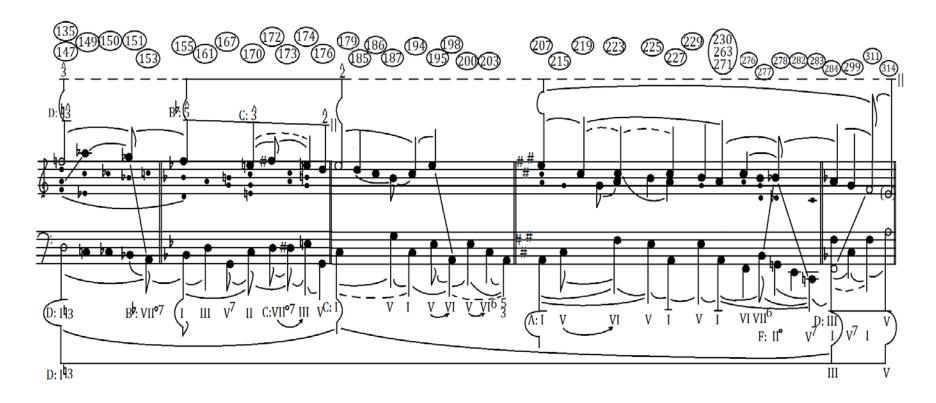


Musical Example A.79. No. 3, Closing Theme, mm. 541-577

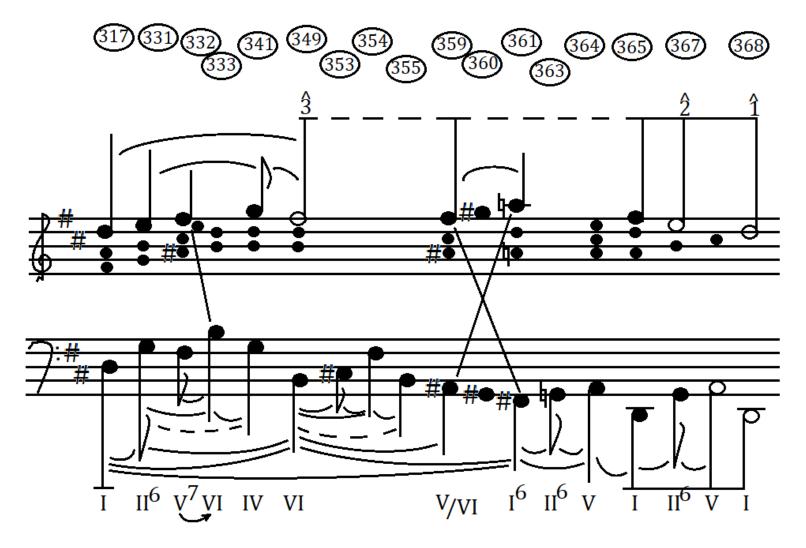
APPENDIX B MIDDLEGROUND GRAPHS



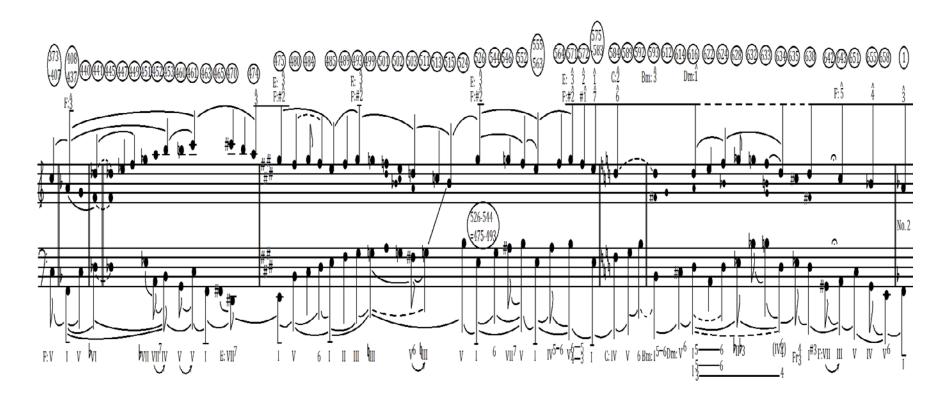
Musical Example B.1. No. 1, mm. 1-134



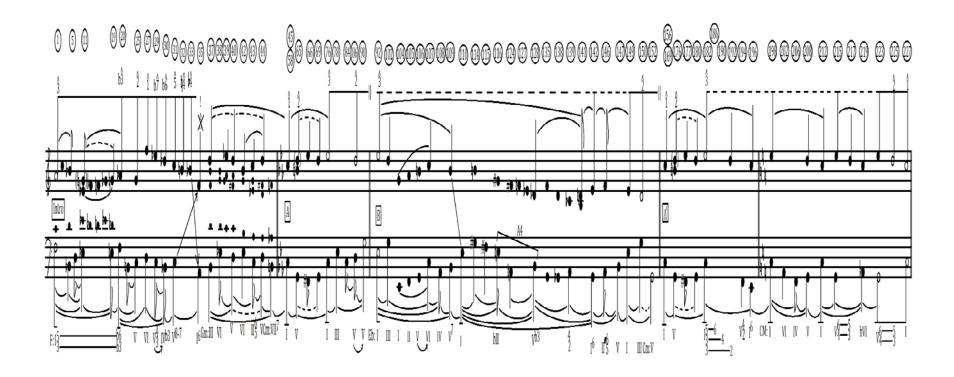
Musical Example B.2. No. 1, mm. 135-316



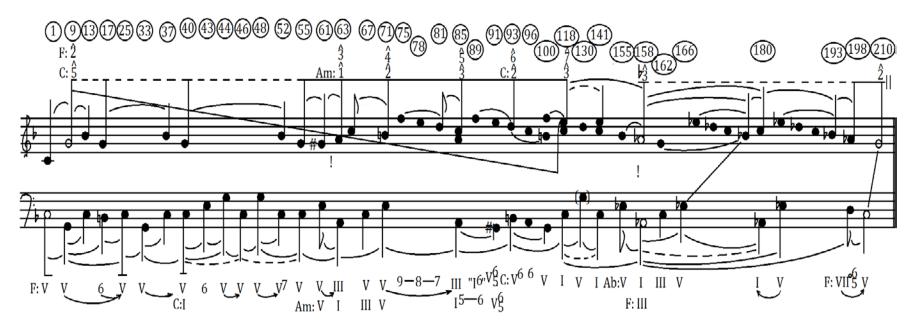
Musical Example B.3. No. 1, mm. 317-372



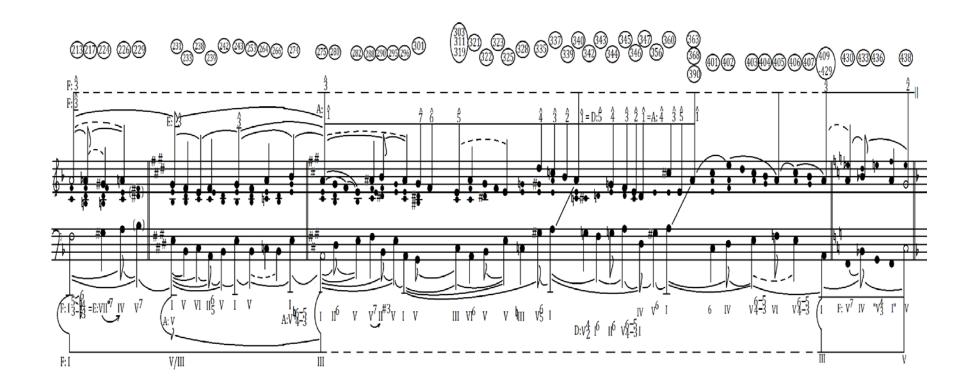
Musical Example B.4. No. 1, mm. 373-No. 2



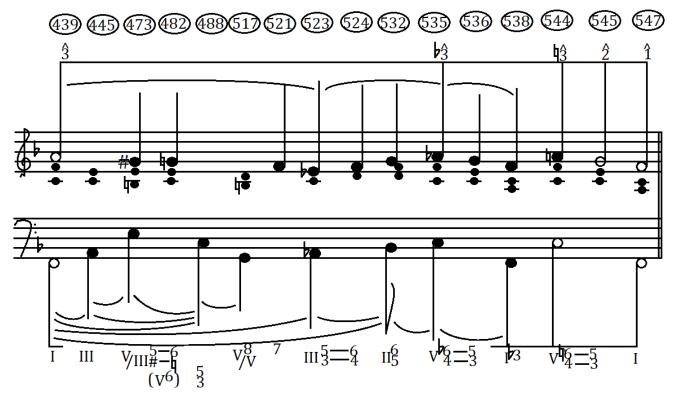
Musical Example B.5. No. 2, mm. 1-end



Musical Example B.6. No. 3, mm. 1-212

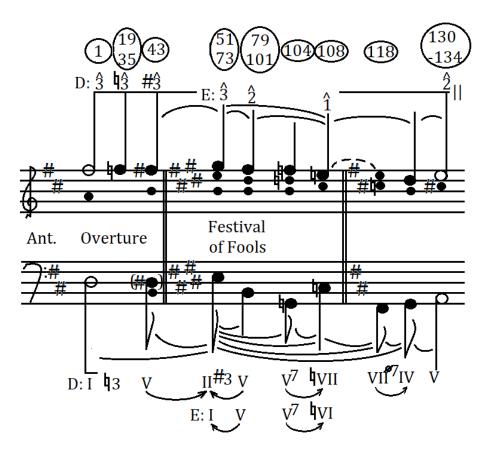


Musical Example B.7. No. 3, mm. 213-438

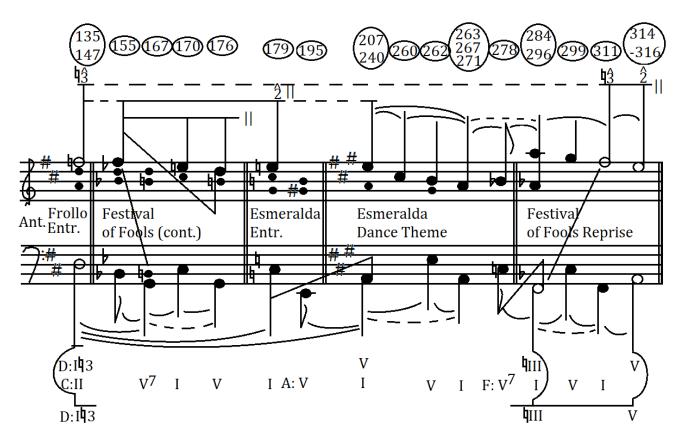


Musical Example B.8. No. 3, mm. 439-end

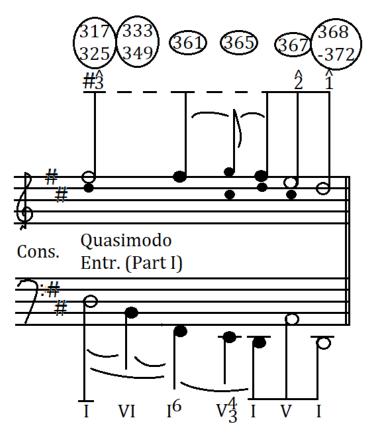
APPENDIX C DEEP MIDDLEGROUND GRAPHS



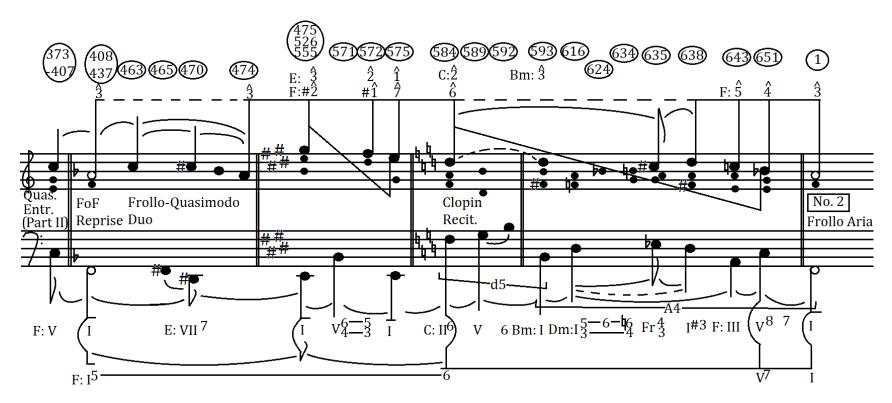
Musical Example C.1. No. 1, mm. 1-134



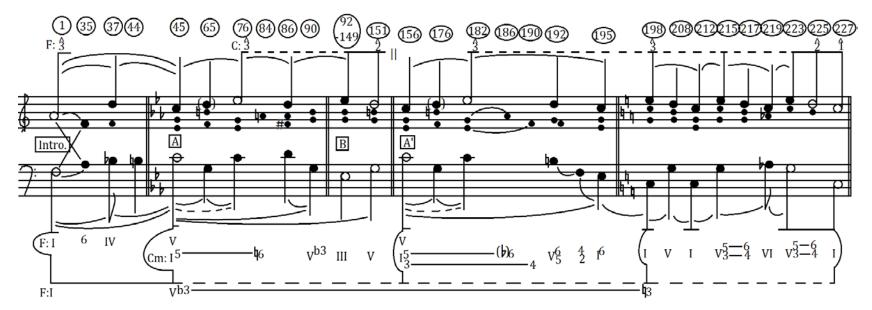
Musical Example C.2. No. 1, mm. 135-316



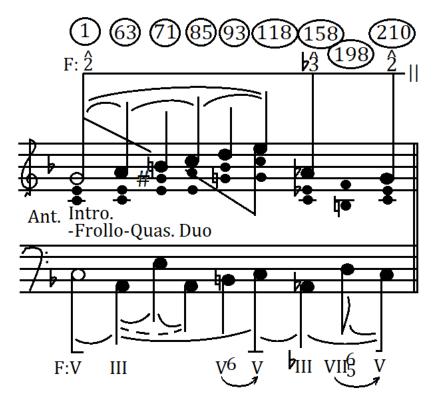
Musical Example C.3. No. 1, mm. 317-372



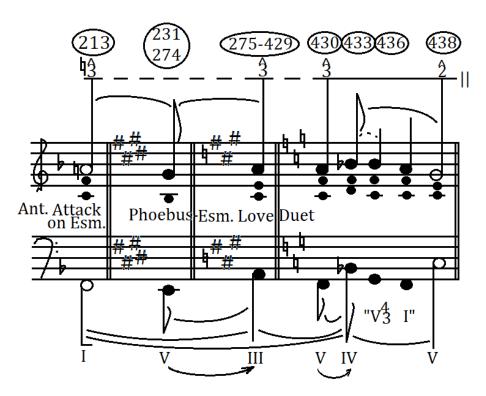
Musical Example C.4. No. 1, mm. 373-No. 2



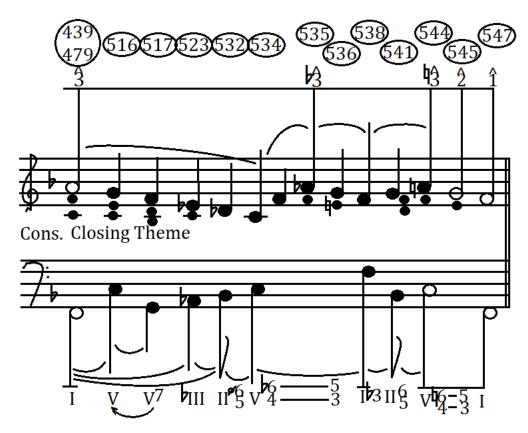
Musical Example C.5. No. 2, mm. 1-end



Musical Example C.6. No. 3, mm. 1-212

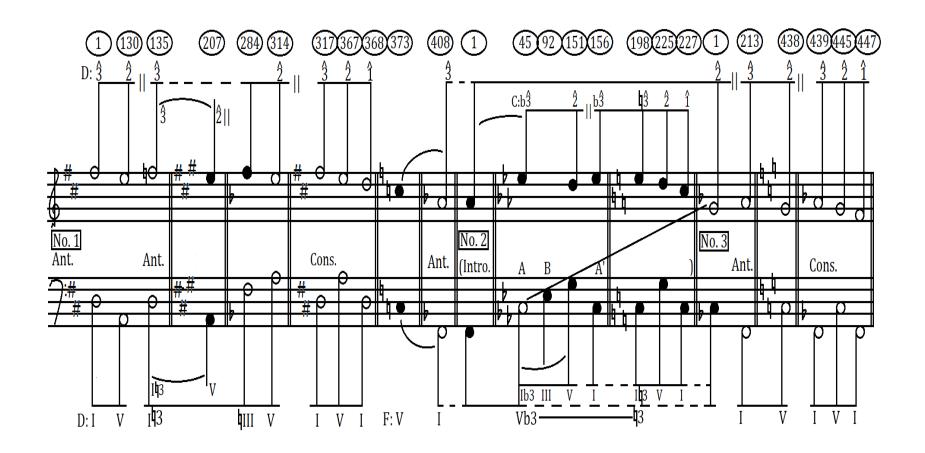


Musical Example C.7. No. 3, mm. 213-438



Musical Example C.8. No. 3, mm. 439-end

APPENDIX D ACT I BACKGROUND



APPENDIX E MUSICAL-DRAMATIC KEY SYMBOLISMS

Key	Musical-Dramatic Symbolism
D major	Bright and virtuous beginnings: With its mediant F# (the key of Notredame's bells), the D major tonality is expressed at the opening of the opera, but is fated to decay. The decay of D major into D minor is symbolic of the corruption of virtue seen in Frollo's character, and of the deterioration of the Notre-dame Cathedral (as well as the Greek inscription in the tower) during Hugo's time.
D minor	The decay of virtue: The key of D minor is paired with D major. With its mediant F\(^{\beta}\), D minor represents the decay of the brightness expressed at the beginning of the opera. Its first appearance (in m. 19) coincides with the appearance of the "Fate Theme," symbolically linking the shift from F\(^{\beta}\) to F\(^{\beta}\) with tragedy. The same circumstances reappear in m. 135 of No. 1, where Frollo enters on an unexpected F\(^{\beta}\).
F major	The key of Frollo: This symbolic connection is supported by Frollo's initial appearance on F\(^{\beta}\), the fact that his aria begins in F major, and because of the narrative implications regarding the conflict between F major and C major in Act I. Since Frollo is a priest fallen from grace, he is naturally representative of the negative F\(^{\beta}\).
C major (Esmeralda)	Purity: The first appearance of C major (in m. 179 of No. 1) is used to represent Esmeralda (who is spotted dancing in the distance by Frollo). In this first context, C major takes on its stereotypical nineteenth-century role as a key of purity.
C major (Quasimodo)	The key of Quasimodo: This symbolic connection is supported by the second part of Quasimodo's entrance (which, by virtue of its strangeness, is truer to his character than the first entrance), and by his Act IV aria (in C major). Quasimodo's representation through C major is also a commentary upon his status as Frollo's minion, since C is the dominant of F.
C major (Frollo)	Preparation for evil: This symbolism comes into play particularly in Frollo's aria proper (in C minor/major), and in the beginning of No. 3 when Frollo and Quasimodo lie in wait for Esmeralda so that they may abduct her. In Act I, F major is paired with C major, creating a struggle between the two keys (especially in mm. 1-212 of No. 3); this disagreement can be read as a conflict between Frollo's and Quasimodo's natures, since Quasimodo is kind at heart but is forced to commit evil. By first introducing C major as a representation of purity (with Esmeralda), then turning it into a negative entity, Bertin is again providing a situation in which goodness is being decayed.

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