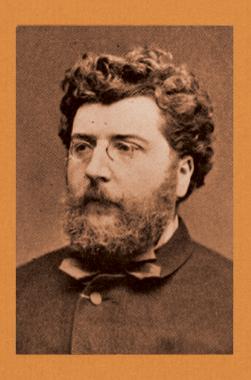
OVERTURE OPERA GUIDES

in association with EN





Carmen

Georges Bizet

OVERTURE OPERA GUIDES

in association with



We are delighted to have the opportunity to work with Overture Publishing on this series of opera guides and to build on the work English National Opera did over twenty years ago on the Calder Opera Guide Series. As well as reworking and updating existing titles, Overture and ENO have commissioned new titles for the series and all of the guides will be published to coincide with repertoire being staged by the company at the London Coliseum.

We hope that these guides will prove an invaluable resource now and for years to come, and that by delving deeper into the history of an opera, the poetry of the libretto and the nuances of the score, readers' understanding and appreciation of the opera and the art form in general will be enhanced.

John Berry Artistic Director, ENO The publisher John Calder began the Opera Guides series under the editorship of the late Nicholas John in association with English National Opera in 1980. It ran until 1994 and eventually included forty-eight titles, covering fifty-eight operas. The books in the series were intended to be companions to the works that make up the core of the operatic repertory. They contained articles, illustrations, musical examples and a complete libretto and singing translation of each opera in the series, as well as bibliographies and discographies.

The aim of the present relaunched series is to make available again the guides already published in a redesigned format with new illustrations, some newly commissioned articles, updated reference sections and a literal translation of the libretto that will enable the reader to get closer to the intentions and meaning of the original. New guides of operas not already covered will be published alongside the redesigned ones from the old series.

Gary Kahn Series Editor

Sponsors of the Overture Opera Guides for the 2012/13 Season at ENO

Eric Adler
Frank and Lorna Dunphy
Richard Everall
Ian and Catherine Ferguson
Ali Khan
Andrew Medlicott
Ralph Wells

Carmen

Georges Bizet

Overture Opera Guides Series Editor Gary Kahn

> Editorial Consultant Philip Reed



OVERTURE OPERA GUIDES in association with



Overture Publishing an imprint of

ALMA CLASSICS London House 243–253 Lower Mortlake Road Richmond Surrey TW9 2LL United Kingdom

Articles by Richard Langham Smith, Lesley Wright, George Hall and Gary Kahn first published in this volume © the authors, 2013

This Carmen Opera Guide first published by Overture Publishing, an imprint of Alma Classics Ltd, 2013

© Alma Classics Ltd, 2013 All rights reserved

Translation of libretto © Richard Langham Smith

Printed in United Kingdom by TJ International, Padstow, Cornwall

ISBN: 978-1-84749-552-5

All the pictures in this volume are reprinted with permission or presumed to be in the public domain. Every effort has been made to ascertain and acknowledge their copyright status, but should there have been any unwitting oversight on our part, we would be happy to rectify the error in subsequent printings.

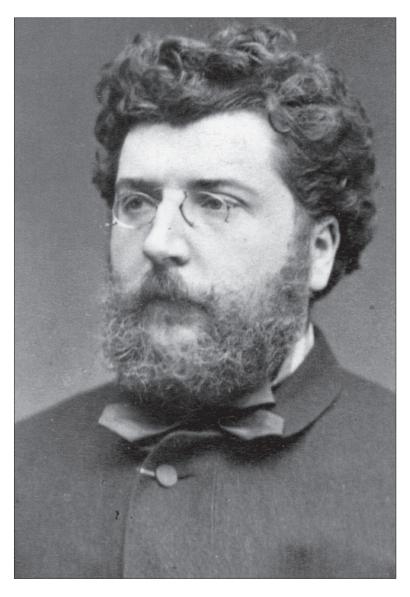
All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise), without the prior written permission of the publisher. This book is sold subject to the condition that it shall not be resold, lent, hired out or otherwise circulated without the express prior consent of the publisher.

Contents

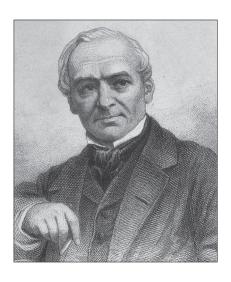
List of Illustrations	8
Carmen: From Mérimée to Bizet Richard Langham Smith	9
Carmen and the Opéra-Comique Lesley A. Wright	35
A Selective Performance History George Hall	56
Carmen's Early Lovers Gary Kahn	81
Sources and Editions Richard Langham Smith	84
Thematic Guide	87
Carmen, Libretto	93
Note on the Libretto	95
Act One	101
Act Two	185
Act Three	263
Act Four	313
Recitatives	337
Select Discography	365
Carmen on DVD: a Selection	370
Select Bibliography	373
Bizet Websites	375
Note on the Contributors	376
Acknowledgements	376

List of Illustrations

- 1. Georges Bizet in 1875
- 2. Prosper Mérimée
- 3. Henri Meilhac and Ludovic Halévy
- 4. The second Salle Favart
- 5. Poster of the first production
- 6. The tobacco factory in Seville
- 7. Cigarreras with their children at the tobacco factory in Seville
- 8. Engraving from L'Illustration, 1875
- 9. Célestine Galli-Marié
- 10. Emma Calvé
- 11. Minnie Hauk
- 12. Maria Gay
- 13. Italo Campanini (Metropolitan Opera Archives)
- 14. Enrico Caruso (Metropolitan Opera Archives)
- 15. Suzanne Adams (Metropolitan Opera Archives)
- 16. Ezio Pinza (Metropolitan Opera Archives)
- 17. Jon Vickers and Grace Bumbry (Carolyn Mason Jones/San Francisco Opera Company)
- 18. Regina Resnik and Nicolai Gedda (Louis Malaçon/Metropolitan Opera Archives)
- 19. Mirella Freni (Louis Malacon/Metropolitan Opera Archives)
- 20. Denyce Graves (Catherine Ashmore)
- 21. Harry Belafonte and Dorothy Dandridge in Carmen Jones
- 22. Carl Johan Falkman and Hélène Delavault in *La Tragédie de Carmen* (Marc and Brigitte Enguerand)
- 23. Lucian Pintilie's production at Welsh National Opera (Clive Barda)
- 24. Steven Pimlott's production at Earl's Court, London (Clive Barda/ArenaPAL)
- 25. Lina Wertmüller's production at the Bayerische Staatsoper (Winfried Rababus)
- Franco Zeffirelli's production at the Metropolitan Opera (Winnie Klotz/Metropolitan Opera Archives)
- 27. Shirley Verrett and Plácido Domingo (Reg Wilson)
- 28. Plácido Domingo and Julia Migenes-Johnson (Second Sight)
- 29. Barry McCauley and Maria Ewing (Guy Gravett)
- 30. Agnes Baltsa and José Carreras (Clive Barda)
- 31. John Treleaven and Sally Burgess (Clive Barda/ArenaPAL)
- 32. Antoni Garfield-Henry and Ruby Philogene (Stephen Vaughan)
- 33. Anna Caterina Antonacci (Catherine Ashmore)
- 34. Genia Kühmeier, Nikolai Schukoff and Sylvie Brunet (Marie-Noelle Robert)
- 35. Elīna Garanča and Roberto Alagna (Ken Howard)
- 36. Calixto Bieito's production at the Gran Teatre del Liceu, Barcelona (Antoni Bofill)

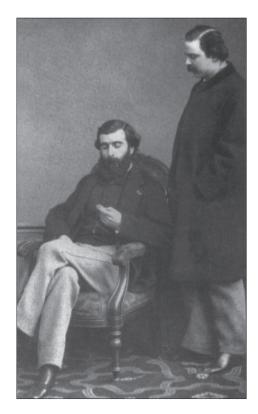


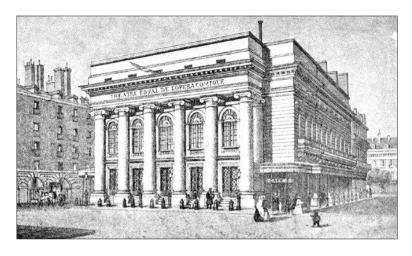
1. Georges Bizet in 1875, the year of the premiere of *Carmen*, photographed by Étienne Carjat.



2. Prosper Mérimée, the author of the novella on which the opera is based, in an engraving by Jean-Denis Nargeot (left).

3. Henri Meilhac and Ludovic Halévy, the librettists of *Carmen* (right).

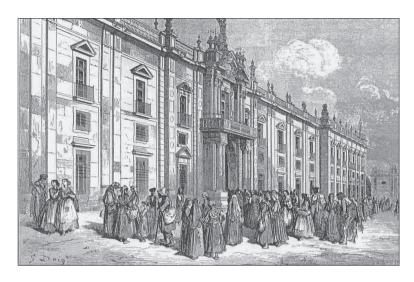




4. The second Salle Favart, where the Opéra-Comique performed from 1840 until 1887 and where *Carmen* had its premiere in 1875 (above).



5. Poster by
Prudent Leray
showing the end of
Act Four and printed
for the publisher
Choudens at the
time of the first
performances (left).



Engravings by Gustave Doré from *Voyage en Espagne* by Jean-Charles Davillier, published in 1874: 6. The tobacco factory in Seville (above). 7. *Cigarreras* with their children at the tobacco factory in Seville (below).





8. Engraving of the first production, from the Paris periodical *L'Illustration*, 1875.





Four early Carmens: 9. Célestine Galli-Marié, the first Carmen (top left). 10. Emma Calvé, who sang Carmen many times, including the thousandth performance at the Opéra-Comique in 1904 (top right). 11. Minnie Hauk, who appeared in the role over five hundred times (bottom left). 12. Maria Gay, the first Spanish singer to establish herself in the role (bottom right).









Four other early performers: 13. Italo Campanini, the first Don José, at the Metropolitan Opera, 1884 (top left). 14. Enrico Caruso as Don José in 1906 (top right). 15. Suzanne Adams as Micaëla in 1901 (bottom left).

16. Ezio Pinza as Escamillo in 1928 (bottom right).









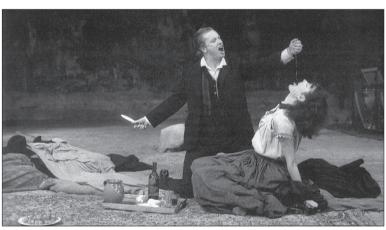
17. Jon Vickers as Don José and Grace Bumbry as Carmen at the San Francisco Opera in 1966 (top left).
18. Regina Resnik as Carmen and Nicolai Gedda as Don José at the Metropolitan Opera in 1967 (top right).
19. Mirella Freni as Micaëla at the Metropolitan Opera in 1972 (bottom left).
20. Denyce Graves as Carmen at the Royal Opera House in 1984 (bottom right).







21. Harry
Belafonte
and Dorothy
Dandridge in
Otto Preminger's
1954 film of
Carmen Jones,
based on Oscar
Hammerstein II's
Broadway
adaptation (left).



22. Carl Johan Falkman and Hélène Delavault in *La Tragédie de Carmen*, directed by Peter Brook and designed by Chloé Obolensky, at the Théâtre des Bouffes du Nord in Paris in 1981. The production was subsequently filmed with each of the three original casts (above).



23. Act Four of Lucian Pintilie's production, designed by Radu and Miruna Boruzescu, at Welsh National Opera in 1983 (above).24. Act One of Steven Pimlott's arena production, designed by Stefanos Lazaridis, at Earls Court, London, in 1989 (below).





- 25. Act One of Lina Wertmüller's production, designed by Enrico Job, at the Bayerische Staatsoper in 1992. A representation of the Seville tobacco factory in the background (above).
- 26. Act Three of the production directed and designed by Franco Zeffirelli at the Metropolitan Opera in 1996 (below).



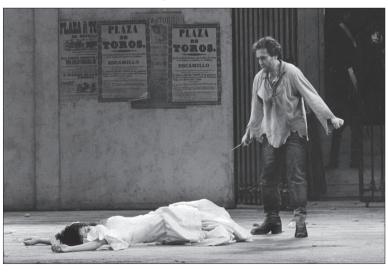


Carmen and Don José at the end of the final scene of Act Four: 27. Shirley Verrett and Plácido Domingo in the production directed by Michael Geliot and designed by Jenny Beavan and David Fielding at the Royal Opera House in 1973 (above). 28. Plácido Domingo and Julia Migenes-Johnson in the film directed by Francesco Rosi in 1984 (right).





29. Barry McCauley and Maria Ewing in the production directed by Peter Hall and designed by John Bury at the Glyndebourne Festival in 1985 (above).30. Agnes Baltsa and José Carreras in the production directed by Michael Geliot and designed by Jenny Beavan and David Fielding, restaged at the Royal Opera House in 1983 (below).





31. John Treleaven as Don José and Sally Burgess as Carmen in the production directed by David Pountney and designed by Maria Bjørnson at ENO in 1986 (above). 32. Antoni Garfield-Henry as Don José and Ruby Philogene as Carmen in the production directed by Phyllida Lloyd and designed by Tim Hatley at Opera North in 1998 (below).





33. Anna Caterina Antonacci as Carmen in Francesca Zambello's production, designed by Tanya McCallin, at the Royal Opera House in 2006 (above).
34. Genia Kühmeier as Micaëla, Nikolai Schukoff as Don José and Sylvie Brunet as Carmen in the production directed by Martin Kušej and designed by Jens Kilian at the Théâtre du Châtelet in 2007. This was the first production to use the new Peters Edition of the score prepared by Richard Langham Smith (below).





35. Elīna Garanča as Carmen and Roberto Alagna as
Don José in the production directed by Richard Eyre and designed by
Rob Howell at the Metropolitan Opera in 2009 (above).
36. Act Three of Calixto Bieito's much travelled production, designed by
Alfons Flores, at the Gran Teatre del Liceu, Barcelona, in 2010 (below).



Carmen: From Mérimée to Bizet

Richard Langham Smith

Although *Carmen* is often seen as the starting point for a chain of French pieces on Spanish themes, it was in its time merely a stepping stone in the rush of French enthusiasm for Spanish culture which arose in the mid nineteenth century in the wake of Napoleon's defeat in the Peninsular War. Chabrier's *España*, Debussy's *Ibéria* and Ravel's *Boléro* and *L'Heure espagnole* may have drawn inspiration from *Carmen* but Bizet's opera was only a high point in the fashion – if not mania – for things Spanish (and in particular Andalusian) which snowballed from the 1830s onwards.

After the Napoleonic defeat many Spanish citizens who had supported his cause – the 'afrancesados', considered collaborators – were forced to flee north, particularly to the cultural magnet of Paris. Among them were intellectuals, artists, musicians and dancers who captivated the French with their arts but also hoped to perfect them there.¹ Hosted enthusiastically in French salons, they fostered a taste for learning the guitar and for flamenco costume and dancing. Spanish spectacle flourished on the Parisian stage: celebrated flamenco dancers delighted French audiences and a prosperous industry in the publication of dual-language Spanish songs grew up. Some publishers simply provided French texts for pre-existent Spanish music, others commissioned newly composed

¹ For further detail on this, see Montserrat Bergadà, 'Musiciens espagnols à Paris entre 1820 et 1868', in Louis Jambou (ed.), La Musique entre France et Espagne: Interactions stylistiques, 1870–1939 (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003), pp. 17–38.

pieces by Spanish composers who had established themselves in France.²

In literature, travelogues from visitors to the country across the mountains were much in fashion. Prosper Mérimée's novella *Carmen*, on which Bizet's opera is based, was to some extent one of these but had been preceded by such writers as Théophile Gautier in several genres. Among visual artists, Goya had visited Paris and enjoyed particular popularity – Delacroix in particular was at one time greatly influenced by him – and among French painters bitten by the Spanish bug were Chassériau (who painted the celebrated dancer Petra Camara), Manet (who painted Lola de Valence) and Degas who used a Spanish guitarist as a model. The taste was fostered not only by Hispanic exhibits at the various *Expositions universelles* but also by King Louis Philippe's founding of a *Galerie espagnole* in the Louvre in 1835.

Particular individuals were central in encouraging a French interest in Spain. The last Empress of France, Eugénie (née de Montijo, 1826–1920), was by birth Andalusian. She married Bonaparte's nephew, Napoleon III (1808–73), and fostered a taste for Spanish arts. Mérimée, incidentally, had been an intimate of hers since her childhood. Among Spanish musicians working in Paris were the dancer, guitarist and composer Fernando Sor (1778–1839) and later on Sebastián Yradier (1809–65) who had been a singing teacher to Eugénie. As will be seen, Bizet modelled his celebrated Habanera on a song by Yradier.

Also important were the García family who settled in France. The father, Manuel García (1775–1832) was an actor, opera singer and composer and a committed francophile. His son, also Manuel, was author of a celebrated singing treatise, considered a key text on *bel canto* even today. The two daughters were also highly influential: Maria (1808–36), a celebrated singer known under the name of her husband, Malibran, fell off her horse and died in Manchester at an early age. Her sister Pauline (1821–1910) sang and composed in the Spanish style. Their pictures often adorned the bilingual sheet music

² For details of this wave of Spanish fever, see Gerhard Steingress, ... y 'Carmen' se fue a París (Córdoba: Almuzara, 2006).

which flooded the market in the early and mid nineteenth century. Pauline and her husband, Louis Viardot, provided a direct link with Bizet since both their out-of-town retreat on the Seine at Bougival, where Bizet worked on *Carmen* in 1874, and their Paris residence, were close to his, and he became a family friend. Viardot was himself a learned Hispanist with a particular interest in Spanish gypsies, on whom he wrote an extensive article in the *Dictionnaire Larousse*.³

The operatic stage had been by no means impervious to Spanish fever, and although no one had incorporated as much Spanish-style music as Bizet would do in *Carmen*, there were notable exceptions. For example in Massenet's *Don César de Bazan* of 1872, the Overture, supported by *tambours de basque*, has a motif with decidedly Spanish syncopations followed by a choral *Boléro* and a *Ballade aragonaise*. Several of the original cast of *Carmen*, incidentally, had sung in this opera. Before this, Auber, in *Le Domino noir* (1837) and *Les Diamants de la couronne* (1841), had used elements of music from the Iberian Peninsula. Adolphe Adam was another composer who employed Spanish settings, notably in *Giralda* (the name of the grand tower in Seville) and *Le Toréador*.⁴ Both the Spanish context in general, and Bizet's friendship with the Viardots, not to mention his early friendship with Sarasate, were without doubt catalysts for his attraction to Mérimée's masterly novella about an alluring Spanish gypsy.

It was a rival to Bizet's two librettists, Louis Gallet, who first remembered how Mérimée's *Carmen* was recognized as a potential opera subject well before Halévy and Meilhac took it up. He recalled a conversation after sitting on a jury:

'Would you like me to recommend a subject?' proposed one of the judges: 'I'll give it to you, for I'm only a critic myself. It's *Carmen*, for there you have an opera in the same genre as *Fra Diavolo* with a part for an Englishman, think about it!'

³ Grand Larousse Universel, article 'Bohémien, -ienne' (no precise date but probably 1860s), p. 868.

⁴ See Hervé Lacombe, 'L'Espagne à l'Opéra-Comique avant *Carmen*', in François Lesure (ed.), *Échanges musicaux franco-espagnols* (Paris: Klincksieck, 2000), pp. 161–94.

Just think, we could have done this *Carmen* without ever having foreseen the other. And despite our own preoccupations, in deference to our advisor, there could have been a role for an Englishman, just as in *Fra Diavolo*.⁵

Leaving aside Gallet's comments about an Englishman – which will be returned to – why was Mérimée's *Carmen* so attractive and so successful in its transformation into a libretto? It is usually categorized as a 'nouvelle', as opposed to a 'conte', which is more of a 'tale', a chronological narrative telling a story. Mérimée's *Carmen* is quite different, more a compressed novel, not continuous and with a double narrative, with events at first observed by an erudite historian interested in the culture and history of other places, in this case remains of antiquity in Andalusia. Comparisons with Mérimée himself are inevitable for he was essentially a traveller, an inspector of public buildings all over France, responsible for the allocation of substantial funds for their restoration. In the novella the observer shows off his erudition with frequent references to gypsy, Basque and local culture, even in the form of footnotes extending into Greek.

He enthusiastically meets a notorious bandit, Don José, who is about to be garrotted for murdering Carmen. José, as the second narrator, recounts the events of his life from the perspective of a condemned man, centred on his meeting with Carmen and his affair with her. The novella thus dwells on Carmen from two perspectives: the narrator's, who seems intrigued by her and carries little cigars to lubricate engagement with women; and José's, whose interest in her begins not with her personality but with her legs. Even in prison he looks out between the bars recalling the delicious holes in her stockings!

For transformation into the opera libretto this double narrative was unworkable, so the novella is turned back into a story, and the erudite observer is eradicated, although the libretto retains details not only from the whole novella, but also from Mérimée's other reminiscences

⁵ Louis Gallet, *Notes d'un librettiste: Musique contemporaine* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1891), pp. 265–67.

of Spain which included essays on a bullfight and an execution and an interview with a bandit.⁶

The novella was in another sense a travelogue, first published in a celebrated periodical (*La Revue des deux mondes*) which informed readers about life abroad. Its essence is that it observes details as well as embroidering them, just as Mérimée's compatriot in the field of the visual arts, Gustave Doré, did a little later on in his series of over two hundred engravings of Spanish life first published in another *revue* with a similar agenda, *Le Tour du monde.* *7 *Carmen* was the result of Mérimée's second visit to Spain in the 1840s, a significant date falling just after the formation of the Guardia Civil, an armed force whose principal mission was to rid Spain of bandits. Andalusia was allocated a particularly strong force and one crucial theme in the opera is the conflict between the soldiers and the bandits, encapsulated in Don José's change from one side to the other.

The libretto softens many aspects of the novella while developing others. Mérimée's Carmen has a horrible, murderous, one-eyed husband called García who is removed from the libretto. On the other hand, the libretto invents an operatic foil, Micaëla, the angel of the fireside. Where Carmen is a dark-skinned Andalusian, a sexually adventurous gypsy dressed in red, Micaëla is a blonde-haired Catholic virgin dressed in blue. Micaëla's devotion to José and her friendship with his mother are thus inventions of the librettists though she is developed from hints of a northern girl in the novella. Similarly, Escamillo is developed from mention of a picador who has a fling with Carmen into a fully-fledged torero, a macho foil to the lily-livered José who makes it clear in the opera – though not in Mérimée's original – that he is also a virgin:

car jamais, jamais femme, jamais femme avant toi8

⁶ Prosper Mérimée, Nouvelles (contains Lettres d'Espagne, essays previously published separately in Revue de Paris in the 1830s) (Paris: Michel Lévy, 1852).

⁷ Jean Charles Davillier, *Voyage en Espagne*, illustrated by Gustave Doré (Paris: Hachette, 1874). See also Gustave Doré, *Doré's Spain: All 236 Illustrations from Spain* (Mineola: Dover Editions, 2004).

^{8 &#}x27;For never, never a woman, never a woman before you'.

he sings to Carmen in the crucial scene where he has to choose between love and duty. As if we hadn't guessed he was inexperienced, and as if his chastity will impress her! Quite the reverse.

Bizet's librettists also strengthen the novella's other main aspect: its sense of place, enhanced on stage (of course) by costume and scenery over which tremendous care was taken. First comes the *plaza* where all classes and occupations meet. A main conflict in the opera is projected: that of imposed masculine order against gypsy, female unruliness. The final version of the set strengthens this, pitting the guardhouse against the factory on opposite sides of the stage – the factory had originally been backstage, with a cumbersome fountain in the centre.

In Act Two the topos is the *venta*, or inn, sordid in the novella but a flamenco dance hall in the opera. In Act Three the wilderness of the sierra, or mountains, is portrayed: the hideout of the bandits who make excursions to the coast and to Gibraltar to rob their victims and even murder them, particularly if they are English. This terrain was finely captured by Doré. Finally we get to a double representation of the bullring (which we hear but don't see) and to the events outside.

Carmen has many claims to originality, not least because of its incorporation of so much Spanish-style music and its fusion of this with other styles: the tear-jerking opéra-comique arias and duets (such as José's duet with Micaëla [12]9 and his Flower Song [23]); the gypsy elements on a strange, oriental-sounding scale (Carmen's recurrent motif first heard at the end of the Prélude [4], again in the card scene predicting her death [27], and finally at her murder [36]); elements of Spanish dance such as the Séguedille [16], the Chanson bohème [18] and the final Entr'acte [32]; and continuous musical dialogue which takes over in the final act, but is also extended in the scene where Carmen taunts José as he is torn between love and duty after her dance for him [22]. There is also a touch of religiosity about Micaëla's music: her first duet with José is introduced by an imitation of organ music as she tells him how she has been to church with his

⁹ Numbers in square brackets refer to the Thematic Guide on pp. 87–92 [Ed.].

mother, and the hymnic line of her subsequent aria, accompanied by legato strings and harp, is reminiscent of a style of religious music used in fashionable Parisian churches, sometimes known as the 'style saint-sulpicien' [13]. There's also a fugal style used for Carmen's condemnation in the finale of this act; its ordered entries perhaps express the control imposed on her violent behaviour [17].

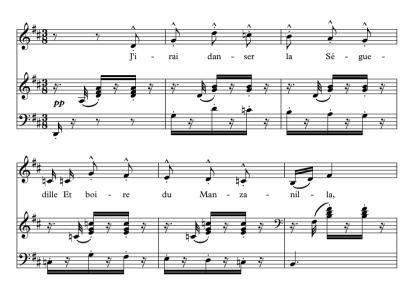
More important overall, however, is the opera's realism, often using diegetic effects where the music is part of the action, for example the Chanson bohème [18], and the offstage music emanating from the bullring in the final act. Carmen's several dance songs are also more a part of the action than the average operatic aria since they involve dancing in front of an onstage audience.

The Prélude [1–4], essentially a paso doble, plunges us straight into the music of the bullring, and it returns when the bullfight occurs. Paso dobles, or *pas redoublés* as they were known in France, were the stock-in-trade of the military bands that played (and still play) during *corridas* – in English they are quaintly known as the 'military two-step'. They were originally used for training soldiers to march at double pace, and there were many examples to be found in the music of composers such as Rossini, Cherubini and Offenbach, to name a few. What Bizet does is to introduce a Spanish inflection by the use of a flamenco scale (with a flat supertonic, i.e. the second note of the scale) which listeners immediately recognize as Spanish: it is sometimes referred to as the 'Spanish tetrachord'. The following music examples show various ways in which this Spanish hallmark is applied:

Example 1: A repeated motif based on the tetrachord C sharp, D, E, F sharp, centred on C sharp, is appended to the second idea in the Prélude, recurring later at various repetitions.



Example 2: Carmen's so-called 'Séguedille' uses the tetrachord in several forms to give the movement an entirely authentic Spanish feel. Here the tetrachord descends, centred on B it starts on the flat sixth, another characteristic of flamenco music, G, F sharp, E, D, C, B.



Example 3: The entire ritornello to the Chanson bohème which opens Act Two is based on a four-note motif descending from E to B via a flattened C.





Example 4: Bizet immediately impregnates the final act with the flavour of a Spanish fiesta with the stereotypical opening to the final Entr'acte, using not only the flattened supertonic, but the clash of major and minor versions of the third degree of the scale. Hemiolas characterize the dance on which it is based, the *polo*, and it is not immediately clear whether we are in duple or triple time.



Bizet also introduces into the Prélude an element specific to the *Pasodoble taurino* by using the 'Toreador theme' which will later

appear as Escamillo's [3]. Essentially sectional, and using fanfare motives, the paso dobles used at bullfights would include a lyrical melody as the final section before a recapitulation: this tune – the hallmark of the piece – would be identified with a victorious bullfighter. So in a sense, the Prélude is the paso doble 'El Escamillo'. Published paso dobles were rare at this time and it is possible that Bizet knew of this convention through the sizeable Spanish community in Paris who, among other patriotic activities, held bullfights in Montmartre. After all, the composer had lived on the borders of Montmartre from 1869 when it was rather more separate from Paris than it is today.

The relentless vamping of the Prélude's accompaniment – to which men could march and horses could trot – is disturbed with great effect as the postlude changes suddenly to the 'Requiem' key of D minor, announced in a style somewhat conventional for foretastes of death or destruction: tremolando strings. Against this, a motif based on a scale with two augmented seconds is heard, possibly owing a little to the composer who was above all the world authority on gypsies, Franz Liszt. ¹⁰ This is sounded on bassoons and clarinets; rasping low notes on the horns punctuate [4].

After the scene in the *plaza* [5], a crowd scene ubiquitous in *opéras-comiques* of the period, comes a fascinating variant: a 'Scène et Pantomime' found in the first vocal score but subsequently eradicated in all other early editions [7]. This is an extraordinary movement in several ways: first, because it has Moralès addressing the audience; second, because it uses mime; and thirdly because it is very funny, not a characteristic much found elsewhere in the opera. Only from the two surviving production books held at the Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris do we learn what this scene is about. Clearly marked in the *Livret de mise-en-scène* as the 'Scène de l'Anglais' it explains Gallet's comment about the potential for a spoof at the expense of the English.

The idea of an elderly 'milord' cuckolded by a sexy young Spaniard had already been exploited in Auber's *Fra Diavolo*, an Opéra-

¹⁰ The scale is used at the opening of Liszt's B minor Piano Sonata. Liszt also wrote a lengthy essay on gypsies.

Comique favourite. Here it's turned into a mime, with the Englishman accompanied by an attractive young lady from the *corps de ballet*. The scene was included in the printed libretto, the first vocal score and the orchestral parts. One critic, Jules Guillemot, writing in *Le Soleil*, advised his readers

to look out particularly for a meaningful pantomime between an old husband, a young wife and a lover, commented upon by the *brigadier* Moralès who whispers the words spoken by the miming characters behind him, which we do not hear: it's an original and witty idea and the production brought this out well.¹¹

This scene was apparently written because the baritone Edmond Duvernoy, who took the role of Moralès, thought he hadn't got enough to sing, and Bizet and his librettists took the chance further to exploit the English presence in the novella. Only a brief aside was otherwise retained in the libretto when Le Remendado comes back from Gibraltar reporting that the place is full of English people and raising a laugh by reminding us that the English are 'a bit cold, but distinguished' (see libretto, p. 209). The lines are finely delivered in the 1911 recording (see Select Discography, p. 365).

This seems not to have been the only change caused by singers throwing their toys out of the pram. Célestine Galli-Marié was also dissatisfied, in her case with the crucial aria following her dramatic entry whose manner is distilled in the accompanying stage direction: 'Carmen enters. Her entrance and costume should be exactly as described by Mérimée' (see libretto, p. 131).

Since we are pointed back to the novella for Carmen's characterization, it is perhaps worth a glimpse at the two first encounters with her which so brilliantly encapsulate her conflicting aspects: first in the words of the erudite narrator, and then in those of Don José:

¹¹ Jules Guillemot, 'Revue dramatique', *Le Soleil* (9th March 1875). Despite this critic's admiration for the scene, it was unpopular with the directorate. A common view, as reported by Bizet's early biographer Charles Pigot, was that it sidetracked the plot and made Act One overlong.

One evening, after it had grown quite dusk, I was leaning over the parapet of the quay, smoking, when a woman came up the steps leading from the river, and sat down near me. In her hair she wore a great bunch of jasmine – a flower which, at night, exhales a most intoxicating perfume. She was dressed simply, almost poorly, in black, as most work-girls are dressed in the evening. Women of the richer class only wear black in the daytime, at night they dress a la francesa. When she drew near me, the woman let the mantilla which had covered her head drop on her shoulders... I perceived her to be young, short in stature, well proportioned, and with very large eves. I threw my cigar away at once. She appreciated this mark of courtesy, essentially French, and hastened to tell me she was very fond of the smell of tobacco, and that she even smoked herself, when she could get very mild *papelitos*. I fortunately happened to have some such in my case, and at once offered them to her. She condescended to take one, and lighted it on a burning string which a child brought us, receiving a copper for its pains. We mingled our smoke, and talked so long, the fair lady and I, that we ended by being almost alone on the quay. 12

There follows some banter in which the narrator, emphasizing her otherness, skirts round the question of whether she is a Jewess. She replies:

'Oh come! You must see I'm a gypsy! Wouldn't you like me to tell you *la baji*? [your fortune] Did you never hear tell of Carmencita? That's who I am!'

Where the narrator is intrigued, José is smitten. His narrative begins by gloating over her physical assets. Beginning with her legs, he then moves his gaze to her assets under her chemise:

¹² Prosper Mérimée, *Carmen*, trans. Lady Mary Loyd, reprinted in '*Carmen*': a Romance by Prosper Mérimée with a Study of the Opera of the Same Name by Winton Dean (London: The Folio Society, 1949), pp. 17–18. Adapted by the present author for the mistranslation of '*cassie*' as acacia.

¹³ Ibid., p. 19.

She was wearing a very short skirt, below which her white silk stockings — with more than one hole in them — and her dainty red morocco shoes, fastened with flame-coloured ribbons, were clearly seen. She had thrown her mantilla back, to show her shoulders, and a great bunch of cassia that was thrust into her chemise. She had another cassia blossom in the corner of her mouth, and she walked along, swinging her hips, like a filly from a Cordova stud farm. In my country anyone who had seen a woman dressed in that fashion would have crossed himself.¹⁴

It is clearly from this description that the librettists' stage direction is drawn. She continues introducing a new theme, strengthened in the libretto, which not only emphasizes José's obedience as a good soldier, but also mocks him for being effeminate. In this respect the librettists develop the image into a diametric contrast with Escamillo, the macho bullfighter who has myriad women ready to loosen their underclothes for him.

'Compadre,' said she, in the Andalusian fashion, 'won't you give me your chain for the keys of my strongbox?'

'It's for my priming pin,' said I.

'Your priming pin!' she cried, with a laugh. 'Oho! I suppose the gentleman makes lace, as he wants pins!'

Everyone began to laugh, and I felt myself getting red in the face, and couldn't hit on anything in answer.

'Come, my love!' she began again, 'make me seven ells of black lace for my mantilla, my pet pin-maker!'

'And taking the cassia blossom out of her mouth she flipped it at me with her thumb so that it hit me just between the eyes. I tell you, sir, I felt as if a bullet had struck me. I didn't know which way to look. I sat stock-still, like a wooden board.¹⁵

José has already introduced himself as a mummy's boy, bursting into song in the middle of Micaëla's dialogue, the minute she mentions

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 28-29.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 29-30.

his mother [14]. His weakness is stressed in many ways, one of which is that he has no real aria of his own, nor a motif like Carmen. From the thinly veiled implication of the dialogue, it might be deduced that he has to resort to masturbation, unlike Escamillo: after all, he spends an awful lot of time fiddling about with his priming-pin.

As an incorrigible habitué of the brothel when he was on excursions, and even a commentator on how many times a night – and how loudly – La Malibran enjoyed orgasm with her lover, the violinist Charles de Bériot, it is hardly surprising that Mérimée, highly sexed and with a taste for obscenity, should introduce sexual metaphors into his novella. Nor that Bizet should endorse them, for he too had freely indulged in loose women in his youth. His best biographer, Hervé Lacombe, after having given us a page of confessions from various inns and brothels, concludes that Bizet categorized his women as either 'saints or whores', a polarization not exactly irrelevant to the plot of *Carmen*. 17

Before the final version with the Habanera, Bizet had already composed an aria to follow Carmen's entry and very lovely it is. In its way. It uses material from the 6/8 section sung by the *jeunes gens*, in the rhythm, it has been suggested, of a tarantella. It was already a dance song whose central section, for an extended setting of the word *l'amour*, is deliciously lyrical: a sugar-plum number so typically in the manner of the Opéra-Comique.¹⁸ If the supposition is that Galli-Marié thought it not strong enough, since she made Bizet alter it no fewer than thirteen times, then she was right: Bizet's first version, lovely though it is, was not characteristic of a gypsy. The composer's solution was the Habanera [11]. He remodelled the words to fit a dance song in this form, which he had found in an anthology of Spanish songs with French translations, and the page of his manuscript adapting these exists to this day.¹⁹

¹⁶ For a résumé of Mérimée's letters recounting his sexual exploits, see Mario Bois, *La Trilogie de Séville* (Paris: Marval, 1999), pp. 132–33.

¹⁷ Hervé Lacombe, Georges Bizet (Paris: Fayard, 2000), p. 254 et seq.

¹⁸ The original version has been recorded as an extra in the 2003 EMI recording conducted by Michel Plasson (see Select Discography, p. 369).

¹⁹ From Paul Bernard and Dieudonné Tagliafico (eds.), Chansons espagnoles del maestro Yradier (Paris: Heugel, 1865).

CARMEN: FROM MÉRIMÉE TO BIZET

The Habanera, apart from its stronger characterization of Carmen, is also dramatically more convincing since it is in part a chorus, particularly where Carmen's confidantes (or one might say partners-in-crime) – Frasquita and Mercédès – as well as the crowd around, join in with Carmen's interjections about free love which are the essence of the aria: 'Love! Love!', says the original text, 'is the spice of life, whether it lasts a day, a week or a month' (no one suggests it lasts for ever):

Chance and whim,
That's how loves begin!
And there it is for life,
Or for six months, or a week perhaps.
One chance morning on a road
You meet love: there it is!
It comes, and just when you least expect it, it goes away.

It takes you, carries you away And it does what it wants with you! It's a delight, a dream And it lasts as long as it can!²⁰

What the text loses by dropping these lines, it surely gains in dramatic impetus through its hybrid form as part dance, part aria, part chorus.

Before moving to some commentary on Act Two it is worth turning from text to context, in particular to the tobacco factory in Seville, built to accommodate the changing fashion for imbibing tobacco, from snuff to all kinds of cigars and cigarettes. The enormous factory and its regime were famous internationally: it is now used by the University of Seville and is free to visit. Several issues connected with it are explored in both novella and libretto. The imposing building

²⁰ For the full text, see the liner notes to the Plasson recording. The French reads: Hasard et fantaisie, / Ainsi commencent les amours! / En voilà pour la vie, / Ou pour six mois, ou pour huit jours! / Un matin sur la route, / On trouve l'amour, il est là! / Il vient, sans qu'on s'en doute, il s'en va! // Il vous prend, vous enlève, / Il fait de vous tout ce qu'il veut! / C'est un délice, un rêve, / Et ça dure ce que ça peut!