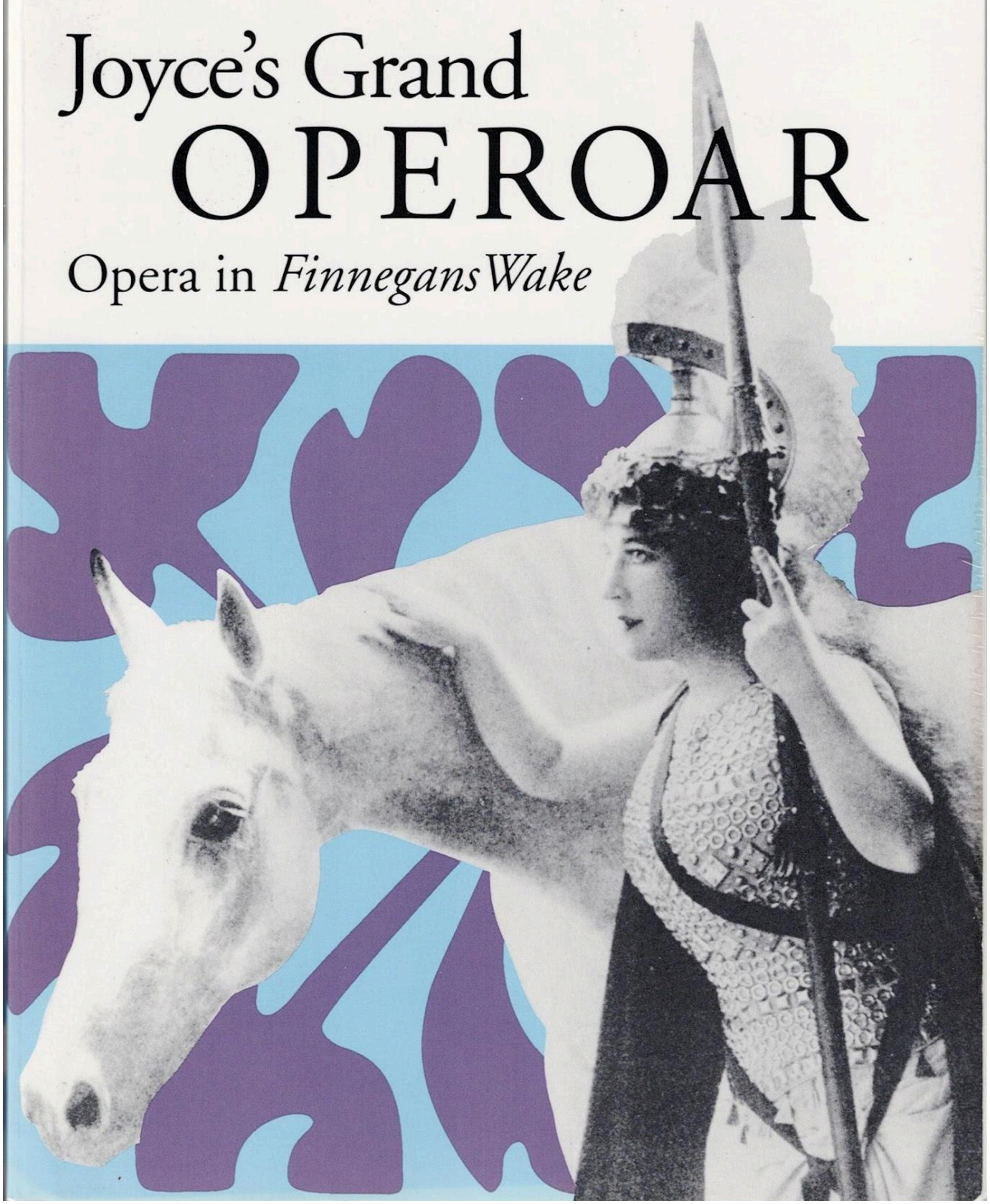
Matthew J. C. Hodgart & Ruth Bauerle

Joyce's Grand OPEROAR

Opera in *Finnegans Wake*



JOYCE STUDIES / LITERATURE / MUSIC

Joyce's Grand Operoar: Opera in *Finnegans Wake*

Matthew J. C. Hodgart and Ruth Bauerle

"Extremely well written and clearly organized. . . . Two books in one, both of them eminently useful. Clarity, rigor, and impeccable scholarship."
— Cheryl Herr, author, *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture*

"The introduction, a short book in itself, is a beautifully written and critically perceptive history and interpretation of Joyce's involvement with opera. The multiple allusion lists are meticulously done and make the book very user-friendly." — James Hurt, producer and performer, *The Joyce of Music*

"Represents a lifetime of . . . work by Matthew Hodgart, a distinguished Joycean, . . . and it has been prepared by Ruth Bauerle with great insight and great care. . . . An important and useful text not only for the many general readers of the *Wake* but also for . . . those doing historical scholarship, for whom the book will be a gold mine." — Timothy Martin, author, *Joyce and Wagner*

A passionate musician as well as a writer, James Joyce grew up hearing his father sing opera arias and for a time aspired to become a singer himself. The abundant allusions to opera throughout Joyce's work reflect his immersion in this world.

In *Joyce's Grand Operoar,* two internationally respected Joyce scholars join forces to present over 3,000 of Joyce's opera allusions as they appear in *Finnegans Wake.* Ruth Bauerle's long, richly detailed, and often amusing introduction critically interprets Joyce's life and work in terms of its operatic and literary interconnections. The resulting volume will delight both opera lovers and Joyceans.

The allusions are organized first by the page and line of their appearance in *Finnegans Wake* and then cross-referenced by opera composers and their works, librettists, designers, critics, and conductors, as well as by arias, characters, and singers.

The rich musical subtext of *Finnegans Wake* incorporates Joyce's earlier opera allusions in a grand opera finale of his own.

The late MATTHEW J. C. HODGART, a retired Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge University, England, is the coauthor of *Song in the Works of James Joyce* and the author of *James Joyce: A Student's Guide.* RUTH BAUERLE, professor emerita at Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, is the editor of *Picking Up Airs: Hearing the Music in Joyce's Text* and the *James Joyce Songbook.*

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Cover: Johanna Gadski in costume as Brunnhilde

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A Rich Inheritance from a Bankrupt

Arturo Toscanini and James Joyce learned their first opera arias in the same way: at father's knee. In Parma, Italy, in the early 1870s, Arturo hovered in a kitchen corner to listen with delight as Claudio Toscanini, a tailor, sat at the table with his companions, sipping wine and singing together folksongs, arias, and opera choruses. None was a professional singer; they had learned this music squatting in the cheapest seats at the Teatro Regio, eating bread and cheese during the operas. These spontaneous performances were little Arturo's happiest moments of home life.[1]

Fifteen years later the young Joyce also heard his first opera in his father's voice, although sometimes in a more formal setting. John Stanislaus Joyce sang arias around the home and in neighborhood musicales and concerts, often accompanied by his wife, May Murray Joyce (though one may doubt the recollection of his daughter Eileen that at one time there were seven pianos in the home).[2] Well-known as a singer in two cities, John Joyce began his concert appearances in Cork while still a boy, after voice instruction during a year at St. Colman's College, Fermoy. When he and his mother moved to Dublin about 1875, he studied voice for a time with a teacher who called him the successor to Campanini.[3] Italo Campanini is identified by Gustav Kobbé as "one of the great Edgardos" in *Lucia di Lammermoor.* He sang the tenor roles for an "Italian" company that visited Dublin in September and October 1874, presenting Gounod's *Faust,* Mozart's *Don Giovanni,* and Balfe's *Il talismano.* The company also included soprano Christine Nilsson and young Jean de Reszke, singing baritone roles under the name "Giovanni di Reschi."[4]

N

Friends heaped praise on John Joyce's music, one assuring him that "If you got three months in jail, you'd sing any of those fellows off the stage," a phrase his son adapted in *Ulysses.*[5] Professional singers also admired his voice: at his farewell party in Cork, a traveling company of opera professionals from England

Italo Campanini, tenor with the Italian Opera Company from London. A Dublin singing teacher proclaimed John Stanislaus Joyce to be Campanini's successor.

joined the guests, and John Joyce sang arias with the company's tenor, who expressed envy of the Joyce talent. Later, in Dublin, Barton M'Guckin, tenor of the Carl Rosa Opera Company, attended an Antient Concert Rooms recital in which John Joyce had a part and called his voice "the best tenor in Ireland." Joyce perceived a continuing envy on M'Guckin's part and reported that the older tenor would "watch and look after me" when they met on the street.[6]

Even the next generation praised John Joyce's singing. James Joyce's university friend C. P. Curran called the elder Joyce "a notable singer, with a wide knowledge of Italian opera," who could "hold the attention of any room all night if there was a piano at which he could sit, play, and sing." Curran added that although James's earliest knowledge of Italian opera came from John Joyce, the son "improved" this knowledge in his years on the Continent. Perhaps the greatest praise came from second son Stanislaus: although he hated his father, he acknowledged that John Joyce had the remnants of the best light English tenor, with an unusual range and tasteful style, that he had ever heard. As for James Joyce, the novelist did not compare his father's voice to that of M'Guckin or some generalized "English tenor"; he declared it equal to that of Jean de Reszke, who had become the great international tenor of the 1890s.[7]

After his eldest son became famous as a writer, John Joyce was interviewed by a reporter who found him to be chiefly interested in reminiscing about concerts and singers, especially Barton M'Guckin.[8] Clearly John Joyce considered himself to be a singer of opera and even, somewhat more professionally, an opera singer. It was a self-conception he passed on to his eldest son.

John Stanislaus Joyce picked up some of his knowledge of opera as casually as did Claudio Toscanini; for with James Gunn, manager of the Gaiety Theatre, he used to watch opera rehearsals of Therese Tietjens and Zélia Trebelli from the back of the theater—a seat even less expensive than the gallery frequented by the elder Toscanini and friends. Like Simon Dedalus singing "M'appari" in *Ulysses*' "Sirens" episode John Joyce preferred to use Italian titles for arias, though he sang them in English. The family remembered the repertory as including "M'appari," from *Martha;* "Ah si, ben mio," from *Il trovatore;* "A te, o cara," from *I puritani;* "Salve dimora" ("Salut, demeure"), from *Faust* (titled in Italian, although Gounod's libretto was in French); and "Di più non lacerarmi," from *La traviata*'s third act. To this he added, because he liked to sing the high C, "Yes, let me like a soldier fall," from *Maritana.*[9]

Some of John Joyce's singing appearances were with his wife, May Murray Joyce. Both sang at the Church of the Three Patrons in Dublin, and they appeared together at the Bray Boat Club amateur musicales. Mrs. Joyce also made appearances as a soprano at Mount Argus Church, and when James was six years old, she became a member of the choir in Little Bray Church.[10]

For the Joyces, as for the Toscaninis, opera was not merely for the concert platform or the theater but part of daily life. Stanislaus, James, and Eileen all cherished those evenings of singing among their warmest childhood memories. Thirty years after he left Dublin, James Joyce reminded Alf Bergan of the "merry evenings" they had enjoyed together in the Joyce home. In their new home in Trieste, after 1904, James Joyce and his siblings continued the tradition; there, too, singing was general—Stanislaus in German, James in Italian.[11] The next generation, too—James's daughter and son, Lucia and Giorgio, and his niece Bozena—joined in. Bozena recalls being taught opera arias when quite young.[12] For at least three generations, then, there were good and experienced singing

1st spot for PLURABELLE?

voices in the Joyce home. Although no one, as he himself pointed out, "ever really made a career out of it" (*Letters 3,* 333), Joyce in a very real sense came from a family of opera singers.

James Joyce was known in Dublin even after his death as "Joyce the singer," a title I shall evaluate in my consideration of his choice not to sing professionally. But other Joyces also turned to the possibility of singing careers. His brother Stanislaus studied voice for a time in Trieste, although he found opera itself distasteful because of the "screaming" and the insistence on protecting the singer's voice too confining.[13] Eileen Joyce, whose voice started as a high contralto promising to develop into a soprano,[14] joined her two brothers in Trieste in January 1910, intending to study for a vocal career.[15] Joyce's wife, Nora Barnacle, as part of the family in Trieste, spent her afternoons hard at work practicing the piano.[16] In later years she astonished Maria Jolas by the quantity of music she could sing from opera—including many melodies from operas unknown to Maria herself, although she had studied for a singing career. They had been learned, Nora told her, from the Joyces' almost nightly opera attendance in Trieste.[17]

It was not just that the Joyce family studied for musical careers. Opera provided them with a set of myths for their family life. John Joyce, who had no very high opinion of his wife's family, referred to her sister-in-law, the wife of John Murray, as "Amina" or "La Sonnambula," after the sleepwalker in Bellini's opera. To reconcile with his son, John Joyce sang a melody from *La traviata,* and James responded in kind.[18] Given the operatic quality of the Joyce family life in Dublin—the dramatic dinner-time quarrels over Irish leader Charles Parnell, the stormy scenes created by John Joyce, the agonizing deathbeds of John's son George and his wife, May, the bohemian poverty that more and more characterized the family's life, the occasional celebration over a financial windfall like James's school exhibition prizes, and at last the runaway lovers—these musical myths were an appropriate mode for the Joyces.

Before revisiting the opera worlds Joyce could have experienced in the various cities where he lived, it would be well to review briefly the traditions of performance and audience response that prevailed in Joyce's youth and helped to form his concept of opera. As enjoyed by the Joyce and Toscanini families, nineteenth-century opera was quite different from our conception of the art at the end of the twentieth century. Without digressing into any extended history of opera, I must nevertheless describe some of the changes and development in this musical form to explain Joyce's response to it.

For my purposes opera may be said to have begun in 1597, with Jacopo Peri's *Dafne,* as a small musical entertainment for a private party of nobility. *Dafne,* like most of its immediate successors, was simply a mythological tale set to music and sung as a series of accompanied solos or duets. There was no attempt to act out the story, and the whole performance was closer to what we now consider to be a "concert performance" of opera, or even to an oratorio.

So popular was Peri's invention that it was rapidly copied and by 1637 moved into public theaters in Venice. By 1670 there were opera houses throughout Italy and also many in Germany.[19] By the late eighteenth century these theaters had become a version of modern sports arenas: at the lower levels sat the less affluent members of the community, full of passion about the performance; ranged above and around the theater were the boxes of wealthier music lovers, similar to the special enclosed boxes in American sports stadiums. (In a sense, the Three Tenors concert televised worldwide from Los Angeles' Dodger Stadium in July 1994 was a large-scale return to eighteenth-century opera houses.) In 1770, for example, the Milan theater that preceded the modern La Scala had five rows of one hundred boxes each on either side of the theater. Each box held six persons, who sat along the sides of the box in two rows facing each other, not the stage; at the back of the box, opposite the stage, a broad gallery provided access to the box and from one box to another. Across the gallery each box had a cozy room with a fireplace and facilities for food and cards. The fourth row of boxes on each side of the theater had a common faro table, where play continued throughout the opera. After attending an opera at this theater, Charles Burney complained that "the noise was abominable except while two or three airs and a duet were singing."[20] Clearly, for eighteenth-century Milan, opera was only a part of the evening's entertainment, not the whole focus. The same was true for a substantial portion of the audience in nineteenth-century Paris, where as Charles Baudelaire made clear, members of the Jockey Club, deprived of a chance to see their mistresses dance in the usual ballet, jeered the 1861 staging of Wagner's *Tannhäuser* into inaudibility.[21]

Even where it was taken more seriously, opera was entertainment with the combined functions of a modern *Aïda, Oklahoma,* and *Dallas,* with no distinction of high- or lowbrow;[22] in presenting dramas of human passion, patriotism and betrayal, spies, stolen children, rape, murder, incest, amnesia, and mistaken identity, it was the equivalent of our local movie theaters, television soap operas, or tabloid talk shows. Then as now there were protests that such drama pandered to the lowest in public taste and diverted patrons from worthier cultural pursuits. Taste aside, the sense of opera as entertainment accessible to all social levels continued on the Continent through the nineteenth century. Opera also moved into English music halls in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when stars such as Euphrosyne Parepa-Rosa (who sang opera in London, Malta, and across the United States) and Charles Santley (who had the title role in England's first production of *The Flying Dutchman*) appeared. Gounod's *Faust* was first presented in England in concert form at the Canterbury Music Hall, London. Maggie Teyte, a renowned interpreter of Debussy's music, was the sister of music hall performer James Tate and sister-in-law of music hall star Lottie Collins. Teyte herself made several week-long appearances in music halls.[23] Until the twentieth century, then, opera continued to hold something for everyone, an aspect of the art that Joyce tried to echo in *Finnegans Wake,* with its mélange of allusion to geography, philosophy, history, cricketing, popular songs, opera, and the world of reading.

Quite early in opera history great singers traveled from one opera house to another, so that by 1720 there was a range of international singing stars enjoying a world without boundaries—except in France, where Italian singers were not allowed to perform.[24] Often these singers were Italian castrati (*evirati*); the first who publicly acknowledged that condition were Folignato and Rossini, singing in 1599 in the papal chapel, where both won praise from Pope Clement VIII.[25] Castrati were increasingly popular from the first quarter of the seventeenth century, singing both male and female roles, although sometimes the male roles were sung by female contraltos. Even in male roles the *evirati* sang as sopranos opposite women contraltos. Overall, the "typecasting" of the sexes was rare: Cavalli's *Eliogabalo* had three male soprano roles and one woman's role in the tenor range, Vinci's *Catone in Utica* (1732) cast soprano Lucia Faccinelli as Julius Caesar, Gluck's *Le nozze d'Ercole e d'Ebe* used a woman singer in the part of Hercules, and the San Carlo opera was opened in 1737 with a famous woman contralto, Vittoria Tesi-Tramontini, singing the role of Achilles.[26]

The Roman church threatened with excommunication those who castrated a boy to create a singer; but the same church, following St. Paul's injunction that women should be silent in church, depended on male singers. By the 1780s there were more than two hundred castrati singing in the churches of Rome, including the papal chapel.[27] One such singer in the Vatican chapel late in the nineteenth century was praised by musicologist Enrico Panzacchi as superior to Adelina Patti, the famous soprano.[28] In the eighteenth century as many as 4,000 boys yearly were castrated in the hope of providing them a singing career.[29] To avoid church punishment the family often asserted that the child's voice had been affected by an injury or illness.

Many composers, including Handel and Meyerbeer (as late as 1824 for Giovanni Battisti Velluti), wrote specifically for castrati voices or for a particular castrato. Wagner found the voices intriguing and for a time considered bringing a castrato from Rome to play Klingsor in *Parsifal*.[30]

Have the audience read, out loud:
"O tell me all about..."
perhaps at beginning of Act 1 or Act 2

Composer Gioacchino Rossini, by contrast, disliked using castrati singers because he objected to a technique that was one of their great claims to fame: their command of fioritura, the decoration of the composer's melodic line with improvisations of their own devising.[31] Often fioritura was elaborate and lengthy, with the effect of distracting audience attention from the opera itself to the singer's power of invention. Whatever Rossini's reservations, the castrati bequeathed to nineteenth-century opera production a sense of the singer as a star who, with impunity, could impose his or her concept on that of the composer. They also led to composers' writing "breeches" or "pants" roles for women singers in male attire—Orsini in Donizetti's *Lucrezia Borgia,* Cherubino in Mozart's *Marriage of Figaro,* or Siebel in Gounod's *Faust.*[32]

By the mid-nineteenth century and the day of the Joyces and Toscaninis, these elements were in place: the audience went to hear opera but also to see stars, and the stars were singers with great voices. Audiences had also come to think of themselves as participants in the spectacle, applauding, cheering, booing, or demanding an instant encore of a well-sung or favorite aria. Opera had developed from concerts with a mythic theme to full-scale dramas with music. Singers included both men and women, but as in the days of the castrati, operatic characters were not invariably of the same sex as those who sang the roles, and the sexual identity of a character within an opera was frequently hidden for plot purposes.

For their part, the singing stars had developed a kind of autonomy from the composer to the extent of altering the music not only by adding decorative elements but by changing to a more comfortable key, adding (or subtracting) a high note according to personal ability,[33] dropping difficult arias, or even adding or substituting arias from other operas or songs from no opera at all. They also took advantage of the willingness of the audience to participate by hiring claques to applaud them or anticlaques to boo other singers.! One of the most famous claques was apparently voluntary—the Parisian crowd, urged on by the elitist Jockey Club, that booed, whistled, and catcalled through all the 1861 performances of Wagner's *Tannhäuser.* Soprano Maggie Teyte found claques still important on the Paris opera scene just prior to World War I; and Lotte Lehmann, making her Vienna debut in 1916, was visited several times at her hotel by competing heads of the claque, insistent that she hire them to aid her success.[34] Tenor Leo Slezak could still point to the claque's seats at the Metropolitan Opera thirty years after his debut there, and his son asserted that the claque remained in that same location until the company moved to its new house at Lincoln Center in the 1960s.[35] !

Love this idea

The hodgepodge that passed for opera in the nineteenth century sometimes had its roots in the confusion of the librettist or composer. Bellini's *I puritani*

(1833), for instance, which has the conflict of the Cavaliers and the Roundheads as its subject, is set in Plymouth because the librettist believed Plymouth to be in Scotland.[36] In 1841 an English manager named Macready, wanting to produce an "English opera," chose Purcell's setting of Dryden's *King Arthur* but arranged for Irish singer and composer Tom Cooke to augment the music by adding sections of Purcell's *Libertine, Indian Queen, Dido and Aeneas,* and *Bonduca,* as well as some music from Arne.[37] Production sites also distracted from the seriousness of the music: at London's St. James's Hall, as Bernard Shaw complained ironically, one of the "well-known attractions" was the odors of fire and cooking food from a restaurant sharing the structure.[38]

Rehearsal seems to have been minimal, so that in a London production of *Don Giovanni,* a Mademoiselle Colombati, attempting "on the most superficial acquaintance" to sing the aria "Batti, batti," got into the second verse first; conductor Luigi Arditi prompted her by bursting into song himself, in a countertenor that Shaw thought had an astonishingly effective "gooselike quality."[39] Taste was also absent from the planning, as when impresario Louis Jullien inserted a pantomime between the acts of Balfe's *Maid of Honour* because he thought that this would please the English public.[40] He was perhaps not far wrong, for Alfred Bunn, who wrote the text for Balfe's *Bohemian Girl,* included a pantomime with his production of Auber's *Fra Diavolo.*[41] Impresario Augustus Harris was not much better in his conceptions: he offered *Carmen* in July 1890 using one conductor for the first and fourth acts and two other conductors for the second and third acts, with a "disastrous" effect on the ensemble effect of the performance.[42] Even Hector Berlioz succumbed to this mixing of music and performers: when he conducted the *Bride of Lammermoor* for Jullien at Drury Lane, he used Beethoven's *Leonora* overture to introduce the Donizetti opera, an action matched in the same production by Jullien's insertion of a minuet into the opera itself.[43] That 1847 event was echoed more than four decades later when, to the dismay of Shaw, the Covent Garden orchestra "eked out" the prelude to Gounod's *Philémon et Baucis* by adding the overture to Wagner's *Tannhäuser.*[44] This casual approach to production lasted into the twentieth century, when John McCormack was astonished by a Covent Garden setting of *La traviata* where Nellie Melba appeared in "modern" (1906) clothing, but Enrico Caruso and Mattia Battistini were in period costumes, including velvet breeches, silk hose, buckled slippers, and plumed hats.[45]

pantomime

Not only the music but the libretto was mistreated, as when London opera impresarios and audiences divided into two camps, the one favoring opera sung in Italian and the other preferring opera performed in English. As a result the "Royal Italian Opera" often included German or French works translated into

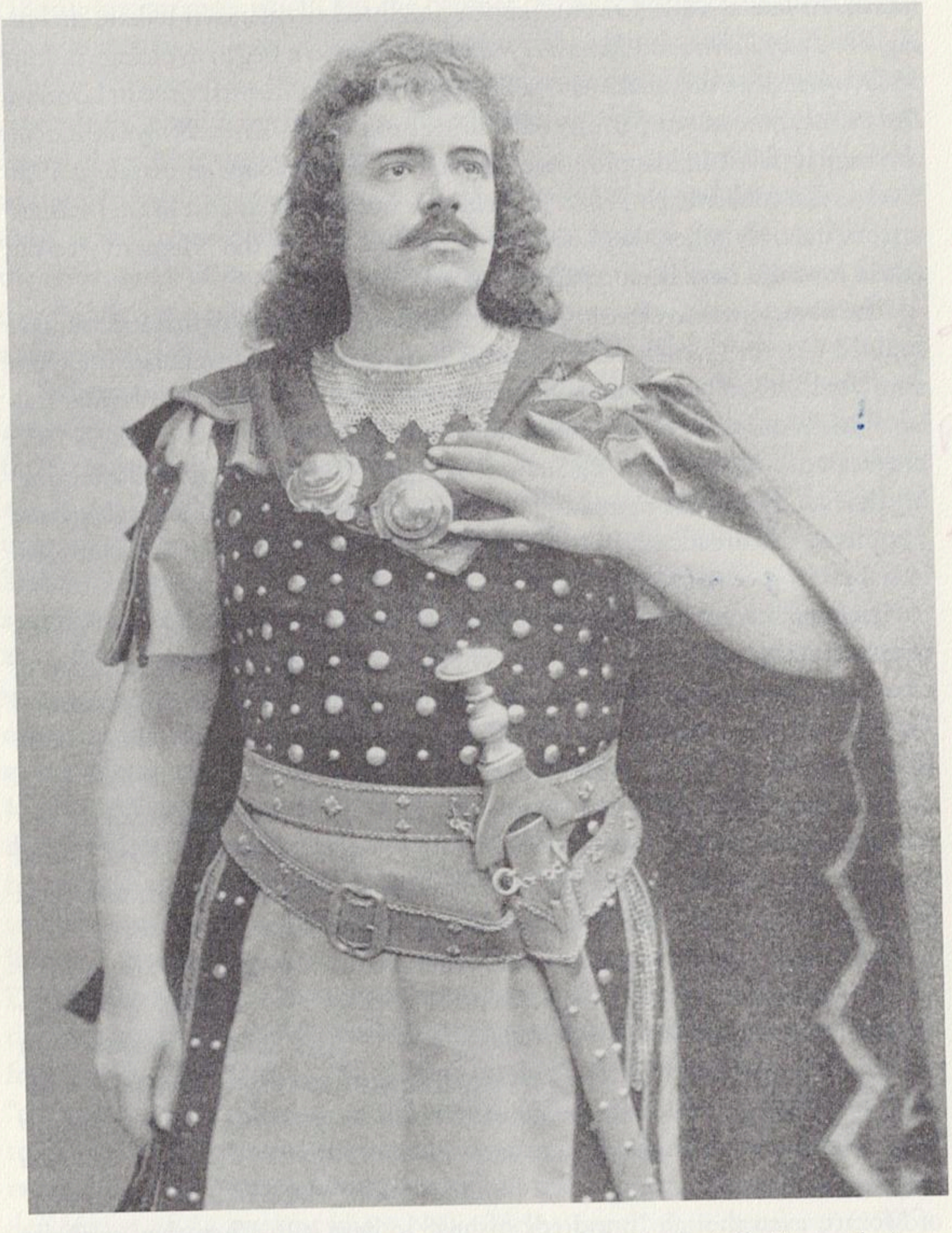
Italian. As late as 1888 Covent Garden presented all operas in Italian, including *The Pearl Fishers* and *Roméo et Juliette.* The pattern began to change in June 1889, when Jean de Reszke sang a French Roméo for the first time in London. But the next month he performed Walther's role in *Die Meistersinger* in Italian, although he felt it an inappropriate language for Wagner's operas. As late as 1930 Covent Garden's French *Pelléas et Mélisande* was offered as part of the "Italian" season, the only other alternative being to include it in the "German" season, where it would have been equally inappropriate.[46]

great mixing of languages

The libretto was so often set apart from an opera's integrity that it must have strained Covent Garden audiences very little in 1933 when Lauritz Melchior sang Verdi's *Otello* in German while the rest of the cast used the original Italian.[47]! Melchior was perhaps following a precedent set on BBC during a 1930 broadcast of *Madame Butterfly.* Soprano Margaret Sheridan became ill after singing the first act in the original Italian; Maggie Teyte rose to the emergency and completed the broadcast, but in English, while the rest of the cast continued in Italian.[48] great…

Twentieth-century conductors, too, could be as lax as Berlioz; in one underrehearsed sextet in Mozart's *Marriage of Figaro,* the singers were raggedly out of time with one another. At the conclusion Sir Thomas Beecham smiled and remarked, apparently without irony, "Now there, wasn't that marvellous—we all finished together."[49] With producers and conductors so relaxed, it is little wonder that orchestras sometimes took liberties, as when the Covent Garden orchestra, having reached only the end of act 4 of *Les Huguenots* by 11:55 P.M., packed and went home. Conductor Luigi Mancinelli followed them. As critic Bernard Shaw himself departed, some of the audience were still waiting for act 5.[50]

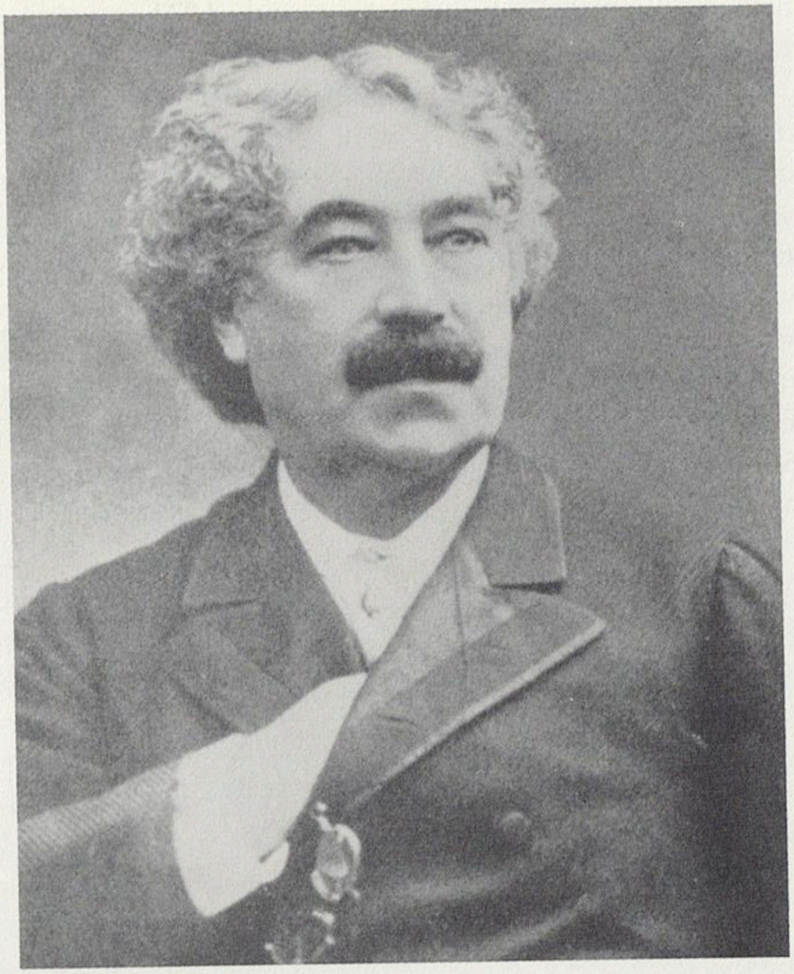
Following the lead of producers and conductors, the singers, who rightly saw themselves as the stars of the spectacles, took their own liberties. Writhingly angered when Marcella Sembrich dared to alter the ending of Susanna's aria "Deh, vieni non tardar" in *The Marriage of Figaro* from what Mozart had written, Shaw declared himself unable to respond to anything else the soprano sang.[51] Sims Reeves's biographer declared the transposing of the title role of *Don Giovanni* so it could be sung by the tenor Giovanni Mario to be a "re-cooking" of Mozart, even though "hundreds rushed" to hear it.[52] When they were not rewriting or transposing the composers' music, singers often altered the mood of an opera by insertions. Whether a minor singer like the Scots tenor Sinclair or a more prominent one like sopranos Catherine Stephens or Lucia Vestris or tenor John Braham, all apparently felt free to improve on their roles. Braham's conduct was the most egregious in this respect. The final scene of *Guy Mannering* (Boïeldieu's *La Dame blanche* in English translation) takes place in a cave.



Jean de Reszke dressed as Tristan, a tenor role. Earlier he had sung in Dublin as a baritone, using the name Giovanni di Reschi.

There Braham "discovered" a grand piano, remarked "That reminds me of the delightful aria I heard at 'La Scala' the other night," and sat down to accompany himself as he sang the aria—in Italian. Braham responded to the audience's demand for an encore with Handel's "Waft her, angels"; then the cast resumed the confrontation scene in the cave.[53] At best these insertions were by the same composer as the opera itself, as when George Barker introduced Beethoven's "Adelaïde" into *Fidelio* at Liverpool and Manchester.[54] It was worse when the music was, as with the Braham example, wholly extraneous—but at least he was still singing opera. Sometimes, too, the composer (or a publisher or an impresario) was responsible for the interpolations. Sims Reeves found himself assigned to sing a sentimental ballad, "In this old chair," during Balfe's *Maid of Honour* (based on the same story used later by Flotow for *Martha*). Reeves saw no relationship between the song and the opera and concluded that it was introduced to draw it to the attention of music publishers. (It became, ironically, one of his most popular songs, featured for years in his recitals.)[55] Sometimes the interpolations were of text, as when Fyodor Chaliapin, mindful of his travel schedule during a performance in Russian, sang to his servant in the wings, "Go to the hotel immediately. Get the two bottles of good wine I forgot in my room and bring them here, as we leave immediately after this damned opera is over."[56] ! Adelina Patti, performing Rossini's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* at the Metropolitan Opera, included Echert's "Echo Song" and Payne's "Home, Sweet Home" in the lesson scene; then, as an encore, she had a piano pushed through the curtains so she could sing "Comin' thro' the Rye."[57] That both Melba and Patti are accused of having a piano brought on stage at the end of *Otello* so they might sing "Home, Sweet Home"[58] suggests that the story may be apocryphal about both sopranos; even as myth, however, it symbolizes the looseness of artistic standards during the "golden age of opera."

Occasionally a singer would omit something that seemed too difficult. And composers—if alive—were willing to assist in such a situation, as Mozart added "Dalla sua pace" to *Don Giovanni* because some tenors found "Il mio tesoro" too difficult. Shaw once complained that a tenor named Lestillier ought to have omitted *both* because he did not know the music. In the same performance the baritone Francesco d'Andrade failed to sing the arias as written; Mme Emmy Fursch-Madi omitted "Non mi dir" and reversed the sections of another aria; and Mme Giulia Valda offered "gratuitous B flats."[59] Even very good and very professional singers made such omissions. Jean de Reszke found "Celeste Aïda" inconveniently placed near the beginning of the opera, before his voice was fully warmed up, so he simply omitted it. He told one acquaintance that in some



Sims Reeves, long the leading English tenor, as he looked near the end of his career in the 1880s. He retired officially in 1891 at the age of seventy-three.

nineteen performances as Radamès at the Metropolitan Opera, he had sung this aria only four times.[60]

Sometimes a singer's ability to add, subtract, or improvise proved to be invaluable to a performance. Geraldine Farrar was singing *La bohème* with the tenor Alessandro Bonci when he lost his voice; she sang "a third of his role" for him without the public's noticing anything wrong.[61] Enrico Caruso also saved a colleague in a similar situation; when bass Andrés de Segurola developed hoarseness and could not sing in the last act, Caruso sang both Colline's and Rodolfo's roles to the end of the opera. The conductor was enraged, but again the audience was oblivious.[62] John McCormack also encountered a crisis during *La bohème* when Russian soprano Mlle Axerine (a last-minute replacement for Melba) forgot some lines, and McCormack doubled as Rodolfo and Mimi.[63]

Since the producers and the musicians treated opera so casually on occasion, it is unsurprising that audiences for many decades showed equal unconcern for opera as art. In the early years this disregard was a matter of noise and discourtesy toward musicians performing in Milan or at court functions, where conversation or flirtation might be more significant than the music.[64] Later it might be the operagoers' sense of knowing more about the music than did those on the stage. Tenor Sims Reeves found during his years as a student in Milan that the audience members expressed their reactions all through a solo, applauding one phrase and objecting to the singing of the next. They showed pleasure or displeasure in varied ways: hisses, hoots, laughter, whistles, and applause, always with a vigor proportioned to their emotions.[65] Another audience, after jeering a soprano whose voice cracked, sang her aria in unison from beginning to end in perfect pitch![66] Not all the complaints were musical: at Verona in 1888 when Toscanini was conducting, a soprano was hissed off the stage as insufficiently beautiful to sing the title role in *Lucrezia Borgia.*[67] Most of these audience protests rose from love of the music. Shaw complained about another sort of misconduct—indifference among those who arrived late. As for loud talking during performances, he suggested the extreme measure of moving the soldiers from the lobby to the stalls, where they could shoot noisy patrons.[68]

play w/ the same & this in Flora belle ?

Dublin audiences tended to be quiet and well-behaved at good performances. Their misconduct inclined toward specific comments on the performance, directed toward the stage, or on the "quality" sitting in the pit. When a tenor reached a high note by using a falsetto, a voice from the "Gods" (the cheapest seats in the fourth tier, or highest balcony) inquired, "Jim! Was that the gas?" As the tenor Tombesi overacted and oversang, a shout advised him in a Dublin pronunciation of his name, "Tom, be aisy!" Adherents of rival singers disputed each other loudly in the Gods. Patrons from the pit shouted for quiet (making the music even more inaudible). One disputant roared at an opponent, "Throw him over! Throw him over!" A comrade added, "Don't waste him, kill a fiddler wid him!"[69] !

Plot and action on the opera stage absorbed Dublin audiences. In a production of *Faust,* as Valentine (played by Charles Santley) lay dying in Martha's arms, a gallery voice shouted "Unbutton his weskit!" ! When Santley, singing Plunkett's role in *Martha,* took up a candle to show Harriet and Nancy to their room, a reproving voice called "Ah, ah! would ye now?"[70]

Dubliners could be generous in their praise, however, as when Trinity students lowered a basket of flowers and doves to Fanny Moody at the conclusion

Therese Tietjens as Lucrezia Borgia in Donizetti's opera of that name. Dubliners said fondly that she had "a heart as big as herself" and pulled her carriage to her hotel after opera performances.

Luigi Arditi, conductor and composer of operas, who conducted several of the companies that appeared in Dublin, where he was "as well-known as the Nelson Pillar."

of *The Bohemian Girl,* or when the city presented an ebony-and-silver baton to conductor Luigi Arditi. Impresario James Mapleson asserted that the habitual occupants of the gallery were medical students, "always without their coats, sometimes without their waistcoats, occasionally without their shirts."[71] Therese Tietjens and Adelina Patti were both visited by mobs of students at their hotels after performances, and both were drawn from theater to hotel by crowds who dragged their carriages, as recalled in Joyce's novella, "The Dead" (199). Patti's experience came at the conclusion of *Martha* in November 1861, and the hotel was Morrison's. The *Irish Times* reported that she was met at the theater door by "a cavalcade of Trinity students—almost all honour men." Tietjens appeared in 1868 in Weber's *Oberon,* and the audience demanded a repetition of the air

"Ocean, thou mighty monster." A great scene ensued, lasting more than fifteen minutes, some demanding a repetition of the aria and others asking instead for various Irish songs; the singer finally compromised by offering "'Tis the last rose of summer." The orchestra lacked music for this song, however, so the tenor Bettini "pulled" a cottage piano from the wings. As Mme Tietjens was helping conductor Arditi climb from the orchestra to accompany her, Bettini accidentally knocked the piano over. Five supers dressed as demons for their roles in the opera rushed from the wings to right the piano, and summer's last rose was heard after a silence so profound that Mapleson was able hear his dropped lapel pin.[72]

A source of conflict between composer and conductor, on one side, and audience and stars, on the other, was the matter of encores within the performance. For the audience, to ask for an encore was a way to show appreciation for a good performance—and perhaps also to get one's money's worth from the opera. For the stars, the audience demand was a proof of success. Caruso, for example, gave five repeats of "La donna è mobile" in a single performance of *Rigoletto* in Rio de Janiero in 1903.[73] For composers like Wagner, who viewed the opera—or at least a given act of the opera—as an integral whole, the applause and the repetition intruded on the concentration of the audience, the singers, and the orchestra.[74] Toscanini held a similar view and went so far as to risk a duel at Casale Monferrato in 1887 during a performance of *La gioconda.* During the third act the audience clamored for an aria's encore. Only twenty years old and in his second conducting job, Toscanini refused. A uniformed man shouted, "You are a fresh young maestro!" Toscanini turned to retort, "You are wrong, you dog!" After the opera concluded, the protester's second challenged Toscanini to a duel. Toscanini laughed it off, and the incident was forgotten.[75] In England Shaw lent his voice to the anti-encore faction, without much success.[76] Joyce, sensitive to artistic integrity, seconds Shaw's motion in *Finnegans Wake* with "passencore" (3.4).

pas encore
pass (make a pass)
core
...!

NOTES

1. Taubman, *The Maestro,* 7.
2. Delimata, "Reminiscences of a Joyce Niece," 53.
3. *MBK,* 26. Italian tenor Italo Campanini (1845–96) is mentioned at *FW* 541.7 and in "The Dead," 199. When John Joyce was studying voice in Dublin, Campanini would have been a mere thirty years old, with two decades of his career still ahead—astonishingly early to speak of finding his successor. He had made a fine start as a singer, singing *Lohengrin* in Bologna in 1871 and Gennaro in *Lucrezia Borgia* in London

in 1872. His New York debut came in 1873, and he sang for eleven years (1883–94) at the Metropolitan Opera, beginning with *Faust* in 1883.

4. Gustav Kobbé, *The Complete Opera Book* (1919), 354; Leiser, *Jean de Reszke and the Great Days of Opera,* 25. De Reszke was troubled with stagefright and some uncertainty about his vocal range; he later withdrew from the stage for several years, retrained his voice, and returned as one of the great tenors in opera history.

5. *MBK,* 15. Joyce used this in *Ulysses,* where "base barreltoned" Ben Dollard promises Simon Dedalus that given a week's jail stay on slim rations, "you'd sing, Simon, like a garden thrush" (*U* 11.772–3).

6. *MBK,* 26; *Letters 3,* 333; *JJ,* 15–16.

7. Curran, *James Joyce Remembered,* 70; *CDD,* 6; *Letters 3,* 333, Joyce to Alf Bergan, 20 December 1934.

8. Colum and Colum, *Our Friend James Joyce,* 78.

9. *MBK,* 65.

10. Peter Costello, *James Joyce,* 60, 67, 71, 89, 93.

11. *MBK,* 65; Delimata, 47; *Letters 3,* 333.

12. Delimata, 47.

13. *Letters 2,* 260; *CDD,* 29, 146.

14. *CDD,* 18.

15. Delimata, 45; *JJ,* 308. According to Delimata's recollections, Eileen had been a pianist for Joyce's short-lived Volta Cinema project in Dublin in 1909 and studied for a time with a Triestine teacher named Calazza (Delimata, 45, 47).

16. B. Maddox, *Nora,* 112.

17. Kain, "An Interview with Carola Giedion-Welcker and Maria Jolas," 102.

18. Bauerle, *The James Joyce Songbook,* 68.

19. Heriot, *The Castrati in Opera,* 113.

20. Quoted in Pleasants, *The Great Singers,* 31.

21. Baudelaire, "Richard Wagner and *Tannhäuser* in Paris," 227–29.

22. Heriot, 34.

23. Bauerle, *Picking Up Airs,* 12.

24. Heriot, 13.

25. Ibid., 12.

26. Ibid., 33–34.

27. Ibid., 25.

28. Ibid., 36–37.

29. Koestenbaum, *The Queen's Throat,* 158.

30. Timothy Martin has pointed out to me that Klingsor's castrated state is implicit within the action of *Parsifal.*

31. Heriot, 20–21; Rossini's anger was so aroused by the same Velluti, for whom Meyerbeer had written *Il crociato in Egitto,* that he vowed "never again to let his singers depart from the written notes."

32. Heriot, 22.

33. Rossini so resented tenor Enrico Tamberlik's additions of Cs and C-sharps to Rossini's *Otello* that when Tamberlik called at Rossini's home, he was asked to leave his C-sharp in the vestibule before being admitted to see the composer (Pleasants, 171).

34. Lehmann, *Midway in My Song,* 129–31.

35. Slezak, *What Time's the Next Swan?* 211.

36. Brockway and Weinstock, *World of Opera,* 581.

37. Pearce, *Sims Reeves,* 48.

38. Shaw, *London Music in 1888–89,* 69.

39. Ibid., 217.

40. Pearce, 100.

41. Ibid., 166.

42. Klein, *Thirty Years of Musical Life in London,* 288–89. Hermann Klein was not only music critic of the *Sunday Times* but musical advisor to Augustus Harris, the creator of this somewhat disjointed performance.

43. Pearce, 96. One theory was that Berlioz was eager to show the quality of the orchestra. There were no theories as to the reason for the minuet. The opera was, of course, an English version of *Lucia di Lammermoor.*

44. Shaw, *Music in London, 1890–94,* 1:284.

45. Strong, *John McCormack,* 43. In this matter Melba was in the tradition of the great tenor of the early nineteenth century, Giovanni Rubini, who donned any costume handed to him, whether it fitted his role or not (Pearce, 80).

46. G. O'Connor, *The Pursuit of Perfection,* 171.

47. Covent Garden, 2 June 1933; Brockway and Weinstock, 566.

48. June 1930; G. O'Connor, 170–71.

49. G. O'Connor, 106.

50. Shaw, *London Music in 1888–89,* 153.

51. Ibid., 58.

52. Pearce, 208.

53. Ibid., 30.

54. Ibid., 32.

55. Ibid., 100.

56. Borovsky, *Chaliapin,* 468.

57. Pleasants, 211.

58. G. O'Connor, 107.

59. Shaw, *London Music in 1888–89,* 147. Nor did Shaw like the singers who played Leporello, Masetto, and the Commendatore.

60. Pleasants, 257.

61. D. Caruso, *Enrico Caruso,* 210.

62. Ibid., 208–10.

63. McCormack, *I Hear You Calling Me,* 72. *La bohème* is not a particularly difficult opera to complete, but it is extremely popular, which means singers often find themselves singing it.

64. Pleasants, 32, 34.

65. Pearce, 78.

66. Mordden, *Opera Anecdotes,* 95. The city was Parma, Toscanini's hometown; the date, 1890; the aria, "Gorgheggiate usignoli" ("Warbling nightingales"), from Catalani's *Loreley.*

67. Taubman, 41.

68. Shaw, *London Music in 1888–89,* 142–43.

69. Stanford, *Pages from an Unwritten Diary,* 88.

70. Santley, *Student and Singer,* 223–25.
71. Mapleson, *The Mapleson Memoirs,* 77.
72. Klein, *The Reign of Patti,* 97; Mapleson, *Mapleson Memoirs,* 77.
73. *ODO,* s.v. "Encore."
74. Martin, *Joyce and Wagner,* 3; Kobbé, *The Complete Opera Book* (1919), 91.
75. Taubman, 40–41.
76. Shaw, *London Music in 1888–89,* 372.