della Casa di Giuseppe Giacosa, these two characters were conflated: Cavaradossi's father had hidden in the well.

15. "An Analysis of Puccini's *Tosca*," 342.

16. See the Appendix of this volume for a complete comparison of scenes in the play and the opera.

17. Gara, *Carteggi pucciniani*, 172, no. 200.

18. Ibid., 358, no. 528.

19. All twelve half-steps of the chromatic scale. See also Mandelli, chapter 14, this volume, on this point.

20. Puccini had asked Father Pietro Panichelli to discover the exact pitch of the Vatican's largest bell, the Campanone, along with other bells that would figure in the prelude to Act III. The priest, with the help of Vatican musician Pietro Meluzzi, wrote to him in December 1897 with the result—an E♮ (see Gara, *Carteggi pucciniani*, 155–156).

21. This pattern of rising and falling thirds is common to many surface motives of *Tosca*. A few examples include Tosca's entrance music and, in Act II, its recurrence in "Vissi d'Arte"; the gallows march (50/10); and the interrogation music (13/0). This last is built on a half-diminished chord (F♯–A–C–E); of interest is that its first vertical sonority—F♯–E–C— is an exact transposition of the notes B♭—A♭—E on which the "Scarpia" motive is based. There are all kinds of motivic connections here; for further discussion, see "An analysis of Puccini's *Tosca*."

10. Guide Themes and "Reminiscences" in Puccini's *Tosca*

Marcello Conati

To Teresa, who has generously given me advice and suggestions in the writing of this essay.

Puccini's *Tosca* demonstrates a structural compactness of a sort that is not to be found in other late-Romantic works. Even the episodes that at first blush seem marginal or subsidiary—the cantoria, Te Deum, gavotte, cantata, Roman dawn, and so forth—actually serve the drama, as always with Puccini. In performance, they flow along in it fluidly and rapidly, so that it proceeds from beginning to end in a single breath. Luigi Ricci, who worked with Puccini, calculated that the total length of the music of *Tosca* is one hour and fifty-two minutes—about the same as a single act of Wagner's *Ring*.[1] This compactness is aided by a strongly cohesive dramatic layout, or framework, stripped of marginal episodes. (See especially the elimination of the second act of Sardou's play, which is reduced to an offstage cantata. This has the enormous advantage of removing the queen of Naples' attempt to blackmail Scarpia, which gives him full freedom of action and also total autonomy as a character.) Scene changes are reduced to a minimum (see, among other things, the combining of the prison and firing-squad tableaux into a single act), and the dramatic framework is almost entirely centered on the Tosca-Cavaradossi-Scarpia triangle.[2] Giacosa's job was to confer "literary dignity" on the poetic text, but it was Illica who was for-

ever being pressed by Puccini. The composer was obstinately intent on maximum economy in the unfolding of the drama.

In the end, the plot can be summed up as a paradigmatic story for all countries in all periods. Analogous episodes date back at least as far as Euripides' *Alcestis* and proceed forward from that point to the incident of the prefect of Antioch, which took place at the time of Emperor Constantine and was recounted by St. Augustine.[3] From there, examples include Claude Rouillet's tragedy *Philanire*[4] and Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*, and finally, in more modern times, we find García Gutiérrez's drama *El Trovador*, set to music by Verdi. Above all, the story is one whose paradigmatic character very strongly recalls a popular old Italian ballad known by the title *Cecilia*,[5] which tells of a young wife who weeps because her husband is in prison, condemned to die; she goes to the captain to ask for clemency, and he grants it on condition that she agrees to sleep with him for one night. Cecilia runs to ask permission of her husband, who grants it: "Save my life, and I'll look after honor." When night falls, Cecilia has a sense of foreboding, but the captain consoles her and urges her to sleep. Morning comes; Cecilia opens the window and sees her husband hanging from the gallows in the courtyard. In some versions—among them one that was made popular by ballad singers who sold sheet music—Cecilia takes revenge by killing the captain.[6]

As in Wagner—but with inverse proportions—the insistent use of recurring motives and reminiscences helps to give even greater cohesion to a plot that was already very compact in the dramatic outline presented in the libretto. Wagner's use of leitmotivs, which was nonessential in *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin* (in fact, in discussing these two operas, one must speak not of actual leitmotivs but rather of mnemonic motives based on Carl Maria von Weber's model), becomes a fundamental characteristic, organizing and giving structure to the

musical course of the entire *Ring*, which is laid out in a prologue and three days (more than sixteen hours of almost uninterrupted music). And yet, even for an opera as short as *Tosca* (or rather, in *Tosca* much more than in other Puccini operas), the composer makes systematic use of guide themes. That Puccini was well aware of the dramatic value of this use is clearly indicated in his letter of 23 November 1897 (written during the period when *Tosca* was being composed) to Tito Ricordi. In it, he reproduces, in the key of E minor, the guide theme intended for Cavaradossi, and he comments: "Questo sara' il leitmotif della trombata finale per i colleghi e uniti!" [This will be the leitmotiv of the final disaster for the students and all the rest!][7] (See Example 10.1.) Finally, it must be said that this practice is not at all aimed at covering up or filling in empty spaces: in *Tosca*, Puccini always succeeds in finding new musical ideas right to the very end—even in the scene of the shooting of Cavaradossi.

I confess, however, to being very uncomfortable in making use of the term *leitmotiv* with respect to Puccini. As is well known, the term was not coined by Wagner but has generally come to be associated with the Wagnerian concept of music drama.[8] In Wagner, the leitmotivs, which are brief and concise in order to allow immediate recognition of them, fall within the concept of *durchkomponierte Musik* (through-composed music). Inasmuch as the leitmotiv technique is a result of the liberation from a rhythmic-syntactic regularity and its dissolution into musical prose, it reflects the concept of *unendliche Melodie* (endless melody)—as Dahlhaus observed, the representation or incarnation in sound of Time, which flows and continually returns. As a result, according to Dahlhaus, the leitmotivs fulfill the dramatic role of rendering the poetic intention present and accessible to the emotions. Thus they require rational, conscious listening on the spectator's part.[9]

In Puccini's music, things are not exactly the same. Or

Example 10.1. Puccini's guide theme for Cavaradossi.

rather, they exist on a very different semantic level. Even if his use of thematic reprises was inspired by Wagner's compositional technique, in Puccini it reveals a different dramatic function, and has been exposed to much criticism and more than a few misunderstandings, owing to the ambiguity with which it has been interpreted. To start at the beginning, see Luigi Torchi's famous critique of *Tosca*: "L'uso del motivo tematico . . . , ad eccezione di due casi, cioè del motivo di Scarpia o di quello dell'Angelotti, è conseguenza d'istinto, di impressioni vaghe, ma non di idee chiare. Adoperato senza elaborazione circostanziale e senza trama sinfonica, il motivo tematico è una semplice reminiscenza e stanca presto. È un fuor d'opera, come una cabaletta tra le mani di Wagner."[10] [The use of the thematic motive . . . , with the exception of two cases—that is, Scarpia's or Angelotti's motive—is the result of instinct, of vague impressions, but not of clear ideas. When adopted without development that depends on circumstances with no symphonic plan, the thematic motive is a mere reminiscence that quickly wears thin. It is out of place, as a cabaletta would be in Wagner's hands.]

And see the severe opinion of *Tosca* expressed by Roger Parker: "Puccini's treatment of motif is a confused and confusing meeting ground of traditions, sometimes highly effective, sometimes tautological, sometimes downright distracting; but above all we have the impression that the motif is externally applied, and remains tangential to the essential musical and dramatic continuity."[11]

By insisting on judging Puccini's guide theme and reminiscence technique by the measuring stick of the Wagner's leit-

motiv technique, one runs the risk of giving everything that seems to sound like a thematic return—perhaps even, as William Drabkin has intelligently commented, a simple cadential formula—the name of *leitmotiv*[12]: see the cadence that ends Colline's monologue ("Vecchia zimarra") in the fourth act of *La bohème* and returns at the end of the opera—a cadence that has already been heard twice in the first act, during Mimi's story ("Mi chiamano Mimì"). Drabkin is absolutely right in maintaining that "whereas Wagner built the grandest architectural designs from an elaborate *system* of motifs, . . . Puccini's elements of musical identification are much more elaborate utterances, and do not lend themselves to the normal Wagnerian methods of transformation such as change of mode, decomposition, juxtaposition, or contrapuntal combination with other motifs."[13]

This essay, in taking up some observations already set forth elsewhere,[14] offers for discussion some new thoughts with respect to the function—apparently contradictory from the merely narrative point of view, but powerfully coherent for dramatic ends—that Puccini gives to thematic returns from one occasion to the next. We are dealing with a compositional strategy whose value is distinct from a realistic performance of the drama; on the contrary, it presupposes a new evaluation of the consistency of chronological time in the genesis and development of dramatic situations. When such an evaluation is perceived, involving the preponderant role of spontaneous or involuntary memory (or submerged auditory memory), it is based on the feeling of psychological length, in the sense of image memory of what has been experienced, in which reminiscences and expectations permeate each other through a network of retrospective and prospective references awakened at the unconscious level by music's power to imprint itself.

As an appendix to her valuable analysis of *Tosca*, Deborah Burton has listed twenty-six guide themes, in addition to five

semimotives, with great precision.[15] Some of these carry out a highly evident task as a system of signifiers: Scarpia's theme, characterized by a tritone, (see Example 10.2), Angelotti's theme (Example 10.3), the sacristan's theme (Example 10.4), and Cavaradossi's theme (Example 10.5). In other cases, this function is latent at first and reveals its true meaning only as the drama develops. This is what occurs with the motive that Puccini called the "love motive" (Example 10.6), which is a truly fundamental theme, and which is presented throughout the course of the opera. It even lends itself to instrumental development, as in the orchestral solo preceding the Te Deum (Example 10.7) and the segment for four cellos that precedes "E lucevan le stelle" (Example 10.8). Some have a very limited function, as, for instance, what Carner defines as the friendship theme: "Voi, Cavaradossi!" (Example 10.9) and the opening theme in the second act (Example 10.10). As to the "villa" motive (Example 10.11), it actually seems to be a simple classical cadence, but its thematic function seems clear at the moment in which Cavaradossi puts the key to the villa in Angelotti's hands; in the second act, when Spoletta tells of having rushed into the painter's home; and finally, in the third act, when Cavaradossi asks the jailer to deliver a message of his to a "persona cara" [dear person]. This is an indirect allusion to Tosca, who, he thinks, may have taken refuge in the villa.[16]

But the reminiscences do not always demonstrate apparently coherent usage: they sometimes sound, to use Parker's words, "tangential to the essential musical and dramatic continuity."[17] This is the case, for example, with what happens in the first bars of the second act, which Parker throws into high relief by commenting that "on occasions Puccini seems to . . . employ themes as part of a purely musical structure. The results can be confusing, the interpretations difficult and not always to Puccini's credit."[18] Let us look at these bars (see

Example 10.2. Scarpia's theme. Adapted from Giacomo Puccini, Tosca, piano-vocal score (Milan: Ricordi, 1956).

Example 10.3. Angelotti's theme. Adapted from Giacomo Puccini, Tosca, piano-vocal score (Milan: Ricordi, 1956).

Example 10.4. The sacristan's theme. Adapted from Giacomo Puccini, Tosca, piano-vocal score (Milan: Ricordi, 1956).

Example 10.5. Cavaradossi's theme. Adapted from Giacomo Puccini,
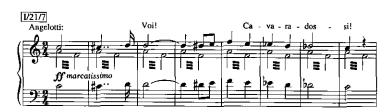*Tosca, piano-vocal score (Milan: Ricordi, 1956).*

Example 10.6. Puccini's "Love motive." Adapted from Giacomo Puccini,
Tosca, piano-vocal score (Milan: Ricordi, 1956).

Example 10.7. Orchestral solo before the Act I Te Deum. Adapted from
Giacomo Puccini, Tosca, piano-vocal score (Milan: Ricordi, 1956).

Example 10.8. Passage for four cellos in Act III. Adapted from Giacomo
Puccini, Tosca, piano-vocal score (Milan: Ricordi, 1956).

Example 10.9. Carner's "Friendship theme." Adapted from Giacomo Puccini,
Tosca, piano-vocal score (Milan: Ricordi, 1956).

Example 10.10. Opening theme, Act II. Adapted from Giacomo Puccini,
Tosca, piano-vocal score (Milan: Ricordi, 1956).

*Example 10.11. Villa motive. Adapted from Giacomo Puccini, Tosca,
piano-vocal score (Milan: Ricordi, 1956).*

Example 10.12). The act begins with a descending theme in
the woodwinds, horns and strings in unison, which stops on a
suspended cadence that contrasts the D in the soprano with
the first G♯ of the bass line: a tritone relationship indirectly re-
ferring to the Scarpia motive. . . . The curtain goes up: Scarpia
is alone onstage, meditating, or rather waiting. The suspended
cadence resolves into a reminiscence (played by the first horn
and second violins) of Angelotti's escape, that is, the "march
motive," as Puccini defined it (see Example 10.13),[19] onto
which the love motive (quickly touched upon by the first vio-
lins) is superimposed. At this point, the truncated theme of
Tosca's eyes, "Qual occhio al mondo può star di paro" [What
eyes in the world could be compared to yours], suddenly re-
appears. Now, no complaints about the reappearance of
Angelotti's escape theme: Scarpia is definitely thinking about
him. But not only about him: his desire is aiming *a doppia
mira* (at a double goal), and Tosca is "the more precious" one.
In this sense, the association of the previous theme with that
of Tosca—a theme that moreover was already heard in the
first act, just as Scarpia notices Tosca's sudden entrance—is
justified. Above all, Tosca's love for Cavaradossi, which this ba-
sic theme expresses, is a secret from no one and certainly not
from the police chief, who is very suspicious of the painter's
Voltairean ideas.

But Scarpia could not have heard the theme of Tosca's eyes,

*Example 10.12. Opening of Act II. Adapted from Giacomo Puccini,
Tosca, piano-vocal score (Milan: Ricordi, 1956).*

*Example 10.13. Puccini's "March motive." Adapted from Giacomo Puccini,
Tosca, piano-vocal score (Milan: Ricordi, 1956).*

and yet it comes back in a scene that is dominated by his pres-
ence alone. From this point, it is but a short step to observing
that Puccini's treatment of guide themes seems decidedly dis-
sociated, or rather schizophrenic. Yet, as Polonius might have
said, there is method in this schizophrenia.[20] In fact, the value
of a reminiscence does not lie only in a motive itself, but also
in its orchestral coloring. The theme of Tosca's eyes surfaces,
as if suspended in time, through the sound of a clarinet—pre-
cisely the instrument with which Cavaradossi's voice will be

associated in his farewell to life. Nor is it by chance that the same theme comes up at the end of the act, before the funereal ritual in which Tosca prepares to place the candelabras next to Scarpia's body; again, it is played by the clarinet (see Example 10.14). Although the theme may seem out of place to a musicologist, to a member of the audience it expresses the voice of Cavaradossi, the predestined victim.

In Puccini's musical language—substantially based on the relationship between voice and orchestra in the syntactic process of conversation music, which allows for the combining of various expressive styles—the use of short melodic cells reveals (under attentive analysis) a procedure that is always well thought out, never random, and principally but not exclusively based on the use of recurring themes. In Puccini, the guide themes very often function as latent elements to which one pays little attention when they first occur, inasmuch as they do not seem to reveal an objectively definable function. They deposit themselves in the listener's involuntary memory, like a sort of sound aura, while acting at the same time as a continuum intended to keep open the structure of the musical discourse.

Thus, it is futile to attempt to find out to what extent Puccini lives up to the lesson of Wagner's model, insofar as reminiscences are concerned. On the contrary, the special quality of Puccini, the theater musician, lies not so much in his use of guide themes as signifiers—which is often even banal—but rather in the combining (or better, the flowing together) of reminiscences that are apparently unrelated to each other. In and of itself, musical analysis may never find any rational explanation and may not be capable of reaching any coherent result. But it is destined to fail in its goal if it does not take into account a factor that is absolutely decisive in Puccini, a composer who never loses sight of the spectator, not even for an instant: the theatrical dimension of the theater; that is, the

Example 10.14. Theme of Tosca's eyes. Adapted from Giacomo Puccini, Tosca, *piano-vocal score (Milan: Ricordi, 1956).*

theatrical, not the dramatic. And it is through this striking dimension that Puccini endows music's power to imprint itself with the faculty of producing emotion. As Verdi said, "Opera is opera," and "Symphony is symphony."[21]

One final consideration: regarding the opera's finale, Tosca's suicide is accompanied in the orchestra by a theme that is not directly associated with her, much less with Scarpia, but rather with Cavaradossi (see Example 10.15). The devastating opinion that Joseph Kerman expressed about this—"the orchestra screams the first thing that comes into its head"[22]—is well known. Nevertheless, the fact that the spectator is inevitably gripped by the emotion that this final peroration unleashes demonstrates how feeling, even in the musical theater, responds to an internal urgency that has nothing to do with rational logic or mathematical calculations, much less with musical analysis in the strict sense. Furthermore, when looked at (or rather listened to) closely, the reminiscence—only two bars in *andante mosso* tempo, to be played "full force with great energy" (therefore, no longer with "charming rubato")—is in fact translated into a broad dominant-tonic cadence; this leads in turn to the series of plagal cadences that end the drama, overlaid in the end with a high B♭—the same note on which, as if suspended in time, Tosca's last cry ("O Scarpia, davanti a Dio!" [O Scarpia, before God!]) has just resounded. One

Example 10.15. The opera's finale. Adapted from Giacomo Puccini, Tosca, *piano-vocal score (Milan: Ricordi, 1956).*

could even assert that the two lovers' souls join together on that note (which is certainly not a leitmotiv). It is a cadence, then, much more than a reminiscence. And if this cadence evokes Cavaradossi's final appeal ("Ah, non ho amato mai tanto la vita" [Ah, I never loved life so much]) in some spectators' unconscious minds, it would be even *less* out of place—if not illegitimate—to hold that this evocation encompasses, after all, the moral of the story, or rather, of the tragedy.

NOTES

1. Precise times are Act I, 44 minutes; Act II, 40 minutes; and Act III, 28 minutes—see Luigi Ricci, *Puccini interprete di se stesso* (Milan: Ricordi, 1954), 91, 101, 110.
2. *Editors' note:* See the appendix to this volume for a comparative overview of the structures of the play and the opera.
3. St. Augustine, *De Sermone Domini in monte*, 1.16.50. Quoted in Costantino Nigra, *Canti popolari del Piemonte*, vol. 2 (Turin: Einaudi, 1957), 56.

4. A passage from this is quoted in Giovanni B. Bronzini, *La canzone epico-lirica nell'Italia centro-meridionale*, vol. 1 (Rome: Angelo Signorelli, 1956), 457.
5. Nigra, *Canti popolari*, 48–56.
6. One version can be found in Bronzini, *La canzone epico-lirica* (Roma : A. Signorelli, 1956–[1961]), 468–469.
7. Giuseppe Pintorno, *Puccini: 276 lettere inedite* (Milan: Nuove Edizioni, 1974), 70, letter no. 35. *Editors' note:* Puccini might also be making a pun here on the word *trombata*, which could mean both "disaster" and "trumpet piece."
8. The first use of the term *leitmotiv* goes back to F. W. Jähns, who used it for the thematic catalog of Weber's works (Berlin, 1871). The first to introduce the term into Wagnerian literature was Hans von Wolzogen (see the following collection of his writings: *Wagneriana: Gesammelte Aufsätze über R. Wagner's Werke, vom Ring bis zum Gral: Eine Gedenkgabe für alte und neue Festspielgäste zum Jahre 1888* (Leipzig: F. Freund, 1888).
9. Carl Dahlhaus, *Wagners Konzeption des musikalischen Dramas* (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1971).
10. Luigi Torchi, "Tosca," *Rivista Musicale Italiana* 7 (1900): 79; reprinted in Claudio Sartori, ed., *Giacomo Puccini Symposium* (Milan: Ricordi, 1959), 76.
11. Roger Parker, "Analysis: Act I in Perspective," in *Giacomo Puccini: Tosca*, ed. Mosco Carner (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 142.
12. William Drabkin, "The Musical Language of *La Bohème*," in *Giacomo Puccini: La Bohème*, ed. Arthur Groos and Roger Parker (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 83.
13. Ibid., 93–94.
14. Marcello Conati, "Puccini drammaturgo: strategie dell'emozione," in *Giacomo Puccini. L'uomo, il musicista, il panorama europeo*, ed. Gabriella Biagi Ravenni and Carolyn Gianturco (Lucca: LIM, 1998), 399–424.
15. Deborah Burton, "An Analysis of Puccini's *Tosca*: A Heuristic

Approach to the Unifying Elements of the Opera" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1995), 103–135, 158–176.

16. *Editors' note:* Puccini actually wrote the word *villa* on his libretto at this point, indicating that he planned to use the villa motive at that spot. He may have thought Mario would be remembering, at this moment, their happy times there.

17. Parker, "Analysis: Act I," 142.

18. Ibid., 138.

19. Burton, "An Analysis of Puccini's *Tosca*," 123.

20. "Though this be madness, yet there is method in't" (Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act II, Scene ii).

21. Thus, Verdi expressed his opinion of the young Puccini in a letter of 10 June 1884 to his friend Arrivabene; see Annibale Alberti, *Verdi intimo: Carteggio di Giuseppe Verdi con il conte Opprandino Arrivabene* (Milan: Mondadori, 1931), 313.

22. Joseph Kerman, *Opera as Drama*, rev. ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 15.

11. "Ci sarà talamo guizzante gondola"

New Sources for the History of the Tosca *Libretto*[1]

Pier Giuseppe Gillio

It has been long known that there is a noteworthy quantity of material related to *La bohème* and *Madama Butterfly* in the archives of Casa Giacosa in Colleretto, near Turin; to a great extent, it consists of autographs by the famous dramatist Giuseppe Giacosa. However, the known documentation about *Tosca* was very sparse: some thirty pages in all, brought to the attention of Puccini scholars thanks mainly to the descriptions and transcriptions carried out by Bice Serafini, Deborah Burton, and Matteo Sansone.[2] A dozen of these papers refer to the third act of *Tosca*, but they were written when work on the revision was well advanced, and they reveal nothing concerning the deleted pages that are frequently mentioned in Puccini's correspondence: Mario's letter, the Latin hymn, and the original finale, with Tosca's mad scene.[3] The archive, however, which has heretofore been examined and cataloged in only a general way, continues to provide surprises for scholars. And, just as the *Tosca* centenary was approaching, in January 2000, five important manuscripts came to light, almost by chance.[4]

The most significant parts of these five were transcribed by me and appeared in publications of Rome's Teatro dell'Opera and Milan's Teatro alla Scala.[5] In the following pages, I present a more detailed description of the material, with emphasis on that which throws new light on the libretto's gestation and on the separate roles played in that gestation by librettists, com-