

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.

II. "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-

poser, and publisher. Finally, in the list presented in the "Summary of Preparatory Material for the *Tosca* Libretto" that appears at the end of this chapter, I hypothesize a chronological order for the manuscripts in Casa Giacosa and the various others—often complementary to those at the Casa Giacosa—preserved in the Archivio Storico di Casa Ricordi in Milan.⁶

Besides being the longest, the first of the five documents at Colleretto is certainly the most interesting. It is a notebook bound in heavy paper, with fifty-six foolscap-size lined sheets, bearing the whole draft of the first libretto on the recto pages and, on the verso, numerous marginal corrections and annotations by Giacosa, Illica, Ricordi, and Puccini, who evidently all passed the manuscript around repeatedly. The text is certainly the one completed by Giacosa early in December 1896.⁷ The transcription was done by two copyists, the first of whom wrote out the verse text and the second the stage directions. The handwriting of the first copyist (Copyist A) looks very similar to that of Giulio Ricordi, but a comparison with copies of correspondence in the Archivio Storico di Casa Ricordi suggests that it could be attributed to a house copyist. The writing for the stage directions belongs instead to a second copyist (Copyist B) and is characterized by the absence of a slant, a rounded look, and the unconventional style of some marks.⁸ Other brief directions, written in ink by Illica (especially in the second act) or in pencil by Ricordi (in the third), are additions or corrections to the previous text.

Another significant peculiarity of the manuscript consists in the large number of printed directions: thirty-four clippings from a previous edition of what may have been Illica's initial sketch (or a text very similar to it) were glued into the notebook to avoid recopying; some of these clippings also contain lines of verse. To my knowledge, nothing was known of this edition until now, with the exception of a fragment of

the second act that was reproduced in Richard Specht's book.⁹ Specht did not indicate the fragment's location, but the possibility that a copy of that printing, which may go back to the period of Illica's collaboration with Franchetti, could still be preserved in the Archivio Storico di Casa Ricordi must not be excluded. It is also possible that all of the galleys are still to be found in the private archive of the Franchetti family in Venice.

The notebook reveals that the first act was the one subjected to the mildest changes. Nevertheless, some clear divergences from the first libretto, owing to the revision requested by Sardou in the spring of 1897, are present.¹⁰ In fact, the Cavaradossi-Angelotti dialogue took place in a single scene that was not interrupted by Tosca's arrival. The first and last lines of Tosca's solo "Non la sospiri la nostra casetta" are different. Mario's solo "Qual occhio al mondo" is not there,¹¹ nor are lines from the following duet or the sacristan's "È veridica parola." The distribution of the lines in the Tosca-Scarpia dialogue is also different.¹² The baron's monologue, which concludes the act, is different from the one in the libretto, and because it is on a clipping from the printed text, it was certainly versified by Illica, who explains (in a footnote to the text) that the numerous ellipses "temporarily" placed between the lines stand for prayers that Scarpia recites together with the crowd of the faithful "out of habitual bigotry"; thus, this anticipates Puccini's decision to interlace Scarpia's lines with liturgical chant.¹³ Finally, the comparison of other places in the first act with the printed libretto demonstrates a noteworthy reduction in the stage directions, as well as the rewriting of many lines in order to achieve greater dramatic efficacy and more refined elocution.

In the second act, too, there were many changes. Unlike the first, there are few printed clippings here (seven, in all), but on

the other hand there are very many directions (about thirty) added in Illica's hand. The act began with the same lines that would appear in the printed libretto; nevertheless, Illica later inserted (to no effect) a little handwritten sheet of paper containing a long, detailed description of Scarpiá's room in the Farnese Palace.¹⁴ Then there is Scarpiá's "Credo," which is different: twenty-seven hendecasyllables of modest dramatic and formal value. The new, final version of this solo—which, in the notebook, is scratched out with slanted strokes—appears on a loose sheet written by Giacosa and inserted on the corresponding page.¹⁵ The brief final part of the third scene is also different. Originally, it was made up of very clumsy lines of dubious efficacy:

SCARPIA (*a Sciarrone*): A me Roberti e il Giudice del fisco.

(*Sciarrone esce*)

SPOLETTA: Tortura?

SCARPIA: Oh novellino!

SPOLETTA: Il Giacobino

Non dirà verbo.

SCARPIA: Ma avrà i polsi rossi

Il cavalier Mario Cavaradossi.

Non deve che soffrire . . .

Altri il secreto suo mi saprà dire.¹⁶

[SCARPIA (*to Sciarrone*): Bring me Roberti and the public prosecutor.

(*Sciarrone exits*)

SPOLETTA: Torture?

SCARPIA: You novice!

SPOLETTA: The Jacobin / Won't say a word.

SCARPIA: But the Cavalier Mario Cavaradossi / Will have red wrists. / He need only suffer. / Others will be able to tell me his secret.]

At the beginning of the following scene, these well-known lines have been first written, then canceled:

CAVARADOSI: Tal violenza . . .

SCARPIA: È noto che un prigionero

Oggi è fuggito da Castel Sant'Angelo.¹⁷

[CAVARADOSI: Such violence . . .

SCARPIA: We know that a prisoner has fled today from Castel Sant'Angelo.]

The deletion irritated Giacosa, who rewrote the erased lines on a loose piece of paper and added new ones—the same ones that we read in the libretto today. He explained, "Insisto perché sia mantenuta la scena nella sua integrità. Non vedo ragione di tagliare due versi, i quali rendono più verosimile l'azione, ed il personaggio di Scarpiá."¹⁸ [I insist that the scene be kept in its entirety. I don't see the reason to cut two lines that make the action and Scarpiá's character more true to life.] A little further on, after Scarpiá's line "Qual testimonio, il Giudice vi aspetta" [The judge awaits you as a witness], Illica added the following text in the notebook:

TOSCA (*sorpresa*): Il Giudice? . . . Lui? . . . (*accenna a Mario*)

SCARPIA (*con studiata cortesia*): La Giustizia indaga

segue le tracce e l'Angelotti ancora

rivuole. Il Cavaliere alla Giustizia

il vero deve. È un interrogatorio.

(*al Giudice, a Roberti, a Spoletta facendo segno di condurre via Cavaradossi*)

Signori, al vostro ufficio. Dio v'ajuti!¹⁹

[TOSCA (*surprised*): The judge? He? (*nods toward Mario*)

SCARPIA (*with studied politeness*): Justice investigates, follows the tracks, and wants Angelotti again. The Cavalier owes justice the truth. It is an interrogation.

(*to the judge, to Roberti, to Spoletta, signaling to take Cavaradossi away*)

Gentlemen, to your duty. May God help you!]

But Giacosa did not like this intervention either; in turn, he noted on a loose piece of paper:

Non vedo la ragione di questa aggiunta. Scarpia ha detto: qual testimone appunto per non destare ancora i sospetti di Tosca, e questa non può sgomentarsi né avere inquietudine a sentire che Mario sarà interrogato qual testimone. S'aggiunga poi che questa inquietudine ora, toglie efficacia al terrore che proverà Tosca più tardi alle parole: un'ora assai penosa! a cui essa che non ha nessunissimo sospetto risponde: Un'ora penosa? Che vuol dir? Io comincerei dunque la scena come prima: Ed or Tosca ecc. ecc.²⁰ [I don't see the reason for this addition. Scarpia has said: "as a witness," precisely so as not to arouse Tosca's suspicions yet, and she must not be frightened or disquieted by hearing that Mario will be interrogated as a witness. In addition, this disquiet, now, takes away the efficacy of the terror that Tosca will feel later on at the words: a very painful hour! To which she, who suspects nothing at all, replies: "A painful hour? What does that mean?" So I would begin the scene as before: "And now Tosca" etc. etc.]

The reasons given were evidently convincing, because Illica's proposal was not accepted. On the same page, there is a note in Giulio Ricordi's hand: "Perché Sciarrone? mi pare inutile adoperare un personaggio di più mentre può dire tutto questo Spoletta??" [Why Sciarrone? It seems to me useless to have another character when this Spoletta can say everything?]? Giacosa was ready with a reply: "Pardon ma Sciarrone ed è naturale che sia lui. Se nò Tosca non si fiderebbe di Spoletta in fine d'atto." [Excuse me but it is natural that Sciarrone be there. Otherwise Tosca would not trust Spoletta at the end of the act.] A little further on, Mario's line "No—coraggio. Taci. Sprezzo il dolor" [No—take heart. Be quiet. I scorn pain] was erased from the notebook. And Giacosa insisted, vehemently:

È assolutamente impossibile sopprimere qui le parole di Mario. Sardou lo fa parlare durante la tortura e senza le sue parole non si spiegherebbero le eccitazioni di Tosca e meno ancora quel suo

ritorno alla negazione: Non so nulla—dopo che ha quasi promesso di rivelare. Se la proposizione di Mario non è musicabile, se musicalmente parlando, Mario in questa scena non deve intervenire, si virgolino nel libretto le sue parole e si omettano, ma io non posso in nessun modo consentire ad una mutilazione che toglie ogni senso comune alla scena, né più sotto ad un'altra mutilazione che rompe i ritmi poetici.²¹ [It is absolutely impossible to remove Mario's words here. Sardou has him talk while he is being tortured, and without his words Tosca's excitement cannot be explained, much less her going back to denying: "I know nothing"—after she has almost promised to make a revelation. If Mario's proposition cannot be set to music, if, musically speaking, Mario must not be present in this scene, then his words should be put in quotation marks in the libretto and omitted, but I can by no means agree to a mutilation that takes away all common sense from the scene, nor to another mutilation, further on, that breaks the poetic rhythms.]

Judging by this comment's official and stark tone, I have no doubt that the protest was directed toward Ricordi, who was evidently the author of the cuts.

An additional later annotation by Giacosa is similar in tenor; it refers to the cutting of the lines "Aprite le porte! / Che n'oda i lamenti" [Open the doors! / So that she can hear the laments] and those following, which he rewrote with a few changes, in a version that by this time was identical to the final one.²² On the other hand, there had been no objection to Tosca's impassioned, sorrowful invocation, "Ah che v'ho fatto in vita mia? . . . Sì, mi torturate l'anima" [Ah, what have I ever done to you in my life? . . . Yes, you torture my soul], written in by Illica.²³

A direct intervention by Puccini can be found during the scene in which Mario exults over the news of the victory at Marengo. The invective that Giacosa had set to verse—and

which constituted part of a trio—evidently did not correspond to the composer's musical plan; he wrote, on a side page, some lines with a very special rhyme scheme: anapestic seven-syllable lines—apocopated and paroxytone—and proparoxytone three-syllable lines:²⁴

Vittoria!
 Giunge l'ora fatal
 che tremare ti fa
 Son mio vanto e mia gloria
 Le stimate
 Tu vigliacco oppressor
 Torturasti il suo cuor
 Assai pianser i giusti
 carnefice²⁵
 [Victory!
 The fatal hour comes
 that makes you tremble.
 My pride and my glory are
 The stigmata.
 You, cowardly oppressor,
 Tortured her heart.
 The just have wept greatly,
 butcher.]

The metrical plan of these two verses is the one that, in Giacosa's revision, still applies to the corresponding lines in the first printed libretto. It is a version, however, that was pruned of Tosca's and Scarpia's substantial passages, which laid the groundwork for the trio. There are few other divergences in the remainder of the act. It is interesting, however, to observe that a few initial lines in the Tosca-Scarpia scene appear in a clipping of the printed text: some lines by Illica, then, escaped Giacosa's usual revisions.

The transformations that the third act underwent are much more significant. Suffice it to add that only about seventy of the original draft's 206 lines were preserved in their entirety in the first printed libretto. Unlike the previous act, in this one, interventions by Illica cannot be detected. Additionally, the stage directions in Copyist B's hand are not many; on the other hand, numerous insertions and changes in the directions were made in pencil by Giulio Ricordi.

The act begins with Illica's substantial introductory stage directions, the cutting of which was the cause of a complaint from the librettist in the well-known letter addressed to Ricordi the day after the opera's premiere.²⁶ The text, on two printed pieces of paper, is subdivided into three parts: "La piattaforma di Castel Sant'Angelo" [The platform of Castel Sant'Angelo]; a "Preatto per la musica" [Pre-act for the music], which suggests a prelude in two parts (one "riassuntiva delle impressioni del drama" [summarizing the drama's impressions], the other describing the Roman dawn); and a description of the first scene, with overabundant landscape detail. In the margin is Ricordi's concise note: "NB: questa descrizione bellissima è ottima pel compositore: ma per il pubblico bisogna condensarla in 10 o 15 righe."²⁷ [NB: This beautiful description is excellent for the composer, but for the audience it must be condensed into ten or fifteen lines.]

After the first eleven text lines—the same as those in the present version—Mario writes Tosca a letter whose text is versified in two "tetrastici di senari doppi" [double-senarius tetrastiches]. Puccini's marginal note is very interesting: "lettera scritta non cantata, con interruzione di qualche parola o frase" [letter written, not sung, with the interruption of a few words or sentences].²⁸ Mario's unease is then translated into a twenty-one-line solo recitative, a foreshadowing of what will later become the tenor's second romanza, with which, moreover, it shares the final couplet, "Io muoio disperato / E

non ho amato—mai tanto la vita." [I die in despair / And never have I loved life so much.]

Quite different is the first recitative of the second scene, in which Mario, suspecting that Tosca has given herself to Scarpia, gives vent to an ungenerous outburst of jealousy that is very reminiscent of Manrico's in the last scene of *Il trovatore*. But the lines of Tosca's story and of Mario's lyrical abandon ("O dolci mani mansuete e pure" [O sweet, gentle, pure hands]) are the same.

The lovers' duet follows. An abyss with respect to both style and inspiration separates this passage from the sonnet "Amaro sol per te m'era il morire" [Only because of you would death have been bitter for me] that later replaced it. In some forty lines of no lyric inspiration whatsoever, the stalest referents, pitilessly cobbled together, appear: the "serto di fior" [crown of flowers], "arpa eolia al vento" [Aeolian harp in the wind], "latin sangue gentile" [gentle Latin blood], the "novo aprile" [new April], the "plaghe fiorite" [flowering expanses], and even a "guizzante gondola" [darting gondola] that becomes the bride and groom's coveted "talamo" [nuptial bed] on the waves of the "tremuli canali" [tremulous canals]. It is hard to believe that these lines are by Giacosa; if so, one may assume that the dramatist was strongly influenced by a bombastic, turgid sketch by Illica; for that matter, as their correspondence seems to confirm, the intention of celebrating Latinity originated with Illica.²⁹ It is Puccini, in any case, who deserves full credit for having firmly opposed this piece.

The final scene is certainly the most interesting one. It is well known that until January 1899 the librettists—especially Illica—championed a different ending, with Tosca going mad rather than committing suicide. In fact, the opera was to have concluded with a soprano solo: twenty-six lines that brought back—in a symbolic, decadent form—the *topos* of the mad

scene, which had already been used frequently in Romantic melodrama. The stamp of this text leads one to believe that the sole author was Illica. With the exception of a tetrastich of pentasyllables, the character of the lines is mainly proselike, and the images evoked are macabre and incongruous: women's ghosts dragging their children's, husbands', and lovers' corpses "in spalla a mo' di croce" [on their backs, like crosses], and grasping at the nuptial gondola (the "talamo agognato" [longed-for nuptial bed] mentioned in the second, or previous, scene), to tear Mario away from Tosca. But Mario is not dead, Tosca says to the gondolier, who, brandishing an oar, has saved the boat from the macabre assault; he is asleep, and his rest must not be disturbed: "Non cantar gondoliero . . . piano, piano . . . / Voglio un grande silenzio a noi d'intorno . . . / Silenzio eterno con eterno amore."³⁰ [Don't sing, gondolier. Softly, softly. / I want a great silence around us. / Eternal silence with eternal love.]

The second document, only a little later than the first, is headed "copia Giacosa" [Giacosa's copy] and is made up of seven foolscap sheets. It was taken out of the previous one and contains a transcript of the third act only. Here, Copyist A faithfully transcribed the line-by-line text, and Copyist B transcribed the stage directions, with the emendations and additions that Ricordi had written into the notebook. Puccini's interventions are the most significant aspect of these papers: on several pages, he crossed out pieces of text that he considered superfluous or to be rewritten. Next to Mario's letter, he wrote:

mentre scrive orchestra sottile sola
poi smettendo di scrivere e riandando
col pensiero a Tosca, alla sua Tosca
ne rivede le forme, ne risente
la voce etc. et. [*sic*]

<i>Metro</i>	
conservare	<i>Ma venia ver me segnando l'erba</i>
il pensiero	con passo calmo
	con viso triste e l'occhio innamorati
	venia ver me porgendomi le braccia
	la bocca fresca . . .
conservare	<i>ah Muojo disperato</i>
parte verso	e non ho amato mai tanto la vita!

	due versi di gran dolore
	e disperazione e basta (piange) ³¹

[While he writes, only light orchestration then leaving off writing and going back in his thoughts to Tosca, to his Tosca he remembers her figure and her voice etc. etc.]

<i>Meter</i>	
keep	<i>But she came toward me treading on the</i>
	<i>grass</i>
the thought	at a calm pace
	with sad face and eyes full of love
	she came toward me with outstretched
	arms
	her mouth cool . . .
keep	<i>ah, I die in despair</i>
part on back	and never have I loved life so much!

	two lines of great sorrow
	and despair and that's all (weeps)]

On the following page, next to the canceled segment, Giacosa wrote out the text of the romanza "E lucevan le stelle," now in its final form.

Similar interventions by the composer concern the sections of the duet that come before and after "O dolci mani man-

suete e pure." With respect to the last part of the duet, the "Latin hymn," the composer noted in the margin: "Via ma trovare caldezza lirica più acuta" [Out, but find sharper lyrical warmth]; elsewhere, he urged the librettists to "serrare" [tighten up]. Giacosa carried out the orders, and on two lateral pages of the notebook he set down the new version of the dialogue, with the famous sonnet.³²

The third and fourth documents, dating from later than January 1899 (the date of Sardou's final refusal of the mad scene),³³ contain the new version of the last scene. One of them is a handwritten manuscript by Illica and consists of five loose sheets; the other, on four foolscap sheets, sets out the same text in the handwriting of Copyists A and B. In comparison with the printed libretto, this scene is four lines longer, and its stage directions are wordier.

The fifth and final document (seven foolscap sheets written by Copyist B) contains a draft of the third act, at this point nearly identical to that of the printed libretto. In addition to some minor corrections and additions written in by Giacosa and Illica, a highly significant proposal appears, although it was destined to fail. It is well known that Illica fought to the end to keep the Latin hymn and that Puccini, on the contrary, considered his first version a "trionfalata" [piece of boastfulness]. The composer had repeatedly insisted on reworkings of the piece, but while awaiting a final solution, the copyists left a half page empty at the end of the penultimate scene. In the margin, Puccini noted: "inno latino—con amore—" [Latin hymn—with love—]. In the very space that awaited Giacosa's revised text, Ricordi wrote the following text, in pencil:

(Tosca con entusiasmo)
 Vien con me!
 Portami in braccio—sempre ridente,

coll'occhio ardente—fino sul mar!
 Portami in braccio—sempre con te!
 Portami là sul mar!

Portami in braccio—fin che ce n'è
 e dopo andremo—sul canapé! (*)

(*) da potersi ripetere (ah! sul canapé—ah! sul canapé)

Vien con me!
 Andremo uniti—coi nostri amori
 e coi colori—e col cantar.
 L'orme latine—noi troverem.
 Ovunque insiem andrem!³⁴

[(*Tosca*, with enthusiasm)

Come with me!
 Carry me in your arms—always smiling,
 with burning eyes—all the way to the sea!
 Carry me in your arms—always with you!
 Carry me there, to the sea!

Carry me in your arms—as long as it's there
 and then we shall go—onto the canapé! (*)

(*) can be repeated (ah! onto the canapé—ah! onto the
 canapé)

Come with me!
 We shall go together—with our loves
 and with the colors—and with the singing.
 We shall find—the Latin traces.
 We shall go everywhere together!]

Thus, it was a case of one of the preparatory metrical designs (i.e., dummy verses) that Puccini habitually enjoined when he already had a precise musical motive in mind.³⁵ And from this outline Illica developed a new text, which he wrote on a left-hand page of the manuscript. The intentionally temporary character of the proposal is demonstrated by the preservation of the grotesque hemistich, "Ah, sul canapé":

T: presso a me
 l'antico Lazio gli antichi canti
 d'antichi amanti susurrerà,
 l'antica Gloria risplenderà
 dall'appennino al mar
 sui nuovi amanti, sui nuovi dì!
 Mario e la Floria vivran così:
 Gloria presso a te! (ah, sul canapé . . .)
 Mario presso a me! (.)

C: presso a te
 vita di Gloria, vita d'incanti,
 vita di canti Mario vivrà,
 sua gloria Floria, sua vita amor . . .
 così. . . . Mario vivrà (amerà)³⁶

[T: Near me
 ancient Latium will whisper
 the ancient chants of ancient lovers,
 the ancient glory will shine
 from the Apennines to the sea
 on the new lovers, on the new days!
 This is how Mario and Floria will live:
 Glory near you! (Ah, on the canapé.)
 Mario near me! (.)

C: Near you
 Mario will live a life of glory,
 a life of enchantments, a life of songs,
 his glory will be Floria, his life will be love.
 This is how Mario will live (will love).]

Perhaps Giacosa had just completed the final version of the Latin hymn when Puccini decided to eliminate it. To compensate for the cut there was the insertion, a few lines prior, of the duet, "Trionfal di nuova speme," which, surprisingly, preserves the metrical characteristics of the two previous sketches of the Latin hymn—a fact that leads one to believe that the page that

was eliminated and the one added in made use of the same musical material.³⁷

This last creative vicissitude, too, is amply documented by the recently rediscovered archival materials. As generous as they were unexpected, they bear witness to the troubled and exhausting gestation of a masterpiece.

SUMMARY OF PREPARATORY MATERIALS FOR THE TOSCA LIBRETTO

The following is a summary of all of the preparatory materials for the *Tosca* libretto preserved in the Archives of the Casa Giacosa and Archivio Storico di Casa Ricordi, in their most likely chronological order:

LEGEND

Colleretto-ACG/1 through Colleretto-ACG/5: Colleretto Giacosa, Archivio di Casa Giacosa, recently rediscovered material, numbered chronologically.

Colleretto-ACG/Miscellanea(1) through Colleretto-ACG/Miscellanea(3): Colleretto Giacosa, Archivio di Casa Giacosa, collection of loose papers already known.

Milano-ASR/1 through Milano-ASR/11: Milan, Archivio Storico di Casa Ricordi, envelope labeled "Minute Tosca"

DOCUMENTS

Complete Libretto

Items designated *Colleretto-ACG/1*, notebook bound in heavy paper, fifty-six lined sheets, foolscap size. Written in a fine hand on the recto by two copyists (hereafter referred to as Copyists A and B) of Casa Ricordi. On the verso, numerous corrections and marginal notes by Giacosa, Illica, Ricordi, and Puccini. Numerous stage directions appear in clippings of printed text, glued onto the notebook sheets. Copy probably commissioned by Ricordi in December 1896.

Act I

Colleretto-ACG/Miscellanea(1): Eleven loose, numbered sheets handwritten by Giacosa and others later than *Colleretto-ACG-1*, with revision of Scene iii through the last scene (*terminus post quem* of the draft: 14 May 1897).

Milano-ASR/4: Twenty-one pages (loose foolscap sheets cut in half for a total of forty-two pages), written by Copyist A. Many printed clippings with stage directions—more than in *ACG/1*. Other stage directions added, with numerical references to the text, on eighteen loose, small-format pages, written by Illica and inserted among the sheets of text. Changes contained in *Colleretto-ACG Miscellanea(1)* added in. Begins with Scene i and ends with Tosca's line: "D'amore a lui veniva tutta giuliva!"

Milano-ASR/7: Continuation of *Milano-ASR/4*, numbered from sheet 20 to 22. Contains again the original finale with Scarpia's solo in a printed clipping.

Milano-ASR/5: Five loose sheets by Giacosa with revision of the *Milano-ASR/7* text.

Milano-ASR/2: Sixty-page bundle (last seven pages blank) written by Copyist A. Contains the whole first act. The stage directions are entirely handwritten. The substantial changes contained in *Colleretto-ACG Miscellanea(1)* are transcribed on eight left-hand pages. In addition, there are annotations by Giacosa for further changes.

Milano-ASR/6: Single sheet containing part of Scene vi.

Milano-ASR/8: Sixteen sheets varying in format, written by Copyist B; final text of the first five scenes.

Milano-ASR/9: Three foolscap sheets (corresponding to twelve pages), numbered in blue from 17 to 22 and originally from 1 to 11. Scene vi to the last scene in the final draft; the handwriting seems to be that of Giulio Ricordi.

Act II

Milano-ASR/10: Foolscap sheets folded in half and cut into twenty-six pages (fifteen of them with writing) altogether. Final version

of the first three scenes of the second act, in Copyist B's handwriting. (The text ends with Sciarrone's line, "No. Mélas è in fuga.")

Milano-ASR/11: One loose sheet with new version of trio (Tosca-Cavaradossi-Scarpia) in Illica's handwriting.

Milano-ASR/1: Seven sheets (cut-up foolscap sheets), with eight numbered pages (the first is missing) written by Copyist B. Contains the last part of the act, from Scene iv. The last corrections in it make the text the same as that of the libretto.

Act III

Milano-ACG/Miscellanea(2): Ten loose autograph sheets by Giacosa, with preparatory texts of the changes carried out in Colletterto-ACG/2.

Colletterto-ACG/2: Bundle of seven foolscap sheets in handwriting of Copyists A and B. Copy of Act III taken from the Colletterto-ACG/1 manuscript, with corrections and additions. It has changes by the composer and publisher and additions by Giacosa (Mario's romanza and sonnet-duet).

Colletterto-ACG/3: Five loose sheets handwritten by Illica and containing the first draft of the third act's new finale.

Colletterto-ACG-4: Four foolscap sheets, on which Copyists A and B have transcribed the text of Colletterto-ACG/3.

Colletterto-ACG/5: Seven foolscap sheets containing a final draft of the third act, in Copyist B's hand, very close to the printed libretto; provisional drafts of the Latin hymn.

Milano-ASR/3: Three foolscap sheets with pages numbered 1 to 11, written by Copyist A. The document includes Puccini's final corrections (but there is still a blank space for the Latin hymn).

Colletterto-ACG/Miscellanea(3): Four loose preparatory sheets for the "inno all'amore" [hymn to love] "Trionfal, di nuova speme," with writing by Puccini, Giacosa, and Copyist B (1899).

THREE UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM GIULIO RICORDI
TO GIUSEPPE GIACOSA

Letter 1

Milano, 8 luglio 1896

Comm. Giuseppe Giacosa.

Milano

Copiai il brano consegnatomi jeri del 1° Atto, e già l'ho spedito a Puccini: torno ad insistere per avere al più presto il rimanente, non solo del 1°, ma pur anco degli altri atti: se circostanze imprevedute hanno portato un sensibile ritardo, ora mi pare che l'amico Giacosa è avvertito, e quindi può condurre a fine il lavoro senza interruzione. Non può un compositore coscienziosamente iniziare l'opera, se non ha innanzi a se il quadro completo, che troppi sono i legami armonici e melodici fra un atto e l'altro! . . .

Mi spiace insistere, ma tuttavia devo ripetere che il ritardo avvenuto mi porta un danno grave e non più riparabile: danno che cade unicamente sulle spalle del povero "Pantalon" che sono poi io! . . . ma che oramai mi fa dire: basta!!

Dunque, prego, scongiuro, riprego, riscongiuro . . . non potendo far altro.

Mi pare che il fatto vada benissimo: però mi permetto raccomandare, a tempo opportuno, di usare la lirica schietta, ritmica = se non la vecchia..metastasiana, la nuova Giacosaiana. Solo la lirica permette il disegno chiaro, e continuato della melodia: checché si dica di passato e d'avvenire, è solo la melodia che va al cuore, e commuove! Bohème informi.

Siamo d'accordo? . . . spero di sì = siccome spero non mi obbligherete a cambiar cura. Fra breve andrò ai soliti bagni di Levico: non vorrei dover andare a Montecatini, per disostruirmi il fegato.

Cordialissimi saluti

dall'Aff.mo

Giulio Ricordi

Milan, 8 July 1896

Commendatore Giuseppe Giacosa.

Milan

I copied the excerpt from the first act delivered to me yesterday, and I have already sent it to Puccini: I go back to insisting on having the rest as soon as possible, not only the rest of the first, but also of the other acts: if unforeseen circumstances have caused a considerable delay, it now seems to me that my friend Giacosa has been warned, and can thus bring the work to a conclusion without interruption. A composer cannot begin the opera conscientiously if he does not have the complete picture before him, because the harmonic and melodic connections between one act and another are too numerous!

I am sorry to have to insist, but I must nevertheless repeat that the delay that has occurred does me serious, and no longer reparable, harm: harm that falls entirely on the shoulders of poor "Pantalon," namely, me! but that at this point forces me to say: enough!!

So I beg, I pray, I rebegin, and I repray, not being able to do anything else. It seems to me that the matter is going very well: I shall allow myself, however, to recommend, at the right moment, to use straightforward, rhythmic lyric poetry = if not the old Metastasian kind, then the new Giacosan kind. Only lyric poetry allows for a clear and continuous melodic design: whatever people may say about the past and the future, only melody reaches the heart, and moves it! Let *Bohème* be a lesson.

Agreed? I hope so, since I hope that you won't force me to change my spa plans. Soon, I shall go to the usual baths at Levico: I wouldn't want to have to go to Montecatini to have my liver unblocked.

Most cordial greetings from very affectionate

Giulio Ricordi

Milan, *Archivio Storico di Casa Ricordi; Copialettere 1896/97, n. 1, sheets 215–216*. This letter, already partially transcribed in Deborah Burton, "An Analysis of Puccini's *Tosca*," 433, constitutes a reply to Giacosa's letter dated 6 July 1896, transcribed in Eugenio Gara, ed., *Carteggi pucciniani [Milan: Ricordi, 1958], 149*.

Letter 2

22 Agosto 1896

Comm. Giuseppe Giacosa.

Parella (Ivrea)

Cariss.o Amico.

Dopo un'assenza di oltre un mese speravo, al mio ritorno, trovare *Tosca* compiuta, od almeno almeno avere il 2° Atto. Vi prego darmene notizie, ma soprattutto indicarmi quando precisamente intendete consegnarmi il lavoro finito. Io non posso più oltre aspettare; se altri impegni più graditi o più lucrosi vi impediscono di mantenere quello assunto colla ns. Ditta, ditemelo francamente, e potrò allora provvedere perché al danno già subito, altro maggiore non se ne aggiunga.

Si vuole osservarmi che già il 1° Atto è fatto—non è così che formano le opere: se la *Bohème* riuscì al compositore fu caso fortunato, aiutato dal soggetto a quadri, aneddotic! Ora non è il caso! Dopo il successo della *Bohème* la responsabilità del Puccini è assai cresciuta, né io vedo opportuno ch'esso si accinga al lavoro, se non ha innanzi a se il libretto completo nella sua alterna forma.

In attesa quindi della risposta che vorrete favorirmi intanto cordialmente vi saluto.

S. Aff. Giulio Ricordi

Complimenti alla famiglia.

22 August 1896

Commendatore Giuseppe Giacosa.

Parella (Ivrea)

Dearest friend.

After an absence of more than a month I was hoping, on my return, to find *Tosca* finished, or at the very least to have the second act. Please give me some news, but above all indicate exactly when you intend to deliver the finished work. I cannot wait any longer; if other obligations, more pleasant or more lucrative, prevent you from fulfilling those undertaken with our company, tell me frankly, and then I will be able to see to it that more and greater harm not be added to what has already been suffered.

You want to point out to me that the first act is already done—this is not the way that operas are created: if *Bohème* turned out well for the composer, it was a lucky chance, helped by the story's scenes "in quadri"³⁸ and anecdotes! This isn't the case now! Since *Bohème's* success, Puccini's responsibility has grown greatly, nor do I think it opportune for him to prepare to work if he doesn't have before him a libretto that is complete in its alternate form.

Meanwhile, awaiting the answer that you will be so kind as to grant me, I greet you cordially.

Yr. Aff. Giulio Ricordi

My compliments to your family.

Milan, Archivio Storico di Casa Ricordi; Copialettere 1896/97, no. 4, sheets 153–154. The following 23 August, Giacosa replied to this note with the long text transcribed in Gara, Carteggi pucciniani, 150–152.

Letter 3

Milano, 1 sett. 1898

Comm. Giuseppe Giacosa.

Colleretto Parella. Ivrea.

Davvero. . . avete fatto un monte di ragionamenti inutili!! . . . per la semplice ragione che i versi cui accennate sono semplicemente versi maccheronici, versi *usum delphini* che Puccini ha messo

provvisoriamente sotto la musica. E quando vi lessi . . . la lettera accompagnatoria del Puccini, diceva chiaramente che erano versi fatti per semplice guida, pel ritmo e per gli accenti!! . . .

Tutto quanto mi dite intorno alla forma, allo stato patologico del signor tenore . . . è bellissimo, elevatissimo!! ma in faccende musicali a nulla serve!! . . . L'attacco Mia gelosa—si lo sento—ti tormento—senza posa—è efficacemente liricissimo, ed offre al maestro la trovata di un così detto: *spunto*—che subito conquista l'uditore, ma che bisogna sviluppare per avere l'effetto!! . . . e l'applauso! . . .

Conosco lo spunto ch'è bellissimo: ma. . . tronco: ci vuole lo sviluppo e non c'era: questo capiva Puccini, e quello gli dissi.

Ma la prova migliore la si ebbe nell'audizione fatta a Sardou e Carré—che tutti e due giudicarono necessario sviluppare proprio in quel punto il duetto fra Tosca e Mario! Dunque Sardou stesso ha dato un consiglio contrario alla tesi vostra!

Sbottonatevi—che fa ancora caldo!! . . . è il pranzo dell'amico Senatore Ernesti che ancora non avete ben digerito e vi annebbia l'ispirazione. Voi volete farmela bere che Giacosa non trova, non riesce. . . ma io non la bevo.

Del resto, non tutte le impotenze (certo provvisorie) vengono per nuocere! . . . Giacché ricevo altra lettera di Puccini che mi dice non avere aspettato i nuovi versi, ma trovando il momento buono, ha finito il duetto e lo ha anche strumentato: mi manda perciò la guida definitiva—che è altra cosa di quanto aveva prima indicato.

Eccola acclusa: e non sento ragioni—che il dirmi: non sono capace, è come farmi persuaso ch'io e voi siamo Chinesi [cinesi]!! . . .

Spero ottime notizie dalla vostra famiglia e mentre attendo (e sia l'attender corto—molto—4 [giorni?] al massimo) questi benedetti versi, cordialmente mi ripeto

Aff. S.o

Giulio Ricordi

1° Poscritto

1° Atto finito e strumentato

2° in gestazione

3° finito più della metà

2° Poscritto

Vi dimenticate che il libretto *Bohème* non si stampò se non dopo il vostro *visto*? perché pensate che si farà diversamente ora? . . .

Milan, 1 September 1898

Commendatore Giuseppe Giacosa

Colleretto Parella. Ivrea.

Really. . . you have made a mountain of useless rationalizations!! . . . for the simple reason that the lines you refer to are simply macaronic lines, rough lines that Puccini has provisionally set to music. And when I read you . . . Puccini's accompanying letter, it said clearly that they were lines written simply as a guide, for the rhythm and the accents!! . . .

Everything you tell me about the form and about Mr. Tenor's pathological state is very beautiful, very elevated!! But in musical matters it's of no use!! . . . The attack on beginning "My jealous one—yes, I hear you—I am tormenting you—without rest—" is efficaciously lyrical, very much so, and it offers the maestro the opportunity for a so-called: "hook"—that immediately conquers the listener, but that must be developed if it is to make an effect and win applause!

I know the cue, and it's beautiful, but incomplete: development is needed and it wasn't there: Puccini understood the former, and I told him the latter.

But the best proof was when Sardou and Carré listened to it—because both of them judged it necessary to develop the duet between Tosca and Mario precisely at that point! So Sardou himself has given advice that is contrary to your thesis!

Loosen up—since it's still hot out!! You haven't completely digested our friend Senator Ernesti's dinner yet, and that clouds your inspiration. You want me to swallow the story that Giacosa can't find his way, can't manage. But I don't swallow it.

For that matter, impotence (temporary, certainly) isn't always a negative thing! Since I've received another letter from Puccini who tells me that he didn't wait for the new lines, but having found the opportune moment, he finished the duet and even orchestrated it: thus he sends me the final guide—which is quite different from what he had indicated earlier.

I include it herewith: and I won't listen to excuses—because telling me "I'm not capable," is like persuading me that you and I are Chinese!!

I'm hoping for excellent news from your family, and while I'm waiting (and may the wait be short—very—4 [days?] at most) for these blessed lines, I repeat that I am cordially

Yr. Aff.

Giulio Ricordi

1st Postscript

1st Act finished and orchestrated

2nd in gestation

3rd more than half finished

2nd Postscript

Have you forgotten that the *Bohème* libretto was only printed after your approval? Why do you think that things will be done differently now?

Milan, *Archivio Storico di Casa Ricordi*; *Copialettere 1898/99*, no. 4, sheets 449–450. Giacosa's reply of the following 9 September is transcribed in *Gara, Carteggi pucciniani*, 169–170.

PASSAGES FROM THE FIRST DRAFT, TAKEN FROM THE
COLLERETTO-ACG/I NOTEBOOK

Act I, Final Scene: Text Printed with *Scarpia's Solo*

(Colleretto-ACG/1, C22r)

A Palazzo Farnese! . . .

(Spoletta corre via)

Va, Tosca! Nel tuo cuor s'annida Scarpia;
egli ti segue e ti sospinge! . . .

... è Scarpia
che libra questo strano e nuovo falco
della tua gelosia;—ogni tuo volo
dà un'orma della preda! Ogni tuo strido
è indizio, è traccia del vicino covo ...
Se ti soffermi ...?

(Scarpia sogghigna)

Scarpia ti rimette
il tuo cappuccio! ...

(sogghigna ancora)

... è nova e buona caccia!

.....

(trionfante)

Per te tutto saprò! ...

... Io già ti veggo

e veggo lui! ...

... Egli è innocente. ... Giura!

Tu non gli credi! ...

... Oh, il povero ventaglio. ...

eccolo in pezzi! (ride) Poi, nervosa, lo insulti! ...

....

Poscia minacci! ... e piangi! ...

... Si. ... tu piangi?

Egli non regge! E parla! ... Tu, beata

di voluttà. ... lo baci! ...

(un brivido gli corre per tutta la persona a quella idea di bacio, e balbetta)

Ah, quel tuo bacio. ...

(poi esce in un piccolo ridere secco. ... convulso, gli occhi lucenti, le labbra umide, semiaperte e gli occhi a un tratto gli si iniettano di sangue, un lampo sinistro gli passa rapido dentro infiammandoli, un piccolo gesto di minaccia gli sfugge. ... poi il canto intuonato della cantoria dagli allievi lo scuote, e risovvenendosi del luogo dove si trova, si fa il segno della croce dicendo:)

Tosca, mi fai dimenticare Iddio!

(e finalmente inginocchiatosi, Scarpia può pregare)

Nota Bene. (L'ultimo monologo di Scarpia è frammezzato da preghiere, chè Scarpia segue per abitudine di bigottismo automaticamente le preghiere della folla; onde, momentaneamente, la ragione dei puntini)

At Palazzo Farnese!

(Spoletta runs off)

Go, Tosca! Scarpia lurks in your heart;
he follows you and presses you!

... It is Scarpia
who poises this strange new hawk
of your jealousy; each of your flights
gives a footprint of the prey! Each of your cries
is a clue, a track to the nearby den. ...

If you linger ...?

(Scarpia sneers)

Scarpia will put
your hood back on you! ...

(sneers again)

... It's a new, good hunt!

.....

(triumphantly)

Through you I'll know everything!

... I see you already

and I see him!

... He is innocent. Swear!

You don't believe him!

... Oh, the poor fan.

here it is in pieces! (laughs) Then, upset, you'll insult him! ...

.....

Then you'll threaten! and weep!

... Yes, you weep?

He won't hold out! He'll talk! ... You, full
of voluptuousness ... will kiss him!

(A shiver runs over his whole person at the idea of the kiss, and he stutters.)

Ah, that kiss of yours. ...

(Then he breaks into a dry little convulsed laugh, his eyes are shining, his half-open lips are moist, and his eyes suddenly fill with blood, a sinister flash passes quickly through him, making his eyes flame, a small, threatening gesture escapes him. . . . then the chant intoned by the pupils in the choir loft startles him, and, coming back to reality, he makes the sign of the cross, saying:)

Tosca, you make me forget God!

(And, kneeling at last, Scarpia can pray.)

Nota bene. (Scarpia's last monologue is interspersed with prayers, because Scarpia, out of habitual bigotry, automatically follows the crowd's prayers; which is why there are the ellipses, for the time being.)

Act III, First Scene: Handwritten Stage Directions by Illica

Atto Secondo

La camera di Scarpia a un piano superiore del Palazzo Farnese.

Vi fa strano contrasto la gaiezza dello stile architettonico a rabeschi colla gradiosità e la maestà ieratica dei dipinti dei Caracci. È sala e pare chiesa; vi è una ricercata ostentazione di severità religiosa fino al bigottismo, alla superstizione, in un inginocchiatoio fatto a leggio posto sotto ad un rosso crocifisso da certosino e una palese sensualità mondana in una pomposa alcova con sfarzo di amorini devoti, nella grande specchiera su di una tavola a mensola in lacca bianca a fregi e ghirigori dorati, tavolino elegante, divano, poltrone, scrivania e sedie d'identico stile dalla copertura di damasco seta azzurra. Sono pure in damasco seta azzurra le cortine ricchissime dell'alcova e i tendaggi della ampia finestra a destra verso e su piazza Farnese. A sinistra, al lato opposto, nella gran parete è praticata una porticina quasi invisibile tanto abilmente e perfetta ne è la combinazione della tappezzeria e della modanatura dell'alto zoccolo che gira tutto intorno alla sala.

E a completare il contrasto, sul leggio un grosso libro di salmi aperto e una tavola imbandita a lauta cena con profusione di argenterie e cristalli e soprattutto qualità diverse di vini, sotto la gaia luce di due doppiieri. Scarpia vi siede e cena.

Second Act

Scarpia's room on an upper floor of the Farnese Palace

The gaiety of the arabesqued architectural style contrasts strangely with the grandiosity and priestly majesty of Caracci's paintings; it is a room but seems like a church; there is an intentional ostentation of religious severity to the point of bigotry, of superstition, in a prie-dieu in the form of a reading stand, set under a red, Carthusian crucifix, and an evident worldly sensuality in a pompous alcove with flamboyant little cupids in prayer, in the great mirror on a shelflike white lacquer table with gilded friezes and gewgaws, an elegant little table, a sofa, an armchair, a desk and chairs in the same style, with blue silken damask upholstery. The alcove's rich hangings and the curtains on the large window on the right that gives onto Piazza Farnese are also of blue silken damask. To the left, on the opposite side, in the great wall, a little door has been made; because the matching of the tapestries with the molding of the high baseboard that runs all along the hall is so perfectly put together, the door is barely visible.

And to make the contrast complete, a large psaltery is open on the reading stand, and a table is set for a sumptuous dinner, with a profusion of silver and crystal, and above all with various types of wine, under the cheerful light of two candelabras. Scarpia is seated there, dining.

Act III, Final Scene (Colleretto-ACG/1, CC54r)

(vedendolo immobile, si china, lo tocca, scopre il mantello, si guarda le mani e dà in un urlo terribile)

Ah! Morto! L'hanno ucciso! Gli assassini!

Ucciso? Chi? La Tosca ha ucciso Scarpia

Poi gli pose sul petto un crocifisso

E fuggì coll'amante. È Scarpia il morto

Uh quanta folla. . . preti, frati, chierici,
 Donne preganti. . . Egli è morto in peccato. . .
 (*getta oro e gioielli*)
 Seppellitelo in terra benedetta
 E ditegli gran messe (*guarda attorno*) Donne ed altre
 donne. . . son tutte donne. . . i capei sciolti
 Giù fino a terra come manti neri
 E trascinano bimbi riluttanti. . .
 Una piange il marito. . . una l'amante
 Un'altra il figlio. . . piangon tutte e ognuna
 Ha un cadavere in spalla a mo' di croce
 (*getta ancora oro e gioielli*)
 A voi, prendete. . . a voi—ma colle mani
 Non v'aggrappate alla gondola nostra! . . .
 (*con un grido terribile*)
 Voglion strapparmi il mio Mario. Percuotile
 Col remo gondoliero. Non è morto
 Sai. Dorme. . . è stanco. Via tutti, via tutti!
 L'onde dei tremuli
 Canali baciano
 Le vecchie istorie
 Le vecchie glorie. . .
 Non cantar gondoliero. . . piano, piano. . .
 Voglio un grande silenzio a noi d'intorno
 Silenzio eterno con eterno amore. . .

(*E Tosca, col cadavere di Mario in grembo, rimane immobile col dito sulle labbra nell'atto di imporre silenzio al fantastico gondoliero che essa vede nel suo pensiero.*)

(*Cala la tela.*)

(*Seeing that he is immobile, she bends over, touches him, removes his cloak, looks at her own hands, and gives a dreadful shout.*)

Ah! Dead! They've killed him! The assassins!
 Killed? Who? Tosca has killed Scarpia

Then she set a crucifix on his chest
 and fled with her lover. Scarpia is the dead man.
 Oh, what a crowd; priests, friars, altar boys,
 praying women. He died in sin.
 (*Throws down gold and jewels.*)
 Bury him in sacred ground
 and say grand masses for him (looks around). Women
 and more
 women—they're all women—their loose hair
 hangs down to the earth like black robes,
 and they drag reluctant children.
 One mourns her husband, another her lover,
 another her son. They all weep, and each
 bears a corpse like a cross on her shoulders.
 (*Throws down more gold and jewels.*)
 For you, take it . . . for you—but do not grab
 onto our gondola with your hands! . . .
 (*With a dreadful cry*)
 They want to take my Mario away from me. Strike them
 with your oar, gondolier. He is not dead,
 you know. He is sleeping . . . he's tired. Away everyone,
 away everyone!
 The waves of the tremulous
 canals kiss
 the old stories
 the old glories. . .
 Don't sing, gondolier; softly, softly.
 I want a great silence around us;
 Eternal silence with eternal love.
 (*And Tosca, with Mario's corpse on her lap, remains still, with a finger on her lips, in the act of imposing silence on the imaginary gondolier whom her mind's eye sees. The curtain falls.*)

NOTES

1. Obligatory and deeply felt thanks to Paolo Cattani, great-grandson of Giuseppe Giacosa, and Maria Pia Ferraris, head of the Archivio Storico di Casa Ricordi in Milan, for the generous assistance they have given me in my research.
2. Bice Serafini, "Giacosa e I suoi libretti," in *Critica pucciniana* (Lucca: Comitato Nazionale per le Onoranze a Giacomo Puccini nel Cinquantenario della Morte, 1976), 116-132; 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); Matteo Sansone, "La dimensione decadente nel libretto di *Tosca*," in *Giacomo Puccini: L'uomo, il musicista, il panorama europeo* (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 1997), 111-125.
3. With respect to the first two acts again, fragments of other drafts by Illica and Giacosa are known, and they are in the Archivio Storico di Casa Ricordi, the New York Public Library, and the Museo Puccini at Torre del Lago. These materials are described and partially transcribed in Burton, "An Analysis of Puccini's *Tosca*," 463-516.
4. The recently rediscovered material, preserved at Colletterto Giacosa, Archivio familiare di Casa Giacosa, is described in the "Summary of Preparatory Material" at the end of this chapter. In the following notes, the abbreviations *Colletterto-ACG/1* through *Colletterto-ACG/5* are used to refer to the five documents, according to their chronological order. *Colletterto-ACG/Miscellanea(1)* through *Colletterto-ACG/Miscellanea(3)* are used for the documents regarding *Tosca* that are preserved at the same location and quoted or transcribed in the publications mentioned in note 1.
5. Pier Giuseppe Gillio, "La gestazione del libretto di *Tosca* e passi inediti della prima stesura," in *Teatro dell'Opera [di Roma] Tosca*, ed. Silvia Camerini (Ancona: Transeuropa, 2000), 35-42; "Il terzo atto di *Tosca* nella prima stesura del libretto: documenti inediti," in "*Tosca*" di Giacomo Puccini, concert pro-

- gram of Teatro alla Scala (Milan: Edizioni del Teatro alla Scala, 1999-2000), 66-83.
6. The material preserved at this location is very rich and significant and is still today awaiting systematic study. For later references to this material (which is preserved in Milan, Archivio Storico di Casa Ricordi, in an envelope entitled *Minute Tosca* [Tosca drafts]), *Milano-ASR/1* through *Milano-ASR/11* are used; these abbreviations refer to the order in which the eleven documents are shelved. Regarding the Milan material, again, it must be recalled that even the publisher's copies of letters preserve various documents pertaining to *Tosca* that have not yet been examined or have been only partially transcribed, such as the three letters that are included at the end of this chapter.
 7. See Mosco Carner, *Puccini: A Critical Biography* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1982), 103; and Piero Nardi, *Vita e tempo di Giuseppe Giacosa* (Milan: Mondadori, 1949), 785.
 8. The handwriting of Copyist A is the same as that of the correspondence signed by two of the publisher's close collaborators: Cesare Blanc and Eugenio Tornaghi. It is possible that Tornaghi may actually have been Copyist A, but one cannot exclude the possibility that Copyist A was another house employee. The handwriting of Copyist B may belong to one of the two copyists named Fosca who worked for the publisher but away from the office; in fact, one can read this annotation, penciled onto the *Milano-ASR/8* document that was directed to Ricordi: "Eccole la parte del libretto copiata. Aspetto il vaglià" [Here is the copied-out part of the libretto for you. I await the money order], followed by the signature "Fosca" and a reference to the signatory's father. The hypotheses put forth here regarding the attribution of the handwriting must in any case await further confirmation after the material in the Archivio Storico di Casa Ricordi (unfortunately accessible in only a very limited way at present) has been studied more broadly. Finally, it must be said that the Milanese drafts clear up once and for all the method adopted in the copying of the libretto: as the Milano-

AR/4 document proves, Illica furnished the copyists with the texts of the stage directions on little pieces of paper that were attached to the already-transcribed verse text, with precise references to the places where they were to be inserted.

9. Richard Specht, *Giacomo Puccini: Das Leben, der Mensch, das Werk* (Berlin: Hesse, 1931), 49. It is a singular fact that critical literature has heretofore failed to take note of the existence of these sketches, which, moreover, are also documented in the draft of the first act in Milano-ASR/4, where there are even more of them than in Colletterto-ACG/1.
10. See the letter of 14 March 1897 from Puccini to Illica and the other documents quoted and transcribed in Burton, "An Analysis of Puccini's *Tosca*," 436-437.
11. On the blank page next to the first version of the duet, Puccini noted, in blue pencil: "Occhi neri" [Black eyes]; Colletterto-ACG/1, sheet 12v. In Colletterto-ACG/Miscellanea 1 the first version of "Qual occhio al mondo" proposed by Giacosa to Puccini is to be found; a transcription of this page is given in Burton, "An Analysis of Puccini's *Tosca*," 474.
12. The very short eighth scene can again be read in the notebook: "Comincia a preludiare l'organo. Scarpia (scendendo lentamente dall'impalcato): Se Angelotti mi sfugge / D'un sol colpo distrugge / Il mio favor. Lo ghermirò." [The organ begins to play a prelude. Scarpia (coming slowly down from the scaffolding): If Angelotti escapes from me / The favor I enjoy will be destroyed / In one fell swoop. I shall seize him.] (Colletterto-ACG/1, sheet 18r).

Illica's reason for the deletion is documented in the Milanese drafts: "Via è inutile; la Storia giustifica l'accanimento che i poliziotti mettevano nell'inseguire senza dar pace i patrioti e i sospetti non ché—figurarsi!—gli evasi." [Out, it's useless; History justifies the police's rage in ceaselessly chasing the patriots and suspects, not to mention—as you can imagine!—escaped prisoners.] (Milano-AR/4, sheet 19r). *Editors' note*: This comment by Illica reveals the source of the often-mentioned lack of

dramatic motivation in the operatic character Scarpia, as contrasted with Sardou's parallel character.

13. Giacosa's motive for not writing Scarpia's monologue in verse in the first draft is explained in the letter he sent Giulio Ricordi on 14 December 1896; in it, the dramatist maintained that "questo Scarpia che perde tempo a descrivere se stesso è assurdo" [this Scarpia, who wastes time describing himself, is absurd]. The letter, preserved in Milan, Archivio Storico di Casa Ricordi, envelope of Giuseppe Giacosa's letters, document no. 20, was published in Eugenio Gara, ed., *Carteggi pucciniani* (Milan: Ricordi, 1958), 136, but with the incorrect and misleading date of 14 December 1895. The printed text of Scarpia's monologue is included in "Passages from the First Draft" at the end of this chapter (see "Act I, Final Scene").
14. Text transcribed in "Passages from the First Draft" at the end of this chapter (see "Act III, First Scene").
15. In the first draft, Giacosa wrote, "grattare il colascione" [to scratch the colascione (Neapolitan lute)] in the place where he would later write, "trarre accordi di chitarra" [to draw chords from a guitar]; the not-very-felicitous expression, which was very close to the phrase "grattarsi il culo" [scratch one's ass], aroused hilarious reactions from some of the coauthors—almost certainly from Puccini—who drew, on the page next to it, the profile of a person in the act of scratching his bottom (Colletterto-ACG/1, sheet 23v).
16. *Ibid.*, sheet 26r and sheet 26v.
17. *Ibid.*, sheet 26v.
18. *Ibid.*, loose sheet inserted between sheet 26v and sheet 27r.
19. *Ibid.*, small piece of paper glued onto sheet 28v.
20. *Ibid.*, loose sheet inserted between sheet 30v and sheet 31r.
21. *Ibid.*, sheet 29v.
22. Giacosa wrote: "Insisto perché nel libretto si mantenga il mio testo, salvo a virgolare quanto si vuole ommettere sulla scena" [I insist that my text be kept in the libretto, excepting putting in quotation marks whatever is to be omitted onstage]; Col-

leretto-ACG/1, C30v. *Editors' note:* By making these distinctions between the printed libretto text and the sung text, Giacosa is revealing that "his" audience would be mostly literati, not necessarily operagoers.

23. Colletterto-ACG/1, sheet 31r.
24. *Editors' note:* The Italian terms for *apocopated*, *paroxytone*, and *proparoxytone* verses are *tronchi*, *piani*, and *sdrucchioli*.
25. Colletterto-ACG/1, sheet 33v.
26. Gara, *Carteggi pucciniani*, 192–194.
27. Colletterto-ACG/1, sheet 42v.
28. *Ibid.*, sheet 44v.
29. *Editors' note:* This "Latinness" may also have had its roots in the Sardou play, in which several references to ancient Rome are made.
30. Colletterto-ACG/1, sheet 55r. The whole text of the end of the act is transcribed in "Passages from the First Draft" at the end of this chapter (see "Act III, Final Scene").
31. Colletterto-ACG/2, sheet 2v.
32. *Ibid.*, sheet 6v and sheet 7v.
33. See Puccini's letter of 13 January 1899 to Giulio Ricordi, transcribed in Gara, *Carteggi pucciniani*, 172.
34. Colletterto-ACG/5, sheet 7r.
35. It is also possible that Ricordi was referring precisely to this text when he wrote, in a letter of 19 June 1899, to Illica: "Rimane ancora da rimaneggiare qualche brano dell'ultimo duetto: se aspettiamo Giacosa! . . . aspetteremo chissà quando! . . . e Puccini non finirà. Allora. . . ho fatto io una traccia esatta, come vuole Puccini e come già feci per la Bohème" [Some bits of the final duet must still be redone: if we wait for Giacosa, who knows how long we'll have to wait, and Puccini won't finish. So I myself have made a precise outline, as Puccini wishes and as I did at the time of Bohème] (Gara, *Carteggi pucciniani*, 174). A later letter, dated 28 September 1899, from Ricordi to Puccini, informs us that as of that date Giacosa had not yet delivered the final version of the duet; see Burton, "An Analysis of Puccini's *Tosca*," 447. There exists an earlier version

of the text copied by Ricordi, and it can be read on a loose page inserted into the Colletterto-ACG/5 manuscript. But the first lines of the second verse are different: "Portami in braccio—fino a Ciriè / E dopo andremo—sul copripiè!" [Carry me in your arms—all the way to Ciriè / And after that we'll go—onto the coverlet!] At the time, Ciriè was a small, little-known village in the Canavese (a region of Piedmont, where Giacosa lived), so it is even possible that the name was suggested by Giacosa when the outline was being drafted. On the other hand, the word *copripiè* was already present in a rhythmic outline set down by Puccini during his composition of *Manon Lescaut*; see Illica's letter of January 1893 to Ricordi, transcribed in Gara, *Carteggi pucciniani*, 78.

36. Colletterto-ACG/5, sheet 6v. On the previous page (sheet 5v) Illica set the following lines before the new text:

TOSCA: Come l'alba dà il sole / l'arte sarà l'oblio! / Vivrem fulgori!

C. Vivrem incanti. . . .
T. armonie di parole. . . .
C. armonie di colori. . . .

a 2 (?) [*sic*] ed armonie di canti!

[TOSCA: As the dawn gives the sun, / art will be forgetfulness! / We'll live lightning flashes!

C. We'll live enchanted
T. harmonies of words
C. harmonies of colors.

both(?) and harmonies of songs!]

37. In the duet's first version, the incipit was: "La sitibonda / anima inonda" [Inundates / the thirsting soul]. The duet's gestation phase is documented, as is well known, by a rhythmic outline by Puccini, entitled "Inno all'amore" [Hymn to love], and by a first sketch by Giacosa, preserved in Colletterto-Miscellanea(3); the texts are transcribed in Burton, "An Analysis of Puccini's *Tosca*," 507, and in Sansone, "La dimensione decadente," 125. These interventions probably took place very close to the op-

era's first performance, because, in a letter of 11 October 1899, Puccini again expressed his doubts to Ricordi over the workable nature of the "Latin hymn" (Gara, *Carteggi pucciniani*, 179). On the same day, Ricordi replied to the composer and declared that he had three variants of the hymn: "una di Giacosa, che mi pare la più adatta; due di Illica, un po' più vivaci ma troppo nebulose" [one by Giacosa, which seems to me the most suitable; two by Illica, a little livelier but too nebulous]. Finally, on 7 November, Ricordi told Puccini that he believed it was impossible at that point for Giacosa to improve the duet's text, "perché già tentato per più di due mesi" [because he has already tried for more than two months] (Burton, "An Analysis of Puccini's *Tosca*," 508). There is also the first draft of the duet, which has no corresponding verbal text; see Eduardo Rescigno, *Giacomo Puccini: "Tosca" Libretto* (Milan: Ricordi, 1985), 100.

38. *Editors' note*: *Quadri* means "pictures," but here it also implies the idea of separated sections.

12. Puccini's Music in the Italian Theoretical Literature of Its Day

Giorgio Sanguinetti

The idea that the analysis of musical structures can help us to better understand the relationship between music and drama in an opera currently seems to reach consensus less frequently than it did in the recent past. The fear that a basic incongruence exists between a method (analysis as it is practiced in academic music theory, which was developed in relation to absolute music) and its object (Italian opera) has created, among other things, a need for greater familiarity with the context in which the composer has worked. In particular, we desire to understand the mode of musical thinking within a given composer's time and tradition, in the hope that awareness of an authentic theory (that is, a theory that was presumably shared by the musical community in which the composer worked) can be of assistance in formulating an adequate analytical method. In the field of Verdi studies, a great deal of attention has recently been given to Abramo Basevi, whose *Studio sulle opere di Giuseppe Verdi* [Study of the Operas of Giuseppe Verdi] (1859) has become a cult book, and there are signs of a growing interest in other theorists of Verdi's time, such as Amerigo Bàrberi.¹

Can something similar be done to trace a native theory for the music of Puccini, on which, at the very least, to base the choice of an approach as pertinent as possible to his artistic vision and to the historic and cultural context in which he worked, if not the development of a wholly new analytical