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**AN ANALYSIS OF PUCCINI'S TOSCA:
A HEURISTIC APPROACH TO THE UNIFYING ELEMENTS
OF THE OPERA**

VOLUME I

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
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in The University of Michigan
1995

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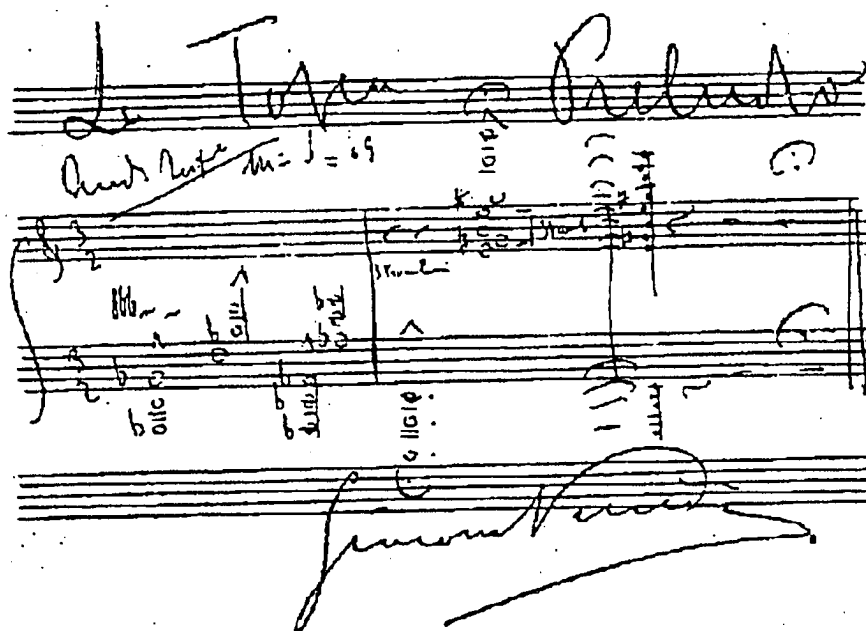
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per S. and G., con amore

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PREFACE

The present form of this dissertation is a result, in part, of two random events. The first was an argument I had with my mother at the age of nine: she tried to convince me that opera was too complicated to be a real work of art. Perhaps I have finally proved her wrong. The second event was a day trip to Vacallo, Switzerland that eventually led to my residence, for the period in which I wrote this thesis, not only in Puccini's part of the world, but in a house where he had actually lived. That great good fortune (some might call it Providence) and the access I had to Puccini's scores, notes, letters (and even his relatives) allowed me to really walk a kilometer in his elegant Italian footwear.

I also feel quite lucky to have been one of the first music theorists to analyze Puccini's operas; this gave me the freedom to look at the scores with fresh eyes. Quite fortuitous as well was the warm reception I received from other Puccini scholars who welcomed me into their ranks. In turn, I would like to welcome future analysts to explore this challenging repertoire by a first-rate composer.

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INTRODUCTION

The general problem of opera analysis

The nature of opera

Opera is a hybrid. In the centuries-long debate over the nature of the art form, few have dared to suggest that it could be understood unilaterally, as either pure drama or pure music. No opera analysis could be complete without analyzing both the drama and the music for neither element stands alone.¹ At first glance, a libretto may appear similar to a play in prose or verse, but a reading or recitation would soon prove such a resemblance illusory. In like manner, one who listens to operatic music without any knowledge of the plot, characters, or setting may find the music difficult to follow, though it be composed of the same melodies, harmonies and rhythms as other sorts of music. Only together do the two elements achieve artistic wholeness and integrity.

Opera is only one sort of "associative" music, as distinct from absolute music. Songs, oratorios and the various types of program music also rely to some extent on non-musical material. But opera has a uniquely distinguishing characteristic: the drama unfolds before one's eyes. The visual component allows the drama in opera to carry more perceptual weight than in the other associative forms.

One must then consider whether the increased importance of visual drama in opera makes it an equal, or even predominant, partner with operatic music. In our view, it does not, and the true hierarchical relation of the visual and the auditory in opera can be made clearer through analogy to another multi-sensate artform: film. The test is simple: subtract music from a film and it is still a viable art form; indeed many films have been successful without any musical soundtrack. Subtract music from opera, however, and what remains is not viable. Conversely,

subtract the visual from opera, and what remains is not only viable, but the very successful source of opera recordings.²

If opera's uniquely distinguishing element among associative musical works, the visual, is lower on the totem pole than its musical element, and if songs, oratorios, and other types of dramatically-linked genres are still placed under the category "music," then it follows that opera too must fall under that heading. Therefore, we can conclude that opera is a type of music linked to drama, rather than a type of drama linked to music. Borrowing a term that Cone³ has utilized in describing the visual element in film, "controlling consciousness," we can apply it to the role of music in opera: we experience music as "controlling" because, among its many effects, the speed of every stage movement, the rhythm of every line of dialogue, the range of every vocal intonation or stress is influenced, if not outrightly determined, by the musical score. The ever-present music is the filter through which we perceive all the other operatic elements. The earliest term for Italian opera, "dramma per musica" ("drama through or for music"), seems to suggest this hierarchical relationship. (Perhaps the popular tendency to refer to operas as Puccini's *Tosca*, or Verdi's *Otello*, reflects an unconscious acceptance of this fact.) However, concluding that music is the dominant element in our perception of opera in no way implies that the nature of operatic music is identical to that of absolute music. As the "controlling consciousness," operatic music must necessarily be involved in and affected by the other parts of the artform.

There have been recent attempts to analyze operatic music that take into account its dramatically-linked nature. Among these, several interesting concepts have been set forth by Robert Bailey and Patrick McCreless whose work with Wagner led the latter to isolate four types of tonality that interact: *classical tonality*, which involves normal tonic-dominant relations, *associative tonality*, in which keys symbolize aspects of drama, *expressive tonality*, in which ascending or descending keys express intensification or relaxation, and *directional tonality*, an interplay between two different tonal centers.⁴ Frits Noske, on the other hand, defines a *musico-dramatic sign* as a musical unit that stresses, clarifies, invalidates, contradicts or supplies an element of the libretto.⁵ Lastly, multivalent approaches to opera analysis describe the various systems

at work, especially the interaction of text and musical forms. But let us now examine the nature of operatic music from a fresh perspective; we suggest a simpler taxonomy that will, perhaps, resolve these apparently conflicting analytical constructs.

The nature of operatic music

Operatic music is a hybrid: it must make some sense both as music and as dramatic illustration.⁶ That neither of these functions is dispensable can be demonstrated by again utilizing a process of *reductio ad absurdum*. An operatic score that paid no attention whatsoever to the plot would be like a symphony with words; on the other hand, one that ignored all musical coherence in order to slavishly accompany every nuance of the drama might approximate a poorly improvised silent-movie accompaniment. Well-made opera is neither of these.

Metaphorically, operatic music must both tell the story and be the language in which that tale is told. The "language," or the organizing medium through which the content is filtered, would necessarily consist of extra-dramatic material expressed in purely musical terms. This language would also exhibit "grammatical rules" that should be analyzable. Any analysis of operatic music, then, must distinguish between these two categories: the language of the storyteller and the content of the story, or, alternately, the purely organizing musical constructs and the illustrative musical material.⁷

Perhaps another analogy can clarify these distinctions further. Let us imagine a painter painting a still life. The medium he uses is paint on canvas, just as the opera composer uses the medium of music. The painter fashions his paint to visually represent the real fruit, but not necessarily in a purely realistic style. Although every bit of his artwork is formed from paint, some paint is to be understood as "fruit" or "background," some could be a fanciful and expressive overlaying design, and some may even be used to sign the artist's name. Thus, the same artistic material, paint, serves in a variety of capacities to express both representational content and the artist's choices in how to convey that content, his "language." In opera, where the music can aurally refer

to dramatic material, we see a similar situation. The operatic score is made of only music; yet some of the music is to be heard as representational, some as a filtering medium, and some, perhaps, as the creator's signature.

A proposed solution: IM and OM categories

Our aim here is not to provide a one-size-fits-all analytic prescription for every opera. We merely offer terminology and procedural guidelines that might serve to clarify some fundamental analytical issues.⁸

A new analytical procedure

1. Definitions:

I-function - any illustrative task performed by an element of the opera.

O-function - any organizational task performed by an element of the opera.

IM-function - any illustrative task performed by an element of the operatic music.

OM-function - any organizational task performed by an element of the operatic music.

M-tool - any musical tool, which can be used to carry out either I-functions or O-functions.

IM-tool - any musical tool used to carry out illustrative tasks.

OM-tool - any musical tool used to carry out organizational tasks.

There are also dramatic tools (D-tools), which can also be applied to O- or I-functions, thus giving rise to:

ID-tools - any dramatic tool used to carry out illustrative tasks.

OD-tool - any dramatic tool used to carry out organizational tasks.

What primarily interest us at present are the M-tools, which are the composer's working materials. The musical tools that are employed in

dramatic music (melody, rhythm, etc.), are identical to those used in absolute music. Thus it would follow that the same M-tools could be used for either of the two categories of operatic music.

The following alphabetical listing of M-tools is simultaneously incomplete and redundant. It is incomplete because the roster can be as long as the composer is imaginative; it is redundant because some of these tools incorporate or presuppose others. Notwithstanding, we offer this sample itemization reflecting some of the tools more commonly used in tonal vocal music. Also included are three lesser known Greek terms (*chresis*, *lepsis*, and *metabole*), which are defined below.

M-tools:

cadences (or lack thereof)
chresis (pitch class isolated from harmonic or rhythmic context)
consonance - dissonance polarity (on all structural levels)
counterpoint
*design*⁹
dynamics
form
harmonic syntax (on all structural levels)
*hypermeter*¹⁰
intervallic content and interval class
lepsis (vocal tessitura)
melodic direction
metabole (transition from one rhythm to the next; ritardandos, accelerandos, fermatas, etc.)
meter
mode
motives and primary motivic materials (interrelationship of motives)
orchestration
phrase structure
register
rhythm
scales

structure
tempo

The audible surface of operatic music presents combinations of the above tools, employed both for OM- and IM-functions. In order for the analyst to discover the type of function served by any particular tool, it is first necessary to clarify what the IM-functions are, and then determine how they are being carried out. The following unprioritized list shows the various ways in which a drama can be illustrated musically in an opera.

IM-functions:

1. presentation of atmosphere or mood
2. presentation of local or historical color
3. presentation of emotional content and character
4. presentation of physical stage action
5. presentation of verbal and textual content (including stage directions)¹¹
6. presentation and/or identification of characters, objects, events or thematic ideas.

The composer and his collaborators (in our terms) select which of these functions to employ and then, perhaps, an order of priority.¹² The composer would subsequently select which of the M-tools would best complete those functions. The selection and prioritization will vary extensively depending upon the composer's individual style and historico-cultural milieu. We shall see below that although almost all of the IM-functions were commonly employed and accepted in the operas of Puccini's time, his own particular priorities were sometimes at odds with those of his librettists.

It is possible that the object of an IM-function illustration and the illustrative tool that carries it out will not have a direct relationship: the composer might choose to "editorialize" upon the item by choosing indirect musical expression. An example of this might be a tragic scene accompanied by mirthful music, expressing the composer's ironic stance (Puccini's *Gianni Schicchi* begins in such a way). A meaningful musical quotation from another work would be another case. These

indirect illustrations can be considered to form the "comment application," represented as follows: C(I) M-tool.

2. Analytical guidelines

1. Observe what is on the musical foreground but do not immediately categorize. In other words, do not over-simplify the musical evidence to fit a preconceived pattern. An anomalous note or rhythm that makes no sense from one perspective may be integral to another.

2. Determine which IM-functions are in use. This task requires some hermeneutic skill, and may only yield tentative conclusions. It is impossible to ascertain without doubt the illustrative "meaning" of a musical passage, and the analyst is not called upon to do so here. It is necessary only to establish the likelihood of a dramatic-musical equivalence relationship through temporal or contextual correspondence. The analyst's initial choice, even if adjusted at a later stage in the procedure, is valuable as a starting point.

3. Determine which M-tools are IM-tools . In isolating which musical tools are employed for illustrative functions, it may be useful to follow a general precept: assume that the M-tools that do not function in a "normal" musical manner are probably IM-tools. In like manner, M-tools that appear to be non-congruent with the drama are probably OM-tools. The ensuing results will be tested later.

4. Subtract the IM-tools from the list of M-tools; the remainder may be used for O-functions. Those tools that remain are available, not required, to serve musical unity. If a coherent musical language exists, through which the tale is told, it would involve some or all of these M-tools. Since the list of M-tools is necessarily incomplete, however, the analyst must be prepared to append when appropriate.

5. Test the selection and precise descriptions of the OM-tools by studying the music on middleground and background levels. Each OM-tool must be tested for purely musical coherence, and re-tested for irrelevance to the drama. The analyst would apply the analytical methods that he or she feels most appropriate. (It is still important, however, not to over-simplify; discrepancies from archetypal patterns may prove revealing at a later stage.)

6. **Clarify double functions.** M-tools can appear to have double functions (such as in the case of leitmotifs) and serve both I and O-functions. In that case, perhaps a distinction can be made within the M-tool itself, specifying which aspect or aspects of the tool are applicable in the apposite category. For example, *harmonic syntax* may illustrate only a passing event, such as a dominant-tonic pattern accompanying the exit of a character; this would be a use of the M-tool in the foreground for an IM-function. However, a V - I cadence at the end of an act would (most probably) be an instance of the *harmonic syntax* M-tool used in the deep middleground or background, for an OM-function.

We reiterate that these definitions and procedures are intended, not as a solution to the analysis of every opera, but rather a way to **frame the problems** that every opera analyst faces. Once the analyst has determined the possible sources of musical unity, through this process of elimination, then he or she can use those elements as a reliable basis for uncovering the opera composer's musical "grammar."

There will certainly be moments in an opera when illustrative or organizational elements will not be present in equal measure, during a dramatic pause, for example; in that case, the illustrative priorities of the score temporarily break the purely musical coherence. Or, there will be times when the two categories work perfectly together, such as at the final curtain where the cadence is frequently accompanied by a cadaver.¹³ These examples do not belie our categories, but, rather, reinforce the need for the opera analyst to be aware of them: one cannot appreciate the congruence of these diverse functions, if one is unaware they exist.¹⁴ Further, these categories are not intended as descriptive devices for isolated moments; they are guidelines for the analyst to ferret out the composer's unifying musical techniques, the solid ground upon which to build an analysis of the entire work.

This terminology also has the advantage of reconciling some of the previously mentioned theoretical outlooks. For example, McCreless' four types of tonality would become four M-tools. Similarly, Noske's "musico-dramatic sign vehicles" could be considered roughly equivalent with IM-tools. Finally, the musico-dramatic links set forth in a multi-valent approach would fit nicely into a discussion of the i-functions.

A paradigmatic application to *Tosca*, Act I, scenes 1-3¹⁵

In order to demonstrate the conceptual background for the analytical work presented in the dissertation, we examine here a tiny slice of the opera at hand as an example. In this small section, we can see the patterns of I- and O-functions that will be unearthed and discussed at greater length below in regard to the entire work. Let us then follow the guidelines indicated above:

1. Observe what is on the musical foreground but do not immediately categorize. At first glance, the musical surface of the opening three scenes of *Tosca* presents a bewildering terrain. Everything seems to be in flux: there are changing rhythms, meters, key signatures, dynamics, phrase lengths, and orchestration. Neither is it harmonically simple. Ordinary dissonances fail to resolve and are instead connected by common tones to completely new tonal areas. The consonances themselves are sometimes presented in unstable inversions, or accompanied by one dissonant note that will not resolve, becoming a chronic dissonance throughout an entire passage.

The dramatic side, in contrast, presents a very clear, neat picture. Each of the three opening scenes commences with the entrance of a new character: Angelotti, the Sagrestano and Cavaradossi. Each scene has sharply contrasting music. Scene 1 (from Angelotti's entrance, I/0/3) is tonally and rhythmically unstable and scene 2 (from the Sagrestano's entrance, I/6/0) is rhythmically regular and in C major. Scene 3 (from Cavaradossi's entrance, I/13/14) is centered upon his aria "Recondita armonia," which is written in F major (I/17/0-I/19/28) with some accompanying dissonance, in a highly expressive, melodic style. It would certainly be tempting to declare that this music has no extra-dramatic organizing factors at all. But, as we shall see, that is not the case.

2. Determine which IM-functions are in use.

IM-functions:

1. presentation of atmosphere or mood
2. presentation of local or historical color

3. presentation of emotional content and character
4. presentation of physical stage action
5. presentation of verbal and textual content (including stage directions)
6. presentation and/or identification of characters, objects, events or thematic ideas.



Example 0.0 - beginning of Act I, scene 1
(Property of G. Ricordi & C, Milan. Used by permission)

The tonally and rhythmically unstable music of the first scene begins with the terrified Angelotti's entrance and ends with his exit; therefore we can assume some correspondence to the character and/or his condition. In Example 0.0, we can see probable examples of IM-functions 1, 3, and 6. The most likely function of the music is to illustrate Angelotti's fear (IM-function 3). Secondly, the descending fourth G - F - E \flat - D forms Motive 2 (Angelotti's leitmotiv¹⁶), which will be clearly recognizable as the opera progresses (IM-function 6). The presentation of the atmosphere (IM-function 1), however, is not a direct illustration. The scene takes place in a church, a setting normally represented by peaceful and solemn music. By choosing unpeaceful and unsolenn music, Puccini has "commented" upon the setting. This can be notated as C(IM-function 1).¹⁷

Example 0.1 - 1/4/0

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At 1/4/0 (Example 0.1) the stage directions indicate that Angelotti should make a gesture of discouragement. Diminished seventh chords and descending half-steps in the soprano accompany this physical gesture and are musically distinct from what comes both before and after; therefore, they would appear to illustrate the physical movement (IM-functions 4 and 5).

An example of IM-function 2 can be found in the second scene. The "local color" in this case is the sounding of Angelus bell at 1/13. Scenes 1 and 2 also exhibit Puccini's text-setting skills (IM-function 5): in the first scene, Angelotti's words (even though they are rhyming couplets) are set in a rhythmically free, recitative-like style that illustrates his unease. In scene 2, however, the ternary rhythms of the words and the music match precisely, illustrating the well-ordered world of the Sacristan (Example 0.2).

IL SACRESTANO
THE SACRISTAN

40

E sem-pre
All day long I'm

Il nervoso segnato da un rapido
movimento del collo e delle spalle
(A nervous tic shows itself in the
twitching of his neck and shoulders.)

SAGR.
S.C.

la - va...
clean - ing!

SAGR.
S.C.

O, guai penna - lo è soz - zo peg-gio d'un col - la -
Pots and paints and brush - es, Mer-ci - ful saints pro-

Example 0.2 - 1/10/4
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In the third scene, Cavaradossi's aria, "Recondita armonia" is another example of skillful text-setting: here, the stresses of the Italian words coincide perfectly with the rhythmic and durational stresses of the melody. Thus, even in this brief sample, we can see that all of the IM-functions are at play in the opera.

illustration of Angelotti's abating discomfort as he realizes he is safe. This conclusion is supported by the simultaneous return of the dynamic marking "fortissimo" and the stage directions "he is again terrified..." (at 1/5/0). Therefore, we can add *dynamics* and *orchestration* to the IM-tool list.

By contrast, the Sagrestano's music is in a cheerful C major *mode* (see Example 0.2). It has a regular *rhythm* and a fairly regular *hypermeter* (mostly four-bar phrases) until the Angelus bell rings and interrupts both the Sagrestano and his music. Here the fermata after the three chimes forms a transition to new *rhythm* and *stage action*; therefore *metabole* is also dramatically-linked and an IM-tool. The interruption is itself a dramatic illustration and thus *phrase structure* is an IM-tool as well, along with *rhythm* and *hypermeter*. One could further argue that "normal" harmonic syntax (progressions that follow traditional harmonic rules and include true *cadences*) are as common in the foreground of this scene as they are absent from the foreground of the previous scene. Hence, *foreground harmonic syntax* would also appear to be an IM-tool.

The tenor aria "Recondita armonia" in the third scene furnishes examples of M-tools used to illustrate the emotional state of Cavaradossi. At the climax of the aria (1/19/11) (see Example 0.3), the tenor sings a high b^2 , while declaring his love for Tosca. The emotional intensity of his declaration is clearly mirrored in the intensity of the high vocal register and the melodic climax; therefore we posit that *melodic direction*, *register* and *lepis* are IM-tools. These three IM-tools are not mutually exclusive: for example, the distinction in this example between *register* and *lepis* is nil, since we are discussing only the vocal line; in later chapters, orchestral register will also be seen to be highly illustrative.

Discovering the functions of *consonance* and *dissonance* is not so straightforward. In the first two scenes there appears at first glance to be a direct connection to the drama (scene 1 is mostly dissonant and scene 2 is mostly consonant). However, at 1/4/16 in the first scene, the chords of the opening prelude (Motive 1) are reiterated, the final one of which is an unfettered E major. One could argue that this major triad might express Angelotti's relief at finding the key, but this musical passage also has great significance at the middleground and background levels as an OM-tool, as we shall see below. Similarly, the introduction to

"Recondita armonia" contains a repeated, sometimes dissonant C pedal, which might suggest the "recondite" harmony, but which too has middleground structural significance. Therefore, it seems that only foreground consonance-dissonance bipolarity is an IM-tool.

4. Subtract the IM-tools from the list of M-tools; the remainder may be used for O-functions. In the initial stages of our procedure, the IM-tools so defined and examined above cannot be utilized for organizational purposes: confluence may indeed occur at a deeper level. But, for the moment, we must examine the remaining M-tools to see if they can sustain musical coherence:

chresis (pure pitch class, isolated from harmonic or rhythmic context)
consonance - dissonance bipolarity (on middleground and background levels)
counterpoint
design
form
harmonic syntax (on middleground and background levels)
intervallic content and interval class
motives and primary motivic material (interrelationship of motives)
structure

We shall now examine these M-tools in greater depth for inclusion or exclusion in the OM-tool category.

5. Test the selection and precise descriptions of the OM-tools by studying the music on middleground and background levels. In this demonstration, we have chosen to perform a Schenkerian-type analysis on the first three scenes for reasons that will become clear below. It should be self-evident that the musical coherence of any of these M-tools can only be fully ascertained through an examination of the entire work. Nevertheless, we hope that this sampling will guide the analysis in the right direction through the *Tosca* terrain. To that end, we have formally presented the information gleaned from this initial inquiry as axioms, which will be applied in Chapter IV to the full-scale examination. We initiate the process by eliminating registral doubling, by attempting to

identify the musical units, and by normalizing the voice-leading. Immediately, certain peculiarities come into view. Let us first examine the musical "units."

As we have already seen, the music under discussion reflects the scene divisions, becoming three units, each with contrasting music. Further, we have seen how a distinct seven-measure section accompanies Angelotti's gesture of discouragement in scene 1 (Example 0.1). We might then consider the seven-measure section a "subunit" within the scene. We can see that this subunit is preceded by an E major-minor seventh¹⁸ in $\frac{4}{3}$ inversion and the melodic string E - D# - G - F# - E; then, the subunit is followed by the slightly varied melodic string A - G - F# - A - E, which leads again to the same E $\frac{4}{3}$ chord. The essential polyphonic line in both cases is G - F# - E. In the first case, it is "decorated" with a motion to D# as lower neighbor to E; in the second case, the G is approached from the A above. Dramatically as well, the unit is both preceded and followed by Angelotti's searching. Thus, we can view the unit as an "interpolation." Clearly, the structural meaning of this brief passage cannot be determined in the absence of a broader context, but the concept of the **interpolation** will be a valuable device in understanding that context.

Let us then look at scene 1 as a whole. It begins in G minor with four descending notes (G - F - E \flat - D) (which will be identified in Chapter II as Motive 2, or the "Angelotti" motive) and it concludes, just before 1/6, on that same E major-minor seventh, but now with the root in the bass (Example 0.4).



Example 0.4 - 1/5/10
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Both the G minor motive and the E major-minor seventh are recurring phenomena, which might suggest some sort of musical punctuation. Motive 2 (which begins with pitch class G in both the soprano and bass) is stated twice at the outset, and repeated at 1/2 and 1/5. If we use these recurrences as sectional markers, we find that the first section ends at 1/2 on an F# major $\frac{6}{3}$ chord, the second section ends just before 1/5 on E major, and, of course, the final section ends on an E major-minor seventh. Recalling the E major-minor seventh before our interpolation, with its melodic descent G - F# - E, we can now begin to see motions from G - F# - E on both small and "large" scales, within this scene. Example 0.5 shows a graph of this motion, interrupted at 1/2 after the F#, followed by an interpolation and variant at 1/4, and presented in its clearest form at 1/5. The G - E motion provides a structural framework for this scene.



Example 0.5 - graph of 1/0/3 - 1/6/0

AXIOM 1: Repetition of musical material can create musical units, and enclose interpolations.

Before determining which M-tools are used to carry this out, let us examine the structural voice-leading of the scene. As one can see from Example 0.5, the voice-leading is also highly unusual: the soprano and bass form parallel G - E motions. Fundamentally, the bass line is a variation of the soprano (or vice-versa). This striking characteristic will be in evidence throughout *Tosca*, and must lead us to the inevitable conclusion that these voices are not fulfilling their traditional contrapuntal functions.¹⁹ The notated bass line may be released from the normal bass functions (i.e., to provide the harmonic basis for the tonal construction of a section). We can then hypothesize that the other voices as well might not behave "normally"; the soprano might not carry the *Urlinie*, and could even take over the stabilizing function normally given to the bass. We are not discussing here merely a registral alteration: it would be quite common for the tenor or alto voice to "carry the tune" on the musical surface. Instead, we are referring to what appears to be dysfunctional counterpoint at a deep level, a level at which all registral shifts would have been already taken into account. Only after studying the entire piece on this and even deeper levels will the true functions of these voices become clear.

The equivalence relation between the soprano and bass in scene 1 also leads to another conclusion: that there is an equivalence relation between the isolated pitch G and the minor chord based on G, and perhaps even between these and the key G minor, which is reflected here in the key signature. Therefore we propose this axiom:

AXIOM 2: The middleground equivalence relation among normally independent contrapuntal voices implies a middleground equivalence relation among their functions: therefore, a single pitch class can usurp the normal function of a chord or a key, and a chord or a key can usurp the normal function of a single pitch class.

A Schenkerian graph, in which a key or chord can be represented by a pitch, is particularly useful in portraying these equivalence relationships. Now, with these two axioms in hand, we can now turn to our evaluation of the remaining M-tools.

The first of these is *chresis* (pure pitch class). First we must determine if the pitch class G is linked with some aspect of the drama. It is associated with Angelotti in scene 1 as part of his leitmotiv. But, turning now to scene 2, we see that the most prominent soprano pitch class of the Sagrestano's music is also a G. It is unlikely then that pitch class G (or chord G or key G) has an illustrative function, or that *chresis* is an IM-tool.

It should also be noted that the Sagrestano's G is initially (and repeatedly) approached from an E, a reminder of the G - E motion discussed above. Yet the key of scene 2 is definitely C major, on the foreground, with the G as a main melodic note. What then is the nature and function of the bass note C? Let us see what happens to this pitch class, as an example of *chresis*.

After I/7, the C acts as the dominant of F major, but eventually becomes the tonic, as the musical material is reiterated (at I/10/0). But before the repetition can be fully completed, the Angelus bell rings (on F, at I/13/0) and the C is again interpreted as a dominant. As scene 3 begins, there is a certain amount of tonic instability (and leitmotivic interpolation), but then at I/17, as the aria "Recondita armonia" begins, the C returns prominently. This C is a sometimes-dissonant pedal through the greater part of this aria. The aria does indeed end in F, but it is followed by a few transitional phrases that lead us back again to C major. Here, at I/20/13, the Sagrestano's music is picked up again, after this long interruption, and a final close in C major is heard at I/21/2. Because the harmonic flow continually returns to pitch class C, that note can be seen as prolonged through two dramatically different scenes (and the aria "Recondita armonia" is part of this prolongation). The M-tool *chresis* will prove to be as important an OM-tool for the entire opera as it has been in this example.

Although it may seem unusual to place a stable set piece such as "Recondita armonia" in a non-structural position, Puccini does the same with many other solo arias, and has practical reasons for doing so. The realities of opera production often require cuts, and, to accommodate

this, Puccini often removed or replaced the solo arias. Further, singers do transpose their solo arias. So, by placing the solos in non-structural positions, the musical coherence of the entire work would not be threatened by these practical considerations.

Because we have seen how pitch class C is prolonged over scenes 2 and 3, we can now extrapolate from Axiom 1 ("repetition of musical material can create musical units, and enclose interpolations"). We conclude that a musical unit can be formed across scene boundaries. This leads us to the following:

AXIOM 3: middleground and background musical units may supersede dramatic units.

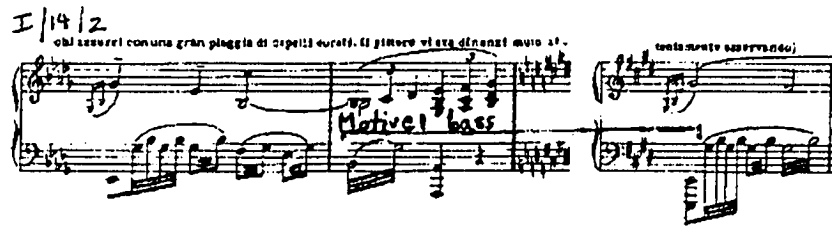
In Chapter IV below, we shall also be able to see how Puccini's musical units, on a very deep level, even cut across whole acts.

The next M-tool to be examined is *consonance-dissonance bipolarity*. We have seen that on the foreground, dissonance and its resolution are indeed linked to the drama. In studying consonance and dissonance on deeper levels, however, we must look at longer sections of music. As we do that, in Chapter IV, we shall be able to trace large-scale dissonant prolongations that are used in an organizational manner, cutting through very different dramatic situations. Therefore, middle- and background *consonance-dissonance bipolarity* is provisionally categorized as an OM-tool.

So far, we have not examined the function of the M-tool *counterpoint*. The equivalence relation among voices, set out in Axiom 2, would appear to complicate the determination of this tool's function on a deeper level. Therefore, let us limit this discussion to evaluating the foreground *counterpoint*, in regard to combinations of motives and themes: first, we need to search for the existence of any illustrative links.



Example 0.6 - 1/8/4 - Motive 6 in alto voice
(Property of G. Ricordi & C, Milan. Used by permission)



Example 0.7 - I/14/2 - Motive 1 in bass
(Property of G. Ricordi & C, Milan. Used by permission)

In scene 2, at I/8/4, the alto voice carries the pitches A - G - F# - E - Bb - G - D (identified in Chapter II as Motive 6) while the main melody continues above (Example 0.6). This motive, which appears in the soprano melody at I/14/0 in scene 3, is most likely associated with Cavaradossi. At this point in the opera, there is no dramatic reason to combine these two leitmotifs: the character Cavaradossi has not yet been introduced, nor has his name been mentioned. At I/14/3 (Example 0.7), with Cavaradossi's leitmotiv now in the soprano, the bass notes contain the following pitch classes: Bb- Ab- E, easily recognizable as the bass notes of the prelude to the opera (Motive 1). Again, no dramatic connection is apparent. This process of presenting musical material in an inner voice, or in other unobtrusive ways, serves to avoid jarring introductions of new themes; when heard prominently, the themes seem to be already familiar. This contributes to the continuous flow of the music.²⁰ Therefore, because no illustrative function of *counterpoint* exists consistently on the musical surface, and because such a link would be even more improbable at a deeper level, we shall categorize the M-tool *counterpoint* as an OM-tool.

The only aspects of *form* that we can examine here, within the confines of the first three scenes, are the relatively small musical units we have already discussed and the aria "Recondita armonia." Arias are often dramatically static moments, and this tenor showpiece follows suit. Therefore, any illustrative function of the musical *form* would probably be related to IM-function 5, presentation of verbal or textual content. The libretto shows the following text for the aria:

Recondita armonia
 di bellezze diverse!... È bruna Floria,
 l'ardente amante mia,
 e te beltade ignota,
 cinta da chiome bionde!
 Tu azzurro hai l'occhio, Tosca ha l'occhio nero!
 L'arte nel suo mistero
 le diverse bellezze insiem confonde:
 ma nel mirar costei
 il mio solo pensier, Tosca tu sei!

Without entering into a literary analysis at this point, we can note the most obvious poetic structure: the text is divided into two "stanzas" of five lines each.²¹ The music that Puccini supplies for it, however, does not respect this organization. He does indeed divide the music into two parts, but makes the division before the seventh line, at I/19. Additionally, he changes the final line to "ah! il mio sol pensier sei tu! Tosca sei tu!" This amendment (documented in Puccini's own hand in an early libretto version)²² is more effective musically, but it destroys the rhyme scheme and rhythm of the poem: "tu sei" rhymes with "costei" and "sei tu" does not, and the original line has eleven syllables (endecasillabi) while the new one has twelve. Although we cannot know for certain at this point, it seems likely that, even at the surface level, Puccini uses musical *form* as an OM-tool; that is, the musical considerations outweigh the poetic ones.²³ Additional support for this conclusion might be found in the fact that Puccini often wrote the music first, and requested his librettists to supply text tailor-made to fit it.²⁴

Among all the M-tools, the *harmonic syntax* of *Tosca* appears the most fragmented. A great deal of the confusion can be attributed to the foreground connection to the drama. In the middleground as well, our notion of "harmonic progression" becomes distorted by the freeing of the contrapuntal voices from their traditional harmonic functions. Perhaps it only adds to the confusion to note that each act of the opera ends in a perfectly normal manner. Act I ends in E♭ major, Act II in G♭ minor (notated F# minor) and Act III in E♭ minor: this forms a regular scheme of I-iii-i. It would appear that *harmonic syntax* functions coherently only at the

background level and, barring any deeper illustrative function, it serves as an OM-tool. We shall see below that this is indeed the case.

6. Clarify double functions. The only M-tools left uncategorized at this point are the tools *design*, *intervallic content and interval class*, and *motive and primary motivic material (interrelationship of motives)*: these treat similar aspects of the score. For example, in Example 0.0, Motive 2 is introduced for the first time. We shall see in Chapter II how this musical snippet is tied directly to Angelotti in a one-to-one relationship (an illustrative use of *motive*). But we shall also discover, in Chapter III, how this leitmotiv and many others in this opera are derived from the same motivic cell, the descending stepwise fourth, an organizational use of *intervallic content and interval class* and *primary motivic material (interrelationship of motives)*. Therefore, the surface form of the leitmotiv with all its components (not just the intervallic structure) is an IM-tool, but the deeper structure, or basic shape, of the same musical idea functions as an OM-tool.²⁵ *Design* treats the organization of these motives and themes, and thus, by definition, is organizational, an OM-tool.

With the procedure complete, we have in hand the following OM-tools with which to begin the search for musical unity: *chresis*, (*middle- and background*) *consonance-dissonance polarity*, *counterpoint*, *design*, *form*, (*background*) *harmonic syntax*, *intervallic content and interval class*, *primary motivic materials (interrelationship of motives)* and *structure*. These tools certainly overlap to some degree and not all of them may be of equal importance in the final result, but they will serve as our guiding instruments, our compass and sextant, as we begin to our *Tosca* voyage.

These and the axioms should lead us to a full understanding of the organizational forces behind this composition, which will be fully explored in Part II (The organizational (unifying) musical elements of the opera). That section will be preceded, however, by Part I (The illustrative musical elements of the opera), which, because it is better to understand a drama before discussing what is related to it, includes a dramatic analysis. This first chapter, however, goes beyond a simple examination of the Sardou play and the libretto that was made from it: instead, it contains a discussion of the nature of "libretticization" and a further discussion of the organizational and illustrative categories, which

we have seen above, applied to drama. In Part III (Comparisons to other Puccini operas), we shall see how Puccini's use of OM-tools in *Tosca* relates to the *design* and *structure* of three of his other operas (*Manon Lescaut*, *La fanciulla del West* and *Suor Angelica*). The Appendices are: A) an annotated translation of Sardou's play *La Tosca* B) a discussion of possible historical sources for that play, C) a chronicle of the opera's genesis (with new documentation) and D) an evolution of the libretto (with new documentation).

A review of prior research

"...Puccini represents a last outpost against the rigours of music theory..."

Roger Parker²⁶

If Puccini has evaded analytical interrogation, it is because we theorists have not been searching for him. But as we widen our hunt for musical coherence into this repertoire, our goal is not to trap the composer in a conceptual cage, but to find a way to reveal the truth about his work through examination of the musical evidence, and in so doing, liberate Puccini from theoretical exile and ourselves from limited analytical prejudgments. To this end, we must evaluate carefully both the accusations of Puccini's critics, who condemn him for not fulfilling their expectations, as well as the equally prejudicial pleas of his devoted defenders, in order to ferret out valid information.

Studies of *Tosca* date from immediately after its première in January 1900, yet, in the ninety-five years since, little of what has been written about the opera contains pure analysis. Nevertheless, we should not summarily dismiss these efforts: if examined from the particular perspective of this dissertation (namely, the illustrative and organizational categories), many prior inquiries can be of service to us for their contributions to parts, if not all, of the work at hand.

The area most thoroughly covered by prior research is Puccini's use of (IM-tool) *leitmotifs*. In Chapter II below, we shall compare the semantic labels systematically compiled by four scholars (Carner, Coeroy, Schuller and Winterhoff) with labels Puccini himself identified. In addition to these four studies, less complete descriptions are given by

Chop²⁷ and Torchi,²⁸ who provide no strict criteria for their selection of "leitmotifs": these writers "explain" the score by simply choosing short musical examples, some of which are called motives and some not. Döhring²⁹ and Girardi³⁰ link motivic work with specific illustrative purposes: the former argues that *Tosca's* leitmotifs function expressively, while the latter demonstrates how, in some cases, the combination of motives can represent stage action (musical mimesis).

A discussion of (what we would call) IM-tools applied to IM-function 3 (presentation of emotion or character) can be found in Greenwald's chapter on *rhythm* and *meter*,³¹ in which she describes Puccini's use of these tools to illustrate the character traits of Scarpia and Angelotti. Carner deals fairly extensively with Puccini's use of IM-tools *orchestration* and *dynamics* in this same area; he also clearly outlines a correspondence between IM-tool *phrase structure* and the illustration of emotion (in reference to Cavaradossi's two solo arias): "while his first-act aria is built up of regular four-bar phrases suggesting that Puccini, consciously or otherwise, equated happiness with a balanced structure, the third-act aria unfolds in the 'irrational' phrasing of 5+7+3 bars (...) a striking reflexion of the disturbed state of Cavaradossi's mind at this point of the drama."³² This flexible phrase structure is related to what is often called Puccini's "mosaic" technique: short, usually leitmotivic, phrases are joined side by side, rather than as counterpoint, or as part of clearly defined small forms.³³ Leibowitz goes perhaps the farthest in connecting an IM-tool (*consonance-dissonance polarity*) with character traits; he claims that Puccini suspends tonality (and indeed sets out all twelve tones horizontally at 1/6/0), when the character Angelotti is onstage, to represent directly the prisoner's politically excluded status. Conversely, the choice of C major for the Sacristan's appearance, he posits, links tonal hierarchy with that character's secure place in society.³⁴

The most extensive prior study of *Tosca* is by Winterhoff,³⁵ who harnesses several M-tools to a single IM-function, the identification of a character or theme. Winterhoff compiles two lists of musical characteristics for each of two "spheres": that of Scarpia and that of Tosca and Cavaradossi. The problem with this scheme is that, despite Winterhoff's justifications, it is not convincing. Here is a sampling from his list:

Tosca/Cavaradossi

closed forms
 primacy of the music
 conjunct melody
 major/minor
 tonal modulation
 converging rhythmic and metric
 strong beats

Scarpia

open forms (ostinato)
 primacy of words
 disjunct melody
 whole tone, chromatic
 chromatic, enharmonic
 modulation
 split rhythmic and metric strong
 beats.

It is not difficult to find examples that disprove Winterhoff's case. The Act III love duet of Tosca and Cavaradossi belies the attributes of "closed forms," "primacy of the music," "conjunct melody," "tonal modulation" and "converging rhythmic and metric strong beats": the duet is fragmentary, its music constantly adjusts to leitmotivic references and mood shifts (III/15/5 - III/19), Tosca's cheerful melody at III/22/1 is based on thirds, the transition to this same melody is enacted through the common tone C and the accompaniment is syncopated. To be sure, Winterhoff explains these inconsistencies by suggesting that Scarpia's world has invaded the lovers'. But in the first act as well, Cavaradossi sings to whole-tone harmony, with an ostinato (I/48/12-22), while Scarpia, in Act II, sings his "creed" ("Ha più forte sapore," II/6/0) to a stepwise melody in A \flat major.

Scholars who, like Winterhoff, shackle Puccini's harmonic language to the presentation of a character or theme, must unfortunately be judged guilty by "association." Atlas,³⁶ for example, sets up correspondences between the whole-tone scale on C and Evil (Scarpia's world), and between the complementary scale and Good;³⁷ Scarpia, by Atlas' rules, should sing only in keys that are members of the whole-tone scale on C. When exceptions occur, Atlas is then locked into providing elaborate explanations to make his categorizations work. He states, for example, that the Sacristan, a member of Scarpia's world, sings in F major because "the formal boundaries of the number made it unavoidable";³⁸ that Scarpia sings in the E \flat major "Te Deum" because that tonic only arrives late;³⁹ and that "Amaro sol per te" (III/24/0) is in the "wrong" key (G \flat major) because the

composer borrowed it from *Edgar* and "forgot" to transpose it.⁴⁰ Unfortunately, Atlas even succumbs to tradition and lays the blame on the composer rather than question his own analytic construct:

...in losing the sadistically erotic Scarpia at the end of Act II, Puccini lost not only the driving force of the opera, but something of his compositional self as well. And though none of these factors - exhaustion, laziness, dissatisfaction with the libretto, or the loss of his "executioner" - may in itself seem sufficient cause for the tonal lapse, taken together they could well have weakened Puccini's resolve, causing him to look to *Edgar* for a short-cut and to abandon his tonally systematic compositional plan.⁴¹

Parker and Carner also subscribe to associative links. Parker claims that the three chords of Motive 1 correspond to the three members of the fatal love triangle. Carner refuses to accept this semantic bond, yet when faced with explaining how E major can be used for both the Scarpia motive and the Act I love duet, he confesses, "the same key seems to me also to have different meanings depending on the context in which it occurs."⁴²

The issue of tonality in *Tosca* has been one area in which deeper familiarity with theoretical constructs would have been of benefit to some studies. At a basic level, both Carner and Girardi misidentify the final tonics of acts (Girardi states Act I is in B \flat major,⁴³ while Carner claims Act II is in E minor)⁴⁴ In general, the fluctuation of surface tonalities, in accordance with their illustrative functions, constrain those scholars without knowledge of structural levels simply to identify keys: in short, those who are fettered to a concept of harmony on a single plane, are doomed to discover here only tonal chaos.⁴⁵ Parker goes so far as to deny any structural tonality in the opera:

I find no evidence for a governing structure of tonal motion in *Tosca*, nor even for a firm sense of tonal hierarchy within each act. (...) to suggest that that the E flat major tonality (...) is heard as the resolution of the act's entire harmonic motion - a motion which (...) is startling in its diversity - would be foolhardy.⁴⁶

The perceived sense of chaos in this score is related by Döhning to an overall pattern of "overstepping bounds"⁴⁷ and by Titone to a general disintegration prompted by repressed erotic tendencies.⁴⁸ At

the other extreme, two somewhat overly reductive approaches can be seen in Coeuroy (who states that the harmonic language is a "manner" informed by the use of parallel fifths, a weakness for the tritone, and an abuse of chromaticism)⁴⁹ and in Torchi (who claims that the dominant harmonic formula is a C eleventh chord).⁵⁰

Although prior research has concentrated on explicating the illustrative functions of the score, a surprising number of writers mention the organizationally important interrelationship of leitmotifs, the subject of our Chapter III: those scholars include Ashbrook,⁵¹ Carner,⁵² Döhring,⁵³ Ferrari,⁵⁴ Girardi,⁵⁵ Maehder,⁵⁶ Parker,⁵⁷ Titone,⁵⁸ Torchi⁵⁹ and Winterhoff.⁶⁰ With the exceptions of Ferrari and Titone, however, this compositional technique is only mentioned briefly.

Titone's study of thematic interrelatedness is, however, a bit over-zealous. He attempts to classify every note of a melody as a type ; the results are "cells" only one or two notes in length.⁶¹ Titone provides a table of eighteen theme roots, divided into six classes. In a similar vein, Ferrari identifies three "vocaboli melodici" (for all of Puccini's operas): the patterns C - B - G - A, A - G - F - E (our cell -x)⁶², and E - D - E - F - E (a double neighbor pattern). Rather than see these patterns as musically unifying elements, however, she ties them to illustrative meanings; respectively, archaic-religious, lamenting-funereal-Spanish-gypsy magic-incantation, and painful tremble.⁶³

In Chapters IV and VI below, we shall examine how the opening motive of Puccini's operas (in *Tosca*, *Manon Lescaut*, *La fanciulla del West* and *Suor Angelica*) is expanded through the use of the OM-tool *chresis* (pure pitch class) to serve as the *large-scale design* for the entire work. Although that particular idea has not been previously explored, several writers have noted related elements anticipatory to it. Greenwald, for example, places great emphasis on the opening motive; she demonstrates how Puccini uses his first gestures to articulate the dramatic atmosphere of the opera;⁶⁴ Parker refers to "pivot notes (rather than pivot chords)";⁶⁵ and Drabkin, as we noted above, observes that the soprano and bass are often parallel.⁶⁶ Very suggestively, Leibowitz discusses the opening motive of *Tosca* (which he links with Scarpia) and the pairing of these chords with their tritone transposition at the end of Act I; he also notes that this combination

carries out a cadential function, but does not relate it to the overall construction of the score.⁶⁷

Similarly, Puccini's uses of bipartite forms and miniaturization, which we shall explore in Chapter IV, have been touched upon but still warrant more attention. Greenwald, for example, notes that the first act of each of Puccini's operas is divided musically and dramatically into two parts.⁶⁸ Titone compares Puccini's musical organization to a series of boxes, made in an identical way, one fitting inside the other, with the smallest element being the thematic cell. This is a promising idea, but Titone neither clearly identifies the other "boxes" nor explains exactly how they are similar to each other.⁶⁹

In sum, if we want to judge the music of Giacomo Puccini fairly, we must examine all of the musical evidence, a process that to date has been patchy at best. We do not claim that, with this dissertation, the work on *Tosca* is complete; only that we have expanded the boundaries of theoretical inquiry wide enough to begin to include an original talent working in a complex genre. But whether Puccini will ultimately be welcomed into academe, his banishment over, is a question that must be decided, as *Tosca* might say, "avanti a Dio."

Notes to the Introduction

¹ Even Literaturoper, plays set verbatim to music, cannot be considered as opera without taking into account the music.

² Arthur Groos makes a similar point: "Most listeners appreciate *Songs Without Words*; many demonstrably prefer 'operas without words.' Nobody seems to want 'operas without music' - the mere rumor of having to sit through one provokes audience unrest in Tieck's *Der gestiefelte Kater*." (Arthur Groos and Roger Parker, *Reading Opera* (Princeton University Press: Princeton, NJ, 1988), 1.

³ Edward T. Cone, *The Composer's Voice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 3.

⁴ Patrick McCreless, *Wagner's "Siegfried": Its Drama, History, and Music* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), 88-95, Summarized in Warren Darcy, *Wagner's "Das Rheingold"* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 52.

⁵ Frits Noske, *The Signifier and the Signified: Studies in the Operas of Mozart and Verdi* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 316.

⁶ Kivy makes a similar point in his book *Osmin's Rage*; the title of the book is derived from a letter from Mozart to his father, regarding *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, that reads in part, "as Osmin's rage gradually increases, there comes (...) the allegro assai, which is in a totally different measure and in a different key; this is bound to be very effective. For just as a man in such a towering rage oversteps all the bounds of order, moderation and propriety and completely forgets himself, so must the music too forget itself. But as passions, whether violent or not, must never be expressed in such a way as to excite disgust, and as music, even in the most terrible situations, must never offend the ear (...), must never cease to be music, I have gone from F (the key in which the aria is written), not to a remote key, but into a related one, not, however, into its nearest relative D minor, but into the more remote A minor." Kivy concludes, "The problem for Mozart, then, in representing Osmin's rage, was to use musical 'syntax' at the boundaries of grammatical coherence, to represent human expression out of control, while still remaining within those bounds." (Peter Kivy, *Osmin's Rage* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 59-60.

⁷ Abbate has recently explored the related but distinct issues of "narrative" and "voice"; although her scope is wider than operatic music, she reaches a conclusion parallel to our own in explicating her conception of musical narration: "To see how music might narrate, paradoxical as the formulation may seem, we must see how it does *not* enact actions from a nonmusical world, but is instead non-congruent with that world in retelling it." (Carolyn Abbate, *Unsung voices* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 27.)

⁸ One of those terms, "tool," should not be confused with "analytical tool": here, it refers to any creative tool used by the composer or one of his collaborators.

⁹ The terms "structure," "form" and "design" are derived from Felix Salzer, *Structural Hearing*, (reprint ed., New York: Dover Publications, 1962), 220-254. "Structure," "Form," and "Design" are all part of the total musical organization. In short, "structure" is essentially the Schenkerian voice-leading and harmonic structure, the *Ursatz*; "form" is the division of the organization into definite sections, and the relation of those sections to each other; "design" is the organization of themes, motives, rhythms, textures and other

elements of the compositional surface (although "large-scale design" operates on the middleground).

¹⁰The terms "hypermeter" and "phrase structure" are used in the senses given in William Rothstein, *Phrase Rhythm in Tonal Music* (New York: Schirmer, 1989), 12-13. They can be briefly defined as follows: "hypermeter" is the combination of measures on a metrical basis, including both the recurrence of equal-sized measure groups and a definite pattern of alternation between strong and weak measures; "phrase structure" is the coherence of musical passages on the basis of their total musical content: melodic, harmonic and rhythmic. See Chapter II for further details and definitions.

¹¹Stage directions include not only physical actions, but also expressive indications for sections of text.

¹²Often an opera will be based on a pre-existing work whose author will have found literary or theatrical solutions for some of the above I-functions. A large part of the process which transforms such a work into a libretto is the search for new operatic means to these ends. See Chapter I.

¹³In the case of *Tosca*, the cadence (from "fall" in Latin) is literally accompanied by a fall.

¹⁴The issue may be raised as well that a certain event in an operatic score makes no sense in either category. In that hypothetical case ("hypothetical" because some illustrative "explanation" can be- and usually has been - found for almost every operatic musical gesture) the event must be considered a compositional flaw.

¹⁵I/0/3 to I/I/21/2. The scenes are designated in the current libretto only by unobtrusive dividing lines and they are not indicated at all in the score. In the early versions of the libretto, however, the scenes were clearly numbered. To indicate measure numbers, we are using a version of Roger Parker's system: Act #/ rehearsal number #/ measures after the rehearsal number.

¹⁶See Chapter II.

¹⁷In all fairness, the decision to commence the opera with this extreme contrast between setting and plot was probably made by the librettist Luigi Illica. The original play begins differently. See Chapter I.

¹⁸Equivalent acoustically to a dominant seventh chord.

¹⁹Drabkin notes this compositional technique in *La bohème*, and concludes that there is no other bass line: "the same line is functioning both as a melody and as a bass." (William Drabkin, "The musical language of *La bohème*" in *Giacomo Puccini: "La bohème"*, ed. Arthur Groos and Roger Parker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 87.

²⁰The continuous flow and the subliminal introduction of musical material actually lead the audience's attention away from the music and focus it on the drama. This organizational device is intended to be imperceptible.

²¹These lines are grouped as if they were stanzas, although the rhymes of "bionde" and "confonde," which cut across the groupings, and the differing line lengths would appear to conflict with that categorization.

²²Housed at the Music Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. See Appendix D.

²³As we shall see in Chapter IV, the bipartite form of this aria is similar to that of other solo arias in *Tosca*, and to the large formal construction of entire acts.

²⁴The most well-known example of this is the nonsense-text model Puccini supplied for Musetta's Waltz in *La bohème*. But he did the same for bits of *Tosca*, as we shall see in Appendix D.

²⁵Using Schoenberg's terminology, we can state that the Grundgestalt would be an OM-tool, while the individual Gestalten would be IM-tools. See Chapter III.

²⁶Roger Parker, "Analysis: Act I in perspective" in *Giacomo Puccini: Tosca*, ed. Mosco Carner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 118.

²⁷Max Chop, *Puccini's "Tosca": Erläuterungen* (Leipzig: Reclam, 1927), 22- 64.

²⁸Luigi Torchi, "Tosca: Melodramma in tre atti di Giacomo Puccini" *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 7 (1900), 92-111. Luigi Torchi (Bologna, 1858 - ivi 1920) was a musicologist and composer, who, from 1894, was editor of the *Rivista musicale italiana*. One of the founders of Italian musicology, his most important works are dedicated to the study of ancient Italian instrumental music. He also translated several German works about Wagner into Italian.

²⁹Sieghart Döhring "Musikalischer Realismus in Puccini's *Tosca*" *Analecta Musicologica* 22 (1984), 265.

³⁰Michele Girardi, "Tosca: Roma tra fede e potere" *Puccini, musicista internazionale* (Venice: Marsilio, 1995), 135-178. Girardi refers to the combination at 1/57/0 of Motives 1 and 5, corresponding to the intimidation of the Sacristan by Scarpia.

³¹Helen Greenwald, *Dramatic Exposition and Musical Structure in Puccini's Operas*, Ph.d. diss. City University of New York, 1991, 50-52.

³²Mosco Carner, *Giacomo Puccini: "Tosca,"* Cambridge Opera Handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 103.

³³Puccini's "mosaic" technique is mentioned by Carner, Coeuroy (André Coeuroy, "La *Tosca*" de Puccini: *Étude historique et critique, Analyse Musicale* (Paris: Mellottée, 1923)) and Döhring.

³⁴René Leibowitz, "Un opéra contestaire: *Tosca*," in *Les fantômes de l'opéra* (Paris: Éditions Gallinard, 1972), 261-274.

³⁵Hans-Jürgen Winterhoff, *Analytische Untersuchungen zu Puccini's "Tosca"* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1973).

³⁶Allan Atlas, "Puccini's *Tosca*: A New Point of View," in *Studies in the History of Music*, 3: *The Compositional Process* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1992), 247-273.

³⁷Although the opposition of Good and Evil does play an important role in the several facets of the opera's construction, we do not concur that it is represented by the conflict of two whole-tone scales.

³⁸Atlas, "Puccini's *Tosca*," 252.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 257.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 267.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 269.

⁴²Carner, *Tosca*, 106.

⁴³Girardi, "*Tosca*," 135-178.

⁴⁴Carner, *Tosca*, 99.

⁴⁵Such descriptions are given by Carner, Parker and Titone (Antonino Titone, *Vissi d'arte: Puccini e il disfacimento del melodramma* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1972)).

⁴⁶Parker, "Analysis: Act I," 125.

⁴⁷Döhring "Musikalischer Realismus," 294.

⁴⁸Titone, *Vissi d'arte*, 69.

⁴⁹Coeuroy, "*La Tosca*," 153.

⁵⁰Torchi, "*Tosca*," 111.

⁵¹William Ashbrook, *The Operas of Puccini*, 2nd ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 85.

⁵²Carner, *Tosca*, 95-97.

⁵³Döhring "Musikalischer Realismus," 257.

⁵⁴Franca Ferrari, *Il linguaggio melodico di Puccini nella drammaturgia di Bohème, Tosca e Madama Butterfly*, doctoral diss. Università degli Studi di Bologna, 1989-90.

⁵⁵Girardi, "*Tosca*," 135-178.

⁵⁶Jürgen Maehder, "Roma anno 1800. Riflessioni sulla struttura drammatico-musicale dell'opera storica in Puccini," in *49^o Maggio Musicale fiorentino*, Teatro Comunale di Firenze (1986): 1037-1055.

⁵⁷Parker, "Analysis: Act I, 141."

⁵⁸Titone, *Vissi d'arte*, 50ff., 64-68, 73ff.

⁵⁹Torchi, "Tosca," 90-91.

⁶⁰Winterhoff, *Analytische Untersuchungen*, 99.

⁶¹This dissection work leads the author to refer to Puccini as a "decomposer." (Titone, *Vissi d'arte*, 14) Titone also describes the musico-dramatic structure of the entire opera as an elaborated "grande scena" that cuts across the act divisions: a prologue (Act I to S's entrance = exposition), followed by scenes detailing the love relationship of Tosca and Scarpia (prologue, scene 1 - Tosca's entrance, resolution - Scarpia alone, interlude - Scarpia interrogates Cavaradossi, scene 2 - Tosca's interrogation, resolution 2 - Scarpia and Tosca, epilogue - death of Scarpia) and an epilogue - Act III. (Titone, *Vissi d'arte*, 54-55)

⁶²See Chapter III.

⁶³Ferrari, *Il linguaggio*, 123-128, 131-132.

⁶⁴Greenwald, *Dramatic Exposition*, Chapter 1.

⁶⁵Parker, "Analysis: Act I," 128.

⁶⁶Drabkin, "The musical language," 87.

⁶⁷René Leibowitz, *Storia dell'opera*, Italian trans. Maria Galli De' Furlani (Milan: Garzanti, 1966), n.p.

⁶⁸Greenwald, *Dramatic Exposition*, 107-108.

⁶⁹Titone, *Vissi d'arte*, 43.

PART I
THE ILLUSTRATIVE MUSICAL ELEMENTS OF THE OPERA

CHAPTER I

DRAMATIC ANALYSIS

Imagine a *Tosca* in which no covered painting of Mary Magdalene is onstage as the curtain opens, in which no tell-tale empty basket is found in the chapel, in which the announcement of Napoleon's surprise victory at Marengo is not heard by Mario Cavaradossi, and in which no music floats in through Scarpia's open window. This *Tosca* is five acts long, has twenty-three characters and conveys patriotic messages destined for French ears. It was just such a play that Luigi Illica faced when he accepted the task of fashioning a libretto from Sardou's spoken drama, *La Tosca*.

It would be a simple matter for us to observe and list the changes that Illica made to the original play.¹ But that alone would not answer an essential question: by what process, according to what criteria, did the librettist transform the source material into an effective libretto? Illica has given us a hint:

... io nel libretto continuerò a dar valore solo al modo di tratteggiare i caratteri e al taglio delle scene e alla verosimiglianza del dialogo, nella sua naturalezza, delle passioni e delle situazioni.²

(...in the libretto, I will continue to emphasize only the means of depicting the characters, the shape of the scenes, and the verisimilitude of the dialogue, in the naturalness of its passions and situations.)

But to understand fully the problems Illica faced, we need to place his comments and his work in a broader context. Therefore, in this chapter we shall not only compare the *Tosca* play and libretto, but we shall also attempt to delineate in a systematic way what it is that a librettist does. To that end, we begin with an investigation into the nature of

libretticization. Then, in order better to understand the source material from which Illica worked, we shall present a dramatic analysis of Sardou's play, followed by an analysis of the libretto itself. In this last section, because the ultimate libretto was the result of a long and complicated group effort, we shall also refer to several of its earlier versions;³ in so doing, we hope to gain even greater insight into the motivations behind the librettists' decisions.

The nature of libretticization

We have suggested earlier that music is the predominant element in the multi-faceted genre known as opera, and that the ever-present operatic music behaves as a filter, through which the observer perceives the other, non-musical elements.⁴ These other elements (the dramatic, visual, poetic, and even choreographic ones) are all prescribed in a single document, the libretto, which yokes them together in a single dramatic enterprise. In sum, it is the libretto that passes through the musical filter. Let us then define:

libretto = a set of dramatically-related materials intended to pass through an operatic musical filter

A filter has a two-fold function: it enhances but it also eliminates. So too does our musical filter, which can either emphasize or de-emphasize, maximize or minimize, the libretto material. The illustrative musical functions (IM-functions), noted above and here below, suggest the features of a libretto that music can easily enhance:

IM-functions:

1. presentation of atmosphere or mood
2. presentation of local or historical color
3. presentation of emotional content and character
4. presentation of physical stage action
5. presentation of verbal and textual content (including stage directions)
6. presentation and/or identification of characters, objects,

events or thematic ideas.

An effective libretto will maximize and minimize its materials in such a way as to pass through the musical filter intact. In other words, the successful libretto emphasizes elements that can be enhanced by the operatic score, and de-emphasizes those that the music will minimize or filter out. Hence, the process of libretticization (L) is the molding of source material into a form that will successfully pass through the musical filter. Let us then define the following terms:

1. **L is a set of operations that molds source material into a libretto, such that: L (source material) = libretto**
2. **Let S = source material for librettos, such that:
L (S) = libretto**
3. **Let the L operations = elimination, invention, maximization, minimization, versification**

Source materials for librettos (S) are either original works or pre-existing ones, such as novels, historical accounts or plays. A subset of the latter group will become Literaturopern, plays set verbatim to music. If S is an original libretto, clearly little libretticization is necessary, because that process was already carried out during its creation. As Wagner, author of his own librettos, wrote:

...with all my dramatic works, I was in the first instance Poet, and only in the complete working-out of the poem, did I become once more Musician. Only, I was a poet who was conscious in advance of the faculty of musical expression, for the working-out of his poems.⁵

Dryden, too, in regard to his collaborations with Purcell, made observations about the special restrictions to which librettists must adhere:

...the Numbers of Poetry and Vocal Musick, are sometimes so contrary, that in many places I have been oblig'd to cramp my Verses, and make them rugged to the Reader, that they may be harmonious to the Hearer.⁶

Therefore, the types of source material **S** determine only when the L operations occur, not whether they occur.

The operatic musical filter can be of varying strength. In the case of a Literaturoper, the musical filter would have an all but nil filtering effect on the source material. The opposite extreme would be an operatic score that ignored its subject, a symphony with vocal and visual accompaniment: here, the musical filter would be so dense and intractable that musical forms would hold sway over all dramatic considerations. Therefore, the strength of the musical filter is not constant from opera to opera, but varies along a scale delimited by these two extremes. Hence:

**Let M = musical filtering operation, such that M (libretto) = opera, and
m = strength of M.**

If the musical filter were a mathematical operation, we could assign a changeable numeric value "m" to reflect the impermeability or porousness, the strength or weakness, of the filter. The musical filter of a Literaturoper would have an m-value approaching one (the identity operation), while our symphony with words would have an m value approaching infinity.

The L operations (**elimination, invention, maximization, minimization, and versification**) are also mutable: they are dependent upon two variables. First, they must change with the value of m. If the value of m is high, then the musical requirements are more rigid, and the libretticization process must adapt to those requirements. For example, if the musical filter favors formal aria structures, the L operation **versification** would normally increase. Or if the musical filter strongly favors the presentation of atmosphere or local color, the successful libretto will **maximize** those. If, on the other hand, the value of m is low, the music will not impose rigid requirements, and the libretto would not need to conform.

We should note that the librettist may indeed use his or her own formal structures even if the music is not congruent with them; but, in that event, it is unlikely that those structures will be successfully perceived because **M** will filter them out. An example of this occurs in the opening

scene of *Tosca*: here, the first six lines of the libretto, spoken by Angelotti, form three pairs of end-rhyming couplets:

Ah!...Finalmente!... Nel terror mio stolto
vedea ceffi di sbirro in ogni volto!
La pila...la colonna...
"A piè della Madonna"
Mi scrisse mia sorella...
Ecco la chiave!...ed ecco la Cappella!...

But, because Puccini's music interrupts this text and distributes it over wildly varying textures, the poetic form becomes overpowered and remains largely unperceived.

The second variable that affects the L operations is the type of source material (**S**). Libretticizing an historical account will probably require more of the operation **elimination** than adapting a play, whereas libretticizing an epic poem may require less **versification** than adapting a novel.

To carry out the L operations the librettist has certain technical tools at his disposal. These are Dramatic tools, or D-tools. These D-tools are identical to those available to any dramatist, whether librettist or playwright. The titles and definitions of these D-tools, given below in alphabetical order, are borrowed from Levitt.⁷

D-tools:

character

continuation and closure - patterns of anticipation and expectation that are the result of action (or scenes) taking place in a temporal series; these expectations can either be fulfilled or not.

plot

point of attack - the moment, in the plot, that the dramatist chooses as a starting point.

*recurrence and reversal*⁸ - recurrence is repetition that satisfies expectancy; reversal promotes change by violating expectation.

stage directions - written or spoken instructions concerning the time

and place of the events, actions, movements, entrances and exits, sound effects, stage properties, costumes, or setting.
stage properties
theme/unifying idea
verbal motives/imagery

In addition, we would like to append the following:

characterization through dialogue - dialects, accents, type of vocabulary
manipulation of time - simultaneity, time compression, time expansion
manipulation of distance - off-stage events or descriptions of events
structure
unity of time - limiting a play's action to a single day
unity of place - limiting a play's action to a single location
unity of action - limiting a play to a single plot
verse forms

Any analysis of a dramatic work, then, should examine the dramatic material, libretto or play, in light of each of these D-tools, in an attempt to clarify the author's technique. Yet, according to Levitt, this alone is not enough:

For the structural critic, there remains, however, one question which is and must be primary to the others. What is the underlying organizational principle which unifies the whole work? (...) to understand the whole is to understand what underlying principle of organization governs the order and arrangement of the parts causing them to unite into an intelligible whole.⁹

In search of this "underlying, organizational principle," we re-introduce the two categories mentioned above in connection with operatic music, organizational functions (O-functions) and illustrative functions (I-functions). Operatic music, as we have seen, has two distinct functions: illustrating the drama and being the organizing vehicle or medium,

through which that illustration is transmitted. As organizing forces, the O-functions must be consistent and unifying.

But how can these categories be applied to drama? In this case, the relevant distinction must be made between, on the one hand, constructive characteristics that transcend and organize the individual drama, and those deriving from it. As a primitive example, let us consider a fable, the story of the tortoise and the hare. The moral of this story might be something akin to "do not be overconfident." This moral is the conclusion drawn from the fable as well as its organizing force and its "raison d'être." But the same moral could be illustrated by a different fable. In like manner, then, the playwright's much more sophisticated theme is the prime organizing factor of a drama, the "idea" that the individual play he or she has created illustrates.

In addition, the structural elements that support the "idea" are organizational. If a D-tool is used in a structural way, it becomes an OD-tool. In our fable, the hare's overconfidence is an essential part of the story structure (an OD-tool), but the color of his fur, if described, only relates to this individual tale itself (an ID-tool). Let us take an operatic example: the fans held by female characters in *Carmen* are simply a part of the general ambience, and therefore an ID-tool, whereas the fan in *Tosca* is an essential plot device, an OD-tool. Therefore, we can define the following:

OD-function= that which serves to organize the drama.

ID-function = that which serves to express or illustrate the drama

OD-tool = any dramatic tool that carries out an OD function

ID-tool = any dramatic tool that carries out an ID function

Analysis of Sardou's *La Tosca*

Let us now apply these concepts in an analysis of Sardou's *La Tosca*. Our procedure will be to examine the play in light of the relevant D-tools, to see how they are utilized and to what end. The goal of that process is to lead us to a fuller understanding of the playwright's artistic intention and of the technical craft that gives that intention dramatic form.

The first step in trying to determine Sardou's artistic "idea," or the unifying principle of the drama, is to discover to which genre the play belongs. It has been written elsewhere that *La Tosca* is another example of "the well-made play" ("la pièce bien faite") for which Sardou was famous. That genre can be defined thus:

A form of drama characterized by intrigue, the well-made play is designed to reflect the tastes and values of a bourgeois audience. Created by Eugène Scribe and perfected by Victorien Sardou, the 19th-century French well-made play relied on skillfully planted hints to bring its plot to a satisfying denouement that would invariably reassert the status quo. Superficial and mechanistic, the well-made play is successful only as farce or light comedy, as, for instance, in Sardou's *Scrap of Paper* (1860; Eng. trans., 1861), in which the most serious issue is fear of scandal caused by imagined sexual improprieties.¹⁰

Although one could argue that *La Tosca* is "superficial and mechanistic," the play certainly neither reflects bourgeois values nor reasserts the status quo. Rather, we aver, this drama is a tragedy more in the tradition of French dramatists Marie-Joseph Chénier (1764-1811) and Louis-Sébastien Mercier (1740-1814). Mercier believed that

(the) end of tragedy is to move men's hearts, to cause tears of pity or admiration to flow, and by all this to inculcate in men the important truths, to inspire in them a hatred of tyranny and superstition, a horror of crime, a love of virtue and liberty, a respect for laws and morality, the universal religion.¹¹

La Tosca, which portrays a woman caught in a fateful (and fatal) struggle between tyrannical royalists and republican idealists, seems to follow these guidelines. But the Sardou play comes even closer to filling the following dramatic prescription set forth by Mercier, who, reports Carlson, attempted to stimulate republican virtues and unite all classes in patriotic fervor by means of the historical drama:

True tragedy should return to the practice of Greek drama, which appealed to all classes, showed the people their true interests, and aroused an enlightened patriotism and love of country.¹²

Mercier's goal of fostering patriotic sentiment through the vehicle of Classic tragedy in historical dress is indeed attempted by Sardou in *La Tosca*. That Sardou was fervently patriotic is a matter of public record,¹³ and he wastes no opportunity in *La Tosca* to induce flag-waving sentiments in his audience (the last line of Act II, for example, is "Vive la France" spoken amid the cheers of a crowd.) Further, as we shall see, the characterization of the heroine, the nature of the forces that cause the chief conflicts, and the overall structure of the play are all derived from the writings of Aristotle and Horace, in good French neoclassical tradition.

"The primacy of Aristotle's *Poetics* in theatrical theory as well as in literary theory is unchallenged," writes Carlson.¹⁴ In this work Aristotle insists on unity of action ("mythos"), which may be either simple or complex. The complex plot will involve "reversal (a change of fortune to its opposite), recognition (a change from ignorance to knowledge), or both." Further, a tragic figure is one with "hamartia," or a "fatal flaw."¹⁵

La Tosca involves both many reversals and a change in its tragic heroine from ignorance to knowledge, as we shall see below. The latter transformation profoundly influences her character. In the course of the drama, Floria Tosca grows from a silly, apolitical woman in love (she admires her lover's republican moustache too much to have him shave it) to an "avenging angel" fighting tyranny. But, more importantly, she has a fatal flaw: her jealousy. It is this trait that entangles her in the socio-political machinery that pervades the historical period: her jealous pursuit of Cavaradossi enables Scarpia to track the escaped prisoner Angelotti to her lover's secret villa. Large political forces are used by Sardou in a manner akin to the Greeks' use of Fate: because of her weakness, Tosca inevitably loses control of her destiny to these forces and ultimately becomes aware of her flaw. Precisely at the central point of the drama (in the middle of the third of five acts), Tosca comes to knowledge: "Ah, my God, and to think that I did this!" After this moment, she is doomed and all of her subsequent "choices" are false. To save Cavaradossi, Tosca chooses to reveal the whereabouts of Angelotti, but he is still arrested (as is Tosca herself). She must also decide whether or not to accept Scarpia's sexual bargain; but again, the outcome will be unaffected by her choice.

Scarpia, unlike his operatic counterpart, is also driven by forces beyond his control: he must find Angelotti or lose his position and perhaps his head. In Act II, scene 4, this is made clear to him by Queen Marie-Caroline:

Queen: Be careful that this business is not the end of you. You have some enemies.

Scarpia: The same ones as Your Majesty.

Q: And these people would circulate nasty rumors about you.

S: Every day I arrest those who spread rumors about the Queen.

Q: They declare that Angelotti, locked up for a year, managed to escape only eight days after you came.

S: They accuse me?...

Q: His sister is rich and beautiful.

S: Does Your Majesty think me guilty?

Q: The answer is easy...Find Angelotti.

The threat Scarpia faces is reiterated later in the act, when a royalist crowd calls for his death. Cavaradossi, because of his lineage, also seems fatefully, inexorably drawn into the conflict: his father was a republican who lived in France, and an ancestor, Luigi Cavaradossi, had had confrontations with tyrannical authorities, escaping the Pope's archers by taking refuge in the villa's hidden well.¹⁶

Sardou emphasizes the eternal, Fate-directed nature of plot by constantly relating the "current" events of the play to ancient history. One way he does this is through the verbal motive we shall label "ancient/modern." Another is his choice of Rome as a setting. Here is Cavaradossi's description of the Eternal City, which also reinforces the theme of tyranny against freedom:

In this city, which has conquered the world, but on which the entire world has taken revenge by ruling it, and which every nation, in turn, has sieged and sacked: in this Rome of the Christians and the barbarians, the Neros and the Borgias, of all the persecutors and all the victims, there is no old house, as you know, without a secret place to hide from the tyrant within or the invader without.

But the chief means by which Sardou recalls the Classic past is in his structuring of the play on the Classic model. The Roman Horace (68-5 B.C.),

in his *Ars Poetica*, set forth specific rules for drama, including the following: the marvelous and the offensive should be kept offstage, and the play must contain five acts. Sardou's *Tosca* is indeed five acts long, and, for the most part, the violence is off-stage. The only exception is the murder of Scarpia; the torture, the suicide of Angelotti and the execution of Cavaradossi are out of the audience's sight.

Among other Classic traits that Sardou adopts is the strict definition of the scene: a new one must begin whenever any character exits or enters, a practice that leads to some extremely short scenes. The librettists of *Tosca* did not limit scenes in this way, which belies any simple numerical comparison of the two works' component parts. *La Tosca* also conforms to the three Classical unities of time, place and action: the drama unfolds within one twenty-four-hour period, and all events take place in Rome. Although the Angelotti story could be considered a secondary plot line, it is really just the technical means by which the main characters are brought together.

Had Sardou conceived of his play as a neoclassic tragedy, the death of its heroine would have been inevitable. In fact, he did indeed insist upon *Tosca*'s demise, an opinion that was not shared by the librettists, and that led to some conflict. Illica, and sometimes Puccini, wanted *Tosca* to go mad rather than die in the final scene, but Sardou persisted. As Puccini wrote:

circa al finale (Sardou) mi ha detto cose che non vanno. La vuol morta a tutti i costi quella povera donna! (...) forse vorrà far morire anche Spoletta? Vedremo.¹⁷

(about the finale (Sardou) told me things that will not work. He wants that poor woman dead at all costs! (...) perhaps he will want to have Spoletta die also? We shall see.)

We are now in a position to gain an initial insight into what constituted Sardou's artistic "idea" in *La Tosca*. The play illustrates one woman's tragic voyage from ignorance of both her own character and her political surroundings to self-awareness and personal political involvement. The setting, events, and characters of the play are constantly linked with earlier, similar events and characters in the same setting; this emphasizes the eternal, recurring nature of the basic conflict. The structure of the play as

well, based upon an ancient model, reinforces the same theme. Therefore, if it were possible to sum up Sardou's artistic idea, the "moral" of the story, so to speak, it might read: we must all recognize and take part in the eternal struggles between tyranny and freedom, good and evil.

In formulating this theme, we have taken into account the D-tools *structure, character, setting* (a member of the D-tool *stage directions*), and, in part, *verbal motives*. Because these D-tools serve the playwright's unifying "idea," we can consider them OD-tools. Let us now examine some additional OD-tools and their functions in *La Tosca*.

Regarding the D-tool *point-of-attack*, Levitt writes:

...where a playwright does begin his action in the story will, to a reasonable degree, govern the extent of the exposition, the number of characters, the treatment of time and place, and the manner in which unity is effected.¹⁸

Points-of-attack can be either early or late: an example of the early point-of-attack would be a biographical portrait of a historical figure that proceeds from birth through death. A play with a late point-of-attack, such as *La Tosca*, has the following traits:

the structural pattern of a late point-of-attack play is a concentrated one because the action is confined to the few remaining moments or hours before the climax...this kind of play usually conforms to the Unities. Classical in its antecedents, the late point-of-attack play is characteristically heavy in exposition.¹⁹

We have seen how Sardou's play conforms to the Unities. It is also laden with a great deal of exposition, much of which was later eliminated by the librettists. In that exposition, apart from biographical information about the protagonists, we find a verbal recounting of the earlier part of the plot, that which occurred before the opening curtain. Angelotti relates to Cavaradossi that he came to be imprisoned because he had been a lover of Emma Lyon, a (real-life) prostitute who subsequently married the English Ambassador to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Lady Emma Hamilton, as she became known, wielded great influence over the court at Naples, and caused (the fictional) Angelotti, who publicly revealed her identity, to be arrested. Lady Hamilton went on to have a highly publicized

affair with the British Admiral Nelson, and she would have been a recognizable historical reference point for Sardou's audiences.

But what is the specific point-of-attack of *La Tosca* and, more importantly, why did Sardou select it? As the curtain opens on Act I, we see the interior of the Church of Saint-Andréa des Jésuits with a young man stretched out, apparently asleep, upon artist's scaffolding. Immediately, the Sacristan Eusèbe enters, approaches the horizontal Gennarino and awakens him. To appreciate the significance of this moment, and to understand why this *point-of-attack* is an OD-tool, let us remember the final moments of the play: then too a body (Cavaradossi's) is laid out. But is the artist really dead, or can he be awakened? The first audiences of *La Tosca* did not know that answer. The symmetrical placing of this visual/dramatic image is part and parcel of Sardou's neoclassic organization, and it is an example of the verbal motive we shall call "sleep/death." In the opera, as we shall see, the point-of-attack was changed to a few moments earlier: Illica was not interested in retaining Sardou's verbal/visual symmetry.

The verbal motive sleep/death is stated explicitly three times during the play. In Act I, scene 1, Gennarino asks the Sacristan, "Do you think, father Eusèbe, that they sleep in Hell?" In Act V, scene 1, it is the imprisoned Mario Cavaradossi, awakened in Castel Sant'Angelo's chapel, who makes the connection, "...aren't you waking me from such a good sleep to let me find another, deeper one?"²⁰ Symmetrical placement is also in evidence here: both questions are asked in a church setting. The third reference is made by Tosca in the last act, regarding the murdered Scarpia:

He gave the order right in front of me to leave him alone and
let him rest....He is resting!

We shall label a related verbal motive "act/real"; it is one retained by the opera librettists. Cavaradossi's "simulated" execution is an obvious example. Another is Scarpia's "compliment" to Tosca, during Act III, scene 8:

By my faith, you are as tragic in real life as you are on the
stage...My compliments...

Tosca herself voices this motive in the final act, fourth scene, when she reminds Cavaradossi:

Play your part well...fall down when they shoot...And really act dead.

and later, as she hears the execution, "I know that this is only a game." The librettists changed this to "I know it is a comedy," which intensifies the ironic effect.

Another important verbal motive is "angel/devil," most clearly evidenced by the visual image of the armed angel atop the Castel Sant'Angelo. This motive relates to the hypocritical position of the church in the contemporary political situation, in which the true believers, "angels," are repressed and "devils" like Scarpia are in power. That Angelotti is an "angel" is shown by his name and the fact that his family crest sports three angels; the tortured Cavaradossi is called an "angel" by Tosca in Act III, scene 9. Sardou also uses this reference in other large and small ways: the play's time span is delimited by the soundings of the morning and evening Angelus, the Castel Sant'Angelo is the home of Scarpia (unlike the libretto), Tosca plans to escape Rome via the Porta Angelica, and even Michelangelo is mentioned. As for the devil imagery, Tosca refers in Act V to Mario's torturers as "demons" and then applies the term to Scarpia himself:

Tosca, leaning on the back of the secretary: Oh, demon!
Scarpia, one knee on the couch: A demon, so be it!

It is in the final moments of the drama, however, that Tosca, about to take her own life, is visually juxtaposed with the avenging angel atop the Castle while Spoletta says to her, "Ah demon, I will send you to meet your lover!"

Earlier, we briefly mentioned a thematically-derived verbal motive labeled "ancient/modern." The effect of this juxtaposition is increased by the Roman setting. In Act III, which takes place at Cavaradossi's villa, the reference is made clearer by the stage set: it contains an antique column shaft and sarcophagus. When Angelotti's dead body is brought in, Cavaradossi falls on the sarcophagus, a symbol not only of ancient times but also of death:

Tosca: Mario!...
Mario: Don't touch me!...Go away!...I loathe you!...It was you!...You killed him!...

(He falls exhausted on the sarcophagus, his eyes fixed on the corpse.)

The connection between past and present is also strengthened by giving Scarpia the first name "Vitellio," which recalls the Roman tyrant of the same name, and by having Scarpia himself mention the Borgia family.²¹

One minor verbal motive that was enlarged upon in the libretto we shall label "money - bargaining." There is, of course, Scarpia's bargain, a major plot event, and bribery is common among minor characters, such as the Sacristan and the never-seen accomplice Trebelli.²² Even the torturer's official title is "fiscal prosecutor." In addition, the bargain motive appears at some crucial moments, such as when Tosca explains to Scarpia what exactly will happen "avanti a Dio":

Tosca: Ah, when you settle your account with God, have no fear, I will be there!

Moreover, the murder of Scarpia is not "Tosca's kiss" but a payment:

Scarpia: Now for what is due me!...

(He grasps her arm and ardently kisses her naked shoulder.)

Tosca, striking Scarpia right in the chest with the knife: And there it is!...

When Illica first received his copy of Sardou's *La Tosca*, he did not like it. As he recalled in 1908:

Ne riportai una bruttissima impressione. Tanto che quando Puccini tornò da me, lo sconsigliai recisamente. (...) gli dissi: "Ma non vedi che è un lavoro tutto poggiato su due artifizi, e neppure nuovi? Il ventaglio e il cestino. Se per combinazione Angelotti non ha fame, il dramma non succede!"²³

(I got a very poor impression from it. When Puccini saw me again I resolutely warned him against it. (...) I said to him: "But don't you see that it is a work built on two artifices, and not even new ones? The fan and the basket. If by chance Angelotti is not hungry, the drama does not happen.")

It is true that finding the incriminating empty basket helps Scarpia track his prey (It was probably Illica who improved upon this idea by having

Angelotti consume the basket's contents inside the "locked" chapel) and sets the main plot line in motion. However, the real artifice upon which this action hinges is Angelotti's accidental dropping of his sister's fan. Had this not occurred, Scarpia would have had no bait with which to lure the jealous Tosca.

Sardou's use of the fan in *La Tosca* follows a long tradition of employing the D-tool *stage properties* as essential elements of the dramatic structure. Shakespeare, in *Othello*, used a handkerchief in a similar way, a fact to which Sardou alludes explicitly in the play. As Levitt writes:

The stage property is of particular importance because its conspicuousness commands attention and excites curiosity. (...) In the hands of playwrights like Scribe, Sardou and Augier (or for that matter, Shakespeare in *Othello*), the stage property becomes a plot device to initiate action and induce peripety in the working out of the plot....Sardou, according to Stanton, was the greater of the two (Sardou and Scribe), when it came to using the stage property as a device around which to build the action of a play.²⁴

It was in Sardou's "well-made plays" that the playwright gained his reputation for ingenious use of a single stage property: in his *A Scrap of Paper*, for example, the entire complex plot hinges on possession of an old love note. In *La Tosca*, however, Sardou utilizes several props in addition to the fan: one of these is a dress belonging to the Marchese Attavanti, given to Angelotti along with the fan, which becomes further "proof" for Tosca of her lover's infidelity. One symbolic use of the OD-tool *stage properties* is the manipulation of the two "canapés," the couch at the Palazzo Farnese gala and the one in Scarpia's apartment. The canapés are referred to over twenty times in the stage directions and are used by a light-hearted Tosca and courteous Scarpia at the gala, and later by the sexually threatened Tosca, and the dying Scarpia. The canapés thus symbolically link Scarpia's ironic jokes about "torture" to the real event. The librettists retained this symbol and used it to even greater advantage by conflating the two canapés into a single one.

Let us now look at the OD-tools *recurrence* and *reversal*. Recurrences can include the reunifying of characters, foreshadowing or repeating events, or reiterating verbal motives. Reversal creates sudden change. As Levitt explains:

It is recurrence that satisfies expectancy....when there is recurrence of any kind in a play, it is not mere repetition; it is different because it is repeated in a different context. (...) Reversal promotes change by violating expectation. (...) Depending on where the reversal is located and how it is timed, it can command practically unlimited variations in rhythm and excitement - the possibilities for excitement limited only by the number of reversals in the work²⁵

Verbal recurrences that cannot be classified as verbal motives are of three sorts in *La Tosca*: foreshadowing of events, comic repetitions and ironic foreshadowings. The first type is exemplified by Angelotti's words of caution to Cavaradossi in Act III, scene 2:

Cavaradossi: Let's forget it, my dear guest, and speak no more
of my perils, but of yours.
Angelotti: They are the same, right now.

The Sacristan, a humorous character in both play and opera, is given lines that use comic recurrence. In Act I, scene 7, he answers, "C'est trop peu!" ("It is too little!") three times. First, in reference to Gennarino's account of Angelotti's escape,

Gennarino: They are shouting the news of his escape in the streets and describe him with a promise of a thousand piasters for whoever delivers him; and, for whoever gives him asylum, the gallows.
Sacristan: It is too little!...

then in response to news of the torturing of Angelotti's accomplice,

Gennarino: Oh, surely: They "questioned" him.
Sacristan: It is too little!...

and lastly, after Cavaradossi hands him a smaller than usual tip,

Sacristan: Three Pauli! (making a grimace) It is too little!

Ironic foreshadowing is employed in Act II, scene 5, when Scarpia jokes with Tosca about arresting her for wearing a "tricolor" diamond-ruby-sapphire bracelet:

Scarpia, gallantly: Oh yes! It would be such a pleasure to have you for a prisoner.

Tosca, gaily: In a dungeon?

Scarpia, likewise: And under triple lock, to prevent your escape.

Tosca: And torture also, perhaps?

Scarpia: Until you love me.

Although Sardou uses the OD-tool *recurrence* to good advantage in the play, it is his breathtaking panoply of *reversals* that creates the excitement. The first audiences of *La Tosca* did not expect an escaped convict to appear in the church, nor did they anticipate Tosca's defiant suicide. Reversals also surprise the characters themselves and result in plot twists. A case in point would be the early opening of the church (for the celebratory Te Deum) that forces Angelotti to flee sooner than planned: this necessitates his hiding in Cavaradossi's villa. Of course the greatest reversal is accomplished by Napoleon, who wins the Battle of Marengo after having appeared to have lost it. Sardou uses the announcement of this reversal to abruptly halt the Palazzo Farnese gala at which the enraged Tosca is about to perform: the news saves Tosca (and the actress portraying her) from actually singing. Sardou's audiences would have been waiting anxiously to discover if (and how well) Sarah Bernhardt would sing, and he played upon their curiosity:

Tosca: But I can't! As though I felt like it now...I am in a wonderful state to sing!...Can I sing?

Scarpia: Badly or well makes no difference...but the cantata, if you please, the cantata.

It is reversals that form the main plot line. In Act III, Tosca believes her betrayal of Angelotti will free Cavaradossi, but instead, both she and her lover are taken prisoner. In Act IV, a sexual reversal occurs when, threatened with rape, Tosca penetrates Scarpia instead. The final reversal, that of Cavaradossi's "simulated" execution, is given added suspense by a "red herring" reversal: the soldiers want to remove Cavaradossi's body and Tosca, still believing her lover is alive, must keep it:

Tosca, to the soldiers who have stopped in the middle: Where are you going?...What do you want?

The Sergeant: To take the body away.

Tosca, alarmed, barring their way: You cannot take him! He is mine!...Scarpia gave him to me!...Didn't the captain say anything to you about it?...

The Sergeant: Nothing!

Tosca: Call for him...Find him...

It is Sardou's mastery of the D-tool *reversal* that was the source of much of his popularity.

Two OD-tools that were used much more effectively by the librettists than by Sardou are *manipulation of time* and *manipulation of distance*. The playwright does little time compression or expansion, except in the copious exposition where he supplies verbal summaries of past events. The only simultaneous presentation of major events is the double interrogation scene of Act III: Tosca is questioned onstage, while Cavaradossi is tortured in the wings. Sardou does include an off-stage orchestra and crowd in his Act II, which, to a certain extent, manipulates the audience's sense of space, but this pales in comparison to the librettists' inventions. Their spatial conflation of the party, the torture room, and Scarpia's eating-sleeping-seducing quarters concentrates the action and magnifies the repulsive intimacy amongst these loci. Sardou relies more on verbal descriptions, such as Tosca's narration of the execution, to manipulate distance.

We have now looked at the OD-tools *structure, character, setting, point-of-attack, verbal motives, stage properties, recurrence, reversal, manipulation of time* and *manipulation of distance* in regard to *La Tosca*, and seen how they support a unifying theme. Now let us examine the libretto made from this source material to discover what was changed and why.

Analysis of the libretto

Should Tosca live or die? That the answer to this most basic question was ever debated between playwright and librettists should sound an alarm to the opera analyst: clearly, this disagreement indicates two very diverse conceptions of the drama as a whole. Sardou, as we have seen, thought of his play as a neoclassic tragedy in which the heroine's fatal flaw must indeed be fatal; the librettists did not initially concur. In the terminology

of our analysis, then, any unifying theme or "idea" to which the librettists subscribed would have had to have been a new one.

Let us assume that the librettists indeed had a consistent, unifying principle that governed their decision-making processes (and their utilization of the L set of operations.) If so, their new vision of the work would have informed the manner in which the OD-tools were employed. Therefore, we shall begin our inquiry by examining how a few basic OD-tools have been used in the libretto of *Tosca*.

Any librettist facing a normal-length spoken drama as source material is going to need to utilize the L operation **elimination** with a heavy hand. Sung text simply takes up more time than spoken text. Therefore, one of that librettist's inevitable tasks is to select and concentrate the important elements of the drama. One OD-tool in which Illica eliminated much was *plot*. In general, Illica's libretto uses plot details more efficaciously and logically than the play does. For example, Angelotti is given a sound reason for emerging from his hiding place in the chapel: he must retrieve the women's clothes that have been placed by his sister under the altar. In the play, Angelotti takes this great risk for no clear-cut purpose.²⁶ Sardou effects Tosca's departure from the church by having her maid arrive with a note from Paisiello inviting the singer to join an ongoing rehearsal. Illica, instead, has Cavaradossi hurry her away, which serves the double purpose of eliminating a minor character and aggravating Tosca's jealous suspicions. Further, Illica eliminates much exposition of personal histories by having Angelotti and Cavaradossi already acquainted.²⁷

It could be argued that the librettists eliminated too much. The opera audience does not know, for example, how Scarpia discovers that Angelotti is hiding at the church (he had interrogated Trebelli, an accomplice). One may also wonder about the identity of the queen to whom Scarpia alludes (Marie-Caroline of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.) The arrest of Tosca was also omitted because she had to be free to sing at the gala, which now occurs at a later point in the action. Giacosa, in a letter to Ricordi, expressed his frustration at trying to reconcile the shorter length with a coherent plot:

da una parte la chiarezza va rispettata, dall'altra non bisogna che l'atto conti più di 300 versi. E già sono troppi, e non si può omettere nessun fatto, nessun incidente. ²⁸

(on one hand, the clarity should be respected, on the other, the act cannot add up to more than 300 verses. And already that is too many, and no fact, no incident can be omitted.)

To complicate matters further, Illica's original **tela**²⁹ of the libretto had included a scene at court, corresponding to Sardou's Act II, which was eliminated. The librettists then were forced to concentrate the plot even further, and change the order and location of many necessary details. Specifically, the trap that Scarpia lays for Tosca, which had taken place at the court gala, still had to precede the arrest and torture of Cavaradossi. Therefore, without the court scene, Tosca now had to return to the church during the first act, where she would meet Scarpia and fall victim to his plan.

The first repercussion of this major change was that Cavaradossi had to have been gone from the church when Tosca arrived. In the play, the painter judiciously allows Angelotti to depart first and establishes his own alibi by being present alone there when the Sacristan returns. In the libretto, the cannon shot terrifies both Cavaradossi and Angelotti, and they leave hurriedly together. This solution was efficacious for several reasons: the audience receives a visual, and not just verbal, signal of the situation (which is always the safer choice in opera), a clear dramatic division is created that bisects the act, and Cavaradossi's absence when the others arrive intensifies both Tosca's jealousy and Scarpia's suspicions.

The problem that then faced the librettists was how to get Tosca logically back to the church. In an early version of the libretto preserved at the New York Public Library (hereafter, "NYPL"), there are two solutions that were ultimately discarded. The first idea was to have Tosca and Mario make an appointment for lunch at 3 p.m.; this led to an alteration of Cavaradossi's earlier line *"Pranzai"* ("I ate") to *"Fame non ho"* ("I am not hungry"), which remained even though the appointment did not. Illica had another idea: Tosca would return to the church specifically to get information from the Sacristan about the other woman:

Tosca (soddisfatta vedendo il quadro scoperto e assente Mario):

Mario non c'è, ben scelta ho l'ora! Faccia
m'ha il Sagrestan d'onesto. Io questa pena

più in cuor non voglio!

(**Tosca** (satisfied seeing the uncovered painting and Mario gone):

Mario is not here, I chose the hour well! I think
the Sacristan's face looks honest. I no longer want
this pain in my heart!)

In this version, Tosca bribes and interrogates the "honest looking" Sacristan (who knows nothing of another woman) and then, as he leaves, she calls him venal and dishonest. In the final version of the libretto, Tosca returns to break the evening appointment because she must be at the court festivities.

In Act II of the libretto we can note an even greater concentration of events. As noted above, the gala, the torture of Mario, Scarpia's sexual bargain and his murder all take place at the same place in a short space of time.³⁰ Further, we also hear of Angelotti's suicide and Napoleon's surprise victory during this act. Illica improved upon Sardou's use of the latter: in the libretto, Mario reacts to this reversal of fortune by proclaiming his anti-royalist sentiments, which leads to imprisonment, now not as an accomplice, but as a true enemy of the state. One effect of this change is that Cavaradossi is no longer an innocent victim of Fate-like political forces: he is personally "guilty." Here again, Sardou's neoclassic model has been rejected.

We see too that plot changes can also imply character changes. In the case of Scarpia, as well, his new deeds betray a new, more evil character. For example, the operatic Scarpia requests that the door to the torture room be opened so the cries of pain can be heard: in the play, he has the door opened only so that Tosca can speak with her lover. This new Scarpia is no longer coerced into action by the queen and, by extension, the larger, political forces: in the *Tosca* libretto it is Scarpia himself who is the prime motivator of the plot. His evil plan to capture the "double prey" is laid out quite clearly in his Act I monologue.³¹

The OD-tool *character* has indeed been used in a new and streamlined way in the libretto: the traits of each of the main characters seem simpler, or, in our analytical terms, "maximized," and many minor characters have simply been "eliminated." Mario's atheism, for example, is

telegraphed to the audience when he asks the praying Sacristan, "What are you doing?" Scarpia's hypocrisy is painted in easy-to-read bold strokes: he reprimands the children and Tosca for disrespectful behavior in church, yet he proclaims, while in prayer, that Tosca makes him forget God.³² Although he declares his love to Tosca in Act II, there is no evidence that he is being sincere here, either. Another way in which Scarpia's more villainous qualities are "maximized" is by having him eat before and after the torture scene. How cold and heartless is someone who could complain that his dinner was interrupted in such a way? By choosing to emphasize Scarpia's dinner, the librettists not only maximize his cruel traits, but draw attention to the food and, therefore, the knife. Symbolically, as well, this links Scarpia's punishment to his crime; his perverted pleasure becomes his pain.

Tosca's character, on the other hand, has been softened. This Tosca is horrified at the sight of the bloody Cavaradossi and does not laugh ferociously at Scarpia's death. Sardou's heroine was strong and defiant as she tells Mario about the murder:

Mario: (as soon as Spoletta is gone, he grabs Tosca's hand violently) Wretch! What price did you pay for my salvation?

Tosca: One thrust of a knife!

Mario: You killed him?

Tosca: Ah, did I kill him! (With a savage joy.) Oh, yes, I really killed him!

Mario: And you are here? But they will discover his death, you are lost. (...) Oh, brave woman. You are a real Roman...A true Roman woman of olden times!

We can also note here Sardou's reference to ancient Rome that reiterates his conception of Tosca as a Classic heroine. But the librettists saw her in a gentler light: the final mad scene, with which they wanted to replace Tosca's suicide, would have made her character even more fragile and weak. Further, to a Roman Catholic audience, her suicide would represent a mortal sin, not an act of defiance. That did not seem to mesh well with the more religious character the librettists gave Tosca: for instance, it is only in the libretto that Tosca pardons Scarpia's corpse.³³ This alteration was necessary to preserve her innocence.

The final libretto also uses the OD-tool *characterization through dialogue* in regard to the Sacristan. Although he is a comic character in both the play and the opera, it is only in the latter that he has a tic (specified only in the musical score) and stutters in fear of Scarpia. It seems that these were, at least partially, Puccini's idea, as we can surmise from a note in the composer's hand in the NYPL libretto that reads:

Il Sagrestano è preoccupato ed impaurito dell'aver visto
Scarpia nascosto, non risponde che a monosillabi

(The Sacristan is worried and fearful from having seen Scarpia
hidden, he only responds in monosyllables)

We have seen thus far three important alterations made by the librettists to the source material *S*: the plot is more concentrated, the characters are simplified and the prime motivator of the action is the villain, not larger-than-life forces. In effect, what we have described is the transformation of a neoclassic tragedy into a melodrama, in both the Italian and the English senses of the word.³⁴ A melodrama, according to Booth,³⁵ has a concentrated plot, relies less on detailed characterization than on stereotypes, and pits virtue against vice in a straightforward way derived from morality plays. Although melodramas contain much violence, they are neither tragic nor depressing; the heroine must suffer and the villain is the source of the evil doings. Moreover, the chaotic action of the melodrama leads inevitably to "logical moral and philosophical coherence."³⁶ In this tradition there is little room for subtlety: good is good and evil is evil. Therefore, if *Tosca* were a melodrama, Scarpia would have to be the source of the dramatic conflict, not a victim of Fate, as Sardou had painted him; this is precisely the situation. Similarly, the pious Tosca would have to be innocent and even faultless: if Good conquers Evil, then she too must triumph.

Herein lies the source of conflict over Tosca's fate: how can Good triumph if she dies? Although it was not impossible for a heroine to die in a melodrama, the cause was usually her own sin, an impossible complication given Tosca's new, purer character. The proposed mad scene would have saved her physically and preserved her innocence, but was ultimately vetoed by both Sardou and Puccini, the latter of whom referred

to it as the "aria del 'paletot'" ("the 'overcoat' aria"),³⁷ implying that it would bore the audience. The final compromise solution was the only one possible: the plot must, in a sense, continue after the final curtain, "before God," who, presumably, would judge Tosca's sin in its proper context. Tosca would die (sinful, but having pardoned Scarpia), and God would have the last word; justice would be done.

Now that we have an initial insight into the librettists' vision of *Tosca*, let us now examine other OD-tools to see if we can better define a clear, unifying theme. A good place to begin might be with the OD-tool *point-of-attack*. Illica changed the point-of-attack to just moments earlier, showing Angelotti actually entering the church of Sant'Andrea. Like Sardou, Illica considered the opening moment to be of great importance; but unlike Sardou, he was not interested in establishing a verbal-visual symmetry. Illica's choice indicates other criteria: because his task was to tailor the source material to the exigencies of the illustrative musical functions, Illica needed a visual image that would emblemize the general atmosphere and express great emotion. What better way is there to show, in an instant, the tyranny of the church-state than a terrified man in a church? It conveys the political atmosphere unequivocally. This fear-filled beginning is soon followed by the carefree entrance of the Sacristan; that Illica was maximizing the emotional contrast is quite clear. Moreover, the dramatic appearance of Angelotti is left unexplained, which stimulates the audience's curiosity and anticipation. Lastly, we know by the first words sung, "Ah, finalmente," that this is a late point-of-attack, that much has occurred before the first curtain: to commence a work with the word "finally" betrays a fine sense of irony as well.

Turning to the OD-tool *structure*, we shall see that the librettists had two ends in mind. One goal, early on, was to create text for musical set pieces, as Illica wrote in January 1895:

dunque eccoci alle prese proprio con queste benedette scene a due che sono davvero la maledizione della *Tosca*. Orbene sono riuscito ad ottenere un quartetto e sto mettendo insieme un quintetto.³⁸

(therefore, here we are grappling with these blessed duets that are really the curse of *La Tosca*. Well, I have managed to obtain a quartet and I am putting together a quintet).

Neither quartets nor quintets appear in the final version, so, in all probability, one of the other collaborators, probably Puccini, felt that these were not necessary. When Giacosa entered the scene, he searched for lyrical moments, again to create set pieces:

Sono profondamente persuaso che la *Tosca* non è buon argomento per melodramma. A prima lettura pare di sì, vista la rapidità e l'evidenza dell'azione drammatica. E più e meglio pare a chi legge, la prima volta, la sagace sintesi che ne ha fatto l'Illica. Ma quanto più uno s'interna nell'azione e penetra in ogni scena e cerca di estrarne movimenti lirici e poetici, tanto più si persuade della sua assoluta inadattabilità al teatro di musica (...) È un dramma di grossi fatti emozionali, senza poesia.³⁹

(I am profoundly persuaded that *La Tosca* is not a good subject for opera. At the first reading it seems so, given the rapidity and the clarity of the dramatic action. And it seems even more and better to someone who reads for the first time the astute synthesis that Illica made of it. But the more one enters into the action and penetrates each scene, trying to extract lyrical and poetic movements, the more one becomes persuaded of its absolute inadaptability for the musical theater. (...) It is a drama of gross emotional events, without poetry.)

It was Giacosa who created most of the text for the arias: his notes, preserved at the Archivio familiare degli eredi di Giuseppe Giacosa, contain many reworkings of "Non la sospiri," "Qual occhio al mondo," "E lucevan le stelle" and "Amaro sol per te."

Although these set pieces and others were retained in the final libretto, the librettists made no attempt to apply a rigid, pre-conceived form (like Sardou's classical five-act model) to the overall shape of the work. As Illica states:

Rimango dunque sempre del mio avviso: la forma di un libretto la fa la musica, soltanto la musica e niente altro che la musica! Essa sola, Puccini, è la forma! Un libretto non è che la traccia.⁴⁰

(I still stand therefore behind my opinion: the form of a libretto is made by the music, only the music and nothing else but the music! It alone, Puccini, is the form! A libretto is nothing but the sketch.)

But even a sketch can indicate structural organization, if not strict "form," as Illica means the term. Indeed, the librettists, organizing their source material to coincide with the capabilities of the music (the IM-functions), consistently juxtapose scenes with contrasting emotional moods. Even their definition of a scene is not the classical one Sardou employed (any entrance or exit necessitates a new scene) but one based on a change of mood. If one could choose an adjective or two to represent the mood of each scene in Act I, for example, the resulting pattern might be: fearful / cheerful / amorous / fearful / jealous-amorous / fearful / joyous / fearful / mellifluous-jealous / shocking. Of course this simplification does violence to the nuances of the text; nevertheless, one can glean from it a general idea of the value Illica placed upon emotional contrast. One can even conclude that this pattern of contrasting emotional moods, so different than the play's construction, was an organizing principle of the libretto's creation.⁴¹ The emphasis on contrasting emotions works quite well with Puccini's musical style and the IM-tool "presentation of emotional content and character" and thus contributes to the success of the libretto.

That this guiding principle held great sway with Puccini as well is evidenced by the fact that the composer insisted upon eliminating a proposed "farewell to art and life" to be sung by Cavaradossi in the last act and had it replaced with the passionate "E lucevan le stelle," an erotic remembrance of love. What greater emotional contrast could one imagine than this desperate outburst over loss of life and love followed by the surprise entrance of the beloved bearing news of freedom?

More traditional structural considerations were suggested by Giacosa, but they were ultimately passed over:

...mi pare che finire il primo atto con un monologo e cominciare con un monologo il secondo, e dello stesso personaggio, sia cosa un po' monotona. Senza contare che questo Scarpia che perde tempo a descrivere se stesso è assurdo. Uno Scarpia agisce, ma non si enuncia a parole. Voi mi dite che musicalmente il pezzo giova, ed io non posso nulla opporvi su questo punto. A me scenicamente e psicologicamente questo monologo pare assurdo. Ci metto mano, ma declino ogni responsabilità.⁴²

(...it seems to me that to finish the first act with a monologue and begin the second with a monologue, and both by the same character, is a little monotonous. Besides the fact that this Scarpia who wastes time describing himself is absurd. A Scarpia acts, but does not explain himself with words. You tell me that the piece is musically useful, and I cannot oppose you at all on that point. To me, this monologue seems theatrically and psychologically absurd. I will do it, but I decline all responsibility.)

Giacosa was correct about Scarpia's character, but the monologue was indeed "musically useful": it provided a calm and reflective mood that would contrast well with the terrifying scenes of torture to come. Here again, the organizing principle of contrasting emotions held sway.

Illica utilizes the OD-tool *stage properties* in the *Tosca* libretto so well that he is able to outdo the master, Sardou, at his own game. As we noted above, Sardou was famous for ingeniously using a single prop in a multitude of manners. But Illica was able to **eliminate** redundant props (such as the Attavanti's dress that serves a similar purpose as her fan) and **maximize** use of the ones he retained. The foremost example is the basket, which Illica has Angelotti carry into the chapel. Finding Cavaradossi's empty basket in a spot where the painter had no access was an irrefutable clue for Scarpia of Cavaradossi's complicity. Another prop used as a plot device is the painting of the Marchese Attavanti. In the play, the Marchese was only one of several figures in a sketched tableau depicting the Resurrection of Lazarus; in the opera, she is the lone figure in the large painting, which is dramatically uncovered by Cavaradossi to reveal a Mary Magdalene with big, blue eyes and blond hair. In addition to being a visual magnet for the audience (like the medallion of *Tosca* that Mario compares to it), the painting also serves the plot structure when Scarpia sees it; in the play, he does not. Indeed, all of the props are noticed and referred to repeatedly by the characters, drawing even more attention to them: the chapel key, the Madonna, and the Attavanti's fan (in the play, this last was only the fan of a Marquise). In general, Illica has maximized the use of props by giving them visual and verbal emphases, and structural purpose.

In Act II, the prop around which the action revolves is the canapé, or couch, in Scarpia's quarters. In the original play, there were two canapés,

one at the Palazzo Farnese gala and the other in Scarpia's rooms at the Castel Sant'Angelo. The conflation in space of the court gala, Cavaradossi's torture and Scarpia's murder allowed these two canapés, symbols of sleep, sex and death, to become only one. Also in this act, we have the symbolic connection of wine and women; in Scarpia's "creed" he declares, "God created different beauties and different wines." Alonge makes an additional connection between the red Spanish wine, which Scarpia drinks and with which Tosca hopes to anesthetize herself, and the red blood of the tortured so close at hand. Both of these liquids, he writes, are part of Scarpia's daily life.⁴³

Concentrating the action in Act II also had the effect of making better use of the OD-tool *stage directions*. Scarpia's open bedroom window now allows the gavotte and cantata performed at the court gala to be heard in the background. Similarly, as Alonge has pointed out, the physical placement of the torture room immediately next to Scarpia's quarters exemplifies the sado-masochistic character of the police chief, and invites correlation between his political and his sexual victims.⁴⁴

The OD-tool *stage directions* includes descriptions of the setting, and therefore local color. Although the librettists eliminated an enormous amount of local and historical information, they also invented some. Early versions of the libretto retain references to Paisiello, as in the play, but also Loyola and the Carmagnola.⁴⁵ The librettists changed the location of the Act I to S. Andrea della Valle, a real church near the Castel S. Angelo. Rather late in the libretto process, they changed the chapel from belonging to the Angelottis to the Attavantis, the Marchese's in-laws. We would suggest that this was done because Puccini wanted a longer than expected musical score for the first scene: if the chapel were unknown to Angelotti, not belonging to his own family, it would take him more time to find it. The librettists also added the local color of the Roman morning bells and the off-stage shepherd, which provided an extended opportunity for musical "atmosphere."

The OD-tools *recurrence* and *reversal* were used quite well by Sardou, and the librettists only slightly altered his work in this respect. Instead of having Scarpia joke with Tosca about imprisonment, which ironically foreshadows her actual arrest, the librettists substituted a different ironic recurrence: Scarpia tells Tosca, in Act I, scene 9, "Io darei la vita per

asciugar quel pianto" ("I would give my life to dry that tear"), and later on, he does. The "prisoner" foreshadowing was at one time a part of the libretto, later removed: these are the final lines, originally notated in Giacosa's hand, of an early version of "Non la sospiri,":

Invan le stelle splenderan stasera
Poichè Tosca dell'arte è prigioniera
Tra il pasto della corte e lo splendor
Tosca avrà dolente il cor.

(In vain the stars will shine tonight
Since Tosca is a prisoner of art
Between the court dinner and the splendor
Tosca's heart will be in pain.)

In regard to reversals, the librettists **maximized** the emotional ones, such as the arrival of Tosca bearing good news to the imprisoned and desolate Mario, but did not otherwise significantly alter them.

We do find great changes, however, in the librettists' choice of *verbal motives*. They retained and **maximized** the "act/real" motive, as noted above, but **invented** many others; these were mostly the work of Giacosa, who focused on physical attributes. First among these is the motive "eyes." The motive first appears in the tenor aria "Recondita armonia" in which Cavaradossi compares the blue eyes of the Marchese Attavanti to Tosca's black ones. Then, Tosca insists that he change the color of Mary Magdalene's painted eyes, to which Mario responds with the aria, "Qual occhio al mondo può star di paro all'ardente occhio tuo nero?" ("What eye in the world can be compare with your black, ardent eye?").⁴⁶ Finally, the third act "Amaro sol per te," contains the lines:

Io folgorare i cieli e scolorire
vedrò nell'occhio tuo rivelatore
e la beltà delle cose più mire
avrà solo da te voce e colore

(In your revealing eye
I will see the heavens flash and fade
And the beauty of the most wondrous things
will have voice and color only from you)⁴⁷

There is also a verbal motive "hands" that begins with Scarpia's invitation to Tosca to take holy water from his hands:

Tosca divina
la mano mia
la vostra aspetta - piccola manina
non per galanteria
ma per offrirvi l'acqua benedetta

(Divine Tosca
my hand awaits yours,
the tiny, little hand
not out of gallantry, but...
to offer you the holy water)⁴⁸

Tosca's hands are often mentioned in connection with her piousness, as above with "Tosca Divina." In the third act aria, "Vissi d'arte," Tosca sings:

Con man furtiva
quante pene conobbi, alleviai.
Sempre con fè sincera
la mia preghiera
ai santi tabernacoli salì.

(With a furtive hand
I assisted such unfortunates as I knew of.
Always with sincere faith
my prayer
rose at the holy tabernacles.)⁴⁹

Tosca's hands become covered with blood after the murder but, unlike Lady Macbeth, she is able to wash them clean afterwards. After she relates the deed to Mario, finishing with the line, "N'ebbi le mani tutte lorde di sangue!" ("My hands were stained with blood!"), Cavaradossi responds:

O dolci mani mansuete e pure
o mani elette
a belle opre e pietose,
a carezzar fanciulli,
a coglier rose,
a pregar, giunte,
per l'altrui sventure,
dunque in voi,

fatte dall'amor secure,
giustizia le sue sacre armi depose?
Voi deste morte, o man vittoriose,
o dolci mani mansuete e pure...

(O sweet hands, gentle and pure
O hands destined
to good and merciful deeds,
to caressing children,
to gathering roses,
for misfortunes (of others),
then in you, made steady by love,
justice placed her sacred arms?
You gave death, O victorious hands,
O sweet hands, gentle and pure...)⁵⁰

One can sense here the great effort with which Giacosa attempted to soften Tosca's character. She is an impetuous, fiery diva and, though she may have been religious, she is not one to use her hands only to caress children and pick flowers.⁵¹ This moment was one of those lyrical ones that Giacosa strove so hard to extract from Sardou's play; the poetry he provided for these islands of sensitivity refines the text and raises its literary level, even if all of his work does not succeed in reaching the listener's consciousness.

A third verbal motive, a **maximized** version of one in the play, is "bargain/money." The most obvious example is Scarpia's bargain, in which he offers to free Mario in exchange for "other merchandise," which Tosca then calls a "horrible bargain." The motive also appears when the church choir children shout about their "double pay," when Mario trades his jailer a ring for the opportunity to write a last letter, and when Spoletta shouts "you will pay very dearly for his (Scarpia's) life" to the fleeing Tosca, who answers "with my own!" But perhaps the most striking appearance of this motive is the last line of Tosca's "Vissi d'arte":

Perchè, Signore,
ah, perchè me ne rimunerì così?

(Why, Lord,
ah, why do you repay me thus?)⁵²

Perhaps the introduction of "God" imagery into the libretto should not merely be considered a verbal motive, since religiousness (and cynical religious behavior) is a principal characteristic of the work and since the Almighty has been given an actual (off-stage, post-curtain) role to play. The Roman setting would also have suggested a religious theme to the Italian Roman Catholic librettists (more than to Sardou, who saw Rome as a symbol of history).

We shall discuss the possible thematic role of religion and morality below, but, in the meantime, we shall examine some of the specific instances in which His name is invoked. In the first act, Tosca, after swearing revenge in church, sings: "Dio mi perdona. Egli vede ch'io piango!" ("God forgive me. He sees that I am crying!") Scarpia then expresses his hypocrisy by exclaiming, while in prayer, "Tosca, mi fai dimenticare Iddio!" ("Tosca, you make me forget God!"); in Act II, Scarpia's cynicism is also evident when he justifies his wanton ways by stating that "God created different beauties, different wines." In the same act, after Mario is released from torture, Tosca's line was altered (at quite a late date)⁵³ from "Ma il sozzo sbirro la pagherà" ("But the filthy cop will pay") to "Ma il giusto Iddio lo punirà!" ("But the just God will punish him"). Later, we have Tosca's "Vissi d'arte" in which she asks, "Perchè, Signor?" ("Why, Lord?"), and of course, the final words of the opera, "O Scarpia, avanti a Dio!" ("O Scarpia, before God!"), which were to be repeated twice, even as late as the first published libretto.

There seems, however, to be some confusion in the libretto between God and the Madonna. In the first act, a great deal of emphasis is given to the Madonna to whom Tosca prays, in front of whom she feels she should not be kissed, and whom she later calls "tanto buona." This stems, we would posit, from Illica's concentration and **maximization** of stage properties: these references to the Madonna continue to draw attention to the actual statue, extending the process begun when Angelotti found the chapel key at the statue's feet. Elsewhere, however, Tosca turns to God Himself. Perhaps this change was Giacosa's idea. In any case, the alteration led, unfortunately, to an inconsistency: when Tosca, in Act III, relates to Mario the events of Act II, she says, "alla Madonna mi volsi ed ai Santi" ("I turned to the Madonna and to the saints") in regard to her prayer. But, as we have just seen, she in fact prayed to the "Signore."

Another verbal motive, although a minor one, is "hunt/prey": Scarpia refers to Tosca as "a good falcon" and asks Spoletta, "How did the hunt go?" At the end of Act I, however, we have another inconsistency, when Scarpia lays out his plan to catch "the double prey": did he forget about Angelotti or Cavaradossi? Logically, Scarpia should be hunting a triple prey.

Giacosa raised the literary level of the libretto a great deal through his deft manipulation of verbal motives, but his main contribution was to the OD-tool *verse forms*. In his job as "versifier," Giacosa faced a double challenge: the demise of the set piece as a staple of opera construction and the obstructionist tendencies of some of his collaborators. In regard to the former, Greenwald writes:

By the late nineteenth century (...) the set piece became less and less structurally important, as textures became more continuous, a change in aesthetic that was manifested not only in the abandonment of the "number" structure, but also in the streamlining of individual forms.⁵⁴

The dividing lines between the more formal aria style and the freer recitative style were blurring, and with them the distinctions between "versi lirici" ("lyric verses") used for the former and "versi sciolti" ("free verses") used for the latter. Lyric verses are usually rhymed, of fixed length and arranged in stanzas; free verses, on the other hand, are usually unrhymed, loosely alternating seven- and eleven-syllable lines (in Italian, "settenari" and "endecasillabi"). Parker, in his comparison of *Tosca* and *Aida*, notes that the first act of the Verdi work contains 181 lines, of which 77 are versi sciolti and 114 are versi lirici, while Act I of *Tosca* contains 335 lines, only 68 of which are versi lirici.⁵⁵ This difference results from two factors: *Tosca* has less text repetition and fewer set pieces than the earlier work, both signs of an evolving aesthetic. Parker also observes that the later librettists devised a compromise solution by adding end rhymes to the free verses.⁵⁶ Here is an example of Scarpia's end-rhymed endecasillabi as they appeared in the first published libretto:

La povera mia cena fu interrotta.
Così accasciata?... Via bella signora
sedete qui. - Volete che cerchiamo
insieme, Tosca, il modo di salvarlo?

In the score, however, Puccini slightly altered these lines to fit his music:

La povera mia cena fu interrotta.
Così accasciata?...Via, mia bella signora
sedete qui. - Volete che cerchiamo
insieme il modo di salvarlo?

Here Puccini, who often wrote the music before he had the words, changed two line lengths while retaining the rhymes: this is a mild example of the difficulties that Giacosa faced in his versification work. In a letter of complaint to Ricordi, Giacosa made his feelings known:

io sono tenuto al buio di quanto riguarda il procedere
dell'opera (...) il tono derisorio della vostra lettera riguardo le
mie obbiezioni, mi conferma in quel non lusinghiero sospetto.
(...) ho seguito fedelmente la traccia metrica che voi mi avete
mandato. La prosodia non ne sarà molto soddisfatta, ma il
pezzo lirico s'infischia della prosodia. Per esempio, quei tre
versi di Tosca che dicono nel vostro testo:

Mio tesoro
Non tradirmi
Te ne imploro

quei tre versi in buona regola stanno lì sospesi aspettando il
quarto. E quel non tradirmi che non trova con chi rimare fa una
figura barbina e ne farà una birbona ai poeti. (...) Così vuole la
prosodia, in disaccordo anch'essa colle esigenze del signor
tenore al quale cedo, m'inchino e faccio tanto di cappello.
(...) A leggere il libretto ne rideranno anche gli scolari, ma è
certo che il mondo non cascherà per questo. ⁵⁷

(I have been kept in the dark in regard to the opera's progress
(...) the derisory tone of your letter regarding my objections,
confirms to me that unflattering suspicion. (...) I faithfully followed
the metric outline that you sent me. The prosody will not be very
good, but a lyric piece could not care less about prosody. For
example, those three verses of Tosca that say in your text:

Mio tesoro
Non tradirmi
Te ne imploro

by the rules, those three verses are suspended there awaiting a
fourth. And that non tradirmi that has nothing to rhyme with looks
shoddy and makes the poets look like knaves. (...) Prosody
requires it thus, as even she is in disaccord with the needs of the
Signor Tenore to whom I defer, and bow with a flourish. (...) When
they read the libretto even the scholars will laugh, but surely the
world will not collapse over that.

Giacosa's final phrase above tells all: to his mind, librettos were, at least by some, intended to be read. Puccini cared more about the listener than the reader, and, after he reviewed one of Giacosa's drafts, made his preferences toward intelligibility known to Illica: "trovai, alla lettura, poca semplicità di linguaggio"⁵⁸ ("I found, when I read it, little simplicity of language") Illica too, after Giacosa's death, revealed his opinion of "old-fashioned" versification:

Vero che ad ogni libretto "soltanto mio" (...) si eleva il solito coro gracchiante contro le sillabe, i piedi, i ritmi e contro tutto quello che è la cosiddetta forma, la quale serve così, se non altro, come e per buon pretesto.(...) E dice bene Méry⁵⁹ quando sentenza: "I versi nelle opere in musica sono fatti solo per comodità dei sordi." (...) Il verso nel libretto non è che una abitudine invalsa, una moda passata in repertorio proprio come quella di chiamare "poeti" quelli che scrivono libretti. Quello che nel libretto ha vero valore è la parola. Che le parole corrispondano alla verità del momento (la situazione) e della passione (il personaggio)! Tutto è qui, il resto è "blague." (...) Volere o no, Giacosa nella collaborazione mia portava la così detta "tregua di Dio"⁶⁰ fra me e il solito coro gracchiante contro di me, poichè Giacosa era uno dei loro. (...) Ora Giacosa non c'è più, e non se ne può fabbricare uno.⁶¹

(It is true that for each libretto that was "only mine" (...) the usual crowing chorus arises protesting the syllables, the feet, the rhythms, and against all that is said to be the form, which serves, if nothing else, as a good pretext (...) And Méry is right when he judges: "The verses in opera are made only for the convenience of the deaf." (...) Verse in the libretto is only a prevailing habit, an out-of-date fashion in repertory just like that of calling those who write librettos "poets." That which has true value in the libretto is the word. The words should correspond to the truth of the moment (the situation) and of the passions (the character)! It is all in this, the rest is humbug. (...) Willingly or not, Giacosa, in his collaboration with me, brought about the so-called "God's truce" between myself and the usual chorus crowing against me, since he was one of theirs. (...) Now Giacosa is no more, and we cannot fabricate another.)

Perhaps Illica and Puccini were correct, for even if a libretto is a literary masterpiece, many of its textual refinements may, in practice, become unintelligible to the audience. In our analytical terms, rhyme schemes and other formal literary patterns can be filtered out by the M operation.

Robinson offers four factors that impede intelligibility of an operatic text: foreign language, the operatic voice, ensemble singing, and the full symphony orchestra.⁶² In addition, if *Tosca* can indeed be classified as a melodrama, no literary patina would be required: Guilbert de Pixérécourt (1773-1844), the acknowledged father of melodrama, claimed that he wrote plays for those who could not read.⁶³

Although the operatic musical filter **M** may inhibit some literary and dramatic capabilities, it enhances others. Chief among these is the possibility of simultaneous expression. Musical constructs can allow different characters, espousing different points of view, and even different events, to be perceived simultaneously. When a librettist provides for these configurations, he or she is employing the OD-tool *manipulation of time*. In *Tosca*, simultaneous events occur in each act: in Act I, Scarpia sings "Va Tosca" as the choir celebrates the Te Deum, in Act II, the off-stage gavotte and cantata combine with the on-stage interrogations, and in Act III, Tosca expresses her thoughts while Mario is executed. Without the musical construction, these events would have had to appear consecutively or in description; in the Sardou play, for example, Scarpia finishes speaking before the Te Deum begins, and Tosca describes an off-stage execution. Another sort of *manipulation of time* is the solo aria, which, in effect, stops and expands time so that the protagonist can express his or her feelings.

A closely-related OD-tool is *manipulation of space*. The off-stage events in *Tosca* create the illusion of an expanded physical world: the court gala on a lower floor of the Palazzo Farnese, the morning bells of Rome and the shepherd song all contribute to this theatrical deception. Similarly, described locations extend our awareness of the opera's world. In this libretto, it is the arias Giacosa provided, brimming with sensual details,⁶⁴ which transport us to other places: in "Non la sospiri la nostra cassetta," for example, Tosca describes a lovers' nest where we smell the woods and herbs, see starry shadows and flowered fields, and hear loving whispers. In "E lucevan le stelle" Cavaradossi remembers a tryst when the stars shone, the earth was fragrant and Tosca's kisses were sweet. After this, Tosca describes a happy vision of the future, and asks, "Senti effluvi di rose?..." ("Do you smell the perfume of roses?") and imagines

Finchè congiunti alle celesti sfere
dileguerem, siccome aite sul mare

a sol cadente, nuvole leggere,
nuvole leggere, nuvole leggere...

(Until we shall be dispersed
joined to the celestial spheres, like, high over the sea
at sunset, the light clouds
light clouds, light clouds...)⁶⁵

Let us now return to the question of the underlying, unifying theme, the "moral" of *Tosca*. But before we draw any conclusions about the librettists' intentions, we should take a look at what the theme is not. The theme of the source material, Sardou's play, involved an eternal struggle between tyranny and freedom, good and evil. During the transformation process, much of the dramatic material supporting this theme was stripped away: gone are the (neo-) Classic structure and characterizations, the political references and the patriotism. The only bit of the theme that still could apply would be the struggle between good and evil; the rest has been discarded.

Further clues are offered by an examination of some of the early drafts of the libretto. It appears that Giacosa very much wanted to have the protagonists of *Tosca* exhibit a growth, a coming to knowledge of some kind. The writer's notes preserve several different "morals" to the story, sketched out provisionally for *Tosca* to say to Mario in the third act duet:

Mario mio, non ti sembra Che amore oggi sia nato In noi? Se ti rimembra Del nostro amor passato...	(My Mario, doesn't it seem to you That Love is born today in us? If you remember our past love...)
---	---

Mario, Mario e sol ieri Ero del male ignara Quante cose è impara	(Mario, Mario and only yesterday I was ignorant of evil How many things have been learned)
--	---

Neither of these (nor any of the other variants) were accepted. It seems that Puccini wanted an emphasis on love, but without a moral. As the composer wrote:

Il duetto del 3o è stato sempre il gran scoglio. I poeti non mi hanno saputo dare (parlo della fine) niente di buono, e di vero soprattutto: sempre accademia, accademia e solite

sbodolature amorose. Ho dovuto arrangiarmi per arrivare alla fine senza troppo seccare gli uditori evitando qualunque accademia.⁶⁶

(The third act duet was always the big stumbling block. The poets were incapable of giving me anything good and, above all, anything real (I am speaking of the end): it was always academic, academic, along with the usual amorous slobberings. I had to manage to get to the end without annoying the listeners, avoiding indifferent academic (verse))

One could make a case for the triumph of God, religion or morality being themes for the opera. These ideas survived longer than other literary "improvements" Giacosa made: as late as the first printed libretto, in Act II, Mario cries out, "Ah c'è un Dio vendicator!" ("Ah, there is an avenging God") instead of "Vittoria." This line indicates that even the atheistic Cavaradossi would come to accept the existence and ultimate justice of the Almighty. Yet, this line too was eliminated, probably by Puccini, to whom such a quick conversion would have been unrealistic. In the absence of any demonstration of the triumph of God or morality within the opera itself, we are left with the hope of an accounting after death (and after the final curtain). This is the only viable candidate for a "moral" in *Tosca*.

Although this theme can indeed be connected to the musical organization to some extent,⁶⁷ to be perceived, it requires a great deal of the audience: they must be able to extrapolate these ideas from what they have witnessed. In our opinion, this considerably weakens, if not negates, the effect. In place of a clearly stated "message," however, what does exist is a consistent set of guidelines, the principle of contrasting emotions, that serves, in a unifying way, to tell a tragic tale in the clearest and most effective manner.

Despite the lack of a clearly perceptible, unifying dramatic theme, the librettists did not fail in their task: in conjunction with the musical score, their final product did achieve artistic, if not exclusively literary, integrity. Further, Illica and Giacosa overcame the paradox inherent in the art of libretticization: they used the written word to convey that which must be understood without it.

Notes to Chapter I

¹Although the final libretto was the work of Illica, Giacosa, Puccini and Ricordi, it was mainly Illica who was charged with adapting the Sardou play.

²Eugenio Gara, ed., *Carteggi Pucciniani* (Milan: Ricordi, 1958), 358.

³See also Appendix D.

⁴See the Introduction to this work.

⁵Richard Wagner, "A Communication to My Friends," in *The Art-Work of the Future and other works*, trans. William Ashton Ellis (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 363.

⁶John Dryden, *The Dramatic Works*, ed. Montague Summers, vol. VI, 242. Quoted in James Anderson Winn, *Unsuspected Eloquence: A History of the Relations between Poetry and Music* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 242.

⁷Paul M. Levitt, *A Structural Approach to the Analysis of Drama* (The Hague: Mouton, 1971).

⁸Levitt considers these two elements to together form the concept of dramatic "rhythm": "Dramatic rhythm is created by two change-producing elements: recurrence...and reversal." (p. 67) We have avoided the term "rhythm" here to avoid possible confusion with musical rhythm.

⁹Levitt, *A Structural Approach*, 19.

¹⁰American Academic Encyclopedia, s.v. "well-made play."

¹¹Marvin Carlson, *Theories of the Theatre: A Historical and Critical Survey, from the Greeks to the Present*, expanded ed. (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1984), 159.

¹²Mercier, *Du théâtre* (Amsterdam, 1773), 39-40. Quoted in Carlson, *Theories*, 158.

¹³A year after Sardou's play "Patrie!" premièred triumphantly, the empire of Napoleon III collapsed and an unpopular provisional government was set up. In the wake of these events, Sardou and his friend Gouzien saved the Tuileries from pillage by an angry Parisian mob. He related the events in his memoirs: "La proposition est acclamée. 'Oui, oui, allez! allez!...Nous vous attendrons!' ... Et, suivis par les regards curieux de tout ce monde, nous entrons dans la grande avenue, nous dirigeant vers la Palais. La chose est si nouvelle et si imprévue que nous faisons les premiers pas en silence, tout à l'émotion de l'aventure. La grande allée s'ouvre devant nous, déserte, en plein soleil....Et, tirant mon mouchoir, j'improvise avec ma canne un petit drapeau. Gouzien fait de même et, un peu rassurés, nous regagnons le milieu de l'avenue...." Sardou also volunteered for the army and kept a journal of the siege of Paris. Victorien Sardou, *Les Papiers de Victorien Sardou: Notes et Souvenirs*, ed. Georges Mouly (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1934), 299-308.

¹⁴Carlson, *Theories*, 15.

¹⁵Ibid., 19.

¹⁶In an early libretto version (GG), these two characters were conflated: Cavaradossi's father had hidden in the well. See Appendix D.

¹⁷Gara, 172.

¹⁸Levitt, 34.

¹⁹Ibid., 26.

²⁰Mario's awakening here creates symmetry within this last act.

²¹See Appendix B.

²²An early version of the libretto (NYPL - 2) has Tosca bribe the Sacristan.

²³ Leopoldo Carta, "Confessioni di un librettista italiano," *La Tribuna* 13 November 1908. Quoted with alterations in Mario Morini, "Nuovi documenti sulla nascita di *Manon Lescaut*," program notes, Teatro Comunale dell'Opera di Genova, 1983: 97.

²⁴Levitt, 47-49. Levitt also quotes Stanton, "In welcoming (Sardou) to the French Academy in 1878 the director commented: "The letter! it plays a major part in most of your plots, and every detail of it is vital, container and contents. The envelope, the seal, the wax, the stamp, the postmark, the shade of the paper, and the perfume that clings to it..." (Stephen S. Stanton, ed., "Introduction," *Camille and Other Plays* (New York: 1957), xxii.)

²⁵Levitt, 68-69.

²⁶In the play, Angelotti has been given in advance the key to the chapel, where his disguise has been hidden.

²⁷This has been noted previously by Carner. Mosco Carner, *Puccini: a Critical Biography*, 2nd ed. (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1974), 360.

²⁸Gara, 149.

²⁹Literally, "curtain," Illica used this term to mean an outline of the acts and their scenes.

³⁰Illica conflated the original scenes of Mario's torture and Scarpia's bargain. The "seam" between these two occurs midway through Act II of the opera, and provides a moment of calm that serves as a dramatic and musical punctuation point.

³¹His prey should really be "triple," since he wants to catch Angelotti, Cavaradossi and Tosca.

³²The play has no such line.

³³In the Sardou, after the murder is over, Tosca says, "Well done! Now, I consider us even!"

³⁴In Italian, "melodramma" simply means "opera."

³⁵Michael R. Booth, *English Melodrama* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1965), 13-15.

³⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷Eugenio Checchi, "Giacomo Puccini," *Nuova Antologia* (December 1897): 471.

³⁸Gara, 113. See also Appendix D.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 150-151.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 358.

⁴¹Coeuroy mentions something along these lines, and implies it was part of a larger artistic trend: "Puccini emploie, toujours avec habileté, souvent avec succès, le procédé, théâtral par excellence, du contraste. (...) Découvert par les romantiques dans Shakespeare, dans le mélange constant du grotesque et du sublime qui forme, à les en croire, la trame même de la vie, il est passé dans le drame musical..." ("Puccini employs the theatrical process *par excellence* of contrast, always with competence, often with success. (...) Discovered by the romantics in Shakespeare, in the constant mix of the grotesque and the sublime that forms, they believe, the very same drama as life itself, it has passed to musical drama...") André Coeuroy, *"La Tosca" de Puccini*, (Paris: Mellottée, 1923), 157.

⁴²Gara., 136.

⁴³Roberto Alonge, "Un insospettato drammaturgo di respiro europeo: Giacomo Puccini," *Il Castello di Elsinore*, 1988/2: 80-81.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

⁴⁵The Carmagnola was originally a French revolutionary song that royalist crowds sang to taunt republicans going to their deaths.

⁴⁶Translation from William Weaver, *Puccini Librettos* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 141.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 209.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 157.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 193.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 208-209.

⁵¹Sansone writes that Giacosa was influenced in these passages by works of Gabriele D'Annunzio, such as his Ballata IV of the *Isottèo*: "O mani belle, oh mani bianche e pure / come ostie in sacramento, dolci a li afflitti, prodighe, regali / meglio che a' tempi gai de l'avventure!" ("O beautiful hands, o white and pure hands / like the sacramental

host, sweet to the afflicted, generous, regal / better than adventures in gay times!"). Sansone further feels that the D'Annunzian model also affected Giacosa's repeated employment of the adjectives "ardente" and "languido." (Matteo Sansone, "The Prima Donna as an Actress" program notes, English National Opera, 1994-95).

⁵²Weaver, *Librettos*, 193.

⁵³The first published libretto and the autograph score have the first version.

⁵⁴Helen M. Greenwald, *Dramatic Exposition and Musical Structure in Puccini's Operas* (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1991), 127.

⁵⁵Roger Parker, "Analysis: Act I in perspective," *Giacomo Puccini: "Tosca,"* ed. Mosco Carner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 120.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*

⁵⁷Gara, 169-170.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 150.

⁵⁹Joseph Méry, French poet and dramaturge, first librettist for Verdi's *Don Carlo*.

⁶⁰The reference is to a wartime truce imposed by the medieval Church during the periods of Advent and Lent.

⁶¹Gara, 357-358.

⁶²Paul Robinson, "A Deconstructive Postscript: Reading Libretti and Misreading Opera," in *Reading Opera*, ed. Arthur Groos and Roger Parker (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 328-346. Quoted in Greenwald, *Dramatic Exposition*, 261.

⁶³Booth, *English Melodrama*, 44.

⁶⁴Ricci quotes Puccini describing the aria "E lucevan le stelle" in such terms: "Dapprima il paesaggio: le stelle, il profumo della terra, lo stridere d'un uscio. Ma di questo mondo esterno, di questo 'ambiente' tre sensazioni diverse: visiva, l'una; splendente, olfattiva la seconda; e acustica la terza. (...) Ma subito dopo il paesaggio, ecco il personaggio. 'Un passo sfiorava la rena': è ancora l'orecchio teso allo stridere dell'uscio che coglie il fruscio del passo sull'arena. (...) 'Entrava ella fragrante' (e in quel 'fragrante' c'è il profumo inebriante della creatura meravigliosa, c'è un profumo anche più voluttuoso di quello dianzi avvertito nel respirare l'aria notturna carica d'effluvi) 'Mi cadea tra le braccia'. E qui, con grande sentimento, il ricordi dei baci e delle carezze. Qui, con quella sensualità suggerita dall'inequivocabile aggettivo 'fremente' il ricordo delle belle forme finalmente ignude, liberate dalle vesti leggerissime." ("First of all, the scenery: the stars, the perfume of the earth, the squeak of a door. But in this external world, in this 'ambiente' (there are) three different sensations: the first, visual; shining; the second, olfactory; and the third, acoustic. (...) But right after the scenery, we have the character (himself). 'A step barely touched the sand': again, it is the ear, alert to the squeak of the gate, that picks up the rustle of the footstep in the sand. (...) 'She entered, fragrant' (and in that 'fragrant' is the inebriating perfume of the marvelous creature;

there is a perfume even more voluptuous than that just before in the breathing of night air filled with aromas) 'She fell into my arms'. And here, with great sentiment, the memory of kisses and caresses. Here, with that sensuality suggested by the unequivocal adjective 'quivering' the memory of beautiful shapes finally nude, liberated from their delicate garments.") (Luigi Ricci, *Puccini interprete di se stesso* (Milan: Ricordi, 1980), 89-90.)

⁶⁵Weaver, *Librettos*, 211.

⁶⁶Gara, 179.

⁶⁷Many of the references to "God" occur on structural dominants, either the pitch class B \flat , or as part of a B \flat major chord. Certainly the best example of this is Tosca's last word, "Dio" on a high b \flat^2 just before the final cadence of the opera. Further support for this idea could be found in the inclusion of pitch class E in the Motive 1, possibly a representation of evil; E is at a distance of a tritone from B \flat , and thus its polar opposite. As the bass notes of Motive 1 (B \flat , A \flat and E) are paired with their tritone transpositions, Motive 1 -T \flat (E, D and B \flat), a tonal meaning (the prolongation of B \flat) is linked with a moral meaning (evil events only make sense within a moral context). See Chapter II.

CHAPTER II

IM-TOOLS

In the Introduction to this work, we made the following linguistic analogy: operatic music must both "tell a story" and be the consistent, organizing medium, the "grammatical language," through which that story is told. By our definitions of OM- and IM- functions, the organizing, grammatical operations of the composer's musical language must be conceptually distinct from the story he tells, just as in the case of spoken language, the notions of "subject" and "predicate" must remain conceptually separate from the specific objects or actions to which they might apply.

We will examine the "grammar" at work in Puccini's *Tosca* in Part II, a study of the organizing (unifying) elements of the opera and, in Part III, we will see how those same constructs apply to three of Puccini's other operas. But, just as it would do great violence to a literary work to consider only the grammatical constructions of the sentences, so would a study of an operatic score that ignored the music's expressive and illustrative characteristics be wanting. Therefore, having studied the drama itself in the previous chapter, we shall now look at the composer's use of the tonal musical language itself, in all its rich variety, to tell the story of *Tosca*.

That task is not a simple one, because at any given moment of the opera, many, if not all, of the composer's musical tools are operating simultaneously. Puccini has chosen the appropriate tempo, the appropriate register, the appropriate dynamics, etc., to fit each dramatic situation. This poses two problems: first, the IM-tools work in tandem and therefore ideally should not be studied as isolated factors; and second, an exhaustive catalogue of each tool's utilization, even if it were possible to compile one, would be prohibitively lengthy. A

complete inquiry into just one of these IM-tools (phrase structure, for example) would be a dissertation in itself.

To resolve the former issue, we have chosen to group together related IM-tools (such as rhythm, meter, hypermeter, etc.). We will handle the latter problem by presenting only some of the most pertinent examples of illustrative use of an M-tool, those moments when "orchestration" or "rhythm," for example, steals the musical spotlight. Though we no doubt commit sins of omission in this regard, we trust that the legions of those who perform, interpret and listen to *Tosca* each year will note that which we have not.

We shall now examine each of these groupings of IM-tools, and show how they serve the IM-functions:

1. presentation of atmosphere or mood
2. presentation of local or historical color
3. presentation of emotions or character
4. presentation of physical stage action
5. presentation of verbal and textual content (including stage directions)
6. presentation and/or identification of characters, objects, events or thematic ideas.

Foreground harmonic syntax, consonance-dissonance polarity, mode, scales

Let us begin this discussion by clarifying our terminology. By the illustrative use of *foreground harmonic syntax*, we mean the compliance with, or distortion of, normal tonal grammar that is effected for dramatic ends; an example of this could be the appearance of a diminished seventh chord in place of the expected harmonic resolution, coinciding with the surprise entrance of a character. *Consonance-dissonance polarity* indicates the correspondence of dramatic events and the relative levels of consonance or dissonance: chromaticism could illustrate a tense mood, for example, while pure diatonicism could represent a tranquil one.¹ The tool *mode* indicates the use of major or minor scales (or scale degrees) and harmonies, whereas *scales* implies the use of unusual scales (not major or minor).

The most striking use of these IM-tools to present special moods (IM-function 1) is during the prelude to Act III. In this section, written last,² the general atmosphere makes three shifts: from the peace of a night brilliant with stars, in which a shepherd guides his sheep in the distance, to the gentle stirring of dawn, when the bells of Rome ring matins, to the desperation of the condemned Cavaradossi.

To express these differing moods, Puccini makes efficacious use of his musical tools. The peaceful opening section begins in E major and, even though there is no harmony accompanying the unison horns, a regular dominant-tonic cadence is implied at III/1/0 (IM-tool *foreground harmonic syntax*). From this point, although the tonality remains based on E, Puccini uses the Lydian mode (IM-tool *scales*) to illustrate the "rustic" nature of the shepherd's song.³ At III/4, the bells begin to gently ring matins. During this new section, most of these chords are major or major-minor, and thus they are more consonant than dissonant: this too enhances the tranquil mood. Finally, at III/7/0, that mood abruptly ends when we hear the dominant of an anguished E minor. Here, Puccini has used the IM-tool *mode* to reflect the darkening emotional atmosphere.⁴

If we now take a closer look at the bell scene, we can see how Puccini has used these same IM-tools to present local color. Indeed, Illica's original libretto named the actual church bells heard here.⁵ The foreground harmony (omitting transient verticalities) moves thus:

B major-minor 7	(III/4/0)
G major 6	(III/4/4)
C dominant $\frac{6}{5}$	(III/4/8)
A dominant $\frac{4}{3}$	(III/4/10)
B \flat major	(III/4/12)
F major 7	(III/4/18)
F major-minor 7	(III/5/0)
B \flat major $\frac{6}{4}$	(III/5/6)
B \flat dominant $\frac{4}{3}$	(III/5/8)
G \sharp minor $\frac{4}{2}$	(III/5/13)
E major $\frac{6}{4}$	(III/6/0)
E major-minor 7	(III/6/4)
D major	(III/6/7)

In Chapter IV, we will note how these chords support a whole-tone scale from E to E at a deeper level, and that the appearance of the last three chords is far from coincidental (they constitute the opening motive, Motive 1,⁶ transposed at the tritone, which will be shown to be an important element of the large-scale design of the work). But, on the foreground level, this series of harmonies seems "all over the place," an accurate representation of the diverse localities of the churches.

A musical presentation of local and historical color (IM-function 2) implies the inclusion of something "real" in the score. The bells of Rome and the authentic "Te Deum" chant of Act I certainly fit that description: they exist in our world. But "real" in this context might also suggest "real or appropriate to the characters' time and place" or even "music that the characters can hear."⁷ How Puccini treats the presentation of the off-stage "gavotte" and "cantata" of Act II (two such pieces) shows his skillful use of the IM-tools under discussion.

The first of these, the gavotte, was actually written by Puccini many years earlier as part of a suite he composed as a student. In that guise, it was meant to be what its title proclaimed, simply a dance movement.⁸ In *Tosca*, however, Puccini has preceded and followed the gavotte with a dissonant E pedal (II/2/4 and II/5/4). This E pedal, and its temporary cessation, delineate what is "our" music from what is heard by the characters.

In presenting the cantata, on the other hand, Puccini manipulates the *foreground harmonic syntax* in a different way. This cantata is written, like the gavotte, with the simple harmonies Puccini associated with a late eighteenth century cantata:⁹ at II/13/4, the choir sings in pure A minor, while "our" music has a half-diminished seventh chord (F \sharp - A - C - E). The difference is most notable at the cadences: at II/15/0 the choir parts cadence in A minor and, at II/17/0, in C major (without a G) while in both cases "our" orchestra plays the same half-diminished chord.

Puccini's most extensive use of the IM-tools under consideration here is in the presentation of emotion and character (IM-function 3). In Act I, the feelings fly fast and furious and, with them, the foreground harmonies. At I/34/0, for example, Cavaradossi is trying to calm Tosca by

explaining that he saw the Attavanti only by chance: accordingly, his words are set in an ingratiating G major. Tosca is not convinced however, and her suspicions are illustrated by the highly chromatic passage that follows, until I/35/0.¹⁰ (In fact the complete chromatic is heard here.) Cavaradossi then counters with the romantic aria, "Qual occhio" and, after the ensuing love duet, one would think Tosca's jealousies would be allayed; they are not. At I/38/10, Puccini inserts a recitative-like C minor passage¹¹ that expresses Tosca's lingering doubts (IM-tool mode) before the final E-major cadence of the duet; thus, within the E-major harmonic context of the love duet, C minor is a disruption (or interpolation) that is inserted for illustrative purposes.

Another example of this type of disruption, again in Act I, occurs when the Sacristan sees the basket being removed from the chapel. Just before I/62/0, a cadence on E \flat major is prepared, but it resolves instead to B major, through the use of a common tone (E \flat =D \sharp); this links our aural surprise to the Sacristan's dramatic one. Yet a third example of the illustrative use of the foreground harmonic syntax occurs at I/71/0, when Tosca's jealous outburst, on an A \flat augmented triad ("Che? D'amore?"), suddenly interrupts the *dolce* B \flat - G - A \flat - F ostinato of the previous section.

The Act II torture scene contains many illustrations of shifting emotional states. At II/32/0, for example, Tosca, having gotten encouragement from her lover, has resolved to resist Scarpia; the harmony reflects that emotional strength by remaining in D minor. But, as the torture begins again, she becomes more hysterical and the harmony moves from *consonance* toward *dissonance*; it becomes highly chromatic. By II/34/3, there is no coherent surface tonality left.

In Act III, we have a striking example of IM-tool mode used for illustrative purposes: at the end of Cavaradossi's desperate "E lucevan le stelle," at III/13/6, we expect to hear B minor (the aria's tonic), but instead we get B major; at this moment, we can literally hear the change in mood as the woman he thought he would never see again enters. It is also in this last act that we have the most extreme illustrative use of *foreground harmonic syntax*: just before III/37/0, Tosca excitedly tries to awaken Mario, and the tonality is pure C major. Then she discovers that he is dead and the tonality completely ruptures: we get a series of

minor chords built upon a diminished chord (E \flat minor, F \sharp minor, A minor). The dissonance increases until III/38 where there is only chromatic movement illustrating, we believe, her total disorientation. At the same time, the soldiers begin prolonged, unpitched cries, which further obliterate the tonal syntax.

The manipulation of *foreground harmonic syntax* can also express the stage action (IM-function 4). At I/39/12, for example, Tosca exits peacefully and we get a normal harmonic close. By contrast, at I/51/1, the church of Sant'Andrea suddenly becomes filled with noisy children, singers, priests and other clerics (in short, chaos descends) and the harmonic syntax follows suit. In this section, the foreground harmony moves from A major to C major to E major to D major to F major to E major (each decorated with upper neighbor scale degree \wedge) before returning temporarily to A major at I/52/4. The crowd is chaotic yet happy, and thus Puccini supplies harmony that is unstable yet diatonic.

In Act II, the act of Scarpia's murder is also expressed by the foreground harmony: as Tosca stabs Scarpia, at II/60/3, the E \flat minor chord abruptly plunges into a dissonant half-diminished chord on E natural. In Act III, we have a much less violent action, the writing of a letter, illustrated by the surface harmony: at III/10/1, we hear a B \flat -major arpeggio (D - F - B \flat - D) as Cavaradossi sits down to write. But, as the final pitch is reached, Cavaradossi is thinking about Tosca, and the harmony shifts to D major (we also hear Motive 7). As this small scene progresses, without a word being uttered, we know that the hero's thoughts break off: we can hear it in the harmony, which fractures into chromaticism as he stops writing.

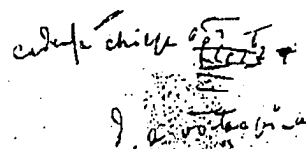
The IM-tools *foreground harmonic syntax, mode and scales* also have important roles to play in illustrating the libretto text (IM-function 5). For instance, in Act I, as Scarpia approaches Tosca for the first time, he must pretend to be courteous and respectful, even though that is not his true nature. The libretto even supplies the stage direction (at I/68/6) "insinuante e gentile": accordingly, Puccini supplies a harmonic backdrop that is equally inoffensive, an ostinato pattern built on B \flat dominant seventh. A similar harmonic mask for Scarpia is employed in Act II (II/25/1) when the police chief gallantly ("con galanteria") invites Tosca to chat while her lover is being tortured in the next room; this

section is in pure B \flat major, as contrasted with the chromaticized G minor of the previous section.

In Act III, our IM-tools express the written text in various ways. At III/21/0, Puccini changes *mode* from F major to F minor and then, three bars later, to F major again, in order to illustrate the text: he uses the minor mode to "paint" the words "Voi deste morte, o man vittoriose" ("You gave death, o victorious hands").¹² The major mode returns with "o dolci mani" ("O sweet hands"). At III/25/4-7, where the text reflects Tosca's innocent dream of traveling far away, Puccini uses the *pentatonic scale* to suggest that naïveté and possibly even the trip's distant destinations.¹³ Lastly, Puccini uses the *foreground harmonic syntax*, at III/15/4, to hint at Cavaradossi's true fate: as Tosca assures her lover that he will be "libero," we get a deceptive cadence, paralleling the dramatic deceit.¹⁴

The final IM-function, presentation and/or identification of characters, objects, events or themes, will be dealt with most thoroughly in the section below on leitmotifs. We should take note here, however, that these IM-tools, and the others, will be shown to create the external, surface characteristics of the leitmotifs that form their unique "identities." In addition, many of the individual motives are transformed during the course of the opera by the IM-tools discussed here. For example, the third chord of Motive 1, normally major, is presented in minor when linked with death (IM-tool *mode*): this occurs at II/48/11 at the word "cadavere," when Scarpia dies at II/62/2 and at the end of Act II when Scarpia's body is laid out.

Occasionally, Puccini will indentify a character using these IM-tools, but not in a leitmotivic way. For example, when the Sacristan describes the Attavanti as "tutta devota e pia," Puccini writes what he calls a "cadenza chiesa" ("church cadence") as a reference to the Sacristan's profession. (Example 2.0)



Example 2.0 - "cadenza chiesa, devota e pia"¹⁵

The issue of "associative tonality" should be raised at this point. By that term (put forth by Bailey and McCreless) is meant the linking of a certain pitch class or key with a dramatic entity or theme. Atlas has suggested that Puccini associates Scarpia with the whole-tone scale on C and Cavaradossi with the other whole-tone scale; Tosca, he posits, although allied with Cavaradossi's scale, is sometimes affected by Scarpia's.¹⁶ This scheme works to some degree, but extensive explanations of the numerous exceptions are required; further, Atlas admits that his plan does not hold in the third act, and lays the blame at Puccini's feet. Winterhoff has a similar polarity in mind when he describes Scarpia's "sphere" as containing whole-tone and chromatic scales, asymmetrical rhythm, influence of German opera and other qualities; he writes that Tosca's and Cavaradossi's "sphere" has diatonic scales, square rhythms, the influence of Italian opera and others.¹⁷ Here, too, elaborate explanations are required to make this schema work.

It is our conviction that Puccini did not employ these or similar associations; in fact, he seems to have gone out of his way to avoid them. A \flat major, for example, is the key he chose for Tosca's first entrance, for the Sacristan's interrogation by Scarpia, and for Scarpia's creed, "Ha più forte sapore." Neither does Scarpia live in a whole-tone world (his creed, for instance, is diatonically set), nor does he function in tonalities founded upon the C whole-tone scale (he sings the E \flat major "Te Deum," for example). This is not to imply that the whole-tone scale is irrelevant to the score; it is vital to the large-scale musical design, as we shall see in Chapter IV. In the end, though, we must understand that Puccini's musico-dramatic thought is far more complex and refined than previous schemata suggest.

There is one case, however, in which Puccini could have thought in associative terms. The word "God" is mentioned in the text at several climactic moments, accompanied by pitch class B \flat or its triad. At 1/78/12, Tosca sings, "Dio mi perdona, egli vede ch'io piango!," which ends in B \flat major and at 1/87/8, Scarpia sings, "Tosca, mi fai dimenticare Iddio" on a B \flat -major triad. In Act II, during Tosca's prayer "Vissi d'arte," the word "Signor" is on a b \flat^2 , and, of course, in her final words ("O Scarpia, avanti a Dio!") the last word is sung on the same pitch. Below, in the section on leitmotifs, we will discuss further how the pairing of Motive 1

and its tritone transposition might resolve two "evil," non-tonal gestures (B \flat - A \flat - E and E - D - B \flat) into a prolongation of that same pitch class B \flat . Therefore, one could posit a correspondence between the ultimate tonal and moral meanings of the tritone (destruction of tonal logic = evil) and between the tonal and moral meaning of B \flat (restoration of tonal logic = Divine good). Also, as we discussed in Chapter 1, God has been given an off-stage role to play: the plot will only truly be resolved in His presence. Perhaps this is why the final chord of the opera appears with B \flat and not scale degree 1 in the soprano.¹⁸

Rhythm, meter, hypermeter, phrase structure,¹⁹ metabole and tempo

My heart is pounding, but with complete frankness and awareness, I find the courage to tell you: the third act of *Tosca*, as it is, seems to me to be a grave error of conception and workmanship! (...) What have I found? a fragmented duet, made from small lines, which belittle the characters. (...) the heart of the piece is formed with three passages that follow each other, but are interrupted, which deprives them of their efficacy!!

Giulio Ricordi, letter to Puccini,
10 October 1899²⁰

I am serene, and convinced that if you look at the third act again, your opinion will change! This is not pride on my part, no. It is the conviction of having colored the drama before me to the best of my ability. You know how scrupulous I am in interpreting the situations, the words, and how much I take into consideration before throwing something down. (...) Regarding the fragmentedness, it is something I wanted: it cannot be a uniform and tranquil situation like other conversations of love. *Tosca*'s concerns are constantly returning to Mario's simulated fall and his behavior in front of the firing squad. (...) I repeat that this is not my pride, but a defense of a work that cost me much thought.

Puccini's response the next day.²¹

Puccini's own words here tell us how he sought to illustrate ("color") the moods and text of the Act III love duet (III/15/0 - III/30/0). That he wanted "fragmentation" is something he explicitly states. But what means did he employ to accomplish this? We can best come to grips

with his techniques in this regard by studying the IM-tools related to rhythm, meter and phrase. Further, since Puccini groups together "situations" and "words" in the quote above, let us do the same, and look simultaneously at IM-functions 1 and 5 (presentation of atmosphere and mood, and presentation of verbal and textual content); in this section of Act III, they are very closely related.

The duet begins, at III/15/0, with a recitative-like reading of the safe-conduct pass; here the *rhythm*, such as it is, is completely determined by the words, and the orchestra has only a tremolo. In the next few bars, the *meter* shifts from $\frac{2}{4}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ to $\frac{4}{4}$. In the first case, the lone measure of $\frac{2}{4}$ exists, again, to express the word rhythm, "libero." When Motive 1 (linked to Scarpia specifically in this instance) appears in its original meter, the $\frac{3}{4}$ section begins. (The motive is also followed by a D minor triad, the chord of Scarpia's death, as Tosca relates that he is dead.)

At III/16 begins the "agitando" $\frac{4}{4}$ meter that continues until III/19/3; it accompanies Tosca's (agitated) retelling of the events of Act II; her unease is illustrated by the syncopated accompaniment that comes and goes throughout this section. The text here is adorned with "reminiscence motives"²² and is thus akin to the $\frac{3}{4}$ section above; but, in this instance, all the quoted motives had originally been presented in $\frac{4}{4}$ or $\frac{2}{4}$ meter, so little metric change is necessary to restate them. Tosca's agitation is also demonstrated by the fact that she relates the earlier events in the wrong order, and omits the information, for the moment, about the simulated execution: she describes her prayer (accompanied by Motive 11, last heard in "Vissi d'arte"), Scarpia's threat (to the tune of Scarpia's phrase, "spasimi d'ira, spasimi d'amore"), the drumrolls for the condemned (Motive 21), Scarpia's lustful bargain (Motive 20) and his murder (Motive 23).

Although the meter does not change in this section, the surface *rhythm* certainly does. We can see here how Puccini can treat the vocal rhythm as basically a rhythmic variation on the main (orchestral) melody. For example, at III/16/11, Tosca's words, "L'empio mostro dicea: Già nei cieli il patibol le braccia leva!" are set to a complex rhythm that reflects natural speech patterns; simultaneously, the same pitch classes (E \flat - C - E \flat - C - D - E \flat - E - F) are played by orchestra in a simpler rhythm. Puccini

also gives the words' stresses longer values and places them on the strong beats of the measure (and occasionally accents them). This can be seen clearly at III/17/7, where Tosca quotes Scarpia's "sei mia": the verbal (and emotional) emphasis is on the "mi-" of "mia" and Puccini sets it to a half-note on a strong beat, while the orchestra now has the more complex rhythm, again on the same basic pitch classes.

Following Tosca's recitation, Puccini creates a transition into the next section (the tenor's "O dolci mani") by utilizing the IM-tool *metabole*. At III/19/0, he marks "molto meno," followed by two rallentandos. Here again, the vocal rhythm is free and recitative-like, chanted on pitch class C, which serves as the dominant to the F major of the aria. This rhythmic disintegration, expressing a release of tension, allows for a seamless shift into the following $\frac{3}{4}$ "andante sostenuto" section. Puccini retains the rocking ternary meter for this "sweet" section, with two exceptions: the leitmotivic insertion of duple-meter Motive 23 at the mention of Scarpia's murder (III/21/0) and at the words "giustizia le sue sacre armi depose" (the dynamics also change here). This text could easily have been set to the same $\frac{3}{4}$ meter that surrounds it, yet it was not; perhaps the mention of sacred arms called to mind a duple-meter soldier's march.

The interruption of this piece, which so bothered Giulio Ricordi, is evidenced by the *phrase structure*. At the beginning of the aria (if it can be so called) we have a three-note lead-in to a four-bar phrase that moves from V to III of F major. The next four-bar phrase begins with the same melody and harmony (in slightly different inversions) but moves to a modified tonic (F major in $\frac{6}{4}$ position, with an added sixth degree). We could loosely apply the term "parallel period" to this pair of phrases. At III/21/3, however, the opening musical material is reiterated, but we only get to hear the first two and a half bars; thus, the established phrase structure breaks off, illustrating how Tosca's "senti" ("listen") breaks into Cavaradossi's reverie.²³

That "senti" marks another transition, back to the syncopated rhythm in a $\frac{4}{4}$ "andantino moderatamente mosso." The faster *tempo* reflects Tosca's mood of nervous excitement. As she speaks of their eventual freedom, her emotions become more expansive and so does the rhythmic flow: Puccini uses *metabole* here (*allargando*,

rallentando) and more recitative-like vocal rhythm to make the transition to the next segment at III/23/0.

Tosca's happy vision of the sea voyage is illustrated here in a rocking $\frac{2}{4}$ meter surmounted by a wave-like rhythmic (and melodic) figuration. Puccini's marking "ondeggiando" (rolling like a wave) could hardly make these word painting devices clearer. Cavaradossi's response, from III/24/0 ("Amaro sol per te"), retains the rocking feeling, though it now is in a $\frac{3}{4}$ meter. In his amorous outpouring, gone are the agitated syncopations and the changing meter. Here we find regular *hypermeter*: an elongated upbeat measure of accompaniment precedes the first eight-bar unit in the vocal line. At the close of this phrase, there is an overlap when the accompaniment upbeat starts up again while the vocal line finishes (III/24/8). This overlap serves to enhance the continuity (the opposite of interruption), of Mario's growing rhapsodic mood. The first phrase ends on the tonic (G \flat), but the second eight-bar phrase ends on the dominant, D \flat , which again enhances the continuity with an unfinished, "looking ahead" quality (this phrase order is actually the reverse of the usual antecedent-consequent pairing, which flows dominant to tonic). The next phrase brings a resolution of the dominant to G \flat major that should balance the first phrase, but the "normal" pattern of eight bars is cut short after only four, at III/25/4, when we get a four-bar phrase in A major, followed by one that finally resolves the dominant D \flat to G \flat major.

The last bar of this phrase, at III/26/3, has a double function. It is the harmonic goal of the entire segment (there is no further harmonic change), yet it is the beginning of another repeat of the opening material. The same upbeat in the accompaniment is overlapped by the final notes of the melody (as before) and, in the next bar, the tenor's melody begins anew. However, these next six bars do not constitute a phrase at all, since there is no harmonic change. Instead, they are a suffix that perfectly illustrates the text: the imagery of vanishing "light clouds" is expressed by the repeated rhythmic figure in a phrase structure that too has faded away.²⁴

Tosca's thoughts soon return again to the events at hand and, with them, we hear the syncopated rhythm in $\frac{4}{4}$ meter. This time it is Mario who interrupts her (and her meter) at III/27/13, when he wants her to

speak sweetly to him again; the meter shifts to $\frac{3}{4}$ and then becomes more and more free (orchestral tremolos and recitative-like vocal rhythms). *Metabole* is at work here: the transition to the "andante sostenuto" "Trionfal" (at III/29) is achieved through this increasing rhythmic freedom, plus an "allargando molto."

The "hymn to love" was a point of great controversy between the composer and his librettists. In the end, Puccini wrote the music before he had decided on the text.²⁵ Any one-to-one correspondence of the final text and the musical rhythm, therefore, would not have been Puccini's handiwork. We can, however, link the slowing tempo at the end of the hymn to the ebbing of the characters' triumphant mood: Puccini writes here "poco rallentando," "ritardando," "rallentando sino alla fine," another "ritardando," and another "rallentando."

The unaccompanied, unison "hymn" is a reiteration of the opening horn gesture of the act (a fact that Giulio Ricordi did not know when he wrote the letter quoted above, since the prelude had not yet been submitted to him). It serves thus as a musical punctuation mark (which also re-establishes the presence of pitch class E.)²⁶ In sum, the entire fragmented duet scene is an interpolation into a larger tonal and formal plan, a fact that Giulio Ricordi eventually recognized.

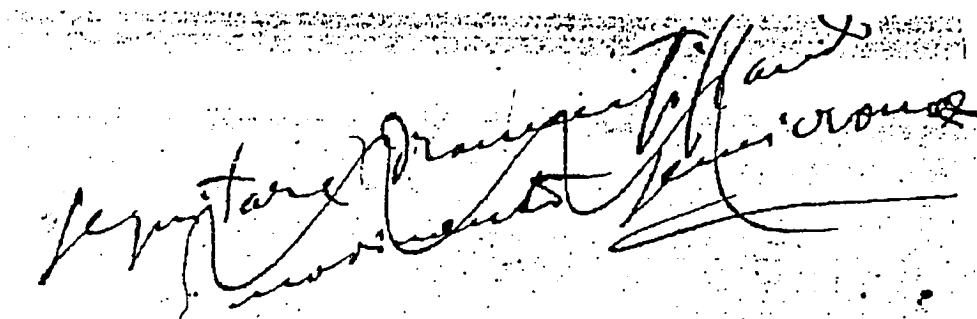
Turning now to Act II, we can find these same IM-tools used for different illustrative functions. For example, Puccini uses "real" *rhythms* and *tempos* to present local and historical color (IM-function 2): the "tempo di gavotta" (from II/3/0) and the march of the condemned (from II/50/2). *Rhythm* is also used in this act to express emotion: at II/29/0, as Tosca realizes that Mario is being tortured, the rhythm erupts in staccato sixteenth-notes ("martellate") that illustrate her shock. As Tosca's resolve gives way to hysteria (from II/32/0 to II/33/0) the *tempo* increases from "lento grave" to "più mosso" to "allegro moderato." At II/34/3, Tosca's growing horror, Scarpia's ferocity and Cavaradossi's defiance are all expressed by the accelerando, briefly suspended for an orchestral tremolo (and Scarpia's order), which then leads to a "mosso."

There is an interesting use of *hypermeter* and *phrase structure* in Scarpia's aria "Già mi struggea" that depicts his uncontrollable lust. The aria seems to begin "regularly" at II/47/6. But there is something not quite right: the first two eight-bar phrases are each preceded by an

elongated upbeat, creating nine-bar units. The extra measures do not completely destroy our feeling for the hypermeter, but a sense of slight unease occurs, further abetted by the constant rhythmic syncopations in the accompaniment: these are hints of Scarpia's stirring feelings, which, for the moment, are still somewhat in check. After a four-bar phrase in which Scarpia compares Tosca to an agile leopard, his true emotions break loose and the earlier meter (and hypermeter) are broken as well. From the $\frac{4}{4}$ section that begins at II/47/29, there is no longer any real tonal movement (and thus no phrases) and the solo "aria" disintegrates completely as Tosca reacts to his words.

The first act as well abounds with similar rhythmic and metric expressions of emotion. At I/33/7, for example, Tosca realizes that Mario's painted Mary Magdalene is really the Marchesa Attavanti, and quick sextuplets illustrate her outrage; these are immediately followed by staccato sixteenth-notes, "agitando," as Tosca's jealousy swells. As Mario tries to calm her, at I/34/0, the *rhythm* slows to half-notes, and as he woos her with a love song ("Qual occhio"), a steady *hypermeter* of four $\frac{9}{8}$ bars is established. In general, regular hypermeter is used for the lighter moments of the act, such as the Sacristan's entrance and Tosca's description of the "casetta."

Puccini left us written evidence that he was using *rhythm* to present physical stage action. In an early libretto version of Act I,²⁷ after Scarpia's line "dolce signora, che mai v'accora?" when the church is filling with people, Puccini penciled in the following: (Example 2.1)



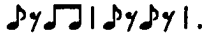
Example 2.1 - "seguire drammatizzando movimento semicroma"
("continue dramatizing movement sixteenth-notes")

Exactly at this point in the score (just before I/76/0), the rhythmic foreground is indeed filled with sixteenth-notes.

The entrance of the Sacristan at I/50 is also heralded in the score through rhythmic means: his approach is signaled, from I/49/4, by the first two bars of his theme (Motive 5, now in $\frac{2}{4}$ and fixed on a B \flat dominant seventh chord that will resolve to E \flat major when he enters). As the character gets nearer, the two-bar theme (which is repeated at ever-increasing dynamic levels) is shortened to only one bar (at I/49/12) and then to only one beat (at I/49/16). Similar methods are used to illustrate characters exiting the stage. In the execution scene of Act III, after shooting Cavaradossi (at III/35/0), the soldiers depart to the same theme (Melody 14) that began the scene. Their disappearance from Tosca's view is illustrated in the gradual fading away of the phrase structure. At III/35/1, we have two phrases of two bars each, followed by a four-bar phrase; this pattern is repeated. But then, only a single two-bar phrase is given, followed by two one-bar versions (now no longer full phrases or even subphrases)²⁸ and then just the first beat (in the last bar the theme is reduced further with only the first melodic pitch presented). It is interesting to note how Puccini has used the same technique, the shortening and breaking-up of a theme, for opposite illustrative purposes: first to depict the Sacristan arriving, and later to represent the soldiers leaving (the depiction of clouds floating away was similar to this as well). We perceive these actions differently because of the accompanying *dynamics*, which increase when the Sacristan approaches and decrease when the soldiers depart.

One can best appreciate Puccini's expressive use of rhythmic and metric IM-tools in transitional moments. Let us look at two similar dramatic moments (entrances) that Puccini chose to illustrate in opposite ways. Tosca's first entrance, at I/25/0, is not a surprise: we have heard her calling from outside the church, and Cavaradossi has had time to explain to Angelotti that she is jealous and to give him the basket of food. As Mario lets her in, all rhythmic activity is suspended; Tosca is permitted to sing her dotted quarter and eighth "Mario! Mario! Mario!" freely (the orchestral silence is marked "col canto"). Thus, we have a seamless transition. By contrast, Scarpia's entrance, at I/56/6, is a shock, and Puccini illustrates this by juxtaposing fast and slow rhythms: the sixteenth-

notes in 'Allegro con spirito' tempo are suddenly pushed aside by quarters in 'Andante sostenuto molto,' and the celebration is definitely over.

As we shall see below, *rhythm* and *meter* are important tools Puccini uses to individuate his leitmotifs, and thus to identify characters, objects and themes (IM-function 6). For example, Tosca's entrance music (Motive 11) and the march of the condemned (Motive 21) both begin with a rising and falling melodic third (as do other motives). But the former motive is presented in tempo 'Andantino sostenuto' with a gentle triplet accompaniment, which provides a sweet 'face' for this melody. The latter motive, on the other hand, is given in tempo 'Allegro' with the sharp rhythmic pattern of .

Melodic direction, leipsis, orchestral register

The high note: in the opera world, that one climactic pitch can make careers, bring an audience to its feet, and ensure success for the composer. But is it just a technical, near-athletic hurdle for the performer and a vicarious physical thrill for the listener? Whether the basis for equating high notes with emotional tension is physical or psychological (perhaps derived from the similarity to the scream), there can be no doubt that, in *Tosca*, Puccini fully exploits this effect so fundamental to traditional operatic composition.

In this section, vocal high notes (which are not in the orchestral part) are placed under the category of *leipsis*, while instrumental registral extremes come under *orchestral register*, even though the orchestra may be imitating or doubling a vocal line. *Melodic direction*, on the other hand, implies an extended rising or falling of the melody, apart from the instrumentation or disposition of voices.

As might be expected, Puccini utilizes these IM-tools quite extensively to illustrate emotions (IM-function 6). In the Act I love duet, for example, Tosca sings to Mario about their 'casetta,' enticing him to meet her there that evening and, as she sings the passionate words, 'Arde in Tosca un folle amor!' ('A mad love is burning in Tosca'), at 1/30/9, she reaches an a^b2 (IM-tool *leipsis*). But it is Cavaradossi who is won over, and he gets what seems to be an even higher²⁹ note, a b^b1 , sung to the

text, "Ah! M'avvinci ne' tuoi lacci mia sirena" ("Ah! You trap me in your snares, my siren"). Later in the act, Tosca's jealousies rise at the thought of the Marchesa Attavanti and, with them, her vocal pitches: she sings high a^2 's at both mentions of the Attavanti's name, at I/33/8 and at I/72/7.

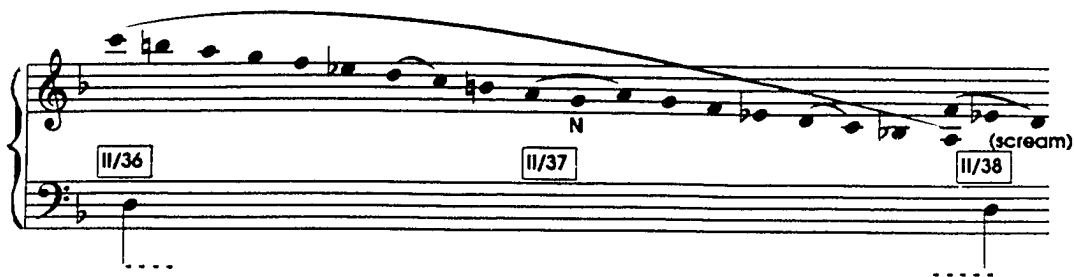
It is in the second act that emotions run to violent extremes. Here, the high notes (*lepis*) represent several different emotions. At II/29/9, for example, Tosca is shocked and angered by Scarpia's description of the torture her lover is enduring in the next room; her horror is expressed on a high c^3 with the words, "Non è ver, non è ver!" ("it's not true, it's not true"), which is immediately followed by her furious "sogghigno di (demone)" ("sneer of a (demon)") on a low e^b^1 ; the extremes of her feelings are thus expressed by this melodic leap of almost two octaves. However, as Scarpia orders the door to the torture room opened, at II/34/7, his high notes, notated on e^b^1 (but with the direction "shouting, almost without intonation") show a different emotion: his sadistic excitement. Then, when Mario is heard crying out, "Vi sfido!" ("I defy you"), his own high note (an a^1) illustrates his defiance and courage. His subsequent "Vittoria!" (at II/42/9-10) serves the same purpose. Later in the act, Tosca's high notes imitate actual (not sung) cries on her words "vile" ("vile") and "aiuto" ("help"), at II/49/5 and II/50/1 respectively.

The section of Act II that exemplifies the illustrative use of all three of the IM-tools under discussion here is II/35/0 to II/36/2: this is the last "wave" of tension in the torture scene and, like a wave, there is a rise and a fall. The IM-tool *melodic direction* is the guiding force in this passage, and it carries *lepis* and *orchestral register* in its wake (as well as *dynamics*). We begin at II/35/0 with pitch class A, presented in several octaves, which soon rises to D; this rise occurs in both the orchestral and vocal parts. At II/35/2, the D is approached by its upper neighbor E, which in turn is approached by its upper neighbor F. This rising sequence continues upward for another eleven notes (Example 2.2a):



Example 2.2a

After reaching the apex at C^3 (II/36/2), the descent begins, and continues until it returns to the original A, at II/37/7. (Example 2.2b)



Example 2.2b

From here, the main melodic line remains transfixed on A (in both Tosca's and Spoletta's parts), as the quieting dynamics continue to illustrate the abating tension. At the nadir (the dynamics are marked "pppp"), the near silence is shattered by Cavaradossi's agonized scream, and, immediately after, Tosca succumbs and reveals the secret.

In Act III, the IM-tool *melodic direction* also takes center stage when, at III/14/3, Tosca enters. Here again, we get a rising sequence, this time illustrating Tosca's growing excitement. A few bars later, at III/14/10, we get another rising melodic line, now expressing both Cavaradossi's lifting spirits and his physical leap to a standing position. When Tosca then relates to him the events of Act II, her vocal register (*lepis*) is accordingly expressive, culminating in her description of the

murderous act itself (III/18/11-12), which is illustrated by a downward arpeggiation that can span two octaves.³⁰

The IM-tool *melodic direction* is especially useful for demonstrating physical stage action (IM-function 4). Indeed, in our own century, many soundtracks for film and animated cartoons have abounded with examples; usually these are one-to-one relationships, in which ascending pitches accompany rising actions, such as climbing the staircase, and vice versa. A similar correspondence occurs in Act I, when the descending chromatic section from I/34/7 to I/35/0 illustrates Tosca's and Mario's descent from the scaffolding.³¹ Another example can be found in the final scene of the opera (III/40/7) as Tosca climbs up the parapet of the Castel Sant'Angelo to chromatically rising augmented chords. A less literal correspondence occurs as Scarpia lies dying, at II/61/11: here, as the life ebbs out of him, we hear a descending whole-tone scale, divided into four groups of four major thirds.

The expressive uses of *melodic direction*, *lepis* and *orchestral register* to present the libretto's verbal and textual content (IM-function 5), overlap other IM-functions to a great extent. Most of the text is either emotionally-charged or packed with dramatic stage action and, as such, we have discussed it under other rubrics. Only in the few islands of calm does the listener become aware of how these IM-tools express the text and, in those moments, the text is illustrated by a lack of "expressivity." For example, when the Sacristan recites the "Angelus," at I/13/0, he does so on a single pitch, just as a real cleric would: this is a negative use of *melodic direction*. Similarly, in the first part of Cavaradossi's third act lament, "E lucevan le stelle," the character's emotional devastation is signalled by his monotone phrases: here, from III/11/0 to III/12/0, the orchestra carries the "tune," expressing those feelings the hero cannot. Lack of *melodic direction* also allows passages that are wordy or essential to the plot to be understood (Puccini also usually thins out the orchestration at these points). One example, among many, occurs from I/60 to I/62, where most of Scarpia's text is set to single, repeated pitches.³²

Orchestration³³ and dynamics

A most excellent production in every way. (...) In the first act a papal procession with continual clangour of bells (especially brought from Italy) (...) Act 3. A view over all Rome from a citadel and again mighty tintinnabulations from a fresh set of bells. (...) Nowadays any cobbler orchestrates to perfection.

Gustav Mahler, letter to his wife,
20 April 1903, after seeing *Tosca*³⁴

This back-handed compliment, offered by one of the greatest orchestrators of the period, points out a distinguishing feature of Puccini's *instrumentation* in *Tosca*: its bells. The young Puccini must have taken to heart Berlioz' recommendation that bells enhance dramatic effect³⁵ when he studied the *Treatise on Instrumentation* at the Milan Conservatory.³⁶ Nearly every Puccini score includes these instruments. In *Tosca*, however, bells are used far more extensively than in his other operas. Indeed, the composer seems to be following Berlioz' advice to the letter when he uses *campanelle* for the pastoral shepherd song, high bells for the Act I invitation to church, low bells for the *Te Deum* and the deep *Campanone* for Cavaradossi's moment of despair:

The timbre of low bells is appropriate only for solemn and grandiose scenes. On the other hand, that of the high bells has a more serene character; it has something rustic and naive about it; this makes it particularly suitable for religious and pastoral scenes.³⁷

In the prelude to Act III, the bells help to present both the atmosphere of a peaceful dawn (which soon changes to one of despair) and the local color of late eighteenth-century Rome³⁸ (IM functions 1 and 2). Besides the eleven different bells depicting the church *campanili*, Puccini uses *campanelle* (for the sheep bells) and a whole battery of percussion instruments: triangle, celeste, bass drum, timpani, and cymbals.

In the bell scene itself (III/4/0 - III/7/0) we find the use of IM-tool *dynamics* employed to mark out the various distances of the churches (IM-function presentation of local color). The bells (marked in the score "a diverse distanze") illustrate eight different sonic "locations":

lontanissimo, molto lontano, più lontano, lontano, meno lontano, meno vicino, vicino and più vicino. The dynamics in the other orchestral parts are similarly nuanced, with markings that include pppp, ppp, pp, p and molto piano.

We can find other telling examples of Puccini's scene-setting use of *orchestration* in Act II. Of prime importance is his use of "real" instrumental sounds, such as the soldiers' drumrolls.³⁹ To give the impression of "real" music commencing, at II/3/0, the off-stage gavotte begins with only the following instruments: clarinet, flute, viola and harp; this makes a sharp aural contrast to the fuller orchestral sound of "our" music that precedes it.⁴⁰ Then, at II/9/5, Puccini sets a suspenseful mood, when Spoletta enters Scarpia's chambers to report on the failed attempt to catch Angelotti: there is tension in the air, and we hear that in the string tremolo (this also occurs at II/19/1).

The *instrumentation* in the torture scene closely follows and expresses the shifting moods. At II/38/1, to express utter desolation, Puccini writes hushed open octaves for nearly the entire orchestra. After Cavaradossi's scream, which follows, Puccini chooses the perfect medium to express shock: silence. Here, he breaks the orchestral "narrative" completely, and that musical void is shattered in turn by a tutti marked "violent" and "dry." Swiftly, this orchestral outburst drops to another tense tremolo whose level of dynamics dwindles down, once more, to silence.

The tides of emotion that roll across the torture scene can be charted by tracing the *dynamics*: there are five dynamic "waves," that is, large-scale patterns of crescendos and diminuendos. Example 2.3 below maps these waves:

<u>Act II: reh. #</u>		<u>dynamic marking</u>
1.	23/0	pp
	25/1	p
	27/5	f
	27/8	ff
	27/9	p
2.	28/0	p
	29/0	f crescendo molto
	29/8	ff (pp)
	29/4	f

	30/0	pp
3.	30/3	p
	30/8	crescendo, f
	30/10	ff diminuendo
	30/11	p diminuendo
4.	32/0	pp (f, p)
	33/3	f (p crescendo)
	34/7	ff
	34/9	fff
5.	35/0	p, crescendo poco a poco
	35/6	sempre crescendo
	36/0	ff
	36/2	fff
	36/4	diminuendo, p (f,p)
	37/0	pp (f,p)
	38/1	più piano ancora
	38/2	pppp

Example 2.3

Dynamics and *orchestration* also work together to present the personalities of some characters (IM-function 3). In the first act, for example, as the Sacristan enters, at I/6/0, we hear a crescendo in the first violins, indicating that someone is approaching; but that crescendo drops to a "piano" when this non-threatening clergyman makes his jovial appearance. The cheerful effect is heightened by pizzicati in the strings and staccati in the winds. (Puccini has also added to the Sacristan's characterization by giving him a nervous tic, not in the libretto, occurrences of which are notated rhythmically in the score.) When the Sacristan is terrified by Scarpia's interrogation, just before I/65/0, we hear his theme again. This time, however, Puccini suggests that the Sacristan's fear is comic as well, by orchestrating this passage for bassoon and contrabassoon⁴¹ and by giving it quirky dynamics (f, crescendo, ppp).

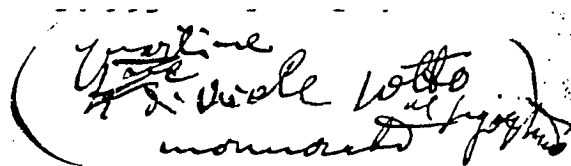
We can see a good example of Puccini's use of *dynamics* to express physical stage action (IM-function 4) in the Act II murder scene: as the amorous Scarpia approaches Tosca, at II/60/0, the marking pp gives way to a crescendo and finally, as she stabs him, ff. As the police chief slowly dies, from II/61/0 toll/63/0, the dynamics fade along with him, from fff to ff to pp.

Puccini also uses *orchestration* to express what is in the text (IM-function 5) and even what is not in the text, but merely suggested by it. In

Tosca's first act aria, "Non la sospiri," she sings about the charms of the lovers' country hideaway. Giacosa's poetry here calls to mind many sensory details (silent starry shadows, the aroma of thyme, whispers of miniscule loves, gentle sea breezes, and a moon rise) but does not specifically mention birds. Yet, Puccini has given us a bird trilling, in the flute passage at 1/29/12. In the third act, one could imagine an Oriental destination of the lovers' desired escape from the staccato flute and piccolo, and the celeste (and, as we have noted above, by the pentatonic scale).

Although IM-function 6, the presentation and identification of characters, objects, events or thematic ideas, is best served by the IM tool *leitmotivs*, the orchestration assists by drawing attention to the motives. For example, in the first appearance of Motive 8 (which is linked to the Marchese Attavanti) at 1/18/9 the melody appears in the voice and in the B \flat clarinet. When the theme recurs, at 1/60/8 and 1/71/10, the B \flat clarinet again carries the melody (along with other instruments) and its distinctive timbre reinforces the mnemonic connection.

Before leaving the subject of Puccini's illustrative use of *orchestration* and *dynamics*, we should note that his ideas for instrumentation occurred quite early in the compositional process. In handwritten notes on early versions of the libretto (in other words, before the music was written) we can find indications for specific instruments, such as in Examples 2.4a and b.



Example 2.4a- "quartina di viole sotto il Sagrestano mormorato"
(quatrain of violas under the Sacristan murmured)⁴²

*l'accolto accenno rotto
al Tema sagrestano
ai legni acuti
clarinet
oboe*

Example 2.4b- "piccolo accenno rotto al tema sagrestano ai legni acuti, clarino, oboe" (small broken hint of the Sacristan's theme in the high winds, clarinet, oboe)⁴³

In essence, Puccini's deft utilization of the orchestra's illustrative potential was linked intimately, and early on, to the drama.

Leitmotifs

"Questo sarà il leitmotif della trombata finale"
("This will be the leitmotiv of the final trumpet piece")

Letter from Giacomo Puccini to
Tito Ricordi, 23 November 1897⁴⁴

Puccini's use of the word "leitmotif" here hints at a conscious utilization on his part of a Wagnerian compositional technique. But what exactly did he mean by the term? Although we have no means of knowing precisely, we can be sure that his adoption of the (misspelled) German word is only part of a greater Wagnerian influence in his works. As a member of the Milanese "giovane scuola," Puccini was one of several young composers aflame with "wagnerismo," an issue we shall explore more fully below.

It becomes doubly difficult to pin down what Puccini meant by "leitmotif" when we consider that he also used the terms "motivo," "tema" and "accenno" ("hint") seemingly interchangeably in his handwritten notes for *Tosca*. We cannot know, for example, whether "tema" is shorthand for "tema conduttore," the full Italian translation of "leitmotiv."

Occasionally Puccini even refers to the same melodic bit by two different names, one musical (such as "motivo in Mi maggiore") and one referential ("motivo amore").

The situation is not helped by the fact that there is still, as there was during Puccini's own time, some haziness about the definition of "leitmotiv" itself. It is not difficult today to find the word linked, and sometimes confused, with "theme," "recurring theme," "melody," "developmental motive," "motivic cell," "idée fixe," "musico-dramatic sign," and even "ritornello." Nor is there much help from Hans von Wolzogen,⁴⁵ the Wagner disciple who invented the term: about his own works, in which he identifies and lists Wagner's "leitmotivs," he writes:

I have not written my works for musicians who, even from their special point of view, must be free to treat the dramatic form (period) of Wagner as they believe, in accord with their particular knowledge. Regarding this, I cannot tell them anything that they do not know already better than I do, and whatever I said would be useless to the laymen: they find themselves in exactly my state: they are not musicians. But it is precisely for them that I write this guide; it is to give them, as a sketch, an idea of the stylistic organization of the Wagnerian work of art, considered as a whole; that is, to give them an idea of that which could be the accord between the musical and poetic natures of his operas.⁴⁶

Thus, even von Wolzogen cannot provide (nor does he attempt to provide) a clearly defined device for musical analysis; his leitmotiv is a simplification for mass music appreciation ("a sketch") of the actual, more sophisticated musical techniques of musicians' "particular knowledge."

To muddy the waters further, many of Puccini's "leitmotivs," like Wagner's, are both varied during the course of an opera and interrelated (i.e., several different leitmotivs are derived from the same, basic, musical pattern). This leads us to pursue two distinct levels of discourse: because the interrelationship of motives is a source of musical unity, that subject will be treated separately (in Part II of this dissertation, the organizational (unifying) elements of the opera). Here, we will discuss the individual motives, with their own special surface characteristics, and see how they are applied to IM-function 6, the

presentation and/or identification of characters, objects, events or thematic ideas.

We will assume, then, that the motives in *Tosca* do have a referential meaning, as Puccini's own notes indicate (at least some of the time). Even if Puccini first referred to a particular melodic string as "the motive in E major" early in the compositional process, and then later attached it to a character, the delay, in our estimation, is less important than the fact that he made such a connection at all. We must remember too that he wrote these notes to jog his own memory, not to provide a consistent legacy for opera analysts.⁴⁷ Therefore, the inconsistencies cannot belie the documentary evidence that Puccini did indeed play the tag-name game.

Rather than attempt to sort out the contradictory and overlapping meanings of "leitmotiv," we will avoid the issue and present our own taxonomy. With the following definitions, we are not attempting to set a standard, but merely to explicate how the terminology is employed within this study.

motivic cell or primary motivic material - the small intervallic patterns from which the individual motives are derived.⁴⁸

motive - those recognizable pieces of musical material, longer than the motivic cells, that appear more than twice. (There are twenty-five of these.)

semi-motives - those recognizable pieces of musical material, longer than the motivic cells that appear only twice each. (There are five of these.)

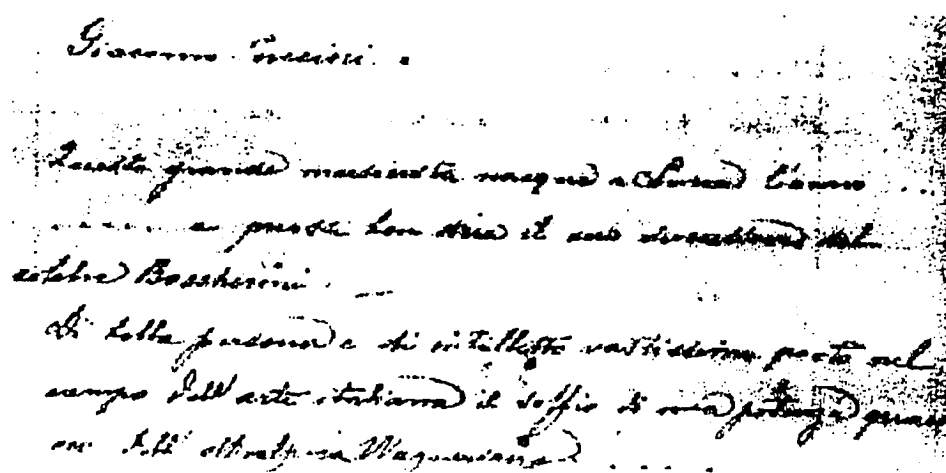
melodies - non-recurring melodic pieces (not all are full-fledged arias) that relate motivically to one or more of the motivic cells. (There are fourteen of these.)

passagework - the musical material that fills the gaps between the above (and/or set pieces), and which may also be motivically related.

"Motivic cells," "melodies," and "passagework" will be discussed in the following chapter, because they are not leitmotivic: in other words, they have been selected for study because they reiterate *musical* ideas, not referential ones.

Below, we will examine all of the motives and semi-motives individually, list their appearances,⁴⁹ compare the labels attached to them by Puccini himself, Carner, Coeuroy, Schuller, and Winterhoff,⁵⁰ and describe how Puccini employed them for illustrative purposes. However, because Puccini's leitmotivic technique should be understood within the larger framework of his deep admiration for Wagner, we will first include a short digression about this important musical influence.

Puccini and Wagnerismo



Giacomo Puccini.
Questo grande musicista nacque a Lucca l'anno
..... e puossi ben dire il vero successore del
celebre Boccherini.
Di bella persona e di intelletto vastissimo portò nel
campo dell'arte italiana il soffio di una
potenza quasi eco dell'oltralpina Wagneriana.

Example 2.5 - facsimile of Puccini's auto-description⁵¹

Giacomo Puccini = Questo grande musicista nacque a Lucca l'anno..... e puossi ben dire il vero successore del celebre Boccherini. Di bella persona e di intelletto vastissimo portò nel campo dell'arte italiana il soffio di una potenza quasi eco dell'oltralpina Wagneriana....

(Giacomo Puccini = This great musician was born in Lucca in the year..... and it can well be said that he was the true successor to the celebrated Boccherini. Possessed of good looks and a very vast intellect, he inspired Italian art with a strength almost like an echo of the Wagnerian one from across the Alps...)

Leibowitz has written that Giacomo Puccini "had to be the man in which the antithetical elements of Verdi and Wagner would find their true synthesis."⁵² The humorous autodescription (in the form of a lexicon

entry), reproduced above, was jotted down in a notebook Puccini used as a student at the Milan Conservatory; here, we can see a similar juxtaposition of Italian and German role models, Luigi Boccherini (another Lucchese) and Wagner. Reading this youthful fantasy, one can imagine him daydreaming during a less than fascinating class (the rest of the class notes do support that hypothesis), and envisioning his future grandly. These few words comprise one of only three written hints that Puccini admired Wagner. Puccini's decision not to advertise this information was undoubtedly influenced by the "war" between advocates of Verdi and Wagner that raged in Italy at the end of the nineteenth century: Puccini had to at least appear to choose sides.

The vehement pro- and anti-Wagnerians did much to fan the nationalistic and xenophobic flames, and foster the Wagnerian or Verdian stereotypes.⁵³ As Monaldi⁵⁴ writes:

These two parties, not content in having principles and sentiments of their own that were fairly marked and precise, wanted to differentiate themselves from each other, in imitation of political factions, with emblematic mottos; and so, while Wagner's supporters labeled those faithful to the Italian traditions with epithets such as "pedant," "long hair" and "cabalettist," these in turn pointed to their adversaries with the appellations of "Germanists" and "futurists."⁵⁵

Verdi himself saw the conflict as a nationalistic issue. His letter of Autumn 1892 to Perosio reads: "...The public wants Italian music and not imitations or travesties of German music. We need other stuff than 'the Music of the Future'!"⁵⁶

Although Wagnerian literature had been available in Italy since 1856, the first actual performance of a Wagner opera was not until 1871, with *Lohengrin* in Bologna. The Italian public, especially without benefit of actually hearing the music, had over-simplified the differences between Wagner and Verdi: Verdi was deemed "vocal" and Wagner "symphonic." Any tendency to emphasize the orchestra was automatically dubbed "wagneriano."⁵⁷

The young composers who together were called the "giovane scuola" were, for the most part, seduced by "wagnerismo" (yet they did not renounce their Italian musical identities).⁵⁸ For the young Puccini, the avant-garde Wagner exerted an irresistible attraction. It was at this time

(1882), while they were students and sometimes roommates together in Milan, that he and Mascagni shared the cost of buying a score of *Parsifal*; the next year, he wrote "alla Wagner" in a sketch for his song, "Ad una morta!".⁵⁹ But Puccini's teacher at the Conservatory of Milan was Amilcare Ponchielli,⁶⁰ an anti-Wagnerian who was using his influence to help Puccini get a contract with Giulio Ricordi, head of the Ricordi publishing house and another anti-Wagnerian. Ricordi, Verdi's publisher and self-appointed defender,⁶¹ soon became Puccini's mentor and sought to present him as the inheritor of the Verdian mantle (and saviour of Italian music). Puccini surely realized that his own future success lay in the hands of an anti-Wagnerian, and to profess his admiration for the German master openly would have been foolhardy.

In 1888, however, Casa Ricordi bought out the Lucca publishing house, which until then had held the Italian rights to Wagner's operas.⁶² Commercial interests outweighing personal feelings, Giulio Ricordi began to publish and produce Wagner's operas in Milan and elsewhere. Soon Puccini was allowed to take a professional interest in the German composer because, in 1889, Ricordi paid for Puccini to travel to Bayreuth to see *Die Meistersinger* and subsequently make whatever cuts were necessary for the Italian production.⁶³ Puccini's task was to make invisible (and inaudible) seams in that musical fabric, and so he must have examined the score quite deeply.⁶⁴

Although Puccini may have secreted his "wagnerismo" from Ricordi, others were not fooled. Puccini's first opera, *Le Villi*, received its première in 1884, soon after Wagner's death, and was widely seen as an imitation of a Wagnerian opera. The English soprano Clara Novello, transplanted by marriage to Italy, wrote the following:

Our pretty little theatre here...opened last night with a small opera, *Le Villi*, by a young beginner, Puccini, who has imitated Wagner; a sequence of intricate harmonies without a trace of melody or inspiration, which might never end...and never begin!...⁶⁵

In one review of the première, T.O. Cesardi, who knew his Wagner well, admired the new work, but pointed out the following:

Il duetto fra Anna e Roberto ha una introduzione che ricorda troppo da vicino l'entrata di Pogner e di Bekmesser (sic) nei *Maestri Cantori di Norimberga* di Riccardo Wagner (atto 1, scena

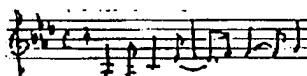
3) e che il Puccini abbia studiato questo lavoro del Grande di Lipsia risulta chiaramente dall'andante mosso col quale si chiude il primo atto. Qui l'effetto sul pubblico è grande ed immanchevole, ma l'autore non ha fatto altro che guastare il preludio dei *Maestri Cantori*, imitandolo fino al plagio. (...) E dire che quando le *Villi* furono rappresentate, tutti inneggiarono al trionfo della musica italiana la quale rifulgeva nel lavoro del Puccini di nuove ed ispirate melodie! Eppure, vedete, Wagner è tanto ricco da poter prestare melodie anche ai maestri italiani!⁶⁶

(The duet between Anna and Roberto has an introduction that reminds one too closely of the entrance of Pogner and Beckmesser in *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* by Richard Wagner (Act 1, Scene 3) and the fact that Puccini has studied this work by the Great Man of Leipzig is clear from the Andante mosso with which the first act closes. Here the effect on the public is great and faultless, but the author has done nothing except spoil the Prelude from *Die Meistersinger*, imitating it to the point of plagiarism. (...) And to think that when *Le Villi* was performed, everyone sang hymns to the triumph of Italian music, which glowed in Puccini's work with new and inspired melodies! But, you see, Wagner is so rich he can even lend melodies to Italian masters!)

As well as Cesardi knew his Wagner, it is unusual that he did not also notice the theme from *Parsifal* written prominently into the opening bars of *Le Villi*.⁶⁷ (Examples 2.6a and b)



Example 2.6a- *Le Villi*, prelude to Act I
(Property of G. Ricordi & C, Milan. Used by permission)



Example 2.6b - *Parsifal*, prelude theme

Even Puccini's fellow Lucchesi had some notion of his double musical inheritance: in 1891, on the occasion of a performance of Puccini's

second opera, *Edgar* in Lucca, he was given a diamond ring engraved with portraits of Verdi and Wagner.⁶⁸

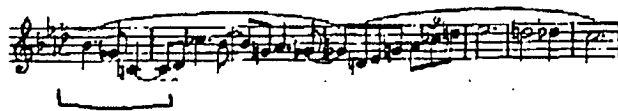
Puccini's admiration of Wagner lasted all of his life. While writing his last, unfinished opera, *Turandot*, Puccini made the following comment to a friend who played the opening bars of *Tristan und Isolde* at the keyboard,

"Enough of this music! We're mandolinists, amateurs: woe to him who gets caught by it! This tremendous music destroys one and renders one incapable of composing any more!"⁶⁹

Also in the last year of his life, Puccini went to Vienna and heard *Parsifal*, for which he bought three tickets, planning to attend only one act each night, in order to absorb the music better. Yet each night he remained to hear the entire performance.⁷⁰

The Puccini museum, which today occupies the composer's long-time home in Torre del Lago, has kept many of his belongings just as they were in the composer's time. On Puccini's piano is a framed picture of Richard Wagner, the only photo that is not a personally autographed token of friendship. The officials of the museum have assured us that the picture of Wagner was indeed in that location when Puccini lived at the house.

The last written evidence of Puccini's "wagnerismo" was given on his death-bed: one of the *Turandot* sketches he left is marked "poi Tristano" ("then Tristan"). Celli has suggested that Puccini intended to use the Mariner's theme from *Tristan und Isolde* at this point.⁷¹ It is also possible that Puccini intended to use the "Liebesruhe" theme that he had already employed in *Turandot's* opening.⁷² (Examples 2.7a and b)



Example 2.7a - "Liebesruhe" leitmotiv, *Tristan und Isolde*
(Property of G. Ricordi & C., Milan. Used by permission)



Example 2.7b - opening of *Turandot*

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The influence of Wagner in Puccini's music goes beyond musical quotations and the use of leitmotiv. We believe that there is a direct connection, for example, between Puccini's in-depth study of *Die Meistersinger* in 1889 and the enormous change of style his music evinced in the opera he composed immediately afterwards, *Manon Lescaut*. But that discussion must await a different forum: we must now return to *Tosca*.

Individual Motives and Semi-motives

Naming leitmotifs is a tricky business. Four prior efforts have been made to identify the referential content of each of the motives in *Tosca* (by Carner, Coeuroy, Schuller and Winterhoff), and their results are hardly consistent. We have compiled a table, below (Example 2.8), which juxtaposes the various tag names supplied by these authors with our own enumeration and Puccini's (seven) titles. Perhaps someday, further documentary evidence will bring to light other tag-names Puccini chose; until then, we must consider the labels chosen by these scholars (and our own) merely as informed guesswork.

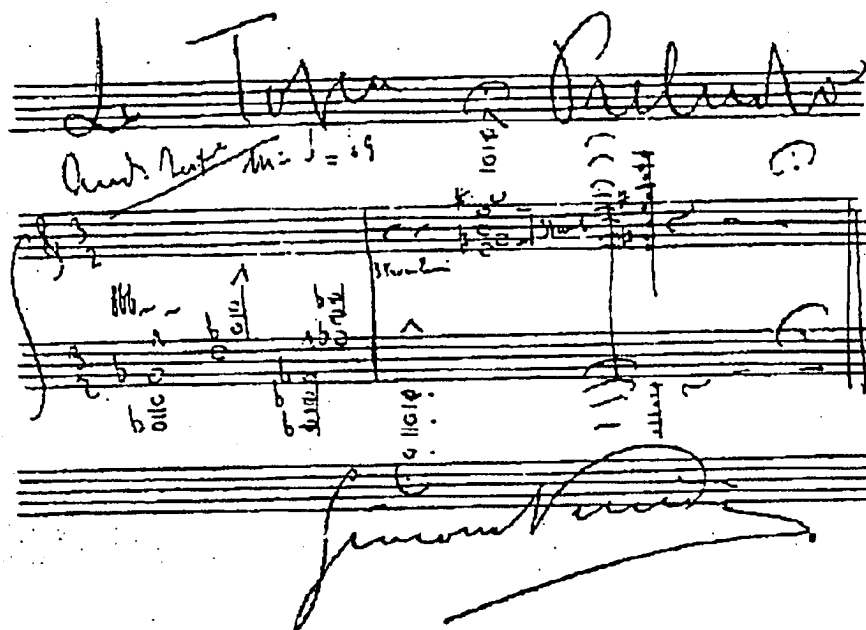
Example 2.8 - Comparison of motive and semi-motive titles

<u>PUCCINI</u>	<u>CARNER</u>	<u>COEUROY</u>	<u>SCHULLER</u>	<u>WINTERHOFF</u>
1. Preludio	Scarpia	Scarpia	Scarpia	Scarpia
2.	Angelotti 1	Angelotti's flight	Flight	Fear
2a.	Angelotti 2			
3.		Angelotti's anxiety	Plans	Haste
4.		Angelotti's weariness		
5. Sagrestano	Sacristan	Sacristan	Sacristan	Sacristan
6. Mario, trombata finale	Cavaradossi	The painting	Attavanti	Cavaradossi
7. Amore, motivo in mi maggiore	Love	Mario's love	Tosca	Love
8. Attavanti, secondo motivo della romanza tenore	Attavanti	The two beauties	Model	
9.		Angelotti's family	Friendship	Angelotti
10. Marcia	Angelotti's escape	Escape	Angelotti	Angelotti 2
11.	Tosca's entrance	Tosca amoureuse	Devotion	Tosca
12. Villa		The garden "nest"	Villa	Disturbance
13.	Cavaradossi's love	The eyes	Love	Fidelity
14.	Well		Scarpia - with extensions	Scarpia - with extensions
14a.				
15.		The torture of love	Anguish	Agony
16.	Reflection	Scarpia's violence	Persistence	Scarpia - short
17.	Interrogation	Menace	Questioning	Interrogation
18.	Pain		Lament	Suffering
19.	Gallantry	Scarpia's false sweetness		Flattery
20.	Lust	Scarpia's desire	Desire	
21.	Gallows	March of the condemned	Threat	Threat of death

<u>PUCCINI</u>	<u>CARNER</u>	<u>COEUROY</u>	<u>SCHULLER</u>	<u>WINTERHOFF</u>
22.			Treachery	Deception
23.	Murder	Barcarolle	Desperation	Melancholy
24.		Mario's despair over love	Farewell	Yearning
25.	Instruction	Tosca's anguished tenderness	Strategem	Waiting
A				
B.				
C.			Grief	
D	Torture	Physical torture	Torture	
E.	Trionfal	Love triumphant		Enthusiasm

Example 2.8 - Comparison of motive and semi-motive titles - continued

The process of determining how Puccini utilized the following leitmotifs for illustrative purposes is twofold. First, we must describe the surface characteristics of the motive or semi-motive itself, the application of IM-tools that give this material its "face." Second, we must study the manner in which Puccini has inserted the leitmotiv: if it is altered, if it is simply a "calling card" (identification of a character or object), if it illustrates a textual reference, or if it reveals a further (often unspoken) dramatic truth. Let us first turn to the **motives** (those recognizable pieces of musical material, longer than the motivic cells, that appear more than twice).



Example 2.9 - Puccini's autograph of Motive 1⁷³

Act I/ 0/1, 4/16, 14/3, 42/7, 45/14, 56/6, 89/0

Act II/ 0/12, 5/12, 48/10, 53/0, 55/27, 62/0, 65/0

Act III/ 2/5 (7, 9), 3/14, 6/7, 15/5

Motive 1 is a special case: it is an example of "il motivo di prima intenzione" about which Puccini spoke;⁷⁴ that is, "the motive of the first plan." We will see below, in Chapter IV, how the bass notes of Motive 1, paired with their tritone transposition, indeed constitute a *large-scale design* upon which the entire operatic score is organized.

However, we must recognize the fact that Motive 1 has been perceived as being linked to the character Scarpia since the première of the opera in January 1900. The critic reviewing that performance for *Il Tempo* wrote:

The first act: Rome, January 14, 10 pm - There is no prelude: three measures, very loud, gives us a theme that will remain characteristic of the character Scarpia.⁷⁵

Carner, Coeuroy, Schuller and Winterhoff agree, and it is not difficult to understand why this association could be made: the motive appears at

I/45/14 when Scarpia's name is mentioned, and it is then repeated four more times. The theme is also presented repeatedly at I/56/6 (four times) when Scarpia enters for the first time, and at II/65/0 (three times), the end of Act II, when Scarpia's body is laid out onstage. In addition, an early version of the opera included four citations of the theme at II/53/0, the end of Tosca's aria "Vissi d'arte," when Scarpia was present onstage and in Tosca's thoughts.

Yet, Puccini himself labeled this motive "the prelude" (Example 2.9), which is particularly unusual in view of the fact that he attached to other motives the names of characters and themes. In addition, from a total of eighteen appearances, only eleven occur when Scarpia is present onstage or mentioned. the other seven motivic appearances have no direct connection at all to the character Scarpia.

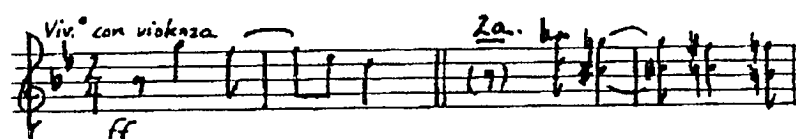
The most compelling reason not to name Motive 1 after Scarpia is that it appears for the first time before the drama has even begun and when the curtain is still down. A first-time spectator, knowing only the opera's title, might logically assume that this was Tosca's theme. Motive 1 appears in all three acts, as Scarpia does not, and thus, if dramatic significance must be attached, the motive would have to be associated with the opera as a whole, or with an element crucial to the entire drama.

We would suggest that the dramatic force of the motive lies in its sense of "wrongness": the triads B \flat -major and A \flat -major do not normally lead to an E major triad. In fact, **there is no diatonic collection that contains all three of these chords**. This shocking harmonic twist, along with the moral theme of the opera (good versus evil), might lead one to interpret Motive 1 as a representation of evil, with Scarpia as its prime exponent. Perhaps Puccini recalled that the interval of a tritone, in this case the B \flat - E outlined by the motive's bass notes, is sometimes labeled the "diabolus in musica." (That epithet for the diminished fifth was common during Puccini's time, and can still be found today in Italian music dictionaries.) It is not Scarpia the character who is suggested by this motive. Rather, the motive relates to Scarpia the source of the evil that informs the action. One could say that although the motive is not Scarpia, Scarpia is the motive, the cause for the drama.

Let us consider now the possibility that the pairing of Motive 1 and its tritone transposition (Motive 1 - T₆) could have referential content. As noted above, pitch class B \flat could be linked associatively with the concept of God, mirroring the connection of the tritone B \flat - E (the pitch class farthest from B \flat) with evil. In sum, these two associations together could imply the following: that the tritone B \flat - E only makes tonal sense in the context of a tonal plan (the prolongation of B \flat) just as evil only makes moral sense in the context of a Divine plan. However, like most associative links in Puccini's music, this one only functions part of the time: there are many B \flat 's that have no textual connection to "God" and there are two mentions of "God" that are not placed on B \flat .

Apart from the harmonic content of Motive 1, the *dynamics*, the *orchestration* and *tempo* of Motive 1's first appearance also suggest a powerful force: Puccini has marked "fff, tutta forza" for the full orchestra, played Andante molto sostenuto. (Because of a typographical error in some scores, the metronome marking is given as $\text{♩} = 69$, when it should be $\text{♩} = 69$, twice as slow.)

Because evil is a continual presence in the drama, the motive appears throughout the score, though in various transformations. When Scarpia mentions Mario's "cadavere" (II/48/10), the third chord of the motive is now in minor (the same modification occurs when Scarpia dies and at the end of Act II when his body is laid out). At II/55/27, the first two of the motive's chords are stated four times before we hear the final one (only a bare E), which would appear to illustrate Tosca's hesitation before agreeing to the false bargain. Motive 1 appears in the shepherd song of Act III as a foreshadowing of the evil that will occur and that is latently present in the "atmosphere."⁷⁶



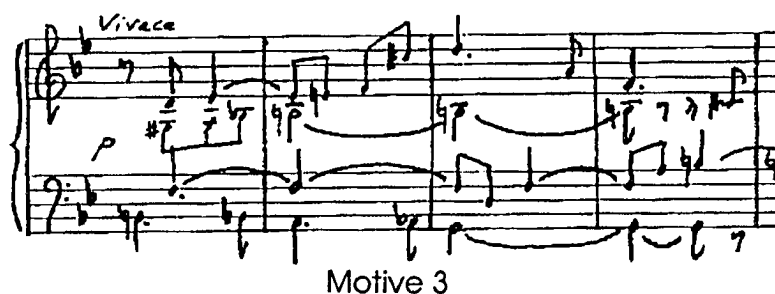
Motive 2

Act I/	0/4, 2/0, 5/0, 21/3, 22/0, 27/0, 31/6, 33/4, 40/11, 45/8, 47/3, 47/10, 14, 49/0, 60/5, 66/2, 78/0, 80/0
Act II /	55/8

Motive 2, as a dramatic symbol, is always associated with the escaped prisoner Angelotti. It first appears as Angelotti enters the church, as he looks for the Madonna and the chapel. Angelotti is afraid, and that fact is illustrated by rhythmic syncopations and a lack of hypermeter; as Greenwald writes, Angelotti is a "(syncopated) man on the run."⁷⁷ The motive itself is very changeable, appearing in various phrase lengths, rhythms and dynamics, all of which suggest an instability appropriate to the character and his situation.

This motive is also used by Puccini as what Ferrari calls a "melodia dell'azione interiore" or, as she explains, "motives in which Puccini entrusts the role of interpreter of thoughts or emotions otherwise unexpressed, which turn over in the mind of the character onstage, sometimes in contrast with the words the character actually says."⁷⁸ This occurs, for example, as Cavaradossi thinks about Angelotti at 1/27/0, and at 1/31/6, during Cavaradossi's duet with Tosca. Here, the motive interrupts other music, just as the painter's thoughts about Angelotti would have disturbed the happier images of an evening with his lover. At the end of Act I, 1/80/0, where there is no visual or textual reference to Angelotti, Scarpia is nevertheless thinking of his escaped prisoner as his men follow Tosca to Cavaradossi's villa.⁷⁹

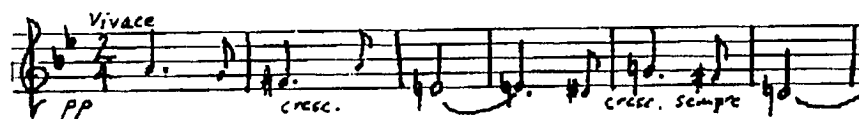
Motive 2a, referred to by Carner as "Angelotti 2" appears only in conjunction with Motive 2. Only in one instance does it precede, rather than follow, that motive: at 1/40/0.



Act I / 2/7, 41/0, 43/0, 45/0, 46/13

Schuller labels this motive "Plans," presumably because it appears as Angelotti looks for the hidden key, approaches the Madonna, and as Cavaradossi and Angelotti discuss their own "plans." This is a possible

interpretation, yet the motive does not appear in other instances in which plans are discussed. Neither does Winterhoff's "haste" apply consistently: the characters are in greater haste once the cannon rings out, and the motive does not appear then. More probably, the motive's chromatic nature and unresolved harmonies (dominant sevenths, mostly) imply a sense of intrigue and unfinished secret business.

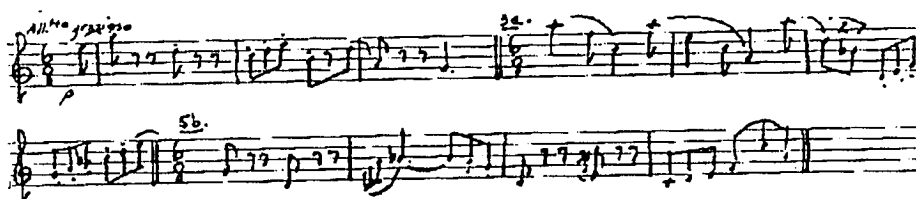


Motive 4

Act I / 3/10, 4/7, 5/14, 9/8

Act II / 56/0

Motive 4, unlabeled by Carner, Schuller or Winterhoff, seems to suggest simple sadness; this is indicated by Puccini's markings (rallentando, crescendo, diminuendo, espressivo) and the descending melodic direction (at I/4/7, we also get a descending sequential motion), which seem to indicate depression. At II/56/0, we get a partial statement, marked "espressivo" and "lento doloroso," when Tosca agrees to Scarpia's bargain (Coeuroy's label, "Angelotti's weariness" would not apply here). Only at I/9/8, during the Sacristan's entrance, does this motive have a happier aspect: perhaps Angelotti's sadness, like the escapee himself, is hidden.

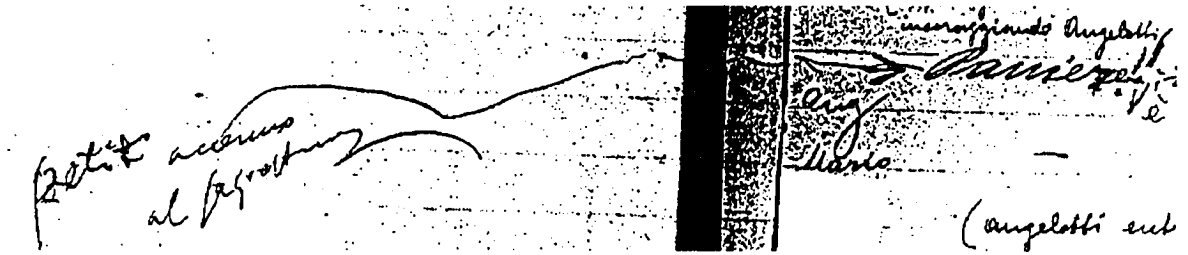


Motive 5

Act I / 6/3, 10/3, 20/13, 24/4, 49/4, 50/0, 57/0, 62/1, 63/9, 64/8

This motive was named for the Sacristan by Puccini himself, and Carner, Schuller and Winterhoff name it "Sacristan" as well. NYPL shows two of Puccini's annotations regarding the "tema sagrestano." The first of

these occurs at what would be 1/24/4, when Cavaradossi offers Angelotti the basket ("paniere") of food. (Example 2.10)



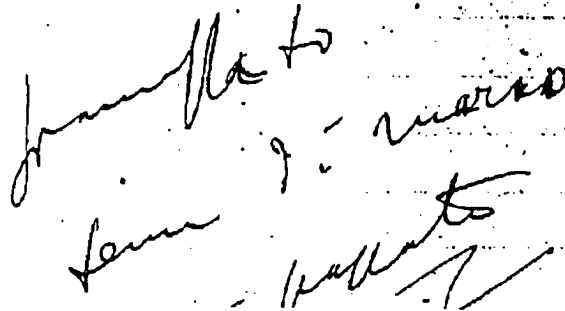
Example 2.10 - "petit accenno al Sagrestano" ("small hint of the Sacristan")⁸⁰

At what would become 1/50/0, the second entrance of the Sacristan, Puccini writes: "tema sagrestano ai legni acuti, clarino, oboe."⁸¹

The first appearance of this motive illustrates quite well the character of the Sacristan: it is in major *mode*, with a regular *meter* ($\frac{6}{8}$) and *hypermeter*, and has a distinctive, lively *articulation*. But it is how Puccini transforms this motive and where he places it that tell us more about the composer's illustrative techniques. In the example above, Puccini indicates a "hint" of the Sacristan theme at the word "paniere," to strengthen the connection between the cleric and the basket: the Sacristan will notice the empty basket later on, which will set Scarpia on the right path. After Scarpia's dramatic entrance, the Sacristan is terrified, and his theme now shows it: at 1/57/0, Motive 5 is chromaticized and shortened (which diminishes its carefree character) and overwhelmed by the imperious Motive 1.⁸² At 1/63/9, the stage directions describe the Sacristan as "evermore terrified and almost weeping": in a similar vein, his theme is now in minor, with an extension that includes an appoggiatura-like descending minor second, an illustration of lament. As we noted above, when the Sacristan is intimidated by Scarpia's severe interrogation, we are meant to laugh at this basically comic character, and so Puccini transports his theme to the bass, played by the bassoon.



Example 2.11a - Puccini's "leitmotif della trombata finale per i colleghi e uniti!"⁸³ - Motive 6



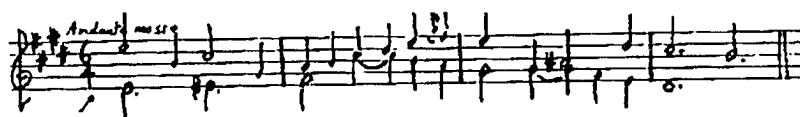
Example 2.11b- "framezzato tema di Mario" ("Mario's theme mixed in")⁸⁴

Act I/ 8/4, 12/0, 14/0, 42/1, 44/0, 50/14, 61/4

Act II / 12/0, 42/3, 46/0, 54/0

Although Puccini originally thought of this motive for the "final trumpet piece" (Example 2.11a), it is clear that he soon attached it to Cavaradossi (although Schuller labels it "Attavanti" and Coeuroy, "the painting"): its sequentially rising melodic direction accurately describes Mario's passionate nature. This theme is indeed "mixed in" at the point Puccini indicated (in scene 6, 1/42-45) (Example 2.11b). Further, Motive 6 is heard in Act I just after the painter enters (1/14/0), when his name is mentioned by the Sacristan (1/12/0) and when the Sacristan tells the name to Scarpia (1/61/4). In Act II, it is heard after Scarpia mentions Cavaradossi's name to Spoletta (II/12/0) and when Mario rises to sing "Vittoria" (II/42/3).

But Mario's theme is also present for "unobservable" reasons: it appears when Tosca is bargaining with Scarpia, at II/46/0, because she is thinking about saving her lover. Shortly thereafter, an interesting transformation of this theme occurs: at II/54/0, Cavaradossi's theme mutates into Motive 20, a motive linked with Scarpia's lust. The two are now entwined both musically and dramatically.



Motive 7

*Tosca
riprendere
motivo
amore
come
perorazione
polifonica*

Example 2.12 - "Tosca riprendere motivo amore come perorazione polifonica" ("Tosca to take up again the love motive as polyphonic peroration")⁸⁵

Act I / 14/8, 22/10, 20, 37/2, 38/0, 39/0, 66/4, 79/1

Act II / 0/4, 5/7, 44/12

Act III / 6/0, 9/4, 10/3, 14/0

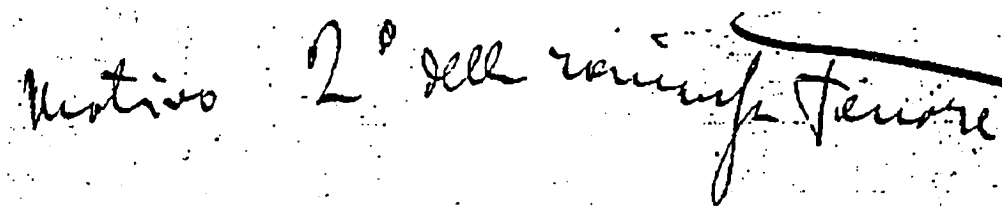
Puccini referred to this motive both as the "motivo in mi maggiore" and as the "motivo amore" (to be placed at I/79/1, where we can indeed find it presented "polyphonically."). (Example 2.12) Motive 7's amorous qualities are evidenced by its highly expressive melodic line (complete with high notes), its rolling accompaniment, regular meter and hypermeter and its major key. There is only one instance in which Motive 7 is not connected to love: the theme is quoted briefly during the bell scene of Act III. Here, Puccini might be slyly reminding the listener of the motive's origin: the bells of *Parsifal*.

If this motive truly represents love, Puccini has used it to supply us with some unspoken feelings of the protagonists. At I/14/8, we hear it when Cavaradossi is studying his painting of the Attavanti: can we assume then, that he does have amorous feelings for the marchesa?⁸⁶ Similarly, we hear Motive 7 when Scarpia first sees Tosca (at I/66/4):

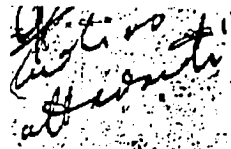
perhaps Puccini is telling us of Scarpia's love for the diva before the police chief himself confesses it himself. In addition, we hear the motive when Cavaradossi thinks of his lover and tries to write her a farewell letter, at III/9/4 and III/10/3, as well as when the lovers are reunited, after his loneliest moment (III/14/0); in this last instance, the motive is extended and modulates upwards, illustrating not just love, but ecstasy.



Motive 8



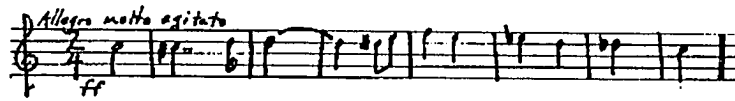
Example 2.13a - "Motivo 2o della romanza tenore"⁸⁷



Example 2.13b - "motivo Attavanti"⁸⁸

Act I /	18/9, 19/13, 47/12, 60/8, 71/10
Act II /	25/15
Act III /	24/2

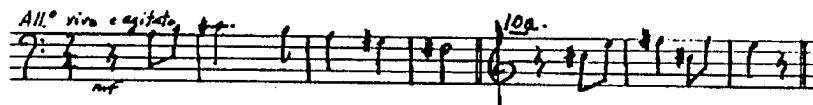
The apparent conflict between Puccini's references to this motive as "second motive of the tenor romanza" (at I/60/8, when Scarpia mentions the Attavanti's name) (Example 2.13a) and the "Attavanti motive" (at I/71/10, when Scarpia gives Tosca the marchesa's fan) (Example 2.13b) is illusory because the second section of Cavaradossi's aria, "Recondita armonia" is about (and is sung to) the Attavanti. A more subtle use of the motive occurs at I/47/12, when Angelotti retrieves the marchesa's hidden clothing, to be used as his disguise. Here, Puccini aurally links the clothes with the woman in the picture.



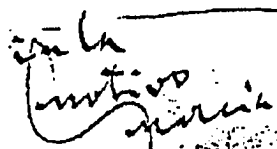
Motive 9

Act I / 21/7, 24/7, 25/8, 33/14

Motive 9, unlabeled by Carner, is named "Friendship" by Schuller and "Angelotti's family" by Coeuroy. These couplings seem tenuous at best, since the theme is employed to accompany either Angelotti's desperate and accidental meeting with Cavaradossi or Tosca's jealousy. The only label that could apply here would have to be one that implied the tense emotions suggested by the orchestral tremolos and rising chromatic melody; perhaps "agitation" would suffice.



Motive 10



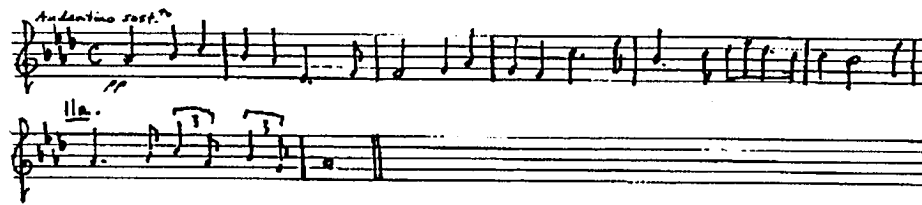
Example 2.14 - "in la motivo marcia"⁸⁹

Act I / 22/3, 13, 58/2, 60/0, 71/3, 77/0

Act II / 0/3, 5/5, 44/11, 55/13

This motive has been linked with Angelotti (Schuller) or Angelotti's escape (Carner and Coeuroy), but Puccini calls it simply the "march motive" (Example 2.14), referring to its meter. Motive 10, which changes little throughout the opera, appears as Angelotti tells of his flight (I/22/3), as Scarpia informs the Sacristan about the escape (I/58/2), when Scarpia finds the fan (I/60/0) and after Scarpia orders Angelotti's corpse hanged (II/55/13). However, it also is present when Tosca, in her scene with Scarpia, becomes jealous (I/71/3), which has nothing to do with Angelotti, but does have to do with his eventual fate. Therefore, we believe this motive is linked, not just with Angelotti or his escape, but with the whole sequence of events leading to his recapture and death.

Motive 10a, on the other hand, is linked with "complicity" (we get a hint of it at I/60/2 when Scarpia is trying to determine the accomplice.)



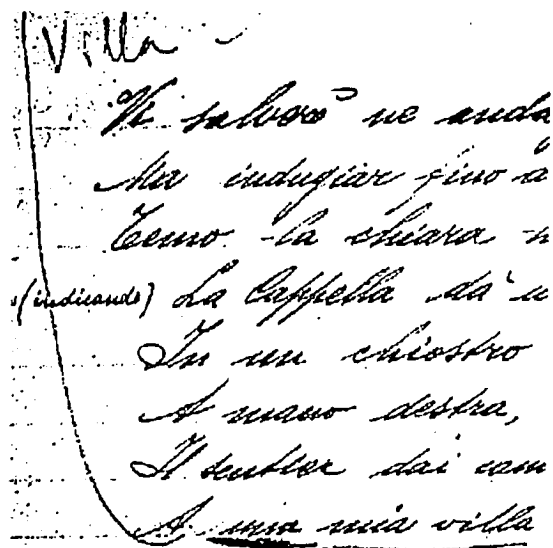
Motive 11

Act I / 25/0, 26/0

Act II / 52/0, 12

Act III / 16/7

Motive 11 is intimately connected with Tosca: one hears it as she enters for the first time, as part of her prayerful aria "Vissi d'arte" and as she recalls "Vissi d'arte" in Act III. At I/25/0, the theme, most likely does not represent Tosca herself, for, at that moment, she is in a jealous rage. Perhaps it represents this pious aspect of her character (the use of the harp here could signal Tosca's "angelic" side): Schuller, in fact, names it "Devotion." At the very least, with this motive, which remains fairly constant in all its appearances, Puccini allows us to experience the diva's (temporarily unseen) gentle and appealing side.



Example 2.15 - Puccini's notation "Villa" at the words "A una mia villa"⁹⁰



Motive 12

Act I /	28/10, 29/20, 31/0, 31/3 - 32/0, 33/0, 47/0, 47/5, 48/0
Act II /	10/8
Act III /	10/0

In Example 2.15 above, we can see that Puccini has left a note as to where an appearance of the 'villa' theme might be appropriate: at that point in the score (I/47/0) Motive 12 does indeed appear (he also had originally wanted to insert the motive at Tosca's words "O mio bel nido insozzato di fango"⁹¹ ("O my beautiful nest soiled with filth")). Further, every other appearance of this theme but one is connected textually to Cavaradossi's villa: only the final appearance, at III/10/0 has no direct connection to the villa, but here, as Cavaradossi begins to write his letter to Tosca, Puccini shows us that he is remembering their lovers' hideaway.

This motive is characterized by an opening ornamental figure of sextuplets, which might illustrate an "old-fashioned" aspect of the ancestral home. Puccini also transforms the motive to illustrate shifts in emotional mood: when Tosca becomes irritated that Cavaradossi is hurrying her away (at I/31/6), and when her suspicions rise (at I/33/0), we get a chromatic inflection of the second falling third.



Motive 13

Act I /	35/0
Act II /	0/5, 5/8, 21/8, 40/5 - 10, 64/3

An early sketch shows that a version of this motive was originally intended for the words "È bruna Floria l'ardente amante mia."⁹² Puccini

changed his mind and the motive now appears first in Cavaradossi's "Qual occhio al mondo" (I/35/0). In either case, it would seem that Puccini regarded this motive, which he hardly transforms, as pertaining in some way to love; Schuller, in fact, names it such. Carner, on the other hand, calls it "Cavaradossi's Love," Coeuroy chooses "The eyes," and Winterhoff opts for "fidelity." None of these titles explains, however, why we hear Motive 13 at II/64/3, when Tosca decides to light candles for Scarpia's corpse. The only reasonable explanation seems to be that this motive represents Tosca's and Cavaradossi's love for each other, and, in the terrible final moments of Act II, she is thinking of that love.



Act I/ 48/10

Act II/ 19/3, 20/0, 21/3, 5, 21/12, 27/5, 30/8 , 39/0 - 40/0,
40/13, 41/0, 55/5

Motive 14 appears to suggest the "well" (Angelotti's hiding place) and Carner names it as such. Because the motive is built on the whole-tone scale, like Motive 1, Schuller and Winterhoff label it, "Scarpia with extensions," but this overlooks the myriad interrelationships between motives (which we will examine in the next chapter). Not only is this motive linked verbally to the well (I/48/10), but it appears repeatedly throughout the torture scene of Act II as Scarpia tries to discover Angelotti's hideout: while Scarpia is pressing for information, the orchestra is telling the audience, by way of this leitmotiv, what the police chief wants to know.



Motive 14a

Act II 54/18, 55/22, 56/16, 58/1

This motive, distinguished from Motive 14 by its triplet figure, appears when Tosca repulses Scarpia (II/54/18), when Spoletta asks about Cavaradossi's fate (II/55/22), when Scarpia gives Spoletta his orders (II/56/16) and finally when Scarpia lunges passionately at Tosca (II/58/1). It would seem, then, that Motive 14a relates to Scarpia's bargain.



Motive 15

Act I / 79/8 (variant)

Act II / 36/2, 44/0, 48/0, 50/0, 52/19

Act III / 10/10

Motive 15, which is altered little during the opera, is labeled "Anguish" by Schuller and "Agony" by Winterhoff, and these nominatives seem appropriate. The octave jump in the melody and the contrasting rhythms (long note followed by several fast ones) seem to suggest emotional extremes. The motive appears as Tosca exits broken-hearted from the church, during her grueling scenes with Scarpia, as she prays for help, and as Cavaradossi tries bitterly to write to her from prison.

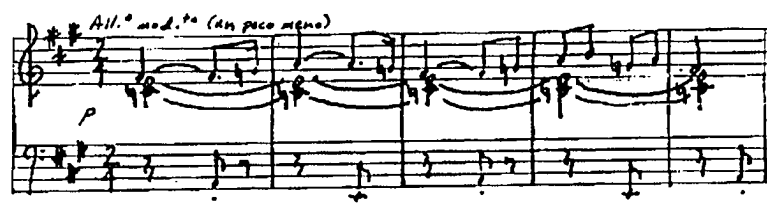


Motive 16

Act II/ 0/0, 0/7 , 1/4, 2/2, 5/4 , 8/8, 44/13,

Like Motive 1, Motive 16 is half of a large-scale design; with its inversion, as we shall see below,⁹³ the descending melodic third of the motive organizes the second act of the opera. Further, this third is both an example of motivic cell Y⁹⁴ and a subset of the whole-tone scale; in short, this motive is vital to the musical unity of the score. Winterhoff recognizes this, in part, when he labels the motive "Kurz-form des Scarpia-Motivs."

The surface characteristics of Motive 16, and its placement in the score, are nevertheless quite relevant to the drama. The motive, present only in Act II, has a superficially calm quality (although the dissonance of D major over the E pedal is a reminder of the uneasy situation) that will contrast greatly with the stormy dramatic and musical events it borders. Carner terms this motive "Reflection," which accurately conveys that sense of calm, unlike Coeuroy who calls it "Scarpia's violence." (Schuller calls it "Persistence" but includes under that rubric several motivic occurrences that we have categorized as versions of Motive 14, and that do show Scarpia's persistence.)



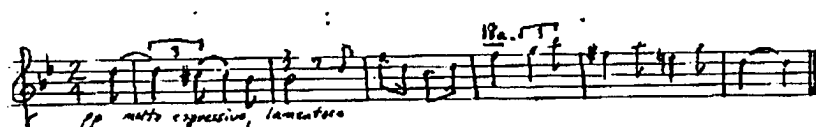
Motive 17

Act II/ 13/0, 14/0, 15/0, 17/0, 18/0, 22/0, 40/0

Motive 17 appears only in Act II, and only in connection with Scarpia's interrogation of Cavaradossi. Its unresolved harmony and plodding rhythm accurately portray Scarpia's need for information and his relentlessness. Therefore, the titles, "Questioning" (Schuller), "Menace" (Coeuroy) or "Interrogation" (Carner and Winterhoff) would be appropriate, although the last is slightly more specific to the dramatic situation. Before the actual torture begins, the motive is presented with soft dynamics; at II/22/0, however, when the torture begins, we hear it

fortissimo. In its final appearance, when Cavaradossi is released from the torture room, the motive is extended, transposed, and used to form a transition to a calmer mood (and Motive 13).

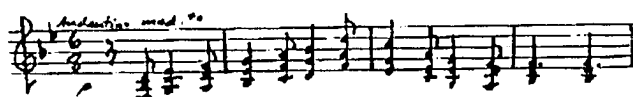
As we noted earlier, the harmonic base of the motive is a half-diminished seventh chord, which contrasts "our" music from the off-stage cantata whose "real" music is more diatonic. In addition, Puccini constantly interrupts this motive with phrases of the cantata, a technique he might have observed in Wagner's *Die Meistersinger*.



Motive 18

Act II/ 20/9, 23/3, 30/3, 30/12, 40/4

Motive 18 is consistently linked with Cavaradossi's torture. Its chromatically inflected melody, over minor harmony, and its markings such as "molto espressivo" and "lamentoso" seem to illustrate the idea of pain, as Carner aptly names it.



Motive 19

Act II/ 25/1, 26/0, 45/0, 58/10

Motive 19 is invariably used when Scarpia is pretending to be pleasant. Puccini accompanies the first appearance of this motive with the notation, "con gallanteria"; perhaps taking his cue from this, Schuller names the motive, "Gallantry." Musically, that pleasantness is signaled by the major mode, the Andantino tempo indication and a regular meter. This is false gallantry, however, and Puccini lets us know this by utilizing an irregular hypermeter. In addition, at II/25/15-16, Puccini cleverly transforms this motive into Motive 8 (the Attavanti motive), when Scarpia mentions the marchesa.

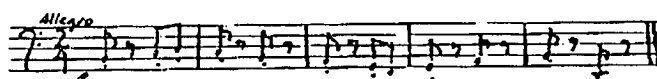


Motive 20

Act II/ 46/8, 47/29, 48/6, 54/8, 60/0, 64/0

Act III / 17/6

Motive 20, an expanded disposition of the four descending notes we have seen elsewhere (identified in the next chapter as element -x), conveys a sense of increase. In fact, in its first appearance, it grows out of the descending four notes of Motive 6. The labels of "Lust" (Carner) or "Desire" (Coeuroy and Schuller) seem appropriate: we hear Motive 20 when Scarpia tells Tosca she is beautiful, and when confesses he wants her. When Scarpia allows Tosca to leave, the motive is presented at a softer dynamic (*mf*), and when he approaches her, believing he will finally have her, we hear Motive 20 repeated ever faster and louder. Yet these labels do not explain the appearance of the theme once Scarpia is dead (II/64/0), unless Tosca is recalling prior events.

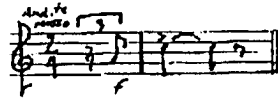


Motive 21

Act II/ 50/10, 53/6

Act III/ 17/2

Appearing only three times, Motive 21 is linked with Scarpia's threat to hang Mario: it is heard when Scarpia describes for Tosca the march of the condemned to the gallows, when she begs Scarpia for mercy (thinking of the execution of Mario) and when she recalls these events for Cavaradossi later, in Act III. Schuller's title, "Threat," Winterhoff's "Threat of Death" or Carner's "Gallows" would be appropriate were it not for the march-like rhythm, meter and articulation Puccini has chosen for the motive. Instead, Motive 21 should be linked with the escorted march of the condemned as Coeuroy names it.



Motive 22

Act II / 56/1 , 57/2

Act III/ 22/8, 27/9, 30/9, 34/0

Motive 22, which appears solely in connection with Mario's execution, is brief but it nevertheless conveys a charged message. Thus, Schuller's title "Treachery" and Winterhoff's "Deception" are off the mark.



Motive 23

Act II/ 59/0, 63/0

Act III/ 18/0, 21/0

Carner labels Motive 23 "Murder," which is apt in light of the fact that it only appears in connection with Scarpia's death. This is especially clear in the motive's final appearance: in the middle of Cavaradossi's Act III aria in F major, "O dolci mani," the minor Motive 23 intrudes when there is a specific reference to the murder, "Voi deste morte, o man vittoriose" (III/21/0). Schuller's title, "Desperation" or Winterhoff's "Melancholy" do not apply nearly as well. (Coeuroy's "Barcarolle" is inexplicable except as a typographical error.) The connection with death is furthered by the motive's musical attributes: a minor key, and dirge-like tempo, meter and rhythm.

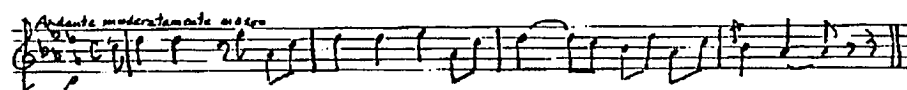


Motive 24

Act III/ 7/1, 11/0, 12/1, 27/13 - 28/0, (38/0 - cut from current edition) , 41/0

In the autograph score and the first piano solo version of *Tosca*, Motive 24, the melody for "E lucevan le stelle," was to have appeared just after Tosca learns that Mario is really dead (III/38/0). Although it has been written elsewhere⁹⁵ that Tosca was to have sung a reprise of the tenor aria at this point, the motive only appears in the orchestral part; Tosca's part was only a simple four-note melody.

Motive 24 appears at the truly tragic moments of the opera: as Cavaradossi is facing death, as he remembers his trysts with Floria that are now all in the past, and, of course, as Tosca herself leaps to her death. There is an additional, more hidden appearance of Motive 24, at III/27/13. Here, Cavaradossi's anguish is indicated by his words, "Parlami ancor come dianzi parlavi, è così dolce il suon della tua voce!" ("speak to me again as you did before, the sound of your voice is so sweet!"), which are set to a variant of the motive. This musical hint reveals that Cavaradossi might be aware that the execution will be real, and he draws Tosca to him at that point. (Puccini has already implied this by including the stage direction, "triste" ("sad") in the tenor's part a few bars earlier.) Schuller's title "Farewell," Coeuroy's "Mario's despair over love" and Winterhoff's "Yearning" apply to some of these appearances, but not all. A more appropriate label would be "Tragedy."



Motive 25

Act III/ 22/1, 27/1, 30/2

This theme appears three times, and thus we will classify it as a motive, but these recurrences are all within the third-act duet between Tosca and Cavaradossi. The motive returns because Tosca's thoughts repeatedly return to the events at hand (the false execution and Mario's part to play in it). Schuller names the leitmotiv "Stratagem," Winterhoff chooses "Waiting," and Carner opts for "Instruction," all of which refer to the specific action in which this motive occurs. Yet what is of greater dramatic import here is the joyful character of the theme (not "anguished tenderness" as Coeuroy selects): it is quite similar to, and

evocative of, Tosca's light and happy "Non la sospiri" in Act I. Tosca, although she is preoccupied with the details of the execution, believes the future will be bright, and the surface characteristics of the motive reflect that: it is in major with bouncy rhythm and regular $\frac{4}{4}$ meter. A more appropriate title might be "Optimism."

Now let us turn to the **semi-motives**, those recognizable bits of musical material, longer than motivic cells, that appear only twice.



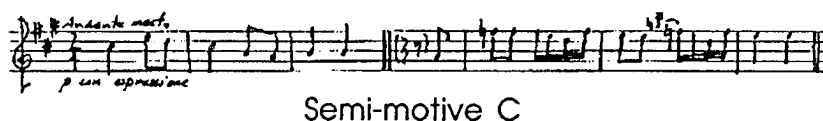
I/23/0
I/67/6

Semi-motive A appears when Angelotti tries to escape the church but is too tired, and when the Sacristan mentions the missing Cavaradossi (and then slips away himself). Thus, the semi-motive could reasonably be labeled "Escape." The uneasiness of such flight is illustrated by Puccini's use of alternating $\frac{3}{4}$ and $\frac{2}{4}$ measures, even in the second, extended version.



I/34/7
I/76/0

Both instances of this semi-motive appear to indicate Tosca's jealous suffering. Puccini employs a descending melodic motion (*melodic direction*) and extreme chromaticism (*consonance-dissonance polarity*) to indicate her painful sadness.



I/73/3
I/78/15

Some evidence exists that Puccini wrote the music of this semi-motive and then requested text. In one of his annotations, he asks for "strofe di Tosca" and in another, appended to an early sketch of such verses, he writes, "tenere il metro però" ("but keep the meter").

Schuller calls this semi-motive "Grief," which is apt, considering its dirge-like meter and minor mode.



II/28/0
II/35/0

Schuller, Coeuroy and Carner refer to this semi-motive as "Torture" (Coeuroy specifies physical torture). This seems logical, since the theme only occurs in the torture scene of Act II. Illustrating the waves of pain that Cavaradossi feels, Puccini writes both a rising - falling melodic line (*melodic direction*) and rising - falling *dynamics* (in the first appearance). In the second appearance of this semi-motive, Puccini gives us quicker dynamic changes (> > > etc.) which increase the emotional tension through accelerated dynamic accents and which illustrate (as Scarpia cries, "Più forte!") both his words and the twists of the screw.



Semi-motive E

III/0/0
III/29/0

This semi-motive is the melody for Tosca and Cavaradossi's united (and unisonal) enthusiastic outburst in Act III. Winterhoff, in fact, labels it

"Enthusiasm." The same triumphant music begins the act when it could appear to the audience that victory is at hand.

Conclusion

If, as Illica maintained (quoting Méry), libretto verses are made for the convenience of the deaf,⁹⁶ then leitmotifs are made for the convenience of those who do not understand the operatic text. By watching the stage and following Puccini's leitmotifs in *Tosca*, one could conceivably keep up with the essential plot twists: these leitmotifs are meant to convey in detail the sense of the text in their own language (that of tonal music), and Puccini has done the translation. (Whether that translation is perceived correctly is another matter, one that depends on the skill of the listener, as witnessed by the wide variation in our four leitmotiv-listeners.)

The composer indeed made such an analogy years later, in regard to *Il Tabarro*: "mi son messo a tradurre in note l'*Houppelande*"⁹⁷ ("I sat down to translate *The Cloak* into notes.") But to create such a "translation" into the tonal musical language, Puccini had to utilize all of his illustrative tools, not just leitmotifs. Now that we have seen how these musical tools constitute the rich vocabulary in which the story of *Tosca* is told, let us turn our attention, in Part II, to the organizing, grammatical elements that make that language coherent.

Notes to Chapter II

¹Roger Parker has shown how Puccini contrasts chromatic and diatonic sections in Act I of *Tosca* in his "Analysis: Act I in perspective" in Mosco Carner, *Giacomo Puccini: "Tosca"* Cambridge Opera Handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, 129.

²The last act of the autograph score has the following hand-written notations: "Fine dell'opera, G. Puccini, Torre del Lago, 29 7bre 99, ore 4:15 di mattina" ("End of the opera, G. Puccini, Torre del Lago, 29 September, 1899, 4:15 a.m.") and "manca il preludio" ("the prelude is missing"). The prelude is dated 14 October 1899.

³This example could also be used to illustrate the third IM-function, presentation of emotion or character, in this case, the shepherd. Also, the A# of the Lydian mode coincides with a musical function: it recalls and foreshadows the Bb of Motive 1.

⁴Cavaradossi's profound misery is also denoted by the very low pitch of the Campanone here, five spaces below the bass staff.

⁵Illica: "One can find (an example of) the extreme misery of the art of making Puccini's operas in the suppression of the "description of the dawn" in Rome in the prelude-scene of the last act. Without reflecting that the description was not only necessary to the libretto, but indispensable for calling the public's attention to that prelude, because those details of the churches, etc., etc., were the rhyme and reason of the piece." (Eugenio Gara, ed. *Carteggi Pucciniani* (Milan: Ricordi, 1958) 192-193.)

⁶All motives are identified by number in the final section of this chapter.

⁷Greenwald distinguishes between "song," which is heard by the characters onstage and "aria" which is not. Helen M. Greenwald, *Dramatic Exposition and Musical Structure in Puccini's Operas* (Ph.D. diss., CUNY, 1991), 134. These definitions derive from prior work by Edward T. Cone and Luca Zoppelli.

⁸Interestingly, in Puccini's original version, the second "theme" has none of the metric peculiarities of the one in the opera; there are no metrical reinterpretations, only four-bar phrases. Perhaps this indicates that the composer's musical filter is still functioning and this music is not quite "real."

⁹In the original play, the cantata was supposed to have been composed by Paisiello.

¹⁰These descending chromatic notes could also represent physical stage action, as *Tosca* and Cavaradossi are descending from the scaffold.

¹¹Puccini gets to C minor by arpeggiating from F major (at I/38/0) and A minor (at I/38/9).

¹²Also an appearance of Motive 23.

¹³This pentatonic melody was part of the material Puccini borrowed from the suppressed fourth act of *Edgar*; it had been used in a love scene, but one that had nothing to do with distant lands.

¹⁴The joke also works in Italian, where a deceptive cadence is similarly termed a "cadenza d'inganno."

¹⁵The copione of 1 February 1898, now housed at the Music Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations (hereafter, NYPL).

¹⁶Allan Atlas, "Puccini's Tosca: A New Point of View" in *Studies in the History of Music*, 3: *The Compositional Process* (New York: Broude Bros., 1992), 247-273.

¹⁷Hans Winterhoff, *Analytische Untersuchungen zu Puccinis "Tosca,"* Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung 72 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1973).

¹⁸At the same time, however, there are instances of pitch-class Bb that are not associated with "God" and several appearances of "God" that are not placed on Bb.

¹⁹These terms, and other related ones, are used here according to definitions in William Rothstein, *Phrase Rhythm in Tonal Music* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1989), Chapters 1 - 4. In order to aid the reader, we include here a summary of some of Rothstein's definitions, even though we must do without his eloquence:

antecedent and consequent phrases - see *parallel period*.

elongated upbeat - an upbeat that precedes the first bar of a hypermeasure and that itself lasts at least one full bar; an upbeat is "elongated" only if its inclusion results in the appearance of one or more extra bars between hypermeasures, or preceding the first hypermeasure of a piece. These extra bars are not counted as part of any hypermeasure. (56)

expansion - an enlarged version of the prototype; the new version of the phrase as a whole is termed *expanded phrase*. (64) Phrase expansion can be divided into two categories, internal and external. *Internal expansions* involve adding length within the basic phrase itself. *External expansions* involve the addition of subordinate material either before or after the basic phrase, leaving the basic phrase itself more or less unaffected. (68)

hypermeasures - suprameasure units that are perceived as if they were measures, because they exhibit a regular alternation of strong and weak 'beats' analogous to that of single measures. (40)

hypermeter - derived from hypermeasures, this term applies to metrical phenomena apart from phrases; the combination of measures on a metrical basis, including both the recurrence of equal-sized measure groups and a definite pattern of alternation between strong and weak measures. (12)

lead-in - notes connecting the cadential note of one phrase to the downbeat of the next phrase, including that downbeat note; it entails an overlap; a melodic unit less complete and usually shorter than the phrases that it connects, but not a subphrase, because it is not part of any complete phrase, just a link. (52)

overlap - two phrases overlap when the last note (or chord) of the first phrase acts simultaneously as the first note (or chord) of the second phrase. Subphrase overlap is

precisely analogous. Sometimes, though more rarely, more than one note or chord may be common to two overlapping phrases. (44)

parallel period - consists of antecedent and consequent phrases (two phrases that begin the same way, but the first leads to a half cadence, while the second leads to a full cadence). (17-18) it is the simplest two-part form. (105)

period - any phrase that contains at least two smaller phrases. (17)

phrase - a directed motion in time from one tonal entity to another. (5)

phrase expansion - a transformation that adds length to phrases. (64)

phrase rhythm - the whole range of rhythmic phenomena involving phrases and hypermeasures. (12) Hypermeter and phrase structure may coincide or they may not; their agreement or conflict represents a basic compositional resource.

phrase structure - phrase considerations apart from hypermeter; the coherence of musical passages on the basis of their total musical content (melodic, harmonic and rhythmic). (12-13)

prefix - type of external phrase expansion akin to introductions; may be small (less than a complete phrase) or large (one or more complete phrases). (68)

subphrase - subdivisions of phrases with incomplete tonal contents; when subphrase grouping is determined motivically, motive and phrase become two aspects of a single, more generalized shaping process. (30-31)

suffix - a type of external phrase expansion akin to a codetta; it may be small (less than a complete phrase) or large (one or more complete phrases). (68)

²⁰Gara, *Carteggi*, 176-178.

²¹Ibid., 179-180. Ricordi's opinion did indeed change once he saw the entire score, though not completely. (See Appendix C).

²²Reminiscence motives are discrete entities that serve as cross-references within the drama itself, and therefore undergo little musical transformation. They tend to illustrate the text (IM-function 5) rather than identify characters, events, etc. (IM-function 6) as leitmotifs do.

²³Tosca's words here are set to a single pitch, C, which is presented without accompanying harmony. The C becomes reinterpreted in the next measure, III/22/1, as the leading-tone to Db major. Puccini dissolves the old harmony to make way for the new. In a parallel way, he uses *metabole* to dissolve the old rhythm, meter and tempo and make way for the new ones.

²⁴The original version of this section, from the suppressed fourth act of Puccini's second opera *Edgar*, also has a text that expresses hope for the future of a loving couple: Fidelia and Edgar sing, "Ah, nei tuoi baci io voglio tutto dimenticare! Tua la mia vita, il mio voler! Da questo dì soltanto per te vivrò! Anima e corpo tua io sono, Edgar! Gioia sublime che il mio labbro invan esprimer vuol! Estasi infinita! " ("Ah, in your kisses I want to

forget everything! My life, my wish is yours! From this day I will live only for you! I am your spirit and body, Edgar! Sublime joy that my lips want in vain to express! Infinite ecstasy!") In this early version, however, Puccini provides a different ending (the music is almost identical until III/26/0) that modulates to Db major and does not contain the repeated rhythmic figure that in *Tosca* accompanies the "nuvole leggere."

²⁵Puccini sent dummy verses for this section to Giacosa as follows: "sempre a te/ vorrei baciare/ la bocca fresca/come una pesca/piena d'amor!/ vorrei donare a te, vorrei donar/ tutto il creato inter." (See Appendix D.)

²⁶See Chapter IV.

²⁷ It is housed at the Puccini Museum at Torre del Lago (hereafter TDL).

²⁸These measures do not constitute a suffix either, since the tonal goal has not been reached.

²⁹Cavaradossi's Bb sounds higher, even though it is actually a minor seventh below Tosca's Ab, because it lies high in the tenor's range.

³⁰Despite the notated pitch, sopranos often sing the word "cor" on middle C (Maria Callas does, for example).

³¹Though there is no evidence of it in this case, sometimes stage directions were added into the score after it was finished by either Puccini or his publisher, Ricordi.

³²A brief, digressive note is perhaps in order at this point, to highlight Puccini's exceptional use of the monotone. It is very much part of the composer's style to begin a solo aria from a single repeated pitch, often introduced by the same (unharmonized) pitch in the accompaniment. "Recondita armonia" (I/17/0) begins with a unison C in the orchestra; in Scarpia's "Va Tosca" of the Act I finale, the soloist is given a few words or lines on a repeated F at the beginning of the aria. One effect of this technique is the furtherance of musical continuity by avoiding disruptive beginnings for the set pieces. More telling examples of this come from the composer's treatment of Mimì in *La bohème*. In that opera, Puccini and his librettists were attempting, in many ways, to avoid the clichés of operas past, and to make their heroine more realistic. So, in her first aria, "Mi chiamano Mimì," the music commences in an unassuming way, like Mimì herself, from the single pitch. More importantly, the end of this aria was, at the time, truly revolutionary: Puccini completely avoids a "big ending," his heroine's voice trailing off demurely in a recitative-like passage. Further, there is no grand death-bed aria (one of the more notorious operatic clichés) for Mimì: her voice simply collapses into monotone.

³³Puccini's orchestration is explored more deeply in the following works: Norbert Christen, *Giacomo Puccini: Analytische Untersuchungen der Melodik, Harmonik und Instrumentation* Schriftenreihe zur Musik 13 (Hamburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung Karl Dieter Wagner, 1978); Bögel, Hartwig. *Studien zur Instrumentation in den Opern Giacomo Puccinis*. Tübingen: Sofortdruck H.G. Vogler, 1978; Mario Rinaldi "La strumentazione nelle opere di Giacomo Puccini" in *Giacomo Puccini nel centenario della nascita* (Lucca: Industria Grafica Lorenzetti e Natali, 1958), 54-76; Denis Vaughan, "Puccini's Orchestration" in *PRMA* 87 (1960-61): 1-14.

³⁴Eine ganz famose Aufführung nach jeder Richtung (...) Im ersten Akt Aufzug des Pabstes zu fortwährendem Glockengebimmel das eigens von Italien bestellt werden musste (...) 3. Akt wird wieder mit der Aussicht von einer Zitadelle auf ganz Rom riesig gebimbambummelt, wieder eine ganz andere Partie Glocken (...) heutzutage instrumentiert jeder Schusterbub famos." Quoted (in translation) in Carner, *Tosca*, 70.

³⁵(Bells) have been introduced into instrumentation more for the sake of dramatic than of purely musical effects." Hector Berlioz and Richard Strauss, *Treatise on Instrumentation*, trans. Theodore Front (New York: Dover, 1991), 385.

³⁶Puccini actually owned a copy of the Berlioz *Treatise*, in the Italian translation by Alberto Mazzucato, published by Ricordi (no date given). Natale Gallini, "Gli anni giovanile di Puccini" in *l'Approdo musicale*, 6 (April-June 1959): 32.

³⁷Berlioz and Strauss, *Treatise*, 385. This is Berlioz' contribution, not that of Strauss.

³⁸See Jürgen Maehder, "Roma 1800. Riflessioni sulla struttura drammatico-musicale dell'opera storica in Puccini" program notes, Teatro Comunale di Firenze (1986): 1037-1055.

³⁹The other "real" sounds Puccini uses in this score include a cannon shot, gunfire, and the choir and church organ setting of the Te Deum.

⁴⁰Coeuroy also mentions this. André Coeuroy, *La "Tosca" de Puccini* (Paris: Mellottée, 1923), 155.

⁴¹Puccini even leaves a small silence here that could be intended for audience applause or laughter. Berlioz suggests such a comic use of the bassoon when he writes, "devoid of brilliance or nobility, (the bassoon) has a tendency toward the grotesque." (Berlioz and Strauss, *Treatise*, 190.)

⁴²This is marked next to the line "Vado, Eccellenza?" in NYPL. The line was later changed to "Eccellenza, vado?", which is heard at 1/20/0. The violas were not ultimately used.

⁴³This note to give a "little hint of the Sacristan's theme" is written in the NYPL copione, where Angelotti and Cavaradossi hear the Sacristan approaching. Although the lines of this early version were later changed, we still hear a hint of the Sacristan's theme at 1/49/4 before that character reappears.

⁴⁴Giuseppe Pintorno, *Puccini: 276 lettere* (Milan: Nuove Edizioni, 1974), 70.

⁴⁵Baron Hans Paul von Wolzogen (Potsdam, 1848 - Bayreuth, 1938) studied philosophy and philology. In 1878 Wagner invited him to live in Bayreuth, where he assumed direction of the "Bayreuther Blätter" and became a member of the central committee of the Allgemeiner-Wagner-Verein.

⁴⁶Hans von Wolzogen, *"Parsifal" di Riccardo Wagner: guida attraverso il poema e la musica*, trans. Luigi Torchi (Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1898), 20.

⁴⁷Some of the early libretto versions ("copioni") were passed from one collaborator to another, but at least one (TDL) seems to have been for Puccini's private use, since he has provided an obscene version of a line of text under one of his musical sketches.

⁴⁸Titone defines similar units, which he calls "nuclei tematici." (Antonino Titone, *Vissi d'arte: Puccini e il disfacimento del melodramma* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1972), 17.)

⁴⁹Motives are listed in order of first appearance; transpositions are included as appearances (even in the special case of Motive 1 - T6), but repetitions that occur immediately are not.

⁵⁰Carner, *Tosca* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 22-44, 93-98. Coeuroy, *La Tosca*, Chapter IV. Kenneth Gustave Schuller, *Verismo Opera and the Verists* (Ph.D. diss., Washington University, 1960), I: 81. Hans-Jürgen Winterhoff, *Analytische Untersuchungen*, 31-54. Although several other authors study the leitmotifs of *Tosca* in depth (Torchì and Chop, for example), the four above are the only ones that attempt to be exhaustive. Torchì, even though he eventually identifies twenty-two "motives," first professes his dislike for doing so: "Non ho mai avuto una gran passione per questa specie di liste da lavapanni." ("I never had a grand passion for this type of laundry list"); and lists the titles without giving the musical references. (Luigi Torchì, "Tosca: melodramma in tre atti di Giacomo Puccini," *Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana* 7 (1900), 90 and 93.) Even within the four studies considered here, there is wide divergence as to what is deemed a "motive." Coeuroy, for example, states that only three of *Tosca's* motives are really leitmotifs because the rest do not appear in all acts; yet he goes on to list fifty-eight "motives."

⁵¹Housed at the Istituto Musicale "L. Boccherini" in Lucca, Italy (N IV 5A-C).

⁵²René Leibowitz, "L'arte di Giacomo Puccini," *L'Approdo musicale* 11/6 (April - June 1959): 7.

⁵³See Marion S. Miller, "Wagnerism, Wagnerians and Italian Identity" in *Wagnerism in European Culture and Politics*, ed. David C. Large and William Weber (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), 167-197, and Agostino Ziino, "Rassegna della letteratura wagneriana in Italia," *Acta Musicologica* 11 (1972): 14-135.

⁵⁴Gino Monaldi (Perugia, 1847 - Rome, 1932) was an Italian music critic, impresario, composer and author. He came from a noble family and wrote numerous books on a variety of subjects, including seven works on Verdi, and biographies of Mascagni and Puccini.

⁵⁵Gino Monaldi, *Giacomo Puccini e la sua opera* (Rome: Libreria Editrice Mantegazza, 1925), 10-11.

⁵⁶Mosco Carner, *Puccini: a Critical Biography*, 2nd ed. (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1974), 30.

⁵⁷Julian Budden, "Wagnerian tendencies in Italian opera," in *Music and Theatre: Essays in honour of Winton Dean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 301.

⁵⁸Pietro Mascagni wrote in a letter to Vittorio Gianfranceschi, dated April 8, 1887, housed at the Museo Teatrale alla Scala, Milan: "*Otello* (è) del *Papà dei Maestri*. Parlo sempre dei Maestri Italiani, poichè tu sai quanto stimo il *Vagner*, come *Papà* di tutti i *maestri* presenti e futuri." ("*Otello* (is) by the *Father of the Maestros*. I speak of Italian maestros, since you know how much I esteem *Vagner* (sic), as *Father* of all the present and future *maestros*.") Ruggero Leoncavallo had planned an operatic trilogy about Renaissance Italy; one of the operas was entitled *Crepusculum*, whose title, meaning "Twilight," clearly calls to mind Wagner's *Twilight of the Gods*. Alberto Franchetti, who held the rights to *Tosca* for awhile, gave them up and wrote the opera *Germania* instead; but he also wrote *Cristoforo Colombo*, celebrating the Italian explorer. See Julian Budden, "Wagnerian tendencies."

⁵⁹Michael Kaye, *The Unknown Puccini* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 222. Cited by Dieter Schickling, *Giacomo Puccini: Biographie* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1989), 43-44.

⁶⁰Amilcare Ponchielli (Cremona, 1834 - Milano, 1886), composer best noted for his operas *I promessi sposi* (1856 and 1872) and *La Gioconda* (1876 and 1880).

⁶¹Ricordi printed polemical anti-Wagnerian articles in his in-house *Gazetta Musicale*, and even went so far as to block a production of Wagner's *Ring* at Turin in 1901 (the year of Verdi's death) by doubling the production rights, which he owned by then. (Miller, *Wagnerism*, 177.)

⁶²Giovannina Lucca, who headed the Lucca house, was famous for her support of Wagner, her pilgrimage to Bayreuth in 1876 where she presented the composer with a silver laurel wreath (Miller, 176) and for her suggestion in 1880 to Wagner himself that he abridge the *Ring* for a single-night's performance. (Carner, *Puccini*, 29-30). Puccini had initially tried to make contact with her when he was a student in Milan.

⁶³Schickling has revealed that Puccini and his first librettist Ferdinando Fontana also made an earlier trip to Bayreuth (a pilgrimage, really) in August 1888, where they were registered in the Fremden-liste as "Puccini, Giocoma" and Fontana, Ferdinando. During the 1889 trip, Ricordi seemed able to joke about the "Germanomania" and referred to himself, in a letter to Puccini, as "Königlicherbuckdruckereistempelmaschinenstaueditor" and asks for news of the "Meistersingerschapfgrübeliwagnerelisz." (Dieter Schickling, *Giacomo Puccini*, 74.)

⁶⁴By examining the libretto that was especially printed for this performance, Guido Salvetti has been able to discover the cuts that Puccini made.

⁶⁵Carner, *Puccini*, 43.

⁶⁶Eugenio Sacerdoti (pseud. T.O. Cesardi), *La nuova scuola italiana* (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1885), 119-120.

⁶⁷In every Puccini opera we have examined, there is a quote from Wagner. See Chapter VI.

⁶⁸Gino Arrighi, "La prima rappresentazione di un'opera pucciniana in Lucca," *Lucca: Rassegna del Comune* 1/2 (September 1957). (Quoted in Schickling, *Giacomo Puccini*, 91.)

⁶⁹Guido Marotti, *Giacomo Puccini intimo* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1942), 203.

⁷⁰Marotti, *Giacomo Puccini*, n.p.

⁷¹Teodoro Celli, "L'Ultimo Canto," *La Scala* (April-March 1951): 34-35.

⁷²That theme was also utilized by Richard Strauss at the beginning of *Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche* (1904-95).

⁷³The source for this autograph is not known.

⁷⁴Carner, *Puccini*, 286.

⁷⁵Review, *Il Tempo*, 17 January 1900.

⁷⁶Puccini wanted his motives "di prima intenzione" to also illustrate the musical atmosphere of the work, as is made clear by this quote: "La difficoltà è, per me, cominciare un'opera, trovare cioè la sua atmosfera musicale. Quando l'inizio è fissato e composto, non c'è più di aver paura: l'opera è decisa e cammina." ("The difficulty is, for me, to begin an opera, that is, to find its musical atmosphere. When the beginning is fixed and composed, there is no longer need to fear: the opera is decided and it works.") (Giuseppe Adami, *Puccini* (Milan: Treves, 1935), 103.) Thus, although Motive 1 is used for organizational purposes, the choice of Motive 1, replete with its surface characteristics, is illustrative.

⁷⁷Greenwald, *Dramatic Exposition*, 52.

⁷⁸Franca Ferrari, *Il linguaggio melodico di Puccini nella drammaturgia di Bohème, Tosca e Madama Butterfly*, doctoral dissertation (Università degli studi di Bologna 1989-90).

⁷⁹In TDL at this point, Puccini has crossed out what appears to be the following, "Scarpia resta pieno del pensiero di..."; after this it is frustratingly unreadable.

⁸⁰NYPL.

⁸¹The facsimile of this is reproduced above, in Example 2.4b.

⁸²Girardi has referred to this moment as "musical mimesis." in Michele Girardi, "Tosca: Roma tra fede e potere" *Puccini, musicista internazionale* (Venice: Marsilio, 1995), 135-178.

⁸³Pintorno, *Puccini: 276 lettere*, 70. This letter, like the others in the volume, is housed at the Accademia d'Arte a Montecatini.

⁸⁴NYPL.

⁸⁵TDL.

⁸⁶This was a possibility at one stage in the libretto creation. See Appendix D.

⁸⁷TDL.

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰NYPL.

⁹¹TDL.

⁹²NYPL.

⁹³See Chapter IV.

⁹⁴See Chapter III.

⁹⁵William Ashbrook, *The Operas of Puccini*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 94.

⁹⁶Gara, *Carteggi*, 357-358.

⁹⁷Ibid., 439.

PART II

THE ORGANIZING (UNIFYING) MUSICAL ELEMENTS OF THE OPERA

CHAPTER III

OM-TOOLS I

By the word "motives" is meant certain musical themes which are needed as much for the symphonic period (form) as for the dramatic period (form).

Hans von Wolzogen¹

The double function of leitmotifs has been acknowledged from the outset, as evidenced by this quotation from the term's inventor. We have seen in the previous chapter how Puccini utilized leitmotifs to symbolize elements of the drama, as an illustrative (IM) function. With this chapter, however, we begin our inquiry into the purely musical organization of the opera; here we shall examine the *interrelationship of motives* in *Tosca*, and how the motives' derivation from *primary motivic material* (by way of *intervallic content and interval class*) contributes to a unified *design*.²

Motivic interrelationship as a source of unity is a subject that reaches far beyond operatic leitmotifs. The theoretical work of Reti and Schoenberg in this area touches many genres and historical periods.³ As Schoenberg writes, "the motive should produce unity, relationship, coherence, logic, comprehensibility and fluency."⁴ Reti, for whom the term "theme" implies a motivic function, writes that, in transforming themes throughout a musical composition, the composer "strives toward *homogeneity in the inner essence* but at the same time toward *variety in the outer appearance*. Therefore he changes the surface but maintains the substance of his shapes" (*italics original*).⁵ This distinction is congruent with our designation of only the deeper, core shapes of leitmotifs as unifying OM-tools.⁶

Although Reti does not discuss the music of Puccini in this context, he does find transformation of thematic material in both of Puccini's

operatic progenitors, Verdi and Wagner. He notes that, in *Don Carlo*, Verdi uses the process as a means of unifying the entire opera:

Incredible as it may seem, (the observer) will detect that this idea of thematic affinity is not confined to one act but is enlarged to the wider scope of two or three basic thematic thoughts extended over the whole opera.⁷

He also admires Verdi's use of the same basic thematic material to characterize both the King and the Grand Inquisitor:

The idea of letting the enunciations of the two great opposing personages evolve as two contrasting variants of one identical musical impulse is of course, no less from a theatrical than from a structural angle, an effect of particular subtlety and strength.⁸

Of Wagner, Reti writes:

We see in Wagner's operas an almost double thematic picture (...): a surface picture formed by the frequent reiteration of the obvious thematic figures, the leitmotifs, and beneath it a second, less obvious picture brought about by the normal imitations, variations, and transformations of the basic material.⁹

Reti's observations about Wagner second those of a close friend of Puccini's, Carlo Clausetti, who made similar comments in his guide to *Tristan und Isolde* (which Puccini admired):

Poche note sono chiamate a sostenere una parte espressiva, in grazia al predominio alternativo del ritmo e dell'armonia. I disegni nuovi (...) derivano dalla scomposizione dei temi primordiali (...) In nessun'altra opera wagneriana il sistema è rispettato più fedelmente, più costantemente, in nessun'altra vi è tanta dovizia di ingegnose trasformazioni, di complesse derivazioni.¹⁰

(Few notes are called for to sustain an expressive part, thanks to the alternative predominance of rhythm and harmony. The new designs (...) derive from the breaking-down of the primordial themes (...) In no other Wagnerian opera is the system respected more faithfully, more constantly; in no other is there such an abundance of ingenious transformations, of complex derivations.)

Let us consider for a moment how the interrelation of leitmotifs would fit into our language analogy: in the Introduction and in Chapter II we have compared the IM-tools to "vocabulary" and the OM-tools to

'grammar.' Motivic interrelationship would be neither of these. To be sure, we cannot carry this analogy too far. Yet, there is a certain similarity between the use of melodic fragments for widely divergent purposes and the multiple linguistic meanings of the pun. The reinterpretation of certain pitch and interval classes in new harmonic and rhythmic settings is a consciously-created product of the composer's cleverness, quite similar to the verbal wit of double entendres.¹¹

Although Reti and Schoenberg do not discuss this aspect of Puccini's works, the interrelation of musical material in *Tosca* has not gone unnoticed.¹² The compositional technique has been mentioned in the studies of Ashbrook,¹³ Carner,¹⁴ Döhring,¹⁵ Ferrari,¹⁶ Girardi,¹⁷ Maehder,¹⁸ Parker,¹⁹ Titone,²⁰ Torchi²¹ and Winterhoff,²² each of whom carries his or her observations to a different depth; the commentaries range from a brief mention of one theme as the variant of another, to the microscopic classification of every note.²³ In essence, this touches upon the issue that we must confront: **how far are we prepared to go to find unity amongst these themes?**

One easily demonstrable (and defensible) position is that much of the motivic material shares certain intervallic patterns, or "motivic cells." In the first part of this chapter, we shall examine these motivic cells. The further issue of whether the motivic cells can in turn be traced to an *Urmotiv* will be taken up afterwards. In the final section, we shall examine in detail all of the motivic material and describe how it is interrelated.

The motivic cells

There are three identifiable motivic cells in *Tosca*:

X = stepwise perfect fourth

Y = stepwise major or minor third

Z = the perfect fourth + major or minor second

Further, because cells X and Y are uni-directional, we can specify:

+x = rising X, **-x** = falling X and

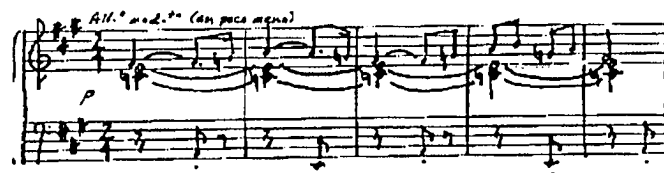
+y = rising Y, **-y** = falling Y

A special figure that recurs with great frequency (in inversion, retrograde and retrograde inversion as well) is -y + leap to starting note; we shall label this figure **Y'**. One might also consider adding a fourth motivic cell,

the open tritone combined with a major second, from which the bass line of Motive 1 is made: we hear the interval of the tritone as so strikingly different from the perfect fourth that it seems to inhabit a conceptual space of its own. But such a combination is actually a whole-tone distortion of the third cell Z.

The whole-tone scale (an example of the IM-tool *scale*) is only one of an array of shaping devices the composer has at hand. The motives are individualized through chromatic, rhythmic, harmonic, and registral changes as well; in short, through the application of IM-tools. Therefore, the bass line of the infamous Motive 1, despite its enormous importance as an organizational device, must be considered a derivation of cell Z, as are many other motives.

As an introduction to the musical interconnectedness of the motivic material at hand, let us look briefly at Example 3.0 below: this leitmotiv (Motive 17) is heard only in the second act during Scarpia's interrogation of Cavaradossi. Yet, examined from a purely musical point of view, it is thematically related to many others.



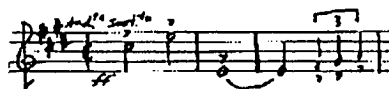
Example 3.0 - Motive 17

If one examines only the first vertical sonority, F#- E - C, one finds the intervals of major second + major third, outlining a tritone (an example of a whole-tone-distorted cell Z): in addition to being elements of the half-diminished harmony, these notes constitute interval classes identical to the bass notes of Motive 1. Further, if the same pitches are read from bottom to top (C- E- F#) one recognizes the first three pitch classes of the Act III soldier's march (Melody 14) (Example 3.1).



Example 3.1 - Melody 14

Raise the C by a half-step and the resulting pitch classes (C#- E- F#) begin the "Trionfal" (semi-motive E) (Example 3.2). All of these examples are derived from cell Z.



Example 3.2 - semi-motive E

Venturing beyond the first verticality, the melody of Motive 17 (Example 3.0) forms a rising and falling third (F#- G - A - G - F#), derived from cells +y and -y. The most obvious connection is to the accompaniment of Act III's "Liberi" duet (Melody 13) (Example 3.3).



Example 3.3 - Melody 13

Although stepwise rising-falling thirds are ubiquitous in much of tonal music, there are at least sixteen other musical ideas in *Tosca* that contain the combination of cells +y and -y, ranging from the settings of Angelotti's "Fuggii pur ora" (Motive 10), the Sacristan's "di quell'ignota," Tosca's entrance theme (Motive 11) to her cries in Act II (Motive 15).

The following is a summary of the motivic material derived from each motivic cell:

motivic cell X: motives 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 16, 19, 20, 23, 24, semi-motives A, E, melodies 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 14.

motivic cell Y: motives 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 25, semi-motives A, C, D, E, melodies 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13.

motivic cell Z: motives 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10a, 11, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20, 24, 25, semi-motives A, D, E, melodies 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

These individual motives, semi-motives, melodies and passagework and their specific derivations from the motivic cells will be examined in the final section of this chapter.

Parker has raised the issue of whether the interrelatedness in *Tosca*'s motivic material might simply be a result of Puccini's style:

the boundary between what is "organicism" and what (is) the casual repetition of a personal cliché becomes virtually impossible to draw (...)the perfect fourth is a prominent feature of many of the themes (...). The extent to which this observation is pertinent to *Tosca* (rather than to Puccini's predilection for this interval throughout his career) can only be revealed by examining with equal rigour the thematic material of *La bohème*, *Turandot*, etc.; and the mere fact of such a perusal begins to undermine one's case.²⁴

As Parker proposes, we have indeed made a comparison of Puccini's motivic cells in a number of operas (see Chapter V). In so doing, we have found that, although some patterns do appear in more than one opera, others do not. This latter group is usually directly derived from an external source used as "local color" specifically for that opera.²⁵ In any event, even if Puccini had repeated each of these motivic cells in every work, that would not diminish their importance as organizational devices: no one would claim that a painter who, by using the same color or even the same series of colors, in more than one painting, diminishes that work's integrity. Similarly, a poet who employs the same words in several poems cannot be faulted. The essential issue remains whether or not this a demonstrable, consistent technique within a single work. In *Tosca*, we find that both of these conditions are met.

The search for an Urmotiv

All three acts of *Tosca* are put together from the same motive (...) Which musician is capable of expressing himself evermore interestingly always using only one, same motive, for three acts? Neither Verdi's art or that of Wagner would be able to withstand this test. I know, in this respect, only one exception, *Tristan*; however, I do not wish to speak now of miracles of this type.

Luigi Torchi²⁶

Although Torchi is referring here to the drama rather than the music of *Tosca*,²⁷ we would like to take him at his word and try to discover if there is indeed a single source for the three motivic cells of the opera. In

our search, we must consider two different possibilities: the Grundgestalt and the organic prototype.²⁸

Although Schoenberg's definitions of 'motive' evolved over the years,²⁹ he ultimately considered the 'basic motive' to be the 'germ of a piece's idea.' As he writes in the posthumously published *Fundamentals of Musical Composition*,

the features of a motive are intervals and rhythms, combined to produce a memorable shape (...) almost every figure within a piece reveals some relationship to it (...) it includes elements, at least, of every subsequent musical figure.³⁰

In the terms of our discussion, Schoenberg's "basic motive" would be a foreground motive with strikingly individual characteristics that produce its 'memorable shape' (a motive with all its IM "clothes" on), which serves as the single source for the musical material. Further, Schoenberg's basic motive "generally appears in a characteristic and impressive manner at the beginning of a piece."³¹ Thus, if we were to identify such a "Grundgestalt" for *Tosca*, it would have to be Motive 1.

When Reti discusses a similar phenomenon, he labels it the work's "prime thought,"³² a phrase that comes tantalizingly close to Puccini's "motivo di prima intenzione."³³ Reti, like Schoenberg, is referring to the musical idea heard first in a piece. For this to apply to *Tosca*, the source for all three motivic cells would, again, have to be Motive 1. But a cursory glance at Motive 1 will reveal that it contains no stepwise fourths, stepwise thirds or open fourths with added major or minor seconds. If then we are to identify Motive 1 as the unique source for the motivic cells, we must see the motivic cells as transformations, and not unchanged elements, of this given material.

But how far should we proceed with transformation processes in our search for organicism? If we follow the guidelines of Reti and Schoenberg, we can go very far indeed. Reti's transformations are entitled as follows: inversion, reversion, interversion, change of tempo, rhythm and accent, the thinning and filling of thematic shapes, the cutting of thematic parts, the use of thematic contours, thematic compression, change of harmony, and change of accidentals.³⁴ Schoenberg demonstrates the modification of motives by way of the following (an

incomplete list of his terms): modifying the length of the notes, note repetitions, shifting rhythms to different beats, adding upbeats, changing meter, changing the order or direction of the notes, adding or omitting intervals, filling in intervals with ancillary notes, omission or condensation of intervals, inversions, insertions in the middle of the harmony, substituting harmonies, transposition, adding passing harmonies, and "semi-contrapuntal" treatment of the accompaniment.³⁵

If and only if we are willing to utilize these operations, then Motive 1 can be seen as the source for the three motivic cells. Motivic cell X, the stepwise fourth, can be derived by a process of "filling in" the melodic string formed by the first three top pitches (B \flat - D - E \flat)³⁶: the result would be the rising stepwise fourth B \flat - C - D - E \flat . The stepwise third, motivic cell Y, can be derived by changing the accidentals of the last two top notes (E \flat - E) to E - E \sharp , creating the stepwise third (enharmonically) D - E - F; in our own terminology, this same result could be achieved by a transformation via the IM-tool *scale*, from chromatic to diatonic. Lastly, motivic cell Z can be constructed by simply reducing the final bass interval by a half-step; or, again, by using IM-tool *scale*, switching from whole-tone to diatonic.

In many ways, this is an appealing solution: all motivic material would stem from Puccini's "motivo di prima intenzione." But the process we have just detailed seems, somehow, backwards. Motive 1 is a finished product, with chromatic and whole-tone qualities, while the motivic cells exist at a deeper, purer level. It seems more probable that Puccini would have derived Motive 1 by transforming other primary motivic material and then, at a later stage, employed it as the large-scale design determinant for the opera.³⁷ Perhaps the three motivic cells, and Motive 1, all stem from this other Urmotiv.

The second option we mentioned as a motivic source was the prototype, of which there are two sorts. The "simple prototype" is based on the Robinet model, and refers to a "small, compact motivic cell (...) transformed metamorphically and developed throughout an artwork, imparting both unity and heightened thematic significance"³⁸ This description fits our three motivic cells. The antonymous term, "complex prototype," is, like Goethe's *Urpflanz*, a larger formation that contains the seeds, the small units, from which all themes develop; it would not be

transformed as a single unit, but only a section at a time. We find that there are two larger structures that could conceivably have served as a complex prototype for *Tosca*.

The first of these is motivic material from Wagner's *Parsifal*. The following example shows themes from *Parsifal* that contain one or more of the three motivic cells from *Tosca*. The motive titles are by von Wolzogen³⁹. The labels "X," "Y," and "Z" refer to the three cells listed above.

The image displays ten staves of musical notation from Wagner's *Parsifal*, each with a title and annotations for motivic cells X, Y, and Z. The staves are as follows:

- Motive of the Brotherhood of Love**: Annotated with 'y' and 'x'.
- Motive of the Grail**: Annotated with 'x'.
- Theme of Faith**: Annotated with 'x', 'y', and 'z'.
- Variation on Faith Theme**: Annotated with 'x' and 'y'.
- Motive of the Promise**: Annotated with 'x'.
- Second variation on Faith Theme**: Annotated with 'y'.
- Parsifal's motive**: Annotated with 'x' and 'y-y'.
- Theme of the bells**: Annotated with 'x'.
- The lament of the Redeemer**: Annotated with 'x' and 'y'.

Example 3.4 - Themes from *Parsifal*



Example 3.4 - Themes from *Parsifal* - continued

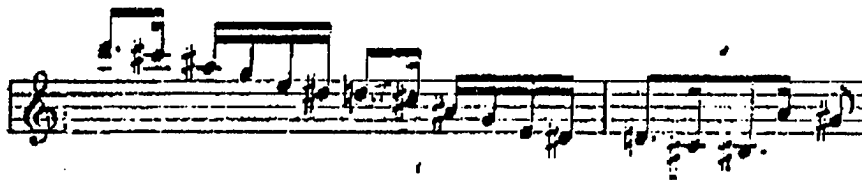
One can immediately recognize that the "bells" leitmotiv has the identical intervallic pattern as Motive 7 of *Tosca*. Additionally, the "Faith" theme contains all three motivic cells. The "variation on the Faith theme," containing both +x and -x, is closely related to Motive 21, "E lucevan le stelle."

Puccini was quite familiar with *Parsifal*, and, as Marotti has said, he had a special love for the opera.⁴⁰ He would certainly have been aware of the opera's central issue of faith, which is not unrelated to the religious themes in *Tosca*. In addition, Wagner's prominent use of bells in this opera would certainly have naturally sprung to mind as Puccini planned the third-act prelude of his opera, leading, perhaps, to his appropriation of the bell theme.

Aside from motivic similarities, there is further evidence that Puccini was inspired by *Parsifal* while writing *Tosca*: some passages recall quite clearly the earlier work. In Examples 3.5 a and b below, we compare Puccini's Act II orchestral flourish to the musical figure sometimes associated with the character Kundry. In Examples 3.6 a and b, a section of the Scarpia-Tosca Act II duet is compared with a similar phrase from Amfortas' "es staunt das Weh." The similarities are striking.



Example 3.5a - *Tosca*, II/9/3
(Property of G. Ricordi & C, Milan. Used by permission)



Example 3.5b - "Kundry theme," *Parsifal*⁴¹



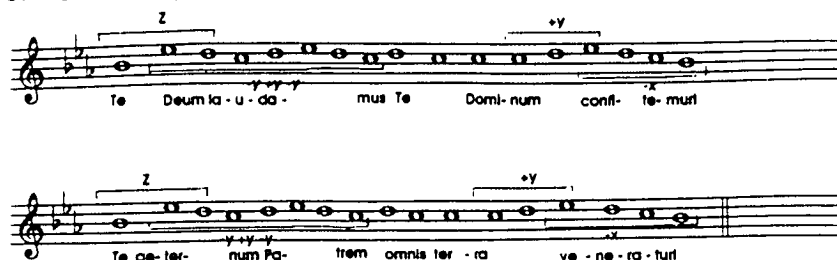
Example 3.6a - *Tosca*, II/31/9
(Property of G. Ricordi & C, Milan. Used by permission)



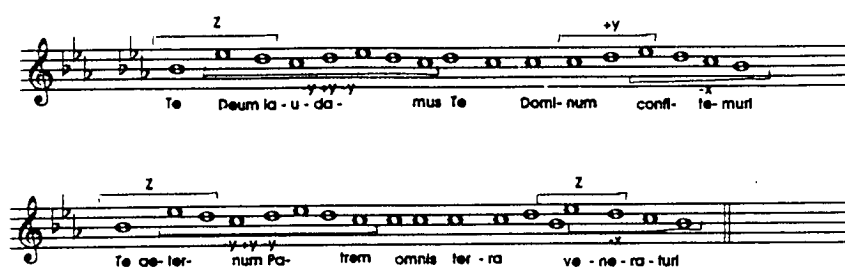
Example 3.6b - Act I, *Parsifal*

It is highly unlikely that these numerous correspondences are coincidental. However, the borrowings could constitute only an homage to Wagner and not an *Urmotiv* per se. Let us now turn to the second candidate for the *Urmotiv*, the *Te Deum*. This chant was performed as part of the original Sardou play, and therefore Puccini would have associated its melody with the drama from the start.⁴² When he began to compose the opera, Puccini contacted the Roman priest, Don Pietro Panichelli, and asked him for help in researching two items: the exact pitch of the Campanone, the Vatican's largest bell, and the exact melody of the *Te Deum* as it was performed in Rome.

We can assume that the version of the Te Deum that appears in the autograph score is the one Panichelli sent him, since he received the information before beginning it. The first date on the score is January 1898 (for Motive 1), and Puccini had thanked the priest for his help on the seventeenth of that same month.⁴³ The identical version is printed in the first edition of the opera for piano solo, but a slightly altered version appears in the first and subsequent piano-vocal and orchestral scores. (Example 3.7 a and b)



Example 3.7a - *Tosca*, "Te Deum," version 1



Example 3.7b - *Tosca*, "Te Deum," version 2

It is interesting to note that the revised version interpolates an additional perfect fourth at the word "veneratur," restating the opening melodic figure, and thus emphasizing the importance of that interval.⁴⁴ This change also brings it closer to Wagner's Faith motive. In any case, both versions contain the three musical motivic cells and thus either could be considered the complex prototype.

Whether or not the reader accepts any of these candidates as the Urmotiv for *Tosca* will be a result of the importance he or she places on finding unity in a musical composition and the relative value of transformations in that process. No conclusive proof can be offered here. What is demonstrable, however, is the literal presence of at least

one of the motivic cells in each bit of motivic material, which we shall examine below.

Before turning to our dissection of the individual motives, submotives, melodies and passagework, we must broach the subject of contrapuntal treatment of this thematic material. In the Introduction to this dissertation, we noted that motives are indeed combined contrapuntally in *Tosca* (other examples are described below) and that this overlaying is not usually related to the dramatic situation. Therefore, we concluded, *counterpoint* is an OM-tool, working hand in hand with the *primary motivic material* to foster unity in the opera.⁴⁵ But there is another, almost paradoxical, reason that Puccini chose to introduce some themes in a subliminal way: the less obviously the new material is presented, the more the audience's attention remains fixed on the drama. Thus, this aspect of musical unity ultimately assists the illustrative functions.

The interrelationships in the motivic material

Example 3.8 - Motives and semi-motives in *Tosca*



Handwritten musical score for Example 3.8 - continued, featuring seven staves of music. The notation includes various tempo and dynamic markings, as well as performance instructions.

- Staff 2:** *Viv. con violenza*, *ff*, *2a.*, *-x*
- Staff 3:** *Vivace*, *p*, *-x*
- Staff 4:** *Vivace*, *pp*, *-y*, *crac.*, *cresc. sempre*, *f*, *con glissando*
- Staff 5:** *All. troppo mosso*, *p*, *y*, *z*, *5b.*, *y*, *x*
- Staff 6:** *Andante mod.to*, *z*
- Staff 7:** *Andante mosso*, *p*, *-x*, *z*, *y*, *z*, *y*
- Staff 8:** *Andante tempo*, *pp*, *z*, *y*, *inv.*, *y*, *-y*, *z*

Example 3.8 - continued

Handwritten musical score for Example 3.8 - continued, featuring measures 9 through 16. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like *ff*, *pp*, and *f*. It also contains tempo and mood instructions like *Allegro molto agitato*, *Alto vivo e agitato*, *Andantino sostenuto*, and *Molto*. The notation includes slurs, ties, and other musical symbols.

Example 3.8 - continued

17. *And. mod. to (un poco meno)*

18. *pp molto espressivo, lamentoso*

19. *Andantino mod.to*

20. *Allegro*

21. *And.te molto*

22. *f*

23. *Andante sostenuto*

24. *Lento* *Largo*

25. *Andante moderatamente mosso*

Example 3.8 - continued

Motive 1 is used contrapuntally with other leitmotifs in four instances. At I/14/3, the bass notes of Motive 1 accompany Motive 6, and this formation is repeated at I/42/7, transposed up a major third. In the repetitions of the theme after I/56/6, an inner voice is a version of Motive 5. Finally, at II/62/2, cell X, which could recall several motives, appears as an inner voice.

Motive 2

Motive 2 is a syncopated version of cell X, the stepwise fourth. The motive is presented in various forms in the opera: it is, at various times, shortened, chromaticized, interrupted, extended or transposed. For example, the theme appears in inversion at II/46/14 and II/54/14. These transformations can grow to include more than one motivic cell: at I/27/0, the soprano voice is shortened to three notes, which relates it to cell Y, the stepwise third, while the bass notes, C# - E - F#, form motivic cell Z. At I/40/11, the theme is extended by a half-step, which creates a stepwise tritone; this recurs in four instances: I/45/8, I/49/0, I/66/2, and II/55/8. The use of the tritone clearly relates these versions of the theme to Motive 1. At I/78/0, Motive 2 is repeated three times, rising a half-step at each occurrence: surely it is not a coincidence that the first notes of these reiterations (D, Eb, E) are identical to the soprano voice of Motive 1. Motive 2a is a chromatic version of cell X.

Motive 3

This motive, presented in a four-voice polyphonic texture, is comprised of chromatic stepwise fourths (motivic cell X) in the soprano, alto and bass voices. These are followed by chromaticized versions of motivic cell Z. This chromaticism relates it to Motives 2a, 9, 18, and semi-motive B. The motive appears with altered intervals at I/41/6, 16 and I/43/6, and, at I/45/0, it is extended by two bars.

Motive 4

Motive 4 combines cells Y and Z. The first four pitches are formed from figure Y' (also present in several other motives of vastly different characters such as Motives 8, 11a, 12, 23 and semi-motive D. The retrograde inversion of this figure, a leap up to the third followed by a descending stepwise motion, is seen in semi-motive C. The latter part of Motive 4 is related to Motives 11a and 12: it contains the unfolding thirds

present therein, although in this case those intervals are sometimes spelled enharmonically as diminished fourths.

Motive 5

This motive contains the motivic cells Y and Z. It is used contrapuntally at I/57/0 with Motive 1. The stepwise third (Y), in a dotted rhythm similar to Motive 8, is isolated at I/61/4 and combined with Motive 6. At I/63/1, the rhythmicized Y is isolated again, paired with its inversion and accompanied by a bass line that also contains cell Y.

Although Motive 5 has a light, even comedic, character, far different than most of the other themes, Puccini integrates it subtly with the rest of the music. For example, this motive is normally repeated several times at each occurrence; its third statement is in C minor mode, which allows a continued emphasis on the pitches Eb, Ab and Bb (I, IV and V of the opera's tonality), in the midst of C major. Additionally, the basic structure of this motive is as follows: in the dominant harmony, a leap from the dominant to its own scale degree 5, and stepwise descent to its scale degree 1 (G - D - C - B - A - G). An inversion of this pattern yields a leap from the dominant up to its scale degree 5, then a stepwise ascent to the octave (G - D - E - F# - G). One can read this inversion as a major version of Motive 24, "E lucevan le stelle."

An inner voice of 5a outlines cell -y (F - E - D). This theme is used as a countermelody to the first appearances of Motive 6, at I/8/4 and I/12/0. 5b is composed with cells X, Y, and Z.

Motive 6

Motive 6 is built from cell X, the stepwise fourth, and thus is closely related to Motive 2. The theme first appears as a contrapuntal accompaniment to Motive 5 (I/8/4), and is reiterated in this capacity several times throughout the work. It is accompanied itself by the bass line of Motive 1 at I/14/3 and I/42/7. At I/61/6, Motive 6 is briefly accompanied by part of Motive 5b.

In Act II, Motive 6 undergoes several transformations. At II/12/0 and at II/42/3, the latter part of the theme descends sequentially. At both II/46/0 and II/54/0, it mutates into Motive 20. Further, because Motive 6, like Motive 2, prominently exhibits cell X, there are numerous bits of music, such as stepwise fourths in inner and outer voices, that could be related to it.

Motive 7

Motive 7 is formed from interlocking statements of motivic cell Z, the fourth with a major second, but it also exhibits the stepwise thirds of cell Y. The alto voice contains a rising chromatic third, reminiscent the soprano voice of Motive 1, and a stepwise fourth, cell X. In general, this motive is presented with developed contrapuntal accompaniment, such as at I/38/0 and III/10/3. The leitmotiv can also be used sequentially as a whole, such as at I/66/4, or a section of it can be utilized that way, as at I/14/8, or at III/14/10.

The motive is employed as a contrapuntal element in Act II, where it appears in conjunction with Motives 10, 13 and 16 several times (such as at II/0/4). In the third act, at III/9/7, the theme is interrupted by a new melody, built upon motivic Y cells (and, at III/9/10, a retrograde inversion of Y'), and is thus reminiscent of semi-motive C.

Motive 8

Motive 8 clearly exhibits the motivic cells Y and Z. The particular form of motivic cell Y employed is an inversion of Y' (an ascending stepwise third dropping back to the first pitch). The $\frac{6}{8}$ rhythm is similar to that of Motive 19, with which Motive 8 is combined at II/25/15. The cell not used in Motive 8 (unless one counts the first grace note), the stepwise fourth (X), appears in inversion as an accompanying contrapuntal voice at I/47/12. Those ascending four notes, D - E - F - G, are immediately answered at I/47/14 by their inversion in the form of Motive 2 (G - F - E \flat - D).

Motive 9

Motive 9 is a chromatic, stepwise figure outlining a perfect fourth, and therefore it is a variant of cell X. Its chromaticism relates it also to Motives 2a, 3, and semi-motive B. Because its stepwise fourths both rise and fall, it can be related as well to Motives 11, 24 and semi-motive E.

Motive 10

This motive is a prime exponent of motivic cell Y, which, in this case, is represented by both +y and -y, ascending and descending stepwise thirds. As such, it is closely tied to Motives 11, 13, 15, 17, and 21. In fact, at I/58/1, Motive 10 is preceded in the vocal part by an ascending stepwise fourth, making it identical with Motive 13. The motive is distorted by the whole-tone scale at I/71/3-5 and I/77/0-2, thus relating it to Motives

1, 14, 16 and semi-motive A. In Act II, the motive appears contrapuntally at 0/3, 5/5 and 44/11, with Motives 7, 13, 16. Motive 10a appears only with Motive 10; it is formed from a juxtaposition of two examples of motivic cell Z

Motive 11

Motive 11 contains all the motivic cells, X, Y and Z. It exhibits both the ascending and descending stepwise third (+y and -y, relating it closely to Motives 10, 13, 15, 17, and 21) and the ascending-descending stepwise fourth (+x and -x) as in Motives 9, 11, 24 and semi-motive E.)

11a is Motive 12 with slightly varied rhythm and sans ornaments. In Act I, it is followed by Motive 12 at I/28/9 and I/29/19. 11a also makes use of figure Y' in inversion, and employs unfolding thirds, as does Motive 4 (enharmonically written as diminished fourths). There are numerous other examples in the opera of unfolding thirds. For example, in Act I, they form the bell ostinato that continues from 68/3 to 70/5 and from 75/0 to 76/0. In Act II, they are employed chromatically at 34/3 and 60/12. Unfolding thirds are also used in Act III at 14/8 and 39/6 in connective passages, and they appear briefly in the arias "Vissi d'arte" at II/52/10, "Io dei sospiri" at III/3/19 and "O dolci mani" at III/20/2.

Motive 12

An ornamented version of 11a, Motive 12 is presented in an essentially three-voice texture. The soprano voice contains an inversion of figure Y'; the bass voice, a descending stepwise fourth, exhibits cell -x; an inner voice is a chromatically descending fourth, again motivic cell -x. Motive 12 goes through many transformations. It is altered chromatically at I/31/9-11 and I/33/0. At I/31/3, I/47/0, I/47/5, I/48/0 and II/10/8, the motive is extended sequentially.

Motive 13

This motive contains all three motivic cells, X, Y and Z. As stated above, it is similar to Motives 10, 11, 15, 17 and 21 in that it contains both rising and falling stepwise thirds (+y and -y). The ascending fourth at the outset is similar to the rising fourth of Tosca's first act aria "Non la sospiri." The theme is also part of the contrapuntal complex at the opening of Act II, repeated subsequently, which also includes Motives 7, 10 and 16.

Motive 14

This motive, whose bass contains segments of the whole-tone scale, appears in lengths varying from 3 to 14 verticalities. Therefore it is possible to categorize it as a variant of either stepwise cell, X or Y. Its whole-tone quality relates it directly to Motives 1 and 10, with which it is juxtaposed in the score at II/55/26, and II/55/13-22, respectively.

Motive 15

This motive is formed from the cell Y at both the surface and at a deeper level. After the motive's first literal appearance (II/36/2), it is followed in the vocal line by two further instances of Y (-y at "Ah! non posso più"). At II/44/0, the structural descending line is extended along the whole-tone segment, C - B \flat - A \flat - G \flat .

Motive 15 is preceded by a stepwise ascending fourth (motivic cell +x) at II/50/0, and thus becomes a close variant of Motive 13 ("Qual occhio"). Simultaneously, the bass line reads B - A - F \sharp - E, a transposition of the initial melody of "Vissi d'arte."

Motive 16

This motive is constructed from descending stepwise thirds (cell -y). The last third, however, begins a step higher thus outlining a stepwise tritone, G \sharp , F \sharp , E, D, a whole-tone version of motivic cell X. The motive ends on D major over an E pedal. This distinctive harmony is sufficient to remind the listener of the full motive, and Puccini employs the harmony separately on a number of occasions: II/5/4, II/40/5, II/44/10, and II/58/10.

Motive 17

This motive, as seen above, is closely related to many other motives. The first verticality, F \sharp - E - C, has identical interval classes as Motive 1's bass line (cell Z). The melody itself is an ascending and descending stepwise third (cell Y) similar to Motives 10, 11, 13, 15 and 21. The third and fourth measures of Motive 17 also contain an inversion of Y' and unfolding thirds, like Motives 4, 11a, and 12. The bass voice of the motive repeats open fourths, a possible hint of motivic cell Z. The final appearance of Motive 17 in the opera is at II/40/0; here, the motive is extended slightly and followed, in the soprano, by the chromatic line, D - D \sharp - E, the soprano line of Motive 1.

Motive 18

The beginning of Motive 18 can be seen as either a chromatic version of the descending stepwise third, cell -y, or an altered version of motivic cell Z. If the melodic intervals (minor second followed by minor third) were each expanded to major ones, the results would be: major second followed by major third, or the bass line of Motive 1. The motive's syncopated rhythm can also be linked with that of Motive 2. The second half, 18a, is quite protean: it can appear transposed with altered harmony, as at II/30/3, or phrased in various ways. Depending upon this phrasing, the identical notes can reflect either descending open fourths (II/23/7) or ascending open thirds (II/31/4).

Motive 19

The initial six-note rising figure of this motive could be seen as cell +x followed by cell Z. This conflicts, however, with the marked phrasing in both the vocal line and the accompaniment, even though the vocal line's first phrase is a rising stepwise fourth (+x). Perhaps the displaced phrasing is simply another transformation of the basic cells. Herein, we can also find more Z figures and a -y.

The melody of Motive 19 is accompanied by sliding parallel $\frac{6}{4}$ and $\frac{6}{3}$ chords. In this way, it is similar to the aria "Vissi d'arte." Also, the seventh through tenth melodic notes of this motive (D - C - A - G, at II/25/2-3) form the opening melody of "Vissi d'arte."

Motive 20

This motive is a transformation of cell X: the four stepwise notes gradually expand until they outline two juxtaposed perfect fourths. These fourths are reminiscent of Motive 7, and, as in that motive, they constitute two interlocking examples of cell Z. At II/48/8, the motive is followed in the vocal part by a rising and falling stepwise thirds, +y and -y.

Motive 21

Motive 21 not only exhibits the pair of ascending and descending stepwise thirds (+y and -y, similar to Motives 10, 11, 13, 15, and 17) but also its inversion.

Motive 22

Motive 22 is simply an ascending open third. It is related to the unfolding thirds of Motives 4, 11a and 12. In two instances, III/22/10 and

III/27/12, the motive is followed in the vocal line by the inversion of figure Y'.

Motive 23

Motive 23 combines the rising stepwise fourth (cell +x) in the bass line, with two instances of the stepwise third (cell Y) in the soprano. The second of these is an inversion of figure Y'. As such it is similar to Motives 8, 11a, 12 and semi-motive C.⁴⁶

Motive 24

Motive 24 contains stepwise fourths, both ascending and descending (+x and -x), which are followed by motivic cell Z. Y appears briefly in the second measure. As mentioned above, Motive 24 can be linked to an inversion of the contour of Motive 5. Also the rising-falling fourth relates it to Motives 9, 11 and semi-motive E. The latter part of the motive, 24a, contains two consecutive examples of motivic cell +x, presented in different rhythms, and cell Z.

Motive 25

The first three notes of Motive 25 form a rising third (cell +y), followed by cell Z. Beginning in the third measure of this motive, there are two consecutive examples of figure Y': the first is Y; itself (a falling stepwise third, followed by a leap up to the first pitch, D \flat - C - B \flat - D \flat); the second is its retrograde inversion, a leap up to the third followed by a descent, A \flat - C - B \flat - A \flat). These permutations are similar to those present in Motives 4, 8, 11a, 12, 23 and semi-motives C and D.

Semi-Motives

A This semi-motive is comprised of all three motivic cells. The highest pitches spell out a descending (whole-tone) stepwise fourth (-x), the rising stepwise thirds are formed from cell +y, and Z is seen in the connecting pitches (A - E - F \sharp , G - D - F, F - C - D).

B. Over the length of this semi-motive (in its first appearance at I/34/7), the bass voice chromatically descends a tritone from E to B \flat . In semi-motive B's second appearance, the identical interval class is outlined in the bass, from B to F, but then continues to an A minor $\frac{6}{4}$ supported by E. Here, the soprano descends a diminished fourth, from G to D \sharp , before resolving to E. These can be seen as chromatic transformations of cell -x.

This motive is one of several instances in the opera when Puccini has used the complete chromatic. Leibowitz has pointed out that the introduction to the Sacristan's theme (Motive 5) and the close of the second act use all twelve tones.⁴⁷ Perhaps Puccini had again looked to Wagner's *Parsifal* for inspiration: the "Solitude" theme contains the complete chromatic. (See Example 3.4 above)

C. Semi-motive C contains cell -y and the retrograde inversion of figure Y'. The latter part of this semi-motive, on the other hand, has Y' itself (F - E - D - F) as in the beginning of Motive 4.

D. This semi-motive contains a stepwise fifth, rather than a fourth, and so it could be considered an extension of cell X. The second half, however, clearly exhibits motivic cell Y twice. The first instance is inverted figure Y' in retrograde inversion (D - E - F - D).

E. Semi-motive E is comprised of all three motivic cells. The second through fourth measures contain motivic cell X (+x, -x, +x). Here, the ascending and descending pair (+x, -x) relates to Motives 9, 11 and 24. Cell -y can be seen in the descending triplet figure (C# - B - A). The last pitch of that figure (A) plus the next pitches D - B - E - C# - F# can be interpreted as four interlocking examples of cell Z; Z is also present in the first three pitches of the semi-motive, as noted earlier, and in additional interlocking groups at the end.

Melodies

In addition to the recurring material of *Tosca* (twenty-five motives and five semi-motives) there are fourteen recognizable arias, ariettas, or songs that are motivically related: we have labeled them "melodies." In this section, we shall not discuss the dramatic import of the material since that is clear from the texts and from their placement in the libretto. We shall examine, instead, to what extent these melodies contain the three motivic cells and thus relate to the motives and semi-motives. Occasionally, the melodies quote complete motives, and those instances, having already been noted above, will not be mentioned again here.

1. **Recondita armonia** - The tenor aria begins at I/17/0 with an introduction typical of Puccini: the music develops out of an isolated pitch. (In this case that initial pitch is C from which grows a dominant eleventh chord.) In the fourth and fifth measures of the introduction, the soprano pitches, accompanied by parallel fourths, outline cells +x and -x, ascending and descending stepwise fourths. That feature relates this passage to Motives 9, 11, 24 and semi-motive E. An inversion of figure Y' is found both at I/17/11 and I/18/7.

2. **Non la sospiri** - The aria begins at I/28/2 with an ascending stepwise fourth, cell +x, from A \flat to D \flat . A second stepwise fourth begins from this D \flat at I/28/4, rises to G \flat and returns to D \flat before the phrase ends on E \flat . Thus, this aria exhibits the same rising-falling fourth (+x and -x) found in Motives 9, 11, 24 and semi-motive E. Other stepwise fourths can be found at I/29/17 (-x, "perfidi consigli"), at I/30/4 (-x, "nel lunare albor"), both echoed in the bass line, and, most dramatically, at I/30/10, when Cavaradossi begins to sing. Here, the melody contains three interlocking -x's.

As we have noted earlier, "Non la sospiri" contains examples of Motives 11a and 12. The final unfolding thirds of those motives are also present separately elsewhere in the aria: at I/29/7 and 13.

3. **E questa sera** - This choral piece follows a lengthy introduction that begins at I/51/0 and that exhibits numerous examples of motivic cell Z. At I/52/5, it is possible to trace -y and +y. A measure later, the alto voice carries the pitches E - D \sharp - D, a chromaticized cell Y and retrograde of Motive 1's soprano line.

4. **Va Tosca** - Part of the Act I finale, which begins at I/80/2, "Va Tosca" contains all three motivic cells. The continuous bell ostinato and the initial vocal line both form an open fourth on the pitches F and B \flat , part of motivic cell Z. The second orchestral melody, A \flat - F - C - D, also contains motivic cell Z in the last three pitches. Motivic cell Z is also represented at I/85/0, 2, 4, and 6 in both the orchestral and vocal parts.

The first orchestral melodic fragment (A \flat - C - E \flat , from I/80/8) is formed from the identical pitch classes, and similar rhythm, as the "Banquet" theme in *Parisifal*. (See Example 3.4 above.) It is then followed by four stepwise thirds (cell Y) in triplet rhythm. The vocal line, at I/84/2, has the pitches A - F - G - A, figure Y'. The unfolding thirds of Motives

11a and 12 are seen at I/86/0. Cell X is presented chromatically at I/81/4, where there are four descending, parallel $\frac{6}{3}$ chords.

5. **Gavotte** - Taken in part from a suite composed by Puccini the conservatory student,⁴⁸ the Gavotte begins at II/3/0. The opening melodic figure is a clear example of cell Z, and is repeated many times throughout the piece. At II/3/13, the vocal line has a rising stepwise fourth, cell +x.

6. **Ha più forte sapore** - Scarpia's aria begins at II/6/0 with a rising, stepwise six-note figure reminiscent of Motive 19, also sung by the police chief. This figure is followed by two examples of the stepwise third, cell -y. At II/6/4-6, are examples of a descending stepwise fourth (-x) followed by unfolding thirds (as in Motives 11a and 12) and a rising third (+y). The retrograde inversion of figure Y', a rising open third followed by a stepwise descent, appears twice at II/7/3; Y' itself is at II/8/2. Cell Z is represented in Scarpia's vocal part at II/6/10 ('nè far l'occhio,' followed by +y and -y) and at his dramatic exclamation, 'Dio creò' (II/8/0).

7. **Cantata** - The initial chord of the cantata, a half-diminished seventh in second inversion, contains the following pitches from the bass up: C - E - F# - A. We have already discussed the lower three pitch classes of this chord (the beginning of Motive 17) as exhibiting motivic cell Z. With the pitch class A above, there are now two interlocking instances of cell Z in this harmony: the upper and the lower three notes.

All three motivic cells are present frequently in the cantata, only a few examples of which are listed here. The opening four measures,⁴⁹ from II/13/4, contain two examples of figure Y': first, its retrograde inversion (A - C - B - A) followed by inverted Y'. Inverted Y' appears again in Scarpia's countermelody at II/15/15 and we can find Y' in retrograde inversion in the upper choral voices at II/16/17. The second soprano phrase (II/13/12, "varca spazi, varca cèli") is a long stepwise descent spanning a fourth (-x), but decorated with suspensions and an ornamental incorporation of cell Z, at II/13/16.

The pair -x and +x can be seen in the bass vocal line at II/15/6, 20. When Tosca begins to sing, at II/15/8, her first three notes form cell Z; they are quickly followed by four descending thirds, two of which are stepwise (cell -y) and two open, as in Motives 11a and 12. The soprano voices, at II/16/1, have an example of cell X followed by cell Z (pitches

D - C - A). Simultaneously, Scarpia's countermelody outlines an open fourth followed by a stepwise one (+x).

8. **L'alba vindice appar**⁵⁰ - Not a full-fledged trio, this triumphal outburst by Cavaradossi is accompanied by interjections by Tosca and Scarpia. Beginning at II/43/0, almost every other measure contains an example of the rising stepwise third, cell +y. Scarpia's part, mostly parallel to the bass line, contains some examples of motivic cell -x and +x at II/43/14 and 16 respectively. At II/43/17 and 19, the orchestral accompaniment contains the pairing of +y and -y. Scarpia's subsequent phrase, "Portatemelo via!" is set to an example of motivic cell Z.

9. **Già mi struggea** - Like Scarpia's aria, "Ha più forte sapore," and his "Ed or fra noi" (Motive 19), this arietta begins, at II/47/6, with an ascending six-note figure. The text "l'amor della diva!" is set to two overlapping examples of cell Z, a combination that is repeated two bars later (II/47/12). Both of these examples recur when the opening music is restated, from II/47/16.

10. **Vissi d'arte** - Tosca's tearful aria begins, at II/51/0, with two pairs of descending seconds that resemble the appoggiatura-like figures traditionally found in laments (such as Dido's "When I am Laid in Earth" and Pamina's "Ach, ich fühls"). The disposition of these pairs, a minor third apart, creates two interlocking examples of motivic cell Z. These seconds could also be viewed as a broken version of the descending fourth (cell -x), imitating, perhaps, sobbing. The third phrase also begins with a Z pattern, followed by the falling open thirds heard in Motives 11a and 12. The phrase "quante miserie connobia, aiutai..." is set to three examples of cell -y. The upper orchestral voice in the next two measures, II/51/11-12 (B \flat - A \flat - G \flat - A \flat - F) could be interpreted in several ways: a decorated descending fourth, a pair of falling thirds, or as cell Z.

The second section, from II/52/0, quotes Motive 11 in the accompaniment, while Tosca sings a countermelody. The motivic cells are present in her part, structurally and on the surface. The countermelody begins on B \flat , rises to C at the next measure, reaches D \flat on the word "fè" ("faith"), and finally arrives at E \flat : this outlines a rising stepwise fourth, cell +x. On the surface, cell Y is present at the end of her first measure, while figure Y' forms her ornament three bars later ("taber")

-nacoli sa- (lī)"). At II/52/10, we find open thirds similar to Motives 11a and 12 ("me ne/rimu/neri"). This melody also quotes Motive 15 just before II/53/0.

11. Io dei sospiri - The introduction to this pastoral song begins at III/1/0 with an E-B ostinato beneath descending parallel 5-3 chords in (mostly) E Lydian;⁵¹ that mode has the stepwise tritone E - F# - G# - A# in common with the whole-tone scale (and the pitch classes B \flat , A \flat and E in common with Motive 1). The melody unwinds in triplet figures (sometimes in dotted rhythm) reminiscent of Motives 5, 7, 8, 16 and semi-motive E, which outline examples of cell -y. Unfolding thirds, as in Motives 11a and 12, appear at III/1/7 and 13.

When the shepherd begins to sing, at III/3/2, the word "sospiri" ("sighs") falls on the pitches, A#, G# and E, the pitch classes of Motive 1's bass line, a whole-tone version of cell Z. This recurs at III/3/14-15 on the text "li venti" ("the winds"). At III/3/19, 25 and 28, the examples of stepwise and unfolding thirds heard in the introduction are reiterated.

12. O dolci mani - This arietta, which begins at III/19/3, is built mostly from arpeggios interspersed with examples of all the motivic cells. Cell -x is represented at III/19/6, with the descending four notes, D - C - B - A ("opre e pietose"). Three bars later, the words "a pregar, giunte, per le sventure" are set to four rising stepwise thirds, instances of cell +y. At III/20/1, begins a series of eight thirds, some stepwise and some open. These are immediately followed by an ascending stepwise fourth from D to G (cell +x) in the orchestral melody.

13. Liberi/Amaro sol per te - This duet begins at III/23/0 with ascending and descending thirds (the pair +y and -y), a combination shared by Motives 10, 11, 13, 15, 17 and 21. At III/24/0, the upper voice of the orchestral accompaniment (E \flat - G \flat - A \flat) form motivic cell Z, which recurs often throughout the section.⁵² In one reiteration, at III/25/0, the vocal line and inner orchestral parts have that figure's inversion, A \flat - G \flat - E \flat . This inversion is also present in the bass line at III/24/4, supporting a rising stepwise third, cell +y. Other Z figures are used in both the bass and the soprano at III/26/0. Figure Y' inverted is in evidence at III/24/3 ("prende ogni splen- (dor)") and III/26/0-1 ("dilegue- (rem)").

14. The soldiers' march - This march, given the title "Execution" by Carner, should not be considered a leitmotiv because, although it

repeats, it appears in only one scene (from III/31/2). The first three pitch classes, as we have seen above, form the same interval classes as the bass notes of Motive 1, and are a chromatic distortion of the first three notes of semi-motive E, "Triumphal." Both of these are examples of motivic cell Z. Rhythmically, the march shares a sextuplet ornament with Motive 12. A countermelody appears in the fifth measure, which is a chromatic stepwise descending fourth (-x). This countermelody is later decorated with descending stepwise thirds (-y). Finally, from III/33/3 until III/34/0, the countermelody becomes a series of descending stepwise fourths (-x).

Passagework

Puccini has utilized the motivic cells not only for the motives, semi-motives and melodies, but also in the smallest, most fleeting details of the score. Their appearances in the passagework are too numerous to list exhaustively, but several of the more important examples are described below.

examples of +x and -x: A short chain of stepwise fourths (+x, -x, -x) is heard at I/27/3, when Tosca sings, "È luna piena e il notturno effluvio floreale." A descending fourth also appears in Act II, at 49/0, from D to A, where Scarpia sings, "Così, così ti (voglio!)." At II/59/6, accompanying Motive 23, an inner voice played by the flutes, bassoons and horns, descends a stepwise fourth F# to C#(although this parallels the bass line at the distance of a sixth, these four pitch classes are grouped by a slur, while the bass line, which descends farther, is not).

One of the most dramatic appearances of motivic cell X is in Scarpia's death scene. Here, at II/61/11, after Tosca's high a^b2 , the vocal and inner orchestral parts descend the whole-tone scale four notes at a time: these -x cells read, F#- E - D - C/ D - C - B \flat - A \flat / B \flat - A \flat - F#- E/ F#- E - D - C. All this occurs over an A \flat pedal, which segues into the whole-tone Motive 1 beginning on A \flat (A \flat major, G \flat major, D minor). When that D minor chord arrives, at II/62/2, it is accompanied by another descending stepwise fourth, D to A. (Just before this, Tosca has the memorable line, "Ti soffoca il sangue?", which, along with Scarpia's response, "Soccorso!" forms an example of motivic cell Z on G \flat - E \flat - D \flat .)

examples of Y': Puccini makes frequent use of the figure Y' in the passagework. At I/33/13, an inverted figure Y' appears in the tenor's "Fu puro caso..." Five bars later, Tosca sings, "Ah! Qui stava pur ora," a phrase that contains motivic cell Z in the first three notes, followed by figure Y'. In Act II, as Scarpia interrogates Cavaradossi (II/20/4), he has rising and falling stepwise thirds (+y, -y) connected to an inverted Y' (A - B - C - A).

examples of +y and -y: At I/15/3 begins a eight-bar phrase, in $\frac{6}{4}$, in which the Sacristan describes "quell'ignota" who visited the church. His text is accompanied by rising and falling stepwise thirds (+y and -y), the last note of which is simultaneously a statement of cell Z. (The Z figure is echoed as part of the descending melodic line at I/15/7-8.)

At II/32/0, Scarpia's words "Orsù, Tosca parlate" are also set to a pair of ascending-descending stepwise thirds; her answer, however ("Non so nulla") is an example of motivic cell Z. Soon after, at II/41/11, Spoletta rushes in with news of Napoleon's victory at Marengo: "Eccellenza, quali nuove!", along with the next two textual phrases, are instead set to a pair of descending-ascending stepwise thirds (-y, +y).

Conclusion

This chapter together with the previous one demonstrate how Puccini has used his motivic material for two different purposes. On the musical surface, the leitmotifs identify characters, events and themes (an illustrative function), while, simultaneously, the common shapes from which these motives have sprung, create a web of interrelationships that fosters musical unity (an organizational function). But there is yet a third, more profound way in which Puccini manipulates this material: Motive 1 and the three motivic cells are used to determine the large-scale design of the entire opera. This is our subject for Chapter IV.

Notes to Chapter III

¹Hans von Wolzogen, *"Parsifal" di Riccardo Wagner: Guida attraverso il Poema e la Musica*, trans. Luigi Torchi (Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1898), 19. This Italian translation uses the word "periodo"; the German original is unknown.

²The term "design" is derived from Felix Salzer's definition. Along with OM-tool *primary motivic material (interrelationship of motives)*, *design*, was briefly discussed in the Introduction.

³We refer in this chapter to the following works by these authors: Rudolph Reti, *The Thematic Process in Music* (1951; reprint, New York: Macmillan, 1978) and Arnold Schoenberg, *Fundamentals of Musical Composition*, ed. Gerald Strang and Leonard Stein (London: Faber and Faber, 1967). Heinrich Schenker also studied the unifying function of the motive and theme. We refer the reader to the following: Charles Burkhardt, "Schenker's Motivic Parallelisms," *Journal of Music Theory* 22 (1978): 145-75; Richard Cohn, "The Autonomy of Motives in Schenkerian Accounts of Tonal Music," *Music Theory Spectrum* 14/2(Fall 1992):150-170; John Rothgeb, "Thematic Content: A Schenkerian View" in *Aspects of Schenkerian Theory*, ed. David Beach (New Haven: Yale University Press, 39-60.

⁴Schoenberg, *Fundamentals*, 8.

⁵Reti, *Thematic Process*, 13. Reti defines "motif" as "any musical element, be it a melodic phrase or fragment or even only a rhythmical or dynamic feature which, by being constantly repeated and varied throughout a work or a section, assumes a role in the compositional design somewhat similar to that of a motif in the fine arts." This parallels our use of "primordial motive" and "motivic cell." Reti's "theme" is a group longer than a motif "which acquires a 'motivic' function in a composition's course." (pp.11n - 12n).

⁶We will treat the issue of Schoenberg's "Grundgestalt" more thoroughly below.

⁷Reti, *Thematic Process*, 335.

⁸*Ibid.*, 333.

⁹*Ibid.*, 337.

¹⁰Carlo Clausetti, *Tristano e Isotta di Riccardo Wagner: Notizie e documenti raccolti da Carlo Clausetti, in occasione della "prima" dell'opera al R. Teatro S. Carlo di Napoli* (Naples: Ricordi, 1907), 52. Puccini expressed his admiration for this work in a letter to Clausetti dated 5 January 1908: "bellissima pubblicazione, la tua, su *Tristano*. È interessante molto e molto ben compilata." ("very beautiful publication, yours on *Tristan*. It is very interesting and very well compiled.") Clausetti (Naples, 17 October 1869 - Fano, 8 August 1943) descended from a noted family of editors, and succeeded his father Pietro, in 1892, as director of the Ricordi branch in Naples. He was a composer, critic, poet and librettist, and was a founder of the Società del Quartetto (1909), and la Società dei Concerti "G. Martucci" (1910). In addition to his guide to *Tristan*, Clausetti wrote one for *Götterdämmerung*. In 1912, he was given charge of the house of Ricordi in

Milan along with Tito Ricordi; he acted as a prototype of a "director" for many of their operatic productions, even joining the extras onstage to guide their movements.

¹¹In Schachter's "Either/Or," the author explores the multiple meanings of motivic material. We contend that it is just this ambiguity, this plurality of possible interpretations, that give this musical feature its *raison d'être*. Carl Schachter, "Either/Or," in *Schenker Studies*, ed. Hedi Siegel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 165-179.

¹²This technique is also apparent in Puccini's other operas (as we will discuss in Chapter V). Titone and Ferrari demonstrate it in depth for several operas; Girardi treats it in detail in *Manon Lescaut*, as D'Amico does in *La bohème*: Antonino Titone, *Vissi d'arte: Puccini e il disfacimento del melodramma* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1972); Michele Girardi, "La rappresentazione musicale dell'atmosfera settecentesca nel second'atto di *Manon Lescaut*," in *Esotismo e colore locale nell'opera di Puccini*, ed. Jürgen Maehder (Pisa: Giardini, 1985), 66; Fedele D'Amico, "La Jeunesse n'a qu'un temps," in *33^o festival pucciniano* (Pisa: Grafica Pacini, 1987), n.p.

¹³William Ashbrook, *The Operas of Puccini*, 2nd ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 85.

¹⁴Mosco Carner, *Giacomo Puccini: "Tosca"*, Cambridge Opera Handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 95-97.

¹⁵Sieghart Döhring, "Musikalischer Realismus in Puccinis *Tosca*" *Analecta Musicologia* 22 (1984), 257.

¹⁶Franca Ferrari, *Il linguaggio melodico di Puccini nella drammaturgia di Bohème, Tosca e Madama Butterfly* (doctoral diss. Università degli Studi di Bologna, 1989-90), 123-128, 131-132.

¹⁷Michele Girardi, "Tosca: Roma tra fede e potere" *Puccini, musicista internazionale* (Venice: Marsilio, 1995), 135-178.

¹⁸Jürgen Maehder, "Roma anno 1800. Riflessioni sulla struttura drammatico-musicale dell'opera storica in Puccini," in *49^o Maggio Musicale fiorentino (1986)* Program of Teatro Comunale di Firenze (1986): 1037-1055.

¹⁹Roger Parker, "Analysis: Act I in perspective" in *Giacomo Puccini: Tosca*, ed. Mosco Carner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 141.

²⁰Titone, *Vissi d'arte*, 50ff., 64-68, 73ff.

²¹Luigi Torchi, "Tosca: Melodramma in Tre Atti di Giacomo Puccini," *Rivista Musicale Italiana* (1900): 90-91.

²²Hans-Jürgen Winterhoff, *Analytische Untersuchungen zu Puccinis "Tosca"* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1973), 99.

²³The latter refers to Titone, *Vissi d'arte*.

²⁴Parker, "Analysis: Act I," 142.

²⁵For example, the major second so central to the themes of *La fanciulla del West* was, most probably, inspired by the chorus to Stephen Foster's "Camptown Races" ("Doodah"), quoted in the work.

²⁶Torchi, "*Tosca*," 81.

²⁷Torchi did, however, identify a "dominant" harmony for the work, a C eleventh chord. Torchi, "*Tosca*," 111.

²⁸This term and its derivations "simple and complex prototypes" are used here according to the definitions in David L. Montgomery, "The Myth of Organicism: From Bad Science to Great Art." *Musical Quarterly* 76/1 (Spring 1992): 39ff.

²⁹The changes in Schoenberg's concept of "motive" are traced in Patricia Carpenter, "Grundgestalt as Tonal Function." *Music Theory Spectrum* 5 (Spring 1983): 15-38.

³⁰Schoenberg, *Fundamentals*, 8.

³¹*Ibid.*

³²Reti, *Thematic Process*, 37.

³³Mosco Carner, *Puccini: a Critical Biography*, 2nd ed (1974, reprint, New York: Holmes and Meier, 1988), 286. Carner provides no source for this quotation, so its veracity is somewhat questionable.

³⁴Reti, *Thematic Process*, 66-105. Some of Reti's terminology is original (such as "interversion") and is explained in his chapter.

³⁵Schoenberg, *Fundamentals*, 10-15.

³⁶Titone includes this pattern as one of his "radici tematiche." Clearly, however, the melodic string begins with D, which is an arpeggiation of the B \flat -major triad. Titone, *Vissi d'arte*, 65.

³⁷See Chapter IV.

³⁸Montgomery, "The Myth," 27.

³⁹von Wolzogen, *Parsifal*, 23-98.

⁴⁰Guido Marotti and Ferruccio Pagni, *Giacomo Puccini Intimo* (Florence: n.p., 1926), 112.

⁴¹Hans von Wolzogen, *Parsifal di Riccardo Wagner*, trans. Luigi Torchi (Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1898), 52.

⁴²It is unknown which version of the chant was performed in the Sardou play.

⁴³Pietro Panichelli, *Il "Pretino" di Giacomo Puccini Racconta*, 3rd ed. (Pisa: Nistri Lischi Editori, 1949), 55.

⁴⁴Puccini's grandfather, Domenico Puccini, composed a *Te Deum* for the 1800 Bourbon victory at Genoa that also prominently featured the open perfect fourth. See Appendix B.

⁴⁵Both of these techniques pertain to the notion of the "symphonic" during Puccini's era. The interrelationship of themes was openly discussed, especially in regard to the orchestral works of Beethoven and Berlioz. In his 1904 preface to Berlioz' *Treatise on Instrumentation*, Richard Strauss makes explicit the connection between "symphonic" and "polyphonic": "I should like to follow the two main roads of orchestral development from Handel, Gluck and Haydn to Wagner. I might be permitted to call them in brief the symphonic (polyphonic) and the dramatic (homophonic) roads." Strauss then claims that Wagner's music is the synthesis of these two directions.

⁴⁶The double-neighbor incipit of this motive could have been derived from a suite composed by Puccini as a student. See note 48.

⁴⁷Réné Leibowitz, *Les fantômes de l'opéra* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1972), 270.

⁴⁸The manuscript is preserved at the ancestral family home in Celle; it also contains part of Melody 8, "L'alba vindice appar" (which, although unlabeled, must have been the suite's Sarabande section) and the double-neighbor incipit of Motive 23 in E minor. In addition, the half-diminished chord on F# (which we have seen in Motive 17) is used prominently here, but only as ii7 to E minor.

⁴⁹Measure numbers in the cantata are counted according to the orchestral part.

⁵⁰This melody was originally the sarabande section of a suite Puccini composed as a student. See note 48 above.

⁵¹The Lydian quality of this melody made quite an impression on a contemporary critic who wrote about the opera's première: "One hears the bells of a herd moving away little by little; a shepherd, badly out of tune, sings a Roman stornello, certainly not beautiful, but characteristic." Review, *Il Capitale*, 15 January 1900.

⁵²This section was originally written by Puccini for the suppressed fourth act of *Edgar*.

CHAPTER IV

OM-TOOLS II

Operatic music is, as we have noted, a hybrid. It is made of illustrative and organizational elements. In the first part of this work, we began to blaze a trail through the uncharted terrain of *Tosca's* score by clearing away some of the illustrative foliage that obstructs our overall view. Then, our search for motivic interrelationships enabled us to locate sources of unity on the musical surface. Now, having disentangled the illustrative *foreground harmony* from the deeper musical organization, we will go, perhaps, into new territory. Traditional analysts may wonder indeed where our path is leading.

The next leg of our quest (applying to the entire score the conclusions and axioms gleaned in the Introduction) will take us further off the beaten track. The cause of this will principally be our investigation of the OM-tool *chresis* (pure pitch class), which will allow us to observe single pitch classes cutting through the vertical harmonies. In order for us to understand the overall design (and structure and form) of the work, we shall have to map out these prolonged pitch classes and identify any patterns they create.¹

These giant patterns, together with the "dysfunctional" middleground voice-leading we observed earlier (parallel soprano and bass lines) will guide us to some quite unusual discoveries. In essence, we will discover that the music we hear is only part of a whole: its peculiar qualities imply the existence of a tonal structure of a much vaster scale. But in order to discern the true shape of this large musical construction, we must find the right vantage point.

At the end of the Introduction, we listed the following M-tools that might be employed for organizational functions: *chresis*, (*middle- and background*) *consonance-dissonance polarity*, *counterpoint*, *design*,² *form*, (*background*) *harmonic syntax*, *intervallic content* and *interval*

class, primary motivic materials (interrelationship of motives) and structure. Of these, counterpoint, intervallic content and interval class, and primary motivic materials (interrelationship of motives) have been treated in Chapter III. The remainder will be explored here.

We shall begin by studying the musical *design*, a term that applies to the organization of motives and themes.³ In addition to the surface motives discussed in the previous chapter, we shall also include under this rubric those motivic materials that function below the musical surface. This underlying motivic organization we shall refer to as *large-scale design*. Then, because these designs will be shown to be congruent with normal harmonic syntax at the deepest level, we shall show their relationships to the underlying tonal *structure*. The final section will deal with *bipartite forms* apparent in both small and large units of the score.

Large-scale design

The expansions of Motive 1

Act I

What is Motive 1? Full of sound and fury, it displays no rational harmonic syntax. Three chords are strung together in what appears to be a willful thwarting of tonal logic, an attempt to derange the listener's sensibilities. There exists no diatonic collection that contains B \flat major, A \flat major and E major, and indeed Puccini's autograph score of this prelude shows no key signature.⁴ Viewed in isolation, the motive is incomprehensible; but considered in light of our introductory discussion, it is lucidity itself. There, we proposed three axioms which would guide us in understanding the music of *Tosca*. Let us now apply them to Motive 1.

AXIOM 1: Repetition of musical material can outline musical units, and in the process, enclose interpolations. From this we can posit that there could be a musical unit which extends from the opening prelude to 1/4/20, where the first repetition of Motive 1 occurs. It would then follow that the next appearance of Motive 1 (at 1/45/14) could delineate a longer musical unit, extending from the prelude to the middle of the first act, and so on.

AXIOM 2: The middleground equivalence relation among contrapuntal voices implies a middleground equivalence relation among their functions: a single pitch class can function as a chord or as a key, and a chord or a key can function as a single pitch class. With this axiom, we can observe (as already noted in Chapter III) that these opening chords really function as two linear motives in tandem, the bass notes B \flat - A \flat - E, and the chromatic soprano notes D - D \sharp - E. (The bass note pattern will prove to be the more important to the *large-scale design*, however.) The linear function of Motive 1's bass notes, once observed, clears up one mystery: although no key exists that contains B \flat major, A \flat major and E major, there does exist a key that contains pitch classes B \flat , A \flat and E (F \flat), and that is E \flat minor, the ultimate tonic of the opera. In other words, the chords of Motive 1, because they are functionally equivalent to the pitch classes, have been, on some level, substituted for them. In addition, this axiom implies that the first chord of Motive 1, B \flat major, could now share a function with the extended B \flat major-minor seventh before I/50, or Tosca's final note, pitch class B \flat .

AXIOM 3: middleground musical units may supersede dramatic units. Axiom 3 allows us to conceptually connect the initial B \flat of Motive 1, over scene boundaries, to the B \flat before I/50, or to the final B \flat dominant seventh of the first act.

In sum, these three axioms lead us to observe that individual pitch classes (by way of the OM-tool *chresis*) can have long-range connections, despite changing foreground harmonies and interruptions, that map out the dissonant prolongations of expanded motivic material. These prolonged, motivically-derived pitch classes usurp the "normal" stabilizing functions of harmony. The foreground harmonic bass is not, then, the "real" bass, in a functional sense; hence, the "dysfunctional" voice-leading.

It should be emphasized that these prolonged pitch classes are not necessarily always present on the musical foreground. Although we shall later observe several instances of continuous or near-continuous prolonged pitch class presence, here we are examining a more "interior" use of motivic material that lies beneath interpolations, not a simple prolongation. There are several ways in which we can recognize these prolonged pitch classes: they can be:

1. tonicized
2. consonant members of the foreground harmony
3. dissonant pedal points
4. any of the above that precede and follow interpolations.

As a brief example of the third and fourth techniques combined, let us look at the Gavotte scene in Act II. From the beginning of the act until II/2/4, when Scarpia orders the window opened, we have heard, almost continuously, a dissonant E pedal, under a D major harmony. When the window is opened, at II/3/0, we hear the pure D major of the Gavotte, the "real" music that the characters themselves hear.⁵ The dissonant E pedal has been suspended for illustrative reasons, and the Gavotte constitutes an **interpolation**. Immediately after the Gavotte, at II/5/4, the E pedal returns (again underneath the D major harmony). (Examples 4.0a and b)

The image displays two staves of musical notation. The top staff is labeled "1^o TEMPO" and "poco stent." It features a treble clef and a key signature of two sharps (D major). The bass line includes a dissonant E pedal point, indicated by a bracket and the label "(E pedal)". The bottom staff is labeled "TEMPO DI GAVOTTA MOLTO MOD^{ro}" and "Tarda è la". It features a treble clef and a key signature of two sharps (D major). The bass line includes a pure D major harmony, indicated by a bracket and the label "(no E pedal)".

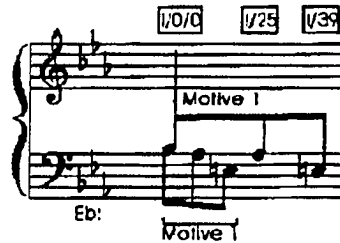
Example 4.0a - II/3/0, *Tosca*
(Property of G. Ricordi & C, Milan. Used by permission)

Example 4.0b - II/5/4, *Tosca*
(Property of G. Ricordi & C, Milan. Used by permission)

Thus, pitch class E is prolonged beyond the Gavotte.

As we study the expansions of Motive 1 in each act and over the entire work, it will become more probable to conclude that this *large-scale design* is what Puccini meant by his "motivo di prima intenzione" ("motive of first intention (plan)"). The interpolations and the subordinate motivic expansions were perhaps the second and third plan, overlaid upon the first.

At this point we are in a position to examine several expansions of **Motive 1**'s bass line. Below is a graph of the first important expansion of this material. The expansion is comprised of the initial **B \flat** -major chord of the prelude, the **A \flat** major which serves as the first key of scene 5 (I/25/0) and the **E** major in which the same scene concludes (I/39/12). Example 4.1 below illustrates this expansion.



Example 4.1 - initial expansion of Motive 1, I/0 - I/39/12

The next foreground appearance of Motive 1 appears at I/45/14. Here, however, the motive is presented in a slightly diverse manner. It is reiterated several times, sometimes transposed at the tritone, and with the (vocal) pitches Ab or D introduced as a common tone to all three chords, which turn the Bb major and E major into major-minor seventh chords. The aspect of this variation which interests us at the moment is the motive's **transposition at the tritone**. Because Motive 1 itself traverses a tritone from Bb to E, if paired with its own tritone transposition, the final pitch class is again Bb. Thus,

$$\underline{Bb - Ab - E} + \underline{E - D - Bb} = \text{prolongation of Bb.}$$

We shall see below how the pairing of **Motive 1** and its tritone transposition (henceforth termed **Motive 1 - T6**) prolong the initial Bb of the prelude, not just over the length of this act, but over the entire opera. Now that we can see Motive 1 in its full context, its function as half of a dominant prolongation becomes clear.

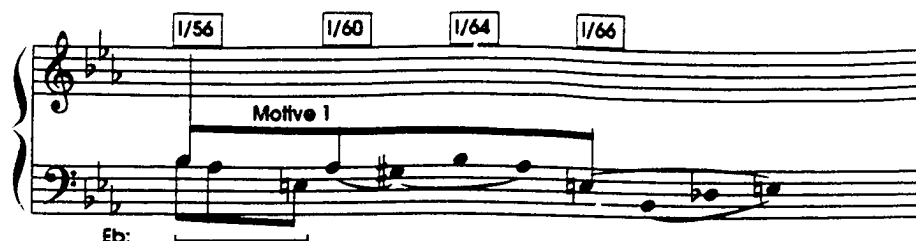
If the transposition process is carried out any odd number of times, the original pitch class of the motive will be re-established. If carried out an even number of times, the third pitch class (of the original) will be the final result. At I/45-46, approximately half-way through the first act, this transposition process is completed twice, which reiterates the third pitch class, E. This new E can also be linked to our original E. The next prominent E is at I/48/12, where it had been foreshadowed by a brief E major (at I/48/1). This E (approached by the whole-tone scale) is repeated three times. It is then interrupted by a brief interpolation of Motive 2 in A minor (and a cannon blast), which also ends on an E-major triad in a $\frac{6}{4}$ inversion. But that chord immediately slides down

chromatically to a $B\flat$ cadential $\begin{smallmatrix} 6-5 \\ 4-3 \end{smallmatrix}$ of the act's tonic, $E\flat$ major, at $I/49/2 - 19$. The tonic finally arrives at $I/50/0$, the beginning of both scene 7 and the second half of Act I. It is interesting also to note that the musical interruption which occurs at $I/50$ parallels the stage action, in which Angelotti and Cavaradossi are interrupted by the Sagrestano's entrance.⁶ Example 4.2 below shows a graph of the Motive 1 expansions in this first half of the act.

The musical score for Example 4.2 is written for piano. It begins with a key signature of two flats (B-flat major) and a 3/4 time signature. The score is divided into measures, with time signatures 1/0/0, 1/25/1/39, 48/12, 49, and 50 indicated above the staff. The music features Motive 1 in both the bass and treble staves. A 'whole-tone' section is marked between measures 48 and 49. The score ends with a double bar line and a key signature change to E-flat major.

Example 4.2 - expansion of Motive 1, first half of Act I

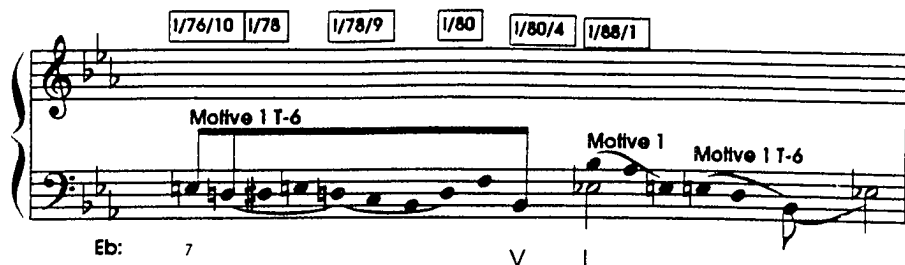
The second half of the act shows similar prolongations. First, let us take note of a local expansion of Motive 1's bass notes. Motive 1 appears on the foreground at the opening of scene 8 ($I/56/6$), re-establishing $B\flat$ (but, on a deeper level, E). Here it is repeated three times, elaborated but never transposed. The $A\flat$ (the second pitch class of Motive 1) functions on the surface as the dominant of $D\flat$ (at $I/60/0$) but becomes prolonged at the middleground level (sometimes written enharmonically as $G\sharp$) until $I/61/0$ where it is heard as part of the half-diminished chord $A\sharp - E - G\sharp - C\sharp$. (We note also that the three lowest tones of this chord are enharmonically equivalent to $B\flat$, $A\flat$ and E.) After this point, although the $A\flat$ major is the starting point for a brief sequential section, it does not reappear prominently until $I/64/8$ where it is the key of the Sagrestano's motive. It is also germane that the final notes of this scene ($I/66/2$) are a reprise of Motive 2 in E minor. With this last E, we complete the local expansion of Motive 1's bass notes, extending from $I/56/6$ to $I/66/2$ (Example 4.3)



Example 4.3 - local expansion of Motive 1, 1/56 - 1/66

On a deeper level, however, there is a connection between the instances of pitch class E heard at 1/56/6 and 1/66/2.⁷

E reappears at 1/76/10, after which an interesting event occurs: Motive 2 is heard in D minor (1/78/0), which gives prominence in both the soprano and bass voices to the pitch class D. (The motive is then repeated on Eb and on E, outlining an expanded version of the soprano notes of Motive 1.) However, the bass notes return to D at 1/78/9, indicating a more prominent role for that pitch class. After a transitional passage in C minor and Bb major, D minor returns again at 1/80/1.⁸ Two bars later, an enormous prolongation of Bb begins. Now we can see that **Motive 1 - T6** has been locally expanded: E at 1/76/10, D at 1/78 - 80 and Bb at 1/80/4. (Example 4.4)



Example 4.4 - local expansion of Motive 1 - T6, 1/76/10 - 1/80/4, and end of Act I

This last Bb is the structural dominant of Act I. For seventy-two measures, Bb and its own dominant pitch F alternate in a bass ostinato sounded by church bells and punctuated by cannon blasts. The prolonged dominant reaches its tonic, Eb, at 1/88/1 where all onstage sing a unison Te Deum.

Although the tonic has been reached, the melody of the Te Deum phrase ends on a Bb. This allows the composer to segue into a coda

which once again lays bare the tonal significance of Motive 1. Here, at 1/89, Motive 1 is stated twice in its original form and then transposed a tritone. The odd number of transpositions (one) allows the B \flat to be re-established. The B \flat chord then becomes B \flat dominant seventh, which resolves to the tonic E \flat major once again. Thus, Puccini has shown us clearly how the pairing of Motive 1 and Motive 1 T \flat form a dominant prolongation.

Before leaving Act I, let us look for a moment at its larger design. If we connect the E of 1/56/7 to the E at 1/76/10, we can link it to the D at 1/78-80/1 and the B \flat at 1/80/4 that is prolonged almost to the end of the act: this constitutes a larger expansion of **Motive 1 - T \flat** that encompasses the second half of the act, and mirrors the expansion of Motive 1 in the first half. (Example 4.5)

Example 4.5 - *large-scale design* of Act I, Motive 1 and Motive 1 - T \flat

Act II

In real time and on the printed page, Act I is as lengthy as Acts II and III together. Therefore, with the commencement of Act II, we also begin the second half of the opera. Correspondingly, we shall see that Puccini makes use in these two acts of **Motive 1 - T \flat** 's bass notes (E - D - B \flat) in large and small expansions. Although the overall design of Act II is controlled to a greater extent by another motivic construct, there are local expansions here of Motive 1 - T \flat , as well as strong emphases on pitch classes E and D.

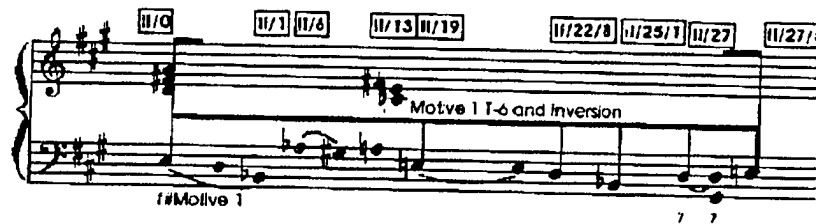
We can see the prolongation of the first bass note of Motive 1 - T \flat , E, as early as II/0/1. Here, as noted above, the E is a dissonant pedal underneath a D-major chord; this sonority, in part a verticalization of the motivic combination of E and D, will figure prominently in this act. (The

vertical combination of pitch class E and chord D major illustrate the equivalence relation set forth in Axiom 2.) This configuration is repeated at II/0/5, 9 and 11. From there, the E remains as bass to a C# minor $\frac{6}{3}$ chord, which moves to D major and then Bb major at II/1/0; the bass notes thus outline Motive 1 - T6. But immediately a tritone transposition occurs which re-establishes the E, now supporting E major. Thus, it is pitch class **E** that is prolonged on a deeper level: E remains active until just before II/3, where it appears again as dissonant pedal to D major.

At II/6, after the Gavotte interpolation, Scarpia sings his aria "Ha più forte sapore" which is notated in the key of Ab major. Despite its motivically-related key, this aria should be heard as an interpolation inside the prolonged E. Indeed, the second half of the aria even contains a brief allusion to E major (II/7/2), but then moves, by common tone G#/Ab, back to Ab major. Puccini has, once again, placed a solo aria in a non-structural position.

The next local expansions of Motive 1 - T6's bass notes (E - D - Bb) do not begin until after the Cantata, at II/19/1. Here, as Scarpia closes the window, the pitch class **E** is sustained without interruption for thirty-nine bars. It is accompanied intermittently by the whole-tone scale on E divided into two three-note groups: the result is a motion from E to Bb (II/19/0-11) followed by one from Bb to E (II/20/0). (At II/20/0-1 and at II/21/5-6 the bass notes support major chords, forming variations of the foreground Motive 1.) It should also be noted that the E is now prolonged beyond the boundaries of scene 3, into scene 4, which begins at II/21/7 (axiom 3). E remains prominent until II/22/8, where G minor is heard. From here, **D** figures prominently in the upper voice at II/23/3 and II/24 (where it is accented), and at II/25/1, **Bb** major is reached, thus subtly recalling the pattern **E - D - Bb**.

This **Bb** (from II/25/1, "Ed or fra noi") remains effective until II/27, where the progression (to G minor) is interrupted on a **D** dominant seventh. Because of dramatic reasons, the harmonic syntax disintegrates here, and, five bars later, we hear a repetition of the music of II/19, complete with **E** tremolo. Thus, at II/27/5, the E is re-established, and we can also perceive a larger motion from Bb - D - E (II/25/1 - II/27/5). This local expansion is the **inversion of Motive 1 - T6**. On a deeper level, this pairing prolongs pitch class E. (Example 4.6)



Example 4.6 - prolongation of E, to II/27/5

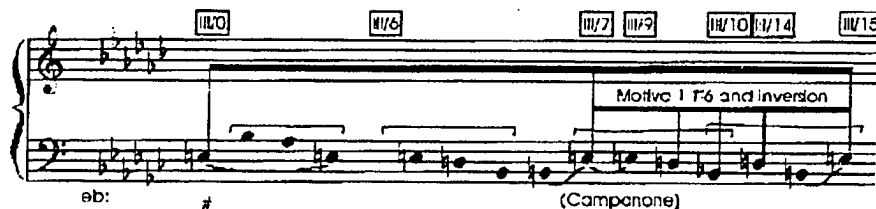
Throughout this act, the pitch classes D and E are affirmed repeatedly. At II/28 - II/39, there is an enormously lengthy prolongation of D, and D is also the key of Scarpia's death. E is re-affirmed at II/39, at II/50, at II/57, and (most dramatically) at the end of the act (II/65) where we hear Motive 1, now concluding in E minor. Although these very large-scale prolongations of E and D hint at the overall expansion of Motive 1 T6 in the second half of the opera, they do not arrive at the final destination (Bb) within this act. Rather, as we shall see, the E and D of Act II serve the expansion of cell Y, the predominant organizational force of that act.

Act III

It is in the third act that Puccini uses **Motive 1 - T6** to full advantage. The act opens in the key of E major, and at III/1 begins an ostinato that alternates E with its dominant B, under an E Lydian melody. The E Lydian scale, which includes the pitch class A#/Bb, seems chosen to explicitly emphasize the E - Bb tritone so prominent in Motive 1. From III/2/5 to III/3 there are three appearances of Motive 1 untransposed, which further prolong E. An expanded version of the material from III/1 - 3, at III/3 - 4 (with the vocal part, "io de' sospiri"), still prolongs the E tonality. The church bell scene that follows will be discussed in detail below. Suffice it to say at this point that, after much modulation, the scene ends at III/6/6-11 with the following chords: E major-minor seventh, D major and Bb major, or Motive 1 - T6 with a D common tone. This would appear to reassert Bb, not E, but at III/7, the beginning of scene 1, the Bb moves to Bb which becomes the dominant of E minor. A very low E, sounded in

imitation of the Vatican's Campanone, again prolongs the original "tonic" of the act until III/9/3.⁹

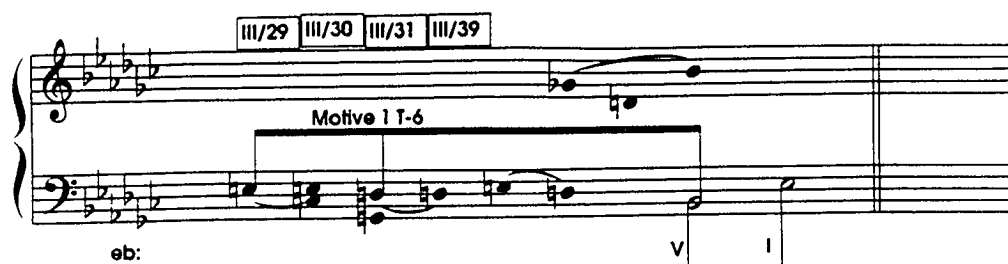
At this point, the E-major triad moves to a D-major triad as we hear Motive 7 as a reminiscence. The bass then descends quickly through A major, G major and finally F major, which becomes the dominant of B \flat major (III/10/1, "Scrivete"). Here too then we can recognize a local E - D - B \flat pattern. After this, D major is established again, but, as Cavaradossi's thoughts turn bitter, the relative minor takes over. Here, Cavaradossi's B minor solo aria, "E lucevan le stelle," is, once again, a long interpolation; the only organizational importance of the B minor tonality here is to grow into B major, the dominant of E major, at III/14. With the re-establishment of pitch class E (at III/15, as a major-minor seventh, with repeated E's in the vocal part), we can observe the culmination of the large B \flat - D - E pattern, another inversion of Motive 1 - T \flat , mirroring the earlier expansion, and reasserting pitch class E. As if to punctuate this long musical unit, Puccini inserts Motive 1 in its original form (at III/15/5, "Scarpia"). (Example 4.7)



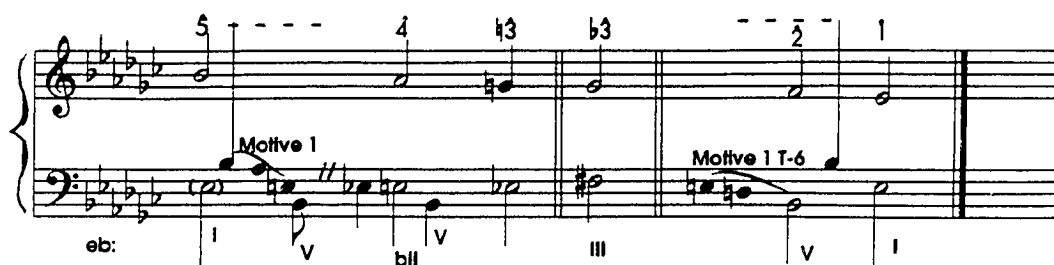
Example 4.7 - prolongation of E, III/0 - 15/5

A lengthy and fragmentary interpolation follows that illustrates Tosca's retelling of the events of Act II. This section is replete with bits of "reminiscence" motives, and is, for the most part, centered upon the pitch class F (for example, Cavaradossi's F major aria "O dolci mani"). After this, E reappears briefly as the local tonic at III/23 and, at III/25/4, as dominant to A, but is not fully reasserted until III/29, where the opening E major bars of the act are reiterated. The pitch class E is then sustained as a part of the C major at III/30/1, but moves to D as the harmony becomes G major (III/31/2). After the execution scene and Tosca's shocked revelation (the extreme change in her mood is illustrated by a switch from C major to complete non-tonality), D is re-established

forcefully at III/39/0;¹⁰ three bars later, the bass descends an octave from D along the whole-tone scale, followed by three reiterations of the **E - D** motion. But it is in the vocal line, and specifically by Tosca herself, that the final connection is made: the last, dramatic notes of her "O Scarpia, avanti a Dio!" are **D** and **B♭**. (These two pitches are part of the augmented triad **G♭ - B♭ - D**, and we shall see below that the **G♭** also plays an important tonal role, as the third scale degree of the opera's Urlinie.) It is the final establishment of **B♭** that commands attention here, as that pitch class is revealed as the dominant to the opera's **E♭** minor tonic. This completes an expansion of **Motive 1 - T6** throughout Act III. Further, we can see this moment as the culmination of a huge **prolongation of pitch class B♭** that has extended from the opera's first notes to this final cadence. One bar later, both Tosca's life and the tonal structure of the opera come to an end. (Example 4.8a and b)



Example 4.8a - expansion of Motive 1 - T6, from III/29 to end of opera



Example 4.8b - prolongation of B♭ over opera

In this section, we have seen how expansions of the bass notes of Motive 1, their transpositions and their inversions work together to create the *large-scale design* framework of *Tosca*. In order to disclose these patterns, however, we have had to side-step around some rather large

and important interpolations. The independent patterns that some of those interpolations create will be examined below.

The expansions of the primordial cells

Act I and cell X¹¹

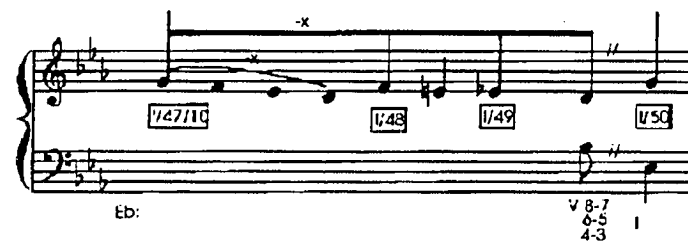
As the curtain opens on Act I, we hear the descending stepwise fourth which is both Motive 2 and the first presentation of the primary motivic cell -x (at I/0/3). When that motive returns intact at the end of the act (I/80/0), we can, by way of axiom 1 ("repetition of musical material can outline musical units..."), begin to consider the possibility that a musical unit encompassing almost the entire act has been put in place. Indeed it has, and, further, we shall be able to trace an expansion of cell -x over this large span.¹²

We shall also see how Puccini introduces this expanded motive gradually, a technique akin to his presentation of some surface leitmotifs. For example, as we have already noted above in the Introduction, the voice-leading of scene 1 can be represented as a motion from G, through F, to E.¹³ This is the first partial revelation of the expanded cell -x (which should extend to D). Now let us observe how the same pattern appears on a slightly larger scale. The **G** is re-established at the beginning of scene 2 (I/6/3), linking it to the original G, and soon moves to **F** (I/13). Scene 3 begins (at I/14) with F in the soprano (supported by D \flat major) and F remains in place throughout "Recondita armonia." Then, at the end of scene 3, at I/21, C major is reasserted and the F moves to **E**, which is utilized here as a common-tone transition to the following E minor reiteration of Motive 2 itself. We can now perceive a larger **G - F - E** motion from I/0/3 to I/21/3.¹⁴ (Example 4.9)

[illegible]

Example 4.10 - expansion of cell -x, from 1/40 to 1/45

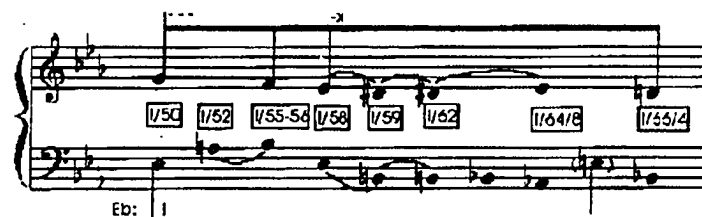
We can also observe an expansion of **cell -x** in the final section of the first half of Act I. At 1/47/10 and 13, Motive 2 is repeated twice in the original key, re-establishing pitch class **G**. Immediately afterward, at 1/48, **F** and then **E** appear in both outer voices. (This is followed by the important **E** which we have already noted as part of both a surface and an expanded Motive 1, 1/48/12 - 1/49.). When we reach the $\text{B}\flat$ cadential $\begin{smallmatrix} 6-5 \\ 4-3 \end{smallmatrix}$ (beginning at 1/49/2, the $\text{B}\flat$ triad arrives two bars later; the ensuing resolution to $\text{E}\flat$ major will delimit the first half of the act) the pitch classes $\text{E}\flat$ and **D** appear. It is possible now to see an expansion of the **G - F - (E) - $\text{E}\flat$ - D** pattern coinciding with the larger construction of Act I. When the tonic is reached at 1/50, an interruption occurs and **G** is again reasserted: the pattern begins anew. (Example 4.11)



Example 4.11 - expansion of cell -x, first half of Act I

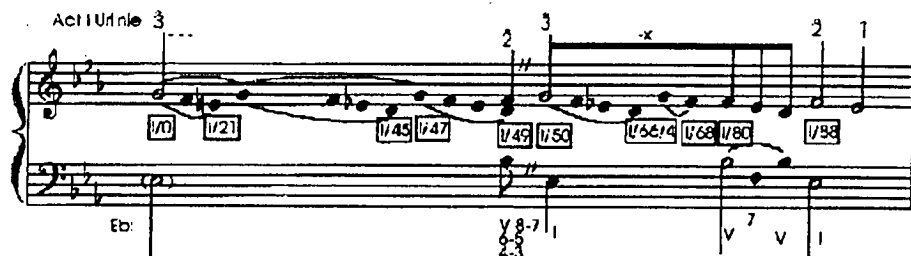
The second half of Act I begins with a fortissimo $\text{E}\flat$ -major chord in root position. Unlike the $\text{E}\flat$ -minor tonic of the opera, this Act I tonic contains and affirms the pitch class $\text{G}\sharp$. Just after 1/51, the church becomes filled with noisy children, choir singers, and priests; appropriately, Puccini illustrates the happy but chaotic scene with consonant but tonally jumpy music. This interpolation settles down somewhat in A major at 1/52/4, then moves to $\text{B}\flat$ major at 1/55 - 56/6 (Scarpia's entrance, noted above as part of a Motive 1 expansion). On a deeper level, this constitutes a bass motion from the $\text{E}\flat$ tonic to its dominant $\text{B}\flat$, effecting a melodic motion from **G** to **F**. The third pitch class of our motivic cell, $\text{E}\flat$, briefly comes to the fore at 1/58/1 as the root of $\text{E}\flat$ minor, where a sequential pattern begins; this section ends in B major (before 1/59), which includes an $\text{E}\flat$ enharmonically written as $\text{D}\sharp$. The $\text{E}\flat$ is heard prominently at 1/62/0 (again as $\text{D}\sharp$ in B major) in a deceptive cadence that should have resolved to $\text{E}\flat$. From 1/64/8 to 1/65, $\text{E}\flat$ is heard

as a consonant member of $A\flat$ major. At this point, the deeper expansion of Motive 1 takes over and E is established. In any event, at the outset of scene 9 (1/66/6), $B\flat$ is established and with it, pitch class **D**, which completes this local expansion of cell -x. (Example 4.12)



Example 4.12 - local expansion of cell -x, 1/50 - 1/66/4

The *design* of the remainder of Act I is guided principally by the whole-tone scale, which we will discuss below. Nevertheless, we can trace an expansion of cell -x in important moments of this section. When the bell ostinato begins at 1/68/3, it emphasizes pitch classes from $B\flat$ to $A\flat$ and from **G** to **F**. (These $B\flat$ - $A\flat$ and **G** - **F** motions are reiterated when the ostinato pattern returns at 1/75.) At the end of this scene, at 1/80/0, a complete statement of Motive 2 occurs, forming, as we have proposed above, a musical connection with its first appearance at the beginning of the act, which links the opening **G** with this one. (**G** is actually $\sharp 3$ of the Act I Urlinie.) After this Motive 2, there is a unison **F**, and so we can see one more **G** to **F** motion here. **F** is prominently prolonged throughout the final scene in the vocal line and as part of the bass bell ostinato. The expansion of the -x cell is furthered by the strong appearance of $E\flat$ in the melodic line at 1/86 and 1/87 (part of an **F** minor seventh). The final pitch class of cell -x, **D**, appears as a member of the final dominant $B\flat$ at 1/88 (where $\hat{2}$, **F**, precedes $\hat{1}$, $E\flat$). Thus, if we link the **G** at 1/68/3 to the opening one (1/0/3) we can see that cell -x has been expanded from just after the opening of Act I, to just before its conclusion; it overlays and works together with the deeper and more important frameworks of the Motive 1 expansion and the *Ursatz*. (Example 4.13)



Example 4.13 - expansion of cell -x over Act I

Act II and cell Y¹⁵

At the dramatic close of Act II, Motive 1 is repeated three times, ending in E minor and followed by three E minor chords. Why then, does Puccini add an F# minor cadence at the end? To find the answer to this question, we must examine the opening gesture of Act II, a stepwise descending major third, F# - E - D (Motive 16). In this section we shall see how this example of motivic cell -y, paired with its inversion, cell +y, is expanded over ever-increasing time spans to finally encompass all of Act II, such that

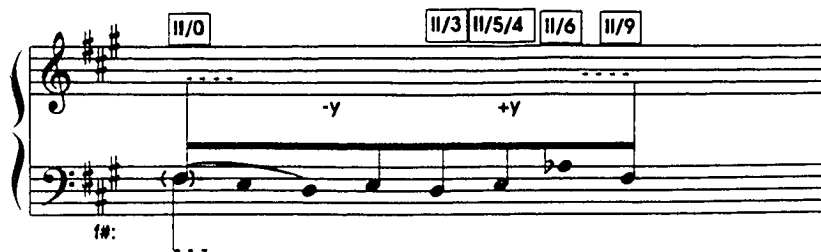
$$\underline{F\# - E - D} + \underline{D - E - F\#} = -y + y = \text{prolongation of } F\#$$

Let us now apply axiom 2 ("...a single pitch class can function as a chord or as a key, and a chord or a key can function as a single pitch class") to the first pitch class. Act II begins with the pitch class F# and ends in the key of F# minor. We propose here that the initial F#, in effect, takes over the function of an F# harmony, and that by a process of **extrapolation**, the entire act can be heard in the key of F# minor.

Our examination commences with a consideration of scene 1. In the foreground, the opening cell -y is repeated twice on the pitch classes F# - E - D. This is followed by a transposed -y on the pitch classes G# - F# - E, which establishes an E in the bass, below a sustained D major chord. The combination of these Y cells has several functions, the first of which is to create the vertical juxtaposition of pitch classes E and D. The emphasized association of these two pitch classes is central not only to the expansion of cell -y (here, F# - E - D) but also, as we have noted

above, to the expansions of Motive 1 - T6 (E - D - B \flat). A second function of this act's opening gesture is to re-establish the whole-tone ambience that pervades much of the opera. Third, and perhaps most importantly, the first pitch class of this transposed -y cell, G \sharp , gives the listener an aural clue that indicates whence the act's F \sharp tonic comes: it follows from the G \sharp /A \flat of the first act (4), as the next scale step downwards (3) of the opera's structural Urlinie.

The first, local expansion of cells -y and +y is found from the initial F \sharp through the prolonged E (II/0/1 - II/3/0) to the D of the Gavotte (II/3/0 - II/5/3).¹⁶ At II/5/4, the E pedal returns and is prolonged for twelve measures. (On a deeper level, the E is prolonged past the Gavotte interpolation.) At II/6, we have Scarpia's aria "Ha più forte sapore" written in the key of A \flat major, another example of a solo aria positioned non-structurally. The scene ends abruptly at II/9/5 with the entrance of Spoletta and the establishment of F \sharp minor. We can thus sketch an expansion of cells -y + y throughout the first scene. (Example 4.14)



Example 4. 14- expansion of -y+y, II/0 - 9

In scene 2, II/9/5 - II/14, F \sharp remains a consonant member of the changing harmonies F \sharp minor, D major, B minor seventh, D major-minor seventh, F \sharp half-diminished seventh, and the extended half-diminished chord F \sharp - A - C - E that begins at II/13. Scene 3 commences at II/14/0 with the entrance of Cavaradossi and with absolutely no musical hiatus (we can see here the predominance of musical over dramatic organizational divisions, as per Axiom 3). Pitch class F \sharp is prolonged in the upper voice throughout this inquisition/cantata scene until just before Scarpia closes the window at II/19. At that moment, E is reasserted in both upper and lower voices, and it is prolonged throughout the scene. Scene 4 begins at II/21/7 with Tosca's entrance and the re-establishment

of D in the upper voice. On a small scale, this could be seen as a completion of cell -y; however, the E pedal remains in the bass. Soon we shall be able to delineate a cell -y more proportionate to the expansive F# and E we have noted above.

At Tosca's entrance we hear Motive 13, built on cells +y and -y, transposed here to commence on the pitch classes D - E - F# - E - D. Below, the **E** pedal continues to keep that pitch class active. After Scarpia Bb major "Ed or fra noi," the E pedal reappears at II/27/5, and soon after (at II/28) moves to **D**, in the context of D minor. Now we can begin to see the huge scale of this cell -y expansion, because the D which takes hold here is extremely prolonged, stretching from II/28 to II/39, one-hundred-and-three measures. It ends with Cavaradossi's scream, and a whole-tone bass descent to **E**, the second pitch class of an expanded **cell +y**.

This new **E** pedal remains in place until II/40 where it is interrupted by a brief interpolative recall of Motive 17 (to which are appended the soprano notes of Motive 1, D - D# - E and its inversion, E - Eb - D). This is immediately followed by a re-establishment of the opening sonorities of the act: E pedal under a D-major chord (in like manner, Motive 13 on the pitches D - E - F# is recapitulated). Although the E pedal soon moves to D, this will not be an example of cell -y: the D moves to C (II/40/13) then to Bb, Ab, and finally **Gb (F#)** a bar later. In effect, this is a whole-tone connection from **E** to **F#** which completes the expansions of cell +y and (with the expansions of cell -y detailed above) the pair -y+y. (Example 4.15)

Example 4.15 - expansion of -y+y, II/9 - 40

After an interpolation built in part on the cells -y and +y ("Eccellenza, quali nuove..."), pitch class **F#** is boldly affirmed at II/42/9

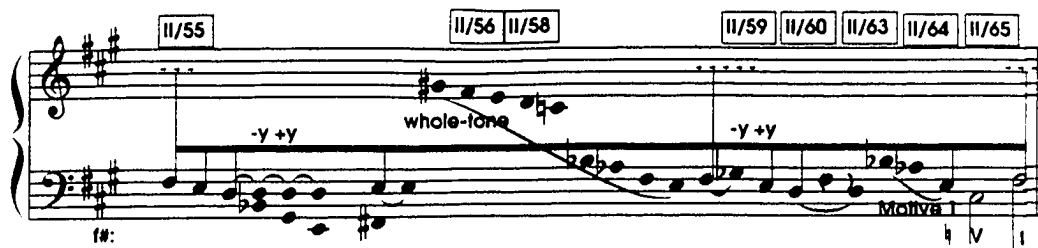
with Cavaradossi's cry of "Vittoria!" His aria "L'alba vindice appar" will be, however, in a non-structural F minor.¹⁷ Cavaradossi is dragged away, accompanied by a long chromatic descent that leads once more to the **E** pedal under D major at the beginning of scene 5 (II/44/10). The reappearance of this sonority (which also recapitulates the appearances of F#, E, and D) marks a musical and dramatic division of the act.

Pitch class **E** remains active as a consonant member of A major (II/45/0, "Volete che cerchiamo"), A minor (before and at II/46, "Quanto?") and, after an F major interpolation, A major again (II/47, "Se la giurata fede"). After the aria "Già mi struggea," notated in G♭ major, and the harmonically unstable scenetta that follows, we hear Motive 1 transposed to A♭ - G♭ - D (minor). This last **D** (at II/48/11) completes the **cell -y** expansion. From this D, we can now trace a **D - E - F#** motion, which will complete a **-y+y** expansion: **E** is re-established at II/50/0, where it is a consonant member of C major, then an E major-minor seventh (II/50/2); this begins a transition (through descending fifths and common-tone) to the Eb minor of the interpolation "Vissi d'arte." After the solo aria, we finally arrive at **F#/G♭** (at II/54), which is prolonged until II/55 (as part of a diminished seventh chord). (Example 4.16)

Example 4.16- expansion of -y+y from II/42/9 to II/55

At II/55 we begin yet another **-y+y** expansion. From the **F#** at II/55 (under a diminished seventh chord), we move to **E** at II/55/8, followed by **D**, beginning two bars later, that becomes a consonant member of B♭ major, G minor and E half-diminished seventh. We return to pitch class **E**, by way of an arpeggiated F# half-diminished chord, until just before II/56, where we hear Motive 1 ending on an unharmonized E. The E pedal returns at II/57, as the final destination of a descending whole-tone scale, a pattern that repeats at II/58/5. We reach **F#** at II/59.

At this point the final **-y+y** expansion of Act II commences. The **F#** presented at II/59/0 is linked to the enharmonically-written **Gb** major established at II/60. At II/60/4, when Tosca stabs Scarpia, **E** thrusts upon the scene as the bass note of a half-diminished chord. When he finally dies, just before II/63, the only sound is pitch class **D**, completing the **F# - E - D** expansion. Although the Act II tonic, **F#**, is inserted at II/63/0, **D** is reaffirmed at II/64/5. This **D** is immediately followed by Motive 1 untransposed (II/65), which establishes **E** (now as the root of E minor); the E minor chord is heard six times here. But the pitch class which closes Act II is **F#** at II/65/9. Thus, we have the completion of the **-y+y** expansion. (Example 4.17)



Example 4.17 - expansions of **-y+y** from II/55 to end of act

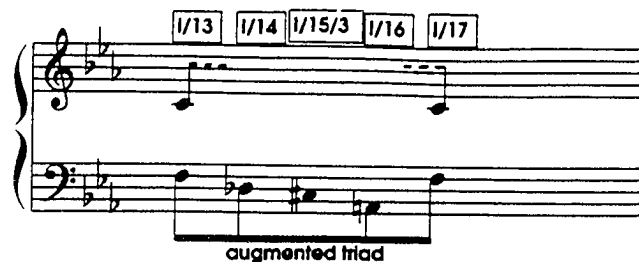
We have seen in this section how the design of Act I is closely tied to cell X, and how the design of Act II is equally dependent upon cell Y. Further, we have already demonstrated how the expansion of Motive 1 -T6 (a derivative of cell Z) is fundamental to our understanding of Act III. Therefore, we shall now turn our attention to other dissonant prolongations in *Tosca* that have less global ramifications.

Other dissonant prolongations

In mapping out the *large-scale design* of *Tosca*, we have seen how individual pitch classes (through OM-tool *chresis*) are prolonged over large spans of music. Often these pitch classes will be interrupted by interpolations in a distant key (or keys), only to reappear afterwards. It is the composer's technical charge, then, to create transitions from point A (the original pitch class) to point B (the key or keys of the interpolation) and then back to point A.¹⁸ When an interpolation consists of a single-key unit (such as some solo arias), the problem of transition is

less exacting. But when an interpolation, for expressive or illustrative reasons, must fly to distant tonal centers over extended time spans, the task becomes more complex. In several such instances, discussed below, Puccini completes the point A -to- point A circuit through patterns based on equal divisions of the octave. Chiefly, he utilizes the augmented triad and the whole-tone scale in this manner. Additionally, Puccini structures interpolations on arpeggiations of the half-diminished chord (F# - A - C - E) which is also heard prominently in the foreground.

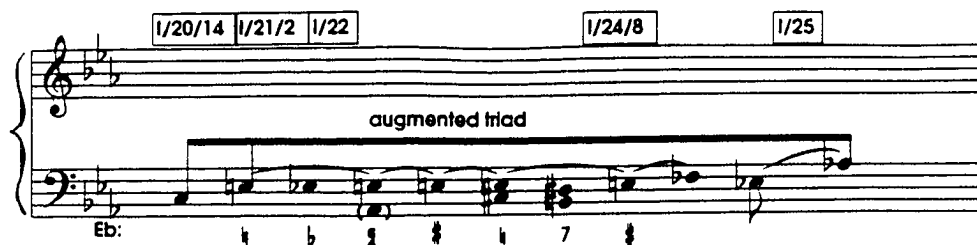
Our first example of this technique has already been briefly touched upon in the Introduction above. We noted there that the pitch class C is prolonged from I/6 to I/21 through shifting foreground harmonies, leitmotivic insertions and around a lengthy interpolation that includes the aria "Recondita armonia." That interpolation is, in fact, based upon an arpeggiation of the augmented triad **F - D \flat - A - F**. It commences at I/13 with the establishment of F major. **D \flat** , the next pitch class of the expansion, is slyly foreshadowed at I/13/10, within the context of the F major tonality. At I/14, Db fully arrives and soon (at I/15/3) becomes enharmonically re-interpreted as **C#**; a stable C# major remains in place until I/16. At this point, the third member of the augmented triad, pitch class **A**, takes over until I/17, the beginning of the aria "Recondita Armonia," which is in F major. The arpeggiation of the augmented triad F - D \flat - A - F is now complete. It should also be noted that each new leg of the arpeggiation is presented in a major mode, which ensures that the fresh tonal area will have a tone in common with the old one. After the arpeggiation is complete, pitch class C resumes, at I/20/13. (Example 4.18)



Example 4.18 - arpeggiation of F - D \flat - A - F, I/13 - 17

The next stable tonal area of the first act will be the $A\flat$ major at $I/25$, the beginning of scene 5 and Tosca's entrance (and second member of the expansion of Motive 1's bass notes detailed above). In order to connect pitch class C and pitch class $A\flat$, Puccini uses another expanded augmented triad: $C - E - A\flat$. C is prolonged from $I/20/14$ until $I/21/2$, at which point Motive 2 is presented in E minor, emphasizing pitch class E, later reasserted at $I/21/15-22$.¹⁹

The following section contains much back-and-forth between pitch classes E and $E\flat$, both enharmonically renamed at times. This E - $E\flat$ "issue" is a global one for the entire opera, and we can see it in microcosm here: $E\flat$ eventually wins out. At $I/22$, an $E\flat$ statement of Motive 2 occurs, but E returns two bars later as the bass note of an A major $\frac{6}{4}$ and then as a consonant member of E major and $C\sharp$ minor. $E\flat$ ($D\sharp$) then appears as a member of B major and $G\sharp$ minor. The motivic interpolation at $I/23 - 24/2$ contains both E and $E\flat$. Here, at $I/24/2$, we return to a B major-minor seventh (with $D\sharp$) that should resolve to E, but instead we arrive at $E\flat$ major. E major does appear at $I/24/8$, written E - $A\flat - C\flat$, and again, five bars later, as $F\flat$ major. Here $F\flat$ finally resolves to $E\flat$. This $E\flat$ then becomes the dominant of $A\flat$, the next leg of the augmented triad, which arrives at $I/25$.²⁰ The $A\flat$ here completes the expansion of the augmented triad. (Example 4.19)

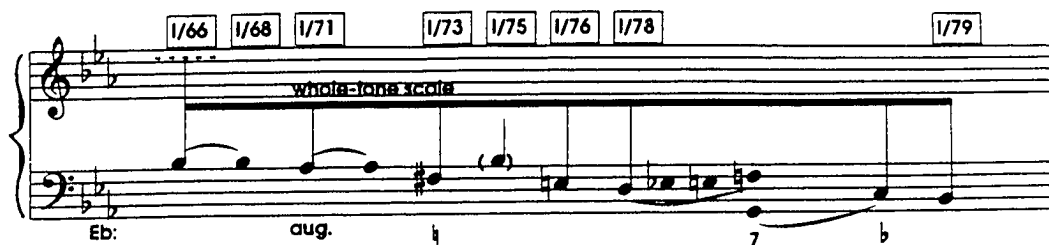


Example 4.19 - arpeggiation of augmented triad C - E - $A\flat$, $I/20/14 - 25$

Later in the first act, we can see an example of a **whole-tone scale** ($B\flat$ to $B\flat$) employed as the structural design of an interpolation. At $I/68/3$, Scarpia and Tosca confront each other for the first time, to the accompaniment of church bells. These bells continue the prolongation of pitch class $B\flat$, which began locally after $I/66$ (but which can be traced much further back). The $B\flat$ abruptly ends at $I/71$ when the augmented chord $A\flat - C - E$ establishes pitch class $A\flat$. (At this point in the score, it

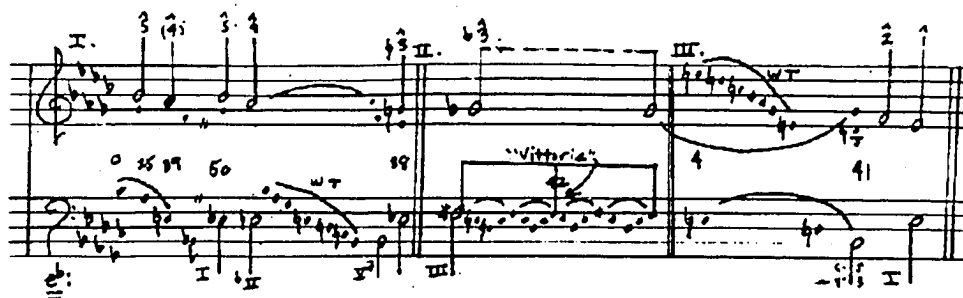
should be noted, fragments of whole-tone scales also figure prominently in the foreground.) The A \flat reappears at I/73/1, respelled enharmonically as G \sharp , and functioning as the bass note of a C \sharp major-minor $\frac{4}{3}$ chord which resolves to F \sharp minor two bars later. In addition to extending the whole-tone pattern, the dark excursion into F \sharp minor illustrates Tosca's suffering and serves as a foreshadowing of the tonic key of the second act, in which the heroine will suffer indeed.²¹

Having outlined the first half of the whole-tone scale (B \flat - A \flat - F \sharp), we now observe that B \flat returns, along with the bells, at I/75. But this pitch class does not endure: it is interrupted by a descending bass motion (I/76) which ends on pitch class E. An augmented triad (A - C \sharp - E \sharp) soon follows (I/77) which turns into the dominant of D just before I/78. With the appearance of pitch class D here, we need only C and B \flat to complete our whole-tone scale. The D moves chromatically upwards through E \flat , E and F, illustrating Tosca's rising temper; the F is sustained and, at I/78/14, becomes the seventh of a G major-minor seventh resolving to C minor a bar later. This C, the penultimate member of our whole-tone scale, gives way to B \flat at I/79 and the expansion is complete.²² (Example 4.20)



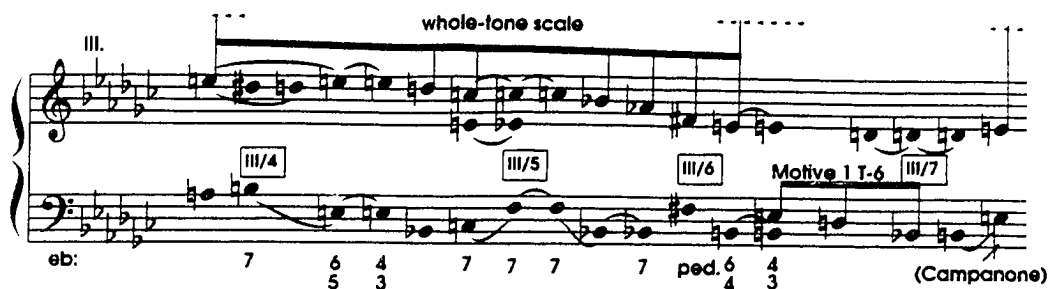
Example 4.20 - prolongation of the whole-tone scale B \flat - B \flat

Turning our attention to the Act III prelude, we can observe a similar (but transposed) whole-tone structure in the bell scene (III/4-7) from E to E. Ultimately, E is being prolonged here. Together the two prolonged whole-tone scales (on B \flat at the end of Act I and on E, a tritone away, at the beginning of Act III) make a symmetrical design framing the already symmetrical design of Act II. (Example 4.21)



Example 4.21 - symmetrical design of opera, with whole-tone scales

Let us take a closer look at this second prolonged whole-tone scale which is sustained through shifting foreground harmonies. The scene begins at III/4/0 with a root-position B dominant seventh, whose bass descends in a stepwise manner to E (III/4/8).²³ E appears as a consonant member of C major-minor seventh and then A major-minor seventh. At III/4/12, D is sounded, now supported by B \flat major. Pitch class C appears at III/4/17 (sounded repeatedly in the highest bells and supported by an F major seventh). At III/5, this sonority becomes an F major-minor seventh that still supports C. In the next bar, pitch class B \flat takes over (III/5/2-7), followed by pitch class A \flat /G \sharp at III/5/8-14. Pitch class F \sharp arrives a bar later and, at III/6, E returns. The whole-tone scale, now complete, moves one extra step to pitch class D, sustained from III/6/4 to III/7, initiating an appearance of Motive 1 - T \flat , the motive that controls the act's design. Here, D is a common tone to all three of the chords, E major-minor seventh, D major and B \flat major. But these are followed by a return to E minor (at III/7/3). (Example 4.22)

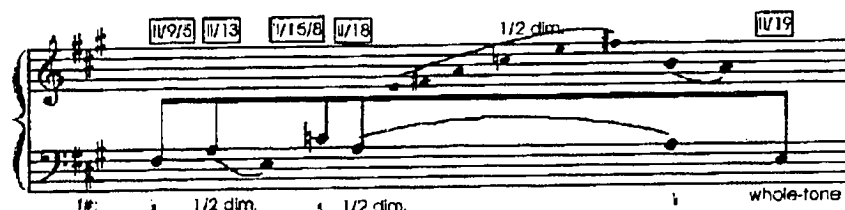


Example 4.22 - prolongation of the E - E whole-tone scale in Act III bell scene

The half-diminished chord **F# - A - C - E** is used fairly extensively in the foreground of the entire opera, but it is in the second act, during the menacing interrogation scene, that the chord is given fullest prominence. It is also in the second act that we now can discover expansions of this chord as a design determinant.

The first of these commences at II/9/5, the beginning of scene 2. As we have seen above, the **F#** presented here will eventually move to **E** at II/19, as part of a deeper expansion of cell -y. The route from F# to E that Puccini utilizes is an expansion of the half-diminished chord **F# - A - C - E**. The **F#** that begins the scene is heard anew at II/13 as part of the half-diminished chord, supported in the bass by an **A - E** ostinato. The presence of this bass gives some predominance to pitch class **A**.

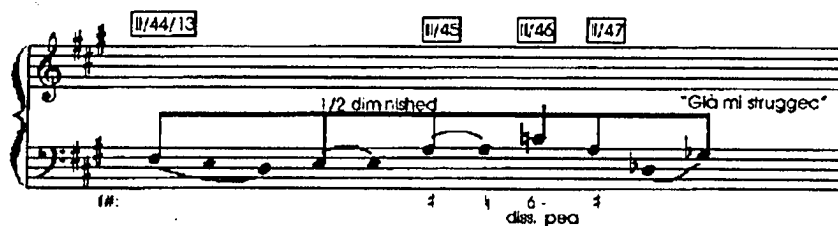
At II/15/8 (counting the orchestral, not the choral, measures), **C** major is reached and with it, pitch class **C**, the third element of our half-diminished chord. Pitch class **C** lasts until II/17 where the choir has a clear cadence on **C** major (without **G**); here, however, the dissonant half-diminished chord abruptly imposes itself in the orchestral part and the pure cadence is corrupted.²⁴ The final measures of the choral parts, from II/18, exhibit a small arpeggiation of the half-diminished chord and a cadence in **A** minor before the off-stage music is interrupted by Scarpia's closing of the window: at that moment, II/19, pitch class **E** is reached, which completes the expansion of the half-diminished chord. (Example 4.23)



Example 4.23 - expansion of half-diminished chord in cantata scene

Another expansion of the half-diminished chord occurs later in the act. As the second half of Act II begins at II/44/13, we hear the opening gesture reiterated and, with it, the pitch class **F#**. At II/44/19, pitch class **E** serves as the dominant of **A** major, which arrives at II/45. Already, we

have three of the four pitches necessary to outline our half-diminished chord. A major soon becomes A minor and, at 11/46, **C** (the final pitch class needed for the expansion) is established as a bass pedal. After a brief hint at A major again, and a foreground reiteration of our half-diminished chord (at 11/47/4), Scarpia's solo aria "Già mi struggea" begins in the key of **G \flat (F \sharp)**. Although we do not have here an orderly arpeggiation of the **F \sharp - A - C - E** chord, each element of the chord has served as a local tonal focal point. (Example 4.24)



Example 4.24 - arpeggiation of the half-diminished chord, 11/44/13 - 47/4

Structure

The motivically-derived *large-scale designs* that we have mapped out above do not show the full picture: they lie in the middleground, and, by themselves, make little tonal sense. Therefore, we must also determine the context in which these giant motives function, and if indeed there is an underlying tonal structure.

Let us now review the major expansions of Motive 1 and Motive 1 -T6 across all three acts. We note that the initial B \flat of the opera can be connected, through these enormous motivic expansions, to the final dominant . (Example 4.25) Thus, the pairing of Motive 1 and its tritone transposition Motive 1 - T6 functions as a large-scale **prolongation of B \flat** .

If *Tosca* is a tonal work, then we would expect its dominant to resolve to its tonic. We have indeed seen this resolution in the final moments of the opera, when the dominant B \flat , effectively prolonged from the beginning of the opera to the end, finally resolves to its tonic E \flat . It is logical to conclude then that the tonal context for this dominant was in place from (or even before) the opera's first note; the E \flat tonic is thus

implied at the outset even though no E \flat chord is sounded. To reach this conclusion, we have again used the process of **extrapolation**.

The musical score is divided into three sections: I., II., and III. Section I. (I/0 to 88) shows Motive 1 in the bass and Motive 1 T-6 in the treble. Section II. (II/3 to 41) shows Motive 1 in the bass and Motive 1 T-6 in the treble. Section III. (III/4 to 41) shows Motive 1 in the bass and Motive 1 T-6 in the treble. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines.

Example 4.25 - Motive 1 and Motive 1 - T \flat , Acts I - III

An interesting feature of *Tosca's* large-scale design is that Puccini has already produced it in microcosm within the confines of the first act (with B \flat major resolving to E \flat major, however, not E \flat minor). This distinctive characteristic is also in evidence in other Puccini operas (as we shall see in Chapter VI below); Greenwald notes, in a similar vein, that "Puccini's first acts seem to project in the microcosm the musical catalogue of an entire work."²⁵ This feature, however, should not be seen as something new to our discussion: it is yet another result of the composing-out and expansion of motivic material on greater and greater scales.

Bipartite forms

Tosca's score gives the impression of non-stop music, uninterrupted within each act; its foreground seems like a web of brief leitmotivic quotes, its middleground is controlled by expanded motives that cut across dramatic boundaries, and its background is partially buried. How can we best discover the work's *form*, given this complexity? Our first

axiom ("repetition of musical material can outline musical units...") seems to make matters worse: a section thus defined can vary wildly in length.

We have defined the OM-tool *form* as pertaining to the division of the musical organization into definite sections, and the relation of those sections to each other.²⁶ It would seem at first glance that the only clear formal divisions of the opera are the acts themselves. On closer inspection, however, we find that Puccini has chosen **bipartite forms** for the acts themselves and for most of the "detachable" pieces. Let us now examine these bifurcated constructions on both small and large scales.

In early 1900, close in time to the premiere of *Tosca*, several of the opera's "pezzi staccabili" were officially entered in Ricordi's libroni, which established the date their publishing process commenced. These single pieces included "Reconita armonia," "Perchè chiuso," the "Gavotta," "Vissi d'arte," "E lucevan le stelle," and "O dolci mani." Each of them has a bipartite form.²⁷

The **A** section of "Recondita armonia" begins at I/17/0 with a thirteen-bar introduction that is itself a two-part unit: the first phrase moves from a C dominant ninth chord, to V of C, to C, and is seven bars long. The second, answering phrase is slightly compressed (only six bars) and moves from the same C dominant ninth to F major (in first inversion). The voice enters at I/18/1, and we have two eight-bar phrases, separated by an extra bar, that finish in the F major tonic, and on the C major dominant. Then, at I/19, a shortened (five-bar) version of the introductory material is heard; this is the beginning of the **A'** section. Both eight-bar phrases are repeated, still separated by a single bar, but with the second phrase now ending in F major. A short coda is tacked on that consists of two short phrases (of two-bar and five-bar lengths) that confirm the local F major tonic.

Now let us look at "Perchè chiuso?" (*Tosca's* entrance music), which begins at I/25. In Ab major, the **A** section contains an eight-bar phrase in the tonic, followed by a short two-bar phrase in C minor and a two-and-a-half bar phrase that returns us to Ab major. Then, at I/26, the **A'** section commences with a repeat of the Ab major theme, this time extended to ten bars.

The Gavotte in *Tosca* (from II/3) is quite interesting to compare with the original version Puccini wrote as part of a student exercise. In the earlier gavotte, there are nothing but regular four-bar phrases. On the other hand, the newer one, in the **A** section, has much metrical reinterpretation: for example, phrase overlaps shorten the second and third phrases to three bars, instead of four. Perhaps these metrical distortions indicate that Puccini is presenting us with his "idea of a gavotte," not a real one. In any event, at II/3/10, the opening four-bar phrase is repeated (and with it the start of the **A'** section). This time, we have a total of three four-bar phrases, followed by a three-bar "overlapped" phrase, and a five-bar codetta (which overlaps with the next phrase's downbeat).

"Vissi d'arte" has a bipartite form that we might characterize as **AA'BB'**. The first phrase is seven bars long and moves from the tonic E_b minor to its dominant, B_b major (**A**). The second, answering phrase has a similar tonal motion, but is only six bars long (**A'**). At II/52, we move to an E_b major rendition of Motive 11 (which we saw earlier in "Perchè chiuso?"). As in the previous appearance, we get an eight-bar phrase; this time, however, it is followed by a four-bar one that moves from G minor to the dominant B_b major (**B**); this is followed by a reiteration of Motive 11 now extended to ten bars (**B'**).

The tragic tenor aria, "E lucevan le stelle," has so few changes from the first to the second halves of its bipartite form that it could be represented as **AA**. At III/11/0 one-bar introduction leads to a four-bar phrase establishing the B minor tonic. Here, Puccini has Cavaradossi pronounce his fragmented thought ("And the stars shone") on the last measure of the phrase and on a single pitch, illustrating the hero's defeated and depressed state of mind. The one-bar introduction is repeated, this time followed by a nine-bar group (six + one + two bars) whose construction is determined by the falling melodic line, G - F# - E - D - C# - B. The second half of the aria, from III/12/1, is almost identical with the first, except that the tenor now sings the main melody, and a short suffix is appended. The irregular phrase lengths in this piece, despite being set in an ordered, bifurcated arrangement, serve the illustrative purpose of expressing Cavaradossi's tortured state of mind.

The last "separable" piece we will examine here is the F major "O dolci mani." The **A** section begins, at III/19/3, with a three-note pickup to a four-bar phrase that moves from the dominant (C $\frac{4}{2}$) to the mediant (A minor). Another four-bar phrase repeats the opening statement and moves to a D minor $\frac{4}{2}$ that takes the place of the tonic. The two phrases together are similar to, but do not form, an antecedent-consequent pair. This is followed by a six-bar section prolonging C dominant ninth. At III/21/0, we get an F minor motivic interpolation, after which the **A'** section commences. This is, however, a very short A' section: only two bars long, Cavaradossi (and his aria) are interrupted by Tosca, whose thoughts have returned to practical matters.

We have observed here that Puccini employs, for most of his "pezzi staccabili," a bifurcated *form*, which clearly serves the musical organization. Nevertheless, whatever is contained within those halves has an enormously flexible phrase structure serving multiple illustrative functions. Now, let us examine how that same technique organizes larger spans of music.

Greenwald has noted that all of Puccini's first acts, the subjects of her dissertation, are bisected into dramatico-musical halves.²⁸ In *Tosca*, this is also true of the later acts. In Act III, the shortest and simplest of them, the opening triumphal fanfare music (semi-motive E) returns at III/29, creating a boundary between the first "amorous" part of the act and the execution scene. (This derived from Sardou's final act, which was divided similarly into first and second "tableaux.") Giulio Ricordi, who criticized the fragmented construction of the love duet here, had no knowledge at the time that the "Trionfal" would reiterate the act's opening gesture: he had not yet seen the manuscript of the third act prelude. Once the publisher saw the entire musical organization, however, his opinion changed for the better.²⁹

In Act II a similar event occurs. We hear Motive 16 return mid-way through the act, at II/44/10 (scene 5, "Salvatelo!"). Puccini uses this relatively calm theme as clearly recognizable musical punctuation. We believe that this musico-dramatic bipartite organization was in Puccini's thoughts early on, and was, in fact, the motive behind his insistence on an opening Act II monologue. In December 1895, one of *Tosca's* librettists, Giuseppe Giacosa, resisted the idea:

It seems to me that to finish the first act with a monologue and begin the second with a monologue, and both by the same character, is something a little monotonous. (...) You tell me that the piece is musically useful, and I cannot oppose you on this point. To me, scenically and psychologically, this monologue seems absurd. I will do it, but I decline all responsibility.³⁰

This monologue was "musically useful" to Puccini, no doubt, because it allowed the first statement of his form-defining theme.

Act I is slightly more complex. We have noted above the arrival of the Act's tonic (E \flat) at 1/50, which coincides with the re-entrance of the Sacristan. Greenwald also chooses this moment as the bifurcation point, noting that, after Cavaradossi and Angelotti exit here, the action focuses on other characters, namely Tosca and Scarpia.³¹ In Schenkerian terms, the appearance of E \flat major constitutes a musical interruption after the dominant and scale degree 2. Yet, if we are to see this moment as the E \flat major start of an **A'** section, then we must first have a preceding E \flat major **A** section. We would suggest that our implied tonic of E \flat (determined through the process of **extrapolation** described above) provides just such a device.

Conclusion

Puccini's "motivo di prima intenzione" functions in the opera as a basic itinerary through the *Tosca* terrain: a way to get from B \flat to B \flat . But that journey is not a direct one; inserted into the route are many detours, some serving illustrative purposes, and some providing sidetrips through secondary areas. Nevertheless, the ultimate tonal destination is always remains in sight.

Charles Rosen has written that as sonata style developed, its dominant section became considered a dissonant section, raising the dominant to a higher power.³² We propose that, in Puccini's *Tosca*, the *motive* has been raised to a higher power, and that the background structure exists at an even deeper level, one that is only implied.

The expanded motives we have seen are dissonant prolongations, and are, for the most part, unrelated to the drama: as an

example, consider the first prolongation of the dissonant (even "evil") bass notes of Motive 1, which determines the keys of the charming entrance of the heroine (I/25) and the passionate love duet (I/39). But in two instances (the final cadence of the opera, and the bipartite musico-dramatic divisions of each act) the musical structure and the dramatic structure do coincide. Thus, although the middleground *design* (and *consonance-dissonance polarity*) is an organizational OM-tool, on the deepest structural and formal levels, the OM- and IM-categories work as one.

Our exploration of *Tosca's* musical landscape is now complete. In Part III of this work, below, we shall investigate three of Puccini's other operas to determine whether the organizational tools we uncovered here are ones that the composer employed consistently.

Notes to Chapter IV

¹Although the specific terms of our discussion may be new, the concepts of expanded motives, concealed repetitions and dissonant prolongations certainly are not; examples in the literature have been found from Schubert to Schoenberg. The reader is referred to the following: James M. Baker, "Schenkerian Analysis and Post-Tonal Music" In *Aspects of Schenkerian Theory*, ed. David Beach (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 153-186; Roger Kamien, "Aspects of Motivic Elaboration in the Opening Movement of Haydn's Piano Sonata in C# Minor" In *Aspects of Schenkerian Theory*, ed. David Beach (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 77-93; Joel Lester, *A Theory of Atonal Prolongations as Used in an Analysis of the "Serenade" Op. 24 by Arnold Schoenberg*, Ph.D. diss., Princeton, 1970; David Lewin, *Generalized Musical Intervals and Transformations* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987); Robert P. Morgan, "Dissonant Prolongations: Theoretical and Compositional Precedents," *Journal of Music Theory* 20 (1976): 49-91; John Rothgeb, "Thematic Content: A Schenkerian View," In *Aspects of Schenkerian Theory*, ed. David Beach (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 39-60; Carl Schachter, "Rhythm and Linear Analysis: A Preliminary Study," *The Music Forum* 4 (1976): n.p.; Joseph Nathan Straus, *A Theory of Harmony and Voice Leading in the Music of Igor Stravinsky*, (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1991).

²As in earlier chapters, our definitions of the following terms (all part of the total musical organization) are derived from Salzer: "design" is the organization of themes, motives, rhythms, textures and other elements of the compositional surface (although *large-scale design* functions in the middleground), "structure" is essentially the Schenkerian voice-leading and harmonic structure, the *Ursatz*; "form" is the division of the musical organization into definite sections, and the relation of those sections to each other. (See Felix Salzer, *Structural Hearing*, (reprint ed., New York: Dover Publications, 1962), 220-254.)

³Cadwallader has extended the use of the term "design" to middleground and background levels. Allen Cadwallader, "Form and Tonal Process: The Design of Different Structural Levels," In *Trends in Schenkerian Research*, ed. Allen Cadwallader (New York: Schirmer, 1990), 1-21.

⁴Leibowitz makes a similar point about this motive. René Leibowitz, *Storia dell'opera*, Italian trans. Maria Galli de' Furlani (Milan: Garzanti, 1966), 362.

⁵Extended discussions of the nature and function of musical narrative (and "real" stage music) can be found in Carolyn Abbate, *Unsung voices* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Edward T. Cone, *The Composer's Voice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974) and "The World of Opera and its Inhabitants," in *Music: A View from Delft*, ed. Robert P. Morgan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 125-38.; Luca Zoppelli, "'Stage Music' in Early Nineteenth-Century Italian Opera," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 2 (1990): 33, 36n. Greenwald discusses Puccini's traditional and non-traditional uses of set pieces, "songs" (music the characters hear) and "arias" (music the audience, and the singers, hear) (Helen Greenwald, *Dramatic Exposition and Musical Structure in Puccini's Operas* (Ph.D. diss., The City University of New York, 1991), 134, 149-166).

⁶See section below on Bipartite forms.

⁷After 1/66, we can perceive a brief, disguised reiteration of the bass notes of Motive 1. A B \flat chord initiates an appearance of Motive 7 at 1/66/4, the opening of scene 9 (Tosca's second entrance). The first phrase of the motive is sequentially moved to D \flat

major with an A \flat pedal in the bass, and then to E major at 1/66/13. Although this sequence clearly follows a pattern of ascending minor thirds, it also incorporates a veiled reiteration of the motivic B \flat - A \flat - E. Another camouflaged reiteration occurs after 1/68 when the church bell ostinato begins, on the pitches B \flat - G - A \flat - F. The ostinato gives prominence to the upper pitches B \flat and A \flat in the foreground, and, in the middleground there is a motion from B \flat to A \flat as well: at 1/71, the ostinato pattern is abruptly stopped when an A \flat augmented chord (which includes E) appears, accompanying Tosca's jealous outburst. When the ostinato music begins again (at 1/75) the B \flat and A \flat are also reiterated, but the E which completes the expansion will not appear until the end of a chromatic interpolation, at 1/76/10. This final E, with the earlier ones heard at 1/56/6 and 1/66/2, form a prolongation of E at a deeper level.

⁸The move from C minor to B \flat major will be seen below to constitute the completion of a prolonged whole-tone scale, B \flat - B \flat , which exists at a level closer to the surface. Pitch class D exists at a deeper level because it appears both before and after the C and B \flat .

⁹Puccini discovered the precise pitch of the actual bell within a month of when he notated the autograph of Motive 1 (months before the rest of Act I was completed) from a letter sent by Don Pietro Panichelli in December 1897. (The autograph is dated January 1898.) We believe that it was this information that led to Puccini's choice of the pitch classes B \flat , A \flat and E for his opening motive.

¹⁰Because pitch class D is reasserted both before and after the C major - non-tonal section, it exists at a deeper level. If this were not so, it would be possible to read a whole-tone motion across the act from E - D - C to the final B \flat , instead of an expanded Motive 1 - T \flat . A similar situation occurs near the end of Act I as well (1/78-80), as discussed above.

¹¹Cell X is an ascending or descending stepwise fourth, cell +x is an ascending, stepwise fourth, and cell -x is a descending stepwise fourth.

¹²In Chapter II, we saw that Motive 2 is linked to the character Angelotti. As a surface leitmotiv, Motive 2 behaves in an illustrative manner. But at a deeper level, as an exponent of motivic cell -x, it behaves in an organizational manner.

¹³Either G - F - E - D or G - F - E \flat - D would constitute cell -x.

¹⁴At this point in the score, we can note how the musical surface can relate to its underlying design. Two appearances of semi-motive A (which outlines a whole-tone version of cell -x) at 1/23 and 1/24, are followed at 1/24/4 by a transposed version of Motive 5, the Sacristan's theme; in this transposition, the metrically accented notes of the Motive 5 fall on G - B \flat - F - E \flat - D, and subtly voice a variation of the original appearance of cell -x. The juxtaposition of these incarnations of cell -x demonstrates how the leitmotifs can perform illustrative and organizational functions simultaneously: the motives reflect the onstage drama, yet, because they are intervallically interrelated, they further musical continuity.

¹⁵Cell Y is an ascending or descending stepwise third, cell -y is a descending stepwise third, and cell +y is an ascending stepwise third.

¹⁶We note that, in the Gavotte itself, the first three and last three bass pitches are D - E - F# and F# - E - D. These prolong the D major of the interpolation and constitute examples of Y cells.

¹⁷The piece is in F minor despite its B \flat minor key signature.

¹⁸The nature of Puccini's transitions (smooth or abrupt, for example) are very much determined by illustrative considerations, as we saw in Chapter II.

¹⁹We have also included this E as part of a partial expansion of cell -x.

²⁰A cadential $\frac{6}{4}$ of A \flat minor is outlined in the arpeggiation E \flat - C \flat - A \flat - E \flat , but, at I/25, we hear A \flat major. The change of mode is for illustrative purposes.

²¹This is not an example of "associative tonality," however, because F# minor is not uniquely linked with Tosca's suffering (for example, at II/9/5, F# minor is heard as Spoletta tells Scarpia what happened on his search).

²²The D (at I/78), which we included as part of our whole-tone scale expansion, was also mentioned above as an element of an expanded Motive 1-T $\acute{6}$, and the B \flat major at I/79 was considered transitional. The decisive factor in making these determinations was the fact that D minor returns at I/80. If it had not, we would be able to connect the B \flat at I/79 to the structural dominant. The net result of that would be that the expansion of the whole-tone scale detailed here would take precedence over the expansion of Motive I - T $\acute{6}$.

²³The shifting harmonies here (B dominant seventh, G major, and B minor seventh) support, along with the A major that directly precedes the passage, the melodic line E - D# - D, an inversion of Motive 1's soprano line. When E is re-established in the melody, at III/4/8, we hear it as connected to the E that precedes the scene.

²⁴In addition to showing the stylistic differences between "our" music and "their" music, this jarring superimposition could be meant to illustrate the sharp contrast immanent in the dramatic situation: the cantata singers, offering praise, sing only in C major, but we the audience, who can perceive the irony of praising the goodness of the Church and simultaneously witnessing its horrific henchmen, hear the dissonance.

²⁵Greenwald, *Dramatic Exposition*, 322.

²⁶Salzer uses *form* to mean only the divisions of the Ursatz into sections, and the relation of those sections to each other. Our term applies to all levels of the musical organization.

²⁷The other "pezzi" were: "Già mi struggea," "Non la sospiri," the "Te Deum," "Ah! più non posso" and "Se la giurata fede" (a version of "Già mi struggea" that included some preliminary measures). It is hard to imagine publishing "Già mi struggea" and "Ah! più non posso" as single pieces without significant editing: they are not "closed" forms by any means. "Non la sospiri" has a rounded binary form, and the "Te Deum," built on recurring eight-bar groups of a two-note bass ostinato, is essentially a rondo form. Strangely not included in this list are three more examples of A A' forms: "L'alba vindice

appar," the Sacristan's music (scene 2, 1/6 - 13) and the pastoral section of the third act prelude (III/1 - 4).

²⁸Greenwald, *Dramatic Exposition*, xii, 191-210. Greenwald's divisions delineate shifts in tonalities, meters, textures, times of day, and dramatic action. She also notes the same bipartite pattern in two of the three one-act operas of *Il Trittico* (*Il Tabarro* and *Gianni Schicchi*) yet divides *Suor Angelica* into three parts. We feel, instead, that *Suor Angelica* is musically bipartite, as we will note in Chapter VI below.

²⁹Copialettere, Archivio Ricordi, 20 Oct. 1899. Letter from Ricordi to Puccini: "The whole beginning of this act, and the whole final part (even with the *Edgar* brushstroke that you finish in a delicious way) are magnificent!!" (See Appendix C.)

³⁰Eugenio Gara, ed. *Carteggi Pucciniani*, (Milan: Ricordi, 1958), 136.

³¹Greenwald, *Dramatic Exposition*, 192.

³²Charles Rosen, *Sonata Forms*, rev. ed. (New York: Norton, 1988), 244.

PART III
OM-tools in other Puccini operas

CHAPTER V

OM-tools I

Tosca is the fifth of Puccini's twelve operas: as such, it lies in the middle of both his entire corpus of works and his three popular favorites.¹ From the central vantage point that *Tosca* provides, we will now proceed to re-examine, in three of Puccini's other operas, those organizational compositional techniques (the OM tools) that were, except on the deepest levels,² independent of the opera's dramatic elements. This testing will hopefully reinforce the conclusions we drew from *Tosca*, and help us determine if these features are part of Puccini's overall creative process.

In this chapter, we will discuss motivic interrelatedness and homages to Wagner; then, in Chapter VI, we will trace expansions of motivic material and (as we did for *Tosca*) place them within implied tonal contexts. The operas we have chosen for these comparative studies are: *Manon Lescaut* (Puccini's first international success), *La fanciulla del West* (Puccini's first "mature" opera)³ and *Suor Angelica* (the second one-act opera of *Il Trittico*, Puccini's triple bill, which was his last complete work). Thus, having isolated in *Tosca* Puccini's musical "grammar" from the individual story he was recounting, we proceed to see if those same organizing rules apply to the musical language he employs in quite dissimilar tales; dramas as different from *Tosca* as eighteenth-century France, the California Gold Rush, and a seventeenth-century Italian convent are from Bourbon Rome.

Motivic Interrelatedness

Manon Lescaut

Perhaps it is fitting that *Manon Lescaut*, the heroine of Puccini's first opera to achieve lasting success, was of inconstant character. As

Manon could not choose between suitors, the opera itself seems torn between musico-dramatic styles. In this work, we find evidence of enormous advancement in Puccini's artistic development, yet equally present are several features of the composer's previous operas that he would soon learn to avoid: the libretto has an improbable plot, a less than sympathetic heroine and grossly incorrect "historical" details. Musically, the score retains remnants of Puccini's earlier style, such as the insertion of an orchestral intermezzo and other labeled set pieces. Yet we will be able to trace in this early opera the same sort of unifying processes at work in *Tosca*.

The process of creating *Manon Lescaut* was long and painful. No fewer than seven people were involved in writing the libretto: Leoncavallo,⁴ Praga,⁵ Oliva,⁶ Illica, Giacosa, Ricordi and Puccini himself. Nor did the revision process end with the premiere in 1893; years later Adami contributed a line of text and Toscanini adjusted the orchestration.⁷ The subject itself posed great difficulties: one has only to consider Manon's avarice, her cruel mocking of her elderly benefactor and her death in the desert of Louisiana to appreciate the libretto's liabilities as a rewarding subject. More important for our purposes here, however, is the growth of the composer who emerged from this stormy adventure with a hard-won self-confidence, and a maturing musical style of his own.

Let us begin our discussion of motivic interrelatedness in this opera by examining the prelude. These twenty-eight bars, played before the curtain rises, are the source of much of the opera's motivic material and large-scale design. The opening gesture (Example 5.0) is in A major and commences with the intervals of ascending and descending open, **perfect fourths**, E - A - E, which will prove to be quite significant to the large-scale design of the opera (see Chapter VI). Example 5.1 shows that the deeper organization of these opening bars is a descending fifth E - D - C# - B - A, returning through an arpeggio to the initial pitch class E.

Allegro brillante. *ma*

(1)

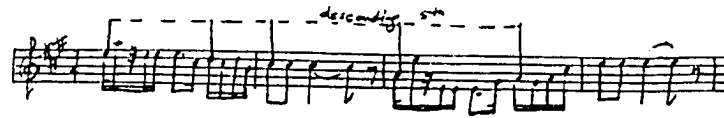
p legato

(2)

(im Vorhang geht auf.)

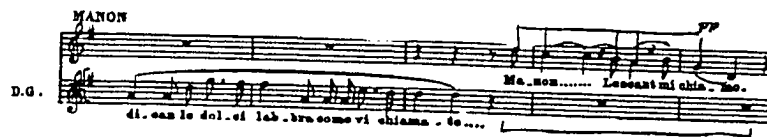
(Glocken, Harfen, Violen, Frauen und Mädchen, Soldaten etc. besetzen den Platz und gehen durch die Linien. Unter dabei in verschiedenen Gruppen) Manon erscheint in der Loggia, trinkend und spielend. Edmund, begleitet von anderen Bedienten, später Das Fräulein.)

Example 5.0 - prelude, *Manon Lescaut*
(Property of G. Ricordi & C, Milan. Used by permission)



Example 5.1 - graph of prelude, *Manon Lescaut*

This underlying descending stepwise fifth pattern will give rise to the most ubiquitous leitmotiv of the work, that representing Manon herself. When the heroine makes her appearance, at 1/22/14, we hear this theme for the first time: a **descending stepwise four-note theme** (it reaches the fifth pitch only three bars later) explicitly tied to Manon's four-syllable name at 1/27/7 (Example 5.2) and at 1/33/8.⁸ This motive is a precursor of the descending stepwise four-note theme (cell -x) we noted in *Tosca*. We hear this leitmotiv throughout the opera transformed for various illustrative reasons (Examples 5.3a-c), and eventually shortened to just two descending notes (Example 5.3d). As Manon becomes more familiar to us and her situation more tragic, the abbreviated theme, now standing for only her first name, becomes a lamenting appoggiatura-like figure.



Example 5.2 - 1/27/7, Manon's first words
(Property of G. Ricordi & C, Milan. Used by permission)



Example 5.3a - 1/41/3, Manon laughing
(Property of G. Ricordi & C, Milan. Used by permission)

Example 5.3b is a musical score for a scene where Manon is weakening. It features a vocal line (D.G.) and instrumental parts for Violin (Viol.), Violoncello (V.c.), and Viola (V.la). The score includes dynamic markings such as 'normal', 'rall.', and 'a tempo'. The vocal line has lyrics: 'non dimi amor mio! Ta'. The instrumental parts provide harmonic support with various dynamics like 'pp' and 'ppp'.

Example 5.3b - IV/4/11, Manon weakening
(Property of G. Ricordi & C, Milan. Used by permission)

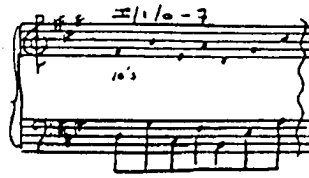
Example 5.3c is a musical score for a scene where Manon is dying. It features a vocal line (D.G.) and instrumental parts for Violoncello (V.c.). The score includes dynamic markings such as 'con spasimo' and 'con disperazione'. The vocal line has lyrics: 'D.G. sen.toi... Ahimè! No! Sen - za di te... per - duto... ti se - guirò!'. The instrumental parts provide harmonic support with various dynamics like 'pp' and 'ppp'.

Example 5.3c - IV/23/0, Manon dying
(Property of G. Ricordi & C, Milan. Used by permission)

Example 5.3d is a musical score for a scene where Manon dies. It features instrumental parts for Violoncello (V.c.), Violin (Viol.), Viola (V.la), and Contrabass (Cb.). The score includes dynamic markings such as 'pp', 'ff', and 'rall.'. The instrumental parts provide harmonic support with various dynamics like 'pp', 'ff', and 'ppp'.

Example 5.3d - IV/25/9, Manon dies
(Property of G. Ricordi & C, Milan. Used by permission)

The second section of the prelude, from I/1, begins with a sequence based on rising perfect fourths (or descending fifths). Similar sequences found throughout the piece and frequent plagal harmonic motions (Examples 5.4a and b) testify to the importance of the **open perfect fourth** in the musical organization. Examples 5.5a, b and c show perfect fourths employed on the musical foreground.



Example 5.4a - graph of sequence in prelude, I/1/0 - 7



Example 5.4b - sequence in Act II, II/23 - 30



Example 5.5a - *Manon Lescaut*, I/58/10
(Property of G. Ricordi & C. Milan. Used by permission)



Example 5.5b - *Manon Lescaut*, III/11/0
(Property of G. Ricordi & C. Milan. Used by permission)



Example 5.5c - *Manon Lescaut*, IV/9/18
(Property of G. Ricordi & C. Milan. Used by permission)

We can also note here that the opening four melodic pitch classes of the prelude are E - A - E - C#. ⁹ Retrograde versions of this four-note intervallic pattern (**ascending perfect fourth, descending perfect fourth, descending minor third**) can be found in the foreground in the following two examples:

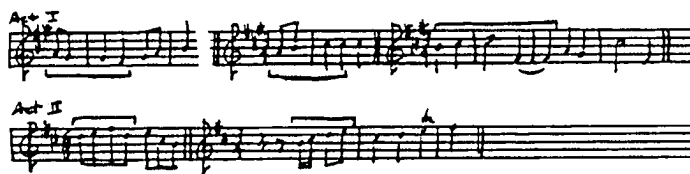


Example 5.6a - *Manon Lescaut*, I/15/0
(Property of G. Ricordi & C. Milan. Used by permission)



Example 5.6b - *Manon Lescaut*, II/9/3
(Property of G. Ricordi & C. Milan. Used by permission)

Puccini has also emphasized a particular rhythm in the prelude that we can trace through many of the surface motives: **two short - two long notes**. Below are several examples:



Example 5.7 - I/1/0, I/4/0, I/9/1, II/0/0, II/13/17

In this case, unlike *Tosca*, this rhythmic motive is not used illustratively (it is employed in quite diverse dramatic situations), and is, therefore, an OM-tool.

The interrelationship of motives that we find in *Manon Lescaut* is a unifying compositional technique that was, at the time, considered "symphonic." The interweaving and transforming of themes in this opera drew the attention of, among others, George Bernard Shaw, who remarked approvingly,

The first act (...) is also unmistakably symphonic in its treatment. There is genuine symphonic modification, development, and occasionally combination of the thematic material, all in a dramatic way, but also in a musically homogeneous way. (...) Puccini looks to me more like the heir of Verdi than any of his rivals.¹⁰

This "symphonism," also reflected in the through-composed nature of Puccini's new opera, springs, we would suggest, from the composer's in-depth study of Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* completed just before work on *Manon Lescaut* began (in 1889, Ricordi had asked him to make the cuts necessary for the Italian production of the Wagner work). Thus, for Puccini, *Manon Lescaut* represents the blossoming of his own artistic assertiveness, his first international success, and the beginnings of a creative strategy that would carry him through many works to come.

La fanciulla del West

In Puccini's Gold Rush opera, *La fanciulla del West*, we can unearth a hidden connection in the composer's multifaceted treatment of motives similar to those we revealed in *Tosca* and *Manon Lescaut*. But to a far greater extent than in these earlier operas, we find that these themes are easily extracted from a single source, the opening motive. Here, one need not dig very deeply to see that Puccini's "motivo di prima intenzione"¹¹ is very close indeed to Reti's "prime thought"¹² and Schoenberg's "basic motive" or "Grundgestalt."¹³

The prelude of *La fanciulla del West* (Example 5.8) opens with a sweeping fortissimo arpeggio comprised of the augmented triad C - E - G# over a Bb bass. Two of the three primary motivic cells we will be examining in this opera are intervallic subsets of this combination: we see here the **major second** (evidenced by Bb - C, or G#(Ab) - Bb) and the open **major third** (C - E, E - G#, or G#(Ab) - C). Our third motivic cell is derived from a combination of these two: an ascending leap of a major third followed by two descending whole steps: we hear this pattern in the first four melodic pitch classes that follow the initial sonority, **C - E - D - C**. The reader may recognize this last pattern as the inversion of the Y' figure we noted in *Tosca*.¹⁴



Example 5.8 - opening of *La fanciulla del West*
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Let us explore briefly how these motivic cells can be found in some of the foreground leitmotifs of *La fanciulla*. Some of the "local color" Puccini borrows is congruent with this primary motivic material: he includes, for example, the refrain from Stephen Foster's "Camptown Races" ("doo-dah"), which, in the original, is set to a descending major second. With some irony, the refrain is quoted in inversion, as an ascending major second. Below are several other examples of *La fanciulla* foreground material based on the **major second**. (Examples 5.9a - d) Examples 5.10 a - c and 5.11a - c show material derived¹⁵ from the other two primary motivic cells, the **major third** and the **major third + two major seconds**, respectively. Note that several of these involve the pitch classes D and C; this combination is also presented vertically at the end of Act I. (See Example 5.10a.)

Nick
Joe
Hel-lo!
Hel-lo! (singing and dancing across the stage)
Handsome.
"Doo - da,
"Doo - da,
Happy.
"Doo - da,
"Doo - da,
Sid.
Hel-lo!
Hel-lo!
[6] Hel-lo!
Hel-lo!
sensibile

Example 5.9a - *La fanciulla del West*, 1/6/0, "Doodah"
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Chorus behind the Scenes.
Tenors. Moderato. $\text{♩} = 60$.
(far off) (one twice shouting) (far off—a low)
Hel-lo!
Hel-lo!
To the "Polka"
di-la "Polka"
Baritone. (far off) (some shouting) (far off—others)
Hel-lo!
Hel-lo!
To the "Palmato"
di-la "Palma"
[2] Moderato. $\text{♩} = 60$.

Example 5.9b - *La fanciulla del West*, 1/2/0, major seconds
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Nick. *Allegro Moderato ma gaio. 3/4* (some of the men go gaily off to the dancing-hall)

fel-lows, if you want to dance!
- gazzi, vi si vuol bal-lar!

Allegro Moderato ma gaio. 3/4

Minnie.

- va - nas! The can - dle!
- va - na? La can - de - la!

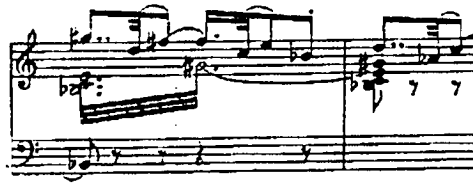
Examples 5.9c and d - *La fanciulla del West*, I/17/5, II/24/2, major seconds

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Andante molto sostenuto $\text{♩} = 60$

Example 5.10a - *La fanciulla del West*, Act I finale, thirds, vertical ninth
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Example 5.10b - *La fanciulla del West*, 1/4/0, thirds
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Example 5.10c - *La fanciulla del West*, 11/0/5, major thirds, whole-tone
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Example 5.11a - *La fanciulla del West*, 1/21/9, inverted Y' figure
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Example 5.11b - *La fanciulla del West*, 1/31/7, retrograde inversion of Y' figure
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Example 5.11c - *La fanciulla del West*, 1/99/6, retrograde inversion of Y',
inversion of C-E-D-C
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Thus we have seen that, although the operatic tale Puccini is telling is quite different from those of *Tosca* and *Manon Lescaut*, he continues to utilize at least one facet of his earlier musical grammar to relate that new story: motivic interrelationship.

Suor Angelica

Suor Angelica, the middle member of Puccini's operatic triptych, // *Trittico*, is a delicate miniature exhibiting in microcosm several of the organizing musical techniques we saw in *Tosca*. Here as well, the surface motivic material springs from the opening motive: off-stage bells that commence with the pitches F - D - E - C.

There are two basic motivic contours to which the opening prelude of *Suor Angelica* gives rise. The most obvious intervallic shape suggested by pitch classes F - D - E - C is a pair of **falling thirds**; the second is the **double neighbor** figure (F - D - E) formed by the first three notes only. (The double neighbor contour can be even more directly linked to the first four notes of the second measure of the prelude, F - E - D - E.)¹⁶ From these two primary shapes, Puccini has created the motives, semi-motives and motivic "cells" for *Suor Angelica*. In addition, he has enhanced the unifying effect of this procedure by setting many of these melodically-related bits to a shared **dotted rhythm** (here, as in *Manon Lescaut*, the M-tool rhythm is used for unifying, OM purposes). In the section below we will examine these basic patterns and the surface material born of them.¹⁷

Two of the most striking motivic derivatives of the **falling third** pattern appear at the central dramatic climax of the opera, the confrontation between Angelica and her aunt. The first of these reflects the ominous shift in mood by presenting the motivic shape in *minor mode* and in *retrograde*:



Example 5.12 - *Suor Angelica*, 42/0¹⁸

The second is Angelica's solo aria "Senza mamma" whose opening gesture is clearly an elaborated version of the **falling third** pattern.

SUOR ANGELICA (sempre in ginocchio, con voce desolata)

And.te desolato molto sostenuto Dying thus without a mother's
Senza mamma, o bim-bo, tu sei

Example 5.13 - *Suor Angelica*, 60/0
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The same pattern can also be seen in the 'countermelody' theme, which is first heard at 10/5:

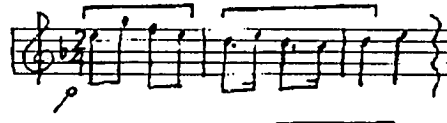
Example 5.14 - *Suor Angelica*, 10/5

A close relation of the falling third pattern is one formed by a leap of a major third followed by a stepwise descent. This is the inverted Y' pattern we noted in *Tosca* and in *La fanciulla del West*; this figure appears to be one that Puccini employed frequently. Here are several examples of surface material based upon that shape:

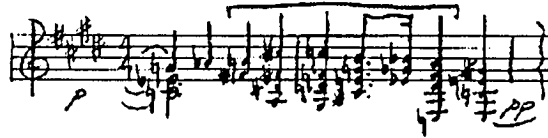
Example 5.15a - *Suor Angelica*, 25/0

Example 5.15b - *Suor Angelica*, 26/6, 26/8

Example 5.15c - *Suor Angelica*, 36/1



Example 5.15d - *Suor Angelica*, 39/1



Example 5.15e - *Suor Angelica*, 43/9

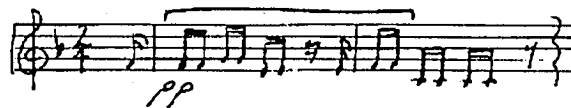


Example 5.15f - *Suor Angelica*, 53/2

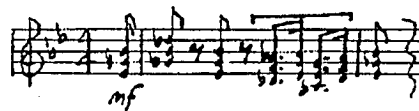


Example 5.15g - *Suor Angelica*, 56/5

Turning now to the second of our primordial motivic shapes, we will examine some surface material based upon the **double neighbor** pattern (some of these also contain other primary cells):



Example 5.16a - *Suor Angelica*, 4/5



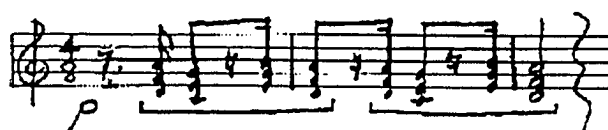
Example 5.16b - *Suor Angelica*, 6/8



Example 5.16c - *Suor Angelica*, 6/12



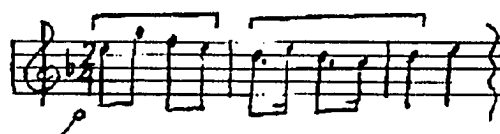
Example 5.16d - *Suor Angelica*, 14/0



Example 5.16e - *Suor Angelica*, 25/7



Example 5.16f - *Suor Angelica*, 26/6



Example 5.16g - *Suor Angelica*, 39/1-2



Example 5.16h - *Suor Angelica*, 40/0



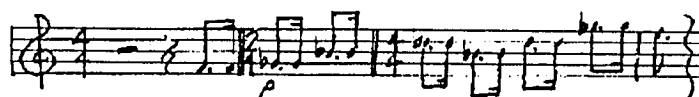
Example 5.16i - *Suor Angelica*, 64/0

We can observe further that notes 2 - 5 and 7 - 10 of this last example also constitute examples of the Y' pattern.

The **dotted rhythm** that Puccini uses in much of the musical surface of *Suor Angelica* is already in evidence in some of the above examples. Additionally, it appears in the "death" motive and in several unrepeated passages:



Example 5.17a- "Death" motive, *Suor Angelica*, 17/0



Example 5.17b - *Suor Angelica*, 15/1



Example 5.17c - *Suor Angelica*, 8/1



Example 5.17d - *Suor Angelica*, 50/3

The interval of a **perfect fourth**, the melodic span of the first four notes of the prelude, could also be a source for some surface material. Several of the examples above contain perfect fourths and the last two examples above also employ that interval as a structural element. Both of these themes are, in fact, constructed upon the pitch classes C# - F# - B - C#. The first appears in the score at 8/1, in the context of A major, at the tranquil moment when the nuns scatter about the cloister after prayer. The second, which appears at 50/3, coincides with a textual reference to the being set free during prayer. Here, the Princess Aunt describes what frequently occurs when she prays in the family oratorio:

Nel silenzio di quei raccoglimenti,
il mio spirito par che s'allontani
e s'incontri con quel di vostra madre
in colloqui eterei, arcani!

(In the silence of those meditations,
my spirit seems to fly
and meet with that of your mother
in ethereal and mysterious conversations!)

The last three notes of the second theme, transposed, are echoed twice in the score, as Angelica herself prays after the encounter with her aunt, and just before "Senza mamma." Perhaps the two similar themes function in tandem as a leitmotivic representation of "prayer."

* * * * *

In our brief overview of the motivic interrelationships in *Manon Lescaut*, *La fanciulla del West* and *Suor Angelica*, we have observed that the foreground motivic material was in each case (as it was for *Tosca*) derived from a small number of primary motivic cells. Now, perhaps, we are in a position to decide whether or not the reiteration of these cells represents a coherent creative effort to provide musical unity or, as Parker suggests it might be, "the casual repetition of a personal cliché."¹⁹

In the operas we have studied, four cells have been common to more than one work: the perfect fourth was present in *Manon Lescaut* and *Suor Angelica*; the major second was found in *Manon* and *La fanciulla del West*, the descending stepwise fourth was identified in *Manon* and *Tosca*; and the Y' cell (a descending major third, followed by two rising major seconds), or its inversion, was in evidence in *Tosca*, *La fanciulla* and *Suor Angelica*. Although this listing does show some overlap, it does not represent the entire picture: indeed, Puccini never selected the same collection of motivic cells for any two operas, and his extensive development of each of the cells he did choose seems to belie Parker's adjective "casual." Further, we must take into account that there exists only a limited pool of such basic intervallic formations from

which the composer could have drawn. Therefore, we feel the evidence examined here confirms our assertion that motivic interrelationship was, for this composer, an organizational tool that he used consistently.

Homages to Wagner

We have suggested above, in Chapter III, that the themes for *Tosca* contain quotations from, and were highly influenced by, Wagner's opera *Parsifal*. Each of the operas we are studying in this part of the dissertation shows a similar Wagnerian reference, which, we believe, are signs of the admiration Puccini felt for the elder composer. Further, we have already noted (in Chapter II) the Wagner quotations that Puccini includes in both his first opera, *Le Villi*, and his last, *Turandot*. It would seem, then, that these homages were far from isolated events. Let us now turn to the three operas under discussion and identify these "oltralpina"²⁰ borrowings.

In *Manon Lescaut*, Puccini's homage to Wagner is at once more pervasive and less obvious than in some of his other operas. Wagnerian-type leitmotifs and a continuous musical surface are, as we have seen, very much in effect. Further, the surface of *Manon Lescaut* is a torrent of relatively short musical ideas, some built on simple structures like arpeggios or scales, and some highly chromatic, resembling any number of the German composer's passages.

Nevertheless, we can identify a direct Wagner quotation, in the first act of *Manon* at I/27/18-19, in the form of the descending seventh and rising scale combination that accompany Des Grieux's infatuated overtures to Manon. (Example 5.18a) A varied form appears in the final act of the opera as well, at IV/2/17. (Example 5.18b) This passage bears more than a passing resemblance to one from the final measures of *Götterdämmerung* that von Wolzogen labels "Salvation of Love."²¹ (Example 5.18c)



Example 5.18a - *Manon Lescaut*, I/27/18-19
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Example 5.18b - *Manon Lescaut*, IV/2/17
(Property of G. Ricordi & C., Milan. Used by permission.)



Example 5.18c - *Götterdämmerung*, finale²²

It is also conceivable that Puccini drew parallels from the dramatic contexts for Wagner's themes (if not the von Wolzogen labels themselves) to those of his own music. A confluence of dramatic and musical material exists between Manon's aria "Sola, perduta, abbandonata" ("Alone, lost, abandoned") and a theme from *Tristan und Isolde* that von Wolzogen labels "Theme of solitude."²³ (Example 5.19a-b) Both examples illustrate loneliness, are in F minor, and contain dirge-like alternations of B \flat -minor and F-minor triads. Puccini also uses a variation of this Wagnerian melody at the end of the third act "Roll-call scene" at III/22/0 as Manon is about to be deported. (Example 5.19c)

In *Fanciulla's* second act, we hear the incipit of the prelude from *Tristan*, harmonized by E \flat minor and A minor²⁵. (Examples 5.20a and b).



Example 5.20a - *La fanciulla del West*, II/60/0
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Example 5.20b - *Tristan und Isolde*, prelude
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The chromaticism of the theme is used, in part, to illustrate Johnson's physical pain as well as Minnie's tortured love. This transplanted motive will find its resolution in the next act as the characters journey beyond their travails to a redemptive happy ending.²⁶

Suor Angelica



Example 5.21a- *Suor Angelica*, 43/9
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Example 5.21b- *Suor Angelica*, 53/2
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The examples above show two leitmotifs from *Suor Angelica*, one a variation of the other. Both, in fact, are derived from a leitmotiv in Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* that has been given the label "Sorge" ("grief").²⁷



Example 5.22 - *Die Meistersinger*

Here again we can see a congruence between the illustrative context of Wagner's themes and those of Puccini. At the moments when these themes appear, grief (or at least, great sadness) is very much apparent in the drama. The first appears at 43/9 and 58/0, at the entrance and exit of the Zia Principessa, a bitter and mournful woman bearing tragic news for Angelica. The second theme is heard at 53/2, when Angelica asks agitatedly about her son (Puccini marks it "agitato"), whom she misses terribly; at 58/9, after she has heard the news that he is dead (marked "lamentoso"); and at 78/3, when she realizes she is damned (and thus will never get to rejoin her son in Heaven).

All the instances we have noted here of Puccini's Wagnerian borrowings, together with the religious implications of his *Parsifal* quotations in *Tosca*, reveal not just a musical connection, but a dramatic one as well. We can deduce therefore that Puccini understood and admired the German composer's works, and that his are not casual citations, but homages that demonstrate an awareness of both the dramatic and emotional content of Wagner's musical references and of the musical language that expresses them.

Notes to Chapter V

¹The other two, also products of the Illica-Giacosa-Puccini team, are *La bohème* and *Madama Butterfly*.

²We noted in Chapter II that Motive 1 could represent "evil"; if so, the pairing of that motive with its tritone transposition to form a prolongation of the dominant (a feature of the organizational large-scale design) could similarly represent a "divine order" in which evil ultimately is subsumed. Further, in Chapter IV, we noted that at the most basic level, the dramatic structure of *Tosca* coincides with the opera's structure and large formal plan.

³As early as February 1905, Puccini wrote to Ricordi that he wanted his next opera (after *Madama Butterfly*) to be more modern: "ho avuto tanta smania di andare avanti. Ma avanti, non indietro! Con un lavoro modernamente costruito e sentito." ("I longed very much to go ahead. But ahead, not back! With a work that was constructed and felt in a modern way.") (Riccardo Cecchini, ed. *Lettere Pucciniane* (Florence: n.p., 1988), 584.)

⁴Ruggero Leoncavallo (Naples 1857 - Montecatini Terme, Pistoia, 1919), composer and librettist best known today for his *I pagliacci* (1892) and his *La bohème* (1897); among his other works were *I Medici* (1893, the first part of a planned trilogy about the Italian Renaissance) and *Zazà* (1900). He worked on a libretto sketch for *Manon Lescaut* for a few months in 1889, that is, before his own compositional success with *I pagliacci*. Soon after, both Puccini (who was working on *Manon Lescaut*) and Leoncavallo were residing in the Swiss village of Vacallo, only a short distance from each other.

⁵Emilio Praga (Gorla, Milan 1839 - Milan 1875), one of the Milanese "scapigliatura," writer and librettist (*I profughi fiamminghi*, 1863 for Franco Faccio, and *I promessi sposi*, 1872, for Amilcare Ponchielli).

⁶Domenico Oliva (1860-1917), writer, journalist, poet, critic, lawyer and politician. (Simonetta Puccini and William Weaver, eds. *The Puccini Companion* (New York: Norton, 1994), 377.)

⁷William Ashbrook, *The Operas of Puccini*, 2nd ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 32.

⁸The realities of performance can even threaten so simple a device as this: In German translation, Manon sings this theme with the words, "Man ruft mich Manon Lescaut" which obliterates the intended effect.

⁹Apparently a simple arpeggiation of the A-major triad, the motion to C# is far from inconsequential. Pitch class C#, which is emphasized later in the prelude at 1/2/1 in a deceptive cadence, shall prove to be the dominant of the opera's implied F# minor tonic. In fact, these four pitch classes will be shown to be vital to the opera's tonal background structure. (See Chapter VI.)

¹⁰George Bernard Shaw, *Music in London (1890-94)* (London: n.p., 1950), III, 217-24. Quoted in William Ashbrook, *The Operas of Puccini* 2nd ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 36 and 46. "Symphonic," at the turn of the century, was a term sometimes used to refer to the manipulation of thematic material in a contrapuntal manner. (See Richard Strauss' 1904 introduction to Berlioz' *Treatise on Instrumentation*)

¹¹Mosco Carner, *Puccini: a Critical Biography*, 2nd ed (1974, reprint, New York: Holmes and Meier, 1988), 286.

¹²Rudolph Reti, *The Thematic Process in Music* (1951; reprint, New York: Macmillan, 1978), 37.

¹³Arnold Schoenberg, *Fundamentals of Musical Composition*, ed. Gerald Strang and Leonard Stein (London: Faber and Faber, 1967), 8. Also, Patricia Carpenter, "Grundgestalt as Tonal Function." *Music Theory Spectrum* 5 (Spring 1983): 15-38.

¹⁴See Chapter III. The Y' pattern will also be discernable in *Suor Angelica*.

¹⁵In several of these examples, Puccini has chromatically inflected the basic interval to form minor not major thirds.

¹⁶Although the second pitch class of this pattern, E, is first presented as a passing tone, Puccini uses the entire surface shape as a source for the primary motivic material. When this material is developed, the passing E can be transformed into a primary note in a double-neighbor figure. It is precisely this possibility for multiple musical meanings that lends the interrelationship of motives its creative attraction.

¹⁷The harmonic conflict between F major and A minor in this opera (which can be reduced to a half-step motion from E to F, over A and C) is also reflected in the foreground use of the interval classes minor second and minor ninth. The two other operas of *Il Trittico* also share this extensive use of the second-ninth: *Il Tabarro* opens with a G - A major ninth that resolves at the end of the opera to G, and *Gianni Schicchi* begins with an F - G-major ninth that ultimately resolves to F#.

¹⁸Because of the opera's one-act length, this indicates only the rehearsal number, and measures after the rehearsal number.

¹⁹Roger Parker, "Analysis: Act I in perspective" in *Giacomo Puccini: Tosca*, ed. Mosco Carner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 142.

²⁰The term, meaning "from across the Alps," was used by Puccini in an auto-description that we quoted earlier (in Chapter II).

²¹Wolzogen, Hans von. *Guide through the Music of Rich. Wagner's "The Ring of the Nibelung."* Trans. by Ernst von Wolzogen. 3rd Edition. Boston: Arthur P. Schmidt, n.d.: 78-79. Jürgen Maehder suggested this connection in his article, "Manon Lescaut e la genesi delle strutture drammatico-musicali nel primo Puccini," Teatro alla Scala, program notes. Milan: Teatro alla Scala, 1992. Additionally, Warren J. Darcy points out that Wagner referred to this theme as "the glorification of Brünnhilde" and connects it with Brünnhilde's personal motive, in "The Metaphysics of Annihilation: Wagner, Schopenhauer, and the Ending of the Ring," *Music Theory Spectrum* 16/1 (Spring 1994): 8.

²²von Wolzogen, *The Ring*, 78.

²³Hans von Wolzogen, *Tristan et Iseult: Guide sur la Légende, le Poème et la Musique*. Paris: Fischbacher, 1894: 72.

²⁴Interview with Puccini, *Gazzetta di Torino*, 11 November 1911. Quoted in Michele Girardi, "Il finale de 'La Fanciulla del West' e alcuni problemi di codice," *Opera & Libretto II* (Florence: Olschki, 1993), 435. (See Chapter VI.)

²⁵The E \flat and A in the bass will figure prominently in the opening of Act III, and in the opera's *large-scale design*. See Chapter VI.

²⁶It is interesting to note that the first time this theme appears in *Fanciulla*, at II/60/0, Puccini does the opposite of "normal" word-painting procedures: the words "su, su, su" ("up, up, up") are set to the descending chromatic line G \flat - F - F \flat , as Minnie helps the wounded Johnson climb the ladder to her loft. Perhaps here Puccini is ironically foreshadowing the ultimate descent of Johnson at the sheriff's insistence (II/68/0).

²⁷ Richard Wagner, *Die Meistersinger*, ed. R. Kleinmichel and W. Altmann (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, n.d.), motive table.

CHAPTER VI

OM-TOOLS II

In this final chapter, we shall take a bird's eye view of Puccini's musical terrain. In Chapter IV, we plotted out the *large-scale design and structure* of *Tosca* by following the (sometimes obscured) trails of expanded motivically-derived pitch classes. Here, we shall do the same, but with a grander sweep (and the accompanying lack of minute detail) covering three of Puccini's other operas. It is only from this high vantage point that the true nature of Puccini's giant, far-reaching constructs come clearly in sight. At the end of our overview, perhaps we shall be able to delineate consistent features of Puccini's creative technique, and chart a course that will not only confirm our conclusions for *Tosca*, but guide us in understanding his entire corpus of works.

Manon Lescaut

We have seen in the previous chapter that the opening motive of *Manon Lescaut* (**E - A - E - C#**) and the interval classes formed thereof constitute primary motivic material from which many of the surface motives are developed. This compositional technique (present also in *Tosca*) fits neatly with the concepts of "Grundgestalt" (Schoenberg) and "prime thought" (Reti). In one chapter of his book on the subject,¹ Reti takes his theory a step further with a discussion of motivic relationships in the determination of keys; he refers to this connection as "thematic key relations." Reti writes, "the thematic force frequently becomes an important factor in determining the keys of a work's movements."² In *Manon Lescaut*, this is exactly what occurs. The endpoints of the opera's acts, the most explicit markers of musical punctuation, show an expansion of the opening three pitch classes.

Act I	E major
Act II	A minor
Act III	E major

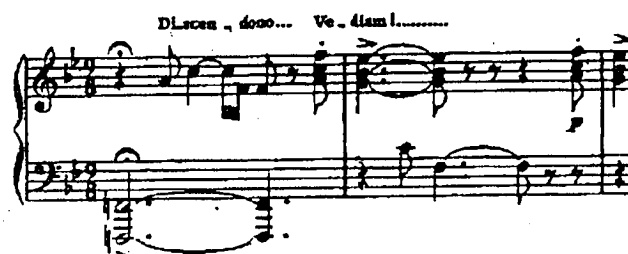
If we now combine this pattern with the structural dominant (**C#**) of the last act, the entire opening motive of the opera (**E - A - E - C#**) comes into view. While this is a very pared-down accounting of the harmonic motion of the opera, such large-scale tactics, which are present in even more obvious ways in later Puccini works (as we shall see below), should not be summarily dismissed. Below is a graph of the opera's background structure that shows this expansion. (Example 6.0)



Example 6.0 - background graph of *Manon Lescaut*

If one were to reduce the tonal motion of the opera even further, the result would be a transition from the opening **A major** tonality (III) through the dominant to the **F# minor** final one (I). In essence, this is a 5-6 motion (**E - F#**) over A. As we have seen in Chapter V, the alternation of pitch classes F# and E is often present on the surface as well; one example is the shortened theme of the heroine herself (and the opera's namesake) that opens and closes the final act. Further, the shift from a cheerful A major mode to a tragic F minor one could symbolize the negative turn in Manon's fortunes. Thus, as we saw with *Tosca*, the OM and IM categories can work in tandem at the deepest levels. Now let us trace this motion through more limited sections of the music and include in our inquiry the role of F natural, the intermediary step between the two pitch classes.

A striking feature of the first two acts of this opera is that they are each bisected at dramatic turning points by naked appearances of the pitch class **F** natural (another example of Puccini's bipartite, large-scale form). In Act I this occurs at I/22/13 as the coach carrying Manon, Geronte and Lescaut arrives onstage. In Act II, at II/25/0, a repeated **F** natural sounds in the bass as Des Grieux enters; at that moment, all the historic "local color" (the minuet, the motet, the toilette scene) ends and the passionate confrontation between Manon and her lover commences. Let us now examine how these **F** naturals fit into larger expansions of the **E - F - F# / F# - F - E** patterns. (Examples 6.1a and b)



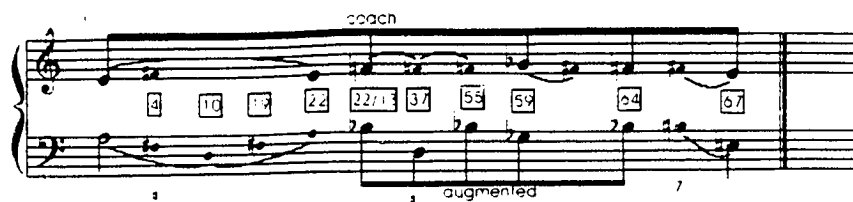
Example 6.1a - **F** natural, I/22/3, *Manon Lescaut*
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Example 6.1b - **F** natural, II/25/0, *Manon Lescaut*
(Property of G. Ricordi & C, Milan. Used by permission)

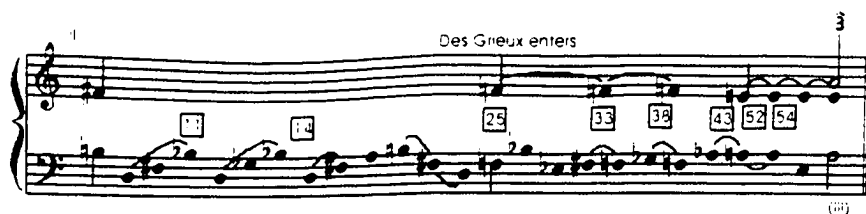
Act I begins in **A** major supporting the strongly emphasized melodic pitch class **E**. An arpeggiation of a **D** major triad is composed out as **A** major gives way to **F#** minor at I/4 and then to **D** major at I/10/5. After the interpolated solo aria "Tra voi belle" (whose original key was **F#** major) **D** major returns at I/18. During this arpeggiation, **F#** is supported when we return to **F#** minor at I/19; at I/22 **A** major again appears, reiterating pitch class **E**. The **E** noted above has moved, during this section, to its neighbor **F#** and returned. Thus, at a deeper level, **A** major, with **E** as its principal melodic tone, is effectively prolonged from the

opening until I/22/12. With the arrival of the coach, **F** natural appears, in the context of **B \flat** major, as we have seen. **F** natural remains present through the tenor aria "Donna non vidi mai" at I/33 in **B \flat** major, through the D minor section at I/37 and through the love duet at I/55 that is also in **B \flat** major. **F \sharp** makes its appearance at first in the guise of **G \flat** at I/59/1; after a strong cadence in **G \flat** major at I/61/8 when Manon and Des Grieux flee the scene, the soprano **G \flat** literally turns into **F \sharp** . After a brief motion to **F** natural at the next stable area in **B \flat** minor (I/64/6) and reaffirmation at I/65/8 atop an E ninth chord, **F \sharp** returns as part of the B dominant seventh (2) to E major, the act's final tonality. At this structural cadence (I/67/9) **E** is reasserted as the main melodic pitch (1) and the act ends. (Example 6.2)



Example 6.2 - graph of Act I, *Manon Lescaut*

In Act II, the opening B minor sonority supports **F \sharp** in the soprano. The *design* of the first section of this act will be discussed below (in the section on equal division of the octave) since it is in large part a composing-out of the augmented triad **B \flat** - D - **F \sharp** . Mostly, this design supports **F \sharp** until, as we have noted above, the dramatic entrance of Des Grieux at II/25/1 where **F** natural takes over. **F** is re-emphasized during the love duet that commences at II/33 in F major and, by a quite circuitous route, also finishes in F major at II/38 with the entrance of Geronte. At II/43 Des Grieux laments Manon's hesitation with an aria in A minor, the tonic of the act, and **E** appears above. **E**, supported by A minor, is reinforced at II/44, II/52 and II/54/4, despite the chaotic chromatic activity of the escape scene; in this last moment of desperation, Des Grieux's lament emphasizes the **F** natural - **E** connection. (Examples 6.3 a and b)



Example 6.3a - expansion of F# - F - E in Act II, *Manon Lescaut*



Example 6.3b - *Manon Lescaut*, II/54/4
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The melodic motion **F# - F - E - E# - F#** is also re-stated in the coda of the opera. At IV/22/2, the final tonic of **F#** minor has been reached, with the dynamic marking "ff tutta forza." In the ensuing passage depicting Manon's death, **F#** remains almost constantly heard in the bass. After a deceptive cadence on **G** major and a chromatic passage, another in **D** major follows, supporting **F#** in the soprano and sustained by a fermata. That **F#** moves to **F** natural at IV/25 supported by **D** minor, and then to **E** supported by an **A** major triad over a **D** pedal. The **E** becomes **E#** at IV/25/5 (part of an augmented, then whole-tone complex, **A - C# - E# - G**) that resolves to **F#** minor as Manon dies. (Example 6.4)



Example 6.4 - coda of *Manon Lescaut*, IV/22 to end

Let us now look briefly at the equal division of the octave and whole-tone elements in the score of *Manon*. The augmented triad **Bb - D - F# (Gb)**, an equal division of the octave and a derivative of the whole-tone scale, is a staple of Puccini's harmonic repertoire; we have seen this chord in the final moments of *Tosca* as the heroine cries out her final words, "O Scarpia, avanti a Dio!" and we have seen whole-tone elements pervade *Tosca's* score on all levels. We shall also note the

augmented triad as a major organizing force of the *large-scale design* of *La fanciulla del West*. Further, in this last opera, the coda contains a whole-tone - to - diatonic resolution similar to the one we have just observed in *Manon*.

Turning first to the end of Act I, from I/55 to I/65, we observe that the love duet, marked "Andante amoroso," begins at I/55 in **Bb** major. Its close is interrupted by the entrance of Lescaut at I/57/4 accompanied by a patch of unstable chromatic music leading to a $\text{Db } \frac{4}{2}$ chord at I/58/10. This dominant seventh leads naturally to the next stable tonal area, **Gb** major (I/59/1 to I/61/11), the second leg of the augmented triad. Then follows a lengthy chromatic rise in the bass from E to **D** natural (at I/63/8), the third leg of the pattern, which leads into a chromatic passage, and finally to **Bb** minor (I/64/6), completing the equal division of the octave. (Example 6.5)



Example 6.5 - expansion of augmented triad, Act I, *Manon Lescaut*

In Act II, we can see the organizational use of this augmented triad most clearly in the structure of the Madrigale, II/11 to II/12, although several other examples exist as well. This set piece begins in **Bb** major at II/11/0. Eight bars later, the music cadences in **D** minor; this is followed by a sequence built on rising perfect fourths that finishes in G minor. Here the initial melody is repeated in the relative minor, but again it finishes in D minor after eight bars. After another sequence, **Bb** major is temporarily re-established at II/11/28 and, in a not very eighteenth-century manner, it moves to **Gb** major, the third leg of the augmented triad. Six bars later we return to Bb major completing the cycle. (Example 6.6)



Example 6.6 - expansion of augmented triad, Act II, *Manon Lescaut*

The **Bb - D - F#** augmented triad³ is also present in the *design* of the final act, from IV/7/10 where we hear a bare **F#** tremolo. Eighteen bars further on, after a brief hint of B minor, we reach **D** major. This is followed by a "lento calmissimo" section that begins in Eb major, but ends in **Bb** major at IV/9. After a quotation of the introduction of the orchestral intermezzo, we hear **Gb** major, at IV/9/12, which completes the cycle. (Example 6.7)



Example 6.7 - expansion of augmented triad in Act IV, *Manon Lescaut*

Thus we can see, even in this early work, several compositional features that served Puccini well later on. He uses, in *Manon Lescaut*, large-scale expansion of the opening motive, bipartite division of the acts, and large-scale tonal organization derived from equal divisions of the octave, including augmented triads and the whole-tone scales.

La fanciulla del West

La fanciulla del West, which had its première in 1910, was the product of Puccini's conscious attempt to write a "mature" opera, one that was "modernamente costruito e sentito" ("constructed and felt (heard) in a modern way").⁴ Compared to Puccini's previous works, *Fanciulla* has a larger orchestra, reflects more of the newer music he was hearing, and has fewer "detachable" arias (a feature that may have inhibited its popularity). More importantly, it has a stated theme, "redemption," which carries the characters above tragedy to a happy ending. Puccini:

Nel dramma di Belasco (...) era stata data assai piccola parte all'elemento redentore della protagonista: io fui

che volli dai librettisti uno sviluppo maggiore di esso, onde apparisse più evidente, più sincero questo desiderio di purificazione, questo anelito affannoso verso una pace conquistata con l'amore e l'operosità.⁵

(In Belasco's drama (...) a very small share was devoted to the redemptive element of the protagonist: it was I who wanted from the librettists a greater development of this (idea), so that this desire for purification, this difficult yearning towards a peace gained through love and action, would be more evident, more sincere.)

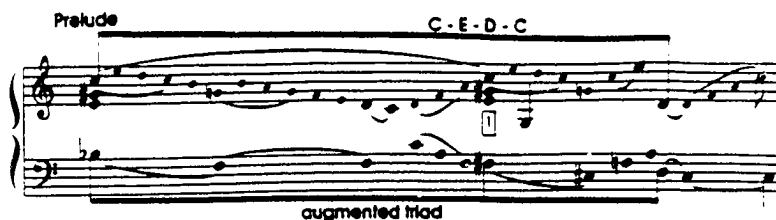
An in-depth study of *Fanciulla's* score would be a fruitful one indeed; unfortunately, here we have space only to trace certain important elements. Most importantly, the extra-musical theme of "rising above" is symbolized quite explicitly in the construction of the score, as we shall see. Second, Puccini employs equal divisions of the octave in a much more substantial manner, allowing them, and other non-tonally-centered constructs, to almost overpower the opera's tonal background structure. Lastly, the paucity of detachable solo arias allows fewer interpolations; the purely musical organization here is now in almost complete control.

The prelude of *La fanciulla del West*, as we have noted in Chapter V, begins with an arpeggiated whole-tone sonority (C - E - G# over a Bb bass):⁶ these pitch classes are members of the whole-tone scale on C. In this pre-curtain introduction, Puccini plants the seeds that will grow into both the foreground motivic material and the *large-scale design* of the entire opera. The compositional aspects of the prelude that will interest us at the moment are the following: Puccini's division of the whole-tone scale into two **augmented triads**, the expansion of the first four melodic pitch classes (C - E - D - C) throughout Act I and the use of the initial melodic major third (C - E) as determinant of the large-scale design of the entire opera.

In the prelude, Puccini divides the whole-tone scale on C into two augmented triads. One (C - E - G#), as we have seen, is stated vertically at the outset over the bass note Bb;⁷ the other (Bb - D - F#) is presented horizontally, distributed temporally over the length of this introductory material. The prelude is thirty-five bars long, and Puccini has placed each leg of the Bb - D - F# triad in the bass, at a distance of

approximately twelve measures, which divides the introduction roughly into thirds.⁸ As we have seen, the opening sonority contains **Bb** as a bass note. At I/1/0, the opening sonority recurs but now with **F#** in the bass. Lastly, at I/1/11, we have a pure **D** minor triad, with pitch class D in the bass. At this point, both the soprano and bass lines move through arpeggiations of the minor seventh chord D - F - A - C, to arrive at pitch class C: on a deeper level this constitutes a **neighbor motion from D to C** (a motivic element that will prove to be highly significant to the opera's *design*). In each "leg" of the arpeggiation, pitch class C is also reasserted; thus the prelude ultimately prolongs C. (Example 6.8 and 6.9)

Example 6.8 - the prelude of *La fanciulla del West*
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Example 6.9 - graph of prelude, *La fanciulla del West*

The major third **C - E** is highly important as well. The first melodic interval of the work represents not only an element of the vertical augmented triad and the basic interval class for many foreground leitmotifs, but it also encapsulates the opera's deepest level of design: Act I ends in **C** major, Act II moves from **D** major to **E \flat** minor, and Act III ends in **E** major. (Example 6.10)



Example 6.10 - background graph of *La fanciulla del West*

In a traditional analysis, the presence of **E \flat** minor within an **E** major tonal plan would be a jarring incongruity. But, if we see that key as representing a pitch class member of an expanded motive,⁹ it makes tonal sense. In Act III, the **E \flat** of the previous act is transformed into **D \sharp** , the leading-tone of the tonic key **E** major; this simple enharmonic reinterpretation shows clearly that Puccini was conceptualizing the tonal centers of his acts within a larger framework (and thus that he saw musical units as predominant over dramatic ones, as per our axiom 3).

Yet how is this pivotal transformation brought about? The answer lies, again, in the OM and IM categories: the two foreground harmonies that contain pitch class **E \flat /D \sharp** , **E \flat** minor and **B** dominant seventh, reflect two contrasting emotional states (*foreground harmony* is an IM-tool), yet the pitch class **E \flat /D \sharp** remains constant through this change. That pitch

class (by way of OM-tool *chresis*) links Acts II and III together and is part of the overall musical construction of the opera.

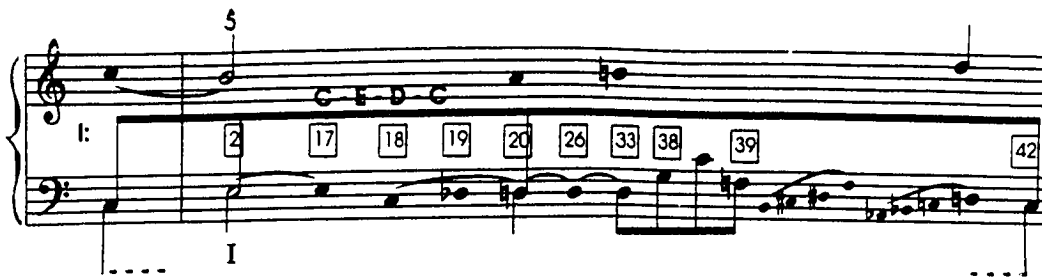
The giant C - E construction, like the one we saw in *Manon Lescaut*, is an example of Reti's "thematic key relations." As *large-scale design* that is motivically derived, it contributes to the musical unity of the score, and is thus an OM-tool. Yet, as with *Tosca* and *Manon Lescaut*, this construction is congruent with the dramatic structure and its thematic elements on the deepest levels: in essence, the expanded rising third symbolizes the "redemption" of the characters. As the "tonally incongruous" E \flat is transformed into the quite normal leading-tone D \sharp , the characters also pass from the dark hysteria of Act II to the clear light of redemption found in Act III. We shall study this section in more detail below.

There are two longer motivic cells contained in the prelude whose expansions will be traced in larger sections of the work. First, there is an expansion of the first four melodic pitch classes **C - E - D - C** ('Motive 2'); this occurs even within the prelude itself. In that introductory piece, seven bars after pitch class **C** is reasserted over F \sharp , at I/1/0, the motion C - E is stated twice in the soprano, emphasizing pitch class **E**. This is followed by pitch class **D** in the soprano over D minor (I/1/11) and ultimately pitch class **C** at I/1/17. (see Examples 6.8 and 6.9) Below, we shall examine how Motive 2 is also expanded throughout Act I. The second of the longer motivic cells we shall trace is the basic bass line of prelude (**B \flat - F \sharp - D - C**); this motive, which is itself an exemplar of the interval classes of the opening sonority (an augmented triad plus major second), is expanded in toto at various places in the score. Further, we shall note Puccini's use of the diminished seventh as another sort of equal division of the octave.

The first act of *La fanciulla del West* is in many aspects a composing-out of the prelude's construction. Like that introductory section, the act is divided roughly into thirds, reflecting musical (and dramatic) divisions; at each of these articulation points pitch class C is reasserted and thus, as in the prelude, C is effectively prolonged throughout. Those musico-dramatic units span from the end of the prelude to I/42 (Minnie's entrance), from there to I/72 (Johnson's entrance), and from there to the end of the act. Let us now examine

each "third" of the act in turn and discover what other relevant compositional devices are contained within.

The end of the first third of the act is punctuated by a pistol shot as Minnie (the "fanciulla" herself) enters the scene. As with the cannon blast that marks the middle of the first act of *Tosca*, Puccini and his collaborators have not made his articulation points difficult to spot. Dramatically, this moment signals the end of the expository material and the beginning of the plot per se. Musically, it concludes an expansion of Motive 2 (**C - E - D - C**). Looking back to the beginning of the act, we can see that pitch class **C** is strongly stated at the end of the prelude. Immediately after the curtain rises, we are in **E** major (1/2 - 5) which, on the deepest structural level, establishes the tonic of the opera and pitch class **B** as the fifth scale degree of the Urlinie. From 1/5 to 1/15 the music revolves around **G** minor, but finally returns to **E** major at 1/17/4. Next follows a chromatically rising sequence in which the same material is heard in **C** major (1/17/5 - 1/18/5), **D \flat** major (1/18/9 - 1/19/5) and partially in **D** major (from 1/19/9); this serves as transitional material to an extended **D** major section that prolongs **D** as the third pitch class of this expanded Motive 2 (from 1/20). A dramatic articulation point as well, 1/20 marks the entrance of the camp minstrel Jake Wallace. **D** soon reappears at 1/26/4. At 1/27, the minstrel song is over, but the prolongation of pitch class **D** is not: it is re-tonicized at 1/33 and again just before Minnie's entrance at 1/42. Using a compositional technique we shall see often below, Puccini arranges the music from 1/33 to 1/42 in equal divisions of the octave, around the diminished seventh chord **D - F - A \flat - B - D**.¹⁰ Finally, pitch class **C** is reached at 1/42 and the expansion **C - E - D - C** is complete: we shall see below that the same expansion occurs in the last third of the act. (Example 6.11)



Example 6.11 - expansion of C - E - D - C, first third, Act I,
La fanciulla del West

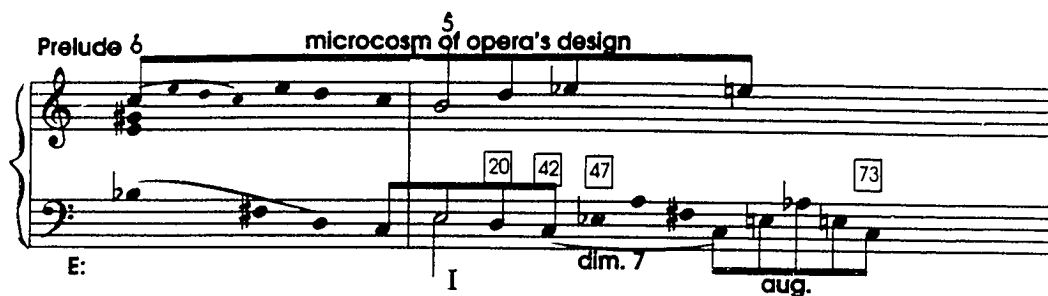
The second third of Act I very much involves equal divisions of the octave, both by the diminished seventh chord and by the augmented triad. Minnie's entrance music, which began at I/42, is divided into two phrase groupings. The second of these (I/42/4 - 8) completes two simultaneous cycles of diminished seventh chords, one in the soprano from D to D and the other in the bass line from C to C. The major ninth C - D (a verticalized representation of the neighbor motion D - C) thus emphasized will return at the end of the act, and signal the unresolved state of both the plot and of the rising major third that forms the opera's *large-scale design*.

This local use of the **diminished seventh** pattern is a foretaste of a larger one. The **C** established at I/42 remains in play until **E_b** appears at I/44 and again at I/47. It is at this latter point that the Bible lesson commences: this extended scene, which ends at I/53, is in **E_b** major. From I/58¹¹ until I/64, we have a tiny expansion of the augmented triad D_b - A - F that finishes on pitch class **A** just before Jack Rance's offer to Minnie (\$1,000 for a kiss) at I/64/5. This section, which uses pitch class **F_#** as an internal pedal point, remains unfinished as Minnie begins her own autobiographical aria in **A** minor. At I/71, approaching the aria's climax, C major appears and the soprano has a high c³ four bars later, over A minor, foreshadowing the next motivically-related pitch class. The final leg of the diminished seventh pattern occurs at I/72 when Johnson appears, accompanied by a leitmotivic tag in **C** major, and the last third of the act commences. (Example 6.12)



Example 6.12 - expansion of diminished seventh chord,
Act I, *La fanciulla del West*

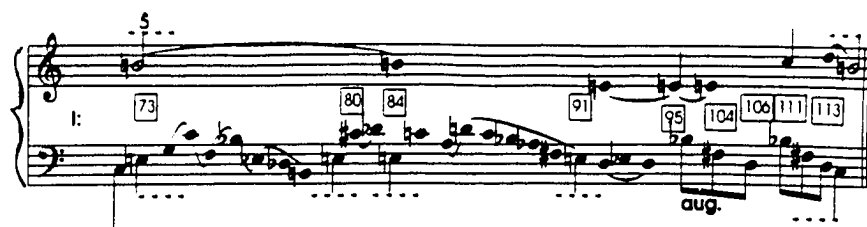
As if to punctuate this moment, Johnson's entrance music traverses the augmented triad C - E - A \flat in the first sixteen bars, after which E minor is established at 1/73/5 (see example above.) Here, of course, is a tiny restatement of the C - E motive. But, taking a longer view of the whole act up until this point, we can see another expansion revealed, overlaid upon the ones previously mentioned: an expansion of the rising melodic motive **C - D - E \flat - E**, which will be expanded throughout the opera. We can begin to trace this pattern from the **C** of the opening prelude, which is strongly emphasized in both the upper and lower voices before 1/2. Pitch class **D** is asserted throughout the minstrel song (1/20-27) and at Minnie's entrance. **E \flat** is the principal pitch center of the Bible lesson (1/47-53) and **E** appears, as we have just seen, at Johnson's entrance, as part of A minor, the C - E - A \flat augmented triad and E major. (Example 6.13)



Example 6.13 - expansion of C - D - E \flat - E
Act I, *La fanciulla del West*

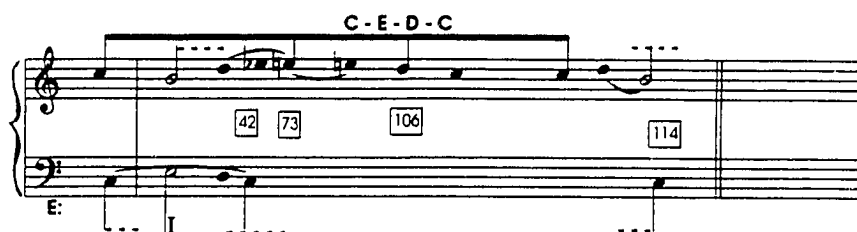
In the last third of the act, we shall be able to trace several motivic expansions. First we have a prolongation of pitch class **E**: at I/73/0 the harmony is E major (over F#), which becomes E minor five bars later; E returns in force from I/84 until I/88, when Minnie and Johnson dance an E major waltz. The foreground harmony then moves through a number of varied modulations, including an extended neighbor motion from D to Eb (I/91/6 - I/94), which foreshadows the large-scale motivic design of the Act II. Finally, at I/95, after a brief whole-tone passage, we have a recapitulation of the prelude's opening, with one difference: pitch class **E** is now in the soprano. The bass then essentially moves through pitch classes A (I/96 - I/100/2) to B (I/101) and back to E. These last events, including the soprano E at I/95, are musical events that foreshadow those of the last act.¹² In effect, Puccini is showing us in advance his plan for the rest of the opera. Thus, the work's eventual tonic, E, is emphasized throughout this section.

From this point, we can trace expansions of the prelude's bass line: **Bb - F# - D - C**, articulated at significant dramatic moments. We have already noted the important **Bb** presented at I/95, which occurs at the moment in the drama when Minnie and Johnson are left alone. In turn, pitch class **F#** is in the forefront (from I/103/4); it becomes enharmonically reinterpreted as Gb (I/104-105) and then appears again as F# from I/105. At a dramatically significant moment (the secret signal is sounded for Johnson at I/106/8), pitch class **D** takes over. Thus we have an expansion of the augmented triad **Bb - F# - D**. But Puccini will re-state this expansion twice more before the final resolution of the act. At I/111 we again have **Bb** major, which segues into a recapitulation of the prelude's opening, with C back in place atop the augmented triad. As in the prelude, **F#** appears below the second statement of Motive 2 (I/111/11) and **D** recurs just before I/113 when we reach pitch class **C**. The second repetition of the augmented triad occurs as follows: **Bb** (I/113/17), **F#** (I/113/18) and **D** (I/114/4) just before Minnie's entrance music returns establishing pitch class **C** and completing the expansion. (Example 6.14)



Example 6.14 - prolongation of E, expansions of B \flat - F \sharp - D - C, Act I
La fanciulla del West

Before leaving Act I, we should mention two more large-scale expansions of Motive 2 (C - E - D - C). In the first of these, the C established at Johnson's entrance (I/72) moves to E at I/73 - 102, then to the D at I/106 before the C of I/114/6 to the end. If we take an even longer view, we can extend this expansion over the entire act: the initial C, E at I/73, D at I/106 and finally to pitch class C at I/114. (Example 6.15)



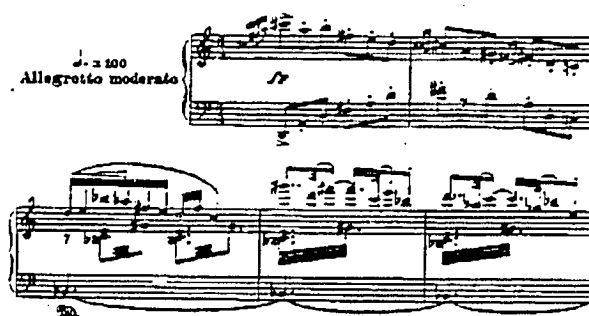
Example 6.15 - expansion of C - E - D - C,
Act I, *La fanciulla del West*

The finale of the first act of *Fanciulla* is a truly remarkable bit of composition. Puccini finishes it not on a consonant triad but on a pianissimo major ninth chord; this decision was quite daring for an Italian opera composer of his time.¹³ The theatrical effect produced thereof can only be described as "ethereal," reflecting Minnie's recall of Johnson's words, "the face of an angel" and the theme of redemption. Musically, the presence of an unresolved D over the act's tonic C looks ahead to the opening key of the next act and to the completion of the rising third motivic plan. But it is perhaps pitch class B, the seventh of this ninth chord, prominently sounded, which deserves note: on the structural

level, this B is the fifth degree of the Urlinie and is related to the B of the E major at I/2. Thus, pitch class C, though it is the tonic of Act I, must ultimately be regarded as the lowered sixth scale degree of the opera's E major tonic, and upper neighbor to B. By presenting C and B simultaneously in such a prominent spot, Puccini emphasizes this relationship.

Our discussion of Act II will focus only on a few important aspects. The first of these is the overall movement from the **D** - based tonality) at the outset of the act to its **E \flat** minor finale, a gesture that forms part of the large-scale design of the opera, the rise from C through D and E \flat to E. Secondly, we shall examine the means by which Puccini accomplishes this feat: B \flat , reached by an expanded augmented triad (**D - F \sharp - B \flat**) becomes the dominant of E \flat minor. Finally, we shall note several important motivic expansions.

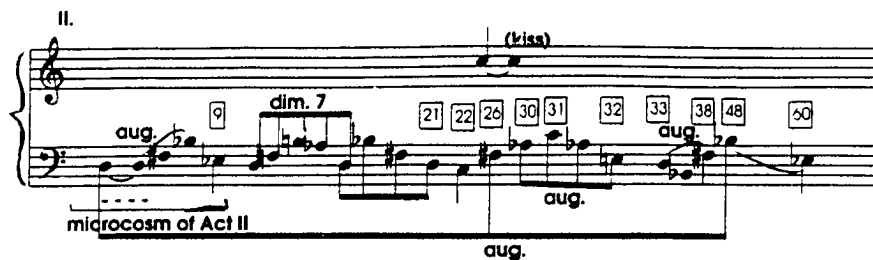
Act II opens with a D major seventh sonority. In the opening three bars, we hear all three pitches of the augmented triad, but it is primarily pitch class **D** that is prolonged here. This D will serve as the first leg of a D - F \sharp - B \flat augmented triad that is expanded throughout the act.



Example 6.16 - opening of Act II, *La fanciulla del West*
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The stretch of music from II/17 until II/27/2, the dramatic moment when Johnson and Minnie kiss,¹⁴ constitutes a large-scale motion from **D** to **F \sharp** . At II/17, we hear a strong D major melody (the waltz theme from Act I), which, at II/18/1, moves to B \flat major-minor seventh. Soon, at II/18/8, F \sharp appears in the bass and remains there until II/20/4 where D takes over again. Pitch class D is particularly emphasized just before II/21 where Minnie sings a high a² on the word "heaven" (followed by a b²). From

that point, the music segues into a partial re-statement of the prelude theme on G (II/21/10), which moves, as in the prelude, to a D minor $\frac{6}{8}$ chord that resolves to C at II/22. In these few bars, then, we can see an elaborated version of the main **bass line of the prelude, D - B \flat - F \sharp - D - C**, within a larger **neighbor motion D - C**. After this, all three pitch classes of the augmented triad are given prominence, especially at II/25. But at II/26, it is **F \sharp** that now takes over as a bass pedal. It is this pitch class, the second leg of our large **D - F \sharp - B \flat** expansion, which comes to the fore at II/27/2, the moment when Minnie and Johnson kiss. Here Minnie sings a c^3 , accompanied by a restatement of the F \sharp - C - E - G \sharp sonority of the opera's prelude (I/1). (Example 6.17)



Example 6.17 - expansion of augmented triad with prelude bass and neighbor D - C - D, Act II, *La fanciulla del West*

This is followed by an interpolation based on the augmented triad A \flat - C - E (A \flat major at II/30, through B \flat major to C major at II/31/6, A \flat major at II/31/14, and E major-minor seventh at II/32). Another statement of the cycle **D - F \sharp - B \flat - C** can also be found from II/33/5 to II/38: D at II/33/5, B \flat at II/35, F \sharp at II/36 and C at II/37/7. After this, it is still pitch class **F \sharp** that dominates the music until II/45.

The third leg of our expanded augmented triad comes to prominence at II/48 and II/50, as two dramatic events occur: Minnie finds out about Johnson's affair with Nina and she confronts him about it. At both of these moments, pitch class **B \flat** is the most prominent. This B \flat becomes part of a whole-tone sonority that, at I/50/2, substitutes for the dominant of E \flat minor, to which it "resolves" in the next bar. But the presence of B \flat continues: when Minnie throws Johnson out of her house, at II/56, it is to the accompaniment of both a pistol shot and a B \flat bass note (G minor $\frac{6}{8}$). From this point, the bass B \flat sounds continuously until

11/60; that pitch class has now been heard without pause for ninety-four bars, a long dominant pedal to the **E \flat** minor, which follows at 11/60. (see Example 6.17 above)

At this point in the drama, Minnie has decided to save the wounded Johnson's life and will hide him in her loft. As she helps him struggle up the ladder, we hear an **E \flat** minor theme, which is quoted from the prelude to Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*.¹⁵ The tonic of the act has been reached, but the act, of course, is not yet over: Sherriff Rance enters looking for Johnson and realizes that the wounded man is hiding in the loft when a drop of blood drips on his hand from above. At this point, 11/68, Johnson descends the ladder, and the **E \flat** minor "Tristan" theme is restated, as it will be at the close of the act. (Example 6.18)



Example 6.18 - *Tristan* quotation, Act II, *La fanciulla del West*
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Puccini has transposed this theme to the pitch classes **B \flat** , **G \flat** , **F** and **E** natural. (Thus, two elements of our augmented triad, **B \flat** and **G \flat** , are actively present.) The **E** natural is harmonized by an **A**-minor triad: this foreshadows the tritone **A - E \flat** in the bass that will open Act III. The remainder of the act will also be based upon the **B \flat - D - F \sharp** augmented triad. At 11/73, the *Tristan* theme is now heard on its original pitch classes (**A - F - E - E \flat**), over **D** minor, as Minnie makes her bargain with Rance: the winner of a poker game gets to "keep" Johnson. The **D** now moves to **F \sharp** minor as the poker game begins at 11/75: the emphasis on these two pitch classes recalls the opening sonority of the act. The poker game and its **F \sharp** bass pedal last until 11/78/10, a length of sixty-four measures. From here to the end of the act, **E \flat** minor, the tonic, takes over with **B \flat** asserted in the soprano.

This **E \flat** minor ending illustrates a tormented, even hellish, moment of the opera. In terms of the themes of "redemption" and "good versus evil," all three characters are at the nadir: Johnson is near death, Rance

has been beaten and Minnie, who has cheated at poker, is hysterically laughing and then crying. All three are sinners, as Minnie herself suggests.¹⁶ It is no accident that this scene is played on a dark, cold night. The sunrise, and redemption, will have to wait until the next act. Here, we have only tragedy.

It may be found useful now to compare this finale to the end of *Tosca*. In that work, the same augmented triad, B \flat - F \sharp (G \flat) - D, which has been expanded in this act of *Fanciulla*, ends the opera: Tosca sings it herself on the words, "O Scarpia, avanti a Dio" just before her leap. That augmented triad resolves to a B \flat major-minor seventh, which in turn resolves to E \flat minor. Act II of *Fanciulla* also ends in E \flat minor. But *Tosca* is a tragedy pure and simple: all the protagonists die, and any redemption would have to come after the final curtain ("before God"). *Fanciulla*, on the other hand, goes beyond tragedy, and in Act III, that tortured E \flat becomes the D \sharp leading tone to E major. We also note that both operas contain a musical "struggle" between E \flat and E: in *Tosca*, E functions as the Neapolitan (bII), bound to eventually resolve, through the dominant, to E \flat ; in *Fanciulla* it is the other way round. The passage from E \flat to E, which will occur in Act III, not only completes the rising motive C to E, but symbolizes the rising above pain and tragedy that "redemption" means.

It is in the last act that all the twisted threads of *Fanciulla's* construction become untangled, the cryptic becomes comprehensible, and the dark literally becomes light. The act opens at early dawn, in a redwood forest shrouded with mist. The harmonic syntax is nebulous as well: only the bare melodic tritone **A - E \flat** , played softly and slowly, is heard in the contrabasses. But, when the bassoons and muted brass fill in the rest of the harmony above, we can now hear, from afar, the true tonal meaning of the tritone: pitch classes A and E \flat (D \sharp) belong to F major and B major, the bII and V of the opera's tonic, E major. (Pitch class A is also the fourth scale degree of the opera's Urlinie.) These chords (in $\frac{6}{3}$ form) also reiterate the neighbor motion C to B (6 - 5) in the upper voices.

The bass line of the first few bars, from the beginning until III/2/11, gives us a thumbnail sketch of the tonal plan of the entire act. As we have seen, bII6 (F major) and V6 (B major) have been established, with

the leading tone D# enharmonically reinterpreted as Eb. At III/2/4, we hear a B in the bass that moves to E two bars later; and that E is sustained through the augmented triad C - E - Ab until III/2/11. Although the bass line foreshadows the **bass line** of the act's tonal structure, the harmonies built atop it certainly do not. Quite dissonant ninth chords, almost foretastes of *Turando's* bitonal constructs, keep the musical atmosphere intense. The arrival of the "tonic," pitch class E, is obscured by a D# in the soprano: surely this vertical combination of pitch classes, so vital to the understanding of the opera's musical design, is no accident.

Puccini often gives us an initial microcosmic view of what will come: as we saw in *Tosca*, the tonal organization of the entire opera is presented in miniature within the confines of Act I, and we certainly have seen this process numerous times in regard to the composing-out of the opening motive and other primary motivic material. Puccini uses the same technique here to foreshadow the tonal structure of the concluding act, manipulating the musical material in a similar manner. (Example 6.19)



Example 6.19 - Act III bass line in microcosm, III/1/14 - III/2/6,
La fanciulla del West

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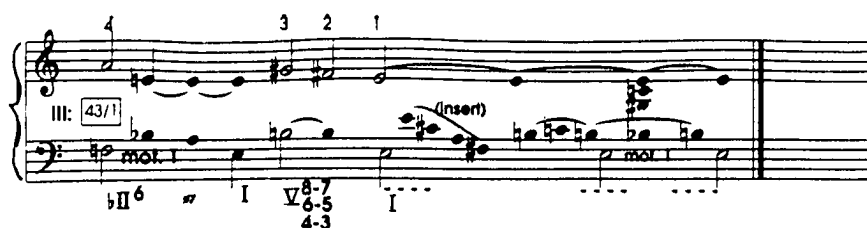
The tritone that opens Act III, **A - Eb**, is also expanded on a large scale through about half of the act. Pitch class **A** is a fairly steady presence (straying mostly through neighbor motions to Bb) until III/17, the

moment when Rance confronts the captured Johnson. The next stable tonal area is at III/22 where D and Eb alternate over a G bass, recalling the D - Eb motion of Act II and elsewhere. At III/23, the same harmonic pattern becomes a dirge-like alternation of G and Eb, similar to the opening notes, but now with whole-tone harmonization. Without the prominent presence of the A in this section, the Eb takes on added importance; this Eb is elaborated and reaffirmed by both diminished seventh patterns and an augmented triad.¹⁷ (Example 6.20)



Example 6.20 - expanded tritone A - Eb, Act III, *La fanciulla del West*

At III/43/1, we begin the final 'ascent' to E major. F major, the Neapolitan (bII) re-appears (and supports, once again, the fourth degree of the Urlinie, A, in the soprano). Three bars later, we have a variation of the prelude theme, with the soprano transposed up a major third. Just before III/44, we reach a conclusion, if not a true cadence (the harmony moves from IV to I, not V to I), in E major, not C major as in the prelude: at this climax, Minnie sings the word 'redenzione' ('redemption'). The actual structural cadence comes at III/44/4, where Puccini writes a traditional cadential V_{4-3}^{6-5} progression supporting the third and second scale degrees. The tonic note and the first scale degree are reached in the next bar. (Example 6.21)



Example 6.21 - establishment of E major, Act III, *La fanciulla del West*

The coda begins at this point. Here, Puccini inserted a five-bar interpolation in a later edition of the opera; originally, the E major was immediately followed by the C ninth chord (now at III/44/10). This chord, which is twice stated and twice resolves to E is a clear reference to the C - E motive that is the principal *large-scale design* of the opera. Then, instead of the C ninth chord, Puccini re-states, yet again, the whole-tone construct from the prelude: at III/44/12-13, the augmented triad C - E - G# is heard over Bb and then over F#. *Tristan*-like, this cryptic sonority now resolves to a pure E major triad, its obscurity dispelled, its recondite meaning finally made clear. As a last good-bye, the minstrel song of Act I is quoted, and, hidden within its first pitch classes (E - D# - B) is a reminder of the E - Eb struggle, and the moral of the story: wanton sinners and wayward pitch-classes can both find their right and true places within a perfect plan.

Suor Angelica

Like each of the other operas we have examined in this dissertation, *Suor Angelica* has a *large-scale design* expanded from its opening motive. This one-act opera's shorter length allows us, however, to discern this construction more distinctly than in the rest. Let us begin by re-examining the prelude.

Before the curtain rises on *Suor Angelica*, we hear the following off-stage bells: (Example 6.22)



Example 6.22 - prelude, *Suor Angelica*
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We shall see in this section how the first four pitch classes (**F - D - E - C**) are employed in the *large-scale design* of the opera. The pitch classes of the second measure, **F - E - D - E - C**, will also have an important role to play in this regard. The third measure of this prelude begins a major third higher, on A: already we can note the juxtaposition of pitch classes **F** and **A**, a reference to the conflict between F major and A minor that is essential to the opera's construction. That conflict can be emblemized by a struggle between pitch classes **F** and **E** (or a 6 - 5 motion over A), and, as the curtain rises, we hear them both: the first chordal sonority is **E - A - C - F** (0/4).¹⁸ A few bars later, the off-stage choir emphasizes the **E - F** connection again, this time melodically (1/2). (Example 6.23)

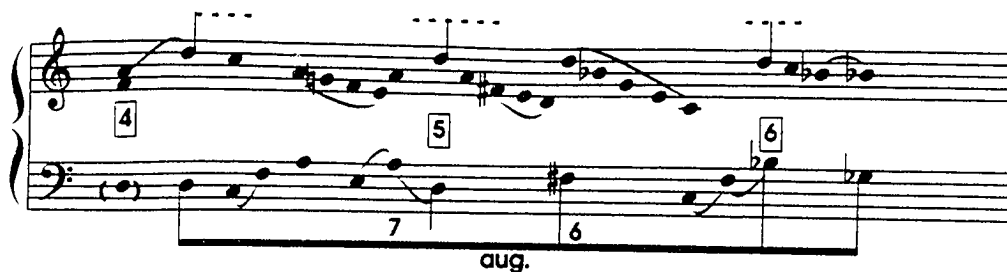
6.23 - beginning of "La preghiera," *Suor Angelica*
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Let us now trace the large-scale expansion of **F - D - E - C**. The first segment of the opera is entitled 'La preghiera'¹⁹ ('The prayer') in the libretto, and, after it is completed, the harmony cadences firmly, with a fermata, in F major at 3/2. Dramatically, this initial section sets the scene; the voices are heard only off-stage and the action has yet to begin. Musically, pitch class F, the first member of the opening motive, is established as a tonal center. (Example 6.24)



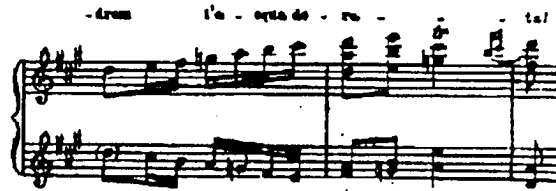
Example 6.24 - *Suor Angelica*, F major cadence at 3/2
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As the action (and the second libretto section) begin, the tonality shifts frequently,²⁰ but pitch class **D** will be ultimately prolonged here. First, we can trace the first of two expansions of the augmented triad, **D- Bb - F#** (Example 6.25): at 4/0, **D** minor appears, followed by a 16-bar **D** major section at 5/0, which ends with an 'Amen' over a $D \frac{6}{3}$ chord (**F#** in the bass).²¹ At 6/0, a **Bb** major section commences, but is interrupted at 6/8 by a leitmotiv, most probably representing the Virgin Mary, which alternates between **Eb** minor and **Gb** major. Both of these tonalities support pitch classes **Gb (F#)** as well as **Bb**.



Example 6.25 - expansion of augmented triad **D - F# - Bb**, *Suor Angelica*

Pitch class **D** is soon re-asserted: at 8/0 an A major 'andante' section resolves to D major at 10/4. Here Puccini emphasizes the key with simultaneous ascending and descending D major scales leading to a perfect cadence. (Example 6.26)



Example 6.26 - D major cadence at 10/0, *Suor Angelica*
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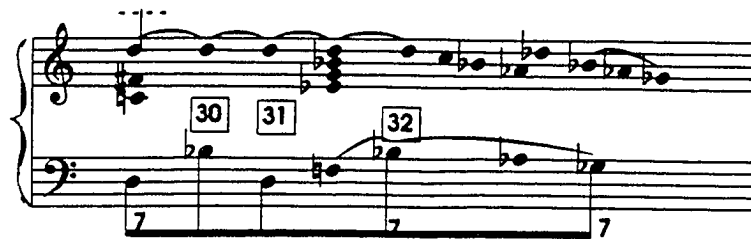
D continues to be prolonged in the next section: from 10/5, the foreground harmony traverses G major and B minor (both of which provide consonant support for pitch class D) and the context remains D major. Here, begins not a new theme, but a new countermelody to the nuns' opening prayer theme, which soon appears transposed to G major at 10/10. When this material is repeated, at 11/1, it is over a D pedal point. Pitch class D remains active until 15/0 as a consonant member of G major, E major-minor seventh, D major-minor seventh, G major-minor seventh, a whole-tone complex (C - D - F# - Bb) and D minor. (Example 6.27)



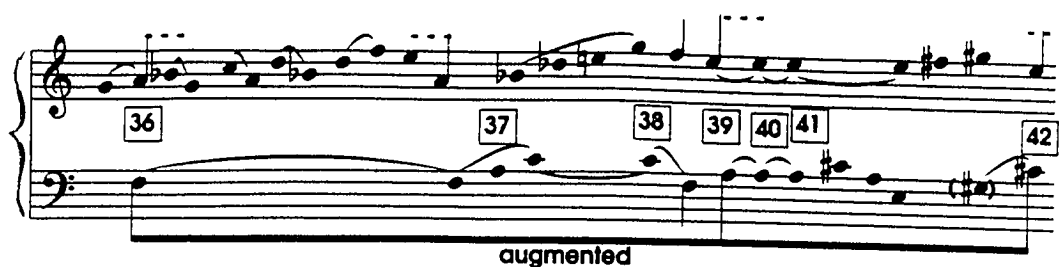
Example 6.27 - prolongation of D, *Suor Angelica*

Pitch class D returns at 25/3, after an interpolation, with a theme illustrating the wasps that have stung one of the sisters. This theme recurs, in the same key, at 27/17.

In the fourth segment, "Il ritorno dalla cerca" ('The return from the collection'), which begins at 30/0, B \flat major takes over from the unresolved D major-minor seventh of the previous measure, and we begin another expansion of the D - F \sharp - B \flat augmented triad. At 31/0 we are back at D major; then F major moves to B \flat major-minor seventh at 32/0; after a passing A \flat bass note, G \flat major-minor seventh arrives at 32/9. The roots of these unresolved major-minor sevenths outline the augmented triad. (Example 6.28)



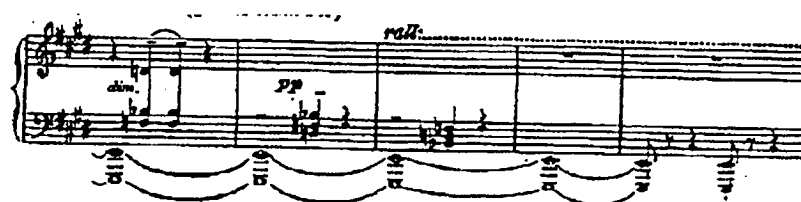
will be in force. Here, we briefly note the local means of arriving at that climactic moment: an arpeggiation of another augmented triad, F - A - C#. We begin at 36/1 in solid F major; its dominant C is reached at 38/0, highlighted by the ringing of the doorbell on that pitch class, and soon F major returns. But at 39/0, A minor takes hold and, although there remain passing references in the bass line to F major, A minor is reasserted at 40/0. (Now pitch class E is supported.) At 41/0, a change of mode to A major illustrates Suor Angelica's calmer, prayerful attitude. This prolongation of A is punctuated by an "Amen" at 41/5; significantly, the vocal line here rests on pitch class E. At 42/0, C# minor and the grim mood begin.²³ The expanded augmented triad is completed and pitch class E is now being prolonged. (Example 6.29)



Example 6.29 - expansion of F - A - C# augmented triad, *Suor Angelica*

It is this E, prolonged through the C# minor and the A minor that follow, that continues the expansion of the opening motive. Omitting for now a discussion of the arresting juxtaposition of C# minor and C minor that opens this section,²⁴ we jump to 43/10 where pitch class E first appears as a pedal point. Above this E, Puccini restates the F - E motive, harmonized by D minor and the C - E - G# augmented triad, followed by inversions of Bb major. The tritone Bb - E, reminiscent of the opening of *Tosca*, is important here for two motivically-related reasons: Bb major supports pitch-class F and so emphasizes the F - E conflict, and this dissonant Bb will re-appear in the last measures of the opera and resolve to C. That final resolution will suggest the working-out of this very musical

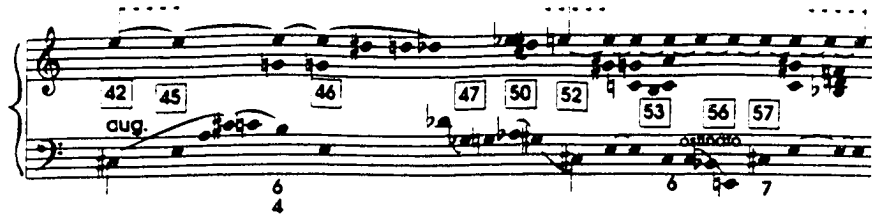
and dramatic dissonance, as well as other issues to be discussed below.
(Example 6.30)



Example 6.30 - E pedal point, *Suor Angelica*
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After the naked appearance of E at 44/0, that pitch class remains active through the augmented triad C - E - G# at 44/6-10, C# minor from 45/0, and E minor at 45/10. At 46/0, E minor once again takes over and the E pedal point returns at 46/9-11. At this point, C# becomes re-interpreted as D \flat to form the dominant of a G \flat major interpolation, from 47/0: this happier major mode illustrates the joyful reaction of Angelica to news of her sister's engagement. But, as the dramatic tension rises, the foreground harmony rises as well, from G \flat , through G at 48/0, to A \flat at 49/8, which (at 50/0) becomes G#, the dominant that returns us to gloomy C# minor.

Pitch class **E** continues through this C# minor section to appear, from 52/2, as a consonant member of E major, C major and E minor, and finally A minor, at 53/2. When the Princess tells Angelica that her son has died, at 56/0, a whole-tone section with ostinato C - B \flat - E commences, with E as the (emphasized) lowest pitch. The dramatic confrontation is now over, but E remains: through a C# minor seventh at 57/0, E major four bars later and finally, in a repetition of the music opening this scene, an E pedal point, first under B \flat major and then, at 58/5, unadornedly alone. (Example 6.31)



Example 6.31 - prolongation of E, *Suor Angelica*

At this point in the opera, the singing subsides: wordlessly, the Princess Aunt prays, Angelica sobs and signs the document her aunt brought her. As the Princess leaves, night is falling. Truly the darkest emotional moment of the work, Puccini considered this stretch of unsung music, which he referred to as an "intermezzo," as a dramatic dividing line:

...tutto quello che segue dopo l'intermezzo sia meno palese e come involto in un'atmosfera quasi irreale...²⁵

(...everything that follows the intermezzo should be less obvious and as if shrouded in a quasi-unreal atmosphere...)

Harmonically, the intermezzo is in A minor with a chromatic melodic line, and it segues easily into Angelica's A minor-major-minor aria "Senza mamma," which begins the next dramatic segment, "La grazia" ("The grace").²⁶ Pitch class E is still being prolonged here.

Just as Puccini thought the stage picture should be less "obvious" at this point, so is the music: the rising sequential theme that commences at 64/0 is ambiguous both tonally and in regard to its seven-bar phrase lengths. The theme begins in F major, but the occasional presence of an F# sharp in the subsequent harmonies seems to suggest either E minor or G major. However, E minor appears to hold sway when, at 65/0, that harmony is extended for three extra bars and capped with a fermata (Example 6. 32). Although the theme does continue beyond this point,

the emphasis on E minor reinforces the presence of our motivically-related and still-active pitch class E.



Example 6.32 - extended E minor, *Suor Angelica*
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When this theme finally does resolve, it is to C major, the tonic of the opera, after a dominant ninth on G at 65/10. Thus, pitch class C appears, the final member of our expanded opening motive, **F - D - E - C**. But here it is surmounted by a B \flat major-minor seventh, which resolves to pure C major only after two measures (Example 6.33).

A curious event is this C major cadence: it seems like a final resolution. Puccini writes a perfect cadence to the tonic, set to an 'Amen' and followed by a 'pausa lunga': the sense of completion is strong, yet still to come are Angelica's suicide and the miracle. This moment is not even the conclusion of one of the dramatic segments. In fact, this music will indeed be repeated at the end of the work, but with one important change: there will be no true dominant. The harmony in the final measures moves directly from a V $\frac{6}{4}$ at 84/0-5 to the same C major/B \flat major-minor seventh combination we saw above (which then resolves to C major). (Example 6.34) True, the B \flat major-minor seventh contains D and F, which could suggest a dominant feeling, but one cannot but agree that the actual dominant has been omitted the second time around. Is rehearsal number 66 then the true structural cadence of the piece? This evidence seems to point to that conclusion.

. dia . . mo la Ver - gi - ne San - . . ta! Lo . . . dia . . mo la
 Ver - . . gi - ne San - . . ta! A - . . men.

rall. *pp* *molto...*
Ed.

SUOR ANG:
 (dalla cella)
 La grazia è disce - sa dal

rall..... *lunga pausa*

Example 6.33 - 65/7 - 66/0, Suor Angelica
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||



Example 6.34- end of opera, *Suor Angelica*
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Rehearsal number 66/2 is the moment in the score parallel to 36/1 where, as we have seen, there began a large-scale arpeggiation of the augmented triad F - A - C# that heralded the arrival of the Zia Principessa: now the Virgin Mary is approaching, and the remaining music outlines, on a background level, F - A - C instead. After the initial F major (supporting pitch class **F**) the score stays parallel to the former version, including a move to A minor supporting **E** at 69/0, until 75/0 where, although A remains as a bass pedal, the tonality is **D** major. This change is significant: in the first version, a prolonged D had preceded the prolongation of pitch class E. Here, it is interpolated within it. The motive that we shall see expanded now is: **F - E - D - E - C**, the pitch classes of

the second measure of the prelude, of which the first three pitch classes have already been seen.

Now let us look at the remainder of this motivic expansion. At 78/2, as Angelica realizes that her suicide means damnation, F# minor takes hold;²⁷ within a few bars, however, it is replaced by D minor and then A minor, but which soon returns to D minor. These harmonic shifts outline a D major triad, and it is in fact D major, over an A pedal, which we hear next, at 79/4. The A pedal remains while a B \flat major triad is outlined above it by a succession of the following chords: D major, F major and B \flat major. Again we see a dissonant B \flat , which must eventually resolve. The bitonality here also has a specific illustrative function: these chords are sung by angels, literally of another (tonal) world.²⁸ (Example 6.35)

SISTER ANGELICA
SUOR ANGELICA

die thus condemn'd and lost for ev - er!
fa - re mo - ri - re in dan - na - zio - ne!

Re - gi - na pa - cis, Sal - ve, Ma - ri - a!

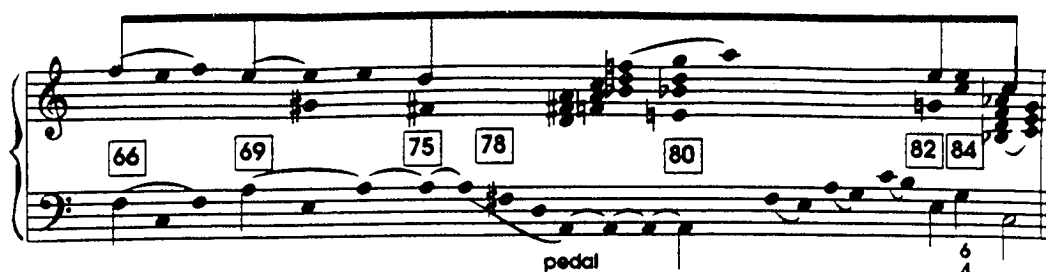
Re - gi - na pa - cis, Sal - ve, Ma - ri - a!

mf *cresc.*

Example 6.35- B \flat major over A pedal, *Suor Angelica*
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The expansion of **F - E - D - E - C** continues at 81/0, when the "royal march of the Madonna" begins, set to the same tonally ambiguous, seven-bar theme we saw at 64/0. It is an elaborated repetition of the same material, complete with an extension of E minor (at 82/8-10). Now

we have the next member of the expanded motive, pitch class **E**. The theme continues as before and, as we have discussed, arrives at the tonic **C** major, without having passed through a real dominant (and therefore without supporting D, the second degree of the scale). The delaying of D (it appears in the penultimate sonority over the tonic) emphasizes the E - C motivic connection. What Puccini does provide instead, from 84/0, is a G pedal point that serves as an unresolved cadential $\frac{6}{4}$. The G also lies under two neighbor chords: A minor and F major. The presence of these two harmonies, so vital to the structure of the piece, is hardly coincidental. (Example 6.36)



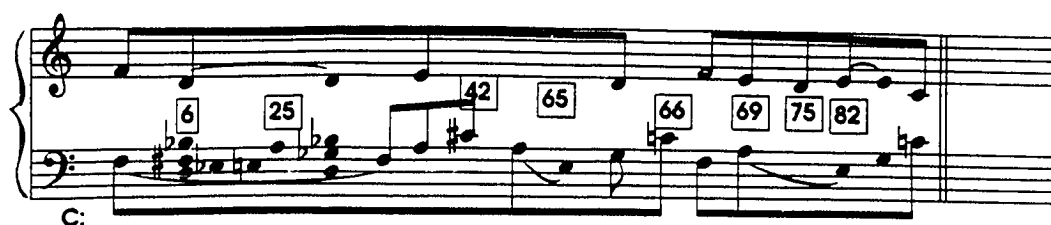
Example 6.36 - expansion of F - E - D - E - C, *Suor Angelica*

Puccini's choice of a B \flat major-minor chord above the tonic note in the penultimate sonority is also telling. We have noted above that the B \flat has been a recurring dissonance that now resolves. But why B \flat ? Perhaps it is because pitch class B \flat is a member of the F major tonality that opened the opera, or perhaps because, with C, D and A \flat , B \flat recalls the whole-tone elements we have heard. The whole-tone sonorities were present when Angelica swooned after hearing of her son's death: the resolution of those disorienting whole-tone harmonies could represent the end of Angelica's troubles.²⁹

The presence of the remaining three pitch classes of the B \flat major-minor chord can be understood for other reasons. D is, of course, the delayed second degree of the tonic scale that, although not supported by a true dominant, moves to the first degree. A \flat is a renamed G \sharp , whose contest with G natural we have noted above: here again, A \flat /G \sharp

resolves to G. Lastly, F resolves to E, and in this final move, we have the conclusion (at least for this opera) of the long battle between those two pitch classes.

The overall construction of *Suor Angelica* is formed around two arpeggios of the triad F - A - C that support large-scale expansions of the opening motive. The first of these arpeggios is distorted by an initial move to C# minor, temporarily creating an expansion of the augmented triad F - A - C#. The appearance of the C# minor section occurs at the moment of greatest dramatic conflict, the confrontation between Suor Angelica and her Princess Aunt. (Example 6.37)



Example 6.37- large-scale design and expanded arpeggios,
Suor Angelica

At this moment, the psychological "dissonance" of the dramatic situation is illustrated by the dissonance of the C#, which has taken the place of C and thus warped the major triad into an augmented one. Puccini has shown this C#- C struggle quite clearly on the foreground level as well: (Example 6.38)

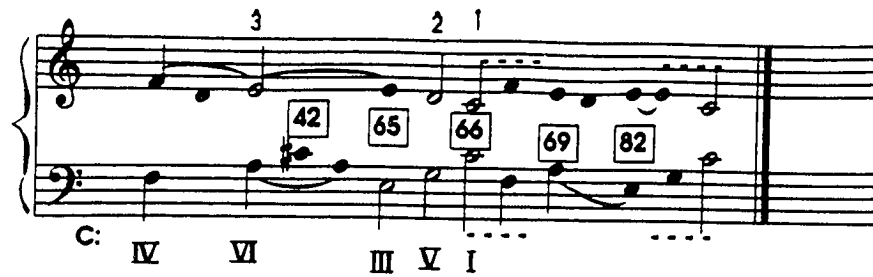
THE PRINCESS
LA ZIA PRINCIPESSA

Everything was left e-qually, 1
Io do-ve . vo di . viderlo 9

Example 6.38 - C minor and C# minor, 45/3, *Suor Angelica*
(© Copyright G. Ricordi & C, Milan. All rights reserved. Used by permission)

The scene between Angelica and her aunt comes exactly at the temporal mid-point of the opera. It also marks the end of the dramatic exposition and the first of two "arrivals" at the convent, as we have seen, one shadowy and cruel, the other luminous and loving. Therefore, it would be tempting to link this dramatic bifurcation point with a musical one.³⁰ But, although Puccini's musical scheme is indeed bipartite, this moment does not mark the end of the first half of the background structure: that does not occur until the resolution of the C# to C, at 66/0. On this level, the dramatic structure is not parallel to the tonal structure. However, the formal partitioning into halves, which we noted in *Tosca*, is indeed maintained.

It is indeed possible to limn a traditional *Ursatz* for this work. Yet we would like to point out that motivic expansions seem to hold greater sway in the shaping of the piece than do traditional harmonic structures. (Example 6.39)



Example 6.39- background graph with Ursatz,
Suor Angelica

On the deepest level, the plagal elements of the background structure, iterated twice, could be understood as an illustrative device, a meshing of the OM and IM categories. The resolution of F major to C major, which is the essential thrust of the harmonic plan, could derive from a simple $\begin{smallmatrix} 6-5 \\ 4-3 \end{smallmatrix}$ motion; in other words, an "Amen."

Conclusion

We have seen in this final chapter that these three Puccini operas, despite their dazzlingly diverse storylines and characters, employ the identical organizational features we saw in *Tosca*: *large-scale designs* derived from expanded opening motives that fit within implied tonal *structures*. That confirmation of our initial conclusions points the way to discovering the same or related constructs in the rest of Puccini's works; our journey over his musical terrain now complete, we can see that it is, in fact, a well-ordered landscape.

Notes to Chapter VI

¹Rudolph Reti, *The Thematic Process in Music* (1951, rep. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1978), 219-230.

²*ibid.*, 226.

³This augmented triad appears prominently on the musical surface at III/6/1, near the end of the orchestral intermezzo. Here, it serves as a whole-tone distortion of the descending, arpeggio-derived figure B \flat - F - E \flat - D - C - B \flat (transformed into B \flat - F \sharp - D - C - B \flat a bar later). Then, the pitch classes E and C are added to the sustained augmented triad B \flat - D - F \sharp , and a whole-tone cluster is formed, which resolves to B major. This moment is especially noteworthy because of the repetition of the whole-tone version of the figure immediately after the original diatonic one; we can, in effect, hear Puccini's transformation of the basic arpeggio that constitutes a primary motivic cell in this work.

⁴Letter from Puccini to Giulio Ricordi, 23 February 1905. Riccardo Cecchini, ed., *Lettere pucciniane* (Florence: n.p., 1988), 584.

⁵Interview, *Gazzetta di Torino*, 11 November 1911. Quoted in Michele Girardi, "Il finale de 'La Fanciulla del West' e alcuni problemi di codice," *Opera & Libretto II* (Florence: Olschki, 1993), 435.

⁶The opening vertical sonority will be referred to as "Motive 1," the horizontal pattern formed by the first four melodic pitch classes will be referred to as "Motive 2," and the combination of these will be referred to as the "prelude theme."

⁷The chord is initially arpeggiated, but then the pitch classes are heard as a simultaneous sonority.

⁸The approximate length of the temporal units is obscured further by the frequent fermatas. Even so, the odd 35-bar length might imply that the first bar of the first scene be part of the musical gesture; this would extend the motion from C major to E major, a microcosmic version of the opera's overall plan.

⁹This is an application of our Axiom 2: "a single pitch class can usurp the normal function of a chord or a key, and a chord or a key can usurp the normal function of a single pitch class." (See the Introduction.)

¹⁰In brief, F minor appears at the mention of Minnie's name (I/39/5), B begins a rising whole-tone sequence at I/40/2, A \flat appears at I/41/13 also as the start of a rising whole-tone sequence which ends on D.

¹¹A scene was cut here, which accounts for the gap in rehearsal numbers.

¹²The structural bass notes of Act III are A (supported III⁶), B (V) and E (I). This is an example of the "miniaturization" process, like the microcosmic plan of *Tosca* present within that opera's first act.

¹³Although in 1904, with *Madama Butterfly*, Puccini ended both acts on unresolved dissonances.

¹⁴Puccini's setting here bears a striking resemblance to the "kiss" scene in Verdi's *Otello*.

¹⁵This quote has been noted previously by Michele Girardi in his "Il finale," 430. Girardi also draws parallels between *Fanciulla* and other Wagner operas.

¹⁶At II/70/8, Minnie says, "Chi siete voi, Jack Rance? Un biscazziere. E Johnson? Un bandito. Io? Padrona di bettola e di bisca, vivo sul whisky e l'oro. Tutti del pari! Tutti banditi e baril!" ("Who are you, Jack Rance? A gambler. And Johnson? A bandit. Me? I run a dive and a gambling den, I live on whisky and gold. All the same! All bandits and cheats!")

¹⁷The E \flat moves to A on a low trill just before III/26; here the tenor aria "Ch'ella mi creda" in G \flat commences. Not an interpolation, the pitch class G \flat is continued after the aria, at III/28, as F \sharp . The next truly stable area is at III/34 where Minnie's entrance music is repeated, in C; this pitch class is the fourth member of the diminished seventh pattern. Almost immediately, another diminished seventh pattern, part of Minnie's theme, follows (III/36/3 - III/38). The cycle is completed when E \flat is re-established at III/40, where it simultaneously becomes the first leg of the augmented triad E \flat - B - G. B appears in the bass at III/40/7 and, at III/41, Minnie's aria in G major begins.

¹⁸The score indications in this single-act work show only the rehearsal number/ measures after rehearsal number.

¹⁹The seven segments of the libretto, not notated in the score, are: La preghiera, Le punizioni, La ricreazione, Il ritorno dalla cerca, La zia principessa, La grazia and Il miracolo (The prayer, the punishments, the recreations, the return from the collection, the princess aunt, the grace and the miracle).

²⁰Here, the dramatic and musical divisions are congruent. Later in the work, however, we will see an important musical punctuation point delineating a large musical construction, non-congruent with the libretto structure (as per our Axiom 3, "middleground musical units may supersede dramatic units").

²¹The several "Amen"'s in the score do seem to indicate endpoints of musical units.

²²Don Pietro Panichelli, *Il "pretino" di Giacomo Puccini racconta*, 3rd ed. (Pisa: Nistri Lischi, 1949), 177.

²³We should note here that Puccini alters the mood, and the key, before the arrival of the Princess and the start of the fifth dramatic segment. This increases the sense of dread and illustrates Angelica's fear.

²⁴The conflict of C and C \sharp is reflected in the large-scale design of the work. It is also a feature of the other two operas of *Il Trittico*, and the trilogy as a whole (the first two works end on C, but in the third, *Gianni Schicchi*, C \sharp (D \flat) holds sway as the dominant of the final tonic F \sharp (G \flat) major.

²⁵Undated letter from Puccini and Forzano to Antonio Rovascalli, the stage designer. Quoted in Eduardo Rescigno, theater program, Teatro alla Scala, (Milan, 1982-3): 80.

²⁶It seems quite unbelievable to those who are familiar with this opera that Puccini added the aria "Senza Mamma," a vital emotional focal point, more than a year after completing the score; even later, during the Roman rehearsals, he also lengthened the aria by adding the music which begins at 61/0. In this instance, perhaps prompted by the brevity of the one-act form, Puccini chose to retain for this solo aria the same tonality which flanks it: A minor precedes and A major follows. Thus, even without "Senza Mamma," an A-based harmony supporting pitch class E would still be in effect here.

²⁷An analysis of the entire *Trittico* might connect the frequent allusions to F# or Gb with the ultimate Gb major tonic; that could in turn lead to an associative connection between Angelica's F# "damnation" and Gianni Schicchi's eventual (Gb) one (his character was derived from a personage in Dante's *Inferno*).

²⁸The identical combination of A pedal below a Bb major triad is present in *Il Tabarro* as the wronged and anguished husband Michele hears a far-off bugle playing taps: again the bitonality is representative of two separate "worlds" although in *Il Tabarro* what divides those worlds is physical distance and the emotional contrast between the tormented Michele and the peaceful signal for repose.

²⁹Complete understanding of pitch class Bb most probably depends upon an analysis of the entire *Trittico*, especially as the third opera, *Gianni Schicchi*, commences in Bb major.

³⁰Greenwald chooses this option. However, in her discussion of "texture and macrostructure," she divides the opera into three parts. Helen Greenwald, *Dramatic Exposition and Musical Structure in Puccini's Operas*, Ph.d. diss. City University of New York, 1991, 116-118, and 193.

CONCLUSION

When we embarked upon our investigation of *Tosca*, we began where Puccini's work had ended: with a complex, complete operatic score filled with unresolved harmonies, transitory keys and dysfunctional voice-leading. Now at the end of our search, having made our way beyond this seemingly impenetrable musical surface, around dramatically-engendered interpolations and through foreground harmonic sidetracks, to the essential tonal structure and deep design, we have ended where Puccini's labors began: at his "motivo di prima intenzione"¹ ("motive of first intention (plan)") Let us now retrace our steps and "reconstruct" what we have analyzed.

Puccini's term "prima" might suggest a chronological "first": the motive is placed at the beginning of the opera and (as we have documented above) it was the first section of the score to have been orchestrated. However, it is possible that even this motive was derived from pre-existing material: either Wagner's *Parsifal* or the celebratory chant the *Te Deum* could have served as an Urmotiv. We would assert, then, that the dominant prolongation formed by the pairing of the opening motive and its tritone transposition ($Bb - Ab - E + E - D - Bb = Bb$), and realized through the OM-tool *chresis*, is "prima" in structural importance, not necessarily in temporal order.

When the expanded dominant prolongation reaches its conclusion, in the final bars of the opera, its resolution to the tonic occurs exactly at the same moment in which the drama ends. Therefore, the deepest musical structure is congruent with the deepest dramatic structure. Further, as we have noted, this prolonged dominant-tonic construction could hold extra-musical significance: the "irrational" opening motive might represent "evil" while the pairing of the twin motives could suggest an ultimate reconciliation with Divine justice (which will occur off-stage, "before God"). At the most profound level ,

then, the organizational (OM) functions and the illustrative (IM) ones of *Tosca's* score work together.²

If the dominant prolongation (and its ultimate resolution to tonic E \flat minor) is Puccini's first plan, what is his second? We would suggest that the next layer of construction is the bipartite division of each act, another feature of the score that parallels the drama. As we have noted, Puccini insisted, over the objections of his librettist Giacosa, on an arrangement of the Act II libretto that reflects such a bifurcation: "reflective" moments punctuate this stormy act at the outset and half-way through.³ Here as well, the OM and IM goals coincide.

Our next "retraced" step marks a separation of the OM and IM functions. The drama, organized according to the principle of contrasting emotional states, becomes illustrated in the music, which then also varies wildly. Yet Puccini, by again using prolonged pitch classes that cut through the changing, expressive vertical harmonies (OM-tool *chresis*) maintains a purely musical organization that transcends these scenic shifts. He uses three primary motivic cells (X, the step-wise fourth, Y, the step-wise third and Z, the perfect fourth + major or minor second), which have been derived from either the opening motive or one of the candidates for Urmotiv discussed above, and expands each of these over an entire act of the opera, forming secondary middleground designs.

Approaching the musical surface, we observe that Puccini has represented dramatic elements by developing foreground leitmotivic material (motives, semi-motives, melodies and passagework)⁴ from the three basic motivic cells. This motivic interrelatedness contributes to the musical unity (and is thus an OM-tool), yet the individual motives so derived are tightly bound to the drama (and thus are IM-tools). Finally, in addition to the leitmotifs he has developed, Puccini manipulates the musical foreground to reflect the drama by using the rest of the illustrative musical tools at his command: *foreground harmonic syntax, mode, rhythm, meter, tempo, orchestration, dynamics, etc.*

Now, having returned to the musical surface, we can understand why the foreground harmonies and voice-leading are so peculiar: they are not truly functional. The organization of this score operates on a scale so vast as to render transitory key areas as structurally

inconsequential as a passing tone would be in other music. Indeed, chords and keys (as per our axiom 1) do behave like single pitches, and single pitches can have the stabilizing effects of chords or keys. It does not matter, then, if the soprano and bass lines are parallel, because the bass we hear is not a "real" bass; that is, it does not function as one. The organizational factors that control the shape of the piece are the huge motivic expansions, which function within an even larger tonal framework, an implied *Ursatz*.

The grandness of this conception is a sign, like Puccini's conscious use of "leitmotifs," that the composer admired the operas of Richard Wagner. Further, in *Tosca* and in the three other operas we examined, Puccini has quoted dramatically-relevant motivic material from Wagner's works, and the continuous nature of the musical surface (with phrase construction that expresses the dramatic action) reflects a Wagnerian influence.

Perhaps the most important of our discoveries, though, is that the compositional techniques we observed in *Tosca* also apply to three of his other operas, *Manon Lescaut*, *La fanciulla del West* and *Suor Angelica*. In each case, the following three features are present:

- 1. the motivic material is interrelated and derived from a small number of primary motivic cells**
- 2. the opening motive is expanded over the entire work**
- 3. this giant construct functions within a normal (if implied) tonal structure, an *Ursatz*.**

Having now reached the conclusion of the conclusion, we do not consider it an ending, but a beginning. We hope that our analytical explorations into the creative efforts of Giacomo Puccini will initiate further inquiries that will expand the boundaries of our knowledge in this fertile field. For now, however, our journey has come to an end.

Notes to the Conclusion

¹Mosco Carner, *Puccini: a Critical Biography*, 2nd ed (1974, reprint, New York: Holmes and Meier, 1988), 286.

²A post-curtain dramatic resolution does not belie the connection between musical and dramatic structures: it is enough that this resolution should be implied within the libretto. In a sense, this implied dramatic structure would parallel the implied musical structure we have posited.

³This "seam" occurs at the point where Illica joined together two of the original scenes from the Sardou play: Mario's torture (originally of Act III) and Scarpia's bargain and murder (originally of Act IV).

⁴We have defined these terms as follows: motives - those recognizable pieces of musical material, longer than the motivic cells, that appear more than twice; semi-motives - those recognizable pieces of musical material, longer than the motivic cells that appear only twice each; melodies - non-recurring melodic pieces that relate motivically to one or more of the motivic cells; passagework - the musical material that fills the gaps between the above, and which may also be motivically related.

**AN ANALYSIS OF PUCCINI'S *TOSCA*:
A HEURISTIC APPROACH TO THE UNIFYING ELEMENTS
OF THE OPERA**

VOLUME II

by

Deborah Ellen Burton

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Music Theory)
in The University of Michigan
1995

Doctoral Committee:

Assistant Professor Walter Everett, Chair
Associate Professor Earl Coleman
Professor Ellwood Derr
Associate Professor Andrew Mead
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APPENDIX A

LA TOSCA

Play in five acts by Victorien Sardou

(translated into English by Deborah Burton*)

Performed for the first time, November 24, 1887, at the Theater of la Porte St. Martin and
revived at the Sarah Bernhardt Theater on May 8, 1909.

To Sarah Bernhardt, Victorien Sardou

CAST OF CHARACTERS:

	1887	1909
Floria Tosca	Sarah Bernhardt	Sarah Bernhardt
Marie-Caroline, Queen of Naples	Bauché	Jane Méea
Luciana, Tosca's maid	Durand	Duc
Gennarino, Cavaradossi's manservant	Seylor	Seylor
Princesse Orionia	Marie Augé	Boulanger
A Monsignor	Fortin	Thomas
Baron Scarpia, regent of police	P. Berton	Manudian
Mario Cavaradossi	Demény	Deneubourg
Cesare Angelotti	Rosny	Ch. Krauss
The Marquis Attavanti	Francès	Chameroy
Eusèbe, sacristan	Lacroix	Cauroy
Vicomte de Trévilhac	Violet	Guidé
Capréola	Joliet	Coutier
Trivulce	Deschamps	Luitz
Spoletta, Captain of the riflemen	Bouyer	Angelo
Schiarrone, policeman ¹	Piron	Weill
Ceccho, domestic	Gaspard	Catriens
Paisiello	Mallet	Bussièrès
Diego Naselli, Prince of Aragon	Delisle	
An usher	Dumont	Mauvray
Colometti	Jégu	Coquelet
A sergeant	Besson	Cintract
Fiscal Prosecutor	Cartereau	Béranger

The action takes place in Rome on 17 June 1800.

FIRST ACT

(The Saint Andrew of the Jesuits church in Rome.² Architect Bernini: fully curved arches above large plain pillars of white marble with red veneer. The view is from the right transept. Further back, the choir is surrounded by a very ornate grille, and the flight of the apse near the right is obscured by the darkness. Downstage, on the right, a side door. Upstage, forming an angle with one of the large pillars, the chapel of the Angelottis. Grille on the scenery, grille on the side of the apse with the coat-of-arms of the Angelottis: three silver angels, two and one, on an azure background. All of the stage right side is occupied by a painter's scaffolding, leaning against an altar, and by a large frame surrounding a sketched picture representing the Resurrection of Lazarus. On the scaffolding, a painter's stepladder, footstool, brushes, palettes, materials, etc.. One reaches this scaffolding by a small stairway of unfinished wood. At the foot of the stair, a basket with a flask of wine, two silver goblets, bread, a cold chicken, a napkin and some figs. In the center of the scenery, in the back, a pillar with a painted Madonna in relief under a small golden canopy. At its foot, a bowl for flowers, and a tripod with tapers. In front of the scaffolding, two footstools.)

First scene

GENNARINO, EUSÈBE, sacristan. Gennarino is asleep stretched out on the scaffolding. **Eusèbe**, coming from the back, approaches him and jangles a big bunch of keys in his ear.

EUSÈBE: - Eh! Gennarino!...

GENNARINO, startled awake: Uh, what can I do for you?

E: Were you asleep?

G, rubbing his eyes: Yes...I was sleeping a little.

E: Lazy! Although I am going to do the same. It is siesta time. It's time to close the doors...Where is your boss?

G, taking the palette and cleaning it: He went to the Jewish quarter to buy some cloth for his picture.

E: That's my Frenchman, running around the streets of Rome, in the month of June, in the heat of day, and making me wait for him!

G, standing: Lord Mario Cavaradossi is not French, Father Eusèbe, he is Roman, like you and me, from an old patrician family, if you please.

E: Well, I know what I am saying...He may be Roman through his father, whom I knew well in my youth, but he is even more French through his

mother, a Parisian! Here is the proof: if your master were a true Italian, would he work at an hour when any real Roman is busy sleeping?

G, preparing the palette: His Excellency claims that there is no better time for working than now, because with the doors closed, he is no longer disturbed by the English visitors³ and their chattering guides, by the buzzing of the prayers, the chanting of the hymns and the sound of the organ, and that, in this solitude and silent coolness of the church, he feels freer, more inspired, more zestful!...

E, upstage, muttering while arranging the candles in front of the Madonna: Yes. To have visits from a certain woman.

G: What are you saying?

E: Nothing!...After all, he is a generous gentleman. He never leaves the place without slipping me three or four Pauli, as a token of his esteem. I only regret, Gennarino, that the Cavaliere Cavaradossi doesn't have more religious feeling.

G, agreeing: Oh, that!...

(He lays the palette down, after having prepared it with fresh colors, on the platform and cleans the paintbrushes)

E: Because, in short, I have never seen him present at mass nor joining his voice to ours during Vespers...and since he has been working on this chapel, he has not made confession once; not even on the the holy day of Easter.

G: I must admit that is true, father Eusèbe.

E: A Jacobin,⁴ Gennarino, a pure Jacobin. Besides, he has someone to take after. Papa Cavaradossi before him passed for a philosopher. He lived in Paris a long time in the company of the abominable Voltaire, and other evil-doers of the same group...Take care, Gennarino, that contact with the godless does not drive you straight to Hell.

G, kneeling, yawning: Do you think, father Eusèbe, that they sleep in Hell?

E: If they sleep there?

G: Yes...

E: Do they sleep there? I confess, my boy, that your question takes me by surprise. I must investigate this point with father Caraffa,⁵ the leading light of our church. Nevertheless I would incline rather toward insomnia, which is a torture well-made for the damned.

G, likewise: Oh, yes!

E: You should correct a little of what is reprehensible in your master's conduct; suggest to him the idea of offering, for the sacrifice of the mass, a few bottles of this Marsala that I see in your basket. (He takes the basket)

G, without turning around: It is not Marsala...it is Gragnano.

E, taking the bottle and examining it: You amaze me, my child...By the color, I would bet it was Marsala. (He uncorks and smells it)

G: You would lose, Father Eusèbe.

E, pouring the wine in a goblet: By Heaven, I shall get to the bottom of this! (He swallows it in one gulp)

G, leaping to the ground: Hey there!

E, smacking his lips: You are right, my son...it is Gragnano and one of the best.

G, pulling the bottle and the goblet away from him: And then my master will say I did it! (He rinses the goblet with the water from the pitcher)

E: Well!...He is too deeply in love to notice it. (He looks at the time on his watch) Besides, he really owes me this compensation for the naptime that he's making me lose.

G, putting the bottle and the goblet back in the basket: He probably stopped to see the preparations for the fête at the Palazzo Farnese.⁶

E: That fête would not entice him, because it is to celebrate a new victory of our army over the French troops.

G: What victory?

E: Good God! Is it possible that you haven't heard about the surrender of Genoa?⁷

G: Vaguely.

E: That is to say that the Cavaliere voluntarily leaves you in ignorance of our triumphs. You should know, child, that the French were beaten everywhere, and that General Massena,⁸ surrounded in Genoa, had to capitulate and cede the city to the troops of His Imperial Majesty.

G: Ah-ha!

E, sitting on a stepladder and pulling from his pocket a newspaper and his bifocals: By the way, here is what the Gazette says!... Listen to this, my boy. (Gennarino

sits on the platform with his legs dangling. Eusèbe reads.) *We have received new details about the surrender of Genoa...General Massena has left the city with only eight thousand men, more or less disabled and in no condition to continue the campaign. General Soult,⁹ a prisoner, is seriously wounded. Three quarters of the generals, colonels and French officers of every rank are captives as well, or either wounded or dead. This is a shocking disaster for the undisciplined troops who impudently call themselves the French army... And then this. (He reads) Her Majesty Queen of Naples Marie-Caroline,¹⁰ august daughter of the Empress Maria Theresa, sister of the ill-fated Marie-Antoinette, dignified and glorious spouse of His Majesty Ferdinand IV of Naples, our victorious protector, has come as fast as possible from Livorno where she was en route to Vienna, to host a large gala tonight, June 17, at the Palazzo Farnese, in honor of this victory...There will be a concert followed by a ball on Piazza Farnese, which will be illuminated, and music¹¹...*

G, enraptured: And music?

E, continuing: *...and music at all the crossroads near the palace...It is regrettable only that, on this solemn and truly patriotic occasion, his Majesty Ferdinand is absent, obliged to remain in Naples in order to erase the last vestiges of the infamous Parthenopian Republic.¹² Adding to the latest news, Monsieur de Melas¹³ has concentrated all his troops in Alexandria. Before long, we shall be able to celebrate a lasting and decisive victory...With Monsieur de Melas, Gennarino, there is no doubt about that! (He puts the newspaper back in his pocket) There is of course that little General Bonaparte who is, they say, in Milan: but do you take this General Bonaparte seriously, Gennarino?*

G: As for me, I don't know: but my boss, oh yes!

E: There is my Jacobin again! It made some sense for the old Bonaparte, the real one...But this one who is false...

G: False?

E: Perfectly. I know from a reliable source that General Bonaparte died in Egypt, drowned in the Red Sea like Pharoah, and that this one is none other than his brother Joseph,¹⁴ who they pretend was the one who died, in order to inspire the French soldiers, who are so disheartened that they refuse to fight.

G: So that's how you see it!

E: Yes, my boy, see what they are reduced to in Paris. And that is not all. Do you know what he dreamed up, that fake?

G: Joseph?

E: Joseph!...He started the rumor that he had crossed the Alps with all of his cannons!...The Alps!... No...You could die laughing...

G: Here is my boss.

Scene II

THE SAME, MARIO CAVARADOSSI

Mario, entering from stage left carrying some cloth: I beg your pardon, Father Eusèbe, I am a little late.

(He hands his hat and his coat to Gennarino, then climbs the scaffolding and, during the following, drapes his cloth on a mannequin.)

E, refolding his newspaper: I took advantage of the time, Excellency, to bring Gennarino up to date on military operations.

M: Oh, that!

E: Everything is closed...May I leave, Excellency?

M: Yes, yes...and you too, Gennarino. I won't need you before the doors reopen.

G: Thank you, Excellency.

E: .Your Excellency will be kind enough to pull the bolts closed. (Pushing Gennarino). Come on, go on ahead, you lazy thing. (They exit stage left. Eusèbe closes the door.)

Scene III

MARIO, ANGELOTTI

(Mario is left alone; after having arranged his cloth, he descends the scaffolding to see the effect from a distance. Then, whistling, he climbs back up the scaffolding and corrects the folds of the drapery: after which he removes his jacket, places his footstool and gets ready to work...As soon as he has climbed back up on the platform, Angelotti appears behind the grille of the chapel on stage left, which he opens silently and leaves without being seen by Mario who has his back to him: then, he goes down to the door and listens. At that moment, Mario, kneeling down to choose colors from his box, sees him.)

M, surprised, without changing position: What?...Is someone there?...

A, turning around: Softer, I beg you... Are we alone?

M: Yes. And so, who the devil are you, with such an evil look?

A: Evil, indeed, to some people, but to you, no, if I believe what this man and this boy were saying.

M, getting off the platform: None of which tells me who you are...

A, boldly: Well then, so be it!...Come what may! I am a prisoner escaped from the Castel Sant'Angelo!

M: You?

A, quickly: And my name is not perhaps unknown to you. In Naples, I was one of the most ardent defenders of the Parthenopian Republic, and, when it succumbed, I took refuge in Rome, where they made me consul of the Roman Republic, slaughtered like the other. You have been able to read my name on all the lists of banished: Cesare...

M, quickly: Angelotti?...¹⁵

A: Yes!

M, running to the door and pulling the bolts closed: Why didn't you say so earlier?

A: God be praised...I was not mistaken about you...

M: You certainly were not! But how have you come to be hidden in this church?...

A: How and why I will tell you; but, for mercy's sake, a few drops of this wine...I have had nothing since yesterday, and I can't go on, from fatigue and want. (He sits on the stepladder.)

M, going quickly to the basket, and pouring a drink for him in a goblet: Oh, of course!...Here!...Drink!...Drink up!

A: Thank you. (He drinks a mouthful and shakes Mario's right hand with his left hand. Mario tries to disengage it, but he holds tight.) Don't take back your hand...When one has only had dealings for a long time with jailers, tyrants and other evil animals, you would not believe what a pleasure it is to finally shake hands with a man. (He empties the goblet.) This wine is reviving me.

M, returning to his basket: I have better things to offer you, luckily. He brings back the basket, which he empties while speaking.) And how were you able to escape?

A, ready to eat: I had nothing to do with it really...(He interrupts himself to look around him) But are you really sure?

M: The church is empty and completely closed...The sacristan himself cannot re-enter by that door unless I open the bolts. We have in front of us a good two hours of safety at least.

A, eating: I cannot take the credit, I tell you, for my escape, which is the work of my sister, the Marquise Attavanti...Do you know her?

M: Only by sight.

A: It was all her doing. Yesterday, at the end of the day, a warden by the name of Trebelli, won over by her, brought me these clothes in my dungeon whose door he opened for me after releasing my chains. They are working now at the Castel Sant'Angelo to repair the damage of the French occupation. I was able to blend in with the workers when they left, and thus get out. But at that hour, the city gates are closed, from the evening *Angelus* until the morning *Angelus*. Take refuge with my sister? Impossible! The Marquis Attavanti, my brother-in-law, is a fanatic for the throne and the Church; he is the kind of man who would deliver me himself to the hangman, not because of wickedness - the imbecile is not wicked - but to flatter the court, out of fear, and from a feeling of duty! Where to find asylum for the night? My sister had foreseen this situation. The Angelottis, founders of this church, have their own chapel here and only they have the key to it: yesterday she deposited women's clothes there, a veil, a mantle, even a fan, in order to hide my face if necessary, and razors, scissors...everything I would need to make myself unrecognizable. The key was given to me by Trebelli, I was able to slip into the chapel before the church doors were closed, spend the night there, and, when day came, to cut my hair and beard. I was expecting Trebelli this morning. Because only he enters my cell, my escape will not be noticed until the regulation visit tomorrow. It was therefore agreed that Trebelli would do his duty as usual, and it was understood that, afterwards, with a driver, he would come to get me here during High Mass. I was to leave with him wearing my women's clothes, climbed into the carriage, and go to Frascati to join my sister who, having left this morning, is getting everything ready for me to leave the Roman States. Trebelli has not appeared, and I couldn't decide between my obligation to wait for him, since without him I don't know what is to become of me, and the fear of prolonging my stay here. Because if the escape has been discovered after all, if Trebelli has been arrested, if he talks...

M: If he had been arrested, you would have been too; because one way or another, he would have told everything!...And, if your flight were known, the cannon of the Castel Sant'Angelo would have announced it to the whole city, giving the signal to close the city gates...

A: That reassures me, indeed, not having heard it. But where is the man...

M: It is a delay that the smallest accident could have caused and it's nothing to get frightened about. Let's wait here patiently until later in the day. No asylum is safer for you than this deserted church...Besides, in this quarter you cannot leave in your disguise without attracting the attention of the gossips who sit on their stoops knitting, the children, the people playing bocce down there on the piazza. Whereas, when the church reopens, you can leave openly by the front door, and, amidst the comings and goings of all the faithful, no one will notice one more. If, at that hour, Trebelli has not yet shown up, leave the rest to me.

A: Ah, what a man you are!...The only thing troubling me is my sister who is waiting anxiously for me.

M: And whom we cannot contact, unfortunately. But that explains her presence yesterday in this church.

A: You saw her?

M: Enough to put a souvenir of her marvelous beauty in this painting.

A, looking: Indeed!

M: Oh, just a sketch.

A, looking at the tableau: Yes...that is the golden color of her hair, and those big gentle blue eyes of hers...Ah, my dear Giulia! What devotion...To think that she and death have been fighting over me for a year. But the affection of one woman is less powerful than the hatred of another.

M: Ah, is that what it is?...

A: And it is all my own fault...It was about twenty years ago, I was in London, and only concerned then about my own pleasure...One evening, at Vauxhall, I was accosted by one of these creatures who prowl the public parks at night, in search of a dinner. This one was stupendously beautiful. Our liaison lasted eight days; then I left, remembering the affair only as much as it was worth. Years passed: my father died, and the distribution of his wealth made me proprietor of considerable land holdings in the environs of Naples, and, therefore, an inhabitant of that city. I arrived there one day after a fairly long absence. Prince Pepoli, at whose house I was dining, said to me: "Come let me present you to the Ambassador from England, Sir Hamilton¹⁶, and his delightful wife who is turning everyone's head here." And in Lady Hamilton,¹⁷ imagine my surprise!...I recognized my easy conquest from Vauxhall...

M: Oh, yes! Emma Lyon, nanny, then tavern waitress, model, woman of ill-repute, etc., and finally, wife of the Ambassador of the United Kingdom.

A: I concealed my surprise in vain. Lady Hamilton is not a woman to be tricked. She knew she was recognized. At dinner, I had the honor of being seated at her right. But another guest, Hatred, was sitting between us...And I was fool enough to dare...Hamilton then was not the real sovereign of Naples as she is today, as a result of the influence she has had on Marie-Caroline, her friend, and on Admiral Nelson, her lover, protector of the Kingdom!... But she already had enough sway to agitate the court to use the utmost severity against the Neapolitans, like me, suspected of having revolutionary ideas. Irritated by her hostile attitude toward us, which went as far as cruelty, I forgot myself and said publicly in what place I had known that adventuress. Two days later, my house was searched, my papers siezed, ransacked...Nothing! But in my library, there were two volumes of Voltaire that a traitor's hand had slipped in, unbeknownst to me, and on whose order? Need I tell you? Now, the royal order was absolutely firm. For anyone who possesses a single work of Voltaire... three years in the galleys!...

M: And what did you do?

A: My three years.

M: Ah, good God!

A: After which, exiled, ruined, all of my goods confiscated by the crown, I left Naples, to which I returned only while in pursuit of Championnet.¹⁸ Upon the Royal Army's return, I managed to reach Rome, while in Naples the patriots, my friends, were being quartered, blinded, mutilated, and burned alive by the Neapolitan mob that enjoyed their roasted flesh, and in the countryside, hunted down by the San-Fedists in the pay of a Fra Diavolo or of a Mammone,¹⁹ that monster who slits the throats of his prisoners, and drinks their blood!...But, when the French station had to cede Rome to the Neapolitan troops, I was arrested, despite the surrender, thrown in a dungeon in the Castel Sant'Angelo and I have been forgotten there for a year, thanks to my sister. The Prince of Aragon,²⁰ the King's Governor of Rome, is not an evil man, and countenances this voluntary oversight, in hopes that with the arrival of a new Pope, I would receive a pardon; but the court of Naples recently dispatched here, as regent of police, a Sicilian who had a reputation down there for dispensing merciless justice...

M: The Baron Scarpia!..²¹

A: ...And he is not one to overlook me!

M: Ah, the wretch! Under an exterior of perfect courtesy and fervent devotion, with his smiles and signs of the cross, what a vile scoundrel, sanctimonious and rotten, an artist in villainy, refined in his evilness,

delighting in cruelty, blood-thirsty in his orgies! What woman, daughter or sister, has not paid with her honor for coming near this impure satyr?

A: Do you think you need to tell me? My sister, terrified, had to run from him, and that was when she conceived my escape plan. But Scarpia was a step ahead of us and, in three days, I was to be expedited to Naples in order to give Lady Hamilton the joy of seeing her old lover hang!...Pleasure that she will not have, no matter what; in this ring, thanks to my sister, I have something to save them the cost of my hanging (A dull knock on the door at stage left.)

M: Ssh!...

A: Someone knocked...

(Silence. They listen. Noise of voices outside.)

M, listening at the door: No, one of the bocce player's balls hit the door.

(He goes back to Angelotti.)

A: I regret involving you in my concerns...But, good God, I have been telling you about myself for an hour, and I don't even know your name.

M: Mario Cavaradossi.²²

A: The son?...

M: Of Nicolas Cavaradossi. A Roman like you.

A: I thought the family had died out.

M: Not yet, as you can see. but your mistake is understandable. My father lived most of his life in France. Introduced into the social circle of the Encyclopedists by Abbé Galiani, he had strong ties with Diderot, d'Alembert...It was thus that he married Mlle. de Castron, my mother, grand-niece of Helvetius. I went to school in Paris and, after the death of my parents, I lived there during the whole revolutionary period, in the atelier of David,²³ with whom I studied...

A: And you can live here?

M: Without having desired or even expected it... I had some concerns in abeyance in Rome. I came here just when the French troops were leaving by one door and the Neapolitan army was entering by the other. And I stayed here to put my affairs in order...

A: For a year?

M: It would be ungracious of me not to tell you the truth...I have stayed mainly because...

A, smiling: Of a woman?

M: Of course!

A: As always!

M: Do you know *la Tosca*?²⁴

A: *Floria Tosca*? The singer?

M: Yes.

A: Only by reputation...Is it she?

M: It is she!...The artist is incomparable: but the woman...Ah, the woman!...And this exquisite creature had been found in the fields, completely wild, herding sheep. The Benedictine monks of Verona, who had taken her in for charity, only taught her to read and pray a little: but she is one of those who soon realize how much they don't know. Her first music teacher was the convent organist. She did so well at her lessons that at sixteen, she was already a local celebrity. People would come to hear her on holidays. *Cimarosa*,²⁵ who was sent there by a friend, decided to challenge God for her, and to have her sing opera. But the Benedictines did not want to give her up to the devil. There was a great fight. *Cimarosa* conspired, the convent plotted. All of Rome took sides, for or against, to such a degree that the last Pope had to intervene. The young girl was presented before him, he listened to her, was charmed, and, tapping her on the cheek, said: "Go freely, my girl, you will cause all hearts, like mine, to shed sweet tears...and that is also a way of praying to God." Four years later, she debuted triumphantly in *Nina*,²⁶ and afterwards at La Scala, at San Carlo, at La Fenice, everywhere there was only she. With regard to our liaison, it was improvised here at the Argentina where she is singing now. One of those encounters when two people fall for each other at first sight,, when two beings recognize each other without ever having met. It is he! - It is she! - and that's it.

A: I have only known you for 15 minutes, myself; but I wouldn't blame her for loving you.

M: Ah, as for that!...She loves me well! I know of only one fault that she has. That is a mad jealousy that has somewhat hindered our happiness. There is also her devotion, which is excessive; but love and devotion agree with one another...

A: It is the same thing!...

M: Oh yes! Finally, because of her, I reluctantly agreed to prolong my stay here, which is not without peril. Because, as you well know, I am looked at askance here. I took no part in what you call your revolt; and, in that regard, they will not bother me; but, except for my name, which has been sullied a bit, my father having been part of a scandal in his time, the simple fact that I am a student of David (a member of the Convention), my way of living, which is nothing like a San-Fedist, my clothes and even the expression of my face, all draw me to the attention of the police. Here, as in Naples, you know, they frown upon those who do not wear powdered wigs, breeches, boots with buckles, and who dress and do their hair in the French manner. Titus-like hair is much too liberal, my beard is free-thinking, my boots are revolutionary. I would have already been mixed up with the hideous Scarpia if I had not thought up a strategy...

A: Which is?...

M: I asked the chapter of this church for the authorization to paint this wall for free.

A: They accepted?

M: Of course!...This pious devotion warded off the storm and perhaps will guarantee my security until Floria leaves for Venice where she is engaged next season. There, at least, we will be able to love each other without fear.

A: And with more freedom, certainly...

M: Oh, honestly, we are out in the open. When she is not at my house, at the Palazzo Cavaradossi, I am at her place. Even here, she comes to meet me in broad daylight, and you would hear her knocking on this door if she did not have a rehearsal for the concert tonight... Which is just as well, in these circumstances...

A: Why?

C: Her presence will thwart our plans.

A: Fine then, all you will have to tell her is who I am...

M: Oh, no!... I am not in favor of involving women in these types of adventures.

A: Even she who is devoted to you?

M: Even she - her cooperation is useless to us, right? Let's be rid of all that is useless. As small as the risk is to talk to her, it is even smaller not to talk at all, and then we will avoid, in one stroke, the questions, the worries, the

fever, the nerves, etc.... above all her bad mood when she sees me protecting a villain such as you. Because for her, a royalist, you are no more than that!...And then, let us suppose the escape becomes impossible, that your stay in Rome must be prolonged: one maladroit word could ruin everything. Remember, above all, that she is devout, that the confessor is a dreadful confidant, and that the only woman who is truly discreet is one who knows nothing...and even then!...

(Someone knocks outside.)

Floria, outside: Mario!

M: It is her! (Loudly) Yes! Yes! (To Angelotti) Hide!...I will cut short her visit if need be...(Angelotti takes refuge in the chapel.)

F, still knocking: Open up!...

M, seizing his palette and his brushes: Wait...I am coming!...I am coming!

(He pulls the bolts and opens the door.)

Scene IV

MARIO, FLORIA

Floria, entering with a bunch of flowers, a large walking stick in her hand: Such a fuss just to let me in!...

M, a paintbrush in his teeth: You didn't give me time to get down.

F, looking around with a suspicious air: You close the bolts now?

M: Yes, Father Eusèbe likes it better that way.

F: The little boy is not here?...

M, laying down his brushes: No, I gave him leave...(Floria suddenly goes upstage) What are you looking for?

F: To whom were you speaking just now?

M: Me!...I was not speaking!...I was humming...You heard me humming...

F: Speaking!...You went like this, ssh...ssh...ssh...ssh...

M: What a joke!...Who would be here at this hour?...

F: Who knows? Some pious old churchwoman who is in love with you.

M: Oh!...Already!...A scene in this heat...Can't you wait until it gets cooler this evening...(He takes her hands and kisses them tenderly.) What a flower harvest!

F: For the Madonna...I have a lot to be forgiven for.

M, continuing: For example?

F: For example what you are doing there.

M: What is the harm?...

F: Oh, yes, right in front of her...(lowering her voice) Let me at least greet her first...

M, likewise, imitating her: Oh, it is too fitting...

(Flora climbs up towards the pillar on which the Madonna rests, puts her flowers into the urn and kneels, her back turned towards the stairs. Mario takes advantage of this to give a signal to Angelotti who is seen for an instant behind the grille.)

F, coming down again and giving him back her hands, more at ease, in a full voice: There, that's done!

M, kissing her fingers: So, may I now? Does madame permit it?...

F, very sincere: Yes...Ah, I am really annoyed, you know.

M: Why?

F: Because we will not see each other until tomorrow.

M: Why not?

F: That gala!...

M: At the Palazzo Farnese?...

F: Yes...There is a concert, and, as you can guess, I have the biggest part.

M: Fine, but afterwards?...

F: There is a ball.

M: And you must go dancing?

F: No!... dining...The Duke of Ascoli²⁷ gave me the message that the queen would be pleased to see me and has reserved a place for me.

M: What a favor!

F: Oh, yes...She is very good to me. But we will not eat until daybreak and we won't see be able to see each other before noon.

M, lightly: Indeed!...

F: You take that rather easily...

M: Ah, truly...

F: Really. It's funny...You take it all so philosophically!

M: Let's just say I am resigned to it...

F: Oh, men!...Ah, it was a mistake to love you so much...and above all to let you know it.

M, picking up his palette again: Oh!

F, looking at the tableau, with a cry of surprise: Who is that woman there?

M, looking behind him: That woman?

F: There, there, on the wall?

M: Ah, the blond?

F: No!...the red-head!

M: It's Mary Magdalene. How do you like her?

F, climbing up two steps: Too pretty.

M: Too pretty?

F: I don't like it when you make women so attractive.

M: If you are jealous as well of the women I paint!

F: I know what goes on between you and them!

M, laughing: Ah, good!...And what goes on?...

F: No sooner have you made two big eyes on that creature than you say to yourself, "Ah, her beautiful eyes!" And a little mouth! "Oh, the pretty mouth!...one could eat it!" In the end, it is she whom you admire, she whom you love, and not me anymore!...

M, laughing while working: Oh, fine!

F: And moreover, from what do you fabricate those creations of yours? Your memories...or your desires!...Eyes that you have often seen...Lips that have said to you, "I love you!" Or to whom you would like to say it!...To whom does that hair belong...and those blue eyes?...Oh, I am sure I know them...I have seen them somewhere!

(She climbs the scaffolding while speaking)

M, likewise: It is probable.

F, quickly: Ah, then it is a real woman...She exists?

M: Guess.

F: I will. L'Attavanti!...

M: Yes...You are looking at her.

F: Then you know her?...You are seeing her after all?...Where you do see her?...At her house?...Here?...At your place?...Don't lie.

M: But...

F: But speak up, answer me!

M: Let me speak!...I saw her here, only once, yesterday, by accident.

F: Oh, by accident!...by accident, that's a good one! (She sits down on a ladder.)

M: By accident. She came in while I was painting; She kneeled down there, like you. She prayed, like you. And, with her big cornflower-blue eyes raised to heaven... and her beautiful blond hair!...

F: Her beautiful hair, that's a good one, too!...

M, continuing calmly: Still bathed in golden light from the setting sun, she was so perfectly the Magdalene of my dreams that in a few brushstrokes I captured her there, without her suspecting it and without my saying a word to her.

F: And why this woman, I ask you, and not me?...Couldn't I be a Magdalene as golden as she?

M, gaily: Ah, well, frankly, you do not have the air of a saint, especially not right now.

F: And she does then?...Ah, she looks good, the marquise, with her halo!...A joker who deceives her husband and walks all over town with her lover!...

M: Excuse me!...He is not a lover, but a *cicisbeo*, accepted as such by everyone, and by the husband himself...Therefore, he is not being deceived.

F: That's fine, I myself have neither a husband nor a *cicisbeo*!...I have a lover whom I love exclusively and who is everything to me. It's more honest...

M, tenderly: I adore you, too!

F: That shameless woman who comes here to pose on purpose!

M: Come on, come on, you are being foolish. Let's forget about the marquise.

F: She would be better off trying to convert her villain of a brother.

M: Oh, a villain!

F: Oh, naturally you defend him...an enemy of God, the king and the Pope!...A demagogue, an athiest!

M, throwing a glance toward Angelotti, over Floria's shoulder: Oh, my!

F, sitting on the last step: Yes, oh yes. Oh, you can joke...But it really saddens me.You have such bad opinions with such a good heart. A man who reads Voltaire!...and this other one whose book you gave me, a horror!...

M: The *Nouvelle Héloïse* ?

F: Father Caraffa, my confessor, whom I told about it, said to me, "My child, burn this infamous book right away, or it will burn you!"

M: And did you burn it?...

F: No!

M: Ah, so much the better. It means a lot to me. A present from Rousseau to my father.

F: And I read it!...and this book did not burn me at all, really, not at all.

M, half lying down near her on the scaffolding: My goodness!

F: Those people are all chatter...They talk all the time and never make love to each other.

M: So, Father Caraffa also interferes with your reading?

F: Naturally, when I confess my sins to him .

M: And mine.

F: They are the same ones...And, by the way, if you knew what he said to me about you!...

M: Oh, I could guess... I am a sans-culotte²⁸ and I drink blood!

F: Ah, more than anything else, godless...and I am pretty unhappy about it. I haven't been forgetting to pray to God with all my soul for the salvation of yours.

M, he presses her against him: Poor little dear heart.

F: Especially since the Father has formally declared to me that our liaison is abominable.

M: Oh!

F: Abominable!...I can still hear it: "My child, if you want heaven to pardon you for it, let it at least lead to the conversion of your friend. Reclaim for us this sheep gone astray and God will close his eyes to your transgression. Sacred love will purify profane love. And first get him to sacrifice that revolutionary insignia that he shows off shamelessly in the streets with his air of defiance!..."

M: What insignia?...

F: Your moustache.

M: Oh!

F, sadly: Ah, I promised him to make you shave it!

M: You didn't breathe a word about it.

F, likewise: Never!

M: Why?

F: It would be horrible...it looks so good on you!

M: Ah, I see!...

F: I have loved you just as you are from the first moment. I cannot accept the idea of loving you otherwise, with a shaved face, like Father Caraffa's!...Only, that is the punishment...I don't dare to make confession anymore and to admit to him that the moustache is still here, because I like it....Because then he would forbid me to love you!...I would answer him...God knows what I would answer him...A real scandal!...But I am really in for it now...I am in a constant state of mortal sin, and if I should die suddenly...

M: Straight to Hell!

F: Still, if it were with you!...

M: Ah, who knows!...

F, reassured: Yes, I think things can still be worked out...

M: But of course!...

F: Thanks to the Madonna, I am on good terms with the Madonna.

M: So then, let's keep going!

(Someone knocks on the door)

F: Ssh!...

M: What?

F: Someone knocked.

Luciana, outside: Madame, madame!

F, coming down: It is my maid...Is that you, Luciana?

L: Yes, madame.

F, to Mario: Open the door.

(Mario opens the door)

Scene V

THE SAME, LUCIANA

F: What is this? What?

L: A letter from the maestro, which was brought to the house.

(She searches for the letter)

F: Paisiello?²⁹ My God, it is so irritating, never a moment of peace.
(Mario, during this, gives Angelotti a sign to be patient.) Come on then, give it to me. Hurry up!

L: Here it is!

F: What does he want now, the old fool? (Reading) *Divine Tosca. His Excellency the Duke of Ascoli has communicated to me some news that will fill you with joy. The 14th of this month, His Majesty received a letter from General Melas that said that he had fought a battle against the French Army commanded by General Bonaparte in the plain of Marengo, near Alexandria...*

M, quickly: Ah, give it to me, please... (He takes the letter and reads in a manner that can be heard by Angelotti) *The combat that began at dawn continued with fierceness until three in the afternoon and ended with a complete rout of the French army...This is a brilliant victory for our soldiers...* (He passes the letter back to Floria) Here, finish it. (He goes to sit down, saddened, stage right.)

F, beginning to read again: *"As a result, His Majesty is ordering prayers of thanks in all of the churches. And I thought that it would be part of our duty to join in this patriotic joy...My excessive enthusiasm having spurred me on, I am improvising a cantata in honor of this victory..."*

M: Charlatan! He wants to get back into good graces and have his Parthenopean Marseillaise³⁰ forgotten!

F, continuing: *"Must I add, diva, that this improvisation, tonight at the Palazzo Farnese, can only attain some merit if you lend it the support of your prestigious talent? ...The choirs and the orchestra have been called. We await only you. One good rehearsal before dinnertime will be enough for us. Come right away, I beg you, and you will fill with joy the most ardent, the most devoted, the most...et cetera!"* The old ape...To the devil with him and his cantata!

M, quickly: Ah, you cannot refuse!

F: Eh, no...Because of the queen!...But how awful to have to leave you to go rehearse his cantata!...What will you do without me?

(She gets ready to leave)

M: I will work until night falls.

F: And then?

M: I will go eat and sleep at the villa.

F: That's fine, then!...And tomorrow morning?

M: Tomorrow morning, you will see me at noon.

F: Why so late?

M: To let you sleep.

F: I don't need to sleep as much as that! I want you to wake me up.

M: Agreed. So, until tomorrow.

F, ready to go, she stops: Wait!...

M: What?

F, indicating the tableau: Oh, I beg you! Make the eyes black...It is the same to you, right? She will be Mary Magdalene just as well with black eyes...

M: My God, do you persist in this?

F: Yes, very much. With black eyes, you will no longer think about L'Attavanti.

M: Then, I promise...

F, embracing him: Really, I adore you!

M: Oh, in front of the Madonna!

F: Oh, she is so good...She wouldn't hold it against me...Until tomorrow, my beloved treasure!

M: Until tomorrow, love.

(Floria leaves with Luciana)

Scene VI

MARIO, ANGELOTTI

(Angelotti leaves the chapel as soon as the door is closed again and the bolts are pulled.)

M: Ah, my friend, such news!...This battle?

A: Alas! Yes...this finishes us!...

M: Ah well, let us think about you...They will open the church early because of the prayers that were ordered...The whole city must be in a flutter...Maybe we can take advantage of it in order to leave the city before the gates close?...

A: Without waiting for Trebelli,...so be it!

M: Then...(Cannon shot from a distance)

A, shocked: Ah!

M: The signal!...They know of your escape!...

A: Wait!...Maybe it is a salvo for this victory. (They listen)

M: No!...You see...No more...Just one shot. It is definitely your escape that they are signaling!...You cannot stay here any longer...Come what may, we are leaving...Quick into this disguise...As soon as you are ready, leave by the other gate, in the shadows, go around the church by this side...As for me, I will go by the other side to the main door where I will wait for you, and we shall leave boldly, that is the best thing to do!...Go, go...here comes the sacristan, and hurry, danger is at our heels!

(Angelotti re-enters the chapel, where he closes the grille and disappears. Mario leaps on his platform.)

Scene VII

MARIO, EUSÈBE, then GENNARINO

E, appearing from stage right in the back, his keys in his hand, and going to open the bolts on stage left: Did your Excellency hear?

M: What?

E: The cannon shot!

M: indifferently: Ah, yes, wasn't it to celebrate this victory?

E: No, no! It is some Jacobin who is supposed to have escaped from Castel Sant'Angelo...

M, likewise: Maybe...

(Women and children enter the church by the door at stage left, take holy water, sign themselves, go back towards the Madonna, bow and head towards the middle of the church upstage.)

Gennarino, entering quickly by stage left, out of breath: To be sure, Excellency!...Angelotti has escaped!

E: Ah, the ruffian!

G: They are shouting the news of his escape in the streets and describe him with a promise of a thousand piasters for whoever delivers him; and, for whoever gives him asylum, the gallows.

E: It is too little!...

G: A warden, his accomplice, has been denounced by a driver whom he had bribed; that is how everything was discovered!

M: And the warden was arrested?

G: Yes, Excellency.

M, climbing down: Did he talk?

G: Oh, surely: They "questioned" him.

E: It is too little!...

M, quickly: Is my carriage is here? (He indicates stage left.)

G: Yes, Excellency, with Fabio.

M, taking his hat: Tell Fabio to go around and to wait for me on the piazza, in front of the big door...After which you will go and put everything in order. Let's go, quickly, hurry up!

G: Yes, Excellency!

(He leaves by stage left. The candles are lighted in the back and one begins to see the faithful on all sides, men and women.)

E, going to light the candles in front of the Madonna: So, Your Excellency has already heard talk of this victory of Marengo?

M, anxiously, looking towards the grille: Yes!

E, same business, turning his back to him and laughing: Joseph is beaten... Ah, ah! Who has a handful now? Joseph!...

M, same business: Joseph?

E: Yes...Yes...the paper Bonaparte...Ah, ah! The one who crossed the Alps with his cannons!...What a joker! He makes me writhe with laughter!...

(Angelotti appears indistinctly, opening the other grille and disappearing into the shadow.)

M, to himself: Finally!

E: What did you say?

M: Nothing! (drawing him towards him to distract his attention) Here, Father Eusèbe, thank you and good evening!...

(He goes out quickly by the back, stage right.)

E: He is vexed all the same, the Jacobin!...Three Pauli! (Making a grimace)
That is too little!

(Church songs, in the back, very softly, and prayers.)

Scene VIII

EUSÈBE, SCARPIA, SCHIARRONE, COLOMETTI, AGENTS then GENNARINO.

(They enter by stage left, over the hushed chanting that stops and starts throughout the scene. Schiarrone enters first, draws aside, dips his fingers in the font and presents the holy water to Scarpia who comes in after him. Scarpia stops and devoutly makes the sign of the cross while Schiarrone presents holy water to Colometti standing on the doorstep. Colometti and Schiarrone make the sign of the cross at the same time. Then Scarpia descends and, while the three other agents pass through the door, he gives orders mezza-voce.)

Scarpia: Guard all the doors. Search the church and do what you have to without attracting too much attention. (Four agents go upstage slowly and disappear on either side. To the sacristan who, coming downstage, recognizes him and bows to the ground:) Come here, my good man. Are you the sacristan?

E, trembling: Yes, Excellency.

S: A criminal, escaped from the Castel Sant'Angelo, spent the night in this church; he could still be here.

E, trembling: Ah! My God! Here!

S: Where is the chapel of the Angelottis?

E: On this side, Excellency. Here it is.

S, to Schiarrone: Look. (Schiarrone and an agent enter the chapel. Murmurs of prayers in the back. Schiarrone reappears.) So?...

Sch: No one, Excellency. The chapel is empty.

S: Too late. The man fled at the sound of the cannon. No trace of him?

Sch, showing in the hands of the other agent the indicated objects: Some toiletries. A mirror, scissors, razors...and hair on the ground.

S: That is all?

Sch: Yes, Excellency. (The other agent reappears with a fan.) No...pardon...A fan.

S: Give it to me. This was part of the toiletries. (He opens the fan) A marquise's crown. That's it then...the fan of l'Attavanti that he forgot in his haste, or that he thought unnecessary...Nothing else like this?...No women's clothes?

Sch: None, Excellency.

S: Therefore it is clear that he fled under that disguise. But where?...Who could have come to help him? (To Eusèbe) My good man, did you notice anything unusual around this chapel?

E: Nothing, Excellency...Neither before nor after the opening of the doors.

S: Ah, you closed the church?

E: As usual.

S: Locked up, right?

E: Except for this door because someone was inside.

S: And who was that then?

E: The painter who is working on this tableau.

S: And the painter's name?

E: Cavaradossi.

S: Of course! Now we are getting somewhere...Ah, the Cavaliere Cavaradossi! A liberal, like his father...(At this moment, Gennarino, who during his return has completely cleaned up the scaffolding, crosses with the basket to leave.) What is that child carrying?

G: Excellency, this is the basket in which I put my master's refreshments every day.

S: It is empty.

G: As Your Excellency can see.

S, lifting the napkin in the basket with the end of his walking stick: Does your master always appreciate your provisions so?

G: Never, Excellency...This is absolutely the first time. Father Eusèbe always drinks the wine.

E, protesting: If you please!...

S: Silence. (He gives a signal to Gennarino to withdraw.) (To Eusèbe) That suffices, I see it all clearly!...The Cavaliere was here when you got back?

E: Yes, Excellency, he just left!

S: You saw him alone?

E: As always when he is working, except for the visits of a certain lady.

S: La Tosca?

E: And, without doubt, she came today, because I am sure those flowers were not there when I left.

S: Yes, la Tosca is faithful to the Church and to the king. She is no traitor!...However, we will watch her. (The agents reappear. Organ prelude begins and will continue.) So, Colometti?

The Agent: Nothing, Excellency.

S: No suspects?

The A: Not one.

S: We just missed him!...That is enough for now!...Gentlemen, let us give thanks to the God of the Armies who has given us a victory!... And let us pray to the Holy Madonna...(He kneels in front of her.) to bless our efforts in our other war against godlessness!...

(He puts a knee on the ground. All do as he does. The organ music bursts forth with all the voices chanting the *Te Deum*)

-CURTAIN-

ACT II

(A large room in the Palazzo Farnese. On the backdrop, three windows over a balcony that overlooks the lighted piazza. On both the left and right, in the background: side doors. In the middleground on stage left, the platform for the musicians; stage right a mirror and in front, a platform and a seat for the queen. In the foreground, on both the right and the left, doors. On stage left, a couch. The whole scene is filled with gaming tables, with players of both sexes who move around constantly, amidst the buzz of voices, hushed laughter, the noise of the chips. (New guests enter, greet each other, come and go. An orchestra plays a minuet in the next salon. Attavanti and Trivulce are sitting at one of the tables.)

First scene

TRÉVILHAC, CAPRÉOLA, THE MARQUIS ATTAVANTI, TRIVULCE

Capréola, entering with satin programs in his hand and continuing a conversation begun in the wings: And then, sir?

Trévilhac: And then, sir, my father, who had no illusions about the late Louis XVI, said to me one day, "Things are falling apart, my friend, let us go!..."

Cp, after having gestured to him to sit down in an armchair stage right:: And Your Excellency emigrated?...

T, sits. **Capréola**, after him, sits on a chair: And my Excellency emigrated...and, for ten years now, we have gone from city to city: Petersburg, London or Vienna; but all of this cannot make me forget France, and my beloved Paris that I miss so much.

Cp: They cannot be happy tonight in Paris, can they?

T: Neither will this good-for-nothing Bonaparte, who will be beaten by your Melas.

Cp: You complain...This victory will perhaps give you back your country.

T: Ah yes...but how can I be delighted as an exile, when I am enraged as a Frenchman!

Cp: In a word, your exile will not last much longer now and we would advise you to be patient until peace is declared. Moreover, you got here at a good time. The presence of Her Majesty the Queen Caroline is enlivening the city. And the next visit of His Holiness will signal great rejoicing. After all, Rome has some things that might amuse you and,

provided that one does get mixed up in politics or religion, one can be completely free.

T: I have only been here for three days, and life here seems very pleasant.

Cp: There is a feeling of well-being here, sir, especially in respect to the ladies.

(Trévilhac looks at the table in the middle where the players choose their cards off of their female partners' laps and place them on the table, where the cards circulate.)

T: Yes, indeed!...I see here, for example, a card game that couldn't be more enticing.

Cp: This group?

T: Young ladies so skimpily clad and the young gentlemen such dandies. What do you call this amusing game, sir, in which gentlemen pick cards from the ladies' laps?

Cp: The minchiate, invented they say by Michelangelo.

T: I never would have thought him to have been so much fun.

Cp, getting up as he sees the princess coming down surrounded by her ladies, greeted by the players who get up when she passes and bow: Would Your Excellency desire to be presented to the Princess Orlonia,³¹ the queen's lady?

T, standing: Yes, of course, please do.

Cp, to the princess, after having bowed to her: Monsieur the Viscount of Trévilhac, French emigré.

The Princesse: We welcome you to Rome, Sir. Has His Excellency been presented to the queen?

T: This morning, Princess, and Her Majesty deigned to invite me to this celebration, in which I am compelled to take part as a royalist, but without any patriotic pleasure, as I am sure you can understand.

The P, looking at the white satin program that Capréola has given her: Ah, Paisiello has promised us a cantata.

Cp: Sung by la Tosca.

(He gives a program to Trévilhac.)

The P: Has your Excellency heard la Tosca?

T: Not yet, Madame. I have just arrived.

The P: You will have, sir, a treat fit for a connoisseur. La Tosca is an incomparable artist.

(Capréola chatting with the ladies goes upstage to the middle table.)

T, indicating the Marquis Attavanti who is standing, talking and laughing noisily at a table stage left, behind a player: Pardon me, Princess, excuse my curiosity. Who is that person, please, with such an imposing belly?

The P: Sir, that is the husband of the most beautiful woman in Rome.

T: He has that look about him. And the good-looking gentleman with whom he is speaking?

The P: The Viscount Trivulce: he is the gentleman serving his wife, or to put it another way, her cicisbeo.

T: Her lover?

The P: Oh, pardon me, but that is quite different. (To Attavanti who is coming down to them.) Isn't that so, Marquis?

At: Princess?

The P: I am explaining to Monsieur de Trévilhac, who is French, (salutations) that there is a difference between a cicisbeo and a lover...

At, good-naturedly to Trévilhac, while the princess goes back up: Oh, a considerable difference! The lover is a thief of one's honor, fraudulently introduced into the household. The cicisbeo is an official suitor, duly authorized to court the woman, with moderation and discretion.

T: Please excuse, Marquis, a new arrival, very ignorant of Italian customs.

At, sitting in the armchair: And here is their superiority, sir. We have ascertained that, in any household, the woman is not happy without a suitor to give her assiduous attention.

T, sitting on the chair: My small experience has already brought me to the same conclusion.

At: So then, why fight facts? Isn't it better to accept them, and render them harmless, and even to gain some advantage from them?

T: Ah! yes, indeed...!

At: To leave the choice of suitor up to the woman is to run the risk that she will prefer some fop without connections or influence. Choosing him ourselves, rich and from a good family, there is nothing but pleasure and profit for all concerned.

T: Admirably logical.

At: It is thus, sir, that the custom was established among us that, when we marry a woman of social standing, we choose from her entourage a gentleman servant who gives honor to the family by his influence, pleasure to Madame by his manner... The parents of the new couple meet for this occasion. They review the candidates. They weigh the respective merits. The young bride has her little ideas!... "Cousin so-and-so who is so pleasing to her!" Let us look at the cousin!... He is discussed, chosen. The husband welcomes him with open arms; the whole family gives him accolades and, from that day, sir, he is in the service of Madame, whom he accompanies to church, to the opera, to salons... And no one would dream of being shocked. What would really be shocking would be if she appeared on the arm of her husband.

T: That is charming, sir, really charming!

The P, coming back to the marquis: Won't we see the marquise tonight? I have been looking for her in vain.

At: Ah, without doubt. I was surprised myself. She is not in Rome, it seems!

The P: Ah! Bah!

At: Yes... Trivulce just told me. (Calling Trivulce who has given up his place at the gaming table) Trivulce!

Tri, coming down between the marquis and the princess: Marquis...

At: Tell Madame, please, what you know about the marquise.

Tri: The marquise, Princesss, is in Frascati.

The P: On a feast day?

Tri: Your Excellency is not unaware of her brother's escape?

The P: Of course not.

Tri: The marquise thought that, in such circumstances, it would not be appropriate for her to appear here tonight, and asked me to make her excuses to the queen, which Her Majesty was kind enough to accept.

At: Her Majesty is too good. It is precisely by her presence that the marquise should protest the impudent escape of her brother, in order to assert that she had nothing to do with it...nor did I, especially not me.

The P: No one would suspect you of that, Marquis!...

Tri: They know you too well.

At: I hope so...But if Trivulce were doing his duty, he would go this instant to Frascati, and bring the marquise back tonight, so that she could at least appear for dinner.

Tri: My word, Marquis, try it yourself, because I would not succeed.

At: In that case, my dear, you have no power over my wife, and that would be truly ridiculous, you must admit!...

(He turns his back and Trivulce withdraws, a little abashed. The princess sits down on the couch, surrounded by courtesans.)

T, mezzo-voce, to Capréola who came down stage right: As family feuds go, you could not find a better one!

A Monsignor, who is playing at the middle table, to Attavanti: So Marquis, we have had some glorious news.

At, going to him, addressing everyone present, who listen to him: Admirable Monsignor...and from all sides!...For example, I have received letters from Naples...Things could not be better. The terrain has been absolutely subdued by Colonel Pezza.

T: Pardon...The Colonel?...

Cp: Pezza.

At, with complacency: Otherwise known as Fra Diavolo.

(The players in the middle disperse)

T: The bandit?

At: Ah, yes!...Formerly, he had had some little mix-ups. But that is now forgotten!...And, with his honest brigands, he has rendered such service to the Royal cause that His Majesty made him a colonel, baron, and awarded him the ribbon of St. George.

T, to himself: I would have put it around his neck.

At, going over to stage left: Very good news about His Majesty also; he has caught a sturgeon of fabulous proportions.

All, with satisfaction: Ah!

At:Lady Hamilton is more beautiful than ever...and Admiral Nelson is now in Malta, which the English are occupying provisionally.

T: Don't hold your breath for them to give it back to you!...

At, sitting at the middle table, vacated by the players: In sum, the war is over!...Joubert has been killed.³² Macdonald has disappeared,³³ Massena beaten, Bonaparte in pieces. Moreau³⁴ in a terrible position!...(He indicates a battlefield on the table, surrounded by the players.) Melas will attack from the side, de Kray³⁵ from the front, de Reuss³⁶ from behind. In two weeks we shall have tossed the French into the Rhine.

T, on edge, through his teeth: Tossed, tossed!...You cannot toss the French overboard like that!

(movement of surprise)

At: Excuse me?

T, outloud: Why not say that Monsieur has only to push his stomach out for the French to scamper like rabbits.

At: Permit me!

T: But no, monsieur, to be precise...I do not permit you!

(He turns his back to him and goes upstage right.)

At, And, I thought it would please him!

All: That's right!

At: The French are all crazy!

Scene II

THE SAME, SCARPIA, then SCHIARRONE

The P: Here is the Regent.

(The orchestra, in the wings, plays a gavotte. Scarpia enters downstage right, comes forward, is greeted and bows in return.)

The P, standing, to Scarpia, who is going to kiss his hand: Nothing yet about Angelotti?...

S: Nothing

At: Too bad!

Tri, to the princess: Princess, would you like to play faro with us?

The P: With pleasure!

(They go back up to the gaming table in the midst of other players, and Scarpia stays alone all the way downstage. The other characters are grouped upstage, talking, some seated and some standing with the ladies. Others go out to the balcony.)

Sch, who entered sometime before, elegantly dressed, quietly, for the Baron's ears only, while bowing to him: Baron...

S, *mezza voce*: Ah! It's you, Schiarrone! (He sits stage right in the armchair. Schiarrone does the same on the chair.) So...

Sch, quietly: So, Baron, an empty nest.

S: Ah!...

Sch: Our men have surrounded the Palazzo Cavaradossi...The Cavaliere has not shown a sign of life. I was impatient, so I gave the order to Tibaldi to climb the garden wall and go into the house, whose doors and windows were open. He searched everywhere, from the basement to the attic: nothing.

S: He is with the other...that is obvious. But where? The valet did not know of any other dwelling?

Sch: None. The Cavaliere is often gone, for days, for entire nights, but never saying where he goes. He is a sly one who knows he is suspected and trusts no one.

S: Yes, like the fox, he has many lairs....And La Tosca?

Sch: Nothing more on that. La Tosca went home after her rehearsal, ate alone, dressed and went to the palace. In all of that, no trace of Cavaradossi.

S: And l'Attavanti?

Sch: The surveillance of her house has not turned up anything more. The marquise is in Frascati.

S: I know that, but I hoped that, because things are not going well for us here, some secret message would bring her back to Rome, that she would make an appearance tonight at the palace, in order to ward off suspicion, and that, through intimidation, threats, and, as a last resort, we could arrest her ...

Sch, surprised: The marquise?

S: And why not? Her complicity has been proven by the fan.

Sch: Her husband the marquis is so close to the court...

S: ...That he would not care to compromise himself by intervening for his wife: but all this talk is useless because the marquise is absent.

Sch: Does the baron really believe that la Tosca is uninvolved in all this?

S: What do I know?...This man is too cunning to take a woman into his confidence, especially one who is one of us...We shall soon see, moreover, because here she is...(He gets up.) Our men are downstairs?

Sch, standing: Yes, Excellency.

S: Let them stay there!...And always nearby.

(The music stops. Schiarrone leaves stage right.)

Scene III

THE SAME, FLORIA

(She enters in formal dress by the second door stage left, surrounded by suitors and extending her hand to be kissed by Capréola, Trivulce, Attavanti and all of the lesser gentlemen who fight for this honor.)

At: Here is the charming, the exquisite, the divine woman!

Cp: One cannot say, Diva, which pleasure is greater: seeing you or hearing you.

F, gaily, descending: So now, you can decide, having both at the same time...(Without taking notice, giving a hand to be kissed first the right hand, then the left, extending one automatically to Trévilhac who holds it and kisses it so long that she is shocked and turns and looks at him, surprised to not know him.) Pardon me, here is a stranger, who has not dealt his cards properly.

T: Then, Signora, the game is nullified...We must start over!...
(He repeats the action.)

F, laughing: French, right? That is obvious!

T: From the accent?...

F, likewise: Of the kisses, yes.

Cp: The Cavaliere de Trévilhac, whom I have the honor of presenting to you.

F, laughing: It is about time. (Descending, she arrives at Scarpia who, silently, kisses her hand.) Good day, Baron...So? Your fugitive?

S: His fate interests you?

F: Oh, yes, the poor fellow!

S: A state criminal! You would take the wretch's side?

F: My word, Baron, a man who flees the gallows is no longer a wretch...He is an unfortunate!

S: And if he knocked on your door, would you open it?

F: Oh, right away.

S, still laughing: Do you know that you would be gambling with your pretty head?...

F: Even more reason. (She turns away.) Ah, good evening, Princess.

(She continues to speak softly, to laugh, with other people pressing around her. The domestics carry back the chairs that are to stage right of the big table, to prepare for the entrance of the queen.)

S, alone downstage, his eyes following her: Is this naïveté...or bravado?

An usher, in the back stage left, in a very loud voice: Gentlemen, the queen!

Scene IV

THE SAME, MARIE-CAROLINE, DIEGO NASELLI (Prince of Aragon); GENERAL FROELICH,³⁷ ENGLISH, NEAPOLITAN and AUSTRIAN OFFICERS, THE DUKE of ASCOLI, PAISIELLO, CARDINALS, MONSIGNORS, MUSICIANS, CHORISTERS, ETC.

(While the domestics remove the table and the chairs from the front of the platform and carry them into the wings in the back, all the players get up and draw aside to make way for the queen who enters by the second door on stage right, and who comes downstage, followed at two steps distance by the Prince of Aragon and General Froelich. The queen comes forward, greeted by all and stops in front of Floria who bows deeply to her, while the Prince of Aragon gives the queen a program.)

Marie-Caroline: Good day, my dear. Are you in good voice tonight?

F: I will make sure Your Majesty is not displeased with Her humble servant.

MC: Will this cantata be successful at least?

F: I believe that Your Majesty will be satisfied with it.

MC: Paisiello has to make up for some very foolish mistakes .

(Paisiello, stage left, aside, stands humbly while the others turn to look at him.)

F: I can assure Your Majesty that he is even more repentant than guilty.

MC: Good, my dear, do not speak for him, but sing for him; perhaps that will be enough. (She turns away. Paisiello goes back upstage, enchanted. The queen, to Attavanti:) Good evening, Marquis!...(Seeing Scarpia) Ah, is it you, Scarpia? (She descends a little and stands apart with him downstage; the others draw back to be discreet.) And so, what news of Angelotti?

(The Prince of Aragon and Trivulce stage left with Tosca)

S: Nothing positive yet, Madame, except that he could not have left Rome.

MC: Take care that this business is not the death of you. You have many enemies.

S: The same ones as Your Majesty.

MC: And these people are circulating nasty rumors about you.

S: Everyday I arrest those who spread rumors about the queen.

MC: They point out that Angelotti, locked up for a year, managed to escape just eight days after you came.

S: They would accuse me?...

MC: His sister is rich and beautiful.

S: Does Your Majesty think me guilty?...

MC: The answer is easy...Find Angelotti.

S: This very night...

MC: So much the better for you, because it would not be good to put the king in a bad mood.

(She turns away. Much shouting arises from the piazza.)

The Prince of Aragon: Will Your Majesty not give these good people the joy of letting them show Her their adoration?

MC: Yes, certainly, these good people!

(A choir and an orchestra on the piazza play a saltarella. The acclamations increase. The queen goes upstage towards the window in the middle, at stage left of the large table, followed by her entourage, and goes out on the balcony. The other characters on the stage go toward the other two windows. When they see the queen, the cheers are continuous, as is the singing. The balcony is filled with onlookers.)

The crowd: Long live the queen! (Then) Angelotti!... Angelotti!... To death!...

T, to Capréola: What are they saying?

MC, on the threshold of the window in the middle, turning to Scarpia, alone in the middle of the stage: Do you hear, Scarpia. They demand the head of Angelotti.

S, coldly: Yes, Majesty.

The crowd: Scarpia! To death, Scarpia!

MC, in the same manner: And yours.

(The assistants laugh.)

S, likewise, looking arrogantly at the group formed on stage right by Capréola, Trivulce and the others who are sneering: Naturally, Roman hoodlums would be the worst, if it were not for Neapolitan hoodlums. (Little by little, the shouts quiet down, the music continues. Scarpia returns alone in front of the table. All the others, standing or seated, have their heads turned to the piazza, listening to the rear.) So, if Angelotti disappears, I would soon be disgraced; these courtesans' mouths are already watering at my expense. It is not this woman whom I fear, but the other, that Hamilton, who wants Angelotti hanged and who will never forgive me for letting her prize escape. One word from this Englishwoman who is behind it all, and I am done for. (He goes to the armchair where he sits down.) Let's think, calmly. What to do? Arrest Cavaradossi tomorrow as soon as he shows himself? And then? Angelotti will already be far away...I must get these two men before the gates open...But how? ...I have searched thoroughly...The only possibility is this woman who either knows nothing or who will not talk. (He looks at Tosca who is at this moment on the balustrade of the musicians, where she is talking with Paisiello, and sight-reading a piece of music in her hand.) At least I had a weapon against the other, l'Attavanti: This fan, but here...here? (He stops struck with a sudden idea.) Why not use the same thing? Let's see...A woman who is very much in love, very passionate...With a handkerchief, Iago went far...Either she knows and I will get her to tell everything, or she knows

nothing...and by God it will be she who will find him, she will find him for us.
A jealous woman is worth more than the best policeman. (He gets up.)
This time I've got it...and before long, I will come out of this alright!

(During this time, Floria has been sitting on the couch, her piece of music in her hand;
Scarpia approaches her. The orchestra, in the salons, plays the Andante from the
Symphony in D Major by Haydn.)

Scene V

FLORIA, SCARPIA, other characters upstage

S, leaning on the couch behind Floria, taking her hand on the arm of the couch and pressing it gently in his own, smiling: Do you know, Signora, that I could put handcuffs on this pretty hand and take you to the Castel Sant'Angelo?

F, tranquilly, occupied with her music sheet, without pulling back her hand: Arrest me?

S: Yes, indeed.

F: Why?

S: For wearing seditious colors.

F: My dress?

S: This bracelet!...Rubies, diamonds and sapphires: the tricolor, quite simply.

F, quickly, pulling back her arm: Oh, that's right...If the queen sees it...

S: Just kidding! No one but I will notice. You are too well-known for your devotion to the Church and to the king... (He sits near her.) Unfortunately!

F: Why "unfortunately"?

S, gallantly: Oh yes! It would be such a pleasure to have you for a prisoner.

F, gaily: In a dungeon?

S, likewise: And under triple lock, to prevent your escape.

F: And torture also, perhaps?

S: Until you love me.

F, picking up her music again: If those are the only means you have!

S: Well, women don't mind a little violence.

F: It is true that people say terrible things about what happens there, to women.

(She looks at her music sheet again.)

S, smiling: Bah! What don't they say? That old castle is paying today for its games of long ago. It is the memory of the Borgias that gives it such a bad reputation...Is it really good, this cantata of Paisiello?

F, in the same manner: He would have done well to have given it to la Romanelli.

S: And not trouble you so during your prayers at St. Andrew Church.

F, turning the pages: Ah, you know about that?...

S: Oh, it's my profession to know everything.

F, likewise: There is no great skill in that; I don't bother to hide.

S: That is true. Is he really so charming, this Frenchman?

F: French?...He is Roman.

S: Oh, barely...I meant his opinions...how could you, who think so rightly, exchange three words with this Voltairian without scratching his eyes out?

F: Because those three words are, "I love you."

S: At first...but one cannot love all the time?

F: Oh yes one can.

S: Still you must talk a little, in between. And, with his revolutionary ideas...

F: Bah! As though love cared about that. You know the response of la Venotti to the king, who reproached her for loving a sans-culotte. "Ah, my faith, sire, naturally, it was love!"

S: Yes, but you know what followed. Three days later, her republican left her. The moral: do not believe in someone who himself believes in nothing. Athiest in religion, athiest in love: that holds true.

F: Oh, well, you are on the wrong track. He is devoted to me!...

S: Are you really sure of that?

F, looking at him, vaguely disturbed: Yes, I am sure...Why do you say that?

S: Oh, my God!

F, likewise: You know something. What! What do you know?...But tell me, let me know!...

S: But no...nothing, nothing! Damnation! What a lively reaction! A doubt, nothing more; professional scepticism. But, on my honor, I know nothing. Come on, we know that the Cavaliere adores you, he is faithful, and I believe that without difficulty. It must be easy for him.

F, half-reassured: In the beginning.

S, pulling out the fan: I am so convinced of it that I will not hesitate any longer in giving this object to you.

F: This fan?

S: Yes, I found it when I chanced to stop at St. Andrew a little while ago; the Cavaliere had just left.

F, quickly: At what time?

S: Around compline.

F, shocked: He was supposed to work until nightfall!...

S: In short, he was gone and, when, out of curiosity, I was examining his work, I saw this fan forgotten on his stepladder, and, since I was afraid that it might be stolen, I took it to give back to you.

F: On his stepladder?

S: Yes!.....I hesitated to give it back to you; because after all...But you are so sure of him...Ah, my God, Signora, what is wrong?

F, who has opened the fan : But this fan is not mine!

S: Is that possible?

F, looking at the fan: But no, no, no!...

S: Ah, I am so clumsy!...What have I done!...

F: Whose could it be...Whose...The crown of a marquise!...

S: Indeed!...How did this detail escape me!...

F: Marquise!... Marquise?... L'Attavanti!

S, feigning surprise: What?

F, getting up: It is l'Attavanti!

S: Why she?

F: Oh, why...It is she, oh, it is she!...I just know it!...I feel it, there, in my bones! She must have come after I left!...like yesterday!

S: Ah! Yesterday?...

F: Or no!...she was there when I came...she hid...And the delays in opening the door for me, those whisperings!...His nervousness...his haste to see me go! Ah, the wretch!...She was there watching me, listening to me!...And, when I left, she threw herself into his arms, laughing at me!...

S: Oh!

F: At me!...With him!...In his arms!...Ah, you ruffian, I will rip out your heart!

S, getting up: Are you really sure?...And if you are mistaken?

F: Am I mistaken? You will see if I am mistaken!...(Turning toward Attavanti) Marquis!...

At: Signora.

F: Two words, please.

At: Four, Diva, and make it an order so that I shall have the pleasure of obeying you.

F: A bit of information only...Do you recognize this fan?

At, looking with his binocles: This fan? Not at all.

F: It was lost in a church and, since it has the crown of a marquise, I thought, perhaps, that it belonged...

At: To my wife?

F: Precisely.

At: Oh, but then, excuse me...it is not me whom you should ask about that. (Calling.) Trivulce.

Tri, coming downstage: Marquis.

At: Tell me, my dear, do you recognize this fan as belonging to my wife?

Tri: Perfectly.

F: Ah!

At: You see...Oh, he cannot be mistaken.

S: Are you sure?

Tri: Very sure. I ordered the crown of pearls myself from Costa.

At: Oh, well then...

Tri: Is that all?

At: That is all for you, dear friend, thank you. (Trivulce goes up again.) As for me, Signora...

F: You, Marquis, will ask your wife for me how her fan came to be found with my lover's things.

At: Impossible...Trivulce is very careful with her!

F: I will not have it out with him, but with her.

At: The marquise?

F: Yes. Where is she, that wife of yours, so I can throw her fan in her face?

(She goes upstage right to look for the marquise amongst the women who are in the back.)

At, barring her passage: Oh!

S, likewise: You will not do this!

F: In the middle of the ball!

At: In front of the queen?

F: Oh, the queen!...She has lovers, she will understand me!³⁸...

S: Stop!

At, tranquilly: There is nothing to fear, anyway, because the marquise is not here.

(He withdraws and goes towards stage left.)

F, quickly: She is not here?

At: No, she left for Frascati.

F, downstage right: Ah, Frascati!...She let you think that!...Oh, I see...She is with him, the wretch!...

At and S: With him?

F: Yes, yes, they are over there dining and spending the night together.

S: quickly, going to her: Over there?

F: Yes.

S: And where is...over there?

F, passing in front of him: Ah, I am supposed to tell you so that you can warn them, right?

S: Of course not!...I swear to you...

F: Come on! The police have no business here...The police!...I am the police and I am on my way there right now.

(She tries to go upstage left.)

S, quickly barring her way: What about the concert?

At, in the same manner, near Scarpia: The cantata?

F: Ah, I do not care about the cantata!

S: But that is impossible!

At: What a scandal!

F, coming back downstage to get to the first door on stage left: I couldn't care less about a scandal!

At: But, Dival!...

S: The queen!...

F: Tell the queen that I am sick...hoarse...that I cannot sing...Tell her whatever you want! Good evening!...

(She passes in front of the couch to get to the exit stage left.)

S, intercepting her quickly on that side by passing behind the couch: But this is insane!

At: She will not believe a word!

F: Then tell her that my lover has deceived me!...She will understand...

S: Tosca!...In Heaven's name!...

F, ready to leave by stage left: Let me go!...

S, barring her passage to the door: Then, excuse me! I am no longer speaking as a friend, but as the regent of the police...I arrest you.

F: You?

S: For God's sake, yes!...

F: And you will stop me?...You will do this?...You, an accomplice to the wife of that imbecile!

At: What?

S: I will do my duty in obliging you to do yours, which is to sing...

F: But I can't! As though I felt like it now...I am in a wonderful state to sing!...Can I sing?

S: Badly or well makes no difference...but the cantata, if you please, the cantata.

F: Oh! God!

S: And afterwards, on my honor, I will permit you to leave...I will even help you!

F, quickly: Is that a promise?

S: I swear it.

F, picking up her music folder on the couch: So, quick...Right now...Let's start...

S: Calm down.

F: Ah! The hussy!...And what about him!...God!...to be deceived like this!...Is it possible?...My God, is it possible!...(She falls onto the couch and weeps.)

S, behind the back of the couch: Come, come, Diva, courage!...Pull yourself together.

F, likewise, sitting, wiping her eyes: Where are they now? God knows!...They are dining!...

S: Perhaps.

F: They have finished...Do you think they have finished supper?

S: Probably...

F: And here I am ...here...while...

S, noticing the queen who has reappeared in the back on the balcony: The queen...Come now, patience,...it will take less than fifteen minutes.

F: But that is a long time, fifteen minutes! It's very long!...

(She gets up when she sees the queen. The musicians settle down at their desks.)

Paisiello, to Floria, who is still in front of the couch: Are you ready?...Diva.

F: Yes, yes, I am ready...Let's hurry!

(The musicians tune up.)

Pai: B natural, right?

F: No, B flat!...

Pai: Oh!

F, violently: B Flat!

Pai, turning back to his musicians: Flat! B Flat!

(The singing and the fanfares begin again on the piazza. Quickly the domestics pick up the seats, which have been carried upstage a few at a time, by the players themselves, and line them up in two rows facing the public, in front of the windows in the middle and stage left, so that the women can sit there. A gap is left between the back wall and the chairs for the officers and the courtesans. Center stage is empty. Nothing is left there except the couch on stage left, the queen's throne, a footstool in front of the throne against the wall, reserved for the Prince of Aragon, and another footstool on the other side for Froelich. The queen re-enters the scene by the window on stage right, followed by all the players, who get into place, the women in two rows standing in front of the chairs at back, the men behind the women. The choristers near Tosca and Paisiello form groups. The queen, after exchanging a few words with the Prince of Aragon and Froelich, climbs up on the platform near her; Attavanti, Trivulce, Trévilhac, Capréola, are on the first level on stage right. The windows are closed.)

F, mezza-voce: Let's go, will she never sit down, this queen?...

S: Keep your voice down, please!...

(The queen sits. All the women do as she does. The Prince of Aragon and Froelich take their places on the footstools. Capréola reclines in front of the queen, who nods her approval.)

F, likewise: Finally!...

Cp, turning to Paisiello: Monsieur, you may begin.

Pai: Yes, Excellency!...(To the orchestra) Shall we, gentlemen...(To Floria) Maestoso...

F: Yes.

Pai: Largo...Largo...

F: You annoy me!

Pai: Yes, my dear. (To Scarpia) She is nervous.

S: A little.

Pai: Ready, gentlemen!

(He taps on the music-stand and begins the introduction. Floria climbs up and, facing the queen, gives her a deep bow and readies herself to sing. At the same instant, and during the first chords, an aide-de-camp enters by stage right. Capréola goes to him and, having listened to him, says something to the Prince of Aragon who speaks quietly to the queen, while Capréola returns in front of the throne awaiting orders. At a signal from the queen, he goes toward Paisiello and in full voice:)

Cp: Quiet, gentlemen, stop, if you please.

Pai: Basta!...

(The music stops short. Scarpia goes quickly to Capréola and speaks quietly with him.)

F: What is going on now?

S, to Floria: A courier...a letter from General Melas.

(During this time, the aide-de-camp gives the letter to the Prince of Aragon who gets up and, bending over, gives it to the queen.)

F, to herself: Ah, my God! Another delay!...Can't she read her letter later?

S, calming her: From a victorious general!...

(The queen rises as does the rest of the company.)

MC: This, gentlemen, comes just in time to crown the fête. This is a letter from General Melas that relates new details about his triumph. (Murmurs of satisfaction. Marie-Caroline breaking the seal.) I do not wish to give anyone else the pleasure of letting you hear this victorious news bulletin. I will read it to you myself.

(Cheers and acclamations on the piazza.)

At: Do you hear that?

S, mezza-voce: They saw the courier, and are applauding.

MC, who, in the meantime, has unfolded the letter, reads it: *From Alexandria, midnight from the 14th to the 15th of June. Madame. at sunset, the enemy, reinforced by a new army, after a battle in the same plains of Marengo, during most of the night, has defeated our troops...* (Exclamations of disappointment, the queen falls into her seat, and her voice impaired and enfeebled as she proceeds in her reading.) *...victorious during the day. At this moment, encamped under the walls of Alexandria, we are rallying the unfortunate debris of our army...and we shall deliberate about...* (Her voice dies out, letting the letter fall, she faints. The women crowd around her on all sides and hold her up.)

S, advancing: Gentlemen, the queen has fainted!...Quick...a doctor.

(The crowd gives shouts of joy and sings)

At: Those imbeciles who are applauding!...

Tri: ...and crying, "Victory!"

At: Make them stop!

(Trivulce and Capréola go to the balcony and make large gestures to be silent to the crowd whose shouts double in volume.)

Cp: Ah, yes! They have started now!

(Everyone disperses. The musicians pick up their instruments.)

F, coming out of her thoughts, to Trivulce: What is going on?...What?...What is everyone doing?

Tri: You didn't hear?

F: No, I don't know...I was elsewhere! A victory?

Cp: Ah no, Bonaparte has beaten us!...

F: Ah! So then, we are no longer singing?

Tri: Heavens, no!

(The musicians disappear with the choristers.)

F, throwing her music in the air:: Ah, what luck!...I am saved!...(to Luciana) Quick, my coat!...

(Luciana quickly puts her fur-lined coat on her shoulders.)

Cp, going up with Trivulce: What kind of beast is this who loses the battle in the morning and wins it in the evening!

F: Indeed...I will do the same thing!

(She exits stage left.)

S, quickly to Schiarrone: Get your men into the carriage...mine, quickly, and follow her at a distance. (To Attavanti, who talks with Trivulce while Schiarrone leaves.) Come, Marquis, I will take you...

At, surprised: For what?...

S, taking his arm: The chase...You will understand later...Hurry...

(He drags him through the same door as Floria.)

T: No! This famous victory is now a defeat. It is too funny!

Cp: Not for you.

T: Ah, my word, it is too bad!...I am beaten...but we are the victors!...Vive la France!

(The music and the cries, which have not stopped, increase twofold on the piazza, in spite of the gestures of Trivulce, Capréola and others who rush back out to the balcony to silence the crowd.)

-CURTAIN-

ACT III

(Ground floor of Cavaradossi's villa. Downstage right and very visible, is an interior double door. Further away, in the corner formed where the two walls meet, is a make-shift studio: easel, canvases, an antique column shaft. Most of the decor, upstage, is occupied by open arches, as is all of stage left. These arches have foundations, except downstage left where there is a grille and a walkway, and upstage toward the center. They look out on a portico that encircles the building and is formed by the columns that support a trellis. Beyond, one can see the moon-lit garden, the cypresses, and a Renaissance fountain; on stage right is the rest of the building and the door to the front hallway. On stage left is a table. To stage right of this table is an armchair, and a large table is center stage. An armchair with a high back is on stage right of this table, and a portable chair is on stage left of it. In front of the table is a settee. In the middle of the upstage arches is an antique sarcophagus up against the foundations that can serve as a seat.)

First scene

MARIO, ANGELOTTI, CECCHO

(The stage is empty as the curtain rises. Ceccho appears first, upstage, at the entrance, carrying a candle that he rests on the column. Mario follows Angelotti, carrying his female attire over his arm.)

M: Here we can relax and rejoice. You are safe.

A: Thanks to you!

M: Crossing Rome, in this disguise, without attracting attention, even at night, was no small feat!...Ceccho, the caretaker, the most faithful of servants, is also the most skillful of chefs. He is going to throw together an excellent supper for us. After that, when we are clear-headed and ready, we can calmly examine the journey ahead. (To Ceccho, while giving him his coat and hat) Is your son here?

Ce: Yes, Excellency.

M: Tell him to close all the doors carefully and to be on the look-out.

(Ceccho leaves.)

Scene II

MARIO, ANGELOTTI

M: This house, my dear guest, as you saw in the moonlight, lies between the Baths of Caracalla and the mausoleum of the Scipions. Indeed it is

somewhat melancholy. Nothing around us but ruins and tombs, the debris of ancient Rome; a dusty desert, with a few small farms for oases...But the very sadness is not without charm. I love this solitude inhabited by great memories, where I hear only the barking of watchdogs, carts passing in the distance, the neighboring bells of St. Sixtus and St. John, and the muffled clamor of the living Rome that speaks to me less than the silence of the dead one.

A: This is your home?

M: Not exactly. I live right in the center of the city, on the Spanish Steps, in an old house that still bears the pretentious name, "Palazzo Cavaradossi." This place is my country-house, my villa, my "vineyard," as our Roman friends say. However, I am only a tenant here, even though this house was built by one of my ancestors, Luigi Cavaradossi, on the ruins of an ancient villa. But it had not belonged to the Cavaradossis for years, until one day, caught in a storm in the Baths of Caracalla, I came here looking for shelter. Ceccho opened the door for me: an old acquaintance, he had been in service to my father. He told me that the villa, whose caretaker he was, belonged to an Englishman driven from Rome by the war, and that it was available for sale or rent. I was curious to visit the home of my forebears. It was, as you see, perfectly inhabitable. My first thought was to buy it: but, as I told you, I didn't plan on prolonging a dangerous stay here. Buying it would have been mad. It was wise, on the other hand, to rent it on the side, as a charming house that offered me shelter from the summer heat, and an asylum from the pestering of the police. So I rented it, then and there, on the express condition that the deal be known only to Ceccho, his son and me. I come here often, but via certain detours, and taking precautions that the solitude of the place makes practically unnecessary. Only Floria accompanies me. Who would think of looking for me here, or, moreover, of suspecting your presence?... Besides, what connection could be established between us?...No one saw us at the church. We crossed the city without being either recognized or followed; you have nothing to fear. In short, let's imagine the worst: they are on your trail...they come...they surround the house...I can still save you...

A: How?

M: In this city, which has conquered the world, but on whom the entire world has taken revenge for its role, and which every nation, in turn, has sieged and sacked: in this Rome of Christians and barbarians, of Neros and Borgias, of persecutors and victims, there is not an old house, as you know, without a secret shelter to hide from the tyrant from within or the invader from without. (He gets up.) And this house has its own, which family tradition passed on to me. (He goes to the grille) Do you see, down there, clearly in the moonlight, those two white marble columns?

A: Connected by a cross-line for a pulley? A well, if I am not mistaken?

M: An old Roman well, surrounded by cypress trees; the only remains of the original villa. It was completely abandoned and three-quarters filled-in when Luigi Cavaradossi, having cleaned it out, found water in the bottom that was very pure, filtering in from the Marrana; but the real find was twenty feet under the edge, in the inner wall that faces us, where a sort of hollowed-out niche was discovered. It has so narrow an opening that one can only enter it by crawling, then it gets large enough for someone to comfortably stand or lie down... There were various objects without value inside: pottery, bronzes...and some ancient coins...What escaped slave, what outlaw exiled by Marius or Scylla, what Christian destined to go to the beasts did this hide-out serve as asylum? Cavaradossi was careful to maintain it, and he did the right thing. Because, having stabbed a Medici who had called him a bastard, and trying to reach the St. Sebastian gate on horseback, the Pope's archers were closing in on him not far from here; he had just enough time to dash into the vineyard, run to the well, grab hold of the cords, slide down to the hiding place and to hole up there...the archers ransacked the house and garden in vain, and even came to draw water for their horses. The well is so narrow and so shadowed by the old cypress trees that surround it, the opening of the niche disappears so naturally behind the long, slimy grass that Cavaradossi, from his damp recess, could listen calmly to the cursing and the threats raining down on his head, along with the water overflowing from their buckets...When the archers had gone, he was able to escape and thus was saved. This old story and the tradition of the hiding place were so completely forgotten that I had to reveal the refuge's existence to Ceccho. It is always there as a last resort, and I have gotten it completely ready in case of emergency so that it can again save a Cavaradossi, or - it's all the same - one of his friends!...

A: Meaning a man whom you did not know this morning and for whom you now devote yourself to like a brother!

M: Bah! I am in an adventurous mood, and all this kind of thing amuses me...

A: Courageous man, do you think you can make light of your actions by speaking of them so?...It is your life, quite frankly, that you are playing with here on my account.

M: People do no less every day.

A: Who for example?...

M: The passerby who jumps into the water to save a drowning man.

A: He only takes a chance with his life. You risk the scaffold.

M: With that kind of reasoning, one would never do anything worthwhile. Let's forget it, my dear guest, and speak no more of my perils, but of yours.

A: They are the same right now.

M: Scarpia has set all his thugs to the hunt, and you can no longer think about leaving the city by the gates, which will be tightly guarded. Are you a good swimmer?

A: Excellent!

M: Luigi Cavaradossi escaped via the Tiber, swimming under a bundle of plants that seemed to be floating with the current. Why don't you follow his example?

A: It is feasible...

M: We will talk about it again later, while dining. In the meantime, go and take a look at the well, and familiarize yourself with how to get in and out. (They go to leave stage left. Angelotti goes first.) Ssh!... (Angelotti stops on the doorstep. Mario crosses the stage and goes to listen at the upstage door.) Someone is closing a door down there to which only Floria has the key.

A: So, it is she?

M: Yes.

A: Does that worry you?

M: A little...at this hour...Go by yourself to this side, and stay in the garden...I will find out first what brings her and call you, if there is cause.

(Angelotti disappears into the garden stage left.)

Scene III

MARIO, FLORIA

(Floria enters from upstage, taking in the whole scene at one glance brusquely.)

M, going to her and taking her hand, tenderly: You?

F, looking at him right in the eyes: Me!...Does that bother you?

M: It worries me...Who sent you?

F, likewise: Curiosity...I wanted to see her.

M: Who?

F: Your mistress.

M, laughing: Oh, my God, you gave me a scare!...This is only jealousy...But who is my mistress?

F, exclaiming: Your hussy, your marquise!...

M: Ah, the marquise again!...

F, seizing the dress: And this?...Isn't this hers? Is this yours?...Is this yours?...

M: Come now, listen to me and I will explain it to you...

F, not listening: Yes, she was posing for you again?...Oh, my God, I see it all!...She posed, the innocent...and for a saint!...in the nude!...

M, same business, taking both her hands: If you will allow me...

F, violently disengaging one hand, without listening, and running to the door on stage right: You are here!...So show yourself!...Or are you so ugly you are ashamed to come out!...

M: Floria, look...

F, throwing the fan on the ground: There, give your sweetheart her fan...so that she can cover herself with it a little!

M: But you are mad, mad, mad!...

F, disengaging both her hands: Yes, I am mad, yes, to love someone so base, deceitful, cowardly, egotistical, ungrateful...a ruffian who runs from that creature to me, from her arms to mine, comes to her hot from my caresses and returns to me with dirty kisses that taste of another!

M: Two words, please...

F, desolate and finally weeping: Oh, miserable wretch!...And I adore him!...I live for him alone...I am no longer myself, I am him!...I have him in my soul, in my heart, in my flesh, in my blood!... Some slut takes him from me and I am so faint-hearted that I still love him; and I think I would hate him in vain...I will love him always...I will be so miserable!...

M, gently: Come now, are you done?...

F: Ah! scoundrel!

M: Will you let me say one word...Just one...

(He takes one of her hands, which she surrenders, wiping her eyes with the other.)

F, lovingly, without lifting her head: Ah! scoundrell!...

M: So, yes, this dress belongs to the marquise.

F, starting, in tears: Ah! you see!...

M, calmly, sitting her down again: But it was not she who left it here. It was an unfortunate who used it as a disguise...a fugitive.

F: Her brother?

M: Who is here.

F: Ah, it was not her!...It was Angelotti...her brother...her brother...Ah! I love you so much!

M: It's about time!

F, covering him with kisses: Oh, my love, my treasure, my life!...(She stops short.) If you are lying...

M: Oh!

F, quickly, closing his mouth: No, I believe you...

M: You can see him...

F: No, no, no, I don't want to!...

M, still seated: He is down there...Here, look...

F: But I just told you that I don't want to see him!...I want to believe you only on your word...without proof...so that you will forget my foolish ideas and know that I have nothing, nothing, nothing but more love for you...(Walking around him, and without seeming to, she looks at the garden, embracing him) Yes, it's true...I see him!...

M, laughing: Ah! there's a woman for you!...And will you pardon me, too?

F, with conviction: Oh! Yes!

M, likewise: All of your insults...Thank you!

F, tenderly, standing, holding him in her arms from behind: No, no! It is I who should ask your pardon...To risk your life for the welfare of another, is so generous of you, and so good...Ah, you deserve better than me. You must be indulgent with me...Besides, you cannot resent me for being jealous and

for loving you...Because I love you too much...Ah, if you loved me as much as I love you!...

M: Fine!...scold me again!

F, likewise: Oh, no, I am too happy!...(Silence.) Will that man be staying here?...

M: Angelotti?...For tonight, at least. We will try to leave the city before dawn.

F: Then, I am staying too.

M, standing: Oh, no!...This adventure has nothing to do with you.

F: Even so!...

M: No, no, you should go back to the party.

F: Ah!...the party...I will not sing!...Bonaparte was victorious...

M, enraptured: Victorious?...

F: At Marengo.

M: Bravo!...So then what happened?...

F: Then, everything fell apart, as you can imagine...

M: You should go home then...

F: Like this...sadly?

M: Yes, yes, I want you to...is your carriage here?

F: A little ways away. I wanted to surprise you.

M: You should be more careful...At night on a deserted road...

F: Ambroise is armed...

M: Ceccho's son will go with you.

F: And when will I see you again?

M: Tomorrow, after Angelotti leaves.

F: My God, what if you are arrested with him...

M, helping her straighten her clothes: No, don't worry...! won't do anything rash...Expect me in the morning, early.

F: Oh, yes, I will worry!...

M, taking the fan: So it was this fan then that put such foolishness into your head?...

F: It was nothing, right?

M: It was for her brother, like the dress.

F: How could I have known that?...Can I speak to him?

M: To Angelotti?...If you wish...(He points toward the garden, while speaking) He is down there looking at the well in case we are surprised...

F: Ah! Yes.

M: Then, you went back to the church after I left?

F: No.

M, stopping: No? So then how did this fan come into your hands?

F: Ah, it was...(She stops, struck by a sudden thought.) Oh!...

M: What is it?

F: Oh, my God!...Are the police looking for him?...

M: Naturally!

F: Scarpia?

M: Yes!

F: Ah, I understand: it was a trap!

M: A trap?...

F: Those suspicious innuendos about you...It was him!...

M: Scarpia?

F: He put me on your trail, the wretch!

M, alarmed: He saw you leave?

F: He must have followed me!

M: Oh, wretch!...What have you done!

F: Be quiet!...Listen...

M: The sound of voices...

F, terrified: Here they are!

Scene IV

THE SAME, CECCHO, ANGELOTTI

Ce, running: Excellency!...There are men knocking at the gate!

M: Talk to them to gain some time. (He runs to the window.) Angelotti!
(Angelotti appears on the garden bench while Tosca listens upstage.) We are discovered!...They are here!...

A: I will cross the fields and throw myself in the ruins.

M: Too late, the house is surrounded...To the refuge, quick...quick!

A: Ah! I swear to God that they will not take me alive!

(He disappears.)

M, to Floria: They are coming...Be cool-headed if you don't want to lose me along with him!

F: Oh, my God, and to think that I did this!

(One sees and hears the policemen upstage, who appear from all sides in the garden, blocking all means of escape.)

Scene V

FLORIA, MARIO, CECCHO, SCARPIA, THE MARQUIS ATTVANTI, SCHIARRONE, SPOLETTA, ALBERTI, GREFFIER, POLICEMEN.

(Scarpia enters upstage, with the Marquia, Schiarrone, Alberti and his aides, and they come forward slowly.)

M, going to him: Permit me to ask the baron to what reason I owe the honor of his company at such an hour?

S, coldly: Madame must have informed you?

M: Madame, after it had pleased her to reveal these intimate details to you, has realized the falseness of these accusations. But, these are domestic problems that do not threaten the security of the State and that, I think, do not warrant your vigilant involvement.

S: You are mistaken. I am here in the exercise of my duty. (Pointing to the marquis.) His Excellency requested that I bear witness to the insult to his honor occasioned by the presence in your home, at this time, of the Marquise Attavanti, his wife.

M: Ah, is that the reason?...The gentleman is mistaken...Madame the marquise is not here, and has no reason to be...And Madame can verify her absence.

F, quickly: Yes!...

At, with satisfaction: Does Madame acknowledge this?...

F: I swear to it!...

At: What was I telling you, Baron?...The gentleman is incapable of doing such a thing...We must offer him our apologies...

S: Pardon, Marquis...But permit me to be reticent about the gentleman's self-serving assertions, and the lady's obliging ones.

M: But I repeat, sir...

S, picking the fan up from the table: In short, sir, how did this fan come into your hands?...Explain that, I beg you.

M: Nothing simpler. The Marquise Attavanti deigned to do me the honor of posing for one of the characters in the tableau that I am painting at St. Andrew: she forgot her fan when she left, that is all.

At: Eh, without a doubt...that is the explanation...

S: And the proof of what you are saying?

M: Her portrait, which anyone can go see at St. Andrew, and also the absence of the marquise, who could not have gotten out with your men guarding all the exits...Search the house, which is not large...If you find the person for whom you are looking here, I will not ask the marquis to be reasonable, I will invite him to run me through with his sword without further ado...Open all the doors, Ceccho, enlighten these gentlemen.

At: Let's hope I am the only person who ever threatens your life, young man... (To Scarpia.) This examination is useless, Baron, perfectly useless!

S: Indeed...the gentleman would not throw open his double-doors if the person for whom we are looking was hidden behind them.

At: By heavens!...Then I have nothing more to do here, correct?

S, calmly: Nothing. Your Excellency can return home. No doubt he will find the marquise there, who was wise enough not to come here with her brother.

(Everyone is startled.)

At: Her brother...Here?

S, pointing to Mario: Look at the gentleman, and you will not doubt what I say!

M, recovering himself: Me!...Sir...I don't understand what you are trying to say.

S: Excuse me...We understand each other very well...But this must be the subject of a special conversation that would painfully prolong the gentleman's long evening. His role is over, mine begins.

At: Yes, I confess...My brother-in-law...I prefer to excuse myself...

S: Was the marquis, on his way home, going to see how Her Majesty is faring?...

At: Certainly.

S: Then Your Excellency can tell her that the fugitive has been found and that he is taken...(Everyone starts. He looks at his watch. Coldly.) Now, it is only a matter of minutes.

At: My word, Baron, that is an errand you must run for yourself. It is already too much to have forced me to play a role that, for a married man, is in bad taste.(To Mario) Cavaliere, my apologies. (To Tosca) Diva, I remain your humble servant.

S, to Schiarrone, quietly: Be polite and accompany this master idiot to his carriage!...

(Schiarrone leaves with the marquis.)

Scene VI

THE SAME WITHOUT THE MARQUIS

M, quickly and quietly to Tosca while Scarpia bows to the marquis: Watch what you say!

F, likewise: He will get nothing from me!...

S, to Schiarrone who has searched the house during the previous scene: Have you searched the whole house?

Sch: Yes, Excellency. No one.

S: And in the garden?

Sch: No one.

S: He could not have escaped. Everything is surrounded...Therefore he is here, hidden somewhere.

Sch: We could search more thoroughly...and tap the walls.

S: Ridiculous and too time-consuming...It is late...We shall learn what we wish to know sooner by asking this gentleman to tell us.

M: Me?

S: Immediately.

M: I will tell you just one thing: that Angelotti is not in my home.

S: You will see nevertheless that he will be. But it is useless to prolong this discussion. Go into that room where you will answer questions posed to you by the fiscal prosecutor.

M: And why not here?

S: That it is my wish would be reason enough...But I will give you another reason: that is that Madame cannot be present at your interrogation, having to undergo her own.

M, quickly: Madame knows nothing more than I.

S: We shall see...Let's go, let's finish up...escort the gentleman into that room.

(The policemen move.)

M: Force will not be necessary. If the gentlemen will follow me...

(He enters the room followed by the policemen.)

Scene VII

THE SAME WITHOUT MARIO

The Fiscal Prosecutor: Your Excellency wishes me to interrogate?...

S: In the usual manner. You will suspend or recommence the interrogation according to the orders that I will give you from here, and that will depend on the lady's answers. Go!

(The prosecutor leaves with the clerk of the court.)

Scene VIII

FLORIA, SCARPIA, SCHIARRONE, POLICEMEN

(Two policemen are upstage. Schiarrone is in front of the door to the room, which he has closed.)

F, seated near the table on stage left: On my answers, mine?...

S, coming to her: By God, yes!...

F: And how can I answer questions about events about which I know nothing?...

S, smiling and very polite: Let us speak as friends, all right?... (He pulls up a seat.) And let us pick up the conversation where we left off at the Palazzo Farnese... So, this fan misled us, and the jealous suspicions were baseless?...

F: You knew that well enough!...

S: I was mistaken about the person, that is all... The Cavaliere was not here with the marquise, but with her brother.

F: With neither one nor the other. He was alone.

S, joking: Seriously?

F: Yes.

S, likewise: Do you swear it?...

F, nervously: Of course, I swear it!... Yes, I swear it... Yes!

S, coldly: Oh! calm yourself, signora, I take your word for it (turning around in the chair and, without getting up, Calmly) Schiarrone?

Sch: Excellency?

S: What does the Cavaliere say?

Sch, on the sill of the door that he holds half-open: Nothing, Excellency.

S: He persists in denying the presence of the gentleman Angelotti?

Sch: Absolutely.

S, raising his voice in order to be heard inside: Then, insist, Roberti, insist.

F, quickly: Your insistence will not make him say what is not so.

S, likewise: My God, I can judge men at a glance: I foresaw the Cavaliere's obstinacy. But I had hoped to find you more reasonable.

F: Must I lie to make you happy?

S, smiling: No!...But in speaking the truth, you will spare the Cavaliere a difficult quarter of an hour.

F, struck: What?...What are you trying to say?... (standing) What is going on in that room?...

S, likewise: Oh, nothing very complicated: your friend is being interrogated in the manner required.

F, worried: I want to see what is happening in there!...

S, taking her arm and stopping her: I can tell you: the Cavaliere is stretched out in an armchair with his arms and his hands tied, his head ringed by a steel clamp with three points: one for the nape of his neck, two for his temples...

F, terrified: Oh!...

S, standing: And, each time he refuses to speak, the screw turns...and the clamp bites!...

F, twisting her arm free: Ah, they shall be damned!...Stop it!...Stop!...

S, holding her tight: So you will talk?

F: Oh, if only they would stop!...Tell them to stop!...Shout it!...

S: Stop, Roberti, and loosen it!...

F: Oh, more!...more!...more!...

S: More, Roberti...Completely.

Sch, on the door-step: It is done, Excellency.

S: It is done.

F: Oh, cowards! cowards!...I want to see him! (Schiarrone bars her way)
Open up!...

S: Close it.

(Schiarrone closes the door.)

F, to Schiarrone who is barring her way, as is another policeman: Let me in, you...Let me in!...(She hurls herself at the closed door and knocks on it. Calling) Mario!...Answer me!...Can you hear me?...One word!...Just one...so I know you are alive! (Silence) Demons!...They have killed him!...

S, seated on stage left, calmly: No...give him time to recover...

F: Mario!...My Mario!...

M, with effort: Floria!...

F: Ah!...

M: Do not be afraid!...I am strong!...

F: They aren't hurting you anymore, are they?...I want to know!...Tell me!...

M: No, not right now...Courage, my dear...Be brave!...

F: Ah, such a voice!...How he is suffering!...(She withdraws from the door.) Ah, my God! my God!...Is it possible?...To torture him like this, sweet and good as a child!...There are ten of them in there looking for what would most hurt one poor, defenseless man!...And they found this!...this atrocity!...steel clamps in his temples!...How horrible!...And this one smiles...and smacks his lips thinking of human blood!...He admires himself, this tiger!...

S, smiling: No, my dear, it is you I admire!...By my faith, you play a tragic role in real life as well as you do on the stage... My compliments...But let us get back to serious matters...Did you hear him?...*"I am strong."* That means: *"they will not extract one word."*

F: Ah, you would sooner extract his soul!

S: Without a doubt.

F: So then, release him...Give him back to me!...Since he will say nothing, it is over, isn't it?...

S: Over?...We have just begun.

F, choking: To...?

S: To question him.

F: You would torture him again?...To learn nothing?...

S: Wrong...I will know everything: he will be interrogated, but it is you who will respond.

F: Me?

S: Yes, you!...And remember that each time you refuse to talk you are turning the screw once more.

F: Oh, murderer!...

S: I am no longer the murderer, you are, if you refuse to answer me...(Very loud.) Let's go, Roberti, get ready...We'll begin again...

(Schiarrone half-opens the door and stays ready to transmit orders.)

F: Assassin!...(Scarpia moves. She steadies herself.) No!...Pardon, mercy, pity, Excellency, not this!...It is horrible...not this!

S: So, where is Angelotti?...

F: But I don't know!...I know nothing!...How would I know?...(Scarpia lifts his hand. Schiarrone moves. She leaps up and brings his hand down.) No!...Wait!...Ah, my God!...Just wait!... Losing one to save the other, this is terrifying!...Give me time...They are not doing anything to him, right?...You are sure?

S: No; I am waiting...but hurry...answer.

F: But what?...What should I say?...I don't know!...Tell me what I should say...Ah, Lord, as long as they do nothing to him, I will say whatever you want!...

S: So be it!...Was there a man here when you arrived?

F: No!...(Scarpia moves.) Yes, yes!...Wait!...Let me think, at least!...A man?...I don't know anymore!...(Same business.) Yes, Yes!! I think so!...I think so!...(To Schiarrone.) But, since I am answering for him, close the door, damn you!

S: And this man was Angelotti?

F: Oh, as far as that goes, no!

S, mockingly: That means "yes."

F: No!...I tell you, no!

S, likewise: With such emphasis that it means "yes."

F: Ah, when you settle your account with God, have no fear, I will be there!...And besides, what do I know?...Do I know your Angelotti?...

S: So, where is this man, whoever he may be?

F: Ah, just try to catch him...he must be far away!...

S: No... everything is surrounded...

F: Look, if you are going to contradict everything I say!...(Terrified.) A scream...They are starting up again!...

S: No!

F: Yes! Yes!...I heard it!...

(She listens.)

S: Nothing, I tell you...So, Schiarrone?...

Sch: Fainted.

S: See?...Let's continue...This man is hidden somewhere, then, right here perhaps?...

F, worried, her attention on the door: If only God had let him be here!...He would not let you grind his savior up alive!...

S: Then he is his savior?

F, struck: No!

S: You just said it!

F: Ah, what I say, what I say! You force me to speak, so of course I speak nonsense...whatever comes into my head!...

S: In a word, he is hidden!...(Floria begins to protest. Threatening.) Hidden where?...Come on, let's finish up!...

F: I don't know!...

S, towards the door: Proceed, Roberti!...

F, frightened: No!...I know!...He is...

S: He is...?

F, who, in her first gesture, which all watch, almost pointed out the garden, stops short, desolate: It is too ghastly!...Even so I cannot deliver this unfortunate into your hands to be killed!...

(She falls into the chair, her arms on the small table, her head on her arms.)

S: in her ear, gently, after a pause: Come now, be courageous...and your lover will be free!

F, sobbing: Oh, God!...He will never forgive me for this...never!

S: Speak softly...and he will never know anything...Shall we proceed?

F, voiceless: I want to speak to him first...

S: To what end?

F: I will do anything you want afterwards, but I want to see him, to speak with him!...Please!...I beg you!...

S: Stop for an instant, Roberti. (To Schiarrone) Open the door!...Is the Cavaliere still in a faint?

Sch: No.

(Schiarrone opens the door. Floria wipes her face, gets up and, crossing the stage, starts to enter the room.)

S, stopping her: Oh, pardon!...From here only.

F, falling into the armchair near the door: Mario, ...my Mario! You can hear me, can't you?...

M, laboriously: Yes!...

F: You see, my beloved Mario!...Your strength is used up...Mine, too, I assure you!...You want me to, don't you?...Tell me that you want me to talk...

M: And what could you say, you unfortunate?...You know nothing!...

F, begging: My Mario!...

M, with force: You know nothing!

F, her hands outstretched towards him: But I cannot let you be torn apart like this! My flesh cries out along with yours!...(She falls to her knees.) My love, I am begging you on my knees!...My Mario, beloved, say...say that it is all right!...

M, with energy: No! No!...You have nothing to say!...And I forbid you, do you hear me?...I forbid you!...

F, desperate: But, they will kill you!...

M: I forbid you!...

S, with a vengeance: Proceed! And do not stop any more!

F, turning towards Scarpia: No!...I will speak!...

M: Be quiet...or I will curse you!...

F: Oh, God!...

S: Keep going!...

F, clinging to him on her knees: No!...Stop!...

S, to Floria: Where is the man?... (A cry of pain from Mario.)

F: Ah!...Too bad for the other one!...I will tell everything!...

S, to Schiarrone: Stop!

F, pointing to the garden: There!...

S: The garden?

F: The well!...

S: The well!...

(The policemen rush into the garden, from stage left. The soldiers, upstage, also rush out, into the trees.)

F, standing: My Mario, now!...Bandits, give him back to me!...

(She runs towards the room whose door Schiarrone is still blocking.)

S: It is done!...untie the other. (He goes towards the garden.)

Scene IX

THE SAME, MARIO, THEN COLOMETTI

(Mario appears on the doorstep, livid, bewildered, leaning on the doorpost. He has two bloodstains at the temples. Floria runs to him, supporting him and helping him get to the armchair where he collapses mute and haggard.)

F, wiping his face and covering him with kisses: Oh, my love, my life!...My angel, my hero!...

M, opening his eyes after a while, and, laboriously, like a drunken man: Ah! this is terrible!...You didn't say anything, did you?...I didn't either?...

F: No! No!...you said nothing!...Nothing!

(He collapses again, exhausted. Silence. She is crying as she kisses his hands. Colometti reappears on the doorstep.)

S: So?

Colometti: We have him.

S: Finally!

Col: Dead.

S: Dead?...Poisoned?...

Col: Without doubt.

(The policemen lay Angelotti's body down in the garden, near the doorstep, in view and lit by the moon. Mario opens his eyes. Floria places herself so that she is blocking Angelotti from him.)

M: Dead?...*(To Floria.)* Who is dead?...I want to see!...*(Same business to Floria. He sits up.)* Let me go!...*(He pushes her aside to see the body.)* Him? *(Standing.)* Ah, you miserable wretch!

F: Mario!...

M: Don't touch me!...Go away!...I loathe you!...It was you!...You killed him!...

(He falls exhausted on the sarcophagus, his eyes fixed on the corpse.)

F, falling at Mario's knees: In order to save you!...

S, to the policemen: Come, Schiarrone, let's finish up...Take everyone!...The dead man, to the compost heap, and the living one, his accomplice...

F, terrified: Him?

(They surround Mario and lead him away.)

S: To the gallows!...

(Floria wants to speak, she looks at him, bewildered, unable to either speak or cry out, and she collapses thunderstruck.)

Sch: And the woman?...

S: The woman, too!...

-CURTAIN-

ACT IV

(A room in the Castel Sant'Angelo. On stage right, a raised platform in a corner with a richly decorated alcove. Upstage is a bed on a raised step. On stage left, another raised platform with a wide window with a balcony. Upstage is an entranceway and a small piece of furniture to stage left. Downstage left is an open secretary. Downstage right, is a console table beneath a mirror. At the foot of the bed, in the alcove, a prayer stool with an ivory crucifix. Towards stage right, in profile, is a table covered with a cloth and on which a dinner has been served. On stage left, a couch placed at an angle. It is still night, and the room is lit only by two lighted candlesticks placed on the console, and a candleabra on the table. When the curtain rises, the window is shut. Scarpia is eating, sitting at the table, with his back to the console. A butler and a footman wait on him.)

First scene

SCARPIA, SCIARRONE, A BUTLER, A FOOTMAN, COLOMETTI

S: Open the window, Colometti. The air in here is stuffy. (Colometti throws the window on stage left wide open.) What time is it?...Schiarrone.

Sch: Excellency, they have already sung Matins.

S: The city seems pretty calm to me.

Sch: Very calm, Excellency...The governor has doubled the watch and the whole garrison is armed and ready.

S: Useless precautions...This French victory has excited the Romans less than I would have thought.

Sch: More surprise than joy, Excellency...That is the general feeling, I think.

S: Is the prisoner in the chapel?

Sch: Yes, Excellency, with the Whitefriars of the Dead.³⁹ But when they plead with him to beg for Divine mercy, even with all their saintly efforts, he stubbornly replies that he has no pardon to ask of God, because he only did his duty as an honest man: to come to the aid of any victim of tyranny.

S, slicing some food and serving himself: That is a Jacobin for you!

Sch: And that if anyone is guilty in this affair, it is not he in respect to Heaven, but Heaven in respect to him...

S: Shocking blasphemy!...And then?

Sch: So, the Whitefriars, tiring of so much impiety, left him alone...He took advantage of it to go to sleep.

S: Excellent preparation for death, and worthy of a Christian!...

Scene II

THE SAME, SPOLETTA

S, to Spoletta as he enters: So, Captain, have you seen the Governor?...

Sp: Excellency, Monseigneur has just returned home, having spent the night at the Palazzo Farnese, where he was detained by the indisposition of Her Majesty. He seemed quite satisfied with the news of Angelotti's arrest, and gave me this order written in his hand.

S, reading: *The Cavaliere Mario Cavaradossi must be executed before dawn.* (He places the order on the table.) I have been thinking: Angelotti was condemned to hang and he should do so. There is no point in letting it be known that he escaped us by drinking poison, and that we are only hanging a cadaver. These voluntary deaths set a detestable example. The criminal must not escape punishment. So, for all to see, Angelotti will die at the executioner's hand. Are the gallows ready?

Sch: They are erecting them as we speak, under this window, at the head of the bridge.

S: Leave the corpse on view until High Mass begins. After that, throw it in some trench or other; and not on holy ground. A suicide has no right to either a Christian burial or a cross on his tomb.

(He drinks.)

Sp: It shall be done as you wish, Excellency. And the other one?

S: For Cavaradossi, we shall see. Where is the woman?

Sp: In the room where Your Excellency has ordered her locked up.

S, a glass in his hand: Still furious?...

Sch: Calmer. She was quite worried about the Cavaliere at first, then about where she was being taken. We have seen no need to tell her, having no instructions in that regard.

S, to Schiarrone: Bring la Tosca in here...(Schiarrone leaves. To Spoletta) You, Spoletta, keep your eye on the hanging of the dead. Once it is done, I will call you from this window. Go on... (To the servants, getting up when he sees Tosca brought in by Schiarrone.) Leave me...

(The butler bows: the footman takes away the platter that is on the console.)

Scene III

SCARPIA, FLORIA

(Floria enters silently, pale; she supports herself on the back of the couch and looks around her.)

S, after awhile: You want to know where you are, Tosca. You and the Cavalier Cavaradossi are in the Castel Sant'Angelo, my home...Now, I would guess that after such a night you are exhausted. Allow me to do you the honor, in this melancholy dwelling, of inviting you to dinner; it would have been a better one, if I had known that you would be a guest here tonight.(Floria, without looking at him, makes a scornful gesture of refusal. He continues, smiling.) Fine...I hope you don't think it is poison...that was the custom of another era. We no longer do it that way.

F, in a hollow voice: But you still slit throats!

S, coolly: Rarely, and murderers only...For rebels and their accomplices I rather prefer shooting or hanging, if it were my choice. (Floria moves.) This surprises you...Had you imagined that the Cavaliere would be given a trial?

F, anxiously: He won't have a trial?...

S, still smiling: What foolishness!...An interrogator, witnesses and defense attorneys!...As though we had the time to amuse ourselves with these frivolities!...Her Catholic Majesty has simplified the procedure... Come here; in the light of the lanterns you can see people working at the head of the bridge. They are erecting a gibbet with two arms. From one they will hang a dead man: Angelotti...from the other, a living one!...

F, frightened: Mario?

S: That is correct!... and I could choose to embellish the group by adding you to it. But it would not please God for me to deprive the Romans of their idol, who is mine as well. Your carriage is waiting for you below. All the doors of the Castel are open to you. You can leave, you are free! (Floria rushes towards the door with a cry of joy.) Wait!...(She stops.) I can guess the true meaning of your cry. It is not joy over your own salvation!...But this thought, "I will run to the Palazzo Farnese, I will force my way in to see the queen, and I will make her pardon my lover!" Isn't that so?

F: Yes, that's right.

S, picking up the orders from the table: Unfortunately, the order is explicit. The Cavaliere must be executed before dawn. By the time his pardon reaches me, he will have been dead for an hour.

F: You would do that?

S: Ah, in good faith, my dear...You have suffered enough, but not he!

F: But then...then...wretch!...You are no longer an executioner, but an assassin!...

S: Perhaps...That depends...But we shall see...please sit down and at least accept a glass of Spanish wine. (He pours.) This way we can discuss the Cavaliere Cavaradossi in a more relaxed manner, and find the best way to help him out of this unfortunate situation.

F: I am thirsty and hungry for his freedom only !...Come on, let's get to it!...(She sits down resolutely at the table, facing him, and setting aside the glass.) How much?

S, pouring a drink: How much?

F: Yes!...It is a question of money, I suppose!

S: Really, Tosca. You don't know me very well...You have seen me be ferocious and implacable in the execution of my duties: my honor and even my own salvation were at stake. Angelotti's flight would inevitably have brought my disgrace... But, duty accomplished, I am like a soldier who lays down his fury along with his arms: and you have before you now only Baron Scarpia, your devoté, whose admiration for you is almost to the point of fanaticism...and that took on a new facet tonight... Yes, until now, I never saw you as anything but an exquisite interpreter of Cimarosa or Paisiello...This struggle revealed you to me as a woman...A woman more tragic, more passionate than the actress herself, and one hundred times more wonderful in reality than in fiction! Ah! Tosca, you found just the right stresses, cries, gestures, poses!...No, it was stupendous, and I was dazzled to the point of forgetting my own role in this tragedy, becoming just a spectator, and declaring myself conquered!...

F, still worried, at mezza-voce: God help me!

S: But do you know what kept me from doing it? With this enthusiasm over a woman as bewitching and intoxicating as you, and so different from all of the other women I have had,...a jealousy... a sudden jealousy that is eating at my heart...What! All these tears and anger for this Cavaliere who, just between us, hardly deserves such passion? Really!

The more you begged for him, the more it strengthened my tenacious desire to keep him in my power, to make him atone for so much love and to punish him. Yes, I swear, to punish him! I want him to suffer for his unmerited happiness. I so envy him the possession of such a creature as you...that I can only pardon him on one condition...and that is having my share.

F, jumping to her feet: You!...

S, sitting, restraining her by the arm: and I will have it!...

F, she pulls away violently, bursting into laughter: Imbecile!...I would rather throw myself out this window!...

S, coolly, without budging: Do it... Your lover will follow you!...Say "yes" - I save him..."no" - I kill him!...

F, looking at him, terrified: Ah, you vile cynic!...What a horrible bargain!...Using terror and force!...

S: Fine, my dear, but where is the violence? If you don't like the bargain, go, the door is open...But I dare you to do it...You can scream, insult me, invoke the Virgin and all the saints!...That will only waste time with useless words!...In the end, with nothing left to do, you will say "yes."

F: Never!... I will wake the whole city with my cries of your infamy.

S, likewise, coolly, taking a sip: That won't awaken the dead!...(Floria stops short, making a gesture of despair. He goes on, smiling.) You really hate me, don't you?

F: Oh, God!

S, likewise: Fine!...That is just how I love you!...(He places his cup on the table.) A woman who gives herself is an easy conquest...I am tired of that!...(He advances towards her) But humiliating you and your scorn and anger...twisting and breaking your resistance in my arms...By God, there is the sport, and your submission would only spoil my fun!...

F, leaning on the back of the secretary: Oh, demon!

S, one knee on the couch: A demon, so be it!...As such, that which charms me, proud creature, is that you will be mine...in rage and suffering,...that I will feel your haughty soul struggling,...your resisting body trembling in forced abandon to my detestable caresses, your whole flesh slave to mine! ...What revenge for your scorn, what vengeance for your insults, what refinement in lust that my gratification will also be your torture...Oh, you hate me!...Me, I want you, and I intend to get a diabolical joy from the coupling of my desire and your hatred!...

F, going towards the table: You must have been conceived in such a coupling, you wild beast, no woman's breast could have nourished you with her milk!

S, advancing towards Floria: More! More!...Go on...Insult me...You can't do it enough...spit your scorn in my face, bite and claw...That will only whip up my desire and make me want you more!...

F, terrified, running away: Don't come near me!...Help, save me!...

S: No one will come!...You are wasting time on useless screaming...Look, it's getting light, and your Mario has less than fifteen minutes to live!

F: Ah! my God, my great good God, my savior!...How could there be such a man and you do nothing! Don't you see him?...Don't you hear me?...

S, scoffing: Don't count on Him!...Angelotti is already on the gallows. (She recoils in alarm.) And it is the other one's turn!...(Calling.) Spoletta.

F, rushing towards the window: No!...No!...Save him!...

S, advancing and taking her left hand, ready to clasp it: You consent?...

F, disengaging herself and slipping back into his arms, falling at his feet: Have pity!...Mercy!...Oh, my God!...You have had your revenge!...I have been punished and humiliated enough...I am at your feet...I beg you...I ask your pardon...I humbly ask your pardon...for all that I have said...humbly!...Mercy!...Mercy!...

S: Come, it is agreed, isn't it?... (He raises her up and presses her to him.)

F, disengaging herself with a cry of disgust: No!...No!...I don't want to!...I couldn't!...I don't want to!...

Scene IV

THE SAME, SPOLETTA

(Spoletta stops on the sill. Soldiers are behind him in the anteroom.)

Sp: Shall I go get Cavaradossi?

F: Oh! No!...no!...

S: Wait!...(He goes to Floria, clinging to the back of the couch.) You have one minute to decide!

F, exhausted and desperate: It's over!...Everything is against me!...It's over!...

(She collapses on the couch.)

S, in her ear: Come on!...

(Silence)

F, after some time, with effort, shamefully, in a whisper, more with gesture than with words: Yes!...

(She bursts into tears, her face on the back of the couch.)

S, going back onstage: Captain...I have changed my mind...The executioner can go back to sleep. We shall not hang the Cavaliere, leave him in the chapel.

(Spoletta turns towards his men who, after a words from him, retreat. He alone remains visible.)

F, in a low voice to Scarpia: I want him freed, freed instantly.

S, likewise: Calm down, Tosca!...The situation requires more secrecy!... Here are the prince's orders, which I must obey. (He presents the paper.) The only thing that is up to me is the method; we will take advantage of it...But everyone, except this man who is devoted to me, must think that the Cavaliere is dead!...

F: And how do I know that afterwards...you will save him?

S: I will give the order here, in your presence!...(to Spoletta.) Spoletta, close the door...(Spoletta obeys.) Listen well...We are no longer hanging the Cavaliere, we are shooting him...(Floria moves, but he stops her with a gesture.) on the platform of the Castel, like we shot Count Palmieri...

Sp: Then, Excellency, it is to be a...

S: Simulated execution...Exactly as you did for Palmieri.

Sp: Perfectly understood, Excellency.

S: Take a dozen of your men and load their rifles yourself...with powder only, and take the greatest care.

Sp: Yes, Excellency.

S: The Cavaliere, who will know the part he is to play, will be led to the platform without any witnesses other than you and your men. When they fire, he will fall as if shot...You will make a show of checking that he is dead, that the coup de grâce would be pointless, and then you will

send your men away. After that, with a cloak over his shoulders and a hat pulled down over his eyes, you will lead him out of the Castel into Madame's carriage, which will be waiting there. You will take your place with the Cavaliere, direct the carriage to the Porta Angelica, which you will have them open, on my orders, and when the carriage has made it outside the city walls without incident, then, and only then, will you let it go its way and return home...Leave the rest to me. Have I made myself clear?

Sp: Perfectly, Excellency!

S: The rifles?...

Sp: I will load them myself. Should I proceed immediately?...

S: Not yet!...Leave the Cavaliere in the chapel and wait.

F, mezza-voce: I want to see him, and tell him myself what has been agreed upon.

S: Fine!...(To Spoletta.) Madame is free. She can move about the Castel or leave it as she wishes. Post a guard at the foot of the stairs. He will lead Madame to the chapel. Only after her meeting with Cavaradosi, while she is returning to her carriage should you proceed with the execution as I have explained it...

Sp: Understood, Excellency.

S: Go now... don't forget anything, and have them leave me alone until I call.

(Spoletta bows and leaves, closing the door whose bolts Scarpia pulls closed.)

Scene V

SCARPIA, FLORIA

(When she hears the door close and the bolts slide, Floria shudders and staggers to her feet.)

S, coming downstage: Is that good enough?

F: feebly and trembling all over: No!...

S: What else?...

F, likewise, with effort: I want a pass that, after we leave Rome, will assure us of safe conduct out of the Roman States...

S: That is fair. (He goes to the secretary where he writes standing up. Floria, slowly, goes to the table where, with trembling hands, she takes the glass of Spanish wine that Scarpia had poured. While doing this, and after she has already brought the glass to her lips, she sees the carving knife, with its pointed blade, on the table. She stops, throws a glance towards Scarpia who has his back turned to her while writing. Carefully, so as not to attract his attention, she puts her glass down slowly, and draws the knife towards her. Meanwhile, Scarpia reads out loud what he is writing.) *General order to allow free passage from the city of Rome and the Roman States for the Signora Tosca and the Cavaliere who accompanies her - Vitellio Scarpia, Regent of the Roman Police..* (He comes back to her. She has picked up the glass again and drains it in one gulp.) Are you satisfied?

(He gives her the paper, which she reads standing up, with him very close behind her.)

F, after pretending to read it, replacing the glass on the table, thus bringing her hand closer to the knife: Yes...It is fine.

S: Then...now for what is due me!...

(He grasps her arm and ardently kisses her bare shoulder.)

F, striking Scarpia right in the chest with the knife: And here it is!...

S: Ah! Accursed wretch!

(He falls at the foot of the couch.)

F, with ferocious joy and laughter: Finally!...It is done!...At last!...At last!...Ah, it is done!...

S, holding fast to the arm of the couch: Help me!...I'm dying!...

F: I am counting on it!...Ah, executioner! You would have tortured me all night; shouldn't I have my turn?... (She leans over him, looking into his eyes.) See me well, bandit!...I delight in your agony; killed by a woman's hand...coward! Die, you ferocious beast, die, desperate and enraged!...Die!...Die!...Die!...

S, striving to get up: Help!...Save me!...

F, going upstage towards the door where she listens: Cry out! The blood is choking you! No one will hear you!... (With these words, she goes back to the door where she listens without losing sight of Scarpia, and places the knife on the small piece of furniture with her left hand. Scarpia, in a last effort, straightens up, almost standing, and stumbles a few steps, his back to the audience. He arrives in front of Floria. She takes the knife again and raises back her arm, ready to strike again. They look at each other for a second, he suffocating and she threatening. Finally, after a useless movement, he backs up and falls back on the couch from behind. In so doing, he gives a muffled groan, and slides to the floor with his head towards the audience, between the couch and the table. She replaces the knife on the furniture, and says coolly) Well done!... (She approaches the table and slides the candelabra over in order to

illuminate Scarpia's face as he dies.) Now, I consider us even!...(Calmly, without taking her eyes off him, she takes a carafe and wets a napkin with which she wipes her hands and a spot of blood on her dress; she wrings the napkin and throws it to the side where the alcove is. She goes around the table to the mirror above the console and fixes her hair. Then she returns to Scarpia's body.) And to think that before that a whole city trembled! (Drumrolls in the distance. Trumpets sound reveille. Startled.) Reveille!...It is day!...already?... (She goes back upstage between the table and the corpse, and blows out the candles of the candelabra on the table.) And the safe-conduct pass!...What did I do with it?...

(She looks for it on the table, glances around her, then sees it in Scarpia's stiffened hand. She leans over him, pulls it away, letting his arm fall down again, and tucks the safe-conduct pass in her breast. Drumrolls again, this time nearer. She begins to leave, then, seeing the lighted candlesticks, goes to extinguish them; but she changes her mind and, taking a candlestick in each hand, she slowly places the one she holds in her left hand to Scarpia's left, and, passing in front of the cadaver, turning her back to the audience, places the other to his right. She looks around her while going towards the door, and sees the crucifix on the prayer stool. She takes it down slowly, by the foot, pointing Christ's head towards the audience, kneels in front of Scarpia, and places the crucifix on his chest. At the same instant, the drums roll a third time in the citadel. Floria gets up again and reaches the upstage door, pulls the bolts open and half-opens one side. The anteroom is black. She sticks her head out to listen, then, quietly slipping out, disappears.)

-CURTAIN-

ACT V

FIRST TABLEAU

(The chapel at the Castel Sant'Angelo for those condemned to death. Upstage, a window with a grille. Stage left, a retable. On stage right, a door. Bench upstage.)

First Scene

MARIO, SPOLETTA, A JAILER, AN AIDE, A SERGEANT, TWO CARABINIERI

Sp, enters and approaches Mario who is wrapped up in his coat and sleeping on the bench. He rouses him gently: Cavaliere!...Cavaliere!...

M, waking up with a start: Huh?...What is it?...Ah, it is you, Captain...I was sleeping so well: has the moment arrived?...And aren't you waking me from such a good sleep to take me to another, deeper one?...

Sp, pointing to the door, which is ajar: No, sir, it is someone who would like...

M: Oh, if it is another of those Whitefriars who wish, above all, for me to beg God's forgiveness for having tried to save Angelotti, I emphatically refuse to see him. I beg you, Captain, spare me their useless entreaties and their lugubrious chanting. Death is bad enough by itself without making it even sadder with such ceremonies.

(He lies down again to go back to sleep.)

Sp: The Whitefriars have gone, sir, on His Excellency's order, and you shall know why very soon. It is not them, but someone it will no doubt be much more pleasurable to see.

M, quickly, sitting up: Floria?

Sp: Yes, sir!

M, turning toward the door: Oh, let her in...Where is she?...Floria!...My darling...My love!...Come to me...come quickly!

(At Spoleтта's signal, the jailer opens the door for Floria.)

Scene II

THE SAME, FLORIA

F, running to him and, kneeling, taking him in her arms: Have you forgiven me?

M: Oh, my soul's love! It is you who must forgive my anger, so unjust and so ungrateful, which I regret. And now that we must say "adieu"...

F: quietly in his ear, after looking at the people who, on silent orders from Spoletta are going to the door: No!...No!...Not "adieu"!...

M: How is that?

F: Be silent! Wait...Wait for them to leave. (When she brings her face closer to Mario's, she barely brushes his brow, and he cannot help wincing a bit. Quickly) Are you in pain?...

M, taking her hand, which he brings to his lips: A little, yes.

F: Ah, my love, I will be able to care for you, heal you...In a few moments, we will be far from this horrible city, and far from any danger! (All are gone except Spoletta.) I have your pardon!

M: My pardon?

F: Complete!...

M: From Scarpia?

F: From Scarpia! Isn't it true, captain, isn't it true that he has been saved?

Sp: His Excellency, sir, did indeed give me orders that confirm all that Madame is saying.

F: You see!...

M, to Spoletta: And what were the orders?

F: They will pretend to shoot you, for appearances' sake, you see. But the rifles will be loaded with blanks, just blanks, and, as an extra precaution, this captain will load the rifles himself. Isn't that so, Captain? Tell him; tell him yourself, it doesn't look like he believes me.

Sp: Loaded by my own hand, sir. That is His Excellency's explicit order...

F: You see! The captain told you! Then, they will lead you onto the platform, without witnesses...the soldiers will fire...you will fall as if you had been killed. The captain will dismiss his men; the doors of the Castel will be open to us; we will get in my carriage and leave together to go wherever we wish...free, free!...What happiness!

M: Is this possible?

F: Look, the safe-conduct pass. (She gives it to him.) that will get us out of the Castel, the city, and which assures us passage all the way to the border.

M: For you?

F: And for you! Read it: the Signora Tosca and the Cavaliere who accompanies her.

M: Indeed. And signed by Scarpia?

F: You can see it there!

Sp: And if you can believe me, sir, it would be in your interest not to wait until it gets too light. The sooner we act, the better it will be.

F, quickly: Ah, that's true! Quick, quick, captain, right away!

S, to Mario: My men are already on the platform. I put the rifles in a secure place. I will go make sure that the square is deserted and I will come back to get you.

F: Yes, yes, that's right, Captain, go quickly!...Ah, I am so grateful to you!

(Spoletta exits.)

Scene III

FLORIA, MARIO

M, as soon as Spoletta is gone, he grabs Tosca's hand violently: Wretch! What price did you pay for my salvation?

F: One thrust of a knife!

M: You killed him?

F: Ah, did I kill him! (With a savage joy.) Oh, yes, I really killed him!

M: And you are here? But they will discover his death, you are lost.

F: No, my Mario, no, I am not lost. He gave the order right in front of me to leave him alone and let him rest...He is resting now!...Since he was up all night, no one will be surprised if he sleeps until noon or one o'clock. So we have six or seven hours ahead of us, four at worst. And, in four hours, we will be in Civitavecchia where we will find a ship leaving, or a boat or anything that floats...By the time they have discovered the body, we will be away, far away, free from harm, on the open sea!...

M: Oh, brave woman. You are a real Roman...A true Roman woman of olden times!

Scene IV

THE SAME, SPOLETTA, SOLDIERS, upstage, in the vestibule.

Sp, entering: Are you ready, sir?

F, joyously: Yes, captain. Yes!...*(She sees the soldiers and changes her tone.)* Yes, we are ready. *(In a low voice to Spoletta, while embracing Mario tightly to make the soldiers who are watching believe they are saying their last good-byes.)* I can't go with you?

Sp, quietly: Oh! no, Madame. It would be better not to show yourself; do not come there until after the shots are fired.

F, likewise: The platform is on this side, isn't it?

Sp, likewise: On this side! Twenty steps up.

F, likewise: Good! Don't make me wait too long.

Sp, likewise: It is a matter of five minutes at most!...*(Aloud to Mario.)* Let us go, sir.

F, in Mario's arms: Play your part well...fall down when they shoot...And really act dead.

M: Don't worry.

F: Go, go quickly!...There will be time enough for kisses en route!...

S, to the soldiers: Present arms.

(They leave with Mario. Everyone disappears.)

Scene V

FLORIA, alone

F, after a moment's silence: Surely, with the post horses we will find on the way, we can be at Civitavecchia in four hours!... Oh, God! when I see the Italian coast fading away in the distance! What a deliverance that will be!...*(Silence.)* Ah, I hear them marching up there, on the platform...They are stopping...Now is the time...Provided that now they don't think of waking up the other one for some business or other!...*(Silence)* So, what are they waiting for?...It should be over already...A delay could ruin everything!...And even worse, this waiting is hateful!...It's breaking my

heart...Even though I know it's just an act...the thought of them shooting at him!...Oh, my God! Hurry up, hurry up! Get it over with!... (Gun shots. She gives an involuntary cry of fright.) Ah!...I'll go mad...It is over!...Now we go...Ah, I forgot his coat!

(She takes the coat and leaves quickly by stage right.)

SECOND TABLEAU

(The platform of the Castel Sant'Angelo. Upstage, the parapet and cannons, and, in perspective, the city, between the Coliseum and the dome of St. Peter's, illuminated by the rising sun. Downstage left, a large wall rising up to the friezes. Stage right, a large watchtower to which is attached a stairway allowing access from the first floor. Upstage, a walkway connects the watchtower and the parapet. It is almost dawn as the curtain rises, and the stage becomes lighter and lighter as the scene progresses.)

Single scene

SPOLETTA, MARIO, SOLDIERS, FLORIA

(Mario is stretched out, immobile, stage left, in front of the large wall. The soldiers are on stage right, upstage, between the parapet and the watchtower. Spoletta is leaning over Mario, whose head is turned towards the wall. A sergeant with a lantern in his hand, is waiting.)

Sp, after some time, getting up, to the soldiers: It is unnecessary...You can go in.

(The sergeant goes back upstage and exits with the men by the stage left side.)

F, appears on the threshold of the watchtower, the coat over her arm: This is it...This is the platform!...(Seeing him.) Ah, it is you, captain...have your men gone?

Sp: Just now.

F: Where is he?

Sp: There.

F: Oh, good! See if the coast is clear!...(Spoletta leaves stage right. She goes to Mario.) It's me...Don't budge!...A soldier is passing by...Wait!...(She follows the soldier with her eyes.) Good!...He is going away... (She comes forward. The sergeant enters followed by two soldiers carrying a stretcher and two others with lanterns. Quickly.) Don't move yet...here are some lights!...Ah, my God!...What happened to the captain? (To the soldiers who have stopped in the middle.) Where are you going?...What do you want?

The Sergeant: To take the body away.

F, alarmed, barring their way: You cannot take him! He is mine!...Scarpia gave him to me!...Didn't the captain say anything to you about it?...

The Sergeant: Nothing!

F: Call for him...Find him... He must be over on this side. (She points to stage right, then speaking to Mario, but with her eyes still on the soldiers.) Stay still...They can see you. Wait until they have turned the corner...There...good, they are leaving...one more...now...good...Here is your coat. (She tosses it to him, watching stage right.) Put it on and get up!...Quickly now!...Quick!...Quick! (She turns and sees him immobile.) Get up now!...Don't you hear me?... Mario!... Mario!... (Frightened, she runs to him.) Has he fainted?... Mario?... (She turns the body over quickly, exposing Mario's bloodless face; his arm falls to the ground with a dull thud.) Blood!...He's dead!...My Mario!...Killed!...Killed!...They have killed him!... (Spoletta reappears with Schiarrone, the sergeant and the soldiers. She rushes towards him.) Assassin!... Assassin who was supposed to save him!

Sp: To make you believe that and to shoot him, like Palmieri: That was the master's order!...

F: Ah, the tiger!...And I cannot even kill him again! (Everyone reacts.)

Sp, Sch, and an officer: Kill him?

F: Yes, I killed him, your Scarpia!...Killed him, killed him, do you hear? Stabbed him in the heart, and would like to plunge it in again and twist it!...Ah, you shoot...Me, I slaughter with a knife! (Two men, at a gesture from Spoletta rush forward from stage right.) Yes, go...go see what I did to that monster...whose corpse still kills...

(She kneels beside Mario and holds him in an embrace.)

Sch, wanting to rush to Floria: Miserable woman!...

Sp, stopping him: Hey, don't you see that her grief is upsetting her mind, and that she is telling us her dreams!

Sch: And what if she really killed him?

Sp: She will pay with her life, which would be too little.

F, getting up: Take my life then!...I don't want the horror of seeing you anymore, bandits who do such things...the rotten people who accept them,...the sordid sun that shines down on them!...

(Confused voices. Cries outside. Drum rolls.)

Sp, quickly: Well?

An officer: It's true!

All: Oh!

Sp: Wounded?

The Officer: Dead!

(Cries of anger.)

Sp, to Floria who during this time has gone to the parapet: Ah, demon...I will send you to meet your lover!

F, standing on the parapet: I am going, swine!

(She throws herself into space. Spoletta, Schiarrone and all the soldiers, rush toward the parapet.)

-CURTAIN-

Notes to Appendix A

* We would like to thank Regan Kramer for her assistance in the translation of this drama. After this translation was complete, another annotated English translation of the play came to our attention: W. Laird Kleine-Ahlbrandt, *"La Tosca" (The Drama behind the Opera)*, Studies in the History and Interpretation of Music, Vol. 19 (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1990). We have made an attempt to provide here only annotations not given by Kleine-Ahlbrandt, although some overlap was unavoidable.

¹In the libretto this character's name was changed to Sciarrone, adjusting the Italian spelling to the French pronunciation.

²The Church of S. Andrea al Quirinale, as it is presently known, was founded by Jesuits and conceived and designed by Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680); he supervised its construction during the period 1658 to 1678, with the help of his student De Rossi (1637-1695), who designed the chapels, the church floor and the sacristy. Flanking the main altar are four Corinthian columns made of white and red marble. The church, oval-shaped and quite small, has six chapels, the only one of which has a grille contains a crucifix and forms the tomb of Carlo Emanuele IV, King of Sardinia and Piedmont, who became a Jesuit in 1815 after abdicating the throne. The chapels are dedicated to: St. Francis Xavier, the Pietà, St. Andrew, the Crucifixion, St. Stanislaw Kostka, and St. Ignatius of Loyola.

³There were so many English tourists in Rome during this period that all foreign tourists were known as "Inglese."

⁴The members of the Jacobin Club became one of the most radical left-wing groups at the Convention; they supported, for example, the execution of King Louis XVI. Its most noted member was Maximilian Robespierre (1758-1794). (Kleine-Ahlbrandt, *"La Tosca" (The Drama behind the Opera)*, 30.)

⁵Sardou could be referring here to the Cardinal D.C. Carafa, who helped Liborio Angelucci obtain a house arrest (instead of incarceration in the Castel Sant'Angelo) and to whom Angelucci dedicated his edition of the *Divine Comedy*. It is possible that this Carafa was one of the four cardinals held hostage in the Vatican during the Roman revolution, along with three princes and the governor of Rome. Another Carafa, from Belvedere, was made cardinal-deacon by the Pope in 1801.

⁶The Palazzo Farnese was built c. 1514 for Cardinal Alexander Farnese (later, Pope Paul III). Antonio da San Gallo was the principal architect, but Michelangelo and Giacomo della Porta made later additions. (Kleine-Ahlbrandt, *"La Tosca,"* 60).

⁷In Genoa, surrounded French troops held out for six weeks against the Austrian forces, but finally surrendered on June 4, 1800, thirteen days before the action of the play.

⁸General André Massena (1756-1817). One of Napoleon's greatest generals, who had fought in the first Italian campaign, defeated the Russians in the second battle of Zürich and served as Marshal of France, Duke of Rivoli and Prince of Essling during the First Empire. (Kleine-Ahlbrandt, *"La Tosca,"* 133.)

⁹General Nicholas-Jean de Dieu Soult (1769-1851). He rose to the rank of General during the French Revolution, and in 1804 became a marshal. He later was named governor of

Prussia, the Duke of Dalmatia, War Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs and President of the Council. (Kleine-Ahlbrandt, *"La Tosca,"* 134)

¹⁰Queen Marie-Caroline von Habsburg (1752-1814) was known for wielding the true power at the court of Naples, and for befriending Lady Emma Hamilton (see below).

¹¹This description bears a striking resemblance to the festivities which occurred when Ferdinand IV re-entered Rome triumphally on November 29, 1798. (Diego Angeli, *Storia Romana di Trent'Anni 1770-1800*. Milan: Treves, 1931, 257: "(the King) descended at the Palazzo Farnese and, as their sovereign, received prelates, princes and feudal subjects. In the evening, the city was illuminated sumptuously and there was music and fireworks.")

¹²The Parthenopean Republic, which briefly replaced the Realm of Naples, was much larger than just the city of Naples itself. Its territory covered almost the entire lower half of the Italian peninsula.

¹³Baron Michael Melas (1729-1806). He commanded the Austrian army in 1793 in Germany and in 1799 in Italy. After his defeat at Marengo, he became the military commander of Bohemia. (Kleine-Ahlbrandt, *"La Tosca,"* 133)

¹⁴Joseph Bonaparte (1768-1844) He was the eldest sibling of Napoleon, and became ambassador to Rome in 1797. In 1805, he became King of Naples, but soon fled to Switzerland and then the United States where he lived from 1815 to 1841. (Kleine-Ahlbrandt, *"La Tosca,"* 134-5.)

¹⁵See Appendix B.

¹⁶Sir William Hamilton (1730-1803) served as envoy to the court of Naples for thirty years, and was known for his erudition and his marriage to the infamous Emma Hamilton. He is also the main character in the novel *The Volcano Lover* by Susan Sontag (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1992).

¹⁷Lady Emma Hamilton (1765-1815) was known for her great beauty, her talent at artistic posing, and her many love affairs, the most prominent of which was with Admiral Horatio Nelson. She became quite close with Queen Marie-Caroline, escaping with the royal family when they had to flee Naples. After Nelson's death, she and her daughter by him lived in extreme poverty.

¹⁸General Jean Etienne, known as Championnet (1762-1800), was commander of the French army that seized Naples in 1799 and established the Parthenopean Republic. (Kleine-Ahlbrandt, *"La Tosca,"* 39.)

¹⁹The San-Fedists were a counter-revolutionary group, organized by Cardinal Fabrizio Ruffo (1744-1827), who paved the way for the return of the Bourbon monarchy. Gaetano Mammone (? - 1802) and Michele Pezza (1771-1806, known as Fra Diavolo) were infamous and cruel brigands, in service to the monarchy. (Kleine-Ahlbrandt, *"La Tosca,"* 39.)

²⁰Diego Naselli, the Prince of Aragon, was Governor of Rome at this time, appointed by King Ferdinand IV in 1799 after the French surrender. His residence was indeed the

Palazzo Farnese. (Giuseppe Antonio Sala, *Diario romano*. (Rome: La Società, 1886) 129-130.)

²¹See Appendix B.

²²See Appendix B.

²³Jacques-Louis David (1748-1825) was the leading exponent of the neo-classic school of painting and an early supporter of the French Revolution. He became a member of the Convention and later its president. Napoleon considered him his favorite painter. (Kleine-Ahlbrandt, *"La Tosca,"* 137.)

²⁴See Appendix B.

²⁵Domenico Cimarosa (1749-1801) was active in both Naples and Rome, where his greatest rival was Paisiello. He also lived in St. Petersburg and Vienna, where he succeeded Salieri as Court Kapellmeister. Although appointed court composer in Naples, he wrote a republican hymn during the French rule, which later led to his imprisonment. (See Appendix B.) (Harold Rosenthal and John Warrack, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Opera* 2nd ed., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), s.v. "Cimarosa.")

²⁶*Nina pazza per amore* was an opera written in 1789 by Giovanni Paisiello (see below.)

²⁷Troiano Marulli, the Duke of Ascoli, was appointed royal superintendent of police by King Ferdinand IV. (Kleine-Ahlbrandt, *"La Tosca,"* 47.)

²⁸Revolutionaries who repudiated the aristocratic "culottes" (knee breeches). (Kleine-Ahlbrandt, *"La Tosca,"* 50.)

²⁹Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816) a student of Durante, was a rival to Cimarosa and Guglielmi. At the invitation of Catherine the Great, he traveled to St. Petersburg and established Italian opera at the Russian court. He sided with the French in 1799, and went to Paris. Although he returned to Naples, the Bourbon monarchy never forgave him. (Rosenthal and Warrack, *The Concise Oxford*, s.v. "Paisiello.")

³⁰This is probably a reference to the republican hymn written by Cimarosa, not Paisiello.

³¹This character is clearly based upon the real-life Princess Torlonia, wife of Alessandro Torlonia (originally Turlonia), silk-merchant and banker, who was one of the first Romans to welcome Napoleon. Although he was liberal, he remained faithful to the Pope, and was quite pleased to acquire the title of marquis, which he later traded for prince. His wife was noted for having played the part of Juno in a Carnevale parade on the via del Corso in 1805. (Fernand Hayward, *Le Dernier Siècle de la Rome Pontificale*. (Paris: Payot, 1927), 99 - 130)

³²Barthélemy-Catherine Joubert (1769-1799) was a French officer who was killed at Novi on August 15 1799 when he was shot through the heart. (Kleine-Ahlbrandt, *"La Tosca,"* 132.)

³³Jacques-Etienne Macdonald (1765-1840) became governor of Rome in 1798, and then succeeded Championnet in Naples. He later helped negotiate Napoleon's abdication and received honors during the Restoration. (Kleine-Ahlbrandt, "*La Tosca*," 133.)

³⁴Jean-Victor Moreau (1763-1813), later an adversary of Napoleon, was one of the foremost generals of the French Republic. After taking part in a royalist conspiracy, he went to Spain and then to Morrisville, Pennsylvania. He was killed in 1813 at the battle of Dresden. (Kleine-Ahlbrandt, "*La Tosca*," 133.)

³⁵General Paul Baron Kray von Krajowa (1735-1804) was given temporary command of the army in Italy, but soon headed the Austrian army in Germany. (Kleine-Ahlbrandt, "*La Tosca*," 132.)

³⁶General Heinrich Prince von Reuss-Plauen (1751-1825) was part of every major campaign in the Napoleonic period after the second Italian campaign, and in 1814, became Governor-General of Venice. (Kleine-Ahlbrandt, "*La Tosca*," 134.)

³⁷Major-General Michael von Frölich was commander of the 28th Bohemian Regiment from 1790 to 1814, when he died. (Kleine-Ahlbrandt, "*La Tosca*," 73.)

³⁸Queen Marie-Caroline's rumored unfaithfulness was the subject of this popular Neapolitan song:

Carulì, si m'amave n' at'anno,	Carolina, if you had loved me for another year,
Quanta cose ch'avive da me!	how many things would I have given you!
Nu vurzone de doppie di Spagna,	A large bag of Spanish doubloons
Lu tenevo i'apposta pe te!	I had especially for you!
Caramaneca chiù de sett'anne	For more than seven years
Cuffiato fuie buono da te.	you really pulled a fast one on Caramanico.
Cu larzeneca tu n' 'o sciusciaste,	With arsenic you had him poisoned,
E munzù Atton accossì cuntentaste!	And Monsieur Acton thus satisfied you.

³⁹These monks were Carmelites, a religious order which attracted attention in Revolutionary Paris when 116 of its priests were brutally killed by a mob. (Kleine-Ahlbrandt, "*La Tosca*," 109.)

APPENDIX B

POSSIBLE HISTORICAL SOURCES FOR THE PLAY*

Je ne me suis jamais départi de ce principe: que le théâtre est un art de fait et de grossissement.

(I have never departed from this principle: that the theater is an art of fact and of exaggeration.)

Victorien Sardou¹

Victorien Sardou, author of the play *La Tosca*, was well-known for his love of history. As Puccini commented to one of his own first biographers: "When he touched on an historical subject, he was a water-tap, nay, a fountain; anecdote after anecdote would pour from his lips in a clear and inexhaustible stream."²

In fact, when the play *La Tosca* received its première, and Sardou was subsequently attacked for plagiarism by two different playwrights,³ he defended himself by claiming that the main plot device (Scarpia's disingenuous bargain with Tosca) was based on an episode from sixteenth-century France regarding the Connétable Anne de Montmorency.⁴ It is conceivable that Sardou was speaking in good faith: he had bought a home at Marly-le-Roy that was the ancient feudal home of the Montmorency family where, the playwright told Tardieu in 1892, he had discovered many curious stories.⁵ Additionally, Sardou made the point that, although the points of departure for these two historical plays were similar, the plots that developed from them were entirely different.⁶

Whether or not the plot was derived from history or from other plays of the period, we can be certain that the characters and their names were founded in reality. In 1896, an writer praised Sardou for his incisive choice of names for the characters of *La Tosca*. Sardou replied that he had, in fact, been inspired by historical researches when he created that drama.⁷

The play *La Tosca* is replete with historical detail and peopled with actual historical personages, such as Queen Marie-Caroline and the composer Paisiello. However, these undisguised appropriations, in the service of "local color," are only one aspect of Sardou's art. The fictional

characters as well, we have determined, are often simply conflations of the biographical details of one real person with the name (or a slightly varied version of that name) of another.

In the section below, we shall examine some of the historical sources behind Sardou's *La Tosca*, limiting ourselves to those personages and dramatic details retained in the opera. The annotated translation of the play that appears in Appendix A of this work provides further historical details.

In compiling the research on these sources, special attention has been paid to works that Sardou could have consulted (those available in French before 1885). Perhaps not surprisingly, those versions of historical events (the many first-hand accounts of these events differ considerably in the details) also contain verbal material that is almost identical to bits of dialogue utilized in the drama.

Floria Tosca

"A name is a terrible thing," said Sardou shortly before *La Tosca* was to go into rehearsals and he had not yet found his heroine's last name. "I am haunted night and day. I've gone through every family name in Venice from the Doges down...The name I want must be short; it must suit her; it must be like, very like the character, and it must end in 'a'."⁸ In this quotation, Sardou reveals much about what he looked for in Tosca's name, but not how he eventually found it. Why did he search through Venetian names, when "Tosca" is a name particularly associated with Verona? A Saint Tosca lived in that city where there is even a church named for her and for Saint Teuteria. Sardou must have known this because he makes that city Tosca's birthplace. However, "Tosca" is invariably a first name in Verona, not a family name.

Before proposing any hypotheses, we should examine the information that Sardou supplies for his heroine. According to descriptions in the play, Floria Tosca was found herding sheep when the Benedictine monks of Verona took her in. They taught her to read and pray, but not much more. She began to study music with the convent organist, and, by sixteen, became a local celebrity. Cimarsa heard her and wanted her to leave the convent to sing opera. A feud ensued

in which the Pope himself had to intervene; he heard Floria sing and gave her permission to enter the secular life, saying, "Go freely my girl, you will cause all hearts, like mine, to shed sweet tears...and that is also a way of praying to God." Tosca went on to debut in Paisiello's *Nina* and sang at La Scala in Milan, San Carlo in Naples and at La Fenice in Venice. At the time of the dramatic action, June 1800, she is considered an exquisite interpreter of Cimarosa and Paisiello, and is currently singing at the Teatro Argentina in Rome. In addition, we know that Floria Tosca is very religious, is on friendly terms with the Queen and other members of the court, despite her love affair with the anti-royalist Cavaradossi, and, of course, she is very jealous.

In 1856, Marie and Léon Escudier published a book in French entitled, *Vies et aventures des cantatrices célèbres*. This book, which contains information that Sardou could have read, included a description of a well-known Italian soprano named Angelica Catalani who, it claims, was born in Venice in 1785. Could Catalani have been the model for Tosca, and the reason he combed through the names of Venice? Other details of Catalani's life seem to bear this out. While still very young, she entered a convent in Sinigaglia. There she developed her singing voice and received a basic education. She seemed to be destined for a secluded life, when a dramatic event opened the door to a career for her.

Caros, the director of the opera house La Fenice in Venice, was preparing the opening of the Carnevale opera season, when the prima donna who was the principal attraction unexpectedly died. He could not find a replacement immediately because all the important singers were already engaged, and the replacements on hand were mediocre. He was prepared to close the theater, when the copyist of La Fenice, Zamboni, made a suggestion. He knew a young woman who showed much promise and had a voice that could handle well a long series of performances, if she were able to leave the convent for the stage. They left for Sinigaglia and listened to the girl sing in church - they had found "une mine féconde de succès."⁹ Negotiations ensued, with magnificent offers being offered to the girl's father, and she left the convent immediately for the operatic stage.¹⁰ There are striking similarities here to Sardou's story of Cimarosa and Tosca.

Other accounts of La Catalani's life differ in the details. Most report that she was born in Sinigaglia, not Venice, and her birth date is listed variously as 1779, 1780 and 1782. Fétis, for example, makes no mention of her dramatic discovery, but writes that she left the convent at the age of fifteen in order to help support her ruined father. He adds that although the monastery gave her a rather poor musical education, she went on to debut at La Fenice in 1795, and in 1801 sang at La Scala in Milan. After those successes, she sang in Florence, Trieste, Rome, Naples, Lisbon and Paris where she was continually greeted with enthusiasm. Fétis also describes her character: she had a noble and decent attitude and the carriage of a queen. She had disdain for the new court of Napoleon, he continues, and was very pious, generous and charitable.¹¹ A contemporary writer, Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari, seconds this opinion: "Madame Catalani was always religious, modest, and renowned for being so by all who knew her; for every holiday she had a mass held in her house."¹²

The 1855 edition of the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, while not mentioning the Pope, names a Cardinal Onorati as the girl's protector. Cardinal Onorati had originally placed her in the convent, and was opposed to her singing outside the church, for fear of her public praise causing a scandal. In this source, it is also written that La Catalani debuted in 1802 at the Teatro Argentina in Rome, instead of in Venice.¹³

La Catalani was quite famous in her time. On August 14, 1818, Goethe wrote these lines in Karlsbad, about a concert she sang:

Im Zimmer, wie im hohen Saal
hört man sich nimmer satt,
denn man begreift zum ersten Mal,
warum man Ohren hat.¹⁴

(In a room or in a great hall
one listens insatiably,
understanding for the first time
why one has ears.)

Ludwig Spohr heard her in 1817 in Naples and reported in his diary that the public happily paid seven times the usual entrance price to hear her. Paganini found her voice strong and agile, but lacking in deep interpretation. In fact he wrote that during one of her performances at La

Scala in 1833, he "yawned a lot."¹⁵ Interestingly enough, the impresario Strakosch added the following:

La Catalani had a potent voice, but her jealousy had the same volume as her voice. The least rivalry disturbed her...¹⁶

We know that Madame Catalani sang at the Teatro Argentina during the revolutionary period because reviews of her performances exist. She appeared as Ifigenia during the Carnevale season of 1799 in the opera seria, *Ifigenia in Aulide*, by Citizen Giuseppe Mosca. A newspaper, the republican *Monitore di Roma*, on February 9, 1799, printed:

The execution (of the opera) was, in general, astonishing; but above all else the prima donna, Citizen Angelica Catalani, stands out. She adds to the sweetness of her voice, which has no natural defects, an infinite attention, an agility without equal, a vibrato among the more vigorous...(a voice) of which the expression, the portamento and the bravura stand out...she has given the People one of those performances that leave one hungering for more."¹⁷

Ifigenia in Aulide was subtitled, "Ferdinand IV, Conqueror of the Roman Republic," and was a parody of the King's actions prior to 1799. As Rinaldi writes, this "probably cost the author dearly."¹⁸

La Catalani sang music written both by Cimarosa and Paisiello, and well as other contemporary works. She was especially renowned for her own variations on Paisiello's "Nel cor più non mi sento" and for singing elaborate variations originally written for violin. Additionally, Michele Palmieri, a contemporary, reports that La Catalani was on quite good terms with royalty. He writes that she came to Naples and enchanted the Duchess Floridia, Ferdinand IV's second wife, who invited her to sing for the King.¹⁹

Thus we have seen how Angelica Catalani's life was quite similar to the fictional Floria Tosca's in many respects: her life in the convent, her "discovery," her religiousness, her jealousy, her friendship with royalty and her celebrated performances all over Italy including the Teatro Argentina in Rome. But then, whence the name, "Floria Tosca"?

In tracking down the source of Tosca's name, it has been found useful to recall that Sardou often only slightly changed the actual names

he found in the history books. Often he used anagrammatic versions of those names or retained the initials. It is not difficult, for example, to guess who the real person might be behind the name of another Sardou heroine, the Russian Princess (Fedora) Romazoff. Thus, we can hypothesize that his eventual choice of "Tosca" could have been the result of such appellative manipulation. Perhaps Sardou delved into earlier periods, as he claimed to have done with the Montmorency, to find what he needed. An Italian singer did exist in the early seventeenth century whose family name is an anagram of "Tosca" and whose given name shares its initial F with "Floria."

Francesca Costa was successful in her musical career, which, in that age of castrati, made her all the more unusual. She may or may not have been a sister of another singer (and poetess) Margherita Costa. Both of these women had special relationships with the current queen. Francesca, whose complete name was Anna Francesca and who was often called "Checca," performed in *Orfeo* before the Queen in 1646 in Livorno, in which she had great success in the role of Eurydice.

The other Costa, Margherita, is remembered today mostly for her writings: the poems she wrote for her protector Mario Chigi, the brother of the pope, are preserved in the Chigi library. She also had a bit of a reputation as a courtesan. According to a French contemporary, Goulas, she was one of the Italian singers who had a reputation for "selling" her beauty, and therefore was not allowed to be received by the Queen or by the Cabinet. One day, writes Goulas, the Queen asked the wife of the prefect Barberin if La Costa had not often visited the Barberin home in Rome. The lady did not respond immediately, but when pressed by Her Majesty, admitted, "If she had come there, I would have thrown her out the window."²⁰ Perhaps Madame Barberin would have enjoyed a performance of *La Tosca*.

Bearing in mind Sardou's requirement that his heroine's name "must suit her; it must be like, very like the character," we can suggest another possible model. If one examines the juxtaposition of our heroine's two names, "Floria" and "Tosca," a sharp contrast emerges. "Floria" connotes flowers, while "Tosca" can be related to "tosco" (or "toxic") in some Italian dialects.²¹ A similar contrast can be found in the name of another singer of the period, Celeste Coltellini, or "heavenly"

"little knives," words that recall both Tosca's religiousness and her stabbing of Scarpia.

La Coltellini was born in 1760 in Livorno, and became an internationally known mezzo-soprano. She sang at La Scala in 1780, in Venice during Carnevale 1780-81 and settled in Naples later in 1781. Here she became closely associated with the works of Cimarosa and Paisiello. Emperor Joseph II of Austria heard her in Naples and invited her to his court in Vienna. There, in 1785, she again sang works by Cimarosa as well as by Mozart and Salieri.. In fact, she sang in Mozart's *Schauspieldirektor* in a festival at Schönbrunn. Despite her Austrian activities, la Coltellini was permitted to keep engagements in Naples, such as a performance of Paisiello's *Le gare generose* in 1786.

Like the fictional Tosca, Celeste Coltellini sang the title role in *Nina, pazza per amore* by Paisiello, but Coltellini was chosen to sing that opera's première on June 25, 1789 in Caserta. She was a fine actress by some accounts, full of spirit and vitality, and possessed of a moving and emotive voice. She was Paisiello's preferred singer.²² She was also on friendly terms with Lady Emma Hamilton, who sang for guests at her home on at least one occasion.²³ Therefore, we can see that Celeste Coltellini, in addition to having an appropriately vivid name, also shared biographical details with the fictional Tosca. She was a major interpreter of Cimarosa and Paisiello and she was on friendly terms with aristocracy.

No matter how close their lives came to that of the fictional Floria Tosca, none of the women mentioned above - Catalani, Costa or Coltellini - shared her dramatic fate. Therefore, one cannot say with complete assurance that one of them was Sardou's model. The task of sorting out which bits of historical information Sardou might have appropriated is slightly easier in the case of Scarpia, however.

Vitellio Scarpia

In the libretto for the opera *Tosca*, the character of Scarpia is not outfitted with description much beyond his title as chief of police, and Cavaradossi's furious account of his evils: a "bigotted satyr who uses devoutness to hide his libertine lust and, to implement his lascivious talent, acts as both confessor and hangman." Angelotti also refers to him as

"scellerato," or "wicked." In the play, Cavaradossi's denouncement of Scarpia is more vivid still than the one in the opera:

Ah, the wretch! Under an exterior of perfect courtesy and fervent devotion, with smiles and signs of the cross, what a vile scoundrel he is, sanctimonious and rotten, an artist in villainy, refined in his evilness, delighting in cruelty, blood-thirsty in his orgies! What woman, daughter or sister, has not paid with her honor for coming near this impure satyr?

Indeed, in the play, the Marchesa Attavanti herself has had to flee from Scarpia's grasp.

Sardou also supplies us with further information:

Name: Baron Vitellio Scarpia

Rank: Regent of Police, recently dispatched to Rome by the Court of Naples.

Description: Sicilian, with a reputation for dispensing merciless justice.

To name his villain, Sardou simply chose a real name and altered it anagrammatically. There was a baron in Italy at that time called "Sciarpa," or "scarf," which was the alias of a man named Gherardo Curci. He had been given the title of "baron" by Ferdinand IV, King of the Two Sicilies, less than a month before the Battle of Marengo (and the action of the play) on May 24, 1800. As Alexandre Dumas, père, writes:

Mammone, Sciarpa, Pronio were named colonels and barons with pensions, lands and the decoration of St. George Constantine.²⁴

Sciarpa was being rewarded principally for his actions in the battle of Castelluccio. That town had been surrounded by the enemy when Sciarpa put the following proposition to the inhabitants who were gathered in the local church:

Now, there are only two things you can do: either flee like cowards, or defend yourselves like heroes. In the first case, I will leave the village with my men and we shall draw back to the mountain, abandoning your wives and children to you; in the

second case, I will place myself at the head of your group, and with God's help, I will lead you to victory.²⁵

The crowd cried in unison for war, and won the battle, much to the surprise of the enemy commander, Joachim Schipani.

This war tale might seem to attest to Sciarpa's honor and courage. But in fact, prior to this, Sciarpa had personally offered a deal to Schipani: he would unite his troops with those of the republic, as long as they would pay a price for his defection equivalent to what he would lose abandoning the Bourbon cause. Schipani responded: "I came here to make war and not to negotiate; I am a soldier not a merchant."²⁶ Sciarpa's moral fiber, it seemed, was not quite pure. Indeed, in almost every text of the period and later, including Colletta²⁷, Cuoco²⁸, Fragoletta²⁹ and Lomonoco³⁰, he is mentioned in the same breath with Gaetano Mammone and Michele Pezza, the latter known as Fra Diavolo³¹. These two men were two of the most vicious creatures ever. Both are mentioned in the Sardou play as well.

Sciarpa also had the striking habit (one that identifies him all the more with Scarpia) of outwardly displaying signs of intense religious devotion. As Fragoletta writes:

He affects a profound disinterest and a complete scorn of luxury. For footwear, he never wears more than a piece of pigskin, badly attached with a string.³²

Yet in church, he seemed to show a quite different demeanor:

He carried an immense folio whose silver clasps seemed to awaken some devotion in Sciarpa's soul...Something mocking in his attitude betrayed the superiority he felt...³³

Sciarpa, who was born in Polla, near Salerno, was originally captain of the civilian troops of his city. He then worked as a subalternate official of the militia in the tribunals of Salerno³⁴. After the republican revolution, he tried to enter the ranks of the republican gendarmerie, but was refused. Dumas writes that Sciarpa, "not being able to offer a sabre to Championnet (the French general), offered a dagger to the Bourbons."³⁵ He was turned down with these words: "The

republicans have no need for filthy cops among them."³⁶ Dumas continues, "the Bourbons accepted; they (did not have) stomachs as easily disgusted as those of the republicans."³⁷ He did eventually switch sides, and served Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, as head of the "Compagnie Franche," a group formed from insurgents and deserters. Later, Murat also gave him a command post.³⁸

Descriptions of Sciarpa's character leave little doubt as to his villainy. Cuoco writes that Sciarpa was "one of the greatest and most fatal counter-revolutionaries."³⁹ Dumas quotes the writer Domenico Sacchinelli who relates that among the royalist supporters "there were honest people, moved by love for the King and religion; but unhappily, there were also a great number of assassins, killers and thieves, whose motivations were robbery, vendetta and blood."⁴⁰ Sciarpa is named by Dumas among these last.

Sciarpa was a cruel, amoral mercenary who feigned religious fervor. Yet he does not completely fill the description of the fictional Scarpia. He is not Sicilian, his given name is not Vitellio, and he was never in a position to track down state criminals or pass judgment upon them. For the missing pieces of this puzzle, we must turn to another historical figure, far more infamous than Sciarpa, by the name of Vincenzo Speciale (sometimes spelled "Speziale"). This man was a Sicilian, a judge during the Bourbon Restoration and, not coincidentally, had a name with the same initials as that of Vitellio Scarpia.

As we have seen, it is like Sardou to keep something of the actual person's identity, such as the initials, intact in the fictional version. Thus in need of a first name starting with "v," Sardou chose "Vitellio," probably a reference to the cruel Roman Emperor Vitellio (15 a.d.- 69 a.d.) who gained lasting fame for continually humiliating and castigating his conquered legions.⁴¹

Vincenzo Speciale was infamous in his own time and far into the next century. He was immortalized in popular songs and works of fiction, under his own name, before Sardou lighted upon him. There was, for example a play written in 1860 by Cesare Riccardi entitled *La Ristorazione del 1799 ossia I Martiri di Napoli*,⁴² whose characters include King Ferdinand IV, Emma Lyon (Lady Hamilton), Vincenzo Speciale, and two famous martyrs of the era, Gennaro Caracciolo and Luisa Sanfelice.

A satirical poem written in 1800, contemporaneous with the events of the drama at hand, also mentioned Speciale. This poem was an irreverent version of the Te Deum, which will be examined in more detail below, by Gian Lorenzo Cardone, entitled "Te Deum De'Calabresi,"⁴³ and written in Calabrese dialect. Here is the section, addressed to God, which mentions Speciale:

Tu fai dire a li saccenti,
Che a stu munnu nun c'è mali.
Tuttu è bonu?! E mancu è nenti?
Guidubaldu e Speziali,
La Regina, Monzù Actuni,
Lu si Fabiu picuruni?
Mancu è nenti Sua Eminenzia?
Viva Deu, summa sapienzia!

(You tell the pedants
That there is no evil in the world.
All is good?! How about
Guidobaldi and Speciale,
The Queen, Monsieur Acton,
Signor Fabio the idiot?
This is nothing, Your Eminence?
Long live God, the most wise!)

Vincenzo Speciale (b. 1760, Burgio⁴⁴-d. 1813, somewhere in Sicily) had been a judge in the Pretorian court of Palermo, Sicily. This office, writes Lomonaco, "was only given to men who had little merit and much misery."⁴⁵ He was one of three Sicilian judges asked to be part of the State Junta of 1799 in Naples (the others were Felice Damiani and Gaetano Sambuti),⁴⁶ where he developed his reputation for cruelty. Lomonaco continues:

The principal organs of the tribunal of blood were Speziale and Guidobaldi...In times when the court needed a wicked man ("uno scellerato") it searched through the dregs of the populace and found one in Speziale.⁴⁷

Speciale also served as Counselor to the Sacred Royal Counsel, and held the post of Fiscal Attorney of the Supreme Council of War in Sicily.⁴⁸ The duties of this latter position, labeled rather euphemistically, were to ensure the full application of the law, which implied overseeing

the use of torture. Indeed in the opera *Tosca*, it is the Fiscal Judge, as he is called in that version, who accompanies Cavaradossi with the others into the torture chamber.

Lomonaco's application of the term "scellerato" to Speciale is not unique. Cuoco writes, "il più scellarato di tutti, Speciale."⁴⁹ (The most wicked of all, Speciale.) The word "scellerato" itself was not uncommon. But it is probably no coincidence that it was used in both the play (in its French form, "scélérat") and in the opera version of *Tosca* to describe Scarpia.

The High State court (the State Junta) was put in place by the Bourbon King Ferdinand and the English commander Acton, aboard the British naval vessel *Foudroyant*. It was constituted of judges with reputations for severity, like Guidobaldi and Speciale, who were to try civilians,⁵⁰ even though the British navy should not have had jurisdiction over Italian citizens.

Speciale would have lived up to the name Vitellio had he been given it. According to Coppi, "he had a taste for rudely insulting the incarcerated and their families, and he sometimes altered the trial proceedings to prove an undemonstrable crime."⁵¹ "What a monster was this Speciale!" exclaims Cuoco. "Never did his atrocious soul know any other pleasure than to insult the unhappy. He delighted in going each day to the prisons and tormenting and oppressing with his presence those whom he could not yet kill."⁵² Lomonaco even accuses him of drinking human blood,⁵³ but is probably confusing him with Gaetano Mammone, who was infamous for that. Cuoco laments further:

Under the direction of such a man, one can guess the manner in which the imprisoned were held. How many times those unfortunates desired and invoked death! But my mind is too tired to be occupied with the evils of humanity. My heart is already trembling! [...] For how many losses and for how long must our nation weep? I would like to be able to give honor back to the names of all those who deserve it, and scatter on their ashes those flowers that perhaps they will never have! But who is able to recall them all?⁵⁴

Lomonaco also has his say:

From one neighborhood to another, one could hear the sounds of mania, which had already become epidemic: and there was no corner of those wards that had not been part of the most horrible tragedy of our hemisphere.... While the neighborhoods were reduced to such a sad state, in Naples center the members of the State Junta, men as deprived of name and fame as they were filled with turpitude and ignominia, sentenced ten, twelve people a day to the gallows, not counting those who were butchered by the barbaric agents of (Queen) Caroline. In such a way, the counterrevolutionary scythe reaped the heads of all the honest and virtuous citizens. Royalism was thus like someone with dropsy: the more it swallowed human blood, the more its greed for more grew.⁵⁵

By an unusual coincidence, Giacomo Puccini's grandfather, Domenico Puccini (1772-1815), was in Naples in January 1799 to study with Paisiello. He wrote a long four-page letter to his father that described the chaotic events there:

Eccoci dunque nell'Anarchia piu detestabile, e tutti in pericolo della vita ed in specie noi poveri forestieri che se ci sentivono parlare straniero subito dicevano Giacobino e ci davano nel petto una pillola di schioppo che non è il medicamento piu grazioso del mondo.

(Here we are then in the most detestable anarchy, with everyone in mortal danger, especially we poor foreigners, who, if they hear us speaking differently, immediately call us "Jacobin" and give us a shotgun "pill" in the chest, which is not the most pleasant medicine in the world.)⁵⁶

While the mob outside was burning and cannibalizing the unjailed republicans,⁵⁷ Speciale, wrapped in ermine, sat on the velvet seats of the Tribunal, condemning the imprisoned ones to death.⁵⁸ The trials were circuses, whose sentences were decided beforehand. Any and all means were used to reach a guilty verdict. The defense had twenty-four hours to prepare, but even at that, its testimonies were often not admitted as evidence, there was no cross-examination of witness testimony, no scrutiny of written evidence was permitted, and no allowances were made for age - even sixteen-year-olds were

executed.⁵⁹ There were about forty thousand citizens threatened with execution at the same time.⁶⁰

Of the thousands of Speciale's victims, we have space here only to mention a few. The following histories, often recorded by first-hand observers, often recall bits of *Tosca*. For example, in the second act of the opera *Tosca*, after Cavaradossi is removed to the torture room, Scarpia suggests the following to Tosca: "Ed or fra noi parliam da buoni amici" and later, "Volete che cerchiamo insieme il modo di salvarlo?" ("And now let us talk like friends." and "Would you like us to find a way to save him together?") In the Sardou play, Scarpia says almost the same words: "Causons amicalement, voulez-vous?" and "Nous causerons ainsi plus à l'aise du chevalier Cavaradossi, et de la meilleure façon de le tirer de ce mauvais pas" ("Let us speak as friends, all right?" and "We can discuss the Cavaliere Cavaradossi in a more relaxed manner, and find the best mode to help him out of this unfortunate situation.") Is it possible that Sardou's dialogue was inspired by actual words?

Nicola Fiano was a bit too fortunate: the Tribunal could not find evidence of his guilt. But, according to orders, he had to die. As Cuoco reports, Speciale had him brought directly to his chambers from jail,⁶¹ as soon as he saw him, the judge said, "Is that you?" and had him freed from his chains. Speciale continued, "Ah, Fiano, to see you again in such a state! When we tasted the delights of youth together, I would never have suspected that the time would come when I would be the judge and you the offender....Let's forget for the moment my office and your misery. Speaking like friend to friend, let us find ways to save you."⁶² The similarity of these words to those in *La Tosca* is clear. Fiano began to weep and embraced Speciale, who then explained the following:

But, to save you, you must tell me what you have done. These are accusations against you. In the trial, perhaps it was better to deny them; but whatever you tell me the Junta will not know.⁶³

Fiano trusted Speciale and confessed. Speciale assured him that it was better to write it all down, to serve memory. So Fiano wrote. He was then sent back to jail and in two days, went to his death.⁶⁴

Another case involved a man named Antonio Velasco. Fortunato cites a letter dated October 24, 1799 that states that Velasco was brought in

front of the Junta on the highest floor of the Castel Sant'Eramo. He managed to free himself and fell to his death.⁶⁵ In other versions of the incident, Colletta reports that Velasco tried to take Speciale out of the window with him, but the scribe stopped him,⁶⁶ and Lomonaco states that Velasco, after being threatened by Speciale, cried, "You will not dispose of my life, vile executioner!" and then jumped to his death.⁶⁷

But the version of this story most interesting to us is one in French, by Fragoletta. He quotes Speciale as asking the accused, in "une voix très-haute," to name his accomplices or he would send him to his death. A window was open due to the extreme heat; the prisoner ran, climbed on the marble buttress, and threw himself from an immense height, while a sentinel positioned at the foot of the walls saw his shadow pass.⁶⁸ The prisoner's last words were: "J'y vais! Mais non pas sur ton ordre." (I am going! But not on your orders.) In Sardou's play, Floria Tosca's last words were: "J'y vais, canailles!" ("I'm going, swine!") The choice of phrase seems less than coincidental.

Among all of Speciale's victims we can find no mention of a Cavaradossi, or even of a death by firing squad (the gallows or the guillotine were the chosen means of extermination, though more difficult to stage.) However, for those who recall Scarpia's orders to Spoletta regarding the "simulated" execution plans ("Come avvenne del Palmieri!"), we can report that there was indeed a victim by the name of Palmieri. His name was Eusèbe Palmieri, a lawyer who tried to defend himself by claiming that the whole situation was caused by the cravenness of the royalists:

You left (the city) like cowards; the country was invaded, so we asked our best citizens to head an administration that had become necessary. They accepted, in your absence and out of devotion, to maintain order and peace, and to save your own homes. Now you come back and assassinate them. How noble is the court's justice!⁶⁹

He was executed.

Speciale's victims included both prominent citizens and ordinary folk. One of the more famous of the executed was Pasquale Battistessa, a gentleman who, after being removed from the gallows, was found to be still alive. Speciale then ordered him stabbed, either inside or just

outside the church of the Holy Spirit.⁷⁰ Another, Francesco Conforti, was one of the most eminent men of the era. He was a priest and a university professor who had been given the job of censoring all books that mentioned the liberty of man or that questioned the principle of Divine Right. He had allowed some "subversive" books to escape censorship, and was thrown in prison. Conforti had then written some books, which themselves would have been embarrassing to the King and the Vatican, but all copies of these had been lost. Needing condemning evidence, Speciale convinced the prisoner that, if he were to rewrite some of his works, the King would grant him a pardon. Conforti worked day and night, hoping to get home all the earlier to his family. But, as Dumas writes: "With that work, he gained nothing except to die on December 7 and become the sixty-sixth victim."⁷¹

Domenico Cimarosa, the composer, was also brought before Speciale. He asked the court:

For what can I be reproached? A hymn for the Republic? I did not read the words. I was commissioned; we musicians hardly ever worry about the words. I also wrote cantatas for the birth of the last royal princess. I composed masses for the cathedral. I wrote operas in Vienna and in St. Petersburg. I have never had malice for one side or the other. If I must be punished further, sirs, is it not enough that they threw my poor piano out of the window?⁷²

Cimarosa was fortunate to be listed among the second group of prisoners - those who were simply "seduced" by the cause - and he was allowed to live.

Of the ordinary people, most heart-rending is a mother who begged Speciale to release her innocent son. "If he is innocent," replied Speciale, "he will have the honor of going last (to the executioner)."⁷³ The judge also displayed his cruelty by giving hope to the young wife. He told her not to worry, that her husband would only be exiled, not killed, and to wait a few days. When she returned, she discovered her husband had been condemned to death. As Cuoco writes:

Who can describe the desperation, the laments, the cries, the reproaches of that unhappy wife!...(Speciale replied,) "You don't even take the trouble to know your husband's destiny...!"

understand - you are beautiful, you are young, go find another husband. Addio."⁷⁴

Despite his horrific deeds, Speciale did not die at the hand of vengeful woman. He died in Sicily, scorned, and having lost his mind. At his funeral, there was so much public hatred exhibited that his shamed family stifled their tears and refused to wear mourning.⁷⁵

What then inspired Sardou to have Scarpia stabbed? Perhaps it was an account, written in French, about the Director General of the Police in Modena, Besini, who was a "dogged persecutor of ideas and opinions."⁷⁶ On May 15, 1822, he had condemned about forty individuals, of whom nine went to their deaths. That night, he was accosted and stabbed to death by a young man who struck him with such force that the knife entered the right side of his chest and exited the left. The chief of police, who did not even know he had been stabbed, managed to enter his house, but finally collapsed in his hallway.⁷⁷

Lomonaco called the Italy of this period - his own - a "theater of horrors and desolation."⁷⁸ Sardou could not have chosen a better backdrop for his dramatic plot. The bargain the fictional Scarpia offers to Tosca could well have been proffered. As Colletta writes:

The women, who were scorned in ministers' chambers, driven from the prison doors, subject to the outrageous and unfortunate lasciviousness of the scribes and the judges, patiently tolerated the offenses; and without impudence or cowardice, returned the next day to the same rooms, to the same doors, disguising their sickened reactions to those affronts with modesty or with tears. If anyone escaped his scheduled death, or if others reduced the penalty, it was due to the cares and piety of women.⁷⁹

The fictional Tosca, of course, does not submit and overcomes the cruel authority figure, while Cavaradossi, ever defiant, dies a tragic death. These personages enact theatrically heroic exaggerations of the actual events in the lives of ordinary people. Sardou did not have far to look, however, to find an historical source for his artist-hero.

Mario Cavaradossi

The Mario Cavaradossi of Sardou's *La Tosca* is the scion of an old Roman family. His father Nicholas spent most of his life in France, however, and married the French Mademoiselle de Castron, a grand-niece of the philosopher Helvetius. While his father entered the social circle of the Encyclopedists, Mario attended school and remained in Paris throughout the revolution. He studied art in the studio of Jacques-Louis David, who was considered to be the Revolution's (and later Napoleon's) official artist. Mario relocated to Rome just before the French ceded that city to the Bourbons, and he remains there, at great personal risk, because of his involvement with Floria Tosca. Although his republican sentiments are betrayed by his clothing (no breeches or buckled shoes, but boots) and his hair (no powdered wig with pony-tail, but long loose hair and a beard),⁸⁰ he has protected himself somewhat by offering to paint the wall of the church of Sant'Andrea gratis, thus making a peace offering to the papal authorities. But, despite this, he becomes involved with the authorities as the drama unfolds. He is tortured, imprisoned in the Castel Sant'Angelo, and finally executed.

The fictional Cavaradossi is half-Roman and half-French. Both of the historical figures who could have served as models for this character also have bi-national backgrounds. One, Joseph Chinard (1756-1813), was French, but he lived and studied in Rome. The other, Giuseppe Ceracchi (1751-1801), was Roman but spent much of his life (including the moment of his dramatic death) in France. Both men were artists, both had ties to the artist David, and both were quite celebrated in their day for their political activities - especially their confrontations with the authorities.

A sojourn in Rome was part of the education of many French artists of the late 18th Century. They lived dormitory-style in the French Academy, which at that time was in the Palazzo Mancini, on the via del Corso. They were young, and afire with the new republican spirit. As Angeli writes:

They had always been a little rebellious...All these artists, whose spirits boiled with revolutionary ardor, conspired everywhere they went: in the halls of the Academy, in the smoke-blackened Caffè

Greco,⁸¹ and in Ceracchi's studio...near the Piazza del Popolo. To throw grease on the fire, the artist David in Paris...worked hard to incite this young rebelliousness.⁸²

As the quotation above indicates, Ceracchi, although a Roman, was part of the circle of French artists. Thus, it is probable that he and Joseph Chinard knew each other. Chinard had come to Rome from Lyons where he had studied sculpture and completed a few works for the church of St. Paul in that city. By 1791, he had embraced the ideals of republicanism and, while still in Rome, had created two sculptural groups that expressed a revolutionary spirit.⁸³ One of these was a depiction of Jove striking down the allegorical figures of Theocracy and Religion.⁸⁴ The pontifical government now looked upon him with suspicion.

On the evening of September 22, 1792, Chinard and Ildefonso Rater, another French artist living in Rome, were arrested, accused of religious impiety and of spreading subversive propaganda. The two were imprisoned in the Carceri Nuovi, where they were allowed a certain amount of freedom and where visitors were permitted. According to a document from the Secret Archives of the Vatican:

There will be many interested people who, under the pretext of carrying out errands and inspections at the Carceri Nuovi, come to see and speak to them. It might be better, therefore, to relocate them in the C.S.A. (Castel Sant'Angelo)⁸⁵

So the two were taken to the Castel Sant'Angelo.

The "Chinard-Rater Affair" threatened to become an international incident between Italy and France, whose relations had not yet deteriorated as they would a few years later. Chinard's mother, who had a certain amount of social prestige and influence, used every means she could to free her son. In Paris, the painter David, who was now a deputy of the Convention, soon received this letter from the French ambassador to Italy:

Citizen, I offer you the opportunity to zealously come to the aid of the country, making it respected abroad, and saving two French patriots from the inquisitorial flames.⁸⁶

But, just after the time this letter was posted, thanks to behind-the-scenes negotiations, the two artists were released from the Castel and had left Rome.⁸⁷ Chinard did return to the Eternal City in 1800, but apparently without further incident.

The history of Giuseppe Ceracchi does not have such a happy ending. The son of a goldsmith, he lived with his wife in the building on the via del Corso, where from 1786 to 1788 Goethe also lived⁸⁸. Ceracchi was part of the burgeoning Roman intellectual elite that included the French colony and intellectuals like Liborio Angelucci, a possible source for Angelotti. In Sardou's play, Angelotti and Cavaradossi had not known each other previously, as they had in the operatic version. But the real Angelucci and Ceracchi were certainly acquainted: Ceracchi sculpted a bust of Angelucci's wife, Caterina Nazzari Angelucci, now housed at the Museum of Rome.⁸⁹

After a trip to Paris, Ceracchi became more overt in his republican sentiments. He later wrote (in French), "upon returning to Rome, I became a proponent of the new principles."⁹⁰ Ceracchi soon fell under suspicion; friends and relatives began avoiding him. Having been invited several times to come to the New World, he decided the time was right to depart. In 1790 he embarked for the United States where he worked intensely, achieved success and remained for two years. He was well-received and became acquainted with Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Adams and Lafayette. On January 20, 1792, he was even admitted to the American Philosophical Society.⁹¹ He created busts of Washington (now in the New York Public Library and the Metropolitan Museum) and Jefferson (in Monticello), and an alabaster profile of Madison (at the State Department, Washington).⁹²

In August 1795, Ceracchi traveled to Paris, the capital of the revolution, where he dedicated himself to politics. He had hopes of becoming an official for Italian affairs; his fame as an artist and political refugee helped open some doors for him there. He wrote to the French governmental authorities suggesting that the time was ripe to invade Italy and the Papal States, that France had much to gain strategically, politically, and financially.⁹³ Bonaparte accepted his plan, and from that time forward, Ceracchi became one of Napoleon's most trusted counselors.⁹⁴ Napoleon was impressed with the artist, especially the

"purity of his patriotism and the justness of his opinions."⁹⁵ Unfortunately it was these unshakeable democratic sentiments that ultimately led to Ceracchi's downfall.

Ceracchi would not abandon his Jacobin principles, and when he saw that Bonaparte was heading towards absolute power, the friendship had to be sacrificed. His love for Bonaparte became hatred, and he channeled his energies towards the salvation of the republic of France: he tried to assassinate Napoleon.⁹⁶ The assassination was to have taken place on October 11, 1800, at (where else?) the opera. Moreover, the murder was to have signaled a general insurrection. The attempt failed and Ceracchi, with three others, was sentenced to death.⁹⁷

Ceracchi never betrayed his principles or sought help from his friends, even at the end. Napoleon himself visited Ceracchi in prison, but Ceracchi never asked for a pardon. Defiant, he declared, "I will ask it of the Supreme Being, but never of a man."⁹⁸ As he approached the guillotine on January 31 1801, reported the *Journal de Paris*, Ceracchi talked and laughed with one of his companions.⁹⁹

Neither Chinard nor Ceracchi have names that are overly similar to "Cavaradossi," but they do each have biographical details or character traits in common with Sardou's creation. The Mario Cavaradossi of the play (not the opera) is especially like Ceracchi in his last moments - completely stoic and unswerving in his beliefs. Furthermore, each of these men, and their troubles with the law, were well publicized in France; Sardou would certainly have known of them.

The name "Caravadossi," barely an anagram of "Cavaradossi," did exist in France. It belonged to a noble Italian family transplanted to Nice, whose members participated actively in the politics of the day; Giovanni Caravadossi was mayor of Nice in 1492.¹⁰⁰ Felice Caravadossi was a fighter in the Italian War for Independence of 1859 and, like Cavaradossi's father, married a French woman. Although Sardou could have known this name, there is no substantive evidence so far that he used it and not, for example, a anagrammatic variation on "cadaver," for the hero of *La Tosca*.

Cesare Angelotti

In the opera *Tosca*, little information is given about Angelotti other than that he is an escaped prisoner, and "Il console della spenta repubblica romana" ("The consul of the extinguished Roman Republic"), as Cavaradossi exclaims when he recognizes him. Angelotti's history, as given by Sardou, is more extensive. He was a landholder, a citizen of Naples and a former lover of Lady Hamilton whom he had met in England. He participated in defending the short-lived Parthenopian Republic of Naples. But after revealing his former liaison with Lady Hamilton in public, his house was ransacked and two illegal volumes of Voltaire were planted there. As a result, he was sentenced to three years in the hold of a ship. After his prison term was complete, he fled Naples for Rome, avoiding the dreadful ends met by other republicans. But when the French ceded Rome to the Bourbons, he was thrown into the dungeon of the Castel Sant'Angelo, from which he has just escaped at the time of the play, with the help of his sister, the Marchesa Giulia Attavanti. Had he not fled, he would have been sent back to Naples to be hanged, as a favor to the Lady Hamilton. During the course of the drama, he eventually commits suicide rather than be taken prisoner again, but Scarpia, in order to protect his reputation, hangs the corpse on the gallows.

Heriot¹⁰¹ and Maehder¹⁰² both identify the real "Angelotti" as the doctor Liborio Angelucci (1746-1811), who was indeed a Consul of the Roman Republic. He was a cultured man, and had even edited the first Roman edition of the *Divine Comedy*. A Roman by birth, he had been arrested and thrown into the Castel Sant'Angelo's prison in May 1794 for his connections with France: as a surgeon and an obstetrician, he had served the French colony in Rome. He was released from prison after a possible suicide attempt but was re-arrested in August 1797 for participation in a conspiracy.¹⁰³ He remained in the fort at Civitavecchia until the French liberated him later that year.¹⁰⁴ By that time, Angelucci was considered one of the leaders of the philo-French movement, and when the republic was established the next year, he was immediately nominated as prefect in charge of food supply and rationing. Soon after, he was named as provisional consul (on February 22, 1798) and

then as one of the five permanent consuls (on March 20). When the Roman Republic fell in September 1799, he was not captured, as Angelotti had been, but fled with the French. He returned to Italy after the Battle of Marengo, but never went back to Rome. He died long after the time frame of *Tosca*, in 1811 in Milan.¹⁰⁵

Angelucci was part of a circle of intellectuals who were interested in the new republican ideals, and who were quite conscious that the old order was changing. This group was mostly comprised of the bourgeoisie - lawyers, doctors, architects and professors - who debated new political ideas amongst themselves, and tried to interest the general public in them, often promising justice, social equality, prosperity and work for all: the ideals of the French Revolution.¹⁰⁶ Some of these intellectuals were moderate and some were radical: Angelucci was one of the more audacious. For example, the goals of the plot he was involved in were to overthrow the ecclesiastical supremacy and, quoting from his trial records, to establish: "new laws to better insure the life and the substance of the (people) and to restitute (to them) the abundance of food supplies and money."¹⁰⁷ In short, he wanted a revolution.

Even when the republicans did come to power, however, their grip was not a firm one. The influence of church was still strong. For example, when the consuls had to preside over various public functions, such as the planting of Trees of Liberty, they were often hissed. At one such event, Angelucci appeared with the other Consuls, the Tribunal and many French officers on the Spanish Steps to ceremoniously burn the "libro d'oro," the registry with which aristocratic families verified lines of descendancy and inheritance. Angelucci and three others made speeches. After a drum roll, three half-naked boys, wearing wings and carrying torches, descended the stairs. They lit the fire, while the figure of Truth (a naked woman) appeared above, torch in hand and rays emanating from her head. Screams erupted everywhere, and then whistles and finally even stones were thrown.¹⁰⁸

Liborio Angelucci fits Sardou's description rather well, but he was not from Naples and not killed in an escape attempt. There was, a few years later, a Neapolitan man actually named Angelotti (Francesco) who was jailed for conspiracy against the government. He was arrested

with several others including Cesare Rossaroli and Giuseppe Romano. These last two made a suicide pact, so that, if discovered, neither one would fall into the hands of the executioner. They shot each other, but only Romano died. Cesare Rossaroli and Francesco Angelotti were then condemned to death. The King commuted their sentences to prison terms, but when Angelotti tried to escape in 1839, he was killed.¹⁰⁹ This Angelotti was from Naples and killed in an escape attempt, like the fictional one. In addition, the appearance here of the surname "Angelotti" in historical juxtaposition with the given name "Cesare," belonging to his friend, raises the suspicion that Sardou was once again stealing from the chronicles.

The "Te Deum"

One detail of the play and the opera that can be verified historically is the celebration of the Te Deum, which ends the first acts of both works. Colletta writes that Queen Marie Caroline stopped at Livorno at the end of May, 1800, on her way to Germany. While still there in June, she received news from General Melas that he had won the battle of Marengo, defeated Napoleon, and would send further information later. She ordered a Te Deum sung in church at 5 p.m. on June 16, to give thanks for this victory.¹¹⁰ As *Tosca* audiences know, the second communiqué from Melas contained the information that Napoleon was the unexpected victor at Marengo.

In Sardou's play, the Queen reads the second letter aloud at the fête in her honor at the Palazzo Farnese, saying:

This, gentlemen, comes just in time to crown the fête. This is a letter from General Melas that relates new details about his triumph....I do not wish to give anyone else the pleasure of letting you hear this victorious news bulletin. I will read it to you myself:...*From Alexandria, midnight from the 14th to the 15th of June. Madame. At sunset, the enemy, reinforced by a new army, after a battle in the same plains of Marengo during most of the night, has defeated our troops...*(the Queen falls into her seat, and her voice impaired and enfeebled as she proceeds in her reading.) *...victorious during the day. At this moment, encamped under the walls of Alexandria, we are rallying the unfortunate debris of our army...and we shall deliberate about...*
(The Queen faints, as Scarpia calls for a doctor.)

As fanciful as this scene may seem, Sardou did not invent it himself.
Colletta:

Awaiting the second report, (the Queen) left orders to be awakened when the news arrived, no matter the hour. Thus it happened that in the middle of that same night, the message arrived; she was awakened and, while opening the letter, said: 'Let us read of the end of Bonaparte's presumptuous military exercise.' But when, stupified and incredulous, she read the news of Melas' defeat, she had to re-read it to confirm for herself the sad message. Then, her voice failed her, and she collapsed on the woman who had awakened her. Revived, she saw the loathed letter once more and fell ill.¹¹¹

During this period, the Te Deum was the hymn of choice for offering thanks to God: one can hardly open an historical account of the times without finding mention of it. Even in our own time, the celebration of the hymn for this purpose has not died out completely. As Scholes describes the Te Deum:

The ancient traditional plainsong to the Latin hymn is of a very magnificent character; it has a great popularity amongst the peasantry of Italy....Naturally the hymn has inspired innumerable composers of all periods and many of their settings, from the late seventeenth-century onwards, have been on extended lines, with solos, choruses, and orchestral accompaniment, in the style of the oratorio. (...) A solemn Te Deum is ordered on all occasions of rejoicing in Christian countries, so that throughout history nations opposed in war have used the same hymn to thank God for their alternating victories over one another.¹¹²

The last sentence was quite true around the turn of the nineteenth century: in addition to the Te Deums celebrated by the Bourbons, which in some periods they ordered sung daily,¹¹³ the Napoleonic forces gave thanks for their victories with the same hymn. On December 2, 1798, for example, a Te Deum was celebrated at the Vatican for the deliverance of the Holy City into Republican hands!¹¹⁴ Napoleon also ordered the Te Deum to be sung at his coronation (Paisiello's version), and, in Italy, for both the anniversary of his coronation in December 1810, and for the birth of his son in 1811. The former event, which was

celebrated in Rome at the Pantheon, employed a Te Deum written by Haydn.¹¹⁵ At the latter, to be celebrated at the Vatican, the choirmaster Zingarelli and his musicians refused to appear; they would not recognize Napoleon's son as their sovereign.¹¹⁶ Hayward describes one Te Deum during the republican era that must have been odious to the Papal authorities:

A sort of frenzy reigned in Rome...The Pope and the cardinals were watched and guarded in their palaces by French troops, and a number of them, terrorized, attended at a mass celebrated by Monsignor Passer, vice-gerant of Cardinal Della Somaglia, Vicar of Rome, who was then held hostage. This was followed by a Te Deum that thanked God for having restored liberty to the Roman people!¹¹⁷

Paisiello was particularly noted for his Te Deum¹¹⁸ and perhaps he prodded his student, Domenico Puccini, to compose in that form. In the year 1800 alone, Giacomo Puccini's grandfather wrote two Te Deums for Lucca: one for the church of San Paolino with two choirs, and the other for the church of San Martino with two choirs and two orchestras. This latter Te Deum was written for the occasion of the victory at Genoa of the Austrians over the French - just days before the Battle of Marengo, and performed on June 8, 1800. As we have seen above, the Te Deum called for in *Tosca* was actually celebrated in Livorno on June 16, 1800. Domenico Puccini's Te Deum was celebrated only eight days earlier and only 40 kilometers away. In addition, the vocal parts of both works begin with a rising perfect fourth.

The Te Deum was a common enough part of daily life to be satirized. In 1787, Gian Lorenzo Cardone (1743-1813) wrote a sarcastic Te Deum entitled, "Il Te Deum de' Calabresi," to which he added a second part in 1800. Noted below are those stanzas of the work cited by Fortunato.¹¹⁹ One can easily recognize a certain Voltairean spirit in these lines.

The Chapel

At the opening of the play *La Tosca*, the curtain rises on the church of Saint-Andréa des Jesuits, designed by Bernini. One should see large

arches, plain white marble pillars, and a chapel with a grille. Clearly Sardou was thinking of the Church of Sant'Andrea of the Quirinale, which is a Jesuit church designed by Bernini. Its original name was Sant'Andrea a Monte Cavalli dei Padre Gesuiti. The real church bears little resemblance to the one described by Sardou, however, and contains no chapels with grilles. In the play, the chapel is that of the Angelotti family, complete with the family coat-of-arms: three silver angels on an azure background. Sardou did come close to the actual coat-of-arms of the Angelotti family, which was azure with a single silver angel, and also showed a red band surmounted by a sun between two silver lilies.¹²⁰

In the final version of the libretto, the chapel does not belong to the Angelotti family, but to the Attavanti: the family into which Cesare Angelotti's sister Giulia married. The name "Attavanti" did exist in Rome, but the family had died out by the end of the sixteenth century. Additionally, the church in the opera is identified as Sant'Andrea della Valle. Moving the location of the first act was a propitious decision: the real Sant'Andrea della Valle is a larger church more suited to the play's action, and it is much closer to the Castel Sant'Angelo. Therefore, an escaped prisoner would have had an easier time reaching that destination than the one farther away.

We have seen how Sardou indeed made his theatrical pièce from fact and exaggeration. Perhaps the real people and events described in *La Tosca* have enabled *Tosca* the opera to reach beyond "verismo" and approach "verità."

Notes to Appendix B

*A shorter version of this appendix appeared under the title "The Real Scarpia: historical sources for *Tosca*" in *Opera Quarterly* X/2 (Winter, 1993-94): 67-84.

¹Eugène Tardieu, "Une heure chez Victorien Sardou," *Revue Illustrée*, 15.September, 1892, 218.

²Arnaldo Fraccaroli, *La vita di Giacomo Puccini* (Milan: n.p., 1925). Quoted in Mosco Carner, *Puccini: A critical biography*, 2nd.ed. (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1974), 105.

³They were Ernest Daudet, who wrote *La Saint-Aubin*, a play whose action unfolded on the eve of the Battle of Marengo, involved a singer, and which had been read by Sarah Bernhardt (the dedicatée of *La Tosca*), and Maurice Barrymore, who wrote *Nadjeska*, a story involving a bargain similar to Scarpia's. Carner, *Puccini*, 348.

⁴Carner, *Puccini*, 348.

⁵Tardieu, "Une Heure," 210.

⁶Victorien Sardou, *Entr'acte*, December 1887: "C'est la même situation, le même point de départ. Mais les points de départ sont à tout le monde, surtout quand ils sont historiques. Ce qui appartient enpropre à l'écrivain, c'est le parti qu'il en tire."

⁷Edmondo De Amicis, "Una visita a Jules Verne e a Victorien Sardou" *Nuova Antologia*, 1896, vol. 66, 4th series, 20.

⁸W. Laird Kleins-Ahlbrandt, "*La Tosca*" (*The Drama behind the Opera*), *Studies in the History and Interpretation of Music*, Vol. 19 (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), 6.

⁹Marie and Léon Escudier, *Vie et aventures des cantatrices célèbres* (Paris: Dentu, 1856), 240.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 240-241.

¹¹F.J. Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens* (Paris: Didot, 1861), s.v. "Catalani, Angélique."

¹²*Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo*, 1956 ed., s.v. "Catalani, Angelica."

¹³*Nouvelle Biographie Générale* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1855) s.v."Catalani, Angélique."

¹⁴*Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo*, 1956 ed., s.v. "Catalani, Angelica."

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷Mario Rinaldi, *Due secoli di musica al Teatro Argentina*, 3 vols. (Florence: Olschki, 1978), 1: 328.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 329.

¹⁹Michele Palmieri di Micciché, *Pensées et souvenirs historiques et contemporains*, 2 vols. (Palermo: Edizioni della Regione Siciliana, 1969), 1: 115-116.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 139.

²¹In fact, Giulio Ricordi made a pun on this in a letter to Puccini dated 28 August 1896: (we must) "intoxicate (intoscarsi) ourselves all together," meaning that they should all meet to discuss the opera.

²²*Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 1979 ed., s.v. "Cottellini, Celeste."

²³Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari, *Aneddoti piacevoli e interessanti* (Palermo: Sandron, 1830), 113.

²⁴Alexander Dumas, père, *I Borboni di Napoli*, 2nd ed., 6 vols. (Napoli: Stabilimento Tipografico del Plebiscito, 1864) vol. 4, 186.

²⁵*Ibid.*, vol. 3, 257-8.

²⁶*Ibid.*, vol. 3, 257.

²⁷Pietro Colletta, *Storia del Reame di Napoli dal 1734 sino al 1825* (1834; reprint, Turin: UTET, 1975), 319.

²⁸Vincenzo Cuoco, *Saggio storico sulla rivoluzione napoletana del 1799*, ed. Fausto Nicolini. (1801; reprint, Bari: Laterza, 1913), 180-181.

²⁹Fragoletta (pseud.), *Naples et Paris en 1799*, (Paris: Levassasseur, 1829), 186-187.

³⁰Francesco Lomonaco, *Rapporto fatto da Francesco Lomonaco, patriota napoletano, al cittadino Carnot, Ministro della Guerra: sulle segrete cagioni, e su' principali avvenimenti della Catastrofe Napoletana, sul carattere, e la condotta del re, della regina di Sicilia, e del famoso Acton*, 2nd ed. (Milan: n.p.: Anno IX Repubblicano (1801)), 84.

³¹Fra Diavolo was the title subject of an 1830 opera by D.F. Auber.

³²Fragoletta, *Naples et Paris*, 187.

³³*Ibid.*, 210.

³⁴Cuoco, *Saggio Storico*, ed., Nicolini, 151n.

³⁵Dumas, *I Borboni*, vol. 3, 256.

³⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷*Ibid.*

³⁸Cuoco, *Saggio Storico*, ed., Pasquale Villani (1801; reprint, Bari: Laterza, 1980), n.p.

- ³⁹Cuoco, *Saggio Storico*, ed., Nicolini, 151n.
- ⁴⁰Dumas, *I Borboni*, vol. 3, 48.
- ⁴¹*Enciclopedia Italiana*, 1949 ed., s.v. "Vitellio."
- ⁴²Cesare Riccardi, *La Ristorazione del 1799 ossia I Martiri di Napoli*. (Milan: M.P. Visaj, 1860).
- ⁴³Gian Lorenzo Cardone, "Il Te Deum de Calabresi" in G.Fortunato, *I Napoletani del 1799* (Florence: Barbèra, 1884), 79-85.
- ⁴⁴A. Coppi, *Annali d'Italia*, (Este: Longo, 1838), 66.
- ⁴⁵Lomonaco, *Rapporto*, 109.
- ⁴⁶Colletta, *Storia del Reame*, 374.
- ⁴⁷Lomonaco, *Rapporto*, 109.
- ⁴⁸Cuoco, *Saggio Storico*, ed., Villani, n.p.
- ⁴⁹Cuoco, *Saggio Storico*, ed., Nicolini, 195.
- ⁵⁰Harold Acton *I Borboni di Napoli*, Italian translation of *The Bourbons of Naples* (Milan: Aldo Martello Editore, 1960), 454
- ⁵¹Coppi, *Annali*, 66-67.
- ⁵²Cuoco, *Saggio storico*, ed., Nicolini, 202.
- ⁵³Lomonaco, *Rapporto*, 108.
- ⁵⁴Cuoco, *Saggio storico*, ed., Nicolini, 203-206
- ⁵⁵Lomonaco, *Rapporto*, 33-34.
- ⁵⁶Domenico Puccini, Letter to his father Antonio from Naples, 29 January, 1799, Archivio di Stato di Lucca, Legato Cerù 94/19.
- ⁵⁷Cesare Cantù, *Storia di Cento Anni (1750-1850)*, 3 vols. (Florence: Felice Monnier, 1852), 40.
- ⁵⁸Fragoletta, *Naples et Paris*, 284.
- ⁵⁹Cuoco, *Saggio storico*, ed., Nicolini, 200.
- ⁶⁰Dumas, *I Borboni*, vol. 4, 114-115.

⁶¹Ibid., 201.

⁶²"Come amico ad amico parlando, concertiamo i modi della tua salvezza." Colletta, *Storia del reame*, 381.

⁶³Cuoco, *Saggio storico*, ed., Nicolini, 201.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵G. Fortunato, *I Napoletani del 1799* (Florence: Barbèra, 1884), 17-18n.

⁶⁶Colletta, *Storia del reame*, 381.

⁶⁷Lomonaco, *Rapporto*, 42.

⁶⁸Fragoletta, *Naples et Paris*, 293. Fragoletta identifies Nicolò Palumba as the victim here. In reality, Palumba, another quite famous martyr, died on the gallows.

⁶⁹Ibid., 287-288. Sardou used his first name "Eusèbe" for the sacristan.

⁷⁰Colletta (*Storia del reame*, 372) states he was stabbed inside the church whereas Dumas (*I Borboni*, 4: 30) writes that he was taken outside, and then killed.

⁷¹Dumas, *I Borboni*, vol 4: 157-159.

⁷²Fragoletta, *Naples et Paris*, 290-291.

⁷³Cuoco, *Saggio storico*, ed., Nicolini, 198.

⁷⁴Ibid., 203.

⁷⁵Colletta, *Storia del reame*, 471 - 472.

⁷⁶Palmieri, *Pensées et souvenirs*, 1: 140.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸Lomonaco, *Rapporto*, 45.

⁷⁹Colletta, *Storia del Reame*, 382.

⁸⁰A popular song of the day reflects this tonsorial trend:

Se vuoi conoscere il giacobino,	If you want to know if someone is a Jacobin,
E tu tirali il codino;	And you pull on his pony-tail;
Se il codino ti viene in mano,	If the pony-tail comes off in your hand,
Questo è vero repubblicano!	Then this is really a republican!

from Benedetto Croce, *Canti politici del popolo napoletano* (Naples: Tipografia Gennaro Priore, 1892), 44.

⁸¹The Caffè Greco, near the Spanish Steps, was frequented by Goethe, among many others, and is still in existence today.

⁸²Diego Angeli, *Storia romana di trent'anni* (Milan: Treves, 1931), 197-199.

⁸³*Nouvelle Biographie*, s.v. "Chinard, Joseph."

⁸⁴Angeli, *Storia romana*, 204.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, 205.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 207.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*

⁸⁸*Dizionario biografico*, s.v. "Ceracchi, Giuseppe."

⁸⁹*Ibid.*

⁹⁰Renzo De Felice, *Italia giacobina* (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1965), 65.

⁹¹*Ibid.*

⁹²*Dizionario biografico*, s.v. "Ceracchi, Giuseppe."

⁹³De Felice, *Italia*, 68.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 76.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, 87-88.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, 89.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, 92.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, 93.

¹⁰⁰*Enciclopedia Storico-Nobiliare Italiana*, (Milan: Edizioni Enciclopedia Storico-Nobiliare Italiana, 1929) s.v. "Caravadossi."

¹⁰¹Angus Heriot, *Les Français en Italie: 1796-1799*, trans. Jacques Brousse (n.c.: Librairie Gallimard, 1961), 199. Original title "The French in Italy."

¹⁰²Jürgen Maehder, "Roma anno 1800. Riflessioni sulla struttura drammatico-musicale dell'opera storica in Puccini," program notes, *49o Maggio Musicale Fiorentino*, 1986, 1044.

- ¹⁰³*Dizionario biografico*, s.v. "Angelucci, Liborio."
- ¹⁰⁴Vittorio E. Giuntella, *Roma nel settecento* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1971), 204n.
- ¹⁰⁵*Dizionario biografico*, s.v. "Angelucci, Liborio."
- ¹⁰⁶Fiorella Bartoccini, *Roma nell'ottocento* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1985), 16-17.
- ¹⁰⁷Giuntella, *Roma*, 204.
- ¹⁰⁸David Silvagni, *La corte e la società romana* (Florence: Tipografia Gazzetta d'Italia, 1881), 500.
- ¹⁰⁹Atto Vannucci, *I martiri della libertà italiana dal 1794 al 1848* (Milan: Treves, 1872), 405.
- ¹¹⁰Colletta, *Storia del Reame*, 412-413.
- ¹¹¹Dumas, *I Borboni*, 212.
- ¹¹²Percy Scholes, ed. *The Oxford Companion to Music*, 10th ed. Revised by John Owen Ward. (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), s.v. "Te Deum."
- ¹¹³Acton, *I Borboni*, 455.
- ¹¹⁴Heriot, *Les Français*, 239.
- ¹¹⁵Fernand Hayward, *Le dernier siècle de la Rome Pontificale* (Paris: Payot, 1927), 229.
- ¹¹⁶Escudier, *Vie et aventures*, 18.
- ¹¹⁷Hayward, *Le dernier siècle*, 104.
- ¹¹⁸Cantù, *Storia di Cento Anni*, 545.
- ¹¹⁹Fortunato, *I Napoletani*, 79-85.

Granni Deu, a Ti laudamu
Ed a Tia nì confissamu.
Tu crijasti da lu nenti
Celi, stiddi e firmenti,
Omu forti e donni beddi;
E pi Tua summa cremenzia,

Tu nni dai la pruvidenzia.

Chistu Deu nni fa vidiri
Tanti cosi da sturdiri,
Viva Deu, lu Deu d'Abramo!

Chi si merita na funi

Great Lord, we praise You
and we confess to You
You created from nothing
Skies, stars and firmaments
The strong man and beautiful women
And thanks to your supreme
clemency,
You give us providence.

This God lets us see
Many amazing things,
Long live God, the God of
Abraham!

He who deserves a noose,

Ferru, focu, lampu, e tronu,
Tu nugrannisci e Tu pirduni,
Granni Deu, picchè si bonu!

Pò, tant'òmini nnurati,
Che tu stissi l'ài crijati,
Lì manteni affritti e strutti...
Viva Deu di Sabautti!

(1800 supplement)

Nta li tui librazzi santi
Scrittu sta senza misteriu,
Che di tutti li furfanti
Pirirà lu disideriu.

Ura l'impìi e li tiranni
Fannu saccu, strazii e danni
Fannu strazii di nnuzenti...
Viva Deu unniputenti!

Nei sta scrittu, che taluri
Tu pazzii supra la Terra;
E pi fàcici favuri,
Nui dai pesti, fami e guerri:

Tu currigi, abbatti e schianti
Chidd'amici a Tia chiù cari
Ma li tui giudicii Santi
Non si ponnu scrutinari!

Tu fai dire a li saccenti,
Che a stu munnu nun c'è mali.
Tuttu è bonu?! E mancu è nenti
Guidubaldu e Speziali,
La regina, Monzù Actuni,
Lu si Fabiu picuruni?
Mancu è nenti Sua Eminenzia?
Viva Deu, summa sapienzia!

Tu che l'òmini facisti
Tali e quali comm'a Tia,
E che dopo Ti pentisti
D'avè fatto sta ginia;
Po crijasti li Niruni,
La tiranni a miliuni...
Ed a chisti Ti assumigghi?!
Che biddizzi! Che cuusigghi!

Nei cridimu fermamenti,
Che sit'unu e siti trii;
Tutti trii unniputenti,

Irons, fire, lightning and thunder,
You pardon and make great,
Great Lord, why are you so good!

Then, many honored men,
Whom you yourself created,
You keep afflicted and broken
Long live God of Sabaoth!

In your Holy Books
it is clearly written
That the wicked desires of all
scoundrels will perish.

Now, the impious and the tyrants
sack, pillage and torture
They torture innocents
Long live God omnipotent!

It is written that sometimes
You enjoy yourself with the Earth;
And to do us a favor,
You give us pestilence, hunger and war:

You castigate, knock down and crush
Those friends dearest to You
But Your Holy intentions
Are incomprehensible!

You tell the learned
That there is no evil in the world.
All is good?! How about
Guidobaldo and Speziale
The Queen, Monsieur Acton,
Signor Fabio the idiot?
This is nothing, Your Eminence?
Long live God, the most wise!

You made men
Just exactly like You,
And afterwards you regretted
making this species;
Then you created the Neros,
Millions of tyrants...
And these are in Your image?
How beautiful! What good models!

We believe firmly,
That You are One and You are Three;
All three omnipotent,

Unu Deu, nun già tri Dii.

As one God not as three Gods.

Diciarrannu li marmotti,
Ch'è nu jocu a bussolotti...
Nui pirò strillamu tutti:
Viva Deu di Sabautti!

The idiots will say,
That it is only a game of chance
But we all shout:
Long live God of Sabaoth!

¹²⁰*Enciclopedia Araldica Italiana* (Genoa: Studio Ricerche Storiche, n.d.), s.v.
"Angelotti."

APPENDIX C
GENESIS OF THE OPERA
(with new documentation)¹

Such an old-fashioned, shiftless, clumsily constructed,
emptyheaded turnip ghost of a shocker. Oh, if it had but been an
opera!"

George Bernard Shaw,
referring to Victorien Sardou's
*La Tosca*²

The effort to turn Sardou's "ghost of a shocker" into an opera lasted eleven years and was the product of a group that included not only the composer Giacomo Puccini and the librettists Luigi Illica and Giuseppe Giacosa, but also the publisher Giulio Ricordi, Alberto Franchetti,³ Ferdinando Fontana,⁴ Father Pietro Panichelli,⁵ Alfredo Vandini,⁶ Luigi Zanazzo⁷ and Sardou himself. The group dynamics were unstable: on one hand, the major participants had pet names for each other (Puccini was "the Doge," Illica was "the Volcano," Giacosa was "Buddha" and Ricordi was "the Commendatore"); on the other, tensions often arose accompanied by volleys of icy formalities. Each of these people was responsible, in great ways and small, for a certain definable piece of the whole: Puccini supplied the music, Giacosa the poetic refinement, etc. Yet those boundaries were hardly impassable, and the collaborators often ventured into each other's territory. Far from confusing the issue, however, these "trespasses" reveal, as we shall see below, the priorities of both the individuals and the group.

1889

Only fifteen months after the première of Sardou's *La Tosca* at the Théâtre de la Porte-Sainte Martin in Paris on 24 November 1887, its star and dedicatee, Sarah Bernhardt, took the play on tour through Italy. After passing through Catania and Rome, her troupe arrived in Milan, presenting the play for the first time in that city on 14 February 1889.⁸ Attending one of her performances at the Teatro dei Filodrammatici were Giacomo Puccini and his librettist for the forthcoming opera *Edgar*,

Ferdinando Fontana. For Puccini it was to be the first of three times that he would see Sarah Bernhardt play this role.

The two young men were enthusiastic about the drama and decided to see it again, but the troupe had moved on to Turin. On 17 March of that year, the two made the trip and attended a performance at the Teatro Carignano di Torino,⁹ apparently with the consent of the publisher Giulio Ricordi. That they attended both performances, not one or the other as has been published elsewhere, is confirmed by three sources. The first is a promotional article that appeared in connection with *Tosca's* première in January 1900 that states as much.¹⁰ The second is a reference by Puccini in a note to Luigi Illica, written before he saw the play again in October 1895, which reads: "Ricordi t'avrà detto dello changement di programma Toscano. Andrò invece a Firenze a sentirla per la 3a volta."¹¹ ('Ricordi will have told you of the change in our "Toscano" plans. Instead I will go to Florence to hear it for the third time.') The third source is a letter from Giulio Ricordi to Sardou's agent, Theodore De Glaser, quoted more fully below, which reads: "Monsieur Puccini est enthousiaste de la pièce de Monsieur Sardou, au point qu'il a suivi les représentations à Milan et Turin."¹² ('Mr. Puccini is so enthusiastic about Mr. Sardou's drama that he attended performances in Milan and Turin.')

Either Puccini or Fontana suggested making a libretto from the play. Years later, in a letter to Illica, Fontana claimed that it was his idea:

When I heard you were working on *La Tosca*, I hoped that you would have turned to me since, as everyone knew - above all Puccini, that that subject was first suggested by me, and I had already exchanged letters with Sardou. Instead, you would have Giacosa!¹³

But there also exists contradictory evidence that it was Puccini's idea.¹⁴ In either case, Puccini soon wrote, on 7 May 1889, to Giulio Ricordi expressing his interest in the play, and requesting that the process to acquire the rights begin:

I am thinking about *La Tosca*! I entreat you to take the necessary steps to obtain Sardou's permission, before abandoning the idea, which would sadden me very much, since in this *Tosca* I see the opera I need, not of excessive proportions either as decorative

spectacle or as one likely to give rise to the usual musical overabundance.¹⁵

Fontana had apparently written to Sardou during this period, and by 27 May, Italian newspapers had prematurely printed that an agreement had been reached between the two.¹⁶

Two days later, however, Ricordi received news from Sardou via a letter from a mutual acquaintance, Emanuele Muzio:

Non si sente molto disposto a permettere che della sua *Tosca* se ne faccia un libretto italiano, perchè un giorno o l'altro un compositore francese ne potrebbe farne un'opera francese. Però, vorrebbe sapere quale compenso proporebbe Puccini...*Tosca* fu chiesta anche da Mario Costa il quale non ripose. Un altro maestro napoletano, del quale scrive non ricordarlo il nome, gli ha chiese pure...Io mi lusingo che darà la preferenza a Puccini, ma bada che non cederà per qualche migliaio di franchi, vorrà essere pagato profumatamente.¹⁷

(Sardou) does not feel very disposed to permit an Italian libretto to be made of his *Tosca*, because one day or another a French composer might make an opera of it. However, he would like to know what sort of compensation Puccini is proposing... *Tosca* was also requested by Mario Costa to whom he did not respond. Another Neapolitan maestro, whose name he writes he cannot remember, asked him for it as well... I trust that he will give preference to Puccini, but be aware that he will not settle for a few thousand francs, he will want to be paid profusely.

1890-1891

This is the first piece of evidence among several that financial rewards played a considerable role in Sardou's decision-making process.

Ricordi began to deal with Sardou in the autumn of 1890,¹⁸ but nothing definite came about until January 1891 when the publisher was able to give the hesitant Luigi Illica a contract to fashion a libretto from the play.¹⁹ Apparently, Ricordi had concluded the arrangement with Sardou by leaving open the possibility that the opera could be written by an unnamed French composer. Yet, Ricordi wanted this opera for Puccini, for whom he was ready to risk the large sum Sardou required. In this letter of 10 October 1891, again to De Glaser, he goes to great

lengths to allay the doubts of the dramatist and to inspire confidence in his protégé:

Les oeuvres du compositeur que je désire proposer, ne sont pas nombreuses, pour la simple raison (très agréable pour le compositeur même), qu'il est jeune!!..C'est donc une question de confiance personnelle, la quelle peut être divisée par les personnes qui connaissent le compositeur, et qui peuvent le juger d'un talent de premier ordre. Nôtre maison a déjà acheté deux opéras de M. Puccini, et il l'a engagé pour trois autres - Le premier opéra, *Le Villi*, pièce en deux actes, a été joué sur presque tous les théâtres d'Italie: le deuxième: "Edgar" est tout à fait nouveau: on l'a donné à Milan, à Lucques, on va le monter à Madrid et à Turin. Mr. Puccini est enthousiaste de la pièce de Mr. Sardou, au point qu'il a suivi les représentations à Milan, et Turin - je crois donc inutile de faire observer que la conviction du compositeur c'est d(...) une grande garantie, bien entendu si cette conviction est accompagnée par le talent, comme j'en suis absolument persuadé. Je vous ai dit, aussi, que nous pourrions, le cas échéant, proposer la pièce à un jeune compositeur français: mais, naturellement, la chose est délicate: je n'ai pas cru être autorisé d'en écrire à cette personne; de conséquence je ne sais pas si une proposition de nôtre part sera agréée, bien entendu au suget de la pièce. Voilà les explications que vous desirez...²⁰

(The works of the composer whom I would like to propose are not numerous, for the simple reason (a very pleasant one for the composer himself) that he is young!! Therefore it is a question of personal confidence, which falls to those who know him and who judge him to have talent of the first order. Our house has already bought two operas from Mr. Puccini and it has engaged him for three others. The first opera, *Le Villi*, a piece in two acts, has been performed in almost all the Italian theaters: the second, *Edgar*, is quite new: it was given in Milan, in Lucca, and will be presented in Madrid and in Turin. Mr. Puccini is so enthusiastic about Mr. Sardou's drama that he attended performances in Milan and Turin - I do not believe it necessary to observe that the composer's conviction is (...) a good guarantee, if that conviction is accompanied by talent, and of that I am absolutely persuaded. I have also told you that we would be able, if need be, to offer the piece to a young French composer. But, naturally, it is a delicate matter: I did not think I was authorized to write to this person about it; therefore, I have no idea if an offer from us would be accepted, in regard to the drama. So there are the explanations you desire...)

Sardou responded quickly through De Glaser, and requested a "small sum" as an advance, and a percentage of the box office

receipts. In a letter dated 23 October 1891, Ricordi rejected the idea of the advance ('une petite somme pour M. Sardou, peut très bien être un grosse somme pour notre maison.') but agreed to give Sardou five percent of the receipts, making an exception to the publishing house's normal policies. A draft of the contract was drawn up and sent to Sardou on 26 November;²¹ Puccini signed it two days later.²² On 13 December, the following announcement appeared on the front page of the *Gazzetta Musicale*, Ricordi's in-house publication:

G.Ricordi & C. announce that they have acquired from *Victorien Sardou* the rights to adapt *LA TOSCA* as an opera. The Maestro *Giacomo Puccini*, having fulfilled his obligations for this company, now has the new task of writing two other operas,²³ one of which will be *La Tosca*, on a libretto by *Luigi Illica*.

On 15 December 1891, Ricordi, eager for the work to move quickly and easily, suggested a joint supper with Illica and Puccini, followed by discussion of the work at hand ('post prandium toscabimus.')

²⁴ Indeed, it was only two weeks later, on 29 December, that he sent Sardou a scenario of the opera:

Aujourd'hui même j'adresse à M. Sardou le scenario de *Tosca*: comme vous voyez, pas de temp perdu: on travaillera ferme, et je tiens à reussir complètement.²⁵

(This very day I am sending Mr. Sardou the scenario of *Tosca*: as you see, no time lost: the work will go quickly and I am sure it will succeed completely.)

It seems that the terms of the contract called for a speedy completion of the project since only twelve days later, Ricordi wrote to De Glaser noting that he hoped Mr. Sardou would quickly recover from an illness and be able to look at the *Tosca* material:

pour ma part je ne suis pressé qu'en raison des limites fixés par le contrat: je vous ai déjà dit que je les croyais un peu restreintes!...mais vous pourrez arranger celà avec Mr. Sardou même, pour autoriser un delai = faire vite, c'est bien, mais il faut tacher de faire très bien!²⁶

(As for me, I am only pressed because of the limits fixed by the contract: I have already told you that I thought they were a little

restrictive!...But you will be able to arrange this with Mr. Sardou himself, to authorize a delay. To do things quickly is fine, but it is necessary to try to do things well!)

1892-1893

The delays certainly did occur in that year. Illica was writing the libretto for Franchetti's *Cristoforo Colombo*, to be produced on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of Columbus' voyage to America. Puccini, for his part, was now involved in composing *Manon Lescaut*, and traveling to Spain for a production of *Edgar*. On 12 December, the bombshell fell on the *Tosca* project in the form of a telegram from De Glaser:

Sardou is ill and after having heard Puccini's music, he is distressed that it is he who will compose *Tosca* - he is completely dissatisfied with it, finding the music wretched.²⁷

This may or may not have been true: there is considerable evidence, as we shall see, that Sardou was primarily concerned by the financial failures Puccini had suffered with *Edgar*. Three days later, Puccini sent a cryptic note to Illica, which might lead one to conclude that he knew something was amiss: "tu pensa a me e farai contento te me e Lui."²⁸ ("think of me and you make yourself, me and Him happy.") Ricordi claimed later that the composer had known nothing of Sardou's opinion. But there must have been some reason for Puccini to have lost his excitement for the project. In a letter to Ricordi the next month (January 1893) Illica attempts to explain it as a character flaw: "Puccini's instability is nothing new. Just remember the enthusiasm for *La Tosca*. And then? I do not have to tell you that *La Tosca* did not please him anymore."²⁹ Although not verifiable, it seems likely that Puccini knew or sensed that there was trouble with his "Toscano" project.

By spring 1893, Puccini was beginning work on *La bohème* in collaboration, as *Tosca* would be, with Illica and Giacosa. Ricordi reminded Illica of his continuing responsibilities: "Two important things remain: *Bohème* and *Tosca*."³⁰ Illica did spend time on *Tosca*, and soon sent some of his work to Sardou,³¹ while Puccini finally renounced the project. On 29 July, Ricordi again wrote to De Glaser:

Ayant le plaisir de vous écrire, je dois vous rappeler l'affaire Tosca - Sardou = conduit au commencement par vous, d'une manière si favorable, il est arrêté - Puccini, qui ignore toujours le jugement de M. Sardou, offensé du long silence, a renoncé tout à fait à ce poème = le poète que j'avais chargé du libretto, a envoyé à M. Sardou un projet très développé - aucune réponse, et même aucun renvoi de ce manuscrit très important - Est-il perdu?.. on l'ignore. Mais le temps a passé, pas par ma faute!... et les bons compositeurs ne se trouvent pas comme les champignons sous bois! - Donc?... ou je peux encore dénicher un compositeur de valeur, ou, grâce à votre intervention amicale et habile, il faudrait résilier de bonne foi le contrat (...) ce n'est pas pour manque de bonne volonté de ma part. Pouvez-vous me donner quelque bonne nouvelle par cette affaire?.. je l'espère et je le souhaite -³²

(Since I have the pleasure of writing to you, I must take the opportunity to remind you of the Tosca -Sardou business, so well guided by you from the start; it has stopped. Puccini, who still knows nothing of Mr. Sardou's judgment, is offended by the long silence, and has completely renounced the poem. The poet to whom I gave charge of the libretto has sent Mr. Sardou a project quite far along. No response, and, likewise, no return of this very important manuscript. Is it lost? No one knows. But time has been lost, and it was not my fault! One does not find good composers as easily as mushrooms in the woods! So what now? Either I will be able to ferret out another worthy composer, or, thanks to your friendly and skillful intervention, it will be necessary to cancel the contract in good faith...it is not for lack of good will on my part. Can you give me some good news about this affair? I hope and wish it so.)

On 2 October 1893, De Glaser wrote to Ricordi with the startling news that Sardou had changed his mind: Puccini would do. Had Puccini's music improved, or had his recent professional and financial success with *Manon Lescaut* made his participation more appealing? The response of the Ricordi house to De Glaser makes clear that the latter was the case:

Vous exprimez l'opinion que après le succès de "Manon Lescaut" de Puccini, on puisse s'entendre pour le choisir comme compositeur de "Tosca."³³

(You express the opinion that after the success of *Manon Lescaut* by Puccini, it is possible to agree to choosing him as composer of *Tosca*.)

But now Puccini (again, according to Ricordi) would not accept because he had been offended. The letter continues:

Nous nous voyons obligés à vous communiquer que - quoique nous n'ayons pas soufflé mot avec Mr. Puccini, à propos de v. dépêche et du jugement donné par Mr. Sardou sur la musique de Mr. Puccini, celui-ci a été froissé par notre silence; il a bien deviné qu'il ne pouvait être causé que par un refus de la part de Mr. Sardou et il nous a déclaré qu'il renonçait complètement à "*Tosca*."³⁴

(We feel obliged to communicate to you that although we have not breathed a word to Mr. Puccini regarding your dispatch and Mr. Sardou's judgment of Mr. Puccini's music, the latter has been offended by our silence. He has guessed rightly that only he could have been the cause of a refusal on Mr. Sardou's part, and he has declared to us that he has completely renounced *Tosca*.)

The publisher also claimed that he was prepared to forfeit the whole project, having no other composer in mind to take over the task:

Malheureusement, les compositeurs de talent hors-ligne font défaut chez-nous comme ailleurs et le refus donné par Mr. Sardou nous a porté un grand préjudice et nous a vivement contrariés. C'est pour ça que Mr. Ricordi espère que - comme il vous l'a déjà écrit - vous saurez obtenir un résiliment de bonne foi.³⁵

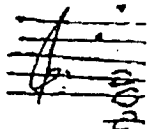
(Unfortunately, composers of extraordinary talent are lacking in our ranks as they are elsewhere and Mr. Sardou's refusal has done us great damage and has thwarted us severely. It is for this reason that Mr. Ricordi hopes - as he already wrote to you - that you will obtain a cancellation of good faith.)

1894

But in early November 1893, Ricordi visited Sardou in Paris, and perhaps the name of composer Alberto Franchetti was mentioned, because by 5 January 1894, Illica wrote to Ricordi that he had sent Franchetti his outline ("*tela*") and the French script ("*copione*."³⁶

However, Franchetti did not decide to pursue the project immediately. Even months later, on 17 May, Ricordi sent him this message: "Urge decisione affare Sardou."³⁷ ("Need decision on Sardou business.") In July, the decision was finally made to give *Tosca* to Franchetti. Had Puccini indeed given up all hope of working on *Tosca*, the transfer should have been a simple matter, but the following letter from Ricordi to Illica, dated 24 July 1894, implies that this was not the case:

Puccini è arrivato.(...) sia pure lotta romana o boxe inglese, bisogna finirla una volta!!! (...) So che è arrivato anche il Mo. Franchetti. Desidererei oggi finire tutto = vediamo se trattandosi di musica, si riesce a



cioè: Accordo perfetto.³⁸

(Puccini has arrived (...) it will either be hand-to-hand combat or English boxing, but we must finish it once and for all!!! (...) I know that Maestro Franchetti has also arrived. I would like to finish everything today - when speaking about music, let's see if we can arrive at a perfect ac-chord.)

These meetings took place within the next few days and on 27 July, Ricordi finally (after eight months) was able to write the following directly to Sardou:

Illustre et cher Maître, certainement vous avez du être surpris de mon long silence!. Après que j'ai eu le grand honneur d'être reçu par vous, très emu par votre accueil si bienveillant, j'aurais voulu pouvoir vous écrire de suite à propos de notre affaire de *Tosca* - Mais, cher maître, figurez vous que c'est seulement hier que j'ai pu me trouver avec le Maestro Franchetti -(...) L'affaire était importante et delicate et demandait d'être traitée personnellement. Le baron Franchetti est tout à fait enchanté et honoré et accepte avec le plus grand plaisir de composer un'opera *Tosca* - Nous comptons donc venir à Paris, le mois d'Octobre, et avoir un entrevue avec vous, très utile, soit pour prendre les decisions definitives à propos du libretto, soit aussi pour que le musicien lui même vous expose ses idées et puisse avoir vos conseils si utiles et si pratique. Tout cela porte naturellement un retard: mais, je crois que le but commun doit être celui di créer un opéra vital, et digne du drama du grand auteur! - J'espère donc que cela ne créera aucune difficulté vis à vis de vous - D'autre part je suis sur que Mr. Franchetti est le musicien tout à fait capable

d'interpréter notre oeuvre: nous pouvons donc espérer que *Tosca* opéra, fera le tour du monde, comme *Tosca* drame...³⁹

(Illustrious and dear Maestro, you certainly must have been surprised by my long silence! After having had the great honor of being received by you, quite moved by your kind welcome, I had hoped to be able to write you immediately regarding our *Tosca* business. But, dear maestro, can you imagine that it was only yesterday that I was able to meet with Maestro Franchetti. (...) The business was important and delicate and had to be treated personally. Baron Franchetti is completely delighted and honored, and agrees with the greatest pleasure to compose an opera *Tosca*. We are counting therefore on coming to Paris in October to have an interview with you, which would be very useful, be it for making definite decisions about the libretto, or for the musician to explain his ideas himself and to receive your very useful and practical advice. All this naturally creates a delay: but, I believe that the common goal must be to create a vital opera, worthy of the great author's drama! I therefore hope that this does not create any difficulty for you. On the other hand, I am sure that Mr. Franchetti is a musician completely capable of interpreting our work: we can thus hope that the opera *Tosca* will be as great a success as the drama *Tosca*...)

Illica (who was finishing a libretto for Mascagni's *Iris*) and Franchetti were informed by Ricordi that *Tosca* would proceed. By early August 1894, Sardou had sent written acceptance: "Je suis très enchanté de collaborer avec M. Franchetti, et vous me trouverez à Paris en octobre pour causer utilement de notre affaire."⁴⁰ ("I am delighted to collaborate with Mr. Franchetti, and you can meet with me in Paris in October to have a useful discussion about our business.") On 16 August, Ricordi wrote Illica that Sardou had accepted and was happy with Franchetti: "che ne avessimo imboccata una?"⁴¹ ("Could we have hit it right?") Franchetti was sent the contract on 5 September. We have seen several indications that Sardou was concerned with a substantial remuneration; the Baron Franchetti's financial resources could have played a decisive role in these negotiations.

Urged by Ricordi,⁴² both Illica and Franchetti traveled to Paris where they met at Sardou's home on 10 October 1894 with Ricordi and also Giuseppe Verdi, who was in Paris to supervise a production of his *Otello* at the Opéra.⁴³ Sardou seemed pleased with Illica's condensation of his five-act play into a three-act libretto, the first act of

which included a second tableau at court (corresponding to Sardou's Act II.) He even appeared to like some of Illica's changes to the final act that, as we shall see below, were eventually removed. Verdi, who was quite touched by the work, also felt that the last act should be changed; his later statements to his biographer Monaldi do not specify which changes he would have wanted, but do reveal that Verdi himself wished to have composed a *Tosca*:

There is a drama for which I would compose music were I not retired, and that is *La Tosca*...on condition that Sardou would give me permission to change the last act.⁴⁴

Perhaps Illica and Ricordi incorporated one or more of Verdi's suggestions for Act III, because on 19 November, Ricordi sent Sardou a more developed libretto sketch (approved by Franchetti) along with this comment: "Pour la fin de l'opéra, on a trouvé une situation qui devrait aussi avoir un grand effet."⁴⁵ ("We have found, for the end of the opera, a situation that will also have a great effect.") As we shall see below, the "situation" was in all probability a mad scene replacing Tosca's suicide. Ricordi requested that Sardou return the manuscript as soon as possible, so that Illica could finish the first two acts by the end of the year, as promised; then, Franchetti could begin work and the opera would be finished ahead of schedule.⁴⁶

1895

But 1895 was not to be the year *Tosca* was completed. Illica wrote to Ricordi on 12 January that he was having trouble both with the libretto and with Franchetti:

I am also working to make the other (Franchetti) happy. How difficult is this Signora Tosca! The drama dominates and invades the libretto.⁴⁷

Illica also alludes to a competitive relationship between Franchetti and Puccini, indicating perhaps that some rancor remained from the transferral of composing rights:

I have a sure way of making Franchetti work; I speak to him about *Bohème*. In like manner, to make Puccini work, it's enough to speak to him about *Tosca*.⁴⁸

Now that both had been excluded from a project that was originally their idea, Puccini and Fontana may have even entertained thoughts of legal action. On 20 January, Fontana suggested to Puccini that they see a lawyer: "Tu porteresti la cessione del Franchetti e si sentirebbe se o meno o come si può o non si può ecc ecc."⁴⁹ ("You could bring Franchetti's transfer and we could hear at least whether or not or how we can or can't, etc., etc.")

By March 1895, the tensions between Illica and Franchetti too had increased. On the twenty-sixth, Ricordi wrote to Illica that the "Franchetti affair" must be dealt with, and he suggested adding another collaborator who would provide text only for the lyrical parts.⁵⁰ The concept of a further division of labor was already in place for *La bohème* (with Giacosa, Illica and Puccini), as it would be again for *Tosca*. A meeting or communication between Franchetti and Ricordi must have taken place just after the 26 March letter, because the next day Ricordi acknowledged, in another letter to Illica, that Franchetti would not compose *Tosca*: "Siamo davanti alla necessità di fornire a Franchetti un libretto in cambio della *Tosca*."⁵¹ ("We face the necessity of furnishing Franchetti with a libretto in exchange for *Tosca*.") There is also some evidence that Franchetti did not find the work "worthy" of him.⁵² On 2 May, Ricordi sent Franchetti formal notification of the latter's relinquishment of composing rights; the letter also betrays Ricordi's concern for his firm and his annoyance with Franchetti:

Ill.mo Signor Barone Maestro Alberto Franchetti,(...) In seguito alla di Lei dichiarazione di rinuncia a musicare il libretto *Tosca* di Luigi Illica, tratto dall'omonimo dramma di V. Sardou, la nostra ditta dovrà provvedere a giustificarsi presso l'illustre autore stesso, onde non ne derivino gravose conseguenze in seguito specialmente al fatto dei nuovi accordi stati presi a Parigi Lei presente ed ammente. Io voglio sperare che riuscirò a tutto definire amichevolmente, e che nessuna responsabilità verrà a pesare nè alla ditta, nè a Lei, comechè Sardou abbia allora consentito a modificare il termine del contratto, in seguito alla di Lei accettazione di musicare la *Tosca*, come venne progettata dal

Sr. Illica all'autore del dramma - Ripeto, dunque, sarà mia cura di sciogliere la quistione nel miglior modo possibile -53

(Illustrious Signore Baron Maestro Alberto Franchetti, In response to your declaration to renounce the composition of music for Luigi Illica's libretto *Tosca*, derived from Victorien Sardou's homonymous drama, our company will have to provide an explanation to this illustrious author, so that grievous consequences do not follow, especially in light of the new agreements made in Paris in your presence and with your consent. I want to hope that I will succeed in resolving everything amicably, and that no responsibility will fall either to the company, to me or to you, although Sardou has already consented to modify the terms of the contract, following your agreement to write music for *La Tosca*, as proposed by Signor Illica to the drama's author. I repeat, therefore, it will be my task to resolve the question in the best way possible.)

It is impossible to specify the date when *Tosca* returned to Puccini, but among his many letters of the next few months, there is no mention of the opera until July. On 26 July, Ricordi wrote to Puccini:

Think about *Bohème*, which will be followed by the vigorous *Tosca*, and then we shall see our Doge, with horse and carriage, carrying his old publisher around the town...⁵⁴

It was on 9 August 1895 that Puccini proudly announced to his friend Carlo Clausetti: "I will do *Tosca*, extraordinary libretto by Illica, in three acts, Sardou enthusiastic about libretto."⁵⁵

At this point, it is perhaps necessary to note that several prior accounts of these events have been in error. There is a persistent legend that Puccini and Ricordi conspired against Franchetti to induce him to give up the rights to the opera, and that Puccini reclaimed them the next day, or even the same day. The documents presented here show that Franchetti gave up the rights by the spring of 1895, and that in all probability Puccini did not claim them until July.⁵⁶ Furthermore, in a letter to Illica dated 16 June 1916, Franchetti himself later explained why he had not gone ahead with the project:

I find myself today in the identical condition as in the period in which I had to compose *Tosca*. Then as well, I was sure of the theatrical effect and the success of the libretto, but I had to give up because I did not feel (hear) the music in it.⁵⁷

The *Tosca* project had now come full circle,⁵⁸ and even Sarah Bernhardt was reappearing on the scene: the actress once again toured Italy with Sardou's play. Ricordi planned to attend a performance in Milan with Illica, and suggested, in a letter to Illica of 22 September 1895, inviting Puccini along as well: "Puccini al caso potrà venir dopo a Sarabernardare con noi"⁵⁹ ("Perhaps Puccini will be able to go "Sarahbernhardt-ing" with us afterwards.") But, Puccini, informed by Ricordi that the play would be performed in Florence on 9 October,⁶⁰ decided to see the play there (at the Teatro Nicolini) instead; he wrote to Illica, in the undated letter cited above, that he would go to Florence and hear the play for the third time.⁶¹ Afterwards, Puccini wrote to Illica that he had been disappointed in the performance:

I was in Florence at *La Tosca*, which I found much below yours. The element of poetic (lyrical) love abounds in the Italian version and is lacking in the French. I did not like Sarah much. Could it have been fatigue? It did not make much of an impression on the public as well.⁶²

Ricordi had seen the play with Illica in Milan as planned, and reported to Puccini that it had been very successful. He added that although Bernhardt was splendid (especially in the torture scene), she had become ill before leaving the city, which might have explained her poor performance in Florence.⁶³

During this period, Puccini was still at work on *La bohème*, with Illica and Giacosa. Sometime in November or early December 1895, Ricordi asked Giacosa (who was quite well-known as a playwright and poet as well as a librettist) to join the *Tosca* coalition. Giacosa agreed on 14 December to work on the project, but not before criticizing Illica's outline and repudiating all responsibility.⁶⁴ The effect of Giacosa's participation, beyond his contributions as "versifier," was chiefly to slow down the creative process considerably. True, both Puccini and Illica were involved with other projects (*La bohème*, and for Illica, Giordano's *Andrea Chenier*.) Yet most of the numerous letters exchanged amongst the collaborators during this period concern Giacosa's delays and obstructions. His nickname, "Buddha," had been given to him mostly for his calming effect during the boisterous planning sessions of *Manon*

Lescaut and *La bohème*, as Giulio Ricordi recalled in a letter to Illica of 9 November 1905, after Giacosa's death:

The good Giacosa, an optimist by nature, was a real feather pillow, the neutral zone between the volcano Illica, the Puccinian uncertainties and editorial impatience!⁶⁵

Yet, during the creation of *Tosca*, Giacosa was anything but peaceful and optimistic. Can this exceptional behavior on his part be traced to his rivalrous relationship with another successful playwright, Sardou? In a letter to his sister Nina, Giacosa explained his feelings about Sardou:

They compare me to Sardou. At the same time, it is strange that they speak of Sardou with contempt. But I really have no affinity with Sardou, except that lately he has also written so-called historic dramas. Except for this, the ordering of my scenes, the structure of the drama, the workmanship, the dialogue, the characters, are completely different from his. No one has noticed the energy I expend avoiding the "coups de théâtre" that Sardou prefers; the act finales, the surprises, the tricks, all those minute contrivances of theatrical clockwork that so easily get the audience to applaud.⁶⁶

1896

The two playwrights met in Paris on 21 April 1896, when Sardou congratulated Giacosa on his drama *La Dame de Challant*, written like *La Tosca* for Sarah Bernhardt; Sardou told Giacosa that it was a drama "de tout premier ordre."⁶⁷ Yet, behind Giacosa's back, Sardou was less complimentary. As Illica wrote to Ricordi in 1898:

Puccini has told me of a type of nervous tic that Sardou has against Giacosa, a nervous tic that causes an "idiot!" to slip out from the illustrious Frenchman in the direction of the illustrious Italian.⁶⁸

At the Paris meeting, Giacosa asked Sardou to collaborate with him on *La Dame*, and apparently, *Tosca* was not discussed.⁶⁹ Although Giacosa claimed that he only received the *Tosca* manuscript six weeks after this meeting, his letters indicate that he had actually seen it six months prior.⁷⁰ It was not until 6 July 1896 that Giacosa had any material ready to give Ricordi. He sent it along with his excuses:

This evening or tomorrow morning at the latest, I will bring you a lot of work, but consider that it is a terrible undertaking to reduce an act so crammed full of facts as this first one is, to the proper proportions. I am working desperately, but on one hand, the clarity must be respected, and on the other the act should be only have 300 verses. (...) Please do not lose your temper or get in a bad mood. I will do as much as possible. Imagine that this morning, I got up at four, I worked until 6:30, then I accompanied my family to the station on their way to the country, and at 7:30, I was again at my desk. And all this to put together eight verses. But they were about twenty and I had to reduce them to eight. I renew my solemn promise to give you this evening or tomorrow morning a script of the finished work. Save for the modifications that Puccini will propose! Then, we shall begin all over again.⁷¹

What Giacosa then gave Ricordi was Act I up to the Tosca-Cavaradossi duet. Ricordi had the work copied and sent off to Puccini and Illica. "Finalmente! finalmente! finalmente!" he wrote to Puccini, "...Spedisco ora un pizzico di 1o Atto."⁷² ("Finally, finally, finally!...I am sending you a little bit of the first act.") Ricordi then wrote to Giacosa requesting the rest of the first act and the remaining two other acts, needed for Puccini to begin his work:

Non può un compositore conscienziosamente 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!⁷³

(A composer cannot in good conscience begin the opera if he does not have before him the complete picture; the harmonic and melodic ties are too many between one act and another!)

By 25 July 1896, Ricordi was able to send Puccini the copy of libretto manuscript for Act I, "tutto in ordine," which Puccini in turn sent to Illica on 11 August: "Eccoti spedito l'atto buddistico. Leggi scruta e aiutami!"⁷⁴ ("Here is the "buddha-fied" act. Read it, scan it and help me!") Apparently Puccini was not very satisfied with Giacosa's revisions. In a letter of 22 August, Puccini's objections were made clear:

I found, at the reading, little simplicity of language (...) Take a pencil and indicate what you don't like and make all the observations you think are useful. You and I are in unison by now: what you find observable (read that "criticizable") goes perfectly well with me. (...) Send me your observations on Buddha quickly.⁷⁵

Puccini's frustrations with Giacosa's delays were also given vent:

"Giacosa played a chess game with Ricordi, prolonging the *Toscano* black on white."⁷⁶ But even without the finished first act, Puccini was beginning to compose. As he wrote, dramatically, to Illica in the same letter: "Here we have cyclones, floods, lightning! *Tosca* is begun!"⁷⁷

Giacosa was undoubtedly aware of the cool reception his work was receiving, because, on 23 August 1896, he responded to a critical note from Ricordi, by writing a long letter in which he offered to quit, citing the lack of respect he and his work had been given:

I must confess that the tone of your letter offended me, and I know that I do not deserve it. (...) By reading the newspapers, it is clear that a great part of *Bohème's* success was due to the libretto. It is clear that the authors of the libretto never received from you and your house one hundredth of the moral satisfaction that you lavished on the maestro. And of the two authors, I was certainly the less esteemed. (...) If you, if Illica, if Puccini came to me, you did it out of a desire for correct and poetic form. Otherwise, my intervention would be completely useless. (...) If I have read clearly your intentions, you seem inclined to do without my work. Very well, dear Ricordi, let us speak clearly and openly as two good friends should. (...) If you have something better, if my dilatory, artistic scruples make you impatient, I am not only ready to quit, but I offer to restitute a part of my advance.⁷⁸

In the same letter, Giacosa laid some blame on the drama itself, and noted (as Illica did) that it consisted mostly of duets.⁷⁹ His gloomy assessments of the *Tosca* libretto were not shared by all, although both Illica and Puccini seemed to be having their doubts. On 20 September, Ricordi wrote to Illica:

è un libretto che richiede musica, musica e poi musica, e di quella da 100 Kili per ogni frase! - Perciò capisco le titubanze di Puccini: titubanze che poco a poco spariranno, una volta che si sarà addentrato nel lavoro ed avrà trovato il colore tipico dell'opera.⁸⁰

(It is a libretto that asks for music, music and more music, one hundred kilograms for every phrase! Therefore I understand Puccini's hesitation: hesitation that little by little will disappear once he has immersed himself in the work and found its essential color)

But others had different, more positive opinions of the work, even Verdi. Ricordi's 14 October letter to Puccini reveals as much:

Illica and I had a brief three-hour visit with Verdi. He had been informed about which new libretto was being prepared, and said to me, "Puccini has a good libretto! The composer who has that libretto in his hands is fortunate!" Our Verdi is a good prophet! Therefore, let's work!!⁸¹

Although Giacosa completed Act II by 23 September 1896, Ricordi was ever more impatient with the delays, especially since Puccini maintained that he needed the whole libretto before commencing in earnest. Ricordi's frustration reached a peak on 5 November, when he wrote to Giacosa:

ahime!...bella, bellissima lettera (...) ma che dice nulla...si vede proprio che siete un grande artista...Come sono vaghe le vostre frasi, così le promesse sono così vaghe, che vaghiano nell'Oceano della indeterminatezza!!...Scherzo, ma poca voglia ho di scherzare!...non crederete mai ne' mai vi immaginerete il danno da me provato per questi ritardi! - ne sono desolato: ma sono in ballo e bisogna ballare e come Cristo in croce, esclamare spirando: Giacosa! sono nelle vostre mani!!⁸²

(Alas!...beautiful, very beautiful letter (...) but it says nothing...One can really see that you are a great artist...How vague are your sentences, just like your vague promises, which vagabond across the Ocean of indeterminateness!!...I am joking, but I have little desire to joke!...You will never believe nor will you ever imagine the damage I have sustained because of these delays! I am desolate about them. But the music is playing and I must dance, and like Christ on the cross, dying I exclaim, "Giacosa, I am in your hands!!")

Ricordi then imposed a strict deadline of 6 December, after which, if the complete libretto was not delivered, a fine of fifty lire a day would be imposed.⁸³ Giacosa finished his work by the due date.⁸⁴

Now that Giacosa had finally submitted his work, Puccini (as Giacosa had predicted) was ready to redo everything. It seems that he felt that the Buddha's "versification" was too restricting, and that Illica could better supply what was needed: emotional directness. In a letter

of December 6 (the day Giacosa had to have finished), Puccini wrote Illica that he was coming to discuss *Tosca*: "Prepare emotions for me."⁸⁵

1897

As the year 1897 commenced, Giulio Ricordi also felt that the tide was now turning for *Tosca*. He wrote to Sardou in January: "Astre musical de *Tosca* commence rayonner."⁸⁶ ("*Tosca*'s musical star is beginning to shine.") At the end of January, Puccini wrote to Illica, in imperfect French and with some apparent testiness, that Giacosa was going to see Sardou in Paris:

Notre ami Boudda sera à conduire son enorme magasin des materiel f(...) au tour pour les boulevards et je suis sûr que notre pauvre *Tosca* ne sortira pas de ses poches et que Sardou sera bien hereux (sic) de ne sentir pas la poésie de nouvel Piave.⁸⁷

(Our friend Buddha will carry his enormous warehouse of (...) material around the boulevards and I am sure that our poor *Tosca* will never leave his pockets, and that Sardou will be very happy not to hear the poetry of the new Piave.)

Paris was also on Puccini's itinerary for this year (on or about 11 May), and he found time to briefly see Sardou who proposed some changes in first act; these probably included the second entrance of *Tosca*, for which the playwright was given credit later on. Puccini described the meeting in the following letter to Illica, dated Friday, 14 May 1897, and also reveals that he had not yet begun to compose *Tosca* in earnest:

Io sono senza lavoro e vorrei andarmene in campagna al lavoro - che mi preme iniziare - Come (mi pare) ti scrissi, fui a Parigi da Sardou che lo trovai gentilissimo ed ammirato della costruzione di *Tosca* - propose dei cambiamenti per il lo atto ed è per questo che urge ti vedo.⁸⁸

(I am without work and I would like to go out to the country to do some work, which I must begin. As (I think) I wrote you, I was in Paris with Sardou whom I found very polite and admiring of *Tosca*'s construction. He proposed some changes for the first act and so I need to see you.)

Apparently, Illica did not respond. Both Puccini and Ricordi wrote to him again.⁸⁹

Giacosa, who had been sent the working copy of the libretto to retouch Act I⁹⁰, was also asked to come to Milan.⁹¹ An undated letter from Puccini to Illica (probably from this period) specifies Sardou's changes:

Sabato alle 2.30 vieni da Ricordi - ci sarà una piccola seduta per comunicare a te e a Giacosa le idee di Sardou sul primo atto circa i soliti va e vien di Tosca etc. - aspettati.⁹²

(Saturday at 2:30 come to Ricordi's. There will be a small meeting to communicate to you and Giacosa Sardou's ideas about the first act, regarding the usual comings and goings of Tosca, etc. I will expect you.)

Ricordi now had the material, and he sent the composer, on the same day, the copy of Act I with all the "rimaneggiamenti, correzioni, aggiunte, varianti, tagli, didascalie, ecc.ecc.ecc."⁹³ ("readjustments, corrections, additions, variants, cuts, stage directions, etc. etc. etc.")

Not much happened over the summer. Puccini was suffering from tapeworm,⁹⁴ and still needed Illica's help to arrange the libretto as he wanted it to be. He wrote the librettist three letters asking for his collaboration. In the final one, of 15 September 1897, Puccini sounded a little desperate:

Caro Gigi, mio ed unico salvatore delle produzioni antiche e moderne lirico-mimo-coreografo-dansanti - (...) *La Tosca* ha bisogno di cure tue in modo straordinario - io sono al vero ristagno - Il primo atto è sempre da farsi! Il resto tacet!⁹⁵

(Dear Gigi, my one and only savior of antique and modern, lyrical-mimic-choreographic-dancing productions - *La Tosca* needs your help in an extraordinary way. I am really in stagnation. The first act is still to be done! And the rest is silence!)

In November, Puccini traveled to Rome and at long last felt able to begin work on the opera. It was on this trip that Puccini is said to have listened to the morning bells of Rome as an inspiration for the third act prelude of *Tosca*.⁹⁶ He wrote to Tito Ricordi, on 23 November 1897, that his illness over the summer had used up that bit of "phosphorous"

destined for *Tosca* and that the whole summer had been wasted. But in the same letter, he send him the first bit of written music that exists for the opera, the "leitmotif" for the finale of Act I.⁹⁷ Six days later, Puccini met Father Pietro Panichelli, a Roman priest, in Ricordi's Rome store on the Via del Corso.⁹⁸ Father Panichelli came to the composer's aid by supplying Puccini with various bits of information he used in composing *Tosca*. Puccini had asked the priest to discover the exact pitch of the Vatican's largest bell, the Campanone, which would figure in the prelude to Act III. The priest, with the help of the Vatican musician Meluzzi, wrote to him in December 1897 with the result - an E natural.⁹⁹ Panichelli was also to help Puccini find the Roman version of the "Te Deum" and other veristic details.

In that same month, an article entitled "Giacomo Puccini" appeared in the Italian magazine *Nuova Antologia*, based on a personal interview with the musician. This article illuminates numerous details of *Tosca's* genesis. For example, Puccini had recounted to the author, Eugenio Checchi, how Illica had wanted to change the end of the opera, to have Tosca go mad instead of killing herself. At a meeting in Paris with Sardou, the playwright objected on practical grounds, stating that the audience would not want to stay to hear a long mad scene so near the end, that they would get up to get their coats. Puccini, who had the script in his hand, showed Sardou the last page where the musician had written "questa è l'aria del 'paletot'" ("this is the "overcoat" aria"). Jumping to his feet, Sardou grabbed Puccini's hand saying, "I see you are a man of the theater."¹⁰⁰ Regarding musical matters, the interview gives a clear picture of how far Puccini had advanced on his composition of the opera. Checchi writes that Puccini sat down at the piano and played directly from the libretto, including the third-act prelude (the last part of the opera to be completed in the autograph score.) But Puccini then nervously closed the piano, saying:

Nothing is written down. Flying leaves (detached sheets), unattached thoughts, and many erasures. I will need more time...I cannot say how much. You see, this time, it is true that he who goes slowly, goes safely.¹⁰¹

It was not until the new year of 1898 (nine years after the onset of Puccini's interest in *Tosca*) that his "flying leaves" alighted. As dated on the first page of the autograph score, Puccini wrote down Motive 1, or the "Prelude" to the opera as he labeled it,¹⁰² sometime in January. On the seventeenth of that same month, Puccini had replied to Panichelli's letter thanking him for the pitch of the Campanone and the Te Deum.¹⁰³

One of the libretto drafts, which we shall examine in detail below, has the following written on the first page in Puccini's handwriting: "Tosca - quella vera! Ma.....convien ritornarci - 1. Febb. 98" ("Tosca - the real one! But.....we had better return to it - 1 February 98"); also on that page is a self-caricature of the musician holding a piece of cloth, as if erasing.¹⁰⁴ The sketches Puccini wrote on the margins of this script, such as a musical phrase for the text "Floria, l'ardente amante mia," which is not in the final score, show the extent to which his work was still in the formative stage at this time.

By 7 February 1898, Puccini was in Paris, where he was arranging for *La bohème* to be performed at the Opéra-Comique in May. He was still there in early March, when Ricordi asked him to meet with Sardou: "Prima che lasciate Parigi, sarà assai utile che abbiate un completo incontro con Sardou, che sarà flattée!!"¹⁰⁵ ("Before you leave Paris, it will be very useful for you to have a complete meeting with Sardou, who will be flattered.") Puccini did see Sardou, but did not look forward to it, as he wrote to Illica:

Domani alle 12 e 30 mi sento poco bene! Ma l'arte ha le sue esigenze - ! Andrò da Sardou cercherò di imbugolarlo (?) colle sbrodolature Toscane che ho fa(tto) ne resterà contento?¹⁰⁶

(Tomorrow at 12:30 I am not going to feel very well! But art has its demands! I will go to Sardou's and try to fool (?) him with the "Tuscan" slobberings I have made. Will he be happy with them?)

On 10 March the *Gazetta Musicale* published that Puccini had performed all of the first act at the piano for the French playwright:

Giacomo Puccini was in Paris for a few days last week, to put together the mise-en-scène for his *Bohème* at the Opéra-

Comique...Puccini also had the opportunity to see Sardou several times, and play all of the first act of *Tosca* for him: the great French dramaturge was enthusiastic and especially struck by how Puccini treated the passionate parts, and how he fleshed out the principal characters of the drama. The grand finale with the pomp of the Te Deum, the pealing of bells, the distant resounding of the Castel Sant'Angelo's cannons, and Scarpia's long monologue all produced a great impression.

It is unlikely, however, that the music Sardou heard was the final version of Act I. It had been little more than a month (a period brimming with other obligations) since he jotted down unformed ideas on the libretto draft and only three months since he informed his interviewer that his ideas were "unattached thoughts." Apparently, Puccini's improvisatory skills had indeed "fooled" the playwright.

During this same time period, Sardou, through his agent Schürmann, was negotiating with Ricordi to add his name to the libretto, which eventually occurred. In a letter of 16 February 1898, a Ricordi employee wrote: "Pour ci qui regarde l'affaire du libretto, Mr. Ricordi ne peut rien décider avant d'avoir parlé au Maestro Puccini et à Mr. Illica; tous les deux sont malades!"¹⁰⁷ ("About the libretto business, Mr. Ricordi cannot decide before having spoken with Maestro Puccini and Mr. Illica, and they are both ill!") It is interesting to note that Giacosa's name was not mentioned: this was probably an attempt to side-step the Giacosa-Sardou contretemps.

Puccini was back in Milan by 9 March 1898 where he took part in some *Tosca*-related meetings, but he planned to return to Paris at the beginning of April and remain through May. After that he had plans to go to London, and, finally, back to Italy to work on *Tosca*. On 11 March, he wrote to Arturo Toscanini: "Tosca va avanti bene, ricordati che tu devi essere il suo sverginate." ¹⁰⁸ ("*Tosca* is going ahead well; remember that you must be her deflowerer.") The honor of conducting the première of *Tosca* did not go to Toscanini, however, but to Leopoldo Mugnone, to whom he later referred as "il più italiano dei musicisti, il più caldo dei direttori"¹⁰⁹ ("the most Italian of musicians, the warmest conductor"). An undated letter from Ricordi during this period contains the following poetic excerpt, which also refers to Puccini's passion for hunting:

Spero che la natura - ispiri...partitura
E quando l'aria è fosca - a caccia della Tosca
con zelo grande andrà-
Se vuol essere gentile - ai primi dell'aprile
(E dubbio non ne metto) - inforcherà il diretto
Ed a Parigi andrà!¹¹⁰

(I hope that nature inspires...a score
And when the air is gloomy - you will go hunting *La Tosca*
with great zeal
If you want to be polite, at the beginning of April,
(and I do not doubt it), take the express train
and go to Paris!)

Ricordi wrote twice more to Puccini, who had returned to Paris, at the end of April and in early May, urging him to see Sardou again. The publisher explained that they must take Sardou's suggestions into account because "egli ha un grande talento per il teatro e (...) lo vogliamo interessare al lavoro."¹¹¹ ("he has a great talent for the theater and (...) we want to interest him in the work.") He calmed Puccini's nerves about the *La bohème* production, and pressed him to get on with the *Tosca* work.¹¹² According to the Italian newspaper *Corriere della Sera* of 16 May 1898, Puccini was being fêted by Parisian society: he was guest of honor at a dinner party where he was applauded for uttering "nineteen words in French," and had cravats and chocolate bonbons named for him.¹¹³ All this undoubtedly took time away from his work on *Tosca*, for which he was still meeting with Sardou to discuss the "eternal" third act, as he wrote Ricordi.¹¹⁴ Additionally, Puccini was not feeling his best physically or emotionally: the demands of Parisian society did not sit well with him: "I am sick and tired of Paris (...) I hate the pavements! I hate the buildings! I hate the column capitals! I hate the styles! (...) I hate the steam, the top hat, the tuxedo."¹¹⁵ On 4 June, Illica arrived in Paris and reported to Ricordi that Puccini was beginning to feel better. The librettist also predicted, in a separate letter, a successful if obsequious meeting at the playwright's country home in Marly on 7 June:

It will go very well, but we shall leave the meeting with, not just a simple branch, but the whole olive tree; I am studying the most glowing adjectives and I prepared one of those smiles, and a

bow that could pass for a phenomenal lunge, in fencing terminology.¹¹⁶

The *La bohème* performances went well, and Puccini was able to return to Italy on 21 or 22 June 1898.¹¹⁷ He soon wrote to Illica, who had already returned, asking for the *Tosca* material so that he can get to work. On 3 July, Puccini again wrote Illica saying that he will hole himself up in some nearby villa where he can "finally place his forearm on the 'Tuscan' table."¹¹⁸ He and his family soon found lodging as the guest of the Marchese Raffaello Mansi at his villa in Monsagrati (in Pescaglia) where he lived until 21 September.¹¹⁹ It was in this house that he was able to orchestrate the first act of the opera, working at night to avoid the extreme heat.¹²⁰ In July, Puccini wrote to Ricordi defending textual changes he had made, relating new ones, and granting permission to absorb some dramatic alterations in the torture scene that Sardou had suggested:

I do not have the music here and I do not remember the notes. In substance, what you put down is good. If this will content Sardou, go ahead and do it, it does not change the piece at all. (...) Carignani has finished the reduction of Act II and I will send it tomorrow.¹²¹

Clearly, it was Carlo Carignani (Puccini's childhood friend from Lucca and fellow musician who arranged most of Puccini's operas for piano) who had the "notes" for the second act. We can thus conclude that Carignani sometimes prepared the piano version from sketches the composer had made, as well as from the orchestrated material (a fact corroborated in Carignani's own correspondence.)¹²² At this time then, the second act was already complete enough to be arranged for piano, while the orchestration of the first act had yet to be finished. What is also made clear here is that the libretto continued to change after the music had been composed. Puccini accepted Sardou's suggestions only because they would not alter the notes already set down.

By the end of July, Puccini could write to Ricordi that he would be sending some orchestrated material. He also apologized for his poor handwriting, requested a bottle of ink, and confidently stated that the work was going more than very well ("più che benone.")¹²³ In the first

two weeks of August then, Puccini's task was to tidy up the details of the orchestrated first act: he still needed the text of the prayer to be murmured by the crowd during the finale, but before the Te Deum. The finale was not the only section of Act I that Puccini composed before the libretto was complete: he also returned to the Tosca-Cavaradossi love duet and concluded that he now required different words. (It was to be more than eight months, long after the autograph score was completed, before the text for the duet was determined.) On 18 August 1898, Puccini finished, signed and dated the first act finale. The night before, at two o'clock in the morning, he had written to his friend Alfredo Caselli, sending him some dead butterflies:

These butterflies will serve to give you the idea of the volatility of human misery. As cadavers they might remind you that all of us must succumb to the evening; when my brain is distilled in the silence, finding colors for the Roman Heroine, I am the executioner for these poor, light creatures. The Neronian instinct manifests and fulfills itself.¹²⁴

The autograph score gives the date August 1898, which seems to indicate the date orchestration of Act I began; yet that would appear unlikely, as Ashbrook has pointed out,¹²⁵ because Puccini could hardly have written thousands of notes in a month or so. In September, Puccini had not handed in the orchestrated material: he was still waiting for the new verses for the love duet. On the ninth, Giacosa sent Ricordi the needed text, which was not exactly in the meter Puccini had requested, and a letter in which the librettist bemoaned his poor treatment: "After straightening out the verses, I have been kept in the dark as to the progress of the opera."¹²⁶ Giacosa also lamented that Mario Cavaradossi was becoming only a "Signor Tenore" in Puccini's conception of the character, and he felt that Tosca should not remain jealous after Mario's amorous outpouring. This conception, so attractive and yet so much at odds with the character of Tosca, reveals the sort of dreamy romanticism that must have helped to drive a wedge between Giacosa and his partners.

Puccini left Monsagrati on 22 September 1898 and returned to Torre del Lago, where he continued to work steadily (except for a brief trip to

Rome to hear Mascagni's *Iris*) until December, when he traveled to Milan. On 1 October, he wrote to Illica that *Tosca* might have "given me wrinkles and white hair."¹²⁷ The *Gazzetta Musicale*, on the sixth of that month, reported that Puccini had submitted Act I.¹²⁸ In December, Puccini wrote to his sister Ramelde: "I am working, and moving ahead a little slowly, but this is my usual way.(...) On 6 January '99, they will reprise *Bohème* in Paris. Perhaps I will go for two or three days."¹²⁹

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Puccini left for Paris soon after, and the Paris reprise took place on 11 January. Although Puccini admitted to his brother-in-law Raffaello Franceschini that he was making the trip only because he needed a change of scenery,¹³⁰ the composer did meet briefly with Sardou. He wrote to Ricordi on 13 January:

This morning I was at Sardou's for an hour, and he told me things about the finale that will not work. He wants that poor woman dead at all costs! (...) He accepts the insanity, but would like her to faint and die fluttering like a bird. (...) But I am still for Tito's lament, and for the end - subtle and not striking. In showing me the sketch of the panorama, later, he wanted the Tiber to pass between St. Peter's and the Castle!! I told him that the river passes on the other side, underneath, and he, calm as a fish, said, "Oh, that's nothing!" What a fellow, all life, fire and full of historic-topographic-panoramic inexactitudes. (...) Tuesday morning I must return to Sardou's, as the Magician¹³¹ has said, and perhaps he will want to kill Spoletta too? We shall see.¹³²

It is interesting to note here that Puccini seems to have taken the opposite position in regard to *Tosca*'s death than he had the previous year. It is hard to imagine that a master of the theater, such as Puccini, would amputate its dramatic finale; but if by "Tito's lament" he were referring to a mad scene written and proposed by Ricordi's son Tito, perhaps Puccini was disguising his true preferences to avoid injuring the father's feelings.¹³³ After leaving Paris, Puccini visited Marseilles and Montecarlo, returning to Milan on 19 January 1899, and soon after, to Torre del Lago. On 15 February, he wrote to Illica: "Io sono sempre alle prese coi soliti individui Toscani. Lavoro e evito inviti - Tu che fai? Sabato vado a Torre del Lago per un poco a strumentare parte del 2o atto."¹³⁴ ("I am

still grappling with the usual Tuscan individuals. I am working and avoiding invitations. What are you doing? On Saturday, I will go to Torre del Lago for awhile to orchestrate part of the second act." Only five days after his arrival, Puccini dated the second act of the orchestral score: "Torre del Lago, 23.2.99." In this case, it seems that the date indicates only when the composer began the orchestration work. Puccini remained at Torre del Lago until early May, when Ricordi beckoned him to Milan; a meeting was needed with Giacosa regarding the third act. The librettist had completed his work except for eight verses for which he wanted Puccini's input to avoid doing "lavoro inutile"¹³⁵ ("useless work"). Puccini went to Milan and remained there until early July, cancelling a trip to London, to sort out the details of the third act libretto. Ricordi's role was a fairly active one at this point: he arranged the first act libretto to correspond precisely with the composed score (although his work was subject to the librettists' approval), and he made an outline of the work, which Puccini had requested.¹³⁶

With the completion of the opera within sight, plans were being made for the first production. The opera was to have its première in Rome in January 1900, and then be performed in Florence for Carnival season. Adolf von Hohenstein was engaged to create the sets (and possibly the costumes) based on photographs and designs that Ricordi had ordered made.¹³⁷ Ricordi began to prepare the opera for publication, and received from Illica, on 27 June 1899, the proof-read version of Act I and the manuscript of Act III. On 12 July, as entries in Ricordi's Libroni show, the following items were officially submitted to the engraver: the complete opera arranged by Carignani for both piano and voice and solo piano, the libretto, the chorus parts and the string parts. However, the opera was not yet complete, and many details remained to be filled in. In all likelihood, work probably began only on the first two acts.

At this time, Tito Ricordi traveled to Paris and met with Sardou, while Puccini returned to Torre del Lago and finished the orchestration of Act II; the last page of the second act of autograph score shows the date 16 July 1899. Ricordi, who received the score three days later, complained to Puccini that the metronome markings and some stage directions were missing, and that some syllables were out of place; he chided the

composer for not sending him the libretto earlier, so that the publisher himself could have taken care of many details.¹³⁸ Puccini, however, felt confident about finishing the remainder of the opera; he planned to bring his family to Boscolungo on the Tuscan Abetone, where his wife could recuperate,¹³⁹ and he could work in tranquillity. Ricordi, who had been reassured by Puccini that all would go well, was looking forward to a stupendous third act:

le auguro, e con tutto il cuore, per questo 3o Atto, di trovarsi in uno di que' bei momenti Pucciniani, che hanno avuto il potere di commuovere mezzo mondo nelle altre opera Sue! (...) avanti dunque, Sor Giacomo!...a far lagrimare migliaja e migliaja di persone, fra le quali, ahimè!...non mancherò io pure!!¹⁴⁰

(I hope, and with all my heart, that for this third act, you will find one of those beautiful Puccinian moments that have had the power to touch half the world in your other operas! (...) Get going then, Sor Giacomo! and make thousands and thousands of people cry, amongst whom (alas!) I myself will number!!)

Ricordi was to be bitterly disappointed, however, with Puccini's musical score for the third act duet, as we shall see below.

In early August 1899, Puccini was in Boscolungo, finishing the third act, as the 10 August issue of the *Gazzetta Musicale* reported. By the end of September, Puccini could write the following on the final page of the autograph score: "Fine dell'opera, G. Puccini, Torre del Lago, 29 7bre 99, ore 4:15 di mattina" ("End of the opera, G. Puccini, Torre del Lago, 29 September, 1899, 4:15 a.m.") Yet he also wrote "Manca il preludio" ("The prelude is missing") at III / 9 / 0, where Cavaradossi's first lines occur. The orchestrated "prelude-scene" (as Illica termed it)¹⁴¹ is comprised of the unison brass gesture that precedes the curtain, the off-stage shepherd song, and the matin bells of the churches of Rome and would not be completed for another two weeks. Obtaining bells of the correct pitches, and a voce celeste, would prove to be a difficult and costly task, especially for the lowest bell representing the Campanone (pitched a minor tenth below the bass staff on E.) Oceans of correspondence were written between Ricordi, Puccini, the conductor Mugnone and the instrument suppliers. The stumbling block of the text for the third act "triumphal" duet also remained. As of 28 September, the

day before Puccini concluded the orchestration, Ricordi had still not received the final verses from Giacosa when he wrote to Puccini:

Ho visto Giacosa (!?!?!?), e gli ho fatto promettere di darmi i versi mancanti 3o Atto entro pochi giorni - corresse bozze 1o e 2o = con qualche variante di parole: in proposito le scriverò domani.¹⁴²

(I saw Giacosa (!?!?!?), and I made him promise to give me the missing verses of the third act in a few days. He corrected the sketches of the first and second acts, with a few variants in the text: in regard to which I will write you tomorrow.

The debate over the duet text was not settled soon, and, as a consequence, the autograph score contains no words at that point. The out-of-kilter personal relationships amongst collaborators soon led to a lack of a definitive, mutually-agreed-upon text. Several conflicting versions remain extant.¹⁴³

A larger and more formidable problem developed in regard to the duet, however, when Ricordi played through the submitted musical material. The publisher's hopes for a heart-rending piece that would make "thousands and thousands of people cry" were dashed. On 10 October 1899, Ricordi wrote Puccini a very lengthy (and oft-quoted) letter expressing his disappointment:

even though my heart is pounding, but with complete frankness and self-awareness, I find the courage to tell you: the third act of *Tosca*, as it is, seems to me to be a grave error of conception and workmanship! (...) Cavaradossi's scene, Tosca's entrance are beautiful and efficacious. Equally efficacious - and a great find - is the execution and the end. But Holy and Great God! what is the true luminous center of this act? the Tosca-Cavaradossi duet. What have I found? a fragmented duet, made from small lines, which belittle the characters. I found one of the most beautiful passages of lyric poetry, that of the hands, underscored simply with a melody, which is also fragmentary and modest, and which, on top of it all, is a piece *talis et qualis* from *Edgar*!! It would be stupendous if sung by a Tirolese farmer's wife!! but out of place in the mouth of a Tosca or a Cavaradossi. Finally, that which should have been a type of hymn, Latin or not, but a hymn of love, is reduced to a few measures! Thus, the heart of the piece is formed with three passages that follow each other, but are interrupted, which deprives them of their efficacy!! But really, where is the Puccini of the noble, warm, vigorous inspiration?

What happened? (...) And take note that I am not speaking of first impressions!! I let an entire day pass before looking at it a second and a third time, taking it up again with a calm spirit and the most vivid desire to find myself in error!! (...) I took this so much to heart that I could not sleep at all last night, thinking if I should or should not open my heart to you! I decided to do so, and I believe I made the right choice and acted honestly! (...) By Holy God, is it possible that for these stupendous lyrical moments, Giacomo Puccini cannot find one of his inspirations that go straight to the heart, that exalt it, touch it and make it gush tears of pity or tenderness? ¹⁴⁴

Puccini, defended his actions the next day:

Your letter was an extraordinary surprise!! I am still affected by it. Nevertheless, I am serene and convinced that if you look at the third act again, your opinion will change! This is not pride on my part, no. It is the conviction of having colored the drama before me to the best of my ability. You know how scrupulous I am in interpreting the situations, the words, and how much I take into consideration before throwing something down. You can reprove me for having taken a fragment of *Edgar*, but to those who can recognize it, it will just seem to be an indifferent "timesaver." As the passage is, derived from an idea in another work (the abolished fourth act of *Edgar*) it seems to me to be full of the poetry that emanates from the words. Oh, I am sure of this, and you will be convinced when you hear it as it should be, that is, onstage. Regarding the fragmentedness, it is something I wanted: it cannot be a uniform and tranquil situation like other conversations of love. Tosca's concerns are constantly returning, about Mario's simulated fall and his behavior in front of the firing squad. About the end of the duet, the so-called Latin Hymn (which I have never had the pleasure of seeing written down by the poets), I also have my doubts, but I hope that in the theater it will stand out, and succeed. (...) Mugnone who has heard this third act sung by me several times, is enthusiastic about it and prefers it to the fourth act of *Bohème*. Friends and others in my house have had an optimal impression of it; and I, with all the experiences that I have had and will be able to have, am not discontent. I really do not know how to explain your deleterious impression. Before I set about redoing it (would there be time?) I will run up to Milan and we will talk, just the two of us, with the piano and the music in front of us. If your impression persists, we will find a way, like good friends, to save ourselves, as Scarpia says. I repeat that this is not my pride, but a defense of a work that cost me much thought. I notice more and more in my dear father Giulio a great, delicate sentiment and an affection that (you can be sure) is completely mutual. And I thank you for the interest you have shown in me from the day that I had the good fortune to meet you. I disagree with you about this third

act: it is the first time that we do not find ourselves in accord. Therefore I have hope and I am sure that you will change your mind. We shall see!¹⁴⁵

Ricordi accepted Puccini's arguments, although his own opinion did not immediately change. He sent another letter to the composer dated 14 October 1899, the same day Puccini finished the orchestration of the third act prelude: "il mio parere non è mutato, solo è scosso dalle ragioni d'arte ch'Ella mi adduce - e che certamente hanno il massimo peso!"¹⁴⁶ ("my opinion has not changed, but is only shaken by the artistic reasons you bring forward - and which certainly carry the most weight!") The publisher then described the "stumbling block" of the Latin Hymn, and that the librettists, and even Ricordi himself (now calling himself "Honorary Poet") had made many attempts to satisfy the composer.¹⁴⁷ In the meantime, Puccini's orchestrated third-act prelude reached Ricordi, and he thought it "stupendissimo." The announcement in *Gazzetta Musicale* could finally be made:

Il maestro Giacomo Puccini ha completamente terminato la sua nuova opera *Tosca*, della quale consegnò la partitura alla Ditta G. Ricordi & C. *Tosca* verrà rappresentata, per la prima volta, al Teatro Costanzi di Roma, nella ventura stagione invernale.¹⁴⁸

(Maestro Giacomo Puccini has completely finished his new opera *Tosca*, and submitted the score to G. Ricordi and C. *Tosca* will be performed for the first time, at Teatro Costanzi in Rome, during the next winter season.)

With the complete score in hand, Ricordi's opinion of the final act did indeed change, at least in part. He wrote to Puccini on 20 October:

Ho passato e risspassato, riripassato il 3o Atto al completo!! - Relativamente alla impressione mia che Le scrissi, Ella rispose con ragioni di primo ordine (...) forse sbagliando, avrei aspettato altro!! Ma, tutto il principio di quest'atto, e tutta la parte finale (sia pure colla pennellata *Edgar* ch'Ella finisce in modo delizioso!) sono cose magnifiche!! La scena della fucilazione poi è una vera trovata, anzi una ispirazione grande!! L'effetto dev'essere potente!¹⁴⁹

(I read, re-read and re-re-read the complete third act!! Regarding my impression, about which I wrote you, you

responded with first-class reasons. (...) perhaps I was mistaken, but I expected something else!! The whole beginning of this act, and the whole final part (even with the *Edgar* brushstroke that you finish in a delicious way) are magnificent!! The execution scene too is a real find, indeed a great inspiration!! The effect will be powerful!!

In the final stage of preparation (November and December 1899), the field of collaborators actively involved in the creation of *Tosca* narrowed. Ricordi involved himself evermore in the last-minute details of the project, leaving both Illica and Giacosa on the sidelines. Illica would neither receive a copy of the final libretto until after it had been put on sale nor hear the music until the première. On 3 November, Sardou was notified that "*Tosca est finie!*" and he was invited to come to Rome to help with mise-en-scène and to attend the première¹⁵⁰ (which he did not do). Father Panichelli, soon after, made his final contribution to the opera: he sent figurines showing the proper costumes for the Swiss Papal guard.¹⁵¹ Further diminishing the cohesiveness amongst collaborators, Giacosa allowed the third act sonnet ("*Amaro sol per te*") to be published in the *Illustrazione Italiana* under his name alone. Giacosa apologized to Illica, writing that he would not want such an unimportant event "guastare la buona armonia che informò sempre le nostre relazioni quali collaboratori."¹⁵² ("to destroy the good harmony that always informed our collaborative relationships.") Illica, however, was not convinced that the omission of his name was unintentional, and further, annoyed that the opera was constantly referred to as "Puccini's *Tosca*," he fired off angry notes to Emilio Treves, the editor of the periodical,¹⁵³ and to Ricordi.

1900

As the last year of the nineteenth century approached, the cast was assembled, stage props were gathered and tested, Puccini and Tito Ricordi arrived in Rome, the libretto and the piano-vocal score were put on sale,¹⁵⁴ and a storm of publicity was gathering. The elder Ricordi, who could not attend the première because of poor health, sent his son to manage the stage direction, lighting and other details. In order to

further publicize the new opera, Ricordi submitted for publication, on 3 January 1900, diverse arrangements of pieces from the opera: single arias for voice and piano, versions for mandolin, piano or piano four-hands, fantasies, potpourris, etc. This is remarkable in view of the fact that the orchestral score was not submitted until 20 January, six days after the première.¹⁵⁵

The opera's première on 14 January 1900 brought an eleven-year collaborative effort to a close. Although Puccini (and others) have made several minor revisions in the score, the changes have been relatively few as compared with Puccini's other operas.¹⁵⁶ *Tosca's* birth was not an easy one, and the wounds it caused in the good relationships between collaborators continued to be painful. The day after the first performance, Illica betrayed his injured feelings to Ricordi:

Contrary to what is customary among collaborators, I was almost always excluded from any hearing. Nothing like the beautiful, unforgettable, warm discussions in the time of *La bohème*! You told me, as I remember, that Puccini has not acted any better with Giacosa. Therefore his collaborators were treated like stagehands! With me it was worse, because, in addition, I had the inexplicable behavior of the publisher, who even wanted to exclude me from the libretto and would not even send me the drafts as he properly should have.(...) Now I certainly understand well the great reason behind the "Tosca in hiding"! The present libretto is so mutilated and anti-musical that it is only the shadow, the plan of the libretto about which Giulio Ricordi was so enthusiastic. *La Perseveranza* has attacked the libretto's gloom and its meter. But in my last act there was lyricism from top to bottom! There was the lyricism of Cavaradossi's letter that even touched a Verdi! There was the "Latin hymn"... "Latin hymn"... "Latin hymn" and the finale whose abolition constituted an act of either bestiality or insanity. (...) In Milan yesterday, they were talking about a violent letter written by Giulio Ricordi to Puccini as soon as he received the third act of *Tosca* from Torre del Lago! If it is so, and if idleness is the father of all vices, pride is the father of all maestros, like Puccini! Not only did he lack respect for the work of his humble collaborators, but he thumbed his nose at the just, sacred, beneficent - because artistic - resentment of his publisher.¹⁵⁷

This tirade was the last in a long series of complaints from the creators of *Tosca*, an unlikely band whose members came and went, cooperated and clashed. Yet, no irreparable damage was done during this boisterous process to the underlying respect and friendship each had for

the others: only a few years later, Puccini, Ricordi, Giacosa and Illica came together again to create *Madama Butterfly*. Many years later, Puccini reassured another disgruntled collaborator, and revealed that incessant dissent was indeed part and parcel of the process. He wrote to Giuseppe Adami: "Non si spaventi: i libretti si fanno così."¹⁵⁸ ("Do not be afraid: librettos are made this way.") And so they are.

Notes to Appendix C

¹The quotations in this section are presented in the original language only if they are unpublished or hard to access. The punctuation and spelling of the originals have been retained even if incorrect, while the translations have been adjusted to modern standard practice.

²Dan H. Laurence, ed., *Shaw's Music* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1981), 1: 911. Quoted in Joseph Kerman, *Opera as Drama* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988): xiv.

³(Turin 1860-Viareggio, Lucca 1942) Italian opera composer, from a noble family, who studied in Turin, Venice and in Germany. His principal works were: *Asrael*, *Cristoforo Colombo* and *Germania*.

⁴(Milan 1850-Lugano 1919) Poet, playwright and librettist, he collaborated with Puccini on his first two operas, *Le Villi* and *Edgar*.

⁵(d.Pisa 1939) Dominican father affiliated at the turn of the century with the Church of the Minerva in Rome. He authored *Il 'Pretino' di Giacomo Puccini racconta* (Pisa: Nistri Lischi, 1949, 3rd ed.)

⁶Childhood friend of Puccini's from Lucca, and a government employee in Rome, he maintained a correspondence with the composer for many years.

⁷Founder of the journal *Rugantino* and director of the library of the Ministry for Public Education.

⁸ *Corriere della Sera*, 13-14 February 1889.

⁹*Gazzetta Piemontese*, 18 March 1889.

¹⁰*Il Giorno*, 7 January 1900: "Sarah Bernhardt era apparsa a Milano in una delle sue prime tournées per l'Italia. (...) Fra coloro che l'ascoltavano e l'applaudivano c'erano allora Giacomo Puccini e Fernando Fontana, e il primo, dopo aver sentito la grande attrice recitare la *Tosca*, disse al secondo che era stato il poeta delle sue *Villi* e del suo *Edgar* (sic): Ecco l'argomento d'un libretto! - Il Fontana, sempre, a quei tempi, in caccia d'un argomento, ne fu entusiasmato: era assolutamente un argomento di primo ordine. Fra i due se ne cominciò a discutere con tanto ardore che, dopo pochi giorni, provarono la necessità sentire ancora la *Tosca* e Sarah. Ma questa era già a Torino e la *Tosca* si sarebbe recitata là. A quegli anni era un affare serio quello di un viaggio anche di poche ore, a puro scopo artistico, per tutti e due - la *Manon* non era ancora uscita e le finanze del giovane compositore - non discorriamo di quelle del poeta - non erano floridissime. Tuttavia andarono." ("Sarah Bernhardt appeared in Milano in one of her first tours of Italy. (...) Among those who heard and applauded her then were Giacomo Puccini and Fernando Fontana, and the first, after having heard the great actress recite *La Tosca*, said to the second, who was the librettist for his *Le Villi* and his *Edgar*. Here is the subject of a libretto! Fontana, who was always in those days in search of a subject, became enthusiastic: it was absolutely a first-class subject. The two began to discuss it among themselves with so much ardor that, a few days later, they felt the need to hear *La Tosca* and Sarah again. But she was already in Turin and *La Tosca* would be recited there. In those days even a voyage of a few hours was a serious undertaking, purely for artistic reasons, for both of them. *Manon* had not yet come out and the finances of the

young composer - we will not discuss those of the poet - were not very florid. Nevertheless, they went.")

¹¹Fondo Illica, Biblioteca Passerini-Landi, Piacenza.

¹²Copialettere, Archivio Ricordi, Milan, 10 October 1891.

¹³Eugenio Gara, *Carteggi Pucciniani* (Milan: Ricordi, 1958), 32n1.

¹⁴See note 10 above.

¹⁵Gara, 31.

¹⁶Mario Morini, "Tosca all'anagrafe della storia," *49o Maggio Musicale Fiorentino* (Florence, 1985), 58.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Copialettere, Archivio Ricordi. Ricordi - De Glaser 23 October 1891: "J'avais fait parler, il y a une année, à M. Sardou, pour *Tosca* ..."

¹⁹Leopoldo Carta, "Confessioni di un librettista italiano," *La Tribuna* (Rome: 13 November 1908). The author quotes Illica: "(Puccini) soggiunse che Ricordi aveva acquistato il diritto di ridurre per la scena lirica *Tosca* di Sardou, e mi propose di fare io il libretto. Ancora non conoscevo il dramma, e però mi feci dare il copione e lo lessi. Ne riportai una bruttissima impressione. Ond'è che quando Puccini tornò da me lo sconsigliai recisamente. Anzi, rammento che gli dissi: 'Ma non vedi che è un lavoro tutto poggiato su due artifizii, e neppure nuovi? Il ventaglio e il cestino. Se per combinazione Angelotti non a fame, il dramma non succederà!' - E Puccini rise allora di questa mia riflessione." ("(Puccini) added that Ricordi had acquired the rights for him to turn Sardou's *La Tosca* into an opera and he asked me to do the libretto. I did not yet know the drama, but I got the script and I read it. I got a very poor impression from it. So much so, that when Puccini saw me again I resolutely warned him against it. Indeed, I recall that I said to him, 'But don't you see that it is a work built on two artifices and not even new ones? The fan and the basket. If by chance Angelotti isn't hungry, the drama doesn't happen.' - And then Puccini laughed at my remark.") Quoted with alterations in Mario Morini, "Nuovi documenti sulla nascita di *Manon Lescaut*," program notes, Teatro Comunale dell'Opera di Genova (1983): 97.

²⁰Copialettere, Archivio Ricordi, October 1891.

²¹Ibid., Ricordi - De Glaser, 26 November 1891: "Voici, selon nos derniers accords, le brouillon de traité avec M. Sardou." ("Here, according to our agreement, is the rough draft of the contract with Mr. Sardou.")

²²Morini, "Tosca," 60.

²³This conflicts with what Ricordi told Sardou earlier: Puccini had been contracted for three more operas.

²⁴Morini, "Tosca," 59.

²⁵Copialettere, Archivio Ricordi, 29 December 1891.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 19 January 1892.

²⁷Morini, "Tosca," 63: "Sardou etait souffrant et après avoir fait jouer la musique de Puccini il est navré que c'est lui qui doit composer *Tosca* - il en est tout ce qu'il y a de mécontent trouvant musique mauvaise."

²⁸Fondo Illica, Biblioteca Passerini-Landi, Piacenza, Puccini - Illica, 15 Dec. 1892.

²⁹Gara, 78: "la instabilità di Puccini non è cosa nuova. Voglia ricordare gli entusiasmi per la *Tosca*. E poi? Non ho io dovuto dirle che la *Tosca* "un gli piaceva più." Illica's ungrammatical phrase, "un gli piaceva," was meant to make fun of Puccini's Tuscan pronunciation of "non."

³⁰Morini, "Tosca," 63.

³¹Copialettere, 29 July 1893. Ricordi: "le poete que j'avais chargé du libretto, a envoyé à M. Sardou un projet très développé."

³²*Ibid.*

³³*Ibid.*, 13 October 1893.

³⁴*Ibid.*

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶Gara, 96.

³⁷Copialettere, 17 May 1894.

³⁸Fondo Illica, Biblioteca Passerini-Landi, Ricordi - Illica, 24 July 1894.

³⁹Copialettere, 27 July 1894.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 9 August 1894.

⁴¹Fondo Illica, Biblioteca Passerini-Landi, Piacenza, Ricordi - Illica, 16 Aug. 1894.

⁴²Copialettere. Franchetti was asked to go in letters dated 9 August and 4 Oct, Tito Ricordi asked Illica on 30 September.

⁴³William Ashbrook, *The Operas of Puccini*, 2nd ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 68.

⁴⁴Morini, "Tosca," 63.

⁴⁵Copialettere, 19 November 1894, Ricordi - Sardou: "Voici le projet définitif du livret de *Tosca* = M. Franchetti en est tout à fait satisfait, car d'après ce canevas il trouve que les

exigences de la musique sont complètement respectées. (...) Nous soumettons donc à votre si grande expérience scénique ce canevas préparé exprès par Monsieur Illica: je crois inutile de vous dire combien notre trio (librettiste, compositeur, éditeur) sera heureux de connaître votre impression, et de suivre vos conseils, si le cas se présente." ("Here is the definitive proposal for the libretto of *Tosca*. Mr. Franchetti is entirely satisfied with this sketch because he finds that the exigencies of the music have been completely respected. (...) We therefore yield to your great theatrical experience and submit this sketch prepared expressly by Mr. Illica; I think it useless to tell you how much our trio (librettist, composer, publisher) look forward to your impressions, and to following your advice, if need be.")

⁴⁶*Ibid.*

⁴⁷Gara, 113.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*

⁴⁹*Quaderni*, 229.

⁵⁰Fondo Illica, Biblioteca Passerini-Landi, Piacenza. Ricordi distinguishes here between "lyrical parts," which had more regular verse structures, and the rest of musical score. This comes quite close to the traditional distinction between aria and recitative.

⁵¹Morini, "Tosca," 64.

⁵²An undated letter by Illica to Tito Ricordi, Giulio Ricordi's son, suggests this: "Your father will have told you by now of the truce between Franchetti and me, and of the strange way it occurred...without seeing each other. So much the better, then, and if Franchetti wishes, we can think specifically about a work worthy of him." (Library of Congress, Music Division, ms. 683.)

⁵³Copialettere, 2 May 1895.

⁵⁴Riccardo Cecchini, ed., *Lettere pucciniane* (Florence: n.p., 1988), 285.

⁵⁵Gara, 117.

⁵⁶Franchetti's son, Arnaldo Franchetti (1906- 1993) claimed that his father gave Puccini all of his *Tosca* materials, including music he had written for the opening scene. The younger Franchetti claimed therefore, in a telephone interview with this writer in January 1993, that his father was the real composer of the "Scarpia" chords and Angelotti's entrance. But he also insisted that his father "amava" ("loved") Puccini, and never felt mistreated by him.

⁵⁷Morini, "Tosca," 64. Franchetti uses here the verb "sentire," which could mean either "feel" or "hear."

⁵⁸It is interesting to note, in light of the information presented in Chapter III of this work, that at this time (September 1895) Puccini received a copy of Wagner's *Parifal* from Ricordi. (Cecchini, 292.)

- ⁵⁹Fondo Illica, Biblioteca Passerini-Landi. Ricordi - Illica, 22 Sept. 1895.
- ⁶⁰Cecchini, 295.
- ⁶¹Fondo Illica, Biblioteca Passerini-Landi, Puccini - Illica, undated.
- ⁶²Gara, 131.
- ⁶³*Ibid.*, 129.
- ⁶⁴Gara, 136. Carner mistakenly places this letter in December of the following year.
- ⁶⁵Mario Morini, "Profilo di Illica," *La Scala* (October 1956), 46.
- ⁶⁶Piero Nardi, *Vita e Tempo di Giuseppe Giacosa*, (Milan: Mondadori, 1949), 700.
- ⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 779.
- ⁶⁸Gara, 164.
- ⁶⁹Nardi, 779.
- ⁷⁰Gara, 150.
- ⁷¹*Ibid.*, 149.
- ⁷²Copialettere, 8 July 1896.
- ⁷³Copialettere, 8 July 1896. This quote supports the idea that musical unity exists in an opera and that it is a priority for the opera composer.
- ⁷⁴Gara, 149.
- ⁷⁵*Ibid.*, 150.
- ⁷⁶Cecchini, 333. This is a quintuple pun: it refers to Tuscan (= about *Tosca*), the black and white of a chess game, the black on white of writing on paper, Giacosa's drama *Una Partita a Scacchi* ("A Chess Game"), and the Tuscan black and white geometrical architecture.
- ⁷⁷Gara, 150.
- ⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 150-152.
- ⁷⁹*Ibid.*
- ⁸⁰Fondo Illica, Biblioteca Passerini-Landi, Ricordi - Illica, 20 Sept. 1896.
- ⁸¹Cecchini, 338.

⁸²Copialettere, Archivio Ricordi, 5 Nov. 1896.

⁸³Mosco Carner, *Puccini: a critical biography*, 2nd ed (1974, reprint, New York: Holmes and Meier, 1988), 103.

⁸⁴Nardi, 785.

⁸⁵Gara, 154.

⁸⁶Copialettere, January 1897.

⁸⁷Fondo Illica, Biblioteca Passerini-Landi, Puccini - Illica, 30 Jan. 1897. This letter, even with its many errors, proves that Puccini did know some French. In it, he refers to Giulio Ricordi as "Jules Souvenirs."

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 14 May 1897.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, undated: "Qui urge tua presenza, per Tosca dovendo fare qualche cosaccia al primo atto per ora = vidi Sardou e propose qualche *sopposizione* e qualche cambiamento - e tutto ciò molto logico e necessario - lo vorrei andare in campagna al lavoro e il tempo corre! - Avrei, dunque, bisogno di te e credo che il Sig. Giulio te lo abbia scritto - scrivimi." ("Your presence is needed here for Tosca, having to do a few little things now. I saw Sardou and he proposed some 'suppositions' and changes. It is all very logical and necessary. I would like to go to the country to work, and time flies! So, I would need you, and I think Signor Giulio had written you about it. Write to me.") Copialettere, Archivio Ricordi, 16 May 1897, Ricordi - Illica: "Davvero Ella manca da troppo lungo tempo!...e non me ne so capacitare! - Puccini è in convulsione per andarsene a Tordelago!...ma dovrà pure rimanere qualche giorno, fintantoche non siansi definite alcune piccole varianti suggerite da Sardou, alcune delle quali trovo efficacissimo." ("Really you have been away too long! And I do not know how it happened! Puccini is in convulsions about going to Torre del Lago, but he too will have to remain here a few days until we straighten out some small variants that Sardou suggested, some of which I find very efficacious.")

⁹⁰Copialettere, 14 May 1897: "Oggi per posta raccomandata vi spedisco lo scartafaccio *Tosca*. Calcolo sulla vostra promessa, ma più ancora sulla vostra amicizia per me...voi, comprendendo le assolute, imperiose necessità del momento, me diceste: farò un miracolo - Bisogna farlo subito, perchè più i giorni passeranno e più il miracolo diverrà difficile. Aspetto quindi e con ansietà grande il ritocco al 1o Atto: e vi prego rimandarmi tutti i manoscritti che vi spedii oggi." ("Today I am sending you the *Tosca* notebook by registered mail. I am counting on your promise, but more on your friendship for me. You, who are aware of the absolute, impelling needs of the moment, should say to me, 'I will perform a miracle.' Do it soon because the days will pass and the miracle will become more difficult. Therefore I await with great anxiety the retouched Act I, and I beg you to send me back all the manuscripts I sent you today.")

⁹¹*Ibid.*, May 1897.

⁹²Fondo Illica, Biblioteca Passerini-Landi.

⁹³Copialettere, Archivio Ricordi, 1 June 1897.

⁹⁴Cecchini, 354n.

⁹⁵Fondo Illica, Biblioteca Passerini-Landi, Puccini - Illica, 15 September 1897.

⁹⁶Ashbrook, 71.

⁹⁷Giuseppe Pintorno, *Puccini: 276 lettere inedite*, (Milan: Nuove Edizioni, 1974), 68-70.

⁹⁸Pietro Panichelli, *Il 'pretino' di Giacomo Puccini racconta*, 3rd ed. (Pisa: Nistri Lischi, 1949), 37.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, 54. Also in Gara, 155-156.

¹⁰⁰Eugenio Checchi, "Giacomo Puccini," *Nuova Antologia* (Dec. 1897), 471.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, 481: "Non c'è nulla di scritto; fogli volanti, pensieri staccati, e cancellature parecchie...Mi ci vorrà ancora...non so dirti quanto tempo: ma capirai che questa volta è il caso di ripetere che chi va piano va sano."

¹⁰²Morini, "Tosca," 65. A facsimile of this autograph is reproduced in the frontispiece and in Chapter II of this work.

¹⁰³Gara, 157. It is likely, as we have suggested in Chapter 1, that the composition of Motive 1 and the pitch information supplied by Panichelli were linked: the bell's pitch of E became the basis for the choice of E major as the third chord of Motive 1 (the motive itself may have originally occurred to Puccini in another key.) In turn, this would consequently affirm the existence of large-scale tonal connections between the first and last acts.

¹⁰⁴Housed in the Music Division of the New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

¹⁰⁵Copialettere, Archivio Ricordi, 3 May 1898.

¹⁰⁶Fondo Illica, Biblioteca Passerini-Landi, Puccini - Illica, undated.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, Ricordi - Schürmann, 16 Feb. 1898.

¹⁰⁸Gara, 158.

¹⁰⁹Morini, 68. The autograph letter is reproduced here.

¹¹⁰Copialettere, undated.

¹¹¹Cecchini, 360.

¹¹²Copialettere, 3 May 1898: "Conquisti anche i difficili allori parigini! Poi, riposato, calmati i nervi, addosso a Tosca - ma proprio addosso...in modo di ...fecondarla!! L'ovo dovrebbe essere maturo!" ("Win even the difficult Parisian laurels! Then, rested,

with calm nerves, on to Tosca - but really onto her...so you can fertilize her!! The egg must be mature!")

¹¹³Ibid., 16 May 1898.

¹¹⁴Gara, 161.

¹¹⁵Cecchini, 363.

¹¹⁶Gara, 165.

¹¹⁷In addition to meeting Sardou, the two Italians were able to observe and take part in the French cultural milieu. Puccini happily reported, after the *Bohème* première, that one Parisian critic found his parallel fifths "very agreeable and they will change the face of our harmonic system." (Gara, 167) Illica found that French composers, "being unable to arrive at the admirable ensemble of simplicity and melody, naturally have become Wagnerians, mystics, symbolists, etc., etc., as some of we Italians have." (Gara, 164).

¹¹⁸Ibid., 167.

¹¹⁹Cecchini, 372n.

¹²⁰Gara, 168.

¹²¹Ibid.

¹²²Fondo Illica, Biblioteca Passerini-Landi, Carignani - Illica, 16 Aug. 1906: "Tutte le opere che ho ridotto i maestri autori mi hanno sempre mandato le loro tracce, i loro appunti" ("For all the operas I have arranged, the Maestros have always sent me their outlines, their notes.")

¹²³Gara, 168.

¹²⁴Cecchini, 376.

¹²⁵Ashbrook, 72.

¹²⁶Gara, 169-170.

¹²⁷Fondo Illica, Biblioteca Passerini-Landi, 1 Oct. 1898: "la *Tosca* mi ha accresciuto rughe e imbiancato capelli."

¹²⁸On 13 November, the *Fanfulla della Domenica* printed that *Tosca* was finished and that Puccini is already intent on completing the orchestral score. The latter statement, however, is in conflict with available facts: for a good part of the following year, major events in the third act were still being hammered out, and it is highly improbable that Puccini had written music that could have supported several very different scenarios.

¹²⁹Cecchini, 382 - 383.

¹³⁰Ibid., 385.

- ¹³¹Sardou was known as "The Magician of the Theater."
- ¹³²Gara, 172.
- ¹³³Julian Budden has indicated to this writer that the word for lament ("pianto") could have been mistranscribed in place of the word for plan ("pianta").
- ¹³⁴Fondo Illica, Biblioteca Passerini-Landi, Puccini - Illica, 15 Feb. 1899.
- ¹³⁵Copialettere, 4 May 1899.
- ¹³⁶Gara, 174.
- ¹³⁷Copialettere, Ricordi - Hohenstein, 22 June 1899: "Favorisca ritornarci i primitivi disegni del Sig. Bazzani e le fotografie da noi fatte fare" ("Please return to us Mr. Bazzani's primitive designs and the photographs we had made."). Hohenstein also based his famous drawing of Tosca bending over Scarpia's dead body upon a photograph of Sarah Bernhardt that shows the body and the candles in the identical arrangement and seen from the same angle.
- ¹³⁸Copialettere, Archivio Ricordi, 19 July 1899.
- ¹³⁹*ibid.* Ricordi: "Sono assai addolorato per le notizie della Sra. Elvira." Puccini's family has requested that we not reveal the nature of Elvira's health problem.
- ¹⁴⁰*ibid.*
- ¹⁴¹Gara, 192.
- ¹⁴²Copialettere, 28 Sept. 1899.
- ¹⁴³See Appendix D
- ¹⁴⁴Gara, 176-178.
- ¹⁴⁵*ibid.*, 179-180.
- ¹⁴⁶Copialettere, 14 Oct. 1899.
- ¹⁴⁷*ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁸19 October 1899 edition.
- ¹⁴⁹Copialettere, Archivio Ricordi, 20 Oct. 1899.
- ¹⁵⁰*ibid.*, Tito Ricordi - Sardou, 3 Nov. 1899.
- ¹⁵¹Gara, 184.

¹⁵²*Ibid.*, 185.

¹⁵³Fondo Illica, Biblioteca Passerini-Landi, Treves - Illica, 6 Jan. 1900.

¹⁵⁴Roger Parker, "Critical Commentary," *Tosca*, critical edition (Milan: Ricordi, forthcoming.)

¹⁵⁵Libroni, Archivio Ricordi, Milan.

¹⁵⁶The reader is referred to two sources for a detailed examination of *Tosca* editions: Cecil Hopkinson, *Bibliography of the Works of Giacomo Puccini 1858-1924* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1968), and Roger Parker, "Critical Commentary," in Ricordi's forthcoming critical edition of *Tosca*.

¹⁵⁷Gara, 192.

¹⁵⁸Giuseppe Adami, *Puccini* (Milan, 1935), 67. Quoted in: Daniela Goldin, *La Vera Fenice* (Turin, 1985), 362n.

APPENDIX D

EVOLUTIONS OF THE LIBRETTO¹

(with new documentation)

The following is a compilation from several sources, many never published or not well-known, of early versions of the *Tosca* libretto, with occasional supporting historical information.² Our discussion here cannot pretend to be complete, as there are many documents unavailable. Nevertheless, a great deal of insight can indeed be gained from studying what we do have before us.

Of especial import in understanding these drafts has been the handwriting of the collaborators, which was both a help and a hindrance; the individual calligraphic styles quickly became familiar and thus it became possible to attribute many of the contributions to a particular person. However, some scribblings were quite difficult to decipher, and we apologize for any errors, if any, that have crept in.

Below is a brief description of the sources consulted, followed by a scene-by-scene³ comparison of the libretto drafts. Not every item has been mentioned: some changes were too minor to be of note. Further, musical annotations that were discussed previously (in Chapter II) have been, for the most part, excluded from this discussion.

list of sources

AUT - the autograph orchestral score, housed at the Ricordi Archives, Milan, Italy. Each act is bound separately, written on two types of paper (either 27 or 30 staves per page) with the instrument names pre-printed. It contains the following dates:

Act I	f.1r	gennaio '98	(January 1898)
	f.2r	agosto '98	(August 1898)
	f.108r	18 agosto '98	(18 August 1898)
Act II	f.117r	20.2. 99	(20 February 1899)

Act III	f.215r	14 ott. 99	(14 October 1899)
	f.264r	29 7bre 99/ore	(29 September 1899/
		4.15 di mattino	4:15 a.m.)

GG - Giuseppe Giacosa's notes, housed at the Archivio familiare degli eredi di Giuseppe Giacosa, Italy, revisions of parts of Acts I and III. Also located here are three pages in Puccini's handwriting, and a single page in the handwritings of both Puccini and a secretary.

CS - the current piano-vocal score, Ricordi edition (109916), new English version by Joseph Machlis, reduction by Carlo Carignani, copyright renewed 1984, reprinted 1988.

FPL - the first published libretto, *"Tosca: melodramma in tre atti di V. Sardou - L. Illica - G. Giacosa. Musica di G. Puccini"* G. Ricordi & C., copyright 1899.

NYPL - a nearly complete draft ("copione") of Act I, housed at the Music Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, New York City. The first page shows the following, in Puccini's handwriting: *Tosca / quella vera! / Ma..... / convien ritornarci / 1. Febb. 98* (1 February 1898). Also on this first page are two caricatures by Puccini, one of the composer himself holding what appears to be a cloth, and one of an elderly man's face with a hat; there are also several marks of unspecific nature. Missing from this document are several pages from scene 5, the beginning of scene 6, a part of a page from scene 8, and the last page of the act. The manuscript is in the handwriting of a secretary, with numerous annotations by Puccini and Illica.

NYPL - 2 - a collection of handwritten notes regarding Act I, also housed at the New York Public Library, Lincoln Center, New York City. Contained here is a two-page list of proposed changes in a secretary's hand, a single page in Puccini's hand, with the words "Yago" and "mente" (the latter crossed-out), nine pages in Giacosa's hand, ten in Illica's hand, and three probably attributable Illica.

RA -1 - a draft of scenes 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 of Act I, housed at the Ricordi Archives, Milan, Italy. The manuscript is in a secretary's hand, with annotations by Puccini.

RA - 2 - a draft of Act II, scenes one through 4 (although the scenes are not numbered), housed at the Ricordi Archives, Milan, Italy. The document is continuous up until Cavaradossi's line, *"Vittoria! Vittoria!"*,

which appears at the top of a new page marked "seguito del 2o atto" ("continuation of second act"). The manuscript is in a secretary's hand, with brief annotations on the final page by Giulio Ricordi. Accompanying this draft is a two-page adjunct labeled "A," which contains annotations by both Puccini and Ricordi, and a single page labeled "B," with a brief annotation by Ricordi.

Specht - a reproduction of part of Act II from an early draft by Illica, published in Richard Specht, *Giacomo Puccini: das Leben, der Mensch, das Werk* (Berlin-Schöneberg: Max Hesses Verlag, 1931), 49.

TDL - an incomplete draft of Act I, housed at the Museo Puccini, Torre del Lago, Italy. The document is not dated, but Sardou's name appears on the cover page, indicating that it was created some time after 16 February 1898. The manuscript, in a secretary's hand, with copious annotations by Puccini, begins part way through scene 5 and extends to the end of the act, but scenes 6 and 7 are incomplete. This was probably a copy that Puccini used over a long period, as evidenced by his annotations: for example, many musical sketches present here were never used, which would indicate an early draft, yet we can also find here the murmured prayers for scene 10 that the composer located only towards the end of his orchestration work. Also, Puccini has pasted in a page of Illica's comments, and sections of a pre-printed libretto.

scene by scene comparisons

Act I

scene 1, I/0/3⁴

There is only one substantially different version of the first scene (Angelotti's breathless entrance) in our source list, that of NYPL. In this copione, we can note several details: in the initial stage description, the church is called simply "la chiesa di Sant'Andrea a Roma," there is no mention of a covered painting, and the chapel is referred to as "la Cappella Angelotti." In the Sardou play, the first act takes place in the church of Saint-Andréa des Jésuites (referring to the Jesuit church Sant'Andrea del Quirinale), and in the final version of the opera score it is the church of Sant'Andrea della Valle, a church near the Castel

Sant'Angelo. In FPL, the church is mistakenly named Sant'Andrea alla Valle; but here, in NYPL, the situation is avoided altogether. The final choice of Sant'Andrea della Valle is clearly the best one, because that church is close to the prison from which Angelotti escaped.

The omission of the painting in the setting description in NYPL appears to be simply an error, but the "wrong" name on the chapel indicates a holdover from the original play that was altered later, probably for good reason: in the final version, the escaped prisoner looks around the church, and searches for the column and the statue of the Madonna. If the church were his own, he would act with more assurance, and it would have been a very fast scene indeed; such brevity might have precluded the repetition of important musical themes, or the small amount of dramatic exposition with which we are provided.⁵ Nevertheless, the Chapel remained "degli Angelotti" until AUT, that is, until August 1898.

scene 2, 1/6/0

The Sacristan appears in this scene, a character to whom Puccini refers, from NYPL through AUT, as the "scaccino." Sardou gave this character the title of "sacristain," which became "sagrestano" in the libretto. However, Puccini was correct: a "scaccino" cleans the church (including the artist's brushes as he does in *Tosca*), while a Sacristan does not.⁶ Puccini has also given this character a comical tic, notated only in the musical scores (AUT and CS).

In NYPL we find an interesting variant: there is no text for the Angelus, and the stage directions indicate that "the silence of the deserted church is profound." Perhaps this would have created an impressive effect, but Puccini undoubtedly wanted music at this point. FPL also has no text for the Angelus, but makes no mention of a profound silence.

scene 3, 1/13/13

The third scene marks the entrance of the hero, Cavaradossi, who immediately signals his atheism by inquiring of the praying Sacristan,

'what are you doing.'⁷ The tenor soon begins to sing his aria, "Recondita armonia," of which there are several variants extant. In NYPL, the fourth and fifth lines of this aria read, "e te, ignota beltà, cinge la gloria dell'ampie chiome bionde!"; in FPL, however, we have "e te, nobile fior, cinge la gloria dell'ampie chiome bionde!" Both AUT and CS have the following at this point: "e te, beltade ignota, cinta di chiome bionde!" For the last three lines, NYPL has "le discordi bellezze insiem confonde; ma nel ritrar costei, il mio solo pensier, Tosca tu sei!" At this point, Puccini writes in the following: "la 2a volta il solo mio pensiero Tosca sei tu!" ("the second time my only thought Tosca is you!") Although the "tu sei" of the original rhymes with "costei" of the previous line, Puccini wanted the last word to be the more emotionally powerful "tu." In FPL, the line remains "tu sei," but in both AUT and CS, Puccini writes "sei tu," now not just for the second time, but for both iterations.

The Sacristan's anti-Voltairean speech, which follows this aria, remains fairly intact in all versions, except for an extra line that Puccini added at a very late date, only as part of CS: "Già sono impenitenti tutti quanti!" But, in NYPL, Illica scribbled a few alternate lines that were never used: speaking of the "diverse gonne," he has the Sacristan say:

E son più di una!... or l'altra verrà
 quella di tutti i dì
 quella de' fiori
 (inorridito) ah insieme d'eresia
 ne va la Chiesa!
 (risoluto) Ed io me ne vò via chè...

These lines leave open the possibility that Cavaradossi might indeed see other women at the church, and that Tosca's suspicions could be justified: if true, this would have completely negated Sardou's conception of Tosca's (unfounded) jealousy as a fatal flaw; no doubt it was vetoed soon after.

As the Sacristan prepares to leave, he asks Cavaradossi about the basket. In NYPL and AUT, the artist replies, "pranzai" ("I ate"), which, we believe, was the original line. The text had to be changed, however, because of the elimination of the court scene in Illica's first draft:⁸ (A page of Illica's notes, pasted into TDL, reads, "Via il 'pranzai' di Cavaradossi. Sostituisce qualche cosa (...) non ho fame perchè...")

("Away with Cavaradossi's 'pranzai'. Substitute something (...) I am not hungry because...")) Without the court scene, Tosca had to return to the church where she would meet Scarpia who would set his trap for her. In order to make this logical, several motivations were suggested, one of which was that Tosca and Mario would make an appointment for lunch. Therefore the line "pranzai" had to be changed to "fame non ho" ("I am not hungry"), which appears in FPL and CS.

The problem of Tosca's return was being dealt with at least six months prior to NYPL, but apparently the error of this line was not noticed immediately. Puccini had written to Illica on 1 June 1897:

Sabato alle 2.30 vieni da Ricordi - ci sarà una piccola seduta per comunicare a te e a Giacosa le idee di Sardou sul primo atto circa i soliti va e vien di Tosca etc. - aspettati.⁹

(Saturday at 2:30 come to Ricordi's. There will be a small meeting to communicate to you and Giacosa Sardou's ideas about the first act, regarding the usual comings and goings of Tosca, etc. I will expect you.)

NYPL - 2 shows a list of proposed changes to Act I that includes "Duet Tosca-Mario - indicate Tosca's return to eat together at 3:00."

Another of Puccini's contributions in NYPL is the alteration of the final word of the scene, from Cavaradossi's "Si, vai" to "Si, va!" The composer probably wanted to end the scene on a more clipped syllable (the meaning is unchanged). AUT also shows "Si, va!", but FPL and CS have an interchange between Cavaradossi and the Sacristan: "Va!..." "Vo!" This fast-paced interchange adds to the comic feel of the scene, which contrasts strongly with the ensuing re-entrance of Angelotti.

NYPL also contains a musical sketch for the line, "è bruna Floria l'ardente amante mia" that went unused. Here the text is set to a rising stepwise fourth, B to E, that is similar to the opening of the aria "Qual occhio"; because the accidentals are omitted here, Puccini could have intended Bb to Eb (like the aria) or B - C# -D# - E, although the former seems more likely.

scene 4, 1/21/3

A version of the libretto written earlier than NYPL had a fourth scene in which Angelotti and Cavaradossi had a longer conversation. In notes preserved in NYPL - 2, it appears that Illica¹⁰ has written out his version of part of this scene, much closer to the Sardou original, to be inserted into the earlier copione. We transcribe the suggestion here:

(Cavaradossi volgendo le spalle alla Cappella lavora. Angelotti credendo deserta la chiesa appare dietro la cancellata e introduce la chiave per aprire)

C: (allo stridio della serratura)
Tò, gente dentro a la Cappella!

A: (atterrito fa per ritirarsi ma voltasi a riguardare il pittore lascia sfuggire un grido di meraviglia e di gioia)
Voi?!

Sì, voi!...

(ma vedendo che C. continua ad osservarlo senza ravvisarlo, esce dalla Cappella avvicinandosi al palco)

Siete ben voi il cavaliere

Cavaradossi?

C. E voi chi...

A Per pietà
parlate a bassa voce... io son perduto
Se qui mi colgon...

(vedendo che C. no lo riconosce)

Son mutato assai

la prigionia...

C. (riconoscendolo, grido soffocato di gioia)

Angelotti!...Voi! Il console

della spenta repubblica romana!...

(scende rapido dal palco)

Evaso?

A Sì!

C. (va a chiudere la porticina)

A M'affido in voi!...

C. (con slancio) La vita!...
Siam soli, pel momento (...) periglio!...

(guarda per la chiesa - è deserta)

Benigna assai vi fu dunque fortuna?..

A Per me fortuna ha nome - mia sorella!
Fu lei che la mia fuga preparò,
che scelse pel momento questo asilo,
che ascosa lì per me muliebri vesti,
ventaglio, veli... ma, ahimé!, non cibi e stremo
già son di forze...

C. (colpito) Chè?!
 (guarda il suo quadro) L'ignota dama
 ch'io là ritrassi dunque.....
 A. (guarda a sua volta il quadro e con viva emozione
 esclama:) È leil... È leil...
 C. È l'Attavanti?!
 A. Sì.
 C. (sale sul palco e ne discende col cesto)
 Il mio frugale
 desinar vi rinfranchi.
 (didascalia) E in quale loco
 poi voi.....?
 A. (scoraggiato)
 Non sol Fuggire!... Altro non spero!
 C. Le forze riprendete e dopo ... al resto.
 (rivolgendosi ancora verso il quadro)

[segue come copione]

Most of the information transmitted in this version of the scene ultimately became part of the second Cavaradossi - Angelotti dialogue (scene 6). The summary of proposed changes (in NYPL - 2) indicates this alteration: "Prima rapida intervista Angelotti con Mario - paniere portato nella cappella alla chiamata di Tosca." Such a short initial scene would keep the action, and the emotional contrasts, moving at a swifter rate. Unfortunately, this change led to an inconsistency. In the early version, Cavaradossi discovers the identity of the "belated ignota" only by comparing the faces of his painted Mary Magdalene with that of the prisoner. Without this realization, Cavaradossi should have no idea who the woman is: yet, in the later, shorter version, he does know: when Tosca guesses her identity, he cries, "Brava!" Illica's rejected scenario, in which Cavaradossi was indeed "acquainted" with the Marchese, might have remedied this problem. In NYPL, Mario comes to the realization only in the stage directions:¹¹

guarda fiso il volto di Angelotti, e cerca - ma - a un tratto,
 rapidamente, in lui l'artista, più pronto, afferma la rassomiglianza
 tra la ignota Maddalena e il giovane - e ad un colpo così
 Cavaradossi ravvisa Angelotti e nella sua Maddalena, sua sorella la
 Marchesa Attavanti.

(he stares at Angelotti's face and searches it - but - all at once, quickly, the artist in him more readily confirms the resemblance between the unknown Magdalene and the youth - and thus suddenly he recognizes Angelotti and, in his Magdalene, his sister the Marquise Attavanti.)

Sometime after the decision was made to shorten scene 4, the text was given to Giacosa to refine. In GG, we find evidence of the minute changes the poet made to an early draft (that included these crossed-out lines):

C. Gente nella Cappella?
A. Voi! Voi? Dio
Vi manda.
C. Ma -
A. Non mi ravvisate?
Il carcere m'ha dunque assai mutato?
(..)
C. Disponete di me...
Voce di Tosca: Mario -
C. Celatevi...
È una donna - la Tosca, a me ne viene
e la rimando.
Tosca: Mario -
C. Eccomi. Un'istante e la rimando
A. Stremo di forze - non mi reggo
C. A voi. Nel cesto
Desinar vi rinfranchi
(...) il mio pasto frugal.
(panier) v'è cibo e vino. Due sole parole

It is unclear whether this earlier text (which is not given here in its entirety) was by Illica, or by Giacosa himself. A later sketch of this interchange by Giacosa, found in NYPL - 2, is identical with FPL, but has minor differences with AUT and CS.

scene 5, I/25/0

As we mentioned above, the elimination of Illica's Act I court scene, required that Tosca return to the church. In NYPL - 2, Illica makes a note to create an "appuntamento pel pranzo alle 3" ("lunch appointment for three o'clock"). One attempt to do this came from Giacosa, whose notes in GG contain the following:

T. E Paesiello che ha prova aspetta?
 C. Vai tosto
 T. Ingrato.
 C. E torna.
 T. Meno male
 Un'idea: strillo in fretta
 La cavatina e poi
 A ripagarmi la sera fallita¹²
 Vengo a divider tuo il tuo frugale
 Desinare - mi vuoi?
 C. Pronto ritorno vuol pronta partita.
 Va corri -
 T. Dimmi sol che i tuoi pensieri
 sono tutti per me.
 C. Tutti tutti per te.
 T. E falle gli occhi neri

In these same set of notes, which we would posit date from before NYPL, are the following lines, some of which Giacosa has crossed out:

T. Udii d'altre parole - Ov'è?
 C. Chi?
 T. Colei ... quella donna
 Ho udito i lesti
 Passi e fruscio di vesti
 C. Gelosa!
 T. Lo neghi?
 C. Nego a t'amo...
 T. Oh! Davanti la Madonna.
 C. Dubiti ancora!
 T. No. Lascia ch'io preghi
 E chi l'infiori.
 Sai? Stassera canto -
 Dalla Regina - Una noia mortal
 Non ci vedrem. Te ne rincresce?

The last two lines, in NYPL, are crossed out and Puccini has written in "sbadiglia" ((Tosca) "yawns"), perhaps a more direct way of expressing her boredom.

This scenetta flows into a version of "Non la sospiri" that begins "Non la rimpiangi" and ends with a stanza that was later deleted:

Invan le stelle splenderan stassera
 Poichè Tosca dell'arte è prigioniera.¹³
 Tra il pasto della corte e lo splendor

Tosca avrà ben triste il cor.

This version is identical to that in Giacosa's notes preserved in NYPL - 2. In NYPL, however, we find this final stanza marked by Illica with the following:

Ne va (il pensiero) (...) fatti mettere in forma da Giacosa -

"La (...)an mille luci, astri fuggenti
che van migranti a incogniti orizzonti
mentre passan veloci su le nostre fronti
e noi li salutiam con i nostri baci ardenti."

Illica's comment (that these verses should be put in form by his fellow librettist) is an example of what he meant when he wrote, "dopo il mio lavoro v'è quello di Giacosa, butto giù tutto ciò che sento e trascuro quanto è forma appunto perchè c'è Giacosa."¹⁴ ("after my work comes that of Giacosa; I throw down everything I feel and disregard the form, just because there is Giacosa.") The above stanza is replaced, in TDL, by the lines we have today in CS ("Fiorite o campi immensi, etc."), but Puccini did not like them: he wrote in the margins, "trovare chiusa effetone" ("find an end that makes a big effect"), and, next to Tosca's line "Arde in Tosca nel sangue il folle amor," he commented, "troppo caldo e penetrante (?) ci vuole più superficiale e leggero" ("too warm and penetrating (?) it needs to be more superficial and light"). Apparently, the composer was ultimately reconciled to this text.

The next lyrical section of this scene, in which Cavaradossi sings, "Qual occhio al mondo," also underwent alterations. TDL has the following text for that arietta:

Quale occhio al mondo può star di paro
Al limpido ed ardente occhio tuo nero?
In quale mai dell'anima il mistero
Si rilevò più subito e più chiaro?
È questo il desiato, è questo il caro
Occhio ove l'esser mio s'affisa intero.

Puccini has crossed out the last four lines, and written his own version, most of which was retained: thus credit for at least part of this arietta must be given to the composer. This page of TDL also contains musical sketches for "Qual occhio" and for "Oh come tu sai bene l'arte di farti

amare," the latter accompanied by a pornographic version of the actual text.¹⁵ Puccini later revised the text even further, as evidenced by a note in his hand, part of GG, which reads,

Caro Giacosa - eccoti il brano dell'occhio (...)

Qual Quale occhio al mondo mai può star di paro
Al limpido ed ardente occhio tuo nero?
In quale mai dell'anima il mistero
Si rivelò più subito e più chiaro?
È questo il desiato e questo il caro
occhio ove l'esser mio s'affisa intero
Occhio all'amor soave, all'ira fiero
Quale altro al mondo ti può star di paro?

This is essentially the text that appears in FPL, although a shorter version was used in AUT and CS.

The major problem in creating this scene came, however, with the Tosca - Cavaradossi duet, from the words "Mia gelosa." TDL has the following text:

C. Mia gelosa!
T. Ben lo sento
Ti tormento
Senza posa
C. Mia gelosa
T. Sì - perdono
T'amo e sono
La tua cosa¹⁶
C. Mia gelosa
Furie baci
Tal mi piaci
Pia, sdegnosa
Mia gelosa

It is clear from TDL that Puccini had had the music in mind for this section before he had received the text: he writes, "due versi caldi per frase in Fa" ("two warm verses for phrase in F") and "alla volata la sol fa dice Mario altra frase appassionata" ("at the jump up to A - G# - F# Mario says another passionate phrase").

GG has the identical text. Illica, however, had another suggestion, which is preserved in NYPL - 2:

Tosca

Si, è un'angoscia
che m'affanna
(...) m'inganna!
penso, grido
volo... e poscia
a una sola
tua parola
di me rido
e in un bacio
credo....

e tacio!

Mario (stringendola a sé)

Come t'amo
Tutt'accesa
d'un'offesa
immaginaria!
(...) all'aria
entri, gridi...
poi... sorridi
e al tuo (...)
muti in baci
l'ira
(la bacia sulla bocca così
che si confondino insieme
le loro parole:)
e facili!

Even as he was completing AUT in August 1898, Puccini was unsatisfied with this section of the duet and concluded that he now required different words. He asked for them in a letter to Ricordi:

O da Illica o da Giacosa mi occorrono questi versi nel metro preciso dell'accluso biglietto - badar di ben conservare i 4 primi e la disposizione - Mario-Tosca - come ho disposto io. Pregola di occuparsene. Lei ottiene di più e rapidamente. Tante grazie. Mi ci vogliono presto per poter mandare la partitura, se no mi resta incompleto il duetto.¹⁷

(I need, from either Illica or Giacosa, these verses in the precise meter (indicated) on the enclosed card. Please conserve the first four and the arrangement I have made Mario - Tosca. I beg you to handle it. You will get better and faster results. Many thanks. I need them soon to be able to send you the score. If not, the duet will remain incomplete.)

On the ninth of the next month, Giacosa sent Ricordi new text for the duet, mentioning (and criticizing) in his letter three lines that had been in the version he received: "Mio tesoro, non tradirmi, te ne imploro."¹⁸ In the same letter Giacosa complained about his treatment by the other collaborators, and bemoaned the fact that Cavaradossi was becoming only a "signor tenore."

In AUT, Puccini wrote yet another version of both Mario's and Tosca's parts, but apparently dissatisfied with those as well, he added "Via le parole" ("Away with the words"). The final text was not in place

even by 4 May of the next year, when Ricordi, who may have been the author of those verses, wrote to Puccini:

Dunque, aspettiamo la sua venuta a Milano, per (...) definire i versi del 1o duetto Tosca-Mario = che già riformai, e misi provvisoriamente sotto alle note.¹⁹

(Then, we await your arrival in Milan, to (...) settle upon the verses for the first act duet between Tosca and Mario, which I have already reworked and provisionally placed beneath the notes.)

scene 6, I/40/0

After Illica's court scene was removed, Tosca had to return to the church during Act I; it then became necessary that Cavaradossi leave before her arrival. The librettists had to find a way to effect Cavaradossi's departure, with Angelotti, as notes from NYPL - 2 testify: Illica jots down "colpo di cannone che li sconvolge - necessità di nascondarlo (...) - pozzo - e quindi necessità di Mario d'accompagnarlo" ("cannon shot that upsets them - need to hide him (...) - well - and therefore need for Mario to accompany him"). The NYPL - 2 summary of proposed changes also contains a mention of this:

Seconda scena Angelotti Cavaradossi: inserire descrizione pozzo antico sicuro nascondiglio: colpo di cannone: emozione dei due, anche perchè Mario teme ritorno Sagrestano: non v'è più esitazione: Mario deve accompagnare il fuggitivo.

(Second scene Angelotti Cavaradossi: insert description of old well, safe hiding place: cannon shot: emotion in both of them, also because Mario fears the Sacristan's return: there is no more hesitation: Mario must accompany the fugitive.)

The description of the well underwent several modifications. The earliest of these is found in GG, and is transcribed here:

- C. Vi salverò (...) giuro la mia vita.
Ma indugiar fino a notte è mal sicuro.
- A. Temo la chiara luce.
- C. La cappella dà uscita
In un chiostro deserto -
A mano destra, scavalcato il muro
Il sentier dai canneti alti coperto

A A una mia villa in breve ora conduce
 C. Mi è nota. Ecco la chiave. Innanzi sera
 lo vi raggiungo. Recate con voi
 Le vesti femminili
 A Ch'io le indossi?
 C. Non monta.
 Non troverete anima viva.
 A Addio -
 C. Aspettate. Ove mai
 Fosse urgente il periglio
 Troverete sicuro nascondiglio
 Nel pozzo del giardino - Se vi piomba
 Una pietruzza, rende
 Suon di molt'acqua ond'è tolto il sospetto
 Che alcun v'abbia ricetto.
 Ma a mezzo della canna, a chi vi scende
 E lo scendervi è lieve
 S'apre un cunicol breve
 Che mette al vano d'una catacomba
 Senza passo d'uscita.
 Là, la salvezza è certa.
 Mio padre v'ebbe un dì salva la vita --
 D'allora in poi dis(...)
 E mi par...
 (colpo di cannone)
 A Il cannone del Castello - Fu scoperta
 la fuga - ora sguinzaglia
 Scarpia e i suoi sbirri - Addio
 C. Vi sarò scorta
 Se ci assalgon - battaglia -
 A Toccan la porta
 C. È il sagrestano.
 Via - presto - piano -

NYPL - 2 has another set of Giacosa's notes almost identical in content to these, which the secretary copied down. In that manuscript, both Puccini and Illica have emended the text to make the words more easily understandable: for example, Illica has replaced "cunicol" with "passaggio." Although it was dated "1 Febb. '98" by Puccini, it is conceivable that NYPL was the Giacosa-improved act referred to by the composer in letters to Illica in August 1896.²⁰ On the eleventh, he wrote, "Here is the 'buddha-fied'²¹ act. Read it, scan it and help me!"²² Apparently Puccini was not very satisfied with Giacosa's revisions because, in a letter of 22 August, he makes his objections clear:

trovai, alla lettura, poca semplicità di linguaggio e poi anch'io ero del tuo parere circa la descrizione che Mario fa di Scarpia. Quella ci vuole assolutamente.²³

(I found, when I read it, little simplicity of language and I also shared your opinion of the Mario's description of Scarpia. It is absolutely necessary.)

A later document, TDL shows much revision in the well description; this new version is nearly identical with that of RA - 1 and FPL, and a slightly shorter version appears in AUT and CS.

TDL also contains Puccini's version of the last few lines of the scene, (unfortunately) pasted over some musical sketches. Until after NYPL, these last lines included the phrase "toccan la porta" ("they are knocking at the door") In TDL, Puccini very logically points out, "Se picchiano alla porta che è chiusa, come fa il sagrestano entrare?" ("If they are tapping at the door, which is closed, how does the Sacristan enter?"). These lines, left over from the original action of the play, were eliminated.

scene 7, I/50/0

The earliest documents we have for this scene are Giacosa's notes from NYPL - 2 and GG: they both contain the identical text for the Sacristan's first words:

Sommo giubilo Eccellenza -
non c'è più. Ne son dolente.
Chi contrista un miscredente
Si guadagna un'indulgenza
Quel colpo di cannone
Annunzia al mondo la risurrezione.

One would imagine that this text would indicate that the Sacristan is not truly "dolente" at Cavaradossi's absence. Nevertheless, both NYPL and the much later RA - 1, contain the stage direction, "balbetta fra sè deluso." ("stammering to himself, disappointed").

Puccini writes, in NYPL, that he wanted the above-quoted passage clarified ("chiarire") and last two lines changed. The composer notes, "mettere disfatta napoleone" ("put in Napoleon's defeat"), which

was never done. NYPL contains the line, sung by the students, "Ma che avete?" ("What have you got?"), rhyming with the Sacristan's "No! sapete?" ("You don't know?") (later, the former was changed to "Ma che avvenne?" ("But what happened?")). In this same document, after the Sacristan's line "E piombato a Belzebù," is the following:

Allievi	Si festeggi la vittoria Sull'eretica genia
Cantori	Doppio soldo.
Chierici	Gloria!
Sag.	Su a vestirti in sagrestia
Allievi	Viva il Re!
Chierici	Viva Lojola!
Tutti	Ora a noi la Carmagnola! ²⁴
	(e cantano svisandola ironicamente la Carmagnola)

Puccini notes here, "togliere Carmagnola" ("take out Carmagnola"); he probably wanted to avoid quoting the actual melody. Unless there is a page missing in NYPL, there is no mention of the court gala and Tosca's part in Paisiello's cantata.²⁵

TDL is tantalizingly incomplete in this scene. It begins only with "Fu spennato, sfacellato, E piombato a Belzebù," after which is new text mentioning the Palazzo Farnese gala:

Voci	Chi lo dice?
Altre voci	È sogno - È fola.
Sag.	È veridica parola... Ne giunse or ora la notizia - Stassera Gran luminaria, serata di Gala... A Palazzo Farnese, una cantata Di Paisiello colla Diva Tosca E intanto in ogni chiesa inni all'Altissimo E doppia paga.
Chierici	Abbasso i sanculotti -
(..)	Viva il Re -
Altri	Viva Lojola -
Tutti	Or la ballerem noi la Carmagnola.

As we can see, the Carmagnola was not so easily removed; but in this document, Puccini has crossed out everything after "veridica parola," and written in text close to the final one, including "Te Deum, Gloria, Si festeggia la vittoria." Another interesting feature of TDL is a scrap of

paper, pasted-in just before this scene, on which is printed the following stage directions,

vedendo accorrere da ogni parte allievi della Scola Cantorum, chierici, confratelli e alcuni preti scagnozzi, di quelli pagati extra nelle funzioni straordinarie. Tutti costoro entrano tumultuosamente.

This indicates that the libretto was actually published in an early version, probably for the composer and the other collaborators. Puccini has made minor corrections to these lines.

The reader will have noticed the inclusion, in the stage directions above, of "preti scagnozzi" ("impoverished priests"), ultimately deleted. Although TDL most probably dates from 1898, Giulio Ricordi objected to those priests even earlier than his letter to Illica of 6 November 1896:

Carissimo Illica, riletto primo Atto *Tosca*; va bene, ma già le esternai un dubbio: quei preti scagnozzi non mi vanno!! p. e.: a Roma si solleverà un buggerio! - poi sono antipatici. - bisogna abolirli - e trovare qualcos'altro. - fare ragazzi chierici, ed i coristi cantori della chiesa. Mi faccia il favore di pensarvi: la copia è quasi finita, ma prima di prepararne altre, bisognerebbe fissare questa modificazione.²⁶

(Very dear Illica, I re-read the first act of *Tosca*; it is good, but already I have expressed some doubt to you: I don't like those impoverished priests!! For example, in Rome, they will raise a ruckus! Further, they are disagreeable - you must abolish them and find something else. Use the boys, clerics and choristers of the church. Do me a favor and think about it; the copy is almost finished, but before preparing any more of them, this modification must be done.)

scene 8, I/56/6

We have noted above, in Chapter I, how Illica improved upon Sardou's use stage properties, outdoing the master at his own game, as it were. It is in the development of this scene that we can see how the librettist's ideas developed. Let us begin with the basket, one of the two "artifices" upon which Illica thought the original plot depended.²⁷

Most probably, it was Illica who decided to have Angelotti bring the basket inside the "locked" chapel, thus giving Scarpia a sure sign of

Cavaradossi's complicity. But this occurred at a rather late date, certainly far after the librettist had completed his original "tela." The summary of proposed changes contained in NYPL - 2 shows the following: "paniere portato nella cappella" and "scena col sagrestano: gran sorpresa ritrovando cesto vuoto nella cappella: sicuro indizio per Scarpia, ecc." ("basket brought into the chapel" and "scene with Sacristan: great surprise at finding empty chest in the chapel: sure indication for Scarpia, etc. "). Because NYPL already contains these modifications, the summary must date from prior to February 1898.

But the questions remained how the Sacristan would see the basket, who would carry it out of the chapel, and what other evidence the police would find in there. The earliest documents regarding these issues are GG and NYPL - 2; in the latter, a more finished version of the former, is the following interchange between Scarpia and the Sacristan::

Sc. Spiccato ha il volo - ma lasciò una presa²⁸
 Un paniere²⁹ – ed un ventaglio.
 Qual complice il misfatto
 Preparò? La Marchesa
 Attavanti! Il suo stemma. Il suo ritratto.
 (tiene il paniere con mano dietro la schiena)
 (al Sagrest.) Chi fè quelle pitture?
Sa. Il cavalier
 Cavaradossi.
Sc. (alza le mani, si vede il paniere) Lui?!
Sa. (a parte) Numi! Il paniere!
Sc. Lui! L'amante di Tosca. Un uom sospetto
 Di mene sovversivo...un Volterriano.
Sa. (a parte) Mi par vuoto...
Sc. Che hai detto?
Sa. Io? Quel paniere...in mano
 Della vostra Eccellenza... mi confonde.
 Dove'era? Oh, scusi l'Eccellenza vostra
 Se l'interrogo!
Sc. Vai
 L'Eccellenza risponde.
 In mezzo alla cappella il ritrovai -
Sa. Vuoto?
Sc. Sì, vuoto.
Sa. Io lo lasciai ripieno
 di cibo prelibato
 Il pranzo del pittor.
Sc. Ciò dimostra
 Che il pittore ha pranzato.

Sa. Nella cappella? Non avea la chiave.
Sc. Ah!
Sa. E mi disse egli stesso
 Dianzi che non avria
 Toccato cibo... onde - col suo permesso
 Quella era roba mia
 Ed io l'avevo là messa al riparo.
Sc. Or tutto è chiaro.
 La provvista del sacrista
 Fu del reprobò la preda.
 Tosca!³⁰ - che non mi veda -

At this point, Scarpia is carrying the basket, which his police have found, along with a fan, in the chapel. However, on this copy, Puccini has written in the words, "una veste" next to the first mention of the basket, indicating that a dress (Angelotti's unused disguise) was also found in the chapel (in the original play this dress is discovered by Tosca at Cavaradossi's villa, temporary proof for the diva of her lover's infidelity). Apparently, the composer wanted this detail accounted for. It was a happy suggestion, because in ensuing libretto versions (TDL and RA - 1), is the alliterative line, "Una veste ... e un ventaglio." (Similarly, Illica writes, in his unused suggestion in NYPL - 2 for scene 4, "vesti, ventaglio, veli.") By FPL, however, the police have only found the fan and the basket.

It was apparently Puccini's idea to have someone other than Scarpia carry the evidence from the chapel. In NYPL, the composer writes, "un cagnotto tiene una veste in mano, Spoletta il paniere ed esce per ultimo al segno" ("a lacky holds a dress in his hands, Spoletta the basket and exits last at the sign"); the "sign" is the composer's mark, placed (logically) just before the Sacristan sees the basket. The original stage directions in NYPL called for the following:

alla vista del paniere che il gesto di Scarpia ha così
 improvvisamente posto sotto gli occhi del Sagrestano, questo
 rimane intontito al vederlo non solo nelle mani di Scarpia, non
 sull'impalcato, ma vuoto, completamente vuoto (...) e per meglio
 accennare la cosa, sale sull'impalcato e mostra a Scarpia dove
 egli aveva posto il paniere.

(at the sight of the basket, which Scarpia's gesture has by chance placed under the his eyes, the Sacristan is stunned at seeing it not only in Scarpia's hands, not on the scaffold, but empty, completely

empty (...) and to better demonstrate, he climbs the scaffold and shows Scarpia where he had placed the basket)

The change of basket-carrying personnel required an alteration of the Sacristan's line, "in mano della vostra Eccellenza" to "in mano di quel vostro seguace" (in Puccini's handwriting). Here, Illica had a further unused) suggestion:

del birro... (sta per dire "birro" ma si corregge e dice accennando Spoletta con rispetto) "dell'Ufficiale"

(about the cop... (he starts to say "cop" and says, indicating Spoletta, with respect) "of the official")

By TDL, it was "uno dei birri" who carries the basket. (Puccini makes a efficacious note here: "Ricordare di far mettere al riparo il panier del Sagrista" ("Remember to put the basket in the Sacristan's shelter").) Here, it is this policernan, not the Sacristan, who says, "Si ritrovò nella Cappella questo panier."

Other modifications found in NYPL include Illica's replacement of the line "Tosca! Che non mi veda" with the (ultimately rejected) "Ma, Lei!"³¹ The stage directions at Tosca's entrance are worth reproducing here:

ma la vista di Tosca che entra appunto allora, ritornando dal concerto finito³², per prendere Mario, fa brillare ad un tratto della strana luce gli occhi di una idea improvvisa gli occhi di Scarpia (...) si ritira rapidamente riparandosi dietro la colonna dov'è la pila dell'acqua benedetta, rimanendovi completamente nascosto e potendo invece non perdere un gesto di Tosca ed ascoltare anzi ogni parola. - Tosca fa rapida la sua genuflessione, rapidissimo sguardo corre di un saluto in fretta a persona conosciuta verso la Madonna e s'avvicina all'impalcato - ma rimane sorpresa della sua assenza; Tosca si guarda intorno... non il cappello ... non il mantello di Mario. E Scarpia fisso in lei, spia, ascolta, medita - E già egli sorride ad una idea... e i suoi occhi corrono dal ventaglio a Tosca mentre correndo dietro alla sua mente balbetta fra sè:

(But at the sight of Tosca, who enters just then, returning from the finished concert, to get Mario, a sudden idea causes a strange light to gleam in Scarpia's eyes (...) he pulls quickly back behind the column for the holy water, remaining completely hidden, but able to catch each of Tosca's gestures and to hear every word. Tosca genuflects quickly, nods very rapidly to the Madonna, as if

to an acquaintance, and approaches the scaffolding, but is surprised at Mario's absence; Tosca looks around...no hat... no coat belonging to Mario. And Scarpia, staring at her, spies, listens, ponders. And he is already smiling at an idea... and his eyes run from the fan to Tosca, while behind them his mind is working, he stammers to himself:)

By TDL, Scarpia's actions are reduced to "si ripara dietro la colonna dov'è la pila dell'acqua benedetta" and Tosca's entrance, at Puccini's suggestion, is swift and to the point.

NYPL also contains at this point an early, Faustian version of Scarpia's "Iago" reference:

Nella trama sottil d'un fazzoletto
Gran gioco ha fatto Jago -
- or io scommetto
L'anima mia che tal ventaglio segna
Nuova trama sottil di Jago degna.

(In the subtle drama of a handkerchief
Iago played a great game -
- now I wager
my soul that that fan signals
a new subtle drama worthy of Iago)

Of this, Puccini comments drily, "lungo" ("long"). By TDL, these lines have been reduced to "Per ridurre un geloso allo sbaraglio / Jago ebbe un fazzoletto - A me un ventaglio / Sarà più pronto aculeo e migliore" ("To reduce a jealous man to defeat / Jago had a handkerchief / and I a fan / it will have a faster and better sting"). Before eliminating this last line, and changing "a me" to "ed io," Puccini substituted "ausilio" ("help") for "aculeo," indicating again his preference for simpler words.

As Puccini began to compose the music for this scene, he found it necessary to postpone the ringing of the bells that call the congregation to the church. In NYPL, the stage directions simply indicate that the bells ring before Scarpia's line, "Occhio alle porte." In TDL, the change not yet having been made, Puccini wants a (printed)³³ description of the crowd inserted at that same spot;

(Accorrono alla chiesa alcune ciociare, alcune trasteverine, si offrono reciprocamente l'acqua benedetta e vanno a prender posto)

(Entra tutto affannoso e correndo ansante il Maestro di cappella in ritardo).

(Entrano comodamente senza darsi troppa fretta alcuni canonici e vanno a vestirsi in sacristia).

(La chiesa si riempie di gente, popolani, borghesi, soldati. Folla strana per le diverse foggie di vestire delle campagne romane, pecorari, ciociari, ecc.)³⁴

((Hurrying to the church are some Ciociarians, some Trasteverines, who offer each other holy water and take their seats)

(Some canons enter without haste and go to the sacristy to get dressed)

(The church fills with church-goers, common people, bourgeois, soldiers. A strange crowd because of the different styles of dress, from the Roman countryside, shepherd, Ciociarian, etc.)

By RA - 1 (quite late in the process), Puccini has marked the new spot where the bells should ring: the moment that Scarpia presents himself to Tosca, in the next scene. The composer encircles the description of the crowd (now as above), crosses out the line that refers to the "strange crowd," adds in "mendicanti" ("beggars"), and writes the following:

aspettare ... questa annotazione è fuori posto ... metterla quando ha luogo il duetto fra Scarpia e Tosca ... avanti al segno

(wait... this annotation is out of place ... put it where the duet between Scarpia and Tosca is ... further on at the sign)

Among the many other details that were amended in this scene, we would point out that composer is the one responsible for the Sacristan's "Libera me domine," which appears only in AUT and CS. It also appears that the change from the "Cappella Angelotti" to the "Cappella Attavanti" occurred after August 1898, since AUT still contains the former; this would appear to date TDL, which has the latter, after that time (however, there is contradictory evidence, as we shall soon see).

scene 9, 1/67³⁵

The secretary's notes from NYPL - 2 sum up aptly most of what we will treat in this scene: "Entra Tosca: scenetta col sagrestano; dispetto per non trovare Mario: piccola gelosia: Scarpia interviene - ventaglio, ecc.

ecc.' The first item, Tosca's entrance, changed in manner as the reasons for her return got sorted out. Early on, Illica had an interesting solution for Tosca's return, preserved in NYPL - 2, which we examined briefly above.³⁶ Tosca comes back specifically to get information about l'Attavanti:

T. (soddisfatta vedendo il quadro scoperto e assente Mario)
Mario non c'è; ben scelto ho l'ora! Faccia
m'ha il Sagrestan d'onesto. lo questa pena
più in cuor non voglio!

(fa per avviarsi alla sacristia, in quella il Sagristano viene dalla navata)

Appunto ei viene qui.

(lo affronta - Scarpia rimane così alle spalle di Tosca e ascolta avidamente. Tosca è presso alla pila alla quale volge le spalle)

T. (al Sagrestano)
Buon'uomo, udite!...

Sac. Voi, Signora?

T. lo, sì.

(leva dalla ballantina (?) del denaro)

Sac. (sorpreso)

Denaro a me?

T. (indicando il quadro) Coi che a Maddalena
qui ne vien per la posa la modella ...
a che ora usa venire?

Sac. Quale?... Quella?...

qui, jer, pregava tutta infervorata
e il cavalier tal quale l'ha copiata
così.....

T. (troncandogli bruscamente le parole)

Sta ben ... Grazie!

Sag. Vò in sacristia!

(e s'allontana)

T. (indispettita)

Risposta ugual...

(guardando dietro al Sagrestano con impeto)

Venale e disonesto costui! ... Sì!

(e fissa ancora il quadro)

Scarpia (che ha seguito tutto attentamente segue collo sguardo Tosca e vede egli pure il quadro la (...) con evidente rassomiglianza colla sorella di Angelotti sorprende egli pure. A un tratto una idea gli balena alla mente, guarda il ventaglio - lo apre...)

Jago fece molta via

con un sol fazzoletto

(e trionfalmente chiudendo il ventaglio dice:)

Scarpia ha questo!

Giacosa, on the other hand, working from the premise that Tosca will return for a lunch appointment with Mario at three o'clock, writes the following interchange in GG, between Tosca and the Sacristan:

T. Dov'è?
Sac. Chi?
T. Mario.
Sac. Ignoto -
T. Come?
Sac. Nel calendario manca quel nome.
T. Il pittor.
Sac. Vedo
T. Ov'è domando
Sac. A lei lo chiedo.
T. C'era pur
Sac. Quando?
T. Dinanzi con me.
Sac. C'era e non c'è.
T. Ei m'aspettava
Qui per il pranzo.
Sac. Pel pranzo? Brava
Ecco l'avanzo.³⁷
T. Chi la mangiò
Sac. Mah! Certo io no.
T. Ah l'indegno menti - Sempre mentiva
lo fui presa alla pania - e nell'insania
D'amore a lui venia tutta giuliiva.

This is essentially the version that appears in NYPL, but at the lines, "Ei m'aspettava qui per il pranzo," Puccini writes, "Tosca non deve dire ciò al Sagrista! ("Tosca does not have to say this to the Sacristan!") Puccini had another objection to this scene: it was not in character for the Sacristan. He writes, "il sagrestano è preoccupato ed impaurito dell'aver visto Scarpia nascosto - non risponde che a monosillabi per non compromettersi sempre alla situazione - l'interrogatorio!" ("the Sacristan is worried and terrified because he saw Scarpia hiding - he responds only in monosyllables so that it will not be a compromising situation for him - the interrogation!") Eventually, Puccini won out on this point.

By the time of TDL, it had been decided that Tosca would return to tell Cavaradossi their evening appointment must be broken; the

interchange with the Sacristan would also be severely cut. Here, Puccini has crossed out the following: '(Tosca si alza da pregare e s'avvia verso il palco persuasa di trovarvi Mario.) 'Sai, Mario... (non lo vede) 'Ov'è?' * In their place, the composer writes, '(Tosca entra frettolosa, corre al palco sicura di trovare Mario e sorpresa di non vederlo domando allo scaccino) 'Mario?! Mario?! Il pittor Cavaradossi?'³⁸ ('Tosca hurriedly enters, runs to the scaffold sure of finding Mario, and surprised not to see him, asks the church cleaner) Mario?! Mario?! The painter Cavaradossi?').

The next area of contention and revision was the Scarpia - Tosca duet. In NYPL, the interchange is briefer: Scarpia's text moves from 'l'acqua benedetta' directly to 'Le donne piè don rare.' Puccini wanted this larger, and so notes: 'ingrandisce.' One specific area he wanted enlarged was Tosca's reaction to the fan, probably so that Tosca could better express her sadness. In this version, identical to Giacosa's notes in GG, the diva only exclaims, 'Vil pianto!' Puccini here writes, 'Ed io venivo - strofe di Tosca.' The composer's wishes were noted down in Illica's hand (in NYPL - 2): 'dopo (...sortito l'effetto!) Tosca comincia Ed io venivo per pres- (?) un'ora sola e per ricompensarlo della sera perduta A - e finire con accenti di gelosia.' ('after (...I've achieved the effect) Tosca begins 'Ed io venivo for (?) only one hour and to compensate him for the lost evening'. At - and finish with tones of jealousy')³⁹ Puccini adds, 'tenere il metro però' ('but keep the meter').

In GC, we can see Giacosa's version of the end of this scene (reproduced in NYPL):

Sc. Io darei la vita
 Per asciugare quel pianto.
T. "Pronto ritorno vuol pronta partita"
 "Va - corri" Ed ella intanto
 Celata di me, credula, ridea.
Sc. (fra sè) Morde il veleno!
T. E allor che della sera
 Fallita, io mi dolea... (presa da un subito pensiero)
 Dio! Dio!
Sc. Piano!
T. La Tosca è prigioniera
 Vuoto e senza sospetto
 È il suo ricetta.
 O mio bel nido insozzato di fango!

Vi piomberò inattesa.
 Tu non l'avrai stanotte - Giuro.
Sc. In chiesa.
T. Dio mi perdona. Egli vede ch'io piango.

Tosca's quote "pronto ritorno vuol pronto partita" refers to lines in scene 5 (seen above) that were ultimately eliminated.

RA - 1 is noteworthy in this scene only for the new placement of the bells: as Scarpia presents himself to Tosca, Puccini writes, "qui campane e descrizione entrata folla." TDL, on the other hand, is quite remarkable for its many musical annotations, rather than for the minute textual changes made. Puccini provides here musical sketches for "la su quel palco and "dove stava?." He also makes numerous references to leitmotives here: "motivo amore," "motivo attavanti," "motivo villa." There are many notes to himself here as well, such as, "seguire drammatizzando movimento semicroma" ("continue dramatizing movement sixteenth-notes") or "motivo villa in mib con scatto la scena di Tosca con violini e 7 sul mib, sibb, reb, solb" ("villa motive in Eb with hint of Tosca's first scene with violins and seventh on Eb, Bbb, Db, Gb.") This last idea, and others that the composer jotted down in the document, were not carried out. This would seem to contradict the evidence seen above that TDL followed AUT.

scene 10, I/80/3

One can only guess what Scarpia's final monologue could have been when the secretary noted down these proposed changes, in NYPL - 2:

Monologo ultimo - meno astrologo, ma occorrono non minori parole, frammezzate dal *Te Deum* - detto da Scarpia - gli ultimi versi vanno bene.

(Final monologue - less astrological, but not minor words needed, mixed in with the *Te Deum*, said by Scarpia - the last verses are good.)

Perhaps Giacosa's version, from GG, is an attempt to satisfy these requirements:

Va Tosca, nel tuo cuor s'annida Scarpia
 Egli ti segue e ti sospinge. È Scarpia
 che scioglie e regge a vol prefisso il falco
 Della tua gelosia. Quanta promessa
 Nel tuo pronto sospetto? A doppio mira
 Tendo il voler, né il capo del ribelle
 M'è la più preziosa. Ah di quegli occhi
 Vittoriosi vedere la fiamma
 Illanguidir nello spasmo d'amore!
 La doppia preda avrò. L'una al capestro
 L'altra fra le mie braccia. Me ne affida
 L'exultante desio.
 Tosca mi fai dimenticare Iddio!

Giacosa also begins the scene with Scarpia's order "Tre sbirri, la carrozza, presto seguila / È buona segugio una donna gelosa." ("three cops, the carriage, quick follow her / A jealous woman is a good bloodhound") Spoletta responds, "Corro" ("I'll run").

In NYPL, Puccini has emended this text somewhat to read, "Tre sbirri! una carrozza," which is more realistic: the police certainly would have more than one carriage. The composer also wanted "nello spasmo d'amore" replaced with "nel delirio d'amore" (this was not done) and some other minor changes.

By the time of TDL, the carriage has disappeared. Scarpia orders only the three policemen to follow Tosca. In this version, Spoletta responds to Scarpia's orders by saying "Basta." Scarpia's monologue remains almost the same, with the third line now "Che scioglie a volo il falco" and the penultimate one, "me ne affida l'invincibil desio." RA - 1 is identical.

None of these versions has the choir parts for this scene. Puccini searched long and hard to find exactly the right text, one that would create the sonorous effect he desired. Believing that the needed text would be the *Ecce Sacerdos Magnus*, Puccini wrote to his friend Guido Vandini in Lucca to help him find it.⁴⁰ Vandini did not find anything on the first attempt, and Puccini wrote him again, this time very insistently:

Return to San Martino, go to the Bishop and ask what can be said by priests (perhaps only by them) going to (perform) the *Te Deum*. Find me some little verses (or only one) that could pertain to a victory, preceding the great hymn *Te Deum*. I have decided on

this murmuring and, by God, I will not give up the effect. (...) Tell the Bishop that I need it, and to put it together, or I will write to the Pope, and get him in trouble like an imbecilic employee! If you don't scrape up the little verse, I will write the funeral march for Religion; tell that to the Bishop. Find me the verse, or I will become Protestant. Tell that to the deacon. I want the verse, or else I will curse for my whole life. Tell that to the priests that, by God, I will do it.⁴¹

Vandini must have returned with both the *Ecce Sacerdos Magnum*, which Puccini found too imposing, and the information that, according to tradition, nothing at all is recited before the procession arrives at the altar to celebrate the *Te Deum*. But, persistent, Puccini turned again to the priest Don Pietro Panichelli.⁴² Panichelli supplied verses which Puccini found "very beautiful," but which he found to be lacking in the "strong phonic accents" needed to allow the spoken words to be heard through the music (bells, organ, orchestra and solo voice.) Eventually, Puccini chose the verses: "Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini / Qui fecit coelum et terram / Sit nomen Domini benedictum / Ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum,"⁴³ which are clearly marked in someone else's hand in TDL, in a different order. These verses were certainly not traditionally appropriate, but which served his artistic ends. It is interesting to note that, even though Puccini had placed great emphasis on the exact pitch of the *Campanone* and other "veristic" sources, here his desire for theatrical effect (a gradual crescendo of pure sound, culminating in the unison "Te Deum") outweighed those considerations.

Act II

scene 1, II/0/0

Compared to the first act, few early libretto versions are available for the remainder of the opera. For this first scene, comparing RA - 2, FPL, AUT and CS, we find only two interesting changes. In RA - 2,⁴⁴ the earliest version, the opening stage directions indicate that the window of Scarpia's room opens on the piazza, whereas in the later versions, the window opens (logically) on the cortile. The early description is a holdover from Sardou's Act II, in which the windows of the Palazzo Farnese did indeed open onto the piazza: this enabled Sardou to

include the reactions of the crowd outside. In the opera, however, the sound that must waft in from without is music from the court gala.

The second discrepancy is found in the description of the party. RA - 2 has a blank space after the words "la Regina" indicating that there was some doubt as to the identity of the monarch, or whether that information should be included; the reason for the fête, the victory of Melas, is mentioned here, however. FPL names the queen and the gala's honoree, while CS omits the queen's identity, but mentions Melas.

scene 2, II/9/5

This scene, as evidenced by the documents we have available, changed little. None of the libretto versions shows the cantata text that appears in AUT and CS, the origin of which is unknown.⁴⁵ The only other difference we find is that the stage directions before Scarpia's "Introducete il Cavaliere" are truncated in FPL: in RA - 2, we have the following additional text: "Dunque Tosca è tornata - è là - sotto di lui ...vicina... e gli balena un'idea). CS has a similar version.

In this scene is the first mention of the minor character Roberti; in the Sardou play, he is identified as the "procureur fiscal" (closer to another minor character of the opera, the Giudice del Fisco). In TDL and FPL he is called "esecutore di giustizia," an official, Rescigno explains, whose duties include being personally responsible for the application of the law, and participating in the interrogation and possible torture of suspects.⁴⁶ In CS, he is called simply "executioner," giving quite a different aspect to the role.⁴⁷

scene 3, II/14/0

Apart from very minor alterations of the wording (for example "ove" replaced by "dove"), the only change of interest is Scarpia's warning to Cavaradossi following the artist's "Nego! nego!" in RA - 2 and FPL is appears thus:

Via cavalier, pensateci: l'uom saggio
piega alla legge... armata. Una sollecita
confessione può cansar dal vostro

capo molte sciagure. Date retta:
dov'è Angelotti?

Other than this, some text is simply rearranged, probably by the composer.

scene 4, II/21/8

The only available scrap of Illica's original draft is the section of this scene reproduced in Specht. A quartet sung by Tosca, Cavaradossi, Spoletta and the Procuratore (with Scarpia standing by), it is probably one of the non-duets alluded to by Illica in his letter to Ricordi of 12 January 1895.⁴⁸ The excerpt is transcribed here:

Tosca: (sempre verso l'uscio torturendosi le mani dal dolore)
Mario!...Parlami, Mario!
Ch'io ti senta!... Una sola...
Una sola parola!...

(si ferma alla voce del Procuratore ad ascoltare ancora)
L'uccidono!...

((...)mente contra Scarpia)
Ah, sicario!
(terribile)

T'ha generato madre snaturata!⁴⁹
Ma bada, Scarpia, questo pianto mio
lo segna Cristo nel libro di Dio!...
Quel giorno io là sarò!...Con te e implacata!...
Tutti i tormenti e la pena d'inferno
Là avrai e quel tuo pianto sarà eterno!

Procuratore:
Così crudel con voi perchè?

Spoletta: Parlate!

Procuratore:
Rispondere non vuoi!...
(agli aiutanti)

Stringete ancora!

(a la voce del procuratore fra i gemiti di Mario spicca concitata e sempre interrogando)

Dove? Dove? Dove?

Spoletta:
(borbotta preghiere e invoca nomi di santi)
Bella signora de' sette dolori...
Signore Gesù mio!...Martiri tutti...

(Cavaradossi esce in un gemito soffocato)

Cavaradossi:

(tra gemiti ed urli di dolore)
 Tu puoi farmi soffrire
 mille e mille ferocie...
 mille e mille miserie!...
 Tu puoi farmi morire!...
 Ma le atroci ritorte
 non mi trarranno un grido!...
 A branni fammi! Straziami!...
 I polsi e il fronte lacera!...
 La tua tortura io sfido!
 lo sfido la tua morte!...

Scarpia:

(muto, sempre calmo, freddo ed impassibile sta ritta in piedi presso al tavolo, immobile)

Although elements of this excerpt were retained, the quartet as such was deleted; the improbability of Cavaradossi singing ten lines during his (off-stage) torture was undoubtedly a factor in this decision.

The largest change that we can document in this scene is the addition of several lines after Cavaradossi's "Vi sfido." RA - 2 has only "Più forte" and "È troppo soffrir!" before Tosca's "O Mario, consenti ch'io parli?" It seems that Puccini simply did not have enough words: AUT shows much text repetition in this section, along with the comment "parole" ("words"):

C. Vi sfido!
Sc. Più forte! Più forte! Più forte!
T. È troppo soffrir! È troppo soffrir
 Ah mostro l'uccidi
 Ah troppo soffrir! Mostro!
Sc. Mai Tosca alla scena più tragica fu,
 Mai Tosca alla scena più tragica fu!
T. Ah! Ah! Ah! Ah!
 Ah! Più non posso! Ah che orror!
 Ah - è troppo soffrir! È troppo soffrir~
 Ah non posso più! Ah non posso...

Two documents that are adjuncts to RA - 2, show different versions, perhaps attempts to remedy the situation. In one, labeled "A" by Puccini, we have:

Sc. (gridando a Roberti) Più forte!
 (A Tosca) Parlate...
T. Che dir?

Sc.(imperiosamente a Tosca)
 Orsù: dov'è Angelotti?
 T. Non lo so.
 Sc. (insistendo) Dite...
 T. (con disperazione) ...dunque per voi mentir dovrò?
 Sc. Ov'è?
 T. Cessate alfine il suo martir!
 È troppo il mio soffrir!

Puccini has circled this section and written to the copyist "vedi B" ("see B"). However, Ricordi preferred this version for poetic reasons (he writes, "oppure vedi A per conservare il metro" ("or see A to preserve the meter")), except the final lines, where he writes simply "brutto" ("ugly"). The editor suggests the following in place of these, "Quel crudele suo martir! / un sì crudel martir...", and then comments "meglio" ("better"). Ricordi's claim to be the "honorary poet"⁵⁰ seems to be justified by these annotations, even though his ideas were not ultimately included. The "B" excerpt is as follows:

Sc. (imperiosamente a Tosca)
 Orsù: l'Angelotti
 ov'è?
 T. Non lo so!
 Sc. (insistendo)
 Ov'è l'Angelotti?
 T. (in disperazione)
 Mentire dovrò?
 S. Dov'ei sta celato
 Dovrete pur dir!
 T. Martirio insensato (here Ricordi writes "implacato")
 È troppo il soffrir!

In FPL we find extra lines for this scene, but placed earlier, before "Aprite le porte che n'oda i lamenti." These read:

S. (con fermezza a Tosca, guardandola fissa negli occhi)
 Qui pianti e rimbrotti
 son vani.
 T. (supplichevole) Mercè!
 S. Ov'è Angelotti?
 Rispondi, dov'è?
 T. (con voce soffocata)
 Nol so.
 S. La vendetta

su Mario cadrà.
 (grida in tono di comando)
 Sciarrone!
 T. (smarrita) No... aspetta...
 (vuol parlare, smania, resiste ancora)
 Non posso...
 (a mani giunte) Pietà...
 S. (per finirla)
 Aprite le porte

The central dramatic moment of this scene is Cavaradossi's scream, which prompts Tosca to give Scarpia the information he wants. Just before this point, the following stage directions appear in RA - 2: "Spoletta chiude l'uscio: il più orribile silenzio vi succede. Scarpia eccitatissimo, si appoggia alla tavola: guarda e tace." Then, after Tosca's sobbing line, "Sì, mi torturate l'anima," we have: "Spoletta intanto brontola preghiere: ma ad un tratto, malgrado l'uscio chiuso, un terribile grido di Cavaradossi si fa udire. Tosca si leva di scatto e subito, con voce soffocata, dice a Scarpia." This needed to be emended: there was no reason to close the torture room door, which was probably a holdover from the frequent door openings and closings in the Sardou play (Tosca herself even asks for the door to be closed at one point). But it was Sardou himself who saw a means to a more effective climax:⁵¹ Scarpia should give an order to restart the torture behind Tosca's back, while she is sobbing. A letter from Tito Ricordi to Sardou, dated 3 November 1899, clarifies the playwright's ideas:

La scène de la torture, sans toucher à la musique, a été changée comme vous le désiriez, c'est-à-dire que Tosca, dès qu'elle sait qu'on torture Cavaradossi, empêche de toute manière Scarpia de donner l'ordre de recommencer; à la fin Tosca se laisse tomber, en sanglotant, sur le canapé et alors Scarpia en profite pour donner l'ordre, avec un geste, de reprendre le supplice - un cri terrible; Tosca bondit vers Scarpia et lui dit rapidement Dans le puit...dans le jardin...etc.⁵²

(The torture scene, without touching the music, has been changed as you desired. That is, that Tosca, as soon as she knows that Cavaradossi is being tortured, tries in every way possible to stop Scarpia from giving the order to recommence. In the end, Tosca collapses sobbing on the canapé, which gives Scarpia the opportunity to give the order, with a gesture, to begin the ordeal

anew. A terrible cry, and Tosca runs toward Scarpia and rapidly saying, "In the well...in the garden..., etc.")

Puccini accepted Sardou's suggestions only because they would not alter the notes already set down:

Io non ho qui la musica e non ricordo le note. In sostanza, quello che lei ha messo giù, va. Se è così che si accontenta Sardou, facciamolo pure, questo non cambia il pezzo in niente.(...) Carignani ha terminato riduzione atto 2o e spedirò domani.⁵³

(I do not have the music here and I do not remember the notes. In substance, what you put down is good. If this will content Sardou, go ahead and do it, it does not change the piece at all. (...)
Carignani has finished the reduction of Act II and I will send it tomorrow.⁵⁴)

In FPL and CS, the stage directions reflect these modifications.

The moment of Cavaradossi's scream is an important punctuation point for the music as well. AUT, which shows two extra measures of Spoletta murmuring prayers, also contains evidence that Puccini interrupted his orchestration work here. The score stops in the middle of a page, and the next page has the indication, "seguito atto 3o" ("continuation Act 3").

When the stage directions for this moment were changed, after RA - 2, the "horrible silence" disappeared as well. Along with the silence of the church that was deleted in Act I, a total of three silences were deleted: in RA - 2 and FPL, just after Tosca is informed about the torture, and just before the first cry of pain, she exclaims, "Quale orrendo silenzio!" Puccini did eventually use silence to great effect (such as after the scream), but he chose those moments very selectively.

The first of three changes that came about very late (after FPL) was the change in Cavaradossi's line "Tosca, ho parlato?" ("Tosca, did I speak?") to "Tosca, hai parlato?" ("Tosca, did you speak?"): the earlier version seems more realistic, but is less effective as a prompt for the hero's subsequent rage at her untruth. The other two changes were, we believe, an attempt to augment the "God" imagery present elsewhere in the work: the line "Ma il sozzo birro la pagherà" ("But the filthy cop will pay") was changed to "Ma il giusto Iddio lo punirà" ("But the just God will punish him"), and instead of "Vittoria!", Cavaradossi originally exclaimed,

"Ah, c'è un dio vendicator!" ("Ah, there is an avenging God!"). This last phrase would imply that the hero was no longer an atheist: Puccini, who wrote "Vittoria!" in AUT, probably vetoed this sudden character change.

Beyond these alterations, there are only minor changes that we can document: for example, all version except CS have Tosca ask Cavaradossi, "Ti fanno male ancora?", "m'uccidi" is missing from RA - 2 and AUT, and AUT is lacking several of Tosca's exclamations during the trio.

scene 5, II/44/10

We have no documents that reveal the initial stages of this scene's creation. But there exists a letter from Puccini to Ricordi, written in July 1898 (while he was orchestrating the first act) that reveals the extent to which the composer was actively involved in the libretto's development:

I made some modifications which I believe necessary, like for example: "how you hate me" is efficacious and "do you hate me?" does not work. Why have you removed the last verse: "and before him all Rome trembled"? I put it there and it plays well for me. It is better therefore to leave it in.⁵⁵

We can note here not only that Puccini was the one responsible for these powerful lines, but that Ricordi was participating even at this relatively early stage. In addition, we note that the composer intended to have Tosca give her devastating line, "E avanti a lui tremava tutta Roma" at a later point than in CS: sung on a repeated D,⁵⁶ it was to have come just before the reiteration of Motive 1, at II/64/5.

In FPL, we see a slightly varied version of Scarpia's aria "Gia, mi dicon venal." After the line "qual non la vidi mai," there is the following text:

all'ira, al pianto ed all'amor più viva!
Quel tuo pianto era lava
infocata a' miei sensi - ed il tuo sguardo,
che odio in me dardeggiava,
le selvagge mie brame inferocia!...
Agil qual leopardo
ti avvinghiasti all'amante - in quell'istante
io t'ho giurata mia!...

Mia!... ruggente di collera e d'orgoglio!
A me!... Ti voglio!

The dialogue is also altered somewhat in FPL, after Tosca's aria, "Vissi d'arte" (which itself has very minor discrepancies):

Sc. Bada... il tempo è veloce!
T. Mi vuoi supplice a'tuoi piedi?
(inginocchiandosi innanzi a Scarpia)
Ecco - vedi -
le man giunte io stendo a te!
E mercè,
umiliata e vinta, aspetto
d'un tuo detto.

Scarpia's line, "Bada... il tempo è veloce!" appears also in AUT.

Dated 16 July 1899 by the composer, AUT contains a different interchange between Scarpia and Tosca regarding the safe-conduct pass. After Tosca's line, "onde fuggir dello stato con lui," there is the following dialogue:

Sc. Volete abbandonarci?
T. Ah per sempre
Sc. Sia soddisfatto il vostro desiderio

FPL has the newer version, thus it would seem to date after July 1899. However, there are many minor differences between the FPL text and CS that betray Puccini's hand: compared with their newer counterparts below, we can see that CS contains the more powerful versions.

FPL	CS
1. Non ti trattengo. Va. Libera sei.	Violenza non ti farò. Sei libera.
2. Ed ora, Tosca, finalmente mia!	Tosca, finalmente mia!
3. Son Tosca!... Son la Diva!...	Son Tosca!... O Scarpia!!
4. Muori! muori!! muori!!!	Muori dannato! muori, muori, muori!

Act III

In October 1894, Illica and Franchetti went to Paris to meet with Sardou. Present were also Ricordi and Verdi. Illica had made changes

to the final act, and Sardou had to approve them. We know from other accounts that Verdi was moved by aspects of Illica's sketch, and would have wanted to set it to music himself had he been younger.⁵⁷ This early version included a monologue by Cavaradossi prior to his execution, a farewell to life and art, expressing sentiments about justice and liberty. This was followed by a hymn sung by the two lovers, contemplating Rome, seen from atop the Castel Sant'Angelo. Finally, Tosca would go mad at the sight of her dead lover, instead of committing suicide.⁵⁸

From that day in 1894, it took more than five years until Tito Ricordi could write to Sardou that "*Tosca est finie!*"⁵⁹, although, in reality, there was still some work to be done, as we shall see. In this same letter, Tito itemizes what will occur in the "final" version:

Le troisième acte sera le "Suggeri ch'ogn'uomo sganni," le prélude avec les cloches de Rome, l'adieu de Cavaradossi à la vie, le duo, avec le détail des "O dolce mani mansuete e pure" et du sonnet "Amaro sol per te m'era il morire," l'exécution de Cavaradossi, la fin avec le cri de Tosca "O Scarpia, avanti a Dio!"

(The third act will be the "Suggeri ch'ogn'uomo sganni," the prelude with the clocks of Rome, Cavaradossi's farewell to life, the duet, with the detail of "O dolce mani mansuete e pure" and the sonnet, "Amaro sol per te m'era il morire," Cavaradossi's execution, the end with Tosca's cry, "O Scarpia, avanti a Dio!")

This is a fairly accurate summary of the act, except for the first item, which, by default, must have been an early text for the shepherd song. Let us now examine each of the scenes individually.

prelude-scene, III/0/0

This was the last section of *Tosca* to be orchestrated: in AUT, Puccini wrote "Fine dell'opera, G. Puccini, Torre del Lago, 29 7bre 99, ore 4:15 di mattina" ("end of the opera, G. Puccini, Torre del Lago, 29 September 99, 4:15 am") and "Manca il preludio" ("the prelude is missing"). The prelude itself is dated 14 October 1899.⁶⁰

The music was complete at this point, but the text was not. AUT shows no words for the shepherd's song. In an attempt to find authentic

Romanesque verses for the already composed shepherd song, Puccini wrote to his Roman friend, Alfredo Vandini on 27 September 1899:

Nell'ultim'atto, ci ho un ragazzo pastore che colle pecore passa
(non si vede, si finge) sotto il castello e canta una canzone
villereccia popolare triste e sentimentale. Dovresti cercare un
poeta romanesco, dunque, che mi facesse questa cosa sul
metro che t'espongo: Metro -

Ho pianto tanto e n'ho fatto una boccia
perché nel core io non t'ho fatto breccia,
o fiori belli,
che state al sol,
chinate il capo
passa il mio amor⁶¹

(In the last act, I have a shepherd boy who passes with his sheep
beneath the castle (he is not seen, it is only pretend) and sings a
rustic popular song, sad and sentimental. Could you find a
Romanesque poet, therefore, who could make me this thing on
the meter I set down here: Meter -

I cried much and I drank a bottle
because I haven't wound my way into your heart,
o beautiful flowers,
which stand in the sun,
bow your heads
my love is passing)

The composer also wrote once again to Father Panichelli, specifying that the verses he needed should have nothing to do with the plot. Panichelli suggested his friend, Luigi Zanazzo (known as "Giggi") who did supply the verses at the end of October, through Vandini, . Puccini accepted them, but changed the verses slightly to correspond with the finished music.⁶² The verses were altered again slightly before reaching their final form.

FPL contains no verses for the shepherd song: in fact, the entire prelude-scene is described in a few sentences:

È ancora notte: a poco a poco la luce incerta e grigia che
precede l'alba: le campane delle chiese suonano mattutino.
Odesi il canto di un pastore che guida un armento.

(It is still night. Little by little the gray, uncertain light that precedes the dawn. The bells of the churches ring for matins. The song of a shepherd leading his flock is heard.)⁶³

Originally, though, this was not the case: Illica had written a long description, which Puccini, with Ricordi's blessing and to the librettist's dismay, had suppressed. Illica objected, in a letter written to Ricordi on 15 January 1900, that the passage should not have been truncated because it had set forth a detailed program, describing specific churches, which was necessary to the understanding of the scene:

...la estrema meschinità dell'arte di fare le opere di Puccini è la soppressione della "descrizione del sorgere dell'alba" a Roma nel preludio-scena dell'ultimo atto. Senza riflettere che la descrizione era non solo necessaria, nel libretto, ma indispensabile per richiamare l'attenzione del pubblico su quel preludio, perchè quei dettagli di chiese etc... etc... erano ragione e perchè del brano.⁶⁴

(...the extreme misery of the art of making Puccini's operas is the suppression of the "description of the dawn" in Rome in the prelude-scene of the last act. Without reflecting that the description was not only necessary to the libretto, but indispensable for calling the public's attention to that prelude, because those details of the churches, etc, etc, were the rhyme and reason of the piece.)

In all probability, Puccini did not want his music to be controlled by the pitches and rhythms of the actual bells of Rome.

scene 1, III/8/2⁶⁵

The only information we have available concerning the first drafts of this scene come from Illica's letter to Ricordi: "nel mio ultimo atto vi era da cima a fondo la lirica! Vi era la lirica della lettera di Cavaradossi che aveva saputo commuovere un Verdi!" ("In my last act there was lyric poetry from top to bottom! There was the lyric poetry of Cavaradossi's letter, which was able to touch a Verdi!"). Therefore, in Illica's draft, the letter itself was the text of the "farewell" rather than the dreamy remembrance of the final version.

Carner reports that Puccini had written his own text for "E lucevan le stelle," and that Illica was not disposed to accepting them. The matter was not resolved until Puccini personally performed the aria for his librettists, apparently convincing them: Giacosa then wrote the current text, but retained the line "Muio disperato!" from Puccini's version.

Puccini later jokingly declared that admirers of "E lucevan le stelle" had triple cause to be grateful to him: for composing the music, for causing the new words to be written, and for declining expert advice to throw the result into the wastepaper basket.⁶⁶

An early draft of this aria is found in GG. The first line, perhaps inspired by Dante's "Lucevan gli occhi suoi più che la Stella,"⁶⁷ remains the same; the remainder is reproduced here:

E olezzavano l'erbe
E cigolava l'uscio del giardino
Ed il suo passo lieve
Mordea la rena. Entrava
Fragrante ella e cadea
Nelle mie braccia... e mi narrava tutta
La sua giornata e di me s'inchiedea
(...) più dolce concerto
Sua volubile impero.
Mentr'io sciogliea dai veli
La sua beltà. Ciò avvenne
E fu ieri e per sempre
La dolce ora è fuggita
E muio disperato
E non ho amato mai tanto la vita.

FPL is identical to the current version, except that it includes the following lines:

mi cadea fra le braccia e mi narrava
di sé; di me chiedea
con volubile impero.

Perhaps Puccini eliminated these because his vision of this loving memory did not include conversation.

scene 2, III/14/0

This scene, like Sardou's Act V, is divided into two parts:⁶⁸ the first is the interchange between Tosca and Cavaradossi (in which she explains what has and will occur, and they share loving thoughts), the second is the execution - suicide.⁶⁹ The only actual drafts available of this scene exist in GG, which testify to how diligently Giacosa worked to revise the poetry, especially the lovers' hymn: this hymn, as we shall see, was an obstacle so difficult to overcome that AUT was delivered to the publisher without text, and even FPL contains an old version.

The following are excerpts from Giacosa's notes in GG for the first section of the scene:

(after Tosca's entrance)

- T. Senti.
C. No. voglio leggere un'altra
Volta questo foglio - Scarpia ha fatto grazia
A qual prezzo?

T. Ma prima devi piegarti a una lugubre
commedia.

T. L'ordine ne intesi chiaro
Scarpia ne (...) me presente
Al Spoletta. Convien che il Santo Ufficio
Ti vede morto.
Ei deve riguardare il tuo supplizio
Dato a Spoleto di curar secretamente
che l'armi sian cariche a salva
Ognun ti deve creder morto.

T. Trarci all'aperto...
C. Sì, fuggire da questa
città funesta!
T. Noleggeremo ad Ostia una tartana
E via pel gran libero mar.
C. Ti vedo.
Ti parlo e non è inganno. Oh come vile
il tuo pensier mi faceva.
T. chi si duole
In terra più? Senti effluvio di rose
Non ti par che le cose
Sorridan tutte innamorate al sole?
C. Vago pur nell'angoscia era il tuo viso.

(Amaro a ricordar mi era il tuo viso)

Some of these ideas remained in FPL, such as Cavaradossi's "A qual prezzo?." Cavaradossi's suspicions were omitted from Puccini's score. We also find in FPL the correction of an error that appears in AUT: Tosca should say "il tuo sangue o il mio amore volea." ("he wanted your blood or my love") but in the autograph, we find "il tuo sangue e il mio amore volea" ("he wanted your blood and my love"). Had Tosca known that Scarpia planned to get both of his victims, she would not have been deceived by the "false" execution. FPL also has a few bits of extra text in this section.⁷⁰

The section "Amaro sol per te" is indeed a sonnet, as Tito Ricordi wrote: it is fourteen lines in length, each endecasillabi, arranged in the following end-rhyme pattern: abababab / cdcdcd. GC shows the following variants of this lyrical piece:⁷¹

- C. Mi era atroce per te sola lasciar la vita
 Per te m'è dolce a vita ritornare
 Ogni forza, ogni gioia ogni desire
 Nascon di te come di fiamma ardore.
 (..)
 Avrà sola da te voce e colore -
- T. Ti saprà il mondo amor
 Dolce sarà le cose insiem vedere
 E la loro beltà molteplicare
 (..)
 E farà dolce il mondo a riguardare
 Finchè varcherem della morte il limitare
 (..)
 Dolce vivere insiem dolce al cadere
 Di giovinezza in morte dileguare
 Come d'evaso (?) nuvole leggiere

Beyond having the lovers reunite and express their golden thoughts about the future, Giacosa felt that these characters should come to a greater understanding of some kind. These tentative "morals" can be inferred from the librettist's sketches presented here, many variations on a theme:

O Mario non ti sembra
Che ci amiamo la prima
Volta.

Dimmi se ti rimembra
Del nostro amor passato

Mario mio non ti sembra
che amore oggi sia nato?
Se alcun che ti rimembra
Del gaio tempo andato
Non ti senti come bene
Scorrea

Mario Mario e sol ier'
Ero del male ignara.
Quante cose è impara

Senti, fu nero amore
Il nostro infino a ieri?
Mai così saldi e fieri.

These proposals were defeated, possibly considered by Puccini to be as "academic" as the suggestions for the lovers' hymn:

Quanto alla fine duetto, il cosiddetto inno latino (che non ho mai avuto il bene di vederlo scritto dai poeti) i miei dubbi ce li ho anch'io, ma spero che in teatro venga fuori e magari bene. Il duetto del 3o è stato sempre il gran scoglio. I poeti non mi hanno saputo dare (parlo della fine) niente di buono, e di vero soprattutto: sempre accademia, accademia, e solite sbrodolature amorose.⁷²

(About the end of the duet, the so-called Latin hymn (that I never had the good fortune to see written down by the poets), I also have my doubts. But I hope that in the theater it will come through, even well. The duet of the third act was always the big stumbling block. The poets were incapable of giving me anything good, and above all, anything real - it was always academic, academic, and the usual amorous slobberings.)

As Puccini notes here, this hymn (now, "Trionfal di nuova speme") had been a problem for a long while. As early as July 1898, Puccini wanted to avoid it:

Io lavoro e spero di far a meno dell'ultima trionfalata (inno latino); credo che finirò il duetto colle parole "e mille ti dirò cose d'amor" e "gli occhi ti chiuderò con mille baci," è assai caldo.⁷³

(I am working and I hope to do without the last triumphal duet (the latin hymn); I believe that I will finish the duet with the words "and I will tell you a thousand words of love" and "I will close your eyes with a thousand kisses"; it is very warm.)

In May 1899, Puccini was in Milan where he was meeting with Giacosa to work out these last eight remaining verses of Act III. On the 24th of that month, the composer wrote, "Io sono fra il caldo e le lotte poetico-librettistiche per l'ultimo atto di *Tosca*, per il quale mi bisogneranno delle modificazioni."⁷⁴ ("I am stuck between the heat and the poetic-librettistic fights over the last act of *Tosca*, for which modifications will be needed.") The "fights" occurred between Puccini, Giacosa and Ricordi; Illica was not present at these meetings, because he was getting married.

Finally, Puccini sent Giacosa the following dummy verses, part of GG, in the meter he wanted for the duet. He entitled it "Inno all'amore" and provided the accompanying remarks, "caldissimo e inneggiando":

Sempre a te
vorrei baciare
la bocca fresca
come una pesca
piena d'amor!
Vorrei donare a te
vorrei donar
Tutto il creato intier.

(I would like aiways
to kiss your
mouth as fresh
as a peach
full of love!
I would like to give you,
to give you
All of creation)

As Giacosa's papers in GG illustrate, the poet noted down the last words of each of Puccini's lines (te, baciare, etc.). He then drew connecting lines between those which rhymed, observed (in writing) that lines six and eight were septenary while the others were quinary, and made several attempts to satisfy the requirements. The eventual text was "Trionfal / di nova speme / l'anima freme / in celestial crescente ardor / ed in

armonico vol / già l'anima va / all'estasi d'amor." which does not conform to the rhyme scheme above.

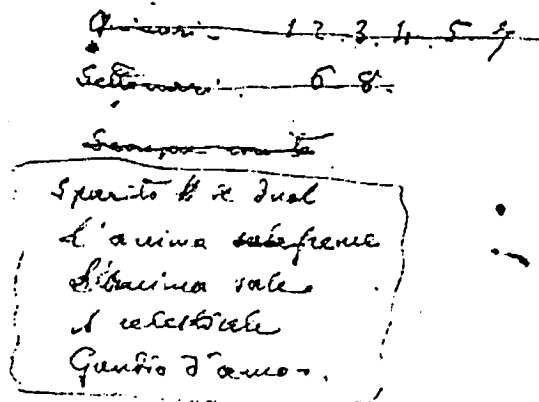
On 14 October 1899, the day Puccini "finished" AUT sans hymn text, Ricordi was still trying to find a solution, even if he had to compose the words himself. He wrote to Puccini:

Non creda che i suoi poeti siano stati colla mano alla cintola: io credo che avranno tentato non cento, ma mille modi per imbroggiare quello che doveva essere l'Inno latino, e che ora è ridotto ad una slancio di lirismo = il poeta onorario, (scrivente), è stato ore intiere, colla penna in mano, per trovare qualcosa!..ma la zucca è rimasta vuota!! - (...) Ora sono rimasto con 3 varianti: una di Giacosa, che mi pare la più adatta; due di Illica, un po' più vivace ma troppo nebulose ⁷⁵

(Do not think that your poets were twiddling their thumbs: I think they tried not a hundred, but a thousand ways to hit that which should have been the Latin Hymn, and which now is reduced to a burst of lyricism. The honorary poet (this writer) has spent entire hours with pen in hand, trying to find something! but the noggin remained empty!! (...) Now I am left with three variants: one from Giacosa, which seems to me to be the most appropriate, two from Illica, slightly more vivacious, but too nebulous.)

Puccini wanted to request more alterations from Giacosa but Ricordi, on 7 November 1899, discouraged it: "Vedrò Giacosa ma temo quasi impossibile migliorare parole (...) duetto perchè già tentato per più di due mesi."⁷⁶ ("I will see Giacosa, but I am afraid it is almost impossible to improve the words for (...) the duet because he has tried for more than two months.")

Rescigno has opined that the hymn text that appears in FPL is of Illica's creation.⁷⁷ Rather, as documents in GG show, Giacosa was responsible for at least the first eight lines.



Example D.0 - Giacosa's notes based upon Puccini's rhyme scheme

The remaining four verses, with their patriotic overtones, do indeed suggest Illica:

- T. La patria è là dove amor ci conduce.
 C. Per tutto troverem l'orme latine
 e il fantasma di Roma.
 T. E s'io ti veda
 memorando guardar lungi ne' cieli

The second part of this scene, especially Tosca's suicide, was contested from early on. As early as November 1894, Ricordi wrote to Sardou that the libretto team (Illica, Franchetti and Ricordi himself) had found a new ending: "Pour la fin de l'opéra, on a trouvé une situation qui devrait aussi avoir un grand effet" ("For the end of the opera, we have found a situation that should also have a great effect.")⁷⁸ This was probably the mad scene that Puccini later described disparagingly to his interviewer.⁷⁹ Sardou remained adamant that Tosca should die, even when the subject continued to be discussed at a late date. On 14 January 1899, Puccini wrote to Ricordi:

stamani sono stato da Sardou per un'ora, e circa al finale mi ha detto cose che non vanno. La vuol morta a tutti i costi quella povera donna! (...) Accetta la pazzia ma vorrebbe che svanisse, si pegnesse come un uccello. (...) Ma io sono sempre per il pianto di Tito e per la fine - fine e non éclatante.

(This morning I was at Sardou's for an hour, and he told me things about the finale that will not work. He wants that poor woman

dead at all costs! (...) He accepts the insanity, but would like her to faint and die fluttering like a bird. (...) But I am still for Tito's lament, and for the end - subtle and not striking.⁸⁰

It is unclear why Puccini changed his mind, apparently more than once, about the suicide. Illica remained bitter about the excising of his idea: "quel finale la cui abolizione ha costituito o un atto di bestialità o uno di pazzia" ("that finale whose abolition constituted either an act of bestiality or one of insanity.")⁸¹

Sardou not only insisted that Tosca die, but demanded that her fall end in the Tiber, a physical impossibility. Puccini:

In showing me the sketch of the panorama, later, (Sardou) wanted the Tiber to pass between St. Peter's and the Castle!! I told him that the river passes on the other side, underneath, and he, calm as a fish, said, "Oh, that's nothing!" What a fellow, all life, fire and full of historic-topographic-panoramic inexactitudes. (...) Tuesday morning I must return to Sardou's, as the Magician⁸² has said, and perhaps he will want to kill Spoletta too? We shall see.⁸³

This was not a new idea: although nothing in the original play indicates where Tosca's fall terminates, Sardou had decided on the Tiber even before the first performance in 1887. After that event, on Saturday, 26 November 1887, the Parisian newspaper *Le Voltaire*, published a review of *La Tosca's* première which summarized the plot of the final scene as follows: "folle de rage, elle se vante tout haut, devant les sbires, d'avoir tué Scarpia et se précipite dans le Tibre, qui coule au pied du château."⁸⁴ ("insane with rage, she proudly exclaims to the police that she killed Scarpia, and she throws herself in the Tiber, which flows at the foot of the castle.")

There is little text in this scene, and therefore, little textual alteration. Of the several minor discrepancies that appear in FPL, the only one that might have made a perceivable difference would have been Tosca's line, "Del sangue?!" ("Blood?!"). After this moment of horrible discovery, in AUT, are five measures that were eventually cut: the orchestra plays a reprise of Motive 24 ("E lucevan le stelle") and Tosca sings, "Povera floria tua! O Mario mio, tu finire così!" ("Your poor Floria! O my Mario, you end thus!" FPL also shows Tosca parting words, "avanti a Dio" repeated

twice, effectively diminishing their power. One can also find more detailed stage directions in this document.

Notes to Appendix D

¹For a comparison of Sardou's original play and the opera libretto, see Chapter 1.

²English translations are provided for all except the actual libretto verse. The original language is provided only if not well-known and easily accessible.

³Although neither the printed librettos nor scores show numbered scene, such enumeration is in existence throughout most of the drafts. The second indicator shows the act / rehearsal number/ measures after rehearsal number in the musical score.

⁴This indicates the beginning of the scene at Act/ rehearsal #/ and measures after rehearsal #, in the current score of *Tosca*.

⁵As Rescigno has pointed out, the libretto consistently uses the word "birro" for "cop," while Puccini uses "sbirro" in the score, which has a more negative connotation. (Eduardo Rescigno, ed. *Tosca: melodramma in tre atti di Victorien Sardou, Luigi Illica Giuseppe Giacosa* (Milan: Ricordi, 1985), 23.)

⁶In NYPL, the Sacristan's first line is "E frega e lava!" ("And scrub and wash!").

⁷In NYPL, Puccini has written the Sacristan's current line "recito l'Angelus" over "È l'ora dell'Angelus"; therefore it was probably the composer's suggestion.

⁸It was the wish of Franchetti, who temporarily held the rights to *Tosca*, that the court scene be suppressed. Illica: "La prego pel momento a non voler dir nulla al Franchetti, perchè (...) magari - come ha fatto pel 2o quadro - mi manderebbe tutto all'aria" (I ask you not to say anything for the moment to Franchetti because (...) perhaps as he did for the second tableau, he might make it all come to nothing") (Eugenio Gara, ed. *Carteggi, Pucciniani*, (Milan: Ricordi, 1958), 113.)

⁹Fondo Illica, Biblioteca Passerini-Landi.

¹⁰The handwriting is similar to Illica's, but the script is drawn with a writing implement that makes a thicker line than in his other annotations..

¹¹Other stage directions in NYPL are also in greater detail. For example, "alla voce di Tosca Mario fa un rapido cenno ad Angelotti di tacere portandosi l'indice alle labbra" and "(Mario) rimonta la scena ma senza avvicinarsi troppo all'uscio di dove viene la voce di Tosca."

¹²Here we see another use of the verbal motive "money - bargaining." (See Chapter I)

¹³This is an example of Giacosa's "prisoner" verbal motive. (See Chapter I)

¹⁴Gara, *Carteggi*, 186n.

¹⁵AUT shows several extra lines (five measures of music) after this:

C.	(con passione) "non è arte, è amore, l'amore, l'amore."
T.	(affettuosamente) "sì, sì, ti credo"

¹⁶This line, so out of character for a fiery diva like Tosca, was eventually omitted.

¹⁷Giuseppe Adami, *Epistolario* (Milan: Oscar Mondadori, 1982), 79.

¹⁸Gara, *Carteggi*, 170.

¹⁹Copialettere, Archivio Ricordi, 4 May 1899.

²⁰NYPL also contains some of Puccini's "leitmotivic" indications here, such as "villa," "tema sagrestano" and "tema di Mario." (See Chapter II)

²¹"Buddha" was a nickname for Giacosa.

²²Gara, *Carteggi*, 149.

²³*Ibid.*, 150.

²⁴The Carmagnola was originally a French revolutionary song that royalist crowds sang to taunt republicans going to their deaths.

²⁵Giovanni Paisiello, the composer, was a character in the Sardou play. His name is mentioned in the libretto version through AUT. (See Appendix A)

²⁶Fondo Illica, Biblioteca Passerini-Landi. Gara has printed this letter with the word "esternal" transcribed as "affermai." (Gara, *Carteggi*, 154.)

²⁷Leopoldo Carta, "Confessioni di un librettista italiano," *La Tribuna* (Rome: 13 November 1908). Quoted with alterations in Mario Morini, "Nuovi documenti sulla nascita di *Manon Lescaut*," Teatro comunale dell'Opera di Genova, program notes, 1983: 97. See Chapter I.

²⁸CS has the word "preda" at this spot, which is apparently a true misprint: GG, NYPL, NYPL - 2, TDL, RA and FPL all have "presa."

²⁹In GG, Giacosa consistently crosses out the word "cesto" and replaced it with "paniere."

³⁰This exclamation point was added by Puccini.

³¹AUT has neither line at this point.

³²Here, Puccini, marks "???????" "della prova??"

³³This printed segment, like the earlier one, indicates that an early version of the libretto was published.

³⁴This level of detail would indicate Illica's handiwork. In CS, similar stage directions are distributed in the score.

³⁵In FPL, this scene begins after Scarpia's mention of Iago (although Tosca has already entered); however in TDL and RA, the Iago comment is part of scene 9.

³⁶See Chapter I.

³⁷This means that Tosca too sees the empty basket.

³⁸In AUT, FPL and CS this line is given to the Sacristan.

³⁹We can see here that the reasons for Tosca's return were still in flux.

⁴⁰Pintorno, 78.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 79.

⁴²Gara, *Carteggi*, 168-169.

⁴³Rescigno gives a brief description of the origin of these verses. (Rescigno, ed. *Tosca*, 57n.)

⁴⁴There are no numbered scenes in this draft, just the straight lines that appear in FPL. Apparently a decision had been made to suppress the enumeration of the scenes.

⁴⁵Rescigno does not think highly of this cantata text. (Rescigno, *Tosca*, 63n.)

⁴⁶Rescigno, *Tosca*, 19n.

⁴⁷The duties of this character led to a rather bizarre event. On 13 January 1900, the day before the opera's première, a man by the name of Piero Roberti had legal action taken against the Ricordi publishing house and the Teatro Costanzi in order to remove the name "Roberti" from the *Tosca* libretto, score, scripts, arrangements, transcriptions, plot summaries, advertisements and posters, and to prohibit the pronunciation of the name at performances. The reason for this, Roberti claimed, was that during the historical period in which the opera takes place, such executioners were known only by their first names and that damage would be done to his own family name ("patrimonio geloso," he writes) if given to someone employed in the lowest and most despicable social rank. Apparently Mr. Roberti was not successful in his suit. (Document 743/6, division 1, cat. 1, section D, Ricordi Archives, Milan)

⁴⁸"Dunque eccoci alle presi proprio con queste benedette scene a due che sono davvero la maledizione della Tosca. Orbene sono riuscito ad ottenere un quartetto e sto mettendo insieme un quintetto. Spoletta diventa un curiosissimo tipo." ("Then, here we are really grappling with these blessed duet scenes that are truly the curse of *Tosca*. Well, I managed to obtain a quartet and I am putting together a quintet. Spoletta is becoming a very curious sort.") We can see in the excerpt what Illica meant by this last sentence. (Gara, *Carteggi*, 113.)

⁴⁹This line is very like the one in Sardou's play: "You must have been conceived in such a coupling, you wild beast, no woman's breast could have nourished you with her milk!"

⁵⁰Copialettere, Ricordi Archives, 14 October 1899.

⁵¹Sardou probably made his wishes known to Tito Ricordi, who visited the playwright in July 1899. (Biblioteca Passerini-Landi, Fondo Illica)

⁵²Copialettere, Archivio Ricordi, 3 Nov. 1899.

⁵³Gara, *Carteggi*, 167.

⁵⁴Clearly, it was Carlo Carignani (Puccini's childhood friend from Lucca and fellow musician who arranged most of Puccini's operas for piano) who had the "notes" for the second act. We can thus conclude that Carignani sometimes prepared the piano version from sketches the composer had made, not only from the orchestrated material, a fact corroborated in Carignani's own correspondence.. Fondo Illica, Biblioteca Passerini-Landi, Carignani - Illica, 16 Aug. 1906: "Tutte le opere che ho ridotto i maestri autori mi hanno sempre mandato le loro tracce, i loro appunti" ("For all the operas I have arranged, the Maestros have always sent me their outlines, their notes.")

⁵⁵Gara, *Carteggi*, 167.

⁵⁶See Chapter IV for the organizational importance of this pitch class here.

⁵⁷As reported by Gino Monaldi, quoted in Mario Morini, "Tosca all'anagrafe della storia" *49o Maggio Musicale Fiorentino* (Florence, 1985), 63.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*,

⁵⁹Copialettere, Archivio Ricordi, 3 November 1899.

⁶⁰An interviewer claims that Puccini played this prelude for him, without a score, as early as December 1897. (Eugenio Checchi, "Giacomo Puccini," *Nuova Antologia* (Dec. 1897), 471.)

⁶¹Gara, *Carteggi*, 175.

⁶²*Ibid.*, 180-181.

⁶³Weaver, *Puccini librettos*, 203.

⁶⁴Gara, *Carteggi*, 192-193.

⁶⁵There is a slight discrepancy as to where precisely this scene begins: FPL shows that the scene commences with the first words of the jailer, "Mario Cavaradossi?" (III/8/2), while AUT indicates that the prelude finishes at I/9/0, with Mario's first words, "No. Ma l'ultima grazia io vi richiedo..."

⁶⁶Mosco Carner, *Giacomo Puccini: "Tosca"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 20.

⁶⁷Dante *L'Inferno*. 2.55.

⁶⁸Sardou calls them "tableaux."

⁶⁹We can see here the principle of contrasting emotions at work.

⁷⁰For example Tosca says, "Rideva - il mostro! - del mio martir!" and Cavaradossi calls her "Salvatrice!"

⁷¹These are very rough notes, some crossed out, and cannot pretend to be a finished sonnet.

⁷²Gara, *Carteggi*, 179.

⁷³Gara, *Carteggi*, 167.

⁷⁴Gara, *Carteggi*, 174.

⁷⁵Copialettere, Ricordi Archives, 14 October 1899.

⁷⁶Copialettere, Archivio Ricordi, 7 Nov. 1899.

⁷⁷Rescigno, *Tosca*, 100n.

⁷⁸Copialettere, Archivio Ricordi, 19 November 1894, This new ending was part of a quite developed libretto: "Voici le projet definitif du livret de *Tosca* = M. Franchetti en est tout à fait satisfait, car d'après ce canevas il trouve que les exigences de la musique sont complètement respectées. (...) Nous soumettons donc à votre si grande experience scenique ce canevas préparé exprès par Monsieur Illica: je crois inutile de vous dire combien nôtre trio (librettiste, compositeur, editeur) sera heureux de connaître votre impression, et de suivre vos conseils, si le cas se presente." ("Here is the definitive proposal for the libretto of *Tosca*. Mr. Franchetti is entirely satisfied with this sketch because he finds that the exigencies of the music have been completely respected. (...) We therefore yield to your great theatrical experience and submit this sketch prepared expressly by Mr. Illica; I think it useless to tell you how much our trio (librettist, composer, editor) look forward to your impressions, and to following your advice, if need be.")

⁷⁹Checchi, "Giacomo Puccini," 471. See Appendix C.

⁸⁰Gara, 172.

⁸¹Gara, *Carteggi*, 192.

⁸²Sardou was known as "The Magician of the Theater."

⁸³Gara, *Carteggi*, 172.

⁸⁴*Le Voltaire*, 26 November 1887.

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"An analysis of Puccini's *Tosca*: a heuristic approach to the unifying elements of the opera"

Deborah Burton

Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1995

List of Corrections

<u>pg.</u>	<u>line</u>	<u>correct text</u>
31	note 12	process that transforms...
60	23	audience's curiosity
65	7	Tra il fasto della corte e lo splendor
65	11	Between the court pomp and splendor
74	17	conversion would have seemed unrealistic.
75	note 8	We have not used the term "rhythm" here to avoid possible confusion with musical rhythm.
77	note 49	Ibid., 193.
85	13	(...upper neighbor scale degree 6)
136	note 1	... Mosco Carner, <i>Giacomo Puccini: "Tosca"</i> ...
150	18	motives A, B, E, melodies...
168	25	gradually ... two juxtaposed perfect fourths.
201	8	Pitch class E remains active...
209	ex. 4.25	[treble notes Ab (4) and F should be positioned over Bb (V) not E]
256	ex. 6.9	[the ♯ on G between the staves should not be present]
285	note 12	...A (supporting ♯116)...
298	9	when it succumbed, ...
362	16	SCARPIA, SCHIARRONE...
364	23	F, anxiously...
368	11	(Spoletta... after a word from him...)
369	17	lead Madame... Cavaradossi,
410	note 8	Blanche Roosevelt, <i>Victorien Sardou, A Personal Study</i> . (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1892), 49-50. Quoted in W. Laird Kleine-Ahlbrandt...
423	26	And then? Didn't I have to tell you...
431	9	decided to see...Teatro Niccolini)...
433	23	non ha innanzi a sè...
436	26	Sardou che io trovai gentilissimo...
440	18	employee wrote: "Pour ce que regarde..."
441	21	16 May 1898, Puccini was being fêted...
449	27	Ho passato e ripassato...
453	note 10	necessità di sentire ancora... sarebbe recitata là... poche ore, a puro scopo artistico...

454	note 16	(Florence, 1986), 58.
454	note 19	combinazione Angelotti non ha fame...
458	note 89	Ibid., undated... qualche cosuccia al... So, I would need you, and I think Signor Giulio has written... efficacissime...
458	note 90	mi diceste: farò un miracolo...
469	42	che ascose lì per me...
470	15	A. (scoraggiato)
479	20	spennato, sfracellato...
481	32	Dov'era... Oh, scusi...
482	37	placed under his eyes
483	13	Sagrista" (Remember to put the Sacristan's basket away, out of sight").)
483	27	sguardo come di un saluto...
485	18	crowd (now as above)... the "strange
487	7	Sac. Ignoro-
487	26	D'amore a lui venia tutta giuliva.
488	12	"l'acqua ... "Le donne pie son rare."...
488	13	wanted this... "ingrandire."...
488	24	In GG, we can see...
488	38	È il soave ricetto.
490	15	carozza... È buon segugio...
493	11	Tosca: (sempre verso l'uscio torturandosi...
494	8	A brani fammi! Straziami!...
494	12	(muto... sta ritto in piedi
497	22	-2, the "horrible silence".... Along with the silence of
498	1	"Ah, c'è un Dio vendicator!"...
498	5	can document... all versions except
498	25	In FPL... aria "Già, mi
501	19	I cried so much and I filled a bottle
502	11	soppressione...
503	20	[Allodola in sull'alba
503	21	Fè più dolce concerto]
503	22	Con volubile impero.
504	26	Che l'armi sian cariche a salva
505	14	C. [Mi era atroce per te sola] [lasciar la vita]
505	15	[Per te m'è dolce a ivta ritornare]
505	16	[Ogni forza, ognia gioia ogni] desire
505	20-21	T. [Ti saprà il mondo amor
		Dolce sarà le cose insiem vedere
505	22	E la loro beltà molteplicare]
505	24	E farà [dolce] il mondo a riguardare
505	28	come d'occaso nuvole leggere
506	11	Quante cose c'impara
506	12	Senti, fu vero amore
508	13	pare la più... più vivaci ma
510	33	reprise of... "Povera Floria
513	note 19	Copialettere, Ricordi Archives, 4 May 1899.

- 514 note 48 "Dunque eccoci alle prese...
- 515 note 52 Copialettere, Ricordi Archives, 3 November 1899.
- 515 note 59 Copialettere, Ricordi Archives, 3 November 1899
- 516 note 76 Copialettere, Ricordi Archives, 7 November 1899
- 516 note 78 Copialettere, Ricordi Archives, 19 November 1894...
- 520 22 Alonge, Roberto...
- 522 24-25 [dele]
- 523 29 Gallini, Natale... *L'Approdo musicale* 11/6
- 524 27-28 Goldin, Daniele...
Fenice: Librettisti e librettisti...