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ITALIAN "VERISTA"
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OPERA LIBRETTI,
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1890-1920:
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A HISTORICAL, STRUCTURAL
= =====

AND STATISTICAL SURVEY
== =====

by

REMO LORENZO NANNETTI

Submitted for the
degree of Ph.D. at the
University of Glasgow
(Department of Italian),
November 1984

(THREE VOLUMES)

VOLUME ONE

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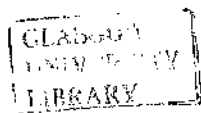
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Alla cara famiglia, con gratitudine ed amore.

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SUMMARY

Part One, "'Verismo" in Italian Opera: A Historical Perspective", provides an overview of Italian operatic activity between the years 1890 and 1920 inclusive and is subdivided into four chapters which follow a roughly chronological sequence.

Chapter One, "'Cavalleria" and the Preceding Decade", covers the period 1880 to 1890 and describes the fortunes of the two principal music publishers, Ricordi and Sonzogno. The first and second Sonzogno competitions are outlined in detail together with their importance in stimulating interest within the ranks of the younger Italian composers, leading eventually to the appearance of Pietro Mascagni's pioneering work, "Cavalleria rusticana". Contemporary critical reaction to the opera is chronicled and the reasons for its success fully analysed (two interesting precursors, "Mariska" and "Mala Pasqua!" are also described).

Chapter Two, "Towards a Definition of "Verismo"", shows the extent of the gulf between literary and operatic realism and examines contemporary attitudes to the question. The lack of any artistic manifesto for the movement is attributed to the unwillingness or even inability of its main practitioners (both composers and librettists) to formulate one, despite isolated attempts such as the "Pagliacci" prologue. Ultimately any definition must take into account the evidence of the libretti themselves together with the influence of contemporary literary trends and the artistic proclivities of individual librettists, and the remainder of the chapter examines these factors in some detail, arriving at a final profile of a typical "verista" opera of the "Cavalleria" mould to which we may apply the generic term "verismo puro".

Chapter Three, "Growth and Consolidation: 1890-96", demonstrates the extent to which Sonzogno capitalized on the immense success of "Cavalleria" and chronicles the methods used to promote "verismo puro" as a viable operatic commodity. A chronological profile of the principal composers and works of

the "giovane scuola" is accompanied by an account of the Ricordi-Sonzogno rivalry, and the chapter concludes with an examination of the various factors which led to a temporary abatement in "verismo puro" opera production.

Chapter Four, "Diversification and Decline: 1897-1920", describes how "verismo puro", despite being fragmented into a series of closely allied genres (each of which is examined and commented upon), enjoyed several revivals in the first two decades of the twentieth century, none of which could arrest the downward trend in the fortunes of Casa Sonzogno. The eventual demise of the movement (circa 1918) is therefore due as much to insufficient editorial promotion as to the changing tastes of post-war Italian audiences.

Part Two, "'Verismo puro': A Structural Analysis", outlines in four chapters the basic framework of a typical libretto of the genre. The introduction presents a cross-section of twelve works which will be extensively analysed and commented upon in the ensuing discussion, giving reasons for their choice together with short plot summaries.

Chapter One, "Character Patterns", shows how the prevailing ethos of "verismo puro" can be interpreted in a Durkheimian light and isolates three main character-types: the Rebel, the Traditionalist and the Victim, each of which is examined both individually and collectively within the context of the sample operas. The concept of a "central core" consisting of these three figures is introduced, and a model of dramatic development proposed in which a tripartite progression from Characters through Contracts to Conflicts provides the mainspring of the on-stage action (expressed otherwise, the "central core" of Rebel-Traditionalist-Victim is held together by a complex web of contractual obligations which, when broken, form the basis for immediate conflict).

Chapter Two, "Contractual Patterns", examines the various kinds of agreements made between the Rebel, Traditionalist and Victim, and classifies them under two main headings: Moral and Legal Obligations (these are once again defined in Durkheimian terms). The labels Primary and Secondary are then used to describe the narrative importance of such contractual

obligations (broadly speaking Primaries occur on-stage, Secondaries off-stage). Three phases in contract development are isolated: Initiations, Breaks and Reinforcements, with each permutation (e.g. Primary Contract Reinforcements of the Moral variety) being fully analysed with reference to the sample operas.

Chapter Three, "Conflict Patterns", demonstrates how the breaking of contractual obligations eventually leads to acts of violence which both expiate the crime committed and restore social equilibrium. Three types of conflict are described (Mental, Verbal and Physical); these form various Primary and Secondary combinations which are then annotated and documented. One major conclusion arrived at concerns the relative importance of violence in "verismo puro", which is shown to have been grossly exaggerated by previous commentators.

Chapter Four, "Dramatic Structure", brings together the constituent elements of the genre (namely Characters, Contracts and Conflicts) and shows how these coalesce into one dramatic entity within the libretto. A linear approach is adopted; the sample works are first analysed following the traditional Exposition-Development-Climax model which is further refined by the addition of what are termed Subsidiary Forces (Catalysts, Stabilizers, Divine, Societal/Environmental, Mental and Miscellaneous Forces; these are given either a Positive or Negative polarity depending on whether they decrease or increase tension within the libretto). Each sample opera is now graphically depicted as a series of interactive structural devices whose cumulative dramatic effect can be precisely measured. The outcome of such an analysis is to show a remarkable degree of similarity in both narrative techniques and dramatic intensity between otherwise dissimilar works.

Part Three, "Italian Opera Production, 1890-1920: A Statistical Survey" contains details of all performed and unperformed Italian operas (i.e. those set to original Italian libretti) by both Italian and foreign composers and librettists either staged or completed during the period 1 January 1890 to 31 December 1920 (almost 900 works in all). Data has been tabulated by computer under the following headings (full details of each are to be found in Part Three, together with a more

extensive summary of the overall aims of the volume):-

- (1) Section One:- Master Catalogue.
- (2) Section Two:- Composer Catalogue.
- (3) Section Three:- Librettist Catalogue.
- (4) Section Four:- Source Catalogue.
- (5) Section Five:- Genre Catalogue.
- (6) Section Six:- General Chronology.
- (7) Section Seven:- Act Analysis.
- (8) Section Eight:- Statistical Analysis.

Two further sections list a general bibliography for the entire thesis together with technical information on the methods used to compile Part Three.

PREFACE

In 1893 the French soprano Emma Calvé was invited to Covent Garden to sing in Mascagni's opera "Cavalleria rusticana". The "Musical Times", commenting on her performance, declared that "in her hands Santuzza became what the Americans would call a "live woman", with all the passion of the South throbbing at her heart". Not surprisingly, the production (which also starred the famous Spanish tenor Francesco Vignas) scored a genuine, if somewhat inevitable success. What could not be predicted was a request from Queen Victoria that the same artists should give, in her presence, a further performance of the work at Windsor Castle. It would seem that the Queen was enraptured by the opera; prevented from clapping by Court etiquette, she nevertheless showed her appreciation by presenting each member of the company with a signed photograph of herself as a souvenir.

What kind of work, then, could captivate the serious, dour Empress of India, who had never gone to the opera since the death of Prince Albert? Mascagni's masterpiece is of course widely known as the inaugurator of "verismo", that most elusive of operatic terms. In the English speaking world the label has been used in a rather glib and often disparaging manner to describe the sum total of all Italian opera produced during the three decades following the premiere of "Cavalleria" in 1890. The entire production of Puccini, Mascagni, Alfano, Cilea, Leoncavallo, Giordano, Catalani, Montemezzi, Franchetti and Zandonai is often herded together and summarily described as "verismo". These same composers (with the exception of Puccini) are dismissed as "one opera men" who produced little else of artistic worth. "Verismo" itself has been denigrated as a trivial and vacuous attempt to present the sordid realities of life in a highly sensational and obscenely violent manner. But amongst all this where is the subtle evocation and pathos of Puccini's "La bohème", the historical melodrama of Giordano's "Andrea Chénier", or the exotic mysticism of Mascagni's "Iris"? Is the opera which Queen Victoria found so compelling to be described (to quote one prominent commentator) as "violent,

Bloody and unappetizing"?

The situation is further complicated by the presence of a large body of critics (both past and present) for whom "verismo" has a purely musical significance: broad, expansive "ariosi", extensive doubling of the strings, harsh modulations, lavish use of the tremolo, diminished seventh, Wagnerian "leitmotiv" and syncopated rhythms, coupled with a certain fondness for the brass (used to great effect in the "Ponchiellian peroration", a term coined by Mosco Carner to describe the final, tumultuous reprise by the entire orchestra of the main tune of the opera; examples occur in both "Pagliacci" and "Tosca"). "La Gioconda" thus becomes the pioneering work of Italian musical "verismo", and Ponchielli its progenitor. There is no reason to doubt the validity of this assertion, provided we distinguish clearly between music and dramaturgy; nevertheless for many critics the two are inseparable, with the result that Hugo's historical melodrama and Verga's Sicilian tragedy become unlikely bed-fellows, sharing little else but a passing musical resemblance.

The purpose of the present study is therefore to establish with a certain degree of precision exactly what is meant by the term "verismo". Italian critics such as Gavazzani, Morini, Grossetto and Celletti have all done much valuable work on the subject, but inevitably their studies focus attention on Puccini, Mascagni and Giordano, to the detriment of Leoncavallo, Tosca, Spinelli and a host of others. When one considers that the period 1890-1920 saw the production of some nine hundred new Italian operas by over five hundred composers and four hundred librettists, such omissions are wholly understandable. Part One seeks to remedy this by presenting a comprehensive picture of all aspects of the contemporary Italian operatic scene. "Verismo" and its various offshoots are defined and commented upon within a broadly chronological framework encompassing the years 1890 to 1920 (fuller definitions of the individual genres are given in Part Three). My only concession has been to disregard the music of these operas, in order to allow a fuller examination of the literary merits of their libretti; a dangerous step to take, given the nature of the art-form (in the perfect opera, music and words form an indivisible artistic entity), but one which I feel may be justified by the belief that the musician is only

qualified to comment on music, and the man of letters on literature; since opera is an amalgam of both, only the greatest of critics can presume to pass judgement on each count. Unfortunately "verismo" has been unlucky in its choice of chroniclers; indeed the majority of commentators, English or Italian, have been musicians first and foremost, with little interest in literary matters; in reversing this trend I hope to shed new light on the libretti themselves. That they are worthy of consideration is beyond doubt; in 1897, Leoncavallo's "Pagliacci" was stripped of its music and performed with great success on the straight stage (surely the best possible test of a libretto's dramatic effectiveness).

Part Two of the thesis centres upon perhaps the most important of the various "verismo" genres outlined in Part One, namely "verismo puro", and submits twelve sample operas to a rigorous structural analysis. I have chosen this particular type of opera because its main features are precisely those which have been widely misunderstood and misrepresented by generations of critics: contemporary lower-class settings, short one or two act scenarios, on-stage violence culminating in death or suicide, and so forth. My analysis attempts to show that far from being simplistic, crude representations of the most sordid aspects of everyday reality, "verismo puro" was in essence a rigidly structured and perfectly balanced art form whose main objective was the generation of tension and suspense amongst the audience rather than the desire to shock and horrify. Viewed in this perspective, the genre emerges not as some operatic "chronique scandaleuse" but as a genuine attempt to entertain the masses. The unashamedly populist aims of the movement are hardly surprising when we consider that for the Italians opera has always been a pleasurable diversion open to all, and not some sacred duty shared by an élite group of aficionados (this dissimilarity explains to a great extent the hostility of many Anglo-Saxon critics). "Verismo puro" flourished as long as the Italian public found it convenient to attend the opera-houses for their weekly diet of entertainment; with the advent of cinematography the grand gestures and untrammelled emotions of the veristic stage were transferred to the silent screen; in 1917 Mascagni writes the score for "Rapsodia satanica", one of the many melodramatic effusions of the contemporary Italian

film industry, and suddenly operatic realism is buried forever, replaced by the inexorable eye of the camera lens, a victim of its own success.

Part Three, the final volume of the thesis, is to be regarded as a series of interrelated appendices which give an global picture of all new Italian operas produced during the period 1890-1920 (a fuller description of format, aims and objectives is given both in the Summary and in the individual appendix prefaces). As in the case of Parts One and Two no previous study of this kind has ever been attempted; while individual items of information have been culled from standard sources the overall analysis is entirely original. Although Part Three is to be regarded as an integral part of the thesis it may be consulted independently from it, and furthermore avoids the proliferation of footnotes within the text itself. Inevitably there are gaps in the documentation of individual operas which only further research can fill (unfortunately the complete destruction of the Sonzogno archives by an Allied air-raid during World War Two has rendered this task well-nigh impossible); nevertheless, I feel that enough has been included to form an adequate picture of one of the most productive eras in the history of Italian opera.

Finally I would like to add my voice to those of two influential Italian critics: Gianandrea Gavazzeni, who in his book "Trent'anni di musica" (Milan, 1958) urges "una revisione di tutto intero il teatro musicale veristico" and Angiola Maria Bonisconti, who in her excellent article on Mascagni in the "Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo" appeals for "una critica sgombra dal pregiudizio sia dell'esaltazione sia della demolizione". More than a quarter of a century has passed since those words were written, and precious little has appeared; correspondingly the likelihood of a revival of interest in operatic "verismo" still seems all too remote. If the present study can help to remedy this sad situation, then it will have achieved its purpose.

October 1984

Remo Lorenzo Nannetti

PART ONE
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"Verismo" in Italian Opera:

A Historical Perspective

CHAPTER ONE
=====

"Cavalleria" and the Preceding Decade

"Thanks to the two great and enterprising Italian publishing firms of Sonzogno and Ricordi, to the multiplicity of suitable theatres, and to the artists always available for an average, if not for a "brilliant" ensemble, Italian composers of lyric drama enjoy for the production of their works exceptional and most enviable advantages." It was in this way that the "Musical Times" ¹ commented on the facility with which opera could be produced in Italy; the occasion was a review of Ettore Perosi's "Adriana Lecouvreur" (1889; Genoa, Teatro Paganini), a work which coming at the end of a decade signalled by artistic achievement of the highest level (we need only mention Verdi's "Otello") seemed to point to a lack of genuine inspiration and vitality amongst the second rank of Italian composers. Despite the dearth of true operatic talent, however, Italian theatres continued to flourish. "Le Ménestrel", a French music journal of the period, reported the results of a recent survey which indicated the existence of some forty-nine opera-houses on the Italian peninsula, not taking into account a further ten which catered exclusively for operetta.¹ Such statistics, when viewed in relation to comparative figures from other European countries, show Italy to have been well ahead in the field of opera production. This felicitous state of affairs had been the result of intense rivalry between Italy's leading music publishers, Giulio Ricordi and Edoardo Sonzogno. Indeed, had it not been for the struggle for supremacy between these two men, Italian opera production in the period under question would have been seriously curtailed.

Ricordi's firm (founded in 1808) had made its name by publishing the works of Rossini; from 1834 onwards an agreement with the Neapolitan publishers Girard and Fabbricatore (together with the impresario Edoardo Guillaume) ensured publishing rights to the operas of Bellini, Donizetti and Mercadante. Giulio Ricordi's grandfather, Giovanni Ricordi, had also been fortunate enough to publish the operas of Verdi, which provided the firm with a virtual monopoly of nineteenth-century Italian opera production. The death of Giovanni in 1853 was followed by the succession of his son Tito to the management of the firm. A prolonged period of expansion now took place, with the acquisition by Casa Ricordi of the smaller publishing firms of Clausetti and Del Monaco in Naples and Guidi in Florence, culminating in the merger with Casa Luoca in 1888 (a move which secured the Wagner copyright). New printing techniques were now introduced, and facilities for colour lithography included in the Nuovo Opificio Ricordi, a larger and more modern printing works which opened in April 1864. With Tito's death four years later control of the firm passed to his son Giulio, who up until then had led a varied existence as "bersagliere", writer, musician and painter, as befitting a former member of the Milanese Scapigliatura. This cultured background meant that Giulio was well-qualified to deal with both the musical and dramaturgical sides of opera. His friendship with Boito, Giacosa, Illica and many others from the days of the Scapigliatura ensured that he was kept constantly in touch with current literary developments. In addition, he had the good fortune to acquire the rights to Puccini's "Le villi" in 1884 (thereby establishing a lifelong friendship with the composer), and was also responsible for publishing the works of Alfredo Catalani. But by the beginning of the 1880's his firm had been forced to acknowledge the existence of a rapidly expanding rival: this was Edoardo Sonzogno, who now began to challenge Ricordi's quasi-monopoly.

Casa Sonzogno had been founded by Giovanni Battista Sonzogno at the end of the eighteenth century, thus anticipating Ricordi by some fifteen to twenty years. The firm rapidly established itself not in the field of music publication, but in journalism with the appearance of "Il Secolo" in 1844, a newspaper which following its foundation by Edoardo Sonzogno (who had taken

over management of the firm in 1861 from his father Lorenzo) had rapidly become the most popular in Italy. In addition to its journalistic activities,³ Casa Sonzogno was also prominent in the field of book publishing, being the first Italian firm to introduce cheap editions of novels and plays - a move designed to cater for the rapidly expanding market in popular literature.⁴ But despite substantial success in this sector, Sonzogno looked with some envy upon the lucrative musical interests of Casa Ricordi, and determined to capture a slice of this particular market. The man who helped him to achieve this was Amintore Galli, music critic of "Il Secolo", whom Sonzogno appointed as musical director in 1874. Within two years Galli had acquired rights to a considerable number of operas by French composers such as Auber, Leococq, Thomas, Halévy, Adam, Berlioz, Gounod, Saint-Saëns, Massenet and a host of minor figures (including Bizet, whose "Carmen" was to be produced by Sonzogno in 1879; a move which, as we shall see, was to have tremendous artistic repercussions). But Galli, in concentrating his efforts on bringing to Italy the masterpieces of the French lyric stage, did not however neglect those Italian composers over whom Ricordi had not yet cast his net. These included Bottesini, Giovannini, Montuoro, Usiglio, Platania, and Auteri-Manzocchi; all figures of the second rank, whose artistic careers had been totally overshadowed by the dominant genius of Verdi and the greater popularity of Boito, Ponchielli, Gomes and Marchetti. When we consider that in addition to these names Ricordi also possessed exclusive rights to the works of Rossini, Donizetti and Bellini (in short anything of artistic worth in nineteenth-century Italian opera production) it is hardly surprising that Galli should have focussed his attention on foreign composers.

The depth and quality of this repertory was the most obvious barrier to Sonzogno's plans for expansion; moreover, the appearance in the Ricordi camp of promising newcomers such as Franchetti, Catalani and Puccini seemed to herald the emergence of a successor to Verdi. It was in this unsettled atmosphere that Sonzogno and Galli decided that new operatic talent had to be found. If not, Ricordi would remain in complete control of Italy's numerous opera-houses, since enforcement of the copyright laws could lead to a work being withdrawn at the

discretion of its publisher (in effect this meant that Ricordi could threaten to blacklist theatres which staged Sonzogno works). To combat this, the resourceful Galli had the ingenious idea of holding an opera competition in order to supplement his firm's meagre Italian holdings.

The first announcement of the "Concorso Sonzogno" was given in the April 1883 edition of "Il Teatro illustrato". The competition was to be limited to those composers whose work had previously remained unpublished, and a one-act restriction on length was imposed (an administrative requirement designed to facilitate judgement of the works). The closing date for delivery of manuscripts was fixed for 31 December of the same year, by which time twenty-eight scores had been received. The operas were then assessed by a panel consisting of the composers Ponchielli, Platania and Dominicati, the conductor Franco Faccio and Galli himself. (Amongst the entrants was Puccini, whose "Le villi" was eventually rejected because of the apparent illegibility of the score.) The rules of the competition prescribed that the two most praiseworthy works should be produced simultaneously, with the Milanese public being left to proclaim the winner. This resulted in the two prize-winning operas, Luigi Malpelli's "Anna e Gualberto" and Guglielmo Zuelli's "La fata del nord", being given consecutively at the Teatro Manzoni in Milan on 4 May 1884. The verdict of the audience was that Zuelli's work should be awarded the first prize of 2,000 lire.

Meanwhile Ricordi had been keeping a very close eye on his rival's activities, with the result that he now made a substantial offer to Zuelli for his opera and succeeded in acquiring it, thus robbing Sonzogno of a potential new talent and indeed the "raison d'être" of the entire competition. Such sharp practice was by no means uncommon in the highly competitive world of Milanese publishing, and the following years would see an escalation of the Ricordi-Sonzogno conflict.⁵ In addition to the loss of "La fata del nord", Sonzogno was dismayed to hear that Puccini's "Le villi" had achieved a spectacular success at the Teatro dal Verme on 31 May, just twenty-seven days after the dual premières of "La fata del nord" and "Anna e Gualberto". What was more galling was the

fact that once again his rival had moved in to sign up a promising newcomer; on 8 June, the "Gazzetta musicale" announced that "Le villi" had been acquired by Casa Ricordi, with the young composer being awarded a commission for a further opera to be set once again to a Fontana libretto and produced at La Scala. Furthermore, Puccini was granted a monthly allowance to facilitate work on this new project.

The loss of Puccini to the Ricordi camp was undoubtedly a great blow to Sonzogno. Moreover, the great success of "Le villi" had brought into question the competence of the jury selected for the "Concorso", thereby embarrassing both publisher and musicians who had taken part. Ricordi subsequently capitalized on this "faux pas" by advertising "Le villi" as the opera which had neither "received a prize nor an honourable mention in the recent "Concorso Sonzogno"", thus publicizing his new acquisition at the expense of his rival's professional reputation. It would be four years before Sonzogno organized another competition, and meanwhile he struggled against the superior power and resources of Casa Ricordi. Operatic production continued to show a modest, if unspectacular increase; 1885 saw the production of twenty-eight new operas and operettas by Italian composers, and the following year "Le Ménestrel" estimated that in the space of eighteen years (i.e. from 1868 to 1886) no less than 650 new operas had been produced on the Italian stage (an annual average of some thirty-six premières).⁶ Furthermore, these figures did not take into account the numerous works which had already been completed and were awaiting production. The March 1886 edition of the "Musical Times" likened Italian opera to "a species of mushroom growth . . . not to reckon those that are composed but never performed, the number of which must be very considerable".⁷ An additional perspective is provided by the June edition of the Italian music magazine "Il Trovatore", which published a survey showing that Italy currently possessed some 1,399 theatres suitable for the production of both opera and drama.⁸

With such lavish resources at their disposal, the future of Italian composers seemed assured. But from 1887 onwards the bubble began to burst, with many opera-houses and theatres

being forced to close their doors. By the end of 1888 the situation had grown more serious, with the sale of the Teatro Rossini in Florence (it was subsequently turned into a reading-room) and the demolition of the Teatro Balbo in Turin (to make way for more profitable building speculations). These two examples mirror the general trend; even the larger, more financially secure houses such as La Scala began to economize by cutting back on the amounts spent on new productions. In 1888 Alberto Franchetti threatened to withdraw his opera "Asrâel" from the management of this same theatre (where it was about to receive its Milanese première) because of the refusal of the directors to stage the work in the grandiose, spectacular manner to which the composer felt it was entitled. The opera eventually went ahead as planned, although some observers suspected that in his anxiety for "Asrâel" to be a success Franchetti had himself contributed to the production costs (he was unique amongst Italian composers in being a millionaire, his family having close ties with the Rothschilds). But few could follow his example, and opera-houses continued to find themselves in financial difficulties. As a result artistic standards dropped and receipts were correspondingly lower. To illustrate this, the February 1889 edition of "Le Ménestrel" published figures relating to the combined takings of four of the principal theatres in Rome (two of which were exclusively opera-houses) on one particular evening during the current season. On this occasion these had amounted to no more than 3,000 francs, which the magazine dismissed with a perfunctory "C'est maigre!"¹

This serious financial crisis did not go unnoticed by the government. In October 1888 the Italian premier, Francesco Crispi, sent the composer and conductor Edoardo Mascheroni on a fact-finding tour of German opera-houses, with instructions to acquaint himself with production and management techniques in that country. Mascheroni returned full of praise for the German system, which he hailed as infinitely superior to its Italian equivalent. But despite this initiative, little was done to loosen the financial straitjacket in which Italian opera now found itself. In some opera-houses a change of management took place, with directors either resigning or being voted out on

charges ranging from sheer inefficiency to embezzlement and misappropriation of funds. Amongst the newcomers were men like Franchetti, who in September 1889 made a bid for the directorship of the Teatro Costanzi in Rome. Furthermore, the upheavals in management were now accompanied by growing unrest in the rank and file. July 1889 had seen the establishment of a "Confederazione teatrale" - a trade union designed to safeguard not only the interests of musicians, artists and all those involved in opera production but also composers themselves, who were as much in danger from the ruthlessness of impresarios, theatre-managers and publishers as their colleagues within the opera-house.

It was in this atmosphere of anxiety, unrest and financial uncertainty that Sonzogno decided to announce a second "Concorso" in the July 1888 edition of "Il Teatro illustrato". Manuscripts were to be submitted by 30 May 1889, with the results scheduled for December. In all seventy-three scores were received, and these were judged by a musical panel consisting of Marchetti, Sgambati, D'Arcosis and Galli. The rules of the competition stipulated that the judges should select three operas, each of which was to be performed in public; the winner would thus be chosen by a largely impartial audience. On this occasion, however, a separate panel was formed to judge the literary qualities of the libretti; a step which shows the increasing awareness within Italian musical circles of the importance of dramatic effect within an opera, and one which reflects the influence of pioneers such as Wagner and Berlioz. The panel consisted of the dramatist Paolo Ferrari, the poet and librettist Antonio Ghislanzoni (the author of the libretto of "Aida"), and Felice Cavallotti, the left-wing poet and playwright.¹⁸ The first prize was 3,000 lire, a monthly salary and exclusive rights to the opera for a period of two and a half years. By the end of 1889 the two separate panels had reached a verdict. Three operas had been shortlisted: Vincenzo Ferroni's "Rudello", Nicola Spinelli's "Labilia", and Pietro Mascagni's "Cavalleria rusticana", but there had been considerable disagreement over their final placing, and it was agreed that the public should be the final arbiter. (The runners-up included Marco Enrico Bossi's "La leggenda umana", Armando Seppilli's "Andrea di Francia" and

Umberto Giordano's "Marina".) In March 1890 Sonzogno announced these results and revealed that the premières of the first three prize-winning works would take place not at Milan, as had been expected, but at the Teatro Costanzi in Rome. (The reason for this was that La Scala was due to close in the middle of April, and Leopoldo Mugnone, the principal conductor, had suggested that the operas be produced in Rome, to which Sonzogno agreed.) However, the final choice of venue may not entirely have been due to the closure of La Scala; by deciding to stage the three works in the Italian capital, Sonzogno lessened the risk of interference by his rival, who seven years earlier had appropriated "La fata del nord".

The first of the premières, that of Spinelli's "Labilia", took place on 7 May and met with a good reception. To ensure that all three works were judged as fairly as possible Sonzogno had engaged the same cast for each opera, choosing the soprano Gemma Bellincioni, the tenor Roberto Stagno and the conductor Leopoldo Mugnone. The decision to cast Bellincioni was an especially felicitous one; at this stage in her career she had gained a considerable reputation for the realism of her acting, and in an age where the "larger than life" gestures of Sarah Bernhardt and her imitators were held to be the most sublime expression of their innermost emotions, Bellincioni's vivid acting seemed more direct and spontaneous than that of her more illustrious colleague.¹¹ However Spinelli's opera did not provide her with an adequate vehicle in which to display her considerable talents, and there was some doubt as to whether the work had achieved a genuine success.

"Labilia" was followed on the fifteenth of the month by Mascagni's "Cavalleria rusticana". The libretto was by two of the composer's friends, Guido Menasci and Giovanni Targioni-Tozzetti, and was based on a Verga play of the same name dating from 1884. The transition from play to libretto was an easy one for Mascagni's librettists. Verga's original was already extremely short in length, consisting of nine uninterrupted "scene"; all Menasci and Targioni-Tozzetti had to do was add several episodes of local colour (a dialect serenade, the opening peasants' chorus, Alfio's song, the Easter hymn and Turiddu's "brindisi"), eliminate such minor

characters as Lo Zio Brasi, Comare Camilla, La Zia Filomena and Pipuzza (together with the two "carabinieri" who eventually arrest Alfio), and limit the extent of Lola's involvement in the plot, thereby focussing attention on the central conflict between Turiddu and Santuzza. These modifications ensured that Verga's play lost nothing of its immediacy (a quality inherited from the original short story); indeed, some commentators were to declare that the libretto was a distinct improvement over both, insofar as Menasci and Targioni-Tozzetti had provided that modicum of theatricality perhaps lacking in the Sicilian writer's sober, somewhat bald style. In retrospect it is hardly surprising that Mascagni's work should be given one of the most enthusiastic welcomes in the history of opera. Despite a less than crowded auditorium, "Cavalleria rusticana" caught the imagination of the audience. Carlo Gatti has left a vivid recollection of the scene which fully conveys the excitement generated by Mascagni's opera:

Il pubblico vuole e riuole al proscenio il compositore che appare, trascinato per mano da loro, rinfagottato in un meschino vestituccio, magro in volto, con la barbetta a punta, smarrito dinanzi allo sventolio di mani che gridano in platea, nei palchi e nelle gallerie e che sembra che non vogliano più staccarsi da lui; intimorito come chi non crede ai propri occhi e teme di doversi svegliare da un sogno di paradiso.¹²

Several years after the première Mascagni was to look back on this most memorable of occasions with fond remembrance: "Rivedo quel teatro Costanzi pieno soltanto a metà per la prima rappresentazione, rivedo, dopo le ultime concitate battute dell'orchestra tutte quelle braccia del pubblico alzate in aria e gesticolanti come se volessero minacciarmi, e risento nell'anima l'eco di quelle grida che quasi mi atterrivano".¹³ Mascagni had become overnight the most famous operatic composer in Italy, second only to Verdi who on hearing "Cavalleria" was to declare: "Ora posso morire contento - c'è chi continua degnamente l'opera italiana in musica".¹⁴

The momentous triumph accorded to Mascagni's masterpiece ensured a hostile reception for the third prize-winning opera, Ferroni's "Rudello", given on 28 May. As Gatti comments, "Quasi nessuno in teatro, fiocchi applausi, scarsi elogi dei critici dei giornali. Ogni sforzo per rianimare il "Rudello" sar  vano".¹⁵ After the turbulent realism of "Cavalleria", with its forceful depiction of love, jealousy and hate, the subject-matter of Ferroni's opera (the life of the Provençal troubadour Jaufr  Rudel) must have seemed the most extreme of anticlimaxes.

For Sonzogno, the news of Mascagni's great success provided a prestigious conclusion to his much maligned competition. The three works had slotted easily into their respective positions: "Cavalleria" a clear winner, with "Labilia" a respectable if uninspired second and "Rudello" an unlucky third. The publisher had also been fortunate in the quality of the runners-up; amongst them Giordano (at twenty-three, the youngest entrant), whose opera "Marina" had elicited this most perceptive of comments from Filippo Marchetti, a member of the jury and one of Italy's most respected composers: "Quando si comincia cos , si arriva molto bene".¹⁶ Although Giordano's work only took sixth place, Sonzogno had gained a valuable new talent which, given time, would reap considerable benefits for his firm.

Let us return for the moment to Mascagni. With few exceptions, the Roman press had been unanimous in its praise of "Cavalleria", but it remained to be seen if subsequent productions in the north of Italy, where audiences tended to be less impulsive and more critical than the ebullient Romans, would confirm the presence of a new and revolutionary figure on the Italian musical scene. Inevitably "Cavalleria", to the delight of both Mascagni and Sonzogno, continued to generate excitement and elicit admiration all over Italy.¹⁷ The rising tide of "Mascagnismo" had begun. Already many critics were proclaiming the Livornese maestro as Verdi's true successor; Puccini and Catalani, both of whom had aspired to this position, were now thrust firmly into the background, and Ricordi, with both composers under contract, must have felt a certain degree of unease at the prospect of Casa Sonzogno reaping the profits of what now appeared to be a resurgence of

interest in modern Italian opera. Mascagni's "Cavalleria" was furthermore a truly national work, and critics were quick to point out that Puccini's "Le villi" and "Edgar", together with Catalani's "Edmea" and "Loreley", owed much to late German Romanticism, with its morbid interest in superstition and the supernatural; such operas, it was argued, were too heavy and turgid for the Italian stage. Franchetti's "Asraël", with its Teutonic mysticism and religious overtones, was likewise condemned on account of its excessive length and fatuous grandiloquence. Amongst such company "Cavalleria rusticana" seemed like a breath of fresh air, a truly original work which owed little to outside influences, and was recognized at once as possessing a new vitality and conciseness of form which hitherto had been lacking. Audiences all over Italy now began to reject the over-inflated, verbose style of Wagnerian opera which certain critics had proclaimed to be the "ne plus ultra" of lyric drama production; "Cavalleria" offered them a welcome and long-overdue change, with its fast-moving plot and total lack of superfluity. Indeed, for many critics Mascagni was "l'italianissimo genio", a new and vibrant personality who had freed Italian opera from the shackles of Wagnerian pomposity. There still remained, however, a substantial body of opinion for whom the works of the Bayreuth master scaled the heights of musical and dramatic perfection. Observed from such a lofty stand-point, Mascagni's little opera seemed dwarfed by the artistic colossus of "The Ring", and Italian Wagnerites were quick to condemn "Cavalleria" as little more than a novelty, an insignificant curiosity whose pretensions to greatness were laughable when viewed in relation to Wagnerian grandeur.

Among contemporary Italian composers to challenge the validity of Mascagni's work was Filippo Clementi, whose opera "La pellegrina" received a successful première at the Teatro Comunale in Bologna on 16 November 1890. Wagnerian in treatment, the work achieved twenty-five curtain calls, and the critic I. Valetta, in an enthusiastic review, summed up Clementi as "un serio maestro che dimostra per la scena attitudini non comuni, che procede con grande coscienza, e che ha un orrore per il volgare".¹¹ These words, clearly aimed at Mascagni, show quite conclusively the distaste felt by many critics, and, far from diminishing, support for Wagner would

continue to increase in Italian musical circles. In 1891 a "Società Riccardo Wagner" was formed in Turin for the purpose of "promoting the cultivation of Wagner's music in Italy". Within a month of being founded, the society had no less than 550 members. The following year the Milanese journal "La Perseveranza" opened a new column entitled "La Germania musicale" under the editorship of Eugenio Pirani, a fervent Wagnerian whose opposition to Mascagni now found a convenient and powerful sounding-board.¹⁹ But despite these attacks, the success of "Cavalleria" continued unabated, as more and more impresarios and theatres began to realize that here was a work which could be staged far more easily and cheaply than the longer, more verbose operas which had previously been the fashion.²⁰

It was not only the Wagnerian tradition which felt itself threatened; that other operatic monster, the "grand opéra" so beloved of Parisian audiences was now under attack. The sheer length of the genre, with its massive choruses, obligatory ballets, five or six-act scenarios, and spectacular and costly "mises-en-scène" seemed superfluous and unwieldy when compared with the brevity of "Cavalleria". French grand opera, which through works such as Auber's "La Muette de Portici" (1828), Rossini's "Guillaume Tell" (1829), Halévy's "La Juive" (1835) and Meyerbeer's "Robert le Diable" (1831) and "Les Huguenots" (1836) had greatly impressed Verdi and his contemporaries, now became a thing of the past, an operatic dinosaur whose natural habitat was the marble and onyx expanses of the Palais Garnier. Verdi himself had realized, during the writing of "Les Vêpres siciliennes" and "Don Carlos" (both commissioned by the Paris Opera), how stifling the formal constraints imposed by the genre could be; in a letter dating from 1854, he states that "a work for the Opera is enough to stun a bull. Five hours of music. Phew!"²¹ Some eleven years later, he was to reject "King Lear" in favour of "Don Carlos", with the comment that "magnificent though it was, it would hardly be spectacular enough for Parisian taste".²²

Verdi's dislike of "grand opéra" is therefore clearly documented, and explains to a certain extent why he welcomed Mascagni's initiative. His entry into the debate silenced many

critics for whom "Cavalleria" was a preposterous and insufferable break with tradition. Verdi argued otherwise; in an illuminating interview with a Professor Ehrlich (published in the "Berliner Tageblatt") the veteran composer summarized his colleague's achievements in the following terms:

Mascagni possesses very real talent, and he has, moreover, introduced an effective novelty - short operas, without needless accessories. The mistake we older ones have made was to think it indispensable to write long operatic pieces which had to fill out an entire evening. Thus we were always compelled to rack our brains in order to provide enough music to last for four hours and a half. The consequence was the introduction of grand choruses, which had little enough to do with the subject matter of the work in hand; of interpolated scenes and arias which only impeded the action. Now comes this young composer, with his one or two-act operas, with his great talent and easy musical invention; the action moves along uninterruptedly, and he is received with enthusiasm by a delighted public.²³

Here Verdi stresses the importance of concision, and praises Mascagni for having omitted superfluous detail in the development of his plot, thereby concentrating the action within a relatively short time-span. Such a technique, with its emphasis on brief, dramatic vignettes rather than drawn-out and involved situations was well suited to Verga's original. It was no longer necessary, as Verdi points out, to burden a plot with a profusion of extraneous detail, cleverly incorporated so as to lengthen the running time of the opera.

This spirited defence of "Cavalleria rusticana" was interpreted by many as proof that Verdi, through his approval of the genre, had appointed Mascagni as his successor. Despite the invectives of Ricordi and the Wagnerians, Sonzogno, quick to gain the maximum amount of publicity and prestige for his protégé, announced that the Livornese maestro had written the "opera of the future", and that henceforth he would adopt the mantle of his distinguished predecessor. This claim must have been especially galling for Ricordi, when we consider that the

fortunes of his firm had been largely built upon the success of Verdi's works; now, with the old man's assertion that the brevity of "Cavalleria" was infinitely preferable to the excessive length of much Romantic opera (with the further implication that such superfluity was fostered by the commercial needs of publishers) the adventurous artistic policy of Casa Sonzogno had been fully vindicated. In this way Ricordi's rival gained an unprecedented boost in prestige which immeasurably strengthened the financial position of his firm. Indeed, Sonzogno was somewhat fortunate in being able to capitalize on the desire of the Italian public to see Verdi's successor firmly established; furthermore, he presented Mascagni as the first great composer of a unified Italy, whereas Verdi, the hero of the Risorgimento, now seemed to symbolize an older generation whose struggle for political freedom was a thing of the past. For those born in the fifties and sixties, "Cavalleria rusticana" and its composer were the products of an Italy whose defiant nationalism was soon to be mirrored in the colonial adventures of Crispi and his successors. But Sonzogno, while promoting Mascagni in this aggressive fashion, took care to ensure that the link with tradition was never neglected or even discarded; contrary to the assertions of Casa Ricordi and the Wagnerians, "Cavalleria" was portrayed as the logical extension of earlier, well-loved operatic ideals. Far from being a complete break with the past it was, for Sonzogno and his supporters, a reaffirmation of those singular qualities which had made Italian opera world-famous.

How, then, was the popularity of "Cavalleria" sustained? Part of the work's success must inevitably be accounted for by the direct simplicity of the story, with its lack of sub-plots and secondary intrigues (Monika Lichtenfeld has described it as being "constructed with simplicity and great clarity - its sharply chiselled outlines are almost like those of a woodcut");²¹ but several other factors must also be mentioned. The first of these concerns Verga's original authorship, which conferred upon the opera a degree of literary prestige, despite the fact that Menasci and Targioni-Tozzetti had omitted to seek the writer's permission to adapt his work (a breach of copyright which led to a famous court case, eventually settled in Verga's

favour).²⁵ Secondly, the opera sidestepped any possible accusations of immorality which could have led to censorship problems with the authorities. This was largely due to the fact that the subject-matter was sufficiently colourful and remote to escape public disapproval of the realism of its presentation; in other words, Italian audiences were not alienated by such a vivid and naturalistic approach, and acclaimed its positive rather than negative aspects. To this end the librettists had taken care to ensure that Turiddu's death (as in Verga's original) took place off-stage, thereby remaining faithful to the traditional Aristotelian precept that violent action must not be perpetrated in full view of the spectator. Thirdly, "Cavalleria" was regarded by many as an operatic offshoot of theatrical "verismo", which coincidentally had originated in Italy with the 1884 première of Verga's play of the same name. As with so many developments in Italian literature, that of "verismo" in the theatre originated in France, where novels by Zola, Daudet and the Goncourts were beginning to be adapted for the stage. The efforts of playwrights such as Henri Becque, André Antoine and Aurélien-François Lugné-Poë in promoting Naturalist drama had borne fruit in the establishment, in Paris, of new theatres devoted to the genre; the Théâtre Libre and Théâtre de l'Oeuvre now became the twin altars of theatrical realism, where dialogue, acting and décor all reflected the overriding preoccupation with "la vérité". Zola himself had written a virtual manifesto of the movement entitled "Le Naturalisme au théâtre" (1881), while Becque's "Les Corbeaux", which appeared a year later, was one of the first Naturalist plays given in Paris. In Italy, Capuana's influential "Il teatro italiano contemporaneo" (written as early as 1872) had called for greater realism in the theatre, and following Verga's pioneering "Cavalleria rusticana" a host of other "verista" plays now appeared. Both Verga and Capuana subsequently re-entered the fray, the former with "In portineria" (1885) and "La lupa" (1896), the latter with "Malia" (1885). A good description of the aims and objectives of the genre is given by the critic Ettore Capriolo:

I veristi . . . si caratterizzano per il rifiuto, più o meno deciso, che oppongono a determinati clichés della

drammaturgia in auge. Sopprimono anzitutto i personaggi moraleggianti, frequentissimi in Ferrari come in Dumas fils: la vicenda deve parlare da sola e l'autore deve scomparire il più possibile dietro gli uomini e le donne che porta sulla scena. Se conclusione c'è da trarre, che essa deriva dai fatti: chi scrive si limiti a presentare un dossier cercando di non falsarne i dati e di non sovrapporvi in alcun modo le proprie personali opinioni. In secondo luogo eliminano quei comodi personaggi della convenzione ottocentesca che sono i confidenti o, talvolta, i servi, utilissimi perché il pubblico apprenda l'antefatto ma ovviamente ingiustificati nel contesto di una drammaturgia scientifica: anche in questo senso la storia, la "tranche de vie", deve parlare da sola . . . Va detto però che l'oggettività e l'imparzialità sono, ovviamente, più che altro teoriche, che ogni autore manifesta apertamente la propria visione della vita, che infine è quasi totalmente assente . . . quell'elemento scientifico di derivazione positivista.¹⁴

The Italian public's familiarity with theatrical "verismo" ensured that they were well prepared for the operatic equivalent; Eleonora Duse, Flavio Andò and Giovanni Grasso were now substituted by Gemma Bellincioni and Roberto Stagno, who transferred to the lyric stage the same realism of acting which had ensured the success of Verga's play. This initiative encouraged many of their colleagues to tread a similar path, and those singers whose talent for dramatic improvisation had previously been stifled by the constraints of tradition now found a new and vital mode of self-expression. The gradual emergence of this new school of artists did not go unnoticed by Sonzogno, who was quick to spot and sign up any promising talent. The Milanese publisher's success in this field must be attributed to the growing strength of his firm, which now began to establish its own network of theatres in direct opposition to Ricordi. International links were opened up, with the result that Mascagni's opera was soon given all over the world, albeit to widely differing receptions. By 1891 it had been produced in several European countries in addition to the United States, where the first performance took place in Philadelphia on 9

September of the same year. Compared with the Italian press, international opinion was rather less predictable. The New York Courier declared that "Cavalleria rusticana" is certainly an over-puffed and over-praised opera, despite the evident talent of its composer". Dvorak, in the same paper, found the work "lacking in originality", adding that "it was clever in certain respects, but I would not want to hear it again".¹⁷ Yet another American journal offered this most perceptive of comments on Mascagni's masterpiece: "Cavalleria" is as full of tricks as the monkey on a hand-organ. It is a trick to sing the principal tenor song before the curtain rises; a trick to use the church as a contrast to the passionate scenes before it".¹⁸ Such inane, almost ludicrous criticism was very much typical of international reaction to the opera. There were, of course, exceptions; the "Musical Times", reviewing the world première, praised those very features which were to irritate many other foreign critics:

One great merit of Signor Mascagni's opera is its conciseness - to wit, the fact of the libretto closely following Verga's play, and thus, by a rapid succession of dramatic incidents and contrasts, rivetting the attention of the audience from beginning to end . . . such is the short, but extremely effective, picturesque and melodious work which, by its dramatic verve and intensity of colouring has raised Signor Mascagni all at once from obscurity to fame among his countrymen.¹⁹

The "Times", commenting on the British première (Covent Garden, 20 October 1891) declared that "the story is of the simplest and most direct order conceivable" and summed up the opera as a "masterpiece of concentration".²⁰

Such were the critical fortunes of Mascagni's opera abroad. But in Italy, despite the acclamations of both public and critics, there were still many who regarded "Cavalleria" with some suspicion. One of the principal reservations was the fact that an opera which purported to be "naturalistic" in its treatment of a regional subject had made little concession to linguistic accuracy. Menasci and Targioni-Tozzetti were accused of putting into the mouths of Sicilian villagers an inept

mixture of stock Italian opera phrases and anachronistic modernisms unknown to the primitive peasants of the Mezzogiorno, with the only attempt at a faithful reproduction of dialect being provided by a brief, introductory "Siciliana". Such criticisms may seem to be largely irrelevant, but in literary circles, where formal and painstaking accuracy of detail was one of the prerequisites of Naturalism (we need only quote Zola's mammoth efforts to ensure total verisimilitude in his novels) any pretensions that "Cavalleria" might have had to being "realistic" were scornfully dismissed.³¹ But despite the refusal of a small sector of dedicated Naturalists to accept the validity of Mascagni's approach, it was generally recognized that the opera had revolutionized the entire concept of lyric drama. We are fortunate in having another operatic version of Verga's ubiquitous tale by the Torinese composer Stanislao Gastaldon, and this work, when compared to Mascagni's original, clearly shows the extent and effectiveness of these innovations.

Gastaldon's opera, entitled "Mala Pasqua!", was in fact given prior to "Cavalleria rusticana"; if we are to believe Mascagni, both he and his colleague adopted the subject quite independently of each other. Gastaldon had, like his compatriot, entered his work for the second Sonzogno competition, but upon hearing that Mascagni had duplicated his efforts he promptly withdrew and arranged to have "Mala Pasqua!" performed before the results were announced, thus pre-empting any possible success by his rival. The three-act libretto by Bartocci-Fontana romanticized Verga's original to such an extent that both characters and situations lost a certain amount of dramatic force, with the result that the opera, given for the first time at the Teatro Costanzi on 7 April 1890, failed to impress the same Roman public which only a month later would be cheering to the echo Mascagni's sister-work.³² After "Cavalleria rusticana" had met with its triumphant reception "Mala Pasqua!", despite its seemingly exciting title (more redolent of impending conflict than the somewhat staid "Rustic Chivalry" of its rival), was completely forgotten, and its disconsolate composer forced to eke out a meagre living by producing shallow and imitative "morceaux de salon".³³

Gastaldon's opera had not, however, been the first to broach a veristic subject. In Italy, interest in Naturalism on the operatic stage had commenced with the Italian première of Bizet's "Carmen", given at Naples in 1879. Again it was Amintore Galli who had secured the Italian rights for Sonzogno, thereby depriving Ricordi of the chance to acquire what has arguably become the world's best-known opera. But despite the success of this original production, the Scala première of the work did not take place until 26 December 1885, when "Carmen" achieved ten consecutive performances. It is significant that Bizet's sister-work, "Les Pêcheurs de perles", was given fifteen performances in the same theatre only a matter of some months later; Milan, it seemed, was not quite ready for the vivid realism of Meilhac and Halévy's libretto. Several critics found the explicit nature of both subject and action altogether too assertive for their own conservative tastes. As Rodolfo Celletti has succinctly stated, "Carmen" was the opera "che aprì la strada alla "giovane scuola italiana"", and it did so by imposing "la sostituzione del conflitto tra il maschio e la femmina alla simbolica antitesi romantica tra il bene e il male, inquadrando la vicenda in umili strati sociali e in ambienti caratterizzati da uno spiccato colore locale".³⁴

Despite the example of Bizet, Italian composers were slow to react to this new mode of operatic expression. Most preferred to confine their efforts to the well-proven genre of historical opera; one need only quote such works as Rossi's "La Contessa di Mons" and Pissuti's "Mattia Corraino" (both 1877), Gomes' "Maria Tudor" (1879) and Bensa's "Cleopatra" (1889). These are only several of the more notable works of the genre from the period in question; hundreds of others, less fortunate in their reception by the Italian public, await an exceedingly doubtful exhumation. Why, then, did the appearance of so revolutionary a work as Bizet's masterpiece have so little immediate influence on contemporary Italian opera? Placing to one side the inevitable reservations of contemporary critics (reviews of "Carmen" range from violent invectives against Bizet's "flagrant immorality" to more reasoned observations doubting the suitability of such "low-born" subjects to the operatic stage) several factors of crucial importance remain to be considered. The first and perhaps most important of these

concerns the concept of operatio realism, which in the Italy of 1879 was very much unknown to the average theatre-goer. This ignorance was due primarily to the nature of contemporary Italian attempts at literary Naturalism; the somewhat infamous "scuola di Tronconi", with its emphasis on the brutal, often obscene depiction of what was purported to be the "reality" of everyday existence had led to a spate of hastily written, ill-conceived novels which sought only to pander to the superficial tastes of a small middle-class reading public. Giuseppe Caraniga, in an illuminating essay on the subject, quotes such titles as "Gli amori di una kellnerina", "Notti d'amore nell'acqua, sul prato, nell'alcova" and "Nanà a Milano"; clear evidence that the Zolaesque framework of novel writing was being utilized as a means of perpetrating a commercialized, trite and mildly pornographic literary style whose subject-matter gained a dubious respectability through a tenuous association with the fashionable science of sociology. In other words, lewdness and vulgarity were to be excused as the inevitable outcome of any "scientific" observation of reality.³⁵

The success enjoyed by such novels may seem to contradict the cool reception afforded to "Carmen" until we consider the peculiar psyché of contemporary audiences. As we have seen, literary realism at that time had been unable to free itself from the mainstream of the "romanzo d'appendice" which, while being read by a large proportion of the literate Italian public, presented a superficial approach designed to tease and titillate rather than reflect the essential truths of everyday life. Even such a serious and well-written example as Capuana's "Giacinta", dating from 1879, was widely condemned for its flagrant immorality; Verga's "Eva" was similarly compared to Zola's "Nana" in both content and approach, gaining for its author the unwelcome distinction of having joined the ranks of Tronconi, Praga, Arrighi, Cantù and Carcano.³⁶ The fact that even distinguished writers (albeit at the beginning of their careers) pandered in such a way to contemporary tastes bears testimony to the commercial success of the genre. Realism of this kind might not have been considered entirely "respectable", but it was widely read, and this popularity tended to ensure its perpetuation. As Verga's preface to his early novel "Eva"

clearly points out, the Italian bourgeoisie were quite content to read such books in the privacy and comfort of their own homes, but when the same subject-matter was transferred to the operatic stage a dramatic change of attitude took place; namely a refusal to admit publicly to an interest in the realist approach to art, out of fear that to do so would imply an almost sinful liking for the supposed immorality of such works. Thus an opera like "Carmen" could not, in 1879, overcome the self-imposed barrier of traditional conservatism which decreed that the public manifestation of reality was, in a sense, demeaning to those who witnessed it; the novel, with its secret dialogue between author and reader was to be much preferred as the purveyor of such "delicate" subjects.

The situation was further complicated by the fact that for the average Italian, opera was a noble and lofty art-form best suited to the portrayal of grand and theatrically imposing subjects; hence the popularity of historical works which, as we have seen, were very much the mainstay of such composers as Ponchielli and Marchetti. "Carmen", with its emphasis on love, jealousy and murder (set in the present day in the vicinity of a cigarette factory in Seville) could hardly aspire to such grandiose heights, and for the majority of opera-goers, weaned on a diet of pseudo-Sir Walter Scott, Bizet's masterpiece must have seemed sorely lacking in the customary proprieties. The dominant position of Verdi was yet another crucial factor; with "Aida" only eight years old, and "Otello" and "Falstaff" still in the future, the "grand old man" was still very much a key figure, revered and doted upon by his compatriots. He (and not the French school of Gounod, Saint-Saëns and D'Élibes) was the model to be followed, and when Bizet arrived with the vibrant realism of "Carmen", Italian hostility to foreign opera ensured a less than successful reception. One can view this unwillingness to accept another nation's music as a peculiarly Italian phenomenon; after all, the same nation had few reservations about reading, in translation, the mass of French literature which had, since the early 1830's, exerted a considerable influence upon Italian literary thought. But on the lyric stage nationalism reigned supreme; the glorious tradition laid down earlier in the century by Rossini, Bellini and Donizetti had been built upon, during the years of

Unification, by the overwhelming genius of Verdi. Whereas literature had, by its very nature, been regionally fragmented into a plethora of independent and often contradictory trends, music (and especially opera) could boast of a far greater integration and uniformity of purpose. Coupled with this artistic unity was a realization, within Europe and the Americas, of both the historical importance of Italian music and the validity of its contemporary works. In a word, Italian opera was popular the world over, while Italian literature (apart from giants such as Dante, Boccaccio and Petrarch) was very much insular in its influence. With this strong tradition to uphold and maintain, the foreign operatic realism of "Carmen", despite the intrinsic qualities of the work, could only founder on the rocks of Italian traditionalism and ultra-nationalism.¹⁷

One further point remains to be mentioned. As has been shown in the opening preamble, part of Sonzogno's early success in the field of music was due to the enterprise of Galli, who secured the rights to many French works hitherto unperformed in Italy. However, had it not been for the publisher's literary and journalistic ventures, it is unlikely whether Galli's programme of predominantly French opera could have been sustained, since these works (for the reasons already mentioned) were for the most part unpopular with Italian audiences; apart from such perennial favourites as Gounod and Saint-Saëns, there was little to lure spectators away from the Ricordi copyrights. Whereas Sonzogno, through Galli's extensive labours, could boast of offering the Italian public an extensive and almost esoteric repertoire of rarely heard foreign novelties (most of which were receiving their Italian premières), Ricordi could point to the established tradition of Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti, Verdi and Wagner. It is somewhat ironic to consider that Sonzogno's fortunes were largely built upon the sale of cheap paperbacks featuring that especial and somewhat salacious brand of literary realism which, as has been seen, was the staple diet of the Italian reading public of the time; and yet when Galli presented "Carmen", the same public rejected it as running contrary to the prevailing concept of opera as a inspiratory, cathartic experience in which the soul was cleansed and the mind ennobled. In retrospect Sonzogno must

be given credit for his adventurous artistic policy, together with his willingness to risk money on aesthetically interesting but financially unrewarding projects. Furthermore, he ran the risk of offending public morality by staging "Carmen", and must be praised for the way in which he promoted the opera, especially when we consider that the ultra-cautious Giulio Ricordi (perhaps remembering the damaging political censorship suffered by Verdi during his "anni di galera") was quick to avoid any semblance of public disapproval of his own artistic policy. (In this respect he found it easier to foster the vein of Germanic neo-Romanticism as typified by Puccini's "Le villi" and Catalani's "Loreley", with their emphasis on the mystic, supernatural world of Teutonic legend).

In the last analysis, however, it was Sonzogno's editorial weakness which contributed to the demise of "Carmen"; faced by the strong Ricordi faction, with its closely knit network of theatres and its quasi-monopoly of the Italian repertoire, it proved impossible to give Bizet's masterpiece the required impetus for a successful launch. In 1879 Sonzogno, as a left-of-centre popular fiction publisher, could not hope to compete with Ricordi, whose right-wing political views and high-class printing concerns lent an aura of respectability to his firm. It would take some ten years for the gap to narrow; within that decade the appearance of Verga's "I Malavoglia" and "Mastro-don Gesualdo", together with Capuana's theoretical writings, combined to lift Italian literary realism from the morass of mediocrity perpetrated by Tronconi and his followers onto a higher plane of artistic endeavour. The net result was that whereas the flow of second-rate works continued unabated, there emerged an élite of Italian writers for whom realism became an artistic mode of expression, and not merely a tool for the untrammelled and undisciplined depiction of reality. In this way the movement slowly acquired a modicum of respectability which gradually facilitated the acceptance of Naturalism on the operatic stage. The first manifestation of this change in public opinion was the 1889 première of Giacomo Orefice's "Mariska", which attempted to emulate the uncompromising realism of Bizet's "Carmen". As we shall see, a detailed examination of this work leads us to consider "Cavalleria rusticana" in a somewhat different light.

"Mariska" was Orefice's first opera, and takes place in the "present day" in the Hungarian town of Posny. This contemporary setting is in itself novel, but what distinguishes "Mariska" from other works produced at the same time is the subject-matter. Mariska, a young gipsy girl, is loved by two young men; the gipsy Gyamar and the villager Erik. The ensuing complications result in Gyamar attempting to stab Erik to death on-stage at the end of Act One, followed by a final challenge at the conclusion of the opera, culminating in mortal combat between the two rivals. In true operatic fashion Mariska endeavours to separate her two suitors, and in the process is accidentally stabbed by Erik; she then dies, surrounded by Gyamar, his gipsy relatives, a suitably anguished Erik and a crowd of horrified bystanders. The opera, which is set in three acts, is liberally punctuated by interludes of gipsy music and dancing (the Act Three "Czardas" exemplifies this), and further local colour is provided by the inclusion of an episode in Act Two where Erik, surprisingly enough, swears brotherhood to Gyamar in the traditional gipsy fashion: bread is broken and divided between the two men over a wooden cross held by the other gipsies. In all, the resemblance to "Carmen" is striking, and undoubtedly contributed to the work's initial success when produced at the Teatro Carignano in Turin during the winter of 1889. A subsequent performance at the Teatro Manzoni in Milan then brought the work to the attention of Ricordi, who promptly acquired it.

Why then did "Mariska", with its overtly veristic plot, not initiate the new wave of realist opera? The answer seems to lie in the fact that like "Mala Pasqua!" the three-act format of Orefice's work weakened the dramatic impetus of the story to such an extent that the violent episodes in which the plot abounds were not brought sharply enough into relief. Contemporary critics also felt that the length of the opera was excessive (before the première Orefice had even considered expanding "Mariska" into four acts) and this fact, coupled with what the "Musical Times" described as "the sudden and unaccountable reconciliation of the two rivals in the opening scene of the second act" seems to have blunted the dramatic edge of many scenes. But despite these shortcomings the opera was, to quote the "Musical Times" yet again, "sufficiently pathetic and

even novel to arrest the continued attention and enlist the sympathy of the audience . . . although it does not aspire to the heroic flights of so-called grand opera".³⁸

"Cavalleria rusticana" therefore possessed, in "Mala Pasqua!" and "Mariska", two flawed if extremely interesting predecessors. Although it seems evident that the success of Mascagni's work (when compared to that of these two operas) was due to its dramatic concision and melodic verve, one can no longer consider "Cavalleria" as the first Italian attempt at veristic opera. Too many critics have tended to presume that Mascagni's masterpiece initiated, in quite a miraculous manner, the entire concept of realism on the Italian operatic stage; in the light of contemporary evidence, we can now view it as the culmination of a slow and gradual process, beginning rather hesitantly with the Italian première of "Carmen", accelerating during the closing years of the 1880's, and eventually coming into prominence with the emergence of "Cavalleria rusticana". Mascagni's "chef d'oeuvre", while original in concept and execution, owed much to previous attempts, and it is perhaps understandable (given the circumstances of the première) that the Livornese composer's originality in choosing a veristic subject should be somewhat over-emphasised. The lavish publicity accorded to the opera by Sonzogno certainly contributed to this, but what cannot be disputed is the fact that this short work was soon adopted as the flag-bearer of the emergent school of operatic realism. As we shall see in a later chapter, an entire generation of composers and librettists were to follow Mascagni's example, with the movement soon being termed "la giovane scuola italiana". But in those palmy days yet another phrase symbolized the artistic aims and aspirations of the new genre; this was "verismo", a term which by 1892 enjoyed widespread currency. If the subsequent history of Italian opera of the period is to be adequately chronicled, then both the origins and implications of this most imprecise of concepts must be examined; as the following chapter will demonstrate, an understanding of "verismo" is thus essential if we are to appreciate fully those salient features which set apart "Cavalleria rusticana" and its progeny from the mainstream of Italian opera production.

NOTES

- (1) Edition of April 1890, p.217.
- (2) Quoted in the "Musical Times" (January 1890), p.21.
- (3) Sonzogno also published the Rome daily "La Capitale" and the periodicals "La Musica popolare", "Il Teatro illustrato" and "Il Secolo illustrato dalla domenica".
- (4) These included such collections as the "Biblioteca Popolare Universale", "Biblioteca del Popolo", "Biblioteca Classica" and "Biblioteca Romantica Economica". Sonzogno's annual output of popular fiction totalled a million and a half volumes per year.
- (5) See Part One, Chapter Three, pp.89-94.
- (6) Quoted in the "Musical Times" (May 1886), p.297.
- (7) Ibid. (March 1886), p.167.
- (8) Ibid. (July 1886), p.424.
- (9) Ibid. (March 1889), p.148.
- (10) Unfortunately the findings of this panel have remained unpublished, and may well have perished during the bombing of the Sonzogno archives.
- (11) The contrast between the extreme realism of Bellincioni's acting and the somewhat contrived artificiality of her colleagues provoked varied reactions from critics of the day. Gino Monaldi describes her Violetta thus:

Il fanatismo suscitato dalla Bellincioni non si descrive. Pareva che nessuno avesse mai, prima d'allora, veduto e sentito Violetta, tanto quella che ci presentava la Bellincioni appariva diversa dalle altre. Non è il caso di discutere se la cantante fosse sempre all'unisono con l'attrice, e se la prima lasciasse qualche lacuna come esecutrice, o la seconda eccedesse talvolta nella ricerca di certi artifici scenici e di certi effetti vocali: certo

e che la sua potenza suggestiva era straordinaria.

However Arrigo Boito (to whom Bellincioni had been suggested by Giulio Ricordi as a possible creator of Desdemona) wrote to Verdi in the following terms: "Vero sentimento drammatico, vera spontaneità e potenza di accentuazione non mi pare che possieda". Such diversity of opinion shows the extent to which Bellincioni pioneered a break from established tradition, and it was only in the following decade that this new style would be both accepted and widely imitated (see article on Bellincioni in the "Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo" (Rome, 1954), 9 vols, II, pp.199-202).

- (12) Carlo Gatti, "Il Teatro alla Scala nella storia e nell'arte", 2 vols (Milan, 1964), I, p.166.
- (13) Interview given by Mascagni to the "Fanfulla della Domenica", 4 December 1892.
- (14) See article on Mascagni in the "Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo", VII, p.225.
- (15) Gatti, I, p.166.
- (16) Through the intercession of Mugnone, Giordano was placed on a year's contract with a monthly stipend of 200 lire.
- (17) One indication of the opera's success is given by the number of subsequent performances at the Teatro Costanzi; by May 1894 these had reached fifty, with the work being given no fewer than seven different productions.
- (18) See article on Clementi in the "Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo", III, p.963.
- (19) Yet another journal was the "Cronaca Wagneriana", which first appeared in Bologna during the summer of 1893, edited by Giulio Padovani together with members of the local Wagner society. The strength of Wagnerian sentiment in both this city and Turin is shown in contemporary reviews, e.g. that of Catalani's "Loreley" in the "Musical Times" (May 1890), p.263:

Among Italian cities, Turin holds, from a musical point of view, an almost unique position, which is perhaps shared only by Bologna. It is in these two cities that Wagner's operas, both in their entirety and in selections performed at concerts, have long taken root, and are appreciated by earnest, intelligent, and musically educated audiences, which offer a striking contrast to the impulsive, somewhat turbulent and frequently uncharitable public of Milan . . . Hence a genuine success scored at the Teatro Regio of Turin or the Teatro Comunale of Bologna is a far more crucial test than an enthusiastic ovation or the wholesale and hasty condemnation of the Scala.

- (20) Indeed, by the beginning of 1899 the Wagner society of Bologna, originally founded in 1870, was formally dissolved on the grounds that there was no longer any need for it or similar institutions. The official explanation was that "the Bayreuth master's admirers now far outnumber his opponents", but the prevailing popularity of the "giovane scuola" and the public's preference for their operas may well have been a deciding factor.
- (21) "Carteggi verdiani", edited by Alessandro Luzzi, 4 vols (Vols I and II, Rome, 1935; Vols III and IV, Rome, 1947), I, p.26.
- (22) Letter to Leon Escudier, quoted by him in "Mes Souvenirs" (Paris, 1863).
- (23) Quoted in the "Musical Times" (June 1892), p.365.
- (24) See article on "Cavalleria rusticana" published by Deutsche Grammophon Gesellschaft in their 1966 recording of the opera (set no. 2709 020).
- (25) See Part One, Chapter Three, pp.70-71.
- (26) See article on "verismo" in the "Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo", IX, p.1596. The subsequent development of the movement on the Italian stage shows a gradual decline in the frequency with which primitive milieux were depicted, coupled with a return to contemporary urban settings

(such as Milan and Rome) in the plays of Giacosa ("Tristi amori", 1887; "I diritti dell'anima", 1894; "Come le foglie", 1900), Praga ("La vergini", 1889; "La moglie ideale", 1890), Rovetta ("La trilogia di Dorina", 1891) and Antona-Traversi ("Le Rozeno", 1891), all of which can be described as "verismo borghese" (with the accent now firmly upon what Capriolo, in the above article, describes as "la sostanziale fragilità di un morale esclusivamente fondata sul concetto della rispettabilità sociale"). As we shall see in Part One, Chapter Four, the same change of emphasis from the lower to the middle classes was to take place on the operatic stage.

- (27) Quoted in the "Musical Times" (October 1891), p.658. (Dvorak also added that the Intermezzo was "the worst thing in the opera - the very worst".)
- (28) Ibid. (January 1892), p.20.
- (29) Ibid. (September 1890), pp.537-38.
- (30) Edition of 20 October 1891.
- (31) In retrospect the reservations of some critics regarding the language used in "Cavalleria rusticana" can be viewed in a more objective light than was possible at the time. If we take as our starting-point De Sanctis' assertion (made in his review of Zola's "L'Assommoir") that the artist should immerse himself "nelle lingue del popolo, più vicino alla natura, che ha passioni più vive, che ha impressioni più immediate, e che deriva il suo linguaggio non dalle regole, ma dalle impressioni" and then depict as faithfully as possible "tutto quel tesoro d'immagini, di movenze, di proverbi, di sentenze, tutta quella maniera accorciata, viva, spigliata, rapida, ch'è nei dialetti", then it is patently obvious that Mascagni's librettists never intended to follow such a course. Apart from the use of dialect in the "Siciliana" and a few colourful imprecations, the language is uniformly that of early nineteenth-century Romantic opera. The reasons for this are varied; in the first instance, neither Menasci nor Targioni-Tozzetti were sufficiently well-acquainted with Sicilian to write at ease in dialect; furthermore,

such a decision would invariably have led to difficulties in comprehension among Northern Italian audiences (as Verga himself realized during the composition of "I Malavoglia"). By adhering to tradition, both librettists ensured a ready acceptance of their scenario. Indeed, the use of dialect was considered novel enough to warrant Mascagni sending off his score to the Sonzogno competition without the "Siciliana", only presenting it at the auditions when he was sure of the favourable reaction of the jury (it was, in his own words, "una cosa troppo arrischiata"). In this light the strictures of the critics appear somewhat superfluous: it was only to be with the advent of Leoncavallo's "I Medici" (in which the composer claimed to have emulated fifteenth-century Florentine speech patterns and vocabulary) that a justifiable criticism of operatic language could be made.

(32) Gastaldon's main failing seems to have been the excessive length of his opera, which was cast in three long acts. Contemporary reports also speak of the libretto being burdened with a considerable amount of extraneous detail which lessened the impact of the drama.

(33) It is somewhat ironic that the most famous of these, "Musica proibita", should have been composed before the unfortunate "Mala Pasqua!"; without its success Gastaldon would probably have been unable to produce his opera.

(34) See article on "verismo" in the "Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo", IX, p.1597. Celletti's comment to the effect that "Carmen" paved the way for Italian operatic "verismo" is of interest, since Bizet's "femme fatale" is the direct antithesis of later "verista" female characters (who tend to play the role of the passive victim of circumstance). Carmen's assertiveness and flagrant sexuality liken her to Verga's "la Lupa", whom Puccini was later to reject as a possible subject because of his fear that the audience would find such a character unsympathetic. As we shall see, this was one of the principal reasons for the failure of "Carmen" to initiate operatic "verismo" in Italy; to an Italian public for whom the theatrical equivalent was still some five years in the future (Verga's play

"Cavalleria rusticana" dates from 1884), Bizet's opera was far ahead of its time in challenging the traditional concept of the Romantic operatic heroine.

(35) Carsaniga's essay is given in F.W.J. Hemmings' "The Age of Realism" (London, 1974), pp.323-53.

(36) Op.cit., p.348.

(37) The unwillingness of Italian audiences to accept the works of foreign composers seems a trifle unreasonable when we consider that the vast majority of nineteenth-century Italian operas are based on foreign literary sources. Furthermore, Italian literature of the period shows in many instances slavish imitation of French models (this trend is particularly noticeable in contemporary Italian theatre).

(38) Edition of July 1890, pp.410-11.

CHAPTER TWO
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Towards a Definition of "Verismo"

We have seen, in the course of the previous chapter, how the appearance of "Mariska" and "Cavalleria rusticana" heralded the birth of a new and radically different operatic genre. The purpose of the present discussion is to examine the extent of this trend, and in so doing enumerate the various factors which led to the establishment of operatic "verismo". Once this is achieved the reader will gain a far clearer picture of the overall significance of such a dramatic revolution in operatic stagecraft, with the subsequent history of the movement now appearing as the varied repetition of a series of almost standardized theatrical devices. Inevitably, this statement hints at the underlying causes for the genre's later demise, but during the 1890's the striking originality of Mascagni's masterpiece seemed to augur a new era in Italian opera. It was generally recognized that this work, with its almost total perfection of form and content, could serve as a model for many others. As we shall see, a host of imitators (a few inspired, the rest mediocre) dissected the structural and narrative framework of the opera, reconstituting its constituent components into new and varied forms. Gradually a standard pattern began to emerge, as composers and librettists used and re-used, in all possible combinations and guises, the new theatrical conventions which "Cavalleria" had so triumphantly affirmed. Thus the "giovane scuola" was born; a term coined by the critics to describe those musicians and writers who now seized every opportunity to sustain what was rapidly becoming the most adventurous and enterprising operatic movement in Europe. How this was achieved will now be chronicled, with a convenient

point of departure being provided by an examination of that most elusive and far-reaching of terms, "verismo".

The word itself is not easily defined; the adjective "vero" becomes the root of a noun which, unlike "verità" (which covers truth in all its varied aspects) pinpoints one highly specific use of the concept, namely within a literary context. The situation is further complicated by the presence of two other "-ismi": "realismo" and "naturalismo". Whereas these two terms hark back to the theories of Taine, Brunetière and Zola, it is only with their crystallization in the didactical writings of Luigi Capuana that the modified concept of "verismo" arises. Capuana's ideas on the subject are clearly outlined in "Per l'arte" (1885), where the author is seen as a social scientist whose role is to seek out and isolate "un documento umano", with the express intention of creating a fictional work in which the development of the action, together with the motivation of the characters, arises logically out of the situation portrayed. But Capuana totally rejects the idea of a photographic rendering, where every single detail is meticulously recorded in long, descriptive passages; the writer must have recourse to fantasy, and must use his imagination to produce not a picture of reality, but reality itself: "Per rappresentare, per far "del vivo" ci vogliono sempre quelle due divine facoltà: la fantasia, l'immaginazione, che potrebbe anche darsi siano un'identica cosa". Capuana continues by emphasizing how in the best "verista" writers, "l'ispirazione" never degenerates into irrelevant padding: "Trovatemi venti righe di descrizione oziosa nelle cose di Verga, e vi darò causa vinta".¹ Furthermore, in "Gli "ismi" contemporanei" (1898) the importance of objectivity in the "romanzo verista" is vehemently stated:

Un romanziere ha l'obbligo di dimenticare, di obliterare se stesso, di vivere la vita dei suoi personaggi . . . lasciando responsabile il personaggio di tutto quel che sente e pensa. In questo senso il romanziere non deve avere nessuna morale, nessuna religione, nessuna politica sua particolare, ma penetrarle e intenderle tutte, spassionatamente, almeno per quanto è possibile. Con questo mezzo soltanto egli potrà mettere al mondo non fantocci, non manichini vestiti con una

o con un'altra foggia, atteggiati in una o altra maniera, ma creature libere, viventi nella elevata serenità dell'atmosfera artistica, veramente ideali, cioè veramente conformi all'idea. Con questo mezzo soltanto egli non dovrà stillarsi il cervello a proporsi tesi e risolverle, che è quanto dire tentar di fare opera vana a cui non basta la stessa scienza; può risolvere casi parziali, perché l'individuo è un mondo a parte, la qual cosa significa tutt'altro che risolvere una tesi.¹

Capuana's strongly held convictions were put into practice in such works as "Profili di donne" (1877) and "Giacinta" (1879), both of which enjoyed a measure of success. Ultimately, however, his notion of a "verismo" in which the excesses of naturalistic determinism were tempered by the inspiratory powers of the author was doomed to failure, since it proved almost impossible to reconcile the traditional tenets of literary Naturalism with the belief that the writer's imagination could indeed create a reality more perfect and true than reality itself. In retrospect, Capuana's talent as a theoretician far outweighed his powers as a novelist, and it was left to Giovanni Verga to attempt a far more convincing artistic synthesis in "I Malavoglia" and "Mastro-don Gesualdo".

Unlike his colleague, Verga had little interest in formulating a precise definition of "verismo". Apart from occasional pronouncements such as those in "L'amante di Gramigna" and the preface to "I Malavoglia", Verga (like Flaubert) preferred to present his views through the medium of his creative writings. Here he rejects the traditional narrative modes and strives towards a style which is a natural product of the actions and thoughts of his characters, and adapts itself to this in such a way that "la mano dell'artista rimarrà assolutamente invisibile" and "l'opera d'arte sembrerà "essersi fatta da sé"².³ Thus Verga, with his insistence that realism should originate from aesthetic rather than scientific considerations, shows himself to be a disciple of De Sanctis. The documentary approach pioneered by Zola is now abandoned, since for the Sicilian writer "la verità in arte" can only be achieved by reliance on personal experience and not by close study and observation. His refusal to be labelled as a "verista" can therefore be regarded as yet another affirmation

of his own individuality; indeed, when the journalist Riccardo Artuffo mentioned "il realismo, il verismo e il naturalismo" in a 1911 interview, Verga retorted with a gruff "Lo chiami come vuole Lei".⁴ As Luigi Pirandello has convincingly argued,

Sbaglia chi crede che l'opera della maturità di Giovanni Verga fu condotta premeditatamente secondo un metodo artistico suggerito da altri e importato da una scuola straniera, senza che si fosse naturalmente generata in lui, sua materia viva. Quel metodo non fu per il Verga della scuola naturalista francese, ma per naturale diritto suo, perchè sua intima legge, vale a dire libero e spontaneo movimento di un'immagine di vita ch'era dentro di lui e che per questo movimento proprio e spontaneo (che è la vera tecnica, da intendere appunto come immediato movimento della forma) doveva venir fuori. Tanto è vero questo, che ormai, a distanza di tempo, l'opera vive intera e perfetta, in tutti i suoi elementi proprii, unici, che tra sè si tengono a vicenda meravigliosamente e a vicenda cooperano a formare un corpo vivo, senza che per nessuno si possa pensare che sia così per ubbidire a canoni che non ricordiamo neanche più quali fossero, della scuola naturalista francese.⁵

Having examined in broad outline the ideas of Capuana and Verga regarding literary "verismo", we must now turn our attention to its operatic namesake. It is unfortunate that both forms of artistic expression should bear the same name, for this duplication has led to much confusion among critics. In the first instance, the operatic historian is faced with an unusual dilemma; because of the nature of his subject (which is in essence an elaborate synthesis of music, drama and stagecraft) it becomes difficult, if not impossible to give a balanced judgement of a particular work. Critics have tended to gravitate towards their own interests, with the result that a global analysis is rarely encountered. This is, of course, wholly understandable; no-one expects a literary critic to give a professional view on the appropriateness of the music in an opera, whereas he is well-qualified to comment on the dramatic efficacy of the libretto. Similarly, it is unfair to expect

from a music critic a clear insight into the varied aspects of stagecraft. Only the very greatest of critics, that is to say those men whose breadth of knowledge enables them to encompass the twin spheres of music and literature, can hope to give a balanced account of an operatic work. Unfortunately "verismo" has not been so lucky in its choice of chroniclers; as we have already noted, the term brings to mind Verga, Capuana and a host of other "veristi" of the period 1870 to 1890. Thus the literary critic, in approaching operatic "verismo", expects to find a theatrical assimilation and presentation of those theories peculiar to the genre, and is disappointed when he realizes that such features are not readily recognizable. He then dismisses this type of opera on the premise that it presents not literary "verismo" in one of its many forms, but a watered-down and trivialized imitation. Such a view is, as we shall see, unnecessarily harsh in its condemnation of the movement; "verismo" has been unfortunate in the sense that although it has been much discussed, perhaps no other operatic form has engendered such a large amount of misguided and often hysterically insane criticism. As Giuseppe Ugolini has pointed out,

Affermare che del teatro musicale verista non ci si è mai occupato, veramente non può dirsi . . . Per amore della verità, bisogna riconoscere che se ne è parlato, e molto; ma soltanto per poterne dire tutto il male possibile: il che - se ad ogni aggressione critica si fosse citato il corrispondente documento testuale - sarebbe stato, oltre che legittimo, del tutto consono a quella critica insofferente di ogni compiacente ipocrisia, dalla quale il confronto delle idee acquista stimolo e vitalità.⁴

Before continuing our examination of what constitutes operatic "verismo", it will be helpful to outline some aspects of previous critical comment for the light these shed on contemporary attitudes to the question.

When we consider that one of the most revolutionary features of "Cavalleria rusticana" was its considerable brevity, it can be readily appreciated that the facility with which such works could be staged contributed much to their popularity. This led

many critics to condemn the genre as a product of the music publishers, a means of maximizing profit through minimizing artistic worth. Vincenzo Morello, in an interesting review of Giordano's "Mala vita" (written shortly after the premiere), referred to the contemporary penchant for operatic "verismo" in the following terms: "I giovani musicisti italiani sulla via del così-detto realismo o naturalismo o altro che sia, pare non vogliano scostarsene per ora. Forse a loro manca, o è debole, l'ala della poesia e la fiamma dello spirito che li spinga in più alte sfere e li renda capaci di emozioni e commozioni artistiche raffinate e superiori. Ma comunque, se danno della musica bella, applaudiamoli, in qualsiasi ambiente essi si collochino".¹ Morello's comments are typical of an entire generation of music critics who found it difficult to reconcile their own often vague and half-baked literary concepts with the new wave of operatic "verismo". It is interesting to note his apparent confusion as to the appellation of the genre ("la via del così-detto realismo o naturalismo o altro che sia") and his obvious disapprobation of the subject-matter ("Forse a loro manca . . ."). Although he does not say so in as many words, Morello, like many other music critics of his day, believed "verismo" to be a commercialized form of opera perpetrated solely for financial gain. But true to his vocation as music critic, he reminds us that so long as the composers concerned give the public good music, they will be excused any indelicacies in their choice of subject-matter.

This subordination of libretto to music hindered many other critics from forming an objective opinion on operatic "verismo". The well-aided argument as to whether the words are more important than the music (or vice versa) is as old as opera itself, but the inability of many commentators to separate the two and examine each with equal critical insight led to much confusion and misunderstanding. It is clear, however, that much of the adverse criticism suffered by the genre originated not from the technical inadequacies of critics but from a certain inbred hostility towards the works in question. Basically it was very much the old conflict between traditionalism and innovation; Italian critics of the 1870's had looked to Verdi as the principal exponent of "la vera opera italiana", a man whose spectacularly successful

career had been built on the foundations provided by Bellini, Donizetti and Rossini, and whose life had seen the gradual transformation of Italy from a divided conglomeration of city-states to a unified nation. Verdi, in other words, was the personification of Italian opera at its finest; his opinion was sought by many, his example extensively imitated, and his presence a continual reminder to younger composers of the importance of tradition. The advent of Mascagni and Leoncavallo in the early 1890's appeared to challenge this position; such operas as "Cavalleria" and "Pagliacci" (whose libretti apparently owed little to Verdian precedent) were considered by many as the artistic antithesis of all that had come previously. This "break with tradition" was, however, very much an invention of those critics opposed to the "giovane scuola". Mascagni and Leoncavallo, despite their apparent rejection of operatic precedent, were very much aware of the importance of the Verdian "melodramma" and assimilated its best features into their own works. There were no attacks by the "giovane scuola" on Verdi, and apart from an occasional good-humoured reprimand the veteran composer recognized the artistic validity of the new genre.¹ There existed mutual respect and admiration between both camps, despite the protestations of various critics. According to the "giovane scuola" the real enemy was Wagnerism; not the operas of the great man himself, but the host of vastly inferior imitations which had appeared over the years, and which constituted, in their excessive length, pomposity and pretentiousness, a complete negation of Wagner's original ideals. For the Italian "veristi" both Verdi and the Bayreuth master were figures of paramount importance, and as such remained valuable sources of inspiration.² An analysis of many Italian operas of the period shows not a revolutionary and indiscriminate rejection of the ideals of both men, but an incorporation of the best elements of each into a new framework, resulting in operas which claimed not to break with tradition but to consolidate and build upon it. This artistic viewpoint was interpreted by the more hostile critics as an admission of the necessity for plagiarism, and demonstrated to what depths the "veristi" would plummet in their search for success. (Both Mascagni and Leoncavallo were to be denounced as "arrivisti" who had "shamelessly exploited the degeneracy of

public taste").¹⁰ Indeed, there is an interesting parallel between the situation on the Italian operatic stage and that in which contemporary Italian drama found itself; the critic Giovanni Pozza, in his review of Marco Praga's 1892 play "Alleluja", summed up the sterility of invention prevalent in Italian stage-works of the decade by commenting of the author that "suo studio non è quello di prevenire il gusto del dramma, ma di accontentare quello dell'oggi. Suo scopo è di essere un autore drammatico applaudito, e non di più".¹¹

The similarity between Pozza's views and those expressed by many critics of operatic "verismo" are hardly surprising, but the continued success of the movement during the early 1890's showed that the Italian public took little heed of such strictures. But despite this great popularity, there still remained a substantial body of composers who were unwilling to risk their professional reputations in what was still regarded as a rather dubious genre. This group included Catalani, Puccini and Franchetti, together with many of the "old guard" of Italian opera composers, who had produced their works under the overwhelming shadow of Verdi's genius and who were now too set in their old ways to change. It was relatively easy for this anti-"verista" school to find fault with the "giovane scuola", and accusations of immorality, obscenity and plagiarism continued to be levelled at its practitioners, especially by the rival house of Ricordi. Indeed, it may be argued that "verismo" never completely freed itself from the inevitable accusations of charlatanism and licentiousness levelled by its detractors. The situation was further complicated by the continued attacks of the Wagnerians, who rejected the claims of such figures as Leoncavallo (a professed admirer of the Bayreuth master) to the effect that the German composer's methods could be adapted "all'italiana".¹² Given the considerable strength and virulence of this pro-Wagner lobby, it is hardly surprising that "verismo" should struggle to gain a modicum of critical approval. But approval it did receive, and often from the most unlikely quarters. Such an authority as Eduard Hanslick saw the arrival of "Cavalleria" on the Viennese musical scene as a golden opportunity to criticize once again the excesses of Wagnerism, but nevertheless he was quick to realize the positive aspects of this new approach to opera.

According to the Viennese critic, the works of the "giovane scuola" were personified by "una caratteristica e varia scena, tipi sagacemente definiti, esposizione progressiva dell'azione, il tutto ben giustificato, naturale, realistico; e finalmente una felice brevità dopo le indigeste opere di quattro, cinque ore".¹³

The hostile tirades of the Wagnerians were accompanied by those of Casa Ricordi, who had refused to publish "Cavalleria" and by reneging upon an agreement to stage Leoncavallo's "I Medici" had forfeited "Pagliacci".¹⁴ These two serious errors of judgement by Giulio Ricordi were to be perhaps the most far-reaching of his career in terms of financial gain and artistic prestige. "Cav - Pag" became the twin spear-head of Casa Sonzogno, who now proceeded to become the most forward-looking and adventurous music publisher in Italy. This rise to a position of increased importance brought with it certain disadvantages, as the Ricordi-Sonzogno rivalry began to gain impetus. In those early years Ricordi, who was not yet sure if the phenomenal success of "Cavalleria" would be repeated by other composers, determined to counter public acclaim of the opera with a well-planned press campaign in which "verismo" was either ignored or heavily criticized. But even this could not arrest its progress, and Ricordi ultimately conceded defeat.

Another factor to be considered in this review of contemporary critiques of "verismo" concerns the composers and librettists themselves. While many of the more venomous attacks were adequately repulsed by Sonzogno's aggressive editorial policy in "Il Secolo", there still remained one fundamental problem which was to prove to be the Achilles' heel of the movement: this was the lack of an artistic manifesto, whereby the Italian public could acquaint itself with the ideas and concepts of the "veristi". This fact, more than any other, was to be the root-cause of much of the subsequent confusion regarding "verismo", since no decision was ever made to formulate the ethos of operatic realism in an immediately accessible and accurate form. One of the principle reasons for this lack of artistic purpose lay in the fundamental nature of the Italian librettist who, in Jay Nicolaisen's words, "took pride in his work . . . but did not expect to win literary

renown . . . If he had aspirations to greater fame or fortune, then he was probably active in other fields".¹⁵ An examination of the lifestyles and literary creeds of "giovane scuola" librettists confirms this hypothesis. Most, if not all were what one might term "commercial" writers, insofar as their output was geared to a regular financial income. This was achieved in a number of ways, either through a contract with Sonzogno or Ricordi to provide, work or collaborate on a specific number of libretti, or through employment by the same two men in a journalistic capacity. This group included Enrico Cavacchioli (drama critic of "Il Secolo" until 1920), Eugenio Checchi (writing for "La Fanfulla della Domenica"), and Alberto Colantuoni (a regular contributor to "Il Popolo", "Il Popolo d'Italia" and "Il Tempo"), whereas Nicola Daspuro was not only Naples correspondent for "Il Secolo" (and often contributed to "Il Teatro illustrato") but also Sonzogno's representative for the south of Italy, organizing seasons at the Teatro Mercadante in Naples from 1893 until 1895. Others worked free-lance, submitting ideas and often complete libretti to the major publishing houses or to composers themselves. Often a collaboration proved to be so successful that it was repeated (as in the case of the Mascagni - Targioni-Tozzetti - Menasci and Puccini - Giacosa - Illica coalitions), but for the most part such stability of employment was rarely encountered.

This piecemeal and erratic mode of existence had, in general, a detrimental effect on the quality of work produced; the pressure of meeting editorial deadlines, coupled with the legal constraints imposed by contractual agreements with publishers, meant that most authors had little if any room for manoeuvre. Such an atmosphere was hardly conducive to the writing of good libretti, and given the circumstances one can readily appreciate why so much second-rate material was churned out, often by hack-writers working for the most part in their spare time and with the sole intention of supplementing an already meagre income. Only a few élite librettists, such as Illica and Giacosa, could be assured of better working conditions; but as their correspondence with Giulio Ricordi amply demonstrates, even this illustrious partnership could often find the pressures of libretto-writing both irksome and time-consuming. The overall impression that emerges is of the

professional writer making occasional, often lucrative forays into the world of opera; an experience which, if repeated often enough, would lead to the title of "professional librettist" (even if many of his efforts in this capacity were distinctly dilettante). Luigi Illica, whom the Conte di Pullè once referred to as "il principe dei librettisti" (on account of his successful collaboration with Puccini) was capable of writing, for a less demanding composer, libretti which rarely rose above the level of a second-rate penny dreadful. Such low points in libretto production (even by the better authors) were unavoidable; inconsistency and incompetence, either singly or in combination, contributed to the mercifully rapid disappearance of many travesties of dramatic art, but fortunately enough genuine inspiration remained to produce many excellent pieces of work.

The failure of librettists to provide a manifesto of "verismo" was to have grave consequences. The very vagueness of the concept meant that in the words of the old adage, it could be "all things to all men". Many of the more erudite critics made the mistake of interpreting the operas in a sociological light, seeing in them confirmation of the Naturalist theories of Taine and Brunetière; as Zola had pointed out in the preface to the second edition of "Thérèse Raquin", the writer must concern himself with "l'Étude du tempérament et des modifications profondes de l'organisme sous la pression des milieux et des circonstances".¹⁶ Now this same process seemed to be taking place on the lyric stage, but what few people realized was that musical "verismo", far from being a slavish imitation of literary Naturalism, was fundamentally different in both conception and execution. Giannotto Bastianelli, one of the earliest biographers of Mascagni, makes this same point in his discussion of "Cavalleria rusticana": "Nella "Cavalleria" . . . noi potremmo trovare un verismo infinitamente meno rigoroso di quello dei naturalisti, che non ammettevano l'opera d'arte che come un documento scientifico-fotografico della vita umana".¹⁷ The situation was therefore one of considerable confusion, only partially alleviated by the occasional declaration of artistic intent by either composer or librettist. (Leoncavallo's famous letter to Tonolla is an excellent example, but even this statement sheds little light on the

matter, taking us one stage further to the "verismo storico" of "I Medici").¹⁸ Apart from the clarion-calls of "Il Secolo" (often infuriating in their imprecision) there is precious little that we can isolate as a genuine attempt to define "verismo". There is, of course, the celebrated "Prologo" to "Pagliacci", which many regard as one of the few declarations of intent proffered by the "veristi"; while this is certainly true, it has become customary to interpret Leoncavallo's words in too rigid a veristic light, as an examination of the text will promptly show.

The most important lines of the "Prologo" are those in which the author declares his artistic intentions: "L'autore ha cercato invece di pingervi uno squarcio di vita". Here it would appear that Leoncavallo has opted for the Naturalistic "slice of life" approach, wherein a cross-section of society is clinically reproduced and presented in as objective a manner as possible, but it would be quite wrong to interpret "Pagliacci" along such strictly codified lines. A Zolaesque interpretation must, by its very nature, take into account genealogical and bio-hereditary factors; furthermore, the writer's objectivity must at no time be brought into question. As Taine remarked, he must be concerned solely with "de petits faits, bien choisis, importants, significatifs, amplément circonstanciés et minutieusement notés",¹⁹ and must weave the fabric of his work around this formula. Leoncavallo's approach is essentially different. "Pagliacci" is not based on a directly observed and thoroughly researched milieu, but on "un nido di memorie"; in other words, the opera is a product of an incident experienced by the composer in his youth.²⁰ The words "al vero ispiravasi" hold the key to Leoncavallo's conception of "verismo": the artist's personal experience of life is the raw material with which he must fashion his work, when duly guided by his inspiration. This concept precludes the over-analytical approach of literary Naturalism, since it relies not on the writer's objectivity and ability to reproduce, as Verga puts it, "il fatto nudo e schietto",²¹ but on his capacity to build a fictional edifice over the foundations of established fact. That such a technique is very much subjective is clearly pointed out by Leoncavallo: "Un nido di memorie in fondo all'anima cantava un giorno, ed ei con vere lacrime scrisse, e

i singhiozzi il tempo gli battevano". This is hardly the admission of an impartial observer, and links the composer to Verga and Capuana both in his distaste of the clinical, scientific approach to realism and in his obvious sympathy with the subject. An interesting passage from Verga's "L'amante di Gramigna" is worth quoting here, as it elucidates even further Leoncavallo's intentions in "Pagliacci": "Si arriverà mai a tal perfezionamento nello studio delle passioni, che diventerà inutile il proseguire nello studio dell'uomo interiore? La scienza del cuore umano, che sarà il frutto della nuova arte, svilupperà talmente e così generalmente tutte le risorse dell'immaginazione, che nell'avvenire i soli romanzi che si scriveranno saranno i fatti diversi?"¹² Verga, in the same way as Leoncavallo, emphasizes the importance of the writer's imagination: to be a true "verista" one must have recourse to "l'ispirazione".¹³ The rapprochement between author and composer is mirrored in the remainder of the "Prologo", where Tonio's warning to the audience ("vedrete amar, sì, come s'amano gli esseri umani; vedrete dell'odio i tristi frutti, del dolor gli spasimi. Urli di rabbia udrete, e risa oiniche") seems at first sight to echo the best traditions of literary realism, but is immediately followed by a touching appeal for our sympathy: "E voi, piuttosto che le nostre povere gabbane d'istrioni, le nostre anime considerate, poichè siam uomini di carne e di ossa, e che di quest'orfano mondo al pare di voi spiriamo l'aere". This is the tone of Verga's "Fantasticheria", and Leoncavallo shows the same humanitarian concern for his subject, ignoring the traditional Naturalist precept that the artist must present only the facts, leaving the reader to decide the rest.

Having considered this apparent manifesto of "verismo", even the most liberal of critics would find it difficult to maintain that here we have a clear, ideological exposé of the principal aims and objectives of the movement. Much of what is contained in the "Prologo" is Leoncavallo's highly personalized concept of operatic realism, and it would be wrong to assume that these same ideas were shared by other composers and librettists. While it is certainly true to say that the basic framework of "verismo" remained the same from opera to opera (such features as setting, number of characters and length show, as we shall

see, little variation) there are still fundamental differences in approach which give many works a welcome modicum of individuality. It can be said that "verismo", because of its essentially imprecise nature, lent itself to individual interpretation, as a comparison between Mascagni's rather innocuous "Amica" and the "verismo spinto" of Giordano's "Mala vita" clearly shows.¹⁴ But whereas subject-matter is relatively easy to chronicle, it is inordinately difficult to discover the true reason for an opera being written. In many cases correspondence between composer and librettist reveals the existence of well-defined artistic aims, but often, when dealing with the more obscure works, the absence of any substantial dialogue of this kind means that secondary sources, hearsay and pure conjecture must take its place. As can be readily imagined, material of this kind is notoriously unreliable, but in the absence of more conclusive evidence we must be prepared to give it due consideration. Another difficulty is that posed by the relationship between a professional librettist and a composer with little knowledge of literary trends or dramaturgical techniques. What inevitably happens is that the composer accepts the first draft of the libretto (trusting that the librettist will have done his share of the work competently) and there is little or no interplay between the two. An even worse example is that of the dilettante librettist and the literate composer, where the constant friction leads to a lack of homogeneity in the finished work. In both cases, any literary concepts or aims that emerge from the completed opera are often half-baked and disorganized in presentation. Witness Giordano's lack of literary expertise, as expounded by Sonzogno in a letter to Guido Menasci: "La mancanza di cultura gli impedisce di formarsi un concetto preciso di quel che sente, di quello che desidera e di quello che e più o meno possibile d'adattare a libretto".¹⁵ In comparison to Giordano, other major composers of the day were adequately well-versed in the literary side of opera; Puccini, Mascagni and Franchetti are three names which spring readily to mind, but it is when we consider Leoncavallo that a new problem arises.

The Neapolitan maestro was one of the few composers of the period who insisted on writing his own libretti, although after 1904 he did collaborate with Cavacchioli and Forzano. Early in his career he declared that an opera in which music and libretto were the work of two men was a contradiction in terms; to achieve true artistic unity, the composer must be his own librettist.²⁴ This concept, while showing to what extent Leoncavallo had absorbed the influential Wagnerian ideal of a complete synthesis of the arts in opera, has nevertheless certain innate disadvantages as regards the chronicling of a work's gestation, since the absence of correspondence between composer and librettist deprives the researcher of a valuable source of accurate information. Thus for many of Leoncavallo's operas we lack an authoritative account of the crucial period between the initial decision to commence a new work and its final completion. Apart from the "Prologo" to "Pagliacci", there is little else in the texts of the remaining operas that can point us towards a definition of "verismo"; even the public declarations made by Leoncavallo during his career are notoriously imprecise, and their bombastic tone (aimed primarily at Puccini and Casa Ricordi) tell us more about the composer's obsessive hates than his dramatic philosophy.²⁷

One further point to be discussed in our search for an artistic credo of "verismo" concerns the special relationship between the composer and his audience. Italian opera has always appealed to all classes of society, being widely respected and admired by a large proportion of the Italian public; in this way it can be considered as a form of nationalism, a means by which Italians can achieve a national cultural identity. As a result the links between the composer and his public have become much more strongly defined than equivalent bonds in literature or art. One of the results of this special relationship has been that Italian opera composers have never felt the need to justify their artistic positions by means of manifestos or declarations of intent; their works have spoken for them, and have done so without polemical tirades or theoretical apologetics. While such populist appeal has undoubtedly contributed to the worldwide success of Italian opera, it has also laid it open to unfavourable critical comment

on the premise that whatever is admired by the masses cannot be of a sufficiently high cultural level. Bastianelli was well-aware of this fact when he wrote that "l'operista italiano ha, quasi sempre, una mentalità del tutto immersa, anzi sommersa, nel flutto della mediocrissima vita che lo circonda. Egli è così un'anima semplice, di quella semplicità un po' artefatta delle anime popolari, che non appena venga varcata da noi, ci desta un'antipatia irremediabile".²¹ Bastianelli's statement, while equally valid for all seasons of Italian opera, is especially applicable to the period presently under discussion.

Let us now pause to consider the problems which hinder the formulation of an adequate definition of "verismo". We have seen how critical comment has tended either to underestimate or disparage the movement, with the lack of an artistic manifesto leading to much confusion amongst public and critics. It follows, therefore, that the evidence of the libretti themselves must serve as our primary source of reference, but some knowledge of the literary history of the period is necessary if a workable theory of "verismo" is to be arrived at, insofar as it provides us with a clear understanding of the complex forces which moulded the careers of both composers and librettists. In effect it was the coalescence of the two major literary creeds, namely Romanticism and Naturalism, which provided part of the impetus for the transformation of Italian opera from the traditional Verdian melodrama to its veristic successor. This assertion may seem on the surface to be contradictory, but it was precisely this amalgam between two apparently dissimilar movements which provided the literary basis of "verismo". An illuminating passage in Mosco Carner's biography of Puccini illustrates this concept rather well:

With the advent of realism in literature, it was inevitable that the operatic libretto should follow suit, spicing the old romantic ingredients more pungently from ordinary everyday life. We witness this already in "Traviata"; but it was really "Carmen" that opened the gates for a flood of the kind of half-romantic and half-realistic melodramas which provided the chief pabulum for Puccini and his contemporaries . . . Melodrama certainly answered the

essential requirement of an operative aesthetic rooted in the primary forces of the theatre . . . It is in this special emphasis on passion, on the instinctive in the human being, that realism shows its close link with romanticism, the decadence of which it represents in a sense.¹⁷

Carner goes on to discuss this merging of literary movements in greater detail, and what he terms as "the interpenetration of romanticism, social realism, and symbolism"¹⁸ could well be taken as a model for "verismo", as long as we omit the reference to symbolism and replace it with an equivalent appertaining to sociology. This provides us with a tripartite combination of literary and scientific sources, the intermixing and interplay of which constitute a convenient starting-point from which the entire theory and practice of "verismo" can be expounded, commented upon, and then critically assessed.

Let us begin, then, with the first and perhaps most interesting component: the Romantic ideal. Italian Romanticism had, in the opening and middle years of the nineteenth century, followed the general pattern of the European model, one aspect of which was the portrayal in literature, music or art of the struggle of the individual against society. The Romantic hero epitomized the rebellion of a superior mind against the mediocrity of the world around about him; and it was this conflict, set against a backdrop of historical verisimilitude and nascent nationalistic fervour, which appealed to a substantial proportion of the then rapidly growing European reading public. The concept of the suffering, sensitive individual (whose very awareness of his own unhappiness was the root cause of melancholy, anger and ultimate desperation) proved to be an attractive one, since it provided writers, artists and musicians with a stereotyped model around which an elaborate infrastructure of secondary motives could be woven. In literature these were often of a political nature; the Romantic hero was fleeing not only from himself, but from the mediocrity of a corrupt and debased society which threatened to stifle his own individuality. The outcome of the struggle gave scope for variation: the Romantic hero could be transformed in turn to a victim of his own cruel destiny, a martyr for the cause of political freedom, a triumphant warrior on the field

of battle, or the leader of a band of fellow rebels. This dynamic range of activities was counterbalanced by those of a more passive nature, where the same figure would derive solace in completely isolating himself from society, either by escape to some lonely and remote place (as typified by the return to nature of Rousseau's "promeneur solitaire") or through a studied, cynical indifference to worldly events, a retreat to one's shell of closed, inward suffering and consequent self-purgation. It is hardly surprising that Italian opera of the first half of the nineteenth century tended to favour Romantic heroes of the former category; Manrico in "Il trovatore", Tell in "Guglielmo Tell" and Arturo in "I Puritani" are all linked together by common sentiments of political freedom and the need to overcome tyranny. It follows that the heroes of those Verdian operas of the "anni di galera" show similar traits; most, if not all, are steadfast, reliant and untiring champions of "la libertà". Whether it be Arrigo in "La battaglia di Legnano", Ezio in "Attila" or Macduffo in "Macbeth", the fundamental struggle is the same: that of an Italy seeking unification through rebellion against the tyranny of Austrian rule and finding, in the operas of Verdi and his compatriots, an eloquent and effective vehicle for such sentiments.¹¹ Once the process of unification was complete the "raison d'être" for these overtly political works promptly disappeared, to be replaced by a slowly developing, but nevertheless steadily increasing awareness that the social and political problems of the new nation could no longer be solved by violent means, but rather through the reasoned application of scientific methods and techniques. What position, then, could the Romantic hero assume in a society where co-operation rather than confrontation was to be the prerequisite for success? To answer this question we must first discuss the development and function of Naturalism within the context of contemporary Italian literature.

The advent of this most tenacious of literary creeds took place in Italy some ten to twenty years after the first hesitant steps of such pioneers as Champfleury and Duranty, and appeared at first to be a reaction against the excesses of Romanticism. The illogical and absurdly vainglorious exploits of the Romantic hero were rejected as an anachronism which

could no longer be tolerated in a modern, positivist society. The writer was to become the impartial observer, recorder and analyst of his own environment, using scientific methods to gather and interpret his data. To this end many Naturalist authors took immense pains to ensure that they avoided any semblance of Romantic exaggeration or emotionalism. (Flaubert's tortured rewriting of many of his major novels springs readily to mind.) It seemed, then, that Romanticism lay dead and buried under the overwhelming weight of scientific reason. But soon it became clear that what appeared to be a complete rejection of the Romantic ideal was, in actual fact, an obvious restatement (albeit in a less provocative form) of the struggle of the individual against society. In this way Zola was accused of being at heart a true Romantic, who masked the Byronic conflicts of his characters with a veneer of pseudo-realism reinforced by frequent avowals of authorial impartiality. Eventually it was realized that the dividing line between Romanticism and Naturalism was, in many cases, a very tenuous one, and nowhere is this more apparent than in the development of post-Verdian Italian opera.

The careers of both composers and librettists most closely associated with "verismo" also show strong ties with the Romantic ideal. The first operas composed by Mascagni and Leoncavallo were based on overtly Romantic subjects: "Cuglielmo Ratoliff" is a setting of Heine's truculent tragedy, while "Chatterton" is based on a De Vigny play of the same name. Moreover, many librettists of the period (including Giacosa, Illica, Golisciani and Marengo) were former members of the Milanese Scapigliatura. The pervasive influence of Romanticism could not entirely be disregarded by these men; a considerable number, though fervent supporters of literary Naturalism, were quite simply unwilling (either for financial or artistic reasons) to forego the Romantic ideal in their writings. They rejected the agonized process of self-purgation undergone by Flaubert and Verga during the genesis of "Madame Bovary" and "I Malavoglia"; while literary realism and the complete depersonalization of the writer within a work were desirable objectives, the vagaries of public taste and the corresponding need for literature which was commercially viable led to the emergence of a hybrid style: in essence, a blend of those

features of Romanticism and Naturalism which would complement each other without the need for excessive theorizing or tortured soul-searching on the part of the author. The works of Arrighi, Tronconi and Matriani typify this approach; their facile, sentimental and often crudely veristic stories found instant favour with an Italian public which had ignored Capuana and preferred Verga's "La storia di una capinera" to "I Malavoglia" and "Mastro-don Gesualdo".

The popular demand for mass-produced literature of this kind could not be filled by those authors for whom style and content had to conform to pre-established doctrine, and whose works were consequently artistic successes but commercial failures; such devotion to the art of writing seemed somehow out of place in an Italy emerging from the trauma of Unification and taking its first hesitant steps towards becoming a world power. The belief in the absolute supremacy of scientific methods as a means of bettering social and economic conditions gave little scope for the aesthetic theories of literary stylists; and while for the cognoscenti Verga, Capuana and De Roberto were supreme masters of their art, the remainder of the Italian public preferred to be amused, titillated and mildly shocked rather than face the dreary pessimism of "I Malavoglia" or the turgid oppressiveness of "I Vicerè". Adolfo Galletti, in a searching appraisal of Matilde Serao, shows to what extent many lesser authors pandered to contemporary tastes when he talks of "una certa esagerazione espressiva e il gusto dell'effetto patetico, che è anche un modo sicuro di piacere a molti e di prevenire o di secondare i gusti della folla".³² Continuing on the same lines, Galletti demonstrates how the residue of Romantic sentimentality in these works was no more than a sickly-sweet coating covering an even thinner layer of half-baked veristic theory:

Artisti di tale tempra sono inclini a cercare di forzare la nota di effetto, ad insistere nelle fiorettature che strappano l'applauso volgare. L'enfasi e l'artificio hanno tanta forza sulla parte istintiva della loro natura che essi per i primi sembrano ammaliati dalla propria mimica letteraria . . . si tratta quindi di un naturalismo intermittente, con molte screziature sentimentali.³³

The ersatz mixture of Romanticism and Naturalism which sustained the so-called "scuola di Tronconi" had one other special ingredient, albeit in a less concentrated form. This was the newly developed science of sociology, which despite hopes that it would place "verismo" on a sound methodological footing was instead plundered and filched from by popular fiction writers. Sociology now became a means by which the sordidness of human life could be revealed in lurid detail; obscenity was no longer to be justified by the premise that the author had only presented the true face of reality, but rather by labelling his work as "un romanzo sociale" designed to educate a supposedly ignorant Italian public. As Giuseppe Caraniga has written, "They excused their sensationalism by appealing to the principles of bourgeois morality: they claimed to be writing their books not with the improper aim of exciting sensuality but with the salutary purpose of performing a much needed exercise in social therapy".³⁴

How, then, did this hybrid art-form, with its somewhat uneasy mixture of Romantic, Naturalist and sociological factors, influence operatic "verismo"? The answer lies in the cultural background of contemporary librettists; as we have seen, the writing of libretti was largely a spare-time activity pursued by journalists, poets and hack writers all seeking some means of augmenting their incomes. Thus instead of striving for artistic originality or stylistic perfection, the majority of librettists preferred to scavenge from the degenerate mass of second-rate popular literature. Since there was little financial incentive or possibility of critical recognition to spur them on to greater efforts, they tailored their libretti to suit the particular needs of composers and publishers; furthermore, the overriding requirement for works which were commercially viable meant that there was little room for experimental innovation. But why was there no reaction against the prevailing tide of uniformity? One possible explanation lies in the fact that Mascagni, Leoncavallo and their contemporaries all belonged to the generation born in the years 1850 to 1870, so that by the beginning of the 1890's most composers and librettists writing in the new idiom were in

their twenties and thirties. (This fact alone explains why the movement was termed "la giovane scuola".) But contrary to the almost universal axiom that youth breeds nonconformity and extremism, the operatic "veristi" showed little inclination to forge a radically new mode of expression. It would seem that having reached adulthood in an Italy which had largely overcome the turmoil of unification, they felt little desire or need to rebel against convention; what the "scapigliati" had achieved during the struggle for independence no longer seemed relevant in an increasingly prosperous and materialist society. The average Italian of the 1890's now wished to turn his back on the suffering and civil strife of earlier generations, and the most convenient and accessible panacea for those painful memories was escape into the cosy world of trite, easily digested and mass-produced literature and music. Operatic "verismo" was only one of the many cultural movements to fulfil this purpose, and having done so found itself inextricably locked in the straitjacket of convention. What was truly original in "Cavalleria" and "Pagliacci" soon became stale and matter-of-fact in the host of countless imitations, and although much was produced of artistic worth the overwhelming weight of mediocre works threatened at times to stifle any obvious talent. In a sense, operatic "verismo" was primarily a creation of the middle-classes, and as such could not hope to sustain its initial vitality; with many composers and librettists viewing the creation of an opera as a distinctly dilettante, spare time occupation (to be pursued in the evening hours after teaching at a conservatory or writing in a newspaper office), there was little striving towards true originality. Verdi seems to have realized this when he gave the following thoughtful piece of advice to Giordano: "It may be a good thing to copy what is true, but to invent it is a far, far better thing".³⁴

Any final definition of operatic "verismo" must therefore take into account the various factors already outlined, but as we have seen the overwhelming mass of circumstantial evidence fails to establish any clear criteria by which the genre can be accurately described. The only remaining source is that of the operas themselves, and when we examine the host of imitative works which followed "Cavalleria rusticana" several clear

patterns begin to emerge. The most sensible starting-point for a discussion of this nature is of course Mascagni's inaugural work, since it provides us with an initial model on which to base our analysis. As Chapter One has shown, contemporary accounts of the opera focussed on two aspects in particular: the relative brevity of the scenario and the untraditional nature of the subject-matter. However, a careful study of "Cavalleria" reveals several other novel features previously unknown to Italian opera, and which can be subsequently used to formulate a working definition of "verismo". The complete list is as follows:

- (a) Action set in an unfamiliar, picturesque and remote area of rural or urban deprivation.
- (b) Subject-matter characterized by violent action on-stage.
- (c) Contemporary setting.
- (d) Shorter than usual length.

Applying these broad criteria to the massive output of operas during the period 1890 to 1920, I have been able to identify a substantial body of works which satisfy the above stipulations. (A full list of these is provided in Part Three, Section Five). It is however necessary to examine each of these features in greater detail, since their precise significance only emerges through careful explanation and example.

- (a) Action set in an unfamiliar, picturesque and remote area of rural or urban deprivation:-

These fall into two categories: Italian and foreign settings. In those operas set in Italy (some 75% of the sample) the favourite regions are the traditional rural "area depresso" such as Sicily, Calabria, Ciociaria, Puglia, Ischia, Sardinia, Romagna and Piedmont (of these, Sicily is the most popular, providing the background to over a quarter of all "verismo" works). The sole Italian urban setting is Naples; hardly a surprising choice, given its immense social problems (vividly documented in Sereno's "Il ventre di Napoli" (1884)). For the

public of Milan, Turin and Venice these milieux were sufficiently novel, remote and colourful to be of interest; moreover, the picturesque element predominated to such an extent that audiences were often presented with no more than "folclore commercializzato". Naples was falsely portrayed as a city where "il luccicare insieme di lacrime e di coltellate" (as Gualerzi has described it)³⁶ glinted against an imaginary background of riotous festivity; such an opera as Pierantonio Tasca's "A Santa Lucia", with its over-lavish presentation of local colour, has elicited this comment from a prominent critic: "E la mecca dei mandolini e delle chitarre, delle barcarole e delle tarantelle. Cori festosi di fanciulle s'intrecciano ai richiami dei venditori ambulanti, dovunque si levano canzoni di bevitori e grida di giocatori di morra".³⁷

Foreign settings are more evenly split between rural and urban areas; we may quote amongst the former Sulina (at the mouth of the Danube), the mountains of Haute-Savoie, the plains of the Camargue, the Spanish lowlands, and the Russian steppes. Urban localities include Paris, Seville, Tunis and the Chinese quarter of San Francisco. All these geographical locations share the basic features of their Italian counterparts; rural settings are usually remote and underdeveloped regions with a strong scenic interest, whereas the urban variety tend to highlight the seedy, dilapidated inner-city areas. There is a pronounced bias towards France and Russia, which may be explained by the fact that the more exotic milieux such as China and Japan could not, because of their unfamiliarity, be easily depicted.³⁸

(b) Subject-matter characterized by violent action on-stage:-

Contemporary critiques of "verista" works often mention the on-stage depiction of violence. In many cases this constituted an integral part of the action, and as such could not reasonably be omitted without disturbing the dramatic equilibrium of the opera, but in other instances the use of excessive force on-stage was condemned by many critics as a superfluous addition which contributed little to the narrative, and whose main purpose appeared to be to shock the

audience. This apparent use of violence for its own sake was one of the principal reasons for the continual disparagement of "verismo", but strangely enough it was not "Cavalleria" which initiated this trend; indeed, the killing of Turiddu takes place off-stage, and is related most vividly to the audience by the strident cries of "Hanno ammazzato compare Turiddu!" Mascagni's admirers have often quoted this dramatic master-stroke as proof that the genre needed little if no violence on-stage to produce its effects. Neither does "Mala vita" (despite the apparent promise of the title) lay any claim to being the pioneering work in the depiction of what have been described as "violent paroxysms";¹⁷ such an honour must go to Orfice's "Mariska", which we have already noted in Chapter One as being one of the forerunners of "verismo". The scene at the end of Act One, where Gyamar and Erik fight on-stage (a tussle which ends with Erik being stabbed) and that at the conclusion of Act Three where Mariska, during another encounter between her suitors, throws herself on Erik's knife (again in full view of the audience, and not surprisingly resulting in her death), are typical of those which were to become so common in Italian opera of the next decade. Stabbing was to remain the favourite means of despatch (the most famous example occurring in "Pagliacci", where Nedda and Silvio are bloodily disposed of in full view of both stage and theatre audiences by the jealous Canio), but despite this particular predilection other methods were soon found to be equally effective, and moreover had the advantage of being visually more horrifying. Examples are plentiful; in "A Santa Lucia" Rosella flings herself to her death off a parapet, while Amica (in Mascagni's opera of the same name) falls down a mountain ravine. In "La martire" the heroine asphyxiates herself with the fumes from a charcoal stove;¹⁸ in "L'Arlesiana" Federico attacks Metifio with a hammer; and in "Silvano" the hero of the same name kills Renzo, his wife's lover, with a pistol. Leoncavallo's Maia chooses drowning, whereas in the same composer's "Zingari" Tamar and Fleana are burned to death during a romantic idyll in a tent (the act of arson being committed by Radu, whom Fleana had earlier spurned). Similarly gruesome deaths are to be found in "Il macigno" (where an avalanche buries alive several people) and in "Il tabarro", with the famous scene in which Michele

strangles Luigi and then conceals the body under a cloak, later revealing it to his unfaithful wife.

(c) Contemporary setting:-

Again a word of explanation is required. One of the principal tenets of literary "verismo" was that the writer's subject-matter should be drawn from contemporary life; as the Goncourts declared in the famous preface to "Germinie Lacerteux", "l'analyse et la recherche psychologique" were to be used to provide the reader with "l'histoire morale contemporaine".⁴¹ The author was to become a social historian, a painstaking chronicler of the immense breadth of human existence which surrounded him. This task had to be accomplished in as objective a manner as possible, with great emphasis being laid upon factual accuracy. To achieve these objectives, traditional methods of writing had to be abandoned and their place taken by "une formule de la science moderne appliquée à la littérature".⁴² Since one of the main aims of Naturalism was to increase awareness of the social problems inherent in a society which was becoming increasingly industrialized, the only artistically justifiable milieux were those of the present day; the historical novel or play was now considered as being too "remote", both in content and style, for a public whose main concern was how to adapt to a rapidly changing world. In Italy the first pioneers of literary Naturalism sought to emulate Zola's "Rougon-Macquart" novels; authors such as Tronconi and Arrighi produced a series of slavish but not wholly convincing imitations. But with the advent of realism on the operatic stage the rigorous and methodological approach of traditional literary Naturalism was all but abandoned. While accepting the need for contemporary settings (eventually even this concept was to undergo some modification) the Italian operatic "veristi" were reluctant to adopt the underlying ethos of Naturalism: namely the accurate depiction of a closely observed milieu with the express intention of promoting social change within it.⁴³

A survey of the works in question confirms the preference for contemporary settings, with some 65% of operas conforming to this pattern. The remainder are set for the most part in

other periods of the nineteenth century; examples include "Pagliacci", "Teresa Raquin", "I mafiosi" and "L'Arlesiana" (all of which take place during the 1840's), with "Il tabarro", "Mala vita" and "Maia" being set respectively in 1800, 1810 and 1820. The few remaining works belong to the sub-genre of "verismo storico-epico", and include such operas as "La Tilda" (late 1700's) and "Giovanni Gallurese" (1642). Whereas precise chronological references are present in some operas ("Cavalleria" is set on Easter Day and "Pagliacci" on the Feast of the Assumption) other works are more vague in this respect, and generally we look in vain for the customary exactitude of many Naturalist writers.

(d) Shorter than usual length:-

The two principal factors which distinguished "Cavalleria" from its predecessors were the novel choice of subject and the short length of the opera. Many critics were taken aback by this extreme brevity, but the majority eventually praised the work for its terseness of expression. After the almost customary "longueurs" of Wagnerian music drama "Cavalleria rusticana" was a most welcome change; theatre managements were quick to realize the financial savings in staging Mascagni's opera, and the new format quickly gained artistic recognition through the Verdi-Ehrlich interview. Galli must be praised for his initiative in insisting upon a one-act limit on the length of operas submitted to the Sonzogno competition; whether he imposed such a condition on aesthetic or logistical grounds is hardly relevant when we consider the deluge of similarly short works which now followed. A review of these shows the extent to which Mascagni's example was emulated; 45% are in the one-act format, with 30% in two acts and 25% in three. One-act operas would often be sub-titled "bozzetto lirico", whereas two and three-act works would be termed "dramma lirico". While one-act operas were played through without a pause (except for the momentary abeyance in dramatic tension provided by the intermezzo) those in two and three acts retained the traditional use of intervals. The difference in running times between one and two-act works was often slight, and many one-act operas were subsequently modified (in most cases

on the insistence of impresarios or theatre managers) into the two-act format. One such example is "Pagliacci", originally intended by its author to be in one act and played through from start to finish without a pause; however circumstances dictated otherwise, and Leoncavallo was obliged to provide an intermission by restructuring the work in two acts. There was one main reason for such alterations; this was the insistence by many theatre managers that without an interval the shorter than average length of a veristic opera would impose additional stresses on both singers and orchestra; in the event of something going wrong (for example an indisposed member of the cast or pitch problems in the orchestra) there was no pause in which the situation could be remedied. This limitation meant that in one-act works a higher artistic standard had to be maintained, since there was little margin for error.

Let us now turn our attention to the three-act format, which may seem at first glance to contradict our statement to the effect that veristic operas are of shorter than average length. In actual fact three-act works of this kind have far shorter running times than equivalent traditional operas, since librettists conceived their dramatic structure as a series of short scenes rather than long acts (a good example is that of "Mala vita"). The percentage of three-act works (some 25%) may also appear to be rather high, but when we take into account their relative brevity (together with the fact that two intervals were possible) it is clear why the format enjoyed a modicum of popularity.

Thus we come to the end of our review of those features which singled out "Cavalleria" from its predecessors, and which were to be so widely imitated. This same set of criteria has been used to identify a substantial body of works which seem to share the same common ground as their forbear. To these we may now give the collective name of "verismo puro", since they preserve, in essence, those features of operatic realism which were the first to emerge on the lyric stage. As we shall see in a future discussion, "verismo puro", while being an independent and artistically self-sufficient genre, was nevertheless a motive force in the establishment of satellite movements to which it lent some of its principal features (these include

"verismo storico" and "verismo borghese", which will be subsequently examined in great detail). For the moment we shall dwell on the original, outlining both the works themselves and the surrounding infrastructure of theatres, publishers and audiences which sustained them. Only in this way can a greater understanding of the phenomenon of "verismo puro" be achieved, as will be illustrated in the following chapter.

NOTES

- (1) Op.cit., in "Capuana: Antologia dagli scritti critici", edited by Walter Mauro (Bologna, 1971), p.106.
- (2) Ibid., p.127.
- (3) Op.cit., in "Giovanni Verga: Tutte le novelle", edited by Corrado Simioni, 2 vols (Milan, 1973), I, p.200.
- (4) Interview published in "La Tribuna", 2 February 1911.
- (5) Quoted from a talk given to the Reale Accademia d'Italia on 3 December 1931, and published in "Il Tevere" of the following day.
- (6) Giovanni Ugolini, "Umberto Giordano e il problema dell'opera verista", in "Umberto Giordano", edited by Mario Morini (Milan, 1968), p.21.
- (7) Quoted in review of Giordano's "Mala vita" by Attilio Luzzatto in "La Tribuna", 23 February 1892.
- (8) See Part One, Chapter One, p.14.
- (9) Leoncavallo's "I Medici" arose, to quote the composer, from a desire to reconcile "le sue convinzioni di verista in letteratura e in arte con le massime del Sommo di Bayreuth (see letter to Tonolla (Part One, Chapter Four, Note 1)).
- (10) One of the more vociferous critics was Rimsky-Korsakov, who in his "Journal de ma vie musicale" (written in 1895) referred to Leoncavallo's "Pagliacci" as "musica illusionista", adding that it seemed to have been composed by "un arrivista musicale paragonabile a Mascagni" and dismissing both composers in the following words: "Ambedue questi due signori sono tanto lontani dal vecchio Verdi quanto dalle stelle in cielo" (Italian translation by Giorgio Grossetto, as quoted in his article on Leoncavallo in the "Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo", VI, p.1400).
- (11) "Cronache teatrali di Giovanni Pozza", edited by G.A.

Cibotto (Vicenza, 1971), p.146.

- (12) A good example of this attitude is given by the pro-Wagner journal "Rivista musicale italiana", which in its first edition ridiculed Leoncavallo's "I Medici" (see articles by R.Giani ("I Medici": il dramma", p.86) and A.Engelfred ("I Medici": la musica", p.95)).
- (13) Eduard Hanslick, "Fünf Jahre Musik 1891-1895" (Italian translation by Mario Morini as quoted in "Pietro Mascagni" (Rome, 1964), p.91).
- (14) It was during the initial stages of the judging of the second Sonzogno competition (when it appeared that "Cavalleria" had been rejected) that Mascagni offered the work to Giulio Ricordi, Leoncavallo having submitted "I Medici" as early as 1888.
- (15) Jay Nicolaisen, "Italian Opera in Transition", 1871-1893" (Michigan, 1977), p.1.
- (16) Emile Zola, "Thérèse Raquin" (Paris, 1877; Paris, Fasquelle, 1975), p.11. Verga had little sympathy with the French writer's ideas (see Part One, Chapter Two, pp.36-37).
- (17) Giannotto Bastianelli, "Pietro Mascagni" (1910), quoted by Mario Morini in "Pietro Mascagni", p.136.
- (18) See Part One, Chapter Four, Note 11.
- (19) See preface to "De l'intelligence", 2 vols (Paris, 1870).
- (20) The source of "Pagliacci" was revealed by Leoncavallo in 1894 during a dispute with the French writer Catulle Mendès, who claimed that the composer had appropriated his plot from the short story "La Femme du tabarin". Leoncavallo replied that he had personally witnessed the incident in his youth, when an actor who had killed his wife in a fit of jealousy had been sentenced by his father Vincenzo Leoncavallo, at that time a Neapolitan magistrate. Mendès refused to accept this explanation and referred his case to the Société des auteurs dramatiques, but without success.
- (21) See Note 3.

(22) Ibid.

(23) See Part One, Chapter Two, pp.35-36.

(24) Both works are extensively discussed in Part Two.

(25) Letter dated 2 June 1892, in which Bonzogno discusses with Menasoi how Giordano should proceed after the success of "Mala vita".

(26) In an interview given to J.Cuthbert Hadden, Leoncavallo reiterates his belief that the composer should be his own librettist:

I find it quite impossible to set to music somebody else's words. I do not understand how any really artistic work can be created in that way. With me words and notes are simultaneous; at least, while I am writing the text, the scaffolding, the framework of the music is going up. The phrasing, the elaboration come afterward.

(quoted in "Favourite Operas" by J.Cuthbert Hadden (London, 1910), p.260).

These views did not prevent Leoncavallo from writing the libretti for Machado's "Mario Watter" (1898) and Pennacchio's "Redenzione" (1920), and from collaborating with various librettists on "Maia", "Zingari" and "Edipo re", in addition to his numerous operettas.

(27) Giorgio Grossetto talks of the composer's "polemiche dichiarazioni in favore della melodia contro i "sinfonisti" e "ultravveniristi" della musica italiana e la mania per i compromettenti e vuoti "programmi", che, oltre a essere scarsamente osservati, contribuirono ad alienargli anche i critici meglio disposti" (see article on Leoncavallo in the "Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo", VI, p.1400).

(28) Bastianelli, p.8.

(29) Mosco Carner, "Puccini: A Critical Biography" (London, 1975), p.256.

(30) Ibid., p.257.

- (31) The call "Evviva Verdi!" signified, through the initials of the composer's surname, "Vittorio Emanuele Re d'Italia".
- (32) Alfredo Galletti, "Storia letteraria d'Italia: il Novecento" (Milan, 1930), p.129.
- (33) Ibid., p.131.
- (34) Hemmings, p.340.
- (35) Quoted by Pierre Petit in "Verdi" (London, 1962), pp.166-67.
- (36) Quoted in "Umberto Giordano", p.53.
- (37) Rodolfo Celletti, "Il verismo e Napoli" in "L'Opéra" (January - March 1966).
- (38) The intense interest shown in Russian literature and customs at the end of the nineteenth century ensured a reasonable degree of familiarity amongst the Italian public, whereas the Far East was to become the unique preserve of "verismo esotico", one of the operatic offshoots of "verismo puro".
- (39) See interview given by Sir Frederick Cowen to the "Musical Times" (March 1894), p.162.
- (40) A highly amusing review of the Milan premiere of this opera was given in the "Musical Times" (November 1894), p.751:

The action takes place at Sulina, at the mouth of the Danube. The heroine (the Martyr) is the wife of a merchant, Tristano (O! shade of Wagner) who falls in love with a French music-hall singer, a sweet thing called Nina Fleurette. Nina is accompanied by an Italian tenor, Baciacieli, and a German virtuoso answering to the name of Chrysostome (!) Weisheit. It will be easily imagined what delightfully "modern" complications arise, and how the fun waxes fast and furious when the "hero", Tristano, accuses his wife publicly with having carried on amorous intrigues with a pilot, Mikael Tavoich. The lady strongly objects to this washing of dirty linen in public, and as she has good reason for arguing that her dear husband should be the

last person to throw stones at her, she makes up her mind to become a martyr. So she retires into her house, but only to re-appear directly, armed with a charcoal stove. Then follows the scene of the opera: the heroine inhales the fumes of the charcoal fire and gets asphyxiated "coram publico"! This is the sort of stuff that Young Italy, and, we suppose we must now add, Young Greece weds to music - and such music! Délibes' ballet "Coppélia" followed the opera, and we can well believe that the lamented French master's delightful work seemed quite an exquisite work of art after Samara's precious "Martyr".

(41) Op.cit. (Paris, 1864).

(42) Emile Zola, "Le Roman expérimental" (Paris, 1880), p.270.

(43) An interesting passage in Galletti (p.134) casts light upon this particular concept:

Il naturalismo, in generale, così in Francia come in Italia, lasciò poco respiro alla poesia, perchè si tenne troppo stretto a certe formule e schemi didattici: volle dimostrare, volle confutare e fece spesso dell'arte uno strumento polemico. Si moveva guerra allo spiritualismo e all'idealismo; si mettevano in mostra le stigmate dell'ereditarietà; si dimostrava che l'uomo, sia esso rassegnato o vanamente ribelle, è sempre vinto dagli istinti. Si rappresentavano con colori crudi la vita provinciale e contadina e i costumi locali delle varie regioni d'Italia, ostentando propositi di esattezza scrupolosa, ma col preconcetto di provare che l'uomo in tutte le condizioni sociali è schiavo della natura e dell'abitudine. Non tutti gli adepti del naturalismo erano pessimisti; è facile anzi trovare tra essi - fossero filosofi o critici o artisti - molti ferventi ammiratori del costante e indefettibile progresso umano; ma tale progresso essi attendevano unicamente dalla scienza, dalla legislazione e dallo spirito positivo e utilitario; non dall'uomo come persona e volontà morale, come coscienza capace di ascesa e di approfondimento.

CHAPTER THREE

Growth and Consolidation: 1890-96

A previous chapter has already chronicled the spectacularly successful première of Mascagni's "Cavalleria rusticana", which within the course of less than a year had travelled the length and breadth of the Italian peninsula. It was this opera which signalled, as we have seen, the birth of "verismo puro" and the emergence of Edoardo Sonzogno as a worthy rival to Giulio Ricordi. Galli's aggressiveness in fostering interest in the younger generation of Italian composers had at last borne fruit, and Sonzogno could now concentrate his efforts upon ensuring that the artistic repercussions of "Cavalleria" were adequately manipulated and channelled into profit for the firm. This preoccupation need not appear mercenary when we consider that prior to Sonzogno's emergence in the field, Ricordi had enjoyed something of a monopoly in Italian music publishing; the path was therefore open for a new contender to bring some much-needed vitality into an industry which had changed little over the previous fifty years, and whose ultra-conservative editorial policy had kept Italian opera in a sterile, artistic limbo which forbade any divergence from tradition. However, the success of "Cavalleria" placed the initiative firmly in Sonzogno's hands; from now on the prosperity and indeed the ultimate fate of his enterprise would be inextricably linked to the future destiny of the genre it had so inadvertently sired. It is to the man's credit that he realized this immediately, and no time was wasted in preparing a plan of action whereby the progress already made could be further consolidated. Such rapidity of foresight is entirely understandable; it is possible that Sonzogno still remembered with some bitterness

how Puccini's "Le villi" had been appropriated by Ricordi, and may have feared that his rival would now move in to sign up Mascagni. This possibility, more than any other, would appear to have been the main reason for Sonzogno's detailed programme of artistic development; another, no less important, was his own personal ambition to promote modern Italian opera in direct opposition to the traditional repertoire favoured by his contemporaries. In any case, the continued competition of Casa Ricordi, coupled with the ongoing enmity between the two firms, provided a further incentive towards expansion. Viewed in this light, the situation in which Sonzogno now found himself was one where the need for immediate exploitation of "verismo puro" would be counterbalanced by the practical difficulties of finding and promoting talent of a sufficiently high standard; in other words, if the initiative provided by "Cavalleria rusticana" were to be lost through failure to sustain the genre, then Ricordi would ultimately benefit, since the shallowness of Sonzogno's repertoire made it impossible for him to fall back upon traditional works. "Verismo puro" was therefore born into a world where the odds were formidably stacked against its survival; but survive it did, to mushroom into one of the fastest growing operatic genres of its day, whose popularity was to rage unabated for some six years. This, as we have already suggested, was for the most part engineered by Sonzogno himself; the means by which he achieved it were numerous and varied, and must now be examined in greater detail.

The unparalleled success of "Cavalleria rusticana" placed Sonzogno in an advantageous position; in the first instance, revenue from performance fees and music royalties considerably increased the working capital of his firm, providing a welcome surplus which could be utilized in the future. Figures quoted by Sonzogno during the dispute with Verga show that Mascagni had received 47,865 lire in the course of the financial year 1890-91, with some 33,750 lire being spent on promotion of "Cavalleria" and 32,400 on what were described as "general costs".¹ It would appear, then, that the total amount disbursed by the publisher in one year on this opera totalled some 114,000 lire;² a considerable sum when we take into account the current exchange rate of twenty-seven lire to the pound. This

large-scale outlay gives some idea of the financial success of Mascagni's masterpiece; an impression given further emphasis by the details of the composer's contract with Sonzogno, which provided him with a monthly stipend and twenty-five per cent of royalties for a period of two and a half years.³ It comes as no surprise, then, to learn that over the course of the year following the première of "Cavalleria", Sonzogno made over half million lire. Despite the subsequent decision of the Corte di Cassazione to award a quarter of this sum to Verga (whose copyright, as we shall see, had been disregarded), there still remained a very substantial amount of money available for investment.

The second immediate advantage was one of prestige. The embarrassing fiasco of the first Concorso Sonzogno was now totally forgotten; the 1888 competition, which had discovered Mascagni, had been hailed as a bold and innovative step towards the establishment of a "new guard" of Italian composers. Sonzogno's standing in musical circles improved immeasurably, as more and more Italians began to realize that here at last was a man whose breadth of vision was creating a fertile breeding ground for new and exciting talent. The example of Mascagni, nurtured and promoted by his publisher, was there for all to behold and emulate; and once the "sfida" had been delivered, it only remained for Sonzogno to pause momentarily and await the blossoming of the movement. In the meantime, he and Galli masterminded an innovatory marketing and publicity campaign, aimed at informing the ranks of budding Italian composers of the exciting possibilities opened up by the new genre. The advantages were numerous; the basic formula of "Cavalleria", with its simplicity of outline, was easily imitated, and there was little chance of floundering in the Wagnerian "longueurs" which had previously marred four and five-act operas. This brevity also meant that libretti could be quickly and easily written (not forgetting that the librettist's fee would shrink accordingly); furthermore, composition time would be drastically reduced, leaving composer and librettist free to concentrate on other projects. For the publisher, the shortness of the new operas meant lower capital costs; the copying of parts was facilitated, and in the event of a work being unsuccessful relatively little time,

money and effort would have been expended.¹ In stockbrokers' jargon "verismo puro" was a low-risk, high-interest commodity, and it was the realization of this fact which ensured its rapid expansion. For the performer, parts could be learned more quickly and effectively, and the nature of the subject-matter gave theatrically minded singers a chance to act. In an age where the art of Eleonora Duse was acclaimed as the perfect representation of reality, such artists as Bellincioni, Stagno, Pacini, De Negri and many others seized upon the new movement as a means of self-expression, thereby revolutionizing the whole concept of operatic histrionicism. Even the impresarios, traditionally that most discontent of factions, found the format to their liking; double-billing of operas was now feasible, giving variety to the evening and further minimizing possible financial losses. As in the past, short ballets, revues and circus and acrobatic acts could be used as fill-ins, but with the essential difference that their inclusion no longer necessitated the wholesale and somewhat ruthless mutilation of the main opera, which in previous times was often mercilessly cut in order to accommodate these lesser frivolities. Now both could co-exist peacefully, and both public and critics found little cause for complaint.²

"Verismo puro" therefore boasted features which appealed, without major exception, to every sector of the operatic world. Given such enthusiasm, it was inevitable that the flood of works so eagerly awaited by Sonzogno should soon materialize. However, there was what might be termed a two year gestation period, during which time "Cavalleria rusticana" continued to be performed all over Italy. This interval allowed those composers interested in the movement to adapt their skills to the new medium, with the result that by the beginning of 1892 the first batch of "verismo puro" works was ready for production. As for Mascagni himself, the première of "L'amico Fritz" in 1891 must have raised doubts amongst his supporters (and indeed in Sonzogno) as to whether he had abandoned the genre altogether. The Alsatian idyll, with its overtly sentimental account of a rich landowner's love for a peasant's daughter, was hardly the stuff of which "Cavalleria" had been fashioned, and many began to wonder if Mascagni had not intended his earlier opera as a mere stepping-stone to more

"artistic" efforts. It would seem, however, that at this point in his career the Livornese maestro was more intent on proving his all-round skills as an operatic composer than consolidating the success of "verismo puro",⁴ and in this respect Sonzogno's claim to have found Verdi's successor could be said to have worked against the interests of his protégé. If Mascagni were to prove himself a worthy incumbent of the Verdian crown, then he could not remain forever within the limited canvas of operas such as "Cavalleria rusticana", and must strive towards even greater heights. Yet despite the lack of interest of its founder, the movement found favour with the host of emerging, would-be composers with nothing to lose from the venture, and soon the first works began to appear.

The rush began early in 1892 with the production of Giordano's "Mala vita", set to a libretto by Nicola Daspuro based on Di Giacomo's play "Il voto", first produced in 1888. It is somewhat ironical that this opera, one of the earliest of its type, should have been described by contemporary critics as both blasphemous and immoral; hardly surprising, when one considers the nature of the story (Vito Aniante swears before the Madonna that if he is cured of his illness he will redeem a fallen woman by marrying her, only to break his vow by running off with the wife of the local drunkard). "Mala vita" was to remain perhaps the most outrageously veristic work ever produced, but several commentators were perceptive enough to realize the full extent of the work's originality. Amongst these was Hanslick, who declared it "a breakthrough in Italian opera, novel in both conception and subject-matter", but for the most part Giordano was faced with much adverse criticism.⁷ While the première had been highly successful, with Bellincioni and Stagno leading an effective cast, the reception in other Italian cities was not quite so unequivocal. In Naples there was outright opposition, on the premise that it denigrated the Neapolitan character and way of life; with Vito Aniante a blasphemous philanderer and Annetiello a drunken cuckold, no other conclusion could be reached.⁸ Roberto Bracco, the famous playwright, was to comment that "Mala vita" was an opera "a base di plebe, di tarantelle e di vecchia sfruttata napoletanità",⁹ and criticized Daspuro for having reduced Di Giacomo's original to the level of an amorous intrigue (the

play had in fact been produced successfully at Naples in 1888).

Despite this criticism (or perhaps because of it) Giordano's opera, with its uncompromising realism, proved a resounding success both elsewhere in Italy and abroad. The notoriety of the work ensured that "verismo puro" was now firmly established on the Italian musical landscape, and debate on the relative merits and shortcomings of the genre was rapidly initiated and sustained. This development could only help Sonzogno's cause; with Giordano now the "enfant terrible" of the operatic stage, the path was clear for less controversial works which would prove to be just as profitable. "Mala vita" thus defined the limits of "verismo puro", and showed the extent to which contemporary notions of theatrical realism could be expanded; in this respect it can be viewed as both a pioneering work and as the most extreme example of operatic realism to emerge from the genre. This dual nature explains to some extent the irony already mentioned; what Giorgio Grossetto has described as "forse il prodotto più spinto del momento verista dell'opera italiana" ¹¹ was only the second main work of its type after "Cavalleria". In the last analysis, the extremism of "Mala vita" (Charles Osborne's description is "bloodcurdling in its sheer nastiness") ¹² was perhaps an understandable over-reaction to the relative moderation of Mascagni's earlier work; but in creating new perspectives and opening out new and exciting horizons, it gave "verismo puro" an initial impulse which was to aid its subsequent development.

The remainder of 1892 was to witness the emergence of two more members of the "giovane scuola". The first of these was Francesco Cilea, whose "La Tilda" (given in Florence at the Teatro Pagliano) proved very successful. Set amongst the bandits of the Ciociaria, the opera was one of the first to depict an outlawed, vagabond community whose defiance of established tradition provided a vivid contrast to the milieu of "Cavalleria rusticana" and "Mala vita". But it was to be Ruggero Leoncavallo who was to prove that "verismo puro" had come to stay; the opera was "Pagliacci", and at once the thirty-five year old Neapolitan emerged from obscurity, in much the same way as Mascagni, to receive the adulation of the Italian public.

Much has been written about Leoncavallo's earlier struggle to gain recognition, which included the abortive attempts to stage both "Chatterton" and "I Medici" and the ill-fated collaboration with Puccini on the libretto of "Manon Lescaut". The composer had originally presented a scenario of "I Medici" (together with an outline of the other two parts of the trilogy) to Ricordi as early as 1888, and the Milanese publisher, impressed with the work, had commissioned the music. But when it came to staging the completed opera Ricordi lost interest, and Leoncavallo, disillusioned and somewhat dejected by the rebuff he had received, accepted piece-meal work concerned with the rewriting and refashioning of libretti, one of the commissions being the adaptation of Prévost's "Manon Lescaut" for Puccini. After the breakdown of this project Leoncavallo, encouraged by the French baritone Victor Maurel (who had recommended him to Sonzogno), decided to try his luck at composing a short, veristic opera in the style of "Cavalleria rusticana". The result was "Pagliacci", written in five months at Vacallo, near the Swiss border. Leoncavallo based his libretto, as we have seen,¹² on a real-life incident culled from his own experience. He had originally written a play on this very subject, but now adapted this earlier work into a more concise and compact form. Thus the other "eternal twin", "Pagliacci", came to fruition and was given a triumphantly successful welcome by the Milanese public, many of whom now acclaimed Leoncavallo as a second Mascagni. Others saw him as nothing of the kind; he was Verdi's successor, and the finesse of craftsmanship in "Pagliacci" showed up the technical inadequacies of "Cavalleria" in an even worse light than formerly. The Mascagni camp retorted by denouncing Leoncavallo as a parvenu who had merely capitalized on the enormous success of his rival's opera, and even accused him of outright plagiarism. Despite these recriminations, and the strictures of some leading Italian critics and composers (including Boito, who was later to describe Leoncavallo's masterpiece as "quell'avvilente spettacolo") "Pagliacci" proved to be the main musical event of 1892.

By the end of the year, Sonzogno had succeeded in laying the foundations for his stable of composers. In addition to the new and exciting talents of Giordano, Cilea and Leoncavallo, other

figures were emerging: Berutti ("Vendetta"), Cusinati ("Tradita"), Mugnone ("Il birichino"), Tanara ("Vendetta abruzzese"), Tasca ("A Santa Lucia"), Ercolani ("Alla macchia") and Sodero ("Mastro Giorgio"). These men, along with many others in the years to follow, were to form the backbone of the new movement, providing Sonzogno with a constant, uninterrupted flow of "verismo puro" works. The above titles (all of which appeared during 1892) bear testimony to the vitality of the genre, with its emphasis on the portrayal of contemporary semi-primitive settings, and the violent, obsessive emotions of their inhabitants. But despite this élan of enthusiasm on the part of composers, it was clear to Sonzogno that the interest of the public must continue to be actively maintained. With Galli's help he formulated a policy designed both to consolidate what progress had already been made and to lay further foundations for the future. The main features of the plan were as follows:

- (1) The continuation of the "concorsi" as a cheap and effective way of ensuring both the emergence of new talent and the unabated flow of new operas into the firm.
- (2) The acquisition of key theatres all over Italy, in order to facilitate acceptance of the Sonzogno repertory and minimize any pressure Ricordi might bring to bear through imposition of his copyrights.
- (3) The formation of a large group of composers and librettists contracted exclusively to Sonzogno, to be paid a nominal wage each month (the "stipendio" system).
- (4) The use of "Il Secolo", "Il Teatro illustrato" and other associated publications as a means of promoting operas owned by Sonzogno, in addition to an extensive publicity campaign.
- (5) The establishment of links with foreign opera-houses so as to foster interest in "giovane scuola" works, together with the organization in major European cities of operatic seasons devoted exclusively to the Sonzogno repertory and given by travelling companies.

The above plan shows the extent to which Sonzogno attempted to achieve as high a degree of independence as possible within the field of opera production. This strategy was entirely due to Ricordi's pre-eminent position in the world of music publishing; the less contact Sonzogno had with his rival, the greater chance he had of ensuring that his own operas were produced in near-perfect conditions. The subsequent history of Casa Sonzogno (and indeed that of "verismo puro", to which it is inextricably linked) is therefore closely allied to the overall success of the above directives, but a clearer picture is achieved if we consider each aspect of the policy individually. Let us begin, then, with the first of these; namely, the decision to continue with the series of "Concorsi".

The immense success of the second Sonzogno competition in discovering "Cavalleria rusticana" led to the announcement in October 1890 of a new "Concorso", to be run on the same lines as its predecessors. The closing date for entries was 31 December 1891, with the results to be announced early in 1892. Prizes of 2,000 and 4,000 lire were offered, and the previous one-act limitation was dropped in order to encourage a wider variety of entries. Composers who had already produced an opera on the Italian stage were excluded, thereby restricting entry to all but beginners. By February 1892 Sonzogno had received some sixty-one scores, fifty-six of which were then submitted to the jury; by September of the same year twelve works had been shortlisted. These included entries by Maiani, Gianferrari, Dallanocce and Brunetto; the board of jurors numbered Galli, Bolzoni and Leoncavallo. The final verdict was reached after each composer had played through the piano-score of his opera to the jury; first and second prizes were awarded to Gellio Benvenuto Coronaro's "Festa a Marina" and Ernesto Boezi's "Don Paer". However, the premieres of both works (given within four days of each other in March 1893) proved to be unsuccessful. Despite the "verismo puro" of "Festa a Marina" ("Don Paer" is, in contrast, based on De Musset's poem of the same name) several reservations were expressed regarding the opera's originality, and many spectators felt that Coronaro had adhered too closely to the example of Mascagni and Leoncavallo.

The failure of the third "Concorso" to uncover any vital new talent seems to have temporarily discouraged Sonzogno from continuing the series, and nine years were to pass before the fourth and last competition of 1902. However in 1894 the Viennese impresario Gagon Steiner announced, in the Milanese periodical "Il Teatro", a new international competition for a one-act opera. In contrast to previous Sonzogno ventures there was to be no restriction on age or nationality, and furthermore the proprietorship of the winning work would remain with the composer. Yet another gesture of magnanimity (and one which was designed to devalue the stature of the Sonzogno "Concorsi") was Steiner's offer to guarantee the performance, in Vienna during the following season, of the top six scores (there was also to be a prize for the best libretto). This competition was the first ever mounted in Italy by a foreign impresario and was modelled closely on the Sonzogno prototype. The stipulation that all entries should be restricted to one act had a double significance; in addition to facilitating administrative matters, the limitation on length was intended to encourage the submission of "verismo puro" works. Steiner therefore had much the same objectives as Sonzogno, but the response to his competition was far greater than that accorded to the 1890 "Concorso". In all some 193 works were submitted, but despite this large number it was decided that none merited the first prize of 3,000 lire. Second prize was awarded to Arturo Vanbianchi's "La nave", described as a "dramma simbolico" with a libretto by Gustavo Macchi. Three operas tied for third place; Giovanni Giannetti's "Il violinista di Cremona" (adapted from Coppée's play "Le luthier de Crémone"), Federico Collino's "La creola" and Giacomo Grefice's "Il gladiatore" (from Cossa's 1870 novel). It was announced that all these works were to be produced in a matter of weeks, but this appears to have been rather an optimistic assumption on Steiner's part, as two years were to pass before any reached the stage. One interesting aspect of the competition results was the total absence of "verismo puro" operas amongst the prize-winners, and the refusal of Steiner to award a first prize may have partly been due to his disappointment at being denied a second "Cavalleria" or "Pagliacci".

The third Sonzogno competition, together with the Steiner venture, can in retrospect be considered as failures, insofar as they did not succeed in uncovering a single new talent equal to that of Mascagni, Leoncavallo or Giordano. Furthermore, the dearth of good "verismo puro" entries had greatly disappointed Sonzogno, and as we have seen he was to abandon until 1902 any plans for a further "Concorso". But despite this lack of success the genre continued, in the course of 1893, to go from strength to strength, with the premieres of Gianferrari's "Trece nere", Marilli's "Nomadi", Curti's "Triste amore", Frontini's "Malia", Cowen's "Signa"¹⁴ and Ercolani's "Il figlio del Turiddu". These operas were only part of a general trend upwards, and during the Carnival season it was estimated that no less than sixty-four theatres would be presenting opera. Contemporary figures also record that from the beginning of January to the end of July some fifty-two operas and operettas had been produced or were scheduled for production; as the September edition of the "Musical Times" was to comment, "New operas are produced in such astonishing quantities in Italy that it is almost impossible to keep a record of them".¹⁵ In November the same journal announced that "the month's bulletin of new operas by the irrepressible composers of Italy is such a lengthy one that we really cannot reproduce it here. As nearly all the works are by unknown authors, and still in these gentlemen's portfolios, or in many cases as yet unfinished, we think it advisable to wait until they are performed. Perhaps some of them will either never reach the stage, or the event which their respective composers are no doubt anxiously looking forward to will be nothing but a still-birth".¹⁶

The boom in Italian opera production was to reach its peak in 1893¹⁷ (it is important to realize that the success of "verismo puro" stimulated interest in other more traditional genres and, as the next chapter will show, led to the establishment of some new ones). In many cases this favoured Ricordi as well as Sonzogno, and both firms (though locked in mortal combat) continued to do well financially. For Sonzogno, however, there was always the fear that should "verismo puro" lose popularity, Ricordi would stand to benefit because of his control of the popular repertory, and could easily oust his rival's works from the most important Italian theatres. To avoid this (and indeed

arouse even further interest in "verismo puro") Sonzogno had embarked upon a programme which would ensure either control or ownership of several key Italian opera-houses. In this way he would no longer be dependent on the goodwill of the independent theatres for the production of his works; as these were, for the most part, closely linked to Casa Ricordi because of the necessity of presenting the traditional repertory, it was only to be expected that they would bow, when required, to editorial pressure to exclude Sonzogno operas from their seasons. During the course of 1893 it became clear that unless the Ricordi monopoly was challenged, it would become progressively more difficult for "verismo puro" to continue upon its triumphant path.

Sonzogno's venture into theatre management and ownership had commenced as early as 1891, when he assumed control of the ailing Teatro alla Pergola in Florence for a period of five years. The agreement amounted to no more than a rental of the premises, but it provided the publisher with a ready-made theatre in which works could be promptly staged under the best possible conditions.¹⁸ Much the same procedure took place with the Teatro dal Verme in Milan,¹⁹ yet another old theatre which, in contrast to the Pergola, was strategically situated in opposition to Italy's premier house, La Scala (at that time controlled by Ricordi). Not content with the appropriation of two theatres, Sonzogno consolidated his position during the summer of 1894 by managing to have Nicola Daspuro (one of his leading librettists) appointed as director of the San Carlo in Naples. With three main outlets for his repertory now firmly established, one might have thought that the Milanese publisher would have been satisfied, but he still lacked an opera-house which could rival the opulence and prestige of La Scala. The solution was simple; Milan was to see a completely new theatre exclusively dedicated to the production of Sonzogno operas, and which would become the artistic home of the "giovane scuola". This project was to be realized when, in the summer of 1894, the Teatro della Cannobiana was acquired by Sonzogno and promptly demolished. In its place arose the Teatro Lirico Internazionale, which was opened to the public on 22 September of the same year. The opera was Samara's "La martire", fresh from its triumph at Naples,²⁰ and Delibes' ballet "Coppélia"

rounded off a very successful night for the new house. At last the Milanese publisher had a secure and prestigious base from which to challenge La Scala's near-monopoly of new works; furthermore, the production of operas by his own circle of composers was greatly facilitated. Ricordi now found it almost impossible to use his not inconsiderable influence to prevent his rival's works from being staged. It is perhaps true to say that with the establishment of the Teatro Lirico, Sonzogno's prestige and power within the world of music publishing was to grow at an even faster rate than previously.

The network of theatres built up by Sonzogno was not only useful for staging operas quickly and efficiently; there was the further advantage of being able to prepare a work more thoroughly than had previously been possible. In the past, rehearsals had been limited by the operating exigencies of the theatre in which they took place, and operas were often given an over-hasty and ill-advised première through lack of adequate preparation. In many cases this was not the fault of the theatre managers, but resulted from the public's desire for a variety of different entertainments from week to week. In effect this meant that the production of a new opera was only one of many attractions to be staged during the course of a season, and as such was required to share limited rehearsal time and facilities with other theatrical ventures. The Sonzogno theatres circumvented this problem by establishing a clear set of priorities on what should be allocated most care and attention, with the effect that important premières were now given the proper degree of priority. Another advantage was that of being able to stage new works in private before an invited audience, so as to gauge their effectiveness before risking a public première. As early as 1891 Sonzogno had proposed giving Mascagni's "L'amico Fritz" three preview performances of this kind in the recently acquired Teatro alla Pergola. Although this particular venture came to nothing, the idea was taken up by several others. These included Franchetti, who had excerpts from "Cristoforo Colombo" performed in private in Milan some months before the première in October 1892, and who in the same year had taken over the Teatro Brunetti in Bologna for the production of his own works. Despite the failure of the latter initiative, Franchetti shared with

Sonzogno the conviction that proper preparation was of the utmost importance in assuring the successful launch of a new work, and that this could only be achieved by complete control over production details (in this respect it is interesting to note that in 1889 he had withdrawn his opera "Asraël" from La Scala on account of his "artistic intentions not being adequately realized at rehearsals").¹¹ However, while Franchetti's wealth made it possible for him to insist upon high standards of production (and indeed buy his own theatre) other Ricordi composers had often to be content with what they were offered. Sonzogno could now guarantee fixed venues and regular rehearsals, and thus was able to provide the "giovane scuola" with the best possible conditions for the staging of their operas.¹²

Sonzogno's belief in the necessity of private, preview performances of new works was one which he always endeavoured to put into practice.¹³ In 1893 he had constructed in his mansion a private theatre built exclusively of iron, where entire productions of new operas could be viewed in the comfort of his own home. The publisher's friends and acquaintances were often invited to express their opinions on a particular work, thus enabling Sonzogno to isolate and rectify any imperfections which might otherwise have emerged at the première. This process was equivalent to the work of a cutting-room during the editing of a film; scenes were added, discarded, shortened or lengthened, dialogue was modified and stage movements choreographed for maximum dramatic effect. As far as "verismo puro" was concerned, such attention to detail could only be of benefit, and any extra costs incurred were accepted as inevitable. In any case, remedial treatment before a première was, in the long run, far cheaper than full-scale surgery after it, not taking into account the adverse publicity a failed opera bestows upon its composer, librettist and publisher.

Let us now return to our account of Sonzogno's theatre strategy. In 1895 Casa Ricordi was crippled by a long and bitter strike, and as a result was forced to relinquish control of the Scala repertory to its rivals. This unexpected stroke of good fortune left Sonzogno in a very strong position, since in addition to the Teatro Lirico and the Teatro del Verme he now

had at his disposal Italy's premier opera-house; a state of affairs which would last until the theatre's financial crisis in 1897 brought about the return of Ricordi as intendant. In the meanwhile Sonzogno took full advantage of the situation; Mascagni's "Silvano" and "Guglielmo Ratcliff" were both premiered at La Scala in 1895, with Leoncavallo's "I Medici" revived the same year (this work had in fact received its first performance at the Teatro dal Verme in 1893). Another important première, that of Giordano's "Andrea Chénier", was also given at the Scala in 1896. The production of these works at such an illustrious venue could only further enhance the firm's prestige, and Sonzogno was not slow to point out that he now controlled virtually all opera production in Milan. Ricordi was thus forced to look further afield for theatres in which he could stage his new works; a prime example is the première of Puccini's "La bohème",¹⁴ given at the Teatro Regio in Turin.

How then were Sonzogno's composers faring during this period of relative prosperity? It had always been the publisher's policy to maintain a substantial number of musicians and men of letters through what came to be known as the "stipendio" system. This consisted of an initial contract which required the composer to set to music a particular libretto within a specified time-limit. During this period a monthly allowance would be paid so as to facilitate work on the opera, which upon completion became the exclusive property of Casa Sonzogno. Such a procedure enabled the publisher to keep a very tight rein on the activities of his composers and librettists, since a substantial proportion of their income was now provided by him. Furthermore, the legal nature of the contract meant that refusal or failure to deliver a work by the appointed deadline could lead to prosecution. This fact more than any other enabled Sonzogno to prevent defections to Ricordi, who was always ready to tempt composers and librettists with attractive offers of work.¹⁵ The end-result was that both firms formed their own stables of contributors, and there was little if any collaboration between the two. This system meant that secrecy was of paramount importance, and as we shall see was closely guarded.

A good example of a "stipendio" contract was that between Sonzogno and Giordano for "Mala vita", the terms of which ran as follows: "In corrispettivo della cessione dei diritti d'autore e della proprietà di "Mala vita", il maestro Umberto Giordano riceverà dall'editore Sonzogno la somma di lire duecento al mese a decorrere dal 1 gennaio fino al 31 dicembre 1891, e cioè per complessive lire duemilaquattrocento, oltre al 25% del ricavo dei noleggi per anni venti. Il maestro Giordano si impegna a consegnare entro il 1891 la partitura completa". It is interesting to note that such contracts were normally only granted for a year, and were only renewed should the work prove to be successful. In practice this policy ensured that Sonzogno, if he so wished, was able to dismiss any composers or librettists who did not come up to expectations and replace them with more promising newcomers. It also provided a means by which established figures could be manipulated or in extreme cases threatened. A good example of the power Sonzogno was able to wield through his implementation of the "stipendio" system concerns Leoncavallo, with whom the publisher quarrelled in March 1895. The exact reasons for the dispute are unclear, but it seems that Sonzogno had taken exception to Leoncavallo travelling to St. Petersburg to supervise the Russian première of "Chatterton", and as a retaliatory measure had withdrawn the composer's monthly allowance. It is improbable that such a move worried Leoncavallo unduly; at the zenith of his prestige and popularity, he could live comfortably from the royalties of "Fagliacci" alone, and it was highly unlikely that Sonzogno would refuse an eventual compromise. But for the lesser-known composers, the suspension of the monthly "stipendio" meant artistic oblivion and real financial hardship. In a letter to Illica dating from the same period, Giordano (then at work on "Andrea Chénier") shows all too clearly his fear of the Milanese publisher: "Quanto mi hai detto di Sonzogno mi ha fatto una tremenda impressione, mi sono sentito gelare il sangue. Tu mi hai scritto della soppressione del mensile a Leoncavallo, ed io ho una paura terribile che faccia lo stesso con me; ma sarebbe una tale catastrofe che non voglio pensarci".²⁶

The "stipendio" system can therefore be viewed as one of the major reasons why Sonzogno was able to expand so successfully in the early 1890's. As a short-term arrangement, it ensured that neither publisher, composer or librettist was tied down to a long contractual agreement which was likely to be broken. Furthermore, the renewal option meant that Sonzogno could select those contributors most suited to the immediate needs of the market. Finally, the pressure of deadlines often spurred on composers and librettists to greater efforts, and avoided excessive delays between the initiation of a project and its completion. In all, an atmosphere of extreme and almost out-throat competition was engendered, involving not only the rival factions within Casa Sonzogno but also those of Casa Ricordi. Before continuing, it may be of some interest to chronicle some of the more important of these disputes, for the light they shed on contemporary editorial policy.

Even the most sympathetic of commentators would find it difficult to condone the business ethics of Ricordi and Sonzogno. In a world of high financial risks, where fortunes could be made or lost on the production of a single opera, there was little place for codes of conduct or sets of moral principles. An example already mentioned in the earlier part of the chapter was the dispute between Mascagni, Sonzogno and Verga over the latter's claim to a share of the royalties of the opera "Cavalleria rusticana". The ensuing lawsuit was of significance insofar as it drew public attention to the rights of the author of the literary source of a libretto to be adequately reimbursed, and Sonzogno was ordered to pay Verga royalties on some 25% of "all the proceeds hitherto realized for the disposal of the rights of performance of "Cavalleria rusticana"". As these were said to amount to over half a million lire, Verga's share must be calculated at within the region of 125,000 lire. This sum enabled the novelist to leave Milan and retire to his native Sicily, leaving Sonzogno determined to ensure that such a public humiliation would never again happen.²⁷ A repetition seemed likely in 1905, when Arrigo Coronaro produced his "bozzetto scenico" "Turiddu", based on Verga's (and Mascagni's) "Cavalleria rusticana". For some reason both Sonzogno and Verga did not attempt to bring legal action against Coronaro for breach of copyright; it may have

been the case that neither party felt it necessary to get involved in yet another long-running battle over what was essentially a second-rate imitation. Furthermore, there had been several other attempts in the past to set the same subject, all of which had met with limited success (including the numerous parodies of Mascagni's original opera). But this state of affairs was to change with the appearance of Domenico Monleone's "Cavalleria rusticana" in 1907. The history of this opera has been well chronicled by several of Verga's biographers,¹¹ but a short summary of the basic facts will not be out of place in the present discussion.

The libretto of Monleone's opera was by his brother Giovanni, and followed Verga's original play in every respect. The one-act format made comparison with Mascagni's sister-work inevitable, and after the world première (given in Amsterdam on 5 February 1907) critics remarked on the close similarity between both operas. Following the success of this performance, Monleone's enterprising yet foolhardy editor, Puccio, had arranged for subsequent premières in no less than six other countries: Italy, France, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary and Austria. However, after the Italian première (which took place in Turin on 10 July of the same year) Sonzogno succeeded in gaining a court injunction forcing Puccio to withdraw the work immediately. Prior to this action being taken Sonzogno had ensured that no press-notices were given either in "Il Secolo" or "La Stampa"; nevertheless the Italian public, their appetite whetted by reports of the Amsterdam performance, had thronged to hear Monleone's opera. The composer was able to send a telegram to Verga (who, incidentally, had given his complete support to the project in an attempt to gain revenge on Sonzogno and Mascagni) stating that the opera had been "un completo successo", despite attempts to sabotage the work. Verga soon realized the extent of Sonzogno's opposition to the opera; in a letter to Dina he mentions the existence of "un complotto Sonzognano" aimed at bringing himself, Puccio and the Monleone brothers to court on a charge of breach of copyright.¹² As we have seen, Sonzogno succeeded in stopping all further Italian performances of Monleone's opera, but was unable to prevent the foreign premières from taking place. The court case dragged on for a year, and eventually Monleone was

forced to adapt the music of his "Cavalleria" to a new libretto entitled "Il giostro dei falchi", after reneging on an agreement with Verga to set "Il mistero".³⁸

The Sonzogno-Monleone dispute was one which brought into sharp relief the question of copyright. Despite all attempts to avoid disagreements of this nature, there were still occasional instances where a composer's right to set a particular subject was challenged. There was also another factor to be considered; this was Ricordi's constant attempts to discredit his rival, and whenever possible Sonzogno composers and librettists would be denounced as plagiarists and opportunists of the worst kind. Such traffic was by no means one-way, and Sonzogno managed to retaliate on more than one occasion. But he was hampered by the inability of several of his "star" composers to co-exist peacefully, and the resultant disputes provided a plethora of conveniently sensational stories for the Ricordi press. The two principal offenders were none other than Mascagni and Leoncavallo; instead of presenting a united front with Sonzogno against the Ricordi faction, both composers chose to attack each other publicly in a series of verbal frocsas. The source of this dispute is somewhat unclear, but appears to originate from reports published during 1895 in the Italian press to the effect that Leoncavallo had written an inflammatory article on Mascagni, accusing his colleague of having plagiarized the music of a substantial number of other composers. Although the original article had appeared anonymously, it was obvious that the culprit was none other than Leoncavallo. Mascagni himself was quite convinced of this, as he made clear in a tersely worded statement informing the Italian public that he was "at present laboriously engaged in compiling a little pamphlet of most moderate proportions, setting forth in great detail the few numbers contained in Signor Leoncavallo's operas which have NOT been appropriated". For Sonzogno the prospect of a prolonged quarrel between his two most famous composers must have been a daunting one, but luckily the adverse publicity surrounding the incident died down as quickly as it had flared up, and he was able to bring about a complete reconciliation.

Leoncavallo's affray with Mascagni brought back into prominence the question of plagiarism. As will be recalled, the

Neapolitan maestro had recently emerged victorious from a dispute with the French writer Catulle Mendès over the paternity of "Pagliacci", and was also engaged in a legal battle with Ricordi regarding the ownership of "I Medici" (this particular case was to be resolved in the composer's favour in 1899).³¹ As if this was not enough, Leoncavallo became involved (albeit unwillingly) in the famous confrontation with Puccini over the rights to "La bohème". A chance meeting with his illustrious rival in a Milan café in 1893 had led to the discovery that both he and his colleague were working on the same subject. An unpleasant scene followed, with each composer claiming priority rights to the novel. The aftermath of this confrontation took the form of an announcement in "Il Secolo" of 20 March which declared that Leoncavallo had been engaged for some time on the opera; this was followed by an equivalent notice a day later in "Il Corriere della Sera", stating that Puccini had made no secret of his interest in "La bohème" and had been at work on the score since the première of "Manon Lescaut". To this "Il Secolo" replied that it could furnish irrefutable proof to the contrary, which then proved to be inconclusive. The outcome of this dispute (which eventually cast a slur upon the professional integrity of both men) was to have far-reaching implications, insofar as the refusal of either party to back down meant that two versions of the opera were destined to compete against each other. In effect, this established beyond all doubt the complete freedom of access by composers and librettists to works whose copyright had expired, and meant that Leoncavallo's claim that he was entitled to the rights to Mürrer's novel on the grounds that he had thought of adapting it before Puccini was totally invalid under Italian law. Despite this legal ruling, Puccini was sharply criticized on ethical grounds and accused openly by the Sonzogno camp of sharp practice (a claim which he and Ricordi dismissed with open contempt). Puccini's defence had rested solely on the artistic consequences of such a duplication, which he regarded as totally acceptable: "La precedenza in arte non implica che si debba interpretare il medesimo soggetto con uguali intendimenti artistici".³² The way was now open for what could be conveniently described as a process of operatic gemination, which soon became artistically acceptable if not always

desirable.³³

The Leoncavallo-Puccini feud was to be followed by yet another between the Neapolitan composer and Gustav Mahler over the casting of the Viennese première of the former's "La bohème" in 1898. Leoncavallo had managed to get his version produced in the Austrian capital before that of his rival, but artistic differences between composer and conductor had almost ended in yet another lawsuit.³⁴ Such difficulties were by no means uncommon; some three years earlier, Sonzogno had been forced to postpone the première of Gellio Benvenuto Coronaro's "Claudia" due to the inexplicable and sudden disappearance of the tenor Lombardi during rehearsals at the Teatro Lirico.³⁵ The result was that the Milanese publisher, incensed at this breach of contract, immediately took legal action against the singer. Indeed, the courts seem to have had an unduly busy time with composers, librettists, authors, publishers and performers; one last example deserves to be quoted, and involves once again the unfortunate Leoncavallo. After the première of "Zazà" in 1900, the writer Carlo Zangarini claimed that he had written a major part of the libretto in collaboration with the composer, who had then refused to acknowledge his contribution. Although this particular imbroglio ended in victory for Leoncavallo, his reputation and that of his publisher had once again been brought into question.³⁶

It would be quite wrong to assume that this highly charged atmosphere of double-dealing, intrigue and ruthless competition was the sole preserve of Casa Sonzogno. Ricordi too was not averse to resorting to underhand tactics in his dealings with others. The prime target was, of course, his rival, and during the early 1890's he conducted a vigorous propaganda campaign aimed at confusing both Sonzogno and the Italian public. A typical ploy was to release a communiqué stating that an opera had been commissioned from a particular composer, when in actual fact no such advance had been made. In this way Sonzogno was kept guessing as to his rival's current artistic policy by a constant flow of what can be conveniently termed "misinformation". One such announcement was made by Ricordi in March 1894, in which he stated that he had commissioned seven operas from the following composers: Enrico de Leva ("La

Camargo"), Gaetano Luporini ("Pasqua de' fiori", later renamed "La collana di Pasqua"), Giacomo Puccini ("La bohème") and Cesare Galeotti ("Anton"), together with Franchetti, Mascagni and Leoncavallo, whose subjects were unspecified. These last two composers were of course under contract to Sonzogno, but by including them in his statement Ricordi hoped to confuse his rival by leading him to believe that two of his most important artists had deserted him.³⁷ The war of words continued unabated, as both publishers sought to outwit each other.³⁸ Occasionally the search for a good subject led to blatantly underhand tactics being employed against a particular composer. The prime example of this was Ricordi's campaign to persuade Franchetti (at that time under contract) to cede the rights to "Tosca" to Puccini, who had expressed interest in the subject as early as May 1889.³⁹ However, because of the latter's subsequent decision to set "Manon Lescaut" and then "La bohème", "Tosca" had been temporarily forgotten, to re-emerge in January 1894 when it was offered to Franchetti. Illica had been at work on the libretto since the beginning of 1891, and it was arranged that he should travel with the composer to Paris in October to discuss several aspects of the adaptation with Sardou. Ricordi joined them (since he wished to supervise the French première of "Otello"), and during their stay Illica was fortunate enough in being able to read the first draft of the libretto to no less a critic than Verdi himself, who is said to have been most impressed. This favourable reception encouraged Franchetti to continue working on the subject, and Ricordi no doubt revised his earlier unfavourable opinion of the play, which he now envisaged as an ideal subject for Puccini. Eventually, aided and abetted by Illica (who had found difficulty in collaborating with Franchetti), Ricordi managed to convince the composer that the subject-matter of "Tosca" was risqué and that he would seriously damage his professional reputation by setting to music such a violent and scabrous subject. The result was that Franchetti, who had always stood apart from the current trend towards "verismo puro", was now made to believe that "Tosca" (with its scenes of attempted rape and on-stage murder) was perhaps not too suitable a subject, and promptly relinquished the rights to Ricordi.

It can be seen, then, that the business of Italian opera production (as managed by both leading publishers) was conducted in an often deliberately underhand and devious fashion. But the ongoing conflict between Sonzogno and Ricordi, coupled with the intense rivalry between composers and librettists, helped to stimulate public interest not only in "verismo puro" but in all other genres. It was soon realized that far from being detrimental, publicity of this kind could be extremely advantageous, since it was yet another way in which operas could be actively promoted. There were, of course, more acceptable methods, many of which were adopted by Sonzogno. One of the most important of these was the use of the printed word as a means of publicizing the activities of the "giovane scuola". This was achieved through the editorial policy of "Il Secolo" and "Il Teatro illustrato" which offered, in addition to favourable reviews of Sonzogno operas, advance information of the latest projects.⁴⁸ These declarations of intent served a double purpose; as well as whetting the public's appetite for opera, they also could be used as a means of "misinforming" rival publishers. Ploys of this nature were by no means reserved to Sonzogno; Ricordi used "Il Corriere della Sera" for much the same objectives. However, the principal function of Sonzogno-owned papers and periodicals was to promote the firm's interests in Italian opera, and to this end they employed their own team of musical critics, drawn mainly from the ranks of Milanese authors and journalists and ably led by Galli. The fact that Ricordi had a similar arrangement meant that within a short time Italian music critics and the public they represented had split into two opposing camps. If you were a follower of the "giovane scuola", then you supported Sonzogno by buying "Il Secolo" and reading panegyric accounts of Mascagni, Leoncavallo and a host of other "progressive" composers. If not, you subscribed to "Il Corriere della Sera", owned by Ricordi and the mouthpiece of the Puccini - Franchetti - Catalani faction. The conflict was further complicated by the political differences which separated both sides, with Sonzogno's left-wing liberalism acting as a foil to the right-wing conservatism of Ricordi.

There were yet other means by which both publishing houses could promote the works of their own composers. These included the widespread use of lithographed posters (first introduced by Ricordi in the early 1890's),⁴¹ the publication of cheap scores and sheet-music selections from new operas, together with the infiltration of independent theatrical journals such as "Il Trovatore" and "L'Avvisatore artistico", which were often cajoled into supporting one faction to the exclusion of the other.⁴² In at least one case Sonzogno may have secretly funded such a magazine; this was the aptly titled "L'Amico Fritz", which first appeared in Milan towards the end of 1891 and was not surprisingly pro-Mascagni. Composers themselves were also called upon to promote their works by means of personal performances at opera-houses (either through conducting or supervising a production), speeches at dinners and conferences, private piano performances of extracts from new operas (given before their première) and the writing of "occasional" pieces for public occasions.⁴³ The Italian royal family could also be counted on for support, either through their patronage of composers or by their presence at important premières. Sonzogno was quick to realize the immense prestige which a "royal" connection could bring, and on several occasions did not hesitate to take full advantage of it. A good example is that of Leoncavallo's "Chatterton", which had been scheduled for production at the Teatro Nazionale in Rome early in 1896. Sonzogno proudly announced that the date of the première would be fixed by Queen Margherita (who had also promised to attend), with the immediate result that the publisher was accused by Ricordi of having exploited the Italian royal family for the sake of gaining cheap publicity. However, such scruples did not prevent Ricordi from imitating Sonzogno; indeed, the première of Mascagni's "Iris" (at this stage in his career the Livornese composer had defected to Ricordi) took place in the presence of Queen Margherita, the Prince and Princess of Naples and the Duke of Aosta. The following year Mascagni was once again in royal circles; having been granted a private audience with the Queen, he had promised her that his new opera "Le masohere" would receive its première in Rome (in the event it was also given a simultaneous first performance in five other Italian cities).

Yet another of Sonzogno's publicity stunts was to present composers as "literary" figures in their own right. Both Mascagni and Leoncavallo were featured in the Sonzogno press as gifted writers who could hold their own against their literary counterparts. In Leoncavallo's case this was certainly true; his wide knowledge of European literature, gained during his early years of study (he had attended Carducci's lectures at Bologna and was a graduate of that university) held him in good stead when he came to write his own libretti,⁴⁴ and he was widely respected as a gifted author. Sonzogno therefore did not hesitate in appointing Leoncavallo as the intellectual leader of his school of composers, and looked upon him as the one figure most capable of promoting the "giovane scuola" through the vehemence of his critical writings. Mascagni, however, was not to be outdone, and in 1895 wrote a series of articles entitled "Libretti e librettisti", which was followed by yet another collection with the title "I critici musicali". There had even been rumours as early as 1893 to the effect that Mascagni had agreed to write a prose drama for the actor Novelli, but this particular project does not seem to have come to fruition. (The Ricordi camp had nevertheless greeted the news with derision, declaring it a lucky reprieve for Italian opera, but a sad blow to the world of literature.)⁴⁵ But apart from the obvious talents of Mascagni and Leoncavallo there were few other composers whom Sonzogno could call upon, and the initiative had a correspondingly minimal effect.⁴⁶

In contrast to the publicity methods already mentioned (and which depended for the most part on a skilfully orchestrated press campaign) there were other and less direct ways in which Sonzogno sought to further interest in the "giovane scuola". One of these was the active promotion of clagues within the publisher's opera-houses and in those of his rivals. For a relatively small outlay, an opera's success could be ensured by means of judicious and timely applause at key-points during the performance. While the presence of a clague rarely influenced the judgement of critics, it could easily sway a reluctant audience, and if skilfully managed could sustain interest in even the poorest of works. In this way the risk of an opera failing completely on its opening night were minimized, and the clague could also be used as an offensive weapon against

the works of rival publishers.⁴⁷ While it is difficult to verify any individual cases of deliberate disruption of a performance, it is a well-known fact that both Sonzogno and Ricordi took extensive precautions against the infiltration of their theatres.⁴⁸ Tactics included keeping the public guessing as to the final venue of a première by constantly switching it from theatre to theatre, rearranging performance dates at the last moment, and ensuring that works were staged as far away as possible from likely sources of trouble. It would be quite incorrect, however, to state that these precautions were invariably carried out for every première; only the most important merited such consideration, as the bother and expense involved in subterfuge of this kind could not be repeated too often. Efforts to have the clagues banned from the theatres met with little success, and while publishers paid lip-service to initiatives of this kind it was quite clear that they would do nothing to prevent the practice. Indeed, as early as 1891 it was reported that the controversial clague at La Scala had been officially recognized by the management, which at the time was under the control of Casa Ricordi.

As we have seen, a variety of successful strategies were used by Sonzogno in his bid to establish "verismo puro" as the dominant genre in Italian opera. However, the Milanese publisher did not limit his interest to Italy alone, and from very early on realized the extent to which the works of the "giovane scuola" could be actively promoted abroad. There was nothing to prevent Italian opera being exported as a merchantable commodity; this one-way trade had been a feature of the Italian musical scene for centuries. Where Sonzogno broke new ground was in the techniques he employed both to publicize and perform his works abroad. The first objective was the more easily attained, since the great success of "Cavalleria rusticana" had led almost instantly to international renown for its composer. The result was that foreign critics and correspondents, either resident in Italy or abroad, now turned their attention upon contemporary Italian opera. Sonzogno exploited this surge of interest by ensuring that details of composers, librettists and new productions were conveyed as quickly as possible to foreign journalists, either through the official medium of press communiques or by verbal

"off the record" briefings. Furthermore, Sonzogno personnel were encouraged to give interviews to foreign newspapers, and active use was made of the telegraph to ensure that details of impending and past premières were promptly despatched to the main capitals of Europe. This last procedure depended greatly upon the presence of Sonzogno journalists abroad, who acted as cultural attachés for the firm, delivering important information to the appropriate quarters. The entire network was extremely efficient, and part of the credit for its smooth running must be attributed to Galli, who co-ordinated operations while remaining in close contact with Sonzogno. Another reason for the success of the venture was the fact that through his ownership of "Il Secolo" the publisher could draw upon the vast resources offered to him by the world of journalism.

The second objective, that of assuring foreign performances of "giovane scuola" works, was far less easy to attain. Part of the problem was that Ricordi's immense editorial power extended to opera-houses abroad, which made it possible for him to blacklist any theatre which had agreed to stage Sonzogno works. This threat was not to be taken lightly, and many opera-houses were forced to decline Sonzogno's offer of a new repertory. The situation was not quite so bad for "Cavalleria" and "Pagliacci", whose huge popularity ensured that they were performed all over Europe and America, despite Ricordi's attempts to suppress them.⁴⁹ The foreign reaction to Mascagni's masterpiece has already been chronicled in a previous chapter, but its early success was sustained over a long period; by December 1892 it had been given over one hundred times at the Royal Opera House in Berlin.⁵⁰ "Pagliacci" was no less fortunate; on the occasion of the German première (which took place at the same venue) the opera had met with a highly favourable reception. The Kaiser himself was present, and was so impressed by the work that he summoned Leoncavallo to the Royal Box to inform him that he had telegraphed King Umberto in Rome to express the great pleasure he had derived from the opera. The Russian and Hungarian premières were equally successful; at Moscow, no less than sixteen performances were given in the space of six weeks, to be followed by a similarly enthusiastic welcome in Budapest. It was clear, then, that both

"Cavalleria rusticana" and "Pagliacci" needed little promotion to ensure their success abroad, but there still remained the problem of the lesser-known works in the Sonzogno repertory. The solution finally arrived at was novel in both conception and execution; foreign tours were organized to the main European capitals, with the sole purpose of giving seasons of Sonzogno opera at one particular theatre in each city. To maintain the best possible standard of production, those singers most suited to the roles in question were formed into a travelling company, together with stagehands, choreographers, scenic designers and other background staff. This approach minimized the risks of a tour failing through lack of adequate rehearsals or the inadequacy of individual singers; moreover, the decision by Sonzogno to establish his seasons of Italian opera in one specific theatre in each capital greatly facilitated travelling arrangements, and provided his companies with a secure and identifiable base from which they could perform. The policy of fixed venues for each season was also one which the public found most convenient, since they were spared the necessity of following the company around different theatres in the city.

Sonzogno's first tour of this kind was planned during 1893 and was intended to introduce German audiences to the "giovane scuola". The choice of country was undoubtedly due to the great success "verismo puro" had met with in Vienna, where the 1892 Exhibition had highlighted such works as "Mala vita". Mascagni's presence at this same event (he conducted performances of "Cavalleria" and "L'amico Fritz") may also have helped to arouse the interest of the Viennese, but the real reason for their avid approval must be attributed to two factors. The first of these was the backing the influential critic Hanslick had given to the new works, while the second was a general tide of discontent with Wagnerism. Opera-goers had begun to tire of the excessive length of many of the works of the Bayreuth master and his followers, and were finding the short, melodramatic scenarios of Mascagni, Leoncavallo and Giordano very much to their liking. In 1890 the Vienna correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph" had written a long article on this same subject,⁵¹ and Sonzogno was no doubt correct in surmising that the German public might react in a similar

manner. Early indications had been favourable; the German premières of "Cavalleria" and "Pagliacci" were very successful, and Bellincioni and Stagno triumphed in the first performance of "Mala vita" in Germany (given at the Krolloper in Berlin on 13 December 1892). With these successes in mind, Sonzogno announced that he would hold a season of "giovane scuola" operas at the Theater unter den Linden in Berlin. Despite having been planned towards the end of 1893, the organization of the tour took far longer than had at first been thought, and it was to be 14 September 1895 before the inaugural work, Samara's "La martire", was given a highly favourable reception (the soprano Lison Frandin being acclaimed by German critics for the quality of her acting). Other operas scheduled were Mascagni's "Silvano",⁵² Cipollini's "Il piccolo Haydn", Coronaro's "Claudia" and Boci's "Cristo alla festa di Purim". But the entire season soon proved to be a failure; "Silvano" was criticized by the German press as being a pale imitation of "Cavalleria", while "Il piccolo Haydn" (based on Cecchi's 1880 play) fared no better, and certainly did not equal the success of the première at Como in 1893. There was some consolation for Sonzogno in the news that "Silvano" had been very successful at Frankfurt, but even this could not disguise the fact that the Berlin festival had been a great disappointment and a considerable financial loss.

Despite this setback, Sonzogno now determined to stage a similar season in Paris. But the likelihood of greater success in the French capital seemed remote; when "Cavalleria" was given its first performance in France on 19 January 1892 at the Opera Comique the reception had been less than favourable, and upon reflection it was decided to postpone the tour indefinitely.⁵³ The lack of interest shown by the French was paralleled in Britain, where initial enthusiasm for "Cavalleria" and "Pagliacci" soon abated. In August 1894 the leading article of the "Musical Times", commenting on "verismo puro", referred to "the ruling passion for strong, brutal or gruesome subjects by which all composers of the day - except Verdi in his last work - are consumed". The writer continues by apportioning most of the blame to Mascagni's pioneering work:

It all began with that squalid little tragedy of Verga's, "Cavalleria rusticana" - since when everyone has been trying "to go one better" than Mascagni in regard to violent or repulsive situations. Infidelity, murder and sudden death are become the sole stock in trade of the librettist . . . this quest of horrors is really being rather overdone . . . the mortality amongst the "dramatis personae" of a modern Italian opera is so alarmingly high - something about 50% per annum - that an insurance agent, on visiting Covent Garden a few weeks ago, is reported to have observed: "If people always behaved like that in real life, I certainly should not be able to afford a stall at the Opera".

This rather amusing diatribe continues with the suggestion that the subject-matter of "verismo puro" was having a less than salutary effect on those exposed to it:

Why should we be condemned always to sup full of horrors when we go nowadays to the opera? Are we never going to witness a piece with a happy ending again? . . . Recently published Blue Books have given rise to alarmist views as to the increase of insanity. Various causes are assigned - heredity, inebriety, and so forth. Perhaps the depressing influence of modern operas should be taken into account. However, we are not entirely without hope in this respect. Verdi has set an example with "Falstaff" which can hardly fail to exert a wholesome influence on his juniors. And if the composers are unwilling to essay more cheerful themes on their own initiative, the audiences will in time revolt against the tyranny of tears and insist on occasionally hearing wedding bells instead of funeral knells at the close of their operatic entertainment.⁵⁴

It was obvious that Sonzogno would have to look further afield for new markets. However, those countries which most appreciated "giovane scuola" works were remotely situated (e.g. the United States, South America and Russia), and would be difficult and expensive to tour. Sonzogno thus determined to stimulate interest by sending his most famous composers to "personally supervise" productions of their own operas. This

involved making guest appearances as conductor, giving interviews to the local press,⁵⁵ and mixing in aristocratic circles. The process had already been used with success at the British and Belgian premières of "Pagliacci"; on the former occasion, Sonzogno accompanied Leoncavallo to London and presented the composer on stage at the conclusion of the first performance.⁵⁶ Mascagni too actively promoted his works abroad, conducting the Covent Garden première of "L'amico Fritz" and touring both Germany and Austria in 1895.⁵⁷ But it was the United States which proved to be the potentially largest market for the "giovane scuola" (due largely to the significant number of Italian immigrants), and Sonzogno soon realized the importance of consolidating his position there. Several projects were formulated; amongst these was a proposed American tour by Leoncavallo in the winter of 1896-97, during which the composer would conduct a series of performances of his own works. The entire venture was to have been organized by the impresario Dürer, but due to several unforeseen difficulties (including the unwillingness of Leoncavallo to participate in such a tour while he was still struggling to finish "La bohème") it was eventually cancelled. However, towards the end of 1896 a report in the New York "Artists' Journal" stated that both Mascagni and Leoncavallo were likely to visit the United States in 1897, and that separate orchestras were to be assembled for two distinct tours, but once again this proposed visit never took place.⁵⁸

Despite the failure of Sonzogno's strategy in promoting the "giovane scuola" by means of foreign tours and seasons of their works, Germany and Austria still proved to be highly profitable markets, especially for "verismo puro". A good example of this was the world première of Spinelli's "A basso porto", given on 18 April at the Stadttheater in Cologne. The composer was called before the curtain more than twenty times - quite an exceptional honour for a German audience to pay a foreign musician. The opera itself was novel insofar as the subject-matter complemented Tascia's "A Santa Lucia", and was intended as a sequel to it, taking place some twenty years after. Several of the characters in Tascia's opera were retained (amongst them Maria and Ciccillo), but Spinelli's work is much longer, being cast in three acts to Tascia's two. "A basso

porto" is important, however, when we realize that it may have been no more than an attempt by Sonzogno to counteract the success of "A Santa Lucia", which had also been given its world premiere in Germany (Berlin, Kroll's, 16 November 1892) and was published by Ricordi. But the lack of "verismo puro" works owned by him meant that the success gained by "A Santa Lucia" could not be sustained, and Sonzogno was relieved to find himself once more in total control.

Meanwhile in Italy "verismo puro" continued its triumphant march forward. The record year of 1893 signals the apex of the genre's success, which was to some extent sustained in 1894 with the premières of Coop's "Teresa Raquin", Soffradini's "Salvatorello", Ferri's "Maledetta", Samara's "La martire", Florida's "Maruzza",⁵ Sanfelice's "Nennella" and Vallini's "Il voto". The following two years showed much the same pattern, with some interesting titles emerging; in 1895 Italian audiences were offered Bimboni's "Santuzza", Cellini's "Vendetta sarda", Mascagni's "Silvano", Smareglia's "Nozze istriane", Castracane's "Padron Giovanni", Brunetto's "La saga di Valaperta", Bucceri's "Mariadda" and Mancinelli's "Tizianello", whereas in 1896 the same theatre-goers could enjoy Fornari's "Un dramma in vendemmia", Medini's "La tradita", Sebastiani's "A San Francesco", Donizetti's "Dopo l'Ave Maria", Mineo's "I mafiosi" and Giannetti's "Padron Maurizio". This long list of titles is all the more remarkable when we consider that "verismo puro" was only one of many genres coexisting at the same time, but its influence was so great that it appeared of greater import than it was in actual fact. This is shown by the number of parodies which were staged both in Italy and abroad, and which poke fun at the conventions and ethos of "verismo puro". Amongst these we may cite "Fanteria rusticana" (1891; composer unknown), "Cavalleria domestica" (1892; Cordara) and "Cavalleria rustico-romana" (1892; Pierangeli), all of which were less than serious "reinterpretations" of Mascagni's original. The Livornese composer seems to have had more than his fair share of imitators, for in 1892 Pierangeli, fresh from his success with "Cavalleria rustico-romana", announced that he was about to compose "L'amico Frizzolo" of which, however, no performance has ever been recorded. More successful was another unknown

gentleman (possibly the originator of "Fanteria rusticana") who in 1899 composed and produced "Giris", which mercilessly parodied Mascagni's Japanese opera "Iris". Although these last two efforts were outwith the bounds of "verismo puro", the art of operatic parody flourished unopposed in Italy. In actual fact Sonzogno made little or no attempt to prevent the performance of these works, since permitting their free circulation ensured a cheap and ready source of publicity for his firm. The fact that something is successful enough to be parodied is, in itself, an indirect recommendation of that product; whereas Sonzogno was quick to prosecute any serious infringements of his copyright (such as Monleone's "Cavalleria rusticana"), he was more than willing to tolerate such flippant parodies.

The situation was much the same abroad, especially in Germany and Austria where the great popularity of "verismo puro" ensured a ready audience for ventures of this kind. A good example is that of "Krawalleriana Musicana", produced as early as October 1891 at the Theater an der Wien in Vienna and composed by a certain Herr Mader of whom little else is known. This particular parody met with enormous success (due in part to the simultaneous performance of the original opera and the presence of its composer in the Austrian capital), and in itself was widely imitated. The next step was to parody not one work, but three simultaneously; this was achieved in "Una famiglia fina", composed by a Francesco Bernizzo and described by the publishers Ries and Erler as a "parodical opera in half an act". Reviewing the première (Berlin, 1894), the "Musical Times" gave a rather entertaining account of the principal features of the opera: "In this amusing work the plots of "Cavalleria", "Faglicci" and Hummel's one-act opera "Mara" are mixed up, and the styles of their respective composers burlesqued in the most mirth-moving fashion. The "intermezzo obbligato" is, of course, an important feature, and the knife, poison, adultery, murder, and all the essentials of a genuine lyric drama of the modern Italian type are to be found in this "half-act" piece of foolery."⁶⁰ In conclusion to our discussion of "Una famiglia fina", with its "half-act" format, it may be of interest to include a quotation from an article published in 1893 by the Munich journal "Kunst und Theater Anzeiger", and

which amusingly anticipates Bernizzo's startling innovation:

Only one-act operas seem to be considered the essence of true music now. They continue to grow and increase in ever-greater shortness. It will not be long before half-act operas become the fashion, and then quarter acts will follow, till at last composers will come to the conclusion that it will be best not to compose at all . . . That would, perhaps, be the best music.⁶¹

Let us now turn our attention to Ricordi. We have seen how he attempted to emulate Sonzogno's success in Germany by producing "A Santa Lucia", but the extent of this counter-attack was by no means confined to abroad. In Italy Ricordi had become increasingly concerned about the success of "verismo puro", and attempted to interest several of his major composers in the genre. Amongst these was Puccini; indeed, in 1894 Ricordi had decided to commission a libretto from Verga based on his short story "La lupa". The Sicilian novelist had converted this into a play which was to be performed before long, and when approached by Ricordi he proposed that Federico De Roberto should undertake the libretto adaptation. The publisher agreed to this arrangement (De Roberto was to be paid one thousand lire for his work) and interested Puccini in the subject, who then decided to travel to Sicily in the spring of 1894 to discuss the matter with both authors. He was also instructed by Ricordi to acquaint himself with the local atmosphere and make notes about suitable national costumes to be used in the opera. This he did, but on his return expressed some doubt as to the wisdom of setting such an "unsympathetic" subject.⁶² This placed Ricordi in an embarrassing position, since he had already announced, during Puccini's absence, that "La lupa" was to be his next opera. But the composer stuck firmly to his original intention to resume work on "La bohème", thus ending a short yet significant flirtation with "verismo puro".

Ricordi's failure in enlisting Puccini's support meant that he could pose no threat to the ongoing success of Casa Sonzogno. Such a coup as the signing of Mascagni for "Iris" could not hide the fact that without the cooperation of key composers any attempt to make inroads into the Sonzogno

repertory was doomed to failure. Even the success of Tasca's "A Santa Lucia" and Florida's "Maruzza" was qualified; the Italian premiere of the former work, given in March 1893 at Trieste, met with a lukewarm, almost apathetic reception. It was hard to believe that this was the same opera which had triumphed at Berlin, and Ricordi was forced to admit that the battle had been lost. The mistake he had made was to enter too late into the fray, and with inadequate resources to counter Sonzogno's lead. But the unqualified success of "verismo puro" was beginning to wane, and the whole edifice upon which Sonzogno had promoted the cause of operatic realism now showed signs of cracking at the seams. There had always been problems, of course, but these had occurred at convenient times; even such major setbacks as the cut in subsidy to the San Carlo in 1891 and the closing of the Teatro Bellini at Palermo in 1892 (it was subsequently converted into a music-hall), together with the demise of "Il Teatro illustrato" in 1893 had not threatened the success of the genre. By the beginning of 1897 it was clear that "verismo puro" was undergoing a crisis of confidence. Suddenly, as quickly as it had been formed, the bubble burst, and the flow of works from the Sonzogno firm dried up with alarming alacrity.

What were the reasons for this dramatic change in fortunes? One of the principal factors was the economic climate; from 1897 until the turn of the century, Italy was convulsed by a series of political upheavals which led to much uncertainty within the country. The civil strife brought about by the massive increase in strikes and the growth of anarchy, which was to culminate in the assassination of King Umberto at Monza in 1900, led to a decline in operatic activity. Italian theatres now found themselves starved of funds; even La Scala was forced to postpone its 1897 season due to the withdrawal of its municipal subsidy. This particular crisis was typical of the general trend, and by examining it in greater detail we can gain a clearer picture of how financial cutbacks severely restricted not only "verismo puro" but all Italian opera. Just over a year previously, towards the end of Sonzogno's term of management, the Scala had released details of its financial position and workforce. The total municipal subsidy granted in 1896 was 300,000 lire, 60,000 of which was ear-marked for

repairs. This left 240,000 lire, which when added to the performance receipts totalled the entire income of the theatre. Running costs were especially high; the workforce numbered, quite incredibly, 1,745 (400 workmen and musical editors, 543 prop designers and costumiers, and 782 chorus and permanent staff), with the cost of an average season being estimated at some 200,000 lire. Furthermore, the appointment of Sonzogno as intendant had meant that the theatre's repertory had been based almost exclusively on modern Italian works, to the exclusion of Verdi, Wagner and Puccini. This imbalance had been partly remedied by the inclusion of several operas by French composers such as Massenet and Saint-Saëns, but even this was not enough to increase receipts. The decision to withdraw the subsidy coincided with the reinstatement of Ricordi as intendant, but now it was too late - Italy's most famous lyric theatre was eventually forced to close its doors.

The new year of 1898 brought at least one glimmer of hope with the news that the Roman municipal authorities intended to establish a new opera-house, the Teatro Lirico Nazionale, which was to be subsidized by both local and central government. The inspiration for this project came from one of the councillors, Ernesto Pacelli, who had expressed concern at the demise of the Scala, adding that if the new house was to become a viable proposition it would have to present opera on a monthly and not seasonal basis, thus avoiding the loss of income occasioned by closure over the summer months. Pacelli, amongst others, realized that Italian opera could not thrive without adequate financial support; even with the increased revenue gained through monthly opening, there would still be a substantial deficit to be covered by subsidies. Furthermore, Italian theatres required firm guarantees from the authorities as to the availability of financial aid; without these assurances, it would be impossible to plan ahead and fund accordingly. Pacelli's plan was viewed favourably by the majority of Italian cities, and in May there was news that the Scala would be opening for the following season; not through the intervention of the town council, but by a syndicate of Milanese industrialists who issued 1,200 shares of 250 lire each, raising a total of 300,000 lire. This sum more than adequately replaced the withdrawn grant of 300,000 lire, but a month later

the council relented and approved a reduced subsidy of 160,000 lire - just more than half the original amount. When added to the 310,000 lire raised by private enterprise, a total of 470,000 lire was reached (a 56% increase over the 1894 subsidy). The appointment of Giulio Gatti-Casazza as "sovrintendente" ensured that the new-found wealth of the Scala would be skilfully managed.

It emerges, then, that the financial turmoil in which many Italian opera-houses, less fortunate than the Teatro alla Scala, found themselves in at this time was one of the principle reasons for the demise of "verismo puro". But there were others, such as the growing discontent of the Italian public with the genre. By 1897 it appeared that the "giovane scuola" had reached saturation point as far as "verismo puro" was concerned; after seven years in which numerous imitations of "Cavalleria" and "Pagliacci" had been greedily devoured by Italian audiences, there was no longer the same enthusiasm for this type of opera. This is vividly demonstrated by the première of "Il voto", which was the long-awaited revision of "Mala vita". Sonzogno hoped that this new version of Giordano's infamous opera would rekindle interest in "verismo puro", but despite a strong cast including Rosina Storchio and the twenty-four year old Enrico Caruso, "Il voto" was a complete failure. Daspuro, the original librettist, had made several cuts, omitting the character of Annatiello, whose portrayal as a drunken layabout had deeply offended Neapolitan audiences. In addition some of the original, highly-spiced dialogue was toned down, but despite these modifications the "Corriere della Sera" dismissed the opera as being totally worthless: "Nulla più urta, ora, è vero, ma nello stesso tempo nulla più interessa o commuove" (Alfredo Colombani).⁴³ Eugenio Zorzi, writing in "L'Italia del Popolo", was even more dismissive: "'Il voto' non è destinato a un avvenire".⁴⁴ He was to be proved right, and it is somewhat ironical that the opera which, after "Cavalleria rusticana", had given "verismo puro" its initial impetus should now signal its apparent demise, albeit in an emasculated and hideous travesty of its former self.

It would appear that by 1897 much of the earlier vitality of the genre had disappeared, but there was another reason for the

lack of success now encountered by "verismo puro": in an Italy humiliated by the defeat of Adowa, ravaged by rising inflation and terrorized by popular insurrections, the subject-matter of such operas seemed all too remote from the actuality of contemporary events. Neither could they be looked upon as a means of escape from reality; all that was offered was an escape into another reality, more violent and truculent than their own. There now arose other, more relevant genres which seemed more in tune with the social and political issues of the day, and to which the Italian public now turned. (A discussion of this trend will be found in the following chapter.) But there remains one last factor which, more than any other, explains everything; this was the attitude of the composers and librettists themselves, who now felt that "verismo puro" had run its course and that it was time to venture upon something completely different. This development is apparent in a 1895 letter from Nicola Spinelli (the composer of "A basso porto") to Illica, in which composer asks librettist for a subject characterized by "grandi passioni nei personaggi e grande poesia nell'ambiente", adding the following significant words: "Credo utile ripeterti che sono assolutamente deciso ad abbandonare quel genere di melodramma che si basa sopra un ambiente basso, triviale; che ha per scopo principale di riprodurre le passioni più brutali e che, pur creando tipi nuovi e veri, ha personaggi abbietti e viziati. "A basso porto" mi è servito per ammaestramento, e non voglio assolutamente ricadere nei difetti che tutti hanno riconosciuto in detta opera".⁸⁵

Spinelli's comment to the effect that he viewed "verismo puro" as a form of "ammaestramento" shows that for many composers the genre was no more than a stepping-stone to greater things. Once the generation which had first been inspired by "Cavalleria" and then harnessed by Casa Sonzogno had completed their apprenticeship (by writing one or two effective imitations and consequently making a name for themselves), the way was now clear for more "artistic" diversification. The end-result was the virtual demise of "verismo puro", as forecast by Sir Frederick Cowen in an interview given to the "Musical Times" in March 1894: "The present rage for subjects of a tempestuous kind will, I fancy,

not last long. Violent paroxysms must, in the very nature of things, exhaust themselves quickly".⁶⁶ But despite all indications to the contrary, the genre was not totally dead; as we shall see in the following chapter there were to be significant revivals, and the influence of "verismo puro" was once again to be strongly felt. For the moment, let us end with the words of Gianandrea Gavazzeni who, in "I nemici della musica", offers the following explanation of why this unique form of operatic realism lost favour: "Un malinteso bisogno di rapido rinnovamento fece credere esauriti o superati certi contenuti drammatici, certe forme teatrali . . . E non era vero".⁶⁷ In the last analysis there took place, in Gavazzeni's words, "una crisi di fede verista"; but the process of "rinnovamento" was, as we shall see, already well under way.

NOTES

- (1) See Part One, Chapter Three, p.83 for further details.
- (2) Since these figures were provided by Sonzogno, we may safely assume that they err on the conservative side.
- (3) This was the "stipendio" system, which will be fully explained in due course (see Part One, Chapter Three, pp.83-85).
- (4) The brevity of the average "verismo puro" scenario also encouraged the composition of sequels. A good example of this is Spinelli's "A basso porto", which was intended as a sequel to Tasso's "A Santa Lucia" (see Part One, Chapter Three, pp.99-100).
- (5) A further advantage of double-billing was that "verismo puro" could be combined with traditional operas and ballets so as to attract the more conservative sectors of the Italian public, who ordinarily would not consider viewing an exclusively veristic programme.
- (6) It would appear that Mascagni had been upset by accusations to the effect that the success of "Cavalleria" had been due only to the dramatic power of the libretto, and not to his music. The choice of "L'amico Fritz" was therefore occasioned by the desire to set as simple and inconsequential a subject as possible; as the composer remarked, "Vorrei essere giudicato niente altro che per la musica".
- (7) Hanslick's comment was made on the occasion of the work's Viennese premiere, which took place on 27 September 1892 at the Exhibition Theatre in a German translation entitled "Das Gelübte".
- (8) Yet another reason for the disastrous reception of "Mala vita" lay in Sonzogno's choice of Naples' premier opera house, the San Carlo. As Celletti states in "Il verismo e Napoli",

Il trasferimento dello spettacolo . . . proprio al San Carlo, teatro sulico per eccellenza, provocò un tumulto. La rivolta del pubblico e di buona parte della critica si manifestò, nei suoi impulsi più immediati, come reazione all'oltraggio inflitto a quel glorioso palcoscenico, non certo destinato, come si osservò da varie parti, a ospitare personaggi da bordello, cocchieri in capello a stajo, coriste in zoccoli, giocatori di morra.

- (9) Quoted by Grossetto in his article on Giordano in the "Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo", V, p.1315.
- (10) Ibid.
- (11) Given during a 1974 BBC Radio Three broadcast on operatic "verismo".
- (12) See Part One, Chapter Two, Note 20.
- (13) Boito's dismissal of the opera was addressed to his friend Bellaigue, who had written to him from Paris in 1902 complaining that "Pagliacci" "gli avevano fatto orrore".
- (14) Sir Frederick Cowen's excursion into "verismo puro" is interesting insofar as it mirrors the intense interest shown by non-Italian composers in the movement; examples include Hummel's "Mara" (Berlin, 1893) and Borch's "Silvio" (Christania, 1898; a sequel to "Cavalleria rusticana").
- (15) Op.cit., p.555.
- (16) Op.cit., p.482.
- (17) See Part Three, Section Eight.
- (18) The most famous premiere to take place at the Pergola was that of Mascagni's "I Rantzau" (1892).
- (19) The premiere of "Pagliacci" took place in this theatre.
- (20) See Part One, Chapter Two, Note 40.
- (21) See Part One, Chapter One, p.7.
- (22) Occasionally Sonzogno promoted open-air performances, such as that of "Cavalleria rusticana" given in 1894 at Girgenti in Sicily and reviewed in the August edition of the

"Musical Times", p.548:

The work was performed on the public square in the neighbouring village of Cattolica, which is said to be the identical place in which the story of the opera is supposed to have happened. The local priest protested against his church being used as "decorations" for the performance, but in vain. The best-looking amongst the inhabitants, in their smartest attire, were employed as supers; the church had to open its doors to receive the mumming "worshippers", and 4,000 people from the neighbouring villages came to enjoy the new and gratuitous sensation. That it was a great success goes without saying.

- (23) On the few occasions when he omitted to do this the opera was almost invariably a failure, as in the case of Cipollini's "Ninon de Lenolos". One exception was "Andrea Chénier", which due to lack of time was hurriedly staged (despite Sonzogno's misgivings) and proved highly successful. Ricordi also seems to have followed Sonzogno's example, organizing a preview performance of Mascagni's "Iris" (the composer had at this point in his career defected to the opposition) in the private theatre of the Marchesa di Guerrieri-Gonzaga, over a year before the public première.
- (24) Ricordi was able to gain revenge when, in 1900, he blocked Sonzogno's attempt to stage the première of Leoncavallo's "Zazà" at the Scala, substituting a revival of Fucini's "La bohème".
- (25) He was, however, unable to prevent Mascagni from ceding "Iris" to Ricordi.
- (26) Letter dated April 1895.
- (27) Despite Verga's obsessive hatred of Sonzogno, the Italian press continued to speculate on the possibility of an eventual artistic collaboration. One spurious report, dating from August 1893, stated that the Sicilian author was working on three new libretti for Sonzogno, after being paid 200,000 lire by the publisher.

- (28) The best account is given by Alfred Alexander in "Giovanni Verga: A Great Writer and his World" (London, 1972), pp.193-97.
- (29) Letter dated 20 March 1907.
- (30) See letter from Verga to Dina dated 8 August 1910.
- (31) See Part One, Chapter Two, Note 20 and Part One, Chapter Three, p.74 for further details of both disputes.
- (32) Letter dated 21 March 1893 (no.51 in "Carteggi pucciniani", edited by Eugenio Gara (Milan,1958)).
- (33) Giordano almost became a victim of artistic duplication in 1901, when he learned that Mascagni was also at work on a Russian subject (at that time Giordano was composing "Siberia"). His feelings are made very clear in a letter to Illica dated 14 July 1901:

Del resto questo f..... che fanno i miei colleghi e la cosa più meschina e odiosa. Esiste una "Manon", si rifa la "Manon". Esiste una "Bohème", si rifa la "Bohème". C'è "Chénier", si pensa ad una "Maria Antonietta". C'è "Iris", si rifa il Giappone. Si lavora a un'opera russa, se ne prepara un'altra russa.

However, at times the knowledge that a composer was interested in a particular subject could lead to considerable double-dealing, as is shown in the following undated letter written by Leoncavallo to Massenet in somewhat dubious French:

11 Via Pasquirola
Milan

Mon cher maître et ami,

Une nouvelle surprenante circule dans les journaux italiens. On annonce que Puccini est en train d'écrire "Cyrano de Bergerac"! Je vous avouerais que je moi-même j'ai eu l'idée il y a deux années de cela de demander ce sujet mais des amis à Paris m'ont rapporté que d'autres compositeurs et vous, surtout, aviez demandé à avoir

"Cyrano" et que Rostand avait répondu un peu trop cavalièrement dans ces mots: "qu'il y avait déjà assez musique comme ça dans ces vers".

Je ne me suis donc même pas risqué à demander le sujet. J'en ai pourtant parlé à Coquelin quand j'étais à Paris pour la "Bouhème" et il m'a confirmé que Rostand était absolument contraire à laisser mettre en musique "Cyrano". Je crois que Puccini a lancé la nouvelle et travaille pour avoir le sujet mais ce n'est pas vrai qu'il a eu déjà car ce serait bien étonnant qu'on l'ait refusé A VOUS pour l'accorder à lui!!! Pouvez-vous me dire quelque chose là-dessus? Je vous serai bien reconnaissant!

Mille bons souhaits pour la nouvelle année.

Votre admirateur dévoué,

R.Leoncavallo

(see A.Holde, "A Little-known Letter by Berlioz and Unpublished Letters by Cherubini, Leoncavallo and Hugo Wolf" in "Music Quarterly", XXXVII (1951), p.77.)

(34) Henry-Louis de la Grange, "Mahler", 2 vols (London, 1974), I, pp.469-74.

(35) Giordano's comment on the matter was as follows: "Non puoi credere quanto ho riso leggendo "Il Secolo" che annunciava la fuga del tenore Lombardi all'andata in scena della "Claudia". Povero Coronaro. Anche ciò che gli viene mandato dal Padre Eterno ha sempre una forma ridicola" (letter to Illica dated May 1895).

(36) Leoncavallo's reputation for sharp practice was such that in a letter to Illica regarding Mascagni's possible duplication of the setting of "Siberia", Giordano was moved to comment in the following terms: "Ti confesso che ne sono profondamente impensierito, e non mi sarei aspettato mai una tale sorpresa. Da un Leoncavallo sì, ma da altri no" (letter dated 13 July 1901).

(37) There was perhaps more than a grain of truth in this, given Mascagni's subsequent desertion of Casa Sonzogno

over "Iris".

- (38) Even the smaller publishers were not averse to such ploys. In August 1893 the Milanese firm of De Marchi announced the impending production at the Teatro Alhambra of Gastaldon's "Il pater", Frontini's "Malia" and two unnamed works by Marescotti and Berutti, thereby confusing rival publishers as to the identity of the "mystery" operas.
- (39) Sardou was, at that time, reluctant to negotiate and Ricordi himself showed little interest in proceeding.
- (40) This information was often presented in the form of interviews between journalist and composer.
- (41) Amongst Ricordi's artists were such men as Hohenstein, Metlicovitz, Palanti, De Carolis, Nomellini, Dudovich and Terzi.
- (42) Indeed, Ricordi may well have been the motivating force behind the condemnation of "I Medici" by the "Rivista musicale italiana".
- (43) Typical of these were Mascagni's 1892 hymn for the inauguration of a monument to Vittorio Emanuele I, his 1898 symphonic poem in honour of the centenary of Leopardi's birth, and Leoncavallo's 1901 requiem mass in memory of Umberto I (this last item, originally intended for performance at the Pantheon, was withdrawn because of objections to the inclusion in the score of female choruses).
- (44) See Part One, Chapter Two, Note 26. In 1894 various reports in the Italian press indicated that Leoncavallo had agreed to supply Buzzi-Peccia with a libretto based on De Musset's "On ne badine pas avec l'amour" (entitled "Non si scherza coll'amore") but this project appears to have been abandoned.
- (45) Mascagni remained a prolific writer all his life. Especially interesting is the article "Come si scrive un'opera", first published in "La Lettura", January 1907.

- (46) See also Part One, Chapter Two, p.47. Sonzogno was more fortunate with his singers; above all Gemma Bellincioni, who collaborated with Golisciani on the libretti for Massa's "Eros" (1895) and Setaccioli's "La sorella di Mark" (1896).
- (47) Despite this, operas often sank without trace. Three notables deserve mention: Giannetti's "L'Erebo", which led to an audience riot, Fagura's "L'Apostata" (abandoned during Act One with many spectators demanding their money back), and Sernagiotto's "A Canareggio" (only half-completed before the singers were forced to give up).
- (48) The première of Puccini's "Madama Butterfly" was ruined in this way.
- (49) In an interview given to Herbert Peyser of the journal "Musical America" (October 1913) Leoncavallo, then on tour in the United States, made clear his feelings on the subject: "Is it not a pity that there are opera-houses over which a publisher exerts so powerful an influence that the operas of one particular composer are constantly exploited and those of another are barred? Mr.Puccini's works are always heard" (quoted by George R.Marek in "The Opera Reader", edited by Louis Biancolli (New York, 1953), p.356).
- (50) By 1895 "Cavalleria rusticana" had reached its hundredth performance at Budapest.
- (51) Quoted in the "Musical Times" (June 1890), p.342.
- (52) Sonzogno had originally intended giving Mascagni's new opera "Il viandante" (later renamed "Zanetto"), but the composer relinquished the work in favour of "Silvano".
- (53) See Part One, Chapter Four, p.138 for details of the 1905 Paris season.
- (54) Op.cit., p.513. Only a year previously the same journal had written that "in "Cavalleria" and "Pagliacci" we see the opera of the immediate and, perhaps, of a long extended future" (June 1893, p.343).

- (55) A typical interview was that given by Leoncavallo to the "Neue Freie Presse" (Vienna, 1 June 1897) in which he revealed for the first time that he was contemplating an opera based on Du Maurier's "Trilby".
- (56) Klein gives a vivid description in "The Golden Age of Opera" (London, 1933), pp.176-77.
- (57) Following the Stuttgart premiere of "Guglielmo Ratoliff" in 1895, Mascagni was awarded the Gold Medal for the Arts and Sciences by the King of Württemberg.
- (58) See Part One, Chapter Four, pp.139-41 for details of both Mascagni's 1902 and Leoncavallo's 1906 tours of the United States.
- (59) This opera, interestingly enough, was published by Ricordi.
- (60) Op.cit., (September 1894), p.620.
- (61) Quoted in the "Musical Times" (October 1893), p.597.
- (62) See Carner, pp.71-73.
- (63) Edition of 11-12 November 1897.
- (64) Ibid.
- (65) Quoted by Celletti in "Il verismo e Napoli".
- (66) Op.cit., p.162.
- (67) See Part One, Chapter Three, Note 65.

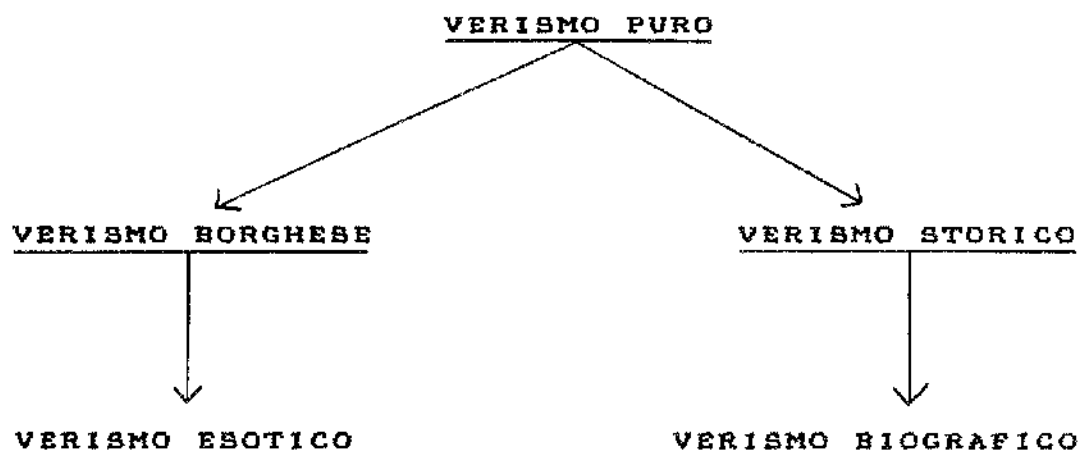
CHAPTER FOUR
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Diversification and Decline: 1897-1920

During the halcyon years of the early 1890's, "verismo puro" had emerged as one of the dominant forces in Italian opera. The pursuit of realism led, as we have seen, to the formation of a genre whose structural features were well-defined and consequently easily imitated. The enormous success of the "giovane scuola" in harnessing its talents to this new and vital movement, while ably supported by Casa Sonzogno, had renewed worldwide interest in modern Italian opera. It was inevitable, then, that the ethos of "verismo puro" should influence other dominant operatic genres of the time, and one of the aims of the present chapter will be to show both the nature and extent of this permeation.

Let us take as our starting-point the concept of "verismo puro" as a motive force in contemporary Italian opera. Viewed in this perspective, the movement can be regarded not only as an artistically independent entity, but also as a point of reference capable of modifying existing ideas in other, more traditional modes of operatic expression. Those features of "verismo puro" which had proved to be most effective were now isolated and incorporated into established genres, with the result that a series of hybrids were formed through a gradual process of miscegenation. This is hardly surprising when we consider that the same composers and librettists were often involved; Spinelli's letter, in which he quotes "verismo puro" as being ideal "opere d'ammaestramento",¹ shows all too clearly the belief that works such as "A basso porto" could serve as stepping-stones towards greater things. It is important, however, to realize that this trend commenced not with the

temporary demise of "verismo puro" circa 1897, but with the première of "Cavalleria" seven years previously, and continued over three decades until well after the end of the First World War. The main lines of development can be illustrated by means of the following diagram:



It can be seen that "verismo puro" directly influenced two main genres; namely the musical equivalent of the bourgeois drama (as typified by Verdi's "La traviata") and historical opera. The resultant hybrids I have termed "verismo borghese" and "verismo storico"; these in turn developed offshoots of their own, which while remaining within the general confines of the mother genre, exhibit some important differences in both structure and subject-matter ("verismo esotico" and "verismo biografico"). The inception and development of both "verismo borghese" and "verismo storico" were broadly simultaneous, but for the purposes of the present discussion it will be necessary to separate them and deal with each in turn; only in this way can a greater understanding of the complex forces involved be fully achieved, and the relationship of "verismo puro" to both genres adequately appreciated.

We shall begin, then, with "verismo borghese". Verdi's "La traviata" can be considered as a forerunner of the genre, as evidenced by such novel features as its middle-class

contemporary setting (Alfredo and his father are very much products of the French bourgeoisie), the portrayal of Violetta as a demi-mondaine who threatens, by her love for Alfredo both to ruin his career and sully the honour of his family, and the eventual self-sacrifice of the heroine upon the altar of bourgeois respectability (thus ensuring that the audience, however shocked they might have been by Verdi's audacity in presenting a courtesan on the operatic stage, would nevertheless feel that moral rectitude had triumphed over pagan impropriety). The initial failure of "La traviata" was deceptive; within a few years of the premiere in 1853 the opera was acclaimed as a masterpiece, but there were to be very few imitations, and until the advent of "verismo borghese" Verdi's initiative was largely ignored. The principal reason for this lack of interest was the nature of the subject-matter; the middle classes were not yet ready to see themselves depicted on the operatic stage, and it would take another forty years before they felt secure enough to accept the concept. By the mid-1890's Italian society had become sufficiently prosperous for such a development to take place; in a country which now aspired to the position of a world power, and where the middle classes played a dominant role in the creation of wealth, there was room for an exclusively operatic portrayal of the new Italy. The success of "verismo puro" had broadened artistic perspectives; it was now accepted that opera could illustrate and underline the burning social questions of the day, and composers and librettists now sought to adapt the new techniques of operatic realism to this end. At first this proved difficult, if not impossible; the middle classes could hardly be expected to behave in the same way as the "semi-primitive" peasants of the Mezzogiorno, and if they did so, the end-result was liable to both offend and alienate the average opera-goer, who himself belonged to the very class depicted on-stage. "Verismo puro" had been accepted because the "brutal" passions it portrayed belonged not to the effete, cultured middle classes of the large Italian cities but to the inhabitants of a different world, a different milieu which because of its distance from the industrialized north presented a dramatically diverse way of life and mode of behaviour. This in itself had been enough to attract and sustain the attention

of the audience; however, we must also bear in mind the fact that "verismo puro" owed much of its initial success not only to this element of "exoticism", but also to its ability to present strong, dramatic situations which made a visual, rather than psychological impact. The whole gamut of "verismo puro" dramaturgy, with its on-stage fights, murders and suicides, succeeded initially in shocking an audience which until then had been accustomed to having such events happen either between acts or off-stage. But the advent of "verismo borghese", with its static and slow-moving scenarios, had no need for blatant and explicit realism. The familiar motives of love and jealousy still remained, but their dynamic effect upon the characters now underwent a radical transformation. Solutions were no longer to be found in physical conflict, but in patient reconciliation; passion was replaced by sentimentality; audiences expected to be moved to tears rather than shocked or horrified. Furthermore, "verismo borghese" was excessively fond of moralizing, to the extent that the opera-goer was now spiritually uplifted in addition to being entertained. The mood was therefore one of understanding rather than reprimand; after all, if the environment had contributed its fair share to the psychological make-up of a certain individual, then it was impossible to regard him as being entirely responsible for his actions. The fact that the middle classes were being depicted was, as we have seen, of paramount importance; any direct criticism was bound to be distasteful, with the inevitable conclusion that any moral aberrations on the part of the characters had to be viewed as regrettable, but totally understandable and above all eminently forgivable. Such a formula, with its acceptance of only the environmental and behavioural aspects of "verismo puro", resulted in a lachrymose mixture of sentimentality and self-righteous moralizing.

This, of course, was nothing new on the Italian stage; the plays of Giacosa, Rovetta and Antona-Traversi had exploited this tendency since the early 1880's. Like so many literary movements, its origins lay not in Italy but in the "drame bourgeois" of Augier and Dumas fils, and so it was somewhat ironical that the pioneering work of "verismo borghese" should prove to be a setting of Antonio Ranieri's celebrated 1839 novel "Ginevra, o l'orfanelle della Nunziata", one of the first

Italian attempts at the "romanzo sociale". This was Giuseppe Vigoni's "Ginevra", first performed on 22 April 1891, barely a year after the première of "Cavalleria rusticana". Although the setting was not yet contemporary, the opera signalled the beginning of the new genre. Later in the year Mascagni's "L'amico Fritz" consolidated Vigoni's success, and showed that the move from "verismo puro" to "verismo borghese" could be adequately managed. The fact that a composer of Mascagni's stature had taken such a step was in itself confirmation of the genre's viability, and the appearance of "I Rantzau" the following year sustained the initial impetus. Both works were based on novels by Eckmann-Chatrian set in Alsace, and proved that "verismo borghese" need not confine itself to Italian milieux. The trend towards French settings was maintained in the following decade, with the appearance of Coronaro's "Claudia" (1895), Orefice's "Consuelo" (1895) and De Rossi's "Fadette" (1896; based, like the others, on a novel by George Sand), together with Mascagni's "Zanetto" (1896; Coppée), both versions of "La bohème" by Puccini and Leoncavallo (1896, 1897; Mügger) and the latter's "Zazà" (1900; Berton and Simon). This last work is arguably the best of all "verismo borghese" operas, insofar as it faithfully reflects all the main features of the movement. With "Zazà" Leoncavallo achieved his greatest success since "Pagliacci", and much of the opera's popularity can be attributed to the skilful blending of the traditional "drame bourgeois" with the best elements of "verismo puro". The realism of "Zazà" is therefore two-fold; the environment is portrayed as accurately as possible while simultaneously registering its effect on the characters existing within it. The desire to "épater le bourgeois" has now been replaced by a wish to educate him; the pursuit of realism becomes a sociological tool whereby human behaviour can be shown to be influenced by societal forces outwith its direct control. Zazà is what she is not because of any inborn moral turpitude, but because of her upbringing - "noi siam le maledette", she comments, and Leoncavallo invites direct pity for both her plight and that of her alcoholic mother. In the words of Giorgio Grossetto, "Zazà" is a work redolent of "un diffuso socialismo umanitario".¹

"Verismo borghese" had one important offshoot which is of some interest to the present discussion. This was "verismo esotico", which sought to present much the same formula within the setting of a distant and exotic milieu. The idea was by no means new; earlier in the century such works as Délibes' "Lakmé", Meyerbeer's "L'Africaine", Bizet's "Les Pêcheurs de perles" and Verdi's "Aida" had all enjoyed great popularity. Indeed, as early as 1890 Puccini had contemplated writing an opera on Buddha, but it was not until the following year that there were signs of a revival of interest in exoticism, with the premières of De Lorenzi-Fabris' "Gli adoratori del fuoco" (based on Moore's "Lalla Rookh") and Radeaglia's "La gemma del Karfunkel", with 1893 bringing Napoletano's "Il profeta velato del Korasan". These operas, however, were traditional in conception and did not fully succeed in marrying realism with exoticism. The first really successful attempt must be attributed to Mascagni, whose "Iris" (1898) was a spectacular success. Several critics remained unconvinced; amongst them Alberto Gasco, who complained in "La Tribuna" that the composer had brandished "un segnacolo d'avanguardismo" alien to the best traditions of Italian art.³ Other commentators, such as Torchi in the "Rivista musicale italiana", were not convinced by Illica's odd amalgam of symbolism, exoticism and realism.⁴ But despite the strictures of the critics, "Iris" led to a spate of operas set in exotic locales, amongst which we may cite Loschi's "Nel Senegal" (1899) together with Puccini's "Madama Butterfly" (1904) and "La fanciulla del West" (1910). It soon became apparent, however, that the definition of "exotic" was to all intents and purposes wide in its application to an operatic context. No longer was it necessary for composers and librettists to restrict themselves to India and Japan; Puccini's Wild West opera has already been mentioned, but from 1898 Russian settings became especially popular. Following the lead of Giordano, whose "Fedora" of the same year had been greeted with enthusiasm by both public and critics (Romeo Carugati, writing in "La Lombardia", referred to "un successo che l'arte italiana può segnare con compiacenza"),⁵ several other composers ventured upon Russian subjects, including Mascagni (who in 1901 considered Dostoyevsky's "Memoirs from the House of the Dead")⁶ and Alfano, whose "Risurrezione" of 1904

(based on Tolstoy's novel) was very successful. Giordano himself had essayed a second attempt in the genre only a year earlier with "Siberia", set to an Illica libretto which incorporated plenty of Russian local colour in a plot bearing more than a passing resemblance to Alfano's sister-work.

The dual successes of "verismo borghese" and "verismo esotico" coincided, as we have seen, with an upturn in the Italian economy, resulting in a renewal of nationalistic fervour unknown since the days of the Risorgimento. For the first time since Unification, the average Italian could feel himself part of a modern nation; as Giolitti's "Italietta" gradually brought increased prosperity and a sense of national awareness to more and more people, there emerged from the political and social turmoil of the last years of the nineteenth century a new optimism, a belief in the validity of the new technology which was slowly but inexorably coming to the fore. (This climate was particularly conducive to "verismo borghese", since Italian society could now afford the luxury of viewing itself within an operatic context, albeit in rather an idealized and uncritical form.) Coupled with this new sense of identity came a corresponding interest in the past; now that Italy had undergone the painful trauma of the birth of a modern and united nation, and emerged relatively unscathed, a new generation of Italians felt secure enough to probe beneath the surface of a now unified Italy to try and rediscover the past. A galaxy of historians, amongst them the anti-Carlylean Guglielmo Ferrero, reinterpreted the entire panorama of Italian history in a new and objective light, making full use of up-to-date and more accurate methods of research which owed much to the great advances made in the field of sociology. It was no coincidence, then, that such a movement should give impetus to the operatic genre of "verismo storico", arguably the most important of the artistic syntheses which the motive force of "verismo puro" engendered. By 1900 this trend had begun to manifest itself in two distinct forms; as these are directly related to the librettist's conception of history as a means of providing dramatic interest, it may be useful to consider each in some detail.

The pioneering work of "verismo storico" had come in 1893 with the production of Leoncavallo's "I Medici", an opera on which the composer had lavished an inordinate amount of attention, with the sole purpose of ensuring that his depiction of the Florentine family was as historically and philologically accurate as possible. To this end Leoncavallo had spent hours in the public libraries of Florence, poring over contemporary accounts and extracting from this archival material the essence of historical truth which was to provide the basis of his scenario. He had studied fifteenth-century Florentine speech-patterns and vocabulary, and had attempted to duplicate these in his libretto. Indeed, the opera was intended to be the first part of a massive trilogy encompassing both the literary and historical aspects of the Italian Renaissance, to be entitled "Crepusculum" (the other two parts being "Girolamo Savonarola" and "Cesare Borgia").⁷ Leoncavallo was to declare that "I Medici" would reconcile "le sue convinzioni di verista in letteratura e in arte con le massime del Sommo di Bayreuth".⁸ Moreover, he did not regard the work as a mere "opera"; with typical Neapolitan flamboyance, coupled with a disarming ingenuousness which was to prove to be his downfall on many other occasions (although this was replaced in time by a mood of increasing pessimism), he referred to the work as "un poema epico nazionale".⁹ In the words of R.A. Streatfeild, "the ambitious composer was at length to appear in his true colours, not as one of the petty tribe fostered by an ephemeral taste for squalid sensationalism, but as a magician who could conjure to life the dead heroes of the glowing past".¹⁰ Leoncavallo, at this point in his career, was determined to prove his versatility as a composer, and was intent on rebuffing those critics who regarded him as a second-rate Mascagni, and "Pagliacci" a pale imitation of "Cavalleria". In his eagerness to prove the contrary he made the mistake of submitting, before the première of "I Medici", an extremely interesting letter to the music critic of "La Sera", Tonolla.¹¹ It is in some ways an infuriatingly naive (yet sincere) piece of writing, and the reader is struck by the number of times Leoncavallo falls back on precedent as a means of supporting his argument. He cites Boileau's maxim "Rien n'est beau que le vrai", and backs it up by quoting his old teacher Carducci - "Quanto sangue e quanto fango a

rimescolare" - a reference, no doubt, to the wealth of intrigue and political scandal surrounding the meteoric rise to power of the Medici. Leoncavallo also attempts to reconcile the contemporary trend towards operatic realism with historical fact, and shows that the tenets of "verismo puro" can be successfully applied to the traditional framework of nineteenth-century Italian historical opera.

The appearance of the letter in "La Sera" gave rise to much controversy. Some critics mocked what they regarded as Leoncavallo's naive self-delusion in placing himself on the same level as Wagner, and predicted that the opera would fail completely. Others were encouraged by what seemed to be a departure from the unmitigated realism of "Pagliacci" to the more respectable world of grand opera, and proclaimed that Verdi's successor was about to emerge. But the première of "I Medici" was to dash such hopes. The opera achieved what at first seemed a genuine success, with Leoncavallo being called on stage several times at the conclusion of the work. Francesco Tamagno had sung the part of Giuliano de' Medici, and during subsequent performances it became apparent that the Milanese public were coming to "I Medici" for the sole purpose of hearing the great tenor. Reviews of the opera were mixed; a few critics praised Leoncavallo's skilful adaptation of his subject, whereas others found the language (which the composer had taken great pains to model after authentic Italian speech-patterns of the fifteenth century) full of intrusive modernisms and locutions borrowed from nineteenth-century France. The attack was taken up again some months after the première by Giani and Engelfred, who published in the first edition of the "Rivista musicale italiana" two articles on the opera. Giani ridiculed Leoncavallo's attempt at extending the bounds of operatic realism to include both etymological and linguistic factors, and showed that he had completely failed in his endeavour to reproduce accurately and convincingly the Florentine idiom of the period, whereas Engelfred dismissed the music as a ill-digested gallimaufry of other composer's tunes.¹² Despite these criticisms, "I Medici" was not the complete failure reported by some operatic historians, being revived the following year at the Scala in addition to receiving several successful premières abroad. The Kaiser, who had

attended the first German performance of "Pagliacci", was so impressed that he commissioned from Leoncavallo an opera glorifying the Hohenzollerns.¹³ But for the moment the composer had to settle the rights of publication with Ricordi, who claimed that the work, since it had originally been commissioned by him, belonged not to Sonzogno but to his own publishing firm; the dispute ended up in court, with a final settlement in Leoncavallo's favour being reached as late as 1899.

The relative insuccess of "I Medici" is therefore somewhat deceptive. Gatti's comment, to the effect that the work is "un ritorno alle opere d'argomento storico, pesanti e prolisse, superate nel gusto dei piú" ¹⁴ seems altogether unfair when we take into account Leoncavallo's original artistic intention, which was to synthesize historical fact and contemporary notions of operatic realism within a single libretto. It was not long before other composers and librettists realized the full significance of this innovation, and there followed, from 1896 onwards, a period of renewed interest in all aspects of history, and how best these could be adapted to the lyric stage. The desire to reconcile "verismo puro" with historical fact resulted in a number of differing, yet fundamentally similar approaches. The first and perhaps most important of these was "verismo storico" in its most basic form, that is to say the presentation of one or more historical figures within a scenario, based on well-researched historical fact and accurately set against an appropriately authentic background. In this kind of opera, fictional characters could be introduced for the sake of dramatic development (in some instances protagonists were fictional, portrayed against a backdrop of historical personages), and librettists allowed themselves a modicum of imagination in their treatment of character relationships. This, however, was never allowed to intrude upon the historical verisimilitude of the libretto, which remained as much a "slice of life" as its uniquely veristic equivalent, with the essential difference that it dealt not with contemporary society but with a specific period in history.

This new emphasis on historical accuracy meant that librettists, instead of relying entirely upon their imagination, now had to adopt a totally new approach to the writing

of their scenarios. In this they were helped (as we have seen) by an increased awareness on the part of the Italian public as to the importance of their country's history in relation to its present-day social and economic position. The growth of popular education and the publication of an immense number of scholarly yet accessible works in cheap editions ensured that the average middle-class Italian of the late 1890's was very much more aware of his country's history and heritage than his predecessors. New techniques of research, combined with the growing importance attached to the sociological and economic aspects of history, resulted in a relatively high standard of achievement on the part of historians. (We have already mentioned the role played by Ferrero, who followed the lead given by his French colleagues Lavisse, Rambaud and Aulard in reinterpreting fixed, traditional and often erroneous historical views.) This wealth of scholarship facilitated the task of the librettist, since there now existed an adequate amount of resource material covering all the major periods of Italian and European history. One other advantage was that more emphasis was now placed on the visual representation of historical reality, a trend which was mirrored in the plays of Victorien Sardou. The French dramatist's influence on Italian composers, librettists and choreographers of the day was quite considerable, and much of the subsequent popularity of "verismo storico" was due to the desire to emulate the spectacular "mises en scène" which had become an integral part of such plays as "Patrie!", "Tosca" and "Madame Sans-Gêne". Sardou himself took great pains to ensure that his plays were historically accurate insofar as sets and costumes were concerned; while allowing himself some latitude in his portrayal of historical characters, he nevertheless succeeded in conveying an impression of complete authenticity.¹⁵

The opening in June 1894 of the "Esposizione Teatrale" also shows to what extent Sardou's example had been followed. The exhibition, held in Milan, gave both Ricordi and Sonzogno a chance to display sets and costumes from a number of contemporary opera productions, demonstrating once again the importance of verisimilitude in the presentation of historical reality. Everything on stage was to be an accurate reflection

of the period in which the work was set; as Pozza commented in his review of the exhibition,

Abbiamo obbedito . . . alla tendenza generale dell'epoca, si avida di nozioni esatte, di avere imposto all'arte quel metodo scientifico di analisi e di ricostruzione che si chiama verismo. E da parte sua l'attrezzeria teatrale non ha soltanto bandita da' suoi laboratori la cartapesta, ma adoperando il metallo per fare oggetti di metallo, va ogni giorno più studiando di riprodurre con esattezza le forme caratteristiche delle diverse epoche. Di modo che uno spettacolo scenico in un teatro può essere oggi considerata come una vera ricostruzione storica.¹⁶

But often the demand for complete authenticity was impossible to achieve. One need only quote Pozza once again:

Oggi, una sola tela non basta più. Occorrono parecchie tele frastagliate, l'una davanti all'altra; si vogliono cieli uniti e non a strisce trasversali, acque ondeggianti, lune ascendenti e discendenti, alberi e colonne staccati dal fondo, pareti laterali intiere, le quinte dissimulate, la luce distribuita e graduata secondo l'ora ed il luogo - tutte cose che esigono uno spazio che spesso non si trova, una disposizione di argani e carrucole che spesso non è possibile, apparecchi d'illuminazione che spesso non si hanno o non si possono adoperare, e finalmente uno studio e un lavoro che direzioni teatrali, municipi ed imprese di comune accordo non vogliono ricompensare secondo il loro valore.¹⁷

The problems highlighted by Pozza were to hinder the proper development of "verismo storico"; impresarios and publishers were often unwilling to risk the large amounts of money required to give such works a spectacular "mise en scène". We have already mentioned the difficulties encountered by Leoncavallo in trying to persuade Ricordi to stage "I Medici", and the subsequent failure of the opera to establish itself in the repertory was partly due to the reluctance of many theatres to expend the necessary funds for an adequate production. By

1896 it had become apparent that the demand for scenic realism could not be reconciled with "verismo storico" unless vast sums of money were spent on staging. This was a viable proposition in the case of the operas of Rossini, Donizetti, Bellini and Verdi, since these works were proven financial successes and both scenery and costumes could be re-used in future productions. But with the "giovane scuola" too many risks were involved: the intense rivalry between Ricordi and Sonzogno, the controversy surrounding the relative merits of different composers, and the power wielded by the various cliques; all these factors could seriously affect the reception of a new work, no matter how deserving it might be of praise. In the event of a flop, both scenery and costumes could often be adapted to suit other operas, and so to a certain extent losses in these departments could be minimized. But the cost of hiring choruses and additional members of the orchestra to perform a three or four-act work could not, in the event of a failure, be fully recouped. As a result "verismo storico", in the next decade, would give birth to a new and less unwieldy offspring, to which we may give the name of "verismo biografico".

Such a development, given the prohibitive cost of full-scale "verismo storico", with its emphasis on the portrayal of statesmen and politicians and their titanic, internecine struggles, was to be expected. "Verismo biografico" dealt with the lives of artists, writers, poets, philosophers, musicians, courtesans, actresses, dancers and socialites, set within a historical context which lost none of the painstaking verisimilitude of its predecessor. The mood was now a more intimate one, with the depiction of artistic rather than political ambitions; in contrast to "verismo storico", where the interaction of both fictional and non-fictional characters with historical events constituted the primary source of interest, "verismo biografico" concentrated its efforts upon the portrayal of the struggle of the individual to achieve artistic fulfilment. The great historical events, such as battles, revolutions and political disputes, which had been very much the "raison d'être" of "verismo storico", were now relegated to the background, to provide an authentic yet unobtrusive backcloth against which the life of the artist could be effectively portrayed. Librettists were thus faced

with the problem of dramatizing and compressing the melodramatic incidents (if any) of their subject's life into the relatively short time-span of an opera. This led, quite inevitably, to the "telescoping" of such incidents within a particular work, with the result that in order to sustain dramatic interest some measure of factual verisimilitude had to be sacrificed. New and fictional characters were introduced (in much the same way as "verismo storico") to help fill out what could often be a rather bare scenario. The events in the subject's life were often juxtaposed and removed from their chronological framework so as to satisfy the dramatic exigencies of the libretto. Hearsay and legend were merged with established historical fact, so that the resulting product was often a confusing hotchpotch of the librettist's invention and the biographer's objectivity. Many librettists fully realized these shortcomings, and tried to make amends by ensuring that settings, costumes and even speech-patterns were as authentic as possible. But this thin veneer of realism did not disguise the fact that "verismo biografico" was largely a "manufactured" product, incorporating many of the original ideas of "verismo storico" but diluting them in such a way as to reduce considerably their dramatic effectiveness.

Moreover, the obstacles to be overcome in giving an operatic profile of a historic figure were considerable, especially if the subject was well-known by the public. In such a case, audience expectation would be so great that unless the opera was an unqualified masterpiece, it would most certainly fail. It was for this reason that most of the protagonists of "verismo biografico" were gleaned from the by-ways of art, music, literature and history. Such figures as Jan Hus, André Chénier, Theodor Körner and Thomas Chatterton can hardly have been familiar to the Italian public, and so the librettist would be placed in the comfortable position of introducing an obscure artistic personage with whom the audience would be largely unacquainted. This approach ensured near-perfect conditions for the reception of a "verismo biografico" work, since only the most learned of critics and erudite of scholars were able to comment on the historical accuracy of the libretto. The remainder of the audience was therefore a "tabula rasa" upon which both librettist and composer could impress

their own artistic viewpoint. But the main stumbling-block to success remained the lack of dramatic movement. In the last analysis, the average Italian audience of the day was looking for entertainment, and not a dramatized historical thesis. The majority of Italian opera-goers never noticed the historical inaccuracy of André Chénier being accompanied to the guillotine by his lady-love, or the melodramatic but totally fictitious episode of Chatterton selling his body to science; and even if they had, it would probably have made very little difference to their enjoyment (or lack of it) of the opera.

It becomes clear, then, that the twin genres of "verismo storico" and "verismo biografico" depended very much on the immutable laws of the theatre. No amount of padding, in the form of historical background, lavish sets and costumes or, quite simply, "l'invenzione librettistica" could disguise the inherent dramatic poverty of many scenarios. Some, such as Camussi's "La Du Barry", make no pretence otherwise, purporting instead to present a series of casually disconnected "tableaux". As a critic of the "Musical Times" pointed out, this approach "is all very pretty and nicely coloured, like the frescoes on the wall of an Italian restaurant",¹⁸ but this type of format, while leaving an agreeable impression on the audience, is eminently forgettable. Dramatic action, if introduced sparingly and assimilated well into an opera of this type, has the effect of unifying those diverse and unconnected aspects which, if left to co-exist freely, serve no artistic purpose by their superfluity. This was the great trap into which many "verismo storico" and "verismo biografico" works of the period fell; librettists, often left to their own devices by a naive composer, tended to sacrifice genuine dramatic interest for the sake of a scholarly historical accuracy, or even worse, melodramatic and over-sentimental invention ill-suited to the original subject. Furthermore, editors were not always enthusiastic about many historical subjects; in addition to the political interpretations often foisted upon libretti, many periods of history were quite simply regarded as being difficult to dramatize.

A good example of this was Sonnogno's reluctance to stage "Andrea Chénier" and his condemnation of the libretto as "un

"trattato di storia"¹⁹ comes as no surprise when we read how Illica, in a letter to Giordano dating from 1894, tells the composer to be patient "perchè quello del "Chénier" è lavoro lungo per le ricerche storiche . . . Ho distribuito i personaggi in modo che con solo sette artisti e un mimo o comparsa faremo passare avanti agli occhi del pubblico una ventina di personaggi storici, e questo senza danneggiare la speculazione teatrale".²⁰ Illica was right; "Chénier" proved to be a great success, and Sonzogno's fears remained unfounded. However these same reservations, when viewed in a more general light, were seen to hold a great deal of truth as the inherent weaknesses of the genre became apparent. Again and again he intervened to try and dissuade his librettists from attempting "verismo storico", a good instance of this being his attitude to Mascagni's projected Roman opera, "Vistilia"; in 1892 he wrote to Menasci complaining that "è difficile interessare le masse con un soggetto come la "Vistilia", ma se l'autore si eleva dal comune può fare il miracolo".²¹ Sonzogno's conservatism as regards "verismo storico" and occasionally "verismo biografico" may seem surprising when we consider that he had pioneered "verismo puro", but throughout his life he always preferred "modern" subjects, preferably culled from contemporary or recent literature and with an already proven track-record of success. As Mario Morini has pointed out, "il Sonzogno . . . auspicava un repertorio operistico al passo con la moderna produzione teatrale e letteraria".²² This was not to be achieved in the 1890's, where those literary subjects reaching the Italian stage did so after a gap of some ten to fifteen years, but the opening decade of the twentieth century witnessed a gradual acceleration in the speed with which Italian and foreign literature was adapted for operatic purposes. Simultaneity is only achieved with the growing popularity of D'Annunzio in the early years of the century, a trend reciprocated by the Italian writer's sustained interest in contemporary opera.

Let us now pause to consider the plethora of operatic forms which had evolved by 1905. We have the dominant genres of "verismo borghese" and "verismo storico", with their twin offshoots "verismo esotico" and "verismo biografico", not counting the traditional schools of comic, Romantic, Classical, biblical and mystical/fantasy opera (full definitions of all

genres are given in Part Three, Section Five). "Verismo puro" had now been pushed firmly into the background by its artistic progeny, which had imitated many of its most positive features; while this process of emasculation and assimilation did produce many successful works, its parasitical nature often betrayed a lack of sincerity and integrity on the part of its proponents. Such diversification, with its subsequent lowering of artistic standards, was responsible for a general decline in the literary quality of those libretti written during the opening years of the twentieth century. Many critics were quick to point this out, and demonstrated how in trying to be all things to all men Italian composers had only succeeded in producing operatic monstrosities of multiple parentage in which the dichotomy of diverse concepts and ideas could never be fully reconciled. Gradually "verismo puro" began to regain some of the ground it had lost, but the revival was conducted on a very minor scale and at sporadic intervals. The main spurt of activity takes place from 1904 to 1907, with a further reawakening of interest from 1910 until 1912; in the period from 1900 to 1915 some thirty "verismo puro" works were produced in Italian theatres - a substantial reduction when compared to the golden years of the 1890's.¹³ Despite this small number, the overall quality of the operas given was appreciably higher than in the previous decade, as a brief survey will now show.

Not surprisingly, it was the announcement of the fourth and last Casa Sonzogno competition in the spring of 1902 which initiated the revival. Again the requirement was for a one-act or short two-act work, and entry was open to composers of any nationality. An international panel of judges eventually awarded the first prize of 50,000 lire to Gabriel Dupont's "La Cabrera", one of nineteen French works submitted to the competition. The opera, first performed on 17 May 1904, boasted a strong, melodramatic score and a libretto in the best traditions of "verismo puro", written originally in French by Henri Cain and translated into Italian by the indefatigable Galli. Slonimsky's succinct summary of the plot demonstrates all too clearly the veristic features of the story: "A Spanish "cabrera" (goatherdess), seduced and left pregnant by a dissolute villager and rejected by her betrothed upon his

return from the Cuban front in the Spanish-American war of 1898, leaves her village and goes into the mountains with her child which dies of inanition, and she dies too, as the two men in her life tardily try to console her".²⁴ Dupont's work signalled the beginning of the revival, but it was Mascagni's return to the fold which was to prove of even greater consequence. The opera was "Amica", which completed the "trilogia veristica" commenced with "Cavalleria rusticana" and "Silvano"; the story recounts the conflict between two brothers both in love with the same woman (Amica), whose subsequent flight into the mountains leads to her death by falling down a ravine. "Amica" was given its first performance (in the original French text) on 16 March 1905 at the Théâtre du Casino at Monte Carlo, and met with considerable success. The Italian première (13 May 1905) was equally promising, and the opera was repeated throughout Italy in Targioni-Tozzetti's translation. Italian critics were divided in their reactions to the work; while some felt that Mascagni had quite regrettably pandered to the "corrupt" tastes of his public, others regarded "Amica" as the composer's masterpiece.²⁵ Certainly the opera's financial success cannot be disputed; moreover the fact that such a celebrity as Mascagni had returned to "verismo puro" now encouraged others to follow his example. The primary sources were once again the pioneering Italian literary "veristi"; from Di Giacomo's pen we have the libretti of Borg's "L'abate" (1905) and Allen's "'O munasterio" (1913), whereas Capuana's 1891 play "Malia" inspired Virgilio's "Jana" (1905) and Manini's "Malia" (1906).

However, as the well of Italian literary "verista" sources began to run dry, composers and librettists were forced to look further afield. Russia once again became a favourite hunting-ground; Turgenev's 1861 play "Cuzoy Chleb" became the subject of Orefice's "Pane altrui", while the same composer chose another Russian author for his 1912 "Radda", whose one-act libretto is a skilful adaptation by Cesare Vallini of Gorky's original. Just one year earlier the Sicilian composer Alfredo Cuscinà had anticipated Orefice with his own "Radda", and in 1914 Guido Bianchini produced a third opera of the same name. Gorky was also the progenitor of Romani's "Zulma" (1909); the only other Russian writer to rival

him in popularity was Pushkin, ostensibly a strange choice for librettists seeking a veristic scenario. A typical Pushkin adaptation was Lari's "Jela" (1909), culled from "The Prisoner of the Caucasus", but more widely known is Leoncavallo's "Zingari", based on the 1824 poem "The Gipsies". The opera was performed for the first time at the London Hippodrome in 1912, and the Italian première, which followed soon after, proved moderately successful. "Zingari" enabled Leoncavallo to regain the prestige he had lost with the disastrous première of "Maia", given at the Costanzi in Rome some two years previously.

"Maia" was the work of Paul de Choudens, the librettist of Mascagni's "Amico". Again we are dealing with one of the key works of "verismo puro", and along with Wolf-Ferrari's "I gioielli della Madonna" and Zandonai's "Conchita" Leoncavallo's opera, despite its total lack of success, is significant as it continues the trend to set veristic operas against unfamiliar backgrounds. A decade earlier the genre had depicted life in the more remote parts of Italy, such as Sicily, Calabria, the Abruzzi, Sardinia and Puglia, or in the poorer quarters of Naples. Now Italian audiences were presented with depressed regions in other parts of the world - the Camargue in "Maia", Haute-Savoie in "Amico" and the Russian steppes in "Zingari". The squalor of the industrial town is well represented by Zandonai's "Conchita", set in Seville, and Leoni's "L'oracolo", which takes place in the Chinese quarter of San Francisco. But despite this upsurge of interest in foreign localities, several Italian composers still remained faithful to the more traditional vein of realist opera.¹⁶ An interesting example is Pratella's "La Sina d'Vargoun", a three-act work subtitled "scene dalla Romagna bassa per la musica", in which extensive use is made of local dialect (the title of the opera, translated from the Romagnese, is "Rossellina dei Vergoni"). Again the plot is typical; Rossellina, after much personal suffering, stabs her unfaithful lover to death in church during his wedding to her successor. Wolf-Ferrari's sole excursion into "verismo puro", "I gioielli della Madonna", is similar; first given in 1911, the opera is set in the Naples of the Camorra, and contains the famous scene where Gennaro, having stolen the jewels of the Madonna out of love for Mariella,

finds she has drowned herself and promptly stabs himself before a statue of the Blessed Virgin. Following the Berlin première this dénouement was held to be sacrilegious by the Italian authorities, and only one performance of the work was permitted in Italy. ¹⁷

In addition to the interest shown in previously unexploited milieux, the "verismo puro" revival of these years showed a marked change in the way violence was depicted on-stage. In the 1890's, the audience had been content to witness the despatching of one or more of an opera's protagonists by means of a few well-delivered "coltellate", but the 1900's saw a marked escalation in the amount of violence perpetrated. New and more sensational ways of killing off characters were found, many of which posed considerable problems in staging. Some examples will clearly show just what Italian audiences could expect in the way of violent deaths; Amica dies by falling down a ravine, while Maia throws herself from a boat and drowns in the Rhône. In "Zingari" Fleana and Tamar are burned to death in their tent, whereas in "L'oracolo" Cim-Fen is strangled by his own pig-tails and finished off by a hatchet blow to the head. Such lurid sensationalism could not disguise the fact that the old and by now clichéd plots were beginning to lose their former appeal, and the revival was to end, as abruptly as it had begun, with the première in 1912 of Leoncavallo's "Zingari". A few sporadic attempts, such as De Sabata's "Il macigno" (1917) and Puccini's "Il tabarro" (1918), kept alive a semblance of interest in the genre, but to all intents and purposes "verismo puro" had gone forever.

It is interesting to note that this final demise coincides with a rapid decline in the fortunes of Casa Sonzogno. Ever since the turn of the century, both Sonzogno and Ricordi, having weathered successfully the economic recession and political strife of the late 1890's, had become more and more unwilling to speculate on the promotion of new operas. The halcyon days of the early 1890's, when Sonzogno had expanded enormously at the expense of his rival and gambled successfully on unknown operas by obscure composers, were now a distant memory. Increased running-costs, together with the financial strain imposed on publishers and theatres by the failure of a

heavily-promoted opera, meant that more care had to be devoted to determining whether or not a new work was a viable economic proposition. Italian opera-houses now began to exert more pressure on Sonzogno and Ricordi regarding the repertory of new works being offered. It had been for this reason that Sonzogno had embarked upon a policy of buying his own theatres some ten years previously, and now this course of action proved worthwhile, since it ensured the production of those less-popular and potentially risky works which had been rejected by the independent theatres. But despite this apparent advantage in the ease with which Sonzogno could stage operas, Ricordi surged ahead with a massive programme of redevelopment and investment, thereby strengthening the financial base of his firm.

Ricordi's first priority was to extend his network of foreign branches, commencing in 1901 with the opening of a "succursale" in Leipzig and concluding with the establishment of a New York agency in 1911. During this period many of the smaller independent publishing firms were taken over; these included Alessandro Figna and Carlo Schmidl in 1902 and Beniamino Carelli in 1905. An extensive building programme was initiated in 1902 with the construction of new and larger warehouses; by 1910 a completely new factory at Viale Campania 42 was opened to cater for the increased demand for colour lithography. In addition, the publication in 1902 of the "Nuovo Gran Catalogo" emphasized the superior musical resources of Casa Ricordi, and by the time of the firm's centenary in 1908 this valuable patrimony ensured, as it had always done, a steady flow of income from royalties and performance fees.

In contrast, Sonzogno's holdings were basically those of the "giovane scuola", but due to Galli's efforts a considerable number of French copyrights had been secured. However, these proved to be artistic rather than financial successes, and the firm's three main bread-winners remained Mascagni, Leoncavallo and Giordano. Even so, the combined earnings of these composers, together with those of a host of other less eminent musicians, could not begin to compare with the massive input of funds into Casa Ricordi by the Verdi-Wagner-Puccini monopoly.

The result was that Sonzogno was forced to make drastic economies in the running of his firm, cutting back on investment and discouraging the promotion of potentially unviable operas. Even prestige events such as the 1905 Paris season were unable to stem the tide of decline,³⁸ and in 1909 Edoardo Sonzogno retired, leaving his son Riccardo to take over the business. This move was to lead to much conflict within the family, with the result that Casa Sonzogno was brought to the brink of ruin. The reasons for this are complex, and are best understood if we first examine some of the grievances of "i compositori sonzognani".

As early as July 1901 Mascagni, whose differences with Sonzogno had led to the publication of "Iris" by Ricordi, announced that he was about to establish, in association with a number of other composers and an undisclosed source of finance, a co-operative society which would publish operas and guarantee their authors a larger return and wider publicity than that offered by the major Milanese publishers. Mascagni's decision was based on two factors; the first was the increasing abuse of musical copyright which neither Sonzogno nor Ricordi seemed able to repress, and the second a growing dissatisfaction amongst the Sonzogno stable of composers with the financial remuneration offered them in contracts for new operas, together with the lack of back-up publicity and distribution once new works had been given their first performance. In December of the same year the Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione announced that it was setting up a commission of enquiry to investigate possible methods of reforming the musical copyright laws, and in May 1906 the same ministry appointed Mascagni (who by this time had made himself the unofficial spokesman for all Italian opera composers) to the chairmanship of the "Commissione Governativa per le Arti Musicali e Drammatiche", a new initiative designed to forge closer links between government and the arts. (The other members of the commission were Puccini, Martucci, Scontrino and the lawyer Deparus.) But despite such efforts to improve the financial position of opera production, it soon became apparent that a significant amount of investment had to be forthcoming from Ricordi and Sonzogno. Both government and local authorities were finding it increasingly difficult to maintain levels of subsidy to

opera-houses and now channelled less public money into this sector, leaving the major publishers to increase their allocation of funds. This Ricordi was able to do by dint of his superior resources; but Sonzogno, whose artistic patrimony was considerably slighter, found himself in the unenviable position of having to curtail production of many new works. Even the "big names" of Casa Sonzogno suffered from this financial squeeze; none more so than Mascagni and Leoncavallo, who were now finding it increasingly difficult to maintain their previous levels of income.

In September 1902 Mascagni had received an offer to conduct a series of concerts and productions of his own operas in the United States, for which he was guaranteed a fee of some two thousand English pounds. Because of his difficulties with the directorship of the Liceo Rossini, he decided to improve his worsening financial position by accepting this offer. The resulting tour was a shambles; bad singers and an incomplete orchestra due to troubles with the Musicians' Union led to unfavourable press reports, and despite being hailed by Italo-Americans as "la gloria d'Italia" Mascagni returned to Italy amidst controversy regarding the proper fulfilment of his contract. Leoncavallo's subsequent American tour in October 1906 also flopped, with many people regarding his Sardou-inspired operetta "La Jeunesse de Figaro" (composed expressly for the United States) as a regrettable lapse by a composer who should have known better. Another point of contention was the orchestral march "Viva l'America!", dedicated to President Theodor Roosevelt and consisting of varied repetitions of "Yankee Doodle" and "Dixie"; hardly the kind of product for which Leoncavallo had become world famous, and for many admirers, hearing this work at a New York concert conducted by the composer, it seemed that their idol had put financial gain before artistic integrity.

Much the same conclusions were drawn some five years later, when Leoncavallo accepted an offer from the London impresario Sir Edward Moss to produce a substantially reduced version of "Pagliacci" at the Hippodrome. (The reason for the opera having to be extensively cut was that the law regarding music-halls restricted the duration of any one performance to

half an hour.) Tempted by the considerable financial remuneration offered, Leoncavallo, who like Mascagni had seen his fortune dwindle, sacrificed what little self-respect he had left and mutilated his most famous opera, which he conducted twice a day in front of what the "Musical Times" described as "enthusiastic audiences".¹⁹ In February 1912 Mascagni decided to follow in Leoncavallo's footsteps, and accepted an offer from Moss to produce and conduct "Cavalleria" twice a day at the Hippodrome for an entire month. The journalist Mario Borsa (London correspondent for the "Corriere della Sera") wrote that according to reliable reports Mascagni was being paid 50,000 lire a week.²⁰ Indeed, Moss had approached the composer with similar offers on a number of previous occasions, but had met with a refusal on the grounds that under no circumstances would "Cavalleria" be out to fill the obligatory half-hour slot. It was only a proclamation by the Lord Chamberlain (which modified the law and allowed "Cavalleria" to be performed complete) which had induced Mascagni to change his mind. Meanwhile, following the sensational success of the music-hall version of "Pagliacci" Leoncavallo had been commissioned by Moss to write an opera for the 1912 season at the Hippodrome. The result was, as we have seen, "Zingari" - an opera composed expressly for the British public. One of the conditions of the composer's contract had been that the completed opera was not to exceed a length of seventy minutes, and bearing this in mind the "Times" commented that this limit necessitated "the barest outline of a plot . . . little time is wasted over introductions or recitatives, emotions and situations mature without unnecessarily protracted accompaniment, and the opera as a whole is well-proportioned".²¹

Such blatant operatic opportunism by Mascagni and Leoncavallo brought swift disapprobation from many Italian critics. But despite several virulent attacks, both men continued to exploit their past successes in a variety of respectable and less-respectable ventures. In 1913 Leoncavallo embarked upon another American tour on the invitation of Cleofonte Campanini, who suggested that the composer should conduct a series of his own works to be performed by the Chicago Opera Company. The irony was that Leoncavallo hated conducting; as Vittorio Gui recalls, "poveretto, non si poteva

vedere a dirigere".³² But the financial pressure was now too great, and the tour went ahead, lasting until the early months of 1914. What Giorgio Grossetto has neatly described as "curiosi esibizionismi"³³ became the only means of staving off real financial hardship; and if Mascagni and Leoncavallo were feeling the pinch, one can well imagine the predicament of many lesser-known composers, who now found it very difficult to eke out a living. Were it not for the existence of numerous teaching posts at the various Italian conservatories and universities, Sonzogno would have been forced to pay bigger monthly allowances to his composers; when one considers the perilous state of the firm's finances, it becomes apparent that such a move would have brought about its immediate demise. By 1910 the patience of Italian composers was almost at breaking-point, as a letter from Mascagni to Edoardo Sonzogno dating from July clearly illustrates: "Avendo otto opere nella Vostra Casa, coi miei guadagni su queste opere non riesco a mettere insieme la pigione della mia abitazione". Clearly Mascagni was unhappy about the way in which Casa Sonzogno was promoting his operas, and in his dealings with Riccardo Sonzogno he was to be even less fortunate.³⁴

Whereas Edoardo had been very much a father-figure to Mascagni (despite their frequent disagreements) Riccardo, on his succession to the management, seemed intent on provoking the composer with such blunt statements as "nei piani di battaglia, dietro la "Cavalleria" si mettono le artiglierie e non dei fantaccini come hai messi tu". In the same letter, dated 8 January 1911, Riccardo Sonzogno, in reply to Mascagni's complaint that his operas were not providing an adequate income due to editorial mismanagement, remarks that "tu mi parli di trimestri che assottigliansi spaventevolmente. Potrei dire che le tue opere non si negano a nessuno e potrei provarti che si spingono quanto meglio si può, e che se stentano - come tu dici - a darti il pane quotidiano, non procurano nemmeno a noi il panettone della domenica". But despite this claim, it soon became apparent to both Mascagni and Leoncavallo that Riccardo was incapable of running the firm properly. An example of this is the success of Mascagni's "Isabeau", one of the few viable works produced by the publisher (although the credit for persuading the composer to cede the opera must be attributed to

Lorenzo Sonzogno, who was soon to found his own rival firm). As Lorenzo himself stated in 1910,

Mascagni è certamente la più grande forza di Casa Sonzogno, la musica nuova di sua etichetta è una fortuna per chi la edisce, e ne abbiamo una prova subito, ch'è l'opera nuova "Isabeau", che costerà alla Casa meno di cinquantamila lire (compreso libretto, stampa, ecc.) è già noleggiata, prima di essere finita, per centomila lire in America ed è richiesta dai maggiori teatri con offerte meravigliose. Io ho il merito di questo contratto e si deve riconoscere che ho dato con esso una gagliarda iniezione di siero nelle vene della Casa.³⁵

Lorenzo's comment regarding the commercial success of "Isabeau" is clear evidence that his cousin Riccardo was capable of falsifying the true financial returns of all Sonzogno operas. The reason for this policy is very clear; by keeping composers guessing as to how much money their operas were earning, Riccardo could negotiate new contracts from a position of clear superiority, ensuring a larger percentage of profit for the firm. While the financial methodology behind this approach was basically sound, many composers felt increasingly alienated from Casa Sonzogno as they realized to what extent their incomes had been cut back, and the result was a great deal of discontent. As usual, Mascagni and Leoncavallo led the campaign against this policy; the former through vociferously condemning Riccardo's mismanagement of the firm, the latter by setting up, with Giordano, a united front of opposition whose main purpose was to mobilize the majority of dissatisfied composers. Leoncavallo himself had suffered greatly from the ineptitude of Riccardo's business tactics, as a letter to Illica makes abundantly clear:

Forse che i miei "Medici", la mia "Zazà", il mio "Rolando" non furono dei veri grandi successi? Sì, e a che cosa hanno servito? Tu hai dato un gran successo a Giordano con "Chénier" e a Mascagni con "Isabeau". A che è servito? Quale dei grandi teatri dà le opere di Casa Sonzogno? Nessuno. E questo perchè? Lo sai benissimo. Tito Ricordi, continuando

il sistema paterno, dà magari anche a basso prezzo tutto il suo repertorio, ma solo il suo repertorio, e lo impone. Riccardo Sonzogno, invece, quando ha un successo, fa come ha fatto con "Isabeau" e con "Zingari". Finché ci sono teatri che le domandano, si danno, e magari con cani come esecutori. E quando nessuno le domanda più, restano negli scaffali della Casa; e tu torni a scrivere libretti e io nuove opere che ingrossano il patrimonio artistico della Casa, mentre noi crepiamo di miseria.³⁶

Leonoavallo's comments did not go unnoticed by Lorenzo, who now appealed to Edoardo Sonzogno, warning him of the rising tide of discontent among Italian composers: "I maestri non assistono indifferenti ai turbine che è arrivato in Casa Sonzogno; i nostri interessi sono i loro e le lamentele prendono forma di vera agitazione".³⁷ Lorenzo was not alone in sensing, during the summer of 1910, that Casa Sonzogno was in need of stronger and more efficient management; in a letter to Illica dated 13 July, Giordano voiced his own reservations: "Ti dirò, confidenzialmente, che non vedo affatto florido l'avvenire di Casa Sonzogno, e noialtri maestri ne saremo ancor più danneggiati che per il passato". Since Illica and Edoardo Sonzogno were in constant touch with each other, it is highly likely that Giordano's fears were made known to the publisher. But it was in this same fateful summer of 1910 that we see the first signs of an eventual alliance between Mascagni and Lorenzo Sonzogno, as a letter written by the composer and dated 5 July clearly testifies:

Io sono in continua ansia per le cose dello stabilimento e non so quale soluzione potrà avere questo terribile conflitto. So che gli affari vanno a rotta di collo e vedo i miei interessi, affidati completamente e con la massima fiducia a Casa Sonzogno, pregiudicati in modo allarmante. Mi domando come posso consegnare a Casa Sonzogno la mia nuova opera . . . Gli affari della Casa vanno alla deriva . . . perchè, caro Renzo, la lotta fra voi e Riccardo si svolge in mezzo a puntigli, a pettegolezzi, a beghe personali, mentre gli interessi dei poveri maestri sono abbandonati completamente. Certo io studierò qualche cosa per porre

termine a ciò.

Despite a certain amount of criticism of Lorenzo inherent in the letter, it is clear that Mascagni was already contemplating a break, and the setting-up of a rival Casa Sonzogno in December 1910 seems to have strengthened the composer's resolve. But two years were to pass before the definitive rupture, by which time Mascagni had signed a contract with Lorenzo for "Parisina", to be set to an original libretto by D'Annunzio.

It is at this point that we must consider the progress of Lorenzo Sonzogno's rival publishing house in the two years from 1910 until the Mascagni contract of 1912. During this period Lorenzo, who was fully aware of his inability as yet to challenge either Ricordi or Riccardo Sonzogno in the Italian repertory, concentrated his efforts upon the importation of foreign avant-garde works such as Strauss' "Der Rosenkavalier", "Salome", "Elektra" and "Feuersnot", Laparra's "Habanera", Rimsky-Korsakov's "Pskovitana" and Dukas' "Ariane et Barbe-Bleue". Several expatriate Italian composers such as Wolf-Ferrari ("Il segreto di Susanna", "Le donne curiose" and "I gioielli della Madonna") and Respighi ("Semirama") were also the objects of Lorenzo's curiosity, with the aforementioned works being given their Italian premières under his management. It was, by any standards, an uncompromisingly adventurous choice of repertory, and led to a great deal of controversy. This in turn generated a lavish amount of publicity for the new firm, and public interest in Lorenzo's activities, succinctly described by one critic as "arditi esperimenti nel campo dell'opera",³⁸ began to increase. Despite the attempts of Riccardo Sonzogno and Tito Ricordi to suggest that Lorenzo had engineered these controversies for the sole purpose of gaining recognition, it was obvious to many Italian composers and librettists that here was a man who was not afraid to challenge traditional ideas on what contemporary opera should represent. It is in this sense that Lorenzo Sonzogno can be described as anti-veristic; an analysis of his operatic acquisitions reveals only one "verismo puro" work ("I gioielli della Madonna"), and his subsequent choice of repertory shows a consuming interest in Modernist and D'Annunzian opera. This culminated in the

collaboration between Mascagni and Italy's leading poet on "Parisina" (1913), which was heavily promoted by Lorenzo as the epitome of Italian opera, an aesthetic synthesis of music and poetry by the premier exponents of each art. Under Lorenzo's direction, D'Annunzio also joined forces with Pizzetti for "Fedra", first given in 1915. The move towards operatic decadentism was by no means new; we need only quote Franchetti's 1906 "La figlia di Jorio" (for which D'Annunzio had adapted his original play), but this attempt had been unsuccessful and had not been repeated until Lorenzo Sonzogno's foray into the genre with "Parisina" and its progeny. Meanwhile Tito Ricordi was also moving in the same direction, as he became less and less sympathetic to Puccini's determination to remain firmly within the bounds of "verismo borghese". An examination of the stormy relationship between these two figures would be out of place here, but it is valuable to chart, albeit briefly, the history of Casa Ricordi since Giulio's death in June 1912.

Tito Ricordi, on assuming control of the firm, realized in much the same way as Lorenzo Sonzogno the importance of cultivating modernist opera. To this end he supported the younger generation of composers (amongst whom were Zandonai, Montemezzi and Alfano) to the detriment of traditionalists such as Puccini. Tito's enthusiasm for D'Annunzio was so great that he wrote the libretti of Zandonai's "Francesca da Rimini" (1914) and Montemezzi's "La nave" (1918), both works being adapted from the Italian poet's plays of the same name. But Tito, despite his knowledge of contemporary literary developments, was (like Riccardo Sonzogno) totally ill-suited to running the business side of the firm, and he failed to reconcile the opposing factions of traditionalism and innovation within Casa Ricordi. The result was a gradual decline in income; although by no means as serious as the equivalent crisis faced by Riccardo Sonzogno, the situation still gave cause for concern. Furthermore, Tito Ricordi's intransigence on the question of repertory was also to lead to Puccini's break with the firm and his decision to have "La rondine" published by Lorenzo Sonzogno.³⁹

While Casa Ricordi was experiencing this period of unrest Lorenzo Sonzogno, despite the relative failure of his Darnunisian ventures ("Parisina" had not lived up to expectations), was thriving. His alliance with Mascagni proved to be stronger than that between Riccardo and Edoardo Sonzogno, whose rapid decline was becoming more and more obvious with the passing of time. By 1912 the financial situation of the firm was extremely precarious, as a letter from Count Suzani to Illica clearly shows:

E una casa in isfacelo. In questi ultimi tempi hanno liquidato per circa quattro milioni incassandone meno di tre, venduto "Il Secolo", male; venduta la cartiera, peggio; ceduta la proprietà di "Cavalleria" all'estero, ecc. La casa di via Pasquirolo è gravata da ipoteche per 650 mila lire. Ora si stanno vendendo i terreni di Roma. Una "débacle". Un naufragio. Il vecchio fatalista (Edoardo Sonzogno) chiuso nel suo studio, invisibile. "Deus ignotus". E al timone di questa barca che fa acqua da tutte le parti, Riccardo, un uomo senza energia, senza attività, starei per dire senza intelligenza se non avesse tradotto Baudelaire in prosa dichiarandolo intraducibile in versi. C'era un uomo - e questo a detta di tutti - che poteva rialzare le sorti della Casa, Lorenzo Sonzogno, intelligente, senza scrupoli, pratico dell'azienda. Fu cacciato. Un ravvicinamento ora è impossibile. Ci sono di mezzo anche odi di donne. E la sua forza Lorenzo la dimostra ora: ha già un repertorio di circa quaranta opere. Ha degli appoggi fortissimi e poco tempo fa Caramba, parlando di lui, diceva che avrebbe potuto, qualora l'occasione si fosse presentata, rilevare lo stabilimento del signor Edoardo: quando, s'intende, la pera si fosse fatta matura.⁴¹

Suzani's account enumerates all the major factors contributing to the decline of the firm, but his supposition that Lorenzo would soon be able to assume control takes no account of the bitterness existing between him and the Riccardo-Edoardo alliance. It is unlikely that a possible financial bid by Lorenzo for the firm would have been successful; rather than

admit to the financial straits in which they found themselves. Riccardo and Edoardo were prepared to sell off vast chunks of the Sonzogno empire to outsiders in order to recoup their losses, including such major assets as "Il Secolo" and their massive paper-mill. This suicidal course of action, a product of both men's stubborn pride, would have led, if it had continued unabated, to the total collapse of the firm. However, fate ensured otherwise; Riccardo Sonzogno died suddenly in 1915, thereby leaving his seventy-nine year old father as nominal head of the publishing house.

Riccardo's death meant that Lorenzo could now gain control, since Edoardo's age, coupled with the fact that since his retirement in 1909 he had lost touch with the contemporary music scene, meant that he could not realistically hope to keep the firm running on his own. In addition, his son's death was a blow from which he never fully recovered, and "il vecchio fatalista" gave up the struggle against his nephew, who promptly merged the two firms into the "Casa Musicale Sonzogno" which came into existence on 17 November 1915. Since Riccardo and his father had sold the newspaper and book concerns the new firm, as indicated by its title, was exclusively concerned with music publication and opera promotion. But Lorenzo was not content to manage the new concern; sensing a kindred spirit in Tito Ricordi, he suggested that both firms should amalgamate to form a monopoly of Italian music publication. The advantages of such a move were clear to see: the adoption of a unified artistic policy, substantial savings in overheads, increased bargaining power over composers and librettists, and more influence over the choice of repertory in Italian and foreign theatres. But Lorenzo's hopes were to be dashed by the entry of Italy into the First World War, and negotiations were discontinued.

The commencement of hostilities led immediately to a steep decline in the number of operas written and produced. Indeed, Italian composers seemed happier providing the public with bellicose manifestations of nationalistic fervour. Leoncavallo was one of the first to take this initiative; in 1914 he wrote an "Inno della Lega Nazionale" for irredentist Trieste, and the following year gave the first performance of his "Inno

franco-italiano" in Paris. Not content with these clamorous gestures of nationalistic pride, he produced in 1916 the operetta "Goffredo Mameli", drawing the inevitable comparison between the Italian struggle for freedom during the Risorgimento and the current situation in Europe. But there were those ready to criticize; "Avanti" and "Il Popolo d'Italia" both launched vehement attacks on Leoncavallo, accusing him "di aver portato sul teatro la figura del poeta-soldato per puro scopo di lucro".⁴¹ (In reality, the operetta had been staged for the benefit of the Red Cross, with Leoncavallo receiving not one penny and having to pay the production costs out of his own pocket.) Other critics reminded him of his past associations with the Kaiser and his commission for "Der Roland von Berlin", to which Leoncavallo replied by publicly destroying all the letters and decorations he had received from the German leader, referring to him as "quel briccone del Kaiser".

Other composers were equally sincere in the strength of their political convictions. On 9 June 1915 Zandonai was arrested and accused of high treason by the Austrian governor of the province of Trieste for having composed and circulated a student hymn calling for the return of "Italia irredenta". Mascagni and Giordano similarly devoted much of their time and effort to fund-raising for such institutions as the Italian Red Cross by means of patriotic compositions, concerts for the troops and the signing of inflammatory articles aimed against Germany and the Austro-Hungarian empire. Puccini, however, remained pro-German in his sympathies and was constantly criticized during the course of the war for his unwillingness to involve himself in patriotic activities. One of his most vociferous critics was, not surprisingly, Leoncavallo, who denounced his colleague's apparent lack of concern. Puccini retorted by referring to the Neapolitan composer as "il porco che a vergogna d'Italia vien chiamato maestro",⁴² and added further insult by using venomous pseudonyms such as "Leonbestia" and "Leonasino", most of which had originally been coined by Mascagni in the 1890's. However, Puccini's dislike of active political involvement by composers in the war was shared by many influential Italian critics. Amongst these was Calza, who in February 1917 wrote that "the war is too sorrowfully serious

to serve as a means of calling the people's attention by suggestive titles - be it by the "patriotic" theatre or cinematograph, by "patriotic" music or by the "patriotic" book. The cult of the Fatherland is, especially at this moment, too austere and solemn to permit that it may be exploited under any artistic pretence".⁴³

Calza's strictures were no doubt aimed against the rising tide of operetta based on patriotic themes, of which Leoncavallo's "Goffredo Mameli" has already been mentioned. The war years also saw a significant rise in all other forms of operetta, to which many "serious" composers now devoted their energies. Examples include Mascagni's "Sì" and other Leoncavallo operettas such as "La candidata" and "Prestami tua moglie". Again both composers were criticized for their apparent lack of taste, but with the advent of war there was now a strong demand for the type of escapist entertainment provided by operetta. Moreover, there was no subsequent drop in the amount of established repertory operas being given in Italian theatres, as a "Musical Times" report on opera production in Milan during 1917 makes abundantly clear:

We can record one long continuous stream of seasons of opera, the main object being, however, to give employment to the great number of disengaged artists, of whom there are still plenty notwithstanding the numerous calls to arms . . . Since the outbreak of the present conflagration there has never been in Milan such an abundance of opera seasons running simultaneously, four or five theatres going at a time, and all playing to full houses more or less. ⁴⁴

What did drop, however, was the number of new serious operas being given, as publishers preferred to invest in operetta. The pessimism of "verismo puro" was forgotten, and such a composer as Mascagni, who had established the genre with "Cavalleria", could now give, in 1917, an interview in which he stated that "the mission of the musical theatre is more emotional than intellectual, but of a regulated emotion, without the turbid element of tempest or of technical paroxysm" ⁴⁵ - clear evidence that the "sledge-hammer" technique of "verismo puro" had been

rejected forever. The war had brought to the majority of composers a sense of purpose in that they now viewed themselves both as defenders of "l'italianità" and propagators of a new, populist type of opera which would bring comfort and hope to the greatest possible audience. Mascagni, in the same interview, refers to his new opera "Lodoletta" in this very light:

It contains a sweet sense of comfort, and a restoring virtue for the moral life of humanity, passing as it is through the dramatic period of the present war. Therefore in this opera look only for the simple intention of doing good, and I am confident that the spirit of the public will be in a condition to appreciate this intention, for everywhere we see signs of a tendency back to purer things and to the humble joys of the domestic hearth.

Mascagni was right. The aftermath of the war led to a total disintegration of the world in which "verismo puro" had flourished, albeit erratically, for some thirty years. Leoncavallo was to die in 1919, a lonely and embittered man, and D'Annunzio's scathing epitaph reflects a new contempt for operatic realism which was to last until well after the Second World War: "E un eccellente finale di quel copioso fabbro di melodrammi e di operette che aveva congiunto nel suo nome i nomi di due bestie nobili e morì soffocato dall'adipe melodico".⁴⁶ Gone too was the generation of publishers who had done so much to cultivate the "giovane scuola"; in 1919 Tito Ricordi resigned from the firm, leaving it in the hands of Renzo Valcarenghi and Claudio Clausetti, while a year later, on 14 March 1920, the pioneer of Italian operatic realism, Edoardo Sonzogno, died at Milan, to be followed on 2 April by his nephew Lorenzo. With the death of these men "verismo puro", which during the war had been completely overwhelmed by the frenetic popularity of operetta (whose escape from reality constituted the ironic antithesis of realism) was now a spent force, its former practitioners resigned to a life of quiet reminiscences and memories of former glories. As Mascagni was to remark in an interview given shortly before his death in 1945, "I was crowned before I became king", and this reference

to the explosion of "Cavalleria" on the musical world all of fifty-five years previously holds within it the great irony of Italian operatic realism - namely, that its most famous work should be its first, with the result that all subsequent efforts suffered in comparison. Therein lies the true tragedy of "verismo puro", and it is one which despite the obvious value of many products of the genre, has ensured critical apathy and derision up until the present day; an understandable misjudgement which the remainder of this thesis will seek to rectify.

NOTES

(1) See Part One, Chapter Three, Note 65.

(2) See article on Leoncavallo in the "Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo", VI, p.1401. Grossetto's comment can be applied to many other "verismo borghese" works of the period. Perhaps one of the best examples is Giordano's "Marcella", which first appeared in 1907. The plot is as follows (I reproduce Mario Morini's summary, as published in "Umberto Giordano", p.XII):

La delicata vicenda di questo "idillio moderno" ha inizio in un ristorante di lusso parigino, dove improvvisamente, mentre un gruppo di amici - fra cui Drasco, giovane studente straniero, e Giorgio Karavelov (di professione pittore, ma in realtà principe ereditario in incognito del paese di Drasco) - si diverte con alcune allegre donnine, una ragazza interrompe ansante e spaventata per sottrarsi alle inurbane attenzioni di una frotta di giovanotti.

Messa in fuga i gaudenti, Giorgio si apparta con la fanciulla, che dice di essere sola al mondo e di chiamarsi Marcella, e ne ascolta la triste storia intessuta di stenti privazioni che l'hanno condotta sull'orlo del suicidio e poi, riluttante, in quel luogo equivoco. Giorgio, dapprima scettico e incredulo, si sente a poco a poco attratto dalla dolcezza e dalla grazia di Marcella, riesce a consolarla e la convince a seguirlo: un puro e sincero amor sboccia fra i due giovani.

Trascorrono tre mesi incantevoli per Giorgio e Marcella che, dimentichi di tutto e di tutti, stanno vivendo il loro bellissimo sogno d'amore. Ma una sera d'autunno giunge improvvisamente Drasco, che informa Giorgio della gravissima situazione in cui si trova il suo paese, a causa della rivolta popolare contro i soprusi e le angherie di un malvagio ministro. Sollecitato dall'amico a correre in aiuto del popolo insorto che reclama da lui salvezza e

pace, il principe decide di partire la notte stessa.

Marcella, affacciata alla finestra durante il colloquio e appresa la vera identità di Giorgio, comprende che fra loro tutto è finito. Invano il principe, combattuto fra il suo grande amore per lei e il dovere verso la patria, vorrebbe che Marcella lo seguisse per continuare, sia pure segretamente, la relazione. La ragazza, pur straziata dal dolore, rifiuta l'impossibile soluzione.

"Marcella", as can be deduced from the plot, is typical of "verismo borghese" insofar as it portrays a woman's sacrifice of her love for the sake of both moral rectitude and political expediency. An element of pathos is never far distant, as in Marcella's introductory recitative:

Io sono solo al mondo, e poco mi bastava. Ero contenta, ma non durò . . . il lavoro manò. Fui congedata! . . . Nella vita degli umili, ci son delle miserie ignote al mondo! Quando i bei dì ritornano, quando l'aria è più mite e il ciel giocondo, e al nuovo sol cominciano i primi fior ad olezzar sul ramo, noi solitarie e povere, per la via del dolor o'incamminiamo.

When Giorgio tells her that he will never abandon her, she replies in the following manner:

Non voglio, no, non devi sacrificarti per la poveretta che trovasti per caso sulla strada e che salvasti.

After Giorgio has suggested he should take her with him:

No. Troppa distanza ci divide. Conobbi ora il tuo grado e intesi che non possiam seguir l'istessa via. Ti daranno una sposa tua pari . . . io soffrirei il martirio, vedendoti di un'altra . . . e ne morrei . . . è finita.

Finally, in reply to Giorgio's final protestations that she must leave with him, she answers as follows:

No: non si può! non si può! . . . non si deve!

Thus by breaking off the relationship, Marcella abides by one of the prime artistic rules of "verismo borghese",

namely that illicit love, no matter how genuine, can never lead to happiness, and by recognizing the moral righteousness of Giorgio's decision to return to his country, she puts political duty before personal contentment. Another important feature of the genre is the importance of social class - even if the political situation had never arisen, Marcella would eventually have had to terminate a relationship in which the gulf in social position was so wide. "Verismo borghese", despite its occasional touch of "un diffuso socialismo umanitario" (to quote Grossetto once again) was too firmly entrenched in contemporary middle-class standards of morality to pretend otherwise.

(3) Edition of 23 November 1898.

(4) *Op.cit.* (1899), pp.71-118; see also Mario Morini's summary of the opera, given in "Pietro Mascagni" (Milan, 1964), p.189, and reproduced below:

Ancora sotto l'impressione di un sogno pauroso, Iris esce dalla sua casetta nel piccolo giardino fiorito per salutare il sole nascente. La grazia e la bellezza della fanciulla suscitano le brame di Osaka, giovane ricco e dissoluto al quale Kyoto, losca figura di mezzano, propone di rapirla. A tale scopo essi architettano un tranello con la partecipazione dello stesso Osaka, fingendo la rappresentazione di un teatrino di pupi in cui è narrata una triste e penosa vicenda che ha il potere di avvincere e di commuovere Iris. Quando poi Osaka, nelle vesti di Jor figlio del Sole, eleva un canto appassionato, la fanciulla, affascinata, incantamente si avvicina e, avvolta nelle spire di una danza vorticiosa, finisce per essere rapita e trascinata al Yoshiwara, luogo di piacere, mentre il vecchio padre cieco resta solo, a invocare il nome della figlia, finchè da alcuni merciaioli di passaggio apprende la triste verità.

Iris frattanto, destasi dopo un lungo delirio in un ambiente insolitamente lussuoso, crede addirittura di trovarsi in paradiso. Giunge Osaka, e la fanciulla gli si rivolge come se fosse Jor; viceversa egli le si presenta

come il Fiacere tentando di piegarla al suo volere, ma Iris si ritrae inorridita. A questo punto il giovane infastidito se ne va cedendola a Kyoto che apre le cortine della stanza e l'espone al pubblico del Yoshiwara. Fra le grida d'ammirazione, mentre Osaka pentito dichiara il proprio amore alla fanciulla, si leva la voce del Cieco a maledirla. Disperata Iris si getta nell'abisso, ma non muore subito, e nel delirio dell'agonia ode la voce dei tre "egoismi": di Kyoto, di Osaka, del Cieco. Il sole nascente illumina la fanciulla che muore incontaminata, mentre intorno a lei sbocciano innumerevoli fiori.

(5) Edition of 18 November 1898.

(6) See Part One, Chapter Three, Note 33.

(7) Both these operas were abandoned after the failure of "I Medici".

(8) See Note 11.

(9) Ibid.

(10) "Masters of Italian Music" (London, 1895), p.225.

(11) The full text of the letter (given in Streatfeild's translation, op.cit., pp.226-31) is as follows:

My dear Tonolla,

You can understand the emotion I feel in sending you my poem. It is seventeen years since I first confided my great project to your sympathetic ears. I was then a boy, and had my full share of the enthusiasm and ignorance of youth. I had, however, even then enough common sense to see that I needed much study before I undertook such work, and I did study "con amore", notwithstanding my sufferings and privations. I passed nights without sleep and days without food, but I always kept my ideal before me.

And now the goal is reached, the work is done, and you have come to Milan to hear "I Medici". I ask the hospitality of your paper for this letter so that there may be no doubt as to the purpose of my work.

"On va s'imaginer que c'est une préface
Moi qui n'en lis jamais . . . "

So wrote Musset, and I think it better to follow his example and tell you in a few words what my idea was in writing "I Medici", than to burden the libretto with a preface which nobody would read.

I wished, then, to try a new kind of poem, new at any rate to the lyric stage - the Epic.

Why should not music have its epic, possessing as it does the language most fitted to it, and more poetical than poetry itself?

Having decided to write epic music, I began to think about my subject.

I had also to reconcile this idea with my love for realism in literature and in art, because for me music is the most poetical and perfect expression of the mind.

To get the necessary inspiration, I wanted living subjects, with flesh and bones, like myself, who should feel and think like men and women, who should suffer from the same passions that sway our own hearts and senses. I decided, therefore, to take my epic from history. I sought in the contemporary chronicles for the characters, the passions, the weaknesses and the crimes of heroes as they really existed. To bring to life a whole epoch! To multiply the miracle of Lazarus, and command the tombs to give up their dead! To seek for the philosophical link subsisting between events which seem unconnected, but are in reality the logical productions of one scheme of life and politics. All this tempted me, and I said to myself: "So much the worse for you if the burden is too heavy for your back, and if the ruins of the vast buildings crush you. But at least you will die honourably".

Machiavelli's "Florentine History" inspired me with the first idea of the work. Then I began to study in earnest, and I read as much as possible of what has been written about this period. Besides the immense mass of material which I found in the libraries of Florence, Rome, and

Bologna, I studied standard modern works most religiously, such as Villari's "Machiavelli" and "Savonarola", and Carducci's splendid prefaces to the poems of Politian and Lorenzo de' Medici. Yes, Boileau is right: "Rien n'est beau que le vrai!" What a wide field for the artist, for the philosopher, and for the historian is this glorious period of Italian history - the Renaissance! "Quanto sangue e quanto fango a rimescolare", as Carducci says. After carefully studying this period of history, I decided in favour of a Trilogy, because I thought it the only form in which I could reproduce my idea on the stage. I subdivided the historical periods in the following way: first part, "I Medici", from the accession of Sixtus IV to the Pazzi conspiracy; second part, "Savonarola", from the investiture of Fra Benedetto to the death of Savonarola; third part, "Cesare Borgia", from the death of the Duke of Candia to that of Alexander VI. I have scrupulously respected the historical characters, keeping faithful to the customs, manners, and even to the language of the times. With the exception of some slight anachronisms required by a theatrical performance, I shall present men and their actions as they are described by contemporary historians. Running parallel to these historical portraits is this philosophic idea: the statesman of the Renaissance, recognising the instability of government based on popular favour, seeks an ally in the Church, which betrays him, and he, fired with overweening ambition and mistrustful of everybody and everything, becomes at last Cesare Borgia. The title of the trilogy was suggested by that of Wagner's "Götterdämmerung". For a moment I thought of borrowing from my master his whole title, for his little gods - Wotan, Donner, and the rest - are pigmies beside Lorenzo de' Medici, Savonarola, Cesare Borgia, Alexander VI and Machiavelli. I have, however, selected the title "Crepusculum" because it is more poetical and more practical. What I have made of it my music will show in a few days. I will only add that, faithful to the maxims of the great Bayreuth master, I have sought to make my poem a national one, and I have surrounded it with an atmosphere of Italianism. And, now, "alea jacta est".

This work which, like a favourite child, I have nursed and fondled for many years, I now leave alone upon the highway, exposed to the attacks of the critics. I dare to hope that it will be strong enough to defend itself. As for me, my task is finished - in the First Part - my only comfort in these terribly anxious days being that I have done all I was able to do. If, notwithstanding all my care, I have not succeeded, it will not be for want of trying, and I shall repeat with the poet Musset: "Mon verre n'est pas grand, mais je bois dans mon verre."

Tibi,

R.Leoncavallo

- (12) As Grossetto comments, the opera abounds in "ridicoli toscanismi cangiando l'ambiente di Lorenzo e di Poliziano in un Firenze paesana e sempliciotta", and quotes the chorus "Ben venga maggio" as a typical example (e.g. Simonetta's refrain "Oh, questo gaudio attirami vorrei, mamma, danzar!"); see article on Leoncavallo in the "Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo", VI, p.1401.
- (13) This was "Der Roland von Berlin", first given in the German capital in 1904.
- (14) Gatti, I, p.185.
- (15) Victorien Sardou was, at that time, the most popular foreign dramatist in Italy.
- (16) "Cronache teatrali", pp.204-05.
- (17) Ibid., pp.202-03.
- (18) Edition of August 1913, p.527.
- (19) Quoted in a letter from Giordano to Illica dated December 1895.
- (20) Letter dated 1 August 1894.
- (21) Letter dated 6 October 1892. Mascagni's interest in "Vistilia" dates from 1891, when the librettists Menasci and Targioni-Tozzetti adapted Rocco De' Zerbi's 1877 novel of the same name. In an interview published in the

"Corriere della Sera" of 15 February 1909 the composer commented on the importance of historical accuracy in such a subject: "Approfondii quell'idea a grandi intervalli, e con Francesco Paolo Michetti cominciai a studiare i costumi per ritrarre fedelmente l'ambiente". The completed libretto had in fact been published in 1900, but Boito's decision to produce "Nerone" may well have convinced Mascagni to abandon the subject.

- (22) "Umberto Giordano", p.232.
- (23) See Part Three, Section Five.
- (24) Nicholas Slonimsky, "Music since 1900" (New York, 1937), p.42.
- (25) Amongst these was, quite surprisingly, Boito, who considered the opera to be the most "mascagnano" of the composer's output (see the "Phaidon Book of the Opera" (Oxford, 1979), p.340).
- (26) Sardinia seems to have been especially popular at this time, inspiring such works as Baravalle's "Iglasias, o Cuore sardo" (1907), Alberti's "Barbagia" (1902) and "Myrtilla" (1906), and Leoncavallo's projected "Tormenta" (1914), which the composer intended as "un'opera eccelsa che dovrà essere un modello di fedeltà di costumi di usi e soprattutto di espressione del sentimento del popolo sardo" (see A. De Angelis, "Il capolavoro inespresso di Ruggero Leoncavallo: "Tormenta"" in the "Rivista musicale italiana", XXX, p.563).
- (27) This was given at Genoa on 6 February 1913.
- (28) On this occasion the veteran composer Camille Saint-Saëns gave his blessing to the "giovane scuola" in a letter to Sonzogno, which was subsequently published in an Italian translation in "Il Secolo" of 18 June 1905:

Ho ripetuto a tutti gli echi quanto io penso di queste opere così interessanti, così vivi e teatrali, per le quali l'alto interesse, a mio avviso, resta nella reazione che esse esercitano contro la tendenza al teatro mitico e antidrammatico. Pur impiegando mezzi nuovi, sono opere

francamente italiane nel loro modernismo. Poco importa che esse siano combattute, poco importa che non siano pienamente perfette. Che cosa dunque è perfetto? Esse tracciano un solco luminoso.

(29) Edition of October 1911, p.646. The same article also quotes an interesting interview given by Leoncavallo to the music critic of the "Standard", part of which is given below:

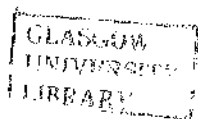
It is wonderful to find such a band of musicians in a music-hall. I know nothing of these English institutions, but I know, judging from what I saw of the performance last night and from what I feel while conducting it this morning, that in Italy, at any rate, we have no equivalent for such a place of amusement. An orchestra like that which I find here does not exist in our café-concerts. Here you have thoroughly artistic programmes which are attractive to all classes. It is foolish to say that you English are not a musical nation. You are. Why grand opera is not universally popular is because it is an expensive luxury, and also because your impresarios will insist upon giving heavy German music. Wagner and Strauss can never be popular here. In Bayreuth Wagnerian cycles succeed because the place is so dull that any diversion is welcomed, but here - in London, where the sun shines and the world smiles! Never! Give them melody and beautiful voices and harmony, and let them pay cheaply to hear them, and London will become as musically enthusiastic as our own Milano.

The anti-Wagnerian tone of the above interview is all the more surprising when we consider that Leoncavallo was, during his youth, a devoted admirer of the German master (for a more detailed account of the composer's visit, see George Hall's "Leoncavallo in London", "Opera", 35, no.3 (March 1984), 246-53).

(30) Edition of 26 February 1912.

(31) Edition of 17 September 1912.

- (32) See article on Leonecavallo in the "Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo", VI, p.1399.
- (33) Ibid.
- (34) An excellent account of this period of turmoil in the history of Casa Sonzogno is given by Mario Morini in "Pietro Mascagni", pp.357-61.
- (35) See above article, p.359 (note).
- (36) Letter from Viareggio dated 29 January 1915.
- (37) Letter dating from summer 1910.
- (38) Rodolfo Celletti, in his article on Sonzogno in the "Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo", IX, p.128.
- (39) See Carner, pp.202-07.
- (40) Letter from Milan dated June 1912.
- (41) Editions of 28 April 1916.
- (42) See Note 32.
- (43) Quoted in the "Musical Times" (March 1917), p.124.
- (44) Edition of July 1917, p.321.
- (45) Quoted in the "Musical Times" (June 1917), p.265.
- (46) See Note 32.



ITALIAN "VERISTA"
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OPERA LIBRETTI,
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1890-1920:
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A HISTORICAL, STRUCTURAL
= =====

AND STATISTICAL SURVEY
== =====

by

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degree of Ph.D. at the
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PART TWO
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"Verismo Puro": A Structural Analysis

INTRODUCTION

The aim of Part Two of the present study is to outline, in considerable detail, the main structural characteristics of the "verismo puro" opera libretto. Given the large number of such works (see Part Three, Section Five) I have decided to extract a typical cross-section of some twelve operas which will then be extensively analysed over the course of the next few chapters. The list is as follows:

OPERA + COMP. -----	ACTS -----	LIBST. -----	YEAR -----
(1) CAVALLERIA RUSTICANA (Mascagni)	1	Menasci + Targioni- Tozzetti	1890
(2) MALA VITA (Giordano)	3	Daspuro	1892
(3) PAGLIACCI (Leoncavallo)	2	Leoncavallo	1892
(4) A SANTA LUCIA (Tasca)	2	Golisciani	1892
(5) A BASSO PORTO (Spinelli)	3	Checchi	1894
(6) L'ARLESIANA (Cilea)	3	Marenco	1897
(7) AMICA (Mascagni)	2	De Choudens	1905
(8) L'ORACOLO (Leoni)	1	Zanoni	1905
(9) MAIA (Leoncavallo)	3	De Choudens	1910
(10) I GIOIELLI DELLA MADONNA (Wolf-Ferrari)	3	Golisciani + Zangarini	1911
(11) ZINGARI (Leoncavallo)	2	Cavacchioli + Emanuel	1912
(12) IL TABARRO (Puccini)	1	Adami	1918

The reasons for this choice of works may be summarized under the following headings:

(a) COMPOSERS:

I have tried to focus attention on the better-known composers of the epoch, with especial emphasis being given to Leoncavallo (three works) and Mascagni (two works). Their less

illustrious contemporaries are not, however, neglected; to this end I have included operas by Tasca, Spinelli and Leoni. Furthermore, with the exceptions of Leoncavallo, Puccini and Wolf-Ferrari all the composers represented were born in the 1860's, thereby facilitating stylistic comparison.

(b) NUMBER OF ACTS:

Again a sense of balance has been achieved, with three one-act, four two-act and five three-act works. In the case of those composers represented by more than one opera I have attempted to include as wide a cross-section as possible; Leoncavallo is exemplified by one, two and three-act works and Mascagni by operas in one and two acts.

(c) LIBRETTISTS:

These may be classified in two broad groups, the older generation being represented by Marengo, Checchi, Golisciani and Daspuro (born in 1831, 1838, 1848 and 1853 respectively) and the younger by De Choudens, Zanoni, Menasci, Targioni-Tozzetti, Zangarini, Cavacchioli, Emanuel and Adami, whose dates of birth range from 1863 to as late as 1885. The inclusion of the French librettist De Choudens is justified on the premise that "verismo puro" had become, by the time of the 1905-07 revival, a distinctly "international" commodity.

(d) YEAR OF PRODUCTION:

The choice of operas reflects the three main periods in which "verismo puro" thrived, namely 1890-97 (the heyday of the movement, represented by exactly half the works), 1905-07 and 1910-12 (two minor revivals, the first illustrated by two operas, the second by three). The remaining work (Puccini's "Il tabarro") has been chosen as it signals the virtual demise of the genre in 1918.

(e) SETTINGS:

The following table gives the geographical settings of each of the twelve operas:

(P.T.O.)

OPERA -----	SETTING -----
(1) CAVALLERIA RUSTICANA	Sicilian village
(2) MALA VITA	Basso Porto, Naples
(3) PAGLIACCI	Montalto, Calabria
(4) A SANTA LUCIA	Strada di Santa Lucia, Naples
(5) A BASSO PORTO	Basso Porto, Naples
(6) L'ARLESIANA	Castelet, near Arles
(7) AMICA	Mountains of Haute- Savoie
(8) L'ORACOLO	Chinese quarter, San Francisco
(9) MAIA	Camargue, Provence
(10) I GIOIELLI DELLA MADONNA	Naples
(11) ZINGARI	Russian steppes on shores of Danube
(12) IL TABARRO	Barge on River Seine

Out of twelve settings six are Italian, four French, one American and one Russian; this provides an adequate balance between Italian and foreign milieux (i.e. six of each). Moreover, the sample splits evenly into six urban and six rural settings; in this respect it should be noted that Naples is the only Italian city portrayed and is featured in four operas. An element of exoticism is also apparent in the settings of "L'oracolo" and "Zingari" (the Chinese quarter of San Francisco and the Russian steppes on the shores of the Danube).

Before concluding the present introduction, I have thought it advisable to include short synopses of each of the twelve works under discussion:

(1) CAVALLERIA RUSTICANA:

The action takes place on Easter Day in a small Sicilian town. Turiddu, having returned from military service, resumes his courtship of Lola who during his absence has married Alfio the village carter. At the same time he pursues Santuzza and seduces her, promising that he will eventually marry her. However she becomes aware of his duplicity and confides in Mamma Lucia, Turiddu's mother. She then confronts her lover in the village square in front of the church, and implores him to give up Lola and keep his promise to marry her. This Turiddu refuses to do, and he spurns Santuzza's attentions. At that moment Lola arrives on the scene, singing a provocative "stornello"; this mockery of her plight, combined with Turiddu's lack of concern, causes Santuzza to curse her faithless lover. Alone, she decides to denounce the guilty pair

to Alfio who, on learning of his wife's adultery, swears vengeance on Turiddu. Once mass is ended the villagers gather in the square and Turiddu invites them to join in a "brindisi" with him; Alfio refuses and Turiddu, the offended party, challenges him to a duel, which Alfio accepts. Pretending to be drunk so as not to frighten his mother (who is unaware of the situation) Turiddu asks her to promise to look after Santuzza once he is gone. He then leaves to fight the duel, and shortly afterwards a woman is heard screaming "Hanno ammazzato compare Turiddu!"

(2) MALA VITA:

Vito, a young Neapolitan dyer, has become the lover of Amalia, who is married to Annetiello, the local drunkard and layabout. After a fit of coughing in which he spits up blood Vito is helped to his feet by his neighbours and, egged on by Nunzia (a friend of Amalia) he swears before the Madonna that if cured of the disease he will redeem a fallen woman by marrying her. Despite Amalia's protests the lady in question proves to be Cristina, one of the prostitutes in the brothel overlooking the square, who throws from her window a rose at Vito's feet. During the meeting which follows Vito is moved by Cristina's pathetic account of her life of misery and before the assembled crowd promises to marry her, thus fulfilling his vow. Amalia, however, is determined not to lose Vito, and during a dramatic encounter with Cristina threatens her with a knife. Cristina refuses to be intimidated and leaves. Vito then arrives and Amalia eventually succeeds in seducing him, thereby causing her lover to break his vow. A few days later, on the feast of Piedigrotta, Cristina confronts Vito and implores him to keep his promise to her but Vito, infatuated with Amalia, rejects her. He embraces Amalia in full view of Cristina and both of them leave in a carriage, having made the decision to run off together. Cristina, overcome with grief, makes her way back to the brothel, collapsing before the doorway.

(3) PAGLIACCI:

In the Prologue Tonio, an actor in a company of strolling players, announces that the performance is about to begin. He reminds the audience that the drama they are about to see, although played by actors, is about real human beings and genuine, deep-felt emotions. At the beginning of Act One a troupe of players arrives in the Calabrian town of Montalto, and is greeted enthusiastically by the inhabitants. Tonio, a hunchback, offers to help Nedda, the wife of Canio (the leader of the company), down from a wagon but is pushed aside by her jealous husband, who proceeds to warn all present against such behaviour. The actors are then invited by the villagers to a nearby inn, and Nedda is left alone. She is upset by Canio's words and day-dreams of being as free as the birds in the sky. Tonio approaches and declares his love; Nedda scornfully rejects him, and when he insists, taunts him and eventually strikes him in the face with a whip. Tonio hobbles off swearing vengeance, and later he spies Nedda meeting with Silvio, a local farmer who is her lover and who now begs her to run off with him. Unsure, Nedda hesitates, but eventually agrees to meet him after the performance. The conversation is suddenly interrupted by Canio, whom Tonio has alerted, but Silvio manages to escape without being recognized and Nedda, despite her husband's threats, refuses to identify him. The performance is about to begin; Canio, crazed with grief, laments the fact that he must act though his heart is breaking. The villagers begin to arrive (including Silvio, who has a secret word with Nedda) and settle down for the performance, which then begins. After a serenade Eeppe, another member of the company, appears on stage dressed as Arlecchino to meet Colombina, played by Nedda. Canio, in the guise of Pagliaccio (Colombina's husband) bursts in and Arlecchino runs off. Canio now finds himself in his real-life situation and becomes confused, uttering his lines with unnecessary vehemence. Suddenly he throws himself at Nedda, demanding to know the name of her lover, and when she refuses to tell him he stabs her. Silvio then rushes onto the stage and is also killed by Canio, who then turns to the audience to inform them that "the comedy is ended".

(4) A SANTA LUCIA:

Ciccillo, the son of the oyster merchant Totonno and betrothed to Maria, is in love with Rosella, by whom he has had a child. Maria is suspicious and plans the death of Rosella. Totonno is apparently unaware of his son's attachment to Rosella and becomes infatuated with her, as she resembles her mother who was his early love. Maria starts a quarrel with Rosella and angers her to such an extent that she draws a knife and is arrested by the police agent Tore, who has been bribed by Maria. Totonno procures her release and takes her into his home while Ciccillo is absent on a fishing voyage (before his departure he had promised Rosella to marry her on his return). Meanwhile Maria, who believes that Rosella has become intimate with Totonno (which seems very probable given that Totonno makes no secret of his love for Rosella and really intends to marry her), reveals the supposed ménage to Ciccillo, who has now returned. In his jealous anger he refuses to believe her, but after a stormy scene with his father he repulses Rosella. When Rosella learns of Ciccillo's belief that she is his father's lover and finds her protestations of innocence doubted, she throws herself from a parapet into the sea. Ciccillo dives in after her, but rescues a dying woman who is only able to whisper the words "It is not true".

(5) A BASSO PORTO:

Pichillo, Pascale and Luigino are gambling with other members of the Camorra. Maria attempts to dissuade her son Luigino from taking part, but fails. Ciccillo, another Camorrista, enters and quarrels with his companions, while in another group Maria and Sesella, her daughter, try to pacify Luigino who, however, retaliates by deriding his sister's love for Ciccillo. When the others have departed Ciccillo talks with Sesella and proposes that they run off together. Luigino, who has been listening, attempts to stab Ciccillo, but is held back by Maria and Sesella. Ciccillo, formerly in love with Maria, determines to revenge himself against her by compelling Sesella to become a prostitute and sending Luigino to jail. Pascale now appears shouting that the Camorra has been betrayed. Ciccillo, who has committed this treacherous act through love of power, stands calmly by, but is suspected by Maria. A few days later Pichillo and Luigino are singing with some companions when Ciccillo enters the inn and strikes Luigino in the face. Swearing vengeance, Luigino is restrained by his companions while Ciccillo accuses him of treason. When alone Ciccillo deploras his past life and vows to live for vengeance alone. He again implores Sesella to flee with him, but Maria reveals Ciccillo's true character to her daughter and discloses the fact that he is the real traitor. The Camorra meets in council, condemns Ciccillo to death and orders Luigino to carry out the sentence. Maria prays that her son will not kill Ciccillo and thus make himself a murderer, and when Ciccillo appears she informs him of what has happened, begging him to escape as quickly as possible. He, however, has again denounced his comrades to the authorities, and believing them already surrounded by the police ignores Maria's warning. As he attempts to signal to the police to move in to attack, Maria draws a knife and stabs him.

(6) L'ARLESIANA:

The action takes place in the courtyard of Rosa Mamai's farm-house in Provence. Baldassare, an old shepherd, tells a story to Rosa's younger son, who is a little retarded. Meanwhile Rosa herself is worried about her eldest son Federico, who has met a girl from Arles at the fair, whom he has fallen in love with and wishes to marry. At this point Baldassare and Rosa notice the younger son at the window of the barn; Rosa is afraid that he might fall, but Baldassare reassures her. Vivetta, Rosa's god-daughter, then arrives. She is secretly in love with Federico, and is bitterly upset when she finds out about his intended marriage. At that moment Federico returns triumphantly, announcing that the date of the wedding has been fixed. Shortly afterwards Metifio, a horse-tender, arrives and unknown to Federico tells Rosa that her son's fiancée has been his mistress, with the full knowledge of her parents who permitted such an arrangement until their daughter became friendly with Federico. As proof he produces

two love-letters which he leaves with Rosa, so that she can show them to her son. This she does, and Federico, heartbroken, cannot believe his fiancée's duplicity. Later he leaves home incognito and disappears into the wilderness. After a long search Baldassare finds him, and urges him to return for the sake of his mother who, realizing her son's misery, is prepared to accept the girl from Arles into her house. Federico is moved by this offer but finds himself unable to accept the sacrifice, declaring that he will try to overcome his infatuation and marry Vivetta. Preparations take place for the wedding, and Federico assures his intended that he has completely forgotten the girl from Arles. But the arrival of Metifio, who comes to collect the letters, reminds Federico of his former love (he overhears Metifio telling Baldassare he has decided not to give up the girl), and crazed with jealousy he attacks his rival with a hammer. Both men are separated; Federico is taken to his room and left there. That night he climbs up to the window of the barn; Rosa and Vivetta attempt to stop him, but in desperation Federico jumps to his death.

(7) AMICA:

Camoine, a rich farmer, has raised two orphan brothers, Giorgio and Rinaldo, who have been brought up with his adopted daughter Amica. Eventually Rinaldo, whose restless and rebellious nature irritates Camoine, leaves home, and Maddalena (Camoine's betrothed) convinces the farmer that Amica and Giorgio should be married; in this way, she and Camoine will have the farm to themselves. Giorgio is overjoyed when he hears of this news, since he has always been in love with Amica, but the girl begs Camoine to reconsider his decision as she loves Rinaldo and not his brother. Camoine refuses, and Amica, having secretly met Rinaldo, informs him of her predicament (without mentioning that Giorgio is the party involved). The lovers then decide to run off together; when Giorgio hears of Amica's disappearance he assumes that she has been abducted by an unknown intruder, and sets off in pursuit, determined to kill his rival. Having reached the fugitives in the mountains, he discovers to his horror that the man in question is his brother, and faints on the spot. Realizing the extent of Giorgio's love for Amica, Rinaldo decides to give her up, and flees into the hills. Amica, fraught with despair, attempts to follow him but slips on the edge of a ravine and falls to her death.

(8) L'ORACOLO:

The action takes place on the morning of the Chinese New Year. Cim-Fen, the proprietor of an opium-den, throws out a troublesome customer and glances enviously at the windows of the house where Hu-Tsin, a rich merchant, is holding a party. He is then joined by Hus-Qui, the nurse of Hu-Ci, who is Hu-Tsin's son; Cim-Fen has promised to marry her if she will assist him in a plan to discredit San-Lui (the son of Uin-Sci, the local doctor and "seer") as a suitor for Ah-Joe (Hu-Tsin's niece), but does not reveal to her that he wants both the girl and her dowry for himself. Shortly afterwards Uin-Sci comes out of his house and is greeted by Cim-Fen, who asks him for a word of wisdom. The seer's reply is a clear warning to Cim-Fen that his way of life is both unprincipled and materialistic; the opium-seller is, however, unmoved and retires to his tavern. Meanwhile San-Lui serenades Ah-Joe, and they profess their love for one another. Cim-Fen re-emerges and meets with Hu-Tsin; he then bluntly requests Ah-Joe's hand in marriage, but Hu-Tsin reacts with angry, contemptuous disgust. The merchant proceeds to ask Uin-Sci to make a formal prediction about his son's future; the seer forecasts that a father will be stricken with grief and that two deaths will occur, but that no harm will come to the boy, who is left in Hua-Qui's care. However Cim-Fen succeeds in kidnapping young Hu-Ci while everyone's attention is diverted by a passing procession, and hides him in a cellar. He then blackmails Hu-Tsin, offering the life of his son for Ah-Joe's hand in marriage. The merchant, grief-stricken, agrees. Hua-Qui now realizes Cim-Fen's treachery, and denounces him to San-Lui, who rushes off to confront the opium-dealer, only to be killed by a hatchet-blow. Ah-Joe discovers her fiancée's death and begins to lose her reason. As yet the murderer is unknown, but by a lucky chance Uin-Sci hears a faint cry and rescues Hu-Ci from the cellar; by now his divine intuition has

told him that Cim-Fen is guilty of the crime. After a brief confrontation, during which the opium-dealer attempts to stab the seer, he is killed by a swift hatchet-blow after being slowly strangled by his own pigtail.

(9) MAIA:

Maia, a Provençal peasant-girl of the Camargue, is the former mistress of Renaud, the son of Germain (a rich landowner on whose farm she works), having been abandoned by him for over a year. Torias, a local herdsman and renowned bullfighter, is in love with Maia, who rejects his advances, declaring that she will remain faithful to Renaud. Torias retorts that after tomorrow's bullfight, of which he will be the victor, she will be his, for Renaud will be present at the event with his fiancée. Maia, consumed with jealousy, swears to Torias that if what he has said proves to be true, she will indeed spurn Renaud and become his lover. Torias then leaves. Renaud arrives, and Maia demands to know why she has been neglected. Renaud replies that he was forced to obey his father, who was afraid that he might eventually marry beneath his station, but that now he has decided to defy his family's wishes and rejoin her. When he professes his love, Maia taunts him by declaring that she has taken Torias as her lover. Renaud reacts by swearing that if such a thing were true, he would kill the bullfighter. Maia is now sure that Renaud still loves her, and welcomes him with open arms. However, at the fair which takes place the following day Maia sees Renaud in the company of his fiancée. She attempts to confront him but is restrained by Torias, who has just been acclaimed as victor of the bullfight. He reminds her of her oath and Maia, furious at Renaud's apparent betrayal, agrees to become his lover. Later that night she reflects somewhat disconsolately on her decision; despite her anger she still loves Renaud, who at that moment appears on the scene and attempts to explain everything. Maia at first refuses to listen, but when Renaud reveals that he has run away from his family to marry her, she is overcome by the extent of his sacrifice and forgives him. However Torias promptly appears on the scene and accuses Maia of breaking her solemn oath; Renaud challenges him, and the two men fight. After a short struggle Renaud stabs Torias and Maia, in order to save her lover, leads him down to the river where he escapes by boat. Meanwhile Torias' murder is discovered by the villagers; Maia tells them that she stabbed the bullfighter because he attempted to rape her. With nothing more to live for, she throws herself into the river and is drowned.

(10) I GIOIELLI DELLA MADONNA:

During the festival of the Madonna Gennaro, a local blacksmith, prays to the Holy Virgin to free him from his unhappy love for Maliella, an orphan girl, who was adopted by his mother and with whom he has been brought up. The girl is meanwhile enjoying the festival, both dancing and singing. Rafaele, the leader of the Camorristi, arrives with his men and flirts with her, declaring in a moment of jest that he would even steal the jewels of the Madonna for her, at that moment being carried past in procession. Later, when Maliella announces her plan to leave home, Gennaro argues with her and eventually declares his love. To this Maliella replies that she could only love a man who was truly courageous; such a man would even steal the jewels of the Madonna for her. Gennaro is furious and leaves, locking the gate to prevent Maliella from escaping. Rafaele then arrives and serenades her; they profess their love for one another, and Maliella agrees to meet him in his hide-out the next day. Gennaro returns; he has stolen the jewels, and Maliella, overwrought with emotion, yields to his embraces. At the den of the Camorristi, on the following day, Rafaele drinks a toast with his companions to celebrate his latest conquest. Maliella arrives, and in a kind of trance announces that she has given herself to Gennaro. Rafaele rejects her in disgust, and when he sees that she is wearing the jewels of the Madonna he is appalled by the sacrilege. Gennaro then enters and Maliella, half-crazed, throws the jewels at his feet and runs off to drown herself. The Camorristi also leave the hide-out, frightened that they will be mistaken for Gennaro's accomplices. Alone, Gennaro gathers up the jewels, places them at the feet of a statue of the Madonna and stabs himself.

(11) ZINGARI:

Tamar, a young gypsy, is in love with Fleana, the daughter of Il Vecchio, the leader of the community. He tells Il Vecchio of his suspicion that Fleana is meeting a secret lover outside the boundaries of the encampment. The mystery is solved when at that moment a band of gypsies enter with Radu, a stranger whom they have caught loitering near the tents. He introduces himself as a simple wanderer, in search of new sensations and adventures. Fleana declares her love for this newcomer and tells her father that Radu wishes to become a gypsy by marrying her. Il Vecchio is impressed with the young man and preparations are made for the wedding. Left alone, Radu and Fleana declare their love for one another, but are spied upon by Tamar, who now confronts his rival. The two men fight, but are separated by Fleana, and Tamar, realizing the hopelessness of his position, runs off in despair. The wedding then takes place, and Radu and Fleana retire to their tent; in the distance can be heard the lament of Tamar, who mourns his lost love. A year passes; by this time Fleana has grown weary of Radu and has become Tamar's lover. During a clandestine meeting Fleana mentions how jealous Radu has become. Later, when alone with his wife, Radu reveals his suspicions, lamenting the fact that Fleana no longer loves him. She, however, spurns him and admits that she has taken a lover. Radu, in a fit of jealousy, throws his wife to the ground, but she continues to ridicule and taunt him by unfavourably comparing his masculinity to that of Tamar. She then goes off to meet her lover in his tent, unaware that her husband is following her. When both Tamar and Fleana are together, Radu sets fire to the awning. The lovers are burned alive and Radu collapses in a fit of hysteria, having lost his reason.

(12) IL TABARRO:

Giorgetta is busy in the cabin of the barge while the stevedores finish unloading sacks and her husband, Michele, the boat's owner, stands at the helm, watching the sunset, while an organ-grinder plays a waltz. Michele, in conversation with his wife, sympathizes with Luigi, the youngest stevedore, who is penniless. At that moment the voice of a song-seller is heard in the distance. Frugola, a rag-picker, appears with a bag of rubbish on her back. She and her husband, old Talpa, set off home in the dark. Luigi, Giorgetta's secret lover, tired of his wretched life and unable any longer to bear the torments of his secret love, informs Michele that he wishes to leave the barge as soon as it reaches Rouen. While Michele is below the two lovers meet and express their guilt at their clandestine relationship and their eagerness to share a further brief hour of happiness together. They decide on the usual signal that all is clear for their meeting - Giorgetta will strike a match. Luigi then leaves, and when Michele reappears he reminds his wife of their past happiness, when he used to wrap her tenderly in his great cloak. He laments the fact that she no longer loves him; Giorgetta, ill at ease, replies rather evasively. Michele broods on the reasons for the change in Giorgetta; he suspects that she has a lover, and considers all three possibilities, rejecting each: Talpa is too old, Tinca too drunk, and since Luigi is leaving it cannot be him. Michele then lights his pipe and Luigi, who mistakenly thinks this is Giorgetta's signal, hurries onto the barge. Michele, who has guessed the truth, forces the young man to admit his guilt and then strangles him, concealing the body under his cloak. Giorgetta, alarmed by the noise she has heard, appears again, but when she sees Michele alone pretends to apologize for her earlier coldness and asks him to wrap her in his cloak as he used to do. Michele opens the cloak and reveals to Giorgetta the face of her dead lover.

CHAPTER ONE
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Character Patterns

The purpose of the present chapter is to examine, in some detail, the principal character patterns occurring in "verismo puro". A convenient point of departure is to consider the main literary influences from which the genre derived much of its inspiration; as we have seen in Part One,¹ the twin forces of Romanticism and Naturalism, combined with a smattering of the sociological sciences, provided a firm foundation for the edifice of operatic realism, which in turn utilized the salient features of each to produce a highly characteristic hybrid. This process of imitative assimilation is reflected in the choice of character-types in "verismo puro", which together with their differing social positions, priorities and motivation constitute the basis for dramatic development within the libretto. The dominant driving force behind this is a concept which, in its various guises, has figured in many literary and musical movements: "la libert ". In the present context, the term indicates the ideal of personal freedom; in other words, the liberty of the individual to do as he or she pleases, without being impeded by the confines and restrictions imposed by an organized society. It is the pursuit of this freedom which, as we shall see, is the primary cause of conflict between the various character-types.

The ideal of "la libert ", as expressed within "verismo puro", can be considered as a reworking of the old Romantic concept of the hero struggling against some form of social or moral iniquity. However, the only point of comparison would seem to be that symbolized by the stance of the "rebel" in opposing something which he cannot personally accept; operatic

realism, far from portraying the quest for political or religious freedom, sought to depict a much simpler and essentially primeval schism, namely that existing between the sexual urges of the individual and the constraints placed upon their gratification by society. Expressed in alternative terms, it is the struggle between the individual will and the collective consciousness which opposes it. Such a sweeping statement may seem overly simplistic, but it should be borne in mind that "verismo puro" set out not to describe the sophisticated, civilized life of the contemporary urban population, but rather that of the under-developed, feudalistic societies of Sicily and the Mezzogiorno, where communities are much more closely-knit than their metropolitan equivalents. As we have seen in Part One,¹ the settings of "verismo puro" range from the predictable Sicilian villages of "Cavalleria rusticana", "Festa a Marina", "I mafiosi" and "Malia" to the unfamiliar and somewhat surprising locales of "L'oracolo", "Ferhuda" and "La martire" (the Chinese quarter in San Francisco, the slums of Tunis, and the town of Sulina on the mouth of the Danube). Despite considerable geographical diversity, all the milieux depicted in "verismo puro" share the common premise of being what we might conveniently term "semi-primitive" societies. Whether we are dealing with Calabrian peasants, Neapolitan fishermen, Russian gypsies or Spanish goatherdesses is quite irrelevant, since all these different societies have much in common with each other. Once these areas of similarity are isolated, there emerges a common structure and ideology within which the titanic struggle of the individual, in his frenetic search for personal liberty, can be fully understood and analyzed; in the best veristic traditions, a thorough examination of the environment must inevitably precede any discussion of its inhabitants. Since these factors are inextricably linked, a full appreciation of the social and moral ties binding both is necessary for a complete understanding of the proposed theory.

Let us begin, then, with the concept of the "primitive" and "semi-primitive" society. In the present context the term "primitive" can be defined as applying to those societies which have had either very little or no contact at all with Western civilization, whereas "semi-primitive" implies that a certain

amount of familiarity and indeed co-operation has been achieved. Viewed in this way, it becomes possible to differentiate between both kinds of society on the basis of the behavioural patterns appertaining to each. In the following discussion I propose to follow a Durkheimian interpretation, but it must be stressed that this approach, while providing some interesting perspectives on "verismo puro", is by no means intended to reflect modern-day sociological thinking on the question of primitive and semi-primitive societies. I believe, however, that Durkheim's pioneering work on the subject can be profitably applied to the realms of operatic realism insofar as it provides us with an excellent point of departure, and does so within contemporary terms of reference (indeed, Italian sociologists of the 1890's were greatly influenced by the Frenchman's theories).¹

Let us return to the initial concept of a totally primitive society. Following Durkheim's theory such a society can be defined and analyzed by reference to the social forces which prevent its disintegration; namely, those cohesive influences within that society which work towards its consolidation, a process which Durkheim terms "mechanical solidarity". This, in essence, can be described as the wish and need of all members of such a society to resemble each other as much as possible. This tendency is anthropologically linked to a primeval urge within the human mind, whereby physical safety and group survival are equated with the need for large numbers of similarly motivated and socially united people living together in one community. When we take into account the fact that in primitive cultures everyone feels much the same emotions, cherishes the same values, and shares a common religion, it is hardly surprising to find that this total lack of social differentiation contributes greatly to the overall stability and coherence of the society in question.

The opposite extreme from mechanical solidarity is organic solidarity - that is to say, a society in which the differentiation between members is so highly structured and defined that unity and consensus of purpose are perfectly achieved. Our own society, if we follow this model, can therefore be defined as being based on organic solidarity,

whereas a primitive culture, such as that of the natives of Borneo or the Mato Grosso in Brazil, would quite clearly function through mechanical solidarity. Another way of distinguishing between the two is to consider the process of development from one kind of solidarity to another. In a primitive community the collective feelings of all members predominate in such differing features of everyday life as decision-taking and the administering of justice in the case of a dispute. Thus the collective consciousness of such a society is, to all intents and purposes, synonymous with the concept of individual consciousness. Since everyone thinks in precisely the same way in communities of this kind there is little room for social deviation or individuality of thought, as the complex pattern of social interdicts and imperatives formed by the collective consciousness is too strong a barrier to be surmounted by any one individual (presuming, of course, that such a behaviour pattern could exist in a culture based exclusively on mechanical solidarity). Let us now consider what happens as the course of evolutionary change takes place in a society of this kind.

As a primitive culture becomes progressively more civilized, the framework of total mechanical solidarity begins to break down. Increased prosperity may bring about a dramatic change in life-style; the members of a developing community may find that they no longer require to conform to a set of social interdicts and imperatives which have ceased to be relevant to their current needs. Customs, traditions and taboos may disappear, as their existence is shown to be unnecessary in an increasingly sophisticated society. The social imperatives of former times, such as the basic needs of food, shelter and safety may be reduced in importance with the emergence of stable village communities pursuing some form of primitive farming in a geographically sheltered area. This pattern of development enhances the social position of the individual, who now begins to assume a leadership role in the "new" society. But the importance of tradition and precedent, even if rather less well-defined than in previous times, is still very much to be felt. The development of a totally primitive society into its semi-primitive derivative does not mean that organic solidarity has fully replaced its mechanical predecessor; the semi-

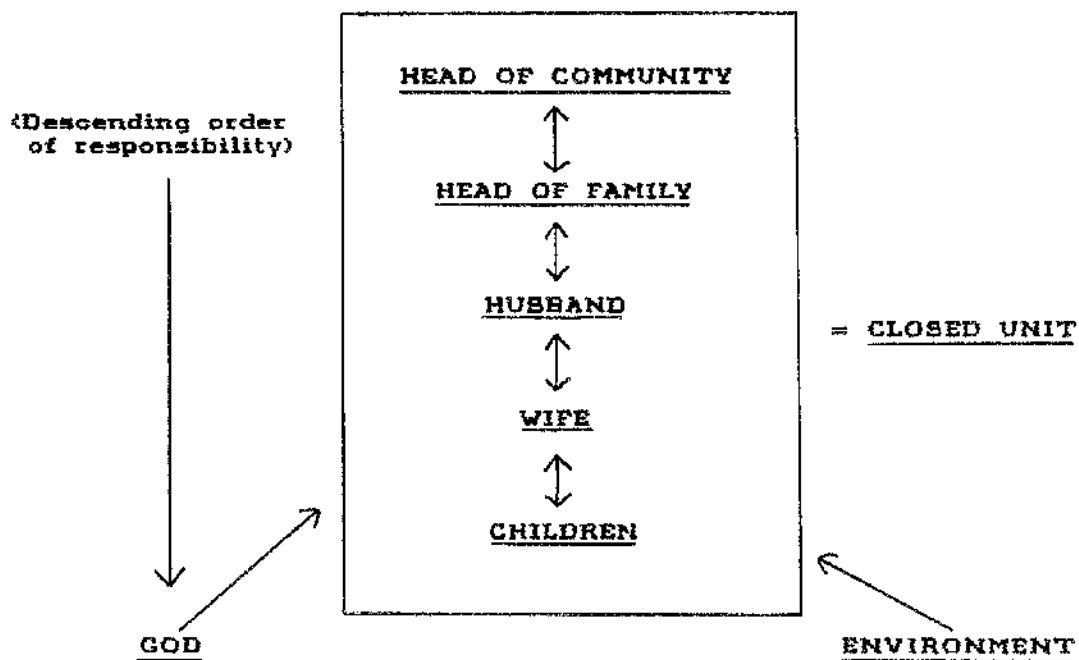
primitive society now displays an often strange, yet basically stable mixture of past and present. In a word, it allows individuality as long as this is properly channelled towards reinforcement of the status quo; the other kind of individuality, that which strives towards a replacement of contemporary society with something different or which contemplates a total escape from within it, is frowned upon and in extreme cases punished. "Verismo puro", as we shall see, chose to portray the latter.

Having examined the broad outlines of Durkheimian solidarity theory, ⁴ let us now consider the social hierarchy structure of a typical semi-primitive society. If we consider such a community as being in essence a "closed unit" (in other words a totally independent and isolated society, coexisting peacefully with others but fiercely guarding its own autonomy), then the formation of strongly defined hierarchical patterns within it is very much encouraged. Such a system may well be founded on a "patriarch figure" basis, that is to say on the establishment and maintenance within the community of a leadership hierarchy. An example of this is given in the following diagram:

(P.T.O.)

FIGURE ONE:-

A TYPICAL FIXED HIERARCHY SYSTEM



(EXTERNAL FORCES WHICH HAVE HELPED TO FORM HIERARCHY AND CONTINUE TO SUSTAIN IT)

Generally in such systems we find that within the "closed unit" leadership is provided primarily by the head of the community (i.e. on a pastoral / spiritual basis, depending on the religious beliefs of the society). Further down the ladder we have the head of the family, who in most semi-primitive societies is the senior male member. Then comes the family unit, with the subservience of wife to husband and the placing of children under the jurisdiction of both. Promotion up the hierarchical scale is possible, but only for those individuals who show that they are prepared to preserve and maintain the social structure in which they live. Thus traditionalism, the

guardian of community interests, becomes the yard-stick by which social pre-eminence and differentiation are judged. It also serves a dual purpose insofar as it defends and promotes the basic values of the relevant society while simultaneously attacking any social deviancy which threatens to destroy its fabric. In "verismo puro" this deviancy is provided by the figure of the rebellious individual, who through his defiance of the established norms of society finds existence within it impossible, and consequently seeks escape. In doing so he comes into conflict with the forces of traditionalism; the ensuing battle ends almost invariably with the death of the rebel and complete vindication for the forces defending the status quo. Having fully defined the societal structure in which this clash of values and aspirations takes place, we may now proceed to look at this struggle in greater detail.

Let us begin with our original assertion regarding the Romantic ideal of the rebellion of the individual against society. As we have seen, certain aspects have had to be modified in the light of "verismo puro" theoretical practice, but the concept remains fundamentally unchanged. The conflict already alluded to provides us with a convenient point of departure, since it constitutes what one might describe as the "core" of dramatic discord upon which the libretto is constructed. Within this "core" three basic character patterns can be defined. These may be listed as follows:

(a) REBEL

(b) TRADITIONALIST

(c) VICTIM

The above headings cover the three main character-types to be found in "verismo puro". Most of the works under discussion contain one example of each, and it is the interaction between all three which provides the necessary impetus for dramatic motivation and movement. In a sense, this central conflict can be regarded as the classic "love triangle", the basic patterns being either two men in love with one woman or, alternatively, two women in love with one man. This structure has of course

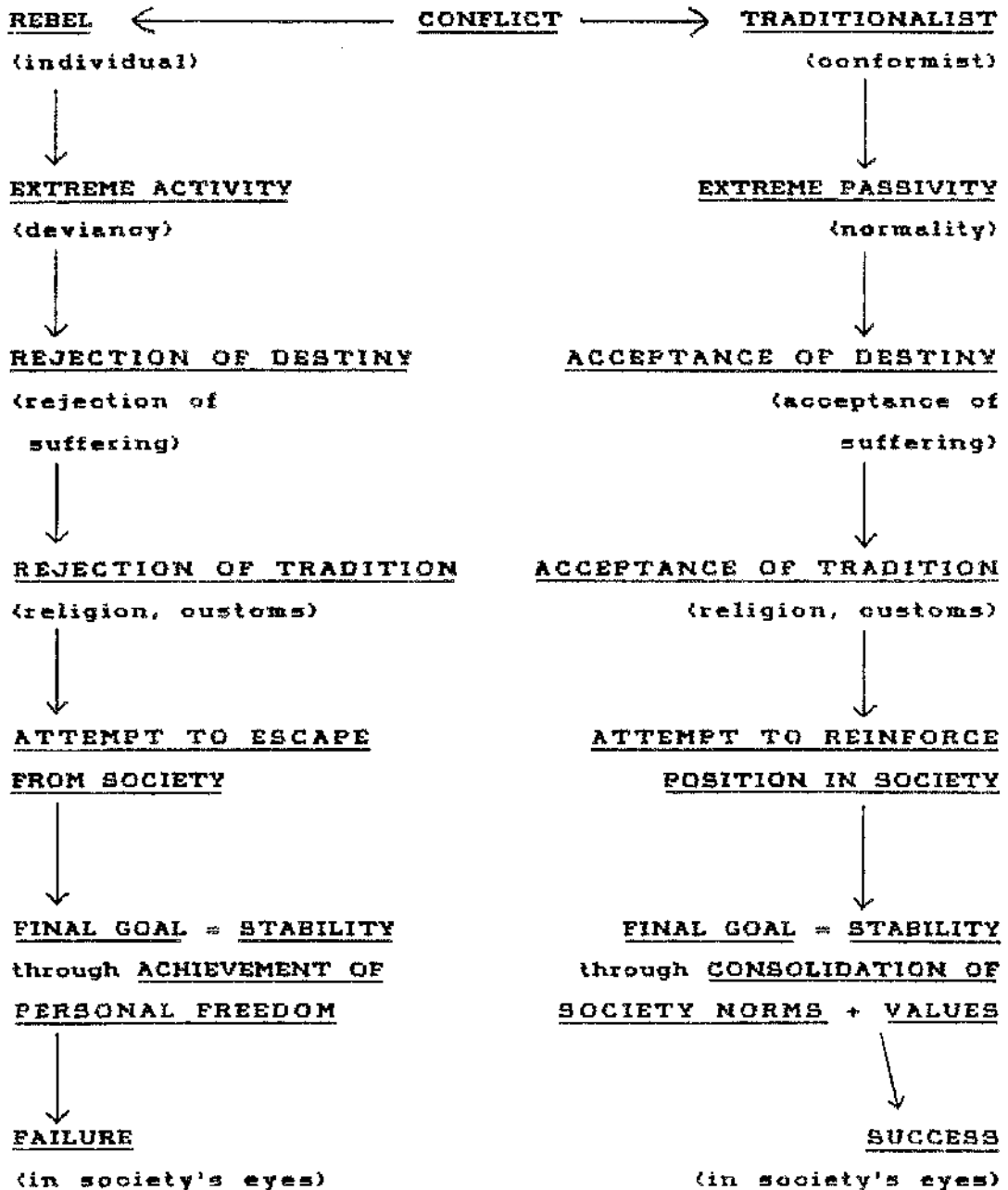
been utilized in countless novels and plays, and its undoubted popularity stems from its basic simplicity and adaptability to different literary creeds and formats. Operatically, it had been in constant use for centuries; from Cavalli to Verdi, this most eternal of human dilemmas had been dramatized to music. "Verismo puro" thus found a firmly established precedent on which a new, if not entirely original dramaturgy could be based. The triangle remained intact, but the surrounding infrastructure was completely altered.

Let us now focus our attention on the three main character-types already delineated. The previous discussion has demonstrated how the Rebel in "verismo puro" is in conflict with the moral and social interdicts of his environment. The Traditionalist represents the complete opposite: a figure who both accepts and maintains the status quo and feels no need to reject the tenets of the society to which he belongs. Thus we are dealing with two extremes; and, somewhat inevitably, there is conflict when both come together. The clash of values, aspirations and objectives leads to dramatic confrontation in which the Victim, our third character-type, is caught up. This figure finds herself ¹ trapped in the conflict between Rebel and Traditionalist and, as the term implies, pays the penalty for her involvement. But before we elaborate any further on the role of the Victim in "verismo puro", it may be useful to consider in greater detail the primary characteristics of both Rebel and Traditionalist. By far the easiest method of achieving this is by means of the following diagram, which outlines step by step the respective behavioural patterns of each:

(P.T.O.)

FIGURE TWO:-

REBEL AND TRADITIONALIST PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOUR



This delineation of the Rebel-Traditionalist conflict introduces two hitherto unexplained factors. The first of these concerns the terms "deviancy" and "normality", which should be viewed in relation to society's opinion of the behaviour of both character-types. Rebels, who attempt to break away from what they regard as the oppressiveness of society, will incur the disfavour of that same society, which will consequently brand them as social deviants. In much the same way Traditionalists, by dint of their acceptance and maintenance of the social norms, will be praised and extolled in their role of guardians of social normality. The second factor is that of hierarchical position, and its use in charting the respective positions upon the social ladder of the various character-types in "verismo puro". Promotion up the scale is effected through consolidation of the accepted norms and values of the society being depicted, and as such can only be achieved by Traditionalists. Rebels, because of their unwillingness to conform, are conversely unpreoccupied with reinforcing or bettering their hierarchical position; the wish to escape is, for them, of far greater importance. In attempting to break free from society, they forfeit their placing on the social hierarchy and become outcasts from it.

The Rebel-Traditionalist conflict thus appears to be an integral part of the structure of the "verismo puro" libretto. But to what extent, one may ask, was this a totally new development on the operatic stage? Like many other apparent innovations, the Rebel-Traditionalist antithesis is firmly rooted in Verdian precedent, but with several fundamental differences; these, when fully appreciated, highlight those features of "verismo puro" which struck contemporary observers as being significant changes from previous operatic practice, but which in retrospect now appear as their logical continuation. Such a discussion is most easily initiated by adopting a linear approach; dealing in turn with the individual concepts of the Rebel, Traditionalist and Victim, and then progressing to an overall appreciation of their interaction, we can achieve a clearer picture of this particular aspect of "verismo puro" theory. Let us begin with the key figure of this triptych, the Rebel.

(1) The Rebel in "verismo puro":-

We have seen, in our Durkheimian analysis of the transitional period within which a totally primitive society becomes fully civilized, how the emergence of the individual is the natural outcome of the gradual change-over from mechanical to organic solidarity. "Verismo puro", with its overall emphasis on the depiction of a semi-primitive society, deals in the main with those communities in which this process of development has reached a crucial point: that where the rebellion of the individual poses an apparent threat to the pre-established social structure and hierarchy. On the operative stage such milieux were original, insofar as composers and librettists had rarely, until the advent of realism, sought to portray the struggles and tensions of semi-primitive cultures; Italian opera had previously concentrated its attentions on rebels of a different kind, those produced by a society which was in a state of political turmoil. In a sense, there is a direct link between the Romantic rebel, with his yearning for freedom from the evils of civilization, and his semi-primitive counterpart, for whom the trappings of an archaic mode of existence, with its absurdly complicated and restrictive code of social imperatives and interdicts, poses a threat to hopes of personal fulfilment and happiness. The Verdian ideal was almost exclusively concerned with the sympathetic portrayal of the Romantic hero, struggling against his own destiny within a society in the throes of moral or political upheaval. Manrico in "Il trovatore" fights against the political tyranny personified in the Conte di Luna, whereas in "Un ballo in maschera" Riccardo is threatened with assassination by a hostile political faction. Don Carlo, in the opera of the same name, is an especially fine example; his rebellion against the Church (in the guise of the Spanish Inquisition), the oppressive rule of his father (as shown by the Flanders episode), and the crucial imperatives of international politics (the marriage of Elisabetta to King Philip) are different facets of the same Romantic dilemma: the search for freedom in an over-civilized, over-complicated world where social and political necessity take no heed of moral issues.

At the core of this conflict lies Verdi's firm belief in a basic order of things; the individual can never find happiness outside the almost legalistic framework of Verdian morality, where the Christian precepts of love, personal sacrifice and forgiveness triumph over the "pagan" equivalents of hate, jealousy and vindictiveness. The ending of "La forza del destino", with Don Alvaro's repentance before Padre Guardiano, shows this all too clearly; and it is significant that this solution, with its moral emphasis on Christian resignation to one's destiny, should have replaced that of the earlier version which culminated in Alvaro's violent rejection of God and his subsequent suicide. Similarly, Don Carlo sacrifices his "incestuous" love of Elisabetta for the sake of the political freedom of the Flanders rebels, while in "La traviata" Alfredo yields to the wishes of his father and breaks with Violetta. As a general rule virtue is prized, if not always rewarded, whereas vice, if not always punished, is never condoned. Thus we may feel compassion for Rigoletto, whose immoderate desire for revenge is punished by his daughter's death, in the same way as we pity Renato, whose blind jealousy leads to the murder of his truest friend; ⁴ both men's motives, however understandable, must in the last analysis be shown to have been misguided, and their eventual repentance of these misdeeds redresses the balance. Alternatively, however, neither Paolo in "Simon Boccanegra" nor Iago in "Otello" atone for their crimes; like the Duke in "Rigoletto" they escape scot-free, but such is the force of Verdi's overwhelming humanity that they too are forgiven, as we realize that these are not unpardonable, irredeemable villains but misguided, unhappy individuals, to be pitied rather than despised.

Now, then, is the Verdian ideal interpreted by "verismo puro"? The first point which becomes clear is that we are dealing with a limitation, rather than a drastic overhaul of the ethos of Verdian dramaturgy; whereas Verdi's palette of colours ranged from the dramatic portrayal of liberal political ideals to the private anguish of unrequited love (although one arises out of and is dependent on the other), "verismo puro" limits itself to a smaller canvas, that of the struggle for personal freedom and happiness within the suffocating constraints of an oppressive society. In so doing, the scale of

conflict is dramatically reduced; the Verdian rebel, with his complex mixture of political, moral and social ideals is transformed into a "verismo puro" successor whose main preoccupation is not how to conform to society, but rather how best to opt out from it. As Luigi Baldacci has convincingly argued, the moral backbone of Verdian precedent is abandoned, and its place taken by what purported to be the naturalistic portrayal of an almost Stendhalian "chasse au bonheur":

Se la drammaturgia verdiana è caratterizzata dal contrasto tra la legge e la fatalità che ci porta ad esserne fuori, ma non con riottosa coscienza ribellistica, bensì con la disperazione di chi sa solo nella legge è la verità e la pace della coscienza, il fulcro legalitario nella drammaturgia post-verdiana scompare (e con esso la figura paterna), e ad esso si sostituisce un criterio naturalistico di selezione: nella lotta della vita vince il più forte e il più forte è chi vince nel gioco dell'amore. E così che i personaggi si distinguono in due classi fondamentali: vincitori e vittime, e le vittime si offrono masochistamente, conscie della propria inferiorità biologica, come scalino per la felicità di chi vince. Quella manzoniana "pietas" che avvolge tutto il teatro verdiano, dai "Lombardi" ai "Due Foscari", dall'"Aroldo" alla "Forza del destino", si dilegua insieme coi concetti di perdono e di redenzione. Si chiude il cielo che accoglieva le traviate e i ribelli e la terra diventa un paradiso: per chi abbia saputo accordare la propria sensualità col senso intimo della natura e della vita. Una figura nuova si affaccia alla scena del melodramma, quella dell'artista, che massimamente vive, e vince, in quanto massimamente sente.⁷

Baldacci's assertions are extremely interesting; whereas his analysis of character patterns in "verismo" is a rather broad generalization, the narrow classification of "vincitori e vittime" lacks precision. The existence of the Victim in "verismo puro" has already been noted, but there is a further extension of this concept in the portrayal of the Rebel, who because of his failure is often just as tragic a figure. Are we to assume, then, that the Traditionalist,

because he is for the most part "morally" and "legally" right, is to be counted amongst "i vincitori"? Such a term implies a tone of triumphant vindication which would be out of place in "verismo puro"; as we shall see, the Traditionalist does usually win, but it is a Pyrrhic victory rather than an unqualified one; as Baldaoci remarks, it is "una lotta della vita" and not a conflict of abstract ideals, and any solution reached must by its very nature be short-term and consequently unsatisfactory. This point may be clarified by an examination of the role of the Rebel within the operas under discussion.

Rebellion in "verismo puro" is, as has been shown, a tortured and agonized search for personal fulfilment. This stems from a basic inability to reconcile one's emotional and social lives; to do so involves conflict of one kind or another, since the Rebel's objectives are at variance with those of the society in which he lives. Social hierarchy is obviously of fundamental importance; as we shall see, some Rebels have low positions in the hierarchy (and so find the temptation to escape all the more attractive) whereas others reject responsibility of various kinds. The actual process of rebellion can be described in three phases, which may be enumerated as follows:

- (a) Reasons for rebellion (e.g. illicit or adulterous love, lack of or loss of love)
- (b) Methods of rebellion (e.g. rejection of status quo, reinforcement of illegal love relationship)
- (c) Outcome of rebellion (e.g. attempt to escape from situation, leading to eventual death)

These headings, along with an additional one covering hierarchical position, can be incorporated into a table which illuminates the central dilemma of the Rebel:

* TABLE ONE:-- AN ANALYSIS OF PATTERNS OF REBELLION (11) *

REBEL + OPERA	HIERARCHICAL POSITION	REASONS FOR REBELLION	METHODS OF REBELLION	OUTCOME OF REBELLION
(1) TURIDDU ("Cavalleria rusticana")	Demobbed soldier (no trade or profession); son of Mamma Lucia	Loss of love for Sentuzza; adulterous love for Lola	Adultery with Lola; rejection of Santuzza	Killed by Alfio
(2) VITO AMIANTE ("Mala vita")	Dyer	Loss of love for Cristina; adulterous love for Amalia	Adultery with Amalia; rejection of Cristina; plan to escape	Escape with Amalia
(3) SILVIO ("Pagliacci")	Farmer	Adulterous love for Nedda	Adultery with Nedda; plan to escape	Killed by Cenio
(4) CICCILLO ("A Santa Lucia")	Fisherman; son of Totanno	Loss of love for Maria; illicit love for Rosella	Illicit relationship with Rosella; rejection of Maria	Subside of Rosella
(5) CICCILLO ("A basso berto")	Fisherman; member of local Camorra	Wish to punish Maria for death of Rosella	Feigned love for Sesella; plan to escape; betrayal of Camorristi	Killed by Maria
(6) FEDERICO ("L'Ariesiana")	Landowner; son of Rosa Mamai	Loss of love for L'Ariesiana	Escape from family; feigned love for Vivetta; rejection of Vivetta	Commits suicide

* TABLE ONE: - AN ANALYSIS OF PATTERNS OF REBELLION (2) *

REBEL + OPERA	HIERARCHICAL POSITION	REASONS FOR REBELLION	METHODS OF REBELLION	OUTCOME OF REBELLION
(7) RINALDO ("Amice")	Outcast from society (no trade or profession); adopted son of Carmine	Loss of love for Amice	Rejection of Amice; escape into hills	Death of Amice
(8) CIN-FEN ("L'oracolo")	Proprietor of opium-den	Loss of love for Hua-Qui; illicit love for Ah-Joe; dissatisfaction with social position	Kidnapping of Hu-Chee; blackmailing of Hu-Tsin; murder of Vin-San-Lui	Killed by Vin-Sai
(9) RENAUD ("Maia")	Landowner; son of Germain	Loss of love for Flanço; illicit love for Maia	Escape from family to Maia; plan to escape together	Death of Maia
(10) GENARO ("I gioielli della Madonna")	Blacksmith; son of Carmela	Illicit love for Matiella	Act of sacrilege by stealing Madonna's jewels	Commits suicide
(11) TANAR ("Zingari")	Gipsy ("poeta degli zingari")	Adulterous love for Flana	Adultery with Flana; plan to escape together	Killed by Radu
(12) LUIGI ("Il tabarro")	Stevedore	Adulterous love for Giorgetta; dissatisfaction with social position	Adultery with Giorgetta; plan to escape together	Killed by Michele

Several valid points can be made regarding hierarchical position. As already stated, the "verismo puro" Rebel occupies the lower rungs of the social ladder, insofar as he is either a tradesman, worker or farmer, with no immediate duties or responsibilities beyond those of his family or occupation. While being a respected and popular member of the community, he is independent insofar as he is not regarded as a counsellor, leader or patriarch figure. Having no civic duties or close environmental ties, he finds it easy to take the crucial decision to opt out. This course of action is even simpler for those Rebels who have no strongly defined social position; these include such figures as Rinaldo and Turiddu (the former an outcast from society, the latter drifting aimlessly, unable to settle down after military service). In several cases dissatisfaction with hierarchical position is a contributory factor to the decision to rebel; Cim-Fen's diatribe against Hu-Tsin's wealth and position shows all too clearly a deep-rooted envy and hatred for those above him on the social scale.⁴ Luigi similarly voices his discontent with the working conditions on the barges, making the point that stevedores like himself are being ruthlessly exploited by their employers.⁵ However, such cases are very much in the minority; because of the relatively small scale of the "verismo puro" work, librettists found it impractical to include social comment without seriously overloading the dramatic structure. Another and perhaps more feasible explanation concerns the ramifications of such statements; carried to excess, the danger of alienating or even provoking an essentially middle-class audience by expounding what might appear as left-wing, almost revolutionary doctrines was all too apparent to librettists of the day. As we have seen in Part One,¹⁰ publishers were very wary of any libretto which could be interpreted in an unfavourable political light; in an Italy which, at the turn of the century, was racked with social discontent, civil strife and governmental inefficiency, such comment had to be avoided at all costs.

Barring dissatisfaction with one's position in the social hierarchy, what are the principal reasons for rebellion? As the table clearly shows, these revolve around one basic concept: that of sexual love (by this term I mean that love which seeks

eventual fulfilment in sexual union, either within or without the bounds of marriage). Rebellion can derive either from the presence of this love or from its absence or ultimate loss. A few examples will clarify this notion. In "Cavalleria rusticana" it is Turiddu's adulterous love for Lola together with his abandonment of Santuzza which constitute the primary motives for rebellion. In "Mala vita" a slightly different situation arises; a renewal of love between Vito and Amalia (adulterous because of the latter's marriage to Annetiello) brings about a loss of love in that Cristina is abandoned by Vito. Most other "verismo puro" works follow similar patterns, although in the later and more dramatically concise operas such as "I gioielli della Madonna", "Zingari" and "Il tabarro" there is only one clear motive for rebellion, namely the existence of an adulterous or otherwise illicit love. All the operas are, however, unified by a central concept which may be summarized as follows: rebellion in "verismo puro" arises from the conflict between the presence of illicit love and the absence or loss of its legitimate counterpart. The proposed marriages of Turiddu to Santuzza, Vito to Cristina, Ciccillo to Maria or Federico to Vivetta would, had they taken place, have conformed to social norms and thus avoided the need for conflict; but because of the absence or loss of any sincere and socially acceptable love between any of these couples, and the corresponding existence of a strong, sensual but ultimately illicit or adulterous love between one partner and a third party, the seeds of rebellion are sown, swiftly germinating to produce the bitter fruits of failure and ultimate tragedy.

The establishment of such clearly defined motives for rebellion lead us logically onto the methods adopted for its fulfilment. This part of the process is by its very nature of great complexity, and has its basis in the elaborate "contractual" structure of a semi-primitive society (compounded from Durkheimian theory and dealt with at length in the following chapter), but for the moment it will suffice to limit ourselves to some broad generalizations. Expressed in its most basic form, the methods of rebellion employed arise quite naturally from underlying motives such as the presence of adulterous or illicit love and loss of legitimate love; these are now transformed into tangible actions which either cement

together illegal relationships or destroy potential or existing legal equivalents. Thought and intent are translated into acts of provocation and rebellion; adulterous or illicit love is consummated, existing and contradictory relationships are severed, and a plan of escape is formulated. In individual operas several of these phases are either missing or telescoped together; in "Cavalleria rusticana" Turiddu's adultery is clearly established and his rejection of Santuzza vividly portrayed, but there is no corresponding scene where Turiddu and Lola decide to escape from their dilemma. "A Santa Lucia", "L'oracolo" and "I gioielli della Madonna" follow the same pattern, whereas operas such as "Pagliacci", "A basso porto" "Maia", "Zingari" and "Il tabarro" omit the on-stage breaking of pre-existing relationships (this concept will, as already stated, be fully outlined in the next chapter).

Finally, a word must be said about the outcome of rebellions in "verismo puro". In the majority of cases the Rebel meets with death, either through suicide (as in "L'Arlesiana" and "I gioielli della Madonna") or through murder by the Traditionalist (whose motives we shall shortly describe). The latter solution is adopted in precisely half of the operas under discussion, namely "Cavalleria rusticana", "Pagliacci", "A basso porto", "L'oracolo", "Zingari" and "Il tabarro". In "Amica" and "Maia" the Rebel succeeds in escaping, but without his partner; Rinaldo abandons Amica (who promptly falls to her death down a ravine while attempting to follow him), whereas Maia sacrifices herself by assuming responsibility for the murder of Torias, thereby allowing Renaud to escape (in actual fact she drowns herself, just as the villagers are seeking vengeance). Both Rinaldo and Renaud are therefore forced into situations where either they or their lovers must forfeit their life; because of this, they ultimately fail to fulfil their primary objective (the achievement of personal happiness), since this very happiness is dependent on the ability to escape from a moral dilemma and live in peace with one's chosen partner. In both cases this chosen partner (whether it be Maia or Amica) dies, thereby destroying any chance the Rebel might have of attaining some measure of personal fulfilment.

It is only in one opera that this ideal is achieved: in "Mala vita" Vito Aniante escapes with Amalia after abandoning Cristina (who, with a typically melodramatic flourish, collapses, overcome by grief, on the steps of the brothel from which she had been liberated by her erstwhile lover). It is interesting to consider contemporary audience reaction to this dénouement; as we have seen, many opera-goers found it highly distasteful, in the sense that allowing Vito to escape with another man's wife constituted a clear breach of public morality, and as such could not be condoned. Indeed, public opinion was so firmly rooted against the opera that Giordano and Daspuro found it necessary to revise the work, toning down some of the more troublesome aspects of the plot and removing the principle objection, namely the portrayal of Annetiello as a drunkard husband successfully cuckolded by a scheming, rebellious wife and her equally unsavoury lover.¹¹ This was done in the revision, renamed "Il voto", where the figure of Annetiello was suppressed and Amalia described as being "sposata a un uomo attualmente in carcere". Furthermore Vito, instead of vowing to redeem "una donna perduta", now promised to marry "una donna tradita" - a clear concession by Giordano and his librettist to the public's sense of morality, with Cristina becoming (in the words of Marco) "un'altra vittima innocente d'amor". The remainder of the opera is basically unchanged, except for the absence of Annetiello's drunken altercation with his wife in Act Two and a minor change of detail in having Cristina collapse on the steps of her house rather than on those of the local brothel. It will be seen from this description of changes made that at the end of the opera Vito and Amalia still manage to escape at the expense of Cristina, who is summarily abandoned. Giordano and Daspuro may have thought that the absence of Annetiello would have placated audience reaction to the point of accepting Cristina's betrayal and the escape of the illicit lovers. However, it appears that this was not to be the case; "Il voto" had an embarrassingly short run of performances, and was as widely criticized as its predecessor. The lesson that vice must be seen to be punished and virtue ultimately rewarded had not yet been learnt by many librettists; the Italian operatic stage remained deeply conservative in its attitude to public morality, and was

therefore unable to accept a successful resolution of the Rebel's dilemma.

This tendency of contemporary opera audiences to gravitate towards a morally acceptable solution is of fundamental importance. The Rebel is, by his very nature, an ambivalent figure; because of the simultaneous presence within his personality of what could be described as "moral lacunae" (together with a modicum of more positive attributes), it becomes almost impossible either to identify completely or be totally opposed to such a character. He is, in essence, a complex mixture of contradictory forces, and is very far from being the stereotyped Romantic hero so beloved of earlier generations of opera-goers (although, as we have already seen, some aspects of his nature derive ultimately from the ethos of Romanticism). These same features are those which have been described as "positive"; the courageous, dynamic and high-minded Rebel of "verismo puro" appears on the surface to be a complete reworking of the Romantic hero, and the parentheses can be explained by the fact that for a contemporary Italian audience weaned on the Romanticism of Scott, Hugo and Manzoni, such attributes were highly prized. But this attraction is considerably lessened in "verismo puro" because of the precise objectives of the Rebel; no longer is political freedom to be sought for, and love enshrined as a holy, ennobling and ultimately purgatory force; the aim is to achieve personal rather than collective happiness, and the driving force in attaining this is of a sexual, rather than ideological nature. The "negative" attributes are those, therefore, which emerge from the portrayal of such a figure, and have their basis in the tenets of contemporary Naturalism; the Rebel can also be a weak, violent and insensitive individual, and to delineate this side of his character requires Naturalistic techniques. An adequate balance is thus achieved between opposite polarities, and the result is a figure who remains problematical. Whether hero, anti-hero or villain the Rebel, because of his uncompromising stance against society, must ultimately fail in his objective; the audience, as ever, expects the fundamental tenets of Christian morality to be upheld, and with almost no exceptions this is what generally happens. Indeed, since the motive for his rebellion is sexual in origin, it must

inevitably be construed as sinful, and the corresponding quest for eventual gratification of the sexual urge contrasts sharply with the prevailing ethos of the nineteenth century, as symbolized by the pursuit of high-minded politico-social ideals in the operas of Verdi. However sympathetic or understanding an audience may be, it is unlikely to condone pre-marital sexual relations or adultery, whether understood or implied within an opera. It is for this reason that the Rebel is always male; the Italy of the 1890's was hardly ready for the portrayal of a female Rebel, and because of the prevailing view that women were the submissive, rather than dominant figures in a relationship, any suggestion of "sexual liberation" was understandably distasteful. Despite the claims of Naturalism to be comprehensive and objective in its depiction of human life, it was (with some notable exceptions) remarkably coy on the subject, and as our study of the "verismo puro" Rebel has revealed, the moral strait-jacket of the Italian opera-going public ensured that on the lyric stage, at least, Christian values should remain intact.

(2) The Traditionalist in "verismo puro":-

We have seen, in the preceding section, how the Rebel in "verismo puro" seeks personal happiness outside the pre-established societal framework, and consequently comes into conflict with it; a moral dilemma which can only be resolved through escape, although this avenue is ultimately unsuccessful. The Traditionalist's relationship with his milieu is quite different; no longer do we have a rebellious, irresolute individual but a stable, compliant member of society, who both accepts and conforms to the existing code of conduct. He is passive in the sense that he accepts his destiny, and any mental or physical suffering which it might bring, with an inner calm which contrasts sharply with the frenetic behaviour of the Rebel. This acceptance of suffering and misfortune is tempered by a firm belief in the importance of living within a highly ordered and stable environment, where a strictly codified set of moral and legal constraints and interdicts upon an individual's behaviour provides the main basis for lasting peace and prosperity. In this way the

Traditionalist believes that any conflict between himself and his fellow-men must be settled not in an arbitrary, undisciplined fashion but with the tacit approval and sanction of society. This concept is the basis of the Traditionalist's conflict with the Rebel; since the Rebel rejects the framework of social constraints (because of his inability to attain personal happiness within them) he is forced, by dint of his action, into a situation where he must threaten the hierarchical position of the Traditionalist. In the ensuing encounter the Traditionalist emerges victorious in the sense that any action he takes against the Rebel is fully sanctioned by society, and is not merely an inexpedient vindication of some personal grievance. The violence the Traditionalist uses in achieving this aim is therefore an extension of the retributive powers used by society in its punishment of moral transgression; in other words, it is a "legalized" use of force by one individual against another who has infringed the code of social conduct.

One significant example will illustrate this notion. In "Cavalleria rusticana" Alfio's challenging of Turiddu to a duel is accomplished in a rigidly formulistic manner, with both men confronting one another and proclaiming their opposition through the ritual biting of ear-lobes. This "sfida", once delivered, sets the seal of societal approval and "legality" upon the impending conflict. When Turiddu subsequently meets his death, Alfio emerges as the victor, having gained revenge for the wrong done to him, and within the legalistic frame of reference accepted by the community is regarded as having redeemed his honour through a justifiable implementation of what could best be described as "tribal law". Most other conflicts in "verismo puro" are resolved in the same way, with the eventual defeat of the Rebel and the survival of the Traditionalist. Given such a scenario it would be tempting, as already suggested, to regard the victory of the Traditionalist as a triumphant reaffirmation of self-righteousness, but it is clear that even if he is the moral victor, his hopes of lasting happiness will promptly disappear with the realization that life can never be quite the same again. Alfio's love for Lola is forever tarnished by her adultery with Turiddu; Canio's killing of Nedda, however justified, leaves him alone in the

world; Michele's murder of Luigi cannot atone for the fact that his wife will never love him. In a way the Traditionalist, though the "legal" victor in his conflict with the Rebel, is as much a victim of his own belief in society as his counterpart is through opposition to that same society. Both men are, in the best Verghian traditions, "vinti", and although the depth of observation in the Sicilian writer's best works is missing in the limited canvas of "verismo puro", the overall concept of the individual in conflict with the environment remains unchanged.

We are presented, then, with a human struggle in which neither opponent can be said to gain the advantage. The apparent "victory" of the Traditionalist is thus a technical one; approved and sanctioned by the society in which he lives, it is nevertheless an unsatisfactory outcome in purely human terms. In a sense the Traditionalist is faced with a moral dilemma to which a complete solution can never be found; and the immediate realization of this irrefutable fact invests all his subsequent actions with the rigid inevitability of a Greek tragedy, culminating in an uncompromising, unflinching stand against the Rebel, a clash of two opposing and irreconcilable forces whose conflict provides the dramatic climax of the opera. The very nature of the situation demonstrates one fundamental truth which lies at the core of "verismo puro" theory: this is the fact that once social imperatives and interdicts have been challenged and then violated, equilibrium can never be fully restored, and even though the wrong-doer is adequately punished, the offended party can never regain his lost happiness. This is especially ironical when we consider that the Traditionalist, whose adherence to social values is resolute and steadfast, is ultimately destroyed by the failure of his own society to provide the necessary safeguards for the preservation of these same tenets. The conclusion that must inevitably be reached is that the ultimate tragedy of the Traditionalist is due above all to the inability of the "collective consciousness" to maintain the status quo; and because it has lost that degree of moral rigidity necessary for its continued existence, the entire structure of what can be described in Durkheimian terms as "mechanical solidarity" begins to buckle under the determined onslaught of the Rebel's

quest for freedom. Again we are faced with the concept of a society in transition; the move from mechanical to organic solidarity, as symbolized by the Rebel-Traditionalist conflict, is by no means a smooth one, and it is this traumatic shift in values which "verismo puro" attempted to portray.

This trend is more than adequately confirmed by even the most cursory examination of Traditionalist figures in the operas under discussion. As we have seen, the Traditionalist finds his personal happiness, social values and hierarchical position threatened by the Rebel. With a few significant exceptions he counters this threat in the most directly effective way: through the application of violence. Occasionally the use of force by the Traditionalist remains on the level of a firm resolve to deal with the relevant problem, and as such is never implemented, but in the majority of cases the only possible solution is one where a considerable degree of violence is used. It follows that the outcome of these conflicts is, quite simply, the death of the Rebel at the hands of the Traditionalist; not a murder in the accepted sense of the term, but a reasoned and justified act of violence which fully expiates the crime committed. Viewed in such a context, this mode of action is wholly compatible with our understanding of the Traditionalist as a figure whose very existence is threatened; and since it is a Rebel who, through his tortured search for self-happiness, is the instigator of the dilemma, the Traditionalist's action is primarily of a defensive nature. We are thus faced with a scenario in which, contrary to popular opinion, violence is not depicted for its own sake, but purely as a logical and reasoned method of restoring equilibrium to a potentially unstable situation. Furthermore such a dénouement, because it fulfils audience expectation that the Rebel, as wrongdoer, should be adequately punished, and the Traditionalist, as the wronged party, fully revenged, becomes immediately acceptable by dint of its moral justification. It is in this way that the application of violence by the Traditionalist can be viewed not as a senseless and crude means by which differences can be settled, but rather as the logical outcome of a morally untenable situation. At the root of the Traditionalist's predicament lies one fundamental belief which is to be guarded and maintained at all cost: this is the

conviction that the existing structure of society must be preserved through consolidation of the patterns of hierarchy which support it. As part of that hierarchy, the main preoccupation of the Traditionalist is to reinforce his position within it, and when this process is interrupted and finally challenged by the Rebel then the seeds of impending conflict are promptly sown.

On the basis of this premise, the Traditionalist's role in "verismo puro" can be adequately summarized under the following headings:

- (a) Description of hierarchical position.
- (b) Reasons for reinforcement of hierarchical position.
- (c) Methods of reinforcement of hierarchical position.
- (d) Outcome of reinforcement of hierarchical position.

In this way both the motives and actions of individual Traditionalists can be precisely charted, and the full extent of their inter-relationship with Rebels understood. This data is presented in the following table:

(P.T.O.)

* TABLE TWO: - AN ANALYSIS OF PATTERNS OF TRADITIONALISM (1) *

TRADITIONALIST + OPERA	HIERARCHICAL POSITION	REASONS FOR REINFORCEMENT OF HIERARCHICAL POSITION	METHODS OF REINFORCEMENT OF HIERARCHICAL POSITION	OUTCOME OF REINFORCEMENT OF HIERARCHICAL POSITION
(1) ALFIO ("Cavalleria rusticana")	Carter; husband of Lola	Discovery that Lola has committed adultery with Turiddu (as revealed by Santuzza)	Refusal to join in Turiddu's "brindisi" and subsequent challenging to duel	Killing of Turiddu in duel, but sanctity of marriage to Lola destroyed forever
(2) ANNETTIELLO ("Mala vita")	Driver; husband of Amalia	Fails to fulfill role of Traditionalist	" "	" "
(3) CANNIO ("Pagliaccio")	Leader of troupe of strolling players; husband of Nedda	Discovery that Nedda has committed adultery with Silvio (as revealed by Tonio)	Questioning of Nedda as to identity of lover; eventual refusal to take part in play, then threatening of Nedda with death	Killing of Nedda and Silvio, but sanctity of marriage to Nedda destroyed forever
(4) TOTOUNO ("A Santa Lucia")	Oyster-seller; father of Ciccillo	Wish to recapture youth through love for Rosella (had formerly loved Rosella's mother)	Acceptance of Rosella into his home; intention to marry her and declaration to this end	Quarrel with Ciccillo leading to revelation of paternity of Rosella's child; subsequent quarrel between Ciccillo and Rosella leading to latter's death; hope of happiness and relationship with son both destroyed

* TABLE TWO: - AN ANALYSIS OF PATTERNS OF TRADITIONALISM (2) *

TRADITIONALIST + OPERA	HIERARCHICAL POSITION	REASONS FOR REINFORCEMENT OF HIERARCHICAL POSITION	METHODS OF REINFORCEMENT OF HIERARCHICAL POSITION	OUTCOME OF REINFORCEMENT OF HIERARCHICAL POSITION
(5) LUIGINO ("A basso posto")	Fisherman; son of Marit	Brotherly love for Sesella and wish to save her from Ciccillo, whom he knows to be insincere	Conflict with Ciccillo over his dishonourable intentions in courting Sesella	Appointment of Luigino by Camorra as Ciccillo's assassin; intervention of Maria who kills Ciccillo herself; tranquility of family unit destroyed
(6) METILIO ("L'Arlesiana")	Horse-tender; suitor of L'Arlesiana	Rejection by L'Arlesiana in favour of Federico; continued love for L'Arlesiana despite this rebuff	Revelation of involvement with L'Arlesiana to Rosa and Baldesare, as proved by love-letters	Quarrel with Federico, leading to conflict; Federico's subsequent suicide; Metilio left with L'Arlesiana in an impossible relationship
(7) GIORGIO ("Amice")	Farmer; adopted son of Carmine; husband of Nedda	Belief that Amice has been forcibly abducted	Pursual of supposed abductor; denunciation, albeit tempered with brotherly love, of Rinaldo's actions with death	Fainting fit, which impels Rinaldo to realize injustice of his position, leading to decision to abandon Amice; Amice's death while trying to follow Rinaldo; Giorgio left alone in world

* TABLE TWO: - AN ANALYSIS OF PATTERNS OF TRADITIONALISM (3) *

TRADITIONALIST + OPERA	HIERARCHICAL POSITION	REASONS FOR REINFORCEMENT OF HIERARCHICAL POSITION	METHODS OF REINFORCEMENT OF HIERARCHICAL POSITION	OUTCOME OF REINFORCEMENT OF HIERARCHICAL POSITION
(6) UIM-SCI ("L'orizzolo")	Learned doctor; head of Chinese community; father of San-Lui	Realization that Cim-Fen has murdered San-Lui and kidnapped Hu-Chee	Confrontation with Cim-Fen who realizes his crime has been discovered	Killing of Cim-Fen, but happiness destroyed through death of son
(7) TORIAS ("Meia")	Herdsman and bull-fighter; suitor of Maia	Discovery that Maia has reneged on agreement to reject Renaud	Confrontation with Maia and Renaud; reminds Maia that she has broken her oath, and Renaud that he should stand down	Conflict with Renaud, leading to deaths of Torias and Maia
(10) RAPASIE ("I Gioielli della Madonna")	Fisherman; head of local Camorra; suitor of Mabelle	Love for Mabelle, and subsequent realization that she is loved by Gennaro	Commands members of Camorra to search and capture Gennaro	Learns of sacrifice committed by Mabelle, who then rushes off to drown herself; conflict with Gennaro and his eventual suicide; personal happiness destroyed through death of Mabelle
(11) RADU ("Zingari")	Gipsy; husband of Pleana	Love for Pleana; discovery of her adultery with Tamar and their wish to escape together	Sets alight tent where Tamar and Pleana are together	Death of Tamar and Pleana; marriage and personal happiness destroyed
(12) NICHELE ("Il tabarro")	Owner of river barge; husband of Giorgetta	Love for Giorgetta; discovery of her adultery with Luigi and their wish to escape together	Questioning of Giorgetta as to reason for her lack of love for him	Killing of Luigi; marriage and personal happiness destroyed

The table reveals a number of interesting features. The first of these concerns hierarchical position, and it will be noted that, in contrast to the Rebel, the Traditionalist tends to occupy a higher placing on the social scale. Most, if not all have worthy trades and professions which make them valuable and respected members of the community, and none find it necessary to adjust their hierarchical position (or even abandon it) in order to fulfil their objectives. In this respect they differ widely from their Rebel counterparts, who are for the most part outcasts from society, either through choice or circumstance. Both character-types can also be distinguished on the basis of the roles they play within their respective family units; the typical Rebel is a young, unmarried son (e.g. Turiddu, Ciccillo (in "A Santa Lucia"), Federico, Rinaldo, Renaud and Gennaro) whereas the Traditionalist is usually an older, married head of a family (e.g. Alfio, Annetiello, Totonno, Uin-Sci and Michele). One further point concerns those operas in which the Traditionalist is the head of a community, secret society or group of workers; these include Uin-Sci, Rafaele, Canio and Michele. Such positions, because of the increased responsibility incumbent upon them, must by their very nature lead to additional pressures on the heads of the various groups. Thus Canio, in "Pagliacci", is forced to take into account the financial and logistical aspects of his troupe's show, which, despite his own personal tragedy, must take place on schedule.¹³ In "L'oracolo" Uin-Sci is well aware that it is he, as the recognized leader of his community, who should carry out the task of punishing Cim-Fen; in this sense he is not only avenging his son's death but ensuring that order is restored within the societal framework. Rafaele, in "I gioielli della Madonna", realizes at once that Maliella's love is based exclusively on admiration for his position of authority and power, whereas Michele, in "Il tabarro", finds the responsibility of keeping the barge running in direct conflict with his search for personal happiness. In these cases, a relatively high hierarchical position makes of the Traditionalist a much more vulnerable figure than he would be otherwise, and consequently the need to maintain, consolidate and reinforce one's hierarchical position is immeasurably strengthened.

Another feature worthy of mention concerns the reasons for hierarchical reinforcement. In each case love of one kind or another is involved; sexual love for the most part, with the exceptions of brotherly love in "A basso porto" (Luigino and Sesella) and filial love in "L'orscolo" (Uin-Soi and San-Lui). All the operas under discussion show the Rebel's involvement in this particular love-bond to be the immediate cause for conflict, whether it be Turiddu's adultery ("Cavalleria rusticana"), Ciocillo's wish to abduct Sesella ("A basso porto") or Federico's proposed marriage to the girl from Arles ("L'Arlesiana"). It follows that the methods employed by the Traditionalist in his reinforcement of hierarchical position (a process which is to all intents and purposes synonymous with the desire to gain revenge) should be directed towards bringing into prominence any moral deviancy on the part of the Rebel, thereby escalating conflict. In this way Metifio, in "L'Arlesiana", uses the device of presenting his love-letters to Rosa and Baldassare, thus providing irrefutable proof of his prior claim to the girl from Arles; in "Pagliacci" Canio brings matters to a head by his provocative questioning of Nedda before the play's audience, whereas in "Cavalleria rusticana" Alfio's public refusal to join in a toast with Turiddu, coupled with his subsequent challenge to a duel, leaves the villagers in no doubt as to the gravity of the situation. Only one figure, Annetiello in "Maia vita", does not conform to the general pattern, and as such requires careful consideration.

It is perhaps not surprising that Giordano's opera should once again be counted among the exceptions, if only by virtue of its uncompromising realism. Annetiello's reasons for reinforcing his hierarchical position are obvious; his wife Amalia has committed adultery with Vito, and both she and her lover have made plans to escape together. However, Annetiello seems to be either totally unaware of his wife's unfaithfulness or unwilling to retrieve the situation; an alternative and less charitable interpretation might be to assume that he is either incapable of finding out the truth or doing anything about it, due to his inveterate drunkenness. This was certainly the impression of the Neapolitan audience at that city's première, where the portrayal of Annetiello as a drunkard and flagrantly cuckolded husband was regarded by many as an insult to both

Naples and its people. The dénouement of the opera lent further weight to this argument; since the successful escape of Vito and Amalia ran contrary to the moral expectations of the audience, Annetiello's failure to take stock of the situation assumed far greater prominence in the audience's mind, with the result that Daspuro's libretto was widely criticized for its crass moral ambiguity. As Rodolfo Celletti has written, "Era la prima volta che il teatro musicale accoglieva i "bassi", i postriboli e le prostitute; e fors'anche la prima volta che una relazione peccaminosa, come quella tra Amalia e Vito, veniva ostentata e sviscerata, per di più sotto gli occhi di un marito lenone (Annetiello)".¹⁴

"Mala vita", with its unconventional treatment of the Traditionalist figure, was by far the most flagrant of all in its disregard of the customary moral proprieties. In general the Traditionalist was portrayed in a sympathetic light, with much emphasis placed on the righteousness of his position vis-à-vis the Rebel's culpability. This is not to imply that the Traditionalist is always shown to be completely blameless and irreproachable in his handling of the situation; he may have the moral backing of the audience, but it is to the credit of "verismo puro" librettists that we are presented not with whiter than white heroes of impossibly saintly virtue, but with realistic, believable characters who have normal human misgivings and inadequacies. Canio's recourse to violence in his questioning of Nedda is a prime example; as Beppe says, "Canio è violento, ma buon",¹⁵ and it is precisely this depth of characterization which allows audiences to identify more fully with the Traditionalist's plight. Similarly, Totonno's concupiscence in "A Santa Lucia" and Luigino's propensity for gambling in "A basso porto" are understandable human defects, and as such lend credibility to the portrayal of their respective situations. Metifio, in "L'Arlesiana", admits to Ross and Baldassare that he is being cowardly in presenting them with the letters rather than face Federico directly: "Questo che io faccio è una vigliaccheria; ma quella donna è mia!"¹⁶ In every case any weakness or deficiency in character is adequately compensated for by corresponding attributes, whether it be Luigino's devotion to his mother, Totonno's regard for his son's well-being, or Canio's loving fidelity to his wife,

and the audience is never in any danger of withholding sympathy and understanding for the Traditionalist's dilemma. Only in "Mala vita" (as has been demonstrated) is this rule of thumb ignored, and with fatal consequences as regards the opera's subsequent success.

One additional point remains concerning the role of the Traditionalist, and this pertains to the various outcomes of reinforcement of hierarchical position. It will be noted that in all but four of the operas being discussed the Traditionalist succeeds in redressing the moral balance by either killing or inadvertently causing the death of the Rebel. The exceptions to this rule are "Mala vita", "A Santa Lucia", "Amica" and "Maia"; in each the Rebel manages to escape. In "Mala vita" Vito Aniante flees unchallenged with Amalia, whereas in "A Santa Lucia" and "Amica" the survival of Ciocillo and Rinaldo is more than adequately balanced by the deaths of Rosella and Amica. In "Maia", however, Torias is killed by Renaud, who promptly escapes from the irate villagers thanks to his lover's diversionary suicide; a variation which, surprising as it may seem, is nevertheless compensated for by Maia's death. This development provides a conveniently dramatic solution to the problem of how the murder of Torias can be fully vindicated; although the audience may disapprove of Renaud's cowardly escape, Maia's self-sacrifice sweeps away any residue of moral indignation left by the killing of the Traditionalist rather than the Rebel, and a satisfactory, if somewhat precarious equilibrium is promptly achieved. The final conclusion appears to be that the Traditionalist, like the Rebel, is as much a victim of circumstance as his counterpart; despite the apparent victory gained in subjugating his rival, he is, in the last analysis, as much of a loser. It is significant that on more than one occasion we have alluded to both character-types as being "victims", but it is when we study the third component of the "verismo puro" trilogy that we realize the full logic of this dramatic structure; "victims" the Rebel and Traditionalist may be, but the immediate result of their conflict is crystallized in the portrayal of a further character-type who epitomizes this very concept. This is the Victim, who will be defined, analysed and commented upon in the ensuing discussion.

(3) The Victim in "verismo puro":-

So far we have discussed the relative social positions of the Rebel and Traditionalist, together with the extent and significance of their conflict. However, it would be wrong to assume that "verismo puro" sought only to portray this limited, yet fundamental clash of opposing ideals and aspirations. Since the outcome of such an encounter impinges directly on either those intimately involved or others in the immediate vicinity, the sphere of influence of both the Rebel's and Traditionalist's actions becomes automatically extended. No longer is the conflict a strictly localized one between two opposing factions, but a matter of wider social concern with implications for a number of other people. This concept is a crucial one in "verismo puro", but librettists found it impossible to depict such a complicated and far-reaching process within the limited time-scale of a one or two-act opera. In effect, this meant that the immediate consequences of the Rebel-Traditionalist conflict had to be centred upon and indeed symbolized by one single figure, rather than through the depiction of a multitude of social implications affecting a plethora of subsidiary characters. This figure is, of course, the Victim; caught up in the vital clash of values, aspirations and objectives between Rebel and Traditionalist, she finds herself hopelessly enmeshed in the conflict, and inevitably pays the ultimate penalty.

The above statement makes it clear that the Victim is always a woman, and the reasons for this are self-evident if we consider several factors. The first of these concerns the role of women in contemporary realist literature, and especially in the works of Verga, whose long line of female characters (e.g. Maria in "La capinera", Nedda in the short story of the same name, Mena in "I Malavoglia" and Bianca and Diodata in "Mastro-don Gesualdo") are portrayed as victims of their environment, unable to escape from their respective predicaments. There was therefore a well-established literary precedent for the "verismo puro" Victim, and audiences no doubt found in the operatic variety a familiar figure with whom they could fully identify. The second factor is one of hierarchy; the woman's role in a semi-primitive society is based almost

exclusively on the premise that she should be subordinate to men. In this respect she fulfils several important social and biological functions: setting up and maintaining a household, bearing and rearing children, and providing loving care and companionship for her partner. Her position on the social scale is correspondingly low (despite the fact that she is an indispensable member of society), since she is neither permitted nor considered capable of making a personal contribution to the decision-making process of the community. As it is the belief of the male-dominated hierarchy that this initiative should remain with them, women are relegated to the relatively inferior position of coping with routine domestic chores. In "verismo puro" the sociological implications of the role of women in such a semi-primitive society are taken as a starting-point from which the central dilemma of the Victim can be built up; in this way we have a series of tragic figures who, because of their low hierarchical position and consequent submissiveness to the accepted procedures and traditions of society, find themselves trapped in a moral dilemma from which escape is impossible. This acceptance of the status quo equates the Victim with the Traditionalist; both are passive in the sense that they do not challenge the accepted order of things, but whereas the Traditionalist uses the framework of established social procedure in combatting the threat posed by the Rebel, the Victim is unable to extricate herself from her predicament due to the lack of any equivalent procedure for her sex. It is precisely because of the highly-codified social and moral interdicts on which a semi-primitive community is based (and its ultimate reliance on what Durkheim would term "mechanical solidarity") that the woman finds herself threatened; since such a code makes no provision for what it would term the irrational, irresponsible behaviour of the Rebel (and so finds it impossible to counter this threat effectively, even through the offices of the Traditionalist), it can hardly expect to protect and vindicate those of its members to whom it initially attaches little importance. Santuzza is left almost abandoned in the world once Turiddu is killed in the duel, and were it not for Mamma Lucia she would become a social outcast, denied her lowly and precarious foothold in the hierarchy by her lover's wanton adultery with Lola. Cristina's situation in

"Mala vita" is even more extreme; a common prostitute, she is given a modicum of pride and respectability by her association with Vito, with the hope of leaving behind the sordid immorality of the brothel for the infinitely preferable sanctuary of marriage. When this falls through, however, she sees no alternative but to descend once again into the mire from which she came by resuming her life of prostitution. In both cases (and in many others, as we shall see) society finds itself unwilling and ultimately unable to safeguard its women; as inferior human beings (with respect to hierarchical position and physical weakness) they are expendable, and it is the working out to its logical conclusion of this inexorable process of personal humiliation and sacrifice which provides the mainstay of the Victim's dilemma.

In addition to the hierarchical factors there exist a number of subsidiary, yet equally important elements which all have a direct bearing on the Victim's personal tragedy. These include those mental and biological components peculiar to the female sex which influence both motivation and eventual behaviour. Perhaps the most important (insofar as the portrayal of the Victim in "verismo puro" is concerned) is a woman's innate need for some kind of social and emotional security. As we have already seen, the existence of a clearly defined hierarchy pre-establishes the position of women to such an extent that any deviation from the norm is either impossible or wholly undesirable; the woman in "verismo puro" must find her fulfilment through a child-bearing marriage. Love is viewed as an unnecessary, almost unhealthy force which is neither desirable nor conducive to matrimony; in this sense the sexual union of two people must be carefully planned in advance (with the initial approval of the community) and eventually ratified by the marriage ceremony itself. Since the purpose of conjugality is to beget children and thereby reinforce and maintain the existing social order, love is quite superfluous to the fulfilment of these objectives, and ultimately can stand in their way. Because of this the Victim finds herself impelled by two equally strong biological urges: the desire for the security offered by marriage and the need for a deeply shared and fulfilling love. The ensuing search for both these elemental forces forms the basis for eventual tragedy.

Let us now consider the precise circumstances of such a "chasse au bonheur". As we have seen, the sexual domination of the male remains unchallenged in the semi-primitive milieux of "verismo puro", and since the corresponding emotional vulnerability of the female stems from an insecure and submissive nature (due to both biological and social factors), there is little she can do to isolate herself from either the effects or consequences of her actions. Since her primary goal is to achieve happiness through love within marriage, any obstacles to the fulfilment of this wish are unlikely to be shifted by her own initiative; and as the beloved in such circumstances is inevitably the Rebel, it is he who must challenge the Traditionalist in a desperate effort to regain control of the situation. His ultimate failure to do so has, as its immediate consequence, the destruction of the Victim's aspirations; this leads either to an almost ritualistic self-sacrifice or to a profound sense of despair and disillusionment wherein the Victim, conscious that there no longer exists any meaning or justification for life, is left abandoned in her tragic despair. The exceptions to this rule are those operas in which the Victim meets with a violent death at the hands of the Traditionalist, as in "Pagliacci" and "Zingari", where both Nedda and Fleana are summarily despatched (along with Silvio and Tamar) by their jealous husbands. Although it might be possible to explain this discrepancy as an essentially Leoncavallian trait, the premise that both "heroines" are ultimately Victims is borne out by their respective situations; Nedda, as Canio's wife, is faced with the dilemma of having to choose between the relatively secure position of leading lady in her husband's company (despite the fact that she hates this work and feels trapped in a failed marriage) and the highly attractive (yet potentially uncertain) prospect of a loving relationship with Silvio. Fleana's corresponding lack of affection for Radu leads her to the conclusion that true fulfilment can only be achieved through adultery with Tamar. Both women are motivated by a restless and volatile nature (one need only quote Nedda's defiance of Canio and Fleana's provocative taunting of Radu) and are consequently less passive than the traditional "verismo puro" Victim.

Another aspect to this apparent contradiction concerns the eventual outcome of the struggle for happiness. Amongst the twelve Victims under discussion, only three are adulteresses (Nedda, Fleana and Giorgetta ("Il tabarro")); the first two forfeit their lives along with those of their lovers, whereas the third is spared by her husband to suffer the consequences of her crime. The one common thread which unites them all is the fact that whereas the majority of Victims in "verismo puro" strive for love within the bounds of marriage (a real, if often unlikely possibility given the circumstances of each opera), Nedda, Fleana and Giorgetta can at best hope for an uncertain and adulterous love for which they may have to sacrifice both moral respectability and social position. It is in this respect, then, that they can be regarded as "Victims"; with the measure of hierarchical position already obtained through marriage now rejected in favour of the pursuit of personal happiness, the scale of sacrifice is undoubtedly a high one, and is brought into prominence by the severity of punishment meted out by the Traditionalist. In the final analysis, this type of Victim is in many respects similar to the Rebel; in the three aforementioned operas, it is the Traditionalist who in part assumes some of its salient features. Canio, Radu and Michele can therefore be seen as extensions of the concept of the "verismo puro" Victim; while they are, to all intents and purposes, the victims of unrequited love, their wives are condemned not by the absence of love in their own adulterous relationships, but by their inability to consolidate this untenable position without recourse to conflict.

The origins of the Victim's dilemma are thus two-fold, and may be defined as follows:

- (a) The pursuit of a pure and sanctified love within marriage.
- (b) The pursuit of an adulterous or illicit love outside marriage.

As already shown, most "verismo puro" operas (with the exception of the trilogy of "Pagliacci", "Zingari" and "Il tabarro") belong to the former category. The reasons for this are complex, and are best understood if we consider the role of

the Victim under the following headings:

- (a) Description of hierarchical position.
- (b) Reasons for victimization.
- (c) Methods of victimization.
- (c) Outcome of victimization.

Before we proceed a few words of explanation may be required. As the part played by the Victim is essentially a passive one, any examination must take into account the Rebel's involvement, since it is this figure who can be said to "create" the Victim insofar as he makes it impossible for her to escape from the situation he himself has brought into being. This concept explains the use of the word "victimization", by which I mean that process wherein the Victim is made aware that her own personal sacrifice is required to establish (albeit unsatisfactorily) some measure of equilibrium within the crisis instigated by the Rebel. Table Three demonstrates the principle features of this predicament within the individual operas:

(P.T.O.)

* TABLE THREE: - AN ANALYSIS OF PATTERNS OF VICTIMIZATION (1) *

VICTIM + OPERA	HIERARCHICAL POSITION	REASONS FOR VICTIMIZATION	METHODS OF VICTIMIZATION	OUTCOME OF VICTIMIZATION
(1) SANTUZZA ("Cavalleria Rusticana")	Village girl; outcast from society and excommunicant	Turiddu's sexual and emotional need for comfort and consolation after his betrayal by Lola	Seduction of Santuzza and loss of her honour; reneged by Turiddu on his promise to marry her	Abandonment; loss of honour; loss of Turiddu, who is killed by Alfio
(2) CRISTINA ("Mala vita")	Prostitute in brothel of the Basso Porto, Naples	Vito's obsessive need to assure himself good health by fulfilling his vow to redeem through marriage a fallen woman	Promise to offer Cristina a better life through marriage to her; subsequent refusal to do so	Abandonment; loss of any hope of love or social betterment; return to brothel
(3) NEDDA ("Pagliacci")	Leading lady in troupe of actors; wife of Canio	Silvio's sexual passion for Nedda coupled with his desire to escape from society with her	Persuasion of Nedda to spite her doubts and fear of Canio to abandon her marriage and escape, with promise of sexual love and ultimate happiness	Death with her lover Silvio at the hands of Canio
(4) ROSELLA ("A Genta Lucia")	Single girl and unmarried mother of Ciccillo's child	Ciccillo's need to escape from the tyranny of Maria's obsessive and over- powering love for him	Resumption of affair with Rosella and subsequent vow of eternal fidelity after seducing her with promises of marriage, abandoning her to bear his child and becoming betrothed to Maria	Suicide because of Ciccillo's lack of faith in her (she believes that she betrayed him in agreeing to marry his father)

* TABLE THREE.- AN ANALYSIS OF PATTERNS OF VICTIMIZATION (2) *

VICTIM + OPERA	HIERARCHICAL POSITION	REASONS FOR VICTIMIZATION	METHODS OF VICTIMIZATION	OUTCOME OF VICTIMIZATION
(5) SESELLA ("A basso porto")	Single girl; daughter of Maria and sister of Luigino	Ciccillo's desire to gain revenge on Maria and her family because of his belief that years ago, she indirectly caused Rosella's death (see "A Santa Lucia")	Attempted seduction of SeSELLA through false promises of love and devotion, which are then revealed to her by Maria	Anger and disillusionment on learning of Ciccillo's treachery, leading to impetioned desire for revenge
(6) VIVETTA ("L'Arlesiana")	Single girl; god-daughter of Rosa Mami	Federico's sexual and emotional need for comfort and consolation after his betrayal by l'Arlesiana	Promise to love and marry Vivetta; insistence that he has completely forgotten l'Arlesiana, but subsequent renewal of love for her and inability to honour offer of marriage	Abandonment; loss of honour; loss of Federico through his suicide
(7) AMICA ("Amica")	Single girl; orphan and niece of Camoite, who threatens to disown her because of his impending marriage to Maddalena	Rinaldo's sexual passion for Amica coupled with his desire to escape from society with her	Promise of sexual love and ultimate happiness and fulfillment; betrayal through abandonment of Amica because of concern for Georgia's predicament	Abandonment; loss of self-respect and honour, leading to desperation at betrayal and subsequent accidental death

This table clarifies certain important features regarding the Victim's position in a typical "verismo puro" scenario. The first of these concerns the Rebel's motives in causing the dilemma to arise; as we have already seen, it is his very conflict with the Traditionalist (brought about by his tortured search for happiness and fulfilment) which leads to the trapping of the Victim and her ultimate sacrifice. The result is that we are made aware of the full extent of the Rebel's egoism and almost thoughtless, unfeeling pursuit of these aims, together with his frenetic quest for sexual gratification; in operas such as "Pagliacci", "L'oracolo", "I gioielli della Madonna", "Zingari" and "Il tabarro" this last element is the mainspring of the action, and is almost invariably linked to a corresponding desire to escape from one's immediate surroundings to a new life in the company of the loved one. Whereas this motive is present in all the operas under discussion, other works tend to show how circumstances can modify and even dramatically change the behaviour of the Rebel. In "Cavalleria rusticana" Santuzza is very much the victim of Turiddu's wish to console himself after his betrayal by Lola; in "L'Arlesiana" Federico uses Vivetta's love for him as a convenient means of forgetting his unhappy association with the girl from Arles. Both examples show the Rebel creating the circumstances for the "victimization" of such figures as Santuzza and Vivetta as a method of self-consolation for lost love or a diversion of those sexual energies previously channelled into that same love.

In the remaining operas the accompanying motives of the Rebel are both varied and understandable. In "Mala vita" it is Vito's concern for his health which leads him to make his vow before the Madonna; his feigned love for Cristina has its basis in a egotistical, self-centred concern for his personal well-being, and when Amalia opposes the marriage Vito discovers that the sexual impulse is far stronger than his belief in the sanctity of religion. In "A Santa Lucia" Ciccillo reaffirms his devotion to Rosella because of his need to escape from the tyrannical and obsessive love of Maria, whereas in "Amica" Rinaldo abandons his beloved, having realized that fraternal love can be stronger than its sexual counterpart. It is only in the two remaining operas, "A basso porto" and "L'oracolo", that

the Victim is sacrificed through the Rebel's inordinate desire for revenge; in the former, Ciccillo's motive in courting Sesella is to dishonour her, thereby bringing shame upon the family and gaining revenge over Maria (whom he holds responsible for the death of Rosella), whereas in the latter it is Cim-Fen's barely disguised hatred for wealth and position, demonstrated by his attempt to blackmail Hu-Tsin, which leads him to murder San-Lui.

In all, it can be seen that the Rebel in "verismo puro" has, in most cases, a dual motive for "victimization". This consists of the search for personal happiness (as symbolized by the urge for sexual gratification) coupled with the need to modify these objectives in the light of changing circumstances. The immediate result is conflict with the Traditionalist, leading inexorably to the involvement and ultimate sacrifice of the Victim. The methods used in this last phase show in themselves remarkable similarity of design and purpose. In almost every case a promise of some kind is made to the Victim by the Rebel; this may take the form of either a proposal of marriage or an assurance of future sexual fulfilment and happiness together. As we have seen, the motives behind such promises are diverse, but in practice they are invariably broken, with the result that the Victim is either betrayed, rejected or abandoned (or a combination of all three) and then finds herself in a completely hopeless and untenable position. This leads us to the human tragedy which is the culmination of every "verismo puro" opera, and in concluding our examination of the Victim let us now consider the nature of these tragic dénouements.

One of the primary roles of the Victim is to provide a foil to the restlessness of the Rebel and the conformity of the Traditionalist. For the sake of providing some measure of scenic pathos, it is necessary that such a figure should be "sacrificed" (often literally, as we shall see) and thereby pitied by the audience. In practice, this can be carried out in a number of different ways: murder, accidental death, suicide, or abandonment to a life of misery. The latter course is that chosen by the librettists of "Cavalleria rusticana", "Mala vita", "A basso porto", "L'Arlesiana", "L'oracolo" and "Il tabarro", whereas in the remaining operas the Victim makes or

is forced to make the ultimate sacrifice of her life. But whether we are moved by the pathetic abandonment of Cristina or the desperate suicide of Rosella, the end-result is very much the same: a feeling of identification with the plight of this most unfortunate of heroines, which even extends to the ranks of the adulteresses such as Nedda, Eleana and Giorgetta. In effect this degree of audience involvement adds one further dimension to "verismo puro", namely the realization that despite the "blood and thunder" of the Rebel-Traditionalist conflict, the genre found it possible to highlight the human suffering brought about by this clash of differing values. Furthermore, this approach never descends to the level of an over-sentimental, lachrymose travesty of feelings and emotions; the success of the concept of the Victim was far-reaching in its implications for Italian opera. This is typified by the long line of tragic heroines in the "verismo borghese" of Puccini's operas, and it is perhaps convenient to mention Carner's aphorism to the effect that for the Lucchese, love was "tragic guilt to be atoned for by death".¹⁷ While this does not always happen in "verismo puro", the fundamental concept is the same, albeit in a modified form: it is now the tragic guilt of the Rebel for which the Victim atones through her sacrifice, and in so doing she invokes the pity and compassion of the audience who recognize, in the portrayal of this most human of dilemmas, a reflection of their own deep-rooted fears, anxieties and incertitudes.

(4) The Rebel-Traditionalist-Victim Trilogy:

As we have already seen in our previous discussions of individual character-types, the tripartite structure of the Rebel-Traditionalist-Victim model can be considered as the "central core" around which the action of the opera revolves. Table Four provides a useful overview of this concept as applied to the works in question:

(P.T.O.)

TABLE FOUR: CENTRAL CORE STRUCTURES IN "VERISMO PURO"

<u>OPERA</u>	<u>REBEL</u>	<u>TRAD.</u>	<u>VICTIM</u>
(1) CAV.	Turiddu	Alfio	Santuzza
(2) M.V.	Vito	Annetiello	Cristina
(3) PAG.	Silvio	Canio	Nedda
(4) A.S.L.	Ciccillo	Totonno	Rosella
(5) A.B.P.	Ciccillo	Luigino	Sesella
(6) L'ARL.	Federico	Metifio	Vivetta
(7) AMICA	Rinaldo	Giorgio	Amica
(8) L'ORAC.	Cim-Fen	Uin-Soi	Ah-Joe
(9) MAIA	Renaud	Torias	Mais
(10) G.M.	Gennaro	Rafaele	Maliella
(11) ZING.	Tamar	Radu	Fleana
(12) TAB.	Luigi	Michele	Giorgetta

This particular classification is of great interest insofar as it appears to reinforce our initial statement that the literary sources of "verismo puro", namely Romanticism and Naturalism, were combined with contemporary interest in the newly developing science of sociology to provide the foundations for what might well be described as a "hybrid" genre. The tripartite division of character-types seems to correspond to the constituent parts of this mixture; one possible model might be to consider the Rebel, with his defiance of established order and tradition, his unremitting search for happiness through the fulfilment of love, and his ultimate failure to achieve his objectives, as a kindred spirit to the Romantic hero. The Traditionalist seems to echo the Naturalist preoccupation with reality; his philosophy, wherein a stoic acceptance of personal suffering is tempered by the

realization that the status quo must be continually upheld, reflects the sentiments of those for whom happiness must be earned rather than considered as a birth-right. It is in this sense that the Traditionalist is closely related to the Verghian concept of the "vinto", for whom the wild dreams and illusions symbolized by Romanticism have either never existed or have been irretrievably lost under the continuous onslaught of environmental forces. But whereas the Traditionalist usually manages to achieve a working compromise in his relationship with his milieu, the Victim is not so lucky, paying the penalty for her involvement (intentional or otherwise) in the conflict between the other two character-types. Her eventual tragedy can therefore be said to bring into focus the sociological aspects of what might be termed the "role of women" in a semi-primitive society, where tradition and hierarchical position combine to prevent any deviance from normality by subjugating personal needs to those of the community. In this way the Victim's dilemma highlights the essentially human and social problems produced by the titanic clash of two opposing forces: Romanticism, in the presence of the Rebel, undergoes a dramatic confrontation with Naturalism, represented by the Traditionalist. In the middle we have the sacrifice of the Victim, whose weakness is highlighted by her complete inability to influence the outcome of the conflict within which she is trapped. This model, while giving some idea of how the various character-types in "verismo puro" correspond to external literary and scientific stimuli, does not however take into account the exceptions and degree of overlap present within individual operas. As we have seen, several Traditionalists, such as Canio, Radu and Michele, have some affinity with the character traits of the Victim, whereas Rebels like Cim-Fen and Ciocillo ("A basso porto") share little in common with the Romantic ideal. Amongst the Victims Sescilla pays least for her involvement with the Rebel, and finds support from both family and community in seeking revenge for the hurt caused by the falseness of Ciocillo's love. For the most part, however, the proposed analogy between character-types and external influences can help us to understand how "verismo puro" managed to personify, albeit to a limited extent, past and current trends in literature and science, and as such should not be

considered as an integral part of the genre's dramatic structure.

Thus ends our examination of the central core of characters within a typical "verismo puro" scenario. In the next two chapters I propose to complete the model by examining two other broad areas of interest, namely contractual obligations and conflicts between characters. The following pattern (which could well be taken as a model for the theory and practice of the genre) now emerges, and demonstrates the extent to which all three areas are interlinked:

CHARACTERS <-----> CONTRACTS <-----> CONFLICTS

The central core of Rebel-Traditionalist-Victim is therefore held together by a complex web of contractual obligations which, when broken, form the basis for immediate conflict. The following chapter will now consider the second of these elements in greater detail.

NOTES

- (1) See Part One, Chapter Two, pp.49-55.
- (2) Ibid.
- (3) I have based my analysis on the French sociologist's doctoral thesis, "De la division du travail social", first published in 1893. A fuller discussion of this pioneering work may be found in Lukes ("Emile Durkheim: His Life and Work" (London, 1973), pp.137-78) and Aron ("Main Currents in Sociological Thought", translated by Richard Howard and Helen Weaver, 2 vols (London, 1970), II, pp.21-33).
- (4) A final résumé is provided in the following table (given in Lukes, p.158):

MECHANICAL AND ORGANIC SOLIDARITY

	<u>MECHANICAL SOLIDARITY</u>	<u>ORGANIC SOLIDARITY</u>
	based on resemblances	based on division of labour
	(predominant in less advanced societies)	(predominant in more advanced societies)
<u>STRUCTURAL BASIS</u>	Segmental type (first clan- based, later territorial)	Organized type (fusion of markets and growth of cities)
	Little inter- dependence (social bonds relatively weak)	Much inter- dependence (social bonds relatively strong)
	Relatively low volume of population	Relatively high volume of population
	Relatively low material and moral density	Relatively high material and moral density

<u>TYPE OF NORMS</u>	Rules with repressive sanctions	Rules with restitutive sanctions
	Prevalence of penal law	Prevalence of co-operative law
<u>COLLECTIVE CONSCIOUSNESS (FEATURES)</u>	High volume High intensity High determinateness	Low volume Low intensity Low determinateness
	Collective authority absolute	More room for individual initiative and reflection
<u>COLLECTIVE CONSCIOUSNESS (CONTENT)</u>	Highly religious	Increasingly secular
	Transcendental (superior to human interests and beyond discussion)	Human-orientated (concerned with human interests and open to discussion)
	Attaching supreme value to society and interests of society as a whole	Attaching supreme value to individual dignity, equality of opportunity, work ethic and social justice
	Concrete and specific	Abstract and general

- (5) The Victim, as we shall see in due course, is always female.
- (6) See "Rigoletto" and "Un ballo in maschera".
- (7) Luigi Baldacci, "Libretti d'opera e altri saggi" (Florence, 1974), pp.231-32.
- (8) As Cim-Fen remarks, "E lì si gozzoviglia allegramente, per insultar la miseria!"
- (9) As Luigi says to Tinco, "Per noi la vita non ha più valore, ed ogni gioia si converte in pena. I sacchi in groppa e giù la testa a terra! Se guardi in alto, bada alla frustata. Il pane lo guadagni col sudore, e l'ora dell'amore va rubata! Va rubata fra spasimi e paure che offuscano l'ebbrezza più divina. Tutto è conteso, tutto ci è rapito . . . la giornata è già buia alla mattina! Hai ben ragione; meglio non pensare . . . Piegare il capo ed incurvar la schiena!"

- (10) See Part One, Chapter Four, p.131.
- (11) See Part One, Chapter Three, pp.73-4. The Ricordi-owned "Gazzetta Musicale", in its review of the opera, recommended its readers to "lasciar a casa le signorine", while the critic Zuliani, writing in the "Gazzetta Teatrale", referred to "la commedia più crudamente verista finora dataci nel nostro teatro dialettale" (see Celletti, "Il verismo e Napoli").
- (12) Ibid.
- (13) See "Vesti la giubba": "La gente paga e rider vuole qua".
- (14) "Il verismo e Napoli".
- (15) See end of Act One.
- (16) See Act One.
- (17) "Puccini", p.272. Carner also quotes the refrain of the Street Song Vendor in "Il tabarro": "Chi ha vissuto per amore, per amore si mori".

CHAPTER TWO
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Contractual Patterns

(1) Introduction:-

It is within the delineation of well-established contractual patterns that operatic "verismo puro" owes most to its literary counterpart (as characterized by the works of Verga and Capuana), with the famous preface to "I Malavoglia" providing perhaps the most succinct summary of Verga's understanding of these forces. In the light of Durkheimian theory, the Verghian concept of the "outsider" dissatisfied with his or her existence can be compared with our earlier model of the Rebel who, in the Sicilian writer's words, must inevitably feel "la vaga bramosia dell'ignoto, l'accorgersi che non si sta bene, o che si potrebbe star meglio".¹ It is at this point, then, that he is faced with a choice: either he abandons his aspirations to a different and better life through escape from his present commitments, thereby conforming to the traditional *modus vivendi*, or alternatively he makes the irrevocable decision to break free from the moral and social constraints imposed upon him. Those opting for the second course of action will naturally alienate themselves from their neighbours, and by so doing come into conflict with them. In this way a deepening rift begins to open between both camps; on one side the Traditionalists (who themselves may be dissatisfied with their lot, but seek social promotion within their own societal hierarchy, rather than outside it), on the other the Rebels (who consider that nothing less than a complete break from their environment can give them fulfilment, and who labour incessantly to this end). The final result is conflict; as in Verga, both sides are essentially "i vinti", but with radically

different ideas of how personal happiness can be achieved. To continue the Verghian analogy, such a figure as 'Ntoni in "I Malavoglia", whose tortured search for happiness outside the society in which he was born eventually leads to failure, comes into conflict with the Traditionalists (Padron 'Ntoni and La Zuppidda), who live their lives in complete observance of one of Padre 'Ntoni's many aphorisms: "Per menare il remo bisogna che le cinque dita della mano s'aiutino l'un l'altro".¹ But in the final analysis we see that Verga himself, while sympathizing with the individualistic rebelliousness of 'Ntoni, comes down firmly on the side of traditionalism; in other words, the concept of complete escape from one's origins and background is an erroneous one, since we are too much conditioned by these influences to be ever able to break completely free from them. Happiness, in Verghian terms, can usually only be achieved within the confines of one's own social milieu.

Verga's traditionalism finds its operatic equivalent in the outcome of a typical "verismo puro" conflict, in which the Rebel meets with failure in his attempt to escape while the Traditionalist succeeds in maintaining, consolidating or even improving his position within the social hierarchy. Within the proposed series of novels entitled "I vinti", Verga had intended to give a detailed and minute analysis of Italian society, as viewed in its differing but co-existing stages of development. The first part ("I Malavoglia") outlines, as is commonly known, the privations and struggles of a semi-primitive community of Sicilian fishermen. But Verga's inherent pessimism led him to show both Rebels and Traditionalists as "i vinti", although (as we have seen) he preferred to uphold the status quo as being the individual's only hope of salvation. The short scenarios of "verismo puro" meant that there was quite simply little room for an in-depth characterization on Verghian lines. Since the Rebel's similarity to the Romantic hero made him by far the most attractive and interesting of all the character-types, plots were centred around his tragic failure to achieve personal freedom; with the sacrifice of the Victim then adding to the pathos of the drama, there was subsequently little scope for an adequate portrayal of the Traditionalist. The end-result was operas which culminate in a final clash between the Rebel (who

is sympathized with but ultimately disapproved of) and the Traditionalist (whom the audience finds less interesting but whose actions and motives they feel are completely justified). It is very much a question of "la libert " in conflict with "il dovere", and the Cornelian overtones of such a clash of aspirations and objectives demonstrate the extent to which "verismo puro" leaned heavily upon traditional models. But an analysis of this kind risks underestimating the hidden complexities of the genre, as revealed by the pattern of what might be termed "contractual obligations"; in other words, the string of promises and understandings existing between the Rebel, Traditionalist and Victim.

How, then, do we set about defining the term "contractual patterns"? What exactly constitutes a "contract" in "verismo puro"? The first thing which becomes clear is that we are dealing with some kind of agreement between various parties. Let us suppose that these can be divided up into two distinct groups: MORAL OBLIGATIONS and LEGAL OBLIGATIONS. The former, for the sake of argument, we shall define as links which have been established between two or more people or groups, and which are clearly reciprocal but not binding by law (a precise definition of this term as used within the context of a semi-primitive society will shortly be given). The following kinds of relationships may be said to fall into this category:

- (a) Avowals of love and promises of fidelity (especially in cases where the woman's honour has been compromised).
- (b) Official or unofficial engagements and betrothals (either understood or assumed).
- (c) Family links, i.e. areas of responsibility between parents and children, brothers and sisters, and vice versa.
- (d) Employer-employee relationships, where each party occupies a position of mutual respect and gratitude.
- (e) Emotional links between guardians and adopted sons or daughters.
- (f) Emotional links through sincere friendship between two otherwise unrelated people.

All these relationships share one basic premise: they are not "legally" enforceable in the sense that if the ties established are broken by one of the individuals involved, society is not directly responsible for the punishment of the transgressor. This task is therefore left to the discretion of the offended party, who may then take any steps he deems necessary to gain retribution. Such an allocation of authority is, by its very nature, dependent on the ultimate approval and sanction of the legal structure within the community; since minor infringements of the social code pose no serious threat to the overall stability of society, responsibility for their sanctioning is automatically devolved upon the individual concerned (provided he acts within the guidelines laid down by custom and precedent). These usually follow the Biblical concept of retribution ("an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth"); a philosophy which is also reflected in the penalties meted out by the societal legal system in those instances where the collective safety of the community is threatened. This can happen when what we might term as "legal obligations" between various parties are broken. Within "verismo puro" these may be defined as follows:

- (a) Marriage ceremonies.
- (b) Initiation rites and oaths of fidelity and allegiance to autonomous communities and/or secret societies (e.g. Mafia, Camorra).
- (c) Sacred oaths (i.e. between an individual and God) made in public.

It follows, therefore, that those crimes which are "legally" punishable by society include such acts as adultery, treason and blasphemy. The common link between all three is that each threatens the inner stability of the community, either through the weakening of family ties (adultery), the jeopardizing of public safety (treason), and the reneging of religious beliefs (blasphemy). In each of these cases the party concerned, having given either a verbal or written agreement to fulfil either of the three listed Legal obligations, find that for some reason

they must renege on their original undertaking. The result is that the full weight of the legal structure is brought against them, and they are punished collectively by the society against whose code of conduct they have transgressed. No longer is it the responsibility of the offended party to initiate the process of retribution; the matter is now a cause for collective concern, and as such must be dealt with on that basis. Both Moral and Legal obligations in "verismo puro" share one basic precept: that of the need for individuals to group together and share their lives, and in order to achieve a complete equilibrium some form of contractual pattern is necessary. Where obligations differ is in the degree to which each can be enforced; the Moral type, being to all intents and purposes sustained by what might be termed "private" law, depends on the determination and willingness of the offended party to redress the wrong committed against him, whereas the Legal variety (backed by the full force of "public" law) can count on a prompt and effective response to any transgressions through the medium of collective action.

(2) Primary and Secondary Contract Patterns:-

Within the typical "verismo puro" scenario Moral and Legal obligations follow a threefold pattern of development. The first stage can be termed CONTRACT INITIATIONS, the second CONTRACT BREAKS and the third CONTRACT REINFORCEMENTS. In the first instance contracts are made, in the second they are broken, and in the third they are re-established. (A more detailed definition of each will follow, but for the moment this brief description will suffice.) In the course of a "verismo puro" opera all three stages may take place during a concatenation of events; the meeting of the two lovers for the first time and their avowal of love would constitute a Contract Initiation, since both partners have made a promise of fidelity to each other. A subsequent decision by either to terminate the relationship would thereby provide a Contract Break, since the basis on which the relationship was formed has now been broken. If the two lovers were to make up, however, the Contract Break would now be fully repaired and this event described as a Contract Reinforcement. The occurrence of all three stages with

a narrative link within the one opera is by no means obligatory; each stage can co-exist on its own, or combinations of each may take place. For example, the Contract Initiation may lead to a Contract Reinforcement without the occurrence of a Contract Break. This is possible when we consider that the Contract Reinforcement is twofold in its application within a dramatic context; it can either be used to designate the rebuilding of a completely broken contract or, alternatively, the consolidation of a perfectly stable one (an example of the second type would be when two lovers renew their vows of fidelity some time after the Contract Initiation has taken place).

Before considering Contract Initiations, Breaks and Reinforcements in more detail, we must first expound the twin notions of PRIMARY and SECONDARY. If a Contract Initiation, Break or Reinforcement is described as Primary then it takes place on-stage, in the course of the opera, in the form of a scene between the two or more characters involved in the contract. Those described as Secondary take place at the following points:

- (a) Before the commencement of the work.
- (b) During time elapsed between acts.
- (c) On-stage, at any part of the opera, but occurring in an indirect way, i.e. arising indirectly out of a more tangibly represented situation, but not portrayed in the form of a dramatic exchange between the two or more people involved in the contract (an example of this would be the kind of situation where one character initiates a contract with another, and as he does so visibly on-stage it becomes apparent to the audience that he is simultaneously and indirectly breaking a pre-established contract with a third party).

The distinction between Primary and Secondary allows us to record to what extent audiences are made aware of the dramatic development of the plot; a crucial factor when, in the final chapter, the organic structure of the "verismo puro" opera is described in detail. For the moment, however, let us list the

six contractual patterns delineated so far:

- (a) Primary Contract Initiations (PCI's)
- (b) Secondary Contract Initiations (SCI's)
- (c) Primary Contract Breaks (PCB's)
- (d) Secondary Contract Breaks (SCB's)
- (e) Primary Contract Reinforcements (PCR's)
- (f) Secondary Contract Reinforcements (SCR's)

(I have included abbreviations as these will be used, where convenient, in future discussions.)

It now remains to apply this part of the theory to the fabric of the operas in question; this I propose to do by adopting the pairings indicated above, commencing with Contract Initiations.

(3) Primary and Secondary Contract Initiations:-

The theory behind the Contract Initiation is the keystone upon which a fuller understanding of the dramaturgy of "verismo puro" can be achieved. In the simplest terms, they provide a straightforward means of establishing the various relationships between characters in an opera, thereby clarifying any underlying motives for subsequent Breaks or Reinforcements of Contract. Indeed, it goes without saying that until we are sufficiently acquainted with the complex web of Moral and Legal obligations imposed on characters (either prior to the commencement of the opera or during its dramatic development) it is very difficult to form a clear and objective picture of the situation being depicted. The Contract Initiation, by providing the backbone of a "verismo puro" opera, is therefore a principle means of presenting to the audience the major character relationships in the society being portrayed. In general we find that Primary Contract Initiations are much less numerous than their Secondary counterparts. The reasons for this will become apparent when we consider some examples of the former, under the relative subheadings of Moral and Legal

obligations. As the following table shows, we have two types of Moral Primary Contract Initiations, namely promises of marriage and promises of fidelity between two people in love. Legal Primary Contract Initiations are either oaths of brotherhood and loyalty or vows made to God; these, as can also be seen, are very much in the minority:

TABLE ONE: PRIMARY CONTRACT INITIATIONS

<u>OPERA</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>TYPE</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
(1) M.V.	Act One	Legal (c)	Vito's vow to Madonna
(2) " "	" "	Moral (b)	Vito's promise to marry Cristina
(3) L'ARL.	Act Two	" "	Federico's promise to marry Vivetta
(4) MAIA	" "	Moral (a)	Maia's promise of fidelity to Torias
(5) G.M.	" "	" "	Maliella's promise of fidelity to Rafaele
(6) " "	" "	" "	Maliella's promise of fidelity to Gennaro
(7) ZING.	Act One	Legal (b)	Radu's oath of initiation into gypsy community

One thing which immediately becomes obvious from the above table is the considerable number of operas containing no Primary Contract Initiations; these include "Cavalleria rusticana", "Fagliacci", "A Santa Lucia", "A basso porto", "Amica", "L'oracolo" and "Il tabarro". A possible reason for this lies in the nature of the Primary Contract Initiation; its deployment on-stage, in full view of the audience, led many librettists to consider it as an inappropriate means of highlighting that category of morally reprehensible action most likely to offend the average spectator. The prime example is "Mala vita", with Vito's open vow to the Madonna and his

subsequent promise of marriage to Cristina; two Primary Contract Initiations which caused a furore on the occasion of the opera's première. As we have seen, Giordano's librettist, Nicola Daspuro, was strongly criticized for having allowed such an overtly "blasphemous" oath to take place on-stage; similarly, Cristina's status as a common prostitute made Vito's promise of marriage to her a mockery of this most Christian of rites. Other operas, by means of an exotic setting, were able to avoid such problems; the oath of brotherhood and loyalty taken in "Zingari" was permitted, since God's name was not invoked and the opera was set within an ethnic minority culture (i.e. that of the gypsies). However, one of the two Primary Contract Initiations in "I gioielli della Madonna" again gave cause for concern; Mariella's position as Gennaro's legal "sister" made any avowal of fidelity a tangibly incestuous one, with the result that many audiences found the scene in rather bad taste. But, as we have noted, such miscalculations by librettists were very rare, and what few disasters occurred strengthened their resolve to provide a libretto which offered a certain amount of sensationalism without offending the audience. But how could this be achieved when "verismo puro" has, as one of its principal themes, the delicate subject of adultery? The answer lies in the more subtle approach provided by the Secondary Contract Initiation; by ensuring that Contract Initiations occur before the onset of the opera or during the acts, the audience is presented with a "fait accompli" and is left to infer from the action the various contracts initiated by the characters, without being exposed to the less tasteful aspects of their genesis. This approach is very much a traditional one, and owes much to preceding operatic practice; its subsequent popularity in "verismo puro" is attested by both the number of operas utilizing Secondary Contract Initiations and the regularity with which they occur. A table will again clarify the main features:

(P.T.O.)

TABLE TWO: SECONDARY CONTRACT INITIATIONS

<u>OPERA</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>TYPE</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
(1) CAV.	Pre-opera	Moral (b)	Turiddu's promise to marry Santuzza
(2) " "	" "	Moral (a)	Turiddu's promise of fidelity to Lola
(3) " "	" "	Legal (a)	Marriage vows of Alfio and Lola
(4) M.V.	" "	Moral (a)	Vito's promise of fidelity to Amalia
(5) " "	" "	Legal (a)	Marriage vows of Annetiello and Amalia
(6) PAG.	" "	Moral (a)	Silvio's promise of fidelity to Nedda
(7) " "	" "	Legal (a)	Marriage vows of Canio and Nedda
(8) A.S.L.	" "	Moral (a)	Ciccillo's promise of fidelity to Rosella
(9) " "	" "	Moral (b)	Ciccillo's promise to marry Maria
(10) A.S.P.	" "	" "	Ciccillo's promise to marry Sesella
(11) L'ARL.	" "	" "	Federico's promise to marry l'Arlesiana
(12) AMICA	" "	" "	Camoine's promise to marry Maddalena
(13) " "	" "	" "	Rinaldo's promise to marry Amica
(14) " "	" "	" "	Giorgio's promise to marry Amica
(15) L'ORAC.	" "	" "	San-Lui's promise to marry Ah-Jon

(16)	L'ORAC.	Pre-opera	Moral	(b)	Cim-Fen's promise to marry Hua-Qui
(17)	MAIA	" "	"	"	Renaud's promise to marry Maia
(18)	G.M.	" "	Legal	(c)	Carmela's promise to God to raise a foundling
(19)	ZING.	" "	Moral	(b)	Radu's promise to marry Fleana
(20)	" "	Between Acts One and Two	Moral	(a)	Tamar's promise of fidelity to Fleana
(21)	TAB.	Pre-opera	"	"	Luigi's promise of fidelity to Giorgetta
(22)	" "	" "	Legal	(a)	Marriage vows of Michele and Giorgetta

One item of considerable interest is the proliferation of Secondary Contract Initiations taking place before the commencement of the opera, rather than between acts. There are a number of possible reasons for this, the first and most probable of which is related to the comparative brevity of "verismo puro" works. Since the majority are cast in the one and two-act format, librettists found it considerably easier to present audiences with an already well-developed situation which could then be expanded upon in the course of the scenario. This method was of course necessary with one-act works, due to the lack of a proper interval (apart from the short respite sometimes provided by an orchestral intermezzo). Its adoption in the longer two and three-act operas came about through the determination of librettists to present works which were concise in dramatic development, avoiding the lacunae brought about through excessive "storylining" between acts. This last device had been one of the favourite resorts of the Romantic librettist and had led, in the first half of the nineteenth century, to the writing of libretti which were incomprehensible when presented to an audience unacquainted with the text. We are all familiar with the many criticisms made of Cammarano's "Il trovatore" and Piave's "La forza del

destino"; the inordinate amount of inter-act narrative in both these works (and in a host of others) considerably weakens their overall cohesiveness, and although individual scenes retain considerable dramatic force, we are left with the distinct impression of a series of loosely connected tableaux lacking unity and verisimilitude. The majority of "verismo puro" works avoided this pitfall by placing Secondary Contract Initiations prior to the commencement of the action, leaving the audience, by means of the subsequent on-stage narrative, to acquaint itself with the Moral and Legal obligations pre-established within the Rebel-Traditionalist-Victim trilogy.

Before leaving the realm of Primary and Secondary Contract Initiations, it may be of some interest to compare the frequency of use of both categories within the individual operas. Table Three collates this data:

(P.T.O.)

TABLE THREE - A NUMERICAL AND COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF MORAL AND LEGAL, PRIMARY AND SECONDARY CONTRACT INITIATIONS

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
NAME OF OPERA	NO. OF MORAL PCI'S	NO. OF MORAL SCI'S	NO. OF LEGAL PCI'S	NO. OF LEGAL SCI'S	NO. OF MORAL PCI'S + SCI'S	NO. OF LEGAL PCI'S + SCI'S	NO. OF MORAL + LEGAL PCI'S	NO. OF MORAL + LEGAL SCI'S	TOT. MORAL + LEGAL SCI'S
(1) CAVALLERIA RUSTICANA	0	2	0	1	2	1	0	3	3
(2) MALA VITA	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	4
(3) FAGLIACCI	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	2	2
(4) A SANTA LUCIA	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	2
(5) A BASSO PORTO	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
(6) L'ARLESIANA	1	1	0	0	2	0	1	1	2
(7) AMICA	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	3
(8) L'ORGOLO	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	2
(9) MAIA	1	1	0	0	2	0	1	1	2
(10) I GIOIELLI DELLA MADONNA	2	1	0	0	3	0	2	1	3
(11) ZINGARI	0	2	1	0	3	1	1	2	2
(12) IL TABARRO	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	2	2
TOTALS	5	18	2	4	23	6	7	22	29

Let us first compare the respective totals of Moral and Legal Contract Initiations (Columns Five and Six). As can be seen, the majority of operas lack a balance between these two types of Contract Initiations; indeed, as many as seven completely avoid the Legal variety. Only in the remaining works ("Cavalleria rusticana", "Mala vita", "Pagliacci", "Zingari" and "Il tabarro") is some kind of parity achieved; "Pagliacci" and "Il tabarro" each have one Moral and one Legal Contract Initiation whereas "Mala vita" has two of each, with "Cavalleria rusticana" and "Zingari" being less evenly balanced with two Moral and one Legal Contract Initiation apiece. It would seem, on the basis of this evidence, that an adequate balance between the Moral and Legal categories of Contract Initiations is a feature of the more successful "verismo puro" operas, and may well have contributed to their success. However, the corresponding totals of Primary and Secondary Contract Initiations show that this balance is rarely achieved. A surprising number of operas (seven in all) lack any Primary Contract Initiations whatsoever, while none of the twelve omit their Secondary counterparts, with the most common pattern appearing to be the 0/2 combination, consisting of no Primaries and two Secondaries (this feature is shared by five of the operas under discussion). One last point concerns those operas with the highest total of both Primary and Secondary Contract Initiations (i.e. "Mala vita" and "I gioielli della Madonna", both with four); it comes as no surprise to find that these two works were considered amongst the most avant-garde and controversial of their day, a verdict which may have been due to the fact that each contains two Primary Contract Initiations.

(4) Primary and Secondary Contract Breaks:-

The preceding section has shown how the framework of a "verismo puro" opera is formed from the establishment of Primary and Secondary Contract Initiations. These provide the foundations of a "situation" which is then manipulated in a variety of ways so as to provide dramatic interest, the process of development culminating in a final and conclusive act of violence whose purpose is to gain a just and salutary

retribution for the breaching of an agreement. This notion, which we shall term the CONTRACT BREAK, is the linchpin upon which the entire dramatic mechanism of "verismo puro" revolves; since such actions upset the delicate and complex balance of loyalties and emotions within a particular society, anger, grief and disillusionment are engendered amongst those people betrayed, providing the basis for conflict. The tension thus generated must somehow be dissipated, either through the patching-up of broken contracts by means of compromise by both parties, or alternatively through the medium of physical conflict. Both these possibilities will be examined in due course, but for the moment the theory of the Contract Break must be looked at more closely.

The very nature of the word "contract" implies, as we have seen, the existence of various areas of responsibility between two or more parties. However, it is the degree to which these contracts can be enforced that ultimately decides their importance; or, viewed from a different perspective, it can be said that the severity with which breaks of contract are punished depends initially on the nature of the contract itself. The distinction between Moral and Legal obligations has already been established, and it is this broad categorization which provides the key to our understanding of Contract Breaks. Moral obligations are, by their very nature, informal agreements (though always very solemn ones) between two or more parties; the enforcement of such obligations is entirely dependent on the extent to which the moral code of the community is observed by its members. This inevitably means that any breaches of contract may well incur the displeasure or wrath of those involved, but ultimately no statutory powers exist within the societal framework by which the offender can be collectively punished. Naturally he or she may be made to suffer in a variety of ways, but any punishment meted out must originate from the offended parties, and not from a centralized authority. As already stated, such misdemeanours are not "legally" enforceable in the sense that it is the responsibility of every individual to ensure that justice is done; in these cases, it is the offended party who must take the necessary action (if and when he or she desires) and provided the settlement of the dispute does not imperil the

general safety and well-being of the community both parties will be left to settle their differences. However, the breaking of a Legal obligation is quite a different matter, since we are now dealing with sacred vows in which the name of God has been invoked as a guarantee of fidelity (this is the unifying factor which binds together such diverse Legal obligations as marriage contracts, vows of allegiance to secret societies and sacred oaths made to God). All these contracts, by virtue of being made publicly and with the assumed blessing of God, become inviolable, and any subsequent attempt to break them (whether successful or not) will incur the "legal" penalties imposed by the hierarchy. Punishment, as can be imagined, is usually death; in this way the betrayed husband can quite legitimately kill his wife's lover, and his conduct will be condoned by society. Moreover, we must bear in mind that our own concept of legality is very much an insular one; what a semi-primitive society regards as a permissible and justified killing may appear from our own standpoint to be cold-blooded murder, and if apprehended would be punished as such. The well-known Sicilian notion of the "crime of honour" is a clear example of the mandatory expiation of a previously broken Legal obligation, and indeed many "verismo puro" works exploited this particular situation.

Let us now analyse the patterns of occurrence of both Primary and Secondary Contract Breaks, commencing with the former. In common with the Primary Contract Initiation, the Primary Contract Break is used in a limited number of operas, as can be seen from the following table:

TABLE FOUR: PRIMARY CONTRACT BREAKS

<u>OPERA</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>TYPE</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
(1) M.V.	Act Three	Moral (b)	Vito's rejection of Cristina as shown by his decision to elope with Amalia
(2) A.S.L.	Act Two	Moral (a)	Ciccillo's denunciation of Rosella's supposed infidelity

(3)	L'ARL.	Act Three	Moral (b)	Federico's rejection of Vivetta because of his love for l'Arlesiana
(4)	AMICA	Act One	Moral (e)	Amica's refusal to carry out Camoine's wish that she should marry Giorgio
(5)	" "	Act Two	Moral (a)	Rinaldo's desertion of Amica so as to safeguard Giorgio's physical well-being
(6)	L'ORAC.	Act One	" "	Cim-Fen's spurning of Hua-Gui (he breaks his promise to marry her)
(7)	G.M.	Act Three	" "	Rafaele's rejection of Mariella
(8)	" "	" "	" "	Mariella's rejection of Gennaro

It will be noticed from the above table that several of the most important "verismo puro" works are missing, e.g. "Cavalleria rusticana", "Pagliacci", "A basso porto", "Maia", "Zingari" and "Il tabarro". The principal reason for the limited use of the Primary Contract Break appears to lie in the very nature of the device. In a sense we are faced with the same problem which hampered use of the Primary Contract Initiation, namely the tangible representation of an event which, for some reason or other, may offend the audience's sensibility. A few examples will clarify this point; in "Mala vita" Vito's on-stage rejection of Cristina was viewed by many as too harsh a treatment of a character who had done no wrong. There were also other moral issues which directly concerned the first audiences of "Mala vita"; the most serious of these appears to have been the fact that by spurning Cristina, Vito makes a mockery of his vow to God to redeem a fallen woman. Furthermore, the presence of Amalia on-stage during this scene, egging on Vito to break off with Cristina, seemed to many people to be all too vivid a reminder of Amalia's adultery.

Never before, in the history of opera, had moral conventions been so flippantly disregarded, and the successful escape of Vito and Amalia (with Cristina's return to the brothel), must have appeared to contemporary audiences to symbolize the triumph of evil over good, thereby ignoring one of the fundamental "rules" of the theatre.³ This particular Primary Contract Break was in essence a dramatic miscalculation by the librettist Daspuro, but there are other equally vivid examples. One of the most interesting is the scene in "A Santa Lucia" where Ciocillo, who believes that Rosella has become the mistress of his father Totonno (and furthermore has agreed to marry him) publicly denounces his former beloved as "la figlia di tua madre senza onore", after which Rosella, crazed with grief, throws herself from a nearby parapet and is killed outright. Here, as in "Mala vita", the Primary Contract Break impresses all too forcefully upon the audience an essentially unpleasant and distasteful situation. Ciocillo's position as the father of Rosella's child is challenged by his own father's determination to marry her; the incestuous implications of such a union risked alienating the average middle-class audience, and even though Totonno, when he hears that Rosella has borne a child by his son, is himself horrified by the thought of incest and gives up all thoughts of marriage, the fact that the subject is aired so crudely in the form of an on-stage dramatic confrontation constitutes yet another miscalculation on the part of the librettist.

Other Primary Contract Breaks are less controversial; Amica's break with her guardian is fully justified when we consider the ambivalence of her position, with Maddalena's impending marriage to Camoine leaving her no place within the family structure. We are left, then, with a series of what might be termed "rejections": one apiece in "Amica" and "L'oracolo" and two in "I gioielli della Madonna", all of which are either morally justifiable to some extent or of little dramatic consequence. The comparative failure of the Primary Contract Break as a viable dramatic unit may be said to lie in these two extremes, which range from the over-explicitness of the examples quoted from "Mala vita" and "A Santa Lucia" to the ineffectiveness of those in "I gioielli della Madonna"; here Rafaele's rejection of Mariella is immediately followed by a

similar scene in which she in turn spurns Gennaro, with the result that the audience, confronted by such an impossibly neat and tidy dénouement, can only smile at the dramatic improbability with which the opera is brought to a cursory close. The major area of controversy, as we have seen, proved to be the difficulty of making an essentially conservative audience accept the on-stage breaking of those moral precepts closest to their own hearts. It is significant that all the examples quoted in Table Four are of the Moral variety; the complete absence of Legal Primary Contract Breaks is adequate proof of the unwillingness of librettists to depict such delicate subjects as adultery, treason and blasphemy on the open stage. Even their Moral counterparts (which, incidentally, are for the most part retractions of previous avowals of love and fidelity) are used, as we have seen, in either an ineffectual or overly assertive way, with the result that the device often fails to make the necessary impact.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, to find that librettists, faced with the danger of alienating an audience through the over-explicit representation of a morally reprehensible action, chose in the majority of cases the less spectacular but equally effective solution of the Secondary Contract Break. This, like all other similar Secondary devices, follows the guidelines established earlier in the chapter.¹ This means that the audience is indirectly made aware of any contract breaks that occur (either by means of traditional "recitativo" or second-hand through the actions of other characters). The visual shock of seeing moral values flagrantly defied and disregarded is thus removed, and the audience is gently eased into a passive understanding and tacit acceptance of any contract breaks thus occurring. In a sense, we may also regard the popularity of the Secondary Contract Break as proof that "verismo puro" did not rely exclusively on the visual representation of violence, scandal and moral turpitude upon which it is so often said to have thrived. An analysis of the Secondary Contract Breaks in the operas under discussion shows the truth of this assertion, since (as the following table demonstrates) the situations depicted are in essence similar to those of the Primary Contract Break:

TABLE FIVE: SECONDARY CONTRACT BREAKS

<u>OPERA</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>TYPE</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
(1) CAV.	Pre-opera	Moral (a)	Turiddu's betrayal, through his affair with Lola, of his pledge to marry Santuzza
(2) " "	" "	Legal (a)	Lola's infidelity to Alfio through her adultery with Turiddu
(3) M.V.	" "	" "	Infidelity of Annetiello to Amalia through his adultery with Cristina
(4) " "	" "	" "	Amalia's infidelity to Annetiello through her adultery with Vito
(5) " "	Act One	Moral (a)	Vito's infidelity to Amalia through his promise to marry Cristina
(6) " "	Act Three	Legal (c)	Vito's betrayal of his oath to redeem a fallen woman, as effected by his rejection of Cristina
(7) PAG.	Pre-opera	Legal (a)	Nedda's infidelity to Canio through her adultery with Silvio
(8) " "	Act One	Moral (d)	Tonio's betrayal of trust to Canio through his pursuit of Nedda

(9)	A.S.L.	Pre-opera	Moral (a)	Ciccillo's infidelity to Rosella through his engagement to Maria
(10)	A.B.P.	" "	Legal (b)	Ciccillo's betrayal of his fellow Camorristi by denouncing one of them to the police
(11)	" "	Act Two	Moral (c)	Sesella's break with Maria through her avowal of love to Ciccillo
(12)	" "	" "	Moral (b)	Sesella's break with Ciccillo through her denunciation of him as a traitor
(13)	L'ARL.	Act One	Moral (a)	Federico's break with l'Arlesiana when he hears of her previous involvement with Metifio
(14)	" "	Between Acts One and Two	Moral (c)	Federico's break with Rosa by running away from home
(15)	" "	Act Three	" "	Federico's break with Vivetta through his love for l'Arlesiana
(16)	AMICA	Pre-opera	Moral (c)	Rinaldo's break with Camoine by leaving home
(17)	" "	Act One	" "	Camoine's rejection of Amica as shown by his intention to marry Maddalena
(18)	" "	" "	Moral (c)	Rinaldo's betrayal of trust to Giorgio through his love for Amica

(19)	MAIA	Pre-opera	Moral (b)	Renaud's infidelity to Maia through his engagement
(20)	" "	Act Two	" "	Maia's infidelity to Renaud through her avowal of love to Torias
(21)	" "	Between Acts Two and Three	" "	Renaud's infidelity to his fiancée through his love for Maia
(22)	" "	" "	Moral (c)	Renaud's break with his father through decision to leave home to live with Maia
(23)	" "	Act Three	Moral (a)	Maia's infidelity to Torias through her love for Renaud
(24)	ZING.	Pre-opera	Moral (b)	Fleana's rejection of Tamar through her interest in Radu
(25)	" "	Between Acts One and Two	Legal (a)	Fleana's infidelity to Radu through her adultery with Tamar
(26)	" "	" "	Moral (c)	Fleana's betrayal of trust to Il Vecchio through her adultery with Tamar
(27)	TAB.	Pre-opera	Legal (a)	Giorgetta's infidelity to Michele through her adultery with Luigi
(28)	" "	" "	Moral (d)	Luigi's betrayal of trust to Michele through his adultery with Giorgetta

The popularity of the Secondary Contract Break is attested by the number of occasions on which it is used (only two operas, "L'oracolo" and "I gioielli della Madonna" forego use of the device). Regarding the location of Secondary Contract Breaks within individual works, we can observe a balanced spread of Primaries and Secondaries, two good examples being "Maia" and "Zingari"; in the former we have a pre-opera break followed by another on-stage during Act Two, with a further pair occurring during time elapsed between Acts Two and Three, and concluded with yet one more in Act Three. In "Zingari" a pre-opera break is followed by two others during time elapsed between Acts One and Two. Other works tend to achieve a balance between pre-opera and on-stage breaks, with no inter-act development. Another interesting feature is the number of Legal Secondary Contract Breaks; this would appear to confirm our earlier conjecture to the effect that the scarcity of Primary Contract Breaks of this type was due to the necessity to avoid offending public sensibilities. However, it is when we compare and contrast the relative frequencies of occurrence of both Moral and Legal Primary and Secondary Contract Breaks within the course of a single opera that some interesting patterns come to light, as revealed in Table Six:

(P.T.O.)

TABLE SIX - A NUMERICAL AND COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF MORAL AND LEGAL, PRIMARY AND SECONDARY CONTRACT BREAKS

NAME OF OPERA	(1) NO. OF MORAL PCB'S	(2) NO. OF MORAL PCB'S	(3) NO. OF LEGAL PCB'S	(4) NO. OF LEGAL PCB'S	(5) NO. OF MORAL PCB'S + PCB'S	(6) NO. OF LEGAL PCB'S + PCB'S	(7) NO. OF MORAL + LEGAL PCB'S	(8) NO. OF MORAL + LEGAL PCB'S	(9) TOT. MORAL + LEGAL PCB'S
(1) CAVALLERIA RUSTICANA	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	2	2
(2) NALA VITA	1	1	0	3	2	3	1	4	5
(3) PAGLIACCI	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	2	2
(4) A SANTA LUCIA	1	1	0	0	2	0	1	1	2
(5) A BASSO PORTO	0	2	0	1	2	1	0	3	3
(6) L'ARLESIANA	1	3	0	0	4	0	1	3	4
(7) ANICA	2	3	0	0	5	0	2	3	3
(8) L'ORACOLO	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
(9) NALA	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	5
(10) I GIOIELLI DELLA MADONNA	2	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	2
(11) BINGARI	0	2	0	1	2	1	0	3	3
(12) IL TABARRO	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	2	2
TOTALS	8	20	0	8	26	8	8	28	36

The main conclusions arrived at may be summarized as follows:

- (a) Three operas ("Cavalleria rusticana", "Pagliacci" and "Il tabarro") achieve a perfect balance between Moral and Legal Secondary Contract Breaks, each having one example apiece. In addition these operas have no Moral or Legal Primary Contract Breaks, and are the only "verismo puro" works still to be regularly performed.
- (b) Two operas ("A basso porto" and "Zingari") follow the above pattern in having no Moral or Legal Primary Contract Breaks. Furthermore, both works have two Moral and one Legal Secondary Break - not quite so perfect a balance as the celebrated trio, but both operas were nevertheless very successful in their day.
- (c) Six operas ("A Santa Lucia", "L'Arlesiana", "Amica", "L'oracolo", "Maia" and "I gioielli della Madonna") have no Legal Primary or Secondary Breaks. With the exception of "A Santa Lucia", all these works date from the period 1897-1912.⁵
- (d) Those operas in which the respective totals of Moral and Legal, Primary and Secondary Breaks show considerable disparity (namely "L'Arlesiana", "Amica" and "Maia") were comparative failures. (These works, already listed under category (c), have no Legal Primary or Secondary Contract Breaks.) Since the imbalance is always tilted in favour of Moral Primary and Secondary Contract Breaks, it can be stated that the lack of a complementary set of Legal Primary and Secondary Contract Breaks has led to dramatic flatness, with the audience witnessing a series of breaks of contract which cannot incur the same serious penalties as their Legal counterparts. One example may elucidate this very point; in "Cavalleria rusticana" Lola's breaking of her Legal obligation (i.e. her marriage vows to Alfio) through her adultery with Turiddu carries more dramatic weight than, let us say, Rinaldo's breaking of his Moral obligation of friendship to Giorgio in "Amica" (a break brought about by the former's pursuit of the heroine, who is in fact Giorgio's betrothed). The essential difference between these two situations is that whereas the former generates dramatic

interest through the gravity of Lola's misdeed and the anticipation of justly retributive violence on the part of Alfio, the latter depends entirely on our appreciation of the inviolability of the bonds of true friendship. Whereas we might disapprove of Rinaldo's action, we cannot condemn it and expect the "offence" to be punished in the same way as that of Lola and Turiddu. For an opera of this kind to retain a modicum of dramatic verve, the expectation of some form of on-stage conflict must be maintained; as we have seen, Legal Contract Breaks provide the necessary impetus for this to happen, and subsequently the best "verismo puro" operas, by dint of the balance achieved by these Breaks and their Moral counterparts, boast a dramatic totality and breadth of expression lacking in their less skilfully constructed companion works. As we have already seen, this is achieved with the greatest degree of perfection in the most famous "verismo puro" works ("Cavalleria rusticana", "Pagliacci" and "Il tabarro") where one Moral Secondary Contract Break is perfectly balanced with an equivalent Legal Secondary Contract Break. (It is worthy of note that in these works there are no Primary Contract Breaks; a concession, perhaps, to public morality?) When the final totals of all Moral and Legal, Primary and Secondary Contract Breaks within the operas in question are compared, we reach the inevitable conclusion that those with the highest totals ("Mala vita", "L'Arlesiana", "Amico" and "Maia") were amongst the most heavily criticized and castigated works of their day. It would seem, then, that in "verismo puro", contrary to contemporary public opinion, restraint in the use of the Contract Break was synonymous with both public and critical success.

(5) Primary and Secondary Contract Reinforcements:-

Having already examined both the concepts and structures inherent in Contract Initiations and Breaks (together with their relative frequency of use within our cross-section of "verismo puro" works), we now arrive at the third and last component: the CONTRACT REINFORCEMENT. This, by its very

nature, arises spontaneously from the deployment by librettists of Contract Initiations and Breaks, but because of its twofold structure may follow one or the other or even, in the case of a linear progression, both. This duality of purpose has already been defined at some length,⁴ but for the sake of the present argument it may be of some convenience to restate the terms of the definition.

A Contract Reinforcement can either be the consolidation of a perfectly stable contract or the rebuilding or renewal of a previously broken one. Two examples should make this perfectly clear; in "Pagliacci" the extended love duet between Silvio and Nedda, where both parties (through the reavowal of their love for one another) decide that their future lies together, is an instance of what might be termed a "consolidatory" Contract Reinforcement, since by deciding to continue with their relationship they "reinforce" a Contract Initiation (in this case a Secondary one, i.e. the establishment of their liaison prior to the commencement of the opera). It follows that most "consolidations" of the kind are set in the mould of passionate encounters between lovers, and this pattern is mirrored in the second type of Contract Reinforcement. An excellent illustration of this particular category is the scene in Act Two of "Mala vita" where Vito, having previously broken his pledge of fidelity to Amalia (through his promise of marriage to Cristina) re-establishes his former relationship (one might therefore term such a Contract Reinforcement as being "regenerative" in nature). Both categories can also be subdivided into Primary and Secondary groupings in exactly the same way as Contract Initiations and Breaks. An examination of the respective frequencies of use of both Primary and Secondary Contract Reinforcements reveals a considerable disparity in the final totals. Furthermore, we find Primary Contract Reinforcements being used much more extensively than their Secondary counterparts, a feature which reverses the trend previously set by Contract Initiations and Breaks, where Primary examples were very much in the minority. Why should this be the case? The answer lies in our appreciation of the dramatic significance of the Primary Contract Reinforcement, and perhaps the best way of achieving such an understanding is to consider those examples occurring in the works under

discussion. The following table outlines their principle features:

TABLE SEVEN: PRIMARY CONTRACT REINFORCEMENTS

<u>OPERA</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>TYPE</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
(1) CAV.	-	Moral (c)	Turiddu's show of devotion to his mother
(2) M.V.	Act One	Moral (b)	Vito's reiteration to Cristina of his wish to marry her
(3) " "	Act Two	Moral (a)*	Vito's resumption of his affair with Amalia
(4) PAG.	Act One	" "	Nedda's avowal of love for Silvio
(5) " "	" "	" "	" "
(6) " "	Act Two	" "	Silvio's reiteration of his love to Nedda before show
(7) A.S.L.	Act One	" "	Rosella's avowal of love for Ciccillo
(8) A.B.P.	" "	Moral (b)	Sesella's avowal of love for Ciccillo
(9) " "	" "	" "	" "
(10) " "	Act Two	" "	" "
(11) " "	" "	Moral (c)*	Sesella's show of devotion to Maria
(12) " "	" "	Moral (c)	Luigi's show of devotion to Maria
(13) L'ARL.	" "	Moral (a)	Vivetta's show of devotion to Rosa
(14) " "	" "	Moral (c)*	Federico's show of devotion to Rosa

(15)	L'ARL.	Act Three	Moral (b)	Federico's reiteration of his love to Vivetta
(16)	" "	" "	Moral (c)	Rosa's love for l'Innocente
(17)	AMICA	Act One	Moral (b)	Camoine's reiteration of his love to Maddalena
(18)	" "	" "	Moral (b)*	Amica's reiteration of her love to Rinaldo
(19)	L'ORAC.	-	Moral (b)	San-Lui's reiteration of his love to Ah-Joe
(20)	" "	-	" "	" "
(21)	MAIA	Act One	" "	Renaud's reiteration of his love to Maia
(22)	" "	" "	" "	" "
(23)	" "	Act Three	Moral (b)*	" "
(24)	" "	" "	Moral (b)	Maia's reiteration of her love for Renaud through the sacrifice of her life for him
(25)	ZING.	Act One	" "	Radu's reiteration of his love to Fleana
(26)	" "	" "	Legal (a)	Marriage of Radu and Fleana
(27)	" "	" "	Legal (b)	Radu's acceptance by the gypsies and his welcome into their community
(28)	" "	" "	Moral (b)	Radu's reiteration of his love to Fleana
(29)	" "	Act Two	Moral (a)	Fleana's reiteration of her love to Tamar
(30)	" "	" "	" "	" "
(31)	TAB.	-	" "	Giorgetta's reiteration of her love to Luigi

(Primary Contract Reinforcements marked with an asterisk are those where a previously broken contract has been renewed)

Several conclusions can be drawn from this table. In the first instance, we may note the relative paucity of renewals of previously broken contracts; out of thirty-two examples of Primary Contract Reinforcements, only four fall into this category. It would seem obvious that once a contract break takes place in "verismo puro", that same contract is very rarely renewed. The dramatic advantages are clear; because characters do not usually vacillate between two opposing courses of action (in the sense that they break contracts only to renew them shortly after), the audience is presented with a certain amount of stability and realism. Nothing is more damaging to an opera's credibility than wooden, cardboard characters whose feelings and loyalties seem to be in a state of permanent flux. The four examples quoted earlier show just how clumsy and contrived the "regenerative" Contract Reinforcement can be. In "Mala vita" the scene in which Vito succumbs to the sexual enticements of his former mistress is unconvincing when we consider the rapidity with which this change of heart takes place. Vito's cry of defiance ("Ho proferto un voto . . . che manterrò") is immediately followed by an appeal to Amalia to consider the moral consequences of breaking his vow to Cristina: "Ma tu, ben sai qual vincolo stringi dinanzi a Dio. Sacilego degg'io pur diventar?" But after Amalia throws herself into Vito's arms, the transformation is complete: "Ah! Chi può resistere! Un demone sei tu! Hanno i tuoi baci un fascino . . ." (Daspuro's stage direction for Vito, "stringendola frenetico", confirms this.) In all, Vito's change of attitude is dramatically unconvincing when we consider the apparent sincerity of his vow in Act One to "sposare una donna perduta, strappandola dal peccato", and the fact that this startling transformation takes place on-stage in a matter of minutes adds to the audience's sense of incredulity. Another interesting point about this particular

Contract Reinforcement concerns Vito's moral stance in violating his vow: this undoubtedly contributed to the feeling amongst audiences that "verismo puro" characters, by dint of their highly organized and morally sound code of ethics and behaviour (due for the most part to the strictly formalized "legal" structure of the semi-primitive societies in which they live) were unlikely to re-establish previously broken contracts and thus undermine the almost primeval qualities of personal honour and pride so fundamental to their psychological make-up. In simple terms, it was expected that promises should be kept and, if broken, retribution on either a personal or collective basis was quite admissible. Anyone seeking to re-form an already broken contract would be making a mockery of the Moral and Legal ties which were supposed to have bound together the original agreement. It comes as no surprise, then, to find that the regeneration of a previously broken Legal contract is completely unheard of in "verismo puro". The gravity of the original break is such that under no circumstances could such a breach be healed. This leaves us with "regenerative" Contract Reinforcements of the Moral variety; regeneration is now possible because of the weaker ties involved, but is heavily restricted by the overriding factors of dramatic verisimilitude and moral expeditiousness.

A perusal of the remaining three Contract Reinforcements of this kind confirms our previous assertions. In "A basso porte" Sesella is all too easily convinced of the truth of her mother's story and the moral turpitude of her lover Ciccillo. From a situation in which Sesella rebukes Maria for her opposition to the proposed marriage with Ciccillo, the audience is transported (by means of a short scene where Maria tells her daughter of Ciccillo's wish to reduce the entire family to misery) to a parallel situation in which Sesella's earlier opinions and feelings are completely reversed, as she realizes that her lover only wishes to make of her "una donna perduta". By believing her mother, Sesella clearly renews an already broken contract (that of filial devotion and responsibility) but again, as in "Mala vita", the transformation is all too rapid and Sesella's credibility as a character seriously impaired. Much the same faults mar the equivalent Contract Reinforcements in "L'Arlesiana" and "Maia". In the former,

Federico's resumption of family responsibility (after his period away from home) is symbolized by his decision to marry Vivetta; this, on the surface, would appear to be a reasonably logical sequence of events, but the transformation of Federico from the deathly pessimism of "E la solita storia" to the improbable optimism of his decision to marry Vivetta (achieved within the short space of half an hour) seems somewhat contrived. This impression is reinforced when we consider that the tangible reason for Federico's change of heart is the appearance of his distressed mother at the end of the act. It becomes apparent to the audience that Federico is willing to marry for the sake of expediency rather than love, and while such behaviour may be considered commendable we are left with the distinct impression that Federico's decision is an illogical and hasty one, inadequately prepared for by the preceding action. In "Maia" the renewal of affection between the heroine and Renaud suffers, albeit to a lesser extent, from a similar dramatic lacuna; the fact that Maia has set up house with Torias (rather than carry on the affair in a more private manner) leads us to doubt the plausibility of Renaud breaking all ties with his family and rushing to his beloved with promises of marriage. In this particular instance Maia's moral position was unlikely to find sympathy with a middle-class audience for whom discretion in such matters was much more highly valued than sincerity of feeling. Maia is therefore guilty not only of breaking her contract with Renaud but also of flagrantly publicizing her affair with Torias. Under these circumstances the "regeneration" of such an ignominiously broken contract can only lead to audience contempt for Renaud's seemingly misguided love and Maia's foolhardy and irresponsible behaviour.

Before leaving this examination of the "regenerative" Primary Contract Reinforcement one final point must be made. As we have seen, the operas in which such devices occur are "Mala vita", "A basso porto", "L'Arlesiana" and "Maia". It is interesting to note that the first two works are amongst the most crudely veristic ever written, and were sensational, if ephemeral successes in their day. Of the remaining two "L'Arlesiana" was thought by many to be overtly sentimental, while "Maia" was heavily criticized for its dramatic flatness. (Both operas were

comparative failures, despite the initial success of "L'Arlesians".) What is common to all four is a basic weakness in characterization, and whereas the "regenerative" Primary Contract Reinforcement cannot obviously be the sole cause of this defect, its dramatic implications on the libretto cannot be overemphasized.

Let us return for the moment to those Primary Contract Reinforcements of the "consolidatory" variety. It will be noted that there is a preponderance of Moral Reinforcements of types (a) and (b); since these cover "avowals of love and promises of fidelity" and "official or unofficial engagements and betrothals (either understood or assumed)" their relative popularity can be easily explained. However, apart from the obvious narrative advantages (e.g. those instances where the dialogue provides an explanation for past or subsequent events) the "consolidatory" Primary Contract Reinforcement is often of great use in bringing about a considerable shift in dramatic pace within a particular act. The meeting of two lovers on-stage and the subsequent reinforcement by both parties of their mutual love provides, by its very nature, a means by which the librettist can introduce a salutary pause in the onward and often frenetic rush of dramatic development; in simpler terms, it allows the audience time to "catch their breath" after a series of frenzied Contract Initiations or Breaks which may have totally absorbed their attention. The lyricism of many of these scenes also introduces a welcome note of momentary calm and idyllic tranquillity into the normally tightly-knit and fast-moving scenario of a typical "verismo puro" work; in many cases they provide the audience with that most enduring of theatrical conventions, "the calm before the storm". The examples quoted in Table Six show this all too clearly: out of twenty-one "consolidatory" Primary Contract Reinforcements of types (a) and (b) (incidentally, eight belong to category (a) and thirteen to category (b)) no less than eighteen can be formally classified as love duets, albeit of varying lengths and degrees of intensity. In this respect "verismo puro", despite being upheld by many of its supporters as a totally original and innovative genre, borrowed extensively from traditional Italian melodrama.

One last point worthy of mention concerns the complete absence of the "regenerative" Legal Primary Contract Reinforcement. This can be explained by reference to the intrinsic nature of the device; since the epithet "Legal" refers exclusively to "marriage ceremonies, initiation rites and oaths of fidelity and allegiance to autonomous communities and/or secret societies", together with "sacred oaths made in public" there is a predefined limit to how far such contracts can be "regenerated" (if, indeed, it is possible for "regeneration" to take place). Theoretically, a character who commits adultery, then sees the error of his or her ways and rebuilds the marriage can be said to have fulfilled these conditions in the same way as someone who restates their firm resolve to remain faithful to a sacred vow. But in practice none of these situations arise in "verismo puro"; the unfaithful husband or wife returning to their partner through a sense of moral rectitude or guilt was the exclusive preserve of "verismo borghese", whereas the reiteration of sacred vows was avoided for both dramatic and ethical reasons. That most famous of oaths taken by Vito Aniante in "Mala vita" could not be repeated, since this would have weakened the dramatic impact of the original Contract Initiation and increased audience awareness (and ultimate disapproval) of the moral impropriety of breaking a sacred vow.

Let us now turn our attention to the Secondary Contract Reinforcement. In our examination of Secondary Contract Initiations and Breaks, it was found that these were far more numerous than their Primary counterparts, due to the need to avoid overburdening the narrative structure of what are in many cases relatively short operas. In addition, the need for moral respectability and a carefully balanced dramatic content meant that the majority of Contract Initiations and Breaks were confined to Secondary positions within works. However, the concept of the Contract Reinforcement reverses this trend. In contrast to the fairly healthy number of Primary Contract Reinforcements, the corresponding total of Secondaries is extremely low. The following table lists those few examples occurring:

(P.T.O.)

TABLE EIGHT: SECONDARY CONTRACT REINFORCEMENTS

<u>OPERA</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>TYPE</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
(1) CAV.	-	Legal (a)	Alfio's reiteration of his love for Lola ("Il cavallo scalpita")
(2) " "	-	Moral (b)	Turiddu's reiteration of his love for Santuzza ("Addio alla mamma")
(3) M.V.	Act Two	" "	Cristina's reiteration to Amalia of her love for Vito
(4) PAG.	" "	Moral (a)	Nedda's reiteration to Canio and audience of her love for Silvio
(5) A.B.F.	" "	Moral (c)	Maria's reiteration to Camorristi of her love for Sesella
(6) L'ARL.	Act One	Moral (a)	Metitio's reiteration to Rosa of his love for l'Arlesiana
(7) " "	Act Three	" "	Metitio's reiteration to Rosa, Federico and Vivetta of his love for l'Arlesiana
(8) AMICA	Act Two	Moral (c)	Rinaldo's renewal of devotion to Giorgio after the latter's fainting fit

As can be seen from this summary, many of the most important "verismo puro" works are conspicuous by their absence, namely "A Santa Lucia", "L'oracolo", "Maia", "I gioielli della Madonna", "Zingari" and "Il tabarro". It is also significant that all the above Reinforcements take place in Secondary

positions on-stage, in the sense that they each indirectly arise out of another Primary situation being portrayed simultaneously. Viewed in a more simplistic light, Secondary Reinforcements of this kind involve one party to a contract either initiating, breaking or reinforcing that same contract in the absence (on-stage, that is) of the other party. Thus when Maria, in "A basso porto", tells the Camorristi of her love for Sesella, she is reinforcing (in a Secondary sense) the mother-daughter contractual links which bind them together. When Alfio in "Cavalleria rusticana" sings to the villagers of his love for Lola, he is strengthening, by virtue of this avowal, his marital ties with his wife. The fact that in these two examples neither Sesella nor Lola are present on-stage when these Reinforcements take place allows us to label them as Secondary. Why, then, does the pre-opera or inter-act category of Secondary Reinforcement find so little favour? The answer would appear to lie once again in the dramatic nature of the Contract Reinforcement. Our discussion of the Primary variety showed how the popularity of this device was due to its use in defusing or postponing a potentially explosive situation, by means of a gradual deceleration of dramatic pace into a mood of often lyrical expansiveness. It is obvious that if this is to occur the audience must be presented with a scene in which some kind of Contract Reinforcement takes place. Since this requirement is most conveniently fulfilled by the Primary Contract Reinforcement, librettists abandoned the Secondary type as being of little use to them, since Contract Reinforcements taking place before the opera or between acts have little dramatic effect upon audiences. Those occurring on-stage are, by virtue of their nature, more useful in a purely dramatic way since they impinge directly on the narrative; they can, in a sense, be regarded as the direct descendants of the panegyric arias which were such a vital feature of both Romantic and pre-Romantic opera. We are all familiar with the many "scene" in the works of Rossini, Bellini, Mercadante, Donizetti and Verdi where characters deliver monologues extolling the virtues of their beloved, convincing us that no-one ever loved with such intensity and devotion as they. These "psalms of praise" (as we might term them) find their direct equivalent in the on-stage Secondary Contract

Reinforcement. Nevertheless, the previous popularity of such scenes meant that for most "verismo puro" audiences laudations of this kind were beginning to seem rather old-fashioned, but it is to the credit of the "veristi" that they avoided, as far as possible, any tendency to regard the device as a static and somewhat unwieldy piece of dramatic padding. A survey of on-stage Secondary Contract Reinforcements confirms this; in "L'Arlesiana" Metitio's avowal of his love for the girl from Arles is made to a horrified Rosa, who immediately realizes that her son has been deceived, whereas in "Mala vita" Cristina's determination to defend her love for Vito causes Amalia's jealousy to flare even more vividly. Both situations have far-reaching dramatic implications, and as such justify their inclusion. It can be said, then, that the on-stage Secondary Contract Reinforcement has a limited, if not overtly spectacular role to play in "verismo puro".

Before leaving the realms of Contract Reinforcements I propose to compare the respective frequencies and patterns of use of this device; this will be followed by an overview of the entire gamut of Primary and Secondary Initiations, Breaks and Reinforcements and their relationships to one another. Let us commence, however, with a direct comparison of the differing types of Contract Reinforcement. As can be seen from Table Nine the balance between Moral and Legal Reinforcements is an uneven one, for the reasons already mentioned in our discussion. A relatively greater degree of equilibrium is achieved between the respective totals of Primary and Secondary Reinforcements, although it is of interest to note that from "L'oracolo" (1905) until the demise of the genre with "Il tabarro" (1918), the Secondary Contract Reinforcement appears to have been totally abandoned. This can be partially explained by reference to our earlier comment that the basic theory of this device was essentially old-fashioned, despite the dramatic effect to which it was often employed. Furthermore, the revival of "verismo puro" from about 1905 onwards was characterized by a process of "refinement" in the field of libretto-writing which strove to replace the clumsiness and dramatic gaucheries of earlier efforts in the genre with a tighter, more controlled style. Such a trend, rather than minimize the portrayal of on-stage violence, tended to have the opposite effect; libretti became,

as we have seen,⁷ almost clinically explicit in their representation of barbarity, with little of the superficial sentimentality which had been a feature of "verismo puro" of the previous decade. This can be looked upon with hindsight as one of the many reasons for the extinction of the genre: "verismo puro" had gained an almost scientific, precise objectivity of which literary Naturalists would have been proud, but in the process had lost that vital spark of compassion needed to enlist the sympathy of the audience. Here, then, is Table Nine:

(F.T.O.)

TABLE NINE - A NUMERICAL AND COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF MORAL AND LEGAL, PRIMARY AND SECONDARY CONTRACT REINFORCEMENTS

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
NAME OF OPERA	NO. OF MORAL PCR'S	NO. OF MORAL SCR'S	NO. OF LEGAL PCR'S	NO. OF LEGAL SCR'S	NO. OF MORAL PCR'S + SCR'S	NO. OF LEGAL PCR'S + SCR'S	NO. OF MORAL + LEGAL PCR'S	NO. OF MORAL + LEGAL SCR'S	TOT. MORAL + LEGAL PCR'S + SCR'S
(1) CAVALIERIA RUSTICANA	1	1	0	1	2	1	1	2	3
(2) MALA VITA	2	1	0	0	3	0	2	1	3
(3) PAGLIACCI	3	1	0	0	4	0	2	1	4
(4) A SANTA LUCIA	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
(5) A BASSO PORTO	5	1	0	0	6	0	5	1	6
(6) L'ARLESIANA	4	2	0	0	6	0	4	2	6
(7) ANICA	2	1	0	0	3	0	2	1	3
(8) L'ORSOLO	2	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	2
(9) MAIA	4	0	0	0	4	0	4	0	4
(10) I CIGIELLI DELLA MADONNA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
(11) ZINGARI	3	0	2	0	3	2	3	0	5
(12) IL TREBARO	2	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	2
TOTALS	29	7	2	1	36	0	31	0	39

(6) Primary and Secondary Initiations, Breaks and Reinforcements:

an overview:-

As already shown, a typical "verismo puro" work is founded upon a set of contractual developments whose manipulation by the librettist provides the dramatic motivation of the plot. The tripartite classification of these contractual developments under the headings of Initiations, Breaks and Reinforcements is helpful insofar as it provides a means by which the mechanism of the drama itself can be reduced to its most essential components and fully analysed and commented upon. This has already been achieved by a detailed cataloguing of each individual contractual situation, but for a fuller picture to emerge it is necessary to consider all three "in toto" and thereby evaluate their interaction on one another. Let us first examine the statistical data available; this has been culled from Tables Three, Six and Nine and collated to provide a simple means of numerical comparison:

(P.T.O.)

TABLE TEN: A NUMERICAL AND COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF MORAL AND LEGAL, PRIMARY AND SECONDARY CONTRACT INITIATIONS, BREAKS AND REINFORCEMENTS:-

TYPE	IMITS	BREAKS	REINFS.	TOTAL
Primary + Moral	5	8	29	42
Primary + Legal	2	0	2	4
Secondary + Moral	19	20	7	46
Secondary + Legal	4	8	1	13
Total Primary (Moral + Legal)	7	8	31	46
Total Secondary (Moral + Legal)	23	28	8	59
Total Moral (Primary + Secondary)	24	28	36	88
Total Legal (Primary + Secondary)	6	8	3	17
Grand Total Primary + Secondary, Moral + Legal	30	36	39	105

The above table confirms the trends we have seen repeated over previous examinations of the various contractual developments. These can be summarized as follows:

- (a) Under each of the three categories (Initiations, Breaks and Reinforcements) there is a very distinct bias towards the Moral contractual situation as opposed to its Legal counterpart; a grand total of eighty-eight of the former contrasts sharply with the total of seventeen for the latter.

(b) In Initiations and Breaks, Secondary contractual developments are preferred to Primaries. This situation is reversed in the case of Reinforcements.

(c) The grand totals of all Primary and Secondary, Moral and Legal developments for each category show a remarkable balance: thirty Initiations, thirty-six Breaks and thirty-nine Reinforcements, totalling in all one hundred and five contractual developments of all kinds.

In the final analysis, the data presents us with wide variations between different categories, but overall a sense of dramatic balance is ultimately achieved. However, contractual developments of the kinds we have hitherto discussed are by no means the only set of patterns within the "verismo puro" libretto; while providing the foundation upon which the entire opera is constructed, they are only part of a much more complex set of variables and factors which eventually coalesce into a homogeneous ensemble. Until these are fully isolated, explained and commented upon our understanding of the dramatic forces present in the "verismo puro" scenario is seriously hampered; but once grasped and fully appreciated, what on the surface appears unworthy of critical comment emerges as a useful systemization and analysis of that seemingly indefinable force known as theatricality. The following chapter will set forth proposals for such a model.

NOTES

(1) Op.cit. (Milan, 1881; Milan, Mondadori, 1975), p.51.

(2) Ibid., p.55.

(3) Racine, paraphrasing Aristotle, quotes this most inviolable of "rules" in his "Principes de la Tragédie":

Il ne faut pas non plus introduire un meschant homme qui, de malheureux qu'il estoit, devienne heureux. Car il n'y a rien de plus opposé au but de la tragédie, cela ne produisant aucun des effets qu'elle doit produire, c'est-à-dire qu'il n'y a rien en cela de naturel ou agréable à l'homme, rien qui excite la terreur ny qui esmeuve la compassion.

(Op.cit., 1673; ed. E.Vinaver, Manchester U.P., 1949, pp.18-19)

(4) See Section Two, "Primary and Secondary Contract Patterns".

(5) It is significant that this period witnessed a renewal of interest in Catholicism and led to the vogue for Biblical opera (see Part Three, Section Five). This may in part explain the absence of Legal Primary or Secondary Breaks in "verismo puro" works of the period in question, as editors sought to avoid the on-stage depiction of such delicate matters as adultery, treason and blasphemy.

(6) See Note Four.

(7) See Part One, Chapter Four, p.134.

CHAPTER THREE
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Conflict Patterns

In the previous chapter we have seen how the intricate structure of contractual obligations provides a means by which the various motives of the Rebel, Traditionalist and Victim can be fully ascertained. The present discussion is principally concerned with the logical extension and development of this process; namely, the manifestation of patterns of conflict which, for the most part, arise naturally from the breaking of a contractual obligation (either Moral or Legal) entered into by any two or more character-types. Once this concept is grasped the depiction of conflict in "verismo puro" is seen to be wholly justified and not purely gratuitous, and can be adequately extenuated by our appreciation that it is a logical and almost inevitable development of the Contract Break. This, as we shall see, tends to contradict the assertions of those critics who dismiss the genre as nothing more than a convenient vehicle for the wanton and unrestrained depiction of on-stage violence. This view runs contrary to fact; as an examination of the various types of "verismo puro" conflict will show, the charge that the movement was only concerned with such gross crudities is totally without foundation. Much of the early controversy over the genre was centred around this very belief; indeed, one of the main features which distinguished "verismo puro" from the more traditional types of opera was the apparent willingness of librettists to present scenes of violence in full view of the audience, but this propensity was soon exploited by hostile critics and blown out of all proportion. As we have seen in Part One, there was a massive and often entirely unjustified

over-reaction to what many regarded as the unnecessary proliferation of on-stage fights, stabbings, attempted murders and suicides. This was mainly due to the conviction in many quarters that the traditional tenets of dramaturgy should still be adhered to, and paramount amongst these was the dictum (epitomized by the plays of Racine and Corneille) that violent action of any kind must take place off-stage to avoid offending the spectator's sensibility.¹ It is certainly true that "verismo puro" ignored this, but the extent to which it did so has been grossly exaggerated, as I now propose to demonstrate.

Where, then, do we begin in our discussion of patterns of conflict? Perhaps the most logical starting-point would be to consider in some detail exactly what is meant by the term itself. In opera of any kind, the depiction of actions and emotions can be achieved in three broad ways: through music, speech and action, and the perfect coalescence of all three modes of expression has often been quoted as constituting the difference between "music-drama" and "drama in music". For the purposes of the present discussion we must discount the first of these modes and concentrate on the remaining two. In the most basic terms, therefore, speech and action are entirely dependent on the aural and visual faculties of the spectator, and if these are not fully exploited by the librettist then the lines of communication between stage and auditorium are seriously jeopardized. The operatic libretto (or, for that matter, any kind of dramatic representation) must seek to provide the maximum aural and visual impact upon the audience, for if the music and interpreters prove to be lacking then the chances of a complete failure are considerably lessened. In this way many operas of all genres have succeeded despite mediocre music or interpreters, or both; the contrary is equally true, with many works managing to overcome the burden of a poor libretto. The dispute as to whether words or music are more important has been aired on countless occasions, and no doubt will continue as long as opera is given.²

Let us now return to our previous assertion regarding the importance of speech and action within the operatic libretto. In "verismo puro" the aural and visual aspects have predominated; this is demonstrated by the wealth of different

ways in which patterns of conflict are depicted. These can be classified by expanding our original model to include three distinct modes of expression, within which conflict can either be implied, described or personified:

(1) MENTAL (thoughts) = aural and/or visual

(2) VERBAL (words) = aural and/or visual

(3) PHYSICAL (actions) = visual

As can be seen from the above diagram, the division of patterns of conflict into three main categories shows both the logical progression from one to another (thoughts lead to words which eventually lead to actions) and the faculties required to discern these same patterns. Once we apply this model to the texts of the "verismo puro" libretti under discussion, a substantial number of types of conflict can be isolated, catalogued and commented upon. Before proceeding it is necessary to provide a list of these, subdivided under the respective headings of MENTAL, VERBAL and PHYSICAL. Each conflict type is also followed by a short definition of the terms of reference adopted for identification purposes:

TABLE ONE: CONFLICT TYPES IN "VERISMO PURO":

(1) MENTAL:-

- (a) APPREHENSIVENESS, i.e. worry, concern, anxiety, discomposure, uneasiness, disquiet; within one character or directed towards another character or characters.
- (b) VACILLATION, i.e. irresolution, infirmity of purpose, indecision, uncertainty, faint-heartedness, transientness, flightiness, fickleness; within one character or directed towards another character or characters.
- (c) JEALOUSY, i.e. distrust, enviousness, rivalry, possessiveness, suspicion, covetousness; directed towards another character or characters.

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(d) **DISSENSION**, i.e. nonconformism, rejection or questioning of status quo, repudiation of social position, dissatisfaction with modus vivendi; within one character or directed towards another character or characters.

(2) **VERBAL:-**

(a) **DISAPPROBATION**, i.e. disapproval, dissatisfaction, displeasure, censoriousness, complaint, criticism, dispraise, dislike, disparagement; either within one character or implied or directed by and towards one or more characters.

(b) **POLEMIC**, i.e. argument, argumentative discussion, variance of opinion, bickering, disagreement, squabbling, rows, altercations; between two or more characters and within the bounds of propriety.

(c) **DERISION**, i.e. jibes, insults, taunts, derisiveness, mockery, scoffing, raillery, sarcasm, ribaldry, ridicule; perpetrated by and directed towards one or more characters.

(d) **MALEDICTION**, i.e. curses, invectives, imprecations, fulminations, execrations, vituperations, vilification; perpetrated by and directed towards one or more characters.

(e) **THREAT**, i.e. menaces, threatfulness, intimidation, terrorization, oppression, victimization, harassment, challenges, aggressiveness, defiance, declarations of intent; perpetrated by and directed towards one or more characters.

(f) **ACCUSATION**, i.e. complaints, strictures, reproaches, recriminations, inculpations, arraignments, indictments, denunciations, imputations, allegations; either within one character or implied or directed by and towards one or more characters.

(3) **PHYSICAL:-**

VIOLENCE, i.e. pushes, shoves, punches, slaps, kicks, brawls, tussles, scuffles, duels; murder and suicide (either attempted or actual).

The above table can now be illustrated by means of a methodical examination of each of the operas under discussion. Before proceeding, however, several points regarding Conflict Types must first be clarified:

(a) As will be seen, Conflict Types are not to be confused with Conflict Patterns. The latter term describes the extent and significance of the conflict in question, whereas the former describes its nature. For example, a Conflict Pattern between X and Y (arising, perhaps, from a broken contractual obligation) may include one or more Conflict Types; that is to say, during the course of the conflict either one or several different manifestations of that same conflict may be presented to the audience. Disapprobation may lead to Polemic and ultimately to Violence, and each phase in the development of the conflict will be vividly portrayed in the speech and gesture of the characters involved. Following the theory through to its logical conclusion, it will be realized that there is no direct correlation between the number of Conflict Patterns within an opera and the equivalent number of Conflict Types. What is of interest, as we shall see, is the nature of those Conflict Patterns and the frequency and variety of Conflict Types utilized within them.

(b) For the purposes of the ensuing discussion, Conflict Patterns may be subdivided into two main types, which are designated as follows:

(i) Primary Conflict Patterns (PCP's)

(ii) Secondary Conflict Patterns (SCP's)

The definitions of "Primary" and "Secondary" follow, to a certain extent, those postulated during the previous chapter in the discussion of Contract Breaks, Initiations and Reinforcements.¹ However, for the sake of clarity the original definitions have been slightly modified, the revised versions being given below:

(i) A Primary Contract Pattern (PCP) consists of a Conflict Pattern which takes place visibly on-stage in the form of a dramatic confrontation between two or more characters,

where those characters are the parties directly involved in the conflict.

(ii) A Secondary Conflict Pattern (SCP) consists of a Conflict Pattern which takes place off-stage (either before the commencement of the opera or during time elapsed between acts) or which is referred to, reported or commented on by one or more parties totally uninvolved or one party directly involved in the conflict.

Having considered in some detail the respective features of both Conflict Types and Patterns it now remains for us to apply our theory to the operas in question. I propose to do this by adopting a chronological outline of the Conflict Patterns present in each work; in this way both Conflict Types and Patterns can be viewed and considered in the same order in which they occur (the operas themselves also follow a chronological sequence). In the case of Primary Conflict Patterns the parties involved are named, and the lines of conflict indicated by means of the following symbols:

(a) $X \langle \Rightarrow \rangle Y$: X in conflict with Y, and vice versa.

(b) $P \Rightarrow Q$: P in conflict with Q, but Q not in conflict with P.

(c) Conflict Patterns which occur simultaneously are bracketed.

For Secondary Conflict Patterns the same model is adopted, but because such Conflict Patterns are not visibly depicted on-stage the means by which knowledge of the conflict in question reaches the audience is indicated. Lastly, the Conflict Types within both Primary and Secondary Conflict Patterns are catalogued following the headings given in Table One, and are again presented in the chronological order in which they take place within their respective Conflict Pattern:

(P.T.O.)

TABLE TWO: AN ANALYSIS OF CONFLICT PATTERNS:

(A) "CAVALLERIA RUSTICANA" (1890; one act)

PCP's -----	SCP's -----
	((1) Santuzza ==> Turiddu ((as told to Mamma (Lucia) = ACCUSATION (
	((2) Santuzza ==> Lola ((as told to Mamma (Lucia) = ACCUSATION (
(3) Santuzza (<=>) Turiddu = POLEMIC	
(4) Lola (<=>) Santuzza = DERISION	
(5) Santuzza (<=>) Turiddu = POLEMIC --> VIOLENCE --> MALEDICTION	
	((6) Santuzza ==> Turiddu ((as told to Alfio) (= ACCUSATION ((7) Santuzza ==> Lola ((as told to Alfio) (= ACCUSATION (
	((8) Alfio ==> Turiddu ((as told to (Santuzza) = THREAT ((9) Alfio ==> Lola ((as told to (Santuzza) = THREAT (
(10) Turiddu (<=>) Alfio = MALEDICTION --> THREAT	
	(11) Turiddu (<=>) Alfio (off-stage duel) = VIOLENCE

(B) "MALA VITA" (1892; three acts)

PCP's -----	SCP's -----
Act One:	
(1) Amalia (<=>) Vito = POLEMIC	
(2) Vito (<=>) Annetiello = DERISION --> VIOLENCE	
Act Two:	
	(3) Amalia ==> Vito (thought by Amalia) = DISAPPROBATION

PCP's

SCP's

(4) Amalia ==> Cristina
(as told to Nunzia)
= JEALOUSY -->
THREAT

(5) Amalia ==> Annetiello
(as told to Nunzia)
= APPREHENSIVENESS
--> DISAPPROBATION

(6) Amalia <==> Annetiello
= POLEMIC

(7) Amalia <==> Cristina I *
= POLEMIC

(8) Amalia <==> Cristina II *
= THREAT --> VIOLENCE

(INTERLUDE)

(9) Amalia <==> Vito
= POLEMIC

Act Three:

(10) Amalia ==> Cristina
= DERISION -->
ACCUSATION

* The Amalia-Cristina conflict is split into two parts because the sequence of Conflict Types is not continuous, but is punctuated by other events. The above notation will be used in further occurrences of this type.

(C) "PAGLIACCI" (1892; two acts)

PCP's

SCP's

Act One:

(1) Nedda ==> Canio
(thought by Nedda)
= APPREHENSIVENESS

(2) Nedda <==> Tonio
= DERISION -->
VIOLENCE

(3) Nedda ==> Canio
(thought by Nedda)
= APPREHENSIVENESS

(4) Canio ==> Silvio
= THREAT

(5) Tonio <==> Nedda
= DERISION -->
THREAT

(6) Canio <==> Nedda
= THREAT -->
VIOLENCE

PCP's

SCP's

- (7) Canio ==> Silvio
 (thought by Canio)
 = JEALOUSY -->
 DISSENSION
- (8) Canio ==> Silvio
 (thought by Canio)
 = JEALOUSY

Act Two:

- (9) Nedda ==> Tonio
 = DERISION
- (10) Canio ==> Nedda I
 = MALEDICTION -->
 THREAT
- (11) Canio ==> Nedda II
 = DERISION -->
 THREAT
- (12) Canio ==> Nedda III
 = THREAT
- (13) Canio ==> Nedda IV
 = VIOLENCE
- (14) Canio ==> Silvio
 = VIOLENCE

 (D) "A SANTA LUCIA" (1892; two acts):-

PCP's

SCP's

Act One:

- (1) Maria ==> Rosella
 (thought by Maria)
 = JEALOUSY
- (2) Maria ==> Ciccillo
 (thought by Maria)
 = JEALOUSY
- (3) Rosella ==> Maria
 (thought by
 Rosella) =
 DISAPPROBATION
- (4) Maria ==> Totonno
 = DERISION -->
 ACCUSATION
- (5) Maria ==> Rosella
 = DERISION -->
 THREAT -->
 VIOLENCE
- (6) Rosella ==> Maria
 (as told by crowd
 to Ciccillo) =
 ACCUSATION
- (7) Ciccillo ==> Maria
 = THREAT

PCP's

SCP's

(8) Ciccillo ==> Rosella
= DISAPPROBATION -->
DERISION

Act Two:

(9) Maria ==> Rosella
(as told to Tore)
= ACCUSATION

(10) Maria <==> Rosella
= DERISION -->
THREAT

(11) Maria ==> Totonno I
= DISAPPROBATION -->
ACCUSATION

(12) Maria ==> Totonno II
= DERISION

(13) Maria ==> Ciccillo
= DERISION

(14) Ciccillo ==> Totonno
(as told to Maria
and Ciccillo) =
ACCUSATION

(15) Ciccillo ==> Totonno
= POLEMIC -->
ACCUSATION

(16) Ciccillo ==> Rosella
(as told to Totonno)
= ACCUSATION

(17) Totonno ==> Rosella
= ACCUSATION

(18) Ciccillo ==> Rosella
= ACCUSATION -->
MALEDICTION -->
VIOLENCE

(E) "A BASSO PORTO" (1894; three acts):-

PCP's

SCP's

Act One:

(1) Maria ==> Luigino
(as told to
Sesella) =
DISAPPROBATION

(2) Luigino ==> Sesella
= POLEMIC

(3) Maria ==> Luigino
(as told to
Sesella) =
DISAPPROBATION

(4) Luigino <==> Pascale
= DISAPPROBATION -->
DERISION -->
VIOLENCE

PCF's

SCP's

- (5) Ciocillo ==> Pascale
= DERISION
- (6) Sesella <==> Luigino
(= DISAPPROBATION
- (7) Maria <==> Luigino
(= DISAPPROBATION --)
(THREAT
- (8) Ciocillo <==>
(Camorristi =
(DISAPPROBATION --)
(THREAT
- (9) Luigino ==> Ciocillo
(as told to Sesella)
(= DISAPPROBATION
- (10) Luigino <==> Sesella
(= THREAT
- (11) Maria <==> Ciocillo
= THREAT
- (12) Sesella ==> Maria
(as told to
Ciocillo) =
APPREHENSIVENESS
- (13) Luigino ==> Sesella
(= ACCUSATION
- (14) Luigino <==> Ciocillo
(= DERISION --)
(THREAT --)
(VIOLENCE
- (15) Maria ==> Ciocillo I
= THREAT
- (16) Ciocillo ==> Maria II
= ACCUSATION --)
THREAT
- (17) Maria <==> Ciocillo III
= THREAT
- Act Two:

- (18) Ciocillo <==> Luigino
= VIOLENCE --)
THREAT
- (19) Ciocillo <==> Camorristi
= DERISION --)
THREAT
- (20) Ciocillo ==>
Camorristi
(thought by
Ciocillo) =
MALEDICTION --)
VACILLATION
- (21) Sesella ==> Maria
(as told to
Ciocillo) =
ACCUSATION
- (22) Sesella ==> Maria I
= ACCUSATION
- (23) Maria ==> Sesella II
= ACCUSATION --)
THREAT

PCP's

SCP's

- (24) Sesella ==>
Ciccillo
(as told to
Camorristi) =
ACCUSATION -->
THREAT
- (25) Luigino ==> Camorristi
= ACCUSATION -->
THREAT
- (26) Maria ==> Ciccillo
(as told to
Camorristi) =
ACCUSATION
- (27) Maria ==> Camorristi
= POLEMIC

Act Three:

- (28) Maria ==> Ciccillo I
- (29) Maria ==> Ciccillo II
= VIOLENCE -->
THREAT -->
VIOLENCE

(F) "L'ARLESIANA" (1897; three acts):--

PCP's

SCP's

Act One:

- (1) Rosa ==>
l'Arlesiana
(as told to
Baldassare) =
DISAPPROBATION
- (2) Rosa ==> Federico
(as told to
Vivetta) =
APPREHENSIVENESS
- (3) Metitio ==>
l'Arlesiana
(as told to Rosa
and Baldassare) =
MALEDICTION
- (4) Federico ==>
l'Arlesiana
(as told to Rosa
and Baldassare) =
MALEDICTION

Act Two:

- (5) Federico ==>
l'Arlesiana I
(as told to
Baldassare) =
JEALOUSY

PCP's

SCP's

- (6) Federico ==>
l'Arlesiana II
(thought by
Federico) =
JEALOUSY -->
DISSENSION
- (7) Federico ==>
Vivetta =
DERISION
- (8) Metifio ==>
l'Arlesiana
(as told to
Baldassare) =
APPREHENSIVENESS =
JEALOUSY
- (9) Metifio (==>
Federico =
MALEDICTION -->
VIOLENCE
- (10) Federico ==>
l'Arlesiana
(thought by
Federico) =
JEALOUSY -->
VIOLENCE
-

(G) "AMICA" (1905; two acts):-

PCP's

SCP's

Act One:

- (1) Camoine ==> Rinaldo
(as told to Amica) =
DISAPPROBATION
- (2) Amica (==> Camoine
= VIOLENCE -->
THREAT
- (3) Amica ==> Rinaldo
= DISAPPROBATION
- (4) Giorgio ==> Rinaldo
(thought by Giorgio)
= THREAT -->
MALEDICTION
- (5) Giorgio ==> Rinaldo
(thought by Giorgio)
= MALEDICTION -->
THREAT
- (6) Giorgio ==> Rinaldo
= ACCUSATION
- (7) Rinaldo ==> Amica I
= ACCUSATION
- (8) Rinaldo ==> Amica II
= ACCUSATION
- (9) Amica (==> Rinaldo
(death of Amica) =
VIOLENCE

(H) "L'ORACOLO" (1905; one act):-

PCP's

SCP's

-
- (1) Cim-Fen ==> opium addict =
VIOLENCE
- (2) Cim-Fen ==> San-Lui
(as told to Hua-Qui)
= THREAT
- (3) Cim-Fen ==> Hua-Qui
= THREAT
- (4) Hu-Tsin ==> Cim-Fen
= DERISION
- (5) Hua-Qui ==> Cim-Fen
(thought by Hua-Qui)
= MALEDICTION
- (6) Hu-Tsin ==> Hua-Qui
= ACCUSATION -->
THREAT
- (7) San-Lui <==> Cim-Fen
= THREAT -->
VIOLENCE
- (8) Uin-Sci <==> Cim-Fen
= ACCUSATION -->
VIOLENCE
-

(I) "MAIA" (1910; three acts):-

PCP's

SCP's

Act One:

-
- (1) Maia ==> Torias
= DERISION
- (2) Renaud ==> Torias
(as told to Maia) =
JEALOUSY -->
THREAT

Act Two:

-
- (3) Maia ==> Renaud
(thought by Maia) =
JEALOUSY

Act Three:

-
- (4) Maia ==> Torias
(thought by Maia) =
VACILLATION -->
DISSENSION
- (5) Maia ==> Renaud
= ACCUSATION
- (6) Maia <==> Torias
= POLEMIC

PCP's

SCP's

-
- (7) Torias (==) Renaud
= THREAT --)
VIOLENCE
- (8) Maia (==) villagers
= VIOLENCE
-

(J) "I GIOIELLI DELLA MADONNA" (1911; three acts):-

PCP's

SCP's

Act One:

-
- (1) Carmela (==) Mariella
= POLEMIC
- (2) Gennaro (==) Mariella I
= ACCUSATION
- (3) Gennaro (==) Mariella II
= DISAPPROBATION
- (4) Gennaro (==) Mariella
(as told to Carmela)
= DISAPPROBATION
- (5) Carmela (==) Mariella
(as told to Gennaro)
= DISAPPROBATION
- (6) Camorristi ==) Biaso
= VIOLENCE
- (7) Raffaele (==) Mariella
= DERISION --)
VIOLENCE
- (8) Gennaro (==) Mariella
= DISAPPROBATION
- (9) Gennaro (==) Raffaele
= DERISION

Act Two:

-
- (10) Gennaro (==) Mariella I
= DISAPPROBATION
- (11) Gennaro (==) Mariella II
= DERISION
- (12) Gennaro (==) Mariella III
= DISAPPROBATION
- (13) Gennaro ==) Raffaele
(thought by Gennaro)
= VACILLATION
- (14) Mariella ==) Gennaro
= ACCUSATION

Act Three:

-
- (15) Raffaele ==) Gennaro
(as told to
Camorristi) =
JEALOUSY

PCP's

SCP's

- (16) Rafaele ==>
 (Maliella =
 (THREAT --)
 (MALEDICTION
 (
- (17) Camorristi ==>
 (Rafaele =
 (DERISION
- (18) Rafaele (==) Gennaro
 = VIOLENCE
- (19) Gennaro ==> Maliella
 = ACCUSATION --)
 MALEDICTION
- (20) Rafaele ==> Maliella
 = VIOLENCE
- (21) Maliella ==> Gennaro
 (suicide of
 Maliella) =
 VIOLENCE
- (22) Gennaro ==> Maliella
 (suicide of
 Gennaro) =
 VIOLENCE

(K) "ZINGARI" (1912; two acts):-

PCP's

SCP's

Act One:

- (1) Tamar ==> Radu
 (as told to Il
 Vecchio) =
 JEALOUSY
- (2) Gypsies ==> Radu
 = DISAPPROBATION
 --) THREAT
- (3) Tamar ==> Fleana I
 = THREAT
- (4) Fleana ==> Tamar II
 = ACCUSATION
- (5) Tamar (==) Radu
 = THREAT --)
 VIOLENCE
- (6) Tamar ==> Radu
 (thought by Tamar) =
 JEALOUSY

Act Two:

- (7) Radu (==) Fleana
 = ACCUSATION --)
 VIOLENCE
- (8) Radu ==> Fleana
 (thought by Radu) =
 DISSENSION

PCP's

SCP's

- (9) Radu ==> Fleana
 = VIOLENCE
 (10) Radu ==> Tamar
 = VIOLENCE

(L) "IL TABARRO" (1918; one act):--

PCP's

SCP's

- (1) Michele ==> Luigi
 (as told to
 Giorgetta) =
 DISAPPROBATION
- (2) Giorgetta ==>
 Michele =
 DISAPPROBATION
- (3) Frugola ==> Tinca =
 DISAPPROBATION
- (4) Giorgetta ==>
 Michele
 (as told to
 Luigi) =
 DISSENSION
- (5) Luigi ==> Michele
 (as told to
 Giorgetta) =
 DISSENSION
- (6) Tinca ==> wife
 (as told by
 Michele) =
 JEALOUSY
- (7) Michele ==>
 Giorgetta I =
 THREAT -->
 ACCUSATION
- (8) Michele ==>
 Giorgetta II =
 ACCUSATION
- (9) Michele ==>
 Giorgetta
 (thought by Michele)
 = VACILLATION -->
 JEALOUSY
- (10) Michele (<==>) Luigi
 = THREAT -->
 MALEDICTION -->
 VIOLENCE
- (11) Michele ==> Giorgetta
 = VIOLENCE

The above table can now be interpreted by considering both the respective numbers of Primary and Secondary Conflict Patterns and the frequency with which the various Conflict Types occur

within them. This information is best presented by cataloguing each opera in chronological order of performance, together with any relevant details. Table Three gives an overall picture of the use of Primary and Secondary Conflict Patterns within each opera and collectively:

TABLE THREE: THE RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF USE OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY CONFLICT PATTERNS:

<u>OPERA</u>	<u>PCP's</u>	<u>SCP's</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
(1) CAV.	4	7	11
(2) M.V.	7	3	10
(3) PAG.	10	4	14
(4) A.S.L.	11	7	18
(5) A.B.P.	21	8	19
(6) L'ARL.	2	8	10
(7) AMICA	5	4	9
(8) L'ORAC.	6	2	8
(9) MAIA	5	3	8
(10) G.M.	16	6	22
(11) ZING.	7	3	10
(12) TAB.	6	5	11
	<u>100</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>160</u>

Several broad conclusions may be drawn from the above table, and summarized as follows:

- (a) The discrepancy between the respective totals of Primary and Secondary Conflict Patterns shows the extent to which "verismo puro" preferred the on-stage representation of conflict to its more static equivalent. However, this should not be misinterpreted as proof that the genre was only concerned with the depiction of violence; as we have seen, Conflict Types cover a wide range of feelings and emotions, with the vast majority falling into the Mental and Verbal (rather than Physical) categories. Furthermore, the frequency of violent acts is, as we shall see in the next stage of the discussion, of less consequence than is commonly supposed.
- (b) The reasons for the preference shown to Primary Conflict Patterns can be explained by the dictum that audiences are

made more vividly aware of the situation on-stage if all conflicts pertaining to it are presented in a dynamic and forthright manner. However, one other factor must be taken into consideration, namely the lack of any Moral and Legal aspects in the patterns of conflict under examination. As shown in the previous chapter, the respective popularity of Primary and Secondary contractual developments depends on the Moral and Legal implications involved. In this way Contract Initiations and Breaks are depicted for the most part by Secondary developments (since the Legal context of such actions made it preferable for librettists to limit themselves to referring to them) whereas Contract Reinforcements are generally given a Primary position in the opera, since they deal with Moral concerns which could be openly represented on-stage. With Conflict Patterns no such complications are present; since there are no Moral or Legal implications inherent in so basic a concept as conflict between opposing parties (except in the immediate causes of that conflict, already well chronicled by Contract Initiations, Breaks and Reinforcements) librettists realized that Primary representations of such actions were not found by the audience to be morally reprehensible. On-stage conflict, while often shocking and surprising the spectator by the realism, vividness and candour of its depiction, was accepted because, in the last analysis, it represented the logical, inexorable working-out of those forces unleashed by the deliberate breaking of contractual obligations. While many found it distasteful and in some instances regrettably gratuitous, it was always recognized that the reasons for such an approach were firmly rooted in the desire for dramatic force and impetus, and as such did not constitute a criticism or threat to the spectator's own set of moral values. In a sense, the propensity of the Italian people towards the "larger than life" gesture, the theatrical flourish and the demonstrative effusion of emotion facilitated acceptance of these equivalent feelings as proffered on-stage. The Primary Conflict Pattern, with its emphasis on the visual display of such situations, was therefore well-suited to both the needs of librettists and the expectations of their audiences.

Let us now turn our attention to a detailed examination of Conflict Types, both with reference to individual operas and collectively. For the purposes of comparison the chronological order adopted in Tables One to Three will be retained. Table Four therefore shows the frequency of use of each of the conflict types enumerated in Tables One and Two:

(P.T.O.)

TABLE FOUR -- A NUMERICAL AND COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY CONFLICT TYPES

NAME OF OPERA	APPR.	VACI	JEAL.	DISS.	DISA.	POLE.	BERI.	MALE.	THRE.	ACCU.	VIOL.	TOTAL PRIN. + TOTAL SEC.	TOTAL PRIN. + TOTAL SEC.
(1) CAVALLERIA RUSTICANA	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	2	1	0	1	(7)	(7)
(2) MALA VITA	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	0	1	1	2	(10)	(15)
(3) FAGLIACCI	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	5	0	4	(15)	(20)
(4) A SANTA LUCIA	0	0	0	0	2	1	6	1	3	3	2	(20)	(27)
(5) A BASSO PORTO	0	0	0	0	4	2	4	0	14	5	3	(34)	(44)
(6) L'ARLESIANA	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	1	(3)	(14)
(7) AMICA	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	3	0	(5)	(11)
(8) L'ORACOLO	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	2	3	(9)	(11)
(9) NAIA	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	2	(6)	(11)
(10) I GIOIELLI DELLA MAONNA	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	(5)	(19)
(11) ZINGARI	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	3	2	4	(11)	(19)
(12) IL TABARRO	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	(9)	(15)
PERSPECTIVE TOTALS PRIN. + SEC.	(0) + (6)	(0) + (4)	(0) + (16)	(0) + (6)	(14) + (11)	(11) + (0)	(25) + (0)	(8) + (6)	(38) + (8)	(24) + (11)	(30) + (5)	(148) + (73)	(221)
OVERALL TOTAL PRIN. + SEC.	(6)	(4)	(16)	(6)	(25)	(11)	(25)	(14)	(44)	(35)	(35)	(221)	(221)

Several conclusions can be reached from the data presented in this table. These are listed as follows:

- (a) The respective totals of both Primary and Secondary Conflict Types within all the operas show that there are approximately twice as many Primaries as Secondaries (148 as opposed to 73). This further substantiates the evidence provided by our review of Conflict Patterns which also showed a similar ratio (100 Primaries to 60 Secondaries).
- (b) The overall totals for each opera of both Primary and Secondary Conflict Types combined show that in the period 1890-94, when "verismo puro" was at the height of its popularity, the number of conflicts of all types within individual works signals an almost hypertrophic growth from the fourteen present in "Cavalleria rusticana" to the forty-four of "A basso porto". This would appear to confirm our earlier hypothesis to the effect that the genre, in those halcyon days, underwent a process of what could perhaps be termed "dramatic over-inflation". (Such operas as "A Santa Lucia" and "A basso porto", with their incredibly high concentration of Conflict Patterns and Types, represent the culmination of this trend.) The bubble bursts, however, with the temporary demise of "verismo puro" from approximately 1895 until 1910 and its virtual, if not complete replacement by the twin offshoots of "verismo storico" and "verismo borghese". During this period operas of the genre show a marked decline in dramatic intensity, ranging from the total of fourteen Conflict Types for "L'Arliesiana" to the eleven of "Amico", "L'oracolo" and "Maia". The final revival of "verismo puro", which takes place from about 1911 until the end of the First World War, brings with it a renewal of dramatic vigour, as evidenced by the trilogy of "I gioielli della Madonna", "Zingari" and "Il tabarro".
- (c) The relative frequency of use of each Conflict Type can be gauged by comparing the respective totals over all the operas of Primaries and Secondaries combined. This data is tabulated in Table Five:

TABLE FIVE: FREQUENCY OF USE OF CONFLICT TYPES:

<u>CONFLICT TYPE</u>	<u>NATURE</u>	<u>NO. OCCURRENCES</u>
(1) THREAT	Verbal	44
(2) ACCUSATION	Verbal	35
(3) VIOLENCE	Physical	35
(4) DERISION	Verbal	25
(5) DISAPPROBATION	Verbal	25
(6) JEALOUSY	Mental	14
(7) MALEDICTION	Verbal	14
(8) POLEMIC	Verbal	11
(9) APPREHENSIVENESS	Mental	6
(10) DISSENSION	Mental	6
(11) VACILLATION	Mental	4

Several trends can be ascertained from these findings. The most important of these concerns the respective totals for all Mental, Verbal and Physical Conflict Type occurrences, which are as follows:

- (a) VERBAL = 154 occurrences
- (b) PHYSICAL = 35 " "
- (c) MENTAL = 32 " "

It will be seen, then, that the depiction of violence in "verismo puro" is achieved in the vast majority of instances by Verbal means. The physical act of violence is, in a sense, the logical culmination of a long series of Verbal clashes of one variety or another, the accumulation of which leads almost inexorably towards a climactic release of tension. In this way the portrayal of violence in "verismo puro" can be viewed as a logical extension and attenuation of the Verbal and Mental conflicts which provide the motive force for the development of the drama. As we shall see in the next and concluding chapter, violent action of one kind or another constitutes an effective solution to the overall conflict; without it, the plethora of individual struggles and discords (either Mental or Verbal) would continue endlessly, leaving the audience in a state of almost feverish anticipation and restlessness. Some solution

must therefore be sought, and what could be more convenient and dramatically effective than the instant elimination of one, if not all of the primary causes of the initial conflict? The depiction of physical violence, far from being a gratuitous fulfilment of the librettist's inner desire for truculent blood-letting, is in many cases the only way of solving the basic problem of how to terminate quickly and efficiently the multiple antagonisms of three principal characters within the extremely restricted time-span of a typical "verismo puro" work. In such a situation violence must be seen to be used, and having been used should leave the audience in no doubt as to its inevitability and indeed appropriateness.

The logistic problems posed by the small scale of most works of the genre is shown by the relatively low number of Mental Conflict Types. Referring to Table Four, we can note that there is not one single occurrence of a Primary Conflict Type of this category, all being of the Secondary variety. This can be easily explained by reference to the nature of such conflicts; since they are carried on within the mind of one person (even though for dramatic purposes they are voiced on-stage) they must inevitably be regarded as Secondary. In practice this means that Mental Conflict Types (whether Apprehensiveness, Vacillation, Jealousy or Dissension) can only be portrayed by means of the operatic equivalent of a soliloquy, which almost always takes place in the absence of other characters. Thus such scenes as Canio's "Vesti la giubba" at the end of Act One of "Pagliacci", Federico's "È la solita storia" in Act Two of "L'Arlesiana" or Maia's lament at the beginning of Act Three of the opera of the same name may be classified under this heading. It is hardly surprising that soliloquies of this type are, musically speaking, amongst the most impressive and widely-known pages in the operatic repertoire. In them the audience is informed, through the medium of the tortured and agonized outpouring of a character's innermost anguish, of the psychological flaws and weaknesses inherent in that same personality. These scenes therefore inspired many composers to such an extent that the "operatic lament" has often outlived the remainder of the work of which it is a part;⁴ it is a point of some irony that in "verismo puro" many unknown works are saved from the ignominy of total extinction by the popularity

of this type of piece. To return to our initial argument, it may be stated that the paucity within the genre of the "lamento" is due to the concern of many librettists to avoid creating a hiatus in the onward surge of dramatic action. Since the restrictions posed by the brevity of many "verismo puro" works cannot be easily overcome, the only alternative is to omit these scenes altogether or limit their occurrence and duration to such an extent that they become transient reflections of a character's inner feelings. The former solution is understandably the most common; out of the twelve sample operas, three ("Cavalleria rusticana", "Amica" and "L'oracolo") ignore the device altogether. The latter solution is utilized to some effect in several works; Nedda's momentary reflection on Canio's strange behaviour in greeting the peasants ("Qual fiamma avea nello sguardo") and Maria's jealous thoughts at the beginning of "A Santa Lucia" are good examples of the dramatic telescoping of what in earlier days would have been the cue for yet another inevitable "arioso". Even so, librettists and composers were still reluctant to portray mental conflict, partly for reasons of dramatic effect (one is reminded of Puccini's disapproval of "Vissi d'arte" on the grounds that it held up the inexorable progression of the on-stage conflict between Scarpia and Tosca) but also from an innate desire to avoid emulating the Verdian and Romantic style of melodrama, with its innumerable monologues and apostrophes which seemed at times to pad out the unwieldy fabric of a massive three or four-act work, rather than constitute an intrinsic part of the dramatic action. For the "giovane scuola" concision in dramatic purpose was an ideal which, for the most part, was strenuously upheld and often painstakingly executed.

Let us now focus our attention once more on the Conflict Pattern itself. As we have seen in the course of the present discussion, this is made up of either one or a number of Conflict Types which follow on from each other in a dramatically viable sequence. So far we have examined both Conflict Patterns and Types in isolation from one another, but if their true significance is to be fully ascertained then we must consider the differing combinations and progressions found in the various operas. Table Two, with its chronological listing of Conflict Patterns and the Conflict Types within them

has largely achieved this aim, but I now propose to examine and isolate several aspects of this data.

Let us begin with the general sequence of Primary and Secondary Conflict Patterns within each opera. A perusal of Table Two will show that as a general rule Secondary Conflict Patterns usually precede their Primary equivalents. This trend is adequately documented in the majority of operas under discussion, as several examples will promptly illustrate. In "Cavalleria rusticana" the process of dramatic development takes place over two clearly-defined stages; in the first, which runs from the beginning of the opera until Santuzza's curse upon Turiddu, the three major Primary Conflict Patterns which constitute the Santuzza-Turiddu encounter are preceded by two simultaneous Secondary Conflict Patterns (Santuzza's accusation of Turiddu and Lola, as told to Mamma Lucia); in the second, which covers Santuzza's denunciation of the culprits to Alfio to the latter's "sfida" with Turiddu, two pairs of simultaneous Secondary Conflict Patterns are followed by the face to face encounter of both men which is, in effect, a Primary Conflict Pattern. This particular sequence is also adopted in "Pagliacci", where Nedda's two Act One Secondary Conflict Patterns are followed in turn by her clashes with Tonio and Canio; the latter's "Vesti la giubba", which consists of two simultaneous Secondary Conflict Patterns, similarly paves the way for the climactic rush of Primaries in Act Two. Much the same process is adhered to in the majority of the remaining works; "A Santa Lucia" is another excellent example, with Act One consisting of three Secondaries outlining the Maria-Rosella-Ciccillo triangle being followed by two Primaries which depict both of Maria's conflicts with Totonno and Rosella. Much the same sequence occurs in Act Two, where the peripeteia of the Primary Conflict Patterns are always prepared for in advance by their equivalent Secondaries. Three other examples of the process are "Maia", "Zingari" and "Il tabarro" (all follow the general pattern from beginning to end), but several interesting anomalies are provided by "Mala vita" and "L'Arlesiana". In the first of these operas the sequence under discussion is limited to Act Two, with the other acts forming what could be described as an "outer shell" shielding the central conflict. "L'Arlesiana" shows an even more extreme

example, with Act One portraying an almost uninterrupted sequence of Secondary Conflict Patterns which persist for most of the following act and are only brought to fruition in the Primaries of Act Three.

Why is such a succession of Conflict Patterns so common an occurrence? The answer would appear to lie in the intrinsic difference between Primary and Secondary developments. On the most basic level, a Secondary Conflict Pattern is one which exists in the minds of characters and audience alike; it is thus a conflict which has not yet been translated from the realms of intent into action. Viewed from another perspective, a Secondary Conflict Pattern may be considered as a "pointer" to the spectator of what antagonisms exist between different characters, preparing him for the physical confrontations about to take place. In some operas the breaking of contractual obligations fulfils this purpose, but for the most part the task is adequately accomplished by the Secondary Conflict Pattern. A final analogy concerns the relationship between thoughts, words and actions; as a general rule the first two can be said to be represented, in many if not all instances, by the Secondary Conflict Pattern, leaving the third to its Primary equivalent. Because of the specific role of Secondaries as a kind of harbinger of impending visual conflict, it comes as no surprise to find them strategically located at those points in the libretto where the audience can be conveniently forewarned. This approach minimizes the risk of presenting too much dramatically tangible conflict too soon and too quickly, thereby overwhelming the spectator with a morass of on-stage antagonism which may only serve to confuse or alienate. The laws of the theatre are, in the view of many,⁵ immutable, and the present discussion on the relative positioning of both Primary and Secondary Conflict Patterns shows to what extent librettists were concerned with achieving the correct dramatic balance within the scenario.

The final aspect of Conflict Patterns to be discussed is the internal positioning of Conflict Types. As already stated, these are a means of defining more clearly the inherent process of dramatic development, and when we consider that both Primary and Secondary Conflict Patterns can vary in length from an

off-hand exchange to an ongoing dialogue lasting from fifteen to twenty minutes, it becomes immediately apparent that such sequences are of primary importance. A survey of Conflict Types as catalogued in Table Two reveals two major groups of combinations: those involving two varieties of conflict, and those involving three. For the sake of comprehensiveness the three-fold type have had their double combinations included under the former heading. (An example will clarify this procedure: the sequence DERISION --> THREAT --> VIOLENCE can be subdivided in two linked combinations, namely DERISION --> THREAT and THREAT --> VIOLENCE.) Both categories of Conflict Type combinations have been collated in Table Six, which indicates both the operas in which they occur and their frequency of use within those works. Furthermore, the sequences have been listed following the general order of presentation of Conflict Types as given in Table One:

TABLE SIX: DESCRIPTION AND FREQUENCY OF USE OF CONFLICT TYPE SEQUENCES:

(A) TWO-PART MENTAL SEQUENCES:

DESCRIPTION	LOCATION	FREQUENCY
(1) APPREHENSIVENESS --> DISAPPROBATION	M.V.	1
(2) APPREHENSIVENESS --> JEALOUSY	L'ARL.	1
		- 2
(3) VACILLATION --> DISSENSION	MAIA	1
(4) VACILLATION --> JEALOUSY	TAB.	1
		- 2
(5) JEALOUSY --> DISSENSION	L'ARL.	1
(6) JEALOUSY --> THREAT	MAIA	1
		- 2

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(B) TWO-PART VERBAL SEQUENCES:

DESCRIPTION	LOCATION	FREQUENCY
(1) DISAPPROBATION --> ACCUSATION	A. S. L.	1
(2) DISAPPROBATION --> DERISION	" "	1
(3) " "	A. B. P.	1
(4) DISAPPROBATION --> THREAT	" "	2
(5) " "	ZING.	1 -- 6

(6) POLEMIC --> VIOLENCE	CAV.	1
(7) POLEMIC --> ACCUSATION	A. S. L.	1 -- 2

(8) DERISION --> THREAT	PAG.	2
(9) " "	A. S. L.	2
(10) " "	A. B. P.	2
(11) DERISION --> ACCUSATION	M. V.	1
(12) " "	A. S. L.	1
(13) DERISION --> VIOLENCE	M. V.	1
(14) " "	PAG.	1
(15) " "	A. B. P.	1
(16) " "	G. M.	1
(17) " "	ZING.	1 -- 19

(18) MALEDICTION --> VACILLATION	A. B. P.	1
(19) MALEDICTION --> THREAT	CAV.	1
(20) " "	PAG.	1
(21) " "	AMICA	1
(22) MALEDICTION --> VIOLENCE	A. S. L.	1
(23) " "	L'ARL.	1
(24) " "	TAB.	1 -- 7

DESCRIPTION	LOCATION	FREQUENCY
(25) THREAT --> MALEDICTION	AMICA	1
(26) " "	G.M.	1
(27) " "	TAB.	1
(28) THREAT --> ACCUSATION	" "	1
(29) THREAT --> VIOLENCE	M.V.	1
(30) " "	PAG.	1
(31) " "	A.S.L.	1
(32) " "	A.B.P.	2
(33) " "	L'ORAC.	1
(34) " "	MAIA	1
(35) " "	ZING.	1
		<u>12</u>

(36) ACCUSATION --> DERISION	ZING.	1
(37) ACCUSATION --> MALEDICTION	A.S.L.	1
(38) " "	G.M.	1
(39) ACCUSATION --> THREAT	A.B.P.	4
(40) " "	L'ORAC.	1
(41) ACCUSATION --> VIOLENCE	" "	1
		<u>9</u>

(C) TWO-PART PHYSICAL SEQUENCES:

(1) VIOLENCE --> MALEDICTION	CAV.	1
(2) VIOLENCE --> THREAT	A.B.P.	2
(3) " "	AMICA	1
		<u>4</u>

(D) THREE-PART VERBAL + PHYSICAL SEQUENCES:

(1) DISAPPROBATION --> DERISION --> VIOLENCE	A.B.P.	1
--	--------	---

DESCRIPTION	LOCATION	FREQUENCY
(2) POLEMIC --> VIOLENCE --> MALEDICTION	CAV.	1
(3) DERISION --> THREAT --> VIOLENCE	A.S.L.	1
(4) " "	A.B.P.	1
(5) THREAT --> MALEDICTION --> VIOLENCE	TAB.	1
(6) ACCUSATION --> DERISION --> VIOLENCE	ZING.	1
(7) VIOLENCE --> THREAT --> VIOLENCE	A.B.P.	1
		7

Several conclusions may be drawn from the information presented in Table Six, and summarized as follows:

- (a) The vast majority of sequences are of the two-part type, with a grand total of fifty-nine examples compared to the seven listed as being in three parts. This is to be expected when we take into consideration the relative brevity of "verismo puro" works and the consequent need to avoid scenes of excessive length; librettists, as a rule, found that a succession of rapidly changing "scenette" offered more scope for dramatic movement within the libretto. In this way the forward impetus of the conflict being depicted is immeasurably increased, with tension generated not by the presentation of a long, protracted encounter but by a series of short, vivid tableaux which, by virtue of their transient nature, produce upon the audience an accumulation of momentary impressions, feelings and emotions. This process, whereby the spectator is subjected to the rapid ebb and flow of accelerated dramatic development, is yet another way of ensuring maximum concentration and involvement in the on-stage action. When we consider that most sequences of this kind are Primary, it can be appreciated that such an emphasis on the visual representation of conflict is a major factor in the successful accomplishment of these aims.

(b) The relative scarcity of sequences involving Mental Conflict Types would appear to substantiate the above claim; since these conflicts are by their very nature internal and limited to one character they are consequently more static than their Verbal and Physical equivalents (indeed, all are Secondary).

(c) Out of a total of forty-nine Verbal two-part sequences thirteen commence with Derision and twelve with Threats. Within these sequences the most popular combinations of Conflict Types are as follows:

(i) THREAT --> VIOLENCE = eight occurrences

(ii) DERISION --> THREAT = six occurrences

There are also two three-part sequences of the following combination:

DERISION --> THREAT --> VIOLENCE

This evidence proves once again that contrary to popular belief conflict in "verismo puro" is not always depicted by acts of violence; most Conflict Types are, as we have seen, of the Verbal variety, and whereas these often provide the necessary impetus for eventual violent action it is quite clear that the principal aim of the genre was to maintain an ongoing state of sustained tension over the greater part of the opera. This it achieves, as has been demonstrated, through the liberal use of two-part Conflict Type sequences which are wholly Verbal in nature.

(d) The extremely limited use of the two-part Physical Conflict Type sequence confirms once again the propensity of librettists towards non-violent means of portraying antagonism between characters. The fact that most two-part sequences of this kind are incorporated into the larger three-part combinations shows the extent to which violence is rarely depicted in isolation. As a rule it is preceded by two other Conflict Types so that the final three-part sequence shows a logical progression from Verbal exchanges of various kinds to the final and irrevocable application of physical violence. In this way the audience is prepared

in advance by a series of theatrical "données" which, in addition to increasing tension, bridge the gap between words and action in such a way that the progression from one to another appears wholly natural and uncontrived. It is obvious, therefore, that at such points in the drama there is little if any place for Mental conflict, as a survey of the composition of three-part sequences will promptly confirm; moreover, the dynamic nature of the on-stage action obviates any need for reflective delay, and once commenced accelerates to an inevitable and almost welcome climax which, once attained, provides an immediate solution to the dilemma in question.

With our exposé of Conflict Patterns in "verismo puro" now virtually complete, all that remains to be done is to re-affirm the tripartite structure of the majority of works of the genre; expressed in its most basic terms, this is the dictum that "characters initiate, reinforce and break contracts which then form the basis of sustained conflicts". All three aspects have been analyzed, illustrated and critically assessed in both the present and two preceding chapters, but one broad area of discussion still remains. Since hitherto we have been primarily concerned with what one might describe as the "building bricks" of dramatic structure (namely Character Types, Contract Initiations, Reinforcements, Breaks and Conflict Patterns) some kind of framework within which the interrelationship of these components can be adequately studied must now be proposed. When this is achieved the interior mechanism of each opera will be revealed in such a way as to facilitate our understanding of the dramatic forces involved in its functioning. Only then can a final verdict be reached and a tentative hypothesis ventured, as the concluding chapter will now demonstrate.

NOTES

- (1) As Racine comments in his preface to "Bérénice" (1668), "Ce n'est point une nécessité qu'il y ait du sang et des morts dans une tragédie; il suffit que l'action en soit grande, que les acteurs en soient héroïques, que les passions y soient excitées, et que tout s'y ressente de cette tristesse majestueuse qui fait tout le plaisir de la tragédie".
- (2) Lord Chesterfield, writing in the "World" in 1754, was in no doubt as to which was the more important:
- Were what is called the poetry of it (i.e. of Italian opera) intelligible in itself, it would not be understood by one in fifty of a British audience; but I believe that even an Italian of common candour will confess that he does not understand one word of it. It is not the intention of the thing; for should the ingenious author of the words, by mistake, put any meaning into them, he would, to a certain degree, check and cramp the genius of the composer of the music, who perhaps might then think himself obliged to adapt his sounds to the sense; whereas now he is at liberty to scatter indiscriminately, among the kings, queens, heroes, and heroines, his adagios, his allegros, his pathetico, his chromaticos, and his jiggs.
- (quoted in the "Musical Times" (December 1898), p.799)
- (3) See Part Two, Chapter Two, Section Two (pp.58-60).
- (4) The most famous example is that from Monteverdi's "Arianna" (1608), and is all that survives of that opera.
- (5) Amongst whom we may cite Racine and Corneille.

CHAPTER FOUR
=====

Dramatic Structure

The last three chapters have dealt in considerable detail with the constituent elements of "verismo puro", namely CHARACTERS, CONTRACTS and CONFLICTS. The purpose of the present discussion is to show how these coalesce into one dramatic entity within the operatic libretto, and to examine both the interlinking and interplay between the individual components concerned. This is best achieved by adopting a linear approach; that is to say, by examining each opera's dramatic development from start to finish, following the chronological sequence of events portrayed. In this way the crucial factors of dramatic balance, forward impetus and division of acts can be considered within the context of individual scenarios rather than in a vague and generalized discussion. The inner complexity of the typical "verismo puro" libretto makes it advisable to discuss a simplified model of dramatic structure before embarking on the greater detail of the original; in a sense, one must acquaint oneself with the general outline prior to commenting on both the composition and inter-relationship of the constituent parts. For present purposes a broad overview is thus necessary, as this will provide a logical starting point from which a detailed picture can be built up.

Let us begin, then, with some general points regarding dramatic structure. As we have seen over the course of previous chapters, the generation of excitement and suspense is achieved primarily by visual means; in Puccini's words, "l'evidenza della situazione" is all-important.¹ To this end plots must be straightforward and simple in development, so that both the action and its motivations will remain, as far as

possible, self-explanatory. Furthermore the "verismo puro" libretto, because of its lack of subplots and extensive in-depth delineation of characters, must compensate for their absence by other purely theatrical means. Since the audience, faced with a scenario of almost devastating simplicity, is unlikely to be stimulated by the uninspired portrayal of stereotyped situations involving generalized, nondescript characters, some other means of holding their interest must be found. "Verismo puro" achieves this by the depiction of a sequence of short, dramatically visual scenes which rivet the spectator's attention from start to finish. It is, to all intents and purposes, the same kind of technique as that employed by such dramatists as Victorien Sardou, whose theory of the "well-made play" utilized time-honoured theatrical devices to ensure that dramatic tension was swiftly generated, sustained and then amplified to great effect. Audiences had to be caught up in the on-stage action to such an extent that the desire to see the dilemma satisfactorily concluded became of paramount importance; in the same way as the best thriller writers devise the unfolding of their story-line in such a manner as to compel further reading, librettists found it necessary to engage the spectator's attention as quickly as possible (the limited time-scale of "verismo puro" made this especially difficult) and having done this sustain his interest until the end of the opera. But how could dramatic tension be presented in so concentrated a form to an audience which, in many cases, might be shocked, flummoxed or simply bewildered by its sudden and gratuitous application? The second aspect of this question is easily answered; since "verismo puro", by dint of its complex structure of Contract Initiations, Breaks and Reinforcements justified the actions of its characters, spectators were rarely placed in the position of querying their motivation. How, then, could the objective of maximum dramatic impact within a minimum time-scale be achieved? The solution lay in the adoption of a three-stage approach which may be illustrated as follows:

EXPOSITION --> DEVELOPMENT --> CLIMAX

The logic behind this pattern lies in the linear progression from a situation of low dramatic tension, through a

bridge-passage in which conflicts are depicted, to the culmination of the dilemma in question; in other words, there is an onward acceleration which is only checked either by a breaking-point being reached or a solution achieved. In this way the audience is initiated slowly and somewhat carefully into the action, but as soon as such an entry is completed the involvement process is immeasurably speeded up, with the result that by the end of either act or opera maximum tension has been generated. This model is of course a traditional one, and has been used on countless occasions in both literary and musical contexts, but its value in the present discussion lies in the fact that it allows us to appreciate to what extent "verismo puro" librettists built upon previous dramatic practice in their search for new modes of expression. A few examples will elucidate this process, and once they have been noted and examined the remaining operas under discussion may be analyzed in the same way.¹

(P.T.O.)

TABLE ONE: THE DRAMATIC STRUCTURE OF "CAVALLERIA RUSTICANA AND "FAGLIACCI"

(A) "CAVALLERIA RUSTICANA":

EXPOSITION	DEVELOPMENT	CLIMAX	EXPOSITION	DEVELOPMENT	CLIMAX
(Devotion of peasants in fields; Alfio's song)	(Santuzza's confession to Mama Lucia; entry of villagers into church; confrontation with Turiddu; appearance of Lola)	(Santuzza's curse on Turiddu and her betrayal of him to Alfio)	(Devotion of peasants in fields; Turiddu's "brindisi")	(Alfio's refusal to drink; dual challenge)	(Turiddu's farewell to mother and his killing by Alfio)
(LOCAL COLOUR) -->	(CONFLICT) -->	(BREAKING POINT)	(LOCAL COLOUR) -->	(CONFLICT) -->	(SOLUTION)

(B) "FAGLIACCI":

EXPOSITION	DEVELOPMENT	CLIMAX	EXPOSITION	DEVELOPMENT	CLIMAX
(Arrival of troupe in town; Canio's announcement of show)	(Canio's warning to crowd; Nedda's "ballatella"; her spurning of Tonio; her meeting with Silvio; Tonio's betrayal of her to Canio)	(Canio's chase of Silvio; his lament over his wife's infidelity ("Vestibla giubbe"))	(Arrival of villagers at play)	(Second meeting of Nedda and Silvio; mock play performed; Canio begins to confuse fantasy with reality; accusation of Nedda)	(Stabbing of Nedda and Silvio)
(LOCAL COLOUR) -->	(CONFLICT) -->	(BREAKING POINT)	(LOCAL COLOUR) -->	(CONFLICT) -->	(SOLUTION)

This table, while showing the sequence of events in both operas as classified by the Exposition-Development-Climax model, demonstrates some additional features of interest. These include the subheadings describing the nature of each stage in the process of dramatic development; thus in Act One of "Pagliacci" we have the pattern "Local Colour - Conflict - Breaking Point", and in Act Two of the same work an identical sequence except for the last stage, which is now termed "Climax". These descriptions are self-explanatory, but it should be borne in mind that they are primarily broad generalizations designed only to indicate the principal phases of dramatic movement within the libretto, and as such the terminology may change when describing the differing situations depicted in the various operas. Furthermore the lines of acceleration indicated (with the salutary pause being provided in many cases by an orchestral intermezzo) are also approximate; in reality the ebb and flow of dramatic tension is much more complex and will be fully examined in due course. Meanwhile, here are the remaining operas interpreted on this broad structural basis:

TABLE TWO: DRAMATIC STRUCTURE - A PRELIMINARY MODEL:

EXPOSITION ---->	DEVELOPMENT ---->	CLIMAX
-----	-----	-----
(1) " <u>MALA VITA</u> " (1892; three acts):		
Act One:		

(Details of)	(Meeting of)	(Taunts of)
(Vito's)	(Vito with)	(Annetiello;)
(illness;)-->	(Cristina)-->	(fight with)
(taking of)	(and promise)	(Vito;)
(vow; row)	(of marriage)	(renewal of)
(with)		(promise of)
(Amalia;)		(marriage)
(entry of)		(to Cristina)
(Annetiello)		
NARRATIVE + -->	CONSOLIDATION -->	APPARENT
LOCAL COLOUR		SOLUTION

(P.T.O.)

EXPOSITION -----> DEVELOPMENT -----> CLIMAX

Act Two:

(Amalia's)	(Arrival of)	(Fight)
(confession)	(Cristina;)	(between)
(to Nunzia;)	(verbal)	(Amalia and)
(wish to see)-->	(conflict)-->	(Cristina;)
(Cristina;)	(between)	(intercess-)
(entry of)	(Amalia and)	(ion by)
(Annetiello)	(Cristina)	(Nunzia;)
(with)		(entry of)
(drunken)		(Vito and)
(mob)		(renewal of)
		(relations)
		(with Amalia)

NARRATIVE + --> CONFLICT --> BREAKING POINT +
 LOCAL COLOUR APPARENT SOLUTION

(Intermezzo)

Act Three:

(Vito's)	(Entry of)	(Departure)
("brindisi")	(Cristina;)	(of Vito and)
(and)-->	(supplicat-)-->	(Amalia;)
(Annetiel-)	(ions to)	(return of)
(lo's song)	(Vito; scorn)	(Cristina to)
	(of Amalia)	(brothel)

LOCAL COLOUR --> CONFLICT --> SOLUTION

(2) "A SANTA LUCIA" (1892; two acts):

Act One:

(Street)	(Oyster)	(Verbal)
(scene with)	(episode;)	(conflict)
(local)	(taunting by)	(between)
(vendors;)	(Maria and)	(Ciocillo)
(Totunno's)-->	(fight with)-->	(and Maria)
(comic song;)	(Rosella;)	(and)
(Rosella's)	(intercess-)	(Rosella;)
(flower song)	(ion by)	(reaffirm-)
	(Totunno)	(ation of)
		(love)
		(between)
		(Ciocillo)
		(and Rosella)

NARRATIVE + --> CONFLICT --> APPARENT SOLUTION
 LOCAL COLOUR

(Intermezzo)

Act Two:

(Fisherman's)	(Revelation)	(Ciocillo's)
(chorus and)	(by Totunno)	(denunciat-)
(scheming of)-->	(to Maria)	(ion of)
(Maria and)	(that he)	(father and)
(Tore)	(intends to)-->	(Rosella;)
	(marry)	(her subse-)
	(Rosella;)	(quent)
	(Maria tells)	(despair and)
	(this to)	(suicide)
	(Ciocillo)	

NARRATIVE + --> CONFLICT --> BREAKING POINT +
 LOCAL COLOUR SOLUTION

(3) "A BASSO PORTO" (1894; three acts):

EXPOSITION ----> DEVELOPMENT ----> CLIMAX

Act One:

(Pascale's)	(Fight)	(News of)
(tavern;)	(between)	(arrest of)
(Luigino's)	(Luigino and)	(Camorrista;)
(gambling)	(Pascale;)	(Maria's)
(and disapp-)-->	(Ciccillo's)-->	(suggestion)
(robation of)	(revelation)	(that)
(Maria and)	(that)	(Ciccillo is)
(Sesella)	(Camorra has)	(a traitor)
	(been betr-)	
	(ayed; love)	
	(scene)	
	(between)	
	(Ciccillo)	
	(and)	
	(Sesella;)	
	(Maria's)	
	(plea to)	
	(Ciccillo)	

NARRATIVE + --> CONFLICT --> BREAKING POINT
LOCAL COLOUR

Act Two:

(Luigino's)	(Luigino's)	(Sesella's)
("brindisi")	(confront-)	(denuncia-)
(and love)-->	(ation with)	(tion of)
(song)	(Ciccillo;)	(Ciccillo as)
	(latter's)	(traitor;)
	(monologue;)	(decision of)
	(his denun-)-->	(Camorra to)
	(ciation of)	(appoint)
	(Maria to)	(Luigino as)
	(Sesella;)	(assassin;)
	(their)	(Maria's)
	(subsequent)	(opposition)
	(conflict)	
	(and recon-)	
	(ciliation)	

LOCAL COLOUR --> CONFLICT --> BREAKING POINT

(Intermezzo)

Act Three:

(Prelude and)	(Maria's)	(Maria's)
(Maria's)-->	(encounter)-->	(stabbing of)
(prayer)	(with)	(Ciccillo)
	(Ciccillo)	

LOCAL COLOUR --> CONFLICT --> SOLUTION

(P.T.O.)

(4) "L'ARLESIANA" (1897; three acts):

EXPOSITION ----> DEVELOPMENT ----> CLIMAX

Act One:

(Baldassare)	(Arrival of)	(Federico)
(and l'Inno-)	(Vivetta,)	(finds out)
(cente;)	(who finds)	(about his)
(Rosa's)-->	(out about)-->	(fiancee's)
(worry over)	(Federico's)	(sordid past)
(son's)	(impending)	(and)
(engagement)	(marriage;)	(determines)
	(return of)	(to forget)
	(Federico)	(her)
	(and decla-)	
	(ration of)	
	(wedding)	
	(date;)	
	(arrival of)	
	(Metifio and)	
	(revelation)	
	(to Rosa of)	
	(l'Arlesi-)	
	(ana's)	
	(faithless-)	
	(ness)	

NARRATIVE --> CONFLICT --> APPARENT SOLUTION

Act Two:

(Search for)	(Finding of)	(Federico's)
(Federico)	(Federico;)	(decision to)
(by Rosa,)-->	(Rosa's plea)-->	(return)
(Vivetta and)	(to him to)	(home and)
(Baldassare)	(return)	(marry)
	(home;)	(Vivetta)
	(Vivetta's)	
	(profession)	
	(of love and)	
	(subsequent)	
	(but)	
	(temporary)	
	(spurning by)	
	(Federico)	

NARRATIVE --> CONFLICT --> APPARENT SOLUTION

(Intermezzo)

Act Three:

(Preparat-)	(Arrival of)	(Federico's)
(ions for)	(Metifio to)	(attack on)
(wedding;)	(collect)	(Metifio;)
(Federico's)	(letters;)	(intercess-)
(assurance)-->	(revelation)-->	(ion of)
(to Vivetta)	(that he is)	(Rosa;)
(that he has)	(still in)	(Federico's)
(forgotten)	(love with)	(eventual)
(l'Arlesi-)	(l'Arlesi-)	(suicide)
(ana)	(ana;)	
	(subsequent)	
	(jealousy of)	
	(Federico)	

NARRATIVE + --> CONFLICT --> BREAKING POINT
 LOCAL COLOUR + SOLUTION

(5) "AMICA" (1905; two acts):

EXPOSITION ----> DEVELOPMENT ----> CLIMAX

Act One:

(Shepherd's)	(Amica's)	(Arrival of)
(chorus and)	(impassive-)	(Rinaldo;)
(Camoina's)	(ness to)	(elopement)
("Brindisi";)	(Giorgio's)	(of Amica)
(revelation)	(protest-)	(and)
(of)-->	(ations of)-->	(Rinaldo;)
(Giorgio's)	(love;)	(Giorgio's)
(love for)	(Camoina's)	(fury at)
(Amica;)	(ultimatum)	(apparent)
(passant)	(to Amica)	(abduction)
(dancing)		

NARRATIVE + ---> CONFLICT --> APPARENT SOLUTION
LOCAL COLOUR

(Intermezzo)

Act Two:

(Giorgio's)	(Discovery)	(Giorgio's)
(search for)-->	(of Rinaldo)	(fainting;)
(Amica)	(and Amica;)	(abandon-)
	(denuncia-)-->	(ment by)
	(tion by)	(Amica by)
	(Giorgio of)	(Rinaldo;)
	(Rinaldo)	(death of)
		(Amica)

NARRATIVE --> CONFLICT --> BREAKING POINT
+ SOLUTION

(6) "L'ORACOLO" (1905; one act):

(Gambler's)	(Cim-Fen's)	(Confront-)
(in opium-)	(offer of)	(ation)
(den; Cim-)	(marriage to)	(between)
(Fen's)	(Ah-Joe;)	(Uin-Sci)
(diatribe)	(abduction)-->	(and Cim-)
(against the)	(of child;)	(Fen;)
(wealthy;)-->	(confront-)	(killing of)
(his)	(ation)	(Cim-Fen)
(relation-)	(between)	
(ship with)	(San-Lui and)	
(Hua-Gui;)	(Cim-Fen;)	
(his love)	(murder of)	
(for Ah-Joe;)	(San-Lui)	
(Chinese)		
(New Year)		
(celebrat-)		
(ions)		

NARRATIVE + ---> CONFLICT --> SOLUTION
LOCAL COLOUR

(P.T.O.)

(7) "MAIA" (1910; three acts):

EXPOSITION ----> DEVELOPMENT ----> CLIMAX

Act One:

(Chorus of)	(Entry of)	(Arrival of)
(Provençal)	(Torias; his)	(Renaud;)
(peasants;)-->	(revelation)-->	(reaffirm-)
(Maia's sad)	(that Renaud)	(ation of)
(demeanour)	(has a)	(his love)
	(fiancée;)	(for Maia)
	(Maia's vow)	

NARRATIVE + --> CONFLICT --> APPARENT SOLUTION
LOCAL COLOUR

Act Two:

(Scene at)	(Maia's)	(Maia's)
(fair;)	(realization)	(fulfilment)
(Maia's)-->	(that Renaud)-->	(of her vow)
(Provençal)	(is at fair)	(to Torias)
(song;)	(with)	
(entry of)	(fiancée)	
(Torias;)		
(Renaud's)		
(song to)		
(villagers)		

Act Three:

(Maia's)	(Arrival of)	(Entry of)
(monologue)-->	(Renaud;)	(Torias;)
	(reaffirm-)	(conflict)
	(ation of)-->	(with)
	(his love)	(Renaud;)
	(for Maia)	(death of)
		(Torias;)
		(suicide of)
		(Maia)

NARRATIVE --> CONSOLIDATION --> CONFLICT +
SOLUTION

(8) "I GIOIELLI DELLA MADONNA" (1911; 3 acts):

Act One:

(Crowd)	(Arrival of)	(Dispute)
(scene;)	(Rafaele and)	(between)
(Gennaro's)	(Camorristi;)	(Gennaro)
(prayer;)	(his)-->	(and)
(revelation)	(dalliance)	(Rafaele)
(of his love)	(with)	(over)
(for)	(Maliella;)	(Maliella)
(Maliella;)-->	(passing of)	
(Maliella's)	(jewels of)	
(song to)	(Madonna and)	
(crowd;)	(Rafaele's)	
(disapproval)	(taunt)	
(of Gennaro)	(regarding)	
(and Carmela)	(them)	

NARRATIVE + --> CONFLICT --> APPARENT SOLUTION
LOCAL COLOUR

(Intermezzo)

(P.T.O.)

EXPOSITION ----> DEVELOPMENT ----> CLIMAX

Act Two:

(Singing in)	(Gennaro's)	(Gennaro's)
(distance;)	(avowal of)	(theft of)
(Maliella's)-->	(love to)	(jewels and)
(upstairs)	(Maliella;)	(his return)
(serenade)	(her chall-)	(to)
	(enge to him)-->	(Maliella;)
	(to steal)	(consummat-)
	(Madonna's)	(ion of)
	(jewels;)	(Gennaro's)
	(meeting)	(love)
	(with)	
	(Rafaele)	

NARRATIVE + --> CONFLICT --> APPARENT SOLUTION
 LOCAL COLOUR

(Intermezzo)

Act Three:

(Den of)	(Denuciation)	(Revelation)
(Camorristi;)	(of Maliella)	(that jewels)
(Rafaele's)	(by Rafaele;)	(have been)
("brindisi");)-->	(arrival of)-->	(stolen;)
(dancing and)	(Gennaro;)	(suicide of)
(orgy)	(fight)	(Maliella)
	(between)	(and Gennaro)
	(both men;)	
	(intervent-	
	(ion of)	
	(Rocco)	

LOCAL COLOUR --> CONFLICT --> SOLUTION

(9) "ZINGARI" (1912; two acts):

Act One:

(Chorus of)	(Capture of)	(Marriage of)
(gypsy)	(Radu by)	(Radu and)
(black-)	(gypsies;)	(Fleana;)
(smiths;)	(intercess-	(Tamar's)
(revelation)-->	(ion of)	(song in the)
(that Tamar)	(Fleana;)-->	(distance;)
(is in love)	(acceptance)	(avowal of)
(with Fleana)	(of Radu)	(love)
	(into gypsy)	(between)
	(community;)	(Radu and)
	(fight)	(Fleana)
	(between)	
	(Radu and)	
	(Tamar;)	
	(intercess-	
	(ion of)	
	(Fleana)	

NARRATIVE + --> CONFLICT --> APPARENT SOLUTION
 LOCAL COLOUR

(Intermezzo)

(P. T. O.)

EXPOSITION ----> DEVELOPMENT ----> CLIMAX

Act Two:

(Avowal of)	(Verbal)	(Clandestine)
(love)	(conflict)	(meeting of)
(between)-->	(between)	(Tamar and)
(Tamar and)	(Radu and)-->	(Fleana;)
(Fleana)	(Fleana;)	(discovery)
	(Radu's)	(by Radu;)
	(monologue)	(deaths of)
		(Tamar and)
		(Fleana)

NARRATIVE --> CONFLICT --> SOLUTION

(10) "IL TABARRO" (1918; one act):

(Work of)	(Clandestine)	(Michele's)
(stevedores)	(meeting)	(memories of)
(on barge;)	(between)	(former)
(breakdown)	(Luigi and)	(happiness;)
(in commun-)	(Giorgetta;)	(confront-)
(ication)	(avowal of)	(ation with)
(between)	(love to one)	(Luigi;)
(Giorgetta)	(another;)-->	(death of)
(and)	(decision to)	(Luigi;)
(Michele;)-->	(flee from)	(hiding of)
(wine-)	(barge;)	(dead man in)
(drinking)	(Michele's)	(cloak and)
(and dancing)	(indirect)	(his)
(scene;)	(challenge)	(revelation)
(Frugola-)	(to)	(to)
(Giorgetta)	(Giorgetta)	(Giorgetta)
(episode;)		
(Luigi's)		
(diatribe)		

NARRATIVE + --> CONFLICT --> SOLUTION
 LOCAL COLOUR

Having examined the broad structural outline of the "verismo puro" works under discussion, we shall now consider the constituent parts in greater detail. Over the course of the last few chapters the nature of Contracts and Conflicts has been the subject of much discussion, but it is obvious that these motive forces, while constituting what one might term the "backbone" of a typical scenario, are by no means the only dramatic elements in play; as we shall see there are several others, which for the sake of convenience we shall term "Subsidiary Forces". These can be regarded as providing the essential dramaturgical links between the framework of Contracts and Conflicts co-existing within the libretto, and as such help to bridge the gap between the various peripeteia of the on-stage action. In this sense their function is to fill out the bare outline of the plot in such a way that the completed opera progresses smoothly from start to finish,

without any of the dramatic lacunae which often occur in works of this brevity. In practice the easiest way to achieve such unity of action and purpose is to ensure that the generation and flow of dramatic tension remains unimpeded and undergoes a process of continuous acceleration towards the end of individual acts. Subsidiary Forces aid this forward impetus in two main ways; by increasing dramatic tension (as one would expect), but also by decreasing it where necessary. The latter process may seem puzzling until we consider our earlier observation regarding the necessity of avoiding within the libretto any precipitant over-indulgence in dramatic effect, since such mismanagement could easily alienate or bewilder the audience. It has already been demonstrated that one way of spreading the dramatic load is by means of a gentle exposition, leading swiftly to a development section which then accelerates speedily to a climax. (Table Two has shown how this general plan is adhered to in the vast majority of operas.) Subsidiary Forces help to shape and sustain this forward momentum by increasing and decreasing tension by means of a series of theatrical devices, whose use within the larger framework of Contract and Conflict Patterns creates a continuous ebb and flow of dramatic pressure. Thus the spectator is led through a progression of rapidly changing tableaux which in turn generate suspense and then deflate it; in other words, a sequence of varied yet homogeneous vignettes of either a dramatic or lyrical quality. This two-fold nature can best be delineated by referring to Subsidiary Forces as being either "Positive" or "Negative" (this appellation will subsequently be applied to Contract and Conflict Patterns). Positive forces are those which decrease tension; Negative forces increase it, and by applying this simple yet crucially important concept to the entire sequence of events within the libretto we can achieve a greater knowledge of the overall progression and accumulation of dramatic tension. For the moment, however, let us discuss the nature and role of Subsidiary Forces. Table Three provides an outline of the various types (subdivided into Positive and Negative categories), together with a short definition of each:

(P.T.O.)

TABLE THREE: POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE SUBSIDIARY FORCES:

- (A) POSITIVE (+) = those forces extraneous to the inner core conflict which decrease tension:
- (a) CIRCUMSTANTIAL STABILIZERS = events impinging upon or brought about by either one or more characters with the express intent of momentarily arresting the onward impetus of the dramatic action.
 - (b) DIVINE FORCES = the use of prayer by one or more characters, where this is directed towards the concept of a just and merciful God and with the express intent of momentarily arresting the onward impetus of the dramatic action.
 - (c) SOCIETAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL FORCES = the use of "local colour" as evidenced by the depiction of ways of life, traditions and customs, when such exposés are presented in a picturesque and lyrical manner with the express intent of momentarily arresting the onward impetus of the dramatic action.
 - (d) MENTAL FORCES = the depiction of the dreams, fantasies and reminiscences of either one or more characters (e.g. the evocation of happy events in the past, dreams of future fulfilment and contentment, and the enforced escape from reality into the realms of fantasy) with the express intent of momentarily arresting the onward impetus of the dramatic action.
 - (e) MISCELLANEOUS FORCES = musical preludes, interludes and intermezzi which momentarily arrest the onward impetus of the dramatic action.
- (B) NEGATIVE (-) = those forces extraneous to the inner core conflict which increase tension:
- (a) CIRCUMSTANTIAL CATALYSTS = events impinging upon or brought about by either one or more characters with the express intent of momentarily accelerating the onward impetus of the dramatic action.

- (b) **DIVINE FORCES** = the use of prayer by one or more characters, where this is directed towards the concept of an unjust and merciless God whose power over human destiny is absolute and unyielding and momentarily accelerates the onward impetus of the dramatic action.
- (c) **SOCIETAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL FORCES** = the depiction of social problems, tensions and injustices and the occasional highlighting of particular forms of organized opposition against these; the portrayal of the environment as being the primary cause for social evils of these types, or alternatively as the motive force for a particular event; both categories momentarily accelerate the onward impetus of the dramatic action.
- (d) **MENTAL FORCES** = the depiction of the dreams, fantasies or reminiscences of either one or more characters (e.g. the evocation of sad events in the past, the apprehensive anticipation of future events, and the enforced escape from reality into the realms of fantasy) with the express intent of momentarily accelerating the forward impetus of the dramatic action.
- (e) **MISCELLANEOUS FORCES** = musical preludes, interludes and intermezzi; all happenings of an ominous nature which point to some future catastrophe; both categories momentarily accelerate the onward impetus of the dramatic action.

As can be seen from the table, there are four types of Subsidiary Force, each of which can be utilized in either a Positive or Negative capacity; whereas the detail of the individual definitions may differ somewhat, the initial concept of the momentary increase or decrease in dramatic tension holds true. It will be noticed that several of these definitions have direct links with the summary descriptions of the Exposition - Development - Climax model given in Table Two; this is fully consistent with our earlier plan of procedure, since broad categorizations of dramatic development must inevitably precede the present and more detailed analysis. Before continuing, however, we must examine the relative frequency of use and nature of both Positive and Negative Subsidiary Forces in the

operas under discussion; this information is provided in Table Four, which analyzes the individual works from these twin perspectives:

TABLE FOUR: POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE SUBSIDIARY FORCES:

<u>OPERA</u>	<u>TYPE</u>	<u>FREQUENCY</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
(1) CAV.	Circum. Stab.	1	Removal of Lola by villagers from scene of dual challenge
(2) " "	Positive Divine	1	Easter hymn and procession into church
(3) " "	Positive Soc.+ Env.	4	Entries and portrayals of work of peasants in fields; Alfio's song to villagers; Turiddu's "brindisi"
(4) " "	Positive Misc.	1	Intermezzo
(5) " "	Circum. Cat.	1	Entry of Lola
(6) " "	Negative Soc.+ Env.	1	Social implications of Santuzza's excommunication
(7) " "	Negative Mental	1	Santuzza's "Voi lo sapete" (reminisces of Turiddu's former love for her)
(8) " "	Negative Misc.	1	Alfio's questioning of Mamma Lucia as to whereabouts of Turiddu (omen)

(P.T.Q.)

<u>OPERA</u>	<u>TYPE</u>	<u>FREQUENCY</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
(1) M.V.	Circum. Stab.	2	Marco's reassurances to Vito; Nunzia's intervention in fight between Amalia and Cristina
(2) " "	Positive Divine	1	Vito's vow to the Madonna
(3) " "	Positive Sec.+ Env.	4	Annet- iello's Piedigrotta song, "brindisi" and dialect song; Vito's serenade
(4) " "	Positive Misc.	1	Orchestral tarantella played as prelude to Act Three
(5) " "	Circum. Cat.	1	Vito's collapse in the "tintoria"
(6) " "	Negative Divine	1	Cristina's belief in the exist- ence of a cruel God when aband- oned by Vito
(7) " "	Negative Sec.+ Env.	2	Account of Cristina's life of prostitut- ion; her return to brothel
(8) " "	Negative Misc.	2	Marco's cryptic refer- ence to liaison between Vito and Amalia; Act Two musical interlude describing storm

(P.T.O.)

OPERA	TYPE	FREQUENCY	DESCRIPTION
(1) PAG.	Circum. Stab.	2	Beppe's calming of Canio; Nedda's attempt to continue play ("Suvvia, cosi terribile")
(2) " "	Positive Soc. + Env.	4	Arrival of troupe; peasants' Vespers chorus; arrival of villagers for start of play; beginning of play itself
(3) " "	Positive Mental	2	Nedda's bird song; Canio's reminisc- ences of former happiness ("Sperai, tanto il delirio")
(4) " "	Positive Misc.	1	Intermezzo
(5) " "	Circum. Cat.	4	Tonio's discovery of Nedda's liaison; his advice to Canio ("E meglio fingerere"); the words "Io sarò tua" heard by Canio during play; Tonio's prevention of Beppe intervening in on-stage conflict
(6) " "	Negative Misc.	1	Canio's warning to troupe and villagers ("Un tal gioco"; omen)

(P.T.O.)

OPERA	TYPE	FREQUENCY	DESCRIPTION
(1) A.S.L.	Circum. Stab.	3	Totonno's intervention in fight between Rosella and Maria; Concettina's intercession for Rosella (Act One) and in argument between Rosella and Maria (Act Two)
(2) " "	Positive Divine	1	Church hymns (Act One)
(3) " "	Positive Soc. + Env.	3	Street scene with local vendors; Totonno's comic song; fishermen's chorus
(4) " "	Positive Mental	2	Rosella's memories of window-sill flower; Totonno's evocation of his youthful love for Rosella's mother
(5) " "	Positive Misc.	1	Intermezzo
(6) " "	Negative Misc.	2	Maria's remark that Totonno is in love with Rosella; Ciccillo's fear that Rosella will betray him (omens)
<hr/>			
(1) <u>A.E.F.</u>	Circum. Stab.	3	Maria's intercessions in fights between Luigino and Pascale and Luigino and Ciccillo; her intervention to prove her son's innocence to Camorristi;

OPERA	TYPE	FREQUENCY	DESCRIPTION
(2) A.B.P. (cont.)	Positive Divine	2	Maria's prayers (Acts One and Three)
(3) " "	Positive Soc. + Env.	3	Luigino's "brindisi" and love- song; reprise of love-song at end of Act Two
(4) " "	Positive Mental	1	Ciccillo's reminisc- ences of his past love for Maria
(5) " "	Positive Miso.	1	Intermezzo
(6) " "	Circum. Cat.	6	Ciccillo's revelation that Camo- rristi have been betra- yed; news of arrest of Camorr- ists; Sesella's denunciat- ion of Ciccillo; Maria's denunciat- ion of same; decision to appoint Luigino as assassin; sound of music prior to death of Ciccillo
(7) " "	Negative Soc. + Env.	1	Sesella's comment regarding the excessive heat (beginning of Act One)
(8) " "	Negative Mental	4	Maria's sad memories of her love for Ciccillo; her tortur- ed visions and dreams of Carmela; Ciccillo's reminisc- ences of his "betrayal" by Maria";

OPERA	TYPE	FREQUENCY	DESCRIPTION
(8) A.B.P. (cont.)	Negative Mental	4	Maria's account of how Ciccillo spurned her
(9) " "	Negative Misc.	1	Maria's suggestion that Ciccillo may be a traitor (end of Act One; omen)
(1) <u>L'ARL.</u>	Circum. Stab.	3	Baldassare's song of the mountains; his words of advice to Metifio; Rosa's intervention in fight between Federico and Metifio
(2) " "	Positive Soc. + Env.	4	Marco's entrance with peasants; Federico's "brindisi"; wedding preparations; Baldassare's farewell song
(3) " "	Positive Mental	1	Vivetta's memories of her girlish love for Federico
(4) " "	Positive Misc.	1	Musical prelude to Act Three
(5) " "	Circum. Cat.	1	Arrival of Metifio (Act Three) and misunderstanding over letters
(6) " "	Negative Divine	1	Rosa's prayer (Act Three)

(P.T.O.)

<u>OPERA</u>	<u>TYPE</u>	<u>FREQUENCY</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
(7) <u>L'ARL</u>	Negative Soc. + Env.	1	Baldassare's account of treatment of l'Innocente ("Come due tizzi accessi")
(8) " "	Negative Misc.	2	Episode where l'Innocente almost falls from window; Federico's impression that he hears voice of l'Arlesiana (omens)
(1) <u>AMICA</u>	Positive Soc. + Env.	3	Shepherd's chorus; Camoine's "brindisi"; peasant's dance
(2) " "	Positive Mental	3	Giorgio's reminiscences of his past love for Amica and also for Rinaldo; Amica's lost dream of future happiness prior to death
(3) " "	Positive Misc.	1	Intermezzo
(4) " "	Circum. Cat.	1	Giorgio's fainting fit
(5) " "	Negative Misc.	1	Amica's impassiveness to Giorgio's protestations of love (omen)
(1) <u>L'ORAC</u>	Circum. Stab.	2	San-Lui's offer of help to find lost child; eventual finding of child

(P. T. O.)

OPERA	TYPE	FREQUENCY	DESCRIPTION
(2) L'ORAC. (cont.)	Positive Divine	4	Uin-Sci's sermon against greed; his blessing and prayer for justice; his final prayer for the vindication of evil
(3) " "	Positive Soc. + Env.	4	Celebrations of worshipers; depiction of Chinese New Year
(4) " "	Circum. Cat.	2	Cim-Fen's sudden glimpse of child, which prompts his abduction plan; Hua-Gui's denunciation of Cim-Fen
(5) " "	Negative Soc. + Env.	2	Gamblers in opium-den; Cim-Fen's diatribe against the wealthy
(6) " "	Negative Misc.	6	Appearances of policeman; Uin-Sci's "il tormento di sogni pungenti"; episode of fortune teller; Uin-Sci's prediction; San-Lui's premonition of danger (omens)
<hr/>			
(1) <u>MAIA</u>	Positive Soc. + Env.	6	Chorus of peasants (Act One); entries of Toriss; scene at fair; Maia and Renaud's Provençal songs

(P. T. O.)

OPERA	TYPE	FREQUENCY	DESCRIPTION
(2) MAIA (cont.)	Circum. Cat.	2	Revelation by Torias that Renaud is engaged to be married; unexpected entry of Torias (end of Act Three)
(3) " "	Negative Misc.	2	Maia's disconsolate behaviour (beginning of Act One; omens)
(1) <u>G.M.</u>	Circum. Stab.	4	Biasso's joking with Maliella (Act One); Maliella's upstairs song; intervention of Rocco to prevent potential fight between Gennaro and Rafaelle
(2) " "	Positive Divine	6	Gennaro's prayer (beginning of Act One); Carmela's exhortation to Gennaro to pray; procession of Madonna's jewels; subsequent prayers and benediction; Gennaro's belief in God's mercy when contemplating theft of jewels; Gennaro's final prayer before suicide

(P. T. O.)

OPERA	TYPE	FREQUENCY	DESCRIPTION
(3) G.M. (cont.)	Positive Soc.+ Env.	7	Crowd scene (Act One); Maliella's songs to crowd; singing in distance (beginning of Act Two); Rafaele's serenade; den of Camorristi; Rafaele's "brindisi"
(4) " "	Positive Mental	1	Carmela's account of how she adopted Maliella
(5) " "	Positive Misc.	2	Intermezzi
(6) " "	Circum. Cat.	3	Procession of jewels of Madonna; Maliella's discovery that Gennaro has stolen jewels; revelation in den of Camorristi that Maliella is wearing jewels
(7) " "	Negative Soc.+ Env.	1	Orgy scene in den of Camorristi
(8) " "	Negative Misc.	1	Gennaro's anguished love for Maliella (as reveal- ed at beginning of Act One; omen)
<hr/>			
(1) <u>ZING.</u>	Circum. Stab.	1	Fleana's intercess- ion in fight between Radu and Tamar
(2) " "	Positive Soc.+ Env.	2	Chorus of gypsy black- smiths; gypsy wedding of Radu and Fleana

OPERA	TYPE	FREQUENCY	DESCRIPTION
(3) ZING. (cont.)	Positive Mental	1	Radu's dream of personal happiness
(4) " "	Positive Misc.	1	Intermezzo
(5) " "	Circum. Cat.	1	Fleana's taunts towards end of Act Two
(6) " "	Negative Misc.	1	Fleana's challenge to Radu (constant repetition of "abbruo- iami" towards end of Act Two; omen)
<hr/>			
(1) <u>TAB.</u>	Circum. Stab.	1	Luigi's decision to leave barge at Rouen
(2) " "	Positive Sec.+ Env.	5	Work of stevedores on barge; wine-drink- ing scene; dancing of Tinca and Giorgetta; Frugola - Giorgetta episode; bugle-call and song of young lovers
(3) " "	Positive Mental	3	Dreams of future happiness of both Frugola and Giorgetta; Michele's memories of former happiness
(4) " "	Circum. Cat.	1	Michele's lighting of pipe
(5) " "	Negative Sec.+ Env.	1	Luigi's diatribe against society

(P.T.O.)

OPERA -----	TYPE -----	FREQUENCY -----	DESCRIPTION -----
(4) TAB. (cont.)	Negative Misc.	3	Giorgetta's spurning of Michele's affection (beginning of opera); words of song ("Chi ha vissuto per amore, per amore si morì"); Michele's reference to Tinca's wife (omens)

Before commenting on Table Four it may be of some interest to consider the overall totals for all kinds of Subsidiary Forces as measured over the complete opera sample:

(P.T.O.)

TABLE FIVE: - RESPECTIVE TOTALS OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE SUBSIDIARY FORCES

NAME OF OPERA	(POSITIVE)					(NEGATIVE)					TOTAL POSITIVE	TOTAL NEGATIVE	OVERALL TOTAL
	STAB.	DIV.	SOC. / ENV.	MEN.	MISC.	CAT.	DIV.	SOC. / ENV.	MEN.	MISC.			
(1) CAVALIERIA RUSTICANA	1	1	4	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	(7)	(4)	(11)
(2) MALA VITA	2	1	4	0	1	1	1	2	0	2	(8)	(3)	(14)
(3) PAGLIACCI	2	0	4	2	1	4	0	0	1	1	(9)	(5)	(14)
(4) A SANTA LUCIA	3	1	3	2	1	1	0	0	2	2	(10)	(3)	(13)
(5) A BASSO PORTO	3	2	3	1	1	6	0	1	4	1	(10)	(12)	(22)
(6) L'ARLESIANA	3	0	4	1	1	1	1	1	0	2	(9)	(5)	(14)
(7) AMICA	0	0	3	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	(7)	(2)	(9)
(8) L'ORACOLO	2	4	4	0	0	2	0	2	0	6	(10)	(10)	(20)
(9) MARIA	0	0	6	0	0	2	0	0	2	2	(8)	(4)	(10)
(10) I GIOIELLI DELLA MADONNA	4	6	7	1	2	8	0	1	0	1	(20)	(5)	(25)
(11) ZINGARI	1	0	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	(5)	(2)	(7)
(12) IL TABARRO	1	0	5	3	0	1	0	1	0	3	(9)	(5)	(14)
TOTALS	(22)	(15)	(47)	(14)	(10)	(24)	(2)	(9)	(5)	(23)	(110)	(63)	(173)

The main conclusions to be drawn from both Tables Four and Five are as follows (for the sake of clarity each individual Subsidiary Force is commented on in turn):

(a) STABILIZERS AND CATALYSTS:

These show a remarkable balance in the overall totals for frequency of use (twenty-two examples of Stabilizers and twenty-four of Catalysts). The vast majority of Stabilizers are in the form of physical interventions by one or more characters in various kinds of on-stage conflict, although some examples take the form of verbal pleas or exhortations. Occasionally an event may act as a stabilizing force (e.g. the finding of the lost child in "L'oracolo" or Luigi's decision to leave the barge in "Il tabarro"). Catalysts are depicted in much the same way, either by the entrance of a character (e.g. Lola in "Cavalleria rusticana") or by some unexpected happening (e.g. Giorgio's fainting fit in "Amico") or revelation (e.g. Torias' claim that Renaud has a fiancée, in "Maia").

(b) DIVINE FORCES:

As expected, the majority of these are Positive rather than Negative (fifteen examples as opposed to only two). Typical manifestations of this type include hymns, prayers and religious ceremonies and processions (e.g. "A basso porto", "L'oracolo" and "I gioielli della Madonna"). The two Negative examples ("Mala vita" and "L'Arlesiana") take the form of verbal rebukes directed against God, expressing dissatisfaction with one's destiny; since by their nature such scenes were liable to give offence to certain sectors of the audience, they were as a general rule avoided.

(c) SOCIETAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL FORCES:

These are clearly the most common and widely used Subsidiary Forces in "verismo puro", with some forty-nine Positive examples together with nine Negative. This numerical superiority is due to the frequent and almost obligatory use in all operas of local colour, ranging from the depiction of crowded street scenes to the countless comic and dialect songs and "brindisi" which are one of the most salient features of the genre. In many cases the choice of an exotic milieu (e.g. "L'oracolo" and

"Zingari") gives additional interest. The relative lack of Negative examples is due primarily to the desire of librettists to avoid focussing attention on what one might term the polemical and sociological aspects of their scenarios, since these were apt to be interpreted in a political light; the few examples which occur (e.g. Cristina's account of her life of prostitution in "Mala vita" and both Cim-Fen and Luigi's diatribes against the rich in "L'oracolo" and "Il tabarro" respectively) are short and do not impinge directly on the narrative. Again the aim of "verismo puro" is not to criticize or denounce society, but merely to entertain the maximum amount of people in the minimum amount of time.

(d) MENTAL FORCES:

The disparity between Positive and Negative examples (fourteen of the former compared to five of the latter) shows the extent to which dreams and reminiscences are utilized as a means of decreasing tension (since we are more likely to dwell upon pleasant thoughts and memories rather than their unpleasant equivalents, such an imbalance need come as no surprise). Both categories are useful insofar as they present a means of delineating a character's innermost feelings, thereby providing a more rounded picture of motivation and personality; in a sense they constitute what one might term "psychological analysis" of the kind more frequently encountered in the novel.

(e) MISCELLANEOUS FORCES:

These cover two main areas, namely musical preludes, interludes and intermezzi, and omens of various kinds. With one salutary exception (the storm interlude in "Mala vita") those of the former category are Positive, since by their very nature they bring to a halt (albeit temporarily) the onward impetus of the drama. In the majority of cases this is achieved by means of an intermezzo strategically positioned either at the half-way point in a one-act opera (e.g. "Cavalleria rusticana"), between acts in a two-act work (e.g. "Pagliacci", "A Santa Lucia", "Amica" and "Zingari") or before the commencement of the third and last act (e.g. "A basso porto"). This feature, popularized by the great success of the first true example in "Cavalleria rusticana", soon became one of the predominant

components of "verismo puro", and was also adopted in its various offshoots. Omens have exactly the opposite effect from their musical counterparts since at crucial points in the action they increase dramatic tension by means of some cryptic saying or happening which, at a later point in the opera, is shown to have been a forewarning of impending tragedy. Even although the spectator is not fully aware of an omen's significance at the time of its manifestation, the mystery surrounding its meaning is enough to arouse interest, which in turn leads to speculation and the increase in tension that accompanies it. As a proven theatrical device, its use is by no means confined to "verismo puro", but because of its concise nature (a gesture or even a line of dialogue is enough to presage future catastrophe) it is well suited to the limited time scale of the genre. A survey of the examples quoted in Table Four shows a preponderance of omens of a verbal nature, with only a few being portrayed by on-stage action (e.g. l'Innocente's near-fall from the window in "L'Arlesiana"). This once again confirms our previous assertion regarding the dramatic brevity of the device; since phrases are more easily and quickly delivered than the equivalent actions, their use as omens is correspondingly extensive.

Having considered some of the principal features of Subsidiary Forces one last summary of the respective popularity of each type must now be given. This information may be ascertained by adding together the totals for both Positive and Negative categories within each individual Subsidiary Force:

SUBSIDIARY FORCES	OVERALL NO. OF OCCURRENCES
-----	-----
(1) SOCIETAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL	58
(2) STABILIZERS AND CATALYSTS	46
(3) MISCELLANEOUS	33
(4) MENTAL	19
(5) DIVINE	17

These final figures confirm the trends observed so far in the discussion, which can be summarized as follows: in "verismo puro" the majority of Subsidiary Forces (i.e. Societal and Environmental, Stabilizers and Catalysts, and Miscellaneous

(omen)) are by nature dynamic, insofar as they directly involve more than one character, with the remainder (Miscellaneous (musical pauses), Mental and Divine) being primarily structural devices or detailed profiles of the inner trials and tribulations of one solitary character. In a word, the genre preferred dramatic movement to static description; whereas both may seem to be of equal importance, the preponderance of the former bears testimony to the overriding need for a relentless, onward flow checked only momentarily.

As mentioned earlier in the discussion, the subdivision of Subsidiary Forces into Positive and Negative categories (on the premise that the former increases dramatic tension whereas the latter decreases it) may now be extended to cover both Contract and Conflict Patterns. Once this is done, the twin areas of relevance and interaction between the component parts of the libretto can be gauged more accurately, and the ebb and flow of dramatic intensity seen in its true perspective. An analysis of both Primary and Secondary Contract Initiations, Breaks and Reinforcement, together with Conflicts, shows the following pattern:

- (a) CONTRACT INITIATIONS = either Positive or Negative, depending on either the legality of such a move or its moral rectitude.
- (b) CONTRACT BREAKS = Negative.
- (c) CONTRACT REINFORCEMENTS = either Positive or Negative (see above).
- (d) CONFLICTS = Negative.

(As can be seen, the breakdown between Positive and Negative is simple and, with the exception of Contract Initiations and Reinforcements, self-explanatory.)

Now that the entire gamut of structural patterns and devices has been analyzed, the next logical step is to provide for each opera a linear progression showing how these interact with each other. In addition, the web of Contracts and Conflicts involving the trio of principal character-types (i.e. Rebel, Traditionalist and Victim) is summarized. Table Six gives all this information in a concise and compact manner (requiring,

however, the use of several abbreviations and symbols which are explained beforehand):

TABLE SIX: ORGANIC STRUCTURE SERIES:

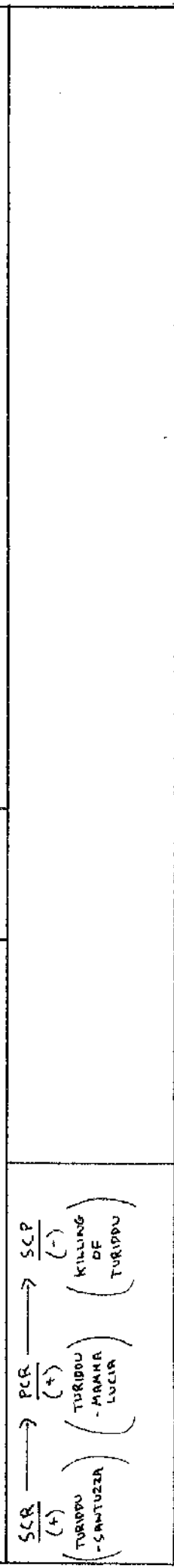
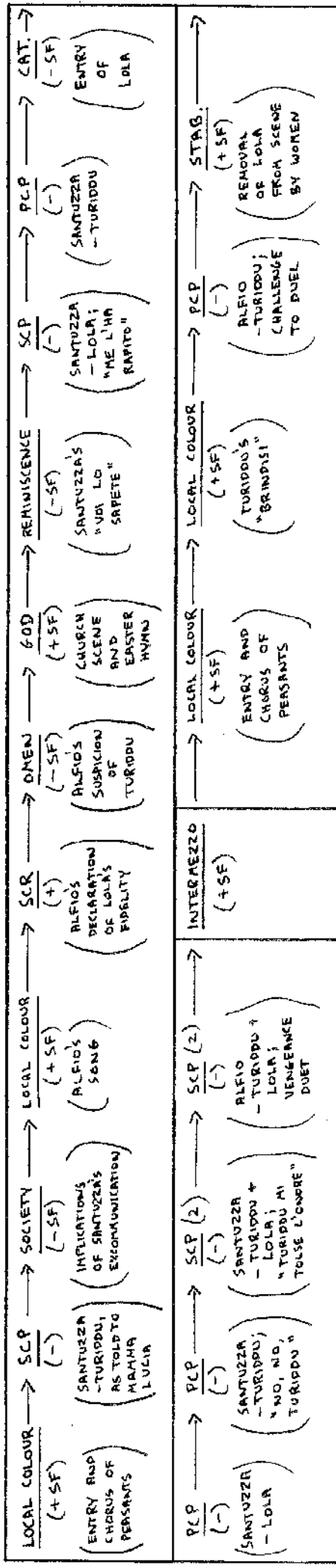
(A) KEY TO SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS:

- (1) R = Rebel; T = Traditionalist; V = Victim.
- (2) PCI = Primary Contract Initiation.
SCI = Secondary Contract Initiation.
- (3) PCB = Primary Contract Break.
BCB = Secondary Contract Break.
- (4) PCR = Primary Contract Reinforcement.
BCR = Secondary Contract Reinforcement.
- (5) BF = Subsidiary Force.
- (6) Stab. = Stabilizer; Cat. = Catalyst.
- (7) (+) = Positive; (-) = Negative.
- (8) --> = direction of chronological sequence.

(B) NOTES:

- (1) For the sake of clarity Secondary Forces are described rather than named.
- (2) Where there is a simultaneous occurrence of any two or more structural devices, their chronological coincidence is indicated by a bracket or number.
- (3) The twin triangles show the interaction and nature of Contract and Conflict Patterns between Rebel, Traditionalist and Victim; the relevant totals are given at the foot of each triangle (these, of course, apply only to the trio in question).
- (4) Details of pre-opera Secondary Contractual developments are given within the square box, together with the title and date of the opera.

(P.T.O.)



"CAVALLERIA RUSTICANA" (1890)

3 PRE-OPERA SCI =

(A) TURIDDU - SANTUZZA (-)

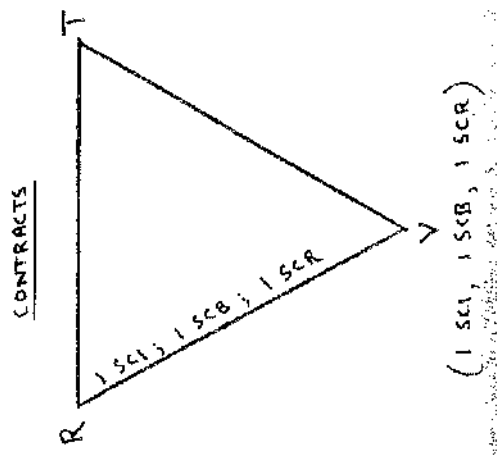
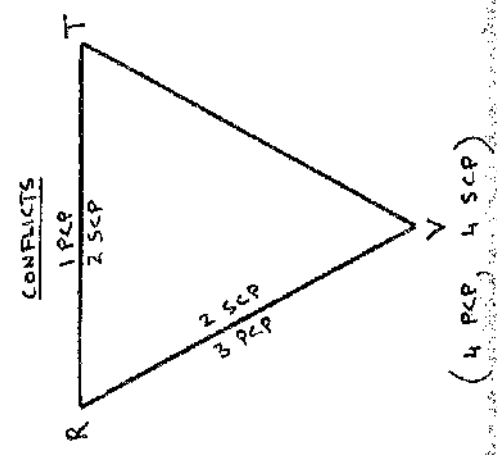
(B) ALFIO - LOLA (+)

(C) TURIDDU - LOLA (-)

2 PRE-OPERA SCB =

(A) TURIDDU - SANTUZZA (-)

(B) LOLA - ALFIO (-)



R = TURIDDU
T = ALFIO
V = SANTUZZA

ACT ONE: LOCAL COLOUR → OPEN → LOCAL COLOUR → SCP → REMINISCENCE → PCP (-) → PCP (-) → CAT. → PCP (+) → PCP (-) → PCP (-)

(+SF) (ARRIVAL OF TRAUPE IN TOWN) (-SF) (CANIO'S "UN TAL BICO" "BIOCO") (+SF) (PEASANTS' VESTERS CHORUS) (-) (NEDDA -CANIO; "QUAL FIRMA") (+SF) (NEDDA'S BIRD SONG) (SCB (-)) (NEDDA -TONIO; TONIO) (-) (NEDDA -SILVIO; LOVE DUET I)

ACT TWO: INTERMEZZO → ACT TWO: LOCAL COLOUR → PCP (-) → PCP (-) → SCR → CAT. → CAT. → CAT. → CAT.

(+SF) (CANIO -NEDDA +SILVIO) (+SF) (ARRIVAL OF VILLAGERS AT PLAY) (-) (SILVIO -NEDDA) (+SF) ("COMMEDIA DELL'ARTE" PLAY) (-) (NEDDA -SILVIO; "RE-RUN" OF NEDDA'S REJECTION OF TONIO) (+) (NEDDA -SILVIO; "BE-RUN" OF LOVE DUET)

PCP (-) → REMINISCENCE → PCP (-) → STAB. → PCP (-) → CAT. → PCP (-) → PCP (-) → PCP (-)

(+SF) (CANIO'S "SPERRA", TANTO IL DELIRIO "NOME") (+SF) (CANIO -NEDDA II) (+SF) (NEDDA'S "SUVVIA, COSI' TERRIBILE") (-) (CANIO -NEDDA III) (-SF) (TONIO PREVENTS BEPPE FROM INTERVENING) (-) (KILLING OF NEDDA) (-) (KILLING OF SILVIO)

"PAGLIACCI" (1892)

2 PRE-OPERA SCI =

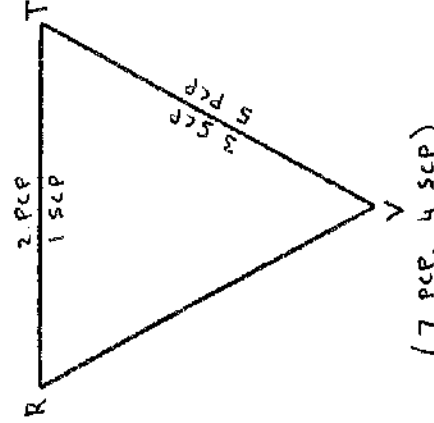
(0) NEDDA - CANIO (+)

(0) NEDDA - SILVIO (-)

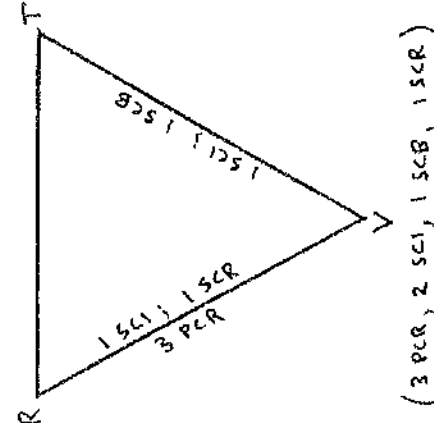
1 PRE-OPERA SCB =

NEDDA - CANIO (-)

CONFLICTS



CONTRACTS



R = SILVIO
T = CANIO
V = NEDDA

ACT ONE:

LOCAL COLOUR (Chorus of Gypsy Blacksmiths) (+SF) → SCP (-) (Tamar) (-RADU) → PCP (-) (RADU) (-GYPSIES) → DREAMS (RADU'S DREAM OF HAPPINESS) (+SF) → PCI (+) (RADU) (-GYPSIES) → PCP (-) (FLEANA) (-TAMAR) → PCP (-) (FLEANA) (-RADU) → PCP (+) (FLEANA) (-TAMAR) → PCP (-) (FLEANA) (-TAMAR) → PCP (-) (FLEANA) (-TAMAR) → STAB. (FLEANA'S INTERVENTION IN FIGHT) (+SF) → PCR (2) (+) (LOCAL COLOUR) (RADU - FLEANA + GYPSIES, MARRIAGE) (+SF)

ACT TWO:

INTERMEZZO (+SF) → SCP (-) (TAMAR) (-RADU) (-FLEANA) → PCR (+) (RADU) (-FLEANA) → PCR (-) (FLEANA) (-TAMAR) → CAT. (-SF) (FLEANA) (-RADU) (-TAMAR) → PCR (-) (FLEANA) (-TAMAR) → OMEN (-SF) (FLEANA'S REPETITION OF "ABBRUCIAMI") → SCP (-) (RADU) (-FLEANA) (-TAMAR) → PCR (-) (FLEANA) (-TAMAR) → PCR (2) (RADU) (-FLEANA) (+TAMAR)

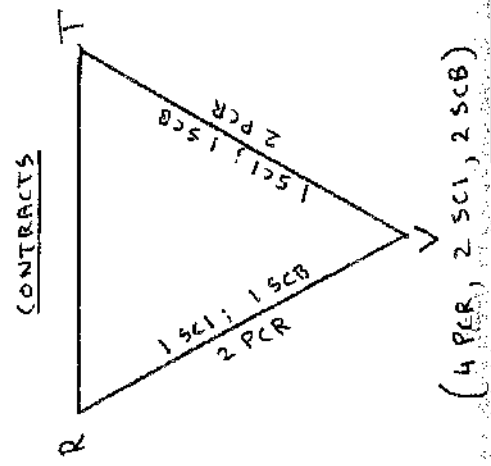
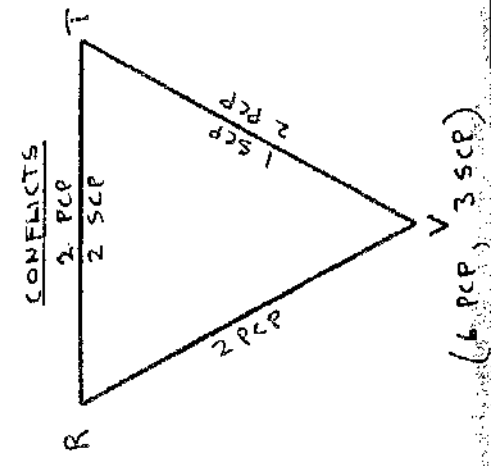
"ZINGARI" (1912)

ONE PRE-OPERA SCI = RADU - FLEANA (+)

ONE INTER-ACT SCI = FLEANA - TAMAR (-)

ONE PRE-OPERA SCB = FLEANA - TAMAR (-)

TWO INTER-ACT SCB = (A) FLEANA - RADU (-) (B) FLEANA - IL VECCHIO (-)



R = TAMAR
T = RADU
V = FLEANA

Before commenting on the various combinations of structural devices revealed by Table Six it will perhaps be useful to give a short summary of how these interlink within one particular opera. Taking as our example "Mala vita", we notice that prior to the commencement of the narrative two Secondary Contract Initiations have taken place; one Positive (the marriage between Amalia and Annetiello) and the other Negative (Amalia's liaison with Vito). In the same way we have two Secondary Contract Breaks between Amalia and Annetiello, consisting of Amalia's adultery with Vito and Annetiello's adultery with Cristina. Therefore at the beginning of the opera the audience is promptly made aware of all the necessary inter-character relationships; since in the present example these are primarily Negative (three Negatives to one Positive) tension is immediately generated by the spectators realization that conflict must inevitable ensue from such an unstable situation. This feeling is strengthened by Vito's attack in the "tintorie", which is in effect the Catalyst for the subsequent action in Act One; without this he would not be prompted to make his vow to the Madonna. Another Subsidiary Force then follows (Marco's allusion to the affair between Vito and Amalia, and his metaphor of "l'ostrica e lo scoglio") and this further heightens tension by providing an ominous forewarning of impending conflict. Vito's subsequent vow is twofold in significance; while being a Primary Contract Initiation between himself and God, it is also a Positive Divine Subsidiary Force since the depiction of prayer introduces a momentary lull in the onward impetus of the drama. Immediately after this we have the first Primary Conflict Pattern of the opera (the encounter between Vito and Amalia) once again increasing the flow of dramatic tension, but which is then defused by another Positive Subsidiary Force (Local Colour, provided by Annetiello's Piedigrotta song). A further reduction in pace is enforced by a Circumstantial Stabilizer (Marco's reassurance of Vito) but the subsequent meeting between Vito and Cristina restores a certain amount of dramatic tension, since the audience realizes that Vito's vow is about to be put into effect and that this must inevitably lead to future conflict with both Amalia and Annetiello. This tension is sustained by Cristina's pathetic account of her life of prostitution (a Negative Societal and

Environmental Force), but is once again relieved somewhat by the Positive Primary Contract Initiation which follows; here Vito promises to marry Cristina (thereby restoring her self-respect and confidence) and since he is fulfilling his vow and performing an act of Christian charity, the audience is inclined to approve of his actions. But simultaneously there is the Secondary Contract Break with Amalia; by his undertaking to devote himself to Cristina, Vito automatically severs all ties with his lover, and even though such a move is, from the spectator's view, morally correct it is nevertheless a betrayal of trust and as such must generate eventual conflict. Vito's encounter with Annetiello highlights the instability of the situation by once again featuring Cristina's former life and associations, but the tension ensuing from this Primary Conflict Pattern is promptly dispelled by a final Primary Contract Reinforcement, where both Vito and Cristina reaffirm their love for one another and swear eternal loyalty and devotion. The act therefore ends on an idyllic note, but one which presages impending tragedy.

Act Two begins with a series of short Secondary Conflict Patterns which show Amalia's main preoccupations, beginning with her self-doubt concerning her relationship with Vito, continuing with her jealousy of Cristina and ending with her contempt for Annetiello. A slight dissipation in dramatic tension takes place with her husband's colourful entrance with his drinking friends (which culminates in a customary "brindisi"), but the mood of playful jocularly vanishes as Amalia's fury is directed towards Annetiello, who makes a hasty and advisable exit. This Primary Conflict Pattern is followed by two more (separated by a Secondary Contract Reinforcement) where Amalia and Cristina fight over their respective claims to Vito's affections (the momentary respite in tension already alluded to takes the form of Cristina's defiant but lyrically expansive defence of her love). The conflict then comes to a head with Amalia's attempted stabbing of Cristina, which is fortunately prevented by Nunzia's timely intercession (a good example of a Circumstantial Stabilizer defusing a potentially tragic situation). However, the musical interlude describing the storm raging outside restores to some extent the prevailing atmosphere of doom, and the Primary Conflict Pattern which

follows (Amalia's accusation of Vito) maintains this. The end of the act, with its combination of Primary Contract Reinforcement (the renewal and reaffirmation of love between Vito and Amalia) and Secondary Contract Break (Vito's betrayal of Cristina) shows again an ambiguity of dramatic effect, with the Reinforcement diminishing tension while the Break increases it; since the audience now knows that a final and climactic confrontation with Cristina is inevitable, the scene is set for a rapid dénouement.

The third and final act commences in a rather frenetic manner, with an orchestral "tarantella" giving way to the love-song and "brindisi" of Vito and Annetiello respectively. This low-key beginning is, however, nothing more than a salutary pause before the resumption of the narrative, with Vito's final break with Cristina (and his simultaneous retraction of the vow) leading onto Amalia's contemptuous scorn. Tension is heightened by the departure of the lovers and the sight of a disconsolate Cristina bemoaning God's apparent lack of love for her or concern for her plight (coupled with her return to the brothel and her dramatic collapse on its steps) moves inexorably towards a solution; not typical, perhaps, of the ethos of "verismo puro", with its modicum of violence, murders and suicides, but fulfilling nevertheless the dictum that every dilemma must be fully worked out and brought to some kind of effective resolution.

The above example shows how the Organic Structure Series can be used as a basis for a summary description of the ebb and flow of dramatic tension. The next stage of the discussion will consider this same aspect within the context of the various combinations of structural devices occurring in those operas being analyzed. These may be classified under two broad headings, namely two and three-part sequences. The use of the word "sequence" in the present context indicates a progression from one structural device to another; in this way the translation BCP --> PCP can be regarded as two-part, whereas a pattern such as PCP --> Stab.--> PCP is clearly three-part. Sequences of this kind are useful insofar as they show to what extent the range of Positive and Negative forces interrelate within the libretto, and by examining the various combinations

and changes of polarity involved in such developments we can monitor the general trend of dramatic movement over all the works under discussion. Commencing with two-part sequences, the following progressions of Positive and Negative forces are possible:

- (a) POSITIVE ----> POSITIVE
- (b) POSITIVE ----> NEGATIVE
- (c) NEGATIVE ----> POSITIVE
- (d) NEGATIVE ----> NEGATIVE

As can be seen above, the various progressions have differing dramatic effects; sequence (a) sustains a reduction in tension, whereas sequence (b) indicates an immediate increase, with (c) showing a deflation and (d) a continuance. For example, the sequence + Soc.Env.--> + Soc.Env. represents a progression from, let us say, one aspect of local colour to another; as such it demonstrates the ongoing maintenance of a situation of low tension, during which the audience may acquaint itself with the milieu of the opera in question. In contrast the sequences + PCR --> PCP and PCP --> Stab. map changes in dramatic pace; while the former might show a Positive Reinforcement (e.g. a love duet) quickly degenerating into conflict, the latter illustrates the reverse, namely a Primary Conflict Pattern (e.g. a fight) being momentarily halted by a Circumstantial Stabilizer (let us say the intercession of another character). However, a progression of the kind SCP --> PCP shows an increase in dramatic tension which may be sustained by a further PCP --> PCP; in other words, a reference by a third party to two others currently in dispute (as indicated by the Secondary Contract Pattern) may lead to a visual representation of that very conflict between the characters concerned, thereby raising the dramatic temperature by several degrees. As clearly shown, this level of tension could be maintained by another Negative --> Negative translation, such as the PCP --> PCP conflict suggested above.

How, then, can the plethora of Positive and Negative forces and the wealth of possible progressions be adequately mapped and analyzed? Perhaps the easiest way of achieving this is by

first separating the various structural devices into their respective polarities (all except Primary and Secondary Contract Breaks, Conflict Patterns, Stabilizers and Catalysts may be either Positive or Negative according to their dramatic purpose) and then indicating the frequency of occurrence of each possible sequence. In this way the respective popularity of each of the four polarity combinations already outlined can be easily gauged, with the additional advantage of revealing which sequences are rarely or never used. Table Seven gives this data by showing these four areas in the following manner:

		(A)	
(B)		POSITIVE ---->	NEGATIVE ---->
		POSITIVE	POSITIVE
		POSITIVE ---->	NEGATIVE ---->
		NEGATIVE	NEGATIVE

(To use the table, find the appropriate structural device at the top of the diagram (i.e. Side (A)) and read off the various sequences against the left-hand column (i.e. Side (B)). For example, to find the frequency of occurrence of the sequence PCP --> Stab. find the PCP column on Side (A) and look down until you find the appropriate intersection with the Cat. column on Side (B); in this case, the number of occurrences over the course of the twelve operas under discussion is fourteen. Furthermore, the placing of this figure in the top right-hand box confirms that it is a Negative --> Positive sequence):

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As can be seen from the relative sizes of the four polarity combination areas within the diagram, Positive --> Positive sequences are least frequent, with Negative --> Negative the most numerous of all. The respective totals for each are as follows:

SEQUENCE -----	NO. OF OCCURENCES -----
(a) POSITIVE --> POSITIVE	36
(b) NEGATIVE --> POSITIVE	54
(c) POSITIVE --> NEGATIVE	100
(d) NEGATIVE --> NEGATIVE	159

The above figures show clearly the first of the major trends to emerge in our discussion of two-part sequences: this is the observation that in "verismo puro" the generation and maintenance of tension is of far greater importance than its deflation and abeyance. Even though the initial number of Positive forces is less than the corresponding total for Negative, the relatively small number of sequences of categories (a) and (b) (numbering 120 in all) as compared to those of (c) and (d) (some 259 examples) would appear to confirm our initial hypothesis to the effect that dramatic acceleration from a slow and gentle exposition towards a final climax is necessary if "verismo puro" is to have its required effect. Indeed, translations towards the Negative outnumber their Positive counterparts in the ratio of two to one; clear evidence that in all works of the genre the accumulation of dramatic tension is only dissipated (and never dispelled) by the moderating influence of Positive forces. This is obviously to be expected within scenarios of this kind; how can a climax be reached if the motive forces necessary for its generation are quelled by their static counterparts? Inevitably the surfeit of tension must be allowed to surface and, as we have seen, the dénouement (with its outward and climactic rush of emotions) provides its logical outlet.

Let us now examine the individual sequences of structural devices, following the above classification into four broad areas of polarity combinations. (For the sake of simplicity we shall ignore any sequences occurring less than six times over

the twelve operas under discussion.) Table Eight outlines these in some detail:

TABLE EIGHT: COMMON TWO-PART STRUCTURAL SEQUENCES:

<u>POLARITY</u>	<u>TYPE</u>	<u>FREQUENCY</u>
(A) POSITIVE --> POSITIVE	Soc. Env. --> Soc. Env.	11
(B) NEGATIVE --> POSITIVE	PCP --> Stab.	14
" "	SCP --> Soc. Env.	6
(C) POSITIVE --> NEGATIVE	Soc. Env. --> PCP	11
" "	Stab. --> PCP	7
" "	Mental --> PCP	6
(D) NEGATIVE --> NEGATIVE	PCP --> PCP	20
" "	SCP --> PCP	15
" "	Cat. --> PCP	14
" "	PCP --> SCP	9
" "	PCP --> Cat.	8
" "	SCP --> SCP	6

Let us now analyze the above sequences in greater detail, focussing our attention on both the dramatic purpose and efficacy of each, and illustrating the argument with examples from the operas themselves:

(A) POSITIVE --> POSITIVE:

Soc. Env. --> Soc. Env.:

Since the primary function of such sequences is to sustain a period of low dramatic tension, it comes as no surprise to find them placed at the beginning of acts, thereby fulfilling the role played by the Exposition in preparing for the impending conflict. This is done through the depiction of local colour; from a broad, generalized portrayal involving masses of villagers, peasants, fishermen, etc. one aspect of the overall picture is singled out and magnified. An example of this is the

second half of "Cavalleria rusticana", where the entry and chorus of peasants is immediately followed by Turiddu's "brindisi"; similar instances are to be found in "L'Arlesiana" (Act Three: the wedding celebrations lead on to Baldassare's farewell song), "Amica" (Act One: the shepherds' chorus and Camoine's subsequent "brindisi") an "Maia" (Act Two: the scene at the fair, then Maia's Provençal song). Often the sequence, instead of progressing from a large canvas to a smaller one, gives two vignettes (usually comic, love or drinking songs) which follow each other in quick succession; examples number those in "A basso porto" (Act Two: Luigino's "brindisi" and "canzone d'amore") and "Maia" (Act Two: Torias' drinking song and Renaud's ballad). In a sense these sequences are nothing more than a logical extension of traditional operatic practice; indeed, the convention whereby local colour is intertwined with the story-line, thus providing audiences with a colourful spectacle, is as old as opera itself, but in the long and loosely structured works of the Romantic era scenes of this kind were often used as "dramatic padding", so that a four or five-act libretto could be easily fleshed out and made to last an entire evening. The result was, as one might expect, grossly over-inflated and dramatically inept libretti in which local colour was not so much an integral component as a superfluous appendage.¹ "Verismo puro", because of its extreme brevity, was less lavish in its portrayal of local custom and utilized it primarily as a means of regulating dramatic pace rather than highlighting its visually decorative qualities.

(B) NEGATIVE --> POSITIVE:

(a) PCP --> Stab.:

The popularity of the above sequence is, to a certain extent, self-explanatory. As already shown, the primary function of the Stabilizer is to arrest (if only momentarily) the onward flow of the dramatic action. This it achieves through a direct manipulation of the plot to allow for some happening which will effectively stabilize an ongoing conflict (this explains the epithet "Circumstantial"). In most cases Stabilizers are provided by the intervention of a character or characters in a potential or actual confrontation; thus we have such examples as the women escorting Lola from the scene of the

duel challenge in "Cavalleria rusticana" (thereby averting a possible confrontation with Alfio), Nunzia breaking up the fight between Amalia and Cristina in Act Two of "Mala vita", Peppe's calming of Canio's wrath at the end of Act One of "Pagliacci", and so forth. In a few instances Stabilizers may take the form of verbal reassurances or statements, as in Act Two of "A basso porto" (Maria's attempt to prove her son's innocence before the Camorristi) and Act One of "I gioielli della Madonna" (Biase's joking with Mariella). Occasionally a song may inadvertently defuse an ongoing conflict, as in Act Two of the same opera (Mariella's ditty on the upstairs balcony).

(b) SCP --> Soc.Env.:

This sequence utilizes local colour as a low-tension interval within which the significance of the Secondary Conflict Pattern can be fully assimilated by the audience. Thus in Act One of "A Santa Lucia" the revelation that Maria is jealous of Rosella is immediately followed by Totonno's comic song, thereby providing the spectator with a convenient and salutary pause in which the immediate implications of the situation can be promptly assessed. Similarly, the conflict between Rosa and Federico in Act One of "L'Arlesiana" gives way to the colourful entrance of Marco and the peasants, and that between Gennaro and Rafaele in Act Two of "I gioielli della Madonna" is interrupted by the latter's serenade. In all, the sequence is a good example of dramatic tension being employed as a means of facilitating audience understanding of the on-stage narrative.

(c) POSITIVE --> NEGATIVE:

(a) Soc.Env.--> PCP:

One possible explanation for the use of this sequence lies in the nature of the progression from local colour to conflict. Since in the majority of the above combinations the various manifestations of local colour involve the on-stage presence of a considerable number of major and subsidiary characters, conflict is more likely to take place, as the chances for such encounters are statistically greater and are furthermore

enhanced by the realization, amongst the parties involved, that a public settlement of their grievances may in some respects be preferable to a private one. A few examples will elucidate this statement: in "Cavalleria rusticana" Turiddu's "brindisi" gives Alfio an ideal opportunity to challenge him to a duel, since by refusing his rival's wine he automatically questions his honour. Furthermore, he has in the presence of the villagers witnesses to the moral probity of his conduct, together with public recognition of Turiddu's guilt. In Act Two of "Mala vita" Amalia takes advantage of Annetiello's drunken yet picturesque entry with his drinking companions as a means of bringing notice of his neglect of her to the very parties responsible, whereas in Act One of "I gioielli della Madonna" Maliella uses the attention centred upon her (as a result of her defiant song) to highlight what she considers as Gennaro's over-concern for her safety, thereby publicly humiliating her unfortunate "brother". Another further advantage of the Soc. Env.--> PCP sequence is that in common with other Positive --> Negative translations it provides a high degree of dramatic contrast by switching rapidly from the collective depiction of universal gaiety to the drama of localized conflict, thereby fulfilling its original purpose of bringing about a fundamental shift in the dramatic perspective.

(b) Stab.--> PCP:

Little may be said about this particular sequence (most of the aspects have already been dealt with in our discussion of the PCP --> Stab. combination) except to reiterate our earlier assertion that Circumstantial Stabilizers are to all intents and purposes momentary in their effect, and do not provide a lasting solution to the elimination of conflict (a good example is that in Act Two of "Pagliacci", where Nedda's attempt to continue with the play ("Suvvia, così terribile") can only briefly head off Canio's determination to identify her lover).

(c) Mental --> PCP:

The role of dreams, memories and reminiscences as a foil to the portrayal of conflict is similar in many respects to the function of the Circumstantial Stabilizer (insofar as they provide a means by which the onward surge of dramatic force can

be temporarily halted), but in the same way as their counterpart they are merely a transient expedient and their effect is quickly negated. In "A Santa Lucia" Totunno's idyllic re-evocation of his juvenile love for Rosella's mother is not sufficient to ward off Maria's denunciation of his senile prurience, whereas in "Il tabarro" Michele's memories of his former happiness can only delay for a short while the inevitable confrontation with Giorgetta. The fundamental purpose of the Mental --> FCP sequence is therefore to provide a moment of calm before the onset of the conflict, and in so doing it brings that same conflict into greater prominence by isolating it (albeit transiently) from the main stream of dramatic movement. In a sense the use of dreams, memories and reminiscences in such a way fulfills a dual purpose: as already stated they constitute what might be termed a "buffer zone" between areas of conflict, while providing in many cases a useful outline of the psychological make-up and motivation of the character under scrutiny.

(D) NEGATIVE --> NEGATIVE:

(a) FCP --> FCP:

As can be seen from Table Eight this sequence is by far the most common of all, occurring some twenty times. It is used as a means of sustaining (or in some cases even escalating) the level of dramatic tension by quickly shifting the perspective of a conflict, so that the audience is presented either with a new set of opponents or one of the original parties in conflict with yet someone else. Examples of the former occur in "I gioielli della Madonna" (Act One, where the encounter between Biaso and the Camorristi is followed by the squabble between Rafaele and Malicilla) and in "A basso porto" (Act One, where the argument between Cicciullo and Pascale progresses to an altercation involving Luigino, Sesella and Maria) but in general this pattern is rarely used. The reasons for this lie in the dramatic improbability of two unconnected conflicts occurring in quick succession, without any plausible link between both; nothing is more disconcerting for the spectator than a series of encounters which appear to have no immediate relevance to each other, especially when such scenes are of short duration and consequently afford little time for

reflection. Furthermore, there was the risk that in presenting sequences of this nature librettists would be accused of dramatic illogicality and the portrayal of violence for its own sake. In an Italy where "verismo puro" had its fair share of ideological opponents the possibility of adverse criticism on these counts was high, and whereas the verdict of the public was still paramount in importance critical opinion could not be totally ignored. Librettists were therefore very careful to ensure that conflict progressions were both logical and plausible, and one of the simplest ways of achieving this was to maintain a continuity of purpose and effect from one encounter to the next. As we have seen, this was achieved by portraying one key character in conflict with a series of others. In Act Two of "Mala vita" Amalia's dispute with her husband leads on to that with Cristina, whereas in Act One of "Pagliacci" Tonio's taunting of Nedda is followed by Canio's accusation. Other examples include "A Santa Lucia" (Act One, where the encounter between Ciccillo and Maria is balanced by yet another between Ciccillo and Rosella), "A basso porto" (Act Two, with the tussle between Ciccillo and Luigino leading to Ciccillo's confrontation with the Camorristi), "I gioielli della Madonna" (Act One, where Mariella is criticized in turn by Carmela and Gennaro) and "Zingari" (Act One, with the Fleana-Tamar conflict being followed by that between Tamar and Radu). In every case there is some kind of link between both parts of the sequence; in the example quoted from "Pagliacci" Tonio is clearly the immediate cause of Canio's confrontation with Nedda (i.e. his denunciation of the lovers) while in "Zingari" Tamar is so enflamed by Fleana's rejection of him that in a fit of jealousy he confronts and attacks Radu. The dramatic effect of such sequences, where one character commits two closely related and concomitant acts of aggression on differing parties, is occasionally utilized at the end of operas, where some swift and effective solution to the central dilemma must be promptly achieved. Under these circumstances the PCP --> PCP progression is cathartic in nature; while maintaining and indeed escalating the level of tension the after-effect of such violence dispels it at a stroke, thereby relieving the audience of their worst fears and apprehensions. Examples of this particular variety are to be found at the

conclusions of such operas as "Pagliacci", "Maia", "Zingari" and "Il tabarro" (judging from the titles Leoncavallo appears to have had a certain fondness for this device); in the first three works two deaths follow each other in rapid succession (i.e. Canio's murder of Nedda and Silvio, Renaud's killing of Torias and Maia's subsequent suicide, Radu's despatch of his unfaithful wife and her lover), whereas in "Il tabarro" Luigi's demise at the hands of Michele culminates in the gruesome scene where Giorgetta is invited to shelter in her husband's cloak.

(b) SCP --> PCP:

The fifteen examples occurring of this device show a deliberate desire by librettists to precipitate on-stage conflict by Secondary means. In effect this can be achieved by preparing the audience beforehand for the impending encounter either by referring to the conflict in question (e.g. through the medium of a conversation between two or more characters) or by indicating that such a conflict has arisen (e.g. by the portrayal of, let us say, a Primary Contract Break which when effectuated may automatically engender a Secondary Conflict Pattern). The overall aim of the Secondary component is, as already stated, to forewarn the spectator, and in so doing it generates a certain amount of tension (due to the suspense created by the knowledge that very shortly on-stage conflict will ensue) which is then amplified by the encounter itself. In Act Two of "A Santa Lucia" Maria's discussion with Tore as to the best means of having Rosella arrested reminds the audience that matters must shortly come to a head, which they do immediately after when the confrontation between the two women has to be brought to a summary conclusion by Concettina. Act One of "A basso porto" shows another good example, namely Maria's discussion with Sesella of Luigino's passion for gambling, which prompts his sister to criticize him personally for his lack of concern towards his family. In much the same way as the PCP --> PCP sequence already discussed, the SCP --> PCP progression presupposes a narrative link between both components; in "Il tabarro" Michele's words regarding Luigi ("non concludere nulla") indicate to the audience the existence of an area of dissension between the two men, and the Primary Conflict Pattern between Michele and Giorgetta which follows

confirms that there must be some connection between Luigi's discontent and her husband's condemnation of Luigi. Similarly Maia's monologue at the beginning of Act Three of the opera of the same name, while ostensibly portraying her hostility towards Torias, must nevertheless culminate in open conflict with Renaud, whose supposed infidelity she regards as the root cause of her present dilemma. It can be concluded, then, that the SCP --> PCP sequence is by its very nature a developmental progression; by bridging the not inconsiderable gap between the establishment of lines of conflict and their realization in visual terms, both an acceleration in dramatic impetus and a corresponding strengthening of narrative plausibility are consistently achieved.

(c) Cat.--> PCP:

The above sequence is by its nature self-explanatory, and need not detain us for long. The Circumstantial Catalyst works in much the same way (although with the opposite effect) as its counterpart the Stabilizer; namely, by the occurrence of a particular event which impinges directly on the narrative pace of the scenario. In the case of the Catalyst this takes the form of an immediate escalation of some aspect of the dramatic action, such as an on-stage conflict. Examples of this particular combination are fairly numerous; in "Cavalleria rusticana" Lola's entrance singing a flagrantly provocative "stornello" precipitates the ensuing confrontation between her and Santuzza. Similarly Canio's hearing of the words "Io sarò tua" sparks off the conflict with Nedda, whereas in "Amica" Giorgio's fainting fit causes Rinaldo's hasty condemnation and rejection of his former love. In short, the Cat.--> PCP sequence, by dint of its mercurial speed in converting narrative development into dramatic conflict, is well-suited to the limited time-scale of "verismo puro", and proves its worth by introducing an element of unpredictability which in the majority of cases can only have a beneficial effect.

(d) PCP --> SCP:

Again this sequence can be summarily dealt with, since to all intents and purposes it is merely an inversion of the SCP --> PCP progression already discussed. In essence it brings

about, in the simplest of terms, a slight abeyance of tension, and is often used in those instances where the librettist, while wishing to lower the dramatic temperature raised by a previous Conflict Pattern, still requires that the audience should remain alert. In this sense it constitutes a diminution (rather than a continuance) of the motive force of the drama. An especially fine example of this process is in Act Two of "A basso porto", where Ciccillo's on-stage confrontation with the Camorristi is echoed immediately afterwards in his monologue. Even though the conflict is no longer visibly apparent Ciccillo's ponderings sustain a modicum of dramatic tension, albeit not as great as that generated by the previous scene. In effect the audience is now reminded rather than forced to witness, but by so doing the librettist leaves the door conveniently open for new and more portentous developments.

(e) PCF --> Cat.:

As in the previous sequence this progression is merely an inversion of the Cat.--> PCF combination. It is primarily a means whereby the gap between individual Primary Conflict Patterns can be adequately bridged, and as such our discussion of its use will be fully dealt with in the section on three-part sequences. The few isolated examples which occur in the two-part format are for the most part utilized as end-of-act "appetizers", such as that in Act One of "A basso porto" where the Maria-Ciccillo conflict is followed by the catalytic news of the arrest of one of the Camorristi, thereby informing the audience that in Act Two they may expect to view the dramatic implications and development of this key event.

(f) SCP --> SCP:

The last of the major sequences under discussion is in several aspects related to its vastly more popular counterpart, the PCF --> PCF combination. Both are primarily concerned with sustaining the level of dramatic tension, with the essential difference that the SCP --> SCP progression is pitched on a lower scale, concerning itself with a succession of reported or implied conflicts rather than with their more tangible equivalents. In this way the SCP --> SCP sequence can be said to work on a narrative basis, with the majority of examples

informing the audience of any extant or newly-born conflicts while simultaneously sowing the seeds of dramatic suspense, conjecture and anticipation. Thus in Act One of "A Santa Lucia" Maria's quarrels with Ciccillo and then Rosella are outlined in swift succession, thereby preparing the spectator in advance for the action to follow. Two sets of interlinked sequences at the beginning of Act Two of "Mala vita" play a similar role, as we learn of Amalia's disputes with Vito, Cristina and Annetiello in a stream of almost unrestrained invective. A similar pattern at the end of "Cavalleria rusticana", where Santuzza's condemnation of Turiddu and Lola is promptly echoed by Alfio's call for vengeance shows much the same dramatic purpose, while in "Il tabarro" both Luigi and Giorgetta voice in turn their opposition to Michele, thus preparing the ground for an eventual confrontation. In all the above examples the SCP --> SCP sequence is for the most part utilized in a narrative capacity (its placing either at the beginning or ends of acts confirms this function) but retains the additional advantage of raising the tension level without recourse to additional on-stage action.

Our discussion of the SCP --> SCP sequence thus brings to an end the present section on two-part progressions. We shall now examine in some detail those in three parts; while these are largely composed of the two-part combinations already analyzed they constitute separate dramatic entities in their own right. (By the term "three-part" I mean a symmetrical sequence of structural devices wherein a central element is flanked by two identical counterparts, in such a way that a kind of "sandwich" is formed. Thus the progressions PCF --> Stab.--> PCF or PCR --> Cat.--> PCR would qualify as three-part sequences, as long as the outer components involved the same characters.) Viewed in this perspective, one can imagine the device as either a Primary Conflict Pattern or Primary Contract Reinforcement (adopting the above examples) being either checked or interrupted by the intrusion of a Stabilizer or Catalyst. As we shall see, three-part progressions are by no means confined to the structural devices already quoted, but the link between the outer parts of the sequence must always remain unbroken.

A close analysis of Table Six reveals that there are three main types of three-part sequences:

(a) (+) SOC. ENV. --> (CENTRAL ELEMENT) --> (+) SOC. ENV.

(b) (+) PCR --> (CENTRAL ELEMENT) --> (+) PCR.

(c) PCP --> (CENTRAL ELEMENT) --> PCP.

It will be noted that the first two progressions have Positive outer elements, while the third and last is Negative in this respect. The polarity of the central element is of crucial importance in the dramatic significance and functioning of the device, as will be seen from Table Nine:

TABLE NINE: AN ANALYSIS OF THREE-PART SEQUENCES:

	<u>TYPE</u>	<u>POLARITY</u>	<u>FREQUENCY</u>	<u>LOCATIONS</u>
(1)	Soc. Env. --> Misc. SF (omen) --> Soc. Env.	Positive --> Negative --> Positive	3	Pag. (Act 1), Maia (Act 1), Tab.
(2)	Soc. Env. --> SCP --> Soc. Env.	" "	2	A. S. L. (Act 1), L'Ar1. (Act 1)
(3)	Soc. Env. --> PCP --> Soc. Env.	" "	1	G. M. (Act 1)
(4)	Soc. Env. --> PCR --> Soc. Env.	" "	1	Pag. (Act 2)
(5)	PCR --> SCP --> PCR	" "	2	A. B. P. (Act 1), Maia, (Act 1)
(6)	PCR --> Cat. --> PCR	" "	1	Pag. (Act 1)
(7)	PCP --> Ment. --> PCP	Negative --> Positive --> Negative	3	Pag. (Act 2), A. S. L. (Act 2), Tab.

	TYPE	POLARITY	FREQUENCY	LOCATIONS
	----	-----	-----	-----
(8)	PCP --> Stab. --> PCP	Negative --> Positive --> Negative	2	Pag. (Act 2), G.M. (Act 2)
(9)	PCP --> PCR --> PCP	" "	1	Zing. (Act 1)
(10)	PCP --> SCR --> PCP	" "	1	M.V. (Act 2)
(11)	PCP --> Ment. --> PCP	Negative --> Negative --> Negative	3	A.B.P. (Act 1; 2 exs.); (Act 2; 1 ex.)
(12)	PCP --> Cat. --> PCP	" "	2	Pag. (Act 2), A.B.P. (Act 3)

Table Nine may be interpreted as follows:

(a) Out of a grand total of twenty-two examples quoted, ten have a Positive-Negative-Positive polarity, seven are Negative-Positive-Negative, with the remaining five being of the Negative-Negative-Negative variety. The greater frequency of use of the mixed polarity types confirms the tendency within "verismo puro" to avoid long periods of either low or high tension.

(b) In Positive-Negative-Positive sequences the outer elements are often manifestations of local colour, with the central element being in most cases another Subsidiary or Secondary Force. In this way the narrative necessary to the audience's comprehension of the story can be presented unobtrusively, without retarding the onward flow of the action. Often this is achieved by sandwiching an omen between two linked tableaux of local colour, as in "Pagliacci" where Canio's warning to the villagers ("Un tal gioco") informs the spectator of both his jealousy and apparent distrust of his wife, and in "Maia", where the heroine's disconsolate behaviour serves to forewarn us of impending catastrophe. In other cases the central element is a Secondary Conflict Pattern, as in "A Santa Lucia" (Maria's

revelation of her jealous hate of Rosella) and "L'Arlesiana" (Metifio's temporary rejection of the girl from Arles). Bearing in mind the narrative purpose of such sequences, it comes as no surprise to find them positioned at the beginnings of operas, thus taking advantage of the audience's optimum period of receptiveness.

(c) The second yet relatively minor category of Positive-Negative-Positive sequences (namely Primary Contract Reinforcement combinations) show a similar preoccupation with injecting narrative into a low-tension phase of the scenario. In all the examples quoted the lyricism of a love duet between two key characters is interrupted by either a Secondary Conflict Pattern or Catalyst, thereby temporarily dispelling the mood of gentle tranquillity. In "A basso porto" the profferings of love and affection between Sesella and Ciocillo are momentarily halted by Sesella's realization that she is acting against her mother's will, whereas in "Maia" a similar scene between Renaud and his beloved is checked by the latter's ploy of pretending to favour Torias, thereby inciting her lover to a fit of jealous fury. "Pagliacci" has an especially good example in the Act One encounter between Nedda and Silvio, where the audience is made aware of the fact that Tonio (who has been spying on the illicit liaison) now intends to denounce the guilty couple to Canio. Here, as in the two other instances quoted, a relatively low-key scene is given some dramatic interest, thus avoiding the possibility of the spectator being lulled into a false sense of security or even somewhat bored by an over-long and repetitive effusion of mutual love and affection. As always "verismo puro" chooses to concentrate on a series of brief, sharply focussed and dramatically contrasted "soenette", rather than the alternative Wagnerian approach of broad, expansive "ariosi".

(d) Negative-Positive-Negative sequences are primarily a dramatic reversal of their Positive-Negative-Positive equivalents. Here the role of the central element is to lower, rather than heighten, the level of tension generated by the conflict. This is achieved in the majority of cases by the insertion of either a Mental Subsidiary Force or a Circumstantial Stabilizer. For example, in "Pagliacci" Canio's confrontation with Nedda during

the mock play is temporarily halted by his tearful, yet nostalgic re-evocation of his past hopes ("Sperai, tanto il delirio"); a similar process takes place in Act Two of "A Santa Lucia", where the Maria-Totonno conflict is held in momentary abeyance by the latter's fond memories of youthful love, whereas in "I gioielli della Madonna" Mariella's Act Two song defuses for a short while her ongoing quarrel with Gennaro. However, it must be stressed that the central element, as in all three-part sequences, is merely a temporary expedient and cannot delay for long the resumption of the conflict. An additional proof of the validity of this statement is provided by the occasional linkage of several three-part Negative-Positive-Negative sequences to form a sustained "scena" in which there is a constant vacillation between dynamic action and static narrative. Perhaps the best example of this is the final phase of Act Two of "Pagliacci", where no less than three three-part sequences of the above variety are interlinked; Act One of "A basso porto" provides an instance of a double combination, with the Maria-Ciccillo confrontation consisting of two interconnected PCP --> Mental --> PCP progressions. In both cases the transient nature of the central element is the key to the device's effectiveness; while just managing to offset the forward impetus of the conflict it nevertheless fails to arrest it completely. In the last analysis it is yet another means of lowering tension and slowing down the dramatic pace by means of what one might describe as a "stop-start" effect, where the staccato punctuation of a sustained scene modifies its overall significance upon the audience.

(e) Negative-Negative-Negative sequences are, when compared to their counterparts, peculiar insofar as they are the only three-part progressions of a single polarity. Whereas the two main categories present a dramatic contrast between differing levels of tension, the all-Negative variety seeks, by its very nature, to sustain an ongoing conflict. This it does by providing in the central element either a Mental Subsidiary Force or Circumstantial Catalyst whose principal function is to ensure that the conflict, once initiated, is kept going until it reaches some kind of conclusion (in a sense one can compare the role of this inner component to the use of coal or some other fuel in stoking a fire; once the conflagration is under

way it requires some form of nourishment to sustain it). Thus in Act One of "A basso porto" the recollection by Maria of the pain caused by her former association with Ciccillo, together with her tortured visions of Carmela, combine in turn to ensure that the conflict with her erstwhile lover continues with unabated fury. In Act Two of the same opera Maria's story of her betrayal by Ciccillo only serves to stiffen Sesella's opposition to her. "Pagliacci" uses a Circumstantial Catalyst to achieve much the same ends, with Tonio's prevention of Beppe's attempt to intercede in the on-stage conflict precipitating the tragic dénouement; turning once again to "A basso porto", the sound of Luigino's mandolin in Act Three prompts Maria to kill Ciccillo, since she realizes that in his capacity as appointed assassin, her son will almost certainly meet his doom unless she promptly intervenes and perpetrates the murder herself. On reflection, the use of the all-Negative three-part sequence is limited to those points in the libretto where nothing short of the complete subjugation of the audience will suffice; they must therefore endure a period of sustained tension, unrelieved by any narrative intercessions or developments, over a time-scale substantially in excess of that commonly encountered in the genre. It comes as no surprise to find that four out of the five examples quoted come from that most flagrantly veristic of all the operas under discussion, "A basso porto"; as a rule the sequence, with its unmitigated progression of highly charged conflict, was considered to be self-defeating in its purpose, since by subjecting the spectator to such a lengthy and sustained barrage of dramatic tension the emotional impact of the scene was much lessened through excessive over-playing of the amount and intensity of feelings portrayed. It is, then, a prime example of how an unnecessary surfeit of Negative forces can jade even the most sympathetic and receptive of audiences; conflict, to be effective, cannot be depicted to excess, and as the vast majority of three-part sequences demonstrate it must be tempered by the moderating influence of Positive structural devices. As always, balance and a sense of proportion are preferred to the turgid flatulence of unrestrained and undisciplined brutality.

Having thus completed our structural survey of "verismo puro", one last question remains to be answered: how can the combination and interaction of Positive and Negative forces within the libretto be measured? We have already observed, over the course of the present discussion, how a typical libretto of the genre is constructed from a linear progression of scenes whose dramatic impact constantly alternates between two opposite polarities. Expressed in other terms, this is the notion that "verismo puro" derives its emotional and dramatic impulse from the forward precipitation of a string of strongly contrasted, yet entirely homogeneous tableaux. The purpose of the "Positive-Negative" classification is (as explained earlier) to try to define the psychological effect of any particular structural device upon the audience, and it is when we look at the respective totals of both Positive and Negative forces that some idea of the overall dramatic impact of an opera can be achieved. One possible way of measuring the extent of this impact (and thereby distinguishing the works on a purely dramaturgical basis) is to consider the surfeit of Negative forces over Positive; as we have already seen, there are considerably more of the former, with this disparity present in every opera. In a sense this approach leans heavily on the concept that in "verismo puro" it is the accumulation of dramatic effect throughout an entire work which determines its ultimate success, rather than the isolated affirmations of individual scenes. The functioning of such a process may be elucidated if we consider the spectator, on his entry to the theatre, as a "tabula rasa" on which the dramatic implications of the on-stage action must immediately imprint themselves. A simplistic, yet graphically vivid illustration of how this takes place may be gained by replacing this "tabula rasa" (in essence the autonomous and untrammelled sensibility of each member of the audience) with another image, that of an uninflated sphere. Thus at the beginning of the opera pressure is low, but every subsequent Negative force raises that same pressure one degree, whereas any Positive force will lower it by a similar margin. By the end of the opera both the size and solidity of the sphere will depend on the final aggregate pressure achieved; in other words, dramatic force can be considered to be cumulative, with the final disparity between Positive and Negative

structural devices determining the overall surfeit of generated tension. Thus an opera where the Positive forces only just fail to equal their Negative equivalents will have a fairly low intensity rating (since almost every instance of tension being generated has been neutralized), whereas another where Negative forces far outweigh their opposites may be judged to be of far greater dramatic portent. Viewed in this perspective, a measure of the overall disparity between Positive and Negative can be gained by subtracting the former from the latter, but such a solution lacks precision and does not take account of the total number of structural devices in play in the opera. This information is essential if works of differing lengths are to be directly compared, as the following example will demonstrate: let us suppose that Opera A has a total of fifty structural devices, of which twenty are Positive and thirty Negative. Opera B has seventy structural devices; thirty are Positive and forty Negative. If we follow the overly simplistic method of subtracting Positives from Negatives we arrive at the conclusion that both operas have a surfeit of ten Negative forces. It might then be argued that the overall dramatic intensity of both works is identical, but it is when the preponderance of Negative over Positive forces is considered in relation to the total number of structural devices that a true indication is arrived at. This involves dividing the Positive-Negative difference by the aforesaid total, thus establishing a ratio between both which is then directly comparable to other examples. Thus the following formula (for measurement of overall dramatic intensity) may be postulated:

$$\text{Overall Dramatic Intensity Factor} = \frac{(\text{Total No. Neg. Forces}) - (\text{Total no. Pos. Forces})}{(\text{Total of both Pos. + Neg. Forces})}$$

Applying the above formula to the examples already quoted, Opera A emerges with a rating of 0.2 whereas Opera B works out at 0.142. Since the higher figure indicates the greater level of overall dramatic intensity (the maximum of one would only be achieved if no Positive forces were present) Opera A surpasses Opera B in this respect.

This method will shortly be applied to the operas under discussion, albeit with one minor modification. As we have seen over the course of previous chapters Contract Initiations, Breaks and Reinforcements, together with Conflict Patterns, have been subclassified into two broad categories, namely Primary and Secondary. The essential differences between the two have already been outlined in great detail, but the relative degree to which each impinges upon the sensibility of the spectator is clearly defined. Primary developments, which by their very nature are visual, on-stage situations will obviously have a greater impact than Secondaries; in this respect it would be quite incorrect to attribute to the latter the same degree of importance, since their dramatic value, while not inconsiderable, is by no means equal (Subsidiary Forces are in a similar position, and must be considered in much the same way). Thus the present formula must be modified to take account of this essential difference between Primaries and Secondaries / Subsidiary Forces; one possible way of doing this is to attribute different numerical values to each category. Let us suppose that each Primary is worth one point, with Secondaries / Subsidiary Forces being awarded half a point. In this way the top line of the formula would read as follows:

(Total Primary Negative Forces - Total Primary Positive Forces)
 + 0.5 (Total Secondary / Subsidiary Negative Forces - Total
 Secondary / Subsidiary Positive Forces)

The complete formula, in abbreviated form, is as follows:

OVERALL (TOT.PRI.NEG.F's - TOT.PRI.POS.F's) + 0.5(TOT.SEC./SUB.NEG.F's - TOT.SEC./SUB.POS.F's)
 D.I.F. = -----
 (TOT.BOTH POS.+ NEG., PRI.+ SEC.F's)

This can now be applied to the operas under discussion by using the data collated in Table Ten, which provides a resumé of the individual types, categories, polarities and totals of structural devices in each work (for the sake of clarity these are presented in the order in which they have been dealt with in the discussion, with the overall dramatic intensity factor being given in the last column):

(P.T.O.)

The data provided in the table may be interpreted in various ways, as summarized below:

(a) The operas, when placed in descending order of dramatic intensity (as calculated by the proposed formula) show the following pattern:

OPERA -----	D. I. F. -----
(1) "A basso porto"	0.352
(2) "Il tabarro"	0.306
(3) "A Santa Lucia"	0.306
(4) "Pagliacci"	0.292
(5) "I gioielli della Madonna"	0.231
(6) "Mala vita"	0.216
(7) "Amica"	0.207
(8) "Zingari"	0.190
(9) "Maia"	0.167
(10) "Cavalleria rusticana"	0.150
(11) "L'oracolo"	0.121
(12) "L'Arlesiana"	0.083

The final figures are significant insofar as they show little variation from opera to opera. Thus the numerical difference between "A basso porto" and "L'Arlesiana" amounts to no more than 0.269 which, when we consider that the scale runs from 0.000 to 1.000 represents only about a quarter of the entire range. This would seem to suggest that the overall variation in dramatic intensity between individual operas is by no means as wide as one might be led to suppose. Furthermore, when viewed in the context of a theoretical maximum of 1.000 (which indicates a complete predominance of Negatives over Positives) the average factor of 0.218 is demonstrably low. Indeed, the remarkable similarity between these final figures seems to point to the existence of an optimum balance between Positive and Negative forces which librettists, almost instinctively, adopted as a "standard" degree of dramatic intensity. It seems no coincidence that the twelve works under discussion remain the best-known of the genre (since they correspond unanimously to the common average) and one possible reason for the premature demise of so many other operas (apart from the quality of the music, which is beyond the scope of

this study) may be that they deviated too widely from the norm, either falling into the trap of dramatic flatness or that of gross over-emphasis.

(b) If we refer to the chronological order of operas and the corresponding factors of dramatic intensity, the following pattern emerges:

OPERA -----	D. I. F. -----	DATE -----
(1) "Cavalleria rusticana"	0.150	1890
(2) "Mala vita"	0.216	1892)
(3) "Pagliacci"	0.292	1892)
(4) "A Santa Lucia"	0.306	1892)
(5) "A basso porto"	0.352	1894

(6) "L'Arlesiana"	0.083	1897

(7) "Amico"	0.207	1905)
(8) "L'oracolo"	0.121	1905)

(9) "Maia"	0.167	1910
(10) "I gioielli della Madonna"	0.291	1911
(11) "Zingari"	0.190	1912

(12) "Il tabarro"	0.306	1918

If we consider first those operas selected from what might be termed the "Golden Age" of "verismo puro" (i.e. 1890-94) there is a steady rise in the dramatic intensity factor, commencing with the 0.150 of "Cavalleria rusticana" and culminating in the 0.352 of "A basso porto". This trend is confirmed by the general opinion amongst contemporary critics that the genre, while becoming progressively more popular with the public, began to undergo an almost hypertrophic growth which eventually led to dramatic excess and over-inflation. The result was a reaction against "verismo puro" which set in around 1896 and persisted until 1905; operas of the genre produced during this period show a consequent lack of dramatic intensity (e.g. "L'Arlesiana"). However, the short-lived revivals of 1905-07 and 1910-12 mark a return to the middle

ground, with later examples (e.g. "Il tabarro") providing a token increase. Since a relatively small sample of twelve key operas can only provide an approximate idea of the overall trend, the evidence of myriads of forgotten works must be taken into account if a more detailed picture is to emerge. Only then will greater divergences of dramatic intensity be noted, and the superiority of the original sample, insofar as balance and restraint are concerned, shown to be incontestable.

(c) Finally, here is a profile of the "average" "verismo puro" opera, as collated from the statistics presented in Table Ten:

(i) Total no. of structural devices = 35, consisting of one Pos.SCI, two Pos.PCR's, one Neg.SCI, one PCB, two SCB's, nine PCP's, five SCP's, two Stabs., one Pos.Div.SF, four Pos.Soc. Env.SF's, one Pos.Ment.SF, one Pos.Misc.SF, two Cats., one Neg. Soc.Env.SF and two Neg.Misc.SF's.

(ii) Overall D.I.F. = 0.218

We thus come to the end of the present discussion on the dramatic structure of "verismo puro". The concluding chapter has brought together many of the theories and concepts proposed in the course of Part Two of this study, and a workable model, demonstrating how these coalesce within individual scenarios, has been described at some length. Having presented my case for this most misunderstood of all operatic genres, I propose to let the facts speak for themselves, rather than launch into a superfluous apologia which would only repeat the sentiments already expressed in the Preface. However I should like to end by quoting the words of Carlo Gérard in Giordano's "Andrea Chénier", who declares that his task has been to "racogliere le lagrime dei vinti e sofferenti";¹ surely a fitting epitaph for "verismo puro", and one encompassing the entire spectrum of human emotion which the movement set out to portray. That it did so successfully bears eloquent testimony not only to the skills of its creators but to that most sensitive of critical barometers: the Italian opera-going public, without whom the trials, tribulations and triumphs of the "veristi" would never have been possible.

NOTES

(1) See Carner, p.284.

(2) It should be emphasized that the Exposition - Development - Climax is by no means peculiar to "verismo puro", but is one of the most traditional approaches in the generation of dramatic tension. In 1862 the German critic Gustav Freytag, in "Die Technik des Dramas", analyzed the structure of a typical five-act play thus:

(a) Introduction (the setting of scene and presentation of characters).

(b) Inciting moment (the catalyst which triggers off the tragedy).

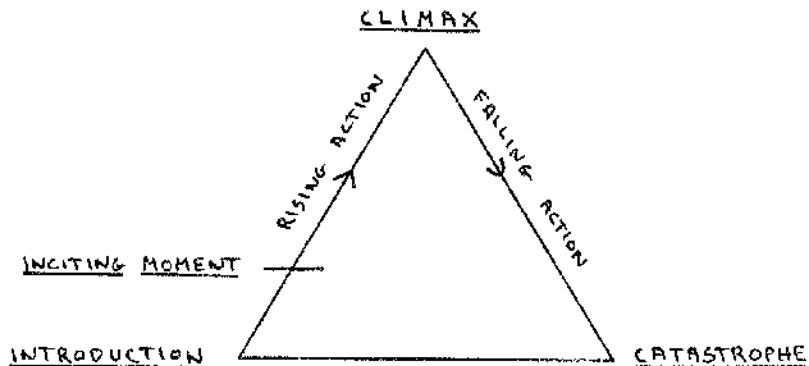
(c) Rising action (a sudden acceleration in dramatic pace).

(d) Climax (the precise point at which the crisis is reached).

(e) Falling action (a sudden deceleration in dramatic pace).

(f) Catastrophe (the tragic dénouement).

Freytag visualized these stages in the form of a pyramid, with the climax forming the apex:



Much the same structure (albeit on a more modest scale) is present, as we shall see, in "verismo puro".

(3) See the Verdi-Ehrlich interview (Part One, Chapter One,
p.19).

(4) Op.cit., Act Three.

ITALIAN 'VERISTA' OPERA LIBRETTI, 1870-1920: A HISTORICAL, STRUCTURAL AND STATISTICAL SURVEY

BY

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INTRODUCTION

The following volume contains a comprehensive survey of all performed and unperformed Italian operas (i.e. those set to original Italian librettos) by both Italian and foreign composers and librettists either staged or completed during the period: January to 31 December 1920, and tabulates the relevant data for each under a variety of individual headings. It is intended primarily as a work of reference providing any necessary or additional information which may be required by the reader of Parts One and Two of the present study; in this respect, it obviates the need for excessive and lengthy footnotes within the text itself, and

inherently may be consulted independently from it. Indeed, it is hoped that the various indices will serve to stimulate interest in other aspects of the subject beyond the scope of this thesis, thereby permitting further research to be undertaken. The use of computer technology in both the compilation and presentation of this volume also facilitates the future correction of any errors and omissions and enables additional information to be incorporated without altering the basic format; in this way it is envisaged that the present volume will undergo a process of continual improvement and development. Finally, each section is prefaced (where relevant) by a short summary which defines the terms of reference and methodology used, thereby enabling immediate consultation with the minimum fuss or formality.

SECTION ONE

 ** MASTER CATALOGUE **
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The following catalogue provides an alphabetical listing (by title) and profile of both performed and unperformed Italian operas (i.e. those set to original Italian librettos) by both Italian and foreign composers and librettists either staged or completed during the period 1 January 1870 to 31 December 1970 (for the sake of concision, unfinished works have been omitted). Columns One to Nine present all relevant data in an easily accessible form (a description of each is given below):-

COLUMN ONE:-

Full title of opera, given in the original Italian (the titles of foreign premieres given in translation are provided in Column Nine)

COLUMN TWO -

Full name of composer, together with chronology.

COLUMN THREE:-

Total number of acts (prologues and epilogues are indicated by the abbreviations "Pl." and "E.").

COLUMN FOUR:-

Full name of librettist(s), together with chronology; title, date and author of primary literary source of libretto (original libretti are designated by the abbreviation "orig."):.

COLUMN FIVE:-

Genre (a list of abbreviations used is given below); concise definitions of all genres are given in Section Five (a fuller discussion of the various "verismo" genres is to be found in Part One of the thesis):-

- (a) VP = "verismo puro"
- (b) VS = "verismo storico"
- (c) VBI = "verismo biografico"
- (d) VB = "verismo barocco"
- (e) VE = "verismo esotico"
- (f) C = Comic opera.
- (g) R = Romantic opera.
- (h) CL = Classical opera.
- (i) B = Biblical opera.
- (j) M = Modernist opera.
- (k) MF = Mystical/Fantasy opera.

COLUMN SIX:-

Respective dates of world, American and British premieres (the abbreviation U/P indicates that the opera has remained unreduced until the present day).

COLUMN SEVEN:-

Precise locations of world, American and British premieres

COLUMN EIGHT:-

Abbreviated cast lists of world, American and British premieres, given in the following order: soprano/messa soprano, tenor, baritone/bass, conductor.

COLUMN NINE:-

References/Remarks This column indicates, where relevant, the following items of information listed in order of presentation -

(a) References: a selective list is given of both primary and secondary sources providing further information on the opera in question (in the case of very well-known works, the abbreviation

"Var refs." indicates a proliferation of sources outwith the scope of the present study).
Abbreviations used are as follows (full details of each work are given in Section Nine
(General Bibliography)):-

- Ces. = Aldo Caselli, "Catalogo delle opere liriche pubblicate in Italia".
Enc. Sic. = "Dizionario biografico degli Italiani".
Enc. Mus. = "Enciclopedia della Musica".
Enc. Spet. = "Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo".
Enc. Spet. It. = "Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo" (Indice-Repertorio).
Gatti = Carlo Gatti, "Il Teatro alla Scala".
Grove = "The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians".
Levigne = Albert Levigne, "Encyclopedie de la Musique et du Concert".
Liberg = Alfred Loewenberg, "Annals of Opera".
MT = "The Musical Times" (London, 1890-1920; twin digits indicate volume year, e.g. MT93 = 1903 volume).
Opera = "Opera" magazine.
Shon. = Nicholas Slonimsky, "Music since 1900".
Thomson IC = "The International Encyclopedia of Music and Musicians" (ed. Oscar Thompson).
Towers = John Towers, "Dictionary-Catalogue of Operas and Operettas".

(b) General remarks, e.g. details of work's gestation, degree of success of premieres, number of subsequent performances, comments on casting, etc.

(c) Possible primary and secondary sources (either literary or historical) of those libretti whose subject matter is either unknown or open to conjecture.

(d) Composers and dates of additional operas on same subject, arranged in chronological order (where relevant, variations in title are listed), where the source of the original spark is either unknown or open to conjecture, details are given of those works bearing a titular similarity.

(e) Titles, dates and authors/directors of novels, plays, short stories, poems, symphonic works, cantatas, ballets and films having either a direct or indirect connection with the opera in question (e.g. through subject matter or title), even when these works cannot be considered as either primary or secondary sources for the libretto.

(f) Titles of those operas by the composer in question either written or performed in the period 1890-1920 (these are arranged in alphabetical order, and refer the reader to the relevant entries on each opera. It should be noted, however, that this list does NOT include those of the composer's works written or performed prior to or after the period in question, this information being beyond the scope of the present study).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

a. = act
 acc = according to
 adapt. = adapted, adaptation
 addit. = additional
 Amer. = American
 b. = born
 Brit. = British
 c. = cited/conducted by
 chor. = chorography
 chron. = chronological
 collab. = collaboration
 crit. = criticized
 compo = competition; compose
 d. = died
 frag. = fragment
 inc. = including
 Ital. = Italian
 lib. = libretto
 libret. = librettist
 lit. = literary
 no. = number
 opus. = opera(s)
 orig. = original
 perf(s). = performance(s)
 p(p). = page(s)
 Pol. = Politense
 posth. = posthumous
 prem. = premiere
 prod. = produced, production
 pseud. = pseudonym
 pub. = published
 re = regarding
 ref. = reference
 rep. = repeats
 rev. = revised, revision
 S. = San
 T. = Teatro
 Th. = Theatre
 trans. = translation
 U/P = unfinished
 U/P = unproduced
 v. = very
 var. = various
 via. = namely
 w. = with
 + = and
 = : is/are
 ? = unknown/doubtful

ANDREA DEL SARTO	Barvalla, Vittorio (1858-1922)	?	Chianonzi, B (1824-1873), play of same name by De Russet (1833)	20/11/90	Torino (T. Caspanna)	Sorapani, C. Mugnonet Vigna?	Enc. Spet. : Ostra 42, Nry4 (p. 421). Orig. prod. given 22. It is same name by M. Bonelli-Nassini (1931). Play of same name by V. Sordani 19101. Film of same name by prod. Class (1977). Orig. prod. by Carlo Sordani, "Abbate" del "111895".
ANIMA DEL LENARO. I.	Cestacane, Antonio (1877-?)	?	Illice, L. (1827-1919)?	23/11/07	Modena (T. Storch)	?	Enc. Spet. : Enc. Mus. Lib. orig. offered to "Abbate" del "111895" 23/11/02. Comp. wanted short lib. for op. to be written before "Naples". This lib. then used to write opera in June 1903. "L'Anima del Lenaro" also abandoned by comp. + offered by Illice to Cestacane. "L'Anima del Lenaro" Other ops. : "Padron Giovanni", "Pangenes Syc".
ANNE INFRANTE	Dall'oli, Edoardo (1873-8)	?	Maoschia, A. (?-?)	9/8/07	Naples (T. Mercadente)	?	Other ops. : "Aixes", "Lo schiavo di Cleopatra".
ANNA KARENINA	Besano, E. (1872-?)	?	Menotti, A. (?-?) : novel of same name by Tolstoy (1879).	9/7/05	Naples (T. Mercadente)	?	Tolstoy suggested to Kupchik by Sybil Beligian in autumn 1905 (see Carter p. 147). Op. of same name by S. Grenelli (1894). "Anna Karenina" (1924) + "Hobbi" (1942, prod. 1972). Acts of same name by T. V. Brodhuys (sept. 5. Oct. 1977) + A. Giannini (1977). Title of same name by A. Metz (1911), V. Gardin (1914), J. G. Edwards (1922), P. G. Monti (1923), P. G. Monti (1933) + J. Davinet (1948).
ANNA KARENINA	Gianelli, Zorabdo (1883-?)	?	(as above)	1904	Kiev	?	Enc. Mus. Other ops. : "Redentia"
ANNALENA	Meucci, P. (1843-?)	?	Meuccio, F. (?-?)	Feb 1893	Florence (T. Pogliano)	?	Towers; Cas.

ANNINA	Deola, L. (1861-?)	?	?	Aut. 1891	Este (T. Sociale)	?	Towers; Cas.
ANNITA DI MADRID	Cento, (18-?)	?	Campanelli, ? (18-?)	Sor 1894	Rome (T. Metastasio)	?	Cas.
ANTICONE	Bondonio, C. (18-?)	?	Play of same name by Sophocles (441 B.C.)	CL 1874/20	Naples (T. Cecile)	?	Cas. Numerous ops. of same name (some 30 in all) inc. those by Ozlandini (1778), Zingarelli (1780), Meneghini (1927), Paganini (1832), Paganini (1832), Livabilla (1843) + Griff (1849). Other ops. "Suile rive del Danubio".
ANFORA	Calsotti, (1872-1929)	?	Illies, (1897-1914); "Gnais" by A. France (1899 novel)	VE 1772/00	Milan (LL. Sesto)	Caselli, Borgatti, Merolli, Toscanini	Enc. Mus.; MT94 to 311; Gelli (p. 207); Spina (p. 4); L. Berg, "Musica" (Feb. 1930). Orig. prod. given by wife; L. Berg gives other acts "Ma Dorisse".
ANTONY	Norsa, Vittorio (1857-1933)	?	Tedeschi, R. (18-?)	R 1072/98	Ferrara (T. Cominale)	?	Enc. Mus.; Cas. Op. of same name by A. Casdine (see below).
ANTONY	Casolina, A. (18-?)	?	Play of same name by Burns (1831)	R 1874/12	Palma (T. Reinold)	?	Cas.
AROSTATA	Fecora, (18-?)	?	Elvoita, (18-?)	?	Palma (T. Resio)	Violante-Borghese	Enc. Spet. Prem abandoned during Act 1 due to audience riot, with many spectators demanding they be taken back by force. (see below) 1892-1893. Possible lit. sources = the libretto by R.L. Hill (1817 Play) + the opera by G. Bertel (1890 Play).
AQUILA E S. COLONNE.	Lupatini, Cristiano (1866-1942)	?	Forsano, Giovanni (1882-1970)	?	Rome (T. Nazionale)	?	Enc. Mus.; Enc. Spet. IR. Enc. Spet. IR lists as "The ops." with callers "Giovanni Lupatini" and "Cristiano Forsani". "Mette de Leocora".
ARABESCA	Montecore,	?	Montecore,	11/37/13	Rome	c	Enc. Spet. IR. Letter from

Donatello (1375-1422)	Giuseppe (1877-?)	(T. Costanzi)					Verge to Dina of 8/11/12 (ref. to op. having won comp. of same name by Fred Myerum (1920) Other ops. = "Albe- scioles", "Cavalliers rusicena", "Suona la cittate".
ARFUSA	Cassina, F. (>-?)	Cassina, C. (>-?) Greek myth	CL	9/18/84	Messina (T. Fazio) Biancosele	?	Cas. Attalus = Attacian myth. Ops. of same name by A. Lollo (1863), F. Vitelli (1820), A. Camps (1701) & C. Ronari (1705).
ARIMANNI, CL	Trucco, Eduardo (1862-?)	Cavallero, E. (>-?)	R	20/11/90	Genua (T. Fozzani)	?	Enc. Mo. Op. on warriors of Longobardi. Possible lit. source = "Atimane" by L. Herenco (1873 play). Other ops. = "Ene", "Vittoria".
ARLESIANA, L.	Cllea, Francisco (1866-1950)	Maccaro, G. (>-?) "L'Allesiane" by Alphonse Daudet (1872 play based on story in "L'Allesiane" deuxieme partie (1883))	VE	27/11/97	Milan (T. Litrico)	Ricci de Paz, Caruso, Arisi, C Euchani	Var. retains inc. MV98 (p. 824). Reduced from 4 to 3 acts after premiere in 1900 on stage. Other ops. = "Arlesiana" by A. Cappelli (1879), A. Antoine (1923), J. de Boroncelli (1893) & H. Allegret (1941). Other ops. = "Ariana" by G. F. de G. (1878), "Vittoria", "Gloria", "Vittoria", "La Tilda".
ARMIDA E RINALDO	Pellizzoni, A. (1866-?)	?	?	3/12/84	Casale Monferrato (Pol. Sociale)	?	Towers, Cas. Ops. of same name by G. Selli (1864), C. Androsi (1842) & A. Cappelli (1842). Other ops. = "Arlesiana" by A. Landini (1817). Other ops. = "Emelinda".
ARSDIO DI CANELLI, L.	Thermonon, Delfino (1861-1944)	Molinari, V. (>-?)	VS	23/9/94	Cannella (T. Foa)	?	Enc. Mus. : Cas. Other ops. = "Un'astuzia di Canelli".
ASPINOLO, L.	Griffi, Alessandro (1874-1932)	Fedilla, V. (>-?)	?	25/9/12	Rome (T. Nazionale)	?	Enc. Mus. : Cas. Play of same name by G. M. Cecchi (1849). Other ops. = "Biancosele".
ASTUZIA D'ANDRE, UN.	Thermonon, Delfino (1861-1944)	Ferrari, C. (>-?)	?	4/10/90	Rivoli (T. Municipale)	?	Enc. Mus. : Cas. Other ops. = "L'assedio di Canelli".
ATANUALPA	Cattalini, Pierluigi (1867-1932)	Scotti, C. F. (>-?)	VE	10/3/00	Buenos Aires (T. San Martin)	?	Enc. Mus. : L. Bern. Atanualpa was title of first opera, succeeded by command of Pizarro in 1532. Op. of same name by C. E. Bate (1877). Other ops. = "Atanualpa" by G. M. Cecchi (1811-1870), A. S. Bate (1811-1870), C. M. Cecchi (1874), N. Cecchi (1892), & B. Cattalon (before 1944).

ATALA	Micelli, Cesare (1848-?)	?	Bregico, G. (1848-?) story of same name by Chateaubriand (1801)	VE	17/2/98	Mapes (T. Ricciardi)	?	Case of same name by J. B. Hadra (1817), C. C. Cosma (1820), A. Dumas fils (1848), R. Ertz (1874) + J. F. Hadra (1884-1890) + "Giuditta". Other ops. = "Giuditta".
ATALA, G. I. PELLIROSSÈ	Delle Grazie, C. (1848-?)	?	(as above)	VE	14/4/94	Turin (T. Balbo)	?	Towers: Cas. Comp. a women. Ops. of same name by G. Pacini (1810), C. Galligani (1874), F. Cecchi (1874), P. Cecchi (1874), P. Scillet (1874), P. L. Henry (1810).
ATALA-KAR	Dall'Orto, Cesare (1849-1900)	?	Colliciant, Enrico (1848-1918)	?	14/12/00	Turin (T. Balbo)	Vigilione- Borghese	Enc. Mus.; Enc. Mus.
ATEMAIDE	Tirindelli, Fis. Adolfo (1858-1937)	*	Ricci, Corrado (1858-1934)	?	19/11/92	Venice (T. Roscini)	?	Enc. Mus.; Atys (p. 45). Prem. successioni. Ops. of same name by S. A. Flor. A. Celesia + F. Gasperini (1707, postab.) to by Ricci (172) + Leo op. "Atenside" ovvero Gli affetti generosi" by G. Pompo (1721). Riava "L'Athenais" by J. Moret (1638) + J. de la Selve-Chenol (1877) + "Atenside" by F. Balbo (1723). Other ops. = "Bianco et Noir".
ATEMAIDE	Loti, Mirco (1848-?)	?	Diaccini, T. (1848-?)	?	31/1/97	Carpato Guidi (T. Cennamo)	?	Enc. Mus.; Enc. Mus.; Mig. (p. 485); Sibon (p. 186); "Atenside" Zia fict. op. based on an ancient table of incarnated atmospheric phenomena (Sibon). Fict. women writer of "Atenside" + "Atenside" op. "Atenside" + "Atenside" (see Balbo, "Storia Letteraria d'Italia - II Novcento" (p. 187)).
AURA	Zanelli, Amilcare Cesare (1871-1949)	3	Fini, Ido (1868-1948) (orig.)	MF	27/8/10	Pesaro (T. Roscini)	Cennamo, Ferrari	Enc. Mus.; Enc. Mus.; Mig. (p. 485); Sibon (p. 186); "Atenside" Zia fict. op. based on an ancient table of incarnated atmospheric phenomena (Sibon). Fict. women writer of "Atenside" + "Atenside" op. "Atenside" + "Atenside" (see Balbo, "Storia Letteraria d'Italia - II Novcento" (p. 187)).
AURORA	Soffredini, Mirco (1842-?)	?	(as above)	?	21/4/97	Pesaro (T. Guidi)	?	Enc. Mus.; Enc. Mus.; Mig. (p. 485); Sibon (p. 186); "Atenside" Zia fict. op. based on an ancient table of incarnated atmospheric phenomena (Sibon). Fict. women writer of "Atenside" + "Atenside" op. "Atenside" + "Atenside" (see Balbo, "Storia Letteraria d'Italia - II Novcento" (p. 187)).

AURORA	Perini, Emilio (1875-?)	3	Illice, Luigi (1875-1919); Book of Oric lib. by E. Guesada	VS	5/9/06	Eugenio Altes (T. Celon)	Fantini, Luigi Buffo, C. Pantale	see J. E. Piazzi (1819), S. A. Sokolovskiy (1821), J. Diocentia y Hernandez (1849) + S. Hammerling (1910). Book of Oric lib. by E. Guesada. Other ops. = "La coppa", "Cacciavite", "Leon", "Salvatorello", "Tarcisio".
AVARO, L'	Ferrari, Emilio (1851-1933)	7	Ferrari, Luigi (1875-1919); "L'Avare" by Moliere (1668 play)	C	12/6/15	Milam (T. Dal Verme)	? Enc. Mus. Other ops. = "Il senatico dei cantisti".	
AVE MARIA	Gubitosi, Emilio (1857-?)	7	Mebotti- Bujar, (?-?)	?	6/12/06	Naples (T. Merodante)	? Enc. Mus. Other ops. = "Nata D'Avign".	
AVIATORE DEO, L'	Prattola, Eugenio (1856-1885)	3	Comp. (orig.)	M	4/11/20	Lugo (T. Rossini)	? Enc. Spet. Enc. Mus. i "Il Signor Mito". Liber. "L'Alia che scrive" (June 1917). Oms of first Futurist op. = "Glorie" Other ops. = "L'Alia", "La Sina d'Vergoun".	
AVVENTURE DI PAGLIACCIO. LE	Festolozza, Albino (1851-1894)	7	?	C	1904	Turin	? Enc. Mus. Other ops. = "I pescatori di San Leo".	
AVVOCATO VENEZIO L'	Valente, Vittorio (1853-1921)	9	?	?	1917	Naples	? Thompson IC. Other ops. = "Donna Paquita", "Lena", "Noelando", "Messora Cristina", "La sposa di "L'ustiondo".	
BACIO ALLA REGINA. UN	De Nardis, Camillo (1857-1891)	7	Cammarano, Gennaro (?-?)	C	1870/80	Naples (T. Cammarano)	? Enc. Spet. Enc. Spet IR. Cammarano C. Cammarano ed Lib. Other ops. = "Stella"	
BACIO DELLA NIVE. IL	Floet, Pietro (?-?)	7	Mantelle- Pisotoni, (?-?)	?	4/22/07	Siena (Accademia del Rinnovali)	? Cas	
BAGIA DI POMPOSA.	Veneziani, Vittorio	9	Comp. (orig.)	M	1900 (U/P)	-	- Enc. Mus. Subtitled "mallocco"	

(1912) + 1. Montemesoli (see below).
 Possible source = "The Bohemian" by Shum, of "Bohemia" by William Shakespeare story of Bianca Cappello (see op. Plays "Bohemia" by M. Comolles. A. Comolles. "Bohemia" by Saurin (1933).
 Other ops = "11 Percollesini".
 Enc. Spat. IR. (see above + below) if possible source).
 Other ops = "L'amore del trarre", "Giovanni Celluzese", "Heller", "LA MARK".
 Enc. Mus.
 Ops. of same name by S. Campin (1933-1938), A. Buzzi (1942), A. Rendegeer (1954).
 Plays of same name by J. von Bismarck (1920), G. Sgarbini (1948), P. Dell'Onoro (1941), P. Calvi (1975) + P. Mellstrom (1980).
 Film of same name by M. Caszini (1947), "L'Ar di altri op. = "L'Ar di "Evildo" "Mittendolice", "Milita", "Mie verganti".
 Cam. Ops. of same name by A. Op. same (see below).
 Other ops = "Mittendolice".
 Enc. Spat. IR.
 Enc. Mus. Cea.
 Op. "Biondello, ovvero '77 suddito esemplare" by C. Cecorini (1914).
 Other ops = "Biondello".
 Enc. Spat. IR. (p. 554);
 L. Biondello (see above) submitted "Biondello melodrammatico", socio Realistic "Medicore and boring", complicated setting curtain 11 times.
 Possible lit. source = "Le camin de Paris" by J. F. A. Bayard + Vendrburok (1834 play).
 Op. "Biondello di 1841" by C. Cecorini (1914).
 by A. Montemesoli (1912).
 Film of same name by Otto Tespi (1916).

BIANCA	Montemesoli, Italo (1875-1942)	?	?	1900 (UAP)	-		
BIANCA CAPPELLO	Lorzi, Antonio (1871-1943)	?	VS	3/2/10	Milano (T. De! Verme)	?	
	Paves, Ugo (1857-1939); Play name by G. Rovani (1839)	?					
BIANCOPIORE	Orsini, Alessandro (1874-1932)	?		31/2/10	Venice (T. Rossini)	?	
	Schiama, A. (p.?)	?		1912		?	
BIANCOFIORE	Pannain, Eugenio (1887-1944)	?		23/11/12	Naples (T. Mercadante)	?	
BIANCHINO IL	Mugnani, Leopoldo (1848-1918)	?	VF	11/8/72	Venice (T. Halibran)		Collegni, e. Mugnani.

Other eps = "Vita
Breitene".
Ent Mus
Possible source = "Le
Blanc et le noir" by
Voltaire (philosophical
tale of 1764) + "Play of
the same name by S. Guitry
(1902).
Title of same name by M.
Allegret + R. Florey (1931).
Other eps = "Alexandre".

Var. title = "ino.MT90
(Op. 75).
Possible additional lit.
sources = "Mimi Pinson"
by H. Murger (1843 short
story, also 1848 play
(1847 play by Edouard
Maurice, 1849 novel)
"Mimi" by D. Boucicault
(1852 play based on
Murger's 1849 novel).
Lit. source = "Mimi Pinson"
(1852 play) + "Mimi Pinson"
same name by G. Arinelli
+ A. Fracastoro.
Op. of same name by R.
Lecocq (see below).
Mimi Pinson (1902) by
Hitachman (1902).
Opera "Le Bohème" by
famous tenor Tito Schipa
+ "Mimi Pinson" by
Merve. On West subject by
film "C. A. C. L." (Mimi
Pinson", 1958). O. Kins
Oberstein (1911) + A.
Carpenter (1917).
Other eps = "Mimi"
"Mimi Pinson"
"Mimosa Bollerly"
"Mimosa Lescaut", "Le
tendine", "Rover
Angelic", "Il tabarro",
"Pesci".

Ent Mus
MT90 (p. 123), MT97 (p
111), MT99 (p. 768).
Given in rev. version as
"Mimi Pinson" (same
title).
Palermo) but for only
a part. (see Slonim,
p. 237). MT13 (p. 455),
MT18 (p. 571), L. Berg.
Other eps = "Mimi"
"Mimosa", "Mimoli",
"Mimosa", "Mimosa di
Berlino", "Mimosa",
"Mimosa".
Ent Mus

BLANC ET
NOIR
Tirindelli,
Pier-Agostino
(1856-1937)

2: 2: 22/12/97 Cinesimati
(Auditorium)

Cesira-Petrani,
Gaga,
Pini-Corsi, C
Teacchini
Cunningham,
Winnick,
Macnaworth, C.
Macnaworth,
Carl Rose
Op. Company

1/2/96 Turin
(T. Regio)

VR
Giacombe
(1847-1906);
Luigi
(1857-1917);
Giuseppe
"Le Bohème"
by H. Murger
(1845-46
novel, novel)

4: 4: 14/10/99 Los Angeles
Theatryles

Franklin,
Sterolo,
Beneduci, C.
Pons

6/5/97 Venice
(T. Empire)

VR
Comp.
(see above)

3/1/98 New York
(Memlin
Theatre of
Columbia
University)

BOHÈME,
LA
Puccini,
Giacomo
(1858-1924)

5: 5: 1920 Capriaci

BOHÈME,
LA
Ruggero
(1857-1917)

5: 5: 1920 Capriaci

BOHÈME,
LA
Merini,
(1857-1917)

5: 5: 1920 Capriaci

BOHÈME,
LA
Merini,
(1857-1917)

5: 5: 1920 Capriaci

CADRE	MONICO, DOMENICO (1872-5)	3	Nardini, D. (1-4)	VS	27/11/05	Roma (T. Verdi)	?	French lib by A. Celli. Enc. Mus. : M70 (p. 48). "Musical Times" gives 1704. Rep. unsuccessfull op. 1878. 1878 lib. written in 1878. scandal Austrians, but score destroyed (along w. composer's other works) during Austrian invasion of Udine in 1813. Play of same name by D. Smerini (1815). Poem of same name by G. Carducci. Other ops. "Volsa", "Cervello", "Vilusa".
CA IRA	Rossi, Cesare (1858-1930)	?	?	VS	1912	Trento (T. Sottile)	?	Enc. Mus. : Cas. Com. gives D. Rossi. Poem set in Rev. France. Poem of same name by C. Carducci. "C" lib. by it (June 1878). "C" lib. by T. Eras (1923). Other ops. "Ippolito", "Messa", "Il Piccolo Nelson", "Sinocchio al fronte".
CALENDIMAGGIO	Pietri, Giuseppe (1888-1946)	?	Cori, (1-2), "Calendimaggio" by Valentinino Soldani	?	19/1/10	Florence (T. Pergola)	?	Enc. Smet. Subject considered by Puccini in 1904 (see Carner, p. 147). Other ops. = "Ruy Blas".
CAMARGO, EA	De Lova, (1842-1855)	4	Restina, (1-2) (orig)	VS1	2/3/78	Turin (T. Regio)	2. Tassanini	Enc. Mus. : M74 (p. 23), M75 (p. 24), M76 (p. 25). L. Berry, of Marie-Beset, Op. 11, "Ruy Blas", "Camargo" (1808). Lilla dancer from Brussels who was once street address at Paris Opera, op. 19, "Camargo", some prod. in Argentina. Ops. of same name by C. A. Lecocq (1878). Pontalis (1878). Play "La Camargo" on Op. 19, 1883, by L. M. (1833) + C. Dupont (1833). Ballad of same name by L. Dall'Ardine (1808). Montezzi, Prem. M. 1866 (1872) + AD, Green (1872). Film "La Camargo", una gavotte tra i briganti by Prod. Roma (1903).
CANORRA	Esposito, Michele (1852-1929)	?	?	VP	1903	St. Petersburg	?	Enc. Mus. : Enc. Smet. 12. Film of same name by Prod. Ambrosio (1910). Other ops. = "Il borghese gentiluomo"
CAMPANE A GLORIA	Fino, Riccardo (1867-1950)	?	Fino, Savio (1-2)	?	21/11/16	Turin (Pol. Chiarelli)	?	Enc. Smet. op. 11, "Il babiliano", "La festa del grano", "Noemi e Ruth".

CANFO, AL	Romenini, R (1864-?)	?	2/2/95	Messala (T. Guglielmo)	?	"Parsi del '95", "La preus w' i capot". Towers, Cas.
CANARSGGIO, A	Bernadotto, G. (1871-1897)	?	22/2/78	Padua (T. Verdi)	c. Podestà	Cas. i Towers; MT93 (p. 745) Comp. Venetian noblemen; op. abandoned halfway through because of reaction of the court. The opera been entered for 1888 somehow comp. and while not winning a prize has been commended by jury.
CANDESA	Melliero, Gian Francesco (1882-1973)	1	24/1/14	Rome (T. Costanzi)	Cesati, G. Vitale	Enc. Spot. i. Sion (p. 233) Comp. 1911; prem. disastrous failure, w/ result that after perf. Comp. destroyed score. Possible source w. play of same name by libret Other ops. "Palanza" Pulitano, "Il sogno d'on Ramonic".
CANTICO, IL	Lusidi, Ariano (1888-1971)	?	1915	Milan (T. Carcano)	?	Enc. Mus. Subtitled "Interesse". Other ops. "Gustav" Machino, "La testa di Saron".
CANTICO DEI CANTICI, IL	Ferreri, Emilio (1851-1933)	?	5/5/98	Milan (T. Carcano)	?	Enc. Mus. Other ops. w. "L'Avaro".
CANTIERE, NEL	Vucelli, G. (?-?)	?	1904	Novara (T. Cocchi)	?	Cas. Other ops. "Leonida", "L'Isca".
CANTO DEL CIGNO, IL	Roggero, Paolo (1854-?)	?	8/1/98	Turin (T. Vittorio Sannale)	?	Enc. Mus. i. Cas. Op. of same name by L. Kraljic (1897). Possible it. source w. Cesari's libretto by "Le chant du cygne" by C. Duval + X. Roux (1908 play)
CANTO DI FRANCESCA, IL	Biondi, Renzo (1889-?)	1	16/3/85	Peria (T. Gudi)	?	Enc. Spot. i. Sion (p. 25). Per. op. double bill w/ "Il barbiere" in the course of the "Inferno" (Francesco da Rimini episode). Other ops. "Zigata", "Chimborco", "In Umeric".
CANZONE	Collino,	?	1901	?	?	Enc. Spot

DEL PILO. LA	Federico (1867-1942)	Dustino based on his own voices	?	1917	Milan (T. Manzoni)	?	Later adapted by comp. see below. Rem under same name 1873/1904 at Milan (Le Soles, Chor. C. Coppi) other ops. "Le creola", "Monde piccino".
CARJANA ARGENT. LA	Odone Gullii-Roo, Ezzabette (1878-83)	Rossato, Xilute (1882-1921)	?	1917	Milan (T. Manzoni)	?	Enc. Mus. Cas. Cas. G. 1918. Other ops. "A sacca sen in rondine".
CAPINERA FRANCOPINO, LA	Cattedra, (?-?)	?	?	1/12/14	Milan (T. Diana)	?	Cas.
CAPITAN FRACASSA, IL	Costa, Pasquale Merlo (1858-1933)	Emanuel, G. (?-?) Mojca, G. (?-?) "Le Capitaine Fracassa" by (1837-1841), pub. 1843.	C	14/12/09	Turin (T. Alfieri)	?	Enl. D. 1840, M. 10 (p. 116), M. 11 (174). Ops. "Le Capitaine Fracassa" by F. Passard (1873) + "Capitan Fracassa" by N. D'Artenza (1842-1843) + "D. G. di (1861) same by V. Valente Possibile additional lit. sources = "Le Capitaine Fracassa" by Emilio Berret (1876, play "11 spettacoli" same by D. Sponchioli + "George Cott" (1904-05 play based on Gauthier). Play "Capitan Fracassa" by J. Tourner substituted by E. M. Agazzi (1908). Prod. Pasquale (1912), M. Cavallina (1918), A. D. Cavallini (1925), D. Cotelli (1948) + A. Gance (1949).
CARBONARO, IL	Ferroni, Vincenzo (1852-1839)	Catupali, Romeo (1857-1911).	VS	19/2/60	Milan (T. Lillo)	?	Enc. Mus. Comp. = Emilio Carrara. Possible lit. source = play "Le Carbonaro" 1824, by C. De Gamba (1793-1802). Other ops. = "Evore Piermarchese", "11 piccini "Raddio".
CARRELA	Dianna, (?-?)	De Amicis, Edoardo (1844-1908); (cont.)	?	8/4/79	Pistoia (T. Mabbellini)	?	Towers: Cas. Ops. of same by F. Bersani (see below), J. Arcese Vico (1908) + play "Le Carbonaro" 1824, same name by L. Marasco (1872) + A. Castiglione (1914); play "Carrela o li supplicio di un cuoco" by C. Orzevili (1844), delirious opera by R. Allevilla (1848). Novel of same name by N.

Missal.
 Film of same name by P.
 Casavola (1941). Also
 by Montecarlo by D.
 Galdi (1917) & "Carmela"
 & one bamboo by G.
 Pucini (1933).

CARMELA	Bersani, P. (19-2)	?	Giannarelli, A. (9-2)	?	24/9/05	Vicreggio (Pol Marcharita)	?	<p>Ces. Film of same name by P. Casavola (1941). Also by Montecarlo by D. Galdi (1917) & "Carmela" & one bamboo by G. Pucini (1933).</p>
CASSANDRA	Caschi, Vittorio (1876-1953)	PI +2	Illica, Luigi (1857-1918); "Smetta" by Sophocles (1895-1918 B.C. Play)	CL	5/12/05	Bologna (T. Comunale)	Muscenski, Eugatti, c. Fosconini	<p>Enc. Spati., Ston. (p. 82). Prologue and 1st Act by Casavola (1942). Heifer Tempe (1922). Heifer (1925). R. Sitava (1907) + S. Petris (1949). Play on same subject by Luigi Hoffmann (1933). Other ops. "Smetta", d'Amore".</p>
CASTELLANA, LA	Erzini, Antonio (1872-1950)	?	Allieri, Luigi (18-7)	?	1920	Evidenza (T. Magnani)	?	<p>Enc. Mus. i. Ces. Play of same name by N. Hoffmann (1933). By R. Capa (1920). Other ops. "Mykna", "Visione italiane".</p>
CASTELLO DI ERIVIO, IL	Rizzolo, Antonio (1863-9)	?	Gabiani, Nicola (18-5)	R	22/12/93	Asti (T. Civico)	?	<p>MP93 (p. 746); Tourtes; Ces.</p>
CATILINA	Casellini, Antonio (1868-9)	?	?	R	1895	Verona	?	<p>MP90 (p. 104). Opera of same name by A. Patelli (1882) & S.A. De Bardi (1882). Play of same name by S. J. Petricori (1942), P. J. Ceccaroni (1940), R. Ceccaroni (1940), Valtice (1922), R. Ceccaroni (1922), (1922), R. Ceccaroni (1922), (1922), M. Bacci (1920- 1922), J. M. Diaz (1922), P. Bacci (1922), K. Baccini (1922), A. Baccini (1922), F. also in "Catilina" his Conspiracy by R. Johnson (1911). Film "Catilina" by M. Cecchini (1910).</p>
CAVALIER PIERROT, IL	Fedovini, Alfredo (18-5)	?	?	C	1912	Santiago	?	<p>Lavigne.</p>
CAVALIERE D'AMORE, IL	Milani, Ernesto (d. 1896)	?	Costello, A. (18-5)	?	17/10/93	Milan (T. Del Verme)	?	<p>Ces.; MP93 (p. 553), MP94 S. Perillati by jury in second Montepigne comp.</p>
CAVALIERE DEL SOGNO, IL	Agostini, Antonio (1875-1944)	I	Macchioni- Giannotti, (18-5)	?	24/2/97	Paro (T. Della Fontana)	?	<p>Enc. Mus. i. Ces. Prize winner in Steiner competition "Aleksander", "Svevo", "Carmela", "Lombra", "La Penna d'Airona".</p>
CAVALIERIA DOMESTICA	Cordas, Carlo	I	Toschielli, M.	C	March 1892	Florence	?	<p>Enc. Mus. i. Ces. Fanny of Cavalier d'Airona".</p>

"Memories of an Heiress" by F. Burney (1782). Short story of same name by Burns (1801). Short story in verse of same name by A. Fogazzaro. Other ops. = "Chopin", "Liszt", "Mozart", "Shane Attoli", "Madras".

Enc. Mus
Enc. Mus.; Enc. Spet. IR. Other ops. = "Provenza".
Enc. Mus.; L. Berg. Masaccio's orig. play entitled "Idillio". Ops. of same name by Giusti, Orsini, F. Pisano (see below) + E. Trepper (1913).

Gas.

MTBI (p. 33).
Prem. v. successful.

Towers; Gas.

Enc. Spet.; Enc. Mus.; Spet. (p. 4). MTOZ (p. 192). L. Berio. Unsuccessful due to number of 1000 copies. Paper out for prem., but op still out for profitability.
Ops. of same name by G. Corbelli (1871); A. "Candidation" by Massenet (1899).
City of same name by M. Montemelli (1921).
Parents of same name by A. Ottolenghi (1873) + F. T. Rodelli (1913).
Zalena (1919). M. Raffico (1948) + F. Carichio (1949).
Other ops. = "L'Amore medico", "La donna curiosa", "I Gioielli della Madonna", "Irene", "Il quattro rusteghini", "Il segreto di Susanna".

Gas

Muscenizsky

Ravenna
(T. Alighieri)

Perugia
(F. Manfredi)

Bucharest

Naples
(T. Mercadente)

Brescia
(T. Guglielmo)

S. Miniato
(T. Verdi)

Venice
(T. Zanico)

25/5/05

21/4/10

3/12/91

4/3/97

1/9/01

18/11/01

22/2/00

VR
(as above)

VE
(as above)

VB
Chislantoni, VB
Antonio
(1824-1892);
play of same
name by L.
Mazzoni
(1880)

VB
D'Omsville, VB
Cassio
(1840-1894).
(as above)

VR
Molin,
A.
(1871);
(as above)

VB
Rochi,
A.
(1871);
(as above)

C
Pezzen
Marta
(1869-1921);
story in
"Contes de
l'Oise" by
Bernault
(1897)

4

?

3

?

1

?

3

Montefiore,
Tommaso, Mose
(1855-1923)

Meredi,
Armando

Saetrino,
Eugenio
(1857-1948)

Biondi,
C.
(1871)

Orsini,
Giuseppe
(1831-1)

Pisano,
F.
(1871-?)

Velli-Ferrari,
E.
(1874-1948)

CECILIA

CECILIA

CELESTE

CELESTE

CELESTE

CELESTE

CENERENTOLA

CENTO
NESTIER

Naples
(T. Mercadente)

Genese,
F.
(1871);
(as above)

Genoulio,
F.
(1871)

Genese,
F.
(1871);
(as above)

Case	Com. Mus.	Ref.	Notes	Source	Year	Notes	Source
CERCRANDO LA VIA	Cicilia, A (p. 1)	7/4/14	Genoa (Fol. Marcherital)				
CHATTERTON	Leonorello, Ruggero (1857-1919)	VBI	10/3/94	Rome (T. Nazionale)	?		
CHIRINA	Dell'Argine, Luigi (1873-1930)	C	1892 (U/P)				
CHOPIN	Ferris, Giuseppe (1845-7)	VBI	1895 (U/P)				
CHOPIN	Orfice, Giuseppe (1865-1922)	VBI	23/11/01	Milan (T. Livio)	Borsatti		
CID. IL	Tizutti, Albenardo (1800-1966)	R	1892 (U/P)				

Enc. Spot.: Enc. Mus.: MT
94 (pp. 102, 236, 239, 495);
L. Barq.
Lib. published at Bolzano
in 1877 (see version)
at ops. Libretto is prem.
reopened with funds,
Queen Margherita at 1874
Prem.: great success;
reopened in 1875.
enthusiastic audience;
rev. prod. in new
version at Nice, 7/8/03.
Op. of same name by
Geminet (s. 1834) +
Nancini (s. 1839).
Paysa Chateaubault
(1842) + Schalken +
H. Kemmer + H. A. Jones
(1884).
Film of same name (anon.
1911).
Op. of same name "Bohème",
"Madama Butterfly",
"Melange di Berlino",
"Saxa", "Zingari".

Enc. Mus.: M792 (p. 381).
Reprod. for prod. at Milan
(T. Ferrara).
Tower: M792 (p. 133).
Accepted for production
by La Scala, but
apparently never prod.
there or elsewhere.
Op. of same name by
Prod. Liberti (1915).
"Chopin's Georges Sand"
by Prod. Leims (1910).
Other ops.: "Maledetta".

Spot (p. 24): M702 (p.
11). L. Barq.
Music based on Chopin
melodies; each act
depicts different lady-
-love of comp.: prem.
reopened in 1875.
Prem. season: Bolzano
Other ops.: "Gecille",
"Conquistador", "Mose",
"Fane titra", "Madam".

Enc. Spot.: Enc. Mus.
Entered for 1892
Sometime comp.
Op. on subject by
Pollaro, "F. Leviaio
Bertrido", 1901.

Name	Aliases	DOB	POB	Other info	Notes
CLARA	Cappelli, E. (1859-7)	?	11/4/99	S. Giovanni (T. Rissotto)	Towers, Cas. comp Spanish. Op. of same name by G. B. Pariza (1889) + op. "Clara, Metrogli w/ Mettanino" by C.E. Biers (1883). "La Villa" by Clara, su La Villa (1948). Towers, Cas. Towers gives comp. as women.
CLARA D'ARCA	Benedetti-Suski, A. (1889-?)	?	1895	Milan (T. Filodrammatici)	MT92 (p. 417).
CLARA DI BELLEVILLE	Baldottolo, ?	?	1893	Catania	Cas
CLARA MEYLOHRE	Boncinelli, T. (18-?)	?	17/11/19	Piacenza (Pol. Piacentino)	MT95 (p. 421). From orig. noted for 30/7/95 but at dress rehearsal, tempo fiore was changed not turn subsequently be found; was eventually sued by Sontegno for breach of contract, but piece had to be postponed; when revived by the opera house, it was being in dramatic interest. Op. of same name by E. Mario (1853), A. Sagnoni (1866), W.D. Armstrongs (1881) + same name by U. C. Willis + H. Herzen (1883). R. Franken (1941) + F. Gouling (1943). Film of same name by G. Felio (1953). "West opera" by "Markolder", "West + Marine".
CLAUDIA	Coronari, Gallo Benvenuto (1843-1914)	?	5/11/95	Milan (T. Linceo)	Cas Possible source = "La Coarce" by J. Vidal (1877 play).
CEEA	Cecchini, A. (18-?)	?	27/8/05	Viterbo (T. Dell'Ualione)	Cas Other ops. w. "Danna Rios".
CLORINDA	Crisuolo, A. (18-?)	?	15/10/10	Geneve (Pol. Genevese)	Cas Op. of same name by E. Branchi (1813); also plays "Clorinda e Valerio" by C. Cremonini (1841), "Clorinda" by J. C. Florinda (1853) + "Clorinda e Liamic" traduttore" by F. Carloni (1772).
CLOTILDE D'AMALFI	Guadagna, F. (1841-?)	?	2/5/91	Milan (T. Pesona)	Towers, Cas Towers gives G. Guardiani.
COCCARDA, LA	Battennato, Sento (18-?)	?	22/7/08	Venice (T. Helibren)	Cas Possible source = "La Coarce" by J. Vidal (1877 play).

	(1832-1919)	(1833-1970) (see above)	Dentale, G. Marronier	(1834-1851), Libero. Left unfinished at L's death + completed by Pennacchio, composed expressly for title book. No. 1000 copy. Chicago copy then arriving out L's deathbed wish that ob. should be produced. Other ops. "La Sirena", "I Medici", "Giacca", "Koland", "Battaglia", "Zaza", "Zingari".
EDITHA	Pizzi, Enrico (1803-1940)	Arkel, G. (?)	4/2/96 (T. Dal Verme)	Enrico Mus. "Pizzi" given as "Pizzi" by Other ops. "Gabellella", "Rosalba", "Vanita e amore", "Vendetta".
EDITHA	Carbonieri, Enrico (1870)	D'Amel, G. (1855-1940)	21/9/06 (T. Larice)	MT86 (p. 76d). From unsuccessful.
RIDEBERGA MIRI	Faccioratti, Ubaldo (1872-1913)	Colantoni, VU Alberto (1880-1957) by Miri's sister (1908) and other adapt. by author of own novel "Kas. Helarich" (1897)	27/2/08 (T. Carlo Police)	Enrico Mus. in Gen. (p. 122); MT89 (p. 180), L. Berg. From successful. Adapted by M. Berg. (1922) + L. Marronier (1959). Other ops. "L'albatro", "La lampada", "Il santo".
EDMUNDGARA	Tosti, Renato (1873-1924)	?; R ?; some of same name by G. Prati (1843)	1895 (U/P)	MT95 (p. 418). Subtitled "Scena drammatica". Op. of same name by G. Prati (1843). Other ops. "Zaballo", Orsini, "Zaballo", "Le prime nozze".
ELLEN E FULDANO	Mellini, Tommaso (1821-1973)	Enrico, Enrico (1874-1949)	1938 (U/P)	Enrico Mus. in Gen. (p. 122). "Pizzi" given as "Pizzi" by Book destroyed by comp. Other ops. "Cencusa", "Il sogno d'un tramonto".
ELIA	Pera, Giulio Masio (1880-1945)	Bibi*	1910	Enrico Mus. "Bibi" by M. V. Blum Genoa (1919). Genoa (1919). Rebiter (1920) + M. A. A. Genoa (1935).
ELIZIA DI VITA	Lovali, Antonio (1891-1943)	Enrico, Enrico (1877-1939)	21/11/14 (T. Communi)	Enrico Mus. Possible lit. source w "L'Esprit de longue vie" by Balise (one of "Etudes philosophiques" by Comares "Zaballo", Cecilia, "Bambaloni", "Bambaloni", "Marronier", "Zaballo", "Marronier", "Zaballo", "Marronier", "Zaballo", "Marronier".

EVALDO	Lorsini, Antonio (1871-1948)	1	?	1895	Pisa (T. Verdi)	?	Enc Mus Other ops = "Bianca Cappelloni", "Il mio di vita", "Emma Lioni", "Mirendolina", "Ulirida", "La verginia".
EYANGELINA	Bernini, Antonio (1848-1938)	3	VB A (?); Poem of same name 1897 (1897)	18/9/193	Milan (T. Alhambra)	Seminarco	Enc. Spet.: MV3 (p. 482) Premy successful with public, but op criticized by press L'op. (1893) was by X Marconi (1932) Plays "Evangelina" by S. E. Cowell from Longfellow (1822) + H. Bernstein (1922) "Evangelina" by R. Wald (1919) + E. Carew (1926) Other ops = "Rampes", "Pressa Subba", "La vancetta".
FADETTE	De Russi, M. Pisto (?;?)	?	VB "La petite Padette" by G. Sand (1844 novel)	28/1/196	Rome (T. Massonade)	Storchio, Cstralli	Enc. Spet Op "La petite Padette" by G. Sand (1844). Ballad "Padette" by L. Maffei (1843). "Le Cane" (1841-44), by M. Cane (1841-44).
FAIDA	Anselletti, Maceo (1844-1929)	?	Comp. "Faida di Corno" by C. Sand (1878 poem)	1915 (J/P)	-	-	Dir. Rio. Other ops = "Bellagor", "La fante", "Milita o Sabbia".
FALCO DI CALABRIA	Coronaro, Antonio (1811-1923)	?	?	15/1/101	Vicenza (T. del Patronato) Leone XVII	?	Enc. Spet.: Enc. Mus. Comped as a "student" opera.
FALCONIERE, IL	Fontana, Paolo (1840-1939)	?	VB "Mabilis", P. (?;?)	18/9/199	Catania (2nd. Pantom)	?	Enc Mus.: Towers Op. of same name by T. Benvenuti (1878). Play "Il Falconiere di Pietro A. (1878) by L. Maffei (1878). "Falconiere" by G. Sand (1878). Other ops = "Maffei", "Maurice".
FALENA, LA	Smircovita, Antonio (1874-1929)	3	Comp. "Falena" (1874-1879)	19/9/7	Venice (T. Rossini)	Carilli o. Giardini	Enc. Spet.: Enc. Mus.: MT 97 (p. 493) Premy successful Play "La falena" by M Battista (1878) Premy of same name by L. Maffei (1878). "Falena" by S. Gelloni (1918) Other ops = "Abisso".

FALENE	Leonini, Franco (1864-1949)	3	Limati, Gino (1870-1949); 5	2/1/22	Milan (T. Verdi) Filodrammatici	?	"Cornelius Schuit", "Nozze ivriane", "Dezene" Ezio Numa double bill w. Die Schutte Schiassette, Other ops w. Le Butuze Schiotzatti, "Frencoza de Rimini", "Corasola", "Ragion di luna", "La Vierge des sorne", "La Frisana"
FAUSTAFF	Verdi, Giacopo (1815-1881)	3	Boito, Arrigo (1824-1918); "The Merry Wives of Winchester" Lombard (1872-1914) (1872-1914 play) by Shakespeare	7/2/93	Milan (La Scala)	Stabile, Garbin, Mauri, c Machharoni Bacchi, Bianchi, Pessina, c. Mancinelli	Ver. rets. Ops on same subject by K.D. von Dittersdorf (1778), Wagner (1848), G. N. Sarti (1849), A. Adam (1856).
FAMIGLIA FINA. UNA	Bernasco, Francesco (1827)	1	?, parody of several ops	1894	Berlin	?	MT9 (D. 420). Parody in "Half an act" of "Cavalleria", "Pagliacci" + Hummel's "Maia"
FANCIULLA DEL WEST.	Puccini, Giacopo (1858-1924)	3	Civiniini, VE (1873-1924); Zappalini, Carlo (1874-1924); "The Girl of the Golden Age" by G. D. Swift (1905 play)	10/12/16	New York (Metropolitan)	Weston, Caruso, Amato, c Toscanini	Ver. rets. Inc. Sion. (D. 123), MT1 (pp. 122, 44 + 478). Other ops. w. "La Boheme", "Edmundo Schiocco", "Madama Butterfly", "Mamma Mia", "La Vergine del Sabot", "La Acciaccia", "Il tabarro", "Tosca"
FANTASMA	Verucchi, Antonio (1844-1913)	?	?, from verse play of same name (submitted to libretto position) by S. Praga (1870)	24/4/02	Vicenza (T. Verdi)	?	Ezio Numa, "fantasma" by M. De Carels (1805) + G. Pessina (1853). Other ops. w. "L'Abate di Vercelli", "Clittemetra" (regio), "Clittemetra"
FANTASIA RUSTICANA	?	?	?, from "Cavalleria Rusticana"	1891	?	?	Ezio Spet. Parody of "Cavalleria Rusticana"
FASCINO	Mantini, Antonio (1850-?)	?	?	30/8/19	Verona (T. Reinisch)	?	Ezio Numa Given on quadruple bill w. "Farsa la randa", "Fidelio" + "Brida". Title of same name by G. Solito (1917). "Bentini" Other ops. "Madama Butterfly", "Mamma Mia", "Farsa la randa", "Bentini", "Brida", "Fidelio", "Brida"
FASMA	Le Rotella, Pasquale (1880-1943)	3	Colautti, Arturo (1851-1914); play of same name by	25/11/08	Milano (T. Dei Verme)	Caralli	Ezio Spet.: MT9 (p. 18). Lib. based on episode in 1816. Insurrection of 1816. Other ops w. "Des".

FIOR D'ALPE	Finchetti, Alberto (1890-1942)	3	VE	15/3/94	Milano (La Scala)	Ferrari, Varesini, Mascherani	<p>Enc Spot: Enc Mus: 1 Data: ops: 1 - 1st version run of 7 parts, real name of Vibia = Leo di Castiglione Op. of same name by Giacomantonio face Op. of same name by Colombo, "M. Iglia di Jorio", "Dermentia", "Il signor di Puccinaccio", "Nette di leggende".</p> <p>Enc Mus: Cas.</p>
FIOR D'ALPE	Giacomantonio, ? Gianluigi (1877-1923)	?	VE	5/5/13	Cesena (L. Comunale)	?	<p>Enc Spot: Enc Mus: 1 Data: ops: 1 - 1st version run of 7 parts, real name of Vibia = Leo di Castiglione Op. of same name by Giacomantonio face Op. of same name by Colombo, "M. Iglia di Jorio", "Dermentia", "Il signor di Puccinaccio", "Nette di leggende".</p> <p>Enc Mus: Cas.</p>
YOR DI NUVE	Filiasi, Luigi (1878-1943)	4	C	1/4/11	Milano (La Scala)	Ferrari, Arbellini, Pizzini, G. Scrinia	<p>Enc Spot: Enc Mus: 1 Data: ops: 1 - 1st version run of 7 parts, real name of Vibia = Leo di Castiglione Op. of same name by Giacomantonio face Op. of same name by Colombo, "M. Iglia di Jorio", "Dermentia", "Il signor di Puccinaccio", "Nette di leggende".</p> <p>Enc Mus: Cas.</p>
FIGRELLA	Ferrari, Francesco Luigi (1884-?)	?	?	10/8/04	Parma (T. dei Liceo Musicale)	?	<p>Enc Spot: Enc Mus: 1 Data: ops: 1 - 1st version run of 7 parts, real name of Vibia = Leo di Castiglione Op. of same name by Giacomantonio face Op. of same name by Colombo, "M. Iglia di Jorio", "Dermentia", "Il signor di Puccinaccio", "Nette di leggende".</p> <p>Enc Mus: Cas.</p>
FLOREDANA	Sarbano, A (1874-?)	?	?	25/10/04	Busto Arsizio (T. Sociale)	?	<p>Enc Spot: Enc Mus: 1 Data: ops: 1 - 1st version run of 7 parts, real name of Vibia = Leo di Castiglione Op. of same name by Giacomantonio face Op. of same name by Colombo, "M. Iglia di Jorio", "Dermentia", "Il signor di Puccinaccio", "Nette di leggende".</p> <p>Enc Mus: Cas.</p>
FOLCINETTO	Donady, Stefano (1878-1925)	1	R	1892	Palermo	?	<p>Enc Spot: Enc Mus: 1 Data: ops: 1 - 1st version run of 7 parts, real name of Vibia = Leo di Castiglione Op. of same name by Giacomantonio face Op. of same name by Colombo, "M. Iglia di Jorio", "Dermentia", "Il signor di Puccinaccio", "Nette di leggende".</p> <p>Enc Mus: Cas.</p>

Enc Spot: Enc Mus: 1
 Data: ops: 1 - 1st version run
 of 7 parts, real name of
 Vibia = Leo di
 Castiglione
 Op. of same name by
 Giacomantonio face
 Op. of same name by
 Colombo, "M. Iglia di
 Jorio", "Dermentia",
 "Il signor di
 Puccinaccio", "Nette di
 leggende".

Enc Mus: Cas.

Ferrari, Varesini, Mascherani

Milano (La Scala)

VE 15/3/94

Finchetti, Alberto (1890-1942)

3

Enc Spot: Enc Mus: 1
 Data: ops: 1 - 1st version run
 of 7 parts, real name of
 Vibia = Leo di
 Castiglione
 Op. of same name by
 Giacomantonio face
 Op. of same name by
 Colombo, "M. Iglia di
 Jorio", "Dermentia",
 "Il signor di
 Puccinaccio", "Nette di
 leggende".

Enc Mus: Cas.

Ferrari, Arbellini, Pizzini, G. Scrinia

Milano (La Scala)

C 1/4/11

Filiasi, Luigi (1878-1943)

4

Ferrari, Francesco Luigi (1884-?)

?

Enc Spot: Enc Mus: 1
 Data: ops: 1 - 1st version run
 of 7 parts, real name of
 Vibia = Leo di
 Castiglione
 Op. of same name by
 Giacomantonio face
 Op. of same name by
 Colombo, "M. Iglia di
 Jorio", "Dermentia",
 "Il signor di
 Puccinaccio", "Nette di
 leggende".

Enc Mus: Cas.

Ferrari, Arbellini, Pizzini, G. Scrinia

Milano (La Scala)

?

Parma (T. dei Liceo Musicale)

?

Ferrari, Francesco Luigi (1884-?)

?

Enc Spot: Enc Mus: 1
 Data: ops: 1 - 1st version run
 of 7 parts, real name of
 Vibia = Leo di
 Castiglione
 Op. of same name by
 Giacomantonio face
 Op. of same name by
 Colombo, "M. Iglia di
 Jorio", "Dermentia",
 "Il signor di
 Puccinaccio", "Nette di
 leggende".

Enc Mus: Cas.

Ferrari, Arbellini, Pizzini, G. Scrinia

Milano (La Scala)

?

Busto Arsizio (T. Sociale)

?

Sarbano, A (1874-?)

?

Enc Spot: Enc Mus: 1
 Data: ops: 1 - 1st version run
 of 7 parts, real name of
 Vibia = Leo di
 Castiglione
 Op. of same name by
 Giacomantonio face
 Op. of same name by
 Colombo, "M. Iglia di
 Jorio", "Dermentia",
 "Il signor di
 Puccinaccio", "Nette di
 leggende".

Enc Mus: Cas.

Ferrari, Arbellini, Pizzini, G. Scrinia

Milano (La Scala)

R 1892

Donady, Stefano (1878-1925)

1

Palermo

?

Name	Address	Year	Category	Notes	
PONTE DI ENSCHER. LA	Ajzeno, France. (1874-1934)	VE	8/11/96	Brescia	?
FORNARINA. CA	Collins, Florence (1881-1938)	VBI	12/8/99	Rome (T. Nazionale)	?
FORTUNELLA	Pignatelli, I. (1869-?)	?	7/11/99	Milan (T. Dal Verme)	?
FORTUNIO	Von Wetterhout, Niccolo (1862-1898)	?	17/5/95	Milan (T. Lirico)	Stabile, Giamini, Giffoni, Saffi, C. Ferrari
FORZA D'AMORE. LA	Buzzi- Pecora, Arturo (1896-1943)	?	6/3/97	Turin (T. Reale)	o Toscanini
FRANCISCA CA RIMINI	Leoni, Franco (1824-1949)	R	1918	Paris	?

ROSTRI

Enc. Set. IR, Enc. Mus.
"Fantasia" (1884)
travels in Africa
Other ops "Mizanda",
Lombardi, Don
Cicchini, all Grinoble
Zisch, "Riduzioni".
Tower: Cas. Diz. Bis.
NT99 IR 470.
On deals w. episode in
life of painter Raphael
Opera "Rappresentazione"
Lughe + Wildenberg
(1904 + 1910) op.
"Raffaello Sankio" by
Mazzoni (1899), opt.
"La Fortuna" by C.
Lombardi (1877).
Film of same name by E.
Casson: 1943-44

Tower: Cas.
Film of same name by E.
De Filippo (1928).

Enc. Set. IR, Enc. Mus.
NT99 IR 473.
Orig. sched. for La Scala
in March of prev year
but cancelled after
dress rehearsal due to
poor reception of
opera. A reproduction of
score sent to La Scala
lib. subtitled "Dramma
Lirico" may be Colautti
with Scalinier as orig.
source of V. Giusi's
1977 of same name (pub.
1983) plus "Le
Musette".
Chandellier.
CP comic of same name
by A. Messager (1907).
Other ops "L'Imbelle",
"Dona Flor".

Enc. Set.
Ops. of same name by B.
Piquini (1880), C. F.
Pellerolo (1877) + B.
Sclapar (1851).
P. Sclapar (1828) name by
P. Sclapar (1828) + anon.
(19/8/1830) cher.
Monticelli.
Other ops "El sogn de
Milan".

Enc. Set. IR, Enc. Mus.
Op. of same name by
Stedman (1827) + B.
Metcalme (1828).
Gentili (1829). Staffa
(1831), Fontana-Cotta
(1832), Boratti (1832).
P. Sclapar (1831), C.
Sclapar (1843), Metcalme
(1843), Metcalme
(1871), Cotta (1877).
Moscusa (1877), Casanova
(1878), Thumak (1882),
Cassoni (1882).

14	Redolfo (1872-8)	3	Colleiani, VP (1848-1918); Zaccarini, (1874-1948); by GEM	(T. Carlo Felice)	23/12/11	Berlin (Aufhorstener) Wrede, Wiedemann	Film of same name by A. Atlas (1917); G. Rossi (1919); Other ops. = "Vanda". Enc. Spet.; Enc. Mus.; Pitt. (pp. 46-47); Item by Max Lehmann entitled "Der Schmeckel der Madonna" (Amer. Dram. in orig. Italian); Ital. prem. given 2/2/12 at Rome (Bocellini). Enc. Spet.; Enc. Mus.; Enc. Spet. (p. 10); Italian Church + op. banned until revived 26/12/53 at Rome (Cattolici, Prandelli + Ossi). Other ops. = "Amore medico", "Centocroce", "Le donne cuticose", "Irene", "Il quattro spaventa", "Il segreto di Saranna". Enc. Spet.; Enc. Bert. IR. Enc. Spet. (p. 10); Title as "Gloriosa" in mercata. Cap. Opera = "Amore silvestre". Enc. Mus.; Miti (p. 540). Item successful. Title of same name by D. Tullio + G. Rossi. Other ops. = "Amore", "Il sole di sechi verdi". Enc. Spet.; Enc. Mus.; Miti (p. 311); Stern (p. 71). Item successful (run of 17 perf.). op. set in Gallura region of Sardinia (subtitled "Sardine"). Other ops. = "L'Amore del sole", "Il sole di sechi verdi", "Via mare". Enc. Spet. Based on life of Ceon Protestant reformer Jan Huss. "Jan Hus" by J. V. Tullio (1908); M. Rossi + A. J. Rossi (1911). Film "Jan Hus" by G. Vavra (1905-07). Enc. Spet. Part of "Iris". Miti (p. 320). Prem. successful. Possible sources = (Litt. Spet.) by Rossi "Gesamtion" by Roccazio
	Volz, Ferrara, Rimanno (1874-1948)				16/1/12	Chicago (Auditorium)	White, Bassi, Sambrico, Campanini
	Fortis, M. (1841-9)				30/3/12	London (Covent Garden)	Edvine, Merlinali, Sambrico, Campanini
GIORGETTA LA MERLINATA		?	Di Giacomo, Salvatore (1860-1924); (orig.)		3/7/13	Naples (T. Sidorada)	
GIUSEPINA	Amadei, Roberto (1840-1913)	?	Barbieri, Matteo Giulio (1873-1945);		27/6/97	Singapore (T. Comandante)	
GIOVANE ITALIA	Nieraccini, Mario (1873-1942)	?	Gracis, (18-3);		4/4/11	Pisa (T. Verdi)	
GIOVANNI CALLURESE	Montemazzi, Italo (1874-1942)	3	D'Annunzio, VP (1874-1942);		26/1/05	Turin (T. Vittorio Emanuele)	Stabile, e. Serbelli
GIOVANNI NUSS	Tessaro, A. (1834-8)	?	Zaccarini, VBI (1820-1873);		3/11/98	Treviso (T. Soriano)	Masini-Caletti
GRIS		?	(see "Iris")		1897		
GEMONDIA DAL MONTE	Rebattoli, Salvatore (18-1)	?			1899	Casale Monferrato	

town council to accept
voted. Pirelli did not
receive his money.
Other ops = "mi
disprezzi annali".

Eno Mus.
Based on life of E.T.A.
Hoffman, first prize-
winner in comp. organized
by Municipality of
Milan.
Other ops = "La contessa
di San Remo", "Il
Miracolo".

Towers, Cas.

Cas.

3 VDI 15/4/12 Naples ?

3 Bianchi,
Vittorio
(1845-1912);
Bado,
Luigi
Vigano
Amichien
des Kater
Murr" by
Hoffmann
(1820-32
novel)

3 Lascetti,
Guido
(1874-1943)

HOFFMANN

3 Jan. 1893 ?

3 Bianchi,
A.
(1882-??)

3 Solati,
T.
(1882-??)

HOHMARA

3 3/8/19 ?

3 Asola,
E.
(?-?)

3 Maso,
C.
(?-?)

NOTICE
VENERE

3 VE 29/11/04 ?

3 Nobile,
U.
(-?)
"Idvile"
"Brique"
by Bourcel
(1878 novel)

3 Ferrato,
Andrea
(1864-1942)

IDILIO
TRACISO

3 12/11/37 ?

3 Colisiani,
Enrico
(1848-1918);
?

3 Baravalle,
Vittorio
(1855-1942)

IELESIAS,
C CUORE
SARDO

3 7/12/10 ?

3 Maso,
Nicola
(1855-1911);
?

3 Pirelli,
Marino
(1866-1981)

1808

3 1891 ?

3 ?
?

3 Cottare,
Giulio
(1831-1918)

IMELDA

3 June, 1919 ?

3 Pirese,
Ugo
(1857-1939);
?

3 Favara,
Alberto
(1863-1923)

INCANTESIMO,
L.

Eno Mus.
Title of same name by E.
Nestoni (1912), C. Ravel
(1922)
Other ops = "Amore di
"Cilindretti", "Antenna",
"Cilindretti".

Eno Spet.
Other ops = "Andrea del
Sarto", "Sabato del
Villaggio".

Eno Mus.
Possible source = play
"Knyaz Igor" by Vladimir
Stesov (source for
"Knyaz Igor" = "Knyaz Igor"
by G. G. "Knyaz Igor"
1917/18).

Eno Mus.
Revised as "La legg.
Comandante (Roma, 1907).
Other ops = "La legg.
Comandante" by A.
Other ops = "Cottelino".

Cas
Other ops = "Urania"

INCANTESIMO DI CALANDRINO. L.	Bustini, Alessandro (1874-?)	1	Salvatori, Fausto (1874-?) "Demerone" by Boccardo (1847-1883)	C	1916 (U/P)	-	Enc Mus. Priced innet in Turani comp. Other ops = "La città di...". "Metis" "Dulcis"
INNOCENTE, L.	D'Anelli, Andrea (1848-1910)	1	Comp.	?	25/11/90	Novi Ligure (T. Carlo Alberto)	Enc Spet. Novel of same name by D'Annunzio (1871) + play of same name by Ercole. Film of same name by E. Benevente (1911)
IRENE	Vall-Perezzi, Ermanno (1871-1948)	2	?	?	1895 (U/P)	-	Enc Spet. IR Possible source = Greek codex of same + eventine address of same name in Sicily. Name near that of same name in that by Neil (see below). Play of same name by E. Johnson (1949) + Voltaire (1728). Other ops = "L'empire" "Le monde est un théâtre" "Le monde est un jeu" "Le monde est un spectacle" "Le monde est un théâtre" "Le monde est un jeu" "Le monde est un spectacle" "Il drago di Susanna".
IRENE	Kell, Alice (1850-1907)	?	Pezzi, C. (?-?)	?	23/3/93	Turin (T. Rezio)	Enc Mus.: Cas.
IRIS	Nascenzi, Piero (1863-1945)	1	Illegio, Luigi (1857-1919) (orig.)	V2	22/11/98	Rome (T. Costanzi)	Variants: in O.M.T. 90, Sp. 250, M.T. 7477, M.T. 5, 482, M.T. M.T. 10, 101, 102, M.T. 101, 102, 103, M.T. 104, 105, 106, M.T. 107, 108, 109, M.T. 110, 111, 112, M.T. 113, 114, 115, M.T. 116, 117, 118, M.T. 119, 120, 121, M.T. 122, 123, 124, M.T. 125, 126, 127, M.T. 128, 129, 130, M.T. 131, 132, 133, M.T. 134, 135, 136, M.T. 137, 138, 139, M.T. 140, 141, 142, M.T. 143, 144, 145, M.T. 146, 147, 148, M.T. 149, 150, 151, M.T. 152, 153, 154, M.T. 155, 156, 157, M.T. 158, 159, 160, M.T. 161, 162, 163, M.T. 164, 165, 166, M.T. 167, 168, 169, M.T. 170, 171, 172, M.T. 173, 174, 175, M.T. 176, 177, 178, M.T. 179, 180, 181, M.T. 182, 183, 184, M.T. 185, 186, 187, M.T. 188, 189, 190, M.T. 191, 192, 193, M.T. 194, 195, 196, M.T. 197, 198, 199, M.T. 200, 201, 202, M.T. 203, 204, 205, M.T. 206, 207, 208, M.T. 209, 210, 211, M.T. 212, 213, 214, M.T. 215, 216, 217, M.T. 218, 219, 220, M.T. 221, 222, 223, M.T. 224, 225, 226, M.T. 227, 228, 229, M.T. 230, 231, 232, M.T. 233, 234, 235, M.T. 236, 237, 238, M.T. 239, 240, 241, M.T. 242, 243, 244, M.T. 245, 246, 247, M.T. 248, 249, 250, M.T. 251, 252, 253, M.T. 254, 255, 256, M.T. 257, 258, 259, M.T. 260, 261, 262, M.T. 263, 264, 265, M.T. 266, 267, 268, M.T. 269, 270, 271, M.T. 272, 273, 274, M.T. 275, 276, 277, M.T. 278, 279, 280, M.T. 281, 282, 283, M.T. 284, 285, 286, M.T. 287, 288, 289, M.T. 290, 291, 292, M.T. 293, 294, 295, M.T. 296, 297, 298, M.T. 299, 300, 301, M.T. 302, 303, 304, M.T. 305, 306, 307, M.T. 308, 309, 310, M.T. 311, 312, 313, M.T. 314, 315, 316, M.T. 317, 318, 319, M.T. 320, 321, 322, M.T. 323, 324, 325, M.T. 326, 327, 328, M.T. 329, 330, 331, M.T. 332, 333, 334, M.T. 335, 336, 337, M.T. 338, 339, 340, M.T. 341, 342, 343, M.T. 344, 345, 346, M.T. 347, 348, 349, M.T. 350, 351, 352, M.T. 353, 354, 355, M.T. 356, 357, 358, M.T. 359, 360, 361, M.T. 362, 363, 364, M.T. 365, 366, 367, M.T. 368, 369, 370, M.T. 371, 372, 373, M.T. 374, 375, 376, M.T. 377, 378, 379, M.T. 380, 381, 382, M.T. 383, 384, 385, M.T. 386, 387, 388, M.T. 389, 390, 391, M.T. 392, 393, 394, M.T. 395, 396, 397, M.T. 398, 399, 400, M.T. 401, 402, 403, M.T. 404, 405, 406, M.T. 407, 408, 409, M.T. 410, 411, 412, M.T. 413, 414, 415, M.T. 416, 417, 418, M.T. 419, 420, 421, M.T. 422, 423, 424, M.T. 425, 426, 427, M.T. 428, 429, 430, M.T. 431, 432, 433, M.T. 434, 435, 436, M.T. 437, 438, 439, M.T. 440, 441, 442, M.T. 443, 444, 445, M.T. 446, 447, 448, M.T. 449, 450, 451, M.T. 452, 453, 454, M.T. 455, 456, 457, M.T. 458, 459, 460, M.T. 461, 462, 463, M.T. 464, 465, 466, M.T. 467, 468, 469, M.T. 470, 471, 472, M.T. 473, 474, 475, M.T. 476, 477, 478, M.T. 479, 480, 481, M.T. 482, 483, 484, M.T. 485, 486, 487, M.T. 488, 489, 490, M.T. 491, 492, 493, M.T. 494, 495, 496, M.T. 497, 498, 499, M.T. 500, 501, 502, M.T. 503, 504, 505, M.T. 506, 507, 508, M.T. 509, 510, 511, M.T. 512, 513, 514, M.T. 515, 516, 517, M.T. 518, 519, 520, M.T. 521, 522, 523, M.T. 524, 525, 526, M.T. 527, 528, 529, M.T. 530, 531, 532, M.T. 533, 534, 535, M.T. 536, 537, 538, M.T. 539, 540, 541, M.T. 542, 543, 544, M.T. 545, 546, 547, M.T. 548, 549, 550, M.T. 551, 552, 553, M.T. 554, 555, 556, M.T. 557, 558, 559, M.T. 560, 561, 562, M.T. 563, 564, 565, M.T. 566, 567, 568, M.T. 569, 570, 571, M.T. 572, 573, 574, M.T. 575, 576, 577, M.T. 578, 579, 580, M.T. 581, 582, 583, M.T. 584, 585, 586, M.T. 587, 588, 589, M.T. 590, 591, 592, M.T. 593, 594, 595, M.T. 596, 597, 598, M.T. 599, 600, 601, M.T. 602, 603, 604, M.T. 605, 606, 607, M.T. 608, 609, 610, M.T. 611, 612, 613, M.T. 614, 615, 616, M.T. 617, 618, 619, M.T. 620, 621, 622, M.T. 623, 624, 625, M.T. 626, 627, 628, M.T. 629, 630, 631, M.T. 632, 633, 634, M.T. 635, 636, 637, M.T. 638, 639, 640, M.T. 641, 642, 643, M.T. 644, 645, 646, M.T. 647, 648, 649, M.T. 650, 651, 652, M.T. 653, 654, 655, M.T. 656, 657, 658, M.T. 659, 660, 661, M.T. 662, 663, 664, M.T. 665, 666, 667, M.T. 668, 669, 670, M.T. 671, 672, 673, M.T. 674, 675, 676, M.T. 677, 678, 679, M.T. 680, 681, 682, M.T. 683, 684, 685, M.T. 686, 687, 688, M.T. 689, 690, 691, M.T. 692, 693, 694, M.T. 695, 696, 697, M.T. 698, 699, 700, M.T. 701, 702, 703, M.T. 704, 705, 706, M.T. 707, 708, 709, M.T. 710, 711, 712, M.T. 713, 714, 715, M.T. 716, 717, 718, M.T. 719, 720, 721, M.T. 722, 723, 724, M.T. 725, 726, 727, M.T. 728, 729, 730, M.T. 731, 732, 733, M.T. 734, 735, 736, M.T. 737, 738, 739, M.T. 740, 741, 742, M.T. 743, 744, 745, M.T. 746, 747, 748, M.T. 749, 750, 751, M.T. 752, 753, 754, M.T. 755, 756, 757, M.T. 758, 759, 760, M.T. 761, 762, 763, M.T. 764, 765, 766, M.T. 767, 768, 769, M.T. 770, 771, 772, M.T. 773, 774, 775, M.T. 776, 777, 778, M.T. 779, 780, 781, M.T. 782, 783, 784, M.T. 785, 786, 787, M.T. 788, 789, 790, M.T. 791, 792, 793, M.T. 794, 795, 796, M.T. 797, 798, 799, M.T. 800, 801, 802, M.T. 803, 804, 805, M.T. 806, 807, 808, M.T. 809, 810, 811, M.T. 812, 813, 814, M.T. 815, 816, 817, M.T. 818, 819, 820, M.T. 821, 822, 823, M.T. 824, 825, 826, M.T. 827, 828, 829, M.T. 830, 831, 832, M.T. 833, 834, 835, M.T. 836, 837, 838, M.T. 839, 840, 841, M.T. 842, 843, 844, M.T. 845, 846, 847, 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M.T. 998, 999, 1000, M.T. 1001, 1002, 1003, M.T. 1004, 1005, 1006, M.T. 1007, 1008, 1009, M.T. 1010, 1011, 1012, M.T. 1013, 1014, 1015, M.T. 1016, 1017, 1018, M.T. 1019, 1020, 1021, M.T. 1022, 1023, 1024, M.T. 1025, 1026, 1027, M.T. 1028, 1029, 1030, M.T. 1031, 1032, 1033, M.T. 1034, 1035, 1036, M.T. 1037, 1038, 1039, M.T. 1040, 1041, 1042, M.T. 1043, 1044, 1045, M.T. 1046, 1047, 1048, M.T. 1049, 1050, 1051, M.T. 1052, 1053, 1054, M.T. 1055, 1056, 1057, M.T. 1058, 1059, 1060, M.T. 1061, 1062, 1063, M.T. 1064, 1065, 1066, M.T. 1067, 1068, 1069, M.T. 1070, 1071, 1072, M.T. 1073, 1074, 1075, M.T. 1076, 1077, 1078, M.T. 1079, 1080, 1081, M.T. 1082, 1083, 1084, M.T. 1085, 1086, 1087, M.T. 1088, 1089, 1090, M.T. 1091, 1092, 1093, M.T. 1094, 1095, 1096, M.T. 1097, 1098, 1099, M.T. 1100, 1101, 1102, M.T. 1103, 1104, 1105, M.T. 1106, 1107, 1108, M.T. 1109, 1110, 1111, M.T. 1112, 1113, 1114, M.T. 1115, 1116, 1117, M.T. 1118, 1119, 1120, M.T. 1121, 1122, 1123, M.T. 1124, 1125, 1126, M.T. 1127, 1128, 1129, M.T. 1130, 1131, 1132, M.T. 1133, 1134, 1135, M.T. 1136, 1137, 1138, M.T. 1139, 1140, 1141, M.T. 1142, 1143, 1144, M.T. 1145, 1146, 1147, M.T. 1148, 1149, 1150, M.T. 1151, 1152, 1153, M.T. 1154, 1155, 1156, M.T. 1157, 1158, 1159, M.T. 1160, 1161, 1162, M.T. 1163, 1164, 1165, M.T. 1166, 1167, 1168, M.T. 1169, 1170, 1171, M.T. 1172, 1173, 1174, M.T. 1175, 1176, 1177, M.T. 1178, 1179, 1180, M.T. 1181, 1182, 1183, M.T. 1184, 1185, 1186, M.T. 1187, 1188, 1189, M.T. 1190, 1191, 1192, M.T. 1193, 1194, 1195, M.T. 1196, 1197, 1198, M.T. 1199, 1200, 1201, M.T. 1202, 1203, 1204, M.T. 1205, 1206, 1207, M.T. 1208, 1209, 1210, M.T. 1211, 1212, 1213, M.T. 1214, 1215, 1216, M.T. 1217, 1218, 1219, M.T. 1220, 1221, 1222, M.T. 1223, 1224, 1225, M.T. 1226, 1227, 1228, M.T. 1229, 1230, 1231, M.T. 1232, 1233, 1234, M.T. 1235, 1236, 1237, M.T. 1238, 1239, 1240, M.T. 1241, 1242, 1243, M.T. 1244, 1245, 1246, M.T. 1247, 1248, 1249, M.T. 1250, 1251, 1252, M.T. 1253, 1254, 1255, M.T. 1256, 1257, 1258, 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1389, 1390, M.T. 1391, 1392, 1393, M.T. 1394, 1395, 1396, M.T. 1397, 1398, 1399, M.T. 1400, 1401, 1402, M.T. 1403, 1404, 1405, M.T. 1406, 1407, 1408, M.T. 1409, 1410, 1411, M.T. 1412, 1413, 1414, M.T. 1415, 1416, 1417, M.T. 1418, 1419, 1420, M.T. 1421, 1422, 1423, M.T. 1424, 1425, 1426, M.T. 1427, 1428, 1429, M.T. 1430, 1431, 1432, M.T. 1433, 1434, 1435, M.T. 1436, 1437, 1438, M.T. 1439, 1440, 1441, M.T. 1442, 1443, 1444, M.T. 1445, 1446, 1447, M.T. 1448, 1449, 1450, M.T. 1451, 1452, 1453, M.T. 1454, 1455, 1456, M.T. 1457, 1458, 1459, M.T. 1460, 1461, 1462, M.T. 1463, 1464, 1465, M.T. 1466, 1467, 1468, M.T. 1469, 1470, 1471, M.T. 1472, 1473, 1474, M.T. 1475, 1476, 1477, M.T. 1478, 1479, 1480, M.T. 1481, 1482, 1483, M.T. 1484, 1485, 1486, M.T. 1487, 1488, 1489, M.T. 1490, 1491, 1492, M.T. 1493, 1494, 1495, M.T. 1496, 1497, 1498, M.T. 1499, 1500, 1501, M.T. 1502, 1503, 1504, M.T. 1505, 1506, 1507, M.T. 1508, 1509, 1510, M.T. 1511, 1512, 1513, M.T. 1514, 1515, 1516, M.T. 1517, 1518, 1519, 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JOLE	Seismit- A (1862-?)	?	Silvestri, CL (?-?) "Trochinas" by Sophocles	23/2/92	Venice (T. Rossini)	?	Cuervin (1922) + J de Cesembrot (1952). Towers; Cas. Op. "Solim ed Ecoles" by J. Peri.
JOVIC MARIA	Asotini, MUSIC (1852-1947)	2	Pizzocalli, ? (?-?) (1819)	1896 (U/P)	-	-	Dis. Dio. Set in Montenegro; Written for wedding of Prince of Naples to Princess of Montenegro + Dedicated to "Alibi" Op. "Alibi" will survive del sonno", "L'ombra", "La penna d'Airona".
JUANA	Pedrojo, Artista (1878-?)	3	De Carli, ? (?-?)	3/2/15	Vicenza (T. Irculeno)	?	Enc. Spet., Enc. Mus.; Miz (p. 317); Winner, "L'op. 1, Montecchi for La Scala" (1948). Op. of same name by M. Erlinger (1922). Play of same name by M. Anicic (1828), H. Zehn (1878), U. Kater, Reine Jensen, by A. Parodi (1892 play). Other ops. "Giuditta", "Rosamunda", "Terra promessa", "L'uomo che ride", "La vesella".
KOUSOURA	Costantini, C (1869-?)	?	?, ?	25/11/99	Fazio (T. Melastasio)	?	Towers, Cas. Towers gives "Rousdumax" Other ops. "Il dottor Antonio".
LABILIA	Spinelli, Nicola (1865-1909)	1	Valle, Vincenzo (1857-1890); ?	7/5/90	Roma (T. Costanzi)	Bellincoloni, Sergio, D. Magnone	Enc. Spet.; Enc. Mus. L. Berg. Ringer-up to "Cervantesia Soprano comp. in form of 2000 lire. Other ops. "A basso porcio".
LAMPARA, LA	Rachierotti, Ubaldo (1877-1914)	?	?, ?	1899	Buenos Aires	?	Enc. Mus. Op. of same name by N. Z. (1893). Other ops. "L'Albatro", "El Gallego mio", "El santon".
LEA	Toselli, Enrico (1852-1924)	?	?, day of same name by Cavallotti (1888)	1907	VB	?	Enc. Mus. Subj. also considered by Cavallotti (1903). Op. of same name by F. C. De Liotti (1810-1974). Play of same name by A. Dull (1893) + A. Kivi (1897). Titles of same name by G

LEGGENDA DEL LAGO. LA	Veneziani, Vittorio (1870-1958)	?	Rusnich, G. V. "The Lady of the Lake" by Scott (1810 poem)	R	3/2/11	Varese (V. Rusnich)	?	Enc. Mus. Ces. on same subject by Bishop ("The Knight of Snowdon", 1811), Rossini ("La donna del lago", 1819), Lemara de Cortis (1822), Vague von Putzinger (1822), Rim. "La leggenda del lago" by D.M. Gambino (1822), Other ops. "L'ambrosia di Sempino", "L'ambrosia di Sempino", "Sempino".	De Liguoro (1910) + D Karlene + L. Zotti (1916).
LEGGENDA DEL SETTE TORRE. LA	Zappalà, Alessandro (1870-1938)	I	Scherrer, Ottone (1870-1938) (orig.)	M	2/3/13	Roma (T. Costanzi)	Della Rizza, v. Viale	Enc. Mus.: Stor. ID. 217, MII 2 (p. 330), L. Barq. Lib. suggested by Dante Gabrieli Rossetti, Waterhouse "The Tune of Seven Towers".	
LEGGENDA DI GIULIANA. LA	Schinelli, Achille (1882-5)	3	?	?	1914	?	?	Enc. Mus.	
LENA	Ziononi, T. (1867-1)	3	?	?	24/2/96	Vercelli (T. Drammatico)	?	Towers, Cas. Vercelli, same by Viale (1918, see below). Play of same name by L. Aimato (1926).	
LENA	Valente, Vincenzo (1855-1921)	3	?	?	1918	Fondra	?	Thomas IC, "L'avvocato Taffichetti", "Donna Equilla", "Polandino", "Rosaura rapita", "Le spese di Chastelles", "L'usignolo".	
LEONS, IL	Soffredini, Alessandro (1854-1923)	3	?	?	May 1914	Essene (T. Comunale)	?	Thomas IC, Cas. "L'opera d'oro", "Cavaliere", "Salvatorella", "Cecilia".	
LEONIDA	Vevalli, C. (?-?)	3	Paolini, L. (?-?)	VS	1904	Novara (T. Sociale)	?	Ces. "Leonida in Tegea" by Leopoldo I + A. Diachi (1870) + "Leonida in Soarta" by G. Sebnico (1880), Pomp. "Marziale di Tegea" by C. Saffi, "Meli" by F. Cas. (1883), Gentile, "Timba".	
LIACLE	Berlanda, Eduardo (1877-1925)	3	Leoni, Antonio (?-?)	?	Sett. 1917	Brescia (T. Drammatico)	e Pavese	Enc. Spet. I. Ess. Other ops. "L'ambrosia" "Il pastore".	
LILIA	Pratiello, Francesco	I	Comi, G. (orig.)	?	13/7/05	Luino (T. Rossini)	?	Enc. Spet. I. Ess. Mus. Stor. (p. 79).	

MADONNETTA	Cianetti, L. (1854-1919) Play of same name by Botta	VB	1895 (V/P)	-	Mus. (p. 119) Libretto of 1895, sent during French Rev.
MADE	Tanetti, U. (1854-1919) Error (1854-1919)	?	4/17/05	NOVATA (T. Coccaia)	Op. of same name by F. Pallares (1700s). DAYS (1893) name by I. Sebrado (1898) + P. de Marilony + D. Antona- Taversi (1914). Film of same name by Prod. Pasquali (1912)
MAESTRO E DATTILO LA SUA OPERA	Cessi, A. (1861-?) Cessi, C. (1861-?)	?	Nov 1909	S. P. R. M. O. T. F. I. n. d. i. c. e A. m. e. d. e. o.	Yowser: Cbs
MAESTRO DI CAVALLARA IL	Peroni, Alessandro (1874-1944)	C	17/2/95	Perugia (T. Celli Peverset)	Exc. Mus. Subtitled "burlesque" Other ops. = "Le Befre"
MATIOSI I	Minea, Enrico (1870-?)	VP	28/9/93	Varese (T. Socrate)	Exc. Mus. Full title of Mus. = "I Matiosoli del Re" M. K. M. M.
MAGDA	Sudano, P. (1870-?)	?	8/5/10	S. Maria Cassa Varese (T. Caribaldi)	Exc. of same name by L. N. V. after from N. Sodermann (1894). Films of same name by Prod. Itala (1907), A. Mairo + R. de Benos (1912) + E. Chestard (1914).
MAIA	Leonovillo, Ruggero (1887-1919)	VP	15/1/10	ROME (T. Contarini)	Exc. S. Pet. Exc. Mus. Sion (p. 155), M. I. D. (p. 183), L. B. B. S. Ital. Trans. of French op. 19 by A. Nesti, title shared by other titles, but defined often rather; title often given as "Maia". Other ops. = "La Boheme", "Chatterton", "Madre" "Maia", "Maia", "Maia" "Maia", "Maia", "Maia" "Maia", "Maia", "Maia"
MALACARNE IL	Corneo, Cesario (1872-1931)	?	24/1/94	Brescia (T. Grande)	Exc. S. Pet. M. T. G. (p. 184). Frem. successful. Films of same name by C. Marelli + G. Zucos (1947) Other ops. = "Un curioso accidente"

Work Title	Author	Year	Genre	Location	Notes
MALA PASQUA	Gestaldon, Sienislee (1861-1914)	1874	R/VP	Rome (T. Costanzi)	Teodorini
					Eng. Spet., L. Berg. MT90 Prod. two months before Marchetti's sister-work. Other ops. = "Peter", "Il raucio di Capriana", "Il sonetto di Dante", "Stellina".
MALA VITA	Giordano, Umberto (1867-1948)	1892	VP	Rome (T. Argentinna)	Bellinzonei, Simone, Bellizzi, G. Podestà
					Var. refs. the Eng. Spet., Eng. Mus., L. Berg. During meeting with G. in 1891, Bellinzonei + Simone offered to buy some first drafts. The same (24 obtain only) but several critics! reservations re. realism of plot due to misuse of Naples "fremocore", "fremocore" (1890), Storchi, Caruso, (1890), Artista, a Baroni) but w. little success. Ops. Malavita by De Angelis (1894) see below + libretto by Zalima (1894) + film "Malavita" Napoli, by prod. Ambrosio (1909) + "Malavita" by G. Pinto (1913) op. "Andrie Oly", op. "Andrie Charles", "Pedro", "Madoc Sem-Gene", "Marcella", "Mese mariano", "Siberia", "Regina Dies".
MALAVITA	De Angelis, Arturo (1879-?)	1894	VP	Perugia (T. Fortascchi)	
					Eng. Mus. Possible source that of Giordano's op. (see above). Other ops. = "La centessa Clara", "Miz. tempania", "Vete tosse".
MAL D'AMORE	Mascheroni, Angelo (1855-1905)	1898	C	Milan (T. Fildemantel)	
					Eng. Mus.: Cos. Subtitled "commedia musical".
MALENETTA	Renali, Umberto (1855-?)	1894	VP	Crema (T. Ricci)	
					Towers, Cos.; MT94 (p. 404) Ballets of same name by J. Hansen (1893) + G. Brenno (1893) Other op. = "Chopin".
MALENA	Tilibi, Zibore (1875-1908)	1900	VP	Crema (T. Ricci)	
					Ruffo "Mie mis patibola" (traduzione 1937) Comp. was brother of hst Tilla Ruffo

Numerous ops on subject, including by Chacabral (1977), G. L. (1983), P. (1984), (1985), P. (1986), (1987), (1988), (1989), (1990), (1991), (1992), (1993), (1994), (1995), (1996), (1997), (1998), (1999), (2000), (2001), (2002), (2003), (2004), (2005), (2006), (2007), (2008), (2009), (2010), (2011), (2012), (2013), (2014), (2015), (2016), (2017), (2018), (2019), (2020), (2021), (2022), (2023), (2024), (2025).

Enc. Spat. : Enc. Mus. : 192-193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

Enc. Spat. : Enc. Mus. : 1. Berg, 2. Lion, 3. Comp. (1977), 4. operato, 5. Latin, 6. comp. (1978), 7. in diff. 8. 1979, 9. 1980, 10. 1981, 11. 1982, 12. 1983, 13. 1984, 14. 1985, 15. 1986, 16. 1987, 17. 1988, 18. 1989, 19. 1990, 20. 1991, 21. 1992, 22. 1993, 23. 1994, 24. 1995, 25. 1996, 26. 1997, 27. 1998, 28. 1999, 29. 2000, 30. 2001, 31. 2002, 32. 2003, 33. 2004, 34. 2005, 35. 2006, 36. 2007, 37. 2008, 38. 2009, 39. 2010, 40. 2011, 41. 2012, 42. 2013, 43. 2014, 44. 2015, 45. 2016, 46. 2017, 47. 2018, 48. 2019, 49. 2020, 50. 2021, 51. 2022, 52. 2023, 53. 2024, 54. 2025.

Enc. Spat. : Enc. Mus. : 1. Berg, 2. Lion, 3. Comp. (1977), 4. operato, 5. Latin, 6. comp. (1978), 7. in diff. 8. 1979, 9. 1980, 10. 1981, 11. 1982, 12. 1983, 13. 1984, 14. 1985, 15. 1986, 16. 1987, 17. 1988, 18. 1989, 19. 1990, 20. 1991, 21. 1992, 22. 1993, 23. 1994, 24. 1995, 25. 1996, 26. 1997, 27. 1998, 28. 1999, 29. 2000, 30. 2001, 31. 2002, 32. 2003, 33. 2004, 34. 2005, 35. 2006, 36. 2007, 37. 2008, 38. 2009, 39. 2010, 40. 2011, 41. 2012, 42. 2013, 43. 2014, 44. 2015, 45. 2016, 46. 2017, 47. 2018, 48. 2019, 49. 2020, 50. 2021, 51. 2022, 52. 2023, 53. 2024, 54. 2025.

Enc. Spat. : Enc. Mus. : 1. Berg, 2. Lion, 3. Comp. (1977), 4. operato, 5. Latin, 6. comp. (1978), 7. in diff. 8. 1979, 9. 1980, 10. 1981, 11. 1982, 12. 1983, 13. 1984, 14. 1985, 15. 1986, 16. 1987, 17. 1988, 18. 1989, 19. 1990, 20. 1991, 21. 1992, 22. 1993, 23. 1994, 24. 1995, 25. 1996, 26. 1997, 27. 1998, 28. 1999, 29. 2000, 30. 2001, 31. 2002, 32. 2003, 33. 2004, 34. 2005, 35. 2006, 36. 2007, 37. 2008, 38. 2009, 39. 2010, 40. 2011, 41. 2012, 42. 2013, 43. 2014, 44. 2015, 45. 2016, 46. 2017, 47. 2018, 48. 2019, 49. 2020, 50. 2021, 51. 2022, 52. 2023, 53. 2024, 54. 2025.

Enc. Spat. : Enc. Mus. : 1. Berg, 2. Lion, 3. Comp. (1977), 4. operato, 5. Latin, 6. comp. (1978), 7. in diff. 8. 1979, 9. 1980, 10. 1981, 11. 1982, 12. 1983, 13. 1984, 14. 1985, 15. 1986, 16. 1987, 17. 1988, 18. 1989, 19. 1990, 20. 1991, 21. 1992, 22. 1993, 23. 1994, 24. 1995, 25. 1996, 26. 1997, 27. 1998, 28. 1999, 29. 2000, 30. 2001, 31. 2002, 32. 2003, 33. 2004, 34. 2005, 35. 2006, 36. 2007, 37. 2008, 38. 2009, 39. 2010, 40. 2011, 41. 2012, 42. 2013, 43. 2014, 44. 2015, 45. 2016, 46. 2017, 47. 2018, 48. 2019, 49. 2020, 50. 2021, 51. 2022, 52. 2023, 53. 2024, 54. 2025.

Stahler, J. (1977)

Milan (1977)

US (1977)

Comp. (1977)

Leonovello, (1977-1978)

MEDICI, 1

1892 (1977)

Genoa (1977)

VS (1977)

Luigi (1977)

Genovello, (1977-1978)

MEDIO EVO, 1

Bernati, Boratti, (1977)

Genoa (1977)

VS (1977)

Luigi (1977)

Genovello, (1977-1978)

MEDIO EVO, 3

Verona (1977)

Verona (1977)

R (1977)

Luigi (1977)

Genovello, (1977-1978)

MEDORA, 4

1895 (1977)

Verona (1977)

R (1977)

Luigi (1977)

Genovello, (1977-1978)

MEDISTORSELE, 5

Enc. Spat. : Enc. Mus. : 1. Berg, 2. Lion, 3. Comp. (1977), 4. operato, 5. Latin, 6. comp. (1978), 7. in diff. 8. 1979, 9. 1980, 10. 1981, 11. 1982, 12. 1983, 13. 1984, 14. 1985, 15. 1986, 16. 1987, 17. 1988, 18. 1989, 19. 1990, 20. 1991, 21. 1992, 22. 1993, 23. 1994, 24. 1995, 25. 1996, 26. 1997, 27. 1998, 28. 1999, 29. 2000, 30. 2001, 31. 2002, 32. 2003, 33. 2004, 34. 2005, 35. 2006, 36. 2007, 37. 2008, 38. 2009, 39. 2010, 40. 2011, 41. 2012, 42. 2013, 43. 2014, 44. 2015, 45. 2016, 46. 2017, 47. 2018, 48. 2019, 49. 2020, 50. 2021, 51. 2022, 52. 2023, 53. 2024, 54. 2025.

MELENIS	Zandorai, Riccardo (1883-1944)	>	Spillini, Mazzino (?-?) Zanardini, Carlo (1892-1942) "Melania" by Scullini (1883 poem)	VS	18/11/12	Milan (T. Dal Verme)	Muzio, Martino Panizza	<p>"Marzetta" (1910), see appropriate entry, H. Z. Romada + R. Drogh "Mephistopheles" 1922), M. Gioè (1922), M. Rogvic (1908) + V. Kamen (1910), name by M. Cattaneo (1919) Other ops.: "Savitrì".</p> <p>Enc. Spett., Enc. Mus. Slon. I. M13 (p. 53); Estr. "Anacostul" Other ops.: "Conchita", "Le coppe del te", "Piccola da Rimini", "Il drillo del" "Gocce", "Luccellino" "Fisostara", "Via della" "Fisostara".</p> <p>Lavinio, Cas. Other ops. subject by Debbia (1922), "Le Mestiere", by G. Meno (1911).</p>
MELISENDA	Helli, C. (?-?)	?	Rossi, Giorgio (?-?) "Melisa" di Melisende" pre-Melisende (1822 play)	MF	9/2/13	Venice (T. Fanice)		<p>Cas. Other ops.: "Elisenda", "Matocchia Debata", Tosca, Cas. Ops. of same name by D. Pischiatti (1787), C. Scarlatti (1757) + D. Giamoni (1787), "Melisa", Venite del "Melisa", Balliet of same name by P. Sodi (1757-8).</p> <p>Comparable lit source = "Le Coppe de Mente" Edition by A. Donna. Plays of same name by J. A. Casanova (1600), T. B. A. C. Casanova (1693), also "Melisa" (1693) by A. Tosca (1693), Title of same name by J. M. Casanova (1822).</p>
MERALDINA	Croese, F. (?-?)	?	?	?	19/4/14	Florence (T. Petracca)		
MERONTO DI MARRANTILE	Scorsone, G. (1823-?)	?	Musella, ? (?-?)	?	1903	San Marino (T. Titano)		
MERCEDES	Sietti, A. (?-?)	?	?	?	20/3/04	Torino (T. Garibaldi)		
MESE MARIANO	Giordano, Ubaldo (1867-1948)	1	Di Giacomo, Salvatore (1890-1941), same name (1898)	VB	17/3/10	Palermo (T. Massimo)	Berlanti, Carlo Munone	<p>Enc. Spett., Enc. Mus. Slon. I. M13 (p. 53); Estr. "Anacostul" Other ops.: "Conchita", "Le coppe del te", "Piccola da Rimini", "Il drillo del" "Gocce", "Luccellino" "Fisostara", "Via della" "Fisostara".</p> <p>Lavinio, Cas. Other ops. subject by Debbia (1922), "Le Mestiere", by G. Meno (1911).</p> <p>Cas. Other ops.: "Elisenda", "Matocchia Debata", Tosca, Cas. Ops. of same name by D. Pischiatti (1787), C. Scarlatti (1757) + D. Giamoni (1787), "Melisa", Venite del "Melisa", Balliet of same name by P. Sodi (1757-8).</p> <p>Comparable lit source = "Le Coppe de Mente" Edition by A. Donna. Plays of same name by J. A. Casanova (1600), T. B. A. C. Casanova (1693), also "Melisa" (1693) by A. Tosca (1693), Title of same name by J. M. Casanova (1822).</p>

MIMI, I	Rosselde, C (1874-8)	3	Altiator, A (1877-8)	3	4/4/09	Palermo (T. Massimo)	?	Gas
MINERVA, LA	Medina, F. (1874-8)	2	Roberto, C (1877-8) Rome with	CL	5/6/14	Turin (T. Caricano)	?	Tomato, Esp. Olive, d'Aligato.
MINETTO USCELLI ANGELI	Manini, A (1875-8)	1	?	?	1911	Monza	?	Enc. Mus. Other ops. = "Beneta", "Rosino", "Mizia", "Patrio", "Gaida", "Pichinico", "Gaida".
MIRACOLO, IL	Leotti, G. (1877-1942)	3	Moschino, B. (1877-8) Corilla	?	21/1/15	Mafles (T. San Carlo)	?	Enc. Mus.: L. Berg. Film of same name by Prod. Nazion. (1915) + C. Cassini (1919). Other ops. = "Le Contesse di S. Remo", "Hoffman".
MIRANDA	Affano, F. (1876-1954)	2	?	VB	1896 (U/P)	-	-	Enc. Spet.: Enc. Mus. Ops. of same name by G. B. Sieray (1773-1840), N. L. Kazani (1919) + P. Cassini (1919). Other ops. = "L'ombra di Don Giovanni", "Il di Principe Zillah", "Misurazioni".
MIRAMOLINA	Luigi, G. (1871-1943)	3	Filice, E. (1877-1918); "La locandiera" by Goldoni (1782 play)	C	25/1/04	Turin (T. Caricanno)	Farnelli, G. Toscanini	Enc. Spet. Other ops. subject by F. Caricanno (1925), C. Cassini (1925), C. Cassini (1925), (1930-37, U/P) + Marino (1957). Play of same name by G. Sieray (1929). Other ops. subject by F. Caricanno (1929) + A. M. Filice (1957). Film of same name by Prod. Nazion. (1921). Other ops. = "Bianca Cavalli", "Elise di "Belton", "L'Alfide", "La "vergin".
MIRRA	Aleisano, D. (1881-1928)	2	Comp.: play of same name by Ricci (1787)	CL	31/1/20	Rome (T. Costanzi)	Genar, De Angelis, e. Vitali	Enc. Spet.: Enc. Mus.: Elen. (p. 226), L. Berg. Comp. 1910, only given one subsequent perf. U/P 1910. Other ops. = same name by F. N. Piave (1810-1874).
MISTERO, IL	Corsetti, G. (1866-1920)	2	Grat., M. (1875-1913); "La locandiera"	?	13/2/03	Palermo (T. Pardo)	?	Gas. Short story of same name by Verca, "Cavalleria Rusticana", "Le leggende", "Le tentazioni di Gesù", "Valdelfora", "Il voto".
MUGLIE CANDIDA, LA	Leban, E. (1877-8)	2	Maria, A. (1877-8)	?	26/12/13	Turin (T. Caricanno)	?	Gas
MONACO NERO, IL	Cassano, J. (1867-1922)	2	play of same name by L. Sforza	?	24/1/20	Barcelona (T. Liceo)	?	Enc. Mus.: L. Berg.

NADEA DELVIC	Cubillos, Emilia (1887-?)	?	Verdinois, Federico (1844-1927); ?	18/7/18	Bastels (T. Mebestini)	?	Enc. Mus. Other ops. = "Ave Maria".
NADEIA	Rosa, (1858-1930)	71 73	Illiez, (1857-1919); ?	3/5/03 18/1/04	Proeur Mantua	?	Enc. Spat.: Enc. Mus.: L. Berg. Prem. given in German trans. of Ital. original by R. Basha entitled "Madama". Other ops. = "Madama" by A. Fogazzaro (1903). Other ops. = "C'era", "I fuggitivi", "Il piccolo Nelson", "Princeshio al fronte".
NADIA D'ALGERON	Medina, (1878-?)	1	Macchi, Costante (1837); ?	27/10/04	Milan (T. Verdi)	?	Taverna, Cas. Other ops. = "La Niniriva".
NADINO	Leoni, Carlo (1880-?)	?	Cesatino, (18-?)	Aut. 1899	Piacenza (T. Roncolicchio)	?	Gas. Other ops. = "Urbano".
NAMA	Donizetti, Alfredo (1867-1921)	?	?	1890	Milan	?	Enc. Mus. Operas: "L'Alceste", "L'Espresso", "L'Espresso", "L'Espresso".
NATALES IL	Cadore, Arino (1877-1929)	?	Arrighi, Carlo (1830-1906); ?	7/9/02	Milan (T. Dal Verme)	?	Enc. Mus. same name by D. Noyes (1822). Other ops. of same name by M. Barbieri (1912). Title of same name by Fred. Ciani (1908). "Montanaria".
NAVE, LA	Vambianchi, Arturo (1822-1942)	2	Macchi, Gustavo (18-?)	2/5/92	Genoa (Pol. Genovesa)	?	Enc. Mus.: L. Berg.: M. G. (p. 189); Des. Das. give prem. as summer 1898 at Florence (cl.). Subtitle "dramma simbolico", second prize winner in 1898. Stainer awarded, but Vambianchi inserted name. Scheduled to be produced by Stainer later in year, but project shelved. Op. of same name by J. Montemari (see below). Prod. Ambrosio (1911); Castellino D'Annunzio (1920). Other ops. = "In alto mare", "Epitafio".
NAVE, LA	Montemesi, (1878-1932)	81 45	Ricordi, (1845-1923); play of same name by C. D'Annunzio 1898!	1/11/18	Milan (Lt. Serla)	Rakovets, D. Giovanni, C. Sada, B	Enc. Spat.: Enc. Mus (p. 208-49); Stan (p. 304); L. Berg. Other ops. = "L'Espresso", "L'Espresso", "L'Espresso", "L'Espresso".

NAVE ROSSA. LA	3	Sestili, Armando (1889-1931)	?	27/11/07	Milan (E. Livico)	?	Enc. Mus., NT08 (p. 51) Eucrasini/Gerolamo Other ops. = "La cimpalleotta"
HAZARDNO, IL	?	Stannelli, Giuseppe (1865-1934)	B	1911	Buenos Aires	?	Enc. Mus. Op. "Die Marenner" by J. Mack (1847) Oratorio "Il Nazareno" by G. Ferrari (1890), Mack (1842), Green, by H. Walt (1842) Other ops. = "Cristoforo Columbo", "Don Marlon", "S. Sebastiano", "Milena", "S. Antonio", "S. Maria", "Il violinista di Cremona".
NELLA	?	Mcrosini, A. (?-?)	?	28/1/05	Orcqite (T. Civico)	?	CA. Op. of same name by F.P. Frontini (1841). Film of same name by Prod. Cine. (1912)
NSILY	?	Monti, I. (?-?)	?	SWI, 1891	Piedalm (T. Senna)	?	CA. Ballad of same name by P. Pratesi (1877)
NSMEA	1	Coop, Stefano (1855-1929)	CL	27/11/97	Venice (T. Rossini)	?	Enc. Spet., NT98 (p. 240): CA. Submitted "episodio pastorale", consisting of only three solo parts and a few choruses and a few other considerable success. Possible addit. ii. scores = play of same name by C. Sini, from 1870-1875 + "Theatrical Programme" A. B. 12 Other ops. = "Teresa" Requiem
NENNELA	2	Santeller, Alessandro (1861-?)	UP	1899	Mandevi (T. Reo)	?	NT94 (p. 307): CA. Op. of same name 1899 at Capri (A. P. 110) 2nd outright failure. Novel of same name by G. L. Marina (1899). Title of same name by R. L. 1900 (1918) + A. P. 110 Other ops. = "Le rapite"
NEREIDE, LA	?	Trovati, Ulisse (1857-1919)	CL	14/11/11	Naples (T. Bellini)	?	Enc. Mus
NSERINA	?	Vares, E. (1874-?)	?	3/4/04	Naveza (T. Cocchi)	?	Towers; CA. Op. of same name by A. Follacelo (1728) Short story (fuel of Marina" by C. Perotti

NERONE	Rossini, Riccardo (1892-?)	R	1891 (U/B)	-	-	<p>(1894) Film of same name by A. C. Collis (1915)</p> <p>Towers: NT91 (p. 745) Gris scheduled for prod. at Milan (V. Corson). Numerous other spp. on same subject, inc. those by Baito (1892) & Baito (1892) & Baito (1892). Losa (1892). Ces.</p>
NIDO DI FALCO	Bergami, O. (1879-1943)	?	Feb. 1912 (U/B)	?	Porto Maurizio	<p>Thompson (10). Awarded third prize in McCormick comp. of 1914. Other spp. w. "Sirmione".</p>
NIKITA	Corbola, Pietro (1888-1971)	?	1914 (U/B)	-	-	<p>Enc. Mus. : Cas.</p>
NINO E NINETTA	Beltrami, Giovanni (1897-?)	?	11/27/26	?	Naples (Palazzo Medallioni)	<p>Enc. Mus. : Cas. Other spp. = "Cili anoli degli angoli".</p>
NINON DE LENCOIS	Cirelli, Stefano (1851-1935)	VEI	3/12/85	?	Milan (V. Lirio)	<p>Enc. Mus. Based on life of 17th cent French socialist; prem. outright failure (sp. subsequently withdrawn by Bergamo). Bertini (1860) & Bertini (1860) (below) = M. Galimbo (1912); sp. comique of same name by E. Massa (1895). Massa (1895) = P. Berni (1911). Other spp. = "Guzzaillon", "Il piccillo Redya". Enc. Mus. : Cas.</p>
NINON DE LENCOIS	Bellini, Nobile (d. 1902)	VEI	23/5/86	?	Palermo (Pol. Garibaldi)	<p>Enc. Mus. : Cas.</p>
NOBBI E RUTH	Fano, Guido (1889-1950)	B	9/1/08	?	Bergamo (P. Rabin)	<p>Enc. Mus. : Cas. Other spp. = "Il battista", "Cesare a gliori", "La festa del signor", "Pate del 1898", "La piceus e ti, esot".</p>
NOBBI	Merrill, F. (1856-?)	VE	25/3/83	?	Oronola (V. Philippe Umberto)	<p>Towers: Cas. Other spp. sent by A. Bertini (1888-89). Film of same name by prod. Dora (1913).</p>
NOVA LUX	Cronosio, N. (1872-?)	?	25/5/82	?	Rome (V. Astiana)	<p>Towers: Cas. Xerox to Towers. "Nota Lux" is title of film on which first on is "Larje".</p>
NOVTE	Roni, Lea	?	5/12/18	?	Milan	<p>Enc. Mus.</p>

D'AMORE	Guido (1879-?)	?	Antonio (?-?)	(T. Carcano)			Mime of same name by L. Fracchi, composed by A. Cappelletti (1948). Play of same name by L. Chierelli (1912).
NOTTE DI LEONARDA	Franceschi, Alfredo (1860-1942)	?	Fornace, Ciriaco (1883-1970)	Milan (La Scala)	14/1/15		Enc. Spet., Enc. Mus.; Dati (pp. 255-56); Libero (pp. 255-56); Given six further texts. After prem. "Cristoforo Columbo", "Cristoforo Columbo", "Biar d'Alba", "Germania", "Il signor di Poutcaughnac".
NOTTE DI NATALE.	Gentili, Alfredo (1873-1958)	?	?	Monaco	1909	?	Enc. Mus. Dati, pp. 255-56 "Bofare"
NOTTE DI QUARTO. LA	Takemchi, Mazuo (1870-1938)	?	?	Denza	1910	?	Thompson IC. Based on Caribaldi's sailing from Quarto near Ormeo (S/S/1908). Other "W/O" texts entirely "Macellia".
NOTTE NEL DISERTO. UNA	Vriem, N. (1846-?)	?	Villarossi, E. (?-?)	Milano (T. Alhambra)	12/2/95	?	Towers; Cos. Towers gives nationality of comp. as Spanish.
NOTTE TRAGICA	Zoboli, A. (1874-?)	?	Slessey, M. (?-?)	Gentili (T. Balbo)	17/9/12	?	Towers; Cos. Film of same Gastone (1918).
NOTTE	Zocchi, A. (1842-1904)	?	Risetti, P. (?-?)	Palermo (T. Del Carro)	27/11/95	?	Cos.
NOTTE. LE	Callaneo, M. (1871-?)	?	Fulsonier, G. (?-?)	Cuneo (T. Civico)	19/1/81	?	Towers; Cos. name by L. Marenco (1872).
NOTTE DELLE FINDARIDI. LE	Donisetti, Alfredo (1867-1921)	?	?	Rovario	1909	?	Enc. Mus. Other ops. "Dopo l'Ave Maria", "Nema".
NOTTE INFANTE	Modoni, A. (1874-?)	?	Fantelli, S. (?-?)	Medicina (T. Comunale)	8/5/07	?	Cos. Other ops. "I due fivelli in Amate".
NOTTE L'ESPIRARE	Smatellia, A. (1853-1920)	?	Illice, Luigi (1857-1919) (orig.)	Trieste (T. Comunale)	28/3/95	?	Enc. Spet.; Enc. Mus. Libero; Op. 79 (p. 110). Other ops. "Abisso", "Cornelius Schmitt", "La Iselene", "Moosene".
NUNZIELLA	Mialia, A. (1870-?)	?	Vaccaro, C. (?-?)	Bassano del Grappa (T. Sociale)	28/12/97	?	Towers; Cos.
OBILIO. L'	Prodi, Renato (1873-1924)	?	Catteschi, P. (1848-1910)	Piombino (T. Petrosi)	4/2/04	?	Enc. Spet. Other ops. "Isabella della", "Le fivelle della".
OCEANO	Smatellia,	?	Benco.	Milano	32/1/03	?	Enc. Spet.; Enc. Mus.

ONDINA	2	VE	28/3/17	Mzplex Carlo (T. San Carlo)	Caroli-Toschi, Camione, Verona, C. Ferrari	Film of same name by A. Albertoni (1919) Enc. Spet.: Cam date gives 1918 as prem. Winner of comp. held by municipality of Naples in conjunction w. San Carlo. Other ops: "Mattedde", "Marken", "Niles Alandish", "LM salvagge"
ONORE	?	?	19/12/95	Naples (V. Mercadante)	Ces.: Towers	
GRACCOLO	1	VF	28/6/05	London (Covent Garden)	Densidt, Gallows, Messager	Enc. Spet.: Enc. Mus.; Merrill 1939 (p. 77); Given run of three reels. Other ops: "Le Baruffe chizzotten", "Palena", "Santosa da Rimini", "Le Baruffe", "La Tropade", "La Tropade", "La Tropade".
ORIANA	?	R	30/1/07	Florence (001 Comunale)		Enc. Spet.: Thompson IC. Op. "Madrigli di Galia" by Thompson (1918) by J. Abery (1873) + S. Lopez (1891).
DELINDO PURISCO	?	R	1890 (U/P)	-		Enc. Mus., M790 (p. 100). Orig. sched. for prod. at Rome (T. A. Gentile). Ops. of same name by G. A. Vialati (172), A. C. Nehru (172), G. C. Zioni (172) + A. C. Folliero (172). Folliero of same name by O. Pompeo (172, 174). Folliero (172) + R. Folliero (172). Lib. of same name by G. R. Casali (1724-1803). Folliero of same name by G. de Liguoro (1918)
ORMA: SULL	?	?	29/2/11	Verona (V. Clivio)		Enc. Spet.: Towers same name by anon. (1910) + F. Maci (1917).
ORO 2 ANDRE	?	?	12/3/92	Pontedera (F. Andrea)		Towers: Ces. Towers lists as opt
PADRONE IL	?	?	24/2/07	San Remo (T. Principe Amadeo)		Towers: Ces Op. "The Padrone" by G. W. Chadwick (1915)

PADRON GIOVANNI	Castellane. Antonio (1857-5)	VP	28/9/93	Osimo (T. Nuovo Felice)	?	Gas. Other ops. "L'Anima del Basso". "Fenomeni Sesi".
PADRON MAURIZIO	Diannetti. Giovanni (1849-1934)	VP	24/9/96	Naples (V. Bellini)	?	Enc. Sesi. Other ops. "Cristo alla festa di Palm". "Cuore e bauta", "Don Maria". "L'eredita", "Milena", "Il nostro", "Fiducia", "Il nostro", "Il sacrificio di Cesare".
PALLACCI	Leonavalle. Remo (1857-1919)	VP	21/5/92	Milan (E. Dal Verme)		Ver. Fel. Orig. set. adapt. by comp. into present form opera (from orig. op. by C. E. Bonaldi (1908) "Festa di Maria Martini" (1914), published later adapted by Belasco as "L'ora", Ciom, 1909, Lyon; "Neseter", Lyon; film of same name by E. Bertolini (1914), M. Druce (1937), G. Falgout (1942) + M. Costa (1949); also film "Pegliaccio" by prof. Paolo Tassinari (1960) + "Pegliaccio" by C. E. Bonaldi (1908). Other ops. "La boheme", "Balletto", "Ezopo", "Mala", "Il Medico", "Reinaldo di Berlino", "Zaza", "Zingari".
PALMIRA	Vitelli. A. (?-5)	VE	9/2/96	Rapallo (T. Comanala)	?	Towers. Car. Op. of same name by P. Sibilla (1880), also op. "Aureliano in Palmira" by Rossini (1812).
PAMPAS	Beratti. Arturo (1842-1928)	VP	27/7/97	Buenos Aires (Polifema)		Enc. Sesi. Libretto given as "Pampas", comic play a sketch by Other ops. "M. "Mandelina", "Mazas Suiza", "La vendetta".
PAMPERS	Ottolenghi. Alfredo (1839-1924)	VP	4/12/19	Milan (T. Corosno)	?	Enc. Mus.
PANE ALTRI	Orefice. Gismondo (1825-1922)		19/1/07	Venice (F. Felice)		Enc. Sesi. Enc. Mus. Film of same name by Ruggieri (1922) Other ops. "Cecilia", "Chopin", "Consejo", "Il gladiatore", "Mose", "Radda".
PARGENIS	Castellane. A.		1904	Pano	?	Enc. Sesi.

Author	Title	Date	Notes	Other
ANTONIO SVEL (1857-?)	Luigi (1857-1914)			Title sometimes given as "Pendone Svel". Other ops. "L'Alma de" "Gherardo", "Petron "Giovanni".
PAULETTA	UCCIA, Paul (1877-1914) "The Sacred Mittori"	29/6/18	Cincinnati (Musio Nelli)	Enc. Mus.: Stan (p. 166); L. Bera. Commissioned by city of Cincinnati on occasion of 10th anniversary of Exposition, op. completed only 14 days before item. I greeted by some 40 curtain calls. Other ops. "Marcella Libera", "Marusa".
PAOLO E FRANCESCA	Mancinelli, Luigi (1846-1921)	13/11/07	Bologna (T. Communi)	Enc. Svel: Enc. Mus.: MT 04 (p. 335); L. Berg. See "Francesca de Rimini" by Cardonai for other ops. on subject. "Francesca" by S. Pallino (written 1889, perz. 1922). Melodique of same name by C. Larson (1916). Other ops. "Ezio" Laudon, "Sogno d'una notte d'estate", "Atlantico".
PARADISO DELLE SIGNORE, II	Bolacchini, M. (?)	1920	Firenze Videnna (T. Caribaldi)	Set Other ops. "Lombra".
PAUL DEL'57	Fino, Giacomo (1864-1930)	Jul 1918	Turin (T. Michelotti)	Cap. Pno. Set. IR Op. Spect. IR lists as "Op. 11" Other ops. "Il battista", "Compagnie a gloria", "La festa del freno", "Abate e Ruth", "La prava e l'opera".
PARISINA	Veneziani, Vittorio (1876-1958)	13/12/02	Bologna (T. Communi)	Enc. Mus. Submitted "melodico"; prem. unsuccessful; Op. of same name by G. C. Caribaldi (1884). Other ops. "Ezio", "Cittadini" (1878), "E.H.J." "Kauvela" (1870) + P. "Fiora" (see below). "Cassino" (1873), "H." "Cassino" (1873) + C. "Ezio" (1873) + C. "D'Annunzio" (1921). Film of same name by G. De Liguoro (1916). Other ops. "La Befana" "Cassino", "La Befana" "Cassino", "La Befana" "Cassino".
PARISINA	Mascchi, Pietro (1868-1945)	15/12/15	Nizza (Lo Scalet)	Var. Mascchi-Gatti (p. 154). Stan. 05221; Mascchi pp. 51, 57; Coll. suggested by Lorenzo Montecchi after success of "L'Alma de" D'Annunzio, 18 sent to comb. 28/3/12, who

PERGOLESI	Tece, Pierantonio (1854-1934)	4	Cecchi, Eugenio (1838-1932), ?	VBI	1/8/96	Berlin (Holopex)	?	Enc. Spet.: Enc. Mus., MTG6 (p. 108). Prem. v. successisti. Other ops. = "A Santa Lucia".
PERGOLESI	Quaglia, Filippo (1859-1941)	?	Desanari- Maroni, Eugenio (?-?)	VBI	1905	Vienna (M. Des Maroni)	?	Enc. Spet.: Enc. Spet. IR. Other ops. = "Le pater", "Eumenidi", "Il pater".
PER L'AMORE	Esposito, Luigi (1855-1918)	?	Rasi, Luigi (1855-1918), ?	?	27/6/93	Genoa (Fot. Genovese)	?	Enc. Mus. Op. of same name by Ortina (1913) see below
PER L'AMORE	Cestri, Giovanni (1860-1938)	?	?	?	1913	Sebenico	?	Enc. Mus.
PERLA NERA. LA	Riccardo, Riccardo (1873-?)	1	?	?	15/9/04	Paliansa (T. Sociale)	?	CMG: MTG6 (p. 766). Prem. unsuccessisti. Film of same name by G. Serena (1922).
PER LA PATRIA	Cocchi, G. (?-?)	?	Kambo, Saverio (?-?)	?	30/8/05	Rieti (T. Verbasano)	Battistini	Enc. Spet.: Dns. Film of same name by Prod. Cines (1910) + U. Falena (1915).
PERUGINA. LA	Masbettoni, Eduardo (1857-1941)	?	Illica, Luigi (1855-1919), ?	?	24/4/09	Nantes (T. San Carlo)	Galletti	Enc. Spet.: Enc. Mus.: Zapp
PECCATORI DI SAN LEO. I	Pastalosa, Luigi (1851-1884)	?	Chloro, Luigi (?-?)	?	Dec 1914	Turin (Fot. Chiarella)	?	Enc. Mus. Other ops. = "Le Scherzi", "di Pagnacchio".
PICCOLA ERGA	Billi, Alessandro (1878-1921)	?	?	?	1917	Siens	?	Enc. Mus. Other ops. = "La figlia dei fiori", "La ruota dell'aratro", "Il sogno di Galatone", "La traviata di Nedardo".
PICCOLO HABYN. IL	Cinellini, Cesario (1851-1935)	1	Cinellini, Agnolo (?-?) Play of same name by Checchi "Cobolium" by C. Bard (1842 novel)	VBI	2/1/95	Genoa (T. Sociale)	?	Enc. Mus.: MTG2 (p. 554). Com. contact by Somigno
PICCOLO MANTARNO. IL	Ferretti- Luigi, Luigi (1884-?)	?	Andreo, Luigi (?-?)	?	1904	Perato (T. Bonstini)	?	Other ops. = "Il "Galvino", "Regina", "Ester"
PICCOLO NISON. IL	Rossi, Giovanni (1842-1901)	?	Diessa, Giovanni (?-?)	?	1914	Nantes (T. Andressi)	?	Enc. Mus. Other ops. = "C. L.", "Il pater", "Mela", "Baccocchio al fontana".
PIR LUGI FARNESI	Palumbo, Costantino (1843-1926)	?	Boilo, Arturo (1842-1918), (orig)	R	1891	Rome (T. Costanti)	?	Enc. Mus.: MTG1 (p. 233). Play of same name by B Bianco (1835)
PIERROT E LA LUNA	Ciannetti, Giovanni	?	?	C	11/3/20	Rome (T. Dei Piccoli)	?	Other ops. = "Cristo alla

(1905), Seymour (1920),
 (1928), (1934), (1935),
 + Bush (1935) (The City
 Files) (1935) (The City
 Files)

Other ops: "Tribune"
 (1905), Seymour (1920),
 (1928), (1934), (1935),
 + Bush (1935) (The City
 Files) (1935) (The City
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Other ops: "Tribune"
 (1905), Seymour (1920),
 (1928), (1934), (1935),
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 (1905), Seymour (1920),
 (1928), (1934), (1935),
 + Bush (1935) (The City
 Files) (1935) (The City
 Files)

PRIMA
 NOTTE.
 LA

Stodi,
 Praha
 (1873-1924)

?

28/11/96

Florence
 (T. Paoliano)

PRINCIPE
 ZILAN,
 IL

Alfano,
 Milano
 (1876-1944)

Pl.
 2+

3/2/09

Genoa
 (T. Casio
 Felice)

PRINCIPESSA,
 LA

Cozzani,
 Genova
 (1888-1941)

3

25/2/08

Turin
 (T. Vittorio
 Emanuele)

PRINCIPESSA
 DI VA-DIRRA,
 LA

Accattini,
 Genova
 (1872-1927)

?

1922

?

PROCELLA,
 LA

Castelli,
 Livol
 (1885-1928)

?

2/9/20

Viareggio
 (Novo
 Politeama)

PREFETA
 VELAZZ
 KORADAN,
 IL

Peroni,
 Vercelli
 (1868-1934)

?

1879
 (1877)

MF

Other ops: "Tribune"
 (1905), Seymour (1920),
 (1928), (1934), (1935),
 + Bush (1935) (The City
 Files) (1935) (The City
 Files)

Other ops: "Tribune"
 (1905), Seymour (1920),
 (1928), (1934), (1935),
 + Bush (1935) (The City
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 (1905), Seymour (1920),
 (1928), (1934), (1935),
 + Bush (1935) (The City
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 (1928), (1934), (1935),
 + Bush (1935) (The City
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 (1905), Seymour (1920),
 (1928), (1934), (1935),
 + Bush (1935) (The City
 Files) (1935) (The City
 Files)

GRONTO MILIO 1847-1848	1	1853-1941, ?	Nicole ?	1	17/12/04	Trieste	1	Winner of op. comp. at Ballin View "Renzo" by Zola Short story "Renzo" by Th. Stern (1878)
DE LORENZO FABRIZ AUSONIO 1861-1885	?	?	Viel, Taddeo (1847-1880), ?	?	?	?	?	Eno Mus; Blon (b. 69), Play of same name by C. Ottolenghi (1878) Ottolenghi (1878) Adoratori del Juoco, Monetto in, "Religium peccatorum"
CASTALDO, SALVATORE 1861-1889	?	?	Chapman, E. (1857-1934), ?	?	1814	Turin (1814)	?	Eno Mus "Il sonetto di Dante", "Stellina"
EMERIO 1862-1887	?	?	Milliet, E. (1857-1934), ?	VE	11/4/08	Florence (1862)	?	Eno Mus; Eno Mus (2, 5), Other ops. "L'Albero Comita", "Lionel", "Madame de Belle- Isle", "La matrice", "Storia d'Amore"
ALFANO, FRANCO 1876-1894	?	?	Antoni, Traversa, Camillo (1857-1934), Rendu, Osate "Resurrection" by Tolstov (1900 novel?)	VE	3/12/25	Turin (1876) Emanuele	?	Veritas in die (p. 48), MTO (p. 232), L. Berg Amer. prem. in French, App. on same subject by C. (1876) + C. (1876) Play "Resurrection" (from T.) by B. (1876) Other ops. = "La fonte di "Fichtel", "Milano", "Giovanni", "Il principe Ziti"
DONDI, P. (b. ?)	?	?	?	?	18/12/98	Pedua Ciriolo Pizzomonte	?	Case of same name by E. C. (1876), (1876), (1876) Play of same name by P. B. (1876), (1876), (1876) Film of same name by A. Nestler (1876)
TRIMARCHI, A. (1888-?)	?	?	?	?	8/3/98	Messina (1888)Emanuele	?	Towers, Cos
VIGELLI, A. (1888-?)	?	?	Tusco, A. (b. ?), ?	?	1/3/98	Verona (1888)?	?	Towers, Cas Case of same name by V. C. (1888), (1888), (1888) Play of same name by G. M. C. (1888), also play "The Nivalis" by Sheridan (1888)
BONOMO, C. (b. ?)	?	?	?	VF	12/1/12	2-1, (1901)	?	Case Other ops = "Antonino"
VALENTE, VICENTIS (1888-1921)	?	?	?	?	1897	Turin	?	Thomson IC Other case = "L'arresto Traffichetti", "Donna"

Location	Author	Year	Comp. by	VS	Date	City	Destination	Notes
ROMANO DI BERLINO	Leoncavallo, Rusconi (1877-1919)	4	Comp. by name of author Teubert based on novel by Alessi (1843)	VS	18/12/04 19/11/03	Berlin (Hofer) Naples (T. San Carlo)	Berlin	Equipe, "Lena", "Rosina Capite", "L'Usciatolo" Verrefs. inc MPO3 Team given in German title "De Richtig On Berlin", given by Ylma in Berlin until 1908. Other ops. "Lz Bohema", "Chastition", "Adipo", "E", "Mars", "Medicoi", "Mogastin", "Zarr", "Zigastin". Enc. Mus Other ops. "Almsnor".
ROMANA	Vittorio	?	?	?	1800	Paravia	?	MTPT (b. 1973) Play "Ronsavalle" by Lopez Vaz (1842-1835).
ROMANISVAL	Bertini, Enrico (1837-?)	3	De Marchi, Emilio (1881-1901); Chanson de Verdi with semi-opera narrative poem	R	31/1/91	Modena (T. Municipale)	?	Various. inc. Rom. (pp. 20, 21), MPT (p. 33). Referred to same name by A. (1912) "De Richtig On Berlin". Film of same name by Gabriellino D'Annunzio + R. Artuffo (1928). Other ops. "Lz Bohema", "Chastition", "Adipo", "E", "Mars", "Medicoi", "Mogastin", "Zarr", "Zigastin". "Macoma Battocchi", "Marchese", "Suor Ameliosa", "Il tabacco", "Fosca".
ROMDINE, LA	Evcolini, (1858-1924)	3	Reichert, Wilhelmina; Wilmer, Alfred; Hertz, (1877-1928) (loc. 7)	VB	27/3/17	Monte Carlo	Bella, Alessi, Salsas, Maritosa	Enc. Mus. i. Cas. Other ops. "Il Natale".
ROMDINELLA	Carate, (1877-1928)	?	?	?	21/2/20	Milan (T. Carcano)	?	Enc. Mus. i. Cas. Other ops. "Il Natale".
ROSA BRINON	Perigo, Lorenzo (1840-1923)	?	Antona-Traversi (1918-1917)	?	1920	?	?	Enc. Mus. i. Cas. Other ops. "Milo Standa".
ROSA DI SARON, LA	Lucidi, (1888-1921)	1	Orsini, (1875-1954)	?	18/5/15	Milan (T. Carcano)	?	Enc. Stet. i. Enc. Mus. i. Saron (234). Other ops. "Lz Bohema", "Chastition", "Adipo", "E", "Mars", "Medicoi", "Mogastin", "Zarr", "Zigastin". "Macoma Battocchi", "Marchese", "Suor Ameliosa", "Il tabacco", "Fosca".

ROSALEA	Pittini, Emilio (1861-1940)	1	Illice, Luigi (1857-1914); ?	31/5/79 (U/F)	Turin (T. Carignano)	?	Eno Mus. MT96 (p. 748), city of same name by G.B. Cesari (1813) + R. Rossi (1912). Opera completed 1804 intended for perf. by Patti at her private theatre at Craig-Mos in Wales; prem. v. successful; Brit. prem. opera in London by P. Cesari in 1809. Anonymous of same name (1881). Lib. of same name by A. Ricci (1871-1939). Film of same name by P. Cesari + M. Ghislanzani (1935). Other ops. = "Editha", "Gabbaglio", "Venilia", "Amore", "Vendetta".
ROSAMUNDA	Pedrotto, Arturo (1878-?)	?	?	1929 (U/F)	-	-	Eno Spet. IR. same by M. V. of same name (1929). Film "Rosamund, Queen of the Lombards" by Swirburne (1940). Other ops. = "Giuditta", "Juana", "Terra professa", "L'uomo che ride", "La veglia".
ROSANA	Romana, Romano (1881-1958)	?	Fabiani, Enrico (?-?)	17/5/04	Livorno (T. Coltroni)	?	Eno Mus. Other ops. = "Fedra", "Zulma".
ROSANNA	Comazzi, Oreste (?-?)	?	Turco, A. (?-?)	6/5/11	Varese (T. Ristori)	?	Ces.
ROSA ROSSA. LA	Ziovano, G. (?-?)	?	Garozzi, Alberto (1886-1945), ?	10/9/13	Evona (F. Garibaldi)	?	Ces. of same name by G.B. Cesari (1813) + R. Rossi (1912). Film of same name by L. Moggi (1912).
ROSAURA RAPITA	Valenza, Vincenzo (1855-1921)	2	Di Giacomo, MF Salvatore (1860-1939); (orig.)	1904 (U/F)	-	-	Eno Mus. Submitted "Fedra" Cesari in 1804 + 4 Other ops. = "L'avevato Trafalgar", "Donna Padilla", "Iena", "Polandino", "La sposa di Cherville", "L'uscendico".
ROSEDA	Fontana, G. (?-?)	?	Passarini, Oreste (?-?)	25/1/15	Mantua (T. Sociale)	?	Ces.
ROSELLA	Galliani, P. (1847-?)	?	Dessanali, G. (?-?)	2/10/77	Maree (T. Sociale)	?	Towers, Ces. Towers gives "Galliani". Op. of same name by Cesari de la Torre (1899), see below. Film of same name by Prod. UCI (1929).
ROSELLA	Cesari de la Torre, A. (1869-?)	?	Ziancini, G. (?-?)	3/9/99	Milan (T. Drammatici)	?	Towers, Ces. Towers gives nationality of comp. as Spanish

ROSE ROSSE	Lebecchi, E (?-?)	3	Manau, Cesare (?-?)	5/3/78	Parma (T. Regio)	Cas. Play of same name by W Borg (1901).
ROSITA D'ALICANTE	Bollo, D. (?-?)	3	Castellano, C.A. (?-?)	15/11/78	Turin (Fol. Chiarella)	Cas.
ROUMAZAL, I	Rossi, Saverio (?-?)	3	Furno, E. (?-?)	6/3/93	Vercelli (T. Civico)	Cas.
RUDELLO	Fironi, G. (1858-1934)	1	Cucchetti, M. (?-?) "Judite" Rusi ("S) Crispini (1879 Rom)	25/5/90	Rome (T. Costanzi)	Enc. Spet. : Enc. Mus. ; Libro This prize-winner in 1893 Goncario comp. no cash prize, but awarded best prize of 1st class cent. provincial Lionbador Javite Rudel. Obs. on same subject by Giolenchi (1914); see entry. Unpublished Manife Rudel; see appropriate entries + Danielli's op. for details of possible lit. sources. Rudel's "Judite" Fironi's "Il Profeta vialto del Koscaan".
RUDELLO	Ottolenghi, G. (?-?)	3	Colautti, A. (1814-1931) (as above)	19/13/78	Turin (T. Vittorio Emanuele)	Enc. Spet. : IR.
RUGANTINO	De Gregorio, Giuseppe (1866-1933)	3	Riversa, A. (?-?)	21/4/99	Naples (T. Mercadante)	Enc. Mus. Based on character in play of same name by M. C. Lewis (1895).
RUIV HORA	Ricci, Ettore (1854-1901)	3	Bianchi, Vittorio (1865-?) play of same name Madagnoli (1822-1884)	27/4/93	Pisa (T. Nuovo)	Enc. Mus. ; NY5 (n. 298) Prem successful. Prem of same name by Cassucci (1893).
RUIV BLAS	Piatti, Giuseppe (1866-1944)	3	Colaninno, G. (1850-1940) play of same name by Rued (1828)	March 1976	Bologna (T. Dante)	Enc. Spet. ; Enc. Mus. Obs. on same subject by Boniolo (1842), Bianchi (1843), C. Rota (1852), W. Glover (1861), F. Franzelli (1867), Gamer (1868), N. Corbelli (1869), Marchetti (1869). Lib. on same subject by B. Camerano in 1863 Play of same name by C. Antona-Traversi (1896) Title of same name by

Prof. Vittoresh (1889).
 See Bibliography (1917) +
 Other ops. (1919)
 "Calendario"

Sho. Sest:
 Symbolic poem of same
 name by C. Corsetti
 Cantata of same name by
 P. Buzoni (1883).
 Play of same name by O.
 Stancoff + D. Falconi
 (1887) see "Madre del
 Sacco" by Eleuterio C.
 Cucca astro.
 Cas.: Viviani (D. 22).
 Gen. Comp. held by C. Sen
 cini + G. Sest. Cas.
 gives "Sabb".
 M791 (b. 1917)
 Based on life of Roman
 martyr. -
 Op. of same name by I.
 Biondi (1897) see
 Bibliography.
 Film of same name
 (anon. 1917).
 Etc. Num.
 "Madre" "Giglietta"
 Roma.
 Etc. Mus.: M795 (b. 473)
 Op. not entered in
 Op. Catalogue but in
 Bibl. Music. Ital. (b. 1917)
 After id. ill. dated
 April 1893, Giordano
 comments "Avrei tanto
 desiderato di sentire un
 Sest. che non era di
 una Sest. italiana
 una Sest. italiana".
 Etc. Spet. IR. Cas.
 Other ops. "Sest. in"
 "Microf."

?

Cuneo
 (T. Civico)

2/1/99

R
 Gori.
 H. (b. 1917).
 Verse of
 same name
 by Legend.
 (1828)

?

Bravalle.
 Vittorio
 (1885-1942)

SABATO DEL
 VILLAGGIO.
 IL

Ercoletti.
 Cesare
 (1885-1942)

SABHA

8/4/19
 Naples
 (T. San Carlo)

?

Turin
 (T. Sistori)

Gen
 1891

R
 ?
 ?

Loce.
 (1885-1942)

SABINA

8/4/19

VS

1897
 (1878)

?

Secc.
 And. Sale
 (1885-1942)

SABINA

Picciotti.
 Ferruccio
 (1885-1942)

SABINA

7/5/95

VP

?

Cortella.
 A. (b. 1917)

BURRITO.
 Filippo
 (1885-1942)

SAGA DI
 VALAPERTA.
 LA

Milza
 (T. Lilies)

Sterchio

1915

C

Colantonio.
 Alberto
 (1885-1942)

SAGRA DEI
 FRINGUELLI.
 LA

Venice
 (T. Doldeat)

1915

?

Colantonio.
 Alberto
 (1885-1942)

?

SALVATORELLA	3	Coma	26/2/94	Parma (T. Guidi)	?	<p>WTO to VII. Op. published "Episodio storico-romantico", dram. v. succedenti Other ops. = "Aucora", "La coppa d'All'leone", "Parafalco".</p>
SANARITANA LA	3	Guazzi, R. (1860-1899)	3/4/20	Parma (T. Guidi)	?	<p>Enc. Mus. Subtitled "Rappresentazione" Play of same name by F. Deiilliana Nove (1889- 1920); play "La Samaritana" by E. Rosland (1897).</p>
SAN FRANCESCO.	1	Di Cicco, S. (1860-1939) own play of same name (1896)	13/10/96	Modena (T. Merodante)	Caroso	<p>Enc. Mus. Subtitled "sena lirica neolatina" Opera of same name by J. Verdi (1923). Title of same name by G. Offenbach (1875). Other ops. = "George Dandin".</p>
SANGUE ROERO	?	Hellio, Ciro (1822-)	17/4/05	Detonia (T. Principe di Nardelli)	?	<p>Towers, Cas. Other ops. = "Bricolero".</p>
SANTA LUCIA.	3	Calissiani, Enrico (1848-1918); "Scene sceniche" by C. F. F. Cometti	14/11/92 7/5/93 1/10/95	Berlin (Kroll); Trieste (T. Comenale) Manchester	Biscione	<p>Enc. Mus. = Libera. Britten given in Eng. Trans. by M. Craig. Civ. v. same name from Civ. v. by S. Di Cicco (1890). Other ops. = "Pargolenti".</p>
SANTA FOESIA	?	Ferraro, Dionigi (1875-1941)	2/12/09	La Spezia (T. Duca di Genova)	?	Enc. Mus.
SANTO IL	3	Suona, Luigi (1827-1904); own play of same name (1893)	7/5/03	Venice (T. Penice)	Carosio, Garcia, Ruffo, Perrini	<p>Enc. Mus. = Ruffo (via via de Salis), par. 140 + Subtitled "sena." musical; drama success + given (via subsequent ver. v. Gen. of same name by Borgherini (1913), see below.</p>
SANTO, IL	?	Zanerini, Carlo (1874-1902)	14/3/13	Turin (T. Reale)	Liaor, Schiavazzi, Dunie	<p>Enc. Seta. VII (p. 341). Prem. successi v. Novel of same name by A. Cecchi (1903), v. A. Cecchi (1903), v. A. Cecchi (1903), v. "Il titolo santo" by R. Briccio (1912) + "El santo" by E. Ferrini Nones (1885-1929). Other ops. = "L'abbate", "L'abbate", "L'abbate".</p>
SANTO NATALE	?	Mancini, Augusto (1855-1932)	2/4/14	Como (P. Ittama)	?	Des Other ops. = "Pathway"

BANTUZZA	?	Bimbeni, Cresta (1846-1908)	VP	8/1/95	Palermo (Pol. Garibaldi)	?	Enc. Mus. MVS (p. 171). Ma con funzione di russica, politica successi.
SANZIO	?	Abramo, Genzaro (1873-1934)	VSI	1992 (U/2)	-	-	Enc. Mus. On same subject by Ziuroni + Mildenberg (Raffaello, 1986 + 1910), Maffioli (Raffaello Sbricio, 1873) - Collins (La Marina, 1977). Other obs. "Mafeld".
SARA LA TRIVATELLA	?	Bimbo, Buici, Pizzoso (1871-?)	VP	9/3/92	Gallipoli (T. Compasite)	?	Enc. Mus.
BARDONA, IN	?	Dei Pinolo, C. (17-?)	VP	1/8/06	Zivitarochia (T. Teleso)	?	Case.
BAVITSI	?	Cari, Maria (1833-?)	MP	1/12/94	Paloma (T. Comunale)	a. Pescasini	Towers, MVS (p. 31). On same subject by Comas + Pizzari (1907) + Ricci (1934) Plays of same name by A. de Obermann (1883) + A. E. Herold (1897).
SCAMPACATA	?	Donsud, Biamo (1879-1928)	?	1879	Palermo (variately)	?	Enc. Sett., Enc. Mus. "Sotto il Re di Sicilia" "Teodor Mazarini"
SCHAABAN	?	Scaloria, Vittorio (1843-?)	VE	20/2/18	Vienna	?	Enc. Diet., Slov. "Sera am. of id. Turkish text, known into German by R. Bette. Gr. "Mafide di Sbrano" by G. Rossini (1821). Other obs. = "Amor scudito", "L'amma del Kumbel", "Suprema via".
SCIAVA LA	?	Chioldi, (?) (18-?)	?	29/11/20	Brescia (T. Sociale)	?	Case.
SCIAVO DI CLEOPATRA, LO	?	Pellini, Edoardo (1873-?)	VS	24/1/05	Milan (T. Di. Verina)	?	Enc. Mus. Other obs. = "Aize", "Anima invitata".
SECRETTO DI SUSANNA, IL	?	Wald-Ferrari, Franco (1826-1948)	C	9/12/09	Munich (Theater)	?	Var. = "Aize", "Mig (p. 48, VII p. 389), L. Berg, "Sera am. of id. Turkish text, known into German by R. Bette", "Anima invitata" by M. Kallack medico. "Consuetudo", "Le donne curiose", "I diletti della Madonna", "Sbrano", "I quattro cattolici".
				18/3/11	New York (Metropolitan)		
				11/7/11	London (Covent Garden)		
				27/1/11	Rome		Ferraria, c.

Author	Year	Location	Notes	Other
Umberto Eco (1927-1988)	1957-1972 (orig)	(La Scala)	Zanettello, De Luca, e Campanini Calli-Bivla, French Opera House, New York Dovite, O'Neil, Kennedy, Vandenberg	(ph 282-31, stor. 18.52), L. Berg, MTG3 (p. 284), subject also expressed by Nov. 1969, then gifted to Gerardo + contrast for an agent between comp. + Giovanni 24/3/69, first draft of lib completed by 11/11/69, lib + libretto scheduled for autumn 1969 at "Lilitha" with inc. Eva Tetlavathi, Ceruso + Semarone, e Campanini, then via opera + subject (line "Pakunato") given slight further Paris - Amc. book given in French trans. first Amer. perf. in Ital. given 9/2/69 at San Marino, Opera House, New York, via Scala 5/12/72
SIEGA	1979	30/9/74	Fama (T. Reinisch)	Eno Mus. quadruple bill "Scalino", "Zazaia", "L'Opera", "L'Enluminato", Other ops. "Montar", "Scalino", "Mellin", "Musetta degli angeli", "L'Assassino", "L'Enluminato"
SIGRA	1973	12/11/72	Milano (T. Dal Verme)	Verre, Ino, Sino, Mus., Libero + MTG3 (p. 723), Orig. intended to succeed Sallivani's "venhoo" in 1971, after C. G. + subject was dropped failed op. prod. Milan in Ital. trans. by C.A. Marvato but unsuccessful (2 perf.) + lead to discontinue by "venhoo" + "Scalino" in Ital. but for intervention of Ricordi, rev. version in 2 acts prod. C.C. in 1972, 1973
SIENOR DI POUCEAUVONAC	1942	10/4/77	Milano (La Scala)	Eno, Bert, Eno, Mus., Ricordi, L. Berg, subjectively L. Berg, unsuccessful (only 4 subsequent perf.), rev. version given 24/11/77 at Genoa, subject Op. on same subject (see on same subject) British (1972), Japan (1972), Mendoza (1973), Donizetti (111 Hugo Pourcevaux, 1973), Alant (1951), Seattle

Luigi (1857-1919) (orig)

Umberto Eco (1927-1988)

Eno Mus. quadruple bill "Scalino", "Zazaia", "L'Opera", "L'Enluminato", Other ops. "Montar", "Scalino", "Mellin", "Musetta degli angeli", "L'Assassino", "L'Enluminato"

Verre, Ino, Sino, Mus., Libero + MTG3 (p. 723), Orig. intended to succeed Sallivani's "venhoo" in 1971, after C. G. + subject was dropped failed op. prod. Milan in Ital. trans. by C.A. Marvato but unsuccessful (2 perf.) + lead to discontinue by "venhoo" + "Scalino" in Ital. but for intervention of Ricordi, rev. version in 2 acts prod. C.C. in 1972, 1973

Eno, Bert, Eno, Mus., Ricordi, L. Berg, subjectively L. Berg, unsuccessful (only 4 subsequent perf.), rev. version given 24/11/77 at Genoa, subject Op. on same subject (see on same subject) British (1972), Japan (1972), Mendoza (1973), Donizetti (111 Hugo Pourcevaux, 1973), Alant (1951), Seattle

TEMPESTA, LA	Del Ponte, (1878-?)	3	Riferimento 1878-1929) "The Tempest" by Shakespeare (1878-1929 play)	MF	14/8/20	Livorno (Palteama)	3	Operational Other ops = "Aldino di Cittadella"
TEMPESTA, LA	De Angelis, (1879-?)	3	Sodini, Amelio (1879-?) (1879 above)	MF	7/5/05	Parugia (T. Morlacchi)	3	Enc Mus. Other ops = "La contesse Dieter", "Malviller", "Viele rosen"
TEMPESTA DI ANIME	Bianchi, (1879-?)	3	Leon, Antonio (1879-?)	3	24/2/20	Zeno (T. Delli Fortuna)	3	Enc Film of same name by E. Gentilomo (1942)
TENTAZIONE DI GESU, LA	Cardara, Carlo (1944-1920)	1	Grif, Aldo (1898-1913); Bibic	E	14/10/02	Turin (T. Reale)	3	Enc Mus.; MFG (p. 755). Subtitled "maestro" "maestro" in very rare copies. Other ops = "Cavalleria drammatica", "La locandiera", "La piastrella", "Valdaffore", "Il voto".
TERESA	Iuzzi, A.L. (1850-?)	3	Parichetti, M. (1879-?)	3	3/6/98	Rome (T. Nazionale)	3	Towers, Car Diana; of same name by A. Duma here + A. Anselmi- Boucard (1892), C. Giovanni (1892), C. Arighi (1892) + L. de Alam y Urena (1898). None of same name by Iuzzi. Film of same name by P. Zimmernann (1951).
TERESA NAVAGERO	Mess, (1879-?)	3	Bella, R. (1879-?)	H	Mar 1890	Naples (T. Nuovo)	3	Car. Novgorod, Venetian Opera of same name by P. Guiliardo (1823).
TERESA RAQUIN	Corbelli, (1859-1920)	2	Colascioni, VP (1822-1918); "Marsese" Raquin by 2018 (1847 novel) + 1872 play	VP	8/2/94	Naples (T. Mercantile)	3	Enc Mus.; Enc Mus.; MFG (p. 105). Other ops = "Le Zola", "Le nome iron Sirena" (1844) + G. Marcollo (1913) + H. Caine (1853). Other ops = "Nemesa".
TERESA DEL SOGNO, LA	Lioni, (1844-1849)	3	Linati, Carlo (1878-1899); P.	3	10/1/20	Milan (T. Fildrammatici)	3	Enc Mus.; Sion (p. 32). Other ops = "Le Chiosette", "Fior "Francesca de Rimini", "L'oroscopo", "Raggio di luna", "Italiana".
TERESA PROFESSA, LA	Pedrollo, (1878-?)	3	Zanocchini, Carlo (1878-1899); P.	3	18/2/08	Cremona (T. Pantheon)	3	Enc Mus.; Enc Mus. Film of same name by T. Mendotti (1910). Film of same name by Fred Cello (1913). Other ops = "Gueditta", "L'usena", "Rostumund", "verba", "she rises", "Le
TESS	D'Elender, (1859-1849)	4	Illico, Luigi (1857-1918).	VE	10/4/06	Naples (T. San Carlo)	Beas	Enc Mus.; Enc Mus. I have Play of same name from

TRADITA:	Cusinati, Zerzuolo (1872-1954)	?	VP	12/11/92	Verona (T. Risleri)	G. Cusinatti	Enc. Mus.: MV92 (P. 745). Prem. v. successafu. Obs. of same name by C. Benedini (1852) + G. De Buccheri (1907). see Buccheri.
TRADITA	De Muckles, (?-?)	?	VP	24/5/07	Turin (P. Vittorino Smanetti)	?	Cas
TRADITA, LA	Medini, Giacomo (1852-1909)	1	VP	22/7/96	Sevona (T. Chiabazzza)	?	Enc. Mus.: MV96 (p. 608). Prem. v. successafu. Obs. of same name by L. Benedini (1908). See Benedini. Other obs. = "In Keschazza".
TRADITA, LA	Comellini, (?-?)	?	VP	18/2/98	Genoa (Fol. Genovese)	?	Cas.
TRAGEDIA FIorentina, UNA	Mastiozzi, Mazio (1809-?)	?	M	3/4/19	Rome (T. Costanzi)	Denise	Enc. Elett. Joint first prize- winner (along w. Romani's Puccini) of opera held by Societa' di Studi Musicali Rome. Obs. by G. De Buccheri in Nov. 1906 (Carner pp. 148-50). Obs. of same name by C. Rezzanna (1916), see Rezzanna (1916) + A. von Zemlinsky (1917).
TRAGEDIA FIorentina, UNA	Ravassano, Carlo (1811-?)	?	M	25/11/14	Turin (Fol. Chiavazzza)	?	Enc. Mus.: Enc. Spat. 17.
TRAVIATA Di MEGARDO, LA	Pilli, Alessandro (1872-1931)	?	?	1912	Sienna	?	Enc. Mus. Other obs. = "La Giulia del Bittorio", "La foga di Angeliotto", "Piccolo araba", "La resina della percezione", "I sono di Giuliano".
TRICE NERE	Cich(etti), Vincenzo (1819-1939)	?	VP	8/2/93	Reggio Emilia (T. Municipale)	?	Enc. Mus. Lib on same subject by Lecrovallo, offered to Ricordi. Fusing lib- retto by C. Cichetti. Mus. libretto by C. L. von Eno Spat.
TRILEY	Calliere, Arnaldo (1871-1924)	?	VE	18/7/92	Milan (Conservatorio Di Musica)	?	Enc. Mus. Subject contemplated by Lecrovallo in 1879 G. De Buccheri by H. Bain (1892-1923) Pieces of same name from Du Maurier by P. M. Potter

1857-1919?
obs. of same
name by Gardou
(1887)

13/7/90
London
(Covent Garden)

1857-1919?
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(1887)

8/2/01
New York
(Metropolitan)

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1857-1919?
obs. of same
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Mancinelli

1857-1919?
obs. of same
name by Gardou
(1887)

(1897)

(1895) + M. Salter
(1912)
Firms of same name by M.
Shaw (1912), M. Tourneur
(1923) + 1912 + J. Young
Other ones = "Le
Brazzole"

Eno Sest, Eno Mus,
C. Sest, M. Sest (1914),
Origin of Savina, Trill
Socia by Tallini, prem.
successful.
Obl. of same name by A.
Cassina (1928).
MPS (2.748).
Numerous obs. of same
name.
Play of same name by G.
Giacosa (1895).

Bercetti, C.
Maschetoni

Eno
(T. Ascantini)

29/1/99
(T. Ascantini)

Di
P. Francesco,
(?-?)

3
P. Sest.
(1887-1928);
?

TRILLO
DEI DIAVOLO.
IL

TRIONFO
D'AMORE.
IL

Trieste
C. Trieste, Trieste
(1846-1904)

Novara
(T. Paracciani)

26/3/14
(T. Paracciani)

27/5/93
(T. Paracciani)

2
Cest.
(?-?)

3
Siest
(1846-1904)

TRISTE
LOTTA

TRISTE
NOZZE

Towers, MPS (D.32).
Numerous obs.
successful

Modena
(T. Comanini)

1894
(T. Comanini)

23/3/92
(T. Comanini)

2
Dell'Innoc.
(1887-1904)

3
Dell'Innoc.
(1887-1904)

TRISTE
NOZZE

TURIN
NOZZE

Turino
Eno Mus
Other obs. = "Le fine di
F. de' Mori" (1914),
Borghese di
Borghese

Venice
(T. Rossini)

23/3/92
(T. Rossini)

1905
(T. Rossini)

2
Cavallera
(1880-1904)

3
Cavallera
(1880-1904)

TURIN
NOZZE

TURIN
NOZZE

Turino
Eno Mus
Other obs. = "Le fine di
F. de' Mori" (1914),
Borghese di
Borghese

Venice
(T. Rossini)

23/3/92
(T. Rossini)

1905
(T. Rossini)

2
Cavallera
(1880-1904)

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Cavallera
(1880-1904)

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NOZZE

TURIN
NOZZE

Turino
Eno Mus
Other obs. = "Le fine di
F. de' Mori" (1914),
Borghese di
Borghese

Venice
(T. Rossini)

23/3/92
(T. Rossini)

1905
(T. Rossini)

2
Cavallera
(1880-1904)

3
Cavallera
(1880-1904)

TURIN
NOZZE

TURIN
NOZZE

Turino
Eno Mus
Other obs. = "Le fine di
F. de' Mori" (1914),
Borghese di
Borghese

Venice
(T. Rossini)

23/3/92
(T. Rossini)

1905
(T. Rossini)

2
Cavallera
(1880-1904)

3
Cavallera
(1880-1904)

TURIN
NOZZE

TURIN
NOZZE

VANDEA	Clementi, Filiberto (1827-1889)	?	?	Comp.?	R	12/11/73	Forluna (T. Comense)	?	Enc. Spet Based on 1773 Chevan version in Vanda, presumed to comp then other ops = "La ballarina".
VAN DYCK	Vanno, (s.s)	?	?	VBT	25/2/00		Sermo (T. Dell'Aquila)	?	Op of same name by G. Vanno, 1870. Play "Van Dyck Louises" by H. Carré + C. Marry (1848).
VANIA	Bignardi, (1877-1950)	?	?	Allegri, (s.s)	1920		Foggia (T. Madonna)	?	Op. of same name. Cantata, Mysione 121104.
VANITA E ANDRE	Fiori, (1891-1940)	?	?	Edal, (1858-1912)	24/1/00		Milano (T. Dal Verme)	?	Enc. Mus. i Enc. Spet. R. Other ops = "Edith", "Mendicella", "Hosette".
VANNA	Pedanzini, Umberto (1870-1927)	?	?	Orsini, (1875-1949) Stendhal	22/11/10		Milano (T. Dal Verme)	?	Enc. Mus. Other ops = "Edith", "Mendicella", "Hosette".
VARSAVIA	Pedali, (1866-1922)	?	?	V. Carrea, (s.s) from own play of same name (1890)	15/12/20		Rome (T. Guisano)	?	Enc. Mus. Other ops = "La vergine della montagna".
VEDOVA, LA	Fino, (s.s)	?	?	Masetti-Eula, (s.s)	5/4/08		Naples (T. Mercadante)	?	Op. of same name by J. Nelli (1888) + J. Hodyn (1882). (same name by A. Carré (1846), N. Boncompagni (1847), G. R. Cini (1849) + R. Simon (1902). Film of same name by G. M. Masetti (1937) + L. Masetti (1928).
VEROVA SCALTRA, LA	Zardo, N. (s.s)	?	?	Mazzoni, (s.s) Vico (1874-1923) name by C. Goldoni (1748)	20/10/09		Bassano del Grappa (T. Sociale)	?	Op. of same name by V. Righini (1778), G. Morosini (1876), C. Cappeletti (1931) + G. Wolff-Ferri (1931). Film of same name by C. Gallone (1922).
VERGENTE, IL	Rosa, Emilio (1841-1887)	?	?	Maspha, (s.s) "Le Bassant" by Comte (1889 play), "Le Bassant" by Comte (1892) verse dialoguet of above)	9/6/90		Milano (T. Dal Verme)	?	Enc. Spet. Enc. Mus. R. s. s. given as "Dee Wanda" + "Il Wanda" at Mannheim 18/12/06, Court Theatre, see 1707 (p. 3) + 1710 (p. 113), this Op. was submitted by Maspha + Zanetto, 1898. See appropriate film of same name by D. Karana (1921). Other ops = "Il sicco".
VEGLIA, LA	Pedrotti, (s.s)	?	?	Linati, (s.s)	2/1/20		Milano (T. Lillo)	?	Enc. Spet. Enc. Mus. L. Botta

ERRATUM - SEE
BELOW

VENDEMMIA, LA	Grisanari, Emilio (1900-?)	?	?	1878	Beloana	?	Enc. Mus. Subtitled "Adillio lirico". Ops. of same name by A. Sacchini (1740), C. Gastonia (1778). Ballads of same name by F. Clarino (1787) + A. Landini (1817).
VENDETTA, LA	Bertotti, Ariano (1882-1938)	3	Crissofolli, Domenico (?-?)	VP	Verzellì (T. Civico)	?	Enc. Spet.: Cas. Comp. Spet. libst. as L. Ops. of same name by C. Pugni (1832), H. de Rubis (1839), E. Cianchi (1857), A. Agostini (1870), A. Hamerik (1870), E. Pizzi (1904; see below) + J. Nauques (1911). Film of same name by G. Jacoby (1928-21).
VENDETTA	Pisani, Emilio (1841-1940)	Pl. +2	Kaiser, Alfred (1872-1917); ?	VP	Colonne	?	Enc. Mus.: Slon. (p. 481); L.berg. Prem. given in orig. German text; Ital. prem. given in trans. by A. Lega subtitled "Viviani". Other ops.: "Editha", "Gebrüder", "Koralle", "Vanilla e emera".
VENDETTA ABRUZZESE	Tanara, Giulio (1840-?)	?	Colisoliari, Enrico (1848-1918); ?	VP	Torino (T. Serifs)	?	Cas. Other ops.: "Marilka".
VENDETTA CORSA	Marsick, Alfred (1877-1939)	?	Emisier, (?-?)	VP	Rome (T. Adriano)	?	Enc. Mus. Comp. Helian; orig. title "La Jane".
VENDETTA SARDA	Cellini, Emidio (1857-1920)	2	Cortella, A. (?-?)	VP	Naples (T. Maccedante)	?	Towers; NY94 (p. 484). Prem. v. successful. Film of same name by M. Mattioli (1952). Other ops.: "Stefania". Cas.
VENDETTA ZINGARESCA	Montilla, R. M. (?-?)	?	?	VP	Montua (T. Andressani)	?	Enc. Mus. Op. of same name by E. Anders (1917). Plays of same name by C. D'Errio (1929) + G. Rocca (1932).
VENEZIA	Storti, Riccardo (1873-1941)	?	Pelissar, Mario (1847-1956); ?	?	Felermo (T. Massimo)	?	Enc. Mus. Op. of same name by M. Borpati, Galeffi, o. Martinuzzi
VENEZIA IN VIENNA	Boltoni, Giovanni (1841-1919)	?	?	?	Vienna	?	Enc. Mus.
VERA	Savasta, Antonio (1874-1959)	?	Di Bata, G. B. (?-?)	?	Catania (T. Rullini)	?	Enc. Mus. Op. of same name by M. Podest (1883). Play of same name by E. Brandes (1904). Other ops.: "Galatea".
VERGINE DELLA MONTAGNA, LA	Fedali, Vito (1840-1933)	?	Moratti, T. (?-?)	?	Reggio di Calabria (T. Garibaldi)	?	Enc. Mus. Other ops.: "Yarsovia".
LE VERGINI.	Lozzi, Antonio (1871-1943)	?	?	VB	Roma (T. Guirino)	Schlierenzi	Enc. Spet.: Enc. Mus. Other ops.: "Bianca Campello", "Eclair di vita", "Emma Liona", "Eraldo", "Mitandolina", "Ulfrida".
VIA DELLA FINESTRA, LA	Zandonai, Riccardo (1883-1944)	3	Adami, Giuseppe (1878-1944); "La femme qui sa faite de la fenestra" by A. Scribe (1847 vaudeville)	C	Paesio (T. Rossini)	Catasciolo, Cassara, o. Vitale	Enc. Spet.: Enc. Mus.: MT 17 (p. 21), M19 (pp. 377 + 356); L.berg. Op. completed early 1917. Other ops.: "Conchita", "La coppa del re", "Francesco de Rimini", "Il grillo del teatro", "Melena", "L'Accademico B'ORB".

(1878-?)	(1878-1891); "The Shadow of the Glen" by J.M. Synge (1905 play)	20/12/24	New York (Hotel Pennsylvania)	?	Other ops. "Gaudite", "Juana", "Noedunda", "Ferra Pomesada", "L'uomo che ride".
VELLE ROSE	De Angelis, Arturo (1877-?)	12/7/32	London (Savoy Theatre 5125)	?	
	De Luca, Pasquale (1856-1928); ?	3/11/19	Milan (T. Diana)	?	Enc. Mus.; Cas Ces. gives A. Bellamelli. Other ops. "Le contessa Clara", "Mislavica", "La temessina".

ERRATUM - SEE ABOVE

VIGILIA DI ROSSE	De Angelis, Teodoro (1866-1924); ?	12/9/03	Ferara (T. Montecchi)	?	Enc. Mus. Play of same name by C. Masol (1932).
VILLA CLERMONT	Napolitano, Domenico (1872-1943)	30/3/18	Naples (T. San Carlo)	?	Enc. Mus. E. S. Mus. = "Il profeta vittorio del Kernani".
VINDICE	Masetti, Emilio (1869-1919); ?	3/9/01	Boitona (T. Brannetti)	De Marchi	
VIOLANTE	Alberti, Luigi (1837-1929)	4/3/89	Turin (T. Regio)	?	Enc. Mus.; Cas Op. cited by Mehler as "Pasticcio" of same name Play of same name, Opera Cesoni (1932).
VIGILANCO DI ERONDA. IL	Ciancetti, Cesare (1866-1924)	23/11/98	Milan (T. Lirico)	?	Enc. Mus.; E. S. Mus.; MT "Vigilante" first prize-winner in 1924 Steiner comp. Op. in "Vicini di Cresona" by G. Litta Lib. by Maria Perini. Other ops. "L'Alibi", "L'Alibi", "L'Alibi" Film "Le quattro de Cresona" (1910, anon.) = "The Vicin Maker of Cresona" by D.W. Griffith (1909) Other ops. "Cristo alla Casta di Puzza", "Corte e laute", "Don Matteo", "Verano", "Milano", "Il Nardano", "Madon Naurio", "Pierrot e la luna".
VIRGINIA	Bonfanti, C. (?-?)	25/2/09	Mantua (T. Errochi)	?	Cas Possible source = Roman legend of Virginia Numerous ops. = plays of same name.
VIRGO DOLCOSA	Alberti, Nino (1873-?)	1894	Cagliari	?	Enc. Spt Other ops. = "Barbaria", "Mytilia".
VIRTU D'AMORE	Buschi, Vittorio	7/10/94	Verdugo (Villa Gneschi)	?	Enc. Spt Subtitled "arione"

SECTION TWO

**
** COMPOSER CATALOGUE **
**

The following catalogue provides an alphabetical listing by surname of all Italian and foreign composers included in the Master Catalogue, together with the titles (also in alphabetical order) of those operas completed by each composer during the period 1890-1920 inclusive:-

- AREA-CORNACIOLA, Pietro - "Una partita a scacchi".
ABBATE, Benigno - "Patriade", "Ganzio"
ACQUINI, Messo - "Alcibade", "Il cavaliere del sogno", "Jovo e Maria", "L'ombra", "Le penna d'airone".
ALABECHA, Domenico - "Mirra"
ALBERTI, Ludovico - "Violante".
ALBERTI, Nino - "Herbeas", "Mortelle", "Virco dolozosa".
ALPANO, Franco - "La finta di Zuchir", "Miranda", "L'ombra di Don Giovanni", "Il principio Zilsh", "Risurrezione".
ALLEN, Paul Restino - "Il litiro", "Milde", "O Munasterio", "L'ultimo dei Moibeni".
ALTAVILLA, Onofrio - "Januccio"
ANADEI, Roberto - "Amore zillero", "Giocosa".
ANGELONI, Carlo - "Un dramma in montesca".
ANZOLETTI, Marco - "Bellacor", "Faide", "La fine di Herast", "Le casa", "Milite e Getta".
ARU, V. - "Luisiane".
AUTERI-NANZOCCHI, Salvatore - "Cristella", "Il severo Toselli".

BACCINI, Cesare - "Dopo il congedo".
BACCINI, E. - "Uanda".
BACI, Adolfo - "Le nitene".
BANDINI, Primo - "Janko".
BARAVALE, Vittorio - "Andrea del Sarto", "Idiosia", "Sabato del villeggiatore".
BARBARETTOLO, P. - "Chiesa di Belleville".
BARBERI, Giovanni - "Gli svizzeri degli svizzeri", "Mimo e Ninetta".
BARBIERI, Mario - "Gale d'oro".
BARONE, N. - "Genio del dolore".
BARONI, Giuseppe - "La castellana", "Vania", "Visione italiana".
BARTOLUCCI, A. - "Dedda", "Lyena", "La zinzara di Ornatà".
BELLINI, Edoardo - "Aiko", "Anime infernali", "Lo schiavo di Cleopatra".
BELLO, Cito - "Triclotto", "Sandro Boeton".
BENEDETTI-SUKKY, A. - "Chiesa d'Arte".
BENVENUTI, Tomaso - "Le buffe chiosette", "Estricce di Svavia".
BERGAMI, G. - "Miso di fieno".
BERLENDIS, Edoardo - "L'amore", "Lilacine", "Il pastore".
BERNI-CANNI, A. - "Fama", "Lubiana".
BERNIZZI, Francesco - "Una famiglia fina".
BERRA, P. - "Fatma", "Santo Natale".
BERSANI, P. - "Carmela".
BERTINI, Natale - "Ninon de Lenoles", "Rondeval".
BERTINI, Arturo - "Evaucelina", "Fomas", "Tarso Eulber", "La vendetta".
BIZZI, G. - "Que vedisi".
BIACI, A. - "La sposa di Nino".
BIANCHI, Renzo - "Il canto di Francesco", "Peante", "Cassimonda", "In Umbria".
BIANCHINI, Guido - "Madde".
BIANCO, Luigi Francesco - "Sara la trovata".
BILLI, Alessandro - "La figlia del birraio", "La fura di Ancalico", "Piccole eroe", "La resine del mercato", "Il sogno di Calzaroni", "La traversata di Madaleno".
BINSONI, Alberto - "Fieschi".
BINSONI, Oreste - "Santoro".
BIONDI, C. - "Celeste".
BIRAZZA, F. - "Trenta di anime".
BIOCCARDI, Riccardo - "La verita nera".
BOLEI, Ernesto - "Don Esce".
BOLOGNINI, G. - "Il cadone".
BOLEONI, Giovanni - "Venezia in Vienna".
SONAFINI, G. - "Viterbia".
BONONIC, C. - "Antigone", "Gulle rive del Danubio".

BONICELLI, T.: "Città Nuvolese"
BORG, Walter: "L'Abete"
BORGOGNONI, F.: "Nara"
BOSCI, Costante Adolfo - "Enoch Arden", "La mamma e l'eroe",
BOSCI, Mario Enrico: "Il siccio", "Il veguente",
BOSCI, Renzo: "Passa la zonda",
BOTTACCHIARI, U.: "L'ombra", "Il paradiso della signora"
BOTTACCIANO, A.: "Ondina"
BOTTI, Costanzo: "Zindarone"
BOTTO, D.: "Rosita d'Aliberti"
FRANCA, Guglielmo: "La figlia di Jorio"
FRUOLI, Renato: "Edmundo", "Isabelle Orsini", "L'oblio", "La prima notte"
FRUCOMANNI, Alfred: "Marcherite"
BRUNETTI, Giuseppe: "Messinella"
BRUNETTO, Filippo: "La casa di Valberta"
BUCCERI, Gianni: "Nastiede", "Marken", "Miles Standish", "Ondina", "La selveggiata",
BUONICCONTI, Giuseppe: "Il omer delle fanciulle", "Michelangelo e Rolle",
BURGO DI VILLAFIORITA, Giuseppe: "Gudielmo Rastelli"
BUSTINI, Alessandro: "La città evadista", "L'incantesimo di Calandrino", "Maria Delesta",
BUSENAC, Giulio: "Diana di Viselle",
BUZZI-FECIA, Arturo: "La forza d'amore", "Giuliana", "Gli anni di Milano",
CAPORE, Arturo: "Il Natale", "Fondamenta"
CAFFI, R.: "Cecilia"
CAGNONI, Antonio: "La Lear"
CALCARI, A.: "La serenata",
CALZARI, V.: "Vanda"
CAMERACCA, F.: "Speranza",
CANOZZI, O.: "Reganna"
CANUSSI, Eraldo: "La Du Esry", "I fuochi di San Giovanni"
CANGIULO, U.: "Il siccio"
CANGIULO, F.: "Cento mestieri",
CANONICA, Pietro: "La sposa di Cerinto",
CANTI, Natale: "Melisiole", "Savici"
CANTONI, E.: "Patria"
CANTU, Adelino: "Il boia"
CAPELLINI, Federico: "Cattina"
CAPPELLI, Gastano: "La principessa"

CARPEZZI, E. - "Diars"
CARCONIERI, Anton Francesco - "Ezitha"
CARLINI, Oreste - "I diavoli della corte"
CARLONI, Arnaldo - "Le bellezze di Nida"

CARPANTO, G. - "Prima"
CASALINA, A. - "Antonio"
CASALINA, R. - "Arduazi"
CASER, S. - "Bellina"
CASTELI, G. - "Giustizia"
CASSANO, Jessuin - "Il monaco nero"
CASSONE, Isobaldo - "Al mulino", "Valda"
CASTACCHIZI, S. - "Il dottor Antonio", "Mousoona"
CASTELLI, C.F. - "Ada e Clelia"
CASTRACANE, Antonio - "L'anima del denaro", "Padron Giovanni", "Fanculus Sveit"
CATTALANI, Alfredo - "Israel", "La Velliv"
CATTANEO, N. - "Le nozze"
CATTEDEA, G. - "La cameriera del biancoscuro"
CATTELANI, Ferruccio - "Alchubalo"
CECCARINI, A. - "Clea", "Donna Rion"
CELLINI, Emidio - "Stefania", "Vendetta tarda"
CERQUARELLI, Giuseppe - "Ettore Fieramosca", "Medio evo"
CHIAPPANI, Carlo - "I solitari all'ultima occasione"
CHIODI, N. - "La schiava bianca"
CICCONANI, Giuseppe - "Il figlio del mare"
CICCIA, A. - "Carando la via"
CILEA, Francesco - "Adriana Landstraut", "L'Arlesiana", "Cloria", "La Tilde"
CIPOLLINI, Gaetano - "Gennarello", "Nanon da Lencles", "Il piccolo Hadyn"
CIPIRELLI, Fortunato - "Irene"
CUNNEI, Alfredo - (see DONIETTI)
CLEMENTI, Filippo - "La pellesina", "Vanda"
COCCHI, G. - "Per la patria"
COCOLO, Luigi - "Aldino di Cittadella", "Terzo Africano"
COLLINA, Francesco Saverio - "La fornarina"
COLLINO, Federico - "La canzone del filo", "La scuola", "Mondo vicino"
CONSELLINI, L. - "La tradita"

CONCINA, Giulio: "Ne l'Arzema"
CONSIGLIO, Attilio: "Orara"
CONSOGLINI, Giovanni: "Il Conte di Salto"
CONTI, A.: "Cosimo di Gandia"
CONTI, Fedelio: "Il dioco", "Manda"
COOP, Ernesto: "Nemata", "Terresa Radein"
COPPELLO, G.: "Una partita a scacchi"
COPPOLA, Pietro: "Nikita", "Sirmione"
COPPOLA, Raffaele: "La fidanzata di Coriata"
CORDARA, Carlo: "Eveliccia domestica", "La locandiera", "Il mistero", "La tentazione di Gesù", "Valdellora", "Il volo"
CORONARO, Antonio: "Falso di Celebrin"
CORONARO, Arrigo: "Turicchi"
CORONARO, Gabriele: "Un curioso accidente", "Il malcarate"
CORONARO, Gallo Benvenuto: "Bettorio", "Claudia", "Pasta e Maxina"
CORRADI, D.: "Githa"
CORTOFASSI, Domenico: "Santa poesia"
COSTA, N.: "Jara", "Mazzet", "La sacra dei frinonelli"
COSTA, Pasquale Masio: "Il capitano Francesco"
COSTANTINO, L.: "Mai Sembraione"
COTTRAU, Giulio: "Cordelia", "Imelda"
COWEN, Frederick: "Sioma"
CRISCUOLO, A.: "Cicinda"
CUNEO, Anselmo Francesco: "Serfina d'Albania"
CUNZO, ?.: "Annita di Madrin"
CURTI, E.: "Triste amore"
CUSCINA, Alfredo: "Hadda", "Recina"
CUSINATI, Petruccio: "Medora", "Tredite"
DALLAMORE, Ugo: "La fine di Franz Moor", "Il matrimonio di Bembolina", "Tristi nozze"
DALL'ARGINE, Luigi: "Chizzine"
D'ALLESSANDER, Michele: "Rarvald"
DALL'OLIO, Cesare: "Atai-Kis"
D'ANGELO, Andrea: "L'innocente"
DANIELI, Silvio: "Jeette Rudei"
DANNECKER, G.: "Metinka", "Fiala", "Silvio e Lara"
DARCEE, Jan de Heruistart: "La elettrettesca"
DE VENEZIA, Franco: "Il Comino azzurro"
DAVICO, Vincenzo: "La donnessa"

DE ANGELIS, Arturo - "La contessa Clara", "Malavita", "La tempesta", "Vale rossa"
 DE ANGELIS, Teofilo - "Vigilia di notte"
 DE CRESCIZIO, Giuseppe - "Eudantino"
 DEL BONO, G. - "Tuscolana"
 DE LEVA, Enrico - "La Comare"
 DEL FANTE, R. - "La tempesta"
 DELLE GRAZIE, G. - "Atala e i selvaggio"
 DEL LEON, R. - "I francesi nel Tirolo"
 DELL'ORSO, G. - "Dan Chissiotte"
 DE LORENZI-FABRIS, Ausonio - "Gli adoratori del fuoco", "Maometto II", "Kafurum decastorum", "Il re si annolia"
 DEL PINTO, G. - "In Sardegna"
 DEL VALLE DE PAZ, Esacordo - "Orlando"
 DE MIERO, R. - "Marsena"
 DE NARDIS, Camillo - "Un botto alla roscina", "Strillo"
 DEOLA, L. - "Amica"
 DIBALANCO, Federico - "Tess"
 DE ROSSI, M. Pietro - "Fedele"
 DE SANTI, Victor - "Il macigno"
 DE TEORA, Pincoise - "Quarantima d'amore"
 DE VITA, I. - "Amore la vince"
 DE WYCKLES, G. - "Fredda"
 DIANA, A. - "Carmela"
 DI CARNO, Pasquale - "Strida"
 DI LUNGI, Gabriele - "Kissalillo"
 DONAUDY, Stefano - "Polchallo", "Scampagnata", "Sperduti nel buio", "Theodor Moernack"
 DONDI, F. - "Rita"
 DOMINI, Assuntino - "Ciudadilla"
 DONNETTI, Alfredo (pseud. of Alfredo Cimatti) - "Dove l'ave Maria", "Nana", "La nozze delle Tindaridi"
 D'ARICO, G. - "Luigia De La Valliera"
 ERICO, Riccardo - "La Corte d'Asur"
 DUPONT, Gabriel - "La bebetta"
 ERCOLANI, G. - "Jon Cirillo", "Il figlio del Turidde", "Alla macchina"
 ESPOSITO, Michele - "Il berghese gentiluomo", "Cometa"

FALCHI, Eneasde - "Il figlio del diavolo"
FALCHIERI, M. - "Il bandito"
FALCONI, E. - "Cris e amore"
FANTOZZI, S. - "Le ossessioni"
FARA, Giulio Mario - "Ella"
FARA-MUSIO, Giovanni - "La bella d'Alchere",
FARFA, Alberto - "L'incontenuto", "Orphis",
FAIO, L.G. - "Friedemann Bach"
FEDDI, Vito - "Svanoo", "Versovia", "Le vergine della montagna"
FERRARI, Emilio - "L'aver", "Il cantico dei cantici",
FERRARI-TRENTI, Luigi - "Il cervaro", "Tirallia", "Galvina", "Il piccolo montano", "Regina Ester",
FERRETO, Andrea - "L'amore di un onciolo", "Fantasma", "Idillio trevico", "Gli sinezzi",
FERRE, Giuseppe - "Chosin", "Maledetta",
FERRONI, Vincenzo - "Il carbonaro", "Ettore Fieramosca", "Il profeta velato di Kotzsch", "Rudello",
FERRI, J. - "La cricetta",
FERRARI, Lorenzo - "Fior di mare", "Manuel Mendez", "Messidoro", "Il suono di Frisa",
FERRARI, A. - "La morte"
FINO, Cleonide - "Il battista", "Cambano e doria", "La festa del grano", "Naemi e Ruth", "Prati del'oro", "Le pietre e il capot",
FIORE, P. - "Il bacio delle Nive",
FISSORE, Antonio - "Il cartello di Brivio",
FLORIDIA, Pietro - "La colonia libera", "Marutta", "Pauletta",
FONTANA, L. - "Rosella",
FONTI, E. - "Una partita a scacchi",
FORNARI, Vincenzo - "Un dramma in vendemmia",
FORTE, M. - "Gieretta la parcinisa",
FRACASSI, Elmirico - "Finlandia",
FRANCETTI, Alberto - "Cristoforo Colombo", "La figlia di Jeria", "Fier d'alpe", "Gestania", "Notte di leggenda",
FRONTE, Giovanni - "Cala Peace",
FRONTINI, Francesco Paolo - "Il teleoniere", "Malia", "Marussa",
FURLOTTI, Arnaldo - "La seme-ranza",

GALCOTTI, Cesare - "Anton", "La Dorina",
GALLI, Ambrosc - "David",
GALLI, G. - "Matis Antonietta"

GALLIERA, Arnaldo - "Le arrose", "Tribù"
GALLICIANI, Giuseppe - "Lucia di Getisfania"
GALLISAY, P. - "Rosalia"
GALLONI, Adolfo - "I quattro insidiosi"
GAMINO, Adolfo - "Jouffe Rudel"
GARCIA DE LA TORRE, A. - "Rosalia"
GASCO, Alberto - "La leggenda delle sette torri"
GASPARI, Jolita - "Ester", "Misia"
CASTALDON, Stanislao - "Mata Pasquazi", "Il Pater", "Il sonetto di Dante", "Stellina"
GAZZOTTI, Luigi - "La processione"
GENOVESE, P. - "Bellavde", "Marcella Dubois", "Merzaldina"
GENTILI, Alberto - "Eufemia estiva", "La notte di Natale"
GENTILI, S. - "I tirolesi"
GESSI, A. e G. - "Mastro Dottore e la sua opera"
GHEDINI, Giorgio Federico - "Grimodina"
GHIN, Francesco - "Il sante"
GIACOMANTONIO, Stanislao - "Fior d'alpe"
GIARDINI, Gaetano - "La butera", "I due sposi", "La novella"
GIANNARELLI, Vincenzo - "Tracce nere"
GIANNETTI, Giovanni - "Canto alla festa di Purim", "Corte e babilon", "Por Marzio", "L'Erubo", "Milena", "Il Maestro",
GIANNETTI, E. - "Madonnetta"
GIARDA, Luigi Stefano - "Lord Giorgio Byron", "Raietto"
GIORDANO, Umberto - "Andree Chentis", "Padora", "Madama Sans-Gene", "Mala vita", "Marcella", "Mese mariano", "Regina Dias",
GNAGA, Andrea - "Gualtiero Swarten"
GNOCCHI, Vittorio - "Cassandra", "Virtù d'amore"
GODATTI, Stefano - "Masia"
GONDI, Carlo - "Conder"
GRAGNANI, Emilio - "La vendemmia"
GRANIGNA, P. - "Graciella"
GRANELLI, Edoardo - "Anna Karenina", "Redente"
GRANUCCIO, C. - "Nota Lux"
GUARDONE, P. - "Clotilde d'Amalfi"
GUARNERI, Francesco - "La gran sera", "Yvona"
GUSTOBI, Emilia - "Ave Maria", "Nada Detvic"
GUERRIERI, Fulgenzio - "Ratto Marchese! En Avant!"
GUERRINI, Guido - "Zalabj"
GUALIELMI, Filippo - "Eusemudi", "Il Pater", "Pareolosi"
GULI, Vittorio - "David"

NEEL, Alfredo: - "Irene"

LACERTI, Guido - "La contessa di San Remo", "Hoffmann", "Il miscelato".
LACE, F. - "Sabina".
LANZI, Umberto: - "Siena", "Il Petrucci".
LARI, Dante: - "Jala".
LA SCOTTELLA, Pasquale: - "Enea", "Fama", "Ivan".
LAZZARI, Raffaele - "La contessa d'Esmond", "Demetrio".
LAZZARINI, G. - "Ginevra".
LEBAN, E. - "La moglie candida".
LEBOCOTT, E. - "Rose rosse".
LE BORNE, Fernand - "Hedda".
LESCAVALLE, Ruggero: - "Le bohème", "Chatterton", "Edno ra", "Maia", "I Medici", "Faciocci", "Roberto di Berlino", "Zsazs".
LEONI, Carlo: - "Nadino", "Ucheno".
LEONI, Franco: - "Le baruffe chiosate", "Salerno", "Processo de Rimini", "L'arconte", "Reccio di Iowa", "La targa del sogno".
LOMBARD, L. - "Ertisonola".
LOMBARDI, F. - "Tessa".
LOSCHI, Anselmo: - "Nel Samsol".
LOSCI, Enrico: - "Nata".
LOTTI, Alfredo: - "Asteraida".
LOZZI, Antonio: - "Bianca Capelle", "Elitit di vita", "Emma Liona", "Eraldo", "Mirandolina", "Vittoria", "Le vergini".
LUAZZI, Antonio: - "Il santico", "Le furie di Attechino", "Coerim marchino", "Le rose di Saron".
LUCANTONIO, L. - "Erminia".
LUCCHERINI, T. E. - "Dora".
LUPORINI, Sastano: - "L'adulto e le cianche", "Le soliani di Pasour", "I dispetti amorosi", "Marie de Lacrois".
LUZZI, A. L. - "Teresa".

MAFFIUCOLI, Napolitano - "Daniela", "Raffaello Sansio"

MASLIGCO, Francesco - "Dolores"
MACHO, C. - "Metà Veneta"
MADANI, Ernesto - "Il svelarsi d'amore"
MADONE-MONTANA, V. - "Luca"
MALLIPERO, Gian Francesco - "Gemma", "Elena e Fulgano", "Il suono d'un lontano"
MANGANELLI, Luigi - "Ero e tendro", "Solo e Francesca", "Sono d'una notte d'estate", "Tizianello"
MANGINI, C. - "Le duellie"
MANGANELLI, C. - "Gonnella"
MANINI, Alfredo - "Gensia", "Fascino", "Halia", "Minuetto degli anelli", "Pasta la tonda", "Picchiunio", "Sidda"
MANNO, V. - "Ven Dvok"
MANELLA, G. - "Ivan"
MARENCO, Remedio - "Federico Struense"
MARIANI CAMPOLETTI, Virginia - "Dai suono alla vita"
MARIOLI, E. - "Noma"
MARINUZZI, Gino - "Garbina", "Jacozie"
MARION, M. - "Estelinda"
MARIOTTI, Mesto - "Una tramanda isorantina"
MAROCCO, A. - "La fiabata dell'evaiore"
MARRACINO, A. - "Corrado"
MARIEV, Armando - "Vendetta corsa"
MARTINI, Ettore - "Yotic"
MARZANO, L. - "Strella"
MASCALI, A. - "La debote"
MASCIONI, Pietro - "Amica", "L'amico Fritz", "Cavalleria rusticana", "Gualtiero Matelli", "Tris", "Isabella", "Lodovica", "La maschera", "Parisi", "I Ruffini", "Silvano", "Zanetto"
MASCIONI, Anacle - "Mal d'amore"
MASCIONI, Edoardo - "Lorenzo", "La beruina"
MASE, R. - "Teresa Navarone"
MASSETI, Umberto - "Vindice"
MASSA, Nicola - "Eros"
MATTIOLI, Guiseppe - "Patrizia"
MAZZUCCI, A. - "Fides"
MEDINA, F. - "La Minerva", "Nadia d'Algera"
MEDINI, Giacomo - "La maschera", "La tradita"
MELLONI, P. - "Il revere Torallo"
MENEGAZZI, Luigi - "Accando", "La ciranesa"
MENICCHETTI, G. - "Hex"
MERGURI, Armando - "Cecilia", "Provenza"
MERLI, C. - "Melinda"
MEGGI, P. - "Annelena"
MEGLI, Giuseppe - "Atala", "Un eroe di Berna", "Giuditta"

MICHETTI, Vincenzo - "Missa di Maddalena"
 MIGLIO, A. - "Nannarella"
 MILDENBERG, A. - "Rafficello"
 MINO, Emilio - "I mafiosi"
 MINUTO, Luigi - "Il trionfo d'amore"
 MINUCCI, P. - "Triste bella"
 MODONI, A. - "I due rivali in amore", "Nose inkauste"
 MONTEFIORE, Tommaso - "Alba evlova", "Arabasca", "Cavalleria rusticana", "Suona la tizista"
 MONTANELLI, Archimede - "Giuliana"
 MONTEFIORE, Tommaso - "Cecilia"
 MONTEMERZI, Italo - "L'amore del tre re", "Sianca", "Giovanni Gallurese", "Rallars", "La nave"
 MONTI, I. - "Nelly"
 MONTICO, Domenico - "Cedere", "Sofia Cleroval", "vittos"
 MORTILLA, R. M. - "Vendetta zinostrera"
 MORELLI, M. - "L'amica Franzese"
 MORZACCHI, E. - "Bretagne"
 MORO, P. - "L'ultima ora di Torquato Tasso"
 MOROSINI, A. - "Nella"
 MURNONE, Leopoldo - "Il birichino", "Vita brattone"
 MULE, Giuseppe - "La baronessa di Carini", "Al lupo"

 NAPOLITANO, Daniele - "Il profeta velato del Korsan", "Villa Girment"
 NARDELLI, L. - "Zivada"
 NERENUCENO, Alberto - "Abul"
 NINI-BELLUCCI, I. - "Lisette"
 NORSA, Vittorio - "Antony"

 ODDONE-SULLI-RAO, Elisabetta - "La osanna cadente", "A core con le rancini"
 ONGERI, Alessandro - "Paravucolo", "Biancolistere"
 ORFICE, Giacomo - "Cecilia", "Cherin", "Consuelo", "Il gladiatore", "Mosa", "Pene alardi", "Radda"
 ORSINI, Alfonso Tosi - "Yeribis"
 ORSINI, Antonio - "Per l'amore"
 ORSINI, Giuseppe - "Celeste"
 OTTOLENGHI, Aldo - "Pambros"
 OTTOLENGHI, G. - "Spogliatone", "Redellio"

PACCHIEROTTI, Ubaldo - "L'abello", "Zidabreca mia!", "La lamada", "Il sento".
 PACINI, Giuseppe - "Alessandria"
 PADOVANI, Alfredo - "Il cavallio Fierdoi"
 PACURA, A. - "Acciata"
 PALUMBO, Costantino - "Pier Luoi Ferrese".
 PANIZZA, Ettore - "Aurea", "Il fidanzato del mare", "Medio ero istino"
 PANZAIN, Edoardo - "Biondello", "Simona"
 PANNOCCHIA, U. - "Come la ciotiera".
 PARELLI, Attilio - "Hermes", "I disottosi esanti".
 PARODI, A. - "Ereunia".
 PASINI, F. - "Don Chisciotte".
 PASIGNI, L. - "I due riveili".
 PAULETTO, E. - "Marse Polp".
 PAVAN, Giuseppe - "Alba".
 PAVANELLI, Lamberto - "Vanna"
 PEDROLLO, Attilio - "Giuditta", "Jusna", "Kossumunda", "La terra promessa", "L'uomo che ride", "La vedlia".
 PELLIZZONE, A. - "Arnida e Rinaldo", "Emmelinda"
 PENNACCHIO, Giovanni - "Etica", "Redenzione".
 PERIGAZZO, Lorenzo - "Milo Stendiz", "Kosa Brinoh".
 PERILLI, Massimino - "Ito".
 PERONI, Alessandro - "La beffa", "Il maestro di Cavallette".
 PEROSI, Mariano - "Jenny", "Pompeii".
 PEROSIO, Ettore - "Per l'amore"
 PEROTTI, Cesare - "Staba"
 PESTALOZZA, Alberto - "Le avventure di Paolocecio", "I pescatori di San Leo".
 PIERI, Giuseppe - "Celindimsoio", "Ruv Biso"
 PIERACCINI, Mario - "Fiume", "Giovane Italia", "Il sole di occhi verdi"
 PIERANGELI, Anacleto - "L'emiso fiamato", "Covelliera rustico-romana"
 PIGATTI, O. - "L'isola d'oro"
 PIGNALESI, L. - "Fortunelle"
 PIGNA, G. B. - "La vedova"
 PIGNANO, G. - "La rosa rossa"
 PIGNANO, F. - "Celeste"

PIZZETTI, Lidabrando - "Il Cid", "Sedra", "Gisulietta e Romeo", "Sabina"
PIZZI, Emilio - "Editha", "Gabriella", "Rosalba", "Vanità e amore", "Vendetta"
PIZZANI, Pietro - "Spartaco"
POGGI, Edoardo - "Bufera d'amore", "Inferno"
POGGIORELLI, L. - "Pierrot e Pierrette"
PRAMPOLINI, G. - "Don Abbondio"
PRATELLA, Francesco Ezilia - "L'evistore Ezo", "Lilla", "La Sina d'Arsoor"
PUCCINI, Giacomo - "La bohème", "La fanciulla del West", "Cisani Schischia", "Madama Butterfly", "Manon Lescaut", "La rondine",
"Spot Anselica", "Il tabarro", "Tosca"
GURCETTI, Domenico - "Nel tempo della luna", "San Venanzio"
RACCELLA, Vittorio - "Amore oculto", "La donna del Martunkel", "Schubert", "Supremo via"
RATTELLI, V. - "La buona figliuola", "Partita d'onore"
RACCHIANTI, Impolito - "Jean-Marie"
RAGNI, Guido - "Nelle d'amore"
RANDECKER, Alberto Iainio - "L'ombra di Werther"
RAFISARDI, G. - "I miei"
RABONI, Riccardo - "Nazione"
RAVASINGA, Carlo - "Una traversia fiorentina"
RANELLI, Alessandro - "Redenzione", "La vampa"
RAVERA, Nicola Terese - "Flamma"
RENDANO, Alfredo - "Consueti"
RESPICHI, Ottorino - "Ra Enzo", "Semirama"
RESTRANO, Antonio - "Marchesella d'Orleans"
RICCI, Ettore - "Sult Rozza"
RICCIARELLI, Primo - "Maria sul marie"
RIGHETTI, Giacomo - "La figlia di Jeto"
ROSIANI, Iainio - "Esvelia"
ROCHE, A. P. - "Una di Monierito"
RODRIGUEZ, S. R. - "Amar lirano", "Jeba", "Merle d'amore"
ROGGERO, Giuseppe Paolo - "Il canto del cigno"
ROMANI, Romano - "Festa", "Rosanna", "Zulce"
ROMANIELLO, Luic - "Rida"
ROMANINI, R. - "Al campo"
ROMANO, Enrico - "Jery e Bstel"
RONZI, Pollicio - "Daa"

ROSSI, Cesare. - "Ca ira", "I fadditivi", "Madama", "Il piccolo Nelson", "Pirochias al fronte".
ROSSI, Federico. - "I Rumakal".
ROSSI, Giovanni. - "Marta Sans".
ROVERONI, C. - "L'amore di un anozzo".

SABATELLI, Salvatore. - "Gismonda Belmonte".
SACCHI, V. - "Gli amori".
SABENE, A. - "Aminta", "Florencia".
SABARA, Enzo. - "La furia somata", "Lionello", "Mademoiselle de Eitelstein", "La malire", "Rhes", "Storia d'amore".
SANTILLAS, Alexandre. - "Rennell", "Le roitte".
SANTORCI, Filippo. - "Orlando furioso".
SANTA, G. - "Della".
SANTILLAS, Francesco. - "La scuola di Meina", "Tribuna".
SANTONCITO, Sante. - "La coccarda".
SASSANO, S. - "Anna Karolina".
SAVASTA, Antonio. - "Galatea", "Vera".
SAY, P. - "Jeanne Rudin".
SARANO, Grano Maria. - "Pecheta".
SCHENARDI, T. - "Sera".
SCHINELLI, Achille. - "La leggenda di Giuliana".
SCHINA, A. - "Biancofiore".
SCOTRINO, Antonio. - "La cortisana", "Grinzoire".
SCORRANO, A. - "Il mercato di Malmantile".
SEBASTIANI, Carlo. - "Georges Dandin", "A San Francesco".
SESHI-DODA, A. - "Jole".
SEPELLI, Armando. - "La simpatia", "La nave rossa".
SERACIOTTO, Carlo. - "A Canaceo".
SERRA, G. - "Gabriele".
SERACIOTTO, Giacomo. - "Adriene Lecouvreur", "Il martellaccio", "La scorta di Mezz", "L'ultimo degli Abenezragi".
SERRI-PROPI, A. - "Merceda".
SICCHI DI SAN MARZANO, A. - "Il trionfo d'emore".
SIMEONI, S. - "Marionita".
SINGACIA, Leon. - "L'abito".
SMAZELLA, Antonio. - "Abisso", "Cornelius Sabuta", "La zaina", "Nozze intrise", "Oceano".
SODER, D. - "Paolo Giordano".
SOPREDDINI, Alfedo. - "Aurea", "La coppa d'oro", "Caccarella", "Il leone", "Battatorella", "Terolcio".
SOLARI, T. - "Voltera".
SONACCI, P. - "Alerico il sanguinario".

SONZOGNO, A. - "Metis al Colosso"
SPETRINO, Francesco - "Celeste"
SPINELLI, Nicola - "A beso certo", "Labiliz"
STORTI, Riccardo - "Venezia"
SUDANO, P. - "Monda"
SUDESI, N.P. - "Sundance"

TACCHIO, L. - "Absolon"
TANARA, Giulio - "Nasika", "Vandata abruzzese"
TARALLO, F. - "Aralia"
TARANTINI, Gaetano - "Manuel Garcia", "Marion Delorme", "Maxitana", "La principessa di Valdezzi"
TARFUGHI, Mario - "Gata antisa", "Merzella", "La notte di Quarta"
TARCA, Pierantonio - "Petrolesii", "A Santa Lucia"
TETSCHI, Luigi Maurizio - "Joelina"
TESSARO, A. - "Giovanni Huss"
TERRACONON, Eraldo - "L'assedio di Canella", "Un'astoria d'amore"
THOMAS, R.A. - "La fata in prigionia"
TIRINDELLI, Pier Adolfo - "Atenaida", "Eiano et noir"
TITTA, Ettore - "Metena"
TOMMASINI, Vincenzo - "Madec", "Umbra fortuna"
TOSI, Enrico - "Lee"
TRIMACCHI, P. - "Rita Ferrant"

TROVATI, Vilas - "Le Nereide"
TRUCCO, Edoardo - "Gli Arimanni", "Eber", "Theora"
TUBI, Angelo - "Benvenuto Cellini"

URIEN, N. - "Una notte nel Getseto"

VALENTE, Vincenzo - "L'Avvocato Truffaldini", "Donna Panuella", "Lena", "Rolandino", "Sopra solita", "La sposa di Cherolite"

VALLARD, G. - "Yvonne"
 VALLINI, E. - "Sordello"
 VALLINI, Pietro - "Il voto", "Uffirezo"
 VASIANCHI, Arturo - "In alto mare", "Fidelia", "La nave"
 VAN NESTERHOFF, Nisele - "Cimbelino", "Dona Flop", "Fortunio"
 VANO, Vittoria Maria - "Edico ten"
 VARESE, S. - "Merino"
 VAVALLI, G. - "Nel conlizzo", "Leonida", "Tisbe"
 VEZZIANI, Vittorio - "La badia di Pomposa", "La leggenda del leco", "La morte di Baiardo", "Paisina"
 VERCELLONE, G. - "Le fate bisogne"
 VERDI, Giuseppe - "Falstaff"
 VIGNI, Giuseppe - "Ginevra"
 VIRGILI, A. - "I rivelli"
 VIRGILIO, Roberto - "Jenna"
 VISCARDINI, C. - "Sull'erma"
 VITALI, Mario - "Almanacco", "Romana"
 VITTIOLI, A. - "Palazzo"
 VOLF-FERRARI, Ermanno - "L'Amor medico", "Cenerentola", "Le donne curiose", "I gioielli della Madonna", "Irene", "I quattro custodi", "Il segreto di Susanna"
 ZACARI, G. - "I cavalieri"
 ZANCA, P. - "Tide"
 ZANDONAI, Rocco - "Donchiscote", "Le coupe del re", "Francesco de Rimini", "Il grillo del focolare", "Malpais", "L'uccellino d'oro", "Le vie delle finestre"
 ZANELLA, Amleto - "Aure"
 ZANETTI, U. - "Madre"
 ZANOTTI, G. - "Francesco Sforza"
 ZARDO, N. - "La vedova scaltra"
 ZARDO, R. - "Abi e Galies"
 ZARNIT, F. - "Il dramma"
 ZIGNONI, T. - "Lena"
 ZILIOI, G. - "Lina di Dovera"
 ZOROLI, A. - "Notte tranquilla"

SECTION THREE

** LIBRETTIST CATALOGUE **
** **
** LIBRETTIST CATALOGUE **
** **

The following catalogue provides an alphabetical listing by surname of all Italian and foreign librettists included in the Master Catalogue, together with the titles (also in alphabetical order) of those librettis written by each librettist for operas completed during the period 1890-1920 inclusive.

- A'BECKETT, Gilbert: Abbott - "Giene"
- ADAMI, Giuseppe - "Ezra", "La rondine", "Il tabarro", "La via della finestra".
- ADOLFI, Edoardo - "Marcella"
- ALBANI, Pietro - "Le trevise"
- ALESSANDRI, E. - "Deyda"
- ALFIERI, Luigi - "La castellana", "Vanina"
- ALFONSI, G. - "Juno"
- ALLEGRA, Salvatore - "Adelina"
- ALZIATOR, A. - "Il bairi"
- AMADEO, G. - "Il piccolo monarca"
- ANDREONI, P. - "Fatma"
- AMIEL, Antonio - "Manuel Menendez"
- ANNIBALDI, G. - "Redenzione"

ANTONA-TRAVERSARI, Camillo:- "La Du Barry", "Risurrezione", "Rondinella".

ARAJA, S. :- "Hotel Venere"

ARKEI, S. :- "Eritike"

ARRICHI, Cletto:- "Il Natale"

ARRICHI, Giovanni:- "Dopo l'Ass Maria"

ARRICONI, G. :- "Fiaschi"

ARMUPELLI, G. :- "Simma"

AUTERI-POMAR, Michele:- "Il severo Torelli"

BACCINI, Ido:- "Reillon"

BACI, A. :- "Celeste"

BARTOCCHI-FONTANA, G.D. :- "Claudio", "Don Paolo", "Maiz Passau"

BARTOLI, Matteo Grivato:- "Giorcimb"

BEGGI, Annibale:- "Sabina"

BEISSER, F. :- "Vendetta torse"

BEITRANELLI, Antonio:- "La nave rossa"

BENCO, Silvia:- "Abissini", "Cekovec", "Eien e Fulgano", "La farsa", "Ossana"

BENELLI, Sma:- "L'amore dei tre re"

BERARDI, Domenico:- "I titolesti"

BERNARDI, Carlo:- "La sposa di Corinto"

BERNI, E. :- "Pinnocchio al fronte"

BERTA, Edoardo Augusto:- "Paraj del '59"

BERTOLAZZI, Carlo:- "Nel sona de Milan"

BETTINI, Pompeo:- "Rei e Galatze"

BETTOLI, Ferruccio:- "Silvio e Lara"

BEY, Dietel Esad:- "Schabon"

BIANCHI, Vittorio:- "Reizmann", "Manuel Hernandez", "Patri", "Ruit hota", "Il sono di Fida", "Stellina"

BIANCHINI, Bebi:- "Redda"

BIGNOTTI, A. :- "La crisalide", "Reimera"

BIANGINI, C.A. :- "Il bandite", "Nennella", "Ressella"

BOITA, Arioso:- "Ere e leandre", "Falsafie", "Madonetta", "Pier Luca Farness"

BONASPETTI, Giuseppe:- "I mafiosi"

BONETTI, E. :- "Il cioco"

BONELLI, Giovanni:- "Asteroides"

BORRA, G. :- "Pembas"

BORCINI, A. :- "La bella d'Aghero"

BOSSARIN-DEONELLI, O. :- "Rosetta"

BOSSOLI, G. :- "In Sarcota"

PRONA, F. - "Gala d'oro"
BUTTI, Enrico Annibale - "La furia demote"
BYRNE, Charles Alfred - "Gabriella".

CADORE, C. - "Delio"
CADRINO, I. - "Gauze Rudei"
CAFAO, V. - "Sabba"
DRONA, B. - "Le fate bianche"
CAIN, Henri - "La cebra", "Mercoledì"
CALEGARI, R. - "Vambo"
CANTARANO, Goffredo - "Un bacio alla regina"
CAMPAGOLA, G. - "Zalebi"
CAMPANELLI, P. - "Anni di Noè"
CAMPANINI, N. - "Patris"
CAMPESA, S. - "Crispino in via"
CANTI, N. - "Londra"
CAPPUZZI, Alberto - "Le tona rosse"
CAPPÀ, Innocenzo - "Alessandra"
CAPUANA, Luigi - "Il fittor", "Mida"
CAVUTO, Michele Carlo - "Grasella"
CARRARA, V. - "Varnavio"
CARRA, Leopoldo - "Ghiemonda"
CARTONE, V. - "La principessa"
CARUSATI, Romeo - "Il estroter", "Il fidanzato del mare"
CASALINA, G. - "Aretusa"
CASSONE, Giuseppe - "Valda"
CASTANO, R. - "Alarico il semominario"
CASTELLI, Giuseppe - "Stefania"
CASTELLINO, C.A. - "Rosie d'Alcanta"
CAVACCHIOLI, Enrico - "Il donzello", "I feocchi di San Giovanni", "Pakten", "Zinotti"
CAVALERO, S. - "Gli Arimanni"
CAVALLO, A. - "Nel cantiere"
CECI, G. - "Gonnella", "Triste amore"
CECATTI, Mario - "Il canto di Francesco", "Fautta", "In Umbric"
CENE, A. - "Semitama"
CERVI, C. - "Francesco Storzi"
CESARINO, L. - "Madina"
CESTARI, Pascual - "Abasion"

CHAMPAGNE, Felicien - "Il raccolto di Caerliona".
CHECCHI, Eucenio - "A basso porto", "Marie Duica", "Percelles".
CHIESA, G. - "La sposa del re".
CHIODI, Waldemar - "Fischel".
CHIOSSO, Rente - "I pescatori di San Leo".
CHOUDENS, Paul de - "Amica", "Masa".
CIMINO, Gierolo Tommaso - "La cecchiolana".
CIMINO, Francesco - "Consuelo".
CICCOLINI, Antonio - "Demarcello", "Minn de Lenoles", "Il piccolo Madra".
CIVININI, Gualtero - "La fanciulla del West".
COCCANARI-MARCONI, E. - "Percelles".
COLANTUONI, Alberto - "L'albatro", "La cinnabroma mia", "Fintandia", "Dancucio", "Il maciano", "Malma",
"Ruy Sica", "La scara dei fraducelli".
COLAUTTI, Arturo - "Adriano Leconceur", "Danz Flor", "Fasma", "Pedora", "Fidelis", "Pior di neve", "Gloria", "Morgana",
"Rudelf".
COLLIN, P. - "Amica".
COMITTI, Enrico - "I disvelati amanti", "Hermes".
CONCARI, T. - "Aminta".
CONFORTI, Luigi - "Grazielle", "Il profeta velato".
CONTINI, V. - "Ettore Fieramosca".
CORDELLA, V. - "Grinacire".
CORRONATI, G. - "Erastona".
CORTELLA, A. - "Il cavaliere d'amore", "Evangelina", "Marinka", "Festa", "La sera di Valparaiso", "Vendette arda".
COSCIASCHI, Eusebio - "Isabella Orsini".
COSENTINO, S. - "Jerba".
CRISAPULI, Donatice - "Cicilde d'Amalfi", "La vendetta".
DA BASSANO, J. - "Yvonne".
DALLARCHI, D. - "La fidanzata di Corinto".
D'AMBRA, Lucio - "Yentha".
D'ANGELANTONIO, Francesco - "Giovanni Galluresa", "Rada".
D'ANZELLI, Andrea - "Editha", "Myrtilla".
D'ANNUNZIO, Gabriele - "Fedra", "La fiella di Josio", "Parolina".
DABBI, G. - "Devo la sciala".
DASPURIO, Niccolò - "L'amicco Fritz", "La coltina di Pesosa", "Joan", "Misa vita", "Marie de Lecroix", "Renata".
DE AMICIS, Edoardo - "Caterina".

DE ANGLIIS, Augusto: "La principessa"
DE BONIS, G.: "Il cieco".
DE CARLI, C.: "Juana".
DE FRANCESCO, P.: "Il tribuno d'amore".
DE LARA, F.: "Bufera estiva".
DELLA V.: "Luna di Montorio".
DELLA PORTA, Ettore: "La locandiera".
DEL ROSSI, G.: "Erminia".
DELSA, P.: "Stella".
DE LUCA, F.: "Maria Antonietta", "Que veidis?".
DE LUCA, Pasquale: "Aina", "Il borghese gentiluomo", "Il poeta", "Vale fosse".
DE MACCHI, Emilio: "Reneival".
DE ROBERTO, A.: "Lusia".
DESBARNAI, P.: "Rosella".
DIACCINI, T.: "Alenide".
DI EGNASCIO, C.: "Il matrimonio scioccato".
DI CAGLIOSTRO, R.: "Don Chisciotte".
DI CROLLANZA, G.: "Ecca".
DI GIACOMO, Salvatore: "L'abate", "Glorietta la melonata", "O' Munasterio", "Resurrez rapita".
DI NUNNO, G.G.: "Maestro Giordano".
DI SETA, G.E.: "Vera".
DONADUJ, Alberto: "Jaccaria", "Messidoro", "Reina", "Scorduti nel buio", "Theodor Körner".
DOMINI, Alberto: "Al mulino", "Re Enzo".
EONZELLI, V.: "Ivana".
D'ORREVILLE, Carlo: "Celeste", "Loreley".
DURANTE, G.A.: "La rapita".
DURBINO, L.: "Ede".
EDEL, Alfredo: "Vanita e amore".
EMANUELI, Gaetano: "Il castello Franzese", "Zingari".
FAZIANI, Enrico: "Rosana".
FABIETTI, Ettore: "Nedra".
FADILLA-VANBO, S.: "L'assuolo".
FANTELLI, E.: "Norte infuata".
FAUST, H.: "Neta lus".

PAVILLA, B. - "Elio"
PERAL, G. - "Irene"
FERRARI, C. - "Un'estusia d'amore"
FERRARI, Francesco A. - "L'evro"
FERRER, Alfonso - "La breva e 'l espol"
FERRIER, P. - "Hedde"
FERRINO, F. - "Luise de la Valliere"
FINO, Saverio - "Il battista", "Campese e gloria"
FINZI, Ida - "Aurea"
FIORE, Salvatore - "Nenni e Ruth"
FIORE, Vitorio - "Ivan"
FIORENTINO, E. - "I due soci"
FIERES, Ugo - "Bianca Cappello", "Elizix di vita", "L'incantesimo", "Mirandolina", "Il tempesta", "Il trillo del diavolo", "Irrite"
FLORIDA, M. - "Jery e Batsiv"
FOGO, R. - "L'ultima ora di Torquato Tasso"
FONTANA, Ferdinando - "La forza d'amore", "Lionella", "Mai d'amore", "La Necessite", "Il signor di Pourcestrance"
FONTANA, Vitorio - "Festa a Merino"
FORZANO, Gioveschino - "L'equila e le colombe", "Edipo re", "Eurillo", "Galvina", "Gianni Schicchi", "Lodoletto"
FRANCESCO, P. E. - "Caterina", "Milo Staudia"
FRANCHI, Attilio - "L'ombra di Vether"
FRANCI, Adolfo - "La prima notte"
FRANCISI, G. - "Pattia d'onore"
FRASCETTI, V. - "Cuore e baula"
FRATTINI, G. - "Plerenda"
FULCONIO, Fulvio - "Caterina", "Le nonne", "Dal sonno alla vita"
FURNO, F. - "I Roumekel"

GASIANI, Nicolo - "Il castello di Brivio"
GALDIERI, Esce G. - "Le coccarda"
GATTESCHI, Galesso - "L'oblio"
GATTI, Guido M. - "La doctressa", "Grinnoire"
GERADO, G. - "Zelina"
GRIGLANZONI, Antonio - "Aida", "Andrea del Sarto", "Celestia", "Zanna", "Eliana", "Gualtiero Swarten", "Re Isac", "Spartaco"
GRACOSA, Giuseppe - "La boheme", "Madama Butterfly", "Maxim Lescauf", "Puccini"
CIANNARELLI, A. - "Carole"
GIZZI, Giuseppe - "La bella", "Il messate di Cavallari"
GIORGICCI-CONTI, Cosimo - "L'ombra"

KAISER, Alfred - "La vendetta".
KAMEO, Severio - "Savello", "Per la patria".

LACONCIGLIOSE, A. G. - "Marcherita d'Orleans".
LADDECA, A. - "Luciano".
LAZZARI, A. - "La contessa d'Amont".
LEGA, Antonio - "Ciorind". "Lisola", "Notte d'amore", "Il cimitero", "Tombata di anime", "L'uomo che ride".
LENZONI, Alfredo - "Padre", "Il paradiso delle signore", "Zulma".
LEONCVALLO, Rocco - "Seduzione".
LEONETTI, P. - "Fier d'aise".
LEWONSKI, D. - "Speranza".
LINATI, Carlo - "Palena", "A gate con le rondini", "La terra del sogno", "La vecchia".
LOCATELLI, G. - "Riflettio".
LOMBARDI, E. - "Tissa".
LUPEROSO, E. - "Tizianello".

MACCHI, Gustavo - "La canzone del fillo", "La furtin demata", "Madie d'Alceon", "La neve", "Lo vampa", "Il veggente".
MACCHIA, Achille - "Anima infante".
MAGGI, O. - "Il capitano Fracassa".
MAMMOLI, T. - "Genio del dolore".
MANCINI, Augusto - "Santa Maria", "Serafina d'Albania".
MANCUSO, N. P. - "Bebberina".
MANTELLA-PROFUMI, P. - "Il bacio della Nixe".
MANTELLI-BOSELLI, T. - "Eufara d'amore".
MANTICA, G. - "Il padre".
MANZINI, E. - "Il severo Torelli", "Tracce nere".
MARCELLO, M. - "Il nerio".
MARCOZZI, G. - "La procella".
MARENCO, Leopoldo - "L'Abeliana", "Celeste", "Maleida".
MARGARONI-BRANCATI, G. - "Il cavaliere del sogno".
MARIANO, P. - "Sanguine bozza".
MARIANI, G. - "Pierrot e Pierrette".
MARINOTTI, L. - "La zanna del Marfinkel", "Socrate via".

MARRANO, D. O. - "Marco".
MARULLI, G. - "Il Petruccese".
MARTINELLI, A. - "Ester".
MARTINI, Pietro - "Il pedrone", "Valdifiora", "Il voto".
MAZZONI, Guido Vittorio - "La vedova scaltra".
MELANI, R. - "Walter".
MELISSARI, P. - "Clara Picciogna".
MENACCI, Guido - "Cavallaria rusticana", "I Rancan", "Regina Diar", "Sanetto".
MENIN, A. - "Celeste", "Mestra".
MENOTTI, A. - "Anna Karolina", "Eidos".
MENOTTI-SUJA, A. - "Gli smorti degli andolli", "Ave Maria", "Palma", "Marcella Dubois", "Marion Delorme", "Nema", "La vedova".
MERRUCCI, F. - "Annalena".
MERY, G. - "Donna Penita".
MICACCI, R. - "Stenodifiora".
NICOLI, D. - "Dindilla".
NIELLI, Paul - "Medesimoille de Belle-Isle", "Rhea", "Stotis d'Amore".
MIRABELLO, G. - "La fidanzata dell'aviatore".
MIRETTI, G. - "Triby".
MOBILIA, P. - "Il ferconista".
MOLINARI, V. - "L'assedio di Canali".
MONTEGRO, Giovanni - "Mia eroica", "Aratese", "Cavalleria rusticana", "Suona la ritirata", "Wenda".
MONTAGARI, A. - "Regina Ester".
MORETTI, F. - "La vicina della nonna".
MOSCHINO, Ettore - "Il miracolo", "L'ombra di Don Giovanni", "Una tresca fiorentina", "Tiziana".
MOTTINO, P. - "Il conte di Saito", "I fessativi".
MULLI, P. - "La baronessa di Carini", "Al lupo".
MUSSELLA, P. - "Il racconto di Malmantile".

MARDINI, E. - "Cafare".
MENCIONI, Enrico - "Nelly".
MESEI, Angelo - "La moglie candida", "Rondinella".
MOLLI, G. - "Sull'acqua".
MOTO, G. - "Clara d'Arta".
MOTTOLA, U. - "Idillio truceo".

OLIVA, Domenico: "Mancos Iscaut".
ORRAGES, F. - "Cento mestieri".
ORSINI, Luigi - "Il cantico", "Il figlio del mare", "La neve rossa", "L'ombra", "Passa la rondine",
"La fossa di Saron", "Venne".
ORVISTO, Antonio: "Erosin", "Nona", "Pane alicur".
OTTOLINI, Angelo - "Pambros".

PACCIARI, S. - "Ora e ancora".
PADOVANI, F. S. - "Lebidia".
PAGANI, S. - "Geta antica".
PAGLIARA, G. - "Don Maria".
PALERMI, E. - "L'ultimo esili: Abencerraj".
PALMERINI, L. M. - "La foruncina".
PALMISANI, G. B. - "Vindice".
PANZACCHI, Enrico - "Veneto".
PAVOLINI, Paolo Emilio - "Oriana".
PAZZI, G. - "Grazielle".
PERRINI, U. - "Helle".

PELAEZ, Maria - "Venezia".
PEREZ, G. - "Miron de Lencois".
PEROTTI, A. - "Vivace".
PERICHETTI, M. - "Teresa".
PERSICO, Giovanni - "Amico", "Il bastone".
PESCATI, A. - "Provenza".
PESSINA, G. - "La Comasco".
PETRIFICIONE, Euse - "Biondelle".
PETTINELLI, E. - "Medio evo".
PEZZE-PASCOLATO, Maria - "Cenerentola".
PIAZZA, Giovanni - "Il piccolo Nelson".
PIGNALISI, E. - "Fortunella".
PIGANTI-OCCHI, A. - "Malia".
PISTELLI, Brunocarlo - "La stalla di Jette".

FIZZAGALLI, A. - "Giuliana", "Joys e Maria"
FIORELLATO, Giuseppe - "I quattro custodi".
FOLA, S. - "Ada e Clelia"
FOMELLO, A. - "Stemma"
FONTICCHI, G. - "Il diritto rustico".
FOZZA, C. - "Di scór de Milan".
FRAGA, Marco - "Menon Lescaut".
FRANCINI, E. - "Le fidanzate di Corinto".
FROST, Robert Maria - "Pomelli".
FULLE, Leonilda - "Tior d'Isid".
FUSUNICH, Guido - "Le leggende del lago".

GANZI, A. - "Il peter"
GASI, Luisa - "Per l'amore"
GECCHI, A. - "Sofia Clerval".
GECCHI, G. B. - "Ausiana".
REICHERT, Heinz - "Le fondine"
RENATI, R. - "Maledetta".
REBESCO, N. - "Lisa".
RICCI, Corrado - "Atenide".
RICCIARDI, T. - "Milena".
RICCHI, G. - "Manon Lescaut".
RIGHI, G. S. - "Nel Seneca".
RIVERA, A. - "Rocantina".
RIVOLTA, E. - "Acostata".
RIZZATI, P. - "Ivano".
RIZZETTI, F. - "Notte".
ROBBI, I. - "Il profeta velato del Notasse".
ROCCAPALINZA CECARDI, Ceccardo - "Don Chisciottes".
ROLVINI, A. - "Il vespertino di Ciranna".
ROSATINI, A. - "Ezina".
ROSSATO, Arturo - "La vecchia ardente".
ROSSI, Leopoldo - "Fedon Giovanni".
ROSSI, Giorgio - "Melisenda".
ROSSI-BORZOTTI, Maria - "Vittu d'amore".
RUDALI, M. A. - "Siente".

SALINT-GRV. M. - "Zinnesassa"
SALA, S. - "Teseo Novarese"
SALVATERI, Paolo - "Le città quadrate", "Smenaldi", "La festa del grano", "L'incantesimo di Calandrino", "Jasfite Rudali",
"Il sogno di una notte d'estate"
SANSONI, P. - "La figlia di Jerio"
SAVIA, D. - "Alalala"
SAVIOTTI, A. - "La donna d'airone"
SEISA, G. - "Marco Polo"
SERRA, L. - "Dopo il cenozo", "Elsamma", "Civiere Italia"
SCALINGER, G.M. - "Portanto", "Mine e Minetia"
SCAPARO, F. - "La Minerva"
SCARFIO, A. - "Don Carlotta", "Zilla maschia"
SCHANZER, Ottone - "Le lacrime delle sette torri"
SCHIARELLI, G. - "In maschera", "La tradita"
SCHREIBER, Karl - "Pompili"
SCOTTI, C.F. - "Alchuzize"
SERRA, Luigi - "Messinella"
SILVESTRI, Alfredo - "Meridde", "Le selvepiù"
SILVESTRI, R. - "Gela"
SIMONI, Renato - "Madame Sans-Gene"
SIRREV, M. - "Notte tresia"
SODINI, Anselmo - "Malavite", "La tempesta"
SOLDARI, Valentino - "Il dottor Antonia", "Matalda", "Isabella Orsini"
SOLINA, A. - "Friedemann Bach"
SPADA, S. - "Biancofiore"
SPADA, Fulvio - "Hofmann"
SPRITINI, Massimo - "Melinda"
STEFANO, G.E. - "Calata"
STIATTI, ? - "Michelangelo e Rolle"
SUGANA, Luigi - "Le donne euzooze", "Refugium peccatorum", "Il santo"

TACCHETTI, M. - "Cavallotta domestica"
TAPPA, A. - "Sor Venanzio"
TARLIONI-TOZZETTI, Giovanni - "Cavallotta euzooza", "I Kanitay", "Reina Dias", "Silvano", "Lo sposo di Nino", "Zanetto"
TARVEST, Emil - "Rolando di Berlino"
TEDESCCHI, Attilio - "Antonio"
TEDESCCHI-TRIVE, V. - "Un evulso accidentato"

TIPICHI, A. - "George Dandin".
TOLONEI, PIA - "D'amore di un anello".
TORRELLI, Achille - "La contessa di San Remo".
TUNIATI, Demetrio - "La morte di Eajardo", "Parisina".
TURCO, A. - "I rivali", "Rosanne".

VACCARO, G. - "Colo Pascoe", "Mazzarella".
VALLE, Vincenzo - "Lebilla", "Neritika".
VALLINI, Carlo - "Raddo".
VATZELL, F. - "Alchibida".
VAUCARRE, Maurizio - "Cenchiata".
VERUTI, T. - "Ginevra".
VERDINOIS, Fedele - "Mela Delicia", "Onore".
VICESI, A. - "Mecda".
VILLANIS, L. A. - "Espiazione", "Jocelin", "Savittiri".
VILLAROSI, E. - "Una notte nel deserto".
VISENTINI, R. - "Line di Dovera".
VIZZOTTO, G. - "La buona figliuola".

WEATHERLEY, F. E. - "Siona".
WIEL, Tedde - "Gli adoratori del fuoco", "Miametto II", "Il re si scroia".
WILKNER, A. H. - "Le tendine".

ZAMBUSI, G. - "Alba".
ZANARDINI, Anselo - "Giovanni Huss", "Janke", "Loreley", "Marcella", "La Tilda".
ZANDRINI, B. - "Mazzella".
ZANETTI, V. - "Lo scoscalizio".
ZANGARINI, Carlo - "Cenchiata", "La diavanesse", "I ciocelli della Madonna", "Jeuire Rader", "Meris sul monty", "Melenia",
"Hido di frico", "Il santo", "Le terra procebar", "L'ultimo dei Moscheri".

ZANONI, Camillo. - "L'ottocento". "Stadio di luna"
 ZARVELLO, B. - "Zylvero"
 ZUCCHETTI, M. - "Redello"
 ZUFFOLATO, G. - "Una tragedia fiorentina"
 ZUFFONI-STRAZI, Giuseppe. - "Il domino assurdo", "Miles Standish", "Ondina".

SECTION FOUR

 ** SOURCE CATALOGUE **
 ** *****

The following catalogue provides an alphabetical listing by surname of all authors whose works were used as primary source material for operas either completed or contemplated during the period 1890-1920 inclusive, together with titles (again in alphabetical order) of those operas based on their works. The list is further subdivided by nationality into six main sections: Italian, French, English, German, Russian, and Miscellaneous (any secondary, speculative or dubious sources have been omitted, and may be found under the relevant entry in the Master Catalogue). In the case of those operas bearing no titular similarity to their literary sources, the original title of the work in question is given in parentheses. Where there is more than one setting of a source with the same title, the number of settings is indicated by a numeral in brackets. Those sources contemplated by composers but subsequently rejected are followed by the letter 'C' and the appropriate year, so as to enable easy cross-referencing with Section Six (General Chronology).

 ** ITALIAN **
 ** *****

ALFIERI, Vittorio - "Mifre"
 ALIGHIERI, Dante - "La divina commedia" (C 1701), "Gianni Sottocchi", "Paolo e Francesca".
 ANTONIA-TRAVESI, Camillo - "Rondinella" ("En Sardes")
 ARIOSTO, Ludovico - "Orlando furioso".
 BELTRAMELLI, Antonio - "L'ombra"
 BENELLI, Sem - "L'amore dei tre re", "Il mantellaccio".
 BETTOLI, Francesco - "La vecchia Ester".
 BOCCACCIO, Giovanni - "Obisomda", "L'incantesimo di Colandafino".
 BOIARDO, Matteo Maria - "Orlando innamorato" (C 1845).
 BOVIO, Giovanni - "Cristo alla festa di Furia" (2).
 BRACCO, Roberto - "Don Pietro Circo" (C 1773), "Gli occhi consacrati" (C 1917), "Il piccolo santo" (C 1917),
 "Sarcotti nel Suo".
 BUTTI, Enrico Annibale - "Il castello del sogno" (C 1919), "La turia domata".
 CALAMPA, Edoardo - "La bufera".
 CAPURA, Luigi - "Jana" ("Malia"), "Malia" (3), "Mestuzze".
 CARDUCCI, Giosue - "Paolo" (C 1714), "Jesire Rocca" (3), "Rudello" (2), "Siciliano".
 CARRARA, V - "Veszsvia".
 CAVALLOTTI, Fausto - "Alcibiade", "Il cantico dei cantici", "La figlia di Jaffe", "Lek" - (C 1931).
 CELLINI, Benvenuto - "Vita" ("Benvenuto Cellini") - (C 1884).
 CRECCHI, Eusebio - "Ermenilda", "Il piccolo Hadyn".
 COGNETTI, Goffredo - "A basso vento", "Mala vita", "A Santa Lucia", "Il voto".
 COLAUFFI, Arturo - "Fidella".
 COSSA, Pietro - "Cecilia" (3), "Il giustiziere", "Nerone" (C 1841).
 CROCE, Giulio Cesare - "Sextoido".
 DALL'ONGARO, Francesco - "Fasce".
 D'ANNUNZIO, Gabriele - "Fazio", "La figlia di Jorio", "Francesca da Rimini", "La nave", "Il sogno d'un tramonto".
 D'AZEGLIO, Massimo - "Ritore Ferasmosa" (2), "La selvaggia" ("Niccolo de' Lauri").
 DE AVICIS, Edoardo - "Manuel Mendes".
 DEFRANIS, Giuseppe - "Loretta".
 DE ZERRI, Rosco - "Vigilia" (C 1891).
 DI GIACOMO, Salvatore - "Mala vita", "Nene mariano", "Nennella", "A San Francesco", "Il voto".
 DI MADALONI, Duca - "Friedemann Bach", "Rit hora".
 FERRARI, Paolo - "Mal d'amore".
 FOGAZZARO, Antonio - "Miranda".
 FUCINI, Renata - "Scampagnata".

GATTINELLI, G. - "La salvaggina".

GIACOSA, Giuseppe - "Le Dent de Challant" (C 1903), "Una partita a scacchi" (4), "Il trionfo d'amore".

GIUGNONI, Carlo - "Le baruffe chizzolate" (2), "Da surrona occidentale", "Le donne curiose", "Don Maria" + (C 1897), "La locandiera" + "Mistandoline" + (C 1900), "La putilla" (2), "Il gusto rustico", "I quattro rustici", "La vedova scaltra", "Zozzotto" (C 1899).

GUERAZZI, Francesco - "Isabella Orsini".

INTERDONATO, Stefano - "Il malacarne".

MACCHI, Gustavo - "La canzone del filo", "La furia domata".

MACHIAVELLI, Niccolò - "Belisario".

MANZONI, Alessandro - "Don Abbondio".

MARENCO, Leopoldo - "Calesta" (4).

MARTINI, Eusebio - "Clemenza" (C 1918).

MISASI, Nicola - "Mastro Ciaccio", "Serafina d'Albania" + (C 1894).

MORI, L. - "Deo il benedico".

MOSCA, Gaetano (in collab. w. Giuseppe Rizzotto) - "I mafiosi".

PARELLI, Giovanni - "Il cieco".

PELLICO, Silvio - "Francesca da Rimini".

POLO, Marco - "Il milione".

PRAGA, Emilio - "Fantasma".

PRAGA, Matteo - "Crdina" (2), "Le verdini".

PRATI, Giovanni - "Edmondo".

RANIERI, Antonio - "Ginevra".

RIZZOTTO, Giuseppe (in collab. w. Gaetano Mosca) - "I mafiosi".

ROVANI, Giuseppe - "Emanuele".

ROVETTA, Girolamo - "Mater dolorosa", "La trilogia di Dorina" (C 1897).

ROZZANI, Valentino - "Calendimacchio" + (C 1904), "Ciardi" (C 1904), "Margherita da Cortona" (C 1904).

STRACE, Francesco Gabriello - "Stelle".

SUCANA, Luigi - "Il serle".

TASSO, Torquato - "Mante".

TASSONI, Alessandro - "Re Enzo".

TUMIATI, Domenico - "Cvetra meschino".

VASARI, Diotaleo: "Le fornerino", "Raffaello" (2), "Raffaello Santeo"
VERGA, Giovanni: "Cavalleria rusticana" (2), "Meia Person", "Cavalleria rusticana", "Il mistero" (C 1908),
"L'Isola" (C 1899), "Turiddu"

**
** FRENCH **
**

BALCAC, Honore de: "Le Dernier Cheval" (C 1900)
BARNVILLE, Theodore de: "Guinevere" (2),
BERLIOZ, Hector: "Marie Dulcine" ("Vincenzo" from "Les Soirees de l'Orchestre"),
BERNARD, Tristan: "La Peau de l'ours" (C 1913),
BERTHOUD, Claude: "La Veille divine" ("La Paille du tournier d'ivoire"; C 1919),
BERTON, Pierre-Francoise-Samuel (in collab. w. Charles Simon): "Zars",
BOULHET, Louis-Hyacinthe: "Melenis",
BOURGET, Paul: "Idillio tradito",
CHATEAUBRIAND, Francois-Fere de: "Atala", "Atala, o i bellissime", "L'ultimo degli Abenceragi",
CHERIAN, Alexandre (in collab. w. Emile Eckmann): "L'Amico Fatta", "Il Rantaru",
CLARETIE, Jules: "Il virtuoso Zilah",
CONSTANT, Benjamin: "Mellera" ("Adolphe") + (C 1900),
CORRE, Francois: "La festa del grano", "Pater" (2), "Il severo Toselli" (2), "Il viandante" ("La Fessant"), "Il violinista di
Grenone", "Zanello" ("La Passant",
CORNEILLE, Pierre: "Il Cico",
DAUBET, Alphonse: "L'Artigliere", "La Giovanna Colillon" (C 1903), "Tartarin de Tarascon" (C 1899),
DUMAS, Alexandre: "Antony" (2), "Mademoiselle de Belle-Isle", "La Tour de Nesle" (C 1900),
ERDMANN, Emile (in collab. w. Alexandre Chatrian): "L'Amico Fatta", "Il Rantaru",
FERRAZ, Anatole: "Anton" ("Les Tentations de St Antoine"), "Comedie de celui qui épouse une femme muette" (C 1913),
GAUTIER, Theophile: "Il capitano Francesco",
GOLD, Didier: "Il tabacchero" ("Le Mounmelende"),
HUCCO, Victor: "Des" ("L'Homme au lit"), "Merion Defatme", "Les Miserables" (C 1899), "Notre-Dame de Paris" (C 1899),

"Doy Blas", "L'uomo che ride"

JANNIN, Jules-Gabriel - "La contessa d'Amont"

KOCK, Paul de - "Demain" (C 1900)

LAMARTINE, Alphonse de - "Graziella" (C) + (C 1894), "Jocelin" + (C 1894).

LEGOUVÉ, Ernest - "Adrienne Lecouvreur" (2).

LORRAIN, Jean - "Yanthis".

LOUVIS, Pierre - "Anchrodite" (C 1899), "Comhite" ("La Femme et le pantin") + (C 1903)

MAUPASSANT, Guy de - "Pease la ponde" (2).

MERIMEE, Prosper - "Jacqueline", "L'ombre di Don Giovanni"

MOLIERE - "L'Amore medico", "L'Avaro", "Il Borghese gentiluomo", "I dispetti amorosi", "Il dispettoso amante", "George Dandin",
"Le Prestige", "Il signor di Pourcelouche".

MORSAU, Emile (in collab. w. Victorien Sardou) - "La Fete du Nile" (C 1905), "Madame Sans-Gene".

MURGER, Henri - "Le Boheme" (2)

MUSSET, Alfred de - "Andrie del Saffio", "Balthazar", "Don Paer", "Non ai scereta coll'amore" (C 1894).

PERRAULT, Charles - "Cenerentola", "Uranis" ("La Belle au bois dormant")

PREVOST, Antoine-Francois - "Ramon Leseaut".

RICHEPIN, Jean - "La Dieu" (C 1900).

ROSPAND, Edmond - "Cytene de Bergese" (C 1904 + 1912)

SAND, George - "Claudia", "Consuelo" (2) + (C 1894), "Fadette".

SARDOU, Victorien - "Cleopatra" (C 1912), "Fadette", "Fernande" (C 1893), "La Fete du Nile" (in collab. w. Emile Morseau, C 1905),
"Gismonda" (C 1903), "Madame Sans-Gene" (in collab. w. Emile Morseau), "Pattie" (2), "La perle noire", "Touca".

SORBIER, Augustin - "Agricola Lecouvreur" (2), "La vie della sinistra".

SIMPON, Charles (in collab. w. Pierre-Francoise-Benoist Estlin) - "Zara".

VICOM, Alfred de - "Chatterton".

VOLTAIRES - "Semirame"

ZOLA, Emile - "Le debecle", "La Fata de l'Abbe Morel" (C 1893 + 1899), "Nens" (C 1894), "Tetras Requin".

**
** ENGLISH **
**

BLACKMORE, Richard:- "Lorna Doone" (C 1911)
BULWER-LYTON, Edward - "Pamela" ("The Last Days of Pompeii") + (C 1905).
BYRON, George Gordon - "Il corsaro", "Corradino" ("The Corsair"), "Pezziina"

DICKENS, Charles - "Il cricche del football" ("The Cricket on the Hearth"), "Oliver Twist" (C 1919)
DU MAURIER, George - "Tribby" + (C 1897 + 1912)

HARDY, Thomas - "Tess"

KIPLING, Rudyard:- "The Light that Failed" (C 1936).

MOORE, Thomas - "Gli adoratori del fuoco", "Il profeta velato del Korasan" (2).

QUIDA (pseud. of Louise de la Penne) - "I dolcetti" ("Two Little Wooden Shoes") + (C 1893, "Gigione").

SCOTT, Walter:- "Ivanhoe". "La leggenda del lago"

SHAKESPEARE, William - "Cristoforo Colombo" ("The Tempest of the Storm", C 1919), "Embelino", "Falstaff", "La figlia domata",
"Giulietta e Romeo", "Re Lear" + (C 1904), "Il sogno di una notte d'estate" + (C 1825),
"La tempesta" (2).

TENNISON, Alfred Lord:- "Enoch Arden" + (C 1905).

WILDE, Oscar:- "The Duchess of Padua" (C 1882), "A Florentine Tragedy" ("Una tragedia fiorentina") (2) + (C 1902).

**
** GERMAN **
**

ALEXIS, Willibald - "Rolando di Berlino" ("Der Roland Von Berlin")

BEVERLEIN, Franz Adam - "Suona la ritirata" ("Zanfenstreich")

EBERS, Georg Moritz - "Hermes" ("Homo Sum")

GOETHE, Johann Wolfgang von - "Jery e Batsy", "Heroberta", "Mafiatele", "La fidanzata di Corinto", "La sposa di Doroteo".

KAUPMANN, Gerhart - "Hennelles Himmelcheit" (C 1913), "Die Weber" (C 1903).

KEINE, Heinrich - "Almanach", "Sevella", "Guglielmo Rattoliff" (2).

MILLEN, Wilhelmine von - "La Vally".

HOFFMANN, Ernst Theodor Amadeus - "Hilfmann".

MEYER-FORSTER, Wilhelm - "Eckelberoz mia".

SCHILLER, Friedrich - "La fine di Franz Moor" ("Die Rauber"), "Wilhelm Tell" (C 1805).

SUDERMANN, Hermann - "Johannisev" (C 1911).

DOSTOYEVSKY, Fedor - "Memoirs from the House of the Dead" (C 1899 + 1901 + 1902)

GOCCOL, Nikolai - "Teresa Bulba".

GORKY, Maxim - "Kam and his Son" (C 1906), "Reds" (3), "The Fall" (C 1906), "The Twenty-six against One" (C 1904), "Zulma".

OSTROVSKY, Nikolai - "Fior di neve" ("Snedurocka")

PUSHKIN, Alexander - "La fine di Mozart", "Jelis" ("The Prisoner of the Caucasus"), "Zindati", "Gli sinceri" (2).

TOLETOV, Leo - "Anna Karantina" (2) + (C 1903), "Risurrezione".

TURGENEV, Ivan - "Pans altrui" + (C 1894).

 **
 ** RUSSIAN **
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 **
 ** MISCELLANEOUS **
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ATSCHYLUS - "Le Iusmid", "Prometeo" (C 1910)
BESCHER STONE, Harriet - "La cocotte dello zio Tom" (C 1921).
BLASCO, David - "Le fanciulla del West", "Madama Butterfly".
CEEVANTES, Miguel de - "Don Chisciotte" (9).
COOPER, James Fenimore - "L'ultimo dei Mohicani"
EURIPIDES - "Medea".
FERNALD, Chester Bailey - "L'orso" ("The Cat and the Chorus")
CUIPERA, Ansel - "Tierra brava" (C 1903)
IBSEN, Heinrich - "Hedda".
IRVING, Washington - "Rip Van Winkle" (C 1912).
JONES, Paul - "Faletta" ("The Sacred Mirror").
LONGFELLOW, Henry Wadsworth - "Evangeline", "Wife Standish", "Mills Standish".
MASTRELLI, Maurice - "Marie Medeiros" (C 1913), "Mellenda" + (C 1897), "Mona Vanna" (C 1901), "L'Oiseau bleu" (C 1910).
MOLNAR, Ferenc - "Liliom" (C 1911).
MONTALVO, Garcia de - "Orlando" ("Amadís de Gaula").
OVID - "Tisbe".
POESETA, Juan José - "Pumpes" ("Juan Moreira")
QUEVEDO Y VILLEGAS, Francisco Gomez de - "El Escudo o verso Don Pablo de Suroviz" (C 1905).
RODENBACH, Georges Raymond Constantin - "Ernest la Motte" (C 1903).
GUSSADA, E. - "Aurora".
OLINTERO, Serafin + Jacquin Alvarez - "Antes alcares" (C 1912), "Los Flores" (C 1911).
SIENKIEWICZ, Henry - "Que vadis?" + (C 1904).
SOIER, F. - "Il monaco nero".
SOPHOCLES - "Antigone", "Cassandra" ("Elektra"), "Edipo re" (2), "Jete" ("Trechnina").
STONES, John Williamson - "La vestale" ("The Shadow of the Glen").
VLASESCO, Mirza - "Melenca" (title "Le notte rumene")
WHARTON, Edith - "At the Barn" (C 1910).
ZORILLA Y NORAL, Jose - "Don Giovanni", "Il miscelajo".

SECTION FIVE

**
** GENRE CATALOGUE **
**

The following catalogue subdivides by genre all operas completed during the period 1870-1920 inclusive for which precise date is available. Works are listed chronologically, and include the composer's surname and year of performance. Eleven distinct genres have been isolated, and are given below in order of presentation. Each heading is prefaced by a short description of the relevant genre in fuller discussion of "Verismo opera" and its various offshoots is given in Part One of the thesis):-

- (a) "Verismo pure"
- (b) "Verismo storico"
- (c) "Verismo biografico"
- (d) "Verismo psicologico"
- (e) "Verismo estetico"
- (f) "Comico opera"
- (g) "Romantic opera"
- (h) "Classical opera"
- (i) "Biblical opera"
- (j) "Modernist opera"
- (k) "Mystical/fantasy opera"

(a) VERISMO PURO

Realist poets in the strictest sense of the word, about (usually one or two not) works with libretto often loosely based upon contemporary realist literature (both Italian and foreign) and set in the present day among lower-class backgrounds (either urban or rural, Italian or foreign), with the emphasis placed firmly upon melodrama of the most lurid and truculent variety, characterized by plenty of on-stage action and incident arising from love intrigues, fits of jealousy and aberrations of various kinds, eventually culminating in one or more murders or suicides

CAVALLERIA RUSTICANA	Mascioni	1890
GENNAIRELLO	Cibollini	1891
VINDICE	Masetti	1891
MARUZZA	Frontini	1891 (V/P)
MALA VITA	Giardano	1892
SARA LA TROVATELLA	Siano	1892
LA TILER	Cilea	1892
MASTRO GIORGIO	Godaro	1892
PADLIACCI	Leonavalle	1892
LA VENDETTA	Bertoli	1892
VENDETTA ABRUZZESE	Tenaro	1892
IL BIRICHINO	Huonora	1892
TRADITA!	Cuminati	1892
A SANTA LUCIA	Tespi	1892
ALLA MACCHIA	Strolani	1892
LA BELLA D'ALGHERO	Fais-Vusio	1892
TRICCE NERE	Gienfracci	1893
FESTA A MARINA	Cotrone	1893
TRISTI NOZZE	Dallanoe	1893
MALIA	Frontini	1893
SIGNA	Cowen	1893
TERESA RAQUIN	Coco	1894
A BASSO PORTO	Spinelli	1894
MALEDETTA	Ferri	1894
LA MARTIRE	Samice	1894
MARUZZA	Floridia	1894
MALAVITA	De Anselis	1894
MENNELLA	Santolice	1894
TRISTE LOTTA	Minsuoni	1894
SANTUZZA	Limponi	1895
VENDETTA SARDA	Cellini	1895
SILVANO	Mascheri	1895
NOZZE ISTRIANE	Smacchia	1895
LA SAGA DI VALAFERTA	Brunetto	1895

MARIEDDA	1875
PADRON GIOVANNI	1875
UN DRAMMA IN VENEZIA	1876
LA TRADITA	1876
A SAN FRANCESCO	1876
DOPO L'AVE MARIA	1876
? MAFIOSI	1876
LA COLLENA DI PASQUA	1876
PADRON MAURIZIO	1876
MUNZIELLA	1877
PAPPAS	1877
L'ARLESIANA	1877
URGELLA	1878
GLI ZINGARI	1878
VENDETTA ZINGARESCA	1879
GLI ZINGARI	1879
LORENZA	1880
UN DRAMMA IN MONTAGNA	1881
BARFACIA	1881
CANORRA	1881
MANUEL MENENDEZ	1881
LA CABRENA	1881
GIOVANNI GALLURESE	1881
VITA BRETTONE	1881
AMICA	1881
IN UBERIA	1881
L'ORACOLO	1881
JARA	1881
L'ABATE	1881
TURIDDU	1881
IN SARDEGNA	1881
MALIA	1881
VENDETTA	1881
CAVALLERIA RUSTICANA	1881
TRAGITA	1881
MOZZE INPAUETE	1881
IGLESIAS. O CUORE SARDO	1881
SEAFINA D'ALBANIA	1881
PARTITA D'ONORE	1881
LA SINA D'VARGON	1881
Succesi	1875
Cestizere	1875
Ferrari	1876
Camellini	1876
Sebastiani	1876
Donizetti	1876
Mineo	1876
Luporini	1876
Cionnetti	1876
Miallo	1877
Setutti	1877
Cilex	1877
Lazzari	1878
Secchi	1878
Montilia	1879
Ferretto	1880
Mascheroni	1881
Angeloni	1881
Alberti	1881
Esposito	1881
Filiasi	1881
Durert	1881
Moulenazzi	1881
Munone	1881
Masconi	1881
Bianchi	1881
Leoni	1881
Virello	1881
Allen	1881
Coronzo	1881
Dei Pinto	1881
Milani	1881
Pizzi	1881
Nonleone	1881
De Wiuckles	1881
Modoni	1881
Batsavalle	1881
Cunco	1881
Raffelli	1881
Pictella	1881

MAIA	Leonavalle	1910
CONCHITA	Zandona	1912
1 GIOIELLI DELLA MADONNA	Wolf-Ferrari	1911
SULLE RIVE DEL DANUBIO	Bendonice	1912
ZINGARI	Leonavalle	1912
NOTTE TRAGICA	Soboli	1912
VENDETTA CORSA	Masice	1912
ROSEDA	Pontana	1913
IL MACIGNO	De Sebata	1917
IL TRARRO	Puccini	1912
TERNUJA	Santoliouide	1919
PAMPESOS	Ottolenghi	1919
LA VEDLIA	Pedrollo	1920

(b) VERISMO STORICO:-

Historized events which portray as accurately and objectively as possible major events in European history, utilizing contemporary realist techniques in the presentation of subject matter, as evidenced in such features as verisimilitude of plot, sets/costumes and occasionally speech patterns, with the interpolation into the text of contemporary sayings, songs, and customs (often presented in choral form) together with numerous references to events of the time as mirrored in the actions (either reported or portrayed) of real historical figures enacted in political struggles, simultaneously involving one or more fictional characters in various intricate (often of an amorous nature) which in the majority of cases lead to their death within the course of a typical three or four act structure.

1 MEDICI	Leonavalle	1893
REGINA DIAZ	Giardana	1894
SALVATORELLO	Sofferdini	1894
IL FATER	Gastaldon	1894
L'ASSEDIO DI CANELLI	Thermicon	1894

LA SPOSA DI CHAROLLES	Valente	1894
TARASS BULBA	Erutti	1895
TROCISIO	Saffredini	1895
NADONETTA	Gianonetti	1895 (U/P)
ETTORE FIERAMOSCA	Ferroni	1896
MARHERITA D'ORLANDO	Restano	1897
ALDINO DI CITRABELLA	Coccolo	1897
HILITZA S SERBIA	Anselotti	1897 (U/P)
SABINA	Pizzetti	1897 (U/P)
IL GLADIATORE	Griffice	1898
MARCO POLO	Paulatio	1898
TEILO L'AFRICANO	Cosovic	1899
IL PATER	Cucicelini	1899
TOSCA	Puccini	1900
IL CARBONARO	Ferroni	1900
DON CIRILLO	Ercolani	1900
MEDIO EVO LATINO	Penizza	1900
GUG VADISY	Bazzi	1901
SERMANIA	Franchetti	1902
LA CONFESSIONE D'EGHONT	Lazzari	1902
LA PRINCIPESSE DI VALDIENI	Tarantini	1902
LA SELVAGGIA	Buccheri	1902 (U/P)
I FRANCESI NEL TIROLO	Del Leon	1903
FRANCESCO SPORZA	Zenotti	1904
PATRIA	Cantchi	1904
ROLANDO DI BERLINO	Leoncavallo	1904
LEONIDA	Vavalli	1904
LO SCHIAVO DI CIEPATRA	Bellini	1905
CADORE	Montico	1905
GLORIA	Cilea	1907
I COLIARDI	Zecchi	1908
MARIA ANTONIETTA	Galli	1908
AURORA	Perussa	1908
FEDERICO STRUENSEE	Marenco	1908
PAMA	La Rocella	1908
BIANCA CAPELLO	Lossi	1910
PATRIA	Mattiolli	1910
ALEX PROICA	Moricone	1910
LA BUFERA	Caldini	1910
LA NOTTE DI QUARTO	Tarenghi	1910

LA DEBACIE	Masacci	1911
POMPEII	Peroni	1912
I GOGLIARDI ALL'ULTIMA CROCIATA	Chiapponi	1912
MELONIS	Scandone	1913
SA IRA	Rossi	1913
MESSIDORO	Donaudy	1914 (U/P)
FAIDA	Andriotti	1915 (U/P)
JACQUERIE	Mastruzzi	1913
LA BATTAGLIA DI NIDI	Carlioni	1920
ISABELLA BRUNI	Broci	1920

(c) VERISMO BIOGRAFICO

Bioarchival events depicting episodes in the lives of famous writers, poets, philosophers, musicians, actresses, dancers, courtiers and socialites of the fifteenth century onwards, utilizing the same narrative and scenographic techniques as "verismo storico", albeit within a more restricted yet intimate canvas (two or three acts), in which the social, satirical and embroiled pretensions and proclivities of the subject being portrayed are set against a contemporary historical background, with the occasional inclusion in the narrative of fictional characters so as to ensure an adequately filled scenario.

IL PICCOLO HADYN	Cicollini	1893
CORNELIUS SCHOTT	Smerella	1893
RAPPALLO SANTIO	Maffessoli	1893
EMMA LIONA	Lozzi	1895
NINON DE LENCLOS	Cicollini	1895
CHOPIN	Ferrì	1895 (U/P)
CHATTERTON	Leonawelle	1894
ANDREA CHENIER	Giordano	1894
NINON DE LENCLOS	Parini	1894
LA CAMARGO	De Léva	1898
PERGOLESI	Tassi	1898
LA FINE DI MOZART	Andriotti	1898

GIOVANNI HUSS	Tessaro	1893
IL TRILLO DEL DIAVOLO	Felchi	1894
LA FORMARINA	Collina	1899
FRIEDRICH BACH	Fazio	1901
CHOPIN	Orsice	1901
ADRIANA LECOUVREUR	Silas	1902
THEODOR KOERNER	Demaudy	1902
BANZIO	Abbate	1902 (U/P)
MICHELANGELO E ROLLA	Bueniserra	1903
MANUEL GARCIA	Trentini	1904
ADRIANA LECOUVREUR	Satoccioli	1904 (U/P)
VAN DYCK	Nanno	1905
L'ULTIMA ORA DI TORQUATO TASSO	Raso	1905
PERGOLESI	Suozicini	1905
RAFFAELLO	Di Lenaha	1904
BENVENUTO CELLINI	Tubi	1904
LORD GIORGIO BRON	Giardi	1910
RAPPALLO	Milgenberg	1910
HOFFMANN	Lacetti	1912
LA DU BARRY	Camussi	1912
IL PERGOLESE	Landi	1917

(4) VERISMO BORGHESI -

Opera depicting middle-class European subjects (culled primarily from the works of contemporary Italian and foreign dramatists) set in the present day or recent past and consisting in the main of sentimental love stories which often point to a clearly expressed moral for the spiritual edification of the audience, while utilizing realistic techniques in the portrayal of the conflicts and tensions of the protagonists, who eventually either come to terms with the social constraints of their environment, or die (at the end of three or four acts) fully repentant of any previous desire to flout moral convention

CINEVRA	Visoni	1891
L'AMICO FRITZ	Mascagni	1891
CELESTE	Spretano	1891
TRISBY	Galliano	1892
I RANTAZZU	Mascagni	1892
ONDINA	Boltonino	1893
SVANGELINA	Bezzati	1893
PIOR D'ALPE	Franchetti	1894
GRAZIELLA	Auteri-Manzocchi	1894
GRAZIELLA	Ceffi	1894
TRIZIANELLO	Mancinelli	1895
CLAUDIA	Colozzo	1895
CONSUELO	Orfice	1895
FABETTE	De Rossi	1896
LA BOHEME	Fucini	1896
GRAZIELLA	Cesati	1896
MIRANDA	Alfano	1896 (U17)
CELESTE	Ziondi	1897
LA BOHEME	Leonavalle	1897
REZZA	Le Rocche	1898
IL CANTICO DEI CANTICI	Pattori	1898
GRAZIELLA	Giamsona	1899
ZAZA	Leonavalle	1900
LE VERGINI	Lozzi	1900
CELESTE	Cisari	1901
CELESTE	Pisano	1901
CONSUELO	Ricardo	1902
CECILIA	Orfice	1902
GRAZIELLA	Seiffredini	1902
IL SEVERO TORELLI	Auteri-Manzocchi	1903
IL SEVERO TORELLI	Melloni	1903
CECILIA	Montefiore	1905
ANNA KARENINA	Szanno	1905
TESS	D'Elmest	1906
IDILIO TRACICO	Fertile	1906
SFERUTI NEL BUIO	Donsauy	1907
MARCELLA	Giordano	1907
FIDELBERGA MIA'	Facchiarelli	1908
JCCELIN	Tedeschi	1908
FANTASMA	Fertile	1908

LEA	Toselli	1909
MESE MARIANO	Giordano	1919
LA DORISE	Galvotti	1910
CECILIA	Narcuri	1918
ENGGH ARDEN	Bassi	1910 (U/F)
LA BARONESSA DI CARINI	Wile	1912
FIOR D'ALBE	Giocomantonio	1913
LA RONDINE	Puccini	1917
ORZINA	Buccheri	1917
LOCOLETTA	Mascioni	1917
SUOR ANGELICA	Purohni	1918
I FUCCHI DI SAN GIOVANNI	Cambesi	1920
COLA D'ORO	Barbieri	1920

(*) VERIENO ZBOTICO:-

Opera which adheres closely to the primitive features of "verismo baroque", but is set within an exotic milieu such as the Middle and Far East, Russia, and both North and South America, emphasising the more picturesque aspects of local colour while illustrating those cultural features which differentiate such a society from its European equivalent

NOMADI	Merrill	1893
UNA NOTTE NEL DESERTO	Urban	1897
FALNIRA	Vitrioli	1894
LA FONTE DI ENEKIR	Alfano	1898
FEDORA	Giordano	1898
IRIS	Mascioni	1898
NEL SENEGAL	Lowth	1899
ANTON	Galvotti	1900
ATAHUALPA	Cattien	1900
SIBERIA	Giordano	1903
MADAMA BUTTERFLY	Puccini	1904

RISURREZIONE	Affano	1898
RENZA	Samara	1898
JELA	Leri	1898
LA FANCIULLA DEL WEST	Fucini	1898
LUSIANA	Aru	1898
LA GIOVANNE	Manesio	1898
L'ULTIMO DEI MOICANI	Aleri	1898
SCAMANE	Radeola	1898

4) COMIC OPERA -

Comic opere in the traditional Italian style, with attitudes of plays by both French and Italian dramatists (e.g. Moliere and Goldoni), accompanied by a revival of interest in both "commedia dell'arte" and parodical works

GRINGOIRE	Seonino	1892
UN SACIO ALLA REGINA	De Nardis	1892
FANTERIA AUSTRIANA	"	1891
I QUATTRO RUSTICI	Galloni	1891
MACCHETTO II	De Lorenzi-Febis	1892
QUARANTA D'AMORE	De Teoro	1892
L'AMICO FRIEZZO	Pierandrei	1892
CAVALIERIA DOMESTICA	Cordera	1892
CAVALIERIA RUSTICO-ROMANA	Pierandrei	1892
SE SOGN DE MILAN	Busi-Pecora	1892
CHIARINA	Delli'Arcole	1892 (U/P)
DON ADEMOJO	Pierandrei	1892 (U/P)
NEL REGNO DELLA LUNA	Queretti	1893
SOR VERANZIO	Queretti	1893
PALESTAFF	Vetdi	1893
DON PAEZ	Botti	1893

GEORGE DANDIN	Sebastien	1893
MILY STANIS	Pericasso	1892
CLARA DI BELLEVILLE	Harbatiello	1893
HALTE, MARCHE, EN AVANT!	Guelfieri	1893
I DIEPETTI AMOROSI	Luozini	1894
RUGANTIMO	De Greorio	1894
NELL'HAEM	Concina	1894
UNA FAMIGLIA FINA	Scrinio	1894
IL MASTRO DI CAVALLARA	Pereni	1895
LE BARUFFE CHICZOTTE	Schyruti	1895
LA FURIA DONATA	Samara	1895
LA PUPILLA	Mansini	1896
URBANO	Leoni	1896
IL SIGNORE DI FOURCEAUCONAC	Fiorbetta	1897
MAL D'ANGRE	Macharoni	1892
IL VIGILINO DI CREMONA	Gionnatti	1898
CIRIS	?	1899
CENERENTOLA	Wolf-Ferrari	1880
LE MASCHERE	Masocchi	1901
LE PREZIOSE	Galliere	1921
DON NABEIO	Gianetti	1903
BARBERINA	Marinuzzi	1903
UN CURIOSO ACCIDENTE	Coronzi	1903
LE DONNE CURIOSE	Wolf-Ferrari	1903
LA GIARRETTIERA	Zerlet	1903 (U/P)
MIRANDOLINA	Lorzi	1904
LE AVVENTURE DI PAGLIACCIO	Pestlozza	1904
IL BORGHESE GENTILUOMO	Esposito	1905
RE ENZO	Respighi	1905
MADMOISELLE DE BELLE-ISLE	Seneca	1905
I QUATRO RUSTICHI	Wolf-Ferrari	1904
PIERROT E PIERRETTE	Postolli	1904
IL GRILLO DEL FOCCALARE	Zandoni	1908
MILES STANTISH	Bucetti	1908 (U/P)
LA VEDOVA SCATRA	Zardo	1909
IL SEGRETO DI SUBANNA	Wolf-Ferrari	1909
IL CAPITAN FRACASSA	Costa	1909
DON CRISCIOTTE	Pedini	1910
BERTOLDO	Coronzi	1910
FIOR DI NEVE	Filizi	1911

I DISPETTAGGI AMANTI	Perella	1912
IL CAVALIER FIERROT	Padovani	1912
UENALE FORTUNA	Tommasini	1913
L'AVARO	Ferrari	1913
L'AMORE MEDICO	Wolf-Ferretti	1913
L'AMICO	Berlendis	1914
MADAME SANS-GENE	Giordano	1915
LE FURIE DI ARLECCHINO	Lualdi	1915
LA SACCA DEL FRINGUELLI	Costa	1915
GRINGOIRE	Chadini	1916 (U/P)
DON ZHISCIOTTI	Dell'Orso	1916
PINOCCHIO AL FRONTE	Moasi	1917
SONNO DI UNA NOTTE D'ESTATE	Manzoni	1917 (U/P)
GIANNI SCHICCHI	Fucini	1918
L'INCANTESIMO DI CALANDRINO	Busolini	1918 (U/P)
LA VIA DELLA FINESTRA	Sandroni	1919
LA BECCA	Petroni	1919
LE BARUFFE CHIOZZOTTE	Leoni	1920
PIERROT E LA LUNA	Sicchetti	1922
GUERIN MESCHINO	Lualdi	1922
ZINGARESCA	Poggi	1922

(a) ROMANTIC OPERA -

Traditional Italian Romantic opera, following Veridian precedent almost entirely in its rejection of contemporary veristic influences, with three to four not librettis either adapted from the major literary works of European Romanticism, or original scenarios illustrating some aspect of European history or culture. But with little of the objective accuracy of "verismo storico"

SEATRICE DI SVEZIA	Benvenuti	1870
RUSSLO	Ferroni	1870
IL VESCENTE	Scast	1870

ANDREA DEL SARTO	1870
CCI ARIMANNI	1880
CATILINA	1870
TERESA NAVAGERO	1880
ORLANDO FURIOSO	1890 (U/P)
RE LEAE	1890 (U/P)
RONCIVAL	1891
SPARTACO	1891
LIONELLA	1891
CLOTILDE D'AMALFI	1891
ALARICO IL SANGUINARIO	1891
INSELA	1891
SABINA	1891
PIER LUIGI FARNESE	1891
IVARDEE	1891 (U/P)
NERONE	1891 (U/P)
LA VALLI	1892
JAUERE RUDEL	1892
CIMBELINO	1892
CRISTOFORO COLOMBO	1892
UNA PARTITA A SCACCHI	1892 (U/P)
ALMANDEE	1892
FOLCHETTO	1892
MAURIN LESCAUT	1892
L'ULTIMO DEGLI ABENCEPAGI	1892
VANDEA	1892
IL CASTELLO DI BRIVIO	1892
DEA	1892
MEDORA	1892
YORIE	1892
LA FINE DI FRANZ MOOR	1892
GUGLIELMO RATERLIF	1892
ETTORE FIERAMOSCA	1892
FENEGRADA	1892 (U/P)
MEFISTOFFELE	1892 (U/P)
ZANETTO	1892
ANTONY	1892
IL SABATO DEL VILLAGGIO	1892
DON GIOVANNI	1892
GIULIETTA E ROMEO	1892 (U/P)
Escavalle	1890
Trucco	1890
Cabellini	1890
Mase	1890 (U/P)
Scovigera	1890 (U/P)
Cachoni	1891
Bertini	1891
Platania	1891
Samara	1891
Guarzone	1891
Sonoli	1891
Cottreu	1891
Laze	1891
Palumbo	1891
Fedeli	1891 (U/P)
Rasoz	1891 (U/P)
Catalani	1892
Danieli	1892
Van Westechout	1892
Iranohetti	1892
Abba-Cornalice	1892
Vitelli	1892 (U/P)
Donver	1892
Pucini	1892
Settecolli	1892
Clementi	1892
Fisore	1892
Renti	1892
Cuarinati	1892
Marlini	1892
Dellandrea	1892
Masconi	1892
Cerquetelli	1892
Brod	1892 (U/P)
Centi	1892 (U/P)
Masconi	1892
Korze	1892
Beravalle	1892
Scontrino	1892 (U/P)
Fisetti	1892 (U/P)

CORRADO	Marino	1900
IL CID	Pisa	1902 (U/B)
IL CORSAIO	Ferrara-Treviso	1903
ANITA	Siena	1904
JERRY E PATSY	Roma	1904
LA FUGA DI ANGELICA	Belluno	1906
ORIANA	Del Valle De Paz	1907
GUGLIELMO RATCHIFF	Fucina di Villafiorite	1907
PAOLO E FRANCESCA	Montefeltro	1907
HELENA	Montebelluna	1909
JAUFRE RUDEL	Genova	1913
MARION DELORNE	Trentino	1910
MARCBERTA	Bracciano	1910
SENTERAMA	Reschio	1910
LA LEGGENDA DEL LAGO	Venezia	1911
UNA PARTITA A SCACCHI	Coppello	1911
JAUFRE RUDEL	Seve	1912
ANTONY	Cassino	1912
CORDELIA	Coltara	1913
FRANCESCA DA RIMINI	Leon	1913
L'OMERA E I SGN GIOVANNI	Alassio	1914
RUDELLO	Catania	1914
RUY BLAS	Pavia	1916
CRISMONDA	Bianchi	1917
L'UOMO CHE RIDE	Pedrollo	1920
UNA PARTITA A SCACCHI	Forni	1920

(h) CLASSICAL OPERA -

Conventional classical opera, with subtitles adapted directly from both Greek and Roman mythology, or from subsequent literary adaptations of these same myths

L'ERERO	Granmetti	1891
ACI E GALATEA	Zardo	1892
IOLE	Swinnitt-Hods	1892
FRINE	Cermetto	1893
EDIPIC RE	Vance	1893 (U/P)
ERO E LEANDRO	Mandinelli	1897
NEREA	Coop	1898
ALCIBINDE	Agostini	1902 (U/P)
ESE	Trucco	1903
ARETUSA	Desalino	1904
TISEE	Vavili	1904
CASSANDRA	Gracchi	1905
MEDEA	Tommasini	1906
LE TUMENIDI	Guidicini	1909
LA NEREIDE	Trevelli	1911
AGATA	Tarsile	1913
LA MINERVA	Medina	1914
MIERA	Alcorno	1920
ANTICONE	Bondonio	1920
GALATEA	Sevasta	1920
EUPO RE	Leonevallo	1920

(1) BIBLICAL OPERA --

Operas based on episodes in both the Old and New Testaments of the Bible, with three or four set libretti expounding the basic tenets of Christianity (if not Catholicism) in a rigidly moralistic, yet at times almost mystical fashion.

CRISTO ALLA FESTA DI PURIM	Baci	1895 (U/P)
ABSALON	Tacchero	1900
REGINA ESTER	Ferrari-Trecate	1900

LA FIGLIA DI JEFE	Richetti	1901
LA TENTAZIONE DI GESU	Cordara	1902
MARIA AL GOLOGOTA	Sonopano	1903
DAVID	Galli	1904
CRISTO ALLA FESTA DI FURIM	Giannetti	1904
MOSE	Crefice	1905
IL BATTISTA	Fino	1906
DAVID	Gu	1907
ESTER	Gasperini	1908
MOSE E RUTH	fino	1908
ELIA	Fara	1910
IL NAZARENO	Giannetti	1911
MARIA SUL MONTE	Riccielli	1916
MARIA DI MAGDALA	Misetti	1918
LA SAMARITANA	Furlotti	1920

(1) MODERNIST OPERA -

Operas which are fundamentally anti-varietal in both tone and conception and defies the established norms of the more traditional operas, preferring to adopt entirely new and often revolutionary approaches which owe much to the influence of such literary trends as Symbolism, Decadence (primarily Dadaism) and Futurism, and which are reflected in the choice of unorthodox subjects, ranging from anti-bourgeois investigative and the glorification of militarism to the lurid and satiric of Aestheticism.

LA NAUZE	Vanbionchi	1899
LA BADIA DI POMPOSA	Veneziani	1900 (U/P)
LA MORTE DI BAJARDO	Veneziani	1902
PARISINA	Veneziani	1902
LA FIGLIA DI JORIO	Franchetti	1906
ISABEAU	Masoni	1911

LA LEGGENDA DELLE SETTE TORRI
 PARISINA
 IL MARTELLACCIO
 IL SOGNO D'UN TRAMONTO
 CANOSSA
 ALESSO
 FRANCESCA DA RIMINI
 ATERNITAS
 FEDRA
 FEERA
 UNA TRAGEDIA FIORENTINA
 SUGNA LA RITRATA
 UNA TRAGEDIA FIORENTINA
 LA NAVE
 L'AVIATORE DRG

Celso
 Messana
 Settecolli
 Meliceto
 Malibiero
 Emarechia
 Zandomeni
 Zanella
 Pizzetti
 Romani
 Maffioli
 Montemeo
 Ravennate
 Montemeo
 Pratiello

1919
 1912
 1912 (U/P)
 1912 (U/P)
 1914
 1914
 1914
 1914 (U/P)
 1915
 1915
 1915
 1914
 1914
 1918
 1920

(*) MYSTICAL/FANTASY OPERA -

Opera dealing mystically or fantastic subjects such as pagan myths and legends, supernatural occurrences, fairy stories and allegorical tales, with libretti heavily influenced by contemporary literary trends such as Symbolism and Primitivism

LORELEY
 IL PROFETA VELATO DEL KORASAN
 GLI ADORATORI DEL FUOCO
 IL PROFETA VELATO DEL KORASAN
 SAVITRI
 LA TEMPESTA
 IL SANTO
 ROSAURA RAPITA
 LA TEMPESTA
 L'ALBAURO

Catalani
 Ferroni
 De Lorenzi-Fabris
 Nasolzano
 Canti
 Del Fante
 Cini
 Valente
 De Angelis
 Paschierotti

1890
 1890 (U/P)
 1891
 1893
 1894
 1900
 1903
 1904 (U/P)
 1905
 1905

L'UCCELLINO D'ORO
AURA
PAOLETTA
MELISSA
L'ANGRE DEI TRE RE
URANIA

Zandenei
Zenile
Florida
Merli
Montemassi
Evare

1908 (U/R)
1910
1910
1913
1913
1918



SECTION SIX

** GENERAL CHRONOLOGY **

The following chronology lists precise dates and locations of all titles covers produced during the period 1 January 1870 to 31 December 1920. Those covers whose precise date of production is unknown are listed alphabetically, within individual year chronologies, under the heading "Unlocated" (where possible, an approximate dramatic date has been given). Covers which were scheduled for production within a particular year but have remained unproduced until the present day are similarly listed under the heading "Unproduced". A third column, entitled "Protected", gives details of those subjects first suggested to or contemplated by composers during the year in question, but subsequently abandoned by them; where relevant, the original literary source and author are also given

** 1870 **

JAN

JUL

FEB

AUG

16th - Prem "Lercia" (Catalani), Turin (T. Reale)

30th - Prem "Beattie di Brescia" (Derventi), Venice (T. Zanica)

MAR

SEP

8th - "La linea di Gemati" (Barolucchi, S. Arraigo) in Romagna.

APR

OCT

4th - Prem "Un'estusia d'amore" (Therianon); Pavia
(T. Municipale).

14th - Prem "Maia Pasqua" (Settiferi); Rome (T. Costanzi)

MAY

NOV

7th - Prem "Labilia" (Sprelli); Rome (T. Costanzi)

11th - Prem "Cavalleria rusticana" (Nascenzi); Rome
(T. Costanzi)

24th - Prem "Grincoite" (Sontzins); Milan (privately
at house of Thove)

28th - Prem "Rudella" (Faccini); Rome (T. Costanzi)

24th - Prem "Fiamma" (Savate); - Alessandria (T. Civile).

10th - Prem "Le collettine" (Clementi); Bologna (T. Comunale).

20th - Prem "Andrea del Sarto" (Bacavalle); Turin (T. Carignand
26th - Prem "Gli Arimani" (Tusco); Genoa (T. Paganini).

JUN

DEC

4th - Prem "Pithe" (Pisani); Milan (T. De' Vecchi)
4th - Prem "Il vedente" (Boni); Milan (T. De' Vecchi)
5th - Prem "Raschi di lora" (Leoni); Milan (T. Manconi)

4th - Prem "Amore la vince" (De Vita); Naples (T. Zanice).

18th - Prem "Un baete alla rasina" (De Nardis); Naples (T. Sennastro).

22nd - Prem "Libb di Dovera" (Zilotti); Milan (T. Piodrammatici)

UNLOCATED

UNPRODUCED

PROJECTED

Prem "In alta mare" (Ventimèni);
Prem "Nema" (Donizetti); Milan.
Prem "Fresa Navgero" (Mase); Naples
(T. Ruvo); Reich

"Nerone" (Resoli);
"Giulio furioso" (Sanjorci);
"Il profete veieto del porsan";
"Re Lear" (Casenari); (Petrani).

"Beatrice Cenci" (Mascioni);
"Judith" (Lucini); (Mascioni);
"Zaccaria" (Gidoni); (Mascioni);
"Doroteo" (Gidoni); (Mascioni); (Panchetti).

JAN

JUL

JAN 1893

30th - Prem "Gli adoratori del (uoco" (De Lorenzi-Ebizi);
Venice (P. Rossini).

31st - Prem "Ronsival" (Bertini); Modena (T. Muciciale)

ISE

AVG

1st - Prem "Londo" (Gomes); Milan (La Scala)

NAE

SEP

3rd - Prem "Vindes" (Marelli); Bolzano (T. Brunetti)

9th - Amer. Prem "Qualiteria rusticans" (Masogni); Philadelphia
(Grand Opera House).

17th - Prem. "Alba" (Pavan); Cittadella (T. Sociale).

19th - Prem. "Sociale" (Platania); Naples (T. San Carlo)

4th - Prem. "Lionella" (Samarà); Milan (Le Nozze)

9th - Prem. "L'Esodo" (Giannetti); Naples (T. San Carlo).

22nd - Prem. "Ginevra" (Viohni); Florence (T. Festino)

18th - 2nd Prem. "Cavalleria rusticana" (Nasconi); London (Shakespeare Theatre).

21st - Prem. "L'Amore Feito" (Nasconi); Rome (T. Costanzi).

7th - Prem. "Clotilde d'Amalfi" (Guardione); Milan (T. Petros)

OCT

APR

NOV

MAY

JUN

DEC

1st - Prem "Demeralio" (Cibollini); Milan (T. Manzoni)

3rd - Prem "Celeste" (Spatino); Bucharest.

UNLOCATED

Prem "Altoce in sacramento" (Smeoli);
Prem "Borsa" (Dei); Rome (T. Societa); autumn
Prem "La Donna del Mavimbali" (Medolani);
Prem "Turin (T. Vittorio Emanuele);
Prem "Imida" (Montini); Florence (T. Comunale)
Prem "Melliv" (Montini); Firenze (T. Spence); Seat
Prem "Oltima" (Coradi); Porto Maurizio
Prem "La Tola" (Frezza); (Palumbo); Rome
Prem "La Contessa"; Torino
Prem "L'ostre rustico" (Galloni); Firenze
Prem "La Sabita" (Bentivoglio); Mondovì (T. Societa);
Prem "Saffio" (Cane); Turin (T. Ristori)

UNREPRODUCED

"I divoli della corte"
"Livorno" (Sedini);
"Marese" (Sedini);
"Il voto" (Cordara).

PROJECTED

"Nero" (Cese);
"Vistice" (De Zebbi);
Macerata.

** 1892 **
**

JAN

JUL

20th - Prem "La Uoliv" (Catalani); Milan (Ez Soala)

17th - Prem "Triby" (Galliere); Milan (Comandamento di
Mussio).

21th - Prem "Noi e Giates" (Eardo); Savona (T. Chieroz).

FEB

AUG

21st - Prem "Mela vita" (Giordano); Roma (T. Azzurina)

22nd - Prem "Dole" (Seimil-Doda); Venice (T. Cassini)

24th - Prem "i Deo soci" (Giardini); Bologna (F. Brunelli)

11th - Prem "ii birichino" (Munoro); Venice (T. Nalibram).

MAR

SEP

9th - Prem "Sato la trovatale" (Bianco); Gallipoli (T. Campanile)

12th - Prem. "Die e morte" (Palermi); Pontedera (T. Andrea)

APR

GOV

2nd - Prem. "Cautre Rudei" (Denisi); Padua (T. Verdi).

7th - Prem. "Ebejina" (Van Westerkou); Roma (T. Argentine)
7th - Prem. "Le Pidea" (Cilea); Firenze (T. Radlana).

4th - Prem. "Cristoforo Colombo" (Stanchelli); Genova
(T. Carlo Felice).

13th - Prem "Maestre Gioia" (Sodero); Naples (T. Bellini).

MAY

NOV

10th - Prem "I Ranzan" (Mascioni); Firenze (T. Pergole).

12th - Prem. "Tradite" (Cestini); Verona (T. Ristori)

14th:- Prem. "Gualtiero Suardani" (Cuneo); Rome (T. Costanzi).
14th - Prem. "A Sente Lucia" (Tasov); Berlin (Xrolls)

19th:- Prem "Alenarde" (Tirindelli); Venice (T. Rossini).

23rd - Prem. "Cesimo di Cendie" (Conti); Cusstalla
(T. Municipale).

24th:- Prem "Vandette sbruisse" (Tenza); Turin (T. Scribe)

21st - Prem "Felicetti" (Leonovillo); Milan (T. De; Varma).
21st - Prem "La vendetta" (Berutti); Vercelli (T. Civico)
23rd - Utit Prem "L'amico Fritz" (Mascioni); London
(Covent Garden)

JRR

DEC

4th:- Prem "Erciato" (Bello); Callenissetta (T. Principessa
Margherita).

8th - Amer Prem "L'Amico Fritz" (Mascioni); Philadelphia
(Grand Opera House).
9th - Prem. "Nona 11" (De Lorenzi-Fabris); Venice
(T. Malibran).

25th:- Prem "Alla macchia" (Braolani); Fieve (T. Comunale).

UNLOCATED

UNPRODUCED

PROJECTED

"Almanzor" (Vitali);
"Chafira" (Dall'Ardina);
"Don Biondo" (Mascioni);
"Fido era" (Cotroneelli)

Prem "L'Amico Francesco" (Pierandelli);
Prem "Le belle Alchero" (Fara-Musio);
Prem "L'Amico Fritz" (Mascioni);
Prem "Fiducia e sospetto" (Cordera);
Prem "Cavalleria rusticana-romana" (Pierandelli);
Prem "Rome" (T. Rossini);
Prem "Polchetto" (Gonsuoli); Palermo
(Teatro).
Prem "Polchetto a seccchi" (Abba-Cornalini);
Prem "L'Amico Fritz" (Mascioni);
Prem "Quintana d'amore" (De Testa); Milan
(T. Ricca);
Prem "E. socie Milan" (Busti-Peccia);
Prem "Missa" (Ciceno);
Prem "Veridic" (Busti); Ascoli Piceno
(T. Verdi)

**
** 1898 **
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JAN

JUL

2nd - Prem. "Il ciccolo Madry" (Cisellini); Como (T. Sociale)

7th - Brill. Prem. "I Rantzau" (Masonni); London (Covent Garden).

31st - Prem. "Nel suono della luna" (Guercetti); Casimo
(T. Comunale).
21st - Prem. "Sor Venanzio" (Guercetti); Casimo (T. Comune)

32nd - Prem. "Georget Mandin" (Sebastiani); Naples (T. Estini).

FEB

AUG

1st - Prem. "Nanon Lescut" (Fusini); Turin (T. Riccio).

7th - Prem. "Tina" (Lombardo); Genoa (T. Carlo Felice).
5th - Prem. "L'amore di un anello" (Pettiti); Vicenza.
5th - Prem. "Tracce nere" (Cianferari); Reggio Emilia.
9th - Prem. "Falsetti" (Verdi); Milan (La Scala).

22nd - Prem. "A Canzoncchia" (Germanotto); Padua (T. Verdi)

MAR

4th - Prem "Ondine" (Baltadazio), Milan (T. Manzoni).

7th - Ital. Prem. "A Santa Lucia" (Tassi), Trieste (T. Comurale).

21st - Prem. "Penta a Marina" (Coronico), Venice (T. Penice)
22nd - Prem "Irene" (Kall), Turin (T. Rivo)
23rd - Prem. "Prati nasse" (Delonoe), Venice
24th - Prem. "Don Pas" (Boeti), Venice (T. Penice)
25th - Prem. "Romada" (Marili), Venezia (T. Principe Umberto)

APR

1st - Prem "Il profeta velato del Koran" (Napolelano),
Naples (T. San Carlo)

SEP

19th - Prem. "Evangeline" (Berutti), Milan (T. Albomara).

OCT

8th - Brit Prem "J Rantau" (Masceni), Birmingham.

10th - Prem. "L'ultimo degli Abenceragi" (Scetozini), Rome
(T. Nazionale).

17th - Prem. "Il cavaliere d'amore" (Miani), Milan
(T. Del Verme).

25th - Prem. "Donna Padula" (Valente), Rome (T. Privato)

26th - Prem. "Il trionfo d'amore" (Minuto), Aiba (T. Sociale).

MAY

NOV

6th - Prem. "Milo Blandin" (Patinazzo); Verona (T. Rastori)

7th - Prem. "Messinella" (Brunetti); Cagliari (T. Carruti)

8th - Prem. "I Medici" (Leonardelli); Milan (T. Del Verme)

11th - Prem. "Vindes" (Clementi); Bologna (T. Dononale)

12th - Prem. "Siora" (Coven); Milan (T. De Verme)

18th - Prem. "Mozzelle" (Marzano); Codogno (T. Sociale)

20th - Prem. "Gabriella" (Pizzi); London (Albert Hall)

25th - Prem. "Gabriella" (Pizzi); Boston (Music Hall)

2nd - Prem. "Merolika" (Tonera); Turin (T. Vittorio Emanuele)

22nd - Prem. "Il castello di Brivio" (Fissore); Asti (T. Civico)

19th - Brit. Prem. "Palliacci" (Leonavalle); London
(Covent Garden)

20th - Prem. "Cornelius Schultz" (Marsella); Pitcairn
(Zionist National Theatre)

27th - Prem. "Petibone" (Percio); Genoa (Pol. Genovese)

27th - Prem. "Fistic amore" (Corti); Piacenza

30th - Prem. "Maifa" (Prontini); Bologna (T. Brunetti)

10th - Amer. Prem. "Palliacci" (Leonavalle); New York
(Grand Opera House)

JUN

DEC

UNLOCATED

Prem. "Annalena" (Civici); Florence

Prem. "Claudio" (Bellevalle); February
(Carabinieri)

Prem. "Claudio" (Bellevalle); February
(Carabinieri)

Prem. "Claudio" (Bellevalle); February
(Carabinieri)

Prem. "Claudio" (Bellevalle); February
(Carabinieri)

Prem. "Claudio" (Bellevalle); February
(Carabinieri)

Prem. "Claudio" (Bellevalle); February
(Carabinieri)

Prem. "Claudio" (Bellevalle); February
(Carabinieri)

Prem. "Claudio" (Bellevalle); February
(Carabinieri)

Prem. "Claudio" (Bellevalle); February
(Carabinieri)

UNPRODUCED

"Edipo re" (Vanzo)

"Fernanda" (Sardo); Franchetti

PRODUCED

(T. Bellini), June
Prem "Ufficiale" (Lorzi), Rome (T. Costanzi)

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XX 1874 XX
XX XXXXXXXXXXXX
XX

JAN

JUL

21st - Prem "Il canle di Sello" (Consolini); Szwona
(T. Chibietz).
26th - Prem "Il melacane" (Coronari); Staccia (T. Grande)

FEB

AUG

4th - Prem "Des" (Renzil); Siena (T. Della Lizza).

8th - Prem "Terza Requin" (Coop); Naples (T. Mercandante)

16th - Prem "Theora" (Trusso); Genoa (T. Carlo Felice)

17th - Prem "I dispetti amaretti" (Luotini); Turin (T. Reip)

23rd - Prem. "Marussa" (Floridia); Venice (T. Malibran).

24th - Absc. Prem. "Nanon Lescaut" (Puoini); Philadelphia
(Grand Opera House).

SEP

22nd - Prem. "L'assedio di Canelli" (Thermignon); Canelli
(T. Poz).

OCT

1st - Brit. Prem. "A Santa Lucia" (Tosca); Manchester.

22nd - Prem. "Grassiele" (Auzi-Ranzocchi); Milan (T. Lirice).

5th - Prem. "Reine Blae" (Giordano); Naples (T. Mercadante)

MAR

13th - Prem. "Pier d'Alce" (Franonetti); Milan (La Scala).

26th - Prem. "Salvatorello" (Scifredini); Nava (T. Guidi).

APR

3rd - Prem. "Etelinda" (Mazzoni); Florence (T. Pericoli).

14th - Prem. "Atto e i bellissimi" (Della Grassie); Turin

15th - Prem. "Peter" (Gastaldon); Milan (T. Manzoni)

16th - Prem. "A becco morto" (Spinelli); Cologne

18th - Prem. "Maledetta" (Ferris); Zema (T. Ricci)

MAY

14th - Brit Prem "Hanon Lescaut" (Puccini); London
(Covent Garden).
15th - Brit Prem "Falstaff" (Verdi); London (Covent Garden)
22nd - Prem. "La matrice" (Emara); Naples (T.Napodante)

JUN

2nd - Brit Prem "Gabriella" (Pisani); London (Albert Hall)

21st - Prem "Rucifino" (De Groenlo); Naples (T. Mercadante)

30th - Brit Prem "Siena" (Cohen); London (Covent Garden)

UNLOCATED

Prem "Una famiglia fina" (Bastico); Berlin
Prem "La fine di Franz Hoff" (Dallmann)

NOV

1st - Prem "Graziella" (Caffi); Brescia (T. Guelliermo)

14th - Prem "L'Amico Francesco" (Morelli); Naples (T. Nuovo).

27th - Prem "Il voto" (Vallini); Rome (T. Costensi).
29th - Prem. "Hedera" (Cusinati); Verona (T. Ristori).

DEC

1st - Prem "Mell'infame" (Concino); Ancona.
1st - Prem "Saffir" (Carli); Bologna (T. Conante).
1st - Prem "Yoric" (Mallini); Livorno (T. Caldeni).

PROJECTED

"Cannolo" (Sardi); Giordano
"La comedia" (Franchetti).

14th - Prem "Cavaliero Reale" (Mascioni); Milan (La Scala)
17th - Prem. "Il Cavaliere" (Pezzi); Parma (Teatro Regio)

MAR

SEP

21st - Prem "Teresa Dido" (Berlioz); Turin (T. Regio)
11th - Ital. Prem "A basso voce" (Spinali); Rome (Teatro di San Carlo)

11th - Prem "Marie Saint" (Rossi); Bergamo (T. Ricciardi).

28th - Prem "Silvano" (Mascioni); Milan (La Scala).

28th - Prem "Nesse italiane" (Smeraglia); Trieste (Teatro Luchini)

28th - Prem "Padron Giovanni" (Castagnoli); Orsino (Teatro Sociale)

APR

OCT

27th - Prem. "Ruit here" (Rizzi), Pisa (T. Nuovo)

MAY

NOV

2nd - Prem. "Al campo" (Somanini); Brescia (T. Quellaiani).

3th - Prem. "Diouéit" (Coronero); Milan (T. Lirico).

9th - Prem. "Le sode di Valpurga" (Branzato); Milan (T. Lirico)

15th - Prem. "Ettore Zieromero" (Carnesetelli); Terni

17th - Prem. "Fortunio" (Van Vestubout); Milan (T. Lirico)

21st - Prem. "Le baruffe chiosette" (Branzato); Florence

24th - Prem. "Eros" (Manni); Florence (T. Paolino).

25th - Prem. "Emma Liens" (Lorenzi); Venice (T. Fenice).

26th - Prem. "Mariedda" (Buccosi); Catania (T. Nazionale)

19th - Prem. "La furia omata" (Santora); Milan (T. Lirico).

23rd - Prem. "Tardisio" (Bozzadini); Milan (T. Catano).

27th - Prem. "Zanuele" (Orfio); Bologna (T. Comunale).

28th - Prem. "Norte" (Lorchi); Bologna (T. Del Corso).

JUN

DEC

3rd - Prem. "Minn de Lenoles" (Cibollini); Milan (T. Lirico).

20th - Prem. "Tizianello" (Mansinelli); Roma (T. Nazionale)

19th - Prem. "Onore" (Consiglio); Naples (T. Mercadante).

UNLOCATED

From "La Corte d'Appel" (Driaco).
From "Monte Carlo"
From "Tyndal" (Lorenz), Pisa
From "Il Regno d'Arno" (Driaco);
Vienna (T. Cominale).

UNPRODUCED

"Chopin" (Ferris)
"Giulio alla festa di Purim" (Boei)
"Barnesard" (Brou)
"Il Regno d'Arno" (Driaco)
"Meditazioni" (Comi)
"Meditazioni" (Comi)
"Meditazioni" (Comi)

PROJECTED

"La Fata de l'Abbe Moutet" (Zola), Puccini
"Maria Ediziosa" (Zanichelli)
"Sono d'una notte d'estate" (Shakespeare)
Mascagni
"Orlando innamorato" (Belardo), Mascagni.

22 22
24 1894 22
25 22

JAN

JUL

5th - From "Etere Plesmosa" (Ferroni); Como (T. Sestati)

13th - From "La tradita" (Medina); Savona (T. Chibbrera).

28th - From "Fadette" (De Rossi), Rome (T. Nazionale)
30th - From "Lido" (Rominello); Piacenza (T. Municipale)
30th - From "La cortisana" (Scottrino), Milan (T. Dal Verme)

FEB

1st - From "La Boheme" (Puccini); Turin (T. Radio)
1st - From "Gonnella" (Manzoni); Todi (T. Comunale)

AUG

9th - Prem. "Palmita" (Vitricoli), Reggio Calabria (T. Comune)

13th - Prem "Un dramma in vendemmia" (Forneri), Firenze (T. Polieno)

20th - Prem. "Manda" (Bacchini), Roma (T. Dell'Acquila)

MAR

SEP

22d - Prem. "Rameite" (Mascioni), Pesaro (Conservatorio)

4th - Prem. "Casselle" (Casselli), S. Pietro in Bagno (T. Division)

10th - Prem. "Chatterton" (Leoncavallo), Roma (T. Nazionale)

25th - Prem. "Andrea Chenier" (Giordano), Milan (Le Scale)

APR

OCT

7th - Prem. "Virtu d'Amore" (Enescu), Verdeto (Vile Greco)

19th - Prem "A San Francesco" (Sebastiani); Naples
(T. Mercedale).

19th - Prem "Dana Flor" (Van Westerhout); Noie di Bari

21st - Prem "Dopo l'Ass Maria" (Donizetti); Milan
(T. Filodrammatici)

24th - Prem "Lena" (Zionni); Verona (T. Drammatici)

27th - Prem "La pupilla" (Chiodini); Trieste
(Societa Filarmónica)

28th - Prem "I mafiosi" (Mineo); Varese (T. Sociale)

MAY

NOV

1st - Prem "La collana di Pasqua" (Luperini); Naples
(T. Mercedale)

7th - Prem "La sorella di Maria" (Gataccioli); Rome
(T. Coniarsi)

4th - Prem "Summa" (Sudani); Triviso (T. Sociale)

13th - Amex Prem "Andree Chentia" (Giordano); New York
(Academy of Music)

23rd - Prem "Mignon de Lencies" (Berlino); Palermo
(Pol. Gariboldi)

25th - Prem "L'innocente" (D'Amico); Nova Liève
(T. Carlo Alberto)

JUN

DEC

2nd - Prem "Atrida e Rinaldo" (Pallazzone); Casale Monferrato
(T. Sociale)

FEB

AUG

15th - Prem "Le fidanzate del mare" (Januzzi); Buenos Aires.

22nd - Prem. "Farrufo" (D'Alessander); Cremona (T. Ronchielli).
24th - Prem. "Ada e Clizia" (Carissimi); Cuneo (T. Civico).
24th - Prem. "Il cavaliere del sogno" (Agostini); Fano
(T. Della Porta).
24th - Prem. "Il dottore" (Bolognini); Ancona.
24th - Prem. "Refugium peccatorum" (De Lorenzi-Fabrizi); Venice
(T. Rossini).

MAR

SEP

4th - Prem. "Casetta (Pioardi); Nisina (T. Mercedonio).
4th - Prem. "La festa d'amore" (Busti-Baccia); Turin
(T. Renio).

4th - Prem. "La Isabela" (D'Arcaute); Venice (T. Rossini).
4th - Prem. "La vergine della montagna" (Seselli); Reggio Calabria
(T. Caribassi).

17th - Prem "Il dramma" (Serriti); Trieste (T. Verdi).

27th - Prem "Le lidia di Jorio" (Trance); Cremona

APR

OCT

1st - Prem "Reccio" (Galissari); Varese (T. Sociale)

10th - Prem "Il signor di Pourcevaux" (Fraschetti); Milan
(La Scala)

14th - Amer Prem "La bohème" (Puccini); Los Angeles
(Los Angeles Theatre)

21st - Prem "Aurore" (Soffredini); Pavia (T. Guidi)
22nd - Brit Prem "La bohème" (Puccini); Manchester
(Comedy Theatre)

MAY

NOV

4th - Prem "La bohème" (Leoncavallo); Venice (T. Fenice)

15th - Prem "Mliena" (Giannetti); Naples (T. Ricciardi)

25th - Prem "Janko" (Bendini); Turin (T. Vittorio Emanuele)
27th - Prem "L'Alessandro" (Gilei); Milan (T. Iribo)
27th - Prem "Nena" (Copp); Venice (T. Rosini)
30th - Prem "Pro e leandro" (Manzoni); Madrid (T. Real)
30th - Prem "Lo serenata" (Calceoli); Pavia (T. Guidi)

JUN

DEC

5th - Prem "Marcella d'Orleans" (Reinach); Turin
(T. Vittorio Emanuele)

12th - Prem. "Tirza" (Lombardi); Milan (T. Carcano)

13rd - Prem "Bianco et noir" (Trinidelli); Cincinnati (Auditorium)

22th - Prem. "Giardino" (Mada); Salsomaggiore (Comunale)
23th - Prem. "Montefeltro" (Mialli); Sassano del Vesuvio (Società)

UNLOCATED

UNPROCESSED

PROJECTED

"Aldino di Cittadella" (Corcola);
"Lucia di Sciffonini" (Galliani);
"Milita o Sarbia" (Anselotti).

"Der Muro" (Gobson); Lavenoello.
"Maria Antonia" (Gobson);
"Pagan et Halles" (Mortelinsk);
"Tribuna" (Du Maurier); Lavenoello.
"Le trionfo di Marina" (Rovetta); Spinali.

**
** 1898 **
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JAN

JUL

1st - Ital Prem "Ere e Legend" (Mancinelli); Turin (T. Regio)

4th - Amer. Prem. "Zanetto" (Messani); New York (Hotel Astoria)

11th - Engl. Prem "Ere e Legend" (Mancinelli); London (Cervant Garden)

FEB

AUG

1st - Prem "Peregrini" (Tosca), Berlin (Krollspass)
2nd - Prem "L'arte" (Nino-Bellucci), Pistoia

10th - Prem "Antonio" (Morza), Ferrara (T. Comunale)
11th - Prem "Mino e Ninetta" (Sabbieri), Naples
(Palazzo Mediceo)

15th - Prem "Dal sogno alla vita" (Mariani Camolletti),
Verona (T. Cattedrale)
17th - Prem "Abate" (Mirelli), Naples (T. Mercadante)

26th - Prem "Preludio" (Giarda), Naples (T. Mercadante)
27th - Prem "Mez" (Manichelli), Florence (T. Profumo)

MAR

SEP

8th - Prem "La Camargo" (De Javal), Turin (T. Reale)

8th - Prem "Nita Ferrant" (Trinacchi), Messina
(T. Vittorio Emanuele)

13th - Prem "Silvio e Lars" (Dannaker), Rome (T. Nazionale)

20th - Prem "Il gladiatore" (Greiner), Madrid (T. Reale)

APR

2nd - Prem. "Hedde" (Le Borne), Milan (T. Lirico)

OCT

1st - Prem. "Dopo il congedo" (Bacchini), Turin (T. Alfieri)

MAY

30th - Prem. "Mai d'amore" (Mazzaroni), Milan (T. Piccinni)

NOV

5th - Prem. "Il centico del centico" (Ferrari), Milan (T. Lirico)

25th - Prem. "La fine di Mozart" (Anselmi), Milan (T. Lirico)

2nd - Prem. "Giovanni Huss" (Tessaro), Treviso (T. Sociale)

4th - Prem. "La creola" (Collino), Turin (T. Vittorio Emanuele)
8th - Prem. "La fonte di Eneide" (Alfieri), Brescia

17th - Prem. "Fedora" (Giordano), Milan (T. Lirico)

23rd - Prem. "Il sole" (Bassi), Venice
24th - Prem. "L'addio" (Bassi), Venice
25th - Prem. "Stella" (De Nardis), Chieti (T. Marubiano)

2nd - Prem. "Fris" (Mascioni), Rome (T. Costantini)
23rd - Prem. "Il violino di Cremona" (Gianelli), Milan
25th - Prem. "La prima notte" (Bregoli), Florence (T. Pajano)

JUN

DEC

3rd - Prem "Teresa" (Luzzi), Rome (T Nazionale)

18th - Prem "Rita" (Donci), Fabbie (Circolo Parlamentare)

25th - Prem "Marco Polo" (Pantelino), Corchis (T. Sociale)

UNLOCATED

Prem "Giuditta" (Donier),
Prem "Ursula" (Lazzari), Trento (T Sociale)

UNPRODUCED

"La donna d'incenso" (Apostolini) "Two Little Wooden Shoes" (Guida); Pucini

PROJECTED

**
** 1895 **
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JAN

JUL

1st - Prem "L'ombra di Werther" (Rendeger), Milan
(Conservatorio di Musica)
2nd - Prem "Il Cater" (Galliani), Rome (T. Durrino)

14th - Prem. "Il ciccio" (Conti), Genoa (T. Carlo Felice)

21st - Prem "Il sabato del villaggio" (Bertolotti), Genoa (T. Livio)

29th - Prem "Il trillo del diavolo" (Pajetta), Rome (T. Argentina)

FEB

AUG

13th - Prem "La Formarina" (Collina), Rome (T. Nazionale)

MAR

2nd - Prem "Teatro Africano" (Cecchi), Venice (T. Rossini)

8th - Prem "Violente" (Alberti), Turin (T. Radio)

18th - Amst. Prem. "Tro e Leandro" (Mancinelli), New York (Metropolitan)

SEP

30th - Prem "Nel Semaio" (Lecchi), Carpi (T. Comunale)

2nd - Prem. "Gli sbandati" (Secchi), Milan (T. Dal Verme)

5th - Prem "Nessuno" (Garcia De La Torre), Milan (T. Palodromio)

18th - Prem "Il salcondiere" (Frontini), Catania (Rai Point)

APR

OCT

8th - Prem "Carmela" (Diema); Pistoia (T. Mabezzini)

11th - Prem "Claro" (Cespetti); B Giovanni Valdarno (T Ristori)

MAY

NOV

2nd - Prem "Le mare" (Ventianchi); Genoa (Politeama)

21st - Prem "La solonia libera" (Blotidie); Roma (T Costanzi)

7th - Prem "Falconetti" (Pianalesi); Milan (T Del Verme)

18th - Prem "L'innesto" (Pocci); Modena (T Starchi)

15th - Prem "vendetta sincrease" (Montali); Mantua
(T Andreani)

15th - Prem "Kousumo" (Castomali); Prato (T Metastasio)

31st - Prem "Rosalba" (Ermi), Turin (T. Desicheno)

JUN

DEC

7th - Prem "Gesuelle" (Greene), Naples (T. Merendanti)

12th - Prem "L'ombra" (Bottecheri), Macerata (T. Lauro Rossi)

UNLOCATED

Prem "Clara d'Alcy" (Benedetti-Bushi),
Milan (T. Indicattoli), September
Prem "L'Albergo" (Bacchierotti),
Buenos Aires
Prem "Nadino" (Lenzi), Firenze (T. Muciciale),
Autumn
Prem "Sennonsale" (Donato), Palermo (privately)
Prem "Venezia in Vienna" (Bolschi), Vienna

UNPRODUCED

"Don Giovanni" (Scorlino)
"Giulietta e Romeo" (Pizzetti)

PROJECTED

"Madrugada" (Lauva), Puccini
"La Festa de l'Abbe Moubet" (Zele),
Lanuvio
"King Juchirah" (Puccini),
Memirs from the House of the Dead
(Descevasy), Puccini
"Notre-Dame de Paris" (Hugo), Puccini
"Siberia" (Lilla), Puccini
"Tatiana de Tarasoch" (Daudet), Puccini

** 1956 **
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JAN

JUL

18th - Alet PREM "A bass pastor" (Spinelli), St Louis

18th - Brit PREM "Tosca" (Puccini), London (Covent Garden)

18th - PREM "Tosca" (Puccini), Rome (Teatro)

20th - PREM "Ivan" (Le Rutecki), East (T. Puccini)

24th - PREM "Vernita nera" (Pizzi), Milan (T. Del Verme)

24th - PREM "Lo cosa d'oro" (Saffredini), Milan (T. Puccini)

FEB

AUG

19th - PREM "La tempesta" (Del Ponte), Livorno (Politeama)

17th - PREM "Antoni" (Callelli), Milan (La Scala)

17th - PREM "La Morte di Salomone" (Mascagni), Naples (Teatro)

17th - PREM "Il calabrone" (Ferroni), Milan (Teatro)

22nd - PREM "Cecilia" (Valli-Berger), Venice (Teatro)

22nd - PREM "Stralimento" (Cappocci), Genoa (Teatro)

22nd - PREM "Le confessioni" (Cappocci), Genoa (Teatro)

24th - PREM "Le confessioni" (Cappocci), Genoa (Teatro)

MAR

SEP

19th - PREM "Arabian Nights" (Callelli), Buenos Aires

17th - Prem "Orbis" (Coasta). Benvenuto (T. Vittoria Emanuele)

17th - Still Prem "A basso costo" (Ginevra), Sturton

22nd - Prem "Lineare" (Ferrara). Modena (T. Storchi)

APR

OCT

4th - Prem "Zerlina" (Cassa). Venice (T. Silvio Pellico)

20th - Prem "Abdolon" (Tascher). Chioggia (T. Gariboldi)

MAY

NOV

8th - Prem "Don Cirillo" (Ecofem). Pieve (T. Comandini)

10th - Prem "Zaza" (Leonvallet). Milan (T. Lirica)

17th - Prem "Medio etc Latino" (Pamizza). Genoa (Politeama)

22nd - Prem "Corrado" (Mazzucchi); Rome (T. Arcantenna)

24th - Prem "Sordello" (Vallini); Florence (T. Padellani)

28th - Prem "Le vicini" (Lossi); Rome (T. Guzzino)

JUN

DEC

14th - Prem "Alal-Kar" (Dall'Olio); Turin (T. Balbo)
15th - Prem "Vassvik" (Fasoli); Rome (T. Guzzino)

UNLOCATED

Prem "Vita di Montecarlo" (Roche); Alba
Prem "Vite e Vite" (Pizzari-Trucchi);
Pavia (T. Gall. Istituto Richi)

UNPRODUCED

"La Badia di Fossola" (Venetiani);
"Barca" (Bonifazi);
"Il suono di Fider" (Pillasi)

PROJECTED

"Aglishe" (Constant); Puccini
"Il Cecco d'Asola" ("L'Alchimista");
"L'Annunzio"; Puccini
"Dante e i Poeti" (Puccini)
"Le Cattedrali" (Puccini)
"Gliu' Ricchi" (Puccini)
"La Jondiera" (Galdoni); Puccini
"Le Tour de Nesle" (Dumas); Puccini

11th - Prem "Marcella" (Terenobis, Bergamo (T. Donizetti)).

OCT

12th - Prem. "Le preziose" (Calliera), Parma (T. Regio).

APR

13th - Prem "Lorenza" (Manchetoni), Rome (T. Costantini).

MAY

14th - Prem "Celeste" (Orsini), Brescia (T. Donizetti).

NOV

19th - Prem "Celeste" (Risano), San Miniato (T. Verdi).

23th - Prem "Chopin" (Dreife), Milan (T. Liszt).

JUN

DEC

25th - Prem "Zriedmann Bach" (Facc), Rome (T. Adriani).

UNLOCATED

Prem "La canzone del lillo" (Collino).
Prem "Marta de Tola" (Lucorini).
Lora (T. Dal Giallo).
Prem "Oce vadisa" (Bezzi), Ancone
(T. Anello); March.

UNPRODUCED

PROJECTED

"La canzone dello sic Tom" (Becher Stone).
Giordano
"La divina commedia" (Dante), Puccini.
"The House of the Holy Mary" (Mebors from
"Marta Antonietta" (Lillo), Mesagni

** 1902 **
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JUL

JAN

14th - Prem "Gabriella" (Scavo); Catania
(T. Principe & Naboli)

23rd - Prem "Sostema Via" (Medaglia); Turin

25th - Prem "Le fate in ottolonia" (Thomas); Milan
(W. Dei Vesme)

222

AUG

4th - Prem "Vanda" (Conti); Milan (T. Lirio)

14th - Prem "Cecilia" (Delfico); Vicenza (T. Verdi)

SEP

7th - Prem. "I Matateo" (Cadore); Milan (T. Del Verme)

MAR

11th - Prem. "Germania" (Frenchetti); Milan (La Scala).

25th - Prem. "Nota lux" (Grenorio); Rome (T. Adriani)

30th - Prem. "Erennie" (Parodi); London (T. Comunale)

APR

24th - Bill. Prem. "Rosiba" (Pizzi); London (Cavendish Garden)

OCT

9th - Prem "Il bandito" (Palchetti); Turin
(T. Vittorio Emanuele).

14th - Prem "La concessione di Gesù" (Cordera); Turin
(T. Vittorio Emanuele).
14th - Amer. Prem "Iris" (Mascioni); Philadelphia
(Academy of Music).

NOV

MAY

24th - Prem. "La morte di Galileo" (Vercellotti); Rome
(C. Di Cortis)
27th - Prem "Un drama in montagna" (Anfoschi); Lucca
(T. Del Galileo)

** 1983 **
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JUL

JAN

17th - Prem "Ebc" (Trucco); Genoa (Pal. Genovese).

28th - Prem "Occore" (Smeraglia); Milan (La Scala).
29th - 1st Prem "Il cuor delle fanciulle" (Squarone);
Pisenna (T. Municipale).

30th - Prem "Nichelangelo e Rolfo" (Squarone); Piacenza
(T. Municipale).

FEB

AUG

11th - Prem "Geminia" (Lusantoni); Naples (T. Bellini)
13th - Prem "Il mastice" (Cordata); Firenze (T. Perote)

22nd - Prem. "Le Alzavane" (Baci). Venice (T. Rossini)

MAR

SEP

12th - Prem. "Violins di notte" (De Angelis); Firenze
(T. Marfacci).

14th - Prem. "Suite Clavecin" (Montico); Udine (T. Sociale)

APR

OCT

11th - Prem "Don" (La Fontaine). Bari (T. Petrucci)

14th - 2nd Prem. "Andrea Chenier" (Giorzano); London
(Camden Town Theatre)

25th - Prem. "Il severo Torcillo" (Asteri-Mancocchi); Salerno
(T. Dusa)

MAY

2nd - Prem "Don Mattio" (Dismetti); Venice (T. Rossini)
3th - Prem "Rachisano" (Marinuzzi); Palermo (T. Massimo)
4th - Prem "Necro" (Pezzi); Piacenza
7th - Prem "Il mento" (Ghini); Venice (T. Fanice)

NOV

11th - Prem "Un curioso accidente" (Cecchetti); Turin
(T. Vittorio Brambilla)

17th - Prem "Gloria d'amore" (Bemate); Milan (T. Lirico)

27th - Prem "Le donne ostiose" (Dotti-Petracci); Munich
(Presidenti Theater)
27th - Prem "Zaza" (Leoncavallo); San Francisco
(Tivoli Opera House)

DEC

5th - Prem "Fantasia" (Grasini); Rome (T. Adriano)

JUN

13th - Prem "Il segreto Toralli" (Melloni); Reggio Emilia
(T. Comandini)

UNLOCATED

UNPRODUCED

PROJECTED

"La Citoyenne Solitaire" (Daudet/Cain),
 "Don Pietro Caruso" (Brazzo), Puccini.
 "La Femme et le Pantin" (Louve), Puccini.
 "Giandomenico" (Bardou), Puccini.
 "Les Cavaliers" (Puccini), Puccini.
 "L'Homme sans Nom" (Gottschalk), Puccini.
 "Die Weber" (Neubmann), Puccini.

"La ciarrattiera" (Darclee).

Prem "Camorra" (Esposito); St. Petersburg
 Prem "Il corsaro" (Perrini-Troceni);
 Prem "Festa" (del Liceo Musicale);
 Prem "L'Alchimista" (Biondi); Firenze
 Prem "I francesi nel Tirolo" (Del Ion);
 Prem "Beland" (Municipale); Torino.
 Prem "Maria di Colosse" (Montano);
 Firenze
 Prem "Il mercato di Malmantile" (Scorcher);
 Prem "San Marino" (V. Tizano).

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JUL

JAN

16th - Prem "Nedra" (Rossi); Mantua

25th - Prem "Mirandolina" (Lorzi); Turin (T. Carusano).

FEB

AUG

4th - Prem "L'olio" (Bucci); Florence (T. Perotti).

8th - Prem "Francesco Sforza" (Zanotti); Cremona (T. Comandini)
 9th - Prem "Aretusa" (Casalini); Messina (T. Vittorio Emanuele)

10th - Prem "Fiorella" (Perrini-Troceni); Pavia

IT del Liceo Musicale.

17th - Prem. "Madama Butterfly" (Puccini); Milan (La Scala)

MAR

10th - Prem. "Gli eroi della eroica" (Berlioz); Naples
(V. Verdi)

SEP

27th - Prem. "Simma" (Lacerini); Recanati (T. Puccini).

DOY

8th - Prem "L'amore di un ancello" (Rossini); La Spezia
(Poi Duce di Genova)

4th - Prem "I due rivali in amore" (Mozart); Medicine
(T. Comuniste)

27th - Prem. "Medie d'Alceon" (Medina), Milan (T. Verdi)

NOV

1st - 2nd. Prem. "Adriana Lecouvreur" (Cilea), London
(Cohen, Garson).

12th - Prem. "David" (Gailit), Milan (T. Lirico).

18th - Prem. "Il cieco" (Candiano), Rovigo (T. Scotis).
18th - Prem. "Il domino azzurro" (De Venesia), Milan (T. Lirico).
18th - Prem. "Salvino" (Ferrari-Ferrari), Alessandria (T. Finzi).
18th - Prem. "Mouset Mendota" (Gilles), Milan (T. Lirico).
18th - Prem. "La sberle" (Ducos), Milan (T. Lirico).
18th - Prem. "La sberle" (Ducos), Milan (T. Lirico).
18th - Prem. "Mouset Mendota" (Gilles), Milan (T. Lirico).
18th - Prem. "Mouset Mendota" (Gilles), Milan (T. Lirico).

21st - Prem. "Aminta" (Sabbena), Milan (T. Del Verme).

24th - Prem. "Lucio" (Mafione-Montana), Naples (T. Bellini)

23rd - Ital. Prem. "Mateida" (Abbate), Modena.

30th - Prem. "Risurrezione" (Alfano), Turin
(T. Vittorio Emanuele).

DEC

JUN

11th - Prem. "Rolando di Barlino" (Leonuzzi), Berlin
(Royal Opera House).

19th - Prem. "Cristo alla festa di Purim" (Gianetti),
Rio de Janeiro.
19th - Prem. "Il re di annole" (Lotenti-Veris), Trieste

UNLOCATED

UNREPRODUCED

PROJECTED

Prem "Mare sculture" (Fedeles); Constantino; "La cosa del re" (Zandani);
 Prem "L'Avventura di Pedicchio" (Zandani); "Rosaura radiata" (Valente);
 Prem "Nel cantiere" (Gavalli); Novara (T. Coccia);
 Prem "La confessa di San Rocco" (Lacchetti); Naples;
 Prem "Com. San Pietro di Marila" (Cerrino);
 Prem "Com. San Vito" (Coccia);
 Prem "Santia" (Gantoni); Trieste (T. Coccia);
 Prem "Santia" (Gantoni); Trieste (T. Coccia);
 Prem "Il piccolo monastero" (Petrassi-Treccani);
 Prem "Fisber" (Gavalli); Novara (T. Coccia);
 "Brucia la Noia" (Rosenbach); Puccini;
 "Calendario" (Soldani); Puccini;
 "Crisia de Berceuse" (Rostand); Puccini;
 "Com. San Vito" (Coccia);
 "L'Avventura del re" (Zandani);
 "Fedeles" (Fedeles);
 "King Lear" (Shakespeare); Puccini;
 "Marschella da Costanza" (Soldani); Puccini;
 "Una scia" (Chimicini);
 "Vita" (Gavalli); Puccini;

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 ** 1905 **
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JAN

JUL

11N - Prem "Anne Katharina" (Bassano); Naples (T. Mercadante);
 18th - Prem "Madama Butterfly" (Puccini);
 19th - Prem "Madama Butterfly" (Puccini);

10th - Prem "La fienata di Corinto" (Coppola); Turin
 (T. Vittorio Emanuele);

14th - Prem "Rosa" (Gedica); Genova (T. Carlo Felice);
 16th - Prem "Rolando di Berlino" (Leonavalle); Naples
 (T. San Carlo);

24th - Prem "Lo schiavo di Eleonora" (Bellini); Milan
 (T. Dal Verme);

28th - Prem "Giovanni Gullarese" (Montemassi); Turin
 (T. Vittorio Emanuele);
 28th - Prem "Nella" (Morosini); Ginevra (T. Coccia);

FEB

AUG

4th - Prem. "Madre" (Zanetti); Novara (T. Cecchi).

14th - Prem. "Fiama" (Pieraccini); Florence (T. Petrosini)

25th - Prem. "Van Dyck" (Manno); Fermo (T. Dell'Avella).

27th - Prem. "Cater" (Cecorini); Viterbo (T. Dell'Unione).

30th - Prem. "Per la patria" (Cecchi); Rieti (T. Vespasiano).

MAR

SEP

12th - Prem. "Se Enzo" (Raschi); Bologna (T. Del Corso).

14th - Prem. "Vita Bretona" (Manno); Naples (T. Ben Corio)

14th - Prem. "Amica" (Mascari); Monte Carlo (Theatre du Casino).

14th - Prem. "Il canto di Francesco" (Bianchi); Pavia (T. Guidi)

18th - Prem. "In Umbria" (Bianchi); Pavia (T. Guidi)

21st - Prem. "Stellina" (Gastaldi); Florence (T. Niccolini)

24th - Prem. "Carmela" (Bertanti); Viareggio (Politeama).

APR

OCT

2th - Prem. "L'ultima ora di Torquato Tasso" (More); Catania
(T. Principe di Napoli)

17th - Prem. "Sansue bagna" (Bello); Catania
(Principe di Napoli).

MAY

7th - Prem. "Le tempeste" (De Rosis); Palermo (T. Maricchi).
9th - Prem. "Lidia" (Casarini); Genoa (Pol. Genovese).
12th - 12th. Prem. "Amice" (Masoni); Rome (T. Costanzi).

25th - Prem. "Cecilio" (Montefiore); Ravenna (T. Alchieri).

JUN

NOV

7th - Prem. "Im macher" (Medini); Savona (T. Chiabrera).
9th - Prem. "Proemissim de Ballo-Isle" (Sanna); Genoa
(Sanna).
11th - 11th. Prem. "Andree Chenier" (Giordan); Genoa
(Cavan, Giordan).

29th - Prem. "Cadote" (Montico); Padua (T. Verdi).

DEC

2nd - Prem. "Jent" (Viscogli); Milan (T. Dei Verme).
3rd - Prem. "L'Albano" (Pacchiarotti); Milan (T. Dei Verme).
5th - Prem. "Cassandre" (Gugli); Bologna (T. Comunale).
5th - 11th. Prem. "Crinio alle feste di Furim" (Giannetti); Turin

FEB

AUG

6th - Prem "Raffaello" (Di Lunchi); Perugia (T. Del Favone).

21st - Prem. "Benvenuto Cellini" (Tubi); Parma (T. Reato)

24th - Prem. "Dante Alighieri" (Cassullo); Naples (T. Metekante).

24th - Prem. "Amor" (Nascenzi); New Orleans
(French Opera House)

MAR

SEP

15th - Prem "La sexta nota" (Boccardo); Pallanza (T. Sestieri).

19th - Prem. "I quattro rustichi" (Volf-Ferrari); Munich
(Hoftheater).

19th - Prem. "La figlia di Corio" (Frenchetti); Milan (La Scala)

APR

OCT

8th - Prem "Medea" (Tommasini); Trieste (T. Verdi)
10th - Prem "Tess" (D'Ercole); Naples (T. San Carlo)

15th - Amer. Prem "Madama Butterfly" (Puccini); Washington

MAY

6th - Prem "Myrtilla" (Albetti); Cellera
(Pol. Natchevita)

22nd - Ital. Prem. "Iz borohase omluemo" (Egonoff); Milan
(T. Fossati)

JUN

1st - Prem "San Sordano" (Del Ponte); Civitavecchia
(T. Traino)
3rd - Prem "Malia" (Manini); Livorno (T. Galdoni)

NOV

5th - Brit. Prem. "Feozz" (Giordano); London (Covent Garden).

8th - Prem "Macnes" (Parelli); Genoa (Pol. Genova).

12th - Prem "Il ballista" (Fino); Turin (T. Vittorio Emanuele)
14th - Prem "Fides" (Massucchi); Naples (T. Mercadante).

20th - Prem "Natch" (Carsoni); Turin (T. Vittorio Emanuele)
21st - Prem "Editta" (Garbieri); Milan (T. Lillo).

24th - Prem "Jery e Batsly" (Romano); Palermo
(Pol. Garibaldi).

27th - Prem "Mistice scocione" (Farrato); Venice (T. Masini).

DEC

1st - Prem "Vendetta" (Pisani); Cologne

1th - Amer. Prem "Fedora" (Giordano); New York (Metropolitan)
2th - Prem "Le Cugliosi" (Napoli); New York (Metropolitan)
4th - Prem "Il post" (Gamb); Milan (T. Dal Verme)

9th - Prem "Il viandante" (Boschi), Mannheim (Hoftheater)

UNPRODUCED

Prem "Anna Karolina" (Carnielli), Kiev.
Prem "La Iuda di Anceles" (Gilli), Palermo
Prem "Parone e Yeri" (Cassano), Fano
Prem "Ristorante" (Cassano), Fano
Prem "Cassano Montebello" (Cassano), Fano

UNPRODUCED

"The Duke of Padua" (Wilda), Puccini.
"The Port of Tuscany" (Wilda), Puccini.
"Karl and his Son" (Corky), Puccini.
"Pavilina" (D'Annunzio), Puccini.
"The Wolf" (Corky), Puccini.
"La casa di Piero" (D'Annunzio), Puccini.
"The Twenty-six against One" (Corky),
Puccini.

PRODUCED

** 1907 **
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JAN

JUL

5th - Amer Prem "Adriano Lecocquer" (Giles), New Orleans
(French Opera House)

10th - 1st Prem "Cavalletto turinese" (Montesini), Turin
(Vittorio Emanuele).
12th - 2nd Prem "Loreley" (Datalini), London (Covent Garden)

17th - Prem "Pame sicuti" (Creticos), Venice (V. Fenice)

50th - Prem. "Oriana" (Del Valle De Pao), Florence
(Pol. Comunale)

FEB

AUG

51th - Prem. "Cervallela Rusticana" (Montecatini, Arezzese)

51th - Prem. "Gaza antica" (Trenchi), Siena (T. Sociale)

52th - Prem. "Il Neco della Nera" (Fiora), Siena (Apostolica)

52th - Prem. "Anima infante" (Bellini), Naples (T. Metrodente)

53th - Prem. "Le fate bianche" (Vercellina), Reggio Emilia
(T. Municipale)

54th - Prem. "Apostata" (Parma), Parma (T. Nostro)

55th - Prem. "Erisonaia" (Lombard), Luceno
(Castello Di Trevano)

MAR

SEP

56th - Prem. "Nozze infuocate" (Madonia), Medicine (T. Comunale)

APR

DEC

15th - Prem. "Gloria" (Cilea), Milan (La Scala)

20th - Prem. "Gottfried Reinhold" (Bergio di Villazorata);
Rovino (T. Social).

27th - Prem. "Sardani nei buis" (Donady); Palermo (T. Massimo).

MAY

NOV

15th - Prem. "Emilia" (Ottolenghi); Turin
(T. Vittorio Emanuele).

9th - Prem. "Marcella" (Giordano); Milan (T. Lirico).
11th - Prem. "Paolo e Francesca" (Mancinelli); Bologna
(T. Comunale).
12th - Prem. "Idem" (Bartolucci); Turin (T. Vittorio Emanuele).
13th - Brit. Prem. "Germania" (Franchetti); London
(Covent Garden).

23rd - Prem. "L'Anima del denaro" (Contrabasso); Modena
(T. Storti).

27th - Prem. "La nave rossa" (Serafini); Milan (T. Lirico)

20th - Prem. "Tradite" (De Wittkies); Turin
(T. Vittorio Emanuele)

JUN

DEC

14th - Prem "Amor tiranno" (Rodriguez); La Spezia
(Pol Duca di Genova)

23rd - Prem "La coccarda" (Santoro); Venice (T. Malibran)

PRE

AUG

15th - Prem "La terra promessa" (Pedrelli); Crema
(P. Ghislini)
17th - Prem "La tradita" (Comellini); Genoa
(Pol Genovese).

25th - Prem "I coltelli rossi" (Mach); T. Scialoja
27th - Prem "L'ora" (Bodini); T. Scialoja
29th - Prem "La primavera" (Geronzi); Turin
(V. Rinaldi)
31st - Prem "Egideberca mia" (Pacchierotti); Genoa
(T. Carlo Felice).

MAR

1st - Prem "Il figlio del mare" (Cicchini); Venice
(P. Senise)

5th - Prem "Rose rosse" (Labretti); Rome (T. Radio)

5th - Prem "Aurora" (Penizza); Buenos Aires (T. Colon).

SEP

26th - Prem. "Joceline" (Trenschli); San Remo (Casino Municipale);
28th - Prem. "Rauha" (Blaschi); Florence (T. Verdi).

DCT

APR

4th - Prem. "Estac" (Gazzarini); Genoa (T. Paganini).
14th - Prem. "Pedroico Struense" (Marcheo); Novi Ligure
(T. Carlo Alberto).

15th - Prem. "Rhea" (Samora); Florence (T. Verdi)

24th - Prem. "Fantasma" (Petratto); Vicenza (T. Verdi).

NOV

MAY

1st - Prem. "I rivali" (Vircilli); Verona (T. Manzoni).

9th - Prem. "Koenig e Ruth" (Fino); Bergamo (T. Rubini)

12th - Prem. "Maria Antonietta" (Galli); Turin
(T. Vittorio Emanuele)

17th - Prem. "Gocelina d'Albania" (Cuneo); Turin
(T. Vittorio Emanuele).

28th - Prem "Aix" (Belluno), Genoa (Pol Genova)
 28th - Prem "Papa" (La Rotonda), Milan (F. Dal Verme)
 28th - Prem "Il orlino del locolare" (Zandonati), Turin.

DEC

JUN

28th - Prem "La vedova" (Pinna); Naples (T. Mercedante)

UNLOCATED

Prem "Mestito Dattaro e le sue opere"
 (Gessi); San Rovo
 (T. Frinco; Amadeo); November.
 Prem "La spalla" (Mazzini)
 Prem "Ton" (Quarantini); Treviso

UNPRODUCED

"Bianca Fuldano" (Meliorio)
 "Miles Sicilian" (Boccheri)
 "L'uccellino d'oro" (Zandonati).

PROJECTED

"Il mistero" (Verca); Montecatini.

JAN

 ** 1900 **
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JUL

4th - Prem. "Il canto del cigno" (Roggero); Turin
(T. Vittorio Emanuele)
4th - Amer. Prem. "La Wally" (Catania); New York (Metropolitan)

14th - Brit Prem. "Tess" (D. Splanzer); London (Covent Garden).

22nd - Prem. "Speranza" (Cassassa); Monza (T. Sociale)

Prem. "Jelis" (Leri); Bergamo (T. Nuovo).

FEB

AUG

3rd - Prem. "Il principe di Shah" (Alfano); Genoa
(T. Carlo Felice)

6th - Prem. "Giuliana" (Montanelli); Ferri (T. Comunale).

22nd - Prem. "Venezia" (Gherli); Palermo (T. Massimo).

28th - Prem. "Evedda" (Bartolucci); Pesaro (T. Rossini).

27th - Prem. "Partita d'onore" (Raffaelli); Pesaro (T. Rossini).

MAR

SEP

17th - Prem "Mellera" (Montemassi); Turin (T. Rossi)
20th - Prem "Mercedes" (Sieri-Pecoli); Trapani (T. Caribaldi).
25th - Prem "Virginia" (Bonafini); Modena (T. Sieroni).

APR

OCT

5th - Prem "I bimbi" (Bapissardi); Palermo (T. Massimo).

15th - Prem "Della" (Sanna); Cagliari (T. Eden)

20th - Prem "La vedova scaltra" (Gerdu); Sassari del Gruppo
(T. Sociale).

24th - Prem "La vedovina" (Mascaroni); Naples (T. San Carlo) 25th - Prem "Fioradona" (Salbene); Busto Arsizio (T. Sociale).

28th - Prem "Redenzione" (Ravelli); Brescia (T. Sociale).

30th - Brit. Prem "Zeta" (Lorenzavalle); London (Coronet Theatre).

MAY

NOV

4th - Prem "Le Eumenidi" (Gualletti); Trapani (T. Sociale)

10th - Brit Prem "Cavalleria rusticana" (Montanari); London
(Coronet Theatre)

30th - Prem "Zulma" (Romani); Livorno (T. Galdoni).

JUN

DEC

2nd - Prem "Santa Cecilia" (Castorossa); La Spezia
(Pol. Duce di Genova).
4th - Prem "Il sepolcro di Susanna" (Volf-Pastori); Munich
(Heithofer).
4th - Prem "La Sina d'Yarobur" (Pratella); Bologna (T. Comunale).

12th - Prem "Il capitano Proenza" (Costi); Turin (T. Alfieri).

10th - Prem "Eora" (Lecchasin); Novara (Pol. Girotto)

UNLOCATED

UNPRODUCED

PROJECTED

Prem "Le" (Toselli).
Prem "Le nozze delle Tindale";
Prem "Donatelli"; Reggio.
Prem "Mamma Vittoria"; Poggia.
Prem "Santità di Dante" (Gastaldon);
Genoa.

"Prisena" (Titta).
"Hillevictoric" (Rassiohi).
"Il matrimonio salvatico" (Giles).
"Regine" (Cuscina).

** 1950 **
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JAN

JUL

14th - Prem "Judite Rodet" (Gardino); Venice (T. Fenice)

15th - Prem "Maia" (Leonavalle); Rome (T. Costanzi)

14th - Prem "Nada Delvia" (Gubilesi); Pistoia (T. Mabbellian)

22nd - Prem "Tunnicliffe" (Dei Sono); Penna (T. Comunale)

23rd - Amer. Prem. "Germania" (Franchelli); New York

24th - Prem "Martina Delorme" (Tisiantini); Pavia (T. Comunale)

FEB

AUG

23rd - Prem "Vincenzo Cappello" (Lanza); Milan (T. Rai Verme)

24th - Prem "Vigilanza" (Leon); Genoa (T. Carlo Felice)

12th - Prem "La festa del grano" (Fino); Turin (T. Radio)

MAR

SEP

29th - Prem "Aurea" (Zanella); Parma (T. Rossini)

21st - Prem "Fedelette" (Floridis); Cincinnati (Music Hall)

17th - Prem. "Messa nazionale" (Giordano), Palermo (T. Massimo).

21st - Prem. "Guendelfera" (Onofri); Venice (T. Rossini)

APR

GCT

9th - Prem. "Don Chisciotte" (Pezini), Firenze (T. Verdi)

14th - Prem. "Patria" (Maffioti); Reggio Emilia (T. Comense)

16th - Prem. "La Doride" (Caccioti); Bruggia

18th - Prem. "Richardta" (Brockmann); Nien (La Scala)

21st - Prem. "Cecilia" (Metouci); Perosa (T. Morlacchi)

15th - Prem. "Clorinda" (Crispino); Genoa (Pol. Genovese)

20th - Prem. "I due Giorio Byron" (Giardi), Santiago.

MAY

MCV

5th - Prem. "Alba eroica" (Monteverdi); Genoa (T. Carlo Felice)

6th - Prem. "Kada" (Sudano), 2 Maria Ceova Velere

(T. Estibaldiz)

14th.- Prem. "Calendimassio" (Pietri), Florence (T. Percola).

17th.- Prem. "Luiss de iz Velliers" (D'Orio), Venice (T. Rossini).
17th.- Prem. "Al mulino" (Casson), Turin (T. Vittorino Schenone).
17th.- Prem. "Smita d'A. Camis" (Sca), Torino (T. Cassella).
20th.- Prem. "Benitche" (Gaspichi), Bologna (T. Canalis).

22nd.- Prem. "La tavola di Heloz" (Sentoliquiso), Milan (T. Del Verme).
23rd.- Prem. "Vanne" (Favanelli), Milan (T. Del Verme).

27th.- Prem. "Piete" (Dennecker), Trieste (T. Fenice).

JUN

DSC

7th.- Prem. "Idor" (Zerilli), Naples (T. Marcodante).

10th.- Prem. "La fanciulla del West" (Pacoini), New York (Metropolitani).

UNLOCATED

Prem. "Bertoldo" (Coronato), Milan
Prem. "Y. Rossini"
Prem. "Bimbo" (Landi), Lucca
Prem. "It. Dei Gioi", January
Prem. "La Buferra" (Cialdini), Pisa
Prem. "Le Botte di Quarto" (Farnabi)
Prem. "Raffaello" (Mildenbero), Naples.

UNPRODUCED

"Enoch Arden" (C. A. Rossi).
"Bismione" (Carnola)

PROJECTED

"L'Dissest Bru" (Maestrellino); Puccini.
"Pomato" (Aeschelus); Leonosvallo.

XX 1921
XX 1921
XX 1921

JAN

JUL

11th - Brit. Prem. "Il segreto di Susanna" (Volk-Pezzi); London (Covant Garden).

FEB

AUG

2nd - Prem "La debole" (Nastasi); Casena (T. Comunista)

8th - Prem "Le incendz del 1800" (Veneziani); Venice (T. Fenice)

12th - Prem "Dopo la ciora" (Pannochie); Alessa (T. Petros)

14th - Prem "Maritana" (Tentini); Bari (T. Petruselli)

18th - Prem "Morana" (De Niro); Turin (T. Rezia)

22nd - Prem "Gull'orma" (Vissacchi); Vercelli (T. Civico)

27th - Prem "Una perdita a seceh" (Cosselli); Genoa

(T. Carlo Felice).

MAR

SEP

14th - Amer. Prem "Il segreto di Svezia" (Voli-Ferrari).
New York (Harrill:sh).

APR

OCT

1st - Prem "Fiori di mare" (Filioli). Milan (L. Berti).
1st - Prem "Ritmo" (Cossina). Nassau (T. Hartmann).

1st - Prem "Willids" (Valini). Pistoia (T. Mabbellini).

14th - Prem "Conchita" (Zandonati). Nisich (T. Dal Verme).

MAY

NOV

6th - Prem. "Rosanna" (Camozzi); Verona (T. Finotti).

14th - Prem. "La Meriside" (Trovati); Naples (T. Bellini).

14th - Prem. "Luisiana" (Aru); Ancoli Piceno (T. Ventidio Basso).

27th - Prem. "Eucelia" (Sobbiani); Rome.
27th - Ital. prem. "Il segreto di Susanna" (Wolff-ferretti); Rome (T. Costanzi).

27th - Brit. Prem. "Le fanciulle del West" (Puccini); London (Cavers, Darden).

JUN

DEC

2nd - Prem. "Lesbeus" (Mascioni); Buenos Aires (T. Colisco).
3rd - Prem. "Januccio" (Alivillani); Naples (T. Marsadante)

6th - Prem. "Giovane Italia" (Pieraccini); Florence (T. Verdi)

23rd - Prem. "I gioielli della Madonna" (Wolff-Ferrari); Berlin (Kufuratempet).

UNLOCATED

UNPRODUCED

PROJECTED

Prem. "Il minuetto degli anelli"
(Manini); Genoa
Prem. "Il mercante" (Giannetti);
Buenos Aires

"La città sudista" (Bustini)

"Los Flores" (Quintero); Puccini
"Johanna" (Spermann); Puccini.
"William" (Reiner); Puccini.
"Lena Deane" (Blackmore); Puccini.
"Summer" ("Arabian Nights"
adpt. Reinhardt); Puccini.

** 1912 **
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JUL

JAN

3rd - Amer Prem "Le donne curiose" (Volf-Ferrati); London (Covent Garden).
New York (Metropolitan)

12th - Prem "Sulle rive del Danubio" (Bondonio) - Acti
(Pol. Nazionale)

18th - Amer Prem "I ottevoli della Madonna" (Volf-Ferrati);
Chicago (Auditorium)

20th - Ital Prem "Isabella" (Fascioni); Milan (La Scala).
Venice (Teatro); both parts concurrent

FEB

AUG

20th - From "Joufre Redei" (Bavz), Messina (T. Mastrolenni)

MAR

4th - From "I disbettoni amantii" (Pirelli), Philadelphia
(Metropolitan Opera Company)

19th - From "Macbeth" (Danneberg), Bologna (T. Verdi)

22th - From "Noite d'emora" (Rodríguez), Venice (T. Rossini)

APR

4th - From "Bethma" (Berez), Venezia (T. Dvořák)
8th - From "Fonzei" (Percari), Vienna (Holbert)

14th - From "Anthony" (Cesario), Parma (T. Righetti)
15th - From "Noite d'emora" (Rodríguez), Milan (T. Rossini)
16th - From "La straniera di Cortina" (Mazzini), Parma (T. Rossini)

22nd - From "I cavalieri all'ultima crociata" (Chianura),
Paris (T. Puccini)

SEP

14th - From "L'opera" (Lombardi), London (H. Puccini)
17th - From "Noite d'emora" (Rodríguez), Genoa (T. Rossini)

23th - From "L'assiuolo" (Gnocchi), Rome (T. Nascenzi)

28th - From "Conchita" (Zandonai), San Francisco

OCT

1st - From "La crisette" (Favilli), Leno (T. Ferreri)

17th - From "La straniera" (Bazzani), Milan (T. Rossini)

25th - From "Madre" (Ereice), Milan (T. Rossini)
26th - From "Il litore italiano", Genoa (P. Schuster)

MAY

NOV

2th - Prem. "Le Du Barry" (Camussi); Milan (T. Lirico).
4th - Prem. "Vendetta corsa" (Matsick); Rome (T. Adriano).

10th - Prem. "Malenich" (Zandonati); Milan (T. Del Verme).

23rd - Prem. "Biondello" (Pannain); Naples (T. Mercedante).

27th - Prem. "Un eroe di Derna" (Micali); Buenos Aires
(T. Coloni).
30th - Actt Prem "I gioielli della Madonna" (Wolff-Ferrari);
London (Covent Garden).

JUN

DEC

UNLOCATED

UNPRODUCED

PROJECTED

Prem "Battre estive" (Gentili), Turin
 Prem "Pet Chivelle", Nva
 Prem "C'ita" (Kassi), Trento (T. Sociale)
 Prem "Il cavallier Pietro" (Padovani),
 Sanlido.
 Prem "Giallo del birraio" (Billi),
 Prem "Siene in sera" (Ciarberi), Paris
 Prem "Mido di talco" (Baroni),
 Prem "Polo Macchio" (T. Caroz), February
 Prem "Kadenis" (Gianelli), St. Petersburg
 Prem "Le travai di Medardo" (Billi),
 Siena.

"Prima Allera" (Quintero), Puccini
 "La proclama degli innocenti" (D'Annunzio),
 Puccini
 "Vicino de Bettesco" (Rostand), Mascagni
 "Gaudite" (Bible/Lilla), Mascagni
 "Der Vch Winkler" (Irving), Puccini
 "Hilby" (De Maurier), Puccini.

 ** 1913 **

JAN

JUL

3rd - Brit. Prem. "La Du Barry" (Camuss), London (Covent Garden)

16th - Ital Prem "Le donne cuiose" (Volp-ferrari), Milan
(Le Sole)

25th - Prem "Rosetta" (Fentico), Mantua (T. Sociale)

FEB

AUG

4th - Ital Prem "I gioielli della Madonna" (Volp-ferrari),
Genoa

9th - Prem "Melisenda" (Maris), Venice (T. Ferice)

13th - Prem "Provenza" (Mercuri); Bologna (T. Del Corso).

20th - Prem "Vigilia (oturna" (Tommasini); Rome (T. Costanzi).

20th - Prem "Indotti" (Leonardello); Philadelphia.

24th - Prem "Cordulia" (Cottreau); Padua (T. Del Corso).

MAR

SEP

2nd - Prem "La leggenda delle sette torri" (Giacco); Rome (T. Costanzi).

4th - Prem "La zecca di Nino" (Bladi); Livorno (T. Comunale).

11th - Prem "Arborea" (Monticelli); Rome (T. Costanzi).

10th - Prem "La rosa rossa" (Bisone); Savona (Poz. Garibaldi).

15th - Prem "Il sentio" (Pecchiaretti); Turin (T. Reale).

23th - Prem "Vera" (Savasta); Catania (T. Bellini).

APR

OCT

10th - Prem "L'ancora del tre ce" (Montemassi); Milan.

11th - Prem "Aolais" (Tatallo); Catania (T. Bellini).

12th - Prem "Nida" (Allen); Venice (T. Rosmini).

25th - Prem "O'Nunasterio" (Allier), Naples

26th - Amer. Prem. "Zincari" (Leoncavallo), San Francisco
(Tivo); Opera House

NOV

3rd - Prem "Yvonne" (Veilstein), Cassis Montferrier
(Fol. Société)
5th - Prem "Pier d'Albe" (Gismondenio), Cosenza
(P. Comunita)

MAY

8th - Prem. "Veja rossa" (De Ametis), Milan (T. Diene)

26th - Amer. Prem "Cristoforo Colombo" (Fronchetti), Philadelphia
(Metropolitan Opera Company).

JUN

DEC

4th - Prem "L'amore medico" (Volf-Pezetti), Dresden

12th - Prem "L'Avoro" (Ferrari), Milan (T. Dal Verme)

15th - Prem "Pezzano" (Mascagni), Milan (La Scala)

34th - Prem. "La moglie candida" (Leban); Turin
(Pci Chasselle)

UNICATED

Prem. "Adeide" (Menezzoli);
Castiglione Stiviere (T. Comuniste).
Prem. "Fama" (Berni-Corani); Naples
(T. Marinari); Parma; Milan
Prem. "L'insomniaco" (Cicchi); June.
Prem. "Jann" (Gefori); Vienna
Prem. "Per l'amore" (Gottardi); Sebenico.

UNPRODUCED

"L'ohime" (Ginnasiale).
"Il manifesto" (Giaccolini).
"Il sono d'un tramonto"
(Mastrotto).

PROJECTED

"At the Barn" (Wharton); Puccini.
"Comedie de celui qui épouse une femme"
"Belle de nuit" (Puccini); Puccini
"Marie Medeiros" (Mastrotto); Puccini.
"Le Beau de l'ours" (Bernard); Puccini.

JAN

** **
** 1914 **
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JUL

3rd - Amer. Prem. "L'amore dei tre re" (Montemeri); New York
(Metropolitan).

14th - Unit. Prem. "Francesca da Rimini" (Zandonai); London
(Covent Garden).

34th - Prem. "Cenosa" (Mastrotto); Rome (T. Costanzi)

FEB

AUG

3rd - Prem "Juana" (Padrallo), Vicenza (T. Estenio)

10th - Prem "Abraso" (Sncroli), Milan (La Scita)

17th - Prem "L'acuita e le colombe" (Lupolini), Rome
(T. Nazionale)

19th - Prem "Frenasak da Rimini" (Zandonati), Turin (T. Regio)

24th - Amer. Prem. "Cassandre" (Ongechi), Philadelphia
(Chirurgicalan Opera Goban?)

MAR

SEP

24th - Prem "Finlandia" (Frasassi), Turin (T. Redio)
25th - Amer. Prem "L'amore medico" (Vall-Furcetti), New York
(Metropolitan)

APR

OCT

2nd - Prem "L'ombra di Don Giovanni" (Allano), Milan
(La Scita)

7th - Prem "Cercano il via" (Ciola), Genoa

8th - Prem "Sabbu" (Perotti), Naples (T. San Carlo)
(Pal. Marchesita)

18th - Prem "Fide" (Diosono), Bari (T. Petruzzelli).

MAY

NOV

2nd - Prem "Elixir di vita" (Lorzi), Bologna (T. Comunale).

20th - Prem "Il trionfo d'amore" (Bianzani di S. Matteo), Novara
(T. Parrocchiani).

25th - Prem "Radda" (Bianchini), Pavia (Calle)

27th - Brit Prem "L'amore dei tre re" (Montemassi), London
(Covent Garden)

JUN

DEC

2nd - 1st Prem. "I quattro rustech" (Velli-Pesenti), Milan
(T. Lirico)

5th - Prem "La Minerva" (Medina), Turin (T. Carignano)

1st - Prem "Lo occhio del biancoscimo" (Caltedra), Milan
(T. Diana)

AUG

FEB

4th - Amer Fern. "L'occasione" (Leonis), New York

28th - Ital Fern. "Madame Sans-Gêne" (Giordano), Turin
(T. Ricci)

SEP

MAR

20th - Fern. "Fedra" (Pisvetti), Milan (La Scala)

OCT

APR

h - Prem "Fede" (Pirelli), Milan (La Scala)

SEP

OCT

1 - Prem "Fede" (Pirelli), Rome (T. Costanzi)
2 - Prem "Una trucidia fiorentina" (Marsilio), Rome (T. Costanzi)

h - Prem "Abul" (Nasonuceno), Rome (T. Costanzi)

MAY

NOV

h - Prem "Le tute di Arlecchino" (Luisi), Milan
h - Prem "La casa di Sator" (Luisi), Milan (T. Costanzi)

JAN

JUL

8th - Prem. "Meris sul Monte" (Riccetelli); Milan (T. Carcano).

FEB

AUG

24th - Prem "L'ultimo dei Meicani" (Allan); Florence
(poi Fiorentina)

MAR

SEP

8th - Prem "Don Chiscottate" (Dell'Orso); Genoa

(T Carlo Felice)

APR

OCT

14th - Prem "Finta" (Scherzi). Rome (T. Costanzi).

24th - Prem. "Messalban" (Concetti). Florence (T. Percola)

MAY

NOV

23rd.- From "Suona la zitarre!" (Monteone), Milan (T. Lirio)
 24th.- From "Cambone e olodia" (Pisa), Turin (Pol. Chierella).
 25th.- From "Una tragedia fiorentina" (Rovenna), Turin
 (Pol. Chierella).

JUN

DEC

26th.- Amer. Prom. "Francesca da Rimini" (Zandonai), New York
 (McIntosh).

UNLOCATED

UNPRODUCED

PROJECTED

From "Le due sordelle" (Battelli).
 From "Le due sordelle" (Battelli).
 From "Le sordelle del Cavaliere"
 (Mascio); Trapani (T. Galibardi).
 April
 From "Giuditta" (Pedrollo); Bologna
 (T. De' Cessi).
 From "Ivan" (Mastella); Rome (T. Costantini).
 From "L'ammorosa l'eroe" (Boschi); Milan
 (T. Fossati).
 From "Ruy Blas" (Brette); Bologna
 (T. Duse); March

** 1919 **
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JUL

5th - PRES. "Ghismonda" (Bianchi); Rome (T. Adriano)

JAN

AUG

FEB

MAR

SEP

14th - Prem "Sfista d'empire" (Pavul); Rome (T. Costanzi)

27th - Prem "Le fondine" (Puccini); Monte Carlo
(Theatre du Casino)
28th - Prem "Ondine" (Euceria); Monte Carlo (St. San Carlo)
31st - Prem "Il macigno" (De Sabata); Milan (Lo Sciel).

APR

OCT

7th - Ital. Prem "La rendine" (Puccini); Milan (T. Del Verme).

24th - Prem "Eincchio el fronte" (Rosa); Mantua (T. Andreani)

30th - Prem "Lodolitta" (Mascioni); Rome (T. Costanzi)

MAY

NOV

18th - Amer Firm. "Isabeau" (Massena); Chicago (Aud-tor-tuz).

JUN

DEC

UNLOCATED

Prm. "Le espansa ardente"
(Odore-Sulli-Rao), Milan
(I Manzoni)
Prm. "L'isola" (Belandier), Bergamo
Prm. "I Donnicelli", (Cicco)
Prm. "Piccola cosa", (Bili), Siena

UNPRODUCED

"L'emanic ideste" (Kandepert)
"Sodna d'una notte d'estate" (Mancinelli)

PROJECTED

"Citeoatre" (Sardan), (Massena)
"Il sechi onspora" (Bacon), (Massena)
"Il piccolo antio" (Beebe), (Massena)

** 1948 **
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JUL

JAN

12th - Amer. Pres. "Educelita" (Masconi); New York
(Matrecolitan).

AUG

FEB

11th - Pres "Jacquerie" (Motinuzzi), Buenos Aires (T. Colon)

20th - Pres "Schaban" (Ardeolia), Vienna

MAR

MAR

14h - Prem "I due rivali" (Pessano) Sesto S. Giovanni
(F. Senni).

5th - Prem. "Marie di Maddala" (Miochetti); Rome
(F. Costantini).

16th - Prem. "Villa Clermont" (Napolitano); Neolis
(F. San Carlo)

APR

OCT

MAY

5th - Prem. "Cuore e Brutte" (Gianetti); Roma (T. Guirino)

24th - Prem. "Le nozze di Corinto" (Gennari); Roma
(T. Argentina)

JUN

NOV

1st - Prem. "La nave" (Montemari); Milan (La Botta)

DEC

5th - Prem. "Noite d'amore" (Boni); Milan (T. Carcano)

9th - Prem. "Urenis" (Pavese); Milan (La Scala)

14th - Prem. "Il labirinto" (Puccini); New York (Metropolitan)
14th - Prem. "Sue di notte" (Puccini); New York (Metropolitan)
14th - Prem. "Gianni Schicchi" (Puccini); New York
(Metropolitan)

UNLOCATED

Prem. "Denise" (Maffeioli); Lima
Prem. "Il dottor Antonio" (Cattaneo)

UNPRODUCED

"L'incantesimo di Colandrea" (Hurt)

PROJECTED

Prato (T. Mastelloni), February
Prem. "La Nuova Sicilia" (Pino),
Turin (T. Berio), January
Prem. "La vendemmia" (Gracchi), Bologna

JAN

1910
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JUL

8th - Brit. Prem. "Iris" (Mastani), London (Covent Garden)

11th - Ita. Prem. "Il Nebel" (Puccini), Rome (T. Costanzi).
11th - Ita. Prem. "Smo. Accelios" (Puccini), Rome (T. Costanzi).
11th - Ita. Prem. "Granni Schicchi" (Puccini), Rome
(T. Costanzi).

17th - Amer. Prem. "Loreley" (Cattani), Chicago (Auditorium)

27th - Prem. "Pata" (Borghesoni), Pistoia (T. Mabeellini).
27th - Prem. "La via delle finestre" (Zandonati), Ferrara
(T. Rossini).

AUG

3rd - Prem. "Hotel Venezia" (Manno), Palermo
(Filarmopica Bellini).

FEB

30th - Prem. "Pachuda" (Santolando), Tunis

MAR

- 27th - Prem "Fassa la sonda" (Essel); Milan (T. Lizion)
- 6th - 11th. Prem "Jacquerie" (Marinetti); Rome (T. Costanzi)

SEP

- 13th - Prem "Le vamps" (Revelin); Bergamo (T. Donizetti)

- 27th - 8th. Prem "La Wally" (Catalani); Manchester

APR

- 3rd - Prem "Santo Natale" (Berra); Como (P. Lisciani)

- 30th - Prem "Fascismo" (Menini); Parma (T. Reineck)
- 30th - Prem "Fassa la sonda" (Menini); Parma (T. Reineck)
- 30th - Prem "Plectiluno" (Menini); Parma (T. Reineck)
- 30th - Prem "Bioda" (Menini); Parma (T. Reineck)

OCT

- 18th - Prem "Eilvada" (Gencese); Verona (T. Ruvo)

MAY

NOV

13th - Prem. "Al lupo" (Mula); Rome (T. Nazionale).

18th - Amer. Prem. "Le never" (Montemeri); Chicago (Auditorium)
19th - Prem. "Cieza Noviembre" (Bongiorno); Firenze
(Vol. Fiorentino).

22nd - Ital. Prem. "I disastrosi amanti" (Parelli); Milan
(T. Carcano).

JUN

DEC

4th - Prem. "Pamparosa" (Ottolenghi); Milan (T. Coronet).

10th - Prem. "La buffa" (Pecchi); Gallarate (T. Condininio).

21st - Prem. "Il Perolese" (Landi); Milan (T. Carcano)

17th - Prem. "Wilde" (Zema); Pavia (T. Fraschini)

17th - Prem. "Cola Pecca" (Fronti); Messina (T. Marzioleoni)

21st.- Prem "Rondinella" (Cadore); Milan (T. Carcano)

22nd.- Prem "La coccarda" (Davice); Monte Carlo

MAR

SEP

6th.- Prem "L'uomo che ride" (Bovolto); Rome (T. Costanzi)

11th.- Prem "Pietro e la luna" (Gennetti); Rome
(T. Dei Piccoli)

14th.- Prem "Märken" (Boneseri); Trieste (T. Verdi)

12nd.- Prem "La breccia" (Cazzotti); Viareggio
(Nuovo Politeama).
2nd.- Prem "Tempesta di anime" (Bianchi); Fano
(T. Della Fortuna).
7th.- Prem "Il pastore" (Bartolotti); Bergamo (T. Donizetti).

24th.- Prem "I fuochi di S. Giovanni" (Carnesi); Milan
(T. Lucini)

31st.- Prem "Mirra" (Alibonco); Rome (T. Costanzi)

APR

OCT

5th.- Prem "La soubrette" (Fuciolotti); Parma (T. Renzi)

19th - Prem. "Ani, gone" (Bondonio); Novara (T. Cuccia)
21st - Prem. "Gibster" (Bavato); Catania (T. Bellini)
24th - Prem. "Isabella Orsini" (Ercodi); Firenze
(Pol. Comunale).

MAY

20th - Prem. "Zinnareca" (Borli); Bologna (T. Comunale).

NOV

4th - Prem. "L'aviatore Dro" (Piatella); Lugo (T. Rosini).

10th - Prem. "Zvivezy" (Nardella); Parma (T. Rinzsch).

17th - Prem. "Jocuceria" (Mataruzzi); Chiasso (Auditorium).

27th - Prem. "La schiava bianca" (Chiodi); Brescia (T. Sociale).
28th - Prem. "Donna Rosa" (Gazzanti); Viterbo (T. Dell'Unione).
29th - Prem. "Madonnalena" (Fennacchio); Nodvis (Pol. Diacasa).

DEC

30th - Prem. "Gala d'oro" (Barbieri); Genova
(Pol. Comune).

JUN

13th - Prem. "Edino re" (Gonnavello); Chiasso (Auditorium).

17th - Prem. "Una partita a scacchi" (Fonti); Reggio Emilia
18th - Bill Prem. "Il tabarro" (Puccini); London
(Covent Garden).

19th - Brit Prem "Suor Angelica" (Puccini): London
(Covent Garden)
184A - Brit Prem "Gianni Schicchi" (Puccini): London
(Covent Garden)

UNLOCATED

Prem "Le belluile di Nidi" (Carltoni):
Milan (Teatro d'Opera)
Prem "Il flauto magico" (Mozart):
Cesena (Teatro Comunale)
Prem "La cenerentola" (Rossini): Fidenza
(Teatro Comunale)
Prem "Cenerentola" (Rossini): Fidenza
(Teatro Comunale)
Prem "Il flauto magico" (Mozart):
Cesena (Teatro Comunale)
Prem "Il flauto magico" (Mozart):
Cesena (Teatro Comunale)

UNPRODUCED

"Ezio" (Pacini):
"Rosamunda" (Pacini):

PROJECTED

SECTION SEVEN

** ACT ANALYSIS **

The following listing gives a comprehensive analysis, based upon number of acts, of those operas completed within the period 1890-1920 inclusive, and for which data is available. Four items of information are supplied: title of opera, surname of composer, number of acts, and year of production. These are tabulated in two separate indexes under the following headings:-

- (1) OPERA INDEX (Lists data in alphabetical order of title)
- (2) ACT INDEX (Lists data by number of acts)

 ** OPERA INDEX **

OPERA	COMPOSER	NUMBER OF ACTS	YEAR
ABISSO	SPREGLIA	3	1914
AERIANA, L'ECOUVREUR	CILBA	4	1902
AETERNITAS	ZANELLA	4	1914
AIXA	BELLINI	3	1908
ALPATRO, L'	PACCHEROTTI	2	1905
ALCIBIADE	AGOSTINI	3	1902
AMICA	MASCAGNI	2	1905
AMICO, L'	BERLENDIS	3	1914
AMICO FRITZ, L'	MASCAGNI	3	1891
AMORE ALLEGRO	ANDEI	1	1894
AMORE DEI TRE RE, L'	MONTENEZZI	3	1913
AMORE MEDICO, L'	WOLF-FERRARI	2	1910
ANCHI DEGLI ANGELI, GLI	BARRIERI	3	1904
ANDREA CHEMIE	GIORDANO	4	1894
ANTON	CALCOTTI	3	1900
ARLESSIANA, L'	CILBA	3	1897
ATAHUALPA	CATTELANI	4	1909
AURA	ZANELLA	3	1910
AVIATORE DRD, L'	PRATELLA	3	1920
BARBERINA	MARINuzzi	3	1903
BARONessa DI CARINI, LA	MELS	1	1912
BASSO FORTO, A	SPINELLI	3	1899
BATTISTA, IL	CINGO	3	1906
BELLA D'ALCHERO, LA	FARA-MUZZO	1	1892
BENVENUTO CELLINI	TUBI	3	1904
BIRICHINO, IL	MUGNONE	1	1892
BLANC ET NOIR	TIRINDELLI	1	1897

FURIA OMATA. LA	SAMARA	3	1875
FURIE D'ARLECCHINO. LE	LUALDI	1	1845
ZABRISILLA	PIZZI	2	1893
CALVINA	FERRARI-TRECAVE	1	1884
GENNARELLO	CIPOLLINI	3	1891
GERMANIA	FRANCHETTI	4	1882
GRISMONDA	BIANCHI	3	1888
GIANNI SCHICCHI	PUCCINI	1	1918
GIOIELLI DELLA MADONNA. LE	WOLF-FERRARI	3	1911
GIOVANNI GALLURESE	MONTENEZZI	3	1905
GLACIATORE. IL	ORFICE	1	1898
GIORGIA	CILEA	3	1907
GRILLO DEL FOCOLARE. IL	ZANDONAI	3	1908
GRINGIRE	SCONTIINO	1	1890
GUGLIELMO RATELIFF	MASCAGNI	4	1896
HAREM, NELL'	CONCINA	2	1894
HELLERA	MONTENEZZI	3	1909
HOFFMANN	LACCETTI	3	1912
INNOCENTE. L'	D'ANGELI	1	1894
IRIS	MASCAGNI	3	1898
ISAPPAU	MASCAGNI	3	1911
ISABELLA ORSINI	BROGI	4	1829
IVAN	LA ROTELLA	3	1900
IVANO	CIRENEI	1	1907
JACQUERIE	MARINUZZI	3	1918
JANUCCIO	ALTAVILLA	1	1911
JOVO E MARIA	ACOSTINI	2	1874
JUANA	PEDFOLLO	3	1914
LABILIA	SPINELLI	1	1890
LEGGENDA DELLE SETTE TORRI. LA	CASSO	1	1913
LILIA	FRATELLA	1	1905
LIONELLA	SAMARA	3	1891
LOCANDIERA. LA	CORDARA	3	1905
LODILETTA	MASCAGNI	3	1917
LORD GIORGIO BYRON	GIARDA	3	1910
LORELEY	CATALANI	3	1890
LORENZA	MASCERONI	3	1901

LUPC' AL	MULE	2	1919
NACIONS . IL	DE SABATA	3	1917
NADAMA BUTTERFLY	PUCCHINI	2	1904
NADAME SANS-JENE	GIORDANO	3	1915
NAJA	LEONCAVALLO	3	1910
NALA FASQUA!	CASTALDON	2	1870
NALA VITA	GIORDANO	3	1892
NALEDETTA	FERRI	1	1874
NALENA	TYTTA	3	1909
NALIA	FRONZINI	2	1892
NALIA	MANINI	1	1906
NAMPOLA E L'ERCE. LA	ROSSI	1	1916
NANON LESCAUT	PUCCHINI	4	1893
NANUEL MENENDEZ	FILIASI	1	1904
NARCELLA	GIORDANO	3	1907
MARONERITA	BRUGGERMAN	4	1910
MARGHERITA D'ORLEANS	RENDANO	3	1897
MARIA DI MAGGALA	MICHETTI	3	1918
MARIA DULCIS	EUSTINI	3	1902
MARIEIDA	BUCCHERI	1	1895
MARLEN	BUCCHERI	1	1920
MARTIRE. LA	SAMARA	2	1874
MARUZZA	FLORIDIA	3	1874
MASCHESS. LE	MASCAGNI	2	1901
MATEIDA	ABBATE	1	1902
MEDEA	TOMMASINI	3	1906
MEDICI. I	LEONCAVALLO	4	1893
MEDIO EVO	CERQUETELLI	1	1892
MEDIO EVO LATINC	FANIZZA	3	1901
MEDGRA	CUSINATI	4	1894
MESE MARIANO	GIORDANO	1	1910
MELDA	ALLEN	1	1913
MILES STANDISH	EUCCHERI	2	1908
MIRACOLO. IL	LASCETTI	2	1915
MIRANDA	ALFANO	2	1876
MIRRA	ALALEONA	2	1920
MADEMOISELLE DE BELLE-ISLE	SAMARA	3	1905
MULINO. AL	CASSONE	1	1910
MUNASTERIO. O'	ALLEN	2	1915
MADEIA	ROSSI	3	1902

NAVE. LA	MONTEMEZZI	4	1918
NAVE. LA	VAMBIANCHI	2	1887
NENNELLA	SANPELICE	2	1874
NINO E NINETTA	BARBERI	7	1886
NINON DE LENCLOS	CIPOLLINI	3	1885
NORA	LUPORINI	3	1908
NOTTE DI LEGGENDA	FRANCETTI	1	1715
NUZZI ISTRIANE	SMAREGLIA	3	1895
OELIO. L'	BROGI	3	1904
OCERNA	SMAREGLIA	3	1903
OHNER. L'	ACOSTINI	3	1902
OMERA DI DON GIOVANNI. L'	ALFANO	3	1714
ONDINA	EUCCHERI	2	1917
ORAGOLO. L'	LEONI	1	1905
PAGLIACCI	LEONCIVALLO	2	1892
PAOLETTA	FLORDIA	4	1910
PAOLO E FRANCESCA	MANGINELLI	1	1907
PARISINA	MASCAGNI	4	1913
PASSA LA FONDA!	BORSI	1	1919
PATER. IL	GUGLIELMI	2	1899
PENNA D'AIRONE. LA	ACERTINI	1	1898
PERCOLES!	TABCA	4	1898
PERLA NERA. LA	BOCCARDI	1	1906
PERUGINA. LA	MASCERONI	4	1908
PICCOLO HAVERI. IL	CIPOLLINI	1	1893
PISTA. IL	CANTU	1	1907
POMPEII	PEROSI	4	1912
PRINCIPE ZILAN. IL	ALFANO	4	1909
PRINCIPISSA. LA	CAPOZZI	3	1908
PUPILLA. LA	GIALDINI	2	1896
QUATRO RUETTONI. I	WOLF-FERRARI	4	1906
RADDA	CUSCINA	1	1911
RADDA	OREFICE	1	1912
RADDA	SIANCHINI	2	1914
RAFFAELLO	DI LUNCHI	3	1904
RAFFAELLO	MILDENBERG	1	1910
RANTZAU. I	MASCAGNI	4	1892

BANVALD	D'ALESSANDER	1	1876
RE ENZO	RESPICHI	3	1905
REGINA	CUSCINA	3	1909
REGINA DIAZ	GIORDANO	2	1874
REGINA ESTER	FERRARI-TRECCATE	3	1900
RHEA	SABARA	3	1903
RISURREZIONE	ALFANO	3	1794
ROLANDO DI BERLINO	LEONCAVALLO	4	1904
RONCIVAL	BERTINI	3	1891
RONDINE. LA	PUCCINI	2	1717
ROSA DI SAARON. LA	LEALDI	1	1715
ROSAURA RAPITA	VALENTE	3	1904
RUDELLO	FERRONI	1	1890
RUIT MORA	RICCA	2	1893
SAGA DI VALAPERTRA. LA	ERUNETTO	1	1893
SALVATORELLO	SOFFEDINI	3	1874
SAN FRANCESCO. A	SEBASTIANI	1	1874
SANTA LUCIA. A	TABCA	2	1872
SANTO. IL	GHIN	3	1903
SARA LA TROVATELLA	BIANCO	3	1873
SAVITRI	CANTI	3	1874
SCHAABAN	RADELLA	3	1718
SOHIAVO DI CLEOPATRA. LO	BELLINI	1	1905
SECRETO DI SUBANNA. IL	WOLF-FERRARI	1	1909
SELVAGGIA	SUCCHI	4	1902
SEMERANA	RESPICHI	2	1910
SERAFINA D'ALEANIA	CUNEO	4	1909
SISERIA	G.ORDANO	3	1903
SIGNA	COVEN	3	1873
SIGNOR DI POURCEAUGHAC, IL	FRANCHETTI	3	1877
SILVANO	MASCIONI	1	1885
SIRA D'VARGOUN. LA	FRATELLA	3	1909
SOGNO D'UNA NOTTE D'ESTATE. IL	MANNINELLI	3	1912
SOBELLA DI MARK. LA	SETACCIOLI	3	1876
SPARTACO	PLATANIA	4	1871
SPERDUTI NEL BUIO	DONAUDY	3	1907
SPOSA DI CORINTO	CARONICA	3	1913
SPOSA DI NINGO	SIAGI	1	1913
STEFANIA	CELLINI	4	1872

STORIA D'AMORE. UNA			1903
SUONA LA RITIBATA		3	1916
SUOR ANGELICA		1	1718
TARAPRO. IL		1	1918
TARASS BULBA		4	1895
TENTAZIONE DI GESU. LA		1	1902
TERESA RAGUIN		2	1892
TESS		4	1906
THEODOE KOERNER		4	1902
TILDA. LA		3	1892
TOSCA		3	1900
TRADITA		2	1898
TRILLO DEL DIAVOLO		1	1899
TRISTE LCTTA		3	1899
TRIGANA		1	1894
UCCELLINO D'ORC. I'		4	1910
UGUALE FORTUNA		3	1908
ULTIMO DEI MOICANI. L'		1	1913
UMBRIA. IN		3	1918
UOMO CHE RIDE. L'		2	1905
URANIA		3	1920
URBANO		3	1918
VALDA		2	1894
VALDEPIORE		2	1906
VISCENTE. IL		3	1895
VELIA. LA		1	1898
VENDETTA		1	1920
VENDETTA		3	1892
VENDETTA SARDA		3	1904
VIA DELLA FINESTRA. LA		2	1896
VIRTU D'AMORE		0	1919
VITA ERETTONE		2	1894
VOTO. IL		3	1908
VOTO. IL		3	1908
WALLY. LA		2	1894
YERIC		4	1892
ZANETTO		3	1894
ZAZA		1	1896
ZINGARESA		4	1900
ZINGANI		1	1920
ZINGANI		2	1912
ZAMARA		3	1903
ZANERAI		3	1908
ZANONAI		0	1919
ZANONAI		2	1894
ZANONAI		3	1908
ZANONAI		2	1894
ZANONAI		4	1892
ZANONAI		3	1894
ZANONAI		1	1896
ZANONAI		4	1900
ZANONAI		1	1920
ZANONAI		2	1912

 ** ACT INDEX **
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OPERA	COMPOSER	NUMBER OF ACTS	YEAR
CAVALLERIA RUSTICANA	MASCAGNI	1	1890
GRINGOIRE	SCOTTRINO	1	1890
LABILIA	SPINELLI	1	1890
RUDIZLO	FERRONI	1	1890
VEGENTE, IL	BOSSI	1	1890
BELLA D'ALCHERO, LA	FARA-MUSIO	1	1892
BIRICKING, IL	MUGNONE	1	1892
CAVALLERIA DOMESTICA	CORDARA	1	1892
NEGIO EVO	CERJUSTELLI	1	1892
CAVALIERE D'ANORE, IL	MAIANI	1	1892
DON PAEZ	BOEZI	1	1892
FESTA A MARINA	CORONARO	1	1892
PICCOLO MADYN, IL	CIPOLLINI	1	1892
CONTE DI SALTO, IL	CONGLINI	1	1892
MALETTA	FERRI	1	1894
TRISTE LOTTA	MINGUONI	1	1894
MARIEDA	BUCCERI	1	1895
SAGA DI VALAPERTA, LA	BRUNETTO	1	1895
SILVANO	MASCAGNI	1	1895
AMORE ALLEGRO	AMAZZI	1	1896
INNOCENTE, L'	D'ANGELO	1	1896
SAN FRANCESCO, A	SEBASTIANI	1	1896
TRADITA	NEGINI	1	1896
ZANETTO	MASCAGNI	1	1896
BLANC ET NOIR	TIRINDELLI	1	1897

CAVALIERE DEL SOGNO, IL	1	AGOSTINI	1897
FIDANEATO DEL MARE, IL	1	PANIZZA	1897
RANVALD	1	D'ALESSANDER	1897
CISEC, IL	1	BOSSI	1898
FINE DI MOZART, LA	1	ANTOLETTI	1898
GLADIATORE, IL	1	ORFICE	1898
FENNA D'AIRONE, LA	1	AGOSTINI	1898
FORNARINA, LA	1	COLLINA	1899
CELESTE	1	ORSINI	1901
CIB, IL	1	MALPIERO	1902
FIGLIA DI JEFTE, LA	1	RIGHETTI	1902
MATELDA	1	ABATE	1902
TENTAZIONE DI CRISTO, LA	1	CURDARA	1902
COFFA DEL RE, LA	1	ZANFONAI	1904
CRISTO ALLA FESTA DI PURIM	1	GIANNETTI	1904
DOMINGO REZURRO, IL	1	DA VENEZIA	1909
CALVINA	1	FERRARI-TREGATE	1904
MANUEL NEMUNDEZ	1	VILIANSI	1904
CANTO DI FRANCESCA, IL	1	BIANCHI	1905
LILIA	1	FRATELLA	1905
ORACOLO, L'	1	LEONI	1905
SCRIVANO DI CLEOPATRA, LO	1	BELLINI	1905
MALIA	1	MANINI	1906
PELA NERA, LA	1	BOCCARDI	1904
CAVALLERIA RUSTICANA	1	MONLEONE	1907
IVANO	1	CIRENELI	1907
PAOLO E FRANCESCA	1	MANCINELLI	1907
POETA, IL	1	CANTU	1907
EUMENIDI, LE	1	GUGLIELMI	1909
SEGRETO DI SUSANNA, IL	1	WOLF-FERRARI	1909
MESSE MARIANO	1	GIORDANO	1910
MILINGO, AL	1	CASEONE	1910
RAFFAELLO	1	MILDENBERG	1910
ESVELIA	1	ROBIANI	1911
JANUCCIO	1	ALTAVILLA	1911
RADDA	1	CUSCINA	1911
BARONESSA DI CARINI, LA	1	MULE	1912
DIEFETTOSI AMANTI, I	1	PARELLI	1912
EROE DI BERNNA, UN	1	MILELLI	1912
PILITRO, IL	1	ALLEN	1912

RADDA	1	OREFICE	1912
LESCENDA DELLE SETTE TORRI. LA	1	GASCO	1913
MILPA	1	ALLEN	1913
SECSA DI NINO. LA	1	PIAGI	1913
UGUALE FORTUNA	1	TOMMASINI	1913
CANOSBA	1	MALPIERO	1914
PEDRA	1	ROHANI	1915
FURIS DI ARLECCHINO. LE	1	LUALDI	1915
NOTTE DI LEGGENDA	1	FRANCHETTI	1915
ROSA DI SAARON. LA	2	LUALDI	1915
MAMMOLA E L'EROE. LA	1	BOSSI	1914
GIANNI SCHICCHI	1	PUCCHINI	1918
SUOR ANGELICA	1	PUCCHINI	1918
IL TAERRO	1	PUCCHINI	1919
FERRUBA	1	SANTOLUQUIDO	1919
PASSA LA FONDA'	1	BOSSI	1919
DOGARESSA. LA	1	DAVICO	1920
EDIPO RE	1	LEONCAVALLO	1920
HARKEN	1	FUCCHERI	1920
VEGLIA. LA	1	FERRUOLLO	1920
ZINGARECCA	1	BOTTI	1920
MALA PASQUAI	2	CASTALDON	1890
VOTO. IL	2	CORREARA	1891
PAOLACCI	2	LEONCAVALLO	1892
SANTA LUCIA. A	2	TASCA	1892
TERESA RAQUIN	2	COOP	1892
GABRIELLA	2	PIZZI	1893
MALIA	2	FRONTINI	1892
MENNELLA	3	SANFELICE	1894
REGINA DIAZ	2	GIORDANO	1894
VOTO. IL	2	VALLINI	1894
SUIT HORA	2	RICCA	1895
JOYO E MARIA	2	AGOSTINI	1894
MIRANDA	2	ALFANO	1896
FUSILLA. LA	2	GIARDINI	1894

VENDETTA SARDA				1894
VIRTU D'AMORE				1894
FIGLIA DI JORIO. LA				1899
FONTE DI ENESCHIR. LA				1898
RINO E NINETTA				1892
NAVE. LA				1899
FATER. IL				1879
CABRERA. LA				1904
MADAMA BUTTERFLY				1904
ALCATRO. L'				1905
AMICA				1905
CASSANDRA				1905
UMBRIA. IN				1906
EDITHA				1906
VALDA				1907
ERISOMOLA				1908
HILLS STANDISH				1912
ZINGARI				1913
ANDRE MEDICO. L'				1913
*O MUNASTERIO				1914
RAODA				1917
ONDINA				1917
LUPO. A'				1917
MIDRA				1920
LORELEY				1890
AMICO FRITZ. L'				1891
CELESTE				1891
BENARBELO				1891
LIONELLA				1891
RONCISVAL				1891
HALA VITA				1892
SARA LA TROVATELLA				1892
TILDA. LA				1892
VENDETTA				1892
CORNELIUS SCRUTI				1893
EVANGELINA				1893
PALSTAFF				1893
SIGNA				1893
BASSO PORTO. A				1894
CELLINI			2	1894
GNECCHI			2	1894
BRANCA			2	1899
ALFANO			3	1898
BARBIERI			2	1892
VANBIANCHI			2	1899
GUGLIELMI			2	1879
DUPONT			2	1904
FUCCINI			2	1904
PACCHIEROTTI			2	1905
MASCAGNI			2	1905
GRECCHI			2	1905
BIANCHI			2	1905
CARBONIERI			2	1906
CASSONE			2	1906
ICHBARD			2	1907
SUCCHERI			2	1908
LEONCAVALLO			2	1912
WOLF-FERRARI			2	1913
ALLEN			2	1913
BIANCHINI			2	1914
BUSCISI			2	1917
MULE			2	1917
ALALBONA			2	1920
CATALANI			3	1890
MASCAGNI			3	1891
SPETRINO			3	1891
CIPOLLINI			3	1891
SANARA			3	1891
BEFFINI			3	1891
GIORDANO			3	1892
BIANCO			3	1892
CILSA			3	1892
BERUTTI			3	1892
SMAREGLIA			3	1893
BERUTTI			3	1893
VERDI			3	1893
COWEN			3	1893
SPINELLI			3	1894

FIOR D'ALBE				1894
MAREN. NELL'				1894
MARTIRE. LA				1894
MARUZZA				1894
SALVATORELLO				1894
SAVITRI				1894
EDRIG				1894
FRANCHETTI			3	1894
CONCINA			3	1894
SABARA			3	1894
FLORICIA			3	1894
SOFFREMINI			3	1894
CANTI			3	1894
MARTINI			2	1894

EDMENSARDA			4	1895
FURIA DOMATA. LA			5	1895
NINON DE LENCLOS			3	1895
NOZZE ISTRIANE			3	1895
VALDEFIDRE			3	1895
CHATTERTON			3	1894
COLLANA DI PASQUA. LA			3	1896
ERO E LEANDRO			3	1896
BORELLA DI MARK. LA			3	1896
VRBANC			2	1896
FALENA. LA			3	1897
MARGHERITA DI ORLEANS			3	1897
SIGNOR DI FOURCEAUGHAC. IL			3	1897
FEDORA			3	1898
IRIS			3	1898
TRILLO DEL DIAVOLO. IL			3	1898
ANTON			3	1898
GENERENTOLA			3	1898
IVAN			3	1898
REGINA ESTER. LA			3	1898
TOSCA			3	1898
LORENZA			3	1898
PASCHERE. LE			3	1898
MEDIO EVO LATINO			3	1898
ALCIBIADE			3	1898
CONSUSO			3	1898
CONTESSA D'EGMONT. LA			3	1898
DEAMTA IN MONTAGNA. UN			2	1898
MARIA DULCIS			3	1898
PROG.			4	1895
SABARA			5	1895
CIPOLLINI			3	1895
SPAREGLIA			3	1895
CORCARA			3	1895
LEONCAVALLO			3	1894
LUFORINI			3	1896
MANCINELLI			3	1896
SETACCIOLI			3	1896
LEONI			2	1896
SHAREGLIA			3	1897
RENDANO			3	1897
FRANCHETTI			3	1897
GIORDANO			3	1898
MASCAGNI			3	1898
PALCHI			3	1898
GALEOTTI			3	1898
WOLF-FERRARI			3	1898
LA ROTELLA			3	1898
FERRARI-TRICANTE			3	1898
FUCCINI			3	1898
MASCHEIONI			3	1898
MASCAGNI			3	1898
FARIZZA			3	1898
ACETINI			3	1898
RENDANO			3	1898
LAZZARI			3	1898
ANGELONI			2	1898
EUSTINI			3	1898

HELLERA			3	1909
HALENA		TITTA	3	1909
RECINA		CUSCINA	3	1909
SINA D'VAPOUN. LA		FRATELLA	3	1909
ZULNA		ROMANI	3	1909
AURA		ZANELLA	3	1910
DORISE. LA		GALEOTTI	3	1910
FANCIULLA DEL WEST. LA		FUCCINI	3	1910
LORE GIORGIO BYRON		GIARDA	3	1910
MAIA		LEONCAVALLO	3	1910

SEHIRAHA		RESPIGNI	3	1910
GIUSEPPE DELLA MADONNA. I		WOLF-FERRARI	3	1911
TERREAU		MASCAGNI	3	1911
ZINGARI		LEONCAVALLO	3	1912
AMORE DEI TRE RE. L'		MONTENEZZI	3	1913
ADISSO		SMAREGLIA	3	1914
AMICO. L'		BERLENDIS	3	1914
JUANA		PEDROLLO	3	1914
OMBERA DI DON GIOVANNI. L'		ALFANO	3	1914
PEKKA		PIZZETTI	3	1915
MIRACCOLO. IL		LASCETTI	3	1915
SUONA LA RITIRATA		MORLEONE	3	1914
ULTIMO DEI MOICANI. L'		ALLEN	3	1914
LODGETTA		MASCAGNI	3	1917
MACIONG. IL		DE SABAIA	3	1917
RONDINE. LA		FUCCHINI	3	1917
SOGNO D'UNA NOTTE D'ESTATE. IL		MANGINELLI	3	1919
JACQUERIE		MARINUZZI	3	1912
MARIA DI MAGDALA		MICCHETTI	3	1918
SCHABAN		RADEGLIA	3	1918
SPOSA DI CORINTO. LA		CANONICA	3	1918
URANIA		FAVARA	3	1918
VIA DELLA FINESTRA. LA		ZANDONI	3	1919
AVIATORE DRO. L'		PRATELLA	3	1920
UOMO CHE RIDE. L'		PEDROLLO	3	1920

SPARTACO	PLATANIA	4	1891
CIMELINO	VAN WESTERHOUT	4	1892
CRISTOFORO COLOMBO	FRANCHETTI	4	1892
HANTZAU. I	MASCAGNI	4	1892
STEFANIA	CELLINI	4	1892
VALLY. LA	CATALANI	4	1892
MANON LESCAUT	PUCCINI	4	1893
MEDICI. I	LEONCAVALLO	4	1893
MEDORA	CUBINATI	4	1894
EROS	MASSA	4	1895
OTTORO FIERANSCA	CERQUETELLI	4	1895
GUGLIELMO RATCLIFF	MASCAGNI	4	1895
TARASS BULBA	SCRUTTI	4	1895
ANDREA CHENIER	GIORDANO	4	1896
BONEME. LA	PUCCINI	4	1896
CORTICIANA. LA	SCONTRINO	4	1896
ARSIANA. L'	CILIA	4	1897
BOHEMS. LA	LEONCAVALLO	4	1897
CARACC. LA	DE LEVA	4	1897
PERGOLESI	TASCA	4	1898
ATAMUALPA	CATELANI	4	1900
ZAZA	LEONCAVALLO	4	1900
CHOPIN	ORFICE	4	1901
CUOR DELLE FANCIULLE. IL	BUDINGIORSNO	4	1901
ADRIANA LECOUVREUR	CILIA	4	1902
GERMANIA	FRANCHETTI	4	1902
SILVAGGIA	BUCCHERI	4	1902
THEODOR KOERNER	DONAUDY	4	1902
ROLANDO DI BERLINO	LEONCAVALLO	4	1904
CECILIA	MONTEFIORE	4	1905
QUATRO RUSTICHI. I	WOLF-FERRARI	4	1904
TESS	D'ERLANGER	4	1904
SERAFINA D'ALBANTA	CUNEO	4	1908
PERUGINA. LA	MASCHERONI	4	1909
PRINCIPE SILAN. IL	ALFANO	4	1909
MARGHERITA	BRUGGERMANN	4	1910
PABLETTA	FLORIDA	4	1910
TZIGANA	LEUMI	4	1910
CONCHITA	ZARDONAI	4	1911
TIOR DI NEVE	FILIASI	4	1911

DU BARRY, LA	4	1912
POMPEII	4	1912
PARISINA	4	1913
ATERMITAS	4	1914
FRANCESCA DA RIMINI	4	1919
MADAME BANS-GENE	4	1915
NAVE, LA	4	1918
IOABELLA ORSINI	4	1920

SECTION EIGHT

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*****
**          STATISTICAL ANALYSIS          **
**          *****                          **

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The following section offers a comprehensive statistical analysis of the data provided in columns 1-6 of the Master Catalogue. Information is tabulated under six main headings -

- (a) Dates
- (b) Composers
- (c) Librarians
- (d) Sources
- (e) Genres
- (f) Number of acts

Data is presented in the form of verbal statistics followed, where appropriate, by corresponding graphic representations (i.e. bar graphs and pie charts). This dual approach combines a high degree of accuracy with the immediacy of a visual display, and facilitates comparison between the various subject areas.

 ** OPERAS **
 ** **

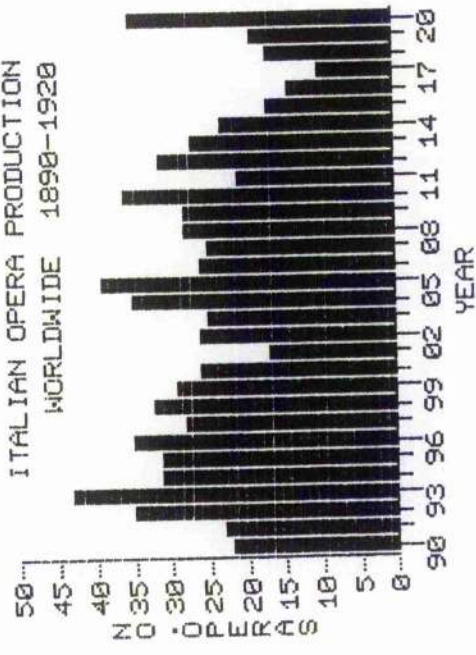
- (a) Total number of produced and unproduced operas = 893
- (b) Total number of produced operas = 842 (94%)
- (c) Total number of unproduced operas = 51 (6%)
- (d) Average number of produced and unproduced operas per year = 26.87
- (e) Average number of produced operas per year = 27.14
- (f) Average number of unproduced operas per year = 1.70

(g) The following table gives the number of both produced and unproduced operas in chronological order of year:-

YEAR	PRODUCED	UNPRODUCED	TOTAL
1890	22	4	26
1891	23	3	24
1892	33	3	38
1893	43	1	44
1894	31	0	31
1895	31	6	37
1896	35	2	37
1897	28	2	30
1898	32	2	34
1899	29	2	31
1900	24	3	29
1901	17	0	17
1902	24	2	26
1903	23	1	24
1904	35	2	37
1905	19	0	19
1906	26	0	26
1907	35	1	36

1908	28	3	31
1909	28	3	31
1910	34	0	34
1911	21	1	22
1912	31	0	31
1913	27	3	30
1914	23	3	28
1915	17	1	18
1916	14	0	14
1917	10	2	12
1918	17	1	18
1919	19	0	19
1920	35	1	36

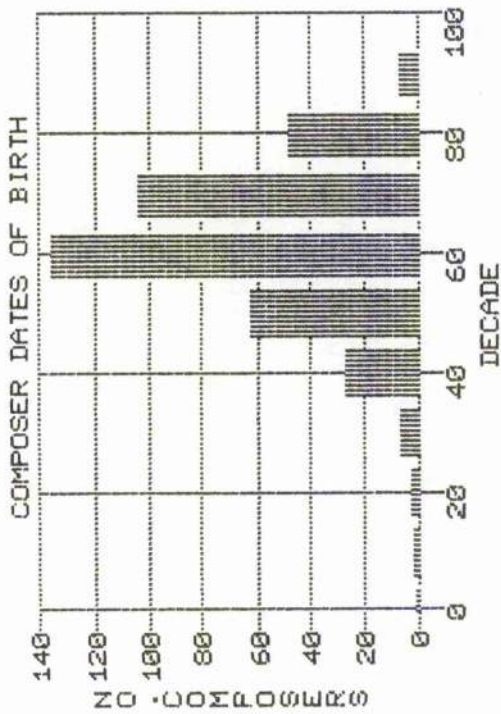
ITALIAN OPERA PRODUCTION
WORLDWIDE 1898-1920



 ** COMPOSERS **
 **

- (a) Total number of composers = 124
- (b) Average number of works produced by each composer = 1.70
- (c) Greatest number of works produced by one composer = 12 (Massoni)
- (d) Total number of collaborations between composers = 1 ("Maestro Daffery e la sua opera"; A. e G. Gessi)
- (e) Total number of foreign composers = 17 (13.7%)
- (f) Total number of women composers = 5 (4.0%)
- (g) The following table gives the number and proportion of composers born in each decade of the century 1810-1910 for whom data is available.

Number of composers born in	
"	1810-19 = 2 (1.6%)
"	1820-29 = 3 (2.4%)
"	1830-39 = 7 (5.6%)
"	1840-49 = 27 (21.7%)
"	1850-59 = 42 (33.1%)
"	1860-69 = 124 (99.2%)
"	1870-79 = 103 (83.1%)
"	1880-89 = 46 (37.1%)
"	1890-99 = 7 (5.6%)
"	1900-10 = 1 (0.8%)

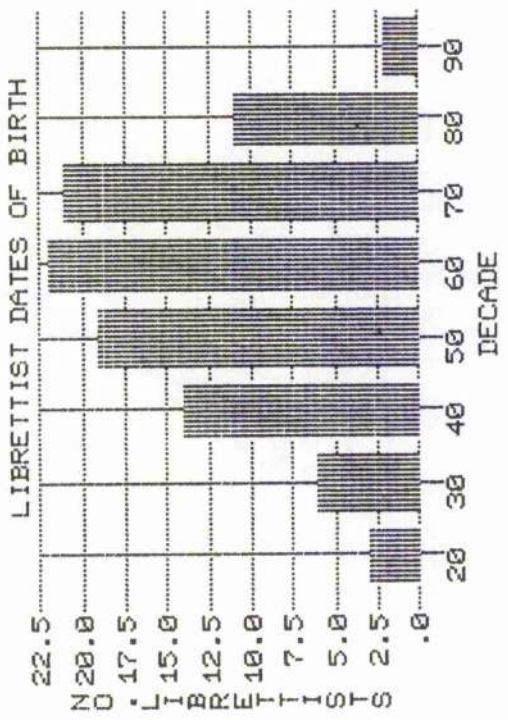


 ** LIBRETTISTS **

- (a) Total number of librettists = 363
- (b) Average number of libretti produced by each librettist = 1.72
- (c) Greatest number of libretti produced by one librettist = 34 (Illica)
- (d) Total number of collaborations between librettists = 28 (4.1%)
- (e) Total number of libretti written by composers = 25 (3.7%)
- (f) Total number of foreign librettists = 20 (5.1%)
- (g) Total number of women librettists = 5 (1.3%)

(h) The following table gives the number and proportion of librettists born in each decade of the century 1810-1910 for whom data is available -

Number of librettists born in	1820-29	= 3	(3.1%)
"	1830-39	= 6	(6.1%)
"	1840-49	= 14	(14.3%)
"	1850-59	= 19	(19.4%)
"	1860-69	= 22	(22.4%)
"	1870-79	= 21	(21.4%)
"	1880-89	= 11	(11.2%)
"	1890-99	= 2	(2.1%)



ITALIAN	-	6 (4.4%)	1 (0.7%)	9 (5.9%)	2 (1.5%)	12 (9.7%)	95 (88.9%)	12 (8.9%)
FRENCH	-	-	-	-	11 (10.1%)	4 (3.7%)	89 (81.6%)	5 (4.6%)
ENGLISH	-	-	-	5 (15.2%)	6 (15.8%)	-	27 (61.0%)	-
RUSSIAN	-	-	-	-	-	-	20 (87.0%)	3 (12.0%)
GERMAN	-	-	-	-	-	3 (14.3%)	15 (71.4%)	3 (14.3%)
MISC.	3 (18.2%)	-	-	1 (2.5%)	4 (9.1%)	-	19 (49.5%)	12 (27.2%)

(c) Overall number and proportion of sources from each century:-

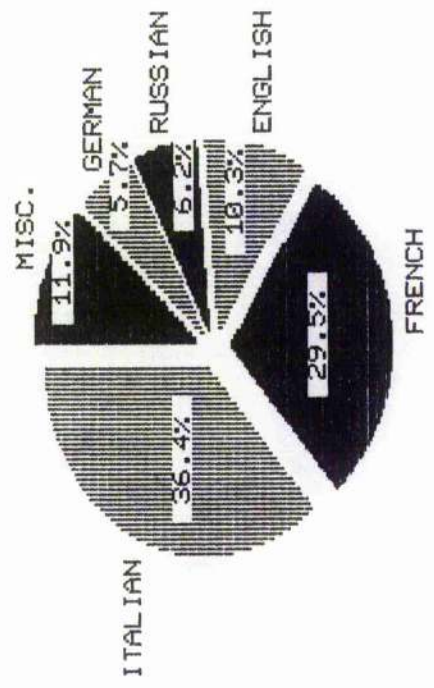
19th = 242 (70.9%), 20th = 35 (9.5%), 17th = 33 (8.2%), 18th = 28 (5.4%), 16th = 16 (3.8%), Pre-16th = 6 (1.2%), 14th = 6 (1.8%), 15th = 1 (0.3%).

(d) The following table gives the number and nationality of sources in chronological order of year:-

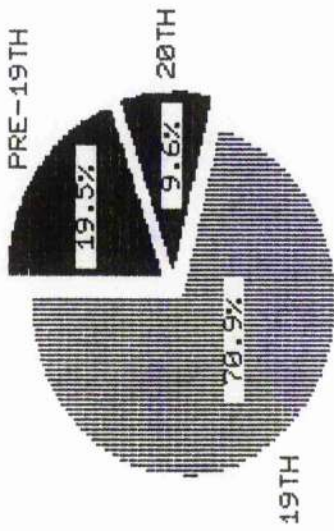
YEAR	ITALIAN	FRENCH	ENGLISH	RUSSIAN	GERMAN	MISC.
1870	6	3	2	-	-	1
1891	5	2	2	-	-	-
1892	7	1	1	-	1	-
1893	4	6	2	-	-	2
1894	7	12	2	1	1	-
1895	7	3	2	1	2	-
1896	3	6	-	-	-	-
1897	3	3	1	-	-	2
1898	5	4	1	-	-	1
1899	3	7	1	2	1	1
1900	4	9	1	1	1	-
1901	6	1	-	1	-	2
1902	2	6	1	-	-	1
1903	4	8	1	-	1	2
1904	4	2	1	1	1	3
1905	6	3	4	3	2	3
1906	8	4	3	4	2	1
1907	2	-	-	1	1	1
1908	3	2	1	-	1	1
1909	2	2	-	2	-	2
1910	3	4	-	-	1	5
1911	1	2	2	2	2	2
1912	3	9	2	1	2	3
1913	4	7	2	-	2	3
1914	4	-	-	1	-	1
1915	2	2	1	-	-	-

1914	-	1	1	-	1	1	2
1917	4	1	2	-	-	-	-
1918	3	3	-	-	1	-	-
1919	3	4	2	-	-	-	-
1920	5	1	-	-	1	-	3

SOURCE NATIONALITY



SOURCE CHRONOLOGY



 ** GENRES **

(a) Total number of operas for which genre is known = 458

(b) The following table gives the number and proportion of operas belonging to each genre:-

VERISMO PURO	= 84 (18.7%)	COMIC	= 75 (16.4%)
VERISMO STORICO	= 54 (11.8%)	ROMANTIC	= 66 (14.4%)
VERISMO BIOGRAFICO	= 33 (7.2%)	CLASSICAL	= 19 (4.2%)
VERISMO BORGHESE	= 51 (11.1%)	BIBLICAL	= 18 (3.9%)
VERISMO ESOTICO	= 19 (4.2%)	MODERNIST	= 21 (4.6%)
		MYSTICAL/FANTASY	= 14 (3.5%)
Total = 243 (53.1%)		Total = 215 (46.9%)	

(c) The following table gives the productions of "verismo" and traditional genres relative to their individual movements:-

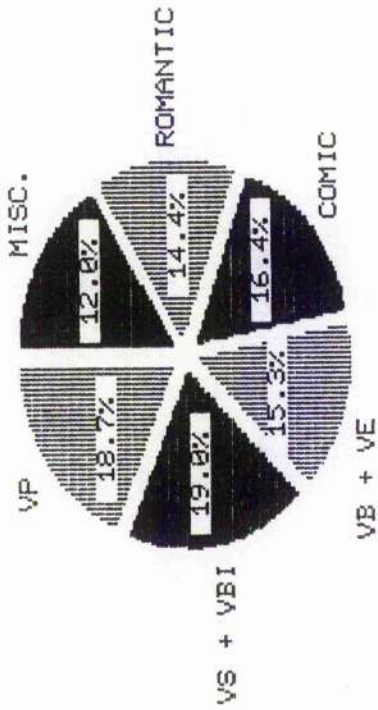
VERISMO NUOVO	= 35.4%	COMIC	= 34.5%
VERISMO STORICO	= 28.2%	ROMANTIC	= 30.7%
VERISMO BIOGRAFICO	= 18.6%	CLASSICAL	= 8.8%
VERISMO BORCHESE	= 21.8%	RITUAL	= 8.4%
VERISMO SCOTICO	= 7.8%	MODERNIST	= 7.6%
		MYSTICAL/FANTASY	= 7.4%

(d) The following table gives the number of operas of each genre in chronological order of year:-

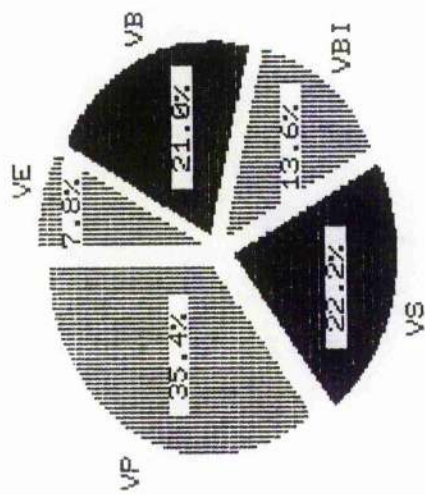
YEAR	UP	US	VEI	VB	VE	C	R	CL	B	M	MF
1870	1	-	-	-	-	2	7	-	-	-	3
1871	2	-	-	3	-	2	10	1	-	-	1
1872	12	-	-	2	-	8	4	1	-	-	-
1873	8	1	3	1	1	8	3	2	-	-	1
1874	8	5	-	3	-	3	4	-	-	-	1
1875	7	4	3	3	1	3	3	-	1	-	-
1876	7	1	3	4	1	2	1	-	-	-	-
1877	3	2	-	2	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
1878	1	2	4	3	3	3	1	1	-	-	-
1879	2	2	2	1	1	1	3	-	-	1	-
1880	1	4	-	2	3	1	1	-	2	1	1
1901	1	1	2	2	-	2	-	-	1	-	-
1902	8	4	8	3	-	-	1	-	1	2	-
1903	1	1	1	2	1	5	1	1	1	-	-
1904	2	4	2	-	2	1	1	2	2	-	1
1905	8	2	2	2	-	3	-	1	1	-	2
1906	3	-	2	2	-	2	3	1	1	1	-
1907	4	1	-	2	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
1908	1	5	-	3	1	2	-	-	8	-	1
1909	2	-	-	1	1	3	1	1	-	-	-
1910	1	3	2	3	1	2	4	-	1	-	2
1911	2	1	-	-	1	1	2	1	1	1	-
1912	4	8	2	1	-	2	2	-	-	-	-
1913	1	-	-	1	-	2	2	1	-	4	2
1914	-	1	-	-	1	-	2	1	-	4	-
1915	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	3	-
1916	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	2	-

1917	1	-	-	3	-	2	1	-	-	-
1918	1	1	-	1	1	3	-	-	1	1
1919	2	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
1920	1	2	-	3	-	4	2	4	1	1

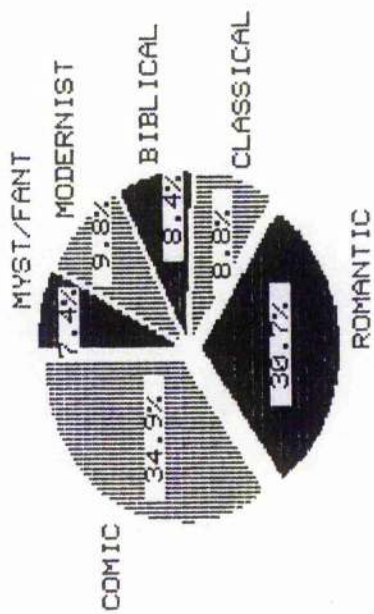
'VERISMO' + TRADITIONAL GENRES

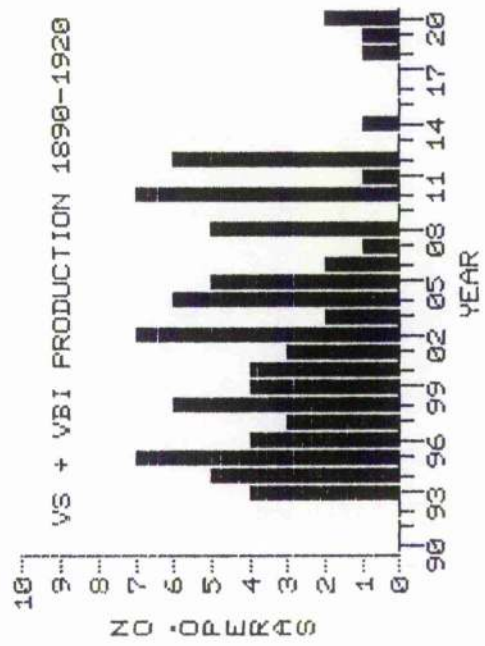
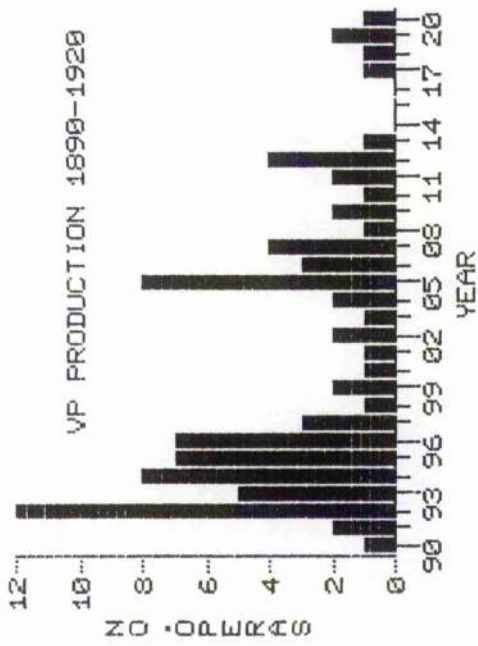


VERISIMO GENRES

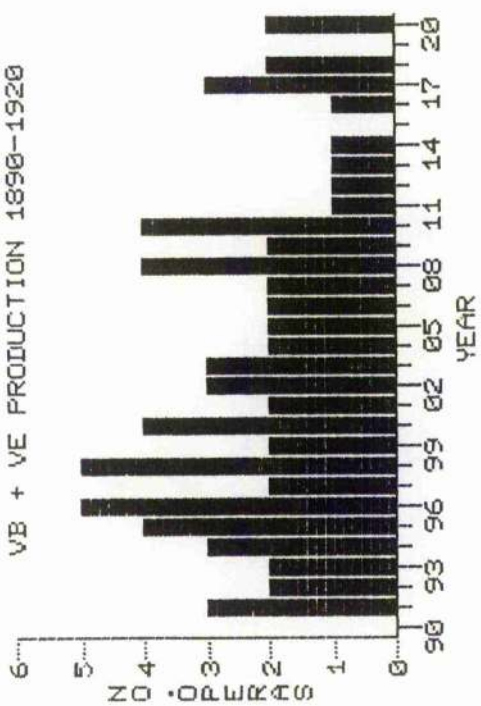


TRADITIONAL GENRES

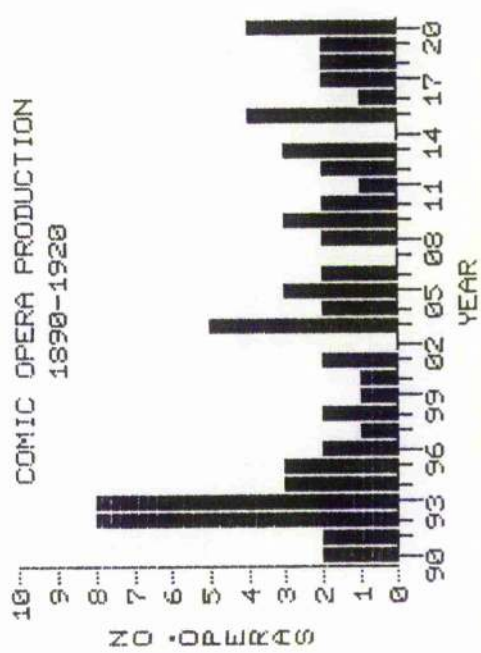


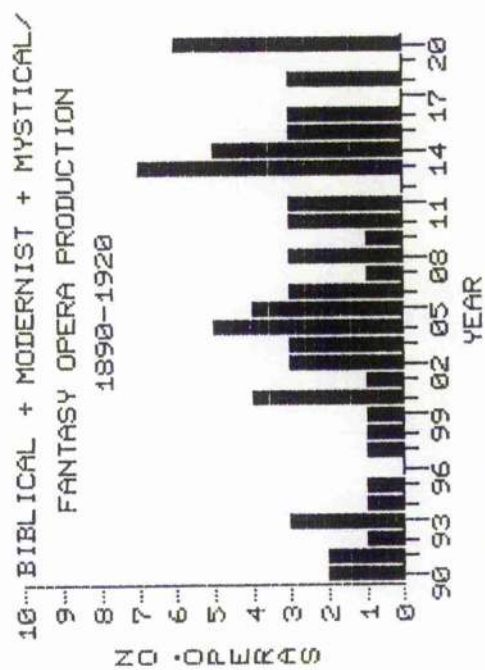
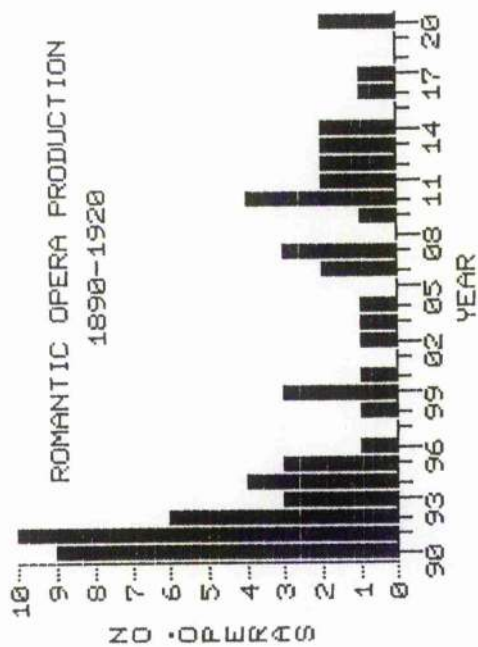


VB + VE PRODUCTION 1890-1920



COMIC OPERA PRODUCTION 1890-1920

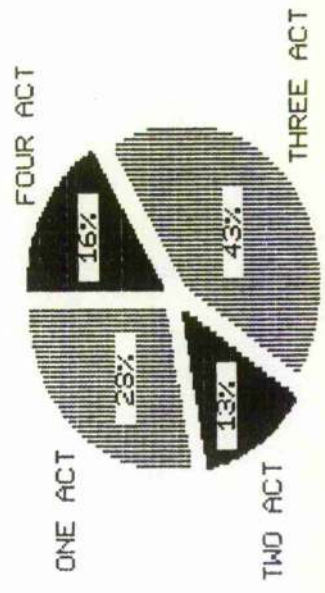




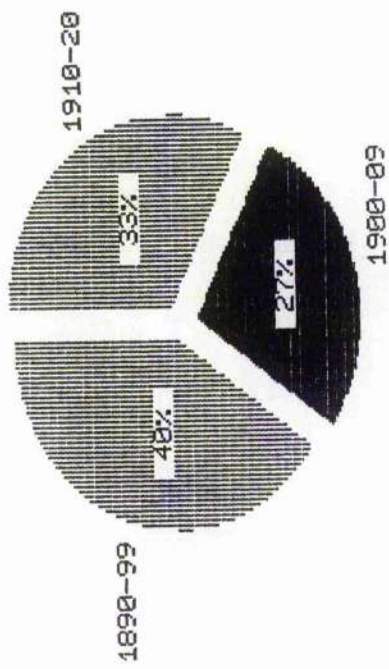
 ** NUMBER OF ACTS **

- (a) Total number of operas for which number of acts is known = 280
- (b) Number of one-act operas = 78 (28%)
 " " two-act operas = 36 (13%)
 " " three-act operas = 120 (43%)
 " " four-act operas = 46 (16%)
- (c) Number of one and two-act operas in period 1890-99 = 46 (40%)
 " " " " " " 1900-09 = 31 (27%)
 " " " " " " 1910-20 = 37 (33%)
- (d) Number of three and four-act operas in period 1890-99 = 54 (33%)
 " " " " " " 1900-09 = 70 (42%)
 " " " " " " 1910-20 = 42 (25%)

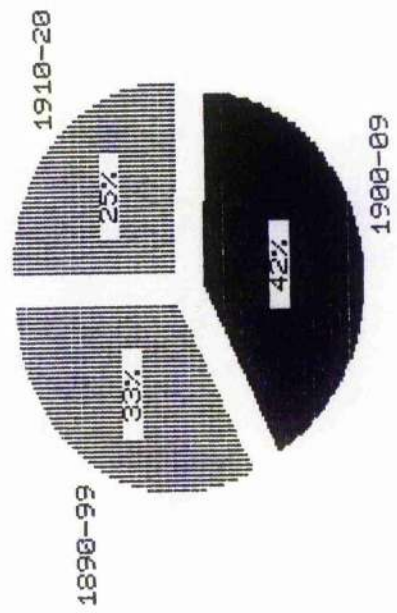
NUMBER OF ACTS



ONE AND TWO-ACT OPERAS



THREE AND FOUR-ACT OPERAS



SECTION NINE

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(Those works consulted in the course of preparation of the thesis are marked by an asterisk)

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SECTION TEN

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 ** TECHNICAL INFORMATION **
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The present thesis was created on an Apple IIe Entecolus (48K, 3.5 DOS) equipped with four Apple 3rd disk drives, an Intertec Data Systems 340 printer, a BMC 12" monochrome monitor, a Microvide ICCD colour monitor and a Hitachi TRG-249 cassette tape recorder. Additional hardware included an Apple Language system, a Super 'R' Terminal 80 column card, a Microvide Apple colour

card and an Apple parallel printer interface card. The following commercial software was used: Apple File Word Processing System (Programs International Inc., 1980) and Apple II Business Graphics (Apple Computer Inc., 1982) Additional software (including a Pascal database, used to store and process information in Section Seven, and a printer set-up program) was written by Gianni M. Nennetti, who in his capacity as technical consultant expended much time and effort on ensuring the smooth running of the system, and without whose help this project could never have been finished: to him I owe a deep debt of gratitude, which extends to the remainder of the family whose support and encouragement was unstinted.

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