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Verismo Through the Genres, or "Cavallerie rusticane" – The Delicate Question of Innovation in the Operatic Adaptations of Giovanni Verga's Story and Drama by Pietro Mascagni (1890) and Domenico Monleone (1907)

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> Hanno ammazzato compare Turiddu! Hanno ammazzato compare Turiddu! (Giovanni Verga, Cavalleria rusticana, 1884 Stage Version)

> Hanno ammazzato compare Turiddu! (Giovanni Targioni-Tozzetti and Guido Menasci, *Cavalleria rusticana*, 1890 Opera)

Turiddu accoltellato! (Giovanni Monleone, Cavalleria rusticana, 1907 Opera)

Edoardo Sonzogno's highly publicized one-act opera competitions in the latter half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century are perhaps most notable for their mixed results. Despite prestigious juries comprised of the most respected musical experts of the day, the competitions were hit and miss in their efforts to unearth works that would stand the test of time. In the inaugural competition of 1883, Giacomo Puccini's first opera, *Le Villi*, was inexplicably overlooked in favor of inferior works which have long since been forgotten. Only the 1889 competition would find a truly enduring work, and this in sensational fashion. This time, the all but unknown Pietro Mascagni, a twenty-six-year-old Milan Conservatoire drop-out and former classmate of Puccini, lately reduced to teaching music in a remote town of Apulia, was instantly catapulted to meteoric heights with the triumph of *Cavalleria rusticana* in the most famous rags-to-riches story in Italian operatic history. 1905, however, proved to be another dud, producing no memorable operas. Among the forgettable scores submitted for this competition was another *Cavalleria rusticana*, this one by the Genoese Domenico Monleone, which failed to even place.

In the case of both the 1883 and 1905 competitions, politics were afoot. The jury for the 1883 competition ought to have been favorable to Puccini since it featured several sympathetic teachers from his alma mater, and yet the score failed to place. British musicologist Julian Budden writes that the rejection of Puccini's *Le Villi* "seems puzzling."¹ He continues:

Although the entries were submitted anonymously, two of the jury [...] must have been familiar with Puccini's handwriting. He had already attracted attention as a composer of promise; nor had he made any secret of his intention to compete.²

There has been recent speculation that Puccini was snubbed at the behest of Sonzogno's rival publisher, Giulio Ricordi, who did not wish to see the young Puccini's talents secured by Sonzogno's house, which an award to the up-and-coming composer would have ensured.³ In the 1905 competition, Sonzogno had no desire at all to see the new Cavalleria rusticana succeed since Mascagni's Cavalleria, one of the impresario's most successful and lucrative ventures, had already caused him several headaches on account of legal disputes with the author of the source material over rights to the proceeds from the opera. Mascagni's version, taken as Monleone's was from Giovanni Verga's eponymous short story (1880) and later stage play (1884), was undoubtedly one of the greatest "instant hits" in operatic history. The Teatro Costanzi première on 17 May 1890, attended by such important persons as Queen Margherita, was so sensationally successful that the young composer was called back to the stage sixty times by an adoring audience.⁴ Even Verga, who had attended, was enthusiastic according to a telegram Mascagni sent his librettists following the première.⁵ The opera was soon performed throughout Europe and the Americas and for years remained incredibly popular, a popularity which has not abated to this day. Before the première, Verga had wisely allowed the opera to be produced only after Mascagni signed legal assurances that Verga's rights to a portion of any future profits would be respected, which in turn led to a clamorous legal dispute over the amount of royalties from the opera to which the author was entitled. The case, which pitted Verga against Sonzogno, to whom Mascagni had ceded the rights to the opera, dragged on from 1891–1893, ultimately ending in a settlement agreement by which Sonzogno paid Verga the substantial sum of 143,000 lire.⁶ Given the nature of this highly publicized dispute, it is unsurprising that the Monleone *Cavalleria*, which in 1907 premiered successfully in Amsterdam only to be banned in Italy shortly after its first performance due to copyright infringement of Mascagni's opera, was not a winner in Sonzogno's eyes.⁷

A century has passed since even the première of the second *Cavalleria rusticana*, and yet the operatic landscape remains remarkably similar.⁸ Mascagni's *Cavalleria*, commonly paired with Leoncavallo's *Pagliacci*, remains a staple in opera houses worldwide. These two operas are in fact the only works of either composer to be performed with any regularity. Monleone's setting of *Cavalleria* has been all but forgotten, revived very infrequently as a sort of operatic curio, much in the same way and for the same reasons that we see the odd production of Giovanni Paisiello's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* or Rossini's *Otello*. Yet we hold no such grudges against Monleone as did Sonzogno, nor are any of the thorny copyright restrictions of 1907 still in effect today. This begs the question: is Mascagni's *Cavalleria* so superior to Monleone's that this disparity in performance is merited irrespective of the historical precedent set primarily by political rather than musical questions?

To begin with, if we are to accept the traditional criticism of Mascagni's *Cavalleria*, it would be surprising if we judged it to be superior to anything. While it is generally acknowledged that the opera set Italian opera in a new direction, the prototype of so-called "verismo" opera, a genre soon to be pioneered by the composers of the *giovane scuola* including the likes of Leoncavallo, Giordano, Cilea and Puccini, the critics have never been terribly impressed with Mascagni's *Cavalleria*. In his article "Novità del linguaggio in *Cavalleria rusticana*," composer and musicologist Roman Vlad describes the history of Cavalleria's criticism quite well by saying, "*Cavalleria rusticana* è una delle opere più celebri di tutto il repertorio musicale mondiale, ma non è mai stata celebrata dalla cosiddetta 'critica ufficiale."⁹ Similarly, Matteo Sansone, in his article "Verga and Mascagni: The Critics' Response to *Cavalleria*

rusticana," emphasizes the rift between the public and the critics: "Popular enthusiasm versus slashing criticism: with few exceptions, such seems to have been the general response to Mascagni's controversial and divisive *Cavalleria* in Italy."¹⁰ Among the opera's many early detractors was the then twenty-seven-year-old Gabriele d'Annunzio, who in a review of the opera infamously referred to the composer with whom he would later collaborate on *Parisina* as "Il capobanda," merely a "velocissimo fabricatore di melodrammi."¹¹

Critics from both now and then have taken aim at both the music and the libretto of the opera. For some, the music is too derivative of the French composers, particularly the Bizet of *Carmen*.¹² Musicologist Mario Morini cites "l'opinione, tradizionale in Italia, che il presupposto storico di *Cavalleria rusticana* sia la *Carmen* e che nell'opera di Bizet debba vedersi la cellula originaria della 'Giovane Scuola' italiana."¹³ Budden claims that "Mascagni's opera can claim a direct line of descent" from Bizet's opera.¹⁴ For others, the set-pieces in the opera are not up-to-date with European traditions, seeming passé in an era in which even Verdi had moved on from such formal elements. Vlad cites the 1981 *Guida all'Opera* edited by Gioacchino Lanza Tomasi as typical of this interpretation. According to the *Guida*, Mascagni's opera displays "un'armonizzazione elementare che vuole ignorare persino la lezione verdiana, a parte il rifiuto di intendere il naturale e progressivo evolversi, sia pure di riflesso, della musica europea."¹⁵

As for the libretto, Verga biographer Alfred Alexander notes, "From a literary point of view, the *Cavalleria* libretto was certainly not impressive and the critics were not slow to condemn it."¹⁶ Much ink has been spilt on exposing the libretto's mediocrity as a result of the way the upstart Mascagni and his fellow Tuscan librettists, Giovanni Targioni-Tozzetti and Guido Menasci, "betray" Verga's poetic intent in their adaptation of the Sicilian subject. Sansone, who is of this opinion, writes:

On the whole, the opera was much less innovative than Verga's play had proved to be a few years earlier. The essential figures of literary *verismo* did not pass into Mascagni's *Cavalleria*. Verga's formal restraint and impersonality were incompatible with the emotional subjectivity of operatic singing [...]. The operatic transposition of *Cavalleria rusticana* thus effaced the non-melodramatic, veristic peculiarities of the play.¹⁷

Luigi Baldacci, among Italy's most eminent musical scholars, puts it more bluntly, stating that "nella *Cavalleria* di Targioni-Tozzetti e Menasci va perduta interamente la chiave espressiva di Verga [...]. *Cavalleria* non è un libretto bello; ma è per fortuna un libretto funzionale, è un *bel libretto*."¹⁸ According to Baldacci, one of Mascagni's most consistent faults throughout his career as a composer was to work with poor libretti. He writes, "Mascagni, tra le molte sfortune che gli sono capitate [...] ha avuto spesso quella di trovarsi tra le mani dei cattivi libretti e di non riuscire ad accorgersene."¹⁹

Even those critics who view the opera in a more positive light begrudgingly acknowledge the faults of the libretto. Opera scholar Alan Mallach, author of the excellent *Pietro Mascagni and His Operas* (2002) and more recently a comprehensive study of Italian opera from 1890-1915, *The Autumn of Italian Opera* (2007), disagrees with the commonly-held notion that such a gulf exists between Verga's play and Mascagni's opera drawn from it. In his earlier work, Mallach takes the perspective that Targioni-Tozzetti and Menasci should be commended for what little they could successfully adapt from Verga's revolutionary text. "What is notable," Mallach observes, "is how much of Verga's essence the librettists retained."²⁰ These words echo those of Mascagni's contemporary, the famed critic Francesco D'Arcais, one of the few of his day to praise the opera without many reservations and, fortunately for Mascagni, a judge in the 1889 competition. In a June 1890 review, D'Arcais writes:

> Nelle principali scene hanno riprodotto quasi testualmente il dialogo del Verga. Le aggiunte si riducono a poca cosa [...]. I signori Targioni-Tozzetti e Misasci [sic] sono dunque riusciti nell'impresa assai meglio che non fosse lecito sperare.²¹

Mallach continues by arguing that Verga had already "softened" his own veristic style in adapting the story for the stage, and thus that the librettists can hardly be blamed for this supposed artistic deficiency.²² Nontheless, Mallach, whose biography is generally aimed at redeeming Mascagni and his operas, in the end cannot help but concede that the *Cavalleria* libretto is merely functional: "In the final analysis, however, all Menasci and Targioni-Tozzetti wanted to do was provide the words that Mascagni could set to music."²³ In *The Autumn of Italian Opera*, he extends his analysis to Targioni-Tozzetti's entire output as a librettist. In Mallach's words, Mascagni's Livornese compatriot "was no more than a mediocre writer, whose verse had a distinctly conventional stamp and who lacked dramatic imagination and flair."²⁴

Why, then, did (and does) the 1890 opera succeed if it is but a mediocre work by most accounts? And must Monleone's work therefore be so dreadful that it makes Mascagni's Cavalleria shine in comparison? In answering these questions, we should begin by considering that Mascagni's success was anything but a foregone conclusion. Verga's prose works including the Vita dei campi were at best succès d'estime and remain understudied to this day despite their enormous influence in Italian literature. Verga's 1884 stage adaptation of the story was a modest hit, but much of the success should be attributed to the contributions of the original Santuzza, a very young Eleonora Duse, as well as the contributions made by two of Verga's close friends who lent their colleague an acute theatrical eye, Arrigo Boito and Giuseppe Giacosa. There simply must be a more satisfying explanation for this success than those commonly given: firstly, that the Italian opera-going public was so desperate for a new maestro that Mascagni's rise to prominence was a question of being in the right place at the right time. Mallach, who sees far more merit in the opera than this, does note the importance of the search for a new figurehead: "For thirty years the Italian musical world had been listening to opera after opera, looking in vain for the new maestro [...]. When Cavalleria rusticana emerged on the scene, it was believed, at least for a while, that the new maestro had indeed been found."25 Another common explanation is that the opera's compressed dramatic action and "raw" emotions give it a dynamism which sets it apart from earlier works. Sansone claims that these elements are retained from Verga. "Apart from the novelty of the subject, the only authentically veristic elements preserved in the libretto were the vividness of the dialogues, the quick pace of the action and the two forceful shouts."26 Budden also detects this element in the opera, writing that "from the moment we hear Turiddu's offstage serenade in the prelude, we apprehend a tension between the characters [...] which is why Cavalleria rusticana made history."27

Looking at the both Mascagni and Monleone's *Cavalleria rusticana* operas in view of the operatic and more general cultural climate of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, we see that Mascagni's version kept up with at times competing cultural imperatives far better

than Monleone did. This is not to say that Mascagni's opera is a better adaptation of Verga's original works. Indeed, Monleone's adaptation is, as the composer himself claims in a letter to Verga from 28 February 1906, in some senses "molto più da vicino l'originale per la scena di prosa, che quella fatta per l'opera del M.o Mascagni."28 But for all its imperfections in both the score and its "functional" libretto, I will argue that Mascagni's opera is a masterwork in terms of its uncanny timeliness and masterful integration of traditional operatic devices and innovatory techniques. In addition, Mascagni's opera deftly capitalizes on the rapidly emerging discourses of the Southern question within the context of larger Italian culture at the close of the nineteenth century. In general, the opera is a masterful balance of old and new, familiar enough to the old guard and the common operagoer to have a broad appeal but new enough to be groundbreaking at the same time. Comparing the construction of the two Cavalleria operas will provide a more contextualized explanation of why Mascagni's opera was successful in general and more successful than Monleone's in particular, and why Mascagni's opera is performed regularly while Monleone's is not.

I will begin with one of the lightning rods of controversy in Mascagni's opera, Turiddu's "Siciliana." This is among the opera's most maligned numbers. Sansone disparagingly refers to the Siciliana in terms of its fakery, noting that the Mascagni exploits "the veneer of musical exoticism provided by the 'Siciliana.'"29 This, along with Lola's short stornello and other similar scenes, are, according to Sansone, are a betraval of Verga, in his words "alien to Verga's 'scene popolari.""³⁰ Evidently, we are lucky that the Tuscan librettists were able to come up with any authentic Sicilian verses at all. Alexander quotes a letter from Mascagni to his wife from 3 May 1890 in which the composer notes that the tenor who originated the role of Turiddu, Roberto Stagno, himself Sicilian, was forced to redo the versification of the aria as a result of the Tuscan librettists' ignorance of the dialect. "Now that Stagno sings it," Mascagni wrote, "the Siciliana has taken on a completely different aspect. He has already changed practically all the words of it because they just weren't Sicilian."31

Among the first misconceptions about the "Siciliana" that should be cleared up is that it is a superfluous addition to the melodrama not present in Verga's original works. It is present, just not in the play. There is a clear precedent for the serenade in the story. Here we must take a moment to contend with the claim that Mascagni's *Cavalleria rusticana* has nothing at all to do with Verga's short story. Baldacci unabashedly holds that the libretto "si rifà solo al dramma ignorando la novella."³² Even Mallach, whose argument is generally at odds with Baldacci's, concurs with this assertion. He writes, "Although at least one standard reference refers to the libretto [...] as being 'based on the short story rather than the drama of Verga,' Targioni-Tozzetti and Menasci in fact took their libretto directly from Verga's play."³³ The "Siciliana" provides a counter-example to this claim, demonstrating a clear debt to Verga's tale.

The precedent in the story is found in its early stages in introductory paragraphs excised in the play as a result of Verga's decision to tighten the dramatic action and begin the drama in medias res. In the story, Turiddu returns from a tour of duty in the army to find that his beloved Lola is betrothed to the carter Alfio. To let loose his disappointment at this turn of events, the jilted Turiddu sings serenades to Lola every night: "[S]i sfogò coll'andare a cantare tutte le canzoni di sdegno che sapeva sotto la finestra della bella."34 This behavior catches the attention of the villagers, which in turn calls out its importance to the reader: "Che non ha nulla da fare Turiddu della gnà Nunzia,' dicevano i vicini, 'che passa le notti a cantare come una passera solitaria?""³⁵ The story also provides inspiration for the poetry used in the "Siciliana." Examining the aria's first four lines, which I have rendered literally from the Sicilian into standard Italian, and comparing them to the seduction scene in Verga's tale, the lexical debt owed by the former to the latter is apparent:³⁶

O Lola ch'ai di latti la cammisa [O Lola che hai la camicia di latte] Si bianca e russa comu la cirasa, [Sì bianca e rossa come la ciliegia,] Quannu t'affacci fai la vucca a risa, [Quando ti affacci fai ridere la bocca,] Biato cui ti dà lu primu vasu! [Beato chi ti dà il primo bacio!]³⁷

The images used in the Siciliana are remarkably similar to those present in Turiddu's dual seduction of Santa and Lola in the story. The second line of the serenade is almost certainly derived from the recurring theme in the tale of Lola turning red and white. Lola at first resists Turiddu charms, "[A]l vederlo, non si fece né bianca né rossa quasi non fosse stato fatto suo,"³⁸ but upon hearing Turiddu's "paroline dolci" to Santa, the eavesdropping Lola cannot help but change color: "Lola che ascoltava ogni sera, nascosta dietro il vaso di basilico, si faceva pallida e rossa."³⁹ Turiddu uses the same turn of phrase in the story found in the

fourth line of the serenade not once, but twice. Upon first meeting Lola, he says, "Beato chi vi vede!"⁴⁰ and then later, "'Ma!' sospirò il giovinotto, 'beato chi può salutarvi!'"⁴¹ The image of women presenting themselves at the window is also present in the tale. Describing Santa's reaction to Turiddu's advances, the narrator recounts: "Come il babbo mise Turiddu fuori dell'uscio, la figliuola gli aprì la finestra, e stava a chiacchierare che lui tutta la sera."⁴² Thus, the serenade does indeed have a discernible linguistic precedent in Verga's tale.

Now that we have established the Verghian inspiration that justifies the inclusion of the "Siciliana" from a philological perspective, its other aspects can be discussed. Like many other numbers in the opera, it is a mixture of old and new ideas. The aria is, on the one hand, a retrograde piece. Its simple, diatonic harmonies and light orchestration call to mind an earlier era of Italian composition; for instance, it is not at all dissimilar to Almaviva's first-act serenade, "Io son Lindoro" from Rossini's Barbiere di Siviglia, written nearly three-quarters of a century earlier. Nevertheless, the aria is revolutionary from other perspectives. At a formal level, dialect was not used in opera during this period in a dramatic work such as Cavalleria. Dialect operas, while common in the lesser houses of Naples which performed buffa works throughout the nineteenth century, were all but unknown in the *teatri magni* of the day. Furthermore, the aria is sung before the curtain comes up, something hitherto unheard of on the Italian stage. Morini rightly points out just how innovative this idea was:

> E chi prima di Mascagni aveva osato far precedere un melodramma da un così lungo preludio strumentale e vocale che prosegue anche a scena aperta, con un'aria cantata dal tenore a sipario ancora calato e che è essa stessa antefatto dell'azione?⁴³

Mascagni was clearly aware of the gamble he was making by boldly including a dialect number in his opera and what is more doing so with the curtain down, a fact demonstrated by his initial decision not to include the serenade with the score he submitted to the judges of the Sonzogno competition. He only added the prelude and serenade once he felt reasonably sure the opera had earned enough support from the jury to be performed. Mallach quotes Mascagni as explaining this initial omission to the jury as follows: "Well, I sent in a sort of prelude, but this is the real one...Since it has a song sung by the tenor, in Sicilian dialect, behind the curtain, I figured you would find it too risky, and it would hurt my chances, so I didn't send it."⁴⁴

The opening aria of Monleone's Cavalleria rusticana is not nearly so risky. Turiddu sings with the curtain open, in the classic serenade pose under Lola's window, with a backdrop of "casucce bianche, sparse qua e là sui declivi odoranti."45 Far from Sicilian dialect and visceral, Verghian imagery, Turiddu's aria is linguistically as conventional and conservative as can be, typical of the style of the librettist, Giovanni Monleone (the composer's brother), thoughout: "Sulla finestra tua la luna splende / e la crudele mi ruba i tuoi baci. / Amor che ogni mia fibra muove e accende / ti vuole e chiama, ma tu resti e taci."46 From the humble wife of a carter, Gnà Lola is elevated to the lofty status of a "fata lunare."47 While certainly possessed of a pleasant progression from minor to major and a not unpleasing melody, the moonlight serenade is rather bland, reminiscent of any number of tenor arias, including Mascagni's own "Apri la tua finestra" from Iris.48 The differences between Mascagani and Monleone in their treatment of the *serenata* are even more clear in their usage of the chorus.

According to several critics, one of the most serious shortcomings of Mascagni's *Cavalleria rusticana* is its failure to retain the four villager roles found the play. In the opera, they are converted into a thoroughly conventional chorus. Mallach outlines the role of these four villagers in Verga's drama quite well when he describes them as:

> four omnipresent background figures—neighbors who, although having no role in the events of the play, are intimately involved as bystanders, witnesses of the drama being enacted. As a Greek chorus observing and even interrupting the dramatic events, their presence heightens the tension as the story moves to its inevitable conclusion.⁴⁹

The replacement of these figures causes a loss of what Baldacci, Sansone and musicologist Adriana Guarnieri Corazzol refer to as "coralità." Baldacci writes:

> L'ambiente, il colore, il contorno con le sue figurine da cui il dramma dovrà emergere gradualmente, in altre parole la coralità verghiana, nel libretto di *Cavalleria* [...] non ci sono

più. È costruito all'antica, tutto sui personaggi; ci sono i cori, non la coralità. 50

Guarnieri Corazzol, whose compelling argument traces this "coralità" back to Verga's prose writing, emphasizes its vital importance in the author's veristic style:

The rustic or regional short story or novel uses 'choral language:' the voice of a collective narrator, which requires the emotional and expressive participation of an anonymous narrator inside the story [...] often exhibiting a kind of theatrical emotional turbulence [...] and a preference for dialogic structures. The narration, in short, tends towards choral action, and has the immediacy and gestures of direct contact.⁵¹

Sansone writes that "the elimination of the minor roles of the 'scene popolari'—the neighbours providing the social background—and their substitution by a chorus of conventional country-folk, increased the risk of lapsing into picturesqueness."⁵² Budden chooses the same term to describe the chorus, observing the chorus upon its "return from the fields carolling happily…In a word, reality is repeatedly sacrificed to the picturesque."⁵³

Sansone and Budden are quite right to bring up the picturesque in their analysis. It is within the context of this loss of "coralità" that I wish to examine the chorus's first entrance in the opera, "Gli aranci olezzano." It is instructive to collocate Mascagni's rustic imagery within the general cultural climate of late nineteenth-century picturesque representations. In short, Mascagni banks upon the use of local color as a way of drawing his bourgeois audience into his Sicilian world in a manner that can be understood. Mallach's argument that "[local] color is distancing, and Mascagni does not want to distance his Sicilian peasants by making them seem exotic and strange to his audiences, but to make them even more real" does not take into account the very strong cultural stereotypes which existed in Italy during this period with which Mascagni had to deal. Indeed, we might say that Mascagni made his chorus seem more "real" by making them more stereotypical.⁵⁴

One of the primary ways in which the Southern (and Insular) Italy was understood by the North was through picturesque representations.

In his 1999 Darkest Italy, cultural historian John Dickie provides enlightening analysis of this phenomenon of the picturesque in Italy in a chapter on representations of the South as seen in the magazine Illustrazione italiana, founded in 1873 and widely circulated throughout the last decades of the century. The key project of this magazine, representative of a larger trend in imagining the South was, according to Dickie, a neutralization of the frightening social conditions found in the South (and thus of any responsibility to change them) by relegating them to the background in favor of a picturesque representation. Defining what he means by picturesque, Dickie writes: "Loosely speaking, a picturesque scene, custom or figure is foreign enough to be exotic, to belong to the poetic margin beyond a humdrum reality, and yet familiar enough to be soothingly Italian."55 Dickie argues that the northerners' "preferred positive stereotype of the lower orders" in picturesque representations "endows them with a crude aesthetic quality which they themselves are unaware."⁵⁶ Specifically Southern pastoral scenes became a very popular sub-genre of picturesque representations. Dickie writes:

The South and its people exist primarily...as a set of textual figures inserted into a grid of obsessively reiterated binary oppositions, of which the pair nature-culture is one of the most important. As the favored location in which to hunt the picturesque, the South becomes the privileged arena for the bucolic experience.⁵⁷

Guarnieri Corazzol distinguishes between what she sees as Verghian exoticism and Mascagnian exoticism based precisely on the latter's exploitation of the picturesque. She writes:

The difference between the two exoticisms resides in formal solutions to the treatment of the 'other': Verga *invented* a socially removed language; opera, on the other hand, used the 'other' as an opportunity for integration, metabolising the 'foreign' linguistic elements with an almost touristic gesture of appropriation.⁵⁸

The bucolic experience of *Cavalleria rusticana* seen in Mascagni's opening choral number provides a compelling example of Dickie's

exotic yet familiar picturesque. The chorus makes its entrance to the women singing the following lines: "Gli aranci olezzano sui verdi margini, / cantan le allodole tra i mirti in fior; / tempo è si mormori da ognuno il tenero / canto che i palpiti raddoppia al cor."⁵⁹ The men reply, "In mezzo al campo tra le spiche d'oro / giunge il rumore delle vostre spole; / noi stanchi riposando dal lavoro / a voi pensiamo, o belle occhi-di-sole."60 The chorus has transported us into a rustic world quite removed from the big cities. We have exotic, fragrant breezes, green expanses, birds, song, golden wheat, weaving, and work in the fields.⁶¹ In sharp contrast to Verga's vision of Sicily in the Vita dei campi and his other short stories, work is pleasant if tiring, not backbreaking and perilous. The chorus in Mascagni's opera doubtlessly romanticizes the life of the unlanded peasant villagers of late nineteenth-century Sicily to no small extent. Another aspect of this chorus, as Alexander astutely points out, has a reassuringly familiar ring to it, making the villagers seem all the more charming. In addition to its romanticized exoticism, the chorus's entrance is inspired by the verses of a Northern poet. Alexander observes, "when the curtain rises and brilliant sunshine unveils the morning mist in the Piazzetta S. Teresa, it also unveils that a line of the first chorus is lifted from a poem by Severino Ferrari, a poet of the Carducci school,"62 who in one of his Nuovi versi of 1888 uses the turn of phrase "belle occhi-di-sole."63 Thus, our exotically Sicilian chorus sings the pastoral lyric of a comfortingly familiar, thoroughly Northern poet.

The Monleone version of the opera is more true to Verga's "coralità" than is the Mascagni version. One of the secondary characters in the play, zio Brasi, is retained in Monleone's adaptation. He serves as a stand-in for the three removed characters. He is given many of the lines of all of Verga's secondary characters, many times using almost identical language to that found in the original. In Verga's original, he asks Alfio, "O compar Alfio, che potete pigliarlo un viaggio per Militello?"⁶⁴ In Monleone's opera, Brasi queries, "Ehi, compar Alfio! O che volete prenderlo un viaggio per Mineo?"⁶⁵ When Alfio responds that he wishes to remain home, the play has zia Filomena respond, reciting the proverb, "Il Carnevale fallo con chi vuoi. Pasque e Natale falli con i tuoi."⁶⁶ In Monleone's opera, it is zio Brasi who recites the same proverb verbatim.⁶⁷ Verga's "coralità" is also retained at a later moment in the Monleone libretto, in a dramatic moment executed quite skillfully. In both the play and the Monleone libretto, Brasi comments on Santuzza's late arrival at church, a subtle moment in which he serves as the disapproving voice of the community upon viewing Santuzza's strange behavior. In the play, Brasi remarks: "O comare Santa, che va in chiesa quando non c'è più nessuno!"⁶⁸ In the opera, he sings: "Santuzza che va in chiesa quando gli altri se n'escono."⁶⁹

However, the chorus itself lacks the titillating Sicilian specificity of Mascagni's, and if anything is yet more conventional. Budden's comment that Mascagni's chorus "are still the country-folk of La sonnambula and Linda di Chamounix" rings more true for Monleone's chorus than for Mascagni's.⁷⁰ In the Monleone setting, in contrast to the Mascagni's contrapuntal setting, the chorus of shepherds and shepherdesses greets the dawn in grandoise unison: "Recinta d'aurora la vetta riluce / gli augelli risvegliansi e cantan d'amor. / È l'alba; pastore sospingi il tuo gregge; è il sole che il giubilo agli animi induce."71 The image evoked from this poetry, devoid of the exotic specificity provided by Targioni-Tozzetti and Menasci's fragrant orange trees and "belle occhi-di-sole," might represent any rural locale in Italy. Later on, during the Easter celebration, geographic specificity is again lacking."Su tutta infioriamo la piazza," the ladies declare as they merrily adorn the piazza with garlands and branches, "April e Amor...Fior sulle soglie; fior sui balconi; fiori all'ostelllo di Nostro Signor."⁷² In short, Monleone has literally retained "coralità" with zio Brasi, but his chorus is a far less convincing "authentic" representation of Sicily.

A closing thought on the matter of "coralità" should go to Mallach, who compellingly argues that Mascagni paradoxically achieves Verga's original effect by means of the stereotypical chorus episodes. Despite itself, Mascagni's picturesque chorus still manages to be unconventional. As Mallach notes, while the chorus numbers are "the most conventional element in the libretto…they allowed the librettists to capture much of the same sense of an omnipresent community behind the drama."⁷³ He also observes correctly that "[few] operas devote so much time to choral music as *Cavalleria* and so little to the protagonists themselves."⁷⁴ Reiterating these points later on, Mallach asserts that this choral omnipresence and emphasis achieves much the same effect of that created by Verga's original four villagers:

Mascagni brings the community alive through his use of the chorus. While his librettists have been criticized for replacing Verga's contrapuntal use of minor characters with stereotypical choral episodes, few writers have appreciated the extent to which those episodes, in the context of the story's dramatic action, achieve much the same effect in terms appropriate to a musical, rather than verbal, drama. Their power lies in their constant presence.⁷⁵

The drinking song "Viva il vino spumeggiante" is another highly criticized moment in Mascagni's opera. Take, for instance, the 1894 review mistakenly directed at Verga by one Edoardo Boutet, who, as Sansone notes, has mistaken Verga's play for Mascagni's adaptation. Boutet savages *Cavalleria* for its sugar-coated vision of Sicilian life:

What a difference from the Turiddus and the Alfios, and little bites on the ear lobe and bad Easters to you and me! The case of the sulphur mine so mercilessly exposed is alone enough to make you feel your heart is breaking.... Instead, neighbour Alfio would come to the fore and sing merrily: 'Oh, what a lovely job to be a carter;' and on village squares one would find a light wine for 'I'll have a toast,' 'I'll have a toast'... and guitars, *stornelli*, roses, flowers. Tiny tears to win the applause for the leading actress; or sufferings grouped in notes for the outpouring of a tenor.⁷⁶

Turiddu's drinking-song is (consciously I would argue) Mascagni's clearest exploitation of established operatic convention. From "Libiamo ne' lieti calici" in Verdi's La traviata all the way back to "Finch'han dal vino" in Mozart's Don Giovanni, the "brindisi" is as traditional a setpiece as can be found. The aria, which features a superbly well-crafted melody and a popular quality about it, is nonetheless not a masterpiece of musical innovation. Budden contends that this scene is a particularly glaring example of non-veristic writing. He writes that it is very unlikely that "Verga's characters [...] would have recognized themselves in the peasants [...] [who] echo Turiddu's paean to 'foaming wine.""77 However, what many critics have missed about "Viva il vino spumeggiante" is that it is both dramatically justifiable as an adaptation of the same scene in Verga's play, and, of equal importance, dramatically justified in that it furthers the dramatic action of the opera. Verga's play makes Turiddu's inebriation a vital part of the action. Since the play takes place within the Aristotelian timeframe of twenty-four hours, Verga could no

longer have Turiddu and Alfio meet by the prickly-pear trees the day after the ear-biting challenge is issued, "allo spuntar del sole," as occurs in the story.⁷⁸ Verga needed to contrive a way to put Turiddu, a soldier and presumably an able fighter, at an immediate disadvantage to the carter, thus bringing the tragedy to a logical conclusion. His solution is to have Turiddu, unsettled by Santuzza's jealous outbursts, drink to excess. As he complains in the drama to zio Brasi, comare Camilla, and his mother, Turiddu drinks:

È in collera perché so io... Vecchi benedetti! Che non si vogliono rammentare di quel che hanno fatto in gioventù! Alla vostra salute, gnà Lola! Voi, comare Camilla! Bevete, zio Brasi. Oggi vogliamo uccidere la malinconia.⁷⁹

When Turiddu says farewell to his mother, his impending sense of doom derives explicitly from his drunkenness. He says, "Dico così, come parla il vino, che ne ho bevuto un dito di soverchio, e vado a far quattro passi per dar aria al cervello."⁸⁰

Mascagni's opera picks up on the importance of Turiddu's drunkenness and thus makes the "brindisi" dramatically relevant, serving to move the tragedy towards its climax. In the opera, Turiddu is even more emphatic about the ill effects he feels from the wine he has drunk, repeating himself on the matter. He first sings, "Mamma, quel vino è generoso, e certo / oggi troppi bicchier ne ho tracannato."⁸¹ Then, the importance of his impairment is reiterated; saying his farewell to Mamma Lucia, Turiddu laments, "È il vino che mi ha suggerito!"⁸²

To underscore the deft dramatic purpose imbued in Mascagni's drinking-song, we can compare his handling of the scene to that of the Monleone version, in which there is wine but no "brindisi."Without the dramatic set-piece to emphasize it, Turiddu's drinking barely registers before Alfio makes his menacing entrance. In this scene, the orchestra plays a charming if dramatically irrelevant ditty, with the chorus chiming in with repetitions of their aforementioned "April e Amor."⁸³ Turiddu's "Su duinque amici, alla salute vostra" occurs as a continuation of this merry tune.⁸⁴ Likewise, when Turiddu sings "così mi parla il vin" to his mother, it is sung mid-phrase and with no particular emphasis.⁸⁵ Thus, Turiddu's drunkenness does not "play" in the opera as it does in Mascagni's. The Monleones invented a different solution to the problem, one that explains one of the few moments in which they diverge from Verga's scenario.

Instead of making a drunk Turiddu inferior to the sober Alfio, Alfio is portrayed as an fearsome, superior fighter. This is established in his entrance aria, "Battea la mezzanotte," which if anything is even more derivative of Bizet's "Votre toast, je peux vous le rendre" from *Carmen* than Mascagni's "Il cavallo scalpita," an aria famous for this resemblance. In "Battea la mezzanotte," the Monleones' Alfio tells the villagers of an encounter with two "brutti arnesi" on his journey back to the village, who had attempted to rob him. Alfio recounts how he thrashed them both: "Rapido come il lampo mi discosto, / giro la frusta e sopra quei m'avvento. / Fugge l'altro e il furfante in mano mia: 'Pietà' grida, 'Pietà!' Niente; ti fiacco! / Finché il lasciai bocconi sulla via!'⁸⁶ This side of Alfio's character serves the dramatic purpose of showing that even a veteran like Turiddu will prove no match for such a fierce character.

Finally, there is the closing moment of the two operas. Targioni-Tozzetti and Menasci retain Verga's original "Hanno ammazzato compare Turiddu! Hanno ammazzato compare Turiddu!"87 This moment is remarkably faithful to Verga's original.88 The line is screamed rather than sung. This is extremely innovative, placing an emphasis on the words hitherto unknown on the lyric stage. Guarnieri Corazzol calls it an "unpitched vocal catharsis," a dramatic technique that would be widely imitated by subsequent composers, most notably in Leoncavallo's Pagliacci.⁸⁹ The Monleone version inexplicably changes Verga's language to the more forensically accurate if more subdued "Turiddu accoltellato!"90 Possibly, this was done in an effort to differentiate this pivotal moment from the Mascagni version in anticipation of the legal battles that would ensue. Whatever the reasons, Targioni-Tozzetti and Menasci's adherence to Verga is more dramatically effective, and Giovanni Monleone's alteration, by which the murder weapon is identified, gives the scene a decidedly more sanitary, clinical feel.

Ultimately, Mascagni's demonstrable superiority over Monleone at welding together ideas old and new into a cohesive, innovative whole, provides justification for the former's preponderance of productions. However, the Monleone version, while not as successful in this sense, is certainly worthy of the occasional performance, perhaps in a doublebill with Mascagni's version, as it was given in its Amsterdam première. Thus, the opera might be seen as Monleone had originally envisioned it. It would not, as he put it, "oscurare il magnifico lavoro di Mascagni" but rather, "la nuova *Cavalleria* porterebbe di certo un forte rialzo per il *noleggio* della vecchia."⁹¹ Music critic Robert Baxter, reviewer of the 2002 recording of Monleone's *Cavalleria*, reminds us that Domenico Monleone's music has several redeeming moments, including the prelude, "a gorgeous piece of natural scene painting as the orchestra depicts the magic of a moonlit night," and the duet between Alfio and Santuzza, which according to Baxter "packs a large musical and dramatic wallop."⁹² His finding that "[the] opera deserves a place in the recorded repertory" certainly applies to the stage as well.⁹³

Returning to Mascagni's opera, the heaps of criticism garnered throughout the years serve to demonstrate that the critics may have simply expected too much innovation at once from a twenty-six-yearold trying to make a name for himself. Those who have excoriated Mascagni's opera from its première to the present day did not have to contend with a very real concern of the young Mascagni: while today opera has become entertainment for the elite, during the nineteenth century an opera had to reach out to a wide audience to succeed from the standpoints of both publicity and economics. As Mallach notes, "Opera was a vital, popular art, and the people who made operas were important people, not only to a small coterie of connoisseurs but to the greater part of the even moderately literate public."94 A succès d'estime would not establish or maintain a reputation for a composer (as Mascagni himself would unhappily learn later in his career), and likely give pause to a publisher looking to commission further works. In any event the critics of the era in Italy were oftentimes far more critical of innovation than of convention. The response could be ugly when an Italian composer was too innovative; upsetting the apple cart was a very dangerous sport within the Italian operatic milieu. Mascagni was almost certainly aware of the legendary fiasco of another twenty-six-year-old Milan Conservatoire composer, none other than the man who would later become Verga's confidant and theatrical advisor, Arrigo Boito. When Mascagni was still a boy, the upstart Boito attempted to shock the word with Mefistofele. The opera, which premiered twenty-two years prior to Mascagni's in March 1868, was characterized by a conscious effort to make a clean break from the Italian tradition and start again in a more Wagnerian mode. In its original version, the opera did not even have the sine qua non of a tenor role. As music historian William Ashbrook writes in an article on the genesis of opera,"Of the thirteen libretti that Boito wrote, the 1868 Mefistofele, among the serious ones, shows least resemblance to the traditions of Italian melodramma."95 Full of "brash idealism," Boito not only composed the music for this opera,

but wrote the libretto and conducted its first performance.⁹⁶ As Budden notes, the opera is a musical anomaly:"*Mefistofele*, like the later, uncompleted *Nerone*, stands apart; it has no musical ancestors and no progeny."⁹⁷

The première of *Mefistofele* illustrates what happened to composers who opted for wholesale rather than measured changes. It was the among the greatest fiascos in the whole of the nineteenth century at La Scala, nothing short of a Faustian disaster. Despite having created a very forward-thinking work of art, which beyond its Wagnerian harmonic inspiration boasted "characters…more sharply individual than customary of this time," Boito's opera nearly caused a riot within the ranks of Milan's conservative audience.⁹⁸ As Ashbrook recounts:

At the first performance of *Mefistofele*, the contestation of opposing factions in the audience—the latter parts of the performance were, apparently, only fitfully audible—delayed the final curtain until 1:30 a.m., after five and a half noisy hours. In retrospect, that outcome seems inevitable. Boito at age twenty-six lacked a sense of proportion.⁹⁹

One of the greatest achievements of the young Mascagni, therefore, was the restraint upon Verga's innovatory theater for which so many critics have lambasted him. A middle-class settentrionale would have been baffled by the Darwinian struggle for survival found in Verga's original works transposed directly to the operatic stage. A full adaptation of Verga's coralità, which not even Monleone dared attempt, would have constituted a radical departure from the way choruses were typically used in virtually any Italian opera of the day. The most enduring works of opera, like Cavalleria, are very often at the midpoint between reaction and radicalism. For example, no one would think of criticizing Verdi's Rigoletto for its concessions to convention. As compelling as its revolutionary mixture of the tragic and the comic is, and for all its darkly complex harmonic moments, it would be absurd to argue that Rigoletto's delightful set pieces, "Caro nome" and "La donna è mobile," detract from its appeal. This does not mean we must put Mascagni's masterpiece on equal footing with that of the Maestro of Sant'Agata, as so many of his contemporaries were itching to do. But it is time to call into question the founding premises that have characterized criticism of Cavalleria rusticana for over a century, something that to this point only a few scholars have endeavored to do.

Notes

1. Budden, Julian. *Puccini: His Life and Works*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. 43.

2. Ibid.

3. For proponents of this theory, see Girardi, Michele. *Puccini: His International Art.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000. 22-23; and Mallach, Alan. *The Autumn of Italian Opera: From Verismo to Modernism, 1890-1915.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2007. 67.

4. The triumphant premiere is described in detail Mallach, Alan. *Pietro Mascagni and His Operas*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2002. 59.

5. Cited in Alexander, Alfred. *Giovanni Verga: A Great Writer and His World*. London: Grant and Cutler, 1972. 158. There is no reason why Mascagni should have lied in this telegram, since Verga and he were on reasonably good terms at this early stage.

6. See Mallach (2002) 57, Alexander 179.

7. Monleone's solution to this injunction was to reuse the music in a setting of another one of Verga's tales, *Il Mistero*, which was a initially successful upon its 1921 première. This opera too is all but forgotten today. As music critic Robert Baxter observes, "Monleone ultimately claimed no more than a supporting role in Italy's musical life." Baxter, Robert. "*Cavalleria rusticana*, Domenico Monleone." *The Opera Quarterly* 19.2 (2003): 304–306. 304.

8. Monleone's is the third produced version of *Cavalleria* if we count Stanislao Gastaldon's 1888 *Mala Pasqua*, which flopped. If we are to believe Francesco D'Arcais, a judge at the 1889 competition, there were also many versions entered into the 1889 competition alone. D'Arcais writes "È fuor di dubbio che il bozzetto del Verga offre al compositore di musica un forte contrasto di passioni; e si capisce che il M. Mascagni ci abbia trovato il soggetto di un'opera, come ce lo trovarono altri, poiché le *Cavallerie rusticane* presentate al concorso erano parecchie." D'Arcais, Francesco. "La musica italiana e la *Cavalleria rusticana* del M° Mascagni." *Nuova antologia.* 27.111 (1890): 518-530. 528. On Gastaldon's opera, see Alexander 138. As an update to Alexander's now 35-year-old biography, the author is incorrect in saying that the music has disappeared for Gastaldon's opera. Several copies of the score are extant in libraries throughout the world.

9. Vlad, Roman. "Novità del linguaggio in *Cavalleria rusticana.*" Atti del 1º Convengo di studi internazionali su Pietro Mascagni. Ed. Piero Ostali. Milano: Casa Musicale Sonzogno, 1987. 25-34. 25.

10. Sansone, Matteo. "Verga and Mascagni: The Critics' Response to

Cavalleria rusticana." Music and Letters 71.2 (May 1990): 198-214. 206.

11. Cited in Sansone 206.

12. Sansone traces this line of interpretation back to 1892, when critic Arturo Colautti, later to collaborate with Giordano and Cilea as a librettist, denounced Mascagni's as mere imitation of French sources. See Sansone 205-206.

13. Morini, Mario. "Mascagni e Verga nella dimensione di un capolavoro." Atti del 1º Convengo di studi internazionali su Pietro Mascagni. Ed. Piero Ostali. Milano: Casa Musicale Sonzogno, 1987. 11-17. 13.

14. Budden (2002) 93.

- 15. Cited in Vlad 25.
- 16. Alexander 159.
- 17. Sansone 200.

18. Baldacci, Luigi. "I libretti di Mascagni." Atti del 1º Convengo di studi internazionali su Pietro Mascagni. Ed. Piero Ostali. Milano: Casa Musicale Sonzogno, 1987. 71-82. 81. Emphasis original.

19. Baldacci 71. This was not always the case, however. Mascagni was, for instance, aware of serious problems in the versification of the 1891 *L'amico Fritz* and took action to remedy the situation. At Mascagni's behest, Sonzogno replaced the original librettist, the archconservative Angelo Zanardini, with Nicola Daspuro, Sonzogno's agent in Naples. Daspuro produced a workmanlike if unremarkable libretto, prompting Mascagni to send the libretto to Targioni-Tozzetti and Menasci, who made final revisions. With so many hands involved in its creation, the libretto was ultimately credited to a nonentity, "P. Suardon," an anagram of "N. Daspuro." See Mallach (2002) 77-78.

20. Mallach (2002) 48.

21. D'Arcais 528.

22. Mallach (2002) 48.

23. Ibid.

- 24. Mallach (2007) 227.
- 25. Mallach (2002) 65.
- 26. Sansone 201.

27. Budden (2002) 57.

28. Raya, Gino ed. Carteggio Verga - Monleone. Roma: Herder Editore, 1987. 12.

29. Sansone 200.

30. Ibid 200.

31. Cited in Alexander 158.

32. Baldacci 81.

33. Mallach (2002) 47.

34. Verga, Giovanni. "Cavalleria rusticana." *Tutte le novelle*. Milano: Mondadori, 2006. 190-196. 190.

35. Ibid.

36. To make the poetry fit the rhythms of the music, the text of the verses is altered in versions of the opera done exclusively in Italian, as was common during the Fascist period.

37. Targioni-Tozzetti, Giovanni and Guido Menasci. "Libretto." *Mascagni:* Cavalleria rusticana, *riduzione per canto e pianoforte*. Ed. Leopoldo Mugnone. Milano: Edoardo Sonzogno, 1891. xi. Translation mine.

38. Verga (2006) 190.

39. Ibid 193.

40. Ibid 190.

41. Ibid 193.

42. Ibid.

43. Morini 16.

44. Cited in Mallach (2002) 54.

45. Monleone, Giovanni. "Libretto." *Cavalleria rusticana*. Milano: Myto Records, 2002. 28-40. 28. The libretto of the Monleone opera, only to be found in the CD insert of the recent 2002 recording of the opera by Myto Records, unfortunately lacks pagination. Thus, the pagination is of my own counting.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. Robert Baxter also hears such reverberations. He writes: "Echoes of Mascagni's *Cavalleria* and *Iris* are embedded in the music, more in homage, I suspect, than in imitation" (305).

49. Mallach (2002) 47.

50. Baldacci 81.

51. Guarnieri Corazzol, Adriana. "Opera and Verismo: Regressive Points of View and the Artifice of Alienation." Trans. Roger Parker. *Cambridge Opera Journal* 5:1 (Mar 1993): 39-53. 42.

52. Sansone 200.

53. Budden (2002) 93.

54. Mallach (2002) 68.

55. Dickie, John. Darkest Italy: The Nation and Stereotypes of the Mezzogiorno, 1860-1900. London: MacMillan, 1999. 92.

56. Ibid 90.

57. Ibid 92.

58. Guarnieri Corazzol 51. Emphasis original.

59. Targioni-Tozzetti and Menasci xi.

60. Ibid.

61. Much the same effect of the *intermezzo sinfonico*, perhaps the most enduring music from the opera.

- 62. Alexander 159.
- 63. Ferrari, Severino. Nuovi versi. Faenza: Pietro Conti, 1888. 30.

64. Verga, Giovanni. "Cavalleria rusticana." *Teatro*. Milano: Fratelli Treves, 1920. 1-55. 12.

- 65. Monleone 32.
- 66. Verga (1920) 13.
- 67. Monleone 32.
- 68. Verga (1920) 41.
- 69. Monleone 37.
- 70. Budden (2002) 93.
- 71. Monleone 29.
- 72. Ibid 37.
- 73. Mallach (2002) 47.
- 74. Ibid.
- 75. Ibid 66.
- 76. Cited in Sansone 204.
- 77. Budden (2002) 93.
- 78. Verga (2006) 195.
- 79. Verga (1920) 47.
- 80. Ibid 52.
- 81. Targioni-Tozzetti and Menasci xvi.
- 82. Ibid.
- 83. Monleone 38.
- 84. Ibid.
- 85. Ibid 39.
- 86. Monleone 31.
- 87. Verga (1920) 55.

88. The original use of the third person plural is curious here, since it is clearly Alfio alone who kills Turiddu. One interpretation of the *loro* here is that it is indicative of the community's complicity in and approval of Alfio's settling of the score with Turiddu.

- 89. Guarneri Corazzol 41.
- 90. Monleone 40.
- 91. Raya 13.
- 92. Baxter 305.

94. Mallach (2002) 61-62.

95. Ashbrook, William. "Boito and the 1868 *Mefistofele* Libretto as a Reform Text." *Reading Opera*. Ed. Arthur Groos and Roger Parker. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988. 268-287. 287.

96. Ibid 274.

97. Budden, Julian. *The Operas of Verdi*. Vol. 3. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992. 281.

98. Ashbrook 282.

99. Ibid 287.

^{93.} Ibid.