Introduction: Puccini, His World, and Ours

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Marco Malvaldi is a writer of detective novels that have met with widespread success in Italy over the last decade. In 2015 he published *Buchi nella sabbia* (Holes in the Sand), set in his hometown of Pisa, Tuscany, in September 1900. The plot revolves around a performance of Giacomo Puccini's recently premiered *Tosca* in the presence of King Victor Emmanuel III, who had just succeeded his father Umberto I to the throne of Italy following Umberto's assassination by an anarchist. In the book, the political aspects of the opera—especially the assassination of the opera's male protagonist Mario Cavaradossi—are considered rather too topical by the authorities in the light of these recent events, to the point of making the choice of *Tosca* to celebrate the King's visit to Pisa a highly questionable one. At the same time, a group of local anarchists, which includes the tenor singing Cavaradossi, sees the performance as the perfect opportunity to stage a demonstration against the King. In Act 3 the tenor is shot for real, however, and most of the book is devoted to the search for the assassin by various parties, including the police and a left-leaning journalist who had been asked by his newspaper to report on the event. Malvaldi, who turned to musicologists for information on *Tosca* and the world of opera in Italy at the turn of the twentieth century, is unusually accurate on these aspects; at the same time, he has invented a plot not only with evident parallels to that of the opera, but with obvious political connotations for present-day readers in Italy, where the alleged connections between the political parties and recent high-profile investigations by police and the judiciary have been fiercely debated.[1]

I begin with this very recent novel because it can function as an unfamiliar yet useful starting point for introducing at least some of the circumstances, assumptions, and expectations that shape the discourse on Puccini in the early twenty-first century. First among them is the immense

success of Puccini's operas over the course of the twentieth century, which is related to their significant presence in cultural spheres where opera does not normally feature (such as the detective novel) but has tended to make us focus more on continuities than differences when discussing them. At the same time, the diminishing hold that opera in general has on present-day collective consciousness in the so-called West should not go unmentioned, since it has an impact on the position of even the most famous among Puccini's works within this consciousness, and therefore on the kinds of assumptions that can be made about them at different cultural levels. No less relevant is the Italian national context in which Puccini's operas were first conceived and to which they are thought to belong "genetically" for a historically informed interpretation of at least some of their most significant features. Conversely, their popularity reached almost immediately a truly transnational dimension, and therefore they have interacted ever since with several different cultures, of which they have been part for about a century—most prominently the culture defined by the English language, to which the present volume is, of course, primarily addressed. Finally, we need to take into account the interaction between what we tend to consider the more fixed components of an operatic work, the libretto and the score, and the more fluid and unstable ones, the staging and the musical interpretation, for a rounded understanding of the varied and sometimes even opposite meanings that Puccini's operas can have, and have had, for different audiences attending different productions in different performative contexts. The contributions collected here address some of these issues more directly than others, at the same time broadening the scope of their investigation to include other equally important themes. One of the overarching aims guiding the editors' preparation of this volume has been to present a plurality of historical, critical, and methodological standpoints, in the belief that a wide spectrum of approaches best serves the equally wide spectrum of concerns and issues that Puccini brought to the lyric stage about a century ago.

A related aim of this book has been to address all of Puccini's regularly performed operas, from *Manon Lescaut* to *Turandot*, albeit in differing levels of detail. Some works are devoted individual essays, even two in the case of *Madama Butterfly*: Arthur Groos discusses its dramatization of the tension between East and West, and Michele Girardi introduces a translation of portions of the staging manual prepared on the occasion of the 1906 Parisian premiere. In her essay on *La fanciulla del West,* Ellen Lockhart ponders a wealth of visual documents, recently emerged from the archives, that relate to its genesis and first production. Micaela

Figure 1. Puccini, drawing by Lina Rosso, 1918.

Baranello considers Puccini's most ambiguous work, *La rondine*, from the point of view of Viennese operetta. Finally, *Il trittico* is probed by Alessandra Campana and Christopher Morris, who explore the representational and aesthetic goals of its three component parts: *Il tabarro, Suor Angelica*, and *Gianni Schicchi*. More concentrated attention on these works has not come about entirely by chance: *Madama Butterfly* and *Fanciulla* have emerged in recent years as especially fertile ground for musicological and critical debate (*Fanciulla* being performed more frequently than ever before), since they evidently bring to the fore aspects that appear particularly relevant to us; *Il trittico* seems poised to do the same in the near future; and *La rondine* was sorely in need of a balanced and historically grounded assessment of its contradictory genre discourse.

Other operas are discussed as a group from a specific critical perspective, such as *Manon Lescaut*, *La bohème*, and *Tosca* in Arman Schwartz's essay on the tension between idealism and realism in the early works—in which *Edgar* also has a supporting role. These same works receive indirect but no less illuminating light from Schwartz's and Walter Frisch's presentations of a few important Italian and German contributions to the debate on *verismo* and realism on the lyric stage that raged throughout the 1890s. Alexandra Wilson's introduction to excerpts from critic Fausto Torrefranca's anti-Puccinian 1912 pamphlet, *Giacomo Puccini and International Opera*, highlights a set of recurring themes in the early reception of the operas up to and including *Madama Butterfly*. Puccini's last work, *Turandot*, has pride of place in Ben Earle's investigation of the complex and ambiguous relationship between Puccini and fascism, examined mostly from the viewpoint of the opera's critical (mis)fortunes in 1920s and 1930s Italy. Finally, Leon Botstein's wide-ranging essay on Puccini and his contemporaries, and my own contribution on the composer's discourse on the interpreters of his operas address the whole of his artistic output from specific viewpoints, highlighting connections between apparently distant works, times, places, and people.

In keeping with the practice of previous volumes in the Bard Festival series, the present one purposefully refrains from delving into the history of Puccini's works, reputation, and image after the composer's death in 1924 and the posthumous premiere of *Turandot* two years later—with the necessary exception of Ben Earle's discussion of critical pronouncements on this opera in the later 1920s and 1930s in connection with fascism. In any case, to address properly a topic such as "Puccini after Puccini" would require a separate book—one that would fill an evident gap in scholarship. At the same time, all the contributions cannot but have been

influenced by more recent performances and stagings, experienced either live or through audiovisual media. To name just the most obvious case, the exceptional popularity of "Nessun dorma" from *Turandot* following its use by television as the theme song for broadcasts of the matches of the 1990 Soccer World Cup in Italy must have had an impact—conscious or, more likely, unconscious—on both stagings and critical interpretations of this individual piece as well as the whole opera, although it is difficult to understand the precise workings and consequences of such impact.

The fact that, generally speaking, the present and the recent past are not explicitly discussed in the following essays does not imply an active attempt to sidestep them; on the contrary, the approaches adopted here and the concerns exhibited by the various authors are inevitably but by no means unconsciously rooted in our early twenty-first-century sensibility, and therefore are a fruit of the century that separates us from Puccini. In the following pages I will present a brief overview of some of these approaches and concerns, trying to suggest ways in which they might inflect our views of the whole of Puccini's oeuvre, or at least of other works beside those already discussed in each specific essay.

Modernism

A crucial theme addressed in several essays and touched upon by a few others is that of Puccini's modernism, or, in a wider sense, his works' relationship with modernity. In the twentieth century, art music, like all other artistic expressions, was dominated by what could be called the imperative of originality, the obligation to "Make It New!" to cite Ezra Pound's famous injunction from the 1920s. Pound's slogan is usually taken to refer to modernism proper, the aesthetic movement that, by most accounts, emerged at the end of the nineteenth century and flourished especially in the first half of the twentieth, and of which the avant-garde, pushing at the boundaries of what is generally accepted as the norm, is considered the quintessential expression.

As many have argued, however, modernism is just the most explicit manifestation of an orientation typical of high-cultural production during the last two centuries, that is to say, the era generally known as modernity proper, as opposed to early modernity, the period encompassing the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. To summarize in doubtlessly simplistic terms a complex and multilayered discourse: in the context of the increasing levels of repetition—often *mechanical*

repetition—that came to characterize most aspects of modern life, art took it upon itself to offer something different from this life, something, in fact, whose distance from it was measured precisely in terms of difference—not only its difference from everyday life, but also its difference from itself, its difference within. In art, change, novelty, originality were the yardstick by which new contributions were measured. Modernism took this aesthetic imperative to a point where, at least ostensibly, public success mattered less than innovation and uniqueness; indeed, for the avant-garde success became highly suspect (at least in public discourse), since it could be taken as a sign that an artist had not been sufficiently innovative, had not "made it new" enough. Thus far I have used the past tense, but as I hope readers realize, much of what I have said still holds largely true for several present-day artistic expressions, including art music.

Puccini composed his operas between the 1880s and the 1920s, and therefore found himself working right at the time when modernism was coming to dominate the aesthetic and cultural field. As a consequence, these operas were—and have largely continued to be—measured according to a modernist aesthetic outlook, either explicitly or implicitly. Not surprisingly, they have been mostly found wanting: their enormous success alone would guarantee them a negative assessment. Therefore, although Puccini's career belongs more to the twentieth century than to the nineteenth, his presence in histories of twentieth-century music has usually been marginal: his works were not considered "modern" enough to be discussed next to those by Debussy, Schoenberg, Berg, Stravinsky, or even Richard Strauss, to name only opera composers working in the initial decades of the century. I have put "modern" in quotes because I should have written "modernist"; however, in the twentieth century modernism was generally considered *the* artistic orientation of modernity, the only one truly modern, and "modern" was used when "modernist" should have been said instead. Clearly, if a work was not modernist, then it could not be truly modern.

In the last few decades, however, considerable effort has gone into conceptually separating modernism and modernity in art and culture, and exploring other ways in which various artifacts from the last two centuries might be considered modern, in the sense of responding creatively to the conditions of modern life without necessarily being modernist. This changed intellectual environment has been significantly beneficial to the critical and scholarly reputation of Puccini's operas, and its influence is evident in many of the essays that follow. Before, the only way for

critics and scholars to "rescue" Puccini was to emphasize the innovative, advanced, original, in a word *modernist* aspects of his art, usually looking closely at the scores for evidence—Puccini, apparently, could only be a modernist composer, not a modernist musical dramatist. This activity has yielded interesting results, since Puccini was indeed interested in making it "fairly new," if not exactly in hardcore modernist terms. The final assessment, however, could only be that he was an imaginative but rather cautious follower of other, more "advanced" composers, guardedly incorporating their novelties into an essentially conservative musical fabric.[2] If we broaden the scope of our inquiry to an investigation of the ways in which Puccini responds to the conditions of modernity, specifically not only to its aesthetic and cultural aspects but also to its intellectual, social, political, and ideological dimensions, then the composer's works emerge as particularly rich and multifaceted sites of a broad-ranging exploration of ideas, actions, emotions, and fantasies characteristic of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century—but also largely of our time, since modernity, albeit in its supposedly late guise, is still stubbornly with us.

Several contributors to the present volume share an interest in investigating precisely the relationship between Puccini's works and modernity, especially in its late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century manifestations. Arman Schwartz, for example, connects Puccini's dramaturgical concerns in the operas composed during the 1890s with the realist theater of Henrik Ibsen, illuminating the ways in which these operas stage modern existential anxieties prominently explored by Ibsen for the newly disenchanted, post-idealist culture of the fin de siècle. The extent to which this culture was *post*-idealist is explicitly tested by Schwartz's contribution to this book's "Documents" section, in which three texts by Italian critics published between 1892 and 1901 lament in different but complementary ways some of the more explicitly realist traits of contemporary Italian opera and do so precisely in terms of disenchantment. German critic Hans Merian's 1893 discussion of Ruggero Leoncavallo's *Pagliacci*, on the other hand, overtly equates realism with modernity, promoting it as the aesthetic orientation best suited to the contemporary world; and though this stance would seemingly place him at odds with his Italian colleagues, his text nonetheless reveals a strong idealist vein—for example, in its concluding equation of truth and beauty.

In light of Schwartz's interpretation of Puccini's early operas, and keeping in mind that one of the features that the critic praised in *Pagliacci* is the commedia dell'arte play-within-a-play, as Walter Frisch reminds us in his introduction to Merian's text, it might be interesting to contrast

Leoncavallo's recourse to an explicitly meta-theatrical device to address representational concerns with Puccini's choice to probe the nature of lyric theater without resorting to play-within-a-play moments, but from within the fabric of his operas, as Schwartz explains in his essay. What seems ultimately at stake both in the critical debate of the 1890s and in Leoncavallo's and Puccini's different dramaturgical choices is in fact the function of opera—but also of art as a whole—in a disenchanted world. Should it counter such disenchantment? Or rather stage it? And if so, how? In Schwartz's reading, Puccini's answers to such questions in his early works, especially *La bohème*, emerge as startingly original, more so than we had previously thought.

Both Ellen Lockhart and Alessandra Campana and Christopher Morris explore the relationship between some of Puccini's later works and modernity from the viewpoint of their representation of time and memory. In each of these essays this broad theme is approached in terms of these works' engagement with typically modern media, photography and cinema, even if the nature of such engagement is rather different. In the case of *La fanciulla del West*, the wealth of photographic evidence related to its genesis and initial production serves as an entry point into a dramaturgy that seems to favor the individual moment—the snapshot, as it were—over longer-span connections. Conversely, by means of specific kinds and uses of repetition, the music of *Il trittico* promotes the kind of representational aesthetics most thoroughly explored by cinema, as exemplified in different but comparable ways by Jean Vigo's *L'Atalante* (1934) and by Bernard Herrmann's soundtracks for post-classical Hollywood movies. The relationship between time and space, narratives and objects, that emerges in both cases distances these operas not only from previous works by Puccini, but also from the traditional dramatic aesthetics of nineteenth-century opera. What Lockhart sees as *Fanciulla*'s foregrounding of surface phenomena, and ultimately its gesturing toward an epistemology of contingency, singularity, and chance, strongly resonates with *Trittico*'s allegiance to the everyday and to the materiality of theatrical and musical objects—stage props as well as musical ideas—discussed by Campana and Morris. Their interpretation is inspired by the critical orientation known as "thing theory," which investigates the role of objects that no longer function according to the uses for which they were originally devised, and thus become "things" whose specific materiality emerges as particularly worthy of attention. For Campana and Morris, both *Trittico*'s stage props and its musical objects—such as recurring motives—stubbornly refuse to acquire narrative and dramatic meaning, stubbornly refuse to

be "useful" in the ways common not only in nineteenth-century opera but also in Puccini's previous works. Hence they turn into "things," in the process "shedding their patrimony of memory" and "forgoing their work of nostalgia."

The everyday is also a recurrent theme in Schwartz's interpretation of the early operas, especially *La bohème*, whose music, in the words of an early critic, "willingly attaches itself to concrete, palpable reality, to the outward and to appearances, to its exterior and insignificant signs." According to Schwartz, this attitude is best embodied by one particular character, Mimì, "who represents [. . .] a commitment to shared experience and the poetics of the everyday," in contrast with the deluded idealism of Rodolfo, who refuses to come to terms with the reality surrounding him. In light of this suggestion, it seems worth noting that in Lockhart's and Campana and Morris's essays dramaturgical, aesthetic, and even cultural agency is assigned to the operas themselves: *they* exhibit a commitment to the poetics of the everyday, whereas in *La bohème* it is a character, Mimì, who does so.

In the context of a broad discussion of Puccini and modernity, I wonder whether this difference might not be read in terms of different levels of agency on the part of the individual in the modern world. In *Bohème* the possibility of different kinds of engagement with modern reality and different attitudes toward human interaction is still open: Rodolfo might be a skeptical idealist, while Mimì can be a realist instead. *Fanciulla* and *Trittico*, however, are more pessimistic: they stage a world in which characters, like objects, also become things. Individuals here no longer have access to a spectrum of positions and attitudes, but are trapped instead within a dramatic world in which the choice between realism and idealism is no longer possible—a world made of material things rather than useful objects. If it were so, the "reconfiguration of what theater and music can do" on the part of *Trittico*, which Campana and Morris deem "progressive and courageous," emerges as the manifestation of a loss of faith in the possibility of individual agency and autonomy.

This set of aesthetic and cultural concerns raised by the essays discussed thus far might have something valuable to say about *Turandot*. Ben Earle challenges some recent interpretations of this opera that look at its characters and plot in overtly fascist terms as he delves into its reception in the 1920s and 1930s by Italian critics of different aesthetic persuasions and political leanings (that is, as far as this was possible in 1920s and especially 1930s Italy). The picture that emerges is quite unexpected and far from unified, with the kind of fascism evoked by present-day scholars nowhere in evidence. In Earle's account, matters of style are

certainly brought up by early critics, but evidence seems to come mostly from characters and plot, just as in more recent readings. But what happens to *Turandot* if we look at it from the point of view of the insights about *Fanciulla* and *Trittico* offered by Lockhart, Campana, and Morris? Despite what many have heard as a regressive attitude, especially in the supposedly old-style lyricism pervading the music of Liù and in part that of Calaf, Puccini's last opera might emerge as the next step in the composer's exploration of a thoroughly modern dramaturgy.

Although it seems unwarranted to mention the everyday as a prominent element in *Turandot*, I believe it is justified to evoke concepts such as surface, materiality, and repetition in connection with the ways in which the music constructs the drama.[3] Furthermore, there is a sense in which this opera is, like *Fanciulla*, a succession of individual moments; but these photographs are no longer snapshots, instead bringing to mind carefully composed and grandly conceived images. And does the following description of cinema by Campana and Morris not strike a chord with anybody familiar with *Turandot*?: "Cinema's machinic mediation of existence promises . . . to bypass the subjective and its conventional apparatus of representation by foregrounding the role of material, objective means; yet it promises that this mediation, unlike its conventional-subjective counterpart, will not compromise but only accentuate immediacy of experience." This particular kind of mediation-induced immediacy might be linked to the way in which *Turandot*, just like *Trittico*, forgoes the work of nostalgia. In so doing *Turandot* reconfigures time as a kind of eternal, and eternally repeatable, present, although this present evokes not the everyday as it does in *Trittico,* but a potentially infinite series of relatively unrelated freeze frames.

Furthermore, if, as I have suggested summarizing Lockhart, Campana, and Morris, *Fanciulla* and *Trittico* stage a world in which characters, like objects, also become "things," and especially if *Trittico* constitutes the manifestation of a radical loss of faith in the possibility of individual agency and autonomy on the part of the modern subject, then in *Turandot* it is the whole opera that becomes a "thing": no longer an object whose function is universally understood, but an item for display, a museum piece that demands reflection on the reasons for its existence. *Turandot*, then, would no longer represent "the end of the great tradition," to cite the subtitle of a famous book about the opera, standing instead *after* the end of the great tradition, and being, in a sense, *about* this very end.[4] This stance, incidentally, seems to consign the question of individual agency

and autonomy to the dustbin of history—not least the history of Puccini's own career. We might want to call this stance fascist; or we might invoke commodification; or we might ponder the unprecedented pessimism it reveals, about life, and specifically life in the modern world, no less than about opera as Puccini used to conceive of it, up to and including *Trittico*.

Gender

Gender has been a conspicuous feature of the discourse on Puccini from the beginning, as amply demonstrated here by the excerpts from Fausto Torrefranca's 1912 pamphlet, in which gender binaries permeate the discussion not only of the operas' characters, but also of the composer's personality and even some of his music's features—albeit in rather vague terms. More than this, Torrefranca casts the very genre of opera as "female," in opposition to the supposed maleness of instrumental music. As Alexandra Wilson highlights in her introduction to Torrefranca's work as well as in her monograph on Puccini's Italian reception, such opinions were far from isolated during the composer's lifetime. Indeed, they colored many critical reactions to his works, if not often with the venomous hostility—and rhetorical sharpness—displayed by Torrefranca.[5] We should not be surprised, then, to find instances of such coloring in the texts discussed by Ben Earle in his chapter on Puccini and fascism, where it tends to acquire more specifically political tones.

At the same time, Arman Schwartz's investigation of idealism and realism in the early operas aligns the former with male characters such as Des Grieux in *Manon Lescaut* and Rodolfo in *La bohème*, and the latter with female ones, especially Mimì. In this sense, Schwartz's perspective affords us a viewpoint from which Puccini's "Big Three" operas, usually grouped together not least in their treatment of their female protagonists, emerge as profoundly different. In his words, "Tosca and Cio-Cio-san function, perhaps too easily, as the objects of our voyeuristic gaze, and they are not counterposed with figures who, like Mimì, offer a compelling alternative to their delusions." Whereas with Des Grieux and Rodolfo Puccini offers us "the discomforting spectacle of male, skeptical hysteria," I would add that the "self-theatricalizing fantasies" of the protagonists of *Tosca* and *Madama Butterfly* are less discomforting in the sense intended by Schwartz precisely because they are women. In the world in which these operas were created and first seen and heard, being a woman was taken to mean

being inclined to hysteria, and it meant being the object of voyeuristic gaze far more commonly than men—something that remains true in our own world, although in different ways and to different extents.

If we consider this position in light of Arthur Groos's essay on *Madama Butterfly*, however, its perspective is expanded in perhaps unexpected ways that might help us further to differentiate among the "Big Three" using a gender-based viewpoint. Addressing the opera's representation of the encounter between the American naval officer Pinkerton and the young Japanese woman Cio-Cio-san in the context of the Orientalism dominating Western discourse on the East, Groos highlights the different contributions of its team of authors, Puccini and librettists Luigi Illica and Giuseppe Giacosa. According to him, Illica, who was in charge of the scenario, conceived a drama that "demanded limitations on Butterfly's character as Japanese and victim," while Giacosa, who wrote the poetry for the main solos and duets, prepared musical highpoints that "required tragic stature and therefore something approaching Western interiority." In the end, the three authors "turned this contradiction to their advantage, creating a complexity of character unmatched in fin-de-siècle Italian opera." Groos illustrates various instances of such complexity, ending with "a death scene with two distinct episodes and two suicide attempts." The first, conceived by Illica and more complicit with standard Orientalist discourse, presents Cio-Cio-san as a victim both of Pinkerton's deception and of her country's patriarchal and religious code; the second, however, "draws attention to the modicum of tragic freedom a heroine trapped between East and West has been allowed in choosing death: the freedom to assert her maternal love even while sacrificing herself for a future denied to her—her son's assimilation into a Western race and culture."

In light of these considerations, Cio-Cio-san's self-theatricalizing fantasies seem rather different from Tosca's. For example, Butterfly would have been just another Tosca if she had died the death that Illica had devised for her, completely annihilated by both Pinkerton and the ghost of her father, by both West and East—in a sense, a complete victim of her self-theatricalization. However, Tosca dies without having understood the world in which she moves—indeed, dies *because* she has been unable to understand it—whereas Cio-Cio-san's final suicide arrives at the end of a process that has seen her move from complete skepticism to a modicum of realism. This might even be one of the reasons why early critics heard echoes of Mimì in her music.

Comparing this process to Tosca's trajectory lies beyond the scope of this text, but it is worth considering the different kind of company these

two characters keep. Cio-Cio-san enters surrounded by women, and her servant-cum-friend Suzuki never leaves her side; Tosca, on the other hand, is not only the sole female character in the whole opera, but seems to have in her life no one but her lover Cavaradossi; and whereas Suzuki might present, if not a compelling alternative to Cio-Cio-san's delusions, then an occasional reminder that, in the context of the opera, delusion is not the only possibility open to a Japanese woman (not least in her attention to the everyday), Cavaradossi has no alternative to offer when it comes to delusions.

Tosca and Cavaradossi are erotically invested in each other, but have no other common ground; in fact, he repeatedly dismisses her precisely because she is too trustworthy, too emotional, too pious, too good—in short, because she is a woman, according to late nineteenth-century stereotypes of femininity. Moreover, when in Act 3 she tells him that she has done something that might be construed as masculine, i.e. killing Scarpia, he launches into a paean to her hands, "O dolci mani mansuete e pure" (O sweet hands, meek and pure), in a fetishizing move that, in belittling her gesture and objectifying her body, speaks volumes about his conception of their relationship and of Tosca herself. But there is more: with "O dolci mani" Cavaradossi begins a sonnet—an extremely rare poetic form in Italian opera, and therefore a marked choice on the part of the librettists. Tosca interrupts him after the first two quatrains, but Cavaradossi, undeterred, has a second go at his poem, "Amaro sol per te m'era il morire" (Death was bitter to me only because of you), this time managing to bring it to completion (with Tosca's support) in an unusually regular musical setting: the two quatrains are almost strophic, a rare occurrence in Puccini.[6] Is Cavaradossi self-consciously singing a sonnet? Or is he singing in the form of one without "knowing" that this is what he is doing? As there are no signs pointing unequivocally to diegetic music or stage song, I suppose we must opt for the latter option, though I suggest that a degree of ambiguity is crucial to the dramatic and psychological effect of this scene: whether consciously or not, at a moment of maximum dramatic and psychological tension all Cavaradossi thinks about is making poetry, and he will not give up until he has satisfied this urge. In a sense, then, Cavaradossi is no less prone than Tosca to self-theatricalizing fantasies: she might be an opera diva, but he, as a painter—and evidently possessor of a rich poetic vein—is equally apt at conjuring up imaginary worlds and imaginary persons, as he openly declares in his Act 1 aria, "Recondita armonia."

The other prominent male characters in *Tosca* and *Madama Butterfly*, Scarpia and Pinkerton, are realists, but of a merely pragmatic, transactional sort, as Schwartz says. But *Madama Butterfly* features another important man, one who is neither an idealist nor a pragmatic realist: Sharpless, the American consul in Nagasaki, the first to grant Cio-Cio-san depth of interiority (when he describes her voice before she arrives, as Groos points out), and the only one who has the full measure of her predicament. Together with Suzuki, he functions as a mediating presence for audiences: theirs are the eyes through which we see Cio-Cio-san and comprehend her intolerable position. Here might lie a reason why audiences have generally found *Tosca* thrilling but not particularly moving, whereas the opposite is true of *Madama Butterfly*. Tosca is trapped between an idealist just like her, Cavaradossi, and a crudely pragmatic realist, Scarpia; Cio-Cio-san, on the contrary, might start out in fully idealist fashion and in the thralls of another vulgarly pragmatic realist, Pinkerton. Thanks in part to Suzuki and Sharpless, however, she attains a tragic dimension by her decision to commit suicide and the manner in which she does so.

Transnationalism

I believe it is fair to say that the works of no other previous composer had the kind of wide and rapid international dissemination enjoyed by Puccini, not least thanks to the crucial impact of the gramophone on the consumption of music in Western and West-influenced lands in the early twentieth century. What is more, the significant improvement in the conditions and times of travel by train and ship meant that Puccini himself could travel almost incessantly all over Italy and the rest of Europe, and make two journeys to the United States, mainly in order to supervise important productions of his works, including the premieres of his final completed works—*La fanciulla del West* at the Metropolitan Opera (1910), *La rondine* at the Monte Carlo Opera (1917), and *Il trittico*, again at the Metropolitan (1918). As a consequence of these circumstances, Puccini wrote as much for the whole of the operatic world as he did for a specific national setting—certainly more than any of his predecessors, Italian or otherwise. This orientation should be placed in the context of an almost century-long practice on the part of Italian composers to search for the literary sources of their works among non-Italian texts: not a single opera by Puccini is based on an Italian play, short story, novel, or poem, with the partial exceptions of Carlo Gozzi's commedia dell'arte play *Turandotte* (but

via an Italian translation of Friedrich Schiller's adaptation) and the few lines from Dante's *Divine Comedy* that inspired *Gianni Schicchi*. Moreover, and partly as a consequence, only *Tosca* and *Gianni Schicchi* are clearly set in Italy—the action of *Suor Angelica* takes place "in a monastery in the late seventeenth century," with no further specification.

It will come as no surprise, then, that all the contributions in the present volume touch upon a transnational theme, dimension, or perspective, however tangentially. To name just one feature of this kind for each essay: Schwartz brings the plays of Norwegian playwright Ibsen to bear on his interpretation of Puccini's early operas; Groos discusses the double perspective on Japan, American and Italian, in *Madama Butterfly*; the photographs of and for *Fanciulla* discussed by Lockhart crossed the Atlantic in both directions; Campana and Morris bring up a French film and a Hollywood composer; Earle contrasts Puccini's cosmopolitan outlook and fascism's "organic" nationalism; Botstein compares and contrasts *Butterfly*, *Fanciulla*, and *Suor Angelica* with three almost exactly contemporary works by German and Czech composers: Janáček's Jenůfa, Strauss's *Der Rosenkavalier*, and Hindemith's *Sancta Susanna*, respectively; the documents on *verismo* chosen by Schwartz lament the foreign influences on the Italian national tradition; Frisch's commentary on Merian's text highlights the meanings of Italian operatic realism for German culture; Girardi points out that *Madama Butterfly* reached its final form in Paris on the occasion of a production sung in French; and I call attention to the international and indeed intercontinental star status of many singers and conductors who performed Puccini's works during his lifetime.

The two essays that most explicitly address the transnational components of Puccinian discourse are those on Fausto Torrefranca's *Giacomo Puccini and International Opera* and on *La rondine*. As Alexandra Wilson explains in her introduction, Torrefranca strongly objected to the composer turning to non-Italian operatic and musical traditions and works in search of inspiration and stimuli for his art. Micaela Baranello explores instead the international nexus of people, texts, genres, and ideas that contributed to the genesis and initial reception of *La rondine*, with Austria, France, and Italy acting as the main settings of complex operatic, cultural, and political negotiations made even more difficult by the world war that was raging at the time. The perspectives afforded by these two contributions point to a larger scenario worth outlining here.

Nationalism was among the most powerful political, social, cultural, ideological and emotional factors in the world in which Puccini lived and worked, shaping individual and collective identity to a degree

unthinkable only half a century before the composer's birth in 1858, or after his death in 1924. All art, including opera, was called upon not simply to express but to bolster the supposedly specific features of an individual nation. This task was made particularly difficult for Puccini by the transnational dimension in which he operated. During this same era, opera was considered the Italian art form *par excellence*, with Puccini the most famous Italian opera composer as well as the most famous living Italian artist— indeed, his only rival might have been tenor Enrico Caruso. What is more, Italy, only recently established as a nation-state, was particularly nervous about its position on the international stage, eager to play a major role and at the same time conscious of its socioeconomical limitations compared to France, Great Britain, Germany, or the United States. Witness, for example, Torrefranca blaming Puccini above all others for "our national art" not having had "as much as a single word to say to the world that was truly its own, nothing that was truly characteristic or deeply expressive of its unique historical moment." Such criticism placed Puccini under intense pressure to make his operas into the ultimate manifestation of Italian art for both Italy and the rest of the world. This stress is evident in much of the rhetoric characterizing the Puccinian discourse that can be found not only in the Torrefranca and *Rondine* essays, but also in Ben Earle's text on fascism.

This complex scenario has potentially important consequences for interpretation, be it critical or performative—ones that, to my mind, are not always properly acknowledged. One contribution to the Puccinian discourse that does keep them in sharp focus is David Rosen's on the impact that a more international outlook might have had on the changes in the representation of religion in Puccini's operas. The works up to and including *Madama Butterfly*, all premiered in Italy, seem to reflect "some prevalent and well-documented currents in Italian culture: a male liberal anti-clericalism countered by a female orientation towards religion, especially towards a Marian devotion," whereas the later operas' "more positive, or at least less hostile, attitude toward religion" might be related, on the one hand, to the "changing, more relaxed church-state relationships in Italy after the turn of the century," and on the other, to the fact that these operas were initially performed in foreign theaters (which does not mean written with these theaters in mind from the beginning).[7] Similarly, a decade ago I analyzed the discourse of nostalgia in *La fanciulla del West* from a double perspective, American and Italian, highlighting how its meaning might change in light of the socioeconomic

and cultural differences between the two countries, especially as they concern migration at the turn of the twentieth century.[8]

Here I would like to mention one further case that brings together a transnational perspective and a gender-oriented one. The emphasis on Cio-Cio-san's motherhood in *Madama Butterfly* is not to be found in the opera's literary sources, and is therefore due to Illica, Giacosa, and Puccini, especially when it comes to the protagonist's final aria, "Tu, tu, piccolo Iddio," as explained by Arthur Groos, who ponders the dramaturgical consequences of this choice. Behind a drama and its characters there are always people, however, not only its authors but also its intended spectators, and in general a society, a culture, a worldview; taking them into consideration helps shed light on authorial decisions that might otherwise seem less than clear. In this specific case, why the emphasis on Cio-Cio-san's motherhood and her overwhelming emotional investment in her son? Why that final aria? Because, in short, Cio-Cio-san is an Italian single mother as well as a Japanese one, and displays feelings and concerns that belonged in very particular ways to the Italian discourse on single motherhood at the turn of the twentieth century.

As cultural historians have recently argued, "the Italian mother," that well-known and still enduring stereotype, was invented in the nineteenth century and is closely linked to the Italian discourse of the nation at the time of the movement toward unification, the Risorgimento.[9] After the proclamation of the kingdom of Italy in 1861 and the annexation of Rome in 1870, attention turned to the construction of a "modern," "strong," "healthy" society (to mention the most frequently recurring adjectives in the rhetoric of the time) that could support the fledgling nation's international aspirations—colonial conquest not least among them. The Italian peninsula had long been a site of systematic infant abandonment, more so than any other European country; during the nineteenth century, and especially after unification, this came to be regarded as a shockingly shameful practice, one that compromised the child's future psychological, emotional, and physical development and even survival—death ratios were much higher for children placed in orphanages—and consequently robbed the nation of many of its children.[10] Therefore, a medical, social, political, and cultural discourse emerged that was aimed at convincing single mothers to keep their babies—a discourse for "the moral promotion and support of motherhood," as an administrative document related to the Rome city orphanage and dated 1897 proclaims.[11] In the early twentieth century "the Italian mother" had reached her full maturity,

and was constantly debated in the national discourse; what is more, the "moral promotion of motherhood" was a prominent component of this discourse, especially geared at single mothers.

Cio-Cio-san's agreement to give up her son at the end of *Madama Butterfly*, and at the same time her desperate farewell to her *piccolo Iddio* (little god) before killing herself, acquire depth of perspective and meaning in the context of this specifically Italian discourse of the mother, and signally the single mother, a discourse that was still relatively new in Italy and to which Puccini's opera doubtlessly contributed—as would *Suor Angelica*. When *Madama Butterfly* started to be produced abroad, however, it encountered different national contexts in which this discourse was not as intense or relevant as it was in Italy. I would suggest that, in such contexts, the end of the opera might have had a partially different emotional impact in comparison to Italy, perhaps adding to the already common stereotype of Italian excessive sentimentality and visceral emotionality—bolstered primarily, it should be noted, by opera. At the same time, seeing *Madama Butterfly* outside Italy might have contributed to the construction of the stereotypical "Italian mother," even if Cio-Cio-san is ostensibly Japanese.

Performance

A final theme that connects a few of the contributions to the present volume pertains to the interaction between the different components of the operatic work in performance. Two essays, Ellen Lockhart's and Michele Girardi's, pay attention to the visual aspect, concentrating respectively on photographs that either inspired or document the initial staging of *La fanciulla del West* and the staging manual based on the first French production of *Madama Butterfly*, which took place at the Opéra-Comique in 1906, with which Puccini was closely involved, and for which he prepared the final version of the opera. It is interesting to compare the composer's high opinion of this staging, as revealed in Girardi's text, and his reiterated, almost obsessive complaints about the protagonist, Marguerite Carré, wife of the Opéra-Comique's impresario and director of the production Albert Carré, that can be read in many letters to various recipients, some of which are translated in my contribution on Puccini's interpreters. On the one hand Puccini considered the soprano "never [. . .] sincere, and [. . .] never convincing," and thought that her interpretation was "wholly made of mannerisms instead of being the living, true exposition of a most pain-

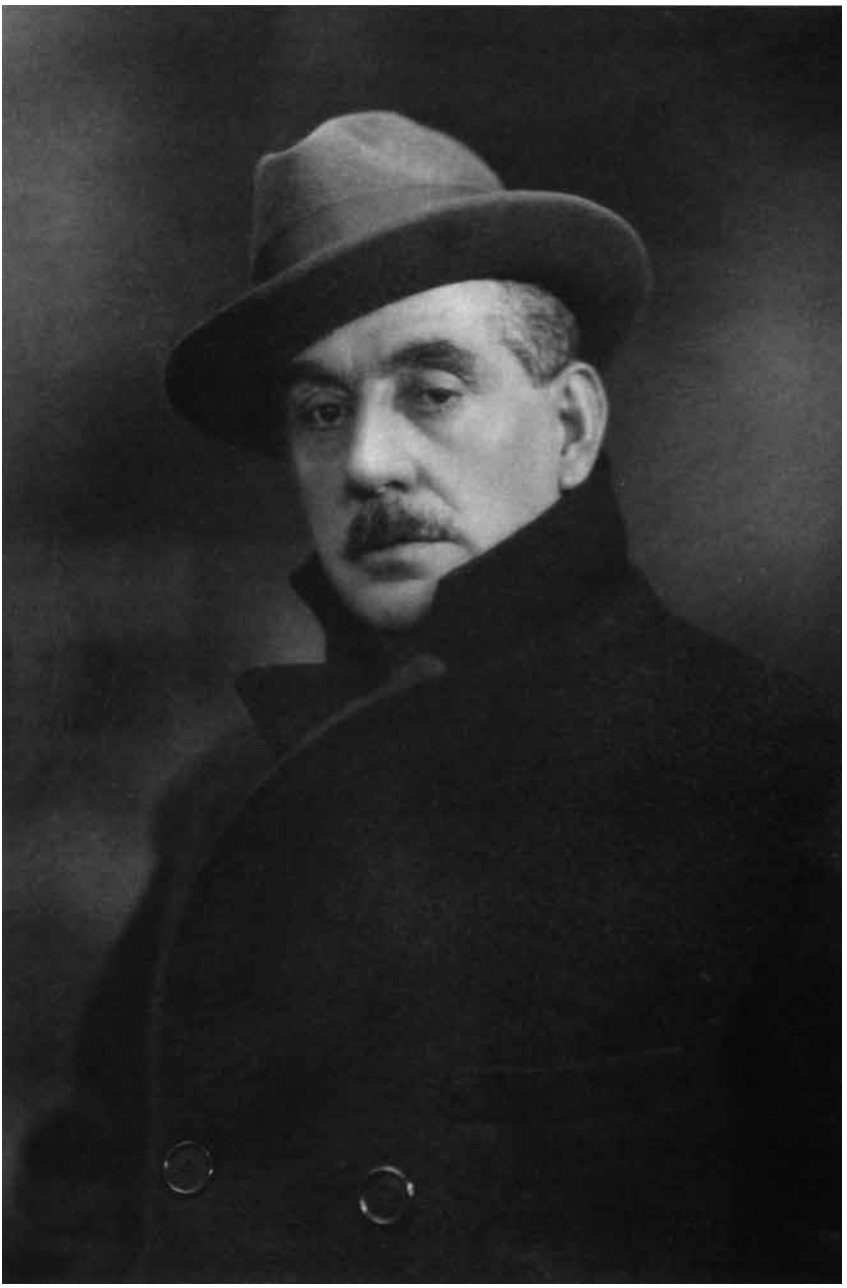

Figure 2. Giacomo Puccini in the late 1910s.

ful drama"; on the other, he found the staging so convincing and gained such valuable insights as he watched it take shape during the prolonged rehearsal period that he ended up using this production as the occasion for settling on a final version of the opera. How, in the space of a few months, could he go from writing that "they are cutting the opera too much. Madame Carré will do fairly well, but she wants too many cuts, because she surely feels that the effort is too much for her strength" to considering that such cuts were exactly those needed? And yet, he evidently did. I call attention to this question not in search of an answer, but rather as a way to invite reflection on the several different angles from which we may consider the matter of performance when it comes to Puccini, as well as the vast amount of potentially contradictory evidence that we have at our disposal in the early twenty-first century.

Consider staging, for example. Puccini's works have been the preserve of what are generally if misleadingly called "traditional" approaches longer than those by other canonical opera composers such as Handel, Mozart, Wagner, Verdi, and Strauss. As Ellen Lockhart put it in a 2011 essay, Puccini's "repertory is held to require considerable *loyalty* in staging: it offers a visual medium that adheres to scenic indications and eschews directorial intervention."[12] However, Puccini's operas have begun to emerge as a notable opportunity for more "critical" productions that explore onstage the resonances that these works may have acquired since their first appearances. An early and reportedly compelling example of this stance was Jonathan Miller's *Tosca* at the 1986 Maggio Musicale, Florence, set in late 1943 or early 1944 at the time of the Nazi occupation of Rome.[13] A more recent, much lauded, and more radical instance than Miller's *Tosca* is Stefan Herheim's *La bohème* (Norwegian National Opera, 2012), which has received a certain amount of musicological attention as well.[14] The parallels between, on the one hand, the traditional view of Puccini as the reluctant, cautious modernist and the "traditional" approach to staging his operas, and, on the other, recent attempts to reassess the composer's relationship with modernism and modernity and the equally recent "critical" turn in staging his works are striking. In both fields, a long-standing focus on continuities is being replaced, or at least complemented, by more sustained attention to discontinuity and difference.

If we move from staging to vocal performance, however, the situation changes considerably. The recent digital revolution has made widely available an exceptional number of recordings dating from the entire history of recorded sound, whose initial decades overlap with Puccini's life. We can therefore hear many of the singers who created prominent roles

in his operas: for example, searching on YouTube for the name of Cesira Ferrani, the first Manon Lescaut and first Mimì in *La bohème*, brings up excerpts from both operas recorded ca. 1902–1903, only a decade after the premiere of *Manon Lescaut* (1893) and even less after that of *La bohème* (1896). Listening to these as well as to the hundreds of others by the singers I discuss in my essay in this volume immediately shatters any illusion of continuity between then and now. Vocal technique, tempo, dynamics, rhythm, textual delivery—almost everything fails to conform to what over the last few decades has been commonly considered an acceptable Puccinian style of singing.

Yet more surprises are in store for us if we now turn to the repertory of these singers. As Girardi has pointed out, several of them were as well versed in Straussian roles as they were in Puccinian ones. To mention just one example, Salomea Krusceniski, who sang Cio-Cio-san at the premiere of the second version of *Madama Butterfly* (Brescia, 1904) to the composer's complete satisfaction, would take on the title role of *Salome* under Toscanini at La Scala two years later, and then would be the first Italian Elektra in 1909.[15] By our standards Cio-Cio-san and Salome are rather different but not absolutely incompatible roles—American soprano Catherine Malfitano sang both successfully in the 1990s. Seeing the title roles of *Butterfly* and *Elektra* mentioned in a singer's biography within a five-year span, however, has a decidedly defamiliarizing effect; and if a present-day casting director suggested hiring a currently successful Cio-Cio-san as Elektra, he would very likely be the object of scorn. I certainly have no intention to issue calls for authenticity, for a return to a "truly Puccinian" style of singing, or for some kind of "historically informed" casting.[16] It seems more interesting to consider instead the impact that different media histories might have had on our ideas on staging and singing Puccini.

Though both sound and audiovisual recording came of age during the initial decade of the twentieth century, their interactions with opera over the following decades took diverging paths. The initial meeting between sound recording and opera generated a *coup de foudre* that developed into a long, happy, and mutually satisfactory relationship, one that survived and indeed thrived upon technological innovations such as electrical recording, magnetic tape, the long-playing record, stereo, digital recording, and the Internet. The same cannot be said of opera and audiovisual recording: only with the advent of television in the second half of the century did a merely friendly acquaintance blossom into a serious engagement, the two partners eventually settling down together thanks

to digital technology as recently as a couple of decades ago.[17] This means that when it comes to Puccini, and thanks mostly to the Internet, we have at our disposal a rich history of sound that goes all the way back to the composer's lifetime, while our collective visual memory goes back only a few decades.

Might this be one of the reasons why the discourse of staging Puccini tends to be more polarized nowadays than that of singing Puccini? After all, if we want difference in singing, we can easily find it, whereas difference in staging is significantly harder to come by—we might even have to attend a live performance to find it. Historiographically speaking, this situation means that we have plenty of compelling aural evidence to turn to in search of historically grounded stimuli for interpretation, whether we are interested in staying as chronologically close to the composer as possible or in exploring the Puccini of subsequent times—evidence that is only slowly being taken into serious consideration by musicologists.[18] The same cannot be said for visual evidence, since sketches or photographs of scenes and costumes and descriptions in reviews and other texts cannot even remotely compete with audiovisual recordings as testament of what happened onstage: the case of the Carré staging manual for *Butterfly* is an isolated one, and has attracted the attention of scholars precisely for this reason.

Modernity

At this point we have circled back to the theme of Puccini and modern technology, although from a different perspective than those adopted by Lockhart, and Campana and Morris in their essays. This trajectory seems to confirm that the matter of modernity is no less crucial today than it was during the composer's lifetime or after—not surprisingly, since we still conceive of our world as modern. Discussing Puccini and modernity, then, is in a sense a "historically informed" critical and historiographical pratice. As we have seen, and as the essays that follow make clear, the terms of this discussion have changed considerably over time, not least in the effort to separate conceptually modernity from modernism. And yet, there is no denying that these loaded words have dominated the discourse on Puccini since its inception. A final point I would like to make, then, is an invitation to keep the rich potential of these words for covert value judgment in sharp focus, since they have been used frequently to

dismiss or belittle Puccini's works—an attitude that the authors and editors of the present volume have worked hard to counter.

Who is not "modern" these days? There seems to be no more common way of promoting artists from the past than claiming that they are modern, or more modern than we really thought, thus implying continuity between them and us, and therefore their continued—and hitherto only partially realized—relevance to us. As I have intimated above, however, continuity between then and now is, in a sense, the last thing Puccini needs, since this sense of continuity, crucially bolstered by the unchallenged dominance of many of his operas in the repertory, has substantially contributed to the remarkable resilience of the discourse on Puccini, which has been by and large a discourse of the "nearly but not quite," of the "almost." In other words, even alert uses of the rhetoric of modernity have often implied covert or casual value judgments. In modern times such judgments have tended to rely on notions of progress, of advance, of development—in a word, of difference. Puccini's works have often suffered from this rhetoric of difference, not least because of the sense of sameness that their unbroken and relatively prominent cultural presence has generated. And yet, one of our aims in this book is to inject a modicum of difference in, or at least to add new perspectives to, our ideas of Puccini and his operas, and therefore, in a sense, to make Puccini "modern," or at least more modern than before.

I can offer no simple way out of this tangle of contradictions—nor do I think that such a way exists. The uneasy and often baffling tension in the Puccinian discourse between continuity and discontinuity, sameness and difference, past and present, is just a particularly explicit and evident instance of the similar yet deeper tension that lies at the core of the image of itself cultivated by the modern world, in Puccini's time no less than in ours, even if in rather different terms. If *Giacomo Puccini and His World* succeeds in alerting its readers to the deep resonances, multiple facets, and momentous implications of the discourse of modernity, it will have gone some considerable way toward justifying its existence.

NOTES

1. *Tosca* has been featured in other contexts in the past, perhaps most memorably in Carmine Gallone's film *E avanti a lui tremava tutta Roma!* (1946). Set in Rome during the Nazi occupation of 1943–44, it tells the story of Ada and Marco, two lovers who belong to the anti-fascist resistance and who also play Tosca and Mario in a performance of the opera, during which an attempt by the Nazis to arrest Marco is thwarted. I would also like to mention Paola Capriolo's novel *Vissi d'amore* (1992, translated in English as *Floria Tosca*, 1997), an unsettling retelling of the opera from the point of view of the villain, Baron Scarpia.

2. Among recent music-analytical contributions that have attempted either to steer clear of modernist discourse or, conversely, to problematize it are James Hepokoski, "Structure, Implication, and the End of *Suor Angelica*," *Studi pucciniani* 3 (2004): 241–64; and "'Un bel dì? Vedremo!': Anatomy of a Delusion," in *Madama Butterfly: L'orientalismo di fine secolo, l'approccio pucciniano, la ricezione*, ed. Arthur Groos and Virgilio Bernardoni (Florence, IT: Leo S. Olschki, 2008), 219–46; Andrew Davis, "*Il Trittico*," "*Turandot*," and *Puccini's Late Style* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010); Nicholas Baragwanath, *The Italian Traditions and Puccini: Compositional Theory and Practice in Nineteenth-Century Opera* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011); and Marco Targa, *Puccini e la Giovane Scuola: Drammaturgia dell'opera italiana di fine Ottocento* (Bologna: Albisani, 2013).

3. For repetition and mechanicity in *Turandot*, see Arman Schwartz, "Mechanism and Tradition in Puccini's *Turandot*," *Opera Quarterly* 25 (2010): 28–50. For a wide-ranging discussion of Puccini and modernity, see Schwartz, *Puccini's Soundscapes: Realism and Modernity in Italian Opera* (Florence, IT: Leo S. Olschki, 2016).

4. See William Ashbrook and Harold Powers, *Puccini's Turandot: The End of the Great Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

5. See Alexandra Wilson, *The Puccini Problem: Opera, Nationalism, and Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), esp. chaps. 4, 5, and 7.

6. The main melodic idea of "Amaro sol per te m'era il morire" comes from Act 4 of *Edgar* (1889), which had been cut in its entirety in later versions of the opera. The fact that this music had been conceived much earlier than the rest of *Tosca* might contribute to its "set-piece" effect, although Puccini made significant alterations to it. See Julian Budden, *Puccini: His Life and Works* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 84–85.

7. David Rosen, "'Pigri ed obesi Dei': Religion in the Operas of Puccini," in Groos and Bernardoni, *Madama Butterfly*, 257–98, quotes at 289, 297–98.

8. See Emanuele Senici, *Landscape and Gender in Italian Opera: The Alpine Virgin from Bellini to Puccini* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 256–60.

9. See Marina d'Amelia, *La mamma* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005), esp. chap. 1.

10. See David I. Kertzer, *Sacrificed for Honor: Italian Infant Abandonment and the Politics of Reproductive Control* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993).

11. Cited in Gianna Pomata, "Madri illegittime tra Ottocento e Novecento: Storie cliniche e storie di vita," *Quaderni storici* 15 (1980): 497–542, quote at 517.

12. Ellen Lockhart, "Photo-Opera: *La fanciulla del West* and the Staging Souvenir," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 23 (2011): 145–66, quote at 148 (italics in original). For a rich visual repertory of Puccini stagings through the twentieth century, see the exhibition catalogue *La scena di Puccini*, ed. Vittorio Fagone and Vittoria Crespi Morbio (Lucca: Fondazione Ragghianti, 2003).

13. For two brief assessments of this landmark production, see Michele Girardi, *Puccini: His International Art*, trans. Laura Basini (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 192–94; and Kate Bassett, *In Two Minds: A Biography of Jonathan Miller* (London: Oberon, 2012), 256–59.

14. See "Stefan Herheim's *La bohème* on DVD: A Review Portfolio," *Opera Quarterly* 29 (2013): 146–74, which includes an introduction by Arman Schwartz and reviews by Mark Schachtsiek, Roger Parker and Flora Willson, Schwartz, and Alexandra Wilson.

15. See Girardi, *Puccini*, 267.

16. It might be really interesting to hear a prominent Cio-Cio-san tackling Elektra just for once: What would a conductor sensitive to singers' needs do? How loud would those *echt*-Straussian orchestral blasts turn out, exactly? Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker make a similar point in their "The Eternal Feminine," *Opera* 65/8 (August 2014): 943–51, quote at 950.

17. This is true for audiovisual versions of operas in their entirety (or near entirety), be they opera films, television studio productions, or "live" relays from theaters. If we widen our scope to include audiovisual objects inspired by, or based upon, an opera, then the pickings are richer. For the emblematic case of *Madama Butterfly*, probably the most popular among Puccini's operas in this sense, see W. Anthony Sheppard, "Cinematic Realism, Reflexivity, and the American 'Madame Butterfly' Narratives," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 17 (2005): 59–93.

18. For an interpretation of the duet closing Act 1 of *Madama Butterfly* that takes sound recording into prominent account, see Roger Parker, "The Act 1 Love Duet: Some Models (Interpretative and Otherwise)," in Groos and Bernardoni, *Madama Butterfly*, 247–56, esp. 255–56. The recording Parker discusses dates from 1939 (with Toti Dal Monte and Beniamino Gigli, Oliviero De Fabritiis conducting) and its sources are duly footnoted. He gives no sources, though, for the production he mentions, Graham Vick's for English National Opera, first seen in 1984 and repeatedly revived (evidently he saw it live, since no video has ever been released). In light of my considerations about the differences between the history of sound and that of staging, this lack is a telling detail.