

### PUCCINI IN CONTEXT

Exploring the many dimensions of Giacomo Puccini's historical legacy and significance, this book provides new perspectives on the life and work of a much-loved opera composer and demonstrates how political concerns shape the way we approach and perform his works in the present day. Accessibly written chapters by a range of international experts explore Puccini's interests, attitudes, and relationships, and examine how his works reflected the cultural, political, and social zeitgeist of their time. The essays first map Puccini's personal and professional networks, the regions and cities that meant so much to him, and his travels for both work and leisure. They go on to probe the composer's attitudes towards contemporary developments in music, literature, film, and drama and investigate his collaboration with librettists, publishers, singers, and conductors. The book closes with chapters on Puccini's compositional legacy, performance history, relationship with popular culture, and place in the international operatic canon.

ALEXANDRA WILSON is Professor of Music and Cultural History at Oxford Brookes University. Her books include *The Puccini Problem* (2007), *Opera in the Jazz Age* (2019), and *Puccini's La bohème* (2021).



#### COMPOSERS IN CONTEXT

Understanding and appreciation of musical works is greatly enhanced by knowledge of the context within which their composers lived and worked. Each of these volumes focuses on an individual composer, offering lively, accessible and concise essays by leading scholars on the many contexts – professional, political, intellectual, social and cultural – that have a bearing on his or her work. Biographical and musical influences, performance and publishing history and the creative afterlife of each composer's work are also addressed, providing readers with a multi-faceted view of how the composers' output and careers were shaped by the world around them.

### Titles in the series

Brahms in Context edited by Natasha Loges and Katy Hamilton
Mozart in Context edited by Simon P. Keefe
The Beatles in Context edited by Kenneth Womack
Richard Strauss in Context edited by Morten Kristiansen and Joseph E. Jones
Stravinsky in Context edited by Graham Griffiths
Mahler in Context edited by Charles Youmans
Liszt in Context edited by Joanne Cormac
Benjamin Britten in Context edited by Vicki P. Stroeher and Justin Vickers
Messiaen in Context edited by Robert Sholl
Puccini in Context edited by Alexandra Wilson



# PUCCINI IN CONTEXT

EDITED BY
ALEXANDRA WILSON

Oxford Brookes University







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108835589

DOI: 10.1017/9781108891028

© Alexandra Wilson 2023

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2023

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

NAMES: Wilson, Alexandra, 1973— editor.

TITLE: Puccini in context / edited by Alexandra Wilson.

DESCRIPTION: [I.] | Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2023. | Series: Composers in context | Includes bibliographical references and index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2023015868 (print) | LCCN 2023015869 (ebook) | ISBN 9781108835589 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108812924 (paperback) | ISBN 9781108891028 (ebook) 
SUBJECTS: LCSH: Puccini, Giacomo, 1858—1924 — Criticism and interpretation. | Puccini, Giacomo, 1858—1924 — Performances. | Opera — Italy — 19th century. | Opera — Italy — 20th century. | Operas — Performances. | Opera — Political aspects.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC ML410.P89 P87 2023 (print) | LCC ML410.P89 (ebook) |

DDC 782.1092–dc23/eng/20230407 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2023015868 LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2023015869

ISBN 978-1-108-83558-9 Hardback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



### Contents

List of Figures		<i>page</i> viii
List	t of Tables	ix
Notes on Contributors		X
Prej	face	XV
PAF	RT I FORMATIVE INFLUENCES	I
Ι	Forefathers and Teachers Alexandra Wilson	3
2	Contemporaries and Competitors Richard Erkens	IO
3	Puccini and Women Helen M. Greenwald	19
PAF	RT II PUCCINI'S PLACES	27
4	Puccini's Tuscany Axel Körner	29
5	Puccini in Milan Ditlev Rindom	37
6	Puccini's Travels: Western Europe Flora Willson	45
7	Puccini's Travels: Central Europe Richard Erkens	53
8	Puccini the Long-Distance Traveller Ellen Lockhart	61

V



V1	Contents	
PAI	RT III INFLUENCES AND INTERESTS	7
9	Musical Influences, Parallels, and Borrowings Nigel Simeone	73
Ю	Italian Literature of Puccini's Day Suzanne Stewart-Steinberg	8:
II	Drama and Acting in Puccini's Italy  Ditlev Rindom	89
12	Puccini and Early Film Christy Thomas Adams	97
13	Puccini and Technology Nigel Simeone	109
PAI	RT IV BRINGING PUCCINI TO THE STAGE	113
14	Puccini's Librettists Helen M. Greenwald	115
15	Music Publishing in Puccini's Italy Christy Thomas Adams	122
16	Puccini's Theatrical Vision Helen M. Greenwald	130
17	Puccini's Singers Hilary Poriss	137
18	Puccini's Conductors Arnold Jacobshagen	149
PAI	RT V IMAGE AND REPUTATION	153
19	Puccini in Pictures Alessandra Palidda	155
20	Puccini's Italian Critics  Jane Sylvester	162
21	Memorialisation and Biography Arnold Jacobshagen	170



	Contents	vii
PAI	RT VI PUCCINI THROUGH A POLITICAL LENS	179
22	Puccini and Religion  Andrew Holden	181
23	Puccini and Politics Ben Earle	189
24	Gender Politics in Puccini's Operas Flora Willson	197
25	The Racial Politics of <i>Madama Butterfly</i> and <i>Turandot Kunio Hara</i>	205
PAI	RT VII INTERPRETING PUCCINI	215
26	Editing Puccini Ditlev Rindom	217
27	Puccini on Video Emanuele Senici	224
28	Interpreting Puccini on Stage and on Disc Hugo Shirley	230
29	Producing Puccini Today  David Levin	238
PAI	RT VIII LEGACY	245
30	Puccini's Legacy, Influence, and Meaning Leon Botstein	247
31	Puccini in Popular Culture John Snelson	256
32	Puccini and the Canon Alexandra Wilson	264
Bib	liography	272
Ina		289



## **Figures**

2.I	Franchetti, Mascagni, and Puccini at the piano, 1893	page 12
8.1	Mario Zavattaro, 'Caricaturas contemporáneas: Giacomo	64
	Puccini', Caras y caretas, 1 July 1905	
13.1	Puccini in an Isotta Fraschini, 1909	107
21.1	Puccini's funeral procession, Brussels, 1924	172
28.1	Renato Cioni, Maria Callas, and Tito Gobbi in Tosca, Opéra	a 23I
	de Paris, February 1965	
29.1	The company of Gianni Schicchi, directed by Richard Jones	5 241
	for the Royal Opera House Covent Garden, 2011	



### Table

21.1 Worldwide performances of operas by the five most performed opera composers, 2004–19

page 177



### Notes on Contributors

Professor in the Arts and Humanities, and Chancellor of the Open Society University Network (OSUN), as well as the author of several books and editor of *The Compleat Brahms* (Norton, 1999) and the *Musical Quarterly*. He is the Music Director of the American Symphony Orchestra and The Orchestra Now; Principal Guest Conductor of the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra, where he has served as Music Director; and Co-artistic Director of the Bard Music Festival.

BEN EARLE has taught Music at the University of Birmingham for longer than he cares to remember. He has published widely on twentieth-century Italian music, including a monograph, *Luigi Dallapiccola and Musical Modernism in Fascist Italy* (Cambridge University Press, 2013). Forthcoming work in this field includes a substantial book chapter on the analysis of Dallapiccola's twelve-note music and *The Cambridge Companion to Music and Fascism*, co-edited with Nicholas Attfield.

RICHARD ERKENS is one of the directors of the Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani. Previously, he taught music history at the Franz Liszt University of Music in Weimar and was a research fellow at the German Historical Institute in Rome and at the Humboldt University in Berlin. His *Puccini Handbuch* (Metzler/Bärenreiter, 2017) was named 'Music Book of the Year' by *Opernwelt* in 2018. His main areas of research interest are the history of opera and music theatre, musical dramaturgy, libretto studies, music criticism, and eighteenth-century opera production.

HELEN M. GREENWALD'S work on vocal music of the eighteenth to twentieth centuries has been published internationally. She is the editor of the *Oxford Handbook of Opera* (Oxford University Press, 2019). As editor of the critical editions of Verdi's *Attila* (University of Chicago



### Notes on Contributors

хi

Press/Ricordi, 2012) and Rossini's *Zelmira* (Fondazione Rossini/Ricordi, 2005), she has worked with conductors such as Riccardo Muti and Riccardo Chailly. Greenwald writes frequently for the Metropolitan Opera, the Boston Symphony Orchestra, and the Royal Opera House Covent Garden.

KUNIO HARA is Associate Professor of Music History at the University of South Carolina. His research interests include the operas of Giacomo Puccini, musical representations of nostalgia, and music in the animated films of Studio Ghibli. He has published articles on Puccini's *Madama Butterfly*, *La fanciulla del West*, and *Il tabarro*. He is also the author of *Joe Hisaishi's Soundtrack for 'My Neighbor Totoro'* (Bloomsbury, 2020).

ANDREW HOLDEN is a cultural historian and musicologist whose research focuses on transnational themes of operatic production, circulation, and reception in both historical and contemporary contexts, particularly censorship. He is a visiting researcher in opera studies at Oxford Brookes University; his recent publications include a chapter on religious identity and the internationalisation of operatic styles in Liberal Italy in Axel Körner and Paulo M. Kühls (eds.), *Italian Opera in Global and Transnational Perspective: Reimagining Italianità in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 2022).

ARNOLD JACOBSHAGEN has been Professor of Musicology at the University of Music and Dance, Cologne, since 2006. After his PhD at the Freie Universität Berlin (1996), he taught at the universities of Bayreuth and Vienna. He is a member of the Academia Europaea, President of the Joseph Haydn Institut, and Vice President of the German Musicological Society. His principal research interests include Italian opera and the history of singing.

AXEL KÖRNER is Professor of Modern Cultural and Intellectual History at Leipzig University and Honorary Professor at University College London. In addition to modern Italian, European, and Habsburg history, he has published widely on the history of opera and music in transnational perspective. His America in Italy: The United States in the Political Thought and Imagination of the Risorgimento, 1763—1865 (Princeton, 2017) won the Helen & Howard Marraro Prize of the American Historical Association.

DAVID LEVIN is the Alice H. and Stanley G. Harris Distinguished Service Professor of Germanic Studies, Cinema and Media Studies, and Theater



xii

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-108-83558-9 — Puccini in Context Edited by Alexandra Wilson Frontmatter More Information

Notes on Contributors

and Performance Studies at the University of Chicago. His work focuses on the aesthetics and politics of performance in opera, theatre, and cinema. In addition to his scholarship and teaching, he has worked extensively as a dramaturg and collaborator for opera, theatre, and ballet productions in Germany and the United States.

of Toronto. She completed her doctoral degree at Cornell University and postdoctoral studies at the Society of Fellows in the Liberal Arts at Princeton University. Her book, *Animation, Plasticity and Music in Italy, 1770–1830*, was published by the University of California Press (2017), and she is currently working on a critical edition of Puccini's *La fanciulla del West*.

ALESSANDRA PALIDDA trained as a singer and musicologist at the Conservatorio 'Giuseppe Verdi' and the Università degli Studi in Milan, before moving to Cardiff University to pursue a PhD in musicology under the supervision of Professor David Wyn Jones (2018). She has disseminated her research on musical production, political change, and material culture in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Italy extensively, both in English and Italian. Palidda is currently Senior Lecturer in Music at Oxford Brookes University.

HILARY PORISS is Professor of Music in the Department of Music and the College of Arts, Media and Design at Northeastern University. Her primary research interests are in the areas of nineteenth-century Italian and French opera, performance practice, and diva culture. She is the author of *Gioachino Rossini's The Barber of Seville* (Oxford, 2021) and coeditor of *The Arts of the Prima Donna in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 2012).

DITLEV RINDOM is a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow at King's College London. He completed his PhD at the University of Cambridge in 2019 and has had articles published in the Cambridge Opera Journal, 19th-Century Music, and the Journal of the Royal Musical Association. He is currently completing a monograph entitled Singing in the City: Italian Opera, Italianità, and Transatlantic Exchange, 1887–1914, and is also working on a critical edition of Puccini's La rondine for Ricordi.

EMANUELE SENICI is Professor of Music History at the University of Rome La Sapienza. His research centres on Italian opera of the long



#### Notes on Contributors

xiii

nineteenth century, on opera theory and historiography, and on opera on video. His Puccinian publications include *Landscape and Gender in Italian Opera: The Alpine Virgin from Bellini to Puccini* (Cambridge University Press, 2005) and *Giacomo Puccini and His World* (Princeton University Press, 2016, co-edited with Arman Schwartz).

HUGO SHIRLEY is a freelance musicologist and critic who specialises in the operas of Richard Strauss. He is the editor of 30-Second Opera (Ivy Press, 2015), has held editorial posts at Opera and Gramophone, and written criticism for The Spectator, the Financial Times, and the Daily Telegraph. He has published on Strauss in the Cambridge Opera Journal and the Journal of the Royal Musical Association.

nigel simeone studied at Manchester University. His main interests are in twentieth-century music, conducting, and opera. His books include *The Leonard Bernstein Letters* (Yale University Press, 2013), *Charles Mackerras* (Boydell, 2015), *The Janáček Compendium* (Boydell & Brewer, 2019), *Janáček's Works* (Oxford University Press, 1997, with John Tyrrell and Alena Němcová), and, most recently, *Ralph Vaughan Williams and Adrian Boult* (Boydell, 2022). He also contributed to *The Cambridge Stravinsky Encyclopedia* (2021). He appears regularly on BBC Radio 3.

JOHN SNELSON is a cultural historian who specialises in the lyric stage. He has published on opera and especially on British musical theatre, the subject of his PhD. His many publications include *How to Enjoy Opera* (Oberon/Bloomsbury, 2016) and *Andrew Lloyd Webber* (Yale University Press, 2004). He lectures at Goldsmiths, University of London. For twenty years he worked at the Royal Opera House Covent Garden, where he was Head of Publication and Interpretation.

SUZANNE STEWART-STEINBERG is Professor of Italian Studies and Comparative Literature at Brown University. She is the author of Sublime Surrender: Male Masochism at the Fin-de-siècle (Cornell University Press, 1998), The Pinocchio Effect: On Making Italians 1860—1920 (University of Chicago Press, 2007), and Impious Fidelity: Anna Freud, Psychoanalysis, Politics (Cornell University Press, 2012). She is currently completing a book entitled Grounds for Reclamation: Fascism, Postfascism and the Question of Consent.

JANE SYLVESTER is an assistant professor of Musicology at the University of Missouri – Kansas City. Her research has been supported by awards



xiv

#### Notes on Contributors

from the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Musicological Society, and the Presser Foundation. She has recently presented her research at meetings of the American Musicological Society and the Transnational Opera Studies Conference. Her articles on the intersections between Puccini's operas and Italian practices of spiritualism and criminology are forthcoming in *Cambridge Opera Journal* and *Opera Quarterly*.

CHRISTY THOMAS ADAMS is an assistant professor of musicology at the University of Alabama School of Music. Her scholarship focuses on the intersection between Italian opera and emerging media technologies at the turn of the twentieth century, centred particularly on Casa Ricordi and the operas of Verdi and Puccini. Her broad research interests include Italian opera, reception studies, cultural history, the history of media technologies, and the theoretical and conceptual issues of performance and mediation.

FLORA WILLSON teaches in the Music department at King's College London. She has published widely on the place of music — especially opera—in nineteenth-century urban history and culture and is completing a book about networks in operatic culture in 1890s London, Paris, and New York. She edited a critical edition of Donizetti's 1840 grand opera *Les martyrs* (Ricordi, 2015), writes about music for *The Guardian*, and broadcasts regularly on BBC Radio 3.

ALEXANDRA WILSON is Professor of Music and Cultural History at Oxford Brookes University. Her book *The Puccini Problem: Opera, Nationalism, and Modernity* (Cambridge University Press, 2007) won the American Musicological Society's Lewis Lockwood Award. She is also the author of *Opera in the Jazz Age: Cultural Politics in 1920s Britain* (Oxford University Press, 2019) and *Puccini's La bohème* (Oxford University Press, 2021). She has held a British Academy Mid-Career Fellowship and a Leverhulme Major Research Fellowship, and was recently elected a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.



## Preface

Giacomo Puccini (1858–1924) lived in fascinating times. His career spanned a period of rapid stylistic change in music history, and although he may not have embraced musical modernism to the same extent as some contemporaries, he was a more adventurous composer than most of the history books are willing to admit. The musical innovations of the period were something he could not possibly ignore, and his works were inevitably measured against them. Puccini also bore the expectations of a nation upon his shoulders as he faced demands to continue a long and very distinctive national musical tradition, whilst also being expected to move with the times.

Some of the chapters in this book examine Puccini's compositions against this backdrop of artistic flux. Others explore his relationship with the cultural, political, and social zeitgeist of his time, both in Italy and further afield. We learn that Puccini flirted both with the most advanced intellectual currents of his time and with popular culture, embracing the high and the low in ways that were sometimes regarded as strange in his own time. The book also aims to provide new perspectives on Puccini the man, examining his hobbies, interests, relationships, and attitudes. The modern communication systems that were established during his lifetime meant that he was well-travelled, and his network of friends, lovers, and professional associates spread across several continents. Puccini's relationships with fellow composers, singers, and conductors were fascinating and far from uncomplicated.

The drastic social and political change that took place during Puccini's lifetime makes him a particularly interesting case study for a book about a composer 'in context'. His career coincided with seismic events in global politics, including World War I and the rise of fascism. The Unification of Italy had taken place when Puccini was a child, but the drive to 'make an Italian nation' was still ongoing decades later, and Puccini himself was expected to contribute to the cultural nation-building process. The new



xvi Preface

nation was not a happily united entity during the period spanned by Puccini's career: the middle classes may have been riding the crest of a wave, but the workers were rebelling. Even though Puccini regarded himself as an apolitical composer, seeking none of the activism his predecessor Verdi had embraced, he could not avoid becoming embroiled in the political debates of his time, particularly those surrounding national identity. Yet Puccini was in many respects a supremely international figure – something that was regarded as problematic during his lifetime but that needs considering afresh in our globalised world.

This book concerns itself both with Puccini's contemporary milieu and with what we might call his 'afterlife': his posthumous reception, changing reputation, and influence on other artistic figures. His works have been simultaneously wildly popular and critically maligned, their impact on other musicians extensive. And while aspects of his works that seemed problematic in his lifetime (their internationalism; their straddling of high and low culture) now seem anodyne, other aspects that were uncontroversial at the turn of the twentieth century – notably the representation of race and gender – can no longer be taken at face value.

This book – which can be read cover-to-cover or dipped into – is divided into eight parts, each consisting of thematically grouped chapters. Though these progress in loosely chronological fashion, some range widely across the period from Puccini's lifetime to the present. 'Formative Influences' examines Puccini's relationship with significant figures who mattered to him personally (family, friends, lovers), as well as with his teachers and the other young composers of his generation. 'Puccini's Places' delves into the political history of Tuscany, a region to which the composer remained attached throughout his life, and takes us to Milan – where Puccini studied, where his publishers were based, and where some of his works would be premiered. Subsequent chapters examine Puccini's travels, for work and pleasure: to central Europe, northern and western Europe, and further afield.

Chapters in 'Influences and Interests' discuss Puccini's response to contemporary stylistic trends in music, literature, and drama. The authors also consider his complicated relationship with early film and his personal enthusiasm for technology of all types. We turn in the next part of the book to the creative process that first brought Puccini's works to the stage. These chapters consider the composer's collaboration with librettists and publishers, the ways in which the operas were first staged, and the singers and conductors who interpreted his works.



Preface xvii

The next sequence of chapters is devoted to the ways in which the composer's image and reputation were shaped, including via the new medium of photojournalism. We learn how critics chastised Puccini and biographers memorialised him. Subsequent chapters examine how we might consider Puccini's works through a political lens, ranging widely across religion, party politics, and questions of gender and race. Some of the authors consider how the debates of the composer's own time shaped aspects of his works; others are more concerned with how political concerns influence our reading of his operas today and how they ought to be performed.

The final two parts of the book are focused upon what we might call the 'afterlife' of Puccini's works. We learn about Puccini performance in the modern age, including the process of editing his works and later twentieth-century interpretations of his music on audio and video recordings as well as on stage. The book concludes with a consideration of Puccini's legacy and posthumous reputation. The authors consider his influence upon composers, both 'serious' and 'popular', and the way in which his music has been incorporated into a wide range of works of popular culture, including films and pop songs. The final chapter considers Puccini's long-term reputation and his place in the international performing canon a century after his death.

The authors who have contributed to this collection of essays all have expertise in Puccini and his works but come from different disciplines, backgrounds, and parts of the world. Some are musicologists; others historians or literary scholars. Some have been writing about Puccini for decades; others are at the beginning of their research careers. Among their number are people who have worked in opera houses and been involved in the process of bringing opera to the stage or illuminating it for audiences. Something all the contributors have in common, however, is that they were writing their chapters in the years 2020-22, against the backdrop of circumstances that were challenging for everyone. I am extremely grateful to the authors for their hard work on this project at such a difficult time. My thanks must also go to Kate Brett, Commissioning Editor at Cambridge University Press, and to Abi Sears, Production Assistant, for their guidance and efficiency in bringing this book to publication, as well as all CUP staff involved in the book's production. I hope that it will provide interesting insights into Puccini's life, works, and cultural environment, both for the Puccini aficionado and for the reader who is new to his operas.