Il Trittico

Giacomo Puccini's Enigmatic Farewell to Italian Opera

by

Stephen Scovasso

A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

Approved April 2015 by the
Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Robert Oldani, Chair
Sabine Feisst
Kay Norton

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

May 2015

ABSTRACT

The focus of this in-depth study is to look at the gestation, performance history, and reception of Giacomo Puccini's evening of three one-act operas called *Il Trittico* and differentiate the particular components, *Il Tabarro, Suor Angelica,* and *Gianni Schicchi* to analyze them for their individual stylistic elements of Italian Opera. These were the styles of *verismo,* pathos and sentimentality, and opera *buffa*. As substantiated by written criticism, the audience and the critics did not fully comprehend the hidden meaning behind the individual works of *Il Trittico*. Puccini, enigmatically, had chosen to present one last glimpse of outmoded Italian operatic traditions. In order to evaluate *Il Trittico's* importance in the history of Italian opera, this study will first review the musically changing landscape in Italy during the early to mid-nineteenth century, then the second part of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth-century when German, French, and eventually Russian music were starting to influence audience taste. Puccini who, over the course of his compositional life, absorbed and incorporated these different styles realized that long held Italian operatic tradition had reached a fork in the road. One path would ensure Italian composers a place in this new order and the other a stagnant dead end.

Even though Puccini's triptych garnered primarily negative reviews, the basis for this negativity was the perception that *Il Trittico* had broken with the historically traditional Italian musical styles. Though the present study acknowledges that break to a degree, it will also present a historically based rationale for the deviation, one left largely unnoticed by Puccini's critics. In the end, this author plans to realize their symbolic importance as a farewell to three uniquely Italian styles and a departure point for a new operatic tradition. Looking forward to the centenary of the work, this author seeks to

illuminate how Puccini reached the pinnacle of firmly rooted genres of Italian opera. Ultimately this might help to unravel the enigma of *Il Trittico* while it continues to secure its rightful place as one of the masterpieces of the Puccini canon.

DEDICATION

To Dr. Edward O.D. Downes and Dr. Robert W. Oldani

This paper is dedicated to two of the most inspiring advisors in my life who have guided me, encouraged me, believed in me, and taught me that it is never to late to achieve the goals I would never have dreamed possible.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to extend my deepest appreciation to my thesis committee, Robert W. Oldani, Kay Norton, and Sabine Feisst for all their help and support during this process. I would especially like to thank Dr. Oldani for the countless hours spent discussing life and music, especially opera. My appreciation and thanks to Dr. Norton for helping to formulate the idea for this paper early on in my graduate studies and for opening my ears, mind, and heart to this countries musical achievements and to Dr. Feisst for giving me the opportunity to discover music that I had been resistant too for many years.

I am indebted to several people who have assisted me in the preparation of the paper including, Prof. Amy Johnson of The Cincinnati Conservatory of Music, Dr. Christopher Purdy of radio stationWOSU in Columbus Ohio, and Martina Arroyo, formerly of the Metropolitan Opera. Thank you for your wisdom and insight on various subjects covered in this study.

My thanks to the staff of the Library of Congress for helping me sort through the collections of Puccini correspondence and for their assistance in granting me access to the Geraldine Farrar Collection which offered me a different glimpse into a woman who played an important part in the history of *Il Trittico* and my life. I would like to extend a very special thank you to Mr. John Penino, Archivist of the Metropolitan Opera House in New York City, who permitted me access to the extensive files of press clippings and photos regarding the world premiere of *Il Trittico* and its performance history at the MET. Thank you for allowing me to come home again.

There are many who believed in me and to whom I owe a great deal of gratitude. Thanks to Adele Rossano, Jeanette Larsen, the Jannicelli family (the late Dr. Alfred,

Helen and Elena) for their many years of friendship and support. To Isola Jones, thank you for all the wonderful performances at the Metropolitan Opera and, now, as a truly valued friend. A special thank you to Thomas C. Ramos for his unwavering friendship, support, dedication, and help in seeing me complete this project even when I threw my hands up in disgust.

To my family; I want to thank my brother, Anthony, for listening to me go on endlessly about music. To Alberto Benitez for his dedication, support, and love for over twenty-five years. Thank you for giving me the opportunity to follow a dream even if it meant being separated for a long period of time. Your creativity is amazing, as shown by the words of your poem "Giacomo" which you graciously allowed to be the preface to this paper. It started at the Metropolitan Opera with *Turandot* and the music has not ended. I am very lucky.

Finally to my Mother and Father, for accepting me for who I am, embracing me in a time when it was not politically correct to do so, and instilling in me a thirst for knowledge. Even though both of you are not here to see this, I know you are proud of this accomplishment.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Page

Figure Page

Figure Page

PREFACE

The Maestro then spoke to me of three stories, so different but equally

compelling and beautifully told. I heard the Seine in his music,

I could hear this river caressing the city of lights, a woman, a man unable to escape this

forbidden love, they sang of the immortal fascination of Paris,

Then the mood changed, most beautiful angelic, heavenly music, like a bright light

as he told me of a young woman, a Nun, unlike any other,

she came from a life of privilege to a life of service…,

she became acquainted with the horrible truth of the death of her child,

the son she bore but never held. Her hopes to ever seeing him crushed to pieces,

she takes her life and begs for a miracle as she is dying….

A miracle happens she sees her child, I see the child...

I feel the notes of these melodies were handed down to Maestro by an angel,

any other explanation is useless. I cry, I believe the miracle…

The mood changes again and Maestro tells me of a man about town,

who uses the greed of others and turns it into a weapon…,

every human emotion plays out in front of me.

The music teases my senses and paints a perfect picture of time and place

that is funny, beautiful and full of light. In the end, love triumphs over death,

the man asks for leniency, he should get it….

The music stops....but the echoes will go on forever in my heart and the hearts of many.

His name was Giacomo. I spent many afternoons listening as if I was at his feet.

I will listen for the rest of my life…that much I owe him.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION, HISTORY, AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction and History

The present study takes an in-depth look at Giacomo Puccini's *Il Trittico* and analyzes the trilogy's unique components in relation to the stylistic elements of Italian opera. As substantiated by essays and articles, scholars and critics do not fully comprehend the hidden meaning of each work. This study demonstrates how Puccini developed as a composer and incorporated new elements of style that had been introduced into a changing musical landscape in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, while still upholding the traditions of Italian opera. In order to evaluate *Il Trittico*'s importance in the history of Italian opera, scholars must first review the musical landscape in Italy during the nineteenth century. Even though Puccini's triptych initially garnered primarily negative reviews, the basis for this negativity was the perception that *Il Trittico* had broken with the historically traditional Italian musical styles. Though the present study acknowledges that break to a degree, it will also present a historically based rationale for the deviation, one left largely unnoticed by Puccini's critics. As substantiated by the essays and articles of the time, the critics did not fully comprehend the hidden meaning of each individual work.

On Saturday evening, 14 December 1918, the Metropolitan Opera Company in New York City premiered what ultimately would become Puccini's last operatic composition or compositions to be fully completed by the composer. This evening of three one-act operas *Il Tabarro, Suor Angelica,* and *Gianni Schicchi,* collectively, was

named *Il Trittico* (*The Triptych*).[1] The Italian word "Trittico" is defined as a picture, as in an altarpiece, divided into three parts or painted on three folding panels, hinged side by side. Such a unit can be folded shut or displayed open as a whole or in various combination of the center and outer panels and was a standard form utilized in Renaissance art. The example below (see Figure 1) illustrates a typical Renaissance Trittico altarpiece by the Italian artist Giotto di Bondone (1266-1337).[2]

Figure 1: *The Stefaneschi Trittico* by Bordone ca. 1330. Giotto di Bondone: Complete Works.

Any Italian opera composer who might have wished to translate this concept from art into music faced a difficult problem: how to create a viable dramatic evening of three one-act operas where, by definition, the three works would have to be "hinged" together with a common thread. The major figures in the *ottocento* seemingly chose to avoid

[1] *The Metropolitan Opera Encyclopedia A Comprehensive Guide to the World of Opera*, David Hamilton ed., s.v. "*Trittico, Il*." (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 369.

[2] "The Stefaneschi Triptych (recto) ca. 1330." Giotto di Bondone: Complete Works, accessed January, 2015, http://www.giottodibondone.org.

searching for the parallels of subject, musical style, and/or theatrical technique that would unify three disparate one-act works. By the end of the nineteenth century, several composers had written important one-act operas, yet none of them had attempted to create a full theatrical evening of multiple works arranged so that each contributed its portion to the evening's overriding theme.

Verismo and One-Act Operas

Perhaps the two best-known one-act works of the period are Pietro Mascagni's *Cavalleria rusticana* (1890) and Ruggero Leoncavallo's *I Pagliacci* (1892). Though never conceived as complementary works by their creators, they have often been performed together because of their common treatment of themes of jealousy and murder in a style known as *verismo*.[3] I will return to the concept of *verismo* later in this study.

Three individual, entirely complete, and self-sufficient one-act operas posed problems, not the least of which was casting of three sets of singers, sets, and costumes that upheld equally lofty production values. Perhaps more importantly, the audience members might react negatively to a longer than usual evening in the theater, and ticket sales might have been negatively affected.

---

[3] One may note in passing the performance of two independent operas, one serious and one comic, in a single evening during the early 18th century. See Donald J. Grout, *A Short History of Opera*, 4th ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 274, See also, Michele Girardi, "Cavalleria rusticana (i)," *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed 30 January 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O007614; and Michele Girardi, "Pagliacci," *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera, Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed 30 January 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O903808.

Cavalleria rusticana is historically noteworthy for popularizing the subgenre of Italian opera known as *verismo*.[4] *Verismo* operas display a tendency for the dramatic plot to center on characters of the lower class, dominated by passion, in true-to-life situations usually set in the present time, which often leads to violent and tragic results.[5]

In the words of Charlotte Greenspan, "*Verismo* in Italy began as a literary movement, exemplified by the novels and plays of Giovanni Verga, showing analogies with the naturalism of Zola and de Maupassant."[6] That Italian movement, *verismo*, originates in the work of three Sicilian writers, Luigi Capuana (1839-1915), Federico De Roberto (1861-1927), and, the already mentioned, Giovanni Verga (1840-1922).[7] Verga is notable in the history of opera, his short story "Cavalleria Rusticana" was the literary source for Mascagni's opera of the same name. To stay true to the qualities of *verismo* and to give the opera local color, for example, Mascagni employed Sicilian dialect in the "Siciliana" sung offstage by the character of Turiddu early in the opera before his

[4] Matteo Sansone, "Verismo," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed 28 January 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29210. Sansone refers to verismo as a genre: "The constant presence of low-life subjects and the high concentration of quotations…in Italian operas following *Cavalleria* have been taken to justify the general designation 'operatic *verismo*' for this genre." For the purpose of this study I will do the same.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Charlotte Greenspan, "Verismo," in *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music*, ed. Don Michael Randel (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1986), 908.

[7] Sansone, "Verismo," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press.

entrance."[8] This genre was not uniquely Italian as it had origins in France in the movement of "réalité" or naturalism made popular by the novels of Émile Zola (1840-1902). His work focused on the lower socio-economic class of the time, how they survived day to day, and how society reacted to them.[9]

With the successful premiere of *Cavalleria rusticana* in Rome 17 May 1890, Pietro Mascagni set the example for this new style of opera, and his success encouraged other composers to write in this genre.[10] Ruggero Leoncavallo's *I Pagliacci,* in 1892, is perhaps the second most successful *verismo* opera in the Italian repertory. Dimensionally larger than *Cavalleria, Pagliacci* is divided into two acts to clarify the distinction between the "real life" first part of the opera, and the second part in which the play within the opera is actually performed.[11] Leoncavallo confesses, in a prologue, that the audience will see "uno squarcio di vita"[12]

The genre *verismo* thrived at the turn of the twentieth-century and yielded compositions other than *Cavalleria,* and *Pagliacci* — a few of which are occasionally

---

[8] The use of the typical "u" sound at the end of the words "E nun me mporta si ce muoru accisu...E s'iddu muoru e vaju mparadisu…Si nun ce truovo a ttia, mancu ce trasu." Text from the libretto of *Cavalleria rusticana,* the opera Stanford collection, accessed 30 January 2015, http://opera.stanford.edu/Mascagni/Cavalleria/libretto.html.

[9] David Kimbell, *Italian Opera* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 621-622.

[10] Sansone, "Verismo," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online,* Oxford University Press.

[11] Michele Girardi, "Pagliacci, I" *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera, Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online,* Oxford University Press. See fn. 3.

[12] Ruggero Leoncavallo, *I Pagliacci,* Vocal Score (New York: G Schirmer, 1906), 10. The phrase translates as "a slice of life."

performed to this day—before arriving, ultimately, at a dead end. A minor figure in Italian opera, Franco Leone (1864-1949), achieved a short-lived singular success with his opera *L'Oracolo,* which blended *verismo* with exoticism. This piece, which premiered at the Royal Opera in London in 1905, is set in the Chinatown of San Francisco with a plot that features kidnapping and murder.[13] French composer Jules Massenet contributed a very Italianate opera to the *verismo* repertory, *La Navarraise*, which premiered in London in 1894. Czech composer Leoš Janáček (1854-1928), working in this tradition but remote from Italy, drew inspiration from this subgenre for his opera *Jenůfa* (1904) whose plot centers on the lives of poor country farmers in Moravia. Despite this style's apparent success, *verismo* lasted a relatively short time. By the end of World War I, their glory days were fading. The style culminated in Puccini's *Il Tabarro*, the last major *verismo* opera and the first work of *Il Trittico.*

Puccini, One-Act Opera, and *Il Trittico*

Puccini, himself, was no stranger to composing a one-act opera. Early in his career, after his years in the Milan Conservatory, he premiered *Le Villi* in 1884.[14] In a letter, to Luigi Illica, dated September 1904 writes, "I insist on the *tre tinte*"[15] indicating that he was considering an evening of three one-act operas, or "trittico," as

[13] For a thorough study of this opera, see David Ik-Sung Choo, "Franco Leoni's *L'oracolo*: A Study in Orientalism," D.M.A. dissertation, The Peabody Conservatory of Johns Hopkins University, 1998. ProQuest # 9833563.

[14] *Il trittico* was not the first time that Puccini had written a one-act opera. His first effort in the genre, *Le Villi*, was originally conceived as a one-act work and was revised into a two-act opera only after the initial version had failed in performance. See Julian Budden, *Puccini*: *His Life and Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 45.

early as 1904.[16] In additional correspondence of the time, Puccini repeats his desire to generate a work centering on three different emotions; "At times I think about something like *La Bohème*, the tragic and the sentimental mixed with the comic."[17]

Theories regarding the inspiration of *Il Trittico* abound. Mosco Carner, one of the most respected Puccini scholars, believes that the inspiration for this triptych was the unrivaled pillar of Italian literature, Dante Alighieri's, *La Divina Commedia* (Divine Comedy).[18] At one point the composer apparently considered drawing the three operatic plot lines from episodes in *Inferno*, *Purgatorio*, and *Paradiso*, respectively and planned to use these locations as the titles of his operas,[19] only *Gianni Schicchi* was derived from the Dante work from an episode in *Inferno* (Canto XXX).[20] In the end, the *Divine Comedy* was not the common "hinge" for *Il Trittico,* yet the overall emotional arc of Puccini's three operas mirrors that of *The Divine Comedy*: "from darkness to light,

---

[15] Michele Girardi*, Giacomo Puccini: L'arte internazionaledi un musicista italiano* (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 1995), trans. as *Puccini: His International Art,* by Laura Basini (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 263. The Italian phrase *tre tinte* translates as three colors.

[16] Andrew C. Davis, "*Il Trittico,*""*Turandot,*" *and Puccini's Late Style* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 66. William Ashbrook, also espouses this theory in his *The Operas of Puccini* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 170.

[17] Girardi, *Puccini*, 259.

[18] Mosco Carner, *Puccini A Critical Biography*, 2nd ed. (Surry: Duckworth 1974), 151; Davis, 66-67.

[19] Ibid., 151.

[20] Dante Aligheri, *The Divine Comedy: The Inferno, The Purgatorio, and The Paradiso,* trans. John Ciardi (New York: New American Library, 2003), 233-234.

despair to bliss, hopelessness and total despondency to the optimism of a brighter future."[21]

The *Grand Guignol* Theater, Théâtre Marigny in Paris, was noted for presenting an evening of three one-act productions in differing styles. [22] In the same evening, the audience would experience emotional high's and lows, black humor, a sentimental tale, a scene of eroticism, and the trademark blood lust murder.[23] *Le Grand-Guignol* theater was not solely a house of horrors. The entertainments presented were very much in the *verismo* or *réalité* style featuring true-to-life protagonists debased and degraded by society.[24] Although the three presentations were unrelated, the "hinge" for the *Grand-Guignol* evening's entertainment, whether farce or drama, was the uniformity of the style and the main event of the evening, the horror of blood lust.[25] One may assume that Puccini's resolve for an evening of three one-act works, in the "tre tinte," may have been strengthened when he attended a performance which included Didier Gold's *Le Houppelande* at this theater in May 1912.[26]

---

[21] Andrew Davis, 67. Davis's footnote cites Hepokoski's contention that the unifying factor in *Trittico* is the view that "each of the panels [is] unified by the same nihilistic sense of hopelessness." See James Hepokoski, "Structure, Implication, and the End of *Suor Angelica*." *Studi Pucciniani* 3 (2004): 241-64.

[22] Ashbrook, *The Operas of Puccini,* 170.

[23] Andrew Davis, 67.

[24] Richard J. Hand and Michal Wilson, *Grand-Guignol: The French Theatre of Horror* (Exeter UK: University of Exeter Press, 2002), 5-6.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Dieter Schickling *Giacomo Puccini: Catalogue of the Works*, trans., Michael Kaye (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003), 338.

On 10 December 1910, the Metropolitan Opera in New York presented the premiere performances of *La Fanciulla del West*. That new work received mixed notices from critics, who recognized and voiced their displeasure with a style they characterized as atypical of Puccini.[27] The critics incorrectly pronounced that the music, combined with the dramatic storyline, marked a new direction for the composer. Throughout Puccini's career, he incorporated many foreign styles into his works. We will discuss this point at greater length in the following chapters.

Il Trittico was the first new work by Puccini to appear at the Metropolitan Opera after *La Fanciulla del West* in 1910. *The New York Times* reported on 25 November 1918 that "Puccini's three little operas" would have their premieres and that Manager Giulio Gatti-Casazza viewed the event as "extraordinary at any place or time."[28] Of course, Gatti-Casazza was man who knew how to create excitement to sell tickets but, in the same article, Gatti-Casazza expressed concern that the "American audience" might not see fit to pay a higher price for this premiere, though he asserted that "Italian audiences at La Scala" would. The top ticket price for this gala premiere was $7.00,[29] equivalent to $108.85 in 2014.[30]

---

[27] Annie J. Randall and Rosalind Gray Davis, *Puccini & the Girl* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 112.

[28] "Preview of the premiere of *Il Trittico*," *The New York Times* 25 November 1918, accessed 12-3-13, http://login.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/docview/100088425?accountid=4485.

[29] Ibid.

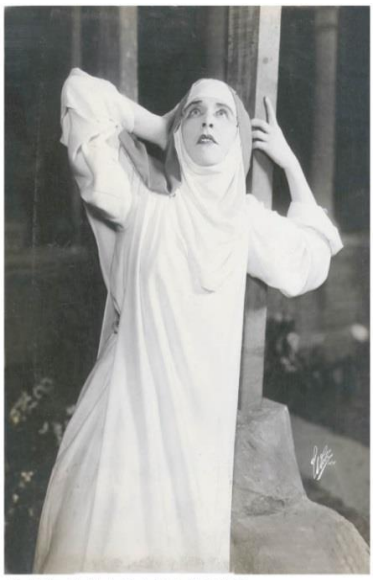
[30] *The Inflation Calculator*, accessed March12, 2015. http:///www.westegg.com. At the present time this site only calculates through 2014.

No expense was spared for this highly anticipated event that offered much that would appeal to a first night audience and members of the fashionable audience outwardly appeared to enjoy what *Il Trittico* had to offer. Each opera was separately cast and featured the biggest stars of the day. The cast included the dark voiced Claudia Muzio in *Il Tabarro* (see Figure 2). Geraldine Farrar, who premiered *Madama Butterfly* at the Metropolitan in 1907, starred as *Suor Angelica* (see Figure 3). Giuseppe De Luca headlined in *Gianni Schicchi* (see Figure 4). [31]

[31] "Metropolitan Opera Archives," Metropolitan Opera Association, accessed 30 October 2012, http://www.archives.metoperafamily.org/archives/frame.htm. Photos of Muzio, Farrar, and De Luca from the Collection of the Metropolitan Opera and attached here with the permission of John Pennino, Archivist.

Claudia Muzio as Giorgetta in *Il Tabarro* from Puccini's *Il Trittico*.
Photo: White Studio

Figure 2: Claudia Muzio.



Geraldine Farrar in the title role of *Suor Angelica* from Puccini's *Il Trittico*.
Photo: White Studio

Figure 3: Geraldine Farrar.

Giuseppe De Luca in the title role of *Gianni Schicchi* from Puccini's *Il Trittico*.
Photo: White Studio

Figure 4: Giuseppe De Lucca.

The evening's conductor was Roberto Moranzoni, who studied the operas at Viareggio with Puccini himself.[32] The only ingredient of a gala premiere that was missing was the composer himself in attendance. Even though, the hostilities of World War I had ended, seventeen days earlier, international overseas travel was still quite dangerous due to undetonated mines in the shipping lanes. Much to his disappointment, Puccini could not make the trip.[33]

According to various critical reviews of the time, the audience appeared enthusiastic. However, the individual operas and performances received mixed reviews. Even with the superior casts, the critics deemed that *Il Tabarro* and *Suor Angelica* were skillful but not impressive. *Gianni Schicchi* without a doubt was the clear favorite.

Il Trittico would receive its premiere in many different major operatic capitals worldwide between 1918 and 1920. Among them were Buenos Aires, Rome, Chicago, Vienna, Hamburg, and London. The reaction in each city more or less mirrored New York's critical responses. We will look at this in more detail in chapter 3. In an article for *Opera News* Peter G..Davis wrote "that the opera-going audiences during the years of 1918-1920, [who]were seldom inclined to mull over a work's interior meaning, chose to take their operatic entertainment at face value."[34] Basically Davis is expressing that the audience would not want to take the any time to think about the implied meaning of the

---

[32] Julian Budden, *Puccini: His Life and Works* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 376.

[33] Conrad Wilson, *Giacomo Puccini* (London: Phaidon Press, 1997), 195.

[34] Peter G. Davis, "Three's Company," *Opera News* 71, no.10 (April, 2007): 26-29.

work in and of themselves or, for that matter, what is the significance of the individual pieces as they relate to the work as a unit.

Whatever the reasons that the "hinge" envisioned by Puccini would elude the audience and critics alike at the early performances of *Il Trittico*. By the end of 1922, with few exceptions, the three operas were no longer being performed as the unified whole Puccini intended. *Gianni Schicchi* continued to be the critical favorite. W. J. Henderson of the *Evening Sun* was the only critic to have seen "a binding theme that was present in all three works - mad love, a retreat from the world, and a gibe at human greed."[35] Puccini might not have agreed the unifying factor justified in these elucidatory terms since they do not represent Dante or the *tre tinte* conceptions but, to Henderson's credit, he was the only critic who wrote that it would be wrong to separate these works from each other.[36]

In addition, the fears expressed by Giulio Ricordi concerning a full evening of three one-act operas would come true in the triptych's early years.[37] While *Il Trittico* was making the rounds of international opera houses correspondence from the years, 1919 and 1920, shows Puccini violently differed with his publisher, Ricordi, about keeping the trilogy together instead of "brutally torn to pieces" and, while heartbroken after losing

[35] Irving Kolodin, *The Metropolitan Opera 1883-1966* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), 278.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Wilson, *Giacomo Puccini*, 189: "Giulio Ricordi recognized that these one-act operas might be pried apart and matched to works by other composers, thus reducing profits."

this battle, he never attended another complete performance of *Il Trittico* in his lifetime."[38]

Subsequently at the Metropolitan Opera, *Gianni Schicchi* would be paired with other operas, including Richard Strauss's *Salome* and *Elektra*, Humperdinck's *Hänsel und Gretel*, Italo Montemezzi's *L'Amore de Tre Rei* [*The Love of Three Kings*] and, in one instance, Puccini's own earlier work *La Bohème*.[39] On two occasions, *Il Tabarro* found its way to the stage separated from its companions, first in 1946 as the curtain raiser to Donizetti's *Don Pasquale*. Again in 1994 *Il Tabarro* was paired with Leoncavallo's *I Pagliacci*, in a celebrated opening night featuring tenor's Placido Domingo in the Puccini and the late Luciano Pavarotti in the Leoncavallo.[40] At the Metropolitan Opera *Suor Angelica*, Puccini's favorite of the three, would remain cloistered away until 1975.[41]

While Puccini composed *Il Trittico* with the premise of it being a cohesive whole, if studied as purely individual compositions each opera assumes a strong individuality while, more importantly, divulging another underlying purpose. Through musico-dramatic technique and analysis, one can discover Puccini's homage to *verismo*, pathos and sentimentality, and opera-*buffa*. With the exception of *verismo*, these are the styles of Italian opera that were perfected by his predecessors Rossini, Donizetti, Bellini, and

---

[38] Peter G. Davis, 27.

[39] MET Archives online, Metropolitan Opera Association, s.v. "Il Trittico", accessed 3 March 2015, http://archives.metoperafamily.org/archives/frame.htm.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Metropolitan Opera Archives, Performance Data Base.

Verdi. Puccini was acknowledged to be the heir of these illustrious composers. Perhaps he more fully understood opera needed to go to mature further. In chapter 3, we shall see how Puccini incorporated foreign influences beginning as early as his conservatory days and how he assimilated these styles into the already existing Italian tradition.

Many critics mark the end of Italian opera with the death of Puccini and the work he left unfinished at the time of his death, *Turandot*. Chronologically that timeline is correct, but this study will show that stylistically *Turandot* is moving into a different tonal world from anything before it in Puccini's body of work, demonstrating in Boris Gasparov's phrase,"a significant transformation of his style"[42] I will return to this point later in this study.

Finally, as substantiated by written criticism of the time, which documents the fact that audiences and especially the critics did not fully comprehend what the hidden meaning was behind the individual works of *Il Trittico.* The intent of this study is to take an in-depth look at the genesis and development of the different components of *Il Trittico,* then analyze them in relation to accepted, stylistic elements of Italian opera of the day. With each successive opera, Puccini continued to develop as a composer and to incorporate elements of the changing musical landscape that was evolving in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Puccini continually edited and reworked these operas. By looking at a few of his compositional changes, which reveal what made the works more amenable to his

[42] Boris Gasparov, *Five Operas and a Symphony: Words and Music in Russian Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 185.

audience, performers, and critics, also sheds light on his editorial process.[43] Finally, a review of the literature and criticism regarding *Il Trittico,* the controversy surrounding the premiere and subsequent performances, is needed to give a clear picture of the misunderstanding of the piece.

It would take almost fifty years after the composer's death for audiences and critics to begin to appreciate the unique mastery of these pieces and their special place in the history of Italian Opera that they hold. Fifty-Five years would elapse following the last complete performance on 1 March 1920 before *Il Trittico* would be performed at the Metropolitan Opera again as the unified whole Puccini envisioned.[44]

Looking forward to the centenary of the work, I seek to illuminate the ways Puccini reached the pinnacle of firmly rooted genres of Italian opera. Ultimately this thesis might help to unravel the enigma of *Il Trittico* while helping to secure its rightful place as one of the masterpieces of the Puccini canon.

Methodology and Chapter Layout

The basic premise for this study began with the question of how the reception of *Il Trittico* progressed after its three components were separated from each other. After a great deal of research, a new the theory emerged that each opera represents a different genre of Italian operatic form and more importantly, these pieces represented the terminus for these forms. This seemed very applicable, but upon researching this

[43] In Schickling's *Giacomo Puccini: Catalogue of the Works*, we may find a detailed discussion of the changes Puccini made to his operas.

[44] MET Archives online, Metropolitan Opera Association

premise, I discovered that most scholars and critics do not even mention the idea. Only Mallach briefly touched upon the notion but did not explore or develop it extensively.[45]

It was clear that in order to complete a viable revisionist study, I needed to research and read as many scholarly writings on Puccini and *Il Trittico* as possible. In the absence of any primary source that would allow Puccini himself to substantiate the assertion of their individuality, it might be difficult for scholars to take this theory seriously. The primary source essential to proving the premise, in my opinion was not the written word, although I do not neglect those sources, but the musical techniques and dramatic elements Puccini employed to compose these works. Without a doubt, these elements speak more clearly regarding Puccini's intentions than anything written or quoted. Ethan Haimo in his article "Atonality, Analysis, and the Intentional Fallacy" concurs that, when there is a lack of any primary evidence, some theories justify taking into consideration the composer's intentions.[46] Finally there needed to be a historical justification that would make these works the end of the great tradition. Chapter 3 outlines the changing landscape of Italian Opera, the influx of foreign influences, the influence of modernism, and how Puccini himself was affected personally and artistically by these influences.

I also seek to discover how the three operas, found their way back together to be presented as a unit again. From various sources, we already know that a unified evening of three one-act operas is what Puccini desired when he conceived *Il Trittico*. In chapter

[45] Alan Mallach, *The Autumn of Italian Opera: From Verismo to Modernism, 1890-1915* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2007), 369.

[46] Ethan Haimo, "Atonality, Analysis, and the Intentional Fallacy," *Music Theory Spectr* 18, no. 2 (1996) 167-199; accessed 4 April 2015, doi:10.2307/746023.

4, this study will look at the gestation of the work, and how Puccini found the right subjects that would achieve his conception of the “tre tinte” or three different shades that he had discussed via his correspondence. When the piece premiered as a whole, most critics did not see a unifying theme either musically or dramatically; therefore critics and later scholars chose not to take this theory of unity seriously. This study seeks to combine all the resources which stemmed from criticism of live performances and propose a unity in Trittico that arises not from the complonent plots, but from other coniserations.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Puccini's operas and his operatic trilogy, *Il Trittico,* have received substantial scholarly attention, though scholarly and critical perspectives on the composer and his music evolved gradually over time. Prior to about 1958, the musicological community viewed Puccini as a composer of suspect musical value. Late-nineteenth-century commentators to mid-twentieth-century scholars asserted that Puccini's music lacks integrity and depth in comparison to that of other composers, of the same period, whom they regard as more respectable.[47]

Due to this prevailing sentiment, scholarly material from the period of Puccini's lifetime up until three decades following his death is noticeably lacking. What does appear in early commentary substantiates the largely negative view held by the critics and scholars. For example in 1912 the Italian Fausto Torrefranca, whom Carner referred to as Puccini's Eduard Hanslick, published a monograph railing against Puccini.[48] Torrefranca condemns the composer for his use of certain modernistic techniques.[49] This work led other critics of the period to criticize Puccini's music for its supposed modernism, an assessment which seems quite paradoxical to 21st-century musicians and audiences but

---

[47] Helen M. Greenwald, "Recent Puccini Research," *Acta Musicologica* 65, no. 1 (Jan-Jun., 1993), 23; accessed 3-04-2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/932644. Greenwald attributes the sentiment to Roger Parker's Foreword to *The Operas of Puccini*, by William Ashbrook (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), v.

[48] A dedicated friend of Johannes Brahms, Hanslick was famously critical of composers who excelled in Romantic programaticism.

[49] Arthur Groos and Roger Parker, eds., *Giacomo Puccini: "La Bohème"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 134.

which opened the door to even more intense disparagement of Puccini's music by other authors.[50] Donald Jay Grout's textbook, *A Short History of Opera*, originally published in 1947 and reprinted in 1965 and 2003, states, "Puccini's music sounds better than it is."[51] Finally, one of the most widely disseminated viewpoints among the public stems from Joseph Kerman's, *Opera as Drama*, first published in 1956 and reprinted in 1988. Kerman's widely quoted alliterative phrase characterized Puccini's *Tosca* as "a shabby little shocker," and the author further describes Puccini's music as having a "café-music banality."[52]

Then in 1958, Viennese-born British musicologist, Mosco Carner (1904-1985), published a large volume that shed a more sympathetic and positive light on the composer himself.[53] Carner's work also focuses on musical and dramatic analysis of Puccini's operas, in addition to commentary on Puccini's body of work, genesis, and reception. Additionally, his book includes correspondence from the composer which offers a great deal of insight into his methods of choosing subjects for his operas, his compositional processes, and the performance history of his works. These letters also

---

[50] Fausto Torrefranca, *Giacomo Puccini e l'opera internazionale* (Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1912). Mosco Carner referred to Torrefranca as Puccini's Hanslick, as noted in *Puccini: A Critical Biography* 2nd ed. (Surrey: Duckworth, 1974), 263. We shall have occasion to return to Torrefranca later.

[51] Donald J. Grout and Hermine Weigl Williams, *A Short History of Opera*, 4th ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 494.

[52] Joseph Kerman, *Opera as Drama*, new and revised edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 15. The original edition was published by Alfred A. Knopf in 1956, the characterization of *Tosca* as a "shabby little shocker" is on page 205.

[53] Full bibliographic details of Carner's text are given in footnote #3.

introduce the readers to the struggles of Puccini's personal life during these times. Building on Carner's work are a greater number of scholarly articles in journals, which center on various aspects of the composer's output.[54]

In order to examine the available materials and their distinct points of view, the research will be grouped according to two important events in Puccini reception. The era before the publication of Carner's path-breaking study in 1958 may be conveniently described "Before Carner" (BC). The era following Carner's work will be labeled "After Carner" (AC). With the significant scholarly studies that appear around 1990, research on the composer's works enters a new stage, which will be labeled "Puccini Rennaissance" (PR).

Among the changes to be observed in the study of the composer's work are an increased tendency to grant him major status among European composers and a willingness to approach his work seriously and sympathetically. The ultimate goal in my examination of the literature is to cite representative major "guideposts" in the study of Puccini as a composer, his compositional influences, Italian opera of the time, and information regarding *Il Trittico.*

BC – BEFORE CARNER

For the sake of this study, the period noted as "BC" will begin with the eminent, influential Italian critic, Filippo Filippi (1830-1887). On 14 July 1883, Filippi was in

[54] For example Helen Greenwald "Puccini, *Il Tabarro,* and the Dilemma of Operatic Transposition," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 51, no.3 (Autumn 1998): 521-558; and James Hepokoski, "Structure, Implication, and the End of *Suor Angelica,* " *Studi Pucciniani* 3 (2004): 241-64.

attendance at a performance of Puccini's early composition entitled *Capriccio Sinfonico* at the Milan Conservatory and was so impressed that the next day Filippi wrote a comprehensive review in the *La Perseveranza.* Filippi praised the composer and the work, writing that Puccini had "a decisive and very rare musical temperament, one that is specifically symphonic."[55] About a decade later the Irish playwright and critic, George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950) repeated Filippi's assessment in a review entitled "Born – Again Italian Opera." In an overall positive review, Shaw describes Puccini's early *Manon Lescaut* as "symphonic in treatment" and makes note of the composer's use of the more complex 13th chords and predicts that Puccini was destined to be the heir to Verdi.[56] Not all reaction was positive. The famous Bohemian critic Eduard Hanslick (1825-1904) wrote in 1897 of the German language premiere of *La Bohème*, that "melodic invention was extremely scanty."[57]

A fundamental milestone in negative reaction to Puccini appeared in 1912. In that year, Fausto Torrefranca published his politically charged monograph: *Giacomo Puccini e l'opera Internazionale.*[58] Driven by his disdain for musical modernists, Torrefranca asserted (wrongly, we now believe) that Puccini was one of the important faces of the modernist movement. Torrefranca's mission was, to restore to the forefront of Italian

---

[55] Carner, *Puccini A Critical Biography*, 2nd edition, 32-33.

[56] George Bernard Shaw, "Born-Again Italian Opera," *The World*, 23 May 1894; reprinted in *Shaw's Music*, ed. Dan H. Laurence (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1981), 3:216-217.

[57] Quoted in Groos and Parker, 134.

[58] Fausto Torrefranca *Giacomo Puccini e l'opera Internazionale* (Milan, 1912: repr. from the collection of the University of Michigan Library (San Bernadino , 2013).

musical culture, the Baroque and Renaissance art of instrumental music. His writing at the time was nothing short of venomous; Torrefranca opens his monograph by attacking Puccini, saying that "he embodies, with the utmost perfection, all the decadence of current Italian music, and presents its cynical commercialism and impotence in a triumphant international fashion."[59] Many years later, Torrefranca acknowledged the monograph to be a sin of his youth.[60] In 1919, an unknown author, speculated to be Torrefranca, published an article in the *Idea Nazionale* in which this enigmatic author stated Torrefranca's monograph forced Puccini to pay closer attention to his compositional style. Then the author went on to approve of Puccini's music for *Il Trittico*.[61]

In a 1917 *Musical Quarterly* article, D.C. Parker seeks to explain the negative view of *La Fanciulla del West*. According to him, Puccini used a poor modernist approach resulting in "inferior Debussyism [sic]." He summarized his critique in a single phrase:"the sooner the opera is buried in oblivion the better."[62] Throughout Puccini's career, the alleged grievous sin of "modernism" remained one of the principal charges leveled against him.

---

[59] Ibid., vii. The translation is by the author.

[60] Leonardo Pinzauti, "Giacomo Puccini's *Trittico* and the Twentieth Century*,"* in *The Puccini Companion*, eds. William Weaver and Simonetta Puccini (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994), 238.

[61] Ibid., 238-239.

[62] D.C. Parker, "A View of Giacomo Puccini," *The Musical Quarterly* 3, no. 4 (Oct. 1917): 513; accessed 9 March 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/737985.

In 1933, Austrian musicologist Richard Specht (1879-1932), one of the early biographers of Puccini, gave him a backhanded compliment by labeling him "a minor master of the first rank." In his 1931 book, *Giacomo Puccini The Man His Life His Work,* he writes:

> Puccini's work has advanced on its career with such overwhelming force; it is neither that of a really great master, nor such as one may make bold to characterizeas 'trash'——though some have been found to do even that. It is the work of a minor master of the first rank, a creator of delicate music miniatures, melodies of a passionate melancholy, subtle harmonies with an individual distinction, and orchestration with a subtle and unerring magic, possessed, moreover, of a robust, dramatic sense.[63]

Specht also commented indirectly on Puccini's personal life, which included several love affairs. He characterized Puccini as "wayward and childlike," someone who in his naievté, "sips each flower and changes every hour."[64] Again, from a present day perspective, these affairs might not be considered salacious, but in1933, they may have caused a few to form a morally adverse opinion of Puccini.

In 1938, Vincent Seligman published a volume of letters (numbering in the hundreds), dated 1905 to 1924, outlining Puccini's lifelong friendship with his mother, Sybil Seligman.[65] These letters reveal the many facets of Puccini's character and illustrate his profound and abiding trust in Sybil's artistic council and opinion. Carner

---

[63] Richard Specht, *Giacomo Puccini: The Man, His Life, His Work*, trans. Catherine Alison Phillips (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1933), 1.

[64] Ibid., 91.

[65] Vincent Seligman, *Puccini Among Friends* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1938).

asserts that the relationship began as a passionate love affair, which, he writes, had been confirmed by Sybil's sister.[66]

Though Puccini's affairs are now well documented and well known, in truth, this particular affair evolved into an abiding and life-long friendship. Vincent Seligman remarks in his introduction that biographers have commented on Puccini's distaste for letter writing.[67] Seligman might have assumed this from noting the dates of correspondence and the length of time that had passed from letter to letter. Yet Puccini's enormous body of correspondence has been published in the extensive volumes over the years.[68]

These letters reveal the many facets of Puccini's character. By the start of the correspondence with Sybil Seligman, Puccini had already achieved worldwide fame with *Madama Butterfly* and the letters shed light on his career until his death in 1924. In this study I give particular consideration to the letters in which *Il Trittico*, or any of its components is discussed. In them, Puccini explains the development of the scores against the background of World War I, the armistice, the Spanish Influenza, the world premiere of *Il Trittico* at the Metropolitan Opera, and beyond.[69] Another trail of correspondence

---

[66] Carner, *Puccini A Critical Biography*, 2nd edition, 148-149.

[67] Seligman, 1.

[68] To substantiate this point, look at the volumes of correspondence to Adami, D'Annunzio, and the collection edited by Gara. See *Letters of Giacomo Puccini*, ed. Giuseppe Adami, trans. Ena Malkin (New York: J. P. Lippincott, 1931; repr., New York: Vienna House, 1973); Gabrielle D'Annunzio, *Il Carteggio Recuperato* (1894-1922), ed. Aldo Simone (Lanciano: Casa Editrice, 2009): and *Carteggi Pucciniani*, ed. Eugenio Gara (Milan: Ricordi, 1958).

[69] Seligman, 271-286.

involves the British reaction to *Il Trittico*. One letter, dated 1 July 1920, highlights a rapidly changing range of emotion: pleading followed by arrogance and finally heartbreak, suffered by Puccini at the decision of Covent Garden's General Manager to fracture *Il Trittico* and discard *Suor Angelica* after only two performances.[70]

In 1951 George Marek, a Viennese-born American musicologist, published a transitional biography of Puccini. I call this work "transitional" because Marek shares a more sympathetic view of the composer, much more in alignment with Carner, so this work bridges the gap between "BC" and "AC." Marek opened his work with a recollection of growing up in Vienna hearing *La Bohème* as a young boy and without hesitation falling in love with it. The opera, performed in a German translation, directly spoke to him.[71] As he matured, his tastes metamorphosed into those of a Wagnerian, and he lost interest in the Italian school. He harshly states that he "despised" the music of Puccini, Verdi and *verismo* composers such as Mascagni.[72] Years later, he returned to his "original love" the Italian masters and devoted his attention to their works.[73] In the foreword of his book, Marek remarks, in a footnote, that Specht's biographical work is almost entirely derived from the works of Adami and Fraccaroli.[74] Looking over the bibliography of Specht's volume, he lists seven entries by various authors including

[70] Seligman, 308.

[71] George Marek, *Puccini* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1951), ix.

[72] Marek, x-xi.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid., xv, fn*.

Fraccaroli and a work entitled *Epistolario* by Adami, now a widely used source titled *The Letters of Giacomo Puccini*.[75]

The bibliography of Marek's 1951 book reveals much more depth than Richard Specht's *Giacomo Puccini, The Man, His Life, His Work.*[76] In it one finds Donald J. Grout's first edition of *A Short History of Opera*, Vincent Seligman's *Puccini Among Friends*, and Fausto Torrefranca's monograph, none of which Specht would have consulted.[77] Yet Specht consulted Marek's work when he did his own research for his Puccini volume.

In 1952, when more positive views of Puccini emerged, the British musicologist Francis Toye (1883-1964) infused additional life into the argument of the naysayers with the publication of his book *Italian Opera*. Toye's commentary gives the impression of a critic dazed by the unfathomable phenomenon of Puccini's success. He writes:

> Musicians as a body are not enamoured of Giacomo Puccini but the fact is that of all contemporary operatic composers, with the exception of Richard Strauss, he alone has established himself permanently——and with indubitably greater success than Strauss ——in the international repertory. The fact may be unpalatable; it remains a fact.[78]

It is easy to deduce why musicologists like Specht, Marek, and Toye would expound the talents of Wagner and Strauss because the basis for their opinions, were

---

[75] Specht, xiii.

[76] Marek, 395-397.

[77] Specht, xiii.

[78] Francis Toye, *Italian Opera* (London: Max Parrish & Co. Limited, 1952), 62.

originally written from the perspective of the modernist era. They are now being read and digested from a twenty-first-century perspective.

Father Dante del Fiorentino, curator of the museum at Torre del Lago, was also a close friend of Puccini. Drawing upon his memory of those years, he was able to write, *Immortal Bohemian*, published in 1952. This book is not a biographical study but relates a very personal and intimate side of Puccini's character. Father Dante relates a very articulate account regarding Puccini's views of other composers, notably foreign composers, of the period. Father Dante observed Puccini studying their scores and described his feelings for his fellow composers and their works. Puccini's view of Stravinsky's *Petrushka* was that –"it was worth traveling a thousand miles to see." About Arnold Schoenberg, he said, –"His music is a shipwreck in a tonal storm." Yet, above all, according to Father Dante, Puccini lavished particular attention on Claude Debussy, which will be discussed to a greater extent later in this study.[79]

Reflecting the centenary of Puccini's birth in 1958, sensibilities slowly began to change due to the publication of Carner's *Puccini: A Critical Autobiography*.[80] This book took the first step toward filling the vast void in more balanced critical writings on the subject of Puccini. To this day, it is judged as one of the most significant landmark studies of the composer and his works. Carner's volume offers the researcher an extensive biography, providing psychological insights to explain Puccini's mood swings

[79] Dante Del Fiorentino, *Immortal Bohemian* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1952), 198-199.

[80] First published in 1958 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959) with a 2nd edition published in1974 (Duckworth).

and compositional lapses. He also develops analytical interpretations of Puccini's work which provide insights into his working relationships with his librettists, performance histories, and a rather broad musical analysis. All subsequent studies of Puccini, including this one, are indebted to Carner's work.

In the same centenary year, Puccini's publishing house, G. Ricordi & Co., released a significant volume of Puccini correspondence entitled *Carteggi Pucciniani*.[81] These letters, edited by Eugenio Gara, number in the hundreds and constitute the bulk of the composer's correspondence from 1880, through his years at the conservatory, his early successes, the twentieth century, and ending with his death in Brussels in 1924. Although the letters are in Italian, and some of the sections, especially the discography are in need of a current update, there is no more complete collection of correspondence to enlighten readers.

AC – AFTER CARNER

Carner's work is so significant that its publication marks the end of the initial phase of Puccini scholarship and the start of a new era, in which derision became less pervasive, and in which important revivals would occur. The first milepost is the year1968, when two major published works significantly enhanced existing Puccini scholarship.

Cecil Hopkinson (1898-1977), published an excellent annotated bibliography of the Puccini operas. Each work is introduced briefly and then Hopkinson details each

[81] Eugenio Gara, ed., *Carteggi Pucciniani* (Milano: G. Ricordi & Co., 1958).

version of the opera, in particular. For example regarding *Il Trittico*, Hopkinson listed the vocal score in two complete editions in a single volume. The first, published in 1918 and the second in 1919. The operas are then listed individually to clarify the various printed versions and modifications.[82] The drawback to his system is that the noted modifications, limited to cuts, are distinguished only by measure numbers. I initially used the 1918 score to identify the different revisions of each opera.

The American musicologist William Ashbrook (1922-2009) published the first of his many studies of Puccini in 1968. His book, *The Operas of Puccini*, is organized chronologically and contains some helpful background material preceding the details on each opera. What makes Ashbrook's work very useful is the use of musical examples to support his discussion. Ashbrook's monograph became a primary milestone as his musical analysis is more advanced than that of any other study available at the time of its publication.

In 1974, Ray S. Macdonald, a former organist turned accountant, published *Puccini King of Verismo.*[83] The title of this volume is somewhat misleading because it might confuse the reader into thinking that every opera written by Puccini was a verismo work. Macdonald dissects Puccini's works by identifying and labeling families of reminiscence motives, modeled on commentaries about Wagner's music dramas. Macdonald takes great pains to label each musical element he considered a thematic

[82] Cecil Hopkinson, *Bibliography of Giacomo Puccini 1858-1924* (New York: Broude Brothers Limited, 1968), 43-51.

[83] Ray S. Macdonald, *Giacomo Puccini: King of Verismo* (New York: Vantage Press, 1973).

motive. This approach is reminiscent of the late British musicologist Deryck Cooke's massive study entitled *An Introduction to "Der Ring des Nibelungen"* which was recorded in 1967 and released in 1968 as a result of the first complete London Decca recording of the tetralogy conducted by the late Sir Georg Solti. Macdonald's premise is viable as an initial departure point. It is most useful in *Tosca,* which is constructed using character reminiscence motives, such as the "Scarpia motive" which opens the work and reappears many times.[84] Macdonald labels the opening motive of *Il Tabarro,* "River Seine," which seems valid; however, to give a name to a four-bar phrase, the "Cottage Motive," which only appears twice in the whole opera may be helpful only to a novice listener for whom this reference may have some benefit.[85]

PR - Puccini Renaissance

A rebirth or renaissance of new scholarly research on Puccini began in the 1990s and has flourished through the early 2000s. As we approached the millennium, many contributions to Puccini studies were written by a new and younger group of musicologists. They have produced abundant research material in addition to new works by senior scholars who were adding to their canon of works.

In 1991, Ashbrook and Powers co-authored the book *Puccini's "Turandot": The End of the Great Tradition* which was Puccini's final, although uncompleted, work.[86]

[84]Ibid., 66.

[85]Ibid.,134 -137.

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

Ashbrook and Powers discuss Puccini's process of composition in *Turandot*, notably combining Chinese thematic music in conjunction with Italian Romantic harmonies and some modern techniques of the time. Further study may help decide whether the music in Act 1, specifically the ghostly offstage voices of the Princess Turandot's former lovers, is suggestive of the freely atonal work of Schönberg, specifically *Pierrot Lunaire*.[87]

Shortly before his death, Julian Budden (1924-2007), recognized as a leading scholar of Italian opera and the author of the indispensable three-volume work on the life and compositions of Giuseppe Verdi, published an excellent work entitled *Puccini: His Life and Works*.[88] Budden's approach is based on narrative and includes many excellent musical examples. Further, he discusses the subjects Puccini discarded as possible operatic projects. Budden sheds critical light on the creative process in *Il Trittico*, by outlining the various libretti Puccini considered, but eventually rejected, over the years as potential components of the work.[89]

One of the most significant contributions to an increasingly large fund of material is the book, by Dieter Schickling (b. 1939) entitled *Giacomo Puccini: Catalogue of the Works*.[90] Published by Bärenreiter, this volume impresses by its painstakingly compiled wealth of data. For each work Schickling provides information on its period of origin or

---

[87] Ibid., 101-102.

[88] Julian Budden, *Puccini His Life and Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[89] Ibid., 372-375.

[90] Dieter Schickling, *Giacomo Puccini Catalogue of the Works* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003).

composition, the first performances of the initial and subsequent versions including cast listings for the major roles, instrumentation, and a listing of the numerous revisions of various works and a discussion of the musical changes these revisions entailed. Schickling's catalogue is a more complete study than Hopkinson's work from 1968.

Among the works published during this new era of serious scholarship are several anthologies of essays on Puccini, unified at times only by their common devotion to the man and musician. A collaboration between William Weaver and the composer's grand-daughter Simonetta Puccini, *The Puccini Companion*, represents this type of work.[91] Included are many essays by such noted scholars as Julian Budden, William Weaver, Fedele d'Amico, Arthur Groos, Mary Jane Phillips-Matz, Jürgen Maehder, William Ashbrook, and Deborah Burton. The book is arranged chronologically, with individual essays each covering a different segment of Puccini's life or work. The authors bring their individual styles and methods to Puccini topics.

One of the most informative of recent books is by the Italian musicologist Michele Girardi: *Puccini: His International* Art. It focuses on Puccini's operas and utilizes much musical analysis and many examples to support his points. [92] For example, in Girardi's passage about the motif used to describe the Seine at the opening of *Il Tabarro*, the discussion includes references to the changing meter, mode mixtures and structural unity, considered part of a larger total theatrical experience, in which even the

[91] William Weaver and Simonetta Puccini, eds., *The Puccini Companion* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1994).

[92]Girardi, *Puccini*. See footnote #15 for full bibliographic details.

set is an elemental component.[93] Girardi confronts the supposed, often used, negative criticism that Puccini absorbed many different styles, especially Debussy's, into his musical fabric.[94] Additionally, as the title suggests, Girardi illuminates issues such as Puccini's ability to combine a maturing and increasingly international technique within the framework of a traditional nationalistic Italian style. He considers Puccini's relationship with Italian twentieth-century composers such as Pizzetti, Respighi, and Malapiero, and finally he considers and places into context the reproach of Torrefranca.[95] I believe that Girardi's detailed work will soon find a place as a leading scholarly source alongside Carner's and Ashbrook's works.

Tosca's Prism (2004) is in the compendium format. Divided into three main sections, the book focuses on the opera *Tosca.* The contributors include Budden, Schickling, and Deborah Burton (who also is one of the editors of this book).[96]

Giorgio Sanguinetti writes a most interesting and useful essay entitled "Puccini's Music in the Italian Theoretical Literature of Its Day."[97] His investigation stems from an entirely harmonic viewpoint and surveys Puccini's music in terms of the modern harmonic vernacular of the day.

---

[93] Ibid., 380-383.

[94] Ibid., 265.

[95] Ibid., 439-443.

[96] Deborah Burton, Susan Vandiver Nicassio, and Agostino Ziino, eds., *Tosca's Prism* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004).

[97] Giorgio Sanguinetti,"Puccini's Music in the Italian Theoretical Literature of Its Day," in *Tosca's Prism*, eds. Deborah Burton, Susan Vandiver Nicassio and Agostino Ziino (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004), 228-243.

Published in 2005, *Puccini and the Girl* sheds light exclusively on *La Fanciulla del West*.[98] It details the creative process of choosing and preparing the libretto, the compositional process, premiere and the critical reception of that time as well as a more current perspective. The authors successfully takes issues with the negative reactions to *La Fanciulla del West,* attributed to the critics' perception of compositional changes and a more modern style. Randall and Davis consider this perception as one of the factors behind Torrefranca's 1912 monograph.[99] In conjunction with this idea, Randall and Davis cite, the use of foreign influences of Wagnerian leitmotiv,[100] the harmonic language of *Pelléas et Mélisande* of Debussy, and the orchestrational technique employed by Richard Strauss in *Salome*.[101]

Torrefranca's monograph is the basis for Alexandra Wilson's,2007 book *The Puccini Problem: Opera, Nationalism, and Modernity*.[102] Nationalistic sentiments and traditional cultural values that were at odds with the era's political landscape are at the core of Wilson's volume. Its chapter "Torrefranca vs. Puccini" supplies a great deal of

[98] Randall and Davis, *Puccini and the Girl: History and Reception of "The Girl of the Golden Wes*t." See footnote #27 for full bibliographic details.

[99]Ibid., 167.

[100] Ibid. The book's authors acknowledge that Puccini wrapped his new music, new dramatic conception, and new heroine in the old and still safe audience-pleasing language of Wagnerian redemption.

[101] Ibid.,167.

[102] Alexandra Wilson, *The Puccini Problem: Opera, Nationalism, and Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

information on this critic's vicious attack on Puccini.[103] In 1910, *La Fanciulla del West* received a great deal of adverse criticism such as "too modern in harmonic structure" which certainly stoked the fiery assault on Puccini.[104] As Wilson points out, Torrefranca used words such as "unoriginal, effeminate and diseased."[105] In her very thorough study she explains the political environment in which this vitriol had appeared. Wilson suggests, an overall feeling of triumph because Puccini did continue to compose *La Rondine, Il Trittico,* and *Turandot*. Although, with one notable exception, none were hailed as a great success, perhaps because the unwarranted and unjustly deserved, accusations of modernism were destined to resurface again in parts of *Il Trittico,* and once again would lead to negative criticism.

Alan Mallach's 2007 *The Autumn of Italian Opera: From Verismo to Modernism,1890-1915*, is a welcome addition to this specific pool of scholarly research.[106] This in-depth study of a particular sub-genre which evolved, flourished, and declined in a very short period, documents the end of this late-nineteenth-century Italian style's prominence on the world's stages. The book is also pertinent to the present study since it covers a significant part of Puccini's compositional career and showcases the

[103] Burton, 125-154. Wilson also wrote a paper "Torrefranca vs. Puccini: Embodying a Decadent Italy" *Cambridge Opera Journa*l 13, No. 1 (Mar. 2001) 29-53; accessed 2 February 2015, http://www.jstor.orgstable/3593374, which pre-dated her book but basically laid out all her ideas six years before the book's publication.

[104] "Puccini's Operas as Heard by Critics," *New York Herald*, 12 December 1910, quoted in Randall and Davis, *Puccini and the Girl*, 113.

[105] Wilson, *The Puccini Problem*, 155.

[106] Mallach, *The Autumn of Italian Opera: From Verismo to Modernism, 1890-1915*. See footnote #45 for full bibliographic details.

changing landscape of Italian Opera over a twenty-five year period. In the final pages, Mallach adds credence and substance to the present study's viewpoint of *Il Trittico* as the culmination of the genres of Italian Opera. Mallach writes:

> *Il Trittico* was Puccini's crowning achievement. Rather than break new dramatic ground, it represents the composer's summing-up of the major themes of Italian opera, a nostalgic look back at (or perhaps an unconscious farewell to) three cardinal genres: verismo in *Il Tabarro*, bourgeois sentimentality in *Suor Angelica*, and opera buffa[sic] in *Gianni Schicchi*.[107]

Mallach is the first and the only scholar who, albeit in passing, mentions this theory as a possible answer to the enigmatic meaning of *Il Trittico's raison d'être*. I disagree with Mallach's view that Puccini failed to sense the importance of his accomplishment. It is worth noting that Mallach adds that *Turandot* signifies "the end of the great age of Italian Opera."[108] However, such an assessment is of course entirely consistent with the evaluation of *Trittico* as a summary and crowning achievement and in its evaluation of *Turandot* as the end of the tradition. Mallach is not alone. For example, Ashbrook and Powers go one step further by describing the structure of *Turandot* as "a number opera in the vast tradition of Italian Romantic melodrama."[109] Indeed, there are perceived musical divisions or separations but, in my opinion, those divisions are not

[107] Ibid., 369.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Ashbrook and Powers, 13.

characteristic of a numbers opera in design especially when compared to the operas of the mid-nineteenth century.[110]

In 2010, Andrew Davis delivered a book that delves deeply into the musical technique that Puccini used in his last works. Davis's, "*Il Trttico,*""*Turandot," and Puccini's Late Style* successfully explains how Puccini merged his well-known Italian style with a more forward-looking European style.[111] Davis does not use analysis based on traditional harmonic relationships but combines a musico-dramatic and harmonic analysis of these works. Davis suggests that the locale of each opera is critical as Puccini composed in a more non-romantic or modernistic style to describe each locale (for example in the theme for the Seine in *Il Tabarro*). He resorts to a romantic Italianate musical style in passages that do not arise from a sense of setting (for example the love affair of Giorgetta and Luigi also in *Il Tabarro*).[112]

Finally, Nicholas Baragwanath's excellent study *The Italian Traditions & Puccini Composition Theory & Practice in Nineteenth-Century Opera* deserves mention.[113] Baragwanath supplies some biographical information but, primarily provides insight into the musical theories and teachings at various Italian Conservatories from the time of

---

[110] These separations could be considered the end of the Choral section in Act 1, or following Liu's aria "Signore Ascolta," or at the end of the reverie section for the three masques in Act 2.

[111] Andrew Davis, "*Il Trittico", "Turandot" and Puccini's Late Style* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).

[112] Ibid., 72.

[113] Nicholas Baragwanath, *The Italian Traditions & Puccini Composition Theory & Practice in Nineteenth-Century Opera* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011).

Rossini thru to Puccini's formative years in Milan. This study also sheds a great deal of light on the changing landscape of music as in Italy as will be discussed in the next Chapter.

OTHER SOURCES

It would be remiss of this author not to mention just a few of the critical individually published journalistic studies that shed much needed and additional light on various subjects. Theses relevant studies include;

- Mosco Carner, "The Exotic Element in Puccini," trans. G. R., *The Musical Quarterly* 22, no.1 (Jan., 1936); 45-67, accessed 6 February 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/739015.

Carner's article written many years before his respected book, would be placed among the "BC" Carner period, discusses Puccini's use of exotic elements in his music, paying particular attention to *Madama Butterfly*, *La Fanciulla del West* and *Turandot*. Late romantic exoticism does not only embraces the music of the Far East, but also music of the African-American spiritual and Native American Indian melodies of the American West. In 1936, the American West was still conceptualized by Europeans as a foreign territory and, therefore, "exotic." Carner divides his discussion into the areas of melody, harmony and rhythm and instrumentation using numerous examples.

- Suzanne Scherr, "National and International Influences on the Formation of Puccini;s Early Compositional Style" *Revista de Musicología*, 16 no. 6; Del XV Congreso de la Sociedad International de Musicología: Culturas Musicales Del Mediterráneo y sus Ramificaciones: vol. 6 (1993): 3206-3215; accessed 13 February 2015. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20796927.

In the "AC" period, the majority of this study, focusing on Puccini's late style, Scherr's essay about Puccini's early style proved insightful. To reduce her article to the essential

component's, she dissected his early style into influences of Italian Grand Opera (Ponchielli), Verdi (breaking away from Italian Operatic set forms), French Opéra Comique (Massenet and Bizet), Wagner (leitmotiv,[114] and orchestral color), and finally the Giovane Scuola Italiana (Boito and Catalani).

- Helen M. Greenwald, "Recent Puccini Research," *Acta Musicolgica* 65, no. 1 (Jan-Jun., 1993): 23-50; accessed 3-4-2015, http://www/jstor.org/stable/932644.

- ————————, "Puccini, '*Il Tabarro'* and the Dilemma of Operatic Transposition," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 51, no. 3 (Autumn, 1998): 521-558; accessed 6 February 2015, http:/www.jstor.org/stable/832038.

- ————————, "Verdi's Patriarch and Puccini's Matriarch: 'Through the Looking-Glass and What Puccini Found There'," *19th-Century Music* 17, no.3 (Spring, 1994): 220-236; accessed 13 March 2015, http://www/jstor,org/stable/746567.

All these articles from the "AC" period are written by Helen Greenwald. From a 1993 perspective, Greenwald's "Recent Puccini Research" identifies the relevant Puccini scholarly work up to that time. Her study, although now outdated, is a list of Puccini scholarly research from various sources. Greenwald is also the author of quite a few articles on Puccini including the musical analysis of *Il Tabarro* mentioned above. In her thoughtful analysis, she discusses the compositional technique Puccini used in relation to his many revisions that he made to his score, including the ones he did after the premiere. Puccini was so well known for consistently changing sections of his operas that Greenwald points out that Riccordi actually inserted a clause in his contract for *Il Tabarro* that there could be no revisions to his completed work. For Puccini, the work was never completed. In *Il Tabarro,* Greenwald points out how Puccini would change

[114] Sherr has identified over 60 motives with dramatic importance in Act 1 of *Manon Lescaut*.

key centers up a half-tone, enharmonic comparisons of C-sharp to D-flat or even his use of silence at the beginning and end of the piece. She even goes so far as to diagram the opera harmonically to prove her point that the piece begins in C major and ends in C minor. Finally, Greenwald penned a comparative study of the dominant male and female authority figures of the Grand Inquisitor from Verdi's *Don Carlo* and the Principessa from *Suor Angelica*. Puccini, unlike Verdi, never outwardly relied on politically driven dramatic undertones in his operas. What is more critical is how infrequently Puccini used the mezzo-soprano voice in any role of importance, whereas Verdi's mezzos are paramount to the scheme of the operas they appear, maybe even more so than his sopranos.[115]

- D.C. Parker, "A View of Giacomo Puccini," *The Musical Quarterly* 3, no.4 (Oct., 1917): 509-516; accessed 9 March 2015, http:www.jstor.org/stable/737985.

In this early study, the author consulted essays across a broad period. This article is from 1917, a year before *Il Trittico*, which would substantiate the feelings that scholars had for Puccini at that time. Parker finds structural fault in *La Bohème* rather than musical, as he sees Puccini as a symphonist who writes for voices. He found "Che gelida manina" flowing with a tender charm, yet he disliked *La Fanciulla del West,* believing Puccini exploited modernism.

- Philip Gossett, "The 'Candeur Virginale' of 'Tancredi,'" *The Musical Times* 112, no. 1538 (Apr. 1971): 326-329; accessed 26 February 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/955893.

[115] In Verdi, powerful Mezzo-soprano roles would include, Azucena, Amneris, Princess Eboli, and Maddalena. Puccini's Mezzo-soprano roles are limited. They include the Madrigal Singer, Wowkle, La Frugola, the Princepessa and Zita.

Philip Gossett, the premiere *primo ottocento* scholar of opera, traces the musical and composition changes to the opera *Tancredi,* which was Rossini's first success in Venice in 1813. Gossett instructs the reader the stylistic techniques that Rossini would master through out his career and which would become the " Code Rossini" that would dominate Italian opera for years.

- Alexandra Wilson, "Torrefranca vs. Puccini: Embodying a Decadent Italy." *Cambridge Opera Journal* 13, no.1 (Mar., 2011): 29-53; accessed 7 February 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3593374.

This essay, from the "PR" period, predates Wilson's book *The Puccini Problem,* yet this essay is the prototype for her fine chapter on Puccini and Torrefranca. Wilson outlines her case by dividing up her essay into the relevant topics that Torrefranca leveled against Puccini in his monograph, paying particular attention to the charges of effeminacy, sickness, and religion.

To conclude this chapter, I must give particular attention to the numerous critical reviews of performances of *Il Trittico* from all over the world examined in regards to this study. The critics who have made significant contributions include Richard Aldrich, W. J. Henderson, Reginald De Koven, H.E. Krehbiel, Olin Downes, Harold Schonberg and Anthony Tommasini. James Gibbon Huneker, a critic of the *New York Times,* receives particular attention, for translating his criticism, and bias of the world premiere performance into extraordinarily flowery and always colorful prose.[116]

[116] Huneker (1897-1921) was critic of music and drama for the *New York Times*. Joseph Horowitz in his book *Wagner Nights,* labeled Huneker a harbinger of modernism and yet Huneker did not accept the modernistic aspects of Puccini's Il *Trittico*. Joseph Horowitz, *Wagner Nights: An American History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 4.

These primary sources remain invaluable since they document the first reaction to *Il Trittic*o and reflect the contemporary commentary of the time. The critical reviews which spanned almost one hundred years fall into the same tripartite divisions as that of the written research. The very early reviews, reporting on the premieres in various locations in the early 1900s, were met with the same general rumblings about modernism for *Il Tabarro* and *Suor Angelica* while *Gianni Schicchi* received the most glowing notices. Most of the early critics were all in agreement with that viewpoint; yet, as the years passed, the negativity lessened and finally abated. Now contemporary critics greet *Il Trittico,* in its original cohesive form, as a major work of Giacomo Puccini.

CHAPTER 3

ITALY'S CHANGING MUSICAL LANDSCAPE

Gioacchino Rossini (1792 -1868), Vincenzo Bellini (1801-1835), Gaetano Donizetti (1797-1848), and Giuseppe Verdi (1813-1901) were the pillars of Italian operatic tradition during the nineteenth century. Rossini reigned supremely as the genius of comic *opera buffa* style. Bellini and Donizetti musically portrayed the extremes of pathos and Verdi unified individualized musical numbers into a cohesive form and further developed sentimentality in opera. Each of them changed the landscape of Italian opera. Giacomo Puccini is recognized and acknowledged as their heir and the last great master of this grand tradition of pathos, sentimentality and comedy, which in my view is brought to its zenith and logical end in *Il Trittico*.[117] All these composers excelled in a genre that was fundamental to the cultural identity of Italy. Opera in Italy stood out as the most significant form of musical expression until the mid-1800s. More importantly, Italian Opera was also viewed as a valuable export since it also influenced many non-Italian composers. In the eighteenth century, Handel, Gluck, Haydn, and Mozart all became successful in the Italian operatic style while integrating techniques of French orchestral style, plus some of the German contrapuntal technique.

In his 1914 essay looking back on musical life in the city of Turin, the writer Giuseppe Depanis asserted that Italians neglected nearly all forms of music that were not

[117] Baragwanath, 1.

operatic.[118] Before the *primo ottocento*, opera was only one aspect of an Italian composer's output. For example, Domenico Cimarosa (1749-1801) excelled in both operatic and instrumental music.[119] In the early 1800s, opera became the primary focus of Italian composers as well as their most viable means of financial income.[120] The composition of non-operatic music was generally confined to conservatory exercises. Opera was the singular entertainment so highly valued during the early to mid-nineteenth century that in Italy, it displaced all other musical genres. The symphonies of Austro-German composers, such as Mozart and Beethoven, were rarely played.[121] A majority of Italians had no opportunity to hear concert performances of instrumental music by non-Italian composers.

Not until 1859 did the city of Livorno assemble a string quartet to perform chamber music written by composers from Haydn to Mendelssohn. Despite such youthful works as Bellini's six *Sinfonie* and his Oboe Concerto in E-flat, Donizetti's teen-age *sinfonie*, and Rossini's short list of instrumental works (only ten of which date from his active years in the theater), Italian composers of the early *ottocento* had much less

---

[118] Giuseppe Depanis, *I concerti popolari e il Teatro Regio di Torino* (Turin, 1914), quoted in *The Puccini Companion*, ed. William Weaver and Simionetta Puccini (New York: W.W. Norton, 1994), 41.

[119] Jennifer E. Johnson and Gordana Lazarevich, "Cimarosa, Domenico," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed 19 February 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05785.

[120] Julian Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, vol. 1: *From "Oberto" to " Rigoletto"* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), 6.

[121] John Rosselli, "Italy: The Decline of a Tradition," in *The Late Romantic Era: From the mid-19th century to World War I*, ed. Jim Samson (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1991), 130-131.

interest in the instrumental genres, orchestral music, and chamber music, than they had in opera, and Italian composers confined their efforts at symphonic structure to opera preludes and overtures.[122] Sonatina—a sonata form without a development—is Rossini's archetypical overture form, and it appears in works by Donizetti and Bellini as well.[123] Perhaps the most picturesque, or programmatic, of Rossini's overtures is the overture to *Guillaume Tell* from 1829. Hector Berlioz–who generally did not appreciate Rossini's music—seems almost to suggest the Overture to *Guillaume Tell* is a potential source for an Italian symphonic style. He characterizes it admiringly as a "symphony in four distinct parts, instead of a piece in two tempos of the sort with which one must ordinarily content oneself."[124] Then after praising the imagination, the poetry, and the power of each of the four sections, he concludes that the overture is a "work of immense talent which looks very much like genius."[125]

Rossini's influence on the *primo ottocento* operatic form was first appreciated at the premiere of his opera seria, *Tancredi,* in Venice 1813. Rossini employed and began to cultivate new conventions beginning with his earliest nine operas including, *Ciro in*

---

[122] Rossini, Donizetti and Verdi all composed various chamber works but these were never as popular as their operatic works.

[123] Philip Gossett, "The Overtures of Rossini," *19th-Century Music* 3, no. 1 (July, 1979): 3-31; accessed 22 January 2015, http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/stable/3519819

[124] Hector Berlioz, "Rossini, *Guillaume Tell*, Ouverture," *Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 41 (12 Oct. 1834): 326-327, on line at: *Site Hector Berlioz: Berlioz rend compte du Guillaume Tell de Rossini,* accessed 22 January 2015, http://www.hberlioz.com/others/LLascoux.htm.

[125] Ibid.

Babilonia (1812) and *L'occasione fa il ladro* (1812).[126] In *Tancredi*, Rossini presented innovations in the construction of arias, duets, ensembles and act-finales which, as Gossett points out were based on techniques that had been used previously in *opera seria* up to the late 1700s.[127] The formulae were so successful that imitation was inevitable by contemporary Italian composers including Bellini, Donizetti, and subsequently by Verdi. This convention was characterized as "the Code Rossini" by English Musicologist Julian Budden.[128] This form did not remain static as Rossini himself, and later Bellini, Donizetti, and Verdi expanded the simple *cantabile – cabaletta* scheme, illustrated by such works as Rosina's aria "*Una voce poco fa*" from a simple double-aria to encompass a complete scene with wide-ranging dramatic action.[129]

The final scene of *Lucia di Lammermoor* by Donizetti, which premiered in 1835, is a typical Rossini, cantabile-cabaletta form but is also expanded to comprise the entire scene. The character of Edgardo plans to commit suicide after concluding that his beloved Lucia has betrayed him by apparently having married someone else. The truth is that everything has been manipulated by her brother. The scene begins with a powerful *recitativo accompagnato* "*Tombe del avi mei*" which leads into the cantabile aria "*Fra poco a me recovero*" wherein Edgardo concludes that death is better than life without

---

[126] Phillip Gossett, "The 'Candeur Virginale' of '*Tancredi*,'" *The Musical Times* 112 (April, 1971): 326- 329; accessed 26 February 2015. http://www/jstor.org/stable/955893.

[127] Ibid.

[128] Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, vol. 1: *From "Oberto" to " Rigoletto,"* 12.

[129] Richard Taruskin, *Music in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 37.

Lucia, and he can only die among the graves of his ancestors. Following the *cantabile*, Donizetti writes the typical *Tempo di mezzo* in which the chaplain Bidebent and members of the chorus come to the cemetery and find Edgardo. They inform him that Lucia has committed murder, gone mad, and has died. In the *cabaletta*,"*Tu che a Dio spiegasti l'ali*," Edgardo transforms the motivation for his suicide from the thought of not being able to live without Lucia to an eternal life with Lucia in Paradise.[130] Donizetti, like Rossini before him, enlarged the two-part double aria into a four-part full scene or *scena*.

When Giuseppe Verdi began to actively compose for the stage, he inherited the products of the "Rossini Code" along with the elaborations attributed to Bellini and Donizetti. Verdi incorporated these styles in his operas, highlighting the Italianate lyricism that was a trademark of his predecessors. As Verdi matured, one significant development he initiated was unification in the musical form of opera. Verdi remarked that his predecessors lacked "that golden thread that binds all the parts together rather than a set of numbers without coherence" so, in time, he transformed the standard structure of the number opera. Now each segment combined together created a cohesive unit.[131]

The music of Verdi reflects an emotion that was very prevalent in the hearts of Italians during the mid-nineteenth century, namely the passion of patriotism. In most of his operas, especially his early works, one finds the recurrent theme of overcoming

---

[130] David Ewen, *Encyclopedia of the Opera* (New York: A. A. Wyn, Inc., 1955), 274.

[131] John Rosselli, *The Life of Verdi* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 95.

oppression. This theme figures prominently in such operas as *I Lombardi alla prima crociata* (1843), *Attila* (1846), and *Macbeth* (1847, revised 1865). His operas aided the pro-Risorgimento sentiments as well as increased his own popularity.

The movement of the Risorgimento drew inspiration from a sensation of rebirth in the perceived cultural superiority during various epochs of Italian history.[132] During this era of political unrest, which extended into the new century, the figure heads of Italian musical culture were exploited by exponents of various political agendas to express pleasure or displeasure. Both Verdi and Puccini would have their works politicized. Verdi's operas found themselves used in the arena of politics, especially paying particular consideration to lyrics that were politically charged and sung to music of an especially plaintive quality (only after 1860 did the infamously utilized "*Va Pensiero"* chorus from *Nabucco* in 1841 become an Italian "unofficial" national anthem).[133] The operatives would use the composer's notoriety to promote a partisanship with Italy's homegrown artistic communities. In 1849, when *Macbeth* premiered at La Scala, Verdi described his opera in terms of a *genere fantastico* by which meant that he introduced imaginary creatures and magic into the drama.[134] The poet-satirist-patriot Giuseppe Giusti (1809-1850) used Verdi's personal description to his political advantage to incite the public.

---

[132] Peter Stamatov, "Interpretive Activism and the Political uses of Verdi's Operas in the 1840s," *American Sociological Review* 67, no.3 (June, 2002): 348; accessed 26 February 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3088961.

[133] Rosselli, *The Life of Verdi*, 74.

[134] Piero Weiss, "Verdi and the Fusion of Genres," *Journal of the American Musiclogical Society*, 35, no. 1(1982): 142-143; accessed February 17, 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/831289.

Giusti wrote that Verdi's harmonies should go "hand in hand with (Italy's) lofty, solemn grief…I would wish all Italian intellects to contract a strong commitment to Italian art, resisting the seductive attraction of foreign associations." Verdi's response: "I will certainly follow your suggestions…if only we had a poet who could provide us with the sort of drama you have in mind."[135] Verdi could not imagine that many years later, the successor to his title of Italy's greatest composer would encounter similar sentiments about foreign influences, and nationalism, leveled against him albeit on a much grander and potentially detrimental scale.

By 1859, Wagner's musical styles were also making an impression in Italy, even though, at this point, not a note of his music had been heard there.[136] No single Italian composer can take the credit for being the catalyst introducing Wagner's music to Italy. The advent of his music could be traced to Angelo Mariani (1822-1873) considered the first major Italian conductor, who built an orchestra in Bologna to play various types of nineteenth-century symphonic repertory.[137] Other conductors followed such as Arturo Toscanini (1867-1957) and Giuseppe Martucci (1856-1909). The latter was instrumental in championing Wagner's work in Naples where he conducted the first presentation of *Tristan und Isolde* in 1888.[138] Concerts of purely orchestral works began to appear in

---

[135] Ibid.

[136] Julian Budden, "The Musical World of the Young Puccini," in *The Puccini Companion Essays on Puccini's Life and Music*, ed. William Weaver and Simonetta Puccini (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994), 45.

[137] John Rosselli, "Italy: The Decline of a Tradition" in *The Late Romantic Era*, ed. Jim Samson (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1991), 131.

[138] Ibid.

1872 with the formation of a concert orchestra in Turin.[139] For the initial programs, portions of Beethoven's symphonies together with works of Mozart and Haydn were introduced. One program contained Wagner's prelude to *Lohengrin* performed "as a calculated risk."[140] Only a year earlier, in the fall of 1871, Maestro Mariani had conducted the Italian premiere of the complete opera *Lohengrin* at the Teatro Communale in Bologna marking the first presentation of an entire Wagnerian opera on Italian soil.[141] Many in the audience, who attended with the conviction that they were going to hate every note, instead found the work musically interesting. Others would not budge from their preconceived ideas.[142] These performances, coming so many years after the premieres in Germany were an important object lesson to a public who still believed that Italian opera dominated the stage.

After about 1850, operas by French composers, such as Bizet, Meyerbeer, Thomas, Gounod, and Massenet successfully made their way, in translation, to the stages of Italian Opera houses. In the 1860s, Giuseppe Verdi transformed himself into one of the principal cultural Italian exports as his *La Forza del Destino,* and *Don Carlos* were written and premiered in St. Petersburg and Paris, respectively.[143] At the same time a group of musicians based in Milan, called the "Avveniristi" or "Futurists," sought to create a more innovative type of Italian Opera through the adoption of these foreign

---

[139] Budden, *The Puccini Companion*, 41.

[140] Depanis, 41.

[141] Budden, *The Puccini Companion*, 45.

[142] Ibid.

[143] Ibid., 43.

influences, with particular attention to the traits of German Romanticism.[144] One of the earliest examples of this movement was the opera *Mefistofele* of Arrigo Boito, who was a member of this group.[145] Boito incorporated an advanced use of chromaticism and interval cycles found in Liszt and Wagner.[146] When *Mefistofele* received its premiere at La Scala on 5 March 1868, it created controversy mostly for Boito's overtly Wagnerian techniques and generated mostly negative criticism.[147] Boito revised it, and a second unveiling in Bologna in 1875 was successful.[148] Boito transformed the character of Faust from a baritone to a tenor, added more lyrical music including the now famous duet "Lontano Lontano" and lastly, cut the work to a length more customary for Italian audiences of the period.[149]

As was stated earlier, during the years of the young Puccini's studies at the Milan Conservatory (1880 – 1883),[150] foreign composers enjoyed a degree of authority on the Italian lyric stage that had previously been unknown to them.[151] Puccini's contemporaries, Catalani and Mascagni would become disciples of Wagnerian technique.

---

[144] Baragwanath, 36.

[145] Ibid.

[146] Baragwanath, 37.

[147] Mallach, 18.

[148] Mary Jane Phillips-Matz, *Puccini: A Biography* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000), 33.

[149] Mallach, 18.

[150] Phillips-Matz, 21.

[151] Wilson, *The Puccini Problem*, 18.

Catalani has written that Wagner's music "speaks the most directly," [152] and Mascagni had written to a friend that Wagner was "the Pope of all composers, present and future."[153]

Puccini and Pietro Mascagni, his friend and fellow student, took it upon themselves to gather the money, buy, and study vocal scores of various works from Boito's *Mefistofele* to Wagner's *Parsifal*.[154] There could be little doubt that Puccini would incorporate foreign, especially Wagnerian, compositional styles into his works. Puccini would find himself in attendance at various theaters for performances of many French works such as *Carmen*, *Mignon*, *Faust*, *Les Huguenots*, *La Juive*, and *Hérodiade*. He also heard performances of the Italian masters such as *Ernani, La Sonnambula* and *Guillaume Tell*. He would also attend the world premiere of an opera entitled *Dejanice* by Catalani in March of 1883.[155]

Puccini involved himself with the "Avveniristi" led by Boito. This group was also called the "Scapigliatura" (disheveled ones). One of the main membership criteria was to subscribe immediately to their musical guidelines and choose the Germanic style of Wagner's music over that of venerated countryman, Giuseppe Verdi.[156] The members appreciated the later Verdi operas of *Aida* and *Otello* since, by that time; Verdi, used in

---

[152] Budden, 22.

[153] Mallach, 26.

[154] Girardi. *Puccini: His International Art* , 6.

[155] Ibid., 7.

[156] John Louis DiGaetani*, Puccini the Thinker: The Composer's Intellectual and Dramatic Development*, 2nd ed. (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2001), 15.

these works what the members considered to be Wagnerian leitmotivs, and orchestrated with an eye to a more symphonic texture.[157]

Puccini's teachers at the conservatory included Amilcare Ponchielli (1834-1886), composer of *La Gioconda,* from whom he learned about writing for the theater. Amintore Galli (1845-1919), taught him the fundamentals of complex chordal harmonies and how to employ leitmotivs throughout a passage's texture, in the manner of Wagner.[158] These new and modern techniques had by then become a part of the curriculum in music theory.[159] Also, by attending performances of the French repertory, Puccini began exploring what would become a lifelong infatuation with France.[160] In his complete canon, five operas are either set in Paris or have a plot by a French author.[161]

At the Conservatory, Puccini excelled in the composition of chamber and orchestral works rather than opera. It was with these purely orchestral forms that he composed pieces to complete his yearly conservatory examinations. The *Preludio Sinfonico,* from 1882, was performed at a student's concert on 15 July 1882. The most important Milanese music critic of the time, Filippo Filippi (1830-1887), commented that the composition reminded him of a section of Wagner's *Lohengrin,* which at the time,

---

[157] Ibid.

[158] Girardi, 7.

[159] Baragwanath, 36.

[160] Girardi, 8.

[161] *Manon Lescaut, La Bohème, La Rondine,* and *Il Tabarro* are set in and around Paris. *Tosca* is based on a play by the French author Victorian Sardou and *Il Tabarro* by the French playwright Didier Gold.

was still Italy's favorite work by Wagner.[162] The comparison of Puccini's work with Wagner's was, of course, not far from the truth. One day during this time of his life, Puccini jotted down a *faux* epitaph: "He was handsome and extremely clever and in the field of Italian art possessed a power which echoed that of Wagner from beyond the Alps."[163]

The *Capriccio Sinfonico* of 1883 was the composition that Puccini wrote as his final exam for the Conservatory.[164] This piece is notable for a lush, full orchestration, that utilizes a large orchestra, including double woodwinds, four hours, three trombones, ophicleide, timpani, cymbals and a full string section (see Figure 5).[165]

[162] Julian Budden, *Puccini His Life and Works*, 29.

[163] Ibid.

[164] Budden, *The Puccini Companion*, 57.

[165] Giacomo Puccini, *Capriccio Sinfonico*, Carus Verlag; accessed 20 January 2015, http://www.carusverlag.com/index.php3?BLink=Puccini_instrumental&selSprache=1. Reproduced with the permission of Carus-Verlag.

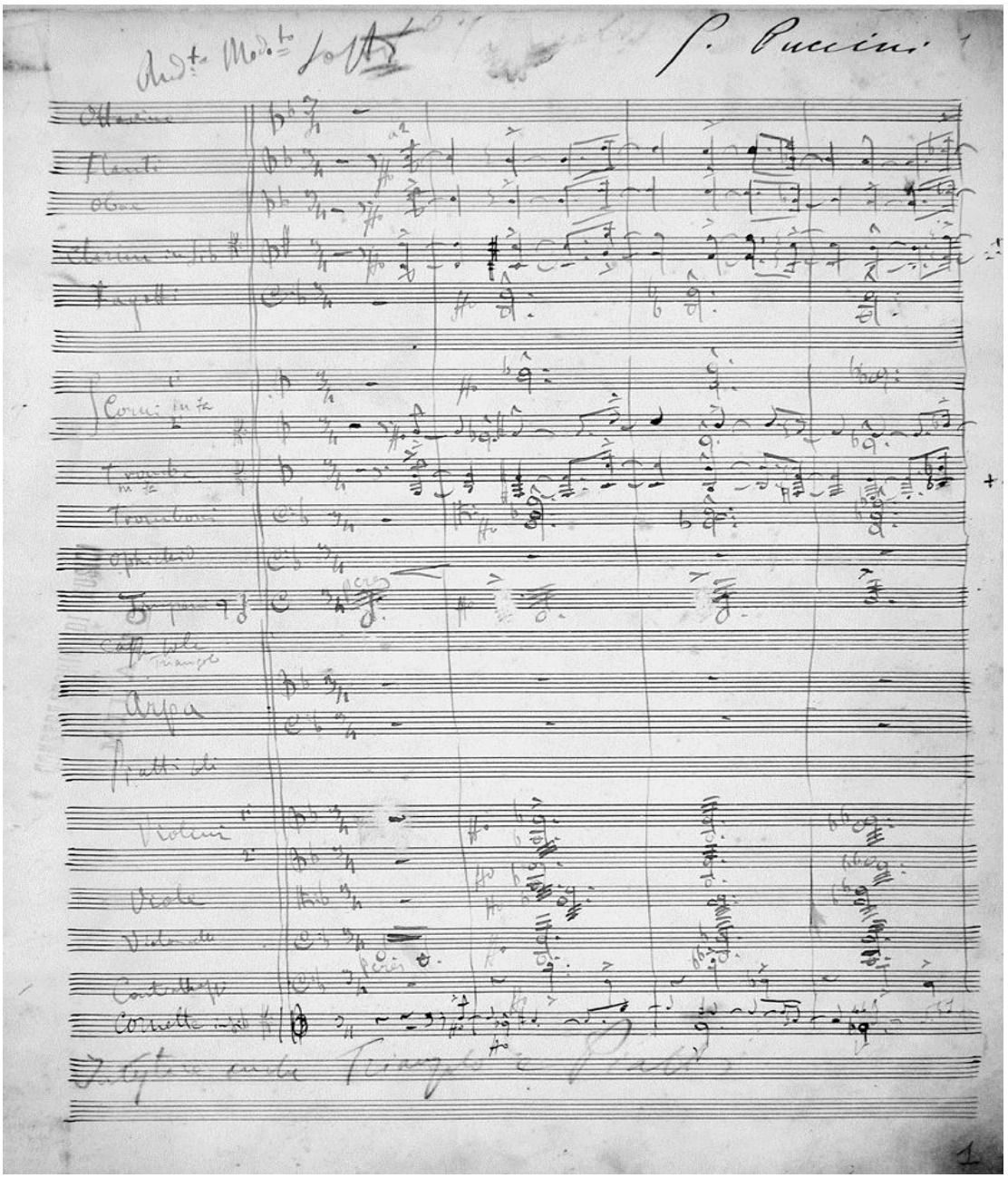


Figure 5: Puccini, First Page, Original Score of *Capriccio Sinfonico*.

The second and most notable segment of this piece is the middle section that, nineteen years later, Puccini would recycle as the opening motivic theme of *La Bohème* (see Figures 6 and 7).[166]

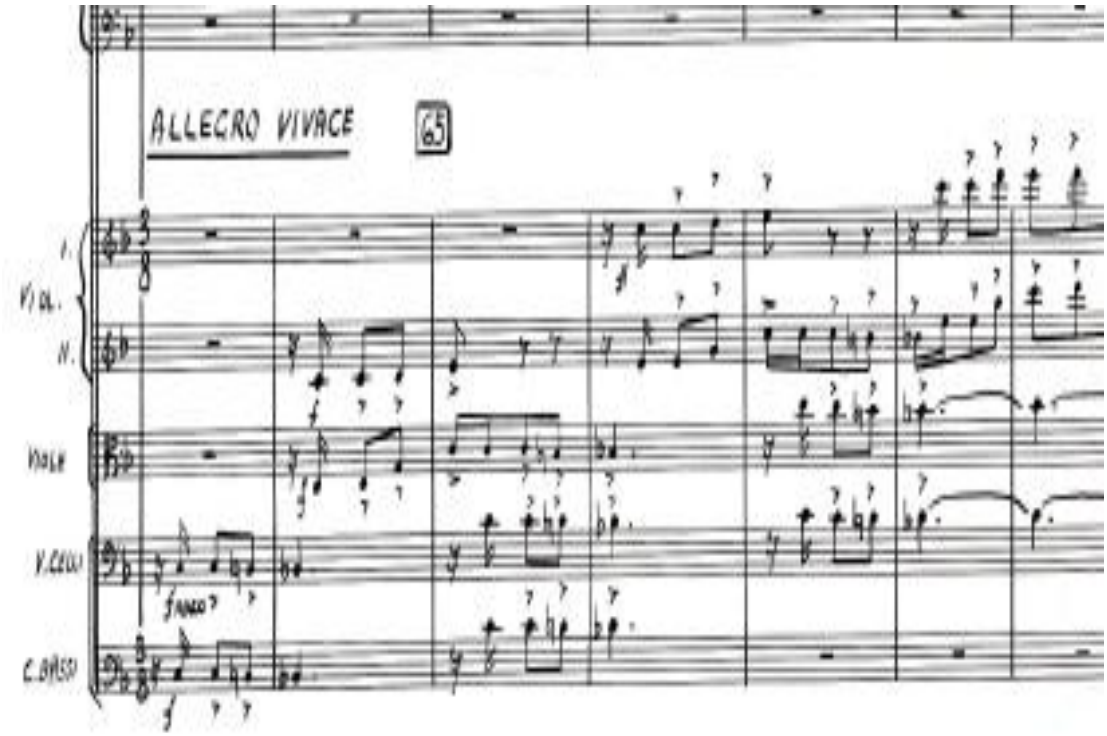


Figure 6: Puccini, Motive for Opening theme *La Bohème, Capriccio Sinfonico*.

[166] Giacomo Puccini, *Capriccio Sinfonico*, rev. and ed. Pietro Spada (Bryn Mawr, PA: Elkan-Vogel, Inc., 1978), 16.

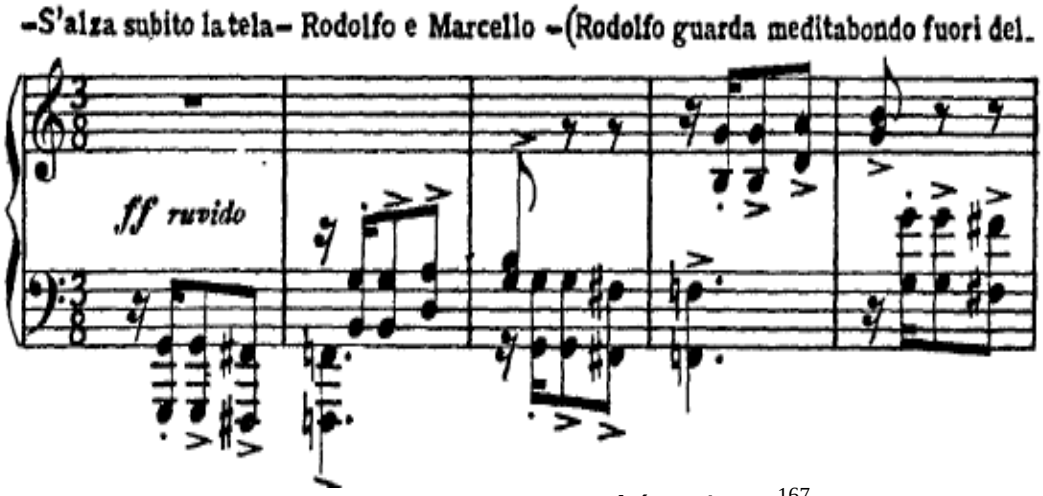


Figure 7: Puccini, *La Bohéme*, Act 1.[167]

[167] Giacomo Puccini, *La Bohème*, Act 1 (Ricordi: Milan, 1897); on line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 12 February 2015, http://petrucci.mus.auth.gr/imglnks/usimg/0/00/IMSLP43676-PMLP50378-Puccini-BohemeFSric.pdf.

For this work, Filippi praised the young composer. "In Puccini we have a decisive and rare musical temperament and one that is especially symphonic."[168] Filippi's verdict would turn out to be prophetic yet only half-true: Puccini's mature work combines memorable lyric melodies with textures that at times are fully symphonic. One thinks, for example, of the numerous places in *Tosca* where the block chord Scarpia motive generates the accompaniment. Such techniques would be Puccini's trademark throughout his life (see Figure 8).[169]

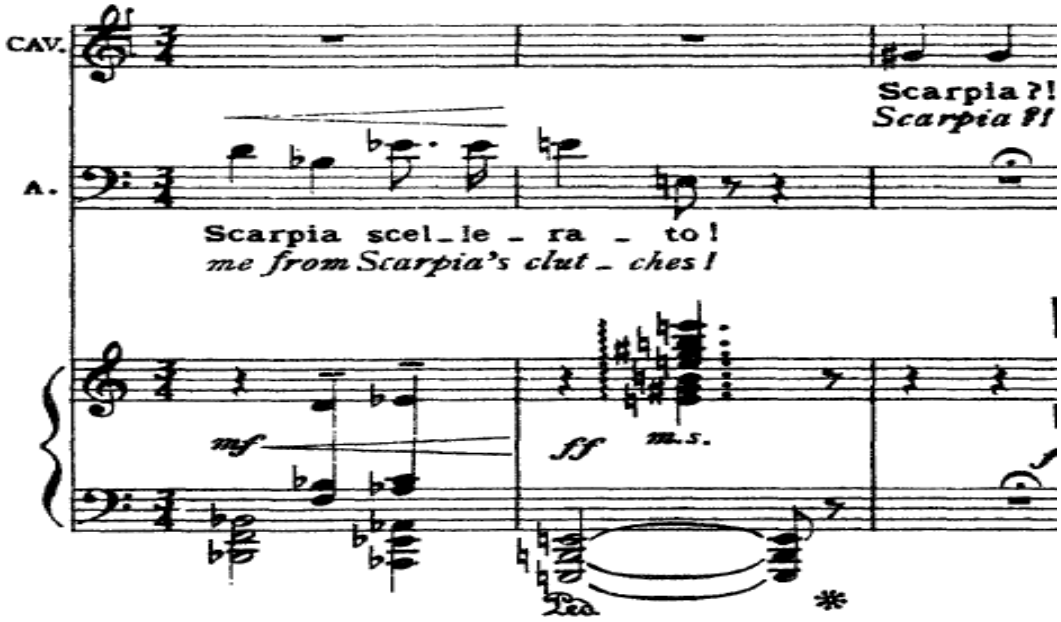


Figure 8: Puccini, *Tosca*, The Scarpia Motive Act 1.

[168] Ibid.

[169] Giacomo Puccini *Tosca*, Act 1 (Milan: Ricordi, 1905); on line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 13 February 2015, http://petrucci.mus.auth.gr/imglnks/usimg/f/fc/IMSLP21958-PMLP50401-Puccini_-_Tosca__vocal_score_.pdf.

This important background information briefly summarizes the changing landscape of Italian opera during the nineteenth century. There can be little discussion regarding the elevated state of the art form in the first half of the century. The works of Rossini, Donizetti, and Bellini, were enjoyed at home as products of the Italian tradition and used as cultural exports to other regions of Europe chiefly Paris, St. Petersburg, and London.

As the Risorgimento was reaching its goal, there was a shift in the musical "economics" of Italy.[170] Giuseppe Verdi, the most celebrated and successful Italian opera composer of the time, became linked with Italian unity late in the 1850s. The slogan "*Viva VERDI,*" ostensibly an endorsement of the composer, became a rallying cry for the political unification of Italy under the leadership of the King of Sardinia, for as patriots had noticed Verdi's name was identical to the acronym **V**ittorio **E**mmanuele **R**ei **d**'**I**talia. The cry *Viva VERDI* became the political cry "Long live Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy." At about the same time, the end of 1858, Verdi had decided to compose works solely commissioned by foreign theaters.[171] These include *I Vespri Siciliani* (1855), in the style of a Meyerbeer grand opera and a revised *Macbeth* (1865) for the Paris Opera, along with *Don Carlos,* also in the Meyerbeer grand opera tradition, in 1867. Both *I Vespri* and *Don Carlo*s were composed to French libretti by Eugène Scribe. The Italian opera in St. Petersburg, commissioned an opera from Verdi, and in 1862 *La Forza del*

[170] The term "economics" is used to describe the musical products that were exported from Italy in comparison to the foreign product now being imported

[171] Giuseppe Cencetti, "Maestro Verdi and the Impresario Jocovacci (1859)," in *Encounters with Verdi*, ed. Marcello Conati, trans. Richard Stokes (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), 37-39.

Destino, in its first version, was premiered there. Another opera in French Grand Opera style, *Aida,* was commissioned from Cairo, Egypt. Verdi himself thought that *Aida* would be the capstone of a long and distinguished career.[172] It was not to be, but with *Aida,* Verdi decidedly became more meticulous in his orchestration. In his last two operas, *Otello* and *Falstaff,* Verdi's compositional style certainly took on a more symphonic quality with the compositional use of reminiscence music as in the kiss motive in *Otello* (see Figure 9).[173]

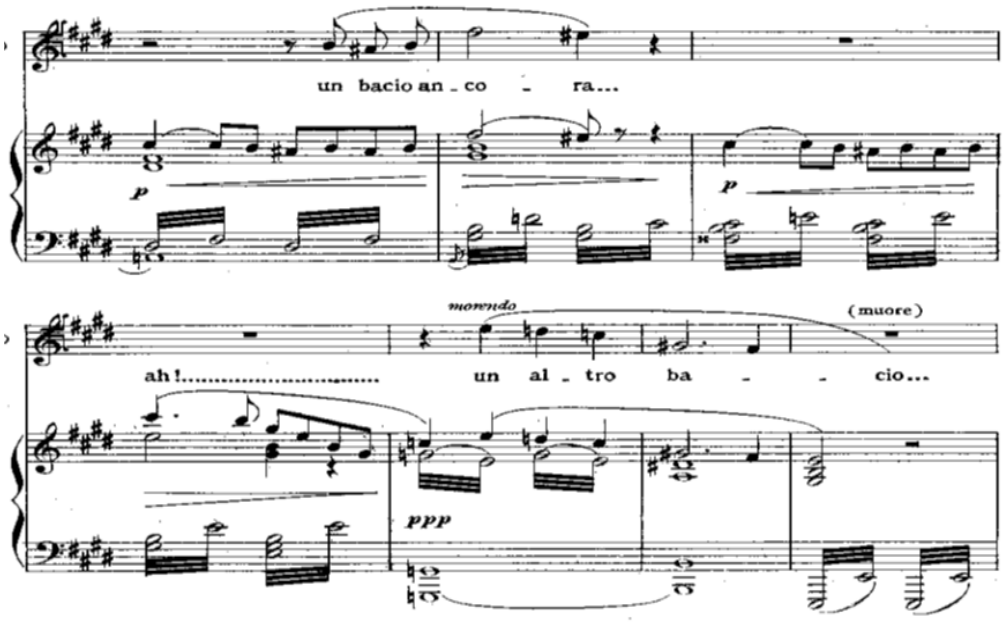


Figure 9: Verdi, *Otello,* Act IV Kiss Motive.

[172] Francis Toye, *Italian Opera* (London: Max Parrish & Co. Limited, 1952), 58-59.

[173] Giuseppe Verdi *Otello* (Milan: Ricordi, 1886); on line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 27 February 2015, http://javanese.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/3/31/IMSLP24575-PMLP55439-Verdi_-_Otello__prima_ed.__bw.pdf.

In the 1860s Paris--not Milan, Rome, Naples or Venice--was considered the center of the world of opera and Verdi was the chief Italian export. French opera had made an impact on Italian music and drama. The 1830s through the 1860s had seen the powerful presence in Italy of Meyerbeer's grand opera, yet various others enchanted the Italian audience with a sense of exotic flavor. Delibes's *Lakmé* (1883), set in British-ruled India, was heard in Italian in Rome in 1884[174] and Massenet's *Le Roi de Lahore* (1877), set in Pakistan, was presented in Turin, Bologna, and Venice throughout 1878 before arriving in Rome where it was first performed on 21 March 1879.[175] This opera so impressed Giulio Ricordi head of the powerful publishing firm, Casa Ricordi, that he decided to publish the operas of Massenet and commissioned another opera from the Frenchman.[176] That opera would be *Héroidiade*, which also would have a biblically exotic setting. Finally, Georges Bizet's *Carmen* was extremely popular and played a part in creation of the sub-genre of operatic realism or *versimo*.[177]

Richard Wagner with his use of orchestral colors and leitmotifs was as much a stimulus to Italian composers of the 1870s and 1880s as was Giuseppe Verdi. Many young composers of the second half of the century had already fallen under Wagner's spell, including Boito, Catalani, Mascagni, and Antonio Bazzini, who was both Puccini's

---

[174] Alfred Lowenberg, *Annals of Opera 1597-1944: Compiled from the Original Sources* (Totowa, NJ: Roman & Littlefield, 1978), col. 1104.

[175] Jules Emile Frederic Massenet, *My Recollections*, trans. H. Villiers Barnett. (Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1919), 103-105.

[176] Richard Macnutt, "Ricordi," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed 22 March 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23413.

[177] Kimbell, 579.

instructor for the first two years at the Milan Conservatory and a close friend of Wagner's disciple, the conductor Hans Von Bülow. These young Italian composers were utilizing Wagner's compositional techniques in their works.[178] Unfortunately, composers who utilized these practices paid a price in relation to critical success. Was less than enthusiastic acceptance the price of being "international"? The question of "International-ness" is one that Alexandra Wilson clearly poses as an enigma. The enigma, not to over simplify the theory, hinges on the importance of context in understanding how music is perceived. During the Risorgimento, Italy as a nation is fusing and merging into one, but there are varied cultural divides that are still striving for their ideas to be incorporated as part of a new cultural identity.[179] This, of course, had to be done without Italy's artistic gifts being overwhelmed and thrust aside by foreign influences. Puccini's national identity will be questioned by his critics and his "Italianness – versus his 'international-ness' is a matter fraught with debate."[180]

A primary example of this dilemma would be the 1900 opera *Tosca*. A *New York Times* foreign correspondent noted at the World premiere in Rome, "The Wagneresque importance given to the orchestral part is noticeable in the new work which, all in all, is indeed an event of the greatest importance to the musical world."[181] Even though there is a heavy reliance on the Wagnerian leitmotiv technique, it evidently did not seem to

---

[178] Budden, *Puccini: His Life and Works*, 22.

[179] Wilson, *The Puccini Problem*, 2.

[180] Ibid.

[181] "*La Tosca* Sung in Rome," *New York Times*, 15 January 1900. Pro quest # 95951700.

bother this particular critic. By contrast, when *La Fanciulla del West* premiered in 1910, music critics were beside themselves when Puccini combined this Wagnerian technique with another much different foreign influence. What happened during that ten-year span to cause the critics to be so cynical about this new work?

Throughout his career Puccini composed Italianate soaring melodies, which were typical of his predecessors, but with a more intellectually stimulating orchestral accompaniment. For example, examine the comparison below among an aria from Bellini's *Norma* ("Teneri figli"), Verdi's *Aida* ("O patria mia"), and Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* ("Un bel di"). Each feature the soaring Italianate vocal line, but the orchestration shows the stylistic changes that developed over the years. In Bellini's *Norma* of 1831 (see Figure 10),[182] we find the standard *primo ottocento* accompaniment of rhythmic eighth notes sustaining a simple underpinning for the voice. The example from Verdi's *Aida*, from 1871 (see Figure 11),[183] indicates that Verdi's symphonic scoring featured more meticulous attention to orchestral colors. We find only two strings to a part and two flutes written in thirds and the third flute trilling underneath to give the music a shimmering characteristic and an open, airy, romantic quality. In addition the entire section is marked *ppp* to accompany the singer. Finally Puccini's *Madama*

---

[182] Vincenzo Bellini, *Norma*, Act II scene I (London: Boosey & Co., 1875; reprt. Miami: Belwin Mills, n.d.); on line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 27 February 2015, http://conquest.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/a/a2/IMSLP06233-Bellini_Norma_Vocal_Score.pdf.

[183] Giuseppe Verdi, *Aida*, Act III (New York: Schirmer, 1897), on line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 27 February 2015, http://petrucci.mus.auth.gr/imglnks/usimg/9/94/IMSLP30368-PMLP17351-AidaVSie.pdf.

Butterfly of 1904 (see Figure 12),[184] like Verdi, is symphonic in its scoring, featuring Puccini's trademark divisi strings and with winds doubling the voice in evidence.

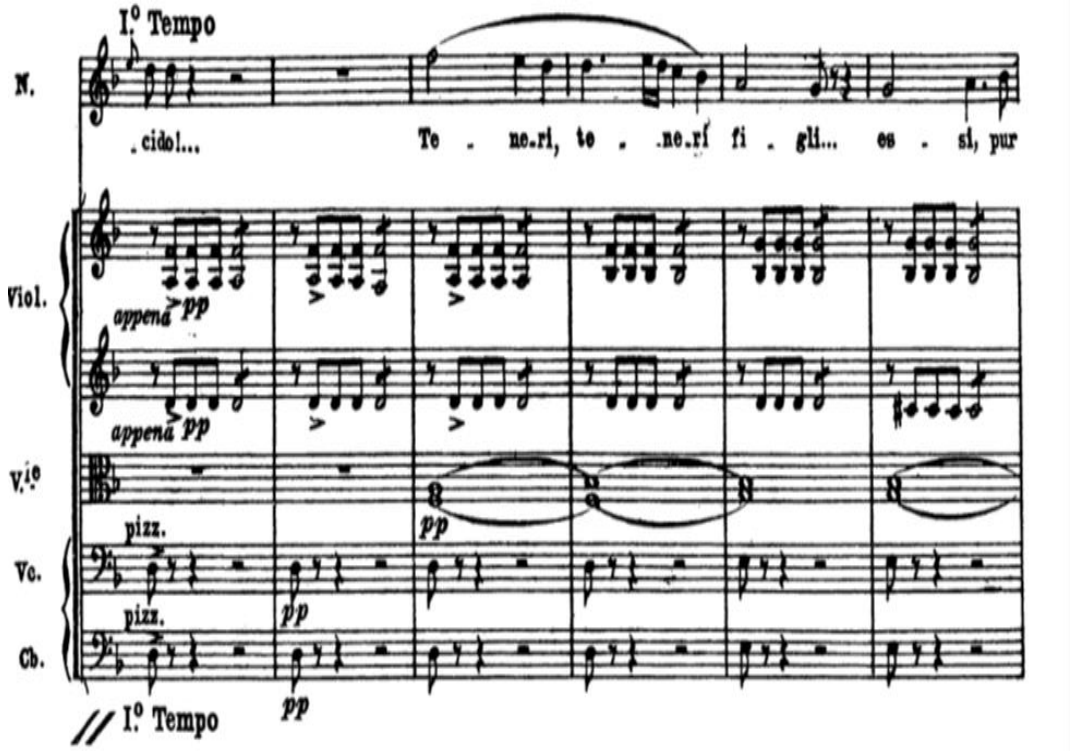


Figure 10: Bellini, Norma, Act II Scene I.

[184] Giacomo Puccini, *Madama Butterfly*, Act II (Milan: G. Ricordi & Co., 1907); on line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 27 February 2015, http://petrucci.mus.auth.gr/imglnks/usimg/6/64/IMSLP339319-SIBLEY1802.21913.73e9-M1503.P977_M1_1904pc_PM_1432_Pt3.pdf.

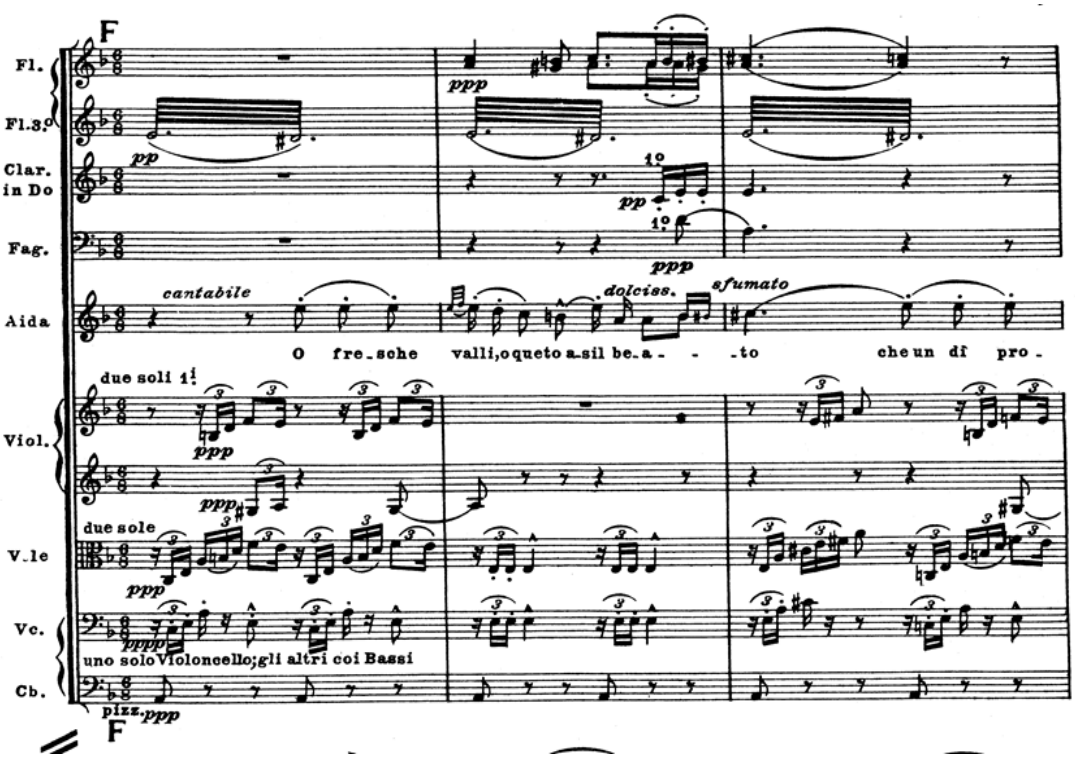


Figure 11: Verdi's *Aida* Act III.

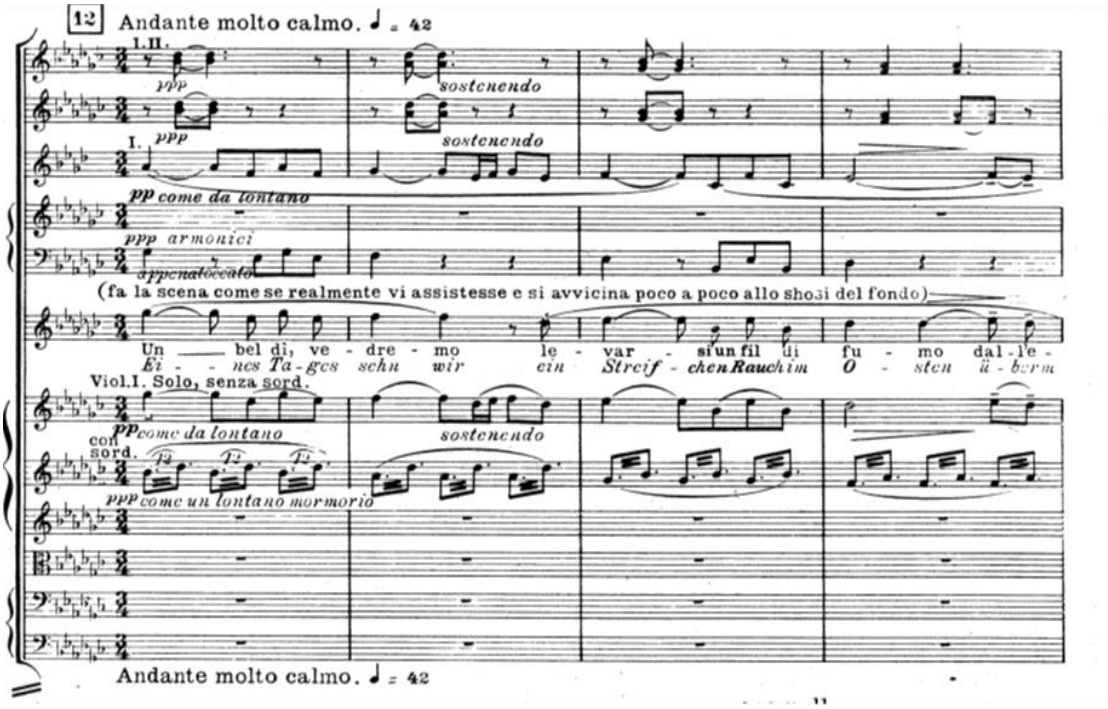


Figure 12: Puccini, *Madama Butterfly*, Act II.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, traditional Italian sound became further integrated with influences from a more contemporary group of foreign composers. These included the impressionistic orchestral tone painting of Claude Debussy (1862-1918), the abundant chromaticism of Richard Strauss (1864-1949), the octatonic resources of Igor Stravinsky (1882–1971) and the inevitable break from tonality by Arnold Schönberg (1874-1951). Representative scores of these foreign works found their way onto Puccini's piano. Father Dante del Fiorentino, in his memoir *Immortal Bohemian*, relates that the older Puccini studied the progress of what he called "modern music" while studying scores of other European composers especially Debussy.[185] As cultural isolationism became more of a practice of the past, even more non-Italian music infiltrated the concert halls in Italy.

On 10 December 1910, eight years before the premiere of *Il Trittico*, Puccini honored the Metropolitan Opera with the world premiere and first production of *La Fanciulla del West*. This new work received mixed reviews from the critics who voiced their displeasure at an apparent change in Puccini's harmonic style.[186] The critic of the *New York Herald* related that the music was "too modern in harmonic structure."[187] *Musical America* reported on 17 December 1910 "the whole opera is musically far inferior to *La Bohème*, *Tosca*, and *Madama Butterfly* and what the public wants is

[185] del Fiorentino, 145.

[186] Randall and Davis, 112.

[187] Ibid., 113

.

melody."[188] Richard Aldrich, the music critic for *The New York Times* during the early part of the twentieth- century, apparently understood how Puccini was maturing as a composer commented on the advances orchestral and harmonic techniques heard in the score in which he detected Debussy.[189] Aldrich seemed to grasp what the critic for *Musical America* did not. Puccini was a more mature composer at work. For example, "Ch'ella mi creda"[190] is certainly a prime example of a pure Italian *bel canto* lyric line, but now that line is accompanied by a parallel chordal progression similar to the parallel technique depicting the organum in Debussy's *La Cathédral engloutie* premiered on 25 May 1910 (see Figures 13 and 14).[191]

[188] Ibid.

[189] Mosco Carner, *Puccini*: *A Critical Biography* 2nd ed., 191.

[190] Giacomo Puccini, *La Fanciulla del West*, Act III (Milan: Ricordi, 1912); on line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 27 February 2015, http://javanese.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/2/2f/IMSLP23359-PMLP53310-Puccini_-_La_Fanciulla_del_West__vocal_score_.pdf. This is the third act aria for the tenor character of Ramirez.

[191] Claude Debussy, *Préludes Book I*: *La Cathédral engloutie* (Paris: Durand & Cie., 1910); on line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 27 February 2015, http://petrucci.mus.auth.gr/imglnks/usimg/e/e1/IMSLP59705-PMLP02394-Debussy--Preludes-Livre1--Schirmer-Ed--2ndHalf.pdf. Well into my preparation for this chapter, I discovered that Deborah Barton in her volume *Recondite Harmony: The Operas of Puccini* pg 305 also mentioned the connection between *Fanciulla* and the Debussy *Prélude*.

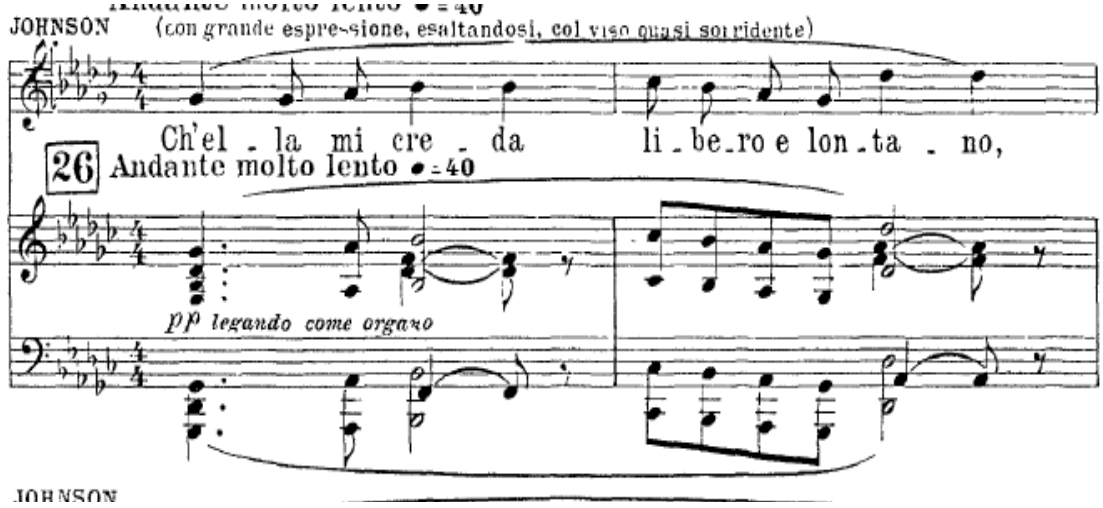


Figure 13: Puccini, *La Fanciulla del West,* "*Ch'ella mi creda*" Act III.

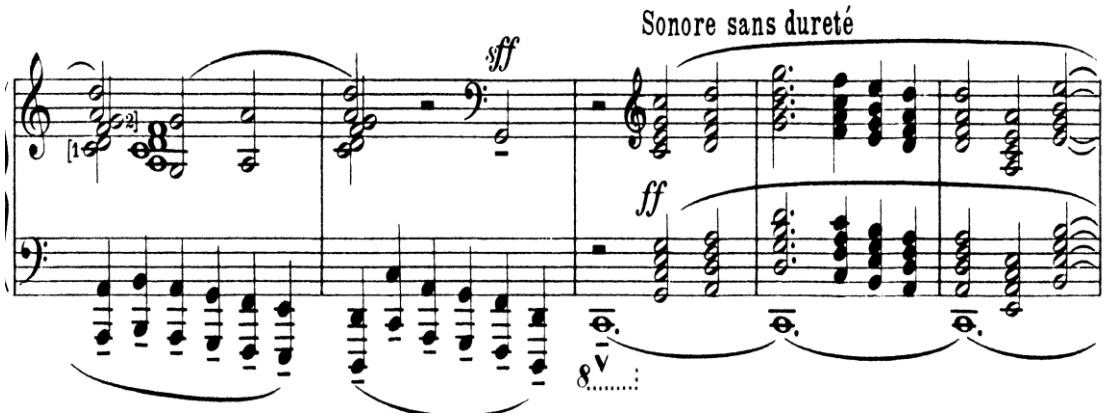


Figure 14: Debussy, *Préludes Book I, La Cathédral engloutie.*

The aria "E lucevan le stelle" [192] from *Tosca* also reveals the influence of French composers on Puccini. It reflects the style of Jules Massenet; specifically,

[192] Giacomo Puccini, *Tosca*, Act III (Milan: G. Ricordi, 1905); on line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 25 February 2015. http://petrucci.mus.auth.gr/imglnks/usimg/f/fc/IMSLP21958-PMLP50401-Puccini_-_Tosca__vocal_score_.pdf. This is the third act aria for the tenor character of Cavaradossi from *Tosca*.

Werther's entrance aria "Je n'ai sais si je veille." In both pieces, the aria is preceded by an orchestral introduction. Massenet, like Puccini, uses the introductory section to allow the voice to ease into the aria. In both pieces, the aria is preceded by an orchestral introduction. Rather than reaching a full cadential pause, Puccini uses the cadence as a jumping off point for the voice allowing it to lead naturally into the aria proper. [193] Massenet likewise leads imperceptibly into the aria; foreclosing the sense of finality in the recitative with both an imperfect authentic cadence (with the third in the top voice of the chord) and a rhythmic syncopation (see Figures 15 and 16).

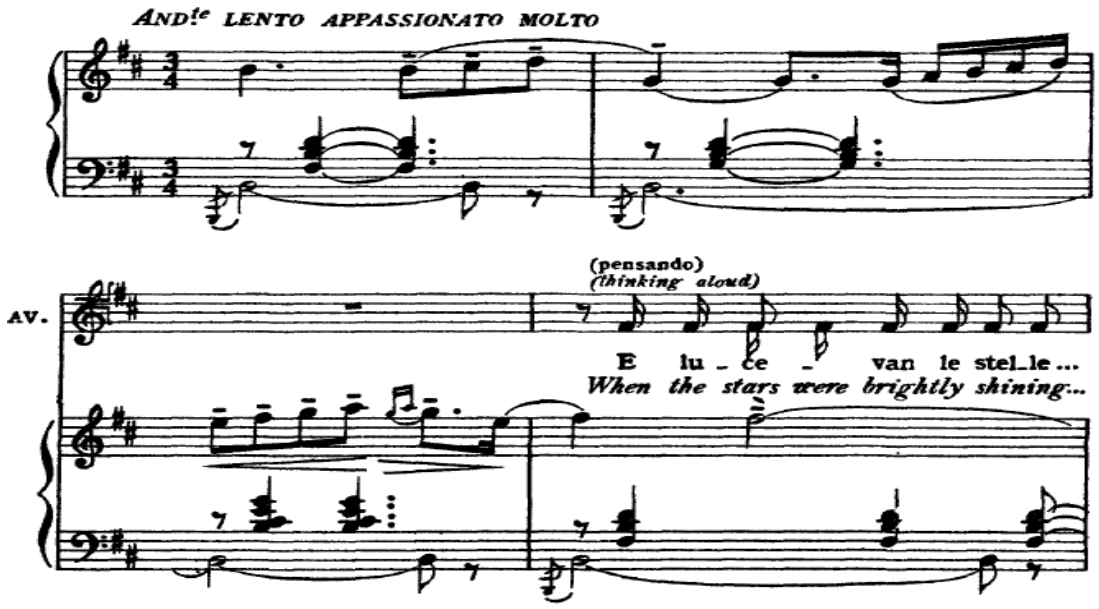


Figure **1**5: Puccini *Tosca* Act III.

[193] Jules Massenet, *Werther*, Act I (Paris: Hartman/Huegel, 1892); on line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 25 February 2015, http://conquest.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/e/ec/IMSLP197101-PMLP05739-Massenet_-_Werther_VS1_GoogleStanford.pdf.

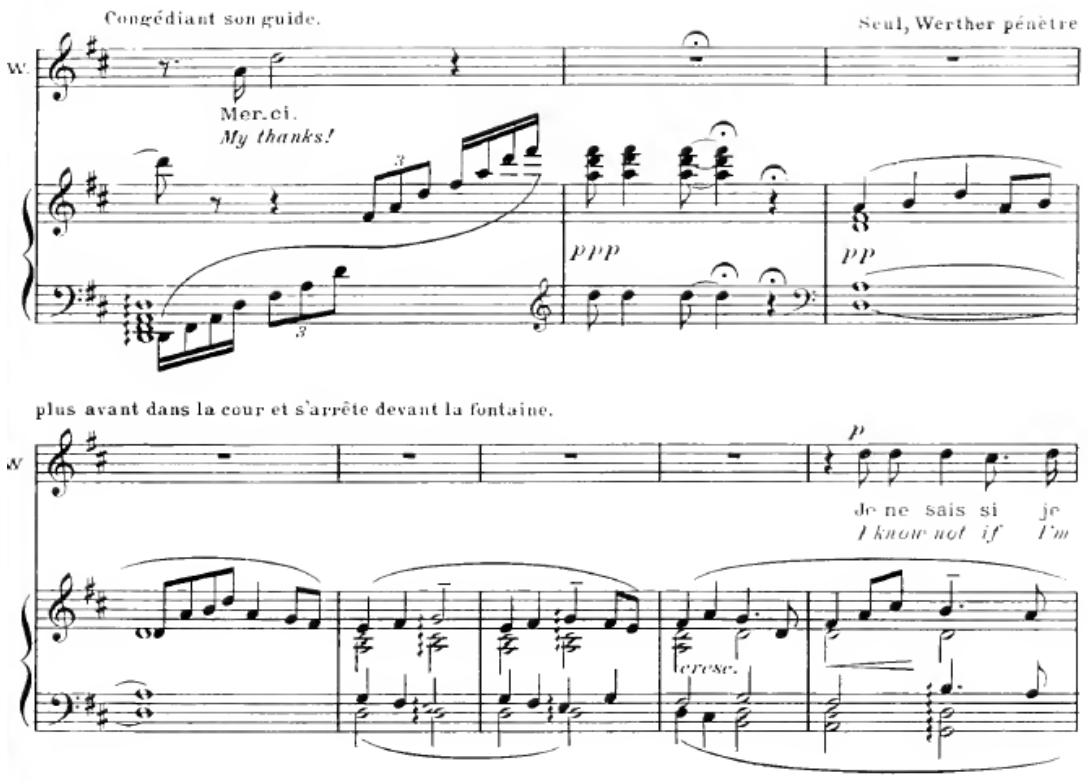


Figure 16: Massenet, *Werther*, Act I.

By 1918 and *Il Trittico,* any expectation for Puccini to return to solely a more romantic Italian harmonic style of his earlier works could not occur. The music of *Il Trittico* appeared to baffle most of the critics at its premiere. In reflection of the outside influences that caused mixed criticism of *La Fanciulla del West,* the disapproving comments about *Trittico* would evolve and ultimately create an even stronger more persistent disapproval that would cause a more lasting injury to *Trittico* as a unit. *Il Tabarro* and *Suor Angelica,* awash with the influence of French, German and a hint of Russian musical style heard in the organ grinder music in *Il Tabarro*, stands in contrast to the harmonies and Italianate *commedia* style of *Gianni Schicchi*.

The failure of many critics to understand *Trittico* in 1918 may have stemmed from a strongly negative essay, profoundly influential in its day, which grew out of Puccini's international success. Those very triumphs placed him in the crosshairs of a much different and potentially much more damaging disapproval. As a result, Puccini's loyalty to the musical ideals of Italy, his patriotism, as well as his own sense of person would be called into question. In 1912, a scathing monograph entitled *Giacomo Puccini e l'opera internazionale*, was published by a twenty-nine-year-old Italian nationalist named Fausto Torrefranca. He considered himself the lone voice willing to speak for his like-minded compatriots, who chose to be silent, regarding the multinational influences in post-Risorgimento Italy. In this monograph, he places the blame for the pervasiveness of foreign influences in harmony, scoring and subject matter squarely at the doorstep of Giacomo Puccini. In Torrefranca's opinion, Puccini was destroying the national character of Italian music.[194] Torrefranca's manifesto railed against the cultural influence Italian opera had developed since the mid-1800s. By the end of the century Italian theaters regularly performed French and German works, musicological studies on pre-18th-century Italian music were progressing, and performances of instrumental music were increasing. In the words of Marco Capra, "This new sensibility translated into a fierce condemnation by some critics of contemporary Italian opera, which was seen as having degenerated into 'commercialism and capitulated to 'popular' taste."[195] In this

[194] Wilson, *The Puccini Problem*, 125.

[195] Marco Capra, "Criticism, §II: History to 1945, 4. Italy, (ii) 1890-1945," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed 27 March 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40589pg2.

climate, Torrefranca's monograph was published. Much has been written regarding this manifesto, which attacked Puccini artistically, sexually, and personally. Torrefranca's basic supposition is the decline and deterioration of music as the soul of Italy through the neglect of absolute music in favor of opera as well as the infiltration of foreign influences.[196] "Opera cannot be and never has been the ideal of Italian musical culture,"[197] declared Torrefranca. He went on to say that Puccini is not musically unique or original, but has drawn upon French, German, Russians and contemporary Italian composers.[198]

In 1912, when Torrefranca's monograph was published, Puccini was the most celebrated Italian composer since Giuseppe Verdi; his most popular and frequently performed works were *Manon Lescaut*, *La Bohème*, *Tosca*, *Madama Butterfly* and *La Fanciulla del West*. None of these works, in subject matter nor musical style, is uniquely and exclusively Italian. The concept was not new or earth shattering, but with this accusation of "otherness" Torrefranca fueled the fires of nationalistic feelings. Taking his diatribe even further, Torrefranca attacked Puccini's masculinity in the sexist metaphors of the age, comparing him to a woman and thereby, in the discourse of the day, reducing his creative powers to naught. In its day, Torrefranca's characterization of Puccini as effeminate was profoundly damaging to the composers reputation.

A few young Italian composers, such as Alfredo Casella, Gian Francesco Malipiero and Ildebrando Pizzetti, used Torrefranca's monograph to advance their own

---

[196] Wilson, *The Puccini Problem*, 154.

[197] Torrefranca, X.

[198] Torrefranca, 8.

agendas, namely to glorify and return Italy's music to the instrumental past of the Renaissance and Baroque. Torrefranca agreed with this movement and preferred symphonies and instrumental forms to opera.[199]

Composer and musicologist Gian Francesco Malipiero composed numerous symphonies or as he called them *Sinfonia* to avoid comparison to the Austrio-German school, is probably best remembered as the editor of a complete edition of the works of Monteverdi. Ottorino Resphigi, Malipiero's best known contemporary, had developed a highly sophisticated orchestral palette in studies with Rimsky-Korsakov in Russia, and Max Bruch in Berlin. Back home in Italy, Respighi studied the works of composers of the 17th and 18th century especially Monteverdi and arranged a performance version of the *Lamento d'Arianna*.[200]

In 1917, the year before the premiere of *Il Trittico*, Respighi premiered his *Antiche Danze ed arie, Suite no.1*. The work had a very successful debut, principally because of the orchestration's evocative, twentieth-century representation of baroque lute harmonies.[201] Such interest in the Italian Baroque, especially in the area of instrumental music, was one of the traits that Torrefranca respected in the modern composers of Italy. Yet, Malipiero and Respighi were indebted to Puccini for various

---

[199] Budden, *Puccini: His Life and Works*, 337.

[200] John C.G. Waterhouse, "Malipiero, Gian Francesco," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed 19 February 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/17553 and John C.G. Waterhouse, "Respighi, Ottorino," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed 19 February 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/47335.

[201] Ibid.

qualities of their harmonic language. Puccini was using chords of the ninth, eleventh and thirteenths, unresolved suspensions and shifting parallel dissonant chords even before he had enjoyed his first unequivocal success.[202] His usage foreshadowed the harmonic techniques of the school of "modern music" that indeed included Malipiero and Resphigi. One wonders whether Torrefranca nurtured an overriding antipathy toward Puccini's works which he, in his role as spokesman, sought to place at the forefront of Italian musical culture.

The basis of Torrefranca's entire pamphlet was political and the work may be regarded as divisive. In 1910, a nationalist group called the *Associazione Nazionalista Italiana*, was formed to bring together all the Italian Nationalists.[203] Thus, as a nationalist, Torrefranca's target was the cultural face of Italy and Puccini was by all international standards that face. What was Puccini's response to this whole affair? The composer wrote to a friend "Have you read our dear Torrefranca? He deserves a good beating."[204]

During the summer of 1912, while Puccini was attending a performance of *Parsifal* in Bayreuth Germany, the mecca for all Wagnerians, he gave an interview and is quoted as saying:

---

[202] Roman Vlad, quoted in Michael Elphinstone, "*Le Villi*, *Edgar*, and the 'Symphonic Element,'" in *The Puccini Companion*, ed. William Weaver and Simonetta Puccini, 108. Vlad is also quoted as saying that in *Edgar* Puccini cleared the way for Debussy, Ravel, Stravinsky, Bartok and Schönberg.

[203] Wilson, *The Puccini Problem*. 129.

[204] Girardi, *Puccini*, 440.

> I am not Wagnerian; my musical education was in the Italian school. Even though, like every other modern musician, I have been influenced by Wagner in the way I use the orchestra for illustration and in thematic character of person and situations, as a composer I have always remained, and still remain, Italian.[205]

Much later in his life, Torrefranca downplayed the significance of his book as an "ill-judged error of youth."[206] Torrefranca later came to believe that due to his monograph, Puccini created his later works, specifically *Il Trittico* and *Turandot*, more carefully. For Torrefranca these pieces exhibited the characteristics of "contemporary music."[207] In an article in the *Idea Nazional* in 1919, sometimes attributed to Torrefranca, the essay's author maintains that *Il Trittico* could comprise a unified piece solely driven by the contemporary music of Puccini. The article specifically speaks about *Il Trittico* as follows:

> The character of contemporary music has uniformity, an orchestral diversity, a declamation that levels the characters, whether they are Seine bargeman or cloistered nuns, that annuls dialogue as comic or dramatic substance and as musical design, that slows and balances word into a monotonous expression of scant humanity and of no lyrical personality. Puccini has approached this music in refining his technique with an increasingly subtle orchestral skill, disguising with enviable good taste the fragmentary nature of the thematic structure, coloring the scenes with broad strokes of watercolor, with a mature art, whose contemporariness should win him the respect and the admiration of the young, who often do not possess, as he does, an invention, scant and fading, but still personal, and a theatrical

---

[205] John Deathridge, *Wagner beyond Good and Evil* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 234.

[206] Wilson, *The Puccini Problem*, 127.

[207] Leonardo Pinzauti, "Giacomo Puccini's *Trittico* and the Twentieth Century*,"* in *The Puccini Companion: Essay on Puccini's Life and Music*, ed. William Weaver and Simonetta Puccini (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994), 238.

measure that is true artistic knowledge of effect.[208]

For the author of the article--perhaps Torrefranca—Puccini had obviously and officially moved into the realm of "modern music," however. The critics at the premiere of *Il Trittico* in December 1918 obviously held very different views of what was acceptable as "modern music."

New York Times drama critic James Gibbons Huneker, substituting for the music critic, Richard Aldrich, wrote in very flowery terms concerning *Il Trittico*:

> The trinity might be viewed as a tonal triptych scarlet, mauve, and yellow, with contrasting pictorial evocations: or as a lyrical symphony in which "*Il Tabarro*" is the first allegro with a coda presto finale: "*Suor Angelica*" as an adagio, "en blanc majuer," as Théophile Gautier would put it: the third movement "*Gianni Schicchi*" the rollicking madcap scherzo overflowing with merry deviltries.[209]

Initially, it might appear that he was partial to these works, but that was not entirely the case. A dismissive view of *Il Tabarro* - "The book is better than the music"- continued with commentary on the harmonies Puccini used in the score. Hueneker used phrases such as "hollow chord progressions" representing the undulating motion of the Seine. In addition, he made a reference to a more declamatory vocal style that Puccini used in this opera. In his description of the character of Giorgetta, the female protagonist

---

[208] Ibid., 239.

[209] James Gibbons Huneker, "Opera: A World Premiere of Puccini Operas. "*Il Tabarro*.' '*Suor Angelica*.' '*Gianni Schicchi*,'" *The New York Times*, 15 December 1918, accessed 22 March 2015, http://login.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/docview/100076336?accountid=4485.

in the love triangle of the story, he writes, "The woman is simply bored with the aging man and seeks a younger mate. The excuse of the animal."[210]

Suor Angelica fared the worst of the three pieces. The comparison with Théophile Gautier (1811-1872), is very poetic. Théophile Gautier was a French poet and music critic, writer and dramatist. His poem "*Symphonie en blanc majeur*" or "Symphony in White Major" is part of the collection of eighteen poems, published in 1852, called *Emaux et Camèes.* The verses of white major deal with a woman, dressed in white, who is perfect but inhuman. The figure represents Gautier's struggle between an ideal and the real.[211] Huneker seems to be comparing the character of Sister Angelica to the protagonist of the poem. Was he motivated by the fact that the costume of Angelica was totally white? Or was his intent more profound; that is, that Angelica was a mixture of that ideal and real, the perfect but inhuman?

Whatever the reason Huneker summed up *Suor Angelica* with the disparaging term "mock-turtle mysticism." In his view, "a nun with a past, who, due to social mores, has been forced to renounce the world would not commit suicide just because after seven years of convent life she now learns of the death of her love-child." He concluded that despite Puccini's "futuristic harmonies" *Angelica* is insincere. It is interesting for Huneker to comment on the music for these operas and to use the adjective "futuristic" to describe the harmonic palette that Puccini used for *Angelica* and "hollow" for *Tabarro*. By 1918 Puccini's harmonies in *Il Trittico* were hardly "futuristic" but from the

---

[210] Ibid.

[211] Richard B. Grant, *Théophile Gautier* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1975), 138-139.

composer of *La Bohème*,which overflowed with traditional Italian melodies and harmonies, this new work was not entirely accepted by audiences and critics worldwide. With the "qualified" success of the Metropolitan Opera world premiere behind him, Puccini now focused all his attention on the European premiere in Rome which he considered of more significance. In Rome, he personally prepared the singers, and the physical production, and attended some of the performances.[212]

On 11 January 1919 at The Teatro Costanzi Rome, the first night audience included the King of Italy and his family. After *Il Tabarro,* His Majesty summoned Puccini to the royal box to have a lengthy and, from all accounts, pleasant discussion.[213] Vincent Seligman, the son of one of Puccini's dearest friends and confidantes, wrote that this was "one of the greatest triumphs that Puccini ever enjoyed in his native land."[214] Nevertheless, critical reception in Rome was the same as in New York with the exception that *Il Tabarro* was acknowledged as the weakest of the three.[215]

Between the years 1919 and 1920, four major theaters --Covent Garden in London, the Vienna State Opera, Teatro Colón in Buenos Aires, and the Chicago Lyric Opera--all gave premieres of the complete work. As in New York, the managements of these various houses engaged their most prominent singers. These included Rosa Raisa

---

[212] Carner, *Puccini*: *A Critical Biography* 2nd ed., 377.

[213] Giuseppe Adami, ed., *Letters of Giacomo Puccini*, trans. Ena Makin (New York: Vienna House, 1973), 215.

[214] Seligman, 283.

[215] William Ashbrook, *The Operas of Puccini* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 176.

(who would go on to premiere the role of Turandot) as Suor Angelica in Chicago, Gilda Dalla Rizza as Suor Angelica and Lauretta in *Gianni Schicchi* in Rome and London, and in Vienna, Maria Jeritza as Giorgetta in *Tabarro* and Lotte Lehmann as Suor Angelica.

At the Teatro Colón in Buenos Aires, the Italian conductor Tullio Serafin conducted the South American premiere. *Il Trittico*, as a unit, was presented for only six performances. Then in 1922 the Colón staged only *Suor Angelica* and *Gianni Schicchi*.[216] Lyric Opera of Chicago performed the work as a unit only three times then dropped *Il Tabarro* and *Suor Angelica* in favor of occasional performances of *Gianni Schicchi*.[217] In October 1921, Hamburg would mount the German premiere performed in the same German translation used for the Vienna State Opera premiere.[218]

Again, even with star-studded casts, audience and critics responded to *Il Trittico* in much the same way they had done at its initial performances in New York. It would be fair to assume that when Puccini was in the house, enthusiasm mounted, which may not have resulted from approval of the work, but from admiration of the composer in general and his entire canon. Various critics in attendance were less than flattering in assessments of the triptych as a whole and/or its individual components. Still Florence Easton, the Metropolitan Opera's Lauretta in *Gianni Schicchi*, received such an ovation from the audience for "*O mio Babbino Caro,*" that the piece was encored (see Figure 17.)

[216] Ibid., 176.

[217] Ibid., 177

[218] Ibid., 176.

Florence Easton as Lauretta in Gianni Schicchi from Puccini's Il Trittico.
Photo: White Studio

Figure 17: Florence Easton as Lauretta in *Gianni Schicchi*[219]

Wherever the triptych was performed, *Gianni Schicchi* was the clear audience favorite with one or both of *Il Tabarro* and *Suor Angelica* receiving most of the adverse reaction. Each suffered the harshest criticisms and was pronounced not to be stage worthy, yet the fluctuating level of negativity would vary depending upon the country in which the work was being presented and, interestingly, also on the religious bent of audience. *Il Tabarro* did not win approval in Catholic Italy and Argentina due to the

[219] Metropolitan Opera Archives, s.v *Il Trittico*, Metropolitan Opera Association, accessed 30 October 2012, http://www.archives.metoperafamily.org/archives/frame.htm.

nature of the storyline.[220] In heavily Protestant New York City and London, the miraculous ending of *Suor Angelica* was deemed too "religious," according to Seligman, "in the worst sense of that much-abused word."[221]

Metropolitan Opera General Manager Giulio Gatti-Cassaza, a man who appreciated Puccini's work, as well as the financial profit the Opera gained from presenting a Puccini world premiere, expressed the following sentiments regarding these two works:

> To tell the truth, I never quite understood the purpose of this 'Triptych' business. It is, in the first place, a very difficult thing to carry out; it is not practicable for an opera house, since it requires so many different casts. "Il Tabarro" was too realistic, and "Suor Angelica" too mystic.[222]

At Covent Garden in London, *Suor Angelica* was so disliked by the management that it disappeared from the stage after the second performance.[223] In a letter dated 15 January 1921 to Sybil Seligman, Puccini stated that if Mr. Higgins "really was my friend, as I believe, he should give me the satisfaction and not make me unhappy by seeing this, my favourite opera, put on one side–it would break my heart."[224] The Higgins in question was Mr. Henry Vincent Higgins, who was retained as Managing Director of

---

[220] Carner, *Puccini*: *A Critical Biography*, 2nd ed., 377.

[221] Seligman, 285.

[222] Gatti-Casazza, 276.

[223] Ashbrook, *The Operas of Puccini*, 177.

[224] Seligman, 322-323.

Covent Garden after the World War I and is assumed to be the one who would have made the decision regarding the fate of *Suor Angelica* with that company.

As noted earlier, Puccini's sole comedy, *Gianni Schicchi*, which was judged the only real success, continues to be performed in other pairings. At the Metropolitan Opera, it has been paired with Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana* and with *Salome* of Richard Strauss.[225] To this day, nearly one hundred years later, *Schicchi* still maintains its popularity and independence.[226]

Reviewing a second series of Metropolitan Opera performances which began on 18 December 1919, the true music critic of *The New York Times*, Richard Aldrich, wrote a piece entitled "Puccini's Little Trilogy." In it he stated that the most ardent admirers of the beloved Italian composer "can find hardly more than an occasional flash of his old power."[227] One imagines that the "occasional flashes" discerned by the critic include such moments as the soaring melody of the love duet between Giorgetta and Luigi in *Il Tabarro*, Suor Angelica's aria "Senza Mama" and Lauretta's "O Mio Babbino Caro." It may well be that, musically, nothing short of a carbon copy of *La Bohème* would have soothed this critic.

In an article for *Opera News* "Peter G. Davis stated the belief that the "opera-going audiences during the years of 1918-1920 were seldom inclined to mull over a

[225] Metropolitan Opera Archives, s.v *Il Trittico* Metropolitan Opera Association, accessed 30 October 2012, http://www.archives.metoperafamily.org/archives/frame.htm.

[226] Many small companies, schools and workshops have chosen *Gianni Schicchi* for performance opportunities for their students.

[227] Richard Aldrich, "Puccini's Little Trilogy," *New York Times*, December 18, 1919, accessed 19 February 2015, http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9E06E4D7123BEE32A2575BC1A9649D946896D6CF.

work's interior meaning. They chose to take their operatic entertainment at face value."[228] In *Drama, Stage and Audience*, J.L. Stynan, wrote that for an opera to be successful it requires the audience must be "ripe for the occasion" and "if the moment is not apt disaster may follow."[229] The audience seemed "ripe" but, one wonders whether at just this moment in world history *Trittico's* subject matter contributed to its ambivalent reception. Europe had just emerged from the carnage of its first total war. Within months, the Kaiser abdicated, Czar Nicholas II and his family were executed, and the Spanish Influenza Epidemic began to claim lives all over the world.[230] In the United States alone, ultimately 500,000 people would die in the influenza epidemic.[231]

Would a dramatic evening of three operas, each, portraying a different face of death, have been too much to experience as an evening's entertainment? When it came to *Suor Angelica* religious miracles, no matter how grandly portrayed on stage, seemed in short supply in real life. Whatever the reason or reasons were, by the end of 1922, the three operas, with few exceptions, were no long being performed as the unified whole Puccini intended. W.J. Henderson was the only critic to have seen "a binding theme that was present in all three works - mad love, a retreat from the world, and a gibe at human

---

[228] Peter G. Davis,"Three's Company," *Opera News* 71, no.10 (April 2007): 27.

[229] J. L. Styan, *Drama, Stage and Audience* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 137.

[230] "The Peoples History: 1920s News, Events, Popular Culture and Prices," *The Peoples History* accessed 30 October 2012 http://www.thepeopleshistory.com.

[231] Francesco Aimone, "The 1918 Influenza Epidemic in New York City: A Review of the Public Health Response," *Public Health Reports* 125 (April, 2010): 71-79.

greed."[232] Puccini might not have agreed with this assessment of the binding agents at work but, to Henderson's credit, he wrote that it would be wrong to separate these pieces from each other.[233] Correspondence shows Puccini was heartbroken after losing this battle to keep his three operas together. He never attended another complete performance of the three opera *Il Trittico* in his lifetime.[234] The unity that Henderson discerned, I shall now seek to demonstrate.

[232] Irving Kolodin, *The Metropolitan Opera 1883-1966* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf 1967), 278.

[233] Ibid.

[234] Peter G. Davis, 27.

CHAPTER 4

GENRES, GESTATION, INFLUENCES, AND ANALYSIS

Puccini's *Il Trittico* represents the zenith and also the terminus of the major components of the grand tradition of 19th-century Italian Opera. Two of these had been long revered, and the third, as described in the previous chapter, was short-lived but dominated a significant turning point in Italy's cultural metamorphosis into the twentieth century. These genres are sentimentality and pathos, *opera buffa*, and, *verismo*. This chapter will take a look at these subgenres, provide a brief history of the literary gestation of *Il Trittico*, and lastly, from a musical standpoint, show how these operas exemplify their respective genres while at the same time constituting a departure from conventionality.

Opera seria is a term used to signify Italian opera of the 18th and 19th centuries based on a heroic or tragic subject.[235] Rossini achieved success in the genre of opera *seria* with works such as *Tancredi* in 1813 and *La Donna del Lago* in 1819. Rossini's heirs, Vincenzo Bellini and Gaetano Donizetti turned to an early form of Romanticism as their platform to influence pathos and sentimentality yet stay detached from the seeds of the Germanic romantic principles.[236]

---

[235] Marita P. McClymonds and Daniel Heartz, "Opera seria," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 1 March 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20385.

[236] Jim Samson, "Romanticism," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 1 March 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23751.

Pathos and Sentimentality

There is a fine line between the emotions of pathos and sentimentality. Pathos pulls the audience into the drama and sentimentality gives rise to sympathetic emotions for the situation or characters; together, they are form one significant sub-genre for *primo ottocento* composers. Pathos and sentimentality, taken as one classification, perfectly describe emotions expressed in music of the cantilena style of the *bel canto*. For example, the mad scenes of Bellini and Donizetti figuratively overflow with both pathos and sentimentality in their respective sections of long sustained melody.

One of the most striking examples is the opening of the mad scene from Bellini's *I Puritani* "Qui la voce sua soave."[237] The E-flat Major arpeggiated accompaniment, very customary for the time, allows the elongated phrases of the vocal line plus a simple harmonic structure, (I – IV - ii_6 - V_7 - I), to pull the listener into the character's momentary insanity (see Figure 18).

[237] Vincenzo Bellini, *I Puritani*, Act 2 (Milan: Riccordi, 1896); on line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 15 March 2015, http://petrucci.mus.auth.gr/imglnks/usimg/6/6c/IMSLP111962-PMLP60620-Bellini_-_I_puritani__vocal_score_.pdf.

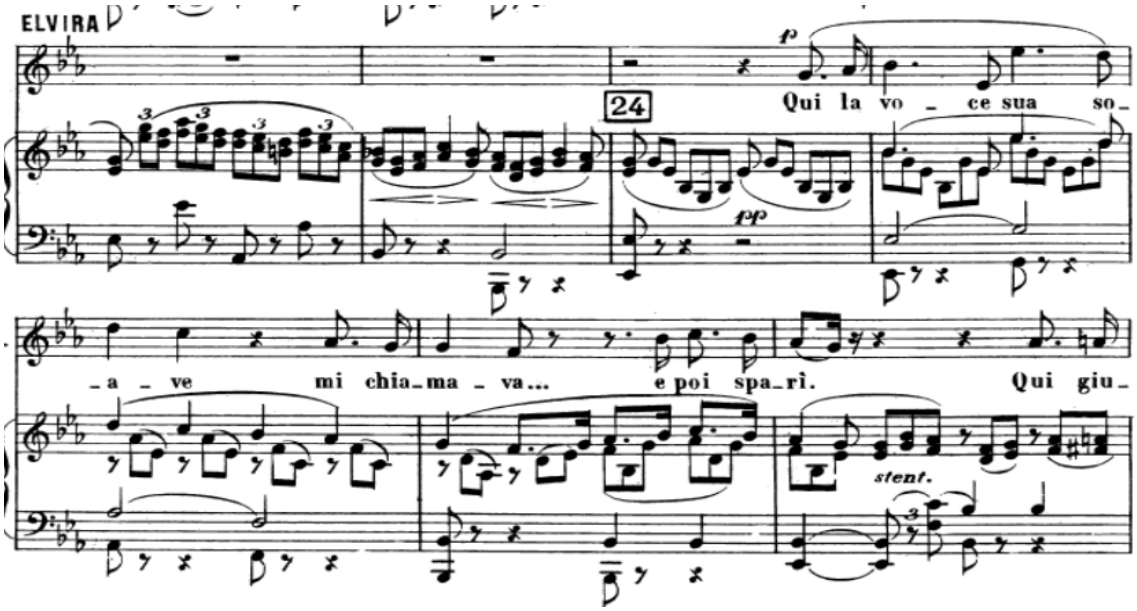


Figure. 18: Bellini, *I Puritani,* "Qui la voce."

In *Il Trittico,* Puccini achieves equally intense dramatic moments of pathos and sentimentality, by uniting Bellini's relatively straightforward compositional technique with his own late Romantic music and words. For example: in *Suor Angelica,* the aria "*Senza Mama*," was crafted to achieve the sense of pathos and sentimentality as in the Bellini work (see Figure 19).[238]

[238] Giacomo Puccini, *Il Trittico*: "Suor Angelica*"* (Milan: Ricordi, 1918), 189.

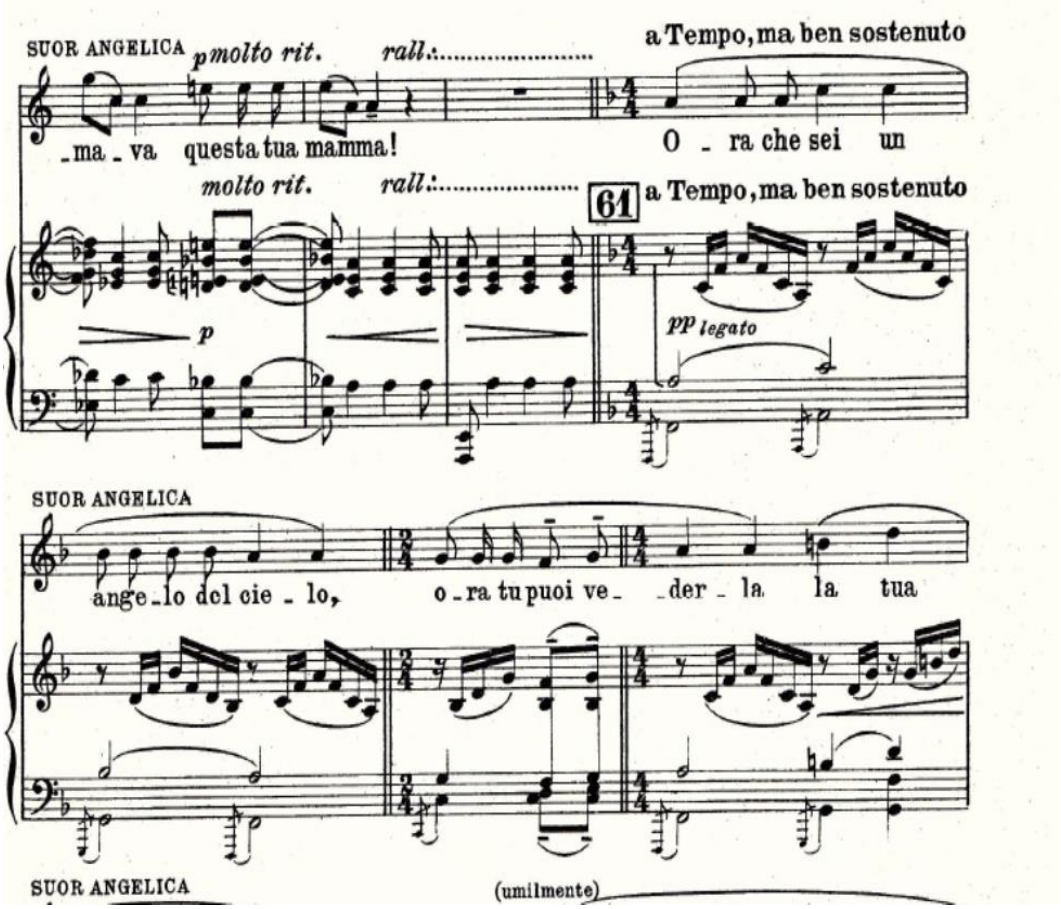


Figure 19: Puccini, *Suor Angelica*,"Senza Mama."

In this section of the aria, Puccini adapts to the long phrased cantilena vocal line a *primo ottocento* "traditional" arpeggiated accompaniment as Bellini did. Written in F Major, this piece has a slightly more elaborate chordal structure than the Bellini, Puccini's progression is (I - I_6 – ii_6 –I - V_7 – IV_6 – V_7 – I). It is dramatically possible that Puccini inserts subdominant-side harmonies to reinforce the combination of emotions Angelica is feeling as a mother suffering the loss of her child while, at the same time, being forced to live the confined life of a monastic order because of the birth of this very

child who has now died. In her faith, she will ultimately find her strength. Some might claim that the suicide of Liu, in the last act of *Turandot*,[239] achieves the same emotional effect, but it does not carry the weight that Angelica's emotions convey at this moment.

In the mid-nineteenth century, Giuseppe Verdi's operas produced great pathos by mixing theatrical excitement, rousing noble choruses, and intimate moments of love and affection, which are usually subordinate to the main plot of political intrigue. Verdi based his characters' emotions not solely on his music but equally, or even with greater force, on the words of his libretti, adapted from such authors as Victor Hugo, Friedrich Schiller, and William Shakespeare.[240] Verdi's operas are full of drama, especially politically charged dramas but always with a softer side of familial relationships, usually of a father and daughter. He constantly searched for libretti that would highlight these emotions. Puccini, like Verdi, searched for griping stories, albeit ones, in which he could fall in love with his heroines and in doing so better equipped to present death with pathos and sentimentality.[241]

---

[239] *Turandot,* Puccini's final opera, was left incomplete at the time of Puccini's death in November, 1924.

[240] Taruskin, *The Nineteenth Centu*ry, 594.

[241] For example, in, act IV, Mimi returns to the garret where she first met Rodolfo. Puccini uses remembrance music from their first meeting but this time in a minor mode to foreshadow her death creating an air of sentimental nostalgia and upon her death, a great deal of pathos.

Opera Buffa

The term *opera buffa* was first applied to comic opera as it rose to popularity in Italy and abroad over the course of the 18th century.[242] This particular style was advanced by Rossini to the extent that he commanded a total superiority of this formulated technique with works like *L'Italiana in Algeri* in 1813, *Il Turco in Italia* in 1814, *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* in 1816, among others.[243] Vincenzo Bellini never composed in the *opera buffa* style, but Gaetano Donizetti had success with *L'Elisir d'Amore* in 1832 and *Don Pasquale* in 1843.[244] Verdi did not have an initial success with this genre as his first comic opera, *Un Giorno di Regno* (1840), to quote Budden, was "an unqualified disaster."[245] Budden is also careful to point out that *opera buffa* style, at the time of *Un Giorno di Regno*, was already in decline.[246]

The comic style dates from the late Renaissance first appearing in Italian pastorales such as Stefano Landi's *La morte d'Orfeo*.[247] Monteverdi introduced early

---

[242] Piero Weiss and Julian Budden,"Opera buffa," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 14 March 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/43721.

[243] Phillip Gossett, "History and Works That Have No History: Reviving Rossini's Neapolitan Operas," *Disciplining Music: Musicology and Its Canons*, ed.Katherine Bergeron and Philip V. Bohlman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 97-98.

[244] William Ashbrook, *Donizetti and His Operas* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 228.

[245]Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, 1:71-72.

[246] Ibid.

[247] Grout and Weigel-Williams, *A Short History of Opera*, 4th ed., 76.

forms of *buffa* characters, in travesty roles such as Arnalta and Nutrice, in *L'Incorazione di Poppea* of 1643.[248] Mozart's and Rossini's Doctor Bartolo exhibits traits of his Italian stock *commedia dell' arte* character counterpart.[249] Puccini and his librettist Giovacchino Forzano (1184-1970) would create a world of *Commedia dell' arte* types in the characters inhabiting *Gianni Schicchi*. Gianni Schicchi, Rinuccio, and Lauretta and other members of the large cast have counterparts in the world of the Italian comic theater. Puccini was to utilize this dramatic technique only one other time. In *Turandot,* the ministers, Ping, Pang, and Pong, all have *commedia dell'arte* roots, albeit observed in a more modern vein since these characters have a penchant for torture as shown in Act 3 of that opera.[250]

Rossini, according to Richard Osborne, also incorporates sentimentality and pathos in his comedies. He cites *La Cenerentola* where, a bit of sentimentality occurs in Act 1 in the short song Angelina (Cenerentola) sings about a king looking for his true love "Una volta c'era un re" In addition, in the last scene, there is a touch of pathos as she

[248] Claudio Monteverdi's *L'Incoronazione di Poppea*, considered his greatest masterpiece, received its premiere in Venice in the 1642-1643 season. See Ellen Rosand, "Incoronazione di Poppea, L'." *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 20 March 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O902316.

[249] Piero Weiss and Julian Budden, "Opera buffa," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 16 March 2015, http://www.oxfordmuisconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/43721.

[250] In Act 3 of Turandot, the ministers, Ping, Pang, and Pong take part in the torture of the slave girl Liu in Act 3, which leads to her suicide.

moves on from her past life in her rondo-finale "Nacqui all'affanno e al pianto."[251] Without a doubt, Rossini perfected the *opera buffa*, but incorporated pathos and sentimentality, as a dramatic technique to highlight and offset the comedy.

Verismo

With the advent of *Verismo* composers of the G*iovane Scuola Italiana* attracted attention by choosing libretti for operas that had a sense of local color and exotic settings like Japan, China, the American wild west, Paris, Spain, Russia (St Petersburg and Siberia), placed in historical time periods and using sounds that identified the locale including ecclesiastical sounding harmonies. These traits were all featured in operas of the *secondo ottocento*.[252] The premise remains true for *Il Trittico*, as *Il Tabarro* takes place in *fin de siècle* Paris, *Suor Angelica*'s locale is a Italian convent in 1600, and *Gianni Schicchi* is specifically set in Florence in 1299. Puccini musically describes each of the three locations in an highly indiviualistic manner and employs remembrance motives at crucial junctures symphonically woven into the musical fabric. In *Il Tabarro,* the fundamental musical description of the Parisian River Seine flows through the score

[251] Richard Osborne, "Cenerentola, La," *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 16 March 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O008249.

[252] Philip Gossett, "The Case for Puccini," *The New York Review of Books*, 27 March 2003; accessed 14 March 2015. http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2003/mar/27/the-case-for-puccini/?pagination=false. The locations relate to Puccini: *Madama Butterfly, Turandot, La Fanciula del West, Il Tabarro, Suor Angelica,* Zandonai: *Conchita*, Giordano: *Fedora, Siberia Andrea Chenier* Mascagni: *Parisiana, Iris,* Catalani: *La Wally, L'arlesiana*,

for more than half of the opera's almost one-hour duration. *Suor Angelica* opens with the tranquility of the convent, represented by the sound of chapel bells and a chorus of offstage nuns chanting a simple *Ave Maria*. This short opera concludes with the same alternating carillon motive, although, at the end, symphonically woven into an elaborate C Major orchestral sound enhanced by harp, organ, an off-stage chorus of heavenly voices, including those of children, praising the Virgin Mary (see Figure 20).[253]

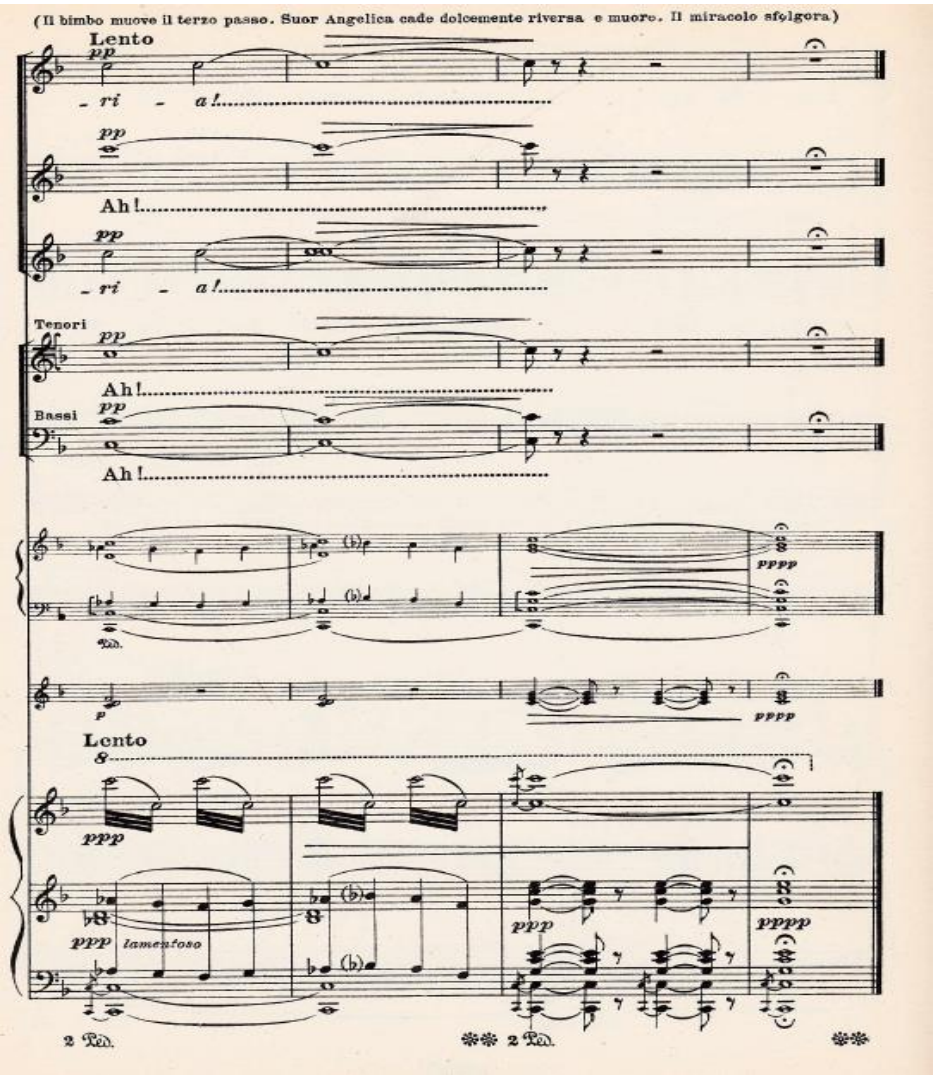


Figure 20: Puccini, *Suor Angelica*, Finale.

[253] Giacomo Puccini, *Il Trittico*, "Suor Angelica*"* (Milan: Ricordi, 1918), 218.

Puccini and Opera in a Single Act

In the final decade of the nineteenth century, Italian composers were motivated to create one-act opera partly because of the noteworthy competition sponsored by the publishing firm of Sonzogno, for which awarded Mascagni first prize for his *Cavalleria Rusticana* in 1890.[254] Other Important essays in one-act operas from this this time, include Leoncavallo's *I Pagliacci* of 1892 (composed in two acts separated by an intermezzo, but usually performed in a single act due to the work's brevity), followed by Mascagni's *Zanetto*(1896) and Ermanno Wolf-Ferrari's *Il Secreto di Susana* (1909, dubbed an intermezzo by the composer). Non-Italian one-act works include Richard Strauss's *Salome* in 1905 and *Elektra* in 1909 and Hungarian Béla Bartók's *A kékszakállú herceg vára* [Duke Bluebeards Castle] composed in 1912 but not performed until 1918, the same year as *Il Trittico*, and Arnold Schönberg's *Erwartung* (1909).[255] None of the men listed above composed three one-acts for a single evening as Puccini eventually would.

Puccini had long been looking to satisfy a concept, which he called "*tre tinte*" or "three colors," in essence three different sentiments. [256] There seems to be a variety of theories contradicting the time frame as to when Puccini first entertained the idea for this

[254] Alan Mallach, *Pietro Mascagni and His Operas* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2002), 55.

[255] There is written correspondence from Puccini to various people that will explain his reactions to, *Salome* and *Elektra*—for *Salome*, see *Carteggi Pucciniani*, ed. Eugenio Gara (Milan: Ricordi, 1958), 363 and for *Elektra*, Seligman, *Puccini Among Friends*, 177.

[256] Girardi, *Puccini*, 372. The Italian phrase *tre tinte* translates as three shades or three tints.

type of evening. He believed that three one-act libretti would prove easier to obtain in addition, the contrast of ideas— the "*tre tinte*"— would make a more dramatic evening.[257] Carner proposes that, after the successful premiere of *Tosca* in 1900, Puccini's plan was to write three one-act pieces based on the three books of Dante's *Divina Comedia* [The Divine Comedy] – *Inferno*, *Purgatorio*, and *Paradiso*.[258] Another early idea was to compose an opera built around three episodes from the comic Alphonse Daudet's *Tartarin de Tarascon*.[259] Jürgen Maehder dates the initial idea to 1904 with a letter to Illica in which he explained his vision, never seen in Italy, of a "multiform dramaturgy" in which three different and totally distinctive genres of musical theater are presented to an audience in one evening. [260] In doing this Puccini moved the focus of attention from the content of the drama to the form.[261] Girardi adds that Puccini was considering the works of the Russian realist Maxim Gorky (1868-1936).[262] With Gorky, he was looking to set three stories with a unified theme, but Gorky's stories centered around the disenfranchised, and the likelihood of finding a comedy for the third panel

[257] Ibid.

[258] Carner, *Puccini: A Critical Biography*, 2nd ed., 151.

[259] Ibid., 121.

[260] Jürgen Maehder, "Turandot and the Theatrical Aesthetics of the Twentieth Century," in *The Puccini Companion* ed. William Weaver and Simonetta Puccini (New York: W.W. Norton Co., 1994), 272.

[261] Ibid.

[262] Girardi, *Puccini*, 372.

was improbable. By 1907 Puccini, was moving on to other ideas.[263] Oscar Wilde's drama, *A Florentine Tragedy* was considered by Puccini until the fall of 1912, but ultimately the project taken up by Alexander von Zemlinsky in 1917.[264] Leonardo Pinzauti believes that he can connect the deaths of Giulio Ricordi on 6 June 1912 to the birth of the idea of an evening of three operas and the death of Arrigo Boito on 10 June 1918 to the concept's fruition with the scores being readied for performance in the winter of 1918.[265] Finally, Vincent Seligman instead pinpoints a date of June, 1913 when his mother, Sybil, received a letter from Puccini during one of his trips to Paris:

> I'm leaving at last on Saturday; I think I've arranged for the three operas. One is Gold's Houppelande; another with D'Annunzio, and the third (comic) with Tristan Bernard. The libretto of the first one will be ready *bien tôt*, and I shall start to work on it straightaway. All three will be given together on the same evening.[266]

Puccini was confident his evening of "*tre tinte*" would begin with French playwright Didier Gold's *La Houppelande* [The Cloak], which he had seen in Paris at the Théâtre Marigny in May, 1912.[267] The other two panels, Puccini would find, were a going to be a quite a bit more problematic. From as early as 1894 Puccini had sought after the most famous Italian poet at the time, Gabrielle D'Annuzio (1863–1938) for a

---

[263] Carner, *Puccini: A Critical Biography* 2nd ed., 151.

[264] Schickling, *Puccini: Catalogue of the Works*, 338.

[265] Leonardo Pinzauti, "Giacomo Puccini's *Trittico* and the Twentieth Century," in *The Puccini Companion*, ed. William Weaver and Simonetta Puccini (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1994), 228.

[266] Seligman, 227.

[267] Schickling, 338.

collaboration in which D'Annuzio would supply a libretto. At last, D'Annunzio supplied the storyline for "*La Crociata degli Innocenti*" [The Children's Crusade] and Puccini, upon hearing it, felt this work would be perfect for the middle panel of his triptych.[268] Once he received and read D'Annunzio's libretto, however, Puccini labeled the work a "small, shapeless monstrosity" and discovered that this collaboration was never going to succeed as neither artist seemed to understand each other's temperament.[269] French playwright and author Tristan Bernard (1866 – 1947) was approached to write the final opera, the sole comedy of the trio. His submission about natives in Africa exhibiting caucasian missionaries in a cage was deemed not viable.[270] In 1913, Puccini was eager to get to work on this project and with only the first panel's drama set, the composer began work on Gold's work which now was titled, in Italian, *Il Tabarro*. The Italian libretto was fashioned by Giuseppe Adami (1878 – 1946), who, with Gold's assistance, trimmed the original theatrical work and then translated the original from French into Italian text.

The following two parts of the project finally materialized with the arrival of the talented young Italian writer named Giovacchino Forzano (1884 –1970) who presented Puccini with two original stories.[271] The first was a libretto overflowing with pathos, titled *Suor Angelica*. Puccini immediately fell in love with the character of the unhappy

---

[268] Carner, *Puccini: A Critical Biography*, 2nd ed., 195-196.

[269] Ibid., 196.

[270] Ashbrook, *The Operas of Puccini*, 171.

[271] Julian Budden, *Puccini: His Life and Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 373-375.

nun. In keeping with the original Dante premise, Forzano found a character in the *Inferno* named Gianni Schicchi, who only appears in a few lines of the 30th canto,

> That incubus in life is Gianni Schicchi
> here he runs rabid, mangling the other dead.[272]

It is all the more remarkable from that awful very brief description of a soul in the fiery pit of hell that Forzano and Puccini fashioned one of the most enduring and successful comedies in all operatic literature.

Puccini finally had all three panels of his triptych set and completed the musical scores very quickly with *Il Tabarro* in 1916, *Suor Angelica* in 1917, and *Gianni Schicchi* in 1918.[273] Looking at these panels in order, the observer might find a relative connection with Puccini's original idea of a triptych, which was based on the progression of Dante's *La Divina Comedia*. *Il Tabarro* represents the *Inferno* depicted by the dark underworld of Paris and the violence done to the characters; *Suor Angelica* is *Purgatorio* with Angelica serving penance for her sin; and *Gianni Schicchi* is *Paradiso* the one work that ends with a true lightness of being.

Three Styles and *Il Trittico*

As was discussed in an earlier chapter *verismo,* the Italian word for "realism," describes a dramatic plot with passion, intense emotion, sordid, always violent and it usually depicts lower class society. Although extremely popular beginning around 1890,

---

[272] Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, trans. John Ciardi (New York; New American Library, 2003), 233.

[273] Ashbrook, *The Operas of Puccini*, 173.

verismo was on its last legs by 1918.[274] *Il Tabarro* was its final crowning achievement.

Il Tabarro was based on a French play by Didier Gold called *La Houppelande* which premiered in 1910 as part of the genre called *Grand-Guignol* which is the ultimate in violent realism as it usually included quite a bit of blood lust as one of its trademarks.[275] The plot of *Il Tabarro* is a love triangle involving an older Parisian bargeman named Michele, his much younger wife, Giorgetta, and her lover Luigi. The tragic outcome of the story in this dramatic style is a perfect match for the *verismo* style.[276] It is a story set in the dark underworld of Paris, played on a barge under a bridge on the Seine River. The lover Luigi is murdered by the jealous husband and his lifeless body is presented to Giorgetta, from underneath her husband's cloak. When Gold set to work to furnish a libretto for Puccini, the subplot of a secondary murder—another crew member kills his wife because of continued infidelities—was excised from the end of the play. This change more than likely occurred at Puccini's insistence because the second murder would have detracted from the central dramatic homicide.[277]

The storyline of *Suor Angelica* is a very simple and full of pathos and sentimentality. Angelica comes from an aristocratic family and has a baby out of wedlock. To punish her for the shame she has brought to the family, her aunt, the

---

[274] Macdonald, *Puccini: King of Verismo*, 20.

[275] Julian Budden. "Tabarro, Il." *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 23 March 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O905041.

[276] Burton D. Fisher, ed. Puccini's *Il Trittico* (Miami: Opera Journey's Publishing, 2003;, repr., 2005), 16. The plot summaries for *Suor Angelica* and *Gianni Schicch* extracted from this source also.

[277] Carner, *Puccini: A Critical Biography*, 2nd ed., 423.

Princess, has forced Angelica into service, prayer, and repentance as a member of a cloistered order. In the seven years that have passed, she has had no contact with her family. Angelica's aunt arrives to secure her signature on a legal document renouncing all claims on any inheritance in favor of her sister who is getting married. Summing up the courage to inquire for news of her son, Angelica is informed that he had died two years earlier from a fever. Distraught she resolves to end her life and join her son in heaven. In Roman Catholic doctrine, suicide is considered a mortal sin, which would deny her the promise of salvation and forever negate the opportunity of being with her son. Angelica pleads directly to the Virgin Mary to save her soul. A vision of her son assures Angelica and she dies redeemed.

Puccini's sole comedy, *Gianni Schicchi*, represents *opera buffa*. The family of Buoso Donati has gathered at his deathbed. Upon finding and reading his will, they learn they all have been disinherited. A nephew, Rinnucio, who is in love with Lauretta, the daughter of Gianni Schicchi, calls him to aid the family as they face poverty. His family will not let Rinuccio marry Lauretta as she does not bring a dowry to the marriage. Schicchi arrives and decides to impersonate the dead Buoso and dictate a new will. Members of the family, conspiring to procure the best parts of the inheritance, try to bribe him with various amounts of money. Schicchi warns the family that the penalty for impersonation and forgery is cutting off a hand and banishment from Florence. They are all willing to take that chance. In the new and updated "last will and testament" he leaves the family minor parts of the inheritance that each requested but the most valuable assets are bequeathed to Schicchi. Lauretta is now free to marry Rinuccio and all will be well. In a dramatic move by Forzano, Schicchi is given a spoken monologue relating that he

was consigned to the *Inferno* by the author Dante for this little joke, but if the audience has enjoyed themselves this evening, please applaud to render a verdict of extenuating circumstance.

Verismo, pathos and sentimentality, and finally *opera buffa* respectively inhabit *Il Trittico* in extraordinarily apt characteristic situations. Alberto Gasco, in his essay for *La Tribuna* following the Italian premiere on 11 January 1919 praised the triptych's modernity expressed within the confines of the Italian tradition;

> In terms of harmonic technique, *Il Tab*arro, and *Schicchi* advance quite startling elements of novelty. Nothing that contemporary art has produced escapes the studious and astute Giacomo Puccini. From Debussy to Stravinsky, every successful composer has been the fertile subject of his investigation. But (a miracle even more surprising than that of *Suor Angelica*!), our composer has lost none of his own personality through his assiduous contact with dangerous foreign composers, the feared sirens of France and Russia; he has seized their secrets and used them to construct new and solid structures of a markedly national style.[278]

Gasco's insight is vital for the central point: Puccini assimilated the techniques of these "dangerous foreign composers" then fused them into his own entirely Italianate yet forward-looking musical language.

Puccini's Responses to Other Operatic Composers' Works

In the previous chapter, I examined Puccini's assimilation of the compositional techniques of Wagner. Puccini also held a fascination for Debussy which peaked when he

[278] Alberto Gasco, *La tribuna* as quoted in Girardi, *Puccini*, 369-370.

attended a performance of *Pelléas et Mélisande* in October, 1903, while in Paris supervising the French premiere of *Tosca*.[279] Written sources indicate that he heard *Prélude a l'après-midi d'une faune* (1894) and *Nocturnes* (1899) prior and had studied the vocal score to *Pelléas et Mélisande* in 1902 the year of the work's premiere.[280] These sources also offered many inconsistent remarks either made by or attributed to Debussy regarding Puccini. Stravinsky reported to Puccini while in Paris in 1913 that Debussy had respect for the Italian composer.[281] Manuel De Falla has said that Debussy told him regarding *La Bohème*, "I know of nobody who has described Paris of that time so well as Puccini in *La Bohème*."[282] There is no written proof in this regard; quite the opposite seems to be true.[283] Debussy, in regards to the two settings of Murger's *Scènes del la vie de Bohème*, believed that both Puccini and Leoncavallo achieved nothing more than a joke.[284] During their meeting Puccini praised Debussy's opera for the many colors he achieved with his orchestration but complained that there was not an aria.[285]

---

[279] Howard Greenfeld, *Puccini* (New York: G. Putnam & Sons, 1980), 139.

[280] Mosco Carner, "Portrait of Debussy. 4: Debussy and Puccini," *The Musical Times* 108, no. 1492 (Jun., 1967): 502-505.

[281] Ibid.

[282] Jaime Pahissa, *Manuel De Falla: His Life and Works*, trans. Jean Wagstaff (Westport, MA: Hyperion Press), 170.

[283] Carner, "Debussy and Puccini," *The Musical Times*, 502-505.

[284] Ibid.

[285] Ibid.

Puccini studied the scores of Debussy and other foreign composers extensively. Following the European premiere of *Il Trittico*, the critic Renato Gaianus wrote a disparaging review wherein he reported that in his view the music was not modern enough. Puccini responded in a letter inviting Gaianus to Viareggio where he would discover the scores of Debussy, Strauss, and Dukas. He explained "they are worn because I have read, re-read, analysed, and made notes all over them."[286] In comparison, it was reported that, Debussy did not have any other composer's scores at his home.[287] The compositional techniques found in operas such as *Tristan und Isolde* or *Boris Godunov*, according to Grout, were absorbed by Debussy.[288] During composition of *Pelléas et Mélisande,* in a letter to Ernest Chausson that

> …the ghost of old Klingsor, alias R. Wagner. He appeared at a certain measure; so I tore everything up, and have started again in the search of a little formula made up of more personal phrases.[289]

Puccini and Debussy mutually shared an excitement of exploring various compositional techniques throughout their careers. For all their exploration, Debussy was an innovator who discovered and developed a new world of harmonic colors in his music and pioneered a new style of French declamation. Puccini was "an adaptor" meaning one who studied what was new and utilized it in his scores based on other what others did

---

[286] Carner, *Puccini: A Critical Biography*, 2nd ed., 172.

[287] Carner, "Debussy and Puccini," 503.

[288] Grout and Weigel-Williams, *A Short History of Opera*, 4th ed., 584.

[289] Ibid. Also quoted in Carolyn Abbate's, "Tristan' in the Composition of 'Pelléas,'" *19th Century Music* 5, no.2 (Autumn, 1981): 123.

with it in their compositions.[290] Puccini traveled as much as he could to supervise the rehearsals and productions of his operas but, at the same time, to attend performances of new works. Gatti-Casazza, while he was the General Manager of Milan's La Scala, wrote in his memoirs that Puccini attended rehearsals for the La Scala premiere of Richard Strauss's *Salome* and Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande*. Gatti-Casazza recalled that the composer might have had reservations about the operas themselves, but he was always interested in the physical production.[291]

In 1915, the Italian composer and conductor Alfredo Casella (1883-1947), a champion of modernism, introduced the second suite from Ravel's *Daphnis and Chloé* and Stravinsky's *Petrushka* to an Italian audience for the first time, when he performed them together on the same program. Reportedly, Ravel's work received a cold reception, but Stravinsky's evoked a warm response from the Italian audience.[292] Casella wrote an article for the Viennese arts journal *Anbruch*, discussing the meeting between Puccini and Schönberg in Florence on 1 April 1924. Carner notes that Casella was in Florence at the same time that Puccini attended a performance of Arnold Schönberg's atonal masterpiece *Pierrot Lunaire*. At the time, Puccini was unsympathetic to the atonal technique, yet it has been reported that Puccini did have foresight to say: "Who can say that Schönberg will not be a point of departure for a goal in the distant future?" [293] Schönberg's *Pierrot*

---

[290] Ibid., 503.

[291] Gatti-Cassazza, 273.

[292] John C. G. Waterhouse, "Portrait of Debussy. 9: Debussy and Italian Music," *The Musical Times* 109, no. 1503 (May, 1968); 414.

[293] Budden, *Puccini: His Life and Works*, 441.

was in fact a point of departure for a goal for Puccini himself later in 1924, when he used sonorities comprised of augmented ninths, and tritones plus perfect fourths for the ghosts' music in *Turandot,* Act I.[294] Alma Mahler described a chance meeting with Puccini, quickly arranged by Casella in 1920 in Vienna, at a concert performance of Schönberg's *Gurrelieder*. Although, the piece did not make a favorable impression on Puccini, Mahler writes that, at one point, he confided in her that he "had come to admire Schönberg's work!"[295]

Puccini's contemporaries Mascagni, Leoncavallo, and Giordano snubbed Debussy's compositional style.[296] Younger Italians like Zandonai and Alfano would come to embrace the palette of colors that were offered by Debussy's technique. Franco Alfano spent time in Paris around 1900 and in 1903 he composed *Risurezione,* where one can hear the traces of Debussy in a score which has been labeled "Puccinian." Later in Alfano's career, his acknowledged masterpiece *Sakuntala* (1914-1920) demonstrated influences of Debussy, Wagner, Strauss, and Ravel.[297]

---

[294] Ashbrook and Powers, *Puccini's Turandot*, 102.

[295] Alma Mahler Werfel, *And the Bridge is Love* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1958), 152.

[296] Waterhouse, "Portrait of Debussy. 9: Debussy and Italian Music," 414.

[297] Ibid., 414-415.

Puccini's *Il Trittico* Musical Language: *Il Tabarro*

How does Puccini expand the boundaries of modernism with the techniques he borrows from other composers? How does he combine these borrowings with what is traditionally Italian to produce a more forward sounding score? What did Alberto Gasco hear at the European premiere of *Il Trittico* that lead to him to write a favorable review when the same style infuriated other critics? What did Puccini do to make the operas more accessible to his audience than the works of composers who were unabashed modernists?

The first place to begin this examination is with the word, *verismo*. Puccini had to achieve an atmospheric evocation of physical and emotional darkness which underscores the lower level of the social strata, a dark sinister world, where the drama culminates in a crime of passion. At the same time, by definition, musically Puccini needed to describe the contemporary time period in Paris. To evoke the Parisian waterfront, he adds background atmospheric sounds of Tug Boat whistles and car horns to add local color. We have already encountered atmospheric local sounds in *Tosca* Act 1 with his use of a church organ, cannons, and church bells. In addition, in Act 3, Puccini uses church bells against the sound of cow bells to musically illustrate the dawn in Rome in 1800. All these sounds fall under the *verismo* definition of adding color to define and set locale.[298] In *Tabarro*, it is significant that he turned to the composer who, at the time, was most strongly linked to the city of lights. In *Tabarro*, it is significant that Puccini

[298] Arman Schwartz, "Puccini, in the Distance," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 23, no. 3 (2012): 168; accessed 15 March 2015. Doi:10.1017/S0954586712000092.

turned to the composer who, at the time, was most strongly linked to the city of lights and water was also a potent symbol in Maeterlinck's play and consequently Debussy used this parallel motion in his opera *Pelléas et Mélisande* where parallel motion of open fifths sets the mood together with an undulating rhythm (see Figure 21).[299]

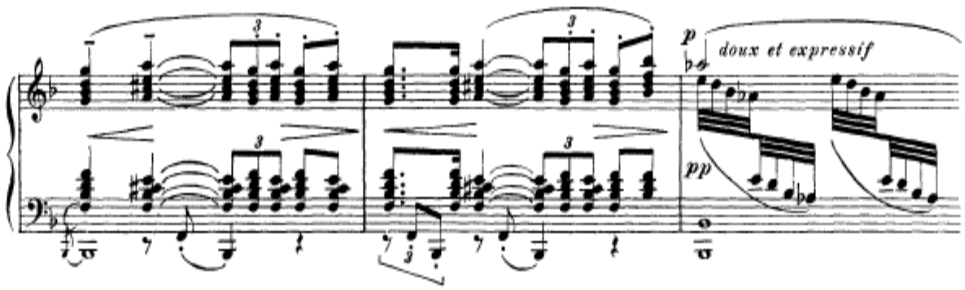


Figure 21: Debussy, *Pelléas et Mélisande*, Opening.

Puccini uses parallel motion (parallel 5th) in the upper strings on a modal melody, while the lower strings sustain an ostinato bass in pizzicato chords which further adds to the feeling of motion and together creates an unstable tonal center (see Figure 22).[300]

[299] Claude Debussy, *Pelléas et Mélisande* Act 1 (Paris: Durand & Fils, 1907), on line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 30 March 2015, http://conquest.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/b/b5/IMSLP26383-PMLP09094-Debussy-PelleasVSfe.pdf.

[300] Giacomo Puccini, *Il Tabarro* (Milan: Ricordi, 1918); on line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 24 March 2015, http://conquest.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8a/IMSLP48473-PMLP60080-Puccini_-_Il_Tabarro__orch._score_.pdf.

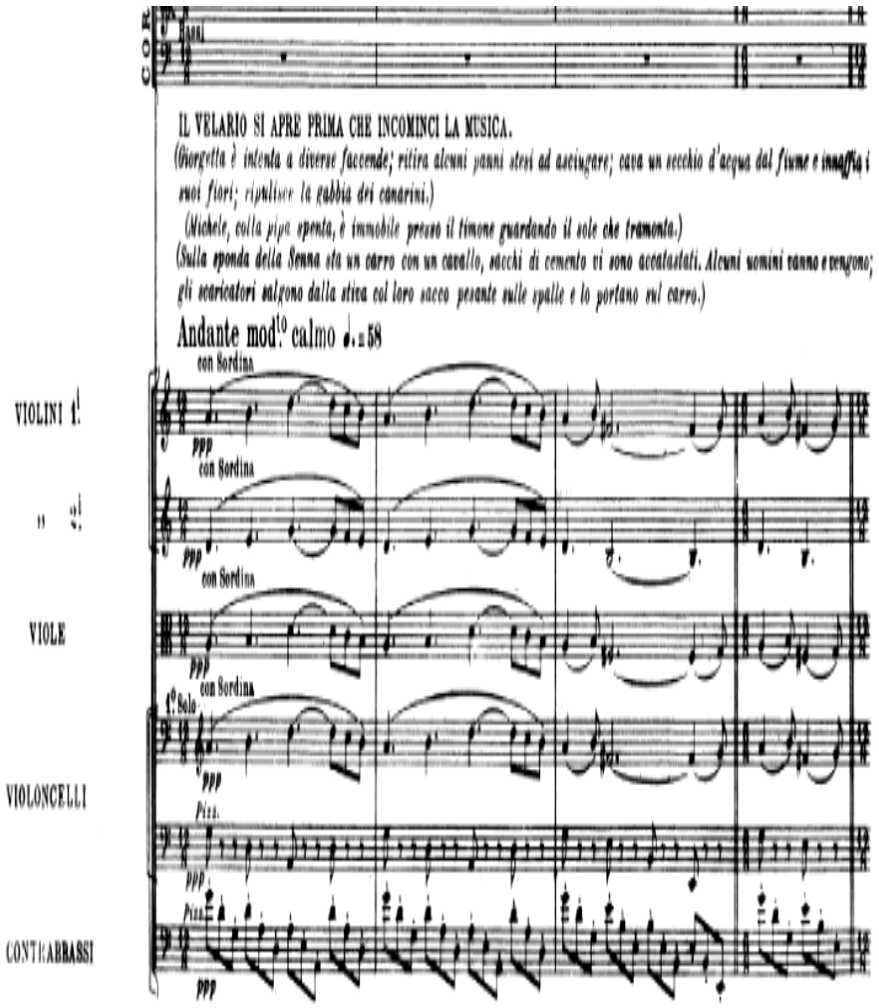


Figure 22: Puccini, *Il Tabarro* ,Opening Measures.

Puccini adds to this instability with his chordal harmonies. The parallel chords are open; D-A, B-E, G-D, which are sounding against pizzicato G, D, A, G arpeggiated figures. Therefore, D-A is sounded against the bass G-D causing a mild dissonance. In

other words, if we consider these chords individually, G Minor/D Minor, E Minor/D Minor, A Minor/G Minor, this could sound like a Stravinsky inspired, Puccinian colored, suggestion of multiple tonal centers or "bitonality" (see Figure 23). This "Seine" motive which has a feeling of a minor key center, does not fully resolve until rehearsal number [7] when Luigi sings a toast in C Major, a full 83 measures into the opera.

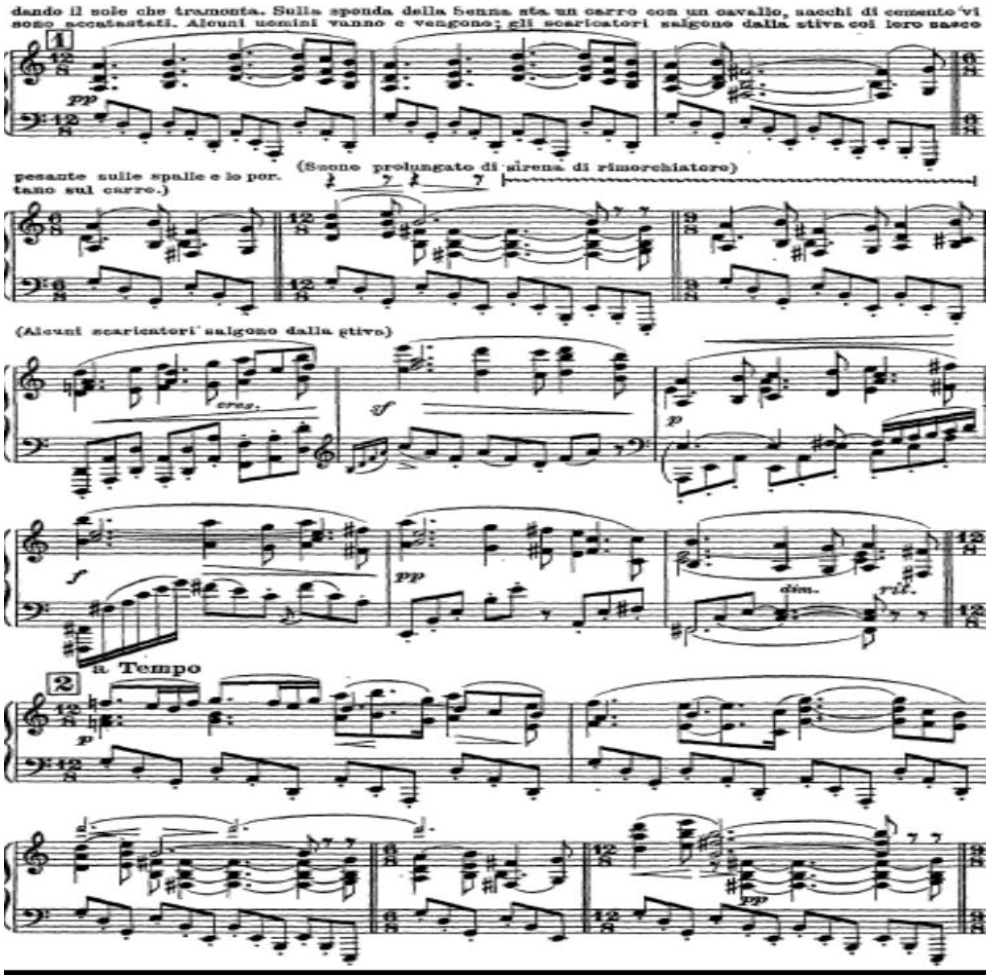


Figure 23: Puccini, *Il Tabarro*, Seine Motive.[301]

[301] Giacomo Puccini, Il Tabarro (Ricordi: Milan 1918); on line at IMSLP, Petrucci Music Library, accessed 3-24-2015, http://javanese.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/6/6f/IMSLP161910-PMLP60080-Puccini_-_Il_tabarro_VS_IArchUNC.pdf.

Parallel fifths were still considered offensive to academics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries yet, as early as 1896, Puccini used parallel triads played by the brass to open Act 2 of *La Bohème* (see Figure 24).[302] According to Groos and Parker, the fact that Puccini was so blatant in their use and their prominent placement, was not an accident. Such writing invited the critics, especially Hanslick, to write his negative criticisms.[303]

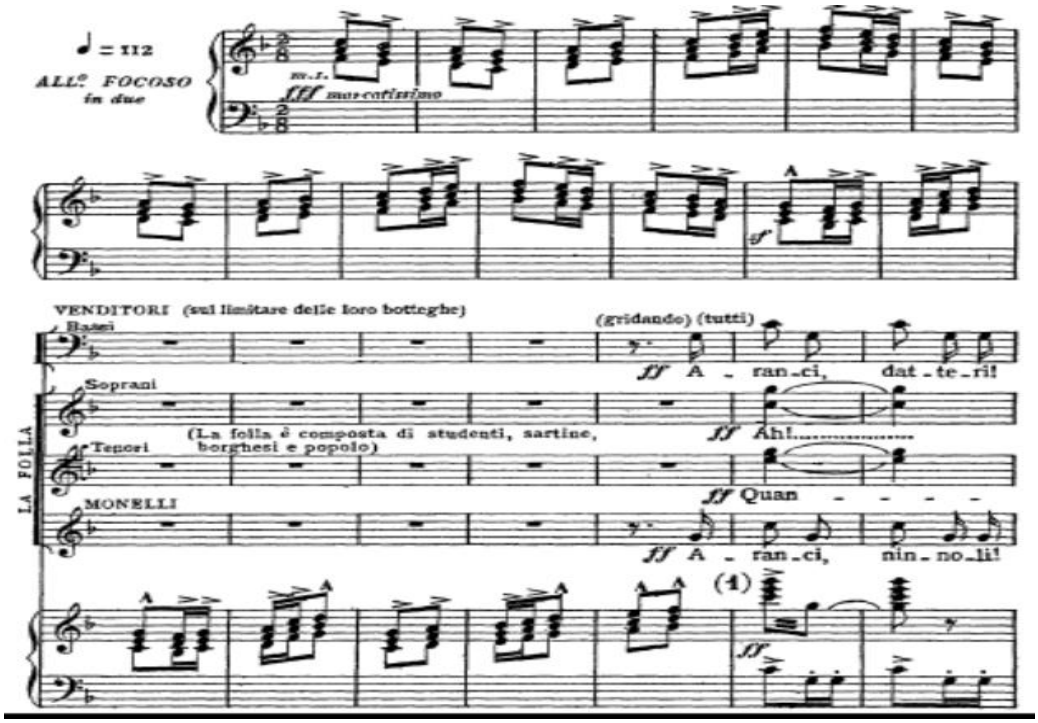


Figure 24: Puccini, *La Bohème*, Act 2.

---

[302] Giacomo Puccini, *La Bohème,* Act 2 (Milan: Ricordi, 1898); on line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 12 February 2015, http://petrucci.mus.auth.gr/imglnks/usimg/0/00/IMSLP43676-PMLP50378-Puccini-BohemeFSric.pdf.

[303] Groos and Parker, *La Bohème*, 135.

At the opening of Act 3 of *Bohème*, Puccini uses parallel open fifths to describe a light snowfall. Here he develops the phrase into a fuller, more lyrical theme representing the last few patrons inside the Inn. From offstage they vocalize this theme which is juxtaposed against the motive of Musetta's waltz sung by Musetta herself (see Figure 24).[304] He has created this scene cinematically using an early non-diegetic technique juxtaposing the external voices of women going to market against the clientele seated inside the Inn where Marcello and Musetta work. The musical source, so to speak, is coming from inside the Inn (see Figure 25).[305]

[304] Giacomo Puccini, *La Bohème* Act 3, (Milan: Ricordi, 1898), on line IMSLP Petrucci Music Library accessed February 12,2015, http://petrucci.mus.auth.gr/imglnks/usimg/0/00/IMSLP43676-PMLP50378-Puccini-BohemeFSric.pdf.

[305] Mervyn Cooke, "Film music," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 15 March 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09647.

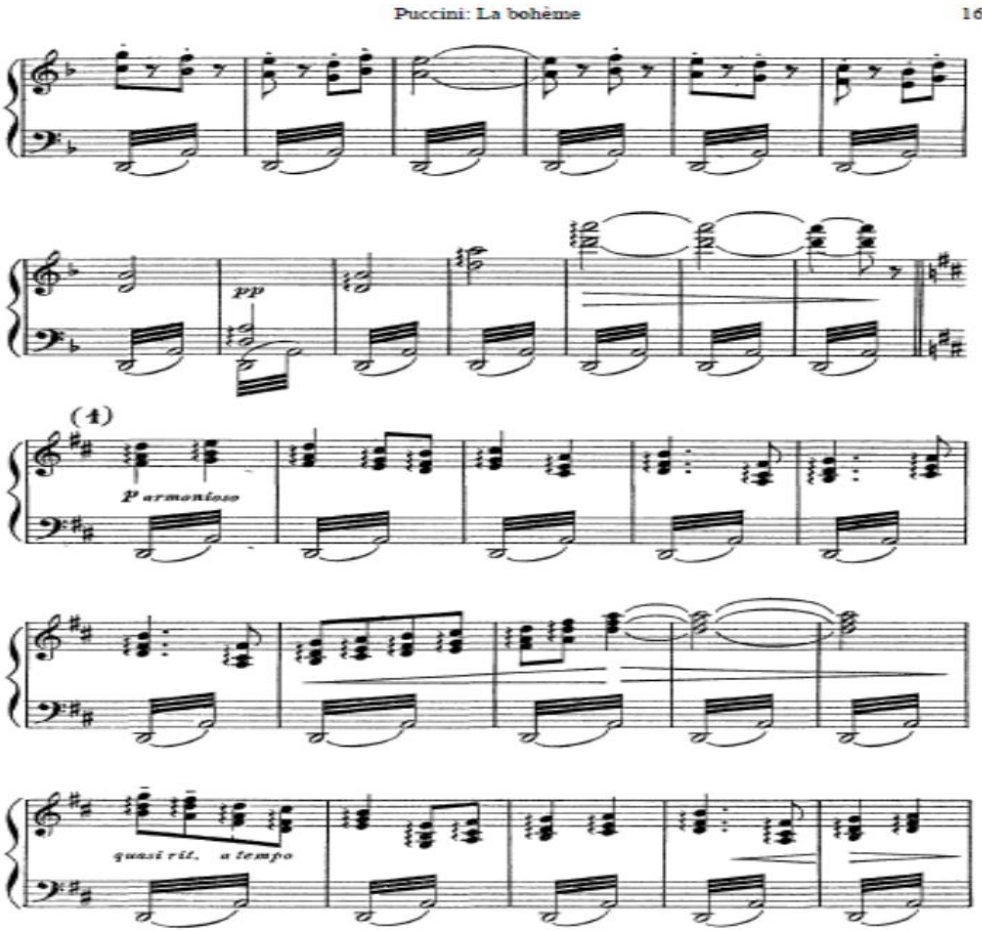


Figure 25: Puccini, *La Bohéme*, Act 3.

As we have mentioned previously, Puccini was known to have admired Stravinsky, but he borrowed from Stravinsky in his own way. During the summer of 1913, Puccini was in Paris and attended a performance of Serge Diaghilev's *Ballet Russes.* The troupe was performing Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du Printemps.* Puccini felt that the "music was sheer cacophony, strange, but not without a certain talent. But, all in all,

the stuff of a madman."[306] It was another ballet that totally won Puccini over, and that was *Petrushka* of 1911. During the first section of this ballet called, "Shrove-tide Fair," Stravinsky musically portrays "shrill" music coming from an organ grinder. To achieve this sound, he employs three clarinets, bass clarinet, flutes and celeste (see Figure 26). [307]

[306] Carner, *Puccini: A Critical Biography* 2nd ed., 173.

[307] Igor Stravinsky, Berlin: *Petrushka*, (Berlin: Editions Russes de Musique, 1912; repr., Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1988); on line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 24 March 2015, http://imslp.org/wiki/Petrushka_%28Stravinsky,_Igor%29.

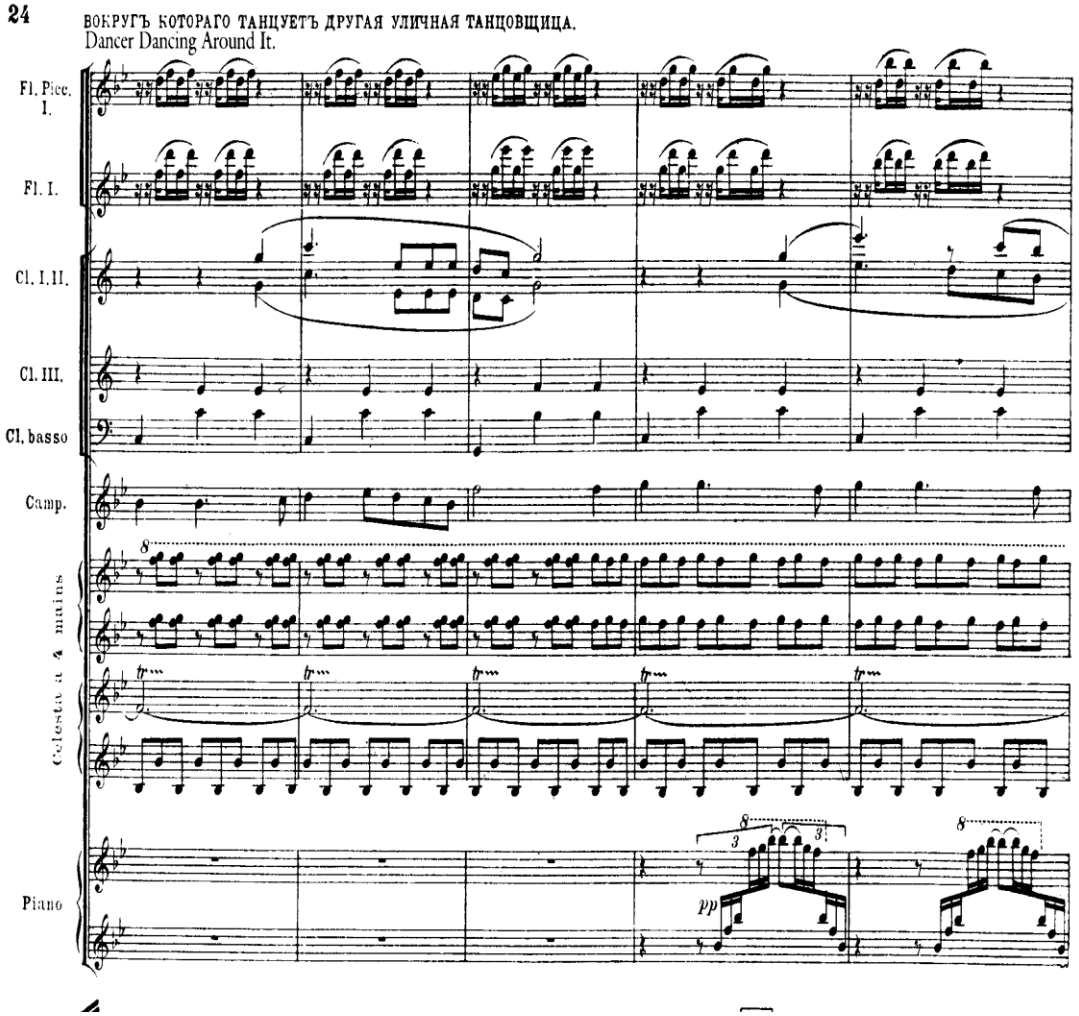


Figure 26: Stravinsky, *Petrushka*, "Organ Grinder."

Puccini paid homage to Stravinsky in *Il Tabarro* with the appearance of an organ grinder to play music allowing the audience to see the not quite so hidden passion between Giorgetta and the young stevedore Luigi as they dance. With his superior techniques of orchestration, Puccini creates the sound of an instrument that is old and out

of tune using flutes, and clarinets playing in diminished octaves to achieve that unique coloration (see Figure 27).[308]

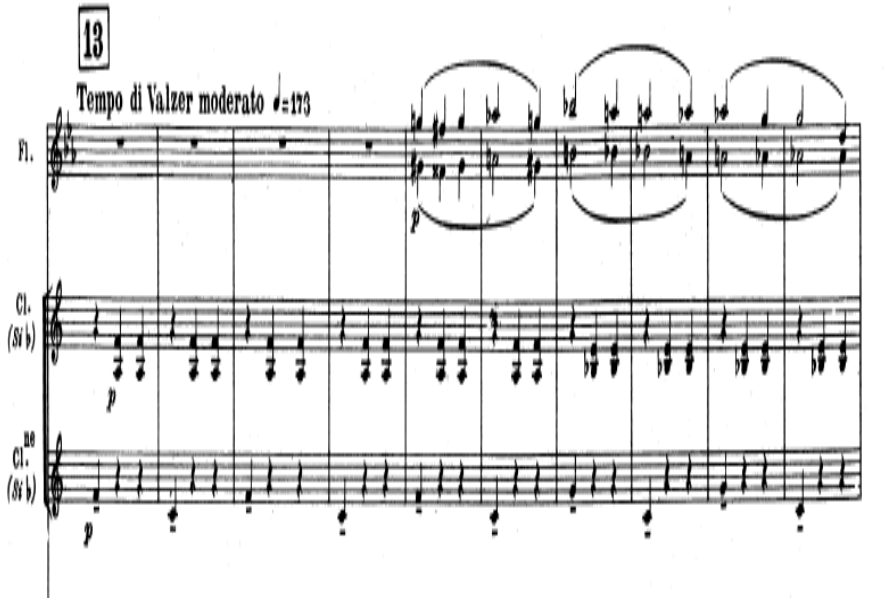


Figure 27: Puccini, *Il Tabarro*, "Organ Grinder."

In the mid-section of the work, Puccini writes a duet that is in the style of his most beloved love duets from *La Bohème*, *Tosca* or even *Madama Butterfly*. This is the first of two duets between Giorgetta and Luigi; in it they dream of a different life away from the water and long for a quiet life in their native city of *Belleville*. It is a soaring lyric duet accompanied by a lush full orchestra with strings doubling the vocal line, the Italianate style typical of Puccini and very much what the audience and critics expected from him (see figure 28).[309]

[308] Puccini, *Il Tabarro*, on line at IMSLP, accessed 25 March 2015.

[309] Ibid.

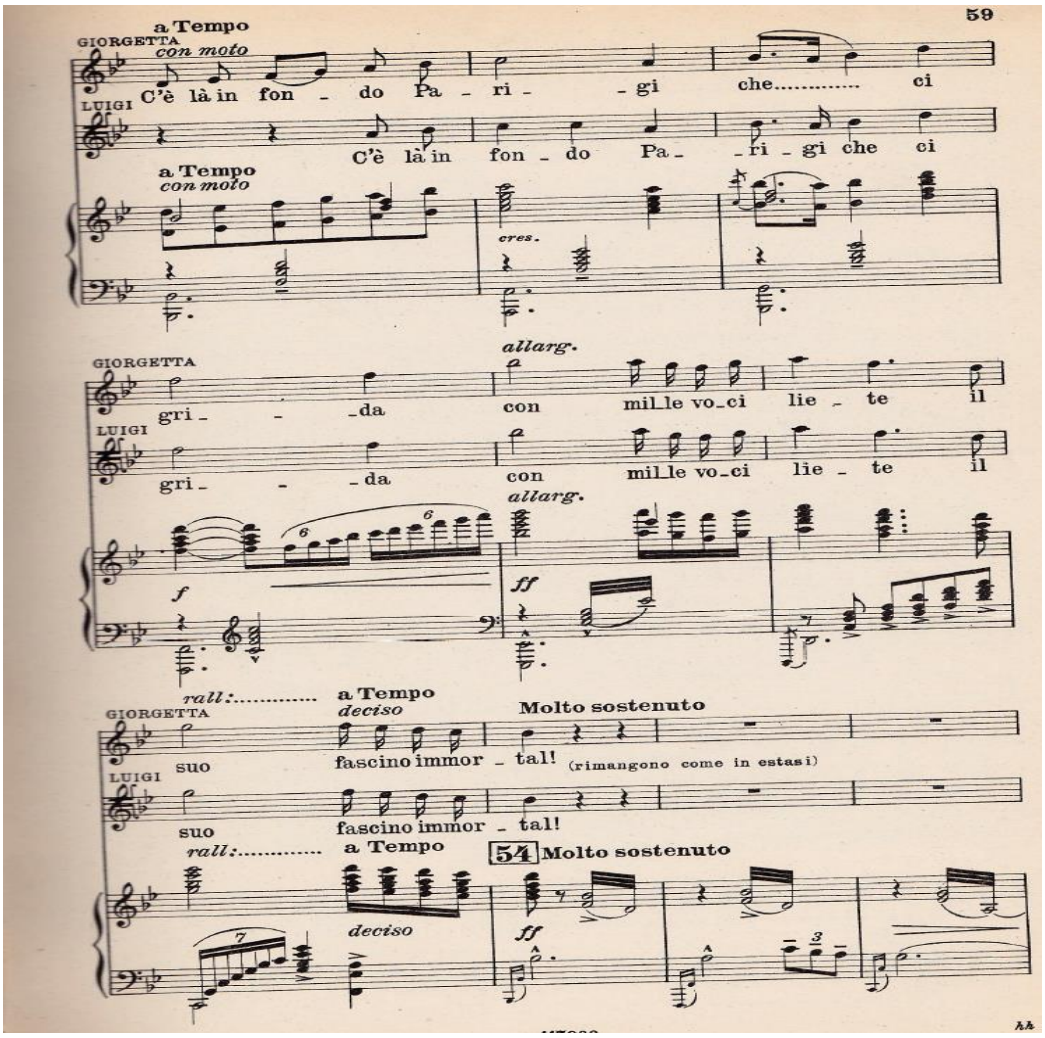


Figure 28: Puccini, *Il Tabarro*, Duet Giorgetta and Luigi

Puccini was a compulsive editor of his compositions and continually refined them for quite some time after their respective premieres until the point that the pieces satisfied the composer and public. In 1921, three years after the world première he decided to alter two sections of *Il Tabarro*. The first appears to be a minor change but the second intensifies the character of the barge master Michele. The first piece is a section of the second duet between Giorgetta and Luigi, when they are finalizing their plans to meet later that evening. It was originally in the key of C Minor at the time of the premiere

performances in 1918 and 1919. In the edit of 1921, Puccini rearranged that section up one-half step to C# Minor (see Figures 29 and 30 for this revision).[310] There is no documentation as to why this transposition occurred although Greenwald in her article, "*Il Tabarro* and the Dilemma of Operatic Transposition," does try to rationalize it as a product of *verismo's* adherence to the musical and dramatic format.[311] Greenwald's analysis suggests that the chosen tonal key centers contributed to the overall structure of the piece and modifications would change the framework of the section in relation to the piece as a dramatically unified work. [312]

[310] Puccini, *Il Tabarro*, online at IMSLP, accessed 23 March 2015.

[311] Greenwald, "*Tabarro* Dilemma," 531.

[312] Ibid., 532.

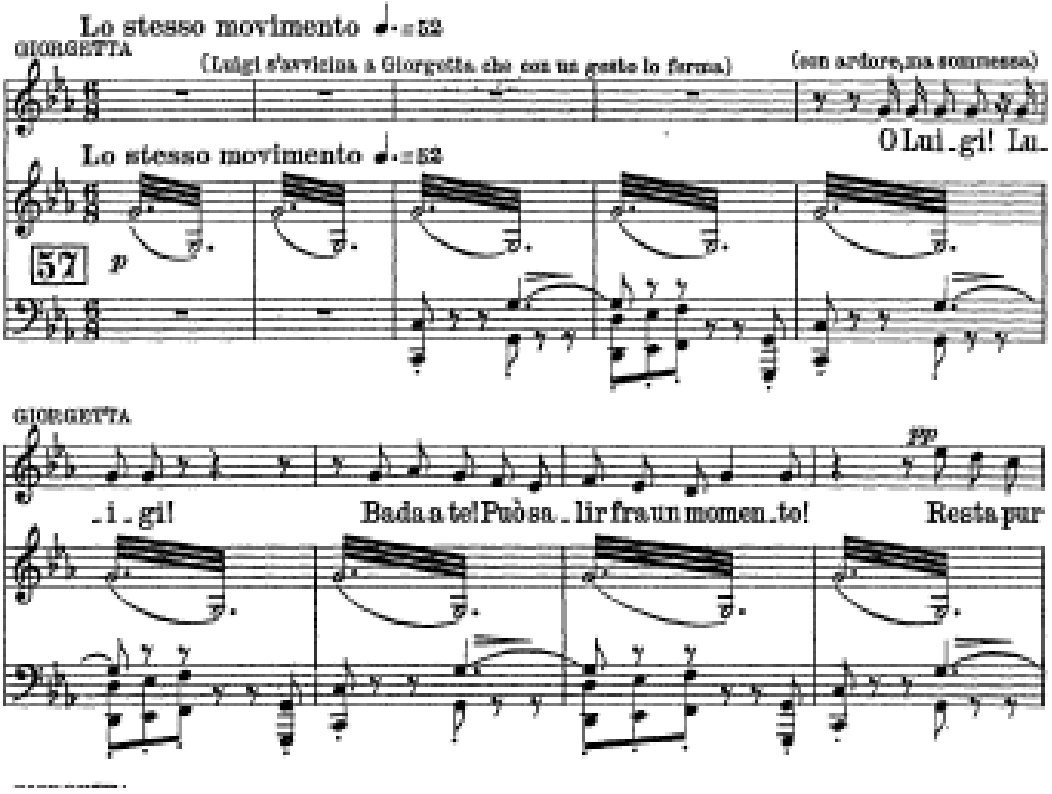


Figure 29 : Puccini, *Il Tabarro*, 1918 C Minor.

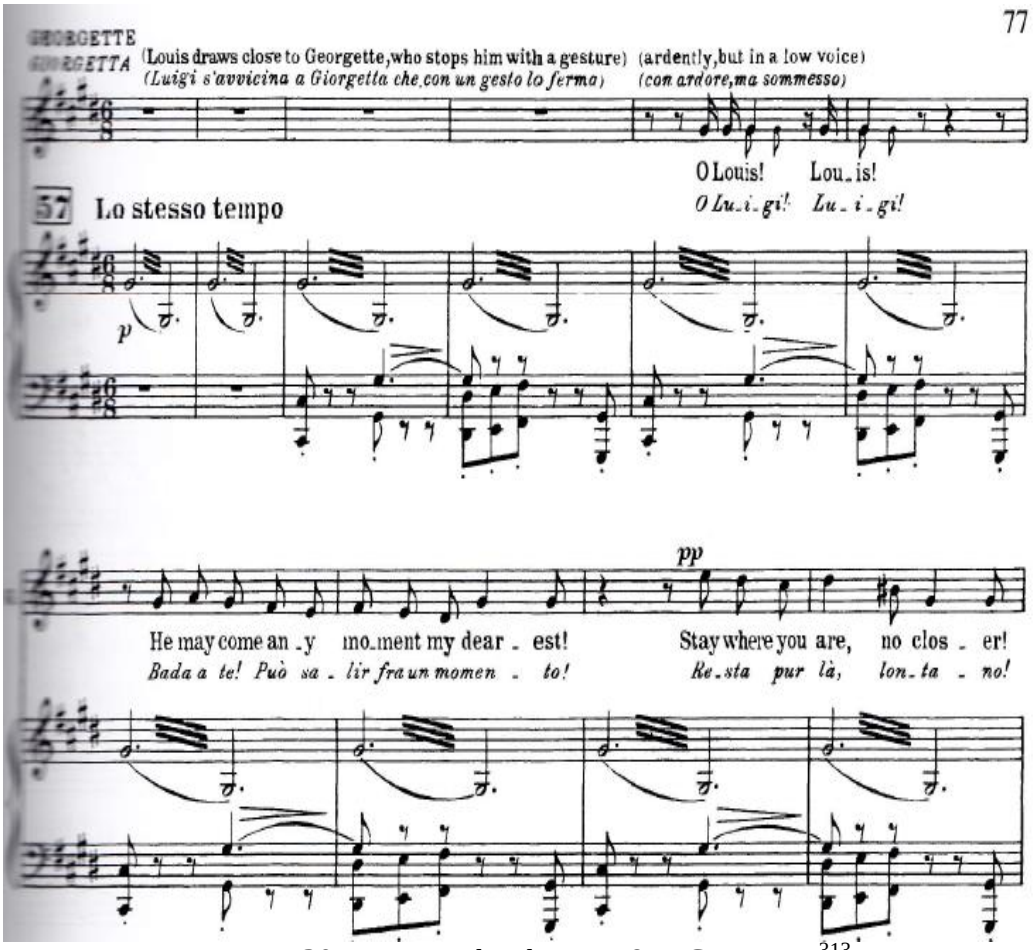


Figure 30: Puccini, *Il Tabarro*, 1921 C# Minor.[313]

The second major revision was the monologue for Michele near the end of the opera. In 1918, Puccini wrote an aria called "Scorri, fiume eterno!" in which Michele speaks about the Seine continuing to flow with all its mystery. On 1 November 1921, almost three years after the world premiere, Puccini wrote to Adami that he was planning

[313] Giacomo Puccini, *Il Trittico: Il Tabarro*, ed.Mario Parenti (Milan: Ricordi, 1918; repr. 1960), 77.

on revising this aria because he felt the original "was too long, too academic, and weakens the end of the drama."[314]

The 1918 version is fifty measures in length, in the key of C Minor, and in an AABA form. There is an initial phrase of ten measures which is repeated with a more expansive vocal line echoed by the orchestra. The most distinctive feature is the double-dotted eighth note rhythmic movement that could be described as funereal, especially combined with the sentiments of the text that the Seine is forever flowing no matter what misery and despair are in store (See Figure 31). The vocal line, in the second A section, is developed and is supported by the orchestra's mirroring the melody. [315]

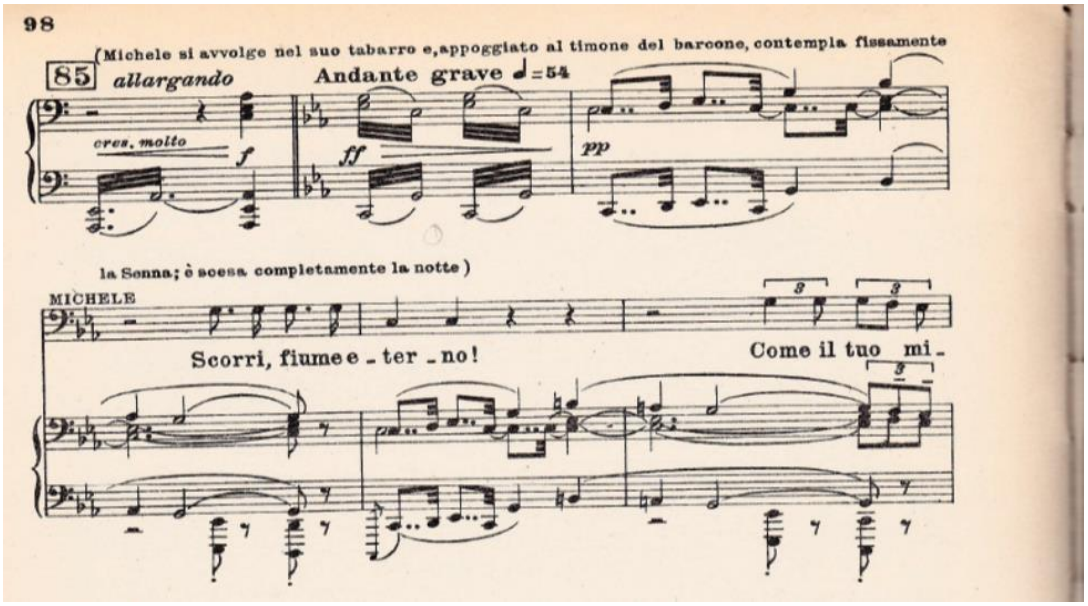


Figure 31: Puccini, *Il Tabarro*, 1918 "Scorri fiume eterno!" A section.

[314] Adami, *Puccini Letters*, ed. Malkin, Letter 195, 279.

[315] Puccini, *Il Tabarro*, online at IMSLP, accessed 23 March 2015.

The center B section modulates to E-flat Major and begins with the same rhythmic motive but with a more lyrical quality in addition to quite a bit of dissonance combined with the favored half-step descending chromatics (see Figure 32).[316]

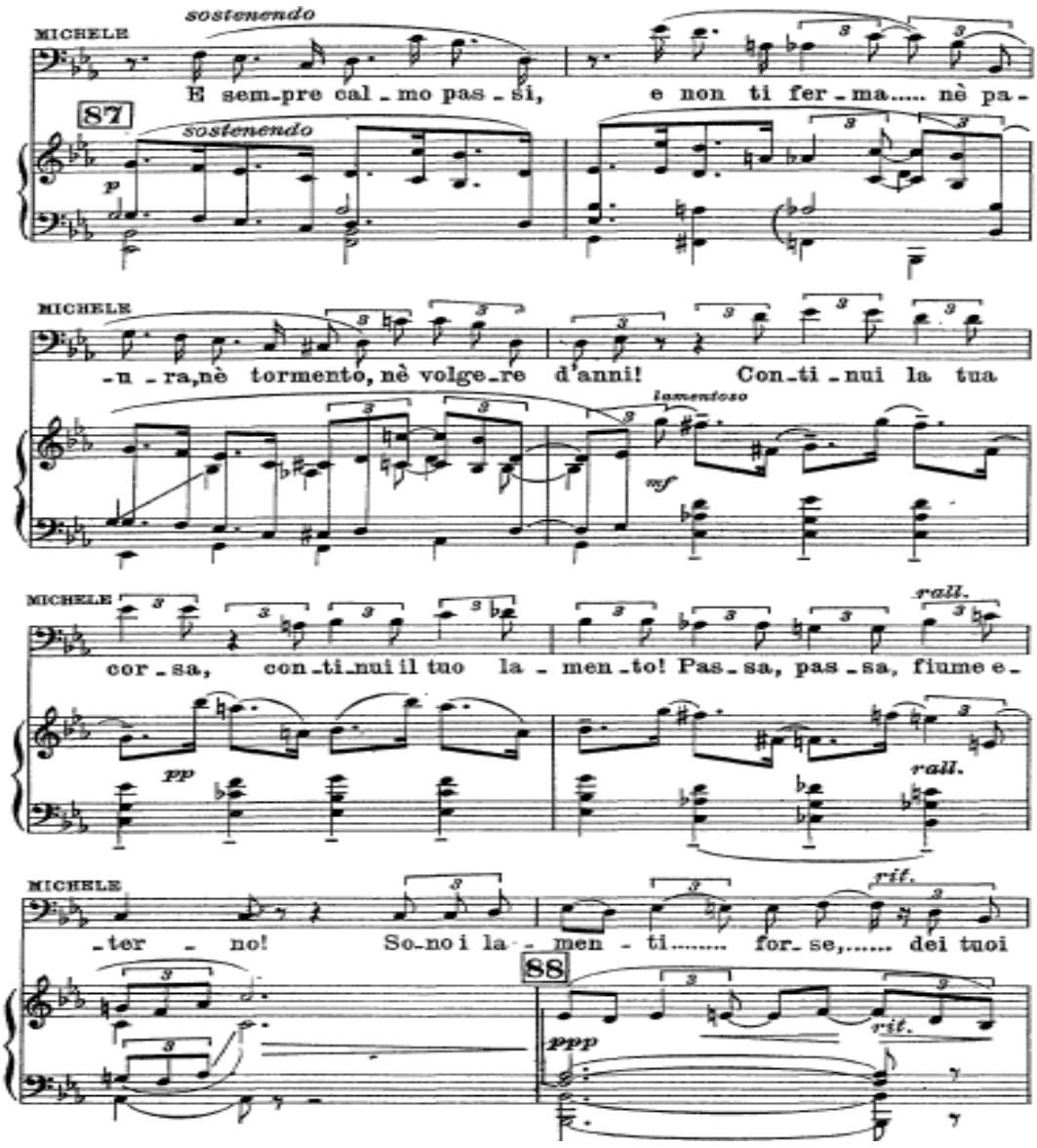


Figure 32: Puccini, *Il Tabarro*, 1918 "Scorri Fiume eterno!" B Section.

[316] Ibid.

Finally, in the even more developed return to the A section, in C Minor, repeating the distinctive dotted rhythm. The orchestral scoring is highlighted by winds and brass doubling the melody with the violins, violas and cellos playing thirty-second-note chromatic scale passages representing the eternally rushing waters of the Seine as a metaphor of the rushing emotions in Michele's life.

For the revision of 1921, called "Nulla Silenzio," Puccini shortened the aria to only forty-two measures. The sentiment of the text has now shifted from the eternal river to the turmoil in Michele's life as he fully realizes that his wife is having an affair. With the new text, the vocal line is also adjusted, yet the orchestral part remains the same. In the new B section, which begins in E Minor, Michele is trying to discover which one of his workers is involved with his wife. Once he suspects Luigi, the tonal center shifts to G Minor and Puccini presents a reminiscence theme associated with Luigi and Giorgetta. (see Figure 33).[317] During the transition back to the key of C Minor and the A section, he builds the tension by bringing back the double-dotted rhythm and finally returns to the A section as originally composed and performed in the 1918 version (see Figure 34).

[317] Ibid.

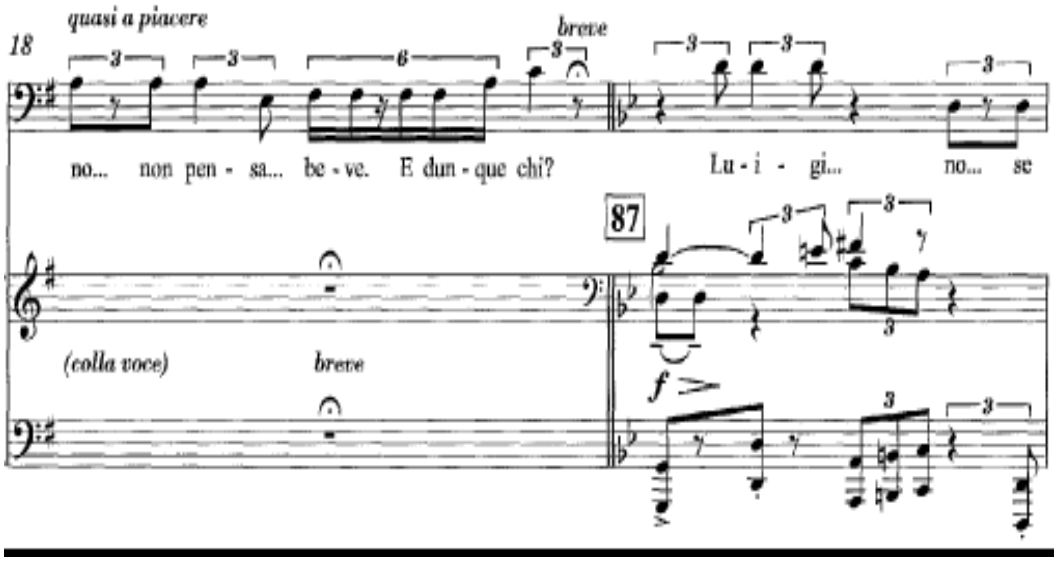


Fig 33: Puccini, *Il Tabarro*, 1921 "Nulla Silenzio."

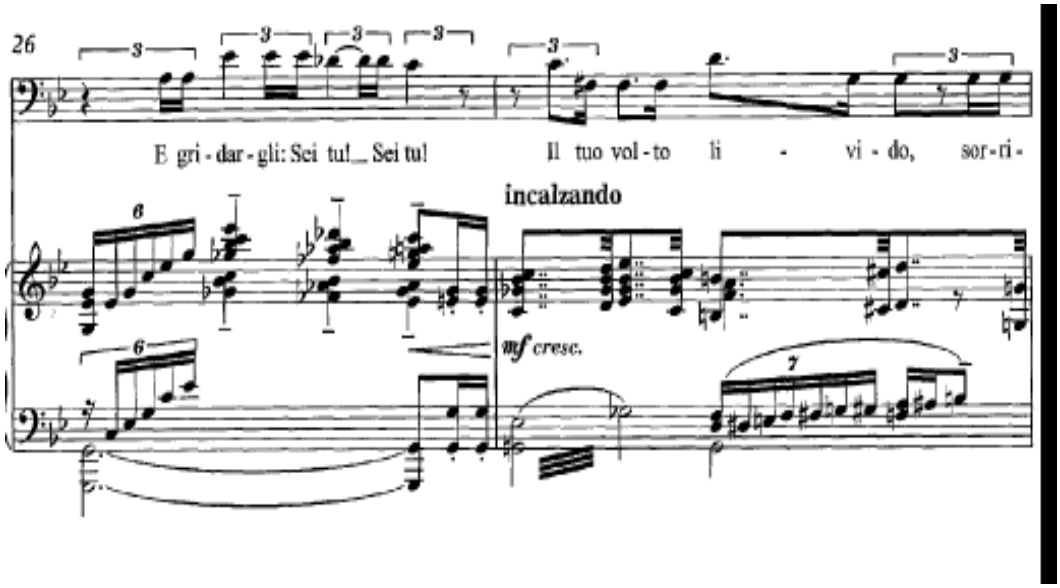


Figure 34: Puccini, *Il Tabarro*, 1921"Nulla Silenzio" transition.

One improvement over the original version is that the "Nulla Silenzio" creates more tension and, dramatically, it does not stop the dramatic action moving ahead to its inevitable *Grand-Guignol* conclusion. The opera's final nine measures in C Minor highlight the double-dotted rhythm heard previously, now used to describe the murder, with the entire orchestra proclaiming the seine has acquired another victim. One more small point remains: in the original 1918 version, Giorgetta has a final phrase which ends on a climatic high C for the soprano. By the 1921 version, this music had been cut, and the orchestra was left to emphasize the dramatic climax This is music that is filled with revulsion and terror simply by juxtaposing the rhythm with a falling half-step chromatic line which ends with the raised VI falling to a minor I (see Figure 35) .[318]

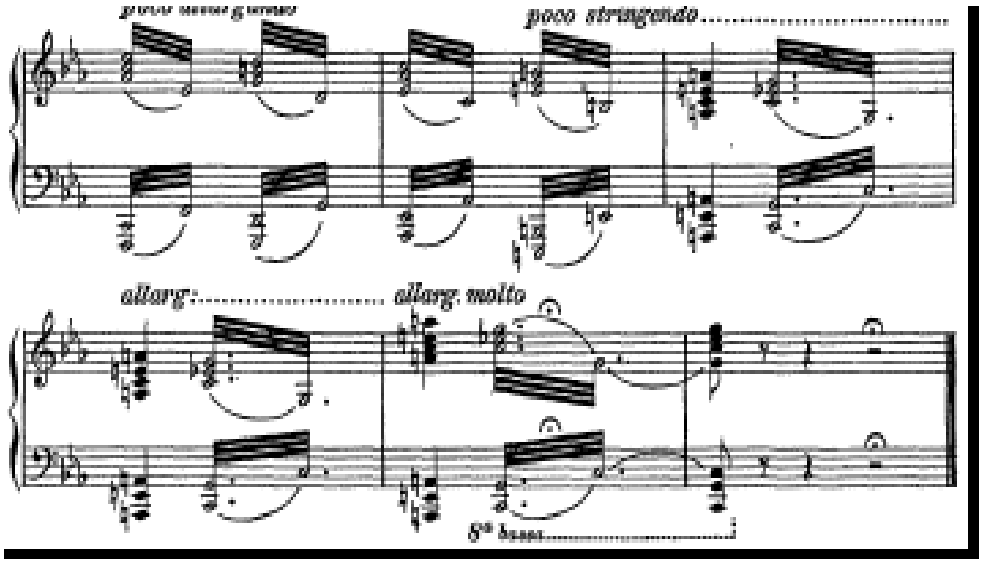


Figure 35: Puccini, *Il Tabarro*, Finale.

[318]Ibid.

Puccini's *Il Trittico* Musical Language: *Suor Angelica*

As stated earlier in this chapter the storyline of *Suor Angelica* is a very simple one of pathos and sentimentality. While composing this work, Puccini, occasionally, receive a stamp of approval from a special source. His sister, Iginia, had herself entered the monastic order and was Mother Superior of a cloistered order at the Convent of Vicopelago.[319] During the composition of *Suor Angelica*, Puccini would visit the Convent and, as related by Father Dante del Fiorentino, during his visits the sisters wept when he played the music of "Senza Mama."[320] Music for the church played an important part in the young Puccini's life since until his early twenties so it would not be surprising to find many examples of liturgical prayers and many liturgical cadences and harmonies woven into this score.

Suor Angelica can be divided into two distinct sections. The first, which is mostly episodic, pastoral and idyllic, illustrates a day in the life of the convent nuns which, Puccini might have witnessed from his visits to the Convent in Vicopelago. The monastic order depicted in the opera is cloistered so there is little or no contact with the outside world. The drama actually commences with the entrance of the Princess Aunt, who launches the more dramatic second part of the opera.

As in *Il Tabarro*, nature plays a significant role in the drama. The flowers in the garden that Angelica tends are represented by the upward harp glissando followed by an eighth-note downward pizzicato figure in the strings. The flow of water in a fountain is

[319] Budden, *Puccini*, 374.

[320] del Fiorentino, *Immortal Bohemian*, 169.

depicted by upper winds (piccolo, flutes and clarinets) joined by the harp and a triangle in alternating eighth note chords, which suggests the water shimmering and glistening. Nature is also depicted with a variety of animals. A sole piccolo represents a bird singing in a tree somewhere above the courtyard, the stinging of wasps when their nest is disturbed by one of the sisters is orchestrated with the bassoon, viola and cellos in a five-note ascending chromatic scale concluding with the oboe, English horn and clarinet with a jarring drop of a tritone. The trilling of oboes in thirds represents the bleating of lambs and a quick eighth note harmonic chord in the string and winds, followed by a sustained wind chord, represents the braying of a donkey used to carry food items donated to the convent.

In contrast to the never-ending motion of the River Seine in *Tabarro*, the listener is lulled into a state of serene calm with the tranquil opening of *Suor Angelica*. The opening theme played by the bells, representing the convent's chapel carillon call to afternoon prayer is echoed by the strings in groups of slurred quarter notes with a sole piccolo to represent a bird singing (see Figure 36).[321] There is also a similarity with the opening of *Il Tabarro*, whereas in the first piece there were stevedores singing in the hold of the ship; here nuns are singing in the church (see Figure 37).[322]

[321] Giacomo Puccini, *Suor Angelica* (Milan: Ricordi, 1918), on line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 5 March 2015, http://imslp.us/php/linkhandler.php?path=/scores/Forzano_Giovacchino_1970/Puccini_-_Suor_Angelica_%28orch._score%29.pdf.

[322] Ibid.

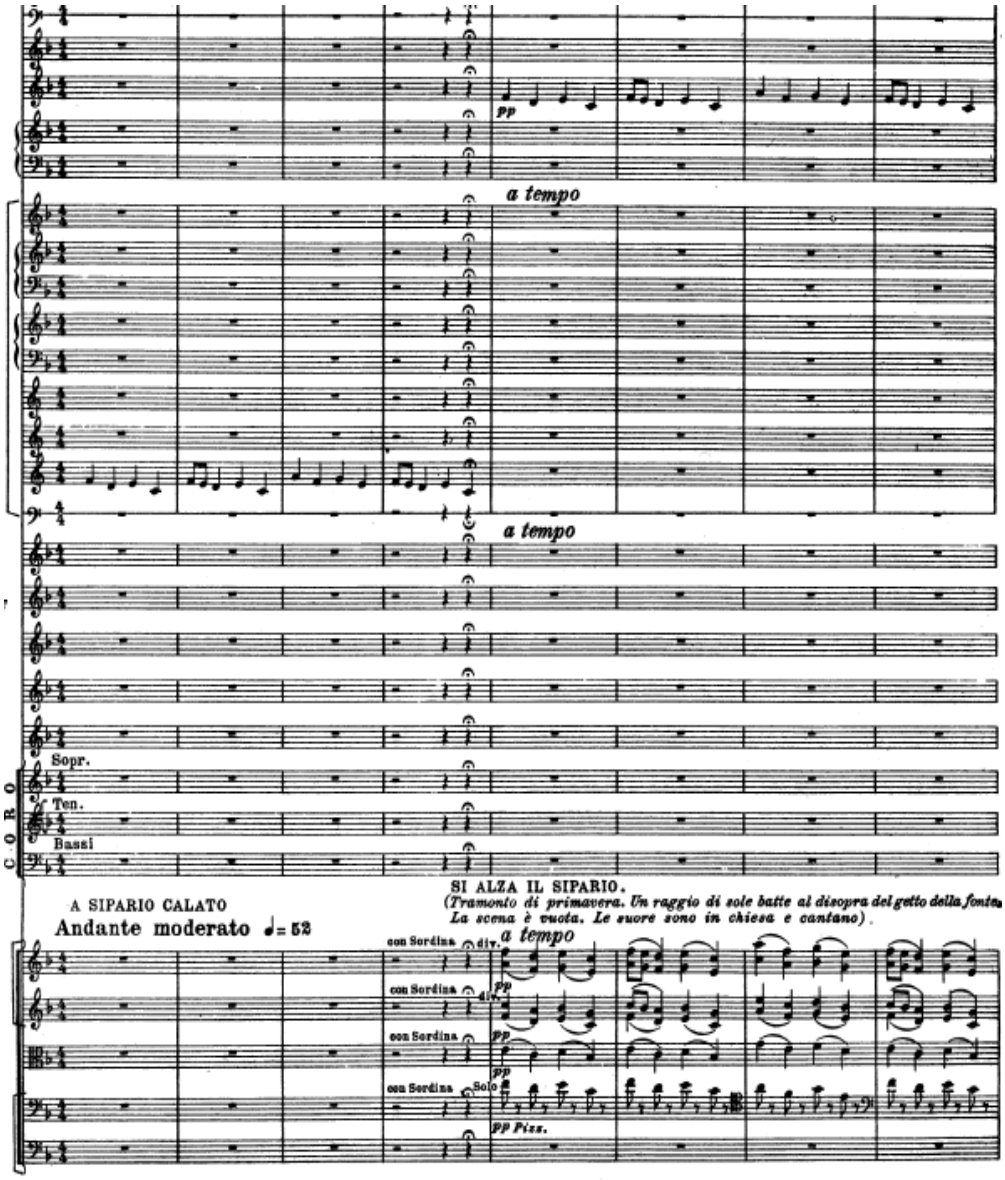


Figure 36: Puccini, *Suor Angelic*a, Opening.

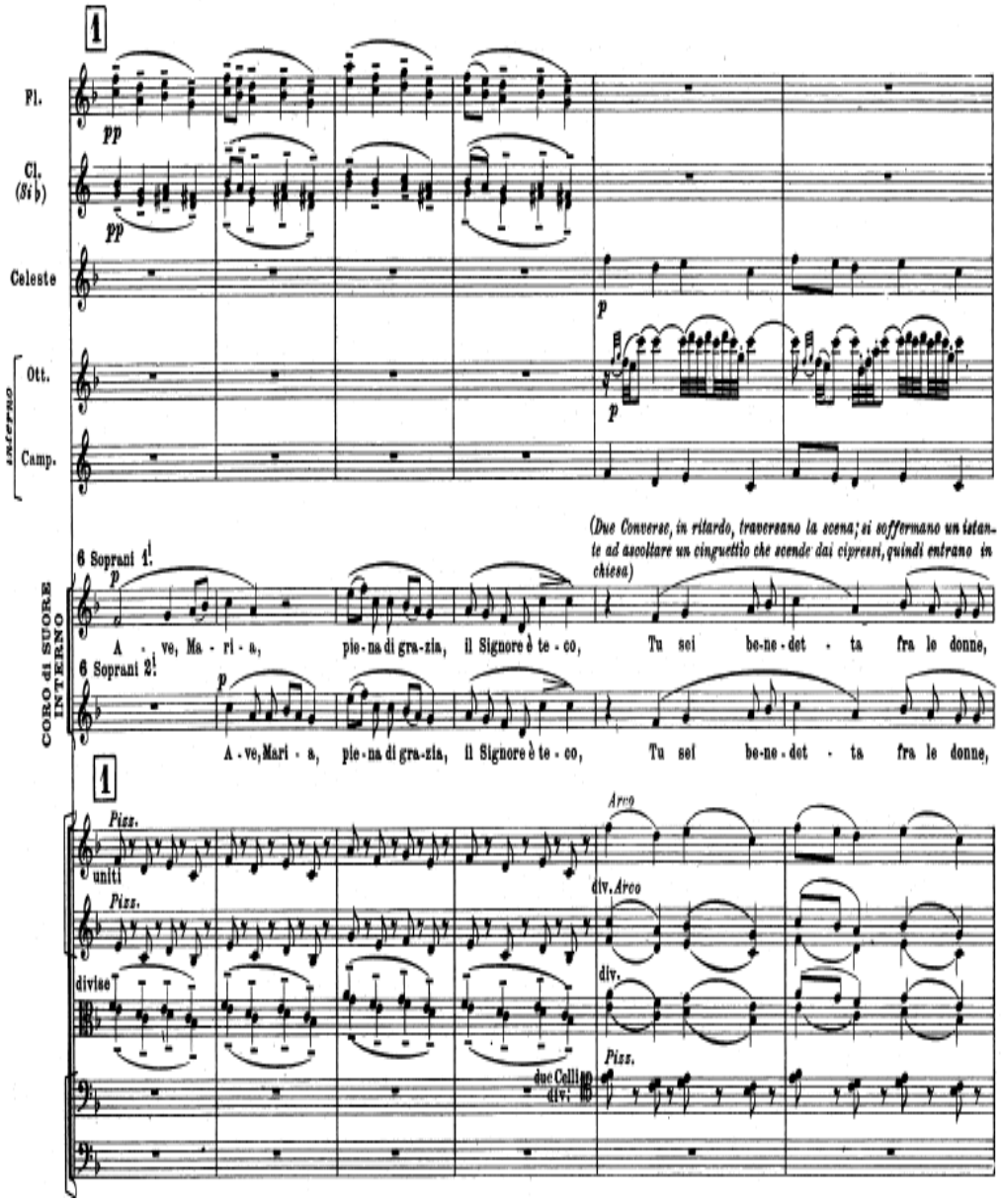


Figure 37: Puccini, *Suor Angelica*, Convent.

According to *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music*, pastorale traits include dotted rhythms in 6/8 or 12/8 meter, and the use of double reed instruments and flutes.[323] If the first section is an evocation of the serenity of nature and the tranquility of the convent, the second section, beginning with the appearance of Angelica's Aunt, the Princess, changes the mood utterly. With her arrival, the world that Angelica was forced to leave behind intrudes into her life as part of the convent. Puccini composes only fifteen measures of music for her entrance, a jagged eighth-note theme broken up by eighth-note rests. The key center of the music is C-sharp Minor, but it is very difficult to find a tonal center as he prolongs the use of C Minor with French horn sustained chords which create dissonances along with an idea of a "bi-tonality". Puccini orchestrates her entrance with lower strings, French horns, (representing a sense of her nobility), and bassoon (see Figure 38).[324] It would appear that the serene, tranquil, very tonal world of the convent has been shattered by the entrance of this woman.

[323] The New Harvard Dictionary of Music, Don Michael Randel ed. s,v, "pastorale," accessed 29 March 2015, http://books.google.com/books/p/harvard?q=Pastoral&vid=ISBN9780674011632&hl=en_US&ie=UTF-8&oe=UTF-8&btnG=Go#v=snippet&q=Pastoral&f=false.

[324] Puccini, *Suor Angelica*, on line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 5 March 2015.

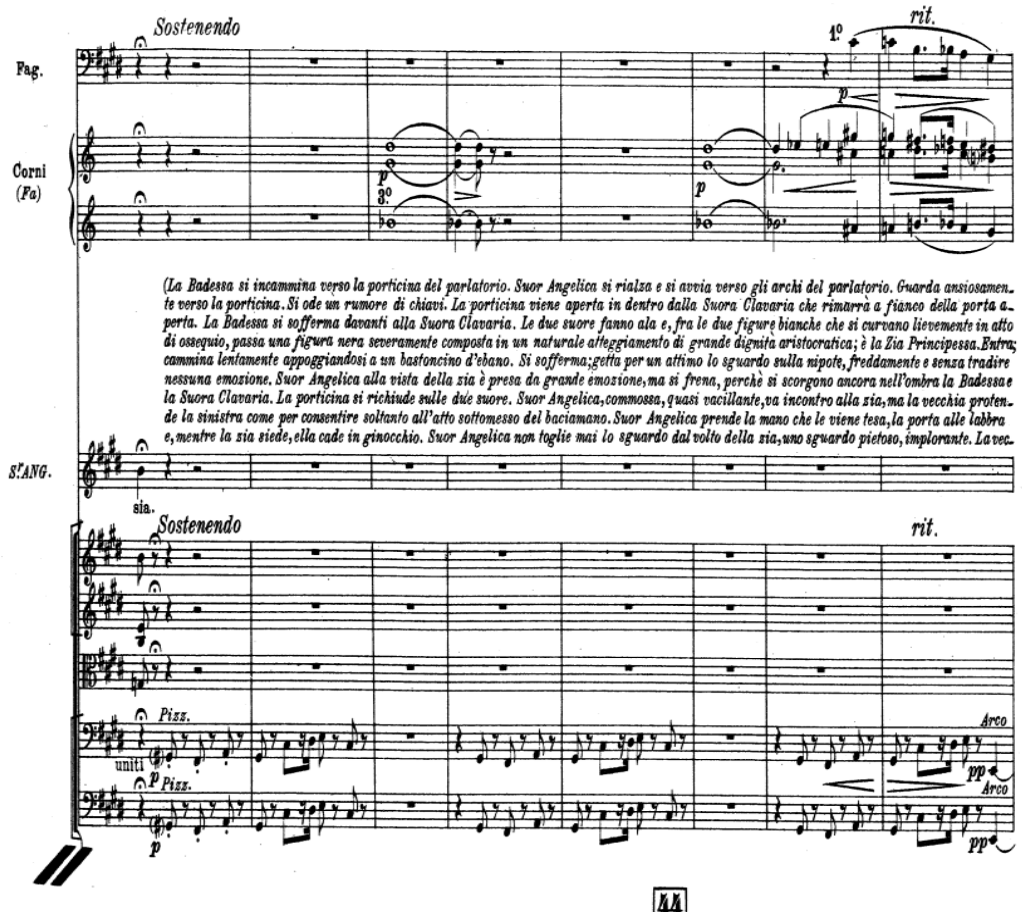


Figure 38: Puccini, *Suor Angelica*, The Princess Aunt

As stated earlier in the plot synopsis, she arrives with a legal document through which Angelica is to sign away her inheritance because of the shame she brought upon her family by having a child out of wedlock. Angelica finds out that her son, who was taken from her without being kissed by his mother, had died two years earlier. What follows is both the high point and the most lyrical moment of the opera. It is the aria "Senza Mama" which I spoke about earlier in comparison to the aria by Bellini.

This aria is in bi-partite form reminiscent of "Vissi d'arte" from *Tosca*.[325] The A section of the aria, the only section written at the time just before the premiere, was not totally to Puccini's liking so he added a more lyrical B section which he sent to New York City in October, 1918. In a letter sent to Tito Ricordi, 7 October 1918, Puccini wrote about the new aria to make clear his reasons behind the new addition, which were that the change would add more importance to the character of the nun, and it was not hard to learn for Geraldine Farrar to learn.[326]

Although there is no written documentation of this, I believe that Puccini, a man of the theater, knew that this new section, built on the music of the opera's intermezzo, would have a two-fold effect. First, as a thematic motive for Angelica's suffering at the loss of her son, it would create the pathos needed to allow the audience to feel the absolute desperation that leads to her choice to commit suicide, it would underscore the tragic consequences of suicide in church doctrine, and finally it would prepare for the miracle at the conclusion by making it all the more musically compelling and moving (see Figure 39). **[327]**

[325] *Vissi D'arte* is the aria for the character of Tosca in Act 2.

[326] Gara, *Carteggi Pucciani*, #733, 468.

[327] Puccini, *Il Trittico, Suor Angelica* (Milan: Ricordi, 1918), 189.

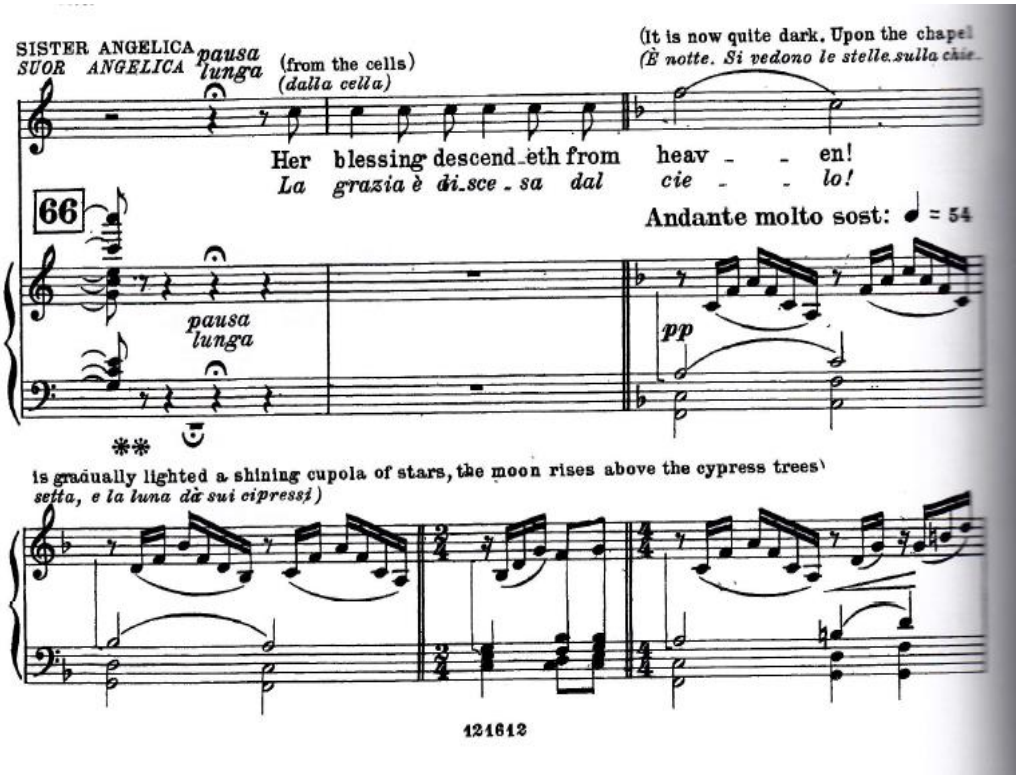


Figure 39: Puccini, *Suor Angelica*, Intermezzo.

Earlier in this study, it was well documented, that *Angelica* was the piece that was the most negatively received by critics. James Huneker wrote in his *New York Times* review that *Angelica* exhibited "futuristic harmonies."[328] I propose that the main reason for his description was that on 18 December 1918 he heard some very different music than he would hear in performances today. In the initial 1918 version of the work, there is a scene where the character of Angelica sings the short "Flower Aria" a total of 80 measures, in which she describes the flowers whose poison she is going to use to commit

[328] Huneker, *New York Times*, 19 December 1918.

suicide. The chordal structure Puccini employed for the entire section were two chords based on the whole tone scale (See Figure 40).[329]

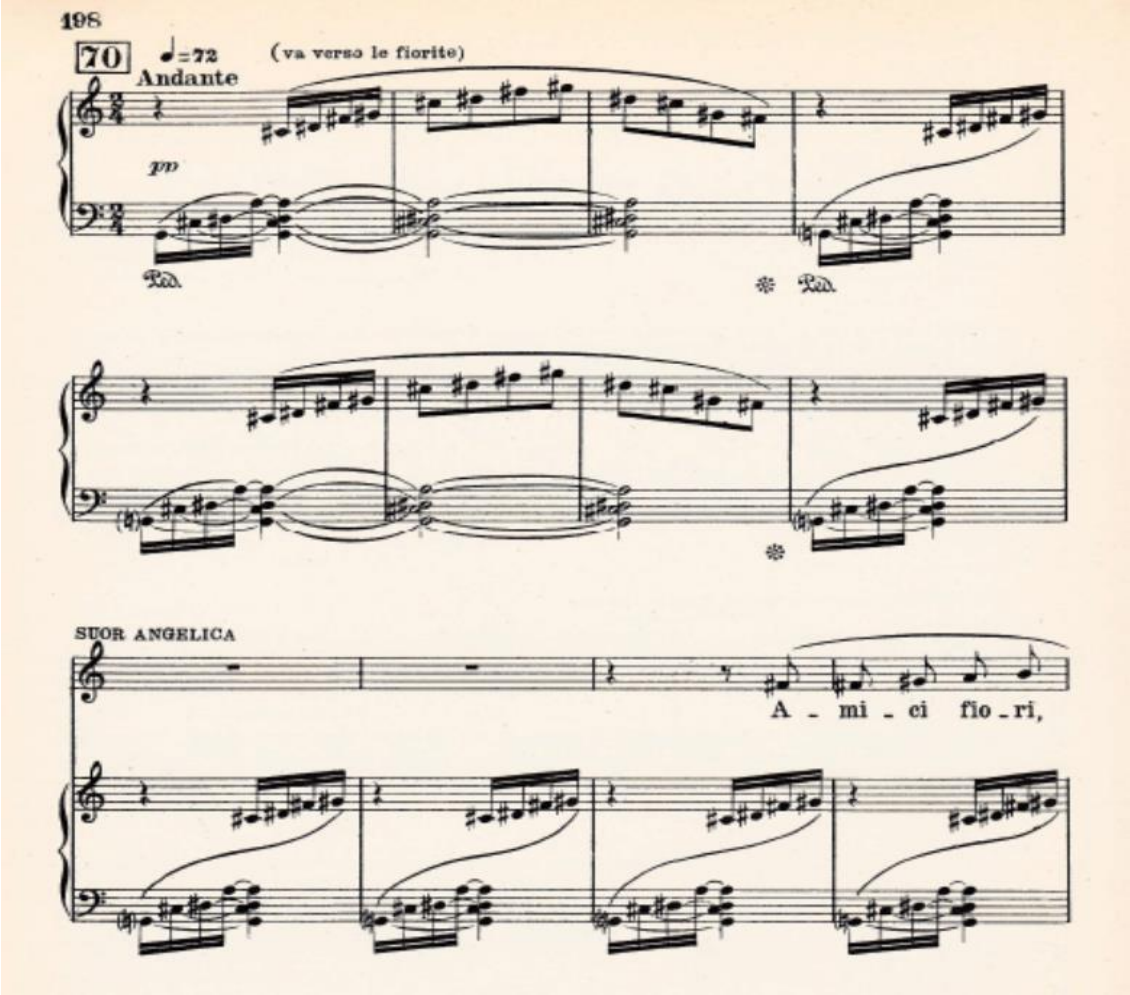


Figure 40: Puccini, *Suor Angelica*, Flower Aria.

These measures are some of Puccini's most daring harmonic undertakings, in which tonality is vague. The suspension of tonality was the realm of Schönberg, as remarked previously, and it was a new technique for Puccini. He would use this

[329] Puccini, *Il Trittico*: *Suor Angelica,* 189.

technique once again in *Turandot*. For the section of *Angelica* a total of fifty-two measures were split using seventeen measure of one arpeggio scale G-C#-D#-A, with a G pedal, followed by eighteen measures of C-F#-G#-A, with C as a pedal, then returning to the first chord for the balance of the section. This section is reminiscent of compositions by Debussy including *Pelléas et Mélisande,* "Voiles," and *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune*. In addition to the static arpeggiated harmonies, the vocal line was considered difficult by the sopranos performing Angelica who frequently asked to have this section cut for their performances. A first such a cut went against Puccini's wishes, yet, I suggest that he had a concern that the section's difficulty might jeopardize future performances of the work. When *Suor Angelica* was revived at La Scala in Milan on 29 January 1922, he had excised this section of the score.[330] Recently, there has been some renewed interest in the earlier variant, and the section was reinstated in performances of the opera in Milan in 2008. Also, *Deutsche Grammophon* released a CD, which included a recording of this section alone in 2009 entitled *Puccini Rediscovered*.[331] When this disc was reviewed in the BBC Music Magazine, the overall feeling was that the revisions were unfailing improvements. Overall the first versions were striking but the second versions "realizes the emotional situation with overwhelming power."[332]

---

[330] Ibid.

[331] Giacomo Puccini, *Puccini Rediscovered*; conducted by Alberto Veronesi. DG Duetsche Gramaphon, B002OQNVM2.CD. 2009.

[332] "Puccini: Ritrovato," *Classical-music.com*, accessed 12 April 2015, http://www.classical-music.com/review/puccini-ritrovato-puccini-rediscovered.

Puccini's *Il Trittico* Musical Language: *Gianni Schicchi*

Up to this point, Puccini's has presented a superior *verismo* work and another with intense pathos. So now we move on to the *opera buffa*. *Gianni Schicchi* is Puccini's only comedy, and it is accepted as the most successful component of *Il Trittico*. It harkens back to the characters of the *commedia dell'arte* whose traits appear in some of the inhabitants in this work. For example, many of the relatives are crude as the character of the *Zani*. Maestro Spinelloccio equates to *Il Doctore* and the character of *Pantalone* could be some of the older male relatives and the Notary. Rinnuccio and Lauretta are the young lovers and, finally, for his wit and desire to get money, Gianni Schicchi is a combination of some of the traits of both *Arlechino* and *Pantalone*.[333]

Unlike the previous operas in this triptych, musically, this one moves very quickly and offers few places to rest. [334] For this work, Puccini used rhythm as the unifying element in combination with symphonically developing orchestral motives throughout the entire piece. For example this theme, which could be called "the grieving family," is a short, four-measure figure that is constantly woven throughout the score of the opera (see Figure 41).[335]

[333]*New World Encyclopedia*, s.v "Commedia dell'arte," accessed 26 March, 2015. http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Commedia_dell%27arte.

[334] Girardi, *Puccini*, 419-421.

[335] Giacomo Puccini, *Gianni Schicchi* (Milan: Ricordi, 1919); on line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 13 March, 2015. http://imslp.org/wiki/Gianni_Schicchi_%28Puccini,_Giacomo%29.

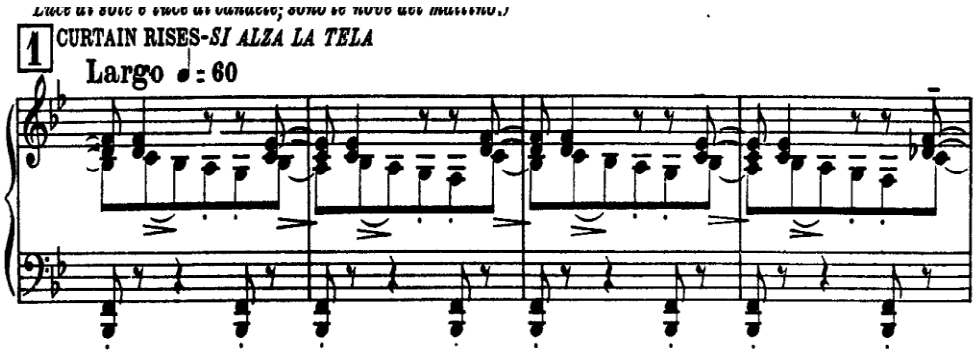


Fig 41 – Puccini, *Gianni Schicchi*,"grieving family" motive.

The motive of "the grieving family" is a series of slurred downward melodic seconds. Verdi used this figure in many of his operas to musically imply crying or the catching of breath as one is crying.[336] This motive appears whenever the family must give the appearance of grief. Examples of this behavior include the opening to set the story, when the relatives realize that they have been disinherited, and finally when Schicchi dictates a new will. Additionally, Puccini uses tempo to vary the levels of intensity of grief. In the beginning Puccini marks his score as "Largo," which gives it a stately, almost dignified feeling while a little later, once the family has realized they have been disinherited, the tempo changes to a marking of "Allegro Vivo," giving the theme a rushed and furious character. This section is also in the style of a whirlwind Rossini ensemble where everyone sings briskly, in combination but, unlike examples by Rossini, this ensemble includes some severe dissonance in the orchestra.

[336] Ashbrook, *The Operas of Puccini*, 190.

Puccini opens this opera with a quick flourish played by the full orchestra letting the listener know that the time for tragedy is over, and there will now be a comedy. Using a Wagnerian leitmotif technique, he introduces and intertwines important themes in this opening. Immediately at the outset, in a bright fortissimo, the orchestra begins in the depths and rapidly ascends to the highest instruments and intones, within the first seven measures, the motive of "the deception" then ,at mm 7-14, changing into " the grieving family", and finally the syncopated theme, indicated here in the upper-level staff, the character of Giani Schicchi himself (see Figure 42). [337]

[337] Puccini, *Gianni Schicchi*, on line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 13 March, 2015.

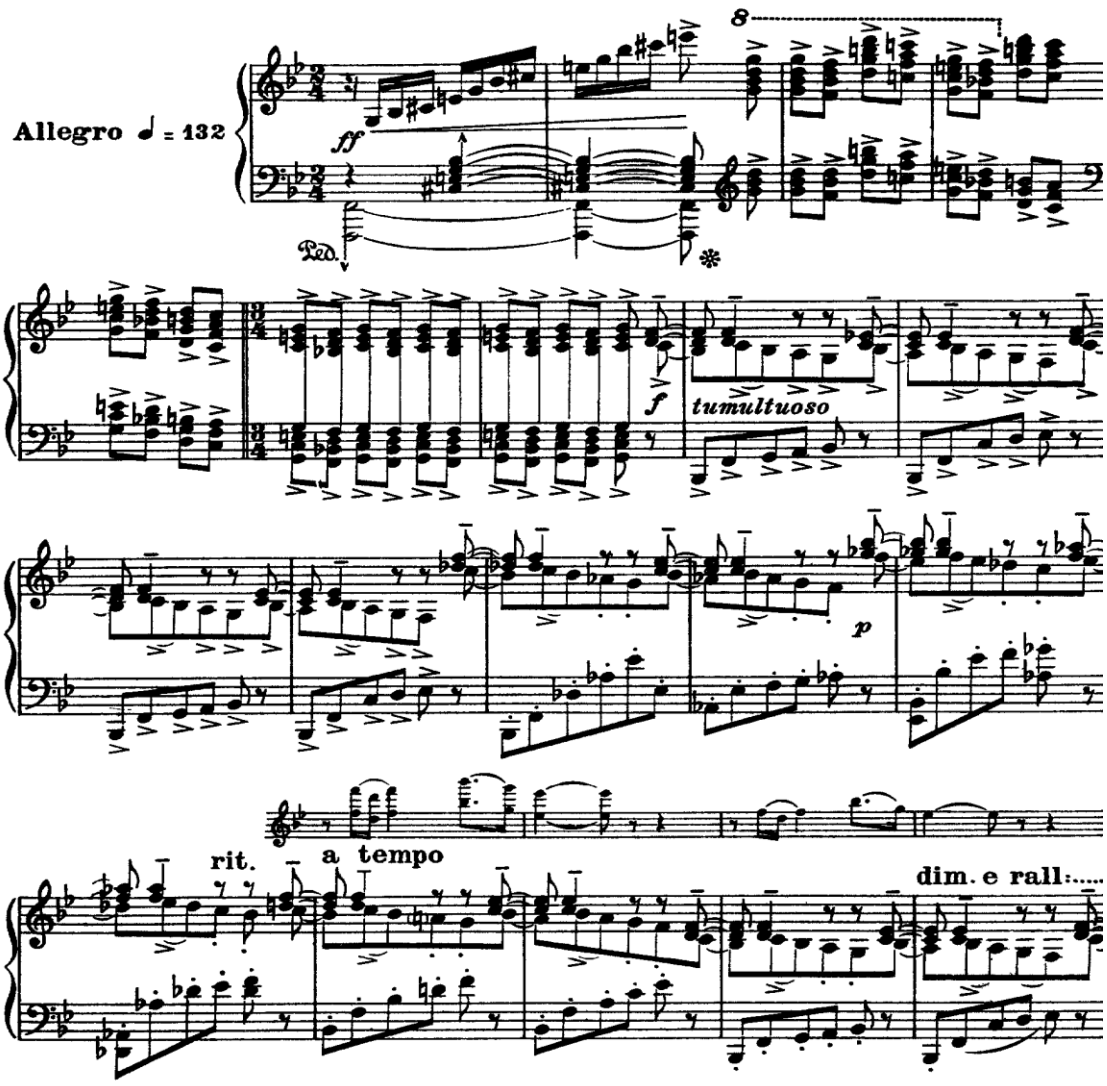


Figure 42: Puccini, *Gianni Schicchi*, Opening.

The character of Gianni Schicchi can be characterized by *buffo* parlando style. An example is his very short aria when he describes his plan to the assorted relatives. His vocal line is a short chromatically disjointed line moving at the pace of detached speech in C Minor with a highly chromatic staccato orchestration (see Figure 43).[338]

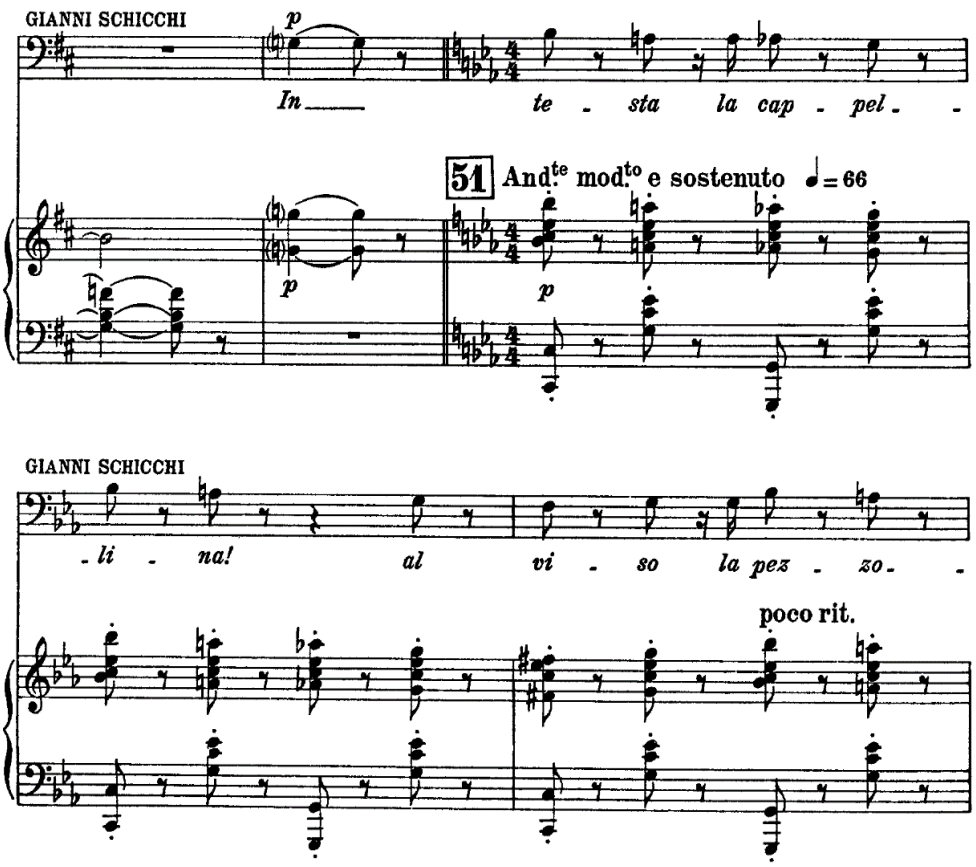


Figure 43: Puccini, *Gianni Schicchi*, "In testa la cappelina."

This section is followed by his admonishment to the relatives of the penalty for collusion in a scheme of forgery at that time. According to Schicchi, for the city of

[338] Ibid.

Florence in 1299, the penalty is cutting off a hand and banishment. He sings a little farewell,"*Addio Firenze, addio, cielo divino*" (Goodbye Florence, goodbye divine sky") (see Figure 44).[339]

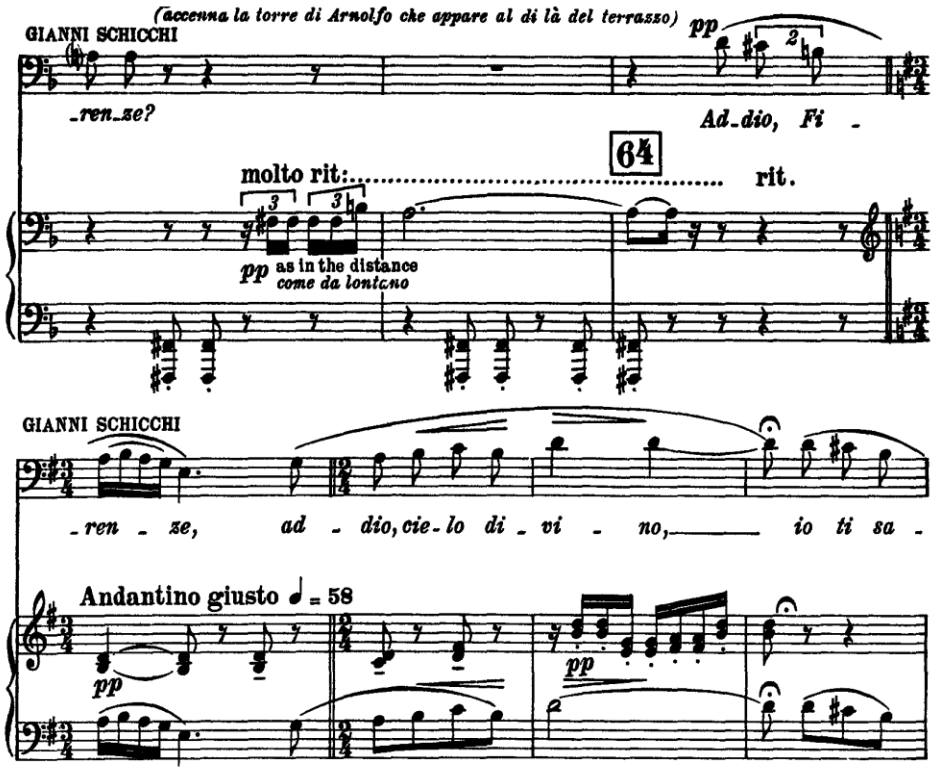


Figure 44: Puccini, Gianni Schicchi, "Addio Firenze."

In one of the most brilliant moments of the opera, Puccini dissects the phrases of this aria, and strategically places them into the vocal line to create one of the most hilarious moments in this piece. As Schicchi is dictating the new will, he turns the tables on the family and leaves the majority of the inheritance to Buoso's dearest most trusted

[339] Ibid.

friend Gianni Schicchi. If the family has any thoughts of revealing the duplicity they all will suffer the penalty as pointed out by Schicchi (see Figure 45).[340]

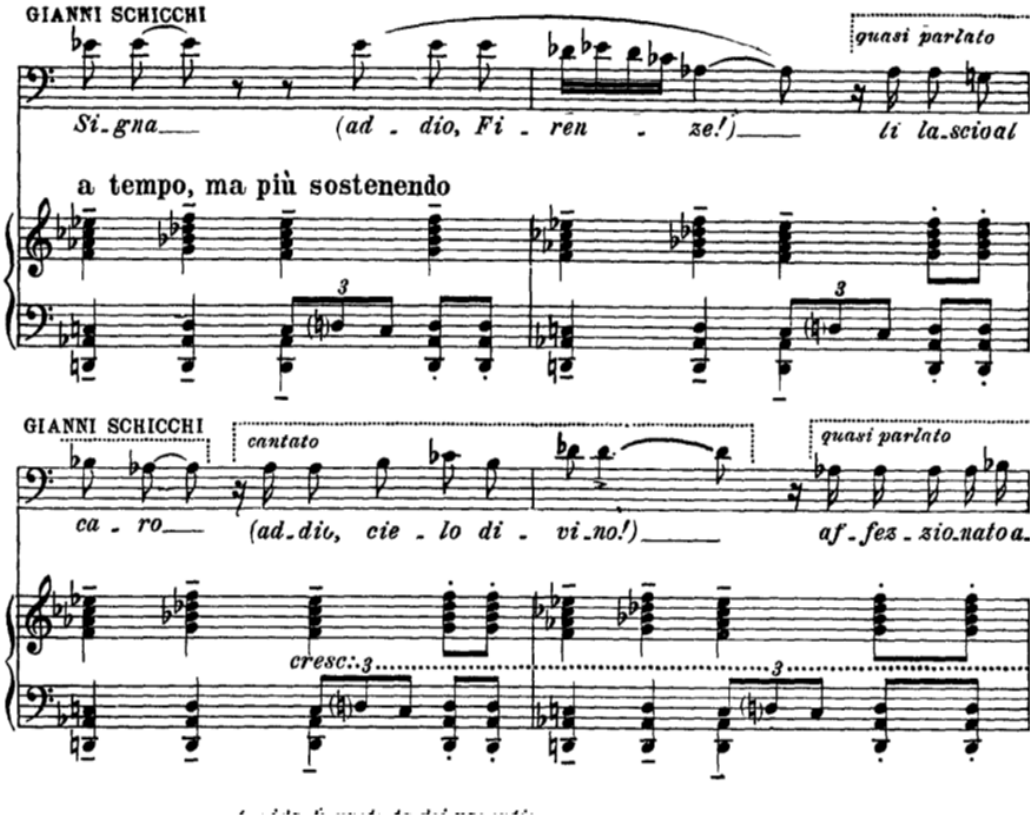


Figure 45: Puccini, *Gianni Schicchi*, Dictating the will.

There are few substantive moments of lyricism in this piece. The first is Rinnuccio's homage to the city of Florence where he extolls the city's history and virtues (see Figure 46). [341]

[340] Ibid.

[341] Ibid.

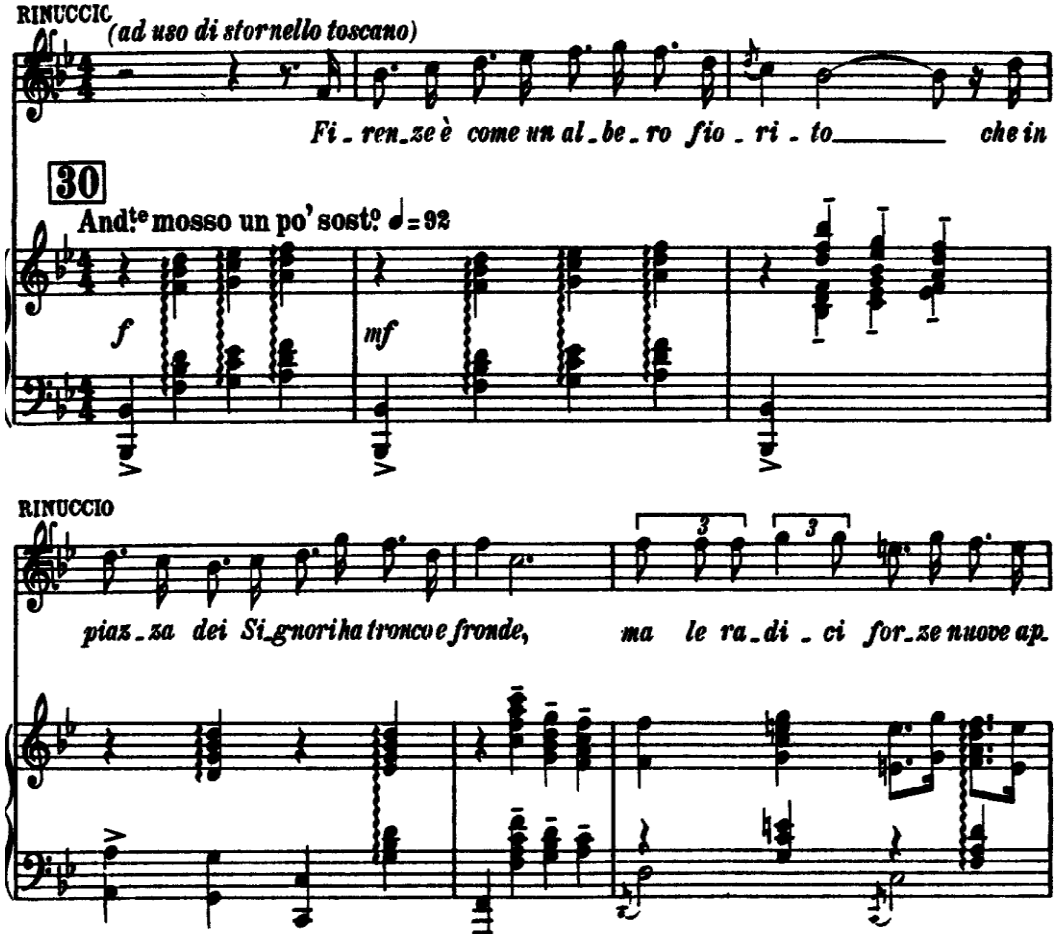


Figure 46: Puccini, *Gianni Schicchi*, Rinnuccio's Aria, Part 1.

The second part of his aria introduces the theme of his fiancé Lauretta, Schicchi's daughter. This has become the most famous melody of the whole score, Lauretta's aria "*O mio babbino caro."* In this incarnation it symbolizes the love of Rinnuccio and Lauretta (see Figure 47).[342]

[342] Ibid.

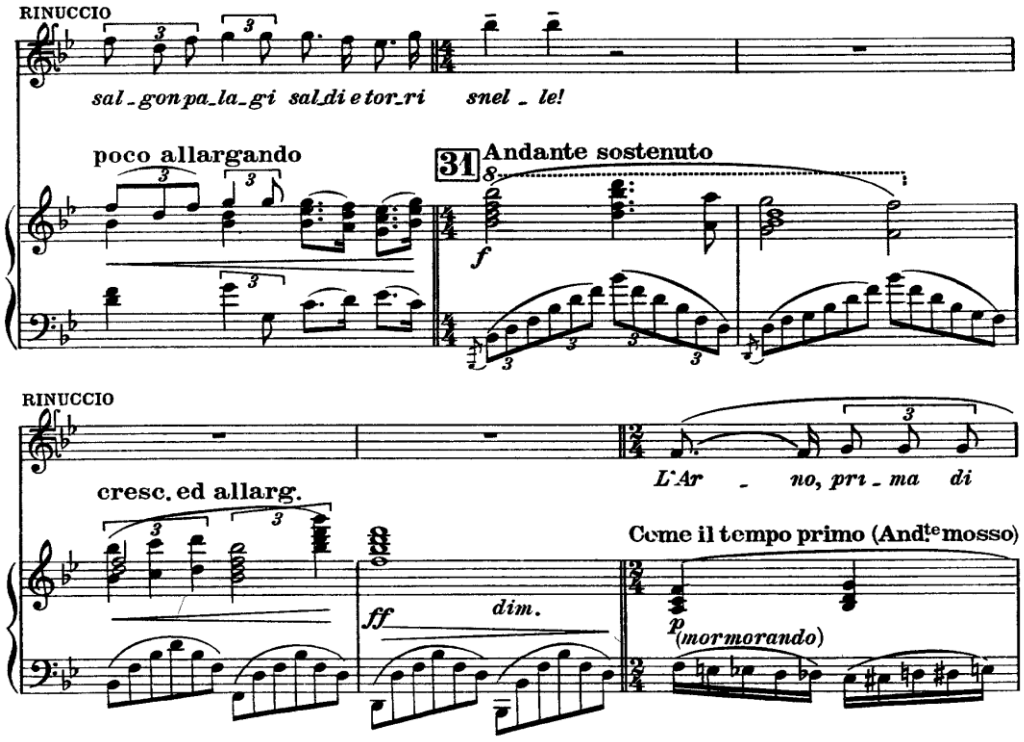


Figure 47:Puccini, *Gianni Schicchi*, Love Theme.

The last example of lyricism is a very brief trio in the middle of the opera sung by the three female family members: Zita, La Ciesca, and Nella. Here is a dichotomy of the macabre and fanciful as they dress Schicchi in the bedclothes worn by the deceased Buoso Donati so Schicchi can dictate the new will (see Figure 48).[343] The melody is melting, sexy and very sensual. Ashbrook equates these three women to the sensual Rhinemaidens in Wagner's *Das Rheingold*.[344]

[343] Ibid.

[344] Ashbrook, *The Operas of Puccini*, 191.

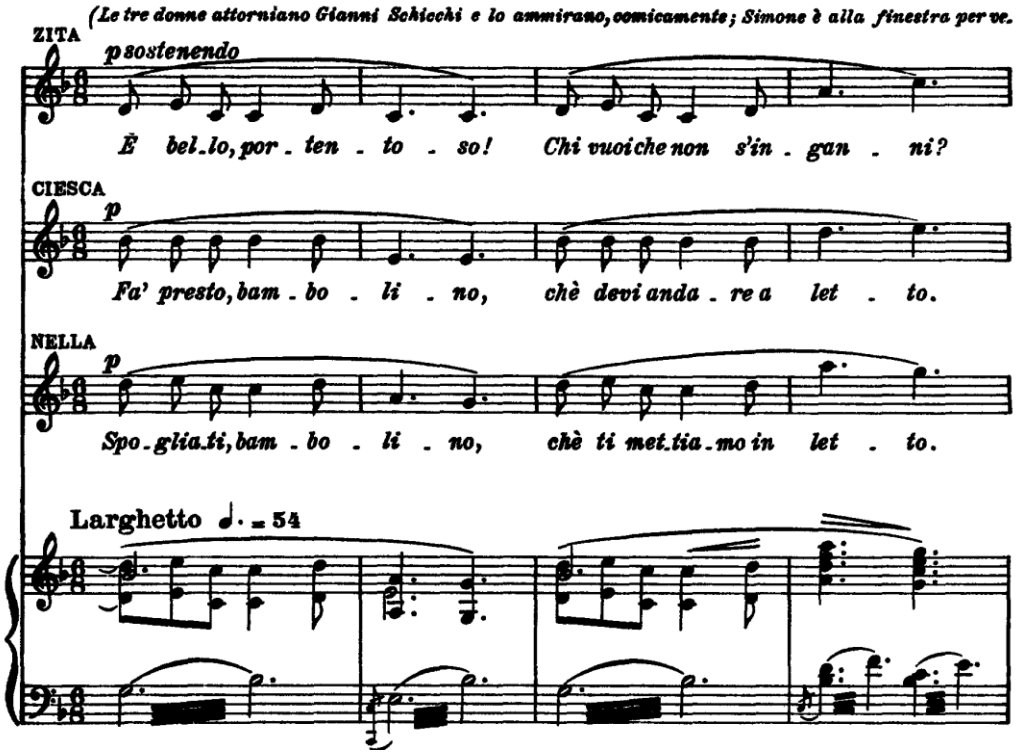


Figure 48: Puccini, *Gianni Schicchi*, Ladies Trio.

There are many layers to *Gianni Schicchi*. Dramatically, Forzano extracted two very simple lines from Dante and created a whole world of high comedy inhabited by some very unsavory, yet thoroughly human, characters. Puccini, who had desperately wanted to compose a comedy for many years, discarded many ideas and waited for the right story. He indeed excelled in this, employing such diverse compositional techniques as the Rossini ensemble, Verdi's powerful emotion, and Wagner's thematic development. *Gianni Schicchi* is a fitting culmination to the Italian Opera *buffa* style and rightfully sustains it is place among the most endearing comedies of the operatic repertory.

CHAPTER 5

TURANDOT AND SUMMATION

Turandot: the Incomplete Work

Although nearly completed, Puccini's last opera, *Turandot*, was left unfinished at the time of his death, and many scholars have proclaimed this piece as the end of the grand tradition. Alex Ross notes that *Turandot* "would more or less end a glorious operatic history that began in Florence at the end of the sixteenth century."[345] William Ashbrook and Harold Powers dedicate an entire study to this topic in *Puccini's "Turandot": The End of the Great Tradition* (1991).[346] As noted at the start of this study, *Turandot* does occupy the last position in the composer's output but *Il Trittico* actually provides the last complete statement in the three principal styles of opera in the nineteenth century — *verismo*, sentimentality, and *buffa*.

As for *Turandot*, the composer himself knew that his new opera was going to be innovative and distinctive and that he was moving onto a level that was more complex, sophisticated and inventive.[347] To do this, particularly with the nature of the storyline, Puccini needed to turn to the Grand Opera form which, he had tried unsuccessfully in *Edgar* in 1890, but did not use at any other time in his career. Grand Opera is defined to be grandiose in conception, impressively staged, with extensive choral writing, and an

---

[345] Alex Ross, *The Rest is Noise: Listening to the Twentieth Century* (New York: Picador, 2007), 10.

[346] Ashbrook and Powers, *Puccini's Turandot* (1991).

[347] Nicholas John, ed., "*Turandot": Giacomo Puccini*, Opera Guide Series (London: John Calder Ltd., 1984), 8. Carner also mentions this characterization in his study, *Puccini: A Critical Biography* 2nd ed., 225.

obligatory ballet.[348] Verdi perfected this imported French form in *Don Carlos* and *Aida,* which are representative examples of this genre. It is marked by epic dramatic proportions, extensive choral writing, and requisite ballet. It should be noted for the Italian version of *Don Carlos* the ballet was excised by Verdi, but the work still kept the title of Grand Opera and continued to exhibit all the other traits. Undoubtedly *Turandot* can be linked to *Aida* since both are epic in breadth, combine spectacle with intimate moments and tell a dramatic story. Furthermore, these are operas that feature the singer's vocal abilities. For example, Calaf's "Nessun Dorma" can be compared to Radames's "Celeste Aida" in *Aida's* Act 1 for excellence in orchestration and melody. Vocally, the character of Turandot, mirroring the Aida of "Ritorna vincitor" in dramatic declaration, should be considered the oriental cousin to Strauss's Salome, for they both epitomize an amalgamation of vocal power and the ability to sing disjointed phrases together with some lyricism. Although Salome and Turandot are both vocally demanding roles for the singer, Salome is much more physically demanding and a much more arduous role.

For *Turandot,* Puccini needed a vast Wagnerian if not Straussian-size orchestra to achieve the many orchestral colors and to showcase his ability as a supreme orchestrator. He orchestrated for six trumpets, four trombones, an expanded percussion section including xylophone, glockenspiel, tubular bells, an on-stage band with a saxophone, and a gong (used musically and dramatically).[349] The cast, also quite large, includes two main

---

[348] M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet, "Grand opéra," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 3 April 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/11619.

[349] Davis, "*Il Trittico,*" "*Turandot,*" *and Puccini's Late Style,* 170.

sopranos, one dramatic and one lyric, four tenors of varying importance, two baritones, a bass, and two non-speaking performers. The chorus, also as protagonists in the opera, has been cited as exhibiting Russian choral musical traits used by Modeste Mussorgsky in his opera *Boris Godunov*.[350] As in *Boris,* the choristers take on individual personalities such as servants, attendants, phantoms, guards and soldiers, priests, mandarins, and other dignitaries.

Each opera in *Il Trittico* has a graphic opening, which serves to set the locale and mood. In *Il Tabarro* we encounter the undulating motive of the River Seine in Paris; in *Suor Angelica* the serene pastoral opening with church bells and string accompaniment, and in *Gianni Schicchi*, the motive of a family in "grief." Puccini also immediately sets the scene in *Turandot*, showing us a world that is sharply disjointed with angular intervals of fourths descending chromatically, a diminished leap then an augmented leap which outlines the tritone E# to B cadencing in the key of F# Minor.[351] This represents the city of Peking and the bloodstained world of the Princess Turandot (see Figure 49).[352]

[350] Gasparov, 186.

[351] Ashbrook and Powers, *Puccini's Turandot*, 89.

[352] Giacomo Puccini, *Turandot* (Milan: Ricordi, 1929), 1.

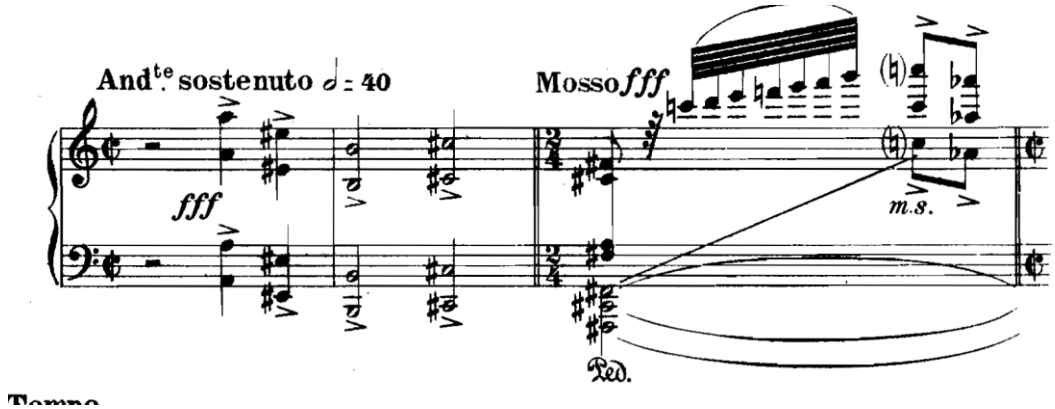


Figure 49: Puccini, *Turandot*, Opening Chords.

Girardi compares these chords to the opening of *Tosca* (the Scarpia chords); the opening music here is linked to the character of Turandot. Taken together, these chords add the immediate feeling of uneasiness to the opening and eventually to the whole piece.[353] In no other opera had Puccini employed such dissonance to set the scene. The opening is one of fascinating harmonies and immediate finely orchestrated force.[354] Immediately following are chords which Puccini's contemporaries regarded as "bitonal," in the style of Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du Printemps*, marked by very short eighth note C# Major chords over a D Minor chord and anchoring this world in a dissonance that is certainly a further departure away from the standard Italianate harmonies and into a more

[353] Girardi, *Puccini*, 470-471.

[354] James Keolker, *Last Acts: The Operas of Puccini and his Italian Contemporaries from Alfano to Zandonai* (Napa, CA: Opera Companion Publications, 2000), 106.

modern world of dissonant polychords (see figure 50).[355] One thinks of the "Dance of the Adolescents," in which we also find sharply accented chords, each outlining its separate tonal plane. very short eighth note C# Major chords over a D Minor chord.

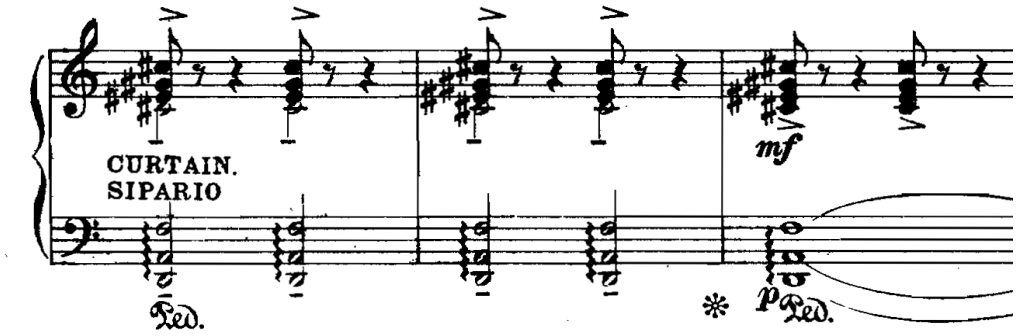


Figure 50: Puccini, *Turandot,* Act 1.

In fact, Puccini sets up two worlds of harmonic tonalities in *Turandot.* As shown above the dissonant world of Turandot's Peking clashes with the more lyric world of the slave girl Liu, The Prince Calaf and Timur the blind dethroned King of Tartar and father of Calaf. While there seems to be some disagreement among scholars on how to define these harmonic worlds, Ashbrook and Powers would categorize the harmonic structure as four *tinte* or colors. [356]

[355] Giacomo Puccini, *Turandot* (Milan: Ricordi, 1929), on line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 3 March 2015, http://petruccilibrary.ca/linkhandler.php?path=/imglnks/caimg/f/f2/IMSLP113192-PMLP28221-_____1980_.pdf .

[356] Ashbrook and Powers, *Puccini's Turandot*, 94.

One finds multiple examples in *Turandot* that demonstrate the point that Puccini uses two harmonically opposed idioms to denote the setting, characters, and emotion. Exoticism abounds in this score. The use of Chinese melodies, both authentic and original, feature in Carner's words, "primitive harmonies and barbaric rhythms."[357]

However, dissonance abounds as well. Beyond the opening chords, we hear the ensuing bitonal proclamation of the Mandarin and later the ghostly sounds of the spectral voices of Turandot's unsuccessful suitors. This "chorus of spirits" is orchestrated with sounds evoking Schönberg's *Pierrot Lunaire* of 1912 (a work heard by Puccini in 1924, while working on *Turandot* as mentioned earlier in this study). Finally, the scene of enticement in Act 3 exhibits the chromaticism of Strauss. All these examples are firmly rooted in the 20th-century harmonic tonality of pentatonic scales and brutal dissonant harmonies.

Other examples from the opposite end of the spectrum is music representing the character of the Prince Calaf, Liu, and Timur, which all have roots in the harmonies of an earlier Puccini and exhibit a style that he was leaving behind after the composition of *Il Trittico*.

Look at the lyric melody in E-flat Minor which Puccini writes for Calaf at the end of Act 1 when he explains to the slave girl Liu his resolve to try to win Turandot (see Figure 51).[358] This lyricism is not as prevalent in this opera as it had been in past works.

[357] Carner, *Puccini: A Critical Biography* 2nd ed., 468.

[358] Puccini, *Turandot*, on line at IMSLP. See fn 355 for full citation.

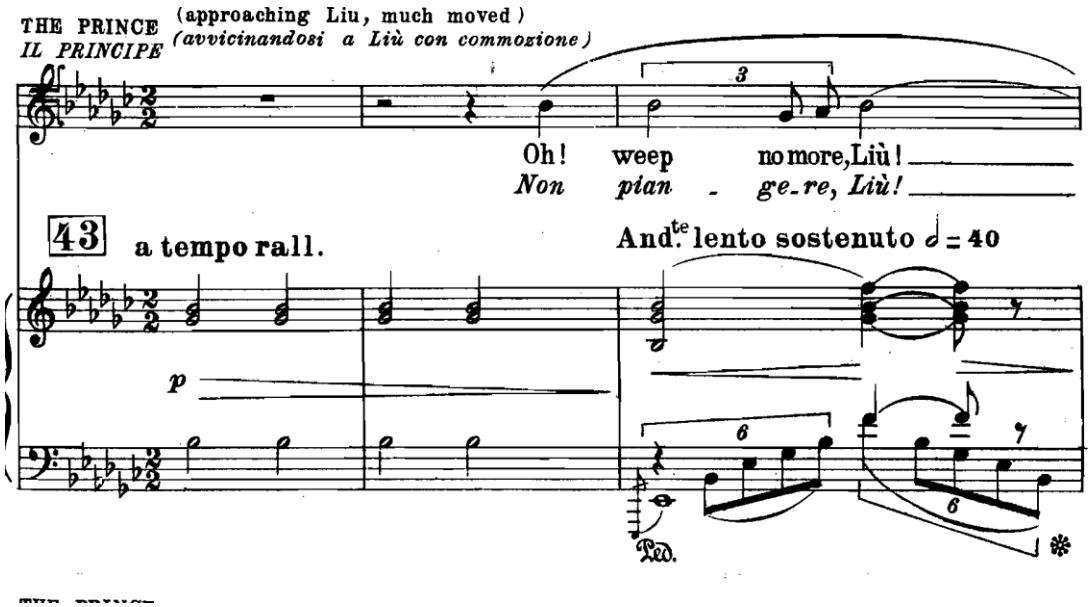


Figure 51: Puccini, *Turandot,* "Non piangere Liu."

At the beginning of Act 3, Puccini clearly shows these two worlds meeting. The "bitonal" opening (C-sharp Major above a D-F pedal) expands into various "bitonal" harmonies for sixty-six measures until Calaf enters. At that point, the composer reverts to a harmonic world that is more conventionally Italianate in G Major (see Figures 52 and 53).[359] It is clear that Puccini was advancing a new harmonic direction for himself and, as he always had done, was utilizing the harmonic resources that composers of his time were developing.

[359] Ibid.

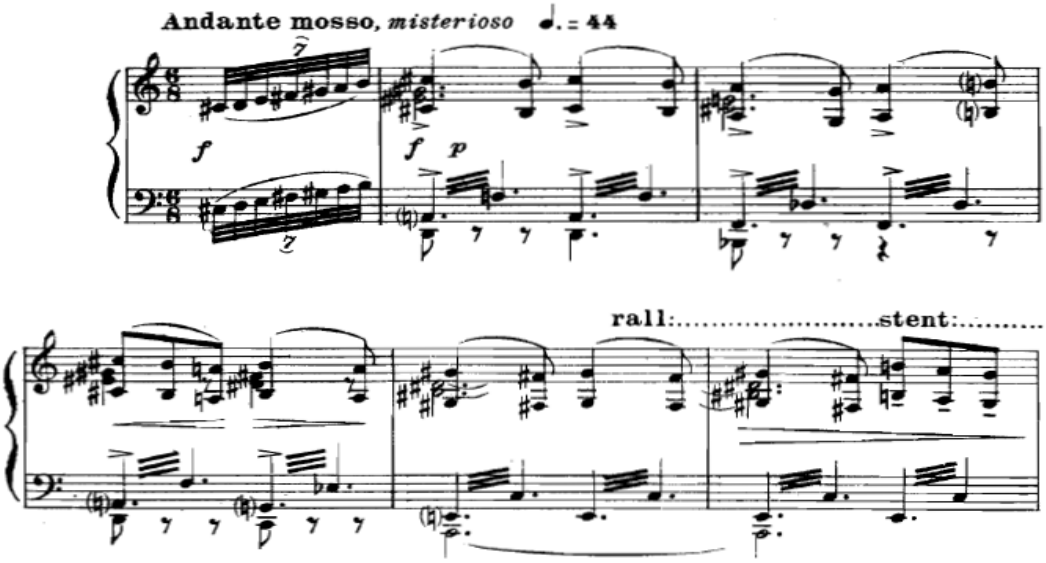


Figure 52: Puccini, *Turandot*, opening of Act III.

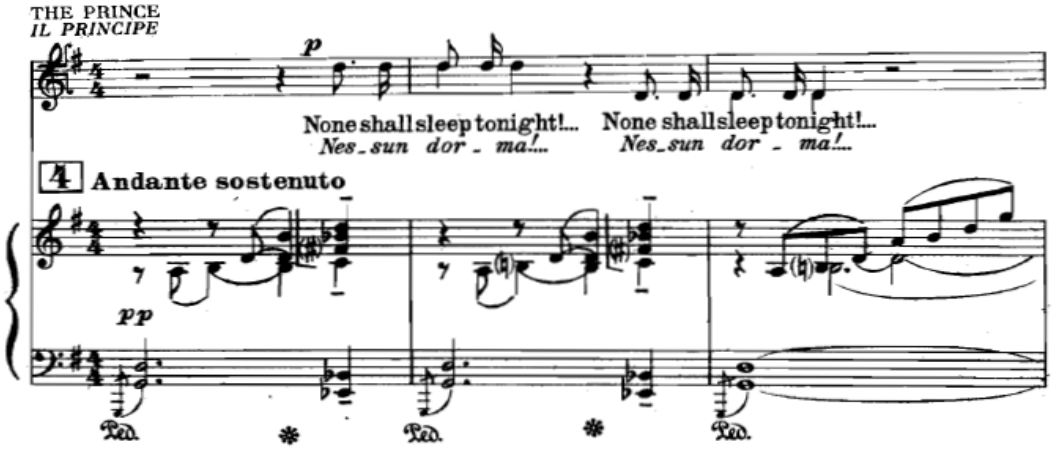


Figure 53: Puccini, *Turandot*, "Nessun Dorma."

Summation

Throughout his career, Puccini absorbed non-Italianate compositional techniques while, at the same time, arriving at the summit of various Italian operatic styles, which had been devised and widely used by other composers. The raw emotions of *Tosca* with its realistic musical descriptions of locale exemplify the distinctive traits of *verismo* that reach their peak in *Il Tabarro*. *La Bohème, Manon Lescaut,* and *Madama Butterfly* captured the style of pathos and sentimentality which attained its highest form of expression with the heartbreak and redemption of *Suor Angelica.* Finally *Gianni Schicchi* gives Italian opera *buffa* a 20th century audience for its comedic antics.[360] Puccini conquered these three styles, as an homage to the grand Italian traditions and presented it to the world as *Il Trittico*. Then, on 29 November 1924, Italian opera's Romantic century came to an end with Puccini's death of throat cancer, at the age of 65.

William Weaver argues, at book length, the view that the "golden century" of Italian opera, stretches some 115 years from Rossini to Puccini.[361] For him the grand Tradition of Italian Opera had a finale, and it was *Turandot*. He closes his book by retelling the story of how, at the first performance of *Turando*t, the conductor Toscanini laid down his baton and commented, "The opera ends here, because at this point the Maestro died. Death was stronger than art." [362] Weaver's conclusion clearly defines

[360] Carner, *Puccini: A Critical Biography* 2nd ed., 454. Carner points out that *Gianni Schicchi* has so far remained the last supreme example of Italian operatic humor.

[361] William Weaver, *The Golden Century of Italian Opera: from Rossini to Puccini* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 242.

[362] Quoted in Weaver, *The Golden Century of Italian Opera*, 242.

Puccini's status as equal to the other Italian operatic giants. In his own voice, Weaver adds as a postscript:

> Toscanini might have been speaking not just of Puccini's last work but of Italian opera in general. Of course, other new Italian operas were composed and performed in the decades that followed, and some of the enjouyed a certain success, a certain theatrical life. But Puccini left no Crown Prince. With him the glorious line, Rossini, Donizetti, Verdi, cane to a glorious conclusion.[363]

In contrast to Weaver, I would propose that *Il Trittico* marks a satisfying culmination of the three styles that it represents: *verismo*, pathos and sentimentality, and comedy, with their respective dramatic features and distinctive traits.[364] If *Il Trittico* constituted an enigmatic farewell to Italian opera's Romantic era, the unfinished *Turandot* greeted the modern age and offers a tantalizing glimpse of how Puccini himself might have led Italian theater music forward toward such figures as Luciano Berio (1925-2003), Luigi Dallapiccola (1904-1975), Luigi Nono (1924-1990), and Sylvano Bussotti (1931 -). Carner is clear in his assertion that if Puccini had lived longer his harmonic colorations would have been based on dodecaphony and quarter tones.[365] As this study has repeatedly shown, throught his career he absorbed different harmonic techniques and utilized them in his operas, merging these styles with the established Italian traditions.

---

[363] Weaver, *The Golden Century of Italian Opera*, 242.

[364] An alternative interpretation is that *Trittico* also represents Puccini's acknowledgment of the turn toward brevity and concentration found in many early-20th-century works, including Schönberg's aphoristic piano pieces and Stravinsky's *Japanese Lyrics* or *Three Pieces for String Quartet.* Though each opera of *Trittico* illustrates a popular style of Italian opera, each style is condensed into a highly charged single act rather than allowed to unfold across two or three acts, as in *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* or *Lucia di Lammermoor.*

[365] Carner, *A Critical Biography*, 2nd ed., 293.

In some sense perhaps Berio offered a homage to Puccini by writing an alternative ending to Act III of *Turandot*, different from the one provided by Franco Alfano, which is performed most often. In his reconceptualization, Berio realizes some of the consequences of the dissonant idiom explored by Puccini himself. Dallapiccola, Nono, and Nino Rota (1911-1979) all wrote operatic works, which make few references to the language and rhetoric of 19th-century Romanticism.[366] Perhaps the sole composer who sought to be Puccini's "crown prince" is Gian Carlo Menotti (1911-2007).

Menotti wrote the music and libretti, following the habit of Wagner, for his large body of work. Menotti was the only composer of his era to try to revive the grand tradition. There are some who might consider his 1950 *The Consul* or 1954 *The Saint of Bleeker Street* as *verismo* while *The Medium* is in the dramatic *Grand-Guignol* style.[367] The 1951 *Amahl and the Night Visitors* has all the pathos and sentimentality of *Suor Angelica* including the required miracle, and the 1939 radio opera, *The Old Maid and the Thief*, is in the style of *opera buffa*. None of these has achieved a definite place in the operatic canon.

An evening of three one–act operas of varying styles was never again attempted by an Italian composer after Puccini's *Trittico*. Although one Italian composer, a contemporary of Puccini, did become intrigued with the idea of an Italianate triptych: Ottorino Respighi (1879-1936). Respighi, according to Donald Grout, "wrote a number

[366] It is beyond the scope of this paper to explore the contributions of these musicians to 20th-century Italian opera.

[367] Ethan Mordden, *Opera in the Twentieth Century: Sacred, Profane, Godot* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 231.

of operas in a neo-romantic idiom strongly influence by impressionism."[368] He reportedly was in Rome, at the time of the Italian premiere of *Il Trittico*, assisting Puccini with revisions to the score of *Il Tabarro*.[369] He was, however, a follower of the position of Torrefranca, and is best known for his tone poems, one which may have been suggested by *Trittico*. Respighi composed a symphonic work consisting of three separate orchestral tone poems called *Trittico Botticelliano* (Botticelli Triptych). Successfully premiered in Vienna on 27 September 1927, Respighi's pieces were inspired by three particular paintings in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, created by the Renaissance painter Sandro Botticelli.[370] Respighi used the Trittico form for in his opera *Maria Egiziaca* designated as an opera in three episodes.[371] The piece premiered 16 March 1931 at Carnegie Hall in New York with the composer on the podium. As with Puccini, Resphighi's publishing house, Ricordi and Son, did not like the idea of a tri-partite work.[372]

The custom of separating the component parts of *Il Trittico* one from another, documented in the previous chapters, began to change in the 1970s. The Metropolitan

---

[368] Grout, 603.

[369] Greenfeld, *Puccini*, 246.

[370] Resphighi musically conceptualizes three paintings by the Italian Rennasaince painter known as Sandro Botticelli (1445-1510), that are on display in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence: *La Primavera*, *L'Adorazione dei Magi*, and *La Nascita di Venere*. The sole unifying connection for this work is that they are all painting of Botticelli.

[371] George Jellinek,"Maria Egiziaca. Ottorino Respighi, "*The Opera Quarterly* 8, no. 2 (1991): 167-169. doi: 10.1093/oq/8.2.167.

[372] Ottorino Respighi *Maria Egiziaca*. Hungarian State Orchestra and Hungarian Radio & Television Chorus. Lamberto Gardelli. With Kinces, Nagy, Miller, et.al. Hungaroton 31118-19, 1989, 1 compact disc.

Opera presented all of *Il Trittico* again on 19 December 1975 and as audiences and critics began to take a new look and as their understandings of the work began to develop, productions began to be presented worldwide. The Metropolitan produced a third new production of the entire work on 20 April 2007.

I believe that for most audiences who attend performances of *Il Trittico*, will not be concerned about what each of these pieces represent in discussions of Puccini's style, nor with the milestone that they mark in the history of Italian opera itself. These pieces can be judged individually as well and there is much more study that could be done to develop the ideas that have been presented here.

We should look forward to the centenary of the work and experience anew Puccini's masterwork of Italian opera with its three rich components. I have every confidence that the work will eventually secure its rightful place in the operatic canon.

REFERENCES

Articles:

Abbate, Carolyn. "Tristan' in the Composition of '*Pelléas*'." *19th Century Music* 5, no.2 (Autumn, 1981): 117-141.

Aimone, Francesco. "The 1918 Influenza Epidemic in New York City: A Review of the Public Health Response," *Public Health Reports* 125 (April, 2010): 71-79.

Aldrich, Richard. "Puccini's Little Trilogy," *New York Times,* 18 December 1919, accessed 19 February 2015, http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9E06E4D7123BEE32A2575BC1A9649D946896D6CF.

Ashbrook, William. "Triple Play: *Il Trittico* Performed as Puccini Intended." *Opera News* 40, no.9 (January 3, 1976): 8-11.

Ashman, Mike. "Divided They Fall." *Opera* 49, no. 4 (April, 1998): 389-393.

Balthazar, Scott L. "The Primo Ottocento Duet and the Transformation of the Rossinian Code." *The Journal of Musicology* 7, no.4 (Autumn, 1989): 471-497; accessed 17 February 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/763777.

Carner, Mosco. "The Exotic Element in Puccini." Translated by C.G."*The Musical Quarterly* 22, no.1 (Jan., 1936): 45- 67; accessed 2 March 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/739015.

_____. "Portrait of Debussy. 4: Debussy and Puccini" *The Musical Times* 108, no.1492 (Jun., 1967): 502-505, accessed 12 March 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/951334.

Classical-Music.Com."Puccini: Ritrovato." accessed 12 April 2015, http://www.classical-music.com/review/puccini-ritrovato-puccini-rediscovered.

Cooke, Mervyn. "Film music." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 25 March 2015, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09647.

Davis, Peter G. "Three's Company." *Opera News* 71, no.10 (April, 2007): 26-29.

Fairtile, Linda. "Dietta a tre': Franco Alfano's Completion of 'Turandot'." *Cambridge Opera Journal* 16, no.2 (Jul., 2004): 163-185; accessed 15 April 2015. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3878265.

Gossett, Philip. “The ‘Candeur Virginale’ of ‘Tancredi’.” *The Musical Times* 12, 1538 (April, 1971): 326-329; accessed 26 February 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/955893.

_____. “History and Works That Have No History: Reviving Rossini’s Neapolitan Operas.” *Disciplining Music: Musicology and Its Canons*, ed. Katherine Bergeron and Philip V. Bohlman. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992, 95-114.

_____. “The Overtures of Rossini,” *19th-Century Music* 3, no. 1 (July, 1979): 3-31. 3-31; accessed 22 January 2015, http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/stable/3519819.

Greenwald, Helen.“Puccini Research.” *Acta Musicologica* 65, Fasc. 1 (Jan. – Jun., 1993): 23-50; accessed 4 March 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/932644.

_____. “Puccini, ‘*Il Tabarro’* and the Dilemma of Operatic Transposition.” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 51, no. 3 (Autumn, 1998): 521-558; accessed 1 March 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/832038.

_____. “Verdi's Patriarch and Puccini's Matriarch: ‘Through the Looking-Glass and What Puccini Found There’." *19th -Century Music 17*, no.3 (Spring, 1994): 220-236; accessed 1 March 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/746567.

Haimo, Ethan. “Atonality, Analysis, and the Intentional Fallacy,” *Music Theory Spectr* 18, 2 (1996): 167-199: accessed 4 April 2015, doi:10.2307/746023.

Hepokoski, James. "Structure, Implication, and the End of Suor Angelica." *Studi Pucciniani* 3 (2004): 241-264.

Huebner, Steven. “Massenet and Wagner: Bridling the Influence.” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 5, no. 3 (Nov., 1993): 223-238; accessed 13 February 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/823807.

Huneker James Gibbons. “Opera: A World Premiere of Puccini Operas. “’Il Tabarro,’ ‘Suor Angelica,’ ‘Gianni Schicchi’.” *The New York Times*, 15 December 1918; accessed 22 March 2015, http://login.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/docview/100076336?accountid=4485.

Jellinek, George. "Maria Egiziaca. Ottorino Respighi." *The Opera Quarterly* 8, no. 2 (1991): 167-169; accessed 4 April 2015, doi: 10.1093/oq/8.2.167.

Klein, J. W. “Verdi’s Italian Contemporaries & Successors.” *Music & Letters* 15, 1 (Jan., 1934): 44; accessed 7 February 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/727136.

"*La Tosca* Sung in Rome." *New York Times* 15 January 1900. Pro quest # 95951700.

Maehder, Jürgen. "Turandot and the Theatrical Aesthetics of the Twentieth Century." In *The Puccini Companion*, ed. William Weaver and Simoneta Puccini. New York: W.W. Norton Co., 1994. 265-278.

Parker, D.C. "A View of Giacomo Puccini" *The Musical Quarterly*, 3, no. 4 (Oct., 1971): 509-516; accessed 9 March 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/737985.

Scherr, Suzanne." National and International Influences on the Formation of Puccini;s Early Compositional" *Style Revista de Musicología*, 16 no. 6, Del XV *Congreso de la Sociedad International de Musicología: Culturas Musicales Del Mediterráneo y su*s *Ramificaciones*: 6 (1993): 3206-3215; accessed 13 February 2015. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20796927.

Schonberg, Harold. "Review of New Production Performance of Puccini *Il Trittico*, Metropolitan Opera, New York." *New York Times*, 20 December 1975, accessed 5 January 2015.

Schwartz, Arman. "Puccini, In the Distance." *Cambridge Opera Journal* 23, 3 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012: 167-189; accessed 4 April 2015, doi:10.1017/S0954586723000092.

Stamatov, Peter. "Interpretive Activism and the Political Uses of Verdi's Operas in the 1840s." *American Sociological Review*. 67, 3 (June, 2002): 345-366; accessed 26 February 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3088961.

Waterhouse, John C.G. "Portrait of Debussy. 9: Debussy and Italian Music." *The Musical Times* 198, no. 1503 (May, 1968): 414-418; accessed 3 December 2014, http://www.jstor.org/stable/952359.

Weiss, Piero. "Verdi and the Fusion of Genres." *Journal of the American Musiclogical Society* 35, 1 (1982): 138-156; accessed 17 February 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/831289.

Wilson, Alexandra."Torrefranca vs. Puccini: Embodying a Decadent Italy" *Cambridge Opera Journa*l 13, No. 1 (Mar. 2001): 29-53; accessed 2 February 2015, http://www.jstor.orgstable/3593374

Books:

Alighieri, Dante. *The Divine Comedy.* Translated by John Ciardi. New York: New American Library, 1970.

Ashbrook, William. *Donizetti and His Operas*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
_____. *The Operas of Puccini*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Ashbrook, William and Harold Powers. *Puccini;s Turandot: The End of a Great Tradition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Baragwanath, Nicholas. *The Italian Traditions & Puccini*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011.

Barrow, Lee G. *Ottorino Respighi (1879-1936): An Annotated Bibliography*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, Inc. 2004.

Biasin, Gian-Paolo, *Montale, Debussy, and Modernism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.

Bryn-Julson, Phyllis and Paul Mathews. *Inside "Pierrot Lunaire*". Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, Inc. 2009.

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

_____. *The Operas of Verdi Vol.1: From "Oberto" to "Rigoletto"*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973.

Burton, Deborah, Susan Vandiver Nicassio, and Agostino Ziino eds. *Tosca's Prism*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004.

Carner, Mosco. *Puccini A Critical Biography*. 2nd edition. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958, reprt. 1992, Surrey: Gerald Duckworth.

Conanti, Marcello, *Encounters with Verdi,* Translated by Richard Stokes. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986.

Davis, Andrew C. "*Il Trittico," "Turandot," and Puccini's Late Style*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2010.

Deathridge, John. *Wagner Beyond Good and Evil*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.

Dent, Edward J. *The Rise of Romantic Opera*. Edited by Winton Dean. London: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

DiGaetani, John Louis. *Puccini the Thinker: The Composer's Intellectual and Dramatic Developments*, 2nd Edition. New York: Peter Lang, 2001.

Druskin, Mikhail. *Igor Stravinsky: His Life, Works and Views*. Translated by Martin Copper. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Eaton, Quaintance. *The Miracle of the Met: An Informal History of the Metropolitan Opera 1883-1967.* New York: Meredith Press, 1968.

Emerson, Caryl and Robert William Oldani. *Modest Musorgsky & "Boris Godunov"*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Ewen, David. *Encyclopedia of the Opera*. New York: A. A. Wyn, Inc.,1955.

Fisher, Burton D. ed. *Puccini's Il Trittico*. Miami: Opera Journey's Publishing, 2003; repr., 2005.

Gara, Eugenio. ed. *Carteggi Pucciniani*. Milano: G. Ricordi & Co., 1958.

Gasparov, Boris. *Five Operas and a Symphony: Words and Music in Russian Culture.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

Gatti-Casazza, Giulio. *Memories of the Opera*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941.

Girardi, Michele. *Giacomo Puccini: L'arte internazionaledi un musicista italiano*. Venice: Marsilio Editori, 1995, trans. as *Puccini: His International Art,* by Laura Basini. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Grant, Richard B. *Théophile Gautier*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1975.

Greenfield, Howard. *Puccini.* New York: G.P.Putnam's Sons, 1980.

Groos, Arthur and Roger Parker, eds. *Giacomo Puccini: "La Bohème"*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Hamilton, David ed. *The Metropolitan Opera Encyclopedia: A Comprehensive Guide to the World of Opera*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987.

Hand, Richard J. and Michael Wilson. *Grand-Guignol: The French Theatre of Horror*. Exter, UK: University of Exeter Press, 2002.

Horowitz, Joseph. *Wagner Nights: An American History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

Hughes, Patrick. *Famous Puccini Operas*. New York: The Citadel Press, 1959.

John, Nicholas ed. *Turandot: Giacomo Puccini: Opera Guide Series*. London: John Calder Ltd., 1984.

Keolker, James.*Last Acts: The Operas of Puccini and his Italian Contemporaries from Alfano to Zandonai*. Napa, CA: Opera Companion Publications, 2000.

Kerman, Joseph. *Opera as Drama.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

Kimbell, David. *Italian Opera.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Kolodin, Irving. *The Metropolitan Opera 1883-1966*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967.

Lockspeiser, Edward, *Debussy: His Life and Mind.* Vol. 2, *1902-1918*. London: Cassell, 1965.

Lowenberg, Alfred. *Annals of Opera 1597-194: Compiled from the Original Sources*. Totowa, NJ: Roman & Littlefield, 1978.

Macdonald, Ray S. *Puccini: King of Verismo*. New York: Vantage Press, 1973.

Mallach, Alan. *Pietro Mascagni and His Operas*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2002.

_____. *The Autumn of Italian Opera.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2007.

Massenet, Jules Emile Frederic. *My Recollections.* Translated by H. Villiers Barnett. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1919.

Mordden, Ethan. *Opera in the Twentieth Century*: *Sacred, Profane, Godot*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Nicolaisen, Jay. *Italian Opera in Transition, 1871-1893*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan International Research Press, 1980.

Oliver, Michael. *Igor Stravinsky*. London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1995.

Osborne, Charles. *Verdi: A Life in the Theatre*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987.

_____. *The Complete Operas of Puccini: A Critical Guide* Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 1981.

Pahissa, Jaime. *Manuel De Falla: His Life and Works*. Translated by Jean Wagstaff Westport, MA: Hyperion Press, 170.

Parker, Roger. *Remaking the Song: Operatic Visions and Revisions from Handel to Berio.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006. Accessed 15, April, 2015, https://muse.jhu.edu/.

Phillips-Matz, Mary Jane. *Puccini: A Biography*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2002.

Randall, Annie J. and Rosalind Gray Davis. *Puccini and the Girl*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005.

Rosselli, John. *The Life of Verdi*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Ross, Alex. *The Rest is Noise: Listening to the Twentieth Century*. New York: Picador, 2007.

Rous, Samuel Holland (1921). *The Victrola Book of Opera* 6th Edition. New York: Victor Talking Machine Company, 1921.

Samson, Jim. ed. *The Late Romantic Era: From the mid-19th century to World War I*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1991.

Schickling, Dieter. *Giacomo Puccini: Catalogue of the Works*. Co-Author of the English Translation by Michael Kaye. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003.

Seligman, Vincent. *Puccini Among Friends*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938.

Shaw, Bernard. *Shaw's Music: The Complete Musical Criticism in Three Volumes Volume III*. Dan H. Laurence ed. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1981.

Specht, Richard. *Giacomo Puccini: The Man His Life His Work* Translated by Catherine Alison Phillips. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1933.

Taruskin, Richard. *Music in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Torrefranca, Fausto. *Puccini e l'opera internazionale*. Turin: Fratelli Bocca Editori, 1912.

Toye, Francis, *Italian Opera.* London: Max Parris & Co. Limited, 1952.

Troy, Charles E. *The Comic Intermezzo: A Study in the History of Eighteenth-Century Italian Opera*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Research Press, 1979.

Verga, Giovanni. *Cavalleria Rusticana and other Stories.* Translated by D.H. Lawrence. New York: Dedalus/Hippocrene Books, 1987.

Weaver, William. *The Golden Century of Italian Opera: From Rossini to Puccini*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1980.

Weaver, William and Simionetta Puccini eds. *The Puccini Companion.* New York: W.W. W. Norton & Company, 1994.

Werfel, Alma Mahler. *And the Bridge is Love*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1958.

Wilson, Alexandra. The Puccini Problem: Opera, Nationalism, and Modernity, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Wilson, Conrad. *Giacomo Puccini.* London: Phaidon Press, 1997.

Disertations

Choo, David Ik-Sung, "Franco Leoni's *L'oracolo*: A Study in Orientalism," D.M.A. dissertation, The Peabody Conservatory of Johns Hopkins University, 1998.

Recordings:

Bellini, Vincenzo. *I Puritani*. Orchestra and Chorus of the Teatro Colòn, Buenos Aires. Argeo Quadri. With Gencer, Raimondi, Ausensi, Mazzoli, et. al. Recorded October 12, 1961. Living Stage LS1086I2, 2003, 2 compact discs.

Berio, Luciano. *Un Re in Ascolto*. Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, Salzburg Festival. Lorin Maazel. Wih Adam, Zednik, Wise, Armstrong et. al. Recorded August 7, 1984. Col Legno WWE 2 cd 20005, 1997, 2 compact discs.

Debussy, Claude. *Préludes, 1er livre*. Arturo Benedetti Michelangeli, piano. Recorded in 1978. Panorama Duetsche Grammophon GmbH, Hmburg. 289 469 130-2, 2000, 2 compact discs.

_____. *Nocturnes*. Boston Symphony Orchestra. Claudio Abbado. Recorded in 1970. Panorama Duetsche Grammophon GmbH, Hamburg. 289 469 130-2, 2000, 2 compact discs.

_____. *Pelléas et Mélisande*. Orchestra and Chorus of the Vienna Staatsoper. Claudio Abbado. With Ewing, Le Roux, Van Dam, Courtis, Ludwig, et. al. Recorded in 1991. Duetsche Grammophon GmbH, Hamburg. 289-435344-2, 1992, 2 compact discs.

Massenet, Jules. *Werther*. London Philharmonic Orchestra. Michel Plasson. With Troyanos, Barbaux, Kruas, Manuguerra, Bastin, et. al. Recorded in Fall, 1979. Angel EMI Records, Ltd. CMS 7 69573 2. 1988, 2 compact discs.

Puccini, Giacomo. *La Bohéme*. London Philharmonic Orchestra and John Alldis Choir. Sir Georg Solti. With Caballe, Blegen, Domingo, Milnes, et.al. Recorded June, 1973. B000009NIW, 1998, 2 compact discs

_____. *La Fanciulla del West*. Orchesta and Chorus of the Royal Opera House Covent Garden. Zubin Mehta. With Neblett, Domingo, Milnes, et.al. Recorded June, 1977. Duetsche Grammophon GmbH, Hamburg. 28941 96402, 1978, 2 compact discs.

_____. *Il Trittico*. Orchestra and Chorus of the Florence Maggio Musicale. Lamberto Gardelli. With Tebaldi, Simionato, Del Monaco, Merrill, Corena, et. al. Recorded in 1962. London/Decca Grand Opera Series. 411665, 1999, 3 compact discs.

_____. *Madama Butterfly*. Hungarian State Opera House Orchestra and Chorus. Charles Rosekrans. With Spacagna, Graham, Di Renzi, Parce, et. al. Recorded in September, 1995. Vox Classics. 47163 75252, 1995, 4 compact discs

_____. *Puccini Discoveries*. (*Turandot* Final Duet Luciano Berio) Verdi Grand Symphonic Orchestra and Verdi Chorus Milan, Riccardo Chailly. With Urbanová, Fontosh, Volonté et. al. Recorded in 2003. Decca Records. 475320, 2004, 1 compact disc.

_____. *Puccini Rediscovered*. Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra and Chorus. Alberto Veronesi. With Domingo, Urmana. et. al. Duetsche Grammophon GmbH. Hamburg, B002OQNVM2.CD, 2009, 1 compact disc.

_____. *Tosca*. Rome Opera Orchestra and Chorus. Erich Leinsdorf. With Milanov, Bjoerling, Warren, et. al. Recorded July, 1957. RCA The Victor Opera Series. 4514-2-RG, 2 compact discs.

_____. *Turandot*. London Philharmonic Orchestra John Alldis Choir. Zubin Mehta. With Sutherland, Caballé, Pavarotti, Ghiaurov, et. al. Recorded in August, 1972. London Decca Records. 414 274-2, 1973, 2 compact discs.

Respighi, Ottorino. *Ancient Airs and Dances: Suites no.1-3*. National Symphony Orchestra of Ireland. Conducted by Ricco Saccani. Recorded in 1996. Naxos. B000QQP0Z8, 1996, 1 compact Disc.

_____. *Maria Egiziaca*. Hungarian State Orchestra and Hungarian Radio & Television Chorus. Lamberto Gardelli. With Kinces, Nagy, Miller, et.al. Hungaroton. 31118-19, 1989, 1 compact Disc.

Verdi, Giuseppe. *Aida*. New Philharmonia Orchestra, Chorus of the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden. Riccardo Muti. With Caballé, Cossotto, Domingo, Cappuccilli, Ghiaurov et. al. Recorded in 1974. Angel EMI Records. 7 472718, 1986, 3 compact discs.

_____. *Otello*. Orchestra and Chorus of La Scala, Milan. Erich Kleiber. With Freni, Domingo, Cappuccilli, et. al. Recorded on December 7, 1976. Music and Arts. 17685 10432 9, 1978, 2 compact discs.

Scores:

Bellini, Vincenzo. *I Puritani*, Act 2. Milan: Riccordi, 1896. On line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Accessed 15 March 2015, http://petrucci.mus.auth.gr/imglnks/usimg/6/6c/IMSLP111962-PMLP60620-Bellini_-_I_puritani__vocal_score_.pdf.

_____. *Norma,* Act II scene I. London: Boosey & Co., 1875; reprt. Miami: Belwin Mills, n.d. On line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Accessed 27 February 2015, http://conquest.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/a/a2/IMSLP06233-Bellini_Norma_Vocal_Score.pdf

Debussy, Claude. *Pelléas et Mélisande* Act 1. Paris: Durand & Fils, 1907. On line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 30 March 2015, http://conquest.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/b/b5/IMSLP26383-PMLP09094-Debussy-PelleasVSfe.pdf.

_____. *Préludes Book I*: *La Cathédral engloutie*. Paris: Durand & Cie., 1910. On line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 27 February 2015, http://petrucci.mus.auth.gr/imglnks/usimg/e/e1/IMSLP59705-PMLP02394-Debussy--Preludes-Livre1--Schirmer-Ed--2ndHalf.pdf.

Massenet, Jules. *Werther*, Act I. Paris: Hartman/Huegel, 1892. On line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 25 February 2015, http://conquest.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/e/ec/IMSLP197101-PMLP05739-Massenet_-_Werther_VS1_GoogleStanford.pdf.

Leoncavallo, Ruggero. *I Pagliacci*, Vocal Score. New York: G Schirmer, 1906.

Puccini, Giacomo. *Capriccio Sinfonico*. rev. and ed. Pietro Spada. Bryn Mawr, PA: Elkan-Vogel, Inc., 1978. Also Puccini, *Capriccio Sinfonico*, Carus Verlag; on line at accessed 20 January 2015, http://www.carusverlag.com/index.php3?BLink=Puccini_instrumental&selSprache=1.

_____. *Gianni Schicchi*. Milan: Ricordi, 1919. On line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 13 March, 2015. http://imslp.org/wiki/Gianni_Schicchi_%28Puccini,_Giacomo%29.

_____. *Il Trittico: Il Tabarro*, ed.Mario Parenti. Milan: Ricordi, 1918; repr. 1960.

_____. *Il Trittico*: "*Il Tabaro*," "*Suor Angelica,*" *"Gianni Schicchi,"* Milan: Ricordi, 1918.

_____. *La Bohème*. Ricordi: Milan, 1897. On line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 12 February 2015, http://petrucci.mus.auth.gr/imglnks/usimg/0/00/IMSLP43676-PMLP50378-Puccini-BohemeFSric.pdf.

_____. *La Fanciulla del West*. Milan: Ricordi, 1912. On line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 27 February 2015, http://javanese.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/2/2f/IMSLP23359-PMLP53310-Puccini_-_La_Fanciulla_del_West__vocal_score_.pdf.

_____. *Turandot*. Milan: Ricordi, 1929. On line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 3 March 2015, http://petruccilibrary.ca/linkhandler.php?path=/imglnks/caimg/f/f2/IMSLP113192-PMLP28221-_____1980_.pdf.

Leoncavallo, Ruggero. *I Pagliacci*, Vocal Score. New York: G Schirmer, 1906.

Stravinsky, Igor. Berlin: *Petrushka*, (Berlin: Editions Russes de Musique, 1912; repr., Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1988); on line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 24 March 2015, http://imslp.org/wiki/Petrushka_%28Stravinsky,_Igor%29.

Verdi, Giuseppe. *Aida*, Act III. New York: Schirmer, 1897. On line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 27 February 2015, http://petrucci.mus.auth.gr/imglnks/usimg/9/94/IMSLP30368-PMLP17351-AidaVSie.pdf.

_____. *Otello*. Milan: Ricordi, 1886. On line at IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, accessed 27 February 2015, http://javanese.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/3/31/IMSLP24575-PMLP55439-Verdi_-_Otello__prima_ed.__bw.pdf.

Internet sources:

Giotto di Bondone: Complete Works. http://www.giottodibondone.org.

Metropolitan Opera Archives Online. Metropolitan Opera Performance Database. Metropolitan Opera Association. http://www.archives.metoperafamily.org/archives/frame.htm.

Site Hector Berlioz: Berlioz rend compte du Guillaume Tell de Rossini. http://www.hberlioz.com/others/LLascoux.htm.

Stanford Opera collection. http://opera.stanford.edu/Mascagni/Cavalleria/libretto.html.

The New Grove Dictionary of Opera. *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online.* Oxford University Press, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

The Inflation Calculator. West egg.com. http:///www.westegg.com.

The Peoples History: 1920s News, Events, Popular Culture and Prices. http://www.thepeopleshistory.com.

Principal unpublished sources:

A Collection of 54 autograph letters and documents of the Italian opera composer Giacomo Puccini, The Library of Congress Washington DC. Documents, including upublished letters, and post cards written in the composers hand.

Photos of Geraldine Farrar as Suor Angelica located in The Geraldine Farrar Collection, The Library of Congress Washington DC. Documents including unpublished photos of Geraldine Farrar in Costume as Suor Angelica for the World Premiere Performances at The Metropolitan Opera in 1918.

Documents pertaining to *Il Tritico* located in the Archives of the Metropolitan Opera House, Lincoln Center John Pennino Archivist.