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Puccini and the Music Boxes

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In the long history of operatic exoticism, Giacomo Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* (1904/6) and *Turandot* (1924/6) occupy particularly prominent positions.[1] These two works have been commonly viewed as late exemplars of orientalist opera and as marking the end of that tradition. Some scholars have emphasized the ways in which these operas allegedly diverged from the nineteenth-century model of operatic exoticism and in which Puccini achieved new forms of 'exotic authenticity'. These operas have even been hailed as having transcended orientalist representation entirely.[2] However, rather than signalling an end to operatic orientalism or a break with that tradition, these operas have proved to be two of the most influential in this lineage, and they continue to inspire numerous other works of exotic representation in myriad genres across the globe. Furthermore, the scholarship that these two operas have prompted – particularly quests to identify exotic melodic sources and to prove

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[1] The original version of *Madama Butterfly* was premièred in 1904; it was revised several times until 1906, when the final version was premièred. *Turandot* was incomplete when Puccini died in 1924; it was completed after his death by Franco Alfano and premièred in 1926.

[2] See, for example, Helen M. Greenwald, 'Picturing Cio-Cio-San: House, Screen, and Ceremony in Puccini's *Madama Butterfly*', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 12 (2000), 237–59 (pp. 239–40), and Kunio Hara, 'Rudolf Dittrich's *Nippon Gakufu* and Giacomo Puccini's *Madama Butterfly*', *Music Research Forum*, 19 (2004), 1–25 (pp. 21–3). On the 'complex and contradictory' nature of *Madama Butterfly* in terms of orientalist representation, see Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (Cambridge, 2009), 206–13. For an overview of scholarship on operatic orientalism, see my 'Exoticism', *The Oxford Handbook of Opera*, ed. Helen M. Greenwald (New York and Oxford, 2014), 795–816.

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details of an imagined exotic authenticity – has shaped our approach to orientalist musical representation more generally.

Over the course of the past century, scholars have been tracking down Japanese melodic sources for *Madama Butterfly* and Chinese sources for *Turandot*. Two important musical themes in *Madama Butterfly* have instigated particularly extensive searches for exotic sources. Both of these themes were even more prevalent in earlier versions of the score.[3] The first, which I will refer to as 'Butterfly's theme', is directly associated with the titular heroine herself, forming the climaxes of her entrance and of the love duet at the end of Act 1 and appearing in her vocal line as she proclaims her destiny and her devotion to Pinkerton. The second theme is associated with Butterfly's memories of her deceased father and with her grim Japanese patrimony more generally, and I will refer to it as the 'Patrimony theme'. A common assumption has been that Puccini, attempting to achieve exotic authenticity and employing Japanese melodies throughout the score, based these two pentatonic themes on Japanese folk tunes as well. Given the prominence of these themes, identifying their source will shape our understanding of the opera, of Puccini's compositional process and of his approach to exoticism. The source itself will reveal nineteenth-century routes of musical globalization and once again call into question notions of exotic authenticity.

Puccini did go to some lengths to draw on Japanese music when representing the Japanese in his score, efforts that have been repeatedly documented by scholars. He consulted published collections of Japanese traditional melodies, met the wife of a Japanese ambassador, probably attended the performance of a Japanese actress, and ordered recordings of Japanese music.[4] It is well known that Puccini employed several famous Japanese melodies in composing *Madama Butterfly*, including 'Sakura, Sakura' and 'Miyasan'/'Tonyare-bushi'. 'Miyasan' ('Noble Prince'), in particular, was familiar in the West through its prominent appearance as 'Miyasma' in Gilbert and Sullivan's *The Mikado* (1885). It is associated in Puccini's opera

[3] I have traced these themes in the 1904 Italian edition of the vocal score (Ricordi 110000), the 1904 piano reduction score (Ricordi 110001), the 1905/6 English/Italian editions of the vocal score (Ricordi 111200), the 1907 French edition of the vocal score (Ricordi 111360) and the 1907 full score (reprinted by Dover in 1990). (In this article, I will refer to rehearsal figures and bar numbers in the 1907 full score, unless otherwise noted.) On Puccini's revisions to the *Madama Butterfly* score, see Julian Smith, 'A Metamorphic Tragedy', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 106 (1979–80), 105–14; *idem*, 'Tribulations of a Score', *Madam Butterfly/Madama Butterfly*, ed. Nicholas John (London, 1984), 15–23; William Ashbrook, 'Reflections on the Revisions of *Madama Butterfly*', *Giacomo Puccini: L'uomo, il musicista, il panorama europeo*, ed. Gabriella Biagi Ravenni and Carolyn Gianturco (Lucca, 1997), 159–68; Dieter Schickling, 'Puccini's "Work in Progress": The So-called Versions of "Madama Butterfly"', *Music and Letters*, 79 (1998), 527–37; and Philip Gossett, 'Some Thoughts on the Use of Autograph Manuscripts in Editing the Works of Verdi and Puccini', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 66 (2013), 103–28.

[4] On Puccini's multiple sources of information on Japanese music, see especially Arthur Groos, 'Cio-Cio-San and Sadayakko: Japanese Music-Theater in *Madama Butterfly*', *Monumenta nipponica*, 54 (1999), 41–73, and Kunio Hara, 'Puccini's Use of Japanese Melodies in *Madama Butterfly*' (M.M. thesis, University of Cincinnati, 2003).

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particularly with Yamadori, the noble Japanese prince who attempts to woo the abandoned Butterfly in Act 2, Part 1, and thus suggests that Puccini occasionally selected exotic melodies on the basis of correspondences between their translated titles and his drama.[5] Puccini's use of Japanese melodies clearly marks the Japanese characters as exotic, and these melodies most often stand out from the context of the opera's late Romantic Italian style. Scholars have identified several possible printed sources for many of these melodies. However, Puccini, as I will reveal here, turned to another musical source entirely for Butterfly's theme and the Patrimony theme, both of which he employed quite extensively in the opera.

We have known since 1920 that Puccini borrowed melodies from a music box owned by Baron Edoardo Fassini-Camossi as he worked on his final opera, *Turandot*, in Bagni di Lucca. This music box has been commonly referred to as the 'Fassini box'.[6] I have discovered that Puccini had also turned to a music box for exotic inspiration some 18 years earlier, during the composition of *Madama Butterfly*. The Murtogh D. Guinness Collection of Mechanical Musical Instruments and Automata at the Morris Museum in Morristown, New Jersey, holds a 'harmoniphōne' – a *c*.1877 Swiss-made, six-tune cylinder music box with reed organ – that plays Westernized versions of Chinese folk tunes and includes its original tune sheet (or programme card) identifying the titles of these melodies (see Figure 1).[7] This box's musical programme includes both what appear to be the direct sources for Butterfly's two crucial themes and melodies employed by Puccini in *Turandot*. I will offer

[5] On Puccini's use of Japanese themes with apparently meaningful associations in the opera, see for example Michele Girardi, *Puccini: His International Art*, trans. Laura Basini (Chicago, IL, 2000), 215–16.

[6] I will discuss the Fassini music box and its impact on Puccini scholarship below. I should note that although I have decided to follow Puccini scholars and American musicologists more generally in employing the term 'music box', the term 'musical box' is preferred by many in the community of mechanical music collection and scholarship. See Arthur W. J. G. Ord-Hume, *Musical Box: A History and Collector's Guide* (London, 1980). The Swiss manufacturers referred to these mechanical musical instruments as *boîtes à musique*.

[7] Ord-Hume reports that the term 'harmoniphone' was used by Louis Ducommun for his vox celeste cylinder boxes, to which a reed organ had been added, and that this manufacturing practice began around 1850. See Ord-Hume, *Musical Box*, 134–5. The dimensions of the Guinness box with lid closed are: 12⅞ inches high by 20¼ inches wide by $12^{13}/_{16}$ inches deep. The serial number that appears in multiple locations on the Guinness box is 2098. This number, as well as the construction of the cylinder mechanism, helps to identify this instrument as having been manufactured by C. Paillard et C^{ie} in Ste Croix, Switzerland, just prior to 1880. (I am grateful to Jere Ryder, conservator of the Guinness Collection, for assistance in dating this music box.) Markings on the box made by a restorer based in Rhode Island indicate that Guinness acquired the box by 1964. For recordings of all six tunes on the Guinness box, see <http://www.morrismuseum.org/mechanical-musical-instruments-automata> (accessed 18 September 2014). On the Guinness Collection, see Ellen M. Snyder-Grenier, *Musical Machines and Living Dolls: The Murtogh D. Guinness Collection of Mechanical Musical Instruments and Automata* (Morristown, NJ, 2011). On my discovery of this music box, also see my 'Music Box as Muse to Puccini's "Butterfly"', *New York Times* (17 June 2012), Arts and Leisure section, pp. 1 and 9, and 'The Sound of Scholarly Serendipity', *The Institute Letter*, Institute for Advanced Study (Fall 2012), 10. A colour version of Figure 1 may be accessed at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02690403.2015.1008863>.

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Figure 1. The Guinness music box.

evidence below suggesting that Puccini may have heard and handled this very artefact during the period in which he composed *Madama Butterfly*. The 'Fassini', 'Guinness' and other late nineteenth-century music boxes playing these and other Chinese tunes were manufactured in Switzerland and France, rather than in China, and thus bear witness to nineteenth-century routes of global musical circulation.[8]

[8] Scholars continue to refer to the Fassini music box as a 'Chinese music box' and an 'authentic Chinese' musical source. See, for example, Andrew Davis, *Il Trittico, Turandot, and Puccini's Late Style* (Bloomington, IN, 2010), 178. (Online comments by collectors and lot descriptions by auction houses reveal that music-box collectors also assume that the music played by these boxes is fully Chinese.) On the marketing of Swiss boxes in China, see for example John E. T. Clark, *Musical Boxes: A History and an Appreciation* (3rd edn, London, 1961). Clark states that large numbers of reed-organ boxes were shipped to Persia, India and China (p. 61). On the Swiss music-box industry more generally, see Vincent Arlettaz, 'Histoire d'un amour: Sainte-Croix et la boîte à musique', *Revue musicale de Suisse Romande*, 60 (2007), 6–23.

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The specific moments in *Madama Butterfly* when these two melodies are heard suggest that Puccini might have been aware of their Chinese titles and subject matter. I will consider how this knowledge might shape interpretations of the opera and how it supports the argument that Puccini's initial conception of *Madama Butterfly* was more sardonic than the powerfully melodramatic 1906 version that entered the repertory. Puccini's orchestrations also point to the pervasive role played by this mechanical source. In fact, the characteristic sound of music boxes – relatively higher and exact pitch, detached articulation, clear and bright timbre, and rhythmic precision – is more evident in *Butterfly* and *Turandot* than is the style of any East Asian music. The Chinese melodies on both the Guinness and the Fassini music boxes (the latter of which I have also relocated and investigated) additionally point to unnoticed connections between Puccini's two orientalist operas.

Chinese melodies appearing on late nineteenth-century Swiss music boxes may be traced to the transcriptions of Frederic 'Fritz' Bovet, a member of the famous Swiss watch-making family. Bovet apparently collected melodies in China in 1845 specifically so that they could be pinned onto music-box cylinders in Switzerland that would then be marketed back in China. Given that Puccini featured these melodies in his operas and thereby influenced numerous later composers of musical exoticism, Bovet's role in music history is not insignificant. By featuring the famous Chinese folk song 'Jasmine Flower' (or 'Fresh Flowers') prominently in *Turandot*, Puccini not only reaffirmed this tune as the representative token of Chinese music in the West but also reinforced its pre-eminent status within China itself. Puccini's operas never sound very much like Chinese traditional music, but some Chinese music came to sound very much like Puccini.

In this article, I will first discuss the source I have discovered for the two themes most clearly associated with the exotic heroine in *Madama Butterfly*, noting previous attempts to identify sources for these melodies, the appearances of both melodies throughout the opera and the significance of their titles and original Chinese lyrics. I will also reconsider Puccini's connections to the Fassini family, the role of the Fassini music box in the composition of *Turandot*, and the larger implications for our understanding of the relationship between Puccini's two orientalist operas. I will briefly report on other surviving boxes that play these tunes and will consider how these Chinese melodies came to be pinned onto Swiss-made music-box cylinders in light of the transmission history of Chinese music to Europe, and how this points to musical globalization in the nineteenth century. Finally, I will indicate the broader influence of Puccini's use of these tunes and the ways in which his scores may have reinforced a mechanical style in exotic representations of East Asia more generally. I suggest that Puccini's encounter with the brief tunes on these otherwise unremarkable music boxes resulted in a much broader global musical impact over the course of the past century.

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Assuming authenticity

Assumptions of Puccini's devotion to an ideal of exotic authenticity have driven scholarship on *Madama Butterfly* for over a century. As early as 1909, Georg Capellen revealed that Puccini had drawn melodies from collections of Japanese songs and *koto* pieces arranged for piano, and that the influence of these printed sources extended to his harmonizations.[9] In 1936, Mosco Carner set the stage for most later studies of exoticism in Puccini's operas by identifying specific Japanese melodies appearing in *Butterfly* and Chinese melodies heard in *Turandot*. He claimed that earlier examples of musical exoticism in European music represented little more than 'superficial indulgence in artistic sport'.[10] In addition, Carner stated that Puccini had developed multiple motifs from fragments of other Japanese and Chinese melodies, respectively, in these two operas. For example, he argued that the first two bars of Butterfly's theme had been developed from a 'Japanese Spring Song' that appeared in the Isawa Shuji/Georg Capellen 1904 collection.[11] Though this specific attribution is particularly unconvincing, Carner continued to list this source for Butterfly's theme in his 1958 biography of the composer and in subsequent editions.[12] Carner's work has been followed over the decades by multiple attempts to revise and expand his list of Japanese sources for *Butterfly* and Chinese sources for *Turandot*.[13]

[9] Georg Capellen, 'Madame Butterfly und die Exotik', *Neue Musik-Zeitung*, 30 (1909), 465–8. Capellen himself published arrangements of Japanese songs for piano. See *Shogaku Shoka: Japanische Volksmelodien des Isawa Shuji* (Leipzig, 1904).

[10] Mosco Carner, 'The Exotic Element in Puccini', *Musical Quarterly*, 22 (1936), 45–67 (p. 47; see also p. 45).

[11] *Ibid*., 50–4. Carner cited two collections of Japanese melodies published by Breitkopf & Härtel: Rudolf Dittrich's *Nippon Gakufu* (1894) and the Shuji/Capellen 1904 collection. Carner's discussion of Puccini's operatic exoticism includes *La fanciulla del West*. In a later publication, Carner mistakenly referred to Butterfly's theme as 'the first of the identifiable Japanese tunes that Puccini uses in the opera'. See Mosco Carner, *Madam Butterfly: A Guide to the Opera* (London, 1979), 50.

[12] Mosco Carner, *Puccini: A Critical Biography* (3rd edn, London, 1992), 415.

[13] Such publications include Karl Gustav Fellerer, *Giacomo Puccini* (Potsdam, 1937), 65–75, 98–108; Duiti Miyasawa, 'Madama Butterfly's Original Melodies', *Opera News*, 16 (28 January 1952), 7–9, republished in a slightly revised version as Juichi [*sic*] Miyazawa, 'Some Original Japanese Melodies in Madama Butterfly', *Giacomo Puccini: Nel centenario della nascita* (Lucca, 1958), 157–61; Norbert Christen, *Giacomo Puccini: Analytische Untersuchungen der Melodik, Harmonik und Instrumentation* (Hamburg, 1978), Chapter 5, pp. 207–92; and Mary Renner Heath, 'Exoticism in Puccini: The Japanese Melodies in Madama Butterfly', *Opera Journal*, 13 (1980), 21–8. In reference to the composition of *Turandot*, William Ashbrook and Harold Powers stated that Puccini 'felt he needed to find authentic melodies, as he had for *Madama Butterfly* twenty years earlier', and they refer to Puccini's use of 'authentic Chinese tunes' in that opera, although they place 'authentic' in scare

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Kunio Hara – revisiting Capellen – has recently demonstrated that Puccini drew more extensively on the 1894 and 1895 publications of Japanese songs arranged for piano by the Austrian Rudolf Dittrich than was previously known.[14] Hara argues that Dittrich's publications were the most important printed source for Puccini as he composed the opera, and notes that some of the Japanese melodies Puccini employed had already been shaped by Western influence, particularly those of the *gunka* genre.[15] The quest for additional Japanese melodic sources for Puccini's *Butterfly* may very well continue to yield results. Indeed, I have identified a separate publication by Dittrich – apparently not previously investigated by Puccini scholars – that also appears to have served as a source for Puccini. Dittrich's piano arrangement of 'Rakubai' ('Falling Plum Blossoms') – a 'Japanese song with koto' published separately by Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig in 1894 – seems to have shaped two significant moments in Puccini's opera. In Act 1, when Butterfly displays her personal items and Pinkerton enquires about her father's sword, the *fortissimo* orchestral gesture (marked 'Largamente') is taken from the opening of 'Rakubai', at the same pitch and with the same harmonization as in the Dittrich publication (see Examples 1a–b). This quotation occurs within a patchwork of exotic melodic sources, following a statement of the Japanese 'Sakura, Sakura' and 'Ha-Uta' and immediately succeeded by the Patrimony theme, a Chinese melody from the Guinness music box to be discussed below. Puccini probably selected this arresting musical gesture for its declarative force rather than for any association with the text of 'Rakubai'/'Falling Plum Blossoms' (presented by Dittrich in German and English translation) and its opening statement that 'the year is returning with the spring day!' The equally assertive opening gesture of Act 2, Part 2 (heard after spring has arrived in the opera) seems to echo this same gesture from 'Rakubai', with the descending motif transposed down a major third.[16]

Multiple scholars have also claimed that Puccini's orchestration choices reveal the influence of exotic music. Carner pointed to Puccini's orchestration of Butterfly's theme in its first appearance at her entrance to illustrate the composer's ability to 'convert the color-wealth of exotic music into a wholly personal and original style', and he claimed that the 'charm of this passage lies chiefly in the delicacy and

quotes in some cases. See Ashbrook and Powers, *Puccini's Turandot: The End of the Great Tradition* (Princeton, NJ, 1991), 61 and 94. On Puccini's use of Chinese melodies in *Turandot*, also see Peter Korfmacher, *Exotismus in Giacomo Puccinis 'Turandot'* (Cologne, 1993), 80–95, and Kii-Ming Lo, *'Turandot' auf der Opernbühne* (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), 318–36.

[14] Hara, 'Puccini's Use of Japanese Melodies in *Madama Butterfly*', Chapter 4, and *idem*, 'Rudolf Dittrich's *Nippon Gakufu*'.
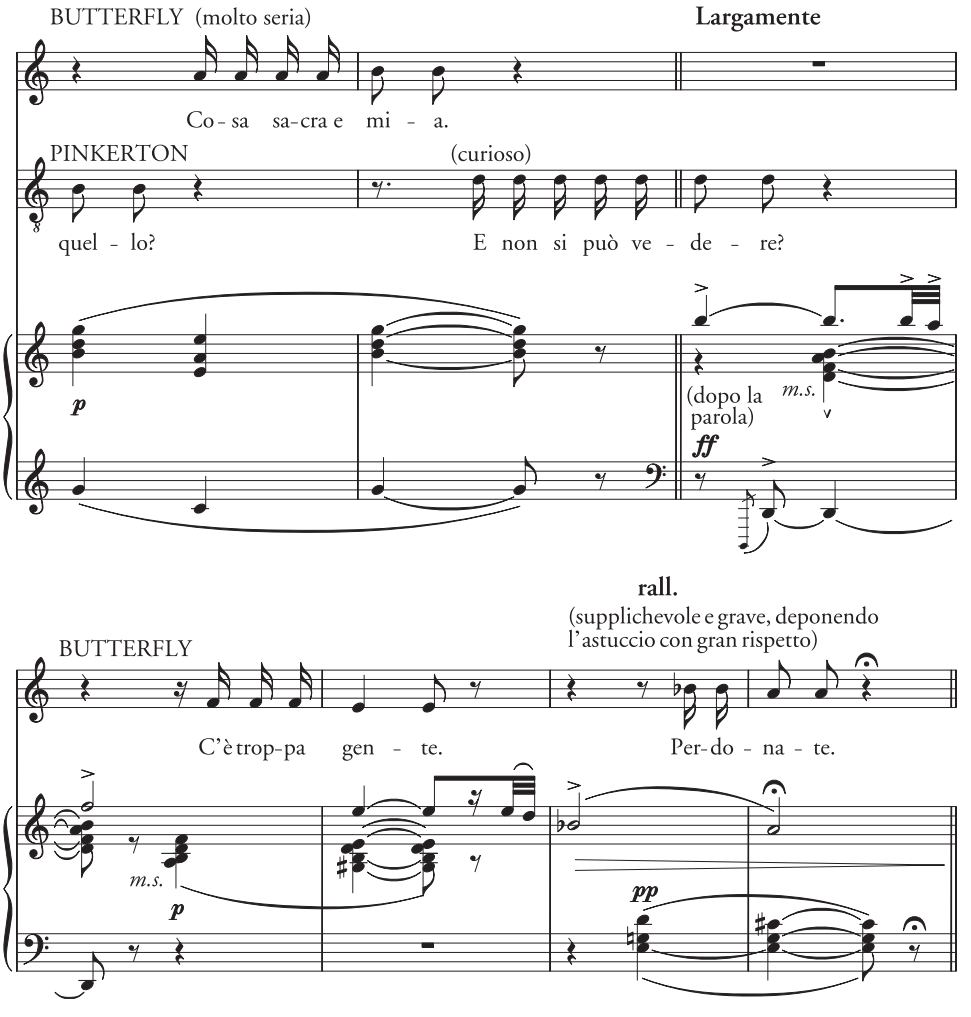
[15] Hara, 'Rudolf Dittrich's *Nippon Gakufu*', 2–3.

[16] The flowing quavers and other details somewhat resemble other specific bars in 'Rakubai'. I should note that 'Rakubai' is also included as no. 6 in *Collection of Japanese Koto Music* (Tokyo, 1888) at the same pitch but not with the same harmonization as in the Dittrich arrangement.

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Example 1. (a) Pinkerton asks about the sword, *Madama Butterfly*, Act 1; (b) Rudolf Dittrich's setting of 'Rakubai'.

(a)
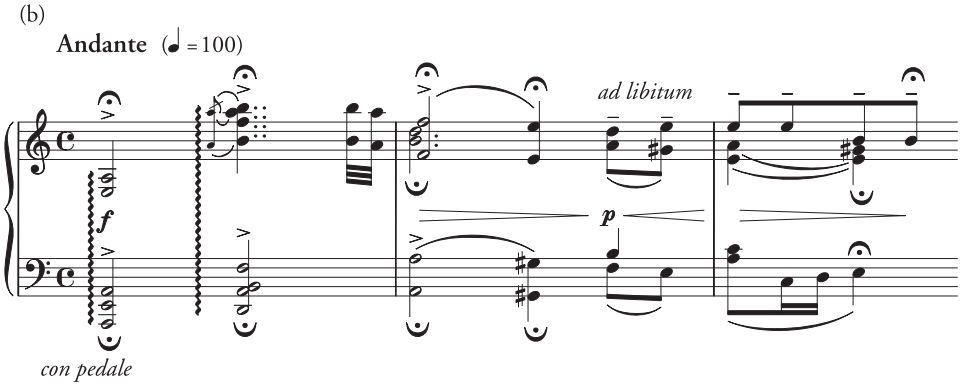


unfamiliar tonal quality of its instrumentation'.[17] Motivated by Puccini's orchestration and his own assumptions concerning exotic authenticity in the opera, Carner

[17] Carner, 'The Exotic Element in Puccini', 65. On Puccini's special orchestration for Butterfly's entrance, also see Carner, 'L'elemento esotico in Puccini', *La musica occidentale e le civiltà musicali extraeuropee*, ed. Stelio Felici (Florence, 1971), 140–6 (p. 144). Betraying a lack of familiarity with Japanese music, Carner claimed that the final bars of the opera are 'an almost exact reproduction of the timbre of Japanese temple-music'. See Carner, *Puccini*, 417.

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Example 1 (continued)



came to refer to Butterfly's theme as 'the Japanese "Bell" theme'.[18] I argue that, rather than echoing any form of Japanese music, this style of orchestration approximates the rather more familiar sounds of late nineteenth-century European music boxes.

Puccini's orchestrations in *Butterfly* continue to be upheld as one of several indicators of his authentic engagement with Japanese music and culture in the opera. In a study focused on the exotic authenticity of staging and design, Helen Greenwald states that Puccini had achieved 'a beautifully coherent score, inspired at least in part by borrowed melodies and idiomatic gestures, an intellectual and artistic step beyond the faceless efforts of his predecessors'.[19] Greenwald argues that 'Puccini went beyond generic "Orientalism" or *japonisme* in both the visual dimension of this work, and in the portrayal of Butterfly herself.' She further postulates that Puccini may have known more about Japanese culture than can be documented, and that even his use of stereotypes of exotic representation 'transcends "Orientalism"', concluding that the opera is 'more profoundly "authentic" than has usually been argued'.[20] Some scholars have offered interpretative claims based on the relative presence or absence of allegedly authentic exotic markers at specific moments in the opera. Both Peter Ross and Michele Girardi, for example, claim that the first appearance of the Butterfly theme in the opera received an exotic, Japanese-inspired orchestration that was then stripped away during the heroine's confessional aria to Pinkerton, 'Io seguo il mio destino', in order to signal her attempt at self-Westernization.[21] Ralph Locke has similarly described the setting of Butterfly's

[18] Carner, *Madam Butterfly*, 53 and 56.

[19] Greenwald, 'Picturing Cio-Cio-San', 237–8.

[20] *Ibid.*, 239–40.

[21] Peter Ross, 'Elaborazione leitmotivica e colore esotico in "Madama Butterfly"', *Esotismo e colore locale nell'opera di Puccini*, ed. Jürgen Maehder (Pisa, 1985), 99–110 (pp. 105–7); and Girardi,

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theme in this aria – a 'rapturous melody' that 'freely incorporates certain pentatonic features' – as enacting 'the very transformation of which Cio-Cio-San is singing: the process of turning from an Easterner into a Westerner, even to the extent of her adopting Pinkerton's religion'.[22] Locke's interpretations are based on the view that Puccini's orchestration was 'clearly intended to approximate the sounds of Japanese music […] or at least the impression that such sounds often made on Westerners'.[23] I should note here that composers of orientalist works commonly pile on exotic markers when first introducing an exotic character or setting and then often pull back from such overt representations once the exotic associations have been established.

Puccini's 'exotic' orchestrations highlight specific themes in the score and have inspired continued searches for exotic melodic sources. The attempt to identify and interpret Puccini's use of exotic sources in *Madama Butterfly* has been aimed particularly at the two primary themes associated with the heroine. Scholars searching for Japanese sources for Butterfly's theme and the Patrimony theme have pointed to brief passages in published Japanese songs that Puccini might have consulted. In 1986, Kimiyo Powils-Okano rightly questioned Carner's attribution of a 'Japanese Spring Song' (identified as 'Hana saku haru') as a source for Butterfly's theme.[24] However, numerous commentators on the opera have continued to cite Carner's 'Japanese Spring Song' as the melodic source. For example, in a 2004 publication Julian Budden described Butterfly's entrance in these terms:

> Dovetailed into the final cadence is another Japanese song, *Hana sakuharu* [*sic*] (*Blossoming Spring*), couched in the familiar 'black note' scale common to folksong throughout the world. If flutes, piccolo, bells and harp with octave grace-notes give the melody an exotic flavour, the harmonies, together with an expressive extra note outside the scale (an appoggiatura, to give it its technical name), are strictly European. No theme will depict more movingly Butterfly's determination to reach out into the world of her lover. Appropriately, it will recur at the point where she confesses to having converted to his religion ('Io seguo il mio destino').[25]

Puccini, trans. Basini, 237. David Rosen has pushed back against the notion that the exotic features of Butterfly's theme are stripped away in 'Io seguo il mio destino', and instead argues that it remains strongly 'oriental' in its marking and function, indicating that she cannot escape her Japanese identity no matter how hard she may try. See Rosen, '"Pigri ed obesi dei": Religion in the Operas of Puccini', *Madama Butterfly: L'orientalismo di fine secolo, l'approccio pucciniano, la ricezione*, ed. Arthur Groos and Virgilio Bernardoni (Florence, 2008), 257–98 (p. 266).

[22] Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 187.

[23] *Ibid.*, 204.

[24] Kimiyo Powils-Okano, *Puccinis 'Madama Butterfly'* (Bonn, 1986), 49 and 61–2. Powils-Okano's supposition that the theme had no East Asian source is incorrect, however, as we shall see.

[25] Julian Budden, 'Forte e nuova, ma non facile', *Madama Butterfly 1904–2004*, ed. Ilaria Narici (Milan, 2004), 11–29 (p. 26). See also Budden, *Puccini: His Life and Works* (Oxford, 2002), 248–9.

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Arthur Groos, who has offered the most carefully considered discussion of the multiple possible sources of Japanese melodic influence in the opera to date, suggested an alternative source for Butterfly's theme. A few of Puccini's sketches for the opera are held at the Accademia Filarmonica, Bologna, and these manuscripts include one sheet – not in the composer's hand – containing four Japanese melodies that Groos cites as 'an early indication of [Puccini's] interest in original Japanese music'.[26] The first of these melodies is marked 'Vivace', and Groos claims that 'the seven-note phrase in measures 3–4 resembles the melody of Butterfly's entrance, which seems to be marked as Japanese by the use of octave grace notes and pizzicato' and concludes 'for the moment' that Butterfly's theme represents 'a creative adaptation of the *Vivace*'.[27] The resemblance, however, is slight, as Groos acknowledges.[28]

The search for a Japanese model for the Patrimony theme has been equally fraught. In 1909, Capellen referred to this theme as a 'japanischen Motive' without suggesting a source.[29] In 1986, Powils-Okano claimed that this theme was based on a few bars of the Japanese song 'Ume no haru' ('Spring of Plum Blossoms') and suggested a rather overwrought explanation for why Puccini would have selected this particular song to serve as what she termed the 'exile motif'.[30] The musical resemblance between the Patrimony theme and 'Ume no haru' is very slight and both Groos and Hara have rightly debunked this attribution.[31] Groos notes that the theme is 'clearly associated with a mysterious, even religious, patriarchal power'.[32] Though doubting the attribution, Groos refers to the source of this theme as 'pseudo-"Ume no haru"' and notes its appearance at the end of Butterfly's 'Io seguo il mio destino', in which she

[26] Arthur Groos, 'The Sketches at the Accademia Filarmonica in Bologna', *Madama Butterfly: Fonti e documenti della genesi*, ed. Groos (Lucca, 2005), 143–94 (p. 143). Also see Luigi Verdi, 'I manoscritti della *Madama Butterfly* nell'Archivio dell'Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna', *Madama Butterfly*, ed. S. Camerini, catalogue of the exhibition 'Butterfly: I manoscritti ritrovati nell'Archivio dell'Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna (19–31 March 1996) (Bologna, 1996), 57–90.

[27] Groos, 'Cio-Cio-San and Sadayakko', 45. Describing Butterfly's entrance, Groos writes: 'The heroine directs the others to genuflect to the accompaniment of a more individualized melody, apparently derived from the *Vivace* of the 1901 Bologna sketch, and orientalized through the use of octave grace notes and pizzicato' (*ibid.*, 64). See also Arthur Groos, '*Madama Butterfly* between Comedy and Tragedy', *Madama Butterfly*, ed. Groos and Bernardoni, 159–81 (p. 166).

[28] Girardi emphasized the importance of Puccini's use of 'authentic themes' and offered 'Hana saku haru' as a source for Butterfly's theme (despite Powils-Okano), before following Groos by pointing to the Bologna manuscript as a more likely model. See Girardi, *Puccini*, trans. Basini, 211–13.

[29] Capellen, 'Madame Butterfly und die Exotik', 468.

[30] Powils-Okano, *Puccinis 'Madama Butterfly'*, 59–60. Several commentators have followed her with this attribution. For example, see Budden, *Puccini*, 249.

[31] Groos, '*Madama Butterfly* between Comedy and Tragedy', 166, and *idem*, 'Cio-Cio-San and Sadayakko', 47, 64 and 66–8. Also see Hara, 'Puccini's Use of Japanese Melodies in *Madama Butterfly*', 11–14.

[32] Groos, 'Cio-Cio-San and Sadayakko', 65. Also see *idem*, '*Madama Butterfly* between Comedy and Tragedy', 166, 169.

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'attempts to express her own subjectivity and her own desire' in A major, only to be countermanded by the Patrimony theme appearing forcefully in A minor in the orchestra. This juxtaposition suggests to Groos a 'conflict between West and East' that is 'being fought in the psyche of Cio-Cio-San herself'.[33]

Though most scholars have searched diligently for Japanese sources, occasional notes of doubt may be heard in the extensive commentary on *Madama Butterfly*. For example, David Rosen has referred to the two different Japanese sources that have been offered for Butterfly's theme as being indicative of the underlying 'difficulty in distinguishing between original and invented "Japanese melodies"' in the opera.[34] Back in 1909, Capellen even wondered whether a theme that characterizes Butterfly's relatives was actually of Chinese origin.[35] It is clear from his letters that Puccini was initially determined to locate and use Japanese melodies in a bid to create exotic authenticity in his score. Finding enough suitable Japanese melodies apparently did not prove easy. However, after travelling to attend a performance by the Japanese actress Sadayakko in April 1902, Puccini wrote: 'I'm working. And I didn't interview Sada Yacco. But I have here a lot of material of the yellow race that will do for me.'[36] Some scholars have assumed that this letter indicates that by spring 1902 Puccini finally had all the Japanese material he needed. Perhaps, instead, Puccini – not uniquely – was making a broader reference to East Asian peoples in his use of the term 'yellow race'.

Butterfly and the Chinese erotic: 'Shiba mo'

The piece on the Guinness music box that served as the source for Butterfly's theme appears last. The tune is a Westernized, music-box version of the Chinese folksong 'Shiba mo' (see Example 2).[37] This is the melody most closely associated with Butterfly herself, the melody that Budden referred to as 'almost the mirror of the

[33] Groos, 'Cio-Cio-San and Sadayakko', 66–8. On this theme and its transformations, also see Ross, 'Elaborazione leitmotivica e colore esotico in "Madama Butterfly"', 100–4.

[34] Rosen, '"Pigri ed obesi dei"', 264.
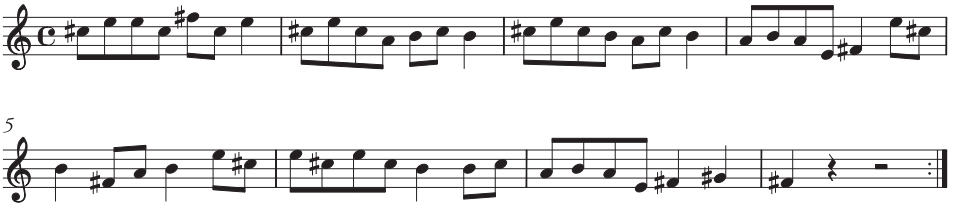
[35] Capellen, 'Madame Butterfly und die Exotik', 468. Although Capellen was correct in suspecting that some of the themes in the opera might be of Chinese origin, he was mistaken in emphasizing differences between a 'Chinese' and a 'Japanese' pentatonic scale.

[36] Quoted in Groos, 'Cio-Cio-San and Sadayakko', 49. This quotation comes from a letter Puccini wrote to Luigi Illica dated 30 April 1902.

[37] The multiple differences between the Swiss music-box realizations of 'Shiba mo' and folk performance versions of the melody in China are striking. Puccini's setting, of course, further obscures identification of the Chinese melody by a listener familiar only with Chinese folk performance styles. This is one reason why hearing the music-box version of the tune is crucial in attempting to notice and identify the tune as employed in Puccini's opera. The transcriptions from the Guinness music box are my own, and are based primarily on the reed-organ realizations of each melody. A sound clip for Example 2 may be accessed at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02690403.2015.1008863>.

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Example 2. 'Shiba mo' transcription from the Guinness music box.



soul of Butterfly' ('quasi lo specchio dell'anima di Butterfly').[38] This melody, either in part or in its entirety, appears at multiple significant moments in the opera, and most often diverges from the music-box model only in minor details. It often appears in conjunction with the Patrimony theme, as though these two tunes from the music box – probably encountered by Puccini early in his compositional process – formed a pair in the composer's mind. (Both melodies occur more frequently in Act 1 than later in the opera.)[39] Furthermore, when employing 'Shiba mo' Puccini occasionally seems to make the orchestra imitate the sound of a music box, even going so far as to set the opening of the tune at a fast music-box clip, with mechanical bird whistles in Act 2, Part 2, following Butterfly's long night anticipating Pinkerton's return.

Butterfly's entrance in the opera, befitting an exotic heroine in any orientalist opera, is other-worldly.[40] We hear her friends singing bell-like 'ah's and her voice floating above from afar as they gradually enter from offstage. Butterfly remarks on the beauty of the setting and how she is exceedingly happy to be getting married. These disembodied voices and the floating pulse enhance the mystery and appeal of this exotic woman both for Pinkerton and for Puccini's intended audience. This entrance music climaxes with a slightly modified statement in the orchestra of the first half of 'Shiba mo' (see Example 3).[41] In Puccini's orchestration of this moment – featuring staccato flute, piccolo, glockenspiel and octave grace notes in the

[38] Julian Budden, 'La dissociazione del *Leitmotiv* nelle opere di Puccini', *Giacomo Puccini*, ed. Ravenni and Gianturco, 453–66 (p. 460). Groos has stated that 'in spite of Puccini's extensive use of Japanese materials to represent his vision of a "true Japan", there seems to be no Japanese melody associated particularly with the heroine' ('Cio-Cio-San and Sadayakko', 62). I argue that this Chinese melody is quite closely associated with Butterfly in the opera, with only a few exceptions.
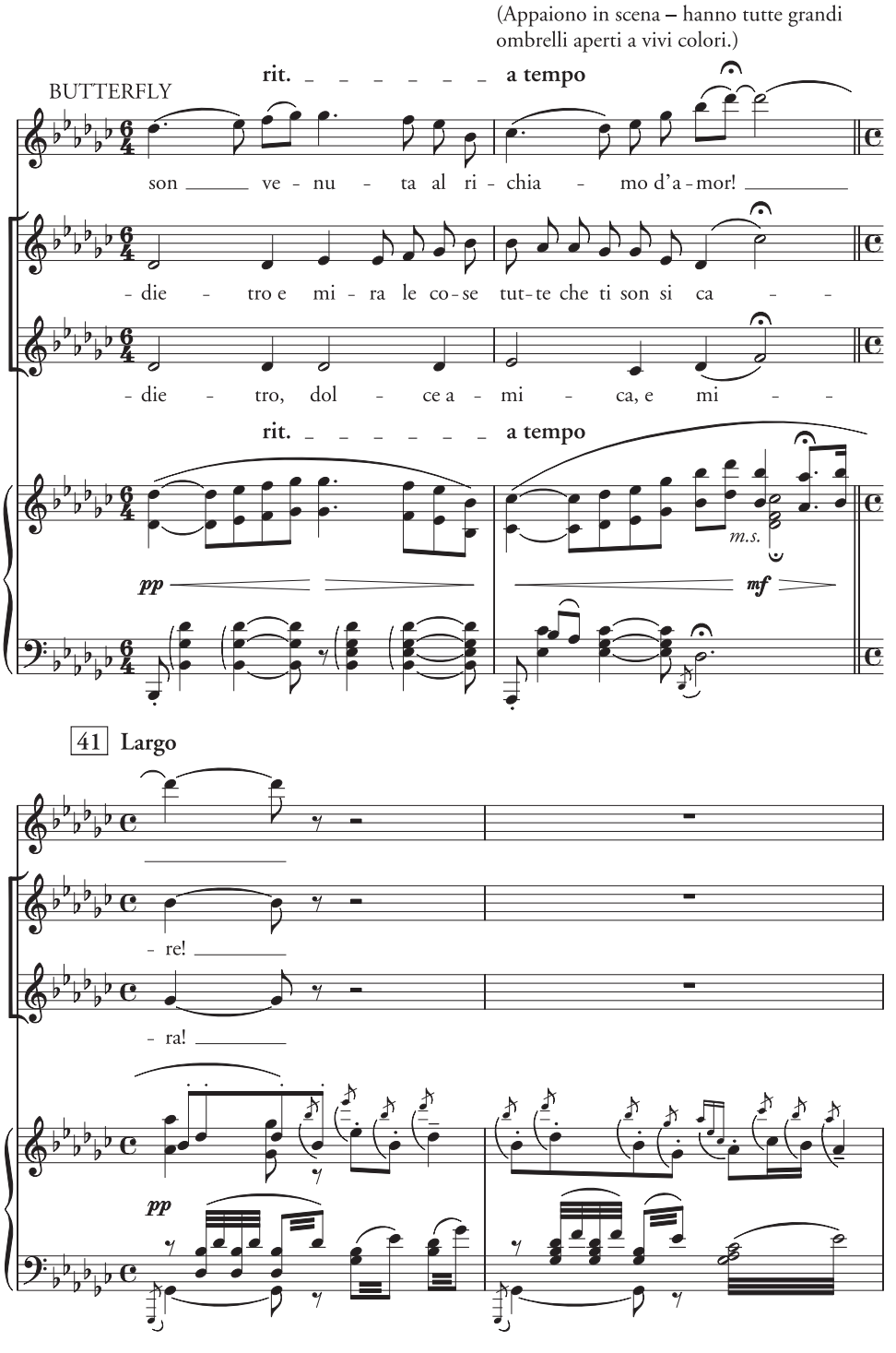
[39] Kii-Ming Lo has made a similar claim regarding Puccini's use of three melodies from a music box in *Turandot*, arguing that they serve a more integral function in the score than do the Chinese melodies that he derived from printed sources. See Lo, 'Giacomo Puccini's *Turandot* in Two Acts: The Draft of the First Version of the Libretto', *Giacomo Puccini*, ed. Ravenni and Gianturco, 239–58 (pp. 252–3).

[40] Here I am in agreement with Locke (*Musical Exoticism*, 207–8) but not with James Parakilas, who labelled Butterfly's entrance 'non-exotic'. See Parakilas, 'The Soldier and the Exotic: Operatic Variations on a Theme of Racial Encounter', *Opera Quarterly*, 10/2 (winter 1993), 33–56 (p. 47), and 10/3 (spring 1994), 43–69 (pp. 50–1).

[41] A sound clip for Example 3 may be accessed at <http://music.williams.edu/profile/wsheppar/>.

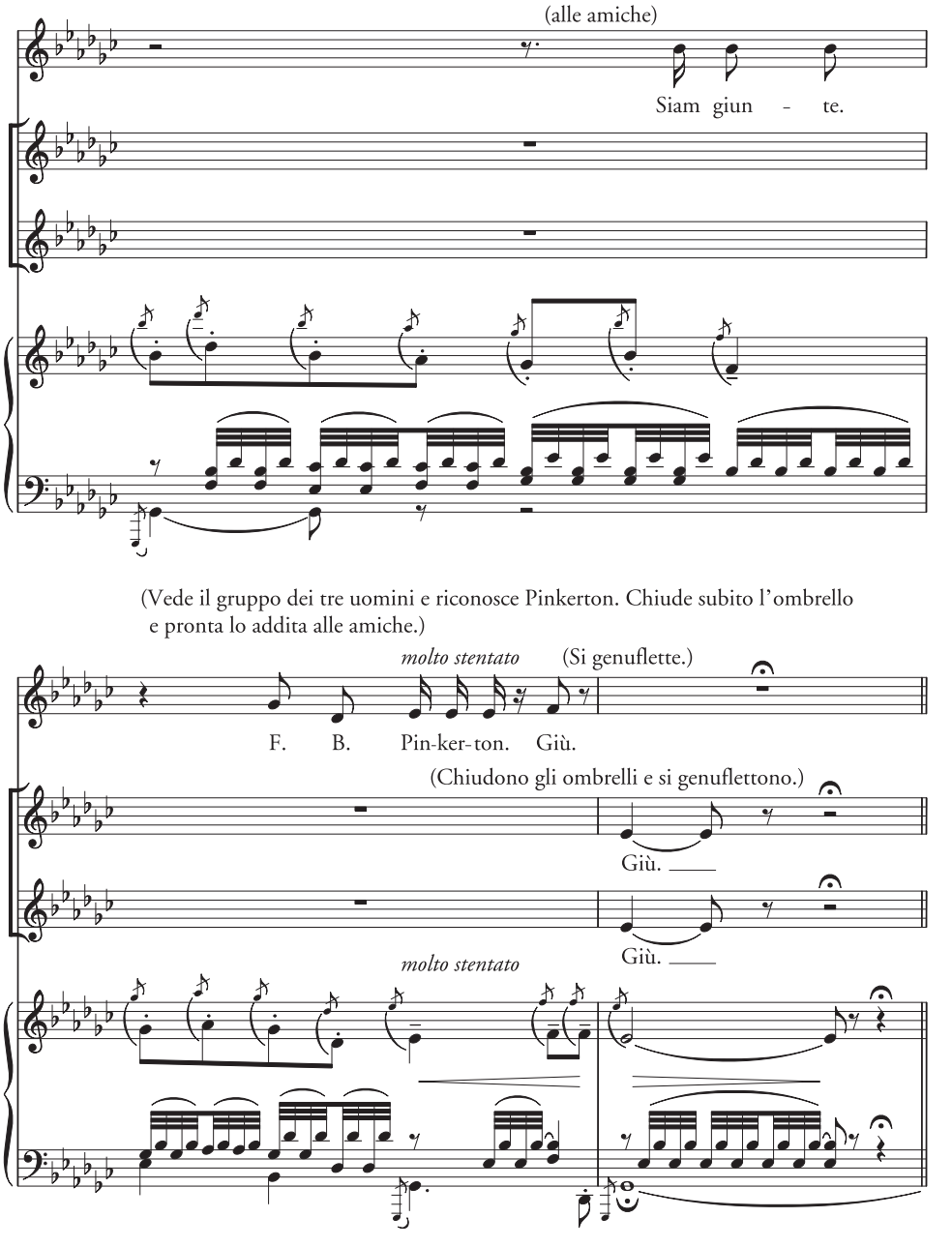
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Example 3. The climax of Butterfly's entrance, *Madama Butterfly*, Act 1.



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Example 3 (continued)



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harp – the orchestra itself sounds somewhat like a music box.[42] Act 1 ends with Butterfly and Pinkerton's love duet, climaxing with a more grand, *fortissimo* orchestral statement of the first half of 'Shiba mo'. Thus the two emotional and musical climaxes in Act 1 – the pillar moments of Butterfly's arrival and the departure of the two lovers from the stage – both blossom into the 'Shiba mo' tune. Fragments of the melody appear elsewhere in the score. A trace of the first bar of the melody might even be audible in the twittering flute just before Butterfly is indirectly referenced in the marriage broker's statement: 'This is your wife's devoted maid' (Act 1, rehearsal figure 8). The first half of 'Shiba mo' is clearly heard in augmented rhythmic values in the solo violin, starting as Butterfly flirts with Pinkerton, offering him more compliments, and continuing as Sharpless comments on Butterfly's name (Act 1, rehearsal figure 43, bars 2–8).

In the original 1904 version of her aria 'Io seguo il mio destino', 'Shiba mo' was heard in its entirety twice, as it is on the Guinness music box, and in the same key.[43] (In the final version of the opera the first statement was cut.) This is by far the most crucial statement of Butterfly's theme in the opera. At this moment in Act 1, Butterfly speaks privately to Pinkerton. She explains how she went to the mission alone and has decided to abandon her people and religion for his sake. As she begins her confession, a solo clarinet plays Butterfly's theme – perhaps Puccini chose the clarinet to imitate the timbre of the Guinness music box's reed organ. Butterfly then sings to the entire melody of 'Shiba mo' herself, with slight modifications, as she explains that she is following her destiny by devoting herself to Pinkerton. Here, Puccini transformed the music-box melody into one of the most expansive, lyrical and personal statements by the opera's heroine (see Example 4).[44]

Given the numerous appearances of this theme, some commentators have suggested that its dramatic association cannot easily be pinned down. Budden referred to the theme as multivalent, noting, for example, that the melody had appeared comically with an 'almost impertinent' character in the first edition of the opera when Butterfly discusses her uncle the Bonze.[45] Vera Micznik has also focused

[42] For a related example of the influence of music boxes on musical style in the nineteenth century, see Jeffrey Kallberg, 'Chopin's Music Box', *Chopin's Musical Worlds: The 1840's*, ed. Artur Szklener (Warsaw, 2008), 189–202. Kallberg points to a connection between exoticism and music boxes, and notes a 'clear association in the nineteenth century between automata and various notions of the Other', postulating that a music-box style itself 'would likely evoke a link with various forms of difference' (pp. 201–2).
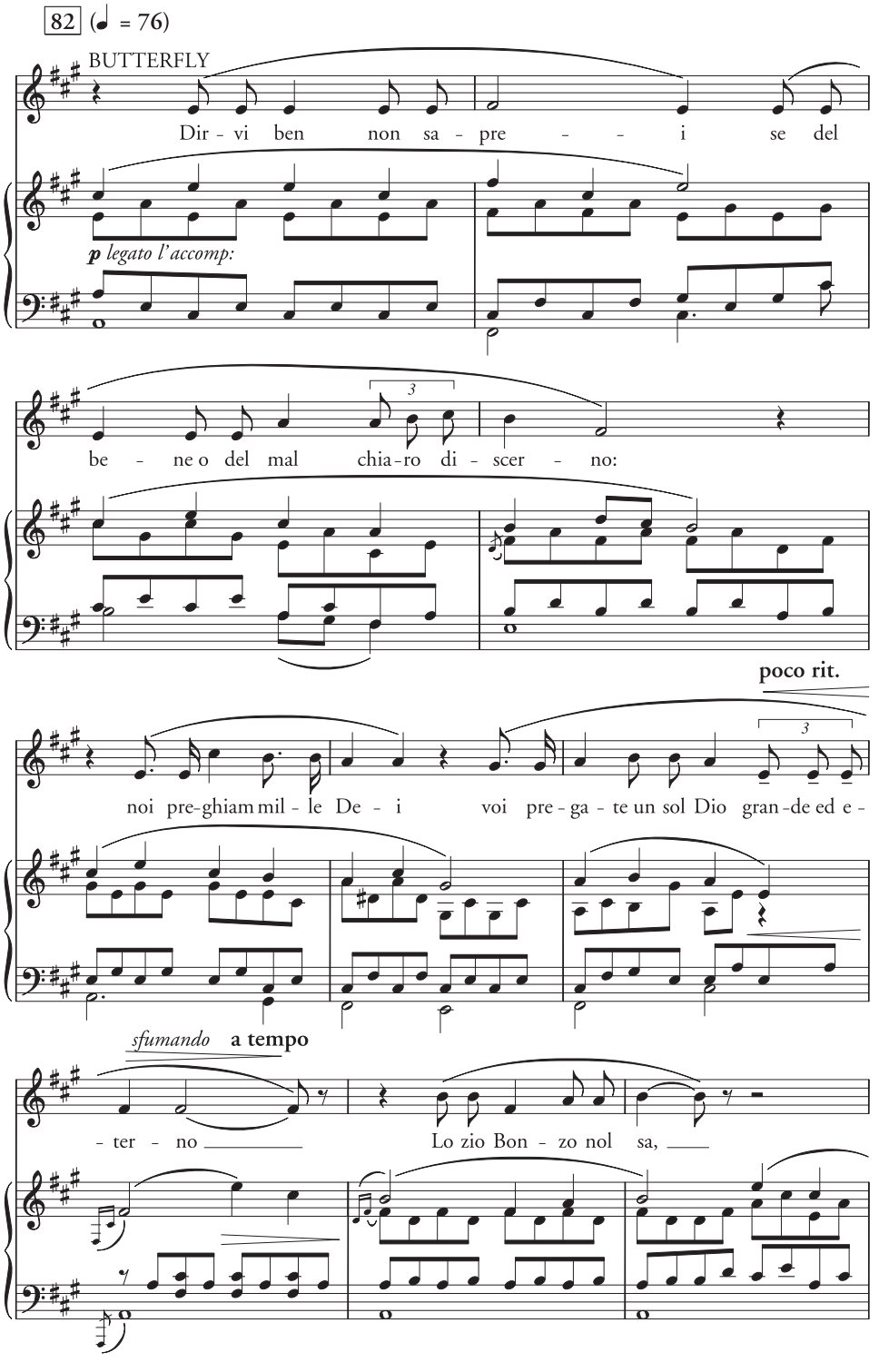
[43] Hara has stated that 'Che tua madre' is the only aria of Butterfly's to be based 'entirely on Japanese or Japanese-influenced music'. This remains correct, given that 'Shiba mo' is a Chinese folksong. See Hara, 'Rudolf Dittrich's *Nippon Gakufu*', 19.

[44] A sound clip for Example 4 may be accessed at <http://music.williams.edu/profile/wsheppar/>.

[45] Budden, 'La dissociazione del *Leitmotiv* nelle opere di Puccini', 459–60. This is actually a full statement of 'Shiba mo'.
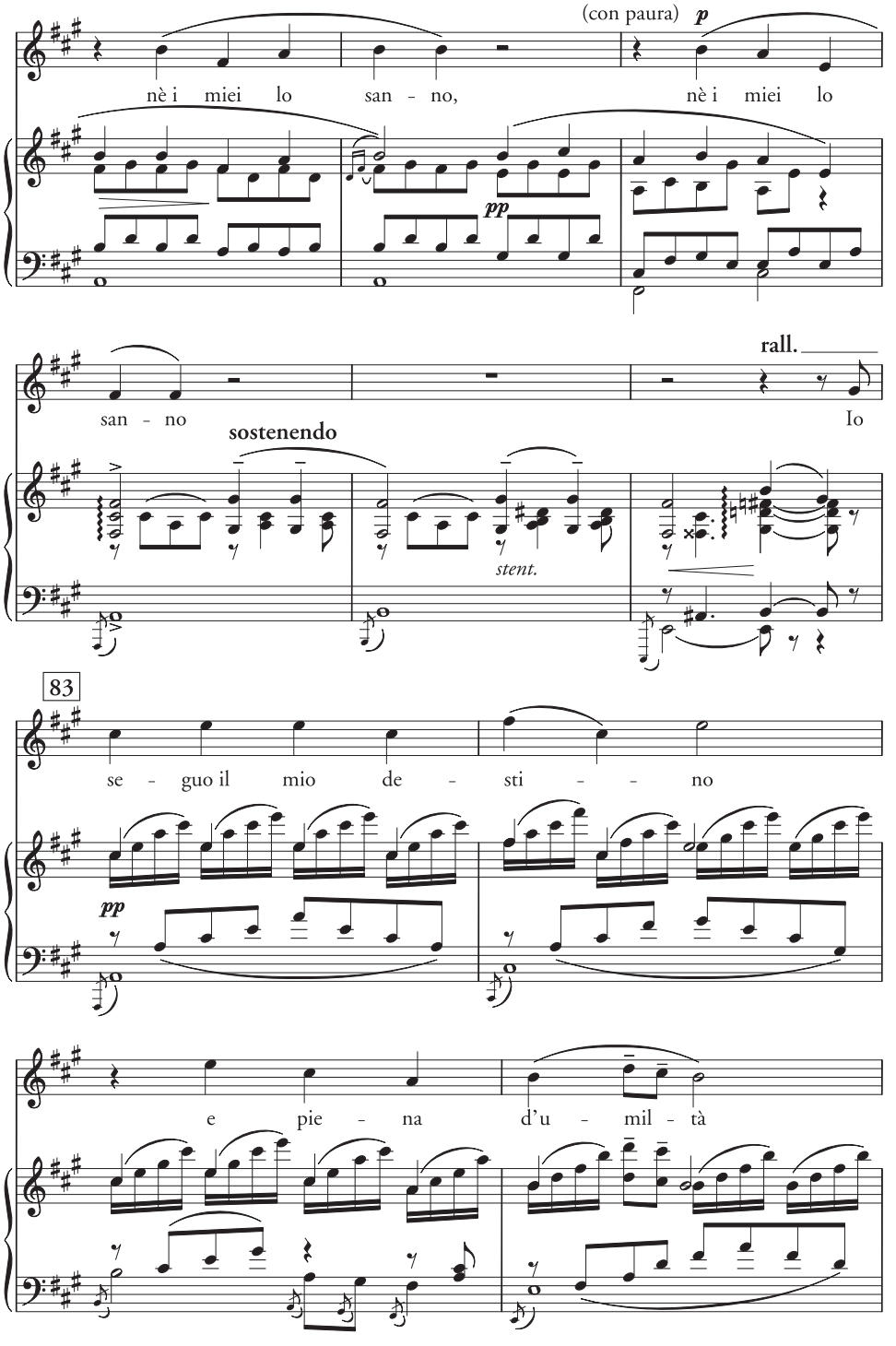
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Example 4. The 1904 version of 'Io seguo il mio destino', *Madama Butterfly*, Act 1.
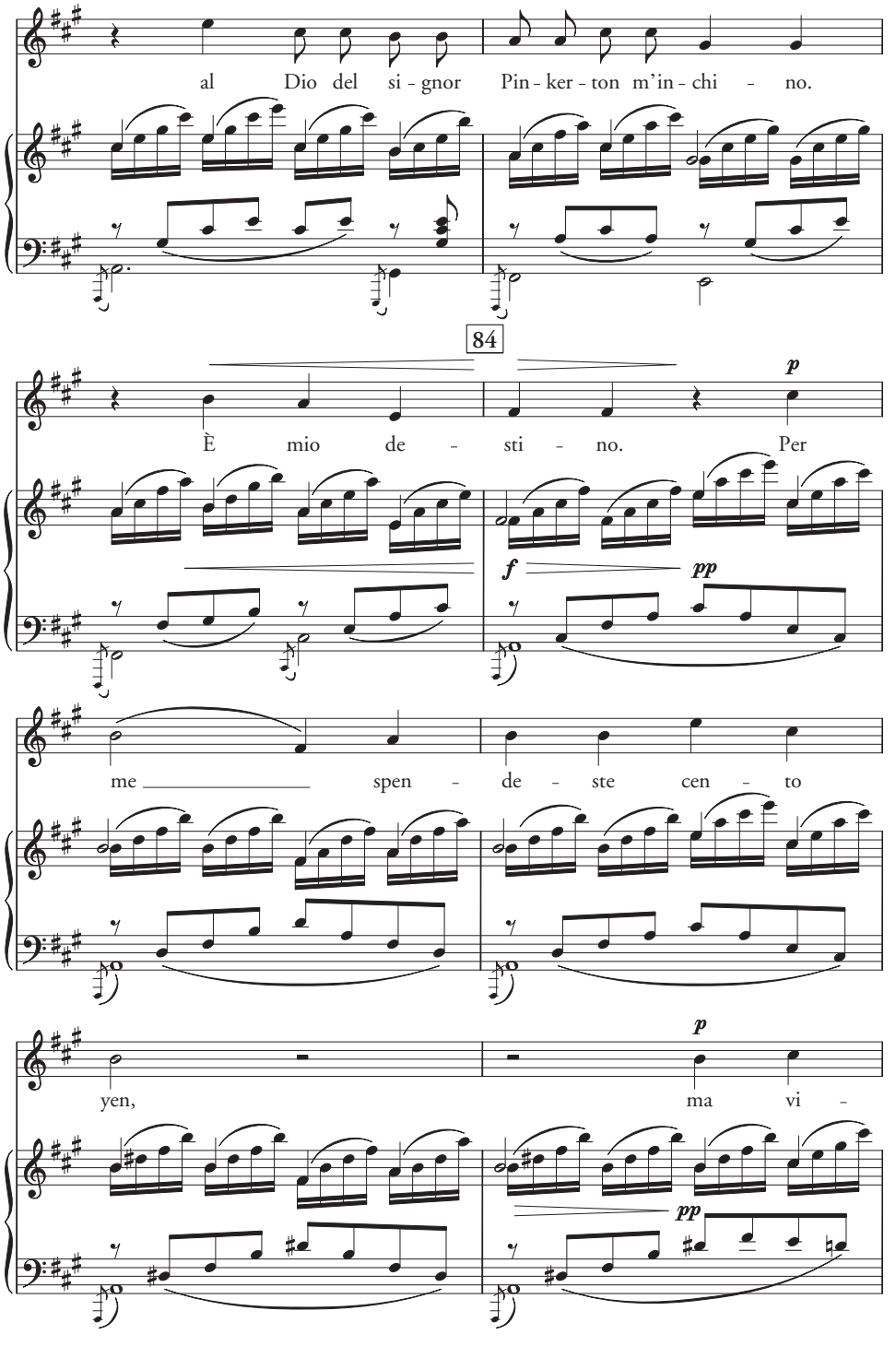


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Example 4 (continued)
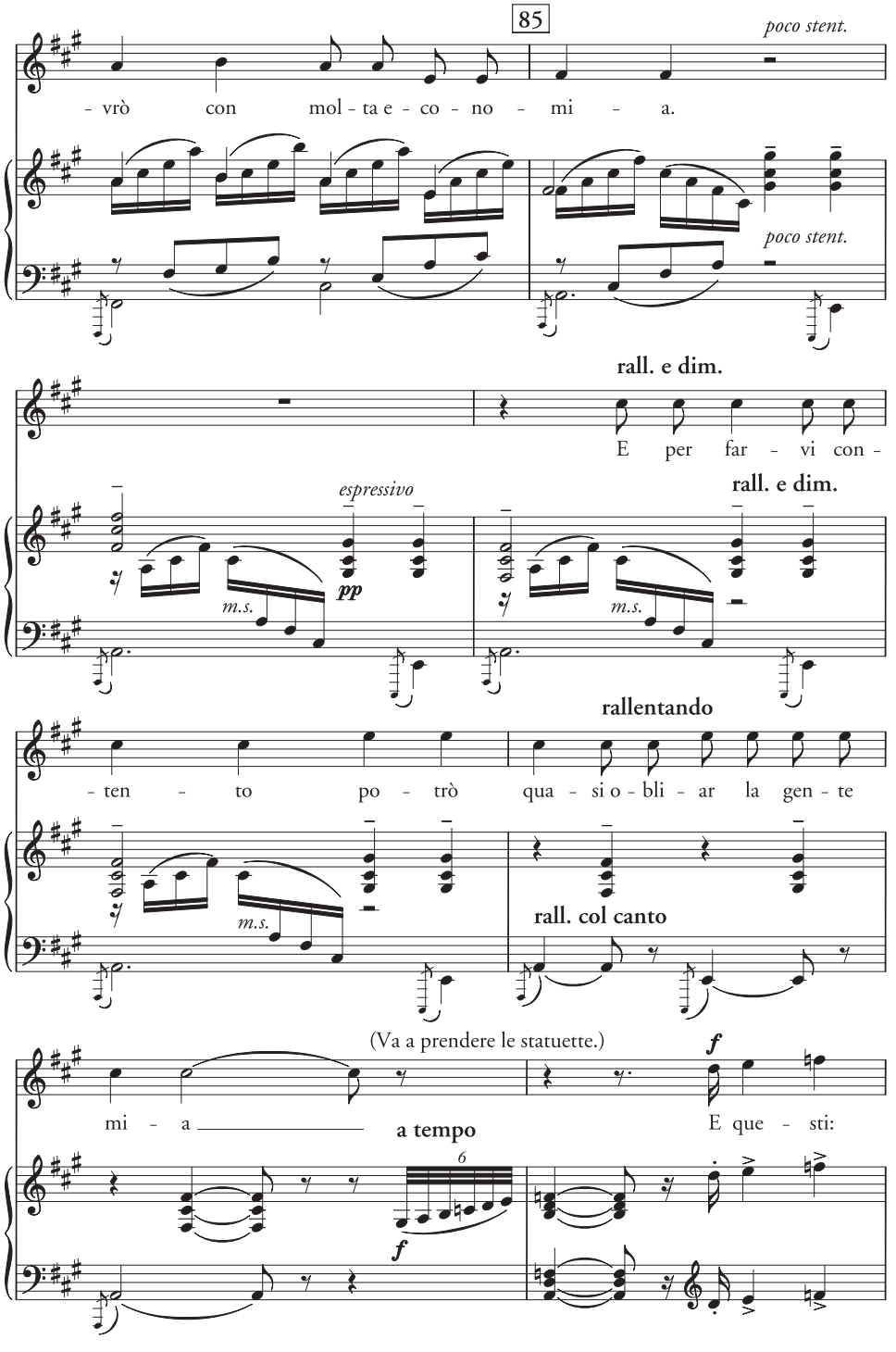


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Example 4 (continued)
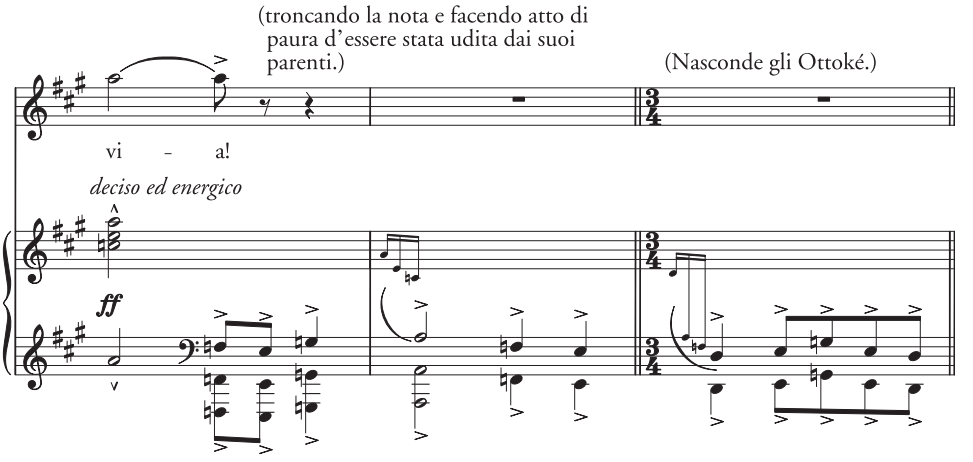


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Example 4 (continued)



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Example 4 (continued)



on this particular theme.[46] Like Budden, she states that the meaning of the theme changes with each appearance. For example, she suggests that the theme appears in connection with the compliments Butterfly offers Pinkerton, ignoring that this moment occurs just before Sharpless speaks and comments on Butterfly's name.[47] To my mind, this particular occurrence of 'Shiba mo' cements the association of the theme with Butterfly, rather than indicating that Puccini had a variety of associations in mind for this melody. Micznik also refers to the theme as the 'geisha motive', claiming that it represents Butterfly's clichéd behaviour, her façade, rather than her identity.[48] Finally, Micznik states that at the very end of Act 1 'the obedient geisha motive pounds obsessively'.[49] I hear no hint of obsessive violence at this moment. Instead, 'Shiba mo' serves as the triumphant climax to the love duet before delicately fading with the falling curtain.

The musical evidence detailed above strongly suggests that Puccini encountered the 'Shiba mo' melody on a music box rather than in any printed source. However, no musical details indicate why he would have selected this particular theme rather than another music-box Chinese tune to represent Butterfly. Consideration of the title and lyrics of this folk song suggest an explanation. 'Shiba mo', identified as a

[46] Vera Micznik, 'Cio-Cio-San the Geisha', *A Vision of the Orient: Texts, Intertexts, and Contexts of Madame Butterfly*, ed. Jonathan Wisenthal *et al.* (Toronto, 2006), 47–55. Micznik refers to this theme as a 'seldom mentioned motive that appears in the most crucial moments' (p. 47). I fully agree that the theme is crucial, but it has hardly been ignored by Puccini scholars.

[47] *Ibid.*, 49.

[48] *Ibid.*, 52.

[49] *Ibid.*, 53.

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xiaodiao or 'little ditty', is a rather significant Chinese folksong.[50] The title can be translated as 'The Eighteen Touches' or 'The Eighteen Strokes' and is sometimes referred to as 'The Erotic Massage'. This song has been deemed one of the most famous and frequently banned erotic songs in all of China.[51] Singing 'The Eighteen Touches' was outlawed in 1868 and 1952, for example, and folk-music scholars were discouraged by the Chinese government from collecting and publishing this song throughout the twentieth century.[52]

The song has nevertheless appeared in numerous genres and in a range of melodic variants throughout China, including in operatic contexts, and is delivered in the voice of a male lover celebrating 18 parts of a woman's body in explicit detail, moving caress by caress from head to toe.[53] In multiple theatrical versions the male persona (perhaps a lustful sailor like Pinkerton himself) is associated with a boat. In her fieldwork, Schimmelpenninck found that the song was often performed by migrants from northern Jiangsu who would dress up in a paper boat and rock this

[50] Antoinet Schimmelpenninck, *Chinese Folk Songs and Folk Singers: Shan'ge Traditions in Southern Jiangsu* (Leiden, 1997), 87. Schimmelpenninck states that in Jiangsu 'many different versions circulate' of this song (p. 167). Also see Frank Kouwenhoven and Antoinet Schimmelpenninck, 'Zhao Yongming: Portrait of a Mountain Song Cicada', *Lives in Chinese Music*, ed. Helen Rees (Urbana, IL, 2009), 23–44 (p. 30). On this genre and its appearance in nineteenth-century Chinese songbooks, see Stefan Kuzay, 'Life in the Green Lofts of the Lower Yangzi Region', *Lifestyle and Entertainment in Yangzhou*, ed. Lucie B. Olivová and Vibeke Børdahl (Copenhagen, 2009), 286–314. A 1920s recording of 'Shiba mo' as performed in a Cantonese opera is available at <http://www.civilization.ca/cantoneseopera/opera132-1-e.shtml> (accessed 18 September 2014). A field recording made by Schimmelpenninck in the 1980s is available on a CD accompanying *Chinese Folk Songs and Folk Singers* and at <http://www.iias.nl/oideion/journal/issue01/zanten/5-audio4.html> (accessed 18 September 2014).

[51] In an unpublished paper delivered at the 2002 CHIME conference in Sheffield and entitled 'On "Eighteen Touches"', Liu Yong referred to 'Shiba mo' as 'the most popular erotic folksong in China', and stated that 'when a writer needs an example of an erotic song, "Eighteen Touches" is always the first one mentioned'. (I am grateful to the author for providing me with a transcript of that paper.) I have identified fictional works that employ reference to 'Shiba mo' in this way. See, for example, Han Z. Li, *The Water Lily Pond: A Village Girl's Journey in Maoist China* (Waterloo, ON, 2004), in which a sexually charged village woman is said to hum an 'underground song, "Eighteen Touches", by which a man engaged a woman prior to the act' (p. 6).

[52] See Schimmelpenninck, *Chinese Folk Songs and Folk Singers*, 118, 168. Also see Shi-Zheng Chen, 'The Tradition, Reformation, and Innovation of Huaguxi: Hunan Flower Drum Opera', *Drama Review*, 39 (1995), 129–49 (p. 134).

[53] In discussing the *huaguxi* play *Shi ba mo*, Chen reports that in 'the music and movement, through solos and duets, the feel of the woman's body from head to toe is graphically explored'. According to Chen's informant, this traditional play – 'about a sophisticated playboy who goes to a prostitute' – apparently drove young audience members wild, and they 'would rush home to make love as soon as the play finished' (*ibid.*, 132). I should note here that the Japanese term 'shiba-shiba mo' (meaning 'often' or 'many times') occurs in the classic *Manyoshu* poetry collection in a telling of the famous *Tanabata* love story in which two celestial lovers do not often have the opportunity to meet, given their separate positions in the night sky. I believe that this linguistic echo is entirely coincidental to Puccini's use of the 'Shiba mo' melody.

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boat as they sang.[54] The 1920s Ningbo opera *Floating Boat* includes a male character who sings 'The Eighteen Touches' while operating a boat with two sisters.[55] The explicit eroticism of this song apparently has encouraged private performance in acts of sexual foreplay[56] and has proved embarrassing for at least some theatrical performers. One performer involved in a command performance of the opera *Boat on the Marshes* for Japanese occupational forces in 1942 related that in the 'Eighteen Touches' episode the audience 'wanted us to include all the obscene actions, thus humiliating young Yang Feifei [a female performer] for their own entertainment'.[57] This scandalous song was even enjoyed by Westerners in China. For example, in a 1906 memoir by an Australian naval officer who had been stationed in China, we are told that at the dining houses he frequented:

> You cannot hear a word the people are saying, even at the next table, on account of the noise the girls are making. They play on all sorts of stringed instruments, and sing in that falsetto voice which you hear all over China.
>
> If you like they will sing you *Sinfa* (The Bunch of Roses), which is a sentimental song, or you can have *Shap-pat-mo* (the Eighteen Touches), which is a bad song.[58]

Given Puccini's particular sense of humour and the specific moments in *Madama Butterfly* where this melody appears, it is highly likely that he knew the subject matter of 'Shiba mo'. The possibility that Puccini embedded a private erotic joke into this opera by choosing this melody specifically for moments when the Japanese geisha offers herself to the lustful American might seem incongruous in such a famously tragic work; however, as Groos has noted, much of this opera is actually comic in nature and was even more clearly so in its earliest versions.[59] Julian Smith argued that the opera was quite sardonic in its initial form, but acknowledged that it 'may seem difficult today to credit Puccini with the intellectual and emotional toughness with which the early version of *Butterfly* is instilled'.[60] Puccini's original version of the opera included in the first act a great deal of comic material depicting Butterfly's foolish relatives. Additionally, in the 1904 version Pinkerton comes across

[54] Schimmelpenninck, *Chinese Folk Songs and Folk Singers*, 167.

[55] Jin Jiang, 'Dubious Prosperity: Women and Entertainment in Wartime Shanghai', *Frontiers of History in China*, 4 (2009), 124–48 (p. 138).

[56] Liu Yong reported on the use of 'Shiba mo' in foreplay in 'On "Eighteen Touches"'.

[57] Jonathan P. J. Stock, *Huju: Traditional Opera in Modern Shanghai* (Oxford, 2003), 65. In this instance, the male role was taken by a female performer.

[58] W. H. Blake, *The Adventures of a Naval Chief Gunner* (Brisbane, 1906), 245. Here Blake refers particularly to the Yu-ling-tong dining house in Ching-kiang where there were 'probably two hundred good-looking singing girls'. The significance of the other song mentioned by Blake here, 'Sinfa', for Puccini's *Turandot* will be discussed below.

[59] Groos, '*Madama Butterfly* between Comedy and Tragedy', 159–81. As Groos notes, the revisions removed many (but not all) of the comic elements in the opera (p. 180).

[60] Smith, 'A Metamorphic Tragedy', 105.

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as a truly ugly American, a coarse and crass sailor unable to resist making demeaning comments about the Japanese even as they prepare to celebrate his wedding. In the 1906 version that has been most often performed ever since, Pinkerton is a somewhat more sympathetic character who even delivers a regretful final aria near the end; and, in general, this version is far more melodramatic than the 1904 original.[61]

Pinkerton's blatant evaluation and celebration of Butterfly's physical beauty is paralleled quite clearly by the position of the male persona in 'The Eighteen Touches'. Pinkerton is anxious to make his way to the bridal chamber from the very beginning of the opera. To put the matter bluntly: the business of inspecting the house with the marriage broker, greeting the geisha and her friends, meeting the relatives and undergoing the wedding ceremony is all but an extended period of foreplay for Pinkerton, delaying the dramatic and musical moment of climax when he eagerly leads Butterfly into the house to consummate their marriage at the end of Act 1 and 'Shiba mo' rings forth. Knowing the pornographic source for this melody, our emotional engagement with the climax of the love duet might now be somewhat altered.

Butterfly, *Turandot* and exotic patrimony: 'Bangzi' and 'Loc Tee Kun Tzin'
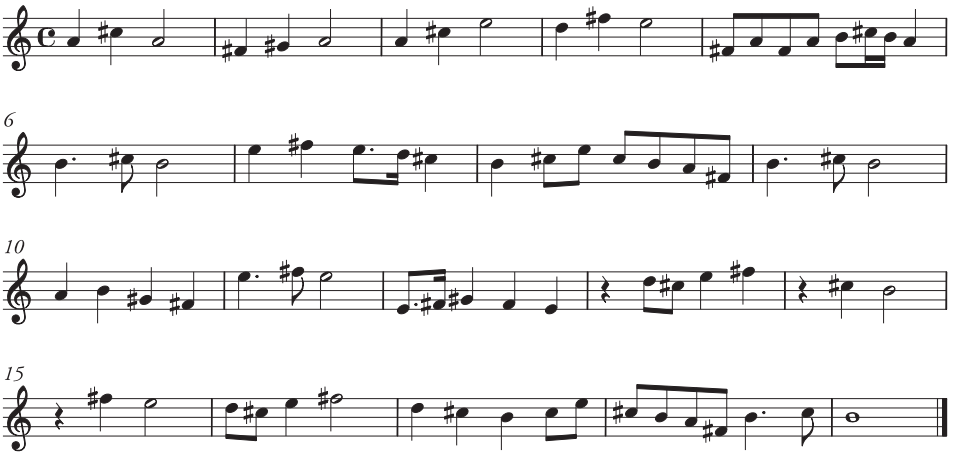
The other musical motif closely associated with Butterfly – the Patrimony theme – appears within two of the other Chinese melodies included on the Guinness music box. This distinctive motif appears twice in the third piece on the Guinness box, in bars 7–9 and 16–19 (see Example 5).[62] Puccini uses this melody at multiple points in *Madama Butterfly*. When the American consul Sharpless enquires about Butterfly's father (Act 1, rehearsal figure 49) and she responds 'morto', we hear this tune, which in the 1904 version was immediately followed by a full statement of 'Shiba mo' marked *spigliato* as Butterfly mentioned her other relatives. The Patrimony theme, in its full form with bars 5 and 6 from the Guinness tune serving as a closing gesture, also appears when the marriage broker Goro explains to the Americans that Butterfly's father committed suicide on orders from the Emperor (Act 1, rehearsal figure 77; figure 79 in the 1904 vocal score). A truncated statement of the Patrimony theme is forcefully stated in the orchestra at the conclusion of her 'Shiba mo'-based aria 'Io seguo il mio destino' after Butterfly bluntly states that she

[61] On interpreting Pinkerton, see, for example, Susan McClary, 'Mounting Butterflies', *A Vision of the Orient*, ed. Wisenthal *et al.*, 21–35. On the transformations of the Pinkerton character in film versions of the Butterfly story, see my 'Cinematic Realism, Reflexivity and the American "Madame Butterfly" Narratives', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 17 (2005), 59–93, and for discussion of the Pinkerton character in Tin Pan Alley songs and in the alternative rock band Weezer's album *Pinkerton*, see my forthcoming *Extreme Exoticism: Japan in the American Musical Imagination*.

[62] A sound clip for Example 5 may be accessed at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02690403.2015.1008863>.

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Example 5. 'Bangzi' transcription from the Guinness music box.
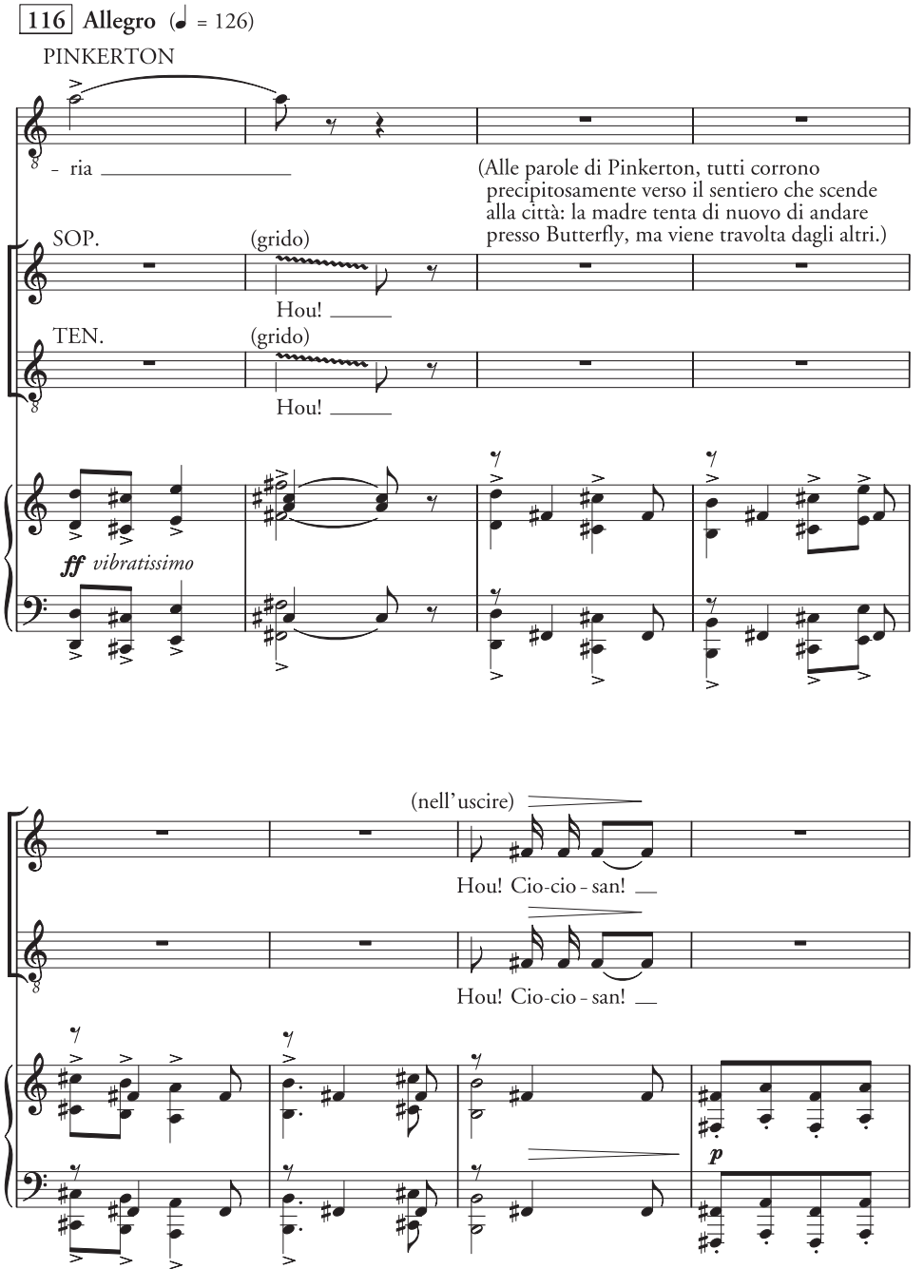


will reject her people and past (see Example 4 above). In the 1904 version of the opera Butterfly casts aside the statuettes of her ancestors at this moment. In the 1906 version she declares her love and embraces Pinkerton, another gesture signifying a rejection of her patrimony.

The most striking and complete statement of the Patrimony theme occurs when Pinkerton dismisses Butterfly's entire family and friends after her uncle the Bonze denounces her for having abandoned her religion (Act 1, rehearsal figure 108; figure 116 in the 1904 vocal score). At this moment, when Pinkerton separates Butterfly from her Japanese heritage for ever, we hear the exact motif from the third melody on the Guinness box and in the same key. Indeed, even the quaver F♯ from bars 8 and 18 – missing in other statements of this theme in the opera – appears here in Puccini's score in the bassoon, second violin, viola and cello. This full statement of the theme concludes with bars 5 and 6 of the Guinness melody (see Example 6).[63] Puccini's use of this particular rocking gesture – which also occurs when the Patrimony theme is heard late in the opera, as Butterfly kisses the blade and reads the inscription on the sword that her father had used to commit suicide and that she will

[63] After the Bonze and the rest of Butterfly's family exit we hear a gentle, extended version of the Patrimony theme (including the rocking quaver gesture) as Pinkerton comforts the weeping Butterfly and she declares that she will not allow her family's repudiation to bother her. In the 1904 version of the opera, at a moment leading up to the love duet when Butterfly suddenly breaks free of Pinkerton's embrace and considers her past (immediately prior to rehearsal figure 131; also see figure 126 in the 1907 full score), the opening D–C–E gesture of the Patrimony theme is asserted in the basses. A sound clip for Example 6 may be accessed at <http://music.williams.edu/profile/wsheppar/>.

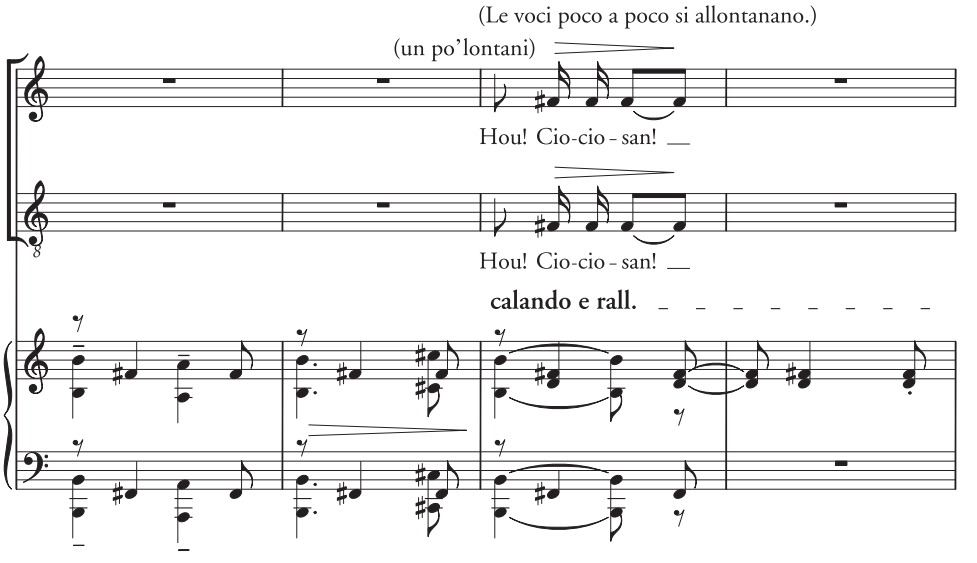
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Example 6. Pinkerton dismisses Butterfly's family, *Madama Butterfly*, Act 1.



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Example 6 (continued)



soon employ herself – suggests that this Chinese piece served as the exact source for this motif in *Madama Butterfly*.[64]

The title on the music box's tune sheet for this third melody appears as 'Poutzi' in transliteration, and as 'Bangzi' in Chinese characters. On other surviving music-box tune sheets from the period the title appears as 'Pontzi' and 'Pantsé' – the u seems to have been a scribal error on the Guinness box. The Chinese word can refer to the form of Chinese opera known as 'clapper opera' and to the 'clapper' or woodblock featured in that operatic genre.[65] However, the term also refers to a famous form of punishment in imperial China and to the bamboo rod that was used for beating the soles of the victim's feet. The transliteration 'Pantse' points to this meaning, and this Chinese form of punishment appears to have caught the European imagination in the nineteenth century. For example, an 1849 book published in London refers to 'pantse' as a 'paternal correction' that the Chinese emperor himself meted out on his courtiers.[66] Reports on the nineteenth-century martyrdom of Jesuits in China also
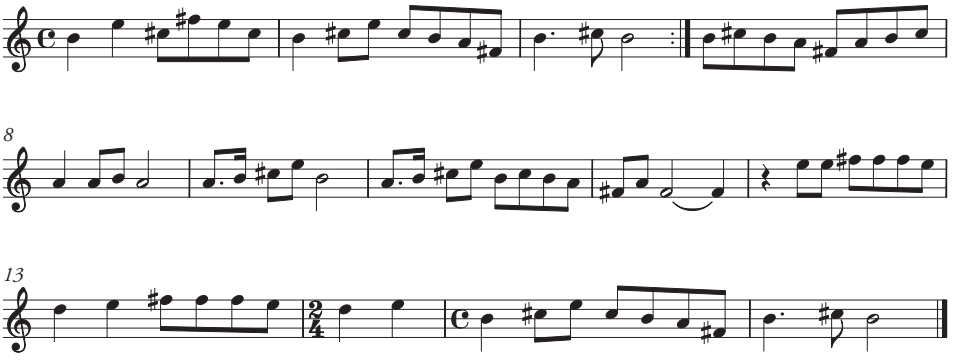
[64] The theme that closes the opera (Act 2, rehearsal figure 58) and that is associated with Butterfly's own death is clearly associated with – but does not supersede – the Patrimony theme. This theme was based on the Japanese song 'Suiryo-bushi'. See Powils-Okano, *Puccinis 'Madama Butterfly'*, 57–8.

[65] 'Bangziqiang' refers to the distinctive melodies in Bangzi opera and 'the Bangzi melody' is referred to as one of the four great characteristic melodies or forms in Chinese opera. 'Pang-tzu' ('wooden-block tunes') served as an older transliteration of the term.

[66] James Bell, *A System of Geography, Popular and Scientific* (London, 1849), 112. Bell also refers to this form of punishment as the 'bastonade'. Coincidentally, this form of punishment appears in another

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Example 7. 'Loc Tee Kun Tzin' transcription from the Guinness music box.



refer to 'pantse' as a form of punishment.[67] It is possible that Puccini recognized the transliterated term and selected this melody from the music box to serve as the theme specifically associated with the punishment of Butterfly's father by the Emperor and with her own punishment, an ultimate sacrifice resulting from her rejection of her Japanese patrimony in favour of the American barbarian Pinkerton.[68]

The Patrimony theme holds an even greater significance for our understanding of Puccini's operas. In addition to its appearances in 'Bangzi' shown in Example 5 above, the motif also occurs twice – without its closing gesture – in the fourth tune on the Guinness box (see Example 7).[69] This piece is entitled 'Loe Tee Kun Stin' on the Guinness tune sheet but appears in a more accurate transliteration as 'Loc Tee Kun Tzin' ('The Sound of Gold Coins Striking the Floor') on other music boxes from the period. Puccini scholars have long known that nearly all of 'Loc Tee Kun Tzin' was used as the Emperor's theme or 'Imperial Hymn' in *Turandot*, though the title of the Chinese song was not previously known. The theme appears in a solemn setting at rehearsal figure 39 in Act 2, scene ii, after the Emperor agrees to allow Calaf to attempt the riddles. 'Loc Tee Kun Tzin' appears again triumphantly and

opera from the early twentieth century. The Courtiers at the end of Act 1 in Stravinsky's Chinese musical fairy tale *Le rossignol* (1908–14) state that if they had not successfully located the nightingale for their Emperor they would have received a hundred blows of the bamboo rod: 'Nous aurions certes échoué! / Et pour souper nous aurions eu les reins / de cent coups de bambou frottés!'

[67] St Jean Gabriel Perboyre (1802–40), for example, is believed to have suffered pantse (either 110 or 100 strokes from the bamboo rod) for not trampling on the crucifix when required to do so in China.

[68] I have not been able to identify a Chinese model melody that would explain the choice of 'Bangzi' for the title of this music-box tune. It is possible that this melody derives from *bangzi* opera and that Puccini or an associate mistakenly read the transliterated term 'poutzi'/'pantse' in its meaning as a form of punishment rather than in its alternative definition referring to a musical instrument and an operatic genre.

[69] A sound clip for Example 7 may be accessed at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02690403.2015.1008863>.

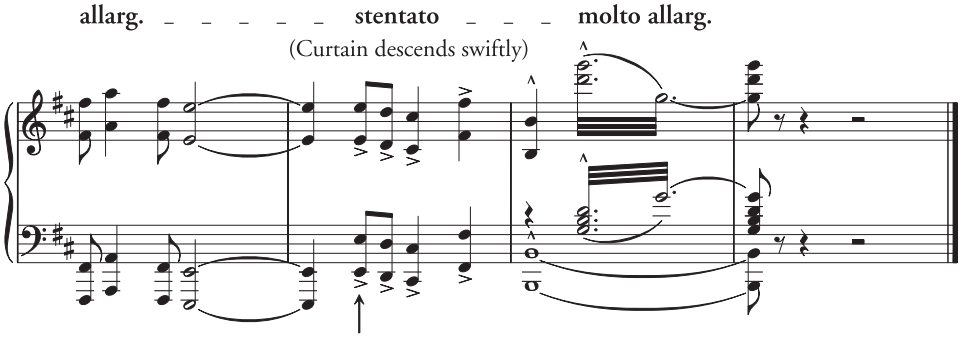
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completely as on the Fassini and Guinness music boxes to conclude Act 2 (rehearsal figure 68) in *Turandot*.

Thus there is a musical connection between *Madama Butterfly* and *Turandot* that has gone unnoticed until now and that the Guinness box has helped to make clear. The appearance of this motif in both operas in association with exotic fathers further links these orientalist works. The solution to this melodic enigma has thus been before our ears ever since the première of *Turandot*. However, long-held assumptions concerning Puccini's devotion to 'exotic authenticity' have obscured multiple connections between his two orientalist operas. As is so often the case, words get in the way as our terminology and categories shape how we hear music and may even render us deaf. On closer inspection, the opening bars of *Turandot* seem to pick up *in medias res* exactly where the final bars of *Madama Butterfly* left off (see Examples 8a–b).[70] Furthermore, both heroines are accorded two musical themes depicting the allure and the fatality of the exotic woman, the first of a lyrical nature and the other of a more aggressive, forbidding cast. Finally, indulging in some interpretative fantasy play, we might even ask whether Turandot in 1924 has the 1904 Butterfly herself in mind when she justifies her ruthless riddles and decapitations of would-be suitors by telling of a long-lost tragic female relative who had been ruined by a foreign male. In

Example 8. (a) *Madama Butterfly*, ending; (b) *Turandot*, opening.

(a)

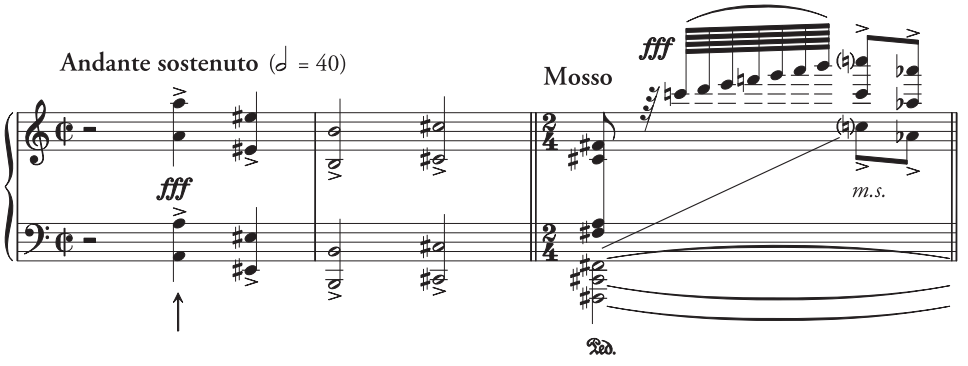


[70] Scholars have noted, instead, the similarity between the opening gesture in *Turandot* and the opening of Iago's 'Credo' in Verdi's *Otello* (see, for example, Carner, *Puccini*, 529). Helen Greenwald has previously noted the rhythmic similarity between the end of *Butterfly* and the opening of *Turandot*, suggesting that the rhythmic style served as a general sign of Asian local colour for Puccini, but she does not develop this observation further. See Greenwald, 'Character Distinction and Rhythmic Differentiation in Puccini's Operas', *Giacomo Puccini*, ed. Ravenni and Gianturco, 495–515 (pp. 504–5, note 17). On the unresolved ending of *Madama Butterfly*, see Deborah Burton, *Recondite Harmony: Essays on Puccini's Operas* (Hillsdale, NY, 2012), 30–1.

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Example 8 (continued)

(b)



Turandot, the foreign male finally proves his devotion and we get the happy ending long deferred in *Madama Butterfly*.[71]

Puccini, the Fassinis and music-box migrations

In light of the revelations from the Guinness music box, it is important to revisit the often-told tale of how Puccini consulted a 'Chinese' music box in August 1920 at the Bagni di Lucca home of Baron Edoardo Fassini-Camossi (1871–1941) and how this instrument influenced the composition of *Turandot*. Puccini's visit to Fassini was immediately leaked to the press and then later retold in the librettist Giuseppe Adami's books on the composer. Interestingly, the journalist reported that Puccini had been listening to 'la musica di una vecchia canzone cinese', rather than to an 'ancient Chinese music box'.[72] Later accounts of this event rely on a brief report

[71] Maria Ng has offered a brief general comparison of the two operas, claiming unconvincingly that *Butterfly* and *Turandot* reflect the differences between Japanese and Chinese cultures and the differences in Western perceptions of these two nations *c.*1900. See her 'The Taming of the Oriental Shrew: The Two Asias in Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* and *Turandot*', *A Vision of the Orient*, ed. Wisenthal *et al.*, 170–80.

[72] The journalist Luigi Gualtiero Paolini published the news of Puccini at work on *Turandot* in Bagni di Lucca in the *Giornale d'Italia* on 19 August 1920. Quoted in Gabriella Biagi Ravenni and Daniela Buonomini, '"Caro Ferruccio …": Trenta lettere di Giacomo Puccini a Ferruccio Giorgi (1906–1924)', *Giacomo Puccini*, ed. Ravenni and Gianturco, 169–209 (p. 190, note 3). Paolini reported that the music box had been manufactured in Germany and imported to China. Although it was actually probably made in Switzerland, it is striking that the earliest report was correct on the European origins of the music box, a fact missed by most other commentators on the role of the Fassini music box in the composition of *Turandot*. For example, Carner repeatedly referred to Puccini's use of an 'ancient musical-box' or an 'ancient Chinese musical-box'. See, for example, Carner, *Puccini*, 247, 522.

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Figure 2. Baron Edoardo Fassini.

offered two decades later by Adami,[73] who claimed that Puccini had surprised his collaborators one day in Bagni di Lucca by setting a music box in Fassini's home to play the 'Imperial Hymn' as they arrived to visit him. Adami described the tune on the box as having been played 'con la solennità di una cerimonia sacra ed augurale' ('with the solemnity of a sacred ceremony and greeting') – a rather poetic, but inaccurate, description of the music-box performance style.[74] He mentioned only this one melody in his 1942 publication; however, in an earlier publication that is rarely cited by Puccini scholars he remarked on the composer's achievement of exotic 'authenticity' and noted that Puccini also borrowed from the music box a second melody that he employed for the music of the three ministers, Ping, Pang and Pong.[75] Oddly, Adami did not mention the most famous melody Puccini borrowed from the music box for *Turandot*: 'Mo Li Hua' or 'Jasmine Flower'. Finally, in both publications, Adami also misled Puccini scholars by stating that Baron Fassini had served at the Italian embassy in China for many years.

Baron Fassini (see Figure 2) was not a member of the Italian foreign service in China, but rather a veteran of the 1900 campaign to suppress the Boxer Rebellion and of a military mission through China to Siberia at the end of the First World War in 1918–20 to reclaim Italian prisoners.[76] (He was also an amateur composer with

[73] Giuseppe Adami, *Il romanzo della vita di Giacomo Puccini* (Milan, 1942), 241.

[74] *Ibid.*

[75] Giuseppe Adami, *Puccini* (2nd edn, Milan, 1935), 200.

[76] On Fassini's career, see, for example, Gaetano Bazzani, *Soldati italiani nella Russia in fiamme 1915–1920* (Trent, 1933), 228–9, and Dionigi Roggero, 'Il barone Fassini Camossi', *Il Monferrato*

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rather amateurish published songs and violin and piano pieces to his credit.[77]) I have determined that Fassini probably acquired his music box or boxes and other Chinese souvenirs at the highly popular and notorious 'loot auctions' sponsored by the foreign legations in Peking following the successful suppression of the Boxers.[78] Fassini returned to China en route to Siberia as a commander of the 'black battalion' of the Italian Expeditionary Force (C.S.E.O., Corpo di Spedizione in Estremo Oriente), arriving in Shanghai on 30 August 1918.[79] The purpose of this military operation was to lead the so-called *irredenti*. These were conscripted soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army, but of Italian nationality, who had been sent by Austria during the First World War to the Eastern front and who then fought for Italy and were imprisoned by the Russians when the Russian Revolution broke out in 1917.[80] The mission was successful, and as his troops prepared to leave for home, the Baron was approached by some 80 agitated Russian women claiming to be the wives of Italian soldiers under his command and demanding to board the troops' train in order to travel to Italy with their new husbands. Allegedly, Baron Fassini assuaged their anxiety by instructing them to board the last car on his train. Just before the train departed, the final car was decoupled – thus leaving behind the

(December 2004), available at <http://www.comune.penango.at.it/files/Monferrato/monf2.pdf> (accessed 18 September 2014). Fassini's career was accurately referenced in Ravenni and Buonomini, '"Caro Ferruccio …"', 198. These authors also cite a letter from Puccini of 19 January 1921 in the form of a poem that suggests the composer had borrowed money from Fassini (*ibid.*, 196). I am grateful to Bibiana Gattozzi for contacting the Italian Embassy in Beijing and reporting that there was no record of any diplomatic post for Edoardo Fassini in the first decades of the twentieth century.

[77] Fassini published at least seven short songs and piano pieces between 1911 and 1915 with lyrics in English, French and Italian. The following are held at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence: 'Midshipmen's Two-step', 'Little Spring', 'La valse aérienne', 'Parvenza', 'Avant l'oubli', 'Quand je te dis …' and 'Invan tu chiedi'.

[78] The British, for example, apparently held loot auctions every day except for Sundays, and men of many nationalities took advantage of the countless bargains to be had. See 'Loot Auctions in Peking', *New York Times* (20 January 1901), 11. Also see James L. Hevia, 'Looting Beijing: 1860, 1900', *Tokens of Exchange: The Problem of Translation in Global Circulations*, ed. Lydia H. Liu (Durham, NC, 1999), 192–213, and *idem*, 'Looting and its Discontents: Moral Discourse and the Plunder of Beijing, 1900–1901', *The Boxers, China, and the World*, ed. Robert Bickers and R. G. Tiedemann (Lanham, MD, 2007), 93–113. On Italian participation in the international allied force in the Boxer War, see Ludovica de Courten and Giovanni Sargeri, *Le regie truppe in estremo oriente 1900–1901* (Rome, 2005), and Fabio Fattore, *Gli italiani che invasero la Cina: Cronache di guerra 1900–1901* (Milan, 2008).

[79] I am grateful to Dr Marie-Nolle Snider-Giovannone, who shared her research on this Italian military expedition with me. On this unique expedition, see Antonio Mautone, *Trentini e italiani contro l'armata rossa: La storia del Corpo di Spedizione in Estremo Oriente e dei 'Battaglioni Neri' 1918–1920* (Trent, 2003), 161–7, and 'La legione redenta', <http://digilander.libero.it/fiammecremisi/eramoderna/apocrifi35.htm> (accessed 16 September 2014).

[80] See Daniele Varè, *Laughing Diplomat* (New York, 1938), 143–4. Varè relates that 'many of the *irredenti* were musicians. We bought musical instruments for them in Shanghai and started a band. There was also a chorus of fifty voices' (*ibid.*, 144).

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disappointed contingent of Russian Butterflies.[81] Fassini and his troops returned to Italy in April 1920, only a few months before Puccini's visit to Bagni di Lucca during the composition of *Turandot*. It is certainly possible that Fassini had acquired more souvenirs from China on this later visit, though he would have had more opportunity to do so at the conclusion of the Boxer Rebellion.

On 5 February 1965 the Fassini music box was found and recorded by Michael Rose and Hans Hammelmann in Rome at the home of Fassini's widow just in time for a BBC Third Programme radio broadcast about *Turandot* in the series 'Birth of an Opera'.[82] Apparently, the Baroness Gina Fassini-Camossi – in her 80s at the time – was thrilled to have her late husband's association with the great composer memorialized on the air. Given their pressing deadline with the BBC, Hammelmann and Rose – who were joined by William Weaver – did not interview the Baronessa concerning her husband's collection of Chinese souvenirs, nor did they take photographs of the music box. Hammelmann did transcribe the transliterated titles appearing on the music box's tune card, but this information was not included in their broadcast. This particular music box was later featured on Italian television in the 1970s and 80s[83] and, most prominently, by Weaver in a 1974 Metropolitan Opera intermission broadcast.[84] In his intermission feature, Weaver offered his memories of his visit to Baroness Fassini's home and described the music box as having been a 'very ordinary looking, little brown wooden box, not in the least exotic'. Weaver played recordings of three of the melodies from the music box and noted their

[81] *Ibid*., 146–7. Varè reports that when he asked Baron Fassini about this story, Fassini 'laughed and would not confirm or deny'.

[82] Hammelmann and Rose were able to locate the Baroness Fassini in Rome thanks to a tip from a gas-station attendant in Lucca. I am very grateful to Michael Rose for reconstructing the history of this episode for me and for providing copies of the original tapes that were made in Rome. My account here is based on our extensive correspondence, particularly on Rose's detailed account sent to me by email on 23 February 2012. Rose has recently published a book based on the 'Birth of an Opera' series: Michael Rose, *The Birth of an Opera: Fifteen Masterpieces from Poppea to Wozzeck* (New York, 2013).

[83] The 1971 RAI television broadcast featured the musicologist Giorgio Pestelli and conductor Giancarlo Chiaramello discussing the role of the music box in the composition of *Turandot*. Both Pestelli and Chiaramello clearly felt awkward in 'accusing' Puccini of not having composed these melodies, and they carefully defended the composer's 'originality'. In both the 1971 RAI and 1983 *Cronache italiane* televised programmes, the music box is accurately described by the collector Gigi Capra as having been manufactured in Switzerland. Capra also felt compelled to defend Puccini against charges of plagiarism. I thank Bibiana Gattozzi for viewing these television programmes with me and for translating from the Italian.

[84] The account of the rediscovery of the Fassini music box offered by Mary Jane Phillips-Matz in her biography of the composer is inaccurate and was based on a 2001 interview with Weaver, who was ailing at the time and was being asked to recall details of an event that occurred nearly four decades earlier. For example, Weaver is quoted as saying that 'there were five tunes [on the music box], and three of those were quite obviously in *Turandot*. It was an eerie experience with this tinkly music and the idea that Puccini had had this box. He kept it forever.' The music box contains four melodies and Puccini did not have the box in his possession. See Phillips-Matz, *Puccini: A Biography* (Boston, MA, 2002), 266.

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Figure 3. The Fassini music box.

appearances in *Turandot*. Harold Powers, relying on Weaver's broadcast and brief report, later offered in his study of the opera a thorough account of Puccini's use of these and other Chinese tunes.[85] Subsequent scholars have based their discussion of the role of the Fassini box in the composition of *Turandot* primarily on Powers.

I have relocated the Fassini music box and am able to offer details missing from earlier discussions of the influence of this instrument in Puccini's final opera (see Figure 3).[86] This music box plays four Chinese melodies and includes their titles

[85] See Ashbrook and Powers, *Puccini's Turandot*, Chapter 4. Powers's transcriptions of the Weaver broadcast – made from a tape loaned to him by Weaver – and his brief notes on the music-box melodies are held in the Powers collection at the Mendel Music Library, Princeton University. I am grateful to Gene Lavergne for providing me with a recording of the Weaver broadcast.

[86] The Fassini music box is currently held by Lionello Ghiotti, son-in-law of the late Gigi Capra. I am very grateful to Dr Ghiotti for providing me with a video recording and photographs of the music box. The existing tune sheet on this box appears to have been cut from a larger original, as none of the typical printed decoration remains and part of the border is clearly missing. Dr Ghiotti has explained how he acquired the music box in 'Gigi Capra e il carillon di *Turandot*', *Graf Boccassi*, 2 (2009), 11–13. On the basis of the available evidence, including the Italian television broadcasts noted above, I am able to reconstruct the migrations of the Fassini music box. The box appears to have been manufactured in Switzerland and exported to China in the late nineteenth century. Baron Fassini returned with the box to Italy either after the Boxer War or in 1920 and brought the instrument to Bagni di Lucca, where Puccini encountered it in August 1920. The music box then travelled with Fassini's widow to Rome, but appears to have been given to one of her children and was lent back to her for the BBC recording in 1965. The box was then owned by Pietro Fassini, who gave it to Gigi Capra in Alessandria. Ghiotti's wife, the daughter of Gigi Capra, inherited the music box from her father. (Note that on p. 12 of Ghiotti's article Baron Pietro Fassini-Camossi is said to

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both in transliteration and in Chinese characters on its tune card, which Puccini would have seen in 1920. As we have known, three of these melodies appear in *Turandot*. The most famous Chinese song, now commonly referred to as 'Mo Li Hua' ('Jasmine Flower'), but also known as 'Xian Hua'/'Sinfa' ('Fresh Flowers') in Cantonese, as it appears on this tune sheet, signals the seductive and glorious aspects of the fairy-tale Chinese princess and appears first on this box.[87] (Note that in their hymn of supplication to Turandot, Puccini's Children's Chorus sings that 'tutto fiorirà' / 'everything will bloom' if only she would appear.) The second melody played by this box (and not found on the Guinness box) was employed by Puccini for the first entrance of the three Chinese Ministers ('Ferma! che fai?'). The romanization of the second and fourth titles was inadvertently switched by the scribe on this tune sheet. 'Chun Chic Lin' ('Chuan Zhu Lian') or 'String of Pearls' actually corresponds to the Chinese characters appearing on the tune sheet for the title of the second tune, and 'Tov Chun Lin' or 'Upside Down Spring Festival Couplets' is the title of the fourth melody, which Puccini did not employ in his operas.[88] The third tune, labelled correctly as 'Loc tee Kuntzin', or 'The Sound of Gold Coins Striking the Floor', served as an 'Imperial Hymn' for Turandot's father, the Emperor, as noted above. All three of the melodies from this music box that Puccini employed in *Turandot* appear in their initial or fullest versions in the score in the same key as on the box. Comparing recordings of Weaver's Metropolitan Opera 1974 intermission broadcast, new recordings of the Fassini music box and the original tapes made for the BBC broadcast held by Rose, I have determined that the Metropolitan Opera broadcast lowered the pitch of these three tunes by a semitone.

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have given the box to Gigi Capra in 1950. Dr Ghiotti has clarified to me that this date was a mistake on his part and that the correct year was probably 1970, in time for Capra to present the box in the 1971 Italian television broadcast. Dr Ghiotti's box is quite clearly the same one that was featured in the Italian television broadcasts mentioned above.) A colour version of Figure 3 may be accessed at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02690403.2015.1008863>.

[87] Powers notes that a transcription of 'Mo Li Hua' had appeared in John Barrow's 1805 *Travels in China* in a slightly different version, but he assumes that Puccini was unaware of that source and thus would not have known the Chinese title of this melody. However, Puccini would have seen the tune card on the Fassini box and might have been told that 'Sinfa' can be translated as 'Fresh Flowers'. See Ashbrook and Powers, *Puccini's Turandot*, 95; 176, note 5. Powers notes that a 'different form of this tune, having nothing whatever to do with *Turandot*' was published in J. A. van Aalst's *Chinese Music* (Shanghai, 1884) under the title 'Hsien Hua' (p. 176, note 9). However, the title 'Sinfa' appears on both the Guinness and Fassini music boxes as well as on numerous other music boxes from the period, and van Aalst's publication represents a somewhat divergent transcription of a variant of this melody. Following Barrow, Puccini scholars have consistently referred to the melody as 'Mo Li Hua', or 'Moo-Lee-Wha' (see, for example, Carner, *Puccini*, 523).

[88] The fourth melody on this box appears also as the fifth melody on the Guinness box, but with a different title on the tune sheet.

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The Swiss made a great many music boxes featuring Chinese melodies for export to China in the late nineteenth century.[89] Different music boxes featured different subsets of the same 10–12 Chinese tunes that were consistently reproduced. The same tune frequently appears in different keys on different boxes, and timbral differences between surviving boxes are quite striking, as discussed below. Given that each cylinder was pinned by hand, numerous variations could and did result, including the addition of extra ornamentation and changes in pitch and rhythm. All the musical details I have noted strongly indicate that the Guinness box (or a twin) served as Puccini's source for *Madama Butterfly* and that the Fassini box served as his source for *Turandot*, though I will also suggest that Puccini may have consulted the Guinness box at that late point in his career as well.

It is quite striking that the five tunes Puccini borrowed from these music boxes (two from the Guinness, and three from the Fassini) appear in their fullest forms in both operas at the same pitch as they appear on the respective boxes. This reinforces the claim that these music boxes served as his sources. However, it remains unclear why Puccini kept the melodies at their original pitch. Perhaps he composed the sections of these operas that feature the music-box tunes first, or at least somewhat in isolation from the rest of the score, and, having either memorized the tunes at pitch or referring to a now lost transcription, saw no reason to change their keys. Or perhaps he desired to have these moments in his scores correspond to the music boxes as closely as possible and retained the keys deliberately as a private gesture to his sources.

The Guinness music box offers additional evidence substantiating my claim that Puccini consulted a music box as he composed *Madama Butterfly*. Unlike many surviving music boxes, the Guinness retains its original tune sheet, which allows this musical artefact to serve as a Rosetta stone for this historical discovery (see Figure 4).[90] The title of each melody appears on the left of the tune sheet in non-standard transliteration. Neither 'She pah moh' nor any of the multiple variant spellings that appear on surviving tune sheets allows us on its own to identify the actual title of the Chinese melody. Fortunately, all the titles also appear on the right in Chinese characters. When this box arrived in China someone took the time to listen to the melodies and to note their correct order on the box. This is a remarkable visible trace of an auditory experience. Indeed, these Chinese characters are what prompted me to notice and listen to this particular music box at the Morris Museum. The Chinese characters appearing in sixth place spell 'Shiba mo', and thus the order of the titles for the last two tunes was inadvertently switched when this

[89] Swiss music boxes were also exported to Turkey, Persia and Japan, and occasionally featured melodies from those exotic lands. See Alfred Chapuis, *History of the Musical Box and of Mechanical Music*, trans. Joseph E. Roesch (Summit, NJ, 1980), 261–70.

[90] A colour version of Figure 4 may be accessed at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02690403.2015.1008863>.

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Figure 4. The Guinness box tune sheet.

tune sheet was written in Switzerland.[91] By including the title in both transliteration and (in correct order) in Chinese characters, and including a well-preserved cylinder featuring the melody, the Guinness box allows us to identify the source and significance of Butterfly's most important theme.[92]

None of my conclusions and interpretations concerning Puccini's operas or the broader significance of these Swiss music boxes are dependent upon the composer having encountered the Guinness box itself, rather than a lost twin. However, a good deal of physical evidence suggests that he may very well have done so. First, the tune sheet on the Guinness box includes further information that suggests the possibility

[91] For the fifth tune on the Guinness box ('Shanghai Pier') the characters are transliterated on the tune sheet as 'Shanghai Mody' (they read 'Shanghai Matou' in modern transliteration). As we saw, a similar mistake appears on the Fassini box tune sheet and, in general, the surviving tune sheets for Swiss boxes featuring Chinese tunes are riddled with errors and a wide range of variant spellings of the same transliterated titles.

[92] The fact that 'She pah moh' on the tune sheet does not line up correctly with the 'Shiba mo' tune played on the box and used by Puccini might at first seem to make it less likely that Puccini encountered the Guinness box. (The Guinness box tune sheet's 'Poutzi' rather than 'Pantsé' spelling of the 'Bangzi' tune presents a somewhat similar problem.) However, under any scenario, Puccini's understanding of this title or of the song's basic subject matter would have required either the intervention of an informant who knew how to read the Chinese characters or, more likely, an informant who simply remembered being told that the final tune on the box was an erotic folksong about a woman's body. The tune sheet's decoration style might have suggested to Puccini that the box was of European manufacture or, conversely (given the long history of the Chinese export market), that this was a Chinese imitation of European design.

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that Puccini heard the Guinness box. Towards the left side of the sheet the name of the famous Shanghai Hengdeli department store that carried Swiss watches and music boxes in the late nineteenth century is written in Chinese characters. This offers further proof that this particular music box did indeed travel to China. More surprisingly, the name of an instrument repair shop and store in Rome (Bianchetti) stamped in the upper right corner reveals that – unlike so many other Swiss-made music boxes exported to China – this box returned to Europe and was even owned in Italy. This particular musical establishment existed at this address (Via Cavour 206) at least as early as 1903.[93] This reveals that the Guinness music box may well have been in Italy during the period of *Madama Butterfly*'s composition. Of those boxes that returned to Europe from China, few had the combination of melodies that appeared in Puccini's operas, and fewer still would have passed through Italy and in time for an encounter with the composer.[94]

Further evidence exists deep within the Guinness music box. By removing two screws one can easily remove the entire mechanism from the wooden box and gain access to the hidden bellows housed below the cylinder. (Given Puccini's interest in the mechanical, I can easily imagine him wishing to see the source of the reed-organ sound if he had encountered the Guinness box or another harmoniphōne.) On the board attached beneath the bellows material there is a pencil drawing of a female figure in profile and a cryptic inscription (see Figure 5).[95] I initially assumed that the drawing and the inscription must have been made by an Italian repairman or by another European attempting humorously to imitate some form of Asian script. However, it is well known that Puccini, as well as his friends and associates (including the tenor Enrico Caruso), enjoyed drawing caricatures. Of course, we do not know whether the female figure inside the Guinness box was intended to represent Butterfly herself, but the drawing is not entirely dissimilar from Puccini's caricature style.[96]

[93] I am grateful to Renato Meucci and Hendrik Strengers, who both suggested that I consult music establishment address books covering this period to determine when this particular shop existed. According to Paul de Wit's *Weltadressbuch der gesammten Musikinstrumenten-Industrie* (Leipzig, 1890; 1903; 1906; 1926), Augusto Bianchetti's establishment existed at this address as early as 1903. By 1926 the shop's name was 'A. Bianchetti e figli', which suggests that the Guinness box was serviced at this location at least before 1926 but possibly as early as 1903. I am also indebted to Patrizio Barbieri, Fabrizio Della Seta, Federica Riva and Emanuele Senici for crucial assistance as I sought information about the Bianchetti shop.

[94] Arthur Cunliffe, president and registrar of the Musical Box Society of Great Britain, reported to me that in the current registry of over 10,000 musical boxes compiled over the past 30 years, only 13 boxes are listed as playing Chinese melodies. This gives a rough indication of how few musical boxes have returned to the West from China. Philippe Rouillé of the French Association des Amis des Instruments de Musique Mécanique informed me that he saw many of these musical boxes rusting away in warehouses in China in the 1970s.

[95] A colour version of Figure 5 may be accessed at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02690403.2015.1008863>.

[96] For one famous example of Puccini's drawing style, see his self-caricature found on a sketch for *La bohème* held in the Morgan Library and Museum and available at <https://www.themorgan.org/collections/collections.asp?id=186> (accessed 18 September 2014).

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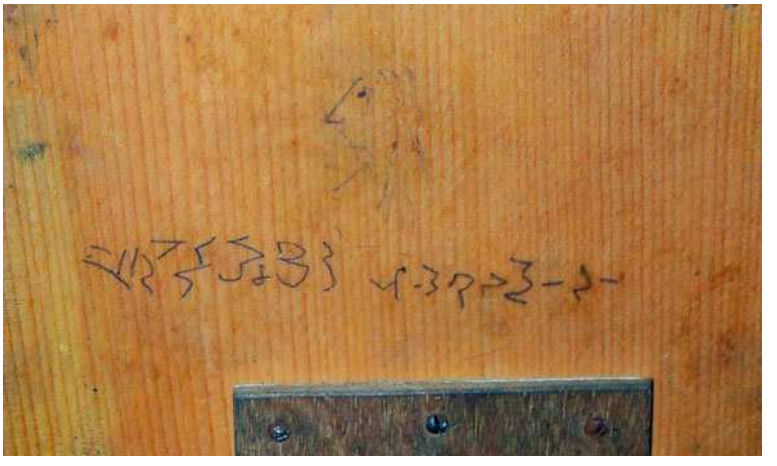


Figure 5. The caricature and inscription inside the Guinness box.

Furthermore, and far more crucially, I have concluded that multiple markings in the inscription below the caricature closely resemble Puccini's handwriting as found on numerous manuscripts.

The score that Puccini held during rehearsals of *Madama Butterfly* in Milan in 1904, and that is now held in the Sibley Library at the Eastman School of Music, includes many markings made by the composer.[97] I have also consulted Puccini's drafts of *Madama Butterfly* and sketches and manuscripts for *La fanciulla del West* and his other works held at the Morgan Library and Museum in New York and at the Beinecke Library at Yale University, as well as published reproductions of sketches for *Madama Butterfly* held at the Accademia Filarmonica in Bologna.[98] The markings on the music-box bellows board tend to be a bit more angular than similar markings in his manuscripts, but this is probably due to the difference in writing on paper as opposed to wood. Several of these markings closely resemble Puccini's somewhat idiosyncratic forms of musical and numerical notation. In Figure 6, I have isolated and numbered

[97] This copy of the 1904 vocal score (Ricordi 110000) has been digitized and is available at <http://hdl.handle.net/1802/21913> (accessed 18 September 2014). Given that this score at Eastman is readily available online, I will provide in my notes below page numbers from it that offer many additional examples of similar markings to supplement the Figures. I am grateful to David Peter Coppen at the Sibley Library for providing me with timely access to this score.

[98] At the Morgan Library and Museum, Puccini's manuscripts are held in the Robert Owen Lehman, Mary Flagler Cary and Heineman collections as well as in the general music manuscripts collection. At the Beinecke Library, Yale University, Puccini's manuscripts are found in the Frederick R. Koch Collection, GEN MSS 601. The Puccini sources discussed by Allan Atlas in his 'Newly Discovered Sketches for Puccini's *Turandot* at the Pierpont Morgan Library', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 3 (1991), 173–93, are now held at the Beinecke. The Bologna manuscripts are reproduced in Groos, 'The Sketches at the Accademia Filarmonica in Bologna'.

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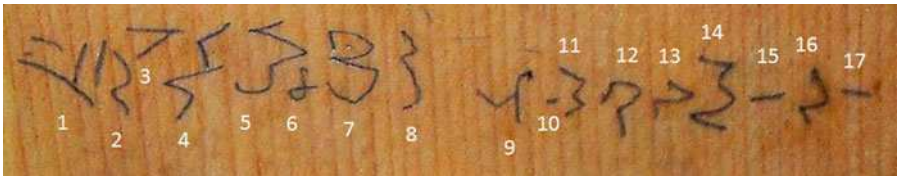


Figure 6. The inscription enlarged and annotated.

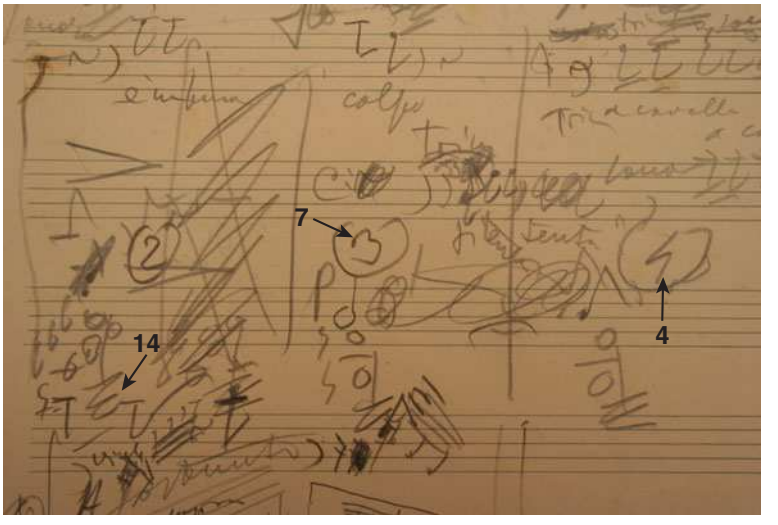


Figure 7. Sketch for *La fanciulla del West*, found in the Koch Collection, Beinecke Library.

each marking for ease of reference and will summarize my findings below using this numbering system.[99] The annotated illustrations provided here (see Figures 7 and 8) offer but a sample of the numerous possible images demonstrating the close correspondences between Puccini's documented handwriting and this Guinness box inscription.[100]

Markings 2, 13 and particularly 16 closely resemble Puccini's crotchet rests found throughout his manuscripts from the first decade of the twentieth century.[101] The fourth marking is similar to Puccini's typical 2/4 time signature, with the lower half

[99] A colour version of Figure 6 may be accessed at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02690403.2015.1008863>.

[100] Colour versions of Figures 7 and 8 may be accessed at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02690403.2015.1008863>.

[101] Also see the image reproduced in Groos, 'The Sketches at the Accademia Filarmonica in Bologna', 157.

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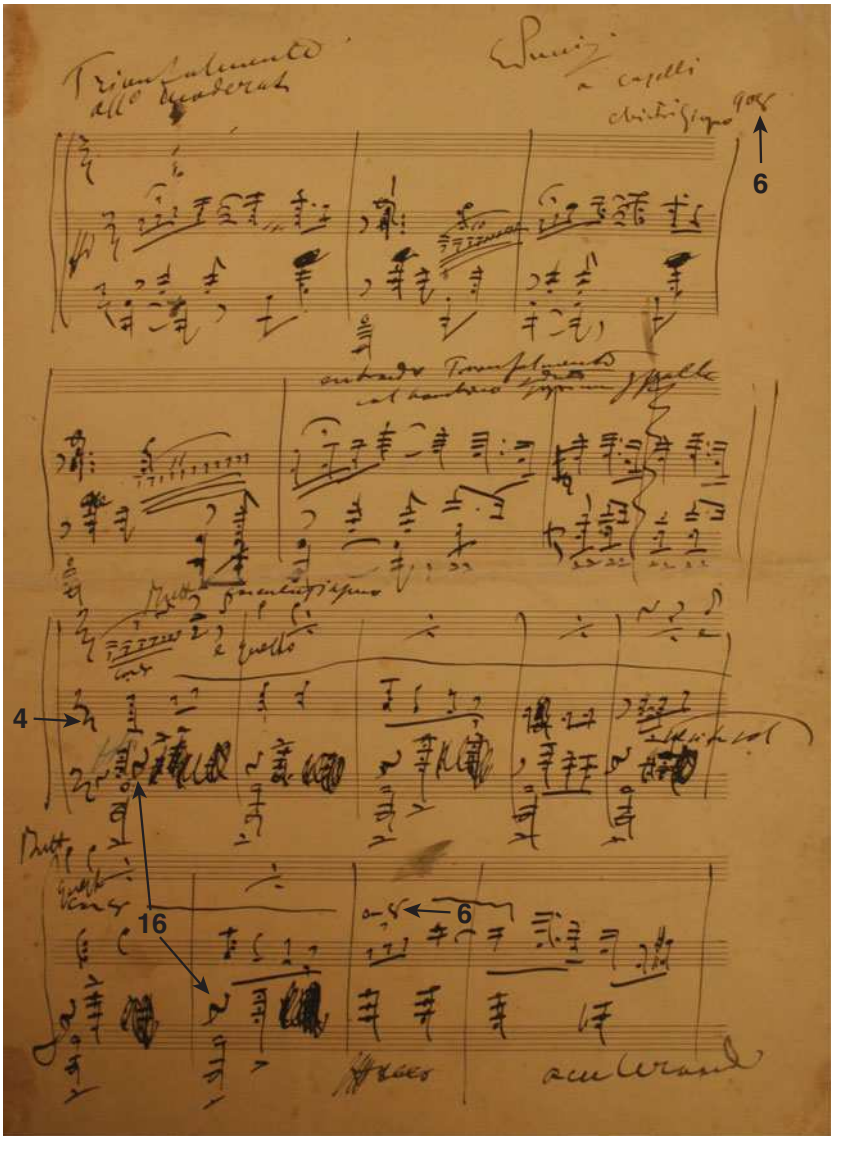


Figure 8. Sketch for *Madama Butterfly*, found in the Koch Collection, Beinecke Library.

matching Puccini's handwriting for the numeral 4 precisely.[102] The third marking matches a musical accent mark or decrescendo in several of his scores,[103] and the

[102] See the Eastman score, pp. 7, 110, 112, 115, 156, 164, 200, 204, 211, 216, 221, 337, 342, 378–9, 380, 382 and 391–2. Puccini's numeral 4 is also found in the image reproduced in Groos, 'The Sketches at the Accademia Filarmonica in Bologna', 149.

[103] See, for example, the Eastman score, pp. 266, 318, 342 and 377.

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Figure 9. Baron Alberto Fassini.

sixth is identical to the way in which he wrote the numeral 8 as in an octave marking, page number or date.[104] Puccini's numeral 3 occasionally resembles the markings appearing in seventh and eleventh positions here.[105] The fourteenth marking is found in Puccini's manuscripts at multiple spots,[106] and the fifteenth and seventeenth markings might be his (or any composer's) tenuto signs.

If this inscription was indeed made by Puccini, it remains to be explained how he would have encountered the Guinness music box (or any music box playing 'Shiba mo') during the period of *Madama Butterfly*'s composition. As noted, very few of the Swiss-made music boxes exported to China would have migrated back to Europe in time and fewer still would have been owned by an acquaintance of the composer. Puccini's visit to Baron Edoardo Fassini in 1920 to listen to a music box may not have been a unique event in his compositional career, as we have assumed. Unpublished letters made available to me by a descendant of the Fassinis indicate that Puccini had long known the family and was a friend of Baron Alberto Fassini-Camossi (1875–1942), Edoardo's brother (see Figure 9).[107] Baron Alberto Fassini was a naval officer, a founder of the first Italian film studio, an entrepreneur in manufacturing synthetic silk and, later, a member of the Mussolini government who, among other duties, worked in 1938 to encourage Italian tourism in the new African

[104] See, for example, the Eastman score, pp. 75, 112, 194, 262, 277 and 392.

[105] See *ibid.*, pp. 95, 110, 246 and 373.

[106] See, for example, Groos, 'The Sketches at the Accademia Filarmonica in Bologna', 153.

[107] I am indebted to Giuseppe Tasca, nephew of the late opera director Alberto Fassini, who was a grandson of Puccini's friend Baron Alberto Fassini, for providing me with these letters and for offering crucial information on his family's history in Palermo. This correspondence appears to be all from 1916 and concerns Puccini having been filmed by Alberto Fassini's company and, perhaps, the sale of a car by Puccini to Alberto. I am also grateful to Joseph Franconi Lee for putting me in contact with Giuseppe Tasca, and to Dieter Schickling for alerting me to the existence of another letter, dated 21 February 1916, from Puccini to Alberto Fassini.

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colonies.[108] A signed and dated autograph portrait by Puccini indicates that Puccini knew Alberto Fassini and his wife at least as early as 1906.[109] Could Edoardo Fassini have brought back the Guinness box, along with other Chinese souvenirs, from China in 1901 and given it to his brother Alberto as a trophy souvenir of his expedition?[110] Though it now seems clear that Puccini encountered two well-travelled music boxes playing Chinese melodies at crucial moments in his compositional career, we may never know exactly when and where the first encounter took place.

Bovet and the boxes: pinning Chinese tunes in Switzerland

How did Chinese tunes come to be pinned onto late nineteenth-century Swiss music boxes? These music boxes represent one milestone in the broader history of crosscultural musical transactions between Europe and China in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the primary source of knowledge and transcriptions of Chinese music had come to Europe through the writings of French Jesuit missionaries, particularly through the compilations of missionary reports published in the 1730s by Jean-Baptiste du Halde and then through writings on Chinese music by Jean-Joseph-Marie Amiot, who travelled to China in 1750.[111] An early nineteenth-century English source on Chinese music

[108] On Alberto Fassini, see, for example, Francesco M. Biscione's article 'Fassini, Alberto' in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/alberto-fassini_%28Dizionario_Biografico%29> (accessed 22 November 2014). In 1938, Alberto Fassini authored a 15-page pamphlet (held at the Library of Congress) on tourism in the African colonies entitled 'Ospitalità e turismo nell' Africa orientale italiana'. On Alberto Fassini's work as vice president of the Corporazione dell'Ospitaliti in the Mussolini government, see Brian L. McLaren, 'Mediterraneità and Modernità: Architecture and Culture during the Period of Italian Colonization of North Africa' (Ph.D., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2001), 320–1.

[109] I am grateful to Dieter Schickling for providing me with a copy of this 8 November 1906 autograph portrait. I have determined that 'Baronessa Stena Fassini' – the dedicatee – was Alberto Fassini's wife. (Stefania Spadafora was her maiden name, and 'Stena' was her nickname. According to Giuseppe Tasca, she met Alberto in Palermo in 1904.)

[110] Puccini could have met up with Alberto Fassini at any one of a number of the baron's homes during the period in which he composed *Madama Butterfly*. Puccini was in Palermo in 1901 and Alberto had a famous villa designed by Ernesto Basile built there in 1903, but it is not clear whether Alberto was in Palermo at the time of Puccini's visit. Puccini was in Rome in 1902 and the Fassinis owned property there. We know that Puccini finished a draft of Act 1 of the opera on 7 September 1902, and so his encounter with a music box must have taken place well before that date, and most likely before May of that year. For detailed chronologies of Puccini's travels, see Dieter Schickling, *Giacomo Puccini: Catalogue of the Works*, trans. Michael Kaye (Kassel, 2003); and Schickling, *Giacomo Puccini: Biografie* (Stuttgart, 2007).

[111] On this general topic, see in particular Ysia Tchen, *La musique chinoise en France au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1974). On Amiot, see Lam Ching Wah, 'A Highlight of French Jesuit Scholarship in China: Jean-Joseph-Marie Amiot's Writings on Chinese Music', *CHIME Journal*, 16–17 (2005), 127–47; and François Picard, 'Joseph-Marie Amiot, jésuite française à Pékin, et le cabinet de curiosités de Bertin', *Musique, images, instruments: Revue française d'organologie et d'iconographie musicale*, 8

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frequently mentioned in Puccini scholarship is John Barrow's *Travels in China* (1805). Barrow offered disparaging remarks on Chinese music generally, but is best known for including among his transcriptions the music and two verses of 'Moo Li Hua'. In Barrow's printed lyrics, the phrase 'fresh flowers' ('sien wha'/'sinfa') appears in the first verse and a reference to 'jasmine flowers' ('Moo-lee-wha'/'Mo li hua') in the second.[112] The most crucial transcriptions of Chinese music for Puccini scholarship were published by J. A. van Aalst in 1884.[113] This publication served as the source for a couple of the Chinese melodies employed by Puccini in *Turandot*.[114] A few other significant studies of Chinese music appeared in the early twentieth century, and several of these included transcriptions of Chinese folk melodies.[115]

Throughout this more than 150-year period, transcriptions of some of the same Chinese melodies appear repeatedly, and, save for 'Sinfa'/'Mo Li Hua', these do not include the tunes that appear on Swiss music boxes. Instead, the 10–12 Chinese melodies featured on nineteenth-century music boxes were brought to Europe in 1845 by Frederic 'Fritz' Bovet (1824–1914; see Figure 10).[116] Bovet was a member

(2006), 68–85. Also see Kii-Ming Lo, 'In Search for a Chinese Melody: Tracing the Sources of Weber's *Musik zu Turandot*, op. 37', *Tradition and its Future in Music: Report of SIMS 1990 Osaka* (Tokyo, 1991), 511–21, and *eadem*, 'New Documents on the Encounter between European and Chinese Music', *Revista de musicología*, 16 (1993), 16–31. For extracts from and discussion of European writings on Chinese music from this period, see Frank Harrison, *Time, Place and Music: An Anthology of Ethnomusicological Observation c.1550 to c.1800* (Amsterdam, 1973), 161–94 and 207–18, and *idem*, 'Observation, Elucidation, Utilization: Western Attitudes to Eastern Musics, ca.1600-ca.1830', *Slavonic and Western Music: Essays for Gerald Abraham*, ed. Malcolm Hamrick Brown and Roland John Wiley (Ann Arbor, MI, 1985), 5–30. On English reception of Chinese music in this period, see David Clarke, 'An Encounter with Chinese Music in Mid-18th-Century London', *Early Music*, 38 (2010), 543–57.

[112] John Barrow, *Travels in China* (1st American edn, Philadelphia, PA, 1805), 209–10, 216. Barrow's transcription and translation of 'Moo-lee-wha' appears on pp. 211–12. Barrow referred to the melody as 'one of the most popular songs in the whole country' (p. 210).

[113] J. A. van Aalst, *Chinese Music* (Shanghai, 1884). Also see the contemporaneous publication in English, *China: Imperial Maritime Customs: Illustrated Catalogue of the Chinese Collection of Exhibits for the International Health Exhibition, London, 1884* (London, 1884), which provides transcriptions of multiple songs and has a chapter (Chapter 26) devoted to Chinese music. On van Aalst, see Han Kuo-huang, 'J. A. van Aalst and his Chinese Music', *Asian Music*, 19 (1988), 127–30.

[114] On the importance of van Aalst's publication for *Turandot*, see Ashbrook and Powers, *Puccini's Turandot*, 96–7, and for a table detailing the appearances in the opera of all the melodies Puccini borrowed from van Aalst and from the music box, see Kii-Ming Lo, *'Turandot' auf der Opernbühne*, 334.

[115] For French sources, see particularly Louis Laloy, *La musique chinoise* (Paris, 1910), 122–6, and Georges Soulié, *La musique en Chine* (Paris, 1911). The notated music in Judith Gautier's *Les musiques bizarres à l'Exposition de 1900: La musique chinoise* (Paris, 1900), offers a rather bizarre representation of, or musical response to, Chinese music.

[116] I should note that a genealogical website created by a distant descendant gives Bovet's dates as 1825–1913 and states that he was born and died in London. See <http://hibbertfamily.org/html/connections/frederick%20bovet%201.htm> (accessed 22 November 2014). I am grateful to Rosemary Haden for offering information on the Bovet family and to Barbara Galimberti, Martin

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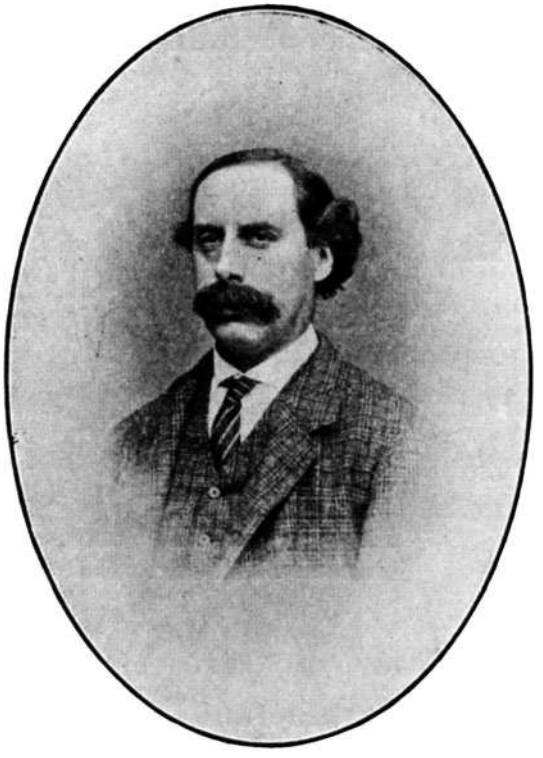


Figure 10. Fritz Bovet.

of the hugely successful Swiss watch-making family that was particularly known for its success in exporting watches to China in the nineteenth century. The Bovet brand sold so well that 'Bo wei' became the word for 'watch' in southern China. As a multinational firm based in London, with offices in Canton and Macao, and manufacture in their hereditary home in Switzerland, the 'Bovets of China' were clearly captains of globalization.[117] Swiss artisans had been celebrated since the eighteenth century in Europe as manufacturers of ingenious mechanical musical objects. These decorative objects included snuff boxes (*tabatières*), watches and even rings (playing the original ringtones), and thus served as personal and portable

Wyss and Karla Vanraepenbusch, who offered assistance in tracking down information on Fritz Bovet. Although Puccini was in London in 1900, which is where he saw David Belasco's production of *Madame Butterfly* in June, I have found no evidence suggesting that he encountered Fritz Bovet.

[117] The Bovets were from Fleurier in the Neuchâtel canton – a centre of Swiss watch-making and music-box manufacture. On the marketing of Bovet watches in China, see Alfred Chapuis, *La montre 'chinoise'* (Neuchâtel, 1919), Chapter 6, and Sylvia Robert, 'Edouard Bovet dit-de-Chine: Négociant en horlogerie (1797–1849)', *Biographies neuchâteloises*, ed. Michel Schlup, 5 vols. (Hauterive, 1996–2008), ii: *Des lumières à la révolution* (1998), 49–55.

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sources of music for those who could afford these luxurious commodities. By the mid-nineteenth century, the dominant form of mechanical reproducible music in the home was the cylinder musical box, the majority of which were created in the Jura valley region of Switzerland and just over the border in France.[118] Seeking to expand their export business to include mechanical music, and perhaps to offset losses during the Opium Wars period, the Bovets decided to market musical snuff boxes and then cylinder music boxes featuring Chinese songs in China.

The Bovets soon determined that to be successful in this new venture they would need first to acquire Chinese melodies. Fritz Bovet was an accomplished violinist and an amateur composer of a published string quartet, and later served as the vice-consul for France in Canton during the Second Opium War. (Like Fassini, Bovet was involved in suppressing colonial rebellion in China.) He apparently offered numerous violin recitals during his years in China and, most crucially, in 1845 transcribed an initial set of ten Chinese melodies.[119] Selections from Bovet's modest collection of Chinese melodies were soon pinned onto numerous cylinder music boxes for export to China and appeared later on disc boxes and player-piano rolls for domestic consumption in Europe and the USA. (We do not know, of course, whether he was aware that one of his selections was a notorious erotic folksong, nor whether the inclusion of this piece on these technological wonders from the West enhanced or diminished their marketability.) The global impact of Bovet's collection of Chinese tunes has not previously been fully appreciated.

[118] Music boxes played a major role in disseminating music in the nineteenth century, with a particular emphasis on opera melodies. On this topic, see, for example, Denise Gallo, 'Verdi's Music on Mechanical Boxes', *Verdi Forum*, 28/29 (2001–2), 4–7.

[119] On Fritz Bovet's role in the creation of Swiss music boxes playing Chinese melodies, see Chapuis, *La montre 'chinoise'*, 135–6. Chapuis based his discussion on Bovet family correspondence (now apparently lost) and on his interviews with Swiss watch-making families. Chapuis reports that a large number of music boxes were exported to China (pp. 221–2) and that E. Paillard et C^{ie} of Sainte-Croix was particularly active in this trade (p. 223). Chapuis lists several of the tune titles that appear on these music boxes, mistakenly splitting the title 'Loc-tee Kuntzin' into two separate titles (p. 224). Also see Chapuis, *History of the Musical Box and of Mechanical Music*, trans. Roesch, 269, or the original French edition, *Histoire de la boîte à musique et de la musique mécanique* (Lausanne, 1955), 282. In this landmark volume, Chapuis reproduces the notation employed for pinning 'Sinfa' which was given to him by MM. Gueissaz (p. 265; p. 277 in the French edition). For brief references to Fritz Bovet, also see Lindsay and May Ride, *An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao* (Hong Kong, 1996), 13, 187. For information on Bovet's time in China during the Opium Wars, see Auguste Jeanneret-Oehl, *Souvenirs du séjour d'un horloger neuchâtelois en Chine* (Neuchâtel, 1866). For references to Bovet's service as vice-consul for France in Canton in 1856, also see Henri Cordier, *L'expédition de Chine de 1857–58* (Paris, 1905), 55–6, and *Papers Relating to the Proceedings of Her Majesty's Naval Forces at Canton* (London, 1857), 75–8. I would like to thank Suzanne Aspden for providing me with a copy of Bovet's published string quartet held at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

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At the start of the twentieth century, the sinologist J. Dyer Ball reported that 'The different classes of persons, whose living, more or less, depends on China trade, will appear evident, when we recall the fact that during 1899 no less than 2,566 musical boxes were imported into Shanghai alone.'[120] It is impossible to know what percentage of the Swiss music boxes exported to China in the late nineteenth century featured Chinese melodies, but it is striking that the number of such boxes currently held in Europe and the USA appears to be comparatively low. With the assistance of numerous collectors and museum curators, and by searching auction catalogues and lists published by music-box societies, I have been able to locate only 18 cylinder boxes from the nineteenth century that play Chinese melodies, and this number includes the Guinness box at the Morris Museum and the Fassini box held by the Ghiotti family.[121] Thirteen of these music boxes include their original tune sheets, but only one, in addition to the Guinness and Fassini, includes the titles in Chinese characters. I have been able to study recordings of 12 of these boxes. 'Sinfa' – occasionally designated on tune sheets as 'the national hymn' or 'the old national air' of China – appears on nearly every cylinder and disc music box that includes any Chinese melodies. 'Shiba mo' appears somewhat less frequently. There seems to have been a maximum set of 12 melodies, with cylinders of six or eight tunes being the most common. Frequently, the same title appears on tune sheets in reference to different melodies, and the same melody is often identified differently on the various boxes. (Swiss precision apparently did not extend to the matching of transliterated titles to pinned tunes when it came to Chinese melodies.) Orientalist decoration on a few of these boxes announces their musical contents, but most of the wooden boxes and tune sheets are devoid of any decoration that might signal China.

Three of the music boxes that I have studied play all five of the melodies that Puccini heard and employed in *Madama Butterfly* and *Turandot*. As noted above, the

[120] J. Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese, or Notes Connected with China* (4th edn, New York, 1904), 725.

[121] I thank Nicholas Simons of the Music Box Society of Great Britain and Rosanna Harris of the Musical Box Society International for their assistance. Steve Ryder offered his wealth of knowledge on music-box history and technology as well as crucial guidance. Timothy Reed has brought to my attention the existence of several music boxes and sources and I am indebted to him. I am particularly grateful to the late Philippe Rouillé, who sent me copies of tune sheets and recordings of several music boxes that he owned. I am also grateful to Donald Day and Beatrice Farmer for sending recordings of their music boxes and to the staff at the Musical Wonder House in Wiscasset, Maine. For reports on specific surviving boxes that play Chinese melodies, see John Turner, 'L'Epée: The Chinese Musical Box', *The Music Box*, 20/3 (autumn 2001), 87, and Alec Reid, 'A Pre-Telly Vision Box', *Mechanical Music* (May/June 2012), 56. I am grateful to Mr Reid for providing me with a recording of this ten-tune cylinder box, which includes 'Sinfa', 'Bangzi', 'Shiba mo' and 'Loc Tee Kun Tzin', as well as dancing dolls. The Mira & Stella Company continued to manufacture boxes featuring these tunes, as is evident in lists available at <http://antiquemusicbox.us/mirastella.pdf> (accessed 18 September 2014) and in *The Music Box*, 9/5 (spring 1980), 235. The appearance of Bovet's set of Chinese melodies on later Thorens disc music boxes is evident in several surviving examples and in published lists, such as that provided at <http://www.aerialphotolab.com/Thorens_Discs.htm> (accessed 18 September 2014).

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keys and specific melodic details suggest that none of these boxes could have served as the sole source for Puccini, even though all of the tunes are present on these three artefacts. Two of these are 12-tune cylinder music boxes, one owned until recently by Philippe Rouillé, the other held at the Musical Wonder House in Maine, and they feature prominent accompaniment from bells, woodblock and a drum. In addition, these boxes include musical introductions to the tunes that are often in a distinctly different style. As Swiss music-box manufacturers added all the bells and whistles to the accompaniment of these Chinese melodies, these mechanical instruments moved further away from serving as a possible form of recording technology that could transport exotic melodies to domestic parlours. Of course, all of the tunes on these music boxes had already been filtered through the sieve of European notation in Bovet's transcriptions, and so Puccini's use of music boxes as a source of influence was not really different in kind from his use of notated tunes from printed collections. Indeed, though they offered a deceptive sonic realization of these melodies, music-box renditions should be understood as existing even further from any Chinese source. By first transcribing the tunes in Western notation, and then through the very act of pinning them onto comb cylinders, the Swiss stripped away from these Chinese melodies many of the musical features that mark them as stylistically Chinese.

Global resonance of the mechanical boxes: 'Mo Li Hua'/'Sinfa'

With *Madama Butterfly* and *Turandot*, Puccini shaped – and continues to shape – the sonic image of East Asia in the West. To the extent that he attempted to imitate the timbre and stylistic features of the mechanical music boxes in certain passages of these operas, Puccini helped to reinforce the stereotype of Asians as mechanical, wind-up dolls in the Western imagination. Although Puccini may or may not have paused to consider that the 'Chinese' music boxes he encountered – despite having been brought to Italy from China – had been manufactured in Europe, he probably casually accepted the music they played as 'Chinese'. Or perhaps he realized that 'exotic authenticity' in musical representation exists entirely in the realm of illusion. This is not to deny that retracing the tracks of influence – even towards mirages of exotic authenticity – may well lead to historical discoveries of broad import. The characteristic sound of cylinder music boxes had long been associated generally with representations of the 'mechanical', and mechanical-sounding music came to signal East Asia through the works of numerous composers in diverse genres, including (quite prominently) these two orientalist operas by Puccini.[122]

[122] Associating the mechanical with the exotic was a common trope in the early twentieth century. On representations of mechanical music in Stravinsky's *Le rossignol* (1908–14), for example, see Daniel Albright, *Stravinsky: The Music Box and the Nightingale* (New York, 1989), Chapter 4. In this tale, exotic Japanese ambassadors bring a mechanical nightingale, which then displaces the Emperor's natural, living bird.

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Alexandra Wilson, citing the early reception of *Turandot*, has noted mechanical aspects in Turandot's character, and Arman Schwartz has pointed to traces of a general mechanical aesthetic running throughout *Turandot* as further evidence of the Fassini music box's influence on that opera.[123] Schwartz is certainly correct in stating that Puccini was interested in the technology of the music box and not just in its 'Chinese' features.[124] However, Schwartz does not pursue the musical implications of this unique source by tracing the music box's influence on texture and timbre throughout the score.[125] Although not as evident as in the score for *Madama Butterfly*, several additional passages in *Turandot* might be heard as signalling a music-box style of orchestration, marked in particular by the use of triangle, glockenspiel, xylophone, celesta and harp. Such moments include, for example, the passage early in Act 2, scene i, as Pong and Pang declare that they will summon the 'bonzes for singing / And bonzes for mourning' (13 bars before rehearsal figure 3), and later in the orchestral insertions within the ritualistic exchanges between the Emperor and Calaf (Act 2, scene ii, rehearsal figures 36–9). Assuming that in 1920 Puccini had access to both the Fassini box and either the Guinness box or another similar box that played 'Sinfa'/'Mo Li Hua' (see Example 9),[126] perhaps the unusual decision to call for offstage saxophones as accompaniment for the full statement of 'Sinfa'/'Mo Li Hua' by the Children's Chorus was inspired by the timbre of a reed-organ music box.

Puccini was far from being the only Euro-American composer who employed these specific Chinese melodies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is even possible that other European and American composers heard the tunes Bovet collected as reproduced on mechanical musical instruments. However, most of the scores employing Chinese melodies in this period that I have located suggest that published transcriptions or live musical performances, rather than mechanical instruments, served as sources for these composers. The peripatetic French saxophonist and composer Ali Ben Sou Alle (Charles-Valentin Soualle), who settled in London in 1848 and then travelled widely in the 1850s, composed pieces inspired by his travels. His *Souvenirs de la Chine* for soprano saxophone and piano features 'Loc Tee Kun Tzin' in a version melodically quite close to that which appears on the

[123] Alexandra Wilson, 'Modernism and the Machine Woman in Puccini's *Turandot*', *Music and Letters*, 86 (2005), 432–51. Arman Schwartz, 'Mechanism and Tradition in Puccini's *Turandot*', *Opera Quarterly*, 25 (2010), 28–50.
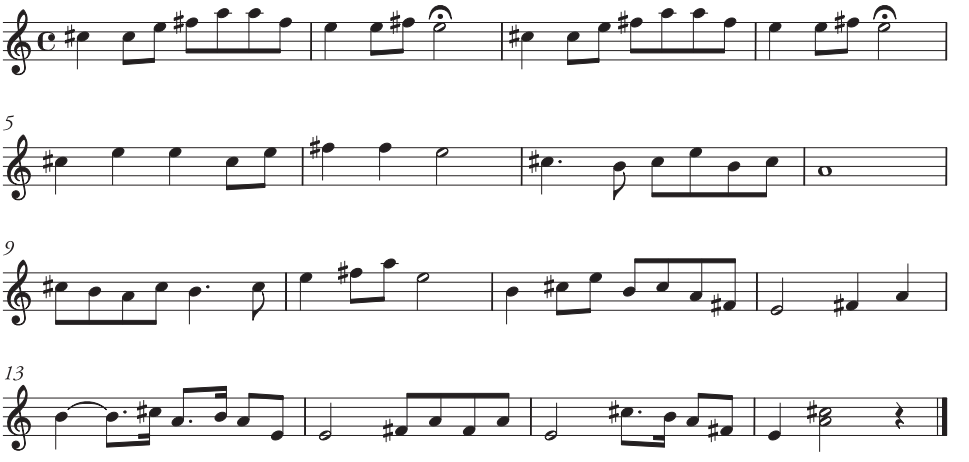
[124] Schwartz, 'Mechanism and Tradition', 29. Schwartz is less convincing in suggesting that Turandot herself resembles a music box in her first appearance (pp. 41–3).

[125] Schwartz notes that Ping, Pang and Pong are associated with a mechanical style, but incorrectly states that Puccini employed only four bars from the Fassini box for their initial music (*ibid.*, 37). Schwartz makes a similar mistake – while offering perceptive comments on the orchestration – in referring to Puccini's use of a 'four-bar pentatonic fragment' of 'Mo Li Hua' (p. 45). Puccini scholars have long known that the composer used both tunes from the Fassini box in their entirety, and both tunes are quite a bit longer than four bars in duration.

[126] A sound clip for Example 9 may be accessed at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02690403.2015.1008863>.

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Example 9. 'Sinfa' transcription from the Guinness music box.



Swiss music boxes.[127] At the historical moment when Baron Edoardo Fassini first travelled to China in 1900, Harry Partch's missionary parents fled the Boxer Rebellion and brought their limited knowledge of Chinese folksongs back home to the USA. Partch grew up hearing his mother sing Chinese songs, and in his *Seventeen Lyrics of Li Po* (1931–3) he employed the tunes 'Mo Li Hua'/'Sinfa' (in 'On Hearing the Flute in the Yellow Crane House') and 'Madame Wang' (in 'On Hearing the Flute at Lo-Cheng One Spring Night'), which had appeared in van Aalst's transcriptions and on the music boxes. In standard orientalist fashion – in which different exotic nations are perceived equivalently – Edgar S. Kelley had employed 'Mo Li Hua'/'Sinfa' rather obsessively in the 'At the Wedding' movement of his remarkable 1894 *Aladdin*. None of these examples feature the telltale signs of influence from mechanical instruments that I have noted in Puccini's operas.

Although multiple Western composers introduced their audiences to some of the same Chinese melodies through their scores, Puccini's operas clearly had the most lasting impact. For example, by featuring 'Sinfa'/'Mo Li Hua' from the Fassini box so prominently in *Turandot*, Puccini not only ensured that the melody would repeatedly be employed to represent China in film scores and other genres in the West, but also reaffirmed its paramount position within China itself and shaped how Chinese composers would employ the melody in their works into the twenty-first century. 'Sinfa'/'Mo Li Hua' consistently appeared as the first selection on

[127] A waltz occupies the lengthy middle section of the work and 'Loc Tee Kun Tzin' abruptly returns for a final appearance in the concluding three bars. This piece has been published in an edition by Paul Wehage (Lagny sur Marne, 2008). Ali Ben Sou Alle also composed *Shanghai Redowa Waltz* for soprano saxophone and piano.

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nineteenth-century Swiss music boxes featuring Chinese melodies, including both the Fassini and Guinness boxes, and it retains its status as the most commonly referenced traditional Chinese melody globally.

More recent appearances of 'Sinfa'/'Mo Li Hua' point to an even greater historical significance for the global impact of Bovet's Chinese song collection. For example, Tan Dun employed this melody, in a setting clearly inspired by Puccini's, in his *Symphony 1997* composed in celebration of the handover of Hong Kong.[128] Tan and his co-composer Wang Hesheng drew upon this tune again in the official music for the medal ceremonies at the Beijing 2008 Summer Olympics, employing bronze bells and a jade-stone orchestra for this musical contribution. This was perhaps the most high-profile appearance of the melody on the international stage. As Tan put it: 'From Puccini to the Beijing Olympics, this melody is a gift from the Chinese people to the world's athletes.'[129] However, when news of the 2010–11 'Jasmine Revolution' in Tunisia began to spread, the Chinese government attempted to suppress this most beloved Chinese song, 'Jasmine Flower', and even the flower itself.[130] The cycles of cross-cultural musical exchange set in motion by Bovet and these Swiss music boxes in 1845 continue in the twenty-first century.

The global resonance of these music boxes has clearly been quite extensive and has involved multiple circles of cross-cultural influence, representation and transmission. The Swiss imagined they knew what the late nineteenth-century Chinese consumer wanted: music boxes featuring Chinese, rather than European, folk tunes. In China, dealers occasionally added the song titles in Chinese characters hoping to entice Chinese customers, to further sinicize the boxes and, perhaps inadvertently, to correct the mislabelling of the Swiss. And yet the Swiss inescapably offered the Chinese Westernized versions of their melodies, for the very mechanism of the cylinder music box demanded a Western approach to pitch, as did the initial process of transcribing in Western notation. Having been pinned onto the music-box

[128] For an overview of the position of 'Mo Li Hua' in China, its transmission to Europe and its appearance in Tan Dun's *Symphony 1997*, see Christian Utz, 'Ein Feld "entorteter" Identitäten: Essentialismus und Differenz in der neuen Musik Chinas und Japans', *Reflexionen der kulturellen Globalisierung*, ed. Ute Hoffmann (Berlin, 2003), 105–25. On Tan Dun's relationship to Puccini, also see my 'Blurring the Boundaries: Tan Dun's *Tinte* and *The First Emperor*', *Journal of Musicology*, 26 (2009), 285–326. For a critical assessment of Tan Dun's use of 'Mo Li Hua' in his work, see Yu Siu Wah, 'Two Practices Confused in One Composition: Tan Dun's *Symphony 1997: Heaven, Earth, Man*', *Locating East Asia in Western Art Music*, ed. Yayoi Uno Everett and Frederick Lau (Middletown, CT, 2004), 57–71.

[129] Quoted in Cui Xiaohuo, 'Classical Piece Will Ring in Ears of Winners', *China Daily* (6 August 2008), available at <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/olympics/2008-08/06/content_6907444.htm> (accessed 27 March 2014).

[130] See Oliver Chou, 'From Nation's Favourite to Populist Poison', *South China Morning Post* (6 March 2011), available at <http://www.scmp.com/article/740037/nations-favourite-populist-poison> (accessed 1 April 2014). Chou reports that the government's negative view of the song started in December 2010 when Lynn Chang performed it at the Nobel Peace Prize ceremony in tribute to the jailed dissident Liu Xiabo.

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cylinders, the transcribed status of these Chinese tunes was thereby veiled, for music boxes are received as recording devices, suggesting in this case a false Chinese fidelity through their sounding. Those boxes that eventually made their way back to the West were received and continue to be heard today as authentic presentations of Chinese music. Without the ability to produce sliding pitch and varied timbre, however, these music boxes sound very little like a Chinese realization of these melodies. Furthermore, *Madama Butterfly* and *Turandot* – both compelling, moving and entertaining orientalist operas – really sound very little like Chinese or Japanese music, despite the many claims that have been made to the contrary. Puccini's musical orientalism emerges as not fundamentally different from that of his operatic predecessors or, for that matter, as different as we might expect it to be from his many successors across the globe. Like an endlessly entertaining music box, orientalism itself continues to be rewound.

ABSTRACT

This article reveals the source for two major themes in *Madama Butterfly* – one associated with Butterfly herself, the other with her patrimony. The assumption has been that Puccini based these themes on Japanese melodies, but his source was actually a Swiss music box playing Chinese tunes. Specific moments in the opera indicate that Puccini was aware of the titles of these tunes. The sound of music boxes in *Butterfly* and *Turandot* suggests previously unnoticed connections between these operas. The music-box melodies may be traced to Fritz Bovet's transcriptions. Puccini encountered 'Jasmine Flower' on these boxes, and in *Turandot* reaffirmed its status as the token of Chinese music.

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