

Notes

For complete citations of frequently referenced works, see the bibliography of this volume, pp. 312–28.

1 Verdi's life: a thematic biography

1. My chapter is based on original research in dozens of Italian archives and on the works of many authors. I recommend the following: Julian Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, David R. B. Kimbell, *Verdi in the Age of Italian Romanticism*; George Martin, *Verdi: His Music, Life, and Times* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1963); Charles Osborne, *Verdi* (New York: Knopf, 1987); Andrew Porter, "Giuseppe Verdi," in *The New Grove Masters of Italian Opera* (New York: Norton, 1983), pp. 191–308, especially pp. 193–202; and William Weaver, *Verdi: A Documentary Study* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977).

2 The Italian theatre of Verdi's day

1. From a confidential document sent by the papal legate to the municipality of Ferrara on July 20, 1833, preserved in the Archivio Storico Comunale di Ferrara, series "XIX secolo – Teatri e spettacoli."

2. The best study of Italian opera production in this period is John Rosselli, *The Opera Industry in Italy from Cimarosa to Verdi: The Role of the Impresario* (Cambridge University Press, 1984). For the budgetary information given here, see pp. 52–54.

3. "I cannot sign a contract without knowing who will be in the company." So Verdi wrote with regard to *La traviata*, letter of February 4, 1852, in Marcello Conati, *La bottega della musica*, p. 272.

4. Letter to Francesco Maria Piave, February 9, 1857, and document signed by G. B. Tornielli, February 24, 1857, in Conati, *La bottega della musica*, pp. 402 and 406.

5. Letter to Cesare De Sanctis, May 26, 1854, in Alessandro Luzio (ed.), *Carteggi verdiani*, vol. I, pp. 24 ff.

6. The four operas were given the new titles *Viscardello* (and also *Lionello* and *Clara di Perth*), *Violetta*, *Guglielmo Wellingrode*, and *Giovanna di Guzman*, respectively.

7. It is neither easy nor historiographically appropriate to attempt to determine which elements were "causes" and which "effects,"

primary versus secondary. See Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History* (Cambridge University Press, 1983), particularly the chapter "Thoughts on Structural History," pp. 129–50.

8. See Piero Weiss, "Verdi and the Fusion of Genres," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35 (1982), 138–56.

9. See David Rosen, "The Staging of Verdi's Operas," in *Report of the Twelfth Congress [of the International Musicological Society]*, pp. 239–45.

10. Letter to Jacovacci, June 5, 1859, in Gaetano Cesari and Alessandro Luzio (eds.), *I copialettere di Giuseppe Verdi*, pp. 575 ff.

11. See Conati, *La bottega della musica*, pp. 358–63.

12. Letter of October 28, 1854, in Cesari and Luzio (eds.), *I copialettere*, pp. 154 ff.

13. For French influences on Verdi's style, see chapter 7 below.

14. For an insightful discussion of this subject, see Adriana Guarnieri Corazzol, "Opera and Verismo: Regressive Points of View and the Artifice of Alienation," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 5 (1993), 39–53.

15. From Verdi's letter to Tito Ricordi, November 17, 1868, issued to all main newspapers in Italy, in Cesari and Luzio (eds.), *I copialettere*, pp. 210 ff.; see Frank Walker, *The Man Verdi* (London: Dent; New York: Knopf, 1962), pp. 350 ff.

16. Letters from Giulio Ricordi to Verdi, June 27, 1883, in Franca Cella *et al.* (eds.), *Carteggio Verdi–Ricordi 1882–1885*, pp. 117 ff., and January 19, 1886, in Franca Cella and Pierluigi Petrobelli (eds.), *Giuseppe Verdi–Giulio Ricordi: Corrispondenza e immagini 1881–1890*, p. 65.

17. See letters dated March 1, 1869, and February 20, 1871, in Luzio (ed.), *Carteggi verdiani*, vol. III, pp. 62 and 68–70.

18. See letters dated August 29, 1872, and December 29, 1872, in Cesari and Luzio (eds.), *I copialettere*, pp. 685 ff.

19. See Verdi's letter, October 18, 1886, in Cella and Petrobelli (eds.), *Giuseppe Verdi–Giulio Ricordi*, p. 51.

3 Verdi, Italian Romanticism, and the Risorgimento

1. Antonio Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, ed. Valentino Gerratana, 4 vols. (Turin: Einaudi, 1975), vol. III, 14/72, p. 1739; trans. in David Forgacs and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (eds.), *Antonio Gramsci: Selections from the Cultural Writings*, trans. William Boelhower (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), pp. 204–5.
2. Gramsci, *Quaderni*, vol. III, 14/19, pp. 1676–7; Forgacs and Nowell-Smith (eds.), *Selections*, pp. 379–80.
3. See Carlo Calcaterra (ed.), *I manifesti romantici del 1816, e gli scritti principali del "Conciliatore" sul Romanticismo* (Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1951), pp. 261–331; and Gary Tomlinson, "Italian Opera and Italian Romanticism: An Essay in Their Affinities," *19th-Century Music* 10 (1986–87), 43–60.
4. Alessandro Manzoni, "Sul Romanticismo. Lettera al Marchese Cesare D'Azeglio," in *Opere*, vol. III: *Opere varie*, ed. Guido Bezzola (Milan: Rizzoli, 1961), p. 455.
5. Giuseppe Mazzini, *Filosofia della musica* (1836), cited passage trans. in "From the *Philosophy of Music*," in Ruth A. Solie (ed.), *Source Readings in Music History: The Nineteenth Century* (New York and London: Norton, 1998), p. 46.
6. See Tomlinson, "Italian Opera and Italian Romanticism," 50–51.
7. See Stefano Castelvetti, "Walter Scott, Rossini, e la *couleur ossianique*: il contesto culturale della *Donna del lago*," *Bollettino del Centro rossiniano di studi* 23 (1993), 57–71; and Gary Tomlinson, "Opera and *Drame*: Hugo, Donizetti, and Verdi," in *Music and Drama* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1988), pp. 171–92.
8. For a thorough discussion of Verdi's compositional engagement with Romantic writers, see David R. B. Kimbell, *Verdi in the Age of Italian Romanticism*, pp. 460–515.
9. Mary Ann Smart, "'Proud, Indomitable, Irascible': Allegories of Nation in *Attila* and *Les vêpres siciliennes*," in Martin Chusid (ed.), *Verdi's Middle Period*, pp. 227–56.
10. Letter to Francesco Maria Piave, April 21, 1848; trans. in Mary Jane Phillips-Matz, *Verdi*, pp. 230–31.
11. Letter of October 18, 1848; Gaetano Cesari and Alessandro Luzio (eds.), *I copialettere di Giuseppe Verdi*, p. 469; trans. in Phillips-Matz, *Verdi*, p. 237.
12. In this case the colonial oppressor was France (ruling thirteenth-century Sicily),

- which presented something of a diplomatic problem for Verdi since *Vêpres* was destined for the Paris Opéra, a constituency he particularly wished to please. On the inflections of patriotism in *Vêpres*, see Anselm Gerhard, *The Urbanization of Opera: Music Theater in Paris in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Mary Whittall (University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 342–87, especially pp. 378–83; and Andrew Porter, "*Les vêpres siciliennes*: New Letters from Verdi to Scribe," *19th-Century Music* 2 (1978), 95–109.
13. George Martin, *Aspects of Verdi*, pp. 93–116; Paul Robinson, *Opera and Ideas: From Mozart to Strauss* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), pp. 155–209.
 14. Some of the material that follows appeared in a different form in my article "Liberty on (and off) the Barricades: Verdi's Risorgimento Fantasies," in Albert Russell Ascoli and Krystyna von Henneberg (eds.), *Making and Remaking Italy: The Cultivation of National Identity around the Risorgimento* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2001), pp. 103–18.
 15. Textbooks of nineteenth-century music, for example, unanimously take the political angle as a starting point, and descriptions of the 1840s audiences who "roared [with] approval" for Verdi's early choruses too often stand in for observations about the sound of the music (Leon Plantinga, *Romantic Music*, New York and London: Norton, 1984, p. 300). Even Carl Dahlhaus, usually impressive for the caution with which he treats links between works of music and social context, is seduced by the Risorgimento narrative. He characterizes Verdi as "a popular composer before he was a significant one," and repeats the familiar idea that Verdi's early choruses "were received as musical symbols of the Risorgimento by a torn and disrupted nation whose ardor flared up in opera." See Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), p. 206.
 16. Philip Gossett recounts one typical tale involving an 1846 performance of *Ernani* in Bologna during which the name of the baritone character, the sixteenth-century Spanish king Charles V, was replaced throughout the entire last act by that of Pope Pius IX, yielding lines such as "Sia lode eterna, Pio, al tuo nome." See Gossett, "Becoming a Citizen: The Chorus in *Risorgimento Opera*," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 2 (1990), 41–64.

17. For a classic version of this classic story, see George Martin, “Verdi and the Risorgimento,” in William Weaver and Martin Chusid (eds.), *The Verdi Companion*, pp. 13–41.
18. The story of the “Va pensiero” encore appears in most standard biographies. Franco Abbiati actually went as far as to manufacture journalistic “evidence” for the encore in his *Giuseppe Verdi*. As Parker has shown, Abbiati’s account of the *Nabucco* premiere fuses together two separate reviews so as to make it appear that the number encoored was “Va pensiero.” The initial correction of Abbiati’s massaged quotation is published in “Historical Introduction,” *Nabucodonosor*, ed. Roger Parker, *The Works of Giuseppe Verdi*, series I, vol. III (University of Chicago Press; Milan: Ricordi, 1987), p. xvi. Since then Parker has undertaken more detailed discussions of the musical content and popular reception of “Va pensiero” in chapter 2 of his *Leonora’s Last Act*, pp. 20–41, and in a monograph entirely devoted to the question of Verdi’s pre-1848 reception, “Arpa d’or dei fatidici vati”: *The Verdian Patriotic Chorus in the 1840s* (Parma: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Verdiani, 1997).
19. Parker has also debunked the anecdote about the insertion of Pius IX’s name into *Ernani*, tracing the story to an item in the theatrical journal *Teatri, arti e letteratura*, which reported that at an 1846 performance of Donizetti’s *Roberto Devereux* a chorus from *Ernani* with new words honoring Pius IX was inserted between the acts, in a manifestation that was officially planned and announced in advance (*Leonora’s Last Act*, p. 137).
20. I owe this information to a personal communication from David Rosen.
21. Parker, “Arpa d’or dei fatidici vati”, p. 110. Parker’s monograph reproduces a facsimile of the Cornali chorus in an appendix.
22. Studying another manifestation of Verdi’s presence in the popular imagination, Birgit Pauls has shown that school textbooks from the last quarter of the nineteenth century rarely mention Verdi in connection with the Risorgimento (or, indeed, mention him at all). It was not until the 1920s that the acronym “Viva VERDI” and Verdi’s folk-popular connections began to feature in elementary school books. See Pauls, *Giuseppe Verdi und das Risorgimento: Ein politischer Mythos im Prozess der Nationenbildung* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Frankfurt am Main, 1996; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996), pp. 301–10.
23. Parker, “Arpa d’or dei fatidici vati”, pp. 48–82.
24. On the circumstances of the *Battaglia* commission and premiere, see Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, vol. I (New York, 1973), pp. 389–95.
25. In his nuanced discussion of this and other historical subjects revived by Risorgimento artists, Lyttelton emphasizes that the Oath of Pontida episode celebrated the role of the Catholic Church in uniting the Lombard towns, and thus was a particularly popular subject during the early, Giobertian phase of the Risorgimento. Lyttelton speculates that the strong Catholic overtones that became attached to the Oath may be a reason for the omission of this episode from *Battaglia*, which was not premiered until January 1849 after serious disillusionment with Pius IX had set in. See Lyttelton, “Creating a National Past: History, Myth and Image in the Risorgimento,” in Ascoli and von Henneberg (eds.), *Making and Remaking Italy*, pp. 27–74.
26. Pauls, *Verdi und das Risorgimento*, pp. 199–200, speculates that Verdi and Cammarano may have chosen Méry’s play over a Risorgimento drama as the source for *Battaglia* because the French play better met the tastes of the intended audience and because it gave more weight to its love interest than did any contemporary Italian patriotic drama.
27. Solie (ed.), *Source Readings*, p. 43.
28. I am thinking of such oft-reproduced works as Vincenzo Cabianca’s *La partenza del volontario* (1858), Odoardo Borrani’s *Le cucitrici di camicie rosse* (1863), and Gerolamo Induno’s *Il ritorno del soldato* (1867), all admittedly from a later phase of Risorgimento activity than Verdi’s 1840s images of warrior women. Before 1848, images of contemporary women are almost non-existent, perhaps excluded by the dominant neo-classical idiom. For an overview of styles and subject matter in Italian painting of the period, see Albert Boime, *The Art of the Macchia and the Risorgimento: Representing Culture and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (University of Chicago Press, 1993), and Roberta J. M. Olsen (ed.), *Ottocento: Romanticism and Revolution in Nineteenth-Century Italian Painting* (New York: American Federation of Arts, 1992).
29. Mazzini, *Filosofia*; trans. in Jean-Pierre Barricelli, “Romantic Writers and Music: The Case of Mazzini,” *Studies in Romanticism* 14 (1975), 109.

4 The forms of set pieces

1. Abramo Basevi, *Studio sulle opere di Giuseppe Verdi*, p. 191. The implications of Basevi's comments are discussed by Harold Powers in "‘La solita forma’ and ‘The Uses of Convention’," *Acta musicologica* 59 (1987), 65–90. Roger Parker, "‘Insolite forme,’ or Basevi's Garden Path," in Martin Chusid (ed.), *Verdi's Middle Period*, pp. 129–46, cautions against relying excessively on Basevi for evidence of Verdi's formal practices.
2. Carlo Ritorni, *Ammaestramenti alla composizione d'ogni poema e d'ogni opera appartenente alla musica* (Milan: Pirola, 1841), pp. 40–58, discussed in Scott L. Balthazar, "Ritorni's *Ammaestramenti* and the Conventions of Rossinian Melodramma," *Journal of Musicological Research* 8 (1989), 281–311.
3. Scott L. Balthazar, "Evolving Conventions in Italian Serious Opera: Scene Structure in the Works of Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti, and Verdi, 1810–1850" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1985).
4. This process as exemplified by the arias of Rossini's predecessor Simon Mayr is discussed in Scott L. Balthazar, "Mayr and the Development of the Two-Movement Aria," in Francesco Bellotto (ed.), *Giovanni Simone Mayr: L'opera teatrale e la musica sacra* (Bergamo: Stefanoni, 1997), pp. 229–51.
5. This characteristic has been noted elsewhere. See, for example, Martin Chusid, "Toward an Understanding of Verdi's Middle Period," in Chusid (ed.), *Verdi's Middle Period*, p. 11. Verdi's engagement with French grand opera beginning in the 1840s also produced arias modeled on French *couplets* and *da capo* forms which occur in both his French and his Italian works. See chapter 7 below, pp. 113–17.
6. For Verdi's response to French melody, see chapter 7 below, pp. 128–38.
7. For an explanation of the lyric prototype, see chapter 6 below, pp. 92–93.
8. See chapter 6 below, pp. 93–98, for extended discussion of this movement and a score.
9. For the development of the duet from Rossini to Verdi, see Scott L. Balthazar, "The *Primo Ottocento* Duet and the Transformation of the Rossinian Code," *Journal of Musicology* 7 (1989), 471–97, and Balthazar, "Analytic Contexts and Mediated Influences: The Rossinian *Convenienze* and Verdi's Middle and Late Duets," *Journal of Musicological Research* 10 (1990), 19–45.

10. For a seminal discussion of Rossini's finales, see Philip Gossett, "The 'candeur virginale' of *Tancredi*," *Musical Times* 112 (1971), 327–29.
11. For the early development of the serious finale, see Scott L. Balthazar, "Mayr, Rossini, and the Development of the Early Concertato Finale," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 116 (1991), 236–66.
12. Ritorni, *Ammaestramenti*, p. 51. The most thorough discussion of Verdi's openings is David Rosen's "How Verdi's Operas Begin: An Introduction to the *Introduzioni*," in Giovanni Morelli (ed.), *Tornando a Stiffelio: Popolarità, rifacimenti, messinscena, effettismo e altre "cure"* (Florence: Olschki, 1987), pp. 203–21.
13. For Rossini's *introduzioni*, see Philip Gossett, "Gioachino Rossini and the Conventions of Composition," *Acta musicologica* 42 (1970), 52–56.
14. These terms are adapted from David Rosen, "How Verdi's Serious Operas End," in Angelo Pompilio et al. (eds.), *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società internazionale di musicologia*, vol. III, pp. 443–50, which discusses Verdi's final scenes in detail. My discussion diverges from Rosen's on some points.
15. For a recent discussion of Verdi's choruses, see Markus Engelhardt, "‘Something's Been Done to Make Room for Choruses’: Choral Conception and Choral Construction in *Luisa Miller*," in Chusid (ed.), *Verdi's Middle Period*, pp. 197–205.
16. For covert meanings in Verdi's patriotic choruses, see Philip Gossett, "Becoming a Citizen: The Chorus in *Risorgimento Opera*," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 2 (1990), 41–64.
17. See also James A. Hepokoski's discussion of form in *Otello* in *Giuseppe Verdi: "Otello"* (Cambridge University Press, 1987), chapter 7.

5 New currents in the libretto

1. See Fabrizio Della Seta, "The librettist," in Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli (eds.), *Opera Production and Its Resources* (University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 229–89. The best history of the Italian opera libretto is found in Giovanna Gronda and Paolo Fabbri (eds.), *Libretti d'opera italiani dal Seicento a Novecento* (Milan: Mondadori, 1997), pp. 9–54.
2. See, for example, Mario Lavagetto, *Quei più modesti romanzi: il libretto nel melodramma di Verdi: Tecniche costruttive funzioni poetica di un genere letterario minore* (Milan: Garzanti,

- 1979); Guido Paduano, *Noi facemmo ambedue un sogno strano: Il disagio amoroso sulla scena dell'opera europea* (Palermo: Sellerio, 1982); John Black, *The Italian Romantic Libretto: A Study of Salvatore Cammarano* (Edinburgh University Press, 1984); Daniela Goldin, *La vera Fenice: Libretti e librettisti tra Sette e Ottocento* (Turin: Einaudi, 1985); Carl Dahlhaus, "Drammaturgia dell'opera italiana," in Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli (eds.), *Teorie e tecniche, immagini e fantasmi, Storia dell'opera italiana*, vol. VI (Turin: EDT/Musica, 1988), pp. 77–162; Guido Paduano, *Il giro di vite: Percorsi dell'opera lirica* (Scandicci: La Nuova Italia, 1992); Alessandro Roccatagliati, *Felice Romani librettista* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1996); Luigi Baldacci, *La musica in italiano: Libretto d'opera dell'Ottocento* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1997). The best and most recent discussion of the role of the libretto in Verdi's dramaturgy is Gilles de Van, *Verdi's Theater*, particularly chapter 3.
3. Letter of November 15, 1843, cited in *Ermani*, ed. Claudio Gallico, *The Works of Giuseppe Verdi*, series I, vol. V (University of Chicago Press; Milan: Ricordi, 1985), p. xvii.
 4. See Friedrich Lippmann, *Versificazione italiana e ritmo musicale* (Naples: Liguori, 1986); Wolfgang Osthoff, "Musica e versificazione: funzioni del verso poetico nell'opera italiana," in Lorenzo Bianconi (ed.), *La drammaturgia musicale* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1986), pp. 125–41; Paolo Fabbri, "Istituti metrici e formali," in Bianconi and Pestelli (eds.), *Teorie e tecniche, immagini e fantasmi*, pp. 163–233; Roccatagliati, *Felice Romani librettista*, pp. 129–59; Robert Moreen, "Integration of Text Forms and Musical Forms in Verdi's Early Operas" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1975; Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1976).
 5. Letter of April 22, 1853, cited in Alessandro Pascolato (ed.), "Re Lear" e "Ballo in maschera": *Lettere di Giuseppe Verdi ad Antonio Somma* (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1902), p. 4.
 6. See Luigi Dallapiccola, "Words and Music in Italian Nineteenth-Century Opera," in William Weaver and Martin Chusid (eds.), *The Verdi Companion*, pp. 183–215; Piero Weiss, "'Sacred Bronzes': Paralipomena to an Essay by Dallapiccola," in *19th-Century Music* 9 (1985–86), 42–49; Baldacci, *La musica in italiano*, pp. 91–117.
 7. See Carlo Matteo Mossa (ed.), *Carteggio Verdi–Cammarano, 1843–1852* (Parma: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Verdiani, 2001), pp. 104–61.
 8. See Piero Weiss, "Verdi and the Fusion of Genres," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35 (1982), 138–56, especially 146 ff.
 9. Letter of December 17, 1847, in Mossa (ed.), *Carteggio Verdi–Cammarano*, p. 15; as cited in Weiss, "Verdi and the Fusion of Genres," 148.
 10. Mossa (ed.), *Carteggio Verdi–Cammarano*, pp. 105–9.
 11. *Ibid.*, pp. 110–11.
 12. Letter of May 22, 1849, in Mossa (ed.), *Carteggio Verdi–Cammarano*, pp. 112–18; as cited in Weiss, "Verdi and the Fusion of Genres," 149.
 13. *The Aeneid of Virgil*, trans. Allen Mandelbaum (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), p. 239; Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando furioso (The Frenzy of Orlando)*, trans. Barbara Edwards, vol. I (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975), p. 573.
 14. Letter of October 20, 1853, cited in *La traviata*, ed. Fabrizio Della Seta, *The Works of Giuseppe Verdi*, series I, vol. XIX (University of Chicago Press; Milan: Ricordi, 1997), p. xiii.
 15. See Weiss, "Verdi and the Fusion of Genres," 151 ff.
 16. All are published and translated in Hans Busch (ed. and trans.), *Verdi's "Aida"*, pp. 440–71, 483–93, and 499–553.
 17. See Philip Gossett, "Verdi, Ghislanzoni, and *Aida*: The Uses of Convention," *Critical Inquiry* 1 (1974–75), 291–334.
 18. Letter of August 17, 1870, trans. in Busch (ed. and trans.), *Verdi's "Aida"*, p. 50.
 19. Letter of September 30, 1870, trans. *ibid.*, p. 72.
 20. Letter of November 13, 1870, trans. *ibid.*, p. 103.
 21. Letter of January 4, 1870, trans. *ibid.*, p. 92. Dante's *Divine Comedy* is written entirely in tercets of *endecasillabi*.
 22. See Harold S. Powers, "Boito rimatore per musica," in Giovanni Morelli (ed.), *Arrigo Boito* (Florence: Olschki, 1994), pp. 355–94.
 23. Letter of August 20, 1889, cited in William Weaver (trans.), *The Verdi–Boito Correspondence*, p. 150. On the genesis of the opera, see also Hans Busch (ed. and trans.), *Verdi's "Falstaff"*. For a critical discussion, see James A. Hepokoski, *Giuseppe Verdi: "Falstaff"* (Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 19–34.
 24. Letter of July 7, 1889, in Weaver (trans.), *The Verdi–Boito Correspondence*, p. 126.
 25. Letter of July 7, 1889, trans. *ibid.*, p. 141; letter to Giulio Ricordi, December 12, 1892, trans. in Busch (ed. and trans.), *Verdi's "Falstaff"*, p. 341.

26. Letter of July 7, 1889, in Weaver (trans.), *The Verdi–Boito Correspondence*, p. 121.
 27. See Wolfgang Osthoff, “Il sonetto nel *Falstaff* di Verdi,” in Giorgio Pestelli (ed.), *Il melodramma italiano dell’ottocento: Studi e ricerche per Massimo Mila* (Turin: Einaudi, 1977), pp. 157–83.

6 Words and music

1. For reasons of space I cannot include a discussion of Verdi’s recitatives, nor a treatment of his setting of French texts. For the latter, however, see chapter 7 below, pp. 128–38. I would like to thank Suzie Clark, Karen Henson, Roger Parker, David Rosen, and Mary Ann Smart for reading previous versions of this chapter and offering invaluable comments and suggestions.
 2. Parker, *Leonora’s Last Act*, p. 186.
 3. Letter from Verdi to Antonio Somma, August 30, 1853, in Alessandro Pascolato (ed.), “*Re Lear*” e “*Ballo in maschera*”: *Lettere di Giuseppe Verdi ad Antonio Somma* (Città di Castello: Lapi, 1902), p. 53; trans. in Philip Gossett, “Verdi, Ghislanzoni, and *Aida*: The Uses of Convention,” *Critical Inquiry* 1 (1974–75), 292.
 4. See the statistics compiled by Rita Garlato, *Repertorio metrico verdiano* (Venice: Marsilio, 1998), pp. 193–230.
 5. Luisa Miller, *melodramma tragico in tre atti di Salvatore Cammarano, musica del Maestro Giuseppe Verdi* (Milan: Ricordi, 1850), p. 23; translations for this text and for “Tu puniscimi, o Signore” have been adapted from William Weaver’s translations for the booklet accompanying the CD reissue of the 1965 RCA Victor recording (GD86646).
 6. The superscript *s* indicates a *verso sdrucchiolo*; the superscript *t* indicates a *verso tronco*.
 7. The concept of the lyric form was introduced in relation to Bellini’s arias by Friedrich Lippmann, *Vincenzo Bellini und die italienische Opera seria seiner Zeit: Studien über Libretto, Arienform und Melodik, Analecta musicologica* 6 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1969), rev. Italian ed., “Vincenzo Bellini e l’opera seria del suo tempo. Studi sul libretto, la forma delle arie e la melodia,” in Maria Rosaria Adamo and Friedrich Lippmann, *Vincenzo Bellini* (Rome: ERI, 1981), pp. 313–555 (see especially pp. 427–29). Robert Moreen has applied it to early Verdi in his dissertation “Integration of Text Forms and Musical Forms in Verdi’s Early Operas” (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1975),

while Joseph Kerman has investigated its modifications in middle Verdi, “Lyric Form and Flexibility in *Simon Boccanegra*,” *Studi verdiani* 1 (1982), 47–62, and Scott Balthazar its Rossinian genealogy, “Rossini and the Development of the Mid-Century Lyric Form,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41 (1988), 102–25. Steven Huebner has focused on issues of tonality and cadential articulation, paying special attention to the different types of expansion and tonal/thematic return, “Lyric Form in *Ottocento Opera*,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 117 (1992), 123–47. See also Gary Tomlinson, “Verdi after Budden,” *19th-Century Music* 5 (1981–82), 170–82, especially 174–77. Scott Balthazar has investigated Verdi’s practice in setting kinetic movements (*tempi d’attacco* and *tempi di mezzo*) in “Music, Poetry, and Action in *Ottocento Opera*: The Principle of Concurrent Articulations,” *Opera Journal* 22 (1989), 13–34.
 8. See Giorgio Pagannone, “Mobilità strutturale della *lyric form*. Sintassi verbale e sintassi musicale nel melodramma italiano del primo Ottocento,” *Analisi* 7/20 (May 1997), 2–17, who cites Emanuele Bidera, *Euritmia drammatico-musicale* (Palermo: Stabilimento tipografico dell’Armonia, 1853), pp. 82–89, and Abramo Basevi, *Studio sulle opere di Giuseppe Verdi*, p. 24.
 9. See James A. Hepokoski, “*Ottocento Opera* as Cultural Drama: Generic Mixtures in *Il trovatore*,” in Martin Chusid (ed.), *Verdi’s Middle Period*, pp. 147–96. Since it is still occasionally cited, it seems necessary to point out how far from Verdi’s practice is Luigi Dallapiccola’s suggestion that in arias the climax corresponds to the third line of text; see Dallapiccola, “Parole e musica nel melodramma.”
 10. Basevi comments that in this movement Verdi did not follow convention, but composed a melody almost entirely independent from the initial theme. See *Studio sulle opere di Giuseppe Verdi*, p. 168.
 11. On mixed forms in middle-period operas, see James A. Hepokoski, “Genre and Content in Mid-Century Verdi: ‘Addio, del passato’ (*La traviata*, Act III),” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 1 (1989), 249–76; and Hepokoski, “*Ottocento Opera* as Cultural Drama.”
 12. The version of the text given here is transcribed from the current Ricordi piano-vocal score; the translation is adapted from William Weaver, *Seven Verdi Librettos* (New York and London: Norton, 1975), p. 205.

13. Strictly speaking, lines 1 and 3 do not rhyme, since the consonant sound is different: “-ide,” “-ite”; in Italian this is called an “*assonanza*”.
14. See Huebner, “Lyric Form,” 137–38.
15. This is Kerman’s position (“Lyric Form and Flexibility,” 57–58).
16. Roger Parker and Matthew Brown, “Motivic and Tonal Interaction in Verdi’s *Un ballo in maschera*,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36 (1983), 243–65, especially 249–53.
17. Letter from Verdi to Giulio Ricordi, July 10, 1870, in Abbiati, *Giuseppe Verdi*, vol. III, p. 348; date and translation given in Busch (ed. and trans.), *Verdi’s “Aida”*, p. 31, and Gossett, “Verdi, Ghislanzoni and *Aida*,” 296. The expression reappears in two other letters from the summer of 1870 to Antonio Ghislanzoni, the librettist of *Aida* (letters of August 14 and 17, 1870, published in Gaetano Cesari and Alessandro Luzio (eds.), *I copialettere di Giuseppe Verdi*, pp. 639 and 641, and trans. in Busch (ed. and trans.), *Verdi’s “Aida”*, pp. 47 and 50), and more than ten years later in a letter to Arrigo Boito about the reworking of *Simon Boccanegra*, January 15, 1881, published in Mario Medici and Marcello Conati (eds.), *Carteggio Verdi–Boito*, vol. I, pp. 31–32, trans. in Weaver (trans.), *The Verdi–Boito Correspondence*, p. 30. The concept is adumbrated in a letter to Antonio Somma of November 6, 1857 (see Pascolato (ed.), “*Re Lear*” e “*Ballo in maschera*,” pp. 79–81).
- Three of the most recent and detailed discussions of *parola scenica* do not mention the letter to Ricordi, even though they comment on the letter to Somma. See Harold S. Powers, “*Simon Boccanegra* I.10–12: A Generic-Genetic Analysis of the Council Chamber Scene,” *19th-Century Music* 13 (1989–90), 101–28, appendix 3; Fabrizio Della Seta, “‘Parola scenica’ in Verdi e nella critica verdiana,” in Fiamma Nicolodi and Paolo Trovato (eds.), *Le parole della musica I: Studi sulla lingua della letteratura musicale in onore di Gianfranco Folena* (Florence: Olschki, 1994), pp. 259–73; and Daniela Goldin Folena, “Lessico melodrammatico verdiano,” in Maria Teresa Muraro (ed.), *Le parole della musica II: Studi sul lessico della letteratura critica del teatro musicale in onore di Gianfranco Folena* (Florence: Olschki, 1995), pp. 227–53.
18. Powers, “*Simon Boccanegra* I.10–12,” 128.
19. Della Seta, “‘Parola scenica.’”
20. “La parola che scolpisce e rende netta ed evidente la situazione” (letter to Ghislanzoni of August 17, 1870; see note 17 above).

21. See Powers, “*Simon Boccanegra* I.10–12,” 128. Strictly speaking, Nabucco’s words do not launch the *stretta*, but provoke the lightning that strikes him. It is to this scenic event that the *stretta* responds.
22. See Harold S. Powers, “Making *Macbeth* Musicabile,” in *Giuseppe Verdi: “Macbeth”*, *English National Opera Guide* 41 (London: Calder; New York: Riverrun, 1990), pp. 13–36; Pierluigi Petrobelli, “Verdi’s Musical Thought: An Example from *Macbeth*,” in Petrobelli, *Music in the Theater*, pp. 141–52.
23. Other instances of *parole sceniche* placed immediately before a set piece and not mentioned by Powers are Leonora’s “M’avrai, ma fredda, esanime spoglia” and Luna’s “Colui vivrà” before the *cabaletta* of their duet in Act IV of *Il trovatore*; Leonora’s “Son tua, son tua col core e con la vita” before the *cabaletta* of the Leonora-Alvaro duet in Act I of *La forza del destino*; and Amonasro’s “Non sei mi figlia! Dei Faraoni tu sei la schiava” before the “non-*cabaletta*” of the Aida-Amonasro duet in Act III of *Aida*. For the last example, see Petrobelli, “Music in the Theater (Apropos of *Aida*, Act III),” in Petrobelli, *Music in the Theater*, pp. 116–17. Petrobelli considers “Dei Faraoni tu sei la schiava” as the *parola scenica*, but I would say that the situation is carved out by the opposition between “Non sei mia figlia” and “Dei Faraoni tu sei la schiava,” and that therefore the *parola scenica* comprises the two lines shouted by Amonasro – an interpretation supported by Verdi’s setting.
24. See David Rosen, “How Verdi’s Serious Operas End,” in Angelo Pompilio *et al.* (eds.), *Atti del xiv Congresso*, vol. III, pp. 443–50; reprinted in *Verdi Newsletter* 20 (1992), 9–15.
25. Notable exceptions by which Verdi might have been inspired are Rossini’s *Otello*, in which the protagonist shouts “Punito m’avrà” and kills himself, all the other characters on stage exclaim “Ah!” and a few measures of the orchestra bring the curtain down; and especially Donizetti’s revolutionary *Maria di Rohan*, which ends with the baritone Chevreuse’s tensely declamatory “La morte a lui! . . . La vita coll’infamia a te, donna infedel.” Words with similar potential had been available to Verdi earlier in his career – for example, Loredano’s “Pagato ora sono!” (*I due Foscari*) – but he did not set them in musical relief: Loredano’s exclamation is virtually inaudible.
26. Translation adapted from Hans Busch (ed. and trans.), *Verdi’s “Otello” and “Simon*

Boccanegra”, vol. II, pp. 443–44; *Disposizione scenica per l’opera “Simon Boccanegra” di Giuseppe Verdi* (Milan: Ricordi, [1883]), p. 16; facsimile ed. in Marcello Conati and Natalia Grilli (eds.), *“Simon Boccanegra” di Giuseppe Verdi* (Milan: Ricordi, 1993).

27. See Carl Dahlhaus, “Drammaturgia dell’opera italiana,” in Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli (eds.), *Teorie e tecniche, immagini e fantasmi, Storia dell’opera italiana*, vol. VI (Turin: EDT/Musica, 1988), especially pp. 102–4.

28. For a reading of Verdi’s recurring themes, especially in *Aida*, in the light of their visual, bodily qualities, see Mary Ann Smart, “Ulterior Motives: Verdi’s Recurring Themes Revisited,” in Mary Ann Smart (ed.), *Siren Songs*, pp. 135–59.

29. Translation adapted from Busch (ed. and trans.), *Verdi’s “Otello” and “Simon Boccanegra”*, vol. II, p. 604; *Disposizione scenica per l’opera “Otello”* (Milan: Ricordi, [1887]), p. 91; facsimile ed. in James A. Hepokoski and Mercedes Viale Ferrero (eds.), *“Otello” di Giuseppe Verdi* (Milan: Ricordi, 1990).

30. Marco Beghelli has investigated word painting in Verdi from a semiotic point of view, as one of the modes that performative musical acts can assume. See “Per un nuovo approccio al teatro musicale: l’atto performativo come luogo dell’imitazione gestuale nella drammaturgia verdiana,” *Italica* 64 (1987), 632–53; “Performative Musical Acts: The Verdian Achievement,” in Eero Tarasti (ed.), *Musical Signification: Essays in the Semiotic Theory and Analysis of Music* (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1995), pp. 393–412; and “Semiotic Categories for the Analysis of *melodramma*,” *Contemporary Music Review* 17/3 (1998), 29–42.

31. See Roger Parker, “‘Infin che un brando vindice’ e le cavatine del primo atto di *Ernani*,” in Pierluigi Petrobelli (ed.), *“Ernani” ieri e oggi*, pp. 142–60.

32. I have discussed these examples more extensively in “Verdi’s Luisa, a Semiserious Alpine Virgin,” *19th-Century Music* 22 (1998–99), 144–68, especially 157–59, which includes musical examples.

33. See Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, rev. ed. (Oxford, 1992), vol. II, p. 83.

34. See Marco Beghelli, “Lingua dell’autocaricatura nel *Falstaff*,” in Gianfranco Folena et al. (eds.), *Opera e libretto II*, pp. 351–80.

35. In this context the term “madrigale” indicates early vocal music in general, including the vocalizing “excesses” of eighteenth-century opera, especially *opera seria*, so despised during the nineteenth century. In his setting of the *madrigale* “Sulla vetta tu del monte” in Act II of *Manon Lescaut* (premiered eight days before *Falstaff*) Puccini made ample use of gently ironic “madrigalisms,” but, while (appropriately for a *madrigale*) the text pokes fun at sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian pastoral poetry, Puccini’s music (adapted from a youthful Agnus Dei) parodies the style of eighteenth-century opera.

36. Letter from Boito to Verdi of July 12, 1889, in Medici and Conati (eds.), *Carteggio Verdi–Boito*, vol. I, p. 150; trans. in Weaver (trans.), *The Verdi–Boito Correspondence*, pp. 145–46.

7 French influences

1. Letter of April 21, 1868, trans. in Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, rev. ed. (Oxford, 1992), vol. III, p. 26.

2. In reaction to a warning by the poet Giuseppe Giusti to shun foreign influences, Verdi responded, “If we want something that is at least effective, then we must, to our shame, resort to things that are not ours.” Letter of March 27, 1847, trans. in Mary Jane Phillips-Matz, *Verdi*, pp. 207–8.

3. In Milan, where he spent much time between 1832 (the beginning of his studies with Vincenzo Lavigna) and 1847 (when he first traveled to Paris), Verdi may have had the opportunity to acquaint himself with French theatre. French was the language of the educated classes, and French plays, often presented in the style of the *mélodrame*, were much in vogue and frequently performed at the Teatro Re and the Teatro Carcano. These *mélodrames*, with their mixture of comedy and tragedy, speech and song, and acting and dancing, first became popular at the Parisian boulevard theatres. They soon began to leave their mark on the more serious genre of the *drame*, mainly in their overtures, music for scene changes, *entr’actes*, musical underpinning for stage action, and melodrama (that is, spoken dialogue over a musical background). In fact, the *mélodrame* became the most progressive theatrical genre and influenced the plays of Victor Hugo and Alexandre Dumas *père*, among others. Representative works of this genre often made their way across the Alps within a few weeks,

a period that included translation and rehearsals. It is unknown whether Verdi saw any of these works, serious or popular, in Milan. From the time of his first stay in Paris in 1847, however, we have evidence that he attended and enjoyed *mélodrames* at the boulevard theatres. See Marcello Conati, “Verdi et la culture parisienne des années 1830,” in *La vie musicale en France au XIXe siècle*, vol. IV: *La musique à Paris dans les années mil huit cent trente*, ed. Peter Bloom (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1987), p. 214; Emilio Sala, “Verdi and the Parisian Boulevard Theatre, 1847–49,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 7 (1995), 190–91; and Piero Weiss, “Verdi and the Fusion of Genres,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35 (1982), 148.

4. *Giuseppe Verdi: “Macbeth”*, ed. Walter Ducloux (New York: Schirmer, 1969), p. 6. Misaccentuation is heard especially in the Act III chorus “Tre volte miagola la gatta in collera.” In the section starting with “Tu rospo venefico,” the weak final syllable of lines is often strongly accented.

5. His major periods of residence were July 1847 to early April 1848, May 1848 to December 1848, and January or February 1849 to the end of July 1849.

6. Letter to Cammarano of May 17, 1849, trans. in Weiss, “Verdi and the Fusion of Genres,” 149. With regard to other Verdi operas, the influence of the boulevard theatres most likely went beyond the structure and content of the libretto, including details of musical dramaturgy and even melodic ideas. Emilio Sala (“Verdi and the Parisian Boulevard Theatre, 1847–49,” 196 and 201) has recently attempted to show, for example, that a chorus from Alphonse Varney’s music for Dumas and Auguste Maquet’s *Le chevalier de maison-rouge* (1847) bears a strong resemblance to the opening chorus of *La battaglia di Legnano* (1849), while another *mélodrame*, Emile Souvestre and Eugène Bourgeois’s *Le pasteur, ou L’évangile et le foyer* (1849), with music of uncertain authorship, may have provided musico-dramatic ideas for *Stiffelio* (1850).

7. Letter of May 8, 1850, to Piave; quoted in Franco Abbiati, *Giuseppe Verdi*, vol. II, p. 62. Verdi found dramatic inspiration not only in French plays but also in French operas. The most famous instance is the Act IV finale of *Les vêpres siciliennes*, modeled on the Act IV finale of Meyerbeer’s *Le prophète* (1849).

8. “Di qual opera francese parla qui il periodico di Berlino? La vera fisonomia [sic]

della melodia francese noi non la sapremmo ravvisare che nelle opere comiche. Nell’opera seria, il cui maggior tempio è il grand’*Opéra*, com’altri osservò, la musica francese è cosmopolita; ed infatti ben rado nelle grandi opere che si rappresentano a quel teatro ci viene fatto di scorgere i vizi inerenti alla melodia ed alla musica francese in generale.” “Aristocrazie musicali,” *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* 18 (1860), 57. See also Carl Dahlhaus, “Französische Musik und Musik in Paris,” *Lendemains* 31–32 (1983), 6.

9. Julian Budden, “Aria,” in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, 4 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1992), vol. I, p. 176. Both forms appear in Meyerbeer’s earliest examples of grand opera, mainly *Robert le diable* (1831) and *Les huguenots* (1833).

10. James A. Hepokoski, “*Ottocento Opera as Cultural Drama: Generic Mixtures in Il trovatore*,” in Martin Chusid (ed.), *Verdi’s Middle Period*, pp. 157 and 161, suggests that Verdi seems to have associated strophic forms with middle- and lower-class subjects and characters, and lyric form with aristocratic ones. Abramo Basevi, the author of the first extended study of Verdi’s works up to *Aroldo*, also alludes, though vaguely, to such an analogy. See Basevi, *Studio sulle opere di Giuseppe Verdi*, pp. 230–31.

11. Subscript numerals indicate the number of measures in a phrase.

12. For a discussion of lyric form, see Emanuele Senici’s essay in chapter 6 above, pp. 92–93. The French repertory includes numerous examples of strophic arias with refrains. For possible models of Verdi’s strophic songs with refrain, see James A. Hepokoski, “Genre and Content in Mid-Century Verdi: ‘Addio, del passato’ (*La traviata*, Act III),” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 1 (1989), 260–61; and Hepokoski, “*Ottocento Opera as Cultural Drama*,” 150–66.

13. The early nineteenth-century French theorist Antoine Reicha discussed strophic songs under the category of “chansons et romances”: “*La fraîcheur et la légèreté du chant doivent faire le caractère principal de la Chanson et de la Romance.*

L’accompagnement doit par conséquent en être également frais et léger. Tout ce qui est lourd tue cette sorte de production.” (“The freshness and lightness of the melody must make up the principal character of the *chanson* and *romance*. The accompaniment must consequently be equally fresh and light. Anything heavy kills this sort of

composition.”) Antoine Reicha, *L'art du compositeur dramatique* (Paris: Farrenc, 1833), p. 31. The two strophic arias in *Rigoletto* (the Duke's “Questa o quella,” I, 1, and “La donna è mobile,” III, 2) lack a refrain.

14. Compare this approach with Angèle's “Chanson aragonaise” from Auber's highly popular *Le domino noir* (1837), where the effect also derives from the discrepancy between accompanimental and melodic accents and from the melody's irregular rhythmic groups. Henri's “La brise souffle” (V, 2) draws its effect at least in part from the discrepancy of prosodic and accompanimental accents. Verdi not only drew on French forms but occasionally also alluded to (or even borrowed) French melodies. See Julian Budden, “Verdi and Meyerbeer in Relation to *Les vêpres siciliennes*,” *Studi verdiani* 1 (1982), 11–20.

15. Procida's “Et toi, Palerme” (II, 1) is also in ABA' form.

16. “Quand il se trouve deux ou plusieurs de ces Choeurs en même temps sur la scène, et qu'ils chantent alternativement, le Compositeur imprimera à chacun le caractère qui lui est propre pour le distinguer des autres.” (“If there are two or more of these choruses on stage at the same time, and if they sing in alternation, the composer imprints on each one the character that is appropriate to distinguish it from the others.”) Reicha, *L'art du compositeur dramatique*, p. 64. Reicha considered it impossible truly to display different emotions simultaneously; nevertheless, examples of simultaneous but distinct emotions occur regularly in French grand opera. A particularly good example is provided by the triple chorus (Catholic women, Protestant soldiers, and Catholic men) in Act III of Meyerbeer's *Les huguenots*.

17. Markus Engelhardt, “‘Something's Been Done to Make Room for Choruses’: Choral Conception and Choral Construction in Luisa Miller,” in Chusid (ed.), *Verdi's Middle Period*, p. 199.

18. For a useful description of this finale, see Markus Engelhardt, *Die Chöre in den frühen Opern Giuseppe Verdis* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Würzburg, 1986; Tutzing: Schneider, 1988), pp. 215–17; and Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, vol. I, pp. 412–14. In the prologue of *Giovanna d'Arco* (1845), Verdi juxtaposed a chorus of demons and a chorus of angels. The two choruses are combined for only a few measures, however, and lack the aspects of both continuity and grandeur.

19. “Nel principio, avanti il tempio di S. Ambrogio, vorrei unire insieme due o tre cantilene differenti: vorrei per esempio che i preti all'interno, il popolo al difuori, avessero un metro a parte e Lida un cantabile con un metro differente: lasciate poi a me la cura di unirli. Si potrebbe anche (se credete) coi preti mettere dei versetti latini . . . fate come credete meglio, ma badate che quel punto deve essere d'effetto.” Undated letter, in Cesari and Luzio (eds.), *I copialettere*, p. 56.

20. For an explanation of Italian syllable count and poetic accentuation, see chapter 5 above, pp. 70–72; see also Andreas Giger, “The Role of Giuseppe Verdi's French Operas in the Transformation of His Melodic Style” (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1999), pp. 18–36 (French) and 52–58 (Italian).

21. “Le morceau qui a fait littéralement *furor* (jamais le mot n'a mieux été appliqué) est un double chœur chanté par des conjurés sur la scène, et par des dames et des seigneurs qui passent dans une barque. Ce beau chant s'élevant d'abord dans le lointain, se rapprochant, peu à peu, et s'éteignant *pianissimo*, produit un effet magique.” *Le constitutionnel*, June 15, 1855; quoted in Hervé Gartioux (ed.), *Giuseppe Verdi, “Les vêpres siciliennes”: Dossier de presse parisienne (1855)* (n.p.: Lucie Galland, 1995), p. 42.

22. Knud Arne Jürgensen, *The Verdi Ballets* (Parma: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Verdiani, 1995), p. 7.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 83 and 87.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 78–79.

25. “Nel terzo atto v'ha di nuovo il ballo che ha tutto il sapore della musica moderna: sono tre pezzi che corrispondono a tre capolavori di musica sinfonica.” Quoted in Jürgensen, *The Verdi Ballets*, p. 88.

26. See William Edward Runyan, “Orchestration in Five French Grand Operas” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1983), p. 4; and Teresa Klier, *Der Verdi-Klang: Die Orchesterkonzeption in den Opern von Giuseppe Verdi* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Würzburg, 1995; Tutzing: Schneider, 1998), p. 205.

27. For Meyerbeer, see Runyan, “Orchestration in Five French Grand Operas,” pp. 220 and 223.

28. The autograph shows rests for the ophicleide and crossed-out chords for the trombones. According to Ursula Günther (“La genèse de *Don Carlos*, opéra en cinq actes de Giuseppe Verdi, représenté pour la

première fois à Paris le 11 mars 1867,” *Revue de musicologie* 60 (1974), 141), *pianissimo* chords for the ophicleide and the trombones were part of the original conception. They were removed in the course of the rehearsals and finally reinstated (with different spacing) for the 1884 version. My excerpt shows the version of the 1867 premiere.

29. See Alberto Mazzucato, “Il profeta,” *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* 13 (1855), 187.

30. See Scott L. Balthazar, “The Rhythm of Text and Music in ‘Ottocento’ Melody: An Empirical Reassessment in Light of Contemporary Treatises,” *Current Musicology* 49 (1992), 6–9; see also Giger, “The Role of Giuseppe Verdi’s French Operas,” pp. 75–79.

31. Typical examples include “Merci, jeunes amies” and “La brise souffle au loin” (both from *Les vêpres siciliennes*, V, 2). Louis Benloew, *Précis d’une théorie des rythmes*, vol. I: *Rythmes français et rythmes latins* (Paris: Franck, 1862), pp. 20–24, encourages scanning when a composer wants to flatter the ear.

32. “[Le compositeur] fasse un chant vague, sans caractère déterminé, qui ne fasse pas trop sentir le rythme, et qui ne choque pas trop la prosodie.” Quoted in A. Fleury, “Du rythme dans la poésie chantée,” *Études religieuses, philosophiques* 60 (November 1893), 345. Castil-Blaze preferred French lines with regular accentual structures based on the most regular Italian models. Creating a “vague melody” thus presents only the least bad solution to a problem that could be avoided altogether by the choice of regularly accented verse.

33. A majority of the theorists argued for stress accent. In the eighteenth century, however, and again in the twentieth century, they predominantly argued for an accent of duration. See Giger, “The Role of Giuseppe Verdi’s French Operas,” pp. 21–23.

34. The French count up to the last accented syllable of their lines, the Italians up to the subsequent unaccented syllable, whether it is actually present or not. An Italian line of a specific length thus corresponds to the French type of one fewer syllable (e.g. a *settenario* is equivalent to a *vers de six syllabes*).

35. Another line type without a commonly used equivalent in Italian opera is the *décasyllabe* (the line of ten syllables according to the French system) with its customary caesura on the fourth syllable. The popular “Et toi, Palerme” (*Les vêpres siciliennes*, II, 1) belongs to this category, and the accentual structure indeed led to an unusual melodic rhythm in Verdi’s setting. See Giger, “The

Role of Giuseppe Verdi’s French Operas,” pp. 227–30.

36. For the Italian concept, see, for example, Geremia Vitali, *La musica ne’ suoi principj nuovamente spiegata* (Milan: Ricordi, 1847), pp. 11–12; for the French concept, see Aldino Aldini, “Premières représentations. Théâtre impérial italien: *Un ballo in maschera*, opéra en quatre actes, par. G. Verdi,” *La France musicale* 25 (1861), 18, and the reviews of Meyerbeer’s operas collected and annotated by Marie-Hélène Coudroy, *La critique parisienne des “grands opéras” de Meyerbeer: “Robert le diable” – “Les huguenots” – “Le prophète” – “L’africaine”* (Saarbrücken: Galland, 1988), *passim*.

37. “Che se non si frange si tramuta in diverso disegno, s’avvia per sentiero nuovo ed inatteso, a tale che la seconda parte di essa non sembra più avere regolare relazione colla prima.” Mazzucato, “Il profeta,” 187.

38. Some critics saw in *Les vêpres siciliennes* a purely Italian work, Mazzucato positively, Basevi negatively.

39. “Fra i difetti notati in questo spartito è capitale quello che si riferisce alla mancanza di nesso e di relazione fra i pensieri melodici; di guisa che più presto che fusi appaiono cuciti fra loro, con danno del linguaggio musicale il quale, comunque composto di frazioni regolarissime in sè, sembra così procedere senza intendimento alcuno.” Pietro Torrigiani, “*I vespri siciliani* a Parma,” *L’armonia* 1/2(1856), 6. The first typical examples of this procedure, which Budden

(*The Operas of Verdi*, vol. III, p. 107) has called the *Aida* manner, occur in *Les vêpres siciliennes* (for example, in the Act II duet between Henri and Hélène, the beginning of which appears in example). For an analysis, see Giger, “The Role of Giuseppe Verdi’s French Operas,” pp. 224–25 and 253–60.

40. Translation by Andrew Porter.

8 Structural coherence

1. See Christensen’s essay “Music Theory and Its Histories,” in Christopher Hatch and David W. Bernstein (eds.), *Music Theory and the Exploration of the Past* (University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 9–39.

2. From an essay first published in 1972 and reprinted as “Toward an Explanation of the Dramatic Structure of *Il trovatore*,” in Pierluigi Petrobelli, *Music in the Theater*, pp. 100–101.

3. Roger Parker, “Motives and Recurring Themes in *Aida*,” in Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker (eds.), *Analyzing Opera*, p. 228.

To be fair to Parker, it should be noted that this statement comes in the context of a discussion about the difficulty of attaching semantic labels to motivic transformations.

4. For the first issue see the warnings of Gary Tomlinson in “Musical Pasts and Postmodern Musicologies: A Response to Lawrence Kramer,” *Current Musicology* 53 (1993), 23.

For the second see Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker, “Introduction: On Analyzing Opera,” in Abbate and Parker (eds.), *Analyzing Opera*, p. 3.

5. James Webster, “To Understand Verdi and Wagner We Must Understand Mozart,” *19th-Century Music* 11 (1987–88), 175–93. Webster prefers to separate “unity” from “coherence,” whereas I see the former as one way of understanding the latter and both as subject to the interpretive agenda of the critic.

6. *Ibid.*, 191.

7. I borrow this use of the term “natural selection” from Leonard B. Meyer, “A Universe of Universals,” *Journal of Musicology* 16 (1998), 4.

8. For a brief description of a semiological method that employs the neutral level, see Jean-Jacques Nattiez, *Music and Discourse: Toward a Semiology of Music*, trans. Carolyn Abbate (Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 3–37.

9. The expression “authentic analysis” was coined by Peter Schubert in “Authentic Analysis,” *Journal of Musicology* 12 (1994), 3–18.

10. Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, rev. ed. (Oxford, 1992), vol. I, p. 15. Some today would argue that the case for tonal planning in Mozart is not as clear cut as Budden implies. See John Platoff, “Myths and Realities about Tonal Planning in Mozart’s Operas,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 8 (1996), 3–15; Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker, “Dismembering Mozart,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 2 (1990), 187–95; and James Webster, “Mozart’s Operas and the Myth of Musical Unity,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 2 (1990), 197–218. It will become evident from my discussion in this chapter that I would question the use of the word “myth” – broadly speaking, something fictitious as opposed to something real – in this context.

11. Stanley Fish, *Professional Correctness: Literary Studies and Political Change* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 29.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

13. See his important article “Some Difficulties in the Historiography of Italian Opera,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 10 (1998), 3–13.

14. Inevitably there has been an immense amount of filling in, not always in the same way and with the same purpose.

15. Letter dated April 4, 1851, cited by Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, vol. II, p. 61.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 62. It may be that Verdi presented extreme requirements to Cammarano not as a way to break down set pieces but to shake him out of conservative complacency. The score of *Il trovatore* ended up having relatively traditional numbering.

17. Cited by Marcello Conati, *Encounters with Verdi*, trans. Richard Stokes (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984), p. 109. In my view such a remark should not be taken to mean that Verdi embraced Wagnerism, but rather as a signal that the Italian tradition could reform itself.

18. See Julian Budden, “Verdi and Meyerbeer in Relation to *Les vêpres siciliennes*,” *Studi verdiani* 1 (1982), 14–15.

19. Scott Balthazar traces developments in “Aspects of Form in the *Ottocento* Libretto,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 7 (1995), 23–35.

20. “È probabilissimo che abbassi d’un mezzo tono il quartetto. Così strilla troppo, et tutti quei *si* di soprano et tenore sono troppo arditì.” Letter to Giulio Ricordi postmarked October 21, 1886, cited in *Fine Printed and Manuscript Music: Friday 4 December 1998* (London: Sothebys, 1998), pp. 133–34. I am grateful to Emanuele Senici for this reference. The degree of emphasis to give to either “event” or “fixed work” in evaluating Verdi’s remark is unclear: perhaps other singers might have performed the quartet without leaving an impression of “shrieking.” Or perhaps Verdi felt this flaw was inherent in the way he had scored the piece (in B major) and would be irredeemable regardless of the cast.

21. See James Hepokoski, “Verdi’s Composition of *Otello*: The Act II Quartet,” in Abbate and Parker, eds., *Analyzing Opera*, pp. 143–49.

22. Powers’s analysis of the components of “la solita forma” here has a good deal to recommend it, but for a warning about rigid applications of the Rossinian prototype after mid-century see Scott L. Balthazar, “Analytic Contexts and Mediated Influences: The Rossinian *Convenienze* and Verdi’s Middle and Late Duets,” *Journal of Musicological Research* 10 (1990), 19–45.

23. Harold S. Powers, “One Halfstep at a Time: Tonal Transposition and ‘Split Association’ in Italian Opera,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 7 (1995), 157. Powers is vague about the chronology of composition, however. In the initial continuity draft of *Rigoletto* the four statements of “Quel vecchio maledivami!” received three melodies in three different keys (F, D flat, and E flat). According to evidence presented by Martin Chusid, around the same time that Verdi composed the continuity draft for Act II he entered Act I into the autograph full score, a process during which he introduced the emphasis on pitch class C in the curse music. See “Introduction,” *Rigoletto*, ed. Martin Chusid, *The Works of Giuseppe Verdi*, vol. XVII (University of Chicago Press; Milan: Ricordi, 1983), p. xix. Baritone *c*¹ might therefore already have been given a great deal of importance when Verdi came up with his *first* key scheme for the Act II Gilda-Rigoletto duet. This does not invalidate Powers’s observation but does cause one to wonder why “resonances” with baritone *c*¹ “forced themselves irresistibly on Verdi’s attention” at one time and not another.

24. Powers, “One Halfstep at a Time,” 136.

25. Cited in “Introduction,” *Il trovatore*, ed. David Lawton, *The Works of Giuseppe Verdi*, vol. XVIIIa (University of Chicago Press; Milan: Ricordi, 1992), p. xiii.

26. David Lawton, “Tonal Structure and Dramatic Action in *Rigoletto*,” *Verdi: Bollettino dell’Istituto di studi verdiani* 3/9 (1982), 1559–81, which amplifies Lawton’s doctoral dissertation, “Tonality and Drama in Verdi’s Early Operas,” 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1973).

27. *Ibid.*, 1561. For further studies of double cycles, see David Lawton and David Rosen, “Verdi’s Non-Definitive Revisions: The Early Operas,” in Mario Medici and Marcello Pavarani (eds.), *Atti del III Congresso internazionale di studi verdiani*, pp. 216–19; Roger Parker and Matthew Brown, “Motivic and Tonal Interaction in Verdi’s *Un ballo in maschera*,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36 (1983), 243–65; and David Lawton, “Tonal Systems in *Aida*, Act III,” in Abbate and Parker (eds.), *Analyzing Opera*, pp. 262–75.

28. Lawton, “Tonal Structure and Dramatic Action in *Rigoletto*,” 1565.

29. *Ibid.*, 1560. The piece that Lawton cites to substantiate his point is the opening duet in *Le nozze di Figaro*, in which “Every turn in the

action is carefully reflected in the tonal structure.” Though Lawton offers the point as self-evident fact, disagreements about this little piece in recent literature indicate that parallels (and tensions) between drama and music are mainly a matter of interpretation. For Abbate and Parker, “the point of *tonal* resolution [i.e. the recapitulation of this miniature sonata form] is temporally displaced from the moment of *rapprochement* implicit in the text and the action (Figaro at last takes notice of Susanna’s hat)” (“Dismembering Mozart,” 190). For James Webster, the dominant cadence (instead of recapitulation) when Figaro takes up Susanna’s theme means that both are still speaking “past each other” (“To understand Verdi and Wagner,” 183–84). Webster suggests a *process* of *rapprochement* that has several stages – an example of musico-dramatic coherence – whereas Abbate and Parker imply that the libretto calls for a normative musical response – a single point of *rapprochement* that would coincide with the recapitulation in a totally coherent musical setting – from which Mozart’s music deviates.

30. For development of this aspect of the relationship between Gilda and her father, see Elizabeth Hudson, “Gilda Seduced: A Tale Untold,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 4 (1992–93), 229–51.

31. Martin Chusid has connected the transposition of “Caro nome” to the musical relationships between this piece and the E major Act III quartet (“Un dì, se ben rammentomi”) in “The Tonality of *Rigoletto*,” Abbate and Parker (eds.), *Analyzing Opera*, pp. 259–60.

32. Although listener perception is frequently invoked in analysis, it is important to distinguish between the “ideal” listener as the consumer of the analyst’s vicarious recomposition, and real listeners. For consideration of what most listeners *really* hear when it comes to something even as basic as tonal closure in instrumental music, see Nicholas Cook, *Music, Imagination, and Culture* (Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 43–70.

33. Chusid, “The Tonality of *Rigoletto*,” p. 261. On this question see Edward T. Cone, “On the Road to *Otello*: Tonality and Structure in *Simon Boccanegra*,” *Studi verdiani* 1 (1982), 72–98.

34. Siegmund Levarie, “Key Relations in Verdi’s *Un ballo in maschera*,” *19th-Century Music* 2 (1978–79), 143–47.

35. *Ibid.*, 144.

36. Joseph Kerman, "Viewpoint," *19th-Century Music* 2 (1978–79), 190. See also the response by Guy Marco, "On Key Relations in Opera," in *19th-Century Music* 3 (1979–80), 83–88, as well as Levarie's response to Kerman (same issue, 88–89).
37. Kerman, "Viewpoint," 190.
38. Levarie, "Key Relations in Verdi's *Un ballo in maschera*," 143.
39. In addition to the Petrobelli article already cited, William Drabkin elaborates this point in "Characters, Key Relations, and Tonal Structure in *Il trovatore*," *Music Analysis* 1 (1982), 143–53.
40. Scott L. Balthazar, "Plot and Tonal Design as Compositional Constraints in *Il trovatore*," *Current Musicology* 60–61 (1996), 51–77. Balthazar includes a critique of Petrobelli's influential analysis, but does not engage Levarie's observation about a "Neapolitan cadence." His methodology is premised on his own study of the evolution of the nineteenth-century Italian opera libretto in "Aspects of Form in the *Ottocento* Libretto."
41. Martin Chusid, "A New Source for *El trovador* and Its Implications for the Tonal Organization of *Il trovatore*," in Chusid (ed.), *Verdi's Middle Period*, pp. 207–25. See also "The Tonality of *Rigoletto*," "Drama and the Key of F Major in *La traviata*," in Medici and Pavarani (eds.), *Atti del III Congresso internazionale di studi verdiani*, pp. 89–121, and "Evil, Guilt and the Supernatural in Verdi's *Macbeth*: Toward an Understanding of the Tonal Structure and Key Symbolism," in David Rosen and Andrew Porter (eds.), *Verdi's "Macbeth": A Sourcebook* (New York: Norton, 1984), pp. 249–60.
42. Chusid, "A New Source for *El trovador*," p. 217.
43. Parker and Brown, "Motivic and Tonal Interaction in Verdi's *Un ballo in maschera*," 256–62.
44. *Ibid.*, 262–63, 264.
45. See Harold S. Powers, "The 'Laughing Chorus' in Contexts," in *Giuseppe Verdi: "A Masked Ball" / "Un ballo in maschera"*, *English National Opera Guide* 40 (London: Calder; New York: Riverrun, 1989), pp. 23–38.
46. See Cone, "On the Road to *Otello*," 95–98.
47. To contextualize fully the shift from E flat harmony to the key of E major at this point in *Macbeth* it should be noted that the former emerges from a strong articulation of D flat major. The play between D flat and E major (or F flat) is an important recurring tonal element in this opera.

9 Instrumental music in Verdi's operas

1. *Sinfonie* (the Italian term for full-length overtures) were composed for the following operas: *Oberto* (Milan, 1839); *Un giorno di regno* (Milan, 1840); *Nabucco* (Milan, 1842); *Giovanna d'Arco* (Milan, 1845); *Alzira* (Naples, 1845); *La battaglia di Legnano* (Rome, 1849); *Luisa Miller* (Naples, 1849); *Stiffelio* (Trieste, 1850); *Les vêpres siciliennes* (Paris, 1855); *Aroldo* (Rimini, 1857); *La forza del destino* II (Milan, 1869); *Aida* (Milan, 1871, discarded).

In the broadest terms Verdi gradually turned away from the full-scale overture in favor of the relatively brief *preludio*: of the first nine operas (those composed before the breakdown of his health following the premiere of *Attila* in 1846), five, including all of the first three, have *sinfonie*; of the last nine operas (those composed after 1858, the end of the *anni di galera*) only *Forza* II has such a *sinfonia*. Within this overall pattern there was an exceptional burst of new interest in the overture in 1849–50.

2. The Rossini overture is commonly designed as a sonata-form movement without development, preceded by a slow and in part *cantabile* introduction. Recurring standardized features within this overall pattern are described in Philip Gossett's essay "The Overtures of Rossini," *19th-Century Music* 3 (1979–80), 3–31.

3. The former, at rehearsal letter C, is taken from the priests' acclamation of Abigail in Part 2 of the opera; the latter from the Hebrews' denunciation of Ismaelle in Part 1. The theme that might be taken for a "second subject" is from the Nabucco-Abigail duet in Part 3.

References to printed editions of the music are to the following: *Nabucco*, vocal score (Milan: Ricordi, 1963, pl. no. 42312); *Un ballo in maschera*, vocal score (Ricordi, 1968, pl. no. 48180); *Les vêpres siciliennes*, vocal score (Ricordi, 1944, pl. no. 50278); *Macbeth*, vocal score (Ricordi, 1948, pl. no. 42311); *Attila*, vocal score (Ricordi, 1950, pl. no. 53700); *Simon Boccanegra*, vocal score (Ricordi, 1963, pl. no. 47372); *Falstaff*, vocal score (Ricordi, 1964, pl. no. 96000).

4. Budden, *The Operas of Verdi* (London, 1973–81), vol. II, pp. 188–91, supplies concordances.

5. In a letter to Antonio Somma, June 29, 1853, Verdi remarks that he would have composed more Shakespeare operas were it not for the frequency with which the scene changes. Otto Werner (ed.), *Giuseppe Verdi: Briefe*, trans. Egon Wiszniewsky (Berlin:

Henschelverlag 1983), p. 101; originally published in Pascolato (ed.), “*Re Lear*” e “*Ballo in maschera*”.

6. Letter from Verdi to Léon Escudier, March 11, 1865, in David Rosen and Andrew Porter (eds.), *Verdi’s “Macbeth”*, p. 111.

7. See Luca Zoppelli, “‘Stage Music’ in Early Nineteenth-Century Italian Opera,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 2 (1990), 29–39, for a discussion of this question.

8. The topics touched on in this section were first fully expounded in Fabrizio Della Seta, “Il tempo della festa. Su due scene della *Traviata* e su altri luoghi verdiani,” *Studi verdiani* 2 (1983), 108–46.

9. The quotations are from the Verdi–De Sanctis correspondence, April 10, 1855, and April 29 (?), 1855, quoted in Marcello Conati, “Ballabili nei *Vespri*. Con alcune osservazioni su Verdi e la musica popolare,” *Studi verdiani* 1 (1982), 39, 41.

10. June 24, 1855, quoted in Knud Arne Jürgensen, *The Verdi Ballets* (Parma: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Verdiani, 1995), p. 40.

11. Conati, “Ballabili nei *Vespri*,” 32–33.

12. “The orchestra shivers, the flute blows on its fingers, the bows skate over the strings, and the notes snow down.” *La France musicale*, June 24, 1855, quoted in Jürgensen, *The Verdi Ballets*, p. 37.

13. Letter from Verdi to Tito Ricordi, September 23, 1865, in Rosen and Porter (eds.), *Verdi’s “Macbeth”*, p. 123.

14. Letter from Verdi to Léon Escudier, January 23, 1865, in *ibid.*, p. 90.

15. Full details of plot and spectacle are given in Jürgensen, *The Verdi Ballets*, pp. 89–92.

16. Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, vol. I, p. 301.

17. All quotations from the *disposizione scenica* are from Hans Busch (ed. and trans.), *Verdi’s “Otello” and “Simon Boccanegra”*, pp. 430–31.

18. There are in fact three *parlante* episodes in this finale, the first depicting the guests at Flora’s party chatting against a garishly colored *allegro brillante* in much the same style as the party music in Act I; a second, *allegro agitato*, accompanying the gambling scene; a third, *allegro agitato assai vivo*, the argument between Violetta and Alfredo. The instrumental material around which the second of these is fashioned is heard in the first eight measures, and is laid out in the characteristically symmetrical form *a a b b’ a*. The second phase commences as a major-key variant, more brightly scored; but after the *b b’* passage an extended transition brings the music back to the minor key (*a’ a’ b b’ c*). A third phase assumes the shape *a a’ c*, and the fourth and final phase *a b b’ a*, where *a* is a

fading coda. The whole *parlante* is notable for its breadth and regularity; it is the musical embodiment of the outwardly calm, inwardly fraught mood of the dramatic setting.

10 Verdi’s non-operatic works

1. This statement is taken from a paragraph Verdi appended to a *prospetto* of his works compiled by Isidoro Cambiasi (1811–53, co-founder of Ricordi’s *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*). It was reprinted in facsimile and in transcription in *Nel I centenario di Verdi 1813–1913: Numero unico illustrato* (Milan: Pirola, 1913), pp. 4–5.

While a few of Verdi’s earliest compositions have been known for some time, most of them are believed to be lost; in recent years a few have been recovered (discussed below).

2. The autograph is in the Mary Flagler Cary Collection at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York; I am grateful to J. Rigbie Turner for allowing me to study the manuscript. Aldo Oberdorfer, “Elenco delle opere di G. Verdi,” in his *Giuseppe Verdi: Autobiografia dalle lettere*, 2nd ed., ed. Marcello Conati (Milan: Rizzoli, 1981), p. 484, placed the work in 1833; Pietro Spada, *Giuseppe Verdi: Inediti per tenore* (Milan: Suvini Zerboni, 1977), p. 4, dated it 1835; more recent publications date it ca. 1836.

3. Julian Budden, *Verdi* (London: J. M. Dent, 1985), pp. 303–5.

4. “L’esule” and “La seduzione” were initially issued together. The latter song was also published separately, but Cecil Hopkinson, *A Bibliography of the Works of Giuseppe Verdi, 1813–1901*, 2 vols. (New York: Broude Brothers, 1973–78), vol. I, pp. 41 and 46, found no evidence that the former piece had been issued independently.

5. In addition to the flute part published in the piano score, the autograph has an additional page apparently inserted by the publisher with an alternative, much extended, and even more virtuosic variant of Verdi’s flute obbligato part written, in all likelihood, by the famous flutist Giuseppe Rabboni. For information about the added flute part and Rabboni, see the introduction to Marco Marica (ed.), *Giuseppe Verdi, “Notturmo”* (Milan: Museo Teatrale alla Scala; Parma: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Verdiani, 2000), especially pp. 28–29 and 34–35. If Verdi originally composed this piece for the Società Filarmonica of Busseto, he may have intended the flute part for his father-in-law Antonio Barezzi, who played in the ensemble.

6. See Frank Walker, “Goethe’s ‘Erste Verlust’ Set to Music by Verdi: An Unknown

Composition,” *Music Review* 9 (1948), 13–17, the first publication of the song; the piece is also discussed by Franco Schlitzer in *Mondo teatrale dell’Ottocento* (Naples: Fausto Fiorentino, 1954), pp. 125–27. Walker believed that one lengthy phrase in this song prefigures the “Di quell’amor” passage from *La traviata* (“Goethe’s ‘Erste Verlust,’” 15).

7. The title of the song was printed incorrectly in Hopkinson, *Bibliography*, vol. I, p. 85, as “Cupa e il sepolcre mutolo,” as was the date of its composition, as July 7, 1873. The worklist compiled by Andrew Porter for Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1980), lists it as “Cupo è il sepolcro mutolo,” with the incorrect year. For additional information, see the introduction to Antonio Rostagno (ed.), *Giuseppe Verdi, “Cupo è il sepolcro e mutolo” per canto e pianoforte* (Milan: Museo Teatrale alla Scala; Parma: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Verdiani, 2000).

8. Rostagno convincingly argues for Maffei’s authorship in the introduction to his edition of the song, *ibid.*

9. Since Piave was in Rome with Verdi and had attended Ferretti’s *accademie* for several years, it is altogether possible that he was the author of the poetry. Of course, since Ferretti was also a librettist, it could be his.

10. Ferretti apparently had three daughters – Cristina, Chiara, and Barbara – and the literature on this piece contains conflicting attributions for the dedicatee of the album. See Pietro Spada, “Verdi in un salotto romano,” in Adrian Belli and Ceccarius (eds.), *Verdi e Roma: Celebrazione verdiana 27 gennaio 1951* (Rome: Teatro dell’Opera di Roma, 1951), pp. 41–48.

11. According to Hopkinson, *Bibliography*, vol. I, p. 33, the first Italian edition of the songs bore a dedication to “Don Giuseppe de Salamanca, Gentiluomo di S. M. G. Donna Isabella Ila.”

12. In the autograph Verdi originally titled the song “La sera.” There is also an autograph copy of a slightly different setting of the first two stanzas of Maffei’s poem, dated June 1, 1845, at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. Verdi and Maffei enjoyed a fairly close personal and professional relationship during this time, collaborating on a number of projects including, above all, *Macbeth* and *I masnadieri*.

13. Two versions of this song exist. Both are in F major and are 118 measures long. Variants occur primarily in the opening strophe, which recurs at the close of the song.

14. It is possible that Verdi composed this song while he was in London in spring and summer 1847 preparing for the premiere of *I masnadieri*, the opera he had created expressly for Her Majesty’s Theatre and the publisher Lucca.

15. Hopkinson, *Bibliography*, vol. I, p. 62. He also noted that “Il poveretto” was used as an aria (“Prends pitié de sa jeunesse”) for Maddalena in *Rigoletto* for a French performance. See also Patrick Schmid, “Maddalena’s Aria,” *AIVS Newsletter* 5 (June 1978), 4–7, and Budden, *Verdi*, pp. 306–7, who also reported that the performance took place at the Théâtre de la Monnaie in Brussels where the singer who portrayed Maddalena insisted on an aria.

16. Frank Walker referred to “Il poveretto” in “L’abandonnée: A Forgotten Song,” *Verdi: Bollettino dell’Istituto di studi verdiani* 2 (1960), 787.

17. The identification and history of the publication of the work is discussed by Walker in *ibid.*, 785–89.

18. Budden, *Verdi*, p. 307.

19. A facsimile of the autograph was published and the piece discussed in Nullo Musini, “Giuseppe Verdi a Trieste. Una ‘berceuse’ inedita del Maestro,” *Aurea Parma: Rivista di lettere, arte, e storia* 35 (1951), 199–202, and in Giuseppe Stefani, *Verdi e Trieste* (Trieste: Editore il Comune, 1951), pp. 64–68.

20. The composition is discussed by Fortunato Ortombina in “Sgombra, o gentil’: un dono di Verdi all’amico Delfico,” *Studi verdiani* 8 (1992), 104–17, including a facsimile of the autograph and a transcription.

21. Paolo De Grazia, “Una musica di Giuseppe Verdi,” *Rivista musicale italiana* 45 (1941), 230–32, brought this song to light in 1941. De Grazia also noted that in 1858 Sole asked Verdi to set his recently published poem “Il viggianese”; he believes there may also have been a plan for Verdi to set a libretto by Sole, *Il mercato di Smirne*.

22. The text Verdi set was the first of Dall’Ongaro’s *stornelli*, written on August 4, 1847, and published in his *Stornelli italiani* of 1848, reissued in the early 1860s. Although Mario Cantù reported in his “‘Il brigidino’: così Verdi musicò il Tricolore,” in Giuseppe Dall’Ongaro, *I tordi e il professore* (Rome: Altana, 1997), p. 103, that the song was composed in March 1861, the autograph he reproduced, i.e. the one Verdi presented to Piroli, was written on the embossed stationery of “La Camera dei Deputati” with

hand-drawn staves and signed “G Verdi Torino 24 maggio 1862.” “Il brigidino” is also discussed in Cantù’s introduction to the score issued in Milan by Sonzogno in 1948, and by Gustavo Marchesi in “Le liriche da camera di Giuseppe Verdi,” *La civiltà musicale di Parma* (Parma: Fondazione Verdi, 1989), p. 185.

23. Budden, *Verdi*, p. 308, gave the singer’s surname as “Galli.”

24. The *Album per canto a beneficio del poeta F. M. Piave* (Milan: Ricordi, 1869) contains six songs in all. In addition to the *stornello* by Verdi there are works by Auber (“L’esultanza,” a *melodia* with poetry by Achille de Lauzières), Antonio Cagnoni (“Pensiero d’amore,” a *romanza* with poetry by Giuseppe Torre), Federico Ricci (“Lamento”), Ambroise Thomas (“Sola! Canzone danese” with poetry by de Lauzières), and Saverio Mercadante (“L’abbandonata,” a *romanza* dedicated to Giuseppina Strepponi).

25. A set of sacred duets was discussed by Hans Redlich and Frank Walker, “Gesù morì,” an Unknown Early Verdi Manuscript,” *Music Review* 20 (1959), 232–43, who believed the music was by Verdi. This manuscript has, however, been shown to be a forgery; see David Stivender, “The Composer of *Gesù morì*,” *AIVS Newsletter* 2 (December 1976), 6–7.

Another false attribution, though not of sacred music, should be noted here as well. A hymn titled “La madre e la patria” and a “Marcia funebre,” reproduced in facsimile and discussed by George Martin, *Aspects of Verdi*, pp. 144–53, are not works by Verdi.

26. For further discussion of the song, see Pierluigi Petrobelli, “On Dante and Italian Music: Three Moments,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 2 (1989), 219–49, especially 237–38.

27. Walker, “Goethe’s ‘Erste Verlust,’” 17. Correspondence between Verdi and Boito about this work can be found in Luzio (ed.), *Carteggi verdiani*, vol. II, pp. 185–87.

28. The Sinfonia in D Major is discussed in detail in Roberta Montemorra Marvin, “A Verdi Autograph and the Problem of Authenticity,” *Studi verdiani* 9 (1993), 36–61. See also the facsimile of the autograph and published edition of the work, Roberta Montemorra Marvin (ed.), *Giuseppe Verdi: Sinfonia in re maggiore* (Milan: Museo Teatrale alla Scala; Parma: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Verdiani, 2000).

There is also some documentation of a youthful *sinfonia* titled “La capricciosa” which Verdi supposedly wrote when he was twelve years old. It was performed for the

inauguration of the Teatro Verdi in Busseto on August 5, 1868. For more information on this piece, see Almerindo Napolitano, *Il teatro Verdi di Busseto* (Parma: La Nazionale, 1968).

29. Following the publication of the *Romanza*, Ricordi, in an unpublished letter dated December 16, 1865, responded to Verdi’s inquiry concerning how the piece came to be published by reminding the composer that he had composed it while in Rome during the autumn of 1844 directing the rehearsals for *I due Foscari*.

30. A facsimile of the autograph was published and the waltz discussed in Gioacchino Lanza Tomasi, “Verdi al ballo del gattopardo,” in *Discoteca*, March–April 1963, 18–19. The piece was brought to light by Luchino Visconti in his film *Il gattopardo* (*The Leopard*) of 1963; a performing edition was issued by Musica Obscura in 1986.

31. Biographers routinely discuss Verdi’s early training in general, referring in particular to his autobiographical statement. A more detailed account of Verdi’s musical education will be provided in my study titled *Verdi the Student – Verdi the Teacher* (Parma: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Verdiani, forthcoming).

32. This Mass is discussed by Dino Rizzo in “Con eletta musica del Sig. Verdi da Busseto, fu celebrata la messa solenne,” *Studi verdiani* 9 (1993), 62–96.

33. Verdi’s composition of this work is discussed by David Rosen in “La Messa a Rossini e il *Requiem* per Manzoni,” in Michele Girardi and Pierluigi Petrobelli (eds.), *Messa per Rossini: La storia, il testo, la musica* (Parma: Istituto di Studi Verdiani; Milan: Ricordi, 1988), pp. 119–49. A facsimile of the autograph of the original “Libera me” was issued by the Istituto di Studi Verdiani in 1988.

34. The analytical details (and much of the present discussion) are adapted from David Rosen, *Verdi: Requiem* (Cambridge University Press, 1997).

35. The movement is discussed in detail in David Rosen, “The Operatic Origins of Verdi’s ‘Lacrymosa,’” *Studi verdiani* 5 (1988–89), 65–84, and in Rosen, *Verdi: Requiem*, pp. 76–79.

36. All of these are discussed in Rosen, *Verdi: Requiem*, pp. 60–74.

37. Information concerning the genesis, performance, and reception of the *Messa da Requiem* can be found in *ibid.*, especially pp. 1–17.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

39. Letter from Verdi to Giulio Ricordi, April 26, 1874, in Franco Abbiati, *Giuseppe Verdi*, vol. III, p. 688. Rosen discusses the controversy at length in *Verdi: Requiem*, chapter 12.
40. The coherence of the work, or its “unità musicale,” is discussed by Rosen in *Verdi: Requiem*, chapter 11.
41. Letter to Ferdinand Hiller, January 7, 1880, in Luzio (ed.), *Carteggi verdiani*, vol. II, p. 333.
42. There is conflicting information concerning the dates of composition of these pieces.
43. This composition is discussed by Petrobelli in “On Dante and Italian Music,” 238.
44. Little has been written about these pieces. The most extensive discussion can be found in Budden, *Verdi*, pp. 336–45.
45. The work is discussed in Roger Parker, “Verdi and the *Gazzetta privilegiata di Milano*: An ‘Official’ View Seen in Its Cultural Background,” *RMA Research Chronicle* 18 (1982), 51–65.
46. A composition by Verdi known as “*La patria*”: *Inno nazionale a Ferdinando II*, with poetry by Michele Cucciniello, published by Girard in Naples in 1847–48, is in reality the chorus “*Si ridesti il Leon di Castiglia*” from *Ernani* set to a different text. See also Gaetano Della Noce, “Un inno per Ferdinando II,” *Musica* (Roma) 7/36 (November 13, 1913), 8.
47. Other works included in the program for the opening ceremonies were by Auber (France), Meyerbeer (Germany), and Sterndale Bennett (England).
48. Information on the *Inno delle nazioni* comes from George Martin, *Verdi: His Music, Life, and Times* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1968), pp. 394–95; Mary Jane Phillips-Matz, *Verdi*, pp. 446–49; and Abbiati, *Giuseppe Verdi*, vol. II, pp. 688–94.

11 Ernani: the tenor in crisis

1. The other Verdi operas composed specifically for La Fenice are *Attila* (1846), *Rigoletto* (1851), *La traviata* (1853), and *Simon Boccanegra* (1857).
2. See Verdi’s letter to Giuseppina Appiani, Venice, March 10, 1844, in Gaetano Cesari and Alessandro Luzio (eds.), *I copialettere di Giuseppe Verdi*, p. 425. See also Giovanni Barezzi, letter from Venice dated March 10, 1844, in Luigi Agostino Garibaldi (ed.), *Giuseppe Verdi nelle lettere di Emanuele Muzio ad Antonio Barezzi* (Milan: Fratelli Treves, 1931), pp. 73–74.

3. For a list of theatres, in Italy and abroad, where *Ernani* was performed in its first three years, see Marcello Conati, “Appendix II: First Performances of *Ernani* 1844–1846,” in Pierluigi Petrobelli (ed.), “*Ernani*” *Yesterday and Today*, 268–79.
4. Victor Hugo’s *Hernani* was first performed at the Théâtre de la Comédie-Française in Paris on February 25, 1830. For a list of topics discarded by Verdi, see Conati, *La bottega della musica*, pp. 72–73.
5. The others are *I due Foscari* (1844), *Macbeth* (1847), *Il corsaro* (1848), *Stiffelio* (1850), *Rigoletto* (1851), *La traviata* (1853), *Simon Boccanegra* (1857), and *La forza del destino* (1862).
6. See in particular Gabriele Baldini, *The Story of Giuseppe Verdi: “Oberto” to “Un ballo in maschera”*, ed. and trans. Roger Parker (Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 71.
7. Hugo’s *Hernani* caused trouble in Paris, too: its premiere became known as the “bataille d’Hernani,” recorded by Théophile Gautier in his *Histoire du romantisme* (Paris: Éditions d’Aujourd’hui, 1978; originally published Paris, 1874) as the beginning of French Romanticism.
8. See a letter from the theatre secretary Guglielmo Brenna to Verdi of September 20, 1843, in Conati, *La bottega della musica*, pp. 79–80.
9. See Verdi’s letter of September 22, 1843, in response to the letter from Brenna cited above, in Conati, *La bottega della musica*, pp. 84–85.
10. One change that Verdi seems to have counted on was the title: he referred to the opera as *Ernani* right from the beginning, despite having been urged to use something different in order to avoid problems with the censors. Piave and the theatre administration referred to it, at different stages, as *L’onore castigliano* and *Don Gomez de Silva*. See the letter of September 22, 1843, cited above.
11. See Verdi’s letter of December 29, 1843, in Conati, *La bottega della musica*, pp. 109–10.
12. For an account of Verdi’s casting attempts see Gustavo Marchesi, “The *Ernani* Years,” in Petrobelli (ed.), “*Ernani*” *Yesterday and Today*, p. 42.
13. See Verdi’s reference in his letter to Francesco Pasetti of January 12, 1844, in Conati, *La bottega della musica*, p. 117.
14. “Scivo questo mio povero Ernani e non sono malcontento. Ad onta della mia apparente indifferenza, se facessi fiasco mi schiaccio le cervella: non potrei sopportare l’idea, tanto più che questi veneziani si aspettano non so che cosa.” Letter to Luigi

Toccagni from Venice, undated but probably written between the end of January and the beginning of February 1844. See Franco Abbiati, *Giuseppe Verdi*, vol. I, pp. 481–82.

15. For the tenor's repertory and career history, see Giorgio Gualerzi, *Carlo Guasco: Tenore romantico fra mito e realtà* (Alessandria: Cassa di Risparmio di Alessandria, 1976).

16. Reference to the police order is in a letter written by Guasco's agent Vincenzo Giaccone, from Turin, February 14, 1844 (Conati, *La bottega della musica*, pp. 121–22). For an account of Guasco's behavior on the night of the premiere, see Giovanni Barezzi, letter dated March 10, 1844, from Venice, in Garibaldi (ed.), *Giuseppe Verdi nelle lettere di Emanuele Muzio ad Antonio Barezzi*, pp. 73–74.

17. Differently from Hugo's play, where all three die in the end (*Hernani*, V, vi).

18. Musical examples are adapted from *Ernani*, ed. Claudio Gallico, *The Works of Giuseppe Verdi*, series I, vol. V (University of Chicago Press; Milan: Ricordi, 1985).

19. "Per l'amor di Dio non finisca col Rondò ma faccia il terzetto: e questo terzetto anzi deve essere il miglior pezzo dell'opera." Letter of October 2, 1843, in Abbiati, *Giuseppe Verdi*, vol. I, pp. 474–75.

20. For an extensive critical list of works, see Paduano, *Noi facemmo ambedue un sogno strano*, pp. 22–23, n. 3.

21. See Roger Parker, "Levels of Motivic Definition in *Ernani*," *19th-Century Music* 6 (1982–83), 144–45.

22. See Budden, *The Operas of Verdi* (London, 1973), vol. I.

23. Verdi's objection to trouser roles was more or less consistent: the only one in his entire oeuvre is Oscar in *Un ballo in maschera* (1859).

24. "Le jeune amant sans barbe," as Don Carlos famously describes him in *Hernani*, I, i.

25. See the fifth chapter of my doctoral thesis, "Arrigo Boito: The Legacy of Scapigliatura" (University of Oxford, 1999).

12 "Ch'hai di nuovo, buffon?" or What's new with *Rigoletto*

1. Verdi wrote thirty-two operas (counting the major revisions), of which *Rigoletto* is the seventeenth. For more on *Nabucco*'s special status, see Roger Parker, *Leonora's Last Act*, chapter 2.

2. Ed. Martin Chusid, *The Works of Giuseppe Verdi*, series I, vol. 17 (University of Chicago Press; Milan: Ricordi, 1983); all references will be to this edition. The opera's first

performance in the new edition was marked by a conference; see Marisa Di Gregorio Casati and Marcello Pavarani (eds.), *Nuove prospettive nella ricerca verdiana: Atti del Convegno internazionale in occasione della prima del "Rigoletto" in edizione critica, Vienna, 12–13 marzo 1983* (Parma: Istituto di Studi Verdiani; Milan: Ricordi, 1987).

3. Wolfgang Osthoff, "The Musical Characterization of Gilda," *Verdi: Bollettino dell'Istituto di studi verdiani* 3/8 (1973), 1275–314.

4. See the beginning of the following *scena*, "Pari siamo," I, 4 (p. 77).

5. III, 13 (pp. 289–90); see Osthoff, "The Musical Characterization of Gilda," 1278–79. At one stage in the genesis, Sparafucile's name was Strangolabene – "strangle-well."

6. II, 10 (pp. 232–33). "Ch'ella potesse ascendere / Quanto caduto er'io . . . / Ah presso del patibolo / Bisogna ben l'altare!" All translations are my own.

7. For more along these lines, see Gilles de Van, *Verdi's Theater*, p. 342.

8. See Martin Chusid, "Rigoletto and Monterone: A Study in Musical Dramaturgy," *Verdi: Bollettino dell'Istituto di studi verdiani* 3/9 (1982), 1544–58, and Chusid, "The Tonality of *Rigoletto*," in Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker (eds.), *Analyzing Opera*, pp. 241–61. The latter (pp. 242–46) gives a summary of the opera's tonal organization.

9. David Lawton, "Tonal Structure and Dramatic Action in *Rigoletto*," *Verdi: Bollettino dell'Istituto di studi verdiani* 3/9 (1982), 1559–81.

10. II, 8 (p. 165), and II, 9 (p. 216): tenuous, perhaps, but see Marcello Conati, "*Rigoletto*": *Un'analisi drammatico-musicale* (Venice: Marsilio, 1992), pp. 147–61, especially pp. 155–56.

11. I, 6 (p. 133); see Osthoff, "The Musical Characterization of Gilda," 1284 ff.; Lawton, too (in "Tonal Structure and Dramatic Action in *Rigoletto*," 1560), invokes Mozart. Not only the flutes accompanying this aria but also the walled garden in which Gilda sings it are familiar fixtures; see Parker, *Leonora's Last Act*, pp. 155–56.

12. Chusid, "The Tonality of *Rigoletto*," is an impressively detailed attempt to take account of Verdi's intentions at all stages of the composition process – but for a cautionary word, see Parker, *Leonora's Last Act*, p. 154.

13. Budden, *The Operas of Verdi* (Oxford, 1992), vol. I, p. 486; see also Harold S. Powers, "One Halfstep at a Time: Tonal Transposition and 'Split Association' in Italian Opera," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 7 (1995), 135–64,

especially 152–57. Although for Chusid, Lawton, and Conati key area is by contrast crucial, they sometimes make no distinction between major and minor modes, or even between pitch, pitch class, and key. See Chusid, “Rigoletto and Monterone,” 1552, n. 10, and Chusid, “The Tonality of *Rigoletto*,” p. 250, n. 5. See also Conati, “*Rigoletto*,” p. 156.

14. I, 2 (pp. 52–53): “A curse on you who laugh at a father’s pain!”

15. See Joseph Kerman, “Verdi’s Use of Recurring Themes,” in Harold S. Powers (ed.), *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk* (Princeton University Press, 1968), pp. 495–510; see also Alessandro Roccatagliati, *Drammaturgia romantica verdiana: “Luisa Miller” e “Rigoletto”* (Bari: Associazione Musicale Il Coretto, 1989), p. 57.

16. For some, it is the musical essence, too. See Martin, *Aspects of Verdi*, and Conati, “*Rigoletto*,” p. 155 and n. 74, who points out that the diminished chord of the curse contains both C and G \flat , in his interpretation the cardinal pitches for the whole opera.

17. “Tutto il soggetto è in quella maledizione.” The letter in question is reproduced in Franco Abbiati, *Giuseppe Verdi*, vol. II, pp. 63–64.

18. For the details, see the introduction to *Rigoletto*, ed. Chusid, p. xiii, and Conati, “*Rigoletto*,” pp. 20–21.

19. For other references to the curse, see pp. 44, 84, 273, 293.

20. There is a similar point in Roccatagliati, *Drammaturgia romantica verdiana*, p. 56.

21. Rigoletto’s obtuseness helps us understand how Gilda’s abduction succeeds under his very nose, and how he needs a flash of lightning to recognize her body at the end. In Carmine Gallone’s 1946 film of the opera, a famous Rigoletto, Tito Gobbi, puts this across effectively in “Pari siamo” by approaching the camera and glaring myopically into it.

22. Victor Hugo, *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1985), vol. VIII (*Théâtre I*), pp. 827–968. For a full account, see Anne Ubersfeld, *Le roi et le bouffon: Étude sur le théâtre de Hugo de 1830 à 1839* (Paris: Corti, 1974), especially pp. 139–56.

23. Hugo, *Le roi s’amuse*, pp. 829–36. Once he had delivered his address to the Tribunal de Commerce in December it also appeared with the fifth and subsequent editions of the play (*ibid.*, pp. 837–45).

24. Hugo, *Le roi s’amuse*, p. 830.

25. See Mario Lavagetto, *Un caso di censura: “Rigoletto”* (Milan: Il Formichiere, 1979); see

also the introduction to *Rigoletto*, ed. Chusid, pp. xi–xxii.

26. The letter is reproduced in Conati, *La bottega della musica*, p. 209.

27. For a side-by-side comparison of play and libretto, see Conati, “*Rigoletto*,” pp. 102–19. Among the first cuts was one to Act III, scene ii, of the play, when the King produces, with an indelicate flourish, the key to the bedroom into which Blanche has just fled.

28. Chusid calls Verdi’s rejection of Piave’s compromises “one of the most extraordinary declarations of artistic integrity in the history of music”; see *Rigoletto*, ed. Chusid, p. xvi.

29. Conati, “*Rigoletto*,” especially pp. 75–91. Verdi famously wrote to Piave that Triboulet was “a creation worthy of Shakespeare!”; see Abbiati, *Giuseppe Verdi*, vol. II, pp. 62–63. Hugo shared Verdi’s admiration for Shakespeare; see Ubersfeld, *Le roi et le bouffon*, especially pp. 79–85.

30. Elizabeth Hudson, “Gilda Seduced: A Tale Untold,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 4 (1992–93), 229–51, glides provocatively between what it is possible for Hugo/Piave/Verdi to say on stage, what the characters themselves choose, or allow each other, to say, and how musical structure and operatic convention reflect and nuance these suppressions.

31. Hugo, *Le roi s’amuse*, p. 831. “De ceci découle toute la pièce. Le sujet véritable du drame, c’est la malediction de Saint-Vallier.”

32. See Martin, *Aspects of Verdi*, pp. 166–75.

33. I, 4 (pp. 77–81).

34. See the 1827 preface to *Cromwell* (which became something of a Romantic manifesto) in Hugo, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. XII (*Critique*), pp. 3–39.

35. Roccatagliati, *Drammaturgia romantica verdiana*, p. 61. It is worth remembering that Quasimodo, the hunchback of Notre-Dame, is an exact contemporary of Triboulet; for a physical description, see Victor Hugo, *Notre-Dame de Paris 1482* (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1967; first published 1831), pp. 75–78.

36. Some have seen in Rigoletto and Monterone an even closer relationship; see Martin, *Aspects of Verdi*, p. 164, and Chusid, “Rigoletto and Monterone,” 1552.

37. II, 8 (p. 165), when the Duke regrets the disappearance of Gilda; see Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, vol. I, p. 499, and Hudson (who cites the judgments of Joseph Kerman and Gary Tomlinson), “Gilda Seduced,” 251.

38. See Martin, *Aspects of Verdi*, p. 158.

39. See Pierluigi Petrobelli, “Verdi and *Don Giovanni*: On the Opening Scene of *Rigoletto*,”

in Petrobelli, *Music in the Theater*, pp. 34–47; Kimbell, *Verdi in the Age of Italian Romanticism*, pp. 625–26; Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, vol. I, p. 489.

40. I, 2 (pp. 12–17): “Questa o quella.”

41. In the opera (I, 4, pp. 101–2), the Duke gains access to the garden simply by throwing a purse to Giovanna, Gilda’s governess; in the play (II, iv) there is a lengthy comic scene as the King has to keep offering the governess money (and when that runs out jewelry) to encourage Blanche.

42. For more, especially on the role of operatic adaptations in importing European literary fashions into Italy, see de Van, *Verdi’s Theater*, p. 73; on stylistic synthesis, not only in *Rigoletto*, see Piero Weiss, “Verdi and the Fusion of Genres,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35 (1982), 138–56, and Roccatagliati, *Drammaturgia romantica verdiana*, p. 69.

43. As Roger Parker, discussing “Caro nome,” puts it, “perhaps this heroine is so innocent of life ‘out there,’ has been protected from the world so thoroughly by her walled garden, that she doesn’t know what a cabaletta is” (*Leonora’s Last Act*, p. 156).

44. This possibly apocryphal tale is recounted by Arthur Pougin in *Giuseppe Verdi: Vita aneddotica* (Florence: Passigli, 1989; first published 1881), p. 70.

45. III, 13 (p. 293), and III, 14 (pp. 333–34).

46. Hugo, *Le roi s’amuse*, IV, ii.

47. See Léon Guichard, “Victor Hugo and *Le roi s’amuse*,” *Verdi: Bollettino dell’Istituto di studi verdiani* 3/7 (1969), 433.

13 Verdi’s *Don Carlos*: an overview of the operas

1. Budden, *The Operas of Verdi* (rev. ed., Oxford, 1992), vol. III, pp. 3–157.

2. Gregory Harwood, *Giuseppe Verdi: A Guide to Research*, pp. 193–206. Many of the entries in Harwood’s *Guide* are to be found in his item no. 225 (p. 75), the published report of the *Atti del II Congresso internazionale de studi verdiani . . . 1969* (Parma: Istituto di Studi Verdiani, 1971). For the genesis and revisions of the opera, see the essays by Ursula Günther, Andrew Porter, and David Rosen. Rosen on *Don Carlos* is represented in print by just one brilliant essay on the Philip-Posa duet in Act II, but it was his discoveries in Paris, reported orally at the 1969 Verdi conference, that launched the subsequent reconstructive researches.

3. *Giuseppe Verdi, “Don Carlos”*: Edizione integrale delle varie versioni, ed. Luciano Petazzoni and Ursula Günther, 2 vols. (Milan:

Ricordi, 1980), vol. I, pp. v–xliv, 1–294; vol. II, pp. 295–669. At present the eagerly awaited critical edition of the full score is still in preparation.

The complete French libretto of the original production (including portions deleted before the premiere), with Italian translation and an English version by Andrew Porter, along with Italian text from the 1884 revision in an Appendix, is available in *Giuseppe Verdi: “Don Carlos”/“Don Carlo”*, *English National Opera Guide* 46 (London: Calder; New York: Riverrun, 1992), pp. 29–156. “I libretti di *Don Carlos*” (ed. Eduardo Rescigno), in the *programma di sala* of a production of the opera at La Fenice in Venice in December 1991 (pp. 17–125), is a composite libretto based on the *Edizione integrale* with the various texts in parallel columns. It can be extremely helpful as a guide, but unfortunately, like so much useful Italian work on individual operas, it was published in an ephemeral program book.

4. The scenario Méry and Du Locle sent to Verdi was published by Ursula Günther in *L’avant-scène opéra* 90–91 (September–October 1986), 28–35.

5. An account of Verdi’s comments on the scenario, and a complete outline of the subsequent wrestling over text and drama, may be seen in Günther’s prefatory essay in the *Edizione integrale*, and in the *Don Carlos* chapter of Budden’s book. Günther’s and Budden’s essays also cover the gradual evolution of the libretto revisions by Du Locle for the new version of the opera undertaken by Verdi in 1882–83.

6. Friedrich Schiller, *Werke*, vol. I, ed. Herbert Krafft (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1966); the English verse translation by Charles E. Passage (New York: Ungar, 1959) is used in Budden’s account. Among currently available English verse translations is one by A. Leslie and Jeanne R. Wilson, in *Friedrich Schiller: Plays*, vol. XV of *The German Library* (New York: Continuum, 1983).

7. A good modern edition of the novel, with French text and Italian translation on facing pages, is *Saint-Réal: “Don Carlos,” novella storica*, ed. Luciano Carcereri (Venice: Marsilio, 1997), with copious notes on the text, an account of the historical sources for the novel, and a very useful introduction by Giorgio Giorgetti.

8. Eugène Cormon, *Philippe II / Roi d’Espagne / drame en cinq actes / imité de Schiller et précédé de / L’étudiant d’Alcala . . .* (Paris: Lange Lévy, [1846]). This important source, also reflected elsewhere in the finished libretto, was

discovered by Marc Clémeur; see his “Eine neu entdeckte Quelle für das Libretto von Verdis *Don Carlos*,” *Melos/Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 6 (1977), 496–99.

9. Verdi’s letter to Émile Perrin, director of the Paris Opéra, was published by Ursula Günther, “La genèse de *Don Carlos*,” *Revue de musicologie* 58 (1972), 30.

10. Letter from Léon Escudier to Perrin, *ibid.*, 24.

11. Meyerbeer’s “Remarques générales” (1832) on a prose draft by Scribe for *Les huguenots*; see Steven Huebner, “Italianate Duets in Meyerbeer’s Grand Operas,” *Journal of Musicological Research* 8 (1989), 208–9; the French text of the letter is on p. 251, n. 20.

12. *Don Carlos / Grand Opéra en Cinq Actes / Représenté sur le Théâtre Impériale de l’Opéra / poème de / M. M. Méry & C. DuLocle / Musique de G. Verdi* (Paris: Léon Escudier, [1867]; pl. no. L.E.2165).

13. Another letter of Meyerbeer’s unearthed by Steven Huebner neatly epitomizes this problem; see Huebner’s “Italianate Duets,” 204–5 (French text on pp. 249–50, n. 7).

14. Autograph headings are cited after Martin Chusid, *A Catalog of Verdi’s Operas* (Hackensack, N.J.: Joseph Boonin, 1974), pp. 42–50; Chusid also includes a convenient conspectus of the materials eliminated in connection with the Paris 1867 production, with references to the original studies reporting their discovery.

15. For a close analysis of Verdi’s “scene et duo,” see pp. 41–44 of my essay “Cormon Revisited: Some Observations on the Original *Don Carlos*,” *Verdi Forum* 26–27 (1999–2000), 39–52.

16. Volume I of the *Edizione integrale* concludes with four printings of the duet in full: (1) as Verdi originally composed it, before the cut made after the dress rehearsal of February 24, 1867 (pp. 206–31); (2) as it was at the first performance on March 11 (pp. 232–54); (3) the Naples version of 1872 (pp. 255–76); (4) the 1884 = 1886 Milan/Modena version (pp. 277–94). The summary below is modeled on David Rosen, “Le quattro stesure del duetto Filippo-Posa,” in *Atti del II Congresso internazionale di studi verdiani*, pp. 368–88. Rosen’s essay includes the first thorough account of the two Paris versions and the Naples version and an exemplary comparative analysis of the piece in all its versions, showing the gradual dissolution of the original formal structure. See also Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, vol. III, pp. 80–98; both Rosen’s and Budden’s

discussions are copiously illustrated with musical examples.

17. For a close analysis of this finale, see Powers, “Cormon Revisited,” 45–50.

18. For a perceptive postmodern portrayal of this aria, along with much of its music, and with comments on other aspects of the opera as well as on feminine roles and the female voice, see Roger Parker, “Elizabeth’s Last Act,” in Smart (ed.), *Siren Songs*, pp. 93–117.

19. For a full discussion of this kind of threefold rising sequence, its musico-dramatic uses, and its music-historical origins and development, see Frits Noske, *The Signifier and the Signified* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1977), chapter 10.

20. For anyone attempting to follow from the *Edizione integrale*, the pages are 206–19 (1867); 267 bottom–268 top (1872); 221 (1867, with the first two systems transposed down a whole step); 290–94 (1884 = 1886).

21. For anyone attempting to follow from the *Edizione integrale*, the pages are 564 (two measures); 586–90; 571–75; 578–80; and finally 580–84 from the Grand Inquisitor’s entrance to the end of the act, which was reinstated from 1867 for 1884 = 1886.

14 Desdemona’s alienation and Otello’s fall

1. Letter to Giulio Ricordi, April 22, 1887, trans. in Busch (ed. and trans.), *Verdi’s “Otello” and “Simon Boccanegra*”, vol. I, p. 301; see also the characterization of Desdemona in the production book compiled by Ricordi, translated in the same publication, vol. II, p. 486.

2. Hepokoski has made this argument in *Giuseppe Verdi: “Otello”* (Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 178–79. Hepokoski’s monograph is the most comprehensive study of *Otello* to date.

3. Kerman’s chapter “*Otello*: Traditional Opera and the Image of Shakespeare,” in *Opera as Drama* (New York: Random House, 1956; first published 1952), pp. 129–67, is a landmark essay in Verdi studies. Kerman discusses the expansion of Desdemona’s role on pp. 160–62. See also pp. 9–12.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 160.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

6. See Busch (ed. and trans.), *Verdi’s “Otello” and “Simon Boccanegra”*, pp. 587–89.

7. Quotations from the play are from William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of Othello, the Moor of Venice*, ed. Louis B. Wright and Virginia A. LaMar (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957). Quotations from and translations of the libretto are adapted from William Weaver

- (trans.), *Seven Verdi Librettos* (New York: Norton, 1975; first published 1963).
8. Hepokoski, *Giuseppe Verdi: "Otello"*, pp. 166–69.
 9. *Ibid.*, p. 172.
 10. *Ibid.*, p. 173.
 11. *Ibid.*, p. 174.
 12. Kerman, *Opera as Drama*, p. 161.
 13. Kerman, *ibid.*, p. 152, has noted the "ironic" quality of the fanfares. Significantly, Verdi and Boito rejected the possibility of ending Act III with a Turkish invasion, to which Otello would have responded heroically. See Hepokoski, *Giuseppe Verdi: "Otello"*, p. 36.
 14. Kerman, *Opera as Drama*, pp. 9–12. In my view this argument is not incompatible with Hepokoski's suggestion (*Giuseppe Verdi: "Otello"*, p. 173) that Verdi's music may have mimicked Salvini's stage movements.
 15. Hepokoski, *Giuseppe Verdi: "Otello"*, p. 172.
 16. *Ibid.*, p. 171; Kerman, *Opera as Drama*, p. 160.
 17. Hepokoski, *Giuseppe Verdi: "Otello"*, p. 171.
 18. Here Verdi may have been trying to head off the stereotyping evident in Schlegel's and Hugo's interpretations, which are discussed in Hepokoski, *Giuseppe Verdi: "Otello"*, pp. 165–66 and 169–70.
 19. Compare the corresponding passage in Shakespeare (III, iii, 290–302).
 20. My interpretation challenges Hepokoski's assertion that "the tone and feel of the relatively recent ironic and ruthlessly objective critique of Othello was quite unknown to Verdi and Boito" (*Giuseppe Verdi: "Otello"*, pp. 170–71), and at least raises the possibility that the opera may have played a role in the "modern attack on Othello-as-hero" led by T. S. Eliot and others.
 21. Jane Adamson, "*Othello* as Tragedy: Some Problems of Judgment and Feeling" (Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 220.
 22. On this point, see also Hepokoski, *Giuseppe Verdi: "Otello"*, pp. 179–80.
 23. Verdi's first Iago, Victor Maurel, in his *Dix ans de carrière*, noticed this aspect of their relationship in connection with her entrance following the Act I duel: "The appearance of this white and beautiful creature, whose love he feels, disarms the Moor; his anger melts like ice under the beneficent rays which the eyes of his sweet and consoling wife shed upon this scene of violence. . . . About to strike the man who has failed in his duty, he lowers his arm, his anger appeased as if by magic."
 - Busch (ed. and trans.), *Verdi's "Otello" and "Simon Boccanegra"*, p. 636.
 24. Hepokoski, *Giuseppe Verdi: "Otello"*, p. 175; according to the production book, "at the peak of emotion Otello feels weak. Desdemona moves to the left, and while he steps backwards, she follows him, supporting him" (*ibid.*). The kiss follows. Hepokoski points out that Otello's rhyme – "giaccio" ("lie down" or "collapse") / "bacio" ("kiss") – both here and at the end of the opera emphasizes the connection.
 25. The homage chorus was added and the line "that face conquers me" changed to "that song conquers me" after the first draft of the libretto (see Hepokoski, *Giuseppe Verdi: "Otello"*, p. 31), indicating that the authors considered this point crucial.
 26. Compare her incomprehension of Otello's moods, which she normally controls, in Verdi with her incomprehension of jealousy itself in Shakespeare (III, iv, 112–15).
 27. Hepokoski, *Giuseppe Verdi: "Otello"*, p. 176; Kerman, *Opera as Drama*, pp. 140–42, also discusses Otello's accelerated anger.
 28. See chapter 7 above, pp. 128–38.
 29. Hepokoski, *Giuseppe Verdi: "Otello"*, p. 179.
 30. Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, vol. III (New York, 1981), p. 318.
 31. Citations of the score refer to Giuseppe Verdi, *Otello* (New York: Schirmer, 1962, pl. no. 43686).
 32. Maurel commented that although pure, "this heroine is not a Holy Virgin, she is a woman" (Busch (ed. and trans.), *Verdi's "Otello" and "Simon Boccanegra"*, p. 636). See also Kerman, *Opera as Drama*, p. 161.
 33. See Hepokoski's discussion of the transposition of this duet, done apparently to suit the first Desdemona, Romilda Pantaleoni, in "Verdi's Composition of *Otello*: The Act II Quartet," in Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker (eds.), *Analyzing Opera*, pp. 143–49. See also Hepokoski, *Giuseppe Verdi: "Otello"*, pp. 53–55 and 67–68.
 34. In "Verdi's First 'Willow Song': New Sketches and Drafts for *Otello*," *19th-Century Music* 19 (1995–96), 213–30, Linda B. Fairtile's transcriptions of Verdi's sketches for the Willow Song show that his music became less "folk-like" as the compositional process proceeded. See especially pp. 223, 224, and 228. For another important discussion of this piece, see Brooks Toliver, "Grieving in the Mirrors of Verdi's Willow Song: Desdemona, Barbara and a 'feeble, strange voice,'" *Cambridge Opera Journal* 10 (1998), 289–305.

35. Desdemona's chilling upbeat arpeggiation was a late revision. See Hepokoski, *Giuseppe Verdi: "Otello"*, p. 72.
36. More detail will be given in "Cross-References in Context: Long-Range and Local Key Relations in Verdi's *Otello*," in preparation. Two important existing studies of motivic and tonal relationships in *Otello* are David Lawton, "On the 'Bacio' Theme in *Otello*," *19th-Century Music* 1 (1977–78), 211–20, and Roger Parker and Matthew Brown, "'Ancora un bacio': Three Scenes from Verdi's *Otello*," *19th-Century Music* 9 (1985–86), 50–62.
37. See Hepokoski, "Verdi's Composition of *Otello*," pp. 146–49, for an interpretation of Verdi's transposition of the quartet movement to B flat.
38. Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, vol. III, p. 319.
39. Letter to Boito, January 1, 1886, quoted *ibid.*
40. Kerman, *Opera as Drama*, p. 161, has observed that "at the end, Verdi sacrificed the tragedy of *Otello* for the pathos of Desdemona." In revising the libretto, the authors cut an extended solo piece for *Otello* that would have given him more emphasis. See Hepokoski, *Giuseppe Verdi: "Otello"*, p. 35.

15 An introduction to Verdi's working methods

1. The piccolo is an exception and appears immediately below the first flute.
2. This discussion needs to be understood as an outline from which many details have necessarily been omitted. Examples are employed as highly selective representatives.
3. My focus is the operas. See chapter 10 for a discussion of his works in other genres.
4. This term was employed by Verdi and Giuseppina for these works. See Martin Chusid, "Toward an Understanding of Verdi's Middle Period," in Chusid (ed.), *Verdi's Middle Period*, p. 2.
5. Indeed, this reasoning supports including the 1847 *Macbeth* firmly within the early group even though some have used its stylistic differences as reason to advance a new group subdividing the early operas. Because the works that follow, *I masnadieri*, *Jérusalem*, *Il corsaro*, and *La battaglia di Legnano* all clearly belong with the early works, and because the general conditions and methods remained the same throughout, the 1847 *Macbeth* is perhaps best understood as a remarkable stylistic anomaly.

6. Antonio Piazza and Felice Romani fill out this group of librettists for the early works.
7. George Martin, "Verdi, *King Lear* and Maria Piccolomini," *Columbia Library Columns* 21 (1971), 12–20.
8. Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, vol. I (New York, 1973), pp. 229–30.
9. Luke Jensen, *Giuseppe Verdi and Giovanni Ricordi with Notes on Francesco Lucca: From "Oberto" to "La traviata"* (New York: Garland, 1989), pp. 31–33.
10. For a discussion, see Jensen, *Giuseppe Verdi and Giovanni Ricordi*, pp. 125–48 and 189–206.
11. Facsimile in Gaetano Cesari and Alessandro Luzio (eds.), *I copialettere di Giuseppe Verdi*, table 11, pp. 419–23. For an analysis, see Chusid, "Toward an Understanding of Verdi's Middle Period," pp. 1–15.
12. Martin, "Verdi, *King Lear* and Maria Piccolomini."
13. It is a telling detail that the two new works in this group, *Otello* and *Falstaff*, are both based on plays by Shakespeare. This confirms Verdi's lifelong interest in and love for the works of the English bard. The revision of *Simon Boccanegra* is frequently cited as a warm-up for *Otello*, but it should also be seen as representative of the faith Verdi had in certain of his less successful efforts, which led him to return to them. In addition, his fashioning of *Don Carlos* for the Italian stage in this period is emblematic of his lifelong attribute of being a practical man of the theatre.
14. James A. Hepokoski, "Verdi, Giuseppina Pasqua, and the Composition of *Falstaff*," *19th-Century Music* 3 (1979–80), 239–50.
15. See Piero Weiss, "Verdi and the Fusion of Genres," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35 (1982), 138–56.
16. Carlo Gatti, *Verdi nelle immagini* (Milan: Garzanti, 1941).
17. Carlo Gatti (ed.), *L'abbozzo del "Rigoletto" di Giuseppe Verdi* (Edizione Fuori Commercio a cura del Maestro della Cultura Popolare, 1941).
18. See Pierluigi Petrobelli, "Remarks on Verdi's Composing Process," in *Music in the Theater*, pp. 48–74. Petrobelli's essay was originally published as "Osservazioni sul processo compositivo in Verdi," *Acta musicologica* 43 (1971), 125–43.
19. David Lawton, "A New Sketch for Verdi's *I due Foscari*," *Verdi Newsletter* 22 (1995), 4–16. Pierluigi Petrobelli, "Pensieri per *Alzira*," in Casati and Pavarani (eds.), *Nuove prospettive*

nella ricerca verdiana, pp. 110–24; trans. Roger Parker as “Thoughts for *Alzira*,” in *Music in the Theater*, pp. 75–99. As sketch materials currently held by the Verdi heirs become available, this area of inquiry will burgeon. Occasionally, materials may be found elsewhere. For example, while working with the Toscanini collection housed at the New York Public Library, Linda Fairtile found just such materials relating to the Willow Song in *Otello*. See “Verdi’s First ‘Willow Song’: New Sketches and Drafts for *Otello*,” *19th-Century Music* 19 (1995–96), 213–30.

20. *La traviata*, ed. Fabrizio Della Seta, *The Works of Giuseppe Verdi*, series I, vol. XIX (University of Chicago Press; Milan: Ricordi, 1997), pp. xvi–xvii and l–li.

21. Letter from Verdi to Mocenigo dated April 9, 1843. Conati, *La bottega della musica*, p. 39.

22. Jensen, *Giuseppe Verdi and Giovanni Ricordi*, p. 2.

23. Petrobelli, “Remarks on Verdi’s Composing Process,” pp. 48–74.

24. For a discussion of this process for *Falstaff*, see James A. Hepokoski, “Overriding the Autograph Score: The Problem of Textual Authority in Verdi’s *Falstaff*,” *Studi verdiani* 8 (1992), 13–51.

25. Rosen and Porter (eds.), pp. 1–125.

26. Letters dated November 23, 1846, and December 22, 1847. *Ibid.*, pp. 17 and 27.

27. An introduction to the variety of extant materials can be gleaned from Martin Chusid, Luke Jensen, and David Day, “The Verdi Archive at New York University: Part II,” *Verdi Newsletter* 9–10 (1981–82), 3–52.

28. Ricordi occasionally offered these lithographs as a “gift” for subscribers to the house journal, *La Gazzetta musicale di Milano*. The “figurini” or costume designs for *Macbeth* constituted part of the supplement for 1847. See Luke Jensen, *La Gazzetta musicale di Milano, 1842–1862*, 5 vols., *Répertoire international de la presse musicale* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 2000), vol. I, pp. 180, 183, and 184.

29. Budden, *The Operas of Verdi*, vol. III (New York, 1981), pp. 363–64.

30. Letter from Giulio Ricordi to Verdi dated September 6, 1871, as published by Busch (ed. and trans.), *Verdi’s “Aida”*, p. 218.

31. The scholar can determine not only how this music was performed in salons and parlors of the day, but also which specific numbers gained the widest currency. For example, in 1848 Ricordi resurrected the tenor *romanza* for Riccardo in Act II of *Oberto*,

“Ciel che feci,” long after the opera had been forgotten. This occurred when Ricordi began re-releasing Verdi’s works in “chiave di sol” (treble clef). This number was likely the only part of *Oberto* Italians knew in the late 1840s and for some time thereafter. See Jensen, *Giuseppe Verdi and Giovanni Ricordi*, p. 253.

32. See Luke Jensen, “The Emergence of the Modern Conductor for Nineteenth-Century Italian Opera,” *Performance Practice Review* 4/1 (Spring 1991), 34–63, and 4/2 (Fall 1991), 223–25.

33. See Linda B. Fairtile, “The Violin Director in *Il trovatore* and *Le trouvère*: Some Nineteenth-Century Evidence,” *Verdi Newsletter* 21 (1993), 16–26. Also note that Ricordi printed a part for “violino principale” for *Un ballo in maschera*.

34. James Hepokoski has brought this into view in various essays. In particular, see his “Overriding the Autograph Score.”

35. Changes made during rehearsals would generally not be considered revisions, but certain exceptions can be made, as in the case of *Don Carlos*, when Verdi excised materials before the opening night because the opera ran too long.

36. This aria, “Infin che un brando vindice,” was later associated with *Ernani*. See Roger Parker, “‘Infin che un brando vindice’: From *Ernani* to *Oberto*,” *Verdi Newsletter* 12 (1984), 5–7, and the critical edition prepared by Claudio Gallico (University of Chicago Press; Milan: Ricordi, 1985), in which the aria is discussed on pp. xxi–xxii and xlv–xlvi. The aria is on pp. 427–46.

37. See David Lawton and David Rosen, “Verdi’s Non-Definitive Revisions: The Early Operas,” in Mario Medici and Marcello Pavarani (eds.), *Atti del III Congresso internazionale di studi verdiani*, pp. 189–237.

38. Jensen, *Giuseppe Verdi and Giovanni Ricordi*, pp. 193–202.

39. Since this was recognized after the plan for the critical edition had been finalized, *Le trouvère* will be assigned the volume number XVIIIb. See Gregory Harwood, *Giuseppe Verdi: A Guide to Research*, p. 328.

16 Verdi criticism

1. Roger Parker has demonstrated that even general periodicals, such as *La Gazzetta privilegiata di Milano*, may also contain valuable information about the composer’s career; see his “Verdi and the *Gazzetta privilegiata di Milano*: An ‘Official’ View Seen in Its Cultural Context,” *RMA Research Chronicle* 18 (1982), 51–65.

2. See Roger Parker's "Insolite forme,' or Basevi's Garden Path," in Martin Chusid (ed.), *Verdi's Middle Period*, for a recent assessment of Basevi's writings, their rising fortune in contemporary Verdi criticism, and their inherent biases and weaknesses. For an earlier judgment of Basevi, see Alfredo Parente, "Il problema della critica verdiana," *Rassegna musicale* 6 (1933), 199–200.
3. See, for example, Antonio Ghislanzoni's "Le trasformazioni di Verdi," *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* 22 (1867), 209–10, which defends Verdi's musical style in *Don Carlos*.
4. For the most current information on volumes issued and forthcoming, see *RIPM's* home page at <http://www.nisc.com/ripm/>. *RIPM* has recently released their materials in digital format in addition to the traditional hardbound volumes.
5. An exemplary survey of the early French criticism is Raoul Meloncelli's "Giuseppe Verdi e la critica francese," *Studi verdiani* 9 (1993), 97–122. Klaus Horschansky provides an overview of criticism in the German press in "Die Herausbildung eines deutsch-sprachigen Verdi-Repertoires im 19. Jahrhundert und die zeitgenössische Kritik," in Friedrich Lippmann (ed.), *Colloquium "Verdi–Wagner" Rom 1969: Bericht, Analecta musicologica* 11 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1972), pp. 140–84, while Danièle Pistone offers a different approach to analyzing critical writings through linguistic analysis in "Verdi et la critique musicale française: aspects et évolution de 1860 à 1993," in Maria Teresa Muraro (ed.), *Le parole della musica II: Studi sul lessico della letteratura critica del teatro musicale in onore del Gianfranco Folena* (Florence: Olschki, 1995), pp. 295–305.
6. Another significant early volume was Italo Pizzi's *Ricordi verdiani inediti* (Turin: Roux e Viarengo, 1901). Its final chapter contains many stories and anecdotes collected in and around Busseto, in large part by Verdi's brother-in-law Giovanni Barezzi.
7. This volume was updated and rearranged by Augusto Alfani as *Battaglie e vittorie: Nuovi esempi di volere è potere* (Florence: G. Barbèra, 1890); Verdi also appears as a moral example in A. Sicchirollo's *L'anima di Giuseppe Verdi, ai giovanetti italiani* (Milan: Casa Editrice del Risveglio Educativo, 1901). See also Roger Parker's "Arpa d'or dei fatidici vati": *The Verdian Patriotic Chorus in the 1840s* (Parma: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Verdiani, 1977), as well as two addition articles published in his *Leonora's Last Act*: "'Va pensiero' and the Insidious Mastery of Song" (a concise version of "Arpa d'or") and "Falstaff and Verdi's Final Narratives."
8. This author is sometimes listed as Stefano Lottici Maglione.
9. Gilles de Van provides an excellent overview of these conflicts in the first chapter of *Verdi's Theater*.
10. See William H. Seltsam, *Metropolitan Opera Annals* (New York: Wilson, 1947) and Thomas G. Kaufman, *Verdi and His Major Contemporaries* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1990), with additional indexes by Linda Fairtile published in the *Verdi Newsletter* 20 (1992), 16–21.
11. See Gundula Kreuzer's recent study of this revival of Verdi's fortunes in Germany, "Zurück zu Verdi: The 'Verdi Renaissance' and Musical Culture in the Weimar Republic," *Studi verdiani* 13 (1998), 117–54.
12. The two volumes have recently been republished in a single volume as *Verdi*, ed. Piero Gelli (Milan: Ricordi, 2000).
13. For discussions of editorial philosophy, see Casati and Pavarani (eds.), *Nuove prospettive nella ricerca verdiana*, particularly the overview by Philip Gossett on pp. 3–9. David Lawton offers a concise rationale for the new edition in "Why Bother with the New Verdi Edition?," *Opera Quarterly* 2 (Winter 1984–85), 43–54. See also statements by individual editors in each volume of the series.
14. For a further discussion of these issues, see Ursula Günther, "Don Carlos: Edizione integrale – Critical Edition," in Casati and Pavarani (eds.), *Nuove prospettive nella ricerca verdiana*, pp. 29–48; David Lawton, "The Autograph of *Aida* and the New Verdi Edition," *Verdi Newsletter* 14 (1986), 4–14; and James A. Hepokoski, "Overriding the Autograph Score: The Problem of Textual Authority in Verdi's *Falstaff*," *Studi verdiani* 8 (1992), 13–51.
15. Petrobelli, "Music in the Theater (Apropos of *Aida*, Act III)" and "More on the Three 'Systems': The First Act of *La forza del destino*," in Petrobelli, *Music in the Theater*, pp. 113–26 and 127–40.
16. Petrobelli, "The Music of Verdi: An Example of the Transmission and Reception of Musical Culture," trans. Roger Parker, *Verdi Newsletter* 15 (1987), 3–6.
17. The following recent studies of *Il trovatore* illustrate the wide variety of analytical methodologies employed by scholars: Martin Chusid, "A New Source for *El trovador* and Its Implications for the Tonal Organization of *Il trovatore*," in Chusid (ed.), *Verdi's Middle*

- Period*, pp. 207–25; William Drabkin, “Characters, Key Relations, and Tonal Structure in *Il trovatore*,” *Music Analysis* 1 (1982), 143–53; Joanna Greenwood, “Musical and Dramatic Motion in Verdi’s *Il trovatore*,” *Jahrbuch für Opernforschung* 2 (1986), 59–73; and Pierluigi Petrobelli, “Per un’esegesi della struttura drammatica del *Trovatore*,” in Medici and Pavarani (eds.), *Atti del III Congresso internazionale di studi verdiani*, pp. 387–407.
18. For examples of notable studies in these areas, see Marco Beghelli, “Per un nuovo approccio al teatro musicale: l’atto performativo come luogo dell’imitazione gestuale nella drammaturgia verdiana,” *Italica* 64 (1987), 632–53; Fabrizio Della Seta, “Verdi: la tradizione italiana e l’esperienza europea,” *Musica/realità* 32 (August 1990), 135–58; Daniela Goldin, “Il *Simon Boccanegra* da Piave a Boito e la drammaturgia verdiana,” in Goldin, *La vera fenice: Libretti e librettisti tra Sette e Ottocento* (Turin: Einaudi, 1985), pp. 283–334; Gerardo Guccini, “La drammaturgia dell’attore nella sintesi di Giuseppe Verdi,” *Teatro e storia* 4 (1989), 245–82; Pierluigi Petrobelli, “Boito e Verdi,” in Giovanni Morelli (ed.), *Arrigo Boito: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi* (Florence: Olschki, 1994), pp. 261–73; Gilles de Van, “Notes sur Verdi humoriste,” in *Omaggio a Gianfranco Folena*, 3 vols. (Padua: Editoriale Programma, 1993), vol. II, pp. 1739–48; and Piero Weiss, “Verdi and the Fusion of Genres,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35 (1982), 138–56.
19. Knud Arne Jürgensen, “Come affrontare i balletti verdiani nella mise en scène di oggi?,” in Pierluigi Petrobelli and Fabrizio Della Seta (eds.), *La realizzazione scenica dello spettacolo verdiano: Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi, Parma, 28–30 settembre 1994* (Parma: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Verdiani, 1996), pp. 367–71; and Roger Parker, “Reading the ‘livrets’ or the Chimera of ‘Authentic’ Staging,” in Petrobelli and Della Seta (eds.), *La realizzazione scenica dello spettacolo verdiano*, pp. 345–66. The same argument is presented in Parker, “The Sea and the Stars and the Wastes of the Desert,” *University of Toronto Quarterly* 67 (Fall 1998), 750–60.
20. Hepokoski and Ferrero (eds.), “*Otello*” di Giuseppe Verdi (1990); Conati and Grilli (eds.), “*Simon Boccanegra*” di Giuseppe Verdi (1993); David Rosen, “*Un ballo in maschera*” di Giuseppe Verdi (in preparation).
21. See, for example, Linda B. Fairtile, “The Violin Director and Verdi’s Middle-Period Operas,” in Chusid (ed.), *Verdi’s Middle Period*, pp. 413–26; Roberta Montemorra Marvin, “Aspects of Tempo in Verdi’s Early and Middle-Period Italian Operas,” in Chusid (ed.), *ibid.*, pp. 393–411; and two articles by Renato Meucci, “Il cimbasso e gli strumenti affini nell’Ottocento italiano” and “I timpani e gli strumenti a percussione nell’Ottocento italiano,” *Studi verdiani* 5 (1989–90), 109–62, and 13 (1998), 183–254.
22. See “*Arpa d’or dei fatidici vati*” and “‘Va pensiero’ and the Insidious Mastery of Song.” See also Birgit Pauls, *Giuseppe Verdi und das Risorgimento: Ein politischer Mythos im Prozess der Nationenbildung* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Frankfurt am Main, 1996; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996).
23. Petrobelli, “The Music of Verdi,” 5.