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OVERRIDING THE AUTOGRAPH SCORE:
THE PROBLEM OF TEXTUAL AUTHORITY IN VERDI'S
"FALSTAFF"

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1. *Prologue: the problem 'in nuce'.*

Many of those involved with the new Verdi edition¹ have long suspected that the principles drafted to underpin the editing of the earlier works would have to be modified, or even completely rethought, when confronting the last operas. This is clear, for example, from a privately distributed set of editorial guidelines, which laid out a carefully nuanced policy regarding its evaluation of the available sources. For the most part, because of the belief that "it was normally Verdi's habit through most of his career to leave his autograph manuscripts in a form he considered definitive [...] the principal source for an edition will practically always be the composer's full autograph score". The obvious hedgings here ("normally" and "practically always") were amplified a few pages later with the acknowledgment that in some cases the authority of the relevant autograph scores might be more generally questioned: "Among the operas, only in the cases of *Otello*, *Falstaff*, and perhaps *La traviata*, will it be necessary to face the problem of a full orchestral score printed under Verdi's purported supervision".²

¹The term "new Verdi edition" refers, of course, to *The works of Giuseppe Verdi*, a multi-decade project currently being undertaken jointly by the University of Chicago Press (Chicago) and Casa Ricordi (Milan). In Philip Gossett's "Preface", reprinted at the beginning of each of the volumes that have appeared so far, one reads that each score is "both rigorously faithful to authentic sources and suitable for performance": "The main text reflects the definitive state of a work, not necessarily its final state"; "The music is derived from a principal source, almost always the composer's autograph manuscript".

²"Statement of editorial principles for the Verdi edition", typescript, n.d., pp. 6, 8.

If only to streamline the present discussion, we shall set aside here what may be the two most obvious issues surrounding these remarks: first, the questionable nature of the claims in the first quotation, whose connotations, swirling around the problematic concept, “definitive”, are likely to strike those familiar with the literary-critical and textual-critical perspectives of the 1990s as, at best, vastly oversimplified;³ and, second, the implication (or hope?) that the circumstances working to challenge the fundamental authority of the manuscript scores as a principal source of only certain operas may legitimately be separated from those of the other works by a firm, delimiting line, a conceptual *cordon sanitaire* (as though Verdi had bestowed a different, presumably looser, personal standard of manuscript “definitiveness” in those operas that were likely to lead to a printed score). Steering clear of this argumentational morass — doubtless a worthy topic for a separate essay — we may proceed directly into a different observation, namely that in 1986 David Lawton extended the list of potentially problematic autograph scores to *Aida*, an opera that, arguably, may be regarded as Verdi’s first work for a “new” age that was beginning to define itself as more emphatically modern, industrial, technological, and collaborative. For our purposes, we need only recall Lawton’s conclusion:

To sum up: because of Verdi’s deep involvement in the publication and performance history of *Aida*, the autograph cannot always be regarded as the ultimate authority for the definitive text of the opera. Variant readings in an imposing number of other sources must be carefully researched and documented as to their origin. The preparation of the critical edition will require preliminary research far in excess of what has been done for the operas published to date.⁴

The opera with which we are concerned in the present essay, *Falstaff* (1893), presents even more complications along these lines than does *Aida*. It was prepared some two decades later in a far more technological and international world of “instantly” printed Italian *partiture* (of which the 1887 *Otello* had been one of the first, and proudest examples, “stampato in luogo di manoscritto”, a score given an enthusiastic blessing by the composer

³ As is widely known, the past two decades have been conditioned by a set of sharp and often convincing challenges to the notions of a “definitive” and stable “text”, personal creative “authority” and “intention”, and so on. In short, to adapt a deft summary of the situation provided by *The chronicle of higher education*, 31 March 1993, p. 10: “For [current] editorial theorists, there is no such thing as the definitive version of a text, only versions of a text”, or, more generally, a particular “construction” of a text. The literature on the ramifications of this for the editing of texts is extensive, but we should particularly cite one of the most widely read discussions, J. J. MCGANN, *A critique of modern textual criticism* (Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1983), along with such recent collections as N. SPADACCINI and J. TALENS, eds., *The politics of editing* (Minneapolis, Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1992), and G. BORNSTEIN and R. G. WILLIAMS, *Palimpsest: editorial theory in the humanities* (Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan Press, 1993).

⁴ D. LAWTON, *The autograph of “Aida” and the new Verdi edition*, in “Verdi newsletter”, 14 (1986), pp. 4-14. The quoted passage is found on p. 11.

himself).⁵ The *Falstaff* orchestral score was the product of a thoroughly industrialized editorship under the guidance of Giulio Ricordi at the height of his powers, and its printing history intersects — for the first time among Verdi’s works — with such complications as the new American copyright law. From the beginning, the *Falstaff* project celebrated the modern principle of the marriage of art to the economic and legal powers of big business; from the beginning, it was conceived both as something to be received and treated as a “masterpiece” and as something to be marketed aggressively within the norms expected by the modern institution of art music. This commodity called *Falstaff* was something that, once brought to its eventual state of release into the marketplace, would be a complex enterprise. To try to reduce this to a concern with Verdi’s intentions alone — with the implication that these intentions may be investigated apart from the collaborative and commercial process with which they were inescapably intertwined — is grossly to misunderstand the multilayered reality of this opera. *Falstaff* was very much a “socially produced” work.⁶

Merely to lay out (perhaps as a documentary history) the basic story of the creation and production of the *Falstaff* score would be an enormous task. There are hundreds — probably thousands — of relevant documents, each of which adds an essential nuance or part to the picture. The principal documents include: a substantial set of sketches and drafts, owned by Verdi’s heirs at Sant’Agata; Boito’s much-revised original manuscript libretto (also owned by the heirs); the autograph score itself (housed in the Archivio storico Ricordi, Milan); a set of vocal-score proofs, with Verdi’s corrections, dating mostly from November and December 1892 (the *bozza di stampa*, located in the library of the Milan Conservatory); hundreds of letters between Verdi and Boito and Verdi and Ricordi, many of the latter still unpublished; dozens of relevant — but hitherto little explored — copies of business letters and telegrams sent from Casa Ricordi to various persons in the 1892-94 period, still preserved as individual pages of an enormous, multi-volume set of *Copialettere* at the Ricordi Archivio storico; numerous official business

⁵ J. HEPOKOSKI, *Giuseppe Verdi: “Otello”* (Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987), p. 76; cf. J. HEPOKOSKI and M. VIALE FERRERO, *“Otello” di Giuseppe Verdi*, Musica e Spettacolo: Collana di Disposizioni sceniche diretta da Francesco Degrada e Mercedes Viale Ferrero (Milano, Ricordi, 1990), especially Chapter 12: “La disposizione scenica e il manoscritto autografo di *Otello*”, pp. 64-68. See also Section 3 below.

I should add that my current mode of thinking about the *Falstaff* score has been conditioned by my examination in the mid-1980s of the compositional and publication documents surrounding *Otello*, which, it is clear, served as a model for the activity surrounding the *Falstaff* project. I am now convinced that unless the available documents for both *Otello* and *Falstaff* have been studied and assessed as an entire corpus, no pronouncements should be made on the presumed “authority” or lack of it of any edition of either work. More convincing than the evidence in any single document is a grasp of the personal, intellectual, emotional, artistic, social, and commercial dynamics underpinning both projects.

⁶ The quoted phrase is taken from J. J. MCGANN, *A critique of modern textual criticism* cit., p. 75.

registers also still preserved there, including an often-cited book of work schedules and assignments (the so-called *libroni*), copyright registers, and the like; and, of course, the numerous versions of the printed editions produced and distributed in various formats by Ricordi.

I have dealt at length with certain aspects of this intricate *Falstaff* publication-story elsewhere.⁷ Consequently, I need not reconstruct all of its outlines here, although some of its details will be called upon as this essay proceeds. But there are certain previously unknown — though central — features of that story that have only recently come to light. It is on these new things that I would initially like to focus here. As will emerge, the most important new evidence illuminates a significant part of the editorial activity on the instrumental parts (and hence on the “final” orchestral score) that occurred at Casa Ricordi in the months immediately preceding the opera’s premiere (9 February 1893). From all indications, this editorial standardization was not only carried out with Verdi’s knowledge and approval, but it was also checked (and revised?) by him during the rehearsals themselves.

Ultimately, the main point of this essay is to argue that the preferred principal source for any future edition — at least one that claims to be an improvement on what is readily available today — should not be the autograph score.⁸ The existing evidence clearly shows that the autograph score was not produced to serve as the final court of appeal in editorial questions; rather, it was an “initiator-text” whose task, in accordance with the conventions of operatic publication in the 1880s and 1890s, was to set into motion a larger, collaborative process of grooming the work for its public appearance. For this reason, as I shall elaborate below, my view is this: Discounting for the moment the impact of the handful of later Parisian revisions (mostly from early 1894), any new edition of *Falstaff* worth serious consideration should be based primarily on the first printed orchestral score, a three-volume *partitura* produced in mid-1893 by Casa Ricordi for rental only (plate number 96180),⁹ which also incorporated the post-premiere

⁷ E.g., in *The compositional history of Verdi’s “Falstaff”: a study of the autograph score and early editions* (Ph.D. Diss., Harvard Univ., 1979); *Giuseppe Verdi: “Falstaff”* (Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1983); and *Under the eye of the Verdian bear: notes on the rehearsals and première of “Falstaff”*, “The musical quarterly”, 71 (1985), pp. 135-156.

⁸ This reverses the position that I took in 1979 in *The compositional history of Verdi’s “Falstaff”*, Ch. 6, “Prolegomena to a modern critical edition”, pp. 208-243, in which, following the orthodoxy of the fledgling Verdi edition, I favored the autograph score. The presentation of basic data within that chapter still remains valid, in my view, but its interpretive conclusions — buttressed by illustrative editorial problems and the like — now seem to me to be misguided.

⁹ As is widely known, the readings of the first printed orchestral score deviate significantly from those found in the autograph manuscript. These deviations involve not only matters of phrasing, dynamics, and articulation, but also, here and there, those of pitch, rhythm, stage directions, and text. It is also worth noting — if only to underscore the irony of the situation — that it was Denis Vaughan’s late-1950s outrage at the estimated “27,000 differences” between the autograph and printed score of *Falstaff* that precipitated the whole question of the authenticity

Roman revisions made in March and early April 1893.¹⁰

Thus *Falstaff* presents a virtually paradigmatic case of the common editorial situation recently described by Jerome J. McGann:

“Final authority” [...] rests neither with the author nor with his affiliated institution; it resides in the actual structure of the agreements which these two cooperating authorities reach in specific cases.

Or, yet again:

[In certain instances] the concept of authorial intention only comes into force for criticism when (paradoxically) the artist’s work begins to engage with social structures and functions. The fully authoritative text is therefore always one which has been socially produced; as a result, the critical standard for what constitutes authoritativeness cannot rest with the author and his intentions alone.¹¹

With *Falstaff* we are obliged to engage the issue of a “socially authoritative” non-autograph source, and we need to formulate hypotheses about why direct manuscript sources for that first printed orchestral score are lacking. This entails nothing less than a reconstruction of all phases of the production of the printed orchestral score (and parts). In this reconstruction there are two central problems. The first is that we are obliged to posit the necessary existence of a now-missing *Stichvorlage*, the crucial intermediate score situated chronologically between the autograph and 96180 (the first printed *partitura*). Once 96180 had been produced, this mediating text might have been discarded; it might have been given to someone (one might hope), thus still remaining to be found; or, more likely, it might have been destroyed, along with many other important documents, in the catastrophic fire at G. Ricordi & C. during the Allied bombing of Milan in 1943. The second problem is that all written correspondence ceased during

of available Verdi scores, a question that, when developed by more measured scholars, ultimately led in the early 1970s to the establishing of the need for the new edition. See D. VAUGHAN, *Discordanze tra gli autografi verdiani e la loro stampa*, in “La Scala” (July 1958), pp. 11-15. Vaughan followed up these arguments about *Falstaff* and other Verdian operas in a number of subsequent articles, the most extensive of which is *The inner language of Verdi’s manuscripts*, in “Musicology”, 5 (1979), pp. 67-153.

¹⁰ Cf. note 8 above, which also applies here. For an overview of the Parisian and Roman revisions see my *Giuseppe Verdi: “Falstaff”* cit., pp. 54-84 (“Milan, Rome, and Paris: three versions of *Falstaff*”), which also includes a discussion of how certain features of each of the Roman and Parisian versions were (unintentionally?) intermixed to produce the “hybrid” — and sometimes contradictory — scores of the work most common today. More information may be found in *The compositional history of Verdi’s “Falstaff”* cit. The issue of the three versions is a separate matter from the principal topic of this essay, which is the selection of a document to serve as the principal source (or “copy-text”) for the opera. See also Section 5, No. 4 below.

¹¹ J. J. MCGANN, *A critique of modern textual criticism* cit., pp. 54, 75.

the period of the Verdi-supervised rehearsals and early performances of *Falstaff* (when certain aspects of the orchestral score could have been changing daily), from 2 January to 2 March, the dates of the composer's actual presence in Milan.¹² This was a period in which Verdi discussed, altered, and corrected things in person. Thus at the most significant editorial moment for the orchestral score, present-day scholars encounter a near-blackout of information.

Even though we lack certain documents and items of information central to the preparation of the first printed orchestral score, the overall picture of what must have occurred seems sufficiently clear. What follows, then, is a presentation of the new information (Section 2), situated in the context of a summary-overview of the editorial situation regarding the *partitura* of *Falstaff*. I shall continue with a few observations of what we know must have occurred during the informational blackout (Section 3) and proceed to formulate a general hypothesis concerning the preparation of the orchestral score, 96180, and its missing *Stichvorlage* (Section 4). I shall conclude with some recommendations that concern the preparation of a modestly "authoritative" *Falstaff* edition more generally. As will be evident, these recommendations also bring up matters not dwelt upon in the first four sections.

2. Early editorial interventions: *De Angelis, Magrini, and?* . . .

The clearest point of entry is somewhere near the middle of the publication story, with two Casa Ricordi documents from 28 December 1892. The date is significant. This was a mere seven days before Verdi would leave his residence in Genoa to arrive in Milan (2 January) to supervise procedures leading to the *Falstaff* premiere (9 February); it was nine days before the first Milanese piano rehearsals at La Scala itself (starting 4 January); and it was a little less than a month before the onset of the first orchestral rehearsals (which may have begun as early as 21 January).¹³ Moreover, by 28

¹² The 2 January date of his arrival in Milan is established by a telegram sent on 1 January 1893 by Giulio Ricordi to Verdi: "Auguri Auguri Auguri con tutto il cuore a nome tutti noi. Nostro più caro augurio è nel dire a rivederli domani" (*Cop 1892-93*, XI, p. 379, unpublished; the date is also confirmed in a telegram from the next day, reprinted in *Under the eye of the Verdian bear...* cit., p. 139, note 20). (For the *Cop* abbreviation, see note 15 below.) The date of departure was announced in the 5 March 1893 issue of Ricordi's "Gazzetta musicale di Milano", p. 162: "Giuseppe Verdi e la di lui signora, dopo due mesi di soggiorno nella nostra città, partirono giovedì scorso [2 March] per Genova". Verdi stayed in Milan through the ninth performance. For a more comprehensive summary of all of the available information regarding Verdi at the rehearsals and early performances, see *Under the eye of the Verdian bear...* cit. and *The compositional history of Verdi's "Falstaff"* cit. I provide a roster of early performances in *Giuseppe Verdi: "Falstaff"* cit., p. 56, summarized in Section 3 below.

¹³ The dates are established in *Under the eye of the Verdian bear...* cit., pp. 139-141. Verdi himself later recalled that the piano rehearsals had started on 3 January; see his (mis-)dated letter of 3 March 1893 in *ABBATI*, IV, p. 478: the actual date of the letter, established by postmark, is 5 March.

December the first edition of the vocal score had not only been completely engraved, but two sets of its proofs had been printed and laboriously corrected by, among others, the composer himself. Only a few days before, on 23 December, Verdi had returned the last batch of *spartito* proofs to Ricordi (the second act, as it turned out): "Così avrete fatto l'opera, senza speranza sia completamente corretta!"¹⁴ (Verdi was indicating that there were still some small errors to correct and mentioned that he had found two more [unspecified] in the first act; the implication was that because of the press of time any further corrections would have to be done at the rehearsals and incorporated into the second printing of the score. But in fact, the composer sent off yet another "final" correction to the vocal-score proofs on 27 December). By 4 January the first copies of the vocal score were bound: on that date Ricordi sent three copies of it to the attorney Jean Lobel, Ricordi's Parisian facilitator in Paris, who would set into motion the procedures that were to lead to an American copyright on the *spartito*.¹⁵ As for the full autograph score, Ricordi had been in possession of it since around 4 October. From this moment onward, of course, it had been the task of the publishing firm not only to produce an accurate, salable *spartito* but also to prepare the orchestral parts for the upcoming rehearsals and performance and, more generally, to accomplish the editing-work that would eventually lead to the release of a rental-only, high-technology printed *partitura* in the months following the premiere.

Entering at first, then, in the middle of the story: On 28 December 1892 Giulio Ricordi wrote nearly identical letters to two key performers in the

¹⁴ Verdi to Ricordi, 23 December 1892 (unpublished), located in the Archivio storico Ricordi, Milano (I-Mr), where it is assigned the number 1084. See also *The compositional history of Verdi's "Falstaff"* cit., p. 85. Much of the 27 December 1892 letter is included in *ABBATI*, IV, pp. 470-471. *Abbiati* includes (but without the musical notation) the passage with Ford's question in II.2, «Chi c'è dentro quel cesto?».

I should like to thank G. Ricordi & C., Milan, for their generous permission to quote throughout this essay from the correspondence and work-registers in their extensive collection.

¹⁵ The unpublished Casa Ricordi-Jean Lobel correspondence is one of the significant "legal" constituents of the *Falstaff* story. Ricordi's side of it is preserved in the set of *Copialettere* in I-Mr (henceforth *Cop*, followed by the year and relevant volume and page). In this case we are concerned with Ricordi and Tornaghi to Lobel ("17 Rue de Faubourg, Montmartre, Paris"), 4 January 1893:

En confirmant n[ô]tre lettre 31 Xmbre passé, nous avons l'honneur de vous donner avis de l'envoi que nous vous avons fait de 3 ex. *Falstaff* de Verdi piano et chant, 3 id. *Manon Lescaut* de Puccini[,] id. 3 morceaux de Tosti piano et chant, 6 id. de Chimeri piano seul, sousbande en 6 paquets chargé, avec facture dont ci inclus le duplicata. Nous attendrons que vous ayez la complaisance de nous écrire la date a laquelle on fera le dépôt des ouvrages susdits en Amerique, pour les faire enregistrer ici le même jour.

(*Cop 1892-93*, XI, pp. 486-487, unpublished).

This mailing is confirmed in a separate register in I-Mr, the *Procura Stati Uniti: Copyright - 5.12.1892 - 14.4.1914*, in which is noted that the "Giorno della spedizione" of *Falstaff: Opera completa Canto & piano* is, along with the Tosti and Chimeri pieces and *Manon Lescaut*, "4/1/93 in 6 sottofascia raccom."

planned La Scala orchestra for *Falstaff*. The first was Gerolamo De Angelis, who was to take on the crucial role of concertmaster, or “Primo Violino solista”; the second was Giuseppe Magrini, selected to serve as the “Primo Violoncello per l’Opera”.¹⁶ Both were eminent figures in Milanese instrumental music (with Vincenzo Appiani, piano, they constituted the notable Trio Milanese); both were professors of their respective instruments at the Milan Conservatory (De Angelis of both violin and viola); and De Angelis had been the first violinist of the La Scala Orchestra since 1879.¹⁷ The two previously unpublished letters, copies of which are preserved in the Casa Ricordi *Copialettere* (abbreviated here as *Cop*), indicate that Ricordi had called upon both to work editorially with Verdi’s autograph score in the preparation of at least some of the parts, and that now, by 28 December, their work had been completed. It was time to reward them. To De Angelis:

Eg° Prof. De Angelis

Gratissimo per le revisioni delle parti, mi permetta accluderle un modesto invio = con ciò non intendo offrirle un compenso; soltanto s’Ella vorrà, le servirà per un ricordo del lavoro pel *Falstaff*. E non dica di no, perché mi metterebbe nella spiacevole necessità di non più valerme della di Lei opera in consimili occasioni, avendo già troppo di sovente abusato della di Lei cortese amicizia.

Con auguri cordiali, ho il piacere di ripetermi

di Lei D^{mo}

Giulio Ricordi

(*Cop* 1892-93, XI, p. 273; unpublished)

To Magrini (notice here the somewhat more formal tone, suggesting that Ricordi might have had a closer personal friendship with De Angelis):

Eg° Prof. Magrini

Nel mentre la ringrazio della revisione fatta, mi permetto accluderle un piccolo invio — s’intende che non è un compenso, ma le potrà al caso servire per un ricordo della revisione alle parti *Falstaff* — Così, occorrendo, potrò valerme in altre occasioni dell’utile di Lei lavoro, altrimenti non vorrei più oltre profittare della di Lei compiacenza.

In pari tempo le faccio i miei auguri e con stima mi ripeto D.^{mo}

Giulio Ricordi

(*Cop* 1892-93, XI, p. 274; unpublished)

¹⁶ The terms are taken here from the opening pages of the first printed edition of the *Falstaff* libretto (96001), which lists the key instrumentalists, directors, designers, and so on.

¹⁷ See the entries for De Angelis, Magrini, and Appiani in the *Enciclopedia della musica* (Milano, Ricordi, 1963). This source consistently spells De Angelis’s first name as “Girolamo”. The 1892-93 sources at Casa Ricordi favor “Gerolamo”.

We might add that Ricordi’s hint that he would be able to use the services of each man again was soon acted upon. On 6 March 1893 he sent letters to them both requesting their help, “dovendosi fare le arcature nelle parti violini e viole [for Magrini the letter reads “nella parte *cello basso*”] dell’orchestra *Manon Lescaut* di Puccini” (*Cop* 1892-93, XVI, pp. 272-273, unpublished).

There is every reason to suspect that De Angelis’s and Magrini’s late-1892 work on *Falstaff* may have concerned more than “bowing” (“arcature”).¹⁸ For *Falstaff* Ricordi’s words suggest something more: he was thanking De Angelis for the “revisions of the parts” (“le revisioni delle parti”) and for “the work done for *Falstaff*” (“del lavoro pel *Falstaff*”, a phrase that need not be restricted to the upper string parts alone). Now, since it is precisely in such matters as the standardization or regularization of phrasing, dynamics, articulation, and so on, that the orchestral score printed by Ricordi (96180) differs so markedly from the autograph score, it is reasonable to infer (while leaving plenty of space for later, Verdi-supervised changes during the late-January and early-February orchestra rehearsals — or perhaps even later) that those “different” aspects of the printed score have something to do with the work of Magrini and De Angelis.

This conclusion is inescapable. It is unthinkable that such work on the parts would be separated from the task of preparing a master copy from which Ricordi’s most crucial score, the printed edition for rental purposes, would be engraved. Surely Ricordi was in one way or another keeping track of all the revisions or standardizations in the parts on precisely such a master copy (a point to which I shall return in Sections 3 and 4 below). To this it need only be added that De Angelis and Magrini might not have been alone in their work. Ricordi might also have made use of some now-unknown others within or outside the printing firm, but to whom letters were never sent or for whom, for whatever reason, letter-copies are missing. (Obviously, letters would be sent only to those persons whose professional activities — such as those required by the Milan Conservatory, in the cases of De Angelis and Magrini — did not bring them at this time into frequent personal encounters with Ricordi).¹⁹

The central questions for any current editor of *Falstaff* are: to what extent was Verdi aware of these editorial interventions and standardizations?; and, if he was, what was his attitude toward them? The answers are clear: the composer knew of this work (Ricordi was anything but secretive about it),

¹⁸ It goes without saying that the same is probably true of their work to come on *Manon Lescaut*.

¹⁹ There are no comparable letter copies in the Ricordi *Copialettere*, for example, to Antonio Zamperoni (flute), Angelo Carcano (oboe), Armando Cicotti (clarinet), Antonio Torriani (bassoon), Luigi Carvelli (first horn), or Pio Nevi (trombone).

and the available evidence suggests that he welcomed it. To establish this, we need now to turn back to the point where Verdi first relinquished his manuscript score to the publishing house.

Giulio Ricordi had received the autograph score from Verdi not as a whole, but in three different transactions, act by act (in the order 1, 3, 2). He obtained the first act himself in the course of a visit to Sant'Agata on 27 August 1892; the third act was given to Giulio's son Tito at the Piacenza railway station on 15 September; and the second act, in all likelihood, was given to Giulio Ricordi during another visit to the composer (along with Arrigo Boito and Adolph Hohenstein, the set and costume designer) on 4 October 1892.²⁰ In each case, immediately after having received a portion of the score, he set into motion the work on a piano-vocal reduction, and promptly sent Verdi the relevant portions of the reduction-manuscript (now lost) for examination as soon as they were completed. The principal reducer was Carlo Carignani; new evidence indicates that during certain phases of the reduction Carignani may have been assisted by Gaetano Luporini, who also resided in Lucca.²¹

Even before receiving the second installment of the full score, however, Ricordi, now in Milan, was concerned with moving with all due speed to produce engraved orchestral parts in time for the eventual rehearsals. This work — which would have begun with a manuscript recopying of the individual parts — was underway by at least 11 September 1892. Casa

²⁰The dates of consignment are discussed more extensively in my *Giuseppe Verdi: "Falstaff"* cit., pp. 43-45, and the evidence for this and subsequent dating within the present essay is most elaborately laid out in *The compositional history of Verdi's "Falstaff"* cit., pp. 252-256 and in Chapter 3, "Verdi and Ricordi in collaboration: the proofs for the first piano-vocal edition", pp. 54-108, and "Prolegomena to a modern critical edition: the orchestral score: special considerations", pp. 219-236. (But cf. the caveat in note 8 above).

As I mention in both of the above works, it is possible (though, I now think, extremely unlikely) that Verdi did not give Act 2 to Ricordi on 4 October but waited until his visit to Milan shortly thereafter, between 13 and 16 October. Even granting the possibility of the later date, however, the argument subsequently elaborated in the present essay would be unaffected.

²¹The new evidence consists of a series of letters from the second half of 1892 — preserved in the Ricordi *Copialettere* — from "C. Blanc" (of the Ricordi firm) to Luporini (17 August, 30 August, 30 September, 31 October, and 9 November), several of which concern regular monthly payroll matters and ask Luporini to "fare una gita a Milano" for unspecified business. The most provocative letter is that of 9 November 1892: "Quando ricevetti stamane la gentilissima di Lei lettera d'jeri stavo appunto per scriverle d'incarico del S. Com. Giulio acciocché Ella si trovasse qui sabato prossimo. Ella può così benissimo partire coll'egregio M^o Carignani. Qui accluso troverà un biglietto da L. 100 per le di Lei spese di viaggio" (*Cop 1892-93*, VIII, p. 246, unpublished). By 9 November, of course, Carignani's manuscript reduction of *Falstaff* had been completed. It is uncertain what Luporini's business in Milan at this time might have been, but the link to Carignani seems clear enough: he may have been Carignani's assistant.

Note, however, that Luporini's name is also linked with Carignani's in C. GATTI's *Il Teatro alla Scala*, p. 174, quoted in M. MEDICI and M. CONATI, eds., *Carteggio Verdi-Boito*, 2 vols. (Parma, Istituto di studi verdiani, 1978), II, p. 427: here the claim is that "il mio caro compagno Luporini... aveva ridotto per canto e pianoforte da una copia della partitura originale d'orchestra un bel po' del *Falstaff*". The index of *Carteggio Verdi-Boito*, II, p. 532, incorrectly gives Gaetano Luporini's first name as Gustavo.

Ricordi's company work register, the *libroni*, includes this date as part of its official entry acknowledging that it was undertaking work on the parts (although the copying work may actually have begun somewhat earlier than this date).²² The *libroni* entries included the assigning of future plate numbers, 96003-96007 for violin 1, violin 2, viola, cello and bass, and winds. Thus the top entry reads, in its various columns: "96003 / Diversi / Verdi G. / 11-9-92 / *Falstaff*. Opera. Orchestra. Violino I. Copisteria". Throughout September Ricordi seems to have been concerned primarily with the changes — often compositional changes — that Verdi, at Sant'Agata, was concurrently making in the reduction manuscript. His initial interest seems to have been that Verdi's autograph manuscript be kept as accurate as possible, at least in its most essential details. On 30 September 1892, for example, about two weeks after receiving the second installment of the full score, he wrote to Verdi with some urgency:

Una cosa importante: i segni in partitura sono stati fatti: occorre ora ch'Ella possa fare quanto corrisponde ai segni stessi: ma... ciò è urgente a farsi, perché non si possono cavare le parti —

Crede Ella che, nel consegnare il 2° Atto, le si porti il resto della partitura?... in tal caso, v'è tempo sufficiente, a Piacenza stessa, di segnare dette correzioni, così si ritornerebbe col 1° e 3° Atto in ordine?... Il Capo copista mi fa gran premura, per cavare subito le parti ed arrivare in tempo ad inciderle, il che è un gran vantaggio per le prove d'orchestra —²³

Although it would never completely disappear, the editor's urgent tone would soon subside — at least with regard to the orchestral parts — and this probably had something to do with Ricordi's and Verdi's activity in the first half of October. During Ricordi's visit to Sant'Agata on 4 October (during which he was given the remaining portion of the autograph score), he must have requested Verdi to make a business visit to Milan about a week later to finalize a number of decisions about *Falstaff*. We may presume that these were decisions that would be easier to make on the spot at the printing firm — with the relevant documents and individuals present — than alone,

²²The earliest entry for *Falstaff* in the *libroni* is from two days earlier, 10 September, and concerns the vocal score: "96000 / Diversi / Verdi G. / 10-9-92 / *Falstaff*. Opera completa per Canto e Pianoforte, in 8°. Riduz. di C. Carignani (A) netti 20 / 474". But we know that Ricordi had begun sending Verdi fascicles of Carignani's reduction manuscript on 2 September (*The compositional history of Verdi's "Falstaff"* cit., pp. 43-44). This indicates that the *libroni* dates do not record the date on which actual work on a document commenced. Rather, they seem to represent the date on which an official work-number was assigned. (This would become a plate number if the given piece was actually engraved).

²³Sant'Agata, Villa Verdi = I-BSAv. Ricordi to Verdi, 30 September 1892, unpublished. I should like to thank Alberto and Gabriella Carrara Verdi for their kind permission to publish extracts from this and other letters from Ricordi to Verdi. Two earlier letters from Ricordi to Verdi (both unpublished) also touch on this concern for the timely extraction of the parts: those of 15 June 1892 and 1 September 1892.

abstractly, at Sant'Agata. As is clear from Verdi's next letter to Ricordi, on 9 October 1892, one of the key things to accomplish was the standardization of the text and stage directions, for Verdi's autograph score still bore some early, by-now altered readings of some of the words — not to mention spelling and punctuation — and differed at several points from Boito's new master copy. (By and large, it was the librettist who was responsible for stabilizing the final version of the verbal text. This in itself was an acknowledgment that the autograph score could not be regarded as definitive in all matters).²⁴ Among some of the other issues, so far as the composer knew at this point, was the problem of the "bowing" within the parts ("le arcate") along with some unspecified "other things" ("altre cose"). In the letter of 9 October, Verdi also fixed the date of his arrival:

Peppina andrà a Cremona Giovedì [13 October]: io l'accompagnerò e tirerò dritto fino a Milano ove arriverò alle 3:30. Disponete tutto perché io ripartirò Domenica [16 October]; ed al giorno stesso del mio arrivo potremo lavorare dalle 4 alle 6 se non altro per ripassare e confrontare il libretto colla musica; fare i piccoli accomodamenti: e fissare il numero dei coristi e Comparsa che io desidero sieno pochissimi. Venerdì e Sabato [14, 15 October] potremmo occuparci delle Scene delle arcate, dell'Arpista e di altre cose... Va bene così? —²⁵

Realizing that Verdi would be in Milan at 3:30 in the afternoon on Thursday, 13 October, Ricordi must have requested his secretary, Eugenio Tornaghi, to contact De Angelis and Magrini at once, doubtless to make certain that each of them would in fact be playing key roles in the orchestra for the premiere and also to ask each of them to accomplish (at least) the bowing for the *Falstaff* parts. But again: it is likely that what Ricordi had in mind went beyond the literal sense of the word, bowing. Since the end-product in view was an efficient, internally consistent, "modern" printed *partitura*, merely to reproduce whatever happened to be found in the autograph score would have given a chaotic impression (see also Section 4 below). Moreover, it is clear that Ricordi wanted to strike an agreement with

²⁴The same general problem of an "outdated" text also exists with the autograph score of *Otello*. I have addressed this issue, with examples, in "La disposizione scenica e il manoscritto autografo di *Otello*", in *Otello di Giuseppe Verdi* cit., pp. 64-68 (see note 5 above). In general, variant verbal-text readings in the autograph score may often — though not always — be traced back to Boito's original manuscript libretto (that is, to one of the earliest states of the text). Still, this observation seems generally truer of *Otello* than of *Falstaff*, whose autograph score seems to provide a few more idiosyncratic readings.

In considering the matter of an "authoritative" text more broadly, however, it should be underscored that it may not be said that the textual readings in the printed libretto of *Otello* and *Falstaff* are absolutely binding in all cases. See, e.g., the problem discussed in note 63 below.



²⁵I-Mr, No. 1053. The letter, with some omissions, has been printed in *ABBATI*, IV, pp. 463-464. Ricordi confirmed a subsequent letter from Verdi (*ABBATI*, IV, p. 464) with a telegram dated 11 October: "Senza avviso contrario sarò giovedì [13 October] alle tre e trenta all'albergo [...]" (*Cop 1892-93*, VI, p. 412, unpublished).

De Angelis and Magrini (and perhaps with the chief copyist and others as well) before Verdi arrived in Milan. On 11 October, therefore, Tornaghi asked each of them, in identical letters, to come to Casa Ricordi on the morning of 13 October, only a few hours, that is, before Verdi's arrival:

La prego di favorire qui allo studio giovedì mattina, avendo il mio Sig. Comm. Giulio bisogno di parlarle per cosa importante.
Ringraziandola anticipatamente la riverisco con stima. (*Cop 1892-93*, VI, p. 427 [Magrini], p. 428 [De Angelis], unpublished).

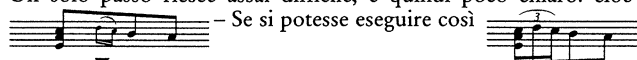
Thus Ricordi came to some kind of understanding with De Angelis and Magrini on 13 October, one that might also have included the help of a few unknown others, including the chief copyist. It is also possible that the two performers might have met with Verdi in Milan — even at Casa Ricordi — on 13, 14, or 15 October. In any event, whatever the decision with regard to the preparatory editing of the orchestral score and parts, it was doubtless agreed upon *a voce* at this time. The official entry acknowledging the onset of the copying-work to be done in the preparation of a printed orchestral score — the assigning of a future plate number, and so on — was made into the Casa Ricordi *libroni* on 24 October 1892.²⁶ In the various columns of this register one reads: "96180 / Diversi / Verdi G. / [24-10-92, indicated by ditto marks from previous entries] / *Falstaff*. Opera. Partitura d'Orchestra — Copisteria". By this time, then, it was full speed ahead on the work in the "copisteria" — whatever that might have entailed — with regard to the autograph score. In this task the composer was delegating certain aspects of editorial authority to others, subject, one might suppose, to his own later inspection at the rehearsals.

After Verdi's Milanese visit in mid-October, the editorial matters brought up in Ricordi's many letters to the composer in late 1892 overwhelmingly concern the production of the vocal score: preparing and correcting its proofs, in which latter activity Verdi, now in Genoa, would be actively involved. One of these clearly demonstrates an overriding of what Verdi had written in the autograph score. On 6 November Ricordi mentioned to Verdi that the guitar part in II.2 had been editorially revised — further evidence that certain individuals were retouching the score:

Fatto esaminare parte chitarra da buon sonatore: in complesso va benissimo: qualche nota da lasciar fuori, ma gli accordi rimangono sempre completi — P.e.:
 il *do* non si può suonare: invece così  va bene —

²⁶With regard to the date, cf. the caveat in note 22 above.

Un solo passo riesce assai difficile, e quindi poco chiaro: cioè i gruppetti: — Se si potesse eseguire così — riescirebbe



facile — Veda quindi Lei, Maestro, come crede fare.²⁷

Verdi's response on 9 November was sympathetic and suggested his own conceptual separation of what was and what was not essential in the autograph score: "Ho dimenticato di rispondervi sulla parte della Chitarra. Non importa omettere qualche nota in mezzo, basta che resti la fondamentale ed il Canto. Stà bene, ed è meglio, ridurre l'appoggiatura in terzine così



et. et."²⁸

Considering the large number of references to editorial issues in his prolix letters from late 1892, Ricordi was astonishingly silent about the preparation of the orchestral parts and future *partitura*, all of which suggests, again, that Verdi had agreed not to be actively concerned with these things at this time. There are a few exceptions, though, and they provide tantalizing glimpses into the publisher's plans with regard to the orchestral edition. On 10 November Ricordi wrote Verdi to express his frustration with his still-primitive understanding of the new American copyright law (thus far his firm had copyrighted nothing). In particular, the publisher was beginning to worry that he would soon have to send off, among other things "una copia manoscritta della partitura, prima che l'opera sia rappresentata".²⁹ The main concern (apart from the obvious rush that would be involved) was of a potential break in the general secrecy surrounding the music of *Falstaff*. An exchange of legal correspondence with Lobel in Paris from 10 to 14 November seems to have laid this fear to rest.³⁰

²⁷ I-BSAv, unpublished. See note 23 above.

²⁸ I-Mr, No. 1057, in *ABBATI*, IV, p. 465 (with some omissions).

²⁹ I-BSAv, unpublished. See note 23 above.

³⁰ Letter copies from Ricordi and Tornaghi to Jean Lobel, (*Cop 1892-93*), 10 November 1892 (VIII, pp. 281-284), 14 November 1892 (VIII, pp. 399-402); cf. also that of 23 November (IX, p. 213). Lobel's replies are lost: no record of them currently exists in the Ricordi Archives. Since none of the Ricordi firm's subsequent letters to Lobel — which are meticulous with regard to listing the contents of all shipments to him — mention the sending of a manuscript copy of the *partitura*, it seems safe to assume that Lobel had told Ricordi, as the editor had hoped, that in certain cases (especially those involving musical notation?) before publication the titles alone would suffice. Still, the legal complications behind this are far from clear: on 23 November Ricordi did send Lobel "une copie manuscrite des libretti *Falstaff* et *Manon Lescaut* que nous vous prions d'envoyer à v[ôtre] Mr. Glaenzer pour faire composer en typographie et en fixer la date de la publication au 10 (dix) Janvier prochain 1893". (In the *Rubrica* section of the *Copialettere 1892-93*, a list of names and addresses, this Glaenzer is identified as "Em. Glaenzer. Aux bons soins di Mr Rowland Cox Musical and Dramatic Copyright Office 229 Broadway. New York").

On the basis of the currently known evidence, there is no reason to believe that Ricordi sent Lobel (or anyone else) manuscript musical material for *Falstaff* at any time, and certainly not in late 1892. On the other hand, in order to hasten Verdi's work on the *bozza di stampa* of the vocal score Ricordi did continue to complain to Verdi about the difficulties of complying with the American copyright, without specifying exactly what now needed to be done (21

Nevertheless, on 14 November Ricordi asked the composer to speed up his schedule of making corrections — and, more to the point, compositional revisions — in the *bozza di stampa* of the vocal score, and at this point it was clear that Ricordi was still planning on using printed orchestral parts (with "bowings" or "revisions" currently being prepared by De Angelis and Magrini) at the rehearsals and premiere:

Ora devo farle viva preghiera, perché mi rimandi al più presto possibile le pagine di partitura di cui le spedisco copia oggi stesso, e così, occorrendo, poter fare la relativa correzione. Ella mi scrisse: *fate presto a stampare, altrimenti cambio Ancora!* — Ebbene, Maestro, bisogna proprio cominciare Mercoledì [16 November], o Giovedì [17 November] al più tardi, altrimenti, non solo non vi sarà pronta l'edizione [here, probably the vocal score], ma non si avranno le parti di orchestra incise — essendovi proprio appena, appena il tempo necessario. Ho quindi vera necessità ch'Ella mi scriva: sta bene — fate pure.³¹

Again: Ricordi's concern here revolved exclusively around Verdi's persistent practice of altering the pitches or rhythms of the score in his correction of the vocal-score proofs. (And the publisher was pencilling "signs" into Verdi's manuscript score — which was then in Milan — so that Verdi could alter these notes when he arrived in January). Phrasings, articulations, dynamics, bowings, and the like were not an issue at this time.

Thus Ricordi's plans to have all of the orchestral parts engraved by mid-January were continuing, despite Verdi's refusal to sound a definitive end to the revision process. Between 29 November and 2 December 1892 Verdi (still working with the vocal-score proofs) modified portions of Falstaff's Honor Monologue, a change that both altered some of the harmony and included the addition of a new measure — all of which would require adjustments to the instrumentation and would consequently affect the orchestral score and parts.³² Ricordi responded to Verdi on 2 December:

Ma... devo pregarla d'un favore: e cioè mandarmi la modificazione fatta al 1° Atto istruimentata, che poi inserirò nella partitura originale = ma della quale ho urgentissima necessità per correggere le parti d'orchestra, perché il 1° Atto dell'orchestra è già tutto inciso, e non si arriverebbe in tempo a fare le nuove lastre, aspettando la di Lei venuta —³³

November: "In questi giorni sto preparando appunto tutto il materiale pel deposito in America: c'è da sudar freddo, per assicurarsi che si adempiono a tutte le formalità!... e che non si commette qualche sproposito!... Ed è anche per questo che è urgente stampare la riduzione, la quale bisogna spedirla fra pochi giorni, onde si possa poi pubblicarla quando sarà il momento" (I-BSAv, unpublished; see note 23 above).

³¹ I-BSAv, unpublished. See note 23 above.

³² For the changes see *The compositional history of Verdi's "Falstaff"* cit., pp. 80-81, 96-99 and *Giuseppe Verdi: "Falstaff"* cit., pp. 48-49.

³³ I-BSAv, unpublished. See note 23 above.

Since the parts for (at least) the first act were completely engraved by early December, we may be reasonably certain that during the late-January rehearsals the orchestra played from engraved parts, or perhaps from some sort of provisional proofs still in the process of correction. We might also notice in passing that Ricordi's term, *partitura originale*, implies the existence of another sort of *partitura* — presumably, a master copy.

Throughout all of this, we might observe that De Angelis and Magrini had remained unmentioned in the Verdi-Ricordi correspondence. In fact, no available document had referred to them since Tornaghi's letter copy to each of 11 October. But on 19 December 1892 Ricordi wrote a characteristically enormous letter to Verdi that included the following sentences (in context, dwarfed by their surroundings, which overwhelmingly concerned rehearsal plans and expectations, news about the performers, aspects of the La Scala *cartellone*, and so on):

Magrini ha segnato celli e bassi – De Angelis già consegnò 1° e 3° Atto, fatti con grande accuratezza: a giorni mi darà il 2^{do} —³⁴

To what does this refer? There are several possibilities. Since the parts for at least Act 1 had already been engraved by 2 December, it is unlikely that the two performers at this point were still working — if they ever had — with manuscript copies of the parts. It may be that, whatever their prior work had entailed, they had now progressed to a different phase, that of the act-by-act proofreading of the printed parts. On the other hand, it is possible that only preliminary proofs had been printed — without much in the way of dynamics or articulation — and that De Angelis and Magrini were still adding (“segnare”) the “definitive” or standardized markings to them. Or it could be that they were now working (once again?) with some sort of master copy of the *partitura* (see Section 4 below).

Whatever De Angelis and Magrini were finishing, it was no surprise to Verdi that they were doing it. Within the context of a careful monitoring of the *spartito* proofs, his next letters to Ricordi mention nothing about the work on either the *partitura* or the parts. At least for now, it seems, Verdi was content that this work was being done by others. And in any case, Verdi would be actively working with the results of their editorial activity at the upcoming rehearsals: there would be time at that point to make changes, if needed. Slightly over a week later Ricordi would send his notices of thanks to De Angelis and Magrini: This brings us back to the 28 December letters cited at the beginning of this section. Their preliminary work on *Falstaff* was now done, although they would still be present and available for consultation during the orchestral rehearsals.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

At this point in the history of the *Falstaff* orchestral score, with Verdi's arrival in Milan on 2 January to supervise the rehearsals, we enter the informational blackout. About a half-year later, by July 1893, the printed *partitura*, 96180 — standardized in phrasings, dynamics, articulations, verbal text, and so on (and therefore differing in thousands of small respects from the autograph score) — was finished and available for rental.

3. Into the blackout: January-July 1893.

Before proceeding to a general hypothesis about how the printed *partitura* was prepared, we should touch upon five other items that help to illuminate our reasoning concerning the activities that must have occurred during the blackout. First, it is clear that Verdi himself was actively involved with editorial matters during the period of the January and early February rehearsals. The best evidence comes from from Giulio Ricordi's piece of puffery and publicity, *Come scrive e come prova Giuseppe Verdi*, printed in a Numero speciale della “Illustrazione italiana”, c. 1-5 February 1893, that is, about a week before the premiere:

Vuolsi una prova dell'attività di Verdi?... Basterà dire quale fu il suo lavoro durante le prove del *Falstaff*: dalle 9 alle 10 ° di mattina revisione della partitura, delle parti, delle riduzioni — dalle 12 ° alle 4 ° pom. prova in teatro — molte volte dalle 5 alle 6 prova parziale con qualche artista nel salotto dell'Hotel Milan — dalle 8 ° alle 11 ° pomeridiane altre prova in teatro.³⁵

Now, in fact, it is highly unlikely that Verdi did much correction- or checking-work on the “riduzione” during the rehearsals. Virtually all of the labor on the vocal score (96000, 474 pp.) had already been finished: its first copies had been printed and bound in the first week of January. (Identical copies of the first edition, which I designate as 96000¹, still exist with blind stamps 1/1893, 2/1893, and 3/1893.) A few — very few — of Verdi's final *bozza di stampa* corrections in late December (or possibly January) had been too late for this first edition, but there was an agreement that they would be silently incorporated into the second. But the main difference between the second vocal-score edition (96000², 462 pp., blind stamp 6/1893) and the first was the substitution of the two large Roman revisions from March-April 1893, considerably after the premiere: the shortening of the II.2 ensemble and the new conclusion of III.1. Apart from these there are only a handful of minor differences between the two editions.³⁶ Thus Verdi

³⁵ P. 23. For the dating of the article in early February, see R. BARBIERA, *Alla vigilia del “Falstaff”*, in “L'illustrazione italiana”, XX/6, 5 February 1893, p. 88. An English translation of the entire essay may be found in Appendix 1 of *Under the eye of the Verdian bear* cit.

³⁶ In addition to the large Roman revisions (see note 10 above), I have catalogued about

did make some revisions at the rehearsals that did affect the vocal score — but not very many, and certainly not enough to occupy a substantial amount of his time.

And yet the issue is more complicated than this, for it seems clear that Verdi did use the vocal-score *bozza di stampa* as his personal score during the rehearsals, and, from all indications, he did make a few annotations into it, including the insertion of some eleven slips with performance suggestions.³⁷ (What is unclear is why he would have preferred to follow the January rehearsals with the proofs instead of with a newly bound first edition, which surely would have been available. On the other hand, the marked proofs were the vocal-score documents with which he would have been the most familiar). Despite Verdi's retention of the *bozza di stampa* at this time,³⁸ the early twentieth-century contention that it was during the rehearsals that he made most of his corrections into it has now been discredited; Verdi worked most actively with these proofs in November and December 1892. The false claim, however, does help to confirm the story of an editorially active Verdi during the rehearsals.³⁹

To refine and reaffirm our conclusion regarding the first larger point, then: although Verdi did do some “hands-on” work with the vocal score (including his own copies of the proofs) in early 1893, there is no reason to believe that this was the principal editorial work with which he was engaged.

three dozen small differences between 96000¹ and 96000². Most concern the correction of misprints, minor changes in articulation (such as the addition of a staccato dot), and so on. For a few of these variants, the most logical explanation is that Verdi did indeed alter a passage or two during the January rehearsals. See my discussion of the matter in *The compositional history of Verdi's "Falstaff"* cit., pp. 114-163.

³⁷ Many of these (presumably) January-February entries are mentioned in *ibid.*, pp. 62-66. For the eleven performance slips pasted into the proofs, see also *Under the eye of the Verdian bear* cit., pp. 155-156.

³⁸ Cf. the little-known story reported in the (often unreliable) Milanese journal, “La sera”, 21 February 1893: “Giuseppe Verdi, prima di partire per Busseto — d'onde sarà di ritorno domani — mandò in dono alla signora Ginetta Ricordi lo spartito originale del *Falstaff*”. If this story is true — Ginetta was Giulio Ricordi's daughter — it may refer to the vocal-score *bozza di stampa*, which eventually wound up in the possession of Edoardo Mascheroni, and thence to the Milan Conservatory. The possible identity of this “spartito originale”, though, is one of the most tantalizing problems surrounding the *Falstaff* sources. Cf. note 39 below.

³⁹ The claim was part of the generally inaccurate lore surrounding the *bozza di stampa*, which belonged to the conductor, Edoardo Mascheroni, before it was presented to the Milan Conservatory Library. The source of the story may have something to do with the report in E. SUSMEL, *Un secolo di vita teatrale fumana con uno scritto inedito di Giuseppe Verdi* (Fiume, “La vedetta d'Italia”, 1924), p. 23:

Mascheroni dirigeva, Verdi ascoltava. Il vecchio glorioso maestro se ne stava sul palcoscenico, accanto al suggeritore, con sopra un tavolo lo spartito che seguiva attentamente e commentava e ritoccava tempestandolo di segni, martirizzandolo di note. Si sa che durante le prove lo spartito [sic] fu quasi completamente ritoccato.

The story was passed on by G. BARBLAN, *Un prezioso spartito del "Falstaff"*, Milano, Edizioni della Scala, 1957, p. 5; ABBIATI, IV, p. 472-473, and others. For a further tracking of the story see *The compositional history of Verdi's "Falstaff"* cit., pp. 62-66, which includes more evidence regarding the correct dating of Verdi's *bozza di stampa* revisions. Cf. note 38 above.

It is more likely that, for the most part, Verdi was checking and correcting some sort of master *partitura* (probably not the autograph score) and was also concerning himself with assuring the accuracy of the (now engraved) orchestral parts. (See Section 4 below.)

The second major point to consider is that despite Verdi's persistent work with the *partitura* and *parti* during the first two months of 1893, he did not carry through his earlier plan of entering into his autograph score all of the corrections that he had been making into the vocal-score *bozza di stampa* in Genoa in November and December 1892. Throughout the last two months of the preceding year, Ricordi, in Milan, had been putting small marks into the autograph score whenever Verdi sent him vocal-score changes that would affect the larger manuscript.⁴⁰ But as I observed in 1979:

Because the proofs might have been saved to facilitate the correction of the autograph score, it is surprising to discover that many of the *bozze* corrections do not appear in it. Nearly three dozen corrections in the proofs — changes of notes or text — were included in 96000¹ [the first vocal score] but were not changed in the autograph score. During the January 1893 rehearsals, that is, Verdi emended the autograph score in a very haphazard manner, entering only some of his proof revisions. The autograph score is therefore not definitive [with regard to these passages].⁴¹

Verdi's only partial entering of the *bozza di stampa* corrections is one of the central curiosities of the story of the production of the *Falstaff* orchestral score. On the one hand, he actually did enter several corrections; on the other, he did not enter all of them, even though those changes continued to be transmitted in the existing printed editions. However this might have happened, it does not suggest a concern to maximize the accuracy of the autograph score. We shall return to this issue in the course of the hypothesis presented in Section 4.

The third major point concerns a few glimmers of light surrounding Verdi's editorial activity with regard to his two post-Milanese revisions, which were first performed together in mid-April in Rome (again, a shortening of the laundry-basket ensemble in II.2 and a newly written conclusion to III.1). Both were revisions that had taken Ricordi and Boito by surprise: Verdi had mailed preliminary versions of the first on 8 and 10 March 1893 (much to Verdi's astonishment and Ricordi's embarrassment, Boito had been displeased with the 8 March version) and the second on 1 April.⁴²

⁴⁰ Ricordi's marking of the autograph score is mentioned in many of the Verdi-Ricordi letters from November and December 1892. See *The compositional history of Verdi's "Falstaff"* cit., pp. 66-87.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 87, which also goes on to acknowledge that some — but certainly not all — of these corrections might have been considered vocal-score specific. Several individual examples of problematic passages are provided and discussed on pp. 88-108.

⁴² The story of these revisions, along with transcriptions of the relevant correspondence,

Ricordi's correspondence with Verdi throughout all of this displays an abiding concern that the composer be consulted for checking and approval of all phases of the eventual substitution of the two passages of new music. New parts for the performers were prepared in early April, and Verdi seems to have supervised their rehearsal in Genoa at this time. (The change in the II.2 ensemble may have been first performed in Genoa, 6-11 April; the second change was not ready for performance until the opera was first performed in Rome, on 15 April 1893).⁴³

may be found in *ibid.*, pp. 115-162. A summary is provided in *Giuseppe Verdi: "Falstaff"* cit., pp. 56-76, although this overview does not include literal transcriptions of Ricordi's responses. The main editorial point to be extracted from the story is that Ricordi was unwilling — almost phobically unwilling — to make any decisions on his own regarding the final state of the verbal and musical text of *Falstaff*: Verdi (in agreement with Boito, of course) was to be the final judge of all such things.

⁴³ A full account of what we know concerning the preparation of the new parts for the subsequent tour will have to be deferred to a separate study: it is documented — though fragmentarily — by more than a dozen unpublished documents (mostly letters and telegrams to Verdi, Mascheroni, and Luigi Piontelli) preserved in the Casa Ricordi *Copialettere*.

A selection here, however, can serve to demonstrate Ricordi's Milanese activity to prepare the new music for Rome and the subsequent tour (which, as will be mentioned below, included performances outside of Italy). Consider, then, the following five telegrams (the first to Verdi, the remaining four to the conductor Edoardo Mascheroni, then in Genoa with Verdi) from 6 to 11 April. All are previously unpublished.

[To Verdi, in Genoa]. Parti cantanti ed orchestra squarcio accomodato finale secondo trovansi colle parti solite. Mascheroni le domandi a Professore Ancomanti.

(6 April, *Cop 1892-93*, XVIII, p. 258; this Ancomanti — perhaps an employee of Casa Ricordi? — was to serve as the official copyist in Genoa for the new musical fragments).

[To Mascheroni]. Per preparare subito parti Vienna occorremi partitura autografa variante Atto terzo. Fare copia per Roma spedendomi sotto fascia raccomandato questa partitura oltre quella variante finale secondo che ha Maestro.

(9 April, *Cop 1892-93*, XVIII, p. 353).

The reference to the "autograph score" here may seem puzzling. Most likely, though, it refers only to Verdi's now-"definitive" version of the new variants which he may have been revising or stabilizing once again in Genoa during the period of the rehearsals and Genoese performances. Thus the reference is probably only to autograph fragments, not to the full "partitura autografa". The precise details of all of this, though, are anything but clear. (It is unlikely that Verdi actually changed anything in the full autograph score at this point. He certainly did not insert his "Roman" revisions into the autograph score at this time: As will be mentioned below, this was accomplished only in late May 1893, at Sant'Agata. Was the full autograph score even in Genoa at this time? I doubt it, but cf. the reference in a message from Ricordi to Mascheroni, 31 March 1893, to a "partitura" to be brought to Genoa: *Cop 1892-93*, XVIII, p. 105).

To continue, from Ricordi to Mascheroni:

Aspetto notizie inviti per regolarmi partenza. Rammento urgente rispedirmi due brani partitura autografi per accomodare parti Vienna.

(10 April, *Cop 1892-93*, XVIII, p. 379).

Ricevute partiture autografe. Spero Ancomanti avrà copiato variante partitura atto terzo per Roma. Altrimenti telegrafi per spedirne copia Roma.

(10 April, *Cop 1892-93*, XVIII, p. 386).

[...] Spero in ordine due varianti per Roma.

(11 April, *Cop 1892-93*, XVIII, p. 419).

By all standards, the Roman production of *Falstaff* was to be both a gala event for Verdi and something of a national musical celebration for Italy. The composer arrived in Rome late in the evening of 13 April and left on 22 April; amid the numerous festivities and celebrations in his honor he had also attended two *Falstaff* performances that included the new variants.⁴⁴ It is also clear that he met frequently with Ricordi and Boito during this Roman visit;⁴⁵ thus all three had plenty of opportunity to discuss any editorial matters that seemed relevant at the time (the most important of which, of course, was the continuing preparation of 96180). It is even possible that Ricordi may have accompanied Verdi and his wife back to Genoa and stayed with them c. 22-25 April.⁴⁶

Most important, however, is the evidence that upon his return to Genoa — the Roman variants now having been by and large stabilized — Verdi seems to have been checking, correcting, or even revising some sort of master manuscript copy (or set of proofs?) of the revisions. Verdi's reference to this in his letter to Ricordi (now in Milan) on 26 April is the only such remark regarding the full score that exists in the extant correspondence: "Ho corretto, e vi mando. Date un'occhiata agli Oboi che potrebbero anche essere sbagliati".⁴⁷ Whatever the document was that Verdi had just "corrected", it was not his full autograph score, for on 30 April he wrote again, "Stà bene per i brani a rifare nella partitura originale: ma farò a S' Agata questo piccolo lavoro".⁴⁸ In short: Verdi was being fully consulted during this unsettling and unusually prolonged procedure of altering passages of the "definitive" score. Equally important, it certainly seems that Verdi's checking and correction of Ricordi's master manuscript copy (or proofs) of the revisions in late April was the central thing; altering the original autograph score was something that could be delayed until a month later, when it was more convenient. (This, too, will be revisited in Section 4 below).

The fourth major point concerns what may seem to be a delay in

⁴⁴ The dates may be determined by reports in "La perseveranza". From the issue on 14 April, p. 3, *L'arrivo di Verdi*: "Il treno, in cui si trovava il maestro Verdi, è giunto alle ore 11,45 con 28 minuti di ritardo". Cf. Verdi's parting telegram to the mayor of Rome on 22 April, reprinted in the issue of 23 April, p. 2. Various reports in the newspapers also make it clear that Verdi attended the *Falstaff* performances of 15 April and 20 April, both at the Teatro Costanzi.

⁴⁵ E.g., from "La perseveranza", 15 April 1893, p. 2, in the course of a report on Verdi's day in Rome: "Ha fatto colazione alle ore 12, e ad un'ora accompagnato da Mascheroni e Giulio Ricordi, andò alla prova del *Falstaff* [...]. È inesatto che Boito accompagnasse in viaggio il maestro. Egli non è ancora a Roma; giungerà questa sera".

⁴⁶ This is suggested by Ricordi's brief remark to Verdi in a letter from 26 April 1893: "Appena di ritorno, fui preso da tale una valanga di cose e di noje, che mi fece scontare ben duramente quei giorni cari e bellissimi passati in loro compagnia!". (I-BSA, unpublished; see note 23 above. Ricordi, of course, may also have been referring only to his encounter with Verdi in Rome).

⁴⁷ I-Mr, No. 1112, unpublished. Verdi misdated the letter 27 April 1893; the postmark reads 26 April.

⁴⁸ I-Mr, No. 1113; this passage is omitted in ABBIATI, IV, p. 505.

producing the first printed orchestral score for rental, 96180. Much of this is doubtless to be explained by the schedule of the early performances. In its first presentations at La Scala, *Falstaff* was given twenty-two times, from 9 February to 2 April 1893. During this period the proximity of the conductor's score and engraved orchestral parts would doubtless have been helpful to a Casa Ricordi still planning the official release of a printed orchestral score. (Verdi himself, we might recall, had left Milan for Genoa on 2 March). Following the Milanese performances, the cast and La Scala orchestra took *Falstaff* on a tour of six cities: Genoa (6-11 April), Rome (15-25 April — though with a newly formed, Roman orchestra), Venice (2-7 May, again and henceforth with the La Scala Orchestra), Trieste (11-16 May), Vienna (21-22 May), and Berlin (1-c. 6 June).

It is possible, then, that an important exemplar from which Casa Ricordi was working in the preparation of the printed orchestral score — or at least some sort of control copy — might have been out of the company's hands during the tour, that is, from early April to early June. In any event, once the tour was done, more active work on the printed score must have begun — or begun again. On 24 June Ricordi and Tornaghi were able to announce to Lobel:

En confirmant n[ôtre] lettre 17 crt. nous prenons la liberté di revenir sur le sujet des partitions d'orchestre. Bientôt nous aurons prête celle de *Falstaff* imprimée, et celle de *Manon Lescaut* autolitographiée. Ici nous avons fait enregistrer les partitions originales pour nous réserver les droits de représentation. Les deux partitions susdites ne portent aucun prix, car nous ne les mettons pas en commerce et nous nous en servons simplement pour les théâtres. Nous venons vous demander si nous devons également vous remettre les deux exemplaires de chaque partition. Il faut noter qu'ici nous n'en ferons pas le dépôt, car il ne s'agit pas d'une publication.

(*Cop 1892-93*, XXII, p. 491, unpublished).

Work on the printed score was completed in the final days of June. On 1 July 1893 Ricordi and Tornaghi sent the following telegram to Lobel, notifying him that the printed *Falstaff partitura*, along with that of Puccini's *Manon Lescaut*, which was being simultaneously prepared, had finally been sent off:

Nous avons reçu v[ôtre]. dépêche 26 juin ainsi que v[ôtre]. est[imable]. lettre 23 et 26.

Les partitions *Falstaff* et *Manon* ne peuvent pas être envoyées ni en sousbande ni en paquets postaux car elles dépassent le poids établi. Nous avons dû en faire un petit colis que nous vous avons remis par chemin de fer à grande vitesse franco. Vous nous donnerez débit des frais de douane etc. Aux 2 exemplaires de chacune des partitions susdites nous avons joint 4 morceaux piano et chant: Vannuccini – Caracciolo – Mattei – Batson, comme à la facture ci incluse.

Nous attendrons de connaître la date pour l'enregistrement soit des grandes partitions d'orchestre *Falstaff* et *Manon*, que des 4 morceaux. [...]
(*Cop 1893-94*; I, pp. 25-26)

As mentioned in yet another letter to Lobel (15 July 1893, *Cop 1893-94*, pp. 439-440), the official date of copyright was set at 27 July 1893.⁴⁹ A copy was sent to the United States and it was officially registered as deposited in the Library of Congress on 17 August 1893.⁵⁰ (This Washington score is now a crucial *Falstaff* document: see Section 5, No. 1 below).

Finally — the fifth item — with regard to the schedule and procedures leading to the release of the printed rental *partitura*, we need to remember the *Otello* precedent, about which we know a bit more than we do about *Falstaff*. In all probability, the general procedures established for the former were continued for the latter, although for *Falstaff* the whole procedure seems to have been even more industrialized and efficient. In brief: the premiere of *Otello* occurred on 5 February 1887; in this case Ricordi had the orchestral score — quite a novelty for 1887 — printed for his firm by G. Röder in Leipzig (this was apparently not the case with *Falstaff*, which, it seems, was printed in Milan);⁵¹ Verdi was sent proofs of the orchestral score from late May onward for his approval; and on 12 October Ricordi sent Verdi one of the first copies of the printed score, now complete. To this Verdi responded with his *benestare* on 16 October 1887: “Ho ricevuto tutto, e grazie. Bella la partitura stampata. Non manca che qualche errore per essere una cosa perfetta! Chi sa non ci si riesca a trovarlo.”⁵²

What is important here is the evidence of Ricordi's consultation with Verdi at the *partitura* stage of production — at least to the extent agreed upon as necessary to satisfy the composer. (This had also been the case with the 1887 *disposizione scenica* for *Otello*).⁵³ Although there is no record of Verdi's having examined the proofs for the printed orchestral score of *Falstaff*, it is difficult to imagine either that Ricordi would have passed over this stage of production or that Verdi would have let this omission occur unnoticed. In sum: All we know is that there was no mention of the *partitura* proofs in

⁴⁹The 27 July 1893 date is confirmed in the Ricordi register *Procura Stati Uniti: copyright*. See note 15 above.

⁵⁰This information was provided in a letter from Rosemary K. Panzenbeck (Bibliographer, Reference and Bibliography Section [of the Library of Congress, Copyright Division]) to The University of Chicago Press (Gabriele Dotto) on 1 December 1989.

⁵¹Casa Ricordi's correspondence with G. Röder during 1893 largely concerns that firm's printing of the German vocal score of *Falstaff* (with Max Kalbeck's translation). Nothing in the Ricordi *Copialettere* suggests that Röder had anything to do with the printing of 96180. In 1893 this general self-sufficiency and industrial modernization, too, would have been a point of pride for Ricordi.

⁵²Unpublished; the letter is preserved in the library of the Parma Conservatory (Sezione musicale della Biblioteca Palatina). See also my *Giuseppe Verdi: "Otello"* cit., p. 76, which includes a translation of Verdi's approval.

⁵³J. HEPOKOSKI-M. VIALE FERRERO, “*Otello*” di Giuseppe Verdi cit., pp. 10-15.

the Verdi-Ricordi correspondence. The lack of any mention of Verdian proof corrections or final examination of the printed orchestral score is also something to be revisited in course of the following hypothesis.

4. Hypothesis.

Considered as a whole, the numerous existing documents are remarkably consistent with each other, and they drive one toward a general hypothesis concerning what must have been happening between the lines and in the blackout-gaps. No future edition of *Falstaff* can do without such a hypothesis — the inductive construction of a web of likely occurrences and situations that would render the existing evidence comprehensible and capable of being mutually coordinated. This will be true whether or not the editor chooses to state the hypothesis openly.

There are at least four requirements for such a hypothesis. First, in its large contours it must be neither contradicted nor substantially challenged by any existing document from the period. (That is, it should not be a strained or merely convenient hypothesis forged to further a pre-established editorial conviction, set of editorial guidelines, or personal agenda). Second, it must consciously attempt to bridge the gaps and bring out the tacit connotations in the available documents. Third, it must be grounded in a clear understanding of the dynamics of Ricordi's business, artistic, and personal relationship with Verdi and Boito in the period 1889-1894, and it should be particularly cognizant of the details of Casa Ricordi's prior treatment of the entire *Otello* project, so far as those details can be known. And fourth, acknowledging the breaks in the evidential record as breaks and the fallibility of hypotheses in general, it must be flexible in regard to its details and willing to be substantially revised upon the demonstration of new or overlooked evidence (or, for that matter, upon the demonstration of a different, more convincing reading of the present evidence).

In overview, my current hypothesis is as follows:

In the "socially produced" *Falstaff* project Giulio Ricordi was the person designated to deal with the practicalities; his responsibility was to mediate and clarify Verdi's and Boito's apparent intentions both to future performers and to a general public, and to do so successfully, consistently, and profitably. The relationship between Ricordi, Verdi, and Boito was not hostile; rather it was cooperative, collaborative, and friendly. At no point can we sense that Verdi was suspicious of the good faith of "caro Giulio," or that he was dissatisfied with the quality of the work being carried out at Casa Ricordi. In fact, the opposite is true: Ricordi consistently seems eager (almost overeager) to impress Verdi with the special attention being lavished on *Falstaff*; for his part, Verdi seems to have received Ricordi's news-bulletins

and day-by-day opinions with deep satisfaction.

As the practical businessman in the *Falstaff* project, Ricordi's first task, upon receiving Verdi's autograph score (August-October 1892), was to assess the extent of the work to come. Among the first things to notice would have been the multitude of small inconsistencies in the score that would need interpretation and standardization. Nor would this have been surprising: Neither Verdi nor Ricordi would have considered publishing a full score or set of parts that would be, in essence, a diplomatic transcription of all of the autograph score's details. Both Verdi and Ricordi took it for granted that the autograph score — while a precious document of fundamental creation, something to be cherished and preserved as a historical monument — was to have the editorial status of an initiator text, something that was necessary to start the complex set of processes that would lead to eventual performance and publication; something that would be editorially reconstructed or "translated" into an acceptable commodity in the commercial marketplace.

For Ricordi the *Falstaff* project was a test of his own firm's emergence into the world of modern industrial technology, as an equal competitor with (generally more technologically experienced) English, French, Austrian, and German printing houses. From the beginning his intention was to treat the matter of the *Falstaff* score in a fully "modern" way. This meant not only very rapidly to produce an accurate, attractively formatted vocal score (whose proofs would be available so quickly that the individual singers would no longer need to learn their parts from the customarily extracted, manuscript "parti scannate" with which Verdi was familiar),⁵⁴ but also to prepare both printed orchestral parts for the orchestral rehearsals and premiere and, at some point close in time to this, a printed full score, "stampato in luogo di manoscritto."

Establishing the verbal text and stage directions to be printed presented little problem: following the *Otello* precedent, it would be based on Boito's "final libretto" — the one reproduced in the printed libretto. (Thus, at least in principle, all versions of the printed text were to be kept editorially consistent; the "primitive" or casually entered text in the autograph was to be overridden).⁵⁵ More problematic were issues of practical and consistent dynamics, phrasings, and articulations. Consequently, Ricordi, perhaps encouraged by his chief copyist, needed to find a reliable team of editorial experts in instrumental articulation. The choice of De Angelis and Magrini

⁵⁴ At first, Verdi was unaware of this. On 18 November 1892, while correcting the vocal-score proofs and planning to continue some of the first individual rehearsals, Verdi asked Ricordi to send separate parts to the performers. (This passage is omitted in *ABBATI*, IV, p. 467, in which the letter is also misdated as "1 novembre 1892"). Ricordi responded on 19 November with characteristic news about "modern times": "Non si fanno più così dette parti scannate: alle prove, mancandone una, si rimaneva imbrogliati [...]" (I-BSAv, unpublished; see note 23 above).

⁵⁵ But cf. such exceptions and complications as those mentioned in note 63 below.

was a happy one. Both were prestigious Milanese instrumentalists, performers of high reputation, and both would play important roles in the La Scala orchestra being assembled for *Falstaff*. Magrini was to standardize the cello and bass parts; De Angelis, at least those of the violins and violas. We do not know who was responsible for the winds. (From the *libroni* we learn that Ricordi conceived the parts in five different groups: "Violino I," "Violino II," "Viola," "Violoncello e Basso," and "Fiati"). It may be that De Angelis also took on the task of standardizing the wind parts; or it may be that Ricordi assigned this task to someone else within Casa Ricordi. In any event, Ricordi must have explained his proposals along these lines to Verdi in Milan between 13 and 15 October 1892, and he doubtless obtained the composer's approval at this time. Moreover, Verdi himself might have given Magrini and De Angelis a general set of verbal guidelines for their "revisioni delle parti".

How did De Angelis and Magrini go about their work? Surely it was not their job literally to sit alongside the autograph score and prepare — write out on blank staves — the manuscript parts for the engravers: this would be to misuse both their time and their expertise, and Ricordi employed professional copyists whose work would be clearer. The actual procedure could have been undertaken in a variety of ways, each of which would have started with the preparation of an incomplete document by Ricordi's copyists. If we assume that De Angelis and Magrini were working with individual parts from the start, then we might suppose that Ricordi's employees would have begun by writing out professional copies of the parts, but with certain details omitted: working from Verdi's autograph score, the copyists could have prepared orchestral parts that included clefs, bar-lines, key and time signatures, tempo indications, pitches, and rhythms, but left unentered all of the articulations, dynamics, and phrase indications. (The surviving *Otello* documents demonstrate that the preparation of partial or incomplete copies for the convenience of specially hired experts may have been a common procedure at Casa Ricordi).⁵⁶ Under these circumstances De Angelis and Magrini — each in turn with Verdi's autograph open in front of him, along with the previously copied incomplete parts — would have added the standardized material into them, thus accomplishing the "revisioni delle parti". From De Angelis and Magrini the material would have passed directly

⁵⁶ In the preparation of the vocal score for *Otello*, the piano reduction was done by Michele Saladino in September 1886. Act IV of his manuscript copy (with Verdi's later corrections) still exists in I-Mr — a very rare document of its kind. It is clear from the various handwriting styles present in the manuscript that Saladino wrote no more into it than the piano reduction itself. All of the surrounding material was professionally copied in advance: the set-up of measures and bar-lines, the stage directions, clefs, signatures, tempo and metronome indications, and even the vocal lines, with their texts. For other remarks on Saladino's reduction (which preserves an early version of Desdemona's Willow Song), see J. HEPOKOSKI, *Giuseppe Verdi: "Otello"* cit., pp. 64-67.

to the engravers; and the two would also doubtless be involved in reading the proofs as well.

But the above procedure, though possible, seems inefficient and insufficiently coordinated. To what extent, for instance, would De Angelis (clearly the dominant partner) have known what Magrini had done if each were working separately? Another possibility (which I find both preferable and supportable by the date-entries into the *libroni*, mentioned in Section 2 above) is that in October Ricordi immediately had a partial *partitura* copied from Verdi's autograph: a professionally written full score, only lacking those features that needed to be standardized. If so, De Angelis and Magrini could have worked directly onto this full orchestral manuscript, a procedure that would have facilitated comparison and standardization between the individual parts. Subsequently, having their work transcribed onto a master copy of the parts would have presented no problem. Further, it may have been Ricordi's plan to preserve this *partitura* copy — or one to be made from it — as the *Stichvorlage* for 96180, and perhaps (if proofs for the orchestral score were not to be available) even as the copy from which Edoardo Mascheroni would conduct the opera.

But from what did Mascheroni conduct the rehearsals and premiere? Since the now-engraved orchestral parts (which still might have been considered as late proofs) had been "revised" by De Angelis and Magrini (and perhaps others), we may assume that Mascheroni had available a full score whose readings matched those on the desks of the players. Consequently, he did not conduct from the autograph score — a preposterous suggestion in any case, because of the high historical and artistic value placed on the autograph as a document and also because the autograph score shows no signs of such use. Therefore he either conducted from a professionally prepared master copy of the full score, now standardized (which could also have served as the *Stichvorlage*), or from printed proofs for 96180. In either case, it was taken for granted that that from which he was conducting would represent the new definitive state of the score, superseding the readings in Verdi's autograph — unless, of course, the *maestro*, upon his arrival in January, would have disapproved of the *partitura* work that had been accomplished in Milan in late 1892. (Had this happened, however, it would have been a scandal of major proportions, and the premiere would have been delayed for months). It is possible that Ricordi kept the advanced state of the *partitura* master copy — or the existence of actual printed proofs for 96180 — a secret from Verdi in late 1892, the better to surprise him in early January. (This also might help to account for his virtual silence regarding the preparation of the *partitura* in November and December 1892, a period in which, it seems, the editor leaves no other stone unturned — or unexplained — in the letters. This possibility seems characteristically Ricordian).

During late 1892 it is clear that Verdi intended to correct his own original manuscript (by including the vocal-score *bozze* corrections) in Milan in January. This may not have been for editorial reasons, but rather for reasons of keeping the historical document generally accurate. Arriving in January, what Verdi must have found was a beautifully prepared master copy (or set of proofs) of the *Falstaff partitura* — this may have been identical with the practical copy for Mascheroni.

Still, old habits die hard. In Milan, at various intervals here and there, Verdi began to emend his autograph score at the points previously marked by Ricordi. Thus he entered many of the *bozza di stampa* corrections into the autograph at this time. At a certain point, though — ever pressed for time — he began to realize that in the “modern” world of publishing and commerce this was an inessential task, that the editorial autograph score had been overridden long before, that fussily to enter small changes into it no longer served any practical purpose. He also knew that further refinements of dynamics, articulation, and the like were being made daily during the rehearsals, and that he himself was supervising their entry not into the autograph but into the master copy of the orchestral score.

Quite simply, the autograph score was in no sense an active score when Verdi saw it again in January and February 1893. As a consequence, he abandoned work on it. It was now obsolete. And, in a *de facto* sense, it had been obsolete for a month or more. This helps us to understand why several of the vocal-score *bozze* corrections were never entered into the autograph. At least from this point onward Verdi came to realize the autograph score was no longer editorially significant. It had fulfilled its role as an initiator text, and any future editorial decisions (apart, perhaps, from the rechecking of what seemed to be obvious slips or printing errors) would have to be appealed to a different, more current document.

Verdi's shift of attention in January 1893 from the autograph score to the now-lost orchestral score master copy — whether a conductor's copy, a perhaps separate *Stichvorlage*, or a set of proofs — is the most important feature of his interaction with what would become 96180, the eventually printed orchestral score. In January he had his first chance to see and hear the results of De Angelis's and Magrini's “*revisioni delle parti*.” Clearly, as the unquestioned *summus iudex*⁵⁷ he approved the bulk of their work at that time. What he questioned or decided to change could easily have been altered in the master copy, either at the rehearsals (where emendations could have also have been entered into all of the parts) or privately (?) from 9:00 to 10:30 daily, if Ricordi's report in the “*Illustrazione italiana*” is to be taken literally.

⁵⁷The term is Ricordi's from 1887, and it refers to Verdi's role in giving the final approval to the wording of the *disposizione scenica* of *Otello*. See J. HEPOKOSKI-M. VIALE FERRERO, “*Otello*” di Giuseppe Verdi cit., p. 11.

As an elementary example: in the fifth bar of *Falstaff* (I.1), a set of alternating staccato eighth notes, the autograph score lacks any indication of a crescendo (fol. 1^v), as does the first edition of the vocal score, 96000¹ (which, we recall, was completely prepared by the first days of January 1893 — before the rehearsals). 96180, however, prints the word “*cres.*” in the middle of the bar, clearly intended for all of the instruments, although it is literally printed only under the oboes, horns, first violins, and cellos. The master copy of the full score that Verdi first saw in January probably lacked this indication as well: since it is a clearly interpretive remark that goes well beyond what one finds in the autograph score, it seems unlikely (though it is remotely possible) that either De Angelis or Magrini was responsible for it. More likely, it was something requested by Verdi during the rehearsals (or suggested by Mascheroni and approved by Verdi) and subsequently entered into the master copy. This type of change, probably directly initiated or individually sanctioned by Verdi during the rehearsals, is a quite different matter from the (recently much-discussed) standardized articulation and dynamics of the first bars of the opera, which were certainly the work of De Angelis and Magrini. Despite their probable different manners and times of origin, it seems clear that both types of differences from the autograph score received Verdi's approval. There is every reason to believe that Verdi, Ricordi, and Boito, would all have agreed — indeed, considered self-evident — that the editorial authority in both cases (and with the thousands of parallel cases in the *Falstaff* score) lies with 96180, not with the autograph score. They seem never to have envisioned that a skeptical editor from a century later — and from a very different musical culture — might second-guess what they doubtless regarded as “business as usual”.

By the time of the first performances the master copy had been significantly annotated and corrected. Whether Ricordi retained a duplicate is not known — nor do we know whether Verdi took yet another copy along with him when he left Milan in early March (although this seems unlikely). If the conductor's copy alone was the master copy, then, as I have mentioned in Section 3, because of the tour it would have been unavailable to the workers in Casa Ricordi until the second week of June, only a few weeks before the editor sent off copies of 96180 to Lobel. But obviously, 96180 could not have been engraved and proofread in a few weeks. The conductor's copy could only have been the sole master copy if it were a set of proofs: altering these in early summer on the basis of the early performances would have been a simple matter.

It is also possible (and, I think, more likely) that Ricordi kept a different set of master proofs (or master manuscript scores) in Milan, or that — if the performances had been conducted from a manuscript score — the engraving in one way or another had been well underway during the period of the tour. We have already seen that Verdi was asked to check and correct some

sort of official document concerning the new Roman revisions (proofs? manuscript copies?) in late April 1893, after the Roman performances, but still during the period in which the opera was on tour. In any event, whatever the possible combinations of master manuscripts and proofs, it is most convenient to suppose that at least some of the full-score proofs had been printed by January, and most of them by February. Above all, the early existence of orchestral-score proofs in Milan would explain why we have no record of Verdi having intersected with the *partitura* proofs or pronounced on the overall quality of 96180 — apart, perhaps, from that “late” letter of 26 April 1893.⁵⁸

Did Verdi’s two revisions for Rome significantly delay the completion of 96180? I doubt it, but the whole issue depends on the schedule of engraving at Casa Ricordi, which is no longer reconstructible. In any case, this is a minor detail, once the central question regarding the general editorial authority of 96180 has been answered. What is curious, though, is that once having made the Roman revisions — and having corrected, it seems, an official control copy of them at the end of April — Verdi insisted on having portions of his autograph score sent back to him in May so that he could remove the original pages and substitute new ones. This, even though he was perfectly aware of the original score’s editorial obsolescence — though not, of course, the obsolescence of his final thoughts with regard to his new revisions. Still, the original score was an artifact, and, probably for personal reasons (in hopes of fully suppressing the original passages?), he wanted it to contain the new, not the old versions. He sent the relevant fascicles of the autograph score back to Ricordi on 23 May 1893 — “V’ho mandato stamattina le ultime note del *Falstaff!* Pace all’anima sua!!”⁵⁹

“Ricevetti i brani *partitura del Falstaff*”, wrote Ricordi back to Verdi on 27 May. “Ahimè!.. che peccato non vi sia più lavoro a farvi coll’andirivieni di riduzioni, di bozze... e poi, e poi! — Insomma, ripeto: che peccato! Non si potrebbe ricominciare da capo?...”⁶⁰ Should Ricordi’s letter be taken to imply, then, that his firm had even completed the work on this new music? Probably yes, but although Ricordi might have needed to see Verdi’s “last word” on the new revision, it apparently had not been he who had asked him to include it in the original autograph score; this feature seems to have

⁵⁸ If Verdi did not see any type of proofs in January or February — or in mid-April (in Rome) — we might observe that Verdi and Ricordi also met (briefly?) in Milan later June 1893 — exactly at the time when the *Falstaff* printed *partitura* was being finished. Verdi and his wife stopped in Milan on their way to Montecatini. Such may be inferred from Verdi to Ricordi, 18 June 1893 (“Alla fine della settimana saremo a Milano [...]” I-Mr, unpublished) and Ricordi to Verdi, 20 June 1893: “[Music from *Falstaff*: «Che gioia, che gioia...»] dunque fra breve avremo il piacere di vederli! Evviva, Evviva, evviva!” (I-BSAv, unpublished; see note 23 above). It is unclear how long Verdi stayed in Milan at this time.

⁵⁹ Reprinted in ABBIATI, IV, p. 509.

⁶⁰ I-BSAv, unpublished. See note 23 above.

been accomplished on the composer’s personal initiative. But the five Parisian revisions made in late 1893 and (especially) early 1894 — of which two were quite notable, however brief — would be dealt with differently: Verdi would never trouble himself to enter these into his autograph score. Particularly because of Ricordi’s erratic record of printing them, there still remains a question about how definitively he meant all of them (see Section 5, No. 4 below). That the composer never happened to enter them into the autograph score, however, should not be taken as conclusive evidence governing our current editorial assessment of them.

Thus the hypothesis. And from it, direct conclusions can, and must, be drawn. The most basic of them is this: The autograph score of *Falstaff* is indeed a precious historical document. It is of great interest to historians and to all admirers of the opera who might wish to venerate the hand of the *vecchio maestro* in the act of creation. But it is no longer of significant editorial interest. In terms of authority, it preserves an older, essentially abandoned state of the verbal and musical text, and, for all practical purposes, present-day performers, *qua* performers, need not be concerned with it. In nearly all cases, readings in the autograph score should not be permitted to override those in the more reliable early printed sources. In general, it is the autograph score that should be overridden.

5. Epilogue: four recommendations.

1. The principal source for a “new” orchestral score of *Falstaff* should be the earliest known printed copy of the rental *partitura*, plate number 96180, originally published in three volumes. Since Casa Ricordi reprinted this score on a few different (undatable) occasions after late June and early July 1893 (perhaps with alterations, and with the intent of replacing earlier scores either lost or no longer practically usable), consulting the plate number alone is not sufficient to establish any given printed score as a certifiably early source. The only existing orchestral score whose 1893, first-run printing is absolutely verifiable is that deposited in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Consequently, this copy should serve as the principal source.⁶¹

⁶¹ There exists one other copy whose musical and textual readings, so far as I have been able to ascertain, are absolutely identical with those in the Library of Congress score. This three-volume *partitura*, located in I-Mr, appears to have been used at La Scala, and it bears the following marks of identification on the first page: a large, stamped “3” in the upper left corner, along with a stamp below this that reads “STAG. T. SCALA / Anno 1949=50 / 3688.”

The actual comparison between the readings of the Library of Congress score and the ‘La Scala’ score was done by myself and by a research assistant, Gail Heilman, in 1990. In particular, I had isolated a few dozen crucial check-points — small aspects that had been altered in

The main goal of the new edition should be to restore the availability of this earliest, socially authoritative printed source, which has not been in general circulation since the in-house editorial revision of the opera in the middle of this century (see No. 3 below). As should be obvious, however, merely to reproduce the early printed *partitura*, 96180, would not in itself produce a critical edition, particularly since it should also be one of the aims of such an edition to serve as a gateway into optional variant readings and, as I suggest in No. 3 below, into some of the standard interpretations within the *Falstaff* tradition. Moreover, 96180 is by no means flawless, and there is much in it to correct, augment, challenge, and explain: this includes, for example, the problem of the occasional horizontal stratification of dynamics, phrasings, and articulations, the result of De Angelis's and Magrini's having divided the editorial work on the string parts.⁶² Most of the editor's work

demonstrably later runs of 96180 — and the two scores were first compared with regard to these. Beyond this, dozens of pages were compared, note for note. In all cases the musical and verbal texts of the two scores were identical. In Heilman's report to me (June 1990), she wrote: "There are only two definite differences between the two [printed scores], [neither] of which ... concern the music. First, the LC score contains no copyright marking on page 1. [...] Second, the engraved number 14 appears frequently on the bottom right corner of [several] pages in the LC score; no such numbers occur in [the 'La Scala' score]. Aside from these differences, the music, stage directions, and text seem to be identical in the two scores. [They even share] obvious engraver errors. [...] For example, on page 345 [...] the engraver notated all [of the] strings in [the] bass clef. [...] Also, subtle errors, such as a missing dot in a *staccato* sixteenth-note passage, occur in both scores. [...] I am certain after examining these two scores that they are identical."

⁶²The issue of the potential for occasional horizontal stratification of dynamics, phrasing, and articulation (rather than complete vertical consistency) is something that must have been obvious to Ricordi, Verdi, De Angelis, Magrini, and the chief copyist alike in late 1892 and 1893. It can not have been considered a major problem, nor do I think that it should be regarded as one today. Consequently, as a general rule I would not favor altering the articulations of 96180 to provide a predictable vertical agreement among all of the relevant parts. Indeed, this quirk might be an "intentional" feature of Italian editorial/performance practice of the late nineteenth century, and, in any case, it surely does not present any significant problem for modern performers to leave such things unchanged.

Still, the occasional horizontal stratification can present some sticky problems for the editor. One such problem may be found in the last two beats of m. 23 of 96180 (p. 4), which contain four eighth notes on a repeated pitch in many of the parts. In the violins and violas (De Angelis) these are marked with *staccato* dots; in the cellos (Magrini) one finds four accents. (For the record: the oboes and clarinets also carry *staccatos*; contrarily, the voice part, Cajus, «V'obbliherò», and the bassoon have accents). Should all of the parts carry the same articulation (vertical standardization)? And, if so, are our choices limited to *either* all accents or all *staccatos*? First, it seems to me that we need not standardize the parts vertically here: in itself, horizontal stratification should not be considered a "defect" in need of a remedy, and we may well choose to leave this passage alone. Still, we should be aware that some Ricordi scores printed later in the twentieth century did standardize this passage, perhaps (though only perhaps) following an existing performance tradition. (See Recommendation No. 3 below). In the Tenaglia-edited 96180 scores, for example (and other late scores come up with different solutions), the passage is vertically standardized in such a way that all of the instrumental parts carry *both* accents and *staccatos*. (Raffaele Tenaglia who was responsible for it, was employed by Ricordi from 1913 till 1962, where he was in charge of musical editions). Adopting this solution is certainly defensible, though opinions might differ on its desirability. But in any event, any new edition must distinguish those marks not found in the principal source, the first 96180.

Moreover, I should add — since the point is sure to come up — that Verdi's autograph score (fol. 3^v) contains clearly written accents in the second violins, bassoon, voice, and cellos; *staccatos* in the oboes and clarinets; and both *staccatos* and accents, doubly marked, in the first

will be spent in identifying the passages that need special attention and then justifying that attention in the critical commentary.

As a general rule, apart from the rectification of manifest engraver's errors, misunderstandings, or other unusual features for which clear and convincing explanations can be suggested, no reading of 96180 should be altered in the direction of one in the autograph score.⁶³ Nor should the new edition indicate by means of special brackets, italics, broken lines, or symbols of any kind where it deviates from the autograph score: this would be clutter, not helpful information. (The edition, however, will have to take into consideration the three versions of *Falstaff* sanctioned by Verdi: see No. 4 below).

One particularly important part of the editorial work would be to check every aspect of 96180 against the first and second editions of the vocal score (96000: first edition, January-March 1893, 474 pp.; second edition, June 1893, 462 pages — this latter was intended to be the vocal-score

violins, at the top of the page — the violas are unmarked. But my argument will consistently be that the autograph score should not be regarded as definitive in such matters: as suggested above, we might wish to indicate the possibility of accents in the upper strings in main text of the critical edition, but our reasoning should not rest on a belief in the definitiveness of Verdi's manuscript score with regard to marked articulations. Consider: As De Angelis prepared the articulations of the violin and viola parts, he obviously saw these accents and may even have transcribed them as such. Yet by the time of 96180 — which, as we have seen, must have been based on some sort of "master copy" of the score present at the rehearsals — they were printed as *staccatos*. Two possibilities emerge: either De Angelis simply made a mistake and wrote in *staccatos* instead of accents (or decided, for whatever reason, to suppress the *staccatos* in favor of the accents) and nobody noticed any of this throughout the rehearsals and performances; or, at some point, probably during the rehearsals, the original upper-string accents were changed to *staccatos*. Either could have occurred; I believe, though, that the latter possibility is more likely. What the autograph score does tell us, though, is the general character of the passage — originally with accents in most of the strings — and, especially since the accents were later restored in the performance tradition, an explanation of some sort, probably with the accents presented as alternatives, needs to be provided.

⁶³A simple textual problem can illustrate the point. In the autograph score, mm. 27–28 (fol. 4–4^v), *Falstaff* sings, «Ho fatto quel ch'hai detto»; in the first edition of the libretto one reads, «Ho fatto ciò che hai detto»; in 96000¹⁻² and in the principal source, 96180, the reading is, «Ho fatto ciò ch'hai detto». I favor retaining this last reading. First, with regard to the «quel/ciò» matter: In this case the autograph score reading does not agree with Boito's original manuscript libretto, which also contains the word, «ciò» Verdi's «quel» might have been a simple inaccuracy, or a momentary revision that was later overridden. The word «quel» should be discussed in the critical commentary, of course, but it should not be presented as a legitimate alternative for modern performance. It is not an editorially authoritative reading, and under no circumstances should it be restored in a new edition. (True, the «quel» reading is "the text actually set [in the autograph] by Verdi" as he composed the work — and as such it is has the status of text that the current guidelines for the new edition have generally preferred for the earlier operas ["Statement of editorial principles", p. 28], but in this case a knowledge of the history of the *Falstaff* project makes it clear that this reading should be overridden).

With regard to the issue of elision, the retention of «ch'hai» as opposed to the printed libretto's «che hai», our reasoning is different. This is an instance in which *all* of the printed vocal and orchestral scores agree in incorporating and retaining a minor difference from the printed libretto. (We may note the autograph score's agreement in «ch'hai», of course, but by itself this is not a compelling piece of evidence). «Ch'hai» is surely the way that Verdi, Boito, and Ricordi heard the line sung, and in this case, I think, the preponderance of the evidence in the published scores argues that the reading in the printed libretto should not override that in the printed scores. The «che hai» reading, though, should be noted in the critical commentary.

equivalent of 96180, though in reality there are differences between them).⁶⁴ The vocal score may be the one that Verdi proofread most diligently, and as such it is of special interest in editorial matters that are not self-evidently piano- or reduction-specific. The central problem, however, is that Casa Ricordi seemed to consider the preparation and publication of 96000 and 96180 as two separate things — moving along two largely separate publishing tracks — and though they are very similar, the two scores were never completely squared one with another. (This multiple-track situation, in which each type of edition has its own history apart from the others, is even more characteristic of the later, twentieth-century publications of the opera).

Thus 96000¹ and 96000² sometimes provide alternative legitimate readings that need to be indicated in the 96180-based critical edition. (It goes without saying that any addition or alteration to the principal source would need to be identified as such.) An elementary example: In mm. 5-7 of the opera, 96180 lacks the stage directions included in the vocal score, 96000¹⁻² (“Falstaff è occupato a riscaldare la cera di due lettere alla fiamma della candela, poi le suggella con un anello. Dopo averle suggellate spegne il lume e si mette a bere comodamente sdraiato sul seggiolone”).⁶⁵ These should be included into the new edition, using appropriate methods to signal that they are additions to 96180. But this is an unusually clear case, and things are not always so simple: The occasional disagreements regarding such things as pitch, registers, and the like present special complications, and each must be thought through on an individual basis.

2. There is no need to clog the critical commentary with constant references to different autograph-score readings, particularly those that concern phrasing, dynamics, and articulation. For the most part, it is doubtful that anybody would — or should — be concerned with such listings. Although there are certainly a number of occasions where an appeal to the autograph score can help one’s reasoning with regard to a curious problem in 96180,⁶⁶ the guiding principle here would be (once the basic issue has been

⁶⁴ Equally significant, of course, is the first printed edition of the libretto, plate number 96001, the control of whose text was supervised — with Verdi’s knowledge and approval — by Boito. Cf. notes 63 and 65.

⁶⁵ There are actually two “authoritative” sources for these stage directions, the other being the first printed edition of the libretto, which sometimes differs in small details from the published scores (see note 63 above). In this case, the generally similar stage directions in the autograph score (fol. 1’) are historically interesting but carry no editorial weight: “Falstaff è occupato a riscaldare la cera di due lettere alla fiamma della candela, poi le suggella con un’anello”. Verdi’s text here represents a condensed, intermediate stage between the readings of Boito’s manuscript libretto and the eventually printed version of the text. A reference to autograph-score stage directions, however, should be placed in the critical commentary, particularly since an alteration would have been made at this point in the principal source. But cf. the general remarks regarding the critical commentary in Recommendation No. 2.

⁶⁶ Cf. the problem with articulations in m. 23, discussed in note 62 above.

explained in an introduction) to keep such critical-commentary references to a minimum. Not to do so would bury more significant information in a flurry of meaningless data.

However this matter is handled, sheer practicality suggests that references to the autograph score should be restricted to pointing out — at most — differences in notes, text, or stage directions — and, perhaps, to noting a few spectacular differences in the conception of an entire passage. (One such passage is the three-measure first-violin run in sixteenth notes immediately preceding the onset of Falstaff’s Trill Monologue in III.1, «Ehi! Taverniere!» This appears predominantly slurred, mostly in four-note groups, in the autograph score [fol. 265^v]; it appears unslurred, with staccatos over each sixteenth note, in the printed edition [p. 322]).⁶⁷ In each spectacular case, though — particularly given the quite different guidelines and practices of the other volumes in the Verdi edition — the sense of the critical-commentary entry should normally be understood to mean: “The autograph score contains the following (erroneous/early/late-revised) reading”; or “the autograph score contains the following reading, which was apparently altered, with Verdi’s approval, in the weeks preceding the first performance”; and so on. In some instances, the editor will be able to explain why the autograph score preserves an early, discarded reading (for example, its occasional outdated preservation of text or stage directions from Boito’s original autograph libretto) or to date precisely when Verdi abandoned or altered the autograph reading (for example, while correcting the *bozza di stampa*).

3. On the other hand, any critical commentary that aims to be truly useful would be well advised to be attentive to the various changes, variants, and nuances preserved in the subsequent printing history of the opera — and in certain early or key recordings of the work or excerpts thereof.

⁶⁷ Obviously, the critical edition should follow the staccato reading (De Angelis’s?) in 96180. The passage’s later reappearance, after the words, «Ho dei peli grigi», fols. 272^v-273, p. 329, presents only a slight complication. In both the autograph score and 96180 this second passage is marked “come prima” and bears no further articulation marks — neither slurs nor staccatos. (The same reading was carried into the first printed study score, 113953, from 1912 — p. 318). Thus it is clear, even if not explicitly indicated notationally, that the articulation of the second run is to be identical with that of the first. (The edition of 96180 currently available from Casa Ricordi — the product of a mid-century editing, apparently done by Raffaele Tenaglia [see Recommendation No. 3 below] — finally adds the staccato dots over the notes of the second run. Likewise, they should be added to the new critical edition, but designated as additions that, strictly considered, are not found in the principal source, the first edition of 96180).

It is worth noting further that the 96000 vocal-score tradition agrees with the autograph score in carrying the slurred reading (96000¹, pp. 304, 310). But this is precisely what we would have expected. Carignani’s reduction predates De Angelis’s intervention and the subsequent rehearsals, and, moreover, the vocal-score editing was carried out on a separate editorial track from that of the orchestral score. (See Recommendation No. 1 above). This is an instance where the reading of 96000¹⁻², clearly, should not override that of 96180. And this is precisely the sort of problem that needs to be unraveled in the critical commentary.

Although it is true that Casa Ricordi's later (often editorially retouched) orchestral and vocal scores cannot be accorded the status of the principal source, it has been generally agreed that they do preserve a record of subsequent accretions that shed light on the twentieth-century performance tradition of *Falstaff*, particularly in and around Italy. While today's conductors do not need to be concerned practically with "what the autograph of *Falstaff* says", it strikes me that to know something of what the performance tradition has actually *done* with the work — especially in the first half of the twentieth century — would be of exceeding interest. The *Falstaff* tradition also belongs to that thing, or "work", that we call *Falstaff*: the opera *is*, at least in part, the history of its transactions with real musicians and real audiences. The earlier twentieth-century performance tradition may not possess equal authority with an early document that we choose to designate as a principal source for a critical edition, but it does possess a social and cultural authority of its own that it is both unwise and insensitive either to ignore or to denigrate.

With regard to notational issues, then, it is easy to imagine that certain markings printed in some of the important later scores could be added to the reading given in the principal source as suggestions from the subsequent tradition. All of these should be identified, of course, with brackets, italics, small type, or whatever was deemed appropriate to distinguish them from primary-source readings. In any event, for a performer — or, in fact, for a scholar — none of this should be negligible information.

With regard to Casa Ricordi's later printed *partiture*, however, one should be aware that they proceeded in two, largely non-intersecting editorial tracks, which may be differentiated as the rental track and the study-score track. The rental-track scores all carry the plate number 96180, and they stretch from 1893 to the present day: they are nearly always difficult to date confidently. So far as I can tell, this edition was reprinted many times, unaltered, in the first decades of this century, although most copies were soon peppered with handwritten marks testifying to their practical use in European theaters. At least by 1938 — or perhaps a few years before — new copies of 96180 were printed that included a permanently changed pp. 393-96, on which one now found Verdi's 1894 «Inoltriam» revision (which added some dialogue and changed the stage directions), a revision that had by this time apparently become commonly accepted, and for which Casa Ricordi had sometime earlier printed a separate bifolio that had been taped into certain scores (see No. 4 below). Sometime following this, however — the mid-century date is uncertain — Casa Ricordi had 96180 submitted to a thorough editorial revision. It appears that this work was largely carried out by Raffaele Tenaglia. The "new" 96180 — the one still available for rental — contains many corrections and changes, especially in dynamics, phrasings, and articulations. As part of his editing-work, Tenaglia probably carried

over into the new 96180 many of the pencilled remarks from the performance tradition that he was finding in the well-worn "old" copies of 96180 at Casa Ricordi. But it is this mid-century editorial treatment that a current critical edition will want either in large part to strip away or at least to separate out clearly as accretions quite removed in time from Verdi and his immediate circle.

The study-score track began in 1912, the date of Giulio Ricordi's death, at a time when the publishing house was beginning to print a number of smaller-format Verdian orchestral scores for sale to the general public. These were new editions, not reprints, and they had to be prepared from the ground-floor up. The *Falstaff* study score, 113953, was clearly based on one or more copies of 96180, but it silently included a scattering of editorial changes and corrections: some of these, too, doubtless stem back to handwritten marks entered into certain key copies of 96180. This first layer of editorial emendations in 113953, though relatively modest in number, is of considerable interest in reflecting some of the earliest performing experiences with the opera. Once printed, 113953 took on an editorial identity all its own. All subsequent study scores marketed for public sale were based on 113953, and not, it seems, on 96180: these include the more substantially edited, mid-century "Ripristino" edition and the later, still purchasable P.R. 154.

4. Any critical edition of *Falstaff* will have to make available for performance all of the variant material for the three versions of the opera supervised by Verdi: that of the Milanese premiere (9 February 1893), the first Roman performances (15-25 April 1893, incorporating two substantial revisions, and the first Parisian performances (beginning 18 April 1894, in French, with five revisions concerning vocal lines, text, and stage directions, but not instrumental parts). I have dealt at length with these revisions elsewhere, but for our purposes the crux of the issue is this: we know that Verdi wished to suppress the portions of the Milanese version that he revised for Rome (at the time of this writing they are recoverable only in the first edition of the vocal score, 96000¹), but it is unclear to what degree he considered the Parisian revisions to be either authoritative options or definitive changes for all future performances. (Ricordi's publishing record on this was erratic, and most twentieth-century performances have mixed in only the first three of the Parisian revisions).⁶⁸

The main problem, then, is to determine which version (or mixture thereof) to print in the main body of the new edition and which variants to consign to an appendix. Most observers would agree, I think, that the

⁶⁸ See note 10 above.

suppressed Milanese variants belong in an appendix (and unless Verdi's original score pages for them turn up, they will have to appear in an orchestration by someone else).⁶⁹ This reduces the problem to Rome or Paris, but deciding between them is not easy. The principal source, 96180, completed by 1 July 1893, transmits the Roman reading only. Still, some existing old copies of 96180 in the Ricordi Archives include handwritten additions of some of the 1894 changes — especially, but not exclusively, those associated with the added «Inoltriam» dialogue and stage directions in III.2 — and Ricordi did print an Italian vocal score in 1897 that included all five of the Parisian variants.⁷⁰ Later versions of all of the scores, though, tended to accept only some of them, and the differing treatments of these passages in the twentieth century seem to follow no clear principle. Moreover, at some point between 1894 and, it seems, 1938, Casa Ricordi did print a separate, orchestral-score bifolio with the complete «Inoltriam» revision (pp. 393-96, the third only of the five Parisian revisions), and this was taped into a few relatively early rental editions of 96180.⁷¹

This entire question is complex, and the full evidence and argumentation needs to be laid out in a separate essay. For the present, my conclusions are these. We cannot know the degree to which Verdi considered the Parisian variants binding, or even desirable, for future Italian performances.⁷² Equally cogent arguments can be made on behalf of either the Roman or the Parisian version. The central problem, though, is the seemingly natural assumption

⁶⁹In fact, I have already prepared such an orchestration, and the music of the “Milanese” *Falstaff* was performed at the Oberlin College Conservatory of Music, 17-20 November 1982.

⁷⁰In I-Mr the “old” 96180 copies with handwritten alterations of all — or most — of the Parisian variants include one with French text on small slips pasted over the Italian (the score is identified with a typewritten, “TESTO FRANCESE su Collette”). A few other, similar copies, only with Slavic and Hungarian handwritten texts, not “collette”, are also preserved in the archive.

All five Parisian variants were first printed in the *second* issue of the French vocal score, 96413, 422 pp., blind stamps 3 and (more commonly) 4/1894. An earlier issue, prepared before Verdi had decided to make any of the revisions in III.2, is identifiable through its 1/1894 blind stamp. This earlier issue, therefore, lacks the three larger revisions — the «Inoltriam» complex, the textually reduced Litany, and the altered text in the Wedding Minuet. Casa Ricordi included all five variants in only one printing of the Italian vocal score, copies of which are now quite rare: the “Edizione Unica” of September 1897, 459 pp. (which I designate as 96000³). See *The compositional history of Verdi's “Falstaff”* cit., pp. 164-207.

⁷¹The earliest edition in which the «Inoltriam» dialogue is actually bound directly into the volume as part of a normal gathering of pages—as opposed to being taped in or separately inserted in one way or another — is one identified in I-Mr as “Copy 36”, a score whose initial gatherings for each act carry the blind stamp, 5/1938.

⁷²When Verdi first received the new «Inoltriam» text from Boito — though in French («Par ici») — his thought, clearly, was that this would probably be a definitive revision for all future performances. Thus he responded to Boito on 19 January 1894: “Parmi andranno benissimo quei pochi versi in francese. Traduceteli ora in italiano, senza, ben inteso, aggiungere nulla etc etc.” (*Carteggio Verdi-Boito* cit., I, p. 223).

Still, this was only Verdi's first thought, and there is no record of his views on the matter in the period during or after the first French performances. Moreover, this remark — certainly still remarkably persuasive — concerns only the «Inoltriam» revision complex, and not those textual changes subsequently made in the III.2 Litany and Wedding Minuet.

that in order to keep intact a given historical performance under Verdi's supervision, the edition's main text should either accept or reject the five Parisian variants *en bloc*: two of them are virtually insignificant (two tiny pitch changes in individual vocal parts in II.2), but the three in III.2 are very audible and make quite a difference. But there are complicating factors: first, one suspects that it would be generally agreed that the first “large” Parisian revision (the «Inoltriam» modification, for which, certainly, the strongest case for Verdi's wish to have it interpolated into Italian performances can be made)⁷³ is something that we would be eager to retain, but that the last two (the removal of some of the vocal entrances during the III.2 Litany and the shortened text above the Wedding Minuet) would be accepted, if it all, only with regret, for they represent sonorous losses, not gains, of some clever and elegant things; second, probably for that reason those last two Parisian variants never survived into any meaningful twentieth-century tradition.

But are we so certain that Verdi would have insisted that we must choose all five variants or none at all? In fact, to choose either the Roman version — intact — or the Parisian version — intact — is no less arbitrary than to sanction the twentieth-century practice of mixing them. Definitive evidence is lacking that would allow us either to accept or to reject with confidence any of the three positions: Rome, Paris, or a mixture. Given such a case, my instincts (along with my preferences) are now to reaffirm the *Falstaff* that twentieth-century performers and audiences have known for decades: this, too, is a form of legitimate “social authority” that has been central to defining what this opera is — or has become. In short, in the main text of the edition, I would recommend changing the readings of the Roman 96180 in Parisian directions only for the two tiny modifications in II.2 and the larger «Inoltriam» revision in III.2.⁷⁴ The last two Parisian revisions (in the III.2 Litany and Minuet), along with what was altered in the Roman version to include the «Inoltriam» material, should be relegated to an appendix.

⁷³See note 72 above.

⁷⁴The two small modifications can be handled as legitimate alternatives, perhaps, on the relevant pages of the main text. Cf., again, note 72 above for further support for the proposition of treating the «Inoltriam» complex different from the other two “large” Parisian variants.