

The Compositional History of Verdi's Falstaff:
A Study of the Autograph Score and Early Editions

A thesis presented

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PREFACE

This is a study of the principal and secondary sources of Giuseppe Verdi's last opera, Falstaff, first performed at the Teatro alla Scala, Milan, on 9 February 1893. These sources are: the autograph libretto and full autograph score; the 1892 proofs for the first piano-vocal edition; the several issues of the piano-vocal edition released by G. Ricordi & C., Milan, between 1893 and 1897; the first printed orchestral edition; the first printed libretto; and numerous letters and documents, many unpublished, which illuminate these musical and textual sources. Two broad considerations will guide the following discussion. First, we intend to provide dates and, where possible, explanations for the major variants among these sources--particularly among the autograph score and early editions--in order to facilitate the preparation of a critical edition of Falstaff, a project currently being planned by the University of Chicago Press in collaboration with Casa Ricordi. And second, we intend to examine the musical and dramatic significance of many of these variants, most of which are revisions undertaken by the composer himself. This second aim has two aspects: an analysis of the compositional changes Verdi made in his autograph score prior to submitting it for publication--an investigation, that is, of the composer's creative process; and an analysis of the revisions he found it desirable to make during the preparation of the early editions, and after he had seen the opera staged at La Scala.

It must be stated at the outset that this study is not a summary of everything that can now be known about Falstaff, nor does it give a complete account of Verdi's activities and concerns during the Falstaff years, 1889-1894; rather, it is concerned principally with the compositional history of that opera as reflected in its autograph and printed sources. Much interesting material, therefore--e.g., Arrigo Boito's theory of comedy, Verdi's conjectures about the staging, his selection and rehearsal of the singers, the contract negotiations for the premiere, external political and artistic events that affected the composer--will be omitted from the following pages. Most of this information, however, is readily available and has been retold a number of times. Those readers who wish to inquire into these matters are urged to consult the relevant portions of the fourth volume of Franco Abbiati's Giuseppe Verdi (1959), the starting point for any consideration of the composer's life during those years.

The present study is divided into two parts. The first of these, "The Genesis of Falstaff and its Early Editions," deals primarily with the publication history of the opera. Special attention is given to the relationship between Verdi and his publisher, Giulio Ricordi, and to Verdi's corrections and revisions of Falstaff as transmitted by the early Ricordi editions. It will be shown that the composer authorized three different versions of the opera: the Milanese (9 February 1893), the Roman (16 April 1893), and the Parisian (18 April 1894). Because Verdi did not enter all of his revisions into the autograph score, that document represents none of these versions. Moreover, Ricordi's first issue of the piano-vocal score (January-March 1893) contains a version

between that of its November 1892 proofs, which Verdi corrected extensively, and that of the Milanese Falstaff. The second and third issues of the piano-vocal score (June 1893 and September 1894) correspond to the Roman and Parisian versions of the opera; the earliest printed orchestral score (July 1893) contains the Roman version. Modern piano-vocal and orchestral editions, however, erroneously mix the Roman and Parisian versions.

Chapters 3-5, which form the core of the first part, are preceded by two preliminary chapters that deal with the earliest stages of the compositional history of Falstaff: Verdi's decision to compose the opera; Boito's sources for the libretto; the composer's possible influence on the final state of the libretto; and his work on the opera up to September 1891, when he began to write the autograph score. Chapter 6, the final chapter of Part One, contains a summary of the publication history of the opera and a survey of the major problems to be faced in the preparation of a critical edition.

A discussion of the autograph score as a compositional document is deferred until the second part of the thesis, "The Autograph Score of Falstaff." Chapters 7-11 provide an introduction to this manuscript by summarizing what we know of Verdi's work on it from external documents such as letters and anecdotes (Chapter 7), and from its internal characteristics, such as its physical structure (Chapters 8-9), its varying ink colors--which permit one to determine how, where, and when he orchestrated much of the opera (Chapter 10)--and its many erased or cancelled passages, many of which may be restored (Chapter 11).

It will be seen that, following the procedure that he had

established in the composition of his earlier operas, the composer began to write the autograph score by entering only its most essential lines: a "skeleton score," containing the voice and principal instrumental bass, and occasionally the principal instrumental treble. Once this was completed he returned to fill in the orchestration, in the process of which he often modified, or recomposed, the skeleton score. It is thus clear that when one restores the erased or cancelled portions of the available skeleton score, one produces a compositional layer considerably earlier than any published version of Falstaff.

Chapters 12-16 contain transcribed restorations of those portions of the skeleton score that differ most significantly from the final version: i.e., transcriptions from I.2 (Chapter 13); II.1 (Chapter 14); II.2 (Chapter 15); and III.1 (Chapter 16). Verdi's revisions commonly change a relatively simple passage into one that is more complex. Typically, his revisions are intended to delay a cadence reached too soon; to avoid an exact or sequential repetition of a musical idea; to intensify a line or situation, generally through reharmonization; or to enrich the dramatic effect of the parole sceniche that conclude a solo piece or ensemble. The concluding Chapter 17 is followed by an appendix that presents diagrams of the gathering structure of the autograph score.

Although Verdi certainly made numerous sketches and drafts for Falstaff before beginning to write the autograph score, none of this material can be adequately discussed here. Verdi's sketches from Luisa Miller to Falstaff and I pezzi sacri are currently owned by his heirs, Drs. Alberto and Gabriella Cararra Verdi of Sant'Agata.

These sketches are not available for scholarly inspection: one cannot know even how extensive they are or whether a complete continuity draft of Falstaff still survives (see the opening remarks in Chapter 12 below). For this reason these documents, and other documents possibly owned by the Carrara Verdi family, must be described as "not presently available." It need hardly be added that the release of the Falstaff sketches and any related documents would provide the possibility of answering many of the questions that will be raised in the following pages.

Introductory Remarks Concerning Falstaff Scores

Since readings from the printed versions of Falstaff are rarely reproduced in this study, the reader will find it helpful to have at hand a piano-vocal score with Italian text and an orchestral score. G. Ricordi & C. has released four differing Italian piano-vocal scores (whose plates, except those of the revised passages, are identical) that may be easily distinguished by comparing their total number of pages. Citations in this thesis of passages in the piano-vocal score will generally refer to its first issue (474 pp.), printed with plate number 96000 in January 1893. This edition will be identified by a superscript "1" following its plate number. A typical citation from this score would be: 96000¹, p. 326, m. 2. The superscripts "2" or "3" will be used whenever a reference is made to a specific passage in the second issue (Ricordi 96000, June 1893, 462 pp.) or in the third issue (Ricordi 96000, September 1897, 459 pp.).

Some readers may find that they have access only to the 461-page score, a modern conflation of the Roman and Parisian versions of Falstaff (96000² and 96000³) with several revised dynamics and articulations. This score has been reprinted many times with minor variants and is the standard modern piano-vocal edition of the opera. Since publication records at the Ricordi Archives refer to the "Revisioni Zanon 8.2.40 e 18.4.42/14.6.43," it would appear that Maffeo Zanon, a Venetian composer and musicologist then employed by Casa Ricordi, was responsible for the first versions of the 461-page conflation. The earliest copy of this version that I have located is a deposit copy of an "Edizione Anno MCMXLII-XX" (Ricordi 96000), received by the Biblioteca di Santa Cecilia, Rome (G.12.A.34), on 18 September 1944. Much more common, however, is the 461-page "Ripristino 1944" edition and its many subsequent reprints (often with additions of dynamics and articulation). These modern editions will be referred to as 96000⁴.

Table One on the following page shows the corresponding page-nations of 96000¹⁻⁴. After determining the number of pages of his piano-vocal score, the reader may readily modify the page number of any cited edition into that of his own. For example, 96000¹, p. 295, is essentially the same as 96000², p. 285; 96000¹, p. 415, the same as 96000⁴, p. 402. The page layouts of the first 271 pages of all four issues, it will be noted, are identical. The special problems involved in citing passages from the November 1892 proofs for 96000¹ will be discussed in Chapter 3.

TABLE 1
 CORRESPONDING PAGINATIONS OF THE FOUR PRINCIPAL
 ISSUES OF THE FALSTAFF PIANO-VOCAL SCORE WITH
 ITALIAN TEXT ONLY (RICORDI PL. NO. 96000).

Signum for this study	96000	96000	96000	96000
First issued	1/1893	6/1893	9/1897	1942?
Total number of pages	474 pp.	462 pp.	459 pp.	461 pp.
	1-261	1-271	1-271	1-271
Ensemble, II.2, 1st version	272-89			
Idem, 2nd version		272-79	272-79	272-79
	290-333	280-323	280-323	280-323
Conclusion, III.1, 1st version	334-42			
Idem, 2nd version		324-30	324-30	324-30
	343-98	331-86	331-86	331-86
"Litany," III.2, 1st version	399-404	387-92		387-91
Idem, 2nd version			387-89	
	405-74	393-462	390-459	392-461

The most significant orchestral score for the purposes of this study is that published in July 1893 for rental only (Ricordi 96180, 472 pp.). Copies of this score, however, are extremely rare. References to passages in the orchestral score will therefore generally be made to the first edition published for sale (Ricordi 113953, 1912, 464 pp.). The page layout for this edition, which has been frequently reprinted, is identical with that of the revised "Edizione Anno MCMLXII-XX"--again a conflation of the Roman (113953) and Parisian versions--and the subsequent 1953 Ricordi "Nuova edizione riveduta e corretta," which bears the new plate number P.R. 154. A typical citation from the orchestral score would thus be: 113953, p. 275, m. 1.

A facsimile edition of the autograph score of Falstaff was published by Ricordi in 1951 and is available at a number of major libraries in the United States and Europe. Since much of this thesis, particularly its second part, deals directly with the autograph score, the reader will find it useful to consult this facsimile. It should be added, however, that many of the most significant aspects of the autograph score--e.g., its gathering structure, ink colors, and erased readings--cannot always be determined from the facsimile. The present study is based on an examination of the autograph score itself, located in the archives of G. Ricordi and C., Milan.

Conventions

Citations from published material will be given in abbreviated form in the footnotes: the surname of the author, the incipit of the

title, and the location of the passage within the work. One frequently cited source is listed by author alone: Franco Abbiati, Giuseppe Verdi, 4 vols. (Milan: Ricordi, 1959). Complete bibliographical information may be found in the List of Works Cited at the conclusion of the thesis.

This study will contain quotations from many letters, both published and unpublished. Any such quotation in the text of the thesis will appear in my own English translation unless otherwise specified; a quotation in a footnote will appear in the original language, untranslated. If the original text of the excerpt quoted has been published (even if published with minor errors of spelling, punctuation, paragraphing, etc.), I shall refer the reader to that source. When considered useful, multiple references will be given. If the excerpt has not been published, the original text will be provided in a footnote (see the restrictions of the reproduction of unpublished letters below).

Most of the letters cited will be drawn from the Verdi-Ricordi and the Verdi-Boito correspondence. In nearly all instances I have examined personally either the original letter or a photograph of it. The principal exception is Ricordi's letters to Verdi, the originals of which are owned by Verdi's heirs at Sant'Agata; these letters I have copied from typescript transcriptions made for the Istituto di studi verdiani, Parma, by Franca Cella and Marisa Casati. Verdi's letters to Boito and copies of Boito's letters to Verdi (the originals of which are also located at Sant'Agata) may be found at the Istituto di studi verdiani. For these letters I provide the date only, without

citation of the location of the original letter.

Locations are given for those letters owned by Casa Ricordi, which has catalogued all of the correspondence it owns. This includes Verdi's letters to Giulio Ricordi, preserved in a set of albums in the Ricordi Archives, and copies of Ricordi's telegrams to Verdi, preserved with other business correspondence in a multivolume set of Copia lettere, also available at the Ricordi Archives. Citations from the albums of correspondence will be given by the RISM siglum of the archives (Mr) and the number of the relevant letter: e.g., Verdi to Ricordi, 14 July 1892 (Mr 1030). Citations from the Copia lettere will be given by the same RISM siglum, the abbreviation Cop, the relevant years, and the volume and page of the telegram copy: e.g., Ricordi to Verdi, 21 November 1892 (Mr Cop 1892-93, IX, 127).

In many instances I have been able to provide dates for undated letters or to correct previously misdated letters. The date of any undated letters, or the completion of the dates of partially dated letters, will be given in brackets.

Verdi, Ricordi, and Boito often used a series of periods for punctuation in their letters. These will be retained in my translations and transcriptions, and will be represented by unspaced periods, with the number of periods corresponding to the number in the letter. Omissions of material contained in the letters will be represented by ellipses: three (or, when appropriate, four) spaced periods. The original orthography has been retained. Short excerpts spanning two paragraphs, however, have often been transcribed without paragraphing.

All transcriptions of letters that appear in this study have been

based on my handwritten copies of the originals (or photographs of the originals) and, in the case of Ricordi's letters to Verdi, of the transcriptions available at the Istituto di studi verdiani. Under these circumstances, a few errors may have been introduced into the transcriptions, for which I am solely responsible. Although these transcriptions are by no means intended to be critical editions of the letters, they are substantially accurate. A published edition of the Verdi-Boito correspondence, edited by Mario Medici and Marcello Conati, is soon to be released by the Istituto di studi verdiani. Similarly, an edition of the Verdi-Ricordi correspondence, edited by Franca Cella and members of the Istituto di studi verdiani, is currently being planned.

Restrictions in the Reproduction of Unpublished Correspondence

No unpublished letter that appears in this study may be reproduced, either wholly or partially, for publication without the written consent of G. Ricordi and C., Milan, and the Istituto di studi verdiani, Parma.

Acknowledgments

The present study is particularly indebted to three people who introduced me to Verdi scholarship and who continue to provide friendship and wise counsel: David Lawton, under whose direction at Harvard University in Summer 1974 I began studying the works of Verdi; Oliver Strunk, who taught an enlightening seminar at Harvard

University in 1974-75 on Verdi's revisions of his operas; and David Rosen, who suggested that I work on Falstaff, and whose willingness to share his experience in Verdi research has been of great value.

Professor David G. Hughes, my thesis advisor, has been tireless in reading the drafts of this study, providing useful suggestions, and answering my many questions about thesis procedure. To him, and to Professor Christoph Wolff, from whom I received good advice about a draft of the second part of this dissertation, I offer my thanks. The research for this thesis, undertaken in Italy in 1975-76, would have been impossible with the financial support of a Frederick Sheldon Traveling Fellowship from Harvard University.

I wish here to express my gratitude to the many people who aided my work in Italy. My thanks to the members of the Istituto di studi verdiani, Parma--Mario Medici, Marcello Conati, Marisa Casati, and Lina Re--for permitting me to study their extensive collection of copies of Verdi's letters, and for helping me to decipher the late Verdi's often difficult hand. I am grateful to Luciana Pestalozza, Fausto Broussard, Carlo Clausetti, and the General Direction of Casa Editrice Ricordi, Milan, for generously allowing me access to the Ricordi archives, site of the autograph score of Falstaff and of numerous relevant letters and documents. Both the Istituto di studi verdiani and Casa Ricordi have kindly permitted me to reproduce many unpublished documents in this thesis.

I thank also Francesco Degrada, professor at the University of Milan, for his assistance; Guglielmo Barblan, Gilda Grigolato, and Antonio Laterza of the library of the Milan Conservatory for providing

me the opportunity to study the 1892 piano-vocal proofs of Falstaff; and Ursula Günther; whose advice and aid during my research in Italy was particularly welcome.

Finally, I am grateful to Drs. Alberto and Gabriella Carrara Verdi of Sant'Agata for permitting me to examine Boito's autograph libretto of Falstaff and to reproduce my findings here.

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Part One

The Genesis of Falstaff and its Early Editions

Chapter 1

Verdi and Boito in Collaboration: The Beginnings of Falstaff

"What can I tell you? For forty years I have wanted to write a comic opera, and for fifty years I have known The Merry Wives of Windsor." So wrote Giuseppe Verdi to Gino Monaldi on 3 December 1890,¹ less than a week after the Milanese newspapers had revealed that, at age 77, he was writing another opera, Falstaff. This was astonishing news. Public, critics, and musicians alike linked the composer's name with his long succession of tragic operas from Nabucco (1842) to Otello (1887), for he had written no comic opera since his early, unsuccessful Un giorno di regno (1840). Doubtless many thought him incapable of it. As early as 1847 Rossini had maintained that Verdi's serious temperament was unsuited to comedy: "He will never write a semi-serious opera like Linda [di Chamounix], and much less a comic opera like L'elisir d'amore"--words that still hurt Verdi deeply in 1879, when Giulio Ricordi casually allowed them to be reprinted in his Gazzetta musicale di Milano.²

¹Monaldi, Verdi: 1839-1898, p. 263. Immediately after receiving the letter, Monaldi published it in the Roman journal Il popolo romano, from which various newspapers reprinted it: e.g., the Milanese dailies Corriere della sera, 5-6 December 1890; La perseveranza, 5 December 1890; La Lombardia, 6 December 1890.

²Abbiati, IV, 88-90; Gatti, Verdi, pp. 639-40; Walker, The Man Verdi, pp. 473-74.

From time to time in his career Verdi had considered writing a second comic opera. When Marie Escudier had suggested in March 1850 that he write an opera for Covent Garden based on The Tempest, he showed some interest in the project but ultimately rejected it.³ Some eighteen years later, after the Parisian performances of Don Carlos, his wife, Giuseppina, wrote that a comic opera was not out of the question, providing a suitable subject could be found, one without buffoonery and in which sentiment is present "as a delicate, sympathetic nuance that serves to temper the gaiety and the laughter."⁴ In the summer of 1868 a Milanese journal reported that he was writing a comic opera, Falstaff--the first pairing of his name with that title--with the librettist Antonio Ghislanzoni. Verdi denied the story privately in a letter to Opprandino Arrivabene; Ghislanzoni denied it publicly in the Gazzetta musicale di Milano.⁵

It seems likely, however, that he was indeed planning a comic opera to follow Don Carlos. His copy of a French scenario for a comic opera, Tartufo, based on Molière, still exists at Sant'Agata; he prepared this copy sometime between 1868 and 1870 but abandoned the subject in favor of Aida.⁶ One hears nothing more about an opera buffa

³Abbiati, II, 56-57.

⁴To Léon Escudier, 24 February 1868; in Luzio, Carteggi verdiani, II, 27-28; Abbiati, IV, 380-81.

⁵Verdi to Arrivabene, 28 July 1868; in Alberti, Verdi intimo, pp. 93-94; see also Abbiati, III, 220-21.

⁶The dating is that of Luzio, op. cit., II, 358-61, which contains a transcription of the scenario. Abbiati, III, 269-70, believes the author of the scenario to be Adolphe Dennery, a French writer of comic libretti.

until a decade later, when the composer, replying indignantly to Ricordi's publication of Rossini's words mentioned above, made the surprising assertion: "I have looked for a comic opera libretto for twenty years, and now that I have, so to speak, found it, you instill the public with a mad desire to hiss my opera even before it is written."⁷ But once again, despite Ricordi's interest in this opera, whatever it might have been, Verdi soon turned to the composition of another tragic opera, Otello, in collaboration with Arrigo Boito.

Had it not been for the latter's insistence, Otello might have remained Verdi's last opera. Boito, eager to "make that bronze colossus resound one more time,"⁸ began to suggest another collaboration soon after the success of that work. "I would like that time to return," he wrote to the composer on 9 October 1888, "when each of our letters was about the study of a great work of art."⁹ But Verdi was not to be easily persuaded, although he had by no means abandoned composition: in March 1889 he wrote a brief Ave maria that was later published as one of the four Pezzi sacri.

According to the 1923 report of one "X.Y.," it was Boito who, during a visit to Sant'Agata (probably in late spring 1889), first suggested that he and Verdi write an opera based on Shakespeare's

⁷To Ricordi, August 1879; in Abbiati, IV, 88-89.

⁸Boito to Bellaigue, s.d. (but surely ca. 1888); in Lettere di Arrigo Boito, ed. De Rensis, p. 315: "Je n'ai pas des nouvelles de Verdi, mais sans doute il se porte à merveille. J'ai envie de faire resonner encore une fois ce colosse de bronze. Voudra-t-il me répondre?"

⁹Nardi, Vita di Arrigo Boito, p. 512.

The Merry Wives of Windsor. Verdi is said to have liked the idea, but to have had another project in mind: out of devotion to Alessandro Manzoni he wished to compose a symphonic poem based on an episode from I promessi sposi. The work was to be entitled La notte dell'Innominato and was to depict the celebrated passage from Chapter 21, in which the Unnamed, after abducting Lucia, suddenly begins his conversion to Catholicism with the sound of the tolling of morning church bells.¹⁰

Boito's response to this plan is not recorded, but one supposes that he saw far more promise in a new opera and convinced Verdi to consider instead the subject of Falstaff. Boito then wrote the scenario based on The Merry Wives of Windsor and the two parts of Henry IV: it was in the composer's hands some time before 6 July 1889.¹¹

¹⁰X.Y., "Manzoni e Verdi," p. 448. The author of the story is well aware that it is "una rivelazione che riuscirà una sorpresa." Twice claiming that Boito is his source ("mi faceva notar Boito" and "mi disse Boito"), he writes of "un grande poema sinfonico, 'La notte dell'Innominato' quale appunto la descrive Manzoni nei Promessi Sposi; sfondo e cornice le campane, l'aurora, il bacchanale campestre, ecc., finale il trionfo della Fede dopo il colloquio Cardinale-Innominato. Quell'uragano psicologico che si scatena nell'animo dell'Innominato, dopo il rapimento di Lucia e dopo la di lei supplicazione, il turbine di pensieri, di propositi, cozzanti, fuggenti, il suicidio, la morte, eppoi...quell'aurora, quelle campane." The article also contains 24 measures of music, entitled "Scampanio," that depicts the tolling of bells. See also Abbiati, IV, 382-83, which, however, contains an unfounded report of Boito's reaction to Verdi's project.

I am unaware of any evidence to support the claim in Walker, op. cit., p. 495, that Verdi and Boito had discussed the Falstaff project during Verdi's trip to Milan in March 1889.

¹¹Verdi to Boito, 6 July 1889 (in Walker, op. cit., p. 495) acknowledges possession of the scenario. Verdi states here that he has just re-read The Merry Wives, the two parts of Henry IV, and Henry V, as well as Boito's scenario. This is scarcely a day's reading. For this reason, it is likely either that Verdi re-read the plays before receiving Boito's scenario, or that he received it considerably before replying on 6 July.

One story, perhaps true, is that Verdi told the librettist that

Verdi's encouraging response of that date ("Excellent! Excellent!") set in motion the process that would lead to a completed Falstaff and a La Scala premiere on 9 February 1893.

The scenario for Falstaff is not presently available, and perhaps no longer exists.¹² The often reprinted Verdi-Boito correspondence of 6-12 July 1889, however, permits one to infer quite a bit about it.¹³ Boito conceived it from the beginning in three acts and six parts. The general outline of the plot was much like that of the final version:

he would like to write a comic opera, and that Boito produced the scenario in two days. This anecdote seems to have appeared first in the Milanese La Lombardia, 28 November 1890, and may well have derived from Boito or from a member of the Ricordi family: "L'anno scorso ne parlò ad Arrigo Boito manifestandogli e il suo desiderio e il suo rincrescimento per non poter dar sfogo a quella sua idea. Boito nulla disse; ma lasciato il maestro e tornato a casa, in 48 ore mise insieme di suo capo la tela di un libretto, che portò subito a Verdi, il quale ne fu soddisfattissimo." The story was retold in Barrili, Giuseppe Verdi: vita e opere, p. 145, where it was discovered by Francis Toye and included in his Giuseppe Verdi, p. 200. It seems unlikely that Boito could have written this scenario without a considerable amount of preparation; if he wrote it in two days, one can assume that he had been planning the work for some time.

¹²See p.vi above.

¹³The information that follows in the text is derived from these letters, along with Verdi to Boito, 11 July 1889 (unpublished), to be translated in full below. For Verdi's letter of 6 July 1889, see Walker, op. cit., p. 495; for the correspondence of 7-12 July see Walker, op. cit., pp. 495-97; Abbiati, IV, 384-88; Gatti, op. cit., pp. 711-12; Cesare and Luzio, Copialettere, p. 711. The most complete (and accurate) published texts of Boito's side of the correspondence may be found in Luzio, op. cit., II, 144-47.

Falstaff was to undergo two trials, not three, as in The Merry Wives: Fenton and Nannetta were to have love duets scattered throughout the opera; the third act was to be more loosely constructed than the first two, and was to contain "little pieces, songs, ariettas, etc.";¹⁴ Falstaff was to appear in horns and be interrogated in the third act; the final act was to contain two masked marriages, etc.

Yet the scenario contained a few details that the composer and the librettist decided to change immediately: Ford's monologue was to begin II.2, and Verdi suggested that it conclude II.1 instead;¹⁵ Pistola originally did not reappear in III.2;¹⁶ Fenton and Nannetta were to sing a duettino in III.2 that Boito first suggested be put at the end of III.1 and then proposed omitting altogether;¹⁷ Verdi wished to have Falstaff "thoroughly beaten" in III.2;¹⁸ and the opera was to end with the masked marriages, not with the final fugue.¹⁹

Verdi and Boito were most concerned with the third act, which they believed was of lesser dramatic interest than the preceding two. Verdi

¹⁴Verdi to Boito, 6 July 1889; in Walker, op. cit., p. 495.

¹⁵To Boito, 10 July 1889, in *ibid.*, p. 497.

¹⁶Verdi to Boito, 6 July 1889; in *ibid.*, p. 495.

¹⁷To Verdi, 7 and 12 July [1889]; in Luzio, op. cit., II, 144-47.

¹⁸Evidently referring to the beating of Sir John dressed as Mother Prat, the episode from The Merry Wives that Boito omitted in Falstaff, Verdi wrote: "Le due prove dell'acqua e del fuoco bastano per ben punire Falstaff: nonostante mi sarebbe piaciuto di vederlo anche ben ben bastonato" (To Boito, 6 July 1889; Engl. trans. in Walker, op. cit., p. 495).

¹⁹Verdi to Boito, 11 July 1889. Unpublished; see text below.

found the conclusion of the opera particularly troublesome. He wrote Boito about it on 11 July 1889:²⁰

Montecatini, 11 July 1889

Dear Boito,

....I continue yesterday's letter. Once you have finished your work, you will cede the rights of it to me for the sum of ... (to be established). And if I cannot finish the music because of age, infirmities, or any other reason, you will reacquire your Falstaff; I myself offer it to you as a souvenir, and you will make whatever use of it you think best.

In complete agreement with you on the demands and character of Tragedy and Comedy; and the examples you cite confirm what you say. But if (as you say) there is a point in comedy at which the audience says: it's finished! and on stage it is not yet finished, then one must find something that can firmly attract their attention, either from the comic or the musical side.

You have already improved this third act.

The little duet Fen: Nan: is better in the first part [of Act III].

The Fantastic Part with the Song of the Fairies is good.

The monologue of Falstaff is good; and the interrogation to the sound of beating, etc. is good...but later the marriages interrupt the attention that ought to be completely returned to Falstaff, and the action is chilled. With regard to this there would be a musical piece already made in Shaespeare [sic]:

Mis F Non spingiamo più oltre la burla

Fals E queste son le Fate?

Mis Ford E credete Voi che volendo peccare avressimo scelto un'uomo come Voi?!

Ford Una balena!

Fals: Bene!..

Altro Un uomo di crema!

Fals Bene!

Altro Un vecchio appassito

Fals Molto bene

Altro Maledico come Satana

Fal Sempre bene

Altri Povero come Giobbe

[Fal] Benissimo

Tutti E dedito alla fornicazione, alle taverne, al vino, alle crapule, giurando, spergiurando e bestemmiando Dio...

Fals Amen..e così sia

Mis Ed ora Sir Giovanni, come amate le donne di Vindsor?

²⁰ Excerpts from the opening have been reprinted in Walker, op. cit., p. 497, and Abbiati, IV, 387.

Fals Or incomincio a credere che sono un'asino.
Tutti Bravo! Ben detto! ben detto! Viva Falstaff [sic]
viva viva!.

Applause and the fall of the curtain.

And what do we do with the weddings, you say? I don't know!
But you who have been so fortunate in the expedient of the second
act with the appearance of Falstaff's snout in the laundry, you
will find some devilment or other.

Farewell for now. Affectionately,
G. Verdi²¹

This is the only extant letter in which Verdi proposes that a
substantial number of lines be versified and inserted into the
libretto of Falstaff. He derived them from the final scene of
Carlo Rusconi's translation of Shakespeare, Le allegre comari di Windsor:

²¹Original text:

Montecatini, 11 Luglio 1889

Car. Boito

....Continuo la lettera di jeri. Terminato il vostro lavoro, voi
ne cedereste a me la proprietà dietro il compenso di...(da fissare).
E caso mai o per età, o per acciacchi, o per qualunque siasi altro
motivo io non potessi finire la musica, voi ricupereste il vostro
Falstaff; proprietà che io stesso vi offro per mio ricordo, e di cui
farete quell'uso che crederete.

D'accordo perfettamente con Voi sulle esigenze e sull'indole
della Tragedia e della Commedia; e gli esempi che citate confermano
il vostro dire. Ma se nella commedia (come dite) c'è un punto in
cui si dice in platea: è finita! e sulla scena non è finita ancora;
bisogna allora trovare qualche cosa che possa legare fortemente
l'attenzione o dal lato comico, o dal lato musicale.

Voi avete già migliorato questo Terz'atto.

E meglio il Duettino Fen: Nan: nella prima Parte.

Bene la Parte Fantastica colla Canzone delle Fate.

Bene il monologo di Falstaff: E bene l'interrogatorio a suon di
legnate etc...ma dopo i matrimoni interrompono l'attenzione che
dovrebbe essere tutta rivolta a Falstaff, e raffredda l'azione. In
questo punto vi sarebbe un pezzo musicale bell'e fatto in Shaespeare.

[text continues as above]

Battono le mani e Cala il Sipario.

E cosa facciamo dei matrimoni direte Voi?..Non lo so! Ma Voi
che siete stato così felice nella trovata del Second'Atto coll'appa-
rizione del muso di Falstaff fra la biancheria, troverete bene qualche
altra diavoleria.

Add per ora Aff
G. Verdi

Unpublished. See the Preface above, "Restrictions in the Reproduction
of Unpublished Correspondence," p.xii.

each line of the text above is identical, or very nearly so, to the corresponding passage in Rusconi, except for the repetitions of "Bene," "Benissimo," and "Amen..e così sia," which were Verdi's interpolations.²² The piece was hardly "already made" in Rusconi, for Verdi omitted most of the lines of the scene and rearranged what remained. Boito accepted the lines and the provisional ending on 12 July but insisted that the wedding between Fenton and Nannetta be retained. He would be ready to begin work, he wrote, in fifteen days.²³

²² Verdi owned two Italian versions of Shakespeare's works: the prose translation of Carlo Rusconi (1838) and the poetic translation of Giulio Carcano (publ. complete, 1875-82). Rusconi's version appeared in several editions, each incorporating minor modifications: thus the play L'allegre comari di Windsor in the 1838 edition was retitled L'allegre femmine di Windsor in the third edition (1852-53). All citations from Rusconi in this study are taken from the third edition of his Teatro completo di Shakspeare [sic]. See the List of Works Cited for complete bibliographical information on both Rusconi and Carcano.

Since Verdi's letter of 6 July 1889 mentions the "Allegre comari," it appears that he was using the 1838 Rusconi translation. This is confirmed by comparing the text of Verdi's letter of 11 July to some of the lines in the final scene of Rusconi, Le Allegre Femmine, VI, 70-71:

Mis. Page. E credete voi, sir Giovanni, che quand'anche avessimo voluto bandire dai nostri cuori ogni virtù, e dar l'anima nostra al diavolo, che avremmo scelto per fare all'amore un uomo quale siete voi?

Ford. Un uomo che sembra una balena, o una balla di canapa?

Mis. Page. Un uomo di crema?

Pag. Vecchio assiderato, appassito, e di sterminate budella?

Ford. Malédico come Satana?

Pag. Povero come Giobbe?

Ford. Malvagio come la moglie di quello?

Ev. E dedito alle fornicazioni, alle taverne, al vino, alla crapula, e ai liquori, bevete e bestemmiante sempre nelle bische e nei caffè?

Fal. Molto bene

Carcano's translation employs a quite different choice of words.

²³To Verdi, 12 July [1889]; in Luzio, op. cit., II, 146-47; Abbiati, IV, 388.

On 1 August Boito requested that the scenario (of which the composer, surely, had made a copy) be returned to him. Verdi complied the following day and probably spent the next two weeks thinking about his new opera.²⁴ By 18 August he had another suggestion: "You are working, I hope? The strangest thing of all is that I am working too! I'm amusing myself by writing fugues! Yes, sir; a fugue...and a comic fugue, which would be in place in Falstaff!"²⁵ Boito, by now well into the first act of his libretto, hoped to conclude the entire work by the end of October. Nevertheless he wrote back that "if a burlesque fugue is what is needed, we shall find the place for it."²⁶ On the basis of these letters Frank Walker has recently suggested that the final fugue was the first piece of Falstaff that Verdi composed and that it was therefore written before he had received its text.²⁷ Walker may well be correct, but no present evidence links the fugue mentioned on 18 August with the one that now concludes the opera. The letters of 11 July and 18 August do reveal, however, that the present ending of

²⁴Walker, op. cit., p. 497; Abbiati, IV, 388.

²⁵To Boito, 18 August 1889; in Abbiati, IV, 388. The translation above is that of Walker, op. cit., p. 497. Cf. the wording in Verdi to Escudier, 3 February 1865; in Cesari and Luzio, op. cit., p. 456

²⁶To Verdi, 20 August [1889]; undated in Luzio, op. cit., II, 147; Abbiati, IV, 389. Abbiati maintains that Boito sent the entire scenic plan to Verdi at this time, but the evidence for this is uncertain. Abbiati may have misunderstood the opening lines of the final page of Boito's letter: "E questa pagina, caro Maestro, è per Lei." Since the first part of the letter (unprinted in Abbiati) deals with Verdi's proposed appointment of Franco Faccio as director of the Conservatory of Parma, this inference seems unwarranted: with that sentence Boito seems merely to be changing the subject of the letter to Falstaff.

²⁷Walker, op. cit., p. 498.

the opera--nearly everything, in fact, after the masked marriages--was Verdi's idea, not Boito's.

Working in Ivrea, Milan, and Nervi, Boito continued to write and polish the libretto for more than six months. The almost complete lack of correspondence between Verdi and Boito suggests that they saw each other frequently during this period. One meeting can be documented, for on 30 October 1889 Boito wrote from Milan: "I shall arrive next Monday (4 November), and if the second act is not yet finished, I'll finish it during the week I stay at Sant'Agata. . . . I sketched the scene with the laundry basket and it seems to have much promise to me. But there is still much to do. So, I'll see you Monday."²⁸ Moreover, Verdi, as usual, spent the winter in Genoa, while Boito took up residence in the neighboring town of Nervi; they would have had every opportunity to meet often to discuss the nascent libretto.²⁹ Verdi must have been acquainted with the libretto as a work in progress; there is no reason to suppose that he did not begin to sketch a number of musical ideas for the opera while Boito was writing the text,

²⁸To Verdi; in Luzio, op. cit., II, 147-48; Abbiati, IV, 392-93.

²⁹Cf. the (informed?) speculations of Il Misovulgo (Aldo Nosedà) in the Corriere della sera, 28-29 November 1890, after the revelation that Verdi was composing Falstaff: "Quel ch'è certo si è che lo stesso autunno [1889] Arrigo Boito faceva a Sant'Agata dei periodici pellegrinaggi poco giustificati dalla stagione infame, tenuto equo calcolo della riverenza che professa per l'illustre maestro: lo scorso inverno lo stare a Nervi voleva dire stare al palazzo Doria a Genova."

i.e., from 2 August 1889 to 7 March 1890.³⁰

The text of Falstaff is a blend of three ingredients: Shakespeare's The Merry Wives of Windsor (the fundamental source for the plot); several Falstaff passages from the two parts of Shakespeare's Henry IV; and non-Shakespearian ideas. So subtly intertwined are these elements that only a line-by-line analysis, far beyond the scope of this study, could reveal the complexity of the libretto. The most basic prunings and modifications that Boito made of the Shakespearian plays are too well known to require repetition here.³¹ Of the several passages of Falstaff not directly traceable to Shakespeare, the most notable are the character of Fenton's and Nannetta's love throughout the opera,³²

³⁰Verdi, e.g., knew some individual lines of text on 6 January 1890, when he wrote to Boito: "Il mio cameriere è licenziato. Se ne è presentato uno, certo Vittorio Falsetti (brutta parola! direbbe Ford) che è stato al Servizio per molti anni del Marchese Gropallo." Unpublished.

³¹See, e.g., Toye, op. cit., p. 484; Osborne, The Complete Operas of Verdi, p. 437; Aycock, "Shakespeare, Boito, and Verdi," pp. 602-04.

³²Andrew Porter has pointed out to me that Boito probably derived Fenton's and Nannetta's refrain, "Bocca baciata non perde ventura. / Anzi rinnova come fa la luna." (I.2 and III.2), from the conclusion of the seventh novella of the second day of Boccaccio's Decameron, where it appears in quite a different context: "Di ciò fece il re del Garbo gran festa, e mandato onorevolmente per lei, lietamente la ricevette. Ed essa che con otto uomini forse diecemila volte giaciuta era, allato a lui si coricò per pulcella, e fecegliele credere che così fosse; e reina con lui lietamente poi più tempo visse. E perciò si disse: 'Bocca basciata non perde ventura, anzi rinnova come fa la luna'" (ed. Quaglio, I, 179).

It is possible that Boito knew the two lines principally as an Italian proverb, for it is listed as such in the 1883 collection of Strafforello, La sapienza del mondo, I, 183. Yet Boito, in an 1894 letter to Bellaigue (Lettere di Arrigo Boito, ed. De Rensis, pp. 317-18), explicitly linked the Decameron with Falstaff: "Venez, venez, cher ami, venez entendre ce chef d'oeuvre [Falstaff]; venez vivre pendant deux heures dans les jardins du Decameron et respirer des fleurs qui sont des notes et des brises qui sont des timbres." (Nardi, op. cit., p. 623, disputes the dating of this letter.)

Quickly's narrative in II.2, the hiding of Fenton and Nannetta behind the screen in II.2, Fenton's sonnet in III.2,³³ Nannetta's aria in III.2,³⁴ and the final fugue.

Boito avoided reproducing the coarse side of Shakespeare's Falstaff: the hero of the opera is far more benign than his Elizabethan counterpart. Likewise, Boito muted the characters of Bardolfo and (especially) Pistola, and idealized the love of Fenton and Nannetta. (Those coming to The Merry Wives after knowing Falstaff will be startled to read Anne Page's description of Fenton in III.4.81: "Good mother, do not marry me to yond fool.") Boito's characters, properly considered, are not so much those of Shakespeare transplanted to the musical theater as they are standard operatic types animated by the richness of Shakespeare's plot and language.

³³ Immediately after the release of the printed libretto of Falstaff Raffaello Barbiera, "Alla vigilia del 'Falstaff,'" p. 87, noted a resemblance between Fenton's sonnet and a line of verse from Le Grazie by Ugo Foscolo. The line in question does not appear in the text proper of the poem, but is part of an uncompleted expansion of the "Venere" section, in an episode with the subtitle "Calliroe e Ifianeo." The fragments of this expansion were published in 1882 in a critical edition of Foscolo's works edited by Giuseppe Chiarini; they could thus have been consulted by Boito. The relevant passage is as follows:

Lo amb fin da quando non era nè fanciullino nè donna, e cantava seco, ed egli le interrompeva il canto co' baci.

Sedeva bella e vestita ad aspettarlo Ifianone. Ma poi squallida lacerandosi le piante andava al mare dicendo: a che me far io bella, s'egli non mi vedrà?

Su' labbri il canto le rompea co' baci.

Dal giorno che lo ha perduto, le mancaron le lagrime.

--Partire--si sciolse dal suo amplesso.

([Foscolo], Poesie, ed. Chiarini, p. 80.)

³⁴ Nannetta's song in Falstaff, III.2, is not wholly unrelated to that of the Queen of the Fairies (Quickly!) in The Merry Wives, V. 5. Cf. Nannetta's "Le Fate / Hanno per cifre i fior" in Falstaff and Quickly's "Fairies use flowers for their charactery" in The Merry Wives, V.5.73 (in Carcano, Le donne allegre, X, 107: "Delle Fate i fior son cifre").

Although Boito claimed some knowledge of English, he knew Shakespeare principally through the French translation of François-Victor Hugo and the Italian translations of Carlo Rusconi and Giulio Carcano.³⁵ Despite Nardi's claim to the contrary, no evidence suggests that Boito based his Falstaff on the Hugo translations.³⁶ In fact, the similarity between many passages of the opera and their appropriate sources in Rusconi and Carcano leaves no doubt that he turned repeatedly to these works while writing the libretto.³⁷

³⁵Cf. n. 22 above

³⁶In Boito, Tutti gli scritti, ed. Nardi, p. 1541, the editor mentions Boito's copies of Hugo's translations of the relevant plays for Falstaff: "quei tomi, sulle quali Boito lavorò, sottolineando righe, segnando in margine. . . ." These volumes are currently located in Milan, Biblioteca Livia Simoni, Museo teatrale alla Scala, TE P. 20/5, TE P. 20/8. They contain no underscorings or marginal notes not also typical of Boito's entries into the non-Falstaffian plays of this collection. Boito's copy of Otello, however, is more thoroughly marked.

³⁷For example, Ford's monologue at the end of Falstaff, II.1 is based on two separate monologues in The Merry Wives: at the conclusions of II.2 and III.5. Carcano, Le donne allegre, X, 78, begins the second monologue thus: "Oh! oh! è questa una visione? un sogno? Sono io che dormo? Svegliati, Ford! Ser For, ti sveglia!" From the earlier monologue in Carcano, X, 49, one reads: "Qual furfante, dannato epicureo è costui! Il mio cuore scoppia quasi della rabbia. Chi dice che codesta gelosia è insensata? Mia moglie gli mandò un invito, l'ora è fissata, il mercato conchiuso. . . . Io vorrei piuttosto affidare a un Fiammingo il mio butirro, al parroco Ugo il mio cacio, a un Olandese la mia acquavita . . . che mia moglie a lei stessa! . . . Lode al Cielo ch m'abbia fatto geloso."

Sir John's honor monologue in the opera, I.1, is based on Falstaff's musings before the battle of Shrewsbury, Henry IV, Pt. 1, V.1, which Rusconi, Prima parte, IV, 204, renders as: "L'onore può egli rimettermi una gamba o un braccio? No. Togliere il dolore di una ferita? No. L'onore non sa dunque nulla di chirurgia? Nulla. Che cosa è dunque l'onore? Una parola. E come si forma tal parola? Con un po' d'aria. Bel ragionamento in fede. Che significa esso? Quegli che morì mercoldi [sic] sent'egli l'onore? No: L'ode egli? No. . . . Ma vivrà almeno coi vivi? No," etc. Carcano, Re Arrigo IV: parte prima, VII, 247, translates one of the "no's" into "neppure," but

Boito was nearly finished with the libretto by 1 March 1890: on that date he announced: "Within three or four days at the latest I shall have finished Falstaff. The third act is turning out to be less brief than I had hoped, but it's the most varied of all."³⁸ To this Verdi responded the next day: "So Big-Belly is almost finished! Hurrah!..I'm not afraid of the length because I am certain that there won't be anything useless in it. You said you would be in Genoa Wednesday [5 March]. Delay a few days. I'm leaving for Sant'Agata tomorrow morning [3 March] and I won't be back until Saturday [8 March]. I'll telegraph you as soon as I arrive."³⁹

Boito, then, might have brought the libretto to Genoa on 8 March, or, perhaps more likely, he might have sent it earlier so that the composer could have it on his return. On 8 March Verdi sent Boito a sum of money for the libretto, along with a letter that was half souvenir, half legal document: "Accept.....not as payment, but as a sign of gratitude for having written this stupendous Falstaff for me. If I do not manage to finish the music for it, the poetry of Falstaff will remain your property."⁴⁰ Boito replied in a letter of great

otherwise uses language quite different from that of Boito. See also nn. 22 above, 46 below.

³⁸To Verdi; in Luzio, op. cit., II, 148.

³⁹To Boito, 2 March 1890: "Il Pancione dunque è quasi finito! Evviva!.. Non temo la lunghezza perchè son certo che nulla vi sarà d'inutile. Voi diceste di essere a Genova Mercoledì. Tardate di qualche giorno. Io parto domattina per St. Agata e non sarò di ritorno che Sabato. --Appena arrivato vi telegraferò." Incomplete in Abbiati, IV, 396; Gatti, op. cit., p. 715.

⁴⁰In Gatti, op. cit., p. 715 (read "finirne" instead of "finire").

modesty, concluding with the wish: "Now, Maestro, again in the name of Shakespeare, give Art and our country another victory most new."⁴¹ With the libretto in hand Verdi began composition in earnest--although, as mentioned above, he probably had already planned much of the work and perhaps had even sketched a few passages.

The libretto from which he prepared a continuity draft is now owned by his heirs at the Villa Verdi in Sant'Agata.⁴² Verdi's separate note on music paper identifies the document as the "Libretto originale del Falstaff." The libretto itself, almost entirely in Boito's hand, consists of three booklets, one for each act: each is bound with string; none has a cover. The first two booklets are similar, 33.0 x 20.0 cm.; the third, 31.0 x 21.0 cm., has a slightly different type of paper. Boito entitled each booklet on its external folio: i.e., "-Falstaff-/ Commedia lirica/ Tre atti"; "Atto II^o"; "Atto III^o." Each bears a pencil foliation in the upper right corner of its texted recto pages: thus Act I consists of 2 unnumbered folios + fols. 1-19 + 3 blank, unnumbered folios; Act II, 2 without numbers, pasted together + fols. 1-27 + 8 blank, the last two of which are pasted together; Act III, 1 without number + fols. 1-22 (fol. 22 blank) + 2 blank. Acts I and II are large, single gatherings. In Act II, however, Boito folded the original last two folios over to form the present first two folios; and in the same booklet he removed

⁴¹To Verdi, 9 March [1890]; in Luzio, op. cit., II, 148; Abbiati, IV, 396.

⁴²I am grateful to Drs. Alberto and Gabriella Carrara Verdi for the opportunity to inspect this autograph libretto. Although briefly discussed in Luzio, op. cit., II, 143-61, it has never been fully described in print.

three folios after fol. 22^V--of these leaves only stubs remain. Act III consists of three smaller gatherings; the folio after fol. 14 has been removed.

Besides the text of the opera, the libretto contains four drawings: in Act II, fol. 22^V, Boito made two diagrams of a possible staging of the scena della cesta in II.2 and accompanied them with lengthy stage directions; and on the final page of Act II appear two crude pencil sketches of Falstaff in the laundry basket. In addition, several slips have been inserted into the libretto. Some are in Verdi's hand and refer to staging or to changes in the text. One slip in Boito's hand contains an addition to the opening text of II.2: Quickly's solo, "Giunta all'Albergo," along with the lines leading into and out of that solo. This insertion, the most important textual (and musical) revision of Falstaff, will be examined in Chapter 15. The most important of the other slips will be discussed later in this chapter.

Most of the text is written in a relatively fair copy, which suggests that Boito copied it from an earlier draft. With few exceptions, the final text of the autograph libretto is very nearly that of the published libretti. Boito kept a careful record of the number of lines in five of the six parts: thus in Act I, one finds the number "102" on fol. 7 (the end of I.1); the sum "102/ 231/ 333" on fol. 19 (I.2); in Act II "v. 135" on fol. 9 (II.1); no number is found after II.2; in Act III "108" on fol. 7 (III.1); "108/ 250" on fol. 21^V (III.2).

Boito wrote the text in ink on the recto folios of the three

booklets--most of the versos are blank.⁴³ Occasionally he wrote on the versos to sketch or suggest alternate readings, to insert additional lines, to revise a passage, etc. Anything appearing on a verso, that is, is usually a reading later than that found on the following recto. In two passages, for example, the librettist gave Verdi his choice of meters by means of ingenious rhyming. One passage occurs in three different meters. In the Falstaff/Alice duet in II.2, Boito originally wrote the following, in alternating, rhymed settenari and endecasillabi on fol. 15:

Al. Ogni più bel giojel mi nuoce e spregio
 Il finto idolo d'or.
 Mi basta un vel legato in croce, un fregio
 Al cinto e in testa un fior.

Opposite this, as part of a continuation of a revision of the duet, Boito wrote on fol. 14^v:

Al. Ogni più bel giojel mi nuoce
 E spregio il finto idolo d'or.
 (novenarij) Mi basta un vel legato in croce,
 Un fregio al cinto e in testa un fior.
 Oppure
 (quinari) Ogni più bel
 Giojel mi nuoce
 E spregio il finto
 Idolo d'or.
 Mi basta un vel
 Legato in croce,
 Un fregio al cinto,
 E in testa un fior.

⁴³Boito wrote most of the libretto in black or dark brown ink. He wrote a portion of I.2, however, in violet ink, beginning with the fourth line of Fenton's part in the men's quintet ("E pagarlo al par del merito"), and continuing to the end of the act.

All published versions of the libretto print the first of these three versions.

Likewise, near the end of I.1 Boito experimented with shortening the lengths of the very long lines beginning with Pistola's and Bardolfo's "Assotigliam." Thus fols. 4^v-6^v contain an extended setting in quinari, with minor variants from the final text:

Pist.	Assotigliam
Fal.	V'è noto un tal, Qui nel [sic] paese, Che ha nome Ford.
Pist.	Si.
Bard.	Si.
Pist.	Sappiam Ch'egli è un gran borghese Più liberal Che un Creso. E un Lord.
Bard	
Fals.	Sua moglie è bella
Pist.	E tien lo scrigno.
Fals.	E quella! O amor! Sguardo di stella! [etc.]

which continues at length and concludes on fol. 6^v:

	E il suo desir In lei fulgea Sì al mio congiunto Che pareva dir: Io son di Sir John Falstaff
Pist.	Punto. ⁴⁴

The above examples reveal that the longer lines of their final

⁴⁴Act I, fol. 3^v, contains a nearly identical, cancelled quinari version (probably earlier) of a portion of this passage, from Falstaff's "Ne' suoi paraggi, / Rise. M'ardea" through the final "Punto."

versions have internal, rigorously planned submeters. Whether these submeters were written for the sake of intellectual play or because Boito wished to offer Verdi's imagination a choice of meters, they demonstrate how carefully constructed this libretto is: every word is purposeful, considered.

Boito's corrections and variants in the libretto are not limited to meter. Hundred of words are cancelled or rewritten on the recto folios; several new lines are added, or changed, on the versos. A complete analysis of these variants would take us far from the principal object of this study, the music itself; for the present, a few examples must suffice to give an indication of early textual variants in Falstaff.⁴⁵

Boito originally wrote a portion of the Fenton/Nannetta duet of I.2 in the following manner on fol. 16:

Nan.	Ferisci!
(adescendolo[?])	
Fent.	Para!
(facendo atto di baciarla)	Rispondi.
(Nannetta si difende il viso colle mani)	
Nan.	A te.
(stendendogli una mano da baciare. Fenton bacia la mano)	
Fen.	In alto, in alto La mia fanfara Squilla più chiara Che per un Re!

⁴⁵Luzio, op. cit., II, 143-61, cites several examples of changed readings in Boito's libretto. Occasionally, however, he ignores multiple readings of the same passage and arrives at faulty conclusions. Luzio's contention that the variants in the libretto result from Verdi's suggestions has no basis of which I am aware. For a correction of Luzio's interpretation of the variants in Ford's monologue (II.1) and the opening of II.2, see Chs. 15 and 16 below.

Nan. L'amor è un agile
 Torneo, sua corte
 Vuol che il più fragile
 Vinca il più forte.
 [etc.]

The portion that Boito eventually revised (the stage directions and the quatrain "In alto, in alto") amplifies and clarifies the image only briefly hinted at in the final version: here in the early version it is clear that Nannetta and Fenton are pretending to be nobles in a medieval court. "Ferisci!" and "Para!" are therefore thrusts made at a tournament ("agile torneo"). Nannetta's extension of her hand to be kissed (a detail later removed) is fitting for a proper lady, while Fenton, in his quatrain, maintains that his fanfare sound clearer than that of a king.

Falstaff's "Quand'ero paggio" exists in several versions. First, in its proper place in the autograph libretto, Act I, fol. 15:

Fal. T'amo! e non è mia colpa
 S'io tanta porto vulnerabil polpa.
 Al. Sir John!
 Fal. E al tempo del mio verde Aprile
 Del mio fiorento Maggio
 (Quand'ero paggio
 Del Duca di Norfolck) ero sottile
 Come un gambo di spica,
 Guizzavo nell'anello d'un priore.
 Ma i sospiri d'amore
 Gonfiano un'uomo come una vescica.

in which the text is remarkably close to Shakespeare's original text in Henry IV, Pt. 1, II.4.325-28 and Henry IV, Pt. 2, III.2.25-27.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Henry IV, Pt. 2, III.2.25-27 in Rusconi, Seconda parte, IV, 254: "Vi era ancora Giovanni Falstaff, oggi cavaliere, che allora non era altro che paggio di Tommaso Mowbray, duca di Norfolk." Henry IV, Pt. 1, II.4.325-28 in Carcano, Re Arrigo IV: parte prima, VII, 193:

Boito recast Falstaff's song on fol. 14^V:

Quand'ero paggio
 Del Duca di Norfolck ero sottile,
 Come una spica, pareva un miraggio
 Vago, leggero, gentile, gentile.
 Quello era il tempo fra il mio verde Aprile
 E il mio fiorente Maggio.
 Tanto ero snello che sarei guizzato
 Dentro l'anello d'oro d'un prelato.

He then decided that this version was inadequate, pasted a new piece of paper over the original fol. 15, and proceeded to write a third version:

Fal.	T'amo! e non è mia colpa
	S'io tanta porto vulnerabil polpa.
Al.	Sir John! Siete più saggio.
Fal.	Quand'ero paggio
	Del Duca di Norfolck ero sottile
	Come una spica, pareva un miraggio
	[later changed to:
	"Ero uno stelo di spica, Ero un miraggio"]
	Vago, leggero, gentile, gentile.
	Quello era il tempo del mio verde Aprile
	Quello era il tempo del mio lieto Maggio
[fol. 16]	Tanto era snello che sarei guizzato
	Dentro l'anello d'oro d'un prelato.

Various cancellations and rewritings, probably in collaboration with Verdi, as we shall see, finally produced the final version. No other portion of the Falstaff libretto shows as much reworking as this one: the final version is the result of great labor.

"Quand'io aveva, Guccio, i tuoi anni, l'artiglio d'un'acquila m'avrebbe ricinta la persona, e mi sarei ficcato dentro l'anello di qualche priore. Maledetti cordogli! maledetti sospiri! vi fanno rigonfio un pover'uomo, al par d'una vescica." The same text in Rusconi, Prima parte, IV, 174:
 "Alla tua età, Enrico, ero più snello dell'artiglio di un'acquila. . . .
 Ah, non parlarmi, non farmi vivere fra i sospiri e i guai; ciò gonfia un uomo, come il vento un pallone."

Boito originally conceived the passage just before the masked marriages of III.2 as follows (fol. 19):

Pist.	E un cervo.	
Ford.		E un bue
Tutti (ridendo)		Ah! Ah! Ah!
Ford (ridendo anche)		Per gli Dei
Al.	Se non ridessi ti sconquasserei.	
Ford.	Basta. Smettiam questa scena burlesca.	
	Si. Ma per far che un buon profitta n'esca	
	Voglio che m'ascoltiate.	
	Coronerem la mascherata bella	
	Cogli sponsali della	
	Regina delle Fate.	

He first cancelled lines 3-5 of the above and condensed them into a single line for Ford: "Ma basta. Ed or voglio che m'ascoltiate." Later, after the laughter in the first line, he added on fol. 18^v the lines of the final version, from "E un mostro raro" through Falstaff's "Son io che vi fa scaltri / L'arguzia mia crea l'arguzia degli altri" and the response "Mo bravo!" On that folio one also finds three variants of "Son io che vi fa scaltri": "Per me voi siete lieti"; "Per me furbi e faceti"; and "per me sagaci e scaltri."

Boito's autograph contains dozens of such changes. Some of the more important of them--variants in Falstaff's honor monologue (I.1), in the Ford/Falstaff duet (II.1), in Ford's monologue (II.1), in the opening of II.2, and in Falstaff's monologue at the beginning of III.1--will be discussed at appropriate points later in this study.

To what extent was Verdi responsible for the changes in the autograph libretto? One cannot be certain. Boito might have entered most of the revisions on his own initiative before Verdi first saw the completed libretto, presumably on 8 March 1890. An examination of the

text of Verdi's Falstaff sketches, currently unavailable, would undoubtedly suggest an answer. But given the present state of the evidence, only a few textual revisions can be dated with certainty, and even fewer can be unquestionably attributed to Verdi.

Two slips in the composer's hand in the autograph libretto represent modifications obviously requested by him. One of these is found in Act II, attached to the stub between fol. 14^v and fol. 15: "Have Alice and Quik come on stage at the words Tu puzzi / come una puzzola and make the attack on Pizzica pizzica etc. only in the first parts Alice Meg Al [sic--later changed to "Quick." in a non-Verdian hand] etc. later the whole chorus etc."⁴⁷ Since these changes also appear as additions (probably dating from mid-1892) to Verdi's autograph score, the slip represents a late revision in the text.⁴⁸ Verdi probably wrote this slip as a reminder to inform Boito of the change. The librettist later entered "Alice Quick Meg" on fols. 15 and 16, opposite the words "Pizzica, pizzica," originally to be sung first by "Folletti," and then by "Folletti e Diavoli."

The second slip, another reminder, this time inserted loose between fols. 11^v-12 of Act II, contains three requests, none of which, unfortunately, can be dated. Each seems to be a request that

⁴⁷The slip has been published with minor errors in Luzio, op. cit., II, 154.

⁴⁸On fol. 346 of the autograph score Verdi made no indication of entering characters above "Tu puzzi come una puzzola." His indications of "Alice Meg Quik" to sing "Pizzica, pizzica" on fols. 347 and 349^v are clearly late additions: the latter even involves the cancellation of seven measures of the part previously written for "Folletti e Diavoli." The method for dating such changes as these will be discussed in the second part of this thesis.

Boito make verses to fit pre-existing music. The slip begins with the lines preceding "Quand'ero paggio" in II.2:⁴⁹

	Ask Boito
1st	After = lines of Fals. T'amo e non è mia colpa S'io tanta porto vulnerabil polpa
Add two lines for Alice	
	Ah! [added above] Ma i sospiri d'amor Gonfiano e il cor. Quand'ero paggio Del Duca di Norfolth ero sottile! / the end [<u>punto</u>].
Fal.	<p> <u> </u> - - <u> </u> - - <u> </u> - - - - <u> </u> - - <u> </u> - </p>

Verdi's suggestions may be later than Boito's third version of this text (see p. 22 above), or, indeed, may have given rise to Boito's second version (p. 22), which is the first to begin Falstaff's song with the words "Quand'ero paggio." Boito never added the requested lines for Alice after "vulnerabil polpa," and the reference to Falstaff's sighs of love was eventually removed. Verdi's scansion at the bottom of this portion of the slip--he appears to be scanning the two lines already written, not unknown third and fourth lines--suggests that he had already composed the music and needed these accents. Exactly how this slip relates to Boito's revisions of the text is unclear, but that Verdi had a hand in its final shaping is undeniable.

The slip continues with a suggested expansion of the taunts hurled

⁴⁹The entire slip has been published in Luzio, op. cit., IV, 49. Luzio (p. 47) maintains that the slip belongs to the final period of the composition of Falstaff, but this seems too late a date: no such revision is visible in the autograph score.

at the prostrate Falstaff in III.2:

Cialtron!
Poltron!
Gorgion
Beon
Briccon!
In ginocchion

Further on

Ghiotton!
Gorgion
Beon
Perdon

Change these so they
won't be repetitions

Again, it seems that he needed more text to fit his music: in the autograph libretto (Act III, fol. 16) Boito had written only "Cialtron!", "Poltron!", and "In ginocchion!" for the first set of exclamations. The librettist's final version of these reproaches incorporates Verdi's suggestions and appears as a later entry on fol. 16.

Finally, Verdi asked for two additional lines that he needed for Alice's "Avrò con me dei putti" near the end of III.1:

Possibly after the line
add two others

E spiritelli
...elli
...elli

Boito's original text, Act III, fol. 6, had read: "Avrò con me dei putti / Che fingeran folletti e farfarelli / E spiritelli. / Su Falstaff . . . etc." He entered his solution--three additional lines--on fol. 5^v of the third act: "Che fingeran folletti / E spiritelli / E diavoletti / E pipistrelli / E farfarelli." So naturally are these lines adapted to the present music that it is difficult to imagine why Verdi had asked for only two, not three, additional lines. The answer, once again, may lie in the Falstaff sketches.

A handful of other small changes in the autograph libretto are directly traceable to Verdi's suggestions, generally on the basis of later correspondence between Verdi and Boito. These changes will be mentioned in later chapters.

Although the available information about the genesis of Falstaff from July 1889 to March 1890 is at best fragmentary, it does permit two broad conclusions. First, it is clear that Verdi's ideas influenced the final state of the libretto. It has been shown that he suggested some individual lines of text on 11 July 1889; that he proposed the present ending of the opera, including the final fugue; and that, having received the completed libretto, he requested a few changes and additions that Boito later supplied. And although correspondence between the two is almost completely lacking from September 1889 to March 1890, one can justifiably presume frequent meetings in Sant'Agata and Genoa to discuss the progress of the text. Provided Verdi's role is not overemphasized, one may conclude that the libretto, from its inception, was the product of a collaboration.

Finally, it would appear that the frequently repeated story of Verdi's activity on Falstaff immediately after 8 March 1890--his composition of the first act in only nine days--needs to be qualified. The source of the story, his celebrated letter of 17 March 1890, reveals the intense energy and optimism with which he faced his task: "The first act [i.e., the continuity draft] is finished without any changes in the poetry: just as you gave it to me. I think that the same will happen in the second act unless some cuts are made in

the concertato, as you yourself said. Let's not talk of the third now, but I believe there will not be much to do, not even on this."⁵⁰ It is now evident that the contents of the libretto could not have surprised him greatly when he first examined the completed text on 8 March 1890, even though he might not have been familiar with the details of several passages. In all likelihood Verdi, so eager to begin work on his new opera, had already composed a number of musical ideas for Falstaff, and perhaps had even shown them to Boito. The completion of the continuity draft within nine days remains an astonishing achievement for the Gran Vegliardo, but one must now suppose that it was preceded by several months of methodical planning and sketching.

⁵⁰To Boito; in Abbiati, IV, 397.

Chapter 2

Verdi's Work on Falstaff through the Beginnings of its Publication History

In his initial enthusiasm Verdi had completed a continuity draft of the first act of Falstaff by 17 March 1890, within nine days of having received the completed libretto. But his progress came to a nearly complete halt when Boito wrote him about the incurable illness of their mutual friend Franco Faccio.⁵¹ Verdi was deeply shocked; his sorrow pervades many of his letters to Boito and to Giulio Ricordi from March 1890 to 21 July 1891, the date of Faccio's death.⁵²

Moreover, since late 1889 he had been unwillingly embroiled in a prolonged legal battle. Both the firm of Bénéoit, the recipient of much of the material once owned by the publisher Escudier, and the firm of Ricordi claimed the exclusive rights to Le Trouvère (the French version of Il trovatore). Verdi was caught in the middle of

⁵¹[16 March 1890?]; midated 17 August 1890 in Luzio, Carteggi verdiani, II, 169-70; the present dating is that of Marcello Conati of the Istituto di studi verdiani.

Faccio, composer, conductor, and director of the Parma Conservatory, had conducted the first La Scala performances of Aida and Otello. Boito and Faccio were especially close friends, their acquaintance dating back to the mid-1850's, when both were students at the Milan Conservatory. See De Rensis, Franco Faccio e Verdi.

⁵²Abbiati, IV, 397-423; Luzio, op. cit., II, 162-72. Much of the correspondence concerns Boito's appointment as director of the Parma Conservatory to replace Faccio.

this dispute, for his memory of the events of 1855-57, and of 1882, when he voluntarily ceded to the translator Pacini what he still believed to be his rights to Le Trouvère, was of critical importance. Throughout much of 1890 and 1891 he was obliged to write statement after statement recounting in detail what he remembered of these events. In nearly every letter, particularly as the litigation progressed, he showed considerable annoyance at being distracted. In order to gain time he repeatedly counseled his editor to cede victory to Bénéoit; Ricordi refused to yield, and the struggle pressed on until 1893, when Bénéoit finally won. There is little doubt that at various times from 1890 to 1893 the Bénéoit affair was directly responsible for delaying the composition of Falstaff.⁵³

Verdi returned to Sant'Agata from Genoa in early May 1890.⁵⁴ For a few weeks Boito seems to have been unaware of the composer's inactivity. On 21 May 1890, for instance, he wrote to suggest a definitive text for the fugue.⁵⁵ Verdi's response of 23 May clarified the state of affairs: "With regard to Big Belly Alas Alas! I have done

⁵³Probably because of the complexity of the matter and the vast number of repetitious letters, no biographer of Verdi has given the Bénéoit affair more than passing mention. It was, however, a great burden of which Verdi longed to be free throughout the entire composition of Falstaff. See Gatti, Verdi, pp. 718, 744-45; Abbiati, IV, 389-91, 528.

⁵⁴Ricordi to Verdi, 9 May 1890 (unpublished) contains assurances that Ricordi had informed il pungolo, a journal to which Verdi subscribed, of the composer's change of address.

⁵⁵To Verdi; in Luzio, op. cit., II, 168-69; Abbiati, IV, 400. Curiously, this is also the version found unchanged on fol. 21^v of the third act of the autograph libretto: exactly what version of the text Boito was changing is uncertain.

nothing!!...'L'uom è nato poltrone' except for a few periods or commas added or changed in what was already done. But we'll talk about everything in person at Sant'Agata."⁵⁶ Boito visited Verdi in late May or early June 1890, but the summer passed with little work on Falstaff, still a secret between them.

Verdi's depression worsened in the late summer after he learned that two more friends, Giuseppe Piroli and Emanuele Muzio, were very ill.⁵⁷ Nevertheless he turned momentarily back to Falstaff, and, in anticipation of a visit from the librettist, he wrote to Boito on 6 October: "I haven't worked very much, but I have done something. The sonnet of the third act [the opening of III.2] was tormenting me; and to get this nail out of my head I put aside the second act, and, beginning with that sonnet, gradually one note after another I arrived at the end. It's only a sketch! and who knows how much will have to be redone!"⁵⁸ Shortly thereafter two blows descended: Piroli died on

⁵⁶To Boito: "In quanto al pancione Ahi Ahi! Non ho fatto nulla!!...'L'uom è nato poltrone' salvo qualche punto o virgola aggiunti o cambiati in quello che era già fatto. Ma parleremo di tutto a voce a St. Agata." Incomplete in Nardi, Vita, p. 577; Abbiati, IV, 400-01; Walker, The Man Verdi, p. 499.

⁵⁷Piroli, the Italian patriot, statesman, and senator, had known Verdi since 1859. The third volume of Luzio's Carteggi verdiani is devoted to some 200 pages of the Verdi-Piroli correspondence.

Muzio had been a student of the young Verdi in the 1840's and began his conducting career in 1852. His reports of the composer's activities in the 1840's are a central source for Verdi biographers: see Garibaldi, Giuseppe Verdi nelle lettere di Emanuele Muzio. In his last years Muzio spoke for the interests of Verdi and Ricordi in the Bénéoit affair in Paris.

⁵⁸"Ho lavorato poco, ma qualche cosa ho fatto. Mi tormentava il Sonetto del Terz'Atto; e per togliermi questo chiodo dalla testa ho messo da parte il Second'Atto, e cominciando da quel Sonetto, giù giù una nota dopo l'altra sono arrivato fino alla fine.. Non è che uno sbozzo! e chi sa quanto vi sarà a rifare!" Incomplete in Abbiati, IV, 405.

14 November, Muzio on 27 November.

At this saddest of times Verdi prepared for his customary winter move to Genoa. On the way he stopped for a few days in Milan, and on 26 November he invited Boito and the Ricordi family to dinner at the Hôtel Milan--the editor was still unaware of the existence of the half-sketched opera. During the dinner, perhaps to enliven Verdi's spirits, or perhaps according to a prior agreement, Boito suddenly proposed a champagne toast: "I drink to the health and triumphs of Big Belly!" Amid general surprise he announced again: "I drink to the health of Falstaff!" Ricordi did not yet understand, until his wife turned to Giuseppina Verdi and asked, "A new opera?", to which Giuseppina nodded assent.⁵⁹

Giulio Ricordi, the editor who would surely publish the new work, was stunned. In the next two days several Milanese newspapers published the report of Verdi's new opera and included many accurate details, probably supplied by Ricordi. Falstaff was now public knowledge.⁶⁰ The Italian musical world was exuberant: within a few weeks Verdi and Ricordi had received a flood of mail about the new opera from friends and interested impresarios.

Few realized that at this time the composer felt more than ever the weight of his own mortality and could not envision the completion of Falstaff. His letter of 6 December 1890 to Maria Waldmann is deeply

⁵⁹ This version of the story is based on the most complete contemporary account, the Milanese La Lombardia, 28 November 1890, p. 3. See also Barrili, Giuseppe Verdi, pp. 141-42; Monaldi, Verdi: 1839-1898, pp. 262-63. Abbiati, IV, 419-20, is unreliable.

⁶⁰ See p. 2 above.

revealing:

In around fifteen days I have lost two of my oldest friends! Senator Piroli. . . . Dead!! Muzio. . . . Dead! And both were younger than I!

All is over!! Life is a sad thing! I leave it to you to consider the pain I have felt and feel! And so I have very little will left to write an opera that I have begun, but haven't gotten very far with. Don't pay any attention to the gossip in the press. Will I finish it? Won't I finish it? Who knows! I am writing without plans, without a goal, solely to pass a few hours of the day.⁶¹

From this period on he became apprehensive about Falstaff and maintained that he might not finish it at all, that he was writing it for his own amusement, not for performance, and so on. Fearing that his project would never be finished, he consistently tried to lower the public's expectations by assuming a defensive modesty.⁶²

On 1 January 1891 he wrote to Ricordi about his problems with the opera: "I told you that only about half of the music had been done [I.1, I.2, and III.2] ...but let's understand well, 'half-sketched,' and in this half the greater labor remains, the putting together of the parts [concerto delle parti, presumably the vertical expansion of the continuity draft], the redoing and retouchings, besides the

⁶¹Abbiati, IV, 408; Cesari and Luzio, Copialettere, pp. 528-29. Cf. Verdi to Boito, 1 January 1891: "Il Pancione non va avanti. Sono sconcertato e distratto... I tristissimi mesi passati, il freddo d'adesso, le feste, etc etc m'hanno messo fuori d'equilibrio." Incomplete in Abbiati, IV, 413; Nardi, op. cit., p. 587.

⁶²Verdi would often repeat in the next year that he was writing Falstaff only to pass the time (see, e.g., Abbiati, IV, 414; Cesari and Luzio, op. cit., p. 370). This is a distinctly new attitude. From the beginning Falstaff was planned for performance. See the famous concluding words in Verdi to Boito, 7 July 1889: "Che gioja! poter dire al pubblico: SIAMO QUA. ANCORA!! A NOI!" (Abbiati, IV, 384).

orchestration, which will be very difficult. Finally, to sum up: all of 1891 won't be enough to bring it to completion."⁶³

Adding to his distress in early 1891, the Bénéoit affair grew more complex, and demanded much of his time. Hoping to speed a conclusion, he wrote Ricordi a detailed, nine-page letter (27 January 1891, unpublished) that contained everything he could remember about the Le Trouvère negotiations. This, however, was not satisfactory. Typical of Verdi's feelings at this time is his plea to Ricordi: "Alas! Alas! You say, 'It's a principle! only a principle!!' The lawyer [Carlo Panattoni] says, 'Don't have any illusions about a rapid solution,' etc. etc. Foul words! Alas! Alas! Meanwhile time passes sadly, unfruitfully for me, thinking and pondering matters that are anything but happy!! . . . I finish by repeating over again, 'Let's come to a settlement!'"⁶⁴ Ricordi remained intransigent, and the affair continued to plague Verdi.

It seems likely that he considered abandoning Falstaff at this time. Certainly he did no work on the opera for several months.

⁶³Mr 969; in Abbiati, IV, 414-15. The letter was written in response to Ricordi's of 30 December 1890 (unpublished) in which the editor stated that he had been deluged with requests from impresarios about the opera. Verdi's letter was thus a sort of official statement, which he understood that Ricordi would pass on to others and transmit in the Gazzetta musicale di Milano.

⁶⁴3 February 1891 (Mr 978): "Ahimè! Ahimè! Voi dite 'E un principio! solo un principio!!' L'avvocato dice 'Non è a farsi illusione sulla soluzione rapida' etc. etc. Brutte parole! Ahimè! Ahimè! Intanto il tempo passa tristamente, per me inoperoso, pensando e meditando cose tutt'altre che allegre!! . . . Finisco repetendo sempre 'Veniamo ad una transazione!'" Unpublished.

After Boito sent him an aquarelle of Falstaff for his name day (19 March), Verdi wrote to Ricordi: "Ha! Ha! Ha!! What a surprise! Big Belly? I haven't heard news of him for more than four months. Meanwhile he, the blind drunk, was probably asleep the whole time! Let's let him sleep! Why awaken him? He could commit some big knaveries of a magnitude to scandalize the world! And then? Bah! Who knows?"⁶⁵ But the aquarelle may have reawakened his interest. Two days later, commenting on the watercolor, lamenting the time he had lost, and showing a new interest in the uncompleted second act, he wrote to Boito: "But now these observations [about Falstaff] are useless: we'll have plenty of time to talk about them. . . . I haven't yet been able to warm up the engine! Meanwhile tell me if on the word Vindsor you want the accent on the first or second [syllable]. For example: in the line C'è a Vindsor una donna.....the accent seems on the second: unless you want a hendecasyllable with the accent on the seventh. You decide how you want it."⁶⁶

Boito wrote back that "Windsor" was accented on the first syllable, a feature that he attributed to all English bisyllabic words; he admitted, however, that in writing the song "Quand'ero paggio" he

⁶⁵19 March 1891 (Mr 985); in Abbiati, IV, 418.

⁶⁶21 March 1891: "Ma ora sono inutili queste osservazioni: avremo ben tempo a parlarne. . . . Io non ho ancora potuto riscaldare la macchina! Ditemi intanto se sulla parola Vindsor volete l'accento sulla prima o sulla seconda. Per es: nel verso. C'è a Vindsor una donna..... pare l'accento sulla prima. In quest'altro verso Gaje Comari di Vindsor! E l'ora! pare l'accento sulla seconda; a meno che non vogliate l'endecasillabo coll'accento sulla settima. Decidete Voi come volete." Incomplete in Abbiati, IV, 418; Nardi, op. cit., p. 587.

intended "Norfolk" to carry an accent on the second syllable. He ended the letter with optimistic encouragement: "Meanwhile I note that you and the music have gotten to the line: 'Gaie comari di Windsor è l'ora,' and this comforts my idea that the engine is already beginning to warm up. . . . Ahead! at full steam! and then the four lost months will be regained in one week. I am most certain of it."⁶⁷

After a long period of inactivity Verdi was turning back to Falstaff.⁶⁸ He returned to Sant'Agata from Genoa on 28 April 1891⁶⁹ and wrote to Boito on 1 May: "Big Belly? Poor man! After that illness of 4 months he's thin, thin! Let's hope to find some nice capons to swell his stomach again!.. Everything depends on the doctor!.. Who knows! Who knows!"⁷⁰ Boito visited Sant'Agata on 21 May 1891,⁷¹ but Verdi, it seems, had still not completely warmed up the engine.

Finally, on 2 June he was able to report some progress: "Big Belly is going ahead...but very slowly. You must understand: he is so fat that he can't take long walks, nor should he!! And yet it would be

⁶⁷To Verdi, [22 March 1891]; in Luzio, op. cit., II, 150-51; undated in Abbiati, IV, 399. Cf. Boito to Verdi, 20 March 1890; in Luzio, op. cit., II, 149-50.

⁶⁸Ricordi to Verdi, 5 April 1891: "Un occhio?...ha aperto un occhio?... Evviva!!...evviva!... Lei, Maestro, non è uomo da lasciare guercio il pancione! Adesso ne avrà aperto uno.....e poi aprirà l'altro....e poco a poco ci riderà in faccia.... e noi ripeteremo un interminabile evviva!" Unpublished.

⁶⁹Verdi to Boito, 26 April 1891: "Dopodomani alle 7 del mattino partiremo noi, per essere a St Agata verso le 3 pom." Unpublished.

⁷⁰Gatti, op. cit., p. 721 (read "trovare" instead of "ritrovare").

⁷¹Verdi to Boito, 5 May 1891: "Benissimo! ed a rivederci il 21." Unpublished.

necessary that he still be able to take two of them [II.2 and III.1?]. . . very long and very tiring!"⁷² Ricordi could scarcely contain his excitement. Verdi himself was surprised and wrote to Boito: "Big Belly is on the road that leads to madness. There are days that he doesn't move, sleeps, and is in a bad humor; at other times he howls, runs, jumps, and kicks up a rumpus. . . . I give in to him a bit, but if he continues, I'll muzzle and strait-jacket him."⁷³ Boito responded immediately with enthusiastic encouragement and even mentioned that he had just heard a good voice for Quickly.⁷⁴

Verdi probably spent much of the summer preparing a continuity draft of II.2. He and Giuseppina made their usual summer visit to the baths of Montecatini in early July and returned to Sant'Agata on 22 July to discover that Franco Faccio, after his long illness, had died the day before. We hear nothing from Verdi for a month after this, until he wrote to Ricordi on 23 August with an invitation to Sant'Agata and included the news: "Ah! Big Belly? Even he [like Peppina and me] has weak legs, and he moves very slowly, and I'm afraid that he sings like a drunk [a reference to the opening of III.1?]."⁷⁵ Ricordi,

⁷²To Ricordi (Mr 987): "Il Pancione v` avanti...ma molto lentamente. Capite bene, ` tanto grasso che non pu` fare n` deve fare grandi camminate!! Eppure bisognerebbe che ne potesse fare ancora due...lunghe lunghe, e faticoso molto!" Unpublished.

⁷³12 June 1891 [?]; in Abbiati, IV, 418; Nardi, op. cit., p. 588; Walker, op. cit., p. 500. The Istituto di studi verdiani does not own this letter; I am unaware of the location of the original. The dating is from Nardi.

⁷⁴To Verdi, 14 June [1891]; in Luzio, op. cit., II, 153; Abbiati, IV, 419; Walker, op. cit., p. 500. For more on the singer, see Ch. 16 below.

⁷⁵Mr 991; undated in Abbiati, IV, 424.

back in Milan after a visit to Bayreuth to see Parsifal and Tannhäuser, responded that he could not visit the composer for several days.⁷⁶

By early September Verdi had finished the continuity draft of II.2 and decided to postpone the composition of III.1 until he had entered his continuity draft onto score paper--the beginning of the orchestration--"because I fear I may forget certain passages and instrumental combinations."⁷⁷ The first entries in the autograph score, then, date from early September 1891. It is uncertain when Verdi composed the continuity draft of III.1.

Ricordi finally announced that he, his wife Giuditta, and his son Tito would come to Sant'Agata for three or four days on 11 September.⁷⁸ Here it was that the editor first saw the libretto. Verdi reported the event to Boito on 15 September: "You already know that Giuditta, Giulio, Tito Ricordi are here! Giulio asked me to let him read the libretto of Falstaff. I gave it to him, and I believe that all three read it in his room. Nothing bad. The impression was very good."⁷⁹

After his return to Milan Ricordi wrote Verdi an ecstatic letter that contains the earliest known reference to the music of Falstaff:

⁷⁶To Verdi, 1 September 1891; unpublished.

⁷⁷Verdi to Boito, 10 September 1891; in Gatti, op. cit., p. 723; Luzio, op. cit., II, 173; Walker, op. cit., p. 500.

⁷⁸To Verdi, 9 September 1891; unpublished.

⁷⁹Verdi to Boito, 15 September 1891: "Sapete già che Giuditta, Giulio, Tito Ricordi sono qui! Giulio m'ha domandato di lasciargli leggere il libretto di Falstaff. Gliel'ho consegnato, e nella sua stanza credo l'abbiano letto tutti i tre. Niente di male. L'impressione è stata buonissima." Incomplete in Nardi, op. cit., p. 589.

If an old proverb doesn't lie, you and the kind Signora Giuseppina must have heard quite a bit of buzzing in your ears!...for Giuditta, Tito, and I have not stopped talking about the beautiful days we spent at Sant'Agata. . . . But I don't believe that you can imagine what an intense pleasure it is for us to visit Sant'Agata; and it's a lasting pleasure, that remains engraved on the heart. . . .

I am particularly grateful for the favor you granted me of reading the libretto of Falstaff!!....ah!...if I had had the courage.....to ask a certain Maestro!!....maybe I would have had the choice gift of some fragments of music....but in front of someone I become (as the Milanese say) a number-one coward!! Will I have a little courage at another lucky time!... hum! . . .

Jokes aside, as Verdi is a marvelous artist, so he is a marvelous man...yes, marvelous, marvelous... Hurrah for him, hurrah....and my fantasy is getting so worked up that I am thinking of composing a fugue on this subject:



What do you think?...is the subject good?.....or maybe you think it a bad subject. . . .

I immediately wrote to Paris for the music paper: it will be sent to you as soon as it is received.⁸⁰

⁸⁰19 September 1891: "Se un vecchio proverbio non mente, Lei e la Signora Peppina amabilissima devono aver sentito ronzare gli orecchi non poco!...giacché fra me, Giuditta e Tito non si ristà dal parlare dei giorni tanto belli passati a Sta Agata. . . . Ma io credo che Loro non si possono immaginare quale intensopiacere sia per noi una visita a Sta Agata" ed è piacere duraturo, che rimane scolpito nel cuore. . . .

Io poi Le sono particolarmente grato del favore da Lei fattomi col lasciarmi leggere il libretto del Falstaff!!....ah!...se avessi avuto il coraggio.....di pregare un certo Maestro!!....forse avrei avuto il prelibato regalo di qualche brano di musica....ma, dinnanzi a certa persona divento (come dicono i milanesi) on fiffon numer vun!! avrò poco di coraggio in altra fortunata occasione?...uhm! . . .

Evidently Ricordi wished to demonstrate that he already knew the subject of the Falstaff fugue. But how did he learn it? The context of his letter makes it clear that it was not shown to him; and it seems unlikely that Giuseppina would have betrayed the secrecy Verdi evidently wanted his music to have. It is possible that Ricordi had spotted the subject on some scraps of paper at Sant'Agata; but in that case one suspects that he would have been hesitant to reveal the fact. A more likely possibility is that he learned the theme from Boito--who may have written the text to fit pre-existing music, as mentioned above.

Most tantalizing of all is the question of why Ricordi wrote the subject in D major, rather than in C major, the key of the fugue as it appears in the opera. Did he choose a key at random because the subject had been sung to him without an indication of key? Or did he know--as we do not--that Verdi had at one time written the fugue in D major? No answers can presently be given; for these, as for so many others, we await the release of the Falstaff sketches.

From early September 1891 through mid-October 1892 Verdi worked primarily on the autograph score. Because of its internal complexity, and because of the many letters that mention his writing and revision of the score, his activity on the opera during this period can be

Scherzi a parte come Verdi è meraviglioso artista, così è meraviglioso uomo...sì, meraviglioso, meraviglioso... Evviva a Lui, evviva....ed io mi monto tanto la fantasia, che penso di comporre una fuga su questo soggetto.

[music]

Che glie ne pare?...è buono il soggetto?.....oppure Ella troverà che è un soggetto cattivo. . . .

Scritto subito per la carta musica a Parigi: appena ricevuta le sarà spedita." Unpublished.

determined with considerable precision. The autograph score itself and Verdi's method of writing it will be the principal subjects of the second part of this study. For this reason the letters that mention the autograph score are more appropriately dealt with in that place. We shall, then, postpone the discussion of most of this very important period. Readers who wish to proceed immediately to a continuation of the above chronological narrative may turn at this point to Chapter 7, "Letters and Anecdotes concerning the Autograph Score."

In late summer 1892, when Verdi was finishing the orchestration of Falstaff, his editor was planning its publication. Ricordi was fully aware of the responsibility that his firm would assume in that project: this was to be Verdi's farewell, the last operatic gesture from Italy's most celebrated composer of the ottocento. Inside Italy Verdi was considered a giant, a national hero, the Venerando Vegliardo of Sant'Agata, and his reputation was hardly less formidable in certain operatic circles outside the country. From the beginning of the publication plans Ricordi was prepared to go to whatever trouble was necessary to ensure an accurate edition of Falstaff that pleased Verdi. As we shall see, he was particularly careful with this opera, not just because he feared Verdi's wrath, but because, on account of his prized friendship with him, Ricordi was in a position to do something historically important, and he wished to do it well. The editor's attitude towards the publication of Falstaff is an important factor that must be considered when one evaluates the accuracy of the early published scores of the opera.

Ricordi was primarily interested in producing a libretto and two types of editions: a piano-vocal score [spartito] that would be made available for purchase; and an orchestral score [partitura] and parts that would be available only by rental. All other editions of the Falstaff material--a reduction for piano solo, spartiti in foreign languages, pezzi staccati, etc.--would be based on the piano-vocal edition.

By early August 1892, some time before Verdi had finished the orchestration of Falstaff, Ricordi decided to assign the preparation of the piano-vocal reduction to Carlo Carignani, "the best of the reducers" in his employment.⁸¹ Like the editor, Carignani was impressed with the significance of his task (even today all piano-vocal scores of Falstaff use his reduction), for on 2 September, three or four days after he had begun work on the opera, Ricordi reported: "And yesterday, too, I noted another very nice fact: Maestro Carignani, charged with reducing Falstaff, had an offer of a good contract as a conductor in America: he refused it and told me that for all the money on earth he would not give up the honor of working on the reduction of the opera. These are perhaps little things!...but taken together they make a crown for the great name of Verdi!...Hurrah for him!"⁸²

⁸¹ Ricordi to Verdi, 12 August 1892: "Ho già pronto il migliore fra i riduttori." Unpublished.

Carignani (1857-1919), an orchestral conductor and voice teacher, made the most important of the piano-vocal reductions for Ricordi between at least the years 1891-1918. Besides Falstaff, his reductions include: Catalani's Loreley and La Wally; Franchetti's Cristoforo Colombo; Puccini's Edgar, Manon Lescaut, La Boheme, Madama Butterfly, Tosca, La fanciulla del West, La rondine, and Il tritico; Mascagni's Iris; Alfano's La risurrezione and Il principe Zilah; and Zandonai's Conchita and Melenis.

⁸² To Verdi: "Ed anche jeri notai altro bellissimo fatto: il M.^o

Ricordi received the autograph score one act at a time: Act I on ca. 27 August 1892; Act III on 15 September, and Act II either on 4 October or between 13 and 16 October.⁸³ On each of these dates the composer relinquished what he believed was a finished act. Yet for at least eight more months--during the reduction of the piano-vocal score, the engraving and printing of the proofs, the rehearsals for the premiere, and even after the first performance--he would continue to revise and refine Falstaff.

Verdi probably began this process of revision when he started receiving for correction the individual fascicles of the reduction manuscript. On 2 September Ricordi announced that he was sending the first two of them:

I am sending you 2 reduction fascicles in a registered separate package so that you might examine them and see if they are all right. I needn't tell you that Maestro Carignani, the reducer, is very anxious for fear of not having translated your ideas well. From that little that I am able to judge, also because I had the distinct pleasure of hearing it [done] by you. [during Ricordi's visit to Sant'Agata, 27-29 August?], I think that the reduction is clear, is easy to play, and preserves what is essential in the score. For now the stage directions have not been inserted; I shall put them in after-

Carignani, incaricato della riduzione di Falstaff, ebbe offerta di una buona scrittura come Maestro direttore in America: ha rifiutato, dichiarandomi che per tutto l'oro del mondo non rinuncierebbe all'onore di lavorare alla riduzione dell'opera. Sono forse piccole cose!...ma tutte sommate, fanno corona al gran nome di Verdi!...Evviva a Lui!"

⁸³For the dates and further information see Ch. 7 below. Upon receiving the first act Ricordi wrote Verdi on 1 September and indicated with what caution he was planning to treat the document: "Intanto, come già le scrissi, la partitura è chiusa nella Cassa forte, e con segno solo al riduttore poche pagine, che rinchiudo appena sono ridotte." Unpublished.

wards, taking them from the score [partitura] and from the libretto.⁸⁴

Throughout the period of reduction, which lasted until at least late October, Verdi was correcting the fascicles of Carignani's manuscript and sending them back to Ricordi.⁸⁵ These valuable documents are presently lost.

The unavailability of the September-October 1892 reduction manuscript is particularly unfortunate, for it would reveal Verdi's first completed conception of Falstaff--i.e., that portion of it in Carignani's hand. Exactly how thoroughly Verdi revised the reduction is uncertain but there is no doubt that he did indeed touch up--and perhaps recompose--a number of passages.⁸⁶ On two occasions, 13 September and

⁸⁴To Verdi: "In sottofascia raccomandato le mando 2 fascicoli di riduzione, perché si compiaccia esaminarli, e vedere se vanno bene. Inutile dirle che il M.^o Carignani riduttore è sulle spine, pel timore di non aver bene tradotte le di Lei idee. Da quel poco che posso giudicare io, anche perché ebbi il vivo piacere di udirlo da lei, mi pare che la riduzione sia chiara, di facile esecuzione, e conservi ciò che occorre della partitura. Per ora non sono state messe le indicazioni sceniche; le metterò poi in seguito, traendole dalla partitura e dal libretto." Unpublished.

⁸⁵Much later Ricordi told Giuseppe Adami that, after one of the envelopes arrived with Verdi's signature snipped from the corner--the action of an overenthusiastic postal employee--he decided to send his son Tito to receive the fascicles from the Maestro's hand. Adami, in retelling the story, erroneously assumed that the documents in question were not the reduction fascicles but the autograph score itself. See Adami, Giulio Ricordi e i suoi musicisti, pp. 77-79. Cf. the account in Ch. 7 below.

⁸⁶Some of these can be located in the autograph score, since each of the reduction corrections that Verdi entered there is accompanied by a marginal pencil sign (often erased) in Ricordi's or Carignani's hand. Cf. Verdi to Ricordi, 27 September 1892 (Mr 1052): "Vi mando la riduzione rivista, della prima parte del Terz'Atto--Quanti sbagli e piccoli e grandi vi devono essere nello spartito! Mettete un piccolo segno dappertutto ove io ho indicato, e troverò ben io qualche momento per

21 October, he even requested that certain fascicles of the autograph score be returned to him for modification.⁸⁷ Ricordi himself, hoping to be able to print the orchestral parts before too long, kept a record of the composer's revisions by entering them in pencil into the full score as reminders to Verdi to make permanent corrections. And all the while he tried to convince the composer to correct the autograph score as soon as possible, as in this letter of 30 September 1892:

"Yesterday morning I received in a registered envelope the reduction fascicle [of III.1] and immediately made the corrections and modifications you indicated. . . . One important thing: the signs in the score have been made: it is now necessary that you be able to do what corresponds to the signs themselves: but.....it is urgent that this be done, because we can't extract the parts. Do you think that when you give us the second act we could bring you the rest of the score?"⁸⁸

Two documents dating from this period provide further evidence of Verdi's Falstaff revisions of September-October 1892. The first, presently located at the Stanford University Memorial Library of Music, is composed of two folios of 24-stave music paper and contains two

correggerli. La riduzione non è difficile e va bene." Unpublished. See Ch. 11 below for further information.

⁸⁷Abbiati, IV, 458, 430 (letter of 21 October misdated 31 October). See also Ch. 7 below.

⁸⁸To Verdi: "Jeri mattina, per piego raccomandato, ricevetti fascicolo riduzione, e subito si sono fatte le correzioni e modificazioni indicate. . . . 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^o Atto, le si porti il resto della partitura?" Unpublished.

versions of eight completely scored measures from the Falstaff/Alice duet in II.2.⁸⁹ The earlier version, probably written by a Ricordi copyist, was derived from the original music (now partially erased) of the autograph score, fol. 206^r-06^v. Verdi himself supplied the later version--a revision--by writing, where necessary, on the remaining blank staves. Example 1 is a reduction of the copyist's transcription; Example 2 shows the same passage after Verdi's corrections; the corresponding passage in the piano-vocal score may be found in 96000¹, pp. 217-18.⁹⁰

The Stanford manuscript may be dated as follows. The November 1892 piano-vocal proofs (see Ch. 3 below) were engraved from the corrected reduction manuscript. These proofs contain a reading of this passage that is very close to--but obviously later than--Example 2.⁹¹ The manuscript is therefore prior to the proofs. Verdi had probably first made his revision on the reduction manuscript, but, realizing that an extensive revision of the orchestral parts was now necessary, he must then have requested that a copy of the passage in full score be sent to him to adjust. Since he had given Ricordi Act II on either 4 October or between 13 and 16 October 1892, one concludes that the Stanford manuscript must have been written in late October 1892, probably nearer the end of the month than the beginning.

⁸⁹Van Patten, Catalogue of the Memorial Library of Music, p. 270, assigns the number "1104" to these "2 leaves (2 pages) 26 x 38 cm.," which are inserted in an early copy of 96000.

⁹⁰See pp. vi-ix above.

⁹¹In the proofs the chords of Ex. 2, m. 4, beat 3, and Ex. 2, m. 5, beat 1, were changed, to an F 4/2 and a D 6/4/3 respectively.

Example 1

Al. *perchè?*

Fal. *Ford andasse a miglior vita perchè lo chiedi? Saresti la mia La-dy e Falstaff il tuo*

5 Al. *3* *Lo stesso tempo ♩=98*

povera La-dy in-ver

Fal. *Re [sic] Degna d'un Re Tim- ma-gi- no fre-* *Sostenuto*

Example 2

Al.

perchè

Fal.

Ford andasse a miglior vita perchè lo chiedi? Saresti la mia La-dy e Fatti il tuo

5 Al.

Lo stesso tempo $\text{♩} = 88$

povera La-dy in-ver

Sostenuto

p

Re [sic] degna d'un Re Tim-ma-gi-no fre-

Both Ex. 1 and Ex. 2 involve a modulation from G major to F major. Ex. 1 is the more conventional of the two:⁹² it introduces the accidental B flat in m. 3, moves towards B-flat major by m. 4, then proceeds through the circle of fifths to prepare for the F major of m. 8.⁹³ Ex. 2 is one measure shorter but harmonically richer. Here G major is retained through m. 3, and the brief move through B-flat (m. 4) yields to the prolonged dominant of its relative key, G minor (mm. 5-6). The F major of m. 7 is thus unprepared; reckoning in F, mm. 6-8 move directly from V of ii to I. Moreover, the move to F is further obscured by the relinquishing of the repeated F's in Falstaff's part, Ex. 1, mm. 3-4. The later version of these measures better isolates them as an interruption of Falstaff's wooing, which is abruptly

⁹²Ex. 1, however, is not Verdi's earliest version of the passage. By restoring the erased readings in the vocal parts of fol. 206 of the autograph score one discovers:

Handwritten musical score for Falstaff's part, showing a modulation from G major to F major. The score is written on two staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics "perchè" and "Ford andasse a miglior vita perchè lo chiedi? saresti la mia la-dy e Falstaff il tuo". The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment line with various chords and notes. The key signature changes from G major (one sharp) to F major (no sharps or flats).

⁹³The chord in Ex. 1, m. 7 is accurately transcribed (an implied F 6/4 with omitted root), although it may be an error in the autograph score: C major is clearly a more appropriate chord.

resumed in Ex. 2, m. 7.

To the reading in the proofs--the third version of this passage (see n. 91 above)--Verdi added an A major chord on the fourth beat of the penultimate measure, under "Degna d'un Re," and thus created a fourth version. This smoothed out the move to the ensuing F major: the preparation of a new I (here, F) by V of vi is a common feature of ottocento opera. Curiously, when he finally corrected the passage in the autograph score (probably in January 1893), he neglected to change the notes of Falstaff's "Lo chiedi? saresti la mia" and to delete the F7 chord after "chiedi."⁹⁴ The autograph reading of these measures, then, inadvertently shares elements of all four versions! Since he thoroughly examined the reading of the proofs, however, there is no doubt that the fourth version--with the added A major chord--is definitive. 96000¹, p. 217, m. 8, did not include the new chord; it first appeared in 96000² and has been included in all subsequent piano-vocal and orchestral editions.⁹⁵

⁹⁴Note also that the final autograph version of the chord on fol. 206^v, m. 1 (corresponding to Ex. 2, m. 5), contains no C; it is a D 6/4, not a D 6/4/3, as in the proofs and piano-vocal scores.

⁹⁵The text of the passage presents further problems. "Andasse" in Ex. 2, m. 1, was changed to "passasse" in the proofs (probably with Verdi's consent). "Re" in Ex. 2, m. 5, accurately transcribes the autograph score but transmits an error; the word should be "Lord," to rhyme with "Ford." The word was properly changed in the proofs, but Verdi never corrected the error in his autograph score, fol. 206^v, m. 1.

Note also that the A major chord under "Lord" lasts for an eighth note in all piano-vocal scores after 96000¹, but for a quarter note in all orchestral scores. Falstaff contains many such editorial problems, particularly in the passages that Verdi revised; some of these difficulties are examined in Chs. 3 and 6 below.

The second autograph document from the reduction period is an unsigned slip of music paper now located in the Ricordi archives (Mr 1466). This slip is transcribed in Example 3; bracketed question marks follow those words that are virtually illegible.

Example 3

Pro memoria Nel Finale Secondo alla Scena fra Fent e Nan:
(Vien quà che chiasso)

etc. etc.

Far copiare un [?] foglietto del spartito nello stesso pezzo

Clarinetto il mi [?] è sbagliato

Corriere della Sera
a Genova ed III^e Italiana [Ricordi's hand]

Although it obviously refers to the passage in II.2 eventually printed in 96000¹, pp. 245-46, the slip is difficult to interpret without the additional evidence of the reduction manuscript itself. That Verdi was making a substantial revision is shown by his request to "have copied a little folio of the score in the same piece." The note at the bottom identifies it as a reduction revision: there he reminded himself to have Giulio Ricordi change the address of his subscription to the Corriere della sera. He would have been most likely to have made this note just after his move to Genoa for the

winter on 24 October 1892.⁹⁶ Moreover, Ricordi, who wrote "ed III^e Italiana" on the slip, visited him in Genoa from at least 28 to 31 October.⁹⁷ It would appear that Verdi wrote Mr 1466 between 24 and 28 October in anticipation of the editor's visit.

After nearly three years of halting composition, years interrupted by long periods of personal sorrow, vexation, and self-doubt, Verdi had given what he believed to be a completed Falstaff to Ricordi for printing. Yet, as the composer received the successive portions of the piano-vocal reduction in September-October 1892, he apparently had second thoughts about several passages. Unfortunately, apart from the two documents just discussed and a few scattered entries in the autograph score, little evidence remains of his modifications of the opera during this period. It is certain, however, that his dissatisfaction with his supposedly finished product had begun.

Giulio Ricordi, after his visit to Genoa in late October, was still optimistic about the possibility of completing the printing of the piano-vocal and orchestral scores (including the parts) within a short span of time. He foresaw no major problems: after all, once Verdi had corrected the Carignani reduction the production of the printed scores seemed a relatively easy matter. But Verdi's doubts and afterthoughts were to become even more numerous, and Ricordi's

⁹⁶For the move see Verdi to Ricordi, 21 October 1892 (Mr 1055); misdated in Abbiati, IV, 430. Cf. n. 54 above.

⁹⁷For Ricordi's visit see Ch. 7 below.

patience was soon to be put to the test: all this would begin with the printing of the piano-vocal proofs.

Chapter 3

Verdi and Ricordi in Collaboration: The Proofs for the First Piano-Vocal Edition

Verdi spent the last two months of 1892 in Genoa at his accustomed winter home, the Palazzo Doria, normally a place where he could relax. With the premiere of Falstaff being planned for the approaching Carnevale season at La Scala, this winter was different. He himself wished to rehearse many of the singers of his new opera, and so, one by one, they came to Genoa to receive their parts, to sing for the maestro, and to absorb his often harsh criticism.

Antonio Pini-Corsi (Ford) was the first that Verdi heard: he came on 10 November and was able to rehearse often since the baritone was engaged to sing at the Politeama Genovese through 11 December. Edoardo Garbin (Fenton) was next: the young tenor arrived by at least 16 November and made frequent successive visits because he, too, was singing at the Politeama. The demanding Verdi intimidated poor Garbin during these sessions, especially at the beginning. When Piontelli, the La Scala impresario for the new season, told this to Giulio Ricordi, the editor entered a plea for Garbin in a letter to Verdi on 17 November. The tenor, wrote Ricordi, was "quite mortified, because, not knowing the music too well and being somewhat anxious from shyness, he didn't manage to hit the mark: therefore desperate and anxious he wrote [to Piontelli], saying that he hadn't had the courage

to insist on taking the part home with him, where by himself, without anyone else, he could study the notes---just as notes: in this way the maestro could better indicate to him both the voice production and the required expression."⁹⁸

Verdi complied, but Garbin made little improvement and, worse, sang himself hoarse at the Politeama near the end of November. Even the extra coaching regularly given him by Pini-Corsi (at Verdi's request) produced meager results. Finally, the exasperated composer insisted that the two rehearse often together without him in Milan after their obligations in Genoa were fulfilled: "[In Milan Garbin] will forget everything I taught him. I wish that Pini-Corsi would come to Milan soon, and I would like Garbin to move in with him, and the management [of La Scala], whether it is obliged to or not, to send him (Corsi) a little pianoforte to make Garbin study."⁹⁹ These wishes, in fact, were carried out.

Other singers, too, came to the Palazzo Doria. Adelina Stehle (Nannetta) arrived on 21 November believing that she was to sing the

⁹⁸"[Piontelli] mi disse che il Garbin gli aveva scritto tutto felice d'essere stato dal Maestro, ma in pari tempo assai mortificato perché, poco sapendo la musica, assai trepidante per soggezione, non riusciva ad imbroggiarne una: perciò scriveva disperato e trepidante, dicendo non avere avuto il coraggio di insistere per avere la parte a casa, ove studierebbe le note da solo, senz'alcun altri, proprio come note: così poi potrebbe meglio il Maestro indicargli e l'emissione di voce, e l'espressione a darsi." Unpublished.

⁹⁹To Ricordi, 9 December 1892 (Mr 1077): "Garbin specialmente che ha tanto da fare anche con un pezzo nuovo nel Colombo, dimenticherà tutto quello che gli ho insegnato. Io m'auguro che Pini-Corsi venga presto a Milano, e vorrei che Garbin andasse ad alloggiare con Lui, ch l'Impresa, obbligata o nò le mandasse (a Corsi) un piccolo Piano Forte per far studiare Garbin." Unpublished.

role of Alice. Apparently somewhat insulted when her error was pointed out, she nonetheless rehearsed regularly for several days thereafter.¹⁰⁰ Vittorio Arimondi (Pistola) came on 1 December. Verdi was just as displeased with him as with Garbin, and for practically the same reasons: "all of the syllables wrong, he never supports his voice, and, for example: instead of an a he pronounces an i, an e, an o, and the same is true of the other vowels."¹⁰¹ Arimondi and Garbin, doubtless relieved to escape, left together for Milan on 10 December. Verdi was distraught: "Who knows music these days? You tell me. Who knows how to sing? Would I be satisfied this time if they knew how to pronounce?"¹⁰² In this temper he received the last of the singers to visit him, Emma Zilli (Alice), on the evening of 11 December; she remained in Genoa until 22 December. He heard the rest of the singers in Milan during the January 1893 rehearsals for the premiere.

Besides working with these five performers, his chief activity during November and December was to correct and revise the proofs (bozze) of the first piano-vocal edition of Falstaff. Ricordi's printers, conforming, one assumes, to standard procedure, produced two successive versions of the proofs: the uncorrected bozze

¹⁰⁰Ricordi to Verdi, 25 November 1892: "Vedo che la Sig^a Stehle va innanzi regolarmente: ma a dire il vero.....l'avrei mandata a carte 49, dopo le osservazioni sciocche che fece in merito alla parte!! Non l'ho ancora mandata giù!!" Unpublished.

¹⁰¹Verdi to Ricordi, [5 December 1892] (Mr 1074): "Tutte le sillabe sbagliate, non appoggia mai la voce, e per es: invece d'un a pronuncia un i un e, un ò e così delle altre vocali." Unpublished.

¹⁰²To Ricordi, 11 December 1892 (Mr 1078): "Ma chi sa oggi giorno la musica? Dite voi. Chi sa cantare? Io mi contenterei questa volta che sapessero pronunciare?" Unpublished.

(reprinted from emended plates). As soon as a suitable set of gatherings was printed Ricordi would send it off to Verdi for examination. The composer received the first set (I.2 and all of Act III) on 4 November. When Ricordi learned that Verdi was concerning himself with engraving errors in the uncorrected proofs he advised him to deal only with the forthcoming corrected copies.¹⁰³ Over the next three months Verdi made over 300 changes in the proofs: nearly half were compositional revisions, either of the text or the music, rather than emendations of printing errors or reducer's oversights.

As he corrected the proofs he wrote almost daily to Ricordi with news of his alterations (presumably so that Ricordi could enter them into his own copy--now lost). The correspondence between Verdi and Ricordi in the last two months of 1892 contains many specific musical examples and is the key to understanding the composer's work at this time. Although few of these documents have been published, most have been preserved: some 35 letters and 7 unsigned, undated slips from Verdi to Ricordi; and 19 letters and 19 telegrams from Ricordi to Verdi.¹⁰⁴ 91 revisions (about 30% of the total) are mentioned, often with music, in this correspondence. The 80 documents constitute the most detailed commentary we have about the pre-publication phase of any Verdi opera; as such they are of exceeding interest. What follows in this chapter, a discussion of the proofs and a summary of Verdi's

¹⁰³See p.67 below.

¹⁰⁴Abbiati, IV, 465-71, prints excerpts--without musical examples--of ten of the letters of Verdi to Ricordi. The last paragraph of what Abbiati, IV, 468-69, implies belongs to the letter of 21 December is actually derived from a separate letter of 22 December.

activity on them, relies heavily on this correspondence.

One set of the proofs--a complete, pre-publication piano-vocal score, corrected by Verdi--is presently located in Milan, Biblioteca del Conservatorio "Giuseppe Verdi," where it is on display without call number. Guglielmo Barblan has discussed a number of its most interesting contents in a monograph, Un prezioso spartito del 'Falstaff,' but erroneously assumed that the proofs were revised entirely during the January rehearsals¹⁰⁵ and failed to trace accurately the relationship of the proofs to the subsequent printed editions of the opera.¹⁰⁶

The Milanese proofs have been handsomely bound into a single volume with a dark-blue leather cover; on the spine is the title "Giuseppe Verdi/FALSTAFF/1893." Like the first published piano-vocal edition (96000¹) it contains 474 pages of music. It lacks, however, the half-title page, title page, list of characters, table of contents, and elaborate title pages for the individual acts as well as the decorative titles at the beginning of each of the six parts found in the first edition (96000¹), at the top of pp. 1, 47, 127, 191, 301,

¹⁰⁵As will be seen, Verdi did indeed make a few entries into the proofs during these rehearsals. The majority of the changes, however, date from November-December 1892. Abbiati, IV, 472-73, mistakenly accepts Barblan's dating.

¹⁰⁶Barblan's pamphlet, though quite rare, may be found in the New York Public Library, the Eda Kuhn Loeb Library of Harvard University, and several libraries in Italy, including that of the Istituto di studi verdiani in Parma and that of the Milan Conservatory. Barblan has also discussed the proofs--especially Verdi's substantial revision of Fenton's sonnet--in "Incontentabilità di Verdi" and "Spunti rivelatori nella genesi del 'Falstaff.'"

and 343). The paper of the bozze pages, measuring 28.5 x 21.0 cm., is slightly larger than that of 96000¹ (26.7 x 19.4 cm.) and is heavier and more absorbent.

In addition, the gathering structure of the proofs differs from that of the first edition. That of I.1 proofs is particularly haphazard: it consists of a six-bifolio gathering with the final (blank) folio removed and a seven-bifolio gathering with the penultimate (blank) folio removed. Most of the rest of the score is composed of complete five-bifolio gatherings with threes, fours, sixes, and sevens occurring where necessary to produce the proper number of pages at the ends of the acts and their subdivisions.¹⁰⁷ One leaf in the interior of the first gathering, pp. 17-18, has been removed and another pasted into its place. Unlike the pages of the first edition each page of the bozze was printed directly from the corresponding plate: the impress of the plate, 25.0 x 16.5 cm., is visible on every page.¹⁰⁸

At first each set of gatherings--perhaps each of the six parts of the opera--was covered with a blue wrapper. Fragments of this wrapper are visible on the inner margins of four pages of the bound proofs: at the beginning and end of Act II (p. 127 and the blank page following p. 300); and at the beginning and end of III.2 (pp. 343 and

¹⁰⁷96000¹, on the other hand, consists of fours, except for two twos, one at the beginning and one at the end.

¹⁰⁸A few copies of the first edition were also printed directly from the plates. These scores, it appears, were destined for deposit in Italian libraries. One such copy may be found in Rome, Biblioteca del Conservatorio Santa Cecilia, 103.D.34. The vast majority of the copies of 96000¹ were printed by offset. See Cecil Hopkinson, A Bibliography of the Works of Giacomo Puccini, p. xii.

474). Two of the original wrappers are bound into the volume: the first before Act I (preceding p. 1); the second before Act II. The former contains a number of written entries: in a non-Verdian hand (Ricordi?) "4," "Atto 1^o," "originale," "[A]tto 2," "Fatte Correzioni/GR"; in Verdi's hand "V" and the initials "GV." The latter contains: in non-Verdian hands "Atto 3^o/Parte 2^a/Completo," "N.B. Vedere da pag: 69 in giù," and "Correzioni eseguite/GR"; and in Verdi's hand "V," "nd," and the initials "GV."

The printed pagination of the proofs tells us a great deal about them. I.1 is paginated in normal fashion in the upper corners of the pages, pp. 1-46 (one blank folio follows). I.2 begins with pagination in the lower corners, pp. 49-60 and proceeds to pp. 63-65 in the upper corners (these numbers later changed in pencil to 61-63); the pagination resumes in the lower corners, 66-80, moves to the upper corners, 81-105, and then back to the lower corners, 106-30. One also finds in I.2 a separate pencil pagination (probably in Ricordi's hand)--generally two numbers lower than the printed pagination--in the upper corners, i.e., nos. 47-127, with a few pages, particularly at the beginning, lacking the handwritten pagination.

The entire second act bears a printed pagination in the upper corners, pp. 127-300; the final page of II.1 (printed p. 190) also bears a printed "64" in its lower corner. The last folio of Act II is blank but carries the pencil pagination 301-02.

Act III presents a very different appearance. III.1 contains the printed pagination 1-42 in its lower corners; the blank folio that follows has a pencil "44" on its verso. III.2 bears the printed

pagination 1-122, also in its lower corners. In addition, one finds a separate, modern pagination in pencil in the upper corners of III.1 and part of III.2, extending from 291-387: an explanatory note on the first page of III.1 reads "(riferito allo spartito in commercio)."

It is clear that these pencilled numbers were derived from the third piano-vocal edition (96000³), an edition of only 459 pages: this modern pagination breaks off at the "litany" in III.2, "Domine fallo casto," exactly at a point where 96000³ differs significantly from the bozze (see Ch. 5 below).

This confusing pagination can be readily explained: the uncorrected (unproofread) proofs have page numbers printed at the bottom; the corrected proofs on the top. Uncorrected proof pages also lack rehearsal numbers. Ricordi's procedure was to print the first proofs with a separate pagination for each act or part of an act. After the pages were proofread he removed the first pagination, engraved a new one in the upper corners, and added rehearsal numbers. Only one page, the final page of II.1, has page numbers in both the upper and lower corners: here the engraver simply neglected to remove the original pagination. The bozze preserved in Milan, then, contain two layers of proofs. Most (and perhaps all) of I.2 and all of Act III are uncorrected proofs, the very first products of Ricordi's press. The remainder are corrected proofs.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹Note that I.2, III,1, and III.2 were the first proofs that Verdi received (see p. 67 below). A knowledge of the varying paginations in the bozze is essential for an understanding of the Verdi-Ricordi letters of November-December 1892, for they contain several references to page numbers that were subsequently changed.

Clearly, any reference to the bozze readings will encounter considerable difficulty in the citation of the appropriate page number. Since each page of the proofs corresponds to a page of the first piano-vocal score, the simplest solution is to adopt the pagination of 96000¹ when referring to the proofs. This is the policy of citation used henceforth in this study: i.e., any page number reference to the proofs actually refers to the corresponding passage of 96000¹, not to the page number printed or written on the proofs.

Into these bozze, then, Verdi--and, in a few instances, Ricordi--wrote over 300 corrections in pencil or ink. He generally entered each correction twice, once in the margin opposite the passage to be corrected and once on the passage itself.¹¹⁰ Nearly all of the corrections were incorporated into 96000¹. Verdi did not, however, enter them all into the autograph score nor were all printed in the first published orchestral score (96180, July 1893). Some editorial problems arising from this situation will be examined later in this chapter.

Although Verdi made most of his proof corrections during the last two months of 1892, the bozze contain a few changes from January or early February 1893, that is, from the period of the Milanese rehearsals for Falstaff. The composer was present at these rehearsals and probably used the bozze as his personal score. Unfortunately, we have little reliable information about his musical activities in the first

¹¹⁰ Facsimiles of individual corrections in the bozze may be found in Barblan, Un prezioso spartito, and idem, "Incontentabilità." Un prezioso spartito, pp. 30-34, shows the pages on which Verdi extensively revised Fenton's sonnet at the opening of III.2; the pagination at the bottom corners of the pages is also clearly visible.

five weeks of 1893. The most persistently repeated story, however, is that he followed the rehearsals with a score that he continually annotated and revised.¹¹¹ Most writers, probably correctly, have identified this score with the bozze.¹¹²

Four types of entry into the proofs seem to date from the rehearsals. First, and fewest, are the musical entries that are not mentioned in the November-December letters and that do not appear until the second issue of the piano-vocal score (96000², June 1893) or even later.¹¹³ Second, Verdi (or Ricordi?) circled in red pencil some 27 passages (pp. 19, 33, 56, 58, 76-77, 82, 128, 151, 154, 157, 168, 176, 179, 221, 224, 270, 288, 305 [two passages circled], 313, 323, 327, 347, 373, 399, 412, and 425): the significance of these circled

¹¹¹The story may stem from the conductor of the premiere of Falstaff, Edoardo Mascheroni, for it is most commonly retold in articles about him. See, e.g., Susmel, Un secolo di vita teatrale fiumana, 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 fu quasi completamente ritoccato." A copy of this rare book may be found in the Library of the Milan Conservatory.

See also Curti, "Cronache artistiche"; Roncaglia, "Mascheroniana"; Barblan, Un prezioso spartito, p. 5; Abbiati, IV, 472-73.

¹¹²Cf. n. 105 above.

¹¹³The first copies of 96000¹ were printed by early January 1893, i.e., before most of the Falstaff rehearsals. For the dating of the editions, see Ch. 4 below. Some examples of such changes are: the altering of the text from "accontentarvi" to "accondiscendervi" on p. 34; the removal of the D natural from the chord on p. 124, m. 6; the changing of the first chord, p. 145, m. 5, from a root position chord to a first inversion; and the composition of a new, non-triplet rhythm for Alice's "Falstaff m'ha canzonata" on p. 88. Verdi's several metronomic changes (discussed in Barblan, Un prezioso spartito, pp. 7, 25) were entered into the bozze in late 1892 in time for the first edition.

passages is uncertain.¹¹⁴ Third, Verdi timed four sections of the score. At the end of I.1 (p. 46) one finds "Minuti $14\frac{1}{2}$ "; at the end of I.2 (p. 126), "Min. 14!!!" On p. 363 (opposite Falstaff's "Sono le Fate. Chi le guarda è morto") Verdi wrote a large "A"; a "B" is found on p. 391 (the end of the "Pizzica, pizzica" section) along with the indication "Dall'a a B. minuti $5\frac{1}{2}$." A "C" is found on p. 407 (Falstaff's "Riconosco Bardolfo!") with the indication "Dal B al C. minuti $1\frac{1}{2}$."

Finally, Verdi inserted into the bozze 11 slips that clearly refer to performance. These are:

1. Pp. 24-25: "Sf: sf più forte."
2. Pp. 38-39: "L'onore Detto Meno al Pubblico e più vicino i due Ladri."
3. Pp. 156-57: "Dire a Falst e a Ford di battere il sacco delle monete a suo tempo."
4. Pp. 160-61: "Più scherzoso il solo Fals: L'amor l'amor."
5. Pp. 190-91: "Più marcati i violini ed un poco meno il tempo."
6. Pp. 212-13: "Alice più presto andare al posto."
7. Pp. 246-47: "⊗ Più marcati i due Flauti." (The corresponding sign is found on p. 246, m. 1, below the word "Seguimi.")
8. Pp. 272-73: "sempre piano i parlanti e senza mai coprire il corpo di Fals."
9. Pp. 300-300a: "molta attenzione per la caduta della cesta e l'entrata degli uomini Patatrac."

¹¹⁴pp. 179 and 347 have been reproduced in facsimile in *ibid.*, pp. 15, 33. It is possible that Ricordi entered these markings for his own purposes at some earlier date: colored-pencil indications in proofs and autograph scores often stem from the publishing house.

10. Pp. 336-37: "Ritenero lo stesso movimento e forse accentar così il motivo



11. Pp. 406-07: "Bar. Furfanteria un poco verso il Pubblico."¹¹⁵

It has generally been assumed that the composer presented Mascheroni with the proofs some time after the rehearsals and premiere

¹¹⁵Nos. 9 and 10 above have been reproduced in facsimile in *ibid*, pp. 28 and 21. No. 9 has also been reproduced in Barblan, "Incontentabilità," p. 13.

Clearly, these do not exhaust Verdi's comments during the rehearsals. Many of these comments, it seems, he wrote down hastily and passed on to the conductor, Edoardo Mascheroni, who made a collection of them. Their present location is unknown, but several were published with Mascheroni's permission in Susmel, Un secolo, pp. 24-25:

Atto secondo

1. Poco marcato il pacco di monete.
2. Al posto al posto al posto Alice ritarda troppo a suonare la chitarra.
3. Troppo lento 'quando ero paggio.'
4. Il finale [II.2] sempre pianissimo ad eccezione della frase voi sarete l'ala destra il resto poi p p p sempre meno marcato poi la prima volta affogo, affogo e mi piacerebbe vedere la prima volta vedere il muso di Falstaff sortire della biancheria. Quando cala il paravento dovrebbe essere fatto più impetuosamente e fatto da tutti Caio, Bardolfo, Pistola. Così il cesto preparato un po' più tardi e tutti gli uomini dovrebbe sortire impetuosamente quando dicono Patatrac.

Atto terzo

Quando il ritocco [sic] della et badare all'ottavino.
Troppo lontano prepara la canzone della fata...E così è preparata.

Il sonetto dovrebbe essere detto più a tempo senza fretta. Alla fine del sonetto non dovrebbero baciarsi perchè interrotte da Alice.

Un poco più vicini i Cori Ninfe Silfi Sirene.

Un poco più mosso Globo d'impurità.

Aspettare dopo l'accetti di buon grado.

Ottavino nella fuga più forte.

of Falstaff (9 February 1893).¹¹⁶ The manner and time of this supposed presentation is unknown: the proofs lack the inscription in Verdi's hand that one might expect to find on a gift from the composer, and at least one source suggests that he did not give them directly to Mascheroni.¹¹⁷ Whatever the case, the conductor owned the bozze in 1923, when he gave them to the Milan Conservatory. The first page bears the inscription: "dono del M^o Edoardo Mascheroni che diresse [?] la prima esecuzione del Falstaff al Teatro alla Scala [.] 1^o febbraio 1923."

Considerations of space permit only a summary here of the extensive Verdi-Ricordi correspondence of November-December 1892, which contains a fascinating, nearly step-by-step account of their work on the proofs. Ca. 28-31 October 1892 Ricordi visited Verdi in Genoa, where he received the corrected Act II reduction manuscript; he had received the first and third acts some time before, and, doubtless, these were now being engraved. During his visit Ricordi probably told the composer that the proofs of the first and third acts would be ready in a matter of days, for on 4 November Verdi acknowledged receipt of them and began

¹¹⁶Anon., "Verdi e Boito inediti nei ricordi di Edoardo Mascheroni," p. 243, is the earliest mention I have found of "la copia per canto e pianoforte del Falstaff, che Verdi seguì e annotò durante le prove e poi donò al direttore." This story has been repeated by Roncaglia, Barblan, Abbiati, and others (see n. 111 above).

¹¹⁷La sera, a Milanese newspaper devoted largely to gossip, reported on 21 February 1893, p. 3: "Giuseppe Verdi, prima di partire [da Milano] per Busseto--d'onde sarà di ritorno domani--mandò in dono alla signora Ginetta Ricordi [the daughter of Giulio] lo spartito originale del Falstaff."

his corrections: "I just received the three fascicles [all or most of I.2, III.1, and III.2], and I have examined one of them: on which it had been written: vedere da pag. 69 in giù [III.2]. I've found these things to correct that you will find by turning the page...some must be corrected in the score [spartito]. If this doesn't suffice I'll send the reduction. . . . I'll correct the score later."¹¹⁸ Verdi included 17 corrections in this letter--mostly of printing errors--from I.2, III.1, and the concluding fugue of III.2. He followed this letter the next day with another containing three more corrections from I.2 and one from III.1.

Ricordi responded at length on 6 November:

I received your letter, with the various corrections: and the copy of the score page with your observations. Everything is fine. But don't wear yourself out now with corrections: because the printed pages that you have were not all corrected. When the engraving is finished I'll send you a complete, correct copy, on which I'll ask you to make the definitive version. . . . The reduction of the second act was only handed over last Tuesday [1 November]: engraving is [a] long [process] and although it's been divided among six engravers it will require several more days. . . .¹¹⁹ I had the guitar part [of II.2]

¹¹⁸ Verdi to Ricordi, 4 November 1892 (Mr 1056): "Ricevo i tre fascicoli e ne ho esaminato uno: su cui era scritto: vedere da pag. 69 in giù. Ho trovato da correggere queste che troverete voltando il foglio...alcune da correggere nello spartito. Se non basta manderò la riduzione. . . . Io correggerò poi lo spartito." Unpublished.

For "vedere da pag. 69 in giù" see p. 60 above. P. 69 of the bozze of III.2 corresponds to p. 411 of 96000¹ (beginning "Il cornuto chi è?").

¹¹⁹ Seven different engravers prepared the plates for 96000¹. Each identified himself with a letter printed on both sides of the plate number at the bottom of each page. The seven engravers are known to us as v, g, z, e, q, u, and r. The last of these, however, engraved only 12 pages, pp. 47-58 (the beginning of I.2). The piano-vocal score of the second act thus bears out Ricordi's claim of six engravers.

examined by a good player: overall it's fine: some notes must be omitted, but all the chords stay complete.¹²⁰

The editor continued to examine his own copy of the proofs, and on 7 and 8 November he sent Verdi a few questions about inconsistencies and errors he had found. The following excerpts from Ricordi's letter of 8 November typify the small changes discussed in the last months of 1892: 'Fenton says 'Sì,' as it was corrected in the libretto, instead of 'Ancor.' Shall we leave 'Sì' in the libretto and 'Ancor' in the music?'¹²¹ 'Pistola says: 'astuto e cauto' instead of 'ardito e

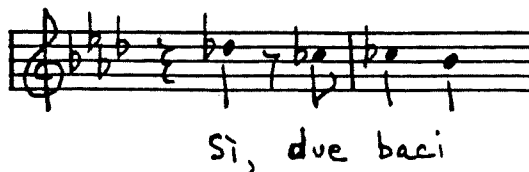
¹²⁰To Verdi: "Ricevetti sua lettera, colle varie correzioni: e la copia pagine partitura colle di Lei osservazioni. Tutto sta bene. Ma non si affatichi ora nelle correzioni: perché le pagine stampate ch'Ella ha, non tutte furono corrette. Quando finita l'incisione, Le manderò una copia completa e corretta, sulla quale La pregherò di fare la revisione definitiva. . . . La riduzione del 2^o Atto fu consegnata solo Martedì scorso: l'incisione è lunga, e quantunque suddivisa in 6 incisioni richiederà parecchi giorni ancora. . . . Fatto esaminare parte chitarra da buon suonatore: in complesso va benissimo: qualche nota da lasciar fuori, ma gli accordi rimangono sempre completi." Unpublished.

¹²¹"Fenton invece di 'Ancor' dice 'Sì' come fu corretto nel libretto. Lasciare 'Sì' nel libretto, ed 'Ancor' nella musica?" Unpublished.

In the bozze, p. 86, mm. 6-7, the printed reading is



Verdi changed this to



after receiving Ricordi's request. Due to an engraver's error in 96000¹, however, the new version did not appear properly until 96000². This is discussed further at the end of the present chapter.

scaltro.' The first word can be changed immediately: the second would need another note."¹²² "In the libretto it's Alice who says to Nannetta: 'Evita il tuo periglio?' In the music it's Quickly. Should we change the indication in the libretto or in the music?"¹²³ Verdi attended to these matters and agreed to the change in the guitar part in his letters of 8 and 9 November.¹²⁴

A day or two before 10 November Verdi received the bozze of I.1: all he lacked now was the second act. Tito Ricordi sent Verdi the

¹²²"pistola dice: 'astuto e cauto' invece di 'ardito e scaltro.' La prima parola si cambia subito: la seconda richiederebbe una nota di più." Unpublished.

The words "arguto e scaltro" appear in the bozze, pp. 104-05. Verdi point out on 9 November that "cauto" could indeed be set to two notes; no change was entered into the proofs, but "astuto e cauto" appeared in 96000¹.

¹²³"Nel libretto è Alice che dice a Nannetta: 'Evita il tuo periglio?' Nella musica è Quickly. Cambiare indicazione nel libretto o nella musica?" Unpublished.

Bozze, p. 377, originally assigned this line to Quickly, thus:

Qui.

E - vi - ta il tuo pe - ri - glio. Gi - à il Dot - tor Ca - jo ti cer - ca.

Verdi modified the passage (9 November 1892, Mr. 1057: "Stà bene che Alice dica le parole che io avevo scritte per Quik: soltanto bisogna correggere alcune note come vedrete.") and reassigned it to Alice in the proofs.

¹²⁴Letter of 9 November, incomplete in Abbiati, IV, 465.

uncorrected proofs of II.1 in the noon post of 10 November. His father's letter the same day provides some insight into the printing practices of his firm:

I've made all the corrections you told me--put reminders into the score [partitura]: so everything is in order: we begin printing Acts I and III tomorrow!!!!.....Hurrah!¹²⁵ Saturday the 12th I'll send you 3 copies of the first and third acts. With regard to the second, we finished engraving the first part yesterday evening, and today I'm sending you a copy. The second part, if you remember, I myself carried to Milan [after his visit to Genoa]: we began its engraving on the 4th: it consists of 110 pages: with all the engravers working, even on Sunday, the engraving won't be done until the 15th: and I'll do everything I can to send you 3 copies right away, not corrected, you understand. . . . Please be patient: meanwhile, if you want, you have all of the first and third acts, which both Garbin and Pini-Corsi can study. . . . Falstaff for piano and voice will be a volume of 494 pages!¹²⁶

¹²⁵Ricordi was probably hoping to begin the mass printing of the first piano-vocal edition. But Verdi's corrections and revisions would continue to arrive, thus thwarting the editor's desire to complete his job.

¹²⁶To Verdi: "Ho fatto tutte le correzioni indicatemi--fatto memoria nella partitura! così tutto è in ordine: dell'atto 1^o e 3^o si comincia domani la stampa!!!!.....Evviva! Sabato 12 le manderò 3 copie del 1^o e 3^o Atto. Quanto al 2^o si finì jersera di incidere la 1^a parte, ed oggi glie ne spedisco una copia. La seconda parte, se si rammenta, portai io stesso a Milano: se ne principiò l'incisione il 4 corr: consta di 110 pagine: lavorando tutti gli incisori, anche la domenica, non sarà finita d'incidere che il 15 corr: e farò tutto il possibile per mandargliene subito 3 copie, si intende non corrette. . . . La prego pazientare: intanto, se vuole, ha tutto il 1^o e tutto il 3^o, che possono studiare e Garbin e Pini-Corsi. . . . Falstaff per canto e Pianoforte sarà un volume di 494 pagine!" Unpublished.

⁹⁶⁰⁰⁰ consists of 474 numbered pages. The additional pages to which Ricordi refers are the unnumbered title pages, half-title page, table of contents, etc.

Verdi continued to examine his uncorrected copy of Acts I and III. On 10 November he reported 2 corrections; on 13 November he reported 9, including his first corrections of I.1;¹²⁷ on 14 November he reported 14, one of which was a substantial change in the chords underlying Falstaff's counting of the hours at his entrance in III.2.¹²⁸

It was at this time that he began to recompose portions of Fenton's sonnet at the beginning of III.2.¹²⁹ The composer first indicated his concern about the printed version of the sonnet on 13 November:

"Glancing at the third act I saw that while wanting to modify the opening harmonies of Fenton's sonnet I made it worse than it was at

¹²⁷In this letter (Mr 1079, which the composer misdated 13 December 1892) Verdi refers for the first time to the Act III pagination of the now-lost corrected bozze. He mentions that he has received the first and third act proofs, but does not elaborate. Since the extant bozze of I.2, III.1, and III.2 in Milan are uncorrected proofs, one may assume that Verdi did not on 13 November begin to enter corrections into his newly received corrected proofs. Rather, he continued to use the old proofs, although he cited page numbers from the new proofs for the convenience of Ricordi. He probably gave copies of the new proofs to the singers who were rehearsing with him in Genoa.

¹²⁸For the chords, see Ch. 11 below.

¹²⁹The sonnet revisions in the bozze are multilayered, and suggest that he returned again and again to its revision, unable to decide on a definitive version. This revision, in fact, is the most thorough reworking of any single piece in the proofs. Since it has already been amply discussed and reproduced in print (in Barblan, Un prezioso spartito, pp. 23-24, 30-34; idem, "Incontentabilità,": idem, "Spunti rivelatori") we omit a detailed analysis of it here.

It will suffice to point out that in the bozze, p. 344, the opening line was printed:

Dal labbro il canto esta-si-a-to vo-la

first. Please send me another slip of paper on which are copied in score the measures for the first two lines."¹³⁰

Ricordi, intent on getting the first edition out in time, wrote back on 14 November:

In the three copies I sent [of Acts I and III] some corrections are actually lacking, because we have only finished all the corrections this evening: so those you indicated to me in yesterday's letter are in time to be done. . . . Now I must earnestly ask you to send me back as soon as possible the score page that I'm sending you today, so that, if necessary, we can make the relative correction. You wrote me: hurry up and print [it], otherwise I'll change [it] again! Well, Maestro, we have to begin Wednesday or Thursday [16 or 17 November] at the latest, or else not only won't the edition be ready, but we won't have the orchestral parts engraved.¹³¹

These comments are of interest for several reasons. First, and quite apart from the issue of the sonnet revision, Ricordi was

and the opening motive was not recalled in the English horn at "Quivi ripiglia il suon." Verdi also changed a number of harmonic details throughout the accompaniment. His bozze revisions, it might be noted, did not constitute his definitive version of the piece: the first edition (96000¹) differs slightly from Verdi's correction.

¹³⁰To Ricordi (Mr 1079; see n. 127 above): "Dando un'occhiata al Terzo Atto ho visto che volendo aggiustare le prime armonie del Sonetto Fentone, ho fatto peggio di prima. Fatemi il piacere di mandarmi ancora un foglietto su cui vi siano copiata in partitura le battute su[i] due primi versi." Unpublished.

¹³¹To Verdi: "Nei 3 esemplari mandati vi mancano infatti alcune correzioni, perché tutte le correzioni si finiscono solo stassera: così sono in tempo a fare, quelle indicatemi nella sua d'jeri. . . . 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, o Giovedì al più tardi, altrimenti, non solo non vi sarà pronta l'edizione, ma non si avranno le parti d'orchestra incise." Unpublished.

beginning to sense that Verdi's continued revisions would seriously interfere with his printing schedule and that the (orchestral?) score and parts were in particular jeopardy--in fact, all indications suggest that a manuscript score and parts, or at most a set of provisional proofs, were used for the premiere of the opera on 9 February 1893.¹³² Second, he implies that he had already received some corrections of the sonnet, just as Verdi's letter of 13 November implies that he had already made his first modifications of its opening: since no other record of this change exists, one can assume that some of the Verdi-Ricordi correspondence of this period has been lost. And finally, Ricordi's quotation of what Verdi wrote him is somewhat puzzling, for it is not found exactly in any extant Verdi letter. Curiously, we do have an unsigned, undated slip in the composer's hand that reads: "Hurry up and print [it] as I have now modified it [.] If not, who knows how many times I shall change it."¹³³ This slip apparently accompanied a separate correction, now lost. Given Ricordi's letter of 14 November, it would appear that the slip dates from 13 November and refers to the sonnet: the slip and the correction could have been enclosed in Verdi's letter of 13 November.

Yet if the composer believed that he had achieved the definitive version of the sonnet by 13 November, he was mistaken. On 16 November he sent the score page back to Ricordi with the comments: "I'm

¹³²See Ch. 6 below.

¹³³Mr 1460: "Fate presto a stampare come l'ho aggiustato adesso se no, chi sa quante volte ve lo cambio." Unpublished.

sending you the little fascicle of the third act sonnet by registered mail. I have changed some harmonies: I have added and removed some instruments etc. etc. etc. for example, the English horn accompaniment at the words unir che le disuna. In short, one must examine this whole passage bar-by-bar."¹³⁴ Ricordi wrote Verdi on 19 November that he had received the fascicle and when the composer questioned him again about it¹³⁵ confirmed its receipt with a telegram on 21 November.¹³⁶

The correspondence reveals that Verdi worked on the revision of the sonnet at two different times: ca. 12-13 November, and again 15-17 November. Of interest here is that he began to rehearse Edoardo Garbin, the first Fenton, no later than 16 November, i.e., during the time of the second revision: his letter of that date, in fact, expresses his dissatisfaction with Garbin's performance of the sonnet.¹³⁷ It would appear that he hastened to decide on the definitive version of the sonnet before Garbin's arrival; it is even possible that he may have

¹³⁴Mr 1061: "Vi mando raccomandato il fascicoletto del Sonetto 3° Atto.--Vi ho cambiato qualche armonia: ho aggiunto, e levato qualche istromento, etc etc etc, ad es. l'accompagnamento del corno inglese sulle parole unir che le disuna... Insomma bisogna esaminare tutto questo squarcio battuta per battuta." Original incomplete in Abbiati, IV, 466. Verdi actually sent the fascicle to Ricordi on 17 November, for on 18 November he wrote (Mr 1063): "Ho mandato jeri uno squarcio aggiustato del Sonetto."

¹³⁵20 November 1892 (Mr 1064): "Avete ricevuto le note prime del Sonetto?" Unpublished.

¹³⁶Mr Cop 1892-93, IX, 127: "Ricevute pagine partitura accomodo Sonetto. Farò tutte correzioni indicate." Unpublished.

¹³⁷Incomplete in Abbiati, IV, 466.

written the final revision after hearing Garbin. In either case his reworking of the tenor solo seems very closely linked to its first rehearsals.

On 17 November, two days after Ricordi's predicted date of its completion, Verdi acknowledged receipt of the proofs of II.2, but added an ominous hint that more corrections were to follow: "I've received the second act. For several days I have been sending the corrections for the first part which have not yet been done. Tomorrow I'll correct the second part and I'll send it off as fast as possible."¹³⁸ Even more ominously, he announced on 20 November that "two small things that need changing stick in my throat. For one of these it will be necessary alas! to make a new plate."¹³⁹ Verdi, that is, had still

¹³⁸To Ricordi (Mr 1062): "Ho ricevuto il Second'Atto. Da diversi giorni io aveva mandato le correzioni alle prima parte che non sono ancora state fatte. Domani correggerò la Seconda parte e la manderò al più presto." Unpublished.

¹³⁹To Ricordi (Mr 1064): "Quando Voi manderete l'Edizione corretta che mi annunciate ve la rimanderò subito, ma intanto mi stanno sul gozzo due piccolo cose che bisogna cambiare. Per l'una di questa bisogna fare ahi! una nuova lastra." Unpublished.

It is uncertain to which correction in the bozze Verdi refers. A likely candidate, however, occurs near the end of III.1, at Alice's words, "Tu non tardar" (p. 341). In the proofs the passage is printed:



not begun to examine II.2.

The practical Ricordi, ever conscious of printing deadlines, was becoming anxious. On 21 November he advanced another argument to hurry the composer:

Recently I have been preparing precisely all of the material for the [copyright] deposit in America: it puts one in a cold sweat to be sure that all the formalities are carried out. . . . And it's also for this [reason] that it's urgent to print the reduction, which must be sent within a few days so that we can later publish it when the moment is right. Tomorrow I'll send you the corrected second act: the sooner you can get it back to me the better. We have already begun to print the first act: I have suspended the third because of the variants in the sonnet, of which I'll send you the proofs, and then we can continue work at full speed. If then there are a few plates to redo in the second....don't give it a thought: a pair of engravers will be able to work even at night, and so no time will be lost.¹⁴⁰

Verdi quickened the three-note anacrusis, cancelled the dotted half note, and rewrote it into the following measure:



Since this change required that a staff for Alice be placed on p. 342, a new plate had to be engraved. The engraver G, who made the original plate of p. 342, also re-engraved it for 96000¹. Since Verdi later rewrote the entire conclusion of III.1, a major recomposition of the final 85 measures (see Ch. 4 below), the change does not affect modern performances of Falstaff.

¹⁴⁰To Verdi: "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! . . . 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. Domani le spedirò il 2^o Atto corretto: quanto più presto potrà rispedirmelo sarà meglio. Del 1^o Atto si è già cominciata la stampa: ho sospeso il 3^o. per le varianti al Sonetto, delle quali Le manderò le bozze, e così dopo si potrà continuare il lavoro a gran

Probably with his fingers crossed, Ricordi sent off the corrected proofs of the second act on 22 November and soon followed them with the new proofs (now lost) of the sonnet.

Verdi responded on 23 November by returning one of his personally corrected copies of II.1 but dashed Ricordi's hopes once more with three terse sentences appended to the music: "Many errors have been corrected. Many more must corrected. I'll send you the second part soon."¹⁴¹ On 24 November he was still working on II.1 and mailed four more corrections in that part. II.2 was still untouched, but, on both 24 and 25 November he promised to get to it "tomorrow."¹⁴²

By this time the editor realized that Verdi was not to be hurried, and his letters are henceforth less urgent. Moreover, Verdi was now spotting some errors whose existence must have been embarrassing for all of the proofreaders. On 25 November: "When Falstaff says, 'L'astuzia [sic] mia crea l'astuzia degli altri.' Everyone answers-- ma bravo [bozze, p. 419]. Nannetta, however, must be cancelled

carriera. Se poi del 2^o Atto c'è qualche lastra a rifare....non si dia pensiero: un pajo di incisori potranno lavorare anche la notte, e così non si perde tempo." Unpublished.

¹⁴¹Mr 1067bis: "Molti errori sono stati corretti. Molti altri sono da correggere. Manderò presto seconda parte." Unpublished.

¹⁴²E. g., Verdi to Ricordi, 24 November 1892 (Mr 1068; misdated 23 November 1892 by Verdi; postmark on envelope 24-11-92): "Per oggi basta. Spero domani sera mandarvi il resto di quest'atto." Unpublished.

because she is not on stage."¹⁴³ Verdi probably began checking the score at this time for similar blunders--and indeed found another.

On 27 November:

An enormous, stupid, unforgiveable oversight. One must shoot a maestro who commits errors like this. In the penultimate scene of the third act, after Falstaff has said, 'Incomincio ad accorgermi / D'esser stato un somaro'...I've made everyone cry, 'E un cervo, un bue, e un mostro raro'...without thinking that Nannetta, Fenton, Ford, Cajus are not on stage any longer. I have modified the singers' and choral parts [in my copy of the bozze]: the orchestra and piano remain the same. I am sorry about the plates that will have to be redone! I repeat... Shoot me!¹⁴⁴

In the same letter Verdi announced that he was returning his copy of the third act bozze and added the request: 'As soon as the parts are fixed and the corrections made, send me back this score because I don't have any others [one presumes that he had given the three corrected proofs of the third act that Ricordi sent on 12 November to Garbin, Pini-Corsi, and Stehle]...and I would really like this one itself, corrected by me. . . . Today I'm sending registered

¹⁴³Mr 1069: "Quando Falstaff dice 'L'astuzia mia crea l'astuzia degli altri.' Tutti rispondono-ma bravo. Bisogna però cancellare Nannetta perchè non è in scena." Unpublished.

¹⁴⁴Abbiati, IV, 467. Verdi's correction of the bozze, pp. 415-17, required him to paste in slips of music paper that contained the revised reading. For a facsimile of this portion of the proofs, see Barblan, Un prezioso spartito, p. 26.

the third act, corrected, with the variants indicated above."¹⁴⁵

By 28 November, then, Ricordi possessed a copy of II.1 with Verdi's corrections--probably a set of proofs different from those preserved in Milan--and the copy of III.1 and III.2 that now constitutes the last third of the Milanese bozze. The composer, on the other hand, still had copies of Acts I and II as well as some recently received proofs of the revised sonnet.¹⁴⁶ Ricordi needed the first two acts to perfect his plates for 96000¹--but up to this point Verdi had shown no signs of even having glanced at the II.2 proofs.

Perhaps hoping to set an example, the editor continued to be a model of efficiency. On 28 November he wrote: "I just received your esteemed [letter] of yesterday, and after having shot you!! I'm letting you know that I'm taking note of all the corrections in Act III: if I finish in time I'll return it today; if not, tomorrow without fail."¹⁴⁷ The same day Verdi wrote two letters to Ricordi. The first must have disappointed the editor, for it contained another correction--

¹⁴⁵Mr 1070: "Rimandatemi, appena accomodate le parti e fatte le correzioni, questo spartito, perchè io non ne ho altri...e vorrei proprio questo stesso corretto da me. . . . Mando oggi Terzo Atto raccomandato corretto colle varianti sopra accennate." Omitted in Abbiati, IV, 467.

¹⁴⁶Ricordi to Verdi, 26 November 1892 (Mr Cop 1892-93, IX, 274): "Prego rimandare brano riduzione prime battute Sonetto." Unpublished. Verdi may have sent the reduction of the sonnet back to Ricordi along with the Act III bozze on 27 November, but there is no evidence to this effect.

¹⁴⁷To Verdi: "Ricevo la stimata s. d'jeri, e dopo di averla fucilato!! avverto che prendo nota di tutte le correzioni del 3^{zo} Atto: se arrivo in tempo le rispedito oggi stesso, altrimenti domani senz'alcun fallo." Unpublished.

of substance--from the end of I.1: a rewriting of Falstaff's "Lesti, lesti, lesti, al galoppo, al galoppo!" (bozze, p. 45). The second contained, at last, 8 corrections from the long-postponed II.2. But then on 29 November he wrote again with more corrections from Falstaff's monologue in I.1:

In the Honor scene some notes must be modified for the sake of the declamation [bozze, p. 40]:¹⁴⁸

The image shows a handwritten musical score. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "nè un capello nò l'onor non è chi - etc.". The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment. A handwritten instruction "Piano F." is written to the left of the piano staff. Inside the piano staff, there is a handwritten note: "on the last quarter and remove the timpani". The piano part includes a bass clef and a key signature change to B-flat major.

Later on at the end of this piece there is a bar lacking that perhaps can be added on the same plate. First, however, I would like to see Maurel [Victor Maurel, the first Falstaff]. And when must he be at the Piazza [alla Scala]?¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸In the printed bozze, Falstaff's "nò" falls on the third beat. For a facsimile of the correction in the proofs see Barblan, Un prezioso spartito, p. 10.

¹⁴⁹To Ricordi (Mr 1072): "Nella scena dell'Onore vi sono da aggiustare alcune note per la declamazione. [music] Più avanti sul finire di questo squarcio manca una battuta che forse si potrà aggiungere sulla stessa lastra. Prima però vorrei vedere Maurel. E quando deve essere alla piazza?" Unpublished.

Verdi refers here to his planned--and ultimately completed--correction of the conclusion of the monologue: "Non ne voglio," on p. 43 of the proofs. The correction, involving the addition of one

Verdi then proceeded to add two corrections he had found in the concluding fugue of II.2 (the Act III bozze had apparently been returned) and confessed, "It's true! I have not yet finished correcting the second act. But there aren't many errors."¹⁵⁰

This was too much for Ricordi. The composer, unconcerned with printing schedules, was not only continuing to correct the score but was also proposing that the printing of I.1 be deferred until he could consult with the baritone--a delay, surely, of several weeks! Ricordi responded immediately, on 30 November, with a carefully worded protest:

With regard to your esteemed [letter] of yesterday. I made the corrections you indicated to me: and now...please excuse me if I remind you that I already wrote you how the printing of Act I had already been begun, or else we can't have the edition ready for here, and we won't even finish in time to make the deposit of it in America. The corrections written in your last letter made it in time to be done, because by a lucky circumstance they occur on two pages not yet printed. The serious problem now would be that bar to be added, with regard to which you would like to wait for Maurel to decide: would you be displeased if the correction, wherever you might add it, were to be done in the reprinting of the edition?...There won't be anything more to do besides making another deposit in America so that there is no pretext for saying there is a change!..but this is not too bad.

The corrections in the third act are fine: we won't begin the printing of this until next week. Now we await the second act with your corrections: don't say to me: oh!..what a nuisance!! what a nuisance!!--unfortunately, musical engraving, corrections,

measure, did indeed necessitate the re-engraving of the page: the bozze p. 43 is engraved by v and the corresponding page in 96000¹ by e. For a discussion of the correction see pp. 95-98 below. For a brief discussion and a facsimile of the correction see Barblan, Un prezioso spartito, pp. 9-11.

¹⁵⁰To Ricordi, 29 November 1892 (Mr 1072): "È vero! non ho ancora finito da correggere il Second'Atto. Ma non vi sono molti sbagli." Unpublished.

and printing are very long processes!--with books it's another matter: you can wait even until the last moment because the printing of them is very fast.¹⁵¹

Verdi was persuaded and on 1 December, without having consulted Maurel, he sent Ricordi what he believed would be the final version of the first act: "I've sent registered the first act completely finished, even with the added bar in the honor monologue. I'll do the orchestra in Milan [in January] and I'll correct the whole score. For this we have to save these first editions corrected by me... It's also necessary to send me a piano reduction because I gave one of the two you sent me to Garbin and the other to Pini-Corsi. And it's necessary to send me the part for Arimondi, who came to my place today. Tomorrow I'll send the second act."¹⁵²

¹⁵¹To Verdi: "Alla stimata sua d'jeri. Fatte le correzioni indicatemi: ed ora...mi scusi se le rammento che già le scrisse come del 1^o Atto si era cominciata la stampa, altrimenti non si può avere l'edizione pronta per qui, e nemmeno si arriva in tempo a farne il deposito in America. Le correzioni segnate nella sua ultima lettera, sono arrivato in tempo a farle, perché per fortunata combinazione si trovano su due fogli non ancora stampati. Il guaio serio sarebbe ora per quella battuta da aggiungere, in merito a che vorrebbe aspettare Maurel per decidere: le dispiacerebbe che, ove Ella l'aggiungesse, la correzione venisse fatta sulla ristampa dell'edizione?...Non ci sarà altro che fare un nuovo deposito in America, perché non vi sia pretesto a dire che v'è un cambiamento!..Ma questo è poco male.

Per le correzioni al terzo va benissimo: di questo non si comincerà la stampa che nella settimana entrante. Ora aspettiamo il 2^{do} Atto colle di Lei correzioni: non mi dica: oh!..che seccatore!! che seccatore!--pur troppo incisione, correzione e stampa musicali sono operazioni lunghissime!--coi libri, è altra faccenda: si può aspettare anche all'ultimo, perché la stampa ne è rapidissima." Unpublished.

¹⁵²Mr 1073: "Ho mandato raccomandato il 1^o Atto finito completamente anche colla battuta aggiunta nel monologo dell'onore. A Milano farò l'orchestra, e correggerò tutta la partitura. Per questo bisogna conservare queste prime edizioni corrette da me... Bisogna anche mandarmi una riduzione a Piano perché delle due speditemi, una l'ho dato a Garbin, l'altra a Pini-Corsi. Più bisogna mandarmi la parte per Arimondi che è venuto oggi da me. Manderò domani il Second'Atto."

By now suspicious of the promises for "tomorrow," Ricordi sent a telegram the next day: "Sending first [and] third acts for Arimondi. I don't have copies second. You have the only existing one. Receiving it tomorrow I'll make the corrections immediately and return same day."¹⁵³ Verdi finally sent the second act bozze on 3 December; Ricordi made the necessary changes in the score and sent the proofs back on 4 December; Verdi received them and immediately began correcting them the next day.

The editor was finally able to proceed with the production of the piano-vocal score and, he hoped, the orchestral parts. He had begun printing the first act before 20 November: he planned to begin Act III in the week of 4-10 December; and he had just received Verdi's corrections for Act II, so work on that act could begin shortly. Ricordi's complaint about the slowness of the printing process was perfectly accurate: on 10 December, two days after Verdi had sent him

Incomplete in Abbiati, IV, 467-68.

¹⁵³Mr Cop 1892-93, IX, 467: "Spedisco primo terzo atto per Arimondi. Non ho copie secondo. Unica esistente presso lei. Ricevendola domani farò subito correzioni e rispedirò in giornata." Unpublished.

Ricordi followed up his telegram with a letter (2 December) that repeats it but adds one of the rare comments about the printing of the orchestra parts: "Devo pregarla d'un favore: e cioè mandarmi la modificazione fatta al 1° Atto strumentata, che poi inserirò nella partitura originale: ma della quale ho urgentissime necessità per correggere le parti d'orchestra, perché il 1° Atto dell'orchestra è già tutto incise, e non si arriverebbe in tempo a fare le nuove lastre, aspettando la di Lei venuta." Unpublished. For a discussion of the orchestral score and parts see Ch. 6 below.

two more changes (involving new plates) for the final fugue of III.2 along with the insertion of an accidental in I.2, Ricordi reported that "the first act is being printed: however, I arrived in time for the flat in Alice's part: we are redoing the two plates of the final fugue, then we'll begin to print the third [act]. Fervet opus!..... and it's my only wish that everything might go sweetly and securely."¹⁵⁴ The bulk of the printing of the first act, then, was accomplished during 20 November-10 December; that of the third act from ca. 10-12 December on; that of the second act even later but, as will be evident, still in December 1892.

The last month of 1892 was a busy one for both Ricordi and Verdi. Besides supervising the printing of 96000¹, the former was helping to plan the details of the approaching La Scala season (the exact operas to be presented a month later were by no means certain), planning for the rehearsals, and arranging for the translation of Falstaff into French, German, and English. Verdi, on the other hand, was rehearsing Garbin, Arimondi, Pini-Corsi, and Zilli in Genoa, despairing of any possibility of success for the opera, burdening Ricordi with dozens of demands and questions about rehearsal plans and the schedule of the La Scala season, and--continuing to correct his proofs of Falstaff!

By 16 December Verdi had altered the first act enough to write to Ricordi: "Today I sent you the first act [again] that I now consider

¹⁵⁴To Verdi: "Il 1° Atto è sotto stampa: però arrivi in tempo pel b di Alice: si stanno rifacendo le 2 lastre della fuga finale, poi si comincerà la stampa del 3°. Fervet opus!.....e solo mio vivo desiderio è che tutto cammini dolcemente e sicuramente."
Unpublished.

perfectly exact."¹⁵⁵ Ricordi acknowledged its receipt by telegram three days later. Verdi sent another set of corrections to the editor from 23 to 27 December, and on the first of these days, 23 December, he sent his copy of the second act proofs again: "So you have probably done the opera without the hope that it is completely correct! You will find some small errors and two small changes: one in the metronome, the other in Ford's part in the finale [II.2]. The worst thing is that there are still two small errors in the first act."¹⁵⁶ Curiously, of the six changes mentioned in the letters of 23-27 December five were included in 96000¹, which was ready by early January.

Verdi had been altering Falstaff throughout the last half of 1892: in the autograph score, in Carignani's reduction manuscript, and in the piano-vocal proofs. It would seem that he found certain things to change nearly every time he leafed or played through the score--and this pattern, we shall see, continued into 1893, well after the premiere of the opera. Although most of the proof corrections are of small details, they constitute a significant portion of the evidence of Verdi's compositional process in Falstaff. Many of them will be discussed from this standpoint in the second part of this study, where

¹⁵⁵Mr 1081: "V'ho mandato oggi stesso il primo Atto che ora credo esattissimo." Unpublished.

¹⁵⁶Mr 1084: "Vi mando anche il Second'Atto di Falstaff. Così avrete fatto l'opera, senza speranza sia completamente corretta. Troverete alcuni piccoli errori, e due piccoli cambiamenti: uno al Metronomo, l'altro nella parte di Ford al Finale. Il peggio si è che vi sono ancora due piccoli errori nel primo atto." Unpublished.

they will be considered in conjunction with revisions that Verdi made in his autograph score prior to November 1892.¹⁵⁷

Our principal interest here, however, is the editorial significance of the bozze corrections for both the piano-vocal and the orchestral scores. Verdi obviously intended his bozze revisions to be definitive. He requested Ricordi to keep a record of them and to put reminders in the autograph score so that he could correct it during the rehearsals in January. For Verdi, at least one advantage of keeping his personally corrected copy of the proofs was that it permitted him to spot at a glance which passages he needed to modify in the autograph score. This may have been, in fact, a principal reason why the proofs were preserved: "For this [modification of the autograph score]," wrote Verdi on 1

¹⁵⁷Some of the bozze revisions to be discussed later in this study are:

1. Pp. 70-74: Pistola's lines beginning "Messer Ford, fui già un Armigero."
2. Pp. 77-78: Pistola's "E sconquassarvi il letto!" and Ford's response "Quanti guai!"
3. P. 143: Quickly's "M'inchino" (see also Barblan, Un prezioso spartito, pp. 12-13).
4. P. 158: Ford's lines beginning "La guardo, non mi guarda."
5. P. 172: Falstaff's "Essa mandò dianzi una confidente."
6. P. 179: The accompaniment to Ford's "L'ora è fissata" (see also *ibid.*, pp. 13-15).
7. P. 188: The orchestral diminuendo at the conclusion of Ford's monologue.
8. P. 217: Falstaff's "Degna d'un re," discussed on pp. 46-50 above.
9. Pp. 353-54: The chords underlying Falstaff's counting of the hours.

The reader is referred to Barblan, Un prezioso spartito, for a discussion of the following revisions:

1. P. 17: Falstaff's "Rubar con garbo e a tempo" (Barblan, pp. 8-9).
2. P. 40: Falstaff's "Nè un capello? No!" (*ibid.*, pp. 9-10).
3. P. 174: Falstaff's "gli sparo una girandola di botte sulle corna!" (*ibid.*, pp. 12-14).
4. P. 202: Nannetta's "Col Dottor Cajo non mi sposerò" (*ibid.*, pp. 15-16).
5. P. 236: Ford's "Chi c'è dentro quel cesto?" (*ibid.*, pp. 15-18).
6. P. 328: Ford's "Riconosco i miei demeriti" (*ibid.*, pp. 18-19).
7. Pp. 344-48: Fenton's sonnet (*ibid.*, pp. 23-24, 30-34).

December, "we have to save these first editions corrected by me."¹⁵⁸

It is conceivable that without this request Ricordi might have destroyed the bozze once their corrections had been transferred to the engraved plates.¹⁵⁹

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 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.

A word of caution is appropriate here, for not all of the bozze

¹⁵⁸See n. 152 above.

¹⁵⁹One suspects that Ricordi--or Verdi--did not wish to preserve the evidence of score modification, probably because it detracted from the myth of the composer writing directly from inspiration. This may account for the unavailability of Carignani's reduction manuscript, Verdi's attempt to remove much of the evidence of changes in his autograph score, and the unavailability of other copies of the proofs. Similarly, when Verdi made two large modifications in the Falstaff score after the printing of the first edition (see Ch. 4 below), neither Ricordi nor Verdi made a public announcement of the fact, despite the great public interest in the opera at that time, and no mention was anywhere made that the second issue of the piano-vocal score differed significantly from the first. The same is true of the revisions for the third issue (96000³, see Ch. 5 below). Ricordi's letter of 30 November (p. 81 above) seems to hint at this attitude: when he suggested that some changes might have to be introduced into the second issue of the piano-vocal score, he indicated that this could be done quietly, "so that there is no pretext for saying there is a change!"

corrections that Verdi failed to enter into the autograph score can be embraced without hesitation: some of them may have been intended to affect only the piano-vocal score. The very first correction in the proofs is an example. The left hand, p. 4, mm. 3-5, is derived from the cello in the autograph score, fol. 3^v, mm. 2-4, and was printed as in Example 4:

Example 4



In the proofs, but not in the autograph score, Verdi rewrote both low E's up an octave (the reading of all the 96000 editions). The low E's, however, were retained in the first printed orchestral edition (96180) and all subsequent full scores. Should the cello line be modified by a modern editor? A case can be made that it should not, for Verdi might have changed this passage in the bozze simply to facilitate the piano part. Whatever the decision, a legitimate question exists about this reading.

The editorial problems stemming from the proofs are not limited to those passages clearly marked by Verdi (or even Ricordi). A measure-by-measure comparison of the bozze with 96000¹ reveals that the latter contains over 80 significant differences of punctuation, text, notes, articulation, and even entire measures that bear no indications of revision in the proofs. Most of these, to be sure, are

corrections of minor errors or clarifications of ambiguities. Yet, some seem to be genuine compositional revisions. One of the most puzzling occurs in Fenton's part in the ensemble near the end of I,2. Beginning with p. 117, m. 1, this part is printed in the bozze--without any added corrections--exactly as it still appears in the autograph score, fol. 103, mm. 1-3 (Example 5a):

Example 5a



In 96000¹ and all subsequent printed editions the measures read (Example 5b):

Example 5b



Exactly when--and by whom--the passage was changed is unknown. But several facts argue for the preferability of the latter version, even though it lacks autograph evidence: the unanimity of all printed scores, including those (like 96000¹) undoubtedly seen by the composer; the unlikelihood that Ricordi, who was prepared to alter the smallest details to produce an accurate score, would change such a detail purely on his own authority; the intimate connection that Verdi had with the proofreading of the bozze and, hence, his partial responsibility for

the readings in 96000¹; and the apparent loss of a few letters and documents that Verdi sent to Ricordi in November-December 1892.¹⁶⁰

It would seem, then, that in such situations the readings of 96000¹ are to be preferred to those of the proofs and the autograph score. Once again one should proceed cautiously, for a careful comparison of the bozze with 96000¹ reveals clear exceptions to this principle. P. 2, m. 8, beat 4, piano right hand, is correctly printed with a C sharp; when the plate was re-engraved to accommodate new stage directions at the top of the page, the C sharp was accidentally omitted in 96000¹⁻³; it does appear, however, in the autograph and all orchestral scores.

A critical edition of Falstaff would have to deal with the 400 differences between the bozze and 96000¹ (about one fourth of them unmarked in the proofs) and relate them individually to the Verdi-Ricordi correspondence and all the editions of the opera printed in the composer's lifetime.¹⁶¹ 96000¹ possesses a special (but not absolute) reliability because of Verdi's closeness to it; but the situation is

¹⁶⁰See p. 73 above. That Verdi might have written Ricordi other letters correcting passages without marking the bozze is suggested by his letter of 11 December 1892: there he makes two corrections that he never wrote into the proofs. Both corrections belong on p. 257 of the bozze.

¹⁶¹One piano-vocal edition of Falstaff, a German-Italian edition prepared by Mario Parenti (Milan: Ricordi, 1964), contains critical notes that refer to some (but not all) of the changes in the proofs. Unfortunately, these notes are frequently in error, due principally to a misunderstanding of the date of the bozze revisions (see nn. 105, 112 above), to an inadequate understanding of the subsequent editions, and to a faulty consideration of the evidence of the autograph score. Many of the most difficult editorial problems posed by the bozze are passed over without comment by Parenti.

greatly complicated by changes that he made after its release. Often the lack of autograph evidence renders certainties impossible; at other times autograph evidence only makes the issue more complex.

While it is not appropriate to discuss each of these revisions here, it might be helpful nevertheless to provide a few specific examples of editorial questions engendered by the bozze corrections. The following ten examples have been selected to illustrate differing patterns of evidence; for each pattern several other similar instances exist.

1. Near the end of I.1 in the bozze, p. 45, mm. 1-3, Falstaff's part is printed as in Example 6a.

Example 6a

Fal.
sta. Le-sti, le-sti, le-sti, al ga-lop-po, al ga-lop-po!

Verdi corrected this in the proofs to the version in Example 6b

Example 6b

Fal.
sta. Le-sti, le-sti, le-sti, al ga-lop-po, al ga-lop-po!

and wrote "correggere partitura" in the margin. Moreover, he mentioned the change to Ricordi in a letter from 28 November 1892. He did not, however, enter the change into his autograph score: there (fols. 47^v-48) the reading agrees with the version printed

in the proofs: but on top of Verdi's notes Ricordi (or an employee) cancelled much of the autograph reading in red pencil and entered the new version in blue pencil. The change was followed in all printed editions. This is a typical instance where Verdi corrected the proofs but failed to modify his full score. Clearly, the correction is the preferred reading.

2. On p. 88, mm. 9-10 of the proofs, Alice's part is printed as in Example 7a, which contains two errors: the final note of the Example 7a

Fal - staff m'ha can-so - na - ta.

earlier measure should be C flat (agreeing with the autograph score), and the proper spelling of the last word is "canzonata" (the autograph score also reads "cansonata"). Curiously, Verdi overlooked both errors in the proofs but did modify the passage to read as in Example 7b.

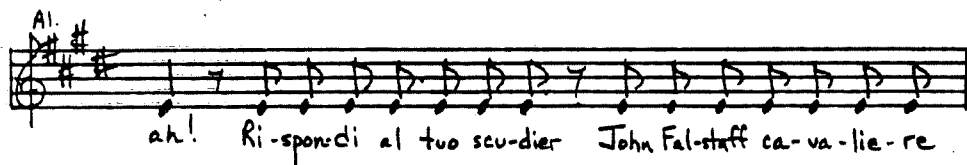
Example 7b

Fal - staff m'ha can-so - na - ta.

No letter refers to this change, and the autograph score, fol. 85^v, agrees with the first version above (except for the omitted C flat). 96000¹ also agrees with the first version (but with C flat and "canzonata"), while 96000²⁻³ and all orchestral editions agree with the second version (again, with the emendations). The evidence suggests that the composer revised this passage during the January rehearsals, i.e., not in time for 96000¹ but in plenty of time for 96000². The reading of 96000²⁻³ and the orchestral editions is therefore definitive.

3. Falstaff's signature at the end of his letters to Alice and Meg is printed as in Example 8a in the bozze, p. 59, m. 1:

Example 8a



Verdi did not modify any of the notes in the proofs but corrected instead the text to supply the necessary rhyme: "Rispon-di al tuo scu-diere / John Falstaff cavaliere." This small alteration he sent to Ricordi on two occasions, 13 November and 12 December 1892. The autograph score, however, contains a quite different reading, the result of several revisions. Example 8b shows the version found on fol. 63^r-63^v.

Example 8b

Al
F# C#
[ah!] Rispondi al tuo scudiere ~~Sir John Falstaff Cavaliere~~

Here Verdi at some point, probably before the reduction was made, cancelled the sixteenth note and its text, "Sir," and added a dot to the eighth rest after "scudiere." The two quarter rests and the one eighth rest at the beginning of the measure belong to an early, discarded layer in the autograph score.¹⁶² Since it is clear that the printed bozze version was not derived from the manuscript score, one assumes that it was derived from Verdi's revision and correction of Carignani's reduction manuscript. The reading of the autograph score, therefore, cannot be considered definitive.

All printed editions, both piano-vocal and orchestral, carry a slightly modified reading (Example 8c).

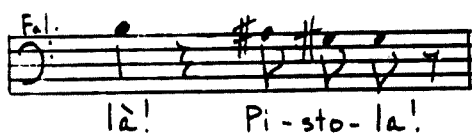
Example 8c

Al
F# C#
ah! Ri-spon-di al tuo scu-die-re, John Fal-staff Ca-va-lic-re

¹⁶²For a discussion of this layer see Ch. 14 below.

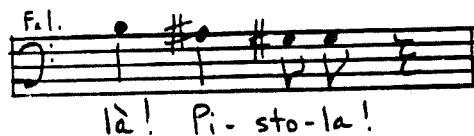
There is no autograph source for this third version, but according to the principles established above (pp.88-90), it would appear to stem from Verdi--or at least to have been approved by him--and would be preferable to the readings of the first two versions. Unfortunately, this "final" version is rhythmically clumsy and for this reason must be questioned. Verdi changed his mind about this measure many times: it is by no means certain which reading most accurately represents his final intentions. One may wish, therefore, to modify the rhythm of the third version by changing the sixteenth rest to an eighth rest and the sixteenth note to an eighth note (i.e., to Verdi's correction in the bozze) or by inserting an additional eighth rest after "scudiere" (thus approximating the reading of the autograph score).

4. The bozze, p. 13, m. 1, print Falstaff's part as in Example 9a.
Example 9a



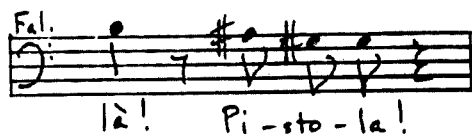
On top of this one finds the pencil correction (Example 9b), probably in Verdi's hand:

Example 9b



The autograph score, fol. 11^v, contains a third reading (Example 9c), whose unusually dark ink suggests that it is a late revision (see Chapter 10 below):

Example 9c



No letter mentions the change. 96000¹ follows the printed reading of the proofs, although it is clearly in error, not agreeing with the accompaniment. All subsequent editions follow the autograph score. Verdi probably corrected the proofs during the January rehearsals and then changed his mind when he entered the correction into the autograph score. The agreement of all the editions after 96000¹ with the autograph score suggests that the third version, not the bozze correction, is to be preferred.

5. Verdi considerably revised the climax of Falstaff's monologue in I.1. In the proofs, p. 43, mm. 204, this is printed as in Example 10a.

Example 10a

POCO PIÙ MOSSO

Fal. *vo-glio, no!* *non ne vo -* *glio!*

POCO PIÙ MOSSO

ff

Between 29 November and 2 December 1892 the composer pasted new slips of music paper over these measures: the revised reading is shown in Example 10b.¹⁶³

These slips have since been removed and are now attached to the top of p. 43 with a paper clip. For a facsimile of the relevant portion of that page see Barblan, *Un prezioso spartito*, p. 10; for the relevant letters see pp. 80-81 above.

Example 10b

Example 10b is a musical score for a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is written in a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: "voglio, no! non nè voglio, no" followed by "no no no no". The piano accompaniment is written in two staves (treble and bass clefs) with a key signature of one sharp. It includes dynamic markings such as *f* (forte) and *ff* (fortissimo). The score shows various musical notations including notes, rests, and articulation marks.

Although the reading of Example 10b was printed in all subsequent editions of Falstaff, it is not the final version. Partially on the newly pasted slip and partially on the original page of the proofs Verdi entered in pencil the necessary elements of a third version of the vocal line (Example 10c).

Example 10c

Example 10c is a musical score for a vocal line. It is written in a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: "voglio no! Non nè voglio no no no no". The score shows various musical notations including notes, rests, and articulation marks.

It is this third version--along with the accompaniment of the second--that he wrote into the autograph score, fol. 45, in January 1893: a new, fair-copy folio pasted over the original fol. 45, which doubtless contains the first version. That it never appeared in any edition is probably to be attributed to an oversight at Casa Ricordi rather than to a reversal of Verdi's opinion. The third reading, therefore, is to be preferred to the second.¹⁶⁴

6. In the first of the Fenton/Nannetta duets in I.2 the bozze (p. 86, mm. 5-7) print the version shown in Example 11a.

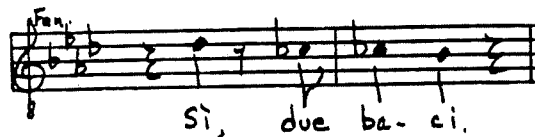
Example 11a.

Example 11a shows two staves of musical notation. The top staff is labeled 'Nan.' and the bottom staff is labeled 'Fen.'. The lyrics are: '- den-te. No Basta.' for the top staff and 'An-cor due be-ci.' for the bottom staff.

As mentioned above, Ricordi noticed on 7 November 1892 that the word "Ancor" should have been "Sì." Verdi corrected Fenton's part (only) in the bozze (Example 11b) and notified Ricordi of the change on 9 November.

¹⁶⁴Barblan, Un prezioso spartito, pp. 10-12, comes to a similar conclusion. Parenti (see n. 161 above), however, confuses the order of the second and third versions and for reasons that he does not explain does not consider the last pencil entries into the bozze to be in Verdi's hand: he therefore regards the second version, not the third, as definitive

Example 11b



Because the correction is not particularly easy to decipher in the proofs, the engraver could have erred in the version printed in 96000¹ (Example 11c), which also ties over Nannetta's E flat, a change for which there is no autograph source:

Example 11c

Verdi changed the autograph score (fol. 82) in January 1893 by modifying Fenton's part to agree with his bozze correction. All subsequent printed editions have Fenton's part printed correctly and retain the mysterious two-beat E flat that first appeared in 96000¹. Under the circumstances it is difficult to decide whether the E flat should be held for one or two beats. Verdi could well have approved of the longer E flat before the printing of 96000¹-- it seems unlikely that an engraver would change the passage without

instructions to do so--but neglected to write it into the autograph score. My preference, then, is for the two-beat E flat printed in all the editions.

7. Again in Falstaff's I.1 monologue, the proofs (p. 41, mm. 4-5) print the reading transcribed in Example 12.

Example 12

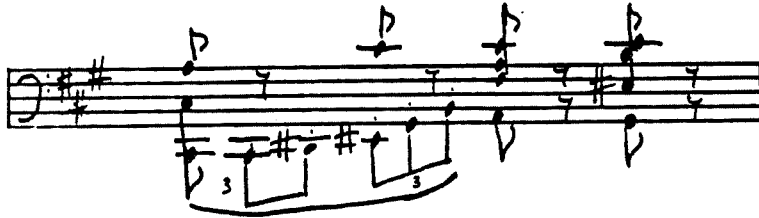
Fal. *leggeriss.* 3 PPP
c'è del-l'a-ria che vo--la.

In the bozze Verdi lowered the final note down a third to E; this is the version printed in most subsequent editions.¹⁶⁵ He did not, however, enter the change into the autograph score, fol. 43. In itself, this presents no unusual difficulties: the new E is definitive. Nevertheless, a problem arises since the cello doubles the voice at the unison, and this doubling was not included in the piano-vocal reduction: Verdi, that is, made no indication that the final note of the cello should also be lowered to an E. Thus both the first orchestral edition (96180) and the first orchestral edition published for sale (113953) specify that the cello should ascend to the high G. This must be an oversight: the cello should preserve the unison doubling by concluding this passage on E, not on G.

¹⁶⁵The Ricordi "Ripristino" piano-vocal score (1944) and subsequent piano-vocal scores erroneously reinstate the high G, probably on the authority of the autograph score.

8. Under Falstaff's words "[Nè lusingar, nè usar frase fio-rita]" in the Falstaff/Alice duet in II.2 the proofs carry the reading of Example 13a in the accompaniment, p. 216, m. 3.

Example 13a



Verdi indicated in the bozze that he wished to add two notes to the right hand on the second beat: a B and a G sharp. These notes appear in all piano-vocal editions. The violin and viola parts (i.e., the only parts that would play the relevant notes) of the autograph score, fol. 205, and all orchestral scores, however, read as in Example 13b.

Example 13b

Since Verdi's revision in the bozze is more than a question of reduction, one must consider whether to add a B and a G sharp (in brackets) to the second beats of the second violin and viola. The evidence seems ample to justify such an addition; Verdi did not transfer all of his proof changes into the autograph score, and this is precisely the type of modification that was likely to elude the preparer of the first printed orchestral edition.

The above reasoning, however, raises another difficulty, for the reduction does not correspond to the first and third beats of the string parts either. In its pianistic context Carignani's omission of the E on the first beat is understandable and therefore presents no editorial problems; but the reduction of the third beat seems to imply that the corresponding note of the second violin should be A, not C sharp. Should one change this note in the second violin? It all depends on Carignani's reason for including an A in the right hand on the third beat: he could have erred; he could have added it to facilitate the piano part; or he could have been instructed to add it by a Verdian revision on his reduction manuscript. If the last of these is the case--and one cannot presently know this--the second violin part should be changed; otherwise it should be left alone. Without further evidence one is reluctant to tamper with Verdi's autograph score.

9. One of the most puzzling editorial difficulties in the opera occurs at the restatement of the conclusion of Falstaff's letter at the end of I.2, "Ma il viso mio su lui risplenderà" (bozze, p. 124, mm. 4-7). At what point does the note D first appear in the

accompaniment--under "mio" or under "lui?" The version of the proofs, which doubtless follow the reading of the reduction manuscript (perhaps altered by Verdi), is shown in Example 14.

Example 14

The image shows a musical score for a vocal and piano piece. The top staff is the vocal line, marked 'cantabile' with a slur over the notes. The lyrics are 'Ma il vi-so mi-o su lui ri-splen-de'. The bottom staff is the piano accompaniment, marked 'PPP'. It consists of a right-hand part with arpeggiated chords and a left-hand part with a cello line. The cello line has a D note under the word 'mio' in the lyrics. The key signature is A major (three sharps) and the time signature is 4/4.

In the proofs the composer erased both the D and the E under "mio" and rewrote only the E, thereby specifying a six-four chord for that measure. Moreover, in the left margin he wrote the explicit instructions "levare il req in partitura." the change is not found in 96000¹ and first occurs in 96000², after which it is followed in all subsequent piano-vocal editions. One may conclude that he decided to change this passage during the January rehearsals.

The autograph score, however, complicates the matter: it contains a D in the cello under "mio" (fol. 107), and that D is

itself a modification (the cello was originally assigned a B a tenth lower). The new D is written in a dark black ink, an unusual ink in the autograph score and one that can often be associated with corrections made in January 1893 (see Chapter 10 below). One faces the possibility that Verdi added the D to the autograph score at about the same time he removed it from the proofs.¹⁶⁶ Moreover, all orchestral scores contain the cello D under "mio"; and if the passage is to be harmonically parallel to its first appearance (96000¹, pp. 57-58) the D should occur under "mio."¹⁶⁷

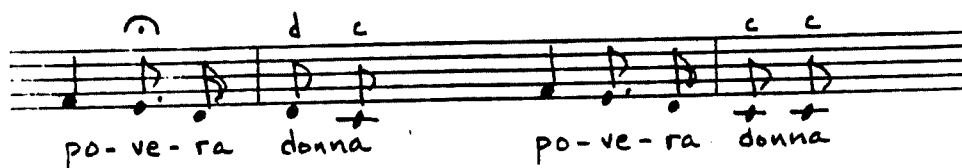
The evidence, therefore, is inconclusive. My inclination is to play the D under "mio" despite the explicit instructions in the proofs in order to render the passage parallel to its first appearance.

10. While examining his copies of the proofs Ricordi noticed an inconsistency and wrote to Verdi on 14 November 1892: "Quickly: when

¹⁶⁶Verdi may indeed have first added the D to Carignani's reduction manuscript. Opposite the upper strings in the right margin of fol. 107 of the autograph score one may read the erased pencil note "manca Reh." Such entries are characteristic reminders that Ricordi (or Carignani) made after receiving a substantial Verdian correction in the reduction manuscript; in this case Ricordi apparently assumed that the composer would write the D into the second violin or viola. Verdi returned the reduction of Act I to Ricordi on 18 September 1892 and may have made some alterations in the autograph score of Act I when he consigned the second act to Ricordi on either 4 October or from 13 to 16 October 1892. (See Ch. 7 below.) The dark black ink in the autograph score may indeed date from October 1892, although it may also date from January 1893. (See Ch. 10 below.)

¹⁶⁷Note, however, that the passage is not parallel in all respects: besides the doubling of the notated rhythm and the necessary change of text, the latter version contains an introductory measure of six-four harmony before the entry of the voices. For a discussion of the development of this passage and its antecedent in the autograph score see Ch. 14 below.

she says Povera donna [in II.1] she sometimes has 2 C's in the score and sometimes D, C: i.e.:



Considering that they ought always to be the same please indicate whether you want D, C, or C, C.¹⁶⁸ Verdi answered on 16 November: "always D, C, although C, C is more correct."¹⁶⁹ Verdi never entered the correction into the bozze: the one instance of C, C in II.1 occurs on p. 139, m. 3, and there Ricordi changed the note in pencil and wrote "re non do" in the margin. Moreover, the composer corrected this passage in the autograph score, fol. 122^v. There is thus no doubt that D, C is definitive.

Neither Verdi nor Ricordi noticed, however, that a parallel passage occurs shortly after Quickly's entrance in III.1, where in all piano-vocal editions (96000¹, p. 318), all orchestral editions (96180, p. 339), and in the autograph score (fol. 282) her

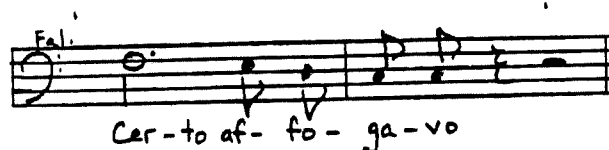
¹⁶⁸ "Quickly: quando dice Povera donna, ha in partitura talvolta 2 do, tal altra re, do: cioè [music]. Ritenendo che dovrà sempre essere uguale, indichi se sta bene re, do, o do, do." Unpublished.

¹⁶⁹ Mr 1061: "Sempre re do, benché sia più corretto do do." Unpublished. On 24 November (Mr 1068; misdated 23 November 1892 by Verdi; postmark 24 November 1892) Verdi changed the hold to the first note: "La corona sempre sulla lettera po- e così tutte le volte." Unpublished.

"Povera donna!" ends on two C's. This reading, surely, is an oversight and should be modified to conform to its earlier statements.¹⁷⁰

Far less clear is what to do with repetitions of the "Povera donna!" music set to other words. Falstaff, e.g., sings "Certo affogavo" (Example 14) in his III.1 monologue (96000¹, p. 307; autograph score, fol. 269)

Example 14



Is the identity with the "Povera donna!" music a coincidence? Perhaps, but we shall see in the second part of this study that many portions of the monologues of Falstaff are constructed from just such previously heard motives.¹⁷¹ Whether one is willing to modify this passage to agree with the "Povera donna!" statements

¹⁷⁰The "Povera donna!" in III.1 also lacks a hold. Verdi's statement of 23 November (see n. 169) also justifies the addition of a fermata over "Po-" in III.1.

¹⁷¹See, e.g., Chs. 16 and 17 below.

depends on whether one believes the reiteration of the motive to be mere coincidence or carefully planned.¹⁷²

Editorial problems similar to the above ten abound in Falstaff. Once the nature of the principal sources is clarified, many are easily resolved, while others elude simple solutions. No one source, not the autograph score, nor the proofs, nor any printed edition, can be regarded as definitive in all cases.

Verdi's work on the proofs and the relationship of this work to his partial emendation of the autograph score, then, are the starting points of all of the subsequent editorial confusion with Falstaff. More difficulties follow with even later revisions. But at the very least it can be maintained that the proofs and the invaluable Verdi-Ricordi correspondence of the last two months of 1892 are the most important sources for the reconstruction of the composer's activity during this critical period of revision. It is against this background of intense activity that one should consider Verdi's subsequent revisions of the first published piano-vocal score of Falstaff.

¹⁷²This is not the only recurrence of the "Povera donna!" motive. In I.2 (96000¹, p. 98, mm. 1-2) the motive appears in the Nannetta/Fenton duet--with hold a final notes as in Quickly's music:



Chapter 4

The First and Second Issues of the Piano-Vocal Score

Ricordi's letters from late 1892 reveal that he accomplished much of the mass printing of the first edition of Falstaff in December. That he was able to include variants proposed as late as 27 December indicates that the printing was not yet completed by that date. It would appear that by 2 January 1893, when Verdi arrived in Milan to supervise the rehearsals of the opera,¹⁷³ the first edition was practically completed, for subsequent entries into the bozze do not appear in 96000¹. Because of the copyright deadlines and the impending premiere of Falstaff in early February--the exact date was still uncertain--Ricordi undoubtedly insisted that any further modifications that the composer might make during the rehearsals would not be included in 96000¹ but would be inserted, sotto voce, into a corrected, second issue.¹⁷⁴

Little information is available about Verdi's work on Falstaff in January 1893. No significant correspondence between Verdi and Ricordi dates from this period; in sharp contrast to the final months of 1892, the two men saw each other nearly every day, and correspondence was superfluous. Moreover, they insisted that the rehearsals be conducted

¹⁷³Ricordi to Verdi, 1 January 1893 (Mr Cop 1892-93, XI, 379): "Nostro più caro augurio è nel dire a riverderli domani." Unpublished.

¹⁷⁴Cf. Ricordi to Verdi, 30 November 1892 (p. 81 above).

in the strictest privacy: the public was to know virtually nothing of what occurred behind the doors of La Scala almost daily from 3 January to 8 February. It was probably the composer who insisted on this confidentiality. Part of the reason was certainly personal. At age 79 he wished to preserve his energies, and it was understood that Ricordi and Boito were to be responsible for sheltering him from the many inquisitive journalists. His activities in Milan were limited to ensure secrecy: no one could see him without permission.¹⁷⁵

Apart from shielding him from the public, this strategy had another obvious value: it created an aura of mystery about the rehearsals and about Falstaff itself, a growing excitement that would maximize both the dramatic effect of the premiere and the sales of the first edition--for 96000¹ was not to be released for sale until Falstaff had been performed.¹⁷⁶ Accordingly, not a note of the opera was to be made public during the rehearsals: the performers were sworn to silence. As public curiosity about the work mounted, much of the Milanese press

¹⁷⁵For example, on 16 January 1893 the newspaper La sera explained on p. 1 why it had so little Verdian information for its readers: "Nel suo appartamento dell'Hôtel Milan l'illustre maestro si trova come in una specie di castello bastionato. Tranne Ricordi, il maestro Mascheroni, Arrigo Boito qualche volta, e gli artisti a turno, si può proprio giurare che nessuno lo avvicina. Alle lettere che gli pervengono--e sono meno di quanto si potrebbe credere--egli fa costantemente rispondere a mezzo del sig. Ricordi, purché non si tratti di cose di famiglia. L'abitudine di Verdi sono molto parsimoniose e l'isolamento è per lui non solo un bisogno del momento, ma un istinto."

¹⁷⁶Ricordi sent a few copies of the printed libretto to various Italian journalists on 1 February, and released it for sale a few days later. Likewise, he sent copies of the piano-vocal score to the journals a few days before the premiere on 9 February.

grumbled about their inability to pass on reliable operatic gossip. One periodical printed a series of humorous drawings that depicted the silence from La Scala: an earmuffed bassoonist unable to hear the music he was playing; muzzled singers leaving the theater after a rehearsal; "John Stix" serving "Acqua di Lete" to the performers to blot out their memory of the libretto.¹⁷⁷ More circumspect journals, such as the Corriere della sera and La perseveranza, refrained from printing anything that might antagonize the maestro. Ricordi, the "official" disseminator of facts about Verdi, reported in his Gazzetta musicale di Milano only the rather bland (and perhaps inaccurate) information that he was tireless and very satisfied with the performers.¹⁷⁸

Our knowledge of Verdi's activity during the rehearsals--and more important, about the readings of the first two issues of the piano-vocal edition--must therefore be reconstructed from a variety of sources: the physical characteristics of 96000¹ and 96000²; the bozze revisions, considered in conjunction with a comparison of the readings of the published editions; reports of Verdi's work published after--sometimes long after--the rehearsals; the publication records of Falstaff, still available at Casa Ricordi; and Ricordi's correspondence with people involved in the sale and distribution of the opera.

How may one determine the dates of the first two issues of the

¹⁷⁷ Il trovatore, 3 February 1893, p. 5.

¹⁷⁸ See, e.g., Gazzetta musicale di Milano, 22 January 1893, p. 50.

piano-vocal score? Fortunately, the printing practices of Ricordi's firm at that time neatly resolve the matter. Before releasing any edition for sale, Casa Ricordi impressed a date--the blind stamp--on the lower left corner of the opening recto pages, the clearest impression generally being on the half-title page, with the embossing on the subsequent five or six pages becoming less distinct. The significance of the blind stamp has not been unequivocally demonstrated, but Cecil Hopkinson is probably correct in assuming that it refers to the date of the binding of the copy, not to that of the printing of the edition.¹⁷⁹ Copies of the first piano-vocal edition of Falstaff (474 pp.) may be found with any of three blind stamps: 1/1893 (i.e., January 1893), 2/1893, and 3/1893.¹⁸⁰ 96000¹ was therefore probably bound (and

¹⁷⁹Hopkinson, A Bibliography of the Works of Giacomo Puccini, p. xi. Readers unfamiliar with the practice of the blind stamp are advised of Hopkinson's warning, also true of the Falstaff editions: "copies may be found with blind stamps impressed long after the date of printing so that they represent the date on which the sheets were assembled for binding and ready for sale."

¹⁸⁰Copies of 96000¹ with the 1/1893 blind stamp may be found in the Eda Kuhn Loeb Library of Harvard University, the library of the Royal Academy of Music in London, the archives of Casa Ricordi in Milan, the library of the Conservatorio di Santa Cecilia in Rome, the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., and many other locations. Copies with 2/1893 seem to be more rare but may be found in the libraries of the Milan Conservatory, the Parma Conservatory, and the Istituto di studi verdiani in Parma. A copy with the blind stamp 3/1893, also rare, may be found at the Eda Kuhn Loeb Library of Harvard University. For locations of other copies of 96000¹ along with a more complete bibliographical description see Hopkinson, A Bibliography of the Works of Giuseppe Verdi, II, 162-64. The "second edition" mentioned by Hopkinson as advertised by Ricordi on 26 February 1893 is doubtless 96000¹ with the 2/1892 or 3/1893 blind stamp.

The three issues of 96000¹ contain several negligible differences that apparently result from the spotting and correction of minor errors. Some editions of 96000¹, for example, lack a flat before the second beat of the right hand on p. 22, m. 7, while the flat is present in other editions.

perhaps reprinted) at three different times, in January, February, and March 1893. Although no copy was sold before 9 February, then, it is certain the several copies were ready for sale in January.

More precise information can be gained by consulting the correspondence between the Ricordi firm and a certain Jean Lobel, a Parisian who handled for Ricordi the details of the American deposit to ensure a copyright on the work. On 4 January Eugenio Tornaghi, Ricordi's secretary, telegraphed Lobel the message that "we have the honor of informing you that we have sent you 3 piano-vocal copies of Falstaff. . . . We await the courtesy of your writing us the date on which the above-mentioned works will be deposited in America so that we can have them registered here the same day."¹⁸¹ Confirmation of the dispatch of the piano-vocal scores to Lobel on that date is provided by a notebook, still available in the archives of G. Ricordi & C., entitled Procura Stati Uniti: Copyright 5-12-1892--14-4-1914. These records list 96000¹ as having 4/1/93 as the "Giorno della Spedizione."¹⁸² The printing of at least the first set of Falstaff editions, therefore,

¹⁸¹Tornaghi to Lobel, 4 January 1893 (Mr Cop 1892-93, XI, 486): "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. . . . Nous attendrons que vous ayez la complaisance de nous écrire la date à laquelle on fera le dépôt des ouvrages surdits en Amérique pour les faire enregistrer ici le même jour." Unpublished.

¹⁸²A second catalog at G. Ricordi & C., entitled Elenco dei pezzi depositati agli Stati Uniti dal 1893 al 15-VI-1914, provides the information that the American deposit was made on 19 January 1893. Cf. Tornaghi to Lobel, 13 January 1893 (Mr Cop 1892-93, XII, 280): "Nous avons reçu v. est. 6 crt. et nous avons pris note d'enregistrer ici Jeudi prochain 19 les partitions et les morceaux de n. dernier envoi." Unpublished.

was completed between 27 December, the latest date for which it may be demonstrated that Verdi's revisions were incorporated into the first edition, and 4 January, when these copies were sent to Lobel. Even though few copies may have been printed so early, there is little doubt that the earliest piano-vocal edition of Falstaff, 96000¹, represents the pre-rehearsal reading of the score.

Since Verdi did indeed modify portions of the opera during the rehearsals, some of the readings of 96000¹ were never publicly performed. Having corrected a passage during the rehearsals, he would certainly have had it transferred immediately to the conductor's score and the parts. This conductor's score, or possibly a separate piano-vocal score used expressly for this purpose, was probably the direct source of the modifications in 96000².

Copies of this second issue of the piano-vocal score (462 pp.) almost invariably carry a blind stamp of 6/1893:¹⁸³ it would appear that this version of Falstaff, which was available for sale for at most about four years, was printed and bound only once, in June 1893. Unfortunately, its date cannot be specified any more precisely. Probably because Ricordi (and Verdi) did not wish to call attention to the substantial changes that had been made in the opera, he did not

¹⁸³The one exception I have found is a copy of 96000² preserved in the archives of Casa Ricordi in Milan. Bound in flexible cardboard, it is clearly a rental copy and has a 12/06 (December 1906) blind stamp. The impression of the blind stamp, however, penetrates only the title page and the page immediately following. This leads one to suspect that the copy may have been printed in 1893, but rebound for rehearsal purposes (with a new title page) in 1906. See also Hopkinson, A Bibliography of the Works of Giuseppe Verdi, II, 164-65.

announce or advertise 96000² as a revised version and sent no further copies to Lobel in Paris.¹⁸⁴ As far as can now be determined both the critics and the general public remained unaware that Verdi had modified the opera and that he had even rewritten two important passages.

During the five months that separate the readings of 96000¹ and 96000² the opera received many performances. After five weeks of rehearsals it was given 22 times in Milan, from 9 February to 2 April 1893. The La Scala company then traveled to Genoa and performed Falstaff four times (twice with Verdi attending) at the Teatro Carlo Felice from 6 to 11 April. From Genoa the opera moved to Rome, where it was given five performances (with the original cast and conductor, but with a Roman orchestra) from 16 to 25 April, four at the Teatro Costanzi and one (22 April) at the Teatro Argentina. The complete La Scala company then continued their tour with four performances in Venice, 2-7 May; four performances in Trieste, 11-16 May; two performances in Vienna, 21-22 May; and four performances in Berlin, 1-ca. 6 June 1893, for which last performances Ramon Blanchart substituted for Victor Maurel, the first Falstaff. The La Scala tour ended in Berlin, and the original cast never again performed the opera as a group. These are the months, then, in which Verdi continued to revise Falstaff.

¹⁸⁴See n. 151 above.

There are more than 40 differences between 96000¹ and 96000², the exact number depending on how one counts the large-scale changes and the modifications they generated. All but two are minor corrections or revisions; these small changes may be assumed to date from the January rehearsals. Verdi entered a few into the piano-vocal proofs that he used for the rehearsals; others he wrote into the autograph score but not into the proofs. A third group of small differences exists without any autograph evidence. These, however, must also stem from Verdi: given Ricordi's desire to print an accurate score, so clearly evident in his bozze correspondence with the composer, and given Verdi's active presence at the rehearsals, there is no reason to suppose that 96000² does not incorporate his revised wishes.

Two examples will suffice here to illustrate these small changes, many of which have heretofore passed unnoticed. The first occurs at the end of II.2, as Falstaff is being dumped out of the laundry basket. The men, it will be recalled, are offstage in pursuit of Falstaff, whom Pistola believed he saw on the steps of the house a few moments earlier. As Nannetta and Meg repeat the words "Che tonfo!" in 96000¹, p. 299, m. 7, the stage directions indicate: "la cesta, Falstaff e la biancheria capitombolano giù dalla finestra." The four women then sing "Patatrac!" (p. 300, mm. 1-3), and the men (probably without Fenton, although this is unclear) hurriedly re-enter. The stage directions above "Patatrac!" read: "gran grido e risata di donne all'esterno: immensa risata di Alice, Nannetta, Meg e Quickly--Ford e gli altri uomini rientrano: Alice vedendo Ford lo piglia per un braccio e lo

conduce rapidamente alla finestra." There is thus a great deal of stage action in the last few measures of this first version--action for which Verdi, during the rehearsals, might have perceived that there was not quite enough time.

In 96000² the men re-enter a few measures earlier, just as Nannetta and Meg sing "Che tonfo!" (96000², p. 289, m. 7), and Ford, Bardolfo, Pistola, and the (offstage?) chorus of neighbors--for unexplained reasons Cajus is omitted--join in octaves with the women to sing "Pata-trac!" (p. 290, mm. 103), with the stage directions: "La cesta, Falstaff e la biancheria capitombolano giù dalla finestra." Immediately following, new stage directions read: "Alice vedendo Ford lo piglia per un braccio e lo conduce presso la finestra: immensa risata di tutti." Verdi entered the new version--including the part for Cajus, omitted in all published editions--on fol. 259 of the autograph score, although he phrased the stage directions slightly differently.¹⁸⁵ He made no entry of these changes into the bozze.

The second small change to be discussed here occurs in III.2, at the conclusion of Nannetta's aria. As shown in Example 15 below, only two bars of transition lead to Bardolfo's "Alto là!" (96000¹, p. 373, mm. 4-6):

¹⁸⁵Verdi's final stage direction on fol. 259 reads: "Alice vedendo Ford lo prende per un braccio e lo conduce verso la finestra. Risata generale."

For further evidence that this change was accomplished during the rehearsals see. n. 115 above.

Example 15

The image shows a handwritten musical score for Example 15, consisting of four staves. The top two staves are vocal parts, and the bottom two are piano accompaniment. The key signature is D major (two sharps). The tempo is marked 'PRESTISSIMO' with a quarter note equal to 112 (♩ = 112). The score includes several performance markings: 'Nag.' with an arrow pointing to the first measure of the vocal line, 'Bar.' above a bar line, '[fior]' below the first vocal staff, 'Fate' above the second vocal staff, '-tor.' below the second vocal staff, 'pp' (pianissimo) below the piano part, 'morendo' below the piano part, and 'f' (forte) below the piano part. The vocal line ends with the lyrics 'Al-to là!'. The piano part features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes in the right hand and a similar pattern in the left hand, with a change in dynamics from pp to f.

In 96000², p. 361, mm. 4 ff., the passage is printed with two additional measures, essentially a più forte, accelerando repetition of the two-measure transition that precedes "Alto là!". Although the change is certainly valid, Verdi altered neither the autograph score nor the bozze. One does find, however, non-Verdian indications in the autograph score, fol. 341, of a repeat of these measures: beneath them is the pencil entry "La 2^a volta più forte." Both this example and that of the revised conclusion of II.2 mentioned earlier illustrate changes of the sort likely to be engendered by the practical experience of seeing the opera staged. Both, surely, were accomplished in January 1893.

These minor changes, however, are much less important than the two most substantial differences between 96000¹ and 96000², both of which differences derive from revisions that Verdi made after the first performance of Falstaff. In the first of these major changes he replaced 16 measures near the end of the ensemble in II.2 with 6; in the second he discarded the final 111 measures of III.1 and rewrote a new conclusion of 80 measures. For neither earlier version is an orchestral score extant, because he removed the corresponding folios in the autograph score and replaced them with revised folios: the earlier versions, therefore, may be found only in the bozze and in 96000¹. Both changes have been mentioned in print: the former has been discussed quite thoroughly by Hans Gál, while Guglielmo Barblan has sketched the outlines of the latter.¹⁸⁶ Recently discovered information permits us to deal with this material in much greater detail and to date it with considerable precision.

The aesthetic significance of the first of the two changes cannot be overstressed. The ensemble at the end of II.2, with Sir John in the laundry basket and Nannetta and Fenton behind the screen, is the dramatic climax of the opera. With this ensemble and the brief activity immediately thereafter one arrives at the resolution of the intrigue of the first two acts: Falstaff is humiliated, the wives triumphant. After this conclusion, as Boito and Verdi realized, the third act is dramatically superfluous. The concertato in II.2 is the

¹⁸⁶Gál, "A Deleted Episode in Verdi's 'Falstaff'"; idem, Drei Meister--drei Welten: Brahms, Wagner, Verdi, pp. 529-36; Barblan, Un prezioso spartito, pp. 16-23.

centerpiece of the opera--and the passage that the composer so radically altered is nothing less than the extended climax of that ensemble, its highest lyrical point and most memorable moment.

Example 16 on the succeeding pages, transcribed from 96000¹, pp. 272-89, shows the passage that dissatisfied Verdi. Its revision, first printed in 96000², pp. 272-79, has been reprinted in all subsequent scores and is readily available. Both versions begin with the same C major cadence on the words "Giù! giù! giù!" and conclude with a similar (but not identical) passage that prolongs C major and begins with Nannetta's "Dolci richiami d'amor." Between these two points the music differs markedly. The earlier version, Ex. 16, mm. 2-17, provides a leisurely excursion into remote chords on the flat side of C major: from C (mm. 2-3) the chords descend by thirds to Ab (mm. 4-5), f (m. 6), Db (m. 7), bb (m. 8), and Gb (m. 9 and m. 10, beats 1-2); an upward sequence of dominant seventh chords, C7, D7, and E7 (mm. 10-11), then leads back to a cadence in C major (mm. 12-14); and a measure-by-measure descent by thirds through the flat side, C, Ab, f, d7 (mm. 14-17) brings us exquisitely back to C major for the "Dolci richiami d'amor." With its luxurious suspension of time this version is one of the most splendid examples of the "static" music so characteristic of the slow portion of the ottocento operatic ensemble.

By contrast the revised version (96000², pp. 272-79) is brief indeed. It is ten measures shorter and, save for a flattened seventh in the bass on p. 275 (V 4/2 of IV), it avoids the flat side of C major

Example 16

Nan. [272]

Tut- - - - to de-

Fen

Fra quel-le

Meg (ricacciando Falstaff sotto la biancheria) (a quickly) 3 3

Giù! giù! giù! Sta zit-ta!

Qui. (a Meg) 3

-li. giù! giù! giù! Stiam

Fal.

Cai.

Bar.

Ford (al Dr. Cajus accostando l'orecchio al paravento)

Senti, accosta un po' l'orecchio!

cantabile con espress.

stacc.

Example 16, continued

3 Max. [273] > [274]

Sop. - li - - - - ra, so - - - - spi - ro e

Ten. ci - - - - glia ve - - - - do due

Mez. Se ridi la burla è sco - perta

Qui. zit - te stiam zit - te! Trattieni le ri - sa

Fl.

Cl.

Bar.

Ford Che pa - te - ti - ci la - men - ti! Là c'è A - li - ce! Qua c'è il vec - chio se - dut -

Example 16, continued

5 Nan. [275] [276]

ri - - - so. Sor - - - ri - de il

Fen. fa - - - ri a me - ra

Meg. Dob - biam star al - ler - ta. Tu il giuoco di - sgui - di Ge - lo - so ma -

Qui. Se l'al - tro s'av - vi - sa noi sie - mo scon - fit - te Co - stui su - da e

Fal.

Caj. (a Ford, accostando l'orecchio al paravento)
Sento, sento, sento, in - ten - do, ve - do chia - - - ro

Bar.

Ford. - to - re. Senti! senti!

Example 16, continued

7 *Nax.* [277] *[278]*

vi - - - - so e il cor so-spi - - - - ra.

Fex.

- vi - - - - glia se-re-ni e chia - - - - ri.

Meg.

- ri-to, Com-pa-re stae-cia-to, Cia-seun e pu-

Qui.

sot-fia s'in-tre-to-lae tos-se, Per gran bat-ti

Fal.

Caj.

del-le femmine gli an-ni Non vorrei, compare ca - - ro,

Bard.

Ford

Example 16, continued

[279] [280]

9 *Nan. Ten. b.*

Co - - - - - me in sua zol - - la si³ schiv - de un
 Boc - - - - - ca mia dol - - ce! pu - pil - la

Meg

- ni - to se - con - do il pec - ca - to. Par - liam sat - to

Qui

- soffia le vi - see - re ha scosse Co - stui s'in - far

Caj.

es - ser io ne' vostri pan - - ni. Chi non sa ri - dur la mo - glie

Bar.

(a Pistola)

Vieni qua, fatti più presso vieni a u - dir gli as - sia

Ford Pirt.

Senti, senti! (alberti) Es - si cre - don d'esser soli
 O - di co - me am - lo cuoce! fare Al - teo con A - re.

Gente

Pia - no, pia - no, a pas - so

Gente

Pia - no, pia - no, a pas - so

Example 16, continued

11

[281] Nan. [282] dolce

fior..... La sua co-rol- - - - - la
 d'or..... Vo-ce che mol- - - - - ce

Meg. -vo - - ce guardan - - - do il Mes-ser Che bron-to-la c

Gi. -da - - to di tanta vil-tà che darlo al bu-

Col-le buo-ne al-la ra-gion Dovrà vincer le sue vo- - glie

Bar. -man-ti. S'è un mormure sommes-so quel di tortore tu-banti. È un fruscio che par di gonnà, un fruscio vago e leg-

Ford. Pust. nel lor tenero abband. su quel nido d'ignoli scoppierà fra poco il

Gente -tusa. Quella gonfia cornamusa manda fuori infildi voce. Ma fra poco il lieto giuoco turberà dura le-

len-tu mentre ei sta senza so-spetto mentre ei sta senza sospetto Lo coglia-mo a tradi-

Gente len-to mentre ei sta senza so-spetto mentre ei sta senza sospetto Lo coglia-mo a tradi-

Example 16, continued

[203] [204]

13 Non. Fen. svol - ve il mio cor, la sua co -

Meg. cvo - ce nel no - stro pa - nier. Stiam

Qui. - ca - to è a - ver - ne pie - tà. Stiam

Caj. col - la fru - sta o col ba - ston.

Bar. - gar; È la voce della donna che risponde al cava - lier

Ford. Pist. tuon, scoppierà fra po - co il tuon.

Grate. - zion: Egli canta, ma fra poco muterà la sua can - zione, ma fra poco il lieto giuoco turberà dura le -

Grate. - men - to, gli fac - cia - mo lo sgam - bet - to. Se gli cade più non scappa.

Grate. - men - to, gli fac - cia - mo lo sgam - bet - to. Se gli cade più non scappa nessun più lo può sal.

p *ff*

Example 16, continued

15 *Nan* [295] *dolciss.* *b* *e* *f* [286]

-rol - - - - la svol - - - -

Fen. *b* *e* *f* *dolciss.* *b*

mol - - - - ce Co - - - -

Mes. *Qui.*

Caj. *Bar.* *zit:* - - - - *te,* *stiam*
zit: - - - - *stiam*

Ford. *b* *e* *f* *b* *e* *f*

chi non sa ridur la moglie colle buonal-la ra -
E la voce della donna che risponde al cava -

Su quel nido d'usignoli scoppierà fra poco il tuon,

Pist.

-zion. Egli canta ma fra poco muterà la sua can -

Gente

Gente

- var.

p

Example 16, continued

[287] 17 Nar. [288]

-ve il mio cor, Dol - - ci ri-chia-mi d'a-

Fen. *pppp*

m'ar - - - pa il cor.

Meg. *pppp*

zitt- zitt-

zitt- zitt-

gion Dovrà vincer le sue voglie colla frusta o col baston.
-ter, È la voce della donna che risponderà al cavalier.

Ford *pp* (agli altri)

... Su quel nido d'usignoli scoppierà fra poco il tuon. Zitto! A

Pist.

-zon Egli canta ma fra poco muterà la sua can-zon.

Gente

Nel tuo diavolo t'incappa che tu possa stramazzar!

Gente

Nel tuo diavolo t'incappa che tu possa stramazzar!

dim. *ppp*

Example 16, continued

19 *Nan.* [289]

- *MOR.* Si..... t'a-mo t'a-mo! t'a - - -

Fen. Dim - - mi se m'a - mi? t'a - - -

Al. (rientra e si avvicina alla cesta)
Silenzio!

Meg. Che bestia restia

Qui. Che bestia restia

Fal. (sbucando e sbuffando) Cuff! Cesto molesto! (sbucando) Protesto!

Ford. noi! Quest'è il momento. Zitto! At-tenti! attenti a

Pist.

in favor of more conventional harmonies.¹⁸⁷ The ensemble has gained in dramatic speed--i.e., the drama of the men approaching the screen is prolonged for a shorter time--but has lost its earlier musical richness. Verdi clearly insisted on preserving the effective conclusion of the ensemble, beginning with "Dolci richiami d'amor," and it is evident that he wrote the new version specifically to retain this conclusion. But it will be noted that he changed the inversions and spacings of the chords of the last four measures, for reasons that are not apparent to this writer.

Why would he have desired to change the music of Ex. 16? It seems far superior to that of the revised version: Hans Gál has even suggested that the first version be reorchestrated and substituted in all future performances of Falstaff.¹⁸⁸ The question is best answered by consulting the relevant portions of the Verdi-Ricordi correspondence of this period, much of it unpublished up to this time.

Verdi first indicated a desire to change this passage in a letter to Ricordi from Genoa on 7 March 1893, at most a month after the premiere of Falstaff, which was still being performed at La Scala:

¹⁸⁷An unintended consequence of the revision was the deletion of several lines of text that are still printed in published libretti. In the earlier version (Ex. 16) Nannetta and Fenton each sing eight lines of rhymed quinari; Meg and Quickly twelve lines of rhymed senari; Cajus, Bardolfo, Ford, Pistola, and the chorus eight lines of rhymed ottonari. In the revised version Nannetta and Fenton sing only their first four lines; Meg and Quickly their last four lines; Cajus his first two (unrhymed) lines; Bardolfo his last two (unrhymed) lines; Ford his first two and last two lines, none of which rhyme; and Pistola and the chorus their last four lines.

¹⁸⁸Gál, "A Deleted Episode"; idem, Drei Meister, pp. 529-36.

I don't know whether you know that at an orchestral rehearsal at which I went back into the seats to hear the opera I was so dissatisfied with the ensemble finale that I told all the artists gathered together, "This piece doesn't work this way; either perform it softer, totally sotto voce and standing apart from one another in groups, or it will have to be cut, or changed." Nobody breathed, but the impression of these words was not good, as they may have told you.

The next evening they performed better and nothing more was said. But at the performances I saw that on the stage this passage is long and resembles an ensemble piece too much.

I wanted to change it in Milan, but I never had an hour of complete peace. I say to change it, because I am an enemy of cuts. To cut a passage is like cutting an arm, the stomach, the legs, etc. etc., from a body. In pieces conceived too broadly a cut is sometimes necessary, but it is always a monstrosity; it is a body without a head or without legs.

For the Falstaff ensemble it was easy to cut and jump in immediately at "Dolci richiami d'amor," but it wasn't the piece of music anymore, lacking the stomach. I redid 6 bars and the piece remains shortened by 10 bars. I'll send it to you tomorrow. I would like it to be performed before the performances at La Scala are finished. And for you, are we in time for the second edition?

To teach it is very easy. A little gathering of the singers for a half hour (instead of taking a walk) and when the orchestra joins them for another rehearsal 5 minutes will be enough. One can do it without Maurel, i.e., if he comes too one can redo those parlanti that are not in time anymore and by now are no longer music.¹⁸⁹

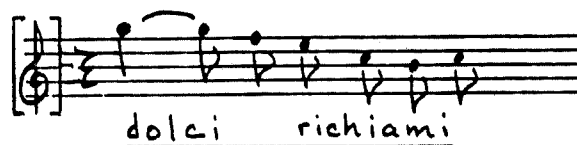
Verdi must have sensed that the La Scala audience was uncomfortable at this point in the opera. Moreover, he must have been dissatisfied with the performers: the two most reliable singers, Emma Zilli (Alice) and Victor Maurel (Falstaff), did not participate in this passage at all, and the two remaining singers in whom he had the most confidence, Giuseppina Pasqua (Quickly) and Antonio Pini-Corsi (Ford) did not have parts here that could rescue bad performances by the others. Nannetta

¹⁸⁹Mr 1095; in Abbiati, IV, 499. The reference to the parlanti is obscure.

and Fenton, in fact, must make this passage effective, and, although we know little of Verdi's attitude towards Adelina Stehle, we know from the Genoese rehearsals of late 1892 that the composer had no faith whatever in Edoardo Garbin. Verdi probably decided that the original passage simply required too much singing ability from secondary characters and that, to be on the safe side, it should be shortened.

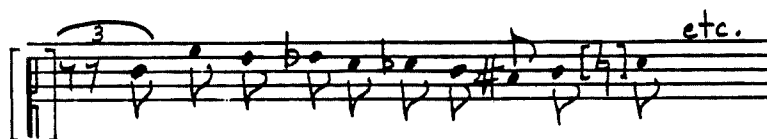
The next day, 8 March, Verdi sent Ricordi a revised version of the passage with this letter:

Here is the passage of the finale for you, as I wrote you yesterday. It's not a cut, but a passage that links up well to



We save ten long measures. And that's a lot!

As a scene this is better; as music I don't know...but the recall of the phrase of the wives is good



and what's more, the piece lacks neither a stomach nor legs. Do what you think with it. Look at it with Mascheroni and Boito: besides, Boito will perhaps have to fix a few lines.

The singers know that I wasn't content with that passage; and so they won't be sorry to come for a half hour to the back room. I too shall be present, for (if warned a half hour before) I'll come right away on a telegraph horse.

When you have decided to perform it send me the passage of the original to correct it.¹⁹⁰

Ricordi wired back early on 9 March: "Received. Am preparing parts immediately. Later I'll see Boito [and] Mascheroni. Will telegraph when ready. My regards."¹⁹¹ Here, however, the trouble began: Boito did not like the revision. The problem was how to inform the maestro. Giulio proceeded to write a carefully worded letter (which, along with the letters that immediately followed, was judiciously ignored by Abbiati) to tell Verdi on the same day, 9 March:

Boito was here for a long time: he says that you are right as far as stage action is concerned but that he would be very displeased to remove some measures of delicious music. In any case the impression received from this new variant is that at the end it goes too rapidly to the attack on "Dolci richiami d'amor" and gives the effect of lacking a measure: and this, observes Boito, not because of eight-measure pedantry but because the ear really feels the need of it in a piece in which the pulse emerges in such a marvelous way. It would seem that the 2 last new bars need instead to be extended into 3. Boito told me to write you about it right away to inform you of his impression before bringing it to rehearsal: and [this] I am [now] doing. Moreover, in order not to lose time and so that you will have everything at hand, I'm sending you back the fragment and the relative reduction that I have already prepared to engrave the parts. Don't ask me what I think because my opinion is worth nothing, and, besides, I have the ensemble piece too much in my ears: I, too, however, felt the desire for a measure more. Meanwhile, I informed Mascheroni, who, having a rehearsal, couldn't come: but as soon as the few new measures are ready and studied, I'll telegraph you imme-

¹⁹⁰Mr 1096 in Abbiati, IV, 500 (without music).

¹⁹¹Mr Cop 1892-93, XVI, 388: "Ricevuto. Preparo subito parti. Più tardi vedrò Boito Mascheroni. Telegraferò quando pronto. Ossequi affettuosi." Unpublished.

diately, arranging first the vocal rehearsal, then with the orchestra, and so in a short half hour you will be able to have everything in order. As far as I am concerned..... I don't say anything but: hurrah!¹⁹²

The composer, obviously stunned by Boito's response, wrote back a highly informative letter on 10 March:

As I was expecting other observations I was surprised by that one of adding a measure to the passage sent to you...

Let's not talk of pedantry, nor of 8 measures...but here it really seems to me that by adding a measure the period would become lame. ~~The phrase~~ [sic, cancelled] The musical motion goes in two-bar phrases:



¹⁹² Ella qui ora lungamente Boito: dice che come movimento scenico Ella ha ragione, ma che sente vivo dispiacere a levare delle battute di musica deliziosa. In ogni modo l'impressione avuta da questa nuova variante è che sulla fine vada troppo rapida all'attacco del 'Dolci richiami d'amor' facendo l'effetto di mancare una battuta: e ciò, osserva Boito, non per pedanteria delle 8 battute, ma perché l'orecchio ne sente proprio il bisogno, in un pezzo nel quale l'euritmia risulta in modo meraviglioso. Parebbe che le 2 ultime nuove battute richiedano invece di svilupparsi in 3. Boito mi ha incaricato di scrivergliene subito, per esporle questa sua impressione prima di mettere in prova: ed io eseguisco. Anzi per non perdere tempo e perché Ella abbia sott'occhio ogni cosa le rimando il brano e la relativa riduzione che già ho preparato per cavare le parti. Non domandi a me cosa ne penso, perché il mio giudizio vale zero, e poi ho troppo nell'orecchio il pezzo d'assieme: però il desiderio di una battuta di più l'ho provato

Thus the two by two period is proper, and if one wanted to lengthen [it], one would have to add not one but two measures, and it would become cold.

But maybe there is a reason that justifies you and Boito. The little soprano and tenor melody placed above the movement of the basses asks for a broader development in the last two bars: and making that phrase shorter it will be fine.



In any case, rehearse it with the singers, and, once well rehearsed, if you still hear the impression of a lacking measure, let's not talk about it anymore, and let's leave things as they have been up to now. ¹⁹³

ancor [sic: "anche?"] io. Intanto ho prevenuto Mascheroni, che non poté venire avendo prova: ma appena pronte le poche nuove battute e studiate, le telegraferò subito, combinando la prova prima vocale, poi d'orchestra, e così in mezz'oretta Ella potrà aver tutto in ordine. Per mio conto.....non dico altro che: Evviva!" Unpublished.

¹⁹³Mr. 1114 (dated "Venerdì"; its contents provide the certain dating of 10 March): "Siccome m'aspettavo altre osservazioni, sono stato sorpreso da quella di aggiungere una battuta allo squarcio mandatovi...

Non parliamo di penderia[sic], nè di 8 battute...ma qui parmi proprio che aggiungendo una battuta il periodo diventerebbe zoppo. La frase il movimento musicale va di due in due battute [music]. Così il periodo due per due è giusto, e volendo allungare bisognerebbe aggiungere non una, ma due battute e diventerebbe freddo.

Ma forse vi è una ragione, che da ragione a voi ed a Boito. La piccola cantilena sovrapposta soprano e tenore sovrapposta al movimento dei Bassi, domanda nelle due ultime battute uno sviluppo più largo: e facendo quella frase più corta potrà andar bene. Così [music].

In ogni modo provatelo coi Cantanti, ed, una volta provato bene, se sentite sempre l'impressione d'una battuta che manca, non ne parliamo più, e lasciamo andare le cose come sono andate fin qui." Unpublished.

Since the 96000² version first appears as a correction in this letter, one may conclude that that version is the second revision of this passage. The original revision, presently unavailable and probably destroyed, apparently must have differed from the 96000² reading only in the final two measures of the "little soprano and tenor melody." Since the 10 March revision made the phrase in some sense "shorter," one might hazard a guess that the earlier revision of Fenton's and Nannetta's part might have resembled Example 17 below:

Example 17



This fits passably with the existing harmony and, indeed, can be heard as lacking a bar, for the initial four measures are answered by three, the last being simultaneously the beginning of a new phrase. If this hypothetical reading approximates the first revision, one can see how Verdi might have "shortened" the last phrase by compressing it into one measure that is then repeated in sequence, thereby alleviating the effect of the "lacking measure."¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴That this version accommodates only three lines of text need not cast doubt on the hypothesis, for textual considerations seem not to have entered into Verdi's decision to revise the passage. Moreover, he was conscious of some textual problems in his first revision and had indicated to Ricordi that Boito would probably have to "fix a few lines." See also n. 187 above.

When Ricordi received Verdi's letter, he was alarmed by its last sentence--the suggestion that the composer was not going to come to Milan to hear the passage after all and that he was prepared to leave the decision of whether to accept it up to Ricordi, Boito, and Mascheroni. He telegraphed Verdi immediately on 11 March: "But as soon as it's ready your presence will be indispensable."¹⁹⁵ Verdi exploded and wrote back on the same day: "My presence indispensable!!! Oh, the devil! For such a small thing??--it would really be ridiculous for me to come to Milan to hold a rehearsal for six bars!!!! Oh Giulio, Giulio...whatever have you said!! If then [appena appena] there are (what must I say) some oppositions, obstacles, etc. etc., leave things as they are!"¹⁹⁶

A curious statement indeed for such a significant revision, and from a man who had persistently held up the printing of the first edition for the sake of much smaller, almost insignificant changes! Verdi was obviously disturbed by his friends' criticism, and he reacted in his standard manner--a defensive insistence on the triviality of the issue, as though a mere six bars ought not to be

¹⁹⁵Mr Cop 1892-93, XVI, 460: "Respiro. Recevuto. Dispongo. Ma sarà indispensabile sua presenza appena pronto." Unpublished.

¹⁹⁶Mr 1097 (dated "Sabato"; precise dating possible on the basis of content): "Indispensabile mia presenza!!! Oh diavolo! Per cosa così da poco??--Sarebbe proprio ridicolo da parte mia venire a Milano per fare una prova di sei battute!!!! Oh Giulio Giulio...cosa avete mai detto!! Se appena appena vi è (cosa devo dire) qualche contrarietà, ostacolo etc etc lasciate le cose come sono!" Unpublished.

of great concern to anyone.¹⁹⁷

Ricordi, needless to say, was distressed by this situation, and on 12 March he responded with another plea, citing this time the effect on his printing schedule:

I have given the reduced scores [particelle] to the artists: and tomorrow we'll have a rehearsal. But.....how can you want Boito, Mascheroni, and the humble writer to take the liberty, and also the responsibility, to decide whether we ought to adopt the variant or not?...

Maestro, please believe that this thing is impossible, and it is too evident that you are the sole judge, and an absolutely necessary judge! And what's more: I suspended the printing both of the edition [probably 96000²] and of the orchestral parts, just to wait for your decision: especially for the orchestral parts this decision is not only important but quite urgent.

Moreover, I do no more than to take you at your word, since in your first letter with which you accompanied the new fragment you clearly said that if necessary you would make a trip to Milan! It's a sacrifice, it's true: but think, really, whether the persons you graciously designated can say yes or no....! no, no, no, no! piuttosto lapidati vivi!

To conclude, it's a matter of real importance, one that must establish definitively the form of a major piece of the opera.

In short, I'll telegraph you on the day that a complete rehearsal will be ready. Is this all right?¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷One recalls his quite similar defense after the public announcement, on 27-28 November 1890, that he was composing Falstaff: immediately after the announcement, not knowing whether he could finish the work, he sought to deflate public expectations by maintaining that he was writing the opera only for his own amusement, to pass the time, perhaps only for private performance at Sant'Agata, and so forth. See n. 62 above.

¹⁹⁸Ho fatto consegnare le particelle agli artisti: e domani si farà una prova. Ma.....come vuole che Boito, che Mascheroni, che l'umile scrivente, si prendano la libertà, ed anche la responsabilità [sic] di decidere se la variante se deve o no adottare?...

Maestro, creda, che questa è cosa impossibile, ed è troppo evidente che il solo giudice è Lei, e giudice assolutamente necessario! E v'è di più: ho sospeso la stampa tanto dell'edizione, che delle parti di orchestra, appunto per aspettare la di Lei decisione: specialmente per le parti di orchestra, questa decisione è importante non solo, ma di qualche urgenza.

The composer was only slightly mollified. Still without promising to hear the rehearsal, he wrote to Ricordi on 14 March:

As I telegraphed, if you think that there is [too much] responsibility for all of you (a thing that I don't believe) let's not say any more about it.--Nevertheless, since you have engraved the singer's parts, have a rehearsal with the singers alone, albeit without Maurel, and you shall arrive at the result. Mind, however, that this little rehearsal must be done on stage with the screen and the basket, and you will be able to judge the rehearsal on stage after they have learned the notes.--With a little good humor and good will, you will do it quickly and well... In any case there is always the supreme remedy: to leave the old version [lasciare il vecchio].¹⁹⁹

Receiving this letter the next day (15 March), Ricordi wrote back:

Your letter of this morning...plunges me into desolation! and after the hope given me in another of yours, I truly do not know how to resign myself to what you write me.

Del resto, non faccio che prenderlo in parola, poiché nella prima sua lettera con cui accompagnava il nuovo brano, Ella diceva appunto che occorrendo avrebbe fatto una corsa a Milano! E un sacrificio, è vero: ma pensi proprio se le persone da Lei gentilmente designate possono dire: sì, o no....! no, no, no, no! piuttosto lapidati vivi!

Concludendo, è cosa di vera importanza e che deve stabilire definitivamente la forma di un pezzo capitale dell'opera.

Insomma, le telegraferò il giorno in cui sarà pronta una prova completa. Sta bene?" Unpublished.

¹⁹⁹Mr 1098: "Come ho telegrafato se credete siavi" responsabilità [sic] per voi altri (cosa che non credo) non ne parliamo più. Nonostante poiché avete cavate le parti cantanti, fate una prova coi soli Cantanti magari senza Maurel e verrete il risultato. Badate però che questa piccola prova bisogna farla in scena col Paravento, e colla Cesto, e voi potrete giudicare la prova in scena dopo che avranno imparato le note. Con un po' di buon'umore e di buona volontà, farete presto, e bene... In ogni caso vi è sempre il rimedio supremo: Lasciare il vecchio." Unpublished.

But, meanwhile, to the facts. Mascheroni rehearsed the variant this morning: I couldn't go to the rehearsal The artists are in order, and Friday [17 March] at 12.30 a rehearsal on stage--at 1 with the orchestra: I'll go there with Boito. Mascheroni told me that it's fine: naturally, we shall be able to judge better on the stage

But couldn't you make a trip Friday morning: attend the rehearsal and leave again on Saturday morning?...

"Ne ho piene le bisacce

Ne ho piene le budella!"

I hear you answer; but why torment all three of us?²⁰⁰

But Verdi was adamant and refused to leave Genoa. And on 16 March he complicated the whole question by announcing to Ricordi:

Looking at that passage of the finale again and again I saw other measures that one might retouch [these are surely the chords under "Dolci richiami d'amor" and the following measures]. Moreover, I never liked that sort of mazurka that ends the first part of the third act.....and then there was right there under one's eyes a motive ("avrò con me dei putti") that played and modulated well would have been more effective; and it was also more appropriate and more musical. It was the continuation of the masquerade scheme

...che fingeran folletti

Spiritelli

Farfarelli etc. etc.

It was such an easy thing to do!...ah, what poor heads we have!!!

200 "La di Lei letter di stamane mi....piomba nella desolazione! e dopo la speranza datami con altra sua, davvero non so quietarmi a quanto mi scrive.

Ma, intanto, ai fatti. Mascheroni provò stamane la variante: non ho potuto andare alla prova, avendo una seduta già anteriormente combinata. Gli artisti sono all'ordine: è Venerdì alle 12½ prova sul palcoscenico--alla 1 con orchestra: vi andrò con Boito. Mascheroni mi disse che va bene: naturalmente si potrà giudicare meglio sulla scena. . . .

Ma non potrebbe fare una corsa, Venerdì mattina: assistere alla prova, e ripartire Sabato mattina?...

Ne ho piene le bisacce

Ne ho piene le budella!

questo me lo sento rispondere: ma perché metterci in croce tutti e tre?" Unpublished.

It would be better to throw them against a wall...and so long. . . .
 P.S. Torno all'assalto... For now let's not make changes
 in Falstaff. Later, who knows... Maybe in another production.²⁰¹

The editor, still uncertain about the status of the ensemble revision, wired Verdi on 17 March: "Received your letter. Please tell me if possible for immediate reproduction so that I can settle printing orchestral parts."²⁰² Verdi clarified himself immediately on 17 March: "I just received your telegram. It's not possible for immediate reproduction. So continue your work and let's not think of Falstaff, at least for now!"²⁰³

Thus the ensemble revision was not to be publicly performed in Milan. Even more significant, all questions of publication were to be put aside, since Verdi was now contemplating another large revision. This was to be, in fact, the second major revision to be printed in 96000²: a rewritten conclusion for III.1. Example 18 is a transcription of the original ending, 111 measures long (96000¹, p. 334, m. 6-p. 342). The revised conclusion, first printed in 96000², p. 324, m.6-p. 330, consists of 80 measures and is readily available in all modern editions.

²⁰¹Mr 1101; misdated in Abbiati, IV, 501.

²⁰²Mr Cop 1892-93, XVII, 148: "Ricevuto [sic] lettera. Pregola dirmi se possibile per immediata riproduzione onde regolarmi stampi parti orchestra." Unpublished.

²⁰³Mr 1100; in Abbiati, IV, 501.

Example 18

Al.
L'appunta- men-to è alla quer- cia di

Mes.
Rin- ca- siam.

Qui.
se- ra.

leggerissimo
pp

5 Al. (scambievolmente)
Herne Ad-

Non. (allegromente)
A mera- viglia! Oh! che al- te- gro spaven- to! Ad-

Fen.
È in- te- so. Ad-

Example 18, continued

9 *Al* [336]

-di-o.

Nan

-di-o.

Meg

Ad-di-o

Fen

-di-o.

(Alice si avvia a sinistra)
LO STESSO MOVIMENTO ♩:138
con eleganza

p allarg..... *p*

13

(Alice, Nannetta, Fenton escono da sinistra)

dolce

17

Example 18, continued

21

(gridando a Meg che sarà già
sul limitare di destra)

25

Prov- ve- di le lan-ter- ne.

Meg

(parlando segretamente al Dr. Cajus, vicino all osteria, da dove esce Quickly, la quale vedendo i due che parlano, si ferma ad origliare)

Sì.

Ford

Non te-

29 Ford

-mer, tu spos- rai mia figlia. Rammen- ti

Example 18, continued

33 *Caj.*

Cin-ta di
be-ne il suo tra-ves-ti-men-to?

37 *Al. [338]* (di destra a sinistra gridando)

Non ti scor-dar le
ro-se, il vel bian-co e la vesta.
dolce

Example 18, continued

41 *Al.*

maschere.

Mes. (di dentro a destra gridando) *f*

No cer-to. Nè tu le raga-nel-le!

p *p*

45 Ford (continuando il discorso col Dr. Cajus)

Io già di-spo-si la re-te mi-a.

p *f*

49 Ford [339]

Sul fi-nir del-la fe-sta ver-re-te a

p *f*

Example 18, continued

53 Ford

me col vol- to ri-co-per-to es- sa- dal

57 Ford

vel, tu da un mantel fra- te- sco

61 Ford

e vi be- ne- di- ro..... dolce

The musical score is written for voice and piano. It consists of three systems of staves. Each system has a vocal line (soprano clef) and a piano accompaniment (treble and bass clefs). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are in Italian. Performance markings include 'meccato' (mezzo-forte), 'dim.' (diminuendo), 'p' (piano), 'pp' (pianissimo), and 'dolce' (dolce). The piano part features various chords and melodic lines, including some with accidentals like flats and naturals.

Example 18, continued

65 *Caj.* [340] (prende il braccio di Siam d'ac-

Ford
co - - me due spo - - si. dolce

69 *Qui.* (sul limitare dell'osteria, con gesto furbo verso i due che escono: poi esce rapidamente da destra)
(Stai fre - sco!)

Caj. *Ford* e partono da sinistra)
- cor - - do

pp *dolciss. sempre*

73

Example 18, continued

77 Non. [341] senza misura (di dentro) a tempo
che c'è? Che c'è?

Qui. (di dentro) senza misura
Presto
Nan-netta! Ohè! Nannetta! Ohè!

senza misura col canto a tempo molto piano

81 Qui. (di dentro)
Pre-pa-ra la can-zo-ne della Fa- - - - ta.

ancora più piano

86 Non. Al. (di dentro) [342]
È prepa-ra-ta. Tu, non tardar.

pp

Example 18, continued

91 *Qui:* (di dentro, più lontano) (si è fatta notte)

Chi prima arri - va, a - spet - - ta.

97

102

107

pp

morendo

It is very possible that Verdi had long been dissatisfied with the earlier version. It was the last section of the opera that he composed (i.e., for which he completed a continuity draft), and prior to its composition he had minimized the difficulty that he expected to encounter in creating it: "This part is shorter and less difficult than the others. . . . Here a motive, I must say, is needed that would progress diminuendo, dying away in a pianissimo, perhaps even with a solo violin on stage."²⁰⁴ The original version fulfills these requirements well enough, except for Verdi's humorous reference to an onstage violin: the motive that permeates Ex. 18 (mm. 12-111) is derived from Alice's "Fandonie che ai bamboli" (960001, pp. 325-26), to which Verdi referred as a "sort of mazurka," and the conclusion is indeed a gradual diminuendo. But the entire passage suffers from redundancy.

In the first place, one sees no dramatic reason why the "Fandonie" motive should reappear here at such great length: its original text refers to the foolishness of superstition and has nothing to do with the stage action of Ex. 18, the preparation of the final intrigue. The composer tacitly acknowledged this defect in his letter of 16 March 1893 by saying that the motive to be used in his revision would be "more appropriate." Second, and more important, the motive is repeated too often without significant variation. It is clearly intended to be a reprise of Alice's "Fandonie," but in no other

²⁰⁴To Boito, 10 September 1891: "Questa parte è più breve, e meno difficile delle altre. . . . Qui ci vorrebbe..debbo dire motivo, che andasse diminuendo perdendosi in un pp^{mo} magari con un violino solo sul del palco scenico." Incomplete transl. in Walker, *The Man Verdi*, p. 500. The exact date of the composition of III.1 is unknown (see Ch. 7 below).

portion of the score is such an elementary motive dwelt upon at such length. The result, except for a few striking moments, such as mm. 55-68 and the descending parallel chords of mm. 72-77, is a passage outstanding in the opera only by its surprising lack of invention.²⁰⁵

One wonders whether Verdi had composed this passage too hastily. His letter of 16 March admits carelessness, and the 1891 letter quoted above suggests that he might have been overconfident in its composition, perhaps too eager to arrive at the conclusion of his continuity draft. Further speculation, however, is pointless. What matters is that he realized the thinness of this music and was disturbed by it. Moreover, he could scarcely have been unaware that a few critics found the music of III.1 to be weaker than that of the first two acts and that the audience's reaction to it was not as warm as he must have hoped.²⁰⁶

The final version (96000², p. 324, m. 6-p. 330) is superior to the earlier version in practically each of its nine sections. In the first section (mm. 1-10 of the revision) the triplet motive of the immediately preceding bars is extended with two significant

²⁰⁵In the second part of this study we shall see several instances in which Verdi revised passages of Falstaff solely to avoid needless repetition.

²⁰⁶To cite but one example, La Lombardia discussed III.1 in the following manner after the premiere: "La seconda ambasciata di Quickly non reca nulla di nuovo; e le comari combinanti la mascherata notturna, se hanno spesso accenti di umorismo, di fine gaiezza, qua e là sembra non ritrovino la vena degli atti precedenti. Difatti--mentre si cambia la scena--l'applauso scatta, non perdura." Quoted in Anon., ed., Falstaff: Giudizî della stampa, p. 45.

benefits: the words "quercia di Herne" (mm. 4-5) are musically depicted by an augmented chord, which recalls its prior use as accompaniment to the final portion of Alice's narrative of the Black Hunter, "S'avanza livido" (96000², p. 316, m. 8, where the chord appears as the augmented V of I); and, second, the prolongation of the diminished seventh chord (mm. 6-8) appropriately colors Nannetta's "Oh! che allegro spavento!" Such text-depiction is absent from Ex. 18, mm. 1-11, which relies on a repetition of the "Avrò con me" motive heard earlier and ends with a commonplace transition (Ex. 18, mm. 10-11) to the next section, an orchestral reprise of the "Fandonie" motive (mm. 12-27). The replacement of this motive in the second version (mm. 11-18) with the "Avrò con me" motive, a musical idea far more appropriate dramatically to the plotting of the snare for Falstaff, is also a decided improvement.

The third, fourth, and fifth sections of the revision (mm. 19-31, 31-34, and 34-50) present a marchlike motive in 4/4, derived from the dotted rhythms of the "Fandonie" theme and accompanied by fragments of the "Avrò con me" motive as counterpoint (mm. 22-23, 26-27, 37-38, 41-44). The setting is thus considerably more sophisticated than that of the first version (sections 3-5, Ex. 18, mm. 28-39, 39-45, 45-71), which relies too heavily on the little-varied, 3/4 repetition of fragments of the "Fandonie" motive. Moreover, the new march in the second version, with its sudden shift to F major (m. 19), sets the men's dialogue in much higher dramatic relief.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁷Note that Meg's "Sì," Ex. 18, m. 28, is omitted from the revision.

Verdi was obviously pleased with the descending parallel chords of the sixth section, Ex. 18, mm. 72-77, and retained them for the final version, mm. 51-56, with only the slight modifications necessary to fit them into common time. Likewise, the seventh sections of both the first and second versions (Ex. 18, mm. 78-95; revision, mm. 56-66) are alike except for the time signature. In the eighth section of the revision (mm. 66-73) the "Avrò con me" motive returns to balance its use in the second section, just as in the first version he had brought back the "Fandonie" motive at this point (Ex. 18, mm. 96-103) for the same purpose. And finally, the ninth section of the revision (mm. 74-80), with its restatement of fragments of the "Fandonie" march variant, is more harmonically complex than the simple dominant-tonic conclusion of the earlier version (Ex. 18, mm. 103-11).

Two weeks passed after 17 March before Verdi mentioned this alteration again. By this time the La Scala performances in Milan were drawing to a close, and plans had been made to bring the opera to the Genoese Teatro Carlo Felice, where the maestro, then residing in the city, would be obliged to make an appearance. It could well have been the prospect of meeting with the artists again that prompted him to compose the revision at this time. And on 1 April, the day before the final Milanese performance, he wrote to Ricordi with the altered passage: "For a long time since the first orchestral rehearsals in Milan I had determined to make two changes. Many nuisances distracted me; this morning, enraged by the most recent events [with regard to the forthcoming Roman production of Falstaff]

I threw myself down to write. I'm sending the passage (I don't know what it might be). Have the little vocal parts copied immediately; and I'll rehearse them here with the artists, not to have it done at the theater either here or anywhere else at least for now, but for my artistic satisfaction."²⁰⁸

At last he was consenting to hear not only this second revision but also, implicitly, the first, written nearly a month earlier. As he conferred with Mascheroni in Genoa about the details of the projected Roman Falstaff, Ricordi wired on 2 April that he had indeed received the new music and was preparing the parts.²⁰⁹ In the following days the La Scala company prepared to move to Genoa. By 4 April the entire orchestra and cast had left, and on that date Ricordi sent Verdi the telegram: "Now left Mascheroni artists radiant thought of seeing you. I envy them, remaining sadly here."²¹⁰ On the same day

²⁰⁸Mr 1105; in Abbiati, IV, 503. The second paragraph of Abbiati's transcription derives from Verdi's letter of 2 April 1893 (Mr 1106).

²⁰⁹Mr Cop 1892-93, XVIII, 159: "Spero vedrà ora Mascheroni che informerà alla completamente. Tutto ora combinato bene in modo veramente degno del nostro amatissimo Maestro. Pregola congratularsi parte mia per quanto Mascheroni fece Roma. Ricevo musica. Preparo particine." Unpublished.

²¹⁰Mr Cop 1892-93, XVIII, 195: "Partiti ora Mascheroni artisti raggianti pensiero vederla. Li invidio rimanendo tristamente qui." Unpublished.

Verdi wrote the editor about the parts he needed to rehearse the singers: "This morning I was hoping to receive the engraved parts of the little passage ~~avrò~~ [sic, cancelled]



Maybe Mascheroni will bring them this evening. Send me also as soon as possible the few bars redone in the finale of the second act."²¹¹ Verdi received the parts on 5 April--the day before the first of the four Genoese performances of Falstaff--and requested that Ricordi, if he were coming to Genoa, bring the autograph score for him to change.²¹² Giulio, apparently, did not visit Genoa but replied instead with a rather cryptic telegram on 6 April: "Vocal

²¹¹Mr 1107: "Speravo ricevere stamattina le parti cavate del piccolo squarcio ~~avrò~~ [music] forse le portera stassera Mascheroni... Mandatemi anche al più presto le poche battute fatte a nuovo del Finale del Second'Atto." Unpublished.

²¹²Verdi to Ricordi, 5 April 1893 (Mr 1108): "Ho ricevuto la vostra lettera cui non posso rispondere al momento. Ho ricevuto dopo le parti dello squarcio cambiato.... Se venite domani sera portate con voi il fascicolo dello spartito originale dove ho fatto il cambiamento del Finale per istromentarlo." Unpublished.

and orchestral parts changed passage second finale located with the usual parts. Let Mascheroni ask Professor Aneomanti for them."²¹³

Verdi probably rehearsed the two new passages with the singers on 5-6 April, but it is unlikely that they were both performed at the Teatro Carlo Felice that week. The second revision, one must remember, was totally new, and the singers would require time to learn it. Moreover, it appears that the orchestral parts for it may not yet have been copied. It is quite possible, on the other hand, that the shortened II.2 ensemble received its first performance in Genoa: the parts had been long prepared, the singers well rehearsed. All that was needed was Verdi's approval, and there is no reason to suppose that he withheld it.

By 9 April it was clear that he had approved both of the modifications. Ricordi's task was now to ensure that the revisions were inserted into the (manuscript?) scores to be used on the upcoming tour. Four telegrams that the editor sent to Mascheroni from 9-11 April establish that the revisions were indeed performed in Rome and on the subsequent La Scala tour. On 9 April: "To prepare immediately Vienna parts I need autograph score [partitura] variant third act. Make copy for Rome by sending me by registered separate package this score plus that variant second finale that the maestro

²¹³Mr Cop 1892-93, XVIII, 258: "Parti cantanti ed orchestra squarcio accomodato finale secondo trovansi colle parti solite. Mascheroni le domandi a Professore Aneomanti." Unpublished.

has."²¹⁴ On 10 April: "I remind urgent to send me two autograph score fragments to fix Vienna parts."²¹⁵ Again on 10 April: "Received autograph scores. I hope Aneomanti copied score variant act three for Rome."²¹⁶ On 11 April: "I hope the two variants in order for Rome."²¹⁷ The Roman performances from 16 to 25 April were therefore the first to include both of Verdi's major revisions. The composer attended two performances in Rome, 16 and 20 April, and undoubtedly gave the revisions his final approval at that time.

²¹⁴Mr Cop 1892-93, XVIII, 353: "Per preparare subito parti Vienna occorremi partitura autografa [sic] Atto terzo. Fare copia per Roma spedendomi sotto fascia raccomandato questa partitura oltre quella variante finale secondo che ha Maestro." Unpublished.

The reference to the autograph score here is puzzling: Verdi did not alter his autograph score until May 1893 (see below). Perhaps Ricordi refers to the separate autograph on which Verdi composed the music, i.e., to the exemplar from which the parts were being prepared.

²¹⁵Mr Cop 1892-93, XVIII, 379: "Aspetto notizie inviti per regolarmi partenza. Rammento urgente rispedirmi due brani partitura autografi per accomodare parti Vienna." Unpublished.

²¹⁶Mr Cop 1892-93, XVIII, 386: "Ricevute partiture autografe. Spero Aneomanti avrà copiato variante partitura atto terzo per Roma. Altrimenti telegrafi per spedirne copia Roma." Unpublished.

²¹⁷Mr Cop 1892-93, XVIII, 419: "Spero in ordine due varianti per Roma." Unpublished.

Luzio, Carteggi verdiani, II, 159-60, prints a letter from Boito to Verdi which he gives the date 19 March [1893]. Since Boito mentions "due varianti importantissime" for Rome, that date seems about three weeks early: Verdi had not approved the second variant before 5-6 April at the earliest.

The parts, however, may not yet have assumed their definitive form, nor had Verdi entered the changes into the autograph score. Back in Genoa, on 26 April he appears to have been proofreading the parts (or perhaps the orchestral proofs), for his letter to Ricordi on that date carries the message: "I have corrected [them] and am sending [them] to you. Glance at the oboes, which could also be in error."²¹⁸ On 30 April he mentioned rectifying the autograph score: "All right for the fragments to redo in the original score: but I shall do this little work at Sant'Agata."²¹⁹

While Falstaff was being performed in Venice the composer left Genoa for Sant'Agata on 6 May. Ricordi sent him the relevant portions of the autograph score in the middle of the month, and he acknowledged its receipt on 18 May: "I've received (alas!) the two Falstaff fragments, which I shall fix right away."²²⁰ But nothing had been accomplished by 21 May, when he wrote to the editor: "I haven't yet been able to transcribe the few pages of the Falstaff score[.] I hope to do it today."²²¹ Finally, on 23 May, he made the correction

²¹⁸Mr 1112 (misdated 27 April 1893 by Verdi; postmark 26 April 1893): "Ho corretto, e vi mando. Date un'occhiata agli Oboi che potrebbero anche essere sbagliata." Unpublished.

²¹⁹Mr 1113: "Stà bene per i brani a rifare nella partitura originale: ma farò a St. Agata questo piccolo lavoro." Omitted in Abbiati, IV, 505.

²²⁰Mr 1119 (misdated 24 May 1893 by Verdi; postmark 18 May 1893): "Ho ricevuto (ahimè!) i due brani Falstaff che aggiusterò subito." Unpublished.

²²¹Mr 1117: "Non ho ancor potuto trascrivere le poche pagine della partitura Falstaff. Spero farlo oggi stesso." Omitted in Abbiati, IV, 509.

and wrote to Ricordi: "I sent you this morning the last notes of Falstaff! Peace to its soul!!".²²² In the pages of the II.2 ensemble change he had enclosed a separate slip with his famous, emotional farewell to Falstaff--the slip that was to be discovered some thirty years later by Toscanini: "The last notes of Falstaff. Everything is finished! Go, go, old John... Go your way, as long as you can... Amusing sort of scoundrel; Eternally true, under diverse masks, in every time, in every place!! Go...go....Walk walk.. Farewell!!!!"²²³

Ricordi realized the significance of these corrections. On 27 May 1893 he wrote the composer: "I received the score fragments of Falstaff.... Alas!..what a shame that there is no more work to do on it with the coming and going of reductions, of proofs.....and then, and then! In short, I repeat: what a shame! Couldn't we begin all over again?"²²⁴

²²²Mr 1118; in Abbiati, IV, 509.

²²³This slip, presented to Toscanini by Casa Ricordi in 1923, is now located in the Museo Teatrale alla Scala in Milan. For a facsimile see Gallini, "Soltanto lui scoprì il commiato di Sir John," p. 104. For a transcription and a discussion of the location of the slip in the autograph score see Gatti, Verdi, p. 746. The slip has been discussed in many other biographies of the composer.

²²⁴"Ricevetti i brani partitura del Falstaff.... 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?"

In the following month, June 1893, 96000² was completed and released for sale. Because of the two major revisions that it incorporated the edition contained twelve fewer pages than 96000¹: ten pages were deleted from the ensemble in II.2 and two from the conclusion of III.1. Its several other small modifications, those accomplished during the January rehearsals, did not affect the pagination.²²⁵

With the release of this second issue, Ricordi was convinced that Falstaff had been completely corrected, and he turned to the engraving and printing of the first orchestral score (96180, July 1893, published for rental only), the Italian-English piano-vocal score (96342, August 1893), with its translation by W. Beatty Kingston, and the German piano-vocal score (96370, August 1893), with its translation by Max Kalbeck;²²⁶ the French edition, as will be shown in the following chapter, was being delayed until the Parisian premiere of the opera.²²⁷

²²⁵See Preface, p. viii above.

²²⁶Both the English and the German editions contain the two major revisions that Verdi made in Falstaff after the premiere; but each also contains a few readings of 96000¹ that were changed in 96000². The English and German editions, that is, represent a version of the opera that is inadvertently intermediate between 96000¹ and 96000². Hopkinson, A Bibliography of the Works of Giuseppe Verdi, II, 165-66, mentions these editions but assumes that their readings are completely identical with that of 96000².

²²⁷Ricordi released many other publications during this period that were derived from Falstaff: an edition for piano solo, libretti in Italian, English, German, and Spanish, various pezzi staccati, etc.

The second issue of the piano-vocal score is an extremely important document. For the first time, both Verdi and Ricordi felt that a version of the opera was available that (except for the possible correction of printing errors discovered later) would not have to be modified. Finally, after nine months of reduction, engraving, printing, and retouching, Falstaff had come to rest; the job was finished. If the value of 96000¹ is primarily historical, since it contains, above all, the early versions of II.2 and III.1, that of 96000² is primarily editorial: here one has what was once considered a definitive Falstaff, a score examined, corrected, and approved by its composer. But it is not flawless, for it contains several errors and oversights consistently missed by all of its proofreaders. These occasionally pose extremely difficult questions for the modern editor, and some of these questions will be addressed in Chapter 6 below. The greatest editorial difficulties with 96000², however, arise from a situation to be discussed in the next chapter: Verdi's work on Falstaff was not yet over--he would make a few additional changes in the opera before the Parisian premiere on 18 April 1894.

Chapter 5

The French Falstaff and its Relation to the Third Issue of the Italian Piano-Vocal Score

"No! It's not finished!" wrote Ricordi to Verdi on 30 May 1893. "And today I'm sending you the French text, Act One, Part Two, which Boito gave me so that you might look at the pages where you find the sign. There are red signs in the margin where some variants have been made to improve the lines: before the engraving, Boito wants your approval. Please send this fragment back to me so that it can proceed to the engraving."²²⁸

From the period when the composer and the editor first considered what translations of Falstaff were to be prepared, it was clear that the French libretto was to be something special--no mere translation, but an artistically valid text of equal merit to the original Italian version. Verdi had sought recognition in Paris throughout his career; now at its end he hoped for another Parisian success. Both he and Ricordi realized that the work would be performed at the Opéra Comique, not at the Opéra. Exactly when it could be staged there was still uncertain, but that the French public would soon be clamoring to

²²⁸"No!--non è finito!--ed oggi le mando 2^a parte, Atto 1^o, testo francese, che mi consegnò Boito perché Ella si compiaccia guardare le pagine ove troverà il segno. In margine vi sono segni rossi, dove si fece qualche variante, per migliorare i versi: prima di incidere Boito desidera il di Lei benestare. La prego rimandarmi questo brano, per poi passarlo all'incisione." Unpublished.

see the new opera was beyond doubt.

The earliest indication of the significance to be accorded the French text was that Boito himself assumed the responsibility for it, while the English translation was being written by W. Beatty Kingston and the German by Max Kalbeck. Boito was at home in French, but for assistance in translating this word-rich libretto he found a collaborator, Paul Solanges, a Parisian poet then residing in Milan: similarly he worked with Camille Du Locle in preparing the French translation of Otello, which was finally completed in 1894. We know virtually none of the particulars of the Boito-Solanges collaboration, but the correspondence of Verdi, Boito, and Ricordi in 1893-94 suggests that Boito was considered to be the principal author of the translation.²²⁹

At first it was assumed that the French Falstaff would require no musical changes, except, of course for the minor adjustments that Verdi (and Boito) would have to make to suit the French declamation: two of these were eventually regarded as definitive even for Italian performances. But in January 1894, after the first few copies of the

²²⁹Camille Bellaigue, music critic for the Revue des deux mondes, also had a hand in the French text of Falstaff, but his role is even more obscure than that of Solanges. The sole evidence for his participation is a letter from Boito to Bellaigue dated "Milan, 1894 (Lundi)" (Lettere di Arrigo Boito, ed. De Rensis, p. 315), evidently from before the 18 April French premiere: "Merci, cher ami, merci pour le soin affectueux que vous avez mis dans la révision du Falstaff français. Presque tous vos conseils seront adoptés; je les soumettrai à Verdi et à Solanges. Mais vous ignorez encore, car vous n'avez pas la partition traduite sous les yeux, par quelle admirable adresse Verdi a su 'transsubstantier' la note italienne dans la parole française." See also Nardi, Vita di Arrigo Boito, p. 624. There was, in fact, a slight revision of the text in January 1894, as we shall see.

French Falstaff had been printed--and still some three months before the Parisian premiere on 18 April 1894--Verdi and Boito made three additional, significant changes in the opera. The result was a new version of Falstaff, whose five new readings were eventually incorporated into the third issue of the Italian piano-vocal score (96000³, 459 pp., September 1897) but were never written into the autograph score. The importance of the French edition and its Italian successor is thus evident: they contain Verdi's last word on Falstaff. Unfortunately, no modern editor of the opera has recognized this fact; it is here that the current editions are most open to criticism.

Ricordi began to make plans for the French libretto from 17 to 25 November 1892, while Verdi was correcting the proofs for 96000¹. He first mentioned the subject on 17 November: "Have you thought, maestro, about the translations?... The law and the international agreements impose brief terms. This translation of Falstaff will be difficult and long."²³⁰ The composer responded the next day by asserting the special importance of the French translation: "Go ahead and do the German translation. But you know that I reserve for myself the French translation. How can we deal to guarantee your ownership?"

²³⁰"Ha pensato, Maestro, alle traduzioni?... La legge e i trattati internazionali impongono termini brevi. Questa del Falstaff sarà traduzione difficile e lunga." Unpublished.

The French translation could be done only in case Falstaff were performed, e.g., at the Opéra Comique."²³¹ Realizing that Boito was then visiting Verdi in Genoa, Ricordi wrote back on 19 November: "Meanwhile, you will think about what must be done for the French [translation]: but, I tell you, it seemed to me that Boito wanted to work on it--haven't you ever spoken to him about it?"²³² Replied Verdi on 20 November: "I am reluctant to speak to Boito about it because I don't want to distract him from his work!!..but tell me..couldn't one make a quick, good translation with the sole aim of guaranteeing its ownership? Then if Falstaff were to be performed at the Opéra Comique, to rehearse it with Boito and others, and with my assistance?"²³³ But on 21 November Ricordi insisted that Boito be given the job immediately, perhaps with a collaborator:

With regard to what you write me about the French translation, permit me a few observations. I understand the delicate, noble, profoundly beautiful sentiment that causes your uncertainty about Boito: but it would not be difficult to smooth out matters without distracting Boito too much from other work if there could be someone else in the middle in whom Boito himself

²³¹ 18 November 1892 (Mr 1063); in Abbiati, IV, 467 (misdated 1 November 1892).

²³² "Intanto Ella penserà sul da farsi per la francese: anzi, Le dirò, che mi pareva Boito avesse desiderio di occuparsene--non glie ne ha mai parlato?" Unpublished.

²³³ Mr 1064: "Ho rimorso a parlarne a Boito, perché non vorrei distrarlo dal suo lavoro!!..ma ditemi..non si potrebbe, al solo scopo di garantire la proprietà, fare una traduzione già alla buona e presto. Poi dato il caso che Falstaff s'avvesse [sic] a rappresentare all'Opéra-Comique farne una prova con Boito ed altri, e coll'assistenza mia?" Unpublished.

would have complete reliance. One could make, as you say, a provisional translation, but it would be poor [una birbonata], because if Otello was 10 times as difficult to translate, Falstaff will be 100 times that. Moreover, I am always very afraid of all these laws and agreements with which they say they want to protect literary ownership. Couldn't it be that with several translations some rogue would get the profit?... And those dear Americans, couldn't they find a pretext by saying: but the first is different from the sung translation, therefore we take possession of it!²³⁴

Giulio's argument, it would seem, was decisive. On 23 November Verdi wrote: "I saw Boito yesterday: he himself will write you about the translation."²³⁵ Boito apparently then proposed to the editor that he and Solanges begin immediately to write the French translation. The last we hear of the matter for several months is in Ricordi's response of 25 November: "Boito wrote me, as you said: and I shall do what he says in his letter: everything is fine."²³⁶ The plans for the French Falstaff had begun.

²³⁴"In merito a quanto Ella mi scrive per la traduzione francese, mi permetta qualche osservazione. Capisco il sentimento delicatissimo, nobile, altamente bello, che è causa d'incertezza per Lei, riguardo a Boito: ma non dev'essere difficile conciliare le cose, senza distrarre troppo il Boito da altro lavoro, quando vi sia persona in mezzo, che del Boito stesso abbia la piena fiducia. Si potrebbe fare, come Ella dice, una traduzione provvisoria, ma riescerebbe una birbonata, che se Otello fu difficile a tradursi per 10, Falstaff lo sarà per 100. Di più, con tutte queste leggi trattate, coi quali dicono di voler proteggere la proprietà letteraria, io ho sempre grande paura. Non può essere che di varie traduzioni, qualche birbante ne profitti?...e quei cari Americani, non potrebbero trovare un pretesto, col dire: ma la prima è diversa dalla traduzione che si canta, dunque ce ne impossessiamo!" Unpublished.

²³⁵Mr 1068 (see n. 169 above): "Ieri ho visto Boito: vi scriverà Lui stesso in proposito della traduzione." Unpublished.

²³⁶"Boito mi scrive, com'Ella mi annuncia: ed eseguirò quanto mi dice nella di lui lettera: sta bene tutto." Unpublished.

We hear nothing more of the project until the first weeks of April 1893, when Boito reported that the translation was "going ahead well, much better than in the first act."²³⁷ On 13 April Eugenio Tornaghi, Ricordi's secretary, sent Solanges the modification that had been made in the II.2 ensemble and requested the necessary textual adjustments.²³⁸ It is curious that the revision was sent to Solanges in this "official" manner, for Ricordi could just as easily have given or sent it to Boito. Why should Solanges have been the first of the two to deal with the revision? It is possible that his task was to provide a rough, but adequate, translation, which he would then hand over part by part to Boito for polishing. Unfortunately, the division of labor between the two translators remains unclear. In any event, Tornaghi sent Solanges the second major alteration, the revised conclusion of III.1, on 2 May.²³⁹

On 30 May, as mentioned above, Ricordi sent Verdi the manuscript copy of II.1 and requested that the composer choose among several variant lines. Verdi received, examined, and mailed back the copy on 31 May.²⁴⁰ Ricordi undoubtedly began its engraving at once. This copy, as well as the manuscript copies of the final two acts and all other manuscript material regarding the French Falstaff, is now lost.

²³⁷To Verdi; in Luzio, Carteggi verdiani, II, 159. The letter is here dated "19 marzo [1893]," but this date seems too early: see n. 217 above.

²³⁸Mr Cop 1892-93, XIX, 37. Unpublished.

²³⁹Mr Cop 1892-93, XX, 87. Unpublished.

²⁴⁰Verdi to Ricordi, 1 June 1893 (Mr 1122): "Ho rimandato subito jeri 1° Atto traduzione Fals." Unpublished.

One presumes that Boito's progress on the translation was checked in the first half of June, for at that time he went to England to receive an honorary degree from Cambridge University (13 June 1893).²⁴¹ He probably recommenced his work on the French text upon his return to Milan.

On 4 September 1893 he wrote Verdi about his impending visit to Sant'Agata:

We have to think about doing another work together, because otherwise we, who don't like idle letters, shall end by writing each other about every bishop's death.

Meanwhile, the French translation has arrived at its last page; only fourteen lines that will be done in two nights' work are left.

I'll arrive at Sant'Agata with the finished translation this Saturday [9 September]; I'll take the usual train that stops at Fiorenzuola at the usual time.

We'll work together to review the translation; then I'll return to Milan to give everything to Giulio. But in October, my favorite month, I'll come back to Sant'Agata for a longer stay.²⁴²

The French libretto, then, was completed before 9 September 1893.

On 14 September Verdi reported Boito's visit to Ricordi: "Boito has gone, and he will tell you everything that concerns the translation, which is excellent."²⁴³ The following day he wrote to Boito: "I hope that you arrived safe and sound in Milan; that you are now rested from the mad joys of St. Agata; that you have given Giulio the

²⁴¹Nardi, Vita di Arrigo Boito, pp. 597-600.

²⁴²Luzio, op. cit., II, 175.

²⁴³Mr 1139: "Boito è partito, ed Egli vi dirà tutto quello che riguarda la traduzione che è ottima." Unpublished.

beautiful translation; that you have also given my watch to the repairman...a thing that bothers me greatly!"²⁴⁴ Ricordi informed Verdi on 20 September that he had received the final manuscript of the whole French translation, and that work on it would begin without delay.²⁴⁵

Notwithstanding this activity on the French Falstaff no date had yet been established for its Parisian premiere. Léon Carvalho, the director of the Opéra Comique, had attended the Milanese premiere of the opera on 9 February 1893; at that time Verdi and Ricordi had told him that the first French performance, with Maurel as Falstaff, would be granted his theater.²⁴⁶ Carvalho had expressed great interest in the proposition and seems to have suggested a Parisian performance for November 1893: Verdi had even indicated that he might go to Paris for this production.²⁴⁷ Yet neither he nor Ricordi had heard from

²⁴⁴15 September 1893: "Spero che sarete arrivato sano e salvo a Milano; che sarete ora riposato dalle pazze gioie di St. Agata; che avrete consegnato a Giulio la bella traduzione; che avrete anche dato il mio orologio all'orologiajo...cosa che mi preme assai!". Unpublished.

Boito's response (17 September) is reprinted in Luzio, op.cit., II, 176, but is misdated a day later.

²⁴⁵"Oggi mi hanno consegnato tutta la traduzione francese del Falstaff, che subito metto in lavoro." Unpublished.

²⁴⁶Abbiati, IV, 473, 519.

²⁴⁷Ricordi to Verdi, 29 September 1893: "E questa idea mi è confermata dal fatto che Ella era deciso a recarsi a Parigi nel Novembre venturo, qualora Carvalho avesse messe in scena Falstaff. Grazie al cielo, nessuna ragione differente esiste ora, in confronto dell'epoca in cui erano corsi i prima parlers con Carvalho: ed ancora, se questi avesse divisato veramente di dare Falstaff in Novembre, ci sarebbero stati impossibile cominciare gli studi dell'opera, per mancanza del materiale. Dunque fu bene che Carvalho ritardasse? Ma ciò che non fu fatto, non si può fare un po' più in ritardo? e forse in stagione più favorevole anche per clima?". Unpublished.

Carvalho for several months. By late September it became clear that the November performance was being postponed: the composer jokingly suggested that Carvalho had lost his interest in the work.²⁴⁸

In late October, ca. 20-25 of the month, Ricordi visited Verdi at Sant'Agata.²⁴⁹ Doubtless the Parisian Falstaff and the French premiere of Otello, then also under consideration, were among the topics discussed. It is difficult to reconstruct what occurred in the following months, for informative letters from that period are almost completely lacking. We know only that Verdi made his customary winter move to Genoa in early December, stopping briefly in Milan to see Ricordi ca. 2-3 December and arriving at the Palazzo Doria on 4 December.²⁵⁰ At this time the two seem concerned only about the difficulties of mounting the proposed French Otello; one infers that whatever problems they might have had with Carvalho were by now solved and that the latter was now making definite plans to produce Falstaff in the spring.

Ricordi, meanwhile, was having printed the French piano-vocal score (96413¹, 422 pp.). Although he probably intended to withhold them from sale until the premiere in Paris, the first few copies were finished in January 1894, and deposit copies were sent immediately to

²⁴⁸ibid. Verdi to Ricordi, 2 October 1893 (Mr 1142); in Abbiati, IV, 518-19.

²⁴⁹Ricordi to Verdi, 10 October and 26 October 1893; Verdi to Ricordi, 16 October 1893 (Mr 1144). All unpublished.

²⁵⁰Verdi to Ricordi, 4 December 1893 (Mr 1145). Unpublished.

the requisite Italian libraries. Copies of this extremely rare "first edition" of the French Falstaff (blind stamp 1/1894) may today be found in the libraries of the Milan Conservatory and the Santa Cecilia Conservatory in Rome.²⁵¹

Like the second issue of the French edition into which it would soon be modified, this early score is carelessly printed and contains numerous errors--a surprising situation, given the importance afforded the French translation. In addition to its several printing mistakes 96413¹, while incorporating the two large revisions made before the release of 96000² (the shortened ensemble of II.2 and the rewritten conclusion for III.1), contains a number of readings that agree with the first Italian piano-vocal score against the second,²⁵² and even a few readings that agree with the November 1892 proofs (and usually with the autograph score) but with no other printed score.²⁵³ Because

²⁵¹Mc, Spartito n.1272; Rsc, G.14,B,2. Both were printed directly from the plates, whose impression is clearly visible on the pages. See Hopkinson, A Bibliography of the Works of Giacomo Puccini, p. xii. Hopkinson, A Bibliography of the Works of Giuseppe Verdi, II, 166, has located another copy of 96413 in the Biblioteca nazionale in Florence.

²⁵²For example, the French 96413, p. 14, mm. 3-4; p. 34, m. 4; p. 38, m. 1; p. 74, m. 1; p. 83, m. 9; p. 194, m. 11; p. 262, mm. 1ff (stage directions); p. 282, mm. 6ff; and p. 327, mm. 5-6 agree only with the following, later discarded readings of 96000 : p. 14, mm. 3-4; p. 35, m. 4; p. 39, m. 1; p. 77, m. 1; p. 88, m. 9; p. 217, m. 8; p. 300, mm. 1ff; p. 323, mm. 1ff; and p. 373, mm. 4-5.

²⁵³Agreeing only with the proofs and the autograph score are: 96413, p. 27, m. 7; and p. 40, m. 3. The relevant passages in 96000¹ (whose pagination, it will be recalled, is used for the pagination of the proofs) are p. 28, m. 2; and p. 41, m. 5; in the autograph score, fol. 28^v, m. 4; fol. 43, m. 1. Agreeing with the proofs but not with the altered autograph is 96413, p. 114, m. 5 (96000¹, p. 121, m. 5; autograph score, fol. 104, m. 5).

of this editorial inclusion of only some of the discarded readings, it is difficult to imagine what single copy of Falstaff could have served as a model for the engravers: more likely, the French edition is a poorly executed conflation of several source copies.

One might therefore suspect that this score is of little importance for the modern editor of Falstaff--but this is not the case. One must consider the possibility that Verdi definitively altered some readings in Falstaff before January 1894--perhaps during Boito's visit to Sant'Agata in mid-September 1893. If he had done so, how could those readings be determined? After all, 96413¹ carries a number of modified vocal lines, changes that Verdi (or Boito) made only to accommodate the French declamation. Some of these will be discussed later; none can be reasonably considered relevant to the Italian Falstaff. But if some were indeed final alterations, the only way they could be spotted (since no autograph evidence exists) would be to find them included in a subsequent Italian piano-vocal score, preferably one printed in Verdi's lifetime.²⁵⁴

This is, in fact, exactly what happened. The third issue of the Italian piano-vocal score, the "Edizione unica" (96000³, 459 pp.), was released in September 1897 (blind stamp 9/1897).²⁵⁵ It contained

²⁵⁴The reasoning behind this conclusion is basically the same as that found on pp. 89 and 116 above and rests primarily on two factors: Ricordi's obvious concern for an accurate score and Verdi's demonstrated carelessness about preserving autograph evidence of his changes. See also the summary in Chapter 6 below.

²⁵⁵Copies may be found in the libraries of the Milan Conservatory; the Santa Cecilia Conservatory in Rome; the Istituto di studi verdiani in Parma; and, doubtless, in several other locations. The score was reissued in the 1920's in the series "Edizione popolare delle opere." See Hopkinson, A Bibliography of the Works of Giuseppe Verdi, II, 166 (his "Early Italian Edition," 64B [f] and [g]).

several differences from 96000²--and, apart from the correction of several obvious errors in the earlier edition, virtually all of the variants in 96000³ are traceable to the French piano-vocal score: 96000³, i.e., is the Italian version of the French performance in 1894. Because of the superior accuracy of the Italian to the French scores--the plates of 96000³ are those of the quite dependable 96000², with only a few modifications--96000³ contains none of the editorial problems found in 96413. It is a reliable score that, from all indications, was carefully prepared; its revised readings almost certainly reflect Verdi's last wishes about the opera.

While some of the "new" readings of 96413, as mentioned above, came into existence as clear attempts to adapt the music to the French translation, in some instances changes seem to have been made unnecessarily. Why, for example, was Pistola's "Vi smentisco!" in I.1 (Example 19, 96000², p. 11, mm. 4-5) given to Cajus--and the sense of the line changed--in 96413 (Example 20, 96413, p. 11, mm. 4-5)? Or why were the left-hand chords at Ford's "Al pagliardo!" in II.2 (Example 21, 96000², p. 247, mm. 6-8) altered in the French score (Example 22, 96413, p. 222, mm. 6-8)? No clear answers can be found for these and many similar questions that arise from a close examination of 96413.

Since these readings were not transferred to 96000³ until three years later, one cannot presume that they convey a revision of Verdi's intentions with regard to Italian performances of the opera.

Example 19

Pist.



le-gno. Vi smen-ti-seo!

Example 20

Gj.



Bou-vier! Sais

Example 21



Example 22



Two of these small variants in 96413¹, however, were incorporated into 96000³ and should therefore be considered definitive, despite the lack of autograph evidence. The first is a change of a single note at Alice's "Che fai?" (French version, "Réponds?") in II.2. The reading of 96000¹ and 96000² (p. 236, mm. 2-4) agrees with that of the autograph score (fol. 226v) and is transcribed in Example 23a. In the French score (p. 211, mm. 2-4) its final note is a sixth lower (Example 23b); this reading is carried over into the 1897 Italian score 96000³ (Example 23c). The last example, 23c, is thus the version to be preferred.

Example 23

A1.

Sei tu dis-sen-na-to? Che fai?

B. A1.

N'es-tu plus ta rai-son? Ré-ponds?

C. A1.

Sei tu dis-sen-na-to che fai?

Detailed description: The image shows three staves of musical notation, each labeled 'A1.' and numbered 'a.', 'b.', and 'c.'. All staves are in G major (one sharp) and 2/4 time. Staff 'a.' has lyrics 'Sei tu dis-sen-na-to? Che fai?' and features three triplets of eighth notes. Staff 'b.' has lyrics 'N'es-tu plus ta rai-son? Ré-ponds?' and features two triplets of eighth notes and two pairs of eighth notes. Staff 'c.' has lyrics 'Sei tu dis-sen-na-to che fai?' and features three triplets of eighth notes. The notes in 'a.' and 'c.' are identical, while 'b.' has a lower final note for 'Ré-ponds?'.

The second change occurs at Bardolfo's "Non si trova" (French version, "Disparu") near the beginning of the II.2 ensemble (96000², p. 257, m. 1). Curiously, the seemingly unimportant setting of these words has a complex history: Verdi changed his mind about it many times. The earliest available version is one that he erased from the autograph score (fol. 246, m. 1) prior to entering the present reading. This erased setting, shown in Example 24a, was altered before the proofs were engraved in November 1892. The piano-vocal proofs contain the version in Example 24b: although there is no indication in the proofs themselves that he wanted this reading changed, he mentioned the

Example 24

a. Bar.



non si trova

b. Bar.



Non si tro-va.

c. Bar.



Non si tro-va.

d. Bar.



Dis-pa-ru!

e. Bar.



Non si tro-va.

alteration in his letter to Ricordi of 11 December 1892 (Mr 1078) and cited a modification of the bass as his reason. 96000¹ and 96000² carry the revision, shown in Example 24c: a simple reiteration of G. Verdi himself probably decided to raise the final note to a B for the reading of the French score (Example 24d), for this revision was included in 96000³ (Example 24e). Once again, this last reading should be considered definitive.

Much more significant than these two small revisions were three that he would make in early 1894 and that would oblige Ricordi to modify his already completed French score. What motivated him to make the changes is not known.²⁵⁶ We first hear of one of them in Boito's letter of 18 January 1894, which deals mainly with the French translation of Otello: "I am enclosing a slip on which is transcribed the new entrance of the Fairies in the third act of Falstaff."²⁵⁷ The passage in question occurs in III.2, immediately after Falstaff throws himself on the ground with the words "Sono le Fate. Chi le guarda è morto" (96000¹, p. 363, mm. 4-6). This is followed in both 1893 Italian piano-vocal scores by twelve measures of instrumental music preceding Nannetta's aria, "Sul fil d'un soffio etesio." Example 25 is a transcription of this passage in 96000¹; it agrees with the autograph score, with the first orchestral edition (96180, July 1893), and with the first orchestral edition published for sale (113953, 1912).

²⁵⁶For a possible cause see n. 229 above.

²⁵⁷To Verdi; in Luzio, Carteggi verdiani, II, 135-36. Boito's slip is now lost.

Example 25

Voci di donne (Entra Nannetta vestita da Regina delle Fate: la seguono nove Ragazette vestite da Fate Bianche, altre nove da Fate Azzurre.)

Handwritten musical score for Example 25, measures 1-4. The score is in D major (two sharps) and 3/4 time. It consists of a vocal line and two piano accompaniment staves. The vocal line begins with the syllable "- ne" and includes dynamic markings such as "pp" and "legg.". The piano accompaniment features various chords and melodic lines with fingerings and articulations.

(Moz da Ninfa verde, mascherata - Quickly da Befana; colla maschera - Alice colla maschera - Bardolfo in Capa rossa, senza maschera, col cappuccio calato - Pistola da Satiro - Dr. Cajus in Capa grigia senza maschera, col cappuccio - Fenton in Capa nera, mascherato - Ford senza cappuccio né maschera - Ventiquattro Fate chiuderanno il corteo. Le piccole Fate in cerchio intorno alla loro Regina. Le Fate più grandi formeranno un secondo cerchio - Tutti gli uomini in un crocchio a destra; le donne in un crocchio a sinistra.)

Handwritten musical score for Example 25, measures 5-6. The score continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment from the previous section. Measure 5 shows the vocal line and piano accompaniment. Measure 6 shows the vocal line and piano accompaniment, ending with a double bar line.

Example 25, continued

The musical score consists of six systems, each with two staves. The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#).
- **System 7:** The first staff contains a triplet of eighth notes, followed by a triplet of sixteenth notes, and another triplet of eighth notes. The second staff contains a triplet of eighth notes.
- **System 8:** The first staff contains a sixteenth-note triplet, followed by a sixteenth-note triplet, and another sixteenth-note triplet. The second staff contains a sixteenth-note triplet.
- **System 9:** The first staff contains a sixteenth-note triplet, followed by a sixteenth-note triplet, and another sixteenth-note triplet. The second staff contains a sixteenth-note triplet.
- **System 10:** The first staff contains a sixteenth-note triplet, followed by a sixteenth-note triplet, and another sixteenth-note triplet. The second staff contains a sixteenth-note triplet.
- **System 11:** The first staff contains a sixteenth-note triplet, followed by a sixteenth-note triplet, and another sixteenth-note triplet. The second staff contains a sixteenth-note triplet. The system concludes with the instruction "dim. e rall." (diminuendo e rallentando).

The difficulty with this first version is dramatic, not musical. As Falstaff lies prostrate, everyone enters and assumes a prescribed position on stage. Yet nobody except Nannetta and the Fairies has any lines to sing until after the aria of the Queen of the Fairies. There is no reason to have so many people on stage this early in the scene, a fact that Verdi must have observed during the 1893 Italian performances. It must therefore have seemed reasonable to delay the entrances of everyone except Nannetta, the Fairies, and, possibly, Alice and Meg (as the masterminds of the plot) until after the aria. But if this were to be done, the raison d'être of the twelve-measure instrumental passage--i.e., to allow time for all of the characters to come onto the stage--would be removed, and the passage would seem too long. Therefore, additional lines--lines of stage movement and dramatic action--needed to be added to be sung by Nannetta, the Fairies, Alice, and Meg to the accompaniment of the preexisting twelve instrumental measures.

These lines, along with, one presumes, new stage directions, were what Boito sent to Verdi on 18 January 1894. Boito had written four rhyming lines in French, of 12, 6, 12, and 6 syllables, to be divided among the three women and the Fairies in the following manner:

Alice:	Par ici.		
Meg:		Doucement.	
Alice:			Il est là.
Nannetta:			Le bravache
	A grand peur.		
Fairies:		Il se cache.	
Alice	Avancez.		
Fairies:		Pas de bruit.	
Alice:			Glissez-vous pas à pas.
Fairies:	Commençons.		
Alice:		Ne ris pas.	

After receiving the dialogue Verdi expressed his approval to Boito on 19 January: "It seems to me that those few lines in French will be very fine. Translate them now into Italian without, understand, adding anything, etc. etc."²⁵⁸ Clearly, this was not to be a change for the French theater only; it was also to be another revision in the Italian Falstaff. On the same day, 19 January, Ricordi urged Verdi to proceed rapidly: "The sooner you can give the third act variant, the better it will be, because one can then have the exact edition in Paris at the right time."²⁵⁹ In addition, Ricordi requested that Verdi write an appropriate ending for Fenton's sonnet in III.2 so that he could publish the piece as a pezzo staccato.

Verdi dealt with Ricordi's requests immediately. On 21 January he was able to write to the editor: "Here are the corrections for you. On the attached slip you will see the two bars added to the sonnet."²⁶⁰ Do as you please. On the large piece of paper there is the addition of those few detached words with Alice, Meg, Nan., and the chorus. Afterwards Alice, Meg ought to disappear before the Song

²⁵⁸"parmi andranno benissimo quei pochi versi in francese. Traduceteli ora in italiano, senza, ben inteso, aggiungere nulla etc etc." Omitted in Abbiati, IV, 531.

²⁵⁹"più presto potrà dare la variante del 3^o atto, e meglio sarà, perché si potrà allora avere a Parigi l'edizione esatta in tempo opportuno." Unpublished.

²⁶⁰Verdi's additions to Fenton's sonnet in III.2, of course, do not constitute a definitive change. The slip with Verdi's new ending is preserved in the Ricordi archives (Mr 1465).

of Nan. in order to meet with the others. Therefore the stage directions must be changed.²⁶¹

The "large piece of paper" enclosed in the 21 January 1894 letter was long believed lost but has recently turned up in a private collection in Basel, Switzerland.²⁶² The Basel manuscript (Plate 1) contains Verdi's title, "Canzone Nannetta," stage directions, and fourteen measures of music and French text, disposed in three systems of four staves each: on the lowest two staves of each system Verdi hastily entered an outline of the instrumental accompaniment. Mm. 1-3 are nothing more than cues, scribbled down to locate the passage in

²⁶¹ Mr 1158; in Abbiati, IV, 530-31.

²⁶² The owner, who wishes to remain unnamed here, has provided me with the photograph that now constitutes Plate 1 and has generously answered a number of my questions about it. To him I offer my deepest thanks.

The Basel manuscript first came to my attention through its inclusion in a museum catalogue, Seebass, ed., Musikhandschriften in Basel, p. 66, where it was undated and improperly identified as a sketch. An extended series of letters with the owner and Casa Ricordi has provided the basic physical description of the document and its positive identification as the addition to the letter of 21 January 1894 (Mr 1158). The owner obtained the manuscript on 30 April 1957 in an auction of the Nicolas Rauch firm in Geneva (catalogue n. 16 de la nouvelle série, no. 501, describes the ms. as "de la collection Ricordi"). The Basel ms. measures 20.5 x 26.7 cm. and bears two horizontal folds, 8.5 and 19.5 cm. from the top, and one vertical fold, 13.5 cm. from the left margin. Thus, folded, the document measures ca. 11 x 13.5 cm., which corresponds to the size of Mr 1158, 11.6 x 17.8 cm. Moreover, the Basel ms. contains two vertically spaced pinholes, 1.1 cm. apart, to the left of the third and fourth staves on the music paper, and 1.5 cm. from the left margin (see Pl. 1). This corresponds perfectly with two horizontally spaced (because of the folding of the music paper) pinholes, 1.5 cm. from the top of the page of the letter, Mr 1158. This evidence, coupled with the contents of both the 21 January 1894 letter and the Basel ms. (see the text above), leaves no doubt that the two belong together.

The "1293" in the upper left margin is still unidentified but may be an old catalogue number of Casa Ricordi, the original owner of the ms.

1293

Organo Anna

Organo Anna. Anna. Anna. Anna.

Handwritten musical notation on a five-line staff. It begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The notation includes various rhythmic values and stems, with some notes beamed together. There are also some handwritten annotations above the staff.

Handwritten musical notation on a five-line staff. It begins with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The notation includes various rhythmic values and stems, with some notes beamed together. There are also some handwritten annotations above the staff.

Handwritten musical notation on a five-line staff. It begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The notation includes various rhythmic values and stems, with some notes beamed together. There are also some handwritten annotations above the staff.

PLATE 1

THE BASEL MANUSCRIPT

III.2: the words "Silfi Sire[ne]" for the chorus and "Sono le Fate[.] Chi le guarda è morto" for Falstaff. Above mm. 4-5 one finds the stage directions, "Entra Nan;-Alice-Meg e Fate etc"; later Verdi would (quite inexplicably) add "et Q[ui]ckly)." ²⁶³

The "Par ici" dialogue begins in m. 7. The composer began to write it on the top stave of the second system, but after writing the text and music for only eight notes (all B's) and the note head of a ninth (m. 9, a D), he changed his mind and recomposed the passage on the staff below:²⁶⁴ he seems to have wished to delay the sounding of the D until m. 10, on Nannetta's word "peur." In the lower right corner he wrote the concluding stage directions, "Qui Alice e Meg dovrebbero sparire ad incontrare gli altri che non si vedranno che alla fine della canzone. Aggiustare l'indicazione scenica nel libretto."²⁶⁵ Underneath the text of the new dialogue one finds its Italian translation--written a few days later by Boito. The Basel

²⁶³The handwriting of "et Q" resembles that of Boito more than that of Verdi. The owner of the Basel ms., however, has assured me that the "et Q" is written with Verdi's ink. The reader will note that Quickly is given no text in the added dialogue, nor is she mentioned in the stage directions of the lower right corner. "Et Q," thus, seems a later, totally superfluous addition--both Meg and Quickly, as we shall see, were eventually removed from this scene.

²⁶⁴Note that he first wrote two G#'s at the beginning of "Par ici," then erased the still-wet ink of these notes with a flick of his finger.

²⁶⁵Verdi's cancellations in these stage directions are virtually illegible. It appears, however, that he may have written "Qui Alice e Meg dovrebbero sparire per andare [or 'vedere?'] per [or 'se?'] incontrarsi" before deciding to revise his wording. In any event, notice the closeness of the wording of this stage direction to Verdi's letter of 21 January 1894 (Abbiati, IV, 530-31).

manuscript, in fact, is the only available musical document relating to Falstaff on which both Verdi's and Boito's hands are present.²⁶⁶

Even apart from its stage directions, which were still to be established, this document does not contain the final version of the dialogue. In April 1894, when Ricordi released the "revised" French edition (96413, 422 pp., blind stamp 4/1894),²⁶⁷ the new dialogue was printed as in Example 26--the accompaniment, of course, is the music of Example 25. Meg, it will be observed, no longer enters here: her former single line, "Doucement," has been reassigned to Nannetta--further evidence of Verdi's desire for economy, which was probably at the root of this change in the first place. This final version of the dialogue was the one transferred into the 1897 Italian piano-vocal score, undoubtedly with the composer's approval. The 96000³ version of this new, "Inoltriam" dialogue is shown in Example 27. In both the French and the 1897 Italian scores the rest of the cast enters immediately after the last note of Nannetta's aria, exactly at the

²⁶⁶Verdi's hand occasionally appears in Boito's autograph libretto.

²⁶⁷At least one copy of 96413² (the revised French score), owned by Mr. Sidney T. Cox of Watertown, New York, has a blind stamp of 3/1894. Its readings agree with the 4/1894 issue, but its title page agrees with the 1/1894 score in lacking the words "Théâtre National de L'Opéra Comique/Première représentation 18 Avril 1894" and in having a copyright date of 1894, not 1893. Apparently a very rare issue of the French version, no copies of 96413² with blind stamp 3/1893 were located in Hopkinson, A Bibliography of the Works of Giuseppe Verdi, II, 166.

Exemple 26.

(Nannette déguisée en Reine des bois. Des petites filles vêtues en Fées blanches et en Fées bleues. D'autres Fées, Nymphes; Falstaff toujours à terre, le visage tourné vers le sol, immobile.)
 (elle débouche avec précaution à gauche avec quelques Fées) (elle aperçoit Falstaff)

Al. Par i- ci. Il est

Nan. P Doucement.

6 Al. et le désigne aux autres) [319] (le group entier se porte en avant avec précaution, A- van-

Nan. Le bra-vache a grand peur.

Fées pp 3 3 Il se cache.

9 Al. puis Alice disparaît rapidement à gauche) [320] (Les petites Fées se dispersent en cercle autour de leur Reine. D'autres Fées plus grandes font groupe à gauche.)

Nan. (elle dispose les Fées à leurs places).
- ce z Glissez-vous pas à pas. Commençons.

Fées Pas de bruit. Ne ris pas.

Example 27

(Nannetta vestita da Regina delle Fate, Alice: alcune Ragazette vestite da Fate bianche e da Fate azzurre: Falstaff sempre disteso contro terra, immobile.)

Al. (sbucando cautamente da sinistra con alcune Fate) [352] (scorge Falstaff e lo
I - nol-triam Ste-so al

Nan. (sbucando a sinistra, con altre Fate e scoprendo Falstaff) 3
Egli è là.

Al. # indica alle altre) (tutte si inoltrano con precauzione) [353]
suol... Non ri-

Nan. 3
Lo confonde il ter-ror.

Fate 3
Si nasconde:

Al. (le piccole Fate si dispongono in cerchio intorno alla loro Regina: le Fate più grandi formano gruppo a sinistra)
-diam!

Nan. (indicando alle Fate il loro posto, mentre Alice parte rapidamente da sinistra)
Tutte qui, dietro a me... cominciam...

Fate 3
Non ridiam! Tocca a te.

point where two extra measures had been added during the Milanese rehearsals a year earlier (96413², p. 327, mm. 5-6; 96000³, p. 361, mm. 4-7).²⁶⁸

Much less information exists about the remaining two changes that Verdi made in Falstaff in early 1894. The first occurs at the fourth measure of the nuptial minuet in III.2. In the first two Italian scores Ford makes his announcement in rhymed endecasillabi as the disguised Bardolfo enters with Dr. Cajus:

Ford:	Già s'avanza la coppia degli sposi. Attenti!
Fal. and chorus:	Attenti!
Ford:	Eccola in bianca vesta, Col velo e il serto delle rose in testa E il fidanzato suo ch'io le disposi. Circondatela o Ninfe!

Example 28 shows the passage in 96000¹.

Some time before January 1894, possibly during Boito's visit to Sant'Agata in early September 1893¹⁸⁹³,²⁶⁹ Verdi decided to do away with most of these words: Falstaff's and the chorus' words were deleted, and now Ford was to sing only "Voici les fiancés. En cercle!"; the opening minuet was to proceed largely without text. This is the reverse procedure from that of the "Par ici" revision: here the composer was stripping away the text, perhaps to emphasize the graceful

²⁶⁸This is, however, one of the passages in which the French score agrees with 96000¹ and not with 96000²; hence it does not contain the two added measures; see Ex. 15 above.

²⁶⁹See p. 170 above.

Example 28

Ford

Già s'avanza la cop- pia de- gli spo - si. At -

4 Ford [H21]

- ten - ti! Eccola in bian - ca

Fal.

At - ten - ti!

Soprani

At - ten - ti!

Tenori

At - ten - ti!

Bassi

At - ten - ti!

dolcissimo

Example 28, continued

7 Ford

ve - sta, Col ve - loe il serto del - le rose in te - - sta

10 Ford [422]

E il fi - dan - za - to su - o ch'io le di -

(Bardolfo e il Dr. Cujus si portano nel mezzo: le Fate li circondano.)

13 Ford

-sposi. Circondatela o Nin - fe! Un'al - tra

processional music. It is this shorter version of the text that Ricordi printed in the January 1894 French score: a transcription is found in Example 29, in which the lacking accompaniment is that of Example 28.

Example 29

Handwritten musical score for Example 29, featuring two staves in D major. The top staff is labeled "Fond" and contains the vocal line with lyrics "Voi - ci les fi - an - cés...". The bottom staff is labeled "4 Fond" and contains the piano accompaniment with lyrics "En cer - cle Un couplet." and "Al.". A handwritten note in parentheses reads: "(Cajus et Bardolphe se placent au milieu du cercle: les Fées grandes et petites les entourent.)"

But in January Verdi was beginning to have second thoughts about this paring of the minuet text. Included in his 21 January letter to Ricordi is the following: "In the Minuet I had asked for too much and it remained empty. Everything will be in place if Boito finds a way to complete the alexandrine that rhymes with cortège."²⁷⁰ This reference to versification and rhyme is somewhat obscure. In 96413¹ the minuet had been introduced by a rhyming couplet of eight-syllable lines and proceeded with rhyming lines of twelve and six syllables--but the word "cortège" did not appear:

²⁷⁰ Mr 1158; in Abbiati, IV, 530-31.

Ford: A célébrer tous à la fois
 L'hymen de la Reine des Bois.
 Voici les fiancés. En cercle.
 Alice: Un couple encore
 Est là qui vous implore.

The final text adopted in the April 1894 French score (Example 30) contains no rhyme with "cortège" and, moreover, has a line ("Elle cache") that rather clumsily repeats the meter and rhyme of the couplet preceding the minuet:

Ford: A célébrer tous à la fois
 L'hymen de la Reine des Bois.
 Le cortège s'avance,
 C'est elle.
 Fal. and chorus: Silence.
 Ford: Elle cache son fin minois.
 Nymphes formez le cercle.
 Alice: Un couple encore
 Est là qui vous implore.

Boito's Italian translation of the minuet text into rhymed endecasillabi is more satisfactory:

Ford: Già s'avanza il corteggio nuziale,
 E dessa!
 Fal. and chorus: Attenti!
 Ford: Ha il serto virginale.
 Circondatela, o Ninfe.

This is the text found in the 1897 Italian piano-vocal score: the vocal parts are transcribed in Example 31. No modern orchestral or piano-vocal score accepts the reading in Example 31, although it is Verdi's final version of the passage.

The third and most puzzling revision that Verdi made in Falstaff in early 1894 concerns the "litany" in III.2, during which Falstaff pleads in puns that his belly be spared while the wives pray for

Example 30

Ford

[369]

Le cor-te-ge s'a-van-ce c'est el-le!

Fal.

p Si-len-ce.

Soprano

p Si-len-ce.

Tenor

p Si-len-ce.

Basse

p Si-len-ce.

6 Ford

[370]

El-le ca-che son fin mi-mois.

11 Ford

(Cajus et Bardolphe se placent au milieu du cercle; les Fées grandes et petites les entourent.)

Al.

Nymphes formez le cer-cle Un couple en-

Example 31

[406]
 For.
 Già s'avanza il corteg- gio nu- zii- a - le. È des- sa.

Fl.
 At- ten- ti!

Soprani
 At- ten- ti!

Tenori
 At- ten- ti!

Bassi
 At- ten- ti!

6. For.
 Ha il ser- to vir- gi - na- le.

11. For. [407] (Bardolfo e il Dr. Cajus si portano nel mezzo: le Fate li circondano.)
 Circondatete o Nin- fe! Un'altra

justice. For this modification no evidence exists except 96413² and 96000³: the change is not mentioned in any letter. In 96000¹ (see Example 32), 96000², and 96413¹ this passage is a tour de force of ensemble writing, with the phrase gaps filled in by alternate interjections from the men ("Pancia ritronfia!" etc.) and the Fairies ("Pizzica, pizzica, pizzica!" etc.). It is most surprising, therefore, to discover that the parts for Cajus, Bardolfo, Ford, Pistola, and the Fairies are omitted in the April 1894 French score, and that this simplified litany, clearly inferior to the original version, was transferred into the 1897 Italian piano-vocal score.²⁷¹ In subsequent orchestral and piano-vocal scores of Falstaff published long after the composer's death--and in all modern performances--the original reading is followed. Yet the simplified litany seems to have been his last word on this passage.

Why would Verdi have deleted the ensemble interjections? Although one cannot know for certain, it is possible that he heard several poor performances of it: the short, rhythmic entrances require perfect timing from the singers, and the children who sang the part of the Fairies may have been unable to keep up the steady rhythm.

One might be tempted to conclude for lack of autograph evidence that this change is not Verdi's or that he reluctantly accepted it only

²⁷¹The result was that the litany required three fewer printed pages. Thus 96000³ has 459 pp., and 96000², 462 pp. See Preface, p.viii. The reader may recall that it was precisely at the litany that the modern pencil pagination of the bozze, a pagination based on 96000³, breaks off: whoever entered the pagination undoubtedly noticed that 96000³ no longer corresponded to the proofs. See p.61 above. Both the January and the April 1894 French editions have 422 pp.; the reduction in the number of pages in the litany was regained by the amplification of the text above the wedding minuet.

Example 32

Al. [399] UN POCO MENO $\text{♩} = 100$

Al. Do-mine fallo ca-sto!

Mez. Do-mine fallo ca-sto!

Sop. Do-mine fallo ca-sto!

Caj. Pancia ritronfia!

Bar. Pancia ritronfia!

Fond. Pist. Pancia ritronfia!

Fal. Pancia ritronfia!
- vita! Ma sal-vagli l'ad-do-mine.

Fate. Pizzica, pizzica.

UN POCO MENO $\text{♩} = 100$

pp dolcissimo

Example 32, continued

5 Al. [400] [401]

Sop. Do-mine fal-lo gua-sto!

Al. Do-mine fal-lo gua-sto!

Ten. Do-mine fal-lo gua-sto!

Baj. Do-mine fal-lo gua-sto!

Bar. Pancia ritronfia!

Fag. Pancia ritronfia!

Fag. Pancia ritronfia!
Pancia ritronfia!

Fate Ma sal-va-gli l'ad-do-mi-ne.

pizzica! Pizzica, stuzzica,

Example 32, continued

9 Al.
Fal-lo pu-ni-to Do-mine! [402]

Meg.
Fal-lo pu-ni-to Do-mine!

Qui.
Fal-lo pu-ni-to Do-mine!

Caj.
Vuota barili!

Bar.
Vuota barili!

Ford.
Pist.
Vuota barili!
Vuota barili!

Fal.
Ma sal-va-gli l'ad-do-mine.

Fate
pizzica!
Pizzica, pungi, spil.

Example 32, continued

[403]

Al.
Fal-lo pen-ti-to Do-mi-ne!

Mes.
Fal-lo pen-ti-to Do-mi-ne!

Qui.
Fal-lo pen-ti-to Do-mi-ne!

Ca.
Fal-lo pen-ti-to Do-mi-ne!

Bar.
Sfianca sedili!

Ford. Pict.
Sfianca sedili!

Fal.
Sfianca redili!
Sfianca redili!

Fate
-luzzica!

Pizzica, pizzica,

Ma sal-va-gli l'ad-do-mi-ne.

Detailed description of the musical score: The score is written for a full orchestra and vocal soloists. It begins with a rehearsal mark [403]. The vocal parts (Alto, Mezzo-soprano, Contralto, and Soprano) all sing the same line: 'Fal-lo pen-ti-to Do-mi-ne!'. The woodwinds (Baritone Saxophone and Flute) play a rhythmic accompaniment with the lyrics 'Sfianca sedili!'. The Percussion (Ford. and Pict.) also plays a rhythmic accompaniment with the lyrics 'Sfianca sedili!'. The Bassoon (Fal.) plays a melodic line with the lyrics 'Sfianca redili! Sfianca redili!'. The strings (Fate) play a rhythmic accompaniment with the lyrics '-luzzica!'. The Piano (Pizzica) plays a rhythmic accompaniment with the lyrics 'Pizzica, pizzica,'. The score concludes with the vocal soloists singing 'Ma sal-va-gli l'ad-do-mi-ne.'.

as a compromise. Although the latter might be an alluring hypothesis, the first cannot reasonably be maintained. There is no reason to suppose that Ricordi would have undertaken such a modification on his own authority: rather, his past concern for the accuracy of Falstaff from the beginning of its engraving suggests the opposite. That he still consulted Verdi on editorial matters is shown by the telegram that Boito and Ricordi sent the composer on 2 February 1894. The context of its message is unclear--it appears that Boito and Ricordi were expecting visitors in Milan, including someone bearing Verdi's imprimatur for the French variants: "Good weather continues, made just for their arrival. We are waiting for him also for your approval third act modifications before printing it."²⁷²

Finally, on 25 March 1894 the composer requested a copy of 96413² (then being printed), most likely to have it on hand as a reminder of the changes that were not yet included in any Italian score: "I have received the two French Falstaff libretti, but I would have wanted the French piano-vocal edition--send it to me here."²⁷³

How should all of these revisions affect modern performances of Falstaff in Italian? Can one arrive at a definitive version of the opera, even with regard only to the text and notes? In attempting

²⁷²Ambiguous personal pronouns make the translation difficult (Mr Cop 1893-94, XIII, 235): "Continua tempo buono fatto apposta per loro arrivo. Lo aspettiamo anche per sua approvazione modifiche terzo atto prima stamparlo. Arrigo Giulio." Note especially that "sua approvazione: can also be translated as "his approval," although this seems unlikely.

²⁷³Verdi to Ricordi, 25 March 1894 (Mr 1170): "Ho ricevuto i due libretti Falstaff francese, ma io avrei voluto l'edizione francese Canto e Pianoforte--mandatemela qui." Omitted in Abbiati, IV, 539-40.

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to answer these questions one should realize that the opera was performed in three distinctly different versions in Verdi's lifetime. Hybrids among the three must have occurred from time to time²⁷⁴--and they occur today as a regular practice--but there is no evidence that such mixing of the readings ever received the composer's sanction. From a purely editorial-historical standpoint, then, the three versions are:

1. The Milanese Falstaff, reflecting the first performances from 9 February to 2 April 1893 at La Scala. Undoubtedly these performances included numerous small differences from 96000¹ (and even more from the partially uncorrected autograph score), changes that Verdi made during the January 1893 rehearsals. Therefore the most reliable text for the Milanese Falstaff is 96000² (or the corresponding orchestral editions 96180 and 113953) with two major exceptions: one must accept the readings of the first issue of the piano-vocal score for the ensemble in II.2 (96000¹, p. 272, m. 2--p. 289, replaces 96000², p. 272, m. 2--p. 279) and for the conclusion of III.1 (96000¹, p. 334, m. 6--p. 342, replaces 96000², p. 324, m. 6--p. 330).²⁷⁵ Since no orchestral score now exists for these two Milanese readings, they would have to be reorchestrated from 96000¹ for any modern performance.

²⁷⁴See n. 276 below for two early examples.

²⁷⁵See Ch. 4 above.

2. The Roman Falstaff, reflecting the performances in that city from 16 to 25 April 1893 and the La Scala tour of the opera from 2 May to ca. 6 June 1893. Most closely representing these performances are the June 1893 piano-vocal score (96000²), the July 1893 orchestral score (96180), and the first orchestral score published for sale in 1912 (113953). All of these editions contained the revised ensemble in II.2 and the rewritten conclusion of III.1, but none of the changes made for the Parisian Falstaff.
3. The Parisian Falstaff, reflecting the Italian counterpart of the performances in Paris beginning 18 April 1894. Before the French premiere Verdi made five changes in the opera that from all indications were to be considered definitive for Italian performances. These five readings were included in the 1897 Italian piano-vocal score (96000³) but were never written into the autograph score:
 - a) The changed final note of Alice's "Che fai?" in II.2 (E, 96000³, p. 236, m. 4, replaces C, 96000², p. 236, m. 4).
 - b) The changed last two notes of Bardolfo's "Non si trova" in the ensemble of II.2 (two G's and two B's, 96000³, p. 257, m. 1, replace four G's, 96000², p. 257, m. 1).
 - c) The "Inoltriam" dialogue added before Nannetta's aria in III.2 and the revised stage directions that are related to this addition (for the dialogue and first set of directions, 96000³, p. 351, m. 4--p. 353, replaces 96000², p. 351, m. 7--p. 353; for the second set of directions--the entrance of all the characters--96000³, p. 361, replaces 96000², p. 361).

- d) The simplified litany in III.2, in which the interjections of Cajus, Bardolfo, Ford, Pistola, and the Fairies have been removed (96000³, p. 387--p. 389, m. 1, replaces 96000², p. 387--p. 392, m. 1).
- e) The new, shortened text above the wedding minuet in III.2 (96000³, pp. 405-07, replaces 96000², pp. 408-10).²⁷⁶

The above summary addresses only the broadest editorial and performance questions. Many more difficult matters will be surveyed in the following chapter. For the present, however, one may conclude that any modern performance that claims some degree of historical accuracy should be one of the above three versions. One generally hears today the Roman version with only the first three of the

²⁷⁶For all of his care with the Falstaff piano-vocal scores, Ricordi seems to have been less vigilant about the actual orchestral scores rented to various opera companies--perhaps because he might have felt that the spartito would communicate the necessary changes to the conductor. Thus, no extant copy of the first orchestral score (96180) corresponds exactly to the 96000³ (Italian) version of Falstaff. But an early copy of 96180 located in the Ricordi archives (Mr B.21) contains manuscript corrections that bring the score extremely close to the Parisian Falstaff: the "Inoltriam" dialogue has been written in, but the stage directions left untouched (pp. 393-95); Cajus, Bardolfo, Pistola, Ford, and the Fairies have been cancelled from the litany (pp. 424-25); and the new, shorter text has been written above the minuet (pp. 442-43). The two smaller, almost insignificant changes (a and b in the text above) were not entered.

Another early, Italian copy of 96180 in the Ricordi archives contains only one of the Parisian changes: the "Inoltriam" dialogue. Here, however, the change (including the new stage directions) was printed (pp. 393-95)--the only evidence of any new plates for 96180.

All five of the Parisian revisions are found in a "French" copy of 96180 at the Ricordi archives (Mr N.83): the entire French text and the musical revisions are in manuscript, while the original (printed) Italian text has been covered over by strips of paper.

Parisian revisions: the two small changes and the added "Inoltriam" dialogue. Most modern performances, that is, retain the full litany and the longer text above the wedding minuet.²⁷⁷ The editorial confusion appears to have begun in the early twentieth century: in 1912 Casa Ricordi released the first publicly available orchestral score of Falstaff (113953, virtually identical with the Roman Falstaff of 96180) at a time when the piano-vocal score then being sold (96000³) contained the Parisian version of the opera. Piano-vocal and orchestral scores have not been in complete agreement since, and conductors have been left to sort out the differences for themselves.²⁷⁸

At this level of analysis only one difficulty remains--and, unfortunately, it is a major one. Most performers aware of the three historically accurate versions will not, I suspect, find any of them completely satisfactory, for Verdi's revisions were not always improvements. Nearly everyone would favor the Roman ending of III.1, but, contrarily, the Roman revised ensemble of II.2 seems musically inferior to its earlier version. Even more difficult, most performers would probably prefer the new Parisian staging and added text of the "Inoltriam" dialogue, but one would think that few would be willing to

²⁷⁷Such, e.g., was the version that Casa Ricordi printed in the "Edizione Anno MCMXLII-XX" (both a piano-vocal and an orchestral edition), and the more common "Ripristino 1944" edition (461 pp.) and the 1953 orchestral "Nuova edizione riveduta e corretta" (P.R. 154, 464 pp.). See Preface, pp. vi-vii.

²⁷⁸It is curious to note that the release of 113953 occurred just before the death of Giulio Ricordi. The deposit copy at the library of the Santa Cecilia Conservatory in Rome (Rsc 101.F.43) has the blind stamp 4/12, and Giulio died on 6 June 1912. Tito Ricordi, not Giulio, that is, may have been responsible for the version printed in April 1912.

accept the simplified litany in III.2, and some might even balk at the shortened text above the wedding minuet.

The concern for historical accuracy may lead to unwanted excision of some beautiful settings. One might wish, therefore, to perform a Falstaff whose readings would be the result of an aesthetic, not a historical, decision: to perform, that is, a personal conflation of the three versions. It is not our purpose here to condemn or to sanction such a decision; rather, we recommend merely that the conductor be aware of the options available to him. The purpose of historical scholarship leading to a modern edition of Falstaff should be to free the conductor within certain limits, not to bind him to an inflexible, "definitive" version.

Chapter 6

Prolegomena to a Modern Critical Edition²⁷⁹

The editor of a modern critical edition of Falstaff faces a complex task. Lacking a definitive primary source for the opera, he must examine thousands of variants, many without autograph evidence, and judge the probable validity of each according to its own circumstances. The sheer abundance of relevant information--contained in manuscripts, letters, telegrams, and printed editions--makes this opera one of the most editorially problematic of Verdi's works.

Because it is the composer's only opera whose autograph score has been published in facsimile,²⁸⁰ Falstaff has frequently been cited as a central piece of evidence by those who claim that the current editions of Verdi's works are inaccurate. Denis Vaughan began the debate in 1958: convinced that the autograph score of Falstaff was

²⁷⁹The University of Chicago Press and Casa Ricordi have recently collaborated in plans that will lead to a critical edition of the works of Giuseppe Verdi. The editorial board for the project consists of five members: Julian Budden, Francesco Degrada, Philip Gossett, Ursula Gunther, and H. C. Robbins-Landon. Ten operas are scheduled for the first ten-year cycle of publication: Nabucco, Ernani, I masnadieri, Macbeth, Luisa Miller, Rigoletto, La traviata, Un ballo in maschera, Don Carlos, and Aida. Also to be included in this publication group is the Requiem.

Some of the concerns and terminology of this chapter were suggested by two documents recently released by the University of Chicago Press: Anon., Toward a Critical Edition of the Works of Verdi: a Prospectus; and a 35-page typescript of editorial norms prepared by the editorial board in Milan from 9 to 12 December 1976.

²⁸⁰See Preface, p. ix above.

unimpeachable, he located 125 differences--chiefly of articulation and dynamics--between its first folio and the corresponding passage in the modern printed score (presumably the 1953 "Nuova edizione riveduta e corretta"). By extrapolation from this and similar observations, he then estimated that the entire manuscript contained 27,000 such differences.²⁸¹ Vaughan's accusations provoked a storm of controversy in the early 1960's.²⁸² At present, one may see that the thrust of his argument, a plea to reconsider the primary sources of the opera, was admirable but that his faith in the autograph score was unfounded. Although the available printed editions certainly need correction, dogmatic adherence to any single source would create more problems than it would solve.

To propose resolutions for all of the ambiguities that confront an editor of Falstaff is beyond the scope of this study. Our aims, rather, are to provide an overview of the major types of editorial difficulties presented by the opera and to furnish the reader with the basic information required to deal with them. Accordingly, we shall discuss three fundamental areas of editorial concern: the choice of a

²⁸¹Vaughan, "Discordanze tra gli autografi verdiani e la loro stampa." In this article Vaughan made similar charges about Verdi's Requiem. The now notorious first folio of the Falstaff autograph score was also reproduced in Anon., Toward a Critical Edition, op. cit., no pag., as an example of why a modern edition of Verdi's works is needed.

²⁸²See, e.g.: d'Amico, "Lettera aperta al ministro Bosco"; d'Amico, "Risposta a D. Vaughan"; d'Amico, "Verdi sotto chiave"; Gavazzeni, "Problemi di tradizione dinamico-fraseologica"; Mila, "Problemi di filologia e d'interpretazione"; Tenaglia, "Lettera aperta al Maestro Mario Labroca"; Vaughan, "Meeting Verdi on His Own Ground"; Vaughan, "Falstaff e i suoi fratelli."

For a more recent discussion of editorial problems in Verdi with regard to the new critical edition see Robbins-Landon, "Toward a New Edition of Verdi."

basic definitive version; special considerations relevant to the orchestral score; and the establishing of a standard text and set of stage directions. Much material already covered will be summarized here for convenience; frequent references will be made to past chapters, on which the substance of the present argument ultimately rests.

The Basic Definitive Version

The principal source of Falstaff is the full autograph score, now located in the archives of Casa Ricordi, Milan. Verdi wrote it from September 1891 to October 1892 but entered many revisions in January 1893 and replaced fols. 250-51^V and 299-308^V on 21-23 May 1893.²⁸³ Even at the most fundamental level of analysis one cannot regard the autograph score as definitive for two reasons: in January 1893 Verdi did not enter all of the revisions that he was then making, or that he had determined prior to that date;²⁸⁴ and the manuscript score bears no traces of the revisions that he made after May 1893.²⁸⁵

Within a mere fifteen months he sanctioned three different versions of Falstaff: the Milanese (the premiere, La Scala, 9 February 1893); the Roman (Teatro Costanzi, 16 April 1893), which incorporated the large

²⁸³That is, he removed three unfoliated leaves from the II.2 ensemble and replaced them with two--the present fols. 250-51^V; and he removed the entire twenty-seventh gathering, the conclusion of III.1, and inserted the present fols. 299-308^V. See pp. 160-61 above.

²⁸⁴See pp. 86-90, 116-18 above.

²⁸⁵See Ch. 5 above.

revisions he wrote into the autograph score in May 1893; and the Parisian (Opéra Comique, 18 April 1894), a French translation for which he apparently requested five changes that also apply to Italian performances.²⁸⁶ Each of the three versions is historically valid. A modern critical edition, however, should represent Verdi's last word on the opera. For this reason the Parisian Falstaff--more precisely, the Roman Falstaff with the five Parisian changes translated into Italian--should be considered the basic definitive version, and the Milanese and Roman variants should be included in an appendix to the edition.

It is evident that much of the principal source, the autograph score (which most closely approximates the Roman production), must be altered to produce the basic definitive version. One must therefore rely on the readings of other primary sources. The extant manuscript sources to be considered in addition to the autograph score are:

1. Nearly 300 revisions that Verdi made in the proofs for the first piano-vocal edition. He made most of these changes in November-December 1892 but failed to write dozens of them into the autograph score, while others he entered only partially or inaccurately. These proofs are now located in the library of the Milan Conservatory.

²⁸⁶See pp. 204-05 above.

2. The Verdi-Ricordi correspondence from 4 November to 27 December 1892, which contains material necessary for the understanding of the above revisions.²⁸⁷ Verdi's letters and copies of Ricordi's telegrams are preserved at Casa Ricordi; Ricordi's letters are owned by the composer's heirs at the Villa Verdi in Sant'Agata; transcriptions of Ricordi's letters may be consulted at the Istituto di studi verdiani, Parma.
3. Other letters of Verdi, Boito, and Ricordi that deal directly with revisions in Falstaff.²⁸⁸
4. The Basel manuscript. This document is an early draft of one of the Parisian revisions, the only one for which we have any manuscript evidence.²⁸⁹

Other manuscript materials, e.g., the few available sketches and the deleted readings of the full autograph score, are more appropriate to a discussion of Verdi's creative process and do not affect the basic definitive version: these should be included, if relevant, in the critical commentary that accompanies the new edition.²⁹⁰

Only those printed sources of Falstaff that appeared in Verdi's lifetime need be considered in forming a basic definitive version. It may easily be demonstrated that the current editions include many

²⁸⁷See Ch. 3 above.

²⁸⁸See Chs. 4 and 5 above.

²⁸⁹See pp. 184-87 above.

²⁹⁰These sketches and deleted readings are considered in Chs. 12-17 below.

readings, particularly of expressive nuances, that date from after the composer's death. The primary printed sources, then, are:

1. The first issue of the piano-vocal score (Ricordi 96000, 474 pp., blind stamp 1/1893, 2/1893, or 3/1893), which contains nearly all of Verdi's proof revisions, as well as some revisions that he did not write into the proofs but that may reasonably be considered to stem from him or to have been approved by him.²⁹¹ The 96000¹ version was never performed as such, for Verdi revised some of its readings prior to the La Scala premiere.²⁹²
2. The second issue of the piano-vocal score (Ricordi 96000, 462 pp., blind stamp 6/1893), which incorporates the small revisions that Verdi made during the January rehearsals and the two large revisions (in II.2 and III.1) that he made in March-April 1893. This score, that is, represents the Roman Falstaff. To arrive at the Milanese Falstaff one must substitute the original 96000¹ readings for the two large revisions in 96000².
3. The first printed orchestral score, published for rental only (Ricordi 96180, 472 pp. in 3 vols., completed July 1893), which, except for obvious errors and problems peculiar to the orchestral editions, agrees with 96000² (the Roman Falstaff).

²⁹¹See pp. 86-90 above.

²⁹²See p. 114 above.

4. The French piano-vocal score, existing in two issues: the first (Ricordi 96413, 422 pp., blind stamp 1/1894) bearing only two of Verdi's five Parisian revisions; and the second (Ricordi 96413, 422 pp., blind stamps 3/1894 or 4/1894) bearing all five.
5. The third issue of the (Italian) piano-vocal score (Ricordi 96000, 459 pp., blind stamp 9/1897), which, apart from the removal--and in a few cases the unfortunate addition--of obvious errors, contains five differences from 96000²: the five Parisian revisions, none of which is to be found in the autograph score.

Before considering the difficult problems raised by the orchestral score 96180, it is advisable to examine the piano-vocal scores closely, for only they reveal the history of Verdi's revisions. Are these scores trustworthy? Is one justified in accepting their readings when they differ from those of the autograph score?

Three broad considerations argue for the validity of the piano-vocal scores: the closeness of the composer to them; the manner in which each of them was engraved; and the attitude of their most persistent overseer, Giulio Ricordi. The first of these considerations has been established in Chapter 3 above. Even though Verdi did not actually supervise the production of 96000¹, it is clear that he actively collaborated with Ricordi in its preparation. He spent two months (November and December 1892) examining the piano-vocal proofs, which had been engraved from a manuscript reduction that he had previously revised, corrected, and endorsed. The letters from this period leave no doubt that he could forbid the printing of any reading

he found objectionable. If he did not request that a given passage be changed, Ricordi was justified in assuming that the composer gave it his tacit consent.²⁹³ Throughout the preparation of the piano-vocal score Verdi's task was to endorse the work of others, to whom he had delegated most of his editorial responsibility: the reducer, the engravers, and Ricordi.

Verdi's relinquishing of his authority over certain aspects of the Falstaff editions was the common practice of the period. By custom and contract he trusted Ricordi to produce a responsible edition, and the editor reciprocated by consulting him when he thought it advisable to deviate significantly from the autograph score.²⁹⁴ There is even evidence that Verdi expected Casa Ricordi to find and correct the errors in the autograph score: "As much as I pay attention," he wrote to Boito, "there are always some wrong notes [in Act II of the autograph score]. . . . The reducer and Giulio will think about these things."²⁹⁵

His involvement with the piano-vocal score extended to the period of the January 1893 rehearsals, at which time he must have seen (and

²⁹³As will be seen below, one need no longer make this assumption, although it should be borne in mind that both Verdi and Ricordi undoubtedly accepted it in late 1892.

²⁹⁴See, e.g., Ricordi to Verdi, 6 and 8 November 1892 (pp. 67-69 above).

²⁹⁵20 September 1892: "Stò ora esaminando minutamente il Second' Atto, ma per quanto faccia attenzione, mi sfuggiranno sempre qualche nota sbagliata molti # e #bb. Ci penseranno il Riduttore e Giulio." Unpublished.

heard) 96000¹, the earliest copies of which were printed by 4 January.²⁹⁶ Once again he was free to demand changes in the score--including those passages probably changed by Ricordi--for the editor, it would seem, was planning to print a revised issue (96000²) precisely to contain such corrections.²⁹⁷ And at this time the composer was indeed concerned with editorial matters, for, apart from requesting additional modifications in Falstaff, he emended the autograph score to incorporate many of his small revisions made in the past months. Verdi's closeness to 96000¹ and 96000², therefore, would by itself persuade us to take their readings seriously.

The second consideration, the engraving of the scores, leads to the same conclusions. The 96000¹ plates were reused for 96000² and 96000³: i.e., to produce 96000² the engravers returned to the original plates and re-engraved the few necessary corrections; the 96000² plates were similarly corrected to produce 96000³. Surely the engravers acted only on explicit instructions from Giulio Ricordi, at least on a score as important to the reputation of the firm as Falstaff. It is most unlikely that a significant variant could have slipped into a new issue without the editor being aware of it.

²⁹⁶See pp. 113-14 above.

²⁹⁷See p. 109 above.

The third consideration, the editor's attitude towards Falstaff, has been documented in Chapters 3-5 above. Ricordi, a close friend of Verdi, assumed his task seriously, soberly, and with respect, because he wanted to produce an edition of which Verdi approved. No other explanation accounts for his sending the composer Carignani's reduction to correct; his sending him the piano-vocal proofs to revise; his willingness to delay the final printing of 96000¹ so that Verdi could continue to correct the proofs at his leisure.

When time forced Ricordi to release a slightly defective 96000¹, he felt obliged to follow it with a revised 96000²--surely not to include his own revisions, but Verdi's. The one time Verdi explicitly asked him to help decide about a significant variant in II.2 (March 1893) the editor refused, not wishing to assume the responsibility--even Boito would have no part of it. Ricordi's letters of this period clearly express his wish not to intervene in any important musical matter concerning Falstaff.²⁹⁸ This attitude emerges again in Ricordi's (and Boito's) telegram to Verdi on 2 February 1894, when the editor, hesitant to accept the revised plates of the French edition on his own authority, said that he was waiting "for your approval third act modifications before printing it."²⁹⁹ On the basis, then, of

²⁹⁸See pp. 134-41 above.

²⁹⁹See p. 202 above.

the three considerations outlined above it is evident that when significant changes from the proofs appear without autograph evidence in 96000¹ and 96000² they should generally be accepted as valid unless there is compelling evidence to suspect the contrary.³⁰⁰

The changes encountered in 96000³ are more problematic. Issued without comment in 1897, 96000³ contains five changes that the composer had made for the Parisian premiere over three years earlier. The central question is whether he specifically instructed Ricordi to publish these variants or whether the latter produced the 1897 score in the erroneous belief that he understood Verdi's intentions. Even though direct evidence relating to 96000³ is lacking, four reasons point to its probable validity: Verdi requested on 19 January 1894 that his added "Par ici" dialogue be translated into Italian, presumably for the next issue of the Italian piano-vocal score;³⁰¹ this variant is connected to other "modifications" in Ricordi's and Boito's telegram of 2 February 1894;³⁰² Ricordi's past behavior with Falstaff does not suggest that he would publish a final score about which he was uncertain; and finally, there is no evidence that Verdi ever objected to the new score.

³⁰⁰Neither 96000¹ nor 96000² is flawless, for the proofreading of the piano-vocal scores was imperfect. They, along with the proofs, contain differences from the autograph score about which one can never be certain. And in some cases it even appears that Verdi requested changes that were never incorporated into any score. See pp.91-108 above for ten typical problems of these kinds. Nevertheless, 96000¹ and 96000², more often than not, will be judged to be reliable.

³⁰¹See p. 183 above.

³⁰²See p.202 above.

For all of the uncertainty surrounding the publication of 96000³, and even though some of its readings were abandoned in the early twentieth century,³⁰³ it almost certainly represents the composer's last word on the opera. One should consider, therefore, the autograph score to be the principal source but should modify it when appropriate to agree with the readings of 96000³, which also contains the alterations made for 96000¹ and 96000²: this is the basic definitive version of Falstaff.

The Orchestral Score: Special Considerations

The earliest printed orchestral score of Falstaff, 96180, lacks a blind stamp but may be dated by consulting two registers still preserved at Casa Ricordi: Copyrights [I]: Elenco dei pezzi depositati agli Stati Uniti dal 1893 al 15-VI-1914; and Procura Stati Uniti: Copyright 5-12-1892--14-4-1914. Both record that the score was deposited (or sent for deposit) on 27 July 1893. This must have been shortly after the completion of its printing: Ricordi would have wanted to have it copyrighted as quickly as possible. No other printed full score was available until April 1912, when Ricordi released 113953, an edition re-engraved from 96180 but containing several changes of dynamics, articulation, etc.³⁰⁴ Later Ricordi orchestral scores, such as the

³⁰³See pp. 205-06 above.

³⁰⁴For a variant issue of 96180, see n. 276 above. For the date of 113953, see n. 278.

1953 "Nuova edizione riveduta e corretta," are simply reprints of 113953 with further additions, corrections, and modifications, the fruit of conducting experience, not critical editorial practice.³⁰⁵ 96180, therefore, is the fundamental source for all of the Ricordi full scores.

96180 differs markedly from Verdi's manuscript, not only in those passages that we know he inadvertently failed to alter in the autograph score but also in many other, more problematic places. In the printed score, for example, one commonly finds Verdi's often peculiar phrasing regularized, his dynamics supplemented or simplified, his articulations changed. This radical transformation of nuances leads one to conclude that 96180 could not have been engraved from Verdi's manuscript score: there are too many differences between them. The engravers probably worked from Mascheroni's copy of Falstaff, a score that might well have incorporated modifications made in the individual parts during the rehearsals and early performances. Since these documents included all of Verdi's revisions and since they had been proven in performance, they would have been, from Ricordi's point of view, the most logical models to use.

Unfortunately, none of these early documents survives. There is evidence, as will be seen, that the orchestral parts for Act I were engraved by early December 1892--but it is not known whether the

³⁰⁵See, e.g., pp. 205-06 above.

conductor's score was a printed or a manuscript copy.³⁰⁶ Whatever the case, it seems most reasonable to suppose that the readings of 96180 are those of the first Falstaff performances--which, one should remember, Verdi rehearsed and attended. Any other conclusion must presume that Ricordi or an anonymous editor tampered with the orchestral score with regard neither for the autograph score nor for any performances of the opera. At present no evidence exists for this presumption, and the established attitude of Giulio Ricordi towards Verdi and Falstaff renders it extremely unlikely.

By far the most striking fact about 96180 is that we know almost nothing about its preparation. During the last four months of 1892, when Ricordi and Verdi were working on 96000¹, their letters contain only a handful of fleeting references to the engraving of the orchestral parts. Moreover, it is always Ricordi who brings up the subject; and, just as consistently, Verdi has nothing to say about it.

³⁰⁶Casa Ricordi possesses an untitled register of all of the items it has printed, or has planned to print, listed in order of registration number: in nearly all cases this number became the plate number of the relevant printed edition. Registration (or plate) numbers 96003-07, referring to the orchestral parts of Falstaff, are accompanied by the date 11 September 1892; 96180 is accompanied by 24 November 1892. Beside the dates for the parts and the score one finds the entry, "Copisteria." The exact significance of these entries is unknown. The dates may refer to the day on which work on the corresponding item was begun or merely to the day on which the registration (or plate) number was assigned. "Copisteria" may mean that the relevant item was first produced in manuscript before it was engraved (if, in fact, it was later engraved); David Rosen has recently suggested to me that "Copisteria" probably refers to distribution, i.e., that these numbers were to be treated as rental material.

Thus on 1 September 1892, shortly after receiving Act I of the manuscript score, Ricordi wrote, "[With the autograph score] arriving in time, it would be fortunate to have all the orchestral parts engraved, which would save much time."³⁰⁷ On 30 September Ricordi requested the composer to enter the corrections that he had made in the reduction into the autograph score: "It is urgent that that be done, because we can't extract the parts. . . . The Chief Copyist is pressuring me to extract the parts immediately, and to do it in time to engrave them, which is a great advantage for the orchestral rehearsals."³⁰⁸ On 10 November the editor announced that he was obliged to send to America a copyright deposit of "a manuscript copy of the orchestral score [partitura] before the opera is performed. . . . The copy of the manuscript orchestral score cannot be ready until around the end of December."³⁰⁹ On 14 November he urged Verdi to conclude his proofreading of the bozze because "we really have to begin Wednesday or Thursday at the latest [16 or 17 November] or else not only won't the edition be ready, but we won't have the engraved orchestral parts."³¹⁰

³⁰⁷To Verdi: "Arrivando in tempo, sarebbe fortuna avere tutte le parti d'orchestra incise, il che fa risparmiare molto tempo." Unpublished.

³⁰⁸"Cib è urgente a farsi, perché non si possono cavare le parti. . . . 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." Unpublished.

³⁰⁹To Verdi: "Una copia manoscritta della partitura, prima che l'opera sia rappresentata. . . . La copia della partitura manoscritta non potrà essere pronta che verso la fine Dicembre." Unpublished.

³¹⁰"Ebbene, Maestro, bisogna proprio cominciare Mercoledì, o Giovedì al più tardi, altrimenti, non solo non vi sarà pronta l'edizione, ma non si avranno le parti di orchestra incise." Unpublished.

On 2 December he wrote that some engraving of the parts had indeed been done: "Send me the orchestrated modification made in the first act, which I will then insert into the original score: but I urgently need it to correct the orchestral parts, because the first act of the orchestra is already completely engraved, and if we wait for you to come [to Milan], it wouldn't get here in time to make the new plates."³¹¹

Throughout all of this Verdi has nothing to say about the orchestral score and parts; although he may well have complied with the editor's requests, the printing of the orchestral material seems not to have concerned him greatly.

The last we hear of this material is in Ricordi's casual--but extremely informative--comment in his letter of 19 December: "De Angelis has already delivered [the] first and third act, done with great care [accuratezza]; within a few days he will give me the second."³¹²

Girolamo De Angelis, first violin at La Scala from 1879 to 1897, was to be the concertmaster at the premiere of Falstaff; Verdi greatly respected his abilities.³¹³ It seems clear that Ricordi had requested

³¹¹To Verdi: "Mandarmi la modificazione fatta al 1° Atto strumentata, che poi inserirò nella partitura originale; ma della quale ho urgentissime necessità per correggere le parti d'orchestra, perché il 1° Atto dell'orchestra è già tutto incise, e non si arriverebbe in tempo a fare le nuove lastre, aspettando la di Lei venuta." Unpublished.

³¹²"De Angelis già consegnò 1° e 3° Atti, fatti con grande accuratezza: a giorni mi darà il 2°." Unpublished.

³¹³For example, on 29 March 1893 Verdi noted to Ricordi that De Angelis would not play in the Roman performances and subsequent tour of Falstaff: "Resteranno pel giro i meno buoni archi, ché vedo anche mancanti due o tre dei migliori. E chi rimpiazzerà De Angelis? Resteranno fra i violini due o tre giovinetti con una giovinetta che non hanno né attacco né suono." In Abbiati, IV, 502.

him to prepare the violin parts--or perhaps all of the orchestral parts. Whether De Angelis had access to the autograph score for this task is not known. But the passing nature of Ricordi's statement suggests that Verdi was completely aware of the violinist's role and that it was merely business as usual. Once again, when he received the news, Verdi had no comment whatever.

De Angelis may well be a source of many of the differences between 96180 and the autograph score: e.g., the bowing indications, the standardized dynamics and articulation, etc. And he might not have been alone: Ricordi could have requested similar assistance from other first desk players, or of the conductor, in order to arrive at workable parts.³¹⁴ Although the editorial roles of first desk musicians is a topic that needs further investigation, one need only note here that Verdi showed neither surprise nor concern at the prospect of De Angelis's intervention. More likely, the news would have been a relief for the composer, who had written as he corrected the reduction a few months earlier, "How many errors, both large and small, there must be in the score!"³¹⁵

³¹⁴We know that Ricordi at least showed certain parts of Falstaff to certain performers and sought their advice: e.g., the guitar corrections suggested in Ricordi to Verdi, 6 November 1892: "Fatto esaminare parte chitarre da buon suonatore: in complesso va benissimo; qualche nota da lasciar fuori, ma gli accordi rimangono sempre completi." Unpublished. See pp. 67-68 above. Verdi readily accepted the advice of this "buon suonatore" and authorized the revisions in the guitar part.

³¹⁵To Ricordi, 27 September 1892 (Mr 1052): "Quanti sbagli e piccoli e grandi vi devono essere nello spartito! Mettete un piccolo segno dappertutto ove io ho indicato, e troverò ben io qualche momento per correggerli." Unpublished. See also Verdi to Boito, 20 September 1892 (p. 215 above).

Under such circumstances it would be preposterous to maintain that all of the peculiar nuances found in the autograph score--conflicting dynamics between the individual members of a chord, different phrasings of obviously parallel passages, distinctions between pizzicati with and without staccato dots, etc.--are absolutely valid and reveal the composer's search for an "extraordinary variety of effects."³¹⁶ Rather, it is more reasonable to conclude that Verdi's indications of dynamics, phrasings, articulations, and so forth are simply less precise than those of notes or metronome markings. He may have indicated his expressive intentions only generally, perhaps not standardizing them because he knew that the job would be done for him as a matter of course at Casa Ricordi and that, if necessary, he could emend the results during the rehearsals.

All the available evidence supports this conclusion. As will be seen in the second half of the present study, Verdi wrote the autograph score in several layers. Errors were possible, and occurred, with each entry of a new layer. That he might have written, for example, a forte under the notes of a chord in the first layer, and several months later, a fortissimo under those of the second is perfectly understandable. And one's imagination ought not to be overly taxed by the consideration that he could easily have mixed indications such as pp and ppp in the same layer without intending to specify any difference in performance.³¹⁷

³¹⁶Vaughan, "Meeting Verdi on His Own Ground," p. lxix.

³¹⁷Replying to a question of dynamics in one of his own scores, Puccini wrote to Ricordi in October 1895: "In quanto ai pp. e ff. della partitura, se ho ecceduto è perchè, come dice Verdi, quando si vuol piano si mette pppp." In Gara, ed., Carteggi pucciniani, p. 128.

His attitude towards these small markings is perhaps best shown in his bozze corrections. Of the approximately 300 corrections in those proofs less than a dozen concern phrasing, dynamics, and articulation-- and some of these changes may not even be in his hand. His most common entry of this sort is an accent for special effect (as in Ford's "Quella crudel beltà / Sempre è vissuta in grande fede di castità" in II.1, p. 168, mm. 106). The scarcity of this type of change certainly does not reflect a deep concern with subtle, expressive nuances.

At least for these small matters of detail Verdi seems to have delegated his authority to others. His indications of nuance can be known in only a general sense; consequently, a certain measure of ambiguity clings to nearly every passage of the autograph score. Since the purpose of a critical edition is to transmit the composer's intentions, it should claim no more specificity in these matters than he actually provided.

Thus an editor of Falstaff must deal with ambiguities and probabilities. Since the autograph score is the only complete source in the composer's hand, it must be considered the principal source for a modern critical edition, and any deviation from it should clearly be indicated as such. There will be details on nearly every folio, however, that will invite modification or standardization according to the facts and one's own musical judgment. Because of Verdi's closeness to 96000¹⁻³ and 96180, the following would be a reasonable editorial principle: when modifications of the autograph score are deemed desirable,

they should be made in the direction of the early published scores; readings based neither on these editions nor on the manuscript score should be avoided.

This does not mean that the readings of 96180, for example, are always to be preferred to those of the autograph score. Apart from its many printing errors it contains several passages where its notes may be questioned.³¹⁸ Some small errors in 96180 might have eluded all proofreaders and might not have been noticed even during the rehearsals and first performances. And one must consider the thorny problem of whether the standardization of expressive markings done by De Angelis or others might occasionally misrepresent the composer's intentions; the possibility still remains, particularly in matters of articulation, that Verdi's manuscript indications were often precise, specific, and fully intended. 96180 should remain an advisor, not a dictator.

Different editors, to be sure, will resolve the problems differently, for when conclusive evidence is lacking, conflicting opinions are bound to arise. Since Verdi did not choose to clarify all of his intentions, no edition of Falstaff can be produced that is absolutely definitive in every detail. Inevitably the hand of an editor will be strongly felt. For this reason a modern edition should suggest, not demand, a certain performance.

³¹⁸Some of these passages were mentioned on pp. 91-108 above.

We conclude this section with our suggested treatment of four typical problems in the orchestral Falstaff:³¹⁹

1. Near the beginning of the opera Dr. Cajus pleads with Falstaff, "Guardate. Come s'atpeggia al niego quel ceffo da bugiardo!"

To accompany these words Verdi wrote the first violin, cello, and bass parts in the autograph score (fol. 9, m. 2--9^v, m. 1) as in Example 33.

Example 33

Vaughan argues that the staccati in mm. 3-4 of the example are meaningful and specific: Verdi, he claims, was a "true precursor" of the distinction between pizzicato normale and pizzicato staccato found most commonly in twentieth-century jazz.³²⁰ This assertion is extravagant. Mm. 3-4 were surely intended to be parallel to

³¹⁹The reader may also consult the many questions raised about the first folio of the Falstaff autograph score in Anon., Toward a Critical Edition, op. cit., no pag.

³²⁰Vaughan, "Discordanze," p. 14.

the first two measures. The composer himself was inconsistent in his placing of staccato dots: notice that dots are lacking in the second, third, and fourth cello notes of m. 3, and in the first cello and bass notes in m. 4.

In the proofs (p. 10, mm. 2-5) Verdi accepted dots under all of the notes that are to be played pizzicato in Example 33. 96180 follows the autograph score more closely: here (pp. 12-13) the staccati agree with those of Example 33, except that dots have been added to the cello for the second, third, and fourth notes of m. 3. 96180, however, contains a number of piano dynamics not found in the autograph score. In the 1912 orchestral score, 113953 (pp. 12-13), all staccati have been removed from the plucked notes, and dots have been added to all of the arco eighth notes.

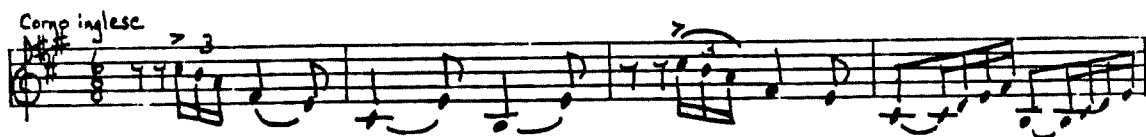
Perhaps the simplest solution in a modern critical edition is to follow the autograph reading but to introduce bracketed (or light face) staccati for all of the pizzicato eighth notes not so marked in the manuscript score. The piano dynamics of 96180 seem plausible and reasonably valid and might also be suggested in brackets.³²¹ None of the arco eighth notes should bear dots: Verdi is consistent about this matter in the autograph score, and his indications are followed in the proofs, the piano-vocal editions, and 96180. Since Vaughan has chosen this passage for criticism,

³²¹In the typescript of editorial norms for the Chicago/Ricordi critical edition, round brackets () are to be used for "additions deriving from other contemporary sources which cannot be proven to derive from Verdi" (p. 13). They would thus seem to be applicable here, although one hesitates to assert that 96180 meets fully the criterion for round-bracket additions of dynamic markings: a source "associated directly with the composer" (p. 22).

one might make a brief explanation in the critical commentary, but similar problems hardly require comment.

2. In the English horn solo that accompanies the reading of the beginning of Falstaff's letters to Alice and Meg in I.1 the two phrases are given different articulations in the autograph score, fol. 58, mm. 1-4 (Example 34a):

Example 34a



The difficulties here are: the (surely unintended) differences in the slurring of the two phrases; and the problem of deciding whether the mark accompanying the first note of each phrase is an accent or a diminuendo--these two indications may easily be confused in the manuscript score. Verdi seems to standardize the slurs in subsequent measures (fol. 58^v, mm. 3-4; fol. 59, mm. 4-5; fol. 59^v, mm. 1-2) to agree with those of Ex. 34a, mm. 3-4, but the marks under the initial notes now more closely resemble diminuendi, not accents. He confuses the matter further with the four measures beginning on fol. 60^v, m. 3, where he doubles the

English horn with an A clarinet with quite different markings. Few would maintain that his slurs are reliable in this passage (Example 34b):

Example 34b

96180 standardizes the articulation of all of the English horn phrases as in Example 34c (corresponding to Example 34a above) and consistently adds a piano dynamic:

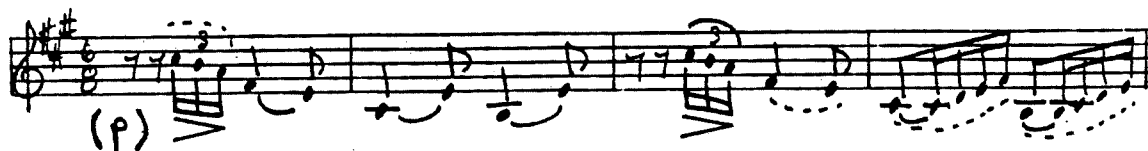
Example 34c

But while it is legitimate to interpret all of the possible accents as diminuendi, Verdi never indicated that the diminuendi should last an entire measure: in the proofs and piano-vocal scores (p. 53, mm. 5-8) the diminuendi more properly last only for the length of the triplet upbeat. In addition, the slurs below the sixteenth

notes in 96180 mask the fact that more often than not Verdi failed to write slurs for these notes.

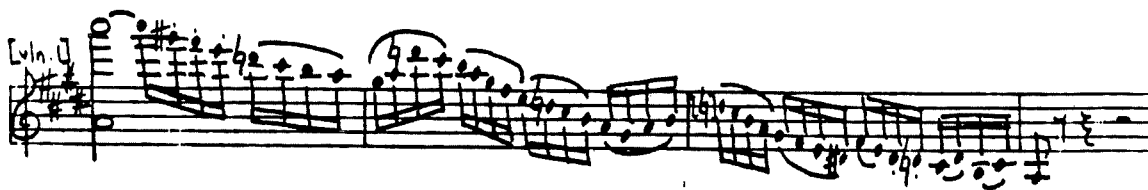
In order to normalize these phrases in a modern critical edition, Verdi's slurs should be retained where he indicated them, and suggested slurs (in dotted lines) should be added to agree with those of 96180 where he did not. The piano dynamics of 96180 may be kept but placed in (round) brackets.³²² The possible accents may be regarded throughout as diminuendi, but one should discuss the difficulty in the critical commentary. Thus, a critical reading of the passage in Ex. 34 might appear as in Ex. 35:

Example 35



3. Verdi wrote the descending violin run near the beginning of Falstaff's monologue in III.1 (fol. 265^v, mm. 1-4) as in Example 36a.

Example 36a



³²²See n. 321 above.

Here the articulations seem precise and clearly specified. Yet on fol. 266 one finds a cancelled, earlier version of the run that bears only the initial tie, but no slurs or staccati. The single repetition of the run (fol. 272^v-73) is marked "Come prima" but contains only the tie. The proofs and piano-vocal scores (pp. 304 and 310) have readings close to that of Ex. 36a, but the initial note is given an accent, and the first three staccato dots have been replaced by a slur. The composer never indicated that he disapproved of this version. The real complication, however, comes in 96180, p. 322, mm. 1-4, where in addition to the inclusion of the accent, the slurs are removed in favor of staccati (Example 36b).

Example 36b



Its second appearance in 96180 (pp. 329-30) is marked, like the autograph score, "Come prima," with only the tie, but no accent, slurs, or staccati.

The difference between this problem and those discussed earlier is one of degree: one is no longer dealing with an interpretation of Verdi's ambiguous articulations but with a radical, audible modification of the indications in the autograph score. Such a radical change, in fact, is the best argument for its

validity. It is unlikely that the composer was unaware of the change during the rehearsals and performances (on which we have concluded that 96180 must have been based)--and it certainly could not have arisen from engraver error. Perhaps Girolamo De Angelis suggested that the passage be played staccato; or Verdi himself might be the source of the change.

Because of the significance of the change, the best solution is to accept it (with the initial accent added in round brackets) and to provide the autograph articulation in a footnote, on an optional staff above the violin part, or in the critical commentary. To insist on the unquestioned validity of either option would be to lack a sensitivity to the complexity of the problem.

This violin run presents yet another editorial difficulty. In the autograph reading (Ex. 36a) the second sixteenth note of m. 2 is an A; in all printed editions the note is a B (Ex. 36b, m. 2). The former note cannot be considered an autograph error, for Verdi consistently wrote an A in the repetitions of the passage in his manuscript (on fol. 272^v and the cancelled fol. 266). The B of the printed editions might well be an error that the proofreaders never discovered or that was never noticed during the rehearsals. On the other hand, the B might be a definitive revision, for it appears independently and consistently in the piano-vocal and printed orchestral scores. I prefer the autograph A, since its alternative could easily have passed unnoticed in the editions; but both notes should be offered to the conductor, either in a footnote or in the critical commentary.

4. A similar problem of articulation occurs in II.2 beginning at the più mosso passage where Quickly announces that the outraged Ford is approaching the house: "Egli scavalca le siepi del giardino." On fol. 223^v and the succeeding folios of the autograph score Verdi indicated that the violin parts be played slurred, usually, as in Example 37a, in groups of four notes; later (fol 225ff) eight-note groups occasionally appear.

Example 37a



This passage and its continuation are unslurred in the proofs and 96000¹ (p. 233, mm. 3ff) and are accompanied by the indication staccate, although dots are lacking. In 96180, however, the passage is unslurred, with staccato dots and with the indication staccatissimo (Example 37b)

Example 37b



Since the change from a slurred to a staccato performance was made before the proofs were engraved in November 1892, it probably stems from Verdi (during his correction, perhaps, of Carignani's reduction manuscript), not from De Angelis. The latter may have provided the dots and the staccatissimo indication, but in so doing he seems to have carried out Verdi's revised intentions. The passage was certainly played staccatissimo at its first performance. I therefore favor the reading of 96180 and suggest that the autograph slurs be mentioned in the critical commentary.

The Text and Stage Directions

In addition to the sources already cited for the music, two further documents are relevant to the determination of a critical text and set of stage directions: Boito's autograph libretto; and the first two issues of the printed libretto (Ricordi 96001, 114pp., issued concurrently with 96000¹; henceforth 96001¹; and Ricordi 96001, 115 pp., a revision conforming to the revised text of 96000³; henceforth 96001²).³²³ Boito's autograph libretto, currently located at the Villa Verdi in Sant'Agata, is not a definitive text; as Verdi was composing the music Boito modified the text to suit him. This autograph libretto is a provisional text whose importance is primarily historical,

³²³Harvard University owns copies of 96001¹ and 96001² with blind stamps of 3/1893 and 11/[19]13. Copies of each undoubtedly exist with earlier blind stamps.

for it often accounts for seeming errors in the text of the autograph score. 96001¹ (and consequently 96001²) is of particular value because both Verdi and Boito proofread and corrected it.

The principal source for the text of Falstaff is, again, the composer's full autograph score, the only available autograph text (apart from a few bozze corrections) and one that is directly related to his conception of the opera during its composition. Yet this text requires emendation and critical comment for several reasons: it is defective in spelling, punctuation, and capitalization and contains a few readings that are obvious errors; it fails to incorporate textual revisions made at a later date; and it occasionally differs from the printed editions that Verdi helped to proofread.

His haphazard punctuation--necessary commas and periods are frequently lacking--and orthography may be corrected by consulting 96000¹ and 96001¹ (96180 rarely, if ever, presents conflicting textual evidence); archaic spellings should be modernized. Thus his "Gaje comari di Vindsor" (fols. 194^v and 200^v), containing an archaism and an error, would be reproduced as "Gaie comari di Windsor"; his "Norfolth" (fol. 211) becomes "Norfolk."

Moreover, some readings of the manuscript text are obviously erroneous. For instance, the original text for Alice's solo piece began: "Gaje comari di Windsor! è l'ora!/L'ora d'armar la risata sonora!" At some point before Verdi gave his score to Ricordi for reduction--we do not know exactly when--he decided to replace "armar" with "alzar." Boito corrected the autograph libretto (Act II, fol. 13), and Verdi corrected the autograph score by inserting "alzar" on fols.

195, 200^v, and 201. But he inadvertently allowed "armar" to stand in a repetition on fol. 201. An error of this sort, clearly, should be corrected in a modern edition and explained in the critical commentary.

Far more problematic are the rare cases in which what might first appear to be a manuscript error actually introduces a new meaning into Boito's text. An excellent example occurs at the beginning of Ford's monologue in II.1. The autograph libretto (Act II, fol. 7) agrees with the printed libretto (p. 51) in posing two questions: "È sogno? o realtà?" Verdi, on the other hand, wrote two exclamations, the second fearfully rejecting the first, into the autograph score, fol. 161: "è sogno! è realtà!" Adding to the problem, Ricordi seemed to favor Boito's version but printed it ambiguously in 96000¹, p. 177: "È sogno? o realtà..." Despite Verdi's examination of the 96000¹ and 96001¹ proofs, one might well favor his manuscript text, for it seems fully intended and closely wedded to its musical setting: just as Ford passes from an attempt to deceive himself ("è sogno!") to an acceptance of the sad truth ("è realtà!"), the music proceeds from a false resolution on the F augmented chord to the clarity of a new, lower chord of D major. A footnote here, however, should notify the conductor of the Boitian alternative to be found in the critical commentary.

As Verdi revised his opera, he often neglected to enter the textual changes into the autograph score. Most conspicuous here are two of the Parisian revisions in III.2: the "Inoltriam" dialogue and the new text that accompanies the wedding minuet. These new texts should be included in the critical edition and may be derived from

96000³ and 96001² (not from the Basel manuscript).³²⁴ Likewise, he made a few textual corrections in the proofs that do not appear in the manuscript score. Typical of these are Falstaff's descriptions of Alice in I.1, which read in the autograph score (fol. 28^r-28^v) "Alice è il nome e un giorno come ne' suoi paraggi passar mi vide / Rise" and (fol. 32^r-32^v) "saran le mie Golconde e le mie Conche d'oro." Verdi changed these in the proofs to the more accurate readings (p. 27) "Alice è il nome, e un giorno come passar mi vide / Ne' suoi paraggi, rise" and (pp. 31-32) "Saran le mie Golconde e le mie Coste d'oro!"

In order to deal with the printed textual variants that lack autograph evidence, one must understand to what extent Verdi might have been responsible for them. When Carlo Carignani was preparing the piano-vocal reduction in September 1892, Ricordi was having the libretto engraved and printed. Its sources appear to have been the autograph score and a manuscript libretto provided by Boito: surely the latter would have been necessary, if only to clarify the versification. Moreover, Ricordi seems to have referred to a model libretto on 2 September 1892, when he wrote to Verdi: "I'm sending you two reduction fascicles in a registered package so that you can examine them and see if they are all right. . . . For now the stage directions have not been put in; I'll put them in later, taking them from the full score and the libretto."³²⁵ Given the variants of 96000¹ and 96001¹

³²⁴See pp. 184-90 above.

³²⁵"In sottofascia raccomandato le mando 2 fascicoli di riduzione, perché si compiaccia esaminarli, e vedere se vanno bene. . . . Per ora non sono state messe le indicazioni sceniche; le metterò poi in seguito, traendole dalla partitura e dal libretto." Unpublished.

from the autograph score, one infers that the text and stage directions of the published editions must have been conflations based on both Verdian and Boitian models. Once again, Verdi seems not to have objected.

As the libretto proofs were printed, Ricordi showed them to Boito, who then passed them on to Verdi: thus Boito wrote the composer on 25 September: "Today I'll see the proofs of the third act (libretto) and I'll send them to you after my correction."³²⁶ Both men examined the proofs carefully. Verdi, for example, made a number of suggestions for the first act on 18 and 20 September, and Boito proposed variants for the third act on 27 September.³²⁷ One may therefore conclude that Verdi proofread and approved 96001¹, just as he later proofread and approved the 96000¹ bozze.

What guidelines should be used to decide which of the textual variants of the autograph score, 96000¹, and 96001¹ is to be preferred in a critical edition? In cases where the evidence is totally ambiguous, it is probably best to follow the text found in the autograph score and to relegate the printed variants to the critical commentary. On the other hand, one should regard deliberate emendations of already

³²⁶Luzio, Carteggi verdiani, II, 158.

³²⁷Verdi to Ricordi, 18 September 1892 (Cesari and Luzio, Copialettere, pp. 379-82); and 20 September 1892 (unpublished). Boito to Verdi, 27 September 1892 (Luzio, op. cit., II, 153-54; Abbiati, IV, 460). Ricordi wrote that he had carried out Verdi's instructions in a letter to Verdi, 24 September 1892 (unpublished). Verdi's letter of 18 September also contains his diagram of a stage setting for the conclusion of II.2: this diagram should be reproduced in the critical commentary of a new edition.

engraved plates as tipping the balance in favor of the new, non-autograph readings. The bozze (p. 37), for instance, agree with the autograph score (fol. 39^v) in Falstaff's line in I.1, "usare sotterfugi ed equivoci." 96000¹, however, carries the modification (p. 37) "usare strategemmi ed equivoci," which agrees with the reading of 96001¹ (p. 15). Similarly, the proofs (p. 60) and the manuscript score (fol. 64^r-64^v) show Alice's line preceding the quartet in I.2 as "E prenderlo in burletta"; 96000¹ (p. 60 and 96001¹ both read "E metterlo in burletta!" (exclamation point in 96000¹ only). In both cases the modification of the plates of 96000¹ suggests that the later reading be considered definitive.

Much more difficult are those passages in which Verdi erred in his choice of text, but in which all printed editions agree with his manuscript score. Such a passage occurs in the introduction to the women's quartet in I.2 (96000¹, pp. 61-63), where Verdi assigned Quickly two of Meg's lines, "Quell'uom è un cannone / Se scoppia ci spaccia," and Meg four of Quickly's lines, "Un flutto in tempesta / Gittò sulla rena / Di Windsor codesta / Vorace balena";³²⁸ or in the men's quintet that follows, where (96000¹, pp. 74-75) Verdi accidentally omitted setting Dr. Cajus's tenth line, "Genti son di sua tribù," and reversed the eleventh and twelfth, "Non son due stinchi di santo / Nè due

³²⁸The cause of Verdi's lapse here is discussed in Chapter 13 below.

['non son' in the autograph score and 96000¹] fiori di virtù." Whatever the editor's decision, it should be explained in a footnote in the score itself, not in the critical commentary.

The stage directions of the autograph score may be followed in the critical edition, but they need to be expanded by bracketed interpolations from the printed sources, which are generally more complete. Since the printed sources often differ, the interpolations must be drawn from different sources on different occasions, the object being to provide as many stage directions as possible. Obvious redundancies or emended directions in the principal source may be omitted without comment.³²⁹

With these preliminary remarks to a modern critical edition, this portion of the present study is concluded. We have thus far been concerned primarily with clarifying the history of Falstaff and the variants of its published editions. We shall now consider the period from September 1891 to October 1892, in which Verdi wrote the bulk of the principal source, the full autograph score. That manuscript, as will be seen, is an extremely rich document that preserves evidence revealing when and how he composed portions of the opera. Since most of the sketches for Falstaff are currently unavailable, the autograph

³²⁹Of extreme interest in the staging of Verdi's operas are the production books (disposizioni sceniche) issued by Ricordi, which frequently provide detailed instructions of the staging of certain early performances, often the first. Unfortunately, the production book for Falstaff, to which Ricordi assigned the plate number 96585, has yet to turn up.

score takes on added importance as the only significant source of information about Verdi's compositional process at the end of his career; and a scrutiny of the autograph score will add to our understanding of the limits of its reliability as the principal editorial source of the opera.

Part Two

The Autograph Score of Falstaff

Chapter 7

Letters and Anecdotes concerning the Autograph Score³³⁰

When Verdi, after several months of compositional inactivity, began again in early June 1891 to work on Falstaff,³³¹ he was probably still composing a continuity draft; no evidence suggests that he began to write the full score until several months later.

It is unclear whether he had a clear orchestral conception of the opera at this time--yet he often thought of instruments during the earliest stages of composition. The continuity draft for Rigoletto, for example, contains the indications "oboe" and "violoncello" in the Act III storm scene;³³² likewise, a sketch from Act III of Otello also contains "oboè."³³³

More concrete evidence, perhaps, comes from the Italian statesman Quintino Sella, an associate of Verdi in the Chamber of Deputies in 1861 and 1862, who had asked him how he composed. Although Sella's paraphrase of Verdi's reply obviously employs language not used by the composer, its basic idea may well be accurate:

³³⁰Because of the summary nature of this chapter certain letters and details already discussed will reappear here.

³³¹See p. 36 above.

³³²For a facsimile of these sketches see Gatti, ed., L'abbozzo del Rigoletto. For a discussion of them see Roncaglia, "L'abbozzo del 'Rigoletto' di Verdi," and Petrobelli, "Osservazioni sul processo compositivo in Verdi."

³³³Reproduced in Chusid, A Catalog, p. 137, m. 11.

The thought comes to me complete, and above all I hear whether the notes . . . must be for the flute or the violin. The difficulty lies wholly in writing quickly enough, to be able to express the musical thought in the integrity with which it came into my mind.

Since I am among those who can perhaps conceive [cogliere] a motive without great difficulty but then must hear the score once again in order mentally to associate an accompaniment with the principal motive and then go back to hear it more times to evaluate both the quality of the notes and the beauty of their interaction, you will understand how much I then admired the singular perfection of an organism to whom the simultaneous perception of so many diverse sounds comes so easily. I said to myself: in the field of music the fight between me and this superior man would be impossible. For all my effort I will never attain the excellence that he finds so naturally through his perfect organism.³³⁴

In the summer of 1891, however, the Gran Vegliardo may have anticipated the orchestration of the continuity draft with anxiety. The critic and Roman impresario Gino Monaldi tells us that he visited Verdi at Montecatini in July 1891 and asked him about the progress of Falstaff.³³⁵ Verdi is said to have replied, "Falstaff is finished"³³⁶ -- yes, finished, but not orchestrated." Monaldi observed that the orchestration would not be a great cause of concern, to which the composer is reported to have stated:

Formerly, it's true, it would have been as you say; but it's not so today. Orchestrating this opera of mine is now both a concern and a burden for me: a concern because of the

³³⁴Cesari and Luzio, Copialettere, p. 599. The reference to the (imaginary?) uomo superiore is most uncharacteristic of Verdi.

³³⁵Monaldi, Verdi: 1839-1898, p. 264; retold with minor additions in idem, Il maestro della rivoluzione, p. 191. For an indication of Monaldi's frequent unreliability see Walker, The Man Verdi, pp. 40-42, 284-86.

³³⁶In fact, as we shall see, Verdi had not yet completed the continuity draft: at least the first part of Act III remained to be composed.

contemporary importance of orchestration in lyric opera, and for the significance I intend to give it; a burden because I'm old, and my eyes and hand don't serve me as they once did. Look, working two hours a day--this is how I do it these days--I could tell you exactly how much time I need from now to finish my work; but will I always be able to work these two hours every day? This is why I can't tell you if and when I'll have Falstaff ready.

Verdi first mentioned the orchestral score in a letter to Boito on 10 September 1891: the latter had just written on 8 September that he had heard that Falstaff was completed.³³⁷ Verdi's letter contains a passage that recalls his reply to Sella some thirty years earlier:

Just one word: let me correct this: it's not true that I have finished Falstaff. I'm now working to put into score everything I have done, because I fear I may forget certain passages and instrumental combinations. I'll do the first part of the third act later...and then Amen! This part is shorter and less difficult than the others....

It's necessary, however, to pay attention to the first recitative of Falstaff and the passage where the wives depart... Here one would need...I ought to say, a motive, that would progress diminuendo, dying away in a pianissimo, perhaps even with a solo violin on stage. Why not? If they now put orchestras in the cellar why couldn't one put a violin in the attic?!... If I were a prophet my apostles would say: "Oh, the sublime idea!" Ha, ha, ha, ha! How beautiful the world is!!³³⁸

³³⁷To Verdi, 8 September 1891; in Luzio, Carteggi verdiani, II, 173. It is unclear how Boito received this news.

³³⁸To Boito, 10 September 1891: "Una parola sola: Rettifico: non è vero che io abbia finito il Falstaff. Sto lavorando a mettere in partitura tutto quello che ho fatto perchè temo di dimenticare alcuni squarci ed impasti d'istromenti. Dopo farò la prima parte dell' [sic] Terz'Atto... ed allora Amen! Questa parte è più breve, e meno difficile delle altre....

Però bisogna curare il primo Rec^V di Falstaff e lo squarcio delle Comari quando partono...Qui ci vorrebbe..debbo dire motivo, che andasse diminuendo perdendosi in un pp^{mo} magari con un violino solo sul del palco scenico. Perchè no?--Se ora si mettono le orchestre in cantina, perchè non si potrebbe mettere un violino nel solajo?!...Ah Eh ah ah! Come è bello il mondo!!" Incomplete in Luzio, Carteggi verdiani, II, 173; Walker, The Man Verdi, p. 500.

When Giulio, Giuditta, and Tito Ricordi visited Sant'Agata a few days later, from 11 until about 15 September,³³⁹ the composer requested his friend to obtain some Parisian score paper for him. Upon his return to Milan Ricordi wrote to Verdi: "I immediately wrote to Paris for the music paper: it will be sent to you as soon as it is received."³⁴⁰ On 2 October the editor wrote once again: "I hope that after a letter of mine you will have received the score paper that I sent as soon as it arrived from Paris."³⁴¹

Although the next few months of Verdi's life are very poorly documented, it seems reasonable to suppose that he worked on the autograph score in September, October, and perhaps November 1891. He and Giuseppina made their customary winter move to Genoa in early December, stopping along the way for at least one day in Milan on 5 December.³⁴²

³³⁹See p. 38 above.

³⁴⁰19 September 1891; see n. 80 above.

³⁴¹To Verdi: "Spero che dopo una mia lettera, avrà ricevuto la carta partitura che Le spedii appena giunta da Parigi." Unpublished.

³⁴²Abbiati, IV, 427, describes Verdi's meeting in Milan at this time with Anton Rubinstein and Alfredo Piatti, along with Boito and the Ricordis.

This began, or perhaps continued, a long period of relative inactivity, due especially to a prolonged bout with influenza in January and February 1892.³⁴³

Probably in March or early April 1892 Verdi began again to work on the autograph score, for on 15 April he wrote to Boito: "And now before I lock up the first act completely orchestrated, tell me if the two lines are established:

Bel costruito!--L'onore lo può sentir chi è morto?
No. Vive sol coi vivi. Neppure perchè a torto etc."³⁴⁴

Boito responded on Easter Sunday, 17 April 1892, with some variants in these lines from Falstaff's honor monologue.

Bel costruito! L'onore lo può sentir chi è morto?
No.. Vive sol coi vivi?--Neppure, perchè a torto
Lo lodan le lusinghe, lo corrompe l'orgoglio,
Lo ammorban le calunnie.. E per me non voglio!!

I think this is better and more faithful to the text. I changed the feminine articles to masculine because the subject became masculine. In this way no longer prolonging the image that had its origin in the word aria one returns to the word

³⁴³ Verdi to Mariotti, January 1892; in Abbiati, IV, 433: "Son tre mesi che non lavoro! Sono stato e sono ancora indisposto."

Verdi to Boito, 23 January 1892: "Noi dagli ultimi passato Dicembre fummo inchiodati in casa quasi sempre in letto. La Peppina si è alzata soltanto da due o tre giorni; ed io sono sortito di casa in carrozza da tre o quattro giorni! . . . Ma che brutto anno! Come è male incominciato! Quasi due mesi di tempi perduti!" Unpublished.

Verdi to Boito, 12 February 1892: "Io per un debolezza grandissima che m'impedisce qualunque lavoro che duri più di mezz'ora." Unpublished. Verdi was well enough by 19 March to make a trip to Milan (Abbiati, IV, 435).

³⁴⁴ "Ed ora prima che metta sotto chiave il primo Atto completamente istromentato ditemi se restano fissati i due versi [etc.]" Unpublished.

onore and the conclusion ends up simpler and stronger. I found it necessary, therefore, to modify a word in the penultimate line and I wrote: a torto lo LODAN le lusinghe. You can lock up the first act and begin the second.³⁴⁵

Verdi probably completed the first act a few days later and on 2 or 3 May returned to Sant'Agata, where there seems to have occurred another brief pause in his work on the autograph score.³⁴⁶

By the next month he was altering much of what he had already written. On 17 June he wrote to Ricordi: "First of all don't think about the music of Falstaff either for the end of this month or the next. Even in the finished pieces I am redoing several measures here and there; even several pages, and I'm not making progress."³⁴⁷ Yet that he was willing to make detailed suggestions at this time about the choice of singers for the opera shows that he believed Falstaff to be nearing completion.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁵Abbiati, IV, 440-41. The relevant lines in the autograph libretto (Act I, fol. 7) originally were:

Bel costrutto!--E quest'aria la possiede chi è morto?
No, non lo sente.--E il vivo?--Neppure, perché a torto
La soffian le lusinghe, la corrompe l'orgoglio,
L'ammorban le calunnie. E per me non ne voglio.

The second portion of the first line was changed twice in the autograph libretto: first to "L'onore, lo sente ancor chi è morto?"; then to "L'onore, lo può sentir chi è morto?" The second line was also changed to begin: "No, vive sol coi vivi?"; and "E il vivo" was cancelled. In the third line "La soffian" was corrected in pencil to read "Lo gonfian."

³⁴⁶Verdi to Ricordi, 27 April 1892 (Mr 1013): "Noi ritorniamo a St Agata o Lunedì o Martedì, a meno che un po' di dinamite non ci faccia saltare in aria Domenica." Unpublished.

Verdi to Boito, 11 May 1892 (from Sant'Agata): "Siamo qui da quasi otto giorni ancora mezzi ammalata causa il pessimo viaggio da Genova." Unpublished. See also Walker, op. cit., pp. 500-01; Nardi, Vita, p. 591.

³⁴⁷Mr 1027; in Abbiati, IV, 444.

³⁴⁸Abbiati, IV, 442-44.

After two visits in late June and perhaps early July to the baths at Tabiano (from where he also made a trip to Milan), Verdi and Giuseppina left in early July for Montecatini.³⁴⁹ There he continued to work on the autograph score: "Pasqua has been here [i.e., Montecatini] for two days. I read her most of the libretto and had her sing a few phrases of the third act that I had with me."³⁵⁰ Much of the end of July was spent traveling: Verdi left Montecatini on 20 July, arrived at Sant'Agata the next day, left for Genoa "on business matters" on 25 July, and met with Ricordi, Boito, and Emma Zilli (the first Alice) in Milan on 28 July, presumably returning to Sant'Agata shortly thereafter.³⁵¹

On 12 August Ricordi, then attending the rehearsals of Puccini's Edgar in Brescia, wrote to ask: "When, Maestro, do you think you can send at least an act?...the reduction will take time in order to do it justice. I already have ready the best of the reducers [i.e., Carlo Carignani], whom I shall lock in my study!!...in prison!"³⁵² Verdi replied two days later: "I've looked over what I have orchestrated, and, alas, I'm constantly finding some notes, bars, and phrases to redo! Nevertheless, the first act will be ready, very ready, three or

³⁴⁹Verdi to Ricordi, 17 June 1892 (Mr 1027), in Abbiati, IV, 444-45; and 12 July 1892 (Mr 1028), in Abbiati, IV, 446-47.

³⁵⁰Verdi to Ricordi, 12 July 1892 (Mr 1028); in Abbiati, IV, 446-47.

³⁵¹Verdi to Ricordi, 14 July 1892 (Mr 1030), in Abbiati, IV, 447; 19 July 1892 (Mr 1031), unpublished; 23 July 1892 (Mr 1035), unpublished.

³⁵²To Verdi: "Quando crede, Maestro, poter mandare almeno un atto?... la riduzione chiederà tempo, per curarla come si deve. Ho già pronto il migliore fra i riduttori, che chiuderò nel mio studio!!...in prigione!" Unpublished.

four days from now. How should I send it? But if you come here you can take it away."³⁵³ Ricordi responded on 17 August that because of health and business concerns he would not be able to come to Sant'Agata for eight or ten days.³⁵⁴ Verdi continued his work on the autograph score, and on 22 August he reported to Boito, "I'm writing and working like a dog, but I never finish it."³⁵⁵ The next day Boito replied, "I imagine that the orchestration of Falstaff, if not finished, is probably at the last drops of ink."³⁵⁶

Giulio Ricordi arrived at Sant'Agata on 27 August for a brief visit,³⁵⁷ during which he received the first act of Falstaff. Immediately upon his return two days later he assured the composer, "The portion of the treasure given to me is here, safe and sound, and locked in the vault."³⁵⁸ Carlo Carignani began the reduction of the first act at once,³⁵⁹ and individual fascicles of reduction were sent to Verdi beginning 2 September.³⁶⁰

³⁵³To Ricordi, 14 August 1892 (Mr 1039); in Abbiati, IV, 451.

³⁵⁴To Verdi, 17 August 1892; unpublished.

³⁵⁵"Io scrivo e lavoro come un cane, ma non la finisco mai." Unpublished.

³⁵⁶To Verdi, 23 August 1892; in Luzio, op. cit., II, 175.

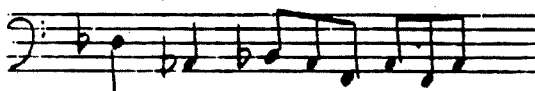
³⁵⁷Ricordi to Verdi, 26 August 1892 (Mr Cop 1892-93, IV, 288): "Madama Maurel venendo invece Martedì qualora mia venuta non disturbi sarò domattina Sabato 9 ore Fiorenzuola." Unpublished.

³⁵⁸29 August 1892: "Due righe appena giunto, per dirle che la parte del tesoro affidatami è qui sana e salva e chiusa in Cassa." Unpublished.

³⁵⁹Ricordi to Verdi, 1 September 1892: "Le dirò che ho esaminato una ventina di pagine della riduzione del 1^o Atto: mi pare fatta bene, chiara e non troppo difficile." Unpublished.

³⁶⁰Ricordi to Verdi, 2 September 1892: see n. 84 above.

While inspecting Carignani's reduction of the first act, Verdi was working on the second act and putting the final touches on the third. In reply to Ricordi's query of 10 September about the autograph score he responded on 13 September: "I won't be able to send you the second act so soon, but I can send you the third. Rather, I plan to finish the few things that remain to do and to bring it myself to Piacenza on the 15th, Thursday. I shall therefore be in Piacenza the day after tomorrow at 9.25 a.m. If you send Tito or someone else to Piacenza he will get there before me if he leaves at 7.05 a.m. He can wait for me at the station, and I shall give the score to him, and if he likes, he can return to Milan right away with the 10.10 train."³⁶¹ Moreover, Verdi requested in the same letter that part of the Act I autograph be returned to him for possible revision: "Send me the fascicle of the original score where Falstaff says, 'In quest'addome Stà un migliajo di lingue...' I don't recall whether it is harmonized or



Giulio immediately had Tito reply in a telegram on 14 September: "I shall be in Piacenza tomorrow morning unless I hear otherwise. I shall bring you the fascicle you requested."³⁶³ Giulio confirmed receipt of the third act with his letter of 17 September; since no further mention is made of the returned fascicle, one may conclude that the composer gave it a brief glance in Piacenza on 15 September and sent it back with Tito the same day.

In the latter half of September Verdi examined the reduction of the first and third acts and worked on the orchestration of the second. After he had finished his correction of the first act reduction, he returned it on 18 September: "There are some errors in the score [i.e., that Verdi spotted and marked in the reduction] above which I ask you to make some signs so that I can correct them."³⁶⁴ On 20 September Verdi wrote to Boito: "I am now examining the second act in great detail, but as much as I pay attention, there are always some wrong notes, many # and #bb, that I miss. The reducer and Giulio will think about these things."³⁶⁵ His concern about the inaccuracy of the score is found again in a letter to Ricordi of 27 September: "I'm sending you the examined reduction of the first part of the third

³⁶³Tito Ricordi to Verdi (Mr Cop 1892-93, V, 312): "Sarò domattina Piacenza salvo ordine contrario. Porterò fascicolo chiesto." Unpublished.

³⁶⁴To Ricordi (Mr 1051); in Abbiati, IV, 458. These pencilled signs of Ricordi (or Carignani), though often erased, may be found throughout the autograph score; they reveal some of the changes that Verdi made in the score at this "reduction" stage of composition.

³⁶⁵See n. 295 above.

act--how many errors, both large and small, there must be in the score!
 Put a little sign everywhere I have indicated, and I'll find some
 moment or other to correct them. . . . I'm finishing the second act.
 When do you want it to be ready?"³⁶⁶

Ricordi's reply of 30 September reveals the impatience of the
 editor:

As regards the second act, you, Maestro, can let us know
 when it would be convenient to send him to take it so that you will
 not be disturbed on this account.

One important thing: the signs in the score have been made:
 now it is necessary that you be able to do what corresponds to
 the signs themselves: but.....it is urgent that that be done
 because we can't extract the parts. Do you think that when you
 give us the second act we could bring you the rest of the score?...
 in that case, there would be enough time in Piacenza itself to
 make these corrections, and so we would return with the first
 and third acts in order?... The chief copyist is pressuring me
 to extract the parts immediately and to do it in time to engrave
 them, which is a great advantage for the orchestral rehearsals.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁶Mr 1052: "Vi mando la riduzione rivista, della prima parte del
 Terz'Atto--Quanti sbagli e piccoli e grandi vi devono essere nello
 spartito! Mettete un piccolo segno dappertutto ove io ho indicato,
 e troverò ben io qualche momento per correggerli. . . . Finisco il
 second'atto. Quando volete che sia pronto?" Unpublished.

³⁶⁷To Verdi: "Quanto al Secondo Atto, indichi Lei, Maestro, quando
 le farà comodo il mandarlo a prendere, onde Ella non si disturbi perciò.
 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, perchè 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."
 Unpublished.

Ricordi followed up this letter on the same day with a telegram
 from Tito expressing his willingness to come to Piacenza, or even to
 Sant'Agata, at any time, bringing the first and third acts with him
 and then returning with the entire score.

The exact date that Verdi consigned the second act of Falstaff is uncertain. We know that Giulio Ricordi visited Sant'Agata on 4 October, probably along with Hohenstein and Boito.³⁶⁸ He could well have brought the first and third acts of the score with him, and, regardless of whether Verdi corrected them or not, Ricordi could have received the second act at this time. If not, he received it in Milan between 13 and 16 October during the composer's visit to examine and correct the score with him.³⁶⁹

Verdi returned to Sant'Agata on 16 October and began to make preparations for his and Giuseppina's winter move to Genoa, on 24 October.³⁷⁰ Before leaving, however, Verdi wrote to Giulio:³⁷¹

³⁶⁸Ricordi to Verdi, 30 September 1892: "Boito le avrà scritto per le scene, e credo l'avrà prevenuto di un prossimo nostro progetto di pellegrinaggio costì, con Hohenstein e relativo teatrino." Unpublished.

Ricordi to Verdi, 3 October 1892 (Mr Cop 1892-93, VI, 228): "Lietissimo vederla sarò domani Fiorenzuola ore nove. Anticipo ossequi anche Signora Peppina." Unpublished.

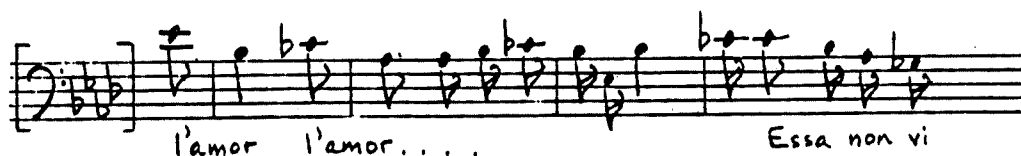
³⁶⁹Verdi to Ricordi, 9 October 1892 (Mr 1053); in Abbiati, IV, 463-64; and Ricordi to Verdi, 11 October 1892 (Mr Cop 1892-93, VI, 412); unpublished.

Verdi to Ricordi, 10 October 1892 (Mr 1054), in Abbiati, IV, 464, does not make clear whether Ricordi already has the second act or whether Verdi intends to bring it with him to Milan: "sarebbe bene ridurre a Piano Forte la Prima Parte dell'atto secondo."

³⁷⁰Verdi to Ricordi, 21 October 1892 (Mr 1055); misdated in Abbiati, IV, 430.

³⁷¹ibid.; without music in Abbiati.

"If you intend to come, as you said, to Genoa, bring with you the fascicles of the original score, i.e., in the first part of the second act, Ford, the fascicle:³⁷²



in the second part, the fascicle:³⁷³



Further in the same scene:³⁷⁴



And bring or send the pieces of Ford in the second act."³⁷⁵

³⁷²Fol. 147^r-47^v, which now contains corrections that Verdi made in Genoa.

³⁷³Fol. 181^r-81^v, which contains corrections possibly made in Genoa.

³⁷⁴Fol. 189^v, with no discernible corrections, except possibly the addition of two grace notes at the beginning of each measure.

³⁷⁵Probably Ford's monologue, fols. 161-73, containing corrections possibly made in Genoa. If Ricordi complied with all of the above requests, he brought Verdi four gatherings, the thirteenth through the sixteenth (fols. 146-95^v), a sizable portion of the autograph score.

Giulio did indeed go to Genoa, at least from 28 to 31 October, at which time he undoubtedly brought the requested score fragments. Apparently, however, the composer wished to see still more fascicles--or perhaps the reduction. Ricordi's secretary, Eugenio Tornaghi, wired him on 28 October that "Carignani will leave [for Genoa] tomorrow morning, bringing everything you indicated."³⁷⁶ Since the autograph score is rarely mentioned in the November-December correspondence, one may suppose that Ricordi brought all of this material, newly revised and corrected, back to Milan with him, perhaps on 1 November.

In November and December 1892 Verdi was rehearsing some of the singers for Falstaff and was correcting and revising the 96000¹ proofs, which he received as soon as they were printed. Although he made many significant changes during this period, he entered them only into the proofs and informed Ricordi on 1 December: "In Milan I'll do the orchestra [for this correction in Falstaff's honor monologue], and I'll correct the entire score."³⁷⁷

Ricordi, for his part, was indicating with pencil marks the various passages in the autograph score that would have to be changed. His message to Verdi of 24 November is typical: "I transferred in pencil

³⁷⁶Tornaghi to Ricordi, 28 October 1892 (Mr Cop 1892-93, VII, 377): "Carignani partirà domattina portando tutto quanto indicato. Ossequi Maestro e Signora. Cordiali saluti te e tuoi. Tornaghi." Unpublished. Cf. the Genoese journal [Supplemento al] Caffaro, 3 November 1892, p. 3: "In questi giorni, l'egregio maestro Caregnani [sic] si è recato da Milano a Genova, per consegnare a Verdi la riduzione da lui recentemente ultimata del Falstaff."

³⁷⁷Mr 1073; in Abbiati, IV, 467-68.

into the score the variants you indicated."³⁷⁸ His major concern, as we have seen, was to be able to engrave and print an orchestral score, or at least the parts, from the revised autograph for the rehearsals of the opera in January 1893.³⁷⁹

That the composer corrected (and probably further revised)³⁸⁰ the autograph score in Milan at the January rehearsals is beyond doubt. In the first place, the manuscript score contains most of the corrections that he entered into the proofs in late 1892. In addition, both Ricordi and Mascheroni report on his autograph activity at this time. On the occasion of the premiere, for example, Ricordi wrote an article on Verdi's compositional process.³⁸¹ Although most of the article is deliberately misleading and unreliable, Ricordi reports (with much exaggeration) that he revised score, parts, and reduction from 9.00 to 10.30 a.m. daily.³⁸² Mascheroni, as we have seen, is the apparent source of the story of Verdi correcting the proofs during the rehearsals.³⁸³

³⁷⁸"Ho riportato in partitura segnate al lapis le varianti indicati." Unpublished.

³⁷⁹See pp. 222-24 above.

³⁸⁰See e.g., pp. 111-14 above.

³⁸¹Ricordi, "Come scrivo e come prova Giuseppe Verdi."

³⁸²The point, of course, is not to accept Ricordi's timetable, but rather to suggest that he probably based his statement on the knowledge that Verdi had indeed on several occasions revised and corrected the musical sources of his opera during the rehearsals.

³⁸³See n. 111 above.

After the premiere of Falstaff on 9 February Verdi remained in Milan until 2 March, when he and Giuseppina returned to Genoa.³⁸⁴

There he made two major revisions of his opera: the first in the ensemble at the end of II.2; and the second at the conclusion of III.1.³⁸⁵ It was not until May, however, that he was able to enter these changes into the autograph score: "I sent you this morning the last notes of Falstaff! Peace to its soul!!"³⁸⁶

Verdi made no further entries into the autograph score. He made a few revisions in January 1894 for the Parisian premiere on 18 April 1894 but never wrote them into the manuscript score.³⁸⁷ The Falstaff autograph is never again mentioned in the letters.

We know, then, that Verdi worked with the autograph score in at least six distinct periods of time, some quite lengthy, others only a matter of a few days. This activity is summarized in Table 2. These periods are not necessarily the only ones during which he wrote the

³⁸⁴Verdi to Ricordi, 3 March 1893 (Mr 1093); in Abbiati, IV, 478; Anon., "Alla rinfusa," Gazzetta musicale di Milano, 48 (1893) [5 March 1893], 162: "Giuseppe Verdi e la di lui signora, dopo due mesi di soggiorno nella nostra città, partirono giovedì scorso [2 March] per Genova."

³⁸⁵See pp. 119-62 above.

³⁸⁶See pp. 160-61 above.

³⁸⁷See Chapter 5 above.

TABLE 2

VERDI'S ENTRIES INTO THE AUTOGRAPH SCORE

Date	Place	Entry
Sept-Nov (?) 1891	Sant'Agata	First entries. Original intention was to establish certain orchestral details of I, II, and III.2.
(Feb-Mar?) Apr 1892	Genoa	"Completion" of Act I orchestration, ca. 20 Apr. Entries in other acts probable.
(Late May?) June-Sept 1892 (Early Oct)	Sant'Agata Tabiano	Orchestration of score still partial on 17 June. Retouching and revising of "finished" pieces.
	Montecatini (Genoa, Milan, Sant'Agata)	Works on Act III (orchestration?) in July 1892.
	Sant'Agata (Milan) Sant'Agata	Final retouching and revising. Act I given to Ricordi at Sant'Agata, ca. 27 Aug. Act III given to Tito Ricordi, 15 Sept. Act II given to Ricordi either 4 Oct or 13-16 Oct. Probable correction of errors in Acts I and III.
27-31 Oct 1892	Genoa	Revision entered into portions of Act II (gatherings 13-16, etc.).
Jan 1893	Milan	Enters proof corrections (and others).
22-23 May 1893	Sant'Agata	Substitution of present fols. 250-51 ^v and 299-308 ^v .

full score--he may have made some initial entries, for instance, long before 10 September 1891 or may have worked in December 1891 in Genoa. These six periods are merely those for which documentation exists. Many details within each will be clarified as we look more closely at the autograph score itself.

Chapter 8

The Autograph Score: An Introduction

From the time Verdi relinquished the autograph score to be reduced, copied, and engraved, it has been in the possession of the editors. The autograph score, a facsimile of which was published by Ricordi in 1951,³⁸⁸ is now located in the Ricordi archives in Milan. It consists of 394 folios, each approximately 35 x 27 cm.,³⁸⁹ disposed in 35 gatherings and bound into three volumes, one for each act (see Table 3). On the inside cover of the first volume, opposite fol. 1, one reads the red rubber stamp (the capitals and lines) and the red ink manuscript (the date and signature) entry:

CONTROLLATI E NUMERATI I FOGLI

7-XI-1927

M. Zanon

³⁸⁸In a limited edition of 500 copies. It is assumed that the reader will have access to one of these or to one of the photo-offset reprints of the facsimile recently issued by Broude Brothers of New York and E. F. Kalmus (see Hopkinson, A Bibliography of the Works of Giuseppe Verdi, II, 167). The "title page" of the facsimile is synthetic: no such manuscript entry occurs in the autograph score, in which fol. 1 is directly opposite the inside cover. In addition, many important details of the score cannot be discerned in the facsimile: see the Preface to this study, p. ix above.

³⁸⁹Minor variations in this measurement from folio to folio may be observed. These are due to the folding of bifolios to form gatherings, inconsistencies in trimming the pages by the manufacturer of the paper, the wearing of the edges of the folios, etc.

TABLE 3
THE GATHERINGS OF THE AUTOGRAPH SCORE

	Gathering Number	Folios
Volume One		
I.1	1	1-12
	2	13-22
	3	23-36
	4	37-50
I.2	5	51-62
	6	63-76
	7	77-85
	8	86-97
	9	98-109
Volume Two		
II.1	10	110-211
	11	122-33
	12	134-45
	13	146-57
	14	158-69
II.2	15	170-77
	16	178-95
	17	196-209
	18	210-21
	19	222-31
	20	232-43
	21	244-52
	22	253-60
Volume Three		
III.1	23	261-65
	24	266-76
	25	277-88
	26	289-98
	27	299-308
III.2	28	309-20
	29	321-30
	30	331-42
	31	343-52
	32	353-64
	33	365-76
	34	377-80
	35	381-94

Similar entries may be found inside the front covers of the second and third volumes: both of these bear the same date, "8-XI-1927." The foliation of the manuscript, in black rubber stamp in the upper right corner of each recto folio, was thus accomplished at that time by Maffeo Zanon, probably as part of his reorganization of the autographs owned by Casa Ricordi.³⁹⁰

The paper has no watermark, but each folio has the embossed emblem (1.7 x 1.3 cm.) of the manufacturer, Lard-Esnault, in the upper left corner.³⁹¹ The embossing is most pronounced on the original outside folio of the gathering (i.e., of the blank gathering as received by Verdi before any rearrangement or restructuring).

The manuscript score still contains twelve small slips that the composer pasted into it (on fols. 42, 43, 75, 123, 125, 141, 281^v, 287, 307, 344, 382, and 384^v), usually to call the editor's attention to a change. These slips--generally scraps of stationery--are written in ink, and most refer to revisions in the orchestration. With one or two exceptions the changes, when applicable, can be found already engraved in the November 1892 proofs; most of the slips, therefore,

³⁹⁰From the article "Zanon Maffeo" in the Enciclopedia della musica one learns that Zanon, a Venetian composer, organist, and musicologist (1882-1968), "ha riordinato l'archivio degli autografi di Casa Ricordi, della quale ha curato per molti anni con singolare competenza e sagacità le edizioni." Many, perhaps most, of the revised piano-vocal editions of Verdi's operas that Ricordi published in the 1930's and 1940's are his work; to my knowledge, none of these bears his name.

³⁹¹The majority of Verdi's autograph scores in the Ricordi archives are written on Lard-Esnault paper.

date from September 1892, the period of the reduction. The slip on fol. 307, in the midst of a May 1893 set of replacement folios, is clearly later.

The autograph score was written throughout in ink. Fair copy folios may be found, but more typically, most of the folios contain many erasures, corrections, and revisions. Occasionally, as is often the case with tempo and metronomic indications, Verdi wrote the ink over an erased or partially erased pencil entry.

All of the folios have 24 staves (approximately 31 x 22.5 cm.), except for those in the two gatherings containing large ensembles--gatherings 21 and 35--where Verdi required 32 staves (approximately 32 x 21.5 cm.). Black staves are most common, but brown staves are found on fol. 13-14^v, 16, 19, 21-22^v, 200-01^v, 211, 220, 222, 231, 244-53^v, 256-57^v, 260, 299, 308, and 381-94^v. The composer received the paper already folded and organized into gatherings, probably of six bifolios each. At present, however, the number of bifolios in each gathering varies greatly: most contain five, six, or seven bifolios, although some (gathering 34) have as few as two, and several others contain many more than seven (gathering 16, for example, contains the equivalent of nine bifolios). Because of Verdi's persistent recomposition of much of the opera--which often involved removal and replacement of old folios and bifolios or the insertion of entirely new bifolios--many of the gatherings have a complex structure. A complete schema of the gathering structure, much of which will be discussed in detail below, may be found in the appendix.

For his own convenience Verdi numbered the gatherings of each act separately by writing the proper number in ink in the upper right corner of the first recto folio of each gathering. Under his numbers "Ricordi"³⁹² wrote in black pencil a "2" throughout the second act and a "3" throughout the third. Besides these act numbers, "Ricordi" made a number of other pencil entries. Some of these are marginal "X's" in black, blue, or red pencil with a corresponding "X" over a certain passage or note on the same folio. These signs are intended either to call the composer's attention to an error in the manuscript³⁹³ or to help him locate the proof corrections that he made in late 1892 but that he did not write into the manuscript score until January 1893.³⁹⁴ Most of these pencil indications have been erased and are not visible in the facsimile; they are still discernible on the original manuscript.

"Ricordi" was also responsible for some purely editorial markings, of which the most common are rehearsal numbers. These are generally

³⁹²I shall make no attempt here to separate the non-Verdian hands in the manuscript score. All those others who may have made entries will henceforth be identified as "Ricordi" (in quotation marks) on the assumption that if Giulio Ricordi did not make the entries, they were made on his approval or instructions, either by the reducer (Carlo Carignani) or by a copyist or engraver.

³⁹³For example, on fol. 96, m. 6, Verdi had originally written three quarter notes, D flat, C, A flat, in the second violin part. In a parallel passage, fol. 84, m. 2, he had written D flat, C, E flat. "Ricordi" noticed the discrepancy and in the right margin of fol. 96 opposite the second violin wrote in pencil, "L'altra volta c'era un mi invece di un La." He then placed one X in the margin above his indication and another above the questionable A flat. Some time later Verdi made the change to E flat; "Ricordi's" entry was then erased. There are many such corrections in the manuscript score.

³⁹⁴See p. 259 above.

entered in red pencil in Act I (e.g., fol. 3, 5, 8^v, 10, etc.); in black pencil underlined by red (rarely, blue) pencil in Act II; in black pencil usually underlined by blue pencil in Act III. From time to time "Ricordi" used red ink to add, e.g., the brace for the horn staves on fols. 43^v, 73^v, and elsewhere.

In rare instances "Ricordi" corrected the notes of the score, probably on Verdi's instructions. Such a correction, for example, may be found on fols. 47^v-48: here some of the original notes have been cancelled in red pencil and the new reading written in blue pencil.³⁹⁵

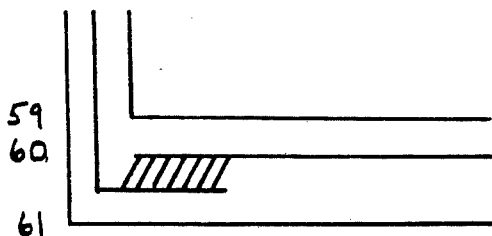
At least one non-Verdian hand in the score is perfectly recognizable: it is that of the prefetto of Milan, at whose office the autograph score was officially registered on 15 February 1893, six days after the premiere. The entry of the prefetto and the official stamp of registry may be found on fol. 394 at the conclusion of the opera.

³⁹⁵See p.91 above for a discussion of this change.

Chapter 9
Replacement Folios

From September 1891 to May 1893 Verdi frequently refined and revised what he had written; consequently, the manuscript score contains several indications of this reworking. Some of the most conspicuous are the many "replacement" folios and bifolios: newly written leaves that the composer substituted for ones already completed or partially completed. The most obvious examples are those in which Verdi snipped out an original folio and pasted in a replacement onto the remaining stub. The score contains dozens of these pasted replacements: e.g., fol. 60, which can be represented schematically as in Diagram 1, where the close diagonal lines refer to the pasting. Fols. 6-60^V are

Diagram 1

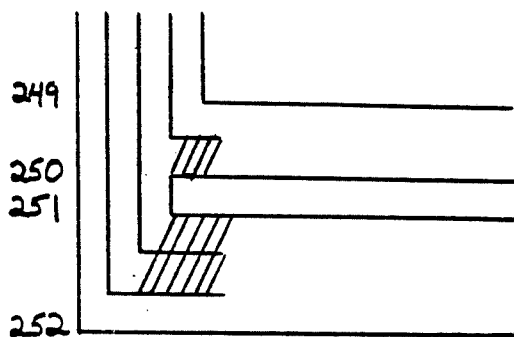


written in fair copy and are surrounded by fols. 59^V and 61, both of which show erasures and corrections in the melody. A portion of the original melody of this passage is recoverable by restoring the erased

readings on fols. 59^v and 61, but the original fol. 60 is lost.

Where two or more originals were replaced by a smaller number of folios, one concludes that a contraction of the musical idea has occurred; contrarily, if the number of pasted replacements exceeds the number of originals, one concludes that the musical idea has been expanded. For instance, the structure of fols. 249-52^v, containing the passage of the II.2 ensemble that Verdi revised in March 1893 and wrote into the autograph score in May 1893 is shown in Diagram 2.³⁹⁶

Diagram 2



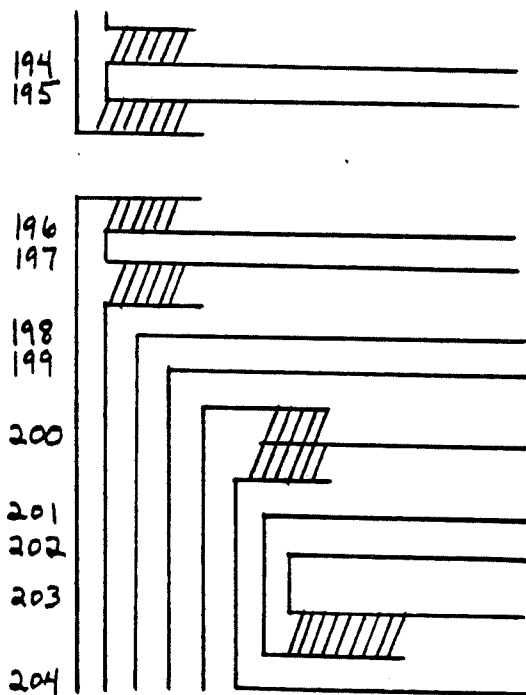
Three folios have been removed and replaced by two, a bifolio; in this instance the deleted material, sixteen measures long, is still available in 96000¹. As it happens, the sixteenth measure of the original version was on fol. 252, m. 1, and instead of replacing the entire fol. 252, Verdi simply cancelled the first measure. The original, removed three folios, then, contained fifteen measures (three three-measure pages and three two-measure pages). Had the original reading not been

³⁹⁶For the revision see pp. 119-42 above.

available, one might have hypothesized an original reading of from twelve measures (presuming two-measure pages) to eighteen measures (presuming three-measure pages).

Several replacement folios in succession suggest a thorough revision of an extended passage. Fols. 194-97^v, for example, are two pasted replacement bifolios containing Alice's complete solo piece, "Gaie comari di Windsor." The repetition of the melody by Nannetta, Alice, and Meg a few measures later, fols. 200-01^v, is also a pasted replacement (Diagram 3). What the rejected version of "Gaie comari

Diagram 3



di Windsor" might have been is not known. Since fols. 194-97^v replace four originals, one supposes that the first version was approximately the same length as the final and (because of the meter of the verse) was probably also in 6/8; the melody, however, might have been quite different.

Related to the pasted replacements are those two recto folios (fols. 45 and 238) where Verdi, instead of removing the original folio, merely rewrote the music of the recto side on a separate leaf and pasted it over the original. In both cases the earlier recto reading is recoverable: a reduction of the original fol. 45 is preserved in the 96000¹ proofs, and the original fol. 238 may be revealed by shining a strong light through the pasted pages.

Not all replacement folios, however, are pasted replacements. It is clear that Verdi could easily have removed and replaced any bifolio from a gathering. How may one determine which bifolios are replacements? There are five principal clues:

1. Disturbance in the embossing sequence. Each folio has an embossed Lard-Esnault emblem (Figure 1) in its upper left corner. In the Figure 1



state in which Verdi received each blank gathering of six bifolios, the embossing on each successive folio becomes less and less distinct and is virtually illegible by the time one reaches the center bifolio. The quality and distinctness of any embossing can be graded according to the following code:

- a: all details very sharp and clear.
- b: less sharp than a but still completely legible.
- c: "RUE FEYDEAU" somewhat blurred; the remainder legible.
- d: blurred; only "Paris" legible.
- e: blurred; "Paris" barely legible.
- f: illegible; all that remains is a rectangular impression in the paper.

Note: in any two adjacent embossings, both of which belong to one of these categories, but one of which is slightly clearer than the other, a minus sign will be used to distinguish the less distinct of them.

From the standpoint of embossing a regular six-bifolio gathering, one in which no folios have been removed or replaced, could be described as a b c d d- e / f f f f f f (some variation is possible: the essential point is the alphabetical sequence of the letters); a regular five (perhaps a six with the center bifolio removed) could be a b c d e / f f f f f. In the Falstaff score gatherings 10, 32, and 33 are regular sixes; gathering 26 is a regular five; gathering 31 (b c d e e- / f f f f f) is a five constructed by removing the outer bifolio (prior to composition) of a regular six.

Most of the gatherings show some disturbance in the embossing sequence: for instance, that of gathering 20 is a b c c- d a / f f f f f f. This strongly suggests that the original center bifolio (e / f) was replaced. Any a folio in the inside of a

gathering, in fact, is a very likely candidate as a replacement. With most of the gatherings, however, the evidence is rarely this clear. Several of them seem to be synthetic or partially synthetic, i.e., assembled by Verdi (who, naturally, was unconcerned about embossing) prior to composition from random bifolios and incompleting gatherings that he had lying about:³⁹⁷ e.g., gathering 19, which seems to contain all original folios, has the sequence f c c- d d- / f f f f f; gathering 34 has simply d f / f f. Moreover, Verdi may have replaced two, three, or more bifolios within a gathering at some point during composition, thus making the entire gathering difficult to distinguish from a synthetic gathering on the basis of embossing alone.

The clue of the embossing sequence in itself, therefore, is not usually strong enough to permit one to declare with certainty that any given bifolio is a replacement. It can make us suspicious, but, at best, it encourages us to look for other clues.

2. Change of staff-line color. The appearance of a brown-staff bifolio in a predominantly black-staff gathering, or vice-versa, suggests that the nonconforming bifolio is a replacement. In gathering 18 (fols. 210-21V), a predominantly black-staff gathering, brown-staff bifolio 211/220 is probably such a replacement. The same cautions about synthetic gatherings cited above apply here

³⁹⁷ Some reasons for synthetic gatherings might be: a defective folio in the original blank gathering; a desire for an especially large or small gathering; a gathering already altered because certain bifolios had been used as replacements for already completed work; and so on.

as well. And in at least one case, gathering 19 (fols. 222-31v), it seems from other evidence that the nonconforming brown-staff bifolio 222/231 might be the only original bifolio!

3. Change in the prevailing ink colors. This is often the strongest clue of a replacement bifolio and will be discussed in detail in the following chapter. One need only mention here that the autograph score contains several different ink colors, many of which are "prevailing inks" over long stretches of the manuscript. If a gathering is written in one prevailing ink but contains a bifolio written in another, there is a strong probability that the nonconforming bifolio is a replacement.
4. Fair-copy bifolio in the midst of heavily corrected original bifolios. One of the reasons Verdi might have wanted to replace a bifolio would be to improve its legibility after several corrections. One therefore expects a replacement to have fewer corrections than its original neighbors, although Verdi could have subsequently revised the replacement. In gathering 14 (fols. 158-69), for example, where the distinguishing of replacements on the basis of ink alone is extremely difficult, bifolios 158/169 and 161/166 are fairer copies than most of the others and thus may be replacements. This judgment is reinforced by a slight variance in the ink color of bifolio 158/169 from the rest of the gathering and by the fact that bifolio 161/166 has the embossing a / f.

When an entire gathering is written in what approaches fair copy, particularly if it contains complex musical material, one may suspect the entire gathering to be a replacement. Such is the case with the last gathering of Falstaff (the final fugue).

5. Crowded measures. An examination of the original folios of the score will reveal that Verdi rarely wrote more than five measures on a page--unless, as at the beginning of II.1 (fols. 110-15V) where there are from six to eight measures on a page, the measures are short and simple. If a page seems particularly "crowded," i.e., if it contains more measures than its surrounding folios would suggest, one suspects that it might be a replacement that has expanded the original musical idea by a measure or two.³⁹⁸ Compare, for example, the appearance of fol. 122 (six measures) to that of its basically four-measure surrounding folios. With the added evidence that fol. 122 is a fairer copy than its neighbors, is written in a slightly darker ink, and has a b embossing even though it is the outside folio of gathering 11, one concludes that it is a replacement.

Not all replacements display crowded measures; most do not. Nor are crowded measures themselves sufficient evidence of a replacement bifolio. None of the five clues, with the possible exception of the third, is strong enough by itself to identify a replacement bifolio. But when two or more clues are discovered on a given bifolio, one may justifiably conclude that it is a replacement. This, then, is the basis for separating replacement folios from originals in the Falstaff manuscript. The gathering-structure schema in the appendix identifies all of the probable replacements in the autograph score.

³⁹⁸See, e.g., fol. 154, a pasted replacement that contains seven measures in a context of 5- and 6-measure folios.

Chapter 10

Inks³⁹⁹

Verdi wrote the autograph score of Falstaff with one or more steel-point pens and ordinary writing ink. The color, consistency, and saturation of the ink available to him at any given moment depended upon many factors: the manufacturer; the degree of water thinning; the gradual evaporation of water from the inkwell; the strength of outflow from the penpoint; etc.

Since he wrote different portions of the manuscript score at different times and places, it is not surprising that many ink colors can be distinguished in it. When a certain ink occurs for an extended passage (usually a gathering or more), one can speak of a "prevailing ink" for that section. If one presumes that all entries made in a brief period in a single location will have roughly the same prevailing ink color, it follows that when dissimilar prevailing inks are juxtaposed or are found consistently in neighboring voices, one may discern layers of composition within the manuscript. When several characteristic layers are considered together, one may then form a hypothesis about Verdi's compositional procedure in this opera.

The prevailing inks of Falstaff are interrelated. Nearly all can be described as brown-blacks (i.e., containing elements of both

³⁹⁹Many of the ideas for this chapter were originally suggested by Köhler, "Mozarts Kompositionsweise--Beobachtungen am Figaro-Autograph."

colors, with brown predominant) or black-browns (with black predominant) in various degrees of glossiness, consistency, and saturation. In some cases the ink is difficult to classify, neither black nor brown being predominant. The score has six prevailing inks:

1. Dark brown-black. This deeply saturated ink contains elements of both brown and black, often in nearly equal proportion, but more typically with the former color predominant. One of the most characteristic and frequent inks in the score, it is generally quite glossy--the result of a thick, full ink-stroke. Dark brown-black lines sometimes display a thin separation of the two colors in which a thick, blackish inner line is surrounded by a thin, light-brown "halo." Certain entries of this ink, especially in III.1, seem less consistent in their appearance and probably reflect a slight water thinning. These entries will be described as (dark) brown-black: the parentheses here--and elsewhere in the ink descriptions--are intended to suggest a muting of whatever element they enclose.
2. Dark black-brown. This ink is similar to No. 1 above in its saturation and consistency; its black element, however, is distinctly predominant, sometimes totally effacing the brown element. Because its typical outflow from the point is only moderate, resulting in a relatively thin ink-stroke, and because of its complete lack of a "halo" separation, this ink is not as characteristic as No. 1. Dark black-brown ink is often glossy, but when slightly thinned it loses much of its gloss and is then best described as (dark) black-brown.

3. Brown-black. This ink is probably a water thinning of No. 1 above, but the brown element is even more predominant than in (dark) brown-black ink. No. 3 is customarily dark (its darkness depending upon the degree of thinning) but dull and approaches a gloss only on certain thick note-heads, especially those on a ledger line. Brown-black ink has a medium consistency: some lightening of the ink color is usually visible within each point-load as the nib gradually dries and requires redipping.
4. Black-brown. This ink is probably a water thinning of No. 2. Apart from the favoring of its black element the ink has the same characteristics as No. 3: it is dark, dull, rarely glossy, and of a medium consistency.
5. Brown-gray. This ink is considerably lighter in color than No. 3, of which it is probably a further thinning. The brown element is clearly predominant. Brown-gray ink is almost never glossy, nor is it as consistent as No. 3: its appearance may vary considerably, sometimes becoming extremely light.
6. Gray-brown. This ink is probably a further thinning of No. 4 and has all of the characteristics of No. 5, except that the gray element is predominant.

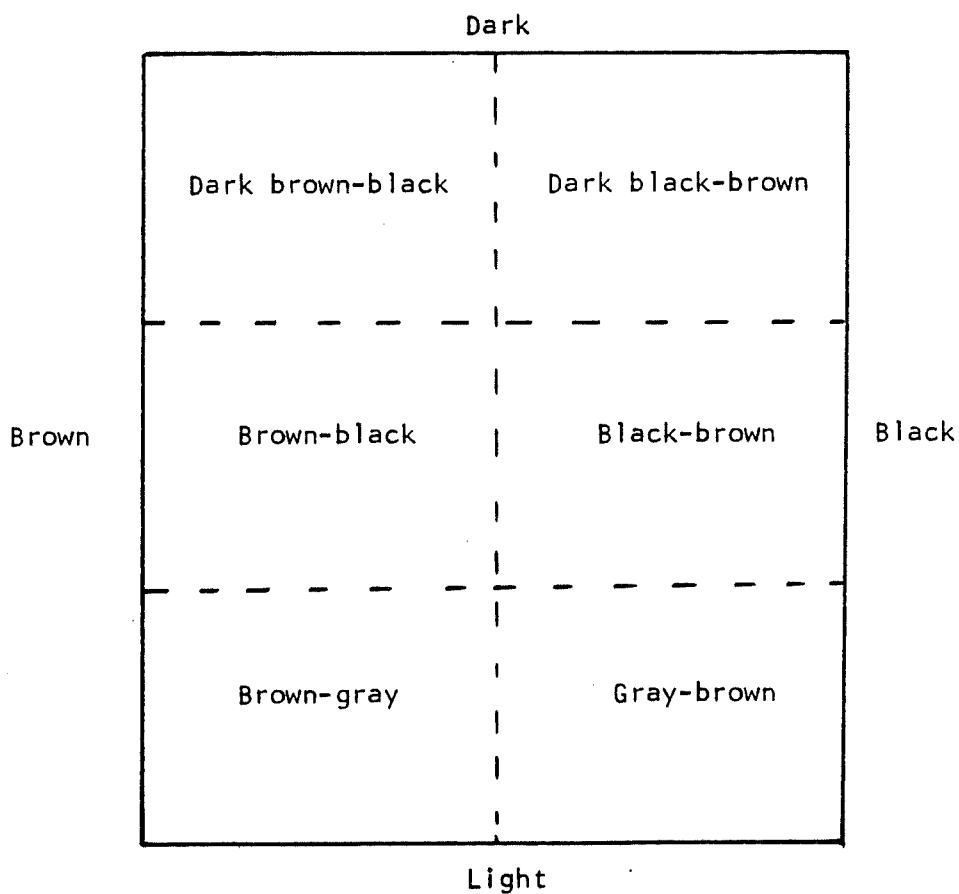
Two other inks, probably related to the above six, also make brief, but significant appearances in the autograph score. These are:

7. Light, watery brown-gray. This ink is probably an extreme thinning of No. 5 to the point where the water has been too rapidly absorbed by the paper. It is extremely light and clearly recognizable because its only appearance (fols. 235-42^v) is very abrupt.

8. Gray. This ink, used for part or all of only four replacement folios (bifolio 28/31, fols. 35, 311) has a steel-gray color with no trace of brown. It is therefore distinguishable from the closest of the six prevailing inks, No. 6.

The six prevailing inks are actually contiguous ink groups. Diagram 4 is a pictorial representation of the relationship of these groups. The points at which a highly saturated brown-black ink

Diagram 4



becomes (dark) brown-black and then dark brown-black--or at which a brown-black ink becomes indistinguishable, because of the high visibility of its black elements, from a black-brown one--ought not to be rigidly defined; nor is it necessary to make these subtle distinctions, for reliable conclusions cannot be derived from ambiguous inks that tax the descriptive powers of the observer. Nor is it of value to distinguish color variants within each group, for many of the inks are highly variable, depending upon the load of the point at any given moment.

From these observations follows our basic principle of ink description: the indicated ink color of a given section of the autograph score must refer to its prevailing ink, of which each particular entry may be a variant. Or, stated differently: any two inks in the manuscript may well be given the same description not because they are identical but because they are not sufficiently different--distinguishing between them would not be reliable enough to serve to clarify Verdi's method of writing the score.

Much of the following analysis will be based on the interpretation of different ink-groups on the same folio, on two or more folios, or in two or more gatherings. Because this analysis is contingent upon the separability of the inks, it is clear that conclusions based on the distinguishing of two continuous ink-groups (i.e., any two groups whose areas in Diagram 4 share a dotted-line

horizontal or vertical border) are less reliable than those based on the distinguishing of non-contiguous groups. With this caution in mind, let us examine what the inks reveal about how Verdi wrote the autograph score.

Differences in ink are readily discernible when two or more separable inks are juxtaposed on the same folio. Each ink belongs to a different layer of composition. The earliest layer, the "skeleton score,"⁴⁰⁰ is usually found in two or three basic parts: the voice, the principal instrumental bass (usually bass, cello, or sometimes both), and the principal instrumental treble (usually the first violin). Verdi used the later ink for the final orchestration: the harmonization (principally in the upper strings) and whatever further instrumentation that he found necessary.⁴⁰¹ The many original folios on which the skeleton score can be distinguished (with varying degrees of certainty) from the final orchestration lead one to suspect that most of the originals on which the inks are not separable are merely leaves on which Verdi used the same ink for both layers--perhaps a

⁴⁰⁰The term is Andrew Porter's. See Porter, "The Making of Don Carlos"; idem, "A Note on Princess Eboli." An example of an unorchestrated skeleton score may be found in Porter, "A Sketch for 'Don Carlos.'" See also the I due Foscari document mentioned in Petrobelli, "Osservazioni."

⁴⁰¹The two layers, the skeleton score and the final orchestration, may be clearly seen on fols. 51-54^v of the 1951 Ricordi facsimile of the autograph score. The darker ink of the skeleton score on fol. 51 (piccolo and horns), for example, is in dark brown-black ink in the original score; the final orchestration is in a lighter, clearly separable black-brown ink. As will be noted, the stage directions and certain clefs and signatures are also written in the darker ink.

coincidence, perhaps because of the temporal proximity of the two sets of entries.

The skeleton score by no means reveals the full scope of Verdi's musical thought at the time of its writing. The frequent absence of harmonization, for example, does not mean that he did not have one clearly in mind; for Verdi, much of the harmonization was implicit in the skeleton score. This layer is best considered as the minimum amount of musical material that he felt it necessary to enter in order to remind himself later of the details of the composition.⁴⁰² Sometimes the vocal part alone sufficed; sometimes he needed only the voice and the principal instrumental bass.⁴⁰³ On the other hand, he occasionally wrote a wind doubling of a first violin or cello part, probably as a reminder of the orchestral color he had in mind:⁴⁰⁴ and there are several folios on which the harmonization itself is part of the skeleton score.⁴⁰⁵ In some cases the principal instrumental bass and treble are winds--e.g., in those passages where the strings are silent. But the emphatic preference for the first violin and cello or bass as the principal instrumental voices in the skeleton score shows that for all of the variety and ingenuity of the Falstaff orchestration, Verdi still considered the orchestra to be a body of strings to which winds were to be added for instrumental color.

⁴⁰²See Verdi to Ricordi, 10 September 1891, p. 247 above.

⁴⁰³See the cancelled measures on fols. 146^v, 150^v, and elsewhere in the manuscript score.

⁴⁰⁴See the cancellation on fol. 296^v.

⁴⁰⁵E.g., fols. 178-79^v.

In certain passages of the score, particularly in the last act, a third separable ink indicates yet another compositional layer midway between the two principal compositional strata: an "intermediate layer" that is a slight expansion (often a harmonization) of the skeleton score. This is particularly clear on fol. 289, Alice's "[Fan]donie che ai bamboli." Here the voice alone constitutes the skeleton score in (dark) brown-black ink; the intermediate layer is written in a light brown-gray ink and comprises the first violin, piccolo (in m. 1) and bass. The rest of the notes belong to the final orchestration, written in black-brown ink.

It is clear that if Verdi had entered any intermediate layer in the same ink soon after a much-reduced skeleton score (say the voice part alone), it would be unrecognizable as such and would simply appear to be part of the skeleton score. Fortunately, one need not determine exactly what Verdi did and did not enter in each particular stratum, because the skeleton score implicitly contains much of its filling-out. When the composer entered only a single line for the earliest layer, one may assume that he probably did so because he considered the harmonization to be self-evident.

Brief mention might be made here of the many additions to the score that postdate the final orchestration. As might be expected, Verdi wrote several of these retouchings and revisions in an ink that may be distinguished from those of their surrounding earlier layers. Many replacement folios and bifolios are large-scale examples of these additions (although some were obviously replaced before the final orchestration); but small additions and revisions are frequently

visible on individual folios as well (on both originals and replacements). Fol. 210^V, for instance, contains a gray-brown skeleton score (voices before correction; violin I [before corrections mm. 3-5]; bass; cello [mm. 4-5]), a dark black-brown final orchestration, and a number of black-brown revisions.

Once one has identified the two principal compositional strata, it is possible to deal with the question of how much of the skeleton score Verdi wrote before beginning to add the orchestration. One might well expect to find that some of the final orchestration of the autograph score antedates some of the skeleton score--especially since it has already been noted that when Verdi began to write the full score shortly before 10 September 1891, he had not yet composed a continuity draft for III.1.⁴⁰⁶ Given the evidence now available, a definitive answer to the above question is impossible. But a close analysis of the relationships between the inks of different gatherings can help to clarify this issue and can furnish enough material to permit one to form a hypothesis.

Table 4 on the following pages shows the inks of each discernible principal layer on the original folios of each gathering in the autograph score: the abbreviations of the inks are based on the descriptions on pp.278-80 above. The column on the extreme right of the table indicates the relative ease with which the principal inks may be

⁴⁰⁶ See p. 247 above.

TABLE 4
 THE INKS ON THE ORIGINAL FOLIOS OF FALSTAFF

Act One			
Gathering	Skeleton score	Final orch.	Separability
1 (fols. 1-12)	BrGr	B1Br	Fairly easy
2 (fols. 13-22)	BrGr	B1Br	Fairly easy

3 (fols. 23-36)	(D)BrB1?	B1Br	Difficult
4 (fols. 37-50)	(D)BrB1	B1Br	Fairly easy

5 (fols. 51-62)	DBrB1	B1Br	Easy
6 (fols. 63-76)	DBrB1	B1Br	Fairly easy
7 (fols. 77-85)	DBrB1	B1Br	Fairly easy
8 (fols. 86-97)	DBrB1	B1Br	Fairly easy
9 (fols. 98-109)	DBrB1?	B1Br?	Fairly easy (but only one bifolio, 98/109, seems original).

TABLE 4, CONTINUED

Act Two			
Gathering	Skeleton score	Final orch.	Separability
10 (fols. 110-21)	DBrBl * * * *	BIBr	Easy
11 (fols. 122-33)	BrBl	BIBr	Fairly difficult
12 (fols. 134-45)	BrBl	BIBr	Difficult
13 (fols. 146-57)	BrBl	BIBr	Difficult
14 (fols. 158-69)	BrBl ↓ BrGr (163)	BIBr ↓ (D)BIBr (167)	Fairly difficult
15 (fols. 170-77)	BrGr * * * *	(D)BIBr ↓ DBIBr (176)	Fairly easy

16 (fols. 178-95)	GrBr	DBIBr	Easy
17 (fols. 196-209)	GrBr	DBIBr	Easy
18 (fols. 210-21)	GrBr * * * *	DBIBr	Easy
19 (fols. 222-31)	BrGr * * * *	DBIBr	Easy
20 (fols. 232-43)	BrBl (230V) BrBl ↓ LWBrGr (238-42) * * * * * BrBl (243)	DBIBr ***** LWBrGr (235-37) and DBIBr (236V-37) * * * * * BrBl (239-43) and DBIBr (238V-43) *****	Varying difficulty
21 (fols. 244-52)	BrGr	DBIBr	Easy
22 (fols. 253-60)	BrGr *****	DBIBr *****	Easy

TABLE 4, CONTINUED

Act Three				
Gathering	Skeleton	sc. Int.	layer Final	orch. Separability
23 (fols. 261-65)	NOT APPLICABLE: fair copy in (D)BlBr			
24 (fols. 266-76)	DBrBl		BlBr	Fairly difficult
	↓			
25 (fols. 277-88)	(D)BrBl		BlBr	Fairly difficult
		↓		
26 (fols. 289-98)	(D)BrBl	BrGr	BlBr	Fairly difficult
27 (fols. 299-308)	NOT APPLICABLE: May 1893 replacement in DBI *****			

28 (fols. 309-20)	BlBr	DBrBl?	BlBr?	Difficult (little evidence)
29 (fols. 321-30)	BlBr	?	BlBr?	Difficult

30 (fols. 331-42)	BlBr *****	BrGr	BlBr *****	Difficult
31 (fols. 343-52)	DBrBl	BrGr	DBlBr	Difficult
32 (fols. 353-64)	DBrBl	BrGr	DBlBr	Difficult
33 (fols. 365-76)	DBrBl	?	DBlBr	Difficult
34 (fols. 377-80)	DBrBl *****	BrGr *****	DBlBr *****	Difficult
35 (fols. 381-94)	NOT APPLICABLE: seems to be a fair copy, but voices are often entirely in BrBl, and instruments in BlBr.			

distinguished. In extended passages where the inks cannot consistently and reliably be separated (as in gatherings 11-13) I have presumed the existence of the skeleton score and final orchestration layers and have described their inks on the basis of both my investigation of the manuscript score and the context of these passages: thus in a general context of black-brown final orchestration I have interpreted the final orchestration ink of gatherings 11-13 as black-brown, although neither color actually predominates. Within each ink-column a row of unspaced asterisks (*****) is intended to suggest an abrupt change of ink; a less radical change of ink (e.g., an abrupt shift to a closely related ink) is indicated by a row of spaced asterisks (* * * *). A gradual change from one ink to another is represented by a vertical arrow.

The skeleton score of I.1 is problematic and cannot conclusively be shown to be continuous. The first two gatherings seem to share the same brown-gray ink, but with the third gathering this ink shifts abruptly to (dark) brown-black. Such a change does not necessarily indicate a compositional break: it may represent nothing more than a refilling of the inkwell. Yet, because the change from brown-gray to (dark) brown-black is very striking, one must admit the possibility of a lapse of time between the earliest layer of the second and third gatherings. Definite conclusions are further hampered by the ambiguous character of gathering 3, which, besides containing many pasted replacements in its second half, contains at least one replacement bifolio (28/31) and possibly several others: the first half of the embossing sequence, a e c b d a e, provides little help. And even on

bifolios that are probably original, such as bifolio 23/36, one cannot consistently separate the skeleton score from the final orchestration. Gathering 4, on the other hand, is much clearer, and the separations of the inks can be made more easily. The most plausible interpretation is that the skeleton score of I.1 was written as a unit, although one concedes the possibility of a gap of time between gatherings 2 and 3.

If one accepts the third gathering as having a (dark) brown-black skeleton score, it seems likely that Verdi wrote gatherings 3-10 at one period of time with fundamentally the same ink. This does not preclude the possibility that there might have been a compositional lapse at some point in these gatherings: all one can say is that no such lapse can be inferred from the ink. Gathering 11 introduces a distinctly different, brown-black ink, but it could very easily have been derived from the preceding ink by water-thinning and may therefore not represent a genuine break in composition. The ink of gatherings 11ff. lightens gradually and becomes an unambiguous brown-gray by gathering 15. Once again, one must admit the possibility of a temporal break between the brown-gray ink of gathering 15 and the gray-brown ink of the next gathering, i.e., between II.1 and II.2.

Gatherings 19 and 20 introduce even more abrupt changes, again probably indicating small gaps of time. Gathering 20, moreover, merits special attention: not only does it display a number of sudden changes of ink in both the skeleton score and the final orchestration, but both layers share some of the same inks, including the sole appearance of the unmistakable light, watery brown-gray ink. All of the folios seem original except for the pasted replacement 238^r: the embossing

sequence, a b c c- d a / f f f f f f, shows a disturbance in the center bifolio (237/238), but there is nothing else to suggest that these leaves are a replacement; indeed, the center bifolio (except for the pasted replacement on its recto) displays the same inks as those of its neighbors. The composer probably added the center bifolio to the gathering sometime before writing the skeleton score.

If, as seems most probable, this is an original gathering, how may one explain its inks? It would seem that Verdi wrote much of the gathering with a highly variable ink, probably the result of over-thinning. In this case the following might have occurred: he could have begun to write the skeleton score of gathering 20 with the same ink as that of the end of gathering 19, but the ink became light, watery gray-brown by fol. 238. He might then have continued his skeleton score in this ink through fol. 242^v, at which point, uncharacteristically, he began to harmonize and partially orchestrate fols. 235-37^v (this is the brief Fenton/Nannetta duet in II.2, with the text, "Vien quà. Che chiasso. Quanti schiamazzi!") instead of continuing the skeleton score.⁴⁰⁷ During this orchestration he could have become dissatisfied with the extraordinarily thin ink and could have wished to alter it, probably by adding more pure, unthinned ink, thereby bringing the mixture back to brown-black by fols. 239-43^v of the final orchestration and his continuation of the skeleton score at fol. 243. If this

⁴⁰⁷The dark brown-black ink that constitutes part of the final orchestration of gathering 20 is problematic: perhaps it is related to the dark black-brown ink used for the final orchestration of the neighboring gatherings.

hypothesis is correct, this is the only evidence we have that Verdi wrote at least part of the instrumentation immediately after writing the skeleton score.

Gathering 20, then, does not necessarily signify a major break in the skeleton score. Since gatherings 21 and 22 present no great difficulties, one can now conclude that no ink evidence excludes the possibility that Verdi wrote the skeleton score of the first two acts as a unit, during a fairly lengthy period of time--most likely punctuated by brief compositional breaks--pauses lasting enough time to allow for considerable, but relatively gradual, changes in what appears to be a highly variable ink with pronounced brown elements.

The skeleton score inks of III.1 and III.2 differ from the ink at the end of II.2. Moreover, the third act, unlike its predecessors, contains a prominent intermediate layer. When one considers that a continuity draft of III.1 might not even have existed at the time that he completed the II.2 skeleton score, it seems very possible that before proceeding to write the skeleton score of Act III, Verdi might have begun to orchestrate I.1 in a black-brown ink that he had not used before in Falstaff. He wrote the final orchestration of the first two acts in an astonishingly consistent black-brown ink that begins to darken in gathering 14. Only gathering 20 is exceptional--but not inexplicably so, as shown above. One may therefore conclude that Verdi also orchestrated Acts I and II as a unit and also over what must have been, to judge from the magnitude of the task, a fairly lengthy period of time.

Whether he made any entries into the third act before completing the instrumentation of the first two acts is unclear. The skeleton score of Act III is in two different inks: black-brown (gatherings 28-30); and dark brown-black with a tendency to lighten (gatherings 24-26 and 31-34). It is difficult to relate the dark brown-black ink of Act III to the brown-black inks of the preceding acts for many reasons: if Verdi wrote the Act III skeleton score before orchestrating Acts I and II, there is no convenient way to explain the black-brown entries at the beginning of III.2 (gatherings 28-30); the dark brown-black ink at the beginning of gathering 24, if continuous with that of the skeleton score of the first two acts, would represent an abrupt shift to an ink abandoned fourteen gatherings back; for this last reason the separated patches of dark brown-black ink in Act III seem to be more related to each other (probably with the ink of gatherings 31-34 preceding that of gatherings 24-26, in which the color is gradually lightening) than to the distant inks of Acts I and II; and finally, it is not known exactly when Verdi composed III.1--it may have been several months into 1892.

It seems reasonable to suppose, then, that the composer began to write the first layer of III.2 after completing the instrumentation of II.2; that is, he skipped over the (still uncomposed?) III.1. He may thus have completed the skeleton score of gathering 30 and then ceased activity on the autograph score for a certain period of time. Returning later to the manuscript, he could have had available a dark brown-black ink and used it to write the skeleton score of gatherings

31-34, and then gatherings 24-26, by which time the ink was lightening somewhat. After another pause he might have returned to Act III and, with a by now considerably lightened ink, written the intermediate layer in a brown-black ink. The final orchestration of the last act could have been accomplished in two subsequent periods, the first with black-brown ink (gatherings 24-30), the second with dark black-brown.⁴⁰⁸

One further piece of evidence can be brought to bear on the ink colors of the autograph score: the inks of the various letters that Verdi wrote during this period. Table 5 indicates the inks that he used in his many letters to Giulio Ricordi from 3 September 1891 to 29 May 1893--the time in which he made entries into the manuscript score.⁴⁰⁹

The table shows that the available ink at Sant'Agata was generally more brown than black and from all indications was capable of considerable variation due to thinning or mixing. On the other hand, at Genoa from 7 January to 27 April 1892 Verdi used a strikingly invariable black-brown ink. The skeleton score ink of the first two acts has precisely the same characteristics as that of Sant'Agata; the corresponding final orchestration ink has precisely the same

⁴⁰⁸The final fugue (gathering 35), a fair copy, could have been written at any time.

⁴⁰⁹The supposition that he used the same ink for both letters and music is substantiated by the few examples that we have of completely datable corrections: most of his proof corrections, written in late 1892, are in a watery black-gray ink, which may also be found in his Genoese letters of that period, beginning with 10 November; a few early proof corrections are written in brown-gray ink, visible also in the letters of 8-9 November 1892; and the two final sets of replacement bifolios entered into the score in May 1893 (fols. 250-51^v and 299-308^v) are in dark black ink, actually more characteristic of the letters from 5-16 May than 21-23 May, at which time he probably wrote the replacements.

TABLE 5

THE INKS OF VERDI'S LETTERS TO
GIULIO RICORDI FROM SEPTEMBER 1891 TO MAY 1893

Mr No(s).	Date(s)	Place Written	Ink
993	3 Sept 1891	Sant'Agata	BrB1
994	6 Nov 1891	Sant'Agata	DBrB1
995-1013	7 Jan-27 Apr 1892	Genoa	B1Br
1016	9 May 1892	Sant'Agata	DBrB1
1017	12 May 1892	Sant'Agata	BrB1
1018-23	24 May-10 June 1892	Sant'Agata	B1Br
1024-27	13-17 June 1892	Sant'Agata	DBrB1
1028-32	12-19 July 1892	Montecatini	B1Br
1033	21 July 1892	Sant'Agata	BrGr
1034-38	22 July-3 Aug 1892	Sant'Agata	BrB1
1037	5 Aug 1892	Sant'Agata	(D)BrB1
1039-40	14-17 Aug 1892	Sant'Agata	B1Br
1041-48	19 Aug-5 Sept 1892	Sant'Agata	DB1Br
1049-50	7-13 Sept 1892	Sant'Agata	BrGr
1051-55	18 Sept-21 Oct 1892	Sant'Agata	B1Br
1056	4 Nov 1892	Genoa	B1Br
1057-58	8-9 Nov 1892	Genoa	BrGr
1059-1104	10 Nov 1892- 31 Mar 1893	Genoa	WB1Gr
1105-15	1 Apr-5 May 1893	Genoa	DB1
1116	16 May 1893	Sant'Agata	DB1
1117-19	18-23 May 1893	Sant'Agata	B1Br
1120-21	26-29 May 1893	Sant'Agata	B1Gr

characteristics as that of Genoa. After a glance at Table 2 (p.261 above) one can hypothesize that Verdi wrote the skeleton score of Acts I and II from September to November 1891; he deferred the instrumentation until his arrival in Genoa sometime after 5 December 1891-- most likely during March and April 1892.

The third act is problematic; our conclusions, conjectural. Verdi might have written the black-brown skeleton score of the first three gatherings of III.2 at Sant'Agata between 24 May and 10 June 1892, when the same ink appears in the letters; it is of course possible that he wrote it even earlier, perhaps in Genoa. The dark brown-black skeleton score of gatherings 31-34 and then 24-26 might have been written at Sant'Agata in middle June 1892 (it seems less likely that he wrote it around 9 May, particularly if one dates the first layer of gatherings 28-30 around 24 May-10 June). The intermediate layer is in brown-black and brown-gray ink, but we have only one letter written in this ink during this period, written at Sant'Agata on 21 July: this is scanty evidence even for our hypothesis.⁴¹⁰ Hence it might be wise to avoid conjecturing about a precise date for this stratum.

The first principal ink of the Act III final orchestration is black-brown, which corresponds to the Sant'Agata letters of 24 May-10 June (which period seems to be somewhat early for this layer; we have already suggested that the composer was writing the skeleton score of gatherings 28-30 during this time), the Montecatini letters of 12-19

⁴¹⁰Brown-gray ink also appears in two letters from 7 and 13 September 1892, but this seems far too late for the intermediate layer.

July (a convenient period to suppose that Verdi was orchestrating the third act, since we know from his letter of 12 July that he had the third act with him), and the Sant'Agata letters of 14-17 August (also a very convenient date for our hypothesis). The shift in gathering 31 from a black-brown to a dark black-brown ink is reproduced in the letters of 14-17 August and 19 August-5 September 1892. Throughout this period and well into October Verdi was also revising, reorchestrating, and replacing what he had already written.

Table 6 summarizes this hypothesis, which is the final outcome of this discussion of the ink-types in the autograph score. It is to be emphasized that this theory must remain tentative because of the many variables involved: the possibility of multiple inkwells; the periods for which few or no letters are extant; the supposition that Verdi always used the same ink for music and correspondence; the extreme variability of the Sant'Agata inks; and so on.

Nevertheless, the astonishing relationship between the letters and the manuscript score renders the theory extremely attractive. And finally, it provides a most instructive picture of Verdi's work on Falstaff: he apparently wrote the full score in several brief, intense outbursts of activity and then returned to it several times later for revision and refinement.

TABLE 6

A HYPOTHETICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF
 VERDI'S WRITING OF THE PRINCIPAL LAYERS OF FALSTAFF

Approximate Date	Place	Layer
ca. Sept-Nov 1891	Sant'Agata	Skeleton score of I.1, I.2, II.1, II.2.
ca. Mar-Apr 1892	Genoa	Final orchestration of I.1, I.2, II.1, II.2.
Late May-early June 1892?	Sant'Agata	Skeleton score of the first three gatherings of III.2?
Middle June 1892?	Sant'Agata	Skeleton score of the remainder of III.2, then of III.1.
Late June 1892???	Sant'Agata	Intermediate layer of Act III?
July or middle Aug 1892	Montecatini or Sant'Agata	Final orchestration of III.1 and the first three gatherings of III.2.
Late Aug-early Sept 1892	Sant'Agata	Final orchestration of gatherings 31-34 of III.2.

Chapter 11

Deleted Readings and Their Restoration

Since Verdi frequently revised and corrected the autograph score, it now contains few fair-copy folios. Before writing the revision of a passage onto a folio he would cancel--i.e., cross out⁴¹¹--or erase the original reading. These cancellations and erasures provide further evidence for the layered entries, even on folios on which separate inks may not be discerned.

The vertical extent of a cancellation clearly reveals at what point in "compositional time" Verdi made the revision. One may thus find in the Falstaff manuscript several entire measures cancelled before the final orchestration stage of composition: fols. 94^V, 146^V, 214, 266^r-66^V, 277^V, 292^V, 296^V, and 367. Other measures were cancelled only after the final orchestration: fols. 64^V, 73^V, 104^V, 173, 187, 206^V, 252, and 298^V. Several other cancellations involve the deletion not of an entire measure, but of a note, a chord, or perhaps a line of orchestral accompaniment: e.g., fols. 67-69, 136^V-37, 199^V, 205^V, 206 (probably cancelled by "Ricordi"), 223^V-25, and 286^V-87^V. The extent of an erasure (and its subsequent correction) is similarly informative--in fact, even more so, because erasures are more common than cancellations.

⁴¹¹For the purposes of this study "to cancel" will mean exclusively "to cross out."

These emendations of the score can be divided into six chronological categories:

1. Skeleton score corrections. This category, consisting of modifications made in one or more voices of the skeleton score only (i.e., before the instrumentation) embraces many possibilities. There are, for instance, immediate corrections made only in one principal voice: entries that the composer revised at once. These are often determinable because of his custom of deleting still moist ink by a flick of his finger or thumb, resulting in a small ink smear.⁴¹² Since it seems that most of the smears delete slips of the pen, they are generally of little interest.

If part of one voice of the skeleton score is erased rather than smeared out with thumb or finger, it is more likely to bear a substantive correction: one knows, at least, that Verdi waited for the ink to dry before altering it. Such a correction can be considered immediate if all close horizontal and vertical repetitions of the relevant passage incorporate it without trace of erasure and if it is entered in the ink of the skeleton score. The chief difficulty lies in judging whether it is indeed substantive or merely rectifies an inadvertent blunder.

Erasures involving two or more parts of the skeleton score but not the orchestration are frequent and with few exceptions may be suspected of representing substantive corrections--i.e., recompositions. Close horizontal repetitions may or may not incorporate the

⁴¹²These are omnipresent in the autograph score and are not confined to the skeleton score: see fol. 1^v, m. 2 [clarinet], fol. 2, m. 2 [cello], and so on.

alteration, depending upon when Verdi decided to correct the reading. If horizontal repetitions are also corrected, one can often infer at what point the correction was made by examining its ink (although inks over erasures are difficult to describe accurately): if the correction is in the skeleton score ink, it may have been made shortly after the writing of the first layer; if the ink of the correction is that of the harmonization, or, more commonly, that of the final orchestration, one is justified in supposing that the correction was made during the entry of the relevant later layer.

2. Intermediate layer corrections. Here the modification is found in the voices of the intermediate layer and skeleton score but not in those of the final orchestration. Since it is often difficult to distinguish intermediate layers, and because the skeleton score is occasionally expanded to include harmonization, this category can be considered a special case of the first.

If the modification involves only the harmonic voices it may be non-substantive: an erroneous entry finger-smearred out; or a purely grammatical change, i.e., one concerned only with chord-spacing or voice-leading. Changes in harmony are obviously substantive. As with the first category the ink of the correction is often a clue to when it was made.

3. Final orchestration corrections. These corrections are found in the final orchestration voices (usually winds) and all relevant pre-existing voices. The modification may have been made during the instrumentation, in which case close horizontal repetitions

(if any) will incorporate the correction without any indication of erasure, and the change will be in the final orchestration ink; or the correction may have been made later: horizontal repetitions will also show signs of alteration and the correction may be in a different ink.

Once again, the change may be either non-substantive or substantive. A separate possibility is one which is non-substantive melodically and harmonically but is substantive orchestrally, i.e., which involves a major change only in instrumentation.⁴¹³

4. Reduction corrections. Verdi decided upon these corrections in September and October 1892, when he was examining Carlo Carignani's piano-vocal reduction. During this period the relevant portions of the autograph score were with the editor in Milan. As Verdi returned Carignani's reduction, "Ricordi" placed reminders (pencil "X's" with commentary) in the manuscript score, which the composer subsequently emended.⁴¹⁴ All reduction corrections, then, may be distinguished by the accompanying pencil entries--now perhaps erased but still visible. Many of these changes are non-substantive and merely correct discrepancies, inadvertent omission, or blunders spotted by "Ricordi." A few are significant and involve the recomposition of a few measures.

⁴¹³The clearest instance occurs on Fol. 80, containing the four-bar introduction to the Nannetta/Fenton duet "Labbra di foco." It seems that the introduction was originally written for strings, perhaps with a clarinet doubling (or, less likely, for strings and winds combined: it is difficult to separate the skeleton score ink--dark brown-black--from that of the final orchestration--black-brown--on this folio), but at some point Verdi decided to score it for winds alone and thereupon erased the original string scoring (along with the clarinet doubling).

⁴¹⁴See n. 364 and n. 393 above.

5. Proof corrections. These are changes that Verdi wrote into the 96000¹ proofs in November and December 1892. He wrote them into the autograph score in Milan in January 1893 during the rehearsals for the premiere. Like the reduction corrections these are generally accompanied by a "Ricordi" pencil entry, which served as a reminder. Any correction indicated by such a pencil entry is to be considered a reduction correction if it does not also appear (as a modification) in the proofs.
6. Post-publication corrections. This category consists of two sets of replacement folios added in late May 1893 along with the necessary modifications on either side of the replacements: the II.2 ensemble revision (fols. 250-51^v and the cancellation of fol. 252, m. 1) and the new conclusion for III.1 (fols. 299-308^v and the cancellations on fol. 298^v).

Not all of the changes in the manuscript score are easy to classify. There are many exceptions and ambiguities, particularly in the first three categories. It is difficult, for instance, to classify a change in one of the skeleton score parts that would not in itself require a change in any other part. If the proofs carry the correction, it could have been made any time prior to reduction. Thus, Verdi erased and revised portions of both strophes of the original melody of Nannetta's aria in III.2, "Sul fil d'un soffio etesio" (fols. 333^v-34^v and 337^r-37^v). None of the changes, however, necessitated the slightest change in accompaniment because no modifications were made in the harmony. Since the erased readings are still

legible, one may restore the original melody as in Example 38:

Example 38

Nan. [333^v] [374]

Sul fil d'un soffio e-tesi - o scorrete agili lar - ve [etc.]

5 Nan. [334^v]

fra i rami un baglior cesi - o l'alba lunare ap - pa - re

A similar situation occurs when a correction is found within a section of the skeleton score that required little or no further orchestration. The most extreme example, perhaps, is the solo horn passage at the beginning of III.2 (fols. 309-11), which shows numerous erasures and corrections in an ambiguous ink: the original version (Example 39, again a reconstruction employing legible erased readings) may have been corrected at any time prior to reduction:⁴¹⁵

⁴¹⁵The revision is probably linked to Verdi's wish that the passage be played by a "corno sulla scena in la b basso senza chiave" (fol. 309). With this instrument the D flats and F flat of Ex. 39, while not impossible through hand-stopping, would have been at least uncharacteristic.

Example 39

The musical score for Example 39 is written in bass clef with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). It consists of four staves of music. The first staff begins with a measure marked [309] (Transposed) and a forte (ff) dynamic. The second staff starts at measure 4 with a measure marked [309v] and a forte (f) dynamic. The third staff starts at measure 9 with a measure marked [310v]. The fourth staff starts at measure 13 with a measure marked [311]. The score includes a 'morendo' instruction and various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and triplets.

The key to the restoration process illustrated in Examples 38 and 39 lies in the legibility of the deleted readings in any given passage, even when the notes have been erased rather than cancelled. Any transcription of an early reading, therefore, contains some notes that have been changed in the manuscript score and others that are still valid.

Since most of what follows in this study will be directly concerned with dozens of such restorations, it might be helpful at this point to examine the process at work. The following two examples from the third act, besides rendering explicit what will often be assumed in later chapters, may also serve to clarify the preceding discussion of ink analysis and compositional layers in the Falstaff score--and moreover, they provide an introduction to Verdi's revision procedure, a major concern of the remaining chapters.

The cancellation of the horns of fols. 286^V-87^V discloses that Verdi originally intended to accompany Alice's first description of the Black Hunter in III.1 ("Quando il rintocco della mezzanotte") with the same horn accompaniment used in her second description ("S'avanza livido, e il passo converge," fols. 290-91). The symmetrical instrumentation of the two similar passages was to reinforce the ABA pattern of the entire section (the B section, "Fandonie che ai bamboli," fols. 289-90, contrasts sharply with the two narrative A's).

If one looks even more closely at fol. 286^r-86^v, one observes some further modifications. Fol. 286^r originally contained only three measures instead of the present four: the erasure of the previous final bar-line and the subsequent addition of the "crowded" fourth measure are readily apparent. Yet this highly visible correction is of little importance for the following reasons. Quickly's part in m. 4, "Quando il rin-", is written in the same (dark) brown-black ink

as the neighboring voice parts (on fols. 286-87 the voices alone constitute the skeleton score). In addition, Quickly's line and Ford's brief "Ci casca" (fol. 286^v) are necessary for both dramatic and poetic purposes: it is Quickly, after all, who begins to tell this strange tale to the gullible Falstaff, while Alice merely repeats it to the conspirators huddled about her; and a fourteen-syllable line is needed to complement the prior line of Falstaff, "Là si discorre meglio. Narrami la tua frasca." The addition of this measure, therefore, is a skeleton score correction, is quite likely immediate, and is non-substantive, probably made to correct a copying error. A transcription of the "original" version of this passage should ignore this correction.

Quite different, however, is the added measure on fol. 286^v, created by dividing the original second measure in two after erasing its original contents. This is a substantive modification that seems linked to the radical revision of the accompaniment. Verdi changed the accompaniment in a brown-gray ink, an obviously late ink since it differs from the prior skeleton score, intermediate layer, and final orchestration inks of this part of the manuscript: he cancelled the original horns and made the first, tentative entry of the new accompaniment (horns and piccolo) above them. When the new horn parts proved difficult to read on fol. 287^r-87^v because of their proximity to the recently cancelled passage, he erased and rewrote them in a slightly modified form below the original, cancelled horns.⁴¹⁶ Since the new

⁴¹⁶The piccolo part, m. 3, and the horn part, m. 4, were extended to whole notes in much darker ink considerably later.

accompaniment appears in the 96000¹ proofs, one may conclude that this revision was made after the final orchestration, but before the reduction.

In order to restore the original reading of this passage, all that remains is to read the erased notes in the voice parts of fol. 86^r-86^v, to transcribe them when appropriate, and to accompany the voices with the original, cancelled horns. The result--with only two uncertain points (the precise rhythm of "Ci casca" and the number of measures that Quickly holds the A)--is shown in Example 40.

This early version might have seemed unsatisfactory on several accounts: it duplicates an accompaniment to be heard later (a rarity in this score, where variety and constant invention are paramount); it allows little time for Quickly's voice to die away in the opening measures as Alice takes up the narrative; and Alice's immediate (and exact) repetition of Quickly's two-bar phrase is rhythmically stale in the context of these simple two-bar phrases. Through his revision of the passage Verdi repaired these minor deficiencies and gained even further advantages: he provided a more effective setting for Alice's "Quando il rintocco" by means of an extraordinary orchestration; the entry of horn and piccolo just before Alice's entrance serves to highlight her words and marks the moment at which the dramatist's (and the audience's) attention shifts to the conspirators; and the new horn countermelody on fol. 287^r-87^v, mm. 1-2, besides being an important factor in the new instrumentation, anticipates rhythmically the slow march that immediately follows in the second violin, horn, and bassoons.

Example 40

Al. [206] [206] voce grossa

Svi. con mistero

Fal. Ford [?]

[horns]

5 Al. [207]

Svi.

Example 40, continued

9 *Al* *cupo* [287']
 spirti vagabon- di a frotte e vien[?] nel par-co il nero caccia-tor!

Verdi changed the voices of this passage one more time, probably in January 1893, since he did not modify the reading of the 96000¹ proofs; the correction first appears in 96000². The version of the proofs and 96000¹ (pp. 322-23) is shown in Example 41a; that of 96000² is shown in Example 41b. The later reading--the definitive version--

Example 41a

Al [322] [323] *voce grossa*
 Quando il rin-tocco della mezzanotte Cupo si
 la voce si perde da lontano
 Quando il rin-tocco della mezzanotte

Example 41b

Al. [313] voce grossa
Quando il rin-

Qui.
Quando il rin-toc-co della mezzanot-te cu-po si spar-ge nel silente or-

Al.
toc-co della mezzanotte Cupo si spar-ge nel silente or-ror, sorgon gli

Qui.
la voce si perde da lontano *morendo*
ror sor-gon gli spirti vagabon-di a frot-te

gives Quickly and Falstaff more time to enter the inn and increases the imitative effect of the opening. No printed libretto gives Quickly these extra words of Alice: the idea was entirely Verdi's. Thus a study of the inks, erasures, cancellations, and early editions of this passage permits us to reconstruct its history in considerable detail.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁷One undated slip in Verdi's hand (Mr 1441) contains an interesting message to Ricordi about this passage: "Nella scena del Terz'Atto a pag. 323 non ricordo quante battute abbia aggiunta nel: Quando il rintocco etc. Che il Capo Copista mi trascriva su un pezzettino di carta quelle note che troverà nello spartito originale." Unpublished.

One of the central musical ideas of the original version of "Quando il rintocco" is that of a pedal point--here, the note A--around which is placed a series of chords that move in and out of remote keys. This device, intended to depict a feeling of eerie mystery, reappears when Falstaff enters Windsor Wood in III.2 and counts the midnight bell-strokes (fols. 320, m. 4, to 321, m. 4--both original folios). The pedal point is now F, not A, but the basic principle of construction is similar to that of Alice's narrative, a tale very much on Sir John's mind as he approaches Herne's Oak. The final version of these thirteen chords was preceded by at least two others, both of which can be restored with near certainty.

For the first version the composer changed the prevailing key-signature from four flats (F minor) to one (F major) and then began to write the complete chords of the hours and the striking of the bell--this passage, that is, was written fully harmonized and scored without having passed through the usual compositional layers. As F minor returned with "Mezzanotte," fol. 321, m. 5, Verdi apparently intended to retain the one-flat signature and to write in whatever accidentals were necessary: thus fol. 321, m. 5, contains accidental A flats and D flats. By the beginning of fol. 321^v he had changed his mind: no accidental D flats or A flats are to be found on this folio which presumes a four-flat signature. It was just at this point, then, that he returned to his earlier key change on fol. 320 and erased it, thus keeping the entire section in four flats.

The first version of the midnight chords, which may be restored by reading the erased notes, was to be performed in "tempo doppio" (an extremely fast pace if we accept $\bullet = 72$ as the prevailing tempo up to that point, although the tempo indication may belong to a later layer) and is shown in Example 42a. The restoration of the viola part in the sixth measure must remain conjectural, as the erasures there are not completely legible.⁴¹⁸

Example 42a

The image shows two systems of musical notation for piano accompaniment. The first system is marked "Tempo doppio [320]" and consists of seven measures. The second system is marked "[321]" and also consists of seven measures. Both systems show a piano part with chords and some erasures in the sixth measure.

⁴¹⁸Minor corrections in the vocal line, not shown in Ex. 42a, were probably immediate. "Tre," fol. 320^v, m. 1, was originally written as a quarter note (reflecting, perhaps, the version on the continuity draft?) instead of a half note but had probably been corrected by the time of "sei" in m. 4 of the same folio--a half note without trace of erasure. Curiously, after "sette botte" Verdi wrote (and set to music)

The outlines of the final version are certainly recognizable in this first setting: the seven F's in the first violin, followed by the leap of a fifth and a gradual settling to the third; the F pedal throughout (one recalls that the bell and Falstaff are given F's in every measure); the inner-voice motion in the middle voices of m. 6; the descent in the bass from the initial F down to a low G in m. 9; and the cadence in F major, in which the tonic (m. 13) is preceded by an augmented sixth with D flat as the bass (m. 12).

Verdi, however, saw greater possibilities for this passage and changed it sometime before the reduction as shown in Example 42b, which one may call the proof version, since it appears printed in the bozze (pp. 353-54).⁴¹⁹

"nove," "dieci," "undici," and "dodici" before he realized that he had omitted "otto"; this oversight explains the erasures in the voice part in these measures. None of the immediate (non-substantive) corrections are relevant to the transcription above.

⁴¹⁹An erasure in the second violin in the autograph score suggests that m. 5 of the proof version may have originally contained the second violin note D instead of E flat.

Example 42b

Piu mosso $\text{♩} = 100$

The musical score consists of two systems of piano accompaniment. The first system contains six measures. The second system begins with a measure rest (marked '8') and continues with six measures. The notation is handwritten and includes treble and bass staves with various chords and melodic lines. The tempo marking is *Piu mosso* with a quarter note equal to 100 (♩ = 100).

All of the changes found here are decided improvements that seem to reflect the desire to intensify and enrich the mysterious effect Verdi wanted from these chords. He employed two devices to provide this enrichment: harmonic disturbances, particularly by exploiting successions of unexpected, harmonically unrelated chords; and rhythmic disturbances.

The proof version is much more harmonically adventurous than the original. When compared with the bass line of Example 42b, that of the earlier example seems prosaically regular, a predictable stepwise descent. Both the leap in the bass in the third measure of the proof version and the subsequent unorthodox reharmonization of the third,

fourth, and fifth measures come as unforeseen, rich surprises: their effect is based on Verdi's refusal to resolve augmented sixths and diminished thirds in an academically "proper" manner. The harmonic intensification of the second half of the passage in Example 42b is perhaps less drastic but no less telling: the suspension of the viola G from the sixth to the seventh measure; the marked improvement in sonority effected by the respacing of the final five bars (one must not forget, however, that Example 42a omits the F pedal in the bell and voice); and the reharmonization of the eleventh and twelfth measures, which include a different (and unorthodox) augmented sixth as the penultimate cadential chord (the same augmented sixth is found with different spacing in the fourth measure).

Rhythmic intensification is no less important. The inner-voice rhythmic motion in Example 42a, m. 6, is here expanded throughout the remaining seven measures, first through the suspension of mm. 6-7, then through the syncopations of the F pedal in the viola (a syncopated reflection of the first violin F's in the first seven measures) and the accent in the second violin, m. 7, beat 4, which furnishes (at least to this listener) an anacrusis to the first violin upward leap of a fifth in the following measure. Perhaps the increased harmonic and rhythmic density made a slower tempo more appropriate: the tempo indication for this version is "più mosso ♩ = 100."

Yet Verdi saw still further possibilities for enrichment. While correcting the III.2 proofs in Genoa he modified the passage one last time and reported his proof correction to Giulio on 14 November 1892. Upon receipt of the change Ricordi overflowed with enthusiasm: "That

finishing touch to the chords of the hours is stupendous!! They were beautiful before, but now they are a true delight in their naturalness and novelty."⁴²⁰ The final version that so impressed the editor is shown in Example 42c, from 96000¹, pp. 353-54:

Example 42c

Più mosso $\text{♩} = 100$

The image shows two systems of handwritten musical notation for piano accompaniment. The first system consists of six measures. The second system begins with a measure rest (indicated by a large '8' above the staff) followed by five measures. The notation includes various chords, accidentals (sharps, flats, naturals), and melodic lines in both the upper and lower staves. The tempo marking 'Più mosso' and the tempo indicator '♩ = 100' are written above the first system.

The changes are in mm. 5-8, and once again the composer added both harmonic and rhythmic intensification. The new suspension and resulting passing tone in m. 6 introduce a brief imitative passage in the inner voices, and the change in m. 8 from the first inversion of the tonic minor chord to the second inversion of the flat submediant

⁴²⁰To Verdi, 17 November 1892: "Stupendo quel ritocco agli accordi delle ore!! bellissimi prima, ora sono una vera delizia per la naturalezza e la novità." Unpublished.

seventh gives an extra shudder to Falstaff's anxiety. The thirteen measures differ greatly from their original version, even though many of the basic ideas of the first version remained unchanged.

By restoring erased and cancelled readings and by placing them as accurately as possible into one of the six compositional categories mentioned earlier, one begins to form a picture of the concerns that led Verdi to revise his autograph score. As we continue to look at these early readings, we shall see repeated examples like those of this chapter--examples of his ability to improve a relatively commonplace passage by adding harmonic and rhythmic (and sometimes orchestral) intensification. Verdi, we shall see, was the quintessential dramatic composer, always preoccupied with creating an immediately striking, dramatically pregnant present.

Chapter 12

The Skeleton Score: Remarks Preliminary to the Transcriptions

Verdi's first task in composing the full orchestral score of Falstaff was to lay out a skeleton score, a disposition of only the most essential parts. This earliest layer of the autograph score was the fruit of a long period of sketching--but with few exceptions nothing is known of the Falstaff sketches and drafts save that they exist, that they are owned by the Carrara Verdi family in Sant'Agata, and that they are not available for study.⁴²¹ The skeleton score is

⁴²¹For the existence of the sketches for all (one presumes) of Verdi's works beginning with Luisa Miller (1849), see Gatti, Preface to L'abbozzo del Rigoletto; *idem*, Verdi nelle immagini, p. xviii. Information on the presently available facsimiles of portions of these sketches may be found in Chusid, A Catalog, passim. The inaccessibility of the musical manuscripts of Sant'Agata is discussed in Hertzmann, "The Sketches of Beethoven and Verdi." The existence of pre-autograph score material for Falstaff is evident from the information presented in Chs. 1, 2, and 7 above.

Only two Falstaff sketch fragments have been identified in print; curiously, both are of the same passage. In 1953 Albrecht, A Census, No. 1872 (p. 291), described one of these as "[2] p. 39½ x 27½ cm. First draft of the beginning of Act I, scene 1: O la, tutti i servi" and designated Walter Toscanini as its owner. The same citation, but with errors, is found in Chusid, *op. cit.*, p. 68. Unfortunately, this document, now apparently in the possession of Toscanini's heirs, was inaccessible to me at the time of this writing. One must be content merely to observe that the text cited by Albrecht and Chusid does not appear anywhere in the opera; cf., however, the opening words of I.1, including "Ola" and "Hai battuto i miei servi" (*italics mine*).

A facsimile of the other fragment, a single page of sketches for the opening of Falstaff, was published in 1941 (and mistakenly identified as an Otello sketch) in Gatti, Verdi nelle immagini, p. 187. With the current unavailability of its companion sketches and the Toscanini sketch mentioned above, an elaborate discussion of the Gatti sketch here would be pointless. We may point out, however, that the sketch may be quite early, perhaps dating from 8 to 17 March 1890, immediately

nearly always the earliest compositional stratum that one may consult: the remainder of this study, therefore, is devoted to a discussion of selected transcriptions of the restorable portions of that layer of the Falstaff manuscript.

The selection that follows reflects two principal goals: it includes all of the early variant readings of major importance to the macrostructure of the opera or to the overall structure of the section in which the reading is located; and it includes enough "minor" variants--many of which are quite striking and informative--to illustrate what one is likely to discover in the skeleton score. Moreover, in order to provide a sense of continuity from one selection to another, it has been deemed desirable to transcribe the important erased readings of those passages where the changes are most concentrated. Because it is primarily in certain portions of the four central parts of Falstaff where these criteria are best met, the following study will begin with the opening of I.2 and proceed through Falstaff's monologue in III.1. When portions of these four parts are not

after Verdi received the libretto from Boito: the incomplete text, single staff for all of the vocal parts, and the declamatory experiments at the bottom of the page suggest that this sketch preceded a more refined continuity draft (cf. Gatti, L'abbozzo; idem, Verdi nelle immagini, pp. 184, 186, 187; Chusid, A Catalog, pp. 136-37); only melodic contours are apparent for certain lines, such as "Ma non la tua mas [-saja]"; and the text along the bottom line of the sketch, "violata la mia casa," agrees with an early cancelled reading in Boito's autograph libretto (Act I, fol. 1). This sketch differs most markedly from the final version (and the skeleton score) in its prolonged B pedal (V of E) at the words "hai fiaccata la mia giumenta" and the subsequent introduction of the rising, E major quarter notes in m. 18--several measures before their introduction in the final version.

particularly informative or lack a concentration of corrections, they will be omitted from the discussion.⁴²²

To interpret the significance of the revisions is no easy task, nor is any one explanation of them necessarily more correct than another: Verdi's reasons for changing certain passages are not always reliably inferrable from internal evidence alone. We shall see, for example, that he rewrote much of Quickly's part to suit the range of Giuseppina Pasqua and to provide her with a musically satisfying role;⁴²³ and we have already pointed out that his November 1892 revisions in Fenton's sonnet may have been at least partially motivated by his simultaneous rehearsing of the tenor, Edoardo Garbin.⁴²⁴

The following principles guide the transcriptions:

1. Transcriptions are provided only of the early autograph variant of any given passage. It is assumed that the reader will have at hand at least a printed score or even perhaps the facsimile of the autograph score, in which he may consult the final reading. The locations of the relevant readings in 96000¹, 113953, and the manuscript score will be provided in the text. For further information see the Preface, pp. vi-ix above.
2. References to measure numbers within the discussions always refer to the example in question, not to the position of the measure

⁴²²For portions of the skeleton score of III.1 and III.2, see Ch. 11 above.

⁴²³See Ch. 15 below.

⁴²⁴See pp. 71-75 above.

within the entire score, scene, aria, etc. A running tabulation of measure numbers within each example is provided at the upper left of every system.

3. Changes of folio are indicated within circles at appropriate places in the examples. It will occasionally be found helpful to transcribe early versions contained on replacement folios, although the skeleton score proper is to be found only on originals. Whenever a reading passes from an original folio to a replacement or vice-versa, a temporal gap has been artificially bridged. If the second folio is a replacement, for example, its appearance may suddenly truncate an erased skeleton score reading found on the preceding, original folio; or if the second folio is original and the first a replacement, the second may mark the appearance of an erased skeleton score of which no trace appears on the replacement. In many cases, however, the early readings of the two folios seem to be continuous, and their adjacency in a transcription seems justified.

The examples that follow will indicate a change from one type of folio to another by means of explanatory arrows attached to the circled folio indication. When this sign does not appear on the transcription and when no other indications are given in the commentary, the reader may assume that the transcription was derived from an original folio or set of folios. Reference to the appendix, which identifies all of the replacement folios, will remove any doubts about this matter.

4. A few of the examples to follow are unexpanded transcriptions of the skeleton score proper. These are always identified as such in the commentary. More typical, however, are examples that contain expansions of the skeleton score proper: usually the addition of a principal instrumental treble or bass or a significant--but deleted--harmonization.⁴²⁵

There are three reasons why one must not always be confined to the skeleton score proper, which may be as scanty as a single line of music. First, many of the most interesting variants are to be found on folios on which the inks are sufficiently difficult to distinguish that one cannot be certain how much was included in the skeleton score. This is particularly true of the first part of the second act: here some sort of synthetic restoration of the skeleton score is mandatory. Second, this policy renders explicit what was probably implicit (to Verdi) in the skeleton score proper. The composer often omitted the rests necessary to complete a measure, for example, or left off writing a bass line or cadence well aware of how he intended to complete it during the final orchestration. Our inclusion of those rests, cadences, continuations, and so on, in no way obscures the musical idea in the skeleton score. The following transcriptions, therefore, bear the reading of that early layer but are likely to contain more musical (i.e., notational) detail. Finally, the occasional inclusion of harmonization is a further attempt to clarify the transcriptions. In cases where the

⁴²⁵Bass and piccolo parts are transcribed where they are written, not as they actually sound; all transposing instruments are transcribed in C.

skeleton score proper was harmonized or orchestrated in considerable detail and then later revised and reharmonized, the original harmonization is clearly relevant to the musical idea transcribed.

5. The transcriptions generally consist of notes and text only. Dynamics, tempo indications (including metronome markings), most articulation marks (except slurs), instrumentation, and stage directions are omitted unless they differ significantly from the final version.
6. Erased autograph entries that were probably mere slips of the pen are non-substantive variants and do not appear in the transcriptions.
7. The appropriate singer is indicated (often by abbreviation) above each voice part.
8. Verdi's spelling, capitalization, and punctuation of the text in the autograph score are followed throughout. Doubtful or questionable entries are followed by a bracketed question mark. Illegible entries or irrecoverable erasures in the text are indicated by bracketed commentary.
9. The reading of erasures, the principal method used here to obtain the material for the transcriptions, is a difficult process and at times involves a good deal of hypothesis. Questionable notes or groups of notes are indicated by a bracketed question mark above them: the number of questionable notes is indicated by the spacing of the brackets. The transcription of these passages is based on the apparent location of the deleted notes, even though this occasionally results in a problematic or unlikely reading.

10. Accidentals that Verdi omitted in the skeleton score (even if he wrote them in later) are provided in brackets in front of the relevant notes.
11. Modern clefs are used throughout without indication of the original clef. The clefs, key-signatures, and time-signatures are not bracketed on each staff of the examples, although as a rule Verdi wrote these only on their first appearance in the various passages. No attempt has been made to preserve the original stem directions.
12. In some cases Verdi made an initial entry into a measure or group of measures and then immediately erased or modified it. Often the variant so entered and rejected is plausible enough to suggest that it could be more than a copying error: it might, for example, reflect the reading of the underlying continuity draft, which he rejected at the moment of preparing the skeleton score; or it may be nothing more than a copying error. These measures, when included in the examples, are followed by a triple bar-line to indicate a complete disjunction with the next measure of the transcription--a pause in which the composer reconsidered what he had just written. The measure following the triple bar is Verdi's recomposition (or rewriting) of the rejected reading. Its position within the example is clear from its text or musical content.
13. Occasional, bracketed ad hoc commentary is inserted to indicate multiple versions of an early reading, cancellations of probably mistaken measures that are inadvertent duplications of the preceding measures, and so on.

Chapter 13

Transcriptions of the Skeleton Score: I.2 (Beginning)

The second part of the first act is a convenient place to begin an examination of the early readings in the Falstaff manuscript, for here many skeleton score erasures are capable of complete restoration. Moreover, it is in the I.2 ensembles that one encounters the first major, recoverable revisions that the composer made in the score prior to its publication.⁴²⁶ Before discussing the women's ensemble, however, we shall examine some of the melodic and harmonic changes made in the beginning of this scene. These smaller revisions, it will be seen, are often miniature demonstrations of the compositional principles underlying the entire opera and provide clear illustrations of the care that Verdi exercised to refine the details of Falstaff.

The Opening of I.2

One finds melodic revision on the very first pages of I.2--on fols. 51-52, where several notes originally written in the piccolo part have been erased and rewritten. The erasures are not complete, however, and the early version (Example 43; 96000¹, pp. 47-48; 113953, pp. 62-63)⁴²⁷

⁴²⁶The composer's most noteworthy revision in I.1 was his reworking of the climactic final lines of Falstaff's honor monologue, fol. 45^r-45^v. This was a November 1892 proof revision; see pp. 95-98 above.

⁴²⁷The citation of pagination from published scores following the example numbers in the text refers here and henceforth not to the source of the example but to the location of the corresponding (revised) printed version.

can be restored with ease: it differs from the final reading in mm. 4, 8, 12, and 15.

Example 43

The four changes reflect some of Verdi's characteristic concerns in this opera: the avoidance of unnecessary repetition; the frequent modification or abandonment of a sequential pattern after its first restatement; and the manipulation of plastic, melodic cells. Thus he wrote the final version of m. 4 as a free inversion of m. 2 and m. 3; he recomposed m. 8 to eliminate the "merely sequential" effect of the early version; he reshaped m. 12 to introduce a melodic cell that will reappear at the cadence and at the same time abandoned the duplication of m. 4 in m. 12; finally, he rejected the originally sequential

m. 15 in favor of another free inversion of m. 2 and m. 3. The earlier melody was shorn of any trace of the predictable; the original reliance on sequence and repetition has given way to a fresh, inventive arrangement of motivic units.⁴²⁸

The composer also modified the opening words of this scene (fol. 52^r-52^v). The restoration of the early reading is somewhat difficult; in fact, it seems that two early versions may have been written. The first (Example 44a; 96000¹, p. 48; 113953, p. 63) appears to have been immediately rejected and expanded by the addition

Example 44a

Al. 52 52^v [?]
 Meg [Usci - vo ap-]
 Mez. A - li - ce Nan - net - ta
 [blank?] [blank?]

⁴²⁸ Similar corrections are found in the skeleton score (only) in the telescoped reprise of this melody at the end of I.2 (fols. 108^v-09). Verdi's revision of the melody must have occurred before or during the final orchestration.

of one measure into the second (Example 44b)--the original, erased barline before "Uscivo" is clearly visible on fol. 52^v, m. 2.

Example 44b

The musical score for Example 44b consists of three systems of staves. The top system is for Alice (Al.), the middle for Meg, and the bottom for piano accompaniment. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 6/8. The first measure of Alice's line is circled and labeled '52'. The second measure of Alice's line is also circled and labeled '52^v'. The lyrics under Alice's line are 'U - sci - vo ap.' with a bracketed question mark over the second syllable. The lyrics under Meg's line are 'A - li - ce' and 'Nan - het - ta'. The piano accompaniment consists of two staves with rhythmic patterns.

Verdi may have thought that the greetings in the earliest reading (Ex. 44a), which must provide the audience's introduction to these characters, were too rapidly delivered to be absorbed; Ex. 44b is a slight improvement and sacrifices little of the breathless haste of the preceding version. In this context Alice's prolongation of the second syllable of "Uscivo" in Ex. 44b may have later seemed inappropriate: thus one finds the setting of that word revised once more to form the final version.

In the subsequent measures on fols. 53^v-54 Verdi erased and rewrote the early version of Alice's announcement that something strange has happened to her (Example 45; 96000¹, p. 49; 113953, p. 64).

Example 45

The image shows two systems of handwritten musical notation. The first system is for folio 53^v and the second for folio 54. Each system consists of a vocal line and piano accompaniment.

System 1 (Folio 53^v): The vocal line begins with a circled "53^v" and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are "giungi in buon punto" with "[?]" above the final measure. The piano accompaniment features a bass line with a 7-finger fingering and a treble line with a 7-finger fingering.

System 2 (Folio 54): The vocal line begins with a circled "54" and the word "[etc.]". The lyrics are "m'accade un fet - to da tra-se-co-lar". The piano accompaniment continues with similar fingering and chordal structures.

In this skeleton score version he avoided a strictly sequential repetition of the initial two measures by using the unexpected secondary dominant chord (V^6 of V) in m. 4. This resulted, however, in an

ambiguous phrase structure in the accompaniment--are mm. 1, 3, and 5, or 2, 4, and 6 the strong measures?--while the voice part was more clearly in a 2 + 2 + 2 pattern. Moreover, because of the prolonged secondary dominant in mm. 4-5 (whose peculiar effect may have been intended to set the text in high relief), the harmonic rhythm leading to the E major cadence is slack and perhaps overdependent on the voice alone to provide the rhythmic drive to the cadence.

The harmonic rhythm of the final reading establishes a clearer phrase structure in the accompaniment (2 + 2 + 2) and gives an unequivocal push to the cadence in the last two measures. In the final version the composer also provided a new solution to the problem of avoiding the strictly sequential repetition of mm. 1-2: in the first half of m. 3 he wrote the treble and bass in contrary motion.

The passage beginning with Alice's resolution ("Dunque") to tell about Sir John's letter to her also contains several melodic revisions. The early version is shown in Example 46 (fols. 55-57; 96000¹, pp. 51-52; 113953, pp. 65-67). Here Alice (after a setting of "Dunque" less decisive than that of the final version) commences her tale on repeated C's--a step lower than the version to which we are accustomed. This fits well enough with the bass but not with its imitation in the piccolo (in brackets in Ex. 46), mm. 3-4 and 7-8.

The skeleton score proper (in dark brown-black ink) of the first nine measures of the example consists of the voice, cello, and upper strings (in mm. 1-3 only); the piccolo part belongs to the final orchestration. This latter part might have been an afterthought and

Example 46

41. ⁽⁵⁵⁾ ⁽⁵⁵⁾

Dunque!... Se m'ac- con- cias- si a en-

6. Al. [?]

trar- ne' rei pro- po- si- ti del Diavolo sa-

10. Al. ⁽⁵⁶⁾

-rei pro- mos- sa al gra- do

Example 46, continued

14 Al. 56

di Caval- le- res- sa sa Moteggi.
anch'io non

18 Meg 57

più pa- ro- re ché qui sciu- piamo la luce del

22 Meg Al. [sic] Meg [sic] Nan. Qui. [etc.]

sole. ho una lettera anch'io oh!

could have been the reason that Verdi wished to change Alice's part in mm. 3-9 to a pedal D. There are, however, other possible explanations. He could have altered Alice's part before he thought of the treble imitation: her insistent D's, after all, humorously underline the beginning of her astonishing story. Or the piccolo imitation might have existed in some other form prior to the skeleton score but could have been omitted from that layer for a reason that we cannot presently know: the bass line seems perfectly constructed for such imitative treatment. It is also possible that Alice's C's in mm. 3-4 and 7-8 were errors immediately corrected to D's, but this is improbable because of the extent of the supposed "error." The question can be answered only when the sketches for this passage become available.

Alice's "Sarei promossa al grado" (mm. 9-13) is in fair copy--the harmonization here is part of the skeleton score proper--and only a minor adjustment, probably as an aid to the singer, was made in m. 14, where the original D sharp of "di" was replaced by an E.

The early version of Meg's "Non più parole / Chè qui sciupiamo la luce del sole" (mm. 17-22) differs in two principal respects from the final setting: it is one measure shorter and employs, for the last time in this section, the melodic cells from the opening melody of the scene. Although the early reading graphically depicts Meg's impatience to get to the heart of the mystery, Verdi may have sensed an accentual problem connected with it. If Ex. 46, mm. 19-22, constitute a four-bar phrase, then mm. 23-25 might be heard as a three-bar phrase (with a misplaced accent on "lettera" in m. 24) or, more likely,

as a one-measure link to a two-bar phrase. In either case the accented "oh!" in the weak half of m. 25 is not given its maximum surprise value: this could only be done in a well-established context of regularly recurring, preferably two-bar phrases. This context is not present in the early version. When Verdi split m. 21 into two measures for the final version, he produced a regular 2 + 2 phrase structure, beginning at least with m. 19 and probably four measures before that. The exclamation in m. 25 is consequently set in higher rhythmic relief.

Verdi also rewrote the accompaniment to Meg's lines, eliminating the reference to the opening theme and writing instead a foreshadowing of the arpeggios soon to be heard in great profusion in the women's laughing and subsequent quartet. The new accompaniment serves as a bridge that leads the listener from the opening motivic material to the entirely new material of Falstaff's letter and thence to the women's quartet.

Falstaff's Love Letter: "Fulgida Alice"

Except for its setting of the final pair of couplets the skeleton score of Falstaff's letter to Alice and Meg (fols. 58-63^v) was originally written in 12/8, not in the present 6/8. Why Verdi decided to halve the length of the measures of the first four passages that the wives read from the letter is uncertain.⁴²⁹ Curiously, he retained the 12/8

⁴²⁹The fourth excerpt (fol. 60^v, "Sei la gaja comare") shows no erasures or cancellations of a prior 12/8. Fol. 60^v, however, is a pasted replacement, a fair copy at least as late as the final orchestration and perhaps even later. The spacing and vertical alignment of

signature for the fifth excerpt ("Facciamo il pajo"). Nor is it clear when he rebarred the first four extracts. Since he scored the text of the letter very thinly, the skeleton score required very little expansion: the many 6/8 time signatures written in fair copy on otherwise blank staves do not provide a reliable clue about the compositional stage at which the change was made.

Many difficulties hamper a clear reconstruction of the skeleton score of much of the letter. Some of the erased readings in its opening, especially in the voices, cannot be restored with accuracy. Of those that can be recovered (or partially recovered) several are mere copying errors. In addition, Verdi appears to have written an intermediate layer--usually in the upper strings--in a brown-black ink that is often difficult to distinguish from the slightly darker ink of the skeleton score. Even more vexing is his inadvertent neglect of the prevailing key signature, a problem by no means unique to this passage. One often finds that the composer has supplied sharps, flats, and naturals on the basis of a key signature that he had presumed--usually the signature of the key of the last strong cadence--but that he had not in fact entered. After the move to F-sharp minor with Meg's "non domandar perchè, ma" in the final measure of fol. 59.

the notes of its continuation on fol. 61, an original folio, suggest that the skeleton score of fol. 61 probably began with a 12/8 measure. It therefore seems likely that the original fol. 60^V contained one or two 12/8 measures.

G sharp is the intended reading here, but other, later examples are not so clear.

With Alice's "Pur non gli offersi cagion" (fol. 59^v, m. 3) Verdi began to revise the ensuing lines thoroughly, for fol. 60 is a pasted replacement in nearly fair copy. Example 47 (96000¹, p. 55; 113953, pp. 68-69) shows the early version of the three measures immediately preceding that replacement.

Example 47

Al. 59^v Qui. ← orig. 60 repl. →

pur non gli offer-si ca-gion Guardiam con

Mig. [?]

il nostro ca-so è pur strano

[?]

Lacking a continuity draft, one cannot determine what kind of changes he made in the continuation of Ex. 47 that required him to replace the entire folio. The present fol. 60^r-60^v contains eight uncrowded measures; it is highly probable, therefore, that the original reading also contained eight measures. And since fol. 61, an original,

begins clearly in F-sharp major, one may assume that that key was established on the original fol. 60^r or, more likely, on fol. 60^v.

The voice part of fol. 61, however, begins immediately with a correction that suggests that the voice part on the preceding original may have carried a reading different from that of the present fol. 60^v. Example 48 (96000¹, pp. 56-59; 113953, pp. 70-74) is a transcription of the skeleton score (and relevant intermediate layer) of fols. 61-63^v. This example merits a detailed discussion, for its differences from the corresponding final version are among the most striking and enlightening in the opera.

It is clear that as he wrote the skeleton score of fol. 61^v (beginning Ex. 48, m. 4) Verdi encountered some difficulties in barring and made two attempts to write these measures before deciding upon a final version. He first entered only the time signature 12/8, which probably reflects the meter of the continuity draft at this point and which was the meter of all of the preceding portions of Falstaff's letter. His decision, then, to introduce the 12/8 measures with a bar of 6/8 produced a metrical disturbance--the addition of two extra compound beats.

By itself, this observation is not of great interest; one notices, however, that the ensuing 12/8 measures could easily be rebarrred two compound beats later without any significant effect on the music. In this purely conjectural rebarring the bass under "pajo in un'amor ridente" would descend on the first beat of the relevant measures instead of on the third beat. Further, this rebarring would avoid the shift from 12/8 to 4/4 in the middle of m. 8. Finally, the following

Example 48

Al. ← repl. (61) orig. →

Mea
Nan.
Qui.

io e fra noi due facciamo il pa- jo [?]
io e fra noi due facciamo il pa- jo

Lui Lei

facciamo il pajo in una.
te
un pajo in tre

[blank?]
[blank?]

Detailed description: The musical score is written in treble and bass clefs with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a time signature of 12/8. It features three vocal parts: Mea (top), Nan. (middle), and Qui. (bottom), and a piano accompaniment (bottom two staves). The score is divided into two systems. The first system contains the first two lines of music, with lyrics 'io e fra noi due facciamo il pajo' and 'io e fra noi due facciamo il pajo'. The second system contains the next three lines of music, with lyrics 'facciamo il pajo in una.', 'te', and 'un pajo in tre'. There are handwritten annotations: 'Al. ← repl. (61) orig. →' at the top left, a circled '61' above the first staff, and a circled '61V' above the second staff. The piano accompaniment includes various musical notations such as triplets, slurs, and dynamic markings.

Example 48, continued

5 Al.

pajo in un amor ri-den- te di don-na

7 Al. (62)

Nan. Mea Gio. bel- la e d'uom appa-ri- scen- te E il vi- so
appa-ri- scen- te
appa-ri- scen- te

9 Al. (62)

tuo su me risplende- rà come una stel- la come una

Example 48, continued

Al. 12 \leftarrow orig. (63) orig. \rightarrow

stet-la nell'Eter-ni-tà ahahahahahahahah Ri-

ahahahahahahahah ah

Al. 16 (63') [senza misura] \leftarrow orig. (61) repl. \rightarrow

spondial tuo scudiere Sir John Falstaff Cavaliere Mostro

Mostro

couplet, beginning "E il viso tuo," would conform to this barring if one were to reduce the length of the note to which "stella" is first set by two beats. The hypothetical result is shown in Example 49:

Example 49

E il vi-so tu-o su me ri-splen-de-rà
co-me u-na stel-la come una stel-la nell'E-ter-ni-tà.

That this reading actually existed prior to the skeleton score version is no more than speculation.⁴³⁰ Yet it suggests that the reason that Verdi inserted the 6/8 measure on fol. 61^V was to allow for two added compound beats somewhere in the ensuing measures; the most likely place where they might have been added is the first setting of "stella." Once again, the answer lies in the sketches.

The details of the original harmonization of Ex. 48, mm. 5-8, are not easy to specify because of the difficulty of separating the

⁴³⁰The speculation, however, is reinforced by the evidence that when this melody returns (in common time) at the end of this scene (fols. 107-08; 96000, pp. 124-25; 113953, pp. 131-32), the first eight measures (counting the change to E major as the first measure) occur on fol. 107^r-07^v, a replacement folio. Fol. 107^r contains four measures (beginning one measure before the key change), but fol. 107^v is a bit crowded with five measures. If one were to write the hypothetical Ex. 49 in common time (i.e., with doubled note values) and to fit it onto fol. 107, the verso would contain only four measures--whose extension to five would require both a new folio and crowded measures.

relevant inks. Nevertheless, the erased readings and revisions in the voice, cello, and first violin (and second violin on fol. 62, m. 1) permit us to restore what were probably the outer voices of that harmonization.⁴³¹ As in the immediately preceding portions of the letter, Verdi wrote the skeleton score as though the key signature were three sharps, not two. This early harmonization shows no evidence of the chromatic descent from A natural to F sharp found in the bass in the final version: G natural never appears, although because of the signature confusion this observation cannot be as firm as one might like. The accidental sharps found in the cello of fol. 61^V, mm. 2-3

⁴³¹The skeleton score proper of fols. 61^V-62 comprises the voices, probably the cello, and only perhaps the first violin. It is possible that Verdi, instead of writing the complete notation in the instrumental parts, wrote in only suggested note-heads or heads with stems but without dots or flags, and so on. Many of these note-heads may have been rewritten at a later stage of composition, making the original heads virtually undetectable. Notice, however, the double writing of the initial note-head for the cello, fol. 61^V, m. 3, beat 3, and the apparent lack of dots and ties in the cello, fol. 62, mm. 1-2. Some of the upper parts also have curious features: how is one to explain the peculiar notation of the first violin on fol. 61^V, m. 2, in which only the third beat contains all six sixteenth notes written out in full, instead of in abbreviated form? There is no clear answer, but this notation may have been the result of an initial entry that, through its incompleteness and reliance on mere suggestion, was almost a sketch. Thus Verdi at this initial stage might have written six sixteenths on E, or only their note-heads, in the first violin, fol. 61^V, m. 2, beat 3. These six notes would then have to appear in this manner, i.e., written out in full, in the final reading, unless Verdi, for purely cosmetic purposes, had been willing to erase and rewrite the third beat of that measure.

were first written in red ink, probably by "Ricordi" during the reduction of the autograph score:⁴³² for this reason they do not appear in Ex. 48. Verdi later rewrote the proper (or revised?) accidentals with normal writing ink.

In addition, the composer completely revised the melody and harmony of the early setting of mm. 6-8 ("di donna bella e d'uom appariscente").⁴³³ In m. 7 of the skeleton score version he did not continue the bass descent begun in mm. 5-6; instead, the bass moves by leap, and a new rhythmic figure is introduced in the violin on the first two beats. This new figure contains a D sharp that at once effects a modulation to the dominant, E major, although the new tonic is not sounded until two bars later with the shift to common time. The unexpected appearance of that D sharp effectively colors the word "bella," but the subsequent succession of chords in m. 7 is questionable because of the awkward move from B 4/2 on the second beat to A⁶ on the third. The final version of these measures may lack the felicitous setting of the word "bella" but more than compensates for this loss by pursuing what has become an extraordinarily strong, chromatic bass descent that spans a minor seventh and modulates to the dominant only

⁴³²The accidental sharp in the bassoon, fol. 61^v, m. 2, is in black pencil and was also written by "Ricordi." Red ink similar to that found in the cello part may be found in other "Ricordi" entries: e.g., the brace for the horn staves on fols. 43^v, 73^v, and elsewhere.

⁴³³The melodic setting of the two final syllables differs in the four voice parts. Alice and Meg read G (sharp), B, F sharp; Nannetta and Quickly read G (sharp), A, F sharp. In all four cases the middle note is only a note-head without stem or flag. Unable to decide which he preferred, Verdi might have "sketched" both versions into the autograph score.

on the final four beats, on the word "appariscente." The modulation now occurs on the adjective flattering to Falstaff, not on the one flattering to Alice and Meg.

The early setting of the ensuing couplet in mm. 8-13, beginning "E il viso tuo," also differs from its final version. Apart from containing the words "nell'Eternità" instead of the eventual "sull'Immensità,"⁴³⁴ the version in Ex. 48 was simply harmonized and produced a quite different effect from that of the final version.⁴³⁵ In the skeleton score Verdi wrote six beats of a soft, E-major string tremolo, then eight beats of an F-sharp minor tremolo, during which a pronounced crescendo rises to the fifth beat and is followed--at least in the voices--by a four-beat decrescendo; five beats of cadential material conclude the phrase. One cannot presently know whether the suspension and imitative four eighth notes in m. 10 (bracketed in Ex. 48) were part of the original plan or were added later. Nor can one be certain that

⁴³⁴Verdi's entering of the words "nell'Eternità" may have been a blunder or a lapse of memory rather than a substantive variant. The autograph libretto, from which Verdi was working, agrees with the final reading, both here and at the end of the scene when the line is repeated.

⁴³⁵It is unclear when Verdi entered the four-sharp signature at this point in the score, but it was obviously after writing the skeleton score. Notice, for example, the crowded entry of the four sharps, particularly in the bass (he apparently thought there was insufficient space to enter this signature in the voice part), and the D-sharp accidentals in the voice. Curiously, the first violin (perhaps an intermediate layer) contains G-sharp accidentals, although these are not entered into the voice, which consistently implies a continuation of the erroneously presumed three-sharp signature. The subsequent fol. 63, which begins a new gathering, is also written in an implied three sharps. In the skeleton score version the four-sharp signature was first entered only on fol. 67, the beginning of the original setting of the "Quell'otre! quel tino!" quartet.

the cello line, which in the final version introduces a D in m. 9 and an A sharp in m. 10, was not included in the skeleton score; but it is difficult to believe that Verdi wrote an A sharp in m. 10 only to cancel it in m. 11 to agree with the A natural in the voice.⁴³⁶ Far more likely, it would seem, is that the passage was harmonized as I--ii⁷--I^{6/4}--V⁷--I, with the only chromatic movement in the accompaniment occurring, possibly in m. 10 in the first violin.

This early harmonization may have seemed musically unsatisfactory because of the lengthy prolongation of the supertonic chord: two beats longer than that of the preceding tonic. The durational discrepancy between the two chords might have been caused if our earlier hypothesis about this passage is correct, i.e., if Verdi had earlier decided to hold the high G sharp for two extra beats: if one were to harmonize the hypothetical Example 49 with the harmonies found in Example 48, the awkwardness of the skeleton score harmonization would be removed.

The final setting of mm. 8-13 presents a remarkable series of extremely active harmonies, especially secondary dominants. In the printed version the chords and increased harmonic rhythm of m. 11 push vigorously towards what becomes a strongly accented tonic six-four on the first beat of the next measure, which was originally to be performed decrescendo. But Verdi never removed the decrescendo

⁴³⁶Another possibility is that the cello's note in m. 10 was originally an A natural, with the sharp being written in after the revision of the passage. On the basis of inks, however, there is no reason to believe that the sharp and the note-head on A were not written simultaneously.

Cf. Verdi's later indecision about the cello part in the reprise of this melody, pp. 102-05 above.

in the voice, even though the marking makes no sense in the context of the new harmonization. Moreover, no such decrescendo is found in the repetition of this passage at the end of I.2, on the replacement fol. 107^V. Clearly, the original decrescendo (still included in most printed scores) should be omitted in future editions of Falstaff.

It must have been with this new harmonization, which so astonishingly invigorates the conclusion of Sir John's letter, that Verdi decided to remove the final statement of the English horn motive in m. 15. The comic depiction of a sigh, appropriate enough in the early setting of the letter, seems out of place after the intensity of "E il viso tuo." Whatever his reason, the composer did delete the motive in m. 15 and thus passed directly to the senza misura, emotionally neutral setting of the knight's signature, "Rispondi al tuo scudiere, / Sir John Falstaff Cavaliere."⁴³⁷

The Introduction to the Women's Quartet, "Quell'otre! quel tino!"

Because fols. 64-66^V and fols. 69-75^V are replacements, the skeleton score of much of the following quartet and quintet (96000¹, pp. 61-76) is irrecoverable. In the entire sixth gathering, in fact, only the external bifolio 63/76 and fols. 67-68^V seem original. Verdi must have made substantial revisions in both the women's and men's ensembles, revisions that entailed an almost complete rewriting of many folios.

⁴³⁷For his later reworking of the signature see pp. 92-94 above.

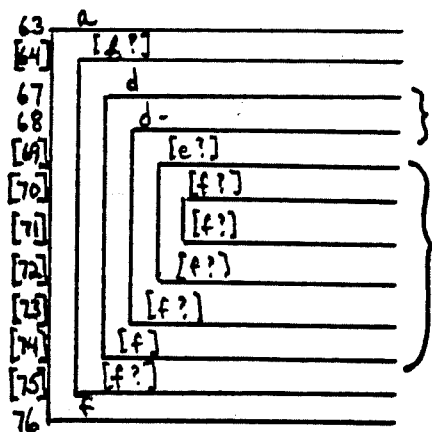
The replacements were made at different times in at least two separate actions. The original gathering that contained the dark brown-black skeleton score (written at Sant'Agata in autumn 1891) was probably a normal six-bifolio fascicle with a standard embossing sequence, as shown in Diagram 5a. Some time later the composer revised the men's quintet "E un ribaldo, un furbo, un ladro" and other portions of the gathering; he replaced eight folios with four bifolios written in black-brown (Genoese) ink--the characteristic final orchestration ink of the first two acts.⁴³⁸ The resulting gathering structure is shown in Diagram 5b.

At a date later than that of the above replacements Verdi decided to compose a seventeen-measure introduction to the women's quartet. He needed no new text but used the opening lines of the quartet itself.⁴³⁹ The inserted bifolio, fols. 65-66^v, is written in dark brown-black ink, as are a few revisions in the final measures of fol. 64^v that lead into this insertion. Diagram 5c shows the final gathering structure of this portion of the autograph score. Since the insertion cannot belong to the skeleton score, it must be later than the final orchestration: it must have been written in the spring or summer of 1892, after Verdi returned to Sant'Agata and its variable,

⁴³⁸One need not assume that he wrote all four bifolios at the same time; nevertheless, the embossing sequence of fols. 69-74^v suggests that he wrote these three bifolios as a unit. The substitute bifolio 64/75 may have been already present at the time that he replaced fols. 69-74^v, or it may have been added later. Although fol. 74^v and fol. 75 appear to share an early, erased reading, it is unclear whether the readings on the two folios are actually continuous.

⁴³⁹Indavertently, however, he reversed Meg's and Quickly's lines; see p. 241 above.

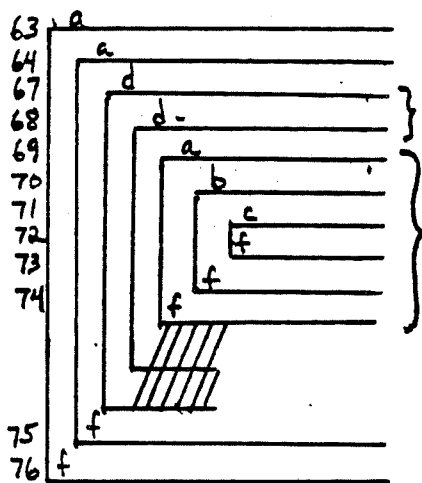
Diagram 5a



original women's quartet

original men's quintet

Diagram 5b



original?

replacement?

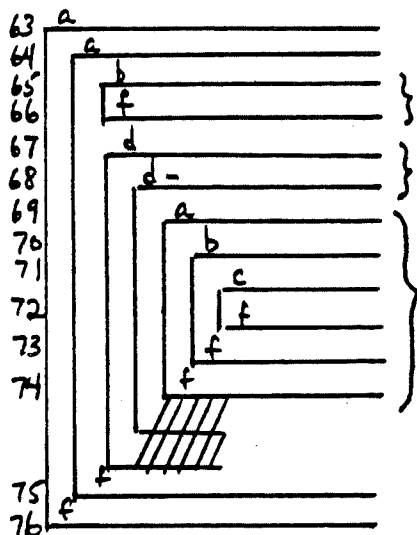
original women's quartet

revised men's quintet

replacement?

original?

Diagram 5c



insertion: intro. to quartet

original women's quartet

revised men's quintet

but idiosyncratic, brown-black inkwell. He probably wrote fols. 65-66^v without consulting the autograph score, for he was obliged to draw guide lines to correct the misalignment of the vocal parts from fol. 64^v to fol. 65 and from fol. 66^v to fol. 67.

Since fol. 64^v is a replacement folio one cannot know what originally preceded the quartet proper in the skeleton score, but one can recover a compositional layer that existed prior to the insertion of fols. 65-66^v by restoring the erased readings of the present fol. 64^v, which then led directly into fol. 67. The matter is somewhat complicated by the existence of two sets of erasures on fol. 64^v, which was apparently revised at least once before the insertion of the new bifolio. It seems that this revision concerned the assigning of lines to different characters or pairs of characters. Unfortunately, the several erasures are not easily separated. The closest one can come to this early version is shown in Example 50 (96000¹, pp. 60-63; 113953, pp. 74-78)--a transcription of the original reading(s) of the replacement fol. 64^v and its continuation on fol. 67.

Notwithstanding the uncertainty about who sings what part in mm. 3-5 the original rhythmic and harmonic preparation for the quartet is clear. The example begins in F-sharp major, modulates to B major in m. 2, and cadences in m. 5. The new B major turns out to be the dominant of E major, which is introduced conclusively by m. 7. The two eighth rests that begin m. 6 may have been filled by two eighth-note B's; these notes have been erased in the oboe part, but to judge from the disturbance that they cause in Example 50, one should probably understand them either as an erroneous entry or as the

Example 50

Al. 64^v

- letta che ven-

Nan. oh oh! che spasso!

Mes. che alle-gria che ven-

5 Al. 67 orig.?

- detta

Nan. Quell'otre quel tino quel Re delle

Mes. Se ordisci una burla vo'anchio la mia

- detta

Quell'uomo è un canho-ne se scop-pia ci
Un fluto in tem-pes-ta git-tò sull'a

blank? blank? blank? blank?

continuation of an earlier (skeleton score) layer no longer available. Although the separation of inks on fol. 67 is by no means easy, the oboe and clarinet accompaniment to the quartet, later cancelled (almost certainly by Verdi) is in black-brown ink and belongs to the final orchestration or perhaps to an even later layer.⁴⁴⁰

Why was Verdi dissatisfied with the version transcribed in Example 50? He must have considered the 6/8 quartet to have been approached too abruptly. Thus he composed a seventeen-measure introduction that emphatically established the compound meter (a clear aid to the performers) and prepared for the eventual E major by strongly emphasizing its dominant: a four-bar phrase and its sequence lead us through F-sharp and G-sharp minor, after which an extended, ascending chain of three-note groups points directly at several repeated B's-- now heard unequivocally as V of E.

⁴⁴⁰Verdi cancelled the oboe and clarinet parts some time before the engraving and printing of the 96000¹ proofs, for in them, as in all subsequent piano-vocal scores, the voices are unaccompanied, and the piano part has notes of reduced size to be played, one assumes, only for the purposes of rehearsal. Cf. Verdi to Ricordi, 11 December 1892 (Mr 1078), in which the composer refers to this ensemble as "il Quartetto a voce sola" (unpublished).

Yet the oboe and clarinet parts, while probably not played in the Milanese performances, must have been available to the performers. A few months after the premiere, when Edoardo Mascheroni was performing the opera on tour in Venice (see p. 115 above), Verdi wrote to the conductor on 7 May--perhaps in response to a letter or telegram, perhaps in response to the Venetian reviews of Falstaff--that he could add the instruments to the quartet if he wishes. (See Cesari and Luzio, Copialettere, p. 718; Abbiati, IV, 506). Both 96180 and 113953 contain oboe and clarinet parts above the quartet with no indication that their performance is ad libitum.

After writing the bifolio 65-66^v in fair copy, Verdi evidently decided to revise portions of the first nine measures: the original version is shown in Example 51 (96000¹, pp. 61-62; 113953, pp. 75-77). Two points are immediately observable: mm. 4-5 and their sequential repetition in mm. 8-9 originally contained an authentic cadence in their respective keys instead of the half cadences found in the final version; and Alice's melodic figure in mm. 10-11, a unique figure in the final version, is preceded by two similar figures in Meg's part (and in the first violin) in mm. 4 and 8 of the early reading. Whether Verdi revised the initial nine measures to avoid the three-fold statement of this figure cannot be determined. Yet it is curious that he deleted its first two appearances and left the remaining third statement without reference to any preceding material. On a much smaller scale, this revision seems similar to the "Quando il rintocco" revision (see Chapter 11 above), where he also cancelled a passage but left its later repetition.

The Men's Quintet: "E un ribaldo, un furbo, un ladro"

Verdi apparently found the men's quintet difficult to compose, for it is written on replacement folios that are themselves considerably revised. Although the basic structure of the first eighteen measures shows no sign of having been modified, he did make a few small adjustments in the harmony, text, and voice leading. The most notable revision occurred in mm. 11-13 of the quintet. (Example 52 (fol. 71; 96000¹, pp. 71-72; 113953, p. 84) is a transcription of the "original"

Example 51

Al. **(65)** **(65)**

Nar. *quell'otre quel ti - - - no se ordisci una burla quell're delle*

Mea *- detta un flutto in tempesta gittò sull'e - rena [sic]*

Qui *quell'uom è un canno - - ne*

Al. **(66)** [etc.]

Nar. *pen - - - cie! vo' anch'io la mia parte se ordisci una burla vo' anch'io la mia parte*

Mea *ci ha ancora le ciance del bel vagheggio*

Qui *di Vindsor co - desta vorace ba - lena co desta vorace vorace ba - lena*

se scoppia ci spac - cia

vocal parts of those measures; it contains two versions of Fenton's part, which here ascends only to F sharp, not to the G sharp found in the final version.

Example 52

Fen. [version 2] (71)

Fen. [version 1] e sarà una giostra gaja gaja ga - - - - - ja [?]

Caj. e sarà una giostra gaja gaja ga - ja

Bard. e un ribaldo un turco un ladro se un processo oggi l'in-

Ford - zangheri non vorrei no uscir dai zhangeri dell'o - nor per un re - ame Messer Ford l'uom avvi - [?]

Pist. il cerebro un ebro al -

- presta Messer Ford, un gran pericolo

The harmonization of Example 52 is quite different from that of the final reading. The chords of the former move more swiftly, proceeding from G-sharp minor to B major (V of E), while the latter remains in the minor key throughout these measures. Bardolfo's part in the early version descends chromatically from G sharp to F sharp: this recalls the chromatic motion heard earlier (mm. 5-8 of the quintet) and anticipates that beginning in Ford's part in the last measure of the example. In the corresponding passage of the final setting Bardolfo remains on a G sharp.

Verdi revised Fenton's, Cajus's, and Bardolfo's notes for this passage before November 1892, for the final harmonization is printed in the 96000¹ proofs--but the proofs contain the early version of Pistola's part along with two different, handwritten corrections of that part. To confuse matters further, the reading ultimately written into the autograph score is a conflation of the two handwritten versions and is followed in no printed score that I have seen.

The superimposed Examples 53a, b, c, and d (fols. 70^v-72; 96000¹, pp. 70-74; 113953, pp. 83-86) are transcriptions of the four versions of Pistola's part in mm. 10-17 of the men's quintet. Example 53a is the version of that part printed in the proofs: this was the reading at least through 18 September 1892, when the composer returned Carignani's manuscript reduction of Act I, from which the 96000¹ proof plates were engraved. The first revision of these measures in the proofs--written by "Ricordi" in black pencil--affects both the text and

Example 53

a. Pist.
 Già v'ap-presta Messer Ford, un gran pericolo

b. Pist.
 Messer Ford Fui già un armigero di quell'uom dall'ampia cute

c. Pist.
 Messer Ford fui già un armigero di quell'uom dall'ampia cute

d. Pist. (71)
 Messer Ford fui già un armigero di quell'uom dall'ampia cute

5 a. Pist. [etc.]
 E vi pende sulla testa Quakho coca a perpendicolo

b. Pist.
 Or mi pentoe mi morigero Per ragioni di sa-lute

c. Pist.
 Or mi pentoe mi morigero Per ragioni di sa-lute

d. Pist. (71) (72)
 or mi pentoe mi morigero per ragioni di sa-lute

the notes but not the harmony: it is shown in Example 53b. Surely having received authoritative instructions, "Ricordi" probably pencilled in the revision before mailing the newly printed pages on 2-3 November.⁴⁴¹

On 4 November, immediately upon receipt of the proofs, Verdi again altered Pistola's part, wrote Giulio Ricordi of his decision,⁴⁴² and entered the new version (Example 53c) in ink into the proofs without erasing "Ricordi's" pencil version. This change was simply one of declamation: the harmony was unaffected.

The January 1893 version in the autograph score (Example 53d) shares aspects of both Examples 53b and 53c. Three explanations are possible of this reading. First, the composer may have written Example 53b into the manuscript score before November 1892 and may have corrected the passage only incompletely in January 1893. Second, he might have been correcting the passage from memory in January 1893 and might have confused the two readings 53b and 53c. Third, he might

⁴⁴¹The following is one possible explanation. Giulio Ricordi may have received the instructions for the revisions ca. 28-31 October 1892, when he visited Verdi in Genoa (see p. 258 above) and brought portions of Act II with him for correction. At this time the plates for the first and third acts were being engraved and printed in Milan. On 28 October Ricordi wired Carignani to bring still more material to Genoa: this may have been a request for the first act, in which case the composer could have entered Ex. 53b into the autograph score. A few days later Ricordi sent Verdi the proofs of the men's quintet, into which the editor might have entered a revision made too late for inclusion into the printed proofs.

⁴⁴²Mr. 1056; unpublished.

have intended a final revision of the passage, in which case Example 53d would be definitive. That all of the early printed editions carry the reading of Example 53c argues that the third possibility is unlikely. Example 53c should probably be considered the most reliable reading.

While the opening of this ensemble thus contains a few minor modifications of the above sort, the remainder of the quintet was subject to a far more thorough revision. Example 54 (96000¹, pp. 75-78; 113953, pp. 86-91) is a transcription of the earliest layer of composition found on fols. 72-75^v, i.e., the passage that begins with the nineteenth measure of the quintet and proceeds through Ford's exclamation "Quanti guai!" Counting the first measure of Example 54 as m. 1, its differences from the final version may be enumerated as follows:

1. The four-beats of rest in mm. 4-5 were replaced by Ford's forte "se parlaste uno alla volta."⁴⁴³
2. M. 9 was completely cancelled; the fourth beat of m. 8 was revised to accommodate the cancellation of m. 9; m. 8 now proceeds to an authentic E major cadence on the first beat of the original m. 10.
3. The original mm. 10-11 were expanded into three measures and were completely rewritten; Ford's "Ripeti!" was shifted two quarter notes later and transposed down one whole step.

⁴⁴³First introduced in print, as will be seen, in 96000².

Example 54

Fent. ⁷² ⁷²

Cel. ⁷² ⁷²

Bard. - canto
 tu se lo trova al tu per tu o Lui va per la sua strada
 non son fiori di vir-tù non son due stinchi di santo

- guato che l'agguato stonerà tocca a voi d'ordir l'agguato

Ford
 Pist. ⁷² ⁷²
 - ro qual dei due accollerò se parlaste uno alla volta
 - dor state all'erta all'erta all'er - - - ta state all'erta all'erta all'erta

Fent. ⁷³

Cel. ⁷³

Bard.
 o Passegno a Belzebù se lo trova al tu per tu o Lui va per la sua strada o Passegno a Belze-
 ne son fiori di vir-tù non son due stinchi di santo non son due stinchi di santo ne son fiori di vir-

che l'agguato stonerà tocca a voi d'ordir l'agguato tocca a voi d'ordir l'agguato che l'agguato storne-

Ford
 Pist.
 forse allor v'accollerò se parlaste uno alla volta se parlaste uno alla volta forse allor v'accolte-
 qui si tratta dell'o-gor or ve noto il ciurmodor state all'erta all'erta all'erta qui si tratta dell'o-

Example 54, continued

Fent. ^{73v}
 Cant.
 Bard. - bu.
 - to.
 Ford
 Pist.
 ra.

-ro -nor! qui si tratta dell'onor Ri-pe-ti! in due parole le-

13 Pist. [version B] ^{74v} [?]

-nor-me Fal-staff vuole entrar nel vostro tetto []-vi la con-

Pist. [version A]

-nor-me Fal-staff vuole entrar nel vostro tetto []-vi la con-

Example 54, continued

Pist. [Version B] [4?] \leftarrow repl. (75) repl. \rightarrow

sorte [] la cassa forte e sconquassar. viii

Pist. [Version A] [4?] e [?] [?]

sorte [] la cassa forte e . . . sconquassar - - vi il

2) Caj. (75) [etc.]

Casita

Ford

Quanti guai

Pist. letto!

4. The key signature was changed to no sharps or flats at m. 12 (fol. 74).
5. Pistola's lines, mm. 12-20, were revised at least twice.
6. The accompaniment of m. 18 was completely rewritten.
7. A five-beat, sustained dominant seventh chord was written into the horns and bassoons as accompaniment, mm. 19-20.
8. Ford's "Quanti guai!" mm. 21-22, was rewritten as an octave descent.

Verdi's reworking of the conclusion of the quintet provides us with our first example in this section of what we shall call climactic revision--the substantial recomposition of the climactic, concluding lines of an aria or ensemble.⁴⁴⁴ This revision type, as will be seen, is frequently encountered in the autograph score of Falstaff.

The modification of the music of Example 54 is an unusual instance of climactic revision, for in this case there are two lines (or line groups) treated as climaxes. The first is mm. 7-9, where the tumult rises to a forte deceptive cadence in m. 9 and is followed by a decrescendo and a motivic, two-bar transition to intelligible communication. These measures do not provide a particularly strong climax: the text is incomprehensible in performance, and the deceptive cadence diverts, rather than confirms, what the listener expects to be a strong cadence. The second climax, mm. 18-21, is more conclusive: Pistola's cadential "E sconquassarvi il letto!" leads to an orchestral eruption and a rapid diminuendo to dialogue. The entire ensemble may be understood to point towards these four words: they summarize the essence of Falstaff's intrigue.

⁴⁴⁴The rewritten conclusion of the honor monologue in I.1, discussed on pp. 95-98 above, is another example.

In the version shown in Example 54 Verdi's compositional plan is clear. Pistola, the chief bearer of ill tidings to Ford, is to be given three solo outbursts (mm. 1, 9, and 19-21) that are related to each other in subtle ways. The second, for instance, balances the first in rhythm and dramatic sense: together they straddle the silent m. 4, and in both Pistola's voice is suddenly heard alone in dotted rhythms amidst the general brontolamento. The third (mm. 19-21) may be heard as a counterweight to the first two outbursts. Its dotted rhythms (present in all variants of the line) recall those of the preceding outbursts, but here they are weightier, sung in slower note values that reflect the relish with which Pistola delivers this information to the hapless Ford. Moreover, its emphatic C and D flat (= C sharp) repeat the last two of the three pitches given to Pistola for his earlier pair of outbursts. In mm. 19-21, however, the pitches have attained a new, quite unforeseen tonal goal: D-flat major. Verdi thus coordinates the augmented rhythm, the pitch choice, and the powerful assertion of a new key to balance Pistola's two preceding solo lines and to create the second, more forceful climax.

At what point is the ensemble concluded? One may consider the quintet proper to have finished with Pistola's second outburst (the first climax) in mm. 9-10: at that moment the simultaneous singing ends. In those measures, however, the E major cadence towards which the music has been progressing and which would clearly mark the conclusion of an E major quintet, is avoided by the introduction of the surprise F-sharp seventh chord. The new dominant leads to a perfunctory cadence on B (m. 12), but the tonality immediately shifts down a third, to G major (mm. 12-13) and then to G minor (mm. 14-15). With

Pistola's mounting excitement in mm. 16-18 the harmonic and declamatory rhythm increases, and we find ourselves suddenly poised on the dominant seventh chord of D-flat major for the final, decisive cadence (m. 21). Verdi has therefore pushed the music past its expected E major conclusion and has permitted it to come to tonal rest only several bars later--in a foreign key, the parallel major of the relative minor. Pistola's three solo outbursts provide the material that binds Example 54 into a musical unit.

The dramatic event begun in the E major opening measures of the men's quintet, i.e., the disclosure of Falstaff's plan, is not concluded until Ford understands the message at the strong D-flat cadence. Thus the single dramatic event exceeds the boundaries of the quintet proper; the claims of the drama have superseded those of musical (i.e., tonal) and textural closure.

Verdi apparently changed his mind about this fundamental point. In the final version the quintet proper is tonally closed, beginning and ending in E major. Since the preceding women's quartet is also in E major, both ensembles can now be heard as complementary halves of a single musical unit. What follows, from Ford's "Ripeti!" to Pistola's "E sconquassarvi il letto!" should be understood as a separate transition section, a modulatory passage linking two areas of greater tonal stability.

Verdi's decision to close the quintet in E major, a change he made before giving the act to Ricordi, gave rise to a group of further corrections. Since Pistola's second outburst, "Qui si tratta dell'onor," had to be removed, the original balance of his solo lines

was lost, and the relationship between "State all'erta, all'erta, all'erta" and "E sconquassarvi il letto!" was, at best, rendered tenuous. For a considerable period of time, through the period of the 96000¹ proofs, the composer did nothing to remedy the situation. Finally, at the January rehearsals he decided to fill the silence in Ex. 54, mm. 4-5, with eight F-sharp eighth notes sung not by Pistola, but by Ford: "Se parlaste uno alla volta."⁴⁴⁵ Luigi Dallapiccola has pointed out that this insertion furnishes a counterweight (we would say, replaces the discarded counterweight) to Pistola's line three measures earlier.⁴⁴⁶ Even with this decision, however, Verdi had to sacrifice something: the four silent beats could have been an effective dramatic device, since it permits the characters to depict one of those comic moments where amid a general hubbub, all participants suddenly cease speaking at the same time, are perplexed by the silence, and begin again as noisily as before.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁵The proofs contain no indication of this correction. 96000¹, completed the first week of January 1893, still contains the four silent beats. 96000² (June 1893), 96180 (July 1893), and all subsequent printed editions contain the eight eighth notes.

⁴⁴⁶Dallapiccola, "Su un passo del 'Falstaff.'"

⁴⁴⁷Dallapiccola, op. cit., p. 31, sees, perhaps with some exaggeration, the insertion as a dramatic gain: "con quella battuta Mr. Ford dimostra di voler conoscere 'senza velami e senza ambagi' [Otello, II.3] che cosa si nasconde sotto ciò che gli era apparso 'un sussurro di congiura.' Un'altra corrispondenza, dunque, fra questo Otello trasportato sul piano della commedia e il suo tragico predecessore." One ought not to exclude the possibility that Verdi changed the passage merely because he thought the joke of the silent beats was not well executed during the rehearsals.

The most immediate effects of the new E major cadence concerned the manner in which it was to be continued. Mm. 10-11 had to be recomposed, since their early reading was predicated on the F-sharp seventh chord established in m. 9. Verdi first replaced the staccato eighth notes of the early version with a four-beat, tutti orchestral eruption that simultaneously confirms the E major cadence and, through its alternation of tonic and submediant (which can also be heard as IV and ii of B) prepares the way for a brief turn to B major. Having written this new codetta, he then found it necessary to modify the motivic content, pitch, and vocal rhythmic placement of the original two-bar transition to Pistola's explanation (mm. 10-11). He accomplished this by rewriting Ford's "Ripeti!" down a step and two beats later and by rejecting the motivic eighth-note pairs in the accompaniment, since they could no longer be comfortably introduced after the four-beat codetta. But by deleting those eighth-note pairs he omitted the first statement of a motive that he planned to use to accompany the beginning of Pistola's "E sconquassarvi il letto!" (mm. 18-19): we have here another example of the pattern revision mentioned above. It is, in fact, arguable that he revised the first three beats of m. 18 to provide the necessary preparation for the three eighth-note pairs that begin on the fourth beat of that measure.⁴⁴⁸ The original setting of the first three beats of m. 18 seem motivically out of place in the

⁴⁴⁸References to the eighth-note pairs, of course, can also be heard in Pistola's "[pa-]role" (m. 12) and "tetto" (m. 16), and, perhaps, in inversion in the bass in mm. 17 and 18. The relationship between the motivic eighth-note pair and the principal rhythmic motive of the quintet (repeated with variants in mm. 12 and 13) is self-evident.

early version (had Verdi deleted a pattern for them on the continuity draft or on the original, removed folios?) but may be considered to have provided an inverted anticipation of the descending sixteenth-note runs in m. 21.

When Verdi decided, surely for the convenience of notation, to remove the four-sharp signature at m. 12, he neglected to sign the F-sharp accidentals in mm. 12 and 14. Probably during the reduction of the manuscript in September 1892 "Ricordi" entered the two sharps in black pencil, placed an X below each, and wrote '# a fa' in the right margin of fol. 74. Later (October 1892?) the composer inked in the sharps and erased the X's and the marginal note. For some reason this revision seems to have initiated a long series of errors and oversights. The 96000¹ proofs (p. 77) contain an F natural in both measures: the first of them is even signed with a precautionary accidental. Apparently nobody noticed the error, which therefore remained in 96000¹. During the January rehearsals Verdi must have spotted it and corrected the conductor's score, because 96180 and all subsequent orchestral editions carry two signed F sharps in these measures. This correction, however, was imperfectly understood by the person responsible for the second issue of the piano-vocal score (96000²); there, and in 96000³, the first measure carries a signed F sharp, but the second still has the unsigned F natural. Clearly, both notes should be F sharp.

The early version of mm. 12-19 of Pistola's part cannot be restored with certainty, for here one finds at least two layers of erasure under the final reading. Thus what are termed Versions A and B in

Example 54 are superimposed in the autograph score. The separation of the two versions is hypothetical: any notes of Version A might actually belong to Version B and vice-versa. Pistola's part from m. 12 to m. 19 was heavily reworked: nearly every note in the transcription is a restored erased reading. Whatever the early setting might have been, one can clearly see the composer striving here for the optimum setting of these lines, so relished by Pistola, so abhorrent to Ford.

Verdi's struggle with the climactic words "E sconquassarvi il letto!" merits special attention, because the orchestral and piano-vocal scores contain different settings of this line. The two versions given in Example 54, mm. 18-21, are visible as erasures in the manuscript. Before giving Act I to the editor (perhaps concurrently with the entry of the now-erased Version B?) Verdi added a five-beat dominant seventh in the horns and bassoons in mm. 19-20 to reinforce the move to the new tonic. In addition to Versions A and B of Pistola's words a third, unerased reading, shown in Example 55, appears in the autograph score (fols. 74^v-75): this reading is followed in the first orchestral edition (96180) and in all subsequent orchestral editions.

Example 55

Pist. forte E... e sconquas - sar - vil letto!

From this evidence one may conclude that Verdi composed the third version during the January rehearsals and then entered it into both the autograph score and the conductor's score. The change, however, did not appear in 96000² or 96000³, which still followed Version B. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that Verdi's final thought on the passage was the reading shown in Example 55.

Finally, the composer changed Ford's "Quanti guai!" (mm. 21-22) and wrote the correction into the proofs (p. 78) on 25 November 1892.⁴⁴⁹ The final version, with its octave descent, is essentially an augmented repetition of the setting of the word "letto," towards which all of the preceding musical discourse has been tending; it therefore appears to be a more appropriate way to set Ford's reaction to the news.

The men's quintet and immediately subsequent lines constitute one of the most heavily revised passages of the score, an observation particularly striking in view of the fact that these changes occur on

⁴⁴⁹Verdi to Ricordi, 25 November 1892 (Mr 1069): "Correggete anche nel solo di Fal. quel mi...e più avanti il quanti guai di Ford." Unpublished.

replacement folios once intended to be fair copies of revised original folios. It is, indeed, a particularly dense collection of afterthoughts. Verdi seems to have been dissatisfied with the passage nearly every time he examined it, for his revisions date from several different periods of composition. The replacement folios themselves are written in an ink indistinguishable from that of the final orchestration of the first two acts; likewise many of the revisions, especially the E major cadence in m. 9 and most of the corrections it engendered, share this ink. All of these were probably written in Genoa, perhaps in February, March, or April 1892. The dark brown-black horn-bassoon chord added to mm. 19-20 may be from late spring or early summer 1892. Verdi also made substantial revisions, however, after giving the act over for reduction on 27 August 1892. The final rewriting of Pistola's ensemble part as shown in Example 53c and of Ford's "Quanti guai!" are proof corrections from November 1892. The insertion of Ford's "Se parlaste uno alla volta" and the new setting of Pistola's "E sconquassarvi il letto!" (Example 55) were accomplished during the January 1893 rehearsals. Considered as a whole, the passage provides ample evidence of Verdi's urge to refine his score and of the significance of the revisions one may find at points of musical climax in Falstaff.

Chapter 14

Transcriptions of the Skeleton Score: II.1

Despite the considerable difficulties involved in restoring early compositional layers in II.1--the many replacement folios and the frequent inseparability of the inks--this portion of the opera deserves close attention, for many of its deleted readings offer informative glimpses into Verdi's workshop. Many details were changed after the writing of the skeleton score: nearly all of the original folios contain erasures and corrections; so do many of the replacements. This chapter, then, will present several small, striking modifications that may be considered representative of the composer's revisional concerns in Falstaff.

The Opening of II.1

II.1 begins with gathering 10, in which one may easily separate the compositional layers. Example 56 (fols. 111-13; 96000¹, pp. 127-28; 113953, pp. 136-38) is a transcription of the skeleton score proper of mm. 15-40 and includes articulation and stage directions.

Significant revisions are first found with the cancellation of the original m. 22 (fol. 111^v, m. 1). There is no question that the cancellation was done prior to writing the final orchestration, since the measure contains only the skeleton score parts (first violin and bass). Several features suggest that it was cancelled immediately.

Example 56

111 il suo Keres! Bardolfo e Pistola

6 verso il fondo 114 fondo accanto alla

11 porta di sinistra 112

17 Bard. battendosi il petto 112

Siam pen - ti - ti e con - tri - ti

Pist. [Siam pen - ti - ti e con - tri - ti]

22 Bard. l'uomo ritorna al vizio e noi torniamo al tuo ser-

Pist. la gatta al lardo [e noi torniamo al tuo ser-]

First, he deleted it in a dark brown-black ink that seems identical to that of the skeleton score. Second, all of the surrounding measures have staccato dots at the skeleton score level, while it has none. Third, the stage directions in the measure contain a dittographic duplication of the word "fondo" that appeared in the previous measure.

The music of m. 22, however, is not a copy of that of m. 21: instead, it anticipates the reading of the following measure. Moreover, in the first violin of m. 23 (fol. 111^v, m. 2) Verdi originally wrote an exact duplication of m. 22 but immediately smeared out the last three notes (which therefore do not appear in Ex. 56) and replaced them with the present reading. Such thumb-smears are generally signs of copying errors, but the contradictory direction of dittography in the stage directions and the music of mm. 22-23 renders any simple explanation suspect.⁴⁵⁰

Other changes in the skeleton score are more obvious.compositional revisions. The composer, for example, replaced the steadily marching eighth notes in the bass, mm. 21-24, with three statements of a dotted quarter moving to an eighth across the barline: a rhythmic diminution of the bass of mm. 17-18. Although the F trill, mm. 28-29 (final version), was not part of the skeleton score, it is clearly implicit, a trill having already been entered into the skeleton score of mm. 11-12.

⁴⁵⁰One possibility is that the "fondo" on fol. 111, m. 7, is actually the second one written: notice, e.g., that it is the only word of the stage directions on fol. 111 that is not underlined.

Finally, one notices that the final note of "Siam pentiti e contriti" was originally an A, not an F,⁴⁵¹ and that Verdi first planned to set "l'uomo ritorna al vizio, la gatta al lardo" as a line divided by Bardolfo and Pistola instead of assigning it to be sung, as in the final version, by Falstaff alone.

The Falstaff/Quickly Duet

The next passage to be significantly altered occurs on fols. 118^v-19, as Quickly tells Falstaff of Ford's customary absence from his house one hour each afternoon: "Vostra Grazia a quell'ora." The nine relevant measures of the early version received a complete harmonization, which is partially restorable as shown in Example 57 (96000¹, pp. 134-35; 113953, pp. 143-44).⁴⁵²

Although Verdi left the basic phrase structure undisturbed, he rewrote the melodic line and reharmonized the accompaniment, probably to intensify the meaning of the text. Thus he changed mm. 2-5 not only to avoid the repetition of the original melodic figure but also to color Quickly's words with the cross relation B flat (final version,

⁴⁵¹A curious, erased G that appears between Bardolfo's two notes on "Siam pan-" is difficult to explain. The text underneath "pen-" is also erased but appears to have been another "pen-." Verdi may have been dissatisfied with his original spacing of music and text, or the erasures may delete simple, irrecoverable blunders.

⁴⁵²The skeleton score may consist of Quickly's part alone. Verdi originally wrote the "-zia" of "Grazia" under the third beat of m. 2. This may have been a blunder, but it may also reflect a version in which "Gra-" was set to a half note and "-zia" to a quarter note on beat 3.

In addition, the first violin part in Ex. 57, mm. 3 and 5, contains an erased reading between the early reading of Ex. 57 and the final reading: in both measures of this intermediate reading the first violin doubles the voice.

Example 57

Qui. (118^v)

Vost-ra Gra-zia a quell' o - - ra po-

Fal.
tre

4 Qui. (119)

trà li - be - ra - men - te Sa - lir o - ve di -

7 Qui.

-mo - ra la bella A - li - ce Po - ve - ra don - na! le angos-cie

m. 4, beats 1 and 2), B natural (m. 4, beats 3 and 4), B flat (m. 5), a device that richly underscores the irony of "liberamente."

The revision of mm. 6-8, however, appears to have been made for both declamatory and musical reasons. Verdi left intact the idea of the rising melodic line, coloring the word "Salir," but transposed it freely down a step. This may have been a consequence of the new cross relation in the preceding measures: i.e., having tampered with the B flat, he may have wanted to assert the F major tonic once again to avoid straining the tonic needlessly. It is more likely, however, that having introduced the cross relation, he was reluctant to restate B flat (= A sharp) and B natural in m. 6, particularly since the B flat occurs on the accented third beat of the measure. By keeping m. 6 unequivocally in F major he delayed the modulation to A minor by a beat, avoided the move through G minor in m. 6,⁴⁵³ and, best of all, introduced the accidental G sharp that effects the modulation precisely on the textual accent of "dimora."

It will be noted that "Povera donna!" (mm. 8-9) is preceded by a held eighth rest. Verdi must have been unsure where to place the hold on the several appearances of this line; he finally decided the matter in November-December 1892 during his correction of the piano-vocal proofs. Examples 58a, b, c, and d show the vocal part of the four statements of this line as they were then printed (pp. 132, 135, 139, and 318).⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵³The G minor might have originally been intended as part of the depiction of "Salir!": the tonalities of Ex. 57, mm. 5-7, rise from F major through G minor to A minor.

⁴⁵⁴See also the discussion of this passage on pp. 105-07 above.

Example 58

Handwritten musical score for Example 58, consisting of four staves. Each staff begins with "a. Qui." and contains a vocal line with lyrics. The lyrics are: Staff 1: "- me! Po- ve- ra donna!"; Staff 2: "- li- ce Po- ve- ra donna!"; Staff 3: "sen- te Po- ve- ra donna!"; Staff 4: "Po- ve- ra donna!". The notation includes treble clefs, a key signature of one flat, and various note values and rests.

After the third "Povera donna!" (Ex. 58c) Mistress Quickly describes Meg as "un giglio di candor e di fè" (96000¹, p. 139; 113953, p. 146). Three settings of this line are available. The first (Example 59a) is restorable as a harmonized early setting on the replacement folios 122^v-23:⁴⁵⁵ the second (Example 59b), the version printed in the proofs (p. 139), is also presently found uncorrected in the autograph score; the third, the reading of 96000¹ and all subsequent printed editions, incorporates the harmonic emendations in m. 3 that the composer wrote into the proofs.

⁴⁵⁵Since fol. 123 is only possibly a replacement, fols. 122^v and 123 may not be contemporaneous, in which case Example 59a would be a composite reading that joins two portions of different settings.

Example 59a

Qui. (122)

← cap. (123) cap. ? →

donna un gi - glio di candor e di fè Voi le stregate

morendo

Example 59b

Qui.

donna! un gi - glio di candor e di fè!

[sic] g...?

ppp

morendo

The earliest setting (Example 59a) is also the simplest.⁴⁵⁶ Both m. 2 and m. 3 underwent minor adjustments in harmonization, the details of which require little comment here. More interesting, perhaps, is the recomposition of the one-bar, morendo conclusion in m. 4-- originally a rising arpeggio unrelated in any clear way to the motivic content of its immediate surroundings. The revised conclusion (Ex. 59b, mm. 4-5) adds a measure, enriches the texture, and introduces a reference to the "Dalle due alle tre" rhythm in the low register of the clarinet.

The composer also seems to have had difficulty composing Quickly's exit, "M'inchino" (96000¹, pp. 142-43; 113953, p. 149). Here no fewer than four versions may be consulted. Example 60a is a transcription of the skeleton score proper on fols. 125^v-26, both original folios. This original setting, which employs the "Reverenza" motive heard earlier (96000¹, p. 130), is followed by four beats of rest and concluded with, first, a false start of the "Reverenza" motive (m. 6), and then the entire motive sounded in the low strings (mm. 7-9). Example 60b is a transcription of the first revision of the passage; the only modification, the insertion of the "Reverenza" motive in the woodwinds immediately following Quickly's "M'inchino," appears as an erasure in the autograph score.

⁴⁵⁶Only the last two eighth notes in the bass of m. 3 are problematic: here C natural is an unwelcome intruder after the C sharp of two eighth notes earlier; and the last eighth note is an unequivocal E, which seems impossible in the present context. These two notes may be the remains of an even earlier layer having little relevance to the present harmonization, or they may be simple errors.

Example 60a

Qui. (125)

m'in - chi - - no

Sa - lu - ta te le due dame

6 Fal. (126)

Alice è

[Vins.]

Example 60b

Qui (125)

m'in - chi - - no

Sa - lu - ta le due da-me

[fl., ob.]

[cl.]

6 Fal. (126)

Alice è

[vlns.]

[cl., horn]

Example 60c

Qui.

M'in- chi - - no

F.l.

Sa - lu - ta le due da - me .

pp

6 F.l.

Ali - ce è

pp

ppp

mf allarg. e marcato

Detailed description: This is a handwritten musical score for Example 60c. It consists of four systems of music. The first system has a vocal line in treble clef with a 3/4 time signature and lyrics 'M'in- chi - - no'. The second system has a vocal line in bass clef with lyrics 'Sa - lu - ta le due da - me .' and piano accompaniment in bass clef with dynamics 'pp'. The third system has piano accompaniment in both treble and bass clefs with dynamics 'pp' and 'ppp'. The fourth system has a vocal line in bass clef with lyrics 'Ali - ce è' and piano accompaniment in both treble and bass clefs with dynamics 'pp', 'ppp', and 'mf allarg. e marcato'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, slurs, and dynamic markings.

Some time before the engraving of the proofs Verdi revised the passage once again. The reading printed in the proofs is given in Example 60c. Here the "Reverenza" motive in Example 60b, mm. 5-6, has been replaced by a fragmented version of "Saluta le due dame" in Example 60c, mm. 5-7. This version of m. 6, beat 3, however, was never entered into the autograph score, although the rest of mm. 5-7 undoubtedly was.⁴⁵⁷ In any case, Verdi spotted and corrected the third beat of m. 6 during his examination of the proofs--at which time he also changed the setting of Quickly's "M'inchino" to the version now found in all published editions as well as in the manuscript score. He had apparently been contemplating a final change in the line even before he received the proofs and had probably mentioned this to Giulio Ricordi. In any event, on 14 November 1892 the editor wrote to Verdi, "So, have you decided about the M'inchino?...leave it as it is or change it; as you said later, I think:



⁴⁵⁷Two explanations of this seem possible. First, the composer could have indicated the reading of Ex. 60c, beat 3, on the manuscript (now lost) of Carignani's reduction, which he corrected in late September 1892; or, second, that reading could have been an engraver's error. The second possibility seems less likely, since there is no plausible explanation (such as a misunderstanding of clef) to account for the engraver's error.

⁴⁵⁸"Così pure, ha deciso per il M'inchino?...lo lascia così, o lo cambia; come disse dopo, mi pare: [music]?" Unpublished.

Verdi responded on 16 November⁴⁵⁹ with the new version and probably corrected his copy of the proofs on that day.⁴⁶⁰ He probably conceived the final setting with its downward leap to a low B to depict an extravagantly deep curtsy, an unexpected, obsequious variant of Quickly's "Reverenza" curtsy.⁴⁶¹

The Ford/Falstaff Duet (I): Beginning

The portion of the autograph score from Bardolfo's announcement of Ford's arrival (fol. 129^v) to the orchestral conclusion of Ford's monologue (fol. 173) consists of 45 folios: 24 replacements (or probable replacements) and 21 originals (or probable originals). The replacements are not clustered together but are intermixed with original folios. There can be no question, therefore, of Verdi's recopying extensive sections of this music for purely cosmetic purposes.⁴⁶² He added each replacement individually to correct or alter some specific reading. A few of the replacements themselves bear extensive revisions;

⁴⁵⁹Mr 1061; unpublished.

⁴⁶⁰For a facsimile of this correction and of that of the third beat of m. 6 see Barblan, Un prezioso spartito, p. 13.

⁴⁶¹Barblan, *ibid.*, p. 12, explains the revision thus: "Verdi intuì che una quarta ripetizione di quell'umoristico motivo avrebbe troppo calcato su un inciso tanto orecchiabile, fin a farlo apparire stucchevole: cancellò dunque e semplificò l'insinuante cadenza, lasciando però il motivo agli archi in orchestra."

⁴⁶²Such is the case, for example, with fair-copy gatherings without the usual stratification of inks: e.g., gathering 27 (fols. 299-308^v, the revised conclusion of III.1) and gathering 35 (fols. 381-94^v, the final fugue).

some replacement folios even seem to have been intended to take the place of prior replacements.

The Ford/Falstaff duet is introduced with Bardolfo's "Padron, di là c'è un certo Mastro Fontana," fols. 129^v-31^v, a set of original leaves. Numerous erasures and corrections are visible in the skeleton score through fol. 131; many are difficult to restore with certainty. Example 61 (96000¹, pp. 146-47; 113953, pp. 154-56) shows the most plausible restoration of the initial ten measures.⁴⁶³ On the first beat of the skeleton score one finds that the composer had originally planned to conclude the four preceding bars with a strong, root position, A-flat cadence. (In the final version he evades the cadence by dropping to the third alone, sounded in octaves.) With few exceptions Bardolfo's senza misura measures are set a third lower than in the final version; the modulation to D-flat major occurs in m. 3, with the new tonic sounded on the first beat of m. 4.

Verdi also revised the string accompaniment in mm. 6-8 but seems to have had considerable difficulty deciding upon a final version of Falstaff's "che spande un simile liquore" in the succeeding measures. This line is now superimposed on at least two layers of erasure--both transcribed in mm. 7-9--whose separation cannot be accomplished without a great amount of speculation. Both early versions ascend twice to a high E, the first time on the word "spande," which is consequently set in high relief.

⁴⁶³The restoration of Bardolfo's part is certain. The lowest voices of the chords in Ex. 61, mm. 2-3, are highly probable. Falstaff's part in mm. 3-4 is more problematic because multiple versions might have been entered. In any case, an erased C is visible above the syllable "Fon-," as is a puzzling, erased C flat above "ta-" in m. 4. The C flat does not belong to the D-flat major context and is presumably simply a copying error.

Example 61

Bard. (129) (130)

Padron di la c'è un certo Mastro Fontana che anela di conoscervi offre una damigiana di Cipro per l'asciolvere di Vostra Signo-

3 Bard. (130)

-ria il suo nome è Fontana bene accol-ta si - a la Fon-

7 Fal. (131) orig?

-ta - na che span-de un simile li - quore Entri

The skeleton score breaks off seven measures after Example 61. Fols. 132-34^V are replacements, beginning with the key change to three sharps and proceeding for 36 measures, through Ford's "Come più gli ta-." Verdi may not have written these three replacements simultaneously. Fol. 132 seems later than fols. 133-34^V: it is written in a slightly lighter, duller brown-black ink and in a fairer copy. Moreover, on fol. 133^V, m. 5, one finds a second, unnecessary "change" to a three-sharp signature: it appears that the original fol. 132 may not have been written in three sharps.⁴⁶⁴ One also notices that fol. 132 contains six crowded measures, with the last extending well into the right margin: the original fol. 132^r-32^v might have contained one or more fewer measures.⁴⁶⁵

The original fols. 135-37^V comprise 32 measures, from Ford's "lenta pur di passar mattana" through his "Sir John, m'infonde ar-." Most of the significant corrections occur in the first 21 measures, the skeleton score of which is restored in Example 62 (96000¹, pp. 151-53; 113953, pp. 160-61).

⁴⁶⁴The whole question of key signature in this passage is difficult. Verdi erroneously wrote four sharps as the signature of the trombone and bassoons on fol. 132; and, whatever the signature might have been on the original fol. 132, fol. 133 was written with at least an implicit three-sharp signature, despite the signing of the G sharp in the first violin, fol. 133, m. 1. The unnecessary insertion of the three-sharp signature on fol. 133^V, m. 5, cannot presently be explained.

⁴⁶⁵One additional modification on the replacement fols. 132-34^V might be mentioned here: at the change to 2/4 time immediately preceding Ford's "In me vedete un'uom" (fols. 133^V-34), the original, two-measure introduction was expanded to four measures. Unfortunately, the erasures of the early, two-measure version are nearly complete.

Example 62

(135)
 Ford
 - lenta pur pur di passar mat-ta - na

(135)
 6 Ford
 io mi chia-mo Fon-tana
 Fal.
 Ca - - ro Si-gnor Fon-

Detailed description of the musical score: The score is written in G major (one sharp) and 6/8 time. It consists of two systems. The first system has a vocal line starting with a circled '135' and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line includes the lyrics '- lenta pur pur di passar mat-ta - na'. The piano accompaniment features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. The second system also starts with a circled '135' and a '6 Ford' marking. The vocal line continues with 'io mi chia-mo Fon-tana' and 'Ca - - ro Si-gnor Fon-'. A 'Fal.' (falsetto) marking is present above the vocal line. The piano accompaniment continues with sustained chords and moving lines.

Example 62, continued

11 Ford 136

Ca -

Fal.

- te - na voglio fare con voi più ampia cono - scenza

16 Ford 136 [etc.]

- ro Sir John de - si - de - ro par - lar - vi in con - fi - denza

The accompaniment of m. 1 seems to continue musical lines no longer extant, and the text setting in mm. 3-4 received its final form only during the correction of the proofs. Verdi, however, revised the bass of mm. 13-15 considerably before this, probably during the final orchestration. The version in Example 62 shows that he first wrote a sustained pedal G in the bass throughout mm. 8-20, a pedal point that shifts octaves every few measures. One cannot be certain why he removed the low G in the cellos and basses in mm. 13-15, although it seems reasonable to suspect that the viola-clarinet counterpoint in mm. 13-15 (whose repetition in mm. 18-20 is included in Ex. 62) might have been an afterthought, displacing the low pedal point.⁴⁶⁶

Fols. 138-39^v are formed by a pasted replacement bifolio that contains eleven complete, uncrowded measures, from Ford's "dire un ben noto proverbio popolare" to his "ho un sacco di monete qui che mi pesa as-." The folios are written in fair copy except for a later

⁴⁶⁶The slender evidence that exists in this portion of the score suggests that the skeleton score proper may have been quite simple indeed: perhaps only the voice or the voice and bass alone. One cannot therefore determine whether the viola-clarinet part, mm. 12-15 (and its repetition in mm. 18-20), was part of Verdi's original idea.

revision of the line "Che l'oro è un talismano; che l'oro vince tutto," the early version of which is shown in Example 63 (fol. 138^v-39; 96000¹, p. 154; 113953, p. 163).

Example 63

Ford (138^v)

porta che l'o-ro è un ta-lis-ma-no; che l'o-ro vin-ce tut-to

(139)

There follows a single original folio, 140^r-40^v, with corrections in its first and last measure. The skeleton score of these and their adjacent measures is shown in Examples 64a (96000¹, pp. 155-56; 113953, p. 165) and 64b (96000¹, p. 156; 113953, p. 166).

Example 64a

Ford (140)

- sai Sir John se Voi vo-

Example 64b

Fal (140)

- ver per qual mio merito Mes-

Example 64a is quite unlike the corresponding final version and bears no connection with the final measure of the preceding page: the music on the original fol. 139^v was probably different from that found on its replacement. Most curious in Example 64a is the unnecessary natural before the C in the first measure.⁴⁶⁷ Perhaps the most logical explanation is that the music on the original fol. 139^v had just modulated to A major, with a signed C sharp. The early version of the final measure of fol. 140^v (Example 64b) likewise suggests that it leads to something that may be quite different from that found on the current fol. 141, a pasted replacement folio.

The Ford/Falstaff Duet (II): "C'è a Windsor" and the Madrigal

Fol. 141^r-41^v contains nine uncrowded measures in fair copy, surely a revised setting of the beginning of Ford's "C'è a Windsor [sic] una donna [sic]."⁴⁶⁸ Its quite dark brown-black ink suggests that it was a late replacement made at Sant'Agata, probably in the summer of 1892.⁴⁶⁹ The nature of the revision cannot be deduced from any evidence on the present fol. 141^r-41^v; but the first few measures of the succeeding, original fol. 142 exhibit significant emendations that invite speculation about what preceded them, i.e., about the original setting of "C'è a Windsor."

⁴⁶⁷The exact notes of this measure are difficult to restore. C-natural accidentals also occur, however, in the harmonization of the measure (not included in Ex. 64a).

⁴⁶⁸Henceforth "C'è a Windsor." Verdi's spelling of this line, as with many others in the autograph score, is entirely his own, not Boito's.

⁴⁶⁹See Table 5, p. 295 above.

Example 65 is a transcription of the early compositional layer on the original fols. 142-44^v (96000¹, pp. 157-60; 113953, pp. 167-70). The most notable aspect of its first three measures is that the composer entered a four-sharp signature at m. 3, presumably because it had not yet been established (as it currently is on the replacement fol. 142, m. 3). "C'è a Windsor," then, may not always have been in E major; Verdi's decision to begin it thus may well have been his reason for replacing fol. 141.⁴⁷⁰

Assuming this hypothesis to be correct, one can speculate still further about the earlier key. The first beat of the skeleton score of fol. 142 (Ex. 65, m. 1) contains a G major chord--a minor third higher than that of the final version. From this it is tempting to suggest that the earlier "C'è a Windsor" might also have been a minor third higher, i.e., that it might have begun in G major, not E major. G major, in fact, would have provided a perfectly normal continuation of Ford's introductory line, fol. 141, "Ve lo dirò," set to a B major chord (V of E, or V of VI of G). Example 66 shows this purely

⁴⁷⁰ In writing the final fol. 141^r-41^v Verdi might have been replacing a replacement folio, not an original. Notice, e.g., that the four-sharp signature on fol. 142, m. 3, is obviously a later addition to the skeleton score, since it was written before the double bar (except in the voices); and that it was written in a much darker, brown-black ink (not identical with the slightly lighter ink of fol. 141^r-41^v). Thus it is conceivable that fol. 142 was originally written in a four-sharp signature, then modified at a later date (whence the four-sharp signature on fol. 142, m. 3), and then modified further (the cancellation of the signature). If this is so, "C'è a Windsor" may have been originally in E major, then changed to another key, and then changed back to E major. These changes of key, at least, would account for the present appearance of fol. 142.

Example 65

142 Ford [key signature?]

io l'a-mo e lei non mama le scri-vo non ri-

Fal. [?]
v'a-solto

142 Ford

-sponde la guardo non mi guarda la cer-co si nasconde per

143 Ford

Lei sprecai te-so-ri git-tai doni su doni escogi-tai tre-

[probably blank]

6 6 6 6 4

Example 65, continued

143^o

16 Ford

- mando il vol delle occa-sio-ni ohimè tutto fù

144

21 Ford

vano rimasi sulle scale negletto a bocca asciutta Cantando un madri-

145

27 Ford

ga - - - - - ||e]

Fal.

l'a-mor l'a-

conjectural reading.⁴⁷¹ Once again, verification of this hypothesis must await the release of the Falstaff sketches.⁴⁷²

Example 66

Ford

3

Ve lo dirò c'è a Windsor una dama bella e leggiadra molto [ok.]

Verdi also made several small adjustments in the setting of Ford's lines beginning "Io l'amo, e lei non m'ama" (Ex. 65, mm. 3-10): he reharmonized mm. 3-4 as the dominant and tonic of C-sharp minor, not E major, as in the skeleton score (a decision probably not unrelated

⁴⁷¹Notice also on fol. 140 (96000¹, p. 156) that the D7 harmonic setting of Ford's "Sir John, se voi voleste [sic] / ajutarmi a portarlo?" and Falstaff's response, "Con gran pia-[cer]," could be interpreted as anticipating the G major of the hypothetical early setting of "C'è a Windsor."

⁴⁷²The existence of E major sketches for "C'è a Windsor" would not, however, unequivocally refute the hypothesis. See n. 470 above. The question of G major or E major is not without interest in a tonal analysis of this portion of the score. For example, if G major, one might point out that the beginning of Ford's explanation of his presence to Falstaff, "C'è a Windsor," and its conclusion, from "Spendetele!" to "Chiedo che conquistiate Alice" (fols. 149-50^v; 96000¹, pp. 166-167), would share the same key. On the other hand, if E major, as in the final version, one is more likely to understand the beginning of "C'è a Windsor" as related to Ford's entrance and salutations a bit earlier (see the music surrounding Falstaff's "Voi siete il benvenuto," fol. 133^v, 96000¹, p. 150).

Example 65, m. 2, Falstaff's "Viascolto," is somewhat difficult to restore because of the depth of its erasures. The most likely pitches, E, D, and C, are exactly those found in Falstaff's previous utterance of those words (fol. 137^v, 96000¹, p. 154).

to his choice of key for "C'è a Windsor"); he began the treble accompaniment of mm. 5, 7, and 9 one beat earlier to match the new accompaniment for m. 3; and he lowered by a step the final notes in the voice, mm. 6 and 8, thereby avoiding exact sequential repetition. These last changes are among the proof corrections of November-December 1892.⁴⁷³

The skeleton score transcribed in Example 65, mm. 11-18 (beginning "Per lei sprecai tesori") is unique in the manuscript score: at this point Verdi, apparently entering only the vocal part and the bass, wrote in four figured bass numerals as reminders for a later compositional stage.

The subsequent measures contain several revisions. Ford's "Ohimè! Tutto fu vano!" (mm. 19-21) was rewritten, probably to accommodate a new treble line (not included in the transcription), and a number of minor changes were made in the bass of mm. 19-23. More interesting, perhaps, is his treatment of the a piacere in m. 27, the cadenza-like setting of the third syllable of "madrigale." This measure underwent at least two revisions. In its skeleton score form the measure contained eight beats, with five statements of the sixteenth-note group, C double-sharp, D sharp, E natural, D sharp; and the final, held D sharp resolved across the barline to a held, tonic A flat. Some time later Verdi found the fivefold repetition to be excessive and crossed out the third and fourth statement (beats 5 and 6). It

⁴⁷³The first Ford, Antonio Pini-Corsi, rehearsed his part with the composer in Genoa from 10 November to 12 December 1892. It seems reasonable that Verdi might have modified the lines to suit the abilities of this singer.

is uncertain whether he simultaneously removed the A-flat resolution in the next measure or whether he accomplished this during the final revision. In any event he eventually decided to reinstate the two cancelled sixteenth-note groups, erased his previous cancellation, and rewrote the two groups as they had originally appeared.

After the first two measures of the madrigal proper (Example 65, mm. 28-29) the skeleton score breaks off for twelve measures with the generally fair-copy, replacement fol. 145^r-45^v.⁴⁷⁴ The skeleton score that resumes on the original fol. 146^r-46^v, containing Ford's "E questo

⁴⁷⁴Boito's original plan as revealed in the autograph libretto, Act II, fol. 6, was to have Ford sing the entire madrigal as follows:
[Ford] Rejetto, a bocca asciutta, cantando un madrigale

L'amor! l'amor, che non ci dà mai tregue

Fin che la vita strugge,

E come l'ombra che chi fugge, insegue

E chi l'insegue, fugge.

Quest'è il destin fatale del misero amator

E questo madrigale l'ho appreso a prezzo d'or.

Fals Essa non vi diè mai luogo a lusinghe?

Boito (on Verdi's instructions?) made several changes in these lines. His first revision was to assign the madrigal to Falstaff, to reverse the order of the lines of the couplet beginning "Quest'è il destin fatale," and to place it before the madrigal proper, after Ford's "cantando un madrigale." Midway through his replacement of the couplet, however, after the word "destin," he broke off writing, having found another solution. In this second revision the madrigal was reassigned to Ford, the first line of the couplet ("E questo madrigale") was apparently sung by Ford before the madrigal, and the second line ("Quest'è il destin fatale") was sung by Falstaff after the madrigal.

Boito wrote the final version, in which the lines of the madrigal and succeeding couplet are shared by the two men, on the otherwise blank fol. 5^v. Inexplicably, the second line of the madrigal is written here as "Finche la vita dura"; "dura," in fact, was probably the original, erased word under the present "strugge" on fol. 145 of the autograph score.

Since the original fol. 146^r-46^v of the autograph score contains the couplet as written on fol. 5^v of the second act of the autograph libretto, Boito accomplished these textual changes before Verdi wrote the earliest layer into the autograph score. A similar conclusion can be drawn by observing that Falstaff begins the madrigal on the original fol. 144 (see Ex. 65 above) and that the madrigal directly succeeds Ford's line ending "cantando un madrigale."

madrigale, *l'ho appreso a prezzo d'or'* and Falstaff's response *"Quest'è il destin fatale del misero amator"* is among the most striking in the entire manuscript. Even though the inks of the various layers of composition are inseparable, one may easily restore the original layer on both recto and verso, as in Example 67 (96000¹, pp. 162-63; 113953, pp. 171-73): it consists of the voice and the bass (probably with viola, fol. 146, m. 1, and cello, fol. 146, mm. 1-3) but does not include the first violin which would be written later as a voice doubling.⁴⁷⁵ Only the voice and the bass were written onto fol. 146^v; some time after the writing of the skeleton score but before that of the final orchestration Verdi cancelled these measures completely and recomposed them on the replacement fol. 147.

The first three measures of Example 67 continue the reading of the now unavailable original fol. 145^v. In the skeleton score--as opposed to the final version--the thirty-second-note motive completes its descent (which began in the voice and first violins on the replacement fol. 145^v, m. 5) to the low E-flat tonic on the second beat of

⁴⁷⁵ On fol. 146, a fully scored page, a curious error permits one to determine which lines belonged to the skeleton score. Verdi wrote the first three measures in 3/8 meter (the time signature of the madrigal) but mistakenly wrote the setting of Ford's *"E questo madrigale, l'ho appreso a prezzo"* (Ex. 67, mm. 4-6 with the upbeat) in doubled note values (corresponding to 3/4 meter) in the voice and bass alone. While writing these measures he probably consulted the previous setting of the melody and bass, *"Per lei sprecai tesori,"* on fol. 143 (see Ex. 65)--written in 3/4 throughout. In transferring the pitches of fol. 143 to fol. 146 (and in changing the notes enharmonically from sharps to flats), he mistakenly transferred the 3/4 meter as well and corrected his error only later, probably during the final orchestration, by adding the required flags to the notes in the voice part and by erasing the original white notes in the bass and replacing them with the proper black notes. One may further notice that on fol. 146^v, m. 3, with the resumption of triple time, Verdi first wrote 3/8 signatures into the voices and a 3/4 signature into the bass but immediately rewrote the bass signature as 3/8. The transcription in Example 67 follows the corrected (3/8) reading throughout to avoid unnecessary confusion.

Example 67

Ford ⁽¹⁴⁶⁾
 l'a - mor e

Fal.
 - mor l'a - mor

4 Ford
 que - sto madri - ga - le l'ho appre - so a prezzo

7 Ford ⁽¹⁴⁶⁾
 d'or l'a - mor l'a -

Fal.
 quest'è il destin fa - ta - le del misero ama - tor

m. 3. The composer might have altered this descent to provide for the new, five-note upbeat in the first violin in m. 3. The remaining three measures of fol. 146 are those of the final version.

The original 4/4 setting of Falstaff's "Quest'è il destin fatale del misero amator" (Ex. 67, mm. 7-9) could scarcely be more surprising to one familiar with its final setting, of which no trace whatever is found here. Instead one finds a static insistence on the briefly tonic C flat: not only is the line set to no less than ten C flats (out of a total of thirteen notes), but the underlying harmony established in the bass, I/ \flat VI⁶/I, provides only a coloration of the tonic chord. How is Falstaff's line to be interpreted in the skeleton score version? Is it a taunt? A romantic pose? A statement sympathetic to Ford's plight, intended to bring him gently back to his madrigal (and his original key)? All of these seem possible.

It was before--or, more likely, during--the final orchestration that the composer thought of having Falstaff sing "Quest'è il destin fatale" to a reharmonized repetition of the melody of Ford's preceding line. This he wrote on a new leaf, the present fol. 147, which displays, as one would expect, extremely crowded measures. Verdi's first harmonization of this new idea, however, was not his final one; the line underwent at least one more harmonization (accomplished by erasing the original harmonization on the replacement fol. 147) before arriving at the version currently familiar to us. The first erased harmonization

on fol. 147 is transcribed in Example 68 (96000¹, pp. 162-63; 113953, pp. 172-73).⁴⁷⁶

Example 68

Fol. 147

d'or

Fal.

quest' è il destin fa-ta-le del mi-sero ama-tor

[+ 8va sopra]

[?]

[?]

[?]

⁴⁷⁶Verdi first wrote the violin part of fol. 147, mm. 2-4, in the following manner before deleting the still wet ink with a flick of his finger:

The line makes melodic sense but agrees with neither the voice nor the probable bass. It is uncertain whether this entry was a blunder or a hypothetical, short-lived version.

The pitches of the erased bass of fol. 147, mm. 2-3, are difficult to restore with certainty. E flat seems most probable for fol. 147,

As with the settings of Falstaff's counting of the midnight hours (pp. 312-17 above) and of the final lines of Falstaff's letter, "E il viso tuo" (pp. 345-47 above), the revisions here of "Quest'è il destin fatale" show a desire to intensify a relatively simple melody through the use of coloristic or extremely active harmonies.

The melody had first appeared on fols. 142v-43 (96000¹, pp. 158-59) to Ford's words "Per lei sprecai tesori" (Ex. 65, mm. 11-18). These complex measures permit a number of analyses. Perhaps the simplest and the most significant for the reappearance of this music is as follows. A 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 phrase structure is established by the melodic sequence in the voice; the harmonization, however, groups the last four measures together by extending the basic harmonic principle underlying each of the first two pairs of measures. Specifically, the first two pairs of measures are harmonized as subdominant and dominant, beginning in G-sharp minor (Ex. 65, mm. 11-12) and moving through D-sharp minor (mm. 13-14). The subdominant-dominant pair occurs once more in mm. 16-17, now moving through A-sharp minor. This final chord pair is extended two measures by the sounding of the iv of iv of A-sharp (m. 15, G-sharp minor: simultaneously the iv of D-sharp minor, an evaded resolution of the dominant in m. 14) and by resolving the V of A-sharp to $\flat VI^7$ of the same key (m. 18). This new chord, $F\#^7$, acts as V^7 of B major, the relative major of the G-sharp minor in which

m. 2, on the basis of the location of the erased note and, especially, of the following dot, which is unequivocally located on the E-flat space. The flat before the F must be inferred, for the second accidental is illegible. The D flat of fol. 147, m. 3, is certain.

the passage began and the enharmonic relative of A-flat minor, the key to which these chords are ultimately leading (the madrigal, "L'amor, l'amor").

Probably to depict the text of this passage, which tells of the squandering of wealth and efforts, Verdi mitigates the strong tonal pull of the subdominant-dominant progression repeated in various keys in two ways: he refrains from resolving any dominant to a strong tonic in root position; and he conceals the simplicity of the underlying chord progressions by moving to unexpected chordal inversions, which results in a remarkably disjunct bass that leaps tritones, diminished fourths, augmented seconds, and so on.

In the skeleton score there was only one reappearance of this melody: Ford's "E questo madrigale, l'ho appreso a prezzo d'or" (Ex. 67, mm. 3-7). The reappearance of the music is textually appropriate: Ford returns here to the idea of his misspent riches by employing the melody that first told of them. This line, however, is more one of summation than, as before, a series of images of extravagance. Accordingly, Verdi avoids much of the tonal indecision of the previous setting by directing the new harmonies towards a strong cadence in C-flat major, but only after hinting briefly at a repetition on the keys of the earlier setting by moving through what momentarily seems to be iv of A-flat minor (Ex. 67, m. 4). This harmonization thus begins with some of the ambiguities of the earlier setting but concludes in a more tonally decisive way.

One cannot know precisely why the composer decided to change the original setting of Falstaff's "Quest'è il destin fatale" into a

reharmonized repetition of the music of the preceding line. He could not have been unaware, however, of the tonal power that he had conferred on the preceding line by having permitted its strong harmonies to resolve unambiguously; from this he might have concluded that one more setting of the melody, with even more clearly directed harmonies from its beginning, would be even more powerful. Or he might have been dissatisfied with what could have seemed an abrupt, premature statement of the C-flat tonic chord (Ex. 67, m. 7), which obliged Falstaff to cling to a static C flat until Ford could resume the music of the madrigal in A-flat minor. Or, in combination with the above reasons, he could have wished to give the line more focus and depth than was provided by its equivocal skeleton score setting.

Whatever his reason, Verdi's recomposition of "Quest'è il destin fatale" (Ex. 68) and its subsequent revision into the final version were master strokes. By taking up, strengthening, and concluding Ford's music, Falstaff identifies himself with Ford's predicament and boisterously pronounces his "philosophical" judgment on it. The increased musical strength of the new idea is apparent in harmony, rhythm, and orchestration alike. First, the harmonies in Example 68 ($vi/I^6/ii-ii^6/I_4^6-V/I$ of C-flat) and, to an even greater degree, in the final version ($vi/IV/V_5^6$ of $V/I_4^6-V^7/I$) are the simplest, most tonally directed that this melody has received: the aimlessness of the previous lines is now replaced by a line pointed directly at the dominant and tonic of C-flat major. Second, the entire phrase is

launched by an accented, five-note anacrusis in the lowest voice,⁴⁷⁷ which signals the final harnessing of the previously errant bass; moreover, the introduction of strong, sustained accents on the second beats in the middle measures of the final version provides much of the rhythmic drive to the C-flat cadence. Third, the orchestration of this setting is fuller than that of any of the previously heard versions: trumpets and trombones are introduced to join with the horns and bassoons to play the accented weak beats of the middle measures; all of the upper woodwinds are united in the melody; and the first violin is pushed far into its upper register. The final setting of "Quest'è il destin fatale," indeed, is a memorable intensification both of its original setting in Example 67 and of the previously heard harmonizations of the melody, shown in Examples 65 and 67.

At least two erased versions of Falstaff's next vocal entrance, "Essa non vi diè mai luogo a lusinghe?" may be discerned on the replacement fol. 147^v. Because of the superimposed erasures in the relevant parts, many of the details of the earlier versions are unclear; their outlines, however, are restorable. Example 69a (96000¹, pp. 163-64; 113953, pp. 173-74) is a transcription of the probable earliest version, in which Falstaff interrupts Ford in mid-sentence.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷⁸No erasures in the bass or the first violin correspond with Ex. 69a. It is therefore the earliest version and may have been immediately corrected. Falstaff's interruption of Ford after "dà mai" in m. 1 is certain. The notes of m. 3 are virtually impossible to restore with confidence. My transcription is based on the few clues (still legible, or partially legible, note heads and stems) that are still visible. Some of the notes may belong to the second, later version, also erased. Similarly, the first beat of m. 4 contains both an erased B flat and an erased D a sixth below. Which belongs to the first version and which to the second is purely conjectural.

Example 69a

Ford (147)

dà mai nò!

Fal. interrompe

Essa non vi die mai luogo a lu- sin- ghe? Ma al-

The second version is shown in Example 69b.⁴⁷⁹ In this setting

Example 69b

Ford (147)

da mai tre - gua nò!

Fal.

Essa non vi die mai luogo a lu- sin- ghe? Ma al-

⁴⁷⁹ Most of the observations in n. 428 above apply equally well here. Curiously, none of the erased four entries of m. 3 (violin I, viola, voice, cello) is clearly recoverable.

Falstaff, after permitting Ford to reach the end of his line ("L'amor, l'amor, che non ci dà mai tregua"), rushes in on an offbeat with a descending melodic line doubled by violins, violas, and cellos. It is to this second version that Verdi referred in a letter of 21 October, in which he asked Ricordi to bring him four gatherings of the opera so that he might alter certain passages.⁴⁸⁰ Since the 96000¹ proofs print a third, final version (96000¹, pp. 163-64), the composer must have revised the line in late October 1892 and entered it onto fol. 147^v in Genoa between 28 and 31 October during Ricordi's visit.⁴⁸¹ In this final version the composer added a measure, perhaps to smooth out the rather rushed declamation and to restore the rhythm of the earliest version.

The Ford/Falstaff Duet (III): Conclusion

The replacement fol. 148^r-48^v is in nearly fair copy and contains ten measures, concluding with Ford's "e quello è un sacco di [monete]." Fols. 149-50 are probably original folios and show evidence of reworking. The first three measures of the skeleton score version of fol. 149 are shown in Example 70 (96000¹, pp. 165-66; 113953, pp. 175-76). This setting of "sacco di monete" suggests that the original fol. 148^v, the preceding folio, might have contained music quite different from that of its replacement. Although the evidence of one

⁴⁸⁰See pp. 256-57 above.

⁴⁸¹See p. 258 above.

preserved measure (Ex. 70, m. 1) does not permit strong conclusions, it would appear that in his final setting the composer was concerned with preparing the G major of "Spendetele!" with a considerably stronger dominant than that of the earlier version.

Example 70

Handwritten annotations in the score include a circled "Ford 149" above the first measure of the vocal line, and a bracketed "6" above the first measure of the vocal line. There are also some handwritten notes and symbols in the piano accompaniment, such as a question mark and some numbers.

Verdi found Ford's "chiedo che conquistiate Alice" to be one of the most troublesome lines in the opera, probably because of its dramatic importance: in a few words it summarizes the entire point of Ford's visit to Falstaff. He wrote at least four different versions of it onto fol. 150^v. Unfortunately, the thicket of superimposed erasures prevents the confident restoration of even one of the early versions. One finds four versions of the text alone: its first syllable, "Chie-," apart from its final setting, appears twice as an erasure in fol. 150^v, m. 2, and once as a cancellation in fol. 150^v, m. 1.

Fols. 151-52^v constitute a replacement bifolio containing 24 measures in nearly fair copy from two bars before rehearsal number 16 through Ford's "da fallo nasce [fallo]." The succeeding original fol. 153^r-53^v contains a harmonized skeleton score that is transcribed in Example 71 (96000¹, pp. 169-70; 113953, pp. 179-81). Differing from the final version are the accented second and fourth beats in mm. 4 and 8, the earlier setting of "fede di Cavaliere," and the earlier figuration in the accompaniment of mm. 9-10.

Fols. 154-56^v are replacements.⁴⁸² Fol. 155^r-55^v, however, bears a few corrections in the vocal line and accompaniment: the early version is shown in Example 72 (96000¹, pp. 171-72; 113953, p. 182). Verdi altered the accompaniment of mm. 4, 6, and 8 before giving the score to Ricordi, but the reshaping of "Essa mandò dianzi" was a product of his correction of the proofs in November-December 1892. In the final version he rejects the "merely sequential" melody in the voice (mm. 5-8) and thereby changes the phrase structure from 2 + 2 + 3 to 3 + 1 + 3, which complements the regularity of the underlying sequence in the accompaniment and permits a separate treatment of the word "confidente," sung sotto voce.

The remainder of the duet is very nearly in fair copy, even on the original fols. 157^r-57^v and 159-60^v.⁴⁸³ It is worthy of notice that the first appearance of "Te lo cornifico" and its preceding four

⁴⁸²The pasted fol. 154^r-54^v, in dark black-brown ink, was added later than the lighter fols. 155-56^v.

⁴⁸³For Verdi's revision of "sparo una girandola di [botte]" see Barblan, Un prezioso spartito, p. 14.

Example 71

Ford (153)

allarg. pausa lunga

Fal. fal - lo e al - lor ... che ve ne par?

prima di tutto e senza compli-

5 Fal. - menti Messe - - - - re accetto il sacco poi

8 Fal. fe - de di Ca - va - lie - re quà la ma - no fa.

Example 72

(155)
 Ford *come un'urlo*
 Chi?

Fal. *con calma*
 o - ra sa - rà nelle mie braccia A - li - ce

dolce

5 Fal. *sotto voce*
 (155)
 Es - sa mandò di - an - zi U - na con - fi - den - te per

9 Fal. *con calma*
 dirmi che quel tan - ghero di mio [sic] me - ri - to è es -

measures are in fair copy on the original fol. 157^r-57^v. Falstaff's exit music, following his "Vado a farmi bello" and preceding the opening augmented chord of Ford's monologue, is similarly in fair copy, written decisively with a firm hand on the apparently original fol. 160^r-60^v.⁴⁸⁴

Ford's Monologue: "È sogno? o realtà?"

The autograph of Ford's monologue, fols. 161-73, reveals that its final version did not come easily but took shape gradually through several reworkings. Most of the monologue is written on replacement folios added not all at once but singly, at different times.⁴⁸⁵ Although much of the original skeleton score is therefore not recoverable, what remains of it, considered along with later revisions entered onto replacement folios, provides evidence of the intense struggle the composer appears to have had with this music.

⁴⁸⁴If, in fact, the above-mentioned fols. 159-60^v are replacements, they are very early. Their inks definitely suggest that they are original folios; only the fairness of the copy makes one suspicious.

⁴⁸⁵Many of the fols. 161-73 cannot be unequivocally considered either originals or replacements. In some instances the evidence is insufficient; in others it seems contradictory. Most difficult are fols. 162-65^v. My inclination, based on an examination of their (highly variable) inks, embossing, and relatively fair copy, is to suspect that they are replacements. If so, it is conceivable that the two bifolios 162/165 and 163/164 might have been inserted into the manuscript score at a time before the replacement bifolio 161/166 was written. All of the replacements in Ford's monologue were written in a (variable?) brown-black ink that is characteristic of Verdi's letters from Sant'Agata, not from Genoa.

Before considering the autograph score itself, however, let us take several steps back, to a stage of the monologue that may predate any musical setting: the early readings of the text in Boito's autograph libretto, Act II, fols. 7-8, probably written in the early months of 1890.⁴⁸⁶ The relevant portions of the first of these readings are as follows:

Fals.
(guarda l'ora
sull'orologio di
Ford. Poi prende
il sacco di monete
ed esce dalla
porta del fondo)

Vedrai!...Ma è tardi. Aspettami qua
Vado a farmi bello.

Scena III^a

Mr. Ford solo, poi Falstaff.

Mr. Ford

È sogno? o realtà?--Due rami enormi
Crescon sulla mia testa.
È un sogno?--Mastro Ford! Mastro Ford! Dormi?
Svegliati! Su! ti desta!
Su! C'è uno strappo sulla tua zimarra!
Tua moglie sgarra,
E mette in malo assetto
L'onor tuo, la tua casa ed il tuo letto!
L'ora è fissata, tramato l'inganno

[etc. as in the final version, until:]

(guarda sull'orologio
che gli pende
al collo)

Prima li accoppio
E poi li colgo. Ecco già l'ora. Io scoppio!
Laudata sempre sia
Nel fondo del mio cor la Gelosia.

⁴⁸⁶The text of the monologue is Boito's conflation of two such outbursts by Ford in The Merry Wives of Windsor: II.2.273-97 and III.5.128-40. See n. 37 above.

Boito's verse is composed of lines of five, seven, and eleven syllables, the traditional meters found in recitative. Unlike the versi sciolti customary in recitative, however, these lines are rhymed. This poetic pattern is also found in other solo pieces in Falstaff, particularly in II.2: cf. Alice's "Gaje comari di Windsor! è l'ora!" and Quickly's "Giunta all'Albergo della Giarrettiera."

Fals. (rientrando dalla porta del fondo. Ha un farsetto nuovo, cappello e bastone.)	M'accompagnate un tratto? [etc.]	Son pronto.
--	---	-------------

This early version of the text contains two notable variants from the final version: it has an additional line, "Su! C'è uno strappo sulla tua zimarra!"--whose final word rhymes with "sgarra" in the five-syllable line that follows;⁴⁸⁷ and the early version has two stage directions that were later deleted. Thus just before his exit Falstaff, obviously relishing the prospect of his assignation "dalle due alle tre," looks at the watch hung around Ford's neck and announces that it is late. In a parallel gesture near the end of this early version Ford himself takes a glance at his watch and exclaims, "Ecco già l'ora. Io scoppio!" The immediate cause of Ford's explosion ("scoppio"), quite apart from his fury and shame, is the minute hand of his watch, pushing towards the hour of his cuckolding.⁴⁸⁸

One cannot presently know whether Verdi had a hand in any of the revisions of this text. After writing his "fair copy" Boito made several changes; their exact order is uncertain. In one he modified

⁴⁸⁷The Merry Wives, III.5.129-30: "Master Ford, awake; awake, Master Ford! There's a hole made in your best coat, Master Ford!" Cf. Rusconi, Le allegre femmine, VI, 50: "Ford, svégliati; svégliati Ford; il tuo miglior abito, Ford, viene cincischiato"; and Carcano, Le donne allegre, X, 78: "Svegliati, Ford! Ser Ford, ti sveglia! Codesto è uno squarcio fatto al tuo migliore farsetto."

⁴⁸⁸The watch images are not to be found in the corresponding passages of The Merry Wives, although Ford refers to time in II.2.294-97: "Eleven o'clock the hour. . . . I will be about it. Better three hours too soon than a minute too late." Carcano, op. cit., X, 49, probably suggested the image to Boito: "Undici ore; è questa l'ora!" etc.

"Ecco già l'ora" into "È quasi l'ora," which is logically more exact, since Sir John would never permit a mere conversation with Signor Fontana to delay his two o'clock rendezvous. Boito also cancelled the final two lines of the monologue ("Laudata sempre sia") and replaced them with another couplet: "Le corna! 'Bue! Bue! Bue!' gridano in coro / Ma sarò furibondo come un toro!"⁴⁸⁹ In another correction he cancelled "Su! C'è uno strappo sulla tua zimarra!"--a change that left the next line, "Tua moglie sgarra," unrhymed. This he solved very simply by cancelling the separate line "E mette in malo assetto" and then placing it after "sgarra." The newly formed line conveniently contains eleven syllables (see n. 486 above): "Tua moglie sgarra, e mette in malo assetto."

Another set of changes was made somewhat later. One was the cancellation of the matching stage directions (the glances at Ford's watch) along with the previously altered words "È quasi l'ora," which resulted (again conveniently) in an acceptable seven-syllable line: "E poi li colgo, io scoppio!" Ford's explosion in this final version is not immediately caused by the hour of day but by his general emotional situation. Finally, Boito cancelled his "new" final couplet ("Le corna!") and reinstated the original couplet ("Laudata sempre sia"),

⁴⁸⁹The couplet, which has been mentioned by Luzio in Carteggi verdiani, II, 151, is based on the conclusion to Ford's second monologue in The Merry Wives, III.5.138-40: "If I have horns to make one mad, let the proverb go with me--I'll be horn-mad," which Rusconi, *op. cit.*, VI, 50, renders as "se il toro è feroce, io che gli assomiglio diverrò furioso." Once again, Boito derived his image from a translation, not from the original English.

rewriting the latter below both cancelled versions.⁴⁹⁰ To Falstaff's entrance he then added two words, "Eccomi qua." With these changes the text achieved its final form.⁴⁹¹

In the autograph score the monologue begins on the unmistakable replacement fol. 161^r-61^v, which contains relatively crowded measures: seven on fol. 161 and six on fol. 161^v, as opposed to five on each side of the original fol. 160^r-60^v.⁴⁹² The relevant readings of fol. 161^r-61^v before several even later changes are transcribed in Example 73 (96000¹, p. 177; 113953, pp. 189-90). These later changes, all made before the 96000¹ proofs were printed, comprise the following: the composer removed the third set of four sixteenth notes (Ex. 73, mm.7-8); shifted the same figure in mm. 5-6 up a whole step; began the C bass pedal point one measure earlier, at the change of key signature; and changed the setting of Ford's "due" in m. 7 from B to C.⁴⁹³

⁴⁹⁰ Another explanation of Boito's correction might be that he had never really deleted the couplet beginning "Laudata sempre sia," i.e., that he had intended it to follow the couplet beginning "Le corna!" This seems unlikely. Had Boito merely added two lines, he need not have cancelled the original "Laudata" couplet: he could, e.g., have written the new "Le corna!" couplet on the blank fol. 7^v with an indication of its place in the monologue. This was his customary procedure for inserting lines into the autograph libretto.

⁴⁹¹ Boito made one additional minor change in pencil: he changed the first letter of the original line "Oh! le corna! le corna!" (not transcribed on pp. 416-17 above) to a "U" or, possibly, to a hastily entered "A."

For a possible, later Verdian modification of the opening line of the monologue see p. 238 above.

⁴⁹³ The present fol. 161^r-61^v suggests the possibility of inserted material in two places: in the first two measures, i.e., the last orchestral repetition of the "Te lo cornifico" motive before the monologue begins; or in the two or three measures of sixteenth-note material after Ford's "è realtà!" The addition of either of these two ideas would have caused the crowded measures of fol. 161^r-61^v.

⁴⁹⁴ The remaining measures are difficult to restore. The second beat of m. 10 in the voice may be a C, for an erasure exists in that

Example 73

161

Ford

è sogno! è re-al-

5 Ford

161'

-tà! due re-mi enor-mi

9 Ford

crescon sul-la mia testa è un

[?]

In this passage Verdi emphatically juxtaposes two pitches a tritone apart: F sharp (\equiv G flat, mm. 5, 9, 10-11) and C (mm. 6-10). Neither pitch is tonicized, but both are equidistant from the ultimate tonic of the monologue, E flat. Although in the version shown in Example 73 the F sharp/c polarity is strong, the voice part in mm. 7-10 outlines not a diminished twelfth, but a diminished thirteenth. In his later revision Verdi softened the tritone juxtaposition in mm. 5-6 by moving from the vocal F sharp, m. 5, through the temporary tonic, D, m. 6, beat 1, and finally to the C pedal point in m. 7, reinforced by an ominous timpani roll: the final effect is one of a relatively slow descent to the C, rather than of the unbridged juxtaposition of structural tones. Contrarily, his resetting of Ford's line, mm. 7-10, outlines a diminished twelfth bounded by the structural tones C and G flat: here the tritone is preserved and even underscored by the C pedal point (cello and timpani) in mm. 7-9 and the sustained G flat (horn and oboe) in mm. 10-11.

In the phrase "È un sogno!" new harmonic color--doubtless to depict the text--is given to the G flat as it becomes the fifth of an unexpected B major triad. The erasures of two early settings of it are visible, if not completely restorable, in the first measure of the possible replacement fol. 162. Probable restorations of these

area below the present G flat. But it seems unlikely that the musical line was not moving towards G flat, particularly since the first violin contains a similar ascent without any trace of erasure. It is remotely possible that in its earliest version the first violin and bass had no notes rushing towards an accented second beat in this measure. Under these conditions a C in the voice would be acceptable. Given the present state of information, it seems best to consider the erased C as a copying error.

deleted readings are shown in Examples 74a and b (96000¹, p. 178; 113953, p. 190). Both are continuations of an earlier fol. 161^V no longer available, and in both--but not in the final version--Verdi introduces the B major chord before Ford begins his line, "È un sogno!"⁴⁹⁴ D sharp (= E flat, the future tonic) is found in the voice in both Examples 74a and b; the definitive version of the line consists of three F sharps, which strengthen its resemblance to the opening words of the monologue.

Example 74

①62

a. Ford [?]

è un sogno!

b. Ford [?]

è un sogno!

⁴⁹⁴ Notice that the initial chord is tied over from notes that do not appear (even as erasures) on fol. 161^V; this fact alone is sufficient to establish bifolio 161/166 as a replacement.

The next set of lines, from "Mastro Ford!" to "ed il tuo letto," appears on fols. 162-63, possible replacements that bear many later corrections. Example 75 (96000¹, pp. 178-79; 113953, pp. 191-92) is a transcription of the essential elements of the first replacement version of these lines. This passage parallels that found in Example 73, mm. 7-11 ("Due rami enormi"), in rhyme and musical setting. The vocal span of the earlier passage is here reduced by a semitone at each extreme. The "Mastro Ford!" lines in Example 75 move from a low C sharp to a high F, two notes again equidistant from the ultimate E-flat tonic, but now only a whole step away.

Less evident is the relationship between this music and that of the first scene of the opera. One finds, for example, the agitated accompaniment ascending to a high tone in Example 75, mm. 1-8 (cf., e.g., 96000¹, p. 3, mm. 2-4); Ford's Cajus-like sputtering on repeated notes, mm. 5-7 (cf. Cajus, 96000¹, pp. 2-4); the textual reference to a disordered "casa" (cf. 96000¹, p. 3, m. 4); and in m. 9ff. the rhythmic motive of four descending sixteenths, two slurred and two staccato, which depicted Dr. Cajus's rage in the earlier scene (cf. 96000¹, pp. 1-16, *passim*).⁴⁹⁵ Moreover, the initial notes on the first and third beats of the accompaniment in Example 75, mm. 1-2, outline the four-note motive of Falstaff's unconcerned response to Dr. Cajus's accusations (96000¹, p. 4, m. 8ff, and elsewhere, especially p. 9,

⁴⁹⁵The continued association of this motive with Dr. Cajus seems nearly certain. Notice, e.g., the otherwise unnecessary recurrence of the motive on 96000¹, p. 202, mm. 9-10, at Nannetta's words "Col Dottor Cajo non mi sposerò."

Example 75

Ford ⁽¹⁶²⁾

Mastro Ford! Mastro Ford! Dor-mi?

Ford ^(162')

svegliati su... ti desta tua moglie sgarrà e mette in mal'es-

Ford ^[?]

-setto l'onortuo la tua casa ed il tuo let- - to

m. 5, also outlining a B major chord). It seems clear that some sort of parallel is being drawn here between Dr. Cajus's situation in the first act and Ford's in the second.⁴⁹⁶

Verdi made a few small adjustments in this first version of the "Mastro Ford!" lines: he reset the word "Dormi" in m. 3 as two quarter-note A's; he added sixteenth-note, Cajus-like figuration to m. 4; and he recomposed the harmony and vocal line of mm. 7-8. Because of the completeness of the erasures the present reconstruction of mm. 7-8 must be uncertain. But it is most probable that Ford originally sang "letto" entirely on a high F, instead of dropping an octave for the last syllable, as in the final setting.

It has been known for some time that while correcting the piano-vocal proofs Verdi recomposed the horn parts accompanying the next set of lines, "L'ora è fissata."⁴⁹⁷ Example 76 is a transcription of the version originally printed in the proofs (on the equivalent of 96000¹, pp. 179-80) with two exceptions: I have restored the erased autograph text "[L'ora è] suonata" (fol. 163^v) and the original rhythm of "Sei gabbato e truffato," another erasure in the manuscript score (fol. 164).

⁴⁹⁶The libretto does not indicate whether Ford has been told of Dr. Cajus's altercation with Sir John. Ford, therefore, may or may not be seeing himself as a Cajus-like fool tricked by the fat knight; or Verdi himself may be pointing out the dramatic similarities between the two characters. The evocation of the earlier scene is so subtly accomplished, the motives so skillfully reworked, that it is possible that the composer was not consciously aware of it.

⁴⁹⁷Barblan, Un prezioso spartito, p. 13, with a facsimile of the correction on p. 15. The musical pun of having the horns depict Ford's shame in being cuckolded has been repeatedly pointed out since 1893.

Example 76

(163) *Lo stesso mov. 4^o* $\text{♩} = 120$ *cupo* *3*
 Ford
 L'ò - ra è suonata

Lo stesso mov. 4^o $\text{♩} = 120$
 [Horns] *p*

5 Ford
 trama - to l'in - gan - no.

8 Ford
3 *3* [??] *3*
 Se i gabbà - to e truf - fa - to E poi di -

Detailed description of the musical score: The score is written in a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and a common time signature. It consists of three systems. The first system is for measures 163-164, with a tempo of quarter note = 120. The vocal line starts with a rest, followed by a triplet of eighth notes (B-flat, A, G) marked 'cupo' and '3'. The piano accompaniment features a series of chords in the right hand and a triplet of eighth notes in the left hand. The second system is for measures 165-166, with the tempo remaining the same. The vocal line has a rest followed by a triplet of eighth notes (G, F, E) marked '3'. The piano accompaniment continues with chords and a triplet in the left hand. The third system is for measures 167-168, with the tempo still 120. The vocal line has a rest followed by a triplet of eighth notes (D, C, B-flat) marked '3', then a quarter note (A) marked '3', and finally a quarter note (G) marked '3'. The piano accompaniment follows with chords and triplets in the left hand.

New evidence permits us to discuss this correction in more detail than has been possible before.

The composer had probably intended the horn syncopations (Ex. 76, mm. 1, 4, and 7) to be heard as recurrences or echoes of the fortissimo syncopations in the trumpets and trombones only five measures earlier. Two brief, undated notes in Verdi's hand exist in the Casa Ricordi archives and reveal both when and why he decided to do away with the original accompaniment. The first, Mr 1463, contains the following: "There are still two or three little errors in this first part [of the Act II proofs]. I have also made a little change for the horns at the beginning of Ford's monologue. Not very important. Anything but days off!--This morning Forza del De at the Politeama [and] tonight Cavalleria And the latter will go on a couple of times a week."⁴⁹⁸

This slip, and hence the revision in the horns, can be dated through a reconstruction of the daily performances of the 1892 autumn season of the Genoese Politeama. According to the contemporary Genoese journal Caffaro, which carried daily comments about each Politeama performance from October through December 1892,⁴⁹⁹ La forza del destino

⁴⁹⁸"Vi sono ancora due o tre sbaglietti in questa prima parte. Ho fatto anche un piccolo cambiamento per i Corni nel principio Monologo Ford. Poca importanza. Altro che riposo! --Stamattina al Politeama Forza del De stassera Cavalleria. E questo succede un paio di volte per settimana." Unpublished.

⁴⁹⁹Copies of Caffaro are available at the Biblioteca Civica Berio in Genoa. Brocca, Il Politeama genovese, available at the Istituto di studi verdiani in Parma, lists only the dates of the first performances of the operas of the autumn 1892 season along with a few remarks about the cast and the performances. As such, it is not of use in dating Mr 1463.

was first performed in Genoa that season on 29 November 1892--it was first planned for 26 November but had to be postponed--and was repeated on 30 November, and 3, 4, 8, and 11 December; all performances of La forza were in the evening, at 8.30 p.m. Mascagni's Cavalleria rusticana had a long run at the Politeama, beginning on 1 November 1892 and being repeated on 5, 6, 8, 10, 13, 14, 20, 22, 26, and 27 November, and 2 and 6 December; all were evening performances except for the Sunday afternoon productions of 13 and 20 November. Mascagni's L'amico Fritz enjoyed a similar success and was first performed on 12 November with repetitions on 13, 16, 17, 19, 20, 24, 27, and 28 November, and 1, 5, 7, 9, 10, and 11 December; only the performances of 27 November and 11 December were in the afternoon.

Thus La forza and Cavalleria were never performed on the same day, as Verdi's note claims, nor was any performance of La forza held in the afternoon (or morning). When he mentioned La forza, then, he must have erred. It appears that he should have written instead "L'amico Fritz," in which case Sunday, 27 November, is the date of the note: on no other date were two operas performed, the second of which was Cavalleria rusticana. Finally, his error in the note is understandable, since on 27 November the production of the postponed La forza was probably very much on his mind. Mr 1463 may then with reasonable confidence be dated 27 November 1892; Verdi changed the horn passage at "L'ora è fissata" on that date or perhaps a day or two before.⁵⁰⁰

⁵⁰⁰ In his letter to Ricordi on 27 November 1892 (Mr 1070) Verdi makes no mention of the horns. Mr 1463 and 1464 might have been sent separately from the letter of 27 November, perhaps along with a copy of some music (the proofs?).

The second note, Mr 1464, is evidently from the same date, for it is a scrap of music paper with the new, final version of the horn passage along with its transposition for E-flat horns. Above the music the composer wrote a brief explanatory note to Ricordi: "For 10 or 20 years we have been using and abusing these syncopated notes...they have become unpleasant! Therefore change them as you see below... It's only a matter of two horns in E-flat."⁵⁰¹

Since Verdi rarely explains his musical revisions, this note is of particular interest. If one is to accept his written explanation as complete, it is not a question of text-painting, of the repetition of motives, or of the intensification of the text or dramatic situation. Rather, he simply states that he wishes to avoid an operatic cliché. To explain the revisions on the basis of internal evidence alone, it seems, can often miss the point. And yet one wonders whether Verdi's note tells the whole story. If so, why did he leave intact the fortissimo syncopations five measures earlier? His explanation of this revision raises as many questions as it answers.

The remainder of the possible replacement fol. 164^r-64^v, including the setting of "e poi diranno / che un marito geloso è un insensato," whose music will form the orchestral climax at the end of the final version of the monologue, contains no emendations of importance. The possible replacement fol. 165^r-65^v bears several corrections, the most interesting of which continue on to the later replacement fol. 166^r-66^v and further, to the probably original fols. 167-68^v. Example 77

⁵⁰¹"Da 10, o 20 anni si usa e si abusa di queste note sincopate... sono diventate antipatiche! Aggiustate così... Si tratta soltanto di due Corni in mi b."

Example 77

repl? (165) repl?
 Ford
 già dietro a me vo-ci d'infame conio fi-schian passando mormora lo
 scherno! o matri-mo-nio! In-
 -fer- no! Don-na! de-

5 Ford (165) [?]
 9 Ford (166) repl. 9

Example 77, continued

12 Ford (166)

- mo - nella lor

15 Ford ← repl. (167) orig? →

moglie abbian fede i bab-bei affide-

19 Ford (167)

-rei [illegible]-esco tutto il mio desco a un Olande - se

[sic]

Detailed description: This is a handwritten musical score for three systems. Each system consists of three staves: a vocal line at the top, a piano accompaniment line in the middle, and a bass line at the bottom. The first system (measures 12-14) is marked '12 Ford' and contains the lyrics '- mo -' and 'nella lor'. A circled '(166)' is above the second measure. The second system (measures 15-17) is marked '15 Ford' and contains the lyrics 'moglie abbian fede i bab-bei' and 'affide-'. A circled '(167)' is above the second measure, with an arrow pointing left labeled 'repl.' and an arrow pointing right labeled 'orig?'. The third system (measures 18-20) is marked '19 Ford' and contains the lyrics '-rei [illegible]-esco' and 'tutto il mio desco a un Olande - se'. A circled '(167)' is above the second measure. The piano accompaniment includes various ornaments and trills, and the bass line has some markings like '[sic]'.

(96000¹, pp. 180-84; 113953, pp. 194-99) is a transcription of the earliest available version of the 35 measures beginning on fol. 165, Ford's "già dietro a me," whose earlier setting is less disjunct than its final version.⁵⁰²

Verdi seems to have had some difficulty finding the definitive setting of "O matrimonio! Inferno! Donna: Demonio!" (Ex. 77, mm. 7-13). The orchestral outbursts that punctuate Ford's cries occur on replacement fol. 166^r-66^v and may therefore be afterthoughts, intensifications of the unavailable skeleton score version. Example 77, then, shows the later version of that line. But the composer radically altered the accompaniment of this second setting by removing the strongly rhythmic, accented pedal point figure that recurs in the cellos, basses, and bassoons in Ex. 77, mm. 7, 8, and 11.⁵⁰³ By removing it he deleted the pattern for its single recurrence--in diminished rhythmic values--slightly further ahead: the final version (itself an afterthought)

⁵⁰²No skeleton score of the replacement fol. 166^r-66^v is available. Although there is seeming continuity between mm. 8-9 and 16-17 of Ex. 77, a perhaps considerable break in compositional activity occurred at these points.

⁵⁰³Probably simultaneously with his erasure of this figure Verdi added (in dark brown-black ink) the oboes and possibly the clarinets, on fol. 165^v, mm. 3-4 (Ex. 77, mm. 7-8) as well as the new bass part and perhaps the trumpets, trombones, horns, and bassoons on fol. 166, mm. 1, 2, and 4 (Ex. 77, mm. 9, 10, and 12).

Because one cannot be certain that all of these orchestral parts are indeed later additions, it is unclear whether the strongly rhythmic sixteenth-note figure was introduced only in the final version: hence the question marks over its transcription in Ex. 77, mm. 9-10 and 12-13. The figure has occurred once before in the opera, in I.1, at Dr. Cajus's exit, "che se mai m'ubriaco ancora all'osteria / Sarà fra gente onesta" (96000¹, p. 15). Thus the Ford-Cajus identification already mentioned is here further reinforced. Notice also the sets of descending sixteenths, two slurred and two staccato, in Ex. 77, mm. 10 and 13, the figure associated with Dr. Cajus's wrath in I.1 (see p. 423 above).

of the accompaniment to Ford's "dannato Epicureo!" (fol. 170, m. 1; 96000¹, p. 185, m. 6; 113953, p. 200, m. 7). This, then is another example of pattern revision in the Falstaff autograph score.

Fols. 167-68^v are the first probably original leaves in this solo piece, and they contain many later revisions and additions. Here one can reconstruct the skeleton score proper with considerable accuracy: hence in Example 77, mm. 17-28, obviously later material (perhaps an intermediate layer) is enclosed in brackets. One notices that Verdi later modified the original figure of three repeated sixteenth notes (Ex. 77, mm. 17, 21, and 25): in the final version each appearance of the figure outlines a perfect fourth.⁵⁰⁴ The figure itself, particularly in its final version, is a rhythmic intensification of two figures heard previously, both treated, as here, sequentially: the accompaniment to Ford's "Io l'amo, e lei non m'ama" (fol. 142, m. 4, 96000¹, p. 158; 113953, p. 167, m. 4) and to Ford's flattery of Falstaff, "Voi siete un gentiluomo" (fol. 148, m. 1; 96000¹, p. 164, m. 7; 113953, p. 174, m. 6).

⁵⁰⁴The cello, Ex. 77, m. 25, beats 2 and 3, contains yet another erasure with the sixteenth-note figure thus:



Finally, Verdi made another revision at the change from the apparently original fol. 168^v to the replacement fol. 169 at Ford's words "quella brutta parola in cor mi suona [sic]" (Ex. 77, mm. 33-34).⁵⁰⁵ The early accompaniment to "suona" was a descending flute line instead of the present ascent in the horns and trumpets.⁵⁰⁶

Fols. 170-71^v, whose skeleton score is reconstructed in Example 78 (96000¹, pp. 186-87; 113953, pp. 200-02), are two original folios that lead to the climactic setting of the final couplet. The change made in "dannato Epicureo!" (Ex. 78, m. 1) has already been mentioned.⁵⁰⁷ A few measures later, following the frenzied repetitions of "li accoppio," Verdi revised the original bass (Ex. 78, mm. 8-12) along with a portion of the first violin (mm. 10-11). The skeleton score bass descended from D (m. 8) to B flat (m. 12), the dominant of the ultimate

⁵⁰⁵Verdi never emended his "suona," written instead of the proper "torna" of Boito's autograph libretto and the subsequently printed libretto. "Torna" is obviously correct, since it rhymes with the terminal word of the following line, "corna."

⁵⁰⁶As mentioned above (n. 485), it is difficult to distinguish original from replacement folios in this portion of the score. The nature of the correction transcribed in Ex. 77, mm. 33-34, the shift from fol. 168^v to fol. 169, suggests the reverse of our interpretation, namely, that 168^v is the replacement and 169 the original. Fol. 169, however, is part of the external bifolio of gathering 14, bifolio 158/169, which is written in dark black-brown ink, a later ink, and carries the embossing c instead of the expected a for an external bifolio. Whether bifolio 159/168 is original must be presently uncertain; but since it bears the characteristic brown-black ink of II.1 and carries the "proper" embossing depth b, it seems best to consider it as probably original.

We might finally point out here that the words "Le corna!" (Ex. 77, mm. 34-35, unchanged in the autograph score) recall Falstaff's judgment of Ford as "un bue, un bue, un bue" (fols. 158^v-59, 96000¹, p. 175; 113953, p. 186), which word is the next to be uttered by Ford.

⁵⁰⁷See p. 434 above.

Example 78

← repl. (170) orig. →

Ford

dannato Epi-cu-reo pri-ma li accoppio e poi li colgo gli accoppio li

[?] [etc.]

6 Ford

colgo li accoppio li colgo li accoppio li colgo li accoppio li accoppio!

io scoppio!

[?] [Fb?] [?]

11 Ford

(171) si scuote [remainder of st. dir. illegible]

Vendiche-rò l'at-

[?] [?]

Detailed description of the musical score: The score is handwritten and consists of three systems. The first system (measures 1-6) features a vocal line starting with 'dannato Epi-cu-reo' and piano accompaniment with triplets. The second system (measures 7-11) continues the vocal line with 'colgo li accoppio...' and piano accompaniment with more triplets and some accidentals. The third system (measures 12-15) starts with 'si scuote' and includes the lyrics 'Vendiche-rò l'at-'. The score includes various musical notations such as triplets, accidentals (sharps, flats, naturals), and performance directions like 'repl.' and 'orig.'.

tonic of the monologue, E-flat major, and included several rests and intervallic leaps. Perhaps during the final orchestration he removed the rests and changed the pitches to provide a slow, strictly chromatic descent from F (m. 8) to B flat (m. 12). The final bass line thus reflects in augmented rhythm the chromatic descents found in the first violin, mm. 8-13. The composer also erased some stage directions for Ford on fol. 171^v, of which only the words "si scuote" ("he gives a start") are still legible. Whatever they might have been, they seem to have been Verdi's own idea, for, as we have seen, no comparable directions occur in the autograph libretto.⁵⁰⁸

The skeleton score of fol. 171^v breaks off with Ford swearing revenge (Ex. 78, mm. 14-15); its continuation, the climactic final couplet ("Laudata sempre sia"), is written in nearly fair copy in a later, darker ink on an unmistakable replacement folio. Thus the earlier version of the climax is unavailable; yet it must have been quite different from the final reading. The introductory line "Vendicherò l'af-[fronto]" on fol. 171^v, for example, is not accompanied by the directions "con violenza" in the skeleton score, nor does it seem that "con violenza" could have formed part of the now erased, virtually illegible stage directions that precede it. Furthermore, the skeleton score setting of "Vendicherò l'af-" does not suggest the violent resolve of the final version: instead of the familiar octave leap upward, it probably descended by conjunct motion to what must have been a D on the original fol. 172. And the replacement

⁵⁰⁸Boito's original directions here, it will be recalled, required Ford to look at his watch before "io scoppio!" and exclaim that the hour had come. There is no reference to Ford giving a start.

fol. 172^r-72^v, with the final version of "Laudata sempre sia," contains crowded measures: six on fol. 172, five on fol. 172^v, as opposed to four each on fols. 171^r, 171^v, 173^r, and 173^v. The original fols. 172^r-72^v, therefore, probably contained eight measures instead of the eleven on the replacement.

The most striking evidence of all is a portion of the orchestral conclusion of the earlier "Laudata sempre sia" that appears on fol. 173, a much earlier replacement folio: this conclusion bears no resemblance to the final version. The first measure of fol. 173 is fully scored and was completely cancelled at the time of the replacement of the original fol. 172^r-72^v; the second and third measures of fol. 173 have been erased and rewritten. Example 79 (fol. 173; 96000¹, p. 188; 113953, pp. 203-04) is a restoration of what is presently recoverable from that original orchestral conclusion.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁹The first measure of Ex. 79 is certain. All of the notes in mm. 2-3 are visible as deletions on fol. 173. Certain erasures, however, do not seem to belong to this setting and have therefore been omitted from the transcription. Specifically, the trombones appear to have a part in m. 2 that resembles:



and the bassoons in mm. 3-4 appear to have the erased reading:



Example 79

The image shows a handwritten musical score for Example 79, consisting of four systems of staves. The first system includes a Flute part (marked with a circled 173) and a Violin 2 part. The second system includes Horns, Trumpets, and Trombones. The third system includes Basses and Drums. The fourth system includes a Bass Trombone part. The score features various musical notations, including notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as 'pppp'. There are also some handwritten annotations and symbols, including a large 'B' and some arrows.

Completely different from the corresponding passage in the final version, this consists principally of a forceful reiteration of an E-flat chord. The repeated rhythm recalls the earlier offering and acceptance of the sack of money (i.e., the initiation of Ford's bargain), "Sir John, se voi voleste [sic] / ajutarmi a portarlo?" (fol. 140^r-40^v; 96000¹, p. 156; 113953, pp. 165-66)--music that itself is related to the orchestral depiction of Falstaff's conceited swagger, first heard after his cry, "Alice è mia!" (fol. 126^r-26^v; 96000¹, p. 143,

The C in Ex. 79, m. 3, beat 1, is certain and appears in both the second and fourth horns. Since only the second violin part was entered into the strings in m. 2, one suspects that Verdi never completed the scoring of the original m. 2. Perhaps he was dissatisfied with the passage during the orchestration and left it incomplete, returning to it only considerably later.

113953, pp. 149-50; II.1 closes with this motive): as such, the earlier conclusion to Ford's monologue was psychologically appropriate.

Given this early music, it seems extremely unlikely that the original fol. 172^V could have contained any musical reference to the line "e poi diranno, che un marito geloso è un insensato." To conclude with the orchestral sounding of that earlier line, then, was Verdi's final resolution of his difficulties with this climax.

The new setting on the replacement fol. 172^r-72^v contains a few corrections and erasures that are difficult to interpret.⁵¹⁰ The violin accompaniment to Ford's "sia / Nel fondo del mio cor la gelosia" originally contained an unexpected break in register and final chord, as in Example 80. An erased reading in the bass, fol. 172^V, mm. 1-3,

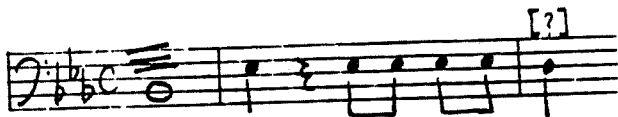
Example 80



⁵¹⁰One later revision on fol. 172^V presents no problems. The descending horn line on fol. 172^V, m. 5, was originally unaccompanied by triads in the trombones on beats 204. Nearly all of Ford's monologue is built from fragments of music heard earlier, and this horn line is no exception: similar music was heard following Quickly's words "La donna nasce scaltra. Non temete" (fol. 124^V; 96000¹, p. 141; 113953, p. 148) and also with Falstaff's enthusiastic reception of Signor Fontana, "Voglio fare con voi più ampia conoscenza" (fol. 136; 96000¹, p. 152; 113953, pp. 160-61). Both lines are appropriate to Ford's situation at the end of the monologue.

is shown in Example 81. Finally, the divisi cello line, containing

Example 81



the "e poi diranno" melody, has been substantially erased and rewritten; unfortunately, the first reading is irrecoverable. If this cello part is essentially a reappearance of the cello part heard earlier, on fol. 164^r-64^v (the first setting of "e poi diranno"), why is it not in an undisturbed fair copy?⁵¹¹ The many questions about the early setting of the conclusion of Ford's monologue must remain unresolved until earlier musical material is made available for study.

One final piece of evidence helps us to suggest a date for the final revision of this music. A large letter "B" has been written in red pencil by "Ricordi" on fol. 173, m. 2. No corresponding letter "A" is to be found in the score, although "B" appears to be the second member of a "Dall'A al B" indication that one often finds in Italian operatic scores to indicate cuts, scoring, repetitions, or other matters. It would appear, then, that the composer made the

⁵¹¹Although the hypothesis is extremely attractive, there is no evidence that Verdi composed the new codetta first and revised the earlier setting of "e poi diranno" on fol. 164^r-64^v to provide a pattern for the climax. Bifolio 163/164 is only possibly a replacement: some chance exists that it is an original bifolio. And fol. 172^r-72^v is in dark, nearly glossy black-brown ink, a late ink, while bifolio 163/164 shows the characteristic dull brown-black of this portion of the score.

revision during his examination of Carignani's manuscript reduction of II.1, probably during late October 1892, at which time he could have requested that an "A to B" indication be made in the autograph score (then in Ricordi's possession) of the climactic passage to be corrected. With the removal of the original fol. 172 only "Ricordi's" "B" still remains. Thus, one may conclude that Verdi's revision of "Laudata sempre sia" was one of the last changes that he made in the score prior to its engraving.

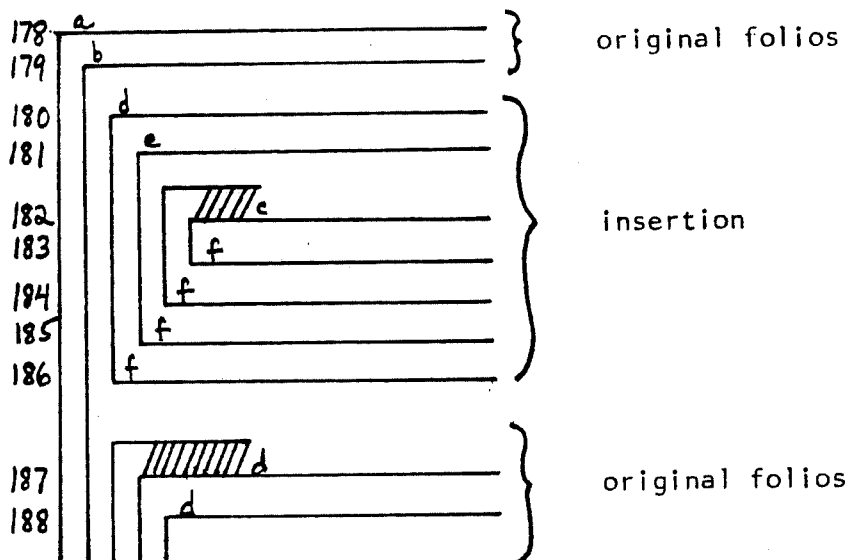
Chapter 15

Giuseppina Pasqua and the Opening of II.2

This study of the compositional changes evident in the Falstaff manuscript has thus far been concerned with small revisions: modifications of fewer than five measures or sets of small alterations within extended musical passages. We have also mentioned certain pieces that exist as revisions in the autograph score but whose early versions cannot now be known: e.g., the two appearances of "Gaje comari di Windsor," fols. 194-97^v and 200-03^v (both sets of pasted replacements) and the final fugue, fols. 381-94 (a replacement gathering in nearly fair copy). None of the revisions previously discussed has involved more than minor changes in the text, and only one--the inserted seventeen-measure introduction (fols. 65-66^v) to the women's quartet "Quell'otre! quel tino!"--has appreciably amplified the musical dimensions of the opera.

But the revision of the opening scene of II.2 is quite different. Here, in a change made not long before consigning the score of Act II to Ricordi for reduction, Verdi interpolated a new, seventy-measure subgathering of four bifolios (fols. 180-86^v)--an insertion of both new music and new text. This addition contains Quickly's solo "Giunta all'Albergo della Giarrettiera" as well as a few lines leading into and out of that solo: mm. 28-97 of the final version of Act II. Diagram 6 below shows the first part of gathering 16 from fol. 178 (the beginning of Act II) to fol. 188^v.

Diagram 6



A surprising amount of detail may be learned about this insertion. Not only can one recover much of the original opening of II.2, but one can also determine the composer's reason for interpolating a solo for Quickly and the approximate date of its composition.

Boito's autograph libretto contains no less than three versions of the opening text of II.2. The first two were written before Verdi set down the skeleton score of II.2 and probably before he even began sketching Falstaff in March 1890; the third is a much later version and contains the added solo for Quickly.

Because Boito's cancellations and additions of fols. 10-11 of the second act of the autograph libretto (the beginning of II.2) resulted in the superimposing of many words and lines, it is difficult to separate the various versions of the text. On the basis of the word

placement, the colors of the inks used, and the rhyme scheme one may arrive at the following as the most probable original text:⁵¹²

Atto II^o Parte 2^a

Una sala nella casa di Ford. Ampia finestra nel fondo. Porta a destra, porta a sinistra e un'altra verso l'angolo di destra nel fondo che viene in un'antisala. Dal gran finestrone spalancato si vede il giardino. Un paravento chiuso sta appoggiato alla parete di sinistra, accanto ad un vasto camino. Ci sarà un armadio addossato alla parete di destra. Non lontano dall'armadio ci sarà un tavolo. Lungo le pareti un gran seggiolone e qualche scranna. Sul seggiolone un liuto. Sul tavolo dei fiori. Pieno giorno.

Scena I^a

Alice, Meg, Quickly entrano dalla porta a destra ridendo.
Nannetta le segue senza ridere.

Alice	}	Ah! Ah! Ah! Ah!
Meg		
Quickly		
Al.		Presenteremo un <u>bill</u> per una Tassa Al Parlamento, sulla gente grassa.
Meg (ad Al.)		Spicciati!
Quick.		Presto! Il tocco è già suonato.
Al. (correndo alla porta del fondo allegramente)		Presenteremo un <u>bill</u> !
Quick.		Falstaff non tarderà.
Al. (chiamando dalla porta)		Holà! Ned! Will! Portate quà la cesta del bucato. Già tutto è combinato.
(rivolgendo e riavvicinandosi alle altre)		
Quick.		Sarà un affare gajo!
Al.		Nannetta, e tu non ridi? Che cos'hai?

⁵¹²The irregular rhyme scheme (ABBCDADCCEF) and the threefold repetition of C rhymes ("ato") make one suspicious that the above reconstruction may be inexact. Modifications of this reading, however, appear to involve even more problematic hypotheses.

In this "original" version Alice, Meg, and Quickly enter together at the beginning of the scene; Nannetta follows them, perhaps entering just before Alice's question "Nannetta, e tu non ridi?" Here the action moves rapidly (spurred by exclamations like "Spicciati!" and "Presto!"), for the wives already know that Falstaff is about to visit Alice: it appears, therefore, that Quickly has just reported her encounter with Sir John (hence the opening laughter). Alice goes immediately to the door, tells the servants to bring in the laundry basket, and returns to find Nannetta weeping over her marriage prospects.

Boito's second version of the text--the version that Verdi used until he decided to insert a solo for Quickly--is even more brief. This second reading, again a reconstruction from superimposed layers on fols. 10-11 of the second act of the autograph libretto, is shown below:⁵¹³

Scena I^a

Alice, Meg, Quickly entrano dalla porta a destra ridendo.
Nannetta le segue senza ridere.

Al.	Presenteremo un <u>bill</u> per una Tassa Al Parlamento, sulla gente grassa.
Meg (ad Al.)	Spicciati!
Quick.	Presto! Il tocco è già suonato.
Al. (correndo alla porta del fondo allegramente)	Presenteremo un <u>bill</u> ! Holà! Ned! Will!

⁵¹³Changes in the initial stage directions are not shown: one word, "[e un'altra] porta [verso l'angolo di destra]," was added in ink, and three, "[ci sarà un tavolo] e una cassabanca," were added in pencil. In addition, Boito wrote an unnecessary "a sinistra" after the first appearance of the word "porta." None of these changes can be accurately dated.

Example 82

Una Sala nella Casa di Ford

178
leggeriss.

178^v

Entrano Alice, Meg, Quickly
poi Nannetta

179
Al.
pre - sen - te - re - mo un bill per u - na
brillante

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a scene titled "Una Sala nella Casa di Ford". It consists of four systems of music. The first system (measures 178) features a piano accompaniment with a treble clef and a 2/4 time signature, marked "leggeriss.". The second system (measures 178^v) continues the piano accompaniment. The third system (measures 178^v to 179) shows vocal entries for "Alice, Meg, Quickly" and "poi Nannetta" with a treble clef and a 2/4 time signature. The fourth system (measures 179) features a vocal line with lyrics "pre - sen - te - re - mo un bill per u - na" and a piano accompaniment with a treble clef and a 2/4 time signature, marked "Al." and "brillante".

Example 82, continued

20 Al. 179'

tessa al Par-la - men - to sul - la gen - te gras -

24 Al.

-sa.

Meg

Qui.

Spicciati

[?]

presto il

[?]

skeleton score was written on a single leaf (originally the only folio between the present fols. 179 and 187) that now appears as the stub between fols. 186 and 187. Most of the skeleton score of the first five measures of fol. 187, the original fourth folio of gathering 16, is erased but restorable: beginning with Quickly's "[Sa-]rà un affare gajo," it is transcribed in Example 83 (96000¹, pp. 198-99; 113953, p. 217).

Because both the recto and verso of fol. 179 contain six measures each and fol. 187 seven measures, one may infer that from twelve to fourteen measures are lacking between Examples 82 and 83.

As might be expected, those measures that border the subsequent insertion differ most from the final version of the passage: Verdi was obliged to provide smooth transitions into and out of the added material. Thus, having received the new text of the final version--with Quickly's added solo--he found it necessary to revise the vocal parts of Example 82, mm. 25-27, at "Spicciati!" and "Presto! il!": these words did not appear at all in the third version of the text. Nevertheless, Example 82 is very much like the final setting of these measures.

The first four measures of Example 83, however, differ markedly from their revision. While both the original and the final reading involve a modulation to B major-minor, the melodic ideas and the declamation of the two versions are dissimilar.

Verdi's decision to insert Quickly's solo radically changed the pace and stage action of this scene. In the version eventually published Alice and Meg enter without Quickly, who rushes in only after

Example 83

Al. (187)

Nan-net-ta e tu non

Qui. [?] [?]

-ra un af-fa-re ga-jo

4 Al. Nannetta singhiozzando

ri-di che cos'hai

[ob.]

the two opening lines to report her news to the two women: "Comari!" "Ebben?" "Che c'è?" "Sarà sconfitto!"⁵¹⁶ Quickly pressed for further details Quickly responds at length with her narrative solo "Giunta all'Albergo." Alice, after learning that Falstaff is about to arrive, hurriedly arranges for the laundry basket to be brought inside. Only at this point does she then turn to the sobbing Nannetta to inquire why she is not laughing with the wives.

One of the most remarkable aspects of this expanded scene is its effect on the speed of the drama already established in the first three parts of Falstaff, for Quickly's monologue momentarily stops the prevailing rapid action. For the first time one has the opportunity not merely to reflect on the stage action but also to re-experience part of what has already occurred (in the first portion of II.1). This sudden pause in the action need not be viewed as harmful in itself. The essential dramatic problem of the opera was to move from the extremely concentrated action of its opening scenes to the comparatively leisurely succession of lyric and stylized pieces at its end. Verdi might therefore have thought it appropriate--or at least not injurious--to insert a brake on the action midway through the opera before the climax was reached at the end of the second act.

Verdi's principal reason for including the monologue, however, appears to have been practical, not aesthetic. While composing the

⁵¹⁶Verdi's addition of the word "Poi" before "Quickly" in the initial stage directions of fol. 178^v of the autograph score is contemporaneous with the inserted solo. Boito similarly added the word "Poi" to his autograph libretto and may also at this time have cancelled the words "le segue" in Nannetta's stage directions (see n. 513 above). The disposition of the new text in the autograph libretto will be discussed below.

continuity draft of Falstaff he began to consider who might sing the role of Quickly. In his letters of 9 and 14 June 1891 Boito informed Verdi that the contralto Guerrina Fabbri, whom he had just heard in a Milanese performance of La Cenerentola, might be able to perform the role.⁵¹⁷ The composer might have subsequently written some of Quickly's part (but not the solo in II.2) with Fabbri in mind. Sometime before 13 June 1892, however, he decided that Guerrina Fabbri was not suited to the part. He wrote to Ricordi on that date: "With Fabbri's good voice she could be successful in cantabiles based on agility like in La Cenerentola, etc. etc. But Quickly's part is something else. It needs both voice and acting, much stage presence, and the right accent on the proper syllable. She doesn't have these qualities; and one would risk sacrificing the most characteristic and original part of the four."⁵¹⁸

For some time he had been considering instead the thirty-seven year old mezzo-soprano/contralto Giuseppina Pasqua, whose vocal talents were on the decline, but who was still a splendid actress.⁵¹⁹ In March 1892

⁵¹⁷ Luzio, Carteggi verdiani, II, 153, 157. In a footnote to the 9 June letter Luzio (with Virginia Guerrini, the first Meg, in mind) mistakenly corrects Boito's "Guerrina Fabbri" to "Guerrini Virginia."

⁵¹⁸ Abbiati, IV, 443.

⁵¹⁹ Giuseppina Pasqua (1855-1930) began her career in 1869 as a soprano in the role of Oscar in Un ballo in maschera. After further study she developed into a mezzo-soprano, having particular success with the role of Amneris in Aida. Since she also sang many contralto parts, one would expect that her range was quite extensive. Verdi had been familiar with her voice at least since the premiere of the new, four-act Don Carlo (La Scala, 10 January 1884), in which she sang the role of Eboli.

Those familiar with Pasqua applauded not only her voice but also her acting ability. See Monaldi, Cantanti celebri del secolo XIX, pp. 248-49; C[elletti], "Giuseppina Pasqua."

he had written or spoken to Ricordi about her recent performance of Tigrana in the Ferrarese premiere (28 February 1892) and Madrid productions (beginning 19 March) of the revised, three-act version of Puccini's Edgar. Ricordi responded on 30 March 1892: "I have spoken with Puccini: Pasqua feels the rigor of her years: for a very dramatic part that goes into the high register she is no longer the singer that she was years ago: but her low register is still good, and her voice pleasant. As far as her artistic qualities are concerned, these are well known and need not be discussed. All in all, for a contralto part that does not go too high she is still excellent."⁵²⁰

Verdi wrote back to Ricordi on 31 March 1892 with what must be a reference to the part of Quickly: "Despite the fact that her low notes are still good, one must still worry whether her voice can follow the descending line. The part is low, and for me these notes would suffice:



⁵²⁰ "Ho parlato con Puccini: la Pasqua, sente il rigor degli anni: per una parte assai drammatica, che salga sugli acuti, non è più quella d'anni sono: ma i bassi sono sempre buoni, la voce simpatica--quanto alle qualità di artista, si conoscono, e non è il caso di parlarne. Tutto sommato, per una parte di contralto, che non monti a note acute, è sempre eccellente." Unpublished.

Additional information is provided by Puccini to Ricordi, 8 March 1892 (Gara, Carteggi pucciniani, p. 69): "La Pasqua si è accomodata, ma ciò che non è in ordine è la voce che è di una stanchezza incredibile." Gara and others have speculated that the part of Tigrana was probably too high for her. Cf. Ashbrook, The Operas of Puccini, p. 23.

Ask Puccini again whether these notes are still good and robust and, above all, whether she can sing in that range without tiring.⁵²¹

Verdi referred here to the generally low nature of Quickly's vocal part, not to its precise range. When one examines the available skeleton score (almost certainly completed before this date), one finds that Quickly is often required to sing higher than B flat: notes up to D are quite common. Pitches higher than D may be found in her part in the early layers of the autograph score (her final note in the fugue is a high G), but with few exceptions these notes are either doubled by other singers or are brief, forceful exclamations. It is possible that the several exposed high notes that now exist in her part were not yet planned. Besides the high G in the still unconceived solo for Quickly ("Vi crede entrambe innamorate cotte," fol. 184; 96000¹, p. 196; 113953, p. 214) these include: the high F sharp in "Signora Alice!" "Chi va là?" "Signora Alice!" (II.2, fol. 216^r-16^v; 96000¹, p. 226; 113953, p. 244); the sustained F in "Alice piange, urla, invoca i santi (III.1, fol. 282; 96000¹, p. 318; 113953, p. 326); and the G flat in "V'ha chi crede vederlo ricomparir" (III.1, fol. 285^v; 96000¹, p. 322; 113953, p. 329). All of these notes occur on replacement folios: the skeleton score of these passages, that is, is not available.

⁵²¹Mr 1006: "Malgrado restano buone le note basse, vi è sempre da temere se la voce segue la linea discendente. La parte è bassa e per me basterebbe queste note dal [G] al [B flat]. Domandate di nuovo a Puccini se queste note sono ancora buone e robuste, e soprattutto se può cantare in quel cantro senza stancarsi." Unpublished.

By June 1892 it was becoming clear that Falstaff would be finished in time to be premiered within a year, perhaps at the upcoming La Scala season. Accordingly, Verdi and Ricordi began to consider potential singers for the opera. By now aware of Verdi's preference for Giuseppina Pasqua as Quickly, Ricordi mentioned her name to him again on 15 and 16 June.⁵²² The following day Verdi informed the editor that she could be offered the role: "That Pasqua is relying on her Puccini connections is frightening: nevertheless you yourself could write her and tell her openly that here one must put nerves and sentimentalism aside. It is a matter of comedy: music, note and word, stage action, and much energy, not cantabiles."⁵²³ Ricordi wrote to Pasqua on 21 June 1892.⁵²⁴

The decisive moment for Verdi, Pasqua, and the part of Quickly came three weeks later. In early July Verdi vacationed at the baths of Montecatini and received the singer as a visitor. He reported their meeting to Ricordi on 12 July:

Pasqua has been here for two days. I read her most of the libretto and had her sing some phrases from the third act that I had with me. Perhaps secretly [in petto] she wanted some piece or other to stand out by herself; but she understood, intelligent as she is, what the situation is, and she will be content to do that part, which she will do well. Only I noticed (I alone) that at certain points in the third act Quickly has been on stage too long without saying anything, and I think that without ruining the comedy one could take away a few phrases and a few words here and there from Alice and Meg and give them to

⁵²²Unpublished.

⁵²³17 June 1892 (Mr 1027); in Abbiati, IV, 444-45.

⁵²⁴Ricordi to Verdi, 21 June 1892. Unpublished.

Quickly, and we won't lose anything in the performance. I'll write to Boito about it myself after I have looked over this third act again.⁵²⁵

Ricordi responded on 14 July: "I am most happy with what you write me concerning Pasqua: I have already talked to Boito, who says that what you say about Quickly's part is perfectly fine with him."⁵²⁶

From these letters it is evident that after hearing Pasqua sing Verdi began to reconsider some of Quickly's music: his first thoughts were that she might be given a few more lines to make her a more important figure.⁵²⁷ Moreover, he had certainly heard the contralto's high notes, found them satisfactory, and may shortly thereafter have

⁵²⁵ Mr 1028; in Abbiati, IV, 446.

⁵²⁶ "Sono felicissimo di quanto mi scrive della Pasqua: ho già parlato a Boito, il quale dice che va benone quanto Ella dice riguardo alla parte di Quick." Unpublished.

⁵²⁷ On fol. 19 of the third act of Boito's autograph libretto one finds Quickly being assigned some of Alice's lines. Thus, shortly before the final fugue, Boito's original idea was:

Alice: Questi è Ford mio marito.--Cavaliere,
 Voi credeste due donne così grulle,
 Così citrulle,
 Da darsi anima e corpo all Avversiero,
 Per un uom vecchio, sudicio ed obeso,
 Meg Con quella testa calva,

Al.

E con quel peso!

Probably before Verdi began to write the autograph score Boito assigned the lines from "cavaliere" through "Così citrulle" to Quickly and rewrote "Al." before "Da darsi." Verdi modified this further, probably after 12 July 1892. In one of the only entries he made into the autograph libretto Verdi wrote "Quik" to replace the "Al." in front of "Da darsi" and in front of "E con quel peso!" Perhaps even later or perhaps changing his mind immediately Verdi wrote "tutte" before the final line quoted above. Beginning with the words "mio marito" these lines occur on fols. 365-66v of the autograph score: these are the initial two folios of gathering 33, which seems, from its basically fair-copy appearance in a rather dark black-brown ink, to be a late replacement gathering.

decided to rewrite some of her lines in a higher register. Most important, since he believed that Pasqua was disappointed with her part because she had no solo piece, one can be certain that he had not yet conceived the monologue "Giunta all'Albergo." Even though he had only the third act with him, it is inconceivable that he would not have informed the singer about her principal piece had it indeed been composed at that time. Some time after 12 July, then, he decided to expand the part of Quickly even further, i.e., to insert a solo piece as a favor (or at least as a pleasant surprise) for Giuseppina Pasqua.

This solo required additional lines of text. When could he have requested Boito to write them? His only extant letters to the librettist between his meeting with Pasqua and the premiere of the opera (9 February 1893) are dated 6 August, 22 August, and 20 September 1892: they contain no mention of a new text. Yet, as we shall see, the solo was unquestionably composed by 21 October, when he mentioned it in a letter to Giulio Ricordi. The composer therefore probably discussed the new text with Boito in person. This meeting could have occurred on 28 July or a day or two later, when Verdi was in Milan to audition Emma Zilli for the role of Alice and to "arrange matters with Boito."⁵²⁸

Although what took place at this time is not known, much can be inferred from the third version of the text in Boito's autograph libretto. Unlike his procedure for any other textual revision Boito

⁵²⁸Verdi to Ricordi, 14 July 1892 (Mr 1030); in Abbiati, IV, 447. The clearest indication of the exact date of Verdi's trip to Milan is found in Ricordi to Verdi, 27 July 1892 (Mr Cop 1892-93, III, 114): "Lietissimo vederla domattina. Auguro ottimo viaggio. Ossequi affettuosi. Giulio." Unpublished.

did not enter the new text directly into the libretto. Instead he wrote it (from "Comari!" "Ebben?" to "Portate quà la cesta del bucato") on a piece of standard stationery, which now exists as an unbound addition to the autograph libretto. Inside the folded stationery one finds a slip of music paper with notes and text in Boito's hand: it contains the centerpiece of Quickly's monologue and is transcribed in Example 84.

Example 84

Handwritten musical score for Example 84, showing a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in G major, 4/4 time, and includes the lyrics "al fine a farla spiccia vi cre-de en-trambe innamorate cot-te delle bellezze sue e lo vedrete etc." The piano accompaniment is in G major, 4/4 time, and features a simple harmonic accompaniment.

From this evidence it would appear that the following might have occurred. Verdi could have requested the new text on or shortly after 28 July. He had probably already written the core of the new music (in two versions, one ascending to a high G) shortly before, either without a text or, more likely, to a text (or metrical pattern) of his own devising that he wanted Boito to polish. The librettist could then

have written the new text on his own stationery and mailed it in early August to Verdi along with a demonstration (Example 84) of how well his text fit the music that he had been given. Upon receiving the text Verdi probably discarded the envelope, inserted the stationery and music paper into the autograph libretto, then in his possession, and finished composing the music that was to be added. If this hypothesis is correct the music of the interpolated fols. 180-86^V of the autograph score is best dated July-August 1892.

Fols. 180-86^V themselves, however, are slightly later than this because Verdi wrote at least two versions of the added music. For the first he used a watery, brown-black ink, whose only traces in the manuscript score are found on the measures immediately surrounding the present insertion: the final measures of fol. 179^V (the new notes for the women on "Comari!", "Ebben?", and "che") and the first few measures of fol. 187 (Alice's "[Nan-]netta, e tu non ridi?"). Verdi made the entry onto fol. 187 by erasing the original reading of the first three measures (shown above in Example 83), writing in the new version (virtually identical with the final setting) and cancelling the fourth measure completely. The cancellations of the first three measures visible on the present fol. 187 are a product of a later revision.

Some time after copying the first version of the added solo Verdi rewrote it in a dark black-brown ink: this copy constitutes the present fols. 180-86^V. Despite the generally fair copy of these folios, one can find a few erasures that may point towards the unavailable first version of the inserted solo. What is still restorable of the most significant of these erased readings is shown in Example 85 (fol. 181^r-81^v, 96000¹, pp. 193-94; 113953, pp. 212-13).

Example 85

Qui. 181

Giunta all'Albergo della Giarrettie - ra chiedo d'esser ammessa alla presenza del Cavalier segreto messa - gera.

The rhythm of this first version is that of its final setting, but its melodic shape and some of the details of its harmony were changed. The most notable revision here was the inversion of the scalar ascent from E to C on "Chiedo d'esser ammessa" (Ex. 85, mm. 3-4).

This erased reading, curiously enough, helps us to date the final version. On 21 October, at least a week after he had given Ricordi the autograph score of Act II for reduction, Verdi requested to see again the fascicle that contained Quickly's narrative. In this letter he wrote out as identification the first two measures of the melody--in its final version.⁵²⁹ He had thus revised the solo piece before giving the score to Ricordi.

One final piece of evidence permits us to assign at least a tentative date to the completion of fols. 180-86^v. The dark black-brown ink

⁵²⁹See p. 257 above.

of those folios matches that of his letters from 19 August to 5 September and very nearly matches that only slightly lighter ink of his letters from 18 September to 21 October.⁵³⁰ The final version of Quickly's solo was probably copied during one of these two periods.

What, then, did he wish to correct in the solo when he wrote to Ricordi on 21 October? It appears that he wished to make only minor corrections at some point in the solo, perhaps in a portion that concerned him throughout much of November 1892: the melody of the lines beginning "Alfin, per farla spiccia" (fols. 183^v-84; see Ex. 84).⁵³¹ We have supposed that in late July he gave Boito two readings of this melody: a high version reaching a high G and a low version extending only to D a fourth below. The autograph score (fol. 184) now contains the high version, but an erased, virtually illegible low version may be discerned beneath it.

Although Verdi preferred the high version (i.e., the final reading), he was not certain that Giuseppina Pasqua--who still knew nothing about this new solo piece--could perform it. The central question was one of breath, not range. On 4 November he wrote to Ricordi and asked where the contralto might be reached.⁵³² Ricordi wrote back on 6 November: "I have telegraphed to find out where Pasqua is, but I haven't received a response yet. I shall send it to you as soon as I get it.

⁵³⁰See Table 5, p. 295 above.

⁵³¹In 96000¹, p. 196, the line was modified to "Infin, per farla spiccia," probably with Verdi's and Boito's approval. Cf. the text in Example 84 above.

⁵³²Mr 1056: "Ditemi dove trovassi ora la Pasqua." Unpublished.

It would be most useful in order to be able to complete the engraving of the reduction and the orchestral parts--which remain suspended--if it were possible to decide about the famous breath in the four measures."⁵³³ On the same day Ricordi received Pasqua's address in Bologna and telegraphed it to Verdi.⁵³⁴ Still on 7 November Verdi wrote to Pasqua with the revelation of his surprise for her: "As I promised you, I am sending you the first printed proofs of Falstaff [portions of I.2 and III.2], which I ask you to return to me once you have read through them. In the second part of Act II there is a solo that presents some difficulties that must be smoothed out before printing the music. It would be necessary to perform it prestissimo, a mezza voce, with only one breath, and neat and clear syllables. I am sending you the few measures; tell me something about them."⁵³⁵

Verdi heard from Pasqua on 16 November, decided upon the high version of the passage, and wrote immediately to Ricordi: "Pasqua wrote me that she can do the passage: correct it in this way:

⁵³³"Ho telegrafato per sapere dov'è la Pasqua: non ebbi ancora risposta: glie la comunicherò appena avuta. Se fosse possibile decidere in merito al famoso fiato nelle 4 battute, sarebbe utilissimo, per poter completare l'incisione della riduzione e parti di orchestra--che restano in sospenso." Unpublished.

⁵³⁴Mr Cop 1892-93, VIII, 166: "Confermando mia lettera ecco indirizzo Pasqua. Piazza Aldovrandi 10. Bologna." Unpublished.

⁵³⁵Misdated in Cesari and Luzio, Copialettere, p. 714.

Al-fin per far-la spic-cia vi cre-de en-trambe inna-mo-ra-ta [sic]
 tutti stacc.
 picc. et

The accompaniment stays as it is.⁵³⁶

Ricordi acknowledged Verdi's letter on 17 November: "The Quickly fragment is fine: I am putting it into the reduction and parts and am putting a reminder into the score."⁵³⁷ On 18 November came the rather curious final instructions from Verdi: "In Quickly's solo in the second act go ahead and write into the oboe even the notes it doesn't have. They will say that I don't know the range of the instruments. No great matter!"⁵³⁸ The oboe part of this passage as found in Verdi's autograph score (fols. 183-84; 113953, pp. 214-15) is shown in Example 86.

⁵³⁶ 16 November 1892 (Mr 1061); in Abbiati, IV, 466. One might note here that the tempo originally printed in the proofs for this passage was ♩ = 126; Verdi cancelled this in the proofs, probably around 16 November, and wrote in the new, faster tempo ♩ = 132. See Barbian, Un prezioso spartito, p. 25.

⁵³⁷ "sta bene per il brano di Quickly: lo metto nelle riduzioni e parti, e faccio memoria nella partitura." Unpublished.

⁵³⁸ To Ricordi (Mr 1063); misdated in Abbiati, IV, 467.

Example 86



Verdi apparently wished to add two eighth notes, C and B flat, to the beginning of the fifth measure of this oboe part. One assumes, therefore, that the oboes then used at La Scala did not descend to the low B flat. In this respect the Milanese oboes were decidedly inferior to those used in Paris at the time, with which Verdi was undoubtedly familiar.⁵³⁹ Surely the two low notes, C and B flat, still lacking in modern orchestral scores, should be played in present-day performances of Falstaff.

With this modification Verdi had completed the solo for Quickly. From a purely dramatic point of view one might question the value of this insertion, for its recapitulatory character seems anomalous to its tightly compressed environment. Yet it provided Verdi the opportunity to compose a solo piece for a singer whose ability would greatly

⁵³⁹The low B flat on the oboe became increasingly common in France during the last half of the nineteenth century. Information on the Italian oboe of the late nineteenth century is provided by Pierre, La Facture instrumentale à l'exposition de 1889, p. 272: "Pour le hautbois, outre le système ordinaire français (Triébert n° 5), il existe un système particulier au Conservatoire de Milan, à treize clés sans anneaux; un autre a quatorze et quinze clés, est spécial au Conservatoire S. Cecilia de Rome, il en est de même pour le cor anglais, remarquons cependant que celui di Milan est encore construit dans la forme courbe."

add to the effectiveness of the premiere and hence to the possibility of the immediate success of the opera.

Moreover, in terms of the musical result, Verdi was able to write yet another major aria in the narrative, through-composed style so characteristic of the solo pieces in Falstaff. Quickly's monologue, like Ford's at the end of II.1 and Falstaff's at the beginning of III.1, is rich in subtle allusions to music heard earlier--a technique particularly appropriate to the setting of a text that recounts events seen and heard before.

Quickly's quotations of "Buon giorno, buona donna," "Reverenza," and "Dalle due alle tre" need no comment here, but other textual and musical allusions in her solo piece are less obvious: compare, e.g., her "Chiedo d'esser ammessa alla presenza del Cavalier" (96000¹, pp. 193-94) with Bardolfo's introduction of her in II.1, "la c'è una donna ch'alla vostra presenza chiede d'esser ammessa" (p. 129); or her "Sir John si degna" (p. 194) with Falstaff's "S'inoltri" and the music that immediately follows (p. 130); or the B flat-B natural cross relations at Quickly's "A lui m'inchino molto ossequiosamente: (p. 195) with those heard earlier at her words "Potrà liberamente" (pp. 134-35); or, finally, compare Quickly's "Infin, per farla spiccia" (p. 196) with the notes of her earlier "dirle quattro parole" (p. 131).

Through subtle allusions such as these Quickly's narrative becomes not an exact duplication of what we have experienced before but something that more accurately corresponds to a memory: scraps of musical detail that were first presented during Quickly's interview with Falstaff are transformed and regrouped in new ways--almost in the manner of a

symphonic development.⁵⁴⁰ And surrounding Quickly's monologue Verdi wrote what is probably an entirely new musical motive to depict the wives' bustling action: the motive is first heard under Quickly's words "Fra poco gli farem la festa" (fol. 180; 96000¹, p. 192; 113953, pp. 210-11) and is repeated as Alice calls for the servants, "Oilà! Ned! Will! / Già tutto ho preparato" (fols. 185^v-86; 96000¹, pp. 197-98; 113953, pp. 216-17), and at the wives' support for Nannetta's determination not to marry Dr. Cajus, "Ben detto!" "Brava!" "Non temer" (fols. 189^v-90; 96000¹, p. 202; 113953, pp. 219-20). This last appearance of the new orchestral motive on fols. 189^v-90 suggests that those two folios, which together constitute the replacement center bifolio of gathering 16, were replaced as a direct consequence of the insertion of fols. 180-86^v, whose dark black-brown ink they share.

Verdi's decision to add a solo for Quickly had rich musical consequences that compensated for the retardation in the stage action. The history of the interpolation reminds us once again of how strongly Verdi still clung to the fundamentally Italian concept of opera as, among other things, a vehicle for singers. He certainly did not write Falstaff, as he once claimed, only to please himself;⁵⁴¹ still less did he write it in pursuit of an abstract aesthetic ideal. Verdi's concept of Falstaff, at least in its final stages, was wedded to real singers, to a real stage, and to a real audience. Thus it was to be

⁵⁴⁰Cone, "The Old Man's Toys: Verdi's Last Operas."

⁵⁴¹See p. 33 above.

expected that even in his last opera he was still willing to tailor a solo piece to fit the requirements of an individual singer--so long as the alterations were his own idea, and not the singer's.

Verdi remained a man of the theater to the end of his career. Had Giuseppina Pasqua had no high G, the centerpiece of her solo would have been quite different. Even more significantly, had she not visited him at Montecatini in early July 1892 and had she not felt that "secretly" she wanted a solo piece Falstaff would exist today without Quickly's solo "Giunta all'Albergo."

Chapter 16

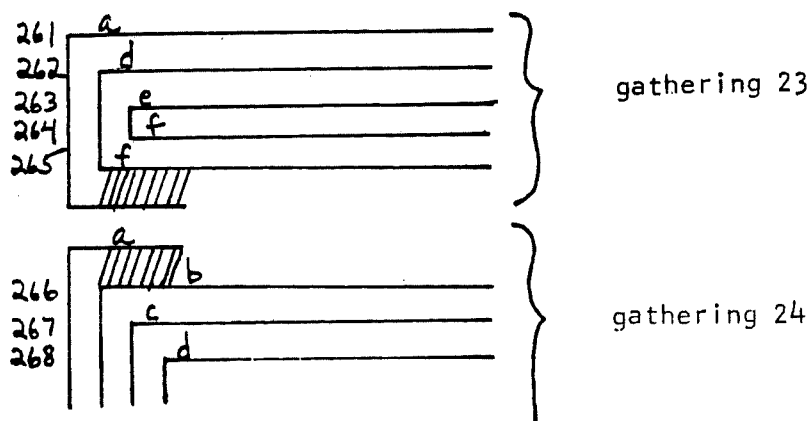
The Revision of the Opening of Act III

Act III begins with gathering 23 (fols. 261-65^v), a set of three bifolios with the last leaf removed. In a manuscript whose gatherings nearly always consist of five, six, and seven bifolios, the presence of such an abbreviated gathering at the beginning of an act demands an explanation. This is easily provided by the following observations: gathering 23, containing the orchestral introduction and Falstaff's first two words, is written in a nearly fair copy in a (dark) black-brown ink (an ink characteristic of late additions to the score), while the subsequent folios have a skeleton score in a contrasting, dark brown-black ink; its last page, fol. 265^v, contains essentially the same music as that one finds cancelled (in dark black-brown ink) at the beginning of the next gathering, fol. 266^r-66^v; and gathering 24 has had its first folio removed, so that the surprisingly brief gathering 23 merges with it as shown in Diagram 7.

It is thus evident that the orchestral introduction to Act III, a long crescendo based on a motive previously associated with Ford's unrelenting pursuit of Sir John,⁵⁴² was a relatively late insertion intended to replace the original first folio of gathering 24, which must have contained a much shorter orchestral introduction to the act.

⁵⁴²The motive is first heard in II.2 as Falstaff's wooing of Alice is interrupted by Quickly, who bursts in with the news "Mia signora! C'è Mistress Meg, e vuol parlarvi" (fol. 217; 96000¹, p. 227; 113953, p. 245).

Diagram 7



We shall conclude this restoration of the early layers of the Falstaff autograph score with a discussion of this interpolation and of the modifications in the subsequent monologue.

As we have seen, III.1 was the last part of the opera to be composed--and, presumably, the last part to be written into the autograph score.⁵⁴³ The precise date of its composition is not known,⁵⁴⁴ but since the music of fol. 266 (the original second folio of the act) consists of only the first violin (i.e., the skeleton score) and was cancelled before its initial chord was orchestrated, one may conclude

⁵⁴³Verdi to Boito, 10 September 1891; see p. 247 above.

⁵⁴⁴See p. 296 above.

that Verdi decided to rewrite the introduction before beginning to fill in the instrumentation of III.1.⁵⁴⁵

Verdi probably interpolated fols. 261-65^V during the final orchestration by removing the original first folio of the act and writing a new, longer orchestral introduction (which had probably been composed previously) into a gathering of three bifolios. This new introduction occupied fols. 261-65 and left three blank pages at the end of the new gathering. Removing the final folio took care of two of these pages, but it seems that he was reluctant to leave fol. 265^V blank, not only because of the consequent appearance of the manuscript but also because the music on fol. 266 began on the third beat of the measure, which would have resulted in six beats of silence (the four beats of fol. 265, m. 7, and the first two beats of fol. 266, m. 1). He therefore rewrote the fortissimo descending violin run (that probably depicts Falstaff

⁵⁴⁵It is less likely that Verdi may not have wanted to harmonize the first violin note on fol. 266 during the orchestration. In this case, the added orchestral introduction could have been inserted after the final orchestration. Notice here, however, that the (dark) black-brown ink of gathering 23 is nearly identical with the black-brown final orchestration ink of gathering 24.

One might also point out that gathering 24 is unique in bearing on the lower right margins of each of its pages from fol. 267^V to 276^V a separate, "Ricordi" pencil pagination from 3 to 22. Curiously, fol. 276 is marked "20," and fol. 276^V "22"; number 21 has been omitted. Notice also that "3" on fol. 267^V actually falls on p. 4 of the present gathering: perhaps number 21 was skipped to correct the earlier pagination. In any event, the pagination suggests that by the time that "Ricordi" received the manuscript for reduction the first folio had already been removed. This conclusion is confirmed by noting Verdi's enumeration of the gatherings of the act, written in the upper right corner of the first folio of each gathering. Moreover, during the reduction "Ricordi" wrote in pencil (now erased) a question about the time signature in the left margin of fol. 265^V, the last folio of the inserted gathering: "mettere il tempo ϕ ." Verdi did not take "Ricordi's" suggestion, and the meter remained common time, not alla breve. The insertion of fols. 261-65^V occurred before Carignani reduced the score.

giving a start, according to the stage directions "si scuote" [fol. 266]) on fol. 265^V by shifting it two beats to the left and adding to its conclusion the words "Ehi Taverniere!" as they appeared on the first measure of fol. 266^V: he thus compressed the original five bars to four and cancelled the originals of the rewritten measures.

Although the earlier, short introduction to III.1 is unavailable and has perhaps been destroyed, one can reasonably suggest a few things about it. First, it must have been about eight measures long, since it occupied one folio and since fol. 266 contains four measures, 266^V three, and 267 and 267^V four each. Second, the descending violin run on fol. 265^V contains a different set of accidentals from that found in the original run cancelled on fol. 266. The accidentals of the latter folio presume a key signature of no sharps or flats, while those of the former correspond to the four-sharp signature established on fol. 260. Furthermore, the naturalization of the four-sharp signature that occurs on fol. 266^V, m. 2, is unquestionably part of the final orchestration, not the skeleton score. One may conclude, then, that III.1 originally opened in a key without flats or sharps, probably A minor, a key that suddenly burst into the parallel major with the run on fol. 266 and settled back into the minor on fol. 266^V, m. 2. Third, one notices that the tempo indication "l^o tempo" appears to be part of the skeleton score on fol. 266^V, m. 2: a low wind line in octaves descending a fourth and probably depicting (as the stage directions tell us) Falstaff "pensieroso e di pessimo umore." It would appear, then, that the original A minor opening also contained (exclusively?) a few statements of this motive--perhaps to presently unknown stage directions.

If so, one finds yet another example of Verdi's penchant for revising the initial statements of repeated motives. About the tonal implications of the presumable change of key of the opening of III.1 from A minor to E major we shall have more to say later.

Fols. 266-68^v are the first originals in Act III; their skeleton score, which is easily restorable, is transcribed in Example 87 (96000¹, pp. 304-06; 113953, pp. 312-14). The first twelve measures of Example 87 contain only minor variants from the final reading of the passage: the music of mm. 1-4 begins and ends on the third beat of the measure; the opening chord is preceded by three scalar grace notes; the tenth note of m. 2 is an A, not a B;⁵⁴⁶ Falstaff's opening words begin on a downbeat in m. 5; Verdi evidently considered having Falstaff sing (declamando) "Mondo triste!" instead of "Mondo ladro!" in mm. 7-8; the declamation of "Reo" in m. 10 overlooks the elided vowels; and the orchestral motive of Falstaff's "pessimo umore" in mm. 6-10 employs sixteenth notes, not triplets.

Mm. 13-14, however, were completely rewritten. In the skeleton score version (Ex. 87) the strings play the "pursuit of Falstaff" motive as the host takes the order and leaves; for the final version Verdi changed these measures to another wind statement of Sir John's "pessimo umore" motive. In the early version these measures were perhaps intended to be a single, fleeting reference to Falstaff's adventures in the prior act; if the composer's decision to modify these measures was related to his decision to add an introduction based on that

⁵⁴⁶For a discussion of these notes and the revised articulation of this violin run see pp. 232-24 above.

Example 87

(266)

4 Fal. (266) 1^o tempo Ritorna pensoso e di pessimo umore declamando

Ehi! Taverniere! Mondo

9 Fal. (267) 3 > Entra l'oste parlando (267)

ladro! triste! mondo rubaldo Reo mondo! Taverniere! un bicchier di vin caldo

morendo *pp*

Example 87, continued

13 Fal. L'Oste riceve l'ordine e rientra
io dunque avrò vis-su - to tant
pizz.

16 Fal. ⁽²⁶⁸⁾
anni audace e de - stro Cavaliere per essere portato in un Canestro e gittato al Canale coi pannolini
arco

19 Fal. ⁽²⁶⁹⁾
ciechi(?) come si fa coi gatti e cattellini ciechi che se non galleg - gia - -va per

motive, one can only suppose that Verdi found this reference no longer necessary. The skeleton score continues with pizzicato strings accompanying mm. 15-17 and breaks off after m. 21, which differs slightly from the final reading.

Fols. 269-72^v, written in nearly fair copy in a dark black-brown ink that recalls that of the new introduction, are replacement folios. They contain some of the most interesting music of the monologue, music constructed by regrouping and transforming motives previously heard⁵⁴⁷--the same compositional technique encountered in Ford's monologue in II.1 and in the added solo for Quickly in II.2.⁵⁴⁸

The skeleton score reappears with fol. 272, and from here all of the folios to the end of the monologue are original: their skeleton score is transcribed in Example 88 (96000¹, pp. 310-14; 113953, pp. 318-23). The very first measure, the conclusion of a repetition of the

⁵⁴⁷A few examples may be cited here. Falstaff's lines "Che se non galleggiava per me quest'epa tronfia L'acqua mi gonfia" (96000¹, pp. 206-07) recall the words of the wives near the end of I.2: "Vedrai che quell'epa / Terribile e tronfia / Si gonfia" (pp. 122-23). The musical and declamatory setting of Falstaff's "Che se non galleggiava" strongly recalls a parallel setting near the beginning of Ford's monologue: "Due rami enormi crescon sulla mia testa" (p. 177). Falstaff's "Certo affogavo" is set to the melody of Quickly's "Povera donna!" and the octaves immediately following it recall the hoisting of the laundry basket near the end of II.2, after the text "D'ogni gelosa ubbia sarà guarito" (p. 123). A restatement of Falstaff's "pessimo umore" motive gives way to a brief reprise of "Va, vecchio John" from II.1, and so on.

Two lines of Falstaff's monologue are cancelled in Boito's auto-graph libretto (Act III, fol. 1) and were probably never set to music. The original text reads:

"--Che giornataccia nera.
Sono più malinconico d'un vecchio orso che annusa
La catena o d'un falso bordon di cornamusa.
--M'ajuti il ciel!--Impinguo troppo--Ho dei peli grigi."

⁵⁴⁸See, e.g., pp.423-25 and 466-67 above.

Example 88

(273) *Fal.* *Cantarellando* *si anima a poco a poco sino a* [?] *Ver- siamo un po' di vi- no nell'ac-qua del Ta-*

riacquistare (273) *Fal.* *la sua giovialità alla fine del monologo*
- mi - gi! *Beve sorseggiando e assaporando*

Allo.

(274) *Fal.* *si sbottona il panciotto*
Buo - no!

lo stesso movimento

pppp

Example 88, continued

si anima **(274V)** a poco a poco

11 Fal. Ber del vin dol- ce e sbottonar- si al so- le

14 Fal. e riacquista la sua gioialità *Allo.*
Dol- - ce co- sa Il buon

morendo

17 Fal. **(275)** 3
vi- no sperde le tette fo- le del- lo scon- for- to accende

Example 88, continued

20 Fal. 275

l'oc - chio e il pen - sier dal lab - bro sale al cervel e qui - vi ri -

[vlns.] [fl.] [vlns.]

24 Fal. 276

sveglia il picciol fabbro dei trilli un negro grillo che vibra entro l'ombrello

[fl.] tr

29 Fal. 276

trilla ogni fibra in cor l'allegro etere al cielo guizza e il glo con - do

3 [b?] 3

Example 88, continued

33 Fal. 277

glo - bo squi - libra una demenza trillante e il tril - lo in va - de il mon - - do

38 Fal. 277

[Vln. I]

dim.

41 Qui, interrompendo come prima 278 repl. [etc.]

Re - ve - ren - - za la bella A - li - ce

descending violin run, has been erased and rewritten. In its original version (Ex. 88, m. 1) it ended on the third beat of the measure, like its first statement in the skeleton score on fol. 266.

More important, however, is that the descending run is here in A minor with a signed C natural in m. 1. As Falstaff's mood has worsened through reflection on his mistreatment, the disappearance of true manhood from the earth, and his advancing age, so too the major violin run near the beginning of the act has turned minor. A major returns only with his anticipation of drinking the hot, sweet wine he has ordered: "Versiamo un po' di vino nell'acqua del Tamigi." That this last appearance of the run is in A minor in the skeleton score explains why Verdi entered an unnecessary three-sharp signature into the cellos and basses on the replacement fol. 272^V: he had decided to ~~rewrite the minor run in major~~, and had momentarily forgotten that the existing signature was already three sharps.

The first few measures of the skeleton score transcribed in Example 88 contain only small variants from the corresponding passage of the final version: the last note of m. 3 seems originally to have been an A, not a G sharp;⁵⁴⁹ many of the ornamental inner voices of the fully harmonized mm. 10-12 were modified; the final bass run, morendo, in m. 15 descends stepwise to low C; and the first note in the voice, m. 19, is a D, not a C.

Quite surprisingly, the conclusion of the solo piece, beginning with the words "[accende] l'occhio e il pensier" (m. 19) was rewritten

⁵⁴⁹ In m. 4 the first note appears to have been an A at one time. This note, subsequently erased, was most likely a copying error and is omitted from the transcription in Example 88.

to conclude a half-step higher than in the skeleton score: the monologue, that is, originally ended in E-flat major, not E major. Fortunately, the skeleton score of this revision (Ex. 88, mm. 19-41) can be restored with complete accuracy. It is clear that Verdi entered the accompaniment (including the later removed violin part in m. 20) into this early layer only through m. 26 (fol. 276, m. 1), then wrote the voice part alone through m. 37⁵⁵⁰ and concluded with a three-measure run in the violin (the first measure now erased and the last two measures cancelled) in mm. 38-40: a very spare skeleton score indeed!

It would appear that considerations of tessitura had nothing to do with the composer's decision to transpose the music upward: the vocal writing touches neither extreme of the baritone range needed for the role of Falstaff. Nor do purely tonal relations, the presentation of a tightly organized scheme of key-groups, seem to be a factor here, for there is a much simpler explanation. As Verdi was orchestrating the monologue he came to the passage transcribed in Example 88, mm. 20-27, and began to consider how he was going to score the desired trills. He appears to have decided that the earliest trills should be played by three flutes, but while planning the scoring prior to entering it into the manuscript he noticed that m. 27 would consist of three flutes playing the trill as in Example 89 below (derived by lowering the present scoring a half-step):

⁵⁵⁰None of the accidentals of the trills, mm. 26-37, had to be changed, although a number of them were later shorn of introductory grace notes. The trills, therefore, belong to the final orchestration--although they are doubtless implicit in the skeleton score.

Example 89

The image shows a handwritten musical score for three parts: Falstaff (Fal.), Flute 1 and 2 (Fl. 1,2), and Flute 3 (Fl. 3). The vocal line (Fal.) is in bass clef and contains the lyrics "grillo che vibra entro l'um brillo". The flute parts are in treble clef. The Fl. 1,2 part features a trill (tr) on a D note. The Fl. 3 part features a trill (tr) on a C note. The score is divided into two measures by a bar line.

The flute, however, cannot play a $D\flat-C$ trill: the trill, while not strictly "impossible" (as it has often been considered), is at least impractical. A $D-C\sharp$ trill, on the other hand, is an easy matter. Thus Verdi's revision of the conclusion of this monologue has a very simple explanation: he probably transposed it up a half-step in order to obtain a possible low trill on the third flute.

One supposes that the composer considered this touch of instrumental color more important than any predetermined tonal plan that he might have had in mind: for the sake of a one-measure flute trill in the center of the monologue it appears that he was willing to change the key of a strong structural downbeat, the climax of the monologue. In the midst of the current debate about Verdi's degree of reliance on tonality to give coherence to his operas one would think that this passage of Falstaff would argue against assigning a central role to

keys.⁵⁵¹ More evidence of this sort, however, needs to be uncovered before any valid conclusions can be drawn.

That the transposition was not tonally motivated does not mean that the tonal result was negligible. In the skeleton score version the monologue begins in A minor (probably with Falstaff's "pessimo umore" motive); moves rapidly through many keys, with modulations to keys a third away being favored; reaches A minor once again for the descending violin run before Falstaff's "Versiamo un po' di vino"; but then moves upwards again by thirds: to C major ("Buono. Ber del vin dolce") and to the concluding cadence in E-flat major ("E il trillo invade il mondo"). It is difficult to see any indications of a rigorously ordered tonal plan in all of this. The moods, melodies, and keys follow each other discursively: tonal goals are felt only in moving from line to line, not in long-range terms. Verdi's willingness to modify the key of the opening of the act and to transpose the final, strongly articulated key at the end of the monologue strongly supports this view.

⁵⁵¹ Opposing positions, e.g., are taken on this matter by Julian Budden and David Lawton. Speaking principally of Verdi's early works, Budden writes (The Operas of Verdi, p. 40): "In accounting for the unity of a Verdi opera we cannot speak of tonal schemes since these operate when at all only within the compass of a separate number But the scheme never extends to entire scenes, still less acts." Lawton, in his dissertation "Tonality and Drama in Verdi's Early Operas," maintains that the tonal plan he finds in Rigoletto is closely related to the drama.

For other discussions of tonal structure in Verdi's music see Archibald, "Tonality in Otello"; Chusid, "Drama and the Key of F Major in 'La traviata'"; idem, "Rigoletto and Monterone: A study in Musical Dramaturgy"; Kerman, "Viewpoint"; Lawton, "On the 'Bacio' Theme in Otello"; Levarie, "Key Relations in Verdi's Un ballo in maschera"; Petrobelli, "Per un'esegesi della struttura drammatica del 'Trovatore'"; Sabbeth, "Dramatic and Musical Organization in Falstaff."

The early version of the monologue was bounded by keys a tritone apart: A minor and E-flat major. If one assumes that the composer's first modification of key was his insertion of the opening orchestral passage, the second version of the solo piece would have begun in E major and ended in E-flat major.⁵⁵² Whether or not Verdi might have considered this tonal result to be disturbing is problematic. Were it not for the difficulties of the low flute trill in Example 89, one might be able to argue convincingly that he changed the key at the end of the monologue to match that of the introduction: indeed, the happy matching of the initial and concluding keys may have played a subsidiary role in his decision to transpose the end of the solo piece. Yet there is no strong evidence to suggest that Verdi, at any point in his career, thought in this manner: the traditional use of tonality by ottocento Italian composers, it seems, might have been quite different from the carefully woven web of ordered tonal relations that one associates with the German composers and, perhaps to a lesser extent, with the French composers of that century.⁵⁵³

⁵⁵²In the unlikely event that the introduction was added after the transposition of the end of the monologue (see n. 545 above), the second version of the piece would have begun in A minor and ended in E major, and traditional analysis would interpret this as a move from an initial tonic to its dominant, a simple i-V progression.

⁵⁵³Budden, *op. cit.*, p. 15, agrees but overstates his case: "It is useless to look in the operas of Verdi and his contemporaries for any large-scale key scheme such as can be found in Wagner's scenas or Mozart's finales. . . . What Schoenberg called the 'tonal regions' were no part of Verdi's way of thinking."

We have no reliable evidence that Verdi was ever concerned with abstract systems of tonal relations in themselves. He never wrote or theorized about such matters: those familiar with his aesthetic pronouncements can hardly imagine him doing so. While one ought not to deny that

Verdi's reworking of the opening of Act III of Falstaff is therefore instructive in several ways. His drastic curtailment of the music of Example 88, mm. 38-40, shows again his ability to rethink and recompose climactic musical moments. His decision to modify the key of the conclusion of the monologue for the sake of orchestral color gives us a notion of his priorities as a composer and issues a challenge to those who emphasize functional, abstract tonal relations in his operas. And his addition of the orchestral introduction to the act--an introduction that effects a transition from the second to the third act; that provides a touch of brightness (E major) to contrast with the gloom of the opening words of the monologue; and that emphatically foreshadows the key in which the monologue is to end--is an excellent example of his willingness to make very substantial additions to Falstaff in the final stages of its composition, a willingness that is also evident in his addition of the brief vocal prelude to "Quell'otre! quel tino!" in I.2 and of Quickly's solo piece "Giunta all'Albergo" in II.2.

abstract tonal relations play some role in his operas (Falstaff, after all, is clearly in C major), it seems that he might have been more concerned with his own conceptions of the coloristic meaning of individual keys, either in themselves or as he had established them within an individual opera.

In any event, the research mentioned in n. 551 above strongly suggests that Verdi was by no means indifferent to his choice of keys. Scholars continue to disagree, however, about the validity of any single interpretation of Verdian tonality. Once again, more evidence--particularly with regard to key modifications in the sketches and autograph scores--must be brought forth before reliable conclusions can be drawn.

Although before the composition of III.1 Verdi wrote that he expected this part to be "shorter and less difficult than the others,"⁵⁵⁴ it is clear that he underestimated the task. The definitive shape of the opening of Act III does not seem to have come easily. And, as we have seen, a few months after the premiere he returned to III.1 to rewrite its entire conclusion--the most extensive revision in the opera.⁵⁵⁵ Of the six parts of Falstaff the definitive version of the "less difficult" III.1 differs most from its "original" conception as discernible in the skeleton score.

⁵⁵⁴Verdi to Boito, 10 September 1891. See p. 247 above.

⁵⁵⁵See pp. 141-55 above.

Chapter 17

Conclusion

The autograph scores of Giuseppe Verdi are admirable for their precision: the excitement of writing causes neither confusions nor uncertainties in the maestro; while he creates, his fervid fantasy knows at once how the new creation must be extended throughout the numerous voices and orchestral sonorities: one clearly sees that the opera pours out spontaneously, all in one piece, and that it simultaneously pours out well shaped in every line, in every part, in every detail.⁵⁵⁶

When Giulio Ricordi wrote these lines a few weeks before the premiere of Falstaff, he must have been aware that they contained something less than the truth. Yet, as the de facto spokesman for Italy's most revered cultural figure, he could scarcely have done otherwise. The musical public envied his close friendship with the secretive genius and looked to him for reliable information. But given the stature and irascibility of the Gran Vegliardo--not to mention his position as the central economic interest of Casa Ricordi--the editor was in no position to print any news other than that which reinforced the ongoing chorus of astonishment and veneration.

⁵⁵⁶Ricordi, "Come scrive e come prova Giuseppe Verdi": "Le partiture autografe di Giuseppe Verdi sono ammirabili per esattezza: la foga dello scrivere non produce nel maestro nè confusioni, nè incertezze; la fervida fantasia, mentre crea, sa in pari tempo come la nuova creazione dovrà ampliarsi fra le molteplici voci e le sonorità dell'orchestra: si vede palesemente che l'opera sgorga spontanea tutta in un blocco, e che in pari tempo sgorga bell'e plasmata in ogni linea, in ogni parte, in ogni dettaglio."

Ricordi's "Verdi"--a reflection of Verdi's self-image--was partly a myth designed to protect the sensitive feelings of an easily wounded man. The composer still feared failure and probably dreaded the thought that Falstaff might turn out to be a mere succès d'estime. He must have believed that the public cherished the notion of unhindered inspiration and that knowledge of his actual indecision, occasional despair, and frequent recomposition would expose him to unwelcome criticism. Such an attitude goes far in explaining his frequent destruction of revised music; the issuing of 96000² and 96000³ without a public acknowledgment of the major changes they contained; and, it would seem, the tradition of secrecy about sketch material. Thus Ricordi's account of the maestro's creative process emphasized spontaneity, decisiveness, and confidence.

The reality was quite different. The Falstaff manuscript reveals that at every stage of composition Verdi had doubts and second (or third) thoughts about his music. When one considers the various versions of the opera--sketch, skeleton score, final orchestration, reduction, proofs, 96000¹, 96000², and 96000³--each of which embodies several corrected or revised passages, one is tempted to conclude that he found something to change virtually every time he examined or heard it. Guglielmo Barblan, after studying the 96000¹ proofs, described this as the composer's incontentabilità.⁵⁵⁷

The many erasures and cancellations in the autograph score are the most direct clues of his Falstaff revisions. In the preceding chapters we have discussed many of the rejected--but still restorable--

⁵⁵⁷Barblan, "Incontentabilità di Verdi."

readings in I.2, II.1, II.2, and III.1. Of necessity we have concentrated on readings deleted from original folios and on manuscript pages that show a great deal of revision. Such a study, which must stress that which is recoverable, runs the risk of ignoring the many fair-copy replacement folios that may be indications of changes even more radical and thoroughgoing than those found on originals.

The significance of sets of replacement folios--like fols. 41-46^v (most of the honor monologue in I.1); fols. 69-75^v (the men's quintet and its continuation in I.2); fols. 194-97^v and 200-01^v ("Gaje comari di Windsor!" and its reprise in II.2); fols. 202-06^v (Alice's lute playing and the beginning of the Falstaff/Alice duet in II.2); fols. 211 and 213-16^v (most of "Quand'ero paggio" along with the succeeding 28 measures); fols. 269-72^v (the center of Falstaff's monologue in III.1 from "me quest'epa tronfia" to two measures after "Ho dei peli grigi!"); fols. 311-13^v (Fenton's sonnet up to "Così baciai la disolata bocca" in III.2); fols. 322-28^v (the music between Falstaff's counting of the hours and Nannetta's "Ninfe! Elfi! Silfi!" in III.2); and fols. 381-94 (the final fugue)--cannot be determined until prior compositional material, especially sketch material, is made available. The above list, however, suggests that many of the inset solos and ensembles may represent significant reworkings of early drafts.

It would seem, on the other hand, that the women's quartet "Quel otre! quel tino!" in I.1, the Nannetta/Fenton duettino "Labbra di foco!" in I.2, Falstaff's "Va, vecchio John" in II.1, and Nannetta's song as

the Queen of the Fairies in III.2 all came to Verdi quite easily: most of the music of these pieces occurs on original folios with only minor revisions.

From the composer's letters and autograph revisions, a general picture emerges of his aims in composing Falstaff. His first concern was to create a work that engages the spectator by being constantly vivid, fresh, and inventive; he consequently removed that which he found commonplace or stale, that which he believed to be stiffly conventional or repetitious. As the acknowledged master composer of Italy, he wanted his opera to avoid sounding dated; rather, it was to be in the modern style as he conceived it, to challenge and instruct the new generation of Italian composers. To be prized above all was the dramatic action, the spellbinding gesture, the climactic phrase--the musical equivalent of what he once called the parole sceniche, "those words that carve out a situation or a character, whose effect is always most powerful on the public."⁵⁵⁸ His incontentabilità with Falstaff can be seen largely as a continuing search for an increasingly effective set of "emphatic moments,"⁵⁵⁹ whether they be climactic, lyrical, seductive, mysterious, or witty. There is no evidence to suggest that he actively sought a new form for Italian opera or aimed

⁵⁵⁸Verdi to Ricordi, 10 July 1870. Undated in Abbiati, III, 348. See Busch, "(signed) G Verdi."

⁵⁵⁹I borrow the phrase from Cone, "The Old Man's Toys," p. 124.

for philosophical truth or formal profundity.⁵⁶⁰ Instead, he wanted to produce a work whose musical and dramatic qualities would lead to a genuine success at the box office: not so much for the sake of his pocketbook but for the sake of his reputation and that of the music of his country.

In accordance with these basic aims one finds five major types of revision in the Falstaff autograph score. These five categories are very much interrelated: many of the Falstaff revisions fall into more than one category.

1. Avoidance of unnecessary repetition and the "merely sequential."

Verdi's first thoughts--at least at the skeleton score level--included many more literal or sequential repetitions of motives and phrases than one finds in the definitive version. To follow closely his refashionings of similar phrases is to observe a master striving for the maximum variety, for an ever-renewing freshness, and for the defeat of habitual solutions to compositional problems. The classic instance occurs with his total reshaping of the "Quando il rintocco" accompaniment in III.1 (see pp. 306-11 above), although several examples on a smaller scale may be found throughout the score, most notably, perhaps, at the beginning of I.2 (see pp. 326-31 above).⁵⁶¹

⁵⁶⁰The single exception to this is his description of Sir John after completing the Roman variants: "Eternamente vero, sotto maschera diversa, in ogni tempo, in ogni luogo!!" (see p. 161 above). Given his general reluctance to speak in this manner of his own music, Verdi's words are best seen as referring to the Shakespearian creation, the great character of Falstaff, whom he borrowed so successfully.

⁵⁶¹Related to this type of revision is Verdi's frequent telescoping of motives--even at the skeleton score level--sounded earlier.

2. Pattern revision. A curious, special case of the first type. When Verdi noticed a motive or passage repeated or sequenced several times, he often revised its first appearance. Thus the original "repetitions" appear in the definitive version to be variants or to have no reference whatever to previous music. The "Quando il rintocco" passage mentioned above is an extensive example, but smaller instances abound throughout the score. See, e.g.: the introduction to the "Quel otre!" quartet in I.2 (pp. 347-53 above); the removal of the figure under Ford's "O matrimonio! Inferno!" in II.1 (pp. 433-34 above); and the recomposition of the introduction to III.1 (pp. 472-73 above).

From these occurrences, which apparently are not limited to Falstaff,⁵⁶² one may suspect that several motives in the final versions of the late Verdi operas may have been originally intended to recall passages that no longer appear in the score. Only a thorough examination of the sketches could confirm or refute this suspicion, but to judge from the available evidence Verdi seems to have employed pattern revisions quite frequently.

3. Accommodation of a part to the abilities or defects of individual singers. The late addition of a solo piece for Giuseppina Pasqua

Thus, the three-measure phrases that open the opera reappear as two-measure phrases at rehearsal number 4 (96000¹, p. 11); and the sixteen-bar theme that opens I.2 (96000¹, p. 47) reappears as an eight-bar theme at its conclusion (96000¹, p. 126).

⁵⁶²Similar pattern revisions may be found in Otello. Compare, e.g., the sketch for Otello, Act III, currently located in the Mary Flagler Cary Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (the sketch is reproduced in Chusid, A Catalog, pp. 136-37), to the definitive version of the same passage and the music that immediately follows.

(Mistress Quickly) and the rewriting of her part in a higher register after hearing her sing it provide the most obvious instances (pp. 452-68 above). Similarly, it may be significant that his most elaborate reworkings of Fenton's sonnet occurred just before and during his rehearsal of its singer, Edoardo Garbin (pp. 71-75 above). And performance questions may have been directly involved in his decision to simplify the "Litany" in III.2 for the Parisian Falstaff (pp. 194-202 above).

4. Intensification. As part of his striving for the emphatic moment Verdi often sought to rewrite important phrases to place them in higher relief. This he usually accomplished by extraordinary harmonies, although orchestral, rhythmic, and dynamic factors were often also involved. Perhaps the most unmistakable examples are his intensifications of: the conclusion of Falstaff's letter in I.2, "E il viso tuo" (pp. 345-47 above); Falstaff's interjection to Ford in II.1, "Quest'è il destin fatale del misero amator" (pp. 400-08 above); and the harmonies supporting Falstaff's counting of the midnight hours in III.2 (pp. 312-18 above).
5. Climactic revision. One common method that Verdi used to construct an aria, duet, or ensemble in his last operas was to avoid the formal structures characteristic of earlier ottocento opera and to build instead a free musical structure that moves in some way to a climactic final line or pair of lines.⁵⁶³ The musical climax at the end of the text is then extended by a brief, striking orchestral

⁵⁶³Lippmann, "Verdi e Bellini," has traced the roots of this technique to Bellini.

codetta--often played fortissimo--and a rapid, diminuendo statement of motivic fragments that prepare for the renewal of dialogue.

These climactic passages seem to have been particularly troublesome to the composer, probably because he wanted them to bear the maximum intensity to produce emphatic, memorable conclusions within a continuous operatic texture. It is astonishing to discover that nearly every such climax in Falstaff has been reworked--often thoroughly reworked. Thus the conclusion of Falstaff's honor monologue in I.1, "e per me non ne voglio," is written on replacement fols. 45-46 (see also pp. 96-99 above); the final lines of Falstaff's letter in I.2, "E il viso tuo," has been mentioned above; the climactic ending of the men's quintet in I.2 was rewritten (pp. 359-70 above); Ford's monologue in II.1 originally contained a setting of its two final lines that differed radically from the final version (pp. 437-42 above); and the orchestral codetta and diminuendo after Falstaff's monologue in III.1 was recomposed (pp. 482-87 above).

Quite apart from these general observations, however, it is appropriate to conclude this study with a few words concerning the methods used to determine the examples on which they were based. Verdi research has long been hampered by the inaccessibility of most of the sketches. Yet even without this early material one can learn a great deal about his creative process by carefully examining his autograph score and coordinating this information with that found in letters and printed editions.

It is hoped that this study has helped to demonstrate that Verdi's autograph scores--particularly those of the later works--are abundant sources of compositional information. The Falstaff autograph score is not unique. Many of the other manuscript scores contain large numbers of replacement folios, clearly discernible skeleton scores, unusual gathering structures, varied embossings, distinctive inks, and restorable deleted readings.

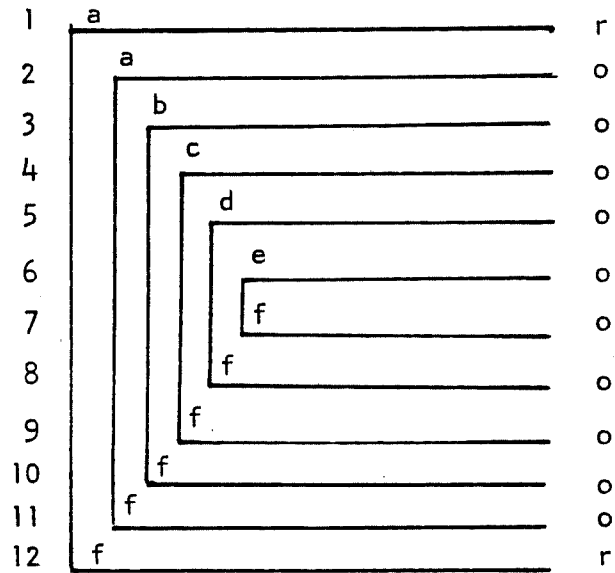
We may conclude, then, by maintaining that the techniques of manuscript and ink analysis are by no means unpromising as central tools in Verdi research. The skeleton scores of the operas are separate, distinct layers of composition--layers between earlier sketches and later orchestral elaboration. They capture moments of creation that are and will always be unavailable elsewhere. They will lose none of their value when the sketches are ultimately released; rather, their significance will be enhanced and clarified. Such fascinating material will continue to merit our closest attention.

Appendix: The Gathering Structure
of the Falstaff Autograph Score

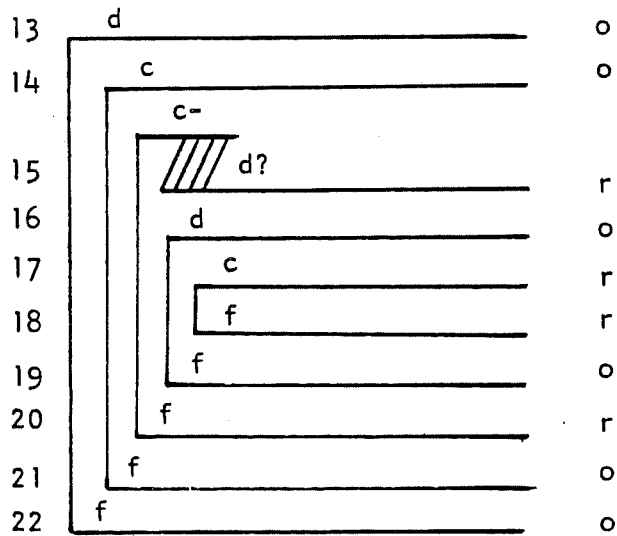
The following diagrams are intended as an aid for those having access only to the 1951 Ricordi facsimile edition of the manuscript score of Falstaff. The principles underlying these schemata are presented in Chapters 8 and 9 above. In brief, these principles are: long lines indicate intact folios; short lines indicate the stubs of removed folios; diagonal lines represent the pasting together of two or more leaves; original folios (o) are distinguished from replacements (r); disputable originals or replacements are accompanied by a question mark (e.g., o?)--my preference, based on a close examination of the original document, is given preceding the question mark; folios numbers are given to the left of the diagrams; letters from a to f indicate the relative degree of clarity of the Lard-Esnault embossing emblem in the upper left corner of the manuscript pages.

ACT ONE, PART ONE

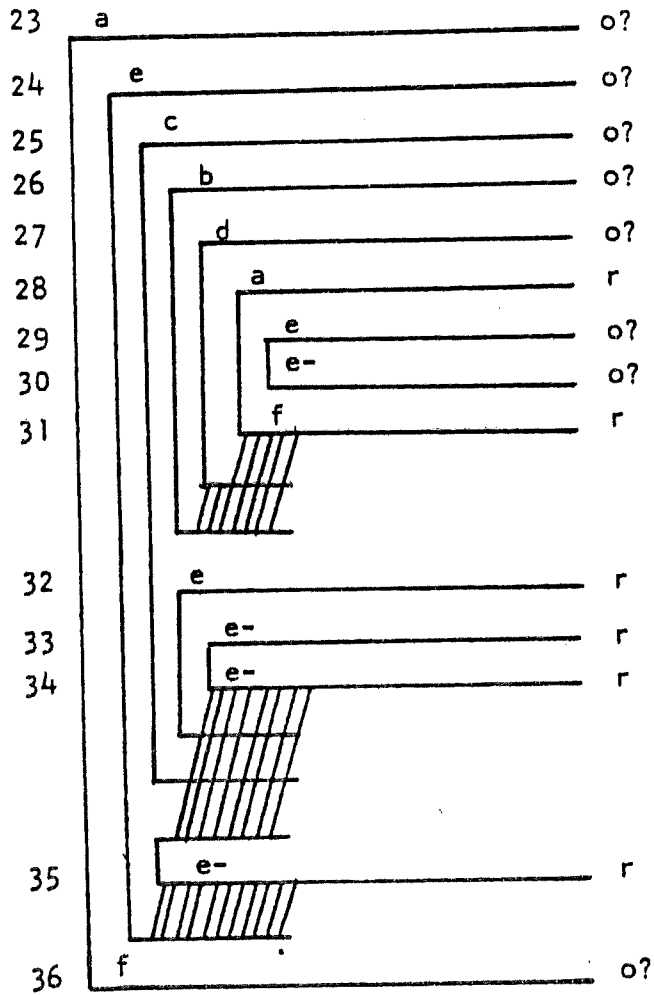
Gathering 1



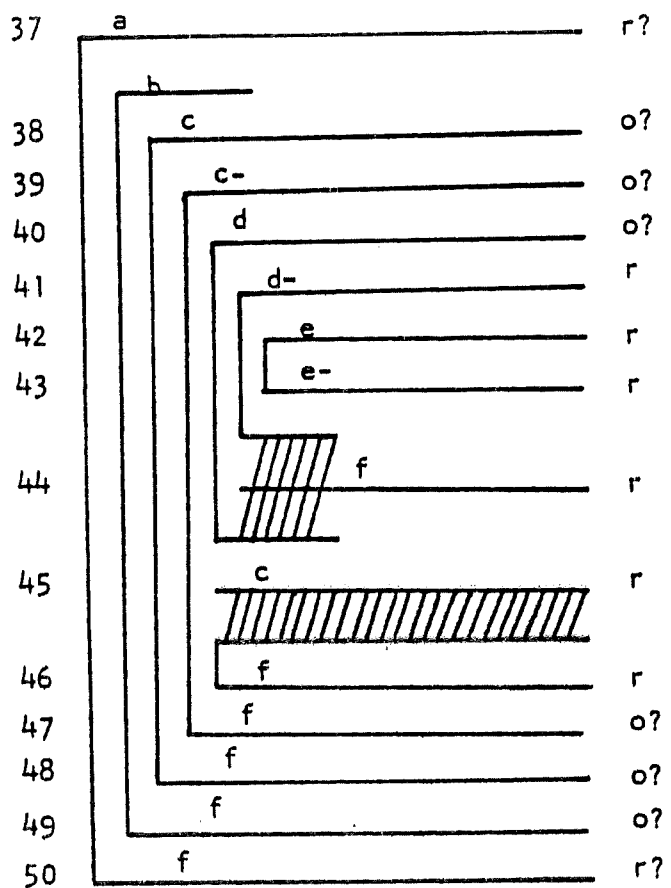
Gathering 2



Gathering 3

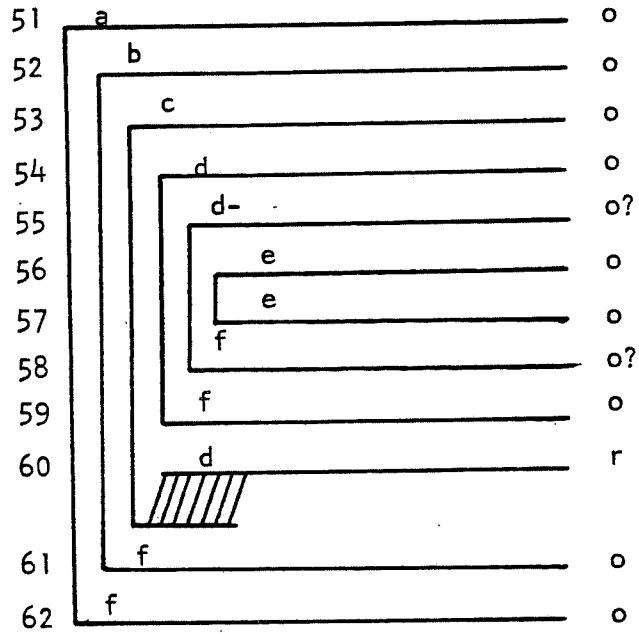


Gathering 4

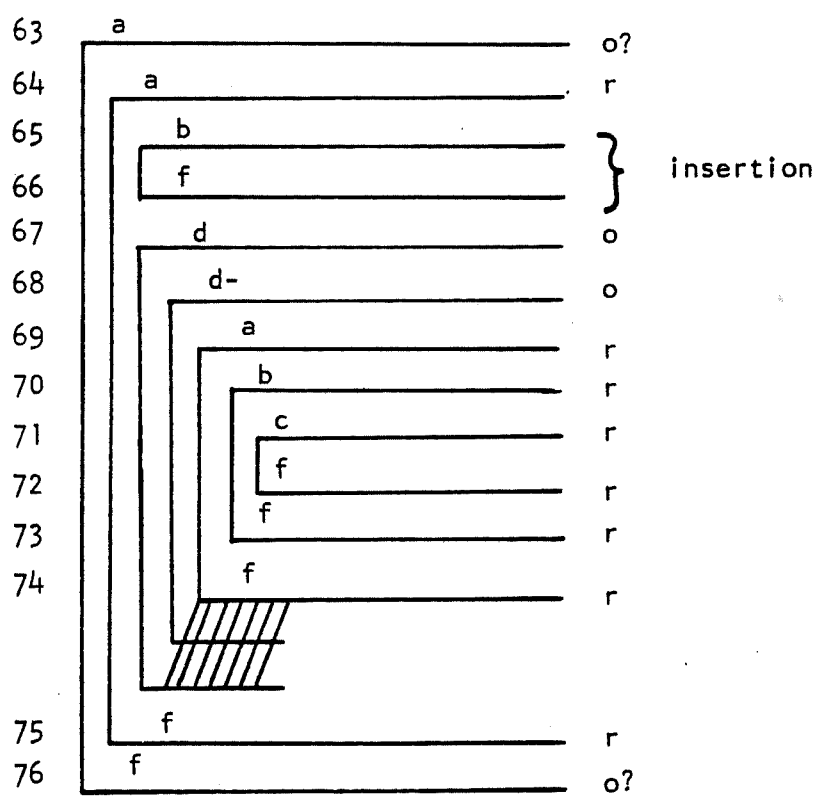


ACT ONE, PART TWO

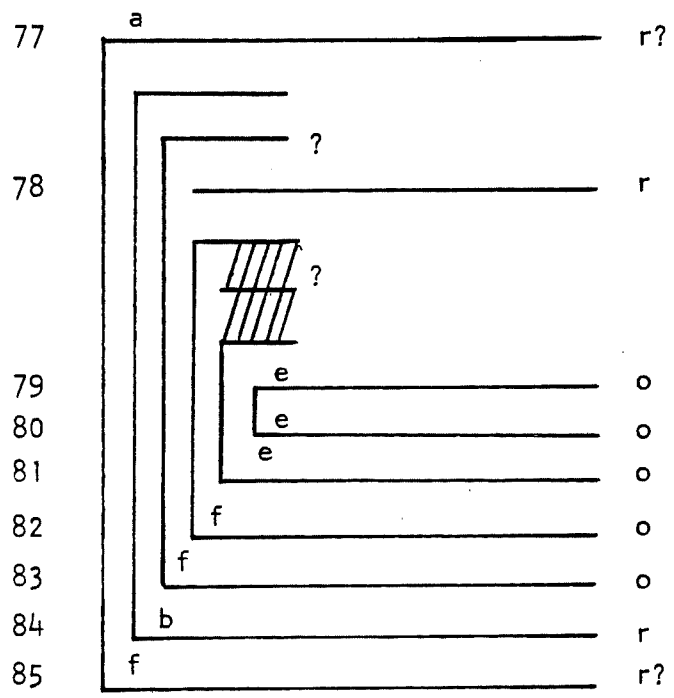
Gathering 5



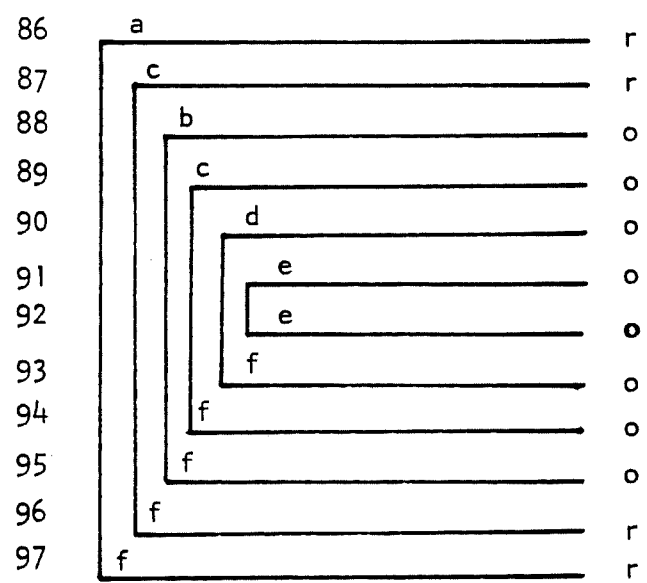
Gathering 6



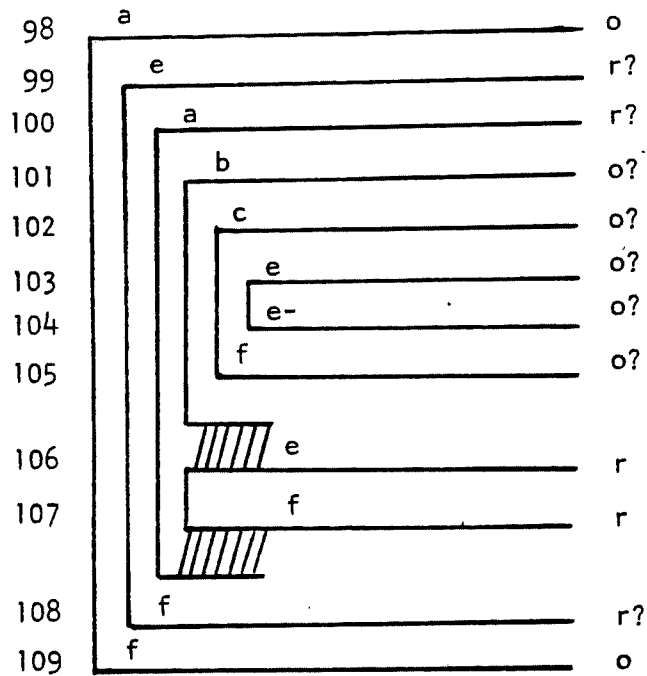
Gathering 7 (exact structure, pastings, etc. difficult to determine)



Gathering 8

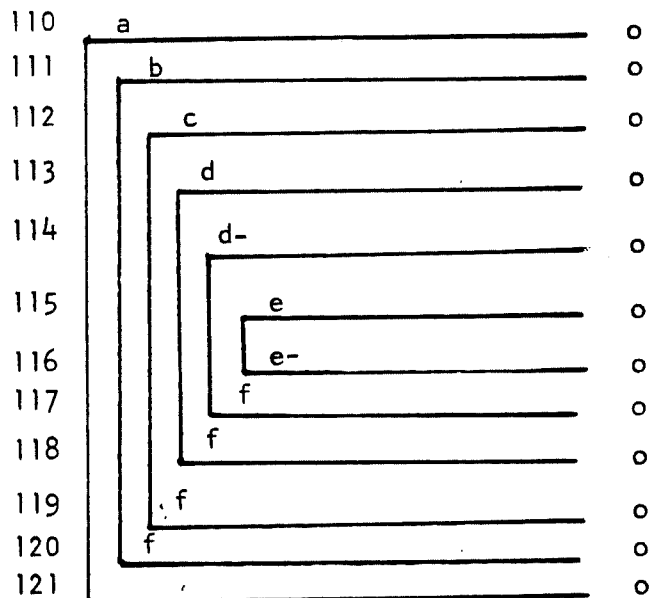


Gathering 9

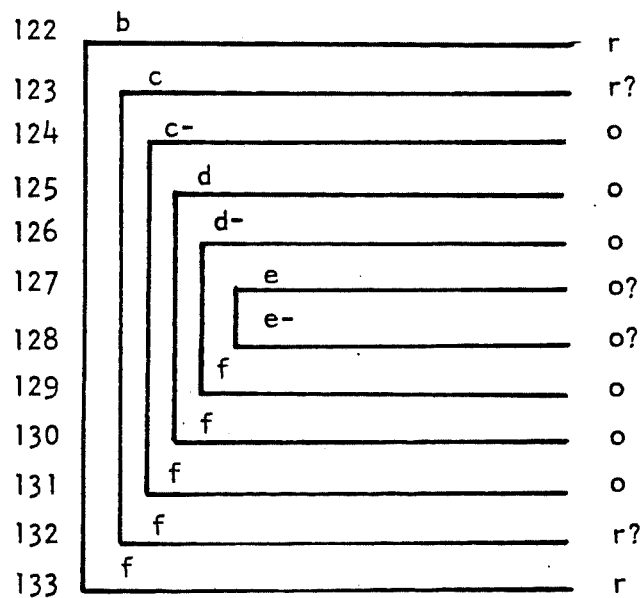


ACT TWO, PART ONE

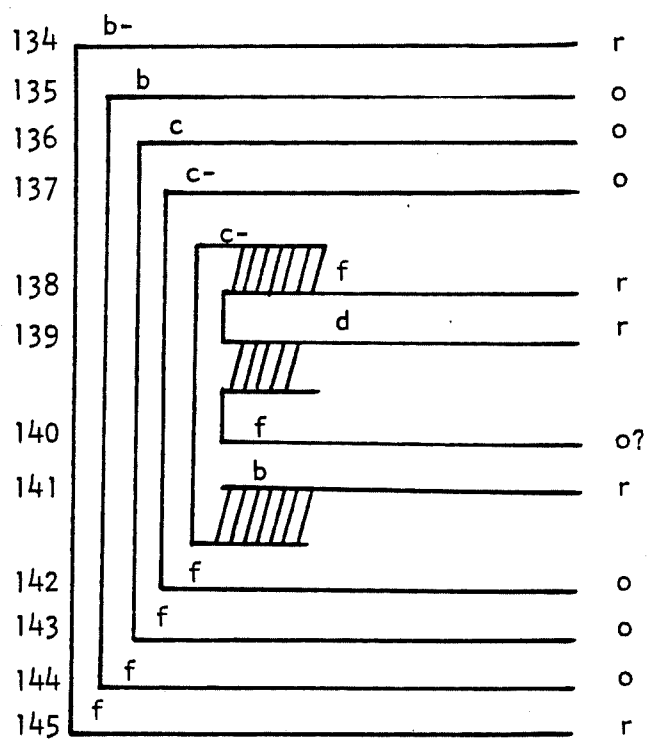
Gathering 10



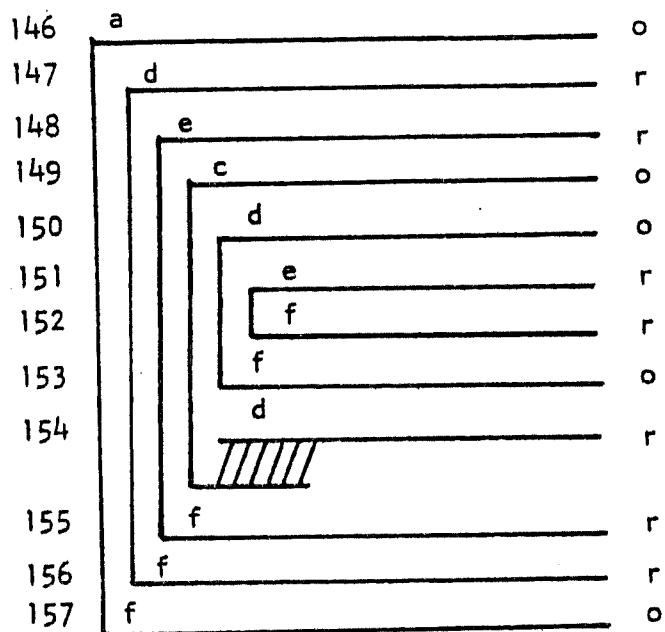
Gathering 11



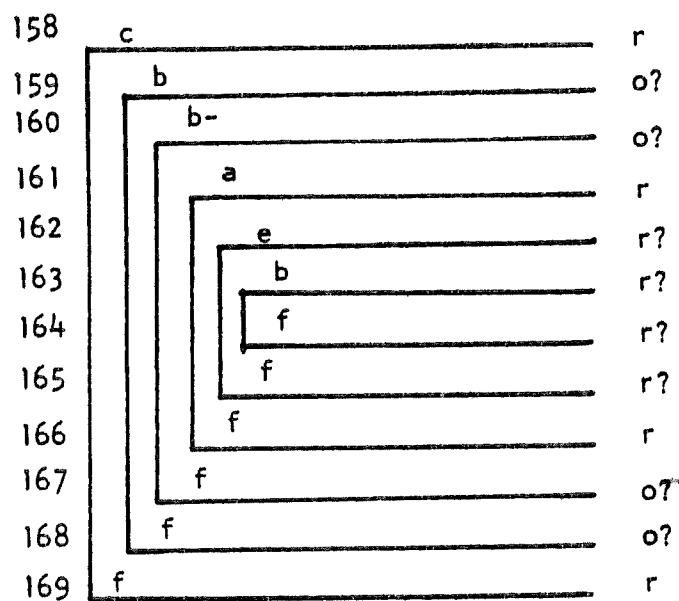
Gathering 12



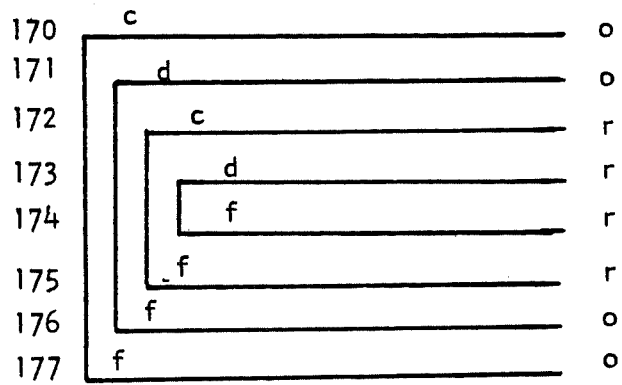
Gathering 13



Gathering 14

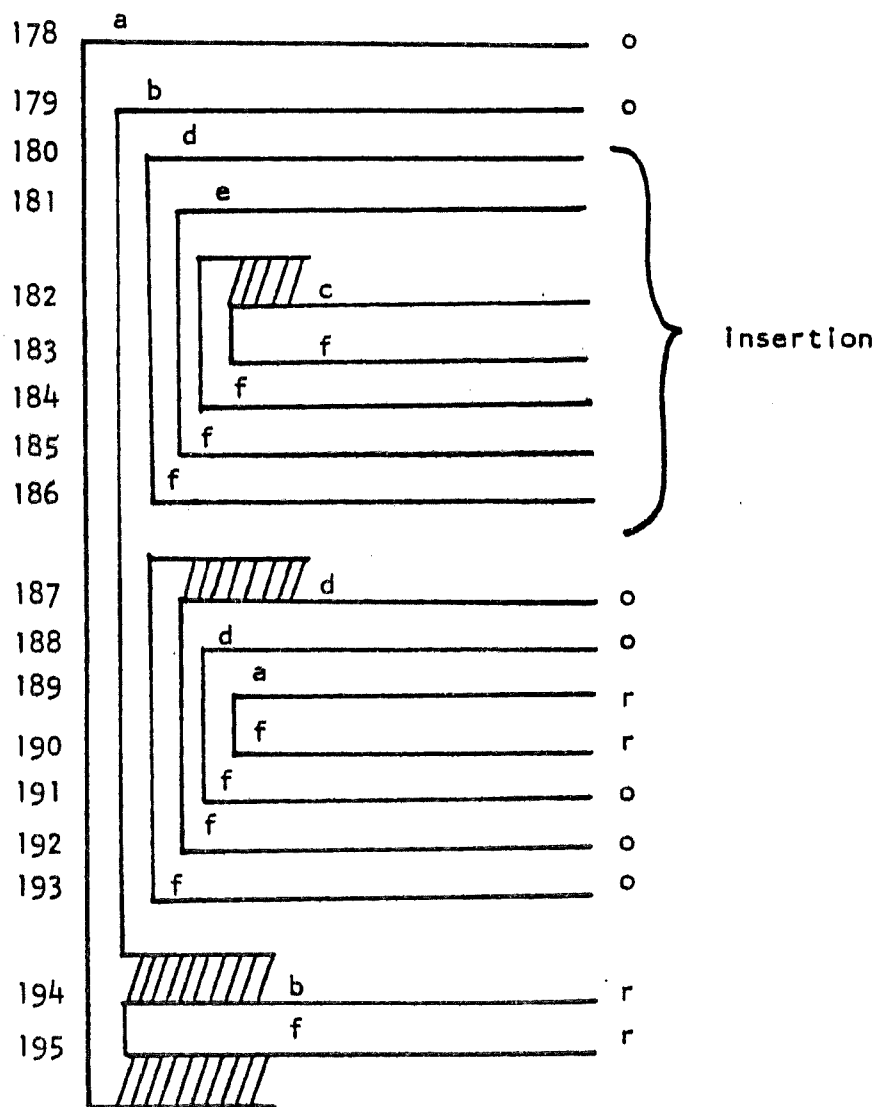


Gathering 15

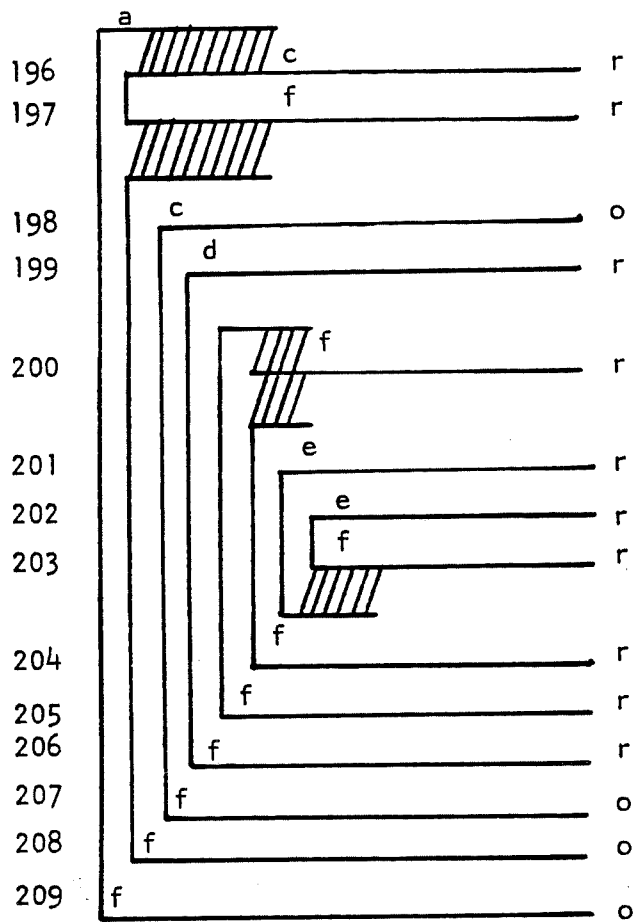


ACT TWO, PART TWO

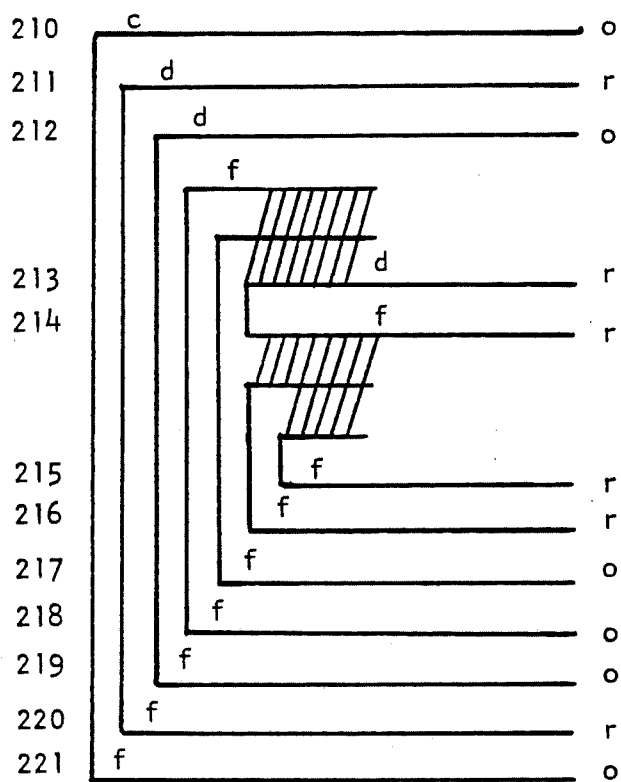
Gathering 16



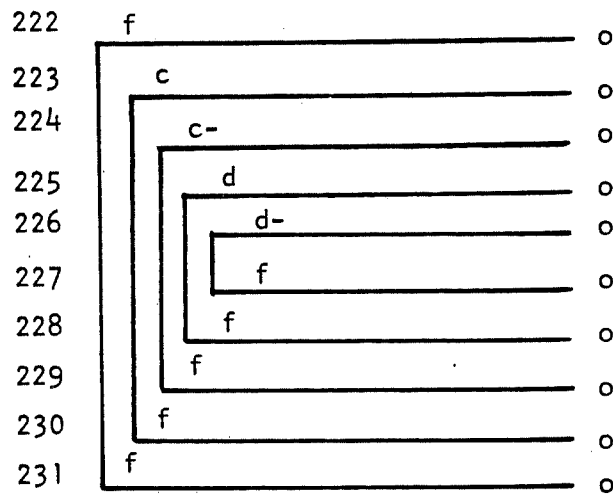
Gathering 17



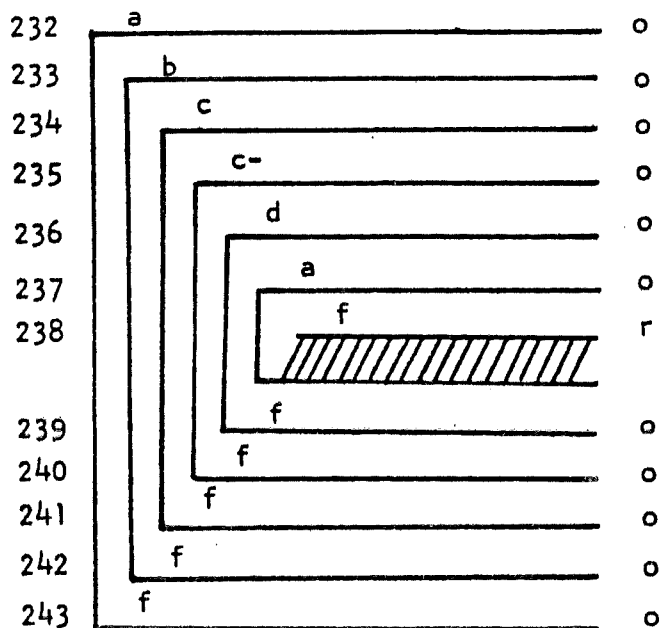
Gathering 18



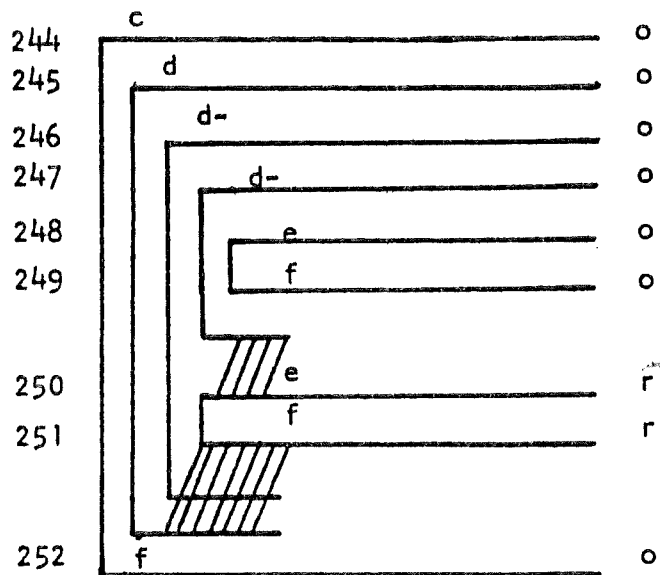
Gathering 19



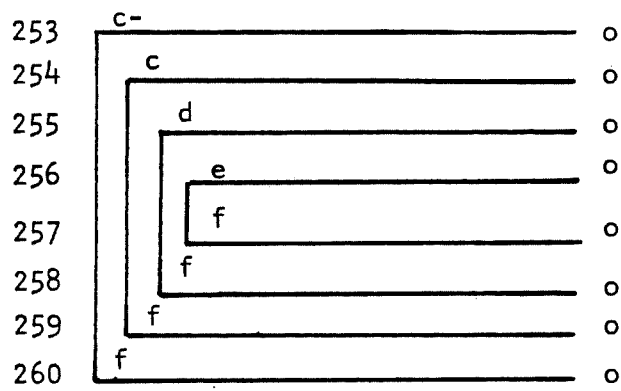
Gathering 20



Gathering 21

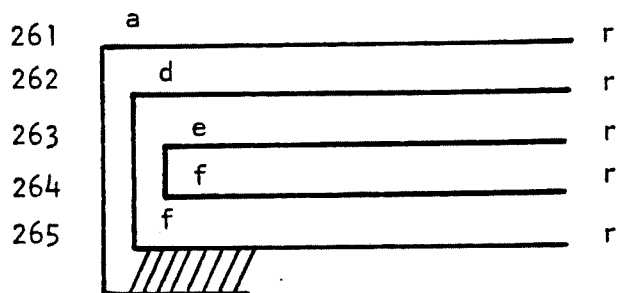


Gathering 22

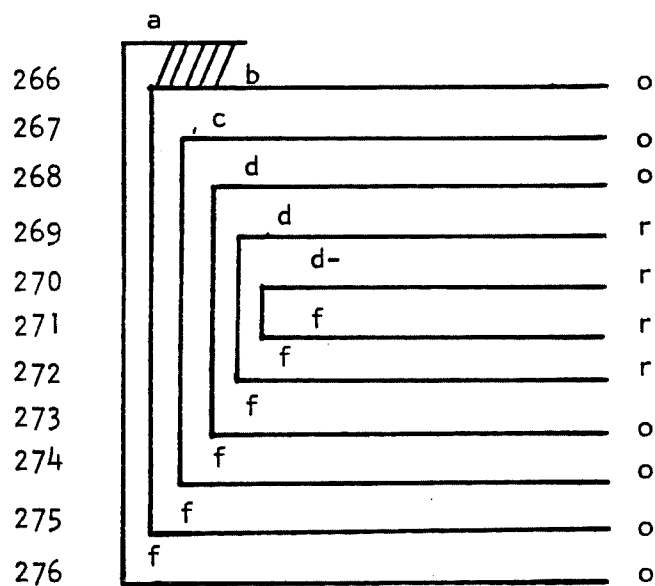


ACT THREE, PART ONE

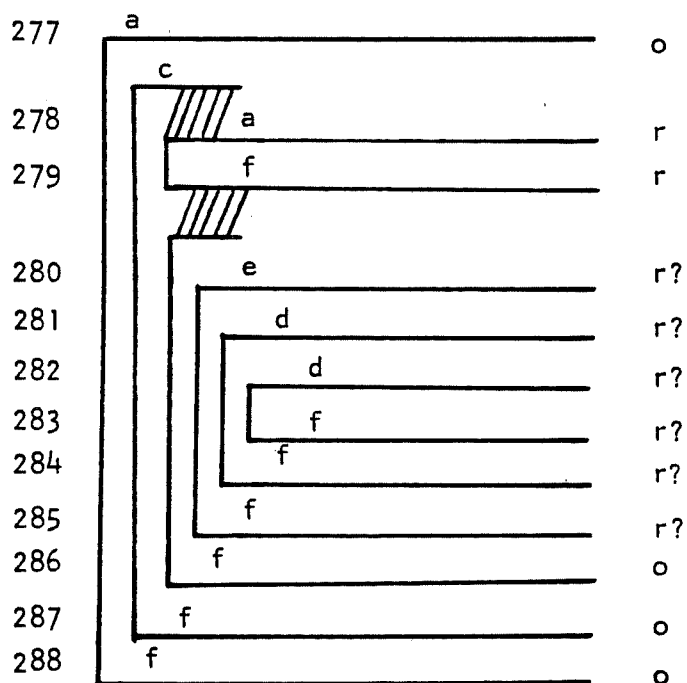
Gathering 23 (an insertion)



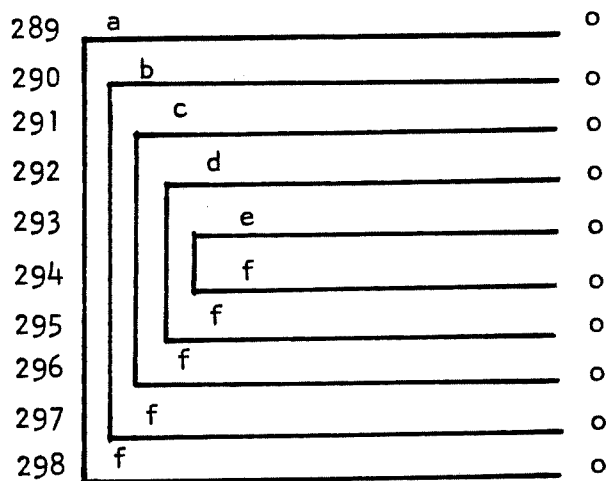
Gathering 24



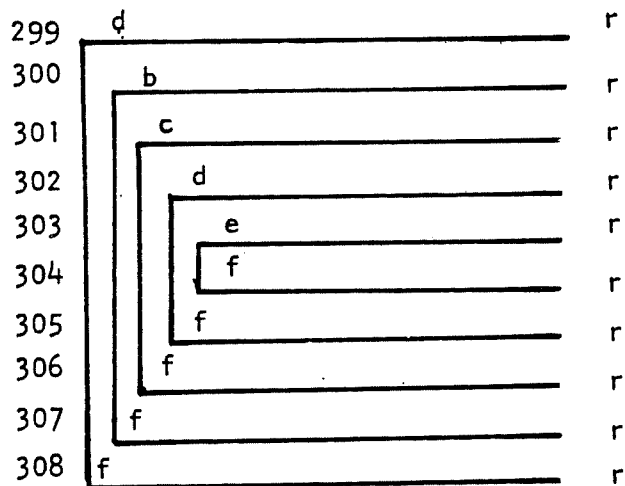
Gathering 25



Gathering 26

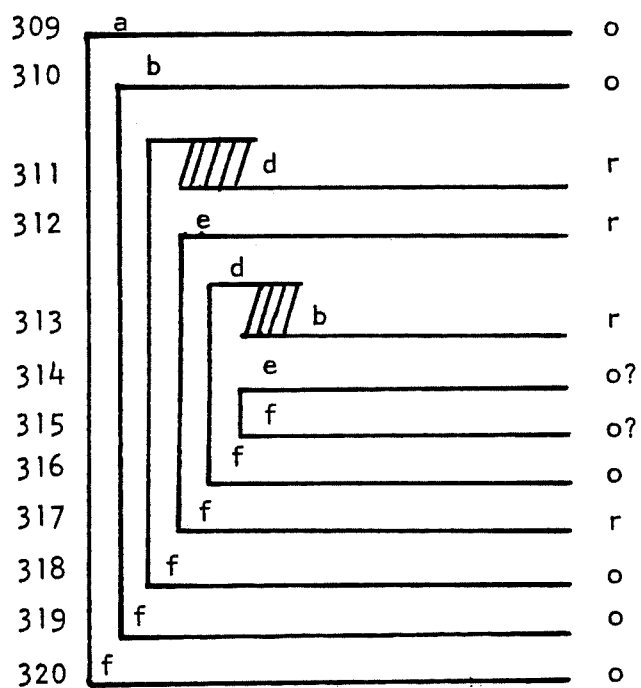


Gathering 27

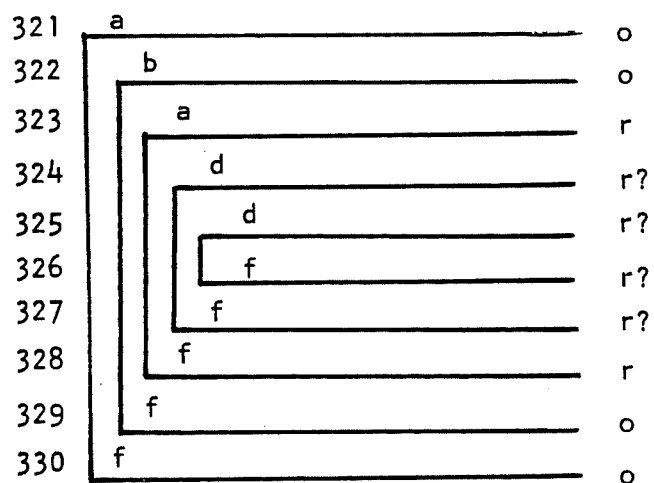


ACT THREE, PART TWO

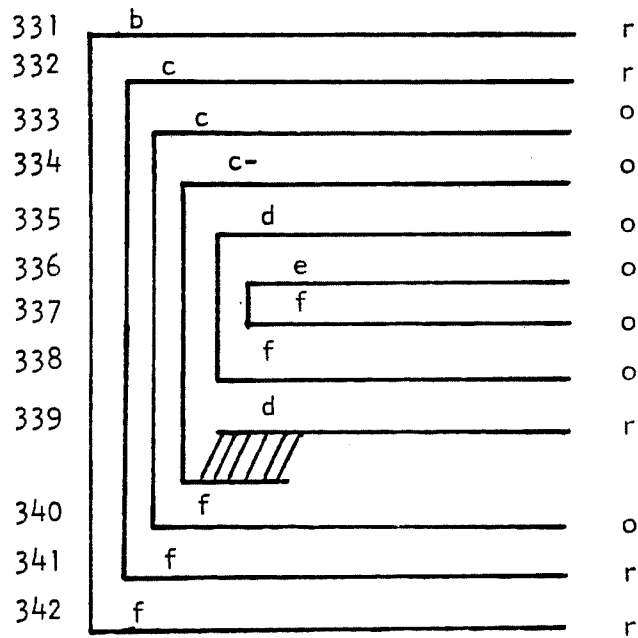
Gathering 28



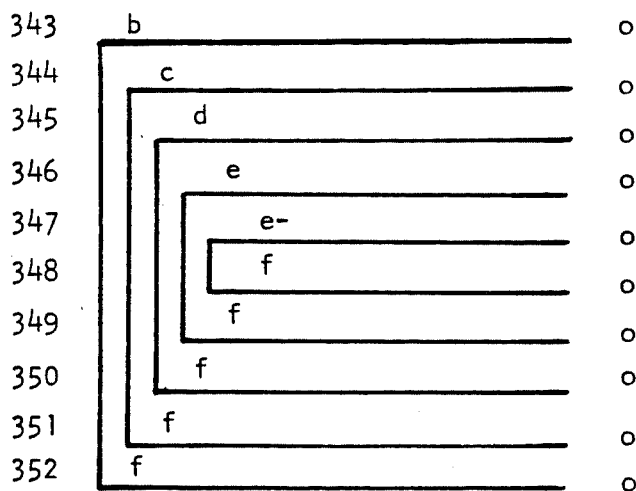
Gathering 29



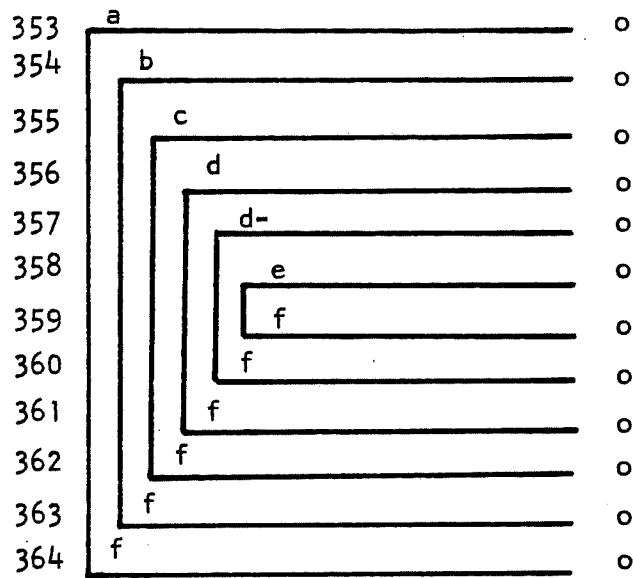
Gathering 30



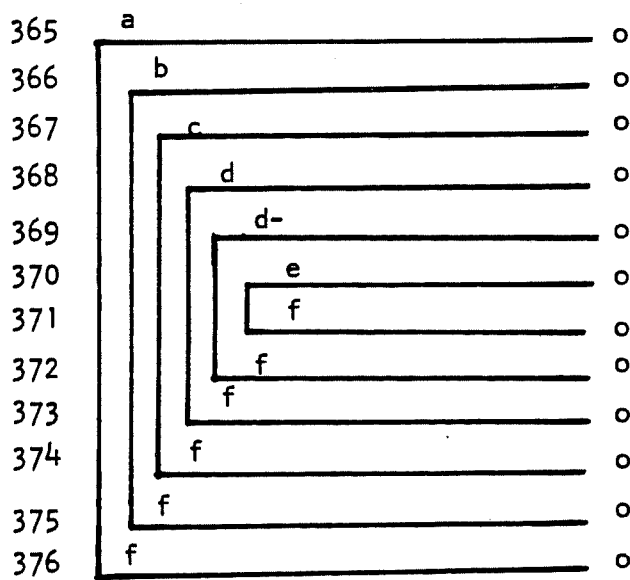
Gathering 31



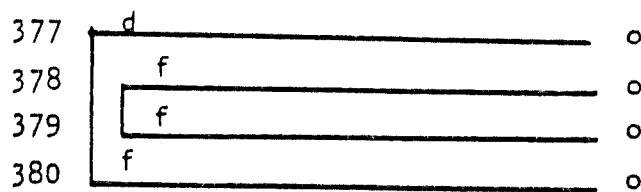
Gathering 32



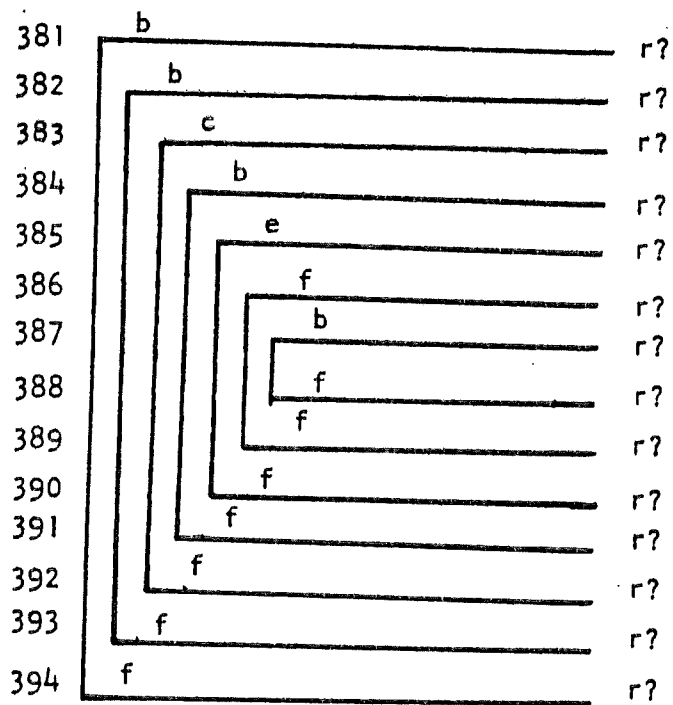
Gathering 33



Gathering 34



Gathering 35



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