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Notes on Verdi's *I due Foscari*

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Abstract: The preparation of the critical edition of Verdi's *I due Foscari* has drawn attention to two overlooked sources: an early scenario attributed to Andrea Maffei and an early manuscript copy with various layers of corrections. This article questions the scenario's attribution to Maffei, revising the opera's early history. It furthermore identifies one of the layers in the manuscript copy as being in Verdi's hand, showing that the composer's role in fine-tuning a libretto at this early stage in his career was greater than has so far been possible to show.

One of the great thrills of preparing a critical edition is the discovery of new or overlooked sources. Work on Giuseppe Verdi's early jewel *I due Foscari* has led me to two such documents, an anonymous scenario pre-dating Verdi's collaboration with Francesco Maria Piave, and a manuscript copy of the full score containing several layers of revisions. The former is preserved at the Archive of the Teatro La Fenice in Venice, the latter at the Naples Conservatory; both are also accessible in microfilm copy at the American Institute for Verdi Studies at New York University.[1] Although the two documents are very different, they shed new light on Verdi's dramatic preferences early in his career: the scenario on the stage of selecting a collaborator and subject matter, and the manuscript copy on the stage of fine-tuning the libretto.

On 6 June 1843, Verdi mailed to Venice the countersigned contract for a new opera to be performed at the Teatro La Fenice during the 1843–4 Carnival season.[2] In the accompanying letter, he asked for the names of the singers who would be at his disposal and proposed as potential subjects William Shakespeare's *King Lear* as well as Lord Byron's *The Corsair* and *The Bride of Abydos*; as potential librettists, he mentioned Salvadore Cammarano, Temistocle Solera and Domenico Bancalari,[3] adding the cryptic sentence: 'Perhaps also a poet of some distinction from Milan could give me this libretto' (Forse anche un poeta assai distinto di Milano potrebbe

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[1] The manuscript copy of the full score (Naples, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica 'S. Pietro a Majella', Fondo Verdi 245 [*olim* O^{A}-8-28]) is catalogued in OPAC SBN (the Online Public Access Catalogue of the Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale; http://opac.sbn.it/opacsbn/opac/iccu/avanzata.jsp); the scenario at www.archiviostoricolafenice.org/ArcFenice/ImageView.ashx?multimediaType=Archive&id=37337. These sources are also catalogued in Linda B. Fairtile, 'The Verdi Archive at New York University: a List of Verdi's Music', *Verdi Newsletter*, 7 (1979), 6 (for the scenario) and *Verdi Newsletter*, 17–18 (1989–90), 17 (for the MS score/D8/I-Nc.2).

[2] The contract, dated 28 May 1843, is published in Marcello Conati, *La bottega della musica: Verdi e La Fenice* (Milan, 1983), 51–2.

[3] Verdi claims to have contacted all three librettists, but only the letter to Bancalari appears to have survived. See Conati, *La bottega*, 54.

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darmi questo libretto).[4] This poet has consistently been thought to be Andrea Maffei.

In addition to the librettists on Verdi's mind, the secretary of the Teatro La Fenice, Guglielmo Brenna, suggested a novice as a potential librettist: Francesco Maria Piave. Piave promptly contacted Verdi, proposing an opera called *Cromwell*, but Verdi, who had not yet heard back from his first choices, declined.[5] He appears already to have settled on his 'poet of some distinction' because on 29 June, less than two weeks after he had declined Piave's offer, he mailed to Venice a scenario titled *Catterina Howard,* after the fifth wife of Henry VIII.[6] A few days later, Verdi added that this poet 'does not want to be known' (non vuole essere conosciuto).[7]

At the same time he introduced a new potential subject – *I due Foscari* – one he hoped would be of particular interest to the Venetians because of its setting in their city. Only five days later, he provided the scenario (presumably written by the same 'poet of some distinction'), now giving preference to this subject over the ones mentioned earlier and expressing his hope that it would be approved by the censors.[8] But by 26 July he learned that both *Catterina Howard* and *I due Foscari* had been rejected in Venice (the former because it was too atrocious, the latter because it would have reflected badly on the families who still shared the names of the opera's villains).[9] Verdi was disappointed, not only because he liked the subject but also because – he claimed – the libretto had already been commissioned and was basically written.[10]

With both *Catterina Howard* and *I due Foscari* rejected by the censors, Verdi agreed to return to Piave and his *Cromwell*. But when Mocenigo, the president of the Teatro La Fenice, heard a reading of the full libretto, he began to have doubts about its quality and informed Verdi that he found it of 'so little dramatic interest and so lacking in grand effects' (poco interesse teatrale e si povero di grandi effetti) that he suggested Piave start over on a new subject, possibly Victor Hugo's *Hernani* or Alexandre Dumas père's *La Tour de Nesle*.[11] Verdi shared Mocenigo's concerns about *Cromwell* and enthusiasm for *Hernani*;[12] *Cromwell* was dropped, and *Ernani* became Verdi's first opera for Venice. The première took place at the Teatro La Fenice on 9 March 1844.

[4] Verdi to Count Nani Mocenigo, 6 June 1843, in Conati, *La bottega*, 52–3.

[5] Piave's letter does not appear to survive, but Verdi's response, dated 16 June 1843, does. See Conati, *La bottega*, 56. Regarding the authorship of *Cromwell*, see Jean Berton, '*Waverley* pastiché! étude de *Allan Cameron* de J. Pagnon & A. Callet', *Études écossaises*, 6 (1999–2000), 159–71. Brenna recommended Piave in his letter of 9 June 1843 to Mocenigo. See Conati, *La bottega*, 54.

[6] Verdi to Mocenigo, 29 June 1843, in Conati, *La bottega*, 57.

[7] Verdi to Brenna, Milan, 4 July 1843. Brenna complained that Verdi would not reveal the name of the poet, presumably our 'poet of some distinction'. See Brenna to Cristoforo Pigazzi, the senior director and treasurer of the Teatro La Fenice, 1 July 1843, in Conati, *La bottega*, 58; and the introduction to Giuseppe Verdi, *Ernani*, edited by Claudio Gallico, in *The Works of Giuseppe Verdi*, I/5 (Chicago, 1985), xi (note 4).

[8] Verdi to Mocenigo, Milan, 9 July 1843, in Conati, *La bottega*, 59.

[9] Mocenigo to Verdi, Venice, 26 July 1843, in Conati, *La bottega*, 62–3.

[10] Verdi to Mocenigo, Senigallia, 26 July 1843, in Conati, *La bottega*, 61.

[11] Mocenigo to Verdi, 2 September 1843, in Conati, *La bottega*, 72.

[12] Verdi to Mocenigo, Milan, 5 September 1843, in Conati, *La bottega*, 74.

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When Verdi returned to *I due Foscari* in April 1844, now intended for the Roman Teatro Argentina, he had abandoned the idea of collaborating with his 'poet of some distinction' in favour of Piave. He did not, however, let the work on the Venice scenario go to waste, asking Piave to retrieve it and use as the basis for the needed revisions. What, then, is the content of this scenario and who is its author? The content has remained a mystery, presumably because the scenario has been considered lost; the current attribution to Andrea Maffei – Verdi's eventual collaborator on the scenario of *Attila* (first performed in 1846) and the librettos of *Macbeth* and *I masnadieri* (both first performed in 1847) – seemed to make good sense.[13]

Maffei is an obvious choice. Not only was he from Milan and a close friend of Verdi, he was also known for his translations of Lord Byron's plays, including *The Two Foscari*, the eventual source of Verdi's opera.[14] Although his first Byron translation, *Cain*, was not published until 1852 and that of *The Two Foscari* until 1862,[15] Maffei was, according to Marta Marri Tonelli, working on the translation of *Cain* at the time of the *Foscari* scenario.[16] Whether or not he had already embarked on this translation, he was surely familiar with Byron's work in general. Maffei also had reason to request anonymity: at the time, he held the librettist's profession in low esteem, warning his friend Jacopo Cabianca not to write the libretto for Nicola Vaccai's *Sposa di Messina* (1839). Cabianca disregarded Maffei's advice and, after the work had failed miserably,[17] received the following letter from Maffei:

For Heaven's sake, leave that dishonest task to the starving scribblers of the theater, and persuade yourself that the needs of composers and singers are the death of sensible opera … You ask me to forgive you, and I do so with plenary indulgence, but only under the inviolable condition that you never again commit such an ugly sin. Amen.[18]

[13] Scholars suggesting Maffei's authorship include Marta Marri Tonelli, *Andrea Maffei e il giovane Verdi* (Riva del Garda, 1999), 76; Marcello Conati, '"Bel dramma, bellissimo, arcibellissimo!…"', in *I due Foscari*, ed. Marisa Di Gregorio Casati (Parma, 2009), 118 ('ipotesi più sostenibile'); and Angelo Foletto, '"Poeta assai distinto"; librettista dilettante?', in *L'ottocento di Andrea Maffei*, ed. Barbara Cinelli, Marta Marri Tonelli and Fernando Mazzocca (Riva del Garda, 1987), 95. The exception is Julian Budden, who believes the author to be Felice Romani; see *The Operas of Verdi*, rev. edn, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1992), I, 140.

[14] Marta Marri Tonelli, 'Andrea Maffei', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, ed. Raffaele Romanelli (online version at www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/maffei_(Dizionario-Biografico), accessed 16 April 2012). The first translation of *The Two Foscari* appears in *Tragedie di Lord Byron; tradotte in prosa italiana da Carlo Rusconi*, 3 vols. (Padua, 1841). For a history of translating Byron into Italian, see Giovanni Iamartino, 'Translation, Biography, Opera, Film and Literary Criticism: Byron and Italy after 1870', in *The Reception of Byron in Europe*, ed. Richard Cardwell, 2 vols. (London, 2004), II, 98–128, esp. 100–2.

[15] *Cain* (Milan, 1852); see Richard A. Cardwell and Paul Barnaby, 'Timeline: European Reception of Byron', in *The Reception of Byron in Europe*, I, xxi–lv.

[16] Marri Tonelli, *Andrea Maffei*, 76.

[17] Tonelli, 76.

[18] 'Lascia per la carità quel ladro mestiere agli affamati schinca penne di teatro, e persuaditi che l'esigenza dei maestri e dei cantanti è la morte d'un ragionevole melodramma … Tu chiedi il mio perdono ed io te lo concedo con plenaria indulgenza ma sotto la inviolabile condizione di non ricadere mai più in quel brutto peccato. Amen.' Letter to Jacopo Cabianca, 4 April 1839, in Emilio Ventura, *Jacopo Cabianca: I suoi amici il suo tempo* (Treviso, 1907), 262–3. The translation is adapted from Roberta Montemorra Marvin, 'Andrea Maffei's "Ugly Sin": the Libretto for Verdi's *I masnadieri*', in *Historical Musicology: Sources, Methods, Interpretations*, ed. Stephen A. Crist and Roberta Montemorra Marvin (Rochester, NY, 2004), 283.

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The arguments for Maffei's authorship, convincing at first glance, lose much of their force once we take into consideration what the scenario actually says. Granted, the document may have been considered lost, but it is listed, albeit misleadingly, in the catalogues of both the American Institute for Verdi Studies (as a scenario in Piave's hand) and at the Archivio Storico of the Teatro La Fenice (as a libretto).[19] When Verdi asked Piave to retrieve it from the Teatro La Fenice, a copy must have been made by an unidentified scribe, and it is presumably this copy that is still preserved there (the entire scenario is transcribed in the Appendix below). This scenario turns out to have relatively little in common with the story of the eventual opera and is, unlike the opera, quite obviously not based on Byron's play.

The discrepancies begin with the *dramatis personae*. The libretto includes as the principal characters Francesco Foscari (Doge of Venice), his son Jacopo and Jacopo's wife Lucrezia, the latter, at an early stage of the compositional process still called, as in Byron's play, Marina. The scenario, however, has an additional character, the Doge's wife, with the historically accurate name Marina Nani.[20] Moreover, Marina Nani was at the time conceived as the principal female character, and her part was intended to be sung by one of the leading sopranos of the day, Sofia Löwe. In addition, the scenario covers much of the history leading up to the beginning of the eventual libretto, where it is confined to a prefatory note by Piave titled 'To the Reader' (A chi leggerà). Surely Maffei would not have departed from his idol Byron for the sake of sticking closer to history.

These discrepancies are substantial enough to suggest that another source may have provided the basis for the scenario. The likelihood that such a source existed is great, because the tale about Francesco Foscari's suffering over the vengeful and for the most part unjustified torture, incarceration and exile of his son enjoyed considerable popularity in the first half of the century. At least three dramas, all called *La famiglia Foscari*, were published around the time of Verdi's opera: the first, by Carlo Marenco, in 1835, the other two, by Giacinto Battaglia and Giuseppe Vollo, in 1844.[21] The latter two would have been published a little too late to have influenced the Venice scenario; Marenco's play, however, was published eight years prior to the scenario and would have been successful enough to inspire a poet of some distinction.

As it turns out, the scenario is indeed based on Marenco's *La famigila Foscari*: it follows the play's plot to the extent practical in an opera,[22] includes the same

[19] I am grateful to Linda Fairtile, who sent me a copy of the scenario held at the American Institute for Verdi Studies; this copy has turned out to be identical to the one held in Venice.

[20] P. Daru, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia … traduzione dal Francese con note ed osservazioni*, 11 vols. (Capolago, 1832–3), III, 303.

[21] Carlo Marenco, *La famiglia Foscari*, *Tragedia di Carlo Marenco da Ceva*, Biblioteca teatrale economica, ossia raccolta delle migliori tragedie, commedie e drammi, tanto originali quanto tradotti, I/28 (Turin, 1835), available in searchable PDF at www.archive.org/details/lafamigliafoscar00mare; Giacinto Battaglia, *La famiglia Foscari: Dramma storico in cinque atti* (Milan, 1844); and Giuseppe Vollo, *La famiglia Foscari: Dramma* (Venice, 1844).

[22] An operatic adaptation naturally required adjustments beyond the inevitable cuts: some material was given to other characters (for instance, the song performed backstage by 'La voce' and

footnote continued on next page

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Table 1: The characters of the Venice scenario and of Marenco's play

Venice scenario	Marenco's play
Francesco Foscari, Doge di Venezia	Francesco Foscari, Doge di Venezia
Marina Nani, Dogaressa	Marina Nani, Dogaressa
Jacopo Foscari, loro figlio	Jacopo Foscari, loro figlio
Alvisena Contarini, Moglie di Jacopo	Alvisena Contarini, moglie di Jacopo
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Ippolita }
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Fanciulli, figli di Jacopo
	Angelo }
Loredano }	Loredano }
Donato } Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci	Donato } Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci
Barbarigo }	Barbarigo }
Uno scudiero del Doge	Uno Scudiero del Doge
Gli altri sette membri del Consiglio	Gli Altri Sette Membri del Consiglio dei Dieci
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Un Aggiunto del Consiglio dei Dieci
Aggiunti del Consiglio de' Dieci	Aggiunti del Consiglio dei Dieci
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Un Consigliere del Doge
Gli altri cinque Consiglieri del Doge	Gli Altri Cinque Consiglieri del Doge
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Luigi Bocchetta, famiglio del Doge
Il Capitan Grande	Il Capitan Grande
Un ministro de' Dieci	Un ministro dei Dieci
Usciere	Alcuni Uscieri
Guardie	Guardie
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Marco, cittadino di Venezia
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Due Cittadini
Cittadini	Cittadini
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Un Servo di Loredano
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Il Banditore del Consiglio dei Dieci
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Un Nunzio
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Leopoldo, piccol fanciullo, figlio di Jacopo
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -	I Tre Capi della Quarnatìa Criminale.
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Un Servo di Francesco Foscari
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -	Un Ministro dei Dieci
Gondolieri	- - - - - - - - - - - - - -
La Scena è in Venezia	La Scena è in Venezia

characters except for some very minor ones, and lifts text directly from the play. The scenario follows Marenco's play by including the Doge's wife (Marina Nani) and naming Jacopo's wife Alvisena Contarini. Furthermore, many of the minor characters are listed under virtually identical names or roles, from Donato all the way down to the 'Cittadini'. Only the 'Gondolieri' were added (see Table 1).

In the scenario, quotations from the body of the play, often verbatim, are abundant. A phrase on fol. 2*r* of the scenario, for instance, is concocted from three verses in Act I scene 5 of Marenco's play and includes the rather unusual phrase 'perché non abbia ad arrossire del trionfo di un esule chi siedeva alla custodia delle patrie leggi' (so that one would not have to be ashamed of the triumph of an exile who had been a guardian of the homeland's laws). Most of the remaining examples pertain to stage directions, which were lifted from the play with only minor changes. In fact, the similarities are so numerous that one is led to wonder whether

heard as regular interruptions of the conversation between Marina and Alvisena (Act III scene 1 of the play) is sung – with different words – by Jacopo as he arrives in Venice (Act I scene 5 of the scenario)), whereas other material is simply transposed (Loredano's monologue at the beginning of Act II of the play appears early in Act I of the scenario, functioning as his cavatina).

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Table 2: Instances of quotation from Marenco's play

Venice Scenario	Marenco's Play
[fol. 2*r*] Donato uno dei capi dei dieci venne a farvelo avvertito, e lo ha consigliato di ricevere suo figlio senza la minima festa, ma più secretamente che gli era possibile perchè non abbia ad arrossire del trionfo di un esule chi siedeva alla custodia delle patrie leggi.	[p. 62] Donato … che ad arrossir non abbia Del trionfo d'un esule chi siede Alla custodia dalle patrie leggi.
[fol. 2*v*] Sala del consiglio de' dieci con trono coperto da un baldacchino dorato, e appiè del trono un ricco florito sul pavimento.	[p. 99] Sala del consiglio dei Dieci con trono coperto da un baldacchino dorato, e appiè del trono un ricco strato sul pavimento
[fol. 2*v*] Giungono Barbarigo[,] Donato[,] gli altri sette decemviri, e gli altri dicianove aggiunti – finalmente il Doge – Siedonsi tutti.	[p. 104] Il Doge, Loredano, Barbarigo, Donato, gli altri sette Decemviri, e gli altri diciannove Aggiunti, tutti seduti.
[fol. 3*r*] Il Doge sfinito per la lunga forza che ha fatto a se' stesso è mutato di aspetto – negli atti suoi si veggono i segni di una vita che gli anni e le afflizioni hanno condotto vicino al suo termine.	[p. 143] Nelle sembianze notabilmente mutate del Doge, nella voce, e negli atti si veggono i segni d'una vita, che gli anni, e le afflizioni hanno condotta vicino al suo termine.
[fol. 3*v*] La famiglia Foscari si stringe tutta intorno al cadavere. Il popolo accorre, e lascia vuoto uno spazio, nel quale si vede Loredano, che rivolto anch'egli verso il cadavere di Foscari dice con maligna compiacenza: ha pagato.	[p. 164] La famiglia Foscari si stringe tutta intorno al cadavere. Il popolo accorre a quella parte, e lascia vuoto uno spazio, nel quale si vede Loredano, e che rivolto anch'egli al luogo dove giace Foscari, dice con maligna compiacenza. Loredano Ha pagato!

Marenco concocted the scenario himself. Table 2 shows some of its most prominent quotations from his play.

Born in Ceva (between Turin and Savona) in 1800 and active in that area until his death in 1846,[23] Marenco made a name for himself as the author of numerous tragedies. The most popular of these, *Pia de' Tolomei* (1837), became one of Adelaide Ristori's warhorses, but *La famiglia Foscari* was, as already mentioned, also well received.[24] With the play already written, Marenco would have been able to provide the scenario on short notice, and with no experience in opera and the reputation of a respected playwright to protect, he would have had reason to request anonymity. But unlike Verdi's prospective librettist, Marenco was not from Milan and no evidence has yet come to light suggesting that Verdi (or Maffei, for that matter) even knew of Marenco. It is therefore highly unlikely that Marenco would have written the scenario.

Whatever the identity of our 'poet of some distinction', his haste is evident not only in the frequent direct copying but also in the lack of care he took in putting the scenario together. For instance, both the scenario and the play feature 'Gli altri cinque consiglieri del Doge' (the other five counsellors of the Doge), but

[23] The principal studies on Marenco are: Eufemia Marchis Magliano, *Carlo Marenco (1800–1846)* (Mondovì, 2006); Eutilia Orlandi, *Il teatro di Carlo Marenco* (Florence, 1900); Antonio Carrannante, 'Carlo Marenco', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (online version at www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/carlo-marenco_(Dizionario-Biografico), accessed 16 April 2012); and Max Simhart, *Lord Byrons Einfluss auf die italienische Literatur*, Münchner Beiträge zur romanischen und englischen Philologie 45 (Leipzig, 1909), 68–71.

[24] Marchis Magliano, *Carlo Marenco*, 31 and 54.

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only the play also includes the first counsellor, the part responsible for the qualification 'altri' in the reference to the other five members (see Table 1). A similar problem occurs in the scenario proper, where the author refers without further explanation to the 'three heads of the Forty', a group identified only in the introduction to the play.[25]

The poet must have been at least somewhat familiar with operatic structure, because following the *dramatis personae*, he listed all the musical numbers meant to correspond with the subsequent prose outline (see the Appendix); the first three (the Coro[26] and the cavatinas for Miral and Löwe) are repeated as cues in the body of the prose outline, but the remaining numbers are not. The scenario nevertheless betrays the poet's lack of operatic experience, which may ultimately have led Verdi to reject the scenario: Alvisena Contarini, the female romantic lead, is without an aria; solo and small-ensemble numbers often leave characters on stage as inactive bystanders;[27] and the dramaturgy includes redundancies.[28] The most serious flaw, however, is the broad historical sweep: in trying to cover as much of Jacopo's story as possible, the scenario became too episodic, with the Doge emerging as only a marginal figure.

If neither Maffei nor Marenco was the poet, who was? To try to answer this question, I searched GoogleBooks for some of the scenario's less-common phrases and narrowed the results to three authors who qualify as being 'of some distinction' and as being 'from Milan'. The first, Giuseppe Rovani, was born in Milan in 1818 and died there in 1874. He is the author of the historical novel *Lamberto Malatesta* (1843) and from 1847 onward wrote reviews for *L'Italia musicale*, the weekly journal issued by Ricordi's rival Francesco Lucca. In the 1860s he belonged to the so-called *scapigliati*, a loose group of artists more concerned with tearing down tradition (which by then included Verdi) than with offering a viable new programme.[29] Although it is possible that Rovani, after having collaborated with Verdi, might have worked for a competing publisher and soiled Verdi's reputation, it is unlikely that he would have done so without leaving any trace of the collaboration.

A second possibility is Massimo D'Azeglio, a patriot, painter and writer who, although born in Turin, settled in Milan in 1831, married Alessandro Manzoni's oldest daughter, Giulia, and wrote two well-received historical novels, *Ettore Fieramosca* (1833) and *Nicolò dei Lapi* (1841).[30] Verdi surely knew D'Azeglio, whether through the Maffeis, D'Azeglio's writings (which reflected Verdi's political views),

[25] Part II scene 2 of the scenario; p. 37 of the play (introduction).
[26] In the scenario proper, the author wrote 'Introduzione', not 'Coro'.
[27] At the beginning of Act II Part 2, for instance, the duet for two basses (presumably Loredano and the Doge) leaves Donato, Barbarigo, the six counsellors of the Doge, and the three heads of the Forty on stage without any apparent purpose.
[28] Scenes 8 and 9 of Act I, for instance, could easily be combined into one scene.
[29] Giulio Ferroni, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. III, *Dall'Ottocento al Novecento* (Milan, 1991), 290 and 375–6.
[30] Marziano Brignoli, *Massimo D'Azeglio: Una biografia politica* (Milan, 1988), 66–7, 71.

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or both. In 1848, upon Cammarano's suggestion, Verdi even briefly considered *Ettore Fieramosca* as an operatic subject.[31]

Other factors also point to D'Azeglio as a possible author of the Venice scenario. As a native of Turin, he was likely to have been familiar with Marenco's work, and as an author of historical novels, he would have merited the designation 'poet of some distinction' more readily than Maffei, who was known primarily for his translations and had not yet published any original work of significance.[32] And also like Maffei, D'Azeglio had reason to keep his authorship a secret: one year after his wife's premature death in 1834, D'Azeglio remarried, but this second marriage deteriorated quickly; his new wife, Luisa, ever suspicious of her husband's less lucrative professional activities, would not have condoned his working on a libretto.[33] Yet, D'Azeglio does not appear to have been the author either. Although some sources mention him as a founding member of Clarina Maffei's salon, his acquaintance with the Maffeis is not documented prior to 1843, the year of the Venice scenario.[34] It is thus unlikely that Verdi would have known D'Azeglio or that he would have known him well enough to work with him on a libretto in secret. Moreover, D'Azeglio was in Turin from 4 July until at least 12 July, that is, exactly during the days when the scenario must have been written.[35]

The most likely author is Giulio Carcano, a native of Milan and early guest in the Maffei salon. Carcano and Verdi probably met in 1842, the year Verdi – according to his own recollection – was introduced to Clarina Maffei.[36] In her salon, the two men discovered their common passion for Shakespeare and quickly became close friends; they would have had ample opportunity to conceive scenarios, and Carcano would have known Verdi well enough to trust him with the protection of his anonymity. As an apprentice in the administration of the Lombard government and as a writer whose first published poem was censored by the Austrians, Carcano would have had good reason for not having his name revealed.[37] In addition,

[31] Verdi to Cammarano, 23 November 1848, *Carteggio Verdi-Cammarano, 1843–1852*, ed. Carlo Matteo Mossa (Parma, 2001), 84. In March of 1860, Verdi asked D'Azeglio, then governor of Milan, to help out Piave, who had just fled from Venice. See Mary Jane Phillips-Matz, *Verdi: a Biography* (Oxford, 1993), 418.

[32] Maffei was at the time known primarily for his translations of Thomas Moore and Friedrich Schiller.

[33] See Massimo D'Azeglio, *Epistolario (1819–1866)*, ed. Georges Virlogeux, 7 vols. (Turin, 1989), II, 172.

[34] For D'Azeglio's political views and membership in the Maffei salon, see David R. B. Kimbell, *Verdi in the Age of Italian Romanticism* (Cambridge, 1981), 6–7 and 21; Phillips-Matz, *Verdi*, 133; and Marri Tonelli, *Andrea Maffei*, 54. The term 'member' is used loosely, both here and below, due to the informal nature of nineteenth-century salon culture.

[35] On 5 July, D'Azeglio wrote from Turin to his wife, updating her on the trip there from Milan; on 12 July, he was still in Turin. See D'Azeglio, *Epistolario*, 168–72.

[36] Verdi to Raffaello Barbiera, 25 June 1872, in Raffaello Barbiera, *Salotto della Contessa Maffei*, 7th edn (Milan, 1903), 358–9.

[37] Biographical information on Carcano is scarce. The information here is based on Benedetto Prina, *Giulio Carcano* (Florence, 1884), 11; and the entry on Carcano by Renzo Negri in the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*. For references to the pressures of censorship, see Carcano's letters of 6 August 1842 (to Cesare Correnti) and of 11 December 1844 (to Pietro Balzari); in the former, Carcano refers to the 'rigorosa e fratesca … censura' (rigorous and monkish … censorship), in the latter to the 'ugne della censura' (claws of censorship). See *Opere complete di Giulio Carcano pubblicate per cura della famiglia dell'autore*, vol. X, *Epistolario (II edizione) coll'aggiunta di lettere inedite* (Milan, 1896), 63 and 69.

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Carcano, like Manzoni, Maffei and D'Azeglio, was of noble descent and might well have avoided public association with the lowly métier of a librettist.[38] Moreover, like D'Azeglio, he would have merited the designation 'poet of some distinction' more than Maffei: by the time of the scenario, Carcano had already published his novel *Angiola Maria* (1839), a work that earned him notoriety even outside Italy.[39] And finally, unlike Maffei, Carcano seems to have known of Marenco and his work; in 1858 he briefly considered writing a *Buondelmonte* 'even though there is already one by Marenco' (quantunque ce ne sia già uno del Marenco).[40]

Seven years after the Venice scenario, Carcano suggested a collaboration on an *Amleto* to Verdi, but the composer answered evasively, calling the project too time-consuming and difficult.[41] It is entirely possible, however, that, after the experience with the problematic scenario for *I due Foscari*, Verdi realised Carcano's limitations in the operatic genre. When Carcano eventually did write a libretto, it was for Verdi's student, Emanuele Muzio.[42]

The rediscovered scenario sheds new light on the history of Verdi's *I due Foscari*. It is now clear that Byron's play was not the inspiration; in fact, Marenco's play probably was not either. It is much more likely that Verdi was, as Marta Marri Tonelli has suggested, inspired by the painter Francesco Hayez, rather than the poet Byron:[43] Hayez, an artist closely associated with Verdi and the Maffei salon, had recently completed two greatly admired paintings on the subject, which show striking similarities with some of the stage directions found in the eventual libretto.[44] After Verdi's interest was piqued, the first literary source at hand appears to have been Marenco's play; only when Verdi resumed work on *I due Foscari* in April 1844 did he urge Piave to 'stick close to Byron' (ma sta attaccato a Byron).[45] Finally, if Carcano did indeed provide the original scenario of *I due Foscari* (and, we might add, of *Catterina Howard*), we must add him to the ranks of Verdi's collaborators.

[38] Carcano's nobility is confirmed by Prina, *Giulio Carcano*, 4. For Maffei's original view on the job of a librettist, see note 18, above. I am grateful to Anselm Gerhard for having drawn my attention to the implications of Carcano's nobility.

[39] Negri, 'Carcano'.

[40] Letter of 12 March 1858 to Cesare Correnti, in Carcano, *Epistolario*, 239. The scribe of the scenario cannot be securely identified, but the handwriting might just be Carcano's. A sample of Carcano's handwriting (albeit dating from ten years later) appears in Marri Tonelli, *Andrea Maffei*, 54.

[41] Verdi to Carcano, 17 June 1850, in Carcano, *Epistolario*, 488.

[42] *La Claudia* (1853).

[43] The paintings in question are *L'ultimo abboccamento di Jacopo Foscari con la propria famiglia prima di partire per l'esilio cui era stato condannato*, commissioned in 1838 by the Austrian emperor Ferdinand I, exhibited in 1840 at the Brera in Milan, and then sent to Vienna; and *Il Doge Francesco Foscari destituito con decreto del Senato Veneto; o sia l'ultimo tratto della vendetta dell'inquisitore Loredano contro quel principe della Veneta Repubblica*, commissioned in 1842 by the Marchese Filippo Ala Ponzoni, completed in 1844, and preserved at the Brera in Milan. Marri Tonelli, *Andrea Maffei*, 78 and 80–2; and Mazzocca, 'Pittura di storia e melodramma', 79–80 (the reproduction appears on pp. 88–9). See also *Hayez*, ed. Maria Cristina Guzzoli and Fernando Mazzocca (Milan, 1983), 187–92.

[44] Marri Tonelli, *Andrea Maffei*, 80–2.

[45] Verdi to Piave (postmarked 18 April 1844). The original letter is preserved at the Beinecke Library's Frederick R. Koch Collection (call number Gen Mss 601), in box 58, folder 1311; a photocopy is available at the Istituto Nazionale di Studi Verdiani in Parma.

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We have known that he came close, with an *Amleto* in 1850 and – to celebrate the end of the war of independence – a *Canto per Napoleone* in 1859,[46] but it now appears that Carcano and Verdi were not only close friends but also collaborators on at least one, albeit unsuccessful project.

*

The existence of our second source, the manuscript copy of the full score, has been known for some time, as it has been catalogued by both the Naples Conservatory and the American Institute for Verdi Studies.[47] Nobody has noticed, however, that one of the layers of revisions is in Verdi's hand. We know of only one other manuscript copy of a Verdi opera that includes the composer's markings: a copy of the 1847 version of *Macbeth*, preserved at the Conservatory Luigi Cherubini in Florence and described in David Lawton's critical edition.[48] The composer's corrections in this copy, about fifteen in number, all appear in Act I and largely pertain to performing instructions. Those in our Naples manuscript (henceforth I-Nc^2)[49] of *I due Foscari*, by contrast, are more numerous and fall into two categories. The first pertains to corrections also made in the autograph score, the second to revisions of the libretto's language.

The first category of changes is exemplified by a correction Verdi made in the *scena* of No. 6 (Scena e Romanza Doge), where he originally had omitted a verse ('Dove de' Dieci non penetra l'occhio?…'). Once he noticed the oversight, he divided the first of the two bars into three and the second into two, accommodated the omitted verse, and eventually recopied the entire passage on the staff above. This correction appears in virtually the same way in both the autograph (fol. 64*v*) and in I-Nc^2 (Act I, fol. 114*v*; Fig. 1). The second category is of particular significance because it solves editorial problems that cannot be solved on the basis of the autograph score alone and because it sheds light on Verdi's stylistic views on the mid-nineteenth-century libretto.

When Verdi arrived in Rome, one month before the première, to rehearse the singers and supervise the production, he had yet to complete the orchestration and, presumably, compose the prelude.[50] Once a number was orchestrated, Ricordi

[46] Phillips-Matz, *Verdi*, 393; *I copialettere di Giuseppe Verdi*, ed. Gaetano Cesari and Alessandro Luzio (Milan, 1913; rpt., Bologna, 1987), 482–3.

[47] See note 1.

[48] *Macbeth: Melodramma in Four Acts, Libretto by Francesco Maria Piave and Andrea Maffei*, ed. David Lawton, in *The Works of Giuseppe Verdi* I/10 (Chicago, 2005), 14–16 of the Critical Commentary. Some of Verdi's markings correct errors committed by the scribes, others supersede the autograph score; the only correction of actual notes is a correction of an error committed by the scribe.

[49] The Naples Conservatory holds two additional complete manuscript copies of *I due Foscari*: Fondo Verdi 244 (*olim* O^A-8-27) and Fondo Verdi 245, 32.5.27–28. In the critical edition, these will be abbreviated as I-Nc^1 and I-Nc^3, respectively.

[50] For a full description of the compositional process, see Philip Gossett, 'Der kompositorische Prozess: Verdis Opernskizzen', in *Giuseppe Verdi und seine Zeit*, ed. Markus Engelhardt, Grosse Komponisten und ihre Zeit (Laaber, 2001), 169–90; and *idem*, *Divas and Scholars: Performing Italian Opera* (Chicago, 2006), especially Part I: Knowing the Score.

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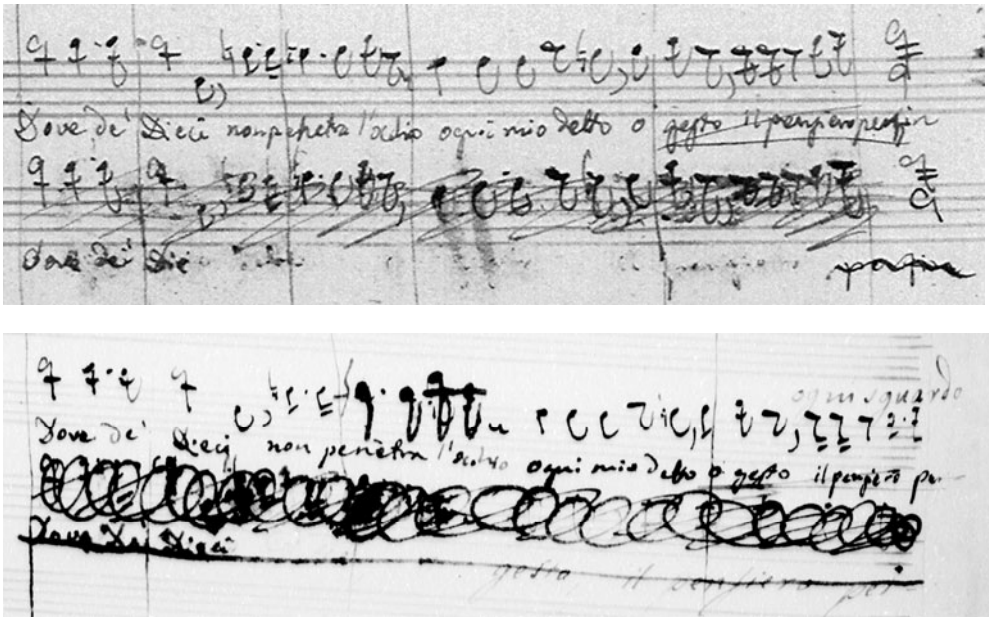


Fig. 1: A correction in Verdi's hand in both the autograph (top) and I-Nc^2 (bottom)

scribes prepared the parts and a copy of the full score. Verdi continued to revise, making changes helpful to the performers, appropriate to the acoustics of the theatre, or imposed on him by the censors. And since not all these changes made their way into the autograph score, it does not in all instances reflect the composer's final wish.[51]

Most of these last-minute changes made their way into the libretto printed for the première, however, and some, including all those imposed by the censor, were transferred to the autograph by a Ricordi scribe. Nevertheless, an editor seeing only the printed libretto and the autograph score would naturally question the authority of the changes: do they improve the drama and can they in some way be traced to the composer? In doubtful cases the Verdi edition has tended to opt in favour of the autograph score. It is clear, however, that Verdi's corrections in I-Nc^2 constitute the last layer of revisions before the première; if they turn out to be dramatic improvements (as opposed to censorial concessions), they may have to *override* the authority of the autograph score.

I-Nc^2 was, as the label at the beginning of each act indicates, prepared under Ricordi's auspices. In fact, I-Nc^2 appears to have been the very first copy prepared, because many of the corrections were included in subsequent Ricordi copies. Once the first copy was made, Verdi must have been given a chance to review it. He checked both text and music, made corrections where necessary, and must have

[51] Later in his career, when Verdi was more likely to supervise the publication of his music, it is generally accepted that the autograph score may not provide the ultimate authority. See James A. Hepokoski, 'Overriding the Autograph Score: the Problem of Textual Authority in Verdi's *Falstaff*', *Studi verdiani*, 8 (1992), 13–51; and Gossett, *Divas and Scholars*, 102.

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Ex. 1: Version of the Doge's phrase as it is printed in the published Ricordi scores

expected that these corrections be adopted in performance and future copies. Indeed, on fol. 80*v* of Act I, a Ricordi scribe confirmed: 'Spartito vecchio serve per prendere / le parole allo spartito nuovo' (The old score serves to take the words for the new score).

The most interesting example occurs in the Act II finale, a long number consisting of a chorus, a recitative and a concertato. In the recitative, the Doge wonders whether the Council of Ten wants to increase the torment of the father, that is, himself, by asking him to assist in the sentencing of his mostly innocent son, or whether the Council wants to increase the torment of his son, Jacopo, by humiliating him with his father's presence. The Doge expresses his grief in a short but beautiful aside on the text 'Dona, o ciel, a me costanza' (Give me, o heaven, constancy) (Ex. 1). This is the version Verdi originally wrote down in his autograph score. But he subsequently altered the melodic line, presumably to improve the prosody (the accent on the third beat of the second bar is no longer on the weak syllable 'a' but on the stronger syllable 'me'), to build to a melodic climax on 'costanza', and to avoid the dissonance in the second half of the third bar between the d' of the Doge and the c' of the first violin (Ex. 2).

This revision, however, still does not give us the final text, a text that appears only in I-Nc[2], where Verdi changed 'Dona, o ciel, a me costanza' to 'Ciel ispira a me costanza!' (Heaven, inspire in me constancy). The revised text – loftier and

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Ex. 2: Version of the Doge's phrase as corrected in the autograph

syntactically more straightforward – was included in the printed libretto, but neither the musical nor the textual revision appears in any commercially available Ricordi score. With the critical edition, both of them will be given their rightful place as the principal text.

In addition to helping us solve editorial problems, I-Nc[2] sheds light on Verdi's role in the stylistic development of the Italian opera libretto. In the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century, Italian librettos – in tandem with much of Italian poetry – were often written in a rather archaic style. More than their northern counterparts, Italian poets resisted abandoning the artificiality of classical verse, and those who did not have the skills of a Felice Romani or Salvadore Cammarano regularly resorted to convoluted syntax not in tune with Romantic ideals. Furthermore, these stylistic features only aggravated the problems of a language, Tuscan, that, even though it served as the national language, was still spoken by fewer than 10 per cent of Italians.[52] The poet Cesare Cantù rather sarcastically recalled his training in the 1820s as follows:

> Poetry … is the language of the gods, and the further you can distance yourself from the speech of the vulgar mob, the better. First of all there is the choice of words: you will not say … *affligge* [it afflicts] but *ange* [it anguishes], not *cava* [it draws out] but *elice* [it elicits],

[52] David Kimbell, *Italian Opera* (Cambridge, 1991), 401–2, 415.

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not *innalza* [it lifts] but *estolle* [it extols], not *è lecito* [it is lawful] but *lice* [an *old-fashioned* version for 'it is lawful'], not *spada* [sword] but *brando* [brand], not *patria* [homeland] but *terra natia* [native soil], not *la morte* [death] but *fato* [expiry], not *la poesia* [poetry] but *musa* [muse] … And, my boy, you must abhor base ideas that recall things too everyday. For proper names, substitute an elegant circumlocution; you will not say *amore* [love] but *bendato arciero* [blindfolded archer]; not *vino* [wine] but *liquor di Bacco* [liquor of Bacchus], not *leone* [lion], *aquila* [eagle], but *regina de' volanti* [queen of flight], and *biondo imperator della foresta* [blond emperor of the woods]…[53]

Angelo Fabrizi has shown that the language of librettos is in part drawn from famous poets such as Alessandro Manzoni, Giacomo Leopardi and especially Vittorio Alfieri, and that its vocabulary includes a common stock of literary and, to our ears, archaic words and phrases not unlike those listed by Cantù.[54] This style was superseded only with *verismo*, but an early attempt to break with formula can already be witnessed in Verdi's earliest librettos.[55]

When Lucrezia comes to inform the Doge that Jacopo – his son and her husband – has died of grief and exhaustion, she launches into a cabaletta that originally began with the text 'Egli è spento … l'innocente / s'involava a' suoi tiranni', literally 'He is extinguished … innocent, / he flew away from his tyrants'. Verdi corrected this text in I-Nc^{2}, not in the autograph score, to 'Più non vive [He no longer lives]' but did so only in the first statement of the cabaletta; another hand later added the correction in the repeat.[56] The archaic nature of 'Egli è spento' must have struck Verdi with particular force when he realised that Donizetti had

[53] Bruno Migliorini, *Storia della lingua italiana*, 6th edn (Florence, 1983), 601; translation adapted from Kimbell, *Italian Opera*, 416. 'Poesia … è favella degli iddii, e tanto miglior è, quanto più dai parlari del profano vulgo si sprolunga. E prima alle parole, tu non dirai … *affligge, cava, innalza, è lecito, spada, patria, la morte, la poesia*; ma … *ange, elice, estolle, lice, brando, terra natia, fato, musa*; … Ai nomi proprj sostituisci una bella circonlocuzione; non dirai *amore* ma il *bendato arciero*; non il *vino* ma *liquor di Bacco*; non il *leone*, l'*aquila*, ma la *regina de' volanti*, il *biondo imperator della foresta* …' The *Dizionario Garzanti della lingua italiana*, 7th edn (Milan, 1969) agrees with Cantù on the characterisation of these words, marking them as either 'antico' (for old words), 'poetico' (for poetic meaning), 'letterario' (for literary use) or 'per estens[ione]' (in a wider sense): adducere (ant.; poet.); angere (poet.); elicere (poet.); estollere (lett.); licere (poet.); brando (lett.); musa (per estens.); fato (per estens.). One of the most widely used dictionaries of the time, John Millhouse's *Nuovo dizionario inglese-italiano ed italiano-inglese*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1853), is less reliable in characterising these words because it either does not list the words as poetic, does not provide the poetic meaning or does not list the word at all ('angere' is the only word listed as 'poetic'). See also Piero Weiss, '"Sacred Bronzes": Paralipomena to an Essay by Dallapiccola', *19th-Century Music*, 9/1 (1985), 42 and 44.

[54] John Black, *The Italian Romantic Libretto: a Study of Salvadore Cammarano* (Edinburgh, 1984), 246–9; and Angelo Fabrizi, 'Riflessi del linguaggio tragico alfieriano nei libretti d'opera ottocenteschi', *Studi e problemi di critica testuale*, 12 (1976), 137.

[55] See Andreas Giger, 'Verismo: Origin, Corruption, and Redemption of an Operatic Term', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 60/2 (2007), 271–315.

[56] The 1969 *Garzanti* (p. 1697) lists the sense of 'spegnere' here (i.e., 'uccidere') not as 'literary' but as 'figurative'; the dictionary does, however, refer to the word's use in Leopardi's *All'Italia*. The online *Garzanti* (http://garzantilinguistica.it; accessed 31 July 2011) also lists this meaning of the word as 'literary'. For some reason, Ricordi adopted the new reading only for the first statement, leading Julian Budden (*The Operas of Verdi*, I, 196) to conclude that 'at the repeat … the words are slightly varied, "Più non vive" becoming "egli è spento"'. Surely this 'variation' is an oversight, and Verdi's change was meant to apply to both statements of the cabaletta.

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Fig. 2: Verdi's autograph correction in No. 14 (I-Nc^2, Act III, fol. 60*r–v*)

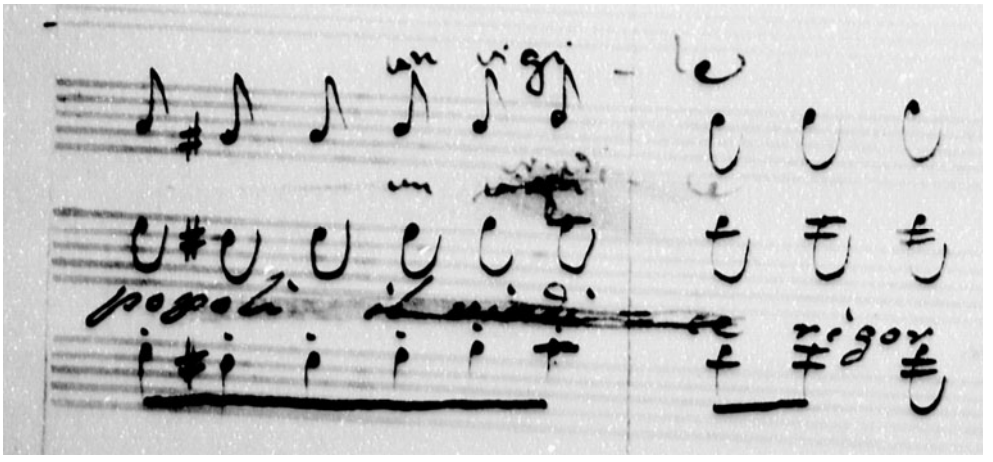


Fig. 3: Verdi's autograph correction in No. 11 (I-Nc^2, Act II, fol. 118*v*)

already used this phrase in his *Belisario*. Moreover, *Belisario* would have evoked in Verdi's mind the unpleasant memory of Giuseppina Strepponi's – his future wife – mighty struggle in the role of Antonina, precisely the role that contains the phrase 'Egli è spento, [e del perdono]' (Fig. 2).[57]

The only other clear example of Verdi's modernising of archaic poetic or literary vocabulary in *I due Foscari* occurs in the introduction to the Act II finale, where the chorus echoes Loredano's sentiment that Jacopo should face Venice's incorruptible justice and be sent into renewed exile. According to the autograph, this justice should strike Jacopo like a thunderbolt and remind Venice of 'il vindice rigor' (its avenging rigor). Verdi did not like the literary 'il vindice', crossed it out in I-Nc^2 and substituted 'un vigile'; the chorus now conjures up the city's *vigilant* rigour (Fig. 3).[58] As in Lucrezia's cabaletta, Verdi made the change only once, taking its consistent application for granted.

[57] I am grateful to Francesco Izzo for bringing this connection to my attention. See also Phillips-Matz, *Verdi*, 116, 125 and 195. Not only the text of Lucrezia's cabaletta, but also its rhythms and gestures are similar to Donizetti's setting of Antonina's verse (Act III, final scene). The same kind of reminiscence led Verdi to change the text in Jacopo's cavatina, 'Io so ben qual odio atroce', to 'Odio solo, ed odio atroce'; here, Verdi was presumably reminded of 'Ai perigli della guerra / Io so ben che esposto sono' from Act II scene 3 of Donizetti's *L'elisir d'amore*.

[58] 'Vindice' is listed in *Garzanti* (p. 2248) as 'letterario'.

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These few examples – to which similar ones from *Nabucco* and *Ernani* could be added – suggest that Verdi was trying to avoid archaic literary or poetic words.[59] Such a conclusion does not tell the full story, however, because Verdi continued to tolerate such words, and occasionally even preferred them to more modern ones. In *Ernani*, for instance, he was willing to accept the literary '*latebra* più occulta' (most hidden *recess*) in replacement of the more modern '*parte la* più occulta' (most hidden *place*).[60] Furthermore, as late as *La traviata*, a work often associated with early realism, he tolerated such poetically florid phrases as 'un dì, quando le veneri il tempo avrà fugate' (one day, when time has put your beauty to flight).[61] What, then, *is* the reason for these changes? It appears that Verdi was less concerned with modernising vocabulary than with finding the most specific and accurate word for the dramatic situation. In *I due Foscari*, although he did replace the literary 'vindice', he may have replaced it not because of its literary quality but its lack of expressive precision: 'vindice' (vengeful) would have been an adjective accurately describing Loredano and the Council of Ten; for the city of Venice, 'vigile' (vigilant) was more appropriate.[62]

Who was responsible for these changes? We know, of course, that Verdi played an important role in the creation of a libretto from beginning to end, that he chose the subject, made suggestions regarding the dramaturgy, and presumably polished the text right up to the première. Nevertheless, the situation is once again not as clear as that. At the time of *Ernani*, the opera immediately preceding *I due Foscari*, he wrote to Guglielmo Brenna regarding his attitude towards interfering in the librettist's work:

> For my part, I would prefer never to bother a poet to change a single line for me. I have set to music three libretti by Solera, and if you were to compare the original libretti, which I have preserved, with the printed texts, you would find that hardly any verses were changed and those only because Solera desired it.[63]

Verdi's own recollections have to be taken with the usual pinch of salt. Is he suggesting that all the discrepancies between the printed libretto and the text as it appears in his autograph score were made upon Solera's suggestion? For instance,

[59] In *Nabucco*: 'L'idol funesto, / guerrier, struggete – qual polve al suol!' is changed to 'L'idol funesto, / guerrier, frangete qual polve al suol!' (No. 13, bars 82–5). In *Ernani*, 'L'aspra pugna' is changed to 'l'aspra guerra' (No. 5, bars 88–91); see also the example of 'latebra', discussed below. Revisions in Verdi's first comic opera, *Un giorno di regno*, are, at least in part, of a different nature. Here, Verdi revised a libretto (by Felice Romani) originally written for Adalbert Gyrowetz in 1818. Verdi updated the libretto – to bring it in line with general trends of opera buffa – and then revised his own adaptation right up to the first performance. See Francesco Izzo, 'Verdi's *Un giorno di regno*: Two Newly Discovered Movements and Some Questions of Genre', *Acta musicologica*, 73 (2002), 165–88; and Roger Parker, '*Un giorno di regno*: From Romani's Libretto to Verdi's Opera', *Studi verdiani*, 2 (1983), 38–58.

[60] Giuseppe Verdi, *Ernani*, Critical Commentary, 71.

[61] 'Veneri' in the sense of 'bellezze' is listed in *Garzanti* (p. 1931) as 'letterario'.

[62] See Alessandro Roccatagliati, 'Verdis Libretti – Verdische Librettistik', in *Giuseppe Verdi und seine Zeit*, 145–67. Roccatagliati refers to Verdi's concern for a 'maximum of plasticity and expressivity' (without providing examples) in *Macbeth* (p. 155).

[63] Verdi to Brenna, 15 November 1843, quoted in translation in Verdi, *Ernani*, xvii; the original Italian is published in Conati, *La bottega*, 102–3.

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when Abigaille tries to persuade Nabucco to sign the death sentence of the Hebrews, including that of his daughter Fenena, Nabucco originally uttered an aside expressing worry, 'm'ange un pensier' (a thought worries me), namely that with the Hebrews he might also kill Fenena, who had converted to Judaism. In the autograph score, however, Verdi wrote, as an utterance to be heard, not as an aside, 'un rio pensier' (what an evil thought), showing a stronger, secure and active Nabucco.[64] Whether the change was Verdi's idea or Solera's, we have no way of knowing; we only know that it must have had Verdi's blessing.

In his subsequent opera, *Ernani*, Verdi collaborated with a new librettist, Francesco Maria Piave, who unlike Solera had no previous operatic experience. Verdi was aware of it and expected that Piave would make mistakes betraying the beginner.[65] Even though Verdi always praised Piave's verses,[66] we find in *Ernani* the same kinds of changes as in *Nabucco*, and as in *Nabucco*, they are in Verdi's hand or in the hand of a Ricordi scribe but were made too late in the compositional process to be included in the printed libretto. Could these changes be Piave's idea?

The situation is clearer in *I due Foscari* because many of the changes were made not in the autograph score but in the manuscript copy, I-Nc^2, a copy Verdi reviewed. It is hard to imagine that during this process of review, Piave would have been looking over Verdi's shoulders, influencing him with his choices of words; rather, Verdi noticed words he did not like and substituted words that were more modern, specific, accurate and thus dramatically effective.

A couple of examples will illustrate Verdi's improvements. When Lucrezia lashes out against Loredano, threatening that his machinations will come to light, Verdi originally wrote 'E scorgerà ogni ciglio / Il giusto, il reo qual'è!' (And every eye will perceive / Who is just and who guilty!). '*Perceive* who is just and who guilty'? Verdi noticed the weakness and substituted 'scoprirà' (will discover) who is just and who guilty. While it is true that the verb form 'scorgerà' was more common at the time than 'scoprirà', the latter is more accurate.[67]

The most substantial revision occurs in the Act II finale. The members of the Council of Ten and the Giunta, convinced by Loredano's arguments, want to send Jacopo Foscari to renewed exile, and they wonder why the process is taking so long. In the autograph score, Verdi used text presumably provided by Piave:

[64] See No. 10, bars 94–5. The problems concerning the finale of *Attila* illustrate Solera's effort of rendering more dramatically effective a draft prepared by Piave. Francesco Izzo, 'Verdi, Solera, Piave and the Libretto for *Attila*', *this journal*, 21 (2010), 264, shows that Verdi accepted Solera's revision of Piave's work with only a few changes in punctuation and that Solera 'improve[d] the quality of the poetry substantially, enhancing its dramatic intensity'.

[65] Verdi to Brenna, 15 November 1843, quoted in translation in Verdi, *Ernani*, xvii; the original Italian is published in Conati, *La bottega*, 102–3.

[66] Conati, *La bottega*, 91–103.

[67] As a simple search on 'google books' for the years 1843–4 will reveal. For a contemporary meaning of the words 'scorgere' and 'scoprire', see Millhouse, *Nuovo dizionario*, II, 417–18.

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Che più si tarda?… Affrettisi	What is taking so long?… Let us
Omai[68] questa partenza.	Now hasten this departure.
Inulte[69] l'ombre fremono	The unavenged shadows rage,
Ne accusan d'indolenza.	Accusing us of indolence.

Verdi appears to have disliked the fourth verse, 'ne accusan d'indolenza', not only because it is rather weak (indolence appears to be a poor reason for shadows to rage) but because the pronoun 'ne' refers to an event mentioned three verses earlier, the 'che più si tarda?' In his revision in I-Nc^2, Verdi succeeded in fixing several problems: he omitted the literary 'omai', reinforced the counsellors' rage by having them refer to Jacopo as 'empio' (wicked),[70] and by indicating what they really wanted to take from him, namely his life.

Che più si tarda?… Affrettisi	What is taking so long?… Let us hasten
Dell'empio la partita.[71]	The wicked one's departure.
Inulte l'ombre fremono	The unavenged shadows rage,
Chiedendone la vita.	Asking for his life.

I-Nc^2 thus emerges as significant in three respects. First, it includes late revisions that would have been lost as principal text of the critical edition. Second, the revisions in I-Nc^2 were made in Verdi's hand, as a part of his review of the manuscript copy; they are thus almost certainly of Verdi's invention.[72] Finally, I-Nc^2 shows the removal of some archaic, literary or poetic vocabulary in favour of modern vocabulary but, more important, a consistent striving for specificity, accuracy and immediacy of expression. These are early signs of what Verdi later would call 'parola scenica', a term that will always remain somewhat ambiguous, even though Verdi tried to explain it himself. In a letter of 6 November 1857, he criticised Antonio Somma, the librettist of *Un ballo in maschera*, for not having found exactly the right words in the quintet 'È scherzo od è folia': 'The entire passage is not sufficiently theatrical: you say all that needs to be said, it is true, but the words do not sculpt well; neither Gustav's indifference, nor the witch's surprise, nor the conspirators' horror is evident and thus does not achieve any effect.'[73] Nearly thirteen years later, while working with Antonio Ghislanzoni on

[68] 'Questo giorno ch'omai si cede alla sera' (Leopardi, *Il passero solitario*, v. 27); quoted as an example of literary use of 'omai' in *Garzanti*, 1148.

[69] Listed in *Garzanti* (p. 893) as 'letterario'.

[70] Millhouse, *Nuovo dizionario*, II, 153.

[71] Listed in *Garzanti* (p. 1211) as 'antico o letterario' but not in Millhouse. In fact, Millhouse lists 'departure' as the first translation of 'partita' (II, 305). In the English–Italian volume, 'partita' is not listed as an option for 'departure' (I, 136).

[72] Three years later, Verdi would correct Andrea Maffei's revisions of the 1847 *Macbeth* libretto. See Daniela Goldin, *La vera fenice: Librettisti e libretti tra Sette e Ottocento*, Piccola biblioteca Einaudi 454 (Turin, 1985), 259 and 262.

[73] 'Tutto questo squarcio non è abbastanza scenico: voi dite, è vero, tutto quello che si deve dire, ma la parola non scolpisce bene, non è evidente, e quindi non sorte abbastanza né l'indifferenza di Gustavo, né la sorpresa della Strega, né il terrore dei congiurati.' Verdi to Somma, 6 November 1857, in *Carteggio Verdi-Somma*, ed. Simonetta Ricciardi (Parma, 2003), 212. For a summary of the occurrences of 'parola scenica' in Verdi's correspondence, see Harold S. Powers, '*Simon Boccanegra* I. 10–12: a Generic–Genetic Analysis of the Council Chamber Scene', *19th-Century Music*, 13/2 (1989), 128.

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the libretto for *Aida*, Verdi actually *used* the term *parola scenica* and described it as follows:

> I don't know if I make myself clear, saying *parola scenica*, but I mean the expression that sculpts the situation and makes it stand out cleanly and clearly. For example, the verses 'Turn your eyes upon me / And lie again if you dare: / Radames is alive' are less theatrical than the words (ugly, if you want): 'With one word / I will wring the secret from you, / Look at me, I have tricked you: / Radames is alive.'[74]

Although this is clearly a more striking example than those from *I due Foscari*, the direction of Verdi's development is clear: his changes forego clichés and traditional grandiloquence in favour of direct and precise 'expression that sculpts the situation'.

The significance of the Naples manuscript does not end here. Shortly after the première in Rome, Ricordi sent I-Nc[2] to Naples, where a score was needed in preparation for the first performance at the San Carlo on 9 February 1845.[75] In Naples, the manuscript was heavily modified, in part for reasons of censorship, in part to accommodate the interpreters of Lucrezia (Anna Bishop) and the Doge (Filippo Coletti) and in part to enlarge the orchestration. The complexity of these changes required that a clean copy be made and that its accuracy be verified. The task fell to a certain 'Gorrel',[76] who signed every relevant recto with his monogram or last name, both in I-Nc[2] and its clean copy.[77] Verdi, who at the time was rehearsing *Giovanna d'Arco* in Milan, could not react to any of the changes made to his score. When he arrived in Naples on 26 June 1845 to prepare the première of *Alzira*, *I due Foscari* was still being performed, and Verdi attended a performance that very night and on several nights thereafter.[78] He cannot have been pleased with what he heard.

Censorship was primarily responsible for the mutilation of the score in Naples. In the last movement of her cavatina, for instance, Lucrezia curses the patricians (that is the members of the Council of Ten) with the words: 'Patricians… tremble… the Eternal one / Will measure your deeds from heaven… / For eternal shame and immense misfortune / He will rightly make you pay'. Such harsh words must have upset the censors and led to the substitution of a cabaletta

[74] 'Non so s'io mi spiego dicendo *parola scenica*; ma intendo dire la parola che scolpisce e rende netta ed evidente la situazione. Per esempio i versi: "In volto gli occhi affisami / E menti ancor se l'osi; Radames vive…"; Ciò e meno teatrale delle parole (brutte, se vuole): "con una parola / strapperò il tuo segreto, / Guardami, t'ho ingannata: / Radames vive…"'. Verdi to Ghislanzoni, 17 August 1870; quoted in Carl Dahlhaus, 'The Dramaturgy of Italian Opera', in *The History of Italian Opera*, ed. Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli, Part II, *Systems*, vol. VI (Chicago, 2003), 96; translation adapted from Kenneth Chalmers.

[75] See Marcello Conati, 'Verdi per Napoli', in *Il Teatro di San Carlo 1737–1987*, vol. II, *L'opera, il ballo*, ed. Bruno Cagli and Agostino Ziino (Naples, 1987), 226. Carlo Marinelli Roscioni, 'Cronologia 1737–1987', in *Il teatro di San Carlo*, 2 vols. (Naples: Guida), II, 286.

[76] See Stefano Castelvecchi and Jonathan Cheskin's description of the source I-Nc[1] of *Alzira* in *The Works of Giuseppe Verdi*, I/8 (Chicago, 1994), Critical Commentary, 6. Some of these modifications were subsequently copied into other manuscripts.

[77] The clean copy is I-Nc[3]; see note 49 above.

[78] Verdi, *Alzira*, xv.

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borrowed from *Ernani* (Elvira's 'Tutto sprezzo che d'Ernani') with new text showing a more accepting and hopeful Lucrezia. This cabaletta was substantially reorchestrated, melodically varied, and harmonically touched up where dramatically appropriate. The substitution required a new transition (to accommodate both the key of the substitution and the new dramatic situation). I-Nc^2 does not include the new version, but it shows that the entire aria was first intended to be sung a half-step higher, then a whole-step higher, presumably to accommodate Anna Bishop's voice. Some of these transpositions remained in effect even in the version with the substitute cabaletta.[79] Thanks to I-Nc^2 we know that the Doge's *romanza* and his final aria were transposed as well.

The most dramatic change in I-Nc^2 concerns the alteration of the opera's finale. After having been forced to preside over Jacopo's condemnation to eternal exile, and subsequently having been informed of his death, the Doge is forced to abdicate. Led by the villain – Loredano – the chorus sings the famous lines 'Cedi, cedi, rinunzia al potere / O il Leone t'astringe a obbedir' (Surrender, surrender, renounce power / Or the Lion will make you obey). The Doge eventually relents, hears the bell announce his successor, and dies. Not so in the Naples version. Here, it is not Loredano who leads the Council of Ten in asking the Doge to resign, but a newly introduced character – Galbi. And instead of humiliating the Doge, Galbi exonerates him, declares Jacopo innocent and exposes Loredano's vendetta:

Galbi	Galbi
E conosciuta avendo	And having known
L'innocenza di Jacopo suo figlio,	the innocence of Jacopo, his son,
Ne dichiara onorata	[the Council] declares
La rimembranza, e Loredano, acerbo	honourable remembrance and calls Loredano,
Accusator di lui, chiama a scolparsi	his bitter accuser, to apologise
Dell'accusa tremenda	for the terrible accusation
Di private vendette.[80]	of private vendettas.

The Doge is still relieved of his duties but out of sincere concern for his health, not vengeance. He survives and presumably enters the well-deserved phase of his retirement. These changes made it necessary to recompose a passage of recitative and to change the text of much of the opera's finale.

Verdi must have been upset to see his work mutilated but put a good face on the matter, attending several performances and informing his student Emanuele Muzio about the excellent reception of the work.[81] Why did he not protest? In 1845, Verdi simply did not yet have the stature to do so. And since he was in Naples to prepare the première of *Alzira*, he may have decided to exercise caution *vis-à-vis* the Neapolitan authorities and administration of the San Carlo. Only two

[79] In the version with the substitute cabaletta, the *tempo di mezzo* is transposed down a half-step (instead of up a whole-step) and via a new transition leads to the cabaletta in B-flat.

[80] I-Nc^1 has 'di frivola vendetta'.

[81] See Muzio's letter to Barezzi, 9 July 1845, in Luigi Agostino Garibaldi, *Giuseppe Verdi nelle lettere di Emanuele Muzio ad Antonio Barezzi* (Milan, 1931), 207–8.

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years later, however, he would threaten Ricordi with a fine of 1,000 *Francs* every time a score of his would be mutilated in an important theatre.[82] It was not a threat that could easily be enforced but shows Verdi's growing confidence with regard to the censors.

I-Nc^2 would undergo yet further modifications for two performances of *I due Foscari* in 1855 with Giuditta Beltramelli as Lucrezia. Beltramelli apparently was not up to the task, requested transpositions in both of her arias, and needed to omit the second one during the second performance.[83] Verdi was busy supervising *Les Vêpres siciliennes* in Paris at the time and had no chance to comment on the latest distortions of his first Roman opera. But thanks to I-Nc^2, we have a fairly good idea of what was performed and why. This manuscript copy has proven to be of considerable significance beyond the Naples performances, however: it has allowed us to solve editorial problems, shed light on Verdi's role in the development of the language of early nineteenth-century librettos, and illustrated his attitude towards censorship shortly before he began to take a stronger stance.

Appendix: the text of the Venice scenario

[fol. 1*r*]

I due Foscari.[84]
Tragedia lirica in 2 Atti.
Personaggi.

Francesco Foscari	–	Doge di Venezia	–	[Cesare] Badiali
Marina Nani	–	Dogaressa	–	[Sofia] Löve
Jacopo Foscari	–	loro figlio	–	[Fortunato] Borioni
Alvisena Contarini	–	Moglie di Jacopo	–	[Annetta or Élise] Fouchè
Loredano	}		–	[Giuseppe] Miral
[Gerolamo] Donato	}	Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci	–	N. N.
Barbarigo	}		–	N. N.
Uno scudiero del Doge				

[82] Verdi to Ricordi, 20 May and 24 June 1847, in *Copialettere*, 39. See also Luke Jensen, *Giuseppe Verdi & Giovanni Ricordi with Notes on Francesco Lucca: From* Oberto *to* La traviata (New York, 1989), 101–3.

[83] Paologiovanni Maione and Francesca Seller, *Teatro di San Carlo di Napoli*, vol. III, *Cronologia degli spettacoli (1851–1900)* (Cava de' Tirreni, 1999), 131n.

[84] In numbering the scenes, the scribe used both numerals and ordinals, underlining and no underlining. The formatting here is normalised. Text in brackets includes clarifying information added by the editor.

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Cori e comparse[:]
Gli altri sette membri del Consiglio – aggiunti del Consiglio de' Dieci – gli altri cinque Consiglieri del Doge – il Capitan Grande – Un ministro de' Dieci – Usciere – guardie – cittadini gondolieri ecc.
La Scena è in Venezia

[fol. 1*v*]
Coro.
Cavatina Miral
Cavatina Löve
duetto, terzetto, quartetto.
Scena
Finale
Duetto Soprano e Contralto
Asolo Tenore
Duetto due Bassi.
Gran Coro
Scena finale rondò di Badiali.

[fol. 2*r*]

Atto 1.°

Scena 1.ª

Coro – Si parla della risoluzione fatta dal Doge di rinunziare alla ducale corona per liberare, egli diceva, sè stesso e la patria da tanti travagli. Ma il consiglio non accetta la sua rinunzia, e volle [*sic*] da lui anzi il giuramento di non tentarla mai più. Introduzione

Scena 2.ª

Loredano – con alcuni amici e congiunti. Egli attribue ad un veleno amministrato da Foscari la morte di suo padre Pietro Loredano, il grande ammiraglio Veneto, non chè a Jacopo ~~suo~~ figlio del Doge la morte di Marco Loredano suo zio – Questi ed altri ancora erano i motivi per cui questo Loredano nutriva in core un odio feroce contro i Foscari. A far paga la sua vendetta avea preso di mira Jacopo figlio di Francesco a cui fece soffrire le più terribili ambascie. (Cavatina [Miral])

Scena 3.ª

Appartamenti nel palazzo Ducale.

Marina – è la più sventurata delle donne – La morte le ha rapiti tre figli – il quarto l'esiglio – Cavatina soprano [Löve]

Scena 4.ª

Giunge Foscari [e] palesa ad essa che Jacopo fu conosciuto innocente dell'assassinio di Almorò Donato. Fra poco egli sarà di ritorno [Duetto] – Donato uno dei capi dei dieci venne a farvelo avvertito, e lo ha consigliato di ricevere suo figlio senza la minima festa, ma più secretamente che gli era possibile perchè non abbia ad arrossire del trionfo di un esule chi siedeva alla custodia delle patrie leggi. Alvisena moglie di Jacopo

Scena 5.ª

corre a Foscari per accertarsi sulla notizia avuta del vicino arrivo di Jacopo [Terzetto] – S'ode un canto dalla laguna – È Jacopo – Il suo canto esprime la gioja di rivedere dopo sì lungo esiglio il luogo che gli fu culla.

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Scena 6.[a]

Jacopo è fra le braccia della sua famiglia – Affettuosissima scena!

Scena 7.[a]

Uno scudiero annunzia che penetrava cinto di molte armate nelle soglie Ducali il Capitan Grande e chiedeva di Jacopo. Commossione di Jacopo – Spavento delle donne – Sospetti del Doge – Il capitan grande compare sulla porta – È duopo a Jacopo seguirlo. [Quartetto]

[fol. 2*v*]

Scena 8.[a]

Sala del consiglio de' dieci con trono coperto da un baldacchino dorato, e appiè del trono un ricco florito sul pavimento.

Loredano ha raccolto il Consiglio – È pervenuta nelle sue mani una di [*sic*] lettera di Jacopo Foscari diretta al Duca Sforza di Milano. Era delitto di Stato per quel cittadino di Venezia che invocava mediatore nei fatti della patria un principe straniero.

Scena 9.[a]

Giungono Barbarigo[,] Donato[,] gli altri sette decemviri, e gli altri dicianove aggiunti – finalmente il Doge – Siedonsi tutti. Loredano espone la causa di quell'unione – Sorpresa ed orrore di Foscari nell'udire il nuovo delitto del figlio – Viene anch'egli chiamato[.]

Scena 10.[a]

Jacopo in catene introdotto da guardie, che appena si mostrano sulla porta, e tosto si ritirano – Confessa che quella lettera è vergata di sua mano – Pure è innocente – Vedendo infruttuose le continue preghiere che indirizzata [*sic*] al consiglio dal luogo dell'esiglio suo per poter far ritorno alla diletta sua patria, dopo essergli egli dichiarato innocente dell'assassinio di cui veniva qualche tempo innanzi incolpato, non potendo più reggere al desiderio ardentissimo di abbracciare la sua famiglia, ha voluto ottenere questa gioja ineffabile anche a costo della morte – Per questo e non per altro vergava quella lettera. Era certo che sarebbe venuta in mano del consiglio e che sarebbe stato richiamato a Venezia. – Donato prende le sue difese – Si viene ai voti – Ha vinto il partito di suoi nemici. Un solo voto discorda – quello di Donato. [Finale]

Atto Secondo. Parte I.ª Palazzo. **Scena 1.**[a]

Alvisena è incerta sull'esito della sentenza – Giunge Marina – Cercano inutilmente consolarsi – Non vedranno mai più il loro diletto Jacopo. [Duetto soprano e contralto]

Scena 2.[a]

Foscari fa noto alle donne che innanzi di abbandonare per sempre forse la sua terra natale, ha ottenuto Jacopo di abbracciare la sua famiglia –

Gran sala del Palazzo. **Scena 3.**[a]

Fra poco il misero figlio dal [*sic*] Doge lascierà per la terza volta la sua patria – Come un ultimo conforto attende la venuta

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Scena 4.[a]

[fol. 3*r*] dalla sua famiglia – Marina – Alvisena con i figli per mano – sono gettati al collo di Jacopo – Scena commovente. È presso l'ora della partenza, nè Jacopo vede ancora suo padre! Possibile che la voce di natura sia muta nel suo cuore? Ei dunque sdegnerà di accordare l'ultimo amplesso a suo figlio? Se anco foss'egli colpevole non sarebbe sempre suo figlio?

Scena 5.[a]

Ma Foscari non ha saputo resistere ai moti del sangue – È venuto anch'egli a dargli l'estremo addio – Jacopo ringrazia il cielo di questa grazia che temeva gli venisse negata – Implora da suo padre la benedizione per lui e pe' figli – Francesco vorrebbe durare nella sua fermezza – ma le lagrime gli spuntano sugli occhi, la sua mano spontaneamente si leva – li ha bendetti [*sic*] – Suona un' ora – Disperazione di Jacopo è l'ora fatale della partenza. [Asolo tenore]

Scena 6.[a]

Loredano comparisce col capitan grande al quale dice con freddezza crudele che l'ora è suonata. S'ode Jacopo – l'odono tutti: fremito generale – Si separano… dolorosa separazione! e forse eterna! [Gran finale]

Parte 2.[a] Palazzo Ducale – Sala con trono. [**Scena 1.**[a]]

Il Doge sfinito per la lunga forza che ha fatto a se' stesso è mutato di aspetto – negli atti suoi si veggono i segni di una vita che gli anni e le afflizioni hanno condotta vicino al suo termine.

Scena 2.[a]

Loredano[,] Donato[,] Barbarigo, i sei Consiglieri del Doge i tre capi dei quaranta – Loredano annunzia a Francesco il volere del Consiglio ch'egli debba cedere la sua corona [–] Sorpresa di Foscari. Egli giurò di serbarla sul suo capo fino all'ultimo respiro, e quel giuramento lo hanno strappato quelli medesimi che adesso vogliono questo suo avvilimento – Ricusa di farlo – È costretto dal Consiglio, è svincolato dal giuramento [fol. 3*v*] Foscari cede – Sei tu pago ancora? dic'egli a bassa voce a Loredano. Questi gli risponde – non ancora – [Duetto due bassi]

Piazza davanti al palazzo Ducale
piena di popolo – **Scena 3.**[a]

Il popolo è intenerito per tante angoscie del suo Doge. Vorrebbe salvarlo [Gran coro] [–] Tumulto – Un banditore da un balcone del palazzo intima sotto pena di morte il silenzio agli astanti.

Scena 4.[a]

Francesco Foscari con berretta non ducale in capo, Marina Alvisena coi tre figli,[85] escono dalla porta del palazzo Ducale [–] Quella medesima che adesso ha sortita, ascese[86] egli un giorno sfolgorante di gloria, fra le acclamazioni di un popolo –

[85] The scribe provided both a ',' and a '–'; the latter seems to replace the former.
[86] Corrected from 'al[ ]'.

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Scena 5.[a]

Un nunzio che cerca del Doge – Che fia? Un altro colpo pello sventurato Foscari – È morto suo figlio vittima delle sue sofferenze – Disperazione di Foscari – S'odono le campane di S. Marco che suonano a festa – per l'elezione del nuovo Doge – Foscari è prostrato da quest'ultimo colpo – A piè' della scala spira fra breve convulsione. La famiglia Foscari si stringe tutta intorno al cadavere. Il popolo accorre, e lascia vuoto uno spazio, nel quale si vede Loredano, che rivolto anch'egli verso il cadavere di Foscari dice con maligna compiacenza: ha pagato. [Scena finale rondò di Badiali]

*

I due Foscari.
Lyric Tragedy in 2 Acts.
Characters.

Francesco Foscari	– Doge of Venice	– [Cesare] Badiali[87]
Marina Nani	– the Doge's wife	– [Sofia] Löve
Jacopo Foscari	– their son	– [Fortunato] Borioni
Alvisena Contarini	– Jacopo's wife	– [Annetta or Élise] Fouchè
Loredano	}	– [Giuseppe] Miral
[Gerolamo] Donato	} Heads of the Council of Ten	– N. N.
Barbarigo	}	– N. N.
One of the Doge's squires		

Choruses and Supers:
The other seven members of the Council – deputies of the Council of Ten – the other five counsellors of the Doge – the Police Chief – a minister of the Ten – usher – guards – citizens – gondoliers, etc.

The story takes place in Venice

Chorus
Cavatina Miral
Cavatina Löve
Duet, trio, quartet
Scena
Finale
Duet soprano and contralto
Solo for the Tenor
Duet for two basses
Large chorus
Scena, finale (rondò di Badiali)

[87] Badiali eventually sang the first performance of *I due Foscari* in Venice. Conati, *La bottega*, 151.

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Act I

Scene 1

Chorus – talking about the Doge's resolution to renounce the ducal crown in order to rid himself and the fatherland, as he says, of so much toil. But the Council does not accept his resignation and rather wants from him a vow never to try it again. Introduzione.

Scene 2

Loredano – with some friends and kinsmen. He attributes the death of his father, Pietro Loredano, the great Venetian admiral, to a poison administered by Foscari, and the death of Marco Loredano, his uncle, to Jacopo, the Doge's son – These and others were the motives why Loredano nurtured in his heart a ferocious hatred of the Foscari. In order to have his vengeance, he took aim at Jacopo, the son of Francesco, whom he made suffer the most terrible anguish. (Cavatina.)

Scene 3

Apartments in the Ducal Palace

Marina – she is the most wretched of all women – Death has robbed her of three children, exile [has robbed her] of the fourth child – Cavatina soprano

Scene 4

Foscari arrives [and] reveals to her that Jacopo has been found innocent of the murder of Almorò Donato. He will soon be back home [duet] – [Gerolamo] Donato, one of the heads of the Ten has come to let him know and advise him to welcome his son without even the smallest celebration but as secretly as possible so that one would not have to be ashamed of the triumph of an exile who had been a guardian of the homeland's laws. Alvisena, Jacopo's wife

Scene 5

runs towards Foscari to make sure the news about Jacopo's impending arrival [is correct] [trio] – A song is heard from the lagoon – It is Jacopo – His song expresses the joy of again seeing his birthplace after such a long exile.

Scene 6

Jacopo is among his family – A very tender scene!

Scene 7

A squire announces that the Police Chief, surrounded by many armed men, has entered the ducal chambers and is asking for Jacopo [–] Jacopo's commotion – the women are afraid – the Doge is suspicious – the Police Chief appears in the door – Jacopo must follow him. [Quartet]

Scene 8

Chamber of the Council of Ten with a throne covered by a gilded baldachin;
next to the throne on the floor a rich floral design.

Loredano has assembled the Council – He has obtained a letter Jacopo Foscari had written to the Duke Sforza of Milan. It was a crime against the state for a citizen of Venice to invoke a foreign prince as mediator in matters of the homeland.

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Scene 9

Enter Barbarigo, Donato, the other seven members of the Ten, and the other nineteen deputies[88] – finally the Doge – all sit down. Loredano explains the reason for the meeting – surprise and horror of Foscari when he hears about the new crime of his son – he, too, is called.

Scene 10

Jacopo, in chains, is led in by guards, who, just as they appear in the door, quickly withdraw – He confesses that that letter is written in his hand – Yet, he is innocent – Having realised that the continuous pleas to be able to return to his beloved homeland, sent to the Council from the place of his exile, were fruitless; having been declared innocent of the murder of which he had been accused; [and] no longer being able to resist the desire to embrace his family, he wanted to have this indescribable joy even at the cost of death – For this reason and no other did he write that letter. He was sure that it would fall into the hands of the Council and that he would be recalled to Venice. – Donato takes his side – They vote – The party of his enemies has won. There is a single dissenting vote – Donato's. [Finale]

Act II. Part I. Palazzo. **Scene 1**

Alvisena is not sure about the outcome of the verdict – Marina enters – They are trying to console each other in vain – They will never again see their beloved Jacopo. [Duet soprano and contralto]

Scene 2

Foscari tells the ladies that Jacopo, before having to leave his native soil, perhaps forever, has obtained [permission] to embrace his family.

Large chamber of the palace [–] **Scene 3**

Soon the Doge's wretched son will leave his homeland for the third time – as a last consolation, he is waiting

Scene 4

for his family – Marina – Alvisena with her children on her hands – they fling their arms around Jacopo's neck – moving scene – the hour of parting is near, and Jacopo will not again see his father! Is it possible that the voice of nature in his heart is silent? Will he not want to grant his son a final embrace? Even if he were guilty, would he not always be his son?

Scene 5

But Foscari could not resist the impulses of his heart – he, too, has come to bid him his last farewell – Jacopo thanks Heaven for this favour, a favour he feared would be denied him – he implores his father for a blessing, for himself and his children – Francesco tries to stay firm – but tears well up in his eyes, and his hand spontaneously raises – he has

[88] The Council of the Ten could be enlarged by a Giunta of up to twenty members. It is unclear who the twentieth member would have been. See Conati, '"Bel dramma …"', 117. In the *dramatis personae* of his play, Marenco lists an additional Aggiunto, a character who does not actually appear in the play.

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blessed them – the hour strikes – desperation of Jacopo [–] it is the fateful hour of departure. [Solo Tenore]

Scene 6

Loredano appears with the Police Chief and says to him with cold cruelty that the hour has struck – one hears Jacopo – all hear him: general shudder – they separate… painful separation! and perhaps forever! [Grand finale]

Part 2. Ducal Palace – Chamber with throne. [**Scene 1**]

The Doge, exhausted from the long work to which he has subjected himself, has changed – his gestures betray signs of a life that years and affliction have brought close to its end.

Scene 2

Loredano, Donato, Barbarigo, the six counsellors of the Doge, the three heads of the Forty[89] [–] Loredano announces to Francesco the will of the Council that he surrender his crown [–] Foscari's surprise [–] He had sworn to keep it on his head until his last breath, an oath that was wrung by those who now want his humiliation – he refuses to do it – he is forced by the Council and released from his oath – Foscari surrenders – Are you now paid? he says with a low voice to Loredano. The latter responds – not yet – [Duet for two basses]

Square in front of the ducal palace
full of people – **Scene 3**

The people are moved by the many woes of their Doge – They would like to save him [Grand chorus] [–] tumult – From the balcony of the palace, a town crier commands that, under penalty of death, all bystanders be quiet.[90]

Scene 4

Francesco Foscari with a non-ducal cap, Marina, Alvisena with the three children – They leave through the door of the ducal palace – the same one through which he has now left, he one day entered radiant with glory, under the acclamation of the people.

Scene 5

A messenger looking for the Doge – What is it? Another blow for the wretched Foscari – His son is dead, a victim of his suffering – Foscari's desperation – The bells of San Marco ring in celebration – for the election of the new Doge – Foscari is overwhelmed by this latest blow – He dies at the bottom of the stairs after brief spasms. The Foscari family is surrounding the corpse. The people rush to the scene, freeing up a space in which Loredano can be seen; also turned towards the corpse of Foscari, he says with malicious satisfaction: he has paid. [Final scene; rondò Badiali]

[89] 'The three heads of the criminal magistrate of Forty sat with the counsellors of the Doge. The Doge, with the six counsellors, the three heads, and the sixteen sages formed the "collegio" [I tre presidenti della Quarantìa criminale sedevano coi consiglieri del Doge. Il Doge co' sei consiglieri, i tre presidenti, e i sedici savii formavano il collegio]'. Marenco, *La famiglia Foscari*, 37.

[90] This sentence makes sense only in the context of the play, where the town crier warns all present that the Council commands them to be forever silent about the day's events ('In nome / Dell'eccelso Consiglio a voi s'intima / Sull'odïerno fatto alto e perenne / Silenzio'; Marenco, *La famiglia Foscari*, 159).

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