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CHAPTER 44

SOURCES

LINDA B. FAIRTILE

In the broadest sense, sources document a musical work's creation and performance history. Scholars who engage in source study may be seeking to establish a text, trace a work's genesis, or separate the strands of its performing tradition. Focusing on the sources of a single composer can illuminate the development of a personal aesthetic as well as expose the degree to which outside forces may have influenced his decisions. Studying the sources for a single work may reveal multiple texts and interpretations, only some of which originated during the composer's lifetime. Regardless of the goal, source studies encourage us to confront issues of authorship, chronology, and tradition.

Sources of instrumental music and of non-dramatic vocal music are generally understood to include preliminary sketches and drafts, manuscript and printed scores, performing parts, and, in the latter case, materials related to the choice or development of the vocal text. Letters, diaries, administrative papers, and even journalistic reviews can also be considered sources. Opera, as a collaborative fusion of music and drama, expands this list to include such materials as set and costume designs, staging manuals, lighting plots, and prop lists. Technology has further augmented the inventory, first with still photographs, and later with audio and video recordings. This chapter will concentrate on documents as sources.

The skills that are needed to study opera sources are many and varied, but they share a common prerequisite: the researcher must be acutely aware of the context(s) in which these materials were created and utilized. In most cases, this presumes an understanding of opera as a business as well as an artistic endeavor. The preparation of scores and other performing materials, whether through hand copying, mechanical printing, or computerized note-setting, consumes money and time, and a composer's working method may be influenced as much by the practical needs of a theater or a publisher as by his own habits and predilections. Factors as diverse as the availability of a singer, the dimensions of a stage, or the political atmosphere of a city may profoundly influence the creation or re-creation of an opera, leaving their mark, in turn, on supporting documents. Occasionally, sources bear witness to the *im*practicality of a tradition, as musical or theatrical styles outpace accepted methods of production. In such cases, the gradual

introduction of new methods may overlap with older processes, challenging our understanding of performance practice.

It goes without saying that the researcher should be familiar with a composer's work habits before undertaking a study of his or her sources in order to give the various types of materials their proper emphasis. Some composers' working librettos for example, yield comparatively little information about their compositional choices, while others' contain detailed annotations that are central to their emerging musical conceptions (Bailey 1979; Jones 2007; Carter 2010). Understanding how a composer customarily progressed from preliminary ideas to a finished score can help to compensate for missing documents, allowing established behaviors to inform speculation about the content of a lost source. At the same time, knowledge of personal compositional practices may forestall a fruitless search for materials that never existed in the first place.

In any field of study, the researcher must be disciplined and persistent in tracking down sources. Owing to particular traditions of production and distribution, operatic materials can be especially widely dispersed. While some documents are in publicly accessible libraries and archives, others may be in the hands of publishers, theaters, or individual collectors. Guides to locating these materials include thematic catalogues, critical editions, monographic series such as *Cambridge Opera Handbooks* and Garland/Routledge's *Composer Resource Manuals* (later called *Routledge Music Bibliographies*), and websites of organizations dedicated to individual composers. (Among the more informative websites devoted to composers of opera are those of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute, the Britten-Pears Foundation, and the Kurt Weill Foundation for Music [see bibliography]. Each provides detailed information about its composer's manuscripts and other source materials.) Increasingly, researchers are creating their own tools to monitor the whereabouts of primary sources. The University of Chicago's *OperaCat*, which tracks materials related to five Italian opera composers (Rossini, Donizetti, Bellini, Verdi, and Puccini) as they appear in sale catalogues from the nineteenth century to the present, could be a model for further such collaborations between scholars and technologists.

This chapter addresses some of the issues that arise from the study of operatic sources, specifically, librettos, sketches, drafts, autograph scores, performing parts, and other production materials. Whether focusing on a composer, a work, or a repertoire, the scholar typically confronts questions about the relationships embodied in these sources: composer and performer, physical structure and content, and original and revision, among others. While the number of surviving documents for any opera depends on a variety of factors, works from the nineteenth century generally have the largest quantity of accessible materials and, correspondingly, the greatest representation in the literature on source studies. For this reason, this chapter is weighted toward operas from that period. As the pace of technological development accelerated through the twentieth century, the means of creating and reproducing operas was correspondingly transformed; thus the special challenges of studying the sources of contemporary opera will also be addressed.

Librettos

The documentary evidence of a libretto's genesis typically consists of correspondence, drafts, and fair copies, at times revealing that the composer played an active part in its creation. His participation in the process may be recorded in letters to his librettist, as well as notations made directly on the evolving text. From some of the most storied collaborations—Verdi and Boito, Scribe and Meyerbeer, Strauss and Hofmannsthal—we learn about musical and dramatic values, in addition to the genesis of specific works. In other cases, the availability and, indeed, the awareness of documentary sources varies greatly, since the working papers of librettists tend to receive less attention than those of composers. Recent scholarly interest in the process of libretto-making, however, has resulted in the publication of preliminary materials such as those for Puccini's *La bohème* (Bernardoni 2008), *Tosca* (Ravenni 2009), and *Madama Butterfly* (Groos et al. 2005).

Relatively few opera librettos are based on original stories. Many are derived from existing literary works, and a good number are adaptations of earlier librettos. The first stage in creating a libretto consists of plotting out its macrostructure, overlaying the basic storyline with scenic divisions, large-scale musical forms, and opportunities for dialogue; Italians call such an outline the *selva* or *programma* (Della Seta 2004: 69). While it is not always possible to trace every aspect of a libretto's lineage, surviving sources can sometimes suggest the content of documents that no longer exist. After examining the autograph score of Handel's *Rodelinda*, as well as the printed libretto by Nicola Haym and the earlier libretto by Antonio Salvi that served as Haym's source, Andrew V. Jones proposed what the opera's "pre-compositional" libretto may have looked like before Handel adapted it to his musical needs (Jones 2007: 74, 76–77).

As usual, Richard Wagner presents a special case. As the sole author of both the text and music of his stage works, he had no need to correspond with a librettist, eliminating a potential source of information about his operas' genesis. But because Wagner was such an influential figure, both in his own estimation and that of the culture that surrounded him, he left behind a wealth of documentary evidence illuminating his creative process. Wagner typically fashioned his librettos in a four-phase method consisting of a cursory prose sketch, a more detailed prose draft, a verse draft, and a fair copy of the complete text (Darcy 1992a: 196). Fortunately, many examples of these documents survive, together with supplementary manuscripts, to reveal rejected scenes, actions, and conversations that differ significantly from the final librettos. At the same time, these preliminary materials disclose the relatively late development of fundamental dramatic concepts, such as Wotan's spear and Loge's dominion over fire, which are present in neither the prose sketch nor the prose draft of *Das Rheingold* (Darcy 1992a: 199–200). The peculiar language of the *Ring* operas, with their alliteration and protracted narratives, presents additional challenges that often surface in Wagner's verse drafts.

A creative work in its own right, with its own documentary history, a libretto is nonetheless typically studied for the sake of its musical setting. In addition to supplying the

opera's text, sometimes in unique versions, printed librettos frequently contain information about performers and production staff, additional works on the program, and advertisements of upcoming performances or publications. When a score does not survive, the corresponding libretto may be the only evidence of an opera's existence. While the content of a published libretto can differ significantly from the text that the composer has set to music, it nonetheless represents the "official" wording provided for the audience to read and contemplate at their leisure. For this reason, the avoidance of controversy—with or without its creators' approval—has been a primary concern throughout the history of the published libretto.

Censored librettos are a potent source of information about operas that were modified against their authors' wishes. An especially rich trove is the Censors' Bureau collection at the Archives Nationales in Paris, which contains copies of librettos submitted by statute prior to a work's premiere. These dated documents, originating during a new opera's rehearsal period, can help sort out layers of revision, or even recover lost versions that are missing from other sources. The value of censors' librettos is illustrated in Lesley A. Wright's account of the fortunes of *Carmen* (Wright 1978), which establishes that many of the revisions to Bizet's autograph score date from the rehearsal period.

Librettos with composers' annotations fall into a special category by virtue of their intimate association with the creative process. While many composers mark a libretto as they plan musical structures and delineate characters, Richard Strauss's annotations are extraordinary in both quantity and content. Strauss's working librettos for *Ariadne auf Naxos* (Erwin 1981) and *Elektra* (Gilliam 1991), both typical of his practice, include a basic tonal framework, meter and tempo markings, brief thematic ideas, and miscellaneous verbal cues pertaining to vocal and instrumental detail. These documents offer a unique perspective, recording the composer's mental processes as he read, and serving to remind him of these early choices throughout the composition phase. Annotated librettos resulting from Strauss's collaboration with Hugo von Hofmannsthal also include the poet's handwritten recommendations about text setting and other aspects of the word-music relationship (Erwin 1976: 494).

For a composer-librettist, the presence of musical jottings in predominantly textual sources raises additional questions of primacy and chronology. The popular view that Wagner conceived words and music concurrently, at times notating both in the same document, is not easily proven by surviving sources. Musical notation can be found in both the fair copies and first printing of the *Ring* libretto, but due to the interrelationship of the four constituent music dramas, as well as Wagner's tendency to write untexted vocal sketches, linking musical fragments to words on the basis of physical proximity is often inconclusive (Darcy 1992a: 204–206, 217).

Sketches

In common parlance, the term "sketch" is often applied to a wide range of preliminary compositional materials at various stages of development. At the same time, many

music scholars reserve the word for the earliest phases of creation. The following discussion is concerned principally with the latter interpretation.

Sketches—the private jottings of composers testing the potential of their ideas—are often the most challenging musical sources to interpret. Deprived of their contexts, and frequently their texts as well, operatic sketches can be especially enigmatic; for example, among Hector Berlioz's sketches for *Les Troyens* are leaves on which he experimented with modal scales and chord progressions (Holoman 1980: 127). At the same time, sketches can be exceptionally revealing for a composer like Wagner, whose myth-making prose tends to obscure the origins of his creations. The well-known "La Spezia vision," the dreamlike (or perhaps merely dyspeptic) state in which Wagner claimed to have received, fully formed, the iconic E-flat major opening of *Das Rheingold*, is refuted by sketches predating the alleged reverie (Darcy 1993 draws on the composer's sketches to reconstruct the labored genesis of the *Rheingold* opening).

Wagner left behind an unusually large number of musical manuscripts: for *Der Ring des Nibelungen* alone, over 3,700 pages survive (Deathridge 1977b: 383). For decades the study of these documents was hampered by inadequate analytical vocabularies, such as the categories of sketch materials defined by Otto Strobel (Strobel, 1929), the first director of the Wagner Archive at Wahnfried. The limitations of Strobel's taxonomy have both practical and ideological roots, as it fails to account for changes in Wagner's working method over the course of his lifetime and shrouds the composer's habits in a fog of hagiography (Deathridge 1974–1975: 75). With the publication of the *Wagner Werk-Verzeichnis* (Deathridge, Geck, and Voss 1986), a more flexible terminology has emerged to describe the various sketches and drafts, both textual and musical, which precede Wagner's completed stage works.

Writing not long after the surge of interest in sketch studies occasioned by the Beethoven bicentennial, Douglas Johnson famously argued that preliminary manuscripts are incapable of yielding significant analytical insight about the completed works that they anticipate (Johnson 1978: 13). Yet in her monograph on Alban Berg's *Lulu* manuscripts, Patricia Hall observes that "sketches are most helpful for [music that employs] highly defined theoretical systems, which, because of their complexity or unapparent relationships, we do not yet fully understand" (Hall 1996: 11–12). She notes that Berg's row charts and form tables are indispensable analytical tools, and the graphically separated motives in his sketches illuminate the tangled layers of the finished score. Hall also finds dramatic clues in Berg's *Lulu* sketches that support the existence of an underlying plan governing the double and triple assignment of roles to singers.

A subset of operatic sketch studies explores works left incomplete at their composers' deaths, resulting in preliminary materials without a concrete realization, as well as the tantalizing prospect of posthumous collaboration. In most cases, these joint efforts are rooted in fertile soil: Friedrich Cerha based his completion of the third act of *Lulu* on a virtually finished short score together with fully orchestrated passages from Berg's *Lulu Suite* (Cerha 1981: 543), while Arturo Toscanini's performing version of Arrigo Boito's *Nerone* drew upon a piano-vocal draft with abundant orchestral cues (Del Nero 1995: 169). Less common are unfinished operas based on little more than fragmentary

sketches, requiring composition as well as painstaking scholarship. *Die drei Pintos* is one such example, which Mahler based on Carl Maria von Weber's sketches for seven numbers—some no more than single-line fragments—as well as other unpublished music by the deceased composer (Zychowicz 2000: x–xi).

Among the best-known leaves of operatic manuscript are those that Puccini left for his unfinished *Turandot*. Nearly half of these thirty-six pages constitute a virtually continuous draft, lacking only its orchestration. The remaining sketches, however, are so fragmentary that their relationship to the unset portion of the libretto may never be determined (Maehder 1984). The air of mystery surrounding Puccini's *Turandot* sketches is intensified by the fact that they have never been published in their entirety, either in facsimile or transcription, and access to the original manuscripts is strictly controlled. Despite these precautions, however, there have been several unauthorized completions, in addition to those commissioned from Franco Alfano shortly after Puccini's death (Fairtile 2004) and from Luciano Berio in recent years (Uvietta 2004).

Drafts

Many opera composers draft extended musical passages in short-score format—typically, vocal parts, bass line, and one or more staves of instrumental material—before progressing to a fully orchestrated score. A continuity draft (also called a *particella* or *Particell*) may be created in a single pass, or a series of shorter preliminary drafts may precede a continuous draft of a larger unit, such as a complete act. The purpose of a draft is to lay out the structure of a musical unit while also capturing its most prominent features. Drafting is the essence of composition, and an operatic draft is, in a sense, a finished work, even though it does not contain the complete musical texture. For this reason, it has long been common to prepare singers' vocal scores directly from the composer's drafts rather than waiting for him to orchestrate the opera fully.

As with non-dramatic music, studies of operatic drafts often focus on ultimately rejected settings, the "road not taken" eclipsed by the reading that we know today. Typically, the composer's judgment is vindicated, as the final version is demonstrated to be more effective and imaginative than earlier efforts. Linda Tyler's consideration of a draft for "Da schlägt die Abschiedsstunde," from Mozart's *Der Schauspieldirektor*, reveals it to be less expressive than the final version, in part because it does not participate in the web of metrical and dramatic connections that she detects throughout the opera (Tyler 1990: 263–264). In his study of singers' influence on Mozart's compositional method, Ian Woodfield cites the evidence of ink colors to suggest that the composer habitually left his aria drafts incomplete until he could consult with the singers who would be performing them. Woodfield compares the pedestrian climax of "Per pietà" (*Così fan tutte*), first notated in the aria's draft, with the florid replacement that immediately follows it, positing that the soprano Adriana Ferrarese might have requested the latter to show off her high notes (Woodfield 2003: 40–41).

Sometimes a draft is the only source for an instrumental passage that was part of an opera's compositional history, but is absent from the finished score. For the first production of *Peter Grimes*, the director Eric Crozier asked Britten to extend the first act's "Storm Interlude" in order to cover a scene change. Britten expanded the interlude's rondo structure, and the appearance of the draft suggests that he worked in uncharacteristic haste (Reed 1996: 100–101). This passage does not appear in any score of *Peter Grimes*, and it is not certain whether it was ever performed. Although the decision to compose the additional music did not originate with Britten, he was nonetheless persuaded to do so for practical reasons, a scenario that repeats itself throughout operatic history.

A more extreme example that illustrates the usefulness of a draft in recovering lost music is Verdi's *Una vendetta in dominò*, an early version of *Un ballo in maschera* that was effectively smothered in its cradle by censorship. Verdi prepared a nearly complete draft of *Una vendetta*, as well as a "skeleton score"—bass line, vocals, and prominent instrumental parts copied onto the paper that would become the autograph score—before learning that censors forbade its performance due to fears of political unrest. Eventually, he succeeded in refashioning the opera as *Un ballo in maschera*, incorporating most of *Una vendetta*'s skeleton score into the new work. The original draft, however, preserves the essence of *Una vendetta* virtually intact. Using these two documents, together with an even earlier version of the libretto called *Gustavo III*, Philip Gossett and Ilaria Narici created a "hypothetical" reconstruction of Verdi's original concept for *Un ballo in maschera* (Gossett 2008: 421 and Gossett 2006: 489–513).

At times, a compositional draft turns out to be both less and more than meets the eye. Carl Maria von Weber, by all accounts a swift and fluent composer, left relatively few preliminary manuscripts: *Euryanthe* and *Oberon*, in the collection of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, are his only surviving drafts for completed operas. The *Euryanthe* draft is so orderly that it resembles a fair copy, seemingly devoid of the typical compositional struggles, and yet closer examination reveals erasures and overwriting that obscure earlier layers of notation (Tusa 1991: 145). While Weber's first drafts for portions of these operas are available, allowing examination of his earliest recorded ideas in selected passages, it is not possible to trace the genesis of either *Euryanthe* or *Oberon* in full. In recent years, however, technology has come to the aid of scholarship: photographically enhanced reproductions of Weber's drafts reveal the content of the erased layers, facilitating a more thorough study of these operas (Tusa 1991: 148).

It is unusual to find a foreign hand in preliminary musical materials, especially those of a composer whose artistic creed brooked no collaborators. Yet Wagner's pencil drafts for all four *Ring* operas, as well as *Tristan und Isolde*, were traced over in ink after he completed them. Whether inking may have made the drafts easier to read during the composition phase (Bailey 1979: 293), or simply preserved them for posterity (Darcy 1992a: 218), these non-autograph interventions complicate the study of Wagner's manuscripts. The hand of his paramour, Mathilde Wesendonck, appears in *Das Rheingold*, *Die Walküre*, half of *Siegfried*, and most of *Tristan und Isolde*, while the writing in the remaining drafts is unknown. It can be difficult to trace the drafts' development, and

even to discern their final layer, since Wagner tended not to cross out the readings that he replaced, and Wesendonck subsequently inked nearly everything that she saw (Darcy 1993: 21). Over time, Wagner's pencil markings have faded, rendering microfilms of the drafts virtually useless. Once again, technology comes to the rescue: the ability to manipulate digital photographs of manuscripts, temporarily changing their color and contrast, often reveals notations that are no longer visible to the naked eye.

Autograph Scores

Depending on the circumstances, an autograph score can be the most awe-inspiring, informative, or controversial of musical sources. Autographs have historically been valued as the locus of "the composer's intentions," although both that assumption and the validity of the phrase are no longer taken for granted. Given the collaborative nature of opera—not only the typical division of labor between composer and librettist, but also the contributions of performers, production staff, and even audiences—privileging the autograph score over other sources may at times seem arbitrary, giving undue emphasis to one moment in the opera's life. In some cases, the autograph cannot even be counted on to supply the composer's own realized vision, when markings made at other times, or by other hands, vie with earlier layers of notation. Nonetheless, the autograph score provides indispensable evidence of the composer's developing ideals, and in many cases serves as the starting point to investigate the influence of external forces.

Like all manuscripts, operatic autographs can become lost, and because they are typically bound in multiple volumes, individual acts have on occasion been separated from one another. The near worship of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* autograph by its onetime owner, Pauline Viardot, was hardly the norm in past centuries (Everist 2001–2002: 168–169). Occasionally the backstory of an autograph's disappearance is itself worthy of operatic treatment: Charles Gounod's *Polyeucte* fell victim to a custody dispute between the composer and an ex-lover who scrawled her name across every page. While awaiting the score's return, Gounod rewrote the entire opera from memory (Huebner 1990: 87–90). The lost fourth act of Puccini's *Edgar*, cut after the opera's second production, was dramatically rediscovered by his granddaughter shortly before it was to have been performed from a reconstructed edition based on published sources. (Fairtile 2008: 27).

While World War II and its turbulent aftermath consumed music manuscripts of all genres, the consequences for opera seem especially acute. Wagner's fair copies of *Das Rheingold* and *Die Walküre*, presented to Adolf Hitler by the German government, are presumed to have perished in 1945. The autograph of Puccini's *La rondine*, the only one of his operas not published by the Ricordi firm, is also lost. The manuscript holdings of the Prussian State Library, including the complete autograph of *Die Zauberflöte* and portions of *Così fan tutte*, *Idomeneo*, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, and *Le nozze di Figaro*, were evacuated to the countryside for safekeeping, but postwar border changes trapped them behind the Iron Curtain. It was not until 1977 that the Polish government

returned *Die Zauberflöte* to Germany, although the Jagiellonian University in Kraków continues to hold the remaining scores (several of these are now available in facsimile edition; see Mozart 2006–2009). In 2002 a score containing most of Vivaldi's lost opera, *Motezuma*, was discovered among the treasures that departing Soviet soldiers had stolen from the Berlin Sing-Akademie in 1945 and deposited in the Kiev Conservatory.

Sometimes it is the composer himself who is responsible for the loss of an autograph score. Verdi, whose operas were frequent victims of censorship, grew frustrated with the alterations imposed on *Stiffelio*, and after several years he withdrew the score to adapt its music to a less controversial text. The new opera, *Aroldo*, is literally built on the foundations of the old, since Verdi removed seven musical numbers from the *Stiffelio* autograph and incorporated them, to varying degrees, into the new score (Gossett 1993: 201–203). The fate of the remaining pages of the *Stiffelio* autograph remained a mystery until 1992, when it was revealed that they had passed, virtually complete, to Verdi's heirs, who briefly made them available for the purpose of creating a critical edition edited by Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell (Verdi [1850] 2003). Although the autograph of *Stiffelio* no longer exists, it has nonetheless managed to fulfill one of the scholarly functions traditionally associated with sources of this type.

During the rehearsal period, operas may undergo changes both subtle and extensive. To be sure, the long-standing practice of altering a work at this stage often benefits the composer, as he is able to experience and evaluate what had heretofore existed only in his imagination. At the same time, composers sometimes face pressure from singers, conductors, and others who urge their own modifications to the score. Without supporting documentation, it can be nearly impossible to determine whether an alteration was desired by the composer or imposed upon him. While Berlioz scribbled sarcastic descriptions of the cuts forced on *Les Troyens* directly into his autograph score (Lacombe 2001: 23), such vivid protestations are rare in musical sources. Correspondence, memoirs, or newspaper reports may disclose the circumstances behind a particular revision, but the autograph will typically reveal only what was changed, remaining silent about why.

Scores can sometimes be coaxed to give up their secrets when compared with a contemporaneous libretto. The autograph of Gounod's *Faust* contains only a fraction of the opera's original text. Where the missing words should appear, gaps are instead visible in the manuscript's folio structure, indicating that Gounod had likely set the entire text to music, but then removed pages from the score during rehearsals (Huebner 1990: 119n). While the censor exacted his predictable toll, other parts of the opera fell victim to the demands of Marie Miolan-Carvalho, Gounod's first Marguerite and, not coincidentally, the wife of the Théâtre Lyrique's director, Léon Carvalho. By studying the surviving fragments that Gounod had removed from the autograph, as well as correspondence, newspaper accounts, and early editions, Steven Huebner has convincingly reconstructed the original *Faust*, thus broadening our understanding of the opera's characters and its genre (Huebner 1990: 120).

Although intentional cuts may account for most of the gaps in an autograph score, the work habits of certain composers raise the possibility of alternate explanations. Rossini

and Bellini, two composers who did not prepare drafts of their operas, could not anticipate how many score pages an orchestrated musical number would require; therefore, they wrote on loose bifolios meant to be bound consecutively in the finished autograph (see Tyson 1987: 17 for a description of a prototypical "late operatic score" by Mozart that presents a similar arrangement). In such an arrangement, an individual bifolio could easily become detached and lost, without indicating a deliberate modification to the score (Gossett 2006: 58). Missing score pages can also distort our understanding of the orchestration of operas from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The use of oblong manuscript paper at a time when orchestral forces were beginning to expand beyond the paper's vertical capacity required certain accommodations: one solution was to insert loose pages, collectively called a *spartitino* by Italians, to contain the "overflow" instruments, typically brass and percussion. These inserted pages, too, are easily lost, which can give the false impression of a thinner orchestral texture (Gossett 2006: 54).

Owing to particular traditions of composition and production, it is not unusual to discover multiple hands in the autograph score of an opera. Identifying the foreign notations, when possible, may elucidate why they are present and how their interventions might have affected the composer's own contribution. In some cases it is simply a matter of expediency. Benjamin Britten often asked his copyist, Imogen Holst, to transfer vocal lines from his composition draft into his autograph score; Britten then penciled the orchestral texture into the latter himself. In the case of *The Turn of the Screw*, Holst eventually inked over Britten's notation as well, since the composer needed to conduct from this score in a poorly illuminated orchestra pit (Evans 1985: 65).

Perhaps the most complex autograph manuscripts, in terms of the number and type of interventions, are those of Gioachino Rossini. At times pressured to create an opera, quite literally, in a matter of weeks, Rossini might ask other musicians to contribute not only *secco* recitative, but sometimes also entire musical numbers, albeit ones of lesser significance. Contributions such as Michele Carafa's to *Mosé in Egitto*, Giovanni Pacini's to *Matilde di Shabran*, and Luca Agolini's to *La Cenerentola* are identifiable not only by their composer's hands, but also by their "working" appearance in the midst of Rossini's fair copy (Gossett 2004: 83). In addition to these higher profile interventions, Rossini's scores also contain passages in which his own orchestral accompaniments support vocal melodies supplied by his copyists. To add to the complexity, Rossini lost possession of some of his autographs, which were at times altered by performers. The end result is that portions of Rossini's autograph manuscripts can actually be less authentic than copyists' manuscripts containing his corrections, or those that were used in productions that he supervised (Cagli et al. 1974: 43).

Some autograph scores also contain annotations by copyists or editors. Rehearsal numbers, pagination, and formatting marks are not uncommon in scores that were used as exemplars for manuscript or printed copies. Puccini's *Edgar*, his second opera, goes a step further, since it contains an ongoing dialogue between the young composer and a member of the editorial staff of his publisher, Ricordi. Scattered throughout *Edgar*'s autograph score are the editor's questions, notational clarifications, and even corrections, all geared toward producing a usable copy of the manuscript. The score also

contains Puccini's responses as he answers the editor's queries, accepts or rejects his suggestions, and asks questions of his own. Apparently, the *Edgar* autograph repeatedly traveled between Puccini and Ricordi as the copyist's manuscript was being prepared. The result is a remarkable conversation between a young composer and a presumably more experienced editor, as the former moved closer to the accomplished orchestrator that he would soon become.

Performing Scores and Parts

The survival of performing scores and parts, like autograph materials, can be threatened by war and other disasters. But lacking the cultural significance of composers' autographs, performing materials are not always moved to safety when their surroundings are endangered. Ricordi's extensive rental archive was destroyed in a bombing raid during World War II, taking with it invaluable evidence of performing traditions dating back over a century. Fortunately, similar materials are often discovered in theater archives throughout the Western world, either because duplicate scores and parts were prepared locally, or the originals were never returned to the publisher. Composer-centered archives such as the American Institute for Verdi Studies (see bibliography) hold microfilmed copies of performing materials obtained throughout Europe and the United States.

Performing scores and parts can furnish essential evidence of not only the practices of a particular place and time, but also modifications to individual operas. They must, however, be approached with an understanding of their origins, not the least because regional differences in duplication practices influence the relative reliability of manuscript materials. In Italy, throughout the eighteenth and much of the nineteenth century, a handwritten copy was made from the autograph, and this, in turn, served as both the exemplar for instrumental parts and as the performing score that was loaned to theaters. Additional scores and parts were often prepared by local copyists at these theaters, and they, in turn, sold or rented their materials—of variable quality and accuracy—on what was essentially a black market. If nothing more than a vocal score could be obtained, an enterprising copyist would often prepare his own orchestration for sale or for rent. Such illicit activity persisted even after Bellini and Donizetti made distribution agreements with Ricordi, their publisher, and both composers' correspondence is rife with complaints about performances from unauthorized copies (Gossett 2006: 82–83). These materials, often inaccurate at best, may furnish evidence of local performing traditions, but they should not be trusted as authoritative texts. In France, by contrast, performing materials for provincial theaters were centrally produced directly from the autograph score. As a result, these parts exhibit a higher degree of fidelity to their source (Gossett 2006: 79).

Performing materials can be an indispensable resource for tracing an opera's development beyond the autograph score. Certain types of revisions, especially those whose

utility becomes apparent only when the work is staged, are more likely to appear in scores and parts used in the theater. Ian Woodfield's study of manuscript materials for *Così fan tutte* reveals that during the opera's rehearsal period, Mozart marked cuts and other changes in the copyist's score from which he led performances, rather than in his own autograph (Woodfield 2008: 152; Edge 2001). These alterations, in turn, were transferred to a "reference score" used to create subsequent copies. Like all changes made while preparing a performance, Mozart's in *Così fan tutte* may represent accommodations to specific circumstances rather than abstractly conceived improvements. Nonetheless, their presence in a score intended to serve as an exemplar confirms their significance, while also challenging the autograph's traditional position as the principal source of the composer's intentions.

In addition to cutting material, composers sometimes create additional music during the rehearsal period. To sustain dramatic interest and also to cover any backstage noises resulting from set changes, it is common to place instrumental interludes between scenes of an act, but it is often difficult to predict the amount of time that might be needed for these passages in the theater. Leoš Janáček composed interludes to link the scenes of *Káťa Kabanová* during rehearsals for the opera's second production, and he lengthened them some six years later after observing additional performances. Because theaters ransacked Universal Edition's rental archive during World War II, the only complete sources for the interludes are two sets of instrumental parts originating at the National Theater in Brno (Straková 1982: 134, 142). Similar compositional circumstances compelled Claude Debussy to extend the interludes in *Pelléas et Mélisande*, but in this case, because André Messager conducted from the composer's autograph, the revised interludes appear in that score. Messager maintained that Debussy composed the extended interludes during rehearsals, while Henri Büsser, who conducted the remaining performances in the initial run, insisted that they originated several months after the premiere. Evidence seems to favor Messager's recollection (Grayson 1988: 76–78).

Printed scores, though a relatively recent means of transmission, may also contain important details about an opera's genesis. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, engraved full scores began to supplant the manuscript copies that were rented to theaters. At first, publishers only printed scores, which because of anticipated demand and textual stability would likely recoup the initial costs, such as Ricordi's rental editions of *La traviata*, *Otello*, *Falstaff*, and *Aida*. Similar changes also occurred in France, where Choudens circulated manuscript scores of Bizet's commercially risky *Les pêcheurs de perles* (Lacombe 2001: 312) and *Carmen* (Wright 1978: 61) before engraving full scores in the 1890s. Publishers' reluctance to commit money and time to uncertain ventures persisted into the twentieth century, as Ricordi waited some three years to engrave a full score of Puccini's repeatedly revised *Madama Butterfly*.

The printed score of Verdi's *Falstaff*, engraved in the months before the opera's 1893 premiere, seems, in a sense, to have assumed the role of the autograph manuscript. James Hepokoski surmises that Verdi checked and corrected proof copies of the printed score and orchestral parts (Hepokoski 1992: 31). But while the composer typically annotated his autographs to produce "definitive" sources that reflected subsequent modifications,

some of the changes in the engraved *Falstaff* score do not appears in the autograph. Thus Hepokoski argues that the autograph, while a precious artifact of the creative process, is merely an "initiator text," and should not be considered the opera's principal source. For Hepokoski, the 1893 printed score assumes that role, by virtue of its more recent, composer-sanctioned readings.

Certain aspects of performance practice, such as vocal ornamentation, are amply illustrated in scores that were used or owned by singers. In distinguishing between "salon-style" and "theater-style" ornamentation in Rossini's vocal numbers, Damien Colas confirms that ordinary published scores are unreliable sources of actual practice (Colas 2004: 121). Rossini's handwritten ornamentation survives in both singers' personal scores and in performing materials retained by theaters. Singers, however, tended to record their own preferred ornaments only in rapid tempos, relying on improvisation in *cantabile* passages (Colas 2004: 122). Even if they bear no connection to the composer, the performing scores of prominent singers have become treasured artifacts, transmitting personal interpretations and establishing traditions that are sometimes at odds with the composer's own wishes.

Recent Developments

Scholars of the twentieth century and beyond must inevitably confront the decline in written communication occasioned by the use of the telephone, as well as by the greater ease with which people now travel to speak face to face. The recent adoption of e-mail only partially mitigates the gradual disappearance of the letter as a medium of communication. Those who study the music of the recent past face a similar collection of rewards and challenges. While technology has given us audio and video recordings of performances, digital photography of manuscripts, and online catalogues of archival collections, the personal computer threatens to eliminate many of the documents that have traditionally enabled the study of an opera's genesis. Where composers once drafted an aria on manuscript paper, many now enter musical ideas into a computer, deleting notes and overwriting old files without a trace. John Adams involves computers in the compositional process itself, describing his recent practice as a combination of handwritten sketching and computer-assisted drafting:

> I don't go through a whole piece making a pencil "rough draft" in the way that, for instance, Mahler did a "short score." Instead, I keep several spiral-bound manuscript books, and I only use them when I need to figure out something that is not clear in my mind. I might sit at the piano or I might just scribble in the book until I've understood something and seen how it works, and then I go back to the "sequencer" program, and I'll enter it into the MIDI file so that it plays back in real time. I create exceptionally long and complex sequences with the software. They play a whole bank of samples that I have stored in several hard drives. I've collected these samples over ten years, so I have a lot of them, and I update them periodically. I have two hefty

> computers that I run in tandem when I'm making a MIDI sketch of a big orchestra piece or an opera. (May 2006: 20–21)

Some contemporary composers, mindful of scholarly interest in their work processes, make a special effort to preserve paper copies of their computer-generated materials. Daron Hagen retains and prints successive drafts of his operas so that every change is documented, and he communicates with his collaborators by e-mail rather than over the telephone (telephone conversation with the author, May 27, 2009). Like many composers today, Hagen self-publishes his works. His method of distributing performance materials to the cast of *Amelia*, premiered by the Seattle Opera in 2010, illustrates a benefit of working in an online environment: the opera's principal singers were given access to a password-protected website on which Hagen placed pdf files of *Amelia*'s vocal score. When he modified a scene, he simply uploaded an edited file, and an automatically generated message informed the cast of the change.

Production Materials

Numerous types of non-musical sources contribute to our knowledge of individual operas and to our understanding of broader issues affecting their creation and performance. The *libroni*, or internal ledgers, of the publisher Ricordi establish the date that a score could be assigned to copyists or engravers. Theater rosters, pay records, and the like have long been consulted to determine the activities of a singer or the makeup of an orchestra. Sergio Durante uses the evidence of a contract, especially its reference to specific set designs, to revise the accepted compositional chronology of Mozart's *La clemenza di Tito* (Durante 1999: 573). In each of these cases, documents created in order to facilitate operatic productions serve the additional purpose of giving testimony about those productions. Many of these materials continue to reside in the archives of theaters or publishers (see, for example, the historical archive of Venice's Teatro La Fenice, the web address for which is noted in the bibliography as Fenice 2014), while some can now be found in library collections.

In recent decades, increased attention has been paid to staging manuals (*livrets de mises en scènes* in French, *disposizioni sceniche* in Italian) that describe scenery, blocking, gesture, props, and other visual aspects of opera production. Although these documents might appear to serve similar purposes in French and Italian opera, they actually represent two different traditions. The *livrets de mises en scènes*, brought to scholarly attention largely through the efforts of H. Robert Cohen, are best known from a series of some two hundred volumes published by Louis Palianti, the assistant stage manager of the Opéra Comique from 1836 to 1872 (Lacombe 2001: 58). The staging manuals in Palianti's collection (*Collection de mises en scènes de grands opéras et d'opéras-comiques publiées par M. L[ouis]Palianti*; modern editions of *livrets de mises en scènes* include Cohen 1990 and Cohen 1998), as well as countless others, were circulated among provincial theaters so that they could model their performances on those produced in Paris. As Arnold Jacobshagen has observed, however, these manuals did not necessarily depict

the operas' original productions, and were often full of cuts, text changes, and other modifications (Jacobshagen 2001: 251).

Italian *disposizioni sceniche*, by contrast, incline more toward control than illustration. The best-known examples, for seven of Verdi's later operas, were issued by, and in some cases authored by, Giulio Ricordi, head of the firm that published Verdi's music (Ricordi has issued modern editions of the *disposizioni sceniche* for four operas: Verdi's *Un ballo in maschera*, *Simon Boccanegra*, and *Otello*, as well as Boito's *Mefistofele*). Although the Italian staging manuals were likely inspired by their French counterparts, Ricordi clearly indicated that his were prescriptive rather than descriptive. The *disposizione scenica* for *Otello* (Hepokoski and Viale Ferrero 1990) is the final known volume for a Verdi opera (Ricordi's *libroni* contain an entry for a *disposizione scenica* dedicated to *Falstaff*, but no copy has ever been located). It is breathtakingly detailed, often giving line-by-line interpretations that include movements, motivations, and facial expressions (Gossett 2006: 460).

The visual elements of opera production are also preserved in designs for sets, costumes, and entire theaters. While these materials often reside in libraries and archives, they are sometimes reproduced in exhibition catalogues and secondary literature. In his analysis of what appear to be the original sets for Bizet's *Carmen*, Evan Baker details various formats in which set and costume designs were transmitted throughout nineteenth-century France, and suggests locations where they can be studied today (Baker 1990: 230–231). Olga Jesurum's exploration of stage sets created by Romolo and Tancredi Liverani for Italian operas of the early nineteenth century identifies entire albums of watercolor designs in both Italy and New York (Jesurum 2006). The influence of performance space on the production of French Baroque opera has been studied by Barbara Coeyman, who uses seventeenth-century architectural plans to help visualize stage works by Lully and Lalande (Coeyman 1990).

The wide variety of source materials that survive for many operas reinforces the genre's fundamentally collaborative and fluid nature. Even documents that originate with the composer frequently reveal the influence, if not outright intervention, of multiple creators. The notion of a fixed, definitive text crumbles in the presence of rehearsal revisions, substitute arias, and reactions to criticism. From Mozart's reworkings of *Così fan tutte* to Daron Hagen's updated pdfs of pages from *Amelia*, composers themselves call attention to the ongoing development of countless operas.

See also: Editing Opera, Reconstructions, Production Aesthetics and Materials, Autographs, Memorabilia, and the Aesthetics of Collecting

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