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Keywords

Giuseppe Verdi; Aroldo; Stiffelio; Le Pasteur; opera

Apropos AROLD, STIFFELIO, and LE PASTEUR, with a List of 19th Century Performances of AROLD*

Martin Chusid

Few 20th century authors have been as completely uninformed on the performance history of *Stiffelio* and *Arold* as Karl Holl who wrote "*Stiffelio* appeared in Rome and Naples under the name *Guglielmo Wellingrode* and, seven years after the premiere in Trieste, was performed once more, as *Arold*, in Rimini."¹ But until Marcello Conati's listing of *Stiffelio* performances in the third Quaderno of the Istituto di Studi Verdiani (Parma, 1968), there was little concrete information about the actual stagings of that work, and as far as I know, nothing substantial about *Arold* before this article. It is not surprising, then, that writers on Verdi have missed the mark about the relative box-office success of these works. Charles Osborne, for example, flatly states that "*Arold* was less of a success than *Stiffelio*" and doesn't mention a single performance in the 19th century after the premiere in Rimini, although he reports several in the 20th.² Even Julian Budden, in the second volume of what has rapidly become the standard reference work on Verdi's operas, says "Performances [of *Arold*] were few and far between."³ He mentions only three after Rimini: Bologna, Turin, and Naples, where he reports a fiasco in 1859.

But the facts point the other way. To Conati's *Stiffelio* listing can be added two stagings at Palma de Mallorca.⁴ However, the performance reported in 1893 at Oporto (Conati's no. 10a) should be subtracted inasmuch as the libretto dated that year and printed in that city makes it clear that this is a reprinting of an earlier libretto, and not the result of a new staging.⁵ The stagings at Catania and Corfù (Conati's nos. 5 and 9) should also be questioned; neither can be confirmed by librettos, theater chronicles or

contemporary periodicals. They may fall into the same category as a performance in Vienna which was intended but never took place. In fact, Verdi was paid royalties for that projected performance,⁶ and one of the three known manuscript copies of the orchestral score of *Stiffelio* is to be found in the Austrian capital, with a film at AIVS.

If Conati's listing as revised above is considered, it is surprising to find fully six stagings of the opera with the original text to have taken place on the Iberian peninsula. Of the stagings in Italy, only three were mounted as *Stiffelio*, twice in Trieste (1850 and 1852) and once in Venice (1852). The other five Italian stagings—not counting Catania—made use of the bastardized text of *Guglielmo Wellingrode* against which Verdi railed, but for which he received royalty payments nonetheless. Except in two cities, then, Italian audiences never heard *Stiffelio* and only in Venice were they able to experience the final scene, dramatically the most important moment in the opera, as originally conceived by Verdi.

By comparison, I have been able to locate 47 different stagings of *Arold*, most of them in Italy. Tom Kaufman has suggested 42 additional stagings, the majority from cities outside of Italy. Please see the appendices. My sources were primarily the libretto collection of the Verdi Archive at New York University, mainly on microfilm, with full casts and other bibliographical information entered into the American Institute's computer. Thirty-two stagings are from this source (Appendix A). Thirteen more derive from a listing of stagings during the years 1860 and 1861 compiled by Verdi to determine whether his publisher, Ricordi, was paying royalties properly.⁷ Verdi

*Essentially a reprint of a paper for the International Conference "Tornando a *Stiffelio*" (Venice, 17-20 December 1985). Proceedings edited by Giovanni Morelli (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1987). Since that paper, one additional staging of *Arold*, at Padua in 1868, has been noted and added to Appendix B.

compiled such lists for his other operas as well, and did indeed find that he was being cheated. Additional stagings derive from my listing of "American Premieres of Verdi's Operas" (*Verdi Newsletter* No. 2, 1976) and Antonio Paderotti's *Spettacoli melodrammatici e coreografici rappresentati in Padova . . . dal 1751 al 1892* (Padua, 1892). See appendix B which lists all 89 stagings in chronological order.

Comparing the revised listing by Conati of *Stiffelio* stagings (14 without Catania) with those known for *Aroldo* reveals more than six times as many stagings of the revised version.

* * * *

For many years Francis Toye's book *Giuseppe Verdi*, first published in 1946, was the most frequently consulted source of information about the composer and his music in the English language. He too was mistaken about the number of stagings of *Aroldo* asserting that "with the exception of a performance at Treviso in October [1857], the opera can scarcely be said to have survived Rimini."⁸ About the revision itself, he wrote "The absurdity of the libretto is too patent to need emphasis. Why did Mina, not really in love with Godvino, give him Aroldo's ring? What is the point of Briano's confusion between Enrico and Godvino? The coincidences in the action are incredible. None of the characters has any personality and Briano, in particular, is a mere god from the machine. The trouble doubtless originated in the change of libretto."⁹

Since Toye has no chapter on *Stiffelio*, one wonders how well he knew the opera. Most of the problems he mentions as belonging to *Aroldo* are already to be found in *Stiffelio*. In fact, a number of them originated in the play. Since they were completely omitted by Piave in constructing his libretto, for the second part of my paper I should like to discuss portions of the drama's first and second acts. In the process it may be possible to clarify some of the more obscure references in both librettos, but especially in that of *Stiffelio*.

For example, it is probably useful for audiences of *Stiffelio* to be aware that the

hero was found by Jorg as a child, recently orphaned and weeping in a graveyard. The old minister then raised the boy and gave him a fine education. As a result, Stiffelio feels toward Jorg as towards a father. However, some time before the play begins, the hero has gone into hiding, as much from Jorg and his other friends as from the enemies of the religious sect of which he is the leader. It is clear that he is escaping from the pressures of public life, an escape facilitated by a shipwreck on the Salzbach river in which he is believed to have drowned. Though extremely ill, he has been saved and nursed back to health by Lina who knows him only as Rodolfo Mueller. To escape recognition, he has adopted his mother's family name. Having fallen in love, Rodolpho and Lina marry. The worldly, cynical Dorotea, as in the opera one of Lina's cousins, characterizes the marriage in somewhat sneering fashion as one of 'inclination.' To marry Rodolfo Lina has had to break an engagement to another cousin, the featherbrained Federico. By chance, Jorg sees Stiffelio on the streets of Salzburg. The younger man slips away, but by the contrivance of dropped papers—a weak dramatic device which recurs elsewhere in the play—Jorg traces him to Stankar's castle. The old minister then reveals Rodolfo's true identity to the villain, Raffaele, Count of Leuthold. Confronted by Jorg, Stiffelio insists he be allowed to live a private life, to devote himself to his beloved Lina. Jorg is enraged and curses him. Meanwhile, Raffaele has summoned the police who have arrived at the entrance of the castle to arrest both Stiffelio and Jorg. Evangelical preaching has been proscribed in the region, at least for the moment. Later there seems to be no problem, although no explanation is offered for the change of attitude on the part of the authorities. At any rate, as they are preparing to leave through a back door, Stiffelio and Jorg are reconciled. The young man has heard that his coreligionists are under attack at Innsbruck, and he feels it would be cowardly to abandon them now. Unfortunately, the impression given is that were the police not at the front gate, he might well have stayed at the castle. The two decisions (i.e. to flee the police and to rejoin his sect, the

Assasverians) are simply too close in time to convince the audience that they were made independently of each other. In any case, this series of events explains Stiffelio's long absence from Lina, although he clearly loves her. In this and other scenes of the play Jorg warns of the danger to religious zeal posed by love—a variant of the dramatic conflict between love and duty used so much more effectively in *Aida* and elsewhere—and the brief opening scene for Jorg in the opera, you may recall, closes with the Minister's "Ah voglia il cielo che l'amore non sia inciampo al zelo!" Despite its seeming importance, neither play nor opera make use of the potential conflict effectively. Instead it is replaced by a more complicated idea, one that becomes the heart of the drama: can a man betrayed by his wife forgive her, since she really loves him and has loved him all the time? In *Le Pasteur* and *Stiffelio* there is the added interest of the man being a Protestant minister, and at the moment of decision he is reminded that Christ forgave the adulteress, Mary Magdalene. Of course, skeptics might argue that Christ was not married to Mary Magdalene.

One of the important points made in the confrontation scene discussed earlier is that Stiffelio loves Lina so much that he would sacrifice his position as a famous religious leader for her. As in other aspects of the drama, unfortunately, the message does not come across in an unambiguous fashion. The audience might well see him as weak in surrendering his position of leadership; it might well ask "Why can't he keep his wife and the position?" Which in fact he does at the end of both the play and the original version of the opera. Furthermore, it is quite in keeping for a false Dmitri in *Boris Godounov* to escape from the police on the Lithuanian border by slipping out a back door. But a true hero, especially if he is an important symbolic figure such as a religious leader, just does not act that way. Back door escapes work well in bedroom farces—which this play, unintentionally, suggests too often.

An even more serious problem is presented by the authors' failure to deal satisfactorily with the adultery of Lina and Raffaele. If she really loves Stiffelio, whom she has married relatively recently, how can

she exchange letters with Raffaele, much less give him her wedding ring, a Stiffelio family heirloom to which, in Lina's words, her husband attaches an almost superstitious significance? Furthermore, the scene between Lina and Raffaele before the fall, and the circumstances leading to that fall (end of Act II in the play) make the event when it does occur more in the nature of rape rather than adultery. In fact, it is clear from the one time that Raffaele and Lina are alone together (Act II, Scene 7) that Lina has not yet succumbed to his passion. She insists that she doesn't want to receive any more of his letters and asks for the return of hers. They have been exchanging the letters in a volume by Klopstock, his *Messiah*, which has a lock. It was a gift from Raffaele who obviously kept a key to facilitate communication in an age when women were closely chaperoned. In the next scene Stankar appears with a letter from Stiffelio. To this point all of Stiffelio's letters have been intercepted by a servant of Stankar, Fritz, secretly in the employ of Raffaele. Lina discovers that Stiffelio is as astonished at not hearing from them as they are at not hearing from him. Raffaele realizes he must use a more direct approach to achieve his ends.

In the play, though not in the opera, Raffaele is an extraordinarily interesting character. He is a scientist, a medical doctor, with pretensions as a philosopher as well. He is also fascinating to women. In Stankar's words, he is half Faust and half Don Juan. And here, perhaps, is the source of some of the drama's problems. Mozart's *Don Giovanni* was extremely popular in Paris during the 19th century, and its influence obviously extended to the spoken as well as the lyric theater. The particular stratagem adopted by Raffaele to accomplish his sexual goal suggests, I think, the scene between Don Giovanni and Donna Anna opening the opera. The libertine's lackey helps him to hide until everyone has either retired for the night or left the castle. By a ruse, Stankar has ostensibly been drawn away. Raffaele slips into Lina's bedroom where, unlike Donna Anna, Lina does *not* scream for help. Had she done so she might have been rescued, for Stankar—never taken in by the ruse—had returned to the castle.

He arrives prepared, in the fashion of the Commendatore, to dual with the seducer. In the final scene of Act II, he place two pistols on a table and waits for Raffaele, but in vain. It should be observed that later in the play as well as in the opera, he returns Commendatorelike and causes the death of the libertine.

The positioning of Stankar outside of Lina's bedroom explains the boatman's otherwise strange story. Raffaele trapped inside is forced to leap into the river to escape. As in the Mozart opera, there is a certain amount of ambiguity about the offstage scene. Was Don Gionanni successful with Donna Anna? Was Lina raped or merely coaxed? Later in both play and opera she claims to have been "betrayed." This suggests rape. Meanwhile, Raffaele, strangely enough for even half a Don Giovanni, remains constant in his love for Lina, much too constant for her unsuccessful attempts to hide the affair.

How the operatic audience is supposed to understand Raffaele's leap from Lina's window without the prior information given above is a mystery. Yert Piave retained Stiffelio's narrative, the boatman's story, as the first scene of *Aroldo* in a complete libretto draft of that work retained at Sant'Agata.¹⁰ This is a document in the poet's hand with corrections, additions, and annotations by Verdi. It is to the composer's credit that he would not accept Piave's thoughts on the matter. Inserted into the document at this point is the present introductory chorus "Tocchiamo!...a gaudio insolito," completely in Verdi's hand. Piave had merely dropped Jorg's opening remarks for the new opening number of *Aroldo*.

As Steven Shrader wrote in *Verdi Newsletter* No. 12 (1984), this libretto draft shows Verdi's extensive contributions to the verbal text of *Aroldo*.¹¹ At this point we may examine the libretto sketch for Mina's Scena ed Aria beginning Act II ("Ah dagli scanni eterei") with regard both to its final version and the original in *Stiffelio*. There is no counterpart in the play for the monologue portions of the number, the Scena (recitative) and Largo, which suggests an observation. Librettists and composers frequently insert formal musical numbers, especially arias and choruses which have little or no justification

in the plot of the original literary source, at the beginning of acts, before the drama picks up momentum. Frequently, as here, in the Anvil chorus, and Iago's *Credo*, the results are eminently successful, sometimes less so or not at all.¹²

For his first (?) revision of the scene, except for the cabaletta Piave simply copied the *Stiffelio* text with new names, his approach with all too much of *Aroldo* in the draft at Sant'Agata. But, as with the opera's first scene and elsewhere, Verdi would not accept the results. Here he cancels the first three lines and writes in the margin "Come... perchè ["bisogna trovare" cancelled] Mina a questo luogo, e non ha ["niente l'invi(to)" cancelled] potuto leggere l'invito che le ha inviato Godvino!" Clearly the composer recognized that Mina—and Lina for that matter—could not know that "Egli verrà." Her father had destroyed Godvino-Raffaele's note. Nor could she have overheard Egberto-Stankar arrange to meet the villain in the graveyard.

Verdi objected even more to the retention of the *tempo di mezzo* in the number. He not only cancelled it completely, but he wrote out the text as it appears in the final version. This raises an important question about the draft. Which of Verdi's *interventi* did the composer actually author in the precise fashion they are written out? There is some evidence—the "fair copy" quality of certain of the passages—to hypothesize that Verdi may have copied into the libretto draft material provided by the poet on separate sheets. This may be true, for example, of passages such as the opening chorus which reveal no corrections or changes by comparison with the final version. Why would Verdi have bothered to copy such material? To have the entire libretto in front of him while he composed. In this regard it should be observed that Piave wrote the original version of the draft only on the recto pages, though all the pages are numbered.¹³ This allowed corrections and additions to be made on the facing page, the verso of the preceding folio. With Verdi's "fair copy" passages, we might construct the sequence of events as follows. Verdi reacted negatively to a portion of the draft, either in person—Piave visited Sant'Agata during a

number of his collaborations with Verdi (e.g. *Stiffelio*, *Rigoletto*, *Traviata*, and *Aroldo*)—or by letter. He might have suggested rough approximations of the text, isolated phrases, or key words as Shrader indicated with regard to Lina's *Scena ed Preghiera* and the *Finale* of Act I of *Stiffelio*, or as he did in the letters dated January 14 and 28, 1851 to Piave about crucial sections of Act II of *Rigoletto*.¹⁴ Piave would then have made the necessary revisions and given directly or sent them to Verdi who would have copied them into the libretto draft.

Examining the differences in the texts of the final versions of the soprano's Act II scene in both versions of the opera, figure 1, we may better understand Verdi's objections and the new dramatic implications. (See Figure 1, pp. 20 and 21).

Praying at her mother's grave becomes in *Aroldo* the purpose of her visit to the cemetery, not an incidental byproduct of an assignation. To be sure, at the beginning of the new version the "irresistible force" (line 2 of the *Scena*) is as yet unrecognized; but the reference is now made more emphatically. In passing it may be noted that there is no more justification for the references to Lina-Mina's mother in the play by Souvestre and Bourgeois than there is for Gilda's mother in Victor Hugo's *Le roi s'amuse*. Piave wrote both librettos in 1850 and at the time seems to have been obsessed with the idea of a departed, angelic mother looking down from heaven and failing to protect her daughter from sexual exploitation. But at least there is now a consistency in the scene, and a somewhat better justification for the cabaletta. The prayer to the mother (*Largo*) is now opposed to the anger of the mother's ghost (cabaletta). With regard to the relationship between Lina-Mina and Raffaele-Godvino, there is a small improvement in the dramatic implications of the new *tempo di mezzo*. The references to an exchange of letters ("I miei scritti" in line 10 of *Stiffelio*), present both in the play and in the first version of the opera, are now dropped.

With regard to the cabaletta, it may be noticed that Piave only provided two stanzas of text in the *Aroldo* draft, just as he had done for *Stiffelio*. When Verdi decided he needed text for the *Più mosso*, he no doubt requested another stanza, or wrote it himself. I think the former and my reasoning is as follows. Verdi's copy of the cabaletta, with a new conclusion to stanza two—because "maledetto" is now required in line 11—includes all three stanzas without corrections and, for him, in a very neat hand. Immediately below is a somewhat more hastily written, more cramped version which sounds as if Mina's mother had turned into Monterone or his ghost. See especially line 10 of the alternate version: "Vi persegue a tutte l'ore." This latter version is hardly distinguished poetry—notice the doggerel-like effect produced by lines 10 and 11—and I suspect represents Verdi's own literary efforts.

From his correspondence, we know that it was Verdi who suggested the subjects of *Ernani*, *Macbeth*, *Rigoletto*, and *Traviata*, the four most successful operas for which Piave was either completely or mainly responsible as librettist. But it was the poet who suggested *Stiffelio*. If Verdi had read the complete play *Le Pasteur*, or its Italian translation, *Stiffelius*, first, I wonder if he would have suggested it as an operatic subject to Piave, or to any of his other librettists? I find it an extraordinarily weak play. One other point. In those of Verdi's letters to Piave that are currently available for study, I find something missing in the *Stiffelio* and *Aroldo* group. Yes, Verdi says "polish, abbreviate," but never "stay close to the original and you can't go wrong." Furthermore, as far as I can tell from the *Aroldo* libretto draft, none of the changes for which Verdi appears to be responsible derive from the original play, as did so many of the revisions, for example, in *Don Carlo*, a drama which the composer admired in a way he could never have admired *Le Pasteur*.

Figure 1

STIFFELIO

AROLDO

Scena

Lina

- 1 Oh cielo! ... ove son io! ... [Verdi: 'dove']
- 2 Quale incognita possa [Verdi adds: 'qui'] mi trascina! ...
- 3 Egli verrà! ... qui ... dove dove tutto è orrore! ...
- 4 Sopra ogni tomba sculto.

Mina

- 1 Oh cielo! ... ove son io! ...
- 2 Qui mi trascina irresistibil possa! ...
- 3 Qui della morte è il regno ... tutto è orrore! ...
- 4 In ogni tomba sculto.

[Both versions identical from line 5 through the end of the *Largo*]

Tempo di mezzo

Raffaello

- 1 Lina!... Lina!

Lina

- 2 Per pietade, mio padre è qui presso.
- 3 Indovina Rodolfo, sa tutto...

Raffaello

- 4 Federico reo solo ei sospetta; [Verdi: 'sol reo']
- 5 Vostro padre la prova ha distrutto ...

Lina

- 6 E il rimorso ch'eterno ne aspetta?

Raffaello

- 7 Non lo teme chi serve all'amore.

Lina

- 8 Fui sorpresa; non v'ama il mio core ...

Raffaello

- 9 Cruda! io sempre pur v'amò ... [Verdi omits 'io']

Lina

Il provate ...

- 10 I miei scritti, l'anel mi ridate ...

- 11 Di qua tosto partite, involatevi ...

Raffaello

- 12 No, a difenderti qui resterò.

Godvino

- 1 Mina!

Mina

Voi qui!... Non profanate questo

- 2 Santo loco ... Lasciatemi alle preci.

Godvino

- 3 Ingrata ... io v'amo sempre ...

Mina

Ah! tal parola

- 4 Non v'esca più dal labbro, e se d'onore

- 5 Più stilla è in voi, l'anello.

- 6 Di colpevole amor pegno funeste.

- 7 Rendetemi, fuggite.

Godvino

- 8 No ... mai ... v'amo; a difenderti qui resto.

Cabaletta (Text Verdi set in both)

Lina

- 1 Perder dunque voi volete
- 2 Questa misera tradita! ...
- 3 Se restate, la mia vita,
- 4 Tutta in pianto scorrerà!
- 5 Maledetto non andrete
- 6 Dalla donna un di beata
- 7 Chi rendeste sventuata
- 8 Benedirvi ancor saprà.

Mina

- 1 Ah dal sen di quella tomba
- 2 Cupo fremito rimbomba! ...
- 3 Scellerato fu l'accento
- 4 Che lo giunse¹ a provocar.
- 5 Di mia madre l'ombra irata
- 6 Già ne sorge, su me guata! ...
- 7 Oh terrore! ... già mi sento²
- 8 Dal suo labbro fulminar.³
- 9 Ah fuggite! ... il mio spavento⁴
- 10 Si raddoppia a voi dinante;
- 11 Maledetto sia l'istante
- 12 Che vi scesi ad ascoltare.

NOTES relating to AROLDO libretto draft

1. Both Verdi and Piave: 'scese'
2. Piave: 'la sento'
3. Piave: 'Maledirmi ed imprecar!'
4. Third stanza missing from Piaves's version; added in Verdi's hand.
An alternative version of this stanza is also in Verdi's hand:
9 Ah fuggite! ... il mio spavento
10 Vi persegue a tutte l'ore
11 I rimorsi il vostro core
12 Sorgan sempre a lacerar

NOTES

1. *Stiffelio* erscheint in Rom und Neapel unter dem Namen *Guglielmo Wellingrode* und wird sieben Jahre nach der Triester Urauffuehrung als *Aroldo* noch einmal in Rimini vorgestellt werden. Dann verschwindet er 'in der Versenkung'. *Giuseppe Verdi* (Zürich: Scientia-Verlag, s.d.) p. 133.
2. *The Complete Operas of Verdi* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1970) p. 215.
3. *The Operas of Verdi*, vol. 2 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979) p. 337.
4. Thomas Kaufman, an historian of 19th century operatic performance history and a member of the American Institute for Verdi Studies, reports stagings of *Stiffelio* at Palma de Mallorca in 1859 with Agostino Agresti in the title role, and in 1866, again with Agresti as well as Naglia (Lina) and Prattico (Stankar). Agresti and Prattico also sang in *Aroldo*. I am grateful to Mr. Kaufman for sharin his unpublished research on *Stiffelio* with me, and for collaborating in the compilation of performances of *Aroldo*. See especially Appendix B.
5. Film in the Verdi Archive of the American Institute for Verdi Studies at Bobst Library, New York University.
6. The year was 1852 and the amount received was 240 francs. Verdi noted his royalties for *Stiffelio* from 1850-1852 in the second of his *Copialettere*, p. 126 (p. 26 from the back of the book). This and other important pages were not printed by Cesare and Luzio in their edition of the *Copialettere* (1913). The original document is at the Villa Verdi at Sant'Agata. There is a film at the American Institute for which we are most grateful to the composer's heirs, the family Carrara Verdi.
7. In Giuseppina Strepponi Verdi's *Copialettere*, vol. 1. Strepponi's copybooks, in which many entries are completely or partially in Verdi's hand, are as yet unpublished. Original at Sant'Agata, film at the American Institute.
8. Paperback edition by Vintage Books (New York, 1959) p. 98.
9. *Ibid.* p. 346.
10. Microfilm at the American Institute.
11. "Verdi, *Aroldo*, and Music Drama," originally a paper written for the NEH Summer Seminar for College Teachers which I directed at New York University in 1983. Mr. Shrader focused on two scenes from Act I, Mina's "Scena ed Preghiera" and the Finale, transcribing Verdi's text, written on Piave's draft, and comparing the results with the final version of the libretto.
12. To remain with examples drawn from the opening of Act II perhaps the weakest moments dramatically in *Rigoletto* and *Traviata* are the scenes for the Duke and Alfredo at this point.
13. Seventy pages in all.
14. See the Introduction to my edition of *Rigoletto* (Chicago and Milan, University of Chicago Press and Ricordi, 1983) I, pp. xvii-xix.

Appendix A

LIBRETTO FOR 19-CENTURY PERFORMANCES OF *AROLDO*
IN THE VERDI ARCHIVE AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Performed: Rimini, Nuovo T. di Rimini, estate 1857. [16 VIII 1857].

Published: Milan, Ricordi, s.d. 32pp.

Cast (premiere): AROLD - - Emilio Pancani; MINA - Marcellina Lotti; EGBERTO - Gaetano Ferri; BRIANO - G. B. Cornago; GODVINO - Salvatore Poggiali; ENRICO - Napoleone Senigaglia; ELENA - Adelaide Panizza.

Another copy with Pl. no. 29837.

Performed: Bologna, T. Comunitativo, aut. 1857. [3 X 1857].

Published: Milan, Ricordi, s.d. Pl. no. 29837. 32pp.

Cast: AROLD - AROLD - Giovanni Landi; MINA - Adelaide Basseggio; EGBERTO - Luigi Merly; BRIANO - Antonio Selva; GODVINO - Giovanni Gambetti; ENRICO - Guglielmo Giordani; ELENA - Luigia Morselli.

Performed: Turin, T. Carignano, aut. 1857. [3 X 1857].

Published: Milan, Ricordi, s.d. 32pp.

Cast: AROLD - Carlo Negrini; MINA - Rosalia Gariboldi Bassi; EGBERTO - Leone Giraltoni; BRIANO - G. B. Cornago; GODVINO - Salvatore Poggiali; ELENA - Clotilde Castagneri.

Performed: Treviso, T. Società, aut. 1857. [X 1857].

Published: Milan, Ricordi, s.d. 32pp.

Cast: AROLD - AROLD - Giovanni Landi; MINA - Virginia Boccabadati; EGBERTO - Erico Delle Sedie; BRIANO - Arcangelo Balderi; GODVINO - Giuseppe Panzani; ENRICO - Antonio Tasso; ELENA - Antonietta Garbato.

Performed: Verona, T. Nuovo, aut. 1857. [31 X 1857].

Published: Milan, Ricordi, s.d. 32pp.

Cast: AROLD - Agostino Dell'Armi; MINA - Enrichetta Weisser; EGBERTO - Paolo Baraldi; BRIANO - Gaetano De Domenicis; GODVINO - Gaetano Mora; ENRICO - Pietro Arduini; ELENA - Razzani Luigia.

Performed: Parma, T. Reale, carn.-quar. 1857-58. [26 XII 1857].

Published: Milan, Ricordi, s.d. Pl. no. 29837. 32pp.

Cast: AROLD - Vincenzo Sarti; MINA - Adelaide Basseggio; EGBERTO - Davide Squarcia; BRIANO - Gaetano De Domenicis; GODVINO - Giovanni Gambetti; ENRICO - Stefano Morzenti; ELENA - Emilia Biagini.

Performed: Cremona, T. della Concordia, carn. 1857-58. [I 1858].

Published: Milan, Ricordi, s.d. Pl. no. 29837. 32pp.

Cast: AROLD - Agostino Dell'Armi; MINA - Luigia Ponti Dell'Armi; EGBERTO - Paolo Baraldi; BRIANO - Carlo Nerini; GODVINO - Giacomo Rodda; ENRICO - Giovanni Arduini; ELENA - Virginia Grazioli.

Performed: Venice, La Fenice, carn.-quar. 1857-58. [20 I 1858].

Published: Milan, Ricordi, s.d. 32pp.

Cast: AROLDO - Emilio Pancani; MINA - Luigia Bendazzi; EGBERTO - Gaetano Ferri; BRIANO - Gio. Batt. Cornago; GODVINO - Salvatore Poggiali; ENRICO - Felice Peranzoni; ELENA - Carlotta Zambelli.

Performed: Rome, T. Apollo, carn. 1857-58. [31 I 1858].

Published: Rome, Olivieri, s.d. 24pp.

Cast: AROLDO - Giuseppe Musiani; MINA - Carlotta Carozzi Zucchi; EGBERTO - Leone Giraldoni; BRIANO - Cesare Bossi; GODVINO - Giuseppe Bazzoli; ENRICO - Luigi Fossi; ELENA - Carolina Decaroli.

Performed: Florence, Pergola, quar. 1858. [28 II 1858].

Published: Milan, Ricordi, s.d. 32pp.

Cast: AROLDO - Giuseppe Musiani; MINA - Carlotta Carozzi Zucchi; EGBERTO - Leone Giraldoni; BRIANO - Francesco Fiorani; GODVINO - Eugenio Ferlotti; ENRICO - Luigi Franceschi; ELENA - Estella Bennati.

Performed: Senigallia, T. Comunale La Fenice, fiera 1858. [17 VII 1858].

Published: S.l., per conto dell'Impresa, s.d. 32pp.

Cast: AROLDO - Vincenzo Sarti; MINA - Isabella Galletti-Gianoli; EGBERTO - Enrico Fagotti; BRIANO - Giuseppe Sarti; GODVINO - Raffaele Giorgi; ENRICO - Giovanni Pederzani; ELENA - Bianca Bernabei.

Performed: (MS) Venice, T. Apollo, aut. 1858. [X 1858].

Published: Milan, Ricordi, s.d. 32pp.

Cast: AROLDO - [Oliva] Pavani; MINA - [Luigia] Abbadia; EGBERTO - [Andrea] Bellini.

Performed: Malta, Real T., 1858-59. [X 1858].

Published: Malta, Tip. Strada Vescovo, No. 93, 1858. 32pp.

Cast: AROLDO - Andrea Marchetti; MINA - Vittoria Luzzi Feralli; EGBERTO - Carlo Bartolucci; BRIANO - Carlo Leonardis; ELENA - Carmela Vinco.

Performed: Piacenza, T. di Piacenza, carn. 1858-59. [26 XII 1858].

Published: Milan, Ricordi, s.d. 32pp.

Cast: AROLDO - ENRICO - Barbaccini; MINA - Rosalia Gariboldi Bassi; EGBERTO - Gaetano Fiori; BRIANO - Luigi Vecchi; GODVINO - Stefano Morzenti; ENRICO - Giovanni Scotti; ELENA - Antonietta Scotti.

Performed: Porto, T. S. João, (MS) 1859. Language P. [10 II 1859].

Published: s.l., s.n., s.d. 38pp.

Cast: AROLDO - Devecchi [De Vecchi]; MINA - [Noemi] Deroissi [De Roissi]; EGBERTO - Morelli; BRIANO - Hernandes; GODVINO - Veretta; ENRICO - Morelli; ELENA - Pianori.

Other info: Probably performed I.

Performed: Genoa, T. Carlo Felice, quar.-prim. 1859. [13 III 1859].

Published: Milan, Ricordi, s.d. 32pp.

Cast: AROLD - Agostino Agresti; MINA - Eufrosina Parepa; EGBERTO - Ruggero Pizzigati; GODVINO - Salvatore Poggiali; ENRICO - Domenico Aliprandi; ELENA - Marietta Allievi.

Other info: E. Parepa later married Carl Rosa.

Performed: Fiume, T. Civico, quar. prim. 1859. [26 III 1859].

Published: Milan, Ricordi, s.d. (bl. st. 1859). 32pp.

Cast: AROLD - Agostino Dell'Armi; MINA - Luigia Ponti [Dell'Armi]; EGBERTO - Paolo Baraldi; BRIANO - Francesco Vinalz; GODVINO - Ferdinando Marimpietri; ENRICO - Cesare Bortolotti; ELENA - Teresa Cavallari.

Performed: (pasted over) Modena, T. Comunitativo, primavera 1859. [9 V 1859].

Published: Milan, Ricordi, s.d. Pl. no. 29857. 32pp.

Cast: (pasted over) AROLD - Francesco Mazzoleni; MINA - Sofia Vera Lorini; EGBERTO - Carlo Visai; BRIANO - Marco Ghini; GODVINO - Andrea Grossi; ENRICO - Annibale Micheloni; ELENA - Luigia Morselli.

Performed: Naples, S. Carlo, aut. 1859. [28 XI 1859].

Published: Naples, Cosmopolita, 1859. 32pp.

Cast: AROLD - [Francesco] Mazzoleni; MINA - [Maria] Spezia; EGBERTO - Pizzigati; BRIANO - [Marco] Arati; GODVINO - Bisaccia; ENRICO - Ceci; ELENA - Garito.

Performed: Trieste, T. Grande, carn. 1859-60. [10 III 1860].

Published: Milan, Ricordi, s.d. (bl. st. 2/1860). 32pp.

Cast: AROLD - Giuseppe Tombesi; MINA - Isabella Galletti-Gianoli; EGBERTO - Federico Monari-Rocca; BRIANO - Augusto Fiorini; GODVINO - Giuseppe Forti; ENRICO - Vincenzo Mertato; ELENA - Briseide Rossi.

Other info: Also entered in GSV Cop. I.

Performed: Palermo, T. Bellini, 1860-61 (prima opera). [22 XI 1860].

Published: Palermo, Lao, 1860. 39pp.

Cast: AROLD - Francesco Mazzoleni; MINA - Emilia Boccherini; EGBERTO - Ruggiero Pizzigati; BRIANO - Francesco Rinaldi; GODVINO - Francesco Zucco; ENRICO - Stefano Bellissimo; ELENA - Adelaide Orlandi.

Other info: Also entered in GSV Cop. I.

Performed: Lisbon, T. S. Carlos. Languages I-P. [25 XI 1860].

Published: Lisbon, Costa Sanches, 1860. 63pp.

Cast: AROLD - Agresti; MINA - Gazzaniga; EGBERTO - Fagotti; BRIANO - Bianchi; GODVINO - Grossi; ENRICO - Bruni; ELENA - Rosalina (MS) Cassano.

Other info: Also entered in GSV Cop. I.

Performed: Milan, T. Carcano, 1861-62. [3 XII 1861].

Published: Milan, Ricordi, s.d. 32pp.

Cast: AROLD - Cristoforo Fabris; MINA - Silvia Della Valle; EGBERTO - Francesco Gnone; BRIANO - Paolo Poli Lenzi; GODVINO - Giuseppe Bensi; ENRICO - Alessandro Trabattoni; ELENA - Marietta Monfrini.

Performed: Turin, T. Vittorio Emanuele, prim. 1864. [2 IV 1864].

Published: Milan, Ricordi, s.d. (bl. st. 3/1864). 32pp.

Cast: AROLDO - Edoardo Mariani; MINA - Marietta Majo; EGBERTO - Gaetano Ferri; BRIANO - Armando Maini; GODVINO - Giulio Soldi; ELENA - Giovannina Gorin.

Libretto without theater or season, but probably Ancona, prim. 1864. [I V 1864].

Published: Milan, Ricordi, s.d. (bl. st. 9/1863). 32pp.

Cast: (pasted over) AROLDO - ENRICO - Barbacini; MINA - Teresa Morandini; EGBERTO - Gaetano Giori; BRIANO - ENRICO - Rossi-Galli; GODVINO - Paolo Berti; ENRICO - Giovanni Guardabassi; ELENA - Nicolina Favi.

Performed: Monza, T. Sociale, aut. 1864.

Published: Milan, Ricordi, s.d. 32pp.

Cast: AROLDO - Giacinto Ghislanzoni; MINA - Teresa Morandini; EGBERTO - Giovanni Valle; BRIANO - Serafino Mazza; GODVINO - Raineri Dei; ENRICO - Ignazio Cancelli; ELENA - Lucia De Caroli.

Performed: Pavia, T. Condominio, carn. 1865-66. [26 XII 1865].

Published: Milan, Ricordi, s.d. (bl. st. 12/1865). 32pp.

Cast: AROLDO - Tommaso Villa; MINA - Rosina Vielli; EGBERTO - Domenico Baldassari; BRIANO - Basilio Donato; GODVINO - Giuseppe Galvano; ENRICO - Pietro Caravali; ELENA - Luigia Valtorta.

Performed: Como, T. di Como, carn. 1866-67. [26 XII 1866].

Published: Milan, Ricordi, s.d. 32pp.

Cast: AROLDO - ENRICO - Biondini; MINA - Sofia Norsa; EGBERTO - Stefano Otto; BRIANO - Angelo Alzina; GODVINO - Achille Relandini; ENRICO - Pietro Faras; ELENA - Carolina Volman.

Performed: Modena, T. Municipale, carn. 1866-67. [26 XII 1866].

Published: Milan, Ricordi, s.d. 32pp.

Cast: AROLDO - Vincenzo Belardi; MINA - Marietta Majo; EGBERTO - Gabriele Boretti; BRIANO - Paolo Mazzarini; GODVINO - Andrea Andrea (sic).

Performed: Malta, T. di Malta, s.d. (1867?).

Published: Malta, G. e M. Borg, 1867. 32pp.

Cast: AROLDO - F. Toni Nazzari; MINA - A. Bianchi; EGBERTO - A. Burgio; BRIANO - L. Del Riccio; GODVINO - Mosato; ELENA - L. De Corte.

Performed: Venice, T. Rossini, aut. 1870. [29 X 1870].

Published: Milan, Ricordi, s.d. (bl. st. 10/1870). 32pp.

Cast: AROLDO - Alessandro Boetti; MINA - Clementina Noel Giudi; EGBERTO - Gerolamo Spalazzi; BRIANO - Luciano Lombardetti; GODVINO - Domenico Aliprandi; ENRICO - Placido Meneguzzi; ELENA - Augusta Guinci.

Performed: Bergamo, T. di Bergamo, carn. 1870-71. [26 XII 1870].

Published: Milan, Ricordi, s.d. (bl. st. 12/1870). 32pp.

Cast: AROLDO - Francesco Toni Nazari; MINA - Camilla Bolla; EGBERTO - Federico Sutter; BRIANO - Luciano Lombardelli; GODVINO - Alessandro Manetta; ELENA - Teresa Bassaglia.

Appendix B

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF PERFORMANCES
OF AROLDO IN THE 19TH CENTURY

L = Librettos for 19th-century performances in the Verdi archive at N.Y.U.
 K = Information provided by Thomas Kaufman
 C = Casts for the Verdi Premieres in the U. S., Martin Chusid
 P = *Spettacoli . . . in Padova*, Antonio Pallerotti
 V = Verdi's personal list of performances of his operas in 1860 and 1861, in Giuseppina Streponi Verdi's *Copialelettere I*

1. [L] Rimini, Nuovo T. di Rimini, estate 1857. [16 VIII 1857]
2. [L] Bologna, T. Comunitativo, aut. 1857. [3 X 1857]
3. [L] Turin, T. Carignano, aut. 1857. [3 X 1857]
4. [L] Treviso, T. Società, auto. 1857. [X 1857]
5. [L] Verona, T. Nuovo, aut. 1857. [31 X 1857]
6. [L] Parma, T. Reale, carn.-quar. 1857-58. [26 XII 1857]
7. [L] Cremona, T. della Concordia, carn. 1857-58. [I 1858]
8. [L] Venice, La Fenice, carn.-quar. 1858-58. [20 I 1858]
9. [L] Rome, T. Apollo, carn. 1857-58. [31 I 1858]
10. [L] Florence, Pergola, quar. 1858. [28 II 1858]
11. [K] Vienna, Kärntnerthor T., 5 V 1858.
12. [L] Senigallia, T. Comunale La Fenice, fiera 1858. [17 VII 1858]
13. [L] Venice, T. Apollo, aut. 1858. [X 1858]
14. [L] Malta, Real T., 1858-59. [X 1858]
15. [K] Seville, T. San Fernando, XII 1858.
16. [L] Piacanza, T. di Piacenza, carn. 1858-59. [26 XII 1858]
17. [L] Porto, T. S. João, 1859. [10 II 1859]
18. [K] Odessa, II? 1859.
19. [L] Genoa, T. Carlo Felice, quar.-prim. 1859. [13 III 1859]
20. [K] Terni, quar. 1859.
21. [L] Fiume, T. Civico, quar. prim. 1859. [26 III 1859]
22. [L] Modena, T. Comunitativo, prim. 1859. [9 V 1859]
23. [L] Naples, S. Carlo, aut. 1859. [28 XI 1859]
24. [K] Rome, T. Apollo, 12 XI 1859.
25. [V] Genoa, carn.-quar. 1860.
26. [K] Bucharest, II 1860.
27. [V] [K] Bari, T. Piccinni, II? 1860.
28. [L] [V] Trieste, T. Grande, carn. 1859-60. [10 III 1860]
29. [K] Chieti, V 1860.
30. [V] [K] Ferrara, T. Comunale, prim. 1860.
31. [V] Rome, prim. o estate 1860.
32. [V] [K] Fermo, 29 VIII 1860.
33. [V] [K] Nice, T. Regio, 25 X 1860.
34. [V] [K] Ascoli, aut. 1860.
35. [V] Alessandria, aut. 1860.
36. [K] Buenos Aires, T. Colon, 15 XI 1860.
37. [L] [V] Palermo, T. Bellini, 1860-61. [22 XI 1860]
38. [L] [V] Lisbon, T. S. Carlos. [25 XI 1860]

39. [V] [K] Venice, T. San Benedetto, 26 XII 1860.
40. [V] Nice, carn.-quar. 1861.
41. [K] Montevideo, T. Solis, 1860-61.
42. [V] [K] Brescia, T. Grande, fiera 1861.
43. [V] [K] Jesi, aut. 1861.
44. [K] Florence, T. Pagliano, 19 XI 1861.
45. [K] Palermo, T. Carolino, 22 XI 1861.
46. [L] Milan, T. Carcano, 1861-62. [3 XII 1861]
47. [K] Havana, T. Tacon, 12 II 1862.
48. [K] Catanzaro, quar. 1862.
49. [K] Giubbio, prim. 1862.
50. [K] Athens, aut. 1862.
51. [K] Palma de Mallorca, T. Principal, I 1863.
52. [C] New York, Academy of Music, 4 V 1863.
53. [K] Valencia, T. Principal, XI 1863.
54. [K] Bucharest, T. Nazionale, I 1864.
55. [K] Lisbon, 10 III 1864.
56. [L] Turin, T. Vittorio Emanuele, prim. 1864. [2 IV 1864]
57. [L] Ancona, prim. 1864. [I V 1864]
58. [K] Mexico City, T. Nacional, 23 IX 1864.
59. [K] Alicante, T. Principal, 4 X 1864.
60. [L] Monza, T. Sociale, aut. 1864.
61. [K] Palma de Mallorca, XI 1864.
62. [K] Rio de Janeiro, T. Fluminense?, 2 XII 1864.
63. [K] Ajaccio, 1864-65.
64. [K] Zaragoza, T. Principal, IV 1865.
65. [K] Santiago, Chile, T. Municipal, 31 VIII 1865.
66. [K] Zaragoza, X 1865.
67. [K] Valladolid, T. Lopez de Vega, 14 XII 1865.
68. [L] Pavia, T. Condominio, carn. 1865-66. [26 XII 1865]
69. [K] Messina, T. Vittorio Emanuele, 28 II 1866.
70. [L] Como, T. di Como, carn. 1866-67. [26 XII 1866]
71. [L] Modena, T. Municipale, carn. 1866-67. [26 XII 1866]
72. [K] Trani, XII 1866.
73. [K] Valparaiso, Chile, T. Victoria, 14 II 1867.
74. [L] Malta, T. di Malta, s.d. (1867?)
75. [K] Mantua, T. Sociale, carn. 1867-68.
76. [P] Padua, T. Concordi, carn. 1868.
77. [K] Tiflis, III? 1868.
78. [K] Bilbao, 6 VI 1868.
79. [K] Foggia, T. Dauno?, 11 III 1869.
80. [K] Valencia, T. Principal, 29 X 1869.
81. [K] Madrid, T. Real, 7 XII 1869.
82. [K] Tiflis, 1869-70.
83. [K] Buenos Aires, 13 III 1870.
84. [L] Venice, T. Rossini, aut. 1870. [29 X 1870]
85. [L] Bergamo, T. di Bergamo, carn. 1870-71. [26 XII 1870]
86. [K] Barcelona, Liceo, 4 XII 1872.
87. [K] Zara, aut. 1873.
88. [K] Crema, 26 XII 1882.
89. [K] Porto Mahon, Spain, X 1884.