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## New Light on Pre-1869 Revisions of 'La forza del destino'

### **Keywords**

Giuseppe Verdi, La forza del destino

## New Light on Pre-1869 Revisions of LA FORZA DEL DESTINO

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The revision of *La forza del destino* appears to have taken Verdi some five years--from first thoughts late in the summer of 1863 (after he directed performances in Madrid) until the winter of 1868-69, and including the rehearsals for the Milanese premiere of the definitive second version (see Appendix 1). This period signals the start of an active and abundantly documented part of the composer's career, which includes the refashioning of *Macbeth*, the creation of *Don Carlos*, the composition of his first significant occasional piece, the *Inno delle nazioni*, for the International Exposition of 1862 in London, and a revival of *Les Vêpres Siciliennes* at the Paris Opéra. Each of these enterprises engaged Verdi outside of Italy and thus generated much correspondence. The extent of this documentation had not been fully appreciated until the work of the past decade unearthed an astounding amount of the surviving correspondence, most of it now available in this country in the Verdi Archive at New York University.

The years of the creation and revision of *Forza* were among the richest in Verdi's life (see chronology of events during this period, Appendix 1). The composer continued his active life as a man of property, now legally married (1859) and settled in his villa at Sant'Agata. These years also encompassed his short-lived political career as a member of the newly-formed Italian Parliament and Verdi's unfortunate role as witness to illness and death among his dearest friends, colleagues, and family. Included are Francesco Maria Piave's paralyzing stroke and the deaths of Camillo Cavour, Verdi's father, Antonio Barezzi (his first patron, close friend, and

father of his first wife), and Gioachino Rossini.

I do not mean that the period between the two *Forzas* (1863-68) has not been covered in the Verdi literature; quite the contrary--if anything, it would appear to have been intensely studied. But new insights and refinements are now possible with the aid of modern microfilm and photocopy archives. Previously there was great difficulty in assembling materials from many disparate sources and consequently in appraising the documents in correct chronological order. Among the most important materials are letters in the collection at Sant'Agata from librettists, singers, publishers, impresarios, and friends, which are largely still tied in bundles as Verdi and Giuseppina probably left them. These include letters from Verdi's future agent, Mauro Corticelli, the librettists Francesco Maria Piave, Achille de Lauzières, and Antonio Ghislanzoni, the tenor Enrico Tamberlick and his younger brother Achille, Bagier (the impresario who first brought *Forza* to Madrid and later tried to do the same for Paris), Verdi's favorite tenor, Gaetano Fraschini, the conductor Angelo Mariani, the director of the Paris Opéra, Emile Perrin, and Verdi's French publisher, Léon Escudier.

Perhaps the most useful tool has been Giuseppina's unpublished *Copialettere*, five notebooks beginning with drafts of letters dating from 1860. The first two volumes can, in fact, be considered Verdi's own, for in his own drafts of correspondence the most notable lacuna occurs precisely in the period of *Forza* (October 1858 - September 1867). Giuseppina's notebooks are especially important because they contain more than

thirty letters by Verdi tracing the history of the revisions, particularly the abortive plans for a Paris production in the early months of 1866. Other important documents come from archives and libraries around the world, including the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Berlin Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, libraries in Ravenna, Forli, Milan, and Rome, and the significant collections in the Bibliothèque Nationale and Archives Nationales of Paris. I shall focus here on the contributions by Piave, the French librettists, and Ghislanzoni; and, most important, the various changes Verdi himself considered between 1863 and 1869.

Before the recent collection of documents at the Verdi Archive--indeed, before Julian Budden's outline of *Forza* revisions in *The Operas of Verdi*<sup>1</sup>--it was not uncommon for writers either to dismiss the importance of these changes too quickly, or to jumble the facts so badly as to distort the intentions of Verdi and his collaborators. For example, Giorgio Gualerzi's early history of the opera, published in the Parma Istituto di Studi Verdiani, *Bolletini* nos. 4, 5, and 6, hardly touches on the question of a French production of *Forza* in 1865-66. And Cecil Hopkinson sketched the following outline of revisions in his Verdi bibliography<sup>2</sup>: "It seems that as early as December 1864 Piave was instructed by Verdi to make some changes in the work.[. . .] But for four years the revision was kept in abeyance, and in December 1867 Piave suffered a stroke; thus he was denied the possibility of continuing with the revision. So Verdi called in Ghislanzoni instead, and Ghislanzoni visited Sant'Agata in the summer of 1868 to consider the new requirements of the composer." [. . .]

Several points seem now to be unequivocal: (1) *La forza del destino* is unique among Verdi's operas in that its revision was undertaken solely to emend perceived defects in the plot, principally in the finale; (2) revisions began as early as August of 1863; (3) the original librettist, Piave, was totally out of the *Forza* picture by 1864, although he and Verdi continued to correspond and work on another project--the Paris *Macbeth*; (4) we cannot speak of a

single entity as "the revision," but rather must view the process as a search for a solution which yielded several different projects for revision; (5) this process indicates that the composer was susceptible to criticism, especially cumulative criticism, even when he was less than convinced that others were right.

\* \* \*

Verdi's awareness that something might be wrong with *Forza* began at the time of the Madrid performances in February of 1863. What chiefly bothered him was reaction to the ending of the opera with its three violent deaths. Don Carlos is mortally wounded by Don Alvaro on stage; before dying, Carlos stabs his sister Leonora; and, as the monks hasten to the scene, Don Alvaro commits suicide by leaping from a cliff. A report by a friend about the February 7 Italian premiere in Rome (under the alternate title *Don Alvaro*) was not favorable.<sup>3</sup> An indifferent performance was exacerbated by the numerous and frequently absurd changes imposed by the censor. Ten days later Verdi complained about the cast,<sup>4</sup> and to Tito Ricordi he bemoaned the fact that *Forza* had been given its first Italian exposure in Rome, of all places.<sup>5</sup> He was more than justified, for it was precisely in Rome that the last vestiges of censorship were to be found on the Italian peninsula, until 1870. While the Madrid critics complained that Verdi had deformed the original Spanish play, Italian newspapers harped on the unbearably tragic ending. A Rome correspondent ended his review on 28 February by stating that "there would have been more applause had the public not been so displeased by the sight of so many dead on-stage--a true slaughter."<sup>6</sup> This view of the *dénouement* of *Forza del destino* was to become a veritable ritornello in reviews of the opera by Italian critics, and it played a considerable role in forcing Verdi to think of revision. We must remember that at this point in the 19th century, Italian composers were still careful not to overdo the horrifying aspects of their librettos. In fact, Italian audiences were accustomed to

deaths occurring for the most part off-stage.

After the performances in Madrid, Verdi was tempted by many offers to produce his new opera. A second Italian production was mounted at the Teatro Municipale in Reggio Emilia. Verdi received a report from Tito on May 11, stating that "the performance went well, and even the third and fourth acts were liked and applauded the more the opera was performed."<sup>7</sup> The composer, however, was not taken in by Tito's veiled optimism. When his publisher wrote that he now had to deal with requests for the new opera, and that he favored Milan, Turin, and Florence, Verdi, who assumed he was expected to help prepare one or more of these productions, replied from Paris: "[. . .] Do what you think best with *Forza*, whether it be Turin or Milan. To tell you the truth, I have no wish to come and spit blood and break my neck, and then only to obtain nothing because of the inadequacies of the choral and orchestral forces, neglect in staging, and the ignorance of the singers."<sup>8</sup> Much of this letter goes on to recount a lack of enthusiasm for Italian productions in general, but at the end Verdi returns to what really bothered him about the opera: "It is said that *Forza del destino* is too long, and that audiences are frightened by so many dead! Granted. But given the subject, how can one find another ending? The third act is too long!! But which is the superfluous piece? The encampment scene, perhaps? ...Who knows!"

If Verdi felt that a performance in Paris might redeem his new opera, he was forced to give up the idea for two reasons: first, an unpleasant confrontation had taken place between Verdi and the orchestra of the Opéra during rehearsals for the revival of *Vêpres Siciliennes* in July 1863 (with the composer vowing never to set foot again in that theater); second, a proposal by the impresario Bagier to stage *Forza* at the Théâtre Italien was aborted owing to what Verdi perceived as Bagier's insolent behavior toward him. The impresario had announced in print, without first obtaining the composer's permission, that *Forza* was to be included in the coming season. Moreover,

French translations had already been prepared at Bagier's request for *Forza* and *Simon Boccanegra*; Verdi knew this because the translator, Carlo Bianchi, had written to him in October of that year.<sup>9</sup> The composer had also received a letter from Gaetano Fraschini, then in Paris under contract with Bagier. Verdi's favorite tenor complained that the impresario could not run his business properly.<sup>10</sup> Verdi protested to his Parisian publisher, Léon Escudier: "At any rate, if I must express my opinion, these two operas [*Simon* and *Forza*] are not at all suited to the Théâtre Italien of Paris. The first of these is too monotonous. The second has such a frightening ending, which, as soon as I can, I shall think of revising."<sup>11</sup>

Ricordi had meanwhile announced *Forza* for Trieste, the only one of more than five projected performances at the time to be realized. Here, too, the opening night (23 September 1863) was followed by negative reviews: the production itself was judged to be "extremely good," but the libretto "a real monstrosity."<sup>12</sup> The libretto, then, was the flaw to which critics returned time and again.

Verdi had finally returned to Sant'Agata by mid-August of 1863, after a long series of trips begun in the Autumn of 1861, when he had first set out for St. Petersburg. If there was an occasion when he could sit down and address the question of revising the ending, this was it, and he lost no time in taking advantage of the opportunity. When Tito Ricordi remarked that he had not yet received the autograph score of *Forza* on the eve of the Trieste production in September, Verdi replied: "It's true, I haven't yet sent you the score [. . .] because I counted on modifying the ending and making some changes at the end of the third act, but thus far I've thought of nothing."<sup>13</sup> By October 11, Ricordi had heard that Verdi was working toward some changes in the libretto, and the publisher felt bold enough to advance some suggestions himself, including the notion that some of the difficultly might be in the part of Fra Melitone, a challenging one to cast properly.<sup>14</sup>

The composer now made his first move toward revising *Forza*. In a letter dated 30 October 1863 he asked Piave to help in the search for a new ending to the opera: "[...] something must be done to *Forza del destino*; but first of all one must think of the ending and find a way to avoid so many dead bodies. Once this is found, it will be necessary for you to come here for a few days in order to adjust some lines and make some cuts. So think about this damned finale and give me your opinion."<sup>15</sup> Piave's responses to Verdi, dated 3 and 9 November, reveal that he had thought of several possible solutions to the problem, but found himself in a haze of indecision.<sup>16</sup> It is evident from other correspondence that the librettist visited Verdi between 16 and 26 November and that some changes had been considered, at least by the librettist.<sup>17</sup> On November 29 Verdi wrote to Ricordi, mentioning that Piave had no doubt already told him about the libretto.<sup>18</sup>

Ricordi continued to press Verdi, reporting just how pleased he would be if only "all the reasons which would make for difficult performances of this opera were taken away," and he specifically referred to too many *prime parti* and the terrifying catastrophe of the finale.<sup>19</sup> He went on to add that he hoped changes would soon be incorporated into the autograph score in time for the projected Spring performance in Genoa. In his response Verdi made clear that he had already dismissed Piave's contribution. He ends once again by refusing to rid the opera of *Fra Melitone*: "If you think that this will always be an obstacle to the success of the work it would be better to give up trying other changes." This last phrase is changed in the actual letter to "it would be better to give up and do other works."<sup>20</sup>

During Summer-Autumn 1864, the prospect of a performance of the opera in Paris was to play an important role in hastening a search for a new version of the work. But it remained Verdi's intention that a Parisian production not take place at the Théâtre Italien, where the director, Bagier, continued to torment both him and Ricordi with renewed pleas to produce *Forza*.<sup>21</sup> Even

Lionel Mapleson (after attempting to convince Verdi in three previous letters) was refused by the composer in early 1864;<sup>22</sup> we cannot help but sympathize with the English impresario who, after all, had bought the score from Ricordi before its premiere in Russia in 1862, as had Bagier, and had given Verdi *carte blanche* on matters of staging and casting. Bagier, continuing to press for performances throughout 1864, repeatedly insulted Verdi's sensibilities. In the letter of April 8 he asked the composer to incorporate revisions and to direct the Parisian production of the opera himself. In June Bagier offered a generous, full six weeks for choral rehearsals, but he made the mistake of hiring a conductor (Bosoni) disliked by Verdi instead of the composer's favorite of that period, Angelo Mariani.<sup>23</sup> And, finally, on December 4 Bagier asked Ricordi for a reduction in price, fully confident that he was going ahead with the production. This letter proves that the music of *Forza* Bagier had with him (a partially autograph score, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Rés. F. 1659) was the manuscript the composer used in Madrid in February of 1863:

*Before giving Forza del Destino this winter I would like to have a score of this work. Please tell me at what price you will sell it to me and when you can send it. I have here the score that you sold me and which was corrected by Maestro Verdi in Madrid; it would serve me here and would save me the price of another one. What do you think? [ . . . ]*

We can well imagine what Verdi thought, fuming at the idea of Bagier carrying that score with him to Paris and doing what he pleased with his works; and this after an earlier Ricordi letter to Verdi asking what he should do if Bagier wanted a full score! Bagier was well aware that no international law could prohibit his performances of *Forza* in Paris.

Ricordi continued to pressure the composer during 1864, suggesting at one time the first version of *Forza* for Florence and, at another, a revised version for Naples. In a letter of March 15, however, Tito disclosed

his main concern to Verdi: "Let's not allow foreign operas to gain too much of a foothold in Italy."<sup>25</sup> To this we may add that few Verdi operas after *Il Trovatore* had enjoyed widespread success and given Casa Ricordi the return expected.

Let us briefly consider this background to Ricordi's demands on Verdi.

During the 1860s, a newly-unified Italy felt more than ever the spirit of artistic competition with other European nations. There were financial and artistic problems in the opera houses and conservatories, and many talented musicians felt that they had to look to Northern Europe to satisfy their literary and musical needs. Arrigo Boito and Franco Faccio went abroad in 1861 on traveling scholarships, and the intellectual atmosphere created by a movement of this younger generation of composers, whose manifesto was outlined by Boito in the Milanese periodical *La perseveranza* in 1863-64, suggested a crisis in national artistic self-confidence. This, coupled perhaps with the rivalry between the two major publishing houses in Italy, Ricordi and Lucca, led to the introduction of foreign operas--from Gounod's *Faust* and *Roméo et Juliette* to the works of Meyerbeer (including *L'Africaine*) and, eventually, the operas of Richard Wagner.

On the one hand, page after page from Ricordi's financial statements to Verdi in this period, now housed at Sant'Agata, list opera rentals which reflect the ongoing productions of *Trovatore* and *Traviata*; on the other, *Simon Boccanegra* and *Vêpres* almost never turn up, and of the newer operas the only one to gain a modicum of success seems to have been *Un ballo in maschera*. But none of Verdi's works of the 1850s and '60s fared worse than the latest and most ambitious of all, *La forza del destino*, produced only eight times in Italy between its Rome premiere at the T. Apollo in 1863 and the Milanese version of 1869.

Not only was *Forza* rarely performed, but it was deliberately kept from the more important theaters. Excluding Rome, where it enjoyed favor in its censored form, during this period *Forza* was really only "risky"

(Verdi's and Ricordi's word) twice in theaters of *primo ordine* (see Table 1), and both productions were resounding failures: the Florentine production in Spring 1865 and the Genoese production of 1866.<sup>26</sup> Tito, after the Florence production, again asked Verdi's help in combating what he termed the "invasion of foreign operas."<sup>27</sup> He also told Verdi it would be necessary for the composer himself to direct a revised version, thereby ensuring a "good baptism" and a secure source of income.

The artistic-economic climate, then, not only explains Ricordi's constant requests that Verdi make *Forza* more popular, but, I believe, lends more credence to Verdi's decision to look elsewhere, and to move decisively in negotiations with his French publisher. Newly uncovered correspondence at Sant'Agata reveals that Léon Escudier, who had visited Verdi in Genoa during June of 1864, had gone primarily to speak to the composer about *Forza*, and it was Escudier, who was behind another contribution to the revision of the opera, one sent from Paris by Achille de Lauzières, the future translator of *Don Carlos* into Italian. De Lauzières, who was Italian but had lived for many years in Paris, was already known for his translation of *Faust*. In July of 1864 Verdi complained to Ricordi of being in a "terrible mess as far as revising the ending. I had Piave do one; another was sent just now by de Lauzières from Paris, and I like neither one nor the other."<sup>28</sup> A document now with the Piave materials at Sant'Agata turns out to be the solution sent by de Lauzières. It consists of Act IV (only) of the printed Ricordi libretto for the first version of *Forza*, with the French librettist's manuscript changes for the final three scenes (see Appendix 2 for a transcription, with parallel text of the first version of the opera).

De Lauzières' solution is, quite simply, a happy ending: his scene 7 does away with mortality of any sort, and only the beginning of a struggle remains, quickly upstaged by the lightning which sets Leonora's hut on fire. It is not difficult to understand why Verdi would have been disappointed with a result that included such action-stopping

TABLE 1: Italian Theaters ca. 1875

Primo Ordine

Florence - T. La Pergola  
 Genoa - T. Carlo Felice  
 Milan - T. La Scala  
 Naples - T. San Carlo  
 Rome - T. di Apollo  
 Turin - T. Reggio  
 Venice - T. La Fenice

Secondo Ordine (cont.)

Bergamo - T. Ricciardi (Fiera)  
 Bologna - T. Comunale (Autunno)  
 Brescia - T. Grande  
 Ferrara - T. Municipale (Fiera)  
 Florence - T. Pagliano  
 Livorno - T. Avvalorati

Secondo Ordine (cont.)

Mantua - T. Sociale  
 Milan - T. Canobbiana  
 Milan - T. Carcano  
 Modena - T. Comunale (Fiera)  
 Naples - T. Fondo  
 Palermo - T. Bellini  
 Parma - T. Regio  
 Reggio - T. Comunale (Fiera)  
 Turin - T. Vittorio Emanuele  
 Verona - T. Filarmonico  
 Vicenza - T. Eretenio (Fiera)

Terzo Ordine

All theaters not mentioned above

moments as Don Carlos' lapse into "deep thought" at the sight of the reunion of Don Alvaro and Leonora, or the rather general resignation to the "force of destiny." Surely, this resolution ran counter to what Verdi had intended when he first set the finale of the Duke of Rivas' play, in which he opted for a stunning, dramatic ending: recognition, murder, and suicide, all in rapid succession.

Verdi's more detailed response, in a letter to Escudier dated 29 July 1864, reads as follows:

*Let me just say that in my view the 'power of fate,' 'the fatality,' cannot lead to a reconciliation of the two families; the brother, after having made all that fuss, must avenge his father's death (remember, too, that he's a Spaniard); he cannot possibly consent to a wedding. De Lauzières wanted a trio like the one in Ernani, but in Ernani the action continues during the entire*

*trio, whereas here it finishes just as the trio begins; therefore it's pointless to write one [ . . . ] I'm now in more of a muddle than ever.<sup>29</sup> (We should of course note that Verdi did eventually opt for a trio, but only when a lyrical ending could be justified.)*

By December of that year Verdi even asked Ricordi to suggest someone else to make the changes. Among the candidates, all dismissed at the time by Verdi, were Boito, Garcia Gutiérrez, and Ghislanzoni.<sup>30</sup>

Although de Lauzières' ending was unacceptable, Verdi nonetheless hoped to complete a revision as part of the 1865 negotiations with Léon Escudier and Emile Perrin, director of the Opéra in Paris. It is to Ursula Günther that we owe the announcement and description of the wealth of materials at the Paris Archives Nationales, where a great part of the documentation for the Opéra was deposited in 1937 and 1961 under the call number

AJ<sup>XIII</sup>.<sup>31</sup> Here, individual folders are set aside for nine Verdi operas prepared for the dominant theater of the French capital: *Jérusalem*, *Luisa Miller*, *Vêpres*, *Trovatore* (*Trouvère*), *Forza*, *Don Carlos*, *Aida*, *Rigoletto*, and *Otello*.

Escudier was Verdi's guest in Italy again in the summer of 1865. In a letter from the French publisher to Perrin, written from Sant'Agata (July 17), it is evident that Verdi and Escudier spoke both of a new opera (which was to become *Don Carlos*) and of a revision of *Forza*.<sup>32</sup> Other letters written during July, August, and September of that year reveal that Verdi was determined to carry off three things in Paris: a revised *Forza*, a new work at the Opéra, and finally a revival of *Simon Boccanegra* at the Théâtre Italien for Bagier (the latter arranged in great part by Escudier).<sup>33</sup> Verdi wanted to make this a profitable trip--arranging three important productions--but was careful always to put Bagier after Perrin in the planning, for if something were to go wrong at the Opéra, he would not be willing to go to Paris solely to direct *Simon*. Bagier continued to force Verdi's hand by insisting on *Forza* (and why not--he possessed the Madrid full score, as well as costumes and scenery). In the end, when the impresario heard of Verdi's plans with Perrin, he gave up the *Simon* project as well.<sup>34</sup>

It is now possible to clear up some of the confusion concerning the planned Parisian *Forza*: (1) the first contract drafted by Perrin in August of 1865 was not signed by Verdi, though he consented to most of the conditions, including the addition of a ballet in Act III; (2) a second draft stipulated that the Opéra would have exclusive rights to a revised *Forza* for three years from the signing of the contract, after which time Verdi could do with it as he pleased; (3) before receiving any changes in the contract from Perrin, Verdi wrote to explain how he would revise Acts III and IV. He began by suggesting an additional recitative for *Don Carlos*, in which he explains how he survived the war. This was to be placed before the scene where he awaits Don Alvaro in the last act.<sup>35</sup>

The correspondence in 1865 between Verdi and his French promoters details the vicissitudes of this phase of revision. The idea that Act IV, scene 5 should begin with *Don Carlos*' recitative was Verdi's, although the text was changed by Ghislanzoni for the definitive 1869 version. Verdi also proposed to end the third act with a *Rataplan* chorus, leaving out the two pieces which follow. As Julian Budden points out, in 1865 the first of these was the quarrel duet, the removal of which has been standard practice in Italian opera houses up to the present. Although Verdi focused on the end of the opera, that was not the case with Perrin, who was far more interested in the first act. The correspondence drafts of August and September 1865 show Perrin confidently assuming responsibility for the revision of the opera, but acting too strongly in trying to override Verdi's proposals. This undoubtedly placed the composer in a situation in which he felt he would be forced to compromise his artistic standards. Perrin sent Verdi Act I of *Forza*, translated and revised by Camille Du Locle and Charles Nuitter.<sup>36</sup> Having examined a carefully kept log of work in the Fonds Nuitter of the Archives Nationales, Andrew Porter has told me this version was begun on August 18.

The extensive changes by the French collaborators included the addition of a tableau at the beginning of the opera, derived from the first scene of the play, a scene which Verdi and Piave had originally omitted. Perrin insisted that such an opening would not impose significant changes in the music, and would enhance the scenic effect. This first act was sent on September 19 and is now a part of the collection of Sant'Agata. Its aim was to give Don Alvaro more color by having visitors at an inn talk about him in the context of an opening chorus, followed immediately by a *ballade* for Preziosilla--certainly a more traditional operatic opening, in the style of *Vêpres*, than the 1861/62 version by Verdi and Piave. (See Appendix 3: Act I with *tableau*, as sent to Verdi by Perrin.) For a short time Verdi appeared to give in to the French, and in general he seemed to agree with their suggestions; but he insisted on removing

Preziosilla's *ballade*, feeling that the occasion would detract from the tavern scene in Act II.<sup>37</sup> Surprisingly enough, Verdi agreed to raise Preziosilla's part from *mezzo* to *soprano*, an idea opposed by Perrin, who offered instead the bright and talented Rosine Bloch as a worthy competitor to Nantier-Didiée, who sang Preziosilla in St. Petersburg.<sup>38</sup> Verdi's letter to Perrin dated 27 September presents his ideas on revision:

1) Without a doubt the insertion of the opening *tableau* adds clarity to the drama, but it too closely resembles the second act in setting and mood. The composer did not find the *tableau* indispensable.

2) Verdi explains that for musical economy he would rather save the large choruses for Act II. Perhaps as an alternative there could be a small chorus of women from Calatrava's household who have seen Don Alvaro passing by every evening after sunset. Preziosilla could then have a few lines to the effect that Alvaro is "worthy of a queen"; the scene would then close with the silent appearance of Alvaro followed by a chorus "avec un Tutti a demi-voix, mysterieux, fantastique."

3) In her ballad Preziosilla should not say that Don Alvaro and whoever should love him are cursed, for this destroys all of the sympathy in her character, and she is made out to be one who inspires fear. Nor should Alvaro exclaim "Oh Destiny! I know your force"; he should not appear to bring misfortune--least of all at the beginning of the drama. "[. . .] I tell you all of this to [. . .] explain, without pretension, my manner of seeing things, and I hope you will find my suggestions better."

4) Verdi makes a final point about the change from pistol shot to sword wound in the final scene of the act. "There are too many words and it is a bit forced. I don't care if at the Opéra the pistol shot would produce a bad effect, but it is certainly more beautiful and natural than Alvaro meeting the Count face to face in a duel.

In the original sequence, Alvaro, without resisting, throws down his weapon; the shot rings out and the father falls. This is truly inevitable [. . .] I submit these observations to your experience. I beg of you to continue thinking about this, Monsieur Perrin."

Verdi was obviously willing to compromise to a degree, feeling that with regard to staging, the Parisian theater had more to offer than even the best Italian ones, and, moreover, that he himself would be better treated. Piave had just written to Verdi three days earlier (September 24):

[. . .] *Mariani has gone to Paris, with expenses paid by Lucca, to hear l'Africaine, which he will conduct in Bologna. Lucca may be what he is, but for God's sake he doesn't spare expenses in order to favor the operas he owns [. . .] and then there will be the figurini, modelli, scene, etc. from Paris [. . .] And others [meaning Ricordi], what do they do for your operas?*<sup>39</sup>

A few days later another Piave letter from Milan urged the composer on: "Pum! pum! pum! . . . a translation of *Forza del destino* for the Opéra! a revival of another opera at the Italien! . . . A new opera for the French stage!!! . . . Good God! Do you want to completely destroy all of the musical insects buzzing around this city? [. . .]"<sup>40</sup>

By the end of the year, however, Verdi realized he could only go so far with *Forza*, and he dropped the project. To his friend Arrivabene he wrote: "there was so much yet to do to *Forza* and it was impossible for me to undertake so much work." But, I believe, he did so also because he felt that the very fabric of his opera was being altered and he had to draw a line.<sup>41</sup> Even after hearing from Escudier on the beauty of the sets Perrin was preparing for Act III, he would not change his mind. According to Andrew Porter, Nutter's log book contains an entry dated December 13 which signals the end of the matter: "M. Perrin has told me that the project has been indefinitely postponed." Before the year was out, Léon Escudier published an explanation for

Parisian patrons that comes close to the truth:

*Above all, there has been talk of producing La forza del destino this winter. Du Locle and Nutter have translated the Italian work; but in order to adapt the libretto to the French stage in such a way as to satisfy our audiences, it seemed necessary to make cuts, additions, all of which would have demanded a great deal of time of the composer. Verdi therefore did not hesitate in offering to write a new work for Monsieur Perrin, and to postpone the production of Forza until a later date. M. Perrin gladly accepted this proposal.*<sup>42</sup>

Two drafts of contracts in Perrin's hand are to be found in the *Don Carlos* dossier in the Archives Nationales, both incorporated in the December 20 contract signed by Verdi and Perrin. In one, Verdi agreed to write *Don Carlos* for 40,000 francs by the following summer and to be present at all rehearsals. In the other, the management of the Opéra reserved the right to translate and produce *Forza* for a period of up to three years. This final clause, as Ursula Günther has established, may be the legal reason for the three-year delay before the performance in February 1869 of the revised Italian version at La Scala.<sup>43</sup> Verdi, in fact, reminded Ricordi in August of 1867 that he, the composer, was still under contractual obligation with the Opéra to produce a revised *Forza*.<sup>44</sup>

\* \* \*

The remaining history of the *Forza* revisions has been well-documented. It was not until 1868 that Verdi put the opera back on his desk for reconsideration. This time the catalytic force was Giulio Ricordi, Tito's oldest son and future director of the publishing house. With great tact and diplomacy, he managed to reintroduce Verdi to Antonio Ghislanzoni and to kindle a friendship between composer and librettist. Ghislanzoni recollected his first visit to

Sant'Agata in May of 1868 in a picturesque article first published in the *Gazzetta Musicale di Milano* (26 July 1868).<sup>45</sup>

Concerning the definitive revision, I have only a few points to add together with a little-known surviving document which contains Ghislanzoni's initial ideas on the subject. First, no work was undertaken until mid-November of 1868,<sup>46</sup> but the libretto was completed by New Year's Eve.<sup>47</sup> Second, Verdi's emphasis this time was squarely on the ending of the opera--focusing precisely on what Italian audiences were demanding before *Forza* could successfully become part of the repertory.

The composer thus returned to his ideas of 1863, "no longer tempted by the magnificence of the French stage into considering further additions; the opera was grand enough!" The document in the Sant'Agata collection not previously discussed is Giulio Ricordi's letter to Verdi dated Milan, 16 November 1868.<sup>48</sup> He included with it three pages of Ricordi stationery bearing Ghislanzoni's manuscript revisions for the opera. The librettist found Verdi's idea of ending Act III with the Rataplan excellent. And, obviously, the composer was salvaging the best of the projected Paris revisions, including the essence of Don Carlos' recitative in Act IV, scene 5. Ghislanzoni's suggestions may be outlined as follows:

1) The only logical way the ending can be made less bloody, and yet still retain the inevitability of the drama, is to have some of the deaths occur off-stage. One would thus not bring on Alvaro and Carlo after Leonora's "Pace, pace, mio Dio," but instead would have them duel audibly off-stage. Leonora could go off-stage to intervene and return wounded by her brother Carlo.

2) But what of Don Alvaro? He would not have to commit suicide on-stage; it would be enough for him to express his desire to do so as he aids the dying Leonora, and the curtain would fall before he executed his wish.

3) It would be important to dispel the funereal atmosphere of the final scene by having Leonora in scene 6 dress as a man, as she had in Act II, and not in monk's robes. Ghislanzoni would even go so far as

to take Alvaro out of his monk's tunic.

4) Finally, Preziosilla would be re-introduced with a band of gypsies in the final scene.

Two days after receiving these suggestions, Verdi voiced his disagreement with each of Ghislanzoni's points, claiming that he would not want to see Act II duplicated elsewhere in the opera (here, as Act IV; in Perrin's version it was Act I).<sup>49</sup> Verdi continued:

*The seams would be too evident if we were to bring back the gypsies at the end; there it would clash with the color of the final scenes. A gypsy spectacle would be a distraction; it would prolong the action and, what is worst of all, chill it. It's pointless; once this cursed subject is admitted, the brother and sister, Leonora and Carlo, must die. To find a way of killing Carlo, even off-stage, is quite easy; but it's very difficult to have Leonora die. It hardly matters whether there's a duet, trio, or a chorus; the only consideration must be the dramatic spectacle.*

By the end of November Verdi's solu-

tion, embodying what Julian Budden has termed a "Manzoni-like spirit of Christian resignation," proved to be the only reasonable one left to the composer. Bruce Alan Brown has recently suggested that the idea might have originated with Ghislanzoni, who at this time was simultaneously working on a refashioning of *I promessi sposi* for the composer Enrico Petrella.<sup>50</sup>

Not long after the premiere of the revised *Forza* on 27 February 1869, Verdi complained again to his publisher about singers and performances. He insisted, for example, that the part of Preziosilla could never be changed and lamented the fact that the opera's success was being frustrated by casting difficulties.<sup>51</sup> Eventually the composer touched, however, upon what had truly motivated him all along to revise *Forza*: "Ahi, ah! When one accuses the audience of not having understood an opera, I translate it to mean a *fiasco*!"<sup>52</sup> However often he may have professed indifference to the way in which his works were received, public opinion undoubtedly played a decisive role in the final shaping of *La forza del destino*.

## NOTES

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2. Cecil Hopkinson, *A bibliography of the works of Giuseppe Verdi*, vol. 2 (New York, 1978), 135.
3. *Sant'Agata*: Telegram sent by Vincenzo Luccardi to Verdi in Madrid, dated Rome, 8 February 1863.
4. Gaetano Cesare, and Alessandro Luzio, *I copialettere di Giuseppe Verdi* (Milan, 1913), 612: Verdi to Vincenzo Luccardi, Madrid, 17 February 1863.
5. *Archivio Ricordi*: Verdi to Tito Ricordi, Madrid, 21 February 1863.
6. *Il Sistro* (28 February 1863).
7. *Sant'Agata*: Tito Ricordi to Verdi in Paris, 11 May 1863.
8. *Sant'Agata, Verdi's copialettere*: Verdi to Tito Ricordi, Paris, 14 May 1863.

9. *Sant'Agata*: Carlo Bianchi to Verdi, Paris, 21 September 1863.
10. *Sant'Agata*: Gaetano Fraschini to Verdi, Paris, 21 September 1863.
11. *Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra*: Verdi to Léon Escudier, Sant'Agata, 2 October 1863.
12. *Gazzetta dei Teatri* (7 October 1863).
13. Franco Abbiati, *Giuseppe Verdi*, vol. 2 (Milan, 1959), p. 744: Verdi to Tito Ricordi, Sant'Agata, 3 October 1863.
14. *Sant'Agata*: Tito Ricordi to Verdi, Milan, 11 October 1863.
15. Abbiati, *Giuseppe Verdi*, vol. 2, p. 722: Verdi to Piave, Sant'Agata, 30 October 1863.
16. *Sant'Agata*: Piave to Verdi, Milan, 3 November 1863 and 9 November 1863.
17. *Ravenna, Biblioteca Classense*: Verdi to Angelo Mariani, Cremona, 26 November 1863. *Sant'Agata*: Piave to Verdi, Milan 27 November 1863.
18. *Archivio Ricordi*: Verdi to Tito Ricordi, Busseto, 29 November 1863.
19. *Sant'Agata*: Tito Ricordi to Verdi, Milan, 2 December 1863.
20. *Sant'Agata*: Fragmentary note sketched on the back of a letter from Tito Ricordi to Verdi, Milan, 2 December 1863. See also *Archivio Ricordi*: Tito Ricordi to Verdi, Milan, 2 December 1863.
21. *Sant'Agata, Giuseppina's copialettere*, vol. I: Draft of a letter from Verdi to Bagier, Sant'Agata, 25 [October 1863]; Bagier to Verdi, Paris, 22 November 1863; Bagier to Verdi, Paris, 8 April 1864. *Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra*: Verdi to Léon Escudier, Busseto, 15 April 1864.
22. *Sant'Agata*: Letters from Lionel Mapleson to Verdi, dated London, 28 December 1863; Civitavecchia, 29 January 1864; n.p., 7 March 1864; London, [March or April] 1864 (the year added by Giuseppina).
23. *Sant'Agata*: Gaetano Fraschini to Verdi, Baden-Suisse, 17 June 1864.
24. *Sant'Agata*: Bagier's letter to Tito Ricordi, dated Paris, 4 December 1864, is attached to Tito's letter to Verdi, dated Milan, 8 December 1864. The history of the preparation and eventual correction of this *Forza* score can be reconstructed from a series of letters by Verdi, Fraschini, and Tito Ricordi, dating from late 1862 and early 1863, now at Sant'Agata and Casa Ricordi.
25. *Sant'Agata*: Tito Ricordi to Verdi, Milan, 15 March 1864.
26. *Sant'Agata*: The hierarchy of Italian theaters is detailed in a letter from Tito Ricordi to Verdi, Milan, 20 December 1875.
27. *Sant'Agata*: Tito Ricordi to Verdi, Milan, 15 March 1865.

28. *Archivio Ricordi*: Verdi to Tito Ricordi, Busseto, 2 July 1864.
29. *Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra*: Verdi to Léon Escudier, Busseto, 29 July 1864.
30. *Sant'Agata*: Tito Ricordi to Verdi, Milan, 30 December 1864.
31. Ursula Günther, "Documents inconnus concernant les relations de Verdi avec l'Opéra de Paris," *Atti del III° Congresso Internazionale di Studi Verdiani*, 1974, 564-83. See also Günther's "La Genèse de *Don Carlos*, opéra en cinq actes de Giuseppe Verdi, représenté pour la première fois à Paris le 11 Mars 1867," *Revue de musicologie*, LVII (1972), 16-64, and LX (1974), 87-158.
32. *Paris, Archives Nationales*: Léon Escudier to Emile Perrin, Busseto, 17 July 1865.
33. *Paris, Archives Nationales*: Verdi to Emile Perrin, Busseto, 21 July 1865; Perrin to Verdi (two letter drafts), Paris [July 1865]; two drafts of contracts from Perrin to Verdi, 22 August 1865; Verdi to Perrin, Busseto, 28 August 1865 (with a draft in Giuseppina's *copialettere*, vol. II). *Sant'Agata*: Bagier to Verdi, Paris, 2 August 1865. *Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra*: Verdi to Léon Escudier, Busseto, 30 August 1865. *The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*: Verdi to Bagier, Busseto, 30 August 1865 (with a draft in Giuseppina's *copialettere*, vol. II). *Sant'Agata, Giuseppina's copialettere*, vol. II: Verdi to Bagier, Sant'Agata, 3 September 1865; Giuseppina to Léon Escudier, Sant'Agata, 3 September 1865; Verdi to Léon Escudier, Sant'Agata, [September 1865].
34. *Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra*: Verdi to Léon Escudier, Busseto, 3 September 1865.
35. *Paris, Archives Nationales*: Verdi to Perrin, Busseto, 3 September 1865.
36. *Paris, Archives Nationales*: Perrin to Verdi (draft), Paris, 20 September 1865. *Sant'Agata*: Perrin to Verdi, Paris, 19 September 1865.
37. *Sant'Agata, Giuseppina's copialettere*, vol. II: Verdi to Perrin, Sant'Agata, 27 September 1865. *Paris, Archives Nationales*: Verdi to Perrin, Busseto, 27 September 1865.
38. *Sant'Agata, Giuseppina's copialettere*, vol. II: Verdi to Perrin, Sant'Agata, 27 September 1865. *Paris, Archives Nationales*: Verdi to Perrin, Busseto, 29 September 1865. For Rosine Bloch's role in the writing of *Don Carlos*, see Ursula Günther, "La Genèse de *Don Carlos*...", *Revue de musicologie*, LVIII (1972), 750-54, and Martin Chusid, *A Catalog of Verdi's Operas*, (Hackensack, NJ, 1974), 48.
39. *Sant'Agata*: Piave to Verdi, Milan, 23 September 1865.
40. *Sant'Agata*: Piave to Verdi, Milan, 29 September 1865.
41. Annibale Alberti, *Verdi intimo* (Milan, 1931), 61: letter from Verdi to Arrivabene, dated Paris, 31 December 1865.
42. Article by Léon Escudier in *L'art musical* (28 December 1865).
43. Günther, *Atti III*, 577.
44. *Archivio Ricordi*: Verdi to Tito Ricordi, Turin, 15 August 1867.

45. Reprinted in Marcello Conati, *Interviste e incontri con Verdi* (Milan, 1980), 66-78; English translation appears as *Encounters with Verdi*, translation by Richard Stokes, foreword by Julian Budden (Ithaca, 1984), 68-82.
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49. *Archivio Ricordi*: Verdi to Giulio Ricordi, Sant'Agata, 18 November [1868].
50. Bruce Alan Brown, "That damned ending," in *The force of destiny*, English National Opera Guide no. 23 (London, 1983), 44.
51. *Archivio Ricordi*: Verdi to Giulio Ricordi, Genoa, 4 April 1869. *Sant'Agata. Giuseppina's copialelettere*, vol. II: Verdi to Cesare de Sanctis, Sant'Agata, 18 June 1869.
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## Appendix 1

A Chronology of Events During the *Forza* Years

- 1861/Jan Early planning for an opera to be written for St. Petersburg. Verdi is elected deputy in the first Italian Parliament.
- 1861/June 3 Contract for *La forza del destino*, to be written for St. Petersburg, drafted in Paris.
- 1861/Sept.-Oct. Verdi and Piave create the libretto.
- 1861/Nov. 22 First version of *Forza* complete except for orchestration.
- 1861/Dec. Verdi is in St. Petersburg; *Forza* is postponed due to illness of prima donna Lagrua.
- 1862/Feb. Verdi is in Paris; composes the *Inno delle nazioni* for London's International Exhibition (text by Arrigo Boito).
- 1862/May 24 Verdi is in London for the performance of the *Inno*.
- 1862/June It is decided that *Forza* will receive its Italian premiere in Rome; plans for Madrid also begin.
- 1862/Aug. 10-30 Verdi orchestrates *Forza*.
- 1862/Sept. 24 Verdi arrives in St. Petersburg to begin rehearsals. Corrections and changes made during preparations.
- 1862/Nov. 10 Premiere of *Forza* at the Italian Imperial Theater, St. Petersburg.
- 1862/Dec. 9 Verdi leaves Russia.
- 1863/Jan. 11 Verdi arrives in Madrid to direct rehearsals. He corrects the MS score, a copy sent by Ricordi; this is the score now in Paris, at the Bibliothèque Nationale.
- 1863/Feb. Lionel Mapleson requests permission to mount *Forza* in London.
- 1863/Feb. 7 Italian premiere of *Forza* in Rome, Teatro Apollo (censored version with alternate title *Don Alvaro*).
- 1863/Feb. 21 Madrid premiere of *Forza*.
- 1863/Mar. Verdi begins rehearsals in Paris for a revival of *Les vêpres siciliennes*. First uncensored production of *Forza* in Italy at Reggio Emilia.
- 1863/July 20 Performances of *Vêpres* begin at Théâtre de l'Opéra, Paris.

- 1863/Sept. Verdi opposes the production of *Forza* in Paris, in large part because of Bagier, but also because he wants to revise the ending.
- 1863/Sept. Verdi begins to think about revising *Forza*.
- 1863/Oct. 30 Verdi asks Piave for a new ending.
- 1863/Dec. Tito Ricordi suggests revisions; refused by Verdi.
- 1864/Jan.-Mar. Mapleson fails to obtain consent for *Forza* performances in London.
- 1864/June Léon Escudier visits Verdi in Genoa.
- 1864/July Verdi receives a revised ending from Achilles de Lauzières. The composer expresses dissatisfaction with both Piave's and de Lauzières' solutions.
- 1864/Oct.-Dec. Revision of *Macbeth* for the Théâtre Lyrique, Paris.
- 1864/Dec. Bagier obtains the Madrid MS of *Forza*; he plans for a Paris production, ordering costumes and scenery.
- 1865/Feb. 24 American premiere of *Forza* at the Academy of Music in New York.
- 1865/Mar. 14 Production of *Forza* in Florence.
- 1865/Apr. 21 Premiere of the revised *Macbeth* in Paris.
- 1865/June Negotiations begin for a new work for l'Opéra (*Don Carlos*).
- 1865/July 17 First mention in the Verdi correspondence of a revised *Forza* in French for l'Opéra (by Léon Escudier).
- 1865/Aug.-Sept. Negotiations with Emile Perrin, director of l'Opéra, for the productions of *Don Carlos* and a revised *Forza*; contract drafted but not signed. Escudier tries to arrange for a production of *Simon Boccanegra* at the Théâtre Italien.
- 1865/Sept. Perrin sends Verdi a newly translated and revised first act of *Forza*. *Simon Boccanegra* project fails; Parisian performances were not to take place until 1883/84.
- 1865/Dec. 20 *Forza* production postponed for as long as three years; the first performances of *Forza* in Paris do not take place until 1876/77, at the Théâtre Italien. Verdi and Perrin sign a new contract for *Don Carlos*.
- 1866/Jan. *Forza* revived at Rome.
- 1866/Mar. Unsuccessful production of *Forza* at Genoa.
- 1866/July Verdi completes the draft of Acts I-IV of *Don Carlos*.

- 1866/Aug. Rehearsals for *Don Carlos* begin in Paris.
- 1867/Mar. 11 Premiere of the first version of *Don Carlos* at l'Opéra.
- 1867/June 22 Mapleson mounts London premiere of *Forza* (first version).
- 1867/Aug. 15 Verdi reminds Ricordi that he is still responsible for a revised French *Forza*.
- 1867/Oct. 27 First performance of *Don Carlos* in Italy (Bologna); translation by de Lauzières.
- 1868/Nov. 10 Giulio Ricordi at Sant'Agata. Verdi again begins thinking of revising *Forza*.
- 1868/Nov. 16 Giulio Ricordi sends Antonio Ghislanzoni's ideas for the revision to Verdi.
- 1868/Dec. 30 Libretto essentially revised.
- 1869/Jan. Musical revision is completed. Further changes made in the libretto.
- 1869/Feb. 27 Premiere of revised *Forza* at La Scala, Milan.

## APPENDIX 2

## St. Petersburg Version

## Scena VII

*D. Alvaro e D. Carlo scendono da un precipizio a destra correndo colle spade alla mano.*

ALVARO

Chi preme questa terra è maledetto!...

Ma de' delitti è questo

Il giorno!... qui sostiamo!...

*(si battono furiosamente.)*

CARLO

*(resta ferito a morte:)* Ohime!... muojo!...

Confessione, mio Dio!... l'alma salvate!...

ALVARO

*(E' questo ancor sangue d'un Vargas!...)*

CARLO

Padre...

Confession...

ALVARO

Maledetto io son; ma è presso

Un eremita...

CARLO

Per pietà affrettate.

ALVARO

*(corre alla grotta, e batte alla porta:)*

A confortar correte

Un uom che muor...

LEONORA

*(dall'interno)* Nol posso.

ALVARO

*(Battendo con più forza:)*

E' d'uopo.

LEONORA

*(dall'interno suonando la campana:)*

Ajuto! Ajuto!...

ALVARO

Deh venite.

## De Lauzières Version

## Scene VII

*Don Alvaro e Don Carlo scendono da un precipizio a destra correndo con le spade alla mano.*

ALVARO

Chi preme questa terra è maledetto.

Ma dei delitti è questo

Il giorno. Qui sostiamo.

CARLO

E qui morrai,

Infame, tu che il padre m'uccidesti,

La suora seducesti...

ALVARO

Quando nel cor t'avrò quest'arma immersa,

Ma solo allor, ti giurerò su Dio

Che innocente son io.

*Si battono furiosamente. Vivissimo baleno seguito da strepitoso tuono. La folgere cade sulla cappanna e vi mette il fuoco.*

## St. Petersburg Version: Scene VIII

*Deti* [D. Alvaro and D. Carlo] e Donna  
Leonora che si presenta sulla porta

LEONORA  
Temerarii, del ciel l'ira fuggite.

ALVARO  
*(scendendo inorridito:)*  
Oh cielo!... una donna!... qual voce!...  
Leonora!

LEONORA  
Gran Dio!...Don Alvaro!...  
*(scende)*

CARLO  
*(Chi vedo!...la suora!)*

LEONORA e ALVARO  
Si dunque a me presso tu stavi, mio bene!  
Cancelli quest'ora d'un tempo le penè!...

CARLO  
*(Ed erano insieme!)* Sorella?  
*(con isforzo)*

LEONORA  
*(Chi sento?)*

CARLO  
Del sangue tuo l'ultimo ti volge l'accento...

LEONORA  
*(corre ad abbracciarlo:)*  
Don Carlo, fratello, ti stringo al mio core...

CARLO  
*(nell'amplesso la ferisce)*

LEONORA  
Ah!  
*(cade)*

CARLO  
Son vendicato!... *(spira)*

ALVARO  
*(a D. Carlo:)*  
Che festi tu?... Orrore!

LEONORA  
Ti perdono, fratel...*(a D. Alv.:)* Vedi destino!...  
Io muojo!... ahimè ti lascio!... Alvaro...Addio...  
Ci rivedremo in cielo...Addio  
*(muore)*

ALVARO  
*(Leonora!)*  
Alfine ti trovai!... ti trovai mortal!...  
*(resta immobile)*

## De Lauzières Version: Scene VII

*I precedenti, Donna Leonora esce atterrita dalla capanna*

CARLO  
La folgore ci schiava

LEONORA  
Empi, fermati!  
Dell'ira del Signor paventate.

ALVARO  
O cielo! Una donna! Qual voce!... Leonora!

LEONORA  
Gran dio! Don Alvaro!... (*scende*)

CARLO  
(Chi vedo!... La suora!)

LEONORA ed ALVARO  
Sì dunque a me presso tu stavi, mio bene?  
Cancelli quest'ora d'un tempo le pene...

CARLO  
(Ed erano insieme! Inconsci del fato  
Che unire li volle!...)

LEONORA  
Fratello adorato!  
Oh quanto soffersi tel dica il mio viso.

ALVARO  
Da lei non mi volle la sorte diviso

LEONORA  
Amor l'uno all'altro ci spinse vicino.

CARLO  
Amor, no; la forza fu sol del destino  
Ad essa m'opposi; spiai fin la morte  
Son vinto, non giova contr'essa lottar.  
*Carlo resta un momento assorto in profondi pensieri; Leonora gli si avvicina, gli prende la mano e gli dice con dolcezza:*

LEONORA  
Contro il destin fu vano  
Combattere, o germano;  
(*accenando Alvaro*) Per lui Dio fè' [?]  
quest'anima

La sua per me creò.  
Noi che i mortal' divisero  
Uni poter divino...  
La forza del destino  
Dal nascer ci legò.

CARLO (*abbatuto*) La forza del destino  
No, vincer non potrò!

ALVARO, *avvicinandosi a sua volta a Don Carlo:*  
M'odi; lottai, ma invano  
Fu il fato, non la mano  
Che in quella notte orribile  
Il padre tuo svenò.  
(*accendendo Leonora:*) E' puro ancor  
quest'angelo  
La forza del destino  
I nostri cor legò

CARLO (*come sopra*)  
La forza del destino  
No, vincer non potrò!

LEONORA *mostrando a Carlo la capanna che ardendo a poco a poco è tutta ridotta in fiamme.*

L'asilo che m'accolse  
Vedilo, il ciel mi tolse

ALVARO  
Asilo più sicuro  
Sian le mie braccia, il giuro!

*Durante questa scena il cielo si è [illegibile].  
Le nubi si sono diradate. Sorge  
splendidissima la luna. S'ode venir dal  
monastero, coi rintocchi della campana, una  
salmodia religiosa.*

CORO  
'Gloria in excelsis Deo  
Et in terra pax.'

LEONORA  
Ve'.  
Dei monaci è il corteo  
Prostrati al loro piè  
Ci benedica Iddio  
Col loro accento pio.

## St. Petersburg Version

Scena ultima

*Il tuono mugghi piucché mai, i lampi si fanno piú spessi, si odono i Frati cantar Miserere. All'avvicinarsi di questi D. Alvaro torna in sé, e corre sopra una rupe a sinistra. Giunge il Padre Guardiano e tutta la Comunità con fiaccole dalla destra, e ognuno rimane stupefatto.*

GUARDIANO

Gran Dio!...sangue!...cadaveri! la donna Penitente!...

TUTTI

Una donna!...Cielo!

GUARDIANO

Padre

Raffaele...

ALVARO

*(dall'alto della rupe.)*

Imbecille, cerca il Padre

Raffaele...Un inviato dell'inferno

Son io...

MELITONE

L'ho sempre detto...

ALVARO

Apriti o terra,

M'ingoi l'inferno!...precipiti il cielo...

Pera la razza umana...

*(ascende piú alto e si precipita in un sottoposto burrone)*

TUTTI

Orrore!...Orrore!...

Pietà, misericordia, Signore!!!

FINE

## De Lauzières Version

Scena ultima

*Il padre Guardiano, e gli altri frati con ceri accesi*

CORO

'Gloria in excelsis Deo'

*Leonora - Don Alvaro si sono genuflessi pel panaggio dei padri. Don Carlo, dopo aver a lungo coltato [?] internamente, cede alla commozione e come abbedendo ad una possanza misteriosa piega anch'esse il ginocchio.*

CARLO *(cogli occhi al cielo)*

Padre, perdona; [illegibile] *(indicando Alvaro)*  
Fu per amor

*Si alza, tende la mano ad Alvaro, quest'la stringe con affezione nella sua. Carlo offre l'altra mano a Leonora che esclama un giubilo:*

LEONORA

Alfin!...

CARLO

Lottamo invano; ha vinto

La forza del destin!

*I monaci continuano la loro processione cantando Gloria in excelsis Deo. Alvaro e Leonora restano sul davanti genoflessi. Carlo dall'altro lato della scena li contempla pensoso. La luna rischiara del suo raggio piú vivo e due fidanzati--Cala la tela.*

FINE

## APPENDIX 3

## Act I with a tableau as sent to Verdi by Perrin

1<sup>er</sup> Acte.1<sup>er</sup> Tableau

Séville

*Devant l'extrémité du vieux pont de bateaux de Eriana dont on voit à gauche la sortie praticable. Au premier plan des baraques de toile et de planches avec des tables chargées de fruits, de grandes cruches et de fleurs. Devant les baraques des bancs de bois.*

*Au fond, pardela le Guadalquivir la silhouette de Séville. La Giralda dominant les peupliers et les cyprès. Soleil couché de Juin. Des lampes brillantes déjà dans les baraques faisant resplendir les cateniers de cuivre et les plats d'étain.*

Scène 1<sup>ère</sup>

Trabuco. Preciozilla. Un marchand, un officier, gens du peuple, moines, etc.

*Des habitants de Séville de toutes conditions descendent du pont et traversent la scène. Le marchand verse à boire à l'officier. Preciozilla accorde une guitare.*

Choeur

La soirée est belle  
L'étoile nouvelle  
Au ciel étincelle.  
Buvons à longs traits  
Le vin, les sorbets  
Respirons l'air frais.

*L'Officier assis à un table*

Viens ici Trabuco. Que dit on par la ville?

Trabuco

La course de laureaux fait parler tout Séville.

Preciosilla

Don Alvar pourtant y manquait.  
C'est le plus courageux comme le plus habile  
De nos toreros.

Trabuco

Oui, mais l'amour le distrait.  
Il est quelque beauté qu'en secret il adore.

Preciosilla

*Preciosilla*

Vous l'avez dit! C'est Léonore  
Du Marquis de Calatrava  
La fille bien aimée!

*Trabuco*

Alvar l'épousera?

*L'Officier*

Non jamais! Les marquis la repoussé déjà.

*Preciosilla*

Le marquis pauvre et fier dédaigne l'alliance  
D'un étranger dont nul ne connaît la naissance.  
Dans sa maison des champs depuis un mois dit on  
Pour l'éloigner d'Alvar il a conduit sa fille.

*Trabuco*

D'on vient donc cet Alvar?

*L'Officier*

C'est un pirate.

*Le Marchand, mystérieusement*

Non.

D'une Reine Moreque et d'un grand de Castille  
Je sais qu'il est le fils.

*Un buveur*

Non! C'est un renégat échappé de Tunis.

*Preciosilla riant*

Ah! Ah!

*L'Officier*

En ris? Crois tu-mieux que nous le connaître?

*Preciosilla à part*

Peut être!

Ballade

I

Preciosilla sait lire aux cieux  
Le livre des étoiles.  
Le passé se montre à ses yeux  
L'avenir est sans voiles.  
Tetez quelques maravédís  
Dans mon tambour sonore  
Vous saurez ce qu'au ciel je lis  
Ce qu'Alvar même ignore.  
Alvar est maudit, sur ses pas  
Un sort inexorable sème  
Le désespoir et le trépas!  
Fatal à qui le hait, plus fatal à qui l'aime  
Il marche.. et le ciel gronde..et la fleur se flétrit.  
Il est maudit!

Le Choeur

Il est maudit!

*(Preciosilla fait le tour des groupes ou lui donne quelques pièces de monnaie que l'on entend retentir dans son tambourin.)*

[etc.]