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## Tempo and Conducting in 19th-Century Opera

### A Letter by the Composer about *Giovanna d'Arco* and Some Remarks on the Division of Musical Direction in Verdi's Day

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Martin Chusid

Venezia 28 Marzo 1845

Carissimo Romani

Ti ringrazio dei saluti mandatimi dalla Bortolotti.<sup>1</sup> Tu vuoi che t'accenni alcune cose sulla Giovanna? Tu non ne abbisogni, e sai bene interpretare da te; ma se ti fa piacere che te ne dica qualcosa; eccomi a saziarti [?]. Prima di tutto ti raccomando la Sinfonia.

Venice 28 March 1845

My very dear Romani

Thank you for conveying Mme Bortolotti's greetings.<sup>1</sup> You want me to point out some things about Giovanna? You don't need them, and are well able to interpret by yourself; but if my telling you something about it makes you happy, here I am to satisfy you. First of all, I recommend to you the overture.

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1. The soprano Geltrude Bortolotti (Bertolotti), active during the 1840's, sang Lucrezia at La Pergola, Florence, earlier that season under Romani's direction in highly successful performances of *I due Foscari* mentioned below by Rossini. Two letters from Verdi to Francesco Maria Piave written later the same year, 1845, convey the composer's salutations to her in turn. See F. Abbiati, *Verdi* (Milan, 1959), vol. 1, pp. 564 and 585. In 1843 Giovanni Pacini wrote the leading role in *Medea* for her, and the opera was one of his most successful. Among other Verdi operas in which Bortolotti performed were *I lombardi*, *Ernani*, *Attila*, *I masnadieri*, and in Madrid during the fall of 1846, *Giovanni d'Arco*. I am indebted to Thomas Kaufman for sharing with me his unpublished information on performances by Bortolotti.

Se è ben eseguita fa effetto, e li non c'è pericolo d'un infreddatura, d'un abbassamento di voce, del machinismo [sic] che va male, o della parte che sia troppo bassa, o troppo alta etc. Il primo tempo della sinfonia è un allegro agitato vivo ma non troppo.<sup>2</sup> L'adagio è un andantino piuttosto mosso (che abbia il carattere pastorale).<sup>3</sup> L'ultimo tempo è un marziale che abbia il movimento del primo allegro.<sup>4</sup> L'introduzione è un Andante piuttosto mosso.<sup>5</sup> L'Adagio dell'Aria del Tenore come starà bene alla voce:<sup>6</sup> il Coro in *Do* minore vivo assai.<sup>7</sup> La cabaletta *Larga* e cantabile.<sup>8</sup> Non ti parlo della cavatina di Giovanna che va da se.<sup>9</sup> Il Coro dei Demoni è un piccolo Valtz grazioso e voluttuoso piuttosto Adagio.<sup>10</sup> Il Coro degli Angeli continua finché in tempo C col movimento stesso del Valtz.<sup>11</sup> La Cabaletta della Donna vivace finché si può.<sup>12</sup> L'adagio *Terzetto* a voci sole *Largo* e preciso nel tempo, il quale dovrà marcarsi in nove moti ... etc. ...<sup>13</sup>

If performed well it is effective, and there is no danger of a cold, of the voice going flat, of the machinery malfunctioning, or of parts that may lie too low or too high, etc. The overture's first tempo is an *allegro agitato vivo ma non troppo*.<sup>2</sup> The slow section (*adagio*) is an *andantino piuttosto mosso* (which has a pastoral character).<sup>3</sup> The final tempo is a *marziale* which has the same speed as the first *allegro*.<sup>4</sup> The Introduction is an *Andante piuttosto mosso*.<sup>5</sup> The slow section (*Adagio*) of the tenor's aria as will suit his voice;<sup>6</sup> the Chorus in C minor very lively (*vivo assai*).<sup>7</sup> The cabaletta broad (*Larga*) and cantabile.<sup>8</sup> I won't say anything to you about Giovanna's cavatina which goes by itself.<sup>9</sup> The chorus of the Demons is a little Waltz, gracious and voluptuous *piuttosto Adagio*.<sup>10</sup> The Chorus of the Angels continues with the same movement as the Waltz.<sup>11</sup> The [prima] donna's cabaletta as briskly (*vivace*) as possible.<sup>12</sup> The slow (*Adagio*) *Terzet* for solo voices broadly (*Largo*) and precisely in tempo; it must be marked in nine [-eighths] time ... etc. ...<sup>13</sup>

2. Verdi's autograph, from this point simply referred to as A, reads *Allegro*. Luke Jensen kindly checked the Autograph for me at the Casa Ricordi in Milan.

3. A has *Andante pastorale* above the score, *Andante* below.

4. A reads *Allegro*, but in 2/4 meter rather than alla breve.

5. "Qual v'ha speme?"; A reads *Andante*.

6. "Sotto una quercia"; *Andante* above the score in A, *Andantino* below.

7. "Nell'orribile foresta"; A has *Allegro vivo* above the score, *Allegro* below.

8. "Pondo e letal"; *Allegro moderato* in A.

9. "Sempre all'Alba"; *Andante* above the score in A, *Andante sostenuto* below, cantabile above the voice part.

10. "Tu sei bella"; *Allegro* above the score in A, *Allegro moderato* below and with the Armonia, *Allegretto* for the chorus.

11. "Sorgi! I celesti accolsero"; A reads *Adagio*.

12. "Son guerriera"; A reads *Allegro vivace*.

13. "A te, pietosa vergine"; A reads *Andante*.

Coro del Primo Atto<sup>14</sup> in *do presto*.<sup>15</sup> L'Aria del Basso tanto nel Adagio che nella Cabaletta<sup>16</sup> ha i tempi precisi dell'Aria del Basso nell'Ernani.<sup>17</sup> Ti raccomando il Duetto fra tenore e Donna... Siano vivace i movimenti d'orchestra, larghi i Cantabili.<sup>18</sup> l'Adagio in sol minore sia largo,<sup>19</sup> agit[at]o assai da Giovanna specialmente quando s'unisce a due alle parole (Son maledetto) siavi gran contrasto fra i due canti. Vivo il coro che viene,<sup>20</sup> e cantabile la cabaletta;<sup>21</sup> e feroce e presto il coro framischiato dei Demoni assai staccato e con forza.<sup>22</sup>

La Marcia sia maestosa, non vivace.<sup>23</sup> Tutto il resto è chiaro per se. Nell'adagio del Finale ti raccomando: Cori staccati e sotto voce.<sup>24</sup>

The Chorus of the First Act<sup>14</sup> in *C presto*.<sup>15</sup> The Bass Aria, both the slow section (*adagio*) and the cabaletta,<sup>16</sup> has the exact tempos of the Bass Aria in *Ernani*.<sup>17</sup> Don't overlook the Duet between the tenor and the [leading] lady... Let the orchestral sections be vivacious (*vivaci*), the *cantabili* broad (*larghi*).<sup>18</sup> The slow section (*adagio*) in G minor should be broad (*largo*),<sup>19</sup> very agitated (*agitato* [!]) *assai* by Giovanna, especially when the two are joined at the words "Son maledetto." There should be great contrast between the two melodies. Lively the Chorus which comes next,<sup>20</sup> and cantabile the cabaletta,<sup>21</sup> both wild and swift (*feroce e presto*) the Chorus intermingled by the Demons very pointedly and with force.<sup>22</sup>

Let the March be majestic, not sprightly (*vivace*).<sup>23</sup> Everything else is self-explanatory. In the slow section (*adagio*) of the [third] Finale I urge that the choruses be *staccati* and *sotto voce*.<sup>24</sup>

14. A divides the opera into four acts rather than a Prologue and three acts as in all *Ricordi* publications (i.e. piano-vocal and orchestral scores as well as librettos). Seven MS copies of orchestral scores in the Verdi Archive at New York University and the piano-vocal score published by Escudier follow A. In the letter Verdi is following the *Ricordi* divisions, but his ambiguity on the subject is evident by the fact that "Primo" was corrected from "Secondo."

15. "Ai Lari! alla patria!"; *Allegro* in A.

16. "Franco son io"; *Andante sostenuto* in A, and the cabaletta "So che per via di triboli"; *Allegro assai moderato* in A.

17. The aria in *Ernani* to which Verdi refers is Don Carlo's "Lo vedremo o veggio audace," *Andante mosso*, with its cabaletta "Vieni meco," *Moderato*. The rhythms of the orchestral accompaniments are also remarkably similar in the parallel pieces.

18. "Ho risolto"; *Allegro vivo* in A, and "Ma l'amor"; *Primo tempo* in A, for the orchestral sections, and "Dunque, o cruda"; *Meno mosso* in A, for the *cantabile*.

19. "T'arretti e palpiti!"; *Adagio* in A.

20. "Le vie traboccano"; *Allegro* in A.

21. "Vieni al tempio"; *Allegro moderato* in A.

22. "Vittoria, vittoria! plaudiamo a Satana"; *assai staccato e con forza* in A.

23. But Verdi wrote *Allegro vivo* in A!

24. "Un gel trascorrere"; *Andante* in A.



L'ultimo atto incomincia con una descrizione di battaglia. Desidero sia fatta *pianissimo*, *sotto voce*, come in lontananza, come un'Eco.<sup>25</sup> *Largo* l'Adagio del Duetto:<sup>26</sup> sia detto con molta passione specialmente alla frase

The last act begins with a description of a battle. I should like it to be done *pianissimo*, *sotto voce*, as if in the distance, as an echo.<sup>25</sup> The slow section (*Adagio*) of the Duet broad (*Largo*);<sup>26</sup> have it delivered with great passion, especially at the phrase

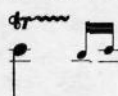


La cabaletta da 4° tempi va vivace assai con forza.<sup>27</sup> La Romanza del Tenore Larga e con passione.<sup>28</sup> Sia ben accentata anche dal Corno inglese e dal Violoncello. Scena Finale. Adagio il 6/8 in sol minore e leggere a punta d'arco le note dei violini che fanno un bell'effetto.<sup>29</sup>

The cabaletta at the fourth tempo goes very briskly with power (*vivace assai con forza*).<sup>27</sup> The Tenor's Romanza broad (*Larga*) and with passion.<sup>28</sup> Let it be well accentuated, even by the English Horn and Violoncello. Final Scene. Slowly (*Adagio*) the 6/8 in G minor and the notes of the violins lightly at the point of the bow, which makes a fine effect.<sup>29</sup>

Recitativo *Largo*,<sup>30</sup> solo del Clarinetto sia ben preciso e tutto sotto voce ad eccezione del trillo sulla cadenza sul

The Recitative broad (*Largo*),<sup>30</sup> the clarinet solo should be quite exact and completely *sotto voce* except for the trill in the cadenza on ....<sup>31</sup> The rest broad (*Largo*) . . .<sup>32</sup>



31

Il resto *Largo*.<sup>32</sup>

25. "I franchi"; *Andante* in A, and "Oh qual mi scuote"; *Allegro* in A.

26. "Amai, ma un solo istante"; *Andante* in A.

27. "Or dal padre benedetta"; *Allegro assai vivo* in A.

28. "Quale più fido"; *Andante* in A.

29. "Un suon funereo"; *Andante* in A.

30. "Che mai fu"; A simply reads *Recitativo*.

31. "S'apre il ciel"; *Andante* in A.

32. "La tua mano"; *Adagio* in A.

Eccoti una lunga chiaccherata e per te inutile. Ti raccomando tutto... pure anche questo è inutile perchè so quanta amicizia

hai per il Tuo Amico

G. Verdi

There you are, a great deal of chatter, and useless for you. I entrust everything to you ... even this is useless because I know how much friendship

you have for your friend

G. Verdi

Addressed by Verdi to Sig<sup>r</sup>: Pietro Romani, Celebre Maestro Direttore al Teatro la Pergola, Firenze

Stamped postmarks:

Venezia 28 Mar<sup>o</sup>

Firenze 1 Aprile 1845

\* \* \*

As far as I can determine, this remarkable letter has never been translated or even transcribed, although it was published in facsimile more than thirty years ago. It appeared handsomely reproduced in a collection of essays by Andrea della Corte, *Rigoletto - Il trovatore - La traviata - Aida - Otello - Falstaff. Le sei più belle opere di Giuseppe Verdi* (Milan, Istituto d'Alta Cultura, 1957). The author, who gives the location of the original as the Biblioteca Treccani degli Alfieri, never mentions the document in the body of his book, probably because it has nothing whatever to do with any of the "sei più belle opere." Presumably it was included for cosmetic reasons together with a more relevant facsimile from the same collection, an album leaf of the opening bars to "Di quell'amor."

The single reference I could find to the letter is a footnote on p. 27 of Marcello Conati's *Intervisti e incontri con Verdi* (Milan, 1980), where the document is described as "alcune osservazioni sull'interpretazione della *Giovanna d'Arco*."<sup>33</sup> Conati remarks the high opinion of Romani held by Verdi and reports the location of the original and the existence of a photocopy at the Istituto di Studi Verdiani. There is no mention of the facsimile.

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33. Eng. trans. as *Encounters with Verdi* (Ithaca, New York, 1984), 27-28, n. 2.

The letter is significant for a number of reasons. It adds to the small number of published letters by Verdi about his early operas, and it is the single most comprehensive discussion of tempos by the composer for any of his compositions. In fact fourteen of the sixteen individual numbers are mentioned, an item of considerable importance since Verdi left no metronomic indications for *Giovanna d'Arco*, or any other opera before *Attila*. And, finally, apart from Muzio's enthusiastic but frequently biased remarks about the opera to Antonio Barezzi,<sup>34</sup> there are no published documents that reveal the composer's thinking about the actual music of *Giovanna d'Arco*. I except Verdi's intemperate claim to Piave made the day after the premiere: "E la migliore delle mie opere senza eccezione e senza dubbio."<sup>35</sup>

Verdi's letter to Romani was written from Venice where the composer was directing the first production in that city of *I due Foscari*. The latter work, Verdi's fourth major success in a row (after *Nabucco*, *I lombardi* and *Ernani*), had already been heard in Florence and, according to Rossini, "*I due Foscari* fecero furore a Firenze, così sarà della vostra *Giovanna d'Arco*."<sup>36</sup>

A composer's correspondence with performers about his own works is often of the highest interest and this letter is no exception. As Verdi had addressed him on the cover of the letter, Romani (1791-1877) was Maestro Direttore at La Pergola for many years. He was also a composer best known for his aria "Manca un foglio," prior to the Second World War regularly substituted in Italy for Bartolo's "A un dottor della mia sorte" in Act I of Rossini's *Barbiere di Siviglia*. He was highly thought of by his contemporaries and Marianna Barbieri-Nini, the original Lady Macbeth, who had studied with Romani and worked closely with him for many years, described the musician as "il vecchio Pietro Romani, il più grande concertatore di opere del nostro secolo, l'amico di Rossini."<sup>37</sup>

The letter is, of course, required reading for potential performers of *Giovanna d'Arco*; but it also confirms what he himself had written at the

34. See L. A. Garibaldi, ed., *Giuseppe Verdi nelle lettere di Emanuele Muzio ad Antonio Barezzi* (Milan, 1931).

35. Letter dated 16 Feb. 1845 and cited in Abbiati, vol. 1, 538.

36. Letter of 28 Jan. 1845, in A. Luzio, ed., *Carteggio Verdiani* (Rome, 1935), vol. 2, 346 and Abbiati, vol. 1, 507.

37. The remark was made to E. Checchi who printed it in *Giuseppe Verdi: Il genio e le opere* (Florence, 1887, 3rd ed. 1913). Cited from Conati, *op. cit.*, 24, Eng. ed., 25 where the term 'maestro concertatore' is translated as orchestral director. But see the second part of this article. Verdi also wrote the roles of Lucrezia in *I due Foscari* and Gulnara in *Il Corsaro* for Barbieri-Nini.



time of *Nabucco*: "I . . . ask you to inform the maestro who will actually rehearse *Nabucco* that the tempos are not slow. They all move quickly . . ." <sup>38</sup> and of *Ermani*, " . . . I caution you that I do not like slow tempos; it is better to err on the side of liveliness than to drag." <sup>39</sup> As the letter to Romani indicates, in *Giovanna d'Arco* and not only there, almost none of the so-called slow sections are truly slow. Instead of *Adagio* Verdi usually writes some form of *Andante*, sometimes with *piuttosto mosso* or *con moto* added. And, finally, in this document the composer repeatedly calls for a broad (*largo*), *cantabile* conception of the music whether the tempo is moderate or quick.

### On the Musical Direction of Italian Opera in Verdi's Time

Accustomed to the preeminent role of the orchestral conductor in 20th century opera houses, we may think it strange that Verdi did not address his letter on performing *Giovanna d'Arco* to the first violinist leader of the orchestra, or as he was called in Florence at the time, the *Capo e Direttore d'Orchestra*, <sup>40</sup> rather than to Pietro Romani. <sup>41</sup> But as Dante Rabitti has indicated, for that period "One can speak of a double leadership: to the *maestro al cembalo* the vocal parts, to the first violinist the instrumental parts." <sup>42</sup>

This portion of the article is concerned with the functions of the two leaders, how they related to each other musically, with the different titles given to vocal directors and, finally, with an examination of some evidence indicating when and why the practice of dividing the musical direction in Italian theaters came to an end. My remarks and conclusions are for the most part based on the following sources.

1. More than 200 librettos for operas by Verdi which list one or more musical directors (See Appendices A, B, and C). They were almost always printed for specific theaters and seasons and represent

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38. Letter of 19 Oct. 1842 to the presidency of La Fenice. Cited from M. Chusid, "Verdi's Own Words: His Thoughts on Performance, with Special Reference to *Don Carlos*, *Otello*, and *Falstaff*," *The Verdi Companion* (New York, 1979, paperback ed. with some changes and corrections, 1988), 175.

39. Letter of 18 April 1844 to Leone Herz, Vienna. Cited from Chusid, *ibid.*, pp. 175-6. As late as 1870 Verdi was known as "il maestro dei tempi celeri." See the letter to Verdi from his close friend Oprandino Arrivabene, *ibid.*, 175.

40. See Appendix A, Florence, last column.

41. The recipient of the above-discussed letter.

42. See "Orchestre e Istituzioni Musicali Piacentine," *Orchestre in Emilia-Romagna* (Parma, 1982), 49. Rabitti continues, "The maestri al cembali were privately singing masters (maestri di canto)."



approximately 10% of the librettos to be found in the Verdi Archive at New York University.

2. Naples, Italy's most populous city in the 19th century, and probably the most active operatically, required a different approach inasmuch as the librettos for the major houses, San Carlo and the Teatro del Fondo, never indicated musical directors. The principal source used for information about musical direction in Naples was a group of *Prospetti di Appalti*, in which impresarios described forthcoming seasons, indicated some new operas to be mounted, and provided a roster of the singers and musical directors. These *Appalti* appeared between the years 1839 and 1860 in a periodical called the *Programma Giornaliero*, a daily listing of all manner of theatrical events in Naples: operas, ballets, spoken theater, farces, virtuoso instrumentalists, acrobats, etc.<sup>43</sup>

3. A handful of wall posters for specific performances that include information about musical directors. As do librettos, wall posters usually give casts but only occasionally mention the musical director(s).

4. Of special value in that they describe the functions of the musical directors are a number of decrees, regulations, or projected plans for orchestras of cities located in the region where Verdi was born and spent most of his life, Emilia-Romagna. These documents were printed in a volume edited by Marcello Conati and Marcello Pavarani entitled *Orchestra in Emilia-Romagna nell'ottocento e novecento* (from this point referred to by the abbreviation *E-R*).

Although evidence from all four sources supports Rabitti's view of the divided musical direction in Italian houses, it is mainly the documents in *E-R* that reveal the specific responsibilities of the vocal and orchestral directors. As an introduction to the topic we might list the tasks assigned to the Maestro di Capella for the Ducal Theater and some of those of the "Primo Violinista Direttore d'Orchestra" as formulated by Nicolò Paganini in his *Progetto di Regolamento per la Ducale Orchestra in Parma* (1836).

Article 6. The Maestro di Capella for the Ducal Theater . . . [has] two responsibilities.

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43. An almost complete run of this invaluable journal is to be found in the Music Division, Rare Books and Music Section, Lincoln Center Library of the Performing Arts, New York.

1. Attend and lend his efforts at all the rehearsals both of the Operas and Concerts given at the Ducal Theater.

2. . . . to make all those changes that may occur in the *Scores* which must be produced in public.

See also no. 10 for the violinist leader.

Only those tasks of the 15 listed for the violinist director applicable to our discussion are given in the body of the paper. See fn. 44 for the others.

Article 9. The Orchestral Director, First Violinist . . . [has] the following responsibilities.

1. To assure that each service proceed in the best possible manner, and discipline be scrupulously observed. He shall report to the Capo Direttore della Musica [the Head of the entire Ducal musical establishment of Chamber or Court, Theater and Church music] all those cases which exceed his powers.

2. He shall deduct from the salaries of orchestral players in proportion to their failings . . . (*See the penalties to be given for transgressions of the present regulations*).

3. He shall direct the orchestra and oversee them in all the services of the Court, or the Ducal Theater or the Church functions.

4. He shall keep the orchestra in practice by having them perform quartets, quintets, and symphonies [overtures: *sinfonie*], and especially the 12 most famous of Beethoven [sic].

6. It shall be his responsibility to see that all the instruments, whether string or wind, be good, so as to be suitable for rendering effectively . . . the music . . .

10. In concert with the Maestro di Capella of the Ducal Theater, he shall forward in good time a written report to the Capo Direttore della Musica about the capabilities of the vocal artists hired by the impresario and shall inform [the Capo] of the Operas which are planned, in order to determine whether they are well chosen and adapted to the contracted artists.<sup>44</sup>

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44. *E-R*, 137-138. Following is a summary of the duties of the violinist leader omitted from the body of this article.

Article 9:

#5 [He] must see that orchestral players always have some solo pieces ready for concerts.

#7 [He] is required to give lessons five times per week each to two students chosen by her majesty.

#8 [He] has all these regulations also be observed by substitutes and applicants for the orchestra.

#9 [He] has the authority to switch first and second violinists and violists as deemed necessary.

The emphasis on the Violinist leader maintaining orchestral discipline is repeated in almost all the documents of *E-R*. In fact, that seems to be the principal reason for promulgating most of the *Regolamenti*. Time and again there is official concern that players appear on time for rehearsals and performances, that they do not send substitutes without official permission, that they not prelude after the tuning pitch has been given or make noise during performances, that they wear appropriate clothing, etc. etc. As Stefano Sanvitale, a nobleman of considerable importance at the Parmesan Court of the Duchess Maria Luigia (Napoleon's second wife, Marie Louise) complained "These artists . . . are angels when they make music but devils as far as discipline is concerned."<sup>45</sup>

Although Paganini's proposed reorganization of the orchestra at Parma was not adopted, the ideas he advanced are, for the most part, those in practice earlier in Parma and elsewhere--with one important exception, to which we shall return at the end of this paper. The duties of the vocal director spelled out above are repeated at Piacenza, for example, although he is now called a *Maestro al cembalo*. The second major section of the *Regolamento di servizio e disciplinare del Teatro Comunitativo* (1839) directs that the *Maestro al cembalo* assist at all performances and rehearsals; "adapt (*puntare*) the parts to the capabilities of the singers" including, if necessary, the transposition of clef or key. For this he was to receive additional reimbursement from the *impresario*, and, if required, furnish his opinion on the scores selected, the singers to be, or already, contracted, and the players appointed to the orchestra.<sup>46</sup>

As is clear from the documents in *E-R* and librettos of the time, vocal directors were variously entitled *Maestro di Capella*, *Maestro al cembalo*, *Maestro Direttore della Musica*, *Maestro Direttore delle*

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#11 [He] does not have to play for ballets.

#12 [He] helps select the 27 players who will provide the music for the comic plays.

#13 [He] chooses at least 30 pieces for the comedies from the court music library, and more if possible; these to include overtures suitable for orchestral introductions. Must instruct different violinists who will direct the music in turn.

#14 In the absence of the violinist leader, the Principal Director of the entire musical establishment will select two players from the group to serve as orchestral directors, the second in case the first is absent.

#15 [He] has to provide in writing a pay scale for the orchestra during the season of the comic plays; that pay scale to be approved by the Principal Musical Director before disbursement to the players.

45. *E-R*, 86. See also p. 150 where it is suggested that to obtain that "subordinazione indispensabile" the violinist director must have "forza morale."

46. *E-R*, 45-6.



Opere, and Maestro Concertatore. The last and most modern of the five, Maestro Concertatore, appears in Naples at least as early as 1840, at Turin in 1845, and generally elsewhere during the 1850's. As our sources suggest, it survived into the period of the single musical director, the conductor, as the first part of his title indicates: "Maestro Concertatore e Direttore d'Orchestra," (See Appendix A.) To a great extent the differences in title point to a vocal director's different functions. Maestro al cembalo and Maestro Concertatore refer to performance activities; and as the keyboard disappeared from the opera orchestra, so did the title Maestro al cembalo. The other names suggest the vocal director's directorial or administrative functions. The crucial word common to all five is Maestro, master or teacher, but musically speaking also composer, someone who is trained to manipulate notes easily.<sup>47</sup> And it is not a term normally applied to the violinist orchestral director during the period of divided directorship.<sup>48</sup> As P. Petrocchi, *Nòvo Dizionario Universale della Lingua Italiana* (Milan, 1894), suggests, "Degli scrittori di musica o di chi la insegna si dice Maèstro, non Professore." As an illustration he offers "Il maestro Verdi."<sup>49</sup> Although he was usually paid more than the vocal director,<sup>50</sup> in the 19th century the first violinist seems to have been considered one of the "professori d'orchestra." Even if frequently called "Capo" (see Appendix A), he was still only a player.

Some further comments on the titles and functions of the vocal directors are in order. Many documents in *E-R* indicate the obvious fact that the Maestro ed istruttore dei cori, the chorus master, was responsible to the vocal director.<sup>51</sup> And, as may be expected, in smaller, less active operatic

47. According to the *Dizionario etimologico italiano* of Carlo Battisti and Giovanna Alessio (Florence, 1957), the meaning of "Maestro" as a composer of music dates from the 16th century.

48. Of 57 violinist leaders listed in the appendices, only Giovanni Nostini is called "Maestro Direttore d'Orchestra." See Appendix A, Macerata, 1845.

49. *Op. cit.*, vol. 2, 110, col. 2.

50. See, for example, the payroll from the first sovereign act of the Duchess Maria Luigia of Parma regarding the orchestra (1816): Maestro di Capella Direttore della Musica vocale cantore e maestro di canto, Fr. 2600, while the Primo Violino Direttore della Musica strumentale received Fr. 3000 (*E-R*, 84). See also the facs. reproductions of orchestral pay schedules per opera for Guastalla (1835), Maestro al Cembalo, 2.50 [Lire?], Primo Violino Direttore, 3.50 (*E-R*, 226); Piacenza (1850), Gaetano Austri, Maestro al Cembalo, Lire 4.75; Giuseppe Jona, Primo Violino Direttore d'orchestra, Lire 5.75 (*E-R*, 58); Modena (1851), Ignazio Manni, Maestro del Cembalo, L. 8.-, Antonio Sighicelli, Direttore d'Orchestra, L. 9.20 (*E-R*, 235).

51. Rabitti, *op. cit.*, for example, citing from the *Regolamento di servizio e disciplinare del Teatro Comunitativo di Piacenza* (1839), says "Il maestro istruttore dei cori dipendeva direttamente dal maestro al cembalo . . ." (*E-R*, 46). See also article 11, section II of the *Regolamento per la istituzione della orchestra civica a servizio del Comune* (Reggio Emilia, 1861): "Il Maestro di Capella deve . . . invigilare . . . alla istruzione dei



establishments it is not uncommon to find the vocal director also functioning as his own chorus master. Librettos indicate this situation, for example, at Bergamo during the Carnival season of 1844-45, Spoleto, Carnival 1848-49, and Viterbo during the summer of 1851. (See Appendix A.) But at the more active opera houses, at times the converse was true. Sometimes the administrative responsibilities were separated from the other activities. According to the *Prospetti di Appalti*, this was frequently the case at the busy Teatro Nuovo in Naples. Here, for example, during the operatic year beginning in May 1850 and running to the end of Passion week 1851, 200 performances were scheduled. Giorgio del Monaco was Maestro Direttore della musica, but Rosario Aspa was listed as Maestro al cembalo as well as concertatore de' cori. (See Appendix A.)<sup>52</sup> No doubt in many other instances where the responsibilities of the vocal director were delegated to the lesser maestri their names were never listed.

What were the musical relationships between the two directors? A set of *Capitoli del orchestra del teatro* prepared in Rimini (1806) outlines the sequence of directing responsibilities and introduces an additional chore for the vocal director. In the third section, entitled, "Duties of the members of the theater orchestra," the vocal leader is simply referred to as *Il maestro*.

Article 2. *The maestro shall check the parts.* The maestro shall be obligated to do the first checking of the parts and in addition [shall be obligated to do] all the rehearsals with keyboard for each spectacle.

Article 3. *The maestro shall adjust the parts.* Moreover, the maestro shall be obligated to correct and adjust (again *puntare*) the parts he judges poorly suited (*incomodo*) for the voices of the singers and shall assist at all the other rehearsals with the full orchestra.

Article 4. *The maestro shall mount the opera, the first violin shall direct it.* The direction of the music shall be reserved for the maestro during the rehearsals; when the opera is staged, [the direction] shall be the duty of the first violin.<sup>53</sup>

Reviewing and correcting the parts was, then, another responsibility of the vocal director, even if he might delegate the task to one of the *maestrini*. A libretto from Palermo for *Gli Unni e i Romani*, a censored

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Coristi ed all'esatta esecuzione della Musica vocale di ogni Opera che sarà posto in iscena, e specialmente nelle prime tre rappresentazioni delle medesime." (E-R, 214).

52. See also the *Programma Giornaliero* for 12 May 1850.

53. E-R, 503.

version of *Attila*, performed during the operatic year 1854-55, actually identifies the vocal director, Giovanni d'Ippolito, as *Maestro concertatore e correttore delle parti di musica*. (See Appendix A.)

At Reggio Emilia, article 11 of section II, "On the services and duties of the orchestral players," of the *Regolamento per la istituzione della orchestra civica a servizio del Comune* (1861) concludes a discussion of the duties of the Maestro di Capella with the paragraph:

In order to avoid multiplying and prolonging the opera rehearsals, before those of the orchestra begin, [the Maestro di Capella] shall have the music for every score performed . . . for the purpose of correcting the parts.<sup>54</sup>

Since he had the responsibility of correcting and adjusting the parts, it must have been the vocal director who received the copy of the full score, which always accompanied the vocal, choral, and instrumental parts rented by the opera house or impresario from the publisher. The violinist director, on the other hand, received an amplified first violin part called a *violino principale*. This very abbreviated, specialized, and seldom discussed score had cues for the most important solo passages of the other instrumentalists as well as portions of the vocal text. There were anywhere from 2 to 4, or even 5, staves; generally there were fewer during the 1840s, more during the 1850s.<sup>55</sup>

Other indications that the vocal director had more status than the violinist director may be noted. In almost all the librettos and documents, whatever version of his title was used, the vocal director was normally listed first and sometimes his name and designation appeared in larger print.<sup>56</sup> More importantly from the musical point of view, article 25 of the *Sovereign Decree Regarding the Ducal Orchestra* (Parma, 1822) states that "For the operas and vocal concerts, the Director [of the orchestra] takes tempos from the Maestro di Cappella and then

54. E-R, 214.

55. A fair number of *violino principale* parts both for complete opera and *pezzi staccati* are available for consultation at the Verdi Archive. At present Linda Beard, the current archivist of the collection, is preparing a master's thesis about them. Also of interest are a handful of similar parts labeled "Concertino" for *pezzi staccati*. Resembling the *principale* scores but with less detail, they were obviously prepared, in the event the violinist leader was absent, for the assistant to the first violinist, called either "Violino concertino" or "Violino alla spalla."

56. See, for example, the libretto for *Nabucco* performed at La Fenice, Venice, Carnival and Lent 1842-43 (Venice, Molinari, n.d.). The Maestro al cembalo, Luigi Carcano, is printed first and in larger letters than the Primo Violino e Direttore d'Orchestra, Gaetano Mares. A copy is at the Verdi Archive, Film ML49 V48 S312, vol. 2.

maintains them precisely with his orchestra."<sup>57</sup> Article 29 suggests that the "Maestro di Capella deve andare di buon intelligenza col primo violino dell'orchestra."<sup>58</sup>

In a letter to the *Gazetta Musicale di Milano* of 30 March 1845, two days after Verdi's letter about *Giovanna d'Arco*, Luigi Rossi reports "On the actual state of music in Turin." Among his many practical observations, he writes on the same subject,

It is well understood that the Capo d'orchestra must attend several of the rehearsals of the singers to learn the tempos in order that the tempos he adopts for his orchestra accord with those already set by the maestro.

And apparently the best regarded violin leaders did so, as the composer Giovanni Pacini reported in *Le mie memorie artistiche* (1875) of Giuseppe Festa. After identifying Festa as "l'imperatore dei direttori," the composer observes "he attended all the keyboard rehearsals . . ."<sup>59</sup>

Another indication of the relationship between the directors comes from a document entitled *Governo Provvisorio, Bologna* (1815). During a discussion of the activities of Signor Maestro Tommaso Marchesi, Direttore della Musica, and Signor Giuseppe Buschatti, primo violino--notice that the instrumentalist is *not* called a maestro--article 11 clearly states that: "Every musical question shall be decided by Signor Maestro Marchesi, to whose *sentimento* everyone shall conform."<sup>60</sup>

Just as definite is article 12 from the previously cited *Regolamento* at Reggio Emilia:

The Primo Violino Direttore d'Orchestra is responsible for the exact performance of the music under the direction of the Maestro di Cappella; he must, therefore, also attend all the keyboard rehearsals . . .<sup>61</sup>

And, finally, at Ferrara, article 23 of the *Regolamento disciplinare per servizio dei teatri di proprietà del Comune* (1865) includes the following:

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57. *E-R*, 132.

58. *Ibid.*

59. Cited by G. P. Minardi, "L'Orchestra a Parma . . ." *E-R*, 114, n. 30.

60. *E-R*, 390.

61. *E-R*, 214.



All players in the orchestra, including the first violin directors, must follow the directions of the *Maestri compositori o concertatori*.<sup>62</sup>

The juxtaposition of the terms *maestri compositori* or *maestri concertatori* in article 23 of the Ferrara *Regolamento* reaches to the heart of the matter. The vocal director, a maestro in his own right, was expected to act for the composer when the latter was not present. It is no wonder, then, that a number of well-known composers were hired as vocal directors, for example Saverio Mercadante at San Carlo in Naples, the Ricci brothers at the Teatro Grande in Trieste and Pietro Raimondi at the Teatro Carolino in Palermo. (See Appendix A.) According to a libretto for Rossini's *Aureliano in Palmira*, performed as the fourth opera of the 1825-26 season at the Teatro Carolino in Palermo, Donizetti held the position of "Maestro Direttore della Musica e compositore delle Opere Nuove." Though far less famous, in similar fashion the composer Giuseppe Lillo was one of two *maestri concertatori* during 1840-41 at San Carlo. The impresario for that operatic year, Edoardo Guillaume, promised a new opera by Lillo, one of six new productions (three premieres and three works new to Naples).<sup>63</sup> It is of some interest that the following season one of the works new to Naples was *Oberto*, the first of Verdi's operas and also the first to be heard in the capital of the Kingdom of Two Sicilies.

In view of the changes routinely required at different stagings of Italian operas during the 18th and much of the 19th century, the combination of composing and directing skills made good sense. Verdi himself rewrote portions of most of his operas at subsequent stagings which he himself directed. To be sure he did not consider the majority of these changes as definitive.<sup>64</sup>

And many musicians now remembered primarily as vocal directors or conductors also composed opera at one or more stages of their careers. Among those who spring to mind are Romani in Florence, Sir Michael (Michele) Costa, who was trained in Naples and hired as Maestro al cembalo at His Majesty's Theater in 1830 before becoming Director of Music and Conductor there in 1833,<sup>65</sup> Emanuele Muzio, Verdi's only

62. E-R, 323. The plural, *primi violini direttori*, refers to the fact that in the larger theaters the orchestral directors for the opera and the ever-present ballet were different.

63. See the *Programma Giornaliero* for 20 May 1840.

64. See M. Chusid, *A Catalog of Verdi's Operas* (Hackensack, N.J., 1974) 4-5 and D. Lawton and D. Rosen, "Verdi's Non-Definitive Revisions: The Early Operas," *Atti del iii<sup>o</sup> congresso internazionale di studi Verdiani*, Milan, 1972 (Parma, 1974).

65. See the article on Costa by K. Horner in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980).



composition student and his closest friend, who conducted widely in the new world, especially the operas of his master, Franco Faccio, principal conductor at La Scala for many years, and Emilio Usiglio, one of the most active of the early conductors of *Aida*.

As is quite well-known, Verdi directed almost all of his operas at their premieres. What did this mean specifically? From countless reports of his rehearsing of the singers, and from the following description of his appearance at the first performance of *Giovanna d'Arco*, it meant that he functioned basically as the vocal director. In the *Gazzetta di Milano* of 16 February 1845, a reviewer wrote "Fino dal recarsi che fece il Maestro al cembalo fu uno scoppio di evviva che lo salutarono, i quali raddoppiarono dopo la sinfonia . . ."<sup>66</sup> I read this to mean that Verdi made his way to the keyboard, received an explosion of cheers, which redoubled after the overture, and that he played the piano during the performance. Otherwise what did the composer do? Turn pages? Whisper advice into the ear of the Maestro al cembalo? Bite his fingernails in public? I doubt it. Verdi himself reports having directed from the keyboard rehearsals and a performance of Haydn's *Creation* in Milan during April of 1834.<sup>67</sup> He also directed, no doubt from the keyboard, many rehearsals and a number of concerts of the Philharmonic Society of Busseto, where he was Maestro di musica from 1836 to 1838.<sup>68</sup>

I find it telling that in eight librettos for stagings of his operas at which Verdi directed, a violinist orchestral director is listed, but not a vocal director. (See Appendix B.) Two of these are, I think, especially significant. At Trieste during the Fall of 1850 both the premiere of *Stiffelio*, one of the eight operas of Appendix B, and *Luisa Miller*, which is not, were performed. Verdi directed the premiere of *Stiffelio*. No vocal director is listed although Giuseppe Alessandro Scaramelli is noted as Primo Violino Capo d'Orchestra. But for the performances of *Luisa Miller*, in addition to Scaramelli the libretto names Luigi Ricci as Direttore della Musica. It also seems to me noteworthy that a printed libretto for a staging of *I due Foscari* which Verdi directed in 1845 at the Teatro Gallo a San Benedetto, Venice, lists Antonio Gallo as Primo Violino direttore d'orchestra, but, again, no vocal director. Also listed was Luigi Carcano, as Istruttore e direttore dei Cori. From 1842 at least

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66. Cited in G. M. Ciampelli, *Le opere Verdiane al Teatro alla Scala, 1839-1929* (Milan, 1929), 86.

67. According to F. Walker, *The Man Verdi* (London, 1962), 17, Verdi was listed as *maestro al cembalo* in the libretto for the performance.

68. *Ibid.*, 21.

to 1848, Carcano was Maestro al cembalo at La Fenice, the most important theater in Venice and one of the leading houses in Italy. (See Appendix A.) Surely in neither of these instances is there a publisher's oversight or lack of information, as there may have been in some other librettos with instrumental but no vocal directors. (See Appendix C.) Rather, I strongly suspect an intentional omission, because Verdi was there functioning as vocal director.

When did the practice of dividing the musical direction cease in a majority of Italian opera houses? A study of Appendix A suggests some time after 1865. The names with asterisks in the column headed "Vocal director and title" show relatively few directors in Italian theaters who assumed both responsibilities before 1865. And those that did were not at houses of the first rank.<sup>69</sup> There were only three: Scaramelli for performances of *I masnadieri* in Fiume (Spring 1848), Muzio for performances of *Rigoletto* at the Teatro Carcano, Milan (Fall 1854 and the following Carnival season of 1854-55), both entitled Maestro concertatore e direttore d'orchestra, and G. Bregozzo, who appears in a libretto for *I masnadieri* at the Teatro Re, Milan (Carnival 1848-49), both as the first of two maestri concertatori and as the first of two primi violini. But in Italy these three seem to have been fairly unusual. Appendix A suggests that the single, overall director took root earlier abroad and a far higher percentage of librettos from outside of Italy show this. See Appendix A, especially cities in Spain, Madrid, Barcelona, and Valencia, as well as London and Paris. Our sources indicate that only after 1865 is the Maestro concertatore e direttore d'orchestra to be found regularly at such major houses as La Scala, La Fenice and the Teatro di Apollo in Rome.

Why did the double direction give way to a single director? Probably for a number of reasons. Until the unification of Italy (1860, Venice added in 1866, Rome in 1870), major and some not so major Italian theaters competed for the honor of presenting new operas. If they could not present a world premiere, the preferred alternative was an opera new to their particular city. This meant singers had to learn many new parts, and all too often rather quickly. The person responsible for teaching them these parts was the vocal director, who, as we saw, might well be the composer himself. And it was during this earlier period that singers *di cartello*, that is with a substantial reputation, expected the composer or

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69. According to John Nàdas, "New Light on Pre-1869 Revisions of *La forza del destino*," *Verdi Newsletter* 15 (1987), 12, in 1875 theaters of the first rank included only the Pergola (Florence), Carlo Felice (Genoa), La Scala (Milan), San Carlo (Naples), Apollo (Rome), Reggio (Turin), and La Fenice (Venice).

the vocal director to make any changes necessary to show their voices to best advantage. As the orchestral component of opera grew in importance, as ensembles (introductions, finales, and other *pezzi d'insieme*) increased in number and importance *vis-à-vis* the aria and duet, as composers such as Verdi and Wagner increasingly insisted that singers perform their works as written, as the repertory shifted emphasis from new operas to revivals of what increasingly became standard works, the role of the orchestral disciplinarian became more important than the composing or arranging abilities of the maestro. The way was then prepared in Italy, as it had been already elsewhere, for the strong-willed conductor to become the guardian of a composer's musical text, a text focused more on drama than on vocal virtuosity, and now become sacred and relatively unchanging; as we know it today.

Alberto Mazzucato, according to the information provided in Appendix A, the first Maestro concertatore e direttore d'orchestra at La Scala (Carnival season 1867-68), was for many years an active contributor to and later editor of the *Gazzetta Musicale di Milano*. Following the season in which *Giovanna d'Arco* received its first performance (15 February 1845), he wrote in that periodical complaining of what he felt to be one of the chief problems of the first violinist playing and leading the orchestra.

... in Italy ... most times the first violinist leads his orchestra while playing rather than indicating the beat with a baton (*archetto*). It is impossible that the attack be simultaneous since this is signaled not by a sign, but by the playing of the first violinist. For which reason no matter how much intelligence, attention, and quickness one supposes in all the players, they only follow the first violinist's indication shortly thereafter. If this indication will be a sound, it is natural that this sound will precede the others. There is a lack of simultaneity ... [and] quite often in Italian orchestras a noticeable oscillation, mainly in the plucked or dry chords ... almost a kind of *sixteenth-note upbeat* by the solo first violin. This is a fault, yet a fault that can be corrected as soon as the first violinist stops playing.<sup>70</sup>

We might well close with Paganini's remarks on conducting, at the time of his proposed reorganization of the orchestra in Parma, remarks made in 1836, therefore as far as Italian opera is concerned, some thirty years ahead of his time.

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70. See the *Gazzetta Musicale di Milano* for 23 March 1845.



In all the principal orchestras of Vienna, Munich, Berlin, Paris and London there is a Maestro di Cappella Direttore located in such a way as to communicate his thoughts to the singers and to the orchestra.

He has the score under his eyes placed on a piano or small table, of which he avails himself with the left hand when necessary, while remaining on his feet.

He provides the various tempos.

He marks the beat, serving as a chronometer.

He cautions with his eyes and so he is the center of the musical unity.

For these reasons, the first violinist cannot in general discharge the great task of musical direction, vocal and instrumental . . . [He] need have only the qualities of an excellent performer, as prescribed by the Maestro di Cappella, the sole director of the orchestra.

The maestro at the piano-forte near the contrabass is not too useful, because the divided action, never too good between him and the first violinist, has harmful results for the unity of the musical direction.

Since all of the greatest responsibility falls on the maestro di cappella direttore, so [this position] requires a true maestro, proof of which [an applicant] should have given by writing operas himself and being gifted with that experience from which is then born that outstanding degree of firm assuredness indispensable for accurate conducting.<sup>71</sup>

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71. E-R, 157-58.



**Abbreviations for Appendices**

[ ]	Information derived from various sources (e.g., MS entries on librettos)
Apr	April
Aut	Autumn
Ca	Carnival
Cov	Covent
Dec	December
Dir, Dir.i	Direttore, Director, Directeur; Direttori
eccell <sup>ma</sup>	eccellentissima
E-R	<i>Orchestra in Emilia-Romagna</i>
Giov	<i>Giovanna</i>
Ill <sup>ma</sup>	Illustrissima
Istr	Istruttore
Jun	June
Jul	July
Mar	March
M <sup>o</sup>	Maestro
Nov	November
Oct	October
Orch	Orchestra
P <sup>o</sup> ; 1 <sup>o</sup> ; I <sup>o</sup>	Primo
Pr.G.	<i>Programma Giornaliero</i>
Qu	Quaresima, Quadregesima (Lent)
S	San
S <sup>a</sup>	Santa
Sep	September
Spr	Spring
Sum	Summer
Suppl	Supplimento
T	Teatro, Theater, Theatre
V <sup>o</sup> ; V.ini	Violino; Violini

**Operas Abbreviated in the Appendices**

<i>Ballo</i>	<i>Un ballo in maschera</i>
<i>Battaglia</i>	<i>La battaglia di Legnano</i>
<i>Boccanegra</i>	<i>Simon Boccanegra</i>
<i>Forza</i>	<i>La forza del destino</i>
<i>Foscari</i>	<i>I due Foscari</i>
<i>Un giorno</i>	<i>Un giorno di regno (i.e., Il finto Stanislao)</i>
<i>Guglielmo Welling</i>	<i>Guglielmo Wellingrode (i.e., Stiffelio)</i>
<i>Lombardi</i>	<i>I lombardi alla prima crociata</i>
<i>Nabucco</i>	<i>Nabucodonosor</i>
<i>I vespri</i>	<i>I vespri siciliani</i>

## APPENDIX A

Some vocal and orchestral directors in theaters for Italian opera (1839-93) with their titles as provided by librettos in the Verdi Archive, some wall posters, *Orchestra in Emilia-Romagna* and the *Programma Giornaliero* of Naples.

\* = A single director for both vocal and orchestral music with his title.

<u>City and Theater</u>	<u>Season</u>	<u>Source</u>	<u>Vocal dir and title</u>	<u>Orch. dir and title</u>
Alessandria, T. dell'III <sup>a</sup> ma Città	Aut 1844	<i>Ermani</i> <sup>72</sup>	G. Consolini, M <sup>o</sup> e Dir delle Opere	F. Perico, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> Dir delle Opere
T. dell'III <sup>a</sup> ma Città	Aut 1844	<i>Lombardi</i>	G. Consolini, M <sup>o</sup> e Dir delle Opere	F. Perico, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> Dir delle Opere
Ancona, T. delle Muse	Spr 1849	<i>Battaglia</i>	P. Polidori, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica	C. Ferrarini, Capo Dir d'Orch
Ascoli, Nuovo T. Ventidio Basso	Nov. 1847	<i>Foscari</i>	V. Rampini, M <sup>o</sup> Dir dell'Opera <sup>73</sup>	C. Ferrarini, Capo e Dir d'Orch
Nuovo T. Ventidio Basso	Aut 1850	<i>Lombardi</i>	V. Rampini, Dir e Concertatore dell'Opera	C. Ferrarini, Capo Dir d'Orch

72. Unless otherwise specified, when an opera is named, the reference is to a libretto printed for that season.

73. The title is taken from the cast page. On the page headed "Orchestra" Rampini is identified as "Direttore della Musica e Concertatore dell'Opera."



Barcelona, T. dell'eccell <sup>ma</sup> Città	1841	<i>Oberto</i>	M. Ferrer, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo	M. A. Rachel, p <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Orch
Gran T. del Liceo	Aut 1855	<i>Estravida</i>	M. Obiols, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica	G. B. Dalmau Dir dell'Orch
Gran T. del Liceo	Aut 1856	<i>Les Visperas</i>	M. Obiols, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica	G. B. Dalmau Dir dell'Orch
Gran T. del Liceo	1861	<i>Baile de Máscaras</i>	M. Obiols, M <sup>o</sup> Dir	G. B. Dalmau, Dir de Orquestra
T. Principale	1855	<i>Traviata</i>	*G. Balart, M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore e Dir dell'Orch	
Bergamo, T. della Società	1844-45	<i>Lombardi</i>	F. M. Zanchi, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo ed istr dei Cori	M. Bonesi, p <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir delle Opere
Bologna, T. Comunitativo	Aut 1845	<i>Foscari</i>	C. Aria, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica	G. Manetti, p <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir [d'Orch]
T. Comunale	Aut 1861	<i>E-R, 336</i>	*A. Mariani, Dir delle Opere	
T. Comunale	1864	<i>E-R, 336</i>	*A. Mariani, Dir e m <sup>o</sup> concertatore delle Opere	

Brescia, T. Grande	Fiera, 1846	<i>Ermani</i>	B. Bresciano, M <sup>o</sup> al Cembalo	D. Conti, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> per l'Opera
T. Grande	Fiera, 1846	<i>Foscari</i>	B. Bresciano, M <sup>o</sup> al Cembalo	D. Conti, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> per l'Opera
Cadiz, T. Principale	[1849]	<i>Macbeth</i>	F. Gomez, M <sup>o</sup> dir	A. Maqueda, Dir de orquesta
Cagliari, T. Civico	Aut 1845	<i>Lombardi</i>	N. Onetto, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo	Sormani, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> Capo e Dir d'Orch
Cairo, T. dell'Opera	Dec 1871	<i>Aida</i> (Premiere)	*G. Bottesini, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore e Dir d'Orch	
Catania, T. Comunale	1853-54	<i>Lombardi</i>	G. del Monaco, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica	M. Pappalardo, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Orch
Como, T. di Como	1846-47	<i>Lombardi</i>	A. Pellegrini, M <sup>o</sup> e Dir della musica	G. Tagliabue, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
T. di Como	1856-57	<i>Traviata</i>	C. Gallieri, M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore	F. Squassoni, 1 <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
T. Sociale	1873-74	<i>Forza</i>	*C. Lovati-Cazzulani, M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore e Dir d'orch	

Corfù, Nobil T. di S. Giacomo	Aut 1844	<i>Nabucco</i>	G. Castignace, M <sup>o</sup> al Cembalo e Dir della Musica	L. Garbato, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
T. Comunale	Aut 1851 e Ca 1852	<i>Lombardi</i>	G. Liberali e D. Agathides, M <sup>o</sup> al Cembalo	V. Morgante, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
Cremona, T. della Concordia	1843-44	<i>Nabucco</i>	R. Manna, M <sup>o</sup> al Cembalo	C. Bignami, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch per l'Opera
T. della Concordia	1846-47	<i>Nabucco</i>	R. Manna, M <sup>o</sup> al Cembalo	C. Bignami, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> Dir d'Orch per l'Opera
Fermo, T. dell'Aquila	Aug 1846	<i>Lombardi</i>	F. Cellini, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica	C. Ferrarini, Capo Dir d'Orch
Ferrara, T. Comunale	Spr 1875	<i>Aida</i>	*E. Usiglio, M <sup>o</sup> Dir e Concertatore	
Fiume, Civico T.	Spr 1848	<i>Masnadieri</i>	*G. A. Scaramelli, M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore e dir d'Orch	
Florence, La Pergola	Aut 1843	<i>Lombardi</i>	P. Romani, M <sup>o</sup> e dir dell'Opere	A. Biagi, Capo e Dir di Orch



La Pergola	Ca 1844	<i>Nabucco</i>	P. Romani, M <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Opere	L. M. Viviani, Capo e Dir di Orch
La Pergola	1844-45	<i>Foscari</i>	C. [!] Romani, M <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Opere	G. Bruscoli, Capo e Dir di Orch
La Pergola	Spr 1846	<i>Attila</i>	P. Romani, M <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Opere	A. Biagi, Capo e Dir di Orch
La Pergola	Qu 1847	<i>Macbeth</i> (Premiere)	P. Romani, M <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Opere	A. Biagi, Capo e Dir di Orch
La Pergola	Qu 1849	<i>Battaglia</i>	T. Mabellini, M <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Opere	A. Biagi, Capo e Dir di Orch
Genoa, T. Carlo Felice	1887-88	<i>Don Carlo</i>	*G. Cimini, M <sup>o</sup> Dir d'Orch	
Livorno, T. Avalorati	1872-73	<i>Forza</i>	*U. Giannelli, M <sup>o</sup> Dir d'Orch	
London, Cov. Garden	[10/V/1855] <sup>74</sup>	<i>Trovatore</i>	*M. Costa, Composer, Dir of the Music and Conductor	

74. Although the libretto is not dated, the cast given is identical with that of the London premiere. See M. Chusid, "Verdi Premieres in London," *Verdi Newsletter* No. 5 (June 1978) p. 15.

Cov. Garden	no date	<i>Ernani</i>	*M. Costa, Composer, Dir of the Music and Conductor	
Lucca, T. del Giglio	Sum 1843	<i>Lombardi</i>	M. Quilici, M <sup>o</sup> dir della Musica	A. Puccini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> Dir d'Orch
T. del Giglio	Sum 1844	<i>Nabucco</i>	M. Quilici, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica	A. Puccini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> Dir d'Orch
Macerata, T. dei Signori Condomini	Sum 1845	<i>Ernani</i>	D. Concordia, M <sup>o</sup> Dir	G. Nostini, M <sup>o</sup> Dir d'Orch
T. dei Signori Condomini	Ca 1850	<i>Nabucco</i>	D. Concordia, Dir della Musica	F. Galeazzi, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
Madrid, T. del Circo	[1844]	<i>Los Lombardos</i>	M <sup>o</sup> di Capella in Macerata J. Skocztopole, M <sup>o</sup> al cemballo	V. Bonetti, Dir de Orquesta
T. del Circo	[10 Oct 1846]	<i>Juana de Arco</i>	J. Skocztopole, M <sup>o</sup> al cemballo	V. Bonetti, Dir de orquesta
T. del Museo	[2 Oct 1849]	<i>Masnadieri</i>	*J. Skocztopole, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo y dir de orquesta	
T. Real	Dec 1856	<i>I vespri</i>	*J. Skocztopole, M <sup>o</sup> Dir	

Malta, T. not given	[1849]	<i>Foscari</i>	P. Nani, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore	G. Le Brun Dir d'Orch
Real T.	1856	<i>Masnadieri</i>	P. Nani, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore	G. Le Brun, Dir d'Orch
Real T.	1858-59	<i>Aroldo</i>	P. Nani, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore	G. Le Brun, Dir d'Orch
Real T.	1861	<i>Battaglia</i>	P. Nani, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore	G. W. Malfiggiani, Dir d'Orch
T. Royal	1869	<i>Don Carlos</i>	P. Nani, F. Aldieri, E. Bartoli Maestri concertatori	D. Amore, Dir. d'Orch
Real T.	[After 1869] <sup>75</sup>	<i>Don Carlos</i>	*G. W. Malfiggiani, Dir d'Orch e M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore	
Mantua, T. Sociale	1843-44	<i>Nabucco</i>	A. Facci, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica	C. Ferrarini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> Dir d'Orch
T. Sociale	1847-48	<i>Giov. d'Arco</i>	A. Facci, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica	G. Luppi, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> dir d'Orch

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75. Information about the director was found on an undated cover added to the previous entry, a libretto for *Don Carlos* with a completely different cast and dated 1869.



Messina, T. La Munizione	[1847]	<i>Il Proscritto</i> [=Ernani]	A. Laudamo, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della musica	A. Jonata, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e dir dell'Orch
T. La Munizione	ca. 1849	<i>Nabucco</i>	A. Laudamo, M <sup>o</sup> Dir e Compositore di musica	A. Jonata, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e dir dell'Orch
T. La Munizione	[1850]	<i>Nabucco</i>	A. Laudamo, Dir della Musica	A. Jonata, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e dir dell'Orch
T. La Munizione	[1851]	<i>Atila</i>	A. Laudamo, Dir della Musica	Not given
T. La Munizione	[1851]	<i>Luisa Miller</i>	A. Laudamo, Dir della Musica	Not given
T. S <sup>a</sup> Elisabetta	[1853]	<i>Macbeth</i>	A. Laudamo, M <sup>o</sup> dir della Musica	F. Maggiulli, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e dir dell'Orch
T. S <sup>a</sup> Elisabetta	[1859]	<i>Nabucco</i>	A. Laudamo, M <sup>o</sup> dir della Musica	F. Maggiulli, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e dir dell'Orch
Milan, La Scala	Aut 1839	<i>Oberto</i> (Premiere)	G. Panizza, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> , Capo e Dir d'orch
La Scala	Aut 1840	<i>Un giorno</i> (Premiere)	G. Panizza, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> , Capo e Dir d'Orch
La Scala	Ca 1842	<i>Nabucco</i> (Premiere)	G. Panizza, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> , Capo e Dir d'Orch
La Scala	Aut 1842	<i>Nabucco</i>	G. Panizza,	E. Cavallini,

La Scala	Ca 1843	<i>Lombardi</i> (Premiere)	M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo	P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> , Capo e Dir d'Orch
La Scala	Aut 1844	<i>Ermani</i>	G. Panizza, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> , Capo e Dir d'Orch
La Scala	1844-45	<i>Lombardi</i>	G. Panizza, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> , Capo e Dir d'Orch
La Scala	Ca 1845	<i>Giov. d'Arco</i> (Premiere)	G. Panizza, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> , Capo e Dir d'Orch
La Scala	Aut 1845	<i>Foscari</i>	G. Panizza, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> , Capo e Dir d'Orch
La Scala	Ca 1847	<i>Alzira</i>	G. Panizza, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> , e Capo Dir d'Orch
La Scala	1846-47	<i>Attila</i>	G. Panizza, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> , Capo e Dir d'Orch
La Scala	1849-50	<i>Attila</i>	G. Panizza & G. Bujetti, Maestri al cembalo	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> Capo e Dir d'Orch
La Scala	1850-51	<i>Gerusalemme</i>	G. Panizza & G. Bujetti, Maestri al cembalo	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> , Capo e Dir d'Orch

La Scala	1851-52	<i>Attila</i>	G. Panizza & G Bujetti, Maestri al cembalo	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> , Capo e Dir d'Orch
La Scala	1851-52	<i>Luisa Miller</i>	G. Panizza & G Bujetti, Maestri al cembalo	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> , Capo e Dir d'Orch
La Scala	1852-53	<i>Rigoletto</i>	G. Panizza & G Bujetti, Maestri al cembalo	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> , Capo e Dir d'Orch
La Scala	Aut 1853	<i>Masnadieri</i>	G. Panizza & C Domeniceti, Maestri al cembalo	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> Capo e Dir d'Orch
La Scala	Aut 1853	<i>Ernani</i>	G. Panizza & C Domeniceti, Maestri al cembalo	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> Capo e Dir d'Orch
La Scala	Aut 1853	<i>Trovatore</i>	G. Panizza & C Domeniceti, Maestri al cembalo	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> Capo e Dir d'Orch
La Scala	Ca-Qu 1854	<i>Trovatore</i>	A. Mazzucato, M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> Dir d'Orch
La Scala	Qu 1855	<i>Lombardi</i>	A. Mazzucato, M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> Dir d'Orch
Scala tour, Parma	Spr 1855	<i>Lombardi</i>	A. Mazzucato, M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> Dir d'orch
La Scala	1855-56	<i>Giov. de Guzman</i> [ = <i>I vespri</i> ]	G Panizza & A. Mazzucato, Maestri Concertatori	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> Dir d'orch



La Scala	1857-58	<i>Giov. de Guzman</i>	A. Mazzucato, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della musica G. Panizza, M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore, e Ispettore della musica dei Balli	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'orch
La Scala	1857-58	<i>Nabucco</i>	A. Mazzucato, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della musica	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'orch
La Scala	1858-59	<i>Boccanegra</i>	A. Mazzucato & G Panizza, Maestri concertatori a vicenda	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'orch
La Scala	Aut 1860	<i>Attila</i>	A. Mazzucato & F.Pollini, Maestri Concertatori a vicenda	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
La Scala	Ca-Qu 1861	<i>Nabucco</i>	A. Mazzucato & F.Pollini, M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore a vicenda	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
La Scala	Aut 1861	<i>Traviata</i>	A. Mazzucato & F.Pollini, Maestri Concertatori a vicenda	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
La Scala	Aut 1861	<i>Battaglia</i>	A. Mazzucato & F.Pollini, Maestri concertatori a vicenda	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
La Scala	1861-61	<i>Ballo</i>	A. Mazzucato & F.Pollini, Maestri concertatori a vicenda	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch

La Scala	1862-63	<i>Macbeth</i>	A. Mazzucato & F. Pollini, Maestri Concertatori a vicenda	E. Cavallini, p <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
La Scala	1863-64	<i>I vespri</i>	A. Mazzucato & F. Pollini, Maestri concertatori a vicenda	E. Cavallini, p <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
La Scala	1863-64	<i>Lombardi</i>	A. Mazzucato & F. Pollini, Maestri concertatori a vicenda	E. Cavallini, p <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
La Scala	1863-64	<i>Ballo</i>	A. Mazzucato & F. Pollini, Maestri concertatori a vicenda	E. Cavallini, p <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
La Scala	1867-68	<i>Ballo</i>	*A. Mazzucato, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore e dir per le opere	
La Scala	Qu 1868	<i>Don Carlo</i>	*A. Mazzucato, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore e dir per le opere	
La Scala	1868-69	<i>Don Carlo</i>	*E. Terziani, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore e dir per le opere	
La Scala	Qu 1869 (Premiere, revised version)	<i>Forza</i>	*E. Terziani, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore e dir per le opere	
La Scala	1871-72 (European premiere)	<i>Aida</i>	*F. Faccio, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore e dir per le Opere	

La Scala	1871-72	<i>Forza</i>	*F. Faccio, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore e dir per le opere
La Scala	1873-74	<i>Aida</i>	*F. Faccio, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore e dir per le opere
La Scala	1873-74	<i>Macbeth</i>	*F. Faccio, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore e dir per le Opere
La Scala	1875-76	<i>I vespri</i>	*F. Faccio, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore e dir per le Opere
La Scala	1876-77	<i>Forza</i>	*F. Faccio, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore e dir per le Opere
La Scala	1880-81 (Premiere, revised version)	<i>Boccanegra</i>	*F. Faccio, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore e dir per le Opere
La Scala	1880-81	<i>Ernani</i>	*F. Faccio, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore e dir per le Opere
La Scala	1881-82	<i>Boccanegra</i>	*F. Faccio, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore e dir per le Opere
La Scala	1883-84 (Premiere, revised version)	<i>Don Carlo</i>	*F. Faccio, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore e dir per le Opere

La Scala	1886-87 (Premiere)	<i>Otello</i>	*F. Faccio, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore e dir per le Opere	
Scala Tour, Rome	Spr 1887	<i>Otello</i>	*F. Faccio, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore e dir per le Opere	
La Scala	1889-90	<i>Boccanegra</i>	*F. Faccio, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore e dir per le Opere	
La Scala	1892-93	<i>Falstaff</i> (Premiere)	*E. Mascheroni, M <sup>o</sup> Dir e Concertatore	
Scala Tour, Trieste	May 1893	<i>Falstaff</i> (Wall poster)	*E. Mascheroni, M <sup>o</sup> Dir e Concertatore	
T. alla Canobbiano	Spr 1847	<i>Lombardi</i>	G. Panizza, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> , Capo e Dir d'Orch
T. alla Canobbiano	Aut 1856	<i>Traviata</i>	G. Panizza, A. Mazzucato & B. Secchi Maestri Concertatori	E. Cavallini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> Dir d'orch
T. Carcano	Aut 1853 & Ca 1853-54	<i>Rigoletto</i> (Wall poster)	*E. Muzio, M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore e Dir d'Orch	
T. Carcano	11/VII/1859	<i>Battaglia</i> (Wall poster)	P. Rapelo, M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore	A. Cremaschi, Dir d'Orch
T. Re	1848-49	<i>Masnadiere</i>	G. Gregozzo &	G. Gregozzo &



T. dal Verme	Aut 1886	<i>Nabucco</i>	G. Bonola, Maestri Concertatore	G. Cortesi, P.mi Vini Dir.i d'Orch
Modena, T. Comunale	1843-44	<i>Nabucco</i>	*F. Faccio, M° dir e concertatore	A. Sighicelli, P° V° e Regolatore d'Orch
T. Comunale	Spr 1850	<i>Luisa Miller</i>	I. Manni, M° al Cembalo	A. Sighicelli, P° V° e dir d'Orch
T. Comunale	1886-87	<i>Don Carlo</i>	I. Manni, M° Dir della Musica	A. Sighicelli, P° V° e dir d'Orch
T. Ducale	1845-46	<i>Lombardi</i>	*G. Zuelli, M° Concertatore e Dir d'Orch	A. Sighicelli, P° V° e Regolatore d'Orch
T. dell'Ill <sup>ma</sup> Comunità (= Comunale)	Spr 1850	<i>Attila</i>	I. Manni, M° al Cembalo	A. Sighicelli, P° V° e Dir d'Orch
T. Municipale	1880-81	<i>Aida</i>	I. Manni, M° dir della Musica	A. Sighicelli, P° V° e Dir d'Orch
Naples,	May 1840- ca. 1841	<i>Pr. G.</i>	*E. Usiglio, M° Concertatore e Dir d'Orch	A Farelli,
San Carlo	May 1841- ca. 1842		G. Cordella & G. Lillo, Maestri concertatori, e dir. i della musica	P° V° dir dell'Orch

San Carlo	Oct 1846- ca. 1847 Oct 1847- ca. 1848 Oct 1850- Mar 1851	<i>Pr. G</i>	S. Mercadante, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore e dir della musica  (Oct 1847ff: G. Puzone, Altro M <sup>o</sup> dir e concertatore)	A. Farelli, p <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> dir dell'Orch
San Carlo (& T. del Fondo)	Oct 1851- Apr 1852 Oct 1852- Mar 1853	<i>Pr. G</i>	S. Mercadante, M <sup>o</sup> dir onorario della musica; G. Puzone, Altro M <sup>o</sup> dir e concertatore	A. Farelli, p <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> dir dell'Orch
San Carlo (& T. del Fondo)	Oct 1857-58 Sep 1858-59 Jul 1859-60	<i>Pr. G</i>	G. Puzone, M <sup>o</sup> dir e concertatore; G. Donadio, Sotto dir e m <sup>o</sup> concertatore	A. Farelli, p <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> dir dell'Orch
T. Nuovo	May-Dec 1840 Easter-Dec 1841	<i>Pr. G.</i>	M. Aspo, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica G. Festa, M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore	G. Coccia, p <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e dir dell'orch
T. Nuovo	May-Sep 1846 Nov 1846- ca. 1847	<i>Pr. G.</i>	none listed p <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> dir di Orch	A. Baly,
T. Nuovo	May 1850-	<i>Pr. G.</i>	G. del Monaco,	M. di Natale,

T. Nuovo	Qu 1851		M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica R. Aspa, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo e concertatore de' Cori	P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> dir dell'orch
T. Nuovo	Easter 1851- Qu 1852	Pr.G.	G. de' Baroni Staffa, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica G. Zoboli, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo e Dir de' Cori	M. di Natale, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> dir [dell'orch]
T. Nuovo	Easter 1852- Qu. 1853	Pr.G.	G. Moretti, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica G. Cammarota, M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore e Dir de' Cori	M. di Natale, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> dir [dell'orch]
T. Nuovo	Oct 1853	<i>Clara di Perth</i> (= <i>Rigoletto</i> )	G. Moretti, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della musica G. Petillo, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo Dir dei Cori	M. di Natale, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> dir dell'Orch
T. Nuovo	Spr 1857	<i>Giov. di Sicilia</i> (= <i>I vespri</i> )	G. Moretti, Dir della Musica	M. di Natale, Dir dell'Orch
T. Nuovo	Easter 1857- Easter 1858	Pr.G.	G. Moretti, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica G. Zoboli, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore e dir de' Cori	M. di Natale P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> dir [dell'Orch]

T. Nuovo	Sep 1858- Easter 1859	<i>Pr. G.</i>	G. Moretti, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica F. Campanella, Sotto dir e M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore	M. di Natale p <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> dir [dell'Orch]
T. Nuovo	May 1859- Qu 1860	<i>Pr. G.</i>	G. Moretti, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica F. Campanella, Sotto dir e M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore	M. di Natale p <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> dir [dell'Orch]
T. S. Ferdinando	May 1846	<i>Pr. G.</i>	G. del Monaco, M <sup>o</sup> dir della Musica	G. Baupuis, Dir dell'orch
T. S. Ferdinando	Ca 1855	<i>Orietta di Lesbo</i> (= <i>Giov. d'Arco</i> )	M. Ruta, Dir della musica; G. Zoboli, M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore e dir de' Cori	F. Miceldi, p <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> Dir dell'orch
T. S. Ferdinando	Easter 1858- Easter 1859	<i>Pr. G.</i>	F. D'Auria, M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore e Dir	F. Ammirati, p <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
Orvieto, T. Nobile	Ca 1849	<i>Foscari</i>	G. Tamburini, M <sup>o</sup> e dir delle opere e de' cori	G. Bonserini, p <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> Dir dell'orch
Padua, T. Nuovo	Fiera [1844]	<i>Ermani</i>	M. Balbi, M <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Opere	N. Maccari Spada, Capo e Dir d'Orch
T. Nuovo	Fiera 1850	<i>Attila</i>	M. Balbi, M <sup>o</sup> al Cembalo	N. Maccari Spada, p <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch



Palermo, T. Carolino	1844-45	<i>Elvira d'Aragona</i> (= <i>Ernani</i> )	P. Raimondi, M <sup>o</sup> di Capella Compositore e Dir; A. Scaglione, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo e suppl al Dir	L. De Carlo, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Orch
T. Carolino	1845-46	<i>Lombardi</i>	P. Raimondi, M <sup>o</sup> di Capella Compositore e Dir; A. Lo Casto, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo e suppl al Dir	L. De Carlo, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Orch
T. Carolino	1846-47	<i>Foscari</i>	P. Raimondi, M <sup>o</sup> di Capella Compositore e Dir; A. Lo Casto, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo e suppl al Dir	L. De Carlo, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Orch
T. Carolino	1847-48	<i>Orietta di Lesbo</i> (= <i>Giov. d'Arco</i> )	P. Raimondi, M <sup>o</sup> di Capella Compositore e Dir; A. Lo Casto, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo e suppl al Dir	L. De Carlo, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Orch
T. Carolino	1849-50	<i>Foscari</i>	P. Raimondi, M <sup>o</sup> di Capella Compositore e Dir; A. Lo Casto, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo e suppl al Dir	L. De Carlo, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Orch
T. Carolino	1850-51	<i>Il Proscritto</i> (= <i>Ernani</i> )	P. Raimondi, M <sup>o</sup> di Capella Compositore e Dir; A. Lo Casto,	L. De Carlo, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Orch

T. Carolino	1851-52	<i>Luisa Miller</i>	M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo e suppl al Dir P. Raimondi, M <sup>o</sup> di Capella Compositore e Dir; A. Lo Casto, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo e suppl al Dir	L. De Carlo, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Orch
T. Carolino	1851-52	<i>Masnadieri</i>	P. Raimondi, M <sup>o</sup> di Capella Compositore e Dir; A. Lo Casto, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo e suppl al Dir	L. De Carlo, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Orch
T. Carolino	1852-53	<i>Nabucco</i>	P. Raimondi, M <sup>o</sup> di Capella Compositore e Dir; A. Lo Casto, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo e suppl al Dir	L. De Carlo, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Orch
T. Carolino	1852-53	<i>Rigoletto</i>	P. Raimondi, M <sup>o</sup> di Capella Compositore e Dir; A. Lo Casto, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo e suppl al Dir	L. De Carlo, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Orch
T. Carolino	1852-53	<i>Macbeth</i>	P. Raimondi, M <sup>o</sup> di Capella Compositore e Dir; A. Lo Casto, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo e suppl al Dir	L. De Carlo, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Orch
T. Carolino,	1853-54	<i>Trovatore</i>	P. Raimondi, M <sup>o</sup> di Capella Compositore e Dir;	L. De Carlo, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Orch

T. Carolino	1854-55	<i>Gli Unni e i Romani</i> (= <i>Attila</i> )	A. Lo Casto, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo e suppl al Dir	L. De Carlo, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Orch
T. Carolino	1854-55	<i>Giuglielmo Welling</i> (= <i>Stiffelio</i> )	A. Lo Casto, M <sup>o</sup> di capella anche a cembalo dir	L. De Carlo, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Orch
T. Carolino	1855-56	<i>Violetta</i> (= <i>Traviata</i> )	A. Lo Casto, M <sup>o</sup> di capella anche a cembalo dir	L. De Carlo, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Orch
T. Carolino	1856-57	<i>Giov. de Guzman</i> (= <i>I vespri</i> )	A. Lo Casto, M <sup>o</sup> di capella e cembalo funzionante da dir	L. De Carlo, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Orch
T. Carolino	1859-60	<i>Boccanegra</i>	A. Lo Casto, M <sup>o</sup> di capella al cembalo funzionante da dir	L. De Carlo, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Orch
T. Carolino	1859-60	<i>Macbeth</i>	A. Lo Casto, M <sup>o</sup> di capella al cembalo funzionante da dir	L. De Carlo, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Orch
T. Bellini	1860-61	<i>Aroldo</i>	A. Lo Casto, M <sup>o</sup> Dir;	L. De Carlo, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Orch
T. Bellini	1860-61	<i>Il vespro siciliano</i>	A. Lo Casto,	L. De Carlo,

	(= <i>I vespri</i> )	M <sup>o</sup> Dir	P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir dell'Orch
Paris, T. Italien	19/1/1857	*G. Bottesini, M <sup>o</sup> e Capo d'Orchestra, Dir de la Musique	
not given	[1867]? <sup>76</sup>	*G. Bottesini, M <sup>o</sup> e Capo d'Orch	
Parma, [Il t. di]	[1889-90]	*[A. Conti, M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore e Dir d'orch]	
Pavia, T. del Nobile Condominio	Spr 1846	F. Baroni, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo	G. Sordelli figlio, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
Piacenza, T. Municipale	1870-71	A. Giovannini, [M <sup>o</sup> concertatore]	P. Montaguti, [P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> dir d'Orch]
Pisa, T. dell'Accademia dei Ravvivati	1846-47	C. Masi, M <sup>o</sup> Dir delle Opere	C. Giacomelli, Capo, e Dir [d'Orch]
T. dell'Accademia dei Ravvivati	1848-49	C. Masi, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica	C. Giacomelli, Capo e Dir [d'Orch]
Reggio [Emilia],	Fiera 1846	A. Peri,	G. Tebaldi,

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76. May be a reprint of the libretto cited in the previous entry and refer to the performance in 1857.



T. del Comune			M <sup>o</sup> al Cembalo	P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
Rome, T. di Apollo	1849-50	<i>Luisa Miller</i>	E. Terziani, M <sup>o</sup> dir della musica	E. Angelini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> dir d'orch
T. di Apollo	1854-55	<i>Violetta</i> (= <i>Traviata</i> )	E. Terziani, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica	E. Angelini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
T. di Apollo	[1856]	<i>Giov. de Guzman</i> (= <i>I vespri</i> )	E. Terziani, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica	E. Angelini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
T. di Apollo	1857-58	<i>Aroldo</i>	E. Terziani, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica	E. Angelini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> Dir d'Orch
T. di Apollo	1862-63	<i>Don Alvaro</i> (= <i>Forza</i> )	E. Terziani, M <sup>o</sup> dir della Musica	E. Angelini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> dir d'Orch
T. di Apollo	1864-65	<i>Genusalemme</i>	E. Terziani, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica	E. Angelini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> Dir d'Orch
T. di Apollo	1867-68	<i>Don Carlo</i>	*E. Terziani, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica	
T. di Apollo	1877-78	<i>Forza</i>	*L. Mancinelli, M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore e Dir d'Orch	
Roviga, Nuovo T. della Società	Aut 1847	<i>Attila</i>	D. Barucco, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo	D. Tosarini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'orch

Sinigaglia, T. Comunitativo	Fiera 1844	<i>Ernani</i>	D. Concordia, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica	N. de Giovanni, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'orch
Spoleto, Nobile T.	1848-49	<i>Lombardi</i>	P. Amici-Bocchetti, M <sup>o</sup> Dir ed Istr de' Cori	N. Petrini-Zamboni, Capo V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
Trieste, T. Grande	1844-45	<i>Foscari</i>	F. Ricci, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica	P. Coronini, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> Dir per l'Opere
Gran T. (= T. Grande)	Aut 1846	<i>Attila</i>	L. Ricci, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica	G. A. Scaramelli, Dir dell'orch
T. Grande	Aut 1847	<i>Foscari</i>	L. Ricci, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica	Not given
T. Grande	Aut 1848	<i>Corsaro</i> (Premiere)	L. Ricci, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica	G. A. Scaramelli, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
T. Grande	Aut 1848	<i>Macbeth</i>	L. Ricci, M <sup>o</sup> dir della Musica	G. A. Scaramelli, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> Dir d'Orch
Gran T. Civico (= T. Grande)	Aut 1850	<i>Luisa Miller</i>	L. Ricci, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della musica	G. A. Scaramelli, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> Capo Dir d'Orch
Gran T. Civico	Aut 1851	<i>Luisa Miller</i>	L. Ricci, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della musica	G. A. Scaramelli, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> Capo Dir d'Orch
T. Comunale	25/III/1889	<i>Otello</i> (Wall poster)	*C. Cialdini, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore e dir d'orch	

T. Comunale	24/II/1891	<i>Bocanegra</i> (Wall poster)	*M. Bavagnoli, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore e Dir d'Orch	
Turin, Regio T.	Ca 1840	<i>Oberto</i>	G. Corini, M <sup>o</sup> al Cembalo	G. B. Polledro, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'orch
Regio T.	1843-44	<i>Lombardi</i>	L. Fabbrica, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della musica	G. B. Polledro, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'orch
Regio T.	1844-45	<i>Ernani</i>	L. Fabbrica, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della musica	G. B. Polledro, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'orch
Regio T.	1845-46	<i>Giov. d'Arco</i>	L. Fabbrica, M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore delle Opere	G. Ghebart, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'orch
T. Regio (= Regio T.)	1848-49	<i>Attila</i>	L. Fabbrica, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore delle Opere	G. Ghebart, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
T. Regio	Ca Qu 1851	<i>Macbeth</i>	L. Fabbrica, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore delle Opere	G. Ghebart, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'orch
Regio T.	Ca Qu 1851	<i>Gerusalemme</i>	L. Fabbrica, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore delle Opere	G. Ghebart, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'orch
T. Regio	1852-53	<i>Luisa Miller</i>	L. Fabbrica, M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore delle Opere	G. Ghebart, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'orch
T. Regio	1855-56	<i>Giov. de Guzman</i>	L. Fabbrica,	C. Ferrarini

T. Carignano.	Aut 1843	(= <i>I vespri</i> ) <i>Nabucco</i>	M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore delle Opere L. Fabbrica, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della musica	P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'orch G. Ghebart, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'orch
T. Carignano	Aut 1845	<i>Foscari</i>	L. Fabbrica, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore delle Opere	G. Ghebart, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'orch
T. Carignano	Aut 1848	<i>Foscari</i>	L. Fabbrica, M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore delle Opere	G. Ghebart, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
T. Carignano	Aut 1851	<i>Luisa Miller</i>	L. Fabbrica, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore delle Opere	G. Ghebart, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'orch
Urbino, T. de' Nobili Pascolini	1847-48	<i>Foscari</i>	F. Zappatta, M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica	S. Pasqualini, (P. Spiridione?) P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> Dir d'Orch
Valencia, T. de la Ciudad	Oct 1848	<i>Macbeth</i>	C. Zerilli, M <sup>o</sup> dir	O. Comellas, Primer violin
T. de la Princesa (It. Lyric Co. of Madrid)	Jun 1854	<i>El Trovador</i>	*L. Ruiz, M <sup>o</sup> al piano y dir de orquesta	
Venice, La Fenice	1842-43	<i>Nabucco</i>	L. Carcano, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo	G. Mares, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
La Fenice	1843-44	<i>Lombardi</i>	L. Carcano,	G. Mares,



La Fenice	1843-44	<i>Erani</i>	M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo	Po V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
La Fenice	1845-46	<i>Giov. d'Arco</i>	L. Carcano, M <sup>o</sup> al Cembalo	G. Mares, Po V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
La Fenice	1845-46	<i>Attila</i>	L. Carcano, M <sup>o</sup> al Cembalo	G. Mares, Po V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
La Fenice	Aut 1847	<i>Giov. d'Arco</i>	L. Carcano, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo	G. Mares, Po V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
La Fenice	1847-48	<i>Macbeth</i>	L. Carcano, M <sup>o</sup> al Cembalo	G. Mares, Po V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
La Fenice	1853-54	<i>Trovatore</i>	E. Bosoni, M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore	G. Mares, Po V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch
La Fenice	Qu 1880	<i>I vespri</i>	*M. Mancinelli M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore e Dir d'Orch	
T. Rossini	Aut 1870	<i>Aroldo</i>	*D. Antonietti, M <sup>o</sup> concertatore e Dir d'Orch	
T. Rossini	31/XII/[1881]	<i>Erani</i>	*D. Acerbi, M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore e dir d'orch	

Vercelli, T. di Vercelli	1849-50	<i>Giov. d'Arco</i>	G. Meiners, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo	G. Fassini, 1 <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> dir d'Orch
Vicenza, T. Eretenio	Sum 1869	<i>Forza</i>	*A. Mariani, M <sup>o</sup> Concertatore e Dir	
Viterbo, T. del Genio	Sum 1851	<i>Attila</i>	V. Pontani, M <sup>o</sup> Dir delle opere, e Istr dei Cori	V. Benedetti, P <sup>o</sup> V <sup>o</sup> Dir [d'Orch]
Not given	Not given	<i>Nabucco</i>	A. Batocchi, M <sup>o</sup> Dir delle Opere	L. Miselli, Capo V <sup>o</sup> e Dir d'Orch

## APPENDIX B

Operas directed by Verdi for which the printed libretto provides an orchestral director but no vocal director; Verdi himself functioned as vocal director.

<u>Opera</u> <i>Lombardi</i>	<u>City &amp; Theater</u> Sinigaglia, T. Comunitativo la Fenice	<u>Season</u> Fiera 1843	<u>Primo Violino Direttore</u> Cesare Ferrarini	<u>Comments</u>
<i>Foscari</i>	Venice, T. Gallo a S. Banedetto	Spr 1845	Antonio Gallo	Luigi Carcano, M <sup>o</sup> al cembalo at la Fenice, here listed as Istr e Dir dei Cori
* <i>Battaglia di Legnano</i>	Rome, T. Argentina	1848-49	Emilio Angelini	
* <i>Stiffelio</i>	Trieste, T. Grande	Aut 1850	Giuseppe Alessandro Scaramelli	Same season: Libretto for <i>Luisa Miller</i> lists Luigi Ricci as M <sup>o</sup> Dir della Musica
* <i>Rigoletto</i>	Venice, la Fenice	1850-51	Gaetano Mares	
* <i>Trovatore</i>	Rome, T. di Apollo	1852-53	Emilio Angelini	
* <i>Traviata</i>	Venice, la Fenice	1852-53	Gaetano Mares	
* <i>Ballo</i>	Rome, T. di Apollo	Ca 1859	Emilio Angelini	

\* = World premiere

## APPENDIX C

Operas *not* directed by Verdi for which the printed libretto provides an orchestral director but no vocal director.

<u>Opera</u>	<u>City &amp; Theater</u>	<u>Season</u>	<u>Primo Violino Direttore</u>
<i>Nabucco</i>	Padua, T. Nuovo	Fiera 1843	Nicolò Maccari Spada
<i>Foscari</i>	Ancona, T. delle Muse	Spr 1845	Cesare Ferrarini
<i>Giovanna d'Arco</i>	Sinigaglia, T. Comunale	Fiera 1845	Nicolò De Giovanni
<i>Attila</i>	[Livorno], T. degl'Ill <sup>mi</sup> Signori	Aut 1846	Alessandro Marziali
<i>Giovanna d'Arco</i>	Padua, T. Nuovo	Aut 1847	Gaetano Chiocchi
<i>Lombardi</i>	Catania, T. Comunale	1849-50	Martino Pappalardo
<i>Corsaro</i> <sup>77</sup>	Venice, La Fenice	Ca 1853	Gaetano Mares
<i>Rigoletto</i>	Alessandria, T. di.	Aut 1854	Federico Rossetti
<i>Attila</i>	Modena, T. dell'Ill <sup>ma</sup> Comunità	1854-55	Antonio Sighicelli
<i>Macbeth</i>	Alessandria, T. Municipale	Aut 1855	Federico Rossetti
<i>Traviata</i>	Alessandria, T. Municipale	Aut 1855	Federico Rossetti

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77. While Verdi did not direct *Corsaro*, and it is the only one of his operas he never directed, he may have attended a performance of the work inasmuch as he directed the premiere of *Traviata* the same season at La Fenice. In fact, because of an indisposition of the tenor, Lodovico Graziani, *Corsaro* was substituted for the third scheduled performance of *Traviata*.